

# Banks in Banning

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The Assyriologist Kilian Butz was an enigma to many of the colleagues who worked with or visited him during his long period of residency at the Free University of Berlin. I was first forced into a closer relationship with this brilliant but erratic thinker when, at the invitation of Hans Nissen, I joined the archaeological seminar in the fall of 1982; for during those first weeks we shared the institute apartment so well known as a quiet retreat from the rigors of a working visit to East Berlin. When he was healthy and productive, Kilian had much in common with Benno Landsberger. He profited from a photographic memory, was a very quick study, and he used these natural talents to marshal a wide array of detail knowledge in the pursuit of a topic of interest to him, yet he always perceived his subject against a broad historical backdrop.

I mention Butz here by way of describing how I came to better know the honoree of this volume, for Kilian revered Giovanni Pettinato in a special way, and it was in the light of this close friendship that I first received a more studied impression of what made the Italian scholar tick. Each had spent much of his career in the study of administrative history, and both demonstrated a strong affinity for the massive archives of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur. However, these were, in the early and mid-80's, the "publication fever" days of the Ebla archives which so attracted the attention of Butz,<sup>1</sup> and in which Pettinato played such a key role. Yet while the Ebla tablets must now be considered the major focus of his mature research, still Pettinato has never lost sight of the elephant standing behind his Eblaite *ušumum*. His great interest in Ur III administration<sup>2</sup> continues to occupy much of his time, to which the series *MVN* is a living witness. This series represents the major repository of Ur III text publications known to Sumerology, and with a current record of over 7500 edited Ur III tablets<sup>3</sup> places its editor Pettinato among the major contributors to a better understanding of the period.<sup>4</sup>

*MVN* has in its publications mirrored the status of Ur III tablet collections outside of Iraq and Turkey, in that it reflects large blocs of texts secured by public institutions during the heyday of excavations, and smaller collections from the same period and later found in stable private collections,

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<sup>1</sup> See particularly his "Zur Terminologie der Viehwirtschaft in den Texten aus Ebla," in L. Cagni, ed., *La lingua de Ebla* (Naples 1981) 321-353; "Bilinguismus als Katalysator," in L. Cagni, ed., *Il bilinguismo a Ebla* (Naples 1984) 99-138; "Ökologie: Ebla: Gegenstand und Wörter," in L. Cagni, ed., *Ebla 1975-1985* (Naples 1987) 313-351. Butz is memorialized in a note by H. Waetzoldt in *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 193-194.

<sup>2</sup> Beyond his Heidelberg dissertation *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Landwirtschaft I* (Naples 1967), Pettinato has published a large number of important works on the topic, for which consult the bibliography in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Including as no. 21 the first of two volumes of the Ermitage Ur III collection authored by N. Koslova.

<sup>4</sup> Beyond the more than 1500 Ur III tablets published in his series *MVN* (vols. 1 [1974, with H. Waetzoldt], 4 [1976, with L. Cagni], 6 [1977], 7 [1978, with S. Picchioni and H. Waetzoldt], and 17 [1993]), Pettinato has edited some other smaller collections in various publications, including 20 in *AnOr.* 45 (1969), and 33 in his recent catalogue edition of *L'uomo cominciò a scrivere: Iscrizioni cuneiformi della collezione Michail* (Milan 1997) nos. 42-74, with excellent tablet photographs.

and in the less stable antiquities markets. Much effort is presently going into the publication of the large collections, including those of the British Museum, the Yale Babylonian Collection, the Ermitage, and, in Turkey, the collections of the Istanbul Museum, while at the same time smaller, private collections are appearing piecemeal, these deriving both from recent acquisitions and, occasionally long buried, from old holdings. Few American Assyriologists who from time to time receive calls from the owners of these latter, often forgotten small tablet collections have not been confronted with the salesmanship, but also the largesse of Edgar Banks. This Massachusetts native, best known for his excavations of ancient Adab in the first years of the 20th century,<sup>5</sup> was a consummate collector and purveyor of antiquities from Mesopotamia<sup>6</sup>; at the time he was active in the Near East, tablets were being traded at a very low price, and even lower once the flood of Ur III texts began to wash across antiquities markets following illicit excavations Djokha/Umma and Drehem/Puzrish-Dagan.

Giovanni Pettinato will hopefully find something of interest in the small collection, presented here in his honor, of Ur III tablets sold by Banks in 1920 for a few dollars and a nod to an East Coast collector. This group of seven texts, part of a collection including an Old Babylonian account and a Late Babylonian (reign of Cyrus) legal text from Uruk,<sup>7</sup> was brought to my attention in 1997 by their owner, Catherine Oliviero of Banning, a small town just west of Palm Springs; while proud of the collection and the antiquity it represented, Mrs. Oliviero seemed equally impressed by the original letter from Banks which accompanied it. Addressed to David Williams of New York and dated 5 May 1920<sup>8</sup>, the letter reads

Dear Sir:-

The Arab workmen whom I formerly employed while excavating in Babylonia for the University of Chicago, have recently sent me a collection of ancient inscribed Babylonian clay tablets or books found in the buried cities. They are letter and business documents of various kinds dated from 400 to 2400 B.C. and are the equal of those treasured in the great museums. Would you care to have a few of them for your library, or to present to some school in which you may be interested?

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<sup>5</sup> See his *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab* (New York 1912).

<sup>6</sup> Banks, a graduate of Harvard and the University of Breslau, was American Consul in Baghdad from 1897-98. Unable to procure from the Sultan permission to excavate the city of Ur, he did excavate Adab in 1903 for the University of Chicago. Following several more years in Iraq as field director of the Babylonian expedition, he returned to the States with a chair at the University of Toledo. During one of his many subsequent visits to the Near East, Banks on the 20th of August 1912 became the first American to scale Mt. Ararat. He is the subject of a study being prepared by Ewa Wasilewska of the University of Utah (see D. Owen, *ASJ* 19 [1997] 147-148, for some preliminary remarks on her work). I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Wasilewska for her kind responses to my inquiries, and for her great interest in the few examples published here of Banks' market activities.

<sup>7</sup> The Old Babylonian account, from Larsa, is nearly illegible. The well-preserved tablet from Uruk, from the 2nd year of Cyrus, will be edited by Cornelia Wunsch of the University of Western Australia.

<sup>8</sup> Although on letterhead with address of Alpine, New Jersey, this note was in fact sent about the time Banks had, in Hollywood, begun a second career—he was 53—as a producer/director of movies about Biblical topics in the Middle East (personal communication, E. Wasilewska). He was director of Sacred Films, Inc., and president of Seminole Films Co.



	u <sub>4</sub> 𒁣-ur <sub>5</sub> -ti <sup>ki</sup> -ta ì-im-gen-na-a	when he came from 𒁣urti.
	gìri <i>It-ra-ak-ì-lí</i> sukkal	Conveyer <sup>12</sup> : <i>Itrak-ili</i> the messenger.
rev.	Šu-ru-uš-ki-in šagina maškim	Šuruš-kin the general was guarantor.
	iti u <sub>4</sub> 24 ba-zal	The 24th day of the month has passed.
	ki dŠul-gi-a-a-mu-ta ba-zi	Booked out of Šulgi-a'amū('s account <sup>13</sup> ).
	iti ezem-maḥ 2-kam	2nd "Great Festival" month (10th, intercalary month, Drehem calendar <sup>14</sup> )
	mu En-maḥ-gal-an-na en dNanna	Year: "Enmaḥgalanna was installed as en(-priestess) of Nanna" (Amar-Suen 4)
re	2	2 (sheep)

No. 2. Small, sealed receipt for ca. 60 liters of the common dabin-type flour used to produce a solution employed by leather tanners. The seal impression contains a common presentation scene. Umma, Šulgi 43<sup>2</sup>/5, 35x37x13mm

obv. 0;1,0 dabin 1 (barig) of dabin-flour,

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rev. 1 seems to record the still larger number of 9 oxen as cult deliveries from a lú 𒁣urti<sup>ki</sup>. Further, two Ur III texts record énsi's (provincial governors) of 𒁣urti, in the first (G. Boson, *TCS* 363 [=Boson, *Aegyptus* 10, 286, 64; Drehem, Š 47] obv. 4) named Ba-za-mu (Sumerian), in the second (*YOS* 4, 63 obv. 3; Drehem, ŠS 1) 𒁣u-ba-mir-si-ni (Elamite).

<sup>12</sup> The administrative term *giri* has been most recently discussed by H. Neumann, *Handwerk in Mesopotamien* (Berlin 1993<sup>2</sup>) 49-50<sup>193</sup>; P. Steinkeller, in M. Powell, ed., *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, (=AOS 68; New Haven 1987) 94<sup>152</sup>; for possible Old Akkadian parallels, s. R. Englund, *Ur III-Fischerei*, 54<sup>187</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> This is a common accounting reference in the Drehem archive concerning the activities of the official Šulgi-a'amū, who was active in the first half of Amar-Suen's reign; see for example *BCT* 1, 90, *Hirose* 162 and 167, *MVN* 15, 80 (all AS 4); *Hirose* 176, *PDT* 2, 1171 (AS 5), which are to be compared to the actual receipts of animals from other persons and offices (šu ba-ti accounts, for example, *BCT* 1, 7, *Hirose* 157, 161, *PDT* 2, 1158, etc.), and to the accounts which record receipt by Šulgi-a'amū of animals for purposes of further conveyance (ì-dab<sub>5</sub> accounts, for example, *MVN* 15, 345, 347, *PDT* 2, 871, 881, etc.).

<sup>14</sup> This month, inserted after the 9th month of the Drehem calendar (ezem-maḥ; this was the 10th month of the same calendar in the years following ŠS 3), is with 24 references well attested in the Drehem texts. Since the common *diri* insertion following the 11th month of Amar-Suen 3 in Drehem is found in 21 attestations, the intercalary month 9+1 found in only one text of the same year (*PDT* 1, 542) should be considered more apparent than real (despite the fact that no correction was shown by A. Picchioni, *OrAnt.* 14, 164, it seems likely the date transcribed *iti diri ezem-maḥ* was mistaken for *iti diri me-ki-gál* [*TRU* 36 is not to be included here]). Following the 4th year, the *diri*-month was well attested only for the ninth year of Amar-Suen's reign in Drehem (the AS 5 texts *Smith CS* 38, 32, and *CTNMC* 11 require collation), followed in rapid succession with intercalations in Šu-Sin 1, 2 (*PDT* 2, 1259, with 9min; *AltorNot.* 9-17, p. 8, no. 17, *Or.* 47-49, 144, *Trouville* 87, with 12*diri*), 3 (for instance, *AUCT* 1, 368 and 520, *TIM* 6, 31 [=Sumer 24, 74 11], *CT* 32, 12, BM 103436, and *ŠA* 1 with 11*diri* [16 attestations]), (4?; *AUCT* 3, 409), 5 and 6, as if the Drehem scribes were forced to make successive corrections in locating the proper time for harvest! A reassessment of the Ur III administrative calendars must clearly be undertaken based on a full accounting of the now more than 42,000 published texts.

	zì a-GAR-gu <sup>7</sup> -šè	for aGAR flour <sup>15</sup> ,
	ki Ur-gzu-ta <sup>1</sup>	from Urzu.
	gkišib Û-ma-ni <sup>1</sup>	Seal: Umani.
rev.	[iti] dal	Month: “Flight” <sup>16</sup> (5th month, Umma calendar)
	mu en <sup>d</sup> Nanna maš-e ì-p[à]	Year: “en(-priestess) of Nanna was chosen by means of omens” (Šulgi 43 / Amar-Suen 4)
seal	Û-ma-ni	Umani,
	dub-šar	scribe,
	dumu Nam-ḥa-ni	son of Namḥani. <sup>17</sup>

No. 3 Messenger text with a list of 11 foremen of the couriers, and comestibles received by each, including fine beer, followed by mention of two further officials each receiving 5 liters of regular beer and 5 liters of ninda.<sup>18</sup> Umma, Ibbi-Sîn 2/5/x+2, 29 x 27 x 14mm.

<sup>15</sup> Literally, “for letting eat aGAR-flour”. The combination a-GAR is well attested as a qualification of a solution including flour used in the production of leather (for example, in the combination kuš a-GAR nag-a, “leather which ‘drank’ a-GAR”, often in the Isin period *BIN* 9 texts [6:5, 18:4, 58:3, etc.], but also in the Drehem text *AUCT* 1, 950 (... nag-àm), dated to Amar-Suen 3 v; more common is the Ur III phrase kuš a-GAR gu<sup>7</sup>-a, “leather which ‘ate’ a-GAR”, see for instance *Umma Ist.* 3, 1631, 1724, *Or.* 47-49, 340 obv. 1, further *Umma Ist.* 5, 3422 obv. 1 [unpublished, courtesy T. Ozaki] “for the plow”; *TCTI* 2, 3930 obv. 2 kuš<sup>kuš</sup>šuhub-šè, “for the leather boots”). The closest parallel to the present reference is found in ll. 1-2 of the text *MVN* 3, 259: 4;0,0 še gur lugal / zì a-GAR-gu<sup>7</sup>-šè, “4 gur (of the) royal (measure) of barley, for flour in aGAR-‘feeding’”. H. Waetzoldt has drawn my attention to the text *MVN* 16, 1189, l. 1, with kuš gá-ar gu<sup>7</sup>, and thus support for a reading a-gar.

<sup>16</sup> The hypothetical reading and significance of this month name is based on a possible connection to the activity mušen-dal attested, for instance, in *PDT* 2, 925 (ŠS 4/11-ŠS 5/1) obv. 1-2: [x] guruš engar / [gub]-ba ti-la ù mušen buru<sup>5</sup> dal-la, “x plowmen stationed, and having driven off birds”; *MVN* 21, 80 (ŠS 3; courtesy N. Koslova) obv. 3-4: 47 1/2 guruš u<sup>4</sup>-1-šè / gu-ur<sup>2</sup> mušen dal-la, “47 1/2 workman-days, having driven off the gur<sup>2</sup>-birds”; *TCL* 5, 6037 (Umma, ŠS 6), rev. vii 4: uruda<sup>hu</sup>-bu-um zu mušen dal-dè (?) mar-sa-aš, M. Touzalin, *L'administration palatiale a l'époque de la Troisième Dynastie d'Ur: Textes inédites du musée d'Alep*, Dissertation University of Tours, 1982, no. 241 (AS 1), obv. 1-2: 1 guruš u<sup>4</sup>-30-šè / buru<sup>4</sup>mušen dal-šè a-šà ù-ga<sup>6</sup>, “1 worker for 30 days, to drive off the birds from the Porter field”, and see YBC 13001 obv. 1-2: 1 guruš buru<sup>5</sup>bur mušen dal / a-šà dšá-ra-šè, “1 worker to drive off the birds from the field of Šara” (with a following parallel entry for the field lá-maḥ gu-la; unpubl., courtesy M. Sigrist), and from the need to keep birds off the freshly seeded fields of October-November (the month called “seeding” was the 4th of the Girsu, the 6th of the Umma calendar, thus despite an apparent shift in the calendrical correspondence to the agricultural year the relative sequence would hold true). Cf. G. Selz, *AWAS* (=FAOS 15/2; Stuttgart 1993) p. 84; H. Steible and F. Yildiz, in Ö. Tunca and D. Deheselle, eds., *Tablettes et images aus pays de Sumer et d'Akkad* (=Fs. Limet; Liege 1996) 159 n. 25 (to nam-ri-mušen, “Vogelverscheucher-Amt”).

<sup>17</sup> The same seal was impressed on numerous texts, for instance *Hirose* 349, 350 (Š 42), 351 (Š 43), and *MVN* 2, 202 (Š 46); the dates of these texts would favor the choice of Šulgi 43 for the present account.

<sup>18</sup> A sila represents approximately 1 liter, one gín/shekel = 1/60 sila. The goods received by the officials comprise standard rations: beer (as has been argued by M. Stol, *RIA* 7, 322-328 [see p. 325], and, more recently, M.

obv. [1] X X X	1 NN
1 Lugal-ḥa-ma-ti	1 Lugal-ḥamati
1 Lugal-kal-la	1 Lugal-kala
1 A-ḥu-šū-ni	1 Aḥušuni
1 Inim-ma-ni-zi	1 Inimanizi
1 Dingir-maḥ-e-ì-zu	1 Dingirmaḥe-izu
1 Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nin-su	1 Ur-Ninsu
1 Lú-gu-la	1 Lu-gula
1 Nam-zi-tar-gra <sup>1</sup>	1 Namzitara
1 Lú-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	1 Lu-saga
1 Dingir-sag <sub>10</sub>	1 Dingir-sag <sup>19</sup>
lú ugula KAS <sub>4</sub> -me-éš	are foremen of the runners <sup>20</sup> .
rev. 3 sila kaš sig <sub>5</sub> 2 sila ninda 3 gín ì	3 sila fine beer, 2 sila ninda, 3 shekels oil,
2 gín naga 5 gín sum-ta	2 shekels naga, 5 shekels onions each.
5 sila kaš 5 sila ninda Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nanše ?	5 sila beer, 5 sila ninda: Ur-Nanše
5 sila kaš 5 sila ninda Lú-bala-sag <sub>10</sub>	5 sila beer, 5 sila ninda: Lu-bala-sag <sup>21</sup>
ŠU+NÍGIN 0;0,3,3 sila kaš sig <sub>5</sub>	Together: 3 (ban) 3 sila fine beer,
ŠU+NÍGIN 0;0,1 kaš du	together: 1 (ban) regular beer
ŠU+NÍGIN 5 sila ninda zì sig <sub>15</sub>	Together: 5 sila ninda of sig-flour,

Powell in L. Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies* [Padua 1994] 91-92, possibly a nutritious, slightly alcoholic drink akin to Slavic *kvass* [indeed, G. Whittaker has mentioned to me in a personal communication the possible common etymology of this word and Sumerian kaš]), flour qualified as ninda and usually understood to represent bread, plant oil, the alkali product naga, and onions (to these is often added fish). Note that the calculations of totals in our text exhibit a number of irregularities:

11 x 3 = 0;0,3,3 sila kaš sig<sub>5</sub> (where the beer of the last officials was totaled separately as kaš du, “regular beer”),

(11 x 2) + 10 = 0;0,3,2 sila ninda (text: 0;0,2,7 and 5 sila of ninda zì sig<sub>15</sub> for one of the two last-mentioned officials),

11 x 3 gín ì = 33 gín (text: 1/2 sila 9 gín = 39 and thus presumably including the final two officials),

11 x 2 gín naga = 22 gín (text: 1/3 sila 6 gín = 26, ditto), and

11 x 5 gín sum = 55 gín (text: 1 sila 5 gín = 65, ditto).

<sup>19</sup> The reading of the sign SIG<sub>5</sub> was chosen based on the preponderance of writings of a personal name Dingir-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga in other texts, for instance *Or.* 47-49, 481 (Umma, date uncertain) obv. i 7, *MVN* 12, 297 (Girsu, Š 48) rev. i 11, and *PDT* 2, 911 (Drehem, AS 8) obv. ii 8, whereas Dingir-SIG<sub>5</sub> is seldom (in the present text, and in YBC 9748 [unpubl., courtesy M. Sigris] obv. i 16, qualified as a plowman) and the reading of SIG<sub>5</sub> in other contexts is known to be /sag(a)/, for which see below, fn. 21, and my remarks in *ASJ* 14 (1992) 94-95<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Not maškim. To PA.KAS<sub>4</sub> = ugula KAS<sub>4</sub> s. *Ur III-Fischerei* 61<sup>206</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> The literal meaning of the name is not obvious. The choice of the reading sag<sub>10</sub> of SIG<sub>5</sub> is dictated by the seals of two or more officials with the same name, the legends of which read Lú-bala-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga, corresponding to Lú-bala-SIG<sub>5</sub> in the text (for example, on *MVN* 16, 825, 1203, etc., *Umma Ist.* 3, 1806, 2085, *Umma Ist.* 4, 2382, 2425, etc.) or Lú-bala-sa<sub>6</sub> (*Or.* 47-49, 437), but also Lú-bala-SIG<sub>5</sub> (*Umma* 59). Note the Girsu writing Lú-bala-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga in such texts as *TCTI* 2, 3303 obv. 3, 3532 rev. 12, and passim, in Umma in YBC 3235 rev. ix 1, YBC 8957 obv. 8, and passim in the Yale collection (unpubl., courtesy M. Sigris), in Drehem (?) in *AnOr.* 7, 306 (= M. Molina, *MVN* 18, 306, with transliteration in *AuOr. Suppl.* 11 [1996]) rev. 22. See above, fn. 19.

ŠU+NÍGIN 0;0,2,7 sila ninda  
 ŠU+NÍGIN 1/2 sila 9 gín ì  
 [ŠU+NÍGIN] 1/3 sila 6 gín naga  
 [ŠU+NÍGIN 1 s]ila 6 gín sum  
 [u<sub>4</sub> x+]2-kam iti dal  
 [mu] en <sup>d</sup>Inanna m[áš]-e ì-p[à]

together 2(ban) 7 sila ninda.  
 Together: <sup>1</sup> / <sup>2</sup> sila 9 shekels of oil,  
 [together]: <sup>1</sup> / <sup>3</sup> sila 6 shekels of naga,  
 [together: 1]: sila 5 shekels of onions,  
 x+2nd day, month: “Flight” (5th month,  
 Umma calendar)  
 Year: “en(-priest) of Inanna was chosen by  
 means of omens” (Ibbi-Sîn 2)

No. 4 School exercise with administrative entries.<sup>22</sup> Umma, Ibbi-Sîn 2/2, 75x48x21mm

<p>obv. 1.53 «gú»(?) ma-gna<sup>1</sup> siki        4 ku-gi<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup>[š<sup>en</sup>]        0;2,0 zú-lum        2 sila ì šá[h]        2 sila 15 gín ì [ ]        0;0,1 lú-ghu-a<sup>1</sup> (?)        0;0,4 giš-XXX        ki Ur-kù-g[a-ta]        Ur-šubur        [š]u ba-ti</p>	<p>113 «talent»(?) pounds of wool<sup>23</sup>,        4 geese,        2 (barig) dates,        2 sila of lard,        2 sila 15 shekels of [ ]-oil,        1 (bán) ?        4 (bán) ?        from Ur-kuga        did Ur-šubur        receive.</p>
<p>rev. šà-bi-ta        1;2,0 gše<sup>1</sup> gur si-ì-gtum<sup>1</sup>        níg-gka<sub>9</sub><sup>1</sup>-ak lá-ìa</p>	<p>Therefrom:        1 gur 2 (barig) barley, remainder,        account, deficit.</p>

<sup>22</sup> The question of how the formulation of administrative texts was learned in Babylonia has received much less attention in the field than, for instance, has the teaching of lexical and literary texts, although, if we did not trust the bookkeeping archives as strong enough evidence for the need of this material in the schools, the edubba literature is not silent on the matter (see, for instance, Å. Sjöberg, “The Old Babylonian eduba,” *AS* 20, 167-168), nor are the lexical sources (eme-sal Vocabulary III, *MSL* 4, 31, 48: èm-kas<sub>7</sub> = níg-kas<sub>7</sub> = *ni-ka-su*; Níg-ga B, *MSL* 13, 115, 31-32, var. of A, p. 113 i 1' and see p. 97, 35-36; further, *MSL* 1, 76, 23, and *MSL* 5, 64, 166-170). H. Waetzoldt, *OrAnt.* 26, 292<sup>5</sup>, listed several texts which were in his opinion school exercises. While those texts, including *HSS* 4, 4, would be better categorized as plan-accounts, and such texts as *TCL* 2, 5499 (most recently discussed in R. Englund, *Or.* 64, 388-394) as highly polished theoretical exercises, there is a growing body of Ur III texts exhibiting a combination of unpracticed hands and bookkeeping irregularities which mark the presumed accounts as administrative school exercises. Banning no. 4 has been assigned to this group due to its defective numerical/metrological notations (obv. 1), its senseless combination of technical terminology (rev. 1-3, following directly upon the receipt phrase šu ba-ti) mixed with an apparent witness list (rev. 4-8) and defective calendrical notation. Further, the slovenly form of many of the signs suggests that the text was inscribed by a very young, or unusually inattentive student; we are, however, not in a position to judge the correctness of such irregular or unknown object designations as those of obv. 2 (ku-gi<sub>4</sub> for kur-gi<sub>4</sub>?) and 6 (?). For early examples of administrative exercises see J. Bauer, R. Englund and M. Krebernik, *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (=OBO 160/1; Freiburg, Switzerland, 1998) 106-111.

<sup>23</sup> We should expect either AŠ gú 53 ma-na, or, as is not rare, 1.53 ma-na.

igi Zu-zu ugula XXX  
1 Tab-ba-ga-ni<sup>1</sup>  
1 Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šu-mah  
1 X X -zu  
1 X-gla<sup>1</sup>

Before: Zuzu, foreman of the ...  
1 Tabbani  
1 Ur-Šumah  
1 ...-zu  
1 ...-la

iti sig<sub>4</sub>-šè<sup>2</sup>-ba-gar

Month: “Set for the bricks”<sup>24</sup> (2nd month, Umma calendar)

gmu en <sup>d</sup>Inanna<sup>1</sup> máš-e ì-pà

Year: “en(-priest) of Inanna was chosen by means of omens” (Ibbi-Sîn 2)

No. 5 Common account of animal offerings in Drehem, Amar-Suen 7/10/13, 36x31x14mm

obv. 15 udu

šu-gíd

26 udu

3 máš gal

ba-úš

rev. é muḫaldim-šè

u<sub>4</sub> 13-kam

ki In-ta-è-a-ta

ba-zi

iti ezem-an-na

mu Ḫu-úḫ-nu-ri<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḫul

edge 44 udu

15 sheep

of the šu-gíd (type, for divination),

26 sheep,

3 adult billygoats,

slaughtered,

for the kitchen.

13th day.

Booked out of

Inta’ea(’s account).

Month: “Festival of An” (10th month, Drehem calendar)

Year: “Ḫuḫnuri was destroyed” (Amar-Suen 7)

44 ‘sheep’

No. 6 Sealed record of the death of a workman.<sup>25</sup> The seal impression contains a common presentation scene. Umma, Amar-Suen 8/1, 41x37x15mm

obv. úš Ba-ni-ni

iti ŠE.KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>-ta

ugula Ur-É-nun-na

Dead: Banini,

from month “Harvest” (1st month, Umma calendar).

Foreman: Ur-Enuna.

<sup>24</sup> The reading of the month name is not clear, possibly sig<sub>4</sub>-šu-ba-gar or the common iti sig<sub>4</sub>-(šìš)ù/ì-šub-ba-gar-ra. Compare iti sig<sub>4</sub>-šè in *NRVN* 1, 41:8 (?), 199:6 (both Nippur).

<sup>25</sup> The tablet is currently in the possession of Dr. Edwin Tompkins, Jr., of Palos Verdes, California. This is the sort of account discussed in my time-keeping article, *JESHO* 31, 172-173<sup>46</sup>. Lugal-kuzu vouches for the fact that a workman assigned the foreman Ur-Enuna had died and thus that the workman’s expected labor performance was to be deducted from the foreman’s debit account.

	kišib Lugal-kù-zu	Seal: Lugal-kuzu <sup>26</sup>
rev.	mu en Eridu <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥun	Year: “en(-priestess) of (Enki in) Eridu was installed” (Amar-Suen 8)
seal	Lugal-kù-zu dub-šar dumu Ur-nigar <sub>x</sub> <sup>gar</sup> šùš	Lugal-kuzu, scribe, son of Ur-nigar, chief cattle manager <sup>27</sup> .

No. 7 Common account of animal offerings in Drehem, sealed.<sup>28</sup> The seal impression contains a common presentation scene. Šu-Sîn 3/9/19, 62x45x17mm

obv.	[ ] gudu niga sig <sub>5</sub> ús <sup>1</sup>	[ ] fattened sheep, second quality <sup>29</sup> ,
	[ udu] gniga 3-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	[ ] fattened sheep, 3rd quality,
	g <sup>d</sup> X-a-x <sup>1</sup>	(for) ...
	g1 udu niga 3-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened sheep, 3rd quality,
	g1 udu niga 4-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened sheep, 4th quality,
	g1 máš-gal niga 4-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened adult billygoat, 4th quality,
	g <sup>d</sup> En-líl <sup>1</sup>	(for) Enlil.
	g1 ud <sub>5</sub> niga šu x x <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened nanny goat, ...,
	g1 <sup>1</sup> [ ] gniga sig <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened [ ], fine,
	g1 <sup>1</sup> [ ] gniga 3-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened [ ], 3rd quality,
	g1 udu niga 4-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened sheep, 4th quality,
	g <sup>d</sup> En-ki <sup>1</sup>	(for) Enki
rev.	[ ] gudu niga 4-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	[ ] fattened sheep, 4th quality,
	g <sup>d</sup> Nin-sún <sup>1</sup>	(for) Ninsun.
	g1 udu niga 4-kam ús <sup>1</sup>	1 fattened sheep, 4th quality,
	g <sup>d</sup> Inanna <sup>1</sup>	(for) Inanna.
	gx x x iti <sup>1</sup>	...
	[u <sub>4</sub> ] 20 lá-1 [ba]-gzal <sup>1</sup>	the 19th day having passed,
	ki [ ] x -gta <sup>1</sup>	booked out of ...(’s account).

<sup>26</sup> Lugal-kuzu and the foreman of an Umma agricultural troop, Ur-Enuna (s. Touzalin, *Aleppo* 189, 193, 223, etc.), are also attested together in the account *Umma Ist.* 3, 1694 (see further 1712, 1817, and cf. *SACT* 2, 200, in which Lugal-kuzu is the conveyor of baskets received by Ur-Enuna).

<sup>27</sup> To this designation see most recently Englund, *Or.* 64, 402-403, with notes.

<sup>28</sup> Accounts of the official Ur-Šulpa'e which exhibit the characteristic impression of the caps on either end of his cylinder seal (for some accessible pieces of comparison see D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* [London 1987] 115 no. 500, 121 nos. 515, 517 [and see p. 109], 127 no. 549; further, the discussions in U. Moortgat-Correns, “Glyptik,” *RIA* 3 [1957-71] 458-460, and C. Fischer, “Siegelabrollungen im British Museum auf Ur-III-zeitlichen Texten aus der Provinz Lagaš,” *BagM* 28 [1997] 109-110) are very common in the Drehem text corpus, see for instance *BIN* 3, 199, 200, 245, 434, 436, 550, 569, W. Nesbit, *SRD* 24, 29, etc.

<sup>29</sup> To the sig<sub>5</sub> ús animals see H. Waetzoldt, *Textilindustrie*, 47-48.

ba-gzi<sup>1</sup>  
iti gezem-mah<sup>1</sup>

gmu dŠu-dSu'en lugal<sup>1</sup>-e gSi-ma-núm<sup>1ki</sup>  
mu-għul<sup>1</sup>

Month: “Great Festival” (9th month, Drehem  
calendar)

Year: “Šu-Sîn the king destroyed Simanum”  
(Šu-Sîn 3)

seal dŠu-dSu'en  
lugal-kal-la  
lugal Uri<sup>5ki</sup>-ma  
lugal an-ub-da-límmu-ba  
Ur-dŠul-pa-è  
dub-šar  
dumu Ur-dHa-ìa  
ir<sub>11</sub>-zu

Šu-Sîn,  
mighty king,  
king of Ur,  
king of the four corners—  
Ur-Šulpa'e  
the scribe,  
son of Ur-Haya,  
is your servant.