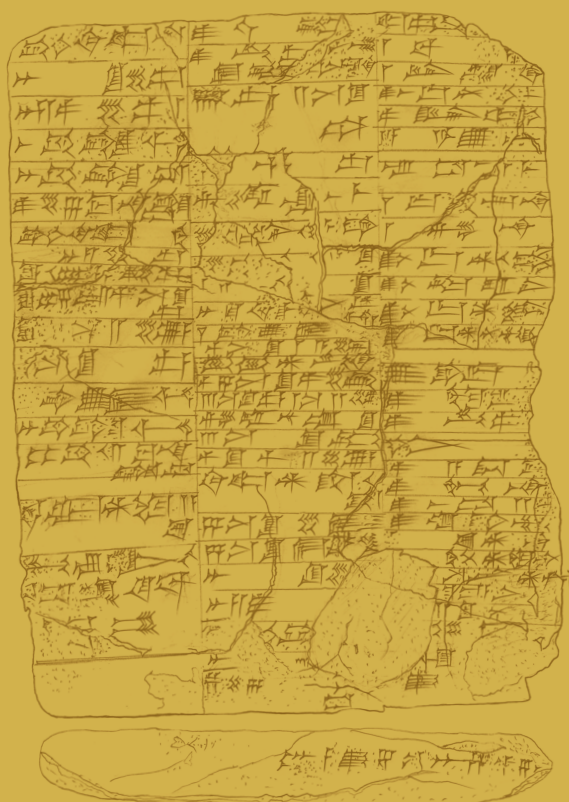


Neo-Sumerian barley allotment rolls from the Umma region

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Edicions

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Key to Symbols and Abbreviations

| | |
|----|---------------------------------------|
| 30 | 30 litres |
| × | ration lost |
| + | section recorded |
| o | alive |
| † | dead |
| - | no barley assigned |
| ▪ | broken line but plausible restoration |
| z | fugitive |
| ⊗ | not recorded |

The abbreviations follow those in the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology).

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Introduction

This volume contains the study and edition of sixteen Neo-Sumerian barley allotment rolls from the Umma region. All the tablets published here were illegally excavated and their precise findspot remains unknown. Four tablets (texts Nos 11, 12, 15 and 16) have been previously published in several publications.¹ Twelve unpublished tablets currently kept in the Iraq National Museum have been studied and published in this volume for first time. These tablets were confiscated by the Iraqi authorities from the hands of illicit diggers and kept for a short period by the Antiquities Inspectorate in Nasiriyah². According to the files of the Iraq National Museum, these twelve tablets were acquired by the museum in 2005 with accession numbers starting with 204 and 205.

Probably, the findspot of all this group of tablets had been intensely looted over several years. Unfortunately, some tablets evaded the control of the Iraqi authorities and were illegally sold by the clandestine diggers. Some of these tablets reached the antiquities market in London, where Wilfred G. Lambert was able to inspect and transcribe three texts. David Owen published the transcription of Lambert's manuscript in *Nisaba* 15 (2013) (Nos 668; 1031 and 1032). Later on, some tablets were sold from London to several destinies. Two of these texts reached Barcelona in 2012 and later on Lluís Feliu inspected and published them in 2014 and 2017 (together with Adelina Millet).

Ammar M. Al-Taei studied text No. 4 (IM.204503) in the Iraq National Museum as part of his preparation for a master's thesis in the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Baghdad in 2016, and quickly realized that this tablet was strongly connected with those previously published by David Owen and Lluís Feliu. After contacting Feliu in 2018, Al-Taei began a search in the Iraq National Museum in order to identify tablets with similar origin and content. He was able to find the twelve new tablets published in this volume. Due to the new data provided by these new texts, several readings of the texts previously published by Owen and Feliu have been corrected. This is why the present

1. See the concordances in §3.3. below (texts Nos 11, 12, 15 and 16). On the debate concerning academic involvement in publishing cuneiform texts from illicit excavations see Földi 2017: 7-9, with previous bibliography.

2. The Dhi Qar Governorate (capital Nasiriyah) is one of the provinces most affected by the illegal activity of looters; for an overview of the looting of the archaeological sites in this province see Hamdani 2008.

volume also includes a new edition of these tablets as texts Nos 11, 12 and 16. There may be other tablets from this archive in the Iraq National Museum. Consequently, further identification of new tablets would change the provisional picture presented in this volume.

* * *

Several people have made important contributions during the preparation of this book. First of all, we would like to thank the authorities of the Cuneiform Department of the Iraq National Museum for their kind permission to publish the tablets kept in their museum. Manuel Molina read the final draft of the manuscript and made important comments, corrections and suggestions. Regine Pruzsinszky made important contributions to chapter §2, especially in relation to several obscure Hurrian names. Juan Oliva also kindly discussed some details of the analysis of some names with Hurrian etymologies. David Owen made available some relevant information about Lambert's transcription of texts Nos 12, 15 and 16 and he also discussed some aspects of the tablets. We would like to express our gratitude to Wafaa Hadi Zwaïd who was kind enough to provide us with her unpublished transliterations and copies of texts No. 1 (IM.205127) and No. 2 (IM.205128) and for her permission to publish these tablets here. Wilfred Watson kindly revised the English. We also extend our thanks to Adelina Millet for having accepted this volume in the collection *Barcino. Monographica Orientalia*. We should stress that any faults and errors are our own responsibility.

1. Context and Content of the Texts

1.1. *Chronology*

1.1.1. *Year Names*

Of the sixteen texts studied here, only nine preserve a date. The oldest text is dated the last month of the first year of Šū-Suen (ŠS) (a leap year) and the latest one is dated to the third year of Ibbi-Suen (IS). Therefore, our corpus of texts covers a time span of twelve years (nine years of Šū-Suen's reign and the first three years of Ibbi-Suen's reign). Almost all the texts with no date preserved can be incorporated into a reasonably certain chronological sequence from prosopographical criteria.

The oldest texts (Nos 1, 2 and 3) are three-column tablets (one column fewer than the other texts) and record a smaller number of people than the rest of the corpus studied in this book. These three texts are very similar in format and chronology. Text No. 1 is dated to the thirteenth month (*diri še-KIN-ku₅*) of the first year of Šū-Suen's reign (a leap year). Text No. 2 is dated to the fifth month (*eze^dm-in-a-zu*) of ŠS 2, only five months later than text No. 1. The date of text No. 3 is missing, but it must have been written at a date very close to texts Nos 1 and 2. Text No. 3 is possibly later than texts Nos 1 and 2 because Lala-ḥamati and Niğurum are registered as fugitives (*zaḥ₃*) in those texts whereas they no longer appear in text No. 3.¹ In any case, it seems clear that text No. 3 is later than No. 1 (ŠS 1) and No. 2 (ŠS 2) but definitely not beyond ŠS 3 or ŠS 4.

Texts Nos 4 and 5 are dated to ŠS 7 and ŠS 8 respectively. The dates for texts Nos 6 to 8 are missing, but their relative chronology can be reconstructed with some reliability. Text No. 6 must be later than text No. 5 because Bēlī-napišṭī, a worker from a household (*ša₃ e₂-a*) and IbšiKA, a gendarme (*ga₃-u₂*), are listed as dead (*uš₂*) in text No. 6 (ii 35; vi 29), however both are still alive in text No. 5 (ii 31; vi 10). Šullānum, a fuller (*az₁la₂*), is recorded as dead in text No. 7 (iv 13), but is listed as alive in text No. 6 (iv

1. Lala-ḥamati: No. 1 ii 29; No. 2 iii 3. Niğurum: No. 1 iii [24]; No. 2 iv 6.

23)². Text No. 8 records the highest number of deceased persons: 8 people. Šāt-Suen and her son, grinders of the household (ar₃-ra [e₂-a]), are listed as dead (8 iii 24-25) but they were still alive in text No. 7 (iii 24-25).

Later on we have two texts dated from ŠS 9: text No. 10 is from e zem-^dšul-gi the tenth month of the year according to the Umma calendar or the seventh month according to the Puzriš-Dagan calendar ('Reichskalender'). No month name is preserved in Text No. 9. There are no internal data in the content of the two texts that allow us to determine which is earlier and which is later. Tentatively, we have placed text No. 9 before text No. 10.

Text No. 12 is clearly dated either in the tenth month (Umma calendar) or the seventh month ('Reichskalender') of IS 1. We can observe that text No. 11 precedes text No. 12, due to the death of Zulutiya, recorded in text No. 12 vii 22³. Possibly, text No. 11 is later than texts Nos 9 and 10, because in those texts Ur-Ninzu is recorded as dead (No. 9 iv 24; No. 10 iv 19) and he is no longer recorded in the gardeners (si₁₂-a) section in text No. 11 (iv 10-19).

Texts Nos 13 and 14 are clearly dated in IS 2 and IS 3 respectively. It is more difficult to place texts Nos 15 and 16, but the arrangement of some groups of workers are very similar to text Nos 9, 10, 11 and 12, therefore, a dating of the texts Nos 15 and 16 between ŠS 9 and IS 1 seems quite plausible. For a summary of this section see table 1.

Table 1: Chronological sequence of the texts

| | Text No. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|---|-------------|----------|---|---|---|----------|--------------|----|--------------|--------------|--------------|----|----|
| | 1 (13/ŠS 1) | 2 (05/ŠS 2) | 3 | 4 (06/ŠS 7) | 5 (ŠS 8) | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 (ŠS 9) | 10 (10/ŠS 9) | 11 | 12 (10/IS 1) | 13 (10/IS 2) | 14 (04/IS 3) | 15 | 16 |
| Šullānum | | | | o | ? | o | † | † | - | | | | | | | |
| Ibšika | | | | o | o | † | † | † | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| Bēlī-napišti | | | | | o | † | † | - | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| Nindudu | | | | | o | o | † | † | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| Šāt-Suen | | | | | o | o | o | † | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| Son Šāt-S. | | | | | | | o | † | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| Ḫabazartum | | | | | | | | † | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| ŠS-ḫamati | | | | o | o | o | o | † | ⊗ | | | | | | | |
| Aḫušuni | | | | | | | | † | | | | | | | | |
| Zulutiya | | | | | | | | | o | o | o | † | ⊗ | | | |
| Ur-Ninzu | | | | o | o | o | o | o | † | † | ⊗ | | | | | |

2. Šullānum is mentioned here in a fragmentary context, but the parallel texts allow this section of fullers to be restored with certainty.

3. Feliu & Millet 2017: 111.

1.1.2. *Month names*

Only seven texts preserve a month name and only five month names are attested:

diri še-KIN-ku₅: text No. 1
ezem-^dnin-a-zu: text No. 2
ezem-^dšul-gi: texts Nos 10, 12 and 13
nesaĝ: text No. 14
šu-numun: text No. 4

Of these month names, diri še-KIN-ku₅ is the intercalary month after the last month of the year ŠS 1⁴. nesaĝ and šu-numun are traditionally recorded as the fourth and sixth months of the Umma calendar respectively (Cohen 2015: 172-181). On the other hand, ezem-^dnin-a-zu does not generally occur in Umma texts but is very well known as the fifth month of the Puzriš-Dagan calendar ('Reichskalender'). The month ezem-^dšul-gi is attested in both calendars – the Umma calendar and the 'Reichskalender' – as the tenth and seventh months. Accordingly, texts Nos 10, 12 and 13 have an ambiguous position in the sequence of months. Here, tentatively we assume that is the tenth month of the Umma calendar.

1.2. *General Structure of the Texts*

All the tablets in this corpus of texts have a regular form and structure. There are two basic groups:

- a) Texts Nos 4 to 16: tablets of four columns per face, measuring 15×11 cm approximately. Each column has between 40 and 50 lines.
- b) Texts Nos 1 to 3: the oldest texts of the corpus, they are three-column tablets measuring about 12×90 cm. Each column has between 25 and 30 entries.

The structure and the distribution of the content are also the same in all texts, with the following general sections:

(1) Barley allotment rolls.⁵ The structure of this section is as customary on the barley allotment rolls in Ur III administrative texts. Each line records an amount of food (usually barley or bread),⁶ a personal name and occasionally a reference to the work status of that person or to a specific occupation. In our texts, the following notations have been preserved: za₃ (fugitive/absent); uš₂ (dead) and i₃-da₅ (supervisor). The workers are listed in groups of professions or work assignments; at the end of each

4. For this month name as the last month in the intercalary years in the later Ur III period see Firth 2016: §5.2-§5.6.

5. On the translations 'barley allotment' rather than 'barley rations' (Gelb 1965: 230-231) of še-ba, see Steinkeller 2015: 27-30, with previous references.

6. Text No. 12 is an exception and records a supplementary or compensatory ration of dates (zu₂-lum). This complementary payment of dates may be due to the scarcity of barley in the granary during that month to make up the normal amount of food (Waetzoldt 1987: 125). Text No. 14 records four people who receive some kind of flour (zi₃-milla) other than barley or bread. On this kind of flour see Milano 1993: 26 §7 (zi₃-kuk₅ š(iš)).

group there is a record of the occupation of the group of workers such as uš-bar-me-(eš₂); gašam-me-(eš₂); etc.

This first section takes up the bulk of the tablet, usually the first seven columns of the text. Texts Nos 1 to 3 (usually with three columns per face) have four columns for this first section.

At the end of each column – on the lower edge – the total amount of barley, bread or occasionally other foodstuff, is recorded.

The texts follow a very regular template, recording the list of professions or work assignments in a very consistent order:⁷

- weavers
- people in a household
- grinders
- (grinders of the household)
- sesame pressers
- (people in Zabalam)
- (people in Uruk)
- fullers
- team of garden workers
- reed-cutters
- boatmen
- cooks
- (cup-bearers)
- brewers
- messengers
- (basket weavers)
- (leatherworkers)
- (rope-makers)
- craftsmen
- gendarmes
- (gendarmes of Lu-Šara/the household)
- (amar-TAR)
- animal drivers or drovers
- (musicians/singers) (from text 9 on)
- ox drivers
- miscellaneous section (= Edana)

Texts Nos 5 to 8 are almost identical, with minor differences in structure and content. The last section in text No. 4 records people in Edana (ša₃ e₂-da-na^{ki}-ka), texts Nos 5 to 8 record roughly the same people with no specific occupation and in some texts, these people are recorded together with those listed as ox drivers in text No. 4.

7. Texts Nos 1 to 3 do not record the large groups of weavers and people of the household.

(2) Consignments of foodstuffs. After the main section of barley allotment rolls, a section records deliveries of foodstuffs: consignment (ša₂-du₁₁) of foodstuffs and beer for deities and rituals, and fodder and food (ša₃-ga₁; še-ba) for animals and personnel. In this section we can identify the following subsections:

(2.a) Consignments for deities and rituals:

expenditure from the table (gišba⁸nšur-ta zi-ga): texts Nos 9 viii 21; 11 vii 30.

*Girrānum*⁸: texts Nos 1 v 7; 2 v 7; 3 v 26.

Inana of Uruk: texts Nos 4 viii 15; 6 viii 20.

Nanna: texts Nos 1 v 4; 2 v 12; 3 v 23; 13 viii 2; 14 viii 26.

Ninġišzida: texts Nos 5 viii 10; 6 viii 15; 7 viii 19; 8 viii 9; 9 viii 17; 13 viii 10.

Ninšubur: texts Nos 6 viii 11; 7 viii 14; 8 viii 4; 9 viii 13; 11 viii 3; 13 vii 33.

Šara: text No. 4 viii 4.

Šauška: texts Nos 1 v 10; 2 v 18; 3 vi 1; 4 viii 12; 6 viii 18; 7 viii 23; 9 viii 15; 11 viii 5; 13 viii 12.

Šulpa'e: texts Nos 4 viii 7; 5 viii 8; 6 viii 13; 7 viii 17; 8 viii 7.

temple (e₂-e sum-ma): texts Nos 1 v 12; 2 v 20; 3 vi 3; 4 viii 9; 6 viii 16; 8 viii 10; 13 viii 8.

(2.b) Food and beer for personnel:

allotment for the grinders (of the house) of Ninšubur:⁹ texts Nos 4 vii 31; 5 vii 30; 6 vii 43; 7 vii 35³; 8 vii 29.

food for the booty (na m-ra-a k-me): texts Nos 1 v 5; 2 v 5.

beer consignment for men: texts Nos 1 v 18; 2 vi 1; 3 vi 10; 4 vii 37; 5 vii 35; 7 vii 41; 13 vii 39; 14 viii 25.

beer consignment for women: texts Nos 1 v 24; 2 vi 7; 4 vii 43; 5 vii [41]; 6 viii 6; 7 viii 7; 11 vii 37.

rations du mu-e₂-a: texts Nos 4 vii 44; 5 viii 1; 6 viii 7; 7 viii 8; 8 viii 2; 11 vii 31; 15 vii 189.

monthly barley allotment: text No. 4 viii 1.

(2.c) Fodder for animals:

equids: texts Nos 1 v 1; 2 v 9; 3 v 18; 4 vii 39; 6 viii 22; 8 viii 16; 9 viii 18; 13 viii 4.

sheep: texts Nos 3 v 19; 5 viii 2; 6 viii 8.

(3) Grand totals.

(4) Colophon (rubric and date). Seven of the sixteen texts studied and published here do not preserve a colophon. Of the other nine colophons preserved, five only record the date of the text (month and year name). The other tablets add several rubrics and expressions to label the texts:

8. On *girrānum*, a 'wailing' ritual, see Sallaberger 1993: 47 and 200; Hilgert 2002: 98 n. 107.

9. The exact reading of this entry poses problems. Difficulties in reading the the signs and the fragmentary context of the entries indicate a tentative reading as: niġ₂-ba kinkin (e₂)^dnin-šubur.