CHAPTER 21

EQUIVALENCY VALUES AND THE COMMAND ECONOMY OF THE UR III PERIOD IN MESOPOTAMIA

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Abstract

The question of state imposition and monitoring of silver value equivalencies has fairly dominated discussions of the administrative history of late third-millennium B.C. Mesopotamia. A shekel of silver (ca. 8.33 g) fetched 300 liters of barley, 30 liters of fish oil, 10 liters of clarified butter, or a healthy sheep. Although silver was of imposing importance in mechanisms of exchange and wealth distribution within and across borders of ancient Babylonian states, central household accountants employed, with almost dizzying accuracy, a broad palette of equivalencies as part of their means of control of production. These included value and real equivalencies between such raw materials and finished products as milk and cheese or barley and flour, but most notably labor norms that determined the success or failure of teams of dependent workers engaged in all aspects of early household production. This contribution offers an overview of all such equivalency values documented in Ur III cuneiform accounts dating to ca. 2050–2000 B.C. It follows the emergence of labor value abstraction up the line to potentially generalized silver "wages" that characterized administrative texts of the following Old Babylonian period, and it addresses the likelihood of the imposition by state bookkeepers of state-level equivalencies in determining so-called bala *taxation obligations levied by Ur on various neo-Sumerian provinces.*

Introduction

Equivalencies come in many guises. We might put one apple here and one over there and claim the two are equivalent; they are physically equivalent, give or take, but more importantly they will satisfy our senses, our hunger, and our appetite in equal measure. We might rather say that both apples together have the same value as this sugar melon. We would then as soon eat, or just own, two apples as we would one melon. Or we might say: This apple is worth fifty cents and so is that one, and the melon one dollar. We have just abstracted from apples and melons to valuations placed on them by the orchard owner, the grocer, the local council, "supply and demand" and backed up by our social and economic order. We might command this equivalence ourselves if we are of a mind and powerful, or presumptuous enough to chance it. It is clear enough that the mechanisms of straightforward equivalencies, then of barter and finally money equivalencies, develop in a more or less linear fashion in history, though often disrupted by artificial mechanisms introduced by social agencies of various stripes or by conflict, natural catastrophes, and so on. One such artificial mechanism consists of imposed price controls that are generally derided in free market economies as an abuse of markets—above all an ineffective abuse. In times of crisis, however, the need to influence access to limited goods and services and to limit the ability of a few to profit from scarce resources—for instance, to control the price of strategic resources such as oil or steel during wartime—is generally accepted, even by the most libertarian of the Chicago School economists.

Economic, administrative, and ideological considerations have led to many such constraints on the unencumbered development or in many cases the crass manipulation of supply and demand, of commodities and labor. In the following, I would like to review and compare evidence in the cuneiform record that would appear to represent an engineered wage and price system based on relatively complex equivalency values that were, as a rule, only implicit factors in account calculations. These early testimonials to social-economic policies are often characterized as evidence of centralized *oikos* organization under the control of a very few privileged elites, recorded by their slightly more numerous middle-class scribes, to exploit large numbers of productive laborers. Yet the disparity in their relative privileges scarcely compares with modern counterparts. We are witnesses of late to an ever-growing gulf between high- and low-income Americans, and of differences among industrialized nations, threshold nations such as India and China, and the poor nations of much of Africa and Central America. The luck of birth makes a big difference in what you will earn. The wages paid seamstresses doing the same work in varying parts of the globe bear clear witness to this fact, with incomes of $90 per day in Sweden down to $1.50 in most of India (Englund 2012); women were not allowed to work for *any* wages in Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban.

Since the time of Bismarck, social democratic policies among the economies of advanced industrial nations have acted to suppress the kind of excess that led to fabulous wealth alongside abject poverty in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Across borders, the liberalization of markets, leveraged loans for capital programs, and economic aid to preindustrial nations were at least conceived as a means of achieving some alleviation of the suffering of many of the world's poor. It is said that globalization will eventually care for an international leveling of wages and prices, which many—the have-nots—will view with favor, and many others—the Detroit autoworker or the German carpenter—will not. Within the borders of advanced nation-states, the check on excessive economic disparity has taken the form of a progressive tax system that redistributes, for the general good, wealth created by working classes and held by economic elites. A social democratic view would be that a progressive tax code will recognize the efforts of entrepreneurs and those who simply work more but will increasingly claim for the majority of citizens those revenues that a libertarian ideology would grant in unbridled measure to a cunning few. Adam Smith defended the concept of a progressive tax code in his *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, supporting tariffs on imports that would tax the rich more than the poor, something akin to a luxury tax, which has lost currency in the American lexicon.

In the United States, the tax rate on the highest earners has eroded in both Republican and Democratic administrations to the point now of a near flat tax of 35 percent for any earnings over $330,000, though itself rarely achieved in the face of massive avoidance schemes. We should remember that in the postwar years of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, marginal rates on income over $200,000 ranged from 70 up to 91 percent. But during the Reagan/Bush I years, with the undying support of legions of those least likely to profit from such "tax reform," those rates were reduced to as low as 28 percent. The Clinton administration, consistent with its roots in the right-leaning Democratic Leadership Council, championed the deregulatory policies of Goldman Sachs's Robert Rubin, and Ayn Rand disciple Alan Greenspan. The government did raise marginal rates back to all of 39.6 percent on incomes over $255,000, but in its first term, the Democratic Congress made no change in long- or short-term capital gains rates, so critical to ensuring the disparity between the wealthy and all the rest, and in its second term, it actually agreed to lower those rates to 20 percent, matching Reagan at a level not seen since 1933. With his 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act and his signing into law of the Financial Services Modernization Act of 1999, Clinton co-opted the policies of the then Republican majority and repealed Democratic social and banking legislation designed during the Great Depression to afford the poor a minimally responsive safety net and to guard against the financial instrument speculation that was tantamount to an act of massive fraud committed against the middle class—in the 1920s and during the period from 1980 to the present day. Thus even leading members of the Democratic Party, once social

progressives, speak today of no need to consider the ultimate value of a hedge fund manager's labor but rather that the salary tied to this work should merely reflect corporate "results."

The dismantling of progressive taxation in the United States, combined with the decline of unions and their collective bargaining power, has done its share to ensure quite striking wealth among a very few, while at the same time middle and low incomes have stagnated or retreated. The federal minimum wage in the United States is now a nominal $7.25 an hour (and thus on a continuing spiral downward since the inflation-adjusted FMW of $9.50 in the first year of the Nixon presidency; see generally Waltman 2008:128–146), translating into a yearly compensation of about $14,500, assuming full-time work and no illness, while the compensation paid to the now failed Countrywide Bank chief executive officer Frank Mozilo in 2007 was $142 million. Though he was only the seventh highest-paid CEO of that year, this income still represents 9,800 times the yearly compensation of the (federally indexed) lowest earners and is 13,110 times as much as the 2009 poverty threshold reported by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (See <http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/09poverty.shtml>; the threshold, defined since the Johnson administration as demonstrating "insufficient income to provide the food, shelter and clothing needed to preserve health," is $22,050 for a family of four.) In even more dramatic dimensions, the 20 top Wall Street fund managers earned *an average of $658 million* in 2006, according to Forbes.com.

It can be difficult to find relevant comparisons for these staggering numbers with some conception of absolute labor value in modern times—the more so when we think of earnings in past periods of our history. Socialist experiments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries generally did a poor job of regulating prices and wages, thus making efforts to introduce any regulation of the U.S. economy through tax or other legislative policy an easy target for modern ideologues. Still, some efforts were clearly geared to facilitating social cohesion and a fair distribution of wealth. The liberal socialist experiment with wage regulations in the former Yugoslavia commanded that income rates of top managers, based on shop productivity, should not exceed eight times those of factory hall janitors. Simple wage comparisons between modern and less crass periods of our recent past can also be instructive. For instance, the Czech composer Antonin Dvorak was recruited in 1892 by the National Conservatory of Music with what was then considered a fabulous salary, $15,000 per year, the equivalent of about $350,000 today. If in current terms $15,000 is set as the yearly minimum wage in the United States, then Dvorak was offered—and received—about 23 times this amount. How, though, would we rank the New World Symphony against the speculative currency profits of a fund manager with a B.S. in math from Caltech?

The social compact represented by wages and assorted privileges of various classes of the workforce was thus a subject of quantitative engineering in some recent phases of economic development. In other, fancifully described as libertarian economies,

it was left to the whims of an often manipulated labor supply and demand. Such wage management is well known from Old Babylonian legal texts, for instance in the codes (Roth 2003):

Codex Ešnunna § 11: The wages of a day laborer are 1 shekel of silver, and 1 *barig* [about 60 liters] of barley as ration for service of one month.

Codex Hammurapi § 239: When an *awīlum* hires a boatman, he will pay him 6 gur [about 1,800 liters] barley per year.

Codex Hammurapi § 257: When an *awīlum* hires a field hand, he will pay him 8 gur [about 2,400 liters] barley per year.

Codex Hammurapi § 258: When an *awīlum* hires an ox driver, he will pay him 6 gur [about 1,800 liters]) barley per year.

Codex Hammurapi § 261: When an *awīlum* hires a herder to watch over large and small cattle, he will pay him 8 gur [about 2,400 liters] barley per year.

Codex Hammurapi § 273: When an *awīlum* hires a day laborer, he will pay him, from the beginning of the year through the fifth month, 6 grains of silver per day; from the sixth month until the end of the year, he pays 5 grains of silver per day [180 grains equals 1 shekel, about 8.33 g of silver].

The Ur III Economy and Wage Structure

I will restrict my remarks here to the Ur III period, dating to ca. 2100 to 2000 B.C. With its now approximately 96,000 published and probably as many unpublished texts, the 50-year phase of bookkeeping in the latter half of the Ur III period presents historians with an otherwise unknown wealth of documentation. Yet the lacunae in the records are very difficult to overcome. For one, we are not privy to the state archives, which must have been prepared and stored in the capital city of Ur. For another, despite recent publications (Dahl 2006; Maeda 1994, 1995; Sharlach 2003; Steinkeller 1987) and much effort expended in understanding it, we have still no clear picture of the system of domestic taxation, known in Sumerian as *bala* ("crossing over"; "term"). Nor do we understand the system of tributary payments (Sumerian *gun mada*, "load of the lands," using specifically the Akkadian loan *mada* for "land") or simple campaign plunder extracted from the regions surrounding Mesopotamia, particularly ancient Iran to the east. These are very significant failings that if removed would provide a backdrop for a better understanding of much of what we see in administrative documents that represent efforts of a restricted set of accountants overseeing, as a rule, the activities of households with a range of perhaps 500 to 1,000 or 2,000 dependents, with their various

supervisors and foremen, tradesmen, singers, bishops, clowns, dogs, and herded rats. This was the level of provincial households directed by *sangas* (temple managers) and *šabras* (managers of governors' estates), which—since relatively self-sufficient, often based on family relationships, and partially autonomous—have been compared to the *oikos* households of Greek city-states. These included a ruling extended family and slaves, living together on one estate, often associated with extensive farmland tended by the slaves.

An important issue for a number of Ur III specialists has been to keep a running tally of Ur III value and labor equivalences that derive from only implied accountant calculations in cuneiform texts. As has been stated repeatedly, we may view such value equivalencies from several perspectives. In the first instance, we can assign relative values to objects and sets of objects based on both their intrinsic worth—food, animals, and so on—and on their nonintrinsic worth—rarity, presumed prestige, etc. In the second instance, we can describe equivalencies between producing agents (humans, farm animals, arable land, and so on) to products over some given length of time. Then, according to the labor theory of value (describing precapitalist societies and commonly abandoned in modern economics in favor of marginal utility as it applies to capitalism), the productive capacity of humans can be abstracted (via the value assigned to the products they make or assist in making, or other services they render) to include a valuation of their labor time—that is, to include wages.

We have good data that help reconstruct the system of wages, usually in the form of rations, paid to members of early Babylonian communities of the twenty-first century B.C. Dependent workers, called *guruš* (male laborer) and *geme*$_2$ (female laborer), were much comparable to chattel slaves but were inalienable wards to the state and may thus be conveniently called corporate slaves. (The reader should be aware that the social and economic status of these men and women, and of individuals with the associated designations *erin*$_2$, *ug*$_3$*-IL*$_2$, and *dumu-gi*$_7$, has been the focus of a very long debate among Assyriologists and historians from related fields; for easily accessible reviews of the relevant literature, compare Englund 2009:note 10; Koslova 2008; Studevent-Hickman 2008.) These laborers made up the large majority of the workforce and received, next to yearly disbursements of clothing and, though undocumented, probably some form of living accommodation, a monthly ration of on average 30 liters of barley for women and 60 for men (Gelb 1965; Monaco 1985–1986; Waetzold 1987, 1988). Unskilled day laborers (Sumerian *lu*$_2$ *ḫun-ga*$_2$) were accorded wages of about three times as much, although as irregular and part-time workers they would not have received additional remuneration; nor would they have enjoyed the safety net—including rations and care while ill, and lessened work norms in advancing age—represented by the large households of which corporate slaves were members. Thus we may peg the normed wage of the lowest rung of workers in the Ur III period at about 200 liters of barley per month.

Many thousands of tablets attest to this system of wages for lowest earners, but

those describing higher levels of income are rare and are in any case to be understood as partial views of third-millennium privilege, where, as in so many other eras, oligarchic land grants and usury may have been major sources of largely unquantifiable individual enrichment. One such rare account is found in the text displayed in Figure 21.1 (Deimel 1916; Englund 1990:60–63). This record from Girsu (modern Telloh) in southern Mesopotamia documents presumed disbursements of grain to the upper and middle management of large households, ranging from 200 *gur* per year (or about 5,000 liters of grain per month) given to the highest-paid officer (Sumerian *šabra*) down to 250 liters of grain given out monthly to gardeners and to foremen of couriers and "throne bearers" (assuming that lines i 10–12 were based on four of the former and two each of the latter named categories). (In his treatment of account BM 23622+28004, Maekawa [1986, 1999:83, number 17] demonstrates that the eighth household listed in *HSS* 4, 4, that of the divinized Namḫani, had *two* "chief accountants.") Accordingly, our household director received on the order of 20 times as much as the worst-paid management staff and 25 times the income of the lowest-paid hireling or corporate slave. In simplistic terms of multiples of various wage earners, that would place this ancient manager of the largest *oikos* household in Girsu at a modern U.S. income of very roughly $375,000—very comfortable to be sure but perhaps not reflective of an obscene disparity either.

1.	3(geš$_2$) 2(u) še gur lugal	*200 royal gur of barley*
2.	šabra	*for the chief household administrative*
3.	2(u) nu-banda$_3$ gu$_4$ 2(u) gur-ta	*20 oxen managers at 20 gur each;*
4.	1(geš$_2$) 4(u) ša$_{13}$-dub-ba	*100 [gur for the] chief bookkeeper[s];*
5.	1(geš$_2$) 4(u) sa$_{12}$-du$_5$	*100 [gur for the] chief surveyor[s];*
6.	1(geš$_2$) 4(u) ka-guru$_7$	*100 [gur for the] silo manager[s];*
7.	⌜4(u) dub-sar gu$_4$⌝ apin	*40 [gur for the] scribe[s] of the plough oxen;*
8.	⌜4(u) šar$_2$⌝ -ra-ab-du	*40 [gur for the] šarrabdu[s];*
9.	⌜1(geš$_2$) 4(u)⌝ nu-banda$_3$ erin$_2$-na	*100 [gur for the] manager[s] of the labor troops;*
10.	⌜4(u)⌝ lu$_2$ SAR-me	*40 [gur for the] vegetable gardeners;*
11.	2(u) ugula-geš$_2$ kas$_4$-me	*20 [gur for the] "60-foreman" of the couriers;*
12.	⌜2(u)⌝ ugula-geš$_2$ gu-za-la$_2$-me	*20 [gur for the] "60-foreman" of the "throne bearers";*
13.	⌜1(geš$_2$) 4(u)⌝ la$_2$ 2(diš) engar 1(u) 5(aš)-ta	*98 ploughmen at 15 [gur] each;*
14.	4(geš'u) 3(geš$_2$) 5(u) gur	*[total:] 2,630 gur;*
15.	⌜e$_2$⌝ ^{d}nin-gir$_2$-⌜su⌝	*the household of [divine] Ningirsu.*

Reverse iii

11'. še geš ra sanga šabra-ne	*Threshed barley of the priests and chief household administrative officers*
12'. iti GAN_2-maš	*month: "GANmaš," [first month, Girsu calendar],*
13'. mu us_2-ˈsa¹ [^{d}amar]-^{d}suen ˈlugal¹	*year following: "Amar-Suen became king" [AS 2].*

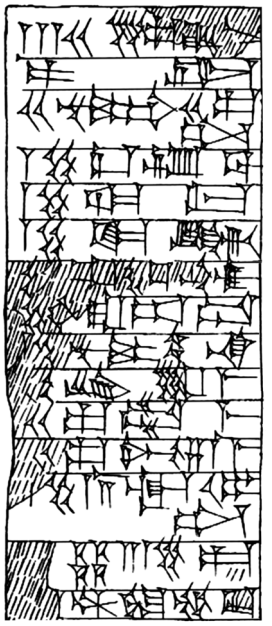

Figure 21.1. An Ur III-period rations account from Girsu (*HSS* 4, 4). The "wages" of the managerial officers were in fact calculated based on the number of oxen managers and therefore ultimately on the number and size of fields in cultivation in each household listed in the full text. In the subsection describing the household of the tutelary divinity of Girsu, the basis was 20 oxen managers. Thus 20 × 10 = 200 *gur* assigned to the chief household administrator, 20 × 5 assigned to the chief bookkeeper, and so on. Maekawa 1987:37–41 speaks of 5–6 bur_3 domain land per ploughman, five of whom answered to each oxen manager in Umma. Transferred to Girsu, this relationship implies Ningirsu domain holdings of (20 × 5 × 5 =) 500 bur_3, which in turn translates into planned harvests of (500 × 30 =) 15,000 *gur* for this household, dependent on fallow.

Tracking Equivalency Values

In addition to facilitating the understanding of Sumerian accounting tools that makes such speculation about wage levels credible, the evidence for a wide-ranging set of equivalency values employed throughout the Ur III administrative apparatus offers a strong framework for the study of ancient accounting and early mathematical thinking. In this it is important to consider the philological markers that reflected the usually implicit understanding of equivalencies by the empire's scribes. To follow their calculations, even the casual learner of Ur III texts needs understand little more than some basic mathematics and how to use the search engines of the online Ur III databases. Both the Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts (BDTNS), directed by Manuel Molina of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid), and the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI; Los Angeles/Berlin) have in the past decade made a wealth of online data available for the study of neo-Sumerian accounts.

In the case of the CDLI, we currently count some 96,000 Ur III text entries, of which nearly 59,000 are annotated with 880,000 lines of transliteration text.

The accounting notation recording equivalencies in Ur III texts is very simple: n1 X, Y-bi n2, where n1.2 are numerical notations, × and Y describe two quantifiable things, and *bi* is the Sumerian third singular inanimate possessive pronoun. This may thus be understood in the form of an equation: n1X/n2Y = conversion rate of × to Y.

Strategies for searching attestations of such notations must be responsive to some limitations, at least until Steve Tinney's ePSD (<http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/>) has a greater morphology-analytical capacity and a more robust interactivity in using the files of CDLI. Currently, BDTNS is running on a FileMaker server platform, and it is best to understand the strengths and weaknesses of this software to utilize that website's data. CDLI is running its search programs through a Python-based Zope package transitioning to SQL-based searches developed by programmers at UCLA. While online searches will thus improve with time, the fastest searches of CDLI files will be achieved by simply downloading the project's core raw ASCII data at <http://cdli.ucla.edu/downloads.html> for use with local text editor software. If you search for "bi" (whole word) in the Ur III transliterations currently available through CDLI, you'll achieve nearly 30,000 hits. Narrowing this search to "-bi" (exact string) reduces the number by just 900, but using the regular expression "-bi [0-9]" to avoid instances of *ša$_3$-bi-ta* and to view only those instances with numerical relationships results in 14,000 hits, of which very nearly all are in fact tags for implicit equivalency values. The (approximate) numbers are fairly reflective of the significance in the Mesopotamian agrarian economy of calculations done in grain and grain products and animals and animal products (both dairy and animal hair), but they also prominently include evidence of calculations and use of equivalencies in field measurements and wood beam lengths, in silver used in merchant accounts, and in the manufacturing term *ki-la$_2$*, used in a metrological context to indicate the weight of wool used in garments or of copper or bronze in metal tools, the square footage of matted reed used to make baskets, and so on:

Equivalency Unit	**Approximate Number of Attestations**
še-bi (its "barley")	4,000
ki-la$_2$-bi (its "extent")	2,600
a$_2$-bi (its "labor")	2,000 (including such expanded forms as *a$_2$ erin$_2$-na-bi*, its "labor of the troops")
ku$_3$-bi (its "silver")	1,560 (seldom with the full form *ku$_3$-babbar*)
siki-bi (its "wool")	290
zu$_2$-lum-bi (its "dates")	280 (often in estimates of tree yields)
i$_3$-bi (its "oil")	260 (including *i$_3$-geš*, "sesame oil"; *i$_3$-nun*, "butter oil"; *i$_3$-ku$_6$*, "fish oil")

guruš/geme$_2$-bi (its "corporate slaves")	190
gid$_2$-bi (its "length")	170
bi$_2$-gu$_7$-bi (its "loss")	140
še bala-bi (its "conversion barley")	130
a-ša$_3$-bi (its "surface")	110
gi-bi (its "reed")	110
gu$_4$-bi (its "oxen")	100
saḫar-bi (its "soil")	80
ziz$_2$-bi (its "emmer")	70
iti-bi (its "months")	60
tug$_2$-bi (its "garments")	50
us$_2$-bi (its "side")	40
ku$_6$-bi (its "fish")	40
kuš-bi (its "leather hides")	30
za$_3$ 1(u)-bi (its "tithe")	10 (not followed by a numerical notation)

Based on this listing, Ur III equivalency values may be understood in several categories. In the first instance, *-bi* refers to fairly concrete though artificially calculated equivalents between objects and quantities of objects, in many cases simply the raw materials used to produce something. Thus amounts of flour, beer, or bread are understood as so much *še-bi*—that is, equal to the amount of barley considered necessary to produce them. The same applies to garments and wool, mats and reed, butter oil and milk, and so on. Second, the equivalencies refer to conversions into such common denominators in neo-Sumerian accounting as barley, in the case of other grains such as wheat or spelt, or silver, in the case of all quantifiable goods and services. In some restricted contexts, such as payments to day laborers, and doubtless in most informal market transactions among workers in their own communities, barley equated to both work time and, like silver in state accounts, any of a number of commodities sought by these individuals (so-called commodity money; cf. Widell 2005:397–398). Third, equivalencies are attached to such administrative adjustments as barley conversions rated to processing (allowed losses, household or other taxes, and so on); taxes placed on herd animals (*MVN* 6, 84), reeds (*UTI* 4, 2983), or fish (often assessed by the *enku*); or labor concessions such as "free time," based on gender—either one-sixth (for women) or one-tenth (for men) of the period of work—accorded to dependent laborers. Fourth, equivalents formed the basis for the calculation and monitoring of productivity among workers. Rather than checking on the actual work of their personnel, household supervisors could simply count baskets of fish, measures of flour, or records of canal excavations and, using their implicit tables of work norms, calculate the labor days considered necessary to record these numbers. As will be discussed below, these labor days themselves

could be "monetized" to silver and thus added to general and encompassing value accounts. A few examples of these notations make the implicit calculations noted above clear:

1(šar$_2$) sa gi	*3,600 reed bundles*,
še-bi 1(u) 2(aš) gur	*their [-bi] barley: 12 gur.*
[*SNAT* 444, obverse 1-2]	

According to the simple equation, 3,600 reed bundles ÷ 12 *gur* of barley = 300 reed bundles per *gur* of barley. (Or, since a *gur* of barley consisted of 300 *sila*$_3$, about 300 liters, the single reed bundle equated to 1 liter of barley.)

2(barig) ⌜zu$_2$-lum⌝ sumun	*2 barig of aged dates*,
ku$_3$-bi 2/3 (diš) gin$_2$	*their silver: 2/3 shekels.*
[*AUCT* 1, 763, obverse 1-2]	

Same calculation: 2 *barig* of dates ÷ 2/3 shekels of silver = 3 *barig* of dates (about 180 liters) per shekel (about 8 1/3 g) of silver.

1(geš$_2$) 4(u) amar 3(diš) sila$_3$ še-ta	*100 calves at 3 sila$_3$ barley each*
u$_4$ 4(diš)-še$_3$	*over 4 days*,
še-bi 4(aš) gur lugal	*their barley: 4 royal gur.*
[*Berens* 21, obverse 1-3]	

This only slightly more complex calculation in fact contains an explicit conversion factor expressed in the distributive of the first line: 100 calves × 3 *sila*$_3$ of barley (feed per calf-day) × 4 days = 1,200 *sila*$_3$, or 4 *gur*. The conversion 3 *sila*$_3$ per calf-day would not be necessary to solve the equation, since 1,200 *sila*$_3$ ÷ 400 calf-days = 3 *sila*$_3$/calf-day.

Based on the last of these examples, we may resolve the implied calculations of the Ningirsu household described in *HSS* 4, 4 (Figure 21.1):

	200 gur
20 × 20 =	400
	100
	100
	100
	40
	40
	100
	40
	20
	20
98 × 15 =	1,470
	——
	2,630 gur

In fact, obverse i 15 of that text is physically indented on the tablet, a formatting standard used by Ur III scribes to indicate a subtotal of complex calculations that will often be qualified with our *še-bi*.

The Trade Agent Accounts and Silver Equivalencies

Let us now expand these examples to include the most straightforward of the larger accounting formats documenting equivalencies in the Ur III period: that of the *damgar* trade agents and what has been conventionally called silver prices (Englund 1990:181–197; Forde 1964; Neumann 1979; Powell 1977; Snell 1982; Widell 2005; Young 1979). The *damgar* text described below, *TCL* 5, 6056 (cf. Snell 1982:number 21), is an entirely representative example of the bookkeeping format employed in all major offices of Ur III households (Englund 1990:13–51; 1991; 2003). In this instance, dating to the fifth regnal year of Amar-Suen, the activities of a well-documented trade agent from the governor's household in Umma are recorded as his debits and credits in the form of a series of account postings in precisely the same format we know from many hundreds of receipts, characterized above all by the notation n1 X, *ku*$_3$*-bi* n2. The debits section—the agent's liabilities—commences with a deficit recorded, in silver, from the preceding accounting year, Amar-Suen 4 (which is, in fact, entered in *YNER* 8, 6 reverse 13: "la$_2$-ia$_3$ 4(diš) 1/2(diš) gin$_2$ 1(u) 2(diš) še ku$_3$"; "the deficit: 4 1/2 shekels, 12 grains of silver"). There follow a number of notations, including counts and measures of various sorts of fish and fish oil, wool, dates, leather products, and grain, in each case followed by their silver equivalence, representing domestic produce of the household and its estates that was, in Amar-Suen 5, transferred to control of the trade agent.

The original deficit and these silver equivalences form the full obligation of the trader to his household and therefore the debit of his account. The second section describes what the trader in turn delivered to officials of that same household: a large delivery of silver, then numbers and measures of copper, lard, raisins, and wooden containers, in each case (as before) duly converted to silver equivalences and added together to form the trader's credits. These credits deducted from the debits result in a new deficit for this agent, now grown from slightly more than 4 1/2 shekels to 61 1/6. And this new deficit is found recorded in the tablet *JRAS* 1939, 32 (BM 106064, dating to Amar-Suen 6 xi), with its first two lines reading "1(diš) ma-na 1(diš) gin$_2$ igi 6(diš)-gal$_2$ 1(u)! 2(diš) še ku$_3$-babbar / si-i$_3$-tum," continuing a chain of running accounts linked by deficits carried over from one accounting period to the next.

TCL 5, 6056 Obverse

1. 4(diš) 1/2(diš) gin_2 1(u) 2(diš) še ku_3-babbar	*4 1/2 shekels, 12 grains of silver,*
2. si-i_3-tum	*the remaining ([carry-over] deficit);*
3. 3(geš'u) 3($geš_2$) ku_6 sag-kur_2	*1,980 "headed" fish,*
4. ku_3-bi 2(diš) gin_2 igi 6(diš)-gal_2 6(diš) še	*their silver: 2 1/6 shekels, 6 grains;*
5. 1(geš'u) 2($geš_2$) ku_6 $ša_3$-bar ku_3-bi 2(diš) gin_2	*720 gutted fish, their silver: 2 shekels*
6. 6(diš) gu_2 siki ku_3-bi 2/3(diš) ma-na	*6 talents of wool, its silver: 2/3 mana;*
7. $ša_3$ $kišib_3$-ba	*under seal.*
8. 5(geš'u) 5($geš_2$) ku_6 gir_2-us_2	*3,300 slit fish,*
ku_3-bi 4(diš) gin_2 igi 4(diš)-gal_2 5(diš) še	*their silver: 4 1/4 shekels, 5 grains;*
9. 3(geš'u) 6($geš_2$) 3(u) ku_6 sag-kur_2	*2,190 "headed" fish,*
10. ku_3-bi 2(diš) 1/3 (diš) gin_2 1(u) 8(diš) še	*their silver: 2 1/3 shekels, 18 grains;*
11. 2 barig i_3 ku_6 ku_3-bi 4(diš) gin_2	*2 barig fish oil, its silver: 4 shekels;*
12. 1($geš_2$) 4(aš) zu_2-lum gur	*64 gur of dates,*
13. ku_3-bi 2/3(diš) ma-na 2(diš) 2/3(diš) gin_2	*their silver: 2/3 mana, 2 2/3 shekels;*
14. mu en-maḫ-gal-an-na ba-ḫun	*year: "Enmaḫgalana was installed" [AS 4].*
15. 5(u) zu_2-lum gur	*50 gur of dates,*
16. ku_3-bi 1/2(diš) ma-na 3(diš) 1/3(diš) gin_2	*their silver: 1/2 mana, 3 1/3 shekels;*
17. mu en-unu_6-gal-^{d}inanna ba-ḫun	*year: "En-unugal-Inanna was installed" [AS 5].*
18. 1(u) ^{kuš}$ummu_3$	*10 water skins,*
19. ku_3-bi 1/2(diš) gin_2 ⌜2(u) še⌝	*their silver: 1/2 shekel, 20 grains;*
20. 1(u) ^{kuš}e-⌜sir_2⌝ [e_2-ba-an$^{?}$]	*10 pairs? of leather sandals*
21. ku_3-bi 2/3(diš) ⌜gin_2⌝ [. . .]	*their silver: 2/3 shekel . . .*
22. 7(diš) [. . .]	*7 . . .*

TCL 5, 6056 Reverse

1. 1($geš_2$) še gur ku_3-bi 1(diš) ma-⌜na⌝	*60 gur of barley, its silver: 1 mana;*
2. še i_3 šaḫ$_2$-ka	*barley of the lard.*
3. ⌈ŠU+LAGAB⌉ 3(diš) 1/3(diš) ma-na 1(diš) 1/3(diš) gin_2 1(u) 6(diš) še ⌜ku_3⌝ -[babbar]	*Together: 3 1/3 mana, 1 1/3 shekels, 16 grains of silver*
4. sag nig_2-gur_{11}-ra-kam $ša_3$-bi-ta	*are the debit; therefrom:*
5. 1(diš) 1/3(diš) ma-na la_2 1/3(diš) gin_2 1(u) še ku_3-babbar	*1 1/3 mana less 1/3 shekel, 10 grains of silver,*
6. 3(u) 8(diš) 1/2(diš) ma-na uruda	*38 1/2 mana of copper,*

7. ku_3-bi 1/3(diš) ma-na 5(diš) 2/3(diš) gin_2	*their silver: 1/3 mana, 5 2/3 shekels,*
8. kišib$_3$ lu_2-kal-la	*under the seal of Lukalla;*
9. 1(aš) 2(barig) 4(ban$_2$) 6(diš) ⌜sila$_3$⌝ i_3 šaḫ$_2$ gur	*1 gur, 2 barig, 4 ban$_2$, 6 sila$_3$ of lard,*
10. ku_3-bi 1/3(diš) ma-na 3(diš) 1/3(diš) gin_2 la_2 6(diš) še	*its silver: 1/3 mana, 3 1/3 shekels less 6 grains,*
11. kišib$_3$ ur-^{d}šul-pa-e_3	*under the seal of Ur-Šulpae;*
12. 6(diš) sila$_3$ geštin ḫad$_2$ sa_2-du_{11} lugal	*6 sila$_3$ of raisins, royal supplement,*
13. 2(diš) sila$_3$ geštin ḫad$_2$ giri$_3$ lugal-$ša_3$-la_2	*2 sila$_3$ of raisins via Lugal-šala,*
14. ku_3-bi igi 6(diš)-gal_2	*their silver: 1/6 [shekel];*
15. 2(u) ^{geš}kab$_2$-kul	*20 wooden k-containers,*
16. ku_3-bi 2(diš) gin_2	*their silver: 2 shekels;*
17. kišib$_3$ a-gu	*under the seal of Agu;*
18. 8(diš) 1/2(diš) gin_2 ku_3 uruda uri_5^{ki}-ma	*8 1/2 shekels of silver for Ur copper,*
19. giri$_3$ ur-^{d}lamma u_3 e_2-lu-bi-bi	*via Ur-Lamma and Elubibi.*
20. ⌈ŠU+LAGAB⌉ 2(diš) 1/3(diš) ma-na igi 6(diš)-gal_2 4(diš) še ku_3-babbar	*Together: 2 1/3 mana, 1/6 [shekel], 4 grains of silver*
21. zi-ga-am_3	*booked out;*
22. la_2-ia_3 1(diš) ma-na 1(diš) gin_2 igi 6(diš)-gal_2 1(u) 2(diš) še ku_3-babbar	*deficit: 1 mana, 1 1/6 [shekel], 12 grains of silver;*
23. nig_2-ka_9 aka šeš-kal-la dam-gar_3	*account of Šeškala, the trade agent;*
24. mu en-unu_6-gal-^{d}inanna ba-ḫun	*year: "En-unugal-Inanna was installed" [AS 5].*

An Overview of Silver Equivalencies

Each notation of the form n1 X, *ku_3-bi* n2 can of course be calculated to derive a set of silver equivalencies for the commodities listed in *TCL* 5, 6056, including 1,980 ÷ 2 shekels 36 grains (1 shekel = 180 grains) = 900 headed fish per shekel of silver; 720 ÷ 2 = 360 gutted fish per shekel; 6 talents ÷ 2/3 *mana* = 9 talents of wool per *mana* or 9 *mana* of wool per shekel; 2 *barig* ÷ 4 = 1/2 *barig* or 30 *sila$_3$* of fish oil per shekel; 64 *gur* ÷ 42 2/3 = 1 1/2 *gur* of dates per shekel, and so on. Texts such as *MVN* 11, 101, with multiple instances of explicit equivalency values in the form of 1(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban$_2$) 6 sila$_3$ mun gur 3(aš) gur-ta / ku_3-bi 2/3 (gin$_2$) la_2 3(diš) še (obverse 19–reverse 1), "1 gur 4 barig 4 ban$_2$ 6 sila$_3$ salt [at a rate of] 3 gur for each [shekel of silver], its silver: 2/3 [shekel] less 3 grains" (1 286/300 *gur* ÷ 3 *gur* per shekel [of 180 grains] = 117.2 grains, discounting 2/10 of one grain in the notation), are very rare but do underscore the fact that the shekel was the basis of valuation in our Ur

III accounts. The list below* is designed to give an overview of the major products recorded in Ur III trade agent and related accounts (not sale documents that were as a rule drawn up between private individuals and thus were not subject to state regulation; see generally Wilcke 1976–1980, 2007):

Commodity	Sumerian	English	Count or Measure (per shekel silver)
grain	še	barley	4 barig
			4 ban_2 5 $sila_3$ (*SNAT* 490)
			1 gur
			1 gur 1 barig (*TCL* 5, 6046 [še i_3-šaḫ$_2$])
			1 gur 2 barig 2 ban_2 (*TCL* 5, 6046)
animals	peš$_2$-geš-gi	bandicoot rat	48 ≈ (*MVN* 2, 24)
	šaḫ$_2$ niga	fattened pig	(2 shekels per animal; *MVN* 13, 519)
	udu/maš$_2$ (nita$_2$)	sheep and goats	1/2 - 2
dairy products, oils	ga gazi (ab$_2$)	gazi dry cheese (cow)	2 barig
	ga ḪAR (ab$_2$)	dry cheese (cow)	2 barig 3 ban_2 (Ur, Drehem)
			3 barig (Umma)
	ga UD*gunû* (ab$_2$)	dry cheese (cow)	3 barig
			3 barig 2 ban_2 (*BPOA* 7, 2029)
	ga ḪAR (ud$_5$)	dry cheese (goat)	2 barig 3 ban_2
	ga SIG$_7$/še-a (ab$_2$)	yellowed milk	3 barig
	i_3-nun (ab$_2$)	butter oil (cow)	1 ban_2
	i_3-nun-ḪA (ud$_5$)	butter oil (goat)	1 ban_2 (Umma)
			8 $sila_3$ (Ur)
	i_3-geš	sesame oil	9 $sila_3$ (*CT* 5, 38 BM 017752)
			1 ban_2
			1 ban_2 2 $sila_3$
			1 ban_2 3 1/3 $sila_3$ (*TCL* 5, 6046)
	i_3-ku$_6$	fish oil	1 ban_2 6 $sila_3$ (*AAICAB* 1/2, plate 89, 1935-527)
			3 ban_2
			4 ban_2
	i_3-šaḫ$_2$	lard	1–2 ban_2
	i_3-udu	tallow	2 ban_2
fish	ba	b-fish (not turtle)	900 (*TCL* 5, 6046)
	ba saga	fine turtle	6 (*DAS* 46bis)
	ba us$_2$	lesser turtle	10 (*DAS* 46bis)
	murgu$_2$ ba	turtle shell	20
			72 (*YOS* 18, 123 reverse iii 17)
	gam-gam	g-fish	360 ≈ (*AAICAB* 1/2, plate 89, 1935-527)
			900
	gir$_2$-us$_2$	slit fish	780 ≈
			1,200 ≈ (*TCL* 5, 6046)
	ku$_6$ kun-zi-da	reservoir fish	90
	nig$_2$-ki	"buried?" fish	1 gur (*TLB* 3, 146)
	sag-kur$_2$	"headed" fish	900
	sag-kur$_2$ sig	"headed" fish, low quality	1,600 ≈
	ša$_3$-bar	gutted fish	360
			450 ≈ (*TCL* 5, 6046)
			900
	ša$_3$-bar sig	gutted fish, low quality	1,560 ≈ (*TCL* 5, 6046)
			1,600 ≈
	še$_6$	smoked fish	1 gur 1 barig (*SNAT* 365)
			1 gur 3 barig (*AAICAB* 1/2, plate 89, 1935-527)
			2 gur
other animal products	eš-ku-ru-um	wax	2 mana
	pa mušen?	feathers?	1,800 (9 attestations, each with 18,000 PA ḪU)
			2,000 (*SNAT* 365; *MVN* 16, 910?[a])
	kuš šaḫ$_2$	pig skins	30

Commodity	Sumerian	English	Count or Measure (per shekel silver)
	kuš udu	sheep skins	60 (*TCL* 5, 6046) 90
	^{kuš}a-ga$_2$-la$_2$	leather a-sack	36 40 (*TCL* 5, 6046)
	^{kuš}e-sir$_2$ e$_2$-ba-an	leather sandals, in pairs	15 20
	^{kuš}ummu$_3$	leather water skin	10 (*TCL* 5, 6046) 18
	siki	wool	9–12 mana 13 mana 20 shekels (*SNAT* 504)
	siki ud$_5$	goat hair	9–12 mana
fruit, syrups, vegetables	gu$_2$-gal	chick-pea	1–2 barig
	gu$_2$-tur	lentils	2 1/2–3 barig
	zu$_2$-lum	dates	1–1 1/2 gur
	zu$_2$-lum sumun	aged dates	3 barig
	geštin ḫad$_2$	raisins	1/2–1 barig 4 ban$_2$ 5 sila$_3$ (*ASJ* 14, 99 1)
	^{geš}peš$_3$ še-er-gu	string of figs	12–15 (unclear length of strings)
	lal$_3$	(date) syrup (honey?)	1 1/4–3 sila$_3$ (*MVN* 2, 24)
	šum$_2$ (za)- ḫa-din	leek	1 ban$_2$ 5 sila$_3$ (*MVN* 11, 101) 3 ban$_2$ 4 ban$_2$ 8 sila$_3$ (*SNAT* 490)
	šum$_2$ (za)- ḫa-din igi nu-saga	leek, unsightly	2 barig 3 ban$_2$
	šum$_2$ sikil	garlic	2 barig 3 ban$_2$
	sag šum$_2$ sikil	garlic bulb "head"	2 barig 3 ban$_2$ 1 gur ≈ (*SNAT* 503)
	šum$_2$ sikil igi nu-saga	garlic, unsightly	1 gur
	numun šum$_2$ sikil	garlic cloves	1 barig 1 ban$_2$ 5 sila$_3$
condiments, aromatics, etc.	gazi	sumac?	1 gur 1 gur 1 barig
	ku-mul	cumin	1 1/2–2 ban$_2$
	mun	salt	8–12 mana ≈
	naga	potash	1 gur 1 barig–4 gur
	naga si-e$_3$	"horned" potash	3 gur 4 gur (*SNAT* 490)
	še li	juniper seeds?	2–5 sila$_3$
	še-lu$_2$	coriander	1 barig 3 ban$_2$ (*MVN* 16, 910) 1 barig 4 ban$_2$ (*ASJ* 14, 99 1; *Nik* 2, 403) 2 barig 3 ban$_2$ ≈ (*YNER* 8, 11) 3 barig 4 ban$_2$ 5 sila$_3$ ≈ (*YNER* 8, 14)
	šim gi	reed aromatic	20–30 mana
	šim gig	bitter aromatic	8–20 sila$_3$
	šu-ur$_2$-me	cypress aromatic	1 ban$_2$–1 ban$_2$ 2 sila$_3$
wood, reed	gi	reed	20 mana 30 mana (*SNAT* 504) 300 sa
	gi du$_{10}$-ga	sweet reed	3 ban$_2$
	^{geš}ḫašḫur	crab apple wood	36 planks at 3 cubits length 60 planks at 2 cubits length
	pa li	juniper branches?	3–6 ban$_2$
bitumen, gypsum	esir$_2$ E$_2$-A	liquid? bitumen	1–2 1/2 barig
	esir$_2$ ḫad$_2$	dry bitumen	10 gu$_2$ (600 mana; cf. *BPOA* 7, 2496) 12 gu$_2$
	im babbar	gypsum	10–30 gu$_2$
metals	an-na	tin	12–20 shekels
	ku$_3$-ḫuš-a	red gold	(15:1)
	ku$_3$-sig$_{17}$	gold	(7–20:1)
	uruda	copper	80 shekels ≈ (*CT* 5, 38 BM 17752)

Commodity	Sumerian	English	Count or Measure (per shekel silver)
			90 shekels
			110 shekels? (*ASJ* 14, 99 1)
	su_3-ḫe$_2$	borax?	30 shekels ≈ (*CT* 5, 38 BM 17752)
			60–120 shekels
labor	u_4	workdays	22 1/2–180 days

*The silver equivalencies list follows for the most part Snell 1982:121–181. References are added only to unusual values, and equivalencies exceeding the rate of 1 shekel per unit are set in parentheses. The metrological systems used in the list are:

Capacity: 1 *gur* = 5 *barig* = 30 *ban*$_2$ = 300 *sila*$_3$ (1 *sila*$_3$ is about 1 liter)

Weight: 1 *gu*$_2$ = 60 *mana* = 3,600 shekels; 1 shekel (about 8.33 g) = 180 grains

Length: 1 *ninda* = 2 *gi* (reed) = 12 *kuš*$_3$ (1 *kuš*$_3$/cubit is about 50 cm)

[a]Confer *MVN* 21, 344, and for deliveries of PA ḪU by the fisheries tax assessor enku see *BPOA* 6, 1063 // *ZA* 95, 191 [BM 106050] reverse i 10 and *Banca d'Italia* 2/2, 1 reverse i 7.

If we are to draw some comparison of these values with our own experience, then we should base all silver values on the grain equivalencies that were the foundation of commerce for the overriding majority of ancient Sumerians. Thus, with a normative 300 *sila*$_3$ = 1 shekel of silver, and with a yearly neo-Sumerian minimum wage of (12 × 200 =) 2,400 *sila*$_3$ of barley ÷ 300 = 8 shekels of silver, it is easy to contemplate informal markets within Mesopotamian communities that made a variety of products available to normal workers. Sweet dates or damaged garlic could be exchanged with measures of barley at 1:1; for 1 liter of grain, you could even have received 2 liters of smoked fish; 1 pound of salt would set you back 30 liters of barley or approximately five workdays.

Despite the relative homogeneity of most of the equivalency values derived from *damgar* accounts, as well as from a large number of individual receipts that would have been entered to the credits sections of those accounts, it remains unclear how much "price" fluctuation was tolerated or even encouraged in the Ur III period. The primary staple, barley, ranges from a high exchange value of 4 *barig* (240 liters) per shekel of silver down to a rate of 1 *gur* 2 *barig* 2 *ban*$_2$ (440 liters), representing a difference of some 180 percent. It would not be difficult to postulate a number of credible reasons for this and other fluctuations in the cuneiform records, including exchange pressures generated by bumper harvests or a major influx of silver, conflict, drought, degradation of the fields through salinization, or other processes endemic to alluvial agriculture in antiquity. Gomi (1984) has described the dire economic situation during the reign of the last of the five Ur III monarchs, characterized by disruptions in grain harvest and transportation due to collapsing security. Households scrambled to substitute other foodstuffs for grain, with the exchange value of barley rising to improbable highs. We might also seek to uncover clues of manipulation of the records by one party or the other, since we know from many related texts that equivalencies may have been skewed by the imposition of taxes or fees by households or higher state agencies—and we should remember that the majority of the silver equivalencies cited here and in other studies derive from a limited set of accounts from Umma dating to the middle years of Amar-Suen. That is, these results may be skewed by the unevenness of the unearthed cuneiform record. Still, the golden rule throughout early Mesopotamian history was surely 1 *gur* of

barley = 1 shekel of silver, which though not formalized in third-millennium decrees is implied by the majority of barley exchange notations and by the evident interest of the crown in standardizing both metrological systems and barley wages (Roth 2003:16 and 38; and see the nearly complete copy of the Ur-Namma Codex in the Schøyen Collection [=*CUSAS* 17, 107], particularly columns 5 and 6). Further, we may compare the Ur III exchange equivalencies with the first law of the Ešnunna Code prescribing prices for the basics of the Babylonian household (ca. 1900 B.C.; Roth 2003:59):

Ešnunna Prescribed Prices:		*Ur III Mean Values:*
1 gur of barley for	1 shekel of silver	= 1 gur
3 $sila_3$ of fine oil for	1 shekel of silver	= ?
1 ban_2 2 $sila_3$ of oil for	1 shekel of silver	= 1 ban_2
1 ban_2 5 $sila_3$ of lard for	1 shekel of silver	1 ban_2 5 $sila_3$–2 ban_2
4 ban_2 of bitumen for	1 shekel of silver	6–10 ban_2
6 mana of wool for	1 shekel of silver	10 mana
2 gur of salt for	1 shekel of silver	10 mana (ca. 1/30 gur)
1 gur of potash for	1 shekel of silver	1 gur 1 barig–4 gur
3 mana of copper for	1 shekel of silver	1 1/2 mana
2 mana of worked copper for	1 shekel of silver	?

It seems worth noting for the record the apparent lack of a number of important commodities in these accounts. Most finished products, including flour and items made of wood, reed, and metal, are not found here. Of course, in the case of the *damgar* accounts, we are witness to the conversion of excess unprocessed goods (in the debit sections) into those products desired by household elites (credits), but the known equivalencies include values, if artificial or not, that were necessary to complete accounts in the "commodity money" of the day: silver, barley, fish, oil, and so on. Even here, it seems that unprocessed products moved through valuation mechanisms and then disappeared in the administrative apparatus. Further, both domesticated animals and slaves are effectively missing in the records of the Ur III merchants. The lack of slaves of course reflects the fact that *damgar* were agents responsible for the exchange of goods produced and owned by central households, where the chief distinction between corporate and domestic slaves was that the former were inalienable while the latter were chattel property of private individuals and thus recorded in contracts, not administrative records. (Note in *BPOA* 6, 1366 and 1378, the potential anomalies of slaves taken into administrative control [dab_5] at a barter exchange rate of one human per one adult ox or cow.) Since we would expect slaves to have been available for barter purchase in the areas in and around Babylonia that were frequented by *damgar* or their representatives, it remains notable that such chattel would not have even served as "conversion goods" in the silver accounts of household agents, which might indicate some sort of taboo in this trade. The very few references to cattle, sheep, and pigs are even more difficult to explain, aside from the fact that animals on the hoof required a new layer

of staff—herders—in their transportation from one informal market to the next. There must be some other explanation for this exclusion from the trade records.

The final set of equivalencies listed above derives from a growing number of Ur III accounts dealt with in Englund 2012. Since, as has been amply demonstrated in other publications, the bookkeeping system of third-millennium Mesopotamia developed a set of labor production norms that formed the basis of all labor records in the Ur III period, and since the products of these labor efforts were themselves quantified and standardized in terms of silver equivalencies, it is not in the least surprising that early accountants transferred these values to workdays themselves. These wages in silver equivalencies held to a fairly stable range of one to six months of labor per shekel of silver. The standard of one month per shekel (or its common equivalent of 1 *gur* of barley, most often attested in the form of daily wages of 1 ban_2) was the general value of labor used in the succeeding Old Babylonian period of Hammurapi. I will return directly to this expansion of equivalency values to labor output, but I add here an indication from the Umma account *Princeton* 1, 396, that not only were workdays converted to silver values to fulfill the administrative needs of active worker troop management, but a workforce could in fact be *bought* in the marketplace (as Adams 2010 has postulated with his consideration of a mobile workforce employed at Garshana; cf. Wilcke 2007:91). Obverse 1–4 of that text reads:

2(geš'u) 3($geš_2$) 3(u) 5(diš) guruš u_4 1(diš)-$še_3$ $erin_2$ diri	1,415 laborer workdays, [from] "additional troops;"
2(geš'u) 5($geš_2$) 3(u) 3(diš) guruš u_4 1(diš)-$še_3$ ku_3-ta sa_{10}-a	1,533 laborer workdays, purchased with silver.

Beyond Silver Equivalencies

Although silver was of imposing importance in mechanisms of exchange and wealth distribution within and across borders of ancient Babylonian states, central household accountants employed, with almost dizzying accuracy, a broad palette of equivalencies as part of their means of control of production. These included value and real equivalencies between such raw materials and finished products as milk and cheese (Englund 1995) or barley and flour (Brunke 2008; Hrozný 1913), but most notably labor norms that determined the success or failure of teams of workers engaged in all aspects of early household production.

The accounts, first, contain an array of equivalencies between commodities that reflect valuations based presumably on personal preferences, perhaps on availability or production costs of various related goods, for instance barley and wheat, as well as valuations based on labor input, such as the difference between unprocessed barley and barley groats on the one hand and unprocessed barley and finely milled barley flour on the other. The list below offers an overview of such valuations, where in the accounts some measure of unprocessed or processed grain has been assigned an unprocessed barley equivalent:

kaš dida du	1/15 × še	regular dida beer is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 15 (measures of beer) : 1 (measure of barley) (*ASJ* 3, 160 128)
kaš dida saga	1/10 × še	fine dida beer is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 10:1 (*ASJ* 3, 160 128)
duḫ du/saga	1/5 × še	regular/fine chaff? is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 5:1 (*MVN* 5, 277)
ziz_2	1/1 × še	unprocessed emmer is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:1
dabin	1/1 × še	barley groats are converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:1
zi_3-gu	1/1 × še	pea flour is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:1 (*TMH NF* 1–2, 121)
ninda du	1/1 × še	regular ninda is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:1
kaš du	1/1 × še	regular beer is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:1
kaš saga	3/2 × še	fine beer is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 2:3
ninda ar_3-ra saga	3/2 × še	fine ground ninda is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 2:3 (*TCL* 5, 5670 [Umma]; *BBVO* 11, 279 6N-T366 [Nippur])
ar-za-na ninda ar_3-ra saga	3/2 × še	arzana fine ground ninda is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 2:3 (*TUT* 121)
ba-ba zi_3	3/2 × še	baba flour is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 2:3 (*TUT* 121)
eša	2/1 × še	semolina is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:2 (*TCL* 5, 5670)
gig	2/1 × še	wheat is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:2 (*TCL* 5, 5670)
$imagaga_3$	2/1 × še	i-grain is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:2 (*TCL* 5, 5670)
zi_3 sig_{15}	2/1 × še	coarse grain is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:2 (*TCL* 5, 5670)
zi_3 gaz_x(KUM)	2/1 × še	"ground" grain is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:2 (*TCL* 5, 5670)
ninda ar_3-ra $imagaga_3$	2/1 × še	ground ninda i-grain is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:2 (*Ontario* 2, 458)

Another form of equivalency generation is seen in the dairy industry (Englund 1995; Gomi 1980; Kraus 1966). Cows or nanny goats (not ewes in the Ur III period) put in the care of herders were, attendant upon parturition and harvest of excess milk (the milk not reserved for the calf), assigned production quotas in the dairying books. For each cow-year, the herder was to deliver 5 *sila*$_3$ (liters) of butter oil (ghee; Sumerian *i*$_3$*-nun*) and 7 1/2 *sila*$_3$ of dry cheese (*kašk*; Sumerian *ga ḪAR* or *ga UDgunû* [phonetic, not dialectical variants; cf. Englund 1995:381–382, note 10]) to persons representing central offices of Ur III households. These quantities are presumed to derive from calculations of actual milk production by cows and from the processing of milk by herders into dairy products with a long shelf life in a hot climate. Thus, with a hypothetical excess milk quantity of 300 to 400 liters for cows in this climate, 100 liters of the milk product known as *ga še*$_x$*(SIG*$_7$*)-a* (yellowed milk) would be required to process 5 liters/*sila*$_3$ of butter oil and 7 1/2 liters of high-protein dry cheese. *ga še*$_x$*-a* was in all likelihood the high-fat top half of fresh milk kept in containers overnight, into which the cream had separated—that is, some form of processed raw milk that dependably contained 5 percent fat or more, whereas fresh milk (not colostrum) would generally contain 2 to 3.5 percent. The 20:1 relationship between yellowed milk and butter oil, then the 2:3 relationship between butter oil and *kašk* cheese, are firm conversion factors in neo-Sumerian accounts documenting the delivery expectations assigned by central household bookkeepers to each mature cow in herds given over to herding personnel. To be clear, where these "nice" numbers are recognizable in the texts, they invariably represent artificial delivery quotas and not records of real deliveries. The corresponding delivery norms for goats was 1/3 and 1/2 (in Girsu texts; in Umma 1/2 and 3/4) *sila*$_3$ per nanny-year, respectively, retaining the 2:3 relationship between butter oil and *kašk* cheese (Englund 1995:398–399, note 45; 420, note 78).

This artificial nature of the Ur III equivalences signaled by the notation n1 X, Y-bi n2 is equally visible in accounts documenting the plan production of agricultural fields. The famous Lagash inventory text *RTC* 407 offers an excellent example of a practice that is fully established in this era, as indeed in the preceding ED IIIb period and potentially as early as the Late Uruk III phase of the latter fourth millennium B.C. (Nissen et al. 1993:55–59 to figure 51). The Lagash account reads, in the fully preserved subsection reverse 8'–13', dating to the thirty-second year of Šulgi:

1 (šargal)^{gal} 1(šar'u) 1(šar$_2$) 1(bur$_3$) GAN$_2$	*1 šargal 11 šar$_2$ 1 bur$_3$ [= 4,261 bur$_3$] arable land,*
še-bi 3(šar'u) 5(šar$_2$) 3(geš'u) 3(u) gur	*its barley: 127,830 gur;*
ša$_3$-bi-ta	*therefrom:*
2(šar'u) 1(šar$_2$) 4(geš'u) 7(geš$_2$) 4(u) 2(aš) 1(barig) 4(ban$_2$) gur	*78,462 gur 1 barig 4 ban$_2$*
mu-ku$_x$(DU)	*[actually] delivered.*
la$_2$-ia$_3$ 1(šar'u) 3(šar$_2$) 4(geš'u) 2!(geš$_2$) 4!(u) 7(aš) 3(barig) 2(ban$_2$) gur	*The deficit: 49,367 gur 3 barig 2 ban$_2$*

Based on a standardized yield of 30 *gur* per bur_3 (value equivalency: 1 bur_3-year = 30 *gur* barley less 1 *gur* seed, half as much feed, and the costs of field and crop maintenance, harvest, and storage; cf. Butz 1980–1983; Butz and Schröder 1985), the Lagash province fields (totaling some 270 km^2) are recorded with a *planned* harvest (*še-bi*) of (4,261 × 30 =) 127,830 *gur*. The recorded yield, however, was just 78,462, leaving a gaping provincial deficit of nearly 50,000 *gur* of barley (Maekawa 1974:10–11). While this shortfall would have been of existential interest to the Lagash $ensi_2$, its potential use by the crown, for instance as a basis for the calculation of *bala* liabilities, could have had long-term destabilizing consequences for the economy of Lagash that went well beyond the concerns of a local governor, his personnel, and his extended households. Given the attention paid to plan income by Ur III bookkeepers, it is difficult to imagine that Sharlach (2003) can be correct in assuming that kings tallied the provincial harvest and claimed of it some firm *bala* percentage. Rather taxes would have been levied on the expected, not the real, production of the realm.

Piecework Equivalencies

The silver "wages" of workdays are the levels of valuation given by early Babylonians to members of their households, and they may well reflect the ultimate valuation of these persons. We may also flip the accounts and query them about the product equivalencies of labor units (workdays were probably calculated as 12 hours). In this, as with wages and rations, the texts are quite clear, though they never simply give us a manual with explicit equivalencies. I will explore several examples of accounting records covering all imaginable tasks, of which only the very basic activities, such as simple presence at a service center, the lifting of a boat from one canal to another, or even being sick and thus released from actual labor, are not qualified with specific production norms, even though these norms can, due to reasons not made explicit in the texts, be highly variable.

For instance, hoeing and excavation work were rated according to various norms, often recorded in the same text, ranging from 2 to 6 or more *sar* per day (1 *sar* = about 36 m^2). Anyone who has done farmwork or has just spent much time in a garden knows there are many reasons to assign more time to one project than another, based on quality of soil, depth of the digging work, and so on. I have seen no studies that go into potential reasons for variation in work norms assigned to other tasks, such as harvesting reed and other plants or harvesting and threshing grain; nor are the variations described in later cuneiform tradition. However, the Old Babylonian mathematical texts are clear in explaining different work norms in excavations; as any archaeologist will attest, work slows as your laborers get deeper in their trenches. The daily norm most common in Ur III accounts was 3 m^3, which in the heat of southern Mesopotamia is not a task most of us would welcome.

The list below represents a selection of entries from the approximately 1,100 attestations of labor norms collected and tagged in the course of work on the CDLI transliterations and inserted, with links to the associated texts, into cdli:wiki (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/wiki/doku.php>) as an article entitled "Ur III Equivalency Values" (as of March 2012).

Category	Work Description	Translation	Labor Norm
basketry	^{gi}ba-an ḫašḫur	ban$_2$ basket, crabapples	1 1/2 baskets per day
matting	^{gi}ba-an du$_8$-du$_8$	ban$_2$ basket . . .	1 basket per day
	^{gi}gur 1(barig)-ta	1-barig gur basket	3 baskets per day
	^{gi}gur-dub 3(ban$_2$)-ta	3-ban$_2$ gurdub basket	4 baskets per day
	^{gi}gur-dub 4(ban$_2$)-ta	4-ban$_2$ gurdub basket	5 baskets per day
	^{gi}gur-dub 1(barig)-ta	1-barig gurdub basket	5 1/2 baskets per day[a]
	^{gi}ḫal 1(barig)-ta	1-barig ḫal basket	3 baskets per day
	^{gi}kaskal 1(barig)-ta	1-barig journey basket	5 baskets per day
	^{gi}kid (šer$_7$-ru-um)	(šerrum) kid mat	1.6 days per mat ≈
	^{gi}kid-dagal ma$_2$ 40 gur	wide kid mat, 40-gur boat	3 days per mat
	^{gi}kid-dagal ma$_2$ 60 gur	wide kid mat, 60-gur boat	4 1/2 days per mat
	^{gi}ma-an-sim dabin	sieve, flour	1 2/3 day per sieve
	^{gi}ma-an-sim nig$_2$ ar$_3$-ra	sieve, groats	3 sieves per day
	^{gi}pisan gid$_2$-da	long basket	1 basket per day
	^{gi}pisan gid$_2$-da	long basket	2 days per basket
	^{gi}pisan im-sar	tablet basket	2 baskets per day
brewery	kaš	beer (kvass?)	6 2/3–7 1/2 sila$_3$ per day
	kaš du	regular beer	2 ban$_2$ per day
	kaš saga	fine beer	1 ban$_2$ per day
bricks	sig$_4$	bricks	20 shekels (1/3 brick sar, = 240 bricks) per day
field work	al	hoeing	3–10 sar per day
	al du$_3$	hoe "planting"	10–20 sar per day
	^{geš}diḫ$_3$ ku$_5$-a	cutting camel thorn	10–30 sar per day
	^{geš}peš$_3$ SIG$_7$-a	pulling fig trees	10 sar per day
	^{geš}ma-nu ku$_5$-a	cutting willow	15–30 sar per day
	^{geš}ma-nu ku$_5$-a	cutting willow	1 bale per day
	gi ku$_5$-a	cutting reed	10–20 sar per day
	gi SIG$_7$-a	pulling reed	13–40 sar per day
	gi zi ku$_5$-a	cutting fodder reed	3 bales per day
	saḫar	soil excavation	6 2/3–10 volume-shekels soil per day
	sig$_4$	"plastering" brick	80 bricks per day
	še	harvesting barley	1 gur per day
	gig	harvesting wheat	2 barig per day
	še geš ra	threshing barley	4 barig per day
	gig geš ra?	threshing wheat	1 barig 1 ban$_2$ 2 sila$_3$ per day

Category	Work Description	Translation	Labor Norm
	u_2 SIG_7-a	pulling plants	10–20 sar per day ≈
	u_2 ze_2-a	pulling plants	20 sar per day (thus likely SIG_7 = ze_x)
fish	ku_6 kun-zi	delivering reservoir fish	2 fish per day
	sag-kur_2	delivering headed fish	10 fish per day
	$še_6$	delivering smoked fish	2/3 ban_2 per day
milling	ar-za-na ninda ar_3-ra	milling a-groats	2 ban_2 per day
	dabin	milling flour	1 ban_2 per day
	eša	milling semolina	2 ban_2 per day
	zi_3 ba-ba	milling b-flour	1 ban_2 per day
	zi_3-gu saga	milling fine pea flour	5–8 $sila_3$ per day
	zi_3 sig_{15}	milling rough flour	1 ban_2 per day
leatherwork	^{kuš}a-ga_2-la_2	making a-pouches	1 pouch per day
	^{kuš}e-sir_2 e_2-ba-an	making pairs of sandals	3 pairs per day (*MVN* 5, 273)
	^{kuš}ummu$_3$	making water skins	2 days per water skin
construction	im du_8-a	raising adobe walls	3 3/4–6 surface-shekels per day
pottery	dug 1(ban_2)	making 1-ban_2 vessels	3 vessel per day
	dug 3(ban_2)	making 3-ban_2 vessels	1 vessel per day
	dug ninda 1 $sila_3$	making 1-$sila_3$ bread vessels	4 vessels per day
	dug ninda 5 $sila_3$	making 5-$sila_3$ bread vessels	3 vessels per day
garments	tug_2 sag uš-bar	weaving s-garments	3 garments per day ≈
	tug_2 guz-za 4-kam us_2	weaving fourth-class tufted garments	15 days per garment?
	tug_2 guz-za du	weaving regular tufted garments	15 days per garment?
woodwork	^{geš}pisan	making crates	3 crates per day? (a_2-bi n $kuš_3$!-ta?)
	^{geš}apin	making ploughs	5–10 days per plough ≈
	^{geš}ig	making doors	5 days per door (with 2 ox hides)
	^{geš}ig saga gid_2-bi	making fine doors	1 1/2 days per door
	1 ninda dagal-bi n	1 n. length, n width	

Note: Metrological systems in the labor equivalencies list:
Capacity: 1 *gur* = 5 *barig* = 30 ban_2 = 300 $sila_3$ (1 $sila_3$ is about 1 liter)
Weight: 1 gu_2 = 60 *mana* = 3,600 shekels (1 shekel is about 8.33 g)
Length: 1 *ninda* = 2 *gi* (reed) = 12 $kuš_3$ (cubits; 1 cubit is about 50 cm)
Surface: 1 *iku* = 100 *sar* ("garden plot"; about 36 m^2); 1 *sar* = 60 shekels (1 surface-shekel, about .6 m^2)
Volume: 1 *sar* (1 *ninda* × 1 *ninda* × 1 $kuš_3$, or 6 m × 6 m × .5 m = 18 m^3) = 60 shekels (1 volume-shekel, about .3 m^2)
Bricks: 1 *sar* = 720 bricks (ultimately based on an Old Akkadian brick *sar* = 1 volume-*sar*)

[a] TCL 5, 6036, requires collation for these and other apparently irregular values.

In nearly all these equivalency values for work norms, the accounting formulation is straightforward. For instance, the first half of text *JCS* 16, 14, number 1, reads:

Obverse

5(u) sar saḫar zi-ga	*50 volume-sar* of soil, dug out,*
a_2 lu_2 ḫun-ga_2	*labor of the hirelings,*
še 5(diš) $sila_3$-ta	*[given] 5 $sila_3$ barley each [per day],*
e sa-dur_2-ra a-$ša_3$ amar-^{geš}kiši$_{17}$	*[done at] the sadura ditch of the Amar-kiši field;*
1(u) sar saḫar	*10 volume-sar of soil [dug out],*
i_7-$muru_{13}$-us_2-sa	*at the Muru'usa Canal*
i_7-lugal-ka	*and the Royal Canal.*

Reverse

a_2-bi u_4 6(geš$_2$)-kam	*Its labor: 360 days,*
ugula ur-e_2-nun-na	*the foreman: Ur-Enuna,*
kišib$_3$ a-kal-la	*under the seal of Akalla.*
mu gu-za ^{d}en-lil_2-la_2 ba-dim_2	*Year: "The throne of Enlil was fashioned" [Amar-Suen 3].*

*1 volume-*sar* is approximately 18 m^3.

The calculation here is 50 + 10 = 60 *sar;* 60 *sar* ÷ 360 workdays = 1/6 volume-*sar* or 10 volume-shekels (about 3 m^3) of soil excavated per workday.

Detailed accounts of labor norms applied to field preparation and sowing add a dimension of complexity to the otherwise fairly trivial calculations involved in Ur III labor accounts. The common a_2 $erin_2$-*na* Umma texts of the type much studied in Babylonian agriculture (Civil 1994:77; de Genouillac 1924:44, note 1; Maekawa 1990:119) record the surface measures and planned ploughing stages of each year's field preparation with entirely formulaic notations (with *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* representing whole numbers):

a(iku) plough type x	*a iku [ploughed with] plough type x,*
b(iku)-ta geš-ur_3-ra a-ra_2 1-4 c(iku)-ta	*at [a rate of] b iku each [day], and one to four times the harrow at c iku [per day],*
a_2 $erin_2$-na-bi days d	*its erin-worker labor: d days.*

Since the personnel handling the nonseeding deep plough (^{geš}*tuggur*) and the harrow (*geš-ur$_3$-ra;* literally "wooden beam," dragged across the prepared fields one to four times) always numbered three $erin_2$, the calculation of workdays needed to prepare a field for seeding was: d (workdays) = 3 × ((a ÷ b) + 1–4(a ÷ c)).

An example may be offered from the initial section of the Umma account *UTI* 4, 2560*:

2(eše$_3$) 3(iku) GAN$_2$ tug$_2$-gur$_x$(|ŠE.KIN|)$^{tug_2\text{-}gur_8}$	*15 iku field, deep ploughed*
1(iku) GAN$_2$-ta geš-ur$_3$-ra a-ra$_2$ 3(diš)	*at 1 iku field per [workday], harrowed 3 times*
1(eše$_3$) GAN$_2$-ta a$_2$ erin$_2$-na-bi u$_4$ 1(geš$_2$) 7(diš) ½(diš)	*at 6 iku field per [workday],* *the labor of the troops: 67 1/2 days* *(3 × ((15 ÷ 1) + 3 × (15 ÷ 6)) = 67 1/2).*
1(bur$_3$) 1(eše$_3$) GAN$_2$ geš-ur$_3$-ra a-ra$_2$ 3(diš)	*24 iku field, harrowed 3 times*
1(eše$_3$) GAN$_2$-ta a$_2$ erin$_2$-na-bi u$_4$ 3(u) 6(diš)	*at 6 iku field per [workday],* *the labor of the troops: 36 days* *(3 × (3 × (24 ÷ 6)) = 36).*

* 1(*bur*$_3$) = 3(*eše*$_3$); 1(*eše*$_3$) = 6(*iku*)

Numerous sources contain occasionally easily deciphered, occasionally entirely cryptic notations describing another important activity of Ur III households—milling grain into flour, which was done almost exclusively by female laborers (Englund 1991):

Flour Type	**Labor Norm per Day**
dabin	1 ban$_2$ (≈ 10 liters) flour
ninda	1 ban$_2$ bread flour
zi$_3$ ba-ba	1 ban$_2$ baba-flour
zi$_3$ gaz$_x$(KUM)	1 ban$_2$ crushed flour
zi$_3$-gu saga	5–8 sila$_3$ (1 sila$_3$ ≈ 1 liter) fine pea-flour
zi$_3$ sig$_{15}$	1 ban$_2$ s-flour
eša	2 ban$_2$ semolina
nig$_2$ ar$_3$-ra saga	2 ban$_2$ fine a-groats

This is a classic example of input (raw material = grain) and output (processed good = flour). The average production norm was 10 liters of milled grain per workday per female laborer. If we calculate the minimum rationing "cost" of one of these women to be 1 liter of unprocessed barley per day (plus "fringe"), the value of flour *should* be about 10 percent above that of unmilled grain. But as we have seen above, milled grain (*dabin*) is converted to unprocessed barley at a rate of 1:1. I have unfortunately been unable to uncover a calculation in the Ur III texts that would confirm this "added value" theory of early millwork.

In like fashion to the excavation and field prep tasks organized by field supervisors, fishing teams composed of corporate slaves, usually blood relations (adult brothers and their sons), were assigned catch and processing norms based certainly on the availability of, and the effort in drying or smoking, fish. An inspection of all available Ur III fisheries texts (Englund 1990) has resulted in a list of fish—probably both raw and processed sorts are represented—and their corresponding daily catch norms, of which several were listed above. The full list is:

Fish Sort	Quantity per Day
ku_6 al-dar-ra	6 split fish
ku_6 gam+gam	10 mana of gamgam-fish
ku_6 GU_4	2 KWU858-crates of G-fish [GU_4 is commonly read *eštub* or *aztug*, a type of carp]
ku_6 kun-zi	2 reservoir-fish
ku_6 kun-zi saga	1 fine reservoir-fish
ku_6 sag-kur_2	10 "headed" fish
ku_6 sag-$keš_2$	1 "head-bundle" of fish
ku_6 sag-$keš_2$ DU	1/10 DU-"head-bundle" of fish[a]
ku_6 suḫur-gal	1/2 KWU858-crate of large suḫur-carp
ku_6 suḫur	1 KWU858-crate of suḫur-carp
ku_6 ti-la	1 "life" fish
ku_6 $še_6$	6 2/3 $sila_3$ of smoked fish

[a] This might be simply *ku_6 sag-$keš_2$-ra_2*, but the value remains irregular and not entirely credible. The reference text, *SNAT* 345, obverse 6–7, has: "2($geš_2$) 3(u) ku_6 sag $keš_2$ DU / a_2-bi u_4 2(geš'u) 5($geš_2$)-kam" for fish described as "ku_6 du_6-ku_3-ga," followed by various numbers of *ku_6 nesag$_2$* fish, including (obverse 13–reverse 1): "1($geš_2$) 4(u) ku_6 sag $keš_2$ DU / a_2-bi u_4 1(geš'u) 6($geš_2$) 4(u)-kam"—that is, 150 ÷ 1,500 = 1/10, and 100 ÷ 1,000 = 1/10, respectively. Correct *gin_2* in the same text to *KWU858*.

We needn't know much about the fish or even the potential metrological designations found in this list of work norms to make other interesting comparisons with the administrative record. As was demonstrated earlier, like many other items of domestic production, fish were moved through the controlled markets of the *damgar* agents and were thus assigned silver equivalencies. Of these, we find four sorts that are also in the list of fisheries work norms:

Fish Sort	Daily Catch Norm	Fish per Shekel Silver
ku_6 gam+gam	10 mana of g-fish	900
ku_6 sag-kur_2	10 headed fish	900
ku_6 kun-zi (saga)	1 or 2 reservoir-fish	90
ku_6 $še_6$	6 2/3 liters of smoked fish	2 gur

The speculation involved in relating the *gam-gam* fish as silver equivalents in units and as catch norms in *mana* would appear to be unnecessary given the three remaining sorts with compatible numerical quantifications. These three, remarkably, result in the same equivalence of 90 fisheries workdays per shekel of silver:

900 *ku_6 sag-kur_2* per shekel of silver at 10 per day = 90 workdays per shekel of silver

90 *ku_6 kun-zi* per shekel of silver at 1 or 2 per day = 90 or 45 workdays per shekel of silver

2 *gur ku_6 $še_6$* per shekel of silver at 6 2/3 *$sila_3$* per day = 90 workdays per shekel of silver

The labor–silver equivalencies found in a minimum of 25 Ur III accounts result in a range of values reaching from one to six (standardized 30-day) months per shekel of silver, based on some number of workdays of laborers valued as a corresponding weight of silver, but the Umma text *TLC* 5, 6171, reverse 5–6, appears to assume a singular role in booking an amount of silver and subsequently converting that silver to an abstracted set of workdays that formed the means of common calculation in the account:

1(u) gin_2 ku_3-babbar	*10 shekels of silver*,
a_2-bi 1(geš'u) 5($geš_2$)	*their labor: 900 (days)*

thus 90 workdays per shekel of silver. Aside from the indirect evidence derived from the fisheries texts above, this three work-month equivalency for 1 shekel of silver is known from only two other accounts (*ITT* 3, 6541 + 5, 6829 [*NG* 2, 67] and *SNAT* 236; see Englund 1990:196–197).

Another important part of the Babylonian economy was the production of containers made of reed, and I would like to close this paper with a short discussion of how much more information we are able to press from our documents when observed in the light of an increasing awareness of unstated equivalencies. I list below some labor norms attached to basketry teams mentioned earlier.

Basket	**Labor Norm per Day** (especially TCL 5, 6036)
^{gi}ma-an-sim ninda ar_3-ra	3 sieves
^{gi}ma-an-sim dabin	3/5 sieve
^{gi}ma-an-sim us_2	1/2 sieve
^{gi}ma-an-sim saga lugal	1/5 sieve
^{gi}gur-dub 3(ban_2)-ta	4 baskets
^{gi}ḫal gur-dub 4(ban_2)-ta	5 baskets
^{gi}gur-dub 1(barig)-ta	5 1/2 baskets
^{gi}ḫal gur-dub 1(barig) 3(ban_2)-ta	3 baskets
^{gi}ḫal 1(barig)-ta	10 baskets

Simple technical considerations make the equivalence of three units per workday for sieves used with the grain called *ninda-ara* credible, since it comports well with the fact that this flour was milled about twice as fast as normal flour. Thus it would have been rougher ground and would have required a less fine mesh than better flour sorts. The second group, of *gurdub* and *ḫal* baskets, gives fairly confusing numbers in light of the expectation that the smaller the container, the less work expended in its production. The accounts would appear to fail in aiding us in understanding this apparent anomaly. If we review descriptions of basket production found in related instances, however, we can draw quite unexpected new conclusions about the accounting processes that underlie superficially innocent numerical notations. The totals section reverse iv 21–26 (Figure 21.2), found in

TCL 5, 6036, a large (20-column, 750-line) account from the southern province of Umma, represents just one of numerous examples of labor notations in Ur III texts that contain a wealth of unstated information:

1a) ⌈ŠU+LAGAB⌉ 5(geš$_2$) 2(u) ^{gi}ḫal gur-dub 1(barig) 3(ban$_2$)-ta	Total: 320 ḫal-gurdub baskets at 1 barig 3 ban$_2$ each
1b) gi-bi 8(geš$_2$) sa	their reeds: 480 bundles,
1c) a$_2$-bi u$_4$ 1(geš$_2$) 4(u) 6(diš) $^2/_3$(diš)	their labor: 106 2/3 days.
2a) ⌈ŠU+LAGAB⌉ 4(u) ^{gi}gur-dub 4(ban$_2$)-ta	Total: 40 (ḫal)-gurdub baskets at 4 ban$_2$ each,
2b) gi-bi 2(u) 6(diš) $^2/_3$(diš) sa	their reeds: 26 2/3 bundles,
2c) a$_2$-bi u$_4$ 8(diš)	their labor: 8 days.

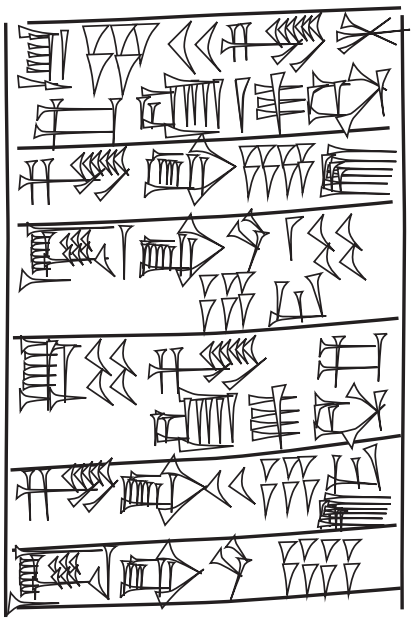

Figure 21.2. Subtotals in *TCL* 5, 6036.

Let us do some preliminary calculations to discover what these notations mean (remembering that 1 *barig* = 6 *ban*$_2$; 1 *ban*$_2$ = 10 *sila*$_3$; and 1 *sila*$_3$ is about 1 liter):

1a) 320 ÷ 106 2/3	= 3 90-sila$_3$ units to be constructed per workday
2a) 40 ÷ 8	= 5 40-sila$_3$ units constructed per workday
1b) 320 baskets × 90 sila$_3$ per basket ÷ 480	= 60 basketsila per reed bundle
2b) 40 baskets × 40 sila$_3$ per basket ÷ 26 2/3	= 60 basketsila per reed bundle
1c) 3 units per day × 90 sila$_3$ per basket ÷ 60 basketsila per reed bundle	= 4 1/2 sa gi per day matted into the larger baskets, and
2c) 5 units per day × 40 sila$_3$ per basket ÷ 60 basketsila per reed bundle	= 3 1/3 sa gi per day matted into the smaller baskets

In both cases, a bookkeeping construct capacity of 60 "basketsila" (60 liters) is expected per bundle of reed (*sa gi*). Since we know the reed bundle was, in basketry, equivalent to a *KID* mat of about 1 × 1 m (1/36 surface-*sar*; cf. Civil 1964:80; Goetze 1948; see Figure 21.3 for a potential reconstruction of what Ur III scribes might

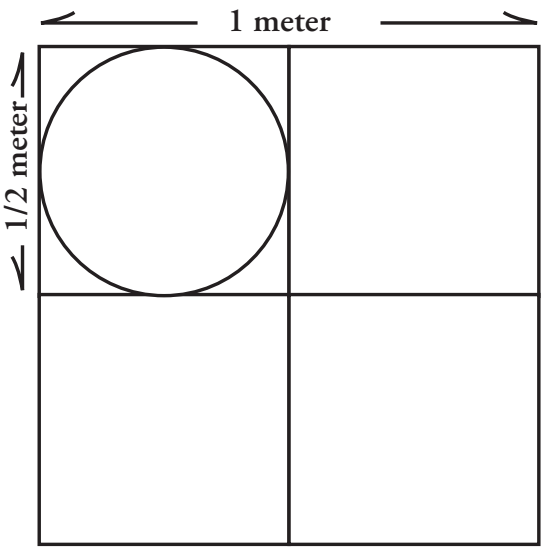

Figure 21.3. A 60-basketsila container. The figure to the right represents the easiest way for the Ur III bookkeeper to imagine a cylinder constructed from a 1 × 1 m (in Babylonian lengths, 2 × 2 cubits) reed mat. A base of 50 cm (1 cubit) cut from a quarter of the mat would leave three sections, each 50 × 50 cm. Given the Babylonian approximation of π as 3, these three sections in a strip would provide the cylinder's 50-cm-high wall. Such an idealized basket would hold slightly less than 100 liters and would therefore, given the uncertainties of Ur III basket construction, make a very credible fit with the underlying metrology of the notations in *TCL* 5, 6036, discussed here.

have been using as metrological guidelines), and since 6 *sa gi* were to be matted in one day, then for mats we would expect the equivalent of 360 basketsila per workday. Here we have 4 1/2 *sa gi* per day matted into the larger baskets and 3 1/3 *sa gi* per day matted into the smaller baskets. I am unable to locate a meaningful mathematical relationship between the two. Still, these production norms make intuitive sense given the time involved in setting out the spokes or staves for a new basket, tying off the rim of the finished product, and making lids and handles.

TCL 5, 6036, is replete with background equivalencies that we find recorded in no school exercise but that did reflect the importance attached to basketry in early Babylonian economies. Baskets served to facilitate the storage of most comestibles of the day, as well as any number of other natural and man-made products, including, in the *pisan dub-ba*, all clay tablets of archival interest to accountants. Baskets also incorporated into daily activities a quite clear metrology, as we have seen in the current account. Expanded to use in fisheries, wood- and metalworking, and grain harvest and storage, these containers provided a quick and efficient means to quantify expenses and incomes. The 30-liter *ma-sa*$_2$*-ab* baskets used by porters during harvest to transport grain from the fields, for instance, fit seamlessly into the grain capacity system, itself based on the *barig* of 60 liters: two workers are one, next two are two, next two are three barig and so on, keep counting, eight are four, ten porters are five barig, that is, one gur, twenty are two, keep counting. Further, the utility of strictly defined piecework for basket production is evident, since in advance of the effort, supervisors achieved an exacting overview of input costs for the production of their wares. In the first instance above, assign to Foreman Smith, for a period of 10 days, 10 full-time workmen and 1 committed to two-thirds of normal labor output ((10 days × 10) + (10 days × 2/3) = 106 2/3 workdays) and deliver to him 480 bundles of reed, and you can with some confidence expect to

receive back your desired 320 baskets. You need make no inquiries as to how or by whom specifically the work was accomplished. In fisheries accounts: 10 workmen for 360 days makes 3,600 workdays per year, makes 80 *gur* of smoked fish (3,600 × 6 2/3 liters per day). At the end of the year, the foreman in charge of these laborers, themselves property of the state, has delivery receipts on hand totaling only 60 *gur*—he owes 20. How can he make that up if called upon to do so? He can submit 10 shekels of silver borrowed from his brother, his father, or the local *damgar*; since smoked fish are registered in state accounts at 2 *gur* per shekel (there are some two dozen instances of just this practice, qualified as so much ku_3 ku_6, or "fish silver"), or he can deliver, in baskets, 10 *gur* of grain. If he dies and leaves behind nothing but his family and this debt, the provincial household to which he was attached can claim his surviving wife and daughters as slaves, in approximate equivalency value to the missing fish.

We must take cardinal examples of equivalency use such as *TCL* 5, 6036, for what they are—namely, key texts that make available to us, using a simple pocket calculator, a myriad of important bookkeeping norms, or what may prove to be norms, that we can test against current and future text corpora. It is not difficult to abstract this use of equivalencies up the economic hierarchy to the level of provincial and then royal, or so-called *bala*, accounts. Take a slightly idealized view, from the capital city Ur, of the households under control of the governor of Lagash Province. All land, personnel, and herds are owned by the crown and supervised by the local administration in place in Girsu. Each of those three categories consists of 1 $šar_2$ (3,600) or a multiple thereof (the figures, incidentally, are likely not far removed from reality): 3,600 bur_3 (expressed in Ur III surface metrology as 1 *šargal* bur_3 [cf., e.g., *RTC* 407]; about 23,000 ha) of arable land, 3,600 corporate slaves, 10,800 sheep and goats, and 3,600 oxen and cows. Šulgi claims—for the royal court; for the standing army; for the temples in Nippur, Ur, and Uruk; for trade or storage; or to "present back" to his thankful kingdom—half the grain harvest (cf. *CT* 7, 8 BM 12926; Sharlach 2003:67–69) and one-tenth the products and offspring of the herds (despite Sharlach 2003:140–142) and the labor of the workers. The equivalencies employed to calculate these taxes are known to all parties: 30 *gur* per bur_3 grain harvest makes 3,600 × 30 ÷ 2 = 15 $šar_2$ (alternatively, 15 $guru_7$ or 54,000) *gur*; 3,600 × 360 ÷ 10 = 36 $šar_2$ (129,600) workdays that can be credited through the receipt of any combination of products, the confirmation of work done on such crown tasks as road and waterway maintenance or monumental constructions, or the delivery of silver or some like payment foreseen in equivalency tables, including artificial "adjustments" of labor found throughout our accounts but still very imperfectly understood; 10,800 ÷ 10 = 1,080 (male) sheep and goats for offerings and priestly repast; 10,800 × 2 (pounds [*ma-na*] of wool or goat hair per animal) ÷ 10 = 36 talents (2,160 pounds) bound for textile production (to clothe the wards of the crown and to move into domestic and interregional markets, textiles being the primary export article produced in Babylonia); and 3,600 ÷ 10 = 360 (likely) oxen for

offerings and 1,800 cows × 5 (liters of butter oil) and 7.5 (liters of *kašk* cheese) ÷ 10 = 900 and 1,350 liters, respectively. The governor of Girsu might well not achieve these results, but he will be in the king's debt for his generosity in forgiving at least some of the province's failings, and the royal court itself, with its many princely households, could reckon with a steady and substantial income to fund its lavish expenditures. (Though only slightly more credible than informed speculation, it is worth noting that, based on the above numbers, the crown's grain income from Lagash Province, expressed in silver [1 *gur* per shekel], would be valued at more than 10 times the combined total silver value of workdays [at 90 days per shekel], small and large cattle offerings [at about 1 and 5 shekels per animal, respectively], wool and goat hair [at 10 pounds per shekel], and butter oil and dry cheese [at 10 and 150 liters per shekel, respectively].)

This in some ways fanciful reconstruction of the office of the treasury in Ur is admittedly my own attempt to abstract the ultimate form of Šulgi's *bala* accounts, now lost somewhere in the depths of the capital, from the numerous attestations of accounting practice found in provincial archives. But we can be quite confident that at least a similarly formulated calculation of plan production played a substantive role in Ur III economies, scaling up from the various teams engaged at basic levels with farmwork, canal maintenance, brick construction, and fishing, through the administrations of relatively self-sufficient households, from there to province-level accounts, and finally to crown accounts of taxes, tribute, and the royal expenditures they funded. Ur III specialists who have attempted to piece this system together should not exclude from their imaginings the tables of implicit equivalencies that speak, with some authority, through the administrative accounts of all provinces.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF VALUE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

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