

THE “ŠUILISU ARCHIVE”  
AND OTHER SARGONIC TEXTS IN AKKADIAN

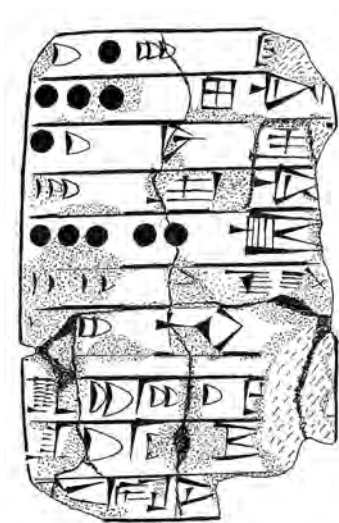
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Volume 27

# The “Šuilisu Archive” and Other Sargonic Texts in Akkadian

by  
Lucio Milano and Aage Westenholz



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## Series Editor's Preface

The collection of texts from the Sargonic period appearing in the CUSAS series already has enriched greatly our understanding of this important period in the history of mid-third millennium BCE Mesopotamia. The current volume is particularly significant in that it makes available a group of tablets associated with a specific official, in this case the scribe *Šuilisu* son of *Idabana*. The recently published Madrid Collection (M. Molina, with the collaboration of M.E. Milone and E. Markina, *Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia: The Carl L. Lippmann Collection*. Catálogo del Gabinete de Antigüedades I.I.6. Madrid, 2014), the earlier published Banca d'Italia collection (F. Pomponio et al., *Le tavolette cuneiformi di Adab*, Roma: Banca d'Italia, 2006 and *idem.* et al., *Tavolette cuneiformi di varia provenienza*, Roma: Banca d'Italia, 2006), and the various previous CUSAS volumes (11, 13, 19, 20, 23, 26), all more or less interrelated albeit devoid of any excavated context, nevertheless constitute the largest corpus of texts so far known from the period. Although the majority of these previously published tablets appears to have been found at Adab and perhaps also at Umma, the authors of the current volume were able to identify a segment of the Rosen Collection as coming from Umm al-Hafriyat, thereby adding to the geographical range of the documentation. Regardless of assertions to the contrary that artifacts devoid of context are “meaningless,” these texts clearly represent a major contribution to our understanding of the history, culture, and religion of the Sargonic period, helping to enhance and to clarify issues of chronology, economics, and society during its late stage. It is not without some irony that these

previous publications of “unprovenanced” texts, appearing but a few years after their “discovery,” can be contrasted with the over three quarters of a century that it took the Oriental Institute to publish the Sargonic texts from the University of Chicago excavations at Bismaya (Yang Zhi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab*, Changchun, 1989) or the many tablets that still remain unpublished and inaccessible in the collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums from the excavations between 1880 and 1918. Thus we are fortunate indeed that the Rosen Collection managed to obtain this corpus, more or less intact, and—thanks to Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen, the series Editor-in-Chief, Lucio Milano and Aage Westenholz—the scholarly community now has these significant new sources available in a thorough and reliable edition.

Perhaps now, after an inexcusable delay of over thirty-five years and the refusal to allow the authors access to the small group of eight tablets excavated at Umm al-Hafriyat for this publication, McGuire Gibson, who directed the still unpublished, single season of excavation, will finally make available these texts together with their archaeological context, texts presumably prepared for publication long ago by Bob Biggs to whom they were assigned.

The current volume provides critical editions of texts involving or otherwise associated with *Šuilisu*, an official residing in the site of Umm al-Hafriyat, now identified by Westenholz as the city Maškan-ili-Akkade. Furthermore, each author provides an independent perspective on the interpretation of these new data found in the texts to form a solid foundation for additional elaboration by themselves or

by other scholars. Thus, these new sources will surely be utilized to further develop our understanding of Sargonic history and society in its declining years, a period that, hitherto, has been reconstructed on the basis of a much more limited corpus.

It also should be noted that the work on all the Sargonic CUSAS volumes was facilitated greatly by the preliminary identifications and catalogue prepared by Dr. Rudolf “Rudi” Mayr, assistant curator at the Rosen Collection in New York City, and by the staff at the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conserva-

tion Laboratory at Cornell University; particularly by Laura Johnson-Kelly and Dr. Jeff Zorn, who conserved and photographed the tablets. They deserve our gratitude and thanks for their close collaboration and support of the authors and for their commitment to make these sources available as quickly and reliably as possible to Assyriologists.

Once again we acknowledge with gratitude the generous ongoing support of Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen that has made this publication possible, along with so many other CUSAS volumes.

David I. Owen  
Curator of Tablet Collections  
The Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen  
Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar  
Cornell University, Ithaca New York  
June 2015



## Foreword

This volume contains 253 tablets and fragments, of which 207 are presently in the Jonathan and Jeannette Rose Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell University, a small part of the magnificent donation and loan of tablets by Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen in 2000. Twenty-five tablets are from the Schøyen Collection in Spikkestad, Norway; twelve from the collection in Banca d'Italia, Rome; and the remainder are from various private collections or were copied many years ago and whose present whereabouts are unknown. We are very thankful to Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen, Martin Schøyen, and to David I. Owen for placing these texts so freely at our disposal and for their generosity in various other ways toward us.

The twelve texts in the Banca d'Italia collection and thirteen from the Rosen Collection at Cornell have been published previously (see the list "Previously published texts" p. 12). They are republished here, partly in order to provide as complete a picture of the relevant evidence as possible and partly because cleaning the tablets in the Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell occasionally has allowed improved readings.

The texts fall into two groups: one that we have assigned, more or less confidently, to the so-called "Šuilisu Archive," and one containing other Old Akkadian texts of diverse origins.

In the presentation of the texts, the remarks on color, baking, etc., always refer to the condition of each text before baking and conservation. For explanations of the sigla, see the list of Abbreviations, p. xii.

The tablets published here all come from illicit excavations. The local diggers, convinced

that a whole tablet would fetch a higher price than would a pile of fragments, often succeeded in joining fragments. These they assembled with mud (or occasionally with glue), often covering minor breaks with generous doses of the same material. In so doing, they also covered some of the cuneiform signs. When baked, this modern mud is usually of a lighter orange color than the clay of the ancient tablet and is fairly easy to remove. Larger breaks and missing parts of tablets were sometimes filled with mud, sometimes embellished with bogus signs; but more often the locals made good use of the many fragments at their disposal, grafting them onto tablets where they would fit in. In some cases, they trimmed the joining surfaces to make them fit. One-column "whole" tablets were frequently assembled from fragments of two or three different tablets, sometimes upside down relative to each other. In other cases, the broken edge of a fragment was trimmed by filing so that it would appear complete to the untrained eye. These proceedings are traditional in the country and were described many years ago by Kraus (1947, 116–117). The only new observation that we can add is that when fragments of different tablets are pasted together, these fragments usually come from the same site (see CUSAS 26, p. xvii–xviii). It is thus most likely that the restorations are made by the local diggers themselves, not by the middlemen in the antiquities trade network. At Cornell's Rosen Seminar new inventory numbers to extraneous fragments detached in the conservation process from tablets where they do not belong have been assigned, noting from which tablet they were detached, as for example **12** = CUNES 52-00-029 < 52-20-067 (the latter =

208). In the Schøyen Collection, the tablet and its detached fragments are numbered with a, b, and c numbers, as for example **212** = MS 4267b, which originally came pasted to **78** = MS 4267a. Unfortunately, we have not been able to search for joins among these numerous fragments, of which there must be many, and we anticipate that future researchers will fill this gap.

In the present publication, the documents have been arranged according to their contents (for an overview, see “Catalogue” pp. 1–8). Any arrangement based on external criteria is, of course, unsatisfactory. Categorization of texts (and especially administrative texts) in Assyriological publications is usually based upon keywords used in the texts: this is often the result of a misunderstanding about what categorization meant to ancient scribes. Moreover, it creates the illusion of giving a sound reconstruction, if not of the original arrangement of the tablets in a given archive, then at least of the spectrum of the different formats—in terms of layout, wording, and technical vocabulary—used by the scribes in drawing up their documents. This typological attitude of modern scholars is based on the assumption that scribes actually followed coherent guidelines to differentiate among types of texts intended to match specific accountancy needs and to cover specific sectors of a household administration. Obviously, there is some truth in this assumption, although this presumed consistency is hardly present in the documentation. In some cases it is just we who do not understand what is behind an apparent confusion manifested in a text (why, for example, are beer and pigs accounted for together in a list of deliveries?), but very often it is the general economic and social framework of the accounting procedures that escapes us. In the case of animal husbandry, for instance, we would expect the subsequent steps followed in the managing of a flock of sheep and goats (and of its wool production) to be covered by different types of documents, whereas the texts give us a puzzling picture in this regard. Examples could be extended easily to the overall documentation of the Šuilisu archive, where we often find por-

tions of the accounting that are not apparently coherent with the basic purpose of the text.

For this reason, we have refrained from any attempt to reconstruct the ancient archival context of the texts and, instead, we have chosen to arrange them in a manner to illustrate life at Umm el-Hafriyat, beginning with subsistence economy and ending with juridical proceedings. A deeper analysis might well reveal the bureaucracy, if such it was, that produced the texts we have. Our primary aim with this publication is to make the texts available for study by our colleagues, present and future, in as reliable and careful an edition as our limited time would allow. Our analyses in Chapter I of the Šuilisu tablets are in no way intended to be an exhaustive treatment of these most interesting texts. That would require yet another book.

Since the two authors of this book hold very different views in general and on the Šuilisu tablets in particular, we have decided to write separate introductions to that text corpus in Chapter I. Obviously, this has resulted in a measure of overlap and even contradiction, but we trust that our different perspectives will prove useful for further study.

The texts are presented in photographs, sometimes in copy, and, for particularly difficult tablets, in both. The photographs cannot achieve complete coverage; but we trust that the wealth of photographs in the Jonathan and Jeanette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell University and in the Schøyen Collection will be made available on their respective websites (<http://cuneiform.library.cornell.edu/> and <http://www.schoyencollection.com/>) or on the CDLI website (<http://cdli.ucla.edu>).

In the transliterations, a struck-through text reproduces an incomplete erasure by the ancient scribe.

We have transliterated Sumerian using the values given in Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, generally preferring the short values (e.g., du<sub>10</sub> rather than dūg). We are under no illusion that this represents Sumerian speech any more faithfully than any other transliteration

system. Akkadian is transliterated according to “the Gelb system.”

In the translations, commentaries, and other connected English text, we have modified the Akkadian proper names into some sort of inexact, pseudo-Old Babylonian, simply to avoid too many unfamiliar forms, inconsistencies, and uncertainties in reconstructing the Old Akkadian forms behind some of the spellings. We have also dispensed with macrons and diacritic points under *š* and *ṭ*. Therefore, no Ba<sup>l</sup>i-tukulti, no Yišārum, no Ḫubārum, no Tuṭṭanābšum, but Beli-tukulti, Išarum, Ubarum, Tuttanabšum. The only exception we have made is Šuilisu, because this form has now become so entrenched as to be the path of least resistance. Furthermore, we have taken the liberty to italicize Sumerian and Akkadian words alike in English context, as was done in CUSAS 26, trusting that our colleagues, for whom this book is written, will know which is meant.

One recurrent problem we faced is the translation of the phrase PN<sub>1</sub> *š*u PN<sub>2</sub>, or PN *š*u *nin*, for instance. Usually, it is translated as “PN<sub>1</sub> dependent on PN<sub>2</sub>” which is cumbersome relative to the original, and perhaps too explicit in indicating a superior–inferior relationship. That may, in fact, often have been implied, but was not necessarily so. We have here chosen the rendering “PN<sub>1</sub>, of PN<sub>2</sub>” or “PN, of the Queen.” This may not be good English, but we have no better ideas.

The translations and the commentaries have been kept to a disappointing minimum. It almost goes without saying that there are many

passages or whole texts that we do not really understand. We have usually passed over such problems in silence, as commenting on them all, only in the end to declare defeat and admit our ignorance, would probably have doubled the length of the book. As so often in our discipline, we leave it to those not yet born to solve the riddles that baffled us—and they will, if past experience is any guide.

Many have helped us in various ways during our work with this book. As always, David I. Owen, Curator of Tablet Collections at the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell University, has been a generous and open-handed host during our repeated visits to Cornell along with Laura Kelly-Johnson, Collection Manager and Head Photographer/Conservator, who unstintingly provided us with photographs of outstanding quality whenever we asked for them. The various owners of private collections, who wish to remain anonymous, have freely provided texts of crucial importance, such as nos. **1** or **34**. The Italian Ministero dell’Istruzione, dell’Università e della Ricerca (MIUR) provided funding that allowed Lucio Milano to spend a few months in Vienna and Munich to work on the texts, while Ca’ Foscari University of Venice defrayed the travel expenses of Aage Westenholz going to Cornell in December 2014 for the final collations. And as always, Inger Jentoft, Westenholz’s wife, has devoted much time to proofreading. To all of them go our most heartfelt thanks.

L. Milano  
A. Westenholz  
June 2015

## Abbreviations

A	siglum of tablets and inscriptions in the Asiatic collections of the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
AW	siglum of tablets in the possession of Aage Westenholz, Denmark
BI	siglum of the first tablet collection of Banca d'Italia, Rome
BI-II	siglum of the second tablet collection of Banca d'Italia, Rome
CUNES	siglum of tablets in the Cornell University, Near Eastern Section
CUSAS	<i>Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology</i>
gsg / <i>gsg</i>	gur-sag-gál / <i>gur-sag-gál</i>
kb / <i>kb</i>	kù-babbar / <i>kù-babbar</i>
L	spurious siglum of tablets formerly in the possession of a London dealer
MS	siglum of tablets and inscriptions in the Martin Schøyen Collection
SIA	Yang Zhi, <i>Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab</i> . Changchun 1989
TCABI	F. Pomponio et al., <i>Le tavolette cuneiformi di Adab</i> . Banca d'Italia, Roma 2006
TCVP	F. Pomponio et al., <i>Tavolette cuneiformi di varia provenienza</i> . Banca d'Italia, Roma 2006.
TMLAT	P. Steinkeller – J. N. Postgate, <i>Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad (Mesopotamian Civilizations 4)</i> . Winona Lake, 1992.

# Catalogue and Arrangement of Documents by Contents

## I. THE ŠUILISU ARCHIVE

### Agriculture

#### *Fields*

<b>1</b>	Jon-77	surface PN / <i>šuku</i> PN
<b>2</b>	49-09-033	draft, surface PN / <i>šuku</i> PN
<b>3</b>	49-09-036	<i>sag</i> / <i>ús a-šà</i> PN
<b>4</b>	49-09-050	<i>mir</i> / <i>kur a-šà (šuku)</i> PN
<b>5</b>	49-13-086	<i>mir</i> / <i>kur a-šà (šuku)</i> PN
<b>6</b>	49-13-087	<i>mir</i> / <i>kur a-šà (šuku)</i> PN
<b>7</b>	49-09-057	seed
<b>8</b>	49-09-063	seed, unclear
<b>9</b>	49-09-021	surface / harvest(?) or projected yield

#### *Harvest delivery and storage*

<b>10</b>	BI-II 25	<i>agar</i> <sub>4</sub> districts
<b>11</b>	BI-II 35	<i>agar</i> <sub>4</sub> districts
<b>12</b>	52-00-029	arrears: <i>šu a-šà-ga gar-ra-àm</i>
<b>13</b>	49-13-093	harvests PN <i>yimħur ana é-gu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>yíššapik</i> , arrears
<b>14</b>	49-14-019	harvests <i>in é-gu</i> <sub>4</sub> , <i>in é ba-za-za</i> PN <i>yimħur</i>
<b>15</b>	49-14-017	barley PN <i>yimħur</i>
<b>16</b>	49-09-037	orchard, turnips <i>yublūnim</i>

### Husbandry

#### *Sheep and goats: wool, shearing*

<b>17</b>	49-09-083	arrears to be remembered ( <i>ħussusis</i> ) at the inspection
<b>18</b>	49-09-030	with arrears: PN <i>níg-šid-bi e-ak</i>
<b>19</b>	Priv.Ital.Coll.	with arrears: PN <i>níg-šid-bi e-ak</i>
<b>20</b>	49-09-038	with arrears: PN <i>níg-šid-bi e-ak</i>
<b>21</b>	49-09-039	with arrears: PN <i>níg-šid-bi e-ak</i>
<b>22</b>	49-09-079	with arrears: <i>ka si kum</i>
<b>23</b>	48-12-101	cheese and wool

### Fishing

<b>24</b>	BI-II 38	incoming fish
<b>25</b>	MS 2246	incoming fish

### Management of labor

#### Lists of persons

<b>26</b>	49-08-081	list of persons with ugula
<b>27</b>	49-13-089	list of persons with ugula
<b>28</b>	49-09-015	list of persons with ugula
<b>29</b>	49-11-066	<i>guruš-guruš šūt engar-engar</i>
<b>30</b>	49-09-027	<i>nu-kiri<sub>6</sub></i>
<b>31</b>	49-09-056	<i>hālikūtum / lā hālikūtum</i>
<b>32</b>	49-09-006	list of persons with affiliations and divided into groups
<b>33</b>	50-03-180	fragment

#### Ration lists

##### Dated, full lists in two or three columns

<b>34</b>	L-1999,3	barley PN <i>ì-ba</i> ; <i>iti šu-numun</i>
<b>35</b>	MS 4236	barley; <i>iti izi-izi-gar</i>
<b>36</b>	49-09-003	barley PN <i>ì-ba</i> ; <i>iti ga-an-ga-MUN-è</i>
<b>37</b>	49-09-005	barley PN <i>ì-ba</i> ; <i>iti ab-è nibru<sup>ki</sup></i> ; additional expenditures
<b>38</b>	L-1999,4	barley PN <i>ì-ba</i> ; <i>iti še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub></i>
<b>39</b>	49-09-002	barley PN <i>ì-ba</i> ; [month name]; additional expenditures
<b>40</b>	49-09-110	barley; [month name]
<b>41</b>	49-09-008	barley; [month name]
<b>42</b>	49-11-065	barley; [month name]; additional expenditures: <i>še ana é / má / má-laḥ<sub>4</sub></i>
<b>43</b>	MS 4198b	fragment; barley PN <i>ì-ba</i> ; [month name]
<b>44</b>	Jon-77B	fragment

##### Other ration accounts

<b>45</b>	49-09-010	extra rations for <i>iti ZÍZ.A</i> plus other expenditures: <i>è-a</i> → <i>yimḥuru</i>
<b>46</b>	49-09-004	two-column tablet, preliminary
<b>47</b>	49-09-013	one-column tablet, partial list, not summed up
<b>48</b>	49-09-001	expenditures for one year of barley rations, bread, beer and sheep
<b>49</b>	47-11-053	rations for a different set of people
<b>50</b>	49-13-085	draft?; different set of people; seal impression
<b>51</b>	L-2002, 10	rations from barley received by PN
<b>52</b>	49-09-092	rations from barley received by PN
<b>53</b>	49-08-075	<i>še-ba</i> 14 <i>iti</i> : month names of the Nippur calendar
<b>54</b>	49-09-014	wool

#### Personnel *lirūnim* (/ *liru'ūnim*)

<b>55</b>	48-04-083	fragment
<b>56</b>	52-13-044	five workmen, from Adab
<b>57</b>	50-04-128	one slave girl, from Adab

### Correspondence

<b>58</b>	MS 2872/1	Išu-ilum, chief scribe, to Šuilisu: field workers
<b>59</b>	49-14-014	Šu-mama to Šuilisu: Ubil-dunnaš' estate
<b>60</b>	MS 2872/3	Šu-mama to Šuilisu: feed the servants
<b>61</b>	49-09-106	Sikkur to Šuilisu: fields
<b>62</b>	MS 2872/5	Sikkur to Imi-ilum and Šuilisu: assignment of fields
<b>63</b>	49-09-104	Sikkur to Imi-ilum: prepare a meal

64	49-09-105	Sikkur to Imi-ilum: a field and its taxes
65	49-09-103	Sikkur to Imi-ilum: assignment of fields
66	49-13-097	Nabium to Šuilisu: send barley to Nippur
67	49-09-102	Išlul-ilum to Šuilisu: silver
68	49-09-107	[ ] to Šuilisu: inform me of the verdict and send me a courier
69	51-04-011	[ ]: fields and workers
70	51-05-002	[ ]: workers(?)
71	MS 2872/4	Ur-Ištaran to Zuzu: barley
72	MS 5006	Dagan-[ ]dali[ ] to KAL-ile: reprimands
73	MS 2872/2	Linaš-beli to Zuzu: water for irrigation
74	49-14-011	Linaš to Zuzu: guides to Nippur
75	49-14-010	Bazaza to Zuzu: Sarriqa's ransom
76	49-13-096	Meu-keš to Zuzu: ducks, dates, fish
77	49-09-156	Šuilisu to Asaga: prayers for me
78	MS 4267a	[ ]: complaints about Šuilisu

### Management of resources

#### Expenditure of commodities

79	BI 193	barley
80	49-09-117	barley, emmer: <i>šu I u<sub>4</sub>, šu I iti</i>
81	52-20-042	sesame oil
82	49-09-058	garlic to Urusagrīg and notables
83	49-09-101	garlic to Nippur
84	49-14-015	garlic
85	49-08-084	fish, dates and goats
86	50-03-114	ducks
87	49-14-012	fodder and barley for baking
88	MS 2248	fodder
89	49-09-095	wool

#### Shipments by boat

90	49-09-081	barley from the granary <i>ana má / sa<sub>10</sub> má sa-tu-tu</i>
91	49-09-047	<i>šu má sa-tu-tu</i>
92	49-08-098	flour and beer <i>ana má / ana Baš</i>
93	49-09-071	flour and malt

#### Assignments of cereals

94	49-14-020	barley
95	49-14-021	barley
96	49-13-090	barley
97	49-09-040	barley
98	49-09-046	barley
99	52-20-046	barley
100	49-09-059	barley from the storehouse: PN <sub>1</sub> / PN <sub>2</sub> <i>yimdud</i>
101	49-09-068	barley: PN <i>ba-gi<sub>4</sub></i>
102	49-09-043	emmer
103	49-09-098	barley
104	MS 3550	barley; seal impression: Bazizi <i>dub-sar</i>

*yimḥur/tamḥur*

<b>105</b>	49-09-028	barley: <i>mādidu</i> , <i>zābilu</i>
<b>106</b>	49-09-041	barley
<b>107</b>	49-09-060	barley from a household; <i>ana ḥubullim</i> / <i>ana mu-ša-ki-im</i>
<b>108</b>	49-09-070	barley from different households
<b>109</b>	49-09-075	emmer for a storage facility, for threshing
<b>110</b>	49-09-076	barley kept in different facilities; other items PN <i>ba-an-šum</i>
<b>111</b>	49-09-087	barley: <i>yiddin</i> , <i>yimḥur</i> , <i>yimdud</i>
<b>112</b>	49-09-090	barley
<b>113</b>	49-09-093	barley
<b>114</b>	49-09-096	barley: <i>yimḥur ana še-ba</i> ; <i>cinu</i> PN < <i>ana</i> > Baš <i>yilliku</i>
<b>115</b>	49-11-022	barley
<b>116</b>	49-08-077	barley: named professionals
<b>117</b>	49-09-049	barley: <i>ana mu-ša-ki-im</i> ; rations included

*è-a disbursements*

<b>118</b>	49-09-023	barley for various purposes: <i>še šu é-gu<sub>4</sub> è-a</i> Ir'ebum
<b>119</b>	49-09-024	barley for various purposes: <i>še é Bazaza è-a</i> Ir'ebum
<b>120</b>	49-09-089	barley: <i>è-a</i> Ir'ebum <i>in é-gu<sub>4</sub></i>
<b>121</b>	49-09-099	barley: <i>è šu</i> Ir'ebum
<b>122</b>	49-09-078	barley, flour, malt: <i>è-a</i> Asaga
<b>123</b>	50-04-052	barley: <i>è-a é-še</i> Dada
<b>124</b>	49-09-067	barley: <i>è-a</i> Lugal-KA
<b>125</b>	49-09-077	barley: <i>è-a má-gibil</i>

*yimḥur/tamḥur* → *è-a*

<b>126</b>	49-09-007	barley received by farmers and <i>ir<sub>11</sub>-lugal</i> ; <i>in guru<sub>7</sub> ši</i> Adab <i>è-a</i>
<b>127</b>	49-09-016	barley received by a sailor: <i>è-a</i> Šuilisu
<b>128</b>	49-11-024	beer bread from the <i>é-gu<sub>4</sub></i> : <i>è-a</i> Ir'ebum
<b>129</b>	49-12-006	barley of the “gate” of Bazaza: <i>è-a</i> Ir'ebum
<b>130</b>	49-09-048	barley: <i>è-a</i> Ir'ebum <i>šu é</i> Bazaza
<b>131</b>	49-09-088	beer, flour given in exchange for Gutian sheep: <i>è-a</i> Lugal-KA

*Distribution of Processed Foods**Bread and beer*

<b>132</b>	49-09-022	bread for persons: <i>ninda šūt</i> PN <sub>1</sub> / PN <sub>2</sub>
<b>133</b>	49-09-025	bread and beer “rations”
<b>134</b>	49-09-034	bread and beer “rations”
<b>135</b>	49-09-053	bread and beer “rations”
<b>136</b>	49-11-023	bread and beer “rations”
<b>137</b>	MS 4263	bread, beer and other foodstuffs for visitors

*Flour*

<b>138</b>	49-09-052	flour <i>cinu še</i> PN <i>yimdudu</i>
<b>139</b>	49-14-016	flour “rations”
<b>140</b>	49-08-099	flour “rations”
<b>141</b>	49-00-023	flour “rations”
<b>142</b>	49-00-026	flour “rations”
<b>143</b>	49-09-066	flour for special occasions: <i>šūt</i> PN <sub>1</sub> <i>iste</i> PN <sub>2</sub> <i>yimḥuru</i>



*Travel provisions*

- I44** 49-09-073 dabin PN *cinu ana lugal yilliku ana Adab*; some other deliveries  
**I45** 49-09-085 dabin PN *cinu ana Baš yilliku*; some other deliveries  
**I46** 49-14-023 bread and beer PN *cinu ana Adab yilliku*; some other deliveries

*Varia*

- I47** 49-13-092 *dabin + še: šabra* among the recipients  
**I48** 49-09-012 textiles: gifts for visitors and other notables  
**I49** MS 4227a bread, beer and fat for some notables and their wives  
**I50** 49-13-094 beer on a daily basis for three occasions: *è-a Lugal-KA*  
**I51** 49-09-051 [...] brought from Nagsu<sup>ki</sup>  
**I52** 50-00-008 beer, bread and sheep: *šabra-é* among the recipients  
**I53** MS 4215 beer, peas and condiments  
**I54** 49-14-013 cattle, bread, beer and silver  
**I55** 49-13-099 barley and flour for persons and donkeys: *in elāim / in warādim*

*Management of sheep and goats*

- I56** 49-09-055 one sheep each of ten people: *yuru'unim*  
**I57** 49-09-062 sheep sent to be branded  
**I58** 49-14-026 sheep associated with individuals: unclear

*Sheep and goats "taken" (ahāzum)*

- I59** 49-09-032 *ana á-gi<sub>6</sub>-íl-la yīhuzu*  
**I60** MS 4198a *ana á-gi<sub>6</sub>-íl-la yīhuzu*  
**I61** MS 4254 sheep and silver *ana Adab, ana lugal*; sheep PN *yīhuz*  
**I62** 49-09-069 sheep: *maš-da-ri-a šabra-é*  
**I63** 49-13-088 sheep provided by several people: *šūt é-gal yīhuzu*  
**I64** 49-09-080 sheep: PN *yīhuz*  
**I65** 49-09-097 sheep and goats from PN<sub>1</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> *yīhuz*  
**I66** 49-13-133 fragment: PN *yīhuz*

*Loans*

- I67** 49-09-020 *hubullum*: barley *è-a é-àr*  
**I68** 49-09-086 *hubullum*: barley; a sheep as pledge?  
**I69** 49-09-091 *hubullum*: barley; bronze vessels as pledge?  
**I70** 48-12-064 *hubullum*: barley  
**I71** BI-II 5 *hubullum*: barley for sowing PN *yusūše'*  
**I72** BI 185+213 barley rations for *ir<sub>11</sub>-lugal ana hubuttatim*  
**I73** 49-09-082 *máš nu-tuku*  
**I74** 49-13-091 *še ur<sub>5</sub>-šē šu-ti-a*

*Supplies of tools and raw materials*

- I75** 49-08-085 malt to the brewers  
**I76** MS 4251 supply of barley for rations and for making groats in two months  
**I77** 49-08-088 flasks for perfumes and other products  
**I78** 49-08-082 assignment of copper sickles  
**I79** MS 2254 saws  
**I80** 49-09-061 objects made of precious wood PN *yimhur*: Imi-ilum for three years  
**I81** 49-04-013 unknown items

*Inventories of various goods*

<b>182</b>	49-08-090	níg-ga, movable property of Ubarum, the scribe
<b>183</b>	49-14-018	various items: <i>íste</i> PN <i>yibašše</i>
<b>184</b>	49-08-097	missing items, <i>halqūtum</i> : gold, silver, copper, cereals, garments, fat

*Assignments / contributions involving silver*

<b>185</b>	49-13-095	barley / silver PN <i>yimhur</i>
<b>186</b>	49-09-031	silver for various purposes among which the purchase of animals
<b>187</b>	49-08-079	silver associated with various people: <i>ana hubullim yimhuru</i>
<b>188</b>	49-08-096	foodstuffs and silver: memorandum?
<b>189</b>	49-09-064	barley, garments and silver: draft or memorandum?
<b>190</b>	52-20-060	purchase in silver of a house plot?
<b>191</b>	49-09-042	silver expenditures for various goods: PN <i>garaš<sub>4</sub> yimhur</i>

**Legal documents***Legal cases*

<b>192</b>	L-2000, 10	stolen property
<b>193</b>	49-09-009	about a gang of people having attacked a person
<b>194</b>	49-09-011	dispute about a controversial payment
<b>195</b>	49-09-018	witnessed loan contract?
<b>196</b>	MS 4191	memorandum of a loan
<b>197</b>	Jon-77A	fragment, some silver transaction
<b>198</b>	49-09-084	witnesses of Alla: one of them belongs to the prince, <i>šu dumu-lugal</i>
<b>199</b>	49-11-014	witnesses attending a judgment: two are qualified as <i>A-sùr<sup>ki</sup>-rí-um</i>
<b>200</b>	48-06-109	witnesses to a declaration about releasing a person

*Witnessed transactions and payments in silver*

<b>201</b>	49-08-080	purchase of a slave
<b>202</b>	49-08-083	receipt of silver/gold by a man and his wife
<b>203</b>	49-09-065	receipt of silver and barley
<b>204</b>	49-00-021	purchase: fragmentary
<b>205</b>	50-04-036	silver as interest for an amount of barley
<b>206</b>	49-09-019	silver deliveries to several people, mostly unintelligible
<b>207</b>	49-09-029	purchase or ransom for a female slave
<b>208</b>	52-20-067	purchase of a house with annex
<b>209</b>	BI 187	purchase of two equids

**Unclassified texts and fragments**

<b>210</b>	BI-II 10	barley
<b>211</b>	MS 4227b	fragment: textiles
<b>212</b>	MS 4267b	Gutians <i>a-na Maš-gan<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ni-dingir-A-ga-de<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> è-li-ku-[nim]</i>
<b>213</b>	49-09-094	barley as interest on silver, unclear
<b>214</b>	49-00-013	fragment
<b>215</b>	49-00-014	fragment, possibly from a legal document
<b>216</b>	49-00-020	fragment
<b>217</b>	49-00-022	fragment

## II. OTHER AKKADIAN TEXTS

*School tablets*

<b>218</b>	47-11-006	PNs
<b>219</b>	47-11-007	words
<b>220</b>	47-11-008	PNs
<b>221</b>	47-11-010	PNs
<b>222</b>	48-10-031	PNs

*Fields*

<b>223</b>	53-01-105	field plots of different people
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*Personnel and labor*

<b>224</b>	50-01-007	list of persons
<b>225</b>	AW 07-1	list of persons under a <i>nu-banda</i> <sub>3</sub> : in Adab
<b>226</b>	MS 1952/8	craftsmen, <i>giš-kin-ti</i> , in charge of canal digging

*Correspondence*

<b>227</b>	47-11-018	Watar-za-at to the ensi
<b>228</b>	MS 5005	Beli-šadu to Šu-dagan
<b>229</b>	49-13-129	Galzu, the fuller, to Ili-massarti

*Expenditure of commodities*

<b>230</b>	52-20-041	turnips
<b>231</b>	48-06-135	[...]: <i>yimḫur</i> → <i>è-a</i>
<b>232</b>	48-04-078	wool
<b>233</b>	49-09-072	belts
<b>234</b>	49-05-070	sack ropes
<b>235</b>	BI 189	sheep: <i>è-a</i> PN Month name
<b>236</b>	BI 201	various valuables: mysterious purpose

*Assignment of large amount of barley*

<b>237</b>	MS 2191/22	large quantity of barley to be threshed: <i>še giš-ra-a</i> PN Adab
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*Distribution of processed foodstuffs*

<b>238</b>	48-12-078	beer; month name
<b>239</b>	49-02-146	beer
<b>240</b>	49-08-087	bread, beer and pigs
<b>241</b>	49-08-100	beer, dates, meat and pork: <i>è-a šu I u</i> <sub>4</sub> . Festival?
<b>242</b>	49-09-035	beer and sheep

*Management of sheep and goats*

<b>243</b>	48-06-145	PN <i>šu-du</i> <sub>8</sub>
<b>244</b>	48-12-060	goats PN <i>mu-DU</i> . Broken year name.
<b>245</b>	52-20-040	wool brought in; inspection; goats hair for donkey's reins
<b>246</b>	BI 184	<i>è-a ki-zu-tim</i> ; month name, Adab calendar

*Supply of raw material*

<b>247</b>	BI 175	wool: <i>é-gal-še mu-túm</i> , dated to the accession year of Šu-DUR.ÙL
<b>248</b>	48-06-149	<i>dabin</i> : PN <i>yimḫur</i>

*Inventories of various goods*

<b>249</b>	49-13-109	metal objects <i>iste</i> PN <sub>1</sub> ; one hide <i>iste</i> PN <sub>2</sub> <i>yibašše</i>
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**250** 49-12-005 plow teams, ox drivers and female millers  
**251** 50-10-010 barley of Adab to Apiak

*Unclassified*

**252** 47-11-041 [...] Month name  
**253** 48-04-077 contents unclear: *hussusiš*, to be remembered

# Concordance

## Cornell University Collection

<i>CUNES</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>CUNES</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>CUNES</i>	<i>Text</i>
47-11-006	218	49-08-083	202	49-09-027	30
47-11-007	219	49-08-084	85	49-09-028	105
47-11-008	220	49-08-085	175	49-09-029	207
47-11-010	221	49-08-087	240	49-09-030	18
47-11-018	227	49-08-088	177	49-09-031	186
47-11-041	252	49-08-090	182	49-09-032	159
47-11-053	49	49-08-096	188	49-09-033	2
48-04-077	253	49-08-097	184	49-09-034	134
48-04-078	232	49-08-098	92	49-09-035	242
48-04-083	55	49-08-099	140	49-09-036	3
48-06-109	200	49-08-100	241	49-09-037	16
48-06-135	231	49-09-001	48	49-09-038	20
48-06-145	243	49-09-002	39	49-09-039	21
48-06-149	248	49-09-003	36	49-09-040	97
48-10-031	222	49-09-004	46	49-09-041	106
48-12-060	244	49-09-005	37	49-09-042	191
48-12-064	170	49-09-006	32	49-09-043	102
48-12-078	238	49-09-007	126	49-09-046	98
48-12-101	23	49-09-008	41	49-09-047	91
49-00-013	214	49-09-009	193	49-09-048	130
49-00-014	215	49-09-010	45	49-09-049	117
49-00-020	216	49-09-011	194	49-09-050	4
49-00-021	204	49-09-012	148	49-09-051	151
49-00-022	217	49-09-013	47	49-09-052	138
49-00-023	141	49-09-014	54	49-09-053	135
49-00-026	142	49-09-015	28	49-09-055	156
49-02-146	239	49-09-016	127	49-09-056	31
49-04-013	181	49-09-018	195	49-09-057	7
49-05-070	234	49-09-019	206	49-09-058	82
49-08-075	53	49-09-020	167	49-09-059	100
49-08-077	116	49-09-021	9	49-09-060	107
49-08-079	187	49-09-022	132	49-09-061	180
49-08-080	201	49-09-023	118	49-09-062	157
49-08-081	26	49-09-024	119	49-09-063	8
49-08-082	178	49-09-025	133	49-09-064	189

<i>CUNES</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>CUNES</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>CUNES</i>	<i>Text</i>
49-09-065	203	49-09-101	83	49-13-133	166
49-09-066	143	49-09-102	67	49-14-010	75
49-09-067	124	49-09-103	65	49-14-011	74
49-09-068	101	49-09-104	63	49-14-012	87
49-09-069	162	49-09-105	64	49-14-013	154
49-09-070	108	49-09-106	61	49-14-014	59
49-09-071	93	49-09-107	68	49-14-015	84
49-09-072	233	49-09-110	40	49-14-016	139
49-09-073	144	49-09-117	80	49-14-017	15
49-09-075	109	49-09-156	77	49-14-018	183
49-09-076	110	49-11-014	199	49-14-019	14
49-09-077	125	49-11-022	115	49-14-020	94
49-09-078	122	49-11-023	136	49-14-021	95
49-09-079	22	49-11-024	128	49-14-023	146
49-09-080	164	49-11-065	42	49-14-026	158
49-09-081	90	49-11-066	29	50-00-008	152
49-09-082	173	49-12-005	250	50-01-007	224
49-09-083	17	49-12-006	129	50-03-114	86
49-09-084	198	49-13-085	50	50-03-180	33
49-09-085	145	49-13-086	5	50-04-036	205
49-09-086	168	49-13-087	6	50-04-052	123
49-09-087	111	49-13-088	163	50-04-128	57
49-09-088	131	49-13-089	27	50-10-010	251
49-09-089	120	49-13-090	96	51-04-011	69
49-09-090	112	49-13-091	174	51-05-002	70
49-09-091	169	49-13-092	147	52-00-029	12
49-09-092	52	49-13-093	13	52-13-044	56
49-09-093	113	49-13-094	150	52-20-040	245
49-09-094	213	49-13-095	185	52-20-041	230
49-09-095	89	49-13-096	76	52-20-042	81
49-09-096	114	49-13-097	66	52-20-046	99
49-09-097	165	49-13-099	155	52-20-060	190
49-09-098	103	49-13-109	249	52-20-067	208
49-09-099	121	49-13-129	229	53-01-105	223

#### Various Collections

<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>
AW 07-1	225	Jon-77B	44	L-2000,10	192
Jon-77	1	L-1999,3	34	L-2002,10	51
Jon-77A	197	L-1999,4	38	Pr. Ital. Coll.	19

## Schøyen Collection

<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>
MS 1952/8	226	MS 2872/5	62	MS 4251	176
MS 2191/22	237	MS 3550	104	MS 4254	161
MS 2246	25	MS 4191	196	MS 4263	137
MS 2248	88	MS 4198a	160	MS 4267a	78
MS 2254	179	MS 4198b	43	MS 4267b	212
MS 2872/1	58	MS 4215	153	MS 5005	228
MS 2872/2	73	MS 4227a	149	MS 5006	72
MS 2872/3	60	MS 4227b	211		
MS 2872/4	71	MS 4236	35		

## Banca d'Italia Collection

<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Coll. no.</i>	<i>Text</i>
BI 175	247	BI 189	235	BI-II 10	210
BI 184	246	BI 193	79	BI-II 25	10
BI 185+213	172	BI 201	236	BI-II 35	11
BI 187	209	BI-II 5	171	BI-II 38	24

## *Previously Published Texts*

<i>CUSAS 13</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>TCABI</i>	<i>Text</i>
68	49	220	10
161	140	221	11
165	185	229	246
166	123	235	247
167	182	240	79
168	184	260	24
169	76		
170	66	<i>TCVP</i>	<i>Text</i>
194	200	I-51	172
197	227	I-52	171
198	55	I-53	210
202	224	I-59	209
210	232	I-60	235
		I-61	236
<i>CUSAS 20</i>	<i>Text</i>		
79	56		



# I. The “Šuilisu Archive”

## A. OVERVIEW

*Aage Westenholz*

The group of texts to be discussed in this chapter (nos. **1–217**) was designated “the Šuilisu tablets” by Rudi Mayr, as he inventoried a substantial number of the texts donated or loaned to the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar and Tablet Conservation Laboratory at Cornell University over the past fifteen years. In those texts, mainly ration lists, a certain Šuilisu appears frequently as the authority handing out the rations or making other disbursements. The name is probably not very exact, as will be shown below.

### THE TEXTS AND THE SITE

#### *Identification of the relevant texts*

The great majority of the Šuilisu tablets has no recorded origin and had to be identified on internal criteria. These are the script ductus; the general appearance of the tablets (corners at right angles, dark brown, heavily salted); the language of record (Akkadian); but, above all, the prosopography. We took the ration lists (nos. **34–53**) as the point of departure and since they also contain the names of a number of higher-ranking people, it was fairly simple to identify the rest of the texts. Some of the “non-Šuilisu texts” (nos. **241–243, 248, 253**) and the school texts (nos. **218–222**) may, of course, also have been found with the Šuilisu tablets; but of this there is no conclusive evidence. Conversely, some of the texts that we have assigned to the “Šuilisu Archive” may not belong there. Letters are particularly difficult to assign, since they were written often by people who were not

recorded in the administrative records. We have included such letters that appeared similar to other Šuilisu tablets in their physical properties and are addressed to known persons appearing within the Šuilisu corpus; but we are aware that this method is far from reliable.

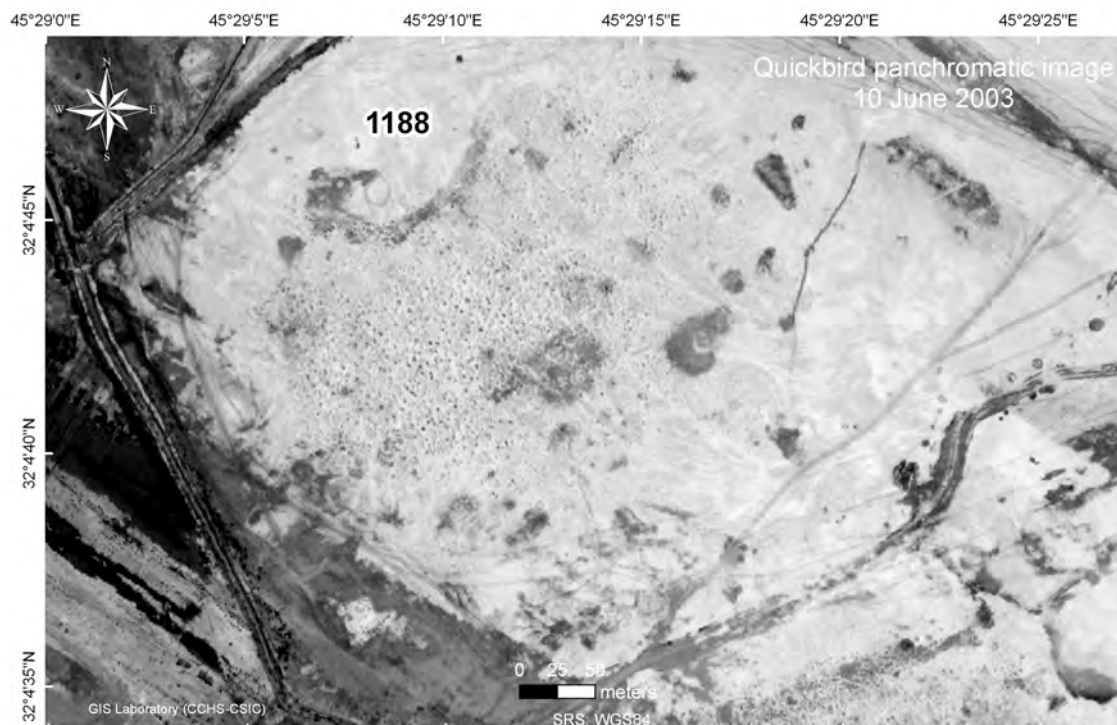
#### *Findspot of the tablets*

Even though most of the tablets were excavated by the locals and sold without any recorded origin, the Šuilisu tablets can be safely traced to their place of origin: Umm el-Hafriyat, a site some 28 kms east of Nippur. Although only eight Sargonic tablet fragments were recovered during the Oriental Institute of Chicago’s excavations there in 1977,<sup>1</sup> the prosopographical links to the rest are strong enough to prove that all of them must have come from there.

Umm el-Hafriyat, Adams’ no. 1188 (Adams 1981, 276), was situated on the ancient Tigris, between Adab and Urusagrig.<sup>2</sup> It is a cluster of low mounds, each from different time periods, ranging intermittently from the Uruk period until the Seleucid period.<sup>3</sup> The University of

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<sup>1</sup> UmH 334–337, 339–342. UmH 342 was published in Biggs 1989; the others are still unpublished. They are known to us from photographs and transliterations provided by Walter Sommerfeld. Most regrettably, we have not been allowed to utilize these texts in our work, not even to quote from them, though it is difficult to see what legitimate purpose could be served by such a prohibition. Apparently, some scholars see their right to publish as an open-ended right to prevent publication.



Satellite image of Umm el-Hafriyat, courtesy of Manuel Molina

Chicago conducted an exploratory excavation there in 1977 under the leadership of McGuire Gibson. Further excavations were planned but never carried out, due first to the necessity of salvage operations in the Hamrin region, then to

war and the subsequent embargo. Despite repeated announcements, a final publication of the excavation has not yet appeared, only preliminary reports<sup>4</sup> with no map of the site.

The Sargonic settlement there was located in Area C, which had already been pitted by native diggers. The Chicago team opened a trench of 20×20 meters, exposing, just below the surface, the remains of two houses built rather carelessly in plano-convex mudbrick. These houses included a number of ovens for bread baking, “but others, such as those in Locus 23, contained bones of animals, birds, and fish” (Gibson 1978). It was in one of these ovens that the unbaked literary tablet UmH 342 published in Biggs 1989 was found; but also the other tablet fragments mentioned above were found in the two houses. The houses also contained a number of intra-

<sup>2</sup> So according to Potts 1997, 161 and Steinkeller 2001, 74 and map p. 40 (he tentatively equates it to the Ur III town Ašgipada). Curiously, Gibson does not mention the identification of Umm el-Hafriyat with Adams’ no. 1188 in any of his numerous preliminary reports. For the discovery and publication of an extensive Ur III archive from Urusagrig, see now Owen 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Gibson 1982, 21: Uruk; late Akkadian; Ur III to Old Babylonian (2200–1750); Kassite (c. 1300); Seleucid (c. 300). But both Adams and Gibson himself report evidence of Early Dynastic occupation: Adams 1981, 276, no. 1188; oi.uchicago.edu/OI/IRAQ/dbfiles/ex\_nos.htm s.v. Umm al-Hafriyat, UmH 41 (ED II–III seal cyl.); UmH 102 (ED I); UmH 145 (ED III); and UmH 148 (ED III). These data would appear to have been supplied by Gibson.

<sup>4</sup> Gibson 1978 (electronic edition 2007); 1982, 20–22; 1996 (electronic edition 2007); 1997, 63–64; 1998, 72; 2004, 116–120; 2006, 86–87.

mural burials, where well-executed stamp seals and cylinders had been buried with their owners.<sup>5</sup> A major public building or even temple may lie to the northeast of the excavated area, as indicated by “large, square baked bricks and a fragment of a statue found in this direction” (Gibson 1978). The excavators assigned to the Sargonic settlement a date “within the latter part of the Akkadian period” (Gibson 1978).

#### *The ancient name of the settlement*

The only tablet that may reveal the name of the settlement is **212**, in which a delegation of Gutian leaders are said to have come to a place called Maškan-ili-Akkade, “Settlement of Akkade’s God” (*a-na maš.gán-ni-dingir-a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to imagine why this list of Gutians was drawn up at Umm el-Hafriyat if they didn’t go there. It might be objected that there is no internal evidence that **212** was written at Umm el-Hafriyat; but it was purchased pasted to **78**, which certainly comes from there.

That “God of Akkade” is presumably none other than Naramsin, even Naramsin after he defeated the Great Rebellion and was declared a god by his subjects, if not by himself. This then would have been the time when the Akkadian settlement there was founded. At that time, Umm el-Hafriyat apparently had been long abandoned—the preliminary excavation reports make no mention of an Early Dynastic occupation<sup>7</sup>—so the founders were at liberty to choose any name they liked. (On the “God of Akkade,” see further below.)

#### *The purchased tablets*

The remaining Šuilisu tablets appeared on the market in the 1990s. Most of them were

obtained by Jonathan Rosen and are now on loan in the Rosen Seminar at Cornell University, along with many other ED and Sargonic tablets of diverse origins, mostly from Adab. Others ended up in the Schøyen and the Banca d’Italia collections, while yet others are now in various private collections. We have included here all the tablets we could lay our hands on; but surely some must still remain undetected in private hands. There are two further tablets in a private English collection, too inadequately known to us to be published here. Some of the tablets included here were made available to us by a single dealer in London who was kind enough to let us have them on loan so that we could copy and photograph them before they were sold. Presumably all these tablets were found by native diggers in the unexcavated parts of Area C. The entire site is now said to be lost to field research (Gibson 2006, 86), though how seriously that should be taken is presumably a matter of opinion among archeologists. We have seen no tablets purchased after 2000, which might indicate that any proceeds of clandestine excavations after the 2003 war (Gibson 2006, 86) may have been sold on the expanding Gulf antiquities market or that the site was exhausted by then.

Some of the tablets were surely not found as a single large archive, comparable to the city archives of such Sargonic Sumerian cities as Adab or Girsu. Judging from the excavated contexts of the tablet fragments found by Chicago,<sup>8</sup> many of the texts would rather have been stored in small house archives. However that may be, there can be no doubt that some of the tablets emanate from some central administration of resources, perhaps located in the public building mentioned by Gibson. The designation “the Šuilisu Archive” for the entire corpus is thus somewhat misleading.

<sup>5</sup> See [oi.uchicago.edu/OI/IRAQ/dbfiles/ex\\_nos.htm](http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/IRAQ/dbfiles/ex_nos.htm) s.v. Umm al-Hafriyat for ten cylinder seals and two stamp seals.

<sup>6</sup> As Steinkeller points out (forthcoming, fn. 47), this name is structurally similar to Dur-ili-Akkade, MDP 14, 8 rev. 4.

<sup>7</sup> But cf. fn. 3 above. Even so, the place had probably been abandoned for several generations when Area C was built.

<sup>8</sup> Of course, we have no more precise information on this than “about ten other Old Akkadian tablets [besides the one published Biggs 1989] found in the rooms are of more usual character” (Gibson 1978).

### General properties of the tablets

The tablets were originally unbaked and mostly of a dark brown color, though by now they have all been baked and treated for conservation. They were unusually full of salts, which would indicate that they were found close to the surface. In many cases, baking alone did not make the tablets easier to clean; the dirt on the tablet was very hard and often impossible to remove. But when put into water, most of the dirt would soon fall off by itself, and the rest could easily be brushed off after drying—unless the tablet was baked too hard, which many of them have been. We conclude that the mixture of salts in those tablets melts easily in the firing and permeates the clayey dirt, so that after cooling it is impossible to remove; but once the salts are leached out, the remaining dirt comes off almost by itself. We have never noticed this phenomenon in tablets of other origins.

As is usual with tablets from this period, the Šuilisu tablets are rectangular or square, with only slightly rounded corners and, for the most part, very well written.

### Date of the tablets

No tablet is unambiguously dated beyond the month in which it was written. Most of them are not dated at all. The indirect clues to their dates are the following:

1. The high official Naḥšum-šanat mentioned in **48**, **148**, and **193** is also known from the Nippur “Onion Archive” of Sharkalisharri’s time (see OSP II, p. 197).
2. The Puzur-Aštar *šakkanakkum* mentioned in **193** iv 6 is presumably identical to the one mentioned in Frayne 1993, p. 182, Sharkalisharri Year-Name (d).
3. Several of the people known as kings of Akkade after Sharkalisharri appear as high officials in our texts: Nannum (**78**, **154**); Irqīqi (**48** vii 19, **78**);<sup>9</sup> and perhaps Šu-DUR.ÛL, a scribe (**113** rev. 1, **125** rev. 2).

<sup>9</sup> Also in texts from Umma: MCS IX 252 = Cripps 2010, no. 39; Serota 15 and 16, both unpublished, see Foster 1982a, 109–110 and Foster 1982b, 333.

4. A delegation of Gutian chieftains arrives at Umm el-Hafriyat (**212**).

All these data are consistent with a date late in Sharkalisharri’s reign.

### The calendar

The calendar in use was that of Nippur, and one text (**37**), dated *iti ab-è nibru*<sup>ki</sup>, even mentions this explicitly, perhaps to avoid confusion with *iti ab-è-(zi-ga)*, month V of the Adab calendar. As elsewhere, the year began with *iti bara<sub>2</sub>-zà-gar*, as is apparent in **53**. For some reason, month IX is spelled phonetically: *iti ga-an-ga-an-è* (**53** obv. 12) and *iti ga-an-ga-MUN-è* (**36**). Month VI, usually *iti kin<sup>d</sup>-inanna*, appears as *iti kin<sub>5</sub>(GIŠGAL)-<sup>d</sup>inanna* in **53** obv. 9.

### Language, writing and grammar

The texts are written almost exclusively in Akkadian, with a smattering of Sumerian stock administrative phrases. These latter often exhibit full prefix chains in the verbs, in the manner described by Steinkeller, TMLAT p. 10.

The syllabary is the standard Old Akkadian of Sharkalisharri’s time. The variation between *zàḥ* and *ša-aḥ* in the personal name *ba-ša-aḥ-dingir* (same individual) is apparently new. Noteworthy is the regular use of the value *uz<sub>7</sub>* of EŠ<sub>5</sub> in *yīḥuz* “took” (**161** edge 1; **162** obv. 3, rev. 5, 9; **164** rev. 2; **165** rev. 3; **166** rev. 2).

In the morphology, the infinitive + *-iś* is preferred over *ana* + infinitive:

*akāliś* “(nothing) to eat” **71** rev. 6

*ḥaśāliś* “for threshing” **109** rev. 3

*ḥussusiś* “to be remembered” **17** rev. 3, **117** rev. 10

*kaśāriś* “to be paid back” **195** rev. 16

*ša’āniś* “to be loaded” **92** rev. 7, **115** obv. 2

*warā’iś* “to be brought” **157** rev. 7, **193** iii 5

Some inexplicable errors occur:

*a-na NINDA<sub>2</sub>×X mu-ša-kum*, **123** obv. 6.

*ša uznāka i-ba-šè-ù*, **70** rev. 3 (expected *yibaššea*). Otherwise, the dual is faithfully observed.

*Time span covered by the records*

Practically all the tablets appear to have been written within one year. The monthly “ration lists” (34–44) are dated to month, but there are no two such lists dated to the same month. One tablet (53) sums up barley distributed as rations for 14 months, beginning with the last month of the previous year and ending with the last month “of this year.” In 187 obv. 3–10, reference is made to payments of silver over three years. Two of the records of outstanding deliveries by shepherds (18, 19) carry a lightly incised remark “from last year,” which means that the arrears, still unpaid, were carried over from one year to the next. Otherwise, the clay of the records from the previous year was presumably recycled.

*The rate of recovery of the original corpus*

Under the assumption that the tablets were all, or nearly all, written within one year, we can make an informed guess as to how large a part of those tablets may be represented in this volume. Rations were issued regularly once a month and of the expected twelve tablets recording the expenditures, we have nine (34–42) plus fragments of at least one more (43 and 44, 45 being a list of “extra rations” for month XI). This would indicate that 75 percent of the written output of that one year at Tell Umm el-Hafriyat is actually available in the present volume; but, considering the damaged state of some of the tablets, that may have to be lowered to about 65 percent, or about two-thirds.

Even so, with this reasonably full and many-sided documentation it should be possible to reconstruct a snapshot of this particular bit of the Akkadian Empire in its declining days. It should be possible to work out the internal structure of this settlement between the Sumerian cities, home to four to five hundred people, and what each of them was doing. We get a glimpse of the relations of Umm el-Hafriyat with its immediate neighbors, Urusagrig about 20 kms upstream and Adab a similar distance downstream. Relations with Nippur, some 28 kms away overland, are also attested. Above all, we get a glimpse of

the network of Sargonic imperial government. But all this would take far more time than we have and would result in a book of its own, so only the rudest sketch will be attempted here.

THE INHABITANTS OF  
MAŠKAN-ILI-AKKADE

Since the ration lists enumerate up to a hundred individuals of both sexes, we estimate that the inhabitants in all numbered at least 400 persons. According to the tablets, their economic activities were overwhelmingly agriculture and husbandry, as in other places. Gibson noted that the clay in the area of Umm el-Hafriyat is of an unusual quality and connected this fact to “the presence of much ash and more than a hundred pottery kilns of varying periods scattered over the site. We are dealing with an ancient industrial town.”<sup>10</sup> Of this, the only evidence in the Sargonic tablets is the isolated mention of a potter in 118 rev. 5.

A large register of disbursements (*še’atum*) for the entire year, 48, distinguishes four groups of people:

*guruš* “workmen” (i 1–8)  
*dumu-nita*<sub>2</sub> “boys” (i 9–14, ii 9—iii 3)  
*geme*<sub>2</sub> “female workers” (i 17—ii 6)  
*sagi* “?” (iii 17—iv 1)

The last category, *sagi*, literally “cup-bearer,” is obscure. The prosopography of the three *sagi* named in the text: *i-zu-gíd*, *be-lí-gi*, and *sá-lim-be-lí* yields no convincing picture, nor does that of other people identified in other texts as *sagi*.

The ration lists, 34–53, provide the names of 80 to 100 persons: men, women, and presumably children. Their names appear with only minor variations from one list to the next, and they are given amounts of barley ranging from 20 to 40 liters each month, a few more. Lists dated to months IV (34), V (35), IX (36), X (37), XI (45, “extra rations”), XII (38) are extant, four more having broken dates (39–42). From this, it

<sup>10</sup> Gibson 1978; similarly 1982, 21; 1996; 2004, 117. The number of kilns grew to around 400 in the later reports.

would appear that rations were given out on a year-round basis.

The receivers may be equated to the *guruš* and the *geme*<sub>2</sub>, probably also the *dumu-nita*<sub>2</sub> of 48 above. They include some professionals such as *má-lah*<sub>4</sub> “shipwright” or “skipper,” *aslag*<sub>x</sub> “fuller,” *simug* “blacksmith,” and *šitim* “house builder,” though as a rule, such professional titles are used merely to distinguish namesakes from each other. Others, given as personal names only, can be identified as the farmers (*engar*) or shepherds (*sipa*). For instance, Kur-mu-gam is known from other records as *engar* (explicitly 3, implicitly also 1, 8, and 13); and Úr-ra-ni is a well-known shepherd. Individuals from this group appear also in other contexts: in 31, six of them are described as *hālikūtum* “going,” seven as “not going”; in 167, about thirty men receive 60 liters of barley each *ana hubullim* “on loan”; and in 54, some twenty, mostly women, are given 2 *mana* of wool each.

#### The farmers (*engar*)

The farmers are sometimes referred to as a group (*engar-engar*, literally “all the farmers”). They were under obligation to deliver fixed amounts of threshed barley at harvest time to the magazines; sometimes they failed to fully meet that obligation (13).

#### The shepherds (*sipa*)

Unlike the farmers, the shepherds are never referred to as a group. Further, while a number of people are identified as shepherds in the texts, only a few are mentioned more than once. Two of them, Úr-ra-ni and Eren-da-ni, seem to have been constantly in arrears with their dues (17–22).

#### The “notables”

Another group of inhabitants is more difficult to describe. They do not appear in the ration lists nor do they perform official duties, such as distributing grain or registering incoming harvests. They are people of some means, owners of houses and slaves, but otherwise their activities are unknown. As an example we take Ubil-dunnaš (*u-bil-tu-na-áš*), because his name is

unusual enough to make us confident that the same individual is meant in all occurrences. He and his wife appear in the following contexts:

In 48 v 3 and 133 obv. 9, Ubil-dunnaš receives bread and beer along with other notables. In 59 and 60, Šu-mama instructs Šuilisu that no one should touch Ubil-dunnaš’ estate or servants, but he should give the servants something to eat. In 134 obv. 12, bread and beer is given to his wife.

Presumably, Ubil-dunnaš died during the year of the Šuilisu tablets, and his assets were put on hold until his legal rights and obligations had been sorted out. The bread and beer, to which he was entitled, was given to his widow.

Another example would be that of KAL-ì-le (exact Akkadian reading uncertain). In 149 obv. 2 and 10, he appears among many other notables as receiving beer and another mysterious commodity. In 208, he buys a house for a sum in silver and since the well-known official Lugal-KA receives the payment, he probably bought some public property. In 206 obv. 3, a servant of his receives 10 shekels of silver, along with a servant of Tuttanabšum, Naramsin’s famous daughter and priestess of Enlil. In 168, two farmers in his service receive 1800 liters of barley as a loan (*ana hubullim*). In 192, some of his belongings are registered as stolen. Finally, in 72, he receives from an otherwise unknown <sup>d</sup>*da-gan*-[x]-*da-li*-[x] a surly letter, demanding of him that “the ... of the king should come to me,” and “send me the matter and [whatever] tablets are not there.”

It is clear from these two examples that the “notables” had connections, both with the institutions keeping the records we now have and with outside powers. They were not “private” in the ordinary sense of that word nor were they entirely dependent on any large institution. The legal documents and the witnessed loan documents (192–209) are likely to have involved such people also, conducting their entirely private affairs and keeping their entirely private records.

### The “officials”

A small number of people—Šuilisu, Lugal-KA, Ir’ebum, Asaga, and probably others—appear regularly as distributing rations, authorizing large expenditures of various goods, or receiving and registering incoming amounts of barley or sheep and their wool from farmers and shepherds. They are never titled specifically as officials, only occasionally as scribes (*dub-sar*).

#### *šū-ì-lí-su*

This was a very common name; at least seven different men called Šuilisu appear in the tablets. It is often difficult for us to see which one is meant; it was presumably obvious to the scribes. The Šuilisu who gave name to the entire “archive” was never distinguished from the others by any title, only by his functions. Only his seal (77) gives further information: He was a scribe and the son of *i-da-ba-na*. He appears to have had special ties to a town Baš (*šū-ì-lí-[su ...] ši ba-až<sup>ki</sup>*, 78 obv. 3; *šū-ì-lí-su šū ba-až<sup>ki</sup>*, 91 rev. 5). He went on trips to Adab (146 rev. 5) and Baš (114 rev. 7). Someone complained bitterly about his high-handed and rapacious behavior (78). All this under the assumption that the same Šuilisu is involved in each case.

His functions include distributing the monthly rations (34–44) and checking the number of sheep and lambs, goats and kids, and their products, as they were brought in by the shepherds (17–19, 160). Possibly while he was away, or while he was ill (see below), his duty in that regard was taken over by Ur-zu in 21, and certainly while he was away in Baš by Urda (114). He also made larger disbursements of barley (110, 111, 116 ii 4, iv 13) or sheep (163 obv. 7), often in parallelism with Lugal-KA. He received many letters, among them instructions from a certain Šu-mama regarding Ubil-dunnaš’ estate (59, 60), but in what capacity he did so is not clear. He sent his colleague Asaga a touching request: “In the house of the gods, let them bring offerings for me, and let them weep for me” (77)—apparently, he had fallen seriously ill.

It is likely that he was among the recipients of bread and beer (149 edge 4). The numerous oth-

er transactions involving a Šuilisu are difficult to evaluate, due to the homonymy with others. Surely many of them do concern the scribe *cum* official; but further study is required.

#### *lugal-KA (dub-sar, ir<sub>11</sub>-dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>)*

Like Šuilisu, Lugal-KA authorized disbursements of various kinds and, like him, he received bread and beer on occasion (149 obv. 7, 152). But more than others, he took care of consignments to places outside of Umm el-Hafriyat. In 161, a record of miscellaneous transactions of sheep and silver, he sends four sheep and half a *mana* of silver to Adab, and further, one sheep of a certain sort, seven (ordinary) sheep, one lamb, and one ox, to the king (rev. 6–11).<sup>11</sup> He is, therefore, mentioned in connection to shipments of goods (45 rev.; 130). He alone is associated with the mysterious entity *mu-ša-kum* (gen. *mu-ša-ki-im*), perhaps some storage facility (107, 117; cf. also 123). He appears as a witness in two legal documents with the title *dub-sar* (195 rev. 8; 196 rev. 11), and in two more with his full title “scribe, servant of Akkade’s god” (203 obv. 8; 205 rev. 1). Ten people under his care (*šū-ut* lugal-KA) receive one *sila* each of bread (132). No letters are addressed to him.

#### *ir-e-bum*

Ir’ebum, who is never distinguished by any title, is almost exclusively concerned with the receipt and storage of incoming harvests of barley (13), and the disbursements of the same commodity from two magazines, *é-gu<sub>4</sub>* and *é-ba-za-za*, once written *ká-ba-za-za* (53 rev. 2; 118–121; 128–130). He does not receive bread and beer, nor is any letter written to him.

The *ir-e-bum má-lah<sub>4</sub>* (37 iv 6) and *ir-e-bum muḫaldim* (116 iii 9) we take to be namesakes.

<sup>11</sup> This may be connected to 144 rev. 1–3, where Ur-ěš-sá, perhaps Lugal-KA’s brother, is given 10 liters of flour, “when he went to the king, to Adab.” This again may be connected to OIP 14, 150 = SIA 662 (Yang 1989, 215), recording a visit by the king and queen to Adab.

*a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga*

Asaga is frequently mentioned in close association with Lugal-KA, but his duties are difficult to delineate. In **151**, he takes charge of something brought in jars from Nagsu. In **122**, modest amounts of flour and beer bread are issued on his authority. In **132** rev., 14 people dependent on him (*šu-ut a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga*) are given one *sila* of bread each. In **51**, he receives 9 *gur* of barley, some of which he distributes as rations to some of the usual recipients of the ration lists. In **100**, he receives on two occasions some 15 *gur* of barley, some of it measured out by Lugal-KA. In **207**, he buys a slave girl. The only letter written to him is **77**, in which Šuilisu asks him to have offerings and wailings made on his behalf in the temple.

A namesake of his was apparently a woman, the sister of Ubarum (**133** rev. 1).

*The wardu šarrim, the wardu ili Akkade*

We take the “servants of Akkade’s god” or the “servants of the king” to be synonymous, insofar as “Akkade’s god” was one of Naramsin’s titles.<sup>12</sup> We further assume that the people so titled kept their title also under Sharkalisharri, even if he is not known so far to have been called thus.<sup>13</sup>

The “servants of the king” are sometimes referred to as a group, as in **126** iv 7–9, where they receive 21.4 *gur* of barley and are distinguished from “the cultivators” (*engar-engar*). This relatively large amount of barley indicates that there was a considerable number of these servants. Similarly, in **172**, they receive 1 *gur*-*Akkade* as an interest-free loan (*ana hubuttatim*). Named persons described as “servants of Akkade’s god” (*ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*) include some scribes, among them the well-known Lugal-KA. They are often found among the witnesses of legal transactions (**202** obv. 7–rev. 3; **205** obv. 10–rev. 2; **206** rev. 11–14). Otherwise, they are

hard to distinguish from anyone else. Another group of five named persons are described as *šu-ut dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* (**148** obv. 25), perhaps some cultic personnel. The relation between these “servants” and what we have termed “notables” above is not evident.

Outside of Umm el-Hafriyat, the titles are surprisingly rare. In SIA p. 333, A 806 (Adab, Mound III, Bizaza’s archive, photo CDLI P217534), barley rations are issued to “servants of the King” (*ir<sub>11</sub> lugal*). In ITT 5, 9289 i 4 (Girsu), mention is made of *šu-ut é dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*, along with *šu-ut é<sup>d</sup>an-[nu]-ni-tim* and *šu-ut é<sup>d</sup>inanna*—quite fitting for Akkade. In CT 50, 148 ii 5 (unknown origin, acquired in 1928), a *lú dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* receives bread and beer together with visitors from a number of cities.

*The temple?*

As mentioned above, Gibson sensed that a temple or some other public building might have stood to the northeast of the area excavated by him. The textual evidence for such a public building is weak and inconsistent. According to Gibson 1978, “there are mentions in the tablets [found by Chicago] of ‘the temple’ but no god’s name is given.” In **77**, a “house of the gods” (*é dingir-dingir*) is documented, where Šuilisu asks that prayers and offerings be brought on his behalf. A *sanga* “temple administrator” is mentioned in four texts (**119** rev. 2; **125** rev. 3; **126** iii 16; **162** rev. 7), always without name, so there was only one man with this title. Finally, an off-hand reference to a “temple of Inanna” is made in **159** obv. 12, perhaps also in **65** obv. 6. We would expect that there was a temple for “the god of Akkade” with a cult for the founder of the settlement and its eponymous protector; but unless such is implied in the five *šu-ut dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* of **148** obv. 12 (which is anything but certain), there is no visible trace of it.

*The administrative structure*

It is difficult to discern any chain of command; and there is no clear figurehead. The main impression we get from the texts, as exemplified above, is one of extremely fluid borders between the various sorts of people. It is more

<sup>12</sup> Frayne 1993, p. 165ff., 2003, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2020, 2023.

<sup>13</sup> He is once titled “Akkade’s heroic god” (*dingir ur-sag a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*) by Lugal-giš, *ensi* of Adab (Frayne 1993, p. 201, 2005).



like a group of friends and relatives, at times standing in for each other, than a well-organized institution. This is not Sumerian bureaucracy. But the problem remains that we have no idea who wrote the tablets we have, why, and for whom. We suspect that in many cases, the “official” involved wrote them himself and the unique instance of the first person (*anāku akšur*, **188** obv. 4) may be a telling slip of the tongue.<sup>14</sup> The letter **78** informs us that Šuilisu brought his tablets to the province governor Nannum and, in this case at least, it would appear that the records were kept for officials residing elsewhere to inspect. The same impression is given by some other letters (**58–72**). They are written by outsiders (see below) to “officials” at Umm el-Hafriyat, with instructions about agriculture, shipments of barley, disposition of goods, requests of information, etc. Since they are addressed to several people besides Šuilisu, they add to the impression that there was no single representative responsible for the community as a whole.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

##### *The royal family*

Even though the king and his family never appear personally in our texts—the closest are the trips to Adab to see the king recorded in **144** and **161** and the disbursements on occasion of the “royal progress” recorded in **155**—their staffs and other servants are mentioned quite often and in a wide variety of contexts. This suggests that the community at Umm el-Hafriyat enjoyed a fairly high standing in the imperial hierarchy.

The king owned domain land within the fields belonging to the establishment (**61** obv. 4) and a mill (**110** obv. 4). Besides the *ir<sub>11</sub>-lugal* already discussed, a *šabra-é lugal* is mentioned, along with the temple(?) of Inanna, in connection to huge tracts of land in **65** obv. 8–9. Three named “soldiers of the king” (*aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal*, exact meaning uncertain) appear as witnesses in as

many legal documents (**194** obv. 17; **198** obv. 5; **199** rev. 2); and also a “trade agent of the king” has the same function (**194** obv. 18). As these documents concern inhabitants of Umm el-Hafriyat, it is likely that these royal servants were physically present there.

The queen (*nin*) is the recipient or owner of 120 *gur-mah* of barley (**112** obv. 2)—a sort of taxation? Apart from this, a number of people are described as “of the queen” (PN *šu nin*). Some of those appear as witnesses in legal documents (**197** rev. 2; **201** obv. 10 and 11; **205** rev. 4) and include a smith, a cultivator, and a shepherd. One Esusu *ir<sub>11</sub>-nin*, a seeming parallel to the numerous *ir<sub>11</sub>-lugal*, is provided with clothes (**148** obv. 19) and is there described as one of the *ha-bi-tu-tum*, a term of uncertain meaning, though the context suggests high rank. Two men “of the queen” are involved in a legal dispute over a loan of silver in **196**. Finally, in **174** rev. 5, Ursa “of the queen” receives 4 *gur* of barley as a loan.

An unnamed son of the king appears in **198** rev. 2 in an unclear context.

Tuttanabšum,<sup>15</sup> the famous daughter of Naramsin and priestess of Enlil, is represented at Umm el-Hafriyat in much the same way as the queen. A *šabra šu* T. occurs in **147**; an *ir<sub>11</sub>* T. in **206** obv. 6; and two men, both described as *šu* T., appear in **148** obv. 17 and in **209** rev. 4, the latter as a witness.

##### *Regional officials*

As understood here, a “regional official” is a representative of the Akkadian imperial province government with more than purely local authority. There are rather many titles that might fit that description and we are yet very far from a real understanding of the structure of Akkadian government of the Sumerian South. Two of those titles are relevant in the present context: the *šakkanakkum* (written KIŠ.NITA<sub>2</sub>, conventionally read in Sumerian as *šagina*) and the *šu-kallāe* (written *šu-TE.LÁ* or *šu-LÁ.TE*, *ši-*

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bridges 1981, 419, for a discussion of a similar case in the Mesag Archive (BIN 8, 135).

<sup>15</sup> We accept the interpretation of the name offered by Sommerfeld 2011, 290–292 as *tuttanābšum* “she is always pleasing to him.”

TE.LÁ in the genitive; in Sumerian contexts written as a pseudo-Akkadian loanword *šu-gal<sub>5</sub>-lá-um*).

The exact meaning of *šakkanakkum* is as yet unclear. He was clearly a high-ranking official, since Sharkalisharri could entrust Puzur-Ashtar the *šakkanakkum* with finishing the project of rebuilding Ekur;<sup>16</sup> and some of the kings of the “who was king, who was not king?” period had been *šakkanakku* under Sharkalisharri. However, the customary translation “province governor” is only plausible in connection to the outlying provinces of the Akkadian Empire, such as Susa or Mari. Too many are attested in the core area to fit that translation.

In the Šuilisu archive, four *šakkanakku* occur: Idi-ilum, Puzur-Ashtar, Nannum, and Ubarum. Idi-ilum is involved in the “royal progress” in **155**. Puzur-Ashtar, also known from the year-name just quoted, is mentioned in **193** iv 6 as a remote figure—and the proceedings themselves described in that text presumably took place in Nippur rather than in Umm el-Hafriyat. Nannum, who later became king, is mentioned twice: in **154** rev. 1, he receives a lamb, a sheep, one basket of bread, and two jars of beer; and in **78** obv. 13, Šuilisu is said to have shown him his records. Ubarum, along with Nannum, receives two sheep and a basket of bread in **154** rev. 3. It is unclear what these disbursements to Nannum and Ubarum really are—taxes to absent notables or provisions to present ones?

The *šu-kallāe* (literally, “he of the policemen”) was primarily responsible for conscripting labor,<sup>17</sup> but at least one of them, Ilum-dan, enjoyed far greater esteem than the title alone could confer. Ilum-dan is known from the Nippur Onion Archive<sup>18</sup> and accompanied the king and his retinue on the “royal progress” to Lagash, where he was treated to the same honors as were other dignitaries.<sup>19</sup> He appears once in the Šuilisu archive, where a messenger of his

participates in a lawsuit (**194** rev. 15). Five more holders of the title occur in the Šuilisu tablets; but only one, Dudu, is known from elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

#### Other cities

Visitors to Umm el-Hafriyat hailed from as far away as Kutha (**148** obv. 14) and Assur (**199** obv. 4 and 6); and even a delegation of Gutian chiefs arrived there (**212**). From neighboring Adab came a city elder (**137** obv. 8), a carpenter (**191** rev. 8) and a house-builder (**195** obv. 14). In general, Adab, half a day’s travel downstream, appears to have had the closest ties to Umm el-Hafriyat.

Baš is another city that appears often in the Šuilisu tablets, presumably situated on the Tigris not far from Sippar (Steinkeller 2001, 79). This may seem far away—some 180 kms upstream—but Šuilisu himself probably had his roots there. The relatively frequent occurrence of this far-away town in the Šuilisu tablets may thus have had personal reasons, as may the shipment of 11 *gur* of wheat there (**92** rev. 9). The occurrence in **145** rev. 2 is not clear—who went there?

Nippur, some 28 kms away overland, was also important at Umm el-Hafriyat, but why is not entirely clear. That **193** mentions the city is easy to explain, because Naḥšum-šanat had been attacked in Egal-eden, a town with connections to Nippur but not to Umm el-Hafriyat. The mystery is how one Šuilisu was involved (see the comment to the text and below, p. 47 for an attempt at explanation). In **66**, Šuilisu is instructed to send 20 *gur* of barley to Nippur; and in **83**, *mirabile dictu*, onions are brought to Nippur. Nippur’s prestige is presumably the reason its calendar was followed at Umm el-Hafriyat; but what exactly this implies is not clear.

Several other towns and cities<sup>21</sup> are mentioned in the tablets; but these relations appear to have been of a more incidental nature.

<sup>16</sup> Frayne 1993, 182, year-name (d).

<sup>17</sup> See the preliminary study in Westenholz 2004, 602.

<sup>18</sup> OSP 2, 128 i 13; 130 i 10; 132 ii 2; cf. *ibid* p. 94f.

<sup>19</sup> CT 50, 172 iii 3; ITT 1, 1472 i 9; RTC 127 ii 8.

<sup>20</sup> CT 50, 154 rev. 1–2; ITT 2/2, 5709 rev. 1, both from Girsu.

<sup>21</sup> Gibson 1978 states that the tablets excavated by Chicago record “deliveries of flour, grain, and other commodities from such places as Adab and Lagash.”

*The writers of letters from the outside*

The 21 letters in the Šuilisu archive (58–78) fall into two groups: one containing instructions, the other petitions. The latter are full of Old Akkadian courtesy, the former dispense almost entirely with such niceties. The relative ranks of the correspondents are thus presumably revealed.

All the letters containing instructions (58–72) appear to have been sent from somewhere other than Umm el-Hafriyat; but their authors remain largely unknown to us, as their names are not very distinctive, though clearly all Akkadian. If only we had the seal impressions on their envelopes! As it is, we must await a more comprehensive analysis of the entire southern Babylonian written evidence, once that gets published, not to mention the discovery of Akkade and its complete publication—all unlikely to happen anytime soon. Their authors give orders about fields and their produce within the administration of Umm el-Hafriyat as if it were their own (61, 64, 65, 69, 70) and are evidently annoyed when their instructions are not followed exactly (62, 72). They are clearly very powerful men.

One such man may be Sikkur, the author of 61–65. He wrote one letter to Šuilisu (61), one to Šuilisu and Imi-ilum (62), and two more to Imi-ilum alone (64, 65), all about fields, and one (63), also to Imi-ilum, instructing him to prepare a sumptuous meal for a visitor. He may be identical to *zi-gur-gi*, who appears as one of the king's retinue at Lagash.<sup>22</sup> In 180 rev. 3, the addressee Imi-ilum is described as “the land surveyor of Sikkur” (*sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> zi-gur*). The other senders of the same kind of letters may be unknown to us, but certainly were not to those who received their occasionally angry letters. I suggest that these letters came from the beneficiaries of royal largesse, the owners of huge landed estates inherited by loyal followers of the king from their former owners who had perished in the Great Rebellion against Naramsin. To the king they owed both their large estates and their powerful positions; and they may well have

accompanied their master on his “royal progress” to the Sumerian cities. Their authority was based on personal relations to those above, as well as to those below, rather than on a hierarchy of titles and formalized responsibilities. In some such manner, position of the humble draft official Ilum-dan could rise to be included in the king's retinue on the “royal progress” and hold great authority in Nippur and Lagash.

*Conclusions*

The overall impression resulting from this hasty review of the external relations of the Umm el-Hafriyat settlement is one of complete integration within the Akkadian provincial administration. Šuilisu and his colleagues had regular contacts, both to representatives of the royal family and to other members of the ruling officialdom. That did not prevent them from pursuing their own personal ends.

COMPARISON TO OTHER AKKADIAN  
INTER-CITY CENTERS

In Westenholz 1999, 50 and fn. 167, it was claimed that, in the wake of the Sumerian rebellions against Rimush, the kings of Akkade established centers between the Sumerian city-states, rather than trying to install “sons of Akkade” as governors there, as Sargon had done. As examples of such centers, I mentioned the “Semitic Quarter” at Adab, the “Mesag Archive” near Zabala, the “Lugal-ra Archive” somewhere in the Lagash province, and the “Šuilisu Archive” at Umm el-Hafriyat near Nippur. There were surely more Akkadian implants in the south that have yet to be identified and scattered remains of their archives may be among the texts of Chapter II in this volume. The purpose of such centers would have been to collect taxes and keep a watchful eye on the former rebels. The main reason for the assumption that a conscious strategy of nesting Akkadian centers in the Sumerian countryside was involved was the high proportion of texts written in Akkadian (50 to 95 percent), in contrast to the almost exclusively Sumerian language of record characteristic of the city administrations.

<sup>22</sup> RTC 127 iii 22'; CT 50, 172 iii 5; ITT 1, 1472 ii 8'.

In the light of more recent evidence, this idea needs some modification. While it may remain true that we are dealing with Akkadian implants into the Sumerian south, it seems that none of the four settlements can be dated earlier than Naramsin and that the texts we have all date to the reign of Sharkalisharri. Nothing suggests that the settlements collected taxes from the cities and there is no indication of reports sent to Akkade. The main impression left by the texts is that, with the exception of the “Semitic Quarter” at Adab and to some degree the settlement at Umm el-Hafriyat, these settlements went about their local businesses, agriculture and husbandry, paid their taxes to Akkade, and had only incidental connections to the outside world. The four settlements mentioned above may have differed considerably from one another and a brief description of each might illustrate that point.

#### The “Semitic Quarter”

The “Semitic Quarter” at Adab (Mound III, see Wilson 2012, 53–63, pls. 6–18) is the only one known so far to be located in a city center. Like Umm el-Hafriyat, Mound III was a residential area, with burials under the floors.<sup>23</sup> These burials, some of them quite rich, contained the owners’ seal cylinders among other belongings, again as in Umm el-Hafriyat. Tablets were found in small groups of ten to twenty in the houses, much as they seem to have been found at Umm el-Hafriyat; but only one of these groups can be identified today: the records of a certain Bizaza (Wilson 2012, 56). In addition, four more tablets can be identified as coming from Mound III (Wilson 2012, 61). They are all written in Akkadian and reflect a wide geographical horizon. Bizaza receives a consignment of barley from Umma (SIA 717) and an inspection of animals was recorded in Enlilegara, “in the Lagash province” (SIA 651). More-

<sup>23</sup> Wilson 2012, 60, argued that Mound III was an “Akkadian administrative and light industrial complex” (so the title of Chapter 7, p. 53), similar to the “Northern Palace” at Eshnunna. In our opinion, the burials under the floors disprove that contention.

over, Bizaza’s records are often phrased as if written somewhere else: in SIA 717 rev., the barley is said to be in Adab (*bí-za-[za] im-[hur] in UD.NUN.[KI] i-[ba-šê]*); in SIA 910, barley *iš-dè bí-za-za i-ba-šê in UD.NUN.[KI]*; and in SIA 1099, barley is “issued by Bizaza in Adab” (*è bí-za-za in UD.NUN.KI*). It would seem that these records were designed to be clear also to a reader far from Adab. It is worthy of note that SIA 806 is the only tablet from outside Umm el-Hafriyat to mention “servants of the king” (see above). There are no letters or legal documents; but with a corpus of only 12 tablets,<sup>24</sup> this may not be significant. In addition to the tablets, about 33 seal impressions on clay were found, of which a paltry three<sup>25</sup> can be identified:

A 889 = Rohn 2011, 225 = Wilson 2012, pl. 9e. Inscription: [<sup>d</sup>na-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU / lugal / ki-ib-ra-ti]m // ar-ba-im / ur-mes / dub-sar / ir<sub>11</sub>-zu

A 917 = Rohn 2011, 235 = Wilson 2012, pl. 10a. Inscription: sar-ga-lí-lugal-rí / lugal / a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup> // kir-ba-núm / dub-sar / ir<sub>11</sub>-zu.

A 1167 = Rohn 2011, 234 = Wilson 2012, pl. 10b. Inscription: sar-ga-lí-lugal-rí / lugal / a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup> // tu-da-sar-lí-bí-iš / nin / i-sar-be-lí // dub-sar / šabra é-ti-sa / ir<sub>11</sub>-za.

At least A 917 and A 1167 do not look like sealings of some consignment, rather as bullae or test rollings. Three such impressions are said to have been found with Bizaza’s tablets (Wilson 2012, 55), one of them, unidentified, illustrated in Banks 1912, 307.

The impression one gets from this defective epigraphic evidence is one of a community with

<sup>24</sup> SIA 717, 806, 910, 948, 966, 967, 976, 1099 (all Bizaza’s records); SIA 651, 696, 709, 974, discounting the two ED/ES tablets A 781 and 907 and the ED literary texts A 645+649 and 1116. Of course, more tablets were found there—Yang 1987, 8 calculated, on the basis of Banks’ daily record of finds, the total number as 57+ whole tablets and 84 fragments.

<sup>25</sup> Yang 1987, 11; Wilson 2012, pl. 94d (A 867 not from Mound III). Perhaps some of the impressions in Istanbul (see Rohn 2011, p. 367) can be identified also in Banks’ records.

connections far and wide, and familiar with the highest dignitaries of the empire, while the relations with the city administration of Adab are weakly attested at best.

### *The 'Lugal-ra' establishment*

The 103 tablets that have been identified as belonging to this outfit have been surveyed and in part published in CUSAS 26, p. 148 and nos. 175–215.<sup>26</sup> They appear to have come from some unidentified site in the Lagash region. The best indication of their date is the mention of Iškun-dagan, the queen's major-domo under Sharkalisharri, in Limet 1973, no. 14. He is also the sender of the letter FAOS 19, Gir 19 to Lugal-ra.

Lugal-ra, the titular head of the community, was the queen's land surveyor (*sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> nin*); but otherwise, the texts reflect a decidedly local economy. With the exception of FAOS 19, Gir 19, the few letters (Limet 1973, nos. 48 and 49; CUSAS 26, 187) are brief and unrevealing. Limet 1973, 48 and 49 are instructions by a certain Dada—unfortunately a very common name—to Lugal-ra. They would appear to have come from the outside and from a higher level. CUSAS 26, 187 is rather a petition; but both sender and addressee are unknown. There are no records of lawsuits or other litigation, and there are no witnessed loan documents. The only tablets of other than purely administrative or economic contents are the seven mathematical exercises (Limet 1973, nos. 36–39; MAD 5, 112; Whiting 1984). The geographical horizon is also quite limited: the place names found in the archive—Ambar, E-igi-il, Girsu, Gu-edena, and Sirara<sup>27</sup>—all refer to places within the

Lagash province. Akkade is not mentioned even once.

The connections to higher levels of authority are tenuous and, apart from Lugal-ra's title, royalty is totally absent. In fact, Lugal-ra, the queen's land surveyor, would himself have been one of many among the people appearing in the Šuilisu tablets (see above). A representative of Iškun-dagan appears in Limet 1973, no. 14; and Ilum-dan, the *šu-kallāe* well known from Girsu and Nippur records, appears in CUSAS 26, 194. Records of taxes paid to Akkade, such as are found in the "Mesag Archive," are rare; Limet 1973, no. 14 may be one. Likewise, a lone shipment of slightly more than a *gur* of flour is recorded in CUSAS 26, 202. But then, the letter from Iškun-dagan to Lugal-ra (FAOS 19, Gir 19, lines 38–40) may hint that Lugal-ra was behind in his regular deliveries.

In comparison to the Šuilisu tablets, the "Lugal-ra Archive" is downright boring. Nothing there gets stolen; there is no litigation about the ownership of donkeys; nobody makes any declarations under oath by the life of the king; no Gutians come visiting. The only indication that this was not simply a rural settlement in Southern Mesopotamia is the fact that about half the texts are written in Akkadian, even if nearly everybody, including Lugal-ra himself, had Sumerian names. This, along with Lugal-ra's title, marks the settlement as an Akkadian implant in the Sumerian south, but to all appearances a rather unimportant one. A real analysis of the archive may, of course, modify that drab impression.

<sup>26</sup> CT 50, 182, acquired by the British Museum in 1967, should be added, in view of the detailed prosopographical study in Limet 1973, p. 16f. The agreement with Limet 1973, nos. 31 and 33, also in subject matter, is conclusive. There is nothing to support Sollberger's attribution of the tablet to Lagash (CT 50, p. 9), except that Sollberger undoubtedly would have ascribed the entire Lugal-ra Archive to "Lagash" (i.e., Girsu).

<sup>27</sup> For references, see CUSAS 26, p. 237.

### The “Me-ság Archive”

One hundred twenty-four of the 138 tablets<sup>28</sup> that have been identified so far as belonging to this archive have been analyzed and, to a large extent, published in Susan Bridges’ doctoral dissertation at Yale University (Bridges 1981). The tablets were acquired by purchase “from one dealer over a period of two or three years in the early 1930s” (Bridges 1981, p. 3).

They surely come from a small site away from the major city centers (Foster 1993, 444); but which site has been the subject of some discussion. Steinkeller argued that the texts came from Sagub, a town within the Lagash province, or that at least Mesag’s estate was located there.<sup>29</sup> A reliable clue may be offered by the place names occurring in the texts and what is said about them. Zabala is mentioned more frequently than any other place and fairly small amounts of various commodities are sent there,<sup>30</sup> while Umma is mentioned but once.<sup>31</sup> Lagash is also often mentioned,<sup>32</sup> but always as seen from the

outside. Particularly instructive is BIN 8, 192: this text registers large tracts of land in various locations within the Lagash province, summed up as lands “in the territory of Lagash that Mesag holds.” The conclusion would be that Mesag’s estate lay within the Umma province, on the branch of the Tigris that led from Zabala towards Girsu,<sup>33</sup> and that Zabala was the nearest major center. Sagub may have been the nearest town within the Lagash province. That Mesag held land within both provinces has never been disputed.

The date of this archive cannot be established more precisely than the “Classical Sargonic period,” which means the second half of Naramsin’s reign and all of Sharkalisharri’s.<sup>34</sup>

Mesag himself, a scribe and land surveyor, must have spent a good deal of his time traveling. He went at least three times to Akkade,<sup>35</sup> and trips to Kuara and Urusagrig are recorded.<sup>36</sup>

About half the tablets are written in Akkadian or in a mixture of the two languages. They deal exclusively with economic and administrative matters. No letters<sup>37</sup> or legal documents have been identified among them. The only contact with Akkadian officials or representatives of the king or queen appears to have been with a certain Dur-mubbi, servant of the queen(?) (*bād-mu-bí dub-sar ir<sub>11</sub> ru-ba-tim*), who may have resided at Zabala. On the other hand, there is an extensive “tax file” (Bridges 1981, 363–417)

<sup>28</sup> Of S. Bridges’ 126 tablets, two (BIN 8, 214 and 272) should probably be eliminated. On the other hand, BIN 8, 198 (see Foster 1985, 27 and fn. 19) and Ellis 1979, 51, BMC 15, should be added, along with TMLAT nos. 33, 35–45. If one follows Steinkeller’s suggestion (TMLAT p. 9) to include also the “*udu á*” texts (for which suggestion Steinkeller offered no evidence), TMLAT no. 34 and CUSAS 26, nos. 295 and 296 should also be added.

<sup>29</sup> TMLAT p. 8–10. Steinkeller went even further, identifying the Mesag of the archive with Mesag, the contemporary *ensi* of Umma, and suggesting that, regardless of where Mesag’s estate might have been, his archives were a part of the central Umma administration. Foster 1993, 444 objected that the Mesag Archive was discovered in the 1930s while the central Umma archives had been discovered some decades earlier. It might further be objected that Steinkeller accounts neither for the use of Akkadian in the Mesag Archive nor for the total absence of *mu-iti* dates. Instead, two tablets dated with year-names, BIN 8, 117 and 137, are known.

<sup>30</sup> BIN 8, 215, 216, 220, 247.

<sup>31</sup> NBC 7022 viii 3’, see Bridges 1981, 471.

<sup>32</sup> BIN 8, 129, 146, 259, 291.

<sup>33</sup> See the map in Steinkeller 2001, p. 50.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Bridges 1981, 17–19, to which we can add nothing. On the contrary, BIN 214 is too weakly linked to the Mesag Archive to bear the weighty conclusions she draws from it.

<sup>35</sup> BIN 8, 135, 146, 165.

<sup>36</sup> BIN 8, 263 and 137.

<sup>37</sup> The method used by S. Bridges to determine whether a text belonged to the Mesag Archive or not (see Bridges 1981, 4–6) would practically ensure that no letters would be included in her study, so we asked B. Foster as curator if any letters were acquired by Yale along with the Mesag tablets. He replied (Oct. 14, 2014): “I don’t believe there are any letters in the Mesag group at Yale.”

recording disbursements of goods sent ultimately to Akkade,<sup>38</sup> presumably via Zabala.

### *Conclusions*

It will be immediately apparent that the four Akkadian establishments so inadequately surveyed here are quite different from one another. The closest similarity is between the Šuilisu tablets and the “Semitic Quarter” at Adab. Otherwise, the only feature they have in common is their Akkadianness; and at Lugal-ra’s estate Akkade seems very far away. Mesag and Šuilisu apparently both travelled often, but to different places; Šuilisu never went to Akkade, as far as we know.

Altogether, the tablets from these centers vividly illustrate that they were somehow embedded in a network of higher authorities, presumably landed Akkadian gentry. But the purpose of the “Akkadian establishments” themselves remains to be elucidated.

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<sup>38</sup> Ellis 1979, 51, BMC 15, recording the shipment of 580 *gur-mah* of barley and an unknown quantity of emmer to Akkade, is one of the individual vouchers summed up in tablets like BIN 8, 122, 123 and NBC 8960. It confirms the character as tax records of such tablets.

## B. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIVIDUAL TEXT GROUPS

Lucio Milano

## PRIMARY PRODUCTION

*Agriculture*

Both agriculture and husbandry are scantily documented in the “Šuilisu Archive.” This is particularly unfortunate since the economy of Umm el-Hafriyat was basically grounded on these activities. As a result, information about the amount of tilled area exploited by the local population is very limited, as well as the distribution of workmen and tenants among the various districts (*agar*<sub>4</sub>) in which it was subdivided.

The only text providing a sort of cadastre, i.e., the entire list of fields assigned to farmers in a given district, is text no. **I**, which deals with the Maš-da-lu district (vi 29), also mentioned in a letter (**73** obv. 4) and in a few other texts (**8**; **10**; **11**). Here, as well as in **2**, plots of land are described according to their surface. All fields are associated with the name of a farmer. Occasionally, this individual is followed in turn by a second individual (*šuku* PN<sub>2</sub> “for the maintenance of PN<sub>2</sub>” / *éš-gâr* PN<sub>2</sub> “work assignment of PN<sub>2</sub>”). Field dimensions are variable, ranging from **1** to **11** *iku* for most of the plots, except for a few cases in which larger areas are attested. In particular, the first entry of the list refers to the maintenance field of Šuilisu, consisting of over 27 *iku* of land. It is difficult to ascertain whether text No. **2**—also listing land units of different qualities “for the maintenance of Šuilisu”—refers to the same area. In this case the name of the tiller (*apin-lá*) and that of a man possibly in charge of the harvest (Namtarre: cf. **119** rev. 7) are provided. Both in **1** and in **3** the expected yield per surface unit (n *tuku*: possibly measured according to capacity measures) is added. The notation system is, however, unclear.

Names of the farmers are mostly those occurring in the lists of persons, in the ration lists, and in the cereal disbursement records (**118–131**).

In **3** the surface of each of four plots of land (*a-šā*) is obtained by multiplying its short side (*sag*) by its long side (*ús*), involving the presence of a

surveyor (*gána gíd-da* PN) who is mentioned in the text along with the farmer in charge of the seed for sowing. Yield rates are different for each plot. The name of Šuilisu, occurring at the end of the list of the fields, probably refers to the entire group of fields (in the area called Maš-da-lu-gal), not just to the last one in the sequence.

Similar reckonings can be found in **4** (“surveyed land,” followed by the name of the “recorder,” *sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>*), **5** and **6**, where the “northern” and the “eastern” side of the field are taken into consideration. Also in this case fields units are defined either as “maintenance fields” or as “work assignment” of an individual.

Seed for sowing (*še-numun*) is consigned to farmers by the household administration (as in **7**, where Izilum must be the same person who receives fairly high quantities of barley in the *è-a* disbursement records).

Tools or other material are also centrally and periodically distributed to farmers for agricultural purposes in different districts (*agar*<sub>4</sub> *Maš-da-lu* / *gana<sub>2</sub>-bar-sa*) and for different types of land (**8**). A delivery of saws is attested in **179** and sickles (old and new) are distributed among farmers in **178** (see in particular rev. 6–8: 22 copper sickles: *si-tum ki šu-ì-lí-su* “what remains with Šuilisu”).

*Harvest and storage*

Harvest is processed in threshing areas (**9**; **12** giving account of arrears payments) and shipped to storage facilities serving different districts. Texts **10** and **11**, for example, provide total amounts of different sorts of threshed barley (25.1.2 *gsg* and 6.1.4 *gsg*, respectively) coming from three districts (*agar*<sub>4</sub> *Maš-da-lu*, *agar*<sub>4</sub> *a-šā-mah* and *agar*<sub>4</sub> *en-líl*) and put under the control of an *engar*.

In terms of accounting procedure, grain storage goes through the following steps, clearly described by text No. **13**:

- a. loads of grain are brought in (*mu-DU*) by the farmers (both Kurmugam and Kil-



- ilum are known as *engars* in other field texts and in personnel rosters; Enkika is well known in the ration lists);
- b. a higher-rank official takes in charge the grain (Ir'ebum *yimḥur*);
  - c. the same official is responsible for heaping up the load into a storehouse called the “Ox-barn” (*ana é-gu<sub>4</sub> yiššapik*);
  - d. a final note is drawn up about the product arrears still due by the farmers. At the moment the barley is brought in by the individual farmers, the balance is made between the surplus of the harvest (according to expectations) and the arrears due from the past year (*diri / lá-ì Kurmugam*).

Ir'ebum is not only in charge of the “Ox-barn,” but also of the storage facility called “House of Bazaza” (or “Gate of Bazaza”). In **14** very large amounts of barley—187.2.3 *gur-mah* and 133 *gur*, respectively—are received by him in these two storehouses. The role of this personage in relationship to the harvest activity and, in particular, to the managing of the “Ox-barn” and of the “House of Bazaza” is further attested by other texts showing that he was in control of the grain flow in and out of the storehouse. Expenditures are documented by the following occurrences:

- 118:** (grain for various purposes) *še šu é-gu<sub>4</sub> è-a Ir'ebum*  
**120:** (grain) *è-a Ir'ebum in é-gu<sub>4</sub>*  
**128:** (beer bread from the *é-gu<sub>4</sub>*) *è-a Ir'ebum*  
**119:** (grain for various purposes) *še é Bazaza è-a Ir'ebum*  
**129:** (grain of the “Gate of Bazaza”) *è-a Ir'ebum*  
**130:** (grain) *è-a Ir'ebum šu é Bazaza*  
**121:** (grain from undetermined storehouse) *è šu Ir'ebum*

It is very probable that the entire range of activities concerned with the storage of harvested barley in Umm el-Hafriyat was basically entrusted to two people: Ir'ebum—as we already saw—and Iti-Adad. The latter is attested

in a brief account (**15**), parallel to the Ir'ebum account **14**, as the sole recipient of 12 *gur* and 135 *sila<sub>3</sub>* of barley; moreover, Ir'ebum and Iti-Adad, one along with the other, are the officials in charge of the overall grain expenditures to be used as monthly food rations for a span of fourteen months in **53** (see below: *Ration lists*).

In conclusion, the evidence from the field texts gives us a picture of a single large estate subdivided into “districts” and managed by a number of “farmers” working for a household. Except for a few occurrences, a large portion of the labor force actually working in the fields seems to be practically absent from this picture. As we will see later, both the lists of personnel and the lists of rations of the “Šuilisu Archive” take into consideration men and women belonging to the middle-ranking population, farmers and female workers concerned with the managing of resources, fed by the institution and forming the core of the economic organization.

### Husbandry

The dossier of texts dealing with husbandry in Umm el-Hafriyat is small but consistent. Flocks of sheep and goats are run by two people: Erendani and Urrani, the former explicitly qualified as *sipa* in **18**.

**Table 1** shows that the two are also responsible for the animal shearing and for weighing the wool due to the central administration. They both appear in the lists of the household personnel.

Accounting procedures concerning flocks and wool are run by Šuilisu (the same as Šuilisu *sipa*, mentioned in **1** in connection with a plot of land) and Urzu. Accounting can take place on the occasion of the flocks inspection (*gurum<sub>x</sub>-bi e-ak*), when arrears are also reckoned; see text no. **17**, mentioning the arrears of rams to be provided by Erendani and Urrani: “when they brought them to the *ùr*-sheepfold, Šuilisu made the inspection: to be remembered for the (next) inspection.” (For *ùr*, possibly a shelter, in connection to the counting of sheep, see also **159** and **161**). Further accounting is made after the inspection (**164**) in order to add (*tah-ḥe-dam*) what was still due.

TABLE 1: PERSONNEL IN CHARGE OF THE FLOCKS

<i>Text</i>	<i>Head-shepherd in charge of the flock</i>	<i>Inspector of the flock (PN gurum<sub>x</sub>-bi e-ak)</i>	<i>Responsible for accounting the sheep (PN níg-šid-bi e-ak)</i>	<i>Responsible for weighing the wool (siki PN ì-lá)</i>	<i>Arrears from previous year (lá-i)</i>
<b>18</b>	Erendani sipa	--	Šuilisu	Erendani	Erendani
<b>19</b>	Urrani	--	Šuilisu	--	Urrani
<b>20</b>	(Urrani)	--	Urzu	Urrani	Urrani
<b>21</b>	Erendani	--	Urzu	Erendani	Erendani
<b>17</b>	(Erendani) (Urrani)	Šuilisu	--	--	Erendani, Urrani
<b>160</b>	Urrani Erendani	Šuilisu	--	--	--

The assumption can be made that also **160** has to do with the calculation of arrears at the time of the inspection: in fact, the number of lambs provided by Urrani and Erendani must be added to the expenditures of the previous year—which are listed in detail (rev. 4': “to be accounted back on the past year”). The animals will be kept in a “fence” (*ana á-gi<sub>6</sub>-íl-la*) and brought to the place where they will be inspected (“in the ‘New House’ Šuilisu has inspected them”). Obviously, the pair Erendani and Urrani, who are in charge of the growth and managing of the flocks, are also responsible for the reckoning of book-keeping “arrears.”

The composition of the flocks under Erendani and Urrani’s control is reported in **Table 2**. Their overall size, as well as the percentage of the different components (ewes/lambs/rams; goats/kids/billy-goats), is similar in the four cases. The figure concerning rams is always the same. Estimates of the growth of these flocks does not seem to be possible given the fact that not more than a year is represented in the accounting.

The shearing of sheep and goats, respectively, gives very different results in terms of product. Our texts do not make any difference between the two: the product is summed up at the end of the accounting as being weighed (*ì-lá*) by the shepherds. As we can see in **Table 3**, the average weight of the fleece is about 300 grams per animal unit; text no. **245**, referring to goats only, provides a figure corresponding to one half of this weight.

Many questions arise about the contextualization of these data. The first and most important one is how and to what degree the sample of Erendani and Urrani flocks is typical of the overall farming activities carried out at Umm el-Hafriyat. The lack of evidence about cattle breeding in the area suggests that our documents portray a very small portion of what husbandry actually meant for the economy of the site. Texts dealing with assignment of sheep to people and institutions might indicate a conspicuous circulation of these animals for consumption and even for the needs of the temple. In other words, it is fairly probable that we lack most of

the evidence that would shed light on the role played by farming in relationship to cereal production.

A second question relates to the household affiliation of the shepherds. In addition to Erendani and Urrani, other people are qualified as *sipa* in the “Šuilisu Archive” (Mumu, Urli,

Urdan), although their activity is not documented at all. Moreover, there are individuals, like Enlila who seem to play the same role as the two shepherds just mentioned (see **161**; **162**). We tend to think that all these people belong to one and the same household, but a conclusive answer cannot be given yet.

TABLE 2. ACCOUNTING OF FLOCKS BELONGING TO ERENDANI AND URRANI

<i>Text</i>	<i>Shepherd</i>	<i>Flock in detail</i>	<i>Total of sheep</i>	<i>Total of goats</i>	<i>Arrears from previous year</i>
<b>21</b>	Erendani	66 ewes 30 rams 6 female lambs 4 male lambs 54 goats 2 billy goats	102	56	2 šà-du <sub>10</sub> lambs 2 šà-du <sub>10</sub> goats
<b>18</b>	Erendani	71 ewes 30 rams 6 female lambs 4 male lambs 53 goats 4 female kids 3 billy-goats	111	60	10 šà-du <sub>10</sub> lambs 10 šà-du <sub>10</sub> goats
<b>19</b>	Urrani	73 ewes 30 rams 11 female lambs 3 male lambs 50 goats 4 female kids 5 billy-goats	117 (116 <sup>b</sup> )	59	7 sig lambs 10 šà-du <sub>10</sub> goats
<b>20</b>	(Urrani)	84 ewes 30 rams 11 female lambs 3 male lambs 44 goats 8 female kids 4 billy goats	128	56	14 [šà-du <sub>10</sub> ] lambs 16 šà-du <sub>10</sub> goats

TABLE 3. WOOL PRODUCTIVITY OF THE FLOCK

<i>Text</i>	<i>Number of animals</i>	<i>Quantity of wool</i>	<i>Quantity of wool per unit</i>
<b>20</b>	184 (sheep and goats)	110 <i>mana</i>	0.59 <i>mana</i> = 295 grams
<b>18</b>	171 (sheep and goats)	97 <i>mana</i>	0.56 <i>mana</i> = 280 grams
<b>21</b>	158 (sheep and goats)	90 <i>mana</i>	0.56 <i>mana</i> = 280 grams
<b>245</b>	32 (goats)	9 <i>mana</i>	0.28 <i>mana</i> = 140 grams

### Fishing

Evidence on fishing is scanty. The name of a fisherman (TARda *šū-ku*<sub>6</sub>) is preserved in **24** dealing with a load of 1,920 fish of different sorts (*gir-dar-ra*, *ku*<sub>6</sub>-*dar-ra*) that the fisherman brings in (*yubilam*) on two subsequent occasions. Another load of incoming fish is provided by **25**, where more than one person is in charge of the delivery (*yublū*). In this case, fish are counted both in units (4,208 fish, including *ku*<sub>6</sub>-*dar-ra*, *ku*<sub>6</sub>-*sag-ba-è* and *ku*<sub>6</sub>-*a-ab-ba*) and in capacity measures (*ku*<sub>6</sub>-*tur-tur*, “small fish” reckoned according to the *gur-sag-mah* standard). When delivered to people, fish are usually transported in baskets (*gurdub*: **85**, **231**).

## THE MANAGEMENT OF LABOR

### Lists of persons

Eight very similar lists of persons (**26–33**) are attested in the “Šuilisu Archive,” which certainly refer to one and the same household, as demonstrated by the fact that most of the names are included as a whole in the monthly ration lists.

Texts **26** and **27** feature the same layout and are partially parallel, listing groups of five to ten individuals under three different foremen (*ugula*), two of which (Aḥu-suni and Ur-dingirra) appear in both texts. These foremen, as well as the people working under them, are interchangeable in the sense that the same person can serve under different foremen and that the groups of people overseen by a foreman are not

fixed, neither in number nor in terms of the persons involved.

Text **28** shows a similar layout (personal names are indented except for the *ugula*), with a single group of persons—whose names do not coincide with those of the previous lists—under a foreman.

By cross-checking data in the archive, it is apparent that all these people—who are subject to foremen—are in fact farmers, since their names occur in a list of *engar* (**29**), where each is assigned two workmen (*gurus*) by the institution. Even more conclusive in this regard is the evidence from **126**, a long list of expenditures in which the same people receiving amounts of grain are subdivided in the totals into a group of “farmers” (*engar-engar*) and a group of “servants of the king” (*ir*<sub>11</sub> *lugal*). Unfortunately, several breaks in the text make it difficult to assign individual names to either category.

In **1** many of these personages are associated with plots of land belonging to the *agar*<sub>4</sub> Maš-dalu. As farmers, they can also be employed in the management of orchards (**30**: *nu-kiri*<sub>6</sub> *a-šà tuš-dè*). Occasionally, the household administration takes notice of their being “in residence” (*tuš*), or conversely “on the way” (*é-li-ku-tum*) or “not on the way” (*la é-li-ku-tum*) in relationship to their place of work (**31**).

People working for farmers (*šū* PN) and for the “servants of the king” are mentioned in **32**. This kind of data is quite unusual in the “Šuilisu Archive,” so that it is not clear why and for what occasion such a roster was drawn up.

In summary, the core of the documentation offered by the lists of persons in the “Šuilisu Archive” concerns the group of the farmers. Among the farmers, the group of the “servants of the king” does not seem to cover a higher position in the hierarchical scale or perform different tasks. Above them is a small group of overseers; below them, a few dependents who hardly correspond to the group of workmen actually employed for labor in the fields.

### Ration lists

A glimpse of the labor force present at Umm el-Hafriyat can be seen by looking at a group of eleven texts that list barley rations delivered to named persons on a monthly basis (34-44).

This group of documents is quite consistent. It consists of two-column tablets and occasionally three-column tablets (39) stating the amount of barley per person. Additional expenditures are sometimes mentioned after the list of individual rations (36 iv 18-20; 37 iv 23-r.e. 1; 39 vi 8-11; 42 iv 14-16). In some texts (see, e.g., 34; 40) we find a few indented (or cross-marked) names listed with no corresponding figure for rations; these persons are considered part of the labor team although they are not entitled to rations in that particular month.

Preserved month names, all belonging to the Nippur calendar (*še-kin-ku*<sub>5</sub>, *šu-numun*, *izi-izigar*, *ga-an-ga-MUN-è*, *ab-è nibru*<sup>ki</sup>; cf. below p. 34), do not occur more than once, pointing to the fact that these types of lists were basically kept in the archive for one year. Given the small number of fully parallel texts, this still has to be considered as a plausible working hypothesis.

The total number of people taken into account by the individual ration lists range, approximately, between 70 and 100. The sequence of names also varies. A detailed comparative analysis of the name sequences was not attempted here. One may note, however, that the eleven lists do not totally overlap, both in terms of figures and in personal names. The amount of barley rations for a given individual is not always the same. In other words, these documents do not cover a stable and consistent group of people receiving, month by month, a standard amount of grain.

This may be true for most of the people, but not for all. A possible explanation is that some of these personnel were assigned for periods of time to a different working sector and, as a consequence, were taken up by another bureau of the administration. Variations are too numerous to consider other interpretations.

Our lists consider male and female personnel separately, listing groups of men in the first place and groups of women afterward (see, e.g., 34 iii ff.; 35 iii 3ff.; 38 iii 3ff.).

There are indications that mothers were sometimes accompanied by their children, possibly still nursing (e.g., *dumu-ga* Banunu). Noteworthy is the case of the couple Ši-šarrat and Nin-dalla, who are given separate rations in 34, 38, and 36, where the name of Ši-šarrat is omitted; in 35 the name of Ši-šarrat is erased and the ration is cumulative for the two.

Standard attested rations range from 40 *sila* to 20 *sila* per month (40 or 30 *sila* for men, 30 *sila* for women, 20 *sila* for children and old people presumably); higher rations of 60 or 70 *sila* are assigned to a few top-ranking people. The same person may get a different amount of barley in different months. Additional deliveries of bread (*ninda*) are occasionally attested in the lists (e.g., 39 vi 18: 20 *ninda guruš māhirū*). In any case, these loaves of bread cannot be considered as a replacement for barley rations since they can be given both to people getting rations and to people not getting rations in the same list.

The man in charge of the distribution (*i-ba*) is Šuilisu (34; 36; 37; 38; 39; 43), one of the several persons bearing this name in the archive. The barley (either from the previous year, *še-libir*, or from the new harvest, *še-sa<sub>6</sub>-gibil*) is taken from storage facilities whose names are specified in some cases: *é-ùr* (34 iv 11; 41 iv 12), *é-še* (36 iv 24), *é-še-gibil* (39 vi 14). In case Šuilisu is away, another official replaces him (II4: 2 *gur* of grain Ur-da *i-ba i-nu Šu-i-lí-su Ba-az<sup>ki</sup> i-li-kam*).

In 37 and 45 the granary (*é(-še)*) is associated with the name of Dada. The first occurrence concerns an expenditure (*è-a*) providing barley rations to ca. 90 people in the month *ab-è nibru*<sup>ki</sup> (right edge 2-3); the second one regards only

one part of the same group of people. In the latter case the grain is distributed as “supplement” in the month ZÍZ.A (rev. 22f.: è-a é-še *Da-da*, diri-šè iti ZÍZ.A *yimhurū*), consisting of 30 *šila* per person, corresponding in turn to one half of what most of these people receive in the parallel text.

The reference to Dada’s “house” and to his storage facility (see also **123**) is paralleled by other similar examples (e.g., é Bazaza, é Nita-zi, é Pušu-tab) in which it is not clear whether the person concerned is the one in charge of a storehouse or the eponym of a household involved in the economic activities documented by the archive. The alternation é / ká Bazaza “House / Gate of B.” makes the first hypothesis (i.e., a storage building located in a given place) more plausible (see above: *Agriculture*).

Among the ration accounts other than the monthly comprehensive records just described, a few documents are attested that cover a small number of people or mention other destinations of barley expenditures (one of these tablets, text **50**, bears a seal impression). Particularly interesting is the *še-ba* text **53**, in which an overall amount of rations for 14 months is provided. The month names and sequence are the same as in the Nippur calendar. The reckoning starts with the *še-kin-ku*<sub>5</sub> month “of the past year” (*imma*, obv. 3), and ends with the same month “of the present year” (*mu-a*, rev. 7), including an intercalary month in rev. 3.

One of the few texts in which beer rations (or rather expenditures) are documented along with barley and flour (**48**) is unfortunately unclear with respect to both its format and calculations. It combines the “expenditures of the present year” (viii 7–8: *zé-a-tum šu mu-a*) consisting of monthly barley rations for the usual group of ration recipients, along with amounts of beer according to their barley content, bread, flour and sheep. Men, young people, and female workers (*guruš*, *dumu-nita*<sub>2</sub>, *geme*<sub>2</sub>) are distinguished and listed in sequence. Some categories of professionals also appear, such as cupbearers and musicians (*nar é-balaḡ*). The nature of the document points to a collection of deliveries for

different purposes (consider in particular the presence of meat), possibly including public ceremonies.

The evidence for wool rations is scarce but noteworthy. Text **54** refers to wool assignments of 2 minas each for eighteen people usually mentioned in the barley ration texts, plus other assignments in broken context.

A record of textiles distribution (other than rations) is provided by **148**, where a set of one or two garments and sometimes of a belt (*túḡ-ib*×3) is assigned to a group of people defined in the total as 21 lú *ha-bi-tu-tum* (notice in the reckoning that two people are accounted for in obv. 2, 16, and 23). A second group of 11 *guruš ha-ba-tu* (people who have left) is listed soon after, although no garments are assigned to them. As for the first group, it includes several servants (*ir*<sub>11</sub>) of either foreigners (from Akkade and Kutha) or notables (*šabra é*) and other important persons (such as Naḥšum-šanat, well known from the Nippur “Onion Archive” and elsewhere, and Tuttanabšum, daughter of Naram-Sin and *en*-priestess of Enlil in Nippur). Some of them are defined as “those of the God of Akkade (= Naram-Sin)” (obv. 25). The delivery of garments to these people can be interpreted as gifts, although we do not know whether their presence in Umm el-Hafriyat is associated with particular circumstances.

#### *Letters and instructions*

The correspondence among local officials is well represented in the archive. Three letter-orders refer to the management of people to be “brought in” from a place where they are provisionally staying (both spellings *li-ru-ù-nim* / *liru’ūnim*/ and *li-ru-nim* / *lirūnim*/ are attested). Text **55** concerns a group of people possibly involved in fishing activities, where Nammah, the “one who tows the boat” (*má-gíd*), is probably the same as the person in charge of a load of fish in **25**. Two other documents deal with people who should be brought in from Adab: five workmen in **56** and a female slave, Šuazi, attached to a certain Lú-ku<sub>6</sub>, in **57**.

The corpus of “letters” (**58–78**) consists of 21 documents, usually bearing the heading PN<sub>1</sub> *ana*

PN<sub>2</sub> (ù PN<sub>3</sub>) and occasionally PN<sub>1</sub> *ana* PN<sub>2</sub> *qibīma* (74; 75; 76; 77). Among the addressees three individuals stand out in terms of the number of attestations:

- a. Šuilisu (one letter by Išu-ilum, one by Nabium, two by Šu-mama, three by Sikkur, out of which one is addressed to both Šuilisu and Imi-ilum);
- b. Imi-ilum (four letters by Sikkur, out of which one is addressed to both Šuilisu and Imi-ilum);
- c. Zuzu (one letter by Ur-Ištaran, two by Linaš-beli, one by Bazaza, one by Meukeš).

In three other letters the names of the sender and that of the addressee are preserved: Dagan-[ ]dali[ ] to KAL-ile; Šuilisu, the scribe (probably the same person as the Šuilisu mentioned above) to Asaga. In the three remaining letters names of both sender and addressee are lost.

The person bearing the name Imi-ilum in the letters is plausibly the one who is qualified as “land recorder” (*sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>*) in the administrative documents of the archive, i.e., in 174 rev. 6 and in particular in 180 rev. 3, where he is called *sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> Zi-gur*. He might be identified with Imi-ilum *šu dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* in 148 obv. 23.

As for Zuzu, there is certainly more than one person bearing this name in the archive. The one occurring in the letters might be the “farmer” (*engar*) mentioned as a witness among a list of prominent people linked to the house of the king in 198. It is worth noting that the name of Zuzu is associated also with a list of fields (6): as a responsible individual for this land (and possibly a landholder), he would share the status of Šuilisu, who appears to be his father in a list of persons (32 i 13-14).

In spite of the fact that in the “Šuilisu Archive” several individuals are named Šuilisu, one may suggest that the one occurring as the addressee of seven of our letters (and associated with Imi-ilum in one of them) is the Šuilisu in charge of the distribution of grain rations to the household personnel and sometime attested in the field texts as a holder of maintenance fields (e.g., 1

and 2). A more in-depth analysis is necessary in order to identify the different personages sharing this name. For the time being, no firm conclusion can be drawn about the possible identification of the Šuilisu mentioned in the letters with any other homonym qualified in the administrative texts from time to time as “farmer” (*engar*), “shepherd” (*sipa*), son of Ir’ebum, father of Zuzu, etc.

Instructions given to Šuilisu concern both agriculture and the management of food resources, in particular:

58 and 59 with agricultural activities;

61 and 62 with the allotment of fields to tenants;

60 with food products to be delivered as compensation to male and female servants;

66 with a shipment of barley to Nippur.

By and large, the range of these activities, along with the prominent position held by Šuilisu in the economic life of Umm el-Hafriyat, make this individual a key person in the local administration. Given his high-ranking status, an involvement of Šuilisu in legal affairs, as hinted at in 68, would not be unexpected. He might well be the same as the seal owner of the letter to Asaga (77) where he let himself go, maybe in search of some kind of human understanding from the person he is speaking to (“in the temple let them weep for me and let them pray for me!”).

The senders of letters to Šuilisu are plausibly officials of higher rank and possibly landowners. One Šu-mama is attested with the title *šabra* (but a Šu-mama “captain,” *nu-banda<sub>3</sub>*, also occurs in the archive); Išu-ilum is a chief scribe; Sikkur occurs only in the letters; and Nabium is attested twice as a (temple) surveyor, *sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>*.

Letters to Imi-ilum deal basically with the management of land and the work in the fields (62; 64; 65). Imi-ilum must play an important role in this sector, since in one of these texts (65) he is asked to take some kind of initiative about the Mašdalū district (also mentioned in 8 and whose parcels are described in 1), part of which is associated with the *šabra é lugal*, the “estate

administrator of the king” (obv. 8–9). Like Šuilisu, he too plays a role in the management of food, since in **63** he is in charge of setting up a special meal for a visitor (including the slaughtering of a sheep). All instructions to Imi-ilum come from Sikkur, to whom he seems to be a direct subordinate acting primarily as a surveyor (see above).

The correspondence of Zuzu is characterized by a peer-to-peer relationship between sender and addressee and by a more colloquial attitude in the request, conveyed through customary formulaic expressions. Except for one letter (**71**), in the rest of the dossier Zuzu is qualified as father and/or brother of the sender. The contents of the messages vary according to the variety of the persons addressing their requests. They deal with the following matters:

- 73**: agriculture (taking care of the irrigation work in the Mašdalu district);
- 71**: delivery of grain (grain load in the hands of Bazizi, to be taken in charge and consigned to two people. Cf. **104**);
- 76**: delivery of foodstuffs (for a special occasion?: ducks, dates and fish to be brought to the sender of the letter);
- 75**: management of personnel;
- 74**: again, management of personnel (providing a man with two scouts who know the road to Nippur).

Except for Bazaza (in charge of storage facility?: see above, *é* B.) and Ur-Ištaran (a scribe, occurring as a recipient of a grain supply provided by another scribe, Bazizi, in **104**), the other senders of letters to Zuzu are unknown in the administrative record. The general impression one gets from this correspondence is that it represents a lower level of communication between people of equal rank in the household administration.

More difficult to contextualize are the letters whose senders and addressees are lost. Two of them deal with the activity and role of the farmers (*engar*), whose responsibility is not restricted to overseeing the work on the fields, but actually extends to the managing of the cereal products,

such as the shipment of grain to different persons and destinations (**69**; **70**). The long letter **78** might shed some light on the situation of a landowner who is deprived of his estate and belongings. This fascinating document features the complaints expressed by the sender of the message against a man called Šuilisu who apparently caused him the loss of his paternal house and of a certain amount of grain possibly needed for the sowing. The man seems to defend himself against the accusation of being an absentee, since he continued to work in the fields while his father and relatives were conscripted for war (and died on the battlefield).

The letter of Galzu to Ili-massarti (**229**) hardly belongs to the “Šuilisu Archive” (see Chapter II), although this cannot be excluded. In the letter, Galzu instructs one of his subordinates to provide the person dispatching his message with a certain quantity of ghee and garments. Galzu is mentioned in **245** as a fuller (*azlag*) in charge of inspecting goats and selecting their wool for the manufacture of felts and other objects, such as donkey’s reins (*ana hùl-la anše*). His name also occurs among other prominent people—one of them is the son of the *ensi*—who receive bread, beer, and pigs (**240**).

#### MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES

The bulk of the documentation in the “Šuilisu Archive” concerns the management of resources, basically grain and foodstuffs, but also animals (sheep and goats), tools, and raw materials. Part of the management also concerns the purchase and circulation of goods, involving silver in some cases.

#### *Grain expenditures and assignments*

Four officials (Ir’ebum, Lugal-KA, Šuilisu, Asaga) seem to be in charge of taking out quantities of the product (including flour) from the granaries and handing it over for different destinations. Evidence of these disbursements is mainly provided by **118–131**.

The activity of Ir’ebum, in particular, is documented by several records. Storage facilities from which he draws out loads of grain are the “Ox-barn” (**118**; **120**; **128**) and the “House/



Gate of Bazaza” (**119**; **129**; **130**). Incidentally, one may note that in the expenditure texts the name of Bazaza is associated with other persons involved in storing activities (*Ba-za-za // Sa-tu-tu* in **121**; *é Ba-za-za // má Sa-tu-tu // Igi-gùn Inim-kù* in **119**; **130**).

Three other people hold the same function as Ir’ebum: in particular, Asaga is attested in **122**; Šuilisu in **110** and in **127** (he is the one who seals his letter to Asaga: see above); Lugal-KA in **124**, **108** and **131** (beer and flour to be destined to a group of Gutians in exchange for 30 sheep).

The association of Lugal-KA and Asaga with the management of granaries is also implied by other texts. In **100** Asaga is the official in charge of two loads of grain taken out from the storehouse (*ganum*), while Lugal-KA is in charge of measuring their weight (*yimdud*). Again, the two are paired in **132** (distribution of loaves of bread) and in a pro-memoria (**117**) dealing with grain to be given out for rations.

Some other occurrences of granaries and/or storage facilities with reference to grain assignments do not mention the name of an official in charge, implying that operations concerning the managing of cereals are carried out and accounted for at different levels and at different steps. Expenditures can be monitored (a) when the product comes out from the granary for a certain destination, and (b) when it is physically taken in charge by an intermediary and/or by the final consumer. In both cases, the key expression *yimḥur/tamḥur* is used to indicate the recipient, although from a different perspective.

Transferring grain from a storage facility down to the distribution network is *per se* a rather complex operation, involving more than one actor. Text **111** provides a good example of what can be considered the standard procedure in the fulfilment of different tasks by the officials on duty, expressed in turn by the verbs *nadānum* → *maḥārum* → *madādum*: a certain amount of grain is given out by Šuilisu (at the granary); it is received by another person (Šeššeš); and finally measured for a third person qualified as a queen’s dependant (*ana É-mes šu nin yimdud*). A “House of Šeššeš,” involved in Lugal-KA’s activity, is documented in **108**.

In terms of accountancy, it is interesting to observe that different offices take part in the registration of the same transaction, as demonstrated by a comparison between parallel texts **119** and **130** (see **Table 4**). Differences both in paleography and wording of the two documents are apparent. It is not just a matter of including more or less details in one as against the other (see for instance in **130** rev. 5-6, the recording of what is still remaining in the storehouse after the expenditure has taken place). In fact, the two documents show a completely different approach to the registration of the individual entries. Attention is paid to specific elements of individual transactions. Following the sequence of entries in **119**, the first entry (obv. 1-4) omits the name of the official in charge (Lugal-KA) and adds the detail of the equivalence between grain and silver; the second entry (obv. 5-6) expresses in a different way the nature of the transaction (*a-na // sa<sub>10</sub>*); the third entry (obv. 7-8) omits the name of the recipient; the fourth entry (obv. 9-11) adds the patronymic of the debtor (notice *ḫa-bu-lim* for *ḫu-bu-lim*); the last entry (rev. 11-12) shows a syntactical variation. One may wonder whether the linguistic background of the scribe plays a role in the way the transactions are expressed in these parallel texts.

The nature of grain assignments following the taking-in-charge of the product by the five officials mentioned above is not clearly stated in the accounting and a more detailed analysis is needed to differentiate individual destinations. Some texts are concerned with deliveries of relatively “small” amounts of grain (up to 15 *gur*) “received” (*maḥārum*) by individual recipients, some others with large (up to 70 *gur*) and even very large amounts of grain (over 100 *gur*: see, e.g., **96**: an amount of 120 *gur-mah* of grain for the queen). Especially in the first case, one may think of deliveries of grain seed to the farmers or of grain to be further distributed as rations (e.g., **123**).

A cross-reference of these figures to the figures provided by both field texts and ration lists would probably help to better define the purposes for cereal expenditures. As expected, only non-obvious destinations are explicitly men-

tioned, such as loans (I18; I19) or special transactions (I07: *ana hu-bu-lim // ana mu-ša-ki-im*; I31: barter with Gutians). In text I10 some expenditures by Šuilisu concern, among other interesting destinations, the mill-house of the king (5 gur of barley *in é geme<sub>2</sub>-ara<sub>3</sub> lugal*), raising the question as to what this occurrence actually implies. Interesting in this regard, for

example, is the mention of a “palace” (*é-gal*) as recipient of a certain number of sheep (a tax revenue?) delivered by well-known personages of Umm el-Hafriyat (I63: *šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 32 udu šūt é-gal yīhuzu*) and the presence of a royal administrator (*šabra-é*) who provides sheep as a kind of contribution (I62: *šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 14 udu-ḫi-a maš-da-ri-a šabra-é*. Cf. I52).

TABLE 4. COMPARED STRUCTURE AND WORDING OF TWO “È-A” DOCUMENTS FROM THE “ŠUILISU ARCHIVE”

No. I19	No. I30
<p>obv. 1. [60] še gur-maḥ            2. [a]-na 'má' sa-tu-tu            3. [20] še gur            4. a-na kù-babbar ba-za-za            5. 17.2.3 še gur            6. a-na igi-gùn inim-kù            7. 10 še gur            8. a-na ZÍD.'KA'            9. 5 še gur-si-sá            10. a-na [ḫ]u-bu-l[im]            11. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni dumu di<sub>11</sub>gir-gú</p> <p>rev. 1. 5 še gur            2. ták-lim-tum &lt;šú&gt; sanga            3. ur-mes nagar            4. 1 še gur hu-bu-tum            5. ur-<sup>d</sup>ištaran dub-sar            6. 0.2.3 še ur-<sup>d</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub>            7. 0.2.3 še nam-tar-re            8. 0.2.3 še a-na é            9. _____            10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1+[n] še gur-maḥ            11. še é ba-za-za            12. è-a ìr-e-bum</p>	<p>obv. 1. 10 še gur a-na ZÍD.'KA'            2. lugal-KA im-[ḫur]            3. 17.2.3 še [gur]            4. sa<sub>10</sub> igi-gùn inim-kù im-[ḫur]            5. 5 še gur            6. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni a-na ḫa-bu-[lim]            7. 20 še gur            8. ba-za-za            9. 60 še gur šu má sa-tu-tu            10. lugal-KA</p> <p>rev. 1. è-a            2. ìr-e-bum            3. šu é ba-za-za            4. _____            5. 20.2.3 še gur-m[aḫ]            6. 'si'-tum é ba-za-[za]</p>

### *Expenditures of commodities*

Expenditures of commodities are usually written on small tablets with a maximum of four to six lines on each side. They refer to occasional deliveries of a variety of products and in some cases to deliveries for a limited span of time. See for instance **87** (fodder and grain “for baking” for 3 and 6 days respectively) and **80**, in which amounts of barley and emmer for a month are reckoned on a daily basis (totals in rev. 3 and 4 are obtained from obv. 7-8 and obv. 9-rev. 1, respectively). Unlike the evidence of cereal disbursements and assignments, it is difficult to define any specific pattern in the micro-circulation of commodities documented in **79-89**. Whether or not this is due to the nature and range of this economic sector cannot be established on the basis of the extant and limited data.

Products dealt with in the expenditure documents are grain (bread and beer, as well as fodder for feeding animals), sesame oil, garlic (reckoned in bundles), fish, animals, and wool. In **85** baskets of different kinds of fish and dates are paired and delivered to six people, possibly as travel provisions.

Shipments by boat are also attested, although the data are often unclear. It is unclear, for example, what the expression *má sa-tu-tu*, “boat of S.” means both in **90** and in **91** (possibly a storehouse? Or actually a boat? See discussion above). In this latter text, 30 *gur* of barley—taken out (*ba-ta-zi*) of 60 *gur* received by Lugal-KA—are labelled as *šu má sa-tu-tu*.

Reported loads for a boat (*ana má ša<sup>c</sup>ānis*) are actually compatible with what small and large boats can carry: 15 *gur* of barley (directly drawn from the storehouse) in **90**; 40 *gur* of flour + 20 *gur* of groats (10 of which *šu na-kam-tim*) + 15 *gur* of malt (bappir) + 15 *gur* of hulled(?) emmer (*imgaga<sub>3</sub>*), i.e., a total of 90 *gur* in **92**.

### *Distribution of processed foodstuffs*

What makes bread and beer distribution interesting in the “archive” is that these two foodstuffs are always paired when assigned to people. Both bread and beer are distributed according to standard amounts (**I32-I43**). It is questionable whether this kind of distribution

concerns compensation for work or is related to other, occasional purposes. In **I50**, for example, deliveries of beer for a few persons take place on three different days. In any case, beer rations (sporadically attested in third-millennium Mesopotamia) do not occur in the “Šuilisu Archive.”

Ratios between barley bread (*ninda / ninda-še*) and beer (*kaš / kaš-sur-ra*) is 1:1. Beer containers are not mentioned explicitly, whereas the amount of barley per beer unit is usually specified (e.g., o.o.1 *ninda* 1 *kaš-sur-ra šu o.o.2* “10 liters of bread, 1 container of beer, that of 20 liters”). It is probable that bread and beer, as reckoned in the same record, are part of the same meal, occasionally offered to visitors and guests along with other food (**I37**: fish and lard. Notice *abba<sub>2</sub>-uru* Adab in obv. 8).

With respect to the distribution of loaves of bread, a cross-reference of text **I32** (distribution of bread by Lugal-KA and Asaga) to the ration list **39** (grain rations plus additional distribution of bread) clearly shows that the recipients are a limited number of people occurring in both kinds of documents (see **Table 5**). In spite of a few breaks in **39**, one may note that (a) more than one half the bread recipients in **I32** also occur under the same label (*guruš māhirū*) in the ration list **39**; and (b) people getting rations may, or may not, get bread. In other words, the distribution of bread is somehow independent of monthly rations, is restricted to a smaller group of persons, and motivated by reasons other than their regular feeding. Analogous remarks also apply to the deliveries of flour (*dabin*) in **I38-I43**.

One may also note that flour, bread, and beer are common travel provisions. Ur-ēš-sá, whom we know as a brother of the high official Lugal-KA, receives 10 liters of flour when going to Adab on a visit to the king (**I44**: *cinu ana lugal yiliku ana Adab*); Iti-Adad receives 30 liters to go to the city/village of Baš (**I45**); and bread and beer are delivered to Šuilisu for another trip to Adab (**I46**). Oil of good quality (*i-du<sub>10</sub>-ga*), carried in flasks (*šagan-kaskal*), is also part of the provisions taken along by the traveller (**I77**).

Text **155** listing flour and fodder for donkeys and people (Iti-ilum KIS.NITA<sub>2</sub>, Mašum *simug*) should rather refer to the displacement of animals along the plain (*in* <sup>c</sup>*elāim* / *in warādim* “in going up / in coming back”) and to provisions

for the accompanying people. Cf. **152**: *in wa-raft[im]*, also referring to fodder for donkeys, but also listing small quantities of bread, beer, and grain for Lugal-KA.

TABLE 5. RECIPIENTS OF BREAD AND GRAIN RATIONS IN DIFFERENT TEXT CATEGORIES

<i>Bread distribution list 132</i>			<i>Grain ration list 39</i>	
			<i>Bread recipients</i>	<i>Grain ration recipients</i>
obv.	1.	ᵀ I ur <sup>1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá	-	-
	2.	I nam-maḥ	-	X
	3.	I <sup>d</sup> utu-a	X	-
	4.	I lugal-iti-da	X	X
	5.	I igi-bar	-	X
	6.	I <i>si-ra-bí-at</i>	X	-
	7.	I <i>aš-dar-a-ra-at</i>	X	-
	8.	I <i>ku-ru-ub</i> - <sup>d</sup> en.zu	X	X
	9.	I ì-[líl]-sa-lik	-	X
	10.	I pù.ša-ma-ma	-	X
Total: 10 <i>sila</i> : ninda šūt lugal-KA				
	13.	I <i>a-ḫu-ḫu</i>	X	-
	14.	I di-ì-le	X	-
	15.	I ur-li	-	X
	16.	I <i>ku-ru-ub-ì-la-ak</i>	-	X
rev.	1.	I ì-la-ak-nu-[id]	-	X
	2.	I <i>i-lul-dingir</i>	X	X
	3.	I <i>i-sar-gur-ba-šum</i>	X	-
	4.	I sag-nin	-	-
	5.	I ama-ga-zi	-	-
	6.	I é-ad-tab	-	-
	7.	I diri-tum	X	-
	8.	I za-na	-	-
	9.	I <i>si-um-mi</i>	X	X
	10.	I <i>um-mi</i> - <sup>d</sup> nanšc	-	X
Total: 15 <i>sila</i> : ninda šūt a-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga ninda māḫirū			é-a-[i-x] i-mi-dingir ma-ba-lu-sa šū-ar-ba-dingir	
			Total: 20 ninda guruš māḫirū	

Among the occasional assignments of food-stuffs, the evidence provided by a list of beer (*kaš*), bread (*ninda*) and pastry (*ninda-i*) is significant because it concerns top officials in the administration and three of their wives (149, see Table 6). The distribution of the different items is recorded again five subsequent times and only two people (KAL-ile and the wife of Bazizi) are mentioned more than once. Most of the persons involved in this distribution are not just farmers, but people directing the work of farmers. The

presence of women and, in particular, of wives of these officials among the recipients is particularly interesting, all the more so as they can replace their husbands (see for example the wives of Bazizi and Lugalkase occurring in delivery numbers 1 and 3, whose husbands occur in delivery number 5). The quantity of product for each item is fairly modest, so that some kind of ceremony or public event could be related to this distribution.

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF COMMODITIES TO HIGH OFFICIALS AND TO SOME OF THEIR WIVES IN 149

<i>Delivery no.</i>	<i>Recipients</i>	<i>Commodity</i>	
1	kal- <i>ì-le</i>	beer (1 jar),	pastry (2 “combs”)
	dam <i>ba-zi-zi</i>	?	pastry (1 “comb”)
	lugal-KA	beer (x jar),	pastry (2 “combs”)
	kal- <i>ì-le</i>	beer (1 jar),	pastry (2 “combs”)
	<i>da-da</i>	beer (1 jar),	pastry (2 “combs”)
	<i>šù-ì-lí-su šu</i> <sup>giš</sup> tukul	beer (1 jar),	pastry (1 “comb”)
3	dam <i>ba-zi-zi</i>	beer (1 jar),	pastry (1 “comb”)
	dam lugal- <i>kaš</i> <sub>4</sub> -c	beer (1 jar),	pastry (1 “comb”)
	dam é-úr	beer (2 jars),	bread (1 basket)
4	<i>a-bu</i>	beer (2 jars),	bread (1 basket)
	<i>me-me</i>	beer (1 jar),	pastry (1 “comb”)
	ki-gub-ba-ni	beer (1 jar),	pastry (1 “comb”)
	<i>nu-úr-dingir</i>	beer (1 jar),	bread (1 basket)
	<sup>d</sup> en-líl-[...]	beer (x jar),	bread (1 basket)
	[...]	beer (2 jars),	bread (1 basket)
	<i>na-bí-um</i>	beer (x jar),	bread (1 basket)
	a-geštin	beer (2 jars),	bread 1 basket)
du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni	beer (1 jar),	bread (1 basket)	
5	ki-gub-ba-ni	beer (2 jars),	bread (1 basket)
	<i>ba-zi-zi</i>	beer (2 jars),	bread (1 basket)
	lugal- <i>kaš</i> <sub>4</sub> -c	beer (1 jar),	pastry (1 “comb”)
	i-[...]	-	pastry (1 “comb”)
	ku <sup>?</sup> -[...]	-	pastry (1 “comb”)
	zi [...]	beer (1 jar)	-
	kur-mu-gam	-	pastry (1 “comb”)
	<i>šù-ì-lí-su</i>	beer (1 jar),	pastry (x “comb”)
<i>ur-zu</i>	-	pastry (1 “comb”)	

## Loans

A few debt-notes are recorded in the archive without any specific information about their more general context. Our texts differentiate between *hubullum*, i.e., a loan bearing interest, and *hubuttatum*, possibly a loan without interest, as in other Sargonic texts from the Diyala region (Wilcke 2007, 8.3.2). If this opposition is correct, a *hubuttatum* loan is implied in **173** (PN PN<sub>2</sub> máš nu-tuku *a-na si-na-im*, “PN and PN<sub>2</sub>: there is no interest upon the two of them”).

Persons who are lent barley by the central administration are among those who usually occur as grain recipients in the rations lists. In the *hubuttatum* record **172** ten of them are given

30 liters each of grain as a loan (in total: 1 še-ba gur-*a-ga-de*<sup>ki</sup> *ana hubuttatim yimhurū*) and their list basically overlaps with **50**, which is probably a preliminary draft-account including rations for a few people, where five lines at the beginning have been erased. The amount of grain given to each person—corresponding to the most common figure for monthly rations—is the same in the two texts (see **Table 7**). The inference to be drawn from this evidence is that people usually fed by the household administration could sometimes get their monthly ration as a loan that they would repay afterward either in nature or in terms of additional work.

TABLE 7. LIST OF PERSONS OCCURRING BOTH IN A *HUBUTTATUM* DEBT-NOTE AND IN A DRAFT-ACCOUNT INCLUDING RATIONS

<i>hubuttatum</i> -loan <b>172</b>			<i>Draft-account 50</i>		
obv.	1.	0.0.3 <i>ù-ni-ni</i>	obv.	1-3.	(erased)
	2.	0.0.3 <i>ma-šum</i>		4.	(erased)
	3.	0.0.3 <i>du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni</i>		5.	(erased)
	4.	0.0.3 <i>pù.ša-aš-dar</i>		6.	<i>šu-ì-lí-su</i>
	5.	0.0.3 <i>be-lí-gi</i>		7.	<i>bù-zu-zu muḫaldim</i>
	6.	0.0.3 <i>mu-lu-šum</i>		8.	0.0.3 <i>sa-tu-tu</i>
	7.	0.0.3 <i>šu-[i]-lí-su lunga</i>		9.	‘0.0.3’ <i>ma-šum</i>
	8.	<i>bù-zu-zu muḫaldim</i>		10.	0.0.3 <i>du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni</i>
rev.	1.	0.0.3 <i>me-it-lik</i>		11.	<i>ù-ni-ni</i>
	2.	0.0.3 <i>sa-tu-tu</i>		12.	ur- <sup>d</sup> škur
	3.	0.0.3 <i>é-a-MAŠ.UR máš-šu-gíd</i>	rev.		(seal impression)

Interest-bearing loans apply to different situations. On the one hand, barley *ana ħubullim* can be given out as rations (see **167**, where recipients of either 60 or 30 *sila* of the product are all farmers attested in the ration lists); on the other hand, it can be lent out in higher quantities (up to 10 *gur*) to one or a few individuals. In this latter case the purpose of the delivery is more difficult to ascertain. In **171** it is clearly a matter of barley seed given out to supplement what has been already provided (“3.4 *gur* of barley, seed balance, Urturtur has brought out as loan” *ana ħubullim yušūše*). But in other cases one may deal with a supply of grain to be used for feeding people, as for example in **174** listing twelve people—each one defined by a patronymic or a profession (two land recorders, a land recorder of the queen, a scribe, and a *lú-eden*)—receiving in all over 60 *gur* (še ur<sub>5</sub>-šè šu-ti-a).

It is interesting to note that in two of our loan documents another item is mentioned after the debt entry, which could be interpreted as a pledge in the transaction (a sheep in **168** and a bronze vessel in **169**, both brought in on the occasion of the loan).

### Goods inventories

The small group of texts referring to inventories of various goods must be taken into consideration, particularly since it provides evidence of a specific segment of the household administration that is closely connected to the management of labor and resources. Along with documents attesting to either the availability or unavailability of various commodities (see the registration of both “taken” and “missing” commodities in **184**, including foodstuffs, wool, garments, and timber; cf. **183**), a very interesting example of checking-on-the-spot procedures is provided by **182**, a long list of items forming the property (*níg-ga*) of a scribe. The personal belongings of Ubarum (the name of the scribe, to be identified with the person bearing the same name that occurs in **143** and often associated to his dependant Abum-ilum) are listed as follows:

- 1 *gurdub*-basket of black (sheep) wool and of goat wool weighing ca 15 kg
- [x+]2 *gurdub*-baskets of “big” fish
- [x] skins
- 1 *gurdub*-basket of malt
- 60 liters of *baba*-flour
- 150 liters of peas
- 6 jars of oil
- 90 liters of groats
- 5 copper objects (2 cauldrons, 1 *uri*-vessel, 1 *pisan*-basket, 1 *agala*-sack) weighing 20 kg in all
- 1 bed
- 3 chairs
- 3 stakes(?) and 3 boat poles
- 1 rudder
- 3 ropes for towing boats

As revealed by this list, Ubarum’s assets consist of a variety of food products (cereals are there as processed or semi-processed food, not as grain), plus wool, furniture, and boat equipment. This may consist of some sort of an endowment given to him by the administration. In fact, the formulaic and unfortunately unclear expression used in the colophon to qualify the assignment (PN ... *u-ru-ù*) is analogous to that employed in **143**, where Šuilisu is ultimately the provider of flour to Ubarum (see **Table 8**). We don’t know for sure which of the several Šuilisus attested in the archive is involved in this case, although one may tend to identify him with the official by this name in charge of the distribution of grain rations.

Possible implications of Ubarum’s inventory of movable property relate to both the prerogatives of people of high status (such as a scribe, in this case) in the Umm el-Hafriyat society, and their economic and social relationship to the administration on which they depend. Many interpretations could be suggested, but the evidence at hand is in fact insufficient to provide a reliable picture.

TABLE 8: ŠUILISU AND AMA-BARA2 AS CONTRIBUTORS TO UBARUM'S ASSETS

(various goods)	( <i>dabin</i> -flour)
rev. 8. <b>níg-ga u-ba-ru-um dub-sar</b>	obv. 6. [i]-nu a- <i>hu-su-ni</i> šu-i
9. [...] 'x' ama-bara <sub>2</sub>	rev. 1. [(x)-g]a-mi-e
10. [x-g]a-mi-e-nim	2. [u]-ru-ù
11. u-ru-ù	3. šu-ut u-ba-ru-um
	4. iš-dè
	5. šu-ì-lí-su
	6. im- <i>hu-ru</i>

### Silver accounts

Silver assignments to people (**185-191**) are never standardized. Individual entries in these documents occasionally include the amount of grain corresponding to silver quantities. Ratios between silver and grain amounts are difficult to compare since figures often appear in broken contexts and it cannot be ascertained what capacity standard is actually employed in the reckonings. In **185**, for example, the total of grain and silver provided in rev. 3-4 (*iš-dè* PN en-an-na-túm *im-hur*) seems to refer only to the last of three preceding entries (obv. 1-4; 5-7; 8-10, respectively). One of the equivalences can be however reconstructed, based on the gur-2-UL standard of 72 *sila*, which is explicitly mentioned in obv. 1:

obv. 5-7: 0.2.3 še (gur-2-UL) PN ... kù-babbar-su 2½ gín

3 silver “grains” per liter of barley

If we assume that the same standard is used in the total reported on the reverse of the tablet, the result is not consistent. So, it might be that the *gur-sag-gál* of 240 *sila* is implied in this case, although the resulting ratio between grain and silver is slightly different from the previous one:

rev. 3-4: šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 2.2.3 še gur šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 10[+1] gín kb

3.14 silver “grains” per liter of barley

Evidence from **186** supports this equivalence also giving information about the use of silver for acquiring specific goods, as for example animals:

obv. 10-12: 3 gín 2 ma-na lá 12 še šu 3 gur-2-UL

3 silver “grains” per liter of barley

obv. 7-8: 1½ gín kb a-na sa<sub>10</sub> anše-dusu<sub>2</sub>

27 “grains” of silver, price of a donkey

Prices for sheep and oxen are also provided in this document (see obv. 7-8 and obv. 13-rev. 2), but the quantities of animals are missing. The purchase of oxen involves two people, Šuilisu and a man called Inim-kù, a merchant (*garaš*<sub>4</sub>) whose name can be restored in the break (obv. 14). Šuilisu appears as the one who receives the silver to buy the oxen, while Inim-kù is the one who weighs (*i-lá*) the silver.

Interestingly enough, both Šuilisu and Inim-kù occur in a document (**191**) that can be interpreted as a balance account of Inim-kù. This merchant is also attested in **112** and **94** as a recipient of grain (12 *gur* and 16.2.3 *gur*, respectively). In **163** he occurs along with twenty-seven people providing sheep to the “palace” (*é-gal*).

The account is tabulated in **Table 9**. Because of a break in rev. 4, the total of the “expenditures” cannot be checked: silver received by Inim-kù totals 4⅔ shekels, whereas expendi-



tures, i.e. amounts of silver delivered to five different people, total 3½ shekels plus the figure in the break. Silver received by Inim-kù is presumably obtained by selling different (measured) commodities, including a slave (= Section 1), and is given out to various persons (= Section 2).

Section 3 deals with additional amounts of bitumen managed by the merchant.

If **191** is related to trade activities carried out by Inim-kù, it is possible that **186** be also connected to trade, although no specific clue is provided by the text itself.

TABLE 9. BALANCED ACCOUNT NO. **191**

Section 1 (obv. 1–11) silver “received”		Section 2 (obv. 12–rev. 9) silver expenditures		Section 3 (rev. 10–13) bitumen account
2 gín	PN (slave ?)	1 gín	<i>a-na má-tur I-nin-me-šum</i>	0.0.5 esir <sub>2</sub> -a <i>Su-ba-rí-a</i>
1 gín	sum-gaz “garlic”	1 gín	<i>Šu-ì-lí-su</i>	Inim-kù mu-DU
igi-3-gál	<sup>šc</sup> giš-ì “sesame oil”	[x] gín	<i>a-na giš-má-dù Ur-dam dub-sar</i>	
igi-3-gál	uzu “meat”	½ gín	<i>Su-ba-rí-a ad-kup<sub>4</sub></i>	
1 gín	esir <sub>2</sub> -a “bitumen”	igi-2-gál	nagar Adab <sup>ki</sup>	3 esir <sub>2</sub> -a gur-2-UL
		igi-3-gál	<i>a-na túg x</i>	<i>iš-dè Inim-kù garaš<sub>4</sub></i>
Inim-kù garaš <sub>4</sub> <i>im-ḥur b šà-bi-ta</i>				

Other records in the archive attest for a circulation of silver as payment for either grain, foodstuffs, or garments. In one case (**190**), a payment in silver concerns a piece of uncultivated land (*x sar ki-gál*)

Two texts can be explained as a sort of memorandum. Text **189** is structured as a preliminary draft account and it is not clear whether the amounts of silver are actually a payment for the items following in the list (garments, belts, sandals, flour, and malt). Text **188** is, instead, a real memorandum, as is suggested by the use of the first person singular for a verbal form (*akšur*). It can be tentatively translated as follows:

2 gur-sag-gál 1 *bariga* of barley Lú-sa<sub>6</sub> has given; to his captain he brought it in (*yuša<sup>c</sup>rib*). I did replace it (*anāku akšur*) at the rate of 1 gur 2 *bariga* for 1 shekel of silver. Urru, the smith: 4 gur of barley, to Nagsu; 2 gur of barley for 1 *bar-dul<sub>5</sub>*-garment; 3 gur 2 *bariga* of barley for 1 *bar-*

*dul<sub>5</sub>* garment; 40 *sila* of beer, 30 *sila* of malt, 1 small mina (= ⅓ shekel) of silver.

Apparently, the author of this note wants to remind himself that the first of these expenditures was at his own expense, compensation for barley that had been delivered by Lu-sa<sub>6</sub> to “his captain.” The ratio between silver and barley provided in obv. 5 is:

1.2 še gur(-sag-gál) sa<sub>10</sub> 1 gín kb  
1 shekel of silver per 1½ gur of barley

If compared to the standard ratio of 1 gín kb : 1 gur-sag-gál, the rate of exchange applied in this case is remarkably higher and this is probably the reason it is recorded in the memorandum.

In the series of silver accounts discussed so far personal names are very few. This prevents us from identifying the social milieu actually involved in the circulation of silver. An exception is represented by **187**, a note of debt in which quantities of silver ranging from 1 to 5 shekels are assigned as a loan to some named

persons (*ana ḫubullim yimḫurū*). In obv. 3–10 the contribution by Nin-zabala<sup>ki</sup>-e, wife of Ú-da-*<ad>-kèš<sup>ki</sup>* indicates a time span of three years, as suggested by the expressions “a first time” (*1-kam*), the “previous year” (*im-ma-kam*), and “this year” (*mu-kam*). It is noteworthy that of the nine assignees at least three are women.

Among the people mentioned in the document, Nin-erendani and Sippiritum are not attested elsewhere, but most of them are known from other records in the archive. Nin-zabala<sup>ki</sup>-e and her husband Ú-da-*<ad>-kèš<sup>ki</sup>* are listed as witnesses in the loan memorandum **196**. The latter is probably the same as Ú-da-ad-*kèš šu* abba<sub>2</sub>-uru occurring in **163** and in **157** as a provider of sheep to the palace (*é-gal*). Šum-šum appears as a witness in **207** concerning the purchase or ransom of a female slave. Me-me (probably to be distinguished from the one occurring in all the ration lists) is mentioned as a recipient of several *gur* of grain in **97** and in **102**, but in particular he occurs, as grain recipient, in **116** along with Ú-da-*<ad>-kèš<sup>ki</sup>*. The identification of Bazaza is more difficult since this name is certainly shared by more than one person in the archive. One of the attested Bazaza is a high-ranking official in charge of grain storage and distribution (see above). On the whole these prosopographical links point to a rather small group of people being involved in silver assignments and contributions. Moreover, except for Šum-šum, none of them is mentioned as a witness in silver transactions and in other kinds of payments within the “Šuilisu Archive.”

## LEGAL DOCUMENTS

### *Sale contracts*

Most witnessed transactions concern purchases of immovable or movable property. Attested objects of the purchase are slaves, animals, and real estate. Text no. **201** probably deals with the purchase of a slave sold by two brothers for 11 shekels. One of the witnesses holds the task of *muqeppum*, the “guarantor” (ur-tur dub-sar *mu-gi-ip*), whose role is usually distinguished from that of the witness in Sargonic sale contracts from northern Babylonia (see Wilcke

2007, 8.1.5.3.3.1). The final clause of the contract is unclear, but it seems to describe a legal procedure to ratify that the slave has been handed over to the buyer. In **207**, which records the purchase of a female slave, the purchaser weighs out the silver (Asaga *ì-lá*), while the seller (Amasa<sub>6</sub>-ga *dam-gàr*) is mentioned with no reference to the fact that he actually gets the money. Here, the final clause (7 abba<sub>2</sub> kù-babbar-bi *ù kiš-ša-at*), following the list of witnesses, can be related to the expression *šibūt kiššātim* “witnesses of the debt bondage” (Wilcke 2007, note 344, with reference to Owen, MVN 3, 102; also *CAD* sub *kiššātu* p. 460a). If so, the clause in our text should be translated: “Seven witnesses of its silver. She is bound to the pledge.” The price of the slave is 6 shekels of silver, possibly due to the weak position of the debtor. Text **209**, dealing with the purchase of two female donkeys, shows even a higher price per animal unit (ca. 6.5 shekels each).

The sale of a house (*é-KIŠ ù egir-su*) is probably the object of text **208**. What *é-KIŠ* means is obscure, but the mention of its “rear annex” supports its interpretation as a building. The price is unfortunately lost in a break.

### *Other witnessed transactions*

Unlike silver assignments issued by the administration—that are, so to say, guaranteed *per se*—payments from the pocket of single individuals entail the presence of witnesses, sometimes many witnesses, even in cases involving small amounts of silver.

In **202**, for example, a payment of just one shekel of silver to a man and his wife is witnessed by as many as nine people: among them, a certain Puzur-irra, accompanied by one of his associates and by two others who are qualified as a servant of the God of Akkade and a servant of Šuilisu, respectively. Not much higher is the amount of silver documented in **203**: three shekels of silver and 60 liters of grain are received by two persons in the presence of five witnesses.

More puzzling is a list of silver contributions to people included into two separate groups (**206**) of 10 or 1/3 shekel each, respectively. Records of this kind of payments were presu-

ably kept by those who handed over the silver and whose names did not need to appear in the document.

Silver contributions can also stem from the sale of movables, as shown by **205**, which deals with a payment to the governor: “Eleven shekels of silver obtained from the sale of one adult cow; two shekels of silver obtained from the sale of a one-year-old cow and a two-year-old cow: interest on a loan of 360 liters of grain, Ê-maḥ, the *ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal* has received. Šuilisu has paid” (obv. 1–9). The list of witnesses distinguishes between a first group of five people and a second group of two people (a cupbearer and a donkey shepherd) “of Emaḥ.”

A final remark should be made about the names of witnesses occurring in witnessed transactions. A collection of these names (see **Table 10**) shows that the number of persons appearing more than once is very small. In fact, it is limited to just three cases. Many of the names represent either professionals and their dependants (*dub-sar*, *dam-gàr*, *má-lah<sub>4</sub>*, *garaš<sub>4</sub>*, *sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>*, *sipa*, *sipa anše*, *nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>*, *simug*, *nagar*, *nar*, *sagi*, *nu-banda<sub>3</sub>*, *šabra ê*) or people who are otherwise known from the “Šuilisu Archive” as farmers (*engar*) or qualified as the queen’s dependants (*šu nin*), servants of the God of Akkade, etc.

According to this picture, even more than other groups of documents, the witnessed transactions give us a glimpse of Umm el-Hafriyat society, whose structure and composition fit in, in general terms, with the main features of the Sargonic state and its administration.

### Legal cases

This label has been adopted in our arrangement of documents to cover different textual types: lists of witnesses (**198**, **199**), witnessed deeds (**192**), as well as sworn declarations (**193**, **194**, **195**) and other types of records. Our comments will be restricted to two legal cases, the interpretation of which is particularly intriguing. Translations of these documents are provided in the text edition and will not be repeated here.

The first case (**193**) deals with an episode involving Naḥšum-šanat, a high-ranking and

well-known official, whom we already encountered in the administrative texts of the “archive” (see the translation and above, p. 34). The episode can be tentatively reconstructed as follows. Naḥšum-šanat (qualified as *lú-úš-udu*) is attacked and robbed in a place called Egal-eden. He accuses Šuilisu of the crime, who might have been one of his acquaintances in Umm el-Hafriyat, as suggested by a list of food allotments probably related to some special occasion (**48**). In that list, both a *šu-ì-lí-su šu kakkim* and a *na-aḥ-šum* (<*sa-na-at*>) *lú-úš-udu*, along with other notables, are attested as recipients of bread and beer. In order to defend himself, Šuilisu identifies six robbers (*ḥa-ba-tu*), who are listed at the beginning of the text, and swears in front of Naḥšum-šanat that the culprits will be tried in Nippur for their crime. The high profile of most of the witnesses attests to the relevance of these circumstances and to Naḥšum-šanat’s political stature.

The second case (**194**) deals with an accusation of misbehavior against a man called Namzi. Apparently Namzi is in charge of two donkeys belonging to a certain Irrara. These donkeys disappear and another person by the name of An-eden is believed to be responsible for the loss of the animals, so that he has to pay compensation for them. At this point he off-loads his responsibilities onto Namzi, who is taken to court by An-eden (no longer present there and so represented by Belak-kurub). In order to defend himself, Namzi declares under oath (obv. 8–12): “Shall I pay up to nine shekels for the donkeys? (Actually,) I did not take them from the hands of Irrara and his wife!” The presence of two people as Namzi’s witnesses (obv. 13–15) (along with a group of twelve other witnesses listed at the end) is justified by the fact that controversy is involved and he wants to assert his rights.

TABLE 10. LISTS OF WITNESSES IN SILVER TRANSACTIONS  
(names occurring more than once are in bold)

201	202	203	204	205
ur-tur dub-sar	pù.ša-ìr-ra šu è- dib-me-ir	be-lí-du-gul-ti	ur- [...]	<b>šeš-kal-la ir<sub>11</sub></b> <b>dingir-a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup></b>
diri-um engar nin	<b>šeš-kal-la ir<sub>11</sub></b> <b>dingir-a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup></b>	ì-lí-tab-ba	a- [...]	<b>é-zi ir<sub>11</sub></b> <b>dingir</b> <b>a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup></b>
ur-ur sipa šu nin	ur-[x]	<b>lugal-KA dub-</b> <b>sar ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-</b> <b>a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup></b>	lug[al ...]	<b>lugal-KA dub-</b> <b>sar ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-</b> <b>a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup></b>
<i>i-ti-ti šeš a-bí-</i> <i>mu-da</i>	<b>é-zi ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-</b> <b>a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup></b>	ir <sub>11</sub> -zu-ni dam- gàr ir <sub>11</sub> ur-túl-e	ur-zu [...]	
šú-ar-ba-dingir dumu sa <sub>10</sub> -mu- um	pù.ša-lu-lu ir <sub>11</sub> dingir-a-ga-dè <sup>ki</sup>	garaš <sub>4</sub>	úr-ra-[ni ...]	lugal-èš šu má- gur <sub>8</sub>
ur-su engar šu dingir-a-ga-dè <sup>ki</sup>	du-du dumu bar-ra-an	<b>ma-šum simug</b>		ur-mes simug šú nin
<b>ma-šum simug</b>	<b>ma-šum simug</b>			ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> sagi šú é-maḥ
ur-nim nagar dumu sa-bar- maḥ nagar-gal	<i>su-ni-um šu</i> pù.ša-ìr-ra <i>ku-ru-ub-ìr-ra</i> ir <sub>11</sub> šu-ì-lí-su			lugal-dalla sipa anše šu é-maḥ
<b>206</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>209</b>	
<i>i-da</i> -[...]	ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá	lugal-á-[na ...]	<i>da-ti šu tu-da-na-</i> <i>ab-šum</i>	
sá-lim-[...]	dam-gàr	dub-[sar ...]		
šú-aš-dar nu-banda <sub>3</sub>	lugal-iti-da	ugula mu-[da-x]	dingir-a-zu šu	
lugal-kas <sub>4</sub> -e sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub>	má-laḥ <sub>4</sub>	<i>ku-ra-tum nu-</i> kiri <sub>6</sub> dumu ì-lí-bí	šabra-é	
ki-gub-ba-ni	<i>da-da nar</i>	ur-tur-tur ir <sub>11</sub>		
ì-la-la dumu ur-ba	silim-mu	gal-zu-ki-é		
du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni dub-sar	mi-lu-sa	UD-iš ir <sub>11</sub> <i>be-lí-a-</i> <i>ma-ar</i>		
dumu dingir-gú ir <sub>11</sub>	me-PA-TUM			
dingir-a-ga-dè <sup>ki</sup>	šum-šum			
dingir-KA-me-ir ir <sub>11</sub>				
dingir-a-ga-dè <sup>ki</sup>				

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I

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- |         |    |   |     |  |
|---------|----|---|-----|--|
| obv. i. | 1. | sag-ap[in <sup>2</sup> ...]                               | 10. | ì-lí-gi-ma-at                                    |
|         | 2. | 1 (bùr) 1 (eše <sub>3</sub> ) 3 [iku x sar] 4 3<br>tu[ku] | 11. | 3 ½ iku 4 3 tuku                                 |
|         | 3. | šuku šu-ì-lí-su   | 12. | ì-la-la munu <sub>4</sub> -mú                    |
|         | 4. | 1 (eše <sub>3</sub> ) 2 ½ iku 15 s[ar] 4 3 tuku           | 13. | éš-gàr <sup>d</sup> giš-'eren <sub>2</sub> -kal' |
|         | 5. | 'i <sup>1</sup> -zi-lum                                   | 14. | 5 iku 10 sa[r] še 'x'                            |
|         | 6. | [...] 'x'   | 15. | ur-'x x'   |
|         | 7. | [x iku] 4 sar 4 3 tuku                                    | 16. | 1 iku 4 'sar 2+[1] tuku'                         |
|         | 8. | 'i <sup>1</sup> -zi-lum                                   | 17. | úr-kù-GI   |
|         | 9. | [x]+3 iku 15 sar 4 '3' tuku                               | 18. | 4 iku 20 lá 2 sar 3 2 tuku                       |
|         |    |   | 19. | [x]'x' ti  |



20. [x iku x]+2 sar [x tu]ku  
 21. [...] 'x'  
 (ca. four lines lost)
- ii 1. [x]+2 ¼ iku lá 1 sar [...]  
 2. [...]  
 3. [éš]-gàr [...]  
 4. [2] ½ ¼ iku 12 s[ar ...]  
 5. [ba]-ša-ah-[dingir]  
 6. [x] iku 10 lá 1 sar [...]  
 7. <sup>r</sup>d<sup>e</sup>n<sup>1</sup>-líl-lá  
 8. 2 ¼ iku [x] sar [...]  
 9. 1 iku 20 lá 1 sar [...]  
 10. 1 'iku x+2' sar [...]  
 11. i-ti-t[i]  
 12. éš-gàr ú-'da'-[ad]  
 13. 1 ¼ 'iku' 2 sar 1 tuku  
 14. šu-'ma'-ma  
 15. 3 ½ iku lá '5' sar 3 tuku  
 16. im<sub>6</sub>-da-lik  
 17. éš-gàr nu-úr-dingir  
 18. 1 ½ iku 10 sar 4 3 tuku  
 19. ga-za  
 20. 1 ½ ¼ iku 3 sar 3 2 tuku  
 21. é-a-ba-lik  
 22. 1 ¼ iku 6 sar 4 3 tuku  
 23. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le  
 24. 1<sup>2</sup> iku lá 6 sar 4 3 tuku  
 25. PÛ.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>giš-eren<sub>2</sub>  
 26. [2] iku lá 1 ½ sar 3 [(x) tuku]  
 27. [<sup>d</sup>en-'x'-[x]  
 28. [x] iku 2 sa[r ...]
- iii (ca. thirteen lines lost)  
 1. 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) iku 20 sar [...]  
 2. [l]ugal-iti-d[a]  
 3. 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) iku lá 10 sar 4 3 [tuku]  
 4. 5 iku 10+[x] sar [...]  
 5. éš-gàr ur-dingir-ra  
 6. 2 iku lá 20 s[ar] 2 1 [tuku]  
 7. ì-lí-iš-da-g[al]  
 8. 2 ¼ iku lá 8 sar 3 [(x) tuku]  
 9. zu-zu ašgab  
 10. 1 ½ ¼ iku 14 sar [...]  
 11. lugal-[x]  
 12. éš-gàr šu-ì-[[i-su]  
 13. 1 ½ ¼ i[ku x sa]r [...]
- rev. iv (ca. 4 lines lost)  
 1. 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) [... iku x sar] 4 [(x) tuku]  
 2. 4 ½ iku lá 4 [sar]  
 3. éš-gàr <sup>d</sup>en-líl-[x]  
 4. 1 ½ ¼ iku 4 3 tuku  
 5. AMAR-ré  
 6. 3 ¼ iku 7 sar 4 [tuku]  
 7. ù-[ù]  
 8. 3 gana<sub>2</sub> 'lá x' sa[r ...]  
 9. sá-lim-<sup>d</sup>[utu]  
 10. 1 ½ ¼ iku 3 2 tu[ku]  
 11. šu-ì-lí-s[u x (x)]  
 12. 2 ½ iku 3 sar [...]  
 13. bar-r[a-an]  
 14. éš-gàr [...]  
 15. 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) 3 [iku ...]  
 16. na- [...]  
 17. 1½ iku [...]  
 18. a-geštin 'x' [...]  
 19. 3 [gana<sub>2</sub> ...]  
 20. l[ugal- ...]  
 (ca. five lines lost)
- v 1. [x] ¼ iku 7 sar 4 [3 tuku]  
 2. ur-èš  
 3. 5 ½ iku 4 3 tuku  
 4. šu-ì-lí-su sipa  
 5. éš-gàr nu-úr-dingir  
 6. 1 (bùr) 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) 4 iku 3 sar 3 2 tuku  
 7. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 8. 1 ½ iku 20 lá 2 sar 3 2 tuku  
 9. inim-kù  
 10. 3 ½ iku lá 22 sar 4 3 tuku  
 11. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 12. 34 sar 2 tuku  
 13. lugal-e-á-na  
 14. éš-gàr du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 15. 2 ½ iku lá 3 sar 4 3 tuku  
 16. lugal-e-á-na  
 17. 1 iku lá '10' sar 3 tuku  
 18. 1 [iku x s]ar 4 3 tuku  
 19. kur-m[u]-gam  
 20. šuku 'ur'-dingir-ra  
 21. 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) 5 ½ iku lá 6 sar 4 3 tuku

- |    |     |                                |     |   |
|----|-----|--------------------------------|-----|---|
|    | 22. | ʿur- x x <sup>1</sup>          | 12. | [...] GAR                                       |
|    | 23. | 3 ¼ iku 13 sar 2 [tuku]        | 13. | [...]   |
|    | 24. | ur-zu                          | 14. | [x] ½ iku 11 sar 4 3 <tuku>                     |
|    | 25. | šuku ur-[...]                  | 15. | [lu]gal-níg-bara <sub>4</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> |
|    | 26. | [...] 3 [tuku]                 | 16. | [x] iku 10 sar 4 3 tuku                         |
|    | 27. | ur-dingir-[ra]                 | 17. | [nu]-úr-dingir                                  |
|    | 28. | 5 iku lá 10 sar [...]          | 18. | šuku ú-da-ad                                    |
| vi | 1.  | [...]                          | 19. | 1 (eše <sub>3</sub> ) ½ ¼ iku 10 sar 3 2 tuku   |
|    | 2.  | [x iku x sar] 4 3 tuku         | 20. | dub-si-ga                                       |
|    | 3.  | [lú]-na-ba                     | 21. | 2 (eše <sub>3</sub> ) 1 ½ iku 4 3 tuku          |
|    | 4.  | [x] iku 15 sar 5 2 tuku        | 22. | lú- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá                      |
|    | 5.  | ʿx <sup>1</sup> -gi            | 23. | šuku a-geštin                                   |
|    | 6.  | šuku <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá    | 24. | 1 (eše <sub>3</sub> ) 3 ½ iku 5 sar 4 3 tuku    |
|    | 7.  | 1 ½ iku 2 sar 3 2 tuku         | 25. | 1 iku 5 sar 2 tuku                              |
|    | 8.  | ì-lí-tab-ba                    | 26. | da-da   |
|    | 9.  | [...] 3 tuku                   | 27. | šuku ur-íb                                      |
|    | 10. | [...] tu                       | 28. | _____   |
|    | 11. | [x] ½ ¼ iku [x sar] 4 3 [tuku] | 29. | agar <sub>4</sub> maš-da-lu                     |

## 2

(CUNES 49-09-033). 68×41×19. Partly deformed by pressure in the ground.



- obv. 1. 'x sag<sup>1</sup>-ḫi-a  
 2. 13 [...] 16 ½  
 3. a-šà 1 (eše) 3+[2] ¼ iku  
 4. '7' ¼ (iku) gana<sub>2</sub>-bar  
 5. 5 (iku) gana<sub>2</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub> 3 ½ (iku) gana<sub>2</sub>-zi  
 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. ki-[gub-b]a-ni apin-lá  
 8. a-na nam-tar-re  
 9. šuku šu-ì-lí-su

## 3

(CUNES 49-09-036). 62×43×17.



- obv.
1. 1+[x s]ag-ḫi-a
  2. [x] ús
  3. a-<sup>r</sup>šà<sup>1</sup> 2 ½ iku 12 ½ (sar) 4 3 tuku
  4. 17 (nindan) sag-ḫi-a
  5. 33 (nindan) ús
  6. a-šà 5 ½ iku 11 (sar) 5 4 tuku
  7. 1 (diš) gana<sub>2</sub>-bar 3 tuku 2 tuku
  8. 20 ½ (nindan) sag-ḫi-a
  9. 30 (nindan) ús
  10. a-šà 1 (eše) iku 15 (sar) 3 2 tuku
  11. 1 iku 3 tuku
  12. 13 ½ (nindan) sag <sup>r</sup>17<sup>1</sup> (nindan) [ús]
  13. 30+[x ...]
- rev.
1. a-šà 1 (eše) 1 lá ¼ iku 4 3 tu[ku]
  2. šu-i-lí-su
  3. \_\_\_\_\_
  4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1 (bùr) 4 ¼ iku 3 ½ (sar)
  5. še-su 10 lá 0.1.2 gur a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>
  6. šu maš-da-lu-ga[l]
  7. kur-mu-gam engar
  8. gana<sub>2</sub> gíd-da
  9. lugal-kas<sub>4</sub>-e

## 4

(CUNES 49-09-050). 56×45×20.



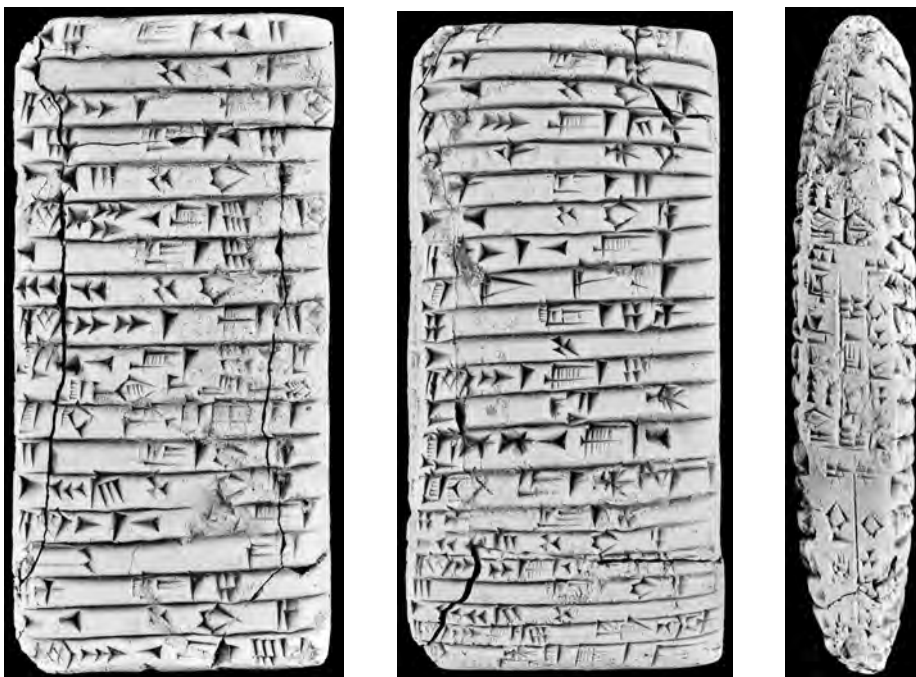
- obv. 1. 12 mir 12  
 2. 50 lá 3 kur-ḫi-a  
 3. a-ša 5 iku 30  
 4. 7 sar bar  
 5. 21 sar zi 20 sar ki-sù  
 6. šu-i-lí-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>  
 7. 8 mir 10 lá x  
 8. 50 lá 3 kur-ḫi-a
- rev. 1. <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ša 3 ½ gana<sub>2</sub>  
 2. 1 gana<sub>2</sub> a-a-úš  
 3. 6 lá 0.0.2 sar-ZI&ZI-<sup>r</sup>gi<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 4. i-ti-ti  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. gana<sub>2</sub> gíd-da  
 7. ur-su-su sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>

obv. 5: We take *ki-sù* as a variant of *ki-su*<sub>7</sub> in the sense of “fallow land.”

obv. 7: The last sign, which looks like PA, must represent some fraction number.

## 5

(CUNES 49-13-086). 90×44×18.



- obv.
1. 25 (nindan) mir 22
  2. 10 (nindan) kur 10 ½
  3. a-ša 2 ½ iku 1-kam
  4. 16 mir 15
  5. 73 kur-ḫi-a
  6. a-ša 1 (bùr) 5 ¼ iku 8 (sar) 2-kam
  7. 10 mir 8
  8. 50 kur-ḫi-a
  9. a-ša 4 ½ iku 3-kam
  10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) iku 8 sar šu kun-bar URU×A-gi
  11. éš-gàr<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá
  12. 2 mir-ḫi-a
  13. 90 lá 3 'kur'-ḫi-a
  14. a-ša 1 ½ ¼ iku
  15. AMAR-ré
  16. 4 ½ mir 5
  17. 70 kur-ḫi-a
  18. a-ša 3 ¼ iku 7½ (sar) 1
- rev.
1. ù-ù
  2. 4 ½ mir 4
  3. 70 kur-ḫi-a

4. a-šà 3 iku lá 2 ½ (sar)
  5. *sá-lim*-<sup>d</sup>utu
  6. 1 ½ mir 2
  7. 70 kur-ḫi-a
  8. a-šà 1 ½ ¼ iku
  9. *šu-ì-lí-su*
  10. 4 mir 4 ½
  11. 60 kur
  12. a-šà 2 ½ iku 5 (sar)
  13. bar-ra-an
  14. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 2 (eše<sub>3</sub>) ¼ iku 10 (sar)
  15. éš-gàr ur-<sup>d</sup>inanna
  16. 4 ½ mir 4
  17. 100 lá 2 kur-ḫi-a
  18. a-šà 4 ½ iku 15 ½ zà-ge
  19. 3 mir-ḫi-a
  20. 100 lá 2 kur
  21. a-šà 3 iku lá 6 (sar) lú-na-ba
  22. šuku <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá
- ledge
1. 15<sup>71</sup> mir-ḫi-a
  2. 40 lá 1 kur-ḫi-a
  3. a-šà 5 iku lá 10 (sar) gala
  4. 6 ½ mir 6
  5. 1.40 lá 2 kur-ḫi-a
  6. a-šà 5 [x x] 2 ½
  7. šuku [ur]-<sup>d</sup>inanna

## 6

(CUNES 49-13-087). 70×45×19. Reverse blank.



- obv. 1. 30 [mir-ḫi]-a  
 2. 10 lá 1 kur-ḫi-a  
 3. a-ša *blank*  
 4. 20 [...] mir 33  
 5. 10 ½ kur 12  
 6. a-ša *blank*  
 7. 6 ½ mir 3  
 8. 20 lá 2 kur 20  
 9. a-ša *blank*  
 10. 8 mir 8 ½  
 11. 16 kur-ḫi-a  
 12. a-ša 4 (bùr) bar  
 13. \_\_\_\_\_  
 14. [zu]-zu



7

(CUNES 49-09-057). 51×42×19.



- obv.
1. o.1 še-mùš
  2. a-rá 1-kam
  3. 1 zíz gur-2-UL
  4. a-rá 2-kam
  5. o.o.3 še-gu<sub>4</sub>
  6. a-rá 3-kam
  7. \_\_\_\_\_
  8. *i-zi-lum*
  9. *a-na* še-numun

## 8

(CUNES 49-09-063). 46×41×18.



- obv.
1. 240 X su<sub>7</sub> 1-kam
  2. 420 X su<sub>7</sub> 2-kam
  3. šu 2 (bùr) ṛgana<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>
  4. kur-mu-gam
  5. 380 X
  6. ṛsu<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> 3-kam
  7. šu 1 (bùr) gana<sub>2</sub> kil-dingir
  8. šu agar<sub>4</sub> gana<sub>2</sub>-bar-sa
- rev.
1. 380 X
  2. šu maš-da-lu
  3. ṛsu<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> [4]-kam
  4. \_\_\_\_\_
  5. in LAK.193 ši gana<sub>2</sub>-bar-sa
  6. ṛsa<sup>1</sup>-ak-nu
  7. [...] -ri kur-mu-gam

## 9

(CUNES 49-09-021). 81×45×21.



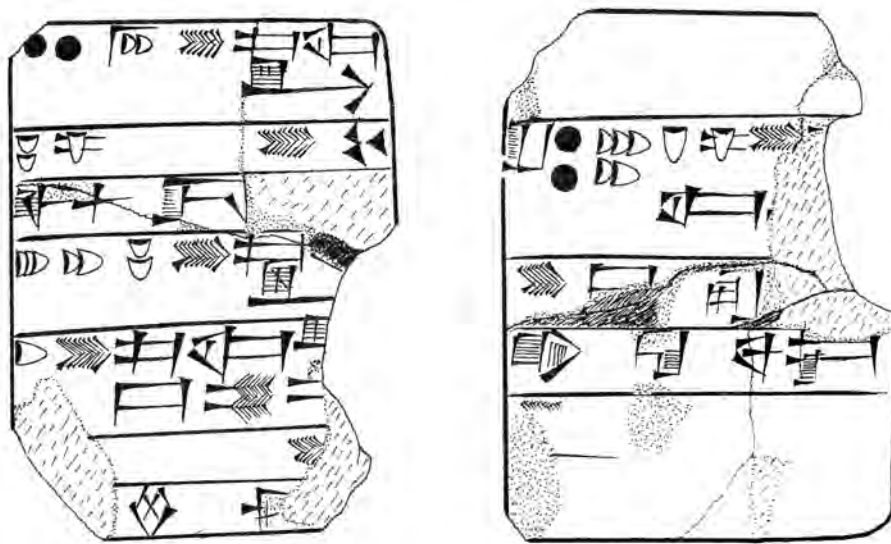
- obv. 1. 30 lá 3 še gur šu ki-su<sub>7</sub>  
 2. 3+[x ...] giš-ra-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>  
 3. <sup>r</sup>nag-su<sup>1</sup> [... i]-ti-ti  
 4. šu 1 (eše<sub>3</sub>) 3 (iku) aša<sub>5</sub>  
 5. 32 [še g]ur  
 6. šu ki-su<sub>7</sub>  
 7. 10 še giš-ra-a gur  
 8. dingir-su-k[a]l  
 9. a-bu dam-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>

10. \_\_\_\_\_

11. 3 (iku) gana<sub>2</sub> zi  
 12. še-su 10 gur <sup>r</sup>zi-zi<sup>1</sup>  
 13. 30 lá 2 gur <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>  
 rev. 1. [x] aša<sub>5</sub> š[e ] 120 gur  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. a-na 1 (bùr) 3 (iku) aša<sub>5</sub>  
 4. níg-šid-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup> ba-ak  
 5. šu agar<sub>4</sub>-gana<sub>2</sub>-bar-sa

## IO

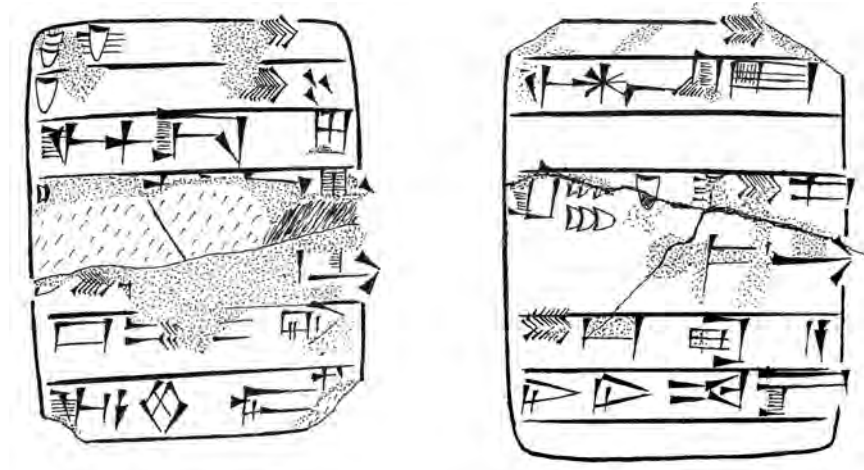
(BI-II 25). 57×42×16. Unbaked, light gray. Previously published as *TCABI* 220.



- obv. 1. 20 lá 2 še gur-sag-gál  
 2. 0.2.2 še-kur  
 3. agar<sub>4</sub> maš-da-[lu]  
 4. 5.2 še gur-s[ag]-gál  
 5. 1 še gur-sag-gál giš-du<sub>8</sub> tab-[bi]  
 6. [o.1] še-[kur]  
 7. [agar<sub>4</sub> a]-šà-ma[h]
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 25.1.2 še gur-sag-g[ál]  
 3. še giš-ra-[a]  
 4. ga-la-ba engar

## II

(BI-II 35). 48×38×16. Unbaked, light gray. Previously published as *TCABI* 221.



- |      |   |
|------|---|
| obv. | 1. o.3.4 še                                   |
|      | 2. o.1 še-kur                                 |
|      | 3. agar <sub>4</sub> maš-da-lu                |
|      | 4. 2+[x še] 'gur-sag-gál'                     |
|      | 5. 1 še g[ur-sa]g-gál                         |
|      | 6. giš-du <sub>8</sub> tab-bi                 |
|      | 7. agar <sub>4</sub> a-šà-mah                 |
| rev. | 1. [x] še-[kur]                               |
|      | 2. agar <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> en-líl      |
|      | 3. _____                                      |
|      | 4. šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 6.1.4 še gur-sag-gál |
|      | 5. še giš-ra-a                                |
|      | 6. i-lí-tab-ba engar                          |

## I2

(CUNES 52-00-029 < 52-20-067). 26×46×17. Broken edge slightly trimmed, less than half the original tablet.



- obv. 1. lá 5.1 še gur a-ga-d[e<sup>ki</sup> i]  
 2. me-it-lik engar  
 3. 6.0.2 še gur  
 4. ʾ10ʾ [...] gur  
 (rest is lost)
- rev. (break)
- 1'. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2'. šu a-šà-ga gar-ra-ʾàmʾ

Obv. 1: We have restored *i* at the end, reading *lá-i*, because otherwise we cannot explain *lá* at the beginning.

## I3

(CUNES 49-13-093). 78×41×21.



- obv.
1. 23+[x].2+[x].1 še 'gur'
  2. *kil-dingir* 'mu'-DU
  3. 20.2.3 še [gur]
  4. kur-'mu-gam' [mu]-DU
  5. *ir-e-bum im-ḥur*
  6. a-'na' é-gu<sub>4</sub> i-sa-bi-ik
  7. 'še'-[giš-r]a-a kur-mu-gam
  8. [x]+2 še gur
  9. 'lá-ì kur'-mu-gam
  10. *šu* 2 (bùr) lá 4 (iku) gana<sub>2</sub>
  11. 24 še gur
  12. <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka mu-DU
- rev.
1. 1 še gur *ḥa*-LUM
  2. 0.2.3 še *kil-dingir*
  3. *ir-e-bum im-ḥur*
  4. a-na é-gu<sub>4</sub> i-'sa-bi-ik'
  5. še giš-ra-a *kil*-'dingir'
  6. lá-ì 4.2.3 še gur
  7. lá-ì *kil-dingir*
  8. lá-ì 3.2.3 še gur
  9. lá-ì i-ti-aš-'dar'

## I4

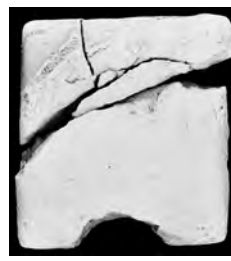
(CUNES 49-14-019). 32×29×14.



- obv. 1. 187.2.3 še gur-mah  
 2. in é-gu<sub>4</sub>  
 3. 133 še gur  
 4. [in] é ba-za-za
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. ìr-e-bum  
 3. im-hur

## I5

(CUNES 49-14-017). 33×30×13.



- obv. 1. 12.[x]+1.[x] [3]+2 sila<sub>3</sub> še gur a-ga-dè<sup>rkin</sup>  
 2. i-ti-<sup>d</sup>IM  
 3. im-hur



## I6

(CUNES 49-09-037). 63×41×18.



- obv. 1. 2 gú lu<sup>sar</sup> ur-[<sup>d</sup>]gib[il<sub>6</sub>]  
 2. 3 gú ak  
 3. 3 gú za-zi  
 4. 3 gú PÙ.ŠA-ma-ma  
 5. 3 gú ma-šum  
 6. 3 gú ur-<sup>r<sub>gis</sub></sup>gigir<sub>2</sub>  
 7. 2 gú zà-mu  
 8. 1 gú ì-lí-lí  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. lu<sup>sar</sup> u-ub-lu-nim

## I7

(CUNES 49-09-083). 40×34×15.



- obv. 1. lá-ì 2 udu-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 2. eren-da-ni  
 3. lá-ì 3 udu-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 4. úr-ra-ni  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. ì-nu a-na ùr  
 7. u-ru-a-nim
- rev. 1. šu-ì-lí-su  
 2. ʽgurum<sub>2</sub>ʼ-bi e-ak  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. hu-zu-zi-iš  
 5. a-na gurum<sub>2</sub>

## I8

(CUNES 49-09-030). 67×43×19.

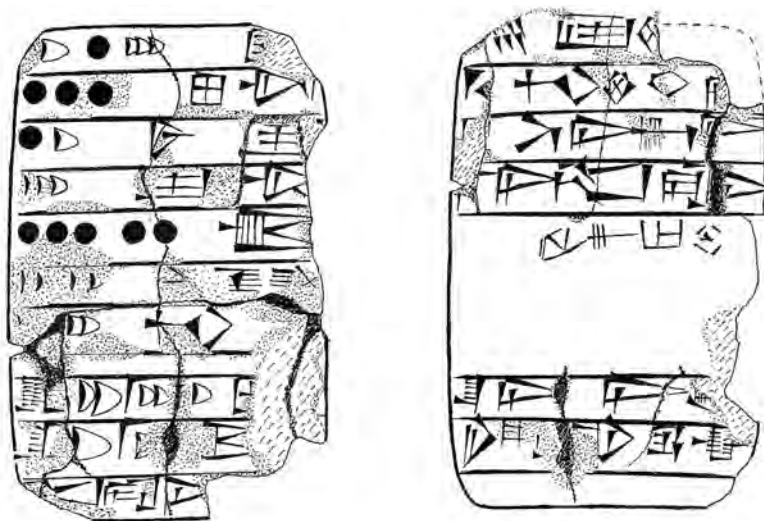


- obv. 1. 71 u<sub>8</sub>  
 2. 30 udu-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 3. 6 kir<sub>11</sub>  
 4. 4 sila<sub>4</sub> nita<sub>2</sub>  
 5. 53 ùz  
 6. 4 <sup>munus</sup>áš-gàr  
 7. 3 máš-gal  
 8. \_\_\_\_\_  
 9. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> III udu-ḫi-a  
 10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 60 ùz-ḫi-a  
 11. [er]en-da-ni sipa
- rev. 1. lá 10 sila<sub>4</sub>-šà-du<sub>10</sub> ì  
 2. lá 10 máš-šà-du<sub>10</sub> ì  
 3. lá 10 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-nun ì  
 4. lá-ì eren-da-ni  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. šu-ì-lí-su  
 7. níg-šid-bi e-ak  
 8. '7' ma-na siki kur  
 9. [1] gú 30 ma-na siki  
 10. eren-da-ni ì-lá

Rev. 5: In the blank on the reverse is incised very lightly: im-ma-k[am].

## 19

(Private Italian collection). 63×40×18.



- obv. 1. 73 'u<sub>8</sub>'  
 2. 30 udu-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 3. 11 mí-sila<sub>4</sub>  
 4. 3 sila<sub>4</sub>-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 5. 50 ùz  
 6. 4 <sup>munus</sup>áš-gàr  
 7. [3]+2 máš [(x)]  
 8. \_\_\_\_\_  
 9. šu<sup>1</sup>+nigin<sub>2</sub> 120 lá 4 u[du-*hi*-a]  
 10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 60 lá 1 ùz-[*hi*-a]  
 11. úr-ra-ni [mu-DU]
- rev. 1. [lá] 7 sila<sub>4</sub>-sig [i]  
 2. lá 10 máš-ša-du<sub>10</sub> ì  
 3. lá [x] sila<sub>3</sub> ì-nun ì  
 4. lá-ì úr-ra-ni  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. šu-ì-lí-su  
 7. níg-šid-bi e-ak

In the blank on the reverse is incised very lightly: im-ma<sup>1</sup>-kam.

## 20

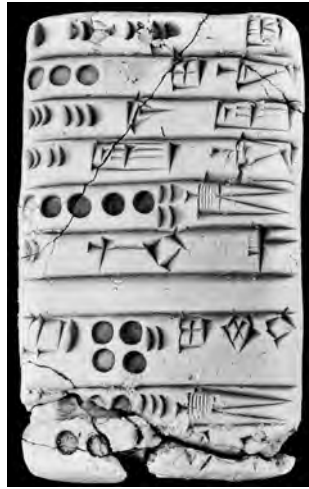
(CUNES 49-09-038). 65×41×16.



- obv. 1. [70]+14 u<sub>8</sub>  
 2. 30 udu-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 3. 11 kir<sub>11</sub>  
 4. 3 sila<sub>4</sub> nita<sub>2</sub>  
 5. 44 ùz  
 6. 8 munus<sup>3</sup>áš-gàr  
 7. 4 máš-gal  
 8. \_\_\_\_\_  
 9. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 126+[2] udu-ḫi-a  
 10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 56 ùz-ḫi-a<sup>1</sup>
- rev. 1. lá-ì 14 si[la<sub>4</sub> ...]  
 2. lá-ì 16 máš-šà-[du<sub>10</sub>]  
 3. lá-ì 20 lá 2 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-nun  
 4. lá-ì úr-ra-ni  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. ur-zu níg-šid-bi e-<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>  
 7. 2 gú lá 10 ma-na siki  
 8. úr-ra-ni ì-lá

## 2I

(CUNES 49-09-039). 64×38×17.



- obv. 1. 68 u<sub>8</sub>  
 2. 30 (er.) udu-nita<sub>2</sub>  
 3. 6 kir<sub>11</sub>  
 4. 4 sila<sub>4</sub> nita<sub>2</sub>  
 5. 54 ùz  
 6. 2 máš-gal  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 102 udu-šà-du<sub>10</sub>  
 9. †šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 55<sup>†</sup> ùz-šà-du<sub>10</sub>
- rev. 1. eren-[d]a-ni  
 2. †20<sup>†</sup> lá 2 sila<sub>4</sub> -[šà-du<sub>10</sub>] lá-ì  
 3. †20<sup>†</sup> lá 2 máš-šà-du<sub>10</sub> lá-ì  
 4. †20<sup>†</sup> lá 2 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-nun lá-ì  
 5. lá-ì eren-da-ni  
 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. ur-zu  
 8. níg-šid-bi e-ak  
 9. 1 gú 30 ma-na siki  
 10. eren-da-ni ì-lá

obv. 8: The total number of sheep is 104.

obv. 9: The correct total would be 56, and there is a slight possibility that the tablet once had that figure.

22

(CUNES 49-09-079). 40×35×16.



- obv. 1. 73+[3<sup>2</sup>] u<sub>8</sub>  
 2. siki-bi 2 gú lá-15-NI ma-na  
 3. 40 lá 1 ma-na  
 4. lá-ì úr-ra-ni
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. KA-si-kum

Obv. 2: Read 2 gú 15 ma-na lá-ì ?

## 23

(CUNES 48-12-101 < 48-12-064). 43×51×18. Less than half the tablet.



obv. (break)

- 1'. 1 sila<sub>3</sub> ga-ara<sub>3</sub>  
 2'. ur-li sipa  
 3'. 6 udu  
 4'. 20 lá 2 šâ-du<sub>10</sub>  
 5'. 2 gú 30 siki ma-n[a]  
 6'. šu 3 mu dingir-ra-bí  
 7'. šu ab[ba<sub>2</sub>]

rev. 1. 1 u<sub>8</sub>  
 (break)

## 24

(L-2000, 9, now BI-II 38). 35×33×13, light gray. Previously published as *TCABI* 260.



- obv. 1. 240 gir-dar-ra  
 2. 180 ku<sub>6</sub>-bar-ra  
 3. a-rá 1-kam  
 rev. 1. 1500 ku<sub>6</sub>-dar-ra  
 2. a-rá 2-kam  
 3. TAR-da šu-ku<sub>6</sub>  
 4. u-bí-lam



## 25

(MS 2246). 37×31×13. Unbaked, gray.



- obv. 1. 680 lá 1 ku<sub>6</sub>-dar-ra  
 2. 420 lá 10 ku<sub>6</sub>-sag-ba U UD<sup>3</sup>.DU  
 3. 3120 'lá 10<sup>3</sup> ku<sub>6</sub>-a-ab-ba  
 4. 1.1.3 ku<sub>6</sub>-tur-tur 'gur' sag-mah  
 5. nam-mah
- rev. 1. 'x x x x x'  
 2. 'ù x x' [x]  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. *u-ub-lu*  
 5. šâ-bi-ta 10 ku<sub>6</sub>  
 6. 'x' an 'x' *im-hur*

Rev. 5-6: added onto half-dry tablet.

(CUNES 49-08-081). 69×43×18.



obv. 1.      š<sub>u</sub>-ì-lí-s[u]  
 2.      sig<sub>5</sub>-dingir  
 3.    2 ur-zu  
 4.      zu-zu  
 5.      lú-adab<sup>ki</sup>  
 6.      da-ba-ba  
 7.      PÛ.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>giš-eren<sub>2</sub>  
 8.      di-nun-né  
 9.      ga-li-li  
 10.     dingir-su-kal  
 11.     ugula a-hu-su<sub>4</sub>-ni  
 12.     dumu gala  
 13.     ur-da  
 14.     ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-sar  
 15.     (blank)  
 16.     (blank)

rev. 1.      dingir-[u]r-sag  
 2.     (blank)  
 3.      h<sub>i</sub>-ba-zum  
 4.     (blank)  
 5.      i-lul-dingir  
 6.     (blank)  
 7.      ugula ab-ba  
 8.      <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka  
 9.      š<sub>u</sub>-é-GIŠ×GIŠ  
 10.     ga-za  
 11.     sá-lim-<sup>d</sup>utu  
 12.     ur-e<sub>11</sub>  
 13.     lú-<sup>d.aš</sup>7-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 14.     bar-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-an  
 15.     š<sub>u</sub>-ì-lí-su  
 16.     ì-lí-tab-ba  
 17.     (blank)  
 18.     ugula ur-dingir-ra

## 27

(CUNES 49-13-089). 70×42×20.



obv. 1. 1 'en-líl'-lá  
 2. 1 šu-ì-lí-su  
 3. 1 i-lul-dingir  
 4. 1 ur-'su<sup>2</sup>-da'  
 5. 1 ur-zu  
 6. 1 lugal-me-lám  
 7. 1 ur-lam  
 8. 1 bù-bù  
 9. ga-iš-du<sub>10</sub>  
 10. bi-ḫa-zum  
 11. ugula a-ḫu-su<sub>4</sub>-ni  
 12. 1 da-ba-ba  
 13. 1 ga-la-ba  
 14. 1 ur-li-li  
 15. 1 ur-<sup>d</sup>eš-ḫa'(KIR)-ra  
 16. 1 dingir-ur-sag  
 17. '1' du-du

rev. 1. 1 'bíl'-[bíl]  
 2. 1 ur-da  
 3. 1 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-sar  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. ugula zu-<sup>r</sup>zu'  
 6. ab-<sup>r</sup>ba'  
 7. 'lú-UD.NU[N.KI]  
 8. PÙ.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>g[iš-eren<sub>2</sub>]  
 9. 1 bar-<sup>r</sup>ra'-an  
 10. 1 šu-ì-lí-[su]  
 11. 1 ga-za  
 12. 1 lugal-<sup>r</sup>x'  
 13. [1<sup>?</sup>] lú-<sup>d.aš</sup>aš<sub>7</sub>-g[i<sub>4</sub>]  
 14. [1<sup>?</sup>] ì-lí-tab-ba  
 15. \_\_\_\_\_  
 16. ugula ur-dingir-ra

(CUNES 49-09-015). 96×48×26.



obv. 1. *a-da-[lāl]*  
 2. *kil-[din]gir*  
 3. *ga-la-ba*  
 4. *du-du*  
 5. *ba-ki-ki*  
 6. *ḫa-LUM*  
 7. *kur-mu-gam*  
 8. *zu-zu ašgab*  
 9. *ra-bí-[dingir]*  
 10. *su-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>r</sup>-r<sup>i</sup>-a*  
 11. *<sup>r</sup>du<sub>11</sub><sup>r</sup>-ga-ni*  
 12. *eren-da-ni*  
 13. *nam-maḫ*  
 14. *ur-nigin<sub>3</sub>*  
 15. *sá-lim-be-lí*  
 16. *é-a-ba-ni*  
 17. *amar-ki*  
 18. *ur-èš-~~nu~~-kiri<sub>6</sub>*  
 19. *bù-ba <sup>r</sup>dumu-ni<sup>r</sup>*  
 20. *un-í[l]*  
 21. *šeš [...]*

rev. 1. *š<sup>u</sup>-ma-[ma]*  
 2. *ugula<sup>r</sup> di-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>-[le]*  
 3. *I [K]A<sup>r</sup>-[...]*  
 4. *I lugal-iti-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>*  
 5. *I ur-nigin<sub>3</sub>*  
 6. *I é-<sup>r</sup>ad x<sup>r</sup>*  
 7. *I a-bí-du<sub>10</sub>*  
 8. *I bar-ra-an*  
 9. *I lugal-[u]sar*

(The rest is blank, except for a few signs  
 incised on the dry surface of the tablet)

## 29

(CUNES 49-11-066). 44×40×17.



- obv. 1. 2 l[ú g]ù-dé-a  
 2. 2 lú 'a<sup>1</sup>-geštin  
 3. 2 lú 'ur<sup>1</sup>-íb  
 4. 2 lú n[u-ú]r-dingir  
 5. 2 lú na-bí-um  
 6. 2 lú ur-zu  
 7. [2<sup>?</sup>] lú <sup>d</sup>en-líl-'lá'  
 8. [2<sup>?</sup>] lú [d]u<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 9. [...] 'ra'  
 10. [...]
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. [...] 'x'  
 3. [2<sup>?</sup>] lú ur-da  
 4. 1 lú 'x' [x]  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 20+[x gu]ruš-guruš  
 7. šu-ut [eng]ar-engar  
 8. a-na [nu]mun<sub>2</sub>

## 30

(CUNES 49-09-027). 69×40×17.



- |      |     |                                       |
|------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| obv. | 1.  | ak                                    |
|      | 2.  | za-zi                                 |
|      | 3.  | PÙ.ŠA-ma-ma                           |
|      | 4.  | ma-šum                                |
|      | 5.  | ur- <sup>gis</sup> gigir <sub>2</sub> |
|      | 6.  | zà-mu                                 |
|      | 7.  | nam-mah                               |
|      | 8.  | za-dar- <i>hi</i>                     |
|      | 9.  | i-ti-aš-dar                           |
|      | 10. | ur-zu                                 |
|      | 11. | ì-lí-lí                               |
|      | 12. | [...] 'x'                             |
|      | 13. | lul-gu-ak                             |
| rev. | 1.  | lugal-an-dùl                          |
|      | 2.  | ur-sukkal                             |
|      | 3.  | úr-ra-ni                              |
|      | 4.  | -----                                 |
|      | 5.  | nu-kiri <sub>6</sub> -me a-šà tuš-dè  |

## 3I

(CUNES 49-09-056). 53×34×17. Blackish.



- obv. 1. I *a-da-làl*  
 2. I *iš-má-dingir*  
 3. I *šú-ì-lí-su* šitim  
 4. 'I' nam-[mah]  
 5. [1] ur-nigin<sub>3</sub>  
 6. [1] di-ì-le  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. *é-li-ku-<sup>r</sup>tum<sup>1</sup>*
- rev. 1. I *šú-ì-lí-su má-lah<sub>4</sub>*  
 2. I *su-ba-rí-a*  
 3. I *ra-bí-dingir*  
 4. [1] *ba-zàh<sub>4</sub>-dingir*  
 5. [1] lugal-iti-da  
 6. [1] *šu-6*  
 7. I ur-li  
 8. \_\_\_\_\_  
 9. *la é-li-ku-tum*

## 32

(CUNES 49-09-006). 103×77×25. Unbaked, lighter brown than the others.



obv.i 1. I [<sup>d</sup>nanna]-bàd ṛnagar<sup>ṛ1</sup>  
 2. I lul-gu-ak  
 3. šu é-[x x x]  
 4. I i-ti-ṛti<sup>1</sup>  
 5. dumu ù-ù  
 6. I ga-la-ba  
 7. I la-mu-sa  
 8. 2 dumu im<sub>6</sub>-da-lik  
 9. I ur-zikum-ma  
 10. dumu ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-mug  
 11. I a-[x?]-UR  
 12. ir<sub>11</sub> u[r]-mes  
 13. I zu-zu  
 14. dumu šu-ì-lí-su  
 15. I <sup>d</sup>en-líl-sipa  
 16. ir<sub>11</sub> be-lí-an-dùl  
 17. I a-<sup>h</sup>u-su<sub>4</sub>-nu  
 18. ṛš<sup>1</sup> mu-mu

19. [l]ú-<sup>d</sup>aš<sub>7</sub>-aš<sub>7</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 20. [...]  
 ii 1. [...] ṛx<sup>1</sup>  
 2. [x] ṛx<sup>1</sup> ku  
 3. I ra-bí-dingir  
 4. ir<sub>11</sub> ìr-ra-ur-sag  
 5. I a-bum-eren<sub>2</sub>  
 6. šes i-zi-lum  
 7. 1 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-sar  
 8. 1 lú-na-ba  
 9. 1 ur-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 10. -----  
 11. é-lú nagar ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...] šu wu-zum-  
 lugal-[r<sub>1</sub>]  
 12. za-ki-ru  
 13. I <sup>d</sup>utu-igi-du  
 14. ir<sub>11</sub> lugal-kaš<sub>4</sub>-e  
 15. I ur-su šu ur-da

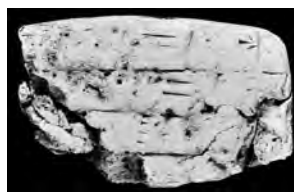
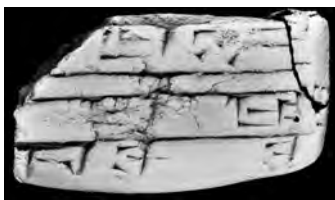


- |            |  |         |  |
|------------|--|---------|--|
| 16.        | I <i>i-lul</i> -dingir   | 20.     | I ur- <sup>dr</sup> inanna <sup>1</sup> I ur-zu  |
| 17.        | I lugal-[x]  | 21.     | lugal-uri <sub>3</sub> <i>šu</i> ur- <i>ib</i>   |
| 18.        | <i>šu</i> é- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -gi   | 22.     | I nagar I ur-níg-zu <sup>1</sup> (SU)  |
| 19.        | I <i>šu-aš-dar</i>   | 23.     | I ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna <i>šu</i> <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le   |
| 20.        | ir <sub>11</sub> lugal-kè[ <sup>s</sup> ki] sipa   | iv I-2. | (two lines lost)   |
| 21.        | [I] <sup>r</sup> ur- x <sup>1</sup>  | 3.      | [...] ne <sup>r</sup> um <sup>1</sup>  |
| 22.        | [i]r <sub>11</sub> ur-[...]  | 4.      | I <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -[š]eš <i>šu</i> <sup>r</sup> il-at- <sup>d</sup> HAR-x <sup>1</sup> |
| rev.iii 1. | [I g]issu  | 5.      | I <i>ra-bí</i> -dingir I ur-èš   |
| 2.         | [x x]- <sup>r</sup> gu <sup>1</sup> -la  | 6.      | I inim-ma <i>šu</i> <sup>r</sup> nu- <sup>úr</sup> -dingir   |
| 3.         | [...] sa   | 7.      | I šid-da I <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i>   |
| 4.         | [... <i>me</i> ]- <sup>r</sup> it <sup>1</sup> -lik  | 8.      | <sup>r</sup> I <sup>1</sup> <i>šu-ma-ma</i> <i>šu</i> ur-zu  |
| 5.         | I [...] <sup>r</sup> šu <sup>1</sup> a- <sup>r</sup> geštin <sup>1</sup> lú- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> | 9.      | I <sup>úr</sup> -ra-ni I lú-dingir-ra  |
| 6.         | I <i>šu-aš-dar</i> <i>šu</i> [...] -e-mu-[x]   | 10.     | [I] lugal-iti-da <i>šu</i> du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni   |
| 7.         | I dingir-kal <i>šu</i> é <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...]   | 11.     | I ur-kaš I nita  |
| 8.         | I lugal-uri <sub>3</sub> <i>šu</i> ur- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...]                                 | 12.     | <i>šu</i> ur-dingir-ra   |
| 9.         | I ur-èš <i>šu</i> ur- <sup>d</sup> [...]   | 13.     | I dingir-kal I dingir-gi-ma-at   |
| 10.        | I <i>i-sar-a-<i>hi</i></i> <i>šu</i> ú[r ...]  | 14.     | <i>šu i-wi-um</i>  |
| 11.        | I dingir-kal <i>šu</i> al-[...]  | 15.     | -----  |
| 12.        | I nam-zi <i>šu</i> amar- <sup>d</sup> [...]  | 16.     | I AMAR- <sup>r</sup> é <i>šu</i> ma-šum  |
| 13.        | I <i>ì-lí</i> - <sup>r</sup> tab-ba <sup>1</sup> <i>šu</i> ga-[x]- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup>           | 17.     | I dingir-wa-bíl  |
| 14.        | I ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna <i>šu</i> lugal-le-á-na  | 18.     | <i>šu da-da</i>  |
| 15.        | I lugal-iti-da   | 19.     | I <i>ga-la-ba</i> <i>šu</i> <sup>r</sup> ur <sup>1</sup> -èš                                       |
| 16.        | I ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna  | 20.     | I dingir-ra-b[í] I <i>bù-bù</i>  |
| 17.        | -----  | 21.     | <i>šu i-zi-lum</i>   |
| 18.        | I á-ni-ta I <i>da-da</i>   |         |  |
| 19.        | I ur-e <i>šu</i> 3 a-geštin  |         |  |

iii 17 – iv 14 struck through.

## 33

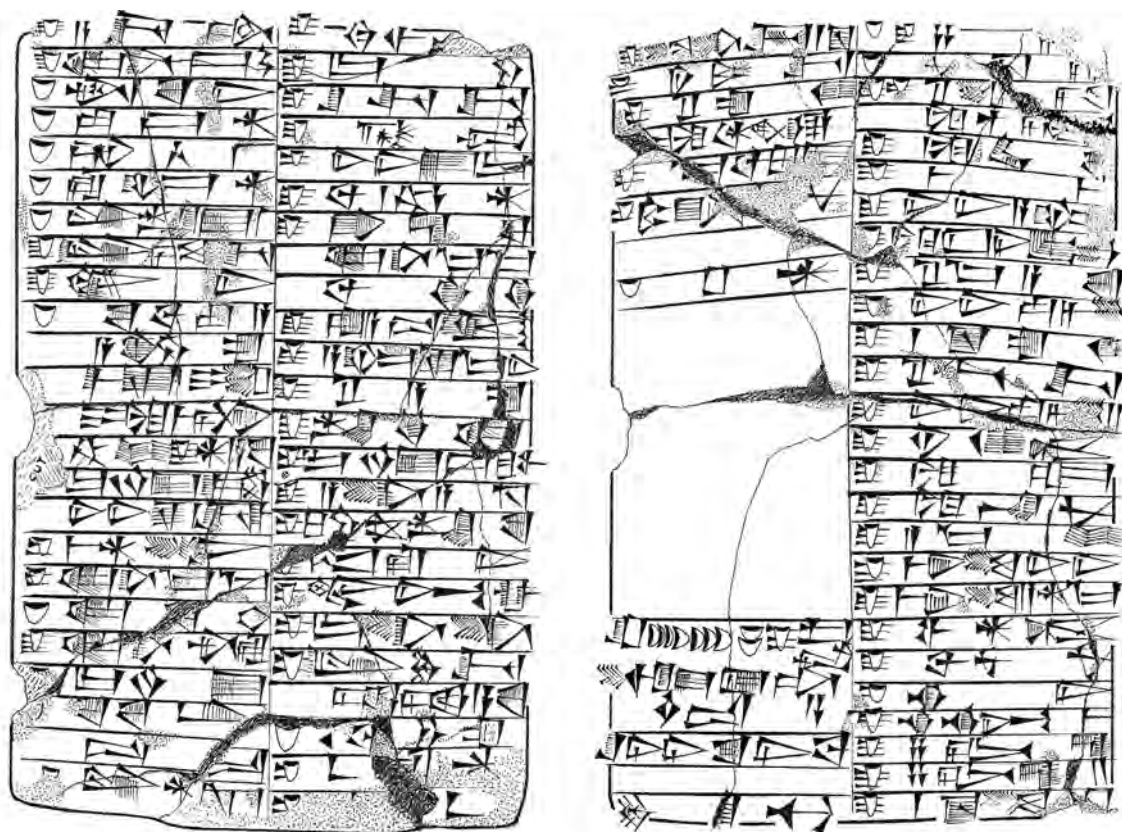
(CUNES 50-03-180). 24×42×16. Lower right corner of obverse, ca. ¾ of original width preserved



obv.	(break)
1'	[ur <sup>2</sup> ]-ur šitim
2'	-----
3'	[... šu]-ma-ma ṛšabra <sup>1</sup>
4'	[...] da-ba-ba
rev.	1. [... ṛra-bi <sup>1</sup> -dingir
	2. [... na]-bi-um
	3. [...]-e- [...]
	(rest is lost)

## 34

(L-1999, 3). 110×70×21, dark brown. Now in a private collection in Rome.



- |        |     |                   |   |     |       |  |                        |
|--------|-----|-------------------|---|-----|-------|--|------------------------|
| obv. i | 1.  | o.o.3             | <i>a-da-làl</i>                           | 19. | o.1   | <i>pù-su-du</i> <sub>10</sub>          |                        |
|        | 2.  | o.o.4             | <i>PÛ.ŠA-giš-eren</i> <sub>2</sub>        | 20. | o.o.4 | <i>PÛ.ŠA-ìr-ra</i>                     |                        |
|        | 3.  | o.1               | <i>ir</i> <sub>11</sub> - <i>zu-ni</i>    | 21. | ['x'] | <i>ur-nigin</i> <sub>3</sub>           |                        |
|        | 4.  | o.1               | <i>rí-iz-dingir</i>                       | 22. | ['x'] | <i>zu-zu ašgab</i>                     |                        |
|        | 5.  | o.1               | <i>gú-tar-lá</i>                          | 23. |       | <i>du-du</i>                           |                        |
|        | 6.  | o.1               | <i>ra-bí-dingir</i>                       | 24. | o.1   | <i>lú</i> <sup>d</sup> - <i>inanna</i> |                        |
|        | 7.  | o.1               | <i>lú</i> <sup>d</sup> - <i>en-líl-lá</i> | ii  | 1.    | o.o.3                                  | <i>sá-lim-be-[líl]</i> |
|        | 8.  | o.o.4             | <i>lugal-ad-da</i>                        |     | 2.    | o.o.4                                  | <i>ur-ru</i>           |
|        | 9.  | o.o.4             | <i>giri</i> <sub>3</sub> - <i>ni</i>      |     | 3.    | o.o.3                                  | <i>šu-da-da</i>        |
|        | 10. | o.1               | <i>su-ba-rí-a</i>                         |     | 4.    | o.o.3                                  | <i>nam-mah</i>         |
|        | 11. |                   | <i>a-mur-ru-um</i>                        |     | 5.    | o.o.2                                  | <i>ì-lí-sa-lik</i>     |
|        | 12. |                   | <i>gal-iš-i-sar</i>                       |     | 6.    | o.o.3                                  | <i>ba-zàh-dingir</i>   |
|        | 13. | [x <sup>2</sup> ] | <i>i-nin-me-šum</i>                       |     | 7.    | o.o.3                                  | <i>ga-la-ba</i>        |
|        | 14. | [o.o.4]           | <i>ha-LUM</i> o.o.4 <i>dingir-a-zu</i>    |     | 8.    |  | <i>PÛ.ŠA-ma-ma</i>     |
|        | 15. | [x]               | <i>ur-nigin</i> <sub>3</sub> <i>simug</i> |     | 9.    |  | <i>ba-ki-ki</i>        |
|        | 16. |                   | <i>ì-lí-iš-da-gal</i>                     |     | 10.   | o.o.4                                  | <i>mes-a-du-ná</i>     |
|        | 17. | o.o.2             | <i>me</i> <sup>d</sup> - <i>nisaba</i>    |     | 11.   | o.o.3                                  | <i>a-bí-iš-ma-ni</i>   |
|        | 18. | o.o.2             | <i>PÛ.ŠA-ma-ma</i>                        |     | 12.   | o.o.3                                  | <i>diri-um</i>         |

- |         |        |  |    |     |                             |  |
|---------|--------|--|----|-----|-----------------------------|--|
| 13.     | o.o.4  | <sup>d</sup> en-ki-ka                    | iv | 1.  | o.o.3                       | <i>tu-li-id-aš-dar</i>                         |
| 14.     | o.o.2  | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> azlag <sub>5</sub> |    | 2.  | o.o.2                       | níg-bàn-da                                     |
| 15.     | o.o.3  | <i>a-lí-a-ḫu</i>                         |    | 3.  | o.o.2                       | <i>si-um-mi</i>                                |
| 16.     | o.o.2  | <i>ku-ru-ub-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU</i>        |    | 4.  |                             | [x <sup>2</sup> du]mu nin-kèš <sup>ki</sup> -e |
| 17.     | o.o.2+ | [x] úr-ra-ni                             |    | 5.  | o.o.2                       | <i>ma-ba-lu-sa</i>                             |
| 18.     | o.o.2  | lul-gu-ak                                |    | 6.  | o.o.2                       | dumu-ga <sup>r</sup> ba-nu <sup>1</sup> -nu    |
| 19.     | o.o.2  | ur-li-li                                 |    | 7.  | -----                       |  |
| 20.     | o.o.2  | lugal-iti-da                             |    | 8.  | o.1                         | <i>kil-dingir</i>                              |
| 21.     |        | <i>zé-zé-a-zu</i>                        |    | 9.  | -----                       |  |
| 22.     | o.1    | <i>u-ba-ru-um</i>                        |    | 10. | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 7.2.3 | gur-maḫ še-                                    |
| 23.     | o.o.2  | bar-ra-an                                |    |     |                             | libir é-ùr-ta è-a                              |
| 24.     | o.o.2  | <sup>r</sup> igi <sup>1</sup> -bar       |    | 11. |                             | <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i> ì-ba                         |
| rev.iii | 1.     | o.1.3 <i>za-z[i]</i>                     |    | 12. | -----                       |  |
|         | 2.     | o.1 <i>nu-ḫu-ra</i>                      |    | 13. |                             | iti šu-numun                                   |
|         | 3.     | o.o.3 o.o.2 <i>si-sar-at</i>             |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 4.     | nin-dalla                                |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 5.     | o.o.3 nin-kù-zu                          |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 6.     | o.o.3 <i>me-me</i>                       |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 7.     | o.o.3 <i>ì-lí-a-bí</i>                   |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 8.     | o.o.3 nin-gá-ì-sa <sub>6</sub>           |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 9.     | o.o.3 <i>si-ma-a-zu</i>                  |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 10.    | o.o.3 <i>ì-lí-rí-zi</i>                  |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 11.    | o.o.3 <i>aš-dar-um-mi</i>                |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 12.    | o.o.3 <i>si-ti-da</i>                    |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 13.    | o.o.3 <i>ì-lí-rí-zi 2</i>                |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 14.    | o.o.3 <i>te-mi-tum</i>                   |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 15.    | o.o.3 nin-ezem                           |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 16.    | o.o.3 nin-en-nu                          |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 17.    | o.o.3 <i>a-ma-núm</i>                    |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 18.    | o.o.3 <i>me-ir-tu-ì-lí</i>               |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 19.    | o.o.3 <i>me-ir-tu-àm-ma</i>              |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 20.    | o.o.3 <i>wa-an-tum</i>                   |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 21.    | o.o.3 <i>ba-nu-nu</i>                    |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 22.    | o.o.2 <sup>?</sup> <i>na-ni</i>          |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 23.    | o.o.3 <sup>?</sup> <i>na-na-gu-me</i>    |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 24.    | o.o.3 <i>za-al-la</i>                    |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 25.    | o.o.3 <i>za-al-la 2</i>                  |    |     |                             |  |
|         | 26.    | o.o.3 <i>aš-dar-tu-rí</i>                |    |     |                             |  |

## 35

(MS 4236). 118×71×25. Unbaked, light brown.



- obv.i
1. [...]
  2. [x] zu-zu
  3. o.o.4 PÙ.ŠA-giš-eren<sub>2</sub>
  4. o.o.4 su-ba-rí-a
  5. (er.) gal-iš-i-sar
  6. (er.) i-nin-me-šum
  7. o.o.4 ḫa-LUM
  8. o.o.4 dingir-a-zu
  9. o.o.4 ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni
  10. o.o.4 rí-iz-dingir
  11. o.o.4 gú-tar-lá
  12. o.o.4 lú<sup>d</sup>-en-líl-lá
  13. o.o.4 a-mur-ru-um
  14. o.o.4 <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka

15. o.o.3 ga-la-ba
16. o.o.3 ba-ša-aḫ-dingir
17. [x] sá-lim-be-lí
18. o.o.4 [...]
19. o.o.4 <sup>r</sup>KA<sup>1</sup>-[...]
20. o.o.4 du-du
21. [x] ba-ki-ki
22. [x] ra-bí-dingir
23. [x] lú<sup>d</sup>-inanna
24. [...] (blank)
25. [x] PÙ.ŠA-dingir
26. [...]

ii

1. [...]
2. o.o.4 [...]

- |         |           |  |              |                    |  |                   |
|---------|-----------|--|--------------|--------------------|--|-------------------|
| 3.      | 0.0.4     | ur-[x]                                       | 17.          | 0.0.3              | nin-kù-[zu]  |                   |
| 4.      | 0.0.4     | mes-a-du-[ná]                                | 18.          | 0.0.3              | nin-gá-ì-s[a <sub>6</sub> ]                                |                   |
| 5.      | 0.0.4     | úr-ra-[ni]                                   | 19.          | 0.0.3              | sal <sub>4</sub> -ma                                       |                   |
| 6.      | 0.0.4     | lugal-ad-[da]                                | 20.          | 0.0.3              | me-ir-tu-ì-[lí]  |                   |
| 7.      | 0.0.4     | giri <sub>3</sub> -ni                        | 21.          | 0.0.3              | wa-an-t[um]  |                   |
| 8.      | 0.0.3     | š <u>u</u> -da-da                            | 22.          | 0.0.3              | níg-bàn-da   |                   |
| 9.      | 0.0.2     | lul-gu-[ak]                                  | 23.          | 0.0.3 <sup>1</sup> | me-ir-tu-à[m-ma]   |                   |
| 10.     | 0.0.3     | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> š <u>u</u> an[še]      | 24.          | 0.0.3              | tu-lí-[id-aš-dar]  |                   |
| 11.     | 0.0.2     | ì-lí-sa-lik                                  | 25.          | 0.0.3              | x <sup>1</sup> [x]   |                   |
| 12.     | (er.)     | igi-[bar]                                    | 26.          | [...]              |  |                   |
| 13.     | 0.0.4     | ì-lí-iš-[da-gal]                             | iv           | 1.                 | [...]  |                   |
| 14.     | 0.0.2     | PÛ.ŠA-[...]                                  | 2.           | [x za-al-l]a 2     |  |                   |
| 15.     | 0.0.3     | ur-nig[in <sub>3</sub> ...]                  | 3.           | [x n]a-na-gu-me    |  |                   |
| 16.     | 0.0.3     | a-bí-[iš-ma-ní]                              | 4.           | [x] ma-ba-lu-sa    |  |                   |
| 17.     | 0.0.3     | diri-[um]                                    | 5.           | 0.0.2              | si-um-mi   |                   |
| 18.     | 0.0.3     | PÛ.ŠA-[...]                                  | 6.           | 0.0.2              | dumu-ga ba-nu-nu   |                   |
| 19.     | 0.0.2     | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> azlag <sub>5</sub>     | 7.           | 0.0.2              | me- <sup>d</sup> nisaba                                    |                   |
| 20.     | (er.)     | a-li-a- <u>hu</u>                            | 8.           | 0.0.2              | si-du-gul-ti   |                   |
| 21.     | (er.)     | ur-li-li                                     | 9.           | 0.0.2              | túl-la   |                   |
| 22.     | 0.0.2     | ku-ru-ub- <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU                 | 10.          | 0.0.2              | inim-kù  |                   |
| 23.     | 0.0.3     | sag-gul-lum                                  | 11.          | 0.0.2              | é-a- <sup>r</sup> é <sup>1</sup>                           |                   |
| 24.     | 0.0.3     | nam-mah                                      | 12.          | 0.0.2              | lugal-[...]  |                   |
| 25.     | 0.0.1+[1] | <sup>d</sup> utu-a                           | 13.          | 0.0.2              | bar-ra-an  |                   |
| rev.iii | 1.        | [x] za-zi                                    | 14.          | 0.0.2              | ì-la-ak-nu-id  |                   |
|         | 2.        | 0.1 nu- <u>hu</u> -ra                        | 15.          | 0.0.2              | ku-ru-ub-ì-la-ak   |                   |
|         | 3.        | 0.0.4  | nin-dalla    | 16.                | 0.0.2  | ur-ur             |
|         | 4.        | (er.)  | si-sar-at    | 17.                | -----  |                   |
|         | 5.        | 0.0.3  | nin-ezem     | 18.                | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 9 še gur-si-sá a-ga-de <sup>ki</sup> |                   |
|         | 6.        | 0.0.3  | a-ma-núm     | 19.                | še-libir è-a [...]   |                   |
|         | 7.        | 0.0.3  | nin-en-nu    | 20.                | [...]  |                   |
|         | 8.        | 0.0.3  | aš-dar-um-mi | edge               | 1.   | [it]i izi-izi-gar |
|         | 9.        | 0.0.3  | si-ti-[da]   |                    |  |                   |
|         | 10.       | 0.0.3  | [...]        |                    |  |                   |
|         | 11.       | [x ì]-lí-a-b[í]                              |              |                    |  |                   |
|         | 12.       | [x] si-ma- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[zu] |              |                    |  |                   |
|         | 13.       | 0.0.3  | te-mi-t[um]  |                    |  |                   |
|         | 14.       | 0.0.3  | da-ti-[na]   |                    |  |                   |
|         | 15.       | 0.0.3  | ì-lí-rí-z[í] |                    |  |                   |
|         | 16.       | 0.0.3  | me-me        |                    |  |                   |

## 36

(CUNES 49-09-003). 120×77×26. Unbaked, dark grayish brown.



- |       |     |                                     |     |                               |
|-------|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| obv.i | 1.  | [0.0.4] zu-zu ašgab                 | 14. | 0.0.4 šu-6                    |
|       | 2.  | [0.0.4] a-da-làl                    | 15. | 0.0.4 pù-su-du <sub>10</sub>  |
|       | 3.  | [0.0.4] PÙ.ŠA-giš-eren <sub>2</sub> | 16. | 0.0.4 PÙ.ŠA-ir-ra             |
|       | 4.  | 0.1 su-ba-rí-a                      | 17. | 0.0.3 im <sub>6</sub> -da-lik |
|       | 5.  | 0.0.4 gal-iš-i-sar                  | 18. | 0.0.4 šu-ì-lí-su              |
|       | 6.  | 0.0.4 i-nin-me-šum                  | 19. | 0.0.4 du-du                   |
|       | 7.  | 0.0.4 ḫa-LUM                        | 20. | 0.0.4 ba-ki-ki                |
|       | 8.  | 0.0.4 dingir-a-zu                   | 21. | 0.0.4 a-li-a-ḫu               |
|       | 9.  | 0.0.4 a-mur-ru-um                   | 22. | 0.0.4 kur-mu-gam              |
|       | 10. | 0.0.4 <sup>d</sup> en-ki-ka         | 23. | 0.0.4 lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna |
|       | 11. | 0.0.3 ga-la-ba                      | 24. | 0.0.4 ra-bí-dingir            |
|       | 12. | 0.0.3 ba-ša-aḫ-dingir               | 25. | [0.0.x] rí-iz-dingir          |
|       | 13. | × ir <sub>11</sub> -zu-ni           | 26. | [...]                         |

- |         |     |         |  |    |     |                               |   |
|---------|-----|---------|--|----|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| ii      | 1.  | 0.0.4   | lugal-ad-da                              |    | 14. | 0.0.3                         | me- <sup>r</sup> me <sup>1</sup>            |
|         | 2.  | 0.0.4   | lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna                  |    | 15. | 0.0.3                         | wa-an-tum                                   |
|         | 3.  | [0.0.4] | ur-su                                    |    | 16. | 0.0.3                         | me-ir-tu-ì-lí                               |
|         | 4.  | 0.0.4   | ur-ru                                    |    | 17. | 0.0.3                         | me-ir-tu-àm-ma                              |
|         | 5.  | 0.0.4   | mes-a-du-ná                              |    | 18. | 0.0.2                         | tu-lí-id- <sup>r</sup> aš <sup>n</sup> -dar |
|         | 6.  | 0.0.4   | úr-ra-ni                                 |    | 19. | 0.0.3                         | na-ni                                       |
|         | 7.  | 0.0.2   | lul-gu-ak                                |    | 20. | <sup>r</sup> 0.0.3            | aš <sup>n</sup> -dar-tu-rí                  |
|         | 8.  | 0.0.3   | š <u>u</u> -da-da                        |    | 21. | 0.0.3                         | níg-bàn-da                                  |
|         | 9.  | 0.0.2   | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> š <u>u</u> anše    |    | 22. | 0.0.3                         | ba-nu-nu                                    |
|         | 10. | 0.0.2   | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> azlag <sub>5</sub> |    | 23. | 0.0.3                         | za-al-la                                    |
|         | 11. | 0.0.3   | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> sim[ug]            |    | 24. | 0.0.3                         | na-na-gu-me                                 |
|         | 12. | 0.0.2   | ur-lí azlag <sub>5</sub>                 |    | 25. | 0.0.3                         | nin-gá-ì-sa <sub>6</sub>                    |
|         | 13. | 0.0.2   | ur-li                                    |    | 26. | <del>0.0.3</del>              | sal <sub>4</sub> -ma                        |
|         | 14. | 0.0.3   | si-ir-am                                 | iv | 1.  | [0.0.x                        | ma]-ba-lu-sa                                |
|         | 15. | 0.0.3   | a-lí-a- <u>hu</u>                        |    | 2.  | [x]                           | dumu-ga ba-nu-nu                            |
|         | 16. | 0.0.3   | im <sub>6</sub> -da-lik                  |    | 3.  | 0.0.2                         | e-na-ba-lik                                 |
|         | 17. | 0.0.3   | ma-š <u>um</u>                           |    | 4.  | 0.0.2                         | túl-la                                      |
|         | 18. | 0.0.3   | PÛ.ŠA-ma-ma                              |    | 5.  | 0.0.2                         | me- <sup>d</sup> nisaba                     |
|         | 19. | 0.0.3   | igi-bar                                  |    | 6.  | 0.0.2                         | si-du-gul-ti                                |
|         | 20. | 0.0.3   | a-bi-iš-ma-ni                            |    | 7.  | 0.0.2                         | um-mi- <sup>d</sup> nanše                   |
|         | 21. | 0.0.3   | diri-um                                  |    | 8.  | 0.0.2                         | si-ti-da                                    |
|         | 22. | 0.0.3   | ì-lí-sa-lik                              |    | 9.  | 0.0.4                         | ì-lí-iš-da-gal                              |
|         | 23. | 0.0.3   | bar-ra-an                                |    | 10. | 0.0.4                         | giri <sub>3</sub> -ni                       |
|         | 24. | 0.0.2   | KA-[x]                                   |    | 11. | 0.0.4                         | ur- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub>         |
|         | 25. | 0.0.2   | é-a- <sup>r</sup> é <sup>1</sup>         |    | 12. | 0.1                           | lugal-níg-zu                                |
|         | 26. | 0.0.2   | PÛ.ŠA-ma-ma                              |    | 13. | 0.1                           | ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna                     |
|         | 27. | 0.0.4   | sá-lim-be-lí                             |    | 14. | 0.0.4                         | inim-ma                                     |
| rev.iii | 1.  | 0.1.2   | za-zi                                    |    | 15. | 0.0.3                         | ma-š <u>um</u>                              |
|         | 2.  | 0.0.3   | nu- <u>hu</u> -ra                        |    | 16. | 0.0.3                         | ur- <sup>d</sup> utu                        |
|         | 3.  | 0.0.3   | 0.0.2 nin-dalla                          |    | 17. | 0.0.3                         | di-ì-le                                     |
|         | 4.  | 0.0.3   | nin-ezem                                 |    | 18. | I                             | še gur si-dù lú-e[den]                      |
|         | 5.  | 0.0.3   | a-ma-nú <u>m</u>                         |    | 19. | 0.1.3                         | me-me                                       |
|         | 6.  | 0.0.3   | nin-en- <sup>r</sup> nu <sup>1</sup>     |    | 20. | I                             | še gur 2 gu <sub>4</sub> -niga              |
|         | 7.  | 0.0.3   | aš <sup>r</sup> -dar-um-mi               |    | 21. | -----                         |   |
|         | 8.  | 0.0.3   | ì-lí-rí-zi                               |    | 22. | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 13      | (er.) gur-mah                               |
|         | 9.  | 0.0.3   | da-ti-na                                 |    | 23. | šu-ì-lí-su                    | ì-ba  |
|         | 10. | 0.0.3   | ì-lí-rí-zi 2                             |    | 24. | še-libir                      | é-še-ta è-a                                 |
|         | 11. | 0.0.3   | nin-kù-zu                                |    | 25. | -----                         |   |
|         | 12. | 0.0.3   | si-ma-a-zu                               |    | 26. | <sup>r</sup> iti <sup>1</sup> | ga-an-ga-MUN-è                              |
|         | 13. | 0.0.3   | te-mi-tum                                |    |     |                               |   |



## 37

(CUNES 49-09-005). 119×76×23. Unbaked, dark brownish gray.



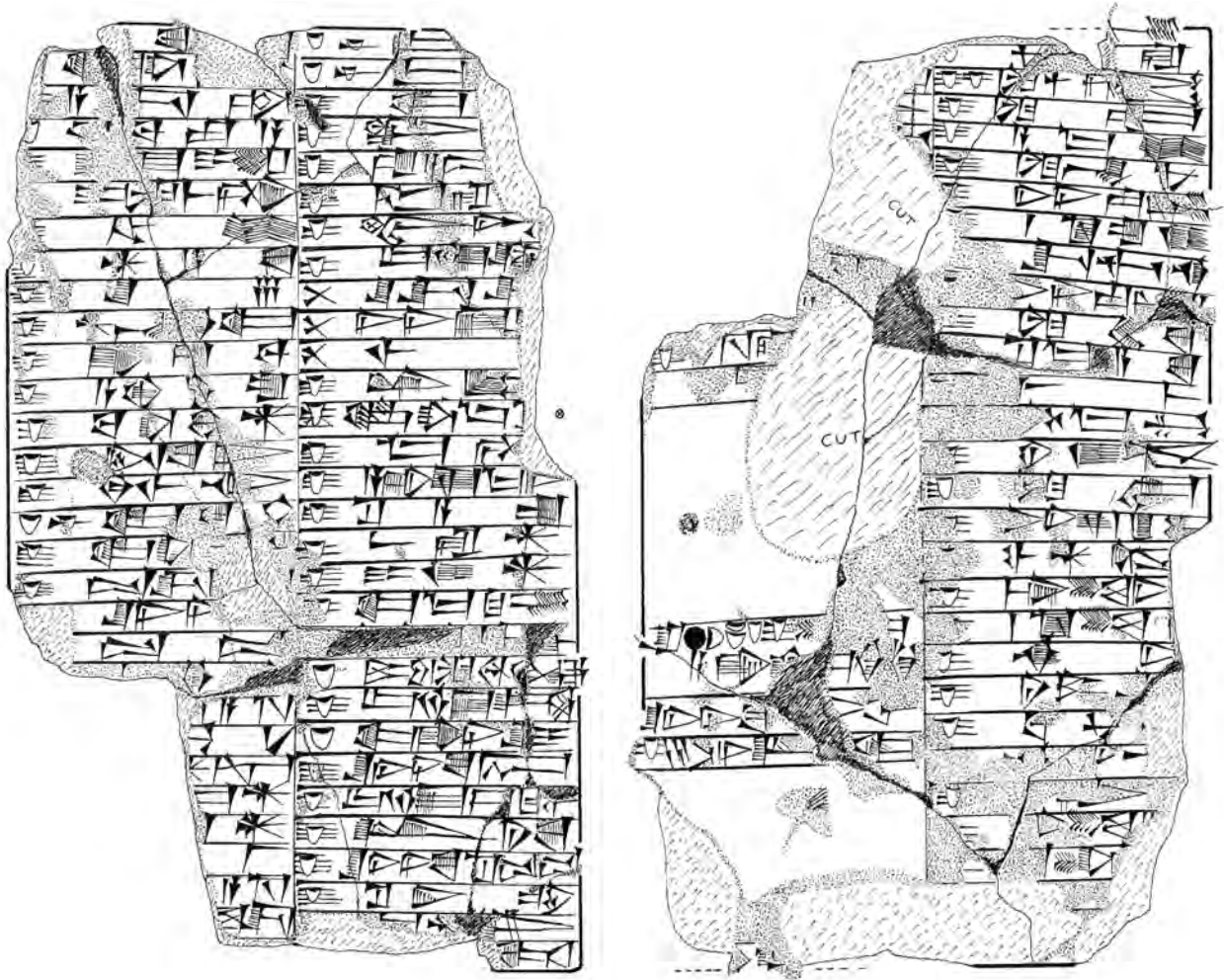
- |       |     |       |  |        |       |  |
|-------|-----|-------|--|--------|-------|--|
| obv.i | 1.  | o.I   | <sup>1</sup> zu-zu <sup>1</sup>        | 17.    | o.o.4 | im <sub>6</sub> -da- <sup>1</sup> lik <sup>1</sup> |
|       | 2.  | o.I   | PÙ.[ŠA-giš-eren <sub>2</sub> ]         | 18.    |       | [x šu]-ì-lí-su                                     |
|       | 3.  | o.I   | a-da-làl                               | 19.    | o.I   | du-du  |
|       | 4.  | o.I   | o.I.2 su-ba-rí-[a]                     | 20.    | o.I   | ba-ki-ki   |
|       | 5.  | o.I   | gal-iš-i-sar                           | 21.    | o.I   | a-lí-a-ḫu  |
|       | 6.  | o.o.4 | i-nin-me-šum                           | 22.    | o.I   | kur-mu-gam   |
|       | 7.  | o.I   | ḫa-LUM o.I dingir-a-zu                 | 23.    | o.I   | lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna                            |
|       | 8.  | o.I   | šú-6                                   | 24.    | o.I   | ra-bí-dingir                                       |
|       | 9.  | o.I   | a-mur- <sup>1</sup> ru-um <sup>1</sup> | 25.    | o.I   | rí-iz-dingir                                       |
|       | 10. | o.I   | <sup>d</sup> en-ki-ka                  | 26.    |       | [x g]ú-tar-lá                                      |
|       | 11. | o.o.3 | ga- <sup>1</sup> la <sup>1</sup> -ba   | 27-28. |       | (two lines lost)                                   |
|       | 12. | o.o.3 | ba-ša-ah <sub>2</sub> -dingir          | ii     | 1.    | o.I lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna                        |
|       | 13. | o.I   | ir <sub>11</sub> -zu-ni                |        | 2.    | o.I ur-ru  |
|       | 14. | o.I   | sá-lim-be-lí                           |        | 3.    | o.I ur-su  |
|       | 15. | o.I   | pù-su-du <sub>10</sub>                 |        | 4.    | o.I inim-ma  |
|       | 16. | o.o.4 | PÙ.ŠA-ìr-ra                            |        | 5.    | o.o.4 giri <sub>3</sub> -ni                        |

- |         |       |  |         |                       |  |
|---------|-------|--|---------|-----------------------|--|
| 6.      | 0.0.4 | mes-a-du-ná                                | 21.     | 0.0.2+[I]             | ba-nu-nu                                       |
| 7.      | 0.0.4 | úr-ra-ni                                   | 22.     | 0.0.3                 | na-na-gu-me                                    |
| 8.      | 0.0.2 | lul-gu-ak                                  | 23.     | 0.0.3                 | za-a[l]-la                                     |
| 9.      | 0.0.2 | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> šu anše              | 24.     | 0.0.2                 | me-ir-tu-àm-ma                                 |
| 10.     | [x]   | šu-da-da                                   | 25.     | 0.0.3                 | tu-li-id-aš-dar                                |
| 11.     | 0.0.2 | ì-lí-sa-lik                                | 26.     | 0.0.3                 | sal <sub>4</sub> -ma                           |
| 12.     | ×     | igi-bar                                    | 27.     | 0.0.2                 | si- <sup>r</sup> um <sup>r</sup> -mi           |
| 13.     | 0.0.3 | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> simug                | 28.     | 0.0.2                 | ma-ba-lu-sa                                    |
| 14.     | 0.0.2 | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> azlag <sub>5</sub>   | 29.     | 0.0.2                 | e-na-ba-lik                                    |
| 15.     | 0.0.2 | ur-li                                      | 30.     | -----                 |  |
| 16.     | 0.0.3 | im <sub>6</sub> -da-lik                    | iv      | I-2.                  | (two lines lost)                               |
| 17.     | 0.0.3 | ma-šum                                     | 3.      | [x]                   | si-ti-da                                       |
| 18.     | 0.0.3 | PÙ.ŠA-ma-ma                                | 4.      | 0.0.4                 | lugal-níg-zu                                   |
| 19.     | [x]   | a-bi-iš-ma-ni                              | 5.      | 0.0.4                 | me-me  |
| 20.     | 0.0.3 | diri-um                                    | 6.      | 0.0.2                 | dam ìr-e-bum má-laḥ <sub>4</sub>               |
| 21.     | 0.0.2 | bar-ra-an                                  | 7.      | -----                 |  |
| 22.     | 0.0.3 | i-mi-dingir                                | 8.      | 0.4                   | še ad-gàr-a-a maš-gan                          |
| 23.     | 0.0.3 | inim-ma túg-du <sub>8</sub>                | 9.      | 0.2.3                 | še sa <sub>10</sub> šu-ì-lí-su šitim           |
| 24.     | 0.0.4 | ì-lí-iš-da-gal                             | 10.     | 0.2.3                 | še sa <sub>10</sub> giš-šáḥ                    |
| 25.     | 0.0.4 | dumu-ru nin-kèš <sup>ki</sup> -e]          | 11.     | 0.1.2                 | še sa <sub>10</sub> zabar inim-kù              |
| 26-27.  |       | (two lines lost)                           | 12.     | 0.1.2                 | še kir-ba-núm šu <sup>r</sup> eme <sup>r</sup> |
| rev.iii | I.    | [...]                                      | 13.     | 0.1                   | še šeš-pà-da a-zu                              |
|         | 2.    | [x nin-dal]la                              | 14.     | 0.1                   | še ur-é a-lu-zi-núm                            |
|         | 3.    | [x] nin-ezem                               | 15.     | 0.1                   | še <sup>d</sup> nanna-bàd na[gar]              |
|         | 4.    | 0.0.3 a-ma-núm                             | 16.     | 0.1                   | še á- <sup>d</sup> en-líl na[gar]              |
|         | 5.    | 0.0.3 nin-en-nu                            | 17.     | 0.1                   | še lugal-iti-da ad-KID                         |
|         | 6.    | 0.0.3 aš-dar-um-mi                         | 18.     | 0.1                   | še i-ti-aš-dar                                 |
|         | 7.    | 0.0.3 ì-lí-rí-zi                           | 19.     | 0.1                   | sa-tu-tu                                       |
|         | 8.    | 0.0.3 da-ti-na                             | 20.     | -----                 |  |
|         | 9.    | 0.0.3 ì-lí-rí-zi 2                         | 21.     | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> | 16 še-ba gur                                   |
|         | 10.   | 0.0.3 nin-kù-zu                            | 22.     | šu-ì-lí-su            | ì-ba   |
|         | 11.   | 0.0.3 si-ma-a-zu                           | 23.     | 5.2.3                 | <sup>r</sup> še <sup>r</sup> gur               |
|         | 12.   | 0.0.3 te-mi-tum                            | 24.     | a-na sa <sub>10</sub> | 1 anše-kunga <sub>2</sub>                      |
|         | 13.   | 0.0.2+[I] me-me                            | 25.     | I                     | še gur ma-šum šu na-ni                         |
|         | 14.   | [x gem]e <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> ma-mu | 26.     | I                     | še gur sa-at-be-dingir šu i-mi-dingir          |
|         | 15.   | [x] nin-gá-ì-sa <sub>6</sub>               | 27.     | I                     | še gur <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le engar            |
|         | 16.   | 0.0.3 wa-an-tum                            | r. edge | I.                    | [I]+4 še gur a-na é-NINDA <sub>2</sub> ×X      |
|         | 17.   | 0.0.3 me-ir-tu-ì-lí                        |         | 2.                    | è-a  |
|         | 18.   | 0.0.3 na- <sup>r</sup> ni <sup>r</sup>     |         | 3.                    | é da-da  |
|         | 19.   | 0.0.3 aš-d[ar-t]u-rí                       |         | 4.                    | iti ab-è nibru <sup>ki</sup>                   |
|         | 20.   | 0.0.3 níg-bàn-da                           |         |                       |  |

iv 4-6 were written on the half-dry tablet.

## 38

(L-1999, 4). 133×79×24, dark brown. Present location unknown.

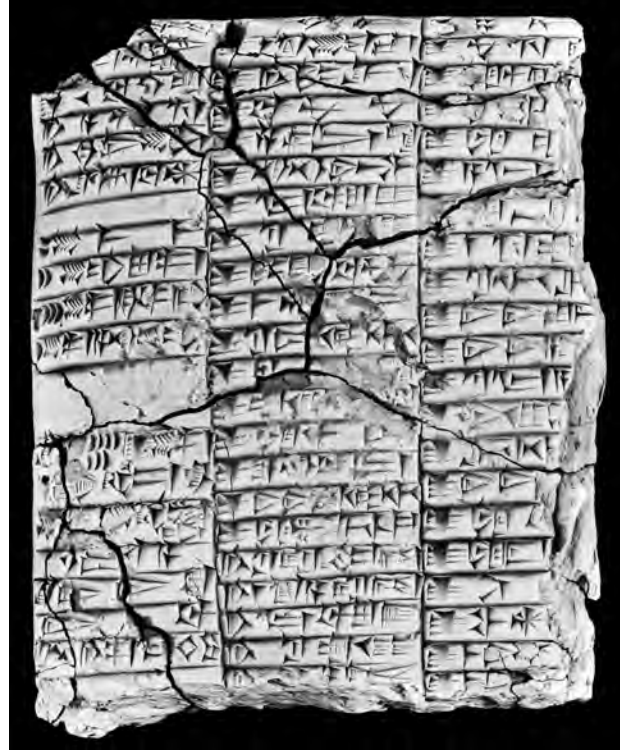
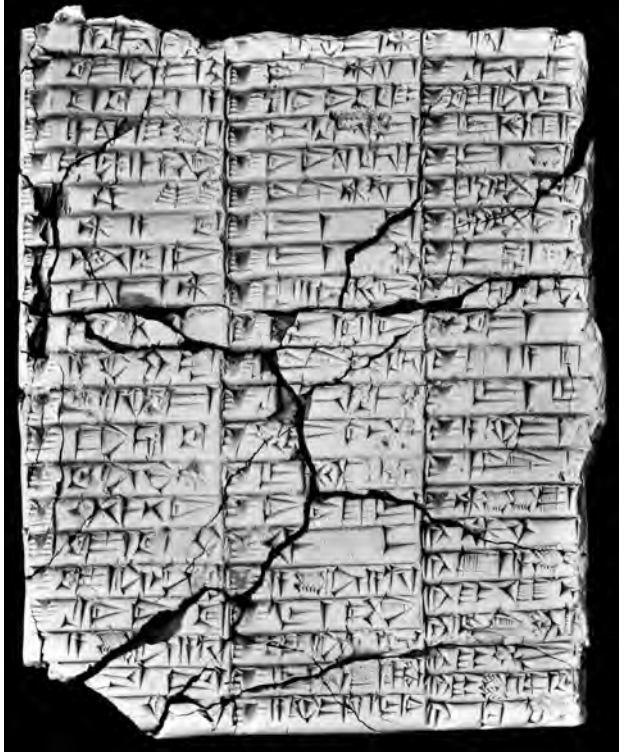


- |       |     |                                   |     |  |
|-------|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|--|
| obv.i | 1.  | [x] zu-[z]u                       | 13. | o.o.3 ba-ša-aḫ-dingir  |
|       | 2.  | [x] PÙ.ŠA-[giš-ere]n <sub>2</sub> | 14. | o.o.4 ir <sub>11</sub> -zu-ni                                      |
|       | 3.  | [o.o.x]+2 a-da-làl                | 15. | o.o.3 sá-lim-be-lí   |
|       | 4.  | o.1 su-ba-rí-a                    | 16. | o.1.1 pù-su-du <sub>10</sub>                                       |
|       | 5.  | [o.o.x]+3 g[al-ì]š-i-sar          | 17. | o.o.4 PÙ.ŠA- <sup>r</sup> x-x <sup>r</sup>                         |
|       | 6.  | [x] i-nin-me-šum                  | 18. | o.o.4 im <sub>6</sub> -da-[lì]k                                    |
|       | 7.  | [o.o.1]+3 ḫa-LUM                  | 19. | [x] šu-ì-lí-[su]   |
|       | 8.  | [o.o.1]+3 dingir-a-zu             | 20. | [x] du-du  |
|       | 9.  | o.o.3 šu-6                        | 21. | [x] <sup>r</sup> ba <sup>r</sup> -ki- <sup>r</sup> ki <sup>r</sup> |
|       | 10. | o.o.4 <sup>d</sup> en-ki-ka       | 22. | [x a-l]i-a-ḫu  |
|       | 11. | o.o.3 ga-la-ba                    | 23. | [x kur-m]u-gam   |
|       | 12. | o.o.3 a-mur-ru-um                 | 24. | [x lú]- <sup>d</sup> inanna  |

- |    |     |  |    |            |  |
|----|-----|--|----|------------|--|
|    | 25. | [x ra-b]í-dingir                               |    | rev.iii 1. | [x za]-zi  |
|    | 26. | [x rí-i]z-dingir                               |    | 2.         | o.1 nu-[hu]-ra   |
|    | 27. | [x gú-tar]-lá                                  |    | 3.         | o.o.3 o.o.2 nin-dalla  |
|    | 28. | [x a-lí]-a-lu                                  |    | 4.         | o.o.3 nin-ezem   |
|    | 29. | [x lugal-a]d-da                                |    | 5.         | o.o.3 a-ma-núm   |
|    | 30. | [...]  |    | 6.         | o.o.4 nin-en-nu  |
| ii | 1.  | o.1.1 ur-[su]                                  |    | 7.         | o.o.3 ì-lí-rí-zi   |
|    | 2.  | o.1.1 ur-[ru]                                  |    | 8.         | o.o.3+[I?] aš-dar-um-mi  |
|    | 3.  | o.o.4 inim-[ma]                                |    | 9.         | [x] da-ti-na   |
|    | 4.  | o.o.3 giri <sub>3</sub> -[ni]                  |    | 10.        | [x] ì-lí-rí-zi 2   |
|    | 5.  | o.o.4 mes-a-du-[ná]                            |    | 11.        | o.o.3 nin-kù-zu  |
|    | 6.  | o.o.4 úr-ra-ni                                 |    | 12.        | [x] si-ma-a-zu   |
|    | 7.  | o.o.2 lul-gu-[ak]                              |    | 13.        | [x] me-me  |
|    | 8.  | o.o.2 ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> šu an[še]          |    | 14.        | [x] geme <sub>2</sub> -ma-mu   |
|    | 9.  | × šu-da-d[a]                                   |    | 15.        | o.o.3 te-mi-tum  |
|    | 10. | × ì-lí-sa-li[k]                                |    | 16.        | o.o.3 nin-šubur  |
|    | 11. | × igi-[bar]                                    |    | 17.        | o.o.3 ì-lí-iš-šè- <sup>r</sup> wi <sup>r</sup>   |
|    | 12. | o.o.3 lí-sa <sub>6</sub>                       |    | 18.        | [x] wa-an-tum  |
|    | 13. | o.o.3 PÜ.ŠA-ma-m[a] (written<br>over erasure)  |    | 19.        | o.o.3 me-ir-tu-ì-[lí]  |
|    | 14. | o.o.4 ma-šum                                   |    | 20.        | [x] aš-dar-tu-[rí]   |
|    | 15. | o.o.3 a-bi-iš-ma-ni                            |    | 21.        | o.o.3 na-ni  |
|    | 16. | o.o.3 diri-um                                  |    | 22.        | o.o.3 níg-bàn-d[a]   |
|    | 17. | o.o.2 bar-ra-an                                |    | 23.        | o.o.3 ba-nu-[nu]   |
|    | 18. | o.o.4 i-mi-dingir                              |    | 24.        | [x] na-na-gu-[me]  |
|    | 19. | o.o.2 inim-ma túg-du <sub>8</sub>              |    | 25.        | o.o.3 [za]-al-[la]   |
|    | 20. | [x] <sup>r</sup> ì-lí-iš-da-gal <sup>r</sup>   |    | 26.        | o.o.3 [me]-ir-tu-à[m-ma]   |
|    | 21. | o.1 dumu-ru nin-kèš <sup>ki</sup> -e           |    | 27.        | [x t]u-li-[id-aš-dar]  |
|    | 22. | o.o.3 ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> simug              |    | 28–30.     | (lost)   |
|    | 23. | o.1 du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni šu-i               | iv |            | (about ten lines lost)   |
|    | 24. | o.o.4 šu-ì-lí-su šitim                         |    | 1'.        | o.o.3 <sup>r</sup> nu-lu-ra <sup>r</sup> [...]   |
|    | 25. | o.o.3 ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> azlag <sub>5</sub> |    | 2'.        | <sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> [...]  |
|    | 26. | o.o.4 lugal-níg-zu                             |    | 3'.        | -----  |
|    | 27. | o.o.4 šu-ì-lí-su má-lah <sub>4</sub>           |    | 4'.        | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 11.3.3 š[e g]ur a-ga-<br>dè <sup>ki</sup> <sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> ki |
|    | 28. | o.o.4 si-ir-am                                 |    | 5'.        | šu-ì-lí-su ì-ba  |
|    | 29. | [x] ur- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub>        |    | 6'.        | o.o.2 5 sila <sub>3</sub> ì lugal-KA   |
|    | 30. | [...]-ZU.AB                                    |    | 7'.        | -----  |
|    |     |  |    | 8'.        | [iti š]e-ki[n-ku <sub>3</sub> ]  |

## 39

(CUNES 49-09-002). 106×86×22. Unbaked, dark grayish brown. One line lost at the beginning of each column of the obverse.



obv.i 1. [0.0.4] ṛzu-zu<sup>1</sup> [ašgab]  
 2. 0.0.4 a-da-ṛlāl<sup>1</sup>  
 3. 0.0.4 PÙ.ŠA-giš-eren<sub>2</sub>  
 4. 0.0.4 su-ba-rí-a  
 5. 0.0.4 gal-iš-i-sar  
 6. 0.0.4 i-nin-me-šum  
 7. 0.0.4 ḥa-LUM  
 8. 0.0.4 dingir-a-zu  
 9. 0.0.4 ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni  
 10. 0.0.4 rí-iz-dingir  
 11. 0.0.4 gú-tar-lá  
 12. 0.0.4 a-mur-ru-um  
 13. 0.0.4 <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka  
 14. 0.0.4 ga-la-ba  
 15. 0.0.3 ba-ša-aḥ-dingir  
 16. 0.0.4 sá-lim-be-lí  
 17. 0.0.4 pù-su-du<sub>10</sub>  
 18. 0.0.4 PÙ.ŠA-ir-ra  
 19. 0.0.4 šu-ì-lí-su  
 20. 0.0.4 a-li-a-ḥu

21. [x] du-du  
 22. [x ba]-ki-ki  
 ii 1. [...]  
 2. 0.0.4 ra-bí-dingir  
 3. 0.0.4 lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 4. 0.0.4 šu-ì-lí-su šu-ì  
 5. 0.0.4 im<sub>6</sub>-da-lik  
 6. 0.0.4 ì-lí-iš-da-gal  
 7. 0.0.4 lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 8. 0.0.4 ur-su  
 9. 0.0.4 ur-ru  
 10. 0.0.4 mes-a-du-ná  
 11. 0.0.4 úr-ra-ni  
 12. 0.0.4 lugal-ad-da  
 13. 0.0.3 šu-da-da  
 14. 0.0.2 lul-gu-ak  
 15. 0.0.2 ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> šu anše  
 16. 0.0.2 ì-lí-sa-lik  
 17. 0.0.3 igi-bar  
 18. 0.0.3 a-li-a-ḥu

19. 0.0.3 *ma-šum*  
 20. 0.0.3 PÛ.ŠA-*ma-ma*  
 21. 0.0.3 *ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> simug*  
 22. 0.0.3 *a-bí-iš-ma-ni*
- iii 1. [...]  
 2. 0.0.3 *nam-ma[h]*  
 3. 0.0.3 *da-da*  
 4. 0.0.2 PÛ.ŠA-*ma-m[a]*  
 5. 0.0.2 *ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> azl[ag<sub>5</sub>]*  
 6. 0.0.2 *ur-l[i]*  
 7. 0.0.2 *ku-ru-ub-<sup>d</sup>EN.[ZU]*  
 8. 0.0.2 *ku-ru-ub-ì-la-[ak]*  
 9. 0.0.2 *bar-ra-a[n]*  
 10. 0.0.2 *ì-la-ak-nu-i[d]*  
 11. 0.0.2 KA-[x]  
 12. 0.0.2 *é-a-<sup>r</sup>é<sup>1</sup>*  
 13. 0.0.2 *ur-ur*  
 14. 0.0.2 *a-bí-[x]*  
 15. 0.0.2 *lugal-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>*  
 16. 0.0.2 *<sup>d</sup>ezin<sub>2</sub>-[x]*  
 17. *ninda <sup>d</sup>utu-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*  
 18. *ninda é-a-tu-[x]*  
 19. *ninda i-mi-dingir*  
 20. *ninda lugal-iti-da*  
 21. *ninda i-lul-di[ngir]*  
 22. *ninda i-sar-gur-ba-[šum]*  
 23. *ninda ku-ru-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>*
- rev.iv 1. 0.0.3 *za-z[i]*  
 2. 0.0.3 *nu-<sup>h</sup>u-ra*  
 3. 0.0.3 *nin-da[ll]a*  
 4. 0.0.3 *<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-sar-[at]*  
 5. 0.0.3 *nin-ez[em]*  
 6. 0.0.3 *a-ma-n[úm]*  
 7. [x] *nin-en-[nu]*  
 8. 0.0.3 *aš-dar-um-[mí]*  
 9. 0.0.3 *si-ti-d[a]*  
 10. 0.0.3 *ì-lí-rí-z[i]*  
 11. 0.0.3 *ì-lí-a-b[í]*  
 12. 0.0.3 *si-ma-a-[zu]*  
 13. 0.0.3 *[t]e-mi-tu[m]*  
 14. 0.0.3 *da-ti-[na]*  
 15. 0.0.3 *ì-lí-[rí-zi 2]*  
 16. 0.0.3 *nin-kù-[zu]*  
 17. 0.0.3 *nin-gá-[ì-sa<sub>6</sub>]*  
 18. 0.0.3 *sal<sub>4</sub>-[ma]*  
 19. 0.0.3 *wa-an-[tum]*  
 20. 0.0.3 *me-ir-tu-[ì-lí]*
21. 0.0.3 *me-ir-tu-[àm-ma]*  
 22–23. (2 lines lost)
- v 1. [0.0.x] *na-ni*  
 2. 0.0.3 *aš-dar-tu-rí*  
 3. 0.0.3 *níg-bàn-da*  
 4. 0.0.3 *ba-nu-nu*  
 5. 0.0.3 *za-al-la*  
 6. 0.0.3 *na-na-gu-me*  
 7. 0.0.2 *ma-ba-lu-sa*  
 8. 0.0.2 *si-um-mi*  
 9. 0.0.2 *dumu-ga ba-nu-nu*  
 10. 0.0.2 *me-<sup>d</sup>nisaba*  
 11. 0.0.2 *si-du-gul-ti*  
 12. 0.0.2 *túl-la*  
 13. 0.0.2 *um-mi-<sup>d</sup>n[an]še<sup>2</sup>*  
 14. 0.0.2 *nin-igi-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>*  
 15. 0.0.2 *e-na-ba-lik*  
 16. 0.0.2 *ì-lí-du-gul-ti*  
 17. 0.0.2 *nin-mu-da-kúš*  
 18. *ninda si-ra-bí-at*  
 19. *ninda aš-dar-a-ra-at*  
 20. *ninda ma-ba-lu-sa*  
 21. *ninda si-um-mi*  
 22. *ninda <sup>r</sup>diri<sup>1</sup>-tum*
- 23–24. (two lines lost)
- vi 1. [... t] *u-tu*  
 2. [... u] *r-<sup>d</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub>*  
 3. 0.0.4 *u-ba-ru-um*  
 4. *ninda a-<sup>h</sup>u[<sup>h</sup>]-<sup>h</sup>u*  
 5. *ninda di-ì-le*  
 6. *ninda šu-ar-ba-dingir*  
 7. -----  
 8. 0.2 *še me-me*  
 9. 2 *še gu<sub>4</sub> udu gur*  
 10. 13 *še gur sá-du<sub>11</sub>-ga*  
 11. 1 *še gur a-na <sup>r</sup>du<sub>8</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>*  
 12. -----  
 13. *šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 27 lá 0.0.5 še gur a-  
ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
 14. *še <sup>r</sup>é-še<sup>1</sup>-gibil-ta*  
 15. *è-a*  
 16. *šu-ì-lí-su*  
 17. *ì-ba*  
 18. *šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 20 ninda guruš ma-<sup>h</sup>i-  
ru*  
 19. -----  
 20. [iti ...]

## 40

(CUNES 49-09-110). 97×70×26.



- obv.i 1. [...]  
 2. [x a-d]a-làl  
 3. [x s]u-ba-rí-a  
 4. [x g]al-iš-i-sar  
 5. [x] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nin-me-šum  
 6. [x] ḥa-LUM  
 7. [x dingir]-a-zu  
 8. [x šu]-6  
 9. [x a]-<sup>r</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>-ru-um  
 10. [x] <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka  
 11. [x] ga-[l]a-ba  
 12. [x] ba-ša-[a]ḥ-dingir  
 13. [x] ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni  
 14. [x] sá-lim-be-lí  
 15. [x p]ù-su-d[u<sub>10</sub>]  
 16. [x P]Ù.ŠA-ìr-[ra]  
 17. [x i]m<sub>6</sub>-da-lik  
 18. [x šu]-ì-lí-su

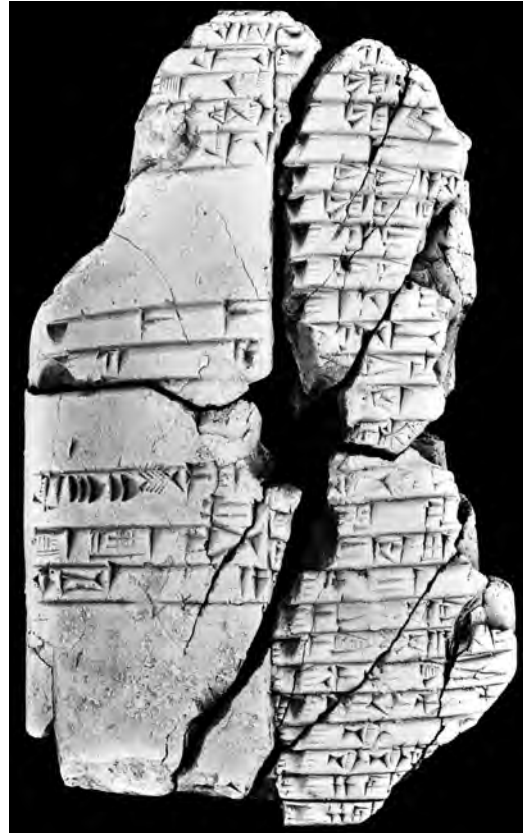
19. [x d]u-du  
 20. [x ba]-ki-ki  
 21-23. (ca. three lines lost)  
 ii 1. [x ...]  
 2. o.1 ur-[...]  
 3. o.1 lá o.o.1 inim-m[a]  
 4. o.1 lá o.o.1 giri<sub>3</sub>-n[i]  
 5. o.o.4 mes-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-du-ná  
 6. o.o.4 úr-ra-ni  
 7. o.o.2 lul-g[u-a]k  
 8. o.o.3 ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> [...]  
 9. šu-d[a-da]  
 10. ì-lí-[sa-lik]  
 11. <sup>r</sup>igi<sup>1</sup>-[bar]  
 12. o.o.2 <sup>r</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
 13. <sup>r</sup>o.o.x<sup>1</sup> [x]-du-[...]  
 14. <sup>r</sup>o.o.x<sup>1</sup> ma-[šum]  
 15. [x] PÙ.ŠA-m[a-ma]

- |              |                                  |         |  |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---------|--|
| 16.          | [x] a-bi-iš-[ma-ni]              | 21.     | o.o.3 me-ir-tu-[àm]-ma   |
| 17.          | [x] di[ri-um]                    | 22.     | o.o.3 tu-li-id-aš-dar  |
| 18.          | [x] bar-ra-[an]                  | 23.     | o.o.3 sal <sub>4</sub> -ma   |
| 19–23.       | (five lines lost)                | 24.     | o.o.2 si-u[m-m]i   |
| rev.iii 1–7. | (seven lines lost)               | 25.     | o.o.2 ma- [...]  |
| 8.           | o.o.3 t[e-mi-tum]                | 26.     | o.o.2 'dumu' [...]   |
| 9.           | o.o.3 [...]                      | 27.     | [...]  |
| 10.          | o.o.3 geme <sub>2</sub> -m[a-mu] | iv 1–4. | (four lines lost)  |
| 11.          | o.o.3 nin- [...]                 | 5.      | [...] 2 'gu <sub>4</sub> ' [...]                                   |
| 12.          | o.o.3 ì-lí-i[š-da-gal]           |         | -----  |
| 13.          | o.o.3 wa-an-t[um]                | 6.      | [š-u-nigin <sub>2</sub> x]+3.4 lá o.o.1 [... a]-<br>na še-ba [...] |
| 14.          | o.o.3 me-ir-t[u-ì-lí]            | 7–15.   | (nine erased lines)  |
| 15.          | o.o.3 aš-dar-t[u-ri]             | 16.     | -----  |
| 16.          | o.o.3 na-[ni]                    | 17.     | [x]+2 gur lugal-KA   |
| 17.          | o.o.3 níg-bàn-[da]               | 18.     | [x]+20 še gur-a-ga-de <sup>ki</sup>                                |
| 18.          | o.o.3 ba-n[u-nu]                 |         | (break)  |
| 19.          | o.o.3 na-na-[gu-me]              |         |  |
| 20.          | o.o.3 za-a[l-la]                 |         |  |



## 4I

(CUNES 49-09-008). 110×66×22.



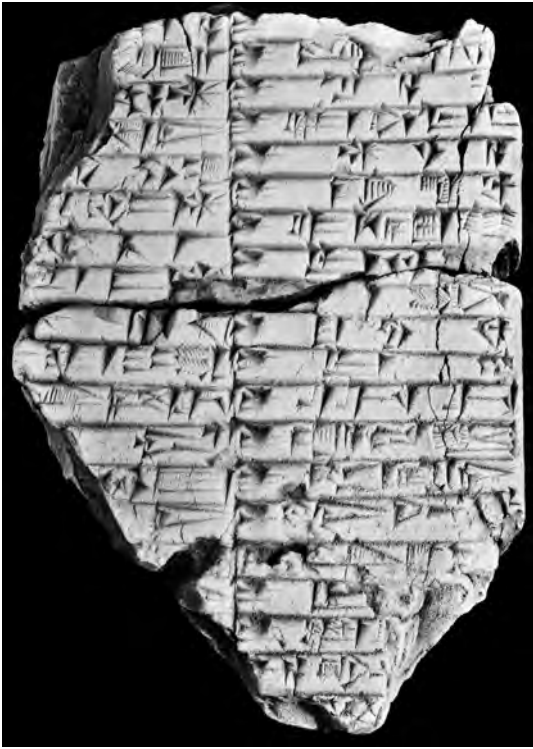
- obv.i
1. [...]
  2. [...] ʾlú-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá<sup>1</sup>
  3. o.o.3 ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni
  4. o.o.3 rí-iz-dingir
  5. o.o.4 gú-tar-lá
  6. o.o.4 ra-bí-dingir
  7. o.o.4 PÙ.ŠA-giš-eren<sub>2</sub>
  8. o.o.4 lugal-ad-da
  9. o.o.4 giri<sub>3</sub>-n[i]
  10. o.o.4 o.o.2 su-ba-rí-ʾa<sup>1</sup>
  11. o.1 a-mur-ru-u[m]
  12. o.o.4 gal-iš-i-s[ar]
  13. o.o.1 i-nin-me-[šum]
  14. o.o.4 ḥa-LUM o.o.4 [dingir-a-zu]
  15. o.o.3 ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> s[imug]
  16. ʾo.o.x<sup>1</sup> ì-lí-iš-d[a-gal]
  17. o.o.2 me-<sup>d</sup>nisaba

18. [o.o.x PÙ].ŠA-ma-ma
  19. [o.o.x pù-s]u-du<sub>10</sub>
  20. [o.o.x PÙ.ŠA]-ìr-ra
  21. [...]-é
  22. [...]-lú
  23. [...]-du
  24. [...]
- ii
1. ká a[n ...]
  2. o.o.3 [...]
  3. o.o.4 ur-[-...]
  4. o.o.3 šu-da-d[a]
  5. o.o.3 nam-mah
  6. o.o.3 ì-lí-sa-lik
  7. o.o.3 [ba]-zàḥ-dingir
  8. o.o.3 ga-la-[ba]
  9. o.o.3 PÙ.ŠA-ma-[ma]
  10. o.o.4 ba-ki-[ki]

- |         |                      |   |     |       |                                    |
|---------|----------------------|---|-----|-------|------------------------------------|
| 11.     | o.o.3                | mes-a-du-[ná]                               | 17. | o.o.3 | [n]in-eze[m]                       |
| 12.     | [o.o.x]              | NE- [...]                                   | 18. | o.o.3 | ma-ba-lu-[sa]                      |
| 13.     | [o.o.x di]           | ri-[um]                                     | 19. | o.o.3 | a-ma-n[úm]                         |
| 14.     | o.o.3                | [ <sup>d</sup> ]en-ki-[ka]                  | 20. | o.o.3 | me-ir-tu-ì-[lí]                    |
| 15.     | o.o.2                | ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> az[lag <sub>5</sub> ] | 21. | o.o.3 | me-ir-tu-àm-ma                     |
| 16.     | ʾo.o.3 <sup>1</sup>  | a-lí-a-[lu]                                 | 22. | o.o.3 | wa-an-tum                          |
| 17.     | o.o.2                | ku-ru-ub- <sup>d</sup> EN.[ZU]              | 23. | o.o.3 | o.o.2 ba-nu-nu                     |
| 18.     | o.o.3                | úr-ra-ʾni <sup>1</sup>                      | 24. | o.o.3 | na-ʾni <sup>1</sup>                |
| 19.     | o.o.2                | lul-gu-[ak]                                 | 25. | o.o.3 | na-na-g[u-me]                      |
| 20.     | o.o.2                | ur-li [...]                                 | 26. | o.o.3 | za-al-[la]                         |
| 21.     | -----                |   | 27. | o.o.3 | za-al-[la 2]                       |
| rev.iii | 1.                   | [...]                                       | iv  | 1.    | [o.o.3 aš-dar-tu]-rí               |
|         | 2.                   | o.1 [...]                                   |     | 2.    | [o.o.3 tu-li-i]d-aš-dar            |
|         | 3.                   | o.o.3 ʾo.o.2 <sup>1</sup> si-sa[r-at]       |     | 3.    | [o.o.x ...]-da                     |
|         | 4.                   | nin-ʾdalla <sup>1</sup>                     |     | 4.    | [o.o.3 sí]-um-mi                   |
|         | 5.                   | o.o.3 nin-kù-[zu]                           |     | 5.    | [o.o.3 n]in-kèš <sup>ki</sup>      |
|         | 6.                   | o.o.3 me-[me]                               |     | 6.    | [o.o.x ...]-da                     |
|         | 7.                   | o.o.3 ì-lí-a-bí                             |     | 7.    | -----                              |
|         | 8.                   | o.o.3 nin-gá-ì-[sa <sub>6</sub> ]           |     | 8.    | o.1 me-me                          |
|         | 9.                   | o.o.3 si-ma- [...]                          |     | 9.    | o.o.2+[x] diri                     |
| 10.     | o.o.3                | ì-lí- [...]                                 |     | 10    | -----                              |
| 11.     | o.o.3                | aš-dar-u[m-mi]                              |     | 11.   | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> še-libir gur |
| 12.     | [o.o.3]              | si-ti-[da]                                  |     | 12.   | é-ùr-ta                            |
| 13.     | [o.o.3 ì]-lí-rí-[zi] |   |     | 13.   | è-a                                |
| 14.     | [o.o.3]              | ʾx <sup>1</sup> [...]                       |     | 14.   | -----                              |
| 15.     | [o.o.3]              | ʾme <sup>ʔ1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> ni[saba]   |     | 15.   | [iti ...] ʾx <sup>1</sup>          |
| 16.     | [o.o.3]              | te-mi-t[um]                                 |     |       |                                    |

## 42

(CUNES 49-11-065). 92×63×21.



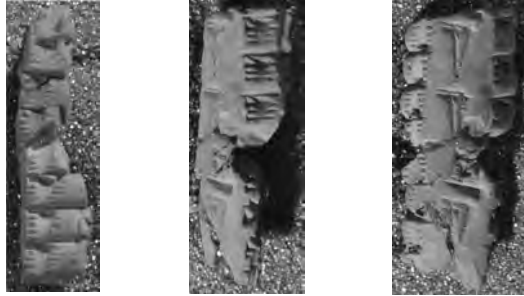
- obv.i 1–2. (two lines lost)  
 3. [o.o.x *su-ba*]-*rí-a*  
 4. [o.o.x <sup>d</sup>e]n-líl-lá  
 5. [o.o.x *ba*]-*zàh*-dingir  
 6. [o.o.x ir<sub>11</sub>]-*zu-ni*  
 7. [o.o.x *a-mu*]r-ru-um  
 8. [o.o.x r]*a-bí*-dingir  
 9. [o.o.x g]ú-tar-lá  
 10. [o.o.x] *rí-iz*-<sup>r</sup>dingir<sup>1</sup>  
 11. [o.o.x ding]ir-a-zu  
 12. [o.o.x *ga*]l-*iš-i-sar*  
 13. [o.o.x lug]al-ad-da  
 14. [o.o.x nam]-*maḥ*  
 15. [o.o.x ur]-nigin<sub>3</sub>  
 16. [o.o.x ...]-ni  
 17. [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 18. [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 19–21. (three lines lost)

- ii 1–2. (two lines lost)  
 3. o.o.2 [...]  
 4. o.o.2 lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 5. o.o.2 diri-um  
 6. o.o.3 PÙ.ŠA-*ma-ma*  
 7. o.o.1 <sup>d</sup>utu-*a*  
 8. o.o.2 *ga-la-ba*  
 9. o.o.1 sag-gul-lum  
 10. o.o.1 ur-nig[in<sub>3</sub>]  
 11. [o.o.1 u]r<sup>2</sup>-li  
 12. o.o.1 *ku-ru-ba*  
 13. o.o.2 *ur-ru*  
 14. o.o.2 *šu-da-da*  
 15. o.o.2 mes-a-du-ná  
 16. o.o.3 úr-ra-ni  
 17. o.o.1 lul-gu-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>  
 18. o.o.2 lú-sa<sub>6</sub>  
 19. o.o.2 ur-[ur]  
 20. o.o.2 PÙ.Š[A-x-x]  
 21. o.o.2 *a-bi-i*[š<sup>2</sup>-*ma-ni*]  
 22. [o.o.x *ku-r*]u-ub-[<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU]

- |              |   |         |   |
|--------------|---|---------|---|
| rev.iii 1-3. | (3 lines lost)                                    | iv 1-4. | (four lines lost)                                 |
| 4.           | [0.0.x] <i>si-ti-[da]</i>                         | 5.      | [... s]a <sub>6</sub>                             |
| 5.           | 0.0.3 <i>nin-ez[em]</i>                           | 6.      | [... i]š <sup>š</sup>                             |
| 6.           | 0.0.3 <i>a-ma-núm</i>                             | 7.      | [...] 'x'   |
| 7.           | 0.0.3 <i>nin-kù-zu</i>                            | 8.      | [...] 'x'   |
| 8.           | 0.0.1 <i>aš-dar-um-mi</i>                         | 9-12.   | (four lines lost)                                 |
| 9.           | [0.0.x] <i>ì-lí-rí-zi</i>                         | 13.     | [...] al 'x'                                      |
| 10.          | [0.0.x] <i>ì-lí-a-bí</i>                          | 14.     | [x še] gur <i>a-na é</i>                          |
| 11.          | 0.0.3 <i>te-mi-tum</i>                            | 15.     | [x] še gur <i>a-na má</i>                         |
| 12.          | 0.0.3 <i>me-me</i>                                | 16.     | [...] 'x' má-laḥ <sub>4</sub>                     |
| 13.          | 0.0.3 <i>si-m[a a-zu]</i>                         | 17.     | _____   |
| 14.          | '0.0.3 <sup>1</sup> <i>nin-kèš<sup>ki</sup>-e</i> | 18.     | [š <sub>u</sub> +nigin <sub>2</sub> x] še gur-maḥ |
| 15.          | 0.0.3 <i>ì-lí-rí-zi</i>                           |         | (rest is lost)                                    |
| 16.          | 0.0.3 <i>me-ir-tu-[i]-lí</i>                      |         |   |
| 17.          | 0.0.3 <i>wa-an-tum</i>                            |         |   |
| 18.          | 0.0.3 <i>na-ni</i>                                |         |   |
| 19.          | 0.0.3 <i>aš-dar-t[u-rí]</i>                       |         |   |
| 20.          | 0.0.3 'me <sup>1</sup> -[ir-tu-àm-ma]             |         |   |
| 21-23.       | (ca. three lines lost)                            |         |   |

## 43

(MS 4198b). 39×13×16. Fragment from the left edge of a ration list.



obv.	(break)	rev.	(break)
1'	o.o.4 [...]	1'	o.o.3 [...]
2'	o.o.4 [...]	2'	o.o.3 [...]
3'	o.o.4 [...]	3'	o.o.3 [...]
4'	o.o.4 'x' [...]	4'	[...]
5'	o.o.4 [...]	5'	o.o.1 [...]
6'	o.o.4 a-[...]	6'	o.o.2 [...]
7'	o.o.4 'x' [...]		(break)
	(break)	l.edge	1. [... š]u-i-lí-su ì-[ba]

## 44

(Jon-77, fragm. B). 17×15×9.



	(break)
1'	[...] za-[al-la]
2'	[... m]e-ir-t[u- ...]
3'	[...] tu-l[i-id-aš-dar]
	(break)

Since the text of this tiny fragment happens to be present in all of nos. **34–42**, the fragment must be the only surviving remains of yet another ration list.

(CUNES 49-09-010). 116×45×21.



- |      |     |   |      |                               |                               |
|------|-----|---|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| obv. | 1.  | o.1 [zu]-zu   | 16.  | × PÙ.ŠA <sup>1</sup> -ìr-ra   |                               |
|      | 2.  | o.0.3 PÙ.ŠA-giš-eren <sub>2</sub>                         | 17.  | × im <sub>6</sub> -da-lik     |                               |
|      | 3.  | o.0.3 a- <sup>r</sup> da <sup>1</sup> -lál                | 18.  | o.0.3 šu-[ì]-lí-su            |                               |
|      | 4.  | o.0.3 su-ba-rí-a  | 19.  | o.0.3 du-du                   |                               |
|      | 5.  | o.0.3 gal-[i]š <sup>2</sup> -i-sar                        | 20.  | o.0.3 ba-ki-ki                |                               |
|      | 6.  | o.0.3 i-[ni]n-me-šum                                      | 21.  | o.0.3 a-lí-a- <u>hu</u>       |                               |
|      | 7.  | [?] <u>ha</u> -LUM dingir- <sup>r</sup> a-zu <sup>1</sup> | 22.  | o.0.3 kur-mu-gam              |                               |
|      | 8.  | o.0.3 a- <sup>r</sup> mur <sup>1</sup> -ru-[um]           | 23.  | o.0.3 lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna |                               |
|      | 9.  | o.0.3 <sup>d</sup> en-[ki]-ka                             | 24.  | o.0.3 ra-bí-dingir            |                               |
|      | 10. | o.0.3 [šú]-6  | rev. | 1.                            | [o.0.3] rí-iz-d[ingir]        |
|      | 11. | × ga-la-ba  |      | 2.                            | [o.0.3] gú-t[ar]-lá           |
|      | 12. | [× b]a-zà <sup>h</sup> -dingir                            |      | 3.                            | o.0.3 a-lí-a- <u>hu</u> 2     |
|      | 13. | o.0.3 <sup>r</sup> ir <sub>11</sub> <sup>1</sup> -zu-ni   |      | 4.                            | o.0.3 lugal-ad-da             |
|      | 14. | o.0.3 <sup>r</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> -lim-be-lí             |      | 5.                            | o.0.3 lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna |
|      | 15. | o.0.3 pù-su-du <sub>10</sub>                              |      | 6.                            | o.0.3 ur-su                   |

- |     |             |   |      |  |  |
|-----|-------------|---|------|--|--|
| 7.  | 0.0.3       | <i>ur-ru</i>                            | 17.  | 30 gur   | <i>it-ba</i>                             |
| 8.  | 0.0.3       | lugal-níg-zu                            | 18.  | 30 gur   | <i>it-ba-ma</i>                          |
| 9.  | 0.0.3       | ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna                 | 19.  | lugal-KA   | <i>im-<u>h</u>ur</i>                     |
| 10. | 0.0.3       | š <sup>u</sup> -ì-[ <i>l</i> -su] šitim | 20.  | -----  |  |
| 11. | 0.0.3       | PÙ.ŠA- <i>ma-ma</i>                     | 21.  | ʽš <sup>u</sup> +nigin <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> | 70 lá 0.4.4 še gur <i>a-</i>             |
| 12. | 0.0.3       | ur- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub>     |      | <i>ga-dē<sup>ki</sup></i>                        |  |
| 13. | 0.1.3       | diri                                    | 22.  | è-a é-še   | <i>da-da</i>                             |
| 14. | -----       |   | edge | 1.   | diri-šè iti ZÍZ.A <i>im-<u>h</u>u-ru</i> |
| 15. | 6           | še gur                                  |      |  |  |
| 16. | <i>a-na</i> | ʽmá <sup>1</sup> lugal-[iti]-da         |      |  |  |

obv. 21: *a-li-a-hu* based on a pre-conservation photograph.

## 46

(CUNES 49-09-004). 116×74×23. Unbaked, brownish gray.



obv.i 1. o.o.3 *a-mur-ru-um*  
 2. o.o.3 <sup>r</sup>š<sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub>-ì-lí-su šitim  
 3. o.o.3 PÛ.ŠA-giš-eren<sub>2</sub>  
 4. o.o.3 *ba-ki-ki*  
 5. o.o.3 *ra-bí-<sup>r</sup>dingir<sup>1</sup>*  
 6. o.o.3 *su-ba-rí-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*  
 7. o.o.3 ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni  
 8. o.o.3 dumu nu-*hu-ra*  
 9. o.o.3 du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 10. [o.o.3] šu-6  
 11. o.o.3 din[gir-a-z]u  
 12. o.o.3 *a-da-làl*  
 13. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1.1 še-ba gur  
 14. \_\_\_\_\_  
 15. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 3 še gur-mah

16. še-gu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub> DU.DU-e gibil  
 17. iti gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su  
 18. *im-hu-ru*  
 ii 1. o.o.2 [bar]-ra-an  
 2. o.o.2 ur-<sup>d</sup>nanna  
 3. o.o.3 <sup>d</sup>utu<sup>1</sup>-sipa  
 4. [o.o.x] *a-bum<sup>1</sup>(KA)*  
 5. [...] PÛ.ŠA-[<sup>d</sup>en-líl]  
 6. [o.o.x l]ú-dingir-ra  
 7. o.o.3 *li-bur*  
 8. o.o.3 [*ut*]-ti-ru-um  
 9. o.o.3 [*l*]-i-lum  
 10. o.o.3 *é-a-ba-ni*  
 11. o.o.3 *be-lí-du<sub>10</sub>*  
 12. o.o.2 *a-hu-du<sub>10</sub>*



- |     |   |     |                                     |
|-----|---|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 13. | o.o.2 ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-mug          | 18. | o.1 še a-rá 1-kam                   |
| 14. | ʾo.o.2 <sup>1</sup> mes-é               | 19. | [x].2.ʾ4 <sup>1</sup> še a-rá 2-kam |
| 15. | o.o.2 <i>ga-ba-na</i> geme <sub>2</sub> | 20. | mes-a-du-ná                         |
| 16. | o.1 mu-ni-lál                           | 21. | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 2.2 še gur    |
| 17. | [...] gur še-ba nar                     |     |                                     |

The text should be read in the order: i 1–13, then ii 1–21, then i 15–18.

ii 1–17: Cf. **50** ii 9 – iii 5, from which restorations are made.

## 47

(CUNES 49-09-013). 107×42×21. Large inelegant hand.



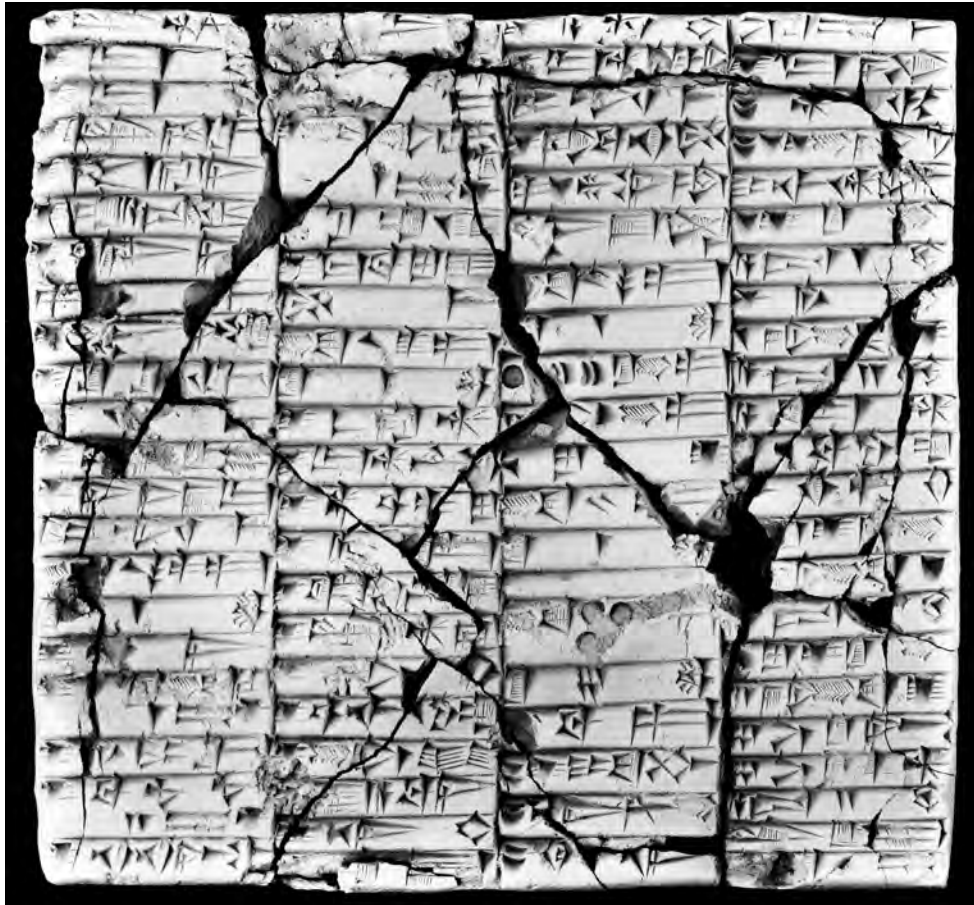
obv. 1. 0.0.3 PÙ.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>ir-ra  
 2. 0.0.3 ba-ki-ki  
 3. 0.0.3 ur-ru  
 4. 0.0.3 lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 5. 0.0.1 inim-kù  
 6. 0.0.1 é-a-é  
 7. 0.0.3 du-du  
 8. 0.0.3 šu-ma-ma  
 9. 0.0.3 a-li-a-ḫu

10. [x] é-a-ba-lik  
 11. 0.0.3 gú-tar-lá  
 12. 0.0.2 ḫa-da-rí-zu  
 13. [x] lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 14. 0.0.3 ḫa-LUM  
 15. ~~[x] ba-nu-nu~~  
 16. [x si]la<sub>3</sub>? aš-dar-tu-rí  
 rev. 1. [x] za-al-lá  
 2. 0.0.2 [b]a-nu-nu

Obv. 8–15 written over erasures.

## 48

(CUNES 49-09-001). 116×123×28. Unbaked, brown.



- |       |     |       |                                  |     |       |   |
|-------|-----|-------|----------------------------------|-----|-------|---|
| obv.i | 1.  | o.o.4 | lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna          | 17. | o.o.3 | na-ni   |
|       | 2.  | o.o.4 | ur-su                            | 18. | o.o.3 | aš-dar-tu-rí 1 du <sub>8</sub> o.o.1            |
|       | 3.  | o.o.4 | ur- <sup>r</sup> ru <sup>1</sup> | 19. | o.o.3 | níg-bàn-da                                      |
|       | 4.  | o.o.4 | lugal-ad-da                      | 20. | o.o.3 | ba-nu-nu 2 du <sub>8</sub> o.o.1                |
|       | 5.  | o.o.4 | úr-ra-ni                         | 21. | o.o.3 | na-na-gu-me                                     |
|       | 6.  | o.o.4 | mes-a-du-ná                      | ii  | 1.    | [x za-a]l- <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup>         |
|       | 7.  | o.o.4 | giri <sub>3</sub> -ni            |     | 2.    | [x me]- <sup>r</sup> ir <sup>1</sup> -[u-à]m-ma |
|       | 8.  |       | guruš-me                         |     | 3.    | o.o.3 tu-li-id-aš-dar 1 du <sub>8</sub> o.o.1   |
|       | 9.  | o.o.3 | lul-gu-ak                        |     | 4.    | o.o.3 si-um-mi                                  |
|       | 10. | o.o.3 | šú-da-da                         |     | 5.    | o.o.3 ma-ba-lu-sa                               |
|       | 11. | o.o.3 | igi-bar                          |     | 6.    | geme <sub>2</sub> -me                           |
|       | 12. | o.o.3 | lú-sa <sub>6</sub>               |     | 7.    | še-su 1.o.4 gur                                 |
|       | 13. | o.o.2 | ì-lí-sa-lik                      |     | 8.    | šú 1 iti  |
|       | 14. |       | dumu-nita <sub>2</sub> -me       |     | 9.    | o.o.3 bar-ra-an                                 |
|       | 15. |       | še-su 1.3.2 gur                  |     | 10.   | o.o.3 ur- <sup>d</sup> nanna                    |
|       | 16. |       | šú 1 iti                         |     | 11.   | o.o.3 <sup>d</sup> utu-sipa                     |



12. 0.0.3 *a-bum*  
 13. 0.0.3 PÙ.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>en-líl  
 14. 0.0.3 lú-dingir-ra  
 15. 0.0.1+[2] *li-bur*  
 16. 0.0.3 *ut-ti-ru-um*  
 17. 0.0.3 *li-lum*  
 18. 0.0.1+[2] *é-a-ba-ni*  
 19. 0.0.3 *be-lí-du*<sub>10</sub>  
 20. [x] mes-é

iii

1. 0.0.2 *a-lu-du*<sub>10</sub>  
 2. 0.0.2 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-mug  
 3. *dumu-nita*<sub>2</sub>-me  
 4. 0.0.2 *ga-ba-na* geme<sub>2</sub>  
 5. *ugula* 0.1 mu-ni-làl  
 6. nar é-balag-me  
 7. [š]e-su 2.3 gur  
 8. [š]u 1 iti  
 9. 15 dabin gur

10. 'x x' 1 še gur

11. 10 udu 0.0.3  
 12. še-su 2 gur  
 13. šu 1 iti

14. \_\_\_\_\_

15. še-su 31 gur  
 16. šu 5 iti  
 17. [š]e-ba guruš  
 18. 0.2.3 *i-zu-gíd*  
 19. 0.2 *be-lí-gi*  
 20. 0.2 *sá-'lim'*-be-lí

iv

1. *sagi-me*  
 2. 0.0.4 *ma-šum*  
 3. 0.2 dingir-sig<sub>3</sub>  
 4. 0.3.2 še ka[š] ninda  
 5. *i-ti*-<sup>d</sup>IM  
 6. 0.1.3 dabin  
 7. a-rá 1-kam

- |       |     |   |       |     |   |
|-------|-----|---|-------|-----|---|
|       | 8.  | o.o.1 ninda-še                              |       | 7.  | šu-ì-lí-su šu <sup>giš</sup> tukul  |
|       | 9.  | 1 kaš še-su o.o.2                           |       | 8.  | ʾo.o.4ʾ dabin   |
|       | 10. | a-rá 2-kam                                  |       | 9.  | da-ti   |
|       | 11. | a-bum-dingir                                |       | 10. | ʾlú-emeʾ  |
|       | 12. | šu u-ba-ru-um                               |       | 11. | 1 udu o.o.4 ninda-še  |
|       | 13. | ʾo.o.1ʾ ki maš ki                           |       | 12. | 3 ʾkašʾ še-su o.1   |
|       | 14. | [x u]du o.o.3 ninda-še                      |       | 13. | a-r[á 1]-kam  |
|       | 15. | [3] kaš še-su o.1                           |       | 14. | [x udu] o.o.ʾ3ʾ ninda-še  |
|       | 16. | [a]-rá 1-kam                                |       | 15. | [3] kaš še-su o.1   |
|       | 17. | 1 udu o.o.2 dabin                           |       | 16. | [a]-rá 2-kam  |
|       | 18. | 2 kaš še-su o.o.4                           |       | 17. | lugal-lú  |
|       | 19. | 5 sila <sub>3</sub> zíd-gu                  |       | 18. | [šu] <sup>giš</sup> gigir <sub>2</sub>  |
|       | 20. | 5 sila <sub>3</sub> zíd imgaga <sub>3</sub> |       | 19. | o.1 ʾšeʾ kaš ninda-ta   |
|       | 21. | a-rá 2-kam                                  |       | 20. | [šu] 12 iti   |
|       | 22. | lú-sa <sub>6</sub>                          |       | 21. | še-su 6 gur   |
|       | 23. | [s]agi                                      |       | 22. | bù-su-a-LUM   |
| rev.v | 1.  | o.o.1 ninda-še                              | vii   | 1.  | 1 udu o.o.3 ninda-še  |
|       | 2.  | 1 kaš še-su o.o.2                           |       | 2.  | ʾ3ʾ kaš še-su o.1   |
|       | 3.  | u-bil-tu-na-áš                              |       | 3.  | šu-ma-ma  |
|       | 4.  | o.o.3 ninda-še                              |       | 4.  | šu <sup>giš</sup> tukul   |
|       | 5.  | 3+[1] kaš še-su [o.1].2                     |       | 5.  | o.o.1 ninda-še  |
|       | 6.  | <sup>d</sup> utu-ba-ta-e <sub>11</sub>      |       | 6.  | 2 kaš še-su o.o.4   |
|       | 7.  | ʾugulaʾ lú-kaš <sub>4</sub> -sá             | 7–10. |     | (four lines lost)   |
|       | 8.  | o.o.2 ninda-še                              | 11.   |     | [1 kaš še-su o.o.2]   |
|       | 9.  | 2 kaš še-su o.o.4                           | 12.   |     | šu [...]  |
|       | 10. | lugal-kaš <sub>4</sub> -e                   | 13.   |     | o.o.2 nin[da-še]  |
|       | 11. | dub-sar                                     | 14.   |     | 2 kaš še-su o.o.4   |
|       | 12. | o.o.4 ninda-še                              | 15.   |     | li-lum  |
|       | 13. | 4 kaš ʾše-suʾ o.1.2                         | 16.   |     | šu-TE.LÁ  |
|       | 14. | a-rá 1-kam                                  | 17.   |     | [x] ninda-še  |
|       | 15. | o.o.1 ninda-še                              | 18.   |     | 1 kaš še-su o.o.2   |
|       | 16. | 1 kaš še-su o.o.2                           | 19.   |     | ʾirʾ-ki-ki  |
|       | 17. | a-rá 2-kam                                  | viii  | 1.  | _____   |
|       | 18. | sar-ru-ru šu-TE.LÁ                          |       | 2.  | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 5 udu   |
|       | 19. | o.o.4 dabin                                 |       | 3.  | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 10.2 5 sila <sub>3</sub> še gur a-<br>ga-dè <sup>ki</sup> |
|       | 20. | 5 kaš še-su [o.1].4                         |       | 4.  | šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 43 kaš šu o.o.2   |
|       | 21. | ni-se <sub>11</sub> -e-ni-su                |       | 5.  | še-su 2.2+[2].2 gur   |
|       | 22. | ugula lú-kaš <sub>4</sub> -sá               |       | 6.  | _____   |
| vi    | 1.  | o.o.2 ninda-še                              |       | 7.  | zé-a-tum  |
|       | 2.  | 2 kaš še-ʾsu o.o.4ʾ                         |       | 8.  | [š]u mu-a   |
|       | 3.  | na-aḥ-šum                                   |       |     |   |
|       | 4.  | lú-úš-udu                                   |       |     |   |
|       | 5.  | o.o.3 ninda-še                              |       |     |   |
|       | 6.  | 3 kaš še-su o.1                             |       |     |   |

## 49

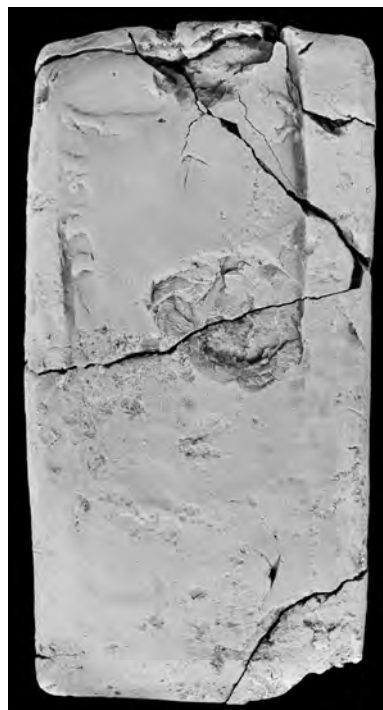
(CUNES 47-11-053). Previously published as CUSAS 13, 68.



- obv. 1. [x] dingir-lú-sa<sub>6</sub>  
 2. 0.0.4 ur-<sup>d</sup>en-nu-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 3. [x] maš-tur  
 4. 0.0. '4' ur-<sup>d</sup>ištaran  
 5. 0.0.3 ur-sukkal  
 6. '0.0.3' šandana  
 7. 0.0. '3' a-geštin  
 8. [x] i-mi-dingir  
 9. [x] ma-an-gu-[ul]  
 10. [x] ur-<sup>d.as</sup>aš<sub>7</sub>-g[i<sub>4</sub>]  
 11. 0.0.3 ur-igi-ma-šè  
 12. šu-ma-[ma]
- rev. 1. KA-[x]  
 2. mu-ni-[lâl]  
 3. dingir-[x]  
 4. 1 [...]  
 5. 0.0.4 [...]  
 (rest hopeless)

50

(CUNES 49-13-085). 91×46×16. Reverse blank except for an indistinct seal impression.

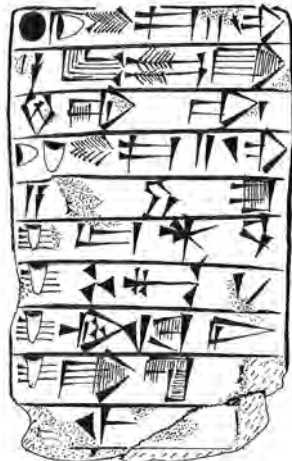


- obv. 1-3. (erased)  
 4.        *šu-i-lí-su*  
 5.        *bù-zu-zu muḫaldim*  
 6.   *o.o.3 sa-tu-tu*  
 7.   *ʾo.o.3<sup>1</sup> ma-šum*  
 8.   *o.o.3 du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni*  
 9.        *ù-ni-ni*  
 10.       *ur-<sup>d</sup>iškur*  
 rev.        *(seal impression)*



## 5I

(L-2002, 10). 62×37×17. Rev. blank. The lower end of obverse has been slightly trimmed; one or two lines may be missing. Private English collection.



- obv. 1. 10 lá I še gur-2-UL  
 2. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga  
 3. šà-bi-ta  
 4. 1.1 še gur-2-UL  
 5. a-<sup>r</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>-ru-um  
 6. 0.0.4 ur-<sup>d</sup>utu  
 7. 0.0.4 kur-mu-gam  
 8. 0.0.4 ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni  
 9. 0.0.3 ga-la-b[a]  
 10. <sup>r</sup>0.0.3<sup>1</sup> igi-ba[r]  
 (one or two lines lost)



## 52

(CUNES 49-09-092). 35×31×15.



- obv. 1. [x]+2 [še gur]-sag-gál  
 2. *šu iš-dè ba-za-[za]*  
 3. *ì-la-la im-ḫur*  
 4. *šà-bi-ta*  
 5. [x še] gur-[sag-gál]
- rev. 1. [mes-a-d]u-ná  
 2. [x P]Ù.ŠA-dingir-*ma-lik*  
 3. o.2.2 *me-me*  
 4. o.o.2 *igi-bar*  
 5. o.3 *ma-šum* simug  
 6. o.o.3 (*er.*)  
 7. [...]

## 53

(CUNES 49-08-075). 79×44×19. Unbaked, grayish brown.



- obv.
1. 0.2.2 še *i-ti*-<sup>d</sup>IM
  2. 0.2.3 *a-na* 'x' *ìr-e-bu*[m]
  3. *iti* še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> 'im-ma'
  4. *iti* bara<sub>2</sub>-zà-gar še 'x x x'
  5. *iti* gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su še 'giš-ra-a'
  6. *iti* sig<sub>4</sub>-šub-ba-gar 10 gur še gu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub>
  7. *iti* šu-numun 11 gur še-libir
  8. *iti* izi-izi-gar 12 gur še-libir
  9. *iti* kin<sub>5</sub>-<sup>d</sup>inanna 11 g[ur] še ...]
  10. *iti* du<sub>6</sub>-kù 12 g[ur] 'še' [...]
  11. *iti* apin-du<sub>8</sub>-a 11 gu[r] še ...]
  12. *iti* ga-an-ga-an-è 12 gur še-libir
  13. [i]ti a]b-è 12 gur [a-ga-d]è<sup>ki</sup> še-libir
- rev.
1. [...] úr-ra-ni sipa
  2. <iti> 'ZÍZ.A' 11 gur še-gibil è-a *ìr-e-bum*
  3. *iti-àm* ús-sa 11 gur še ki-bi-ra<sup>ki</sup>
  4. 1 še gur *sar-ru-AL-mu-bí*
  5. 5 še gur *a-na* 'é'
  6. 30 še gur *a-na* má-gur<sub>8</sub>
  7. *iti* še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> mu-a 40 lá 3 gur še é UŠ A 'ŠU' 7
  8. -----
  9. še-ba šu 14 iti

## 54

(CUNES 49-09-014). 90×44×20.



obv. 1. 2 ma-na siki-ta  
 2. 1 *sá-lim-be-lí*  
 3. 1 *im<sub>6</sub>-da-lik*  
 4. 1 *im<sub>6</sub>-da-lik* 2  
 5. 1 *a-bi-iš-ma-ni*  
 6. 1 *a-ma-núm*  
 7. 1 nin-kù-[zu]  
 8. 1 nin-ezem  
 9. 1 *nu-h-ra*  
 10. 1 nin-dalla  
 11. 1 *aš-dar-um-m[i]*  
 12. 1 PÛ.ŠA-ìr-[ra]  
 13. [1] nin-en-[nu]  
 14. [1] *da-ti-[na]*  
 15. [1] *te-mi-tum*  
 16. [1 a]ma-ga-zi  
 17. [...] 'x x' a 'x'  
 18. [...]  
 19. [...]  
 20. [...]

rev. 1. [...]  
 2. [...]  
 3. [...]  
 4. [... m]a-na sik[i-ta]  
 5. [1 m]e-<sup>d</sup>nisaba  
 6. 1 *si-du-gul-ti*  
 7. 1 *ì-[la]-ak-nu-id*

## 55

(CUNES 48-04-083). 25×38×20. Broken edge ground off completely, less than half the tablet.  
Previously published as CUSAS 13, 198.



- obv. (break)  
 1'. [(...)] 'x<sup>1</sup>-ki  
 2'. iš-dè  
 3'. [na]m-maḥ  
 rev. 1. má-gíd  
 2. u-ša-ab  
 3. li-ru-nim  
 (rest broken, perhaps nothing missing)

## 56

(CUNES 52-13-044). 35×27×13. Previously published as CUSAS 20, 79



- |      |  |      |   |
|------|--|------|---|
| obv. | 1. I du-du<br>2. ù 2 dumu-su<br>3. I ur-ur<br>4. I kur-gal<br>5. _____<br>6. šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 5 guruš<br>7. iš-dè | rev. | 1. lugal-a-mu<br>2. in adab <sup>ki</sup><br>3. u-ša-bu<br>4. 'li-ru-nim' |
|------|--|------|---|

Obv. 6 – rev. 4: In all, 5 workmen are staying with Lugal-a-mu in Adab. They should be brought here.

## 57

(CUNES 50-04-128). 23×21×10. Šu-ilisu?



- obv. 1. I *šú-a-zi*  
 2. *geme<sub>2</sub>-àm*  
 3. *lú-ku<sub>6</sub>*  
 4. *in adab<sup>ki</sup>*  
 rev. 1. *tu-ša-ab*  
 2. *li-ru-ù-nim*  
 3. *ur-ma-ma*

Šu-a-zi, the slave-girl, stays in Adab (with) Lu-ku. They should bring her here. –  
 Ur-mama.

(MS 2872/1). 47×38×16.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *i-su-dingir*  
 3. *dub-sar-mah*  
 4. *a-na šu-i-lí-su*  
 5. *a-ra-še* gana<sub>2</sub> ereš-dingir  
 6. *ù za-ab-ti*  
 7. *a-wa-zu-nu*
- rev. 1. *li ik dam*  
 2. *ù mí-ma*  
 3. *a-ra-še* šu ut ti  
 4. *it-ba-lu*  
 5. *li-sa-ti-in*

Thus Išū-ilum, the Chief Scribe, to Šuilisu: Concerning (two kinds of field workers) on the High Priestess' field: he should ... the matter concerning them. And whatever ... have taken away, he should get back from them.

- Rev. 3: Sommerfeld (pers. comm.) suggests to take šu ut ti as *šu-ut* (giš)-ti “Bogenschützen.” We confess to not feeling convinced but we have nothing better to suggest.

## 59

(CUNES 49-14-014). 49×12×15. The small fragment most likely does not belong and has been ignored here.



- |      |  |
|------|--|
| obv. | 1. <i>en-[ma]</i>                            |
|      | 2. <i>šu-ma-[ma]</i>                         |
|      | 3. <i>a-na šu-ì-lí-su</i>                    |
|      | 4. <i>a-na é u-bil-tu-na-áš</i>              |
|      | 5. <i>ir<sub>11</sub> ù geme<sub>2</sub></i> |
| rev. | 1. <i>ma-na-ma</i>                           |
|      | 2. <i>a i-ku-uš</i>                          |
|      | 3. <i>mí-ma a il-bu-tu</i>                   |
|      | 4. <i>ù-la a-t[i]</i>                        |
|      | 5. <i>šeš-k[al-la]</i>                       |
|      | 6. <i>li- [...]</i>                          |

Thus Šu-mama to Šuilisu: No one must go near the estate of Ubil-dunnaš or his slaves and slave girls. They must not touch anything, ...

## 60

(MS 2872/3). 41×36×15. Scruffy hand, though clear enough.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *šu-ma-ma*  
 3. *a-na šu-ì-lí-su*  
 4. *a-na geme<sub>2</sub> ù ir<sub>11</sub>*  
 5. *o.2 še o.1 ku<sub>6</sub>*  
 6. *[2] sila<sub>3</sub> ì-<sup>r</sup>šáh<sup>1</sup>*
- rev. 1. *lí-ti-in*  
 2. *a-na-gu*  
 3. *in a-la-ki*  
 4. *lu-ti-šum*  
 5. *a ik-la*  
 6. *ma-núm <ki> a-<sup>hi</sup>*

Thus Šu-mama to Šuilisu: He should give 20 liters of barley, 10 liters of fish, and two liters of lard to the servants and maidservants. When I come, I will give it to him (i.e., reimburse him). He must not withhold it! Who is like my brother?



## 6I

(CUNES 49-09-106). 55×42×16.



- obv. 1. *en-[ma]*  
 2. *zi-[gur]*  
 3. *a-na šu-<sup>r</sup>i'-[li-s]u*  
 4. *gana<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub> [lug]al*  
 5. *gana<sub>2</sub> [(x) z]i-gu[r]*  
 6. *gana<sub>2</sub> [(x)] i-mi-dingir*  
 7. *gana<sub>2</sub> šuku 'engar'*  
 8. *gana<sub>2</sub> šuku za-ar-bu-a-ba*  
 9. *ù ur-me-ga*
- rev. 1. *li-ti-in-ma*  
 2. *li-dal-kam*  
 3. *wa-ar-gi gana<sub>2</sub>*  
 4. *i-mi-dingir*  
 5. *a-na apin-lá*  
 6. *li-da-da-an*

Thus Sikkur to Šuilisu: He should assign the field of the king's domain land, the field of Sikkur, the field of Imi-ilum, the sustenance field of the architect, and the sustenance field of Zardu-aba and of Ur-mega, and then come to me. Afterwards, he should give all of Imi-ilum's fields to tenants.

## 62

(MS 2872/5). 66×45×18.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *zi-gur*  
 3. *a-na i-mi-dingir*  
 4. *ù šu-i-lí-[su]*  
 5. 3 (bùr) 'aša<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 6. *ša a-na za-ar-bu-[a-ba]*  
 7. *ù-gal-li-mu*  
 8. *a-na éš-gà[r]*  
 9. *ù-la 'ku<sup>1</sup>-lum*  
 10. [*a*]-'na<sup>1</sup> mi-'nim<sup>1</sup>  
 11. [...]
- rev. (seven lines lost)  
 1'. [*x*]+2 nu [...]  
 2'. in su 'gu<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 3'. 'lu<sup>1</sup> [*x*] za [*x*]  
 4'. *ù é*  
 5'. *a-na al-'x<sup>1</sup>-[x]*  
 6'. *li-ti-š[um]*

Thus Sikkur to Imi-ilum and Šuilisu: The 3 *bur* of land [≈ 20 ha] that I assigned to Zarbu-aba was not assigned as *iškarum*-land. Why ...

Obv. 8: We take *iškarum* here as “a tenant’s obligation,” with the implication that Sikkur had assigned the field to Zarbu-aba as his sustenance field.

## 63

(CUNES 49-09-104). 59×46×18.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *z[i]-gur*  
 3. *a-na i-mi-dingir*  
 4. I udu  
 5. *li-it-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-úh<sup>2</sup>-ma*  
 6. banšur  
 7. *li-da-me-ik-ma*  
 8. *ma-<sup>h</sup>a-<sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>*  
 9. <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> 10 ninda  
 3. 10 ka[š]  
 4. *a-na ra-ti-e-su*  
 5. *li-ti-in*

Thus Sikkur to Imi-ilum: He should slaughter a sheep and prepare a joyful meal and [set it] before (PN); and he should give his retinue 10 loaves of bread and 10 jars of beer.

Obv. 9: We take this to be the name of the visitor to be treated so well.

## 64

(CUNES 49-09-105). 40×37×13. Reverse almost completely eaten away.



- |      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| obv. | 1. | <i>en-ma</i>                             |
|      | 2. | <i>zi-gur</i>                            |
|      | 3. | <i>a-na i-mi-dingir</i>                  |
|      | 4. | I (eše <sub>3</sub> ) gana <sub>2</sub>  |
|      | 5. | ša a-na sa <sub>6</sub> -sa <sub>6</sub> |
|      | 6. | <i>a-ti-nu</i>                           |
| rev. | 1. | <i>si-ib-si-su</i>                       |
|      | 2. | ʾxʾ [...]                                |
|      | 3. | ù [...]                                  |
|      | 4. | li-[...]                                 |

## 65

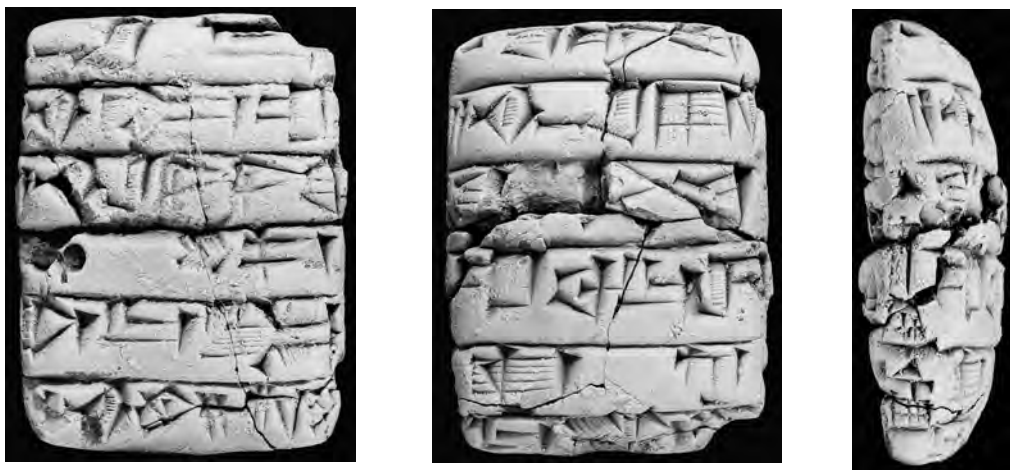
(CUNES 49-09-103). 69×47×16. Curiously, the reverse has been scraped off, with traces of writing remaining along the right edge.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *zi-gur*  
 3. *a-na i-mi-dingir*  
 4. [aga]<sub>4</sub> maš-da-lu-gal  
 5. <sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-iš-lam  
 6. *a-na é<sup>12</sup> d<sup>1</sup>inanna*  
 7. *me-iš-lam*  
 8. <sup>r</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> PA<sup>1</sup>.AL.É  
 9. lugal  
 10. [x x] <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [x]  
 (break)
- rev. (destroyed)

## 66

(CUNES 49-13-097). 59×44×17. Large scruffy hand. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 170.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *na-bí-um*  
 3. *a-na šu-ì-lí-su*  
 4. 20 še-gur  
 5. *ša ur-sa<sub>6</sub>*  
 6. *a-na im-ri-im*
- rev. 1. *u-su-bi-lam*  
 2. *a-na nibru<sup>ki</sup>*  
 3. *su-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>l</sup>-lam*  
 4. mes ba ur da  
 5. *iš-má*  
 6. ma li bu
- edge 7. *u-zé-ù*

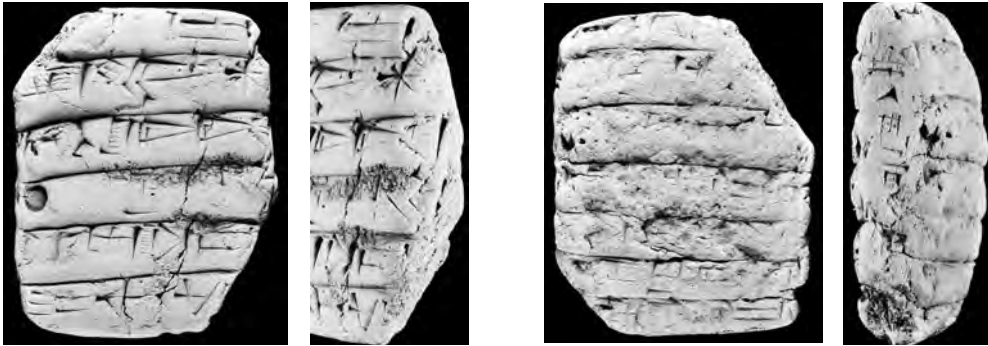
Thus Nabium to Šuilisu: The 20 gur of barley which Ursa sent here for ..., you should send to Nippur. ....

Obv. 6, *im-ri-im*: The least unpalatable interpretation would be *CAD imrú* A “fodder (for fattening).”

Rev. 4–7: Totally opaque to us. Even emending MES in rev. 4 into DUB, and taking MA in rev. 6 as *mā* “as follows,” does not yield a satisfactory sense. We hope that someone will have a good idea.

## 67

(CUNES 49-09-102). 43×35×14. The tablet looks quite different from the usual Umm-el-Hafriyat clay-and-salt mixture. The reverse is badly dissolved and covered with mud.



- |        |    |                                   |
|--------|----|-----------------------------------|
| obv.   | 1. | [e]n-ma                           |
|        | 2. | iš-lul-dingir                     |
|        | 3. | a-na šu-ì-lí-su                   |
|        | 4. | 10 gín kù-babbar                  |
|        | 5. | ša PÙ.ŠA-giš-e[ren <sub>2</sub> ] |
|        | 6. | i-ti-nu-š[um]                     |
| rev.   | 1. | a-na san[ga <sup>2</sup> ...]     |
|        | 2. | ʿù x xʿ [...]                     |
|        | 3. | ʿx x x xʿ                         |
|        | 4. | ʿI si-ra-bí-atʿ                   |
|        | 5. | [...]                             |
|        | 6. | ʿxʿ sa lu ʿxʿ ra                  |
|        | 7. | [a-n]a a-ga-dè <sup>ki</sup>      |
| l.edge | 1. | a u-ra-ʿbi-xʿ                     |

68

(CUNES 49-09-107). 44×36×15.

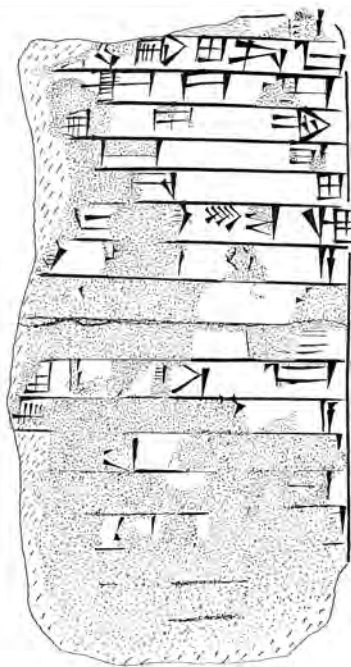
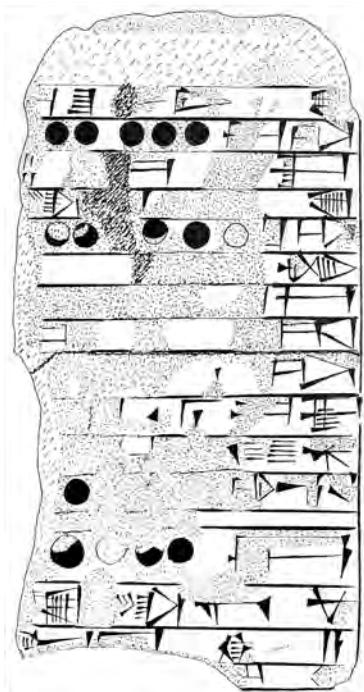


- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. [x] 'x'  
 3. 'a'-[na šu-i]-'lí-su'  
 4. di-ku<sub>5</sub> 'x su' [...]  
 5. li-ik-'su-dam'  
 6. 'ù' I sá-lim-a-hu
- rev. 1. lú-kaš<sub>4</sub> [x]  
 2. li-it-'ru'<sub>1</sub>-dam



69

(CUNES 51-04-011). 91×46×20.

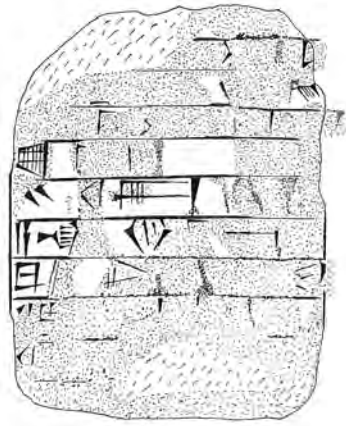


obv.	1. [en-ma ...] 2. [a-na ...] 3. [ki-bí-ma] 4. [en]gar šu-ì-lí-su 5. [1]+5 (bùr) aša <sub>5</sub> -ta 6. [x]+4 <sup>gis</sup> apin 7. li-[...]-zu 8. [10]+50 éš-ta 9. [... aša <sub>5</sub> ]-mun 10. [...] guruš 11. <sup>r</sup> ur <sup>1</sup> -éš 12. [...] 1-ta 13. [...] 10 lá 1 engar-engar 14. [... i]-mi-dingir 15. [...] 10 [...] bi 60+ <sup>r</sup> 5 ? <sup>1</sup> 16. _____ 17. [šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> ?] 40 guruš 18. <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -su li-ti-nu 19. egir aša <sub>5</sub> ki-dur <sub>5</sub> 20. [...] <sup>r</sup> x x <sup>1</sup>	rev.	1. [...] -e 2. [l]i-se <sub>11</sub> -bi-lu-nim-ma 3. <sup>gis</sup> apin- <sup>gis</sup> apin 4. [u]-su-r <sup>2</sup> -am 5. [engar-e]ngar-e 6. [... d]a-lu 7. [šum]-m[a n]a-tu-ù 8. [a-n]a aša <sub>5</sub> ki-dur <sub>5</sub> 9. [...] 10. [...] mi 11. ù a-ša-ma 12. aša <sub>5</sub> ki-dur <sub>5</sub> 13. [...] <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...] (ca. six lines lost)
------	---	------	---

The letter gives detailed instructions on agricultural activities to be carried out by the *engar*. It was sent from outside of Umm el-Hafriyat (rev. 2: *lišēbelūnimma*, “they should send to me”).

## 70

(CUNES 51-05-002). 58×43×17, somewhat trimmed at obverse top end.



obv. (ca. six lines lost)  
 1'. su 'x x x'  
 2'. 20 'x' iku [...]  
 3'. a-na 'šuku'<sup>21</sup> 'x' [...]  
 4'. ku 'x ni x x'  
 5'. 'ù'<sup>21</sup> [...]  
 (two lines lost)

rev. 1. [...]  
 2. é-wa-ti-[su-nu]  
 3. [š]a uz-na-ga  
 4. i-ba-šê-ù  
 5. in dub-[ga]  
 6. su-ut-ra-am-[ma]  
 7. [s]u-bi-[lam]  
 8. [60]+120 še gur-ta  
 9. [en]gar-engar  
 10. [i]k-bí-ù-nim  
 (one or two lines lost)

Rev. 2–10: The matter concerning them, to which you pay attention, you should report to me in writing. The *engar* have promised me 180 *gur* of barley each.

## 71

(MS 2872/4). 34×31×13, beautifully written.



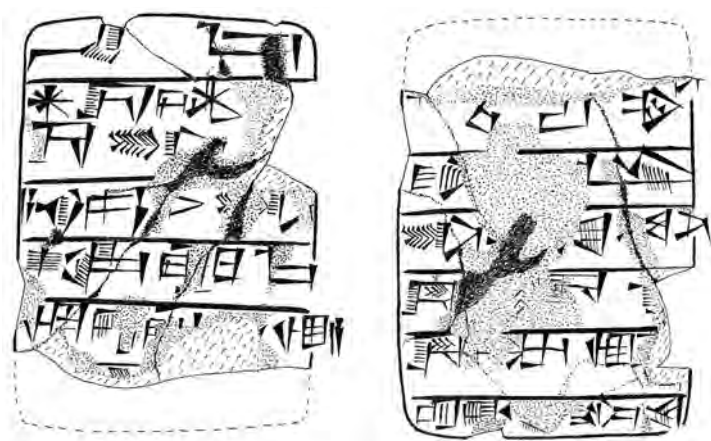
- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *ur-<sup>d</sup>ištaran*  
 3. *a-na zu-zu*  
 4. *1.3 še gur*  
 5. *ša iš-dè*  
 6. *ba-zi-zi*
- rev. 1. *su-lum-su-sig<sub>5</sub>*  
 2. *im-hu-ra-ni*  
 3. *a-na bù-zu-zu*  
 4. *ù ur-ur*  
 5. *li-ti-nam*  
 6. *mí-ma la-ì-š<sub>4</sub> a-ga-li-iš'*

Thus Ur-Ishtaran to Zuzu: The 480 liters of barley that is with Bazizi, Šulumšudamiq has received from me. He (i.e., Zuzu) should give it to Buzuzu and Urur. There is nothing to eat!

Rev. 6: W. Sommerfeld (pers. comm.) considers this an “etymological spelling” of *la-š<sub>4</sub>* in 78  
 obv. 7 and rev. 1 = Assyrian *laššu*.

72

(MS 5006). 55×44×19. Unbaked, grayish brown.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. <sup>d</sup>*da-gan-[x]-da-li-[x]*  
 3. *a-na kal-i-le*  
 4. *áš-pù-ra-ku-ma*  
 5. *ù-la ʳra-ti¹-ù-a*  
 6. [...]
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. ʳx¹ [...] ʳli¹-se<sub>11</sub>-rí-am  
 3. *ga-[x] lugal*  
 4. *li¹-ik¹-su-tu-nim*  
 5. *it [...] da ʳx¹*  
 6. *á-ʳwa¹-dam ù [mí]-ma*  
 7. *dub la-šú<sub>4</sub> ʳsu¹-bí-lam*

## 73

(MS 2872/2). 59×44×18. Unbaked, blackish, rather rectangular.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *li-na-áš-be-lí*  
 3. *a-na zu-zu a-bí ù a-ḫi*  
 4. *iš-tum agar<sub>4</sub> maš-da-lú*  
 5. *su<sub>4</sub>-a-im a-na agar<sub>4</sub> gana<sub>2</sub>-bar-sa ni-a-im*  
 6. *ma-e li-ti-in-ma*  
 7. *gana<sub>2</sub> li-im-lá*  
 8. *gana<sub>2</sub> an<sup>?</sup> na e ni*  
 9. *gana<sub>2</sub> ma-e ù-la ma-li*
- rev. 1. *ad-da ma-e da-na-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-an-ma*  
 2. *gana<sub>2</sub> i-ma-lá-ma*  
 3. *ù-la ki ma-ši še*  
 4. *ar-zu-a-an a-na ìr-ra-ra*  
 5. *tu-gal-li-mu*  
 6. *i-ḫa-tu-kum*  
 7. *a-e a-e ma-an-núm*  
 8. *ki a-bí ù a-ḫi*  
 9. *gana<sub>2</sub> ma-e šum-li-ma*  
 10. *lu tum-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-uk*

Thus Linaš-beli to Zuzu, my father and brother: He should provide water and let the field be irrigated, from his district Mašdalu to our district Gana-barsa. ... The field is lacking in water. Only you can supply the water, so that the field will be irrigated; and will it not be as when you assigned a basket of *arsānum*-goats to Irrara, he was happy with you? Oh! Oh! Who is like my father and brother? Please see to it that the field is irrigated.

- Obv. 7, rev. 2: Note the neat distinction between  $LÁ = /la'/'$  and  $LA = /la, lā/'$  obv. 9 and rev. 3.  
 Obv. 8: Unfortunately obscure. E NI at the end may be the deictic particle  $/hanni/'$  or  $/henni/'$ .  
 Rev. 3:  $ma-š'i$  is taken as CAD  $maššú$  A, “a basket or other container for carrying,” even though  $ma-se_{11}$  would be expected in Old Akkadian. The point of the comparison would be, “You did him a small favor, and look how happy he is with you. Imagine when you do me a much bigger favor ...”  
 Rev. 4,  $ar-zu-a-an$ : Our interpretation of this as the absolute state of  $arsānum$  is a sign of our helplessness.  
 Rev. 10:  $lū dumquk$ , literally “may (this) be your kindness.”

## 74

(CUNES 49-14-011). 34×31×13.



- obv. 1.  $en-ma$   
 2.  $li-na-áš'$   
 3.  $a-na zu-zu a-ḫi$   
 4.  $ki-bí-ma$   
 5. 2 lú  
 rev. 1.  $mu-da-e kaskal nibru^{ki}$   
 2.  $a-na i-ḫu-ur-dMAR.TU$   
 3.  $li-ti-in$   
 4.  $ma-an-núm ki a-ḫi$

Thus Linas: Tell Zuzu, my brother: He should provide  $I-ḫu-ur-Amurru$  with two guides who know the road to Nippur. Who is like my brother?

## 75

(CUNES 49-14-010). 45×39×14.



- obv. 1. *ʿen<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 2. *ba-za-za*  
 3. *a-na zu-zu a-bí*  
 4. *ki-bí-ma*  
 5. *za-rí-ga*  
 6. *dumu-mí ki-na-ti*  
 7. *a-na e-bir<sub>5</sub>-mu-bí*
- rev. 1. *li-ti-na-áš<sup>š</sup>*  
 2. *ù mí-ma*  
 3. *ip-ti-ri-sa*  
 4. *i-ʿtí<sup>1</sup>-[x (x)]*  
 5. *áš-rí-ʿx<sup>1</sup>-a*  
 6. *li-ti-in*  
 7. *ʿa-na-gu<sup>1</sup> ù-ʿse<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-ba-la-šum*  
 8. [...]

Thus Bazaza: Tell Zuzu my father: He should give Sarriqa, the daughter of my colleague(?), to Epirmubi. He should pay whatever ... her ransom. I myself will send it to him. ...

Rev. 2–7: Cf. the Old Assyrian letter OIP 27, 5 with very similar wording.



## 76

(CUNES 49-13-096). 49×40×20. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 169.

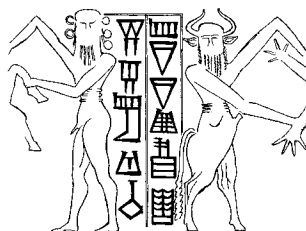


- obv. 1. 2 uz-tur  
 2. 1 gurdub zú-lum  
 3. 1 gurdub ku<sub>6</sub>-ab-ba  
 4. *en-ma*  
 5. *me-ù-kèš<sup>ki</sup>*  
 6. *a-na zu-zu*  
 7. *a-bí*
- rev. 1. *ki-bí-ma*  
 2. *a-e a-e*  
 3. *ma-nu-um*  
 4. *ki a-bí*  
 5. *ʿe<sup>1</sup>-a-ra-bí*  
 6. *a[r]-hi-iš*  
 7. *li-sa-ti-ʿnam<sup>1</sup>*

(Concerning) two ducks, one basket of dates, and one basket of saltwater fish: Thus Meu-keš: Tell Zuzu, my ‘father’: Oh! Oh! Who is like my father? May he soon make Ea-rabi give it to me!

77

(CUNES 49-09-156). 44×37×15.



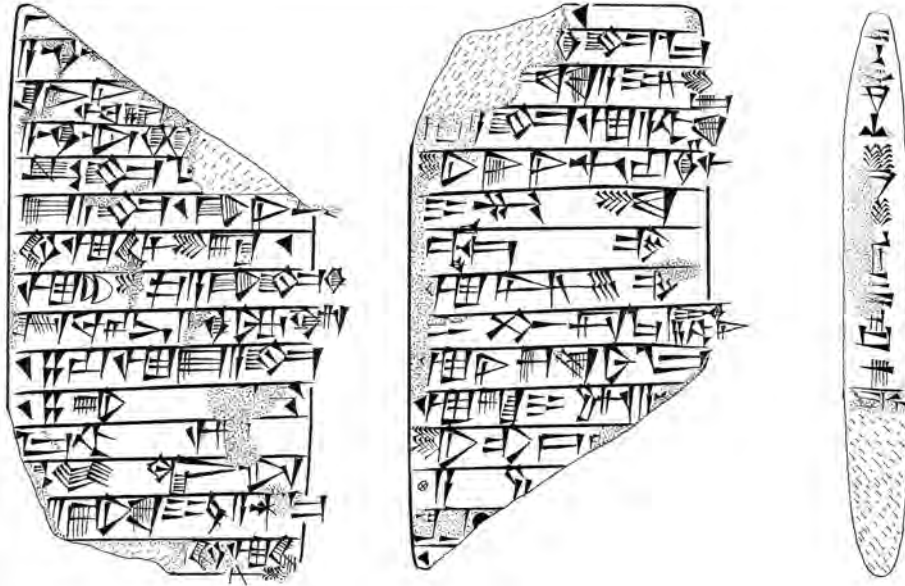
- obv.
1. *a-na a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga*
  2. *ki-bí-m[a]*
  3. *in é dingir-dingir*
  4. *l[i]-ib-ki-ù-nim*
  5. *ù li-ga-ri-bu-nim*
- rev.
- seal impression with the inscription:
1. *šú-ì-lí-su dub-sar*
  2. *dumu i-da-ba-na*

Tell Asaga: In the temple of the gods, let them weep for me, and let them bring offerings for me.

(Seal): Šu-ilisu, the scribe, son of Ida-bana.

## 78

(MS 4267a). 77×42×17. Unbaked, dark blackish brown. Evidently a draft kept as a file copy.



- obv.
1. e[n-ma ...]
  2. a-na ᵀx¹ [...]
  3. šu-ì-lí-[su ...] šī ba-az<sup>k</sup>[i ...]
  4. a-na ir-ki-ki [...]
  5. ik-bí-m[a ...]
  6. é a-bí u-ga-ni-ᵀik¹
  7. kù-babbar ù kù-sig<sub>17</sub> la-š<sub>u</sub><sub>4</sub>
  8. ù 120 še gur a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>
  9. it-ba-al a-na dam-gàr-ri
  10. u-za-rí ù é a-bí
  11. u-za-bi-[i]k
  12. ma-ḥa-ar
  13. [n]a-núm KIŠ.NITA<sub>2</sub>
  14. [d]ub-bi-su i-se<sub>11</sub>-àm-ma
  15. [...] kù-babbar ù kù-sig<sub>17</sub>
- rev.
1. [la]-š<sub>u</sub><sub>4</sub>
  2. [...] ki-bí-ma
  3. [a-wa]-at-zu a i-gi-ip
  4. ᵀù¹ a-bí ù a-ḥa-su 2
  5. in ir-ni-ti uru<sup>ki</sup>-lim
  6. i-mu-tu
  7. bàd-am
  8. ù NI-zi-am
  9. i-pu-uš-ma | i-na-za-ḥa-ni

10. *ù-lí gana<sub>2</sub>-lam mí-ma*  
 11. *ù-la i-ru-uš a-n[a-gu]*  
 12. *in gu<sub>4</sub>-giš r[a-ma-ni]*  
 13. *a-ru-[uš]*  
 14. *ʿšu+nigin<sub>2</sub>? 10<sup>1</sup> [...]*  
 15. *u- [...]*  
 r. edge 1. *a-na-gu in še ma-<nim> a-ra-áš*  
 2. *ʿù<sup>1</sup> [...]*  
 3. *ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...]*

Thus [PN<sub>1</sub>] to [PN<sub>2</sub>]: Šuilisu [son of PN] from Baš [...], spoke to Irqiqi, [the *šakkanakkum* ...] and he sealed my father's house, so that I have neither silver nor gold. He took away 120 *gur* of barley and ... to his creditors. He ... my father's house. He brought his tablets to Nannum, the *šakkanakkum* and showed them to him, [so now] I have neither silver nor gold. [Tell him]: he should not trust what he says. My father and his two brothers died in the victory of the City. He made 'a wall and its towers' and then removed me. At that time, he did not cultivate the field at all, while I myself did the cultivation with my own oxen. ... With whose grain am I to do the cultivation? ...

Rev. 5, *ir-ni-ti*: See the inconclusive discussion of *irmittum* in a similar context, Whiting 1987, p. 42 ad 3–6 (“military objective”).

Rev. 7–8: Cf. the equally obscure *NI-zi-bàd*, CUSAS 26, 208:6. It is tempting to connect *NI-zi-am* to *asītu*, *išītu* “tower of a city wall,” from Middle Assyrian on; but the distance, both in form and in time, between the two words is daunting.

## 79

(BI 193). 38×34×15. Previously published as *TCABI* 240.



- obv. 1. *0.4.1 5 sila<sub>3</sub> še*  
 2. *níg-kú-a*  
 3. *a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga*  
 4. *iš-dè*  
 rev. 1. *tí-ga-ʿx<sup>1</sup>*

## 80

(CUNES 49-09-117). 65×42×18.



- obv. 1–2. (two lines lost)  
 3. 0.0.4 [x] sila<sub>3</sub> [x] gín še ninda  
 4. 0.0.1 [x] ʿsila<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> zíd imgaga<sub>3</sub> ninda  
 5. 5 sila<sub>3</sub> [x] gín zíz A.MÛŠ×ZA  
 6. šu 1 u<sub>4</sub>  
 7. 9.4.1 3 sila<sub>3</sub> še-kaš gur  
 8. 4.1.4 3 sila<sub>3</sub> ʿše gur<sup>1</sup>  
 9. 1.3.1 4 ʿsila<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> zíd imgaga<sub>3</sub> ʿgur<sup>1</sup>
- rev. 1. 0.2.3 lá 1 sila<sub>3</sub> zíz A.MÛŠ×ZA  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 14.1 lá 3 sila<sub>3</sub> še gur a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 3.2.[x] ʿlá<sup>1</sup> 1 sila<sub>3</sub> zíz gur  
 5. šu 1 iti

## 81

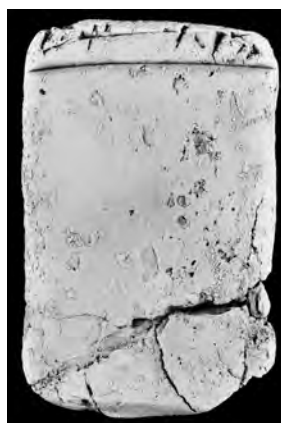
(CUNES 52-20-042). 37×34×13.



- obv. 1. 0.0.5 lá 2 sila<sub>3</sub> giš-ì  
 2. me-it-lik  
 3. ù ì-la-la  
 4. 0.0.4 4 sila<sub>3</sub> gi[š-ì]  
 5. šu-ut ti-m[a x] 'x'[-x]  
 rev. 1. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 0.1.3 [2 sila<sub>3</sub> giš]-ì

## 82

(CUNES 49-09-058). 53×34×16.



- \obv. 1. '180' sa [šúm? ...]  
 2. šu-ì-lí-su  
 3. a-na uru-sag-rig<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. 40 šúm ga-la-ba muḫaldim  
 5. 10 šúm ku-ru-'ba' sagi  
 6. 10 šúm lugal-'KA dub-sar'  
 rev. 1. im-ḫu-ru

83

(CUNES 49-09-101). 57×38×17.



- obv. 1. 30 lá 3 sa šúm  
 2. túl-la  
 3. <sup>1</sup> x-ku<sub>6</sub>-eš<sub>6</sub>tub<sup>1</sup>  
 4. a-na nibru<sup>ki</sup>

84

(CUNES 49-14-015). 43×36×14.



- obv. 1. 30 sa 'šúm'<sup>1</sup>  
 2. 0.0.1 5 sila<sub>3</sub> numun šúm  
 3. aš-dar-a-ba  
 4. il-ga

## 85

(CUNES 49-08-084). 66×40×19.



- obv. 1. 1 máš-kur-n[iga]  
 2. 3 gurdub<sub>2</sub>-‘gal’ zú-lum sig<sub>5</sub>  
 3. 5 gurdub<sub>2</sub>-gal ku<sub>6</sub> a[b]-ba  
 4. 2 gurdub<sub>2</sub> [x] ‘x ra’  
 5. 3 gurdub<sub>2</sub> [x]-du ús  
 6. *šu-ì-lí-su*  
 7. 3 gurdub<sub>2</sub> ‘ku<sub>6</sub>-ubi’  
 8. 2 gurdub<sub>2</sub> zú  
 9. *ma-ma*
- rev. 1. [1] gurdub<sub>2</sub> ‘ku<sub>6</sub>’  
 2. 1 gurdub<sub>2</sub> zú  
 3. *be-lí-kur*  
 4. 1 gurdub<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>6</sub>  
 5. 1 gurdub<sub>2</sub> zú  
 6. *a-bum-dingir*  
 7. 1 gurdub<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>6</sub>  
 8. 1 gurdub<sub>2</sub> zú-lum  
 9. *sá-lim-be-lí*  
 10. 2 ku<sub>6</sub>-ubi  
 11. DU-DU-ba

Obv. 7, rev. 10: Reading *ubi* due to Rosengarten 1967, 119, no. 179 c), with ref. to MSL VIII/2, 115.



## 86

(CUNES 50-03-114). 31×27×12.



- obv. 1. [x u]z-tur 'a-bal'  
 2. [u]r-íḅ  
 3. a-geštin  
 4. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le  
 5. nu-úr-dingir  
 6. ú-da-ad
- rev. 1. 'šú' na-bí-um  
 2. [(x)] ur-su (scratched on the dry clay)  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. [x u]z-tur 'a'-[bal]  
 5. [x r]a i ma

## 87

(CUNES 49-14-012). 42×37×16.



- obv. 1. 0.2 še-gu<sub>4</sub>  
 2. šu 3 u<sub>4</sub>-ta  
 3. šu-i-lí-su  
 4. ù a-li-a-*hu*  
 5. im-*hu*-ra  
 6. 0.0.1 še [gu]r-lugal-ta
- rev. 1. <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na du<sub>8</sub>  
 2. šu 6 u<sub>4</sub>  
 3. šu-i-lí-su  
 4. a-li-a-*hu*  
 5. ur-su  
 6. im-*hu*-ru

## 88

(MS 2248). 26×23×11. Unbaked, gray.



- obv. 1. 12.3 še gur-sag  
 2. a-na máš  
 3. ur-sa<sub>6</sub> im-*hur*
- rev. 1. 6.<sup>r</sup>1.4<sup>1</sup> še gur-sag  
 2. a-na anše-kú  
 3. ur-sa<sub>6</sub> im-*hur*

## 89

(CUNES 49-09-095). 32×30×15.



- obv. 1. 4 ½.ša ma-na siki  
 2. ba-ša-ah-dingir  
 3. 4 ma-na siki  
 4. ʾPÙ.ŠA<sup>1</sup>-giš-eren<sub>2</sub>

## 90

(CUNES 49-09-081). 41×35×15.



- obv. 1. 20 še gur  
 2. še gur<sub>7</sub> šu-ti-a  
 3. šâ-bi-ta  
 4. 15 še gur  
 5. a-na má
- rev. 1. 2 še gur  
 2. dam nu-nu  
 3. 1 lá o.1 še gur  
 4. sa<sub>10</sub> má [sa]-tu-tu  
 5. 2.2.3 še gur  
 6. in bara<sub>2</sub>-ùr

## 9I

(CUNES 49-09-047). 56×40×17.



- obv. 1. 20 še gur  
 2. a-rá 1-kam  
 3. 40 še gur  
 4. a-rá 2-kam  
 5. lugal-KA *im-hur*  
 6. šà-bi-ta  
 7. 15 še gur  
 8. a-rá 1-kam  
 9. 10 še gur
- rev. 1. a-rá 2-kam  
 2. lugal-kun má-lah<sub>4</sub>  
 3. šu *a-bum-dingir*  
 4. 5 še gur  
 5. šu-i-lí-su šu ba-a<sup>ki</sup>  
 6. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 30 še gur  
 7. ba-ta-zi  
 8. \_\_\_\_\_  
 9. šu má *sa-tu-tu*

## 92

(CUNES 49-08-098). 65×42×20.



- obv.
1. 31 zíd gur
  2. [6 bappir g]ur
  3. 10 [níg-àr-r]a gur
  4. šu na-<sup>r</sup>kam<sup>1</sup>-tim
  5. 10 lá 1 zíd gur
  6. 10 lá 1 bappir gur
  7. 10 lá [x níg]-<sup>r</sup>àr<sup>1</sup>-ra gur
  8. 10 [...] gur
  9. [x<sup>2</sup>] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- rev.
1. \_\_\_\_\_
  2. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 40 zíd gur
  3. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 20 níg-àr-ra gur
  4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 15 bappir gur
  5. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 15 imgaga<sub>3</sub> gur
  6. a-na má
  7. [za]-a-ni-iš<sup>r</sup>
  8. [10<sup>2</sup>]+1 [imga]ga<sub>3</sub> gur
  9. a-na ba-az<sup>ki</sup>

## 93

(CUNES 49-09-071). 42×39×17.



- obv. 1. 10+[x] níg-àr-ra gur  
 2. 6.2.3 bappir gur  
 3. 15 imgaga<sub>3</sub> gur  
 4. 7 dabin gur  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. má-a ba-a-si

## 94

(CUNES 49-14-020). 29×28×12.



- obv. 1. 10<sup>1</sup>+6.2.3 še gur  
 2. inim-kù  
 3. garaš<sub>4</sub>

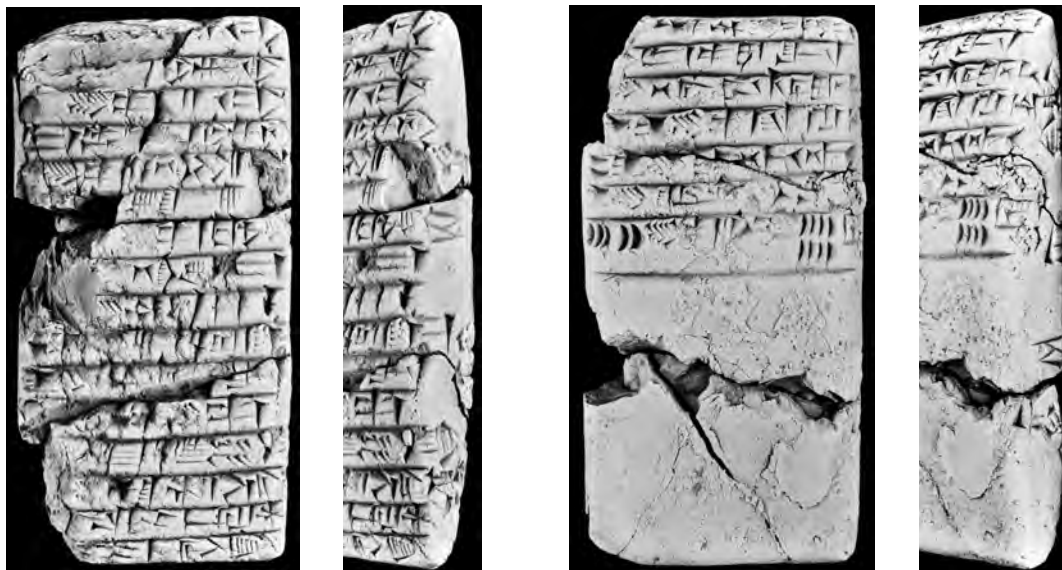
95

(CUNES 49-14-021). 33×31×14.



- obv. 1. I še [...]bu' aš ši  
2. [bar-r]a-an  
3. I.2.2 še gur  
4. *ku-nu-[t]um*  
5. o.2.3 še  
6. nin-zu-ur

(CUNES 49-13-090). 75×38×17.

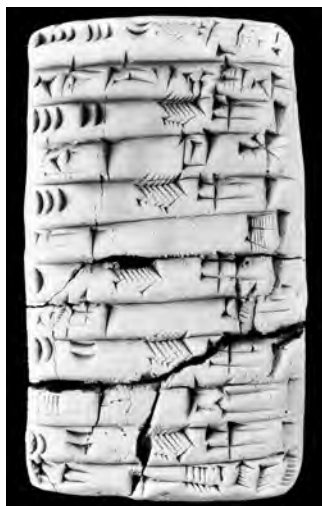


- obv.
1. [x še gur]-2-UL
  2. s[ag- ...] *im-hur*
  3. 10 še gur-2-UL
  4. ur-<sup>d</sup>en-[l]íl dam-gàr
  5. 10 še gur *a-na* munu<sub>4</sub> a 'ša' NE
  6. [...] 'r'<sup>1</sup>-la-l[a]
  7. [...] 'še' gur *ku-nu-tum*
  8. [... š]e *na-zu-ur*
  9. [... š]e *dingir-su-kal*
  10. 0.2.3 'še' *é-a-ra-bí*
  11. 0.0.4 še lugal-'iti'<sup>1</sup>-da
  12. '10'<sup>1</sup>+ [x] še gur
  13. [...] é a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga
  14. [... š]e 0.0.1 *imgaga<sub>3</sub> 2 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-šáh*
  15. [du]-du *dumu bar-ra-an*
  16. [...] *ma-šum*
- rev.
1. [... š]e 0.0.1 *imgaga<sub>3</sub> bí-bí*
  2. [... š]e *ur-sipa-da*
  3. [...] še *be-lí-du-gul-ti*
  4. [1].1.2 še gur *iš-má-dingir*
  5. 0.2.3 še *i-ti-ti*
  6. 0.0.3 še lugal-iti-da
  7. 5 še gur *níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 8 gín kù-babbar*



## 97

(CUNES 49-09-040). 63×36×20.



- obv. 1. 7.2 še gur-sag-gál  
 2. *be-lí-du-gul-ti*  
 3. 5 še gur  
 4. *iš-má-dingir*  
 5. 3 še gur  
 6. ur-zu  
 7. 1 še gur  
 8. *bù-bù*  
 9. 2.2 še gur  
 10. é-úr  
 11. 2.2 še gur  
 12. *i-zi-lum*
- rev. 1. 2.2 še gur  
 2. *ì-lí-tab-ba*  
 3. 2.2 še gur  
 4. *me-me*  
 5. 1.2 še gur  
 6. *na-bí-um*

98

(CUNES 49-09-046). 55×37×17.



- obv. 1. 25 še gur  
 2. lugal-kun  
 3. šu a-bum-dingir  
 4. 5 še gur  
 5. šu-i-lí-su  
 6. 0.2.3 še zu-zu šu si-im-tim  
 7. 11 še gur  
 8. lugal-níg-sag-e  
 9. 2 še gur  
 10. ur-ur
- rev. 1. 4.2.3 še gur  
 2. (blank)  
 3. 0.2 bu-zu-zu  
 4. 0.2+[x] [x-x] mu-bí  
 5. 0.1 [še gur]  
 6. [x x k]ú gu<sub>+</sub>

## 99

(CUNES 52-20-046). 69×44×20. Slightly more than half the tablet.



obv. (break)  
 1'. [x] gur 2 ud iš 2 še g[ur ...]  
 2'. [4]+4 še gur-2-<sup>r</sup>UL<sup>r</sup> [...]  
 3'. [x]-ba-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>  
 4'. 4+[4 še g]ur-2-UL [...]  
 5'. dingir-[su]-kal  
 6'. 8 [še gur-2]-UL [...]  
 7'. KA-[x]  
 8'. 8 še gu[r]-2-UL [...]  
 9'. *me-ra-núm*  
 10'. [4]+4 še gur-2-UL [...]  
 11'. <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-e[n]  
 12'. [4<sup>?</sup>] še gur-2-U[L ...]

rev. 1. <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [...]  
 2. [x še] <sup>r</sup>gur<sup>r</sup>-2-U[L ...]  
 3. [x] [x]  
 4. [x] še gur-2-UL [...]  
 5. [u]-*ba-ru-um*  
 6. 2 še gur-2-UL 2  
 7. *i-da-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>* [...]  
 8. 2 še gur-2-U[L ...]  
 9. ur-<sup>d</sup>en-lí[l]  
 10. 2 še gur-2-UL <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>  
 11. en-me-te-na  
 12. <sup>r</sup>l<sup>r</sup> še gur-2-UL 2 [...]  
 13. [x še gu]r-2-UL 2 [...]  
 (rest is lost)

Obv. 1', ud iš: This is, of course, a known personal name (see index), but that does not fit the present context.

## 100

(CUNES 49-09-059). 47×39×17.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur  
 2. in ganun  
 3. šà-bi-ta  
 4. 6 še gur  
 5. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga  
 6. 4.1.2 še gur  
 7. zu-zu im<sub>6</sub>-tu-ut
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. 10 še gur-2-UL  
 3. in ganun  
 4. šà-bi-ta  
 5. 9.0.2 5 sila<sub>3</sub> še gur-2-UL  
 6. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga  
 7. lugal-KA im<sub>6</sub>-tu-ut

IOI

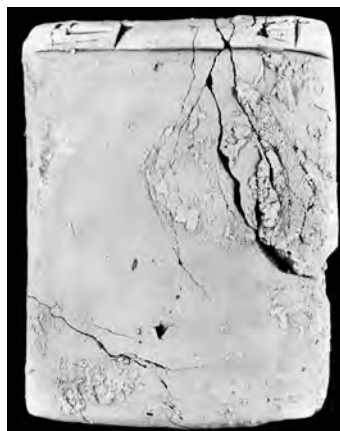
(CUNES 49-09-068). 46×39×17.




- obv. 1. 30 še gur-<sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 2. bar-ra-an  
 3. 4 še gur-sag-gál  
 4. <sup>r</sup>be<sup>1</sup>-lí-a-bum  
 5. 20+[x<sup>2</sup> ... L]AM.KUR.RU zabar  
 6. bar-ra-an
- rev. 1. šu-na ba-gi<sub>4</sub>

## I02

(CUNES 49-09-043). 56×42×17.



- obv. 1. o.i.2imgaga<sub>3</sub>-ta  
 2. *šu-i-lí-su*  
 3. *a-li-a-hu*  
 4. *kil-dingir*  
 5. *i-ti-aš-dar*  
 6. kur-mun  
 7. ur-túl  
 8. ezem-am  
 9. *me-me*  
 10. nin-kěš<sup>ki</sup>-e
- rev. 1. ur-su

## I03

(CUNES 49-09-098). 34×31×13.



- obv. 1. 5 še gur  
 2. ur-mes  
 3. o.2.3 še  
 4. ur-<sup>dv</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub>

**I04**

(MS 3550). Unbaked, brown, 26×26×11 (14 with envelope). Sealed envelope fragment adhering firmly to the tablet.



- obv. 1. 1.2 še gur  
 2. *a-na* ur-<sup>d</sup>iš<sup>u</sup>taran  
 3. *ba-zi-zi*
- rev. (at least two lines covered by envelope)
- seal: 1. *ba-zi-zi*  
 2. dub-sar

## IO5

(CUNES 49-09-028) . 70×38×18.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. ad-da  
 3. dumu inim-kù  
 4. *im-hur*  
 5. níg-ga  
 6. túl-ta  
 7. LUL.LUL  
 8. lugal-uri<sub>3</sub>  
 9. ur-<sup>giš</sup>ha-lu-úb-ba  
 10. [...]ama-na  
 11. 'x-šitim<sup>1</sup>
- rev. 1. [*m*]a-ti-tu še  
 2. [*ù*] za-bi-lu  
 3. 5 še gur  
 4. du-du  
 5. dumu inim-kù  
 6. *im-hur*  
 7. lú-<sup>d</sup>nanna  
 8. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 9. ur-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 10. zà-mu  
 11. ma-ti-tu še  
 12. ù za-bi-lu

Obv. 5: *níg-ga* is here best taken as a personal name, rather than “property of Tulta,” even though no such name occurs elsewhere in the archive.



## 106

(CUNES 49-09-041). 59×38×18. Rather formal script.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. [u]r-sa<sub>6</sub>  
 3. [x] še gur  
 4. ur-li  
 5. [x].2 še gur  
 6. ~~ku<sup>2</sup>~~ ku<sup>1</sup> ku-ku  
 7. 2.2[x] še gur  
 8. dam *sar-ru-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-li*
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. [šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 10]+5 š[e gur a]-*ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 3. [x]-ka  
 4. [i]m-*hur*  
 5. daḥ-ḥe-dam

Rev. 3: lugal-KA is excluded, not enough room for lugal in the break.

## 107

(CUNES 49-09-060). 48×40×17, formal hand.



- obv. 1. 14 še [gur] *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. *šu ur-da*  
 3. *in é gi-na-tum*  
 4. *i-sa-bi-e*  
 5. *ša-bi-ta*  
 6. 10 še gur  
 7. <sup>d</sup>KIŠ-la-zi U LU MU DU
- rev. 1. *dumu ʾlugal<sup>1</sup>-ezem*  
 2. *a-na hu-bu-lim*  
 3. 4 še gur  
 4. *a-na mu-ša-ki-im*  
 5. [lu]gal-KA  
 6. *im-hur*

## 108

(CUNES 49-09-070). 47×36×15. Badly preserved and difficult to read. Both sides struck through.



- obv. 1. [x še gur] a-<sup>r</sup>ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. šu ì-lí-bí  
 3. in é šeš-šeš  
 4. [I]+I še gur  
 5. in é-gal  
 6. ur-ur  
 7. 1.2.3 še g[u]r
- rev. 1. [... p]à-da  
 2. [lug]al-KA  
 3. 10 še gur a-na [...]  
 4. [x še g]ur šu <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup> sa-tu-[tu<sup>2</sup>]  
 5. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 26.2.3 še gur a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 6. lugal-KA  
 7. [i]m-hur

Rev. 4 was inserted afterwards into what was intended to be a blank.

## 109

(CUNES 49-09-075). 43×40×17.



- obv. 1. 4.2 zíz gur  
 2. imgaga<sub>3</sub>-su 2.4 gur  
 3. mi-lu-sa dam-hur  
 4. [a]-na NINDA<sub>2</sub>×X [?] ùr  
 5. [i-sa]-bi-ik
- rev. 1. [x]+0.4 zíz  
 2. 'a'-na é  
 3. ḥa-sa-li-iš  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. [...]-ús-sa

## IIO

(CUNES 49-09-076). 42×37×15.



- obv. 1. [x]+4 še gur *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. *in ganun-še-gur<sub>7</sub>*  
 3. 5 še gur  
 4. *in é geme<sub>2</sub>-ara<sub>3</sub> lugal*  
 5. 15 še gur  
 6. *é da-da*
- rev. 1. *be-lí-a-bum sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>*  
 2. *šu i-zu-zu im-hur*  
 3. 0.2.2 še *a-na sa<sub>10</sub> <sup>r1</sup> túg*  
 4. 0.1.3 še *a-na kú-sa*  
 5. *igi-3-gál sila<sub>3</sub> ì-šáḫ*  
 6. *dumu-mí é-ti-ti*  
 7. *šu-ì-lí-su ba-an-šúm*

Obv. 5-6: written later on half-dry tablet, apparently over erasure.

## III

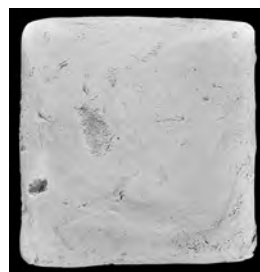
(CUNES 49-09-087). 35×34×14.



- obv. 1. 5 še gur *a-ga-dè*<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. *šu-i-lí-su*  
 3. *a-na* šeš-šeš  
 4. dumu ur-mes  
 5. *i-ti-in*
- rev. 1. *a-bí-sa-tu*  
 2. *im-hur*  
 3. *a-na é-mes ši* nin  
 4. *im<sub>6</sub>-tu-ut*

## II2

(CUNES 49-09-090). 35×33×15.



- obv. 1. 120 še gur-maḥ  
 2. *šu-ut* nin  
 3. 12 še gur  
 4. inim-kù  
 5. garaš<sub>4</sub>

## II3

(CUNES 49-09-093). 34×32×13.



- obv. 1. 8 še gur-sag-gál  
 2. *iš-dè*  
 3. *ìr-e-bum*
- rev. 1. *šú-DUR.ÙL*  
 2. *dub-sar*  
 3. *im-ḥur*

## II4

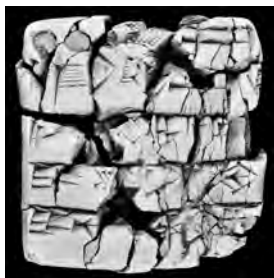
(CUNES 49-09-096). 33×31×12.



- obv. 1. 11 še g[ur]  
 2. *i-wi-um*  
 3. 4 še gur  
 4. <sup>d</sup>giš-eren<sub>2</sub>-kal  
 5. 4.2.3 še gur  
 6. *ma-an-gu-ul*  
 7. <sup>r</sup>šú+nigin<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> 20 lá 0.2.3 še gur
- rev. 1. *šú-ì-lí-su im-ḥur*  
 2. *šà-bi-ta 2* še gur *a-na* še-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>  
 3. 1 še gur *i-ti*-<sup>d</sup>IM  
 4. 1.3.3 še gur *a-na* še-ba  
 5. <sup>r</sup>x-x<sup>1</sup>-ku *ma-an-gu-ul*  
 6. 2 gur ur-da ì-ba  
 7. *ì-nu šú-ì-lí-su <a-na>* <sup>r</sup>ba-až<sup>ki<sup>n</sup></sup> *i-li-k[u]*

## II 5

(CUNES 49-11-022). 37×36×13.



- obv. 1. 30 še gur *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. *ì-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>* še *za-a-n[i-iš<sup>š</sup>]*  
 3. *i-li-kam*  
 4. *i-ti-<sup>d</sup>IM*
- rev. 1. 20 še gur-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-[sá]  
 2. *be-lí-a-bum* <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 3. *im-hur*  
 4. 2 še [gur]-si-s[á]  
 5. *be-lí-a-[bu]m im-hu[r]*

Obv. 2: *ì-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>* on the basis of a pre-conservation photograph.



## II6

(CUNES 49-08-077). 93×65×21. Unbaked, dark brownish gray.



- obv.i 1. [x] še gur-sag-gál  
 2. [a]-na sag še-su  
 3. [l]ugal-la engar  
 4. [l<sup>2</sup>]+3 še gur  
 5. [l]ugal-GAR dub-sar  
 6. [x] (er.) še gur  
 7. [d]en-líl-da gal-sukkal  
 8. 15 še gur  
 9. [u]r-ru i-mi-dingir  
 10. 'i-dur'<sup>1</sup>-gi ad-da-tur nagar  
 11. [x]+2 še gur  
 12. [gi]-nu-ba ur-zu  
 13. [x] še gur  
 14. [lug]al-iti-da má-laḥ<sub>4</sub>  
 15. [x] 'še-gur'<sup>1</sup>  
 16–18. (3 lines lost)

- ii 1. ì-lí-a-ḫi se<sub>11</sub>-da-[um]  
 2. 5 še gur  
 3. ur-dam 'šeš'<sup>1</sup> lug[al-x]  
 4. šu-ì-lí-su ba-a[n-šú]m  
 5. 5 še gur  
 6. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-da gal-sukkal  
 7. 5 še gur  
 8. ma-šum simug ur-<sup>d</sup>en-líl má-laḥ<sub>4</sub>  
 9. 5 še gur  
 10. i-mi-dingir ad-da-tur  
 11. 5 še gur  
 12. lú-dingir-ra dumu kar-dù iš-má-  
 dingir  
 13. 5 še gur  
 14. ú-da-ad-kèš<sup>ki</sup>  
 15. 5 še gur  
 16. ur-zikum-ma má-laḥ<sub>4</sub>

- |         |             |    |     |  |
|---------|-------------|----|-----|--|
| 17.     | [x] 'x' [x] | iv | 1.  | [...]  |
| 18.     | [...]       |    | 2.  | [...]  |
| rev.iii | 1.          |    | 3.  | [...]-e 'x' [...]                            |
|         | 2.          |    | 4.  | 4 še [gur]                                   |
|         | 3.          |    | 5.  | <i>ma-an-gu-u[l]</i>                         |
|         | 4.          |    | 6.  | 1 še gur ur-me ì-rá-rá                       |
|         | 5.          |    | 7.  | lugal-KA 'ba'-an-šúm                         |
|         | 6.          |    | 8.  | -----  |
|         | 7.          |    | 9.  | [šu]+nigin <sub>2</sub> 170 [še] gur-sag-gál |
|         | 8.          |    | 10. | [a]-na sag-še-su                             |
|         | 9.          |    | 11. | <i>im-ḫu-ru</i>                              |
|         | 10.         |    | 12. | 'še' <i>du-du</i> ugula <i>šu-LÁ</i> .TE     |
|         | 11.         |    | 13. | <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i>                            |
|         | 12.         |    | 14. | ba-an-šúm                                    |
|         | 13.         |    | 15. | -----  |
|         | 14.         |    | 16. | [x]-ru-bi                                    |
|         | 15.         |    | 17. | [luga]l-iti-[da má]-lah <sub>4</sub>         |
|         | 16.         |    | 18. | ì-da-gál                                     |
|         | 17.         |    |     |  |
|         | 18.         |    |     |  |
|         | 19.         |    |     |  |
|         | 20.         |    |     |  |
|         | 21.         |    |     |  |
17. [x] 'x' [x]  
 18. [...]  
 rev.iii 1. [...]  
 2. [...]  
 3. [...]-id- [...]  
 4. [4<sup>?</sup>]+1 še-g[ur]  
 5. *é-a-ba-lik*  
 6. 5 še gur  
 7. a-ul<sub>4</sub>-gal  
 8. [1]+4 še gur  
 9. *ir-e-bum* muḫaldim  
 10. 5 še gur  
 11. *na-na*-GIŠGAL-*e* dumu-mí sag-  
 dingir-tuku  
 12. 5 še gur  
 13. *me-me* lú-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 14. 5 še gur  
 15. *mu-mu* sipa  
 16. 5 še gur  
 17. lugal-iti-da nimgir  
 18. 5 še gur  
 19. *a-mur-ru-um* ì-lí-lí  
 20. 5 še gur  
 21. mes-a-du-ná lugal-KA

## II7

(CUNES 49-09-049). 57×39×18, formal hand. Lower right corner of obverse deformed.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur  
 2. *a-na mu-ša-ki-im*  
 3. [lu]gal-KA  
 4. 3 še gur *a-na g[u<sub>4</sub>-u]du*  
 5. mes-a-du-ná  
 6. 1.1.3 še gur  
 7. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga  
 8. 0.1 še *še-ib-ra*  
 9. [x] še *i-<sup>r</sup>mi-dingir<sup>r</sup>*
- rev. 1. [x] <sup>r</sup>še *a-mur-ru<sup>r</sup>-um*  
 2. 0.0.4 še *du-du*  
 3. 0.0.4 še *ba-ki-ki*  
 4. 0.0.3 še *PÙ.ŠA-ma-ma*  
 5. 0.0.4 še *gal-iš-i-sar*  
 6. 0.0.4 še *nin-dalla*  
 7. *šu* še *i-lí-<sup>r</sup>bí<sup>r</sup>*  
 8. <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>r</sup> *be-lí-ur-sag*  
 9. [lu]gal-KA *im-<sub>h</sub>ur*  
 10. *hu-zu-zi-iš*

## II8

(CUNES 49-09-023). 76×40×18.



obv. 1. ʾ12.2.4ʾ še gur [...]  
 2. a-na ʾše-baʾ guruš ʾxʾ [...]  
 3. 2.2.3 še g[ur]  
 4. a-na sa<sub>10</sub> kù-babbar šī an[še]  
 5. ur-li sipa [x]  
 6. 2.2.3 še gur  
 7. maš-bi ʾ1ʾ udu-gukkal  
 8. a-na hu-bu-lim  
 9. bar-ra-an dumu da-da  
 10. 2.2.3 še gur a-na é  
 11. lugal-KA ʾsa a ni xʾ  
 12. 5 še gur-si-sá  
 13. maš-bi 4 gín kù-babbar ba-lá  
 14. a-na sag-su

rev. 1. 6.1 še gur-si-sá  
 2. šu sa<sub>10</sub> 15 gín kù-babbar  
 3. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni im-ḫur  
 4. 2 še gur šu sa<sub>10</sub> kù-babbar šī im<sub>6</sub>-  
 da-lik  
 5. šè-ib-ra baḫar<sub>2</sub>! im-ḫur  
 6. 2 še gur gu<sub>4</sub> udu  
 7. a-na še-ba du<sub>6</sub>-kù  
 8. mes-a-du-ná  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 35 še gur a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>  
 11. šu é-ʾgu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 12. è-a ìr-e-bu[m]

Rev. 5, baḫar<sub>2</sub>: Even though the sign is really EDEN (see Krebernik 1998, 283 fn. 524), baḫar<sub>2</sub> “potter” makes more sense in the context.

## II9

(CUNES 49-09-024). 74×42×19. Blackish.



- obv. 1. [60] še gur-mah  
 2. [a]-na 'má' sa-tu-tu  
 3. [20] še gur  
 4. a-na kù-babbar ba-za-za  
 5. 17.2.3 še gur  
 6. a-na igi-gùn inim-kù  
 7. 10 še gur  
 8. a-na ZÍD. 'KA'  
 9. 5 še gur-si-sá  
 10. a-na [h]u-bu-l[im]  
 11. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni dumu dingir-gú
- rev. 1. 5 še gur  
 2. ták-lim-tum <šú> sanga  
 3. ur-mes nagar  
 4. 1 še gur hu-bu-tum  
 5. ur-<sup>d</sup>ištaran dub-sar  
 6. 0.2.3 še ur-<sup>d</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub>  
 7. 0.2.3 še nam-tar-re  
 8. 0.2.3 še a-na é  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 60+[60] še gur-mah  
 11. še é ba-za-za  
 12. è-a ìr-e-bum

Cf. **131**, from which restorations have been made.

## I20

(CUNES 49-09-089). 36×33×15.



- obv. 1. [10]+2.2.3 še gur  
 2. *a-na* ur-ur  
 3. 2.2.3 gur  
 4. ur-li sipa  
 5. 2.2.3 gur  
 6. bar-ra-an
- rev. 1. 2.2.3 gur  
 2. lugal-KA  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 20 še gur  
 5. è šu ìr-e-bum  
 6. in é-gu<sub>4</sub>

## I21

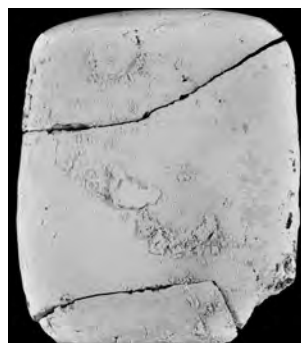
(CUNES 49-09-099). 34×31×13.




- obv. 1. 60 še gur *a-ga-dē*<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. *sa-tu-tu*  
 3. 20 še gur
- rev. 1. *ba-za-za*  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 80 še gur *a-ga-dē*<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. è šu ìr-e-bum

**I22**

(CUNES 49-09-078). 43×35×16.



- obv.    1.    6 dab[in gur]  
          2.    6.2.3 bappir gur  
          3.    15imgaga<sub>3</sub> gur  
          4.    11 níg-àr-ra gur  
          5.    \_\_\_\_\_  
          6.    è-a  
          7.    a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga

## I23

(CUNES 50-04-052). 69×43×19. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 166.



- obv. 1. 40 še gur-si-sá  
 2. in NINDA<sub>2</sub>×X-gal  
 3. 30 še gur  
 4. in NINDA<sub>2</sub>×X-tur  
 5. 30 še gur  
 6. a-na NINDA<sub>2</sub>×X mu-ša-kum  
 7. 20 še gur  
 8. a-na še-ba lugal-KA  
 9. 6.2.3 še gur  
 10. a-na ur<sub>5</sub>-šè ù kù-babbar
- rev. 1. 2 še gur  
 2. a-na é  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 128.2.3 še gur-si-sá a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 5. è-a  
 6. é-še da-da  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. iti še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>



## I24

(CUNES 49-09-067). 50×38×18. The entire left edge has been eaten by a worm.



- obv. 1. [x] še gur  
 2. [u]r-da  
 3. [x] lá 1 še gur  
 4. 'šà<sup>1</sup>-bi-ta  
 5. '1<sup>1</sup> še gur *gi-nu-ba*  
 6. '2<sup>1</sup> še gur eren-da-ni  
 7. 0.2 še gur *a-na* '1<sup>1</sup> gu<sub>4</sub>  
 8. mes-a-du-ná
- rev. 1. è-a  
 2. [lu]gal-KA  
 3. [(x)]+0.1 še gur  
 4. [x] igi lugal-KA  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. [x-t]um igi še *du-[du]* šu-LÁ.TE

Rev. 6: *du-du* restored on the basis of **I16** iv 12, cf. CT 50, 184 rev. 2 and ITT 2/2, 5709 rev. 1.

## I25

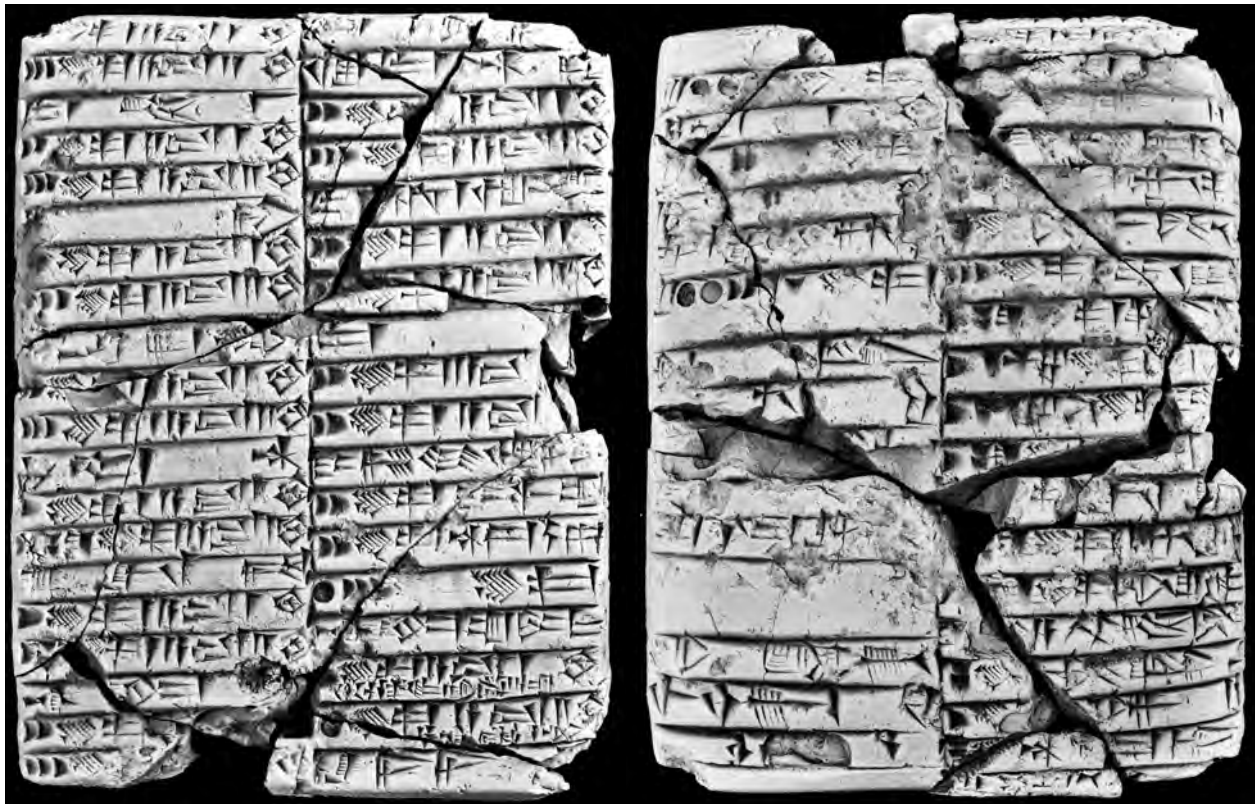
(CUNES 49-09-077). 42×33×17.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur  
 2. šu iš-dub-<sup>d</sup>ir-ra  
 3. ták-lim-[tu]m  
 4. šu i-lí-<sup>d</sup>[...]  
 5. 3 še gur  
 6. šu na-bí-um sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>
- rev. 1. 1 rí-iš  
 2. šuku šu-DUR.ÛL  
 3. ták-lim-tum šu sanga  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. <sup>d</sup>utu-ba-ta-e<sub>11</sub>  
 6. ugula lú-kas<sub>4</sub>-sá  
 7. im-<sup>h</sup>ur
- l.edge 1. è-a má-gibil

## 126

(CUNES 49-09-007). 105×80×24.



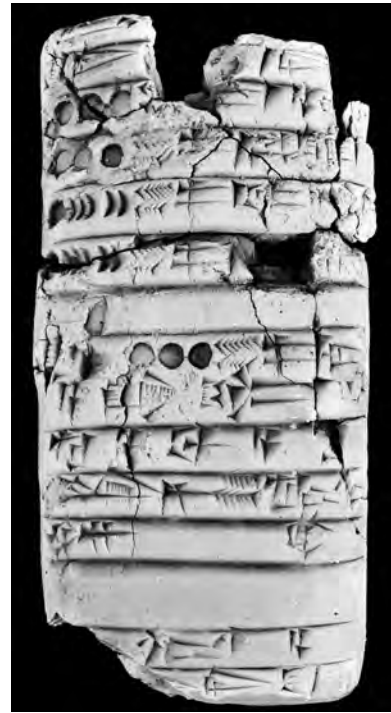
- |       |     |                               |     |                       |  |
|-------|-----|-------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|--|
| obv.i | 1.  | 2 še gur a-rá 1-kam           | 19. | 2 še gur [a-rá 1]-kam |  |
|       | 2.  | 3 še gur a-rá 2-kam           | 20. | 3 še g[ur a-r]á 2-kam |  |
|       | 3.  | ur-íb-lá                      | ii  | 1.                    | du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni                          |
|       | 4.  | 2 še gur a-rá 1-kam           |     | 2.                    | ù ur-dingir-ra                                   |
|       | 5.  | 3 še gur a-rá 2-kam           |     | 3.                    | 2 še gur a-rá 1-kam                              |
|       | 6.  | a-geštin                      |     | 4.                    | 3 še gur a-rá 2-kam                              |
|       | 7.  | 2 še gur a-rá 1-kam           |     | 5.                    | ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna ù <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá |
|       | 8.  | 3 še gur a-rá 2-kam           |     | 6.                    | 2 še gur a-rá 1-kam                              |
|       | 9.  | <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le        |     | 7.                    | 2+[1] še gur a-rá 2-kam                          |
|       | 10. | 2 še 'gur' a-rá 1-kam         |     | 8.                    | ur-[x]   |
|       | 11. | 3 še gur a-rá 2-kam           |     | 9.                    | 2 še gur a-rá [1-kam]                            |
|       | 12. | nu-úr-dingir                  |     | 10.                   | 2 še gur a-rá [2-kam]                            |
|       | 13. | 1 še gur a-rá 1-kam           |     | 11.                   | i-zi-lum ù ì-lí-'tab-ba <sup>1</sup>             |
|       | 14. | 2.2.3 še gur a-rá 2-kam       |     | 12.                   | 2 še gur i-wi-um                                 |
|       | 15. | ú-da-ad                       |     | 13.                   | 2 še gur <sup>d</sup> giš-eren <sub>2</sub> -kal |
|       | 16. | 1 še gur a-rá 1-kam           |     | 14.                   | 13 še gur  |
|       | 17. | 1.2.[x]+1 [š]e gur a-rá 2-kam |     | 15.                   | na-bí-um dumu ib                                 |
|       | 18. | na-bí-[um]                    |     | 16.                   | [1] še gur a-rá 1-kam (smaller                   |

- |         |  |    |   |
|---------|--|----|---|
|         | <i>signs:</i> ) šà-ba 0.2.3 du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni                          | iv | 1. _____  |
|         | diri-um  |    | 2. šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 20.[x.x] še gur                      |
| 17.     | 10 še gur a-rá 2-kam ( <i>smaller</i>  |    | 3. a-rá 1-kam   |
|         | <i>signs:</i> ) a-na zé-a-tim  |    | 4. šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 10 <sup>1</sup> +2 še gur            |
| 18.     | šú-i-lí-s[u]   |    | 5. a-rá 2-kam   |
| rev.iii | 1. 10 še gur ur- <sup>d</sup> [x (x)]  |    | 6. engar- <sup>r</sup> engar <sup>1</sup> im- <i>lu</i> -[ru] |
|         | 2. 10 še gur ma-šú[m ...]  |    | 7. šu+nigin <sub>2</sub> 22 lá 0.1 še gur                     |
|         | 3. [x] še su- [...]  |    | 8. ir <sub>11</sub> lugal                                     |
|         | 4. [x]+0.0.3 še ú-a  |    | 9. [im]- <i>lu</i> -ru  |
|         | 5. [x]+0.0.3 še zi-ib-zu-ni  |    | 10. [...] <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup>                         |
|         | 6. 0.2.[x še] ur-dam sipa  |    | 11. é-[x]   |
|         | 7. 0.2 še <sup>r</sup> geme <sub>2</sub> wu <sup>1</sup> -zum-be-lí          |    | 12. iš-dè šu-i-[l]í-s[u]                                      |
|         | 8. 3 še gur i-mi-dingir  |    | 13. _____   |
|         | 9. 1.2.3 še <sup>r</sup> geme <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> lu[gal-i]ti-da       |    | 14. in gur <sub>7</sub>                                       |
| 10.     | 1.1.1.5 še gur <sup>r</sup> x x x <sup>1</sup>                               |    | 15. ší adab <sup>ki</sup>                                     |
| 11.     | 1.1.3.5 sila <sub>3</sub> še gur [...]                                       |    | 16. <sup>r</sup> è <sup>1</sup> -a                            |
| 12.     | 1.2.3 š[e gur ...]   |    |   |
| 13.     | [x še] gur da-da   |    |   |
| 14.     | [x].2.3 še gur dam šu-6  |    |   |
| 15.     | [x]+0.0.3 še gur ir-e-bum  |    |   |
| 16.     | 0.0.3 <sup>r</sup> še <sup>1</sup> a- <i>ha</i> -tum geme <sub>2</sub> sanga |    |   |
| 17.     | 0.2 še wu-zum-lugal-rí   |    |   |
| 18.     | 1 še [gur] IM-a  |    |   |
| 19.     | 0.2 še dingir-KA-me-ir   |    |   |
| 20.     | <sup>r</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> še gur be-lí- [...]                              |    |   |
| 21.     | 1 še gur i- <sup>r</sup> mu <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> - [...]                |    |   |

i 19: -kam restored from a pre-conservation photograph.

## I27

(CUNES 49-09-016). 92×44×21.



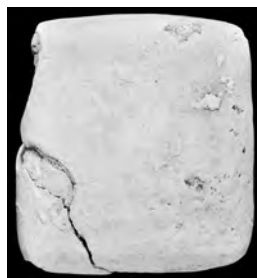
obv. 1. [70]+10 ṣe<sup>1</sup> [gur a]-ga-d[e<sup>ki</sup>]  
 2. *i-zi-lum*  
 3. 80 še gur  
 4. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 5. 65 še gur  
 6. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 7. 65 še gur  
 8. ur-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 9. 2.2.3 še gur  
 10. *ba-ša-aḥ*-dingir dumu ṣx<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
 11. 7.2.3 še gur [...]  
 12. \_\_\_\_\_  
 13. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 180+[120 še gur] a-ga-  
 [d<sup>ki</sup>]

rev. 1. ganun <sup>d</sup>e[n-x]  
 2. *šu-ì-lí-su* ì-[ba]  
 3. 30 š[e g]ur a-ṣx<sup>1</sup>  
 4. 30 še gur <sup>d</sup>en-líl-l[e]  
 5. 15 še gur du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 6. 15 še gur ṣlú<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 90 še gur-maḥ a-ga-d<sup>ki</sup>  
 9. má-a ba-a-ṣi<sup>1</sup>  
 10. lú-zi má-laḥ<sub>4</sub>  
 11. *im-ḥur*  
 12. \_\_\_\_\_  
 13. è-a  
 14. [š<sup>u</sup>]-ì-lí-su

Rev. 6: ṣlú<sup>1</sup>- restored from a pre-conservation photograph, where lú- seems more likely than ur-.

## 128

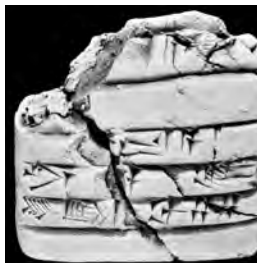
(CUNES 49-11-024). 36×33×14.



- obv. 1. 10 'bappir' [gur] a-'ga-dè'<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. é-gu<sub>4</sub>  
 3. [mi]-lu-sa dam-*hur*  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. è-a ìr-e-bum

## 129

(CUNES 49-12-006). 33×34×13.



- obv. 1. 15 'še gur' a-ga-[dè]<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. a-n[a hu-bu]-da-t[im]  
 3. dingir-ma-lik-sipa  
 4. [šú] ì-lí-bí  
 5. [im]-*hur*  
 6. [...]
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. [...] 'x' a-na 'munu'<sub>4</sub>  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. è-a  
 5. ìr-e-bum  
 6. še ká ba-za-za

## I30

(CUNES 49-09-048). 56×38×18.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur *a-na* ZÍD. 'KA'  
 2. lugal-KA *im-[hur]*  
 3. 17.2.3 še [gur]  
 4. sa<sub>10</sub> igi-gùn inim-kù *im-[hur]*  
 5. 5 še gur  
 6. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni *a-na ha-bu-[lim]*  
 7. 20 še gur  
 8. *ba-za-za*  
 9. 60 še gur *šu má sa-tu-tu*  
 10. lugal-KA
- rev. 1. è-a  
 2. *ir-e-bum*  
 3. *šu é ba-za-za*  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. 20.2.3 še gur-m[ah]  
 6. 'si'-tum é *ba-za-[za]*

## I3I

(CUNES 49-09-088). 36×33×14.



- obv. 1. 30 kaš šu [x]  
 2. 'r' dabin 'gur'  
 3. a-na 30 'udu'-[x]  
 4. šu gu-ti-'im'  
 5. ur-da  
 6. im-hur
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. è-a  
 3. lugal-KA



## I32

(CUNES 49-09-022). 76×40×17.



obv. 1. ʾI ur<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 2. I nam-mah  
 3. I <sup>d</sup>utu-a  
 4. I lugal-iti-da  
 5. I igi-bar  
 6. I si-ra-bí-at  
 7. I aš-dar-a-ra-at  
 8. I ku-ru-ub-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 9. I ì-[lì]-sa-lik  
 10. I PÙ-ŠA-ma-ma  
 11. \_\_\_\_\_  
 12. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> o.o.I ninda šu-ut  
     lugal-KA  
 13. I a-*hu-hu*  
 14. I di-ì-le  
 15. I ur-li  
 16. I ku-ru-ub-ì-la-ak

rev. 1. I ì-la-ak-nu-[id]  
 2. I i-lul-dingir  
 3. I i-sar-gur-ba-šum  
 4. I sag-nin  
 5. I ama-ga-zi  
 6. I é-ad-tab  
 7. I diri-tum  
 8. I za-na  
 9. I si-um-mi  
 10. I um-mi-<sup>d</sup>nanše  
 11. \_\_\_\_\_  
 12. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> o.o.I 5 sila<sub>3</sub> ninda šu-ut  
     a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga  
 13. ma-*hi-ru* ninda

## I33

(CUNES 49-09-025). 74×38×17.



- obv.
1. [x ninda]-še 3 kaš šu o.o.2
  2. a-rá 1-kam
  3. o.o.2 ninda-še 5 sila<sub>3</sub> ninda imgaga<sub>3</sub>
  4. 2 sila<sub>3</sub> zíd-gu 2 kaš šu o.o.2
  5. lú-sa<sub>6</sub> sagi
  6. o.o.1 ninda-še 1 kaš
  7. šeš nin-sa<sub>6</sub>
  8. o.o.1 ninda-še 1 kaš
  9. u-bil-tu-na-[áš]
  10. o.o.3 ninda-še 3 kaš šu o.o.2
  11. <sup>d</sup>utu-ba-ta-e<sub>11</sub>
  12. o.o.3 ninda-še 3 kaš šu o.o.2
  13. dingir-su-[l]a-ba
  14. o.o.1 ninda-še 1 kaš
  15. a-bum-dingir 'šú u<sup>1</sup>-ba-ru-um
  16. 'o.1' ninda-še 1 [kaš]

- rev.
1. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga
  2. nin 'u-ba<sup>1</sup>-ru-um
  3. o.o.2 ninda-še 2 kaš šu o.o.2
  4. lugal-kaš<sub>4</sub>-e
  5. o.o.2 dabin lugal-kur-ra
  6. o.o.3 ninda-še 5 kaš šu o.o.2
  7. 'i<sup>1</sup>-nu dam-*hi-ri*
  8. [x] ninda-še
  9. a-na a-ga-lí guruš
  10. o.o.2 še a-na še-sa šáḫ
  11. o.o.1 ninda-še 1 kaš
  12. si-ir-*ha-núm*

## I34

(CUNES 49-09-034). 65×41×18.



- obv. 1. o.o.2 ninda 2 ka[š]  
 2. abba<sub>2</sub>  
 3. o.o.2 ninda 2 kaš  
 4. *ša-ma-si-in*  
 5. o.o.2 ninda 1 kaš  
 6. *iš-lul-dingir*  
 7. o.o.2 ninda 2 kaš  
 8. *da-núm-uštil*  
 9. o.o.1 ninda 1 kaš  
 10. *ʾi-šu<sub>4</sub>-dingir*  
 11. o.o.1 ʾnindaʾ 1 kaš  
 12. da[m] *u-bil-tu-na-áš*

## I35

(CUNES 49-09-053). 52×40×18. Blackish on reverse.



- obv. 1. [x]+2 kaš šu o.o.2  
 2. [x]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> šu wi-ir-ma  
 3. o.o.2 ninda 2 kaš šu o.o.2  
 4. mu-šum-la-ba  
 5. ugula šu-ut<sup>giš</sup> gigir<sub>2</sub>  
 6. o.o.2 ninda 2 kaš-sur-ra šu <sup>r</sup>o.o.2<sup>1</sup>  
 7. su-ru-uš-gi  
 8. o.o.1<sup>?</sup> ninda 1 kaš-sur-ra šu o.o.2
- rev. 1. i-su-dingir  
 2. o.o.1 ninda 1 kaš-sur-[ra] šu o.o.2  
 3. <sup>d</sup>utu-ba-ta-e<sub>11</sub>  
 4. o.o.1 ninda 1 kaš šu o.o.2  
 5. i-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-la  
 6. <sup>r</sup>o.o.2 ninda<sup>1?</sup> 2 kaš <sup>r</sup>š<sup>u</sup> [x]  
 7. [ ]i-lum

Rev. 6–7: The last two lines are written in a script visibly different from the preceding text, apparently by a drunken scribe.

## 136

(CUNES 49-11-023). 40×38×17.



- obv.<sup>?</sup>
1. [o.o.x]+1 'ninda' 1[+x?] 'kaš'
  2. aš-dar-'il'-la-at-'zu'
  3. o.o.2 ninda 2 kaš
  4. 'ša'-ma-si-'in'
  5. [x ninda] 1 kaš
  6. [be]-li-du-gul-ti
- rev.<sup>?</sup>
1. [x ninda x] kaš'
  2. 'i'-lul-dingir
  3. o.o.2 ninda 3 kaš
  4. li-[...] 'x'

## I37

(MS 4263). 67×43×19. Unbaked, brown with dark stains.



- obv. 1. o.o.1 ninda-še 1 kaš šu o.o.2  
 2. a-rá 1-kam  
 3. o.o.1 ninda-še 1 kaš šu o.o.2  
 4. 10 ku<sub>6</sub>  
 5. a-rá 2-kam  
 6. sar-ru-ru  
 7. o.o.1 ninda-še 2 kaš šu o.o.2  
 8. abba<sub>2</sub>-uru<sup>ki</sup> adab<sup>ki</sup>  
 9. o.o.3 dabin o.o.2 ninda-še 2 kaš  
 šu o.o.2  
 10. ni-se<sub>11</sub>-e-ni-su  
 11. [... x]<sup>+</sup>1 kaš šu o.o.2  
 12. [...] ni

- rev. 1. [...] o.o.2  
 2. [...] lú-úš-udu  
 3. [... k]aš šu o.o.2  
 4. é-zi  
 5. o.o.3 dabin 1 kaš šu o.o.2  
 6. sila<sub>3</sub> ì-šáh 10 ku<sub>6</sub>  
 7. šu-ì-lí-su šu<sup>giš</sup> tukul  
 8. o.o.2 ninda-še o.o.1 dabin 2 kaš  
 šu o.o.2  
 9. šè-ir-an  
 10. o.o.1 bappir o.o.2<sup>3</sup> munu<sub>4</sub>  
 11. da-ti lú-eme  
 12. o.o.3 ninda-še 3 kaš šu o.o.2  
 13. ib-ni-lugal

## 138

(CUNES 49-09-052). 56×39×17, small script.



- obv.
1. [... ]ú-ḫun-gá
  2. [... s]ar giš-dusu<sub>2</sub>
  3. [x dabin ...] ku 'x'
  4. [x da]bin šu- [...]
  5. [x da]bin 'KIS×x'- [...]
  6. [...] 'x x' lugal-'uri<sub>3</sub>'
  7. [x da]bin 'šú-ì-lí'-su má-laḫ<sub>4</sub>
  8. o.o.3 dabin <sup>d</sup>en-líl-an-zu
  9. o.o.2 dabin na-bí-um
  10. a-na 'x x' [...]
- rev.
1. o.2 dabin a- [...]
  2. ì-nu (er.) dabin gur
  3. na-ni im<sub>6</sub>-tu-tu
  4. o.o.3 dabin i-ti-<sup>dr</sup>IM'
  5. o.o.2 dabin wu-zum-lugal-[rì]
  6. 1.3 dabin gur
  7. [...] 'še' sumun ši a-na kù-babbar
  8. in [...]-da

## I39

(CUNES 49-14-016). 39×34×14.



- obv. 1. [o.o.I<sup>?</sup>] dabin  
 2. ur-è[š]  
 3. má-lab<sub>4</sub>  
 4. o.o.I dabin  
 5. *i-gu-núm*  
 6. *se<sub>11</sub>-da-um*
- rev. 1. *i-zu-[gí]d*  
 2. sagi  
 3. o.o.I dabin  
 4. *ba-luḫ-dingir*  
 5. *šu diri-zu-na*  
 6. *ši dingir-a-ba<sub>4</sub>*



## I40

(CUNES 49-08-099). 55×40×16. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 161. Cleaned.



- obv. 1. [x] dabin a-rá 1-kam  
 2. [x]+o.o.3 dabin a-rá 2-kam  
 3. <sup>d</sup>utu-ba-ta-è  
 4. o.o.2 a-rá 1-kam  
 5. o.i.2 4 sila<sub>3</sub> a-rá 2-kam  
 6. ma-šum se<sub>11</sub>-da-um  
 7. o.o.2 a-rá 1-kam  
 8. o.i.2 4 sila<sub>3</sub> a-rá 2-kam  
 9. ur-li šu anše  
 10. o.o.1 a-rá 1-kam  
 11. o.o.4 2 sila<sub>3</sub> a-rá 2<sup>1</sup>-kam  
 12. be-lí-ba-lik
- rev. 1. o.o.1 zíd lugal-šesš-ni  
 2. o.o.2 zíd dingir-na-zi-ir  
 3. o.o.1 zíd a-da-gal

## I41

(CUNES 49-00-023 < 49-09-052). 16×19×7. Flake from the left edge of reverse.



- rev. (break)  
 1'. o.o.3 dabin [...]  
 2'. o.o.[x] dabin [...]  
 3'. o.o.3 dabin [...]  
 (break)

## I42

(CUNES 49-00-026 < 49-11-066). 17×34×13. Front of a one-column tablet, not trimmed; reverse destroyed.



- obv. (break)  
 1'. [x]<sup>+</sup>0.2.3 dabin gur  
 2'. [lug]al-KA  
 3'. [...] 'x' gur a-rá 1-kam  
 (break)

## I43

(CUNES 49-09-066). 48×37×18.



- obv. 1. 0.2 dabin  
 2. a-bum-dingir  
 3. ì-nu ig-ga-áš-kam-a-ma  
 4. 0.2 dabin 0.1 še  
 5. šu-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 6. [i]-nu a-hu-su-ni šu-i  
 rev. 1. [(x)-g]a-mi-e  
 2. [u]-ru-ù  
 3. šu-ut u-ba-ru-um  
 4. iš-dè  
 5. šu-ì-lí-su  
 6. im-hu-ru

Obv. 3: We hope someone will have a good idea!

## I44

(CUNES 49-09-073). 47×39×17.



- obv. 1. o.o.3 3 sila<sub>3</sub> dabin  
 2. 'i'-nu lugal-KA  
 3. i-hu-zu  
 4. o.o.3 3 sila<sub>3</sub> dabin 1-kam  
 5. o.o.3 3 sila<sub>3</sub> zíd o.o.4 še 2-kam  
 6. ur-èš-sá  
 7. o.o.3 dabin lugal-níg-sag-e  
 8. šâ-bi o.o.2 še o.o.1 še  
 9. a-na 'lú-gu'<sup>1</sup>-lá
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. o.o.1 ur-èš-sá  
 3. ì-nu a-na 'lugal' i-li-ku  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. a-na adab<sup>ki</sup>

## I45

(CUNES 49-09-085). 39×34×14.



- obv. 1. 0.2 dabin  
 2. *a-bum-dingir šu u-bar-um*  
 3. 0.0.3 dabin  
 4. *wu-zum-lugal-ri*  
 5. ~~0.2 0.0.1 dabin~~  
 6. ~~lugal-si-im dub-sar~~  
 7. 0.2.3 še mes-a-du-ná  
 8. 0.1.2 še a-rá 1-kam
- rev. 1. 0.0.2 [x]+2 <sup>r</sup>sil<sub>3</sub> še *ma-šum*  
 2. 0.0.3 dabin *i-nu a-na ba-až<sup>ki</sup> i-li-ku*  
 3. *i-ti<sup>d</sup>IM*  
 4. 0.0.1 dabin <sup>r</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-bu-dingir

## I46

(CUNES 49-14-023). 49×38×16. Unbaked, dark grayish brown.



- obv. 1. [o.o].3 ninda-še 3 [kaš]  
 2. 'x' k[i]-si<sub>4</sub>-kam a-m[a-x]  
 3. o.o.I ninda-še 1 ka[š]  
 4. bu-bu šu-LÁ.TE  
 5. [x] ninda-še 1 kaš  
 6. <sup>d</sup>na-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-ì-lí  
 7. [x] ninda-še 1 kaš  
 8. [be]-lí-du-gul-ti  
 9. sag-gar-su o.o.I imgaga<sub>3</sub>
- rev. 1. [x] 'ninda' še  
 2. [x] kaš  
 3. [u-ba]-ru-um  
 4. [x ninda-še] 2 kaš  
 5. [šu-ì]-lí-su  
 6. [ì]-nu a-na adab<sup>ki</sup>  
 7. 'ì'-li-[ku]

## I47

(CUNES 49-13-092). 59×37×19. Both sides struck through.



- obv. 1. [x]+0.2 še gur  
 2. *be-lí-dingir šabra*  
 3. *šu tu-da-na-ab-šum*  
 4. 0.1 še  
 5. 'x' za 'x'  
 6. [x š]e  
 7. [luga]l-iti-da lú-<sup>giš</sup>tir  
 8. [x] še  
 9. [...] 'x' má-lah<sub>4</sub>  
 10. [x] 'še'  
 11. [...]  
 12. [...]
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. [...]  
 3. *bu-'ha'-LUM*  
 4. 0.0.2 še  
 5. *ma-šum simug*  
 6. 3 dabin gur *a-na é-kéš*  
 (in the center of the remaining space:) 6.1 3 (sila<sub>3</sub>)

## I48

(CUNES 49-09-012). 104×46×20. Very dense writing.



- obv.
1. 2 túg I túg-íb×3 I *ib-ni-dingir-ḫa-rí-im*
  2. I gal-zu di-ku<sub>5</sub> I me-<sup>d</sup>nin-KAR-la
  3. 2 ir<sub>11</sub> *it-mu-úḫ-ib-la*<sup>ki</sup>
  4. <sup>r</sup>1' ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> ur-dingir-<sup>r</sup>ra' šabra-é
  5. I *u-li-id-dingir* I *dumu-su-x<sup>1</sup>*
  6. I *dingir-su-a-ḫa*
  7. 2 ir<sub>11</sub> *na-aḫ-šum-<sa>-na-at*
  8. I *en-nam-ì-lí* I túg
  9. *šu* ur-sag-a-ga-*dè*<sup>ki</sup>
  10. I s[ag-...] I túg
  11. ir<sub>11</sub> ur-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub> dumu šum-ma-ak
  12. I *ì-lu-lu* 2 ib I SU.TÚG.GÀR
  13. I *i-ti-ti*
  14. 2 ir<sub>11</sub> <sup>d</sup>nè-iri<sub>11</sub>-gal gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>
  15. I <sup>r</sup>x-x<sup>1</sup>-kù ir<sub>11</sub> ur-mes I túg I bara<sub>2</sub>
  16. 2 <sup>r</sup>geme<sub>2</sub>' dingir-su-kal 2 túg
  17. *ši tu-da-na-ab-šum*
  18. I geme<sub>2</sub> *iš-lul-dingir* igi-du I túg

19. I *é-su-su* ir<sub>11</sub> nin  
 20. I *en-bu-dingir*<sup>2</sup>  
 21. I *u-ba-ru-um* I [...]  
 22. I *kur-za-núm*  
 23. I *i-mi-dingir* I túg I íb-lá I *ḥa-zi-núm* 'urudu'  
 24. I *geme*<sub>2</sub> 'ḥa<sup>1</sup>-LUM I túg  
 25. *šu-ut* dingir-'a-ga<sup>1</sup>-dē<sup>ki</sup>  
 rev. 1. [šu]+nigin<sub>2</sub> 2I lú *ḥa-bi-tu-tum*  
 2. I lugal-an-na-túm  
 3. I lú-engar  
 4. [I] lugal-gana<sub>2</sub>  
 5. I *ba-nu-nu*  
 6. I en-mes  
 7. I ur-akkil  
 8. I *du-du*  
 9. 1 PÛ.ŠA-*ru-um*  
 10. 1 *ú-da-tum*  
 11. 1 *šu* ur-<sup>d.ās</sup>āš<sub>7</sub>-<sup>š</sup>gi<sub>4</sub>  
 12. 1 *dumu* lú-<sup>d.ās</sup>āš<sub>7</sub>-<sup>š</sup>gi<sub>4</sub>  
 13. \_\_\_\_\_  
 14. *šu*+nigin<sub>2</sub> II guruš 'ḥa<sup>1</sup>-*ba-tu*  
 15. \_\_\_\_\_  
 16. 3 túg lugal-[...]

Obv. 1: 2 *túg* I *túg-ib*×3 appears to have been added as an afterthought above the line.

Obv. 7: *-na-at* appears to have been written over erased *-sa-*.

Rev. 1: The meaning of *ḥābetum* (thus because of the spelling with -BI<sub>1</sub>-) is obscure to us.

Rev. 5–8 are written over erased text.



## I49

(MS 4227a). 80×40×21. Unbaked, brown.



- obv. 1. [1] kaš 2 g[a-ríg ninda-ì]  
 2. kal-ì-[le]  
 3. [x] ga-ríg ninda [...]  
 4. [x k]aš zà šu-lá 1 ga-<sup>r</sup>íg<sup>1</sup> ninda-[ì]  
 5. [d]am ba-zi-zi  
 6. [x] kaš 2 ga-ríg ninda-ì  
 7. [l]ugal-KA  
 8. a-rá 1-kam  
 9. 1 kaš 2 ga-ríg ninda-ì  
 10. kal-ì-le  
 11. 1 kaš 2 ga-r[íg] ninda-ì  
 12. da-da  
 13. 1 kaš 1 ga-rí[g ninda-ì]  
 14. šu-ì-lí-su šu<sup>giš</sup> tukul  
 15. a-rá 2-kam  
 16. 1 kaš 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì  
 17. dam ba-zi-zi  
 18. 1 kaš 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì  
 19. dam lugal-kas<sub>4</sub>-e  
 20. <sup>r</sup>2' kaš 1 pisan ninda  
 21. dam é-úr

- rev.
1. a-rá 3-kam
  2. 1 pisan ninda 2 kaš *a-bu*
  3. 1 kaš 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì *me-me*
  4. 1 kaš 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì ki-<sup>r</sup>gub<sup>1</sup>-ba-ni
  5. 1 pisan ninda 1 kaš
  6. *nu-úr-dingir*
  7. 1 pisan ninda [x kaš]
  8. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-[...]
  9. 1 pisan 2 ka[š]
  10. [...]
  11. <sup>r</sup>1 pisan<sup>1</sup> ninda [x k]aš
  12. *na-bí-um*
  13. 1 pisan ninda 2 kaš
  14. a-geštin
  15. 1 pisan ninda 1 kaš
  16. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni
  17. a-rá 4-kam
  18. 1 pisan ninda 2 kaš ki-gub-ba-ni
  19. 1 pisan ninda 2 kaš *ba-zi-zi*
  20. 1 kaš 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì
  21. lugal-kaš<sub>4</sub>-e
  22. 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì *i*-[...]
  23. 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì *ku*<sup>2</sup>-[...]
  24. 1 kaš zi [...]
- edge
1. 1 ga-ríg ninda-ì
  2. [kur]-mu-gam
  3. 1 kaš [x g]a-ríg ninda
  4. *šu-ì-lí-su*
  5. 1 ga-ríg ninda ur-zu
  6. a-<sup>r</sup>á 5-kam<sup>1</sup>
  7. 1 [... ga-ríg] ninda
  8. [...]

## I50

(CUNES 49-13-094). 59×44×19.



- obv. 1. 1 kaš *i-ku-ku*  
 2. 1 kaš *i-zi-lum*  
 3. 2 kaš *ur-da*  
 4. 5 kaš *za-na-é* [x]  
 5. 1 kaš lú-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>  
 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 10 kaš  
 8. šu 1 u<sub>4</sub>  
 9. <sup>1</sup>5<sup>1</sup> kaš *ur-da*  
 10. 5 kaš *za-na-é*  
 11. [i<sup>?</sup> k]aš *za-zi a-[na]* sipa
- rev. 1. [i<sup>?</sup>] kaš *da-ti*-[x]  
 2. [šu+nig]in<sub>2</sub> 10+<sup>1</sup>2<sup>1</sup> kaš  
 3. šu 1 u<sub>4</sub>  
 4. 20 kaš 3-kam  
 5. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub>-šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 40+<sup>1</sup>2<sup>1</sup> kaš  
 6. <sup>1</sup>è<sup>1</sup>-[a]  
 7. lugal-KA

## I51

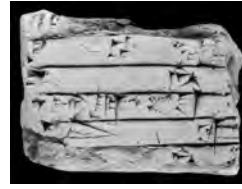
(CUNES 49-09-051). 51×42×18.



- obv.
1. I dug 1  $\frac{1}{3}$ .ša [...]
  2. *ib-ni-dingir* azlag<sub>5</sub>
  3. *šu zé-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>r</sup>-bi*
  4. *iš-[t]um* nag-su<sup>[ki]</sup>
  5. <sup>r</sup>*u<sup>1</sup>-ub-lam*
  6. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga
  7. *im-hur*

**I52**

(CUNES 50-00-008 < 50-03-180). 24×34×16. Fragment from the lower part of obverse, three quarters of the width preserved.



- obv. (break)
- 1'. *in* <sup>r</sup>*wa*<sup>1</sup>-*ra-t*[*im*]
- 2'. 1 *sil*<sub>4</sub> 1 <sup>munus</sup>*áš-gàr*
- 3'. 1 *máš* 2 (*er.*)
- 4'. *a-na šabra-é*
- 5'. *in tí-<sup>r</sup>im-tí<sup>1</sup>* [...]
- 6'-7'. (two lines lost)
- rev. 1-2. (two lines lost)
3. 2 <sup>r</sup>*x*<sup>1</sup> [...]
4. *šu-ut anše*
5. 0.0.2 *ninda-š[e]*
6. 2 *kaš šu 0.0.2 še-su*
7. *lugal-KA*
8. [*x*] <sup>r</sup>*ninda-še*<sup>1</sup>
- (rest is lost)

Obv. 1': See comment to **I55** obv. 5, rev. 6.

## 153

(MS 4215). 57×40×19. Unbaked, light brown.



- obv.
1. [1]+1 'an' [...]
  2. 10 ninda gú
  3. 10 dug'(KAŠ) dida
  4. 1 gú garaš<sub>4</sub>sar
  5. 0.0.2 gú-gú-gal
  6. 0.0.2 gú-gú-tur
  7. 0.0.2 gazi
  8. 0.0.1 še-lú
  9. [x] sila<sub>3</sub> 'ú'-tir
- rev.
11. [...] šu-i-lí-su
  1. [...] li [...]
  2. [1] 'udu' šum-m[a]
  3. 1 uz a-bal-a
  4. 2 pisan níg-ké[š ...]
  5. 4 dug dida
  6. 1 gú garaš<sub>4</sub>sar
  7. šu-i-lí-su šu-i
  8. ù lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna
  9. níg-šu-tak<sub>4</sub>-a
  10. šu-i-lí-su
  11. [a-n]a íl-te-um
  12. [...]

## I54

(CUNES 49-14-013). 41×38×14.



- obv. 1. [I<sup>?</sup>] gu<sub>4</sub> 10 udu  
 2. 3 ninda gur 10 giš-X ninda  
 3. 80 kaš šu o.o.2 20 kaš  
 4. 10 udu-šum<sub>x</sub>(GÍR) 10 šáḫ a-bal  
 5. a-na guruš  
 6. 1 ma-na kù-babbar  
 7. 1 sila<sub>4</sub> 1 udu 1 da-nagar ninda 2 'kaš'  
 rev. 1. na-núm 'KIS.NITA<sub>2</sub>'  
 2. [1]+1 udu 1 d[a-nagar ni]nda  
 3. u-ba-'ru<sup>1</sup>-um KIS.NITA<sub>2</sub>  
 4. 1 udu 1 da-nagar ninda 4 kaš  
 5. šu-ma-ma nu-banda<sub>3</sub>  
 6. o.i.4 ninda 'x' kaš šu o.o.2  
 7. [a<sup>?</sup>]-'na<sup>?</sup> guruš 'x'-tim

Obv. 4, udu-šum<sub>x</sub>: Cf. udu-GÍR-ma, **I61** obv. 3 and udu-šum-m[a], **I53** rev. 2.

## 155

(CUNES 49-13-099). 44×36×15.



- obv. 1. [x] 'še gur' anše-kú  
 2. a-rá 1-kam  
 3. o.3 dabin  
 4. a-rá 2-kam  
 5. in e-[a-i]m  
 6. i-ti-[dingir KIŠ].NITA<sub>2</sub>  
 7. o.4 še ma-šum simug
- rev. 1. o.2.3 še a-na anše  
 2. ur-<sup>d</sup>iškur  
 3. ur-<sup>d</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub>  
 4. o.2 dabin o.o.2 še anše  
 5. i-ti-dingir KIŠ.NITA<sub>2</sub>  
 6. in wa-ra-tim (without ruling)

Obv. 5, rev. 6: In view of 'inu sarrum yurdanni, BIN 8, 134, 8-9, 'elāum and warādum may safely be understood as referring to a 'royal progress'. Cf. also 152 obv. 1.



## 156

(CUNES 49-09-055). 52×35×15. Blackish.



- obv. 1. I udu *kil-dingir*  
 2. I udu *é-a-ba-ni*  
 3. I udu PÙ.ŠA-*ma-ma*  
 4. I udu *zà-mu*  
 5. I udu *lugal-lú*  
 6. I udu *ga-la-ba*  
 7. I udu *ba-ša-ah-dingir*  
 8. I udu *lú-inanna*<sup>d</sup>  
 9. I udu *šu-ì-lí-su* engar  
 10. I udu *a-lí-a-hu*  
 11. \_\_\_\_\_  
 12. *u-ru-ù-nim*

## I57

(CUNES 49-09-062). 45×40×18.



- obv. 1. [x]+8 udu-niga  
 2. ki engar-engar  
 3. 10 udu-niga šu-ut na-kam-tim  
 4. 1 udu-niga šu [...]  
 5. 1 udu-niga 1 udu-<sup>r</sup>gukkal-[niga<sup>r</sup>]  
 6. <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>r</sup> DU šu-ì-lì-su  
 7. [x mes-a]-du-ná
- rev. 1. <sup>r</sup>1<sup>r</sup> udu-niga  
 2. <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>r</sup> ú-da-ad-kè<š<sup>ki</sup>>  
 3. <sup>r</sup>1<sup>r</sup> udu-niga  
 4. ki a-šúm IGI  
 5. <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> siki-kur šu inim-kù  
 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. [z]ag-u wa-ra-iš

Rev. 2: keš<sup>ki</sup> is written ŠÚ.AN only.

## 158

(CUNES 49-14-026). 37×31×14.



- obv. 1. [1] <sup>1</sup>u<sub>8</sub> dingir-KA-me-ir  
 2. <sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> sila<sub>4</sub> ù-ù  
 3. 1 u<sub>8</sub> ur-ki  
 4. šu a-mur-aš-dar  
 5. 1 u<sub>8</sub> dumu-mí gi-nu-ba  
 6. 1 <sup>1</sup>silā<sub>4</sub> si-ir-ḫa-núm
- rev. 1. ki-na-at  
 2. ga-za  
 3. 1 sila<sub>4</sub>-mí iš-ri-ga

## 159

(CUNES 49-09-032). 66×42×19.



- obv.
1. I mí-udu-gukkal I sila<sub>4</sub>-dù-'a'
  2. PÙ.ŠA-ru-um
  3. I mí-udu-gukkal I sila<sub>4</sub>-dù-a
  4. dingir-KA-me-ir
  5. I mí-udu-gukkal X
  6. úr-ra-ni nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>
  7. I mí-udu-gukkal X
  8. PÙ.ŠA-lu-lu
  9. I mí-udu-gukkal
  10. dam lugal-lú ama-gal
  11. I udu-kur-niga
  12. zà-mu é<sup>d</sup>i inanna
  13. [I udu]-gukkal-nita<sub>2</sub> tu-ra
- rev.
1. [I udu-k]ur a-na ùr
  2. [...]-me<sup>2</sup>-ha
  3. I udu-kur ì-la-la
  4. I udu-kur amar-ki
  5. I u<sub>8</sub>-kur bù-da-da
  6. \_\_\_\_\_
  7. a-na á-gi<sub>6</sub>-íl-la
  8. i-hu-zu

## 160

(MS 4198a). 65×44×18. Unbaked, dark grayish brown, rectangular. About two-thirds of the original tablet.



- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| obv. | 1. 11 mí-sila <sub>4</sub> 3 sila <sub>4</sub> -nita <sub>2</sub><br>2. <i>šu-ut</i> úr-ra-ni<br>3. 6 mí-sila <sub>4</sub> 2+[2] sila <sub>4</sub> - <sup>r</sup> nita <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup><br>4. <i>šu-ut</i> eren-da-ni<br>5. <i>šu</i> +nigin <sub>2</sub> 24 sila <sub>4</sub> - <sup>r</sup> šà-du <sub>10</sub> <sup>1</sup><br>6. šà-bi-ta<br>7. 1 u <sub>8</sub> <i>ga-la</i> - <sup>r</sup> <i>ba</i> <sup>1</sup><br>8. 1 u <sub>8</sub> <i>ba</i> - <sup>r</sup> <i>ša-aḫ</i> -dingir <sup>1</sup><br>9. 1 <sup>r</sup> u <sub>8</sub> <i>a-da-là</i> <sup>1</sup><br>10. 1 u <sub>8</sub> PÙ.ŠA-giš-eren <sub>2</sub><br>11. 1 u <sub>8</sub> <i>ḫa</i> -LUM<br>12. 1 u <sub>8</sub> <i>ra-bí</i> -dingir<br>13. 1 u <sub>8</sub> <i>šu</i> - <sup>r</sup> <i>l</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>su</i> <sup>r</sup> X <sup>1</sup><br>(break) | rev. | (break)<br>1'. 1 [...]<br>2'. 1 u <sub>8</sub> lugal-KA<br>3'. 1 u <sub>8</sub> <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i> <i>šu-i</i><br>4'. <i>šu im-ma mu-zu-ga-ù u-ti-ru</i><br>5'. _____<br>6'. <i>šu</i> +nigin <sub>2</sub> 31 sila <sub>4</sub> -šà-du <sub>10</sub><br>7'. <i>a-na á-gi</i> -íl-la<br>8'. <i>i-ḫu-zu</i><br>9'. ka si ga<br>10'. <i>in é-gibil</i><br>11'. <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i><br>12'. gurun <sub>2</sub> -bi e-ak |
|------|--|------|--|

## 161

(MS 4254). 71×38×16. Unbaked, dark brown, inside chocolate.



obv. 1. 2 'udu' du-[...]  
 2. 30 udu *a-na* ùr  
 3. 2 udu šum<sub>x</sub>(GfR)-ma  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. šu<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 6. 10 udu-nita<sub>2</sub> 5 u<sub>8</sub> 5 sila<sub>4</sub>  
 7. šu eren-da-ni  
 8. šâ-bi-ta  
 9. 8 udu 1 máš  
 10. 1 sila<sub>4</sub> 1 anše-ku[nga<sub>2</sub>]  
 11. 1 gu<sub>4</sub> lu[gal-...]  
 12. [...]

rev. 1. a-s[a<sub>6</sub>-ga ...]  
 2. *a-na* ur-<sup>r</sup>d<sup>n</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
 3. [x]+1 udu 1/3.ša kù-babbar [x]  
 4. lugal-zi sukkal-me  
 5. 2 udu di-<sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>-me  
 6. 4 udu 1/2 ma-na kù-babbar  
 7. lugal-KA dub-sar  
 8. *a-na* adab<sup>ki</sup>  
 9. 1 udu šu ka nu ru  
 10. 7 udu 1 sila<sub>4</sub> 1 gu<sub>4</sub>  
 11. *a-na* lugal  
 12. [1]+1 udu ur-nigin<sub>3</sub>  
 13. [x] udu a-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>utu-gim  
 14. \_\_\_\_\_  
 edge 1. 7 udu-<sup>h</sup>i-a eren-da-ni i-<sup>r</sup>hu-uz<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>

Obv. 3, udu-šum<sub>x</sub>-ma: See comment to 154 obv. 4.

## 162

(CUNES 49-09-069). 46×37×16



- obv. 1. [10] lá i udu-ḫi-a  
 2. šu-ut šabra-é  
 3. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá i-ḫu-uz<sub>7</sub>  
 4. 3 udu-ḫi-a  
 5. iš-dè ba-za-za  
 6. I máš tir-kù  
 7. I máš mu-lu-šum  
 8. šu-i-lí-su i-zi
- rev. 1. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 14 udu-ḫi-a  
 2. maš-da-[r]i-a šabra-é  
 3. I máš bar-ra-an  
 4. šu ri-iš-ḫul-tar  
 5. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá i-ḫu-uz<sub>7</sub>  
 6. I <sup>munus</sup>áš-gàr ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-sar  
 7. šu-i-lí-su a-na sanga  
 8. I ùz šu ù-ni-ni  
 9. [<sup>d</sup>en-lí]l-lá i-ḫu-uz<sub>7</sub>

## 163

(CUNES 49-13-088). 70×42×20.



obv. 1. [2] udu a-geštin  
 2. [2 udu] <sup>r</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>-íb  
 3. [2 udu] <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le  
 4. 2 udu nu-úr-dingir  
 5. 1 udu na-bí-um  
 6. 1 udu ú-da-ad  
 7. šu-ì-lí-su ba-an-šúm  
 8. 1 udu du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni  
 9. 1 udu ur-dingir-ra  
 10. 1 udu ur-<sup>d</sup>inanna  
 11. 1 udu <sup>r</sup>d<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá<sup>1</sup>  
 12. 1 udu [...]  
 13. [1 ud]u ì-lí-tab-ba

rev. 1. [lu]gal-KA ba-šúm  
 2. [1] udu a-geštin  
 3. 1 udu ur-íb  
 4. 1 udu <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le  
 5. 1 udu nu-úr-dingir  
 6. 1 udu na-bí-um 1 udu ú-da-ad  
 7. 1 udu du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni 1 udu ur-  
 dingir-ra  
 8. 1 udu ur-<sup>d</sup>inanna 1 udu <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 9. 1 udu <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[x]-lum 1 udu ì-lí-tab-  
 ba  
 10. na-bí-um ba-an-šúm  
 11. 2 udu inim-kù garaš<sub>4</sub>  
 12. 1 udu ur-zu  
 13. [1] udu ú-da-ad-kèš šu abba<sub>2</sub>-  
 uru<sup>ki</sup>  
 l.edge 1. [šu+nigin<sub>2</sub>] 32 udu šu-ut é-gal i-  
 hu-[zu]

Obv. 2–3: Readings based on a pre-conservation photograph.



## 164

(CUNES 49-09-080). 40×37×15.



- obv. 1. 20+† u<sub>8</sub>  
 2. 8 ùz  
 3. 1 máš  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 30 lá 1 udu-ḫi-a
- rev. 1. ere[n-d]a-ni  
 2. i-ḫu-uz<sub>7</sub>  
 3. gu zú-kéš-bi  
 4. ki-na ì-gál  
 5. gurum<sub>2</sub>-šè  
 6. daḫ-ḫe-dam

## 165

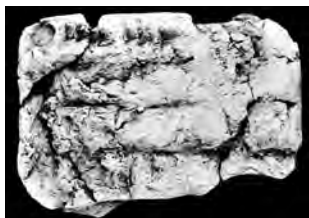
(CUNES 49-09-097). 32×31×13.



- obv. 1. I udu siki  
 2. 4 udu ur<sub>4</sub>-ra  
 3. I sila<sub>4</sub>  
 4. I máš ga  
 5. I máš-gal  
 6. iš-dè
- rev. 1. šu-ì-lí-su  
 2. lugal-kas<sub>4</sub>-e  
 3. i-hu-uz<sub>7</sub>

## 166

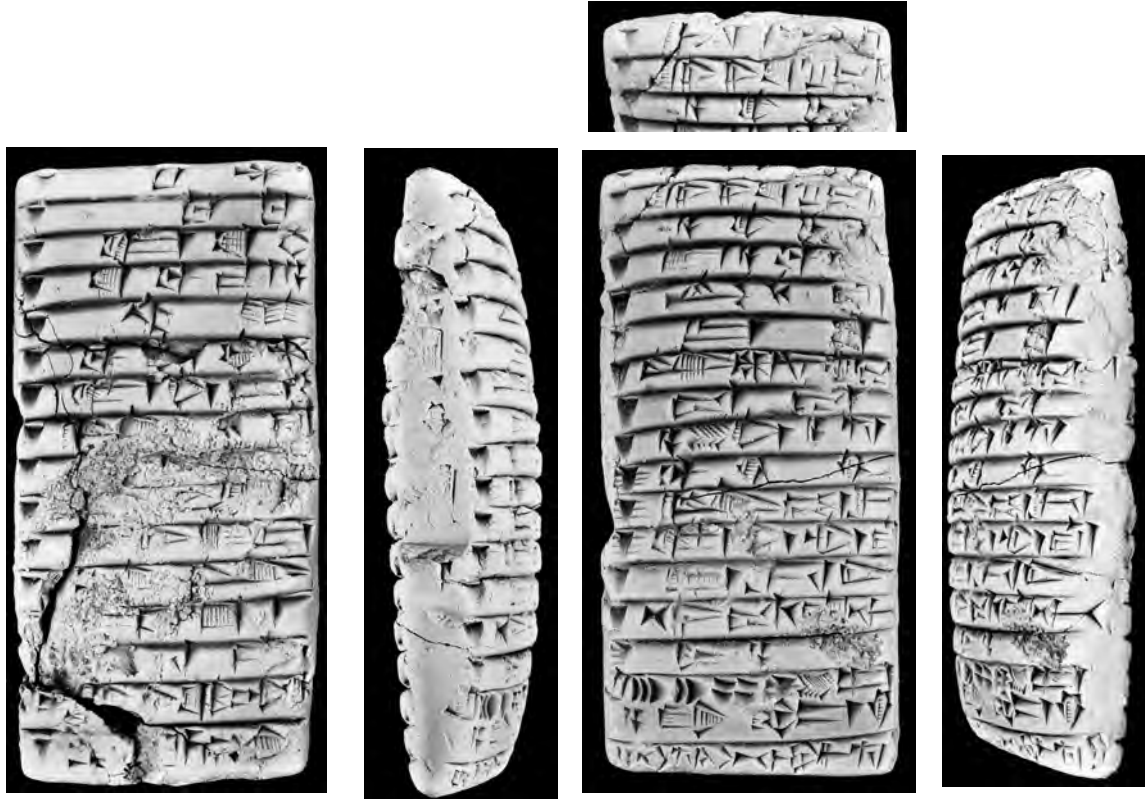
(CUNES 49-13-133). 28×38×15. Upper third of obverse.



- obv. 1. I6 'x' [...]  
 2. [...]  
 3. [...]  
 4. [...]  
 (rest is lost)
- rev. (break)  
 1'. bu-zu-zu  
 2'. i-hu-uz<sub>7</sub>

## 167

(CUNES 49-09-020). 84×41×18.



obv. 1. O.I *kil-dingir*  
 2. O.I *ku-ku*  
 3. O.I *pù-su-du*<sub>10</sub>  
 4. O.I *su-ba-rí-a*  
 5. O.I *ḫa-LUM*  
 6. O.I *ba-ša-aḫ-dingir*  
 7. O.I PÛ.ŠA-giš-eren<sub>2</sub>  
 8. O.I *lugal-kur-ra*  
 9. O.I [...]  
 10. O.I <sup>1</sup>lú-<sup>d</sup>en-líl<sup>1</sup>-[lá]  
 11. O.I [i]-lí-sa-lik  
 12. O.I <sup>1</sup>lugal<sup>1</sup>-lú  
 13. <sup>1</sup>o.1<sup>1</sup> akki<sub>x</sub>(AB.KID)-lá  
 14. <sup>1</sup>o.1<sup>1</sup> [a]-da-lál  
 15. O.I.2 *šu-ì-lí-su dumu ìr-e-bu[m]*  
 16. O.I <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ni]n-me-šum

rev. 1. O.I *gal-iš-i-sar*  
 2. O.I *šu-ì-lí-su má-laḫ*<sub>4</sub>  
 3. O.I *a-mur-ru-<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>*  
 4. O.I *é-a-ba-n[i]*  
 5. O.I *šeš-kur-ra*  
 6. O.I *ur-su*  
 7. O.I *lú-<sup>d</sup>ianna má-laḫ*<sub>4</sub>  
 8. O.I *du-du*  
 9. O.I *a-li-a-ḫu*  
 10. O.O.3 *ba-ki-ki*  
 11. O.O.3 *lugal-ad-da*  
 12. O.O.3 PÛ.ŠA-ìr-ra  
 13. O.I *eren-da-ni*  
 14. O.I *be-lí-du-gul-ti*  
 15. O.O.3 *dumu a-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>*  
 16. *šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 5.4.2 še-gur a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
 17. *a-na ḫu-bu-lim im-ḫu-ru*  
 l.edge 1. <sup>1</sup>è<sup>1</sup>-a é-àr <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> me

## I68

(CUNES 49-09-086). 36×33×15.



- obv. 1. 6 še-gur a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. me-it-lik engar  
 3. ʾù<sup>1</sup> gār-tum  
 4. ša-a kal-ì-le  
 5. a-na hu-bu-lim
- rev. 1. im-hu-ra  
 2. I udu mu-DU

## I69

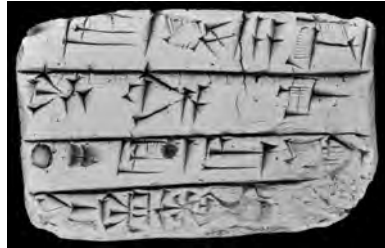
(CUNES 49-09-091). 36×32×14.



- obv. 1. 10 ʾše gur<sup>1</sup> a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. ʾa<sup>1</sup>-na ʾhu-bu-lim<sup>1</sup>  
 3. na-bí-um
- rev. 1. sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> d.aš<sup>7</sup>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 2. 3+[x] zab[ar] ʾx x<sup>1</sup>  
 3. ki-lá-bi I ma-na lá 3+[2?] ʾgín<sup>1</sup>  
 4. [...-d]u  
 5. u-bi-[lam]

## I70

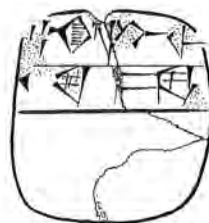
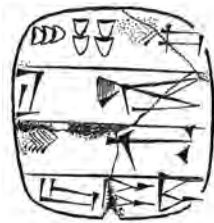
(CUNES 48-12-064). 32×50×21. Less than one-third of the tablet.



- obv. (break)  
 1. 1 gín *tu-za-id*  
 2. *geme<sub>2</sub>-kar-kid*  
 3. 12 gín *ur-li*  
 4. *dumu nin-kèš<sup>ki</sup>-[e]*
- rev.  
 1. *hu-bu-lu*  
 2. *su-lu-im*  
 3. 10 gín *kù-babbar*  
 4. [...] *gur-sag-gál*  
 (break)

## I71

(BI-II 5). 31×29×12. Previously published as *TCVP* I-52.



- obv.  
 1. 3.4 še *gur*  
 2. *si-tum*  
 3. *še-numun*  
 4. *ur-tur-tur*
- rev.  
 1. *a-na hu-bu-lim*  
 2. *u-su-zé*

## 172

(BI 185+213). 48×35×12[?]. Previously published as *TCVP* I-51.



- |      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| obv. | 1. | o.o.3 <i>ù-ni-ni</i>   |
|      | 2. | o.o.3 <i>ma-šum</i>  |
|      | 3. | o.o.3 <i>du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni</i>                           |
|      | 4. | o.o.3 <i>PÛ.ŠA-aš-dar</i>                                    |
|      | 5. | o.o.3 <i>be-lí-gi</i>  |
|      | 6. | o.o.3 <i>mu-lu-šum</i>                                       |
|      | 7. | o.o.3 <i>šu-[i]-lí-su lunga</i>                              |
|      | 8. | <i>bù-zu-zu muḫaldim</i>                                     |
| rev. | 1. | o.o.3 <i>me-it-lik</i>                                       |
|      | 2. | o.o.3 <i>sa-tu-tu</i>  |
|      | 3. | o.o.3 <i>é-a-MAŠ.UR máš-šu-gíd</i>                           |
|      | 4. | -----  |
|      | 5. | <i>šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1 še-ba gur a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup></i> |
|      | 6. | <i>ir<sub>11</sub> lugal</i>                                 |
|      | 7. | <i>a-na hu-bu-da-tim</i>                                     |
|      | 8. | <i>im-hu-ru</i>  |

## I73

(CUNES 49-09-082). 39×37×15.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur *a-ga-dè*<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. é-gu<sub>4</sub>  
 3. ur-dam šu-i  
 4. *sar-ru-an-dùl* dub-sar  
 5. *šu-ut be-lí-na-uz*
- rev. 1. *im-ḫu-ra*  
 2. máš nu-tuku  
 3. *a-na si-na-im*

Rev. 2: nu-tuku written later over erasure.

## I74

(CUNES 49-13-091). 79×43×20.



- obv.
1. 7.2.3 še gur
  2. ne-<sup>r</sup>sag<sup>1</sup> dumu lugal-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
  3. [x]<sup>+</sup>3 še gur
  4. [s]ag-dingir-tuku dumu kur-a-  
du<sub>10</sub>-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>
  5. 10 še gur
  6. ur-su dumu ba-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
  7. 5 še <sup>r</sup>gur<sup>1</sup>
  8. ur-su-su sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>
  9. 10 še gur
  10. du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni dumu dingir-gú
  11. 5 še gur
  12. i-lí-iš-da-gal sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> nin
  13. 5 še gur
  14. <sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub> dub-sar

- rev.
1. [x] še gur
  2. [é]-gu<sub>4</sub> šu be-lí-na-uz
  3. 6 še gur
  4. kal-i-le
  5. 4 še gur ur-sa<sub>6</sub> šu nin
  6. 5 še gur dingir-na-zi-ir i-mi-  
dingir
  7. šu KA-me-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup> sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>
  8. 2.2.3 <sup>r</sup>še gur<sup>1</sup>
  9. bar-r[a-an] dumu da-da
  10. 1 še-gu[r s]i-dù lú-edén
  11. \_\_\_\_\_
  12. <sup>r</sup>šu+nigin<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> 60+[x] še gur a-ga-  
dè<sup>ki</sup>
  13. še ur<sub>5</sub>-šè šu-ti-a



## I75

(CUNES 49-08-085). 41×31×15.



- obv. 1. *o.1.2* munu<sub>4</sub> a-rá 1-[kam]  
 2. *o.1.1* 'munu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> a-rá 2-kam  
 3. *o.1* munu<sub>4</sub> a-'rá<sup>1</sup> 3-kam  
 4. *o.o.4* munu<sub>4</sub> a-rá '4<sup>1</sup>-kam  
 5. *o.o.2* <a>-rá 5-kam
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1 lá *o.o.3* munu<sub>4</sub> gur  
 3. lú-lunga  
 4. *im-hu-ru*  
 5. dingir-al-su (er.)

## 176

(MS 4251). 74×42×18. Unbaked, brown, one line missing at lower end. Photographs taken both before and after conservation used.



- obv. 1. I4.I še-[ba gur] *a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. iti sig<sub>4</sub>-šub-ba-gar  
 3. I2 še-ba gur  
 4. iti šu-numun  
 5. 6 še gur  
 6. *a-na* níg-àr-ra  
 7. I 'x na<sup>1</sup>  
 8. iti šu-n[umun<sup>?</sup> a]-rá 2-kam  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 33 še gur *a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
 11. [...]
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. 'lá<sup>1</sup>-ì-[àm]  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. ba-KA-a-áš  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. níg-šid-bi 'nu-ak<sup>1</sup>

Rev. 4–6: “As orally agreed, not put on the account”?

## I77

(CUNES 49-08-088). 75×39×19.



- obv.
1. [x šag]an-kaskal nunuz *ga-nu* AN
  2. [d<sup>d</sup>en-líl]-lá
  3. '3' šagan-kaskal sud
  4. mu-ni-lál
  5. I šagan-kaskal ì-du<sub>10</sub>-ga
  6. *be-lí*-kur
  7. I šagan-kaskal ì-du<sub>10</sub>-ga
  8. *ìr-e-sa-t[u]*
  9. I <sup>giš</sup>ban
  10. I *ga-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-núm* eme-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
  11. *ì-lí-iš-da-gal*

178

(CUNES 49-08-082). 53×38×19.



- obv.
1. 10 'kin'-uru[du]
  2. kur-<sup>r</sup>mu'-[gam]
  3. 3 ur-zu
  4. 3 be-lí-gi
  5. 3 su-lum-su
  6. 1 diri zag-u-gal a-na é pù-su-du<sub>10</sub>
  7. libir šu-ut é
  8. ur-zu šu im-<sup>r</sup>x'-ti
  9. \_\_\_\_\_
- rev.
1. [35]+3 [kin-urudu g]ibil
  2. šà-bi-ta
  3. 6 a-na é <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka
  4. 4 ur-su
  5. 4 a-lí-a-lu
  6. 22 si-tum ki šu-ì-lí-su
  7. \_\_\_\_\_
  8. kin-urudu zi-ga

## I79

(MS 2254). 21×18×10. Unbaked, light brown with black stains.



- obv. 1. 7 urudu-šum  
2. ur-<sup>d</sup>utu  
3. im-hur

## I80

(CUNES 49-09-061). 44×37×15.



- obv. 1. 30 RU <sup>gis</sup>ù-suh<sub>5</sub>  
2. 13 10 RU <sup>gis</sup>pèš  
3. 6 10 RU <sup>gis</sup>šennur  
4. 1 10 RU <sup>gis</sup>ì-se<sub>11</sub>-um  
5. 1 10 RU si-ik-tum
- rev. 1. sar-ru-ì-lí  
2. im-hur  
3. i-mi-dingir  
4. sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>  
5. zi-gur  
6. šu 3 mu

## I81

(CUNES 49-04-013). 69×38×19.



- obv. 1. 7 šu-na  
 2. 6 é-<sup>r</sup>e'  
 3. 6 ur-<sup>d.šēy</sup>ser<sub>7</sub>-da  
 4. [x]+2 ur-GÁ  
 5. [x]+2 šeš-lú  
 6. [x]+2 inim-kù igi-nu-tuku  
 7. [x]+4 gala  
 8. [x]+1 inim-kù 2  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_
- rev. 10. [x]+2 šu-ku<sub>6</sub>  
 1. [... x]+50 [...]  
 2. [x]-gú  
 3. <sup>r</sup>a'-na sa-bar  
 4. [šu]-na im-*hur*

## 182

(CUNES 49-08-090). 69×39×17. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 167. Cleaned.



obv. 1. 1 gurdub<sub>2</sub> siki-gi<sub>6</sub> ù siki-ùz  
 2. [ki]-lá-bi 30 ma-na  
 3. [x]+2 gurdub<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>6</sub>-gal  
 4. [1] kuš-gu<sub>4</sub> sur-ra  
 5. 1 gurd[ub<sub>2</sub>] bappir  
 6. 0.1 ba-ba munu<sub>4</sub>  
 7. 0.2.3 gú-gú-tur  
 8. 6 dug ì-giš-ì  
 9. 0.1.3 níg-àr-ra  
 10. 2 šen-urudu  
 11. 1 'uri<sup>1</sup>-urudu  
 12. 1 pisan-urudu  
 13. '1 a<sup>1</sup>-gá-lá-urudu

rev. 1. [ki-l]á-bi 40 m[a-na] 'urudu<sup>1</sup>  
 2. 1 <sup>giš</sup>ná  
 3. 3 <sup>giš</sup>gu-za  
 4. 3 bur 3 <sup>giš</sup>gi-muš  
 5. 1 <sup>giš</sup>zi-gan  
 6. 3 éš má-gíd  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. níg-ga u-ba-ru-um dub-sar  
 9. [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> ama-bara<sub>2</sub>  
 10. [x-g]a-mi-e-nim  
 11. u-ru-ù

## 183

(CUNES 49-14-018). 34×31×14.



- obv. 1. 10 še gur-2-UL 2 (*sic*)  
 2. 3 udu  
 3. 6 ma-na siki  
 4. 3 šáh  
 5. *iš-d[è]*
- rev. 1. *ma-an-gu-u[l]*  
 2. *i-ba-šê*



## 184

(CUNES 49-08-097). 64×42×18. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 168. Cleaned.



- obv. 1. [x m]a-na kù-s[ig<sub>17</sub>]  
 2. 3 ⅓.ša ma-na [kù-babbar]  
 3. 15 ma-na [urudu]  
 4. 3 giš-<sup>r</sup>eren<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 5. du-á-zu-nu la-šú<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>  
 6. 2 dug 7 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-šáḫ  
 7. 2 <sup>túg</sup>na-áš-ba-ra-ME  
 8. 7 túg  
 9. 6.4 še gur-sag-gál
- rev. 1. 0.0.5 bappir  
 2. 0.1.1 munu<sub>4</sub>  
 3. 0.1 níg-àr-ra  
 4. 0.1.3 dabin  
 5. 3 gurdub<sub>2</sub> zú-lum 0.2-ta  
 6. 2 ma-na siki  
 7. ḫa-al-ku-tum  
 8. 11 giš-<sup>r</sup>eren<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 9. 0.0.2 5 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-šáḫ  
 10. 0.2.3 še  
 11. 1 [g]ú 40 ma-na lá [x] zu-ba-l[um]
- l. edge 1. al-NI ùl-ga

## 185

(CUNES 49-13-095). 63×37×17. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 165.



- obv. 1. 10 lá 1 še gur-2-U[L]  
 2. *šu du-du* dumu bar-[ra-a]n  
 3. in 0.3+[1] 'gur' lugal  
 4. kù-babbar-*su* 6 'gín'  
 5. 0.2.3 še z[é]-*bi-bi*  
 6. [x] 'še' en-an-na-túm  
 7. 'kù-babbar-*su*' 2 ½ gín  
 8. [x] gín kù-babbar [...] 'ú' zú-lum  
 9. '2'.2.3 še gur  
 10. 'a'-ul<sub>4</sub>-gal
- rev. 1. [...]  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. 'šu+nigin<sub>2</sub>' 2.2.3 še gur  
 4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 10 +-½ gín kù-babbar  
 5. *iš-dè*  
 6. 'x'[...]'na'  
 7. en-an-na-túm  
 8. *im-hur*  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. in egir gu-[x]

## 186

(CUNES 49-09-031). 69×38×18.



- obv.
1. 2½ gín lá 13 še kù-babbar
  2. *šu-i-lí-su im-ḫur*
  3. 1 gín kù-babbar
  4. *m[a]-šum šu ur-da*
  5. ½<sup>1</sup> gín kù-babbar
  6. *i<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>d</sup>-da-gan*
  7. 1½ gín kù-babbar
  8. *a-na sa<sub>10</sub> 1 dusu<sub>2</sub>*
  9. 1 gín *šu* udu lugal-KA
  10. 3 gín 2 ma-na lá 12 še
  11. *šu 3 gur-2-UL*
  12. *ši ki-ág ù šeš-kal-la*
  13. [x]+10 gín kù-babbar
  14. [inim-kù] garaš<sub>4</sub> ì-lá
- rev.
1. [*šu-i*]-*lí-su im-ḫur*
  2. [*a-n*]a sa<sub>10</sub> gu<sub>4</sub>

## 187

(CUNES 49-08-079). 76×44×20.



obv. 1. [x] gín kù-'babbar'  
 2. *zi-zi*  
 3. [x] gín  
 4. [1]-kam  
 5. 2 gín igi-4-gál  
 6. im-ma-kam  
 7. 1 gín  
 8. mu->MA<-kam  
 9. nin-zabala<sup>ki</sup>-e  
 10. dam ú-da-<ad>-kèš<sup>ki</sup>  
 11. 1 gín lá igi-4-g[ál]  
 12. Mí [x]  
 13. [1] gín lá igi-4-[gál]

rev. 1. šum-šum 'x'-[x]  
 2. 1 gín lá igi-4-gál  
 3. nin-eren-'da'-ni  
 4. 5 ½ gín  
 5. *me-me*  
 6. 1 gín  
 7. *zi-bí-rí-tum*  
 8. '2' gín šum-šum  
 9. [m]u-a-kam  
 10. [x] gín lá igi-4-gál  
 11. [...]  
 12. \_\_\_\_\_  
 13. [šu+nigín ⅓].ša lá 1 gín igi-4-  
 [gál]  
 l. edge 1. [a-na hu-b]u-lim im-hu-ru

## I88

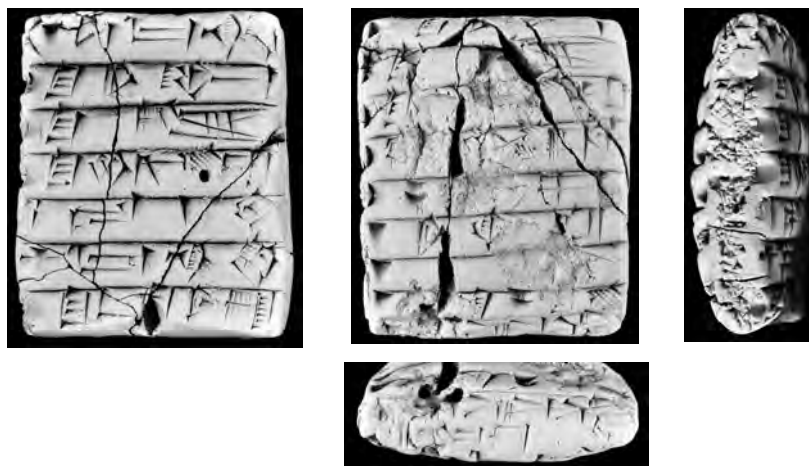
(CUNES 49-08-096). 58×38×17.



- obv. 1. 2.1 še [gur-sag-g]ál  
 2. lú-sa<sub>6</sub> ì-šúm  
 3. a-na nu-banda<sub>3</sub>-su u-sa-rí-ib  
 4. a-na-gu ak-su-ur  
 5. 1.2 še gur sa<sub>10</sub> 1 gín [k]ù-babbar  
 6. ur-ru simug  
 7. 4 še gur a-na nag-su<sup><ki></sup>  
 8. 2 še gur a-na 1 túg-bar-dul<sub>5</sub>  
 9. 3.2 še gur a-na 1 túg-bar-dul<sub>5</sub>  
 10. 0.0.4 bappir 0.0.3 munu<sub>4</sub>
- rev. 1. 1 ma-na-tur kù-babbar

## 189

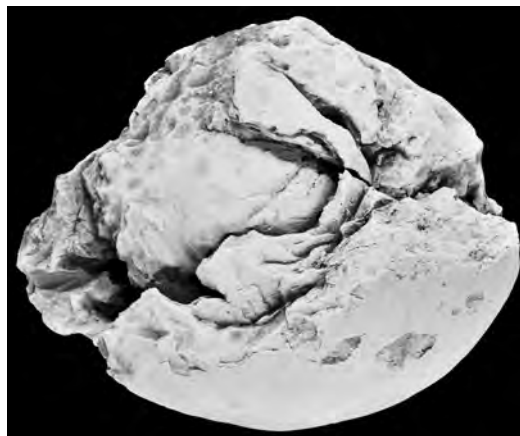
(CUNES 49-09-064). 44×37×15.



- obv. 1. ⅓.ša ma-na kù-babbar  
 2. 1 túg-níg-lám  
 3. 1 túg-íb×3  
 4. 1 túg-ša-gi-da<sub>5</sub>  
 5. a-rá 1-kam  
 6. ½ ma-na kù-babbar  
 7. 1 túg-bar-dul<sub>5</sub>-sal-la
- rev. 1. 1 túg-níg-lám  
 2. 1 túg-íb×3  
 3. 1 túg-ša-gi<sup>1</sup>-da<sub>5</sub>  
 4. 1 <sup>kuš</sup>esir<sub>4</sub> é-ba-an  
 5. 1.2 [še] gur  
 6. 0.1 níg-àr-ra  
 7. 0.1 munu<sub>4</sub>  
 8. 0.1 [ba]ppir 0.2 dabin  
 9. [x] sila<sub>3</sub> ì 1 sila<sub>3</sub> ì-šáḥ
- l.edge 1. ʾmu šè<sup>1</sup> bar-ra ʾx<sup>1</sup>  
 2. 1 ʾníg<sup>1</sup>-lám  
 3. 1 ʾtúg-ša-gi<sup>1</sup>-da<sub>5</sub>  
 4. 1 túg-íb×3
- lo.e. 1. a ne gana<sub>2</sub>

## I90

(CUNES 52-20-060). 57×68×33. Thick round tablet, two parallel string holes at left end.



- obv. 1. [x] 'x' sar ki-gá[l]  
 2. sa<sub>10</sub>-su-nu 4½ g[ín kù-babbar]  
 3. a-ti iš-ki-ni-[su-nu]  
 4. in 10 lá 1 gín [kù-babbar]  
 5. [x] 'x x' [...]  
 (rest is lost)
- rev. (broken, then blank)

## 191

(CUNES 49-09-042). 58×35×17.



- obv.
1. 2 gín kù-babbar
  2. *šu ú-da-ad*
  3. 1 gín kù-babbar
  4. 'šu' sum-gaz
  5. 'igi-3'-gál kù-babbar
  6. *šu še-giš-ì*
  7. [i]gi-3-gál kù-babbar
  8. *šu uzu*
  9. '1' gín kù-babbar
  10. *šu esir<sub>2</sub>-a*
  11. inim-kù garaš<sub>4</sub> *im-hur*
  12. *šà-bi-ta*
  13. 1 gín kù-babbar *a-na má-tur*

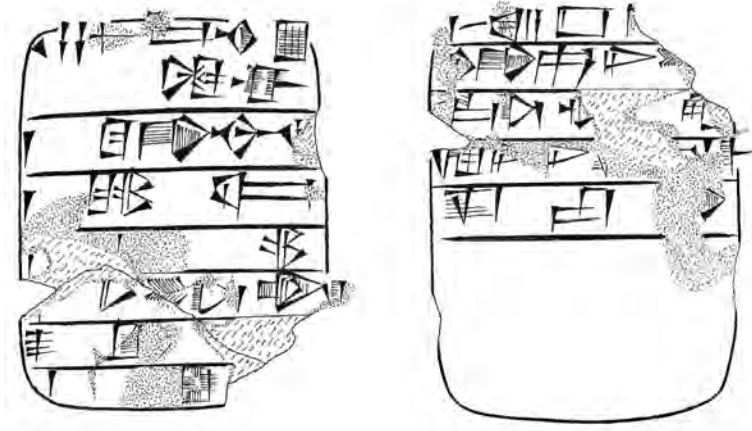
- rev.
1. *i-nin-me-šum*
  2. 1 gín kù-babbar
  3. [š]u-ì-lí-su
  4. [x] gín kù-babbar *a-na giš-má-dù*
  5. 'ur'-dam dub-sar
  6. ½ gín kù-babbar
  7. *su-ba-rí-a ad-KID*
  8. igi-'3-gál kù-babbar' nagar adab<sup>ki</sup>
  9. igi-3-gál kù-babbar *a-na túg sumun*
  10. 0.0.5 esir<sub>2</sub>-a *su-ba-rí-a*
  11. inim-kù mu-DU
  12. 3 esir<sub>2</sub>-a gur-2-UL
  13. *iš-dè inim-kù garaš<sub>4</sub>*

Rev. 9: Note the old form of sumun.



## 192

(L-2000, 10). 57×44×18, grayish brown. Private English collection.

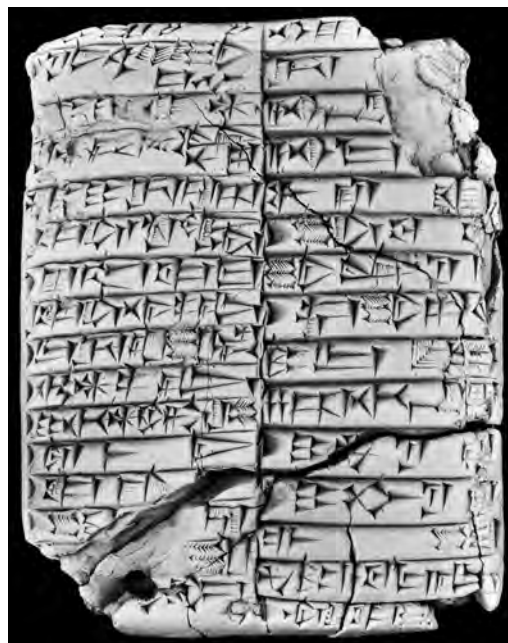
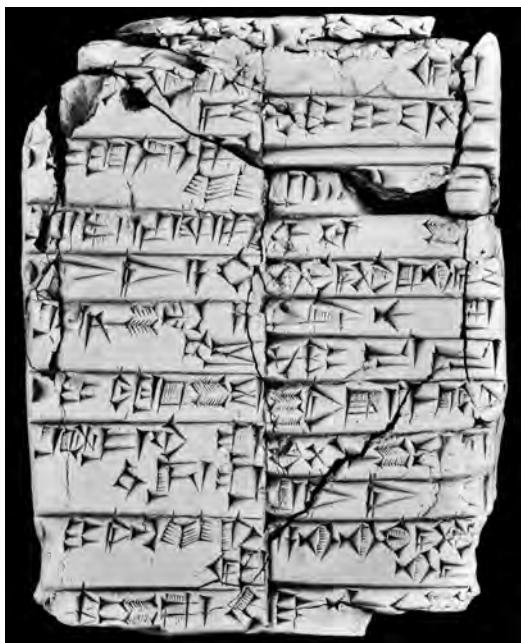


- obv. 1. 14½ ma-na siki garig<sub>2</sub>-ak  
 2. 1 túg-ga-šir-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 3. 1 túg-uri sag  
 4. 1 [tú]g-uri  
 5. <sup>1</sup>1 ninda-li bappir  
 6. o.o.4 zíd [...]  
 7. 1 bara<sub>2</sub> [x]
- rev. 1. 1 kuš-a-gá-lá  
 2. níg-ga kal-ì-l[e]  
 3. PÙ.ŠA-ìr-ra  
 4. ù ì-lí-i[š-d]a-gal  
 5. iš-rí-ga

(Various items). This is the property of KAL-ile, which Puzur-irra and Ilištakal stole.

## 193

(CUNES 49-09-009). 84×65×19.



- |       |     |  |         |   |
|-------|-----|--|---------|---|
| obv.i | 1.  | [I ...]- <sup>r</sup> sig <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup>                                | 12.     | a-na na-ah-šum-sa-na-at   |
|       | 2.  | [š <sub>u</sub> na-a]h-šum- <sup>r</sup> sa-na <sup>1</sup> -at                    | 13.     | <sup>r</sup> i-ti-in <sup>1</sup>                               |
|       | 3.  | I i-ku-un-kal-núm  | rev.iii | 1. na-é-[áš lugal]  |
|       | 4.  | š <sub>u</sub> si-ip-rí-iš-kal   |         | 2. it-[má]  |
|       | 5.  | I ì-lí-a- <sup>hi</sup>  |         | 3. a-na nib[ru <sup>ki</sup> ]                                  |
|       | 6.  | š <sub>u</sub> ba-zi-mu-za-tum   |         | 4. a-na ma-[...]  |
|       | 7.  | I i-nin-sa-tu  |         | 5. wa-ra-iš   |
|       | 8.  | š <sub>u</sub> íl-te-um se <sub>11</sub> -da-um                                    |         | 6. I li-ba- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup>                         |
|       | 9.  | I i-gu-núm bur-gul   |         | 7. in lú- <sup>diri</sup>                                       |
|       | 10. | [š <sub>u</sub> ] dumu tir-kù  |         | 8. I engar in kal- <sup>r</sup> ša <sup>7</sup>                 |
| ii    | 1.  | I ba-ša- <sup>r</sup> ah <sup>1</sup> -din[gir] <sup>r</sup> bur <sup>1</sup> -gul |         | 9. dumu ur-sa <sub>6</sub>                                      |
|       | 2.  | nu-banda <sub>3</sub> i-zu- <sup>r</sup> gíd <sup>1</sup>                          |         | 10. za-ab-ti nibru <sup>ki</sup>                                |
|       | 3.  | -----  |         | 11. I i-nu-si-ra  |
|       | 4.  | š <sub>u</sub> +nigin <sub>2</sub> 5+[I] guruš                                     |         | 12. I i-bu-si-ra  |
|       | 5.  | ha-ba-tu   |         | 13. mar-tu  |
|       | 6.  | na-ah-šum-sa-na-at   |         | 14. nu-banda <sub>3</sub> a-ba-ma-al-ki                         |
|       | 7.  | lú-úš-udu  |         | 15. I ìr-e-bum in [...]   |
|       | 8.  | nu-banda <sub>3</sub> du-du  | iv      | 1. [nu]- <sup>r</sup> banda <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> sar-ru-ru |
|       | 9.  | in é-gal-eden  |         | 2. I si-ir-ha-núm in <sup>gš</sup> ban                          |
|       | 10. | ih-bu-tu-su <sub>4</sub>   |         | 3. <sup>r</sup> nu <sup>1</sup> -banda <sub>3</sub> i-mi-dingir |
|       | 11. | š <sub>u</sub> -ì-lí- <sup>r</sup> su <sup>1</sup>                                 |         | 4. I š <sub>u</sub> - <sup>d</sup> ad-mu lú-úš-udu              |

5. nu-banda<sub>3</sub> i-da-la-ab
6. šu PÛ.ŠA-aš-dar KIŠ.NITA<sub>2</sub>
7. I é-úr sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>
8. šu PÛ.ŠA-be-lí šabra
9. I ur-da dub-sar-maḥ
10. I sig<sub>5</sub>-dingir šabra
11. I i-ti-<sup>d</sup>IM sagi
12. I sikil-me-ni
13. I du<sub>11</sub>-ga-[ni]
14. I tu-[...]-la
15. [...]sar
16. [x (x) a-g]a-dē<sup>ki</sup>

Mr. [PN], of Naḥšum-šanat; Mr. Ikun-dannum, of Šipriš-dan; Mr. Ili-aḫi, of Bazimuzatum; Mr. Inin-šadu, of Ilteum, the *sedaum*; Mr. Ikunum, the seal stone cutter, of Tirku's son; Mr. Pašaḫ-ilum, the seal stone cutter, under the command of Izzuarik. In all, they are six robbers. In Egal-eden, they attacked Naḥšum-šanat, the 'sheep-killer', the 'captain' under Dudu. Šuilisu brought his case before Naḥšum-šanat and swore to bring (the culprits) to Nippur for ... (Witnesses).

See the analysis of this text, above p. 47. The case was obviously a very serious one. Not only was Naḥšum-šanat an official of very high status; also the witnesses are for the most part of high rank. The problems we have are two. One is to account for the fact that this tablet was found at Umm-el-Hafriyat – what was it doing there? The second is, which of the many Šu-ilisu is involved here, and how? One possible answer is provided by 50 vi 1–7, where a *na-aḫ-šum* receives bread and beer along with *šu-ì-lí-su šu kakkim*. The latter is attested elsewhere in the Šu-ilisu tablets and may be assumed to have been a resident of Umm-el-Hafriyat. We conclude that it was he who swore to bring the culprits to justice in Nippur.

- ii 13: Read *i-ti-in* as *yidīn*, and cf. Frayne 1993, p. 105 i 19–20, *ana<sup>d</sup>utu yedīan*, “he (Naramsin) brought his case before Shamash.”
- iii 4: Restore *ma-[mi-tim]*?
- iv 16: It is tempting to restore *[DI-in a]-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*, “It is a verdict of Akkade.”

## 194

(CUNES 49-09-011). 110×46×21.



obv. 1. I a[nše ...]  
 2. I dusu<sub>2</sub>  
 3. ša-a ìr-ra-ra  
 4. iš-dè nam-zi  
 5. an-edèn i-bu-lam  
 6. en-ma nam-zi  
 7. na-é-áš lugal ù-má  
 8. anše a-na 10 lá I gín kù-babbar  
 lu-šám  
 9. in ga-ti ìr-ra-ra  
 10. ù a-ša-ti-su  
 11. la a-hu-zu  
 12. ù dam-gàr la ni-da-ù  
 13. I da-tum dumu lú-<sup>r</sup>x x<sup>r</sup>  
 14. I lú-<sup>d</sup>utu ha-ba-t[um]  
 15. 2 abba<sub>2</sub>-ba-su

16. I <sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>-ti mug <sup>g</sup>sban  
 17. I <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le-in-zu aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal  
 18. [I] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-bí-dingir dam-gàr lugal  
 19. [I g]iri<sub>3</sub>-ni sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-líl  
 20. [I ad]-da-tur nagar  
 rev. 1. [I] i-mi-dingir engar  
 2. [I] šà-gú-ba engar  
 3. <sup>r</sup>ir<sub>11</sub><sup>r</sup> wi-ir-ma dam PA <sup>r</sup>NÍG<sup>r</sup> ŠU  
 4. I wu-zum-lugal-rí  
 5. I su-lum-su-sig<sub>5</sub>  
 6. I dub [...]  
 7. I i-ti-[...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>  
 8. <sup>r</sup>ir<sub>11</sub><sup>r</sup> [...]  
 9. I ur-li-li  
 10. ir<sub>11</sub> šu-ì-lí-su [...]  
 11. \_\_\_\_\_

12. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 11 abba<sub>2</sub> šu-ut ma-ha-ar-su-nu
13. it-má-ù
14. a-na be-la-ak-ku-ru-ub sagi
15. lú-kin-gi<sub>4</sub>-a
16. dingir-kal ší-LÁ.TE
17. maškim a[n-e]den

(Two donkeys) belonging to Irrara were with Namzi. An-eden paid compensation for them. Namzi declared under oath: “I will pay up to 9 shekels of silver for the donkeys, but I never got them from Irrara or his wife; and we don’t know ....” PN<sub>1</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> are his two witnesses. (List of 12 witnesses). In all, 11(!) witnesses to the fact that he made the declaration before them to Belak-kurub, the ‘cup-bearer’, messenger of Ilum-dan the *šú-kallāe*, An-eden’s representative.

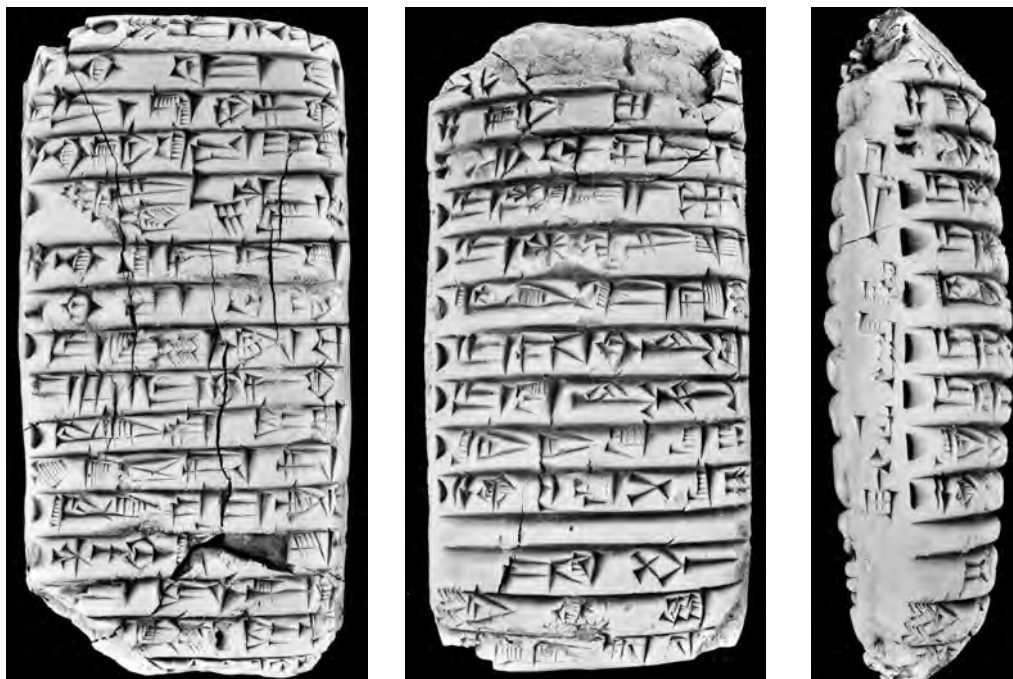
Evidently, the two donkeys somehow got lost, allegedly while they were in Namzi’s care. Namzi declares that he is willing to pay for them, but he never had them. The point of the case would seem to be that An-eden had paid compensation for them under false premises and should have his money back. The number and the ranks of the witnesses indicate that more was at stake in this case than merely nine shekels of silver. See also the analysis of the document above, p. 47.

Obv. 12: The meaning of *tamkārūm* escapes us – “creditor”?

Rev. 12: We count 12 witnesses, besides the two of Namzi.

## 195

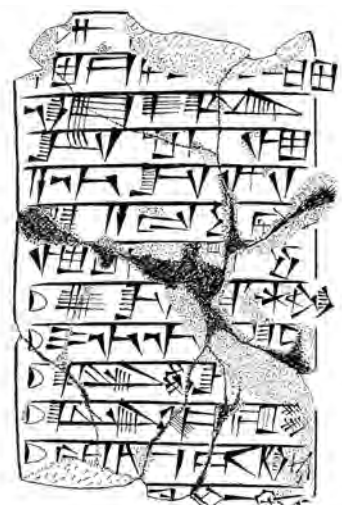
(CUNES 49-09-018). 89×44×22.



- |      |   |        |  |
|------|---|--------|--|
| obv. | 1. [10]+20 še gur-2-UL<br>2. a-na sag-su<br>3. al-la im- <i>hur</i><br>4. a-na kaš e <sub>11</sub> i-su<br>5. 1 anše-kunga <sub>2</sub> 1 sa <sub>10</sub> 6 gín kù-<br>babbar<br>6. a-na šu-ì-lí-su<br>7. u-sá-rí-ba-am<br>8. 1 ur-sa <sub>6</sub> ir <sub>11</sub> -zu<br>9. giš-ŠID-ma im- <i>hur</i><br>10. 1 lú-gišgal dumu-su<br>11. še íb-ús-ús<br>12. 1 lugal-ezem ir <sub>11</sub> -zu<br>13. 1 <sup>d.as</sup> aš <sub>7</sub> -gí <sub>4</sub> -á-na<br>14. ʾšitim <sup>1</sup> dumu adab <sup>ki</sup><br>15. [1] ʾur <sup>1</sup> -sa <sub>6</sub> dumu ír- <i>...</i><br>16. <i>...</i> ʾx x šu anše <sup>1</sup> | rev.   | 1-2. (two lines lost)<br>3. šeš x <i>...</i> [x]<br>4. za-bi-lu še<br>5. 0.2 še ní-g-ba al-la<br>6. 1 ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá dam-gàr<br>7. 1 ur- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub> kuš <sub>7</sub><br>8. 1 lugal-KA dub-sar<br>9. 1 ur-èš-sá šeš-su<br>10. 1 ur-zu šeš muḫaldim<br>11. 1 šu-ì-lí-su šu-i<br>12. 1 a-mur-ru-um sagi<br>13. _____<br>14. abba <sub>2</sub> -bu<br>15. in ki-su <sub>7</sub><br>16. ga-sa-ri-iš <sup>ʾ</sup> |
|      |   | r.edge | 1. al-la it-má-ù   |

## 196

(MS 4191). 67×40×19. Unbaked, dark brown.



- obv.
1. [x ma-na x] gín kù-babbar
  2. iš-dè u-ba-ru-um šu nin
  3. ù<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá MAŠ.E[N.K]AK
  4. aḫ-bu-ut
  5. 'in' I ma-n[a x gín] kù-babbar
  6. 'a'-[na máš] ni-su
  7. 2 gín kù-babbar I udu
  8. a-na máš 'ni'-su
  9. u-ba-ru-um šu nin
  10. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá [MA]Š.EN.KAK

- rev.
11. ur-<sup>d</sup>utu šu ur-sag-'x'
  12. dingir-mu-da [šú] nin
  1. im-[ḫu-ru]
  2. ù giš 'x' [x] i-ku-lu
  3. na-é-áš lugal
  4. it-má-ù
  5. a-ti da-ar
  6. la a-du-ru-šum
  7. ù 'x x x' ru
  8. I ú-da-[a]d-kèš<sup>ki</sup>

9. I *i-ti-ti* [MAŠ.E]N.KAK
10. I lugal-iti-d[a ...]
11. I lugal-KA dub-sar
12. I nin-zabala<sup>ki</sup>-r<sup>e</sup>
13. [š<sub>u</sub>+nigin<sub>2</sub> 5 ab]ba<sub>2</sub>-bu-tum

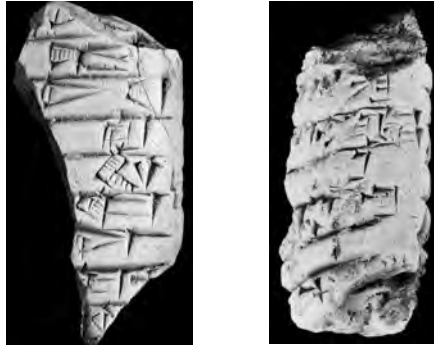
I borrowed (a large amount) of silver from Ubarum, of the Queen, and from Enlila, the *muškenum*. (They said,) “Per *mana* he owes us x shekels of silver as interest, (so) he owes us 2 shekels of silver and a sheep.” Ubarum, of the Queen; Enlila the *muške-num*; Ur-utu, of Ursag-utu; and Ilum-muda, of the Queen have received (this) .... They swore by the life of the King: “I will never reopen this case (lit. come back to him), and ...” (Five witnesses).

The somewhat elliptic character of the document and the use of the first person in obv. 4 suggest that this is not a real legal document, rather a memorandum for personal use.



## 197

(Jon 77, fragm. A). 44×22×18, one-column tablet.



- obv. (break)  
 1'. [...]ʿxʿ [...]  
 2'. [...] tum  
 3'. [...] NI su  
 4'. [...] ra  
 5'. [...] kù-babbar  
 6'. [...] KA  
 7'. [...] ì-lá  
 8'. [...]ʿx xʿ  
 9'. [...]ʿxʿ[x]  
 (break)
- rev. (break)  
 1'. [...]ʿxʿ[...]  
 2'. [...] IŠ šu nin  
 3'. [...] ʿxʿ šu mug ra ur ka  
 4'. [...] ʿxʿ dub-sar  
 5'. [...] ʿxʿ *se<sub>11</sub>-da-um*  
 6'. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7'. [...]ʿxʿ NI ʿxʿ  
 (break)

Rev. 3: Read ìr-ra-ur-sag ?

## 198

(CUNES 49-09-084). 38×34×16.



- obv. 1. I *zu-zu* engar  
 2. *šu be-lí-dingir*  
 3. I ur-mes dub-sar  
 4. *šu lugal-KA*  
 5. I ur-mes aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal
- rev. 1. I [...]  
 2. *šu dumu-lugal é na-bí-um*  
 3. I *bí-bí se<sub>11</sub>-da-um*  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. *abba<sub>2</sub>-bu*  
 6. *al-la šu-LÁ.TE*

## 199

(CUNES 49-11-014). 64×48×21. About half the tablet.



- obv. (break)
- 1'. [ ... ]-ra<sup>ki</sup>
- 2'. [1] ᵀx-x<sup>1</sup>-ni ᵀdam-gàr<sup>1</sup>
- 3'. ᵀ1<sup>1</sup> i-[z]a-za
- 4'. a-šù<sup>ki</sup>-rì-um
- 5'. 1 ᵀsig<sup>1</sup>-dingir
- 6'. a-š[ù]<sup>ki</sup>-rì-um
- 7'. [1] da-ba-ᵀal<sup>1</sup>
- 8'. [x]-gal [x (x)]
- rev. 1. [1 in]im-kù [...]
2. [1] šu-m[a-ma]
3. [ag]a<sub>3</sub>-ús ᵀlugal<sup>1</sup>
4. šu<sup>+</sup>nigin<sub>2</sub> 9 abba<sub>2</sub>-abba<sub>2</sub>
5. di-ku<sub>5</sub>-in
6. ᵀutu-il-la-at
7. [x]-tì-ù
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. [.....]

## 200

(CUNES 48-06-109). 48×37×16. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 194.



- obv. 1. I *i-ti-t[i]*  
 2. I *ì-lí-a-lí*  
 3. 'I' 'ur'-ur  
 4. I a-lul simug  
 5. I *iš-ku-un*  
 6. dub-sar  
 7. [ab]ba<sub>2</sub>-*'ut'* [...]
- rev. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *da-da*  
 3. *a-na dingir-ba-ni*  
 4. I *ša-ki-tu-ib*  
 5. *bu-tu-ur*  
 6. *ik-bí-ù-ni*

(Five persons) are the witnesses that thus said Dada to Ilum-bani: 'Release Šakituib!'

## 201

(CUNES 49-08-080). 73×41×19.



obv. 1. kù-babbar II gín [...]  
 2. níg-s[a<sub>10</sub> ...]  
 3. šu NI [...]x<sup>1</sup>  
 4. lú-x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 5. lú-gi-na  
 6. 2 dumu ma-a<sup>21</sup>-du  
 7. ma-hi-ra kù-babbar  
 8. I ur-tur dub-sar  
 9. mu-gi-ib  
 10. I diri-um engar nin  
 11. I ur-ur sipa šu nin  
 12. I i-ti-x<sup>1</sup>

rev. 1. šeš a-bí-x<sup>1</sup>mu-da<sup>1</sup>  
 2. I šu-ar-ba-dingir  
 3. dumu sa<sub>10</sub>-mu-um  
 4. I ur-su engar  
 5. šu dingir-a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup>  
 6. I ma-šum simug  
 7. I ur-nim nagar  
 8. dumu sa-bar-mah nagar-gal  
 9. \_\_\_\_\_  
 10. abba<sub>2</sub>-bu  
 11. giš-gan x<sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-tu-[ku]  
 12. zag-u x<sup>1</sup>

## 202

(CUNES 49-08-083). 48×34×18.



- obv. 1. I [gín] kù-[x]  
 2. ur-é-mùš  
 3. ù dam-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>  
 4. im-hu-ra  
 5. I PÙ.ŠA-ìr-ra  
 6. šu è-dib-me-ir  
 7. I šeš-kal-la  
 8. <sup>r</sup>1<sup>1</sup> ur-[x]
- rev. 1. I é-z[i]  
 2. I PÙ.ŠA-lu-lu  
 3. ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. I du-du dumu bar-ra-an  
 5. I ma-šum simug  
 6. I su-ni-um  
 7. šu PÙ.ŠA-ìr-ra  
 8. I ku-ru-ub-ìr-ra  
 9. ir<sub>11</sub> <sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-ì-lí-su  
 10. abba<sub>2</sub>-bu-tum

## 203

(CUNES 49-09-065). 50×34×15, formal.



- obv. 1. 3 gín kù-babbar  
 2. 0.1 še  
 3. ur-<sup>d</sup>iškur  
 4. ù u-zé->MES<-um  
 5. im-hu-ra  
 6. I be-lí-du-gul-ti  
 7. I ì-lí-tab-ba  
 8. I lugal-KA dub-sar  
 9. [i]r<sub>11</sub> dingir-a-ga-de<sup>[ki]</sup>
- rev. 1. [I i]r<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni da[m-gàr]  
 2. ir<sub>11</sub> ur-túl-e garaš<sub>4</sub>  
 3. I ma-[š]um simug  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. abba<sub>2</sub>-bu  
 6. 0.3 še  
 7. ma-šum  
 8. šu ur-da  
 9. im-hur  
 10. I máš š[e]š-k[a]l-la ih-bu-ut

## 204

(CUNES 49-00-021 < 49-09-110). 38×23×18. Promising fragment from the lower left half of a one-column tablet.



- obv. (break)
- 1'. [šú]-ì-lí-s[u ...]
- 2'. 'x' si [...]
- 3'. 'ù' šu-'x' [...]
- 4'. im-[hu-ru/ra]
- 5'. 10 g[ín kù-babbar]
- 6'. níg-s[a<sub>10</sub> ...]
- 7'. šu 'x' [...]
- rev. (break)
- (break)
- 1'. I ur- [...]
- 2'. I a- [...]
- 3'. I lu[gal ...]
- 4'. [I] luga[l ...]
- 5'. [I] ur-zu [...]
- 6'. [I ú]r-ra-[ni ...]
- (break)



## 205

(CUNES 50-04-036). 51×37×16.



- obv.
1. 11 gín kù-babbar
  2. níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 áb-máḫ
  3. 2 gín kù-babbar
  4. níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 áb-1
  5. 1 áb-2
  6. maš 7.2 še gur-sag-gál
  7. é-maḫ ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal
  8. šu-ba-ti
  9. šu-i-lí-su i-lá
  10. 1 šeš-kal-la
  11. 1 é-zi
- rev.
1. 1 lugal-KA dub-sar
  2. ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup>
  3. 1 lugal-èš šu má-gur<sub>8</sub>
  4. 1 ur-mes sinmug šu nin
  5. \_\_\_\_\_
  6. 1 ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> sagi
  7. 1 lugal-dalla sipa anše
  8. šu-ut é-maḫ
  9. \_\_\_\_\_
  10. lú ki-inim-ma-me

## 206

(CUNES 49-09-019). 84×41×20. Blackish even after baking. The lower right corner of the obverse has been badly deformed by pressure in the ground.

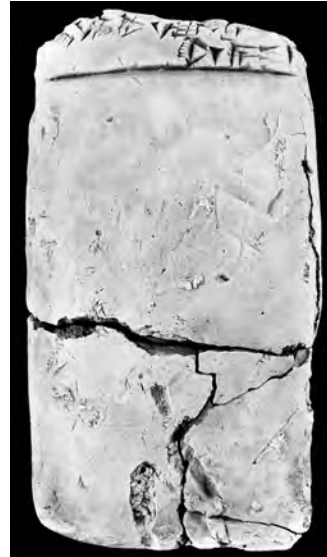


obv. 1. 1 *a-da-gal*  
 2. *dumu mi-ra-núm*  
 3. 1<sup>r</sup> *ur-zu*  
 4. *ir<sub>11</sub> kal-ì-le*  
 5. 1 *ì-lí-iš-da-gal*  
 6. *ir<sub>11</sub> tu-da-na-ab-šum*  
 7. 10 *gín kù-babbar-ta*  
 8. 1 *ì-lí-kal*  
 9. *ir<sub>11</sub> 1<sup>r</sup>-sa-ru-um dub-sar*  
 10. 1 [...] *zu [...]*  
 11. *dumu dam i-1<sup>r</sup>wi-um<sup>1</sup>*  
 12. 1/3.ša *kù-babbar-[ta]*  
 13. *nu-ka šúm<sup>sar</sup>*

rev. 1. *zi á 1<sup>r</sup>x lú/lugal é/sa<sup>1</sup>*  
 2. *sa su 1<sup>r</sup>x sag [...]*  
 3. *a-ti 7 nu-1<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>*  
 4. 1 *i-da-[x] 1<sup>r</sup>x [...]*  
 5. 1 *sá-lim-[...]*  
 6. 1 *šu-aš-dar nu-banda<sub>3</sub> 1<sup>r</sup>KA x<sup>1</sup>*  
 7. 1 *lugal-kaš<sub>4</sub>-e sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>*  
 8. 1 *ki-gub-ba-ni*  
 9. 2 ša a at ba áš la ma i  
 10. 1 *ì-la-la dumu ur-ba*  
 11. 1 *du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni dub-sar*  
 12. *dumu dingir-gú*  
 13. 1 *dingir-KA-me-ir*  
 14. 1<sup>r</sup>2<sup>1</sup> *ir<sub>11</sub> dingir-a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 15. \_\_\_\_\_  
 16. *šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 8 abba<sub>2</sub>*

## 207

(CUNES 49-09-029). 72×39×17.



- obv. 1. 6 gín kù-babbar  
 2. *a-na* sa<sub>10</sub> ama-ga-zi  
 3. a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga ì-lá  
 4. ama-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga dam-gàr  
 5. I ur-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá dam-gàr  
 6. I lugal-iti-da  
 7. má-lah<sub>4</sub>  
 8. I *da-da* nar  
 9. I silim-mu  
 10. I mi-*lu-sa*  
 11. I me-PA-TUM  
 12. I šum-šum  
 13. \_\_\_\_\_  
 14. šu+[nigin<sub>2</sub>] 7 abba<sub>2</sub>-bu-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>
- rev. 1. <sup>r</sup>kù-babbar-bi<sup>1</sup> ù kiš-ša-at

Obv. 11: It is tempting to emend TUM to GAN, reading me-ság.

Rev. 1: On *kiššatum*, “(Ent)schädigung,” “(deliktisch begründeter) Schuldklaven-Stand,” see Wilcke 1991 and 2007, 59 fns. 180 and 181 and p. 109 f, fn. 344.

## 208

(CUNES 52-20-067). 51×50×19. Broken edge slightly trimmed, original length of tablet impossible to determine.



- obv. 1. [x] gín [kù-babbar]  
 2. a-na 'sa<sub>10</sub>' é-KIŠ  
 3. ù egir-su  
 4. kal-ì-le [...]  
 5. lugal-KA d[ub-sar ...]  
 6. ugula iš-má-dingir [...]  
 7. I lugal-á-[na<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 8. dub-[sar]  
 9. ugula mu-'da- x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 (rest is lost)
- rev. (break)
- 1'. I ku-ra-tum nu-'kiri<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 2'. dumu ì-lí-bí  
 3'. I ur-tur-tur  
 4'. ir<sub>11</sub> gal-zu-ki-'é<sup>2</sup>  
 5'. I UD-iš  
 6'. ir<sub>11</sub> be-lí-a-ma-ar
- 
- 7'. [š<sub>u</sub>+nigin<sub>2</sub> x]+2 abba<sub>2</sub>

## 209

(BI 187). 56×44×18. Previously published as *TCVP* I-59.



- obv. 1. 13 gín 1 ma-na-tur kù-babbar  
 2. a-na sa<sub>10</sub> 2 eme<sub>3</sub>-libir  
 3. i-bí-bí ì-lá  
 4. ur-<sup>d</sup>eš-ḫa-ra
- rev. 1. ù a-tir  
 2. im-ḫu-ra  
 3. 1 da-ti  
 4. šu tu-da-na-ab-šum  
 5. 1 dingir-a-zu  
 6. šu šabra-é
- edge 1. abb[a<sub>2</sub>]-abba<sub>2</sub>

## 210

(BI-II 10). 24×22×10. Rev. blank. Previously published as *TCVP* I-53.



- obv. 1. 0.0.1 i-da-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x]  
 2. a-na <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>-ik-tim

## 211

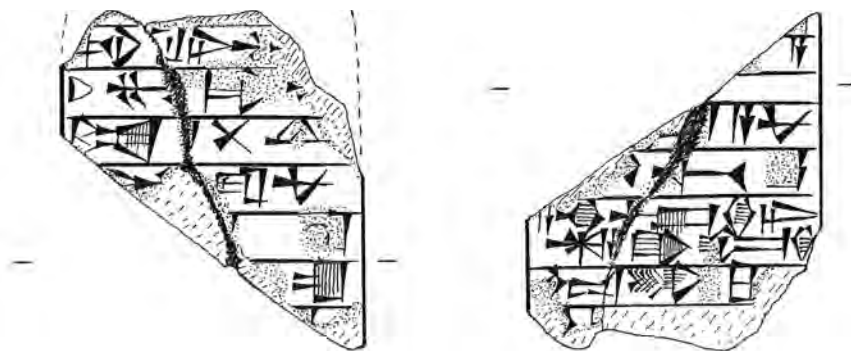
(MS 4227b). 14×20×6. Flake from near the right edge of a one-column tablet.



- (break)  
 1'. [... túg]-níg-lám  
 2'. [... tú]g-bar-dul<sub>5</sub>  
 (break)

## 212

(MS 4267b). 45×40×17. Unbaked, dark blackish brown. The middle of the original tablet has been indicated in the copy in the Hittite manner.

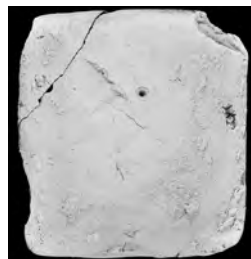


- obv. 1. [I ...]  
 2. ensi<sub>2</sub> gu-t[i-im]  
 3. I mu-ga-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>  
 4. dumu-su <sup>r</sup>x<sup>21</sup> pa<sub>4</sub>-šěš  
 5. [I] gu-ra-nu  
 6. [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 7. [...] -um  
 (four to five lines lost)

- rev. (four to five lines lost)  
 1'. [...] a  
 2'. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3'. [ra-b]í-a-nu  
 4'. [g]u-tí-e  
 5'. a-na maš-gán<sup>ki</sup>-ni-dingir-a-ga-de<sup>ki</sup>  
 6'. è-li-ku-[ma / nim]  
 7'. <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 (break; perhaps nothing lost)

## 213

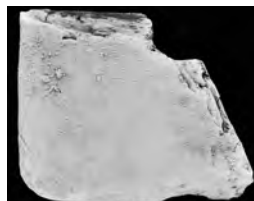
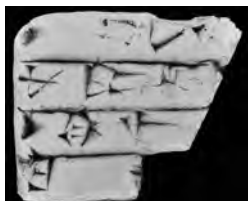
(CUNES 49-09-094). 33×31×13.



- obv. 1. *o.o.4* še *a-na* maš kù  
 2. *o.o.1* me-me  
 3. *o.o.1* <sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ba-ru-um  
 4. ugula-bi  
 5. <sup>r</sup>o.o.2<sup>1</sup> nin-na-ni  
 6. [x] ku-ru-ba

## 214

(CUNES 49-00-013 < 49-11-014). 27×34×18. Fr. from upper left corner of obverse, right-hand broken surfaces trimmed. Reverse blank.



- obv. 1. I li-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[...]  
 2. nu-banda<sub>3</sub> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 3. I *sá-lim*-[...]  
 4. ku-[...]  
 (break)

**2I5**

(CUNES 49-00-014 < 49-11-014). 20×21×15. Fr. from lower left corner of obverse, edges somewhat trimmed.



obv. (break)  
 1'. *um-ma*-[...]  
 2'. *im*-[...]  
 3'. I *ur*-[...]  
 rev. 1. I [...]  
 2. *šu u*-[...]  
 3. I *be*-[...]  
 (break)

**2I6**

(CUNES 49-00-020 < 49-09-014). Small fragment from top edge.

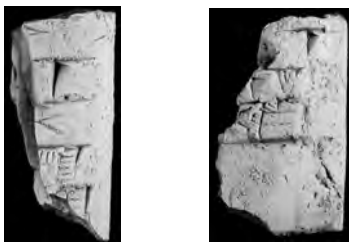


rev. 1. o.o.i ma 'x' [...]  
 (break)



**217**

(CUNES 49-00-022 < 49-09-110). 31×15×17. Promising fragment from the left edge.



obv. (break)  
 1'. [... n]i<sup>2</sup>  
 2'. [...] ṛx<sup>1</sup>  
 3'. [...-din]gir  
 4'. [...] la  
 5'. [... l]a  
 (break)

rev. (break)  
 1'. [...] su  
 2'. [...] ga  
 3'. [...] -bum

---

(break)

## II. *The Non-Šuilisu Texts*

The 36 texts contained in this chapter (**218–253**) do not form a coherent group. They may be the scattered remains of archives similar to the Šuilisu tablets or they may be tablets from city archives that for one reason or another were written in Akkadian. They have only three features in common:

1. they are written in Akkadian
2. they are Sargonic in date
3. they are a part of the recent inundation of “illicit” tablets that have flooded the market since the first Gulf War.

### *Date and origin of the tablets*

Two tablets, **224** and **234**, appear to be older than Classical Sargonic.

Six tablets appear to be Late Sargonic, i.e., post-Sharkalisharri (**232, 235, 238, 239, 247, 252** (**247** is even dated to “the year when SUDUR.ÛL took kingship”). It is impossible to prove that all these came from one site. Noteworthy are the occurrences of strange month names in **235, 238,** and **252**. Also, strange personal names (Gutian?) appear in **238** and **239**.

The rest are Classical Sargonic. Six of them, **229, 241–243, 248,** and **253,** may well have belonged with the Šuilisu tablets; but the prosopographical links are too weak to warrant inclusion there. Texts **227, 231, 237,** and **246** may have come from somewhere within the city-state of Adab (**246** is dated according to the Adab calendar). The school texts, **218–222,** may, of course, have been written anywhere.

218

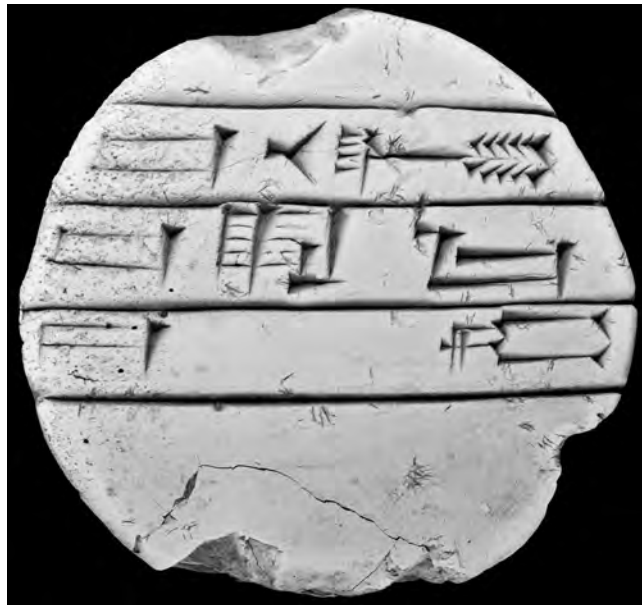
(CUNES 47-11-006). 80×80×26. Neatly bun-shaped, reverse blank.



- obv. 1. *i-sar-ba-dan*  
2. *i-sar-kur-ba-šum*

**219**

(CUNES 47-11-007). 80×83×27. Neatly bun-shaped, reverse blank.



- obv. 1. <sup>gi</sup>bad gi<sub>4</sub>  
 2. GIŠ ŠID MA  
 3. <sup>gi</sup>naga<sub>4</sub>

“Leg or foot of a piece of furniture / ..... / mortar”

Line 2: Cf. **195** obv. 9.

**220**

(CUNES 47-11-008). 74×78×26. Neatly bun-shaped, reverse blank.



obv. 1. *si-da-zi*  
2. *wa-at-ru-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>*

**221**

(CUNES 47-11-010). 55×57×21. Reverse blank.



obv. 1. *an-né-zu*  
2. *dingir-ba-lik*

## 222

(CUNES 48-10-031). 63×69×17. Evidently fired in antiquity. School tablet or administrative record?



- |      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| obv. | 1. | <i>aš-dar-um-mi</i>                    |
|      | 2. | <sup>d</sup> nin-tu-ama-mu             |
|      | 3. | ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-du-da             |
|      | 4. | ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-utul <sub>2</sub> |
|      | 5. | dumu ama-ni-ì-D[U]                     |
|      | 6. | _____                                  |
|      | 7. | [x] 'x' [x]                            |
| rev. |    | (destroyed)                            |

## 223

(CUNES 53-01-105). 43×33×14.



- obv. 1. I (bùr) I (eše<sub>3</sub>) aša<sub>5</sub>  
 2. i-[x-x]  
 3. I (eše<sub>3</sub>) I [...] 'x'  
 4. 2 (eše<sub>3</sub>) [x]-'x'-LUM  
 5. 2 (eše<sub>3</sub>) [šu-i]-lí-su 'x'  
 6. I (eše<sub>3</sub>) ma-šum ×  
 7. I (eše<sub>3</sub>) ur-sa<sub>6</sub> ×
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. I (eše<sub>3</sub>) <sup>d.aš</sup>[aš<sub>7</sub>]-gi<sub>4</sub>-bàd  
 3. I (eše<sub>3</sub>) en-né-né  
 4. I (eše<sub>3</sub>) dingir-ra-bí dub-sar

224

(CUNES 50-01-007). Old-fashioned script.

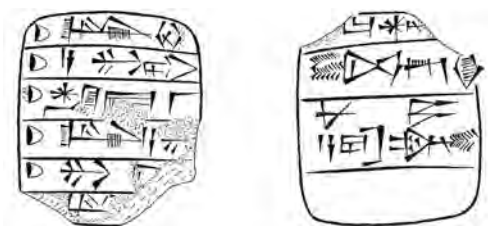


- obv. (break)  
 1'. [d]a-da  
 2'. ka-ka  
 3'. a-da-gal  
 4'. KA-mu  
 5'. zé-na  
 6'. a-bí-du<sub>10</sub>  
 7'. \_\_\_\_\_
- rev. 1. la-la  
 2. diri-um  
 3. dingir-su-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-bí  
 4. <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-sar-um  
 (rest is lost)



## 225

(AW 07-1). 30×26×12. Private collection of Aage Westenholz, purchased 2007 on e-Bay.



- |      |    |                                  |
|------|----|----------------------------------|
| obv. | 1. | I lugal-ša                       |
|      | 2. | I a-mu-geštin                    |
|      | 3. | I <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá         |
|      | 4. | I lugal-a-mu                     |
|      | 5. | I mu-ni                          |
|      | 6. | [1] lugal-[x]                    |
| rev. | 1. | [1] ur- <sup>d</sup> in[anna]    |
|      | 2. | in adab <sup>ki</sup>            |
|      | 3. | nu-banda <sub>3</sub> a-ra-am-gi |

## 226

(MS 1952/8). 54×51×16. About half of the tablet, baked in antiquity, outside yellow, inside orange

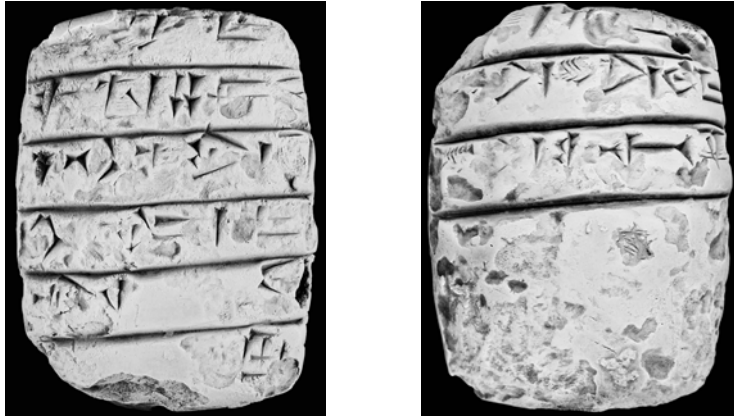


- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>obv. i</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. [x gi dagal]</li> <li>2. [x kùš su]kud</li> <li>3. [a-na x gi]</li> <li>4. [...] 'x'-ba-ni</li> <li>5. [x] gi dagal</li> <li>6. [x] kùš sukud</li> <li>7. a-na 10 gi</li> <li>8. 1 gi dagal</li> <li>9. 5 kùš sukud KUR</li> <li>10. a-na 14 gi é-a</li> <li>11. 1 gi [dagal]</li> </ol> <p>(ca. 10 lines lost)</p> <p>ii</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. [x gi dagal]</li> <li>2. [x kùš sukud]</li> <li>3. a-na 14 gi</li> <li>4. (erased)</li> <li>5. sipa-ni-se<sub>11</sub></li> <li>6. 5 gi dagal</li> <li>7. 10 kùš sukud</li> <li>8. a-na 8 'gi'</li> <li>9. 3 [gi dagal]</li> </ol> <p>(break)</p> | <p>rev. iii</p> <p>(break)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1'. 'a-na' [...]</li> <li>2'. 1 gi [dagal]</li> <li>3'. 4 kùš sukud-ḫi-a KUR</li> <li>4'. a-na 3 éš-gíd 8 gi</li> <li>5'. 5 gi dagal</li> <li>6'. 6 kùš sukud</li> <li>7'. a-na 10 gi</li> <li>8'. 1 gi [dagal]</li> <li>9'. 4 kùš sukud [...]</li> </ol> <p>iv</p> <p>(break)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1'. 4 [...]</li> <li>2'. a-na 2 é[š-gíd]</li> <li>3'. giš-kin-ti</li> <li>4'. 5 gi dagal</li> <li>5'. [x]+1 kùš sukud</li> <li>6'. [a-n]a 8 gi</li> <li>7'. [sa-a]t-be-dingir</li> <li>8'. [...] šu-bad 'x' [...] 'x' im</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

iv 8: Written when the tablet had almost dried.

## 227

(CUNES 47-11-018). 52×38×21. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 197; phot. *ibid.* pl. I.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *wa-dar-za-at*  
 3. *a-na ensi<sub>2</sub>*  
 4. *ki-bi-ma*  
 5. *ir<sub>11</sub>-zu*  
 6. *[x] udu*
- rev. 1. *[i]š-ri-ik*  
 2. *li-li-kam-ma*  
 3. *li-wa-ti-iš*

Thus Watar-za-at: Tell the *ensi*: A slave of his has stolen [x] sheep. He should come here and identify him.

Line 2: We cannot parse *za-at*. Some form of *wašúm*?

## 228

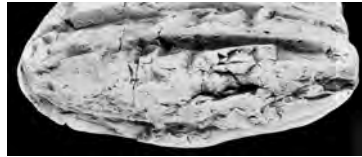
(MS 5005). 43×38×15. Unbaked, grayish brown, rectangular.



- obv. 1. *en-ma*  
 2. *[be]-lí-sa-tu*  
 3. *a-na šu-<sup>d</sup>da-<sup>r</sup>gan<sup>1</sup>*  
 4. I dabin gur *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*
- rev. 1. *[a]-na šu-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[x]*  
 2. *li-ti-in*

## 229

(CUNES 49-13-129). 41×41×20. Broken surface trimmed. Surface of obv. badly degraded.



- obv. 1. [en-ma]  
 2. [gal]-zu azl[ag<sub>3</sub>]  
 3. a-na ì-lí-'en'-nu  
 4. ki-bí-ma  
 5. 2+[x ...] 'ab' ì-nun  
 6. [x]+2 'túg'-íb×<sub>4</sub> [...] (erasure)
- rev. 1. [a-na] 'lú'-kin-gi<sub>4</sub>-a  
 2. li-ti-in  
 3. ma-núm ki mar-ì  
 (break, perhaps nothing missing)

Thus Galzu, the fuller: Tell Ili-massarti: He should give (some ghee and some garment) to the messenger (with this letter). Who is like my son?

## 230

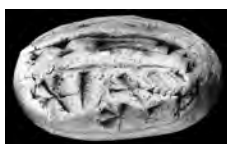
(CUNES 52-20-041). 44×39×15.



- obv. 1. 180+<sup>r</sup>30+<sup>r</sup>4<sup>r</sup> sa numun dug lu  
 2. 90 lá 3 sa dug lu  
 3. in 1  
 4. 180+<sup>r</sup>4+[3] sa dug lu  
 5. in 2
- rev. 1. [šú<sup>r</sup>] 1 <sup>r</sup>iti<sup>r</sup>?  
 2. 130 sa <sup>r</sup>dug<sup>r</sup> [lu]  
 3. in [1]  
 4. 60 sa [(x)]  
 5. in 2

## 231

(CUNES 48-06-135). 30×25×15. Adab format, worn.



- obv. 1. 4 <sup>r</sup>gurdub<sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>r</sup> [x]  
 2. ì-lí-iš-da-gal  
 3. im-hur  
 4. è-a
- rev. 1. <sup>d</sup>aš-gi-an-dùl

Rev. 1: Note the purely phonetic spelling of Ašgi's name, cf. aš-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> **247** obv. 7. For some Ur III phonetic spellings, see Steinkeller 2001, 72 fn. 221.

## 232

(CUNES 48-04-078). 49×38×18. Reverse destroyed, edge trimmed. Previously published as CUSAS 13, 210.



- obv. 1. [10]+<sup>r</sup>14<sup>r</sup> siki [ma-na]  
 2. šu 3 mu siki <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>  
 3. ú-da-da  
 4. tab-si-ga <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [x]  
 5. mašk[im]  
 6. 1 <sup>r</sup>ùz<sup>r</sup>  
 7. maš-ni-[x]  
 8. 1 siki ùz m[a-na]  
 (break)
- rev. (destroyed)

## 233

(CUNES 49-09-072). 41×37×15.



- obv. 1. I éš-gíd addir(A.PA.BI.GIŠ) lugal-iti-da  
 2. I íb-lá 2-tab  
 3. *u-bar-um*  
 4. I íb-lá 2-tab  
 5. I éš ù-ni-in
- rev. 1. en-mí-ús-sá-zi

## 234

(CUNES 49-05-070). 33×27×15. Old-fashioned script.



- obv. 1. [x]+60 éš-bara<sub>2</sub>  
 2. ur-li  
 3. *šu la-ba-ak-tim*  
 4. 32 iš-me-dingir 'x'
- rev. 1. *im-hur-ra*  
 2. 'x x at'  
 3. 'du-du'



## 235

(BI 189). 34×31×15. Previously published as *TCVP* I-60.

- obv. 1. 'n' udu 1 u<sub>8</sub>  
 2. sar-ru-ì-lí  
 3. šu-sukkal-le  
 4. è-a
- rev. 1. ki-zu-tim  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. iti éš-sa-gilim-tu<sub>17</sub>-'x'

## 236

(BI 201). 37×33×14. Previously published as *TCVP* I-61.

- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| obv. | 1. 2 ½ gín kù-babbar<br>2. 2 ½ gín dib za:gìn<br>3. 1 túg-bar-dul <sub>5</sub> 10-tim<br>4. a-na ku-ub-ri<br>5. ½ gín kù-babbar<br>6. [1] kišib za:gìn<br>(break) | rev. | (break)<br>1'. [...] ni<br>2'. [...] ni<br>3'. 1 gis <sup>š</sup> kiš <sup>š</sup> -tab-um<br>4'. níg-ba a-na ku-ub-ri<br>5'. dam-ti-su |
|------|---|------|---|

## 237

(MS 2191/22). 53×43×18. Unbaked, light brown, edge ground off, one-third lost.



- obv. 1. 282+[x] še g[ur] a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. nita-zi  
 3. 180 lú-bàn-da  
 4. in ka-i<sub>7</sub>-ensi<sub>2</sub>  
 5. 475 ur-ki  
 6. in kal-du<sup>ki</sup>  
 7. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> [x]+10 lá 2 [...]  
 (break)
- rev. (break)
- 1'. —  
 2'. še giš-ra-a  
 3'. ur-á  
 4'. adab<sup>ki</sup>

## 238

(CUNES 48-12-078). 40×36×15.



- obv. 1. 2 'kaš-sur<sup>1</sup>-ra  
 2. [a-na] 'x<sup>1</sup>-da-an-ba-ri  
 3. 'z<sup>2</sup> [a<sup>2</sup>]-na a-a-ru-uk  
 4. 5 a-na wa-sa-an-tab
- rev. 1. šab[ra]-é  
 2. ù i[m<sub>6</sub>-da]-lik  
 3. [x] 'x<sup>1</sup> kaš  
 4. 'x<sup>1</sup>-DU [...]  
 5. 'x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 6. iti 'é<sup>1</sup> [x k]in éš-sa-gilim šid

## 239

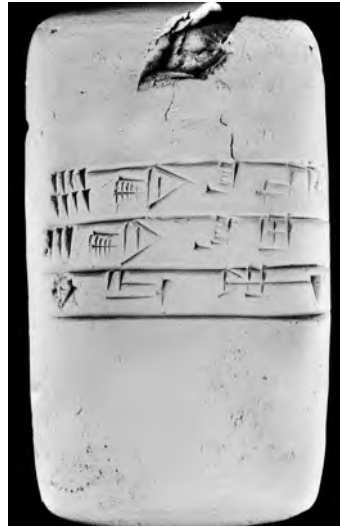
(CUNES 49-02-146). 43×37×14.



- obv. 1. 6 dida  
 2. 2 kaš-sur  
 3. a-na ti-a<sup>1</sup>-[x<sup>1</sup>  
 4. šabra-é  
 5. 2 a-na ar-ga-an-id-gan
- rev. 1. ur-ur  
 2. dub-sar  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 10 [k]aš  
 5. šu ba-[ti]  
 6. [è<sup>1</sup>-[a ...] [x<sup>1</sup>

## 240

(CUNES 49-08-087). 69×40×21.



- obv. 1. 1 pisan-ninda 2 kaš  
 2. gal-zu azlag<sub>5</sub>  
 3. 1 pisan-ninda 2 kaš  
 4. 1 šáh a-bal-a  
 5. 10 kaš a-na kaskal  
 6. lugal-kas<sub>4</sub>-e  
 7. a-na i-lí-za  
 8. 2 kaš-sur šu-i-lí-su  
 9. 1 šáh 2 kaš na-ni  
 10. šu é-da-mu  
 11. 1<sup>1</sup> šáh šu šu-ma-ma  
 12. [a-n]a dumu ensi<sub>2</sub> a-ti-in  
 13. 10 kaš ú-da-ad mu-DU
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. 8 kaš šu uru<sup>ki</sup>  
 3. 3 kaš šu LU  
 4. ki ur-dam

## 24I

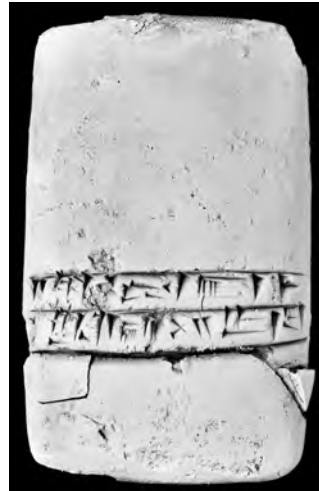
(CUNES 49-08-100). 58×39×19.



- obv.
1. 1 šáh a-ba[l-a]
  2. 2 kaš sig<sub>5</sub> 2 kaš-<sup>r</sup>sur<sup>1</sup>
  3. 4 dida(KAŠ.Ú) 0.0.2 zú-l[um]
  4. a-na ì-lí-za
  5. 2 šáh NE 0.0.1 zú-lum
  6. 27 kaš-sur 4 dida(KAŠ.Ú)
  7. bu-gan ì-kú
  8. 1 uzu šáh-niga
  9. 2 kaš-sur 2 dida(KAŠ.Ú)
  10. [...] -am
  11. [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-bal
- rev.
1. -----
  2. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 3 šáh [...]
  3. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 1 uzu [šáh-niga]
  4. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 14 [...]
  5. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 31 kaš-[sur]
  6. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 0.0.3 zú-lum
  7. -----
  8. è-a šu 1 u<sub>4</sub>
  9. 1 u<sub>8</sub> 1 <sup>r</sup>si<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> mu-DU

## 242

(CUNES 49-09-035). 64×39×19.



- obv. 1. o.1 [...] in giš-kiri<sub>6</sub>  
 2. [...] 'x x' [...]  
 3. [...]  
 4. na-bí-[u]m  
 5. 10 kaš šu é šu-ì-'lí-su'  
 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 7. a-na ì-lí-za  
 8. i-ti-ti u-bìl
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. 2 u<sub>8</sub> è é-gal  
 3. '1' u<sub>8</sub> šu 1 kaš × 2 ur-zu

## 243

(CUNES 48-06-145). 33×29×15.



- obv. 1. I udu-niga  
 2. I udu *sar-ru-ì-<sup>r</sup>l<sup>r</sup>*  
 3. I sila<sub>4</sub>  
 4. I <sup>r</sup>udu *a<sup>1</sup>-na si-tu-ul-ni-si<sub>4</sub>*
- rev. 1. I udu PÙ.ŠA-é-a  
 2. I udu *šu-ì-lí-su*  
 3. *šu-ut dingir-al-su*  
 4. *a-hu-du<sub>10</sub> šu-du<sub>8</sub>*

## 244

(CUNES 48-12-060). 27×39×17. Much less than half the tablet.



- obv. (break)  
 1. [*šu*] 1 mu  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. *šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 9I ùz*  
 4. *an-na mu-DU*  
 5. 8I <sup>r</sup>maš<sup>r</sup>-gal [...] šà-du<sub>10</sub>
- rev. 1. *na-ba-lul*  
 2. *mu-DU*  
 3. *in 1 mu*  
 4. *in [x x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>ki</sup>*  
 5. <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [...] a  
 (break)



## 245

(CUNES 52-20-040). 44×38×18.



- obv. 1. 2 máš  
 2. 25 ùz  
 3. 5 <sup>munus</sup>áš-gàr  
 4. siki-ùz-bi 10 lá 1 ma-na  
 5. ur-ur mu-DU
- rev. 1. gal-zu azlag<sub>5</sub>  
 2. *ib-rí*  
 3. *in kir-bí-su*  
 4. 2 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>.ša ma-na  
 5. *a-na* hùl-la anše

Rev. 5: On reins for donkeys made of goat hair, see Steinkeller 2002, 365 + fn. 20.

## 246

(BI 184). 34×30×13. Photographs taken before cleaning. Previously published as *TCABI* 229.



- obv. 1. I máš  
 2. *a-na* TE.LI.NI giš-kiri<sub>6</sub>-šim-PI.PI  
 3. I udu<sup>d.aš</sup> aš<sub>7</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 4. in 7 u<sub>4</sub>  
 5. I sila<sub>4</sub>
- rev. 1. *a-na* nin-PÉŠ<sup>gi4</sup>-li  
 2. è-a  
 3. *ki-zu-tim*  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_  
 5. iti šu-gar < > u<sub>4</sub>

## 247

(BI 175). 65×48×18. Previously published as *TCABI* 235.

obv. 1. 10 lá  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-na siki 2  
 2. i-ti-ti  
 3. 5 na-bí-um  $\frac{1}{2}$   
 4. 20 lá 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  dingir-ra-bí 1  $\frac{2}{3}$   
 5. 4 a-ḫa-[...]-su  $\frac{1}{2}$   
 6. 7 sig<sub>5</sub>-dingir  $\frac{2}{3}$   
 7. 11 aš-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> 1  $\frac{2}{3}$   
 8. 13  $\frac{2}{3}$  ra-bí-dingir 1  $\frac{2}{3}$   
 9. 3 diri PÙ.ŠA-ḫal  
 10. 6 i-mi-dingir  $\frac{1}{2}$   
 11. 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  diri-um tur 1  $\frac{2}{3}$   
 12. 5  $\frac{1}{3}$  ì-la-nu-<sup>r</sup>id x<sup>1</sup>

rev. 1. 8 ur-[...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$   
 2. 8 [...]  
 3. 10 lá [x ...]  
 4. 4 [...]  
 5.  $\frac{1}{3}$  [...]  
 6. 4 sila<sub>3</sub> ì [...]  
 7. ì-lí-[x-g]al<sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 8. šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 2 gú 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  ma-[na siki]  
 9. lá-ì sipa dingir-maḫ  
 10. é-gal-šè mu-DU  
 11. ì-lí-bí za-bi-it  
 12. in 1 mu šu-DUR.ÙL  
 edge 1. sar-ru<sub>11</sub>-dam i-ḫu-zu

## 248

(CUNES 48-06-149). 38×31×14.



- obv. 1. 4 dabin gur-sag-maḥ  
 2. 3.2 [níg]-àr-ra gur-sag-maḥ  
 3. šu nin-an-zu  
 4. [dingir]-'kal'-ga  
 rev. 1. *im-hur*

## 249

(CUNES 49-13-109). 33×32×13.



- obv. 1. 1 šen urudu gal  
 2. 1 uri uru[du]  
 3. 1 šu-šu urudu  
 4. 3 ḥa-zi-núm urudu  
 5. *iš-dè*  
 6. *ti-'NI'-[x]*  
 rev. 1. *i-ba-šè*  
 2. 1 kuš du<sub>11</sub>-ga nu-díb  
 3. *iš-dè*  
 4. za-sa<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub>  
 5. *i-ba-šè*

Rev. 2: “ordered but not yet transferred,” taking díb as *šūtuqum*.

## 250

(CUNES 49-12-005).



- obv.i 1. I gu<sub>4</sub> *i-da*-[x]  
 2. I g[u<sub>4</sub> ...]  
 3. I g[u<sub>4</sub> ...]  
 4. I g[u<sub>4</sub> ...]  
 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. I [...]  
 7. I 'a' [...]  
 8. I 'x' [...]  
 9. I 'x' [...]  
 10. 'x' [...]  
 11. I 'é'-[...]  
 12. geme<sub>2</sub>-k[ín-na-bi]  
 13. *a-bu-da-ga*[l]
- ii 1. á-KU-bi  
 2. [...]  
 3. [...]-im  
 4. [...] 'x'-*lum*  
 5. [...]  
 6. [...]  
 7. [...]  
 8. [...]  
 9. [... N]E  
 10. [...]-ga  
 11. [...]-me  
 12. [x]-*ha-tum*  
 13. geme<sub>2</sub>-kín-na-bi

- rev.iii 1. amar-èš  
 2. á-KU-bi  
 3. I gu<sub>4</sub> *lú-igi*  
 4. I gu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-kal  
 5. I gu<sub>4</sub> *i-sar-um*  
 6. I gu<sub>4</sub> *šu*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. I gu<sub>4</sub> a[*pin*]  
 9. I *da-d*[a]  
 10. I *a-hu-su*<sub>4</sub>-*nu*  
 11. [I] 'l'-s[*ar*]-*um*  
 12. [I *me*]-*me*  
 13. [I] *za-al-la*  
 14. geme<sub>2</sub>-kín-na-bi
- iv 1. *da-da*  
 2. á-KU-bi  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. *šu*+nigin<sub>2</sub> 3 gu<sub>4</sub>-*apin*  
 5. *šu*+nigin<sub>2</sub> 10 lá I *guruš*  
 6. *šu*+nigin<sub>2</sub> 3 geme<sub>2</sub>-kín-na  
 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 8. *ugula ur*-<sup>d</sup>en-ki

## 251

(CUNES 50-10-010).



- obv. 1. 15I še gur *a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2. še adab<sup>ki</sup>  
 3. a-bí-ak<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. *im-hur*
- rev. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. PÙ.ŠA-*su-ni*  
 3. dingir-*nu-id*

## 252

(CUNES 47-11-041). 30×28×12.



- obv. 1. 3 [...]  
 2. é AN [...]  
 3. *i-su-<sup>r</sup>dingir<sup>r</sup>*  
 4. *za-bi-it*  
 5. mu-DU
- rev. 1. *šu 1 u<sub>4</sub>*  
 2. *šu+nigin<sub>2</sub> 14 u<sub>4</sub>*  
 3. *iti éš-sa-gilim-t[u<sub>17</sub>]*

## 253

(CUNES 48-04-077). 41×38×15.



- obv. 1. *ì-tum*  
 2. [...]  
 3. [... d]a<sup>2</sup>  
 4. [... g]a<sup>2</sup>  
 rev. 1. [a]-na ù-ù tìbira  
 2. na-da-ni-iš<sup>3</sup>  
 3. hu-zu-zi-iš<sup>3</sup>

obv. 1: We take *ì-tum* as *ittum* “sign,” here in the sense “reminder.”

rev. 1: *ù-ù tìbira* occurs nowhere else. For this reason, we have excluded this text from the Šuilisu tablets





# Index

Broken entries are usually omitted.

A raised <sup>e</sup> after a text reference marks it as an exercise text.

## DIVINE NAMES

<sup>d</sup> ad-mu	PN <i>šu-dad-mu</i>	<sup>d</sup> EN.ZU	PN <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU-kal, <i>ku-ru-ub-</i> <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU, <i>šu-d</i> EN.ZU
aš-dar	PN <i>a-mur-aš-dar</i> , <i>aš-dar-a-</i> <i>ba</i> , <i>aš-dar-a-ra-at</i> , <i>aš-dar-il-la-</i> <i>at-zu</i> , <i>aš-dar-tu-rí</i> , <i>aš-dar-um-</i> <i>mi</i> , <i>i-ti-aš-dar</i> , PÙ.ŠA- <i>aš-dar</i> , <i>šu-aš-dar</i> , <i>tu-li-id-aš-dar</i>	<sup>d</sup> eš-ḫa-ra	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> eš-ḫa-ra
<sup>d.aš</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	<b>169</b> obv. 4; <b>246</b> obv. 3; PN <sup>d.aš</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -á-na, <sup>d</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi-an-dùl, <sup>d</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> , <sup>d.aš</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -bàd, lú- <sup>d.aš</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> , ur- <sup>d.aš</sup> as <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	<sup>d</sup> gibil <sub>6</sub>	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> gibil <sub>6</sub>
<sup>d</sup> da-gan	PN <sup>d</sup> da-gan-[x]-da-li-[x], <i>i-</i> <i>ti-d</i> da-gan, <i>šu-d</i> da-gan	( <sup>d</sup> )giš-eren <sub>2</sub>	PN <sup>d</sup> giš-eren <sub>2</sub> -kal, PÙ.ŠA- ( <sup>d</sup> )giš-eren <sub>2</sub>
dingir-a-ba <sub>4</sub>	<b>139</b> rev. 6	<sup>d</sup> ḫa-rí-im, see dingir-ḫa-rí-im	
dingir-a-ga-dē <sup>ki</sup>	<b>148</b> obv. 25; Prf. ir <sub>11</sub> dingir- <i>a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup></i> ; GN maš-gán <sup>ki</sup> - <i>dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup></i>	<sup>d</sup> igi-ama-šè	PN ur-igi-ma-šè
dingir-ḫa-rí-im	PN <i>ib-ni-dingir-ḫa-rí-im</i>	<sup>d</sup> IM ( <i>hadad</i> )	PN <i>i-ti-dIM</i>
dingir-ma-lik	PN <i>dingir-ma-lik-sipa</i> , PÙ.ŠA- <i>dingir-ma-lik</i>	<sup>d</sup> inanna	<b>65</b> obv. 6; <b>159</b> obv. 12; PN lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna, ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna
dingir-maḫ	<b>247</b> rev. 9	( <sup>d</sup> )ir-ra	PN <i>ir-ra-ra</i> , <i>ir-ra-ur-sag</i> , <i>iš-</i> <i>dub-d</i> ir-ra, <i>ku-ru-ub-ir-ra</i> , PÙ.ŠA-( <sup>d</sup> )ir-ra
é-a	PN <i>é-a-ba-lik</i> , <i>é-a-ba-ni</i> , <i>é-a-</i> <i>ra-bí</i>	<sup>d</sup> iškur	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> iškur
<sup>d</sup> en-ki	PN <sup>d</sup> en-ki-ka, ur- <sup>d</sup> en-ki	<sup>d</sup> ištaran	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> ištaran
<sup>d</sup> en-líl	<b>194</b> obv. 19; PN á- <sup>d</sup> en-líl, <sup>d</sup> en-líl-an-zu, <sup>d</sup> en-líl-da, <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá, <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le, <sup>d</sup> en-líl- le-in-zu, <sup>d</sup> en-líl-sipa, lú- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá, PÙ.ŠA- <sup>d</sup> en-líl, <i>šu-</i> <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá, ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-(lá); FN agar <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> en-líl	<sup>d</sup> KIŠ-la	PN <sup>d</sup> KIŠ-la-zi
<sup>d</sup> en-nu-gi <sub>4</sub>	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> en-nu-gi <sub>4</sub>	<sup>d</sup> ma-lik, see dingir-ma-lik	
		<i>ma-ma</i>	PN PÙ.ŠA- <i>ma-ma</i> , <i>šu-ma-</i> <i>ma</i> , ur-ma-ma
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		<sup>d</sup> na-ra-am- <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU	PN <sup>d</sup> na-ra-am- <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU-ì-lí
		<sup>d</sup> nanna	PN <sup>d</sup> nanna-bàd, lú- <sup>d</sup> nanna, ur- <sup>d</sup> nanna
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<sup>d</sup> nin-mug	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-mug	<sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub>	PN me- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub> , ur- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub>
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<sup>d</sup> nin-sar	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-sar	<sup>d.šè</sup> ser <sub>7</sub> -da	PN ur- <sup>d.šè</sup> ser <sub>7</sub> -da
<sup>d</sup> nin-tu	PN <sup>d</sup> nin-tu-ama-mu	<sup>d</sup> utu	PN a-ba- <sup>d</sup> utu-gim, lú- <sup>d</sup> utu, sá-lim- <sup>d</sup> utu, ur- <sup>d</sup> utu, <sup>d</sup> utu-a, <sup>d</sup> utu-ba-ta-è, <sup>d</sup> utu-igi-du, <sup>d</sup> utu-il-la-at, <sup>d</sup> utu-sipa
<sup>d</sup> nin-utul <sub>2</sub>	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-utul <sub>2</sub>		
<sup>d</sup> nisaba	PN me- <sup>d</sup> nisaba		

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 šu-ma-ma **1** ii 14; **28** rev. 1; **47** obv. 8; **49** obv. 12; **59** obv. 2; **60** obv. 2; **240** obv. 11;  
 Š. aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal **199** rev. 2–3  
 Š. nu-banda<sub>3</sub> **154** rev. 5
- Š. šabra **33** obv. 3  
 Š. *šu* ur-zu **32** iv 8  
 Š. *šu*<sup>giš</sup>tukul **48** vii 3  
 šu-na **181** obv. 1, rev. 4  
 šu-6 **31** rev. 6; **36** i 14; **37** i 8; **38** i 9; **40** i 8; **45** obv. 10; **46** i 10  
 dam Š. **126** iii 14  
 šum-ma-ak f. ur-<sup>d</sup>sara<sub>2</sub> **148** obv. 11  
 šum-šum **187** rev. 1, 8; **207** obv. 12
- T –
- tab-si-ga* **232** obv. 4  
 TAR-da šu-ku<sub>6</sub> **24** rev. 3  
*te-mi-tum* **34** iii 14; **35** iii 13; **36** iii 13; **37** iii 12; **38** iii 15; **39** iv 13; **40** iii 8; **41** iii 16; **42** iii 11; **54** obv. 15  
 tir-kù **162** obv. 6  
*i-gu-núm* bur-gul šu dumu T. **193** i 10  
*tu-da-na-ab-šum*  
*be-lí-dingir* šabra šu T. **147** obv. 3  
*da-ti* šu T. **209** rev. 4  
*dingir-su-kal* šu T. **148** obv. 17  
*ì-lí-iš-da-gal* ir<sub>11</sub> T. **206** obv. 6  
*tu-li-id-aš-dar* **34** iv 1; **35** iii 24; **36** iii 18; **37** iii 25; **38** iii 27; **40** iii 22; **41** iv 2; **44** rev. 3  
 T. geme<sub>2</sub> **48** ii 3  
*tu-za-id* geme<sub>2</sub>-kar-kid **170** obv. 1  
 túl-la **35** iv 9; **36** iv 4; **39** v 12; **83** obv. 2  
 túl-ta **105** obv. 6
- U –
- u-ba-ru-um* \*(*u-bar-um*) **34** ii 22; **39** vi 3; **99** rev. 5; **143** rev. 3; **146** rev. 3; **213** obv. 3; **\*233** obv. 3  
 U. dub-sar **182** rev. 8  
 U. KIŠ.NITA<sub>2</sub> **154** rev. 3  
 U. *šu* dingir *a-ga-dè*<sup>ki</sup> **148** obv. 21  
 U. *šu* nin **196** obv. 2, 9  
 a-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga nin U. **133** rev. 2  
*a-bum-dingir* šu U. **48** iv 12; **133** obv. 15; **\*145** obv. 2

<i>u-bil-tu-na-áš</i>	<b>48</b> v 3; <b>59</b> obv. 4; <b>133</b> obv. 9	U. šabra-é	<b>148</b> obv. 4
dam U.	<b>134</b> obv. 12	U. ugula	<b>26</b> rev. 18
<i>u-li-id-dingir</i>	<b>148</b> obv. 5	ur-e <i>šu</i> a-geštin	<b>32</b> iii 19
<i>u-zé-um</i>	<b>203</b> obv. 4	ur-é <i>a-lu-zi-núm</i>	<b>37</b> iv 14
ú-a	<b>126</b> iii 4	ur-é-muš	<b>202</b> obv. 2
<i>ú-da-ad</i>	<b>I</b> ii 12, vi 18; <b>86</b> obv. 6; <b>126</b> i 15; <b>163</b> obv. 6, rev. 6; <b>191</b> obv. 2; <b>240</b> obv. 13	ur-e <sub>11</sub>	<b>26</b> rev. 12
<i>ú-da-ad-kèš<sup>ki</sup></i> *(-kèš)	<b>116</b> ii 14; <b>157</b> rev. 2; <b>196</b> rev. 8	ur- <sup>d</sup> en-ki	<b>250</b> iv 8
U. h. nin-zabala <sup>ki</sup> -e	<b>187</b> obv. 10	ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl	<b>99</b> rev. 9
U. <i>šu</i> abba <sub>2</sub> -uru <sup>ki</sup>	* <b>163</b> rev. 13	U. dam-gàr (cf. ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá d.)	<b>96</b> obv. 4
<i>ú-da-da</i>	<b>232</b> obv. 3	U. má-laḥ <sub>4</sub>	<b>116</b> ii 8
<i>ú-da-tum ḥa-ba-tum</i>	<b>148</b> rev. 10	ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá	<b>32</b> ii 9; <b>132</b> obv. 1
<i>ù-ni-in</i>	<b>233</b> obv. 5	U. dam-gàr (cf. ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl d.)	<b>195</b> rev. 6; <b>207</b> obv. 5
<i>ù-ni-ni</i>	<b>50</b> obv. 9; <b>162</b> rev. 8; <b>172</b> obv. 1	ur- <sup>d</sup> en-nu-gi <sub>4</sub>	<b>49</b> obv. 2
<i>ù-ù</i>	<b>I</b> iv 7; <b>5</b> rev. 1; <b>158</b> obv. 2	ur- <sup>d</sup> eš-ḥa-ra	<b>27</b> obv. 15; <b>209</b> obv. 4
f. <i>i-ti-ti</i>	<b>32</b> i 5	ur-èš	<b>I</b> v 2; <b>32</b> iv 5; <b>69</b> obv. 11
U. tibira	<b>253</b> rev. 1	U. má-laḥ <sub>4</sub>	<b>139</b> obv. 2
UD-iš ir <sub>11</sub> <i>be-lí-a-ma-ar</i>	<b>208</b> rev. 5	U. nu-kiri <sub>6</sub>	<b>28</b> obv. 18
<i>um-mi-<sup>d</sup>nanše</i>	<b>36</b> iv 7; <b>39</b> v 13; <b>132</b> rev. 10	U. <i>šu</i> ur- <sup>d</sup> [...]	<b>32</b> iii 9
un-íl (PN?)	<b>28</b> obv. 20	<i>ga-la-ba šu</i> U.	<b>32</b> iv 19
ur-á adab <sup>ki</sup>	<b>237</b> rev. 3	ur-èš-sá	<b>144</b> obv. 6, rev. 2
ur-akkil <i>ḥa-ba-tum</i>	<b>148</b> rev. 7	U. b. lugal-KA	<b>195</b> rev. 9
ur- <sup>d</sup> aš <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	<b>49</b> obv. 10	ur-GÁ	<b>181</b> obv. 4
U. <i>ḥa-ba-tum</i>	<b>148</b> rev. 11 (1 <i>šu</i> U.)	ur- <sup>d</sup> gibil <sub>6</sub>	<b>16</b> obv. 1
ur-ba f. <i>ì-la-la</i>	<b>206</b> rev. 10	ur- <sup>giš</sup> gigir <sub>2</sub>	<b>16</b> obv. 6
ur-da	<b>26</b> obv. 13; <b>27</b> rev. 2; <b>29</b> rev. 3; <b>107</b> obv. 2; <b>114</b> rev. 6; <b>124</b> obv. 2; <b>131</b> obv. 5; <b>150</b> obv. 3, 9	U. nu-kiri <sub>6</sub>	<b>30</b> obv. 5
U. dub-sar-maḥ	<b>193</b> iv 9	ur- <sup>giš</sup> ḥa-lu-úb-ba	<b>105</b> obv. 9
<i>ma-šum šu</i> U.	<b>186</b> obv. 4; <b>203</b> rev. 8	ur-íb	<b>I</b> vi 27; <b>29</b> obv. 3; <b>86</b> obv. 2; <b>163</b> obv. 2, rev. 3
ur-su <i>šu</i> U.	<b>32</b> ii 15	lugal-uri <sub>3</sub> <i>šu</i> U.	<b>32</b> iii 21
ur-dam	<b>240</b> rev. 4	ur-íb-lá	<b>126</b> i 3
U. b. lug[al-...]	<b>116</b> ii 3	ur-igi-ma-šè	<b>49</b> obv. 11
U. dub-sar	<b>191</b> rev. 5	ur- <sup>d</sup> inanna	<b>5</b> rev. 15, edge 7; <b>32</b> iii 16, 20; <b>36</b> iv 13; <b>45</b> rev. 9; <b>105</b> rev. 9; <b>126</b> ii 5; <b>127</b> obv. 8; <b>163</b> obv. 10, rev. 8; <b>225</b> rev. 1
U. sipa	<b>126</b> iii 6	U. <i>šu</i> <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le	<b>32</b> iii 23
U. <i>šu-i šu be-lí-na-uz</i>	<b>173</b> obv. 3	U. <i>šu</i> lugal-le-á-na	<b>32</b> iii 14
ur-dingir-ra	<b>I</b> iii 5, v 20, 27; <b>27</b> rev. 16; <b>32</b> iv 12; <b>126</b> ii 2; <b>163</b> obv. 9, rev. 7	ur- <sup>d</sup> iškur	<b>50</b> obv. 10; <b>155</b> rev. 2; <b>203</b> obv. 3
		ur- <sup>d</sup> ištaran	<b>49</b> obv. 4; <b>71</b> obv. 2; <b>104</b> obv. 2
		U. dub-sar	<b>119</b> rev. 5



- ur-kaš **32** iv 11  
 ur-ki **237** obv. 5  
     U. *šu a-mur-aš-dar* **158** obv. 3  
 ur-lam **27** obv. 7  
 ur-li **31** rev. 7; **36** ii 13; **37** ii 15;  
     **39** iii 6; **41** ii 20; **42** ii 11; **106**  
     obv. 4; **132** obv. 15; **234** obv. 2  
     U. s. nin-kèš<sup>ki</sup>-e **170** obv. 3  
     U. azlag<sub>5</sub> **36** ii 12  
     U. sipa **23** obv. 2; **118** obv. 5;  
     **120** obv. 4  
     U. *šu anše* **140** obv. 9  
 ur-li-li **27** obv. 14; **34** ii 19; **35** ii 21  
     U. ir<sub>11</sub> *šu-ì-lí-su* [...] **194** rev. 9  
 ur-ma-ma **57** rev. 3  
 ur-me ì-rá-rá **116** iv 6  
 ur-me-ga **61** obv. 9  
 ur-mes **32** i 12; **103** obv. 2; **148** obv.  
     15  
     U. f. šeš-šeš **111** obv. 4  
     U. aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal **198** obv. 5  
     U. dub-sar *šu* lugal-KA **198** obv. 3  
     U. nagar **119** rev. 3  
     U. simug *šu* nin **205** rev. 4  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>nanna **46** ii 2  
     U. dumu-nita<sub>2</sub> **48** ii 10  
 ur-níg-zu **32** iii 22  
 ur-nigin<sub>3</sub> **28** obv. 14, rev. 5; **31** obv. 5;  
     **34** i 21; **35** ii 15; **40** ii 8; **42** i  
     15, ii 10; **161** rev. 12  
     U. azlag<sub>5</sub> **34** ii 14; **35** ii 19; **36**  
     ii 10; **37** ii 14; **38** ii  
     25; **39** iii 5; **41** ii 15  
     U. sagi **205** rev. 6  
     U. simug **34** i 15; **36** ii 11; **37** ii  
     13; **38** ii 22; **39** ii 21;  
     **41** i 15  
     U. *šu anše* **35** ii 10; **36** ii 9; **37** ii  
     9; **38** ii 8; **39** ii 15  
 ur-nim nagar s. sa-bar-mah **201** rev. 7  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-du-da **222<sup>c</sup>** obv. 3  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-mug **46** ii 13  
     U. f. ur-zikum-ma **32** i 10  
     U. dumu-nita<sub>2</sub> **48** iii 2  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-sar **26** obv. 14; **27** rev. 3; **32** ii 7;  
     **162** rev. 6  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-utul<sub>2</sub> s. ama-ni-ì-DU **222<sup>c</sup>** obv. 4  
 ur-ru **34** ii 2; **36** ii 4; **37** ii 2; **38** ii  
     2; **39** ii 9; **42** ii 13; **45** rev. 7;  
     **47** obv. 3; **116** i 9  
     U. guruš **48** i 3  
     U. simug **188** obv. 6  
 ur-sa<sub>6</sub> **66** obv. 5; **88** obv. 3, rev. 3;  
     **106** obv. 2; **223** obv. 7  
     U. s. ìr-[...] **195** obv. 15  
     U. f. engar **193** iii 9  
     U. ir<sub>11</sub> *al-la* **195** obv. 8  
     U. *šu* nin **174** rev. 5  
 ur-sag-a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup> **148** obv. 9  
 ur-sipa-da **96** rev. 2  
 ur-su **36** ii 3; **37** ii 3; **38** ii 1; **39** ii  
     8; **45** rev. 6; **86** rev. 2; **87** rev.  
     5; **102** rev. 1; **167** rev. 6; **178**  
     rev. 4  
     U. s. ba-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> **174** obv. 6  
     U. guruš **48** i 2  
     U. engar *šu* dingir-a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup> **201** rev. 4  
     U. *šu* ur-da **32** ii 15  
 ur-su-su sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> **4** rev. 7; **174** obv. 8  
 ur-sukkal **49** obv. 5  
     U. nu-kiri<sub>6</sub> **30** rev. 2  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>šakan<sub>2</sub> **36** iv 11; **38** ii 29; **39** vi 2; **45**  
     rev. 12; **103** obv. 4; **119** rev.  
     6; **155** rev. 3  
     U. kuš<sub>7</sub> **195** rev. 7  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub> s. šum-ma-ak **148** obv. 11  
 ur-<sup>d</sup>šer<sub>7</sub>-da **181** obv. 3  
 ur-túl **102** obv. 7  
 ur-túl-e garaš<sub>4</sub> **203** rev. 2  
 ur-tur dub-sar **201** obv. 8  
 ur-tur-tur **171** obv. 4  
     U. ir<sub>11</sub> gal-zu-ki-é **208** rev. 3  
 ur-ur **35** iv 16; **39** iii 13; **42** ii 19;  
     **56** obv. 3; **71** rev. 4; **98** obv.  
     10; **108** obv. 6; **120** obv. 2;  
     **200** obv. 3; **245** obv. 5  
     U. dub-sar **239** rev. 1  
     U. sipa *šu* nin **201** obv. 11



## PROFESSIONS

<i>a-lu-zi-núm</i>	PN ur-é	<i>gal-sukkal</i>	PN <sup>d</sup> en-líl-da
<i>a-zu</i>	PN šeš-pà-da	<i>garaš<sub>4</sub></i>	PN inim-kù, ur-túl-e
<i>á-KU</i>	PN <i>a-bu-da-gal</i> , amar-èš, <i>da-da</i>	<i>geme<sub>2</sub>-ara<sub>3</sub></i>	<b>110</b> obv. 4
<i>abba<sub>2</sub></i>	<b>23</b> obv. 7; <b>134</b> obv. 2	<i>geme<sub>2</sub>-kar-kid</i>	PN <i>tu-za-id</i>
<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-uru<sup>ki</sup></i>	<b>163</b> rev. 13	<i>geme<sub>2</sub>-kín-na</i>	<b>250</b> i 12, ii 13, iii 14, iv 6
<i>abba<sub>2</sub>-uru<sup>ki</sup> adab<sup>ki</sup></i>	<b>137</b> obv. 8	<i>guruš</i>	<b>48</b> i 8; PN <i>giri<sub>3</sub>-ni</i> , lú- <sup>d</sup> inan-na, <i>lugal-ad-da</i> , mes-a-du-ná, <i>ur-ru</i> , ur-su, <i>úr-ra-ni</i>
<i>ad-KID</i>	PN <i>lugal-iti-da</i> , <i>su-ba-rí-a</i>	<i>ha-ba-tum</i>	<b>148</b> rev. 14; <b>193</b> ii 5; PN lú- <sup>d</sup> utu
<i>aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal</i>	PN <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le-in-zu, ur-mes	<i>ì-rá-rá</i>	PN ur-me
<i>apin-lá</i>	<b>61</b> rev. 5; PN ki-gub-ba-ni	<i>igi-du</i>	PN <i>iš-lul-dingir</i>
<i>ašgab</i>	PN <i>zu-zu</i>	<i>ir<sub>11</sub> dingir a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup></i>	PN <i>dingir-KA-me-ir</i> , <i>du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni</i> , é-zi, <i>lugal-KA</i> , <i>PÙ.ŠA-lu-lu</i> , ur-su
<i>azlag<sub>5</sub></i>	PN <i>gal-zu</i> , <i>ib-ni-dingir</i> , ur-li	<i>ir<sub>11</sub> lugal</i>	<b>126</b> iv 8; <b>172</b> rev. 6
<i>baḥar<sub>2</sub>! (EDEN)</i>	PN <i>šê-ib-ra</i>	<i>igi-nu-tuku</i>	PN inim-kù
<i>bur-gul</i>	PN <i>ba-ša-aḥ-dingir</i> , <i>i-gu-núm</i>	<i>KIŠ.NITA<sub>2</sub></i>	PN <i>i-ti-dingir</i> , <i>na-núm</i> , <i>PÙ.ŠA-aš-dar</i> , <i>u-ba-ru-um</i>
<i>dam-gàr</i>	<b>78</b> obv. 9; <b>194</b> obv. 12; PN <i>ama-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga</i> , <i>ir<sub>11</sub>-zu-ni</i> , ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-(lá)	<i>kuš<sub>7</sub></i>	PN ur- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub>
<i>dam-gàr lugal</i>	<b>194</b> obv. 18 ([x]-bí-dingir)	<i>lú-eden</i>	PN si-dù
<i>di-ku<sub>5</sub></i>	PN <i>gal-zu</i>	<i>lú-eme</i>	PN <i>da-ti</i>
<i>dub-sar</i>	<b>197</b> rev. 4; PN <i>ba-zi-zi</i> , <i>din-gir-ra-bí</i> , <i>du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni</i> , <i>i-sa-ru-um</i> , <i>iš-ku-un</i> , <i>lugal-GAR</i> , <i>lugal-KA</i> , <i>lugal-kas<sub>4</sub>-e</i> , <i>lugal-si-im</i> , me- <sup>d</sup> šakan <sub>2</sub> , <i>sar-ru-an-dùl</i> , <i>šú-dur-ùl</i> , <i>u-ba-ru-um</i> , ur-dam, ur- <sup>d</sup> ištaran, ur-mes, ur-tur, ur-ur	<i>lú-ḥun-gá</i>	<b>138</b> obv. 1
<i>dub-sar-maḥ</i>	PN <i>i-su-dingir</i> , ur-da	<i>lú-igi</i>	PN <i>im<sub>6</sub>-da-lik</i>
<i>engar</i>	<b>61</b> obv. 7; PN <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le, <i>ga-la-ba</i> , <i>i-mi-dingir</i> , <i>ì-lí-tab-ba</i> , <i>kur-mu-gam</i> , <i>lugal-la</i> , <i>me-it-lik</i> , <i>šà-gú-ba</i> , <i>zu-zu</i>	<i>lú-kas<sub>4</sub></i>	PN <i>sá-lim-a-ḥu</i>
<i>engar nin</i>	PN <i>diri-um</i>	<i>lú-kin-gi<sub>4</sub>-a</i>	PN <i>be-la-ak-ku-ru-ub</i>
<i>engar šu dingir-a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup></i>	PN ur-su	<i>lú-lunga</i>	<b>175</b> rev. 3
<i>engar-engar</i>	<b>29</b> rev. 7; <b>69</b> obv. 13, rev. 5; <b>70</b> rev. 9; <b>126</b> iv 6; <b>157</b> obv. 2	<i>lú-<sup>giš</sup>tir</i>	PN <i>lugal-iti-da</i>
<i>ensi<sub>2</sub></i>	<b>227</b> obv. 3; <b>240</b> obv. 12 (du-mu <i>ensi<sub>2</sub></i> ); GN <i>ka-i<sub>7</sub>-ensi<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>lú-úš-udu</i>	<b>137</b> rev. 2; PN <i>na-aḥ-šum</i> ( <i>sa-na-at</i> ), <i>šú-<sup>d</sup>ad-mu</i>
<i>ensi<sub>2</sub> gu-ti-im</i>	<b>212</b> obv. 2	<i>lugal</i>	<b>65</b> obv. 9; <b>72</b> rev. 3; <b>144</b> rev. 3; <b>161</b> rev. 11
<i>ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal</i>	PN é-maḥ	<i>dumu lugal</i>	<b>198</b> rev. 2
<i>ereš-dingir</i>	<b>58</b> obv. 5	<i>na-é-áš lugal</i>	<b>193</b> iii 1; <b>194</b> obv. 7; <b>196</b> rev. 3
		<i>aga<sub>3</sub>-ús lugal</i>	PN <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le-in-zu, <i>šú-ma-ma</i> , ur-mes
		<i>dam-gàr lugal</i>	<b>194</b> obv. 18
		<i>šabra-é lugal</i>	<b>65</b> obv. 8–9
		<i>é geme<sub>2</sub>-ara<sub>3</sub> lugal</i>	<b>110</b> obv. 4
		<i>gana<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub> lugal</i>	<b>61</b> obv. 4

má-laḥ <sub>4</sub>	<b>42</b> iv 16; <b>147</b> obv. 9; PN <i>ir-e-bum</i> , lú- <sup>d</sup> inanna, lú-zi, lugal-iti-da, lugal-kun, <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i> , ur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl, ur-èš, ur-zi-kum-ma	sagi	<b>48</b> iv 1, 23; PN <i>be-la-ak-ku-ru-ub</i> , <i>be-lí-gi</i> , <i>i-ti-<sup>d</sup>im</i> , <i>i-zu-gíd</i> , <i>ku-ru-ba</i> , lú-sa <sub>6</sub> , <i>sá-lim-be-lí</i> , ur-nigin <sub>3</sub>
mar-tu	PN <i>i-bu-si-ra</i> , <i>i-nu-si-ra</i>	sanga	<b>119</b> rev. 2; <b>125</b> rev. 3; <b>126</b> iii 16; <b>162</b> rev. 7
MAŠ.EN.KAK	PN <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá	<i>se</i> <sub>11</sub> - <i>da-um</i>	<b>197</b> rev. 5; PN <i>bí-bí</i> , <i>i-gu-núm</i> , <i>ì-lí-a-ḥi</i> , <i>il-te-um</i> , <i>ma-šum</i>
máš-šu-gíd	PN <i>é-a</i> -MAŠ.UR	simug	PN a-lul, <i>ma-šum</i> , ur-nigin <sub>3</sub> , <i>ur-ru</i>
muḥaldim	<b>195</b> rev. 10; PN <i>bù-zu-zu</i> , <i>ga-la-ba</i> , <i>ir-e-bum</i>	simug <i>šu</i> nin	PN ur-mes
munu <sub>4</sub> -mú	PN <i>ì-la-la</i>	sipa	<b>247</b> rev. 9; PN <i>eren-da-ni</i> , lugal-kèš <sup>ki</sup> , <i>mu-mu</i> , <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i> , ur-dam, ur-li, úr-ra-ni
nagar	PN á- <sup>d</sup> en-líl, ad-da-tur, é-lú, nagar, <sup>d</sup> nanna-bàd, ur-mes, ur-nim	sipa <i>šu</i> nin	PN ur-ur
nagar-gal	PN sa-bar-maḥ	sipa anše	PN lugal-dalla
nar	<b>46</b> ii 17; <b>48</b> iii 6; PN <i>da-da</i>	sukkal	PN <i>da-tum</i> , lugal-zi
nimgir	PN lugal-iti-da	<i>sar-ru-ì-lí šu</i> sukka-le	<b>235</b> obv. 3
nin	<b>112</b> obv. 2	šabra	PN <i>be-lí-dingir</i> , PÙ.ŠA- <i>be-lí</i> , sig <sub>5</sub> -dingir, <i>šu-ma-ma</i>
engar nin	PN <i>diri-um</i>	šabra-é	<b>152</b> obv. 4; <b>162</b> obv. 2, rev. 2; <b>239</b> obv. 4; PN ur-dingir-ra, <i>wa-sa-an-tab</i>
ir <sub>11</sub> nin	PN <i>é-su-su</i>	dingir-a-zu <i>šu</i> šabra-é	<b>209</b> rev. 6
sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub> nin	PN <i>ì-lí-iš-da-gal</i>	šandana (PN?)	<b>49</b> obv. 6
simug <i>šu</i> nin	PN ur-mes	šitim	<b>33</b> obv. 1; PN <sup>d.aš</sup> aš <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -á-na, <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i>
sipa <i>šu</i> nin	PN ur-ur	<i>šu</i> anše	<b>195</b> obv. 16; PN ur-li, ur-nigin <sub>3</sub>
<i>šu</i> nin	<b>197</b> rev. 2; PN <i>din-gir-mu-da</i> , é-mes, <i>u-ba-ru-um</i> , ur-sa <sub>6</sub>	<i>šu</i> eme	PN <i>kir-ba-núm</i>
nu-banda <sub>3</sub>	<b>188</b> obv. 3; <b>214</b> obv. 2; PN <i>a-ba-ma-al-ki</i> , <i>a-ra-am-gi</i> , <i>du-du</i> , <i>i-da-la-ab</i> , <i>i-mi-dingir</i> , <i>i-zu-gíd</i> , <i>šu-aš-dar</i> , <i>šu-ma-ma</i>	<i>šu</i> <sup>gš</sup> gigir <sub>2</sub>	PN lugal-lú
nu-kiri <sub>6</sub>	PN ak, <i>i-ti-aš-dar</i> , <i>ì-lí-lí</i> , <i>ku-ra-tum</i> , lugal-an-dùl, lul-gu-ak, <i>ma-šum</i> , nam-maḥ, PÙ.ŠA- <i>ma-ma</i> , ur-èš, ur- <sup>gš</sup> gigir <sub>2</sub> , ur-sukkal, ur-zu, úr-ra-ni, <i>za-dar-ḥi</i> , <i>za-zi</i> , zà-mu	<i>šu</i> <sup>gš</sup> tukul	PN <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i> , <i>šu-ma-ma</i>
pa <sub>4</sub> -šeš	<b>212</b> obv. 4	šu-i	PN <i>a-ḥu-su-ni</i> , du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni, <i>šu-ì-lí-su</i> , ur-dam
sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub>	PN <i>be-lí-a-bum</i> , é-úr, <i>i-mi-dingir</i> , KA- <i>me-ir</i> , lugal-kas <sub>4</sub> -e, <i>na-bí-um</i> , ur-su-su	šu-ku <sub>6</sub>	<b>181</b> obv. 10; PN TAR-da
sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub> <sup>d.aš</sup> aš <sub>7</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	PN <i>na-bí-um</i>	<i>šu-LÁ</i> .TE <i>vel sim.</i>	PN <i>al-la</i> , <i>bu-bu</i> , dingir-kal, <i>du-du</i> , <i>li-lum</i> , <i>sar-ru-ru</i>
sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup> en-líl	PN giri <sub>3</sub> -ni	tibira	PN <i>ù-ù</i>
sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub> nin	PN <i>ì-lí-iš-da-gal</i>	túg-du <sub>8</sub>	PN inim-ma
		ugula	PN <i>du-du</i>

## BUILDINGS

bara <sub>2</sub> -ùr	<b>90</b> rev. 6	é-kéš	<b>147</b> rev. 6
é	<b>42</b> iv 14; <b>53</b> rev. 5; <b>109</b> rev. 2; <b>118</b> obv. 10; <b>119</b> rev. 8; <b>123</b> rev. 2; <b>178</b> obv. 7	é-NINDA <sub>2</sub> ×X	<b>37</b> edge 1
é-balag	<b>48</b> iii 6	é-še	<b>36</b> iv 24
é dingir.dingir	<b>77</b> obv. 3	é še-gibil	<b>39</b> vi 14
é-gal	<b>108</b> obv. 5; <b>163</b> edge 1; <b>242</b> rev. 2; <b>247</b> rev. 10	é-ùr (see also ùr)	<b>34</b> iv 10; <b>41</b> iv 12
é geme <sub>2</sub> -ara <sub>3</sub> lugal	<b>110</b> obv. 4	ganun	<b>100</b> obv. 2, rev. 2
é gi-na-tum	<b>107</b> obv. 3	ganun-še-gur <sub>7</sub>	<b>110</b> obv. 2
é-gibil	<b>160</b> rev. 10	gur <sub>7</sub> šu adab <sup>ki</sup>	<b>126</b> iv 14
é-gu <sub>4</sub>	<b>13</b> obv. 6, rev. 4; <b>14</b> obv. 2; <b>118</b> rev. 11; <b>120</b> rev. 6; <b>128</b> obv. 2; <b>173</b> obv. 2; <b>174</b> rev. 2	na-kam-tum	<b>92</b> obv. 4; <b>157</b> obv. 3
é <sup>d</sup> inanna	<b>65</b> obv. 6 (?); <b>159</b> obv. 12	NINDA <sub>2</sub> ×X	<b>109</b> obv. 4; <b>123</b> obv. 6
		NINDA <sub>2</sub> ×X-gal	<b>123</b> obv. 2
		NINDA <sub>2</sub> ×X-tur	<b>123</b> obv. 4
		ùr (see also é-ùr)	<b>17</b> obv. 6; <b>109</b> obv. 4; <b>159</b> rev. 1; <b>161</b> obv. 2

## FIELD NAMES

agar <sub>4</sub> a-šà-mah	<b>10</b> obv. 7; <b>11</b> obv. 7
agar <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> en-líl	<b>11</b> rev. 2
agar <sub>4</sub> gána-bar-sa	<b>8</b> obv. 8, rev. 5 (without agar <sub>4</sub> ); <b>9</b> rev. 5; <b>73</b> obv. 5
*(agar <sub>4</sub> ) maš-da-lu/lú	<b>*I</b> vi 29; <b>8</b> rev. 2; <b>*10</b> obv. 3; <b>*11</b> obv. 3; <b>*73</b> obv. 4 (-lú)
maš-da-lu-gal	<b>3</b> rev. 6
kun-bar-URU×A-gi	<b>5</b> obv. 10

## PLACE NAMES

a-bí-ak <sup>ki</sup>	<b>251</b> obv. 3	gú-du <sub>8</sub> -a <sup>ki</sup>	<b>148</b> obv. 14
a-ga-dē <sup>ki</sup>	<b>67</b> rev. 7; <b>193</b> iv 16; DN dingir-a-ga-dē <sup>ki</sup> ; PN ur-sag-a-ga-dē <sup>ki</sup>	ib-la <sup>ki</sup>	PN <i>it-mu-úh-ib-la<sup>ki</sup></i>
a-šūr <sup>ki</sup> -rí-um	<b>199</b> obv. 4, 6	ka-i <sub>7</sub> -ensi <sub>2</sub>	<b>237</b> obv. 4
adab <sup>ki</sup>	<b>56</b> rev. 2; <b>57</b> obv. 4; <b>126</b> iv 15; <b>137</b> obv. 8; <b>144</b> rev. 5; <b>146</b> rev. 6; <b>161</b> rev. 8; <b>191</b> rev. 8; <b>195</b> obv. 14; <b>225</b> rev. 2; <b>237</b> rev. 4; <b>251</b> obv. 2; PN lú-adab <sup>ki</sup>	kal-du <sup>ki</sup>	<b>237</b> obv. 6
ba-az <sup>ki</sup>	<b>78</b> obv. 3; <b>91</b> rev. 5; <b>92</b> rev. 9; <b>114</b> rev. 7; <b>145</b> rev. 2	kēš <sup>ki</sup>	PN lugal-kēš <sup>ki</sup> , me-ù-kēš <sup>ki</sup> , nin-kēš <sup>ki</sup> -e, <i>ú-da-ad-kēš<sup>ki</sup></i>
é-gal-eden	<b>193</b> ii 9	ki-bi-ra <sup>ki</sup>	<b>53</b> rev. 3
gu-ti-um <i>vel sim.</i>	<b>131</b> obv. 4; <b>212</b> obv. 2, rev. 4	maš-gán <sup>ki</sup> -dingir-a-ga-dē <sup>ki</sup>	<b>212</b> rev. 5
		nag-su <sup>ki</sup>	<b>151</b> obv. 4; <b>188</b> obv. 7 (without KI)
		nibru <sup>ki</sup>	<b>37</b> edge 4; <b>66</b> rev. 2; <b>74</b> rev. 1; <b>83</b> obv. 4; <b>193</b> iii 3, 10
		uru-sag-rig <sub>7</sub> ki	<b>82</b> obv. 3
		zabala <sup>ki</sup>	PN nin-zabala <sup>ki</sup> -e

## MONTH NAMES

iti ab-è (X)	<b>53</b> obv. 13	iti ne-izi-gar (V)	<b>35</b> edge 1; <b>53</b> obv. 8
	iti ab-è nibru <sup>ki</sup>	iti kin <sub>5</sub> - <sup>d</sup> inanna (VI)	<b>53</b> obv. 9
iti apin-du <sub>8</sub> -a (VIII)	<b>53</b> obv. 11	iti sig <sub>4</sub> -šub-ba-gar (III)	<b>53</b> obv. 6; <b>176</b> obv. 2
iti bara <sub>2</sub> -zà-gar (I)	<b>53</b> obv. 4	iti še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> (XII)	<b>38</b> iv 8; <b>53</b> obv. 3, rev. 7; <b>123</b> rev. 8
iti du <sub>6</sub> -kù (VII)	<b>53</b> obv. 10; <b>118</b> rev. 7 (without iti)	iti šu-gar	<b>246</b> rev. 5
iti 'é' [x k]in éš-sa-gilim šid	<b>238</b> rev. 6	iti šu-numun (IV)	<b>34</b> iv 13; <b>38</b> iv 8; <b>53</b> obv. 7; <b>176</b> obv. 4, 8
iti éš-sa-gilim-tu <sub>17</sub>	<b>235</b> rev. 3; <b>252</b> rev. 3	iti ZÍZ.A (XI)	<b>45</b> edge 1; <b>53</b> rev. 2 (without iti)
iti ga-an-ga-an-è (IX)	<b>53</b> obv. 12		
iti ga-an-ga-MUN-è (IX)	<b>36</b> iv 26		
iti gu <sub>4</sub> -si-su (II)	<b>46</b> i 17; <b>53</b> obv. 5		