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a cura di Palmiro Notizia e Francesco Pomponio

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Scritti in onore di Pietro Mander

a cura di Palmiro Notizia e Francesco Pomponio



Pietro Mander (Foto di Noemi Borrelli)

Five Cuneiform Tablets from Private Collections^{*} Manuel Molina - Palmiro Notizia CSIC, Madrid

Summary: In this contribution a critical edition of five cuneiform tablets from Spanish private collections is presented. More specifically, the texts provide new information on the administration of the city of Adab during the first half of Narām-Suen's reign (ca. 2290-2250 BCE), and also exemplify some of the activities of leather processing at the Niĝšana's leather workshop at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112-2004 BCE). The texts, dated to Sargonic period through late Ur III/Early Old Babylonian period, come from the cities of Adab (nos. 1 and 2) and Niĝšana (nos. 3 and 4), whereas no. 5, which records wool disbursement to nine individuals, is of uncertain provenience.

Keywords: Adab, Niĝšana, Sargonic period, Ur III period, city administration, leather processing.

This paper presents the study of five cuneiform tablets from Spanish private collections. It is a great pleasure for us to dedicate this modest contribution to our colleague and friend Pietro Mander, who devoted much of his career to the study of Sumerian texts. Texts nos. 1 and 2 are accounts of sheep and wool respectively; they both come from the city of Adab¹ and might be dated to the later part of the so-called Middle Sargonic period, namely during the first half of Narām-Suen's reign, or shortly before.² Text no. 3 is a receipt of sheep skins, whereas text no. 4 records the delivery of a tanned sheep skin; both tablets are dated to the Ur III period and belong to the archives of Niĝšana; they were published in transliteration by D. I. Owen and R. Mayr (2007) after transliterations and photos sent to them by M. Molina. Text no. 5, which records wool disbursement to nine individuals, does not present any dating element like month name or year name formula; on the grounds of palaeography it could be dated either to the Ur III period or to the Early Old Babylonian period.

Text	Measurements	Date	Provenience	Bibliography
1	53×44×20 mm	Middle Sargonic	Adab	
2	37×29×16 mm	Middle Sargonic	Adab	
3	55×47×14 mm	Ur III	Niĝšana	CUSAS 3 890
4	42×43×19 mm	Ur III	Niĝšana	CUSAS 3 945
5	60×37×16 mm	Ur III / Early Old Babylonian	Uncertain	

^{*} We are grateful to Aage Westenholz for sharing with us his unpublished material on the Early Dynastic and Sargonic inscriptions in the Schøyen Collection, Spikkestad, Norway; we are also grateful to David I. Owen, Franco Pomponio, and Giuseppe Visicato for allowing us to quote unpublished tablets from Adab kept in the Cornell University. Abbreviations follow those of *BDTNS* (http://bdtns.filol.csic.es) and *CDLI* (http://cdli.ucla.edu).

¹ A significant number of Early Dynastic and Sargonic texts from Adab has been published in recent years. For a brief summary of published and unpublished material from this site, see Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 4-5, and Westenholz 2010.

 $^{^2}$ For the sake of convenience, we follow here the internal subdivision of the Sargonic period proposed by Pomponio, Visicato, and Westenholz 2006: 72, and Maiocchi 2009: xxi. According to this periodization, the Middle Sargonic period spans from the reigns of Maništušu and Rimuš to the first half of Narām-Suen's reign (ca. 2290-2250 BCE). This classification has been generally made by the editors of Adab tablets (see footnote above) on the basis of the shape of the tablets and palaeography. Nevertheless, prosopographical analyses occasionally show that tablets dated to different periods are actually separated by just a few years. Once most of the Sargonic tablets from Adab will be published, further studies will no doubt clarify the relative chronology of the material.

Text 1 Date: Middle Sargonic (ca. first half of Narām-Suen's reign or shortly before) Provenience: Adab Measurements: 53×44×20 mm

o. 1 [...] ^Γx[¬]

- 2 $[x]+60ac \times 3+10c+3ac \ x^{1}$
- 3 $10c \times 3$ gukkal
- 4 $60ac+10c\times 2 \operatorname{la}_2 2ac \operatorname{mas}_2 \operatorname{rsa}_6^{\mathsf{T}}$
- 5 ur-nu
- 6 ka-guru₇-da
- 7 e-da-se₁₂ (SIG₇)
- 8 *i-mi-*DIĜIR-e
- 1 pisaĝ tur-ra

r.

- 2 niĝ₂-kas₇-bi
- 3 e-da-aka
- 4 iti $\hat{g}a_2$ -udu-ur₄
- 5 mu^r*i*¹-*mi*-DIĜIR -e
- 6 en-en diĝir-mah
- 7 $mas_2-e bi_2-dab_5-ba-am_3$
 - _____

..., [x]+193 ..., 30 fat-tailed sheep, (and) 78 top quality goats were in the custody of Urnu, the chief of the granary. *Imid-ilum* made with him (= Urnu) the balanced account of the small (tablet) basket(s). Month VII ("Month of the Sheep-plucking Shed"). The year *Imid-ilum* chose the *en*-priests of Diĝirmah by omens.

Commentary

obv. 4. We interpret $sa_6(-ga)$ as a syllabic writing for $saga_{10}$ (SIG₅), for which see Wilcke 2010: 12 n. 28, and Waetzoldt 2010; udu sa_6 -ga is also attested in *TSA* 3: ii.4, r.ii.5, and *AWL* 181: ii.4, both ED IIIb, Ukg, Ĝirsu; cf. also udu-ba udu sa_6 -ga-bi lu_2 ba-ta-tum₂-mu "one would take away the best sheep from among those sheep" (Inscription of Iri'inimgena: Frayne 1993, 272 E1.9.9.3: i.3'). The possibility of interpreting here sa_6 as a verb meaning "to slaughter" or "to prepare" (cf. Bauer 1972: 459; Selz 1995a: 411) seems to be excluded by context. In the Ur III period $saga_{10}$ represents the maximum grade of quality of barley-fed (niga) goats and sheep (see Steinkeller 1995: 57).

obv. 5-7. For se_{12} (SIG₇) as the plural stem of verbs /lug/ and /til/ "to live, dwell," see Bauer 1980: 6 no. 13; Steinkeller 1979: 55 and n. 5, and Id. 1984a: 5. For the use of the comitative as *Ortskasus*, see Balke 2006: 98ff.

Urnu, the chief of the granary, is also mentioned in an unpublished text from Adab kept in the Schøyen Collection (Sch. 4214 = CDLI P253289), which records oxen hides that had to be sent to Akkad delivered by a number of individuals. A first group among them is constituted by some well-known cowherds (unu₃) of Adab (lugal-en₈-tar-su₃, igi-gun₃, IM^{ki, 3} ur-gu, e₂-amaš(-zi), ša₃-ga-ni-su₃, a-zu-zu, en-gu₂-gal),⁴ while the second one includes ur-nu ka-guru₇ and ur-^den-lil₂. The latter was perhaps the same ur-^den-lil₂ dumu ka-guru₇ attested in *CUSAS* 11 119

³ For the reading of this personal name as karkar^{ki}, possibly a hypocoristic form, see Cohen 2010: 79.

⁴ Cf. *TCCBI* 1 68 ("MS"); Cohen 2010: nos. 2, 3, 4, and commentary; and CUNES 49-02-139 (Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*). Almost the same group of people is mentioned in other texts in relation with hides (e.g. *CUSAS* 11 139, "Meskigalla;" see commentary), sheep, cattle, butter, and cheese (e.g. *TCCBI* 1 168, 169, and 171, "MS"); shepherds (gab₂-ra) were assigned to them according to Sch. 2724/6 (CDLI P251742); they also appear in a list of officers recorded in in Sch. 2724/11 (*CDLI* P251747).

(text dated to the times of Meskigalla by the editors); later on, he would have been promoted to chief of the granary (ka-guru₇), as attested in *CUSAS* 11 233 ("Meskigalla period").

On the other hand, a certain Urnu, a livestock administrator $(\$u\$_3)$, is attested in *TCCBI* 1 46 ("ES period"), CUNES 48-10-118, and CUNES 49-02-124 (Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*); the same official is probably referred to in Sch. 2724/7 (*CDLI* P251743) and Sch. 2724/09 (*CDLI* P251745), two accounts of sheep. In CUNES 49-02-124 (cf. also *TCCBI* 1 25, "ES period", a text that belongs to the same dossier), he is recorded as the receiving official of sheep belonging to the palace, delivered by eighteen shepherds (udu e₂-gal-ta gur-ra, sipa-ne an-na- $\$um_2$ ur-nu $\$u\$_3$); there is among them a certain e₂-ama\$-zi, possibly the same individual mentioned above as cowherd. All these shepherds, and probably also the cowherds, who were active in the same years, worked for the provincial administration under the supervision of livestock administrators ($\$u\$_3$). On their side, livestock administrators, Urnu among them, delivered *mašdaria*-contributions under the supervision of *Imid-ilum* (CUNES 48-10-118),⁵ for whom see below.

In view of these synchronisms, it could be suggested either that $ur-nu \\ sus_3 \\ and <math>ur-nu \\ ka-guru_7 \\ were two contemporaneous officials, or even that they were the same person who consecutively held the two offices. Be that as it may, there was no doubt a close connection between livestock administrators and the chief of the granary, probably their supervisor. One of the duties of the latter was supplying the animal fatteners with fodder, as is well-known for the Ur III period (see Jones and Snyder 1961: 314; Stępień 2006: 37; Dahl 2007: 116-17), a fact that would explain why the animals were in his custody.$

Besides the chief of the granary and the livestock administrator, another Urnu, most probably a different official who bears the title of ugula e_2 "supervisor of the household", possibly the e_2 -tur, is reorded in Sch. 3790/22 (*CDLI* P252745: šum₂ zi-ga, e_2 -tur, ur-nu, ugula- e_2 ; other attestations of ur-nu ugula e_2 are *TCCBI* 1 47: i.5-ii.1 ("ES;" cf. Schrakamp 2008: 685-686); *OIP* 14 71 (= *PPAC* 1, 16 [A 796]; "ED IIIb/ES"), and *CUSAS* 11 182: ii.3 ("Meskigalla").

obv. 8. Two spellings for *Imid-ilum* are known in the Adab corpus: *i-mi*-DIĜIR and *i-mi-lum* (*CUSAS* 11 317); for the reading and the possible meaning of the name as "(having) the support of the god," see Hilgert 2002: 452 n. 25, and Marchesi 2004: 194 n. 236. *Imid-ilum* is mentioned in several texts from Adab in connection with sheep administration and the *mašdaria*-contribution. The *mašdaria*-contribution was a regular delivery presented to the king and/or his family from high- and middle-ranking dignitaries of the state (see Sallaberger 1993: 160-170 and n. 754; Selz 1995b: 251-274); in Adab texts the contributors are people usually associated to the city administration, whereas the beneficiaries are not regularly mentioned.⁶ According to the evidence, *Imid-ilum* was a high-ranking official active after the times of Meskigalla; he was in charge of collecting the *mašdaria*-contribution of livestock, supervised the sheep assigned to other officials⁷ or expended with other purposes,⁸ and was responsible for the inspections of cattle;⁹ see below for his position within the

⁵ Obv. 2 might be reconstructed as $[ur-^d]i\check{s}kur$, who is attested as livestock administrator in a number of texts from the Schøyen Collection; cf. especially Sch. 2724/9 (*CDLI* P251745), where animals were given to Mama, Ur-Iškur, and Urnu, most probably livestock administrators (9 u₈, 4 udu-nita, udu *ma-ma*, ur-^diškur, ur-nu, an-ne-šum₂).

⁶ On the *mašdaria*-texts from Adab see Yang 1989: 239-240; Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006: 37 and 41-42; Civil 2003: 49-54; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 8; Maiocchi and Visicato 2012: 23. *Imid-ilum* is attested as collector of the *mašdaria*-contribution in the following texts: *TCCBI* 1 114 and 115; CUNES 48-10-118, CUNES 48-06-122, CUNES 48-06-123, CUNES 48-06-124, CUNES 48-06-120, CUNES 48-06-218, CUNES 50-04-117, CUNES 50-04-119, CUNES 52-13-040, and possibly CUNES 48-07-103 (Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*). For other collectors see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006: 41 n. 475, and add, for example, Igi-Enlilše in CUNES 48-09-081 (Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*), and *Gar-ilum* (ga-ri₂-i₃-lum: see Hilgert 2002: 332 for the reading of this PN) in *CUSAS* 11 259, CUNES 48-09-078 and CUNES 48-08-155 (Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*).

⁷ According to Sch. 4272 (*CDLI* P253350), MIlulu, the livestock administrator, booked for *Imid-ilum* cows and oxen (ab₂-kur, gu₄-kur) stationed at Umma and Ereš.

⁸ CUNES 48-06-121 and CUNES 48-06-160) (udu zi-ga), in Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*; according to Sch. 4275 (*CDLI* P253353), *Imid-ilum* issued 31 sheep in favour of E-damsi, who worked at the orchard of Urtu-Ašgi.

⁹ Cf. Sch. 4224 (*CDLI* P253299), an animal inspection (kuru₇ aka) made by *Imid-ilum* in the vicinity of the inlet of the E-Šubur-canal, on the fifth month (iti a_2 -ki-ti) of "the year the seed-funnel was made" (mu ĝiš-ninda₂ al-du₃-a); *CUSAS* 19 14, a badly preserved tablet also mentioning *Imid-ilum*, was probably another animal inspection text.

Adab administration.

rev. 1. pisaĝ tur-ra is here interpreted as an anticipatory genitive resumed by $ni\hat{g}_2$ -kas₇-bi. The option of interpreting the line as "the basket(s) of the small ones (i.e. 'the small tablets')" should be excluded, since *pisaĝ tur-tur-ra would better be expected; cf. in any case the expression dub-tur-tur-ta ... NIĜIN₂ "to collect from the small tablets," for which see Selz 2011: 280. For the different types of tablet containers in Sargonic Mespotamia, see Foster 1982b: 12-20; pisaĝ tur "small basket" is attested in *ITT* 2 4690: ii 5'.

Alternatively, it would be tempting to emend the sign GA_2 to $E_2^!$, thus reading the line as $e_2^!$ -tur-ra "in the E-tur", a well-attested household at the time of Meskigalla (see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006: 43-44; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 3); actually, noun-phrases in the locative indicating where the account was made are well documented in Sargonic texts.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the tablet presents a clear GA_2 .

rev. 3. The dimensional prefix {da} in the verbal form refers to Urnu, the chief of the granary. A similar construction can be found in *Nik.* 2 59: 4 - r. 6: ad-da $ensi_2-gal-e$, ma_2-gur_8 dub-sar-da, $ni\hat{g}_2$ -kas₇-bi e-da-aka "Adda, the *ensi-gal*, made this balanced account with Magur, the scribe" (cf. Foster 1982a: 35).

rev. 4. According to Maiocchi and Visicato (2012: 19), $\hat{g}a_2$ -udu-ur₄ was the name of the seventh month of the Adab calendar in the Sargonic period.

rev. 5-7. The year-name celebrating the installation of the *en*-priests of Digirmah/Ninhursag, the main divinity of Adab (see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006: 26), by Imid-ilum is somehow exceptional; an abbreviated formula of it was most probably recorded in CUNES 48-10-102 (Pomponio and Visicato, forthcoming), which reads mu en-en al-dab5-a "The year the en-priests were chosen". The en-priests of Digirmah, sometimes along with the en-priests of Iškur, are also attested (en digirmah-me) in Sch. 4203: 3 (CDLI P253278), CUSAS 13 118: 3, 119: 3 (see Maiocchi 2010: 146 on these two texts), 143: 3, and perhaps in CUSAS 11 317: i.8 (en-AN-mah = PN?); the en-priests of Adab (en-en adab^{ki}-me) are mentioned in *Amherst* 10 (Girsu/Adab?), a text recently re-edited by Cripps (2010: no. 31; cf. Schrakamp 2012: 157); CUSAS 19 53 records the delivery of half a sheep for the *en*-priests (en-en-me); a building possibly connected to the *en*-priests was the $E_2 \times PAP$ -en-enne (PPAC 1 A 985: r. 1, and perhaps TCCBI 1 226: 4); see also Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006: 11 n. 113, and 43. Years named for the installation of priests chosen by omens are well attested in the Sargonic period (see Frayne 1993: 85-86): mu en dEn-lil2 maš2-e ib2-dab5-ba "The year the entupriestess [= Tūta-napšum, daughter of Narām-Suen] of the god Enlil was chosen by omens" (Narām-Suen o); [mu] en ^dNanna dumu na-<ra>-am-^dEN.ZU ^rmaš¹-e ^rib₂¹-dab₅-ba "The year the *entu*-priestess [=En-men-ana] of the god Nanna, the daughter of Narām-Suen, was chosen by omens" (Narām-Suen 11).

The kind of year-name recorded in our text, recalling local events, could make believe that Adab had regained a certain independence from the Sargonic central power at the time when the tablet was written, i.e. during, or shortly before, the first half of Narām-Suen's reign. Nevertheless, it seems more plausible to speculate that, after the defeat of Meskigalla by Rimuš, Adab was controlled by the Sargonic kings through high- and middle-level bureaucrats (cf. Westenholz 1999: 49-50), being *Imidilum*, the one who "chose the *en*-priests of Diĝirmah by omens," one of them. According to the extant sources, *Imid-ilum* did not reach the rank of provincial governor, although he was close to it: he was no doubt identical with *Imid-ilum*, the chief of the granary (see above *sub* obv. 8), an office that in Ur III times could be the prelude of the highest provincial power (see for example Dahl 2007: 55). He was probably contemporaneous to *Śarru-alī* and/or Lugal-aĝu, both governors of Adab who succesively ruled during the first half of Narām-Suen's reign (cf. CUNES 48-06-108, in Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*; see also Pomponio, Visicato, and Westenholz 2006: 55; Visicato and Westenholz 2010: 6; and Molina, Markina and Milone, *forthcoming, sub* RAH 1999-43). Although not at the top of Adab's hierarchy, *Imid-ilum* belonged to an important family, if as it seems he is the same *Imid-ilum*, son of *Ilī-ahī*, the general (šakkan₆), attested in RAH 1999-98 (a tablet paleographically

¹⁰ Cf. for example CUSAS 11 278 (Adab, "ES"): 4-r.1: e_2 -ad-da-ka, $ni\hat{g}_2$ -kas₇-bi al-aka; USP 22 (Umma): r.iv.5-8: me-sag₂, ensi₂-ke₄, e_2 -ĝidru umma^{ki}, $ni\hat{g}_2$ -kas₇-bi i₃-aka; Nik. 2 22 (Umma): 4-r.1: ad-da, i_3 -li₂-be₆-li₂, bara₂-ga-ni ugula-e₂, ĝiš-kin-ti-a, ni \hat{g}_2 -kas₇-bi e-aka-eš₂.

very close to the text under discussion here). Finally, *Imid-ilum*'s household is attested as e_2 -*i-mi*-DIĜIR^{ki} in *OIP* 14 114 (CS; Yang 1989: 229-230), together with *ma-an-iš-t*[*i-su*]^{ki}, both located in the vicinity of Adab.

Text 2 Date: Middle Sargonic Provenience: Adab Measurements: 37×29×16 mm

- o. 1 10*c* siki $gu_2 / la_2 \ ^{r}10u \times 2^{3} + 5d$ ma-na
 - 2 siki la₂-NI
 - 3 ur-nin
 - 4 $abba_2 (AB \times A\check{S}_2)$ iri
 - 5 karkar^{ki}
- r. Uninscribed

10 talents of wool minus 25 minas (= ca. 287,5 kg): arrears of wool of Urnin, the city elder of Karkar.

Commentary

obv. 1-2. For la_2 -NI "arrears, reminder," possibly to be read la_2 - u_x , see Steinkeller 1984b: 137-139, Englund 1990: 25-28, and Sallaberger 1995: 445. la_2 -NI designates here an amount of wool owed and not delivered by Urnin.

obv. 4. For abba₂ (AB×AŠ₂) iri = $\bar{s}\bar{t}b$ $\bar{a}lim$ "elder of the city", see Gelb 1984 (esp. p. 272 for the reading of AB×AŠ₂); Westenholz 1984: 21; *PSD* A/2, pp. 131-132 s.v. ab-ba A.8; Seri 2006: 97-99. Urnin, the city elder of Karkar, is also attested in CUNES 49-02-065 (Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*).

obv. 5. Ancient Karkar is almost certainly to be identified with Tall Jidr, a site situated on the Tigris, 16 km to the southeast of Adab (Bismaya): see Powell 1980: 50-52, and Steinkeller 2001: 72. It was a cultic centre of the god Iškur: see Schwemer 2001: 136-137; Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006: 20 and n. 197; Maiocchi 2009: 135 (comm. *ad CUSAS* 13 106: ii.3: ^diškur kark[ar^{ki}]). Occasionally, people recorded in Adab texts are explicitly said to come from Karkar, e.g., Zagmu, the messenger of K. (*CUSAS* 11 245: i.4-ii.2'), and Urniĝin, the merchant of K. (*TCCBI* 1 244: 4, and probably also CUNES 48-10-114 [Pomponio and Visicato, *forthcoming*]).

Text 3

Date: ŠS 8/i/-Provenience: Niĝšana Measurements: 55×47×14 mm Bibliography: *CUSAS* 3 890 (transliteration) A picture of this tablet is available at http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/063963

- o. 1 10 kuš udu niga
 - 2 4 kuš maš₂-gal niga
 - 3 ki^dIŠKUR-ILL[AT-ta] (KASKAL.[KUR])
 - 4 a-na-ah- i_3 - $[li_2]$
- r. 1 šu ba-an-ti
 - (Seal impression)
 - 2 iti še-KIN-ku₅
 - 3 mu $d \check{s} u d EN.ZU$
 - 4 lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma-

lo.ed.	5 1 2	ke ₄ ma ₂ -gur ₈ -mah ^d en- lil ₂ ^d nin-lil ₂ -ra mu-ne-dim ₂
Seal	1 2	[¡ašgab! -i ₃ -li ₂] an-na-ah-/

2 dumu silim-ba

 $\bar{A}nah$ - $il\bar{i}$ received 10 skins of fattened sheep (and) 4 skins of fattened billy-goats from Adad-illat. Month I ("Month of Cutting of Barley"). The year Šū-Suen, the king of Ur, built the great magur-boat for Enlil and Ninlil (ŠS 8).

(Seal:) *Ānaḥ-ilī*, leatherworker, son of Silimba.

Commentary

obv. 3. *Adad-illat*, the scribe, was the chief administrator (šabra) of the estate located at or near Niĝšana (for the reading of this toponym, see Steinkeller 2011: 377 and Id. 2012; a different view has been expressed by Heimpel 2009: 1). *Adad-illat* had most frequently a role of intermediation between animal herders and fatteners and the leather production workshop, providing $\bar{A}nah-il\bar{i}$ with animal skins and materials for tanning: see Kleinerman 2011.

Concerning the reading and meaning of this personal name, there is a certain confusion in third millennium text editions in the interpretation of ILLAT (=KASKAL.KUR), frequently read *tillatu* "help, support." As it was already written in *MAD* 3, p. 39 s.v. '₁LL *illatum*, and *CAD* I/J, p. 84 s.v. *illatu* A, syllabic spellings point at a reading *illatu* "kinship group, clan" for ILLAT (=KASKAL.KUR) in third millennium texts; to the best of our knowledge, no phonetic writings for *tillatu* are attested in personal names before the Old Babylonian period (for ILLAT = *tillatum* in the OB period, see Stol 1991: 192). Thus, *Adad-illat*, spelled ^dIŠKUR-ILLAT (*passim*), ^dIŠKUR-*il-la-at* (Contenau, *RA* 12, p. 155 no. 13: r.4, Um), and ^dIŠKUR-*ills-at* (*SAT* 3 2183: 15, Um), should be interpreted as "Adad-Is-The-Clan-God;"¹¹ similarly, *Ilšu-illat* "His-God-Is-The-Clan-God" is attested as DIĜIR-*šu*-ILLAT (*ITT* 5 6767: r.2 [Gir], *BIN* 3 26: 16 [PD]), DIĜIR-*su*-ILLAT (*OIP* 115 187: 3 [PD], *NATN* 107: i.14 [Ni]), and DIĜIR-*šu-il-la-at* (*TJAMC* FM 46 pl. 46: r.7 [PD]; *BIN* 3 70: 5 [PD]).¹²

obv. 4. $\bar{A}nah-il\bar{i}$ received raw materials and supervised the stages of processing leather goods (shoes, sandals, bags, buckets, sacks, water skins, etc) at the Niĝšana's leather workshop: see Kleinerman 2011.

Seal: the seal of this tablet corresponds to Type "Anahili A" (Owen and Mayr 2007: 431). Good examples of this seal impression are preserved in *CUSAS* 3 875 (*CDLI* P322430) and *CUSAS* 6 1575.

¹¹ For the interpretation of *illatu* as "clan god, family god", cf. for example *RIM* E2.2.1.1: i.9-11 and E2.1.4.6: i.3-5: *il₃-a-ba₄* KALA i_3 - li_2 *il-la-at-śu₍₂₎* "Ilaba, the mighty one of the gods, his clan-(god)" (see Gelb and Kienast 1990: 239 ad line 5). For Illat as the deified clan, see Lambert 1976-1980: 59 s.v. Illat, and cf. also *ITT* 1 1460: r.2 (*e-la-^dil-at*, cited in *MAD* 3, p. 39).

¹² Other Ur III personal names with ILLAT are: e_2 -a-ILLAT, DIĜIR-ILLAT, ^dma-lik-ILLAT, ^dEN.ZU-ILLAT, ^dŠu-^dEN.ZU- il_2 -at (Böck, *BagM* 23, p. 82 W 25046: 3, Uruk), and ^dUTU-ILLAT (spelled ^dUTU-ši-la-at in *OBTR* 22: 10, *TSDU* 100: r.2, and Santagati, *Kaskal* 4, p. 72 no. 8: r.2); the interpretation of AD-*illat*, spelled AD-ILLAT (*SAT* 2 1071: r.3), AD-*il*-at (*UMTBM* 3 21: r.3), and AD- il_8 ^{1?}("il_6")-[at] (*SAT* 2 1130: 8), is more problematic: AD is perhaps to be interpreted as an abbreviation of ad-da = abum, for which see Limet 1968: 191, and Marchesi 2004: 194. Personal names with DN+ILLAT phrased in the third person are: ^dEN.ZU-ILLAT-*su* (*Nisaba* 8 386: 18), *ma-ma*-ILLAT- $^{r}su_2$ ¹ (*OrSP* 47-49 280: 12), and ^daš₃-ki-ILLAT-*su*₂ (Van De Mieroop, *JCS* 38, p. 25 no. 1: r.1; *CBCY* 3 NBC 6716; *CUSAS* 3 1479: 2: ^daš₂-ki-ILLAT-*su*₂); the different spellings for *Illassu* "His-Clan-(God)" are: *il-la-su*₂ (*AUCT* 1 546: 3), *il*₈ (IL×KAR₂)-*la-su*₂ (*Nik* 2 329: i.21, *TCL* 5 6039: i.20, and probably also *SAT* 2 884: i.21, transliterated as *il*₆-*la-su*₂), *al-la-su* (*Princeton* 2 492: ii.24), and *al-la-su*₂ (*NRVN* 1 239: r. 5, *MVN* 4 68: 4 and 6, *Santag* 6 4: 4, *BPOA* 6 918: 3); *Illatī* "My-Clan-(God)" is spelled *i*₃-*la-ti* in *OIP* 121 367: r.8, and *MVN* 17 55: r.iii.19'. Finally, *Illatum* is spelled *e-la-tum*₂ in *TCL* 5 6039: r.iii.20; other personal names possibly built with *illatum* are *il*₈-*ši-la-at* = *ilšu-illat* (*Sale Documents*, no. 19: r.1; collated after photos courtesy of M. Frazer and L. Verderame), and *i*₃-*li*₂-*mi-la-at* = *ilī ma-illat* "Only-My-God-Is-The-Clan-(God)" / "My-God-Is-Indeed-The-Clan-(God)," attested in Goetze, *Iraq* 22, pl. 19 MLC 42: 6, *MVN* 11 199: 2, and *NATN* 981: r.i.8.

Text 4 Date: ŠS 9/iv/-Provenience: Niĝšana Measurements: 42×43×19 mm Bibliography: *CUSAS* 3 945 (transliteration) A picture of this tablet is available at http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/164144

0.	1	1 kuš udu e-ri ₂ -na
	2	$a_2 mu-ku_x (DU)$
	3	a-na-ah-i ₃ -li ₂
r.	1	iti u ₅ -bi ₂ -gu ₇
		(Seal impression)
	2	mu e ₂ ^d šara ₂ / umma ^{ki} -[ka] mu-du ₃
Seal	i.1	^d <i>šu</i> - ^d EN.ZU
	2	lugal kala-ga
	3	lugal uri ₅ / ^{ki} -ma
	4	lugal an-ub/-da limmu ₂ -ba

- ii.1 ME-^dKA.[DI]
- 2 $nin_9 ki-a[\hat{g}_2-\hat{g}a_2-/a-ni]$
- 3 ^dIŠKUR-[ILLAT]
- 4 dumu a-[bi_2 -a]
- 5 $urdu_2$ -[zu]
- iii.1 dub-sar

1 sheep skin (tanned with) *erina*-root. (Completed) work delivered. (Disbursed by) *Anah-ilī*. Month IV ("Month of the Eating of the *Ubi*-bird"). The year (Šū-Suen, king of Ur,) built the temple of Šara in Umma.

(Seal:) Šū-Suen, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four corners; ME-Ištaran, his beloved sister: *Adad-illat*, son of *Abija*, (is) your servant; scribe.

Commentary

obv. 1: For e/i_3 -ri₂-na and its different writings, see Civil 1961: 125, and Sigrist 1981: 162-163.¹³ It is here interpreted as a word for the roots of a plant used in tanning, probably the madder: see Stol 1980-83: 535, Civil 2008: 143, and Paoletti 2012: 285. Van de Mieroop (1987: 32), Scurlock (2008: 172-173), and Kleinerman (2011: 193) have considered kuš e-ri₂-na a finished product, a skin that was tawed, eventually dyed, and coated in oil or mutton fat to make it water-resistant. Lexical evidence seems to point nevertheless at a plant (*hurātu*: Hh 3 495-496 = *MSL* 5, p. 137) or its roots (*šuršu*: Hh 3 493 = *MSL* 5, p. 137) as the meaning of e/i_3 -ri₂-na. Actually, the word is occasionally preceded in Ur III texts by the determinative u₂ "plant": kuš udu a ^{u2}i₃-ri₂-na gu₇-a (*AnOr* 1 145: 3; Fish, *MCS* 1, p. 53 BM 105791; *MVN* 16 616; *Ontario* 2 401). This expression is clearly parallel to the well-known kuš udu a-GAR gu₇-a "sheep hides treated with a-GAR," where a-GAR was a "a flour-based watery solution used in the process of tanning hides and skins" (*PSD* A/1, p. 76 s.v. a-GAR) aimed at depilation (Stol 1980-83: 531). As in the case of a-GAR, where a denotes the watery consistency of the product (*PSD* A/1, p. 77), a ^{u2}i₃-ri₂-na would be a mixture of water and e/i_3 -ri₂-na used in tanning; and most probably kuš e/i_3 -ri₂-na was the abbreviated formula

¹³ Add *DoCu EPHE* 206: 1 (30 ^{kuš}šuhub₂ munus kuš e-ri-na e₂-ba-an "three pairs of boots for women, leather (tanned with) *erina*-root"), the only occurrence of an spelling with -ri- known to us in third millennium texts.

for kuš a ${}^{u2}e/i_3$ -ri₂-na gu₇-a "skins treated with a mixture of water and *erina*-root."¹⁴ This process was perhaps referred to in the lexical equivalence a-ri₈-na = *si-gú-um* (VE 634+968, 024), which Civil (2008: 143) connects to /*šiqû*/ "soaking", in allusion to the tanning process.

obv. 2-3: $\bar{A}nah$ - $il\bar{i}$, the leather worker, is the official who disbursed the finished product, as for example in *CUSAS* 3 930 and 1525, where the whole administrative formula is developed (a₂ mu-ku_x ki *A*.-ta ba-zi, both tablets with a seal of Type "Adad-tillati B"). The receiving official was *Adad-illat*, the estate's major-domo (šabra) and owner of the seal rolled on the tablet.

Seal: the seal of this tablet corresponds to Type "Adad-tillati B" (Owen and Mayr 2007: 429); line ii.2 of "Adad-tillati B" should be corrected into nin_9 ki- $a\hat{g}_2$ - $\hat{g}a_2$ -/a-ni; in none of the tablet where this seal appears could we identify final -*a* of line ii.4. Good examples of this seal impression are preserved in *CUSAS* 3 278 (*CDLI* P324026) and *CUSAS* 3 296 (*CDLI* P324151).

Text 5

r.

Date: Ur III / Early Old Babylonian Provenience: Uncertain Measurements: 60×37×16 mm A picture of this tablet is available at http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/168360

- o. 1 10 ma-na siki
 - 2 $^{\Gamma}LU_2^{1-d}EN.ZU$
 - 3 5 ma-na siki
 - 4 d EN.^rZU¹-*še-mi*
 - 5 10 ma-na siki
 - 6 *i-iz-bu-um*
 - 7 5 ma-na siki
 - 8 $[x(x)]^{-r}x x^{1}$
 - 1 10 ma-na siki
 - 2 za-aq-tum
 - 3 10 ma-na siki
 - 4 *i-din-*^dIŠKUR
 - 5 5 ma-na siki
 - 6 *i-sa*₃-tum
 - 7 10 ma-na siki
 - 8 *nu-ur*₂-^dUTU
 - 9 10 ma-na siki
 - 10 DIĜIR-*na-si-ir*

10 minas (= ca. 5 kg) of wool for *Awīl-Sîn*, 5 minas (= ca. 2.5 kg) of wool for *Sîn-šemi*, 10 minas of wool for *Izbum*, 5 minas of wool for ..., 10 minas of wool for *Zaqtum*, 10 minas of wool for *Iddin-Adad*, 5 minas of wool for *Issatum*, 10 minas of wool for *Nūr-Šamaš*, 10 minas of wool for *Ilum-nāşir*.

Commentary

rev. 6. The etymology of this personal name is unclear to us (cf. *MAD* 3, p. 209 s.v. NZ?). It is attested in some Ur III texts under the spelling *i-sa*₃-tum (CUSAS 3 312: 16, 346: i.10, 372: r.ii.8 [Niĝšana];

¹⁴ Other variants of this expression are the following: kuš udu a i_3 -ri₂-na gu_7 -a (*BIN* 3 49, *BPOA* 1 1743); ^{kuš} a- $\hat{g}a_2$ -la₂ a e-ri₂-<na> gu_7 -a (*Nik* 2 444), kuš (udu/maš₂) a i_3 -ri₂-na (*BIN* 5 66; *BIN* 5 107; Fish, *MCS* 1, p. 53 BM 105753; *UTI* 3 2041; *UTI* 4 2411, 2605, 3041; *Princeton* 2 493 [-ka = gu_7 ^{1?}]; *BPOA* 1 1413, 1617 [-ka = gu_7 ^{1?}]; *BPOA* 2 2354; *BPOA* 6 422, 795; *BPOA* 7 1855), and kuš a e-ri₂-na (*YOS* 4 292: r.10, *Vicino Oriente* 8/1 29, *Santag* 6 41, *SAT* 2 237, *BPOA* 7 1712).

Nisaba 5-2 40 U.31040 [Ur]), i_3 -s a_3 -tum (CST 263: r.ii.27 [Gir]; Ontario 2 478: 7 (Um); TCS 1 27: 4 [uncertain prov.]), and i_3 -s a_3 -at (HLC 3 394, pl. 150: r.i.16 [Gir]); in Old Babylonian texts it is attested as *is*-s a_3 -tum (e.g. YOS 15 94: 2 [uncertain prov.]; UCP 9-2-1 69 rev. 8 [Ni]), *e*-s a_3 -tum (OBTTH 8: r. 15 and seal [T. Haddad]), and *es*_3-sa-tum (OBTTH 10: 20; seal has *e*-s a_3 -tum [T. Haddad]).

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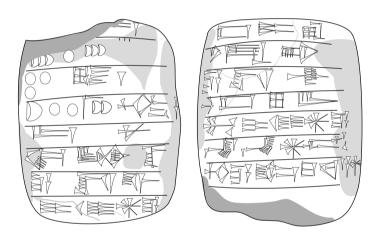
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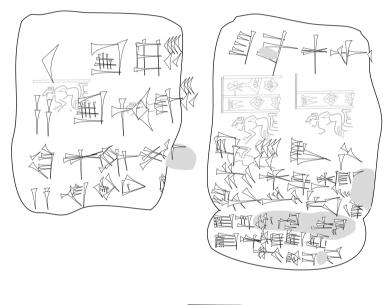
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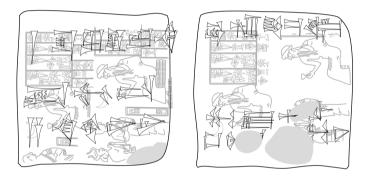
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Text no. 4





Text no. 5

