

REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA
CATÁLOGO DEL GABINETE DE ANTIGÜEDADES

**SARGONIC
CUNEIFORM TABLETS
IN THE
REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA**

THE CARL L. LIPPMANN COLLECTION



REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA
MINISTERIO DE CULTURA DE LA REPÚBLICA DE IRAQ
MADRID



وأخيراً، وبشكل مميز، نُشير إلى أن سفارة جمهورية العراق في مدريد قد تابعت باهتمام كبير أعمال الدراسة ونشرها. وكانت ثمرة هذا الاهتمام أيضاً نشر العمل بشكل مشترك بين الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ ووزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق، إذ يشكل هذا التعاون رمزاً للصدقة وخدمة كبيرة لعلم الآثار وتراثه ليس للعراق فحسب، وإنما للتراث الثقافي العالمي، والذي نأمل يكون بداية مبشرة طيبة لأعمال دراسية مماثلة مستقبلاً يمكن أن تُسهم في توطيد أواصر الصداقة والعلاقات الثقافية التاريخية بين اسبانيا والعراق.

شكري لكل الأشخاص والمؤسسات لتعاونها في انقاذ هذه الألواح المسماوية والتعريف بها، والتي من خلال اهتمامها بالإطلاع على بدايات تكوين الأقوام البشرية المعقدة، أعطت أولوية لاعتبار هذه الألواح كوثائق أساسية في التراث الثقافي العالمي.

مارتين الماغرو كوريبا

أكاديمي رئيس قسم الآثار والتحف القديمة

في الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ

ترجمة: قاسم عبد الكريم

الأمر الذي سمح اقتناء هذه المجموعة من الوثائق التاريخية المهمة، وقد سُميت بمجموعة كارل لييمان تكريماً لهذا الشخص واهتمامه بالآثار والفنون.

تتكون مجموعة كارل لييمان من ٣٣٧ لوحة مسمارية تتعلق بمواضيع إدارية، وباستثناء لوحة واحدة، تعود جميعها إلى عهد سرجون الأكدي (٢٣٥٠ - ٢٢٩٥)، أول ملك في تاريخ بلاد الرافدين، وكذلك باستثناء لوحتين باللغة الأكديّة، فإن جميع الألواح أُستعملت فيها الكتابة المسمارية واللغة السومرية.

مصدر أغلبية هذه الألواح هو أرشيف حاكم مدينة ادب (تل بسمايا) السومرية، وتتضمن وسائل تنظيم إدارة العاملين والمنتجات التي كانت تدخل قصر الحاكم أو تخرج من المخازن والورشات الموجودة فيه وطرق الحفاظ عليها وكذلك الأعمال اليدوية التي كانت تتم فيه. هنا يجب الإشارة إلى أن أهمية دراسة هذه المجموعة من الألواح تكمن في مجالات المعرفة والثقافة التي كانت سائدة عند السومريين وتنظيم شؤون العمل والتركيبية السياسية والإدارية خلال عهد الملك سرجون، وكذلك استخدام اللغة السومرية والكتابات المسمارية.

بعد وصول الألواح إلى الأكاديمية الملكية الإسبانية للتاريخ، بدأ العمل بتنظيفها وترميمها وتوثيقها ودراسة المجموعة بكاملها تحت إشراف البروفيسور مانويل مولينا، وبالتعاون مع كل من ماريا ايلينا ميلون واكاترينا ماركينا. إن العمل الذي تتوج بإصدار هذا الكتاب قد حقق الهدف الرئيس لاقتناء هذه النصوص المسمارية، وجاء في إطار إعادة تنشيط قسم الآثار والتحف القديمة في الأكاديمية وسياسته القائمة على الدراسة والنشر والانفتاح على البحث العلمي.

وقبل اختتام هذه المقدمة، أود أن أعبر عن شكرنا الشخصي وباسم الأكاديمية الملكية الإسبانية للتاريخ إلى جميع اللذين ساهموا في استعادة الألواح ودراستها ونشرها في مجموعة كارل لييمان. ونتقدم بالشكر لمؤسسة مجموعة كارل لييمان لكرمها الذي سمح اقتناء الألواح وتفادي تبعثها وفقدان معلومات تاريخية مهمة. ونُشيد بالجهود الطيبة والفاعلة التي قامت بها الأكاديمية الملكية الإسبانية للتاريخ وبالتحديد من خلال قسم الآثار والتحف القديمة لاقتناء ونشر مجموعة الألواح.

كما نشمّن الجهود الفاعلة والكبيرة لمدير الأكاديمية الملكية الإسبانية للتاريخ، السيد غونثالو انيس الفاريث دي كاستريون ومدير الشؤون المالية في الأكاديمية، السيد خوسي أنخل سانجيث اسياين، والتي من دونها ما كان ممكناً اقتناء هذه الألواح. ونشكر البروفيسور مانويل مولينا والمجلس الأعلى للبحوث العلمية الإسبانية لجهودهما في هذه الدراسة، وكذلك الدكتورة ماريا ايلينا ميلون والدكتورة اكاترينا ماركينا لتعاونهما في خدمة علم الآثار وتراثه.

مقدمة الناشر

منذ بدء عملها في القرن الثامن عشر، أهتمت الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ بعلوم الكتابات والنقوش القديمة، وذلك استناداً إلى اعتبارات تتعلق بتسجيل الوثائق الأكثر ضرورة لاستكمال النصوص التاريخية، بشكل يسمح اعتماد الموضوعية والحقيقة في دراسة تاريخ اسبانيا، انسجاماً مع روح النقد لعصر التنوير.

بعد عام ١٩٩٩، قام قسم الآثار والتحف القديمة في الأكاديمية بنشر موجوداته، وفي مقدمتها الكتابات والنقوش القديمة التي يُحتفظ بها على شكل مجموعات، وأصدرتها على النحو التالي: "مجموعة الكتابات قبل العهد الروماني" (مدريد ٢٠٠٣). "مجموعة الكتابات الاسبانية القديمة" (مدريد ٢٠٠٠). "مجموعة الكتابات العبرية" (مدريد ٢٠٠٥). "مجموعة الكتابات العربية القديمة" (مدريد ٢٠٠٧). ولهذه المجموعات، يُضاف الآن مجموعة باسم "كتالوج ألواح بالخط المسماري من العهد السرجوني في الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ، مجموعة كارل ليبمان" *Sargonic Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia*.

كان اقتناء هذه المجموعة من الألواح المسمارية والحفاظ عليها في الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ يدخل ضمن الاهتمامات العلمية وفي مقدمتها هدف المحافظة على تكامل وجودها بمجموعة واحدة. وبعد إطلاع البروفسور مانويل مولينا على الألواح التي كانت موجودة في مجموعة مقتنيات فنية خاصة، لاحظ وجود علاقة أرشيف بين أكثرية القطع وانتماءها لفترة العهد السرجوني المتوسط (٢٢٥٠ قبل الميلاد) التي تُعتبر قليلة التوثيق.

وفي سياق التقليد الساري العمل به والمتعلق بدراسة الكتابات والنقوش القديمة، نظرت أكاديمية التاريخ باهتمام بالغ إلى خطر تبعثر الأرشيف التاريخي الذي تنتمي إليه هذه الألواح وإلى ضرورة الحفاظ على وجودها بشكل متكامل، على الرغم من أن هذه الكتابات المسمارية لم يسبق أن شكلت جزءاً من مجموعات مقتنيات الأكاديمية.

وكان لدعم مدير الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ، السيد غونثالو انيس الفاريث دي كاستريون ومدير الشؤون المالية في الأكاديمية، السيد خوسي أنخل سانجيث اسبائين، الدور الكبير في اقتناء هذه المجموعة من الألواح بأموال من مؤسسة كارل ليبمان للتراث *The Carl L. Lippmann Collection*،

ان هذه الفترة التاريخية الطويلة جعلت أغلب المنجز اللغوي في العراق القديم مدون باللغة الاكديّة ولهذا فان علماء اللغات القديمة المعنيين ببلاد النهرين لازالوا يجودون علينا بين فترة وأخرى بترجماتهم ودراساتهم لنصوص مسمارية جديدة دون أن ينتهوا من هذا الخزين المعرفي الغزير، وما هذه الدراسة القيمة الا حلقة في سلسلة علمية طويلة تحتاج ربما الى عقود من العمل المضني .

كل التقدير للجهد الكبير الذي بذلته الاكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ لاقتنائها هذه المجموعة الارشيفية من الواح الطين وتسهيل العمل البحثي لها والشكر الوافر للبروفيسور (مانويل مولينا) لتقديمه للقراء والمختصين مادة علمية تاريخية يشار لها بالبنان .

د . علاء أبو الحسن العلق
وزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق
بغداد تموز يوليو ٢٠١٤

مقدمة وزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق

انه من دواعي السرور والفخر أن تقدم وزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق مقدمة كتاب (الألواح المسمارية السرجونية في الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ، مجموعة كارل لبمان) للبروفيسور (مانويل مولينا)، اذ يعد هذا الكتاب محصلة لنتائج جهد دام أكثر من عشر سنوات قدم بمثابرة علمية رائعة لدراسة (الالواح الاثرية المسمارية).

ونظراً لأهميته لدى الباحثين في مجال الآثار والتراث فقد آثرت الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ في مدريد بنشر هذا الكتاب وبالتعاون مع وزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق والتي بدورها تقدم شكرها وتقديرها العالين للجهود العلمية الكبيرة التي قامت بها الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ لتقديم هذا الكتاب لكل مهتم بشأن الموضوع، ولعل من نافلة القول أن نذكر أن الدراسة قد وثقت حقبة من حقبات تاريخ الحضارة العراقية لمدينة سومرية لها تاريخ عريق واسمها ادب أو (تل بسمايا) حالياً، تلك المدينة التي تقع في جنوب بلاد النهرين والتي كان لها دور بارز في العصر الاكدي (٢٣٢٤-٢١٤٢ ق.م)، منجزها الحضاري مثل أخواتها من مدن العراق القديم، بارز وناصح وخلاق.

وقد تعرضت اطلال هذه المدينة الى أعمال حفر غير قانونية منذ عشرات السنين لعل أقساها وامرها ما أعقب حرب الخليج الاولى ١٩٩١ وحرب الخليج الثانية ٢٠٠٣ م وبسبب ذلك فقد وجدت أختام اسطوانية ومنحوتات وألواح طينية تعود لتلك المدينة في المعارض والمزادات وبعض الجماعات في العالم . وتكمن أهمية هذه الألواح كونها تمثل أرشيفاً متكاملًا وجُذ وكُشف في مكان واحد، وهي توثق للحياة الاقتصادية في مرحلة الملك سرجون الاكدي (٢٣٢٤ - ٢٢٨٥ ق.م) والملك نرام سين (٢٢٦١/٢٢٠٦ ق.م)، والملك شركلي شري (٢٢٠٥ - ٢١٨١ ق.م). هذه الدراسة التي أخذت عشر سنوات من البحث والتقصي والمقارنة، سلطت الضوء على الأعمال الاقتصادية والمهنية والحرفية ودور الفنانين والتجار والدبلوماسيين في قصر ملك مدينة أَدب خلال العصر الأكدي.

خلال هذه الحقبة التاريخية كانت الأقوام في جنوب بلاد وادي الرافدين تتكلم اللغتين السومرية والأكدية والمعروفة بـ (لشان أكدي *Lisan akkadi*). وكانت اللغة الأكدية تتحدث بها الأقوام التي أسست المملكة الأكدية في النصف الثاني من الألفية الثالثة قبل الميلاد واستمرت إلى القرن الأول قبل الميلاد.

كتالوج قسم الآثار والتحف القديمة

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مجموعة كارل لييمان

تأليف: مانويل مولينا

بالتعاون مع ماريا الينا ميولين واكاترينا ماركينا



الأكاديمية الملكية الاسبانية للتاريخ
ووزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق

مدريد ٢٠١٤



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ووزارة الثقافة في جمهورية العراق

مدريد



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Manuel Molina

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REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA
MINISTERIO DE CULTURA DE LA REPÚBLICA DE IRAQ
MADRID 2014



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CATÁLOGO DEL GABINETE DE ANTIGÜEDADES

I. ANTIGÜEDADES

I.1. EPIGRAFÍA

I.1.6. SARGONIC CUNEIFORM TABLETS IN THE REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA. THE CARL L. LIPPMANN COLLECTION

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FOREWORD BY THE SERIES EDITOR

Since its inception in the 18th century, the Real Academia de la Historia has been concerned with epigraphy. Inscriptions are in fact objective documents that, together with other historical texts, allow a well-founded reconstruction of the history of Spain, in accordance with the critical spirit of the Enlightenment. In 1999, the Gabinete de Antigüedades of the Real Academia de la Historia launched the publication of its collections – principally comprising epigraphic documents – through the so-called *Catálogo de las Inscripciones de la Real Academia de la Historia*. So far, *Catálogo de Epigrafía Hispánica* (Madrid 2000), *Catálogo de Epigrafía Prerromana* (Madrid 2003), *Catálogo de Epigrafía Hebrea* (Madrid 2005) and *Catálogo de Epigrafía Árabe* (Madrid 2007) have been published. The latest addition is the publication of *Sargonic Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia*, devoted to the Carl L. Lippmann Collection.

The acquisition and conservation of this collection of cuneiform tablets by the Real Academia de la Historia were based on scientific grounds, a principal concern being to keep them all together. Prof. Manuel Molina had had access to the tablets, which belonged to a private collection that was about to be dispersed. He also recognised an archival relationship among most of the documents and their dating to the scarcely documented Middle Sargonic period (ca. 2250 BC). The historical interest of the tablets and the tradition of epigraphic studies at the Real Academia de la Historia made that institution aware of the threat of the archive being broken up and the need to protect it as a whole, despite the fact that cuneiform documents had never been part of its holdings. The support of its Director, Excmo. Sr. Don Gonzalo Anes y Álvarez de Castrillón, and of its Treasurer, Excmo. Sr. Don José Ángel Sánchez Asiaín, made possible the acquisition of the collection. This was achieved thanks to the Carl L. Lippmann legacy, which is why it has been named the “Carl L. Lippmann Collection”, as a tribute to his memory and as an appreciation of his bequest, which made it possible to recover the documents.

The Carl L. Lippmann Collection is made up of 337 cuneiform tablets, all administrative documents. With one exception, they are dated to the Sargonic period, named after Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2350-2295 BC), founder of the first empire in the history of Mesopotamia. All these texts use the cuneiform script and are written in Sumerian, except for two tablets which are in Akkadian. Most of the documents come from the governor’s archive, located in the palace of the Sumerian city of Adab (Tell Bismaya). They recorded the management of personnel and products received, manufactured and expended at the workshops and the storehouse of the palace. Therefore they are particularly relevant for knowledge of Sumerian material culture, the organization of work, the political and administrative structure of the Sargonic empire, the Sumerian language and the cuneiform script.

When the tablets arrived at the Real Academia de la Historia, the work of cleaning, restoration, documentation and studying them began, under the supervision of Manuel Molina, in collaboration with Maria Elena Milone and Ekaterina Markina. The work carried out in these years, successfully completed with this volume, has thus achieved the main objective set with the acquisition of the tablets. It is also part of the revitalization of the Gabinete de Antigüedades, under the auspices of the Real Academia de la Historia, in accordance with its policy of making its collections open to study, research and publication.

* * *

We would not wish to conclude this foreword without thanking, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Real Academia de la Historia, those who have been involved in the recovery, study and publication of the Carl L. Lippmann Collection of cuneiform tablets.

First of all, we acknowledge the generosity of the Carl L. Lippmann Legacy, which has enabled the acquisition of these tablets, saving them from certain dispersion and avoiding the resultant loss of important historical information. It is also appropriate to acknowledge the efficient and selfless handling of the acquisition and publication of the collection by the Real Academia de la Historia through its Gabinete de Antigüedades. Special thanks go to its Director, Excmo. Sr. Don Gonzalo Anes y Álvarez de Castrillón, and to its Treasurer, Excmo. Sr. Don José Ángel Sánchez Asiaín, without whose support the acquisition of the tablets would not have been possible.

Thanks are also due to Prof. Manuel Molina and to the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas for the effort they have put into studying these documents, and to Maria Elena Milone and Ekaterina Markina for their spirit of collaboration and service in respect of this archaeological heritage.

Last but not least, we would like to acknowledge and show our gratitude for the deep interest with which the Iraqi Embassy in Madrid has followed the study and publication of these cuneiform tablets. This volume, conceived as a joint publication of the Real Academia de la Historia and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Iraq, is also the result of their concern. Certainly, this collaboration is a symbol of friendship and a commitment to the cultural heritage of Iraq, which hopefully will strengthen the long-lasting cultural relationships and mutual understanding between Iraq and Spain.

Our thanks go to all concerned, both individuals and institutions, for a collaboration that has made it possible to recover and make known this collection of cuneiform tablets, documents that are essential for research on the emergence of complex human societies and so should be considered part of the cultural heritage of humanity.

MARTÍN ALMAGRO-GORBEA
Académico Anticuario de la
Real Academia de la Historia

FOREWORD BY THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Iraq is very pleased to present the book *Sargonic Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia: The Carl L. Lippmann Collection*, by Prof. Manuel Molina. This volume is the result of a work carried out for more than ten years, a proof of scientific perseverance in the study of cuneiform tablets.

Because of the paramount importance of this collection for researchers in antiquity and in cultural heritage, the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid has assumed this joint edition together with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Iraq. The latter wishes to express its acknowledgment and appreciation to the *Real Academia de la Historia* for the great scientific effort made to place this work at the disposal of all researchers in ancient Mesopotamia. Thanks to this study, it has been possible to document one of the most important periods in the history of the ancient Sumerian city of Adab (modern Tell Bismaya), located in southern Mesopotamia, which played a highly significant role during the Sargonic (or Akkadian) period (ca. 2324-2142 BC). The cultural legacy of Adab, like that of other Sumerian cities of ancient Iraq, has been extraordinary.

For decades, archaeological remains of this and other cities of Iraq have been subjected to illegal excavations, being probably the most brutal those undertaken after the First Gulf War (1991) and the Second Gulf War (2003). As a consequence, numerous cylinder-seals, reliefs and cuneiform tablets have ended up in art galleries, auction houses and private collections all over the world. The tablets from Adab edited in this volume, which come from one of these collections, were acquired by the Real Academia de la Historia with the aim of avoiding their dispersal and of ensuring that they were made available for academic study.

The importance of these tablets lies in the fact that they belong to an archive found in a

El Ministerio de Cultura de la República de Iraq tiene la enorme satisfacción de presentar la obra del profesor D. Manuel Molina titulada *Sargonic Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia: The Carl L. Lippmann Collection*, fruto de un esfuerzo de más de diez años y muestra de su gran perseverancia científica en el estudio de las tablillas cuneiformes.

Dada la suma importancia de esta colección para los investigadores de la antigüedad y el patrimonio cultural, la Real Academia de la Historia en Madrid se ha hecho cargo de esta publicación junto con el Ministerio de Cultura de la República de Iraq. Esta desea manifestar su agradecimiento y aprecio hacia la Real Academia de la Historia por el gran esfuerzo científico realizado para poner esta obra a disposición de todos los investigadores de la antigua Mesopotamia. Gracias a este estudio se ha podido documentar una de las etapas más importantes de la historia de la antigua ciudad sumeria de Adab (hoy Tell Bismaya), situada en el sur de Mesopotamia y que desempeñó un brillante y destacado papel durante el periodo sargónico, también denominado acadio (ca. 2324-2142 a.C.). El legado cultural de Adab, al igual que el de otras ciudades sumerias del antiguo Iraq, ha sido extraordinario.

Desde hace décadas, los restos de esta y otras ciudades de Iraq han sido objeto de excavaciones ilegales, siendo quizás las más crueles las que tuvieron lugar después de la I Guerra del Golfo (1991) y la II Guerra del Golfo (2003). Como consecuencia de ello, numerosos sellos cilíndricos, relieves y tablillas cuneiformes terminaron en galerías de arte, subastas y colecciones de todo el mundo. Las tablillas de Adab que se editan en esta obra, procedentes de alguna de estas colecciones, fueron adquiridas por la Real Academia de la Historia con el fin de evitar su dispersión y asegurar su difusión científica.

La importancia de estas tablillas radica en

single spot, documenting the economic and social life of the city of Adab during the reigns of Sargon (2324-2285 BC), Naram-Suen (2261-2206 BC) and Šarkališarri (2205-2181 BC), all kings of Akkad. Specifically, research is focused on the study of the professional activities of artisans, merchants and diplomats in service at the governor's palace of Adab.

In this period, the main languages spoken in southern Mesopotamia were Sumerian and Akkadian (*lišan akkadi*). The latter was the language spoken by population groups who founded the Akkadian Empire in the second half of the third millennium BC, and was used until the first century BC. Such a long life led to the writing of thousands of tablets all over the territory of ancient Iraq, so that even today specialists in these languages continue to provide new studies and translations of what is considered to be a true linguistic, cultural and historical treasure. In this respect, the present book, the result of a long working process, is part of a scientific tradition that desires to make such a valuable legacy more widely known.

Finally, we wish to reiterate our appreciation to the *Real Academia de la Historia* for the effort made in the acquisition of these cuneiform tablets, which has made possible the present research. We also wish to express our gratitude to Prof. Manuel Molina for his scientific work, which has provided researchers and readers interested in the history of ancient Iraq with a book that deserves academic recognition.

que constituyen un archivo integral que fue localizado en un único lugar, y documentan la vida social y económica de la ciudad de Adab durante la época de los reyes Sargón de Akkad (2324-2285 a.C.), Naram-Suen (2261-2206 a.C.) y Šarkališarri (2205-2181 a.C.). Concretamente, la investigación se centra en el estudio de las actividades profesionales de grupos de artesanos, comerciantes y diplomáticos que prestaban sus servicios en el ámbito del palacio del gobernador de Adab.

En esta época, las lenguas que se hablaban en el sur de Mesopotamia eran fundamentalmente el sumerio y el acadio (*lišan akkadi*). Esta última era la lengua hablada por los grupos humanos que fundaron el Imperio Acadio en la segunda mitad del tercer milenio a.C., utilizada hasta el siglo I a.C. Tan larga vida dio lugar a la redacción de millares de tablillas en toda la geografía del antiguo Iraq, de modo que aun hoy día los especialistas en estas lenguas siguen ofreciéndonos periódicamente nuevos estudios y traducciones de lo que constituye un auténtico tesoro lingüístico, cultural e histórico. En este sentido, la presente obra, fruto de un largo trabajo, se enmarca en una tradición científica que quiere dar a conocer tan valioso legado.

Por último, deseamos reiterar nuestro aprecio hacia la Real Academia de la Historia en Madrid por el esfuerzo realizado en la adquisición de estas tablillas cuneiformes, que ha posibilitado el presente trabajo de investigación. También nuestro agradecimiento al profesor Manuel Molina por su labor científica, que ha permitido ofrecer a investigadores y lectores interesados en la historia del antiguo Iraq una obra merecedora de todo el reconocimiento académico.

Traducción árabe-español: Kasim Abdulkarim

Dr. Alaa Abo-Al-Hassan Al-Alaak
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Iraq/
Ministerio de Cultura de la República de Irak
Baghdad/Bagdad, July/julio 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the long delayed edition of an important collection of cuneiform tablets kept in the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid). Martín Almagro-Gorbea, head of its Gabinete de Antigüedades, entrusted me with the task of studying and editing them in 1999. I am extremely grateful to him for his confidence, as well as for the patience, helpfulness and friendship shown during these years.

In this too long process several friends and colleagues have also collaborated with the project, provided unpublished materials and made valuable suggestions.

Between 1999 and 2000 Maria Elena Milone, at that time doctoral student at the Università degli Studi La Sapienza (Rome), spent some months at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. During her stay in Madrid, Milone cleaned and inventoried the tablets, and with my assistance made a preliminary draft of the transliterations. She also documented the collection with a number of digital images, a task that was completed in 2002 by Barbara Böck with the financial support of the Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid (Ref. 06/0057/2001); all the photographs finally published in this volume were taken and edited by me. Ekaterina Markina (Russian State University for the Humanities) collaborated in the text edition process between 2011 and 2012.

I am deeply grateful to Francesco Pomponio, Giuseppe Visicato, Aage Westenholz and Massimo Maiocchi for sharing with me their unpublished studies on the collections of the Banca d'Italia (now *TCCBI* I-II) and Cornell University (now *CUSAS* 11, 13, 19 and 20, the latter still unpublished). Aage Westenholz kindly provided me with his transliterations of the Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian tablets kept in the Schøyen Collection, which have been exceedingly useful in the present research; he also read an early draft of the transliterations of the RAH tablets and made important suggestions. With his customary generosity, David I. Owen gave me permission to cite unpublished texts from Cornell University and sent pictures of the tablets whenever I needed them; Laura W. Johnson-Kelly, Rosen Foundation conservator and photographer, also sent me some digital photos. I am also very grateful to Vitali Bartash, Steven J. Garfinkle, Ingo Schrakamp and Piotr Steinkeller for their comments and suggestions.

My work at the Real Academia de la Historia has been greatly facilitated by both Martín Almagro-Gorbea and Jorge Maier Allende. They always gave me free access to the tablets and made my stays at the Gabinete de Antigüedades very pleasant. Thanks are also due to the late Gonzalo Anes, director of the Real Academia de la Historia, who died unexpectedly in March 2014.

I am aware of how controversial is the publication of unprovenanced cuneiform tablets, but I am convinced that they also deserve to be studied and published by Assyriologists. This is the way we may contribute to the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of Iraq. The publication of the Carl L. Lippmann Collection has been made with the consent and collaboration of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Iraq and the Iraqi Embassy in Madrid, in the common hope that this will be a right step in the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Iraqi people.

Manuel Molina
CSIC, Madrid

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute. University of Chicago.
AAICAB 1/1-4	Jean-Pierre Grégoire, <i>Contribution à l'Histoire Sociale, Économique, Politique et Culturelle du Proche-Orient Ancien</i> . Archives Administratives et Inscriptions Cunéiformes de l'Ashmolean Museum et de la Bodleian Collection d'Oxford (AAICAB). I. Les Sources 1-4. Paris, 1996-2004.
AIHA	Fawzi Rasheed, <i>The Ancient Inscriptions in Himrin Area: Results of the Salvage Excavations at Himrin Reservoir</i> . Himrin 4. Baghdad, 1981.
AnOr 1	Nikolaus Schneider, <i>Die Draham- und Djoha- Urkunden der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek</i> . Analecta Orientalia 1. Rome, 1931.
AO	Tablets in the collections of the Louvre Museum (Antiquités orientales).
ARET 9	Lucio Milano, <i>Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di prodotti alimentari (archivio L. 2712. Parte I)</i> . Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi 9. Rome, 1990.
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i> . Hiroshima.
AWL	Josef Bauer, <i>Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch</i> . Studia Pohl 9. Rome, 1972.
Babyl.	<i>Babyloniaca. Études de Philologie Assyro-Babylonienne</i> . Paris.
BAR IS	<i>British Archaeological Reports. International Series</i> . Oxford.
BCT 2	Philip J. Watson, <i>Neo-Sumerian Texts from Umma and Other Sites</i> . Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum. II. Warminster, 1993.
BDTNS	Manuel Molina, <i>Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts</i> . http://bdtms.filol.csic.es . Madrid, 2002–.
BIN 5	George Gottlob Hackman, <i>Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma</i> . Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B. J. Nies 5. New Haven, 1937.
BIN 8	George Gottlob Hackman, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts from Predynastic Times to the End of the Akkad Dynasty</i> . Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B. J. Nies 8. New Haven, 1958.
BIN 9	Vaughn Emerson Crawford, <i>Sumerian Economic Texts from the First Dynasty of Isin</i> . Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B. J. Nies 9. New Haven, 1954.
BIN 10	Marc Van De Mierop, <i>Sumerian Administrative Documents from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šu-ilišu</i> . Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B. J. Nies 10. New Haven, 1987.
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum. London.
BPOA 1	Tohru Ozaki and Marcel Sigrist, <i>Ur III Administrative Tablets from the British Museum</i> . Part One. Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 1. Madrid, 2006.
BPOA 6	Marcel Sigrist and Tohru Ozaki, <i>Neo-Sumerian Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian Collection</i> . Part One. Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 6. Madrid, 2009.
BuB	<i>Babel und Bibel</i> . Winona Lake.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, 1956-2010.
CDLI	Robert K. Englund, <i>Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative</i> . http://cdli.ucla.edu . Los Angeles.
CDLN	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Notes</i> . http://cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/cdln.html .
CL	Cuneiform Tablets in the Carl L. Lippmann Collection, Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid).

- CST* Thomas Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*. Manchester, 1932.
- CT 50* Edmond Sollberger, *Presargonic and Sargonic Economic Texts*. Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Part L. London, 1972.
- CTNMC* Thorkild Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum*. Copenhagen, 1939.
- CUNES* Tablets in the collections of the Department of Near Eastern Studies. Cornell University.
- CUSAS 3* David I. Owen and Rudolf H. Mayr, *The Garšana Archives*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 3. Bethesda, 2007.
- CUSAS 10* A. R. George, *Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 10. Bethesda, 2009.
- CUSAS 11* Giuseppe Visicato and Aage Westenholz, *Early Dynastic and Early Sargonic Tablets from Adab in the Cornell University Collections*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 11. Bethesda, 2010.
- CUSAS 13* Massimo Maiocchi, *Classical Sargonic Tablets Chiefly from Adab in the Cornell University Collections*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 13. Bethesda, 2009.
- CUSAS 16* Steven J. Garfinkle, Herbert Sauren and Marc Van De Mierop, *Ur III Tablets from the Columbia University Library*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 16. Bethesda, 2010.
- CUSAS 17* A. R. George, ed., *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Cuneiform Texts VI*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17. Bethesda, 2011.
- CUSAS 19* Massimo Maiocchi and Giuseppe Visicato, *Classical Sargonic Tablets Chiefly from Adab in the Cornell University Collections*. Part II. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 19. Bethesda, 2012.
- CUSAS 20* Francesco Pomponio and Giuseppe Visicato, *Middle Sargonic Tablets Chiefly from Adab in the Cornell University Collections*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 20. Bethesda, forthcoming [expected 2014].
- CUSAS 23* Vitali Bartash, *Miscellaneous Early Dynastic and Sargonic Texts in the Cornell University Collections*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 23. Bethesda, 2013.
- DAS* Bertrand Lafont, *Documents administratifs sumériens provenant du site de Tello et conservés au Musée du Louvre*. Paris, 1985.
- DoCu EPHE* Jean-Marie Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. I. Catalogue et copies cunéiformes*. Geneva, 1982.
- DP* François-Maurice Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques*. Paris 1908-1920.
- ECTJ* Aage Westenholz, *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena*. København, 1975.
- EDPV-A* The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A, published by Miguel Civil, *The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A (Archaic HAR-ra A)*. Archivi Reali di Ebla. Studi 4. Rome, 2008.
- EDPV-B* The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary B.
- ePSD* Steve Tinney, *Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary Project*. <http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/index.html>. Philadelphia, 2006.
- FAOS 19* Burkhard Kienast and Konrad Volk, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe*. Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 19. Stuttgart, 1995.
- HSS 3* Mary Inda Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum (I) chiefly from the Reigns of Lugaland and Urukagina*. Harvard Semitic Series 3. Cambridge, 1912.
- HSS 10* Theophile James Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*. Excavations at Nuzi 3. Harvard Semitic Series 10. Cambridge, 1935.
- IAS* Robert D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*. Oriental Institute Publications 99. Chicago, 1974.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ITT 1* François Thureau-Dangin, *Textes de l'époque d'Agadé*. Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman 1. Paris, 1910.
- ITT 2* Henri de Genouillac, *Textes de l'Époque d'Agadé et de l'Époque d'Ur*. Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman 2. Paris, 1910.
- ITT 3* Henri de Genouillac, *Textes de l'Époque d'Ur*. Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman 3. Paris, 1912.
- ITT 4* Louis-Joseph Delaporte, *Textes de l'Époque d'Ur*. Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman 4. Paris, 1912.
- ITT 5* Henri de Genouillac, *Époque Présargonique, Époque d'Agadé, Époque d'Ur*. Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman 5. Paris, 1921.
- JCS* Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven/Boston.
- LAK* Anton Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen*. Leipzig, 1922.
- MAD 1* Ignace J. Gelb, *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region*. Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 1. Chicago, 1952.
- MAD 3* Ignace J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*. Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 3. Chicago, 1957.
- MAD 4* Ignace J. Gelb, *Sargonic Texts in the Louvre Museum*. Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 4. Chicago, 1970.
- MAD 5* Ignace J. Gelb, *Sargonic Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford. Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary 5. Chicago, 1970.
- MC 4* Piotr Steinkeller, *Third Millenium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad*. With Hand Copies by J. N. Postgate. Mesopotamian Civilizations 4. Winona Lake 1992.
- MCS* *Manchester Cuneiform Studies*. Manchester.
- MO* The Maništūšu Obelisk, published by Ignace J. Gelb, Piotr Steinkeller and Robert M. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East. Ancient Kudurrus*. 2 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 104. Chicago, 1991. 116-140.
- MS* Tablets in the Schøyen Collection. Oslo.
- MSL 5* Benno Landsberger, *The Series HAR-ra = ḫubullu: Tablets I-IV*. Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon 5. Rome, 1957.
- MSL 6* Benno Landsberger, *The Series HAR-ra = ḫubullu: Tablets V-VII*. Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon 6. Rome, 1958.
- MSL 7* Benno Landsberger, *The Series HAR-ra = ḫubullu: Tablets VIII-XII*. Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon 7. Rome, 1959.
- MSL 8/1* Benno Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, Part 1: Tablet XIII*. In cooperation with Anne Draffkorn Kilmer and Edmund I. Gordon. Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon 8/1. Rome, 1960.
- MSL 12* Benno Landsberger, *The Series lú = ša: A Reconstruction of Sumerian and Akkadian Lexical Lists*. Edited by Erica Reiner and Miguel Civil. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 12. Rome, 1969.
- MSL 15* Miguel Civil, *The Series diri = (w)atru*. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 15. Rome, 2004.
- MVN 2* Herbert Sauren, *Wirtschaftsurkunden des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 2. Rome, 1975.
- MVN 3* David I. Owen, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 3. Rome, 1975.
- MVN 5* Edmond Sollberger, *The Pinches Manuscript*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 5. Rome, 1978.
- MVN 6* Giovanni Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul*. Parte I: *La. 7001-7600*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 6. Rome, 1977.

- MVN* 7 Giovanni Pettinato and Sergio A. Picchioni, *Testi economici di Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul*. Parte II: *La. 7601-8200*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 7. Rome, 1978.
- MVN* 10 Jean Pierre Grégoire, *Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes*. Ie Partie. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 10. Rome, 1981.
- MVN* 13 Marcel Sigrist, David I. Owen and Gordon D. Young, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection*. Part II. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 13. Rome, 1984.
- MVN* 16 Hartmut Waetzoldt and Fatma Yıldız, *Die Umma-Texte aus den Archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul. Band II (Nr. 601-1600)*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 16. Rome, 1994.
- MVN* 18 M. Molina, *Tablillas administrativas neosumerias de la Abadía de Montserrat (Barcelona)*. Copias Cuneiformes. Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 18. Rome, 1993.
- NATN* David I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur in the University Museum, the Oriental Institute and the Iraq Museum*. Winona Lake, 1982.
- NABU* *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*. Paris.
- NBC* Tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection. Yale University.
- NTSŠ* Raymond Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak au Musée d'Istanbul*. Paris, 1957.
- OIP* 14 Daniel David Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab*. Oriental Institute Publications 14. Chicago, 1930.
- OIP* 99 Robert D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*. Oriental Institute Publications 99. Chicago, 1974.
- OIP* 104 Ignace J. Gelb, Piotr Steinkeller and Robert M. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East. Ancient Kudurrus*. 2 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 104. Chicago, 1991.
- OPBF* 5 Veysel Donbaz and Benjamin R. Foster, *Sargonic texts from Telloh in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum*. Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 5. Philadelphia, 1982.
- OSP* 1 Aage Westenholz, *Literary and Lexical Texts and the Earliest Administrative Documents from Nippur*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 1. Malibu, 1975.
- OSP* 2 Aage Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia*. II. *The 'Akkadian' Texts, the Enlilmaba Texts, and the Onion Archive*. Copenhagen, 1987.
- PDT* 1 Muazzez Çiğ, Hatice Kızılyay and Armas Salonen, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen*. Teil I: *Nrr. 1-725*. Helsinki, 1954.
- PDT* 2 Fatma Yıldız and Tohru Gomi, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen*. Teil II: *Nr. 726-1379*. Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 16. Stuttgart, 1988.
- PPAC* 1 Yang Zhi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab*. Periodic Publications on Ancient Civilizations 1. Changchun, 1989.
- PPAC* 5 Tohru Ozaki and Marcel Sigrist, *Administrative Ur III Texts in the British Museum*. 2 vols. Periodic Publications on Ancient Civilizations 5. Supplement to Journal of Ancient Civilizations 3. Changchun, 2013.
- PSD* Åke Sjöberg et al., *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1984 ss.
- RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*. Paris.
- RBC* Tablets in the Rosen Babylonian Collection. Yale University.
- RIME* 1 Douglas R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 1. Toronto, 2008.
- RIME* 2 Douglas R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 2. Toronto, 1993.
- RIME* 3/2 Douglas R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 3/2. Toronto 1997.
- RSM* Tablets in the collections of the Royal Scottish Museum. Edinburgh.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RTC</i>	François Thureau-Dangin, <i>Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes</i> . Paris, 1903.
<i>SACT 2</i>	Shin T. Kang, <i>Sumerian Economic Texts from the Umma Archive</i> . Sumerian and Akkadian Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of the World Heritage Museum of the University of Illinois II. Urbana, 1973.
<i>SAKF</i>	<i>Sumerische und akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des Archäologischen Museums zu Florenz</i> . Innsbruck, 1958-1960.
<i>SAT 2</i>	Marcel Sigrist, <i>Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections</i> . I. Sumerian Archival Texts 2. Bethesda, 2000.
<i>SCTRAH</i>	Manuel Molina, <i>Sargonic Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia: The Carl L. Lippmann Collection</i> . With the collaboration of Maria Elena Milone and Ekaterina Markina. Madrid, 2014.
<i>SET</i>	Tom B. Jones and John W. Snyder, <i>Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty. A Catalogue and Discussion of Documents from Various Collections</i> . Minneapolis, 1961.
<i>SF</i>	Anton Deimel, <i>Schultexte aus Fara</i> . Die Inschriften von Fara 2. Leipzig, 1923.
<i>SmithCS 38</i>	Cyrus H. Gordon, <i>Smith College Tablets; 110 Cuneiform Texts Selected from the College Collection</i> . Smith College Studies in History 38. Northampton, 1952.
<i>SNAT</i>	Tohru Gomi and Susumu Sato, <i>Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum</i> , Chuo-Gakuin University, 1990.
<i>SRU</i>	Dietz Otto Edzard, <i>Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur</i> . Munich, 1968.
<i>TCCBI I</i>	Francesco Pomponio, Giuseppe Visicato and Aage Westenholz, <i>Le tavolette cuneiformi delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia</i> . I. <i>Tavolette cuneiformi di Adab delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia</i> . Rome, 2006.
<i>TCCBI II</i>	Francesco Pomponio, Marten Stol and Aage Westenholz, <i>Le tavolette cuneiformi delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia</i> . II. <i>Tavolette cuneiformi di varia provenienza delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia</i> . Rome, 2006.
<i>TCS 1</i>	Edmond Sollberger, <i>The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur</i> . Texts from Cuneiform Sources 1. Locust Valley, 1966.
<i>TCTI 2</i>	Bertrand Lafont and Fatma Yıldız, <i>Tablettes cunéiformes de Tello au Musée d'Istanbul. Datant de l'époque de la IIIe Dynastie d'Ur</i> . II: <i>ITT II/1, 2544-2819, 3158-4342, 4708-4713</i> . Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 77. Leiden, 1996.
<i>TÉL</i>	Maurice Lambert, <i>Tablettes économiques de Lagash (époque de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur) copiées en 1900 au Musée Impérial Ottoman par Charles Virolleaud</i> . Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 19. Paris, 1968.
<i>TIM 9</i>	J. J. A. van Dijk, <i>Cuneiform texts of Varying Content</i> . Texts in the Iraq Museum 9. Leiden, 1976.
<i>TLB 3</i>	William W. Hallo, <i>Sumerian Archival Texts</i> . Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae, Leidae Conservatae 3. Leiden, 1963.
<i>TMH 5</i>	Alfred Pohl, <i>Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte</i> . Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Iena 5. Leipzig, 1935.
<i>TMH NF 1-2</i>	Alfred Pohl, <i>Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur</i> . Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Iena. Neue Folge 1-2. Leipzig, 1937.
<i>TSA</i>	Henri de Genouillac, <i>Tablettes sumériennes archaïques</i> . Paris, 1909.
<i>TUT</i>	George Reisner, <i>Tempelurkunden aus Telloh</i> . Berlin, 1901.
<i>UET 2</i>	Eric Burrows, <i>Archaic Texts</i> . Ur Excavations Texts 2. London, 1935.
<i>UET 3</i>	Leon Legrain, <i>Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur</i> . Ur Excavations Texts 3. London, 1937.
<i>UNT</i>	Hartmut Waetzoldt, <i>Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie</i> . Rome, 1972.

USKL	Ur III manuscript of Sumerian King List, published by Piotr Steinkeller, “An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List”. In <i>Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien. Festschrift für Claus Wilcke</i> , edited by Walther Sallaberger, Konrad Volk and Annette Zgoll. Wiesbaden. 267-292.
USP	Benjamin R. Foster, <i>Umma in the Sargonic Period</i> . Hamden, 1982.
VE	Vocabolario di Ebla, published by Giovanni Pettinato, <i>Testi lessicali bilingui della Biblioteca L. 2769. Parte I: Traslitterazione dei testi e ricostruzione del VE</i> . Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 4. Naples, 1982.
VS 25	Joachim Marzahn, <i>Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Girsu/Lagaš</i> . Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge 9 (Heft 25). Berlin, 1991.
VS 27	Joachim Marzahn, <i>Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte und ein Brief aus Girsu/Lagaš</i> . Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge 11 (Heft 27). Berlin, 1996.
WF	Anton Deimel, <i>Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara</i> . Die Inschriften von Fara 3. Leipzig, 1924.
YOS 4	Clarence E. Keiser, <i>Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty</i> . Yale Oriental Series 4. New Haven, 1919.
YOS 18	Daniel C. Snell and Carl H. Lager, <i>Economic Texts from Sumer</i> . Yale Oriental Series 18. New Haven, 1991.
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> . Berlin.

Other Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
CS	Classical Sargonic
DN	Divine Name
ED	Early Dynastic
ENS	Early Narām-Suen
ES	Early Sargonic
GN	Geographical Name
le.ed.	left edge
LNS	Late Narām-Suen
MS	Middle Sargonic
o.	obverse
Oakk	Old Akkadian
OB	Old Babylonian
PN	Personal Name
r.	reverse
Škš	Šarkališarri
Sum.	Sumerian
up.ed.	upper edge

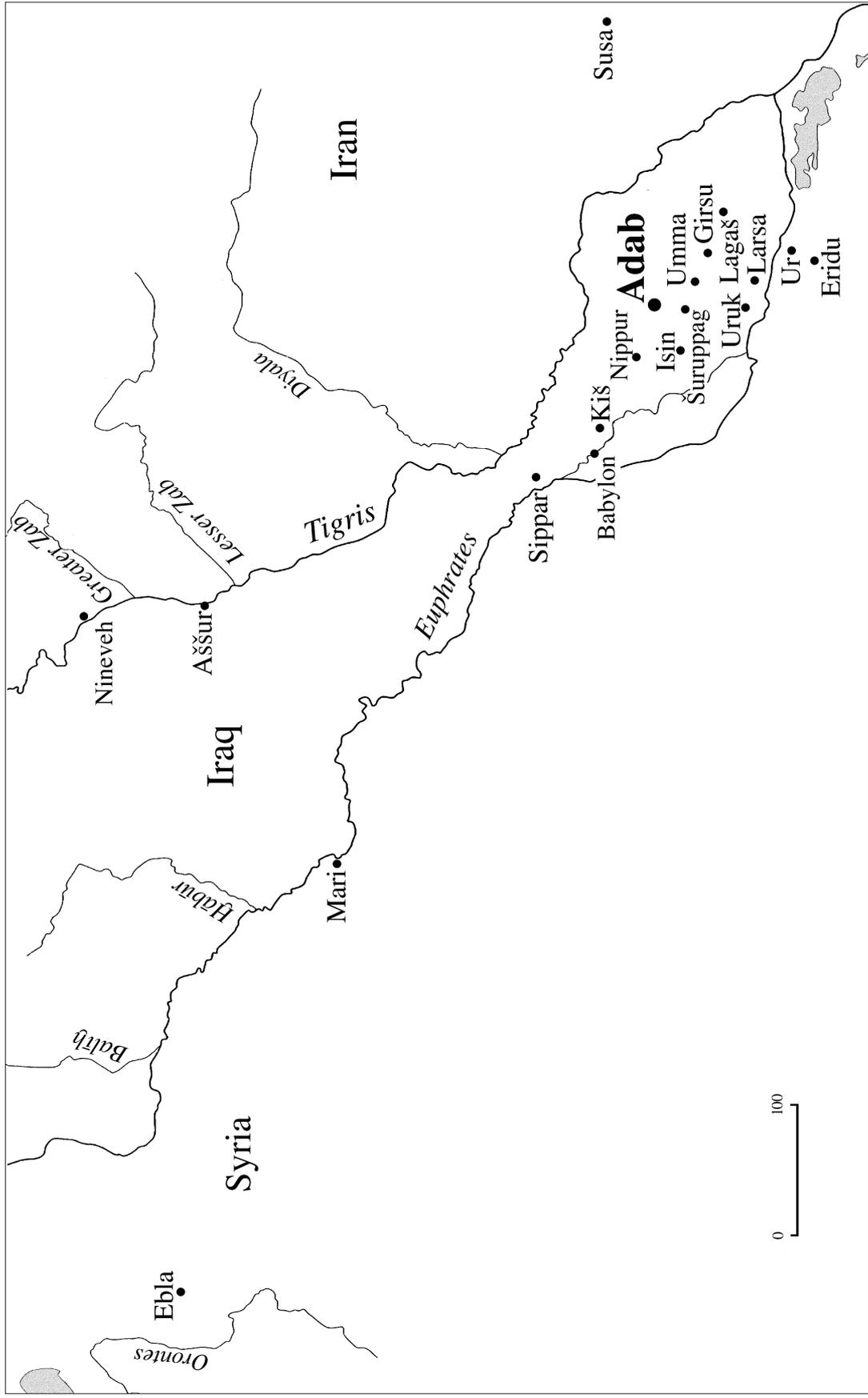


Fig. 1: Mesopotamia

INTRODUCTION

1. The excavation of Adab

The vast majority of the cuneiform tablets from the Carl L. Lippmann Collection, kept in the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), come from the ancient city of Adab. As will be seen below, this provenance can be established with a high degree of certainty for 304 out of the 337 tablets that make up the collection, while it is probable that most of the other 33 documents came from the archives of Adab.

Ancient Adab¹ was an important Sumerian city of southern Mesopotamia, situated at 31.94° N 45.63° E, approximately 41 km southeast of Nippur (Tell Nuffar) and 40 km northwest of Umma (Tell Ġoġa). The site where the ruins of the city are located is now called Tell Bismaya. It was described or surveyed in the 19th and the early 20th centuries by William K. Loftus (1850), William Hayes Ward, director of the Wolfe Expedition (1885), John P. Peters (1890) and Walter Andrae (1902/03).²

From December 24, 1903, until June 1905, the University of Chicago conducted excavations at Bismaya, successively commissioned to Edgar James Banks and Victor S. Persons. In that short span of time, the digging was intense and the findings impressive. Unfortunately, the archaeological reports of this research were never published, as the analysis of the excavation is limited to a few irrelevant articles by Banks and to his book *Bismaya, or the Lost City of Adab* (1912), quite revealingly subtitled “a story of adventure, of exploration, and of excavation among the ruins of the oldest of the buried cities of Babylonia”. One hundred years after the publication of this book, an in-depth study of that excavation was published by Wilson (2012), which included valuable contributions on the epigraphical material by Phillips, Studevent-Hickman, Lauinger and Westenholtz.

Wilson’s study was based of course on Banks’ publications, but also on the detailed reports that he and Persons regularly sent to Chicago, their field records, and on the study of the more than one thousand artifacts sent from Adab to the Oriental Institute Museum. Wilson did not have the opportunity to examine 425 objects from Adab currently kept at the Ancient Orient Museum (Eski Şark Museum) of Istanbul, although she argued that these were objects without archaeological context that would hardly have added anything relevant to her main conclusions on the excavation (Wilson 2012: 2).

Tell Bismaya is a site measuring 1,695 × 840 × 10 m, surrounded by a double wall, divided in two by the bed of a canal (Banks 1912: 105, 151; Wilson 2012: 31). Banks distinguished twelve mounds on it (Fig. 2), and planned and documented his excavation on this basis. Accordingly, Wilson made her revision of the excavation following the mound structure suggested by Banks and proposed a reinterpretation for each one of them. Her main conclusions concerned seven mounds:

¹ Adab is the conventional reading for UD.NUN^{ki}, adopted from Diri I 140 (*MSL* 15, p. 110). This variant and the OB ones /arab/, /arabu/ and /usab/ probably derived from an etymological form /uřabu/: see Yang 1987; de Maaijer and Jagersma 1997/98: 286; Veldhuis 2004: 215f.; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 169.

² See Unger 1928: 21; Yang 1988: 1; Wilson 2012: 3.

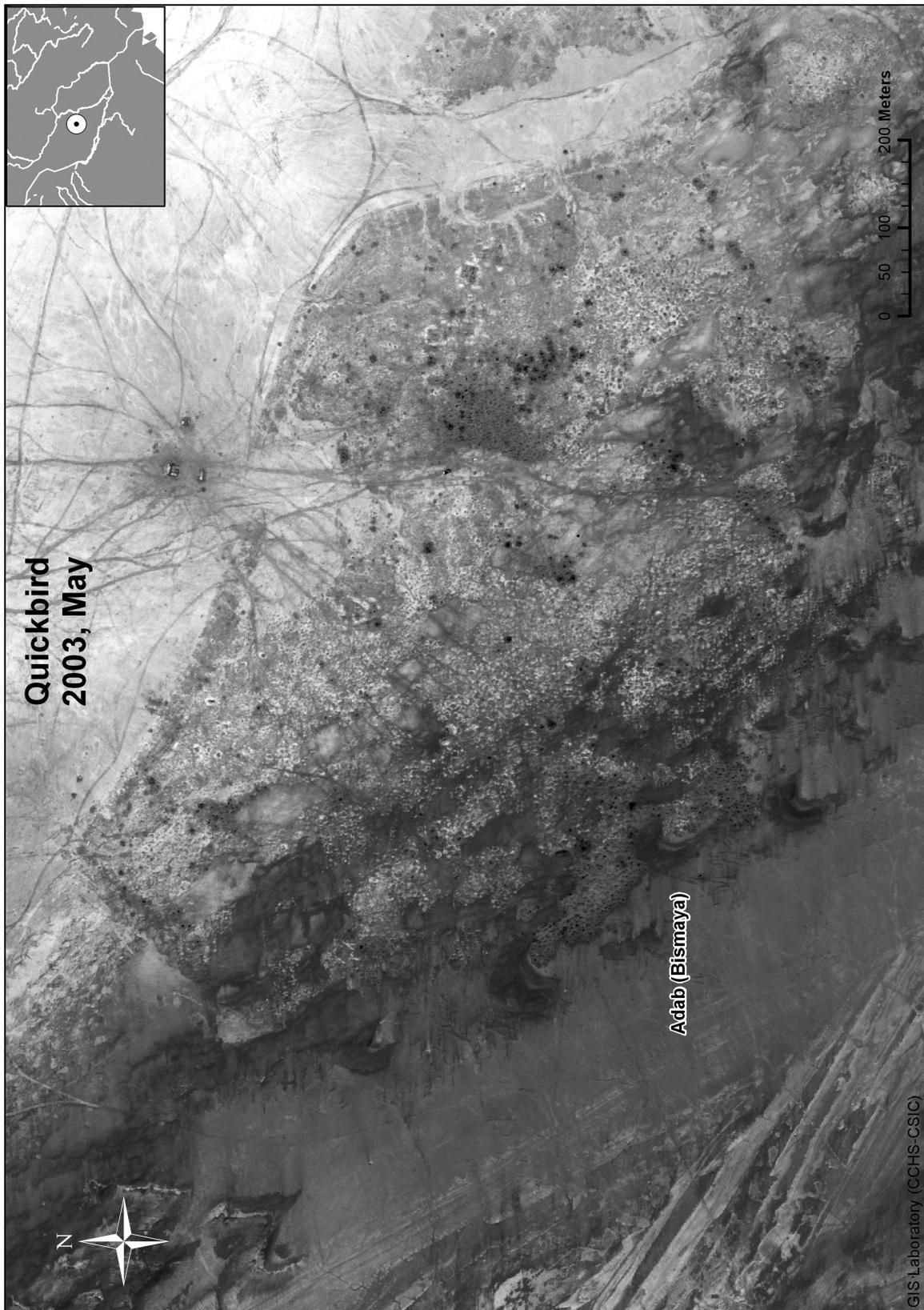


Fig. 3: Tell Bismaya (Adab). Satellite image taken in May 2003.

looters, which are clearly of two types.⁵ The dark holes with sharp edges were no doubt made during the Second Gulf War (March 2003 to May 2003), roughly in the days when the photo was taken. As a matter of fact, Gibson wrote that, during his visit to Iraq in May 2003, on a helicopter flight passing over Adab and Tell Schmid, he saw “up to two hundred diggers in action” (Gibson 2003: 113). The other holes, filled in by erosion and with softer edges, were made very much earlier. Without other satellite images taken in previous years, which are not at my disposal, it is very difficult to determine the dates of the illegal diggings that resulted in the first heavy looting of Adab, although the mid-1990s would be a plausible period. It was in those years, with the effects of the economic embargo against Iraq at their most severe, when first lootings in southern Iraq were reported (Stone 2008: 125). On the other hand, tablets from Adab possibly from unofficial excavations were first published in 1997 by Pettinato (see below), all of which points to a first wave of looting on Tell Bismaya around 1995.

2. The texts from Adab

The excavations in Adab by Edgar J. Banks yielded many tablets and other cuneiform inscriptions that were shipped to Istanbul and Chicago. The Oriental Institute Museum of Chicago houses about 530 of these documents, many of them published, and all of them recently catalogued: thirty-three Early Dynastic texts were partly published by Luckenbill (1930) and catalogued by Phillips (2012); some 300 Old Akkadian texts were published by Luckenbill (1930), Yang (1989) and Civil (2003, one tablet); eighteen Ur III texts were catalogued by Yang (1989), Hilgert (unpublished ms) and Studevent-Hickman (2012); 129 Old Babylonian tablets were partly published by Luckenbill (1916a-b) and catalogued by Lauinger (2012); and 50 votive inscriptions from all periods were mainly published by Luckenbill (1930) and catalogued by Yang (1989).⁶

The Archaeological Museum of Istanbul houses some 1,100 cuneiform texts and fragments from Adab (Kraus 1947: 100f.), which comprise 9 Early Dynastic tablets, 615 Old Akkadian tablets, 11 Ur III tablets, 239 Old Babylonian tablets and 33 sealed bullae. Most of these texts remain unpublished, with the notable exception of some Old Akkadian (Kienast and Volk 1995) and Old Babylonian letters (Kraus 1972), and a few other scattered texts.

Other texts from Adab also found their way into other collections before the 1990s: one Early Dynastic tablet, published by Foxvog (1980), is kept in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley; ten Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian tablets published by Hackman (1958)⁷ and sixteen Ur III tablets catalogued by Sigris⁸ are kept in the Yale Babylonian Collection; one Old Akkadian tablet, published by Jones and Snyder (*SET* 290), belonged to the Saint Paul Public Library of Minnesota and is currently kept in a private collection in Tokyo (Ozaki 2008: 67); forty-four tablets, most of them Ur III, were published by Owen (1975), and by Sigris, Owen and Young (1984) as part of the John Frederick Lewis Collection, and are now kept in the Free Library of Philadelphia;⁹ two Ur III tablets, published by Oberhuber (*SAKF* 103 and 123), are kept in the Museo Archeologico of Florence; and one Ur III tablet, published by Garfin-

⁵ For the identification of looting holes through satellite imagery, see Stone 2008: 127.

⁶ The main secondary publications of these texts have been listed by Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06: 1f. n. 1.

⁷ *BIN* 8 7, 26, 130, 244, and possibly 177, 203, 227, 232, 242 and 260: see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06: 2 n. 2; Andersson 2012: 85f.; Schrakamp 2013: 201 n. 3.

⁸ See Sigris 2001: 290, and possibly add NBC 6672.

⁹ The provenance of these tablets is based on the seals impressions on them dedicated to the governors of Adab, the calendar, and the prosopographical relationships among the texts (see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06: 2 n. 2).

kle, Sauren and Van De Mieroop (*CUSAS* 16 307), is now kept in the Columbia University Library.¹⁰

After the First Gulf War, Tell Bismaya was heavily looted, and the chances are that cuneiform tablets were found and sold in Europe and the USA. Be that as it may, new publications of tablets from Adab began to appear in the second half of the nineties. Thus, in 1997 Pettinato published a few tablets from this site as part of the Michail collection.¹¹ In 1998 a lot of twenty-one Old Akkadian tablets, most (if not all) of them from Adab, were offered for sale by the Royal-Athena Galleries (<http://www.royalathena.com>), and some of them were auctioned again on eBay in 2005 (*CDLI* P274871 to P274890, and P274919).

In 2006, Pomponio, Visicato and Westenholz published 263 tablets ascribed to Adab, now kept at the Banca d'Italia (Rome).¹² A total of 1,127 tablets also attributed to the archives of Adab, dated to the ED IIIa-b and Old Akkadian periods, are kept at the Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar at Cornell University.¹³ They have been published in the series *Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (CUSAS)* by Maiocchi (*CUSAS* 13, 2009, 160 tablets); Visicato and Westenholz (*CUSAS* 10, 2010, 340 tablets); Maiocchi and Visicato (*CUSAS* 19, 2012, 191 tablets); Bartash (*CUSAS* 23, 2013, 67 tablets); and Pomponio and Visicato (*CUSAS* 20, 2014, 369 tablets).¹⁴ Other Adab tablets from Cornell University have been studied separately and re-edited outside the *CUSAS* series by Visicato (2010). Cornell University also houses at least eleven unpublished Ur III tablets from Adab.¹⁵

An indeterminate number of tablets from Adab are also kept in the Schøyen Collection in Spikkestad, Norway. This collection is made up of some 550 Early Dynastic IIIa-b and Old Akkadian texts (Westenholz 2010: 454), and its publication is being prepared by Bartash (forthcoming); it also contains an Old Akkadian list of governors of Adab, an Old Akkadian foundation cone (same text as Biga 2005) and a Gutian inscription possibly from Adab, texts published by Steinkeller (2011: nos. 10, 13 and 14).

A few other texts from Adab kept in small private collections have been published by Brumfield (2011, one OAKk tablet); Biga (2005, OAKk foundation cone); Cohen (2010, five OAKk tablets); Milone (2001, one OAKk tablet); Molina and Notizia (2012, two OAKk tablets); Ozaki (2002: no. 195, one OAKk tablet; 2009, one OAKk tablet); Pomponio and Visicato (2002, one OAKk tablet); Steinkeller (2003, Adab[?], Sumerian King List, Ur III ms.); Vanderroost (2005, one Ur III tablet); and Owen (2013).¹⁶ Al-Mutawalli and Miglus have also published an Early Dynastic statue from Adab seized by the Jordanian authorities and currently kept in the Iraq Museum (2002).

¹⁰ Other tablets possibly from Adab, acquired before the 1990s, have been published by Owen (*NATN* 116 = *Nisaba* 15/2 206, Ur III), Widell (2002, one Ur III tablet), and Notizia and Schrakamp (2010, one Old Akkadian tablet). On the other hand, it should be noted that seven sale documents usually taken to be from Adab, published as *UET* 3 9, 14, 15, 18, 19, 44 and 46, were perhaps written there, but were actually found at Ur.

¹¹ At least tablets nos. 15-19 and 27-31 (Old Akkadian), and probably others (see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06: 2 n. 2; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 4 n. 20), come from Adab.

¹² For a discussion on the provenance of these tablets, see Wilcke 2007: 184f.; Schrakamp 2008: 666-668.

¹³ They are tagged CUNES 47-*nn-nn*, 48-*nn-nn*, 49-*nn-nn*, 50-*nn-nn*, 51-*nn-nn*, 52-*nn-nn*, 53-*nn-nn* (two tablets) and 58-*nn-nn* (one tablet).

¹⁴ In some cases the provenance from Adab of a number of these tablets is uncertain and has been discussed by Schrakamp (2012b, 2013).

¹⁵ *BDTNS* 169707 (= Allred 2006: 236 no. 2), 189673, 190286, 190326, 190355, 190419, 190423, 190443, 190533, 190586 and 190611.

¹⁶ In his edition of the Ur III texts from Irišağrig (2013), Owen suggests an Adab provenance for ten texts: for nos. 610, 1090a+b, 1091, 1095, 1099, 1100 and 1101 an Adab provenance is apparently proposed because they record months named after the *Reichskalender* (iti a₂-ki-ti, ezem-mah and maš-da-gu₇), an argument which in my view cannot be considered sufficient to assign that provenance; the basis for an Adab provenance of nos. 1105 and 1131 is unclear to me; no. 1138 records iti ezem-^dNin-mug, a month name that also appears in other texts thought to be from Adab (*MVN* 3 166, 211 and *MVN* 13 895).

Finally, a number of unpublished tablets from Adab kept in private collections have been catalogued by *CDLI*: P271223 and P271238 are dated to the Early Dynastic IIIb period; P250441, P270824, P270826, P270830 (Adab?), P270834 (Adab?), P271224, P271226, P271229, P272598, P272811, P272812 and P405461 (Adab?) are dated to the Old Akkadian period.¹⁷ Other tablets were copied by Westenholz from a dealer in London and will be published by him (Westenholz 2010: 455).^{17a}

3. The Carl L. Lippmann Collection

3.1. General Features

The Lippmann Collection is composed of 336 Old Akkadian tablets (one label among them, no. 254) and one Ur III tablet (no. 337). Two of them are written in Akkadian (nos. 304 and 322), and the rest are written in Sumerian. They are all administrative, including six letter-orders (nos. 18, 19, 304, 305, 306 and 330), and four texts recording a loan (no. 307), an oath (no. 308), a pledge (no. 310) and a purchase (no. 311).

The tablets are small, more than a half measuring about 35 × 25 mm, and the rest about 60 × 40 mm; about half of the tablets have between six and ten lines, one quarter has between one and five lines, and the rest have more than ten lines. In most cases they are complete tablets, although very frequently the surface is badly preserved and hardly legible.

3.2. Provenance

Adab is here proposed as the provenance of 304 tablets, although not in all cases with absolute certainty. This attribution is based in the first place on arguments already provided by Wilcke (2007: 184f.), Schrakamp (2008: 666) and Maiocchi (2009: 1-4), namely: the occurrence of month names belonging to the Adab calendar (see below pp. 38f.); the occurrence of onomastic elements, divine names and cultic places specific to Adab, such as ^dAš₈-gi₄, ^dEš₅-peš, e₂-maḥ, e₂-GAN₂.IŠ, e₂-dam, ki-an and Adab^{ki}; and prosopographical links among the texts. The texts of the Lippmann Collection show some additional elements that also point to an Adab provenance: the occurrence of two governors of Adab, Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaḡu (see below §3.2.2); the frequent mention of the governor (with the title alone) as owner or responsible of the goods recorded in the texts; the mentions of the palace (e₂-gal) and its storehouse (e₂-niġ₂-gur₁₁) as the place where the goods were deposited or withdrawn; and the interconnection of many other texts with these places and the personnel working in them.

Another intriguing feature of some of the Adab texts appeared on the market in the 1990s is the use of the e- prefix as a passive marker. As far as we knew, this prefix was characteristic of Southern Sumerian (Lagaš, Umma, Ur, Uruk), which used ba- as its passive marker, while Northern Sumerian (Nippur, Adab, Isin) used instead the a- prefix as the passive marker (Jagersma 2010: 7). In an Appendix to his *Early Ancient Near Eastern Law* (2007: 187), Wilcke dealt for the first time with the problem of this prefix in his discussion on the provenance of documents edited in *TCCBI I*, which at that time constituted the first important publication of

¹⁷ Although I made an accurate revision of the material catalogued by *CDLI*, other tablets from Adab from private collections could have escaped my attention.

^{17a} When this book was in the proofs, a new text edition by Aage Westenholz (2104) appeared. In this volume, 83 Early Dynastic and Sargonic texts from Adab were republished or published for the first time: 22 of them come from the now dispersed Michail collection (Pettinato 1997); 25 are currently kept in the Banca d'Italia collection (Pomponio, Visicato and Westenholz 2006); 19 (including 13 previously unpublished) belong to the Oriental Institute of Chicago; and 17 tablets are new texts from various private collections.

tablets from Adab and other sites looted after the First Gulf War. Wilcke noted that among the texts from Adab in the Collection of the Oriental Institute Museum excavated in 1904-1905, there was one single occurrence of an e- prefix, in a tablet (A 924) that he suggested could come from Ĝirsu. On the contrary, tablets allegedly from Adab published in *TCCBI* I showed a remarkable use of the e- prefix; as many of them were dated through the Adab calendar, Wilcke presumed the existence of a “knit craft and herding centre speaking a different dialect”, but suggested alternatively a provenance of the tablets from another location depending from Adab. Shortly later, in a long review of *TCCBI* I-II, Schrakamp (2008) demonstrated that the tablets actually came from Adab, and concluded that the e- prefix was typical of texts dated by their editors to the Middle Sargonic period, appearing also sporadically in early Classical Sargonic texts.

The problem nevertheless persists of why apparently two different Sumerian dialects co-existed in Middle Sargonic Adab. One was Northern Sumerian, with no vowel harmony, using passives with the a- prefix (an-na-šum₂), the other a Southern Sumerian dialect with vowel harmony using the e-prefix as a passive marker (e-na-šum₂).¹⁸ The whole matter will be analysed and discussed in detail by Jagersma in the forthcoming edition of his *Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*.¹⁹ For the time being, a relationship of the use of the e- prefix with a specific administrative centre could be proposed, as by the way had been already done by Wilcke (see above). In fact, it is suggested below that the bulk of the tablets edited here were probably stored in a single place (“archive”) and were the result of a single administrative organization that connected the management of personnel, a large storehouse with different sections, a textile workshop, a fullers’ workshop and a craft workshop. And all the texts from the Lippmann Collection where the e- prefix appears belonged to this administrative centre.

The zone of Tell Bismaya where this administrative centre was located is difficult to establish, although the above-cited archaeological study by Wilson might provide some clues. Wilson (2012: 60) concluded that the excavations conducted by Banks on Mound III unearthed, in Level 1, a centre of craft administration and production possibly managed by Ur-tur, a governor of Adab who ruled under the reign of Šarkališarrī. She compared the structures found on Mound III, which had many water installations, with those of the Administrative Building at al-Hiba and the Northern Palace at Tell Asmar. In his analysis of the Northern Palace, Delougaz (1967: 196-198) had questioned Lloyd’s identification of these structures as a royal residence and suggested that the Early Northern Palace served as a manufacturing establishment, where women lived and worked, a textile workshop of the same type as the “women’s house” mentioned in a later group of cuneiform tablets found on a higher level. Likewise, Delougaz concluded that each of the various architectural areas defined by Lloyd for the Main Northern Palace could have been each devoted to a particular craft, and noted that the numerous drainage installations and the elaborate sewage system would be related to the leather industry, which required the use of considerable quantities of water. Henrickson (1982) re-evaluated both the Early Northern Palace and the Main Northern Palace at Tell Asmar, and concluded that the former was a religious residence for the Abu priest, while she agreed with Delougaz’s identification of the Main Northern Palace as a workshop complex. In her view, the Main Northern Palace contained a stone-cutting area, a potter’s workshop, a food processing area and a textile dyeing and manufacturing industry. She also identified the southwest-central unit of the palace as a residential area, possibly for the ruler’s family. Finally, Bahrani (1989: 163-166) agreed with Henrickson’s interpretation, without however excluding the existence of a leather workshop, and compared the Tell Asmar workshop complex with the function of the area C building at Tell al-Hiba.

This scenario fits well with the kind of building revealed by our texts, even if they were produced during the reign of Narām-Suen, some years before the date of the complex on Mound III.

¹⁸ Compare, for example, nos. 115 (gu sa En-ra an-na-šum₂) and 116 (gu sa En-ra e-na-šum₂).

¹⁹ I am very grateful to Bram Jagersma for having shared with me his view of this puzzle.

The fact that this complex was dated to the reign of Šarkališarrī does not exclude however a functional continuity of the building since the time of Narām-Suen, and the few findings on Level 2, even if they consist of graves, seem to confirm an occupation datable to his reign. If this presumption is valid, the building would also have had a residential area, a possibility that is suggested by the relationship of the workshops with the storage facilities of the palace (see below p. 34) and their organization under a single administration. The governor's palace revealed by our texts, with its area for craft administration, production and storage, whether or not located on Mound III, coexisted with a "new palace" (e₂-gal gibil).²⁰ This was probably a new residence of the governor, also dated to the reign of Narām-Suen, and perhaps erected on Mound IV, where remains of a building earlier than the governor's palace, dated to the time of Šarkališarrī, were found. We could thus speculate that, during the early Narām-Suen's reign, the governor's palace at Adab incorporated a residential wing and a large area for storage and workshops, and was possibly located on Mound III. Perhaps because of the inconvenience, caused by the proximity of the workshops to the residential area, a new palace separate from them was built, possibly on Mound IV, which remained inhabited at least until the time of Šarkališarrī.

3.3. Dating of the Tablets and Historical Setting

With one exception, the tablets from the Lippmann Collection date to the Sargonic period, which began with king Sargon around 2300 BC. As is well known, Sargonic tablets are rarely dated with year names,²¹ which makes dating tablets more difficult. In the main, dating has to be based on palaeography, shape of tablets, contents and prosopography. In the case of the Adab tablets published so far, they have been mainly classified by their editors as Early Sargonic (reigns of Sargon and Rīmuš or Maništūšu), Early/Middle Sargonic, Middle Sargonic (reign of Rīmuš or Maništūšu and first half of Narām-Suen's reign), Middle/Classical Sargonic, and Classical Sargonic (second half of Narām-Suen's reign and Šarkališarrī's reign).²² The palaeographic data have not yet been fully studied and classified, so their use for the attribution of a given tablet to one or the other period has been largely based on partial studies on this issue and the long experience of the editors as epigraphers. This criterion has been combined with the one based on the shape of tablets: Early Sargonic tablets are almost round in shape, with the text usually arranged in two columns and in broad and short "lines" within the column; Middle Sargonic tablets are more rectangular in shape, with rounded sides and corners; and Classical Sargonic tablets are pillow-shaped with straight sides.²³ Prosopographical analysis have also helped to identify groups of tablets (frequently called "archives")²⁴ and to make links among them, while other internal criteria, such as year names, king or governor names, or other historical events, could be more rarely used.

On the basis of these principles, the tablets from the Lippmann Collection have been divided into three groups:

²⁰ In *SCTRAH* no. 332, dated to the Classical Sargonic period, the palace (e₂-gal) and the new palace (e₂-gal gibil) are mentioned; the new palace is also recorded in no. 72 (Early Narām-Suen period).

²¹ See Sallaberger and Schrakamp, forthcoming: 38-40.

²² Milone 2001: 3-5; Pomponio, Visicato and Westenholz 2006: 72; Maiocchi 2009: xxi; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 5f.; Maiocchi and Visicato 2012: xxv. Note that, unlike the Old Babylonian tradition, the Ur III manuscript of the Sumerian King List (USKL) considers Maništūšu the successor of Sargon (Steinkeller 2003); this order of succession is supported by other evidence (see Sallaberger and Schrakamp, forthcoming: 95 n. 281). In any case, given the meagre documentation that can be specifically ascribed to Rīmuš or Maništūšu, the inclusion of their reigns in the Early or the Middle Sargonic groups of tablets seems quite conjectural. On the other hand, the very existence of a palaeographically defined "Middle Sargonic period" has been questioned by Sallaberger and Schrakamp, forthcoming: 108; cf. also Maiocchi and Visicato 2012: 1 n. 1, and Bartash 2013: 3.

²³ See for example Westenholz 1975a: 3 and Maiocchi 2009: 5.

²⁴ Maiocchi 2009: 6-11, 2010, and 2012: 20-25; Visicato 2010; Pomponio and Visicato, forthcoming.

3.3.1. Early Sargonic Tablets

Nineteen tablets (nos. 1-19) have been classified as Early Sargonic mainly from their shape and palaeography. Additionally, the name of Meskigala, ruler of Adab, is recorded on two of them (nos. 1 and 2). Meskigala was the governor of Adab under the kingship of Lugalzagesi of Uruk (*BIN* 8 26). He took the side of Sargon in the fight of the latter against Lugalzagesi for the hegemony over Babylonia and participated in Sargon's military campaigns against Mari, Ebla and Yarmuti, and in his expedition to the Mediterranean. Adab enjoyed some years of prosperity until Meskigala tried to regain independence and rebelled against Rīmuš, who defeated and captured him and the governor of Zabalam (*RIME* 2.1.2.1).²⁵

The Meskigala corpus is made up of some 300 tablets, which are currently kept in Cornell University (180 texts: *CUSAS* 11 77-254, 355-356), the Schøyen Collection (ca. 100 texts: Bartash, forthcoming), the Banca d'Italia (eight texts: *TCCBI* 14, 18, 19, 23, 47, 60, 63 and 189), the Real Academia de la Historia (nos. 1 and 2) and the Michail Collection (*L'uomo* no. 18). These tablets were probably written between Sargon's war against Lugalzagesi and his above-mentioned campaigns against Mari, Ebla and Yarmuti.²⁶

3.3.2. Early Narām-Suen Tablets

From their shape and script, most of the texts from the Lippmann Collection should be dated to the so-called Middle Sargonic period (cf. n. 22). In order to define this date more precisely, our main starting-point has been the occurrence of two governors of Adab, Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaġu. Šarru-alī (*Šar-ru-iri*^{ki.li2}) is recorded as governor in *SCTRAH* no. 22. He also appears in *CUSAS* 20 110: 7, and he is no doubt the same *Šar-ru-iri*^{a-li2} recorded in *CUSAS* 20 98. This tablet is dated with a new year-name of Narām-Suen (written without the divine determinative) recalling victories against Arame and Talmuš.²⁷ The battle against Talmuš must be the one commemorated in *RIME* 2.1.4.1: vi.1', which took place before Narām-Suen's deification (Sallaberger 2007: 428).²⁸ Both the battles against Arame and Talmuš were probably part of early Narām-Suen's campaigns against Subartu, Simurru and Lullubum,²⁹ resumed after the Great Revolt and recorded in the Narām-Suen stela (*RIME* 2.1.4.31) and in other year-names from late Narām-Suen's reign (*MAD* 1 217 [= *Tutub* 50] and 220 [= *Tutub* 65]).³⁰ Therefore, *CUSAS* 20 98, *SCTRAH* no. 22 and *CUSAS* 20 110 would be dated to the time before the Great Revolt and before Narām-Suen's deification. This is also suggested by a clear administrative continuity during the governorships of Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaġu (see below), which would not have been possible during the Great Revolt (*RIME* 2.1.4.6-7), a rebellion where Adab participated and was defeated by Narām-Suen.³¹

²⁵ Visicato 2010; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 6f.; Pomponio 2012: 102-104, forthcoming: 192f.; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, forthcoming: 88f., 94f.; Schrakamp, forthcoming: 199.

²⁶ Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 2 and nn. 3 and 4.

²⁷ *CUSAS* 20 98: pisaġ-dub, zi₃ ur₃-ra, mu 1-a-kam, *Šar-ru-uru*^{a-li2}, in 1 mu *Na-ra-am*-^dEN.ZU, šudul A-ra-me^{ki}, in *Ša-du₂-a-ni*^{ki}, u₃ šudul *Tal-mu-uš*^{ki}, in Si-dur-ri-wa sa-tu *Lu-lu-bi-im*^{ki}, iš₁₁-a-ru.

²⁸ Westenholz (2000: 553) and Salgues (2011: 259) have argued against the use of the divine determinative for Narām-Suen's name as a chronological indicator, but in this case the palaeography and the shape of *CUSAS* 20 98 point also to an early period of Narām-Suen's reign; note also the remarks by Sallaberger (2007: 427 n. 51) in support of the divine determinative as a chronological marker.

²⁹ Traditionally, Talmuš has been located at modern Jerahiyah, 40 km north of Niniveh (Jacobsen 1935: 39; Nashef 1982: 258; Frayne 1993: 88; Sallaberger 2007: 437). It should be noted that *CUSAS* 20 98 records a battle against Talmuš "in Siduriwa, the mountain of Lullubum", although this does not necessarily contradict the above-mentioned location, since as Sallaberger has pointed out (2007: 429) "decisive battles can be fought far away from the homelands of the opponents".

³⁰ See Frayne 1993: 84-87; Sallaberger 2007: 425-431; Salgues 2011.

³¹ *RIME* 2.1.4.6: v.14'; *RIME* 2.1.4.2: v.27-vi.9; Wilcke 1993: 22f., 26f.: v.26-vi.10.

Lugal-ajaġu³² was the administrator of the temple household of god Iškur at Adab (*SCTRAH* nos. 22, 194, 224, and perhaps *CUSAS* 20 113).³³ He succeeded Šarru-alī as governor of Adab, as shown by some administrative tablets (*SCTRAH* nos. 103, 119, MS 4233 [= *CDLI* P253308] and *TCCBI* I 130) and a votive inscription preserved in two clay cones (Biga 2005; *CUSAS* 17 13). From this votive inscription it can be inferred that Lugal-ajaġu kept his position as temple administrator of god Iškur after assuming the governorship of Adab (u₄ Lugal-a-ġu₁₀, saġġa^d Iškur-ke₄, nam-ensi₂, Adab^{ki} in-AK-a, “When Lugal-ajaġu, the temple administrator of Iškur, exercised the governorship of Adab”). With none of his titles, Lugal-ajaġu is also recorded in *SCTRAH* no. 27, *CUSAS* 20 79, 240, 243 and *CUSAS* 13 58; his name was also occasionally written in the abbreviated form Lugal-a (*SCTRAH* nos. 20, 146, 223, 228 and *CUSAS* 20 190).

Lugal-ajaġu also appears in some letter-orders. He is the addressee of a letter sent to him by the royal administrator (*CUSAS* 20 39) and of another one sent by an official probably also from the royal administration (*CUSAS* 20 79), while in other cases he is the sender of the letter (*SCTRAH* no. 306, *CUSAS* 20 36 and MS 4761 [= *CDLI* P253791]). The latter is particularly interesting, since it suggests a close relationship with a high official from Lagaš, possibly the governor.³⁴

The textual references to Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaġu are summarised in the following table:

Name	Title*	Text	Subject	Remarks
Šar-ru-iri ^{ki.li2}	ensi ₂	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 22	Silver medaillon, garments... (storehouse)	Expenditure of gifts
Šar-ru-iri ^{ki.li2}	(ensi ₂)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 110	Bread, barley, etc.	Balanced account , e ₂ -gal [...]
Šar-ru-iri ^{a.li2}	(ensi ₂)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 98	Flour	Three-year account. (pisaġ dub), Narām-Suen year name
Lugal-a-ġu ₁₀	saġġa ^d Iškur	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 22	Silver medaillon, garments... (storehouse)	Expenditure of gifts
Lugal-[a]	(saġġa ^d Iškur)	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 20	Silver medaillon, garments... (storehouse)	Expenditure of gifts
Lugal-a-ġu ₁₀	(saġġa ^d Iškur?)	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 27	Wool, sesame oil, sandals (storehouse)	Expenditure of gifts
Lugal-a-ġu ₁₀	[saġġa ^d Iškur]	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 195	Garments (textile workshop)	Expenditure
Lugal-a-ġu ₁₀	[saġġa ^d Iškur]	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 224	Bronze-copper (craft workshop, smiths)	Expenditure
Lugal-a	(saġġa ^d Iškur?)	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 228	Copper (craft workshop, smiths)	Expenditure
[Lugal ² -a ² -ġ]u ₁₀ [?]	saġġa ^d Iškur	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 113	Onions, garments	Delivery
Lugal-a-ġu ₁₀	ensi ₂ saġġa ^d Iškur	Biga 2005; <i>CUSAS</i> 17 13	Damgalnuna’s temple	Foundation cones
Lugal-a-ġu ₁₀	ensi ₂	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 103	Reed (storehouse)	Delivery

³² For Lugal-ajaġu, see also Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06: 20; Pomponio, Visicato and Westenholz 2006: 55; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 6.

³³ Iškur was the main god of Karkar and, together with Ninġursaġ/Diġirmaġ and Ašgi, one of the three main deities of Adab (see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06: 20f., 26). Although a temple dedicated to Iškur has not been documented in the excavations at Bismaya, the temple managed by Lugal-ajaġu, who resided in Adab (cf. for example *CUSAS* 20 79 and *CUSAS* 13 58), was no doubt also located in this city. For Karkar, see the commentary to no. 111: r.1.

³⁴ MS 4761 (= *CDLI* P253791): Lugal-a-ġ[u₁₀], na-be₂-a, šeš-ġu₁₀, u₃-na-du₁₁, 1 dam-gar₃, 1 Ur-^dEš₅-peš, arad₂ lugal-[me], LA.NU₁₁.B[UR^{ki}], ab-durun_x (KU.KU)-^rne₂-[eš₂], ġa-mu-ra-^rne₁-šum₂-mu, “This is what Lugal-ajaġu says. Tell my ‘brother’: He should hand over to you one merchant and Ur-Ešpeš: they are servants of the king, they live in Lagaš”.

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Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	ensi ₂	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 119	Wool (storehouse)	Delivery
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	ensi ₂	<i>TCCBI</i> 1130	Wool (storehouse)	Delivery
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	ensi ₂	MS 4233	Female weavers and their forewomen (office for personnel management)	Tally
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂)	<i>CUSAS</i> 13 58	Workers	Tally
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 39	Uncertain	Letter-order
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 79	Workers (<i>iš-de₃</i> Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀ <i>in</i> Adab ^{ki} <i>u-ša-bu</i>)	Letter-order
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂ ?)	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 306	Wagon accessories; onions.	Letter-order
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂ ?)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 36	Boat with fruit	Letter-order
Lugal-a-[ĝu ₁₀]	(ensi ₂ ?)	MS 4761	One merchant and Ur-Ešpeš	Letter-order
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂ or saĝĝa)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 240	Garments (storehouse of the palace)	Delivery
Lugal-a-ĝu ₁₀	(ensi ₂ or saĝĝa)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 243	Garments (storehouse)	Expenditure
Lugal-a	(ensi ₂ or saĝĝa)	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 146	Hides (storehouse)	Expenditure
Lugal-a	(ensi ₂ or saĝĝa)	<i>SCTRAH</i> no. 223	Hides (fullers' workshop)	Delivery
Lugal-a	(ensi ₂ or saĝĝa)	<i>CUSAS</i> 20 190	Hides (fullers' workshop)	Delivery

* Titles given in brackets are not specified on the tablet.

Table 1: Textual references to the governors Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaĝu

The numerous prosopographical links and the analysis of the contents make it clear that the majority of texts from the Lippmann Collection, those classified within Group 2.1, should be ascribed to the governorships of Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaĝu (see below pp. 33-38). Texts recording gifts given to visitors of Adab (Group 2.1.1.1) were produced during the governorship of Šarru-alī, while Lugal-ajaĝu was the temple administrator of god Iškur. Part of the texts dealing with the activity of the workshops, and with the income and the outcome of goods into and from the palace stores, were also written during this period. At some point, Lugalajaĝu succeeded Šarru-alī, but texts show a continuity in the administrative procedures and the work organization, which went on during some years. Note, for example, that Lugal-ajaĝu was saĝĝa of Iškur when Meniĝinta was a forewoman of the weavers (*SCTRAH* no. 195), an office that she kept when Lugal-ajaĝu was appointed governor (MS 4233 = *CDLI* P253308), and probably some years later, when other forewomen traditionally working with her (Mama-ummī, Aštar and Nin-adgal) were recorded on a tablet that for its shape could be dated to the Middle/Classical Sargonic period (*CDLI* P271226). Also for this reason tablets of a Middle/Classical Sargonic “aspect”, like *SCTRAH* nos. 54 and 138, have been included under this group of Early Narām-Suen texts.³⁵

To sum up, this administrative continuity, the coherence of the contents and the above-cited references to the governors of Adab suggest that the tablets of Group 2.1 (and probably also those of Group 2.2) covered an indeterminate number of years of Narām-Suen's reign before the Great Revolt. The imminence of the rebellion could perhaps be deduced from the many tablets in the Lippmann Collection dealing with military equipment (see below), but this remains a matter of speculation; likewise, a possible reference in *SCTRAH* no. 21 to an early campaign against Lagaš prior to the Great Revolt is inconclusive (see the commentary to the text). Other chronological

³⁵ Cf. n. 22, and see also the remarks by Sallaberger and Schrakamp, forthcoming: 108 n. 338, and Maiocchi and Visicato 2012: 1 n. 1.

considerations would be subordinated to the date of the Great Revolt, which is still a matter of discussion.³⁶

3.3.3. Late Narām-Suen and Šarkališarrī Tablets

Only seven tablets – one of them a letter-order (no. 330) – from the Lippmann Collection have been classified as belonging to the second half of Narām-Suen’s reign or to the Šarkališarrī’s reign (i.e. the Classical Sargonic period). Just four of these tablets show some elements that might support their provenance from Adab, with references to the storehouse (no. 331), the palace and the new palace (no. 332), and with typical personal names from Adab (A×KU₃-pa.e₃, no. 330; Ur-e₂-dam, no. 333).

<i>Date</i> ³⁷	<i>Sargonic kings</i>	<i>Governors of Adab</i>
ca. 2324-2285	Sargon (40 years, USKL)	Meskigala
ca. 2284-2262	Maništūšu (8 years, USKL) Rīmuš (15 years, USKL)	Meskigala Lugal-nuduga? ³⁸
ca. 2261-2206	Narām-Suen (54½ years, USKL)	Lugal-nirġal ³⁸ Šarru-alī Lugal-ajaġu <i>Great Revolt</i> ...
ca. 2205-2181	Šarkališarrī (25 years)	Lugal-ġis ³⁹ (↓) Ur-tur ⁴⁰ (↓) [...] -AB ⁴¹ (↑)

Table 2: Synchronisms between Sargonic kings and governors of Adab

³⁶ For example, Kutscher (1989: 17f.) considers that the Great Revolt broke out some time during the early part of Narām-Suen’s reign; Wilcke (1997: 16) suggests that it took place by the end of his reign; in Steinkeller’s view (forthcoming-a) it erupted around his “thirtieth regnal year (if not even later)”; and Sallaberger and Schrakamp (forthcoming: 109) consider that it occurred during the twenties of Narām-Suen’s rule.

³⁷ I follow the Middle Chronology and the conclusions of Sallaberger and Schrakamp (forthcoming), who propose a duration of the Gutian period of ca. 70 years (pp. 113-130); see *ibid.* for the alternative Middle Chronology II. For a duration of the Gutian period of ca. 100 years, see Steinkeller, forthcoming-b.

³⁸ Lugal-nuduga and Lugal-nirġal are attested in a list of governors of Adab (*CUSAS* 17 10); Lugal-nirġal also occurs in *TCCBI* I 65: 6. The shape and palaeography of the latter, dated by its editors to the so-called Middle Sargonic period, and the probable mention of Narām-Suen on the governor list suggest that Lugal-nirġal ruled under Narām-Suen. The governor list would thus enumerate governors in reverse chronological order: Lugal-nirġal, the first in the list, would have ruled before Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaġu, which is why they were not mentioned on the list; Lugal-nuduga, listed in the second place, perhaps ruled during the Early Sargonic period, if he is identical with the Lugal-nuduga mentioned in *CUSAS* 11 333, an Early Sargonic tablet (cf. Schrakamp 2013: 225f.); and Mugesī, the third one, is recorded as *ensi*_x (NIĠ₂.PA.TE.SI) of Adab in *OIP* 14 52: r.i.1.3, a Pre-Sargonic Adab tablet. For further comments on this list, see Pomponio, Visicato and Westenholz 2006: 55; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 6; Steinkeller 2011: 11 no. 10; Schrakamp 2013: 225f.; Pomponio, forthcoming: 194; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, forthcoming: 108f.

³⁹ See Yang 1989: 30; Maiocchi 2009: 3; Wilson 2012: 70.

⁴⁰ *RIME* 2.9.3; see Wilson 2012: 59.

⁴¹ *RIME* 2.9.4.

3.4. Contents of the Texts

The Lippmann Collection tablets have been first classified according to their periodization and provenance. Further subdivisions have been made for Adab tablets considering what would have been units of production, storage and management, most of which could be easily identified through internal criteria. Other subdivisions (gifts, foodstuff, etc.) were made for the sake of convenience on the basis of the contents of tablets, but do not necessarily correspond to administrative or organizational realities. The texts have been classified as follows:

1. *Early Sargonic tablets (19)*
 - 1.1. Adab (8)
 - 1.2. Provenance uncertain (11)
2. *Early Narām-Suen tablets (310)*
 - 2.1. Adab (292)
 - 2.1.1. Storehouse (154)
 - 2.1.1.1. Gifts (21)
 - 2.1.1.2. Expenditures on the occasion of trips (21)
 - 2.1.1.3. Other accounts (112)
 - 2.1.1.3.1. Foodstuff (11)
 - 2.1.1.3.2. Dates and date palm production (12)
 - 2.1.1.3.3. Oils (12)
 - 2.1.1.3.4. Wood (3)
 - 2.1.1.3.5. Reeds and rushes (8)
 - 2.1.1.3.6. Flax (11)
 - 2.1.1.3.7. Wool and textiles (25)
 - 2.1.1.3.8. Hides (9)
 - 2.1.1.3.9. Copper, metal tools and weapons (15)
 - 2.1.1.3.10. Assorted implements (6)
 - 2.1.2. Textile workshop (41)
 - 2.1.3. Fullers' workshop (9)
 - 2.1.4. Craft workshop (51)
 - 2.1.4.1. Smiths (15)
 - 2.1.4.2. Carpenters (5)
 - 2.1.4.3. Leather workers (18)
 - 2.1.4.4. Rope-makers/braiders (10)
 - 2.1.4.5. ġiš-šu-RI-RI (joiners?) (2)
 - 2.1.4.6. Food for craftsmen (1)
 - 2.1.5. Office for personnel management (25)
 - 2.1.6. Office for livestock management (3)
 - 2.1.7. Office for land management (1)
 - 2.1.8. Letter-orders and legal procedures (8)
 - 2.2. Provenance uncertain (18)
 - 2.2.1. Foodstuff (6)
 - 2.2.2. Oils (2)
 - 2.2.3. Assorted implements (4)
 - 2.2.4. Livestock (3)
 - 2.2.5. Personnel (3)
 3. *Late Narām-Suen/Šarkališarri tablets (7)*
 - 3.1. Adab (4)
 - 3.2. Provenance uncertain (3)
 4. *Ur III (1)*

3.5. The Early Narām-Suen Archive

Texts classified within the groups of the Storehouse (2.1.1), the Textile Workshop (2.1.2), the Fullers' Workshop (2.1.3), the Craft Workshop (2.1.4) and the Office for Personnel Manage-

ment (2.1.5), which add up to 280 tablets, form a clearly interconnected whole. This means that they were distinct but closely related offices, storage facilities and workshops, whose activities were also integrated from an administrative point of view. The resulting hundreds of tablets, no doubt coming from a single findspot, were stored in what we could call an “archive”, a space similar to the one described by Wilson (2012: 70) for the layer of tablets discovered on Mound IV, dated to the reign of Šarkališarrī:

In places the tablets lay several deep and “were covered with a date leaf mat, the imprint of which is still visible” [from Banks’ report], a sure indication that they had been stored in groups in woven baskets or boxes. The presence of tablet-box labels among the Old Akkadian Bismaya tablets provides further evidence of such an archival practice.

Unfortunately, no such labels related to our texts have been so far discovered or published,⁴² nor there is obviously an archaeological record of how were they grouped when they were found, so for the time being it is not possible to ascertain the internal organization of this “archive”.

3.5.1. The Storehouse

The storehouse (e_2 -niġ₂-gur₁₁) is explicitly mentioned several times. It is recorded as the facility that provided oil to treat hides (no. 91), the place where hides from animal flayers (no. 261) and wool from herdsmen (no. 120) were received, and the place where wool, oil, hides, weapons, or clothes were kept (nos. 85, 119, 150, 151, 157 and 158). As suggested above (p. 28), this storehouse was probably a dependency of the palace, since reeds (no. 100), flax (no. 108), clothes (*SCTRAH* nos. 125, 126 and *CUSAS* 20 240), wool for weavers (no. 174) and weapons (*CUSAS* 20 295) were said to be kept at the palace (e_2 -gal), no doubt intending its storage facilities. It definitely had some major subdivisions, one of them probably being the “textile depository” (ki-mu-ra), recorded in *SCTRAH* no. 217: 4 and *CUSAS* 20 232: r.3'. There is no specific term in our texts for the person in charge of this storehouse, but Muni, scribe and land surveyor, no doubt played a primary role in its management (see commentary to no. 31: r.7').

The storehouse was a central installation around which the whole of economic and administrative activity related to the workshops and other branches of the palace economy revolved. Therein were first received and stored raw materials from outside the palace, such as wool, flax, reeds, hides, oils, wood, copper, bronze and products for food-processing. Raw materials were supplied by palace dependents, other cities of the Adab province (Karkar), and merchants working for the provincial organization. They were then distributed among the workshops through their respective overseers (ugula). Once the products had been manufactured, the overseers gave back the surplus material and turned over ($\check{s}u$ -a gi₄) the finished products to those in charge of the storehouse. These were temporarily stored until their distribution, as welcoming gifts, military equipment, agricultural implements, vehicles, furniture for the palace, food and garments for palace dependants and temples, etc. Some items and products were expended on the occasion of trips (Group 2.1.1.2), frequently made to Akkade, but the reasons for these supplies are not always clear: sometimes they seem to be presents or travel provisions, but at other times, large quantities of madder (no. 55) and dates (nos. 42 and 43) seem to point to some kind of contribution.

In fact, there was a close relationship with Akkade, the capital city of the Sargonic empire, as the gift texts show (Group 2.1.1.1). Some of the tablets from this group record presents given to envoys of the royal administrator ($\check{s}abra$ e_2), who came to Adab in inspection visits or with other commissions (nos. 26, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 39); on one occasion, a text records quantities of salt given to troops (900 men) on their way to Akkade with the royal administrator, who was received

⁴² There is only one label in the Lippmann Collection dealing with hides (no. 254), but its provenance from Adab is not entirely certain.

by the chief secretary (gal-sukkal) of Adab (no. 69). Gifts were also given to other royal commissioners whose office is described after their specific duty (maškim še “commissioner for barley”, no. 26: r.1; maškim ma₂ še “commissioner for shipments of barley”, no. 35: 5, etc.).⁴³ Other visitors who received these gifts were people bringing important news (nos. 20 and 21), a sculptor who came with a statue of the king (no. 24), gardeners (nos. 27 and 28), the son of a general (no. 28), a priest (nos. 29), a man from “the taboo-house” (no. 33), a cupbearer (no. 37), and the chief-herald⁷ of the king (no. 37).

3.5.2. The Textile Workshop

A remarkable group of some eighty tablets from different collections – the Lippmann Collection among them – deals with the activity of a textile workshop (Pomponio and Visicato, forthcoming). It has been dubbed the “Mama-ummī archive” after the name of one of its forewomen (Westenholz 2010: 457). The activity of this workshop continued for an unspecified number of years that extended through the governorships of Šarru-alī and Lugal-ajaġu (see above p. 31). In those years, various women acted as overseers at the workshop, namely Aštar, Geme-Enlil, Meniġinta, Mama-ummī, Niġbanda, Nin-adgal, Nin-mudakuš, Nin-NIĠ₂, Nin-niġzu, Šebettum and Tāniā. A realistic picture of the size of the workshop is provided by MS 4233 (= CDLI P253308), a tablet recording a total of 172 female weavers who worked under the supervision of eight forewomen in the time of Lugal-ajaġu.

These forewomen were administratively responsible for the flow of raw materials and finished products (nos. 175 to 208), the work performed by the female weavers (nos. 275 to 284), and the distribution of food intended for them (nos. 209 to 211). Thus, they received the wool needed for the manufacture of garments (nos. 174 to 185) and gave back unused poor-quality wool (nos. 186 and 187).

Besides wool, the forewomen occasionally also received quantities of silver (nos. 188 to 190), possibly to acquire more wool or other materials needed in the textile workshop. In fact, merchants brought raw materials as wool (no. 311) and copper (no. 153) to the workshops, and forepersons were in charge of paying for them. This was probably what the silver was intended for when given to the forewomen of the weavers, and to Dada, the chief foreman of the smiths, who bought copper from merchants (no. 238). The delivery of silver to the forewomen apparently meant that they enjoyed a good administrative status, which is in accordance with the role of witness that one of them (Geme-Enlil) had in a loan obtained by Muni (no. 307).

Once they were manufactured, clothes were turned over (š_u-a gi₄) to the textile depository (nos. 196 to 208); occasionally, garments were sent back to the textile workshop to be repaired or finished (nos. 191 to 196), in some cases after they had been treated at the fullers’ workshop (see below). Clothes thus produced at the textile workshop were mainly distributed as military equipment (^{tu}g₂niġ₂-la₂ (NIĠ₂.SU-a), ^{tu}g₂NIĠ₂.SU-a, ^{tu}g₂ša₃-ga-du₃ (NIĠ₂.SU-a)), ceremonial gifts (^{tu}g₂bala, ^{tu}g₂na-aš-pa₂-ru, ^{tu}g₂nig₂-lam₂, ^{tu}g₂ša₃-ga-du₃, ^{tu}g₂ša₃-ge-dab₆), or as ordinary garments (^{tu}g₂bar-dul₅ uš-bar, ^{tu}g₂bar-sig₉, ^{tu}g₂nig₂-lam₂ uš-bar, ^{tu}g₂bur₂).

3.5.3. The Fullers’ Workshop

The Fullers’ Workshop was a separate unit (e₂ azlag₇-ge-ne, no. 223) but closely related to the Textile Workshop (see above). Its dimensions and structure are provided by text no. 285. According to this tablet, at the head of the fullers’ workshop was a chief fuller (azlag₇ gal), named Lugal-KA in other sources (nos. 216 and 217). He supervised the activity of two pairs of

⁴³ See also commentaries to nos. 4: 5, and 26: 6 and r.1.

fullers,⁴⁴ each of them working respectively with gangs of seven and ten blind workers (most probably prisoners of war), who were controlled by a janitor. Additionally, a number of men, women and their children worked for or depended on this workshop and received various barley allotments per month:⁴⁵

84 women	60 litres of barley each per month
3 men	80 litres
45(+ <i>n</i>) boys	60 litres
4 boys	20 litres
2 girls	20 litres
12 baby boys	10 litres
10 baby girls	10 litres
2 fullers & 7 blind workers & 1 janitor	80 litres
2 fullers & 10 blind workers	

Texts also record the material given to the fullers needed for their job (alkali, no. 215), the clothes they received for their treatment (nos. 216 to 219, 222), and those turned over once they were ready (nos. 220 and 221).

3.5.4. The Craft Workshop

The existence of a craft workshop in Adab is deduced from lists of personnel where different kinds of artisans are treated together under the generic label *ĝiš-kiĝ₂-ti* “craftsmen” (nos. 287, 293, 294 and 295).⁴⁶ It involved smiths (*simug*), carpenters (*nagar*), leather workers (*ašgab*), rope-makers/braiders (*tug₂-du₈*), joiners[?] (*ĝiš-š_u-RI-RI*) and reed workers (*ad-KID*).

The smithy was under Dada, foreman (*ugula*) and chief smith (*simug gal*).⁴⁷ Other smiths working in this workshop were *A×KU₃-pa'e* (nos. 228, 229, 237, *TCCBI* I 94 and *CUSAS* 20 292),⁴⁸ *Amar-Šuba* (no. 289), *Da-[(x)]-ba-AN* (no. 289), *Lugal-KA* (no. 293), *Elala* (no. 287), *Niĝ-naga* (no. 289) and *Urmes* (no. 287).

Dada, and occasionally *A×KU₃-pa'e*, were in charge of receiving the material needed at the workshop, mainly different types of copper and tin (nos. 224 to 229) and additives (no. 226). Some texts show that the chief smith received also quantities of silver intended for the acquisition of material (no. 230), which was sometimes provided by merchants (nos. 227 and 238). Once the objects had been produced, they were turned over to the storehouse (nos. 231 to 236). Texts also record the return of surplus material (no. 237).

The duties of smiths involved making objects of silver and gold (no. 235), and others of copper and bronze. Among the latter, weapons and agricultural implements are mainly found: texts record lances (nos. 157, 224), spears (nos. 157, 225, 236 and 238), axes (nos. 156, 159 and 229),

⁴⁴ Fullers working in this workshop were *Enlila* (no. 215), *Ĝissu* (no. 137, *TCCBI* I 82 and *CUSAS* 20 230) *Lugal-amah* (nos. 218, 219, *TCCBI* I 149 and *CUSAS* 20 253), *Maš* (no. 43, *TCCBI* I 194, *CUSAS* 20, 231 and 240) and possibly *Igizi* (*CUSAS* 20 95).

⁴⁵ The differences among men, women and children are those usual in third millennium sources (see Waetzoldt 1987b: 122).

⁴⁶ Similar craft workshops are known at Ur (Ur III, see Loding 1974 and Van De Mieroop 1999/2000) and Isin (Early OB, see Van De Mieroop 1987).

⁴⁷ See commentary to text no. 224: r.2.

⁴⁸ See commentary to text no. 228: 3.

helmets (nos. 158, 159, 229 and 238), throwsticks² (nos. 156 and 159) and saws for reaping (nos. 231 to 234).

Carpenters were supervised by a chief carpenter (nagar gal, no. 274), who most probably was the foreman Emaḥ,⁴⁹ Gala was also a foreman of the carpenters who worked with him.⁵⁰ Other carpenters in service at this workshop were Ajaḡu (no. 287), Lubanda (no. 289), Lugal-engarzi (nos. 288 and 289) and Ur-Ašgi (no. 288). They received wood for manufacturing axe handles (nos. 239 and 240), spear shafts (no. 158), and components of wagons (no. 241) and boats (no. 242).

Leather workers were supervised by Ur-a, foreman and chief leather worker (ašgab gal);⁵¹ other foremen of leather workers working for him were Dudu,⁵² Gala,⁵³ Kiku⁵⁴ and Lugula (no. 244). They all supervised the activity of other leather workers, namely A-ḡeštin (nos. 290, 291 and *CUSAS* 20 69, 191), A-KA-du (no. 287), Amar-Ašnan (nos. 293 and 294), Anita (*TCCBI* I 233), Dugani (no. 293), Imta (no. 290), KA-da (no. 291), Kar-GAG (no. 290), Lu-Ašgi (no. 293), Lu-Inana (no. 152), Lugal-entar-su (no. 291), Lugal-niḡani (no. 288 and *CUSAS* 20 191²), Lugalzi (no. 288), Meszi (no. 288), Šada (no. 152), Ur-Enki (no. 288) and Urkalaga (nos. 287 and 288). Leather workers worked with hides that were first delivered to the storehouse by animal flayers (su-si, nos. 150 and 261), and later distributed among them (nos. 244, 247, 248, 253 and 261). They then treated the hides with tanning agents (no. 253) or other materials (no. 258), and prepared them to be used in wagons (nos. 246, 249, 251, 256 and 258), yokes (no. 254), military equipment (no. 250), leather bags (nos. 251 and 253), waterskins (nos. 253 and 256) and sandals (nos. 244, 252, 253, 255, 256 and 259).

Rope-makers/braiders (tug₂-du₈) were supervised by Burgul, the chief rope-maker/braider (tug₂-du₈ gal).⁵⁵ We only know the name of five of them: Ezi (*TCCBI* I 127), Kaku (no. 291), Nadurru (no. 291), Ur-LI (no. 293) and Ur-Ištaran (no. 294); seven more men under his supervision are possibly recorded in *CUSAS* 20 49. As the person in charge of rope-makers/braiders, Burgul was supplied with wool (nos. 262 to 264) and other materials such as alkali and gypsum⁵⁶. They treated wool (no. 267) and garments produced at the textile workshop (no. 266), and manufactured ropes and straps (nos. 268 to 271), cloths for vehicles (no. 270 and 271), boats (*CUSAS* 20 315) and various cultic objects (*CUSAS* 13 40), and clothes for soldiers (nos. 264, 265 and *CUSAS* 20 213).

The ḡiṣ-šu-RI-RI workers were craftsmen who worked with timber, perhaps “joiners”.⁵⁷ They belonged to the craft workshop, as shown, for example, by text no. 290, where they are recorded along with leather workers. We only know the name of two of them: Lugal-lu (*SCTRAH* nos. 273 and 290) and Šešgula (*SCTRAH* no. 290 and *CUSAS* 20 395). The professional name is also attested in the following texts, mostly from Adab: *SCTRAH* no. 273 (8 ḡiṣ-TAG, ḡiṣ e₂-du₃-še₃ “8 wooden ..., timber for a house under construction”), *TCCBI* I 61: ii.8, *CUSAS* 20 69: 2 (together with smiths, carpenters and leather workers), *CUSAS* 20 395: 5, MS 3792: x.1 (= *CDLI*

⁴⁹ See commentary to no. 158: r.3.

⁵⁰ See commentary to no. 241: 3.

⁵¹ See commentary to no. 245: r.1.

⁵² See commentary to no. 244: 6.

⁵³ See commentary to no. 246: 5.

⁵⁴ See commentary to no. 244: r.1.

⁵⁵ See commentary to no. 262: 2.

⁵⁶ According to *TCCBI* I 181 and MS 2191/25 (= *CDLI* P250931), Burgul received alkali (naḡa) and gypsum (im-babbar₂). For the use of these products in the treatment of wool, see Waetzoldt 1972: 172f., 2007a: 114; Firth 2011.

⁵⁷ Cf. šu RI-RI “to clamp down; to master” (see Karahashi 2000: 166 and Attinger 2007: 660).

P252828), *CUSAS* 13 86: r.i.4 (after *nagar-gal*, with commentary by Maiocchi), *OSP* 1 46: iii.13, 15, v.13, 112: r.ii.7', *OSP* 2 58: r.3, and 59: 7.

There are no tablets from the Lippmann Collection dealing directly with the craft activity of reed workers, although they are attested as part of the Craft Workshop. Lists of craftsmen and other texts record a chief reed worker (*ad-KID gal*), the name of one of his foremen (*Igisi*, no. 288 and MS 2191/23 [= *CDLI* P250929]) and the name of other reed workers: *Aba-Enlil* (no. 289), *Inimanizi* (no. 289), *Lu-Inana* (no. 106 and *TCCBI* I 201), *Lugal-lu* (no. 289) and *Lugal-TUG₂-maḥ* (no. 288). Bitumen needed for their work was provided by merchants, as recorded in MS 2191/23 (= *CDLI* P250929). Texts also record the delivery of reeds to the palace from reed workers (nos. 100 and 106).

3.5.5. *The Office for Personnel Management*

Management of personnel in service at the workshops was most probably made from a single office. This is suggested by the interconnection of texts dealing with the workers' activity, by the lists of workers recording people from different workshops, and by the role played by some officials in different accounts.

With regard to personnel lists, we have tallies of female weavers and their forewomen (nos. 275 to 284), fullers (no. 285), flax collectors (no. 286), craftsmen (nos. 287 to 294) and merchants (no. 299); other texts listed workers in service at different workshops, for example no. 295, which records the relocation of fullers and craftsmen, among others. These personnel lists were attendance lists (nos. 278 to 282, 285 to 292, 298 and 299), or were written to take note of absconding (nos. 293 and 294), or of the relocation of workers from one place to another (nos. 275 to 277, 295 and 296). In the latter type of texts, *Adda* (no. 275) and *Ur-usu* (no. 276) are mentioned as officials responsible for the relocation of female weavers, while they are also known to be in charge of the transfer of raw materials and finished products between the workshops and the storehouse (nos. 118, 166, 174, 181, 182, 268, *L'uomo* 29, *CUSAS* 20 90, 229, 253, *CUSAS* 13 27 and MS 2191/23 [= *CDLI* P250929]).

3.6. *Calendar*

127 tablets of the Lippmann Collection are dated with month names belonging to the Sumerian calendar of Adab. Two of them (nos. 5 and 7) are dated to the Early Sargonic period, while the rest belong to the Early *Narām-Suen* group of tablets, i.e. the so-called Middle Sargonic period. This calendar has been extensively discussed by Maiocchi and Visicato (2012: 8-20), and Such-Gutiérrez (2013). I rely on the former's conclusions for the Middle Sargonic sequence of months, although the choice of *iti še-|ŠE.ŠE|.KIN-a* as the first month of the year is still uncertain for this period.

The list of month names attested in the Lippmann Collection tablets is the following:

	<i>Month name</i>	<i>No. of attestations</i>	<i>Texts</i>
i	<i>iti še- ŠE.ŠE .KIN-a</i>	9	88, 116, 161, 166, 217, 231, 233, 252, 265
ii	<i>iti aša₅-eš₂-gar₃-šu-ĝar</i>	2	177, 212
iii	<i>iti še-saĝ₈-sag₈-ga</i>	6	21, 59, 126, 127, 149, 240
iv	<i>iti šu-ĝar</i>	13	35, 60, 69, 71, 72, 103, 147, 186, 220, 225, 259, 264, 269
v	<i>iti a₂-ki-ti</i>	8	36, 73, 91, 106, 114, 148, 181, 257

vi	iti ab-e ₃ -zi-ga	16	7 ^{a)} , 58, 104, 110, 111, 137, 151 ^{b)} , 175, 176, 208, 216, 224, 228, 239, 246, 270
vii	iti ġa ₂ -udu-ur ₄	11	39, 77, 120, 124, 131, 167, 184, 255, 258, 261, 311
viii	iti du ₆ -ku ₃	19/20	5 ^{a)} , 24, 30, 61, 78, 87, 97, 105, 119, 156, 168, 182, 207 [?] , 211, 218, 219, 242, 263, 268, 273
ix	iti niġ ₂ -kiri ₆	12	40, 54, 55, 75, 76, 89, 155, 178, 192, 206, 235, 251
x	iti mu-TIR	10	26, 27, 62, 86, 132, 133, 138, 146, 178, 250
xi	iti Šuba _x -nun	7	29, 38, 52, 134, 145, 223, 249
xi-bis	iti Šuba _x -nun iti ab-us ₂ -a ^{c)}	1	201
xii	iti še-KIN-ku ₅	14	52, 56 ^{d)} , 32, 57, 101, 115, 153, 157, 162, 163, 215, 221, 232, 267

a) Early Sargonic.

b) iti ab-e₃.

c) The “month after Šuba-nun” is most probably an intercalary month (see Maiocchi and Visicato 2012: 18).

d) iti še-|ŠE.ŠE|.KIN-ku5-a.

Table 3: Month names attested in the Lippmann Collection

3.7. Numerals and Measures

Numerals are transliterated throughout this volume according to the following conventions:

1d =	½d =	10c =
1a =	½c =	10u =
1ac =	½dc =	10u* =
1dc =	⅓c =	60ac =
1o =	⅔c =	600ac =
1dc* (bariga) = see below		
1c (ban ₂) =		
1c (bur ₃) =		
1c (eše) =		
1c (iku) =		

Capacity Measures

The tablets of the Lippmann Collection dated to the early Narām-Suen reign use in their accounts two different standards for capacity measures: the *gur* of Akkade, composed of 300 *sila*, which was probably introduced during the reign of Narām-Suen (Powell 1987/90: 493, 497f.), and an older standard, attested since ED IIIa, based on a 240-*sila gur* system. When the former was used, it was explicitly stated through the expression (gur) A-ka₃-de₃^{ki} (nos. 23, 32, 39 and 40); this system was also referred to with the expression *zabar uruda lugal*, “copper *zabar*-vessels (standardised to) the royal (measure)” (see commentary to text no. 305). When this kind of qualification was not expressed, it is here assumed that the *gur* of 240 *sila* was being used. This is what can be deduced from the fact that whenever a calculation can be made through totals or by other means, the *gur* of 240 *sila* is always behind. This is the case of *SCTRAH* nos. 77 (dates), 83 (dates), 211 (flour), *CUSAS* 20 3 (barley), 14 (flour), 300 (bitumen) and 393 (semolina).

One peculiarity of the capacity notations in these texts is the writing of the sign for 1 *bariga* on the top of the sign for the *ban* (text nos. 9, 69, 71, 78, 81, 82, 83 and 285). This has been noted in the transliterations as $1dc^*$ (*bariga*) n (*ban*₂):

$$\begin{array}{ll} 1dc^* (\text{bariga}) 1c (\text{ban}_2) = \text{cup} & 1dc^* (\text{bariga}) 3c (\text{ban}_2) = \text{cup} \\ 1dc^* (\text{bariga}) 2c (\text{ban}_2) = \text{cup} & 1dc^* (\text{bariga}) 4c (\text{ban}_2) = \text{cup} \end{array}$$

For the rest, capacity notations follow the positional system already known for this and other third millennium periods. The capacity units and their equivalents in litres are the following:

$$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ sila}_3 \approx 1 \text{ litre} \\ 1 \text{ ban}_2 = 10 \text{ sila}_3 \approx 10 \text{ litres} \\ 1 \text{ bariga} = 6 \text{ ban}_2 \approx 60 \text{ litres} \\ 1 \text{ gur} = 4 \text{ bariga} = 24 \text{ ban}_2 = 240 \text{ sila}_3 \approx 240 \text{ litres} \\ 1 \text{ gur A-ka}_3\text{-de}_3 = 5 \text{ bariga} = 30 \text{ ban}_2 = 300 \text{ sila}_3 \approx 300 \text{ litres} \end{array}$$

Weight Measures

Our tablets record talents (gu_2), minas (*ma-na*) and shekels (gin_2) as weight measures; the barleycorn unit (*še*), a subdivision of the shekel, is not attested.

$$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ še} \approx 0,046 \text{ grams} \\ 1 \text{ gin}_2 = 180 \text{ še} \approx 8,33 \text{ grams} \\ 1 \text{ ma-na} = 60 \text{ gin}_2 \approx 500 \text{ grams} \\ 1 \text{ gu}_2 = 60 \text{ ma-na} = 3600 \text{ gin}_2 \approx 30 \text{ kilograms} \end{array}$$

Length Measures

Length measures are only attested in text no. 303:

$$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ kuš}_3 \text{ "cubit"} \approx 50 \text{ centimetres} \\ 1 \text{ ninda-DU "rod"} \approx 6 \text{ metres} \end{array}$$

Surface Measures

Surface measures are attested in texts nos. 15 and 335:

$$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ iku} \approx 3,600 \text{ square metres} \\ 1 \text{ eše}_3 = 6 \text{ iku} \approx 21,600 \text{ square metres} \\ 1 \text{ bur}_3 = 3 \text{ eše}_3 = 18 \text{ iku} \approx 64,800 \text{ square metres} \end{array}$$