

The Tell Leilan Tablets 1991 A Preliminary Report

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Source: *Orientalia*, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 63, No. 4 (1994), pp. 305-344

Published by: GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43076188>

Accessed: 28-05-2017 20:21 UTC

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COMMENTATIONES

The Tell Leilan Tablets 1991 A Preliminary Report

Marc VAN DE MIEROOP

1) INTRODUCTION

During its 1991 season of excavations the Yale University Expedition to Tell Leilan, Syria, excavated 651 tablets, whole and fragmentary, in an area of four adjoining ten by ten meter squares in the northern part of the lower town, operation 7¹. The tablets were found in a building with twelve interconnected rooms, identified as a palace by the excavator². They were discovered in two rooms: in a courtyard, room 10, one complete tablet and seven fragments were discovered; in the adjoining room 12 the large majority of tablets was found, a total of 643 tablets and fragments in and around four small jars, broken in antiquity. There is an apparent distinction in the subject matter of the groups. Those tablets found in room 12 belong to what I will call the beer archive here, except for one text, L91-550. The latter has a contents similar to the seven fragments found in room 10, which all record issues of barley rations. In room 10 also one tablet recording a receipt of peas was unearthed.

There is a clear chronological division according to findspot in the datable texts of the beer archive: with only five exceptions texts dated from month Maqrānum (IX) *limmu* Aššur-taklāku to month Ayyarum (VII) *limmu* Zabzabu were found in one locus (35L20 12), while those of months Addarum (VIII) *limmu* Zabzabu to Nabrūm (IV) *limmu* Aḫuwaqar were found in the other loci.

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Harvey Weiss for his invitation to study these tablets, and for the financial support of the Yale Archaeological Expedition to Tell Leilan for the necessary travels to Syria. Many thanks are due to Dr. Assad Mahmoud, director of the Deir ez-Zor Museum, who greatly facilitated my stay there in October/November 1991, and who gracefully allowed the tablets to return to Tell Leilan in September/October 1993 for study there. Dr. Farouk Ismael of the University of Aleppo was the epigrapher present during the excavation of the tablets.

² The "Northern Lower Town Palace", see Harvey Weiss, "Tell Leilan", in: Olivier Rouault - Maria Grazia Rouault, *L'Euphrate e il tempo* (Milano 1993) 149-152. This publication includes a photograph of the tablets from room 12 under excavation. See also "Archaeology in Syria", *American Journal of Archaeology* 98 (1994) 126.

The large majority of the tablets is quite well preserved, although they are generally very encrusted with salt and brick collapse. A number of them shows evidence of burning. All tablets are inscribed with the standard Old Babylonian script of northern Mesopotamia in the early second millennium. Yet, they are often difficult to read as almost the entire archive was sealed with great vigor, and the inscriptions were smudged to the point of being erased. Often a smooth surface is found in places where one knows with certainty that signs had been written. Although the heavy impression of seals is not unusual in this period, it raises the question of how these tablets could have been read in antiquity itself, and whether they could have been consulted after having been sealed.

2) CHRONOLOGY

A. *limmus*

Only four *limmus* are attested in these texts, and it is certain that three of them were consecutive. The four names are: Aššur-taklāku, Zabzabu, Aḥuwaqar, and Adad-bani. The reading of the name Zabzabu is not entirely clear to me. It appears with two variant spellings, *Za-ab-za-bu* and *Za-az-za-bu*, and as far as I can see, the first is used in months I through VII, while the second spelling is only found in texts dated to months VIII through XII. It is thus clear that they are variants of the same name. A name *Za-za-bu-um* as *limmu* has been attested previously in texts from Kültepe and Boğazköy³, and it is likely that this is the same man. The reading Zazzabu would thus seem preferable, but such a name cannot be explained as an Akkadian or Amorite one. The Amorite name Zabzabum seems to exist, however⁴, and that reading would thus seem to be the correct one.

The *limmu* Adad-bani is found in one text only, the single dated text from room 10. The other *limmus* are found on the tablets from room 12, and their sequence can be firmly established by two means:

— L91-206 (see fig. 24) is a summary account of issues in nine consecutive months, from month Dumuzi (X) of *limmu* Aššur-taklāku to Mana (VI) of *limmu* Zabzabu. The sequence Aššur-taklāku – Zabzabu is thus guaranteed.

³ K. R. Veenhof, "Eponyms of the 'Late Old Assyrian Period' and Mari Chronology", *MARI* 4 (1985) 204 no. 47.

⁴ I. J. Gelb et al., *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite* (Assyriological Studies 21; Chicago 1980) 648.

— The third *limmu*, Aḫwaqar, is found only in texts dated to months Niqumum (I) through Nabrûm (IV). We have a guaranteed sequence for seventeen months from Aššur-taklāku month IX to Zabzabu month XII⁵, and it is more logical to assume that the sequence continued for another four months in the next *limmu* Aḫwaqar, than that a hiatus of eight months existed in the records either before or after it. Moreover, as I stated above, all the texts dated to *limmu* Aḫwaqar were found together with texts from months Addarum (VIII) through Tīrum (XII) of *limmu* Zabzabu, which suggests that they belonged together chronologically as well.

The position of *limmu* Adad-bani with regard to the sequence Aššur-taklāku – Zabzabu – Aḫwaqar cannot be established with certainty: it appears on a single tablet with a unique contents and without a seal (L91-710)⁶. Yet, the text seems to be close in time to the others. It contains the personal name Lawula-malik for the man in charge (*gīr*) of a large delivery of peas. The same name is found on an issue of beer dated in month Abum (XI) of the *limmu* Aššur-taklāku (L91-335), where he replaces the man who is always in charge of these issues, Mutu-ramê. It seems that Lawula-malik stood in for an absent colleague in a neighboring office, and if the same man appears in the text dated to Adad-bani, that *limmu* cannot be too far removed in time from Aššur-taklāku.

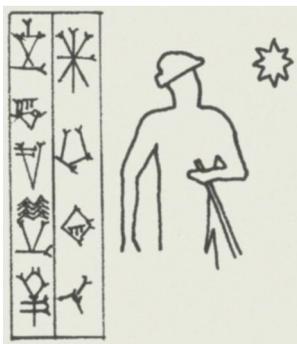


Fig. 1

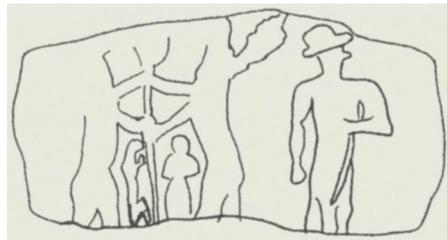


Fig. 2

The absolute chronology of these *limmus* cannot be determined to the year, but there are sufficient indications within the texts for a close approximation. The large majority of texts recording beer issues in sealed with a seal containing this inscription (see fig. 1):

⁵ See below for the intercalary month.

⁶ Adad-bani appears as a *limmu* at least once during the reign of Šamši-Adad. It is unlikely that the tablet dates to that reign.

Utu-di-ku,
ir₁₁ *Qar-ni-Li-im*

Šamaš-dajjān,
servant of Qarni-Lim

Curiously enough, Qarni-Lim is not a king of Leilan, but a well-known ruler of Andarig. He is attested in Mari texts from the years Zimri-Lim 4' to 8', i.e. 1770-1766, and he must have started his rule slightly earlier. The historical implications of his appearance on this seal will be explored later. Here it is important to point out that the use of a seal belonging to one of his servants dates the texts within his reign or soon afterwards. One can, of course, argue that the seal was a heirloom, and that the texts are to be dated later. But again one tablet seems to contradict this, and shows that the owner of the seal Šamaš-dajjān was alive at the time of the writing of these texts. L91-203 reads:

5 anše 30 (sila) m[unu,
i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e
šu ti-a
Mu-tu-ra-me-e
ki Utu-di-ku,
iti *A-bi-im*
u₄ 2 kam
li-m[u A-]šur-ták-la-ku

636 liters malt,
according to the menials' measure,
received (by)
Mutu-ramê,
from Šamaš-dajjān.
Month XI,
day 2,
limmu Aššur-taklāku.

The seal shows the existence of an important man with the name Šamaš-dajjān, who kept an eye on the beer distributions by Mutu-ramê. In this text a malt delivery to Mutu-ramê is said to originate from a Šamaš-dajjān. It is likely that the same man was involved, and that he supervised issues to and from Mutu-ramê's office. The seal owner was thus alive during *limmu* Aššur-taklāku, and, as he refers to Qarni-Lim, this king must have been ruling at the time, or had perhaps just died. We can conclude then that the four *limmus* found in the texts studied here date to the period 1770-1766, or soon thereafter.

B. Calendar

One tablet of this archive is of importance, as it confirms beyond doubt Charpin's ingenious reconstruction of Šamši-Adad's calendar⁷. The text, L91-206 (see fig. 24), lists nine months in succession:

X Dumuzi
XI Abum
XII Tīrum

limmu Aššur-taklāku

⁷ Dominique Charpin, "Les archives d'époque 'assyrienne' dans le palais de Mari", *MARI* 4 (1985) 243-268.

I	Niqmum
II	Kinūnum
III	Tamḥīrum
IV	Nabrûm
V	Mammītum
VI	Mana

limmu Zabzabu

The sequence of the three remaining months, Ayyarum (VII), Addarum (VIII), and Maqrānum (IX) is guaranteed by other texts, already quoted by Charpin:

- the sequence Mana (VI) – Ayyarum (VII) is confirmed by the Chagar Bazar text, A.994;
- the period from Mammītum (V) to Addarum (VIII) is four months according to *OBTR* 178.

Moreover, the Leilan text L87-557⁸, states that the period from Nabrûm (IV) to Addarum (VIII) amounts to five months. The only remaining month, Maqrānum, falls securely in place as month IX. The entire twelve month sequence starting with Niqmum is thus assured.

The texts do present a problem with regard to the system of intercalation. In *limmu Zabzabu* a month DIRI.GA appears, which for several reasons cannot be placed after month XII. Firstly, all tablets dated to this month were found in the group spanning months IX *limmu* Aššur-taklāku to VII *limmu* Zabzabu. Secondly, the *limmu* on these tablets is written *Za-ab-za-bu*, as on all other tablets from the first eight months of the year. And thirdly, the format of the beer issue records from this month, and especially the appearance of Kileš-ewri among the recipients, corresponds only to the texts dated before day 5 of month VIII of *limmu* Zabzabu (cf. below). As the intercalary month cannot be among the first six months of the year according to L91-206 (cf. above), it seems likely to me that it followed month VI, Mana.

The appearance of a month DIRI.GA in the Šamši-Adad calendar was already known, but its position in the year was not correctly understood. A letter from Šamši-Adad to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu mentions that it was sent in the month DIRI.GA⁹. Also a tablet previously excavated at Leilan, L85-145¹⁰, uses this month name. It has been assumed that it belonged after month XII, Tīrum¹¹, but for the reasons cited above this is impossible.

⁸ Farouk Ismael, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tall Leilān (Syrien)* (Dissertation Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen 1991) no. 103.

⁹ ARM I 70.

¹⁰ R. A. Whiting, "The Tell Leilan Tablets: a preliminary report", *American Journal of Archaeology* 94 (1990) 577. Whiting reads DIRI x.

¹¹ Jack M. Sasson, *Dated Texts from Mari: a Tabulation* (Malibu 1980) 9.

This is not the only intercalary month found in the Leilan texts. Several of the texts from *limmu* Ḥabil-kīnu were dated to Addarum MĪN¹², i.e. VIII². At Rimah the same two intercalary months were in use, Addarum MĪN in *OBTR* 213, and DIRI.GA¹ in *OBTR* 317. The use of two intercalary months at the same time was not unusual in this period. The local Mari calendar used Ḥibirtum MĪN and Eburum MĪN, i.e. V² and XII². Similarly in the Šamši-Adad calendar used at Leilan and Rimah we find VI² and VIII². The choice of Addarum for intercalation is clear: the month name is written ŠE.KIN.KUD, and that month was the preferred one for intercalation in Babylonia, where it ended the year. Why DIRI.GA followed the sixth month is less obvious. The most likely explanation is that it parallels the use of the sixth month for intercalation in Babylonia.

3) CONTENTS

As I stated above, the texts can be divided into two groups according to contents as well as findspot: the large majority derives from a “beer archive”, while a small number records issues of barley rations.

A) The beer archive

This archive contains two clearly distinctive types of records: receipts of barley or products derived from it to brew beer (80 tablets), and issues of beer to individuals and groups of people (447 tablets). In all of these the central character was Mutu-ramê: he received the ingredients and he issued the beer. He never appears with a title, but he clearly was the man in charge of the “beer office”, who with very few exceptions was at work every day recorded in these texts.

All the commodities with which he dealt were gauged according to a measure specified as *ina giš-bán kinatê*. The occurrence of this unit of contents in previously excavated Leilan texts has been noted by D. Snell¹³, but all Leilan texts published so far use the measure of Šamaš. The *kinatê* measure is found very commonly in the Old Babylonian texts from Chagar Bazar, where it was used for cereals, beer, etc., and it appears once in the Rimah texts to measure beer. The term has been interpreted as “according to the measure of the household servants” or “of the menials”¹⁴, following a suggestion by C. J. Gadd, who prefaced it however with the statement

¹² See Claudine A. Vincente, *The 1987 Tell Leilan Tablets Dated by the Limmu of Ḥabil-kīnu*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Yale University 1991 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1993).

¹³ *AAAS* 33/2 (1983) 220.

¹⁴ *AHW* 479f.; *CAD* K 381; Dalley, *OBTR* 18; Loretz, *AOAT* 3/1, 31; Powell, *RIA* 7, 501; Snell, *AAAS* 33/2 (1983) 217-241.

that “the meaning of the term is uncertain”¹⁵. It seems to have been used to measure bulky and less valuable commodities, such as beer, while wine or oil were measured according to the standard of Šamaš.

The metric equivalent of this measure was determined by M. Powell¹⁶. *OBTR* 18 shows that the menials’ measure was $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the size of the ration measure. Powell reasoned that the awkward amount of $6\frac{2}{3}$ *qû* beer *ina giš-bán kinatê* equalled 10 *qû* of ration measures, and this argument is strengthened by the common appearance of amounts such as $24\frac{2}{3}$ *qû* of beer in the texts studied here. According to Powell the ration measure equals the measure of Šamaš, and the metric value of the latter has been established with the help of a jar found at Tell al-Rimah:

1 *qû* \approx .8 liters, 1 *sūtu* \approx 8 liters, and 1 *imēru* \approx 80 liters.

The menials’ measure would thus have these equivalents:

1 *qû* \approx 1.2 liters, 1 *sūtu* \approx 12 liters, and 1 *imēru* \approx 120 liters.

I will use these metric equivalents in the following discussion.

In the treatment of this archive I will only deal with the texts whose dates are preserved, as they allow us to understand temporal changes in the activities of Mutu-ramê, and provide a framework for the placement of the other texts whose dates are now lost.

I) Receipts of products for the brewing of beer

The smaller group of texts from the beer archive records the receipts by Mutu-ramê of some of the ingredients needed for the brewing of beer. Interestingly, all these ingredients seem to have been used for the malting process, not for the fermentation. The receipts by Mutu-ramê are much fewer in number than his issues of beer. While the latter clearly occurred on a daily basis, the ingredients were delivered less frequently. Yet, I do not see a pattern in the days on which the deliveries happened, nor in the amounts delivered.

A well preserved example of these texts is L91-400 (see fig. 3):



Fig. 3

¹⁵ *Iraq* 7 (1940) 31.

¹⁶ *RIA* 7, 501-502.

Obv.	5 anše mumu ₃ [i-na g]iš-bán ki-na-te-e [š]u-ti-a Mu-tu-ra-me-e	600 liters malt, according to the menials' measure, received (by) Mutu-ramê.
Rev.	i-na še-im ša ma-aš-ka-nim iti Ni-iq-mi u ₄ 30 kam li-mu Za-[ab-]za-bu	Among the barley of the threshing floor Month I, day 30, limmu Zabzabu.

The following dated texts are preserved:

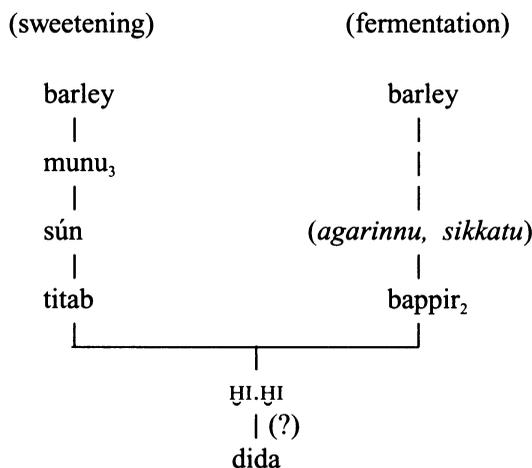
Date	Amount + Product	Special notes	Tablet: L91-
<i>limmu</i> Aššur-taklāku			
IX Maqrānum	8 10 (sila) kaš-sig ₃	(blank) aš-ta-mu?	374
X Dumuzi	12 1 anše sún	gir A-bi- [...]	348
	13 2 anše sún, 1 anše še titab	gir Zunnan	324
XI Abum	2 5 anše 30 (sila) m[unu ₃]	ki Šamaš-dajjān	203
	7 []		535
	10 1 anše munu ₃	ki Tateia	235
XII Tīrum	2 30 (sila) ús-sa sig ₅	[]	510
	7 2 anše munu ₃	ki Tateia	339
	20 []		487
	25 4? anše 30 (sila) še		482
	28? 1 anše kaš [...]		471
<i>limmu</i> Zabzabu			
I Niq̄mum	2 4 anše še	ina še'im ša maškanim	414
	14 4 sila [kaš]	gir Aḥam-arši	326
	30 5 anše munu ₃	ina še'im ša maškanim	400
	[] 4 anše še		383
II Kinūnum	31 3 anše munu ₃	ina še'im ša maškanim	357
III Tamḥīrum	1 5 anše [...]	ina šipri xxx	464
	4? 8 anše še-munu ₃	a-na ZA.BI.RI.NIM	246
	16 []	ina še'im [ša maškanim]	442
	29 [x?+]4 anše še-munu ₃	ina še'im ša maškanim	521
IV Nabrûm	1 [x anš]e [...]	ina še'im ša maš[kanim]	376
	10 1 anše [...]	[]	475
	11 [x] anše še-munu ₃	[in]a [še'im ša maška]- nim	398
	18 1 anše še	ki Tateia	222
V Mammītum	5 5 [anše (še)] munu ₃	ina š[e'i]m ša maškanim	221
	10 [x a]nše munu ₃	ki Tateia	514
	15 5 anše še	ki Tateia	254
	25 4 or 5 anše še	[...], [gir?] Aḥam-arši	413
	28 5 anše munu ₃		649
	[] 1 anše munu ₃	ki Tateia	225

Date	Amount + Product	Special notes	Tablet: L91-
VI Mana	7	3 anše munu ₃	<i>ina š[e'im ša m]aškanim</i> 282
	9	1 anše 40 (sila) še	gir Zunnan 230
	10?	2 anše munu ₃	ki [...] 386
	15	1 [anše] munu ₃	<i>ina še'im [ša ma]š[ka-nim]</i> 280
	22[+x]	1 anše še-munu ₃	ki Tate[ia] 253
VI ² Watrum	13	[x] anše 2 sila X-munu ₃	<i>maššūt</i> Mutu-ramê 367
	18	7 anše munu ₃	430
		3[+x?] <i>pīhu</i> sig ₅	
	1 anše 2 sila kaš-sig ₅	<i>ša pī kanikātišu</i>	
	25	40 (sila) munu ₃	<i>ina še'im ša maškanim</i> 522
VII Ayyarum	10	[1] anše munu ₃	ki Tateia 265
	15	[x] munu ₃ , 2 anše <i>agarin-nu?</i>	<i>maššūt</i> Mutu-ramê 388
	[x?+]17	[x an]še munu ₃	[ki Tat]ei[a] 355
VIII Addarum	3	1 anše še	<i>ina še'im ša maškanim</i> 625
	4	1 anše 30 ² / ₃ ? sila? še-munu ₃	631
	5	2 anše munu ₃	390
	6	6 anše munu ₃	628
	20	1[+x?] anše še	<i>[ina še'im ša ma]ška-nim</i> 653
	[]	2 [anše] munu ₃	<i>[ina š]e'i[m] ša [...]</i> 754
IX Maqrānum	1[+x?]	2 anš[e ...]	<i>ina [...]</i> 778
X Dumuzi	5	2 anše 4 sila [...]	ki Tateia 823
	7	7 anše munu ₃	<i>ina še'im [...]</i> 677
	23	1 anše še	ki Lawula-Addu 748
	28	3 anše munu ₃	<i>ina NA.ŠE.NI, gir Zunnan</i> 826
XI Abum	3	10 anše še	<i>ina še'im ša maškanim</i> 819
	10[+x]	[]	808
	27	2 anše še	<i>ina še Ú.ŠE.ŠI??</i> 692
XII Tīrum	5	5 anše še	<i>ina še'im ša maš[kani]m</i> 648
	14	10 anše še	<i>ina še'im ša maškanim</i> 736 gir Zunnan and Aḥam-arši
	22	8 anše še	<i>[in]a še'im ša ma[ška-nim], gir [...]</i> 632
<i>limmu Aḥuwaqar</i>			
I Niqumum		no text preserved	
II Kinūnum	13	[x] anše 20 (sila) [...]	<i>[ina še'im ša] maškanim</i> 693
III Tamḥīrum	—	3 anše [...]	811
IV Nabrūm	—	19 anše 76 ¹ / ₂ sila (blank)	gir Ullut 820

The large majority of these tablets was sealed with a seal not containing an inscription, but only an elaborate scene (for a provisional drawing see fig. 2)¹⁷. We are thus unable to determine with certainty who the seal owner was, but it seems likely that it was Mutu-ramê who took responsibility for the receipts.

It is obvious that these texts record the ingredients obtained by Mutu-ramê to brew beer. The process of brewing in Mesopotamia has been extensively studied by modern scholars through a variety of sources including economic, lexical and literary texts¹⁸, but the variety of ingredients listed here is so far unparalleled in a single archive.

Beer requires two basic and indispensable ingredients: a dough causing fermentation, and malt, barley allowed to sprout to release its sugars and amino-acids. Stol reconstructed the following diagram with the Mesopotamian names for the various stages of both ingredients¹⁹:



The right hand side shows the products needed for fermentation. With one possible exception these are not attested in this archive. All products of the left hand side are found, however:

¹⁷ The publication of the sealings from this excavation season is being undertaken by D. Stein.

¹⁸ See Louis F. Hartman – A. L. Oppenheim, *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Supplement to JAOS 10; 1950); M. Civil, “A Hymn to the Beer Goddess and a Drinking Song”, *Studies Oppenheim* (Chicago 1964) 67-89; Wolfgang Röhlig, *Das Bier im Alten Mesopotamien* (Berlin 1970); M. Stol, “Zur altmesopotamischen Bierbereitung”, *BiOr* 28 (1971) 167-171, and “Malz” in *RIA* 7, 322-329; B. R. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (Hamden CT 1982) 107.

¹⁹ *BiOr* 28, 169.

še	barley
še-munu ₃	barley for malt
munu ₃	malt
sún	mash
titab	cooked mash

There are some instances where Mutu-ramê receives quantities of beer of different qualities (for the terminology see below), and the appearances of mash and cooked mash are rare. It seems thus that he obtained primarily barley for malt or malt itself in order to brew beer, but these form only half of the required ingredients. The beerbread (bappir₂) needed for fermentation is not accounted for, except in one text where we might be able to read *agarinnu* “(first) beer mash” (CAD A/1 145) in a broken context. Why the records omit the fermentation agents is unclear to me. Even if they had a different place of origin, they needed to end up with Mutu-ramê before he could supervise the brewing of the beer he had to distribute.

It is also remarkable that the products delivered to Mutu-ramê range from barley to beer itself, including all the stages of production of the sweetener of the beer mash. The fact that barley for malt or malt itself were most commonly brought in shows that Mutu-ramê could supervise the entire brewing process. Yet, sometimes several steps of the process were already completed by the time he received the ingredients.

The texts do not need to indicate the source of the ingredients. When they do, it is often stated that the barley or malt derived from the “barley of the threshing floor”, *ina še'im ša maškanim* (17 times with certainty, and 3 times likely). The “threshing floor” cannot be taken literally as the actual place where the barley was flailed. After all this activity took place only once a year soon after the harvest, while the expression appears in every month. It is well known that the term *maškanum* can be used for an empty lot of land, and it might be that the term refers here to the area where the barley was allowed to sprout into malt. This required a lot of space as the grain needed to be spread out thinly, and the activity needed to be done throughout the year as the sprouted malt could not be kept long.

When an individual is reported to be at the origin of the malt, it is often Tateia (10 times), while Šamaš-dajjān and Lawula-Addu each appear once. As I stated above, Šamaš-dajjān was possibly the person who sealed the disbursement records, hence a person of authority controlling Mutu-ramê's activities. The designations of individuals at the source of the malt never appear together with a reference to the *maškanum*, which may indicate that they only acted in unusual circumstances. Very rarely a super-

visor (gìr) of the delivery to Mutu-ramê is recorded: four times it is Zunan, three times Aḥam-arši, while Abi[...] and Ullut appear once each.

Some special accounting terms appear as well. Instead of “receipt (by) Mutu-ramê”, šu-ti-a Mutu-ramê, we find sometimes *maššīt* Mutu-ramê. By analogy with the other documents this has to be translated as “delivery to Mutu-ramê” rather than by him, a usage of the term *maššīt* PN that is also found at Mari²⁰. Once a reference is made to sealed records, *ša pī kanikātišu*, perhaps because the receipt by Mutu-ramê was a mixture of malt and various types of beer. A few other specifications appear, but they are unclear to me at the moment.

As I said before, the timing and the amounts of the deliveries do not show a pattern. Clearly we do not find a standard delivery at regular intervals. Although we have records for successive days, for instance for four days in Addarum of *limmu* Zabzabu, I doubt that the deliveries took place on a daily basis. Tablets of receipt by Mutu-ramê and of disbursements by him seem to have been filed together indiscriminately, and from the available archaeological data it is hard to imagine that a whole group of receipts still remains to be discovered. Yet, the disbursements are 5.5 times more numerous than the receipts, and in actuality the ratio between the frequencies of the two transactions must have been similar. It seems thus that these deliveries to Mutu-ramê were made on an ad hoc basis, i.e. when he needed and requested supplies. This is also borne out by the fact that products in different stages of the brewing process could be delivered. The regular situation was for Mutu-ramê to obtain barley for malt or malt itself, and then to supervise the further brewing of the beer. But, at times, he may have been caught short and unable to deal with demand, and he had to request products further down the line to fulfill his duties. His supplier must thus have been involved with the entire brewing process as well, and must have had sufficient stock of all products to help out Mutu-ramê.

I have no idea how much beer could be produced from the malt delivered, but it seems that it would be more than the amounts recorded in the beer distribution texts. For instance, in four days of early Addarum *limmu* Zabzabu (days 2, 4, 6, and 9) Mutu-ramê distributed $129\frac{2}{3}$ *qû* beer. Yet, in days 3 through 6 $1030\frac{2}{3}$ *qû* barley for malt or malt were issued to him. Although the amount of malt often exceeded the amount of beer produced from it according to the so-called Pre-Sargonic “beer recipes”²¹, it was never to the extent of 10:1. It is thus probable that more beer was produced under Mutu-ramê than is known from the disbursement records, and that

²⁰ B. Lafont, ARMT XXIII 289.

²¹ See M. Stol, *RIA* 7, 326.

he issued beer to other destinations as well. One account of such an issue is L91-822 (see fig. 18), dating to the same day as a regular disbursement record, but identifying the recipients as royal servants. Most likely other archives were written parallel to this one for different types of issues.

II) Disbursements of beer

The large majority of texts from the “beer archive” records issues of beer by Mutu-ramê to a variety of individuals and groups. It is almost certain that this was a daily activity. From a twenty month period we still have 447 tablets recording disbursements at the moment, thus more than twenty-two per month on the average. The datable tablets allow us to determine with great accuracy how the recipients of the beer changed almost on a monthly basis. Within the months the recipients were often given differing amounts from day to day. In the following discussion I will describe the format of these texts for each month in our record, before dealing with the individual entries.

a) Dumuzi (X) *limmu* Aššur-taklāku

Dated records are preserved from the following days of this month: 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15?, 16, 17?, 18?, 20, 20[+x], 22, 24?, 28, and 29?. A good example of the standard format for this month is L91-399 (see fig. 4):

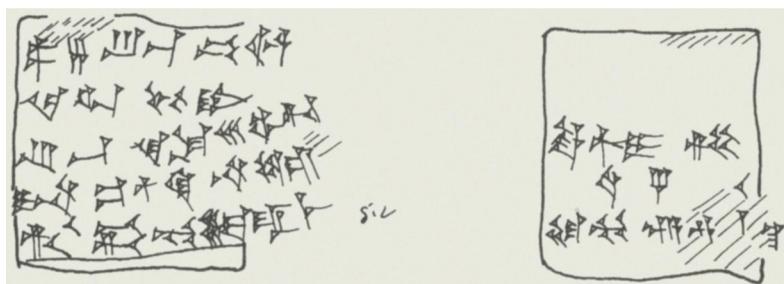


Fig. 4

<p>Obv. 25$\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal $\frac{2}{3}$ sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> <i>i-na</i> giš-bán <i>ki-na-te-e</i> zi-ga <i>Mu-tu-ra-me</i> (sic)</p> <p>Rev. iti ^dDumu-zi u₄ 4 kam <i>li-mu</i> ^d<i>A-šur-[tá]k-[la]-ku</i></p>	<p>30.8 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 0.8 liters for Kileš-ewri; according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month X, day 4, <i>limmu</i> Aššur-taklāku.</p>
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Nine texts from this month contain exactly the same entries as the example, although the amounts issued can differ, e.g. only 9 sila to the harem. Other texts add a few entries, mostly for messengers (3 times) or for unspecified individual issues (2 times). A special — and unclear — accounting term for an amount of beer “for excesses(?) and...” (*a-na wa-tar-meš ù NU-WA-meš*) appears two or three times, while in one text an amount for the ombudsmen (*ebbūtum*) is included.

b) Abum (XI) *limmu* Aššur-taklāku

These days are recorded: 1, 5?, 6, 9, 12, 13, 17, 20, 20[+x], 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, and a broken day. E.g., L91-306 (see fig. 5):

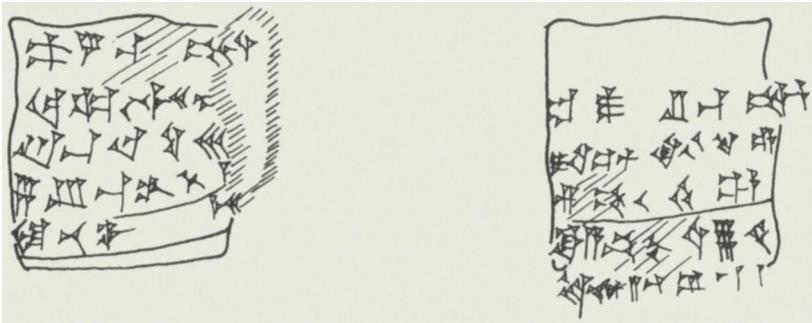


Fig. 5

<p>Obv. 24 sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-meš l[ugal] $\frac{2}{3}$ sila <i>Ki-le-eš-[ew-ri]</i> $5\frac{2}{3}$ sila <i>wa-tar-m[eš]</i> <i>ù NU-WA-meš</i></p>	<p>28.8 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 0.8 liters for Kileš-ewri; 6.8 liters for excesses and ...</p>
<p>Rev. šu-nigin $30\frac{1}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> <i>iti A-bi-im u₄ 9 kam</i> <i>li-mu ^dA-šur-ták-la-ku</i></p>	<p>Total: 36.4 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê Month XI, day 9, <i>limmu</i> Aššur-taklāku.</p>

The first six records of this month contain these entries, but after day 13 the obscure entry regarding excesses is dropped. Six of the later texts include new entries: two report issues to the ombudsman of the threshing floor, two mention the drinking rations of Sumi-etar and Aḫi-malik, while individual issues and additional issues to dependents appear in one text

each. This month contains the only record where someone other than Mutu-ramê issues the beer. On day 17 Lawula-malik takes his place. He was probably the man attested in *limmu* Adad-bani dealing with peas, and it seems that he substituted for Mutu-ramê on this rare occasion.

c) Tīrum (XII) *limmu* Aššur-taklāku

Preserved are records of these days: 2, 5, 6, 8, 11?, 15?, 16, 17, 19, 20, 20[+x], 21, 22, 23, 24, 27?, 29, and a broken day. E.g., L91-504 (see fig. 6):

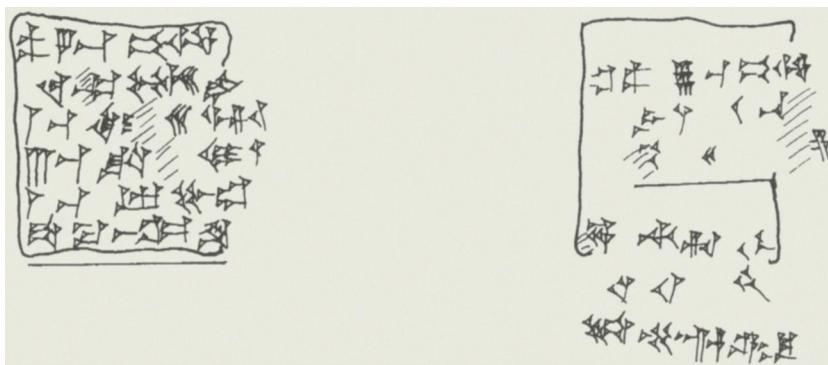


Fig. 6

<p>Obv. 24 sila kaš-sig₅ sá-sag gēme-meš-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> 3 sila <i>šu-ut [Su]-mi-[e]-tar</i> 1 sila <i>eb-bu-um</i> <i>ša ma-aš-ka-nim</i></p>	<p>28.8 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 3.6 liters for the embassy of Sumi-etar; 1.2 liters for the ombudsman of the threshing floor.</p>
<p>Rev. <i>šu-nigin</i> 29 sila kaš-sig₅ <i>i-na [giš-bán ki-na-te-e]</i> <i>[zi]-ga [Mu]-tu-[ra-me]-e</i> <i>iti Tī-ri-im</i></p>	<p>Total: 34.8 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê Month XII,</p>
<p>U.E. u₄ 11 kam <i>li-mu</i> ^d<i>A-šur-ták-la-ku</i></p>	<p>day 11, <i>limmu</i> Aššur-taklāku.</p>

Only three days are exactly like the example. Days 2 and 8 use the same format as the 30th day of the previous month. The others keep the struc-

ture of day 11, but add to it: five times an entry for messengers, and four times jars of beer for an illegible destination. Alminna appears for the first time as a recipient on day 21.

d) Niqum (I) *limmu* Zabzabu

Records for the following days are preserved: 2[+x?] 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10[+x], 11, 12, 13, 13[+x], 14?, 14[+x], 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 30, [x+]7, and a broken number, i.e. 21 days out of 30. Moreover, L91-302, with the number of the day broken, has exactly the same format as most of the texts from this month, although it is dated in month Niqum of *limmu* [Aššur]-taklāku. The reading of the remains of that name is quite certain, but several elements indicate that the text belongs in Zabzabu: there is no other text from month Niqum of *limmu* Aššur-taklāku, and the format of the text fits perfectly in the next year.

A well preserved example of this month is L91-247 (see fig. 7):

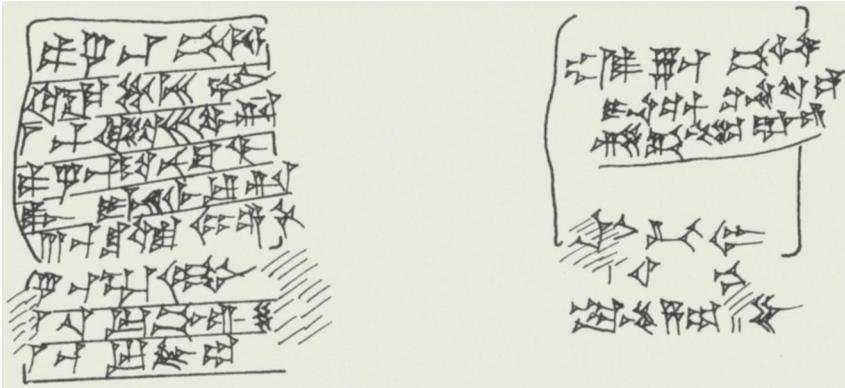


Fig. 7

Obv.	24 sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-meš-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> 24 sila <i>ša nu-ba-lim</i> 40 (sila) <i>dumu-meš ši-ip-ri</i> 3 sila <i>šu-ut Su-mi-e-tar</i>	28.8 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 28.8 liters for the sedan carriers; 48 liters for the messengers; 3.6 liters for the embassy of Sumi-etar;
Lo.E.	4 sila <i>Al-mi-in-[na]</i> 1 sila <i>Ib-bi-^aMar-t[u]</i> 1 sila <i>eb-bu-um</i>	4.8 liters for Alminna; 1.2 liters for Ibbi-Amurru; 1.2 liters for the ombudsman.
Rev.	<i>šu-nigin</i> 98 sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i>	Total: 117.6 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure,

zi-ga <i>Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i>	issued by Mutu-ramê.
iti <i>Ni-iq-mi</i>	Month I,
u ₄ 11 kam	Day 11,
li-mu <i>Za-ab-za-bu</i>	<i>limmu</i> Zabzabu.

The same format is found in all but four texts. These four add jars for illegible recipients, while two of them include an entry for carpenters. The record for day 8 is highly unusual in that it omits the reference to Mutu-ramê or to anyone else disbursing the beer.

e) Kinūnum (II) *limmu* Zabzabu

The first three preserved records of this month (days 1, 2, and 5) continue the pattern of month Niqumum. For the rest are preserved records of days 7, 9?, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and a broken day. These texts do not show a clear pattern, but all include the entries of L91-220 (see fig. 8):

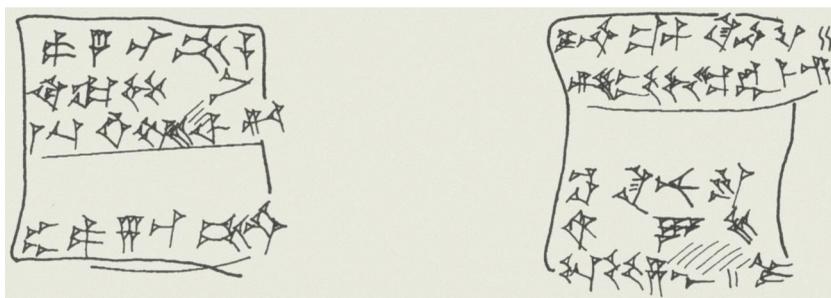


Fig. 8

Obv.	24 sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> šu-nigin 25 sila kaš-sig,	28.8 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri. Total: 30 liters good beer,
Rev.	<i>i-na</i> giš-bán <i>ki-na-te-e</i> zi-ga <i>Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> iti <i>Ki-nu-nim</i> u ₄ 7 kam li-mu <i>Za-ab-za-bu</i>	according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month II, day 7, <i>limmu</i> Zabzabu.

Two more days contain this summary list. The others add one or more entries: three times Umpi-šene, twice a wetnurse, and twice jars for an unclear recipient. The record for day 23 is quite unusual in that large amounts of the beer were issued, L91-391:

<p>Obv. 3 anše 20 (sila) kaš-sig₅ sá-sag gēme-meš-lugal 18 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> 16 sila lú-nagar 16 sila <i>ma-ka-al</i> [...] 2 <i>pi-ḥu</i> sig₅</p> <p>Lo.E. <i>a-na</i> sá-sag dumu-meš <i>ši-i</i>[p- <i>ri</i>]</p> <p>Rev. šu-nigin 3 anše 70 (sila) ka[š- sig₅] 2 <i>pi-ḥu</i> [sig₅] <i>i-na</i> giš-bán <i>k</i>[<i>i-na-te-e</i>] [<i>zi-g</i>]a <i>Mu-tu</i>-[<i>ra-me-e</i>]</p> <p>U.E. iti <i>Ki</i>-[<i>nu</i>-]nim u₄ 23 kam [<i>li-mu</i>] <i>Za-ab-za-bu</i></p>	<p>384 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 21.6 liters for Kileš-ewri; 19.2 liters for carpenters; 19.2 liters for the meal of [...]; 2 jars of good beer, for the food allotment for the messengers.</p> <p>Total: 444 liters good beer, 2 jars of good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month II, day 23, <i>limmu</i> Zabzabu.</p>
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These amounts are much larger than usual: Kileš-ewri normally only gets 1.2 liters. The quantity of beer received is even more surprising if we consider that he appears the day before with his usual ration, and that four days earlier almost the entire text is duplicated, this time with the usual lower amounts, however. We can only guess that some special treat was offered on the 23th.

f) Tamḥīrum (III) *limmu* Zabzabu

Relatively few texts from this month are preserved: they date to days 2, 4, 5, 11?, 18, and 20. E.g., L91-503 (see fig. 9):

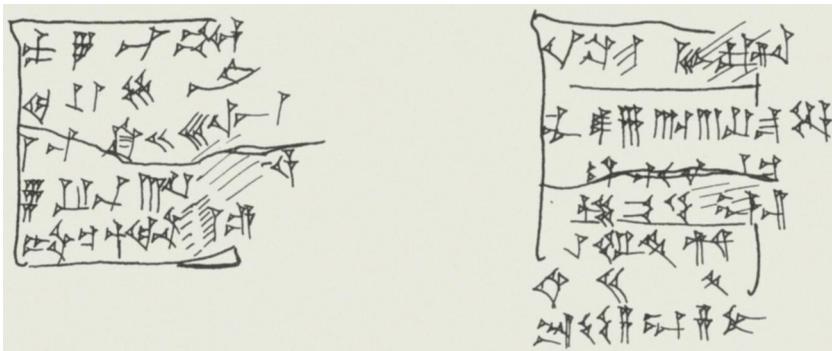


Fig. 9

<p>Obv. 27 sila kaš-sig₅ sá-sag gēme-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i></p>	<p>32.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri;</p>
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	8 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ [su] kaš-sig ₅ <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i>	10.47 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure,
Rev.	sá-sag du[mu]-meš <i>ši-ip-ri</i> šu-nigin 36 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ su kaš- sig ₅ <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> <i>iti Tām-ḫi-ri</i>	food allotment for the messengers. Total: 44.07 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê.
U.E.	u ₄ 20 kam <i>li-mu Za-ab-za-bu</i>	Month III, day 20, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i>

One text has the same entries, one omits the messengers, and two add one or more recipients. The text of day 18 is unusual in that it lists a total of ten jars for two individuals and a group of sedan carriers after Kileš-ewri. The month name is very faintly written and the text may date to another month.

g) Nabrûm (IV) *limmu Zabzabu*

The following days are represented in the preserved record for this month: 1, 1[+x], 2, 4?, 4[+x], 5, 6, 8, 10[+x], 11, 15, 16, 19, 20?, 20[+x], 21, 22, 24, and 25. E.g., L91-271 (see fig. 10):

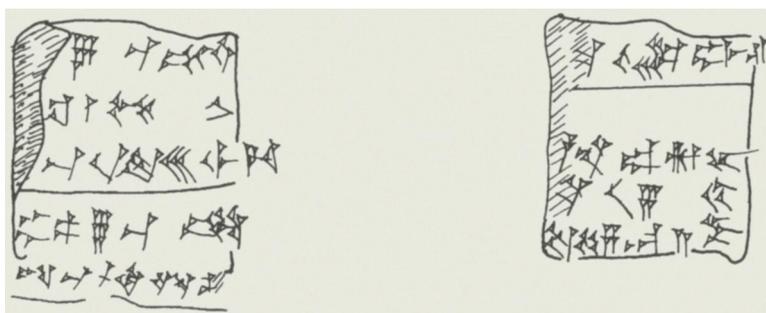


Fig. 10

Obv.	[2]7 sila kaš-sig ₅ [sá]-sag géme-lugal [1] sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> šu-nigin 28 sila kaš-sig ₅	32.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri. Total: 33.6 liters good beer,
Lo.E.	<i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i>	according to the menials' measure,
Rev.	[zi-g]a <i>Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> [it]i <i>Na-ab-ri-im</i> u ₄ 15 kam <i>li-mu Za-ab-za-bu</i>	issued by Mutu-ramê. Month IV, day 15, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i>

Four tablets are too damaged for reading. Seven have the same format as day 15, the rest add to it. Twice Umpi-šene is added. three times a jar is issued to an unclear recipient, and sedan-bearers and messengers each appear once.

h) Mammītum (V) *limmu Zabzabu*

Records for these days are preserved: 5, 10, 12, 13, 14?, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, and a broken day. E.g., L91-466 (see fig. 11):



Fig. 11

<p>Obv. 9$\frac{2}{3}$ [sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> 2 sila <i>Um-pi-še-né-e</i></p> <p>Rev. šu-nigin 12$\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán [k]i-na-te-e</i> zi-ga <i>Mu-[tu-ra]-me-e</i> iti <i>Ma-am-mi-tim</i></p> <p>U.E. u₄ 22 kam <i>li-mu Za-ab-za-bu</i></p>	<p>11.6 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 2.4 liters for Umpi-šene. Total: 15.2 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month V, day 22, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i></p>
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Nine other records have the same format. One omits Umpi-šene but adds three jars without indicating a recipient. Messengers are mentioned once, and three texts add an unclear entry.

i) Mana (VI) *limmu Zabzabu*

Records are preserved for these days: 1, 3, 5, 6, 7?, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19?, 20[+x?], 21, 23, and a broken day. E.g., L91-362 (see fig. 12):



Fig. 12

<p>Obv. 9$\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 1 [sila <i>Ki-le</i>]-eš-ew-ri 2 sila <i>Um-pi-še-né-e</i> 2 sila ^{Mi}<i>mu-še-ni-iq-tum</i></p> <p>Rev. šu-nigin 14$\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> zi-ga <i>Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> iti <i>Ma-na</i></p> <p>U.E. u₄ 5 kam <i>li-mu Za-ab-za-bu</i></p>	<p>11.6 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 2.4 liters for Umpi-šene; 2.4 liters for the wetnurse.</p> <p>Total: 17.6 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month VI, day 5, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i></p>
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Only five texts have the same format. Three omit the wetnurse, seven others omit Umpi-šene. On day 12 *Mi.IL?* seems to replace the wetnurse, and on three days unclear entries are added.

j) Watrum (VI²) *limmu Zabzabu*

The position of this month is not entirely certain, but a comparison with the texts from the preceding and succeeding months shows that it fits well here. These days are recorded: 2[+x], 4, 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, and 30. E.g., L91-508 (see fig. 13):



Fig. 13

Obv.	27 ^{2/3} sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 1 sila ^{Mi} <i>mu-še-ni-[iq-]tum</i>	33.2 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 1.2 liters for the wetnurse.
Rev.	šú-nigin 31 ^{2/3} sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga [Mu-tu]-ra-me-e</i> iti diri-ga	Total: 38 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month VI ² ,
U.E.	u ₄ 27 kam <i>[li-mu Za-ab]-za-bu</i>	day 27, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i>

Seven records have the same format, five add Warad-Šamaš, one of which also adds messengers. One text replaces the carpenters with an illegible entry, and one is too fragmentary to be legible.

k) Ayyarum (VII) *limmu Zabzabu*

Records exist for these days: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5[+x], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20?, 21, 22, 24?, 25, 27, 29?, 30, [30?+], and four broken days, i.e. 27 out of 31 days. E.g., L91-264 (see fig. 14):

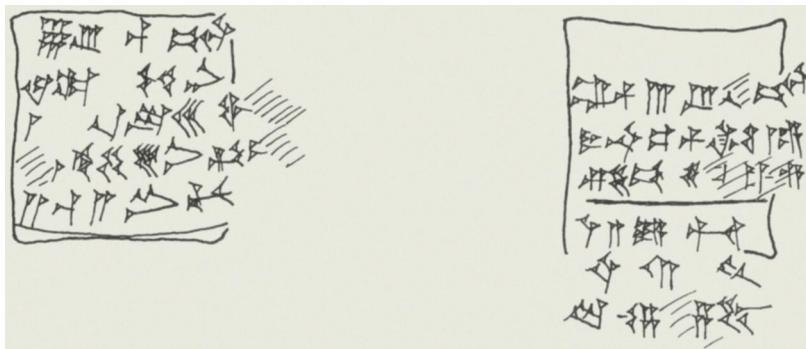


Fig. 14

Obv.	9 ^{2/3} sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 1 [sila] <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-[ri]</i> [1] sila ^{Mi} <i>mu-še-ni-iq-t[um]</i> 2 sila 2 lú-nagar	11.6 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 1.2 liters for the wetnurse; 2.4 liters for two carpenters.
Rev.	šú-nigin 13 ^{2/3} sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> iti <i>A-ia-ri</i> u ₄ 12 kam <i>li-mu Za-[ab]-za-bu</i>	Total: 16.4 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month VII, day 12, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i>

Two texts are too fragmentary to read. Ten have the same format as the example. Eleven texts omit the carpenters but in three of those Warad-Šamaš appears instead, and in three an unclear other recipient is listed. Warad-Šamaš is added to the standard list once, and 5 additional jars are issued on another day.

l) Addarum (VIII) *limmu* Zabzabu

Texts are preserved for these days: 2, 4, 6, 9, 12, 13[+x], 20, 21, 26, and two broken days. The first two records use the same format as the previous month, e.g., L91-642 (see fig. 15):

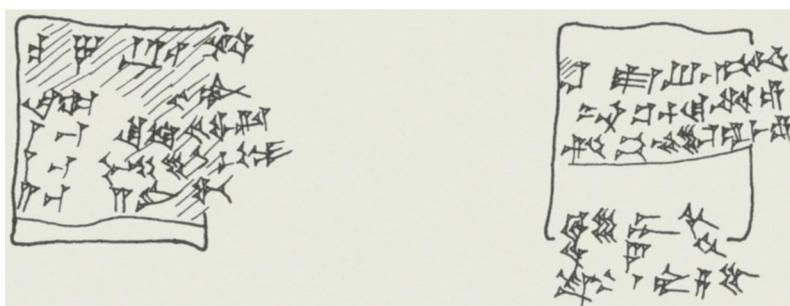


Fig. 15

<p>Obv. 27$\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 1 sila <i>Ki-le-eš-ew-ri</i> 1 sila ^{Mi}<i>mu-še-ni-iq-tum</i> 2 sila 2 lú-nagar</p>	<p>33.2 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; 1.2 liters for the wetnurse; 2.4 liters for two carpenters.</p>
<p>Rev. šu-nigin 31$\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i> iti še-kin-kud</p>	<p>Total: 38 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê Month VIII, day 4,</p>
<p>U.E. u₄ 4 kam <i>li-mu Za-az-za-bu</i></p>	<p><i>limmu</i> Zabzabu.</p>

Starting with day 6, Kileš-ewri disappears never to return. The texts maintain the other recipients, however, except once when the wetnurse is omitted, and once when Warad-Šamaš is added.

m) Maqrānum (IX) *limmu* Zabzabu

Of this month the following days are recorded: 1, 3, 6, 8, 10[+x], 16, 17, 19?, 21?, 22, and 27. In the first part of the month, up until day

10[+x], the records are short and similar in format to those of the previous months, e.g., L91-738 (see fig. 16):



Fig. 16

<p>Obv. 2[9]²/₃ sila kaš-sig₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2 sila Ìr-^dUtu šu-nigin 33¹/₃ sila kaš-sig₅</p> <p>Lo.E. [i]-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</p> <p>Rev. zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-[e] iti Ma-aq-ra-nim u₄ 8 kam</p> <p>U.E. limu Za-az-za-[bu]</p>	<p>35.6 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2.4 liters for Warad-Šamaš. Total: 40.4 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month IX, day 8, limmu Zabzabu.</p>
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One record has the same format, another replaces Warad-Šamaš with messengers. The two remaining records are too fragmentary to determine their contents, except for that they were short texts. One of them has a very large total: 1 *imēr* ²/₃ *qû* 6 [s u].

From day 16 on the texts become much longer, and start to include a large variety of personal names, e.g., L91-696:

<p>Obv. 28²/₃ sila kaš-sig₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2 sila Gu-mu-ši 2 sila Lú-^dIM 2 sila Me-me-en-a-tal 1 sila Ku-li-ú ¹/₃ sila Jú-um-ra-aš-AN</p> <p>Lo.E. [... Ib-n]i-ia</p> <p>Rev. šu-[.....] sila [kaš-sig₅] [i-n]a giš-bán [ki-na-te-e] z[i-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e]</p>	<p>34.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2.4 liters for Gumuši; 2.4 liters for Awīl-Adad; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 1.2 liters for ..., 0.4 liter for Jumraš-El; [x] liter(s) for Ibnia. Total: [y] liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê.</p>
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	iti <i>Ma-aq-ra-nim</i>	Month IX,
	u ₄ 27 kam	day 27,
U.E.	<i>li-mu Za-az-za-[bu]</i>	<i>limmu Zabzabu.</i>

The variations become too complicated to describe in detail, but we see that the basic format is preserved with names added or subtracted, and sometimes groups of people such as messengers or sedan carriers added.

n) Dumuzi (X) *limmu* Zabzabu

Preserved are the records for the following days: 3[+x], 4, 7, 12, 13?, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 10[+x], 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30, and two broken days. E.g., L91-746 (see fig. 17):

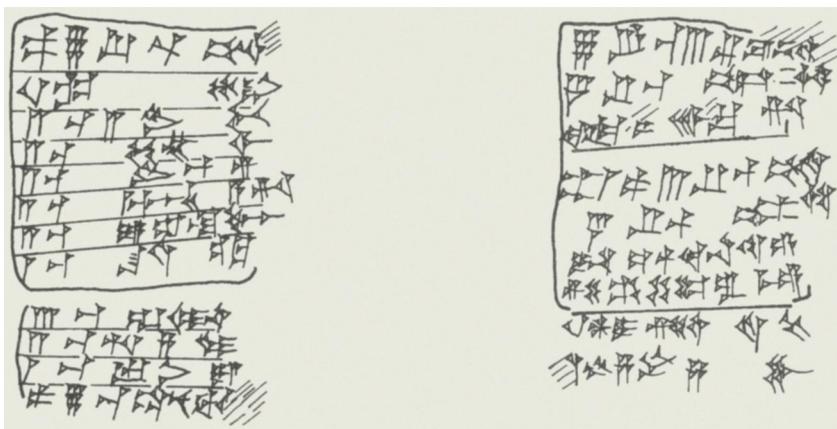


Fig. 17

Obv.	28 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2 sila <i>Gu-mu-ši</i> 2 sila Lú- ^d IM 2 sila <i>Me-me-en-a-tal</i> 2 sila <i>Ia-ap-la-aḫ-AN</i> 1 sila <i>šu-ut</i> ^g istukul	34.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2.4 liters for Gumušī; 2.4 liters for Awīl-Adad; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 2.4 liters for Japlaḫ-El; 1.2 liters for the arms-bearer(s);
Lo.E.	3 sila <i>Al-mi-na</i> 2 sila <i>Ḫu-za-nim</i> 1 sila <i>Ib-ni-ia</i> 28 sila <i>ša nu-ba-lim</i>	3.6 liters for Alminna; 2.4 liters for Ḫuzanum; 1.2 liters for Ibnia; 33.6 liters for the sedan bearers;
Rev.	8 $\frac{3}{8}$ sila 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ su kaš-sig ₅ 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ sila kaš ús-sa-sig ₅ sá-sag dumu-meš <i>ši-ip-ri</i>	10.67 liters good beer, 5.2 liters good <i>billatum</i> -beer, food allotment for the messengers.

<p> šu-nigin 83$\frac{1}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, 4$\frac{1}{3}$ sila ús-sa-sig, i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e U.E. iti ⁴Dumi-zi u₄ 21 kam li-mu Za-az-za-bu </p>	<p> Total: 100 liters good beer, 5.2 liters good <i>billatum</i>-beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month X, day 21, <i>limmu</i> Zabzabu. </p>
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There are many changes from day to day, mostly the omission of the entries after Memen-atal and their replacement by people such as Ili-erab, Jumraš-El, Ili-iddinam and NI.UD.

We have an additional record of a beer issue by Mutu-ramê on day 18, but the text differs in format from the other texts of this archive: L91-822 (see fig. 18):

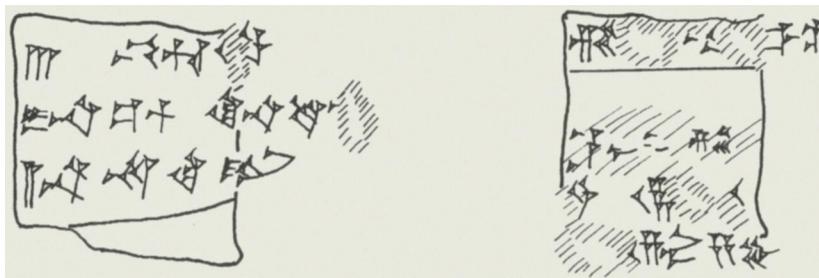


Fig. 18

<p> Obv. 3 pi-hu sig, i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e a-na ir-di lugal Rev. zi-[ga Mu]-t[u-ra]-me-e iti ⁴Dumu-zi u₄ 18 kam [li-mu] Za-az-za-bu </p>	<p> 3 jars of good beer, according to the menials' measure, to the royal servants, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month X, day 18, <i>limmu</i> Zabzabu. </p>
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This text more or less proves that Mutu-ramê issued beer to people other than those recorded in the majority of the texts of this archive. This tablet is sealed by Šamaš-dajjān, as are most other disbursement records.

o) Abum (XI) *limmu* Zabzabu

For this month we have records of the following days: 1, 2, 5[+x?], 9, 12, 19, 23, and [x+]2. E.g., L91-689 (see fig. 19):

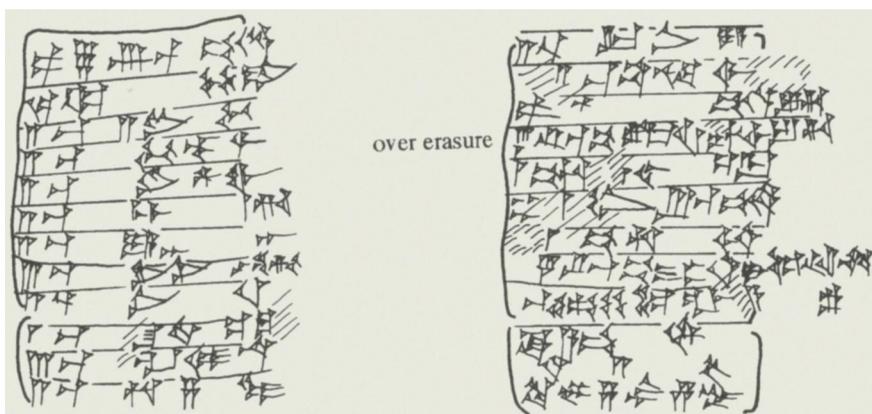


Fig. 19

Obv.	28 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2 sila <i>Gu-mu-ši</i> 2 sila Lú- ^d IM 2 sila <i>Me-me-[en]-a-tal</i> 2 sila <i>Ia-a[p-la-ah]-AN</i> 3 sila <i>Ì-li-i-din-nam</i> 2 sila NI.UD	34.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2.4 liters for Gumuši; 2.4 liters for Awil-Adad; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 2.4 liters for Japlah-El; 3.6 liters for Ili-iddinam 2.4 liters for ...;
Lo.E.	1 sila <i>šu-ut</i> ⁸ is ₅ tukul 3 sila <i>Al-mi-na</i> 2 sila <i>Ĥu-za-num</i>	1.2 liters for the arms-bearer(s); 3.6 liters for Alminna; 2.4 liters for Ĥuzanum;
Rev.	2 sila <i>Ib-ni-ia</i> [x] sila <i>ša nu-ba-lim</i> 20[+x] sila kaš-sig ₅ << <i>ip-ri</i> >> 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ sila kaš ús-sa-sig ₅ <i>dumu-meš ši-ip-ri</i> 1 <i>pí-ĥu sig₅ Mi? iL?</i>	2.4 liters for Ibbnia; [x] liters for the sedan carriers; 24[+x] liters good beer, 5.2 liters good <i>billatum</i> -beer for the messengers; 1 jar of good beer for the female carriers?
	<i>šu-nigin</i> 1 anše $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ 1 <i>pí-ĥu sig₅</i> 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ sila kaš ús-sa-sig ₅ <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i>	Total: 120.8 liters good beer, 1 jar of good beer, 5.2 liters good <i>billatum</i> -beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê.
U.E.	iti <i>A-bi-im</i> u ₄ 2 kam <i>li-mu Za-az-za-bu</i>	Month XI, day 2, <i>limmu Zabzabu.</i>

The other texts of this month usually omit some of the recipients, especially NI.UD, the arms-bearer and Alminna. Ibbi-Amurru or Zaranu are sometimes added instead.

p) Tírum (XII) *limmu* Zabzabu

Most records from this month are poorly preserved. These days are attested: 2, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 21, 23, 29, [x+]4, and two broken days. E.g., L91-745 (see fig. 20):

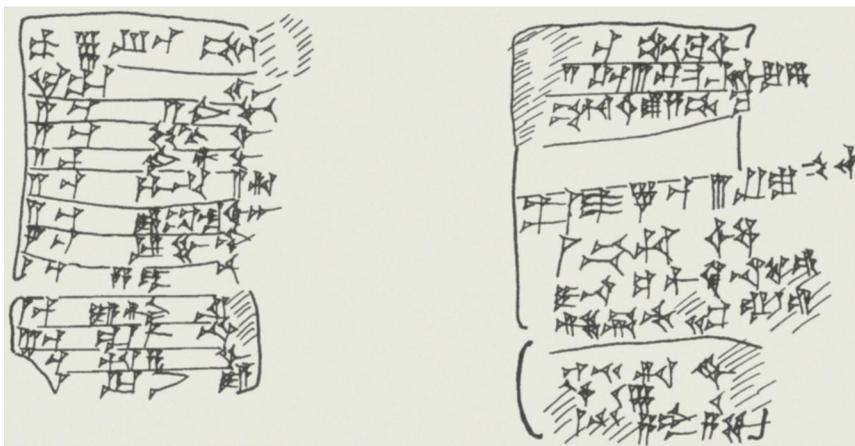


Fig. 20

Obv.	29 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig, sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2 sila <i>Gu-mu-ši</i> 2 sila Lú- ^{IM} 2 sila <i>Me-me-en-a-tal</i> 2 sila <i>Ja-ap-la-aḥ-AN</i> 4 sila <i>eb-bu-tim</i> 1 sila <i>Za-ra-nu</i>	35.6 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2.4 liters for Gumuši; 2.4 liters for Awīl-Adad; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 2.4 liters for Japlaḥ-El; 4.8 liters for the ombudsmen; 1.2 liters for Zaranu;
Lo.E.	1 sila <i>la-qi-iš</i> 3 sila <i>Al-me-na</i> 2 sila <i>Ḫu-za-núm</i> [x] sila <i>Ib-ni-ia</i>	1.2 liters for Jaqiš; 3.6 liters for Alminna; 2.4 liters for Ḫuzanum; [x] liters for Ibnia;
Rev.	[x] sila <i>ša nu-ba-lim</i> [x] $\frac{1}{3}$ sila 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ su dumu-meš <i>ši-ip-ri</i> [x] <i>pí-ḫu sig₅ ú-sa-am-ma</i> <i>šu-nigin 97 sila 3$\frac{1}{3}$ su kaš-sig</i> 1 <i>pí-ḫu sig₅</i> <i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i> <i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i>	[x] liters for the sedan-bearers; [x] liters for the messengers; [x] jar(s) of good beer ... Total: 116.47 liters good beer, 1 jar of good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê.
U.E.	iti <i>Ti-ri-im</i> u ₄ 16 kam <i>li-mu Za-az-za-bu</i>	Month XII, day 16, <i>limmu</i> Zabzabu.

Of the legible records most omit one or more entries, often with Tulipa-xxx as a replacement.

q) Niqumum (I) *limmu* Aḫuwaqar

The texts from this month show again considerable changes in the middle of the month: in the first half of the month large numbers of recipients are recorded, as appeared in the texts of the previous month. In the second half the number of recipients is greatly reduced. For the first half the following days are attested: 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, and a broken day. E.g., L91-694 (see fig. 21):

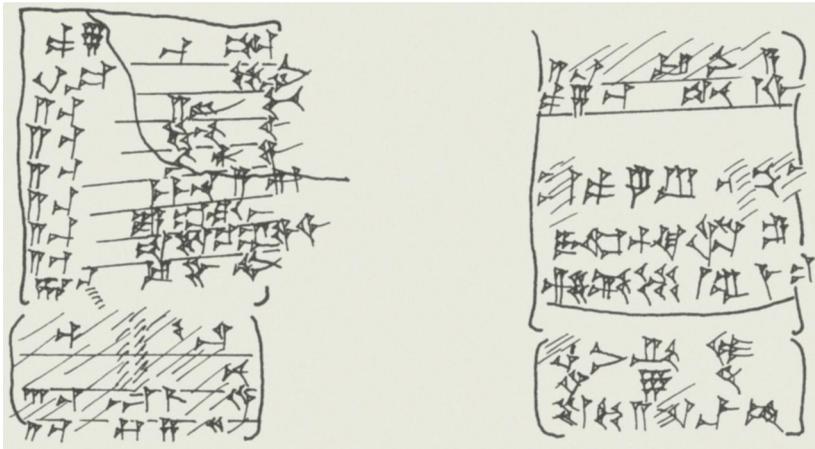


Fig. 21

Obv.	28 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2 sila <i>Gu-mu-ši</i> 2 sila Lú- ^d IM 2 sila <i>Me-me-en-a-tal</i> 2 sila <i>Ja-ap-la-aḫ-AN</i> 2 sila <i>Tu-li-pa-RA.WA.ŠI</i> 6 sila <i>eb-bu-tim</i>	34.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2.4 liters for Gumuši; 2.4 liters for Awīl-Adad; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 2.4 liters for Japlaḫ-El; 2.4 liters for Tulipa-...; 7.2 liters for the ombudsmen;
Lo.E.	[x] sila [<i>la-qī</i>]-iš [x] sila <i>Za-ra-nu</i> 3 sila <i>Al-me-na</i> 2 sila <i>Ḫu-za-núm</i>	[x] liters for Jaqiš; [x] liters for Zaranu; 3.6 liters for Alminna; 2.4 liters for Ḫuzanum;
Rev.	2 sila <i>Ib-ni-ia</i> 25 sila <i>ša nu-ba-lim</i> šu-nigin 84 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅	2.4 liters for Ibnia; 30 liters for the sedan-bearers. Total: 101.6 liters good beer,

	<i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</i>	according to the menials' measure,
	<i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i>	issued by Mutu-ramê
U.E.	<i>iti Ni-iq-mi</i>	Month I,
	<i>u₄ 8 kam</i>	day 8,
	<i>li-mu A-ḥu-wa-qar</i>	<i>limmu Aḥuwaqar.</i>

Most of the texts from this period are very fragmentary; they usually add jars for one or more unclear destinations. This pattern is changed from day 15 on, when the texts become much shorter, omitting most of the personal names previously found. The days preserved are: 15, 16, 20, 22, 27, 28, and two with broken numbers. E.g., L91-731:

Obv.	29 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅	35.6 liters good beer,
	sá-sag g[éme-lugal]	food allotment for the royal harem;
	2 sila [2 lú-naga]r	2.4 liters for two carpenters;
	6 sila <i>eb-[bu-]tim</i>	7.2 liters for the ombudsmen;
	2 sila <i>Me-me-en-a-tal</i>	2.4 liters for Memen-atal;
	1 sila <i>Iš-qi-ia</i>	1.2 liters for Išqia.
Rev.	šú-nigin 40 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅]	Total: 48.8 liters good beer,
	[<i>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-]e</i>	according to the menials' measure,
	[<i>zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-]e</i>	issued by Mutu-ramê.
U.E.	<i>iti Ni-iq-mi</i>	Month I,
	<i>u₄ 16 k[am]</i>	day 16,
	<i>li-mu A-ḥu-wa-qar</i>	<i>limmu Aḥuwaqar.</i>

Five other texts have the same pattern, the three others add one or two recipients.

r) Kinūnum (II) *limmu Aḥuwaqar*

The pattern of the second part of the previous month is continued here in records of days 9, 13, 17, 21, 22, 27, 28, [x+]₆, and two broken numbers. E.g., L91-750 (see fig. 22):



Fig. 22

Obv.	21 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 2 sila <i>Me-me-en-a-tal</i> 2 sila <i>Ì-lí-i-din-nam</i> [2] sila <i>Iš-qí-ia</i>	26 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 2.4 liters for Ili-iddinam; 1.2 liters for Išqia.
Rev.	šu-nigin 27 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ <i>i-na</i> [giš-bán <i>kī</i>]- <i>na-te-e</i> [z]i-[ga] <i>Mu-[tu]-ra-me-e</i> iti <i>Ki-nu-nim</i>	Total: 33.2 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramê. Month II,
U.E.	u ₄ 13 kam <i>li-mu A-ḥu-wa-qar</i>	day 13, <i>limmu Aḥuwaqar.</i>

Three texts show the same entries, while three omit Memen-atal and Išqia. One with a broken day has the same format as L91-732 of the previous month.

s) Tamḥīrum (III) *limmu Aḥuwaqar*

Records of days 1, 3, 4?, 7, 10[+x], 11, 16, 21, 22, 25, and 26 are preserved. They include the shortest texts of the archive, just listing the royal harem, e.g. L91-799:

Obv.	31 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila kaš-sig ₅ sá-sag géme-lugal zi-ga <i>Mu-tu-ra-me-e</i>	40 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem, issued by Mutu-ramê.
Rev.	iti <i>Tám-ḥi-ri</i> u ₄ 26 kam <i>li-mu A-ḥu-wa-qar</i>	Month III, day 26, <i>limmu Aḥuwaqar.</i>

Three more days have the same single entry. Three others only add Ili-iddinam, while two have a jar for sedan-bearers or for a woman named Ar-wītum. One additional text includes more recipients, but the month name is very unclear.

t) Nabrûm *limmu Aḥuwaqar*

Records of the following days are preserved: 5, 6, 12, 13, 14?, 15, 16[+x?], 17, 21, 23, 24, and a broken day. E.g., L91-828:

Obv.	30[+x] sila kaš-sig ₅ sá-sag géme-lugal 3 sila <i>Za-ra-nu</i> 2 sila <i>Me-me-en-[a-tal]</i> 1 sila <i>Ú-sur-pí-i-lugal</i> 3 sila <i>Al-me-na</i>	36[+x] liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 3.6 liters for Zaranu; 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 1.2 liters for Ušur-pī-šarrim; 3.6 liters for Alminna;
Lo.E.	1 sila <i>Ḥu-za-nûm</i> 8 $\frac{2}{3}$ sila 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ [su]	1.2 liters for Ḥuzanum; 9.67 liters,
Rev.	sá-sag dumu-meš <i>ši-ip-r[i]</i>	food allotment for the messengers.

	šu-nigin 51½ sila 3⅓ su	Total: 61.87 liters good beer,
	kaš-sig ₅	
	i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e	according to the menials' measure,
	zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e	issued by Mutu-ramê.
U.E.	iti Na-ab-ri	Month IV,
	u ₄ 12 kam	day 12,
	li-mu A-ḥu-wa-qar	limmu Aḥuwaqar.

The other texts often add to this list, and there is great variation in the people appearing.

This survey of the format of the records shows clearly that there were substantial variations over time, but that the changes occurred slowly. The shortest records document only issues to the royal harem women, who are always present. From the middle of month IX Zabzabu to the middle of month I Aḥuwaqar the records are very lengthy, including a large number of individuals. Three types of entries are found: names of individuals, professional groups, and accounting terms.

The individuals listed are quite limited in number. They can be divided into three groups based on the linguistic affiliation of their name: Akkadian, Amorite, and Hurrian. There is no reason to assume that the language of their names identifies their ethnicity.

Akkadian: Aḥi-malik, Awīl-Adad, Gumuši²², Ibbi-Amurru, Ibbia, Ili-dinam, Išqia, Ušur-pī-šarrim, and Warad-Šamaš. A woman named Arwītum appears once.

Amorite: Alminna or Almenna²³, Ḥuzanum, Ili-erah, Japlah-El, Jaqiš, Jumraš-El, Sumi-etar, and Zaranu²⁴.

Hurrian: Kileš-ewri, Ku-li-ú²⁵, Memen-atal, Tulipa-RA.WA.ŠI²⁶, and Umpi-šene. The name NI.UD is unclear to me.

The professional groups that receive the beer are varied in nature. They include women of the royal harem (g_ém_e-l_ug_al) who are always issued the beer as a food allotment (sá-sag for sá-dug), messengers who sometimes are receiving the beer as an allotment, sometimes without a specification, the sedan-bearers (*ša nubalim*)²⁷, one or two carpenters, one or more wetnurses, cooks, arms-bearers (*šūt* ^gistukul), and the embassy of a man named Sumi-etar, who probably also appears as an individual.

²² This name is unclear to me.

²³ Cf. the element 'alm in names such as *Al-ma-nu-um* (Gelb, *AS* 21, 233).

²⁴ This name may include the root *z'r*; cf. *AS* 21, 370.

²⁵ The reading and interpretation of this name are uncertain. There exists a Hurrian element *kul-* (*NPN* 229), as well as the name *Ku-li*, which might not be Hurrian.

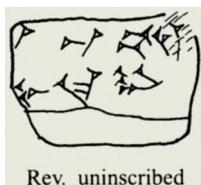
²⁶ The element *Tu-li-pa* is Hurrian (*NPN* 268), but the rest of the name remains unclear to me.

²⁷ See B. Groneberg, *MARI* 6 (1990) 161-180 for this term.

The terms *ebbum* and *ebbūtum* with or without *ša maškanim* appear as well. A recent study concluded that the *ebbum* in the Mari texts was the man who verified what is missing in accounts, a “prud’homme” in French, a term translated as ombudsman in English²⁸. The plural of this professional designation is *lú-meš ebbūtum*, while the term *ebbūtum* by itself refers to the activity that the ombudsman performs. In view of the strict parallelism between *ebbum* and *ebbūtum* in the texts studied here, I would prefer the second to be the plural form of the first rather than a different accounting term. These officials are said to work for the threshing floor, i.e. the place where Mutu-ramê obtains his supplies.

There appears a number of accounting terms in these lists, usually indicating the purpose of the beer issue. Normally no special purpose is noted, just x liters for a recipient. But with the harem women it is always stated that it was for their food allotment, while for the messengers this is only sometimes stated. Similar terms occur on rare occasions: the beer can be for a meal (*mākālum*), a food ration (*nebrītum*), or a drinking ration (*maštīt* PN). The latter term appears only with two men, Sumi-etar and Aḫi-malik. It appears regularly in the Old Babylonian texts from Babylonia, but so far had not been found in the north. Sometimes amounts of beer were issued individually (*zi-ga di dli*) without stating who received it. Early texts include a phrase I do not understand: (*ana*) *wa-tar-meš ù nu-wa-meš*. Possibly it refers to an accounting procedure balancing the accounts to adjust for excesses or arrears in the stock, but the phrase remains unclear to me, and is to my knowledge unparalleled in texts from this period.

In general the terminology and recipients found in these texts were thus very standardized, and we cannot understand exactly why a differentiation in terms was sometimes made. We may have an indication of how the system of beer distribution worked. A small and flat tag, containing only two lines, was found mixed with the tablets of this archive, L91-455A (see fig. 23):



Rev. uninscribed

Fig. 23

²⁸ C. Michel, *MARI* 6 (1990) 181-218. M. Deloy Pack, “^{LU}*ebbum* as a Professional Title at

1 sila kaš-sig₅
[i]r-di lugal

1.2 liters good beer,
(for) the royal servants.

The tag was sealed, but it is unclear by whom. It might be that people were issued such small tags, almost like coupons, which they could cash in with beer in Mutu-ramê's office. The latter only kept a record of what he took out of his stock, and discarded the tags. The one found here may have been accidentally thrown in with the records he kept on file.

Only three types of beer were issued. By far the most common is kaš-sig₅, "good beer" issued by the *qu*. "Good beer" is also distributed in jars, *pihu* sig₅, and when this happens the entries are totalled separately. There is no information available about the size of these jars, although they were clearly regarded as a standard unit. Their contents seems not to have been considered a large and convertible multiple of the *qu*, as amounts of more than 100 *qu* appear in these texts, and I doubt that jars of more than 120 liters were carried around. In Mari beer jars of twenty liters are attested²⁹, and Bottéro reasonably stated that the "jar"-measure there was as well understood as the "pint" is today in England. But was the beer of the same quality as that issued in *qu*? Somehow, I doubt that as it would not have made sense to add it up separately. A third type of beer, always issued in *qu*, is kaš-ús-sa sig₅, "good *billatum*-beer". The *CAD* (B 227-228) identifies this as a liquid, or as a dry ingredient, used in the preparation of beer, and Oppenheim sees it as "some kind of paste given out as rations to workmen and soldiers"³⁰. It appears once in the records of issues to Mutu-ramê and it must have been the ultimate stage of the brew before it turned into beer. It is remarkable, in my view, that the amounts of kaš-ús-sa sig₅ are sometimes, though rarely, calculated to a third of a *su* (for *gin*). The value of the *su* in the *imēru* system of Northern Mesopotamia is not known, but a *su* is usually $\frac{1}{60}$ of a *sila*. If this were true in the Northern Mesopotamian system as well, measurements as accurate as .007 liters would have been possible, which seems unlikely in my opinion. Perhaps the relationship *sila*/*su* was different in the *imēru* system.

B) Barley rations

A much smaller group of tablets records the issues of barley rations. Seven fragments of this nature were found in room 10, none of them with

Mari", in: Gordon D. Young, *Mari in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, Indiana 1992) 249-264 translates "registrar-accountant".

²⁹ E.g. ARM VII 263 i 10. Cf. Bottéro, *ibid.* 351.

³⁰ *Beer* 54.

their date preserved. They all belonged to large, and probably multi-column, tablets. Among the records of the beer archive in room 12 a completely preserved tablet was found, L91-550, containing four columns listing amounts of barley and personal names, and a summary. The text is dated in month Mana (VI) of the *limmu* Zabzabu, and the part of the tablet where the summation appears is sealed, seemingly by Šamaš-dajjān. The proximity of a barley issuing office to a beer office is not surprising as both products are very similar in nature, and formed the basis of Mesopotamian rations. Nor is it unexpected that Šamaš-dajjān would have supervised the issues by both offices. Two additional texts found together with the beer archive record issues of cereals: one of barley, barley for beer, and bread to messenger, and of barley as fodder for donkeys by Ja'uš-Addu, the other of barley for malt by Mutu-ramê to a recipient whose name is broken.

And finally there is a very important document, found with the beer archive in room 12, that provides a summary of Mutu-ramê's accounts for a nine month period. Surprisingly, it does not record issues of beer, but of barley for good beer. L91-206 (see fig. 24):

Obv.	6 anše 9 sila [x] su še kaš-sig, zi-ga iti ^d Dumu-zi	730.8[+x] liters barley for good beer issued: Month X.
	[3+]3 anše 86% [sila] še kaš iti <i>A-bi-im</i>	824.2 liters barley for beer: Month XI.
	[x] anše 20 sila še kaš iti <i>Ti-ri</i>	24[+x] liters barley for beer: Month XII.
	[<i>i-mu</i>] ^d <i>A-šur-ták-la-ku</i>	<i>limmu</i> Aššur-taklāku.

double line

	7 anše 21[+x]½ sila še kaš zi- ga <i>xx-tim</i>	865.8[+x] liters barley for beer issued to ...;
	7 anše 20 (sila) [?] <i>ša nu-ba-lim</i>	864 liters for the sedan-bearers;
	9 anše 22 sila [.. dum]u-meš <i>ši- ip-ri</i>	1106.4 liters for the messengers;
	2 anše [x+]4 sila <i>sá-sag g[éme- lugal]</i>	244.8[+x] liters, food allotment for the royal harem:
Lo.E.	iti <i>Ni-iq-mi</i>	Month I.

single line

	14 anše 19 sila 10 su [....] iti <i>Ki-nu-ni[m]</i>	1703 liters [barley for beer]: Month II.
--	--	---

single line

Rev.	10 anše 25⅔ sila š[e kaš] iti <i>Tám-ḫi-ri</i>	1230.8 liters barley for beer: Month III.
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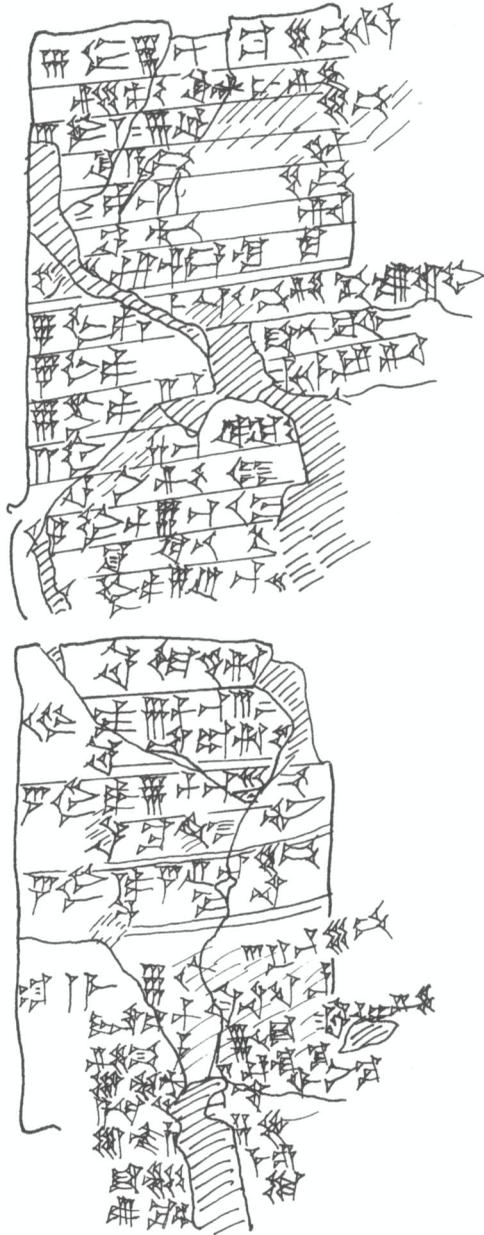


Fig. 24

single line

10 anše 36½ sila 3 s[u ...] 1243.86 liters [barley for beer]:
iti [N]a-ab-ri-i[m] Month IV.

double line

4 anše 49½ sila še kaš 539.4 liters barley for beer:
iti Ma-am-mi-tim Month V.

double line

4 anše 84⅓ sila še kaš 581.2 liters barley for beer:
iti Ma-na Month VI.

double line

šu-nigin 1 me 9 anše [...] 3⅓ Total: 13,084[+x] liters barley for beer,
sila še kaš according to the menials' measure,
i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e issued over 9 months from month X
zi-ga iti 9-kam iš-tu iti 4Dumu-
zi
li-mu 4[A]-šur-ták-la-ku limmu Aššur-taklāku
a-di i[ti M]a-na IGI.NI.MA until month VI ...
li-mu Za-[ab-]za-bu limmu Zabzabu,
ša Mu-t[u-ra]-me-e which Mutu-ramê
ú-ba-a[l-li-]tu accounted for.

The crucial term in this document is *bulluṭu*, for which Durand has established the French translation “ventiler”, i.e. to perform an accounting operation establishing a periodic balance³¹. So we do not have a record of the barley for beer issued by Mutu-ramê, but an account he made up to establish the value of the barley issued over nine months. The amounts are enormous, a total of more than 13,000 liters. Although the entries of month I include the regular recipients of beer from Mutu-ramê, as is clear from the daily beer records from that month, this account does not seem to add these issues together, unless it calculates the amounts of barley used to produce the beer.

4) CONCLUSIONS

The archives that are preserved here derive from an institution that issued food and drink rations to royal dependents. Beer was issued on a daily basis, and granted to widely varying groups of people, who could come and go. Why some people were included for a while and then disappeared

³¹ “Sur un emploi du verbe *bulluṭum*”, *MARI* 3 (1984) 260-263.

is not obvious, although the changes may have to do with the authority controlling the institution, as I will discuss presently. The central character in the archive is Mutu-ramê, who must have worked very hard, as he appears almost every day in a twenty month period of time. The preserved records only treat one aspect of his activities. He received ingredients for the brewing of beer, and distributed the finished product. It seems certain that he also served people not attested in the records studied here, and that he was involved with barley deliveries as well. The beer archive seems to have been an active archive, not the discards of a dead archive, and possibly more texts of it are still to be found. The coherence of the group shows that these texts were being filed continuously in jars in room 12. The archive does not tell us where the beer was brewed and stored, but possibly the building where it was found fulfilled those functions as well.

Although these texts' subject matter is rather mundane, they include valuable historical information. Most of the records of beer disbursements were sealed by Šamaš-dajjān, who calls himself a servant of Qarni-Lim. Qarni-Lim was the king of Andarig, a city probably located south of the Sindjar mountains³², and is attested in Mari texts from the years Zimri-Lim 4' to 8', i.e. 1770-1766. His contemporary at Šubat-Enlil was Haja-abum, who ruled in the years ZL 4' to 9', i.e. 1770 to 1765. Haja-abum's actual rule at Leilan is demonstrated by 227 sealings of Bēlī-emūqī, a servant of Haja-abum, found on the acropolis during an earlier excavation season³³. So what was a servant of Qarni-Lim doing in a high office at Šubat-Enlil?

We know that Atamrum of Andarig officially took control of Šubat-Enlil in ZL 9' after his general, Lawula-Addu, had murdered Haja-abum, and a short interval when Kunnam, representing the sukkal of Elam, had been master of the city³⁴. It is possible that at that time Šamaš-dajjān, an old servant of Qarni-Lim was sent to the newly annexed city to run the granary. But would he have kept a seal honoring the deceased Qarni-Lim, rather than getting a new one acknowledging Atamrum, the new ruler? Although possible, this seems unlikely, and it also conceivable that Šamaš-dajjān was active in Šubat-Enlil when Qarni-Lim was still alive. When we look at the career of Qarni-Lim we see that he exercised a large degree of control over Šubat-Enlil. When Haja-abum's predecessor, Turum-natki, died in ZL 3', Qarni-Lim organized the funeral and forced the kings of the region to place Zūzū on the throne of Šubat-Enlil. Soon afterwards Zūzū

³² See *Les Dossiers d'archéologie*, No 155 (Dec. 1990) 42.

³³ Cf. Harvey Weiss, "Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil", *MARI* 4 (1985) 283.

³⁴ See D. Charpin, "Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum", *MARI* 5 (1987) 129-140 for the history of Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamši-Adad.

died, and we have a Mari letter describing how Qarni-Lim was told three different stories about the circumstances of the death, perhaps while residing in Šubat-Enlil³⁵. Together with Zimri-Lim he decided to place Haja-abum on Šubat-Enlil's throne, and Qarni-Lim kept a close eye on the new king. A treaty found at Leilan was concluded between an unidentified party and Qarni-Lim conjointly with Haja-abum, with Qarni-Lim seemingly as the leader of the coalition³⁶, and several Mari letters relate how Qarni-Lim often stayed at Šubat-Enlil³⁷.

It is thus possible that Qarni-Lim of Andarig had a residence in Šubat-Enlil, which was maintained by his administration, and permanently staffed with at least a skeleton staff. When Qarni-Lim's people visited Šubat-Enlil they were provided with beer and bread rations by Mutu-ramê, who worked under the supervision of Šamaš-dajjān, a representative of Qarni-Lim. The visitors included people only identified by name, such as Ibnia, and courtiers such as the sedan bearers, or a wetnurse. They probably travelled around the region, as their number in Šubat-Enlil varied constantly. Hence the changes in the numbers of recipients of the beer. Interestingly, harem women were constantly present, seemingly ready for Qarni-Lim at all times.

LIST OF FIGURES

A) Sealings

1. seal of Šamaš-dajjān, reconstructed from several impressions. Scale 2:1, drawing of design by Ellen Knight.
2. seal without inscription on L91-748. Scale 2:1, drawing by Ellen Knight.

B) Tablets

	excavation number	dimensions in mm.	seal
3.	L91-400	28×27×14	without inscription
4.	L91-399	31×28×12	Šamaš-dajjān

³⁵ A.350+A.616, see D. Charpin in: J.-M. Durand, *Tell Mohammed Diyab: Campagnes 1987 et 1988* (Paris 1990) 117-122.

³⁶ Cf. Jesper Eidem, "An Old Assyrian treaty from Tell Leilan", *Mélanges P. Garelli* (Paris 1991) 185 note 2.

³⁷ See Moshe Anbar, "Les relations entre Zimri-Lim, roi de Mari, et Qarni-Lim, roi d'Andarig", *JCS* 33 (1981) 48-51.

	excavation number	dimensions in mm.	seal
5.	L91-306	33×28×13	Šamaš-dajjān
6.	L91-504	30×26×13	Šamaš-dajjān
7.	L91-247	32×28×14	none
8.	L91-220	31×28×13	Šamaš-dajjān
9.	L91-503	32×30×12	Šamaš-dajjān
10.	L91-271	28×28×13	Šamaš-dajjān
11.	L91-466	27×27×12	Šamaš-dajjān
12.	L91-362	28×26×15	Šamaš-dajjān
13.	L91-508	28×27×15	Šamaš-dajjān
14.	L91-264	28×27×14	Šamaš-dajjān
15.	L91-642	27×24×13	Šamaš-dajjān
16.	L91-738	26×25×13	Šamaš-dajjān
17.	L91-746	35×30×13	Šamaš-dajjān
18.	L91-822	28×25×15	Šamaš-dajjān
19.	L91-689	35×32×14	Šamaš-dajjān
20.	L91-745	36×30×15	Šamaš-dajjān
21.	L91-694	39×37×14	Šamaš-dajjān
22.	L91-750	26×23×13	Šamaš-dajjān
23.	L91-455A	15×25×7	illegible
24.	L91-206	68×42×16	none

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