SUMERIAN BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DYNASTY OF AGADE

BY

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TO

M. FRANCOIS THUREAU-DANGIN

BRILLIANT PIONEER IN SUMERIAN RESEARCH
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLATION OF SELECTED TEXTS</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPER NAMES</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONS</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GODS</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACES</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTHS</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLETS</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATES</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The tablets in this volume are from the time of the dynasty of Agade and earlier periods. Numbers 1 and 2 are stone tablets and were purchased. The others were taken from boxes of tablets excavated at Nuffar. A few of these are from the excavation of the second expedition, but more are from boxes of the fourth expedition. Number 3 resembles tablets from Telloh of the time of Ur-Nina, and as the only place mentioned in it is Erim, it, too, may have been purchased. All the others were apparently dug up at Nuffar.

No. 1 is one of the four oldest tablets from Babylonia known. It is inscribed with pure pictographs. It has been previously published in the Museum Journal, Vol. III, No. 1, in the Orientalische Literaturzeitung, Vol. XVI, 6-12, and in the writer's Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing, Leipzig, 1913, Part I, p. viii, but it is fitting that so rare a tablet should be included in a volume published by the Museum which is its fortunate possessor. This tablet was probably written about 4000 B. C.

No. 2 is the one known inscription of the time of Enkhegal, king of Lagash about 3200 B. C. or before. This tablet was published in part in the Museum Journal, Vol. IV, No. 2. A brief description of it had previously been published by Hilprecht in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XI, 330, a description which Thureau-Dangin confirmed in the same journal, Vol. XV, 403. L. W. King alludes to these in his History of Sumer and Akkad,
London, 1910, p. 106. It is right that this tablet should also find a place in one of the permanent volumes of the Museum.

The other texts contained in this book are here published for the first time. They consist of the pay-rolls, contracts, receipts, etc., which reflect so faithfully the economic life of ancient Babylonia. One group contains a series of transactions of Nippur merchants. Of this class are Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 29, 33, and 76. Nos. 54, 55, 106, 128, and 129 are perforated labels.

A number of fragments too small for connected translation have been included in the volume because of their palæographic interest. The palæographic material of this collection is not given separate treatment here. The writer expects to present it in another and more appropriate connection.

Three only of the tablets here published are dated: No. 2, as already noted, belongs in the reign of Enkhegal; No. 10 alludes to a new Patesi of Nippur, Ur-šEn-nu-uru(?), of whom nothing else is known; No. 25 comes from the reign of Naram-Sin and contains a new date-formula for one of the years of his reign. This formula runs MU ŠNA-RA-AM-ŠEN-ZU-E KÂ ID-E ERIN WA-GU EN-LiLš-SU: "The year the divine Naram-Sin opened the mouth of the canal Erin at Nippur."

The palæographic features of the other texts leave no room for doubt that they come from the time of the dynasty of Agade or from earlier periods.
TRANSLATIONS OF SELECTED TEXTS

No. 1

RIDDING LAND OF A PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS, CIR. 4000 B. C.

(Cf. for text No. 1, Pl. I)

The translation of this pictographic tablet is difficult, and the rendering here given is but tentative. The text is, however, one of the oldest specimens of Babylonian writing, and is of such interest that it seems worth while to present such an interpretation of it as is now possible. The reasons for this interpretation were presented in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. XVI, 1913, col. 6 f.

The following is a tentative transliteration and translation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSLITERATION</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I. 1 BUR GAN ḫI-GIN-MI-šAL</td>
<td>I. 1 Bur of land (belonging to) Khiginmi-Sal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. UŠU MUL Ė</td>
<td>2. At sunset the locusts he drove out,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SA-NE GIN</td>
<td>3. their curse he established,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. KIN (?)</td>
<td>4. he removed (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. MUD</td>
<td>5. the terror.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. 1. III BUR SAL-A-DU</td>
<td>II. 1. 3 Bur (belonging to) Saladu;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 11 BUR GURIN KI NUN-SA-BAR</td>
<td>2. 2 Bur of fruit-land (belonging to) Nunsabar;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. VBUR</td>
<td>3. 5 Bur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. CAN UDU-SAC UŠ DUQ-QA TAR</td>
<td>4. of land (belonging to) Udu-sag; the man broke a jar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. GUB TAR NISAG DUG</td>
<td>5. he stood, he cut open a sacrifice, a word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. AŠ TAB</td>
<td>6. of cursing he repeated;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9)
The tablet records the means taken to rid various tracts of land of a plague of locusts and caterpillars. The last line, “he made it bright,” refers to the ceremonial purification of the field.

In the first column, case I, the figure of a jug resting on supports is a different picture from any previously known of a well known symbol of a jug resting on a stand. Col. III, case 1, presents still a different picture of it.

Col. I, case 2, contains two new pictographs: the sun entering its subterranean passage, and a locust. Col. I, the edge, presents a new and difficult sign. It is a kind of helmet with a cape at the back, in the manner of a modern Arab *kafiyeh*. Two signs were previously known which had descended from a somewhat similar head-dress, though neither of them indicated so complex a picture. I have interpreted this new picture by one of these.

Col. I, 5, contains the most complete picture of a bird and egg yet found. The oldest form previously known, lacked the bill of the bird, so graphically pictured here.

Col. II, 5, and III, 6, contain the only pictures of hourglass-shaped altars with a fire burning on the top that have yet been found in Babylonian writing. Such altars are frequently pictured on the seals.
Col. III, case 2, contains a rude picture of a caterpillar. It affords the explanation of a sign, the origin of which had long puzzled scholars. The sign means, "worm," "vermin," "flea," etc., and the early forms are clearly derivable from this picture.

Col. III, case j, contains an older picture of a palm-tree growing out of irrigated land and blowing in the wind than any previously known.

Through the courtesy of the University Museum the writer was permitted to incorporate these pictographs in his work on the *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, Leipzig, 1913, where they contributed to the solution of a number of hitherto unsolved problems; cf. Nos. 160, 88, 355, and 313 of that work.

No. 2
THE INSCRIPTION OF ENKHEGAL, KING OF LAGASH,
CIR. 3200 B.C.
(Cf. for text No. 2, Pls. 2 and 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSLITERATION</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. X[XX]III BUR GAN</td>
<td>1. 33 (?) Burs of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [X]XII URUDU MA-NA</td>
<td>2. 22 (?) manas of bronze;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. XX ŠE SIG</td>
<td>3. 20 (gurs) of winnowed grain;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. X ZIZ SIG</td>
<td>4. 10 (gurs) of cleansed  qed-plant;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. GAN [EN-HE-GAL]-ŠU LUGAL PUR-SIR-LA</td>
<td>5. a field for Enkhegal, king of Lagash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. VII BUR GAN</td>
<td>6. 7 Burs of land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. XII URUDU MA-NA</td>
<td>7. 12 manas of bronze;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. 1. 20 (gurs) of ur-plant;
2. 2 (gurs) of winnowed grain
3. of the royal standard of purity—
4. a rain-prepared field;
5. 11 burs of unimproved land,
6. 5 manas of bronze;
7. 11 1/2 gurs of winnowed grain—
8. a field of shukum-mē-plants
9. for Enkhegal, king of Lagash—
10. of the royal standard of purity.

III. 1. 8 Burs of land;
2. 2 burs of ploughed land;
3. 11 (gurs) of winnowed gab-grain;
4. 10 1/2 (gurs) of winnowed grain;
5. (for) Enkhegal, the king,
6. improver (?) of the land's irrigation,
7. uniter (?) of the land,
8. the exalted king, chief counsellor, the subduer,
9. princely leader, great lord.
10. 28 Burs of land;

IV. 1. 40 (gurs) of winnowed grain;
2. 19 burs of land;

1 The correct transliteration of this sign is unknown. See Meissner's Seltene assyrische Ideogramme, No. 3781-2.
3. IVCXX URUDU NA-MA
4. X MAS SE SIG

5. IV BUR LUGAL-KI
6. 111 BUR LUGAL-KI KUR GIŠ-RU
7. BAR SIL GIŠ-GIŠIM-MAR
8. GU-GAN ZUR-KI

9. EN-HE-GAL
10. LUGAL BUR-ŠIR-LA
11. XIV BUR GAN
12. VICIII URUDU MA-NA

V. 1. II ŠE SIG

2. BAD-GIŠ-GI
3. ŠIŠ IB-KURUN
4. GIRIN GAL
5. X BUR GAN
6. IIC URUDU MA-NA
7. II ŠE SIG

8. GAN-A-UŠ
9. MAS NUN BAR NIG-GU
10. ŠIŠ SÍD-MAL(?)-RU APIN
11. LUGAL NIM GIN SAG LAL

12. KAT. . . . . [LU]GAL

VI. 1. VIII BUR GAN
2. CLXXX ŠE SIG

3. GAN PAR-A-GAB-EŠ (?)
4. CLX SIG ŠE APIN

3. 420 manas of bronze;
4. \(10\frac{1}{2}\) (gurs) of winnowed grain;
5. 4 (gurs) of royal land;
6. 3 (gurs) of royal land, captured from Umma (?),
7. bordering on the old palm trees
8. of Gu-edin, the cherished land
9. of Enkhegal,
10. king of Lagash.
11. 14 Burs of land;
12. 602 manas of bronze;

V. 1. 2 (gurs) of winnowed grain;
2. of Badgishgi,
3. brother of Ibkurun.
4. A large enclosure:
5. 10 (gurs) of royal land;
6. 200 manas of bronze;
7. 2 (gurs) of winnowed grain;
8. (for) Ganaush,
9. princely leader, great lord,
10. brother of Shidmal¹(?)ru, the shepherd,
11. the exalted king, chief counsellor, the subduer,
12. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

VI. 1. 8 Burs of land;
2. 180 (gurs) of winnowed grain—
3. a field of Paragabeš ( ?),
4. (160 [gurs]) of winnowed grain, the shepherd,

¹ The sign is apparently mal or kal standing on end.
5. MAŠ NUN BAR NIG-GU
6. DU-SIG-LUGAL
7. XXI BUR GAN NIG UD-DU
8. GUD GAN
9. [C]XL URUDU [MA-NA]

10. ................

VII. 1. X BUR GAN
2. A-Š[A]
3. VICXXXVI URUDU NA-MA
4. MAŠ-APIN
5. III BUR URU-MUS
6. ICXX URUDU MA-NA
7. MAŠ APIN
8. GAN BUR-[ŠIR-LA]

Rev. I. 1. AN-GU-ZI
2. VICXC[ ] BUR GAN
3. XXXVIIIICX URUDU MA-NA
4. XXI MAŠ ŠE SIG
5. II BUR BAL
6. GAN-SAM

11. 1. LUGAL-KI-GAL-LA
2. ISIB[NIN-GI]R-su
3. GAN-NIG

5. princely leader, great lord—
6. of the royal standard of purity.
7. 21 Burs of land, belonging to Uddu,
8. an ox-irrigated field,
9. 140 manas of bronze.

The last line is the name of the account. It designates the kind of account to which the tablet belongs. Similar names are found in the accounts of later time.

1 The inner circle of the first sign may be due to the natural shading of the stone; in this case the number would be 150.
On the edge is scratched LUGAL-SAG-NE BA-NU . . . . . . . . , or, “Lugalsagne made it (?).” As a part of the verb may be broken away, we are not able to complete the statement with certainty.

Some of the lines might be translated in more than one way, but a discussion of the technical reasons for the renderings adopted is hardly necessary. A few points of general interest can be noted. The reader will observe that at this early time it made no difference in what order the syllables of a word were written, provided they were all put down. Mana, for example, is sometimes spelled MA-NA, and sometimes NA-MA. A similar freedom was exercised in the order of the sentences. The phrase “of the royal standard of purity” is sometimes far removed from the grain to which it applies.

Two or three points of historical interest may be noted. Shidmal(?)ru, who is described in col. V, 10 as “the shepherd, the exalted king,” was apparently a predecessor of Enkhegal. It is his brother whose purchase of land is recorded in this tablet. I have tentatively read in col. IV, 6 the name of the city Umma, which was a near neighbor of Lagash, with which she was often at war. Umma in later texts is spelled by the picture of a bow and arrow held in the hand, and this name by the picture of a bow alone, but the reference is probably to the same city in each case.

Again in col. IV, 8 a field is described as GU-GAN, “bank of the field.” I take this to be a variant description of the field called in later texts GU-EDIN, “bank of the plain.” It was a field which lay between Umma and Lagash, over which the two cities frequently fought. It was because the men of Umma

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1 See L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 121 ff.
invaded this plain that Ennatum, a later king of Lagash, undertook the war which is celebrated in the famous Stele of Vultures, most of which is preserved in the Louvre, though one fragment of it is in the British Museum.

The reader will notice that along with grain, bronze was used as a medium of exchange. Apparently at this early time the use of silver or gold for this purpose had not begun. We begin to trace their use in the reign of Ur-Nina and his successors, though bronze was sometimes employed for a long time afterward. In Egypt bronze was used as a medium of exchange much longer than it was in Babylonia.

In this tablet both the circular and the cuneiform numerals were employed. For their relationship see M. I. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets*, 1. 2 ff.

No. 3

A PURCHASE OF HUMAN LABOR

(Cf. for the text No. 4, pl. 5)

1. 1 INI-MU-GIM  
2. 1 INI-NIG-TIL-GI  
3. KA-UTU-ZI  
4. DUMU EDIN-TUS  
5. 1 ŠES-KU-LI  
6. NU-BANDA AZAG-KIM-NE  
7. LŪ-MUN-NIR-NI-АЗАГ  
8. NI-ŠAR-RA-A  
9. NI-ŠI-ŠAM  
10. KA-GE?-NA-KA  
11. GIŠ-A-AB-TABAL-RA-ŠU  
12. MU LUGAL

1 One, Ninmugim;  
2 one, Ninnigtîlgî;  
3 Ka-Utuzî  
4 son of Edintush;  
5 one, Sheskuli;  
6 Nu-banda, Azagkimne,-  
7 Ltimunnirniâzag  
8 wrote a contract,  
9 he bought (them).  
10 Kagenaka  
11 from word to word  
12 in the name of the king

1 The sign is ORW, 612.
11. 1. LO-LO-NU-BA
2. GA-GA-DA-A
3. GU-BI AL-KUL
4. it has transcribed
5. KA-dUTU-ZI
6. DUMU EDIN-TUŠ
7. dEN-LIL-LI-MA-BA
8. DUMU-BA-BA-EN-LIL-GE
9. NI-SI-SAM
10. GISA-AB-TA BAL-RA-ŠU
11. MU LUGAL
12. LÜ-LÜ-NU-[BA]
13. GA-GA-[DA-A]
14. GU-BI [AL-KUL]

III. 1. LUGAL
2. DUMU E-DA
3. I EN-ED-IN-NI
4. DUP-ŠAR
5. LUGAL-GIŠ
6. DUMU A-KAL-LI
7. LÜ-KI-KA-MA-BI-ME
8. I ŠES-KU-LI
9. NU-BANDA AZAG-KIM-NE
10. LO-MUN-NIR-NI-AZAG
11. NI-SAR-RA-A
12. PA-RIM-BI
13. III AZAG GIN

IV. 1. NIG-GIR-NA-ŠU
2. ŠU-BA-TI
3. I E-TA-MU-ZU
4. SU-BI DUB
5. PA-RIM-BI
6. 1 MAS AZAG GIN
7. NIG-GIR-NA-ŠU
8. SU-BA-TI
9. KUK
10. Lhumnirniazag
11. bound out.
12. His hire,
13. 3 shekels of silver,
14. cash in hand,
15. he has received.
16. One, Etamuzu,—
17. his person was let by contract;
18. his hire
19. 1½ shekels of silver,
20. cash in hand,
21. he has received.
22. second (copy).

For this meaning cf. B. 11435 and B. 549.
This is the second copy of a transaction in which a certain Lhmunnirniazag purchases the right to the labor of certain men, who are either serfs or villeins. The document of purchase was filled out in proper order by an officer authorized by the king. Lhmunnirniazag then sells the labor of one of these to a certain Enlilmaba. He also hires out two others whose wages are paid him in cash.

No. 4

A Transaction in General Merchandise

(Cf. for the text No. 5, pl. 6)

I. 1. SAG-AL?-A
    2. NIN-SUB-NE
    3. NIN-BARA-GI
    4. SUSANNA AZAG(ŠA-NA)
       IV GIN
    5. VI MA? UD-KA-BAR-
       URUDU
    6. ? UD-KA-BAR-URUDU
    7. KI-LAL-BI II MA-NA
    8. MA-TAG-GIS
    9. KI-LAL-BI VII MA-NA
   10. GUBA-LAL URUDU
   11. KI-LAL-BI-VIII MA-NA
   12. DÊL-GIŠ-ERIM3ŠAG-
       GA-URUDU
   13. KI-LAL-BI MAS MA-NA
II. 1. III GIN AZAG
    2. GAR-SA URI-URUDU-
       KAM
    3. NAM-TAR-URU-NE
    4. UR4-ENGUR-TIL-LA

I. 1. One, Sagala
    2. One, Ninsubne,
    3. One, Ninbaragi,
    4. 3/4 manas, 4 shekels of silver.
    5. 6 manas(? of copper
       bronze,
    6. . . . .copper bronze;
    7. their price is 2 manas;
    8. 1 wooden MA-TAG;1
    9. its price is 7 manas;
   10. 1 bronze guba-lal,2
   11. its price is 8 manas.
   12. 2 bronze cutters for the
       centers of seed-palm trees,
   13. their price is ¾ mana;
   II. 1. 3 shekels of silver,
      2. the balance of the price in
         bronze of Akkad
      3. to Namtaruru
      4. Ur-Engurtilla

1 Perhaps a long wooden spear.
2 Perhaps a hand-balance.
3 Cf. Brunnow, 8143 and Muss-Arnolt, 243b.
The above is an interesting transaction between two merchants, who dealt in slaves, metal implements of various kinds, and the services of villeins. It is one of a series of similar tablets which give a vivid idea of the commodities which passed from hand to hand in Nippur four thousand eight hundred years ago.

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1 It is uncertain whether the notation is of the weight SAG-GAL or SA-DUG (cf. OBW, I, pp. 145 and 147f.). If denominations SAG-GAL are denoted, this would be 72 instead of 120.
2 If the measure is SAG-GAL, this should be read as 36 instead of 60.
3 i.e., their bargain.
No. 5

A Transaction in Precious Metals and Implements Made from Them

(Cf. for the text No. 10, pl. 10)

1. I AZAG-GI GIN
2. I GID AZAG
3. KI-LAL-BI X AZAG GIN
4. I DUB ZA-KUK
5. KI-LAL-BI II GIN
6. I DUB AZAG-GI
7. KI-LAL-BI II GIN LAL IGI-III-GAL
8. I ZA-AD-MIN
9. [KI-LAL] I AZAG-GIN-k"am
10. . . . . . UD-KA-BAR NIM UKUDU
11. KI-LAL-BI II MA-NA
12. . . . . . NI-NU URUDU

II. 1. KI-LAL-BI MAS [MA-NA]
2. MAS AZAG GIN
3. BI-BA-AN-GUR
4. [IDI GID URUDU KUL ŠAG-GA]
5. KI-LAL-BI SUŠANNA [SA-NA]
6. II SAG ZA-KUR
7. EŠ-KU
8. [KI-LAL]-B] IV GIN

1. One shekel of gold;
2. one flute of gold;
3. its price is 10 shekels of silver;
4. one tablet of lapis lazuli;
5. its price is 2 shekels;
6. one tablet of gold;
7. its price is 1 2 shekels;
8. one ZA-AD-MIN
9. [at the price] of 1 silver shekel
10. . . . copper bronze flies;
11. their price is two manas;
12. . . . . NI-NU of bronze;

I. 1. their price is 2 manas;
2. ½ shekel of silver,—
3. these are appraised.
4. Two bronze flutes of sweet voice(?);
5. their price is ½ mana;
6. 2 heads of lapis lazuli
7. for a house;
8. their price is four shekels

Unfortunately this text, which is dated in the reign of Ur-dEn-nu-uru(?), patesi of Nippur, is too broken for further translation. The portion of it here presented affords us, however, a welcome glimpse into the civilization of the Babylonians of the time of the dynasty of Agade.

1 i.e., for house-ornaments, or possibly household gods
No. 6

Receipt for Grain

(Cf. for this text No. 122, pl. 62)

Ob. 1. 11cXXII ŠE-GUR A-GA-NI
   2. IN GUR SAG-GAL AMAR-DA₂
   3. IŠ-NE
Rv. 1. ŠU-MA-MA
   2. IM-HUK
   3. ŠE AMAR-DA₂
   4. ŠU-RA

Ob. 1. 222 Agade-gur of grain,
   2. into gur SAG-GAL of Marad
   3. changed,
Rv. 1. Su-ma-ma
   2. received.
   3. The grain at Marad
   4. was delivered.

Seal
UR-aEN-ZU Ur-Enzu,
DUP-ŠAR scribe.
PROPER NAMES

Names of Persons

Abbreviations: b=brother; f=father; h=husband; m=mother; s=son; sl=slave;
w=wife; OBW=Barton, The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing.

A-ba-4En-lil:
1. 19, vi, 4; 36, ii, 11; 108, ii, 4.
2. dam-kar and f. of 4En-lil-ma-bu: 4, ii, 8; 9, ii, 9;
   29, i, 7, ii, 9, iv, 3: 86, i, 6.
Ab-ta-gi: 60, i, 3.
A-gar-ra: 40, i, 7.
AgIm2:
1. 4, i, 9.
A-dEn-[lil]: 43, ii, 5.
Ad-da:
1. 19, vii, 4; 42, ii, 2 and 4;
2. 92, i, 4.
Ad-da-da, f. 4En-ki?: 73, iii, 2.
Aṭaq-kim-ne, nu-banda: 4, i, 6.
Ama-gir: 43, i, 11.
Ama-[Da-mu, apin-gud, s. Zab-4En-lil: 12, ii, 1.
Ama-kalam-ma: 76, ii, 4.
Ama-nig-tu: 43, 8.
Ama-temen: 17, ii, 6.
Am-[En-lil: 1. 43, ii, 12; 61, 5.
2. s. Lugal-rin-da: 15, ii, 7.
Amar-ba-ab: 87, ii, 11.
Amar-[She-ter-diš: 8, i, 6; 52, i, 5.
Amar-za-ininni: 41, i, 7.
Amar-ni: 80, ii, 5.
An-gu-zi, 2, viii, 1.
A-ni-ni, 42, i, 4 and 9; 50, ii, 5.
A-ni-ta, 87, i, 4; 115, ii, 1.
A-rug-rug, f. 4En-lil-lal: 9, i, 12.
   f. Ur-ku-dam: 13, i, 14;
   76, iii, 14; f. Ur-ni: 14, i, 10.
Aš-ni, dam-kar: 62, i, 7.

E-Or: 43, i, 7.
Edin-tuš, f. Kā-[Utu-zi: 4, i, 4; ii, 6; 5, iii, 12.
E-Šur, s. dNinā-ka: 12, i, 10.
E-kalama: 11, i, 6 and 9.
E-ki-gal-la, e-lū; 7, iii, 17; e-lū
   and s. Ur-4En-ti: 9, i, 6.
Eme-ni-gāl: 40, ii, 1.
E-muš: 2, vii, 5.
En-ama: 25, ii, 2.
En-edin-ni:
1. 7, i, 11; 44, ii, 6.
2. dup-šar: 4, iii, 3; 103, ii, 4.
En-ḫi-gal, lugal Sir-pur-la: 2, i, 5;
   ii, 9; iii, 5; iv, 9.
En-ne?: 1, iii, 4.
En-nu, lū-ki-ka-ma-bi and s. 'Gal:
51, ii, 7.
En-temen-na: 15, i, 10.
En-tuš-edin: 76, iii, 2.
E-ri-la-ne: 129, i, 2.
Eri-temen: 40, i, 3.
E-ta: 29, iii, 11.
E-ta-mu-ṭu: 4, iv, 3.
Igi-ur-mu: 59, i, 5.
Igi-4En-lil-sa, ḫišib 4Nin-X1-ga: 67, i, 6.
In-ki-dug: 50, ii, 6.
Iš-mu-tu: 30, 4.

Ud-du: 2, vi, 7.
Um-mi-a: 3, v, 5.
Urš-kurun, b. Bad-gis-gi: 2, v, 3.
Urš-mu-tum, apin: 25, i, 3.
Urš-šu-4En?-lmen-um: 18, iv, 4.
Uru-ra-ra: 121, i, 11.
Ur-aka: 7, iii, 12, 9, ii, 7.
Ur?-a-tum, apin: 25, i, 7.
Ur-ib-uru: 63, iv, 7.
Ur-um-ma: 85, ii, 9.
Ur-ba-ab: 87, ii, 8.
Ur-ga, dumu-ni: 34, ii, 6.
Ur-gal-la, f. Lugal-ku-e: 31, i, 7.
Ur-gu-lal-gal: 76, iii, 5.
Ur-da: 19, v, 3.
Ur-4Ab, f. Du-du: 91, i, 5.
Ur-4Engur: 5, ii, 4; 6, ii, 6; iii, 3, iv, 3; 7, i, 4.
Ur-4En-zu:
1. dup-šar: 120, seal.
Ur-4En-ki: 3, iv, 3; 63, iv, 6.
Ur-4En-ki-ka: 121, iii, 2.
Ur-4En-li: 92, i, 2; 97, ii, 4.
Ur-4En-lil-lal: 41, i, 10.
Ur-4En-mu-uru(?), patesi En-lil\(^4\):
10, iii, 10.
Ur-4En-li, f. E-ki-gal-la: 9, i, 7.
Ur-4Id-ka: 6, iii, 8.
Ur-4Im: 42, i, 5; 83, ii, 7.
Ur-4Ininni:
1. 87, iii, 3; 88, iii, 4; 112, 2.
Ur-4Ininni-sag: 82, ii, 2.

\(^1\) OBW, 576.
2. s. A-rug-rug and lù-ki-ka-ma-bi: 14, i, 9; 51, i, 5.
   d. Lugal-šag-azag-kim: 14, i, 6.
Ur-pa-...: 19, iii, 7.
Ur-sag, pa-te-si: 64, ii, 7.
Ur-rāw: 76, iii, 4.
Ur-ram-e: 29, iii, 8.
Ur-rug: 75, ii, 4; 87, iii, 4.
Ur-Šag: 87, i, 3.
Ur-šag-ga: 67, i, 2; go, i, 2; 115, i, 3 and ii, 5.
Ur-šaḫ: 3, iii, 2.
Ur-temen-liš-pak: 19, vii, 1.
US-...: 63, iii, 5.
US-kalam: 63, iii, 12.
Uš-ku: 82, ii, 2.
Uš-kur, s. Lugal-ši: 12, i, 3.
Ušu-sag: 1, ii, 4.
Utu-šaḫ: 5, i, 6 and 7.

Bad-šiš-gi, b. Uraš-kurun: 2, v, 2.
Bur-aGid-...: 13, i, 6.

Gad-bar-...: 13, i, 6.
Ga-ki-ra: 42, iv, 2.
Gāl-dā-ku: 16, ii, 2.
Gan-a-us', b. Šīd-maš-ra: 2, v, 8.
Gan-Ga-lē, f. aEn-li-lal, 12, i, 7.
Gī-gi: 110, 2.
Gī-š-š: 87, ii, 10; 97, i, 5.
Da-da, s. Ama-lū: 65, i, 3.
Da-da-gu-lā, s. Nam-tar-nu and lù-ki-ka-ma-bi: 8, ii, 1.
Da-ni-la: 88, iv, 3.
Da-ti: 97, i, 1.
Utu-šaḫ: 40, i, 6.
En-ki, s. Da-da-da: 75, iii, 1.
En-li-li: 97, i, 6; ii, 1.
En-li-li-a-mu: 19, vii, 6; 80, ii, 7.
En-li-li-šaḫ: 97, i, 3.
En-li-li-lāl: 1. 36, ii, 9; 97, i, 4; ii, 5.
2. s. A-rug-rug: 9, i, 11.
3. s. Ga-n-En-līl: 12, i, 6.
4. s. Sag-a-du: 76, iii, 10.
5. s. Sag-ē: 13, ii, 2; lū-ki-ka-ma-bi: 51, ii, 8.
En-li-li-lī: 1. 19, vi, 5; 87, ii, 5.
2. dam-kār: 5, iii, 2; 7, ii, 1 and 15; iii, 5 and 11.
3. azag-kim: 5, ii, 2; 6, ii, 9.
En-li-li-ma-ba: 1. 14, i, 3; 76, i, 6; ii, 7; iii, 3 and 8.
2. s. A-ba-En-li-li: 4, ii, 7; 9, ii, 8 and 12; 13, ii, 8; 29, i, 5; ii, 8 and iv, 3; 86, i, 5; 108, ii, 3.
En-li-li-maš-zi: 59, i, 2.
Lū, f. Lugal-en-nu: 12, i, 5; 13, ii, 1; f. En-nu: 51, ii, 7.
Dingir-ni: 63, iii, 4.
Nin-lī-li-ama: 15, i, 12.
Nin-šaḫ, f. E-šu: 12, i, 11.
Nin-saḫ: 3, iv, 2.

1 By a variant spelling the name is here aEn-li-li.
Zag-mu-de:
1. 7, ii, 3; 76, ii, 8.
   86, ii, 2.
Zału-En-lil: 12, ii, 2.
Za-na-gu-la: 15, ii, 6.
Za-ni: 19, ii, 5.
Zur-gul: 3, iii, 5.

Ha-zag-ga, s. Ur-... . . 66, ii, 5.
He-gál-[la]: 42, i, 10.
He-gi-mi-a-Sal: 1, i, 1.
He-li: 109, i, 5.
He-Sag: 18, iv, 5.
Hul-ad-da: 27, 4.
Hul-e, lu-ka-e-nu: 33, ii, 8.
Hul-lugal-ka-e-giš-ur: 5, ii, 14; 6, ii, 5.

Ka-aqag:
1. 15, ii, 9.
2. dup-Sar: 18, iii, 5 and 10.

Ka-dUl-qi:
1. s. Edin-tuš: 4, i, 3; ii, 4.
2. s. Edin and lū-ki-ka-ma-bi: 5, iii, 10.

Ka-dUl-qi-te: 5, i, 5.

Kalam-il:
1. dam-kar and s. Ur-dIninni: 12, ii, 5; 15, ii, 6.
2. dumu-ni: 36, ii, 7.

Ki-ni: 19, vi, 6.
Ku-us-tur: 83, ii, 2.
Ku-la: 59, i, 3.

Lù-e-gal, s. Tal-la: 18, i, 8.
Lù-ud-da: 77, ii, 16.

Lugal:
1. apin: 96, ii, 4.
2. s. Eda: 14, iii, 1.
Lugal-... . . : 87, ii, 12.
Lugal-al: 87, i, 2.
Lugal-ā[mu]: 80, ii, 8.
Lugal-an-ni: 47, ii, 5.
Lugal-apin-dug: 15, ii, 5.
Lugal-en-nu:
1. 13, i, 15; 57, i, 2; 74, ii, 4; 76, iii, 12.
2. s. Gál: 12, i, 3.
Lugal-en-ki, lū-ki-ka-ma-bi: 8, ii, 7.
Lugal-igi: 121, i, 9.
Lugal-itu-da: 43, i, 6.
Lugal-ud-da: 63, i, 4.
Lugal-gub, dup-Sar: 33, ii, 3.
Lugal-gan: 19, i, 6.
Lugal-ginar?-bar: 42, i, 6.
Lugal-giš:
1. 19, iii, 3; 29, ii, 6; 53, i; 78, ii, 6; 108, i, 3.
Lugal-giš-gal-ni: 76, ii, 12.
Lugal-iq-mi, uru: 17, ii, 3.
Lugal-Im-Šu-tu: 9, i, 7.
Lugal-Im-Šu-ti: 11, i, 7.
Lugal-še-Šu-ti-e: 11, ii, 4.
Lugal-ši-Šu-ti-ra: 9, ii, 2.
Lugal-Šu-ti, ši-Šu-ti-e: 12, ii, 4.
Lugal-ka: 87, ii, 7; 102, i, 4.
Lugal-ka-e, s. Ur-gál-ka: 33, ii, 1.
Lugal-ka-gi-na, s. Na-ba: 41, i, 4.
Lugal-kalam-ma, ḫu-ki-ka-ma-bi: 5, iii, 12.
Lugal-ka-ni, nu-ta-ininni: 3, vi, 1.
Lugal-ki-gal-la:
1. 2, ix, 1.
2. 58, ii, 5; 66, i, 3; 77, ii, 12; 96, ii, 4.
Lugal-ki-ram: 58, i, 3.
Lugal-nam-gi-tar-ra: 65, i, 2.
Lugal-ner-gal: 1, 2, ix, 1.
2. 58, ii, 5; 66, i, 3; 77, ii, 12; 96, ii, 4.
Lugal-ki-nig-du: 58, i, 3.
Lugal-ki-nig-dū, dam-kar: 5, iii, 5; 6, ii, 12.
2. 7, ii, 10; 107, i, 2.
Lugal-nig-dū-da: 19, i, 7.
Lugal-nig-sag: 13, i, 8.
Lugal-sukum-ininni: 51, i, 5.
Lugal-ra:
1. 50, i, 4; 88, iv, 2.
Lugal-rim-du: 1. 28, ii, 7.
Lugal-Sag: 80, ii, 4.
Lugal-šag . . . : 44, i, 5.
Lugal-tar-šu: 74, i, 2.
Lugal-temen-ininni: 19, ii, 2.
Lugal-temen-ir: 19, i, 3.
Lugal-xi, ḫu-garaš: 12, i, 9.
Lù-gar-itu: 128, i.
Lù-d₄Nannar, s. Ur-ta-ka: 41, i, 8.
Lù-d₄Nina?: 16, iii, 1.
Lù-d₄Xu?: 121, ii, 8.
Lù-d₄-kim: 16, ii, 2.
Lù-ku-kal: 3, iii, 4.
Lù-lù-nu-ba: 4, ii, 1 and 12.
Lù-mun-nir-ne-ażag: 4, i, 7; iii, 10.
Lù-nam-gi-tar-ra: 67, i, 4.
Lù-ni-nun: 77, ii, 15.
Lù-ri-da: 72, i, 4.
Lù-temen-da: 25, i, 9.
Mas-si-utu-ni: 96, i, 3.
Mè-utu-ki-ram, dam-kar: 33, ii, 5.
Mer-ki-ram: 121, ii, 4.
Mi-ba-a: 40, i, 5.
Mi-da-ur-u: 121, i, 12.
Mu-kur-ra-gal-ni, f. . . . . . . . : 107, ii, 2.
Na-ba-nar: 112, ii, 2.
Nam-bar-uru, urū: 17, ii, 4.
Nam-gi:
1. 121, i, 10.
2. pa-rim: 66, i, 2.
Nam-gu: 45, 9.
Narn-dun: 62, i, 1.
Nam-ta-na: 15, i, 8.
Nam-tar-uru, ḫu-ki-ka-ma-bi: 5, ii, 3; iii, 4; 6, ii, 11; 109, i, 3; f. Da-da-gu-la: 8, ii, 4.
Narn-tur: 15, i, 3.
Na-ne: 40, ii, 3.
Nar-a, s. Sag-nin: 12, i, 7.
Na-ra-am-dEn-li-lil: 25, ii, 12.
Nar-nar: 39, ii, 3.
Ne: 63, iii, 6.
Ne-da: 19, vii, 2.

1 OBW, 27.
2 OBW, 607.
Ner-ghl: 87, i, 1.
Ne-sag, s. Ur-dun: 67, ii, 2.
Ne-sag- . . z 19, iii, 8.
Ni- . . . , f. Nin-x₁: 44, i, 3.
Ni-ba-šu-gal-lu-a-an: 29, iii, 3.
Nig-gir-na-ku: 4, iv, 7.
Nig-nir-na-ku: 4, iv, 1 and 7.
Ni-du-eš-te: 98, i, 2.
Ni-ni: 80, ii, 2.
Nin-am-da: 15, i, 11.
Nin-egir-a, gime: 17, i, 9.
Nin-ib-mah: 15, ii, 4.
Nin-ur-mu: 3, vii, 1.
Nin-bar-ra, w. Lugal-nin-su: 17, i, 11.
Nin-bara-gi: 5, i, 3.
Nin-gii: 14, i, 7.
Nin-gu-la-su: 107, ii, 3.
Nin-hi-li: 43, i, 5.
Nin-ku: 15, ii, 10.
Nin-maš-e: 42, i, 2.
Nin-me-de-ga: 84, ii, 5.
Nin-mi- . . . : 50, 5.
Nin-mu-šu-mi: 1. 2, 1, 1. 2. 76, ii, 2.
Nin-ne-sag: 15, ii, 11.
Nin-ni: 17, ii, 7.
Nin-ni- . . . : 44, i, 6.
Nin-ni-bi: 3, i, 9.
Nin-nig-gal-a-gal-a: 3, ii, 8.
Nin-nig-til-gi: 4, ii, 2.
Nin-ni-ga: 27, i, 1; 51, i, 6.
Nin-ni-bal-la: 76, iii, 9.
Nin-sub-ne: 5, i, 2.
Nin-sa-a-ba-ni: 43, i, 8.
Nin-pad-inin-ni-e: 79, v, 2; vi, 2.
Nin-ra-nam-gu: 17, ii, 8.
Nin-Ses: 82, iii, 3.
Nin-x₁, s. Ni- . . . : 44, i, 3.
Nu-da-ba-ra: 12, ii, 2.
Nun-du-du, f. . . . . . . : 1, iii, 6.
Nun-na-ba: 1, ii, 2.
Pa-nar: 3, iii, 3.
Par-a-gab-ex?: 2, vi, 3.
Sag-a-du, f. 4 En-lil-lal: 76, iii, 11.
Sag-al? a: 5, i, 1.
Sag-é: 1. 1-š-giri-ginar: 5, iii, 7; 6, iii, 2.
2. f. 4 En-lil-lal: 13, ii, 3; 51, ii, 8.
Sag-ba-lugal-an-ni: 76, ii, 5.
Sag-bar-ra: 62, i, 4.
Sag-giš-šu-ra, šu-ki-ka-ma-bi: 8, ii, 5.
Sag-ni? a: 5, i, 1.
Sag-nin: 50, i, 2; 62, ii, 3; f. Nar-a: 12, i, 7.
Sal-a-dù: 1, iii, 1.

¹OBW, 607.
²OBW, 27.
Su-bi-um: 4, iv, 4.
Su-rig-a: 28, ii, 3.
Pi-mi: 43, i, 10.
Rim-ne: 59, i, 4.
Rug-bi-um: 4, iv, 4.
Šam-al: 78, ii, 1.
Ša-na-ka: 81, ii, 6.
Šes-ku-li: 2, i, 5; viii, 3

Šes-sun-ni-ne: 18, iii, 4.
Ši-nim: 19, ii, 7.
Šu-ma-na: 121, ii, 1; 122, ii, 1.
Su-na: 43, i, 12.

Tal-la:
1. f. Lù-e-gal: 18, i, 9.
2. s. Lugal-ki-gal-la: 96, ii, 3.

Temen-ga-ni: 19, vii, 7.
Xì-sal: 41, i, 1.

Names of Gods

\( \text{d} \text{AB}: 91, i, 5. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ENGUR}: 5, ii, 4; 6, ii, 6; iii, 3; iv, 3; 7, iv, 1. \)
\( \text{d} \text{EN-ZU}: 77, ii, 4. \)
\( \text{d} \text{EN-KI}: 3, iv, 3. \)
\( \text{d} \text{EN-LIL}: 4, ii, 7 and 8 and passim. \)
\( \text{d} \text{EN-TI}: g, i, 7. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ID}: 6, iii, 8. \)
\( \text{d} \text{IM}: 42, i, 5; 83, ii, 7. \)
\( \text{d} \text{IM-MI}: 17, ii, 1 and 3. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ININNI}: 12, ii, 6, etc. \)
\( \text{d} \text{UDU}: 83, ii, 3. \)
\( \text{d} \text{UTU}: 9, i, 7; 11, i, 7. \)
\( \text{d} \text{UŠ}: 51, ii, 1. \)
\( \text{d} \text{GIŠ}: 115, i, 5. \)
\( \text{d} \text{GU-LAL}: 14, i, 8; 58, ii, 3. \)
\( \text{d} \text{DAMU}: 18, ii, 10; 96, i, 2. \)
\( \text{d} \text{DUMU-ZI}: 18, iv, 2; 105, ii, 2. \)
\( \text{d} \text{DUN-PA-Ê}: 50, i, 3; 110, ii, 7. \)
\( \text{d} \text{KA-[DI]}: 42, iii, 1. \)
\( \text{d} \text{KU-NER-DA}: 38, ii, 2. \)
\( \text{d} \text{LÜ}: 12, i, 5; 13, ii, 1; 51, ii, 7. \)
\( \text{d} \text{MU}: 76, ii, 3. \)
\( \text{d} \text{NA-RA-AM, dEN-ZU}: 25, ii, 12. \)
\( \text{d} \text{NINÁ}: 12, i, 11. \)
\( \text{d} \text{NIN-IB}: 58, i, 7. \)
\( \text{d} \text{NIN-LIL}: 77, ii, 5. \)
\( \text{d} \text{NIN-ŠAH}: 3, iv, 2. \)
\( \text{d} \text{NIN-X²-GA}: 67, i, 6. \)
\( \text{d} \text{SAL}: 1, i, 1. \)
\( \text{d} \text{SIG-GA}: 38, iii, 3. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ŠE-TER-DIŠ}: 8, i, 6; 32, i, 5. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ŠIR}: 15, ii, 11. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ŠU-NER-GAL}: 59, ii, 1. \)
\( \text{d} \text{ŠUR}: 12, i, 11. \)

1 OBW, 27.
2 OBW, 576.
Names of Places

A-GA-DE₇: 122, i, 1.
AMAR-DA₇: 122, i, 2.
EN-LIL₇: 10, iii, 12.
Ereh, see URUG₇.
ERIM₇: 3, vii, 4.
*Umma*, see GIŠ-RU.

URUG₇: 95, ii, 2.
GIŠ-RU: 2, iv, 6.
Lagash, see SIR-PUR-LA.
Marad, see AMAR-DA₇.
Nippur, see EN-LIL₇.
ŠIK-PUR-LA, 2, i, 5; ii, 9.

Names of Months

[*itu*]DA-SIG-GAM-KA-TAR-ES: 67
i, 8.
[*itu*]DU-AZAG: 95, ii, 2.
[*itu*]KA-AB: 60, i, 4.

*[*itu*]OI[N-₇]IN[NINNI: 90, i, 5
*[*itu*]ŠAR-KA: 60, i, 2.
*[*itu*]ŠE-GUR-KUD: 95, ii, 3.
# LIST OF TABLETS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>C. B. S. Number</th>
<th>Size&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
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<sup>2</sup>The size of the tablets is given in inches, in the order length (height), width, thickness. When the tablet varies in size the largest measurement is given.
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<td>130</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6272</td>
<td>$1 \times 1\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{5}{8}$</td>
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<td>6273</td>
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AUTOGRAPH PLATES
OBVERSE

REVERSE

59

60

61

OBVERSE

REVERSE

62
PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATES
ARCHAIC STONE TABLET
PURCHASE OF A HOUSE, GARDEN, SLAVES - ETC.
PURCHASE OF THE LABOR OF SLAVES
RECEIPT FOR MONEY AND SLAVES
RECORD OF CROPS FROM VARIOUS FIELDS
QUANTITIES OF FISH, GRAIN AND DATES
OBVERSE

RECORD OF A PAYMENT BY A MERCHANT

45

OBVERSE

PURCHASE OF A HOUSE AND GARDEN
A VERY OLD LIST

A LABEL