

The Ur III calendar(s) of *Tūram-ilī**

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§1. In his publication of the texts from the archive of the Ur III merchant *Tūram-ilī*, Marc van de Mieroop (1986, 3) presented a list of 13 Sumerian month names attested in the archive.¹ Due to the recent and excellent treatment of several new texts from this archive by Steven Garfinkle (2000), this list may now be further completed. The new texts published by Garfinkle add the two months *šeš-da-gu*₇ and *tam*₂-*hi-ru* to the previously known month names, offering the distribution of month names in table 1.²

§2. As can be seen from the table, the texts 92 and 99³ are the only documents from the archive offering any

direct clues concerning the order of the months in the calendar(s). The absence of more than one year formula in these two loan documents implies that the loans began and expired within one single year (i.e. ŠS 8 and ŠS 9 respectively). Text 92 demonstrates that the month *kir*₁₁-*si-ak* (when the contract was drawn up) occurred before *giš-apin* (when the loan was to be repaid) while text 99 suggests, following the same logic, that the month *nig*₂-*e-ga* should be placed before the repayment month *giš-apin*. In any case, we may be reasonably confident that the three months *kir*₁₁-*si-ak*, *nig*₂-*e-ga* and *giš-apin* all belonged to the same (see below) calendar in the *Tūram-ilī* archive.

<i>ezen-a-BI</i>	81	90	134				
<i>ezen-a-sig</i> ₂	82	107	119				
<i>ezen-an-na</i>	95	96	105				
<i>ezen-d</i> ^d <i>Li</i> ₉ - <i>si</i> ₄	85	91	104	123	135		
<i>ezen-mah</i>	115	116	124	125	126	127	128
<i>ezen-d</i> ^d <i>Sul-gi</i>	79	84	103				
<i>gi-sig-ga</i>	86	108	112	129			
<i>giš-apin</i>	92	99	110	114	121	122	
<i>kir</i> ₁₁ - <i>si-ak</i>	92	93	101				
<i>nig</i> ₂ - <i>e-ga</i>	99	100	118				
<i>nig</i> ₂ - <i>d</i> ^d <i>En-lil</i> ₂ - <i>la</i> ₂	97	98	106	117			
<i>še-KIN-ku</i> ₅	80	83	88	113	120		
<i>šeš-da-gu</i> ₇	89						
<i>šu-gar-ra</i>	130	131					
<i>tam</i> ₂ - <i>hi-ru</i>	102						
							Σ = 51 tablets and 53 months

Table 1⁴. The different month names attested in the archive of *Tūram-ilī* according to Garfinkle 2000.

* References to texts in this article are according to the abbreviations used by the *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/abbrev.html>).

¹ See also Sallaberger 1993, 10-11; Cohen 1993, 207-208.

² The numbers in the table are those of the different texts used by Garfinkle 2000.

³ See van de Mieroop 1986, 7 and 10.

⁴ With the exception of text 87, none of the few texts without month names (i.e. nos. 77, 78, 94, 109, 111, 132, 133) can be clearly connected to loan business. While these texts all contain the name *Tūram-ilī*, it seems unlikely that they were archived together with our official's regular loan contracts (see further below).

§3. The large number of month names attested in the texts has led to the logical conclusion that the *Tūram-ilī* archive employed more than one calendrical system.⁵ It appears that a similar practice can also be observed in the private archive of the entrepreneurial shepherd SIA-a⁶ as well as in the small village of Išan Mizyad situated approximately 4 kilometers north of ancient Kiš.⁷ All tablets of *Tūram-ilī* are supposed to belong to a single archive in the, still unidentified, city or center where *Tūram-ilī* was active. The alleged employment of different calendars by *Tūram-ilī*'s scribe(s) is puzzling and appears to be highly impractical from an administrative point of view. One explanation could be that *Tūram-ilī*'s scribe(s) employed foreign calendars depending on the origins of the different clients in the documents and/or in which cities the contracts were drawn up.⁸

§4. A problem with this explanation is that it does not make sense that the private scribes and archivists of *Tūram-ilī* should be interested in adjusting their administration to the various calendars of *Tūram-ilī*'s clients. *Tūram-ilī*'s business interests have been believed to reach out and cover all of Babylonia⁹ and would thus include a number of different calendars. In some cases (i.e. the texts with *ezen-d*^d*Šul-gi* or *še-KIN-ku₅*), identical month names refer to entirely different months depending on the local calendar from whence they derive. To administer an archive with texts dated according to

all these calendars would be most difficult, if not completely impossible.

§5. Moreover, the texts in the archive itself speak against this explanation: in three texts from IS 2 and 3 (Garfinkle 2000, 116, 123, 129), the merchant *Nūr-Adad* (identified by his seal in all the cases) is receiving silver from *Tūram-ilī*. If *Tūram-ilī* adjusted his calendar to his clients, it is difficult to explain why the first text has been dated with a month specific for the Ur/Puzriš-Dagan calendar (*ezen-maḥ*), the second with a month name only attested in Lagaš (*ezen-d*^d*Li₉-si₄*), while the third text uses a month that is only found in the texts from the archives of SIA-a and *Tūram-ilī* (*gi-sig-ga*). In fact, these three texts strongly suggest that the months *ezen-maḥ*, *ezen-d*^d*Li₉-si₄* and *gi-sig-ga* belonged to one (hitherto unknown) calendar used in the *Tūram-ilī* archive. A similar connection can be found between the Ur/Puzriš-Dagan month *ezen-an-na* and the Nippur month *giš-apin* in two texts from IS 1 and 2 where *Tūram-ilī* is delivering building materials to NE.NE (Garfinkle 2000, 105 and 114).¹⁰

§6. Finally, in the few cases when the locations of the transactions are specified in the texts, the month names used do not fit the local calendars of these places: In Garfinkle 2000, 95, a certain *Ilī-ašrani*¹¹ receives peas from *Tūram-ilī* in E-sagdana^{ki}, which has been thought to refer to the toponym in Nippur or Lagaš.¹² However, the month name in the text (*ezen-an-na*) is specific for the calendar used in the provinces of Puzriš-Dagan and Ur.¹³ On the other hand, in Garfinkle 2000, 85, Šu-

⁵ See e.g. van de Mieroop 1986, p. 4; Cohen 1993, p. 207; lo Castro 1999/63, n. 3; Garfinkle 2000, p. 52.

⁶ Piotr Steinkeller (1989, 306) listed 19 Sumerian and non-Sumerian month names for the SIA-a archive.

⁷ See Cohen 1993, 206-207. For a more comprehensive treatment of the problems connected to the idea of multiple calendars in Išan Mizyad, see my forthcoming study on this site. It goes without saying that the use of multiple calendars in the single archive of *Tūram-ilī* cannot be compared to the use of multiple calendars in different archives within one single city. Indeed, the latter phenomena can be observed in several major centers in the Ur III state, such as Puzriš-Dagan or Nippur.

⁸ Hence Garfinkle 2000, 52 (about the SIA-a archive): "The presence of a month name specific to the Nippur calendar, *apin-du₈* (text 27), is simply an indication that the text was written in Nippur."

⁹ Very few texts in the *Tūram-ilī* archive record the location of the transaction but the evidence indicates that *Tūram-ilī* was involved in business in E₂-sag-da-na^{ki} (Garfinkle 2000, 95) as well as the southern cities of Uruk (Garfinkle 2000, 109 [with comment], 128) and Ur (Garfinkle 2000, 85).

¹⁰ See also Garfinkle 2000, 119 and 122 where a merchant called *Ilī-rabi* is receiving silver in the month *ezen-a-sig₂* in IS 2 and again in the month *giš-apin* the following year. It should, however, be noted that it remains uncertain if text 119, where the silver is delivered by Enuā "on behalf of *Tūram-ilī*" was actually filed in the archive of *Tūram-ilī*.

¹¹ A person named *Ilī-ašrani* is also attested doing business with *Tūram-ilī* in texts 87 and 132.

¹² Garfinkle 2000, p. 364 (Nippur); van de Mieroop 1986, p. 5 (Lagaš). In addition, places called E-sagdana are attested in the districts of Umma and Šuruppak (see Wilcke 1992, 323).

¹³ Note, however, that the month name *ezen-an-na* can be found in the so-called shoe archive (see Durand, *Documents Cunéiformes* (1982) 206, 171; *MVN* 11, 186), which indeed may have referred to the E-sagdana of Nippur (Wilcke 1992). The proposal recently put forward by T. Sharlach (1999, 20-21) that E-sagdana was the name of Puzriš-Dagan used in Lagaš and Umma

Mama¹⁴ is receiving silver from *Tūram-ilī* in the city of Ur, but the contract is dated with a month only used in the city of Lagaš (ezen-^dLi₉-si₄). Both nos. 109 and 128

of Garfinkle's texts suggest that *Tūram-ilī* was active in Uruk but only the latter text is dated by month. The text contains the month name ezen-mah, which is the

Month names	RK	Ni	Ad	La	Um	SI	IM	Wi	Ak
ezen-a-BI ¹⁵	—	x	#	—	—	#	#	—	—
ezen-a-sig ₂	—	—	—	—	—	#	—	# S ¹⁶	—
ezen-an-na	xi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ezen- ^d Li ₉ -si ₄	—	—	—	iii	ix ¹⁷	—	—	#	—
ezen-mah	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ezen- ^d Šul-gi	viii	—	#	vii	x	#	—	#	—
gi-sig-ga	—	—	—	—	—	#	—	—	—
giš-apin	—	viii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
kir ₁₁ -si-ak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
nig ₂ -e-ga	—	—	—	—	—	#	—	—	—
nig ₂ - ^d En-lil ₂ -la ₂	—	— ¹⁸	—	—	—	#	—	# S	—
še-KIN-ku ₅	i	xii	#	xi	i	#	—	—	—
šeš-da-gu ₇	iii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
šu-gar-ra	—	—	#	—	—	—	—	—	—
tam ₂ -bi-ru	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	viii

Table 2. The month names in Garfinkle's texts and their occurrences in other cities or archives.¹⁹

“despite Shulgi's act of renaming it” remains problematic. The fact that Puzriš-Dagan is rarely attested in Lagaš and Umma can hardly be taken as conclusive evidence that the scribes in these cities referred to Puzriš-Dagan as E-sagdana. In fact, if we do not count the occurrences in year formulae (where Puzriš-Dagan is never replaced or confused with E-sagdana), the name Puzriš-Dagan is rare in all Ur III cities. Moreover, it should be noted that both place names are attested in all major sites of the Ur III state and (as mentioned above) that places called E-sagdana were found in the districts of a number of Ur III cities. Finally, it is difficult to explain why the scribe of the Ur text *UET* 3, 916, dated to IS 1 should decide to use a place name (i.e. E-sagdana) that was replaced almost three decades earlier.

¹⁴ Possibly referring to the merchant Šu-Mama receiving silver on behalf of *Tūram-ilī* in text 84.

¹⁵ The festival commemorated in this month is attested in a number of Sumerian calendars in central and northern Babylonia and the connection of this month with the Old Babylonian month *a-bu-um* is problematic. Instead, we find the Sumerian month AB-e₃ in Nippur, AB-BI in Adab, a-BI₂ / ezen-a-BI in the SI.A-a archive and a-BI₂ / AB-e₃ in Išān Mizyad. In addition, both a-BI and AB-BI have been attested in the material from the state's capital Ur (*UET* 3, 20, 722). The AB-e₃ festival in Nippur was an important event that led to the change of the tenth month in the city from the original ku₃-su_x(ŠIM) to AB-e₃ (Sallaberger 1993, 146-48; see also Cohen 1993, 117-18). It should be noted that the month AB-e₃ was also used for the tenth month in the Sumerian calendar used in the so-called Early Isin period (see *BIN* 9, 10, 80, 81, etc.).

¹⁶ While often overlooked in secondary literature, it is important to point out that this month attested in a Sargonic text from Tell Al-Wilayah was nig₂-a-sig₂, not ezen-a-sig₂ (see Postgate 1976, 2). As far as I know, the month name nig₂-a-sig₂ has not been attested outside Tell Al-Wilayah. While both variants are likely to commemorate the same event, the different writings in themselves seem to imply that the calendar of the *Tūram-ilī* archive and the calendar used in the texts from Tell Al-Wilayah were not identical. In fact, since both nig₂-a-sig₂ and nig₂-^dEn-lil₂-la₂ (the latter which perhaps should be connected to the cultic calendar of Nippur, see note below) are only attested in texts from the Old Akkadian period in Tell Al-Wilayah, it is plausible that the Ur III month names of this city (i.e. ezen-Lisi and ezen-Šulgi) should be connected to the not too distant Umma (Lisi) or perhaps to the city of Lagaš.

¹⁷ That is, ^dLi₉-si₄ without the ezen “festival”.

¹⁸ While the month nig₂-^dEn-lil₂ has not been attested in Nippur, the attestations in the archives of *Tūram-ilī* and SI.A-a as well as from the Old Akkadian site of Tell Al-Wilayah may perhaps suggests that these calendars were influenced by the cultic festivals of Nippur, where Enlil was the supreme deity (see lo Castro 1999/63, n. 3).

¹⁹ Abbreviations: RK = “Reichskalender”, Ni = Nippur, Ad = Adab, La = Lagaš, Um = Umma, SI = SI.A-a archive, IM = Išān Mizyad, Wi = Tell Al-Wilayah, Ak = Akkadian (Old Babylonian), S = Sargonic, # = attested but position in the calendar remains unknown. For the sake of simplicity, the numbers are according to the calendar used from the year ŠS 4 and onwards (note, however, Garfinkle 2000, 79 (ezen-^dŠul-gi) and 80 (še-KIN-ku₅) dated to ŠS 1 and 3 respectively). For the—as

most common month in the *Tūram-ilī* archive(s). The Ur III calendar of Uruk remains somewhat uncertain but if Mark Cohen’s reconstruction is correct (1993, 208-210), the month ezen-maḥ was not used in this city.²⁰ In fact, if we do not count the *Tūram-ilī* texts, the month ezen-maḥ is (again) only found in the Ur/Puzriš-Dagan calendar.

§7. The attestations in other calendars of the month names (or the festivals on which the months were based) in the *Tūram-ilī* calendar(s) can be demonstrated as shown in table 2 above.

§8. There are alternative explanations for the apparent use of more than one calendrical system in the archive

<i>Transliteration of AUCT 1, 757</i>	
Obv. 1	1 ma-na ḥar k[u ₃ -babbar]
2	5 tug ₂ ḥi-a
3	0;0,2 i ₃ -giš
4	<i>tu-ra-am-i₃-li₂</i>
5	dam-gar ₃ lu ₂ unug ^{ki} -ga-ke ₄
Rev. 6	in-ba
7	e ₂ -sag-da-na
8	nibru ^{ki} -ka
9	iti ezen-an-na
10	mu us ₂ -sa e ₂ puzur ₄ -iš ^d -da-gan ba-du ₃

§8.a.2. The text shows that another merchant called *Tūram-ilī* was active in Uruk, at least during the end of the reign of Šulgi. This, in turn, raises the question if the above-mentioned texts Garfinkle 2000, 109 and 128, where a certain *Tūram-ilī* is delivering barley connected to the bala in Uruk, could rather be referring to this Uruk based individual. In the former text from IS 2, our *Tūram-ilī* and two of his colleagues (all identified through their seals) are receiving the barley balance of the bala in Uruk (si-i₃-tum še bala ša₃ Unug^{ki}-ga) from this unidentified *Tūram-ilī*. It appears highly plausible that this *Tūram-ilī* refers to the same individual as we find in text 128 where Šu-Ninšubur²³ receives barley on account of the bala (mu bala-a-še₃) in the same city.

yet somewhat uncertain—calendar used in Adab, see Yang 1989, 53-59 and Cohen 1993, 201-203. For an overview of the different Akkadian calendars used in the Old Babylonian period, see Greengus 1987, 212.

²⁰ Note, however, that two months in Cohen’s reconstruction of the Uruk calendar are completely broken and could therefore theoretically be reconstructed as ezen-maḥ.

of *Tūram-ilī*.

§8.a.1. We have to consider the fact that the personal name *Tūram-ilī* was rather common in the Ur III period. In fact, we find officials from all over the state from a variety of professions called *Tūram-ilī* and many texts (and therefore also month names) in the “*Tūram-ilī* archive” may in reality derive from archives belonging to different people.²¹ Our *Tūram-ilī* can be identified as a merchant involved in the loan business of (mainly) silver during the final stages of the Ur III state (see note 28) in northern Babylonia. As an example of a text with a different merchant called *Tūram-ilī*, one can mention *AUCT 1, 757* from Šulgi 40 dated with the tenth month in the Puzriš-Dagan calendar (eleventh in Ur):

<i>Translation of AUCT 1, 757</i>	
1	1 mina silver ring (≈ 500 grams),
5	5 assorted garments,
2	(ban ₂) sesame oil (≈ 20 liters),
<i>Tūram-ilī</i> ,	
the merchant of the man of Uruk,	
deducted. ²²	
In the E-sagdana	
of Nippur.	
Month “An festival” (Puzriš-Dagan: x / Ur: xi);	
Year after: “The house of Puzris-Dagan	
was built” (Šulgi 40)	

The main problem with the identification of the merchant in *AUCT 1, 757* and this official in Uruk is that it would require that he remained in business for at least 28 years.²⁴ Therefore, the merchant in *AUCT 1, 757* may perhaps rather be referring to an earlier predecessor stationed in the city.

§8.a.3. The second highly interesting aspect of *AUCT 1, 757* is that the transaction in the text takes place in the E-sagdana of Nippur. Not only does this imply that the E-sagdana^{ki} in the already mentioned Garfinkle

²¹ Indeed, our *Tūram-ilī* is frequently attested in business transactions involving other officials also named *Tūram-ilī* (Garfinkle 2000, 99, 104, 109, 131).

²² For the verb ba, in this context denoting “to deduct, withdraw”, see Natalia Koslova’s comment of *SANTAG 6, 216* (where a certain *Tur-am₃-i₃-li₂* is deducing some product, presumably barley) with further references.

²³ Possible identical to one of *Tūram-ilī*’s two receiving colleagues in text 109 (see Garfinkle 2000, 374).

²⁴ A more contemporary merchant called *Tūram-ilī* is attested as a witness in two loan contracts from ŠS 8

2000, 95 refers to the toponym in Nippur, but it also shows that Uruk had business interests in this institution. This should perhaps be taken as an indication that *Tūram-ilī* in the rather uncharacteristic²⁵ text Garfinkle 2000, 95 may also have been an Uruk merchant. With all these different individuals named *Tūram-ilī* in mind, it may appear somewhat injudicious to add to the calendar the month šeš-da-gu₇ (otherwise only found in Ur/Puzriš-Dagan) from one single text (Garfinkle 2000, 89) that, apart from the appearance of a *Tūram-ilī* who delivers silver, shows no prosopographical or structural connection to other texts from the archive.

§8.b.1. Even if we can securely identify *Tūram-ilī* in the texts, we cannot presuppose that all texts mentioning a certain individual were archived in one single archive belonging to that individual. This may appear to be an obvious remark but the fact is that when it comes to the private archive(s) of *Tūram-ilī* (and indeed also of SI.A-a), the main emphasis has been placed on the presence in the text of the personal names rather than the context in which the names occur. However, texts are archived by the party that has acquired a specific right. Only when one or several individuals (usually identified by his/their seal(s)) is/are receiving (šu ba-ti) silver (or, in a few cases, some other products) from *Tūram-ilī* (ki *Tūram-ilī*-ta) do we have any reason to assume that the texts were stored in *Tūram-ilī*'s loan-archive.²⁶ Texts where *Tūram-ilī* is supplying products in other contexts (sale contracts,²⁷ bala deliveries, etc.) may certainly also have been archived by the administrators of *Tūram-ilī*, but it is by no means impossible that these transactions were filed separately from his loan contracts.

§8.b.2. Thus, while *Tūram-ilī* may have used multiple calendrical systems, we cannot presuppose that these systems were used together in one single archive. More importantly, if *Tūram-ilī* is merely mentioned (e.g. Garfinkle 2000, 133) or appears as the receiver, thus

documenting the business activities of the Nippur(?) official A₂-zi-da (*NATN* 336; *PDT* 2, 1072).

²⁵ While it is possible that our *Tūram-ilī* may have been dealing with flour (see Garfinkle 2000, 135), this text is the only reference where he is concerning himself with peas.

²⁶ Note that the large number of receipts of silver (or other products) from *Tūram-ilī* that are not specified as loans (see Garfinkle 2000, pp. 134-155) should also be attributed to this loan-archive.

²⁷ Note that Piotr Steinkeller has shown that sale documents were almost exclusively sealed by the sellers

being the debtor rather than the creditor (e.g. Garfinkle 2000, 77, 109, 113, 124, 131), the texts were certainly not archived by *Tūram-ilī*'s organization. Obviously, this has to be taken into account when we try to reconstruct the calendar used in *Tūram-ilī*'s loan-archive. For example, in Garfinkle 2000, 131, our *Tūram-ilī* (identified by his seal) is borrowing flour from another official named *Tūram-ilī*. Since the texts are dated with the Adab month šu-gar-ra it seems rather likely that this flour-lending *Tūram-ilī* came from this city. This makes it highly plausible that the similar flour-loan from the same year and month (Garfinkle 2000, 130) also should be attributed to this Adab official. This would mean that the month šu-gar-ra is not attested in the *Tūram-ilī* archive, which in turn rather significantly would attenuate the Adab connection to the archive.

§8.c. The many month names found in *Tūram-ilī*'s texts may be the result of a sudden change or modification of the calendar. There are many examples in the Ur III period of calendars that for various reasons were altered. Thus, while *Tūram-ilī* possibly made use of more than one calendrical system, we cannot presuppose that the different systems were used at the same time. According to the texts collected by Garfinkle, *Tūram-ilī*'s texts span altogether 18 years including the reigns of the last three kings of the Ur III state.²⁸ During this politically dynamic period, the Ur III state went from being the major political, cultural and military power in Mesopotamia to an unimportant petty state in southern Babylonia. Already from the very beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Suen, we have to assume that the power in northern Babylonia shifted from the south to the major Amorite settlements in the northern and central parts of Babylonia. One possible example of a new element in the calendar that may be ascribed to this political development is the archive's only Semitic month *tambīru* attested in one single text dated to IS 1 (Garfinkle 2000, 102).

§9. There can be no doubt that the use of more than one calendar within one single archive at the same time must have been not only highly impractical but also perfectly pointless. Nevertheless, previous studies of the

(1989, 113-114), which in turn would imply that these documents were stored and archived by the buyers.

²⁸ That is, from AS 4 until IS 3. It should, however, be noted that Garfinkle's two attestations from the reign of Amar-Suen by no means can be considered certain and the vast majority of the texts date to the two final years of Šu-Suen and the first three years of Ibbi-Suen.

Tūram-ilī archive have produced more month names than one calendar could possibly need, and it has therefore been assumed that the archive employed multiple calendars. However, earlier discussions of the *Tūram-ilī* archive display some methodological problems. First of all, scholars have been too impetuous in identifying any individual called *Tūram-ilī* with our particular man. Once *Tūram-ilī* has been identified, it has been assumed that every time he is mentioned in a text—regardless of the context—that particular text was filed in the *Tūram-ilī* archive. Moreover, two further aspects need to be considered before any attempts of reconstructing the calendar can be undertaken: 1) *Tūram-ilī* could (and probably did) keep more than one archive in his organization; 2) one or several month names in the calendar may have been replaced by other names during the time span of the archive.

§10. In section 8(a-c) I have shown that if these aspects are accounted for, the number of different months attested in *Tūram-ilī*'s loan-archive should be reduced. The single text with the Ur/Puzriš-Dagan month šeš-da-gu₇ (Garfinkle 2000, 89) as well as the two texts with the Adab month šu-gar-ra (nos. 130 and 131) were not archived by our *Tūram-ilī* and should be attributed

to the archives of other officials called *Tūram-ilī*. As for the single attestation from IS 1 of the Old Babylonian month *tambīru* (Garfinkle 2000, 102), it seems plausible that this month did not represent a regular element in our calendar. The occurrence of this Semitic month in the otherwise Sumerian calendar of *Tūram-ilī* may perhaps be explained by the increased influence of the Amorites in the region during the reign of Ibbi-Suen.

§11. Thus, we end up with one single Sumerian calendar, or rather twelve different month names, used by *Tūram-ilī*'s administration. While the sequence of the months remains uncertain, several of the month names can be connected to each other within one single calendar. In addition to the direct connections of the months kir₁₁-si-ak, nig₂-e-ga and giš-apin that are found in the above-mentioned texts 92 and 99 (see §2), I have tried to show (see §5 and note 10) that several other months can be connected on the basis of structural similarities of the texts and/or prosopography (i.e. 119²-122; 105-114; 123-116-129). This new calendar appears to be hitherto unique, although seven of its twelve months also appear in the texts from the SI.A-a archive(s) (table 3).

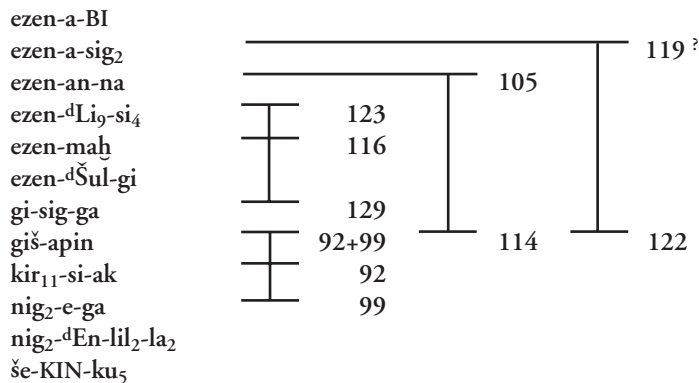


Table 3. The different month names in the archive of *Tūram-ilī* and their different connections to each other.²⁹

²⁹ The numbers to the right refer to the text numbers in Garfinkle 2000.

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