

## Inscribed Mesopotamian artefacts in the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, UK

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[This article publishes ten of the eleven inscribed Mesopotamian artefacts in the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. It gives special attention to an Ur III tablet that contains half of an account concerning deliveries by various herdsmen in Umma province over a six-year period.]

**Keywords:** Accounting terminology, brick inscriptions, casts, Hormuzd Rassam, sheep and goat products, Umma, Ur III account.

Among the collections of the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery in the city of Brighton and Hove, England, are eleven ancient Mesopotamian artefacts, all inscribed.<sup>1</sup> Six are clay bricks that bear well-attested inscriptions of the kings Ur-Nammu, Ur-Ninurta, Shalmaneser III, and Nebuchadnezzar II. Three more are votive tablets inscribed with very well attested inscriptions of an Old Babylonian king of Uruk, *Sîn-kāšid*. The tenth artefact is a partially preserved clay tablet that contains an account concerning the delivery of wool, sheep, silver, goat hair, goats, and dairy products by herdsmen during six years of the Ur III period. The eleventh artefact, which will be published elsewhere after it has received conservation treatment, is a document concerning parcels of land from the Old Akkadian period.

Two more tablets are identified in the Museum's records as "unbaked clay contract tablet dated in the 15th(?) year of Nebuchadnezzar II, King of Babylon" (museum number R1765-2) and as "tablet of the late Babylonian Empire, about 550 BC or later" (museum number R1765-3). These identifications were made by E.A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum, but no such tablets can be found in the current collections of the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. A barely legible note beside the entry for R1765-3 may state "crumbled to bits." Perhaps, therefore, the same fate befell R1765-2. Also in the Brighton Museum's possession are modern casts of the Sippar Sun-God Tablet and a sale contract dated to the Persian period, the originals of both of which are in the British Museum. Both casts are discussed further at the end of this article.

According to the Brighton Museum's register, the Ur-Ninurta and Shalmaneser III bricks were donated in late 1916 or early 1917 by a Mr. Cox of Brighton. The register also states that both the Ur III account and the three *Sîn-kāšid* tablets were "found at Ur" by Capt. A.G. Waller, a member of the British Indian Army, and acquired by the Museum in August 1916 from Lt. Col. H.R.

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1. I owe many thanks to Andy Maxted, Curator of Archaeology at the Brighton and Hove Museums, for facilitating my study of the collection in numerous ways, and to Myrsini Samaroudi and Dean Few, members of the Cultural Informatics Research Group at the University of Brighton, for creating Reflectance Transformation Imaging images of BMAG 10. I am also very grateful to Nicholas Kraus for collating BMAG 10 for me in July 2016, to Robert K. Englund, Benjamin R. Foster, and Palmiro Notizia for many helpful suggestions relating to BMAG 10, to Heather D. Baker for answering my questions relating to the cast of a tablet from the Nappāhu archive, and to Cornelius Cavendish for providing me with information about Hormuzd Rassam's time in the Brighton area. All remaining errors are my own responsibility.

Woolbert, a resident of Brighton.<sup>2</sup> Ur was not, however, the site from which they originated. The names that appear in the account indicate that it comes from Umma,<sup>3</sup> while the *Sîn-kāšid* tablets undoubtedly come from Uruk.

In addition to the collection published here, the Brighton area has a second connection with the field of Assyriology. From the late 1880s until his death in 1910 it was the home of Hormuzd Rassam, who was involved in many of the most exciting discoveries of ancient Assyrian and Babylonian artefacts in the region of modern-day Iraq in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Initially as Austen Henry Layard's right-hand man, Rassam played a leading role in the British excavations at Nineveh between 1846-1854. In the period 1878-1882 he led excavations of multiple Babylonian sites, which resulted in the discovery of thousands of cuneiform tablets, as well as many other artefacts that are now primarily in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> To the (then) Brighton and Hove Museum, Rassam donated six cuneiform tablets, all of which are divinatory texts from Nineveh, as well as certain other personal possessions. In the early 1950s, the six tablets were transferred to the British Museum (Lambert 1992: 73).

CATALOGUE

Publication (CDLI) Numbers	Museum Number	Date	Brief Description of Artefact	Provenance	Dimensions (cm) <sup>6</sup>
BMAG 1 (P499539)	R4679	Ur III	Brick stamped with building inscription of Ur-Nammu.	Ur	(1) 26.0 × 28.3 × 5.7 (2) 8.1 × 8.0
BMAG 2 (P499540)	R1737-1b	Old Babylonian	Brick inscribed with building inscription of Ur-Ninurta.	Uncertain	(1) 21.2 × 27.9 × 7.3 (2) 17.3 × 10.0
BMAG 3 (P499541)	R1684-1	Old Babylonian	Tablet inscribed with building inscription of <i>Sîn-kāšid</i> .	Uruk	6.1 × 4.8 × 2.0
BMAG 4 (P499542)	R1765-4	Old Babylonian	Tablet inscribed with building inscription of <i>Sîn-kāšid</i> .	Uruk	5.9 × 5.2 × 2.0
BMAG 5 (P499543)	R1684-3	Old Babylonian	Tablet inscribed with building inscription of <i>Sîn-kāšid</i> . Disintegrating.	Uruk	7.0 × 5.2 × 2.0

2. Capt. A.G. Waller's regiment, the 44<sup>th</sup> Merwara Infantry, participated in the Mesopotamia Campaign of World War I, and so he probably acquired the tablets in these circumstances. Less clear is Waller's connection with Woolbert. Perhaps the two men met in India, since Woolbert was also a member of the British Indian Army and served in Ajmer-Merwara (now part of the state of Rajasthan) before the outbreak of World War I.

3. See the introduction to the text edition for more details.

4. According to Cornelius Cavendish (personal communication), Rassam moved to Brighton on the advice of the family doctor, for the benefit of one of his daughters who suffered from respiratory problems.

5. For discussion of Rassam's wide-ranging contributions to the British Museum's collections and of the circumstances in which he worked see Reade (1993) and Larsen (1996: 317-332). On his residence in the Brighton area see Sansbury (2010).

6. Height × width × thickness. In the case of the two sets of measurements given for four of the bricks, the first refers to the entire object and the second to the inscribed area.

Publication (CDLI) Numbers	Museum Number	Date	Brief Description of Artefact	Provenance	Dimensions (cm) <sup>6</sup>
BMAG 6 (P499544)	R1737-1a	Neo-Assyrian	Brick bearing building inscription of Shalmaneser III.	Kalḫu	17.1 × 23.4 × 11.3
BMAG 7 (P499545)	HATMP 1519	Neo-Babylonian	Brick stamped with 7-line building inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. Uninscribed edges trimmed away.	Northern Babylonia <sup>7</sup>	(1) 16.4 × 19.9 × 5.6 (2) 11.4 × 14.9
BMAG 8 (P499546)	HATMP 1311	Neo-Babylonian	Complete brick stamped with 4-line building inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II.	Northern Babylonia	(1) 33.4 × 33.4 × 8.2 (2) 6.1 × 20.7
BMAG 9 (P499547)	HATMP 1518	Neo-Babylonian	Fragment of brick stamped with 7-line building inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II.	Northern Babylonia	10.9 × 10.2 × 7.6
BMAG 10 (P499548)	R1765-1	Ur III (AS 9-ŠS 5)	Half of a tablet containing a 10-column account of sheep, sheep wool, goats, nanny-goat hair and milk products.	Umma	11.1 × 13.9 × 4.5
BMAG 11 <sup>8</sup> (P499549)	R5207-7	Old Akkadian	Tablet recording parcels of land with 2 columns of writing on the obverse and 1 or 2 columns on the reverse.	Girsu?	9.6 × 7.5 × 2.1

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7. Berger (1973: 205) identifies Babylon and the nearby town of Hillah as where most of the bricks in his catalogue were found, but also notes that some come from Borsippa, Kish, Seleucia and Susa. Walker (1981: 82) names Isin and Tell ed-Dēr as additional cities where bricks bearing the particular inscription on BMAG 7 were found. The bricks found at Seleucia were probably taken from a cross-country wall built by Nebuchadnezzar, part of which was excavated between 1983 and 1985 at Habl aš-Šahr, north-east of Tell ed-Dēr (Black in Black et al. 1987: 26).

8. This tablet's legibility is currently impeded by salt encrustations and so, as mentioned above, it will be published separately elsewhere once it has received conservation treatment.

## TEXT EDITIONS

## BMAG 1

Square-shaped brick stamped with an inscription of Ur-Nammu, first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, in which he commemorates his rebuilding of the temple complex of the god Nanna, the patron god of Ur-Nammu's capital city, Ur. For other such bricks see Frayne (1997: 22-24, E3/2.1.1.2).

1	ur- <sup>d</sup> nammu	Ur-Nammu,
2	lugal-uri <sup>ki</sup> -ma	king of Ur,
3	lú é- <sup>d</sup> nanna	the one who built
4	in-dū-a	the temple of the god Nanna.

## BMAG 2

Large fragment of a brick, broken into two pieces, that bears the 'Standard Inscription' of Ur-Ninurta, the sixth ruler of the First Dynasty of Isin. The left and upper edges of the brick are missing, as are the first four lines of the inscription. Almost fifty bricks inscribed or stamped with this inscription have been found at sites of several Babylonian cities (Frayne 1990: 64-66, E4.1.6.1), but the majority come from Nippur and so this may be where the present brick was found. The area with the text is not visibly indented, and so the inscription on this particular brick was inscribed, as is usual (Frayne 1990: 64), rather than stamped.

1	[ <sup>d</sup> ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-urta]	[Ur-Ninurta,]
2	[sipa ni-nam-íl-]	[shepherd who offers everything]
3	[nibrū <sup>ki</sup> ]	[for Nippur,]
4	[na-gada]	[herdsman]
5	[u]ri <sup>ki</sup> -ma	of Ur,
6	išib-šu-sikil-	pure-handed <i>išippum</i> -priest
7	eridu <sup>ki</sup> -ga	of Eridu,
8	en-še-ga-	avored <i>en</i> -priest
9	unug <sup>ki</sup> -ga	of Uruk,
10	lugal ì- <sup>r</sup> si <sup>7</sup> -in <sup>ki</sup> -na	king of Isin,
11	lugal ki-en-gi ki- uri	king of Sumer and Akkad,
12	dam-igi-íl-la	spouse on whom Inanna looks with favor.
13	<sup>d</sup> inanna	

## BMAG 3-5

These three tablets contain two very well attested inscriptions of Sîn-kāšid that commemorate the construction of his palace. For more examples of the inscription preserved on BMAG 3 and 4 see Frayne (1990: 441-444, E4.4.1.2). For more examples of the inscription preserved on the disintegrating tablet BMAG 5, which is a variant of the first, see Frayne (1990: 444-447, E4.4.1.3).

Interestingly, BMAG 5's inscription runs to one line more than the numerous completely preserved examples listed by Frayne.

BMAG 3-4

	Obverse	
1	<sup>d</sup> suen-kà-šī-id	Sîn-kāšid,
2	nita kala-ga	mighty man,
3	lugal unug <sup>ki</sup> -ga	king of Uruk,
4	lugal am-na-nu-um	king of the Amnānum,
5	é-gal-	
	Reverse	
6	nam-lugal-la-ka-ni	
7	mu-dù	built his royal palace.

BMAG 5

	Obverse	
1	<sup>d</sup> s[uen-kà-šī-id]	S[în-kāšid,]
2	nita ʾkalaʾ-[ga]	might[y] man,
3	lugal un[ug <sup>ki</sup> -ga]	king of Ur[uk,]
4	lugal am-ʾnaʾ-n[u]-u[m]	king of the Amnānu[m,]
5	ú-ʾaʾ	provisioner
6	é-an-na	of Eanna,
	Reverse	
7	é-gal-	
8	nam-lugal-la-ka-ni	built his royal palace.
9	mu-dù	

BMAG 6

This fragment of a well-attested inscription of Shalmaneser III commemorates the construction of the ziggurat in Kalḫu, which was located at the northern-most point of the citadel and north of the Ninurta temple, with which it was associated. For other examples of bricks bearing the same inscription see Walker (1981: 113, no. 159 Shalmaneser III G) and Grayson (1996: 166-168, A.0.102.111), as well as one or two bricks in the Oriental Museum of the University of Durham, UK (Frahm 2009: 100 n. 1), and one in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge, UK (Everling 2012).

This fragment belongs to the seven-line version of the inscription, which is attested on square-shaped bricks, as opposed to a five-line version, which is found on rectangular 'half bricks.'<sup>9</sup> Bricks bearing this inscription have been found in both the Northwest Palace and the Governor's Palace in Kalḫu (Grayson 1996: 166-167). No information about this particular brick's findspot is known.

9. For example, the brick in private ownership published by Weszeli (2013). For several other ways in which this inscription is distributed over the surfaces of bricks see Walker (1981: 113).

1	[ <sup>m.d</sup> šùl-m]a-nu-ninurta(maš) šarru(man) rabû(gal-ú)	[Shalm]aneser (III), great king,
2	[šarru dan-n]u šar(man) kiššati(šú) šar(man) māt(kur) aššur(aš)	[might]y [king,] king of the universe, king of Assyria,
3	[mār ( <sup>m</sup> )aššur]-nāšir([pa]b)-apli(a) šarru(man) rabû(gal-ú)	[son of Ashurnas]irpal (II), great king,
4	[šarru dannu] šar(man) kiššati(šú) šar(man) māt(‘kur’) aššur(aš)	[strong king,] king of the universe, king of Assyria,
5	[mār <sup>m</sup> tukulti-ninurta šar kiššati šar māt aššurma]	[son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria:]
6	[rišipti ziqqurrati]	[construction of the ziqqurrat]
7	[ša āl kalḫi]	[of Kalḫu.]

BMAG 7

A brick with shorn edges and stamped with the very well attested ‘Standard Inscription’ of Nebuchadnezzar II.<sup>10</sup> This inscription does not refer to building activities but simply identifies the king and states his most important titles. To date, ten different formats of the inscription are known (Black in Black et al. 1987: 26-27), and this brick bears one of the most frequently attested, designated ‘B6’ in the most recent overview of Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions (Da Riva 2008: 117).<sup>11</sup>

1	<sup>d</sup> nabû(nà)-ku-du-úr-ri-ušur(ùru)	Nebuchadnezzar
2	šar bābili(ká.dingir.ra <sup>ki</sup> )	king of Babylon,
3	za-nin é-sag-íl	provisioner of Esangil
4	ù é-zi-da	and Ezida,
5	aplu(ibila) a-ša-re-du	principal heir
6	ša <sup>d</sup> nabû(nà)-apla(ibila)-ušur(ùru)	of Nabopolassar,
7	šar bābili(ká.dingir.ra <sup>ki</sup> )	king of Babylon.

In order to gain a more accurate idea of how many different types of stamp produced this inscription, one can also note the spelling variants and the dimensions of the stamped area.<sup>12</sup> The text on BMAG 7 is attested with multiple sets of spelling variants.<sup>13</sup> The dimensions of its stamped

10. Fifty-two exemplars are listed by Berger, ninety-two by Walker, and many otherwise unpublished exemplars are catalogued on CDLI.

11. Earlier publications designate it variously as ‘102. Nebuchadnezzar II no. 41’ (Walker 1981: 82-85), ‘Nebukadnezar Backstein A<sub>p</sub>(b’’)’ (Berger 1973: 193-200), and ‘Nebukadnezar Nr. 40’ (Langdon 1912: 202-203).

12. On the importance of the dimensions of the stamped area see the remarks by Volk (1999) and Bramanti (2015: 396).

13. Walker (1981: 83) notes the variants but does not divide them into sets. Bramanti (2015: 394-397) publishes a brick with an otherwise unattested set of variants. Since the publication of Berger’s and Walker’s catalogues, several more bricks with the same set of spelling variants as the Brighton brick have come to light, namely: a complete brick in Tübingen (Volk 1999), another in Strasbourg (Everling 2000), and two more in the Schøyen Collection (George 2011:181 nos. 79 and 80). In addition, there are two fragments of bricks in private ownership that may contain the same set of spelling variants (Livingstone 1991: no. 2; Reiter 1991: no. 1), and an unpublished brick located in the Archivio di Stato in Venice is another contender (Ermidoro 2011: 91 no. 2308). It is also worth noting that bricks with an inscription of this format and set of variants were among those used to construct Nebuchadnezzar’s northern-most cross-country wall at Ḫabl Aš-Šahr (Black in Black et al. 1987: 27).

area may provide a complementary or even a further means of subdividing the bricks into meaningful categories. The following table, which lists the dimensions of the stamped area on BMAG 7 and on two other bricks whose texts have the same set of spelling variants as BMAG 7 (see n.12), makes a small move in this direction.

Brick (by publication)	Current location	Dimensions of stamped area (cm), as given in the publication.
BMAG 7	Brighton	11.4 × 14.9
Everling (2000)	Strasbourg	11.3 × 15.0
Volk (1999)	Tübingen	11.2 × 14.5

The similarity between the dimensions of the stamped area on BMAG 7 and the Strasbourg brick suggests the use of the same type of stamp, whereas the shorter width of the stamped area of the Tübingen brick suggests that it was produced by a different one.<sup>14</sup> As noted already by Black, in Black et al. (1987: 27), the preliminary conclusion that can be drawn from these typological considerations is that multiple stamps, and therefore probably multiple workshops, were responsible for producing the millions of bricks used in Nebuchadnezzar's building program.<sup>15</sup> Further research may lead to more information about the methods of brick production in Nebuchadnezzar's reign and until this time, "no detail is too trivial to record" (Black in Black et al. 1987: 28).

#### BMAG 8

Square brick, split down the center into two parts, bearing a well-attested inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. The inscription is designated 'B4' by Da Riva (2008: 117).<sup>16</sup>

1	<sup>d</sup> <i>nabû(nà)-ku-dúr-ri-ušur(ûr[u])</i> <i>šar(l[ug]al) bābili(ká'-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>)</i>	Nebuchadnezza[r, k]ing of Babylon,
2	<i>za-nin é-sag-'íl' ù é-zi-da</i>	provisioner of Esangil and Ezida,
3	<i>aplu(ibila) ašarēdu(sag.kal) ša</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nabû(nà)-apla(ibila)-ušur(ûru)</i>	principal heir of Nabopolassar,
4	<i>šar(lugal) bābili(ká'-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>) a-na-ku</i>	king of Babylon, am I.

14. Admittedly, the relatively small differences in dimensions between the three stamped areas could be due to differences between Everling's, Volk's and my own measuring practices.

15. As opposed to one particular workshop in which different stamps were used at different points in Nebuchadnezzar's reign. See Black in Black et al. (1987: 28) for how the bricks found *in situ* at Ḥabl Aš-Šaḥr speak against the latter possibility.

16. Earlier publications designate it variously as 'Nebukadnezar Backstein A(b'')<sub>4</sub>/A<sub>p</sub>(b'')' (Berger 1973: 185-187), 'no. 103. Nebuchadnezzar II no. 41a' (Walker 1981: 85), and '4-line stamp (variant)' (Black, in Black et al. 1987: 27).

## BMAG 9

Lower left-hand corner of the stamped area of a brick of Nebuchadnezzar II. Enough of the inscription survives to identify it as the same seven-line format as the inscription on BMAG 7 but it is unclear whether it had the same spelling variants.

4	ù ʿéʿ-[zi-da]	and E[zida,]
5	aplū(ibila) a-š[a-re-du]	pr[incipal] heir
6	ša <sup>d</sup> nabû(n[à])-[ibila-ùru]	of N[abopolassar,]
7	šar(lugal) bābili(ká-d[ingir-ra <sup>ki</sup> ])	king of Ba[bylon.]

## BMAG 10 (copy on pp. 125-126)

*Self-designation*

This tablet of originally ten columns is described by its colophon as an “[Acc]ount (of) oil (and) wool [(of) the shep]herds, (submitted by) KAS. It is (a period of) 6 [ye]ars, from ‘[ye]ar the en-priestess of Nanna of [K]arzida was installed’ (i.e., Amar-Suen Year 9) [until ‘ye]ar after Šū-Sîn, king of Ur, built the wall against the [Amori]tes (called) Mur[iq-T]idn[im]’ (i.e., Šū-Sîn Year 5).

*Provenance*

The submitter of the document, KAS (written kas<sub>4</sub> in tablets and en-kas<sub>4</sub> in seal inscriptions), who is also named as a receiving agent in viii 16' and ix 4', appears in numerous other documents from Umma between the years Š 42(41?) and IS 3.<sup>17</sup> The range of his activities suggests that he was a šuš<sub>3</sub> (previously read kuš<sub>7</sub>), “chief livestock administrator,” in Umma.<sup>18</sup> In ŠŠ 7, i.e., two years after the latest year covered by the present document, KAS appears as the overseer (ugula) of the shepherds of the Šara temple in Umma in a flock inventory,<sup>19</sup> and so perhaps the commodities in BMAG 10 belonged to this temple specifically. The four other men named in the document are consistent with an Umma provenance: the two herdsmen, Lu-kala (ii 8) and Šarakam (vii 11'), are elsewhere attested as herdsmen of flocks belonging to the Umma temples of Šara and Ninurra,<sup>20</sup> while a second Lu-kala, who appears as a receiving agent (ix 6'), is a well-attested Umma official.<sup>21</sup> A third receiving agent, Lu-Nagar-pa'e (viii 23'), is also attested in documents from Umma.

17. Š 42(41?) follows Dahl (2007: 87 n. 309), while the latest attestation is in the colophon of a long summary account dealing only with small cattle, Nisaba 6 8 (BM 106048), kindly brought to my attention by Palmiro Notizia. For a discussion of KAS's name see Dahl (2007: 87 n. 309).

18. Stępień (1996b: 124 sub “Girim”). For a discussion of KAS's activities and status within the state administration, see Dahl (2007: 86-87 with n. 309).

19. YOS IV 237 (YBC 3634), l. 66.

20. According to a search of the BDTNS database, Lu-kala is attested with the title na-gada in ten other texts from Umma, dated Š 42-IS 4, and Šarakam is attested with the title na-gada also in eleven other texts from Umma, dated Š 42-IS 3.

21. Dahl (2007: 105-113).



*Structure of the account*

Despite the loss of approximately half of the original tablet (its lower portion, upper edge, the first few lines of the preserved columns on the obverse and the entirety of the obverse's final column), the original structure of the account is still discernible. It records the yearly deficits and surpluses pertaining to several shepherds followed by those of several goatherds, each in turn. The account thus seems to consist of multiple shorter accounts, each of which relate to the deficits or surpluses accumulated by an individual herdsman. Although the entries for each herdsman range in date between AS 9 and ŠS 5, few of these individuals appear to have entries for all six of these years. The reason for particular years not being represented in many of the sub-accounts is unclear, as is the reason for the decision to make a running account that spans so many years (and these six years in particular). Turning to the entries themselves, in columns i-iv they relate to silver, sheep and sheep wool, before changing – at the latest by halfway-down column vi – to silver, goats, goat hair and dairy products. In the first columns of the account, therefore, the herdsmen in question, e.g., Lu-kala in ii 8, were shepherds, while in the second half of the account the herdsmen in question were goatherds. It is noteworthy that the herdsmen were paying quantities of silver as part of their deliveries (iii 13, iv 7, vi 8' and 10', viii 11' and 12').

*Terminology*

The terms  $la_2-ia_3$ , “deficit,” and *diri*, “surplus,” appear throughout the document.<sup>22</sup> A deficit reflects a situation in which the commodities owed to the state from earlier years (*si-i<sub>3</sub>-tum*) and those expected to have been produced during the year just past (*sag-nig<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>11</sub>-ra-kam*) are together larger in quantity than the commodities produced in the year just past (*zi-ga-am<sub>3</sub>*). A surplus, on the other hand, reflects a situation in which the commodities owed to the state from earlier years and those expected to have been produced during the year just past are together smaller in quantity than the commodities produced in the year just past.<sup>23</sup> An exception to this understanding of the term  $la_2-ia_3$  seems necessary in the case of the phrases *siki-udu la<sub>2</sub>-ia<sub>3</sub>* and *siki la<sub>2</sub>-ia<sub>3</sub> zu<sub>2</sub>-si*, which appear in individual entries of the sub-accounts in columns i-iv of this document. In these phrases,  $la_2-ia_3$  may be a nominal form of the verb *la*, “to hang, supervise,” rather than a nominal form of the verb *lal*, “to be small” (whence “deficit”). Accordingly, in these specific contexts, I tentatively translate the term  $la_2-ia_3$  as “checked.” Of the range of possible meanings of the verb *la*, this seems the most appropriate in this context: “weighed” is redundant, and “hung” is not a meaningful description of sheep wool.

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22. For these translations of the two terms see Englund (1990: 26-27 with n. 94, and 33-51). For the reading  $la_2-ia_3$  for  $la_2-NI$ , assuming a nominalized form, see Steinkeller (1984: 139). But note that Sallaberger (1995: 445), reading  $la_2-u_x$  – a value of NI that Steinkeller (1984:137-139) also supports, instead proposes understanding the term as a frozen imperative form.

23. For a brief, recent description of the accounting logic behind “balanced” accounts, using the example of an account that records the labor performance of workmen in Umma, see Molina (2016: 14-15). For a more detailed discussion, see Englund (1990: 25-51).

*Equivalencies*

The silver equivalencies for wool, goats and ghee preserved in columns iv-viii are typical of those encountered in other documents from Ur III Umma. The equivalency 10 shekels of silver = 2 talents of wool (iii 13-14, iv 7-8), i.e., 1 shekel of silver = 12 minas of wool, falls within the usual range of 1 shekel of silver = 9-12 minas of wool.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the equivalencies  $\frac{1}{6}$  shekel of silver =  $1\frac{2}{3}$  liters of ghee (vi 10'-11') and 20 grains of silver = 1 liter  $6\frac{2}{3}$  of ghee (viii 11') exactly match the elsewhere attested equivalency of 1 shekel of silver = 1 ban of ghee.<sup>25</sup> However, the equivalencies  $4\frac{1}{3}$  shekels of silver = 13 goats (vi 8'-9') and  $4\frac{2}{3}$  shekels of silver = 14 goats (viii 12'-13') indicate that the goats in question were unusually cheap, since the normal range is 1 shekel of silver = between 0.5 and 2 goats.<sup>26</sup>

A final equivalency encountered twice in the document is that of ga-SIG<sub>7</sub>-a (“sour milk”) to ghee and cheese, which is an equivalency often attested in dairy accounts. In both cases (viii 17'-19' and ix 7'-9'), the ratios of sour milk to ghee and of ghee to cheese match the ratios found in other dairy accounts, namely of 20:1 for sour milk to ghee and of 2:3 for ghee to cheese.<sup>27</sup> Although these relationships are attested for cow milk as well as goat milk, no cows are mentioned in this document and so the milk products are probably derived from goats. At Umma, the delivery norm was 0.5 liter of ghee and 0.75 liter of cheese per goat per year.<sup>28</sup> The equivalency in column viii thus represents the delivery norm for 39 goats, while the equivalency in column ix represents the delivery norm for 36 goats.

*Comparable accounts*<sup>29</sup>

Two other accounts (ni<sub>3</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub>-aka) that combine numbers of small cattle with quantities of dairy products, wool and hair are known. The first is a long, multi-column balanced account SET 130 (RC 0930, dated to AS 4), which describes itself as an “Account (of) sheep, fat (and) wool,” and which was submitted by the šuš<sub>3</sub>-official Ur-E'e. The second, Nisaba 24 24 (BM 110118, dated to ŠS 8), is also a long, multi-column balanced account that describes itself as an “Account (of) sheep, fat (and) wool.” Like BMAG 10, both of these accounts come from Umma.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Nisaba 24 24 was submitted by the same man, KAS, who submitted BMAG 10. However, BMAG 10 is unique among these three documents because of its six-year span of time (SET 130 and Nisaba 24 24 both span one year) and because it is a summary account rather than a balanced account.

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24. Englund (2012: 442).

25. Englund (2012: 441).

26. Englund (2012: 441).

27. Englund (1995: 383; 2012: 447).

28. Englund (1995: 398 n.45).

29. The abbreviations used in this section follow those used by BDTNS (<http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/>).

30. Stępień (1996a; 1996b: 40) studied all the accounts relating to animal husbandry in Umma then published (SNAT 375, Princeton 1 091, OrSP 47-49 219, SET 130, MVN 13 618 and MVN 15 108), with special focus on the connections between the named officials and various temples on the one hand, and between the herdsmen and the same temples on the other. The accounting mechanisms of SET 130 and MVN 15 108 have been studied in greater detail by Englund (1995: 397-425), with a focus on the information they provide about herds of large cattle. In fact, he shows that MVN 15 108 (Allegheny 02) deals with dairy products produced by cows rather than goats (Englund 1995: 403, 408).

<i>Edition</i>	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
Obverse				
Column i				
1	[x ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si]	[... mana(s) of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:]		?
2	[mu en kar-zi-d]a ba-hun	['Year the <i>en</i> -priestess of Karzid]a was installed.'	AS 9	
3	[x m]a-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	[... m]ana(s) of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		?
4	[mu] <sup>d</sup> š <sub>u</sub> - <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	['Year] Šū-Sîn became king.'	ŠS 1	
5	[x] udu	[...] sheep,		?
6	[x ma]-na siki- <sup>r</sup> udu <sup>r</sup> la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub>	[... ma]na(s) of <i>checked</i> sheep wool,		?
7	[x m]a-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	[... m]ana(s) of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		?
8	[mu m]a <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> en-ki	['Year the boaj <sup>t</sup> of Enki.'	ŠS 2	
9	[x] udu	[...] sheep,		?
10	[x m]a-na siki-udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub>	[... m]ana(s) of <i>checked</i> sheep wool,		?
11	[x m]a-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	[...] mana(s) of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		?
12	[mu] si-ma-num <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	['Year S]imanum.'	ŠS 3	
13	[(x)] <sup>r</sup> 5 <sup>2</sup> (diš) <sup>r31</sup> ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	[...] (+)5 manas of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		?
14	[m]u bad <sub>3</sub> mar-tu	['Ye]ar the wall against the Amorites.'	ŠS 4	
15	[x] ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	[...] mana(s) of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		?
16	[m]u us <sub>2</sub> -sa bad <sub>3</sub> mar-tu	['Ye]ar after the wall against the Amorites.'	ŠS 5	
17	[ŠU+LAGAB] <sup>r</sup> 1 <sup>r</sup> (geš <sub>2</sub> ) <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> 3 <sup>r</sup> (diš) <sup>r</sup> [udu]	[Together: 6]3 [sheep]		[63]
18	[ŠU+LAGAB 3(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 3(u) 5(diš) ½(diš) ma-na siki]	[Together: 3 talents 35 ½ manas of wool.]		[107.75 kg]
19	[ša <sub>3</sub> -bi-ta] <i>A few lines broken away</i>	[Therefrom:]		
Column ii				
1	<i>Broken away</i>	[...]		
2	<i>Broken away</i>	[...]		

31. The original numeral could also have been 7 or 9.

	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
3	ŠU+LAGAB 5(u) 4(diš) udu	Together: 54 sheep,		54
4	ŠU+LAGAB 5(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 3(u) 5(diš) 2/3(diš) ma-na siki	Together: 5 talents 35 2/3 manas of wool		167.83 kg
5	zi-ga-am <sub>3</sub>	are (lit. "is") the expenditures.		
6	la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> 9(diš) udu	Deficit: 9 sheep,		9
7	diri 2(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 1(u) gin <sub>2</sub> siki	Surplus: 2 talents 10 shekels of wool.		60.83 kg
8	Lu <sub>2</sub> -kal-la na-gada	Lu-kala is the herdsman.		
9	1(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 2(u) 9(diš) ma-na 1(u) gin <sub>2</sub> siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	1 talent 29 manas 10 shekels of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking,		45.33 kg
10	mu en kar-zi-da ba-hun	'Year the <i>en</i> -priestess of Karzida was installed.'	AS 9	
11	5(diš) udu	5 sheep,		5
12	1(u) ma-na siki-udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub>	10 manas of <i>checked</i> sheep wool,		5.00 kg
13	1(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 9(diš) ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	1 talent 9 manas of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		34.50 kg
14	mu <sup>d</sup> šu- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	Year Šū-Sîn became king.'	ŠS 1	
15	2(u) la <sub>2</sub> 1(diš) 1(u) udu	19 sheep,		19
16	3(u) 7(diš) ma-na [siki-udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> ]	37 manas [of <i>checked</i> sheep wool,]		18.50 kg
17	2(u) [(x) ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si]	20 [(+ ?) manas of <i>checked</i> wool from the plucking,]		10 kg (+ ?)
	<i>Several lines broken away</i>			
	Column iii			
1	[x ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> ] zu <sub>2</sub> -si	[... manas of <i>checked</i> wool] (from) the plucking:		?
2	mu <sup>d</sup> šu- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	'Year Šū-Sîn became king.'	ŠS 1	
3	7(diš) udu	7 sheep,		7
4	1(u) 4(diš) ma-na siki-udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub>	14 manas of <i>checked</i> sheep wool,		7.00 kg
5	6(diš) ma-na siki la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> zu <sub>2</sub> -si	6 manas of <i>checked</i> wool (from) the plucking:		3.00 kg
6	mu ma <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> en-ki	'Year the boat of Enki.'	ŠS 2	
7	2(diš) udu	2 sheep,		2
8	2(diš) ma-na siki-udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub>	2 manas of <i>checked</i> sheep wool:		1.00 kg
9	mu si-ma-nu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup>	'Year Simanum.'	ŠS 3	
10	ŠU+LAGAB 9(diš) udu	Together: 9 sheep,		9
11	ŠU+LAGAB 1(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 5(u) ma-na 1(u) gin <sub>2</sub> s[iki]	Together: 1 talent 50 manas 10 shekels of wool.		55.83 kg

	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
12	ša <sub>3</sub> -[b]i-[ta]	There[rom:]		
13	5(diš) ṛgin <sub>2</sub> [ku <sub>3</sub> ]	5 shekels of [silver]		41.50 g
14	siki-[b]i ṛ1(aš) [gu <sub>2</sub> ] <sup>32</sup>	[i]ts (value in) wool: 1 [talent]		30.00 kg
15	ṛx [x x x x x] <i>Many lines broken away</i>	...		
Column iv				
1	ṛ2 <sup>2</sup> (u) x [udu]	20 <sup>2</sup> + ? [ <i>sheep</i> ]		20(?) + [?]
2	4(u) ṛma-na siki-udu la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> ṛ	40 manas of <i>checked</i> sheep wool:		20.00 kg
3	mu bad <sub>3</sub> mar-t[u]	'Year the wall against the Amorit[es.]'	ŠS 4	
<hr/>				
4	ŠU+LAGAB 5(u) 4(diš) udu	Together: 54 sheep		54
5	ŠU+LAGAB 3(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 5(u) 5/6(diš) ma-na siki	Together: 3 talents 50 % manas of wool.		115.42 kg
6	ša <sub>3</sub> -bi-ta	Therefrom:		
7	1(u) gin <sub>2</sub> ku <sub>3</sub>	10 shekels of silver,		83.00 g
8	siki-bi 2(aš) gu <sub>2</sub>	its (value in) wool: 2 talents.		60.00 kg
9	4(u) ṛ9(diš) ṛ1/3(diš) ma-na si[ki]-ṛudu [la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> ]	49 1/3 manas of [ <i>checked</i> ] sheep wo[ol:]		24. 67 kg
10	m[u] e[n kar-zi-da ba-hun]	'Ye[ar] the e[n-priestess of Karzida was installed.']	AS 9	
<i>Over half of lines in column broken away</i>				
Column v				
<i>Completely broken away</i>				
Reverse				
Column vi				
<i>Approximately half of lines in column broken away</i>				
<hr/>				
1'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... maš <sub>2</sub> ]	[Together: x goats,]		?
2'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... i <sub>3</sub> -nun]	[Together: x ghee,]		?
3'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... ga-muru <sub>13</sub> ]	[Together: x cheese,]		?
4'	ṛŠU+LAGAB [ ... siki-ud <sub>5</sub> ]	Together: [x nanny-goat hair.]		?

32. The restoration, which is supported by the traces, is based on the parallel equivalency in iv 7-8.

	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
5'	[ša <sub>3</sub> -bi-ta]	[Therefrom:]		
6'	2(aš) [gu <sub>2</sub> ...]	2 [talents ...]		60 kg + [?]
7'	kisib <sub>3</sub> 'x' [...] 'x' [(...)]	sealed tablet [(of) ...].		
8'	4(diš) 1/3(diš) g[in <sub>2</sub> ku <sub>3</sub> ]	4 1/3 s[hekels of silver,]		35.97 g
9'	maš <sub>2</sub> -b[i 1(u) 3(diš)] <sup>33</sup>	it[s] (value in) goats: [13.]		[13]
10'	igi-6(diš)-ga[l <sub>2</sub> gin <sub>2</sub> ku <sub>3</sub> ]	1/6 [shekel of silver,]		13.83 g
11'	i <sub>3</sub> -nun-bi 1(diš) '2/3'(diš)' sila <sub>3</sub>	its (value in) ghee: 1 2/3(?) liters		01.66(?) 1
12'	mu en kar-zi-da ba-hun	'Year the <i>en</i> -priestess of Karzida was installed.'	AS 9	
10'	<i>Traces only</i> <i>One or two lines broken away</i>	[...]		
Column vii				
<i>Approximately one third of column broken away</i>				
1'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... maš <sub>2</sub> ]	[Together: x goats,]		?
2'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... i <sub>3</sub> -nun]	[Together: x ghee,]		?
3'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... ga-muru <sub>13</sub> ]	[Together: x cheese,]		?
4'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... siki-ud <sub>5</sub> ]	[Together: x nanny-goat hair]		?
5'	[zi-ga-am <sub>3</sub> ]	[are (lit. "is") the expenditures.]		
6'	[la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> ... maš <sub>2</sub> ]	[Deficit: x goats]		?
7'	[la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> -am <sub>3</sub> ]	[are (lit. "is") the deficit.]		
8'	[d]iri '2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) x' [x x] gin <sub>2</sub> 'x' [(x x)]	[S]urplus: 2 ban ... shekels ...		20 l + [?]
9'	5(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 5(diš) 1/2(diš) 'ma' -[na] siki-u <sub>5</sub>	5 talents 5 1/2 ma[nas] of nanny-goat hair		152.75 kg
10'	diri-ga-am <sub>3</sub>	is the surplus.		
11'	<sup>d</sup> šara <sub>2</sub> -kam na-gada	Šarakam is the herdsman.		
12'	1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 7(diš) 1/3(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> - nun	1 ban 7 1/3 liters of ghee		17.33 l
13'	2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 6(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> ga-muru <sub>13</sub>	2 ban 6 liters of cheese		26.00 l
14'	2(u) 8(diš) ma-na siki-u[d <sub>5</sub> ]	28 manas of nanny-[goat] hair		14.00 kg
15'	mu en kar-zi-da ba-hun	'Year the <i>en</i> -priestess of Karzida was installed.'	AS 9	
16'	3(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 8(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -nun	3 ban 8 liters of ghee		28.00 l
17'	5(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 7(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> ga-muru <sub>13</sub>	5 ban 7 liters of cheese		77.00 l
18'	5(u) la <sub>2</sub> 1(diš) ma-na siki-ud <sub>5</sub>	49 manas of nanny-goat hair		24.50 kg
19'	4(diš) maš <sub>2</sub>	4 goats		4
20'	mu <sup>d</sup> šū- <sup>d</sup> suen 'lugal'	'Year Šū-Sîn became king.'	ŠS 1	

33. The restoration of the number is based on a second equivalency between silver and goats in viii 12'-13'.

	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
21'	ṛ x x x x' [x x]	[... ]		
	<i>One or two lines broken away</i>			
	Column viii			
	<i>Several lines broken away</i>			
1'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... maš <sub>2</sub> ]	[Together: x goats,]		?
2'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... i <sub>3</sub> -nun]	[Together: x ghee,]		?
3'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... ga-muru <sub>13</sub> ]	[Together: x cheese,]		?
4'	[ŠU+LAGAB ... siki-ud <sub>5</sub> ]	[Together x nanny-goat hair.]		?
5'	[ša <sub>3</sub> -bi-ta]	[Therefrom:]		
6'	[...ga-SIG <sub>7</sub> -a gur] <sup>34</sup>	[... of sour milk,]		
7'	i <sub>3</sub> -[nun-bi x x x]	[its] (value in) gh[ee: ... ,]		?
8'	ga-muru <sub>13</sub> -b[i x x x]	(and in) cheese: [... .]		?
9'	sa <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> <sup>d</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen <sup>r</sup>	The regular offerings (to) Amar-Suena:		
10'	mu en kar-zi-da ba-hun	'Year the <i>en</i> -priestess of Karzida was installed.'	AS 9	
11'	2(u) še ku <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -nun-bi 1(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> 6(diš) ⅔(diš) gin <sub>2</sub>	20 grains of silver, its (value in) ghee: 1 liter 6 ⅔ shekels.		1.00 g 1.01 l
12'	4(diš) ⅔(diš) gin <sub>2</sub> ku <sub>3</sub>	4 ⅔ shekels of silver,		38.68 g
13'	maš <sub>2</sub> -bi 1(u) 4(diš)	its (value in) goats: 14.		14
14'	1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 4(diš) ½(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> ṛ i <sub>3</sub> -nun <sup>r</sup>	1 ban 4 ½ liters of ghee,		14.50 l
15'	5(u) 6(diš) ma-na ṛ siki <sup>r</sup> -ud <sub>5</sub>	56 manas of nanny-goat hair:		28.00 kg
16'	kišib <sub>3</sub> KAS <sub>4</sub>	sealed tablet (of) KAS.		
17'	1(aš) 1(barig) 3(ban <sub>2</sub> ) ga-SIG <sub>7</sub> -a gur	1 gur 1 bariga 3 ban of sour milk,		390.00 l
18'	i <sub>3</sub> -nun-bi 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) la <sub>2</sub> ½(diš) sila <sub>3</sub>	its (value in) ghee: 2 ban minus ½ liter		19.50 l
19'	ga-ṛ muru <sub>13</sub> -bi 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 9(diš) ṛ sila <sub>3</sub> 1(u) 5(diš) gin <sub>2</sub>	(and in) cheese: 2 ban 9 liters 15 shekels.		29.25 l
20'	sa <sub>2</sub> -ṛ du <sub>11</sub> <sup>r</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen	The regular offerings to Amar-Suena:		
21'	ṛ mu <sup>r</sup> ṛ šu- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	'Year Šū-Sîn became king.'	ŠS 1	
22'	ṛ 1 <sup>?</sup> (u) ma <sup>r</sup> -na siki-ud <sub>5</sub>	10 manas of nanny-goat hair,		5.00(?) kg
23'	[kišib <sub>3</sub> ] ṛ lu <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> nagar <sup>r</sup> -[pa-e <sub>3</sub> ]	[sealed tablet] of Lu-Nagar-[pa'e.]		
	<i>1 or 2 lines broken away</i>			

34. Restored on the basis of the parallels in viii 17' and ix 7'.

	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
Column ix				
	<i>Several lines broken away</i>			
1'	ˈsa <sub>2</sub> -d[u <sub>11</sub> d <sup>d</sup> amar-d <sup>d</sup> suen]	The regular offeri[ngs to Amar-Suena:]		
2'	mu bad <sub>3</sub> m[ar-tu]	‘Year the wall against the A[morites.]’	ŠS 4	
3'	1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 2(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -n[un]	1 ban 2 liters of gh[ee,]		12.00 l
4'	kišib <sub>3</sub> KAS <sub>4</sub>	sealed tablet (of) KAS.		
5'	4(u) 8(diš) ½(diš) ma-na siki-ud <sub>5</sub>	48 ½ manas of nanny-goat hair,		24.25 kg
6'	kišib <sub>3</sub> lu <sub>2</sub> -kal-la	sealed tablet (of) Lu-kala.		
7'	1(aš) 1(barig) ga-SIG <sub>7</sub> -a gur	1 gur 1 bariga of sour milk,		360.00 l
8'	i <sub>3</sub> -nun-bi 1(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 8(diš) sila <sub>3</sub>	its (value in) ghee: 1 ban 8 liters		18.00 l
9'	ga-muru <sub>13</sub> -bi 2(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 7(diš) sila <sub>3</sub>	(and in) cheese: 2 ban 7 liters.		27.00 l
10'	sa <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> d <sup>d</sup> amar-d <sup>d</sup> suen	The regular offerings to Amar-Suena:		
11'	mu us <sub>2</sub> -sa bad <sub>3</sub> mar-tu	‘Year after the wall against the Amorites.’	ŠS 5	
12'	ŠU+LAGAB 1(u) 4(diš) maš <sub>2</sub>	Together: 14 goats,		14
13'	ŠU+LAGAB 3(barig) 7(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> 1(diš) ⅔(diš) gin <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -nun	Together: 3 bariga 7 liters ⅔ shekels of ghee,		187.02 l
14'	ŠU+LAGAB 2(barig) 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 6(diš) ½(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> ga-muru <sub>13</sub>	Together: 2 bariga 4 ban 6 ½ liters of cheese,		166.50 l
15'	ŠU+LAGAB 5(aš) gu <sub>2</sub> 4(u) ma-na siki-ud <sub>5</sub>	Together: 5 talents 40 manas of nanny-goat hair		200.00 kg
16'	zi-ga-am <sub>3</sub>	are (lit. “is”) the expenditures.		
17'	la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> 5(u) 1(diš) maš <sub>2</sub>	Deficit: 51 goats,		51
18'	6(diš) ⅓(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> 3(diš) ⅔(diš) gin <sub>2</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -nun	6 ⅓ sila 3 ⅔ shekels of ghee,		6.39 l
19'	1(barig) 4(ban <sub>2</sub> ) 5(diš) ½(diš) sila <sub>3</sub> ga-muru <sub>13</sub>	1 bariga 4 ban 5 ½ liters of cheese		105.50 l
20'	la <sub>2</sub> -ia <sub>3</sub> -am <sub>3</sub>	is the deficit.		
21'	ˈdiriˈ [x (x)] ˈ5ˈ(u)ˈ ˈ3ˈ(diš)ˈ ˈ⅔ˈ(diš)ˈ [ma-na (x x) siki-ud <sub>5</sub> ]	Surplus: [x +] 53 ⅔ (?) [manas (...) of nanny-goat hair]		[?] + 26.83(?) kg
22'	[diri-ga- am <sub>3</sub> ] <i>Possibly 1 more line broken away</i>	[is the surplus.]		

Column x

*The broken-away upper part of this column may have contained some lines of text.*



	Transliteration	Translation	Year	Approx. amount
1'	[... na-gada] <sup>35</sup>	[... is the herdsman.]		
2'	[nig <sub>2</sub> -k]a <sub>9</sub> -aka i <sub>3</sub> siki	[Acco]unt (of) fat (and) wool		
3'	[si]pa-de <sub>3</sub> -ne	[(of) the shep]herds,		
4'	[ø] KAS <sub>4</sub>	(submitted by) KAS.		
5'	[m]u 6(diš)-kam	It is (a period of) 6 [ye]ars,		
6'	[m]u en <sup>d</sup> nanna [k]ar-zi-da ba-hun-ta	from 'ye]ar the en-priestess of Nanna of [K]arzida was installed'	AS 9	
7'	[m]u us <sub>2</sub> -sa <sup>d</sup> šū-d <sup>d</sup> suen lugal ur[i <sub>5</sub> <sup>k</sup> ] <sup>i</sup> -ma-ke <sub>4</sub> bad <sub>3</sub> [mar-t]u <i>mu-ri-[iq-t]i-id-ni-[im] ʾmu-du<sub>3</sub>ʾ-[še<sub>3</sub>]</i>	[until 'ye]ar after Šū-Sîn, king of Ur, built the wall (against) the [Amori]te(s) (called) Mur[iq-T]idn[im].'	ŠS 5	

### MODERN CASTS

#### *Sippar Sun-God Tablet*

Museum number: R1394, dimensions: 17.5 × 29.1 × 5.5 cm.

Original: BM 91000.<sup>36</sup>

Two other 1:1 casts of the Sun-God Tablet are known to me: one in the Harvard Semitic Museum and a second in the Yale Babylonian Collection. On the right edge of the Yale cast is written "D. Brucciani & Co., London," a company which produced casts of objects in the British Museum from 1886 to 1921.<sup>37</sup> The Harvard and Brighton casts of this artefact were probably produced by the same firm.

#### *Contract from the Nappāḫu archive*

Museum number: HATMP1473 (CDLI P499868), dimensions: 4.6 × 8.1 × 2.9 cm.

Original: BM 92797 (1884-11-2, 133), a contract from the Nappāḫu archive concerning the sale of a slave, dated 16-xii-20 Darius.<sup>38</sup>

This appears to be the only cast of a tablet from the Nappāḫu archive known so far. Clay casts of Neo-Babylonian documents that were made in the nineteenth century with the intent to deceive the modern buyer are well attested.<sup>39</sup> The cast does not, however, seem to be made of clay (it is exceptionally light), and so it is more likely that it was made as a teaching tool, similar to those made by D. Brucciani & Co. (see above).

35. This line could also have been the last (broken away) line of column ix.

36. See Woods (2004) for a recent edition and detailed discussion.

37. <http://www.nhm.ac.uk/research-curation/library/archives/catalogue/dserve.exe?dsqServer=placid&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Persons&dsqSearch=Code===%27PX8338%27&dsqCmd=Show.tcl> (last accessed: 3 December 2016).

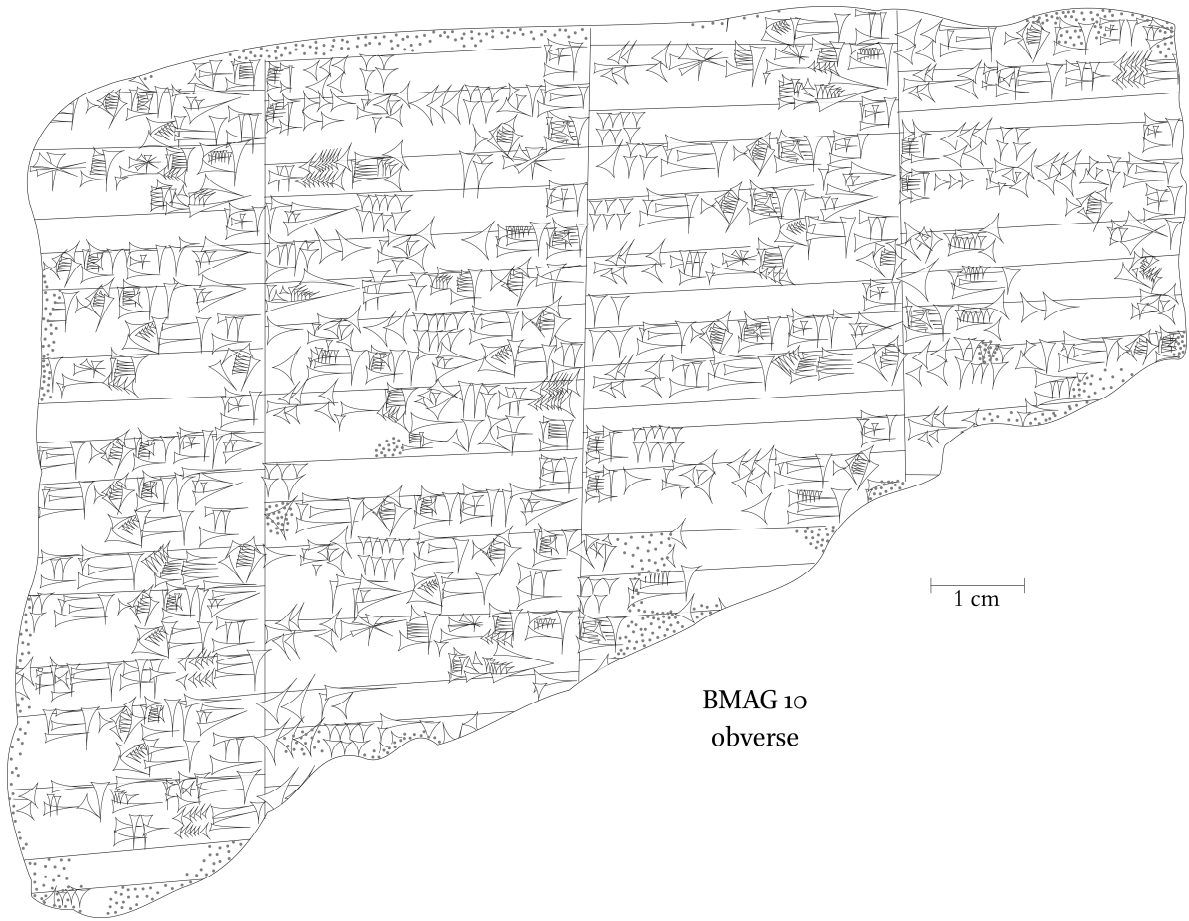
38. Edited most recently by Baker (2004: no. 179).

39. On modern forgeries of Neo-Babylonian administrative documents see Leichty (1970), Finkel (1996: 196 n. 13), and Wunsch (2000a: 4 n. 14, 8 n. 38, 38 n. 107, 65, 167 n. 347; 2000b: 11). For modern forgeries of various cuneiform tablets, among other Mesopotamian artefacts, see Márquez Rowe & Molina (2006).

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BMAG 10  
obverse

