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 7. The tablets were found in a building with twelve interconnected rooms, identified as a palace by the excavator. 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 I2), 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’Eufraete 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, Aḫuwaqaqar, 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 Bogazköy³, 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.

— The third limmu, Aḫuwaqar, is found only in texts dated to months Niqmum (I) through Nabûm (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 Aḫuwaqar, 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 Aḫuwaqar were found together with texts from months Addarum (VIII) through Tirum (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 – Aḫuwaqar 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-ramē. 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.

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.
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{5 anše 30 (sila) m[unu]} & 636 \text{ liters malt,} \\
\text{i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e} & \text{according to the menials’ measure,} \\
\text{šu ti-a} & \text{received (by)} \\
\text{Mu-tu-ra-me-e} & \text{Mutu-ramê,} \\
\text{ki } & \text{from Šamaš-dajjān.} \\
\text{iti } & \text{Month XI,} \\
\text{u₄ 2 kam} & \text{day 2,} \\
\text{li-m[u } & \text{limmu Aššur-taklāku.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 calendar. The text, L91-206 (see fig. 24), lists nine months in succession:

\[
\begin{align*}
X & \text{Dumuzi} \\
XI & \text{Abum} \\
XII & \text{Tirum}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{limmu Aššur-taklāku}
\]

\footnote{Dominique Charpin, “Les archives d’époque ‘assyrienne’ dans le palais de Mari”, \textit{MARI} 4 (1985) 243-268.}
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 Nabrum (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 Yasmah-Addu mentions that it was sent in the month diri.ga⁹. Also a tablet previously excavated at Leilan, L85-145, uses this month name. It has been assumed that it belonged after month XII, Tirum⁹, but for the reasons cited above this is impossible.

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⁸ Farouk Ismael, Altbabylonische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tall Leilān (Syrien) (Dissertation Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen 1991) no. 103.
⁹ ARM I 70.
This is not the only intercalary month found in the Leilan texts. Several of the texts from limmu Ḫabîl-kiṅu were dated to Addarum mīn\(^\text{12}\), i.e. VIII\(^2\). At Rimah the same two intercalary months were in use, Addarum mīn in OBTR 213, and diri.ga\(^1\) in OBTR 317. The use of two intercalary months at the same time was not unusual in this period. The local Mari calendar used Ḫibîrтum mīn and Eburum mīn, i.e. V\(^2\) and XII\(^2\). Similarly in the Šamši-Adad calendar used at Leilan and Rimah we find VI\(^2\) and VIII\(^2\). 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-ramē: 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-bân kinâtē. The occurrence of this unit of contents in previously excavated Leilan texts has been noted by D. Snell\(^\text{13}\), but all Leilan texts published so far use the measure of Šamaš. The kinâtē 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”\(^\text{14}\), following a suggestion by C. J. Gadd, who prefaced it however with the statement


\(^{13}\) 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"\textsuperscript{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. Powell\textsuperscript{16}. OBTR 18 shows that the menials' measure was 1\% times the size of the ration measure. Powell reasoned that the awkward amount of 6\% qû beer ina gīš-ɓān kīnatê equalled 10 qû of ration measures, and this argument is strengthened by the common appearance of amounts such as 24\% 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:

\begin{align*}
1 \text{ qû} & \approx 0.8 \text{ liters}, \\
1 \text{ sūtu} & \approx 8 \text{ liters}, \\
1 \text{ imēru} & \approx 80 \text{ liters}.
\end{align*}

The menials' measure would thus have these equivalents:

\begin{align*}
1 \text{ qû} & \approx 1.2 \text{ liters}, \\
1 \text{ sūtu} & \approx 12 \text{ liters}, \\
1 \text{ imēru} & \approx 120 \text{ liters}.
\end{align*}

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):

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig3.png}
\caption{Fig. 3}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{15} Iraq 7 (1940) 31.
\textsuperscript{16} RIA 7, 501-502.
Obv. 5 anše mumu₃
   [i-na g]liš-bān ki-na-te-e
   [š]u-ti-a
   Mu-tu-ra-me-e
Rev. i-na še-im ša ma-aš-ka-nim
   iti Ni-iq-mi
   u₄ 30 kam
   li-mu Za-[ab-]za-bu

600 liters malt,
according to the menials' measure,
received (by)
Mutu-ramē.

Among the barley of the threshing floor
Month 1,
day 30,
limmu Zabzabu.

The following dated texts are preserved:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount + Product</th>
<th>Special notes</th>
<th>Tablet: L91-</th>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Maqrānum 8</td>
<td>10 (sila) kaš-sig₅</td>
<td>(blank) aš-ta-mu?</td>
<td>374</td>
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<td>X Dumuzi   12</td>
<td>1 anše sūn</td>
<td>gir A-bi- [...]</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2 anše sūn, 1 anše še</td>
<td>gir Zunnān</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI Abum    2</td>
<td>5 anše 30 (sila) m[unu₃]</td>
<td>ki Šamaš-dajjān</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 anše munu₃</td>
<td>ki Tateia</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>30 (sila) ūš-sa sig₅</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>2 anše munu₃</td>
<td>ki Tateia</td>
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<td>487</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>4? anše 30 (sila) še</td>
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<td>1 anše kaš [...]</td>
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<td><strong>limmu Zabzabu</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4 anše še</td>
<td>ina še'im ša maškanim</td>
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<td>ina še'im ša maškanim</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
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<td>ina še'im ša maškanim</td>
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<td>III Tamḫišium</td>
<td>5 anše [...]</td>
<td>ina šišri xxx</td>
<td>464</td>
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<td>4?</td>
<td>8 anše še-munu₃</td>
<td>a-na ZA.Bl.R1.N1M</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>ina še'im [ša maškanim]</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>[x?] 4 anše še-munu₃</td>
<td>ina še'im ša maškanim</td>
<td>521</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV Nabrûm  1</td>
<td>[x anš][e [...]</td>
<td>ina še'im ša mašš[an][i][m]</td>
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<td>V Mammītum 5</td>
<td>5 [anše (še)] munu₃</td>
<td>ina š[e'^i]m ša maškanim</td>
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<td>[x anš][e] munu₃</td>
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<td>649</td>
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<td>ki Tateia</td>
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### The Tell Leilan Tablets 1991

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<td>ki […]</td>
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<td>430</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>40 (sila) munu₃</td>
<td>ša pi kanikātisu</td>
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<td>VII Ayyarum</td>
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<td>[1] anše munu₃</td>
<td>ki Tateia</td>
<td>265</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[x] munu₃, 2 anše agarin-munu?</td>
<td>maššêt Mutu-ramē</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[x?+17]</td>
<td>[x anše munu₃]</td>
<td>[ki Tatei[a]</td>
<td>355</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII Addarum</td>
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<td>1 anše še</td>
<td>ina š[e'ım ša màškanim]</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2 [anše] munu₃</td>
<td>[ina š[e’i[m] ša […]</td>
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<td>X Dumuzi</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>ina š[e’ım […]</td>
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<td>ki Lawula-Addu</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3 anše munu₃</td>
<td>ina NA.ŞE.NI, gir Zunnan</td>
<td>826</td>
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<td>XI Abum</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>10 anše še</td>
<td>ina š[e’ım ša màškanim]</td>
<td>819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10[+x?]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ina š[e’ım ša màškanim]</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>2 anše še</td>
<td>ina š[e’ım ša màškanim]</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII Tīrum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 anše še</td>
<td>ina š[e’ım ša màškani]</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>10 anše še</td>
<td>ina š[e’ım ša màškanim]</td>
<td>736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>8 anše še</td>
<td>[ina š[e’ım ša màškani]</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### limmu Aḫuwaqar

| I Niqmum  | no text preserved |
| II Kinūnum| [x] anše 20 (sila) […] | [ina š[e’ım ša màškanim] 693 |
| III Tamḫirum|                        | 811          |
| IV Nabrūm | 19 anše 76½ sila (blank) | gir Ullut   | 820          |

---

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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)\textsuperscript{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 texts\textsuperscript{18}, 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 ingredients\textsuperscript{19}:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (barley1) at (0,0) {barley};
  \node (munu3) at (0,-1) {\textit{munu}_3};
  \node (sun) at (0,-2) {\textit{sûn}};
  \node (agarinnu) at (1,-2) {\textit{agarinnu, sikkatu}};
  \node (bappir) at (1,-3) {\textit{bappir}_2};
  \node (titab) at (1,-4) {\textit{titab bappir}_2};
  \node (did) at (1,-5) {\textit{dida}};
  \node (h1h1) at (1,-6) {\textit{H1,H1}};
  \node (hihi) at (1,-7) {\textit{H1,H1}};
  \node (q) at (1,-8) {(?)};
  \draw (barley1) -- (munu3) -- (sun) -- (agarinnu) -- (bappir) -- (titab) -- (did) -- (h1h1) -- (hihi) -- (q) -- (dida);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

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:

\textsuperscript{17} The publication of the sealings from this excavation season is being undertaken by D. Stein.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{BiOr} 28, 169.
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 (gīr) of the delivery to Mutu-ramê is recorded: four times it is Zunnan, 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 pīka-nikātišu, 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 129½ qû beer. Yet, in days 3 through 6 1030½ 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-takläku

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):

![Figure 4](image)
Nine texts from this month contain exactly the same entries as the example, although the amounts issued can differ, e.g. only 9 šīla 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...” \((a-na \ wa-tar\-meš \ ū \ NU-WA-meš)\) appears two or three times, while in one text an amount for the ombudsmen (\textit{ebbūtum}) is included.

b) Abum (XI) \textit{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):

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{Obv.} & 24 šīla kaš-sig₅, \\
           & sā-sag gēme-meš [ugal] \\
           & \(\frac{7}{2}\) šīla Ki-le-ēš-[ew-rī] \\
           & 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) šīla wa-tar-\textit{m}eš \\
           & ū NU-WA-meš \\
\textbf{Rev.} & šū-nigin 30\(\frac{1}{2}\) šīla kaš-sig₅, \\
           & \textit{i-na} giš-bān ki-na-te-e \\
           & zi-ga \textit{Mu-tu-ra-me-e} \\
           & iti \textit{A-bi-im} u₄ 9 kam \\
           & \textit{li-му} \textit{A-šur-ták-la-ku} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Total:} 36.4 liters good beer, according to the menials’ measure, issued by Mutu-ramē

Month XI, day 9, \textit{limmu} Aššur-taklāku.

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 Ahi-malik, while individual issues and additional issues to dependents appear in one text.
each. This month contains the only record where someone other than Mu-
tu-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) Tîrum (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

Obv. 24 sila kaš-sig₅, 28.8 liters good beer,
sá-sag gēme-meš-lugal food allotment for the royal harem;
1 sila Ki-le-ēš-ew-ri 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri;
3 sila šu-ur [Su]-mi-[e]-tar 3.6 liters for the embassy of Sumi-etar;
1 sila eb-bu-um 1.2 liters for the ombudsman
ša ma-as-ka-nim of the threshing floor.

Rev. šu-nigin 29 sila kaš-sig₅, Total: 34.8 liters good beer,
i-na [giš-bān ki-na-te-e] according to the menials’ measure,
[z]i-ga [Mu]-tu-[ra-me]-e issued by Mutu-ramê
iti Tî-ri-im Month XII,
U.E. u₄ 11 kam day 11,
li-mu *A-šur-tâk-la-ku limmu Aššur-taklāku.

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) Niqmum (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 Niqmum 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 Niqmum 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 síla kaš-sig5 | 28.8 liters good beer, |
|  | 28.8 liters good beer, | food allotment for the royal harem; |
|  | sá-sag géme-meš-lugal | 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri; |
|  | 1 síla Ki-le-eš-ew-ri | 28.8 liters for the sedan carriers; |
|  | 24 síla ša nu-ba-lim | 48 liters for the messengers; |
|  | 40 (síla) dumu-meš ši-ip-ri | 3.6 liters for the embassy of Sumi-etar; |
|  | 3 síla šu-ut Su-mi-e-tar | 4.8 liters for Alminna; |
| Lo.E. | 4 síla Al-mi-in-[na] | 1.2 liters for Ibbi-Amurru; |
|  | 1 síla Ib-bi-Mar-[tû] | 1.2 liters for the ombudsman. |
|  | 1 síla eb-bu-um | Total: 117.6 liters good beer, |
| Rev. | šu-nigin 98 síla kaš-sig5 | according to the menials’ measure, |
|  | i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e | |
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 Niqmum. 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):

Obv. 24 sila kaš-sig5 28.8 liters good beer,
    så-sag géme-lugal food allotment for the royal harem;
    1 sila Ki-le-eš-ew-ri 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri.
    šu-nigin 25 sila kaš-sig5 Total: 30 liters good beer,
    Rev. i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e according to the menials’ measure,
    zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e issued by Mutu-ramê.
    iti Ki-nu-nim Month II,
    u, 7 kam day 7,
    li-mu Za-ab-za-bu limmu 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:
Obv. 3 anše 20 (sila) kaš-sig₅, 384 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem;  
sá-sag géme-meš-lugal 21.6 liters for Kileš-ewri;  
18 sila Ki-le-ēš-ew-ri 19.2 liters for carpenters;  
16 sila lú-nagar 19.2 liters for the meal of [...]  
16 sila ma-ka-al [...] 2 jars of good beer,  
2 pi-ħu sig₅ for the food allotment for the messengers.  
Lo.E. a-na sá-sag dumu-meš ši-ī[p-ri] 
Rev. šu-nigin 3 anše 70 (sila) kaš-sig₅, Total: 444 liters good beer,  
2 pi-ħu [sig₅] 2 jars of good beer,  
i-na giš-bān k[i-na-te-e] according to the menials’ measure,  
[zi-g]a Mu-tu-[ra-me-e] issued by Mutu-ramē. 
U.E. iti Ki-–[nu–]nim Month II,  
u₄ 23 kam day 23,  
[li-mu] Za-ab-za-bu limmu Zabzabu.

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) Tamḫûrum (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

Obv. 27 sila kaš-sig₅, 32.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem;  
sá-sag géme-lugal 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri;  
1 sila Ki-le-ēš-ew-ri
8½ sila 3½ [su] kaš-sig₅
i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e
Rev. sā-sag du[mu]-meš ši-ip-ri
šu-nigin 36½ sila 3½ su kaš-sig₅
i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e
zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e
iti Tām-хи-ri
U.E. u, 20 kam
li-mu Za-ab-za-bu

10.47 liters good beer,
according to the menials' measure,
food allotment for the messengers.
Total: 44.07 liters good beer,
according to the menials' measure,
issued by Mutu-ramē.
Month III,
day 20,
limmu Zabzabu.

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) Nabûm (IV) limmu Zabzabu

The following days are represented in the preserved record for this month: 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](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>32.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem; 1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri. Total: 33.6 liters good beer, according to the menials' measure, issued by Mutu-ramē. Month IV, day 15, limmu Zabzabu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[2]7 sila kaš-sig₅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sâ]-sag géme-lugal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] sila Ki-le-es-ew-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šu-nigin 28 sila kaš-sig₅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo.E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zi-g]a Mu-tu-ra-me-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[it]i Na-ab-ri-im</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, 15 kam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-mu Za-ab-za-bu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) Mammītim (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):

```
Obv. 9½ [sila kaš-sig₃] 11.6 liters good beer,
     sá-sag gême-lugal          food allotment for the royal harem;
     1 sila Ki-le-eš-ew-ri       1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri;
     2 sila Um-pi-še-né-e        2.4 liters for Umpi-šene.
Rev. šu-nigin 12½ sila kaš-sig₃ Total: 15.2 liters good beer,
i-na giš-bán [k]i-na-te-e according to the menials' measure,
    zi-ga Mu-[tu-ra]-me-e       issued by Mutu-ramê.
     iti Ma-am-mi-tim           Month V,
U.E.   u₄ 22 kam       limmu Zabzabu.
    li-mu Za-ab-za-bu           day 22,
```

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):
Obv. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) sila kaš-sig,  
sá-sag gēme-lugal  
1 [sila Ki-le]-es-eq-ri  
2 sila Um-pi-še-né-e  
2 sila mu-še-ni-ig-tum  
1.6 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.

Rev. šu-nigin 14\(\frac{1}{2}\) sila kaš-sig,  
i-na giš-bān ki-na-te-e  
zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e  
itī Ma-na  
Total: 17.6 liters good beer,  
according to the menials' measure,  
issued by Mutu-ramê.  
Month VI,

U.E. u₄ 5 kam  
li-mu Za-ab-za-bu  
day 5,  
limmu Zabzabu.

Only five texts have the same format. Three omit the wetnurse, seven oth-
ers omit Umpi-šene. On day 12 mi.i.l. 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):
Obv. 27½\(\frac{1}{2}\) sila kaš-sig, 33.2 liters good beer,
sá-sag géme-lugal food allotment for the royal harem;
1 sila Ki-le-ēš-ēw-ri 1.2 liters for Kileš-ēwri;
2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2.4 liters for two carpenters;
1 sila \(\text{m}u-\text{sše-ni-\text{iq-\text{t}}\text{um}\) 1.2 liters for the wetnurse.
Rev. šu-nigin 31½ sila kaš-sig, Total: 38 liters good beer,
i-na giš-bân ki-na-te-e according to the menials’ measure,
zi-ga [Mu-tu]-ra-me-e issued by Mutu-ramē.
iti diri-ga Month VI,
U.E. u, 27 kam \(\text{li-mu Za-\text{ab}}\)-za-bu day 27,
[li-mu Za-\text{ab}] za-bu \(\text{limmu Zabzabu} \).

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) \(\text{limmu Zabzabu}\)

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

![Fig. 14](image-url)

Obv. 9½ sila kaš-sig, 11.6 liters good beer,
sá-sag géme-lugal food allotment for the royal harem;
1 [sila] Ki-le-ēš-ēw-[ri] 1.2 liters for Kileš-ēwri;
[1] sila \(\text{m}u-\text{sše-ni-\text{iq-\text{t}}\text{um}\) 1.2 liters for the wetnurse;
2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2.4 liters for two carpenters.
Rev. šu-nigin 13½ sila kaš-sig, Total: 16.4 liters good beer,
i-na giš-bân ki-na-te-e according to the menials’ measure,
zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e issued by Mutu-ramē.
iti A-ia-ri Month VII,
u, 12 kam \(\text{limmu Zabzabu} \).
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.

1) 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](image_url)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>U.E.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27½</td>
<td>šu-nigin</td>
<td>u₄</td>
<td>33.2 liters good beer,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>31½</td>
<td>4 kam</td>
<td>food allotment for the royal harem;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liters</td>
<td>sila</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.2 liters for Kileš-ewri;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good beer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.2 liters for the wetnurse;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4 liters for two carpenters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 38 liters good beer,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>according to the menials' measure,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>issued by Mutu-ramê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Month VIII,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>day 4,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>limmu</em> Zabzabu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Maqrânum (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](image)

Obv. 2[9]½ sila kaš-sig₃₃ liters good beer, sá-sag gême-lugal food allotment for the royal harem; 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2 sila Ir-šu-nin 2.4 liters for Warad-Šamaš; 33½ sila kaš-sig₃ Total: 40.4 liters good beer, Lo.E. [i]-na giš-bán ki-na-te-e according to the menials’ measure, Rev. zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-[e] issued by Mutu-ramé, iti Ma-aq-ra-nim Month IX, u₄ 8 kam day 8, U.E. limu Za-az-za-[bu] limmu Zabzabu.

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 ½ qū 6 [su].

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

Obv. 28½ sila kaš-sig₃ 34.4 liters good beer, sá-sag gême-lugal food allotment for the royal harem; 2 sila 2 lú-nagar 2.4 liters for two carpenters; 2 sila Gu-mu-ši 2.4 liters for Gumuši; ¼ sila Lú-₃₃M 2.4 liters for Awil-Adad; 2 sila Me-me-en-a-tal 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; ⅓ sila Ku-₃₃i-₃₃i 1.2 liters for ..., ⅝ sila Jā-um-ra-as-AN 0.4 liter for Jumraš-El; Lo.E. [... ib-n]i-ia [x] liter(s) for Ibnia. Rev. šu-[......] sila [kaš-sig₁] Total: [y] liters good beer, [i-₃₃]a giš-bán [ki-na-te-e] according to the menials’ measure, z[i-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e] issued by Mutu-ramé.
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. 28½ sila kaš–sig₅ 34.4 liters good beer, food allotment for the royal harem;
sá–sag gême–lugal 2.4 liters for two carpenters;
2 sila 2 lû–nagar 2.4 liters for Gumûši;
2 sila Gu–mu–ši 2.4 liters for Awil-Adad;
2 sila Lû–a₇₉m 2.4 liters for Memen-atal;
2 sila Me–me–en–a–tal 2.4 liters for Japlah-El;
2 sila la–ap–la–ah–AN 1.2 liters for the arms-bearer(s);
1 sila šu–u₇t ṣu₅tukul 3.6 liters for Alminna;
Lo.E. 3 sila Al–mi–na 2.4 liters for Ḥuzanum;
2 sila Ḥu–za–nûm 1.2 liters for Ibnia;
1 sila Ib–ni–ia 28 sila ša nu–ba–lim 33.6 liters for the sedan bearers;
Rev. 8½ sila 2½ su kaš–sig₅ 10.67 liters good beer,
4½ sila kaš–ús–sa–sig₅ 5.2 liters good billatum-beer,
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-eraḥ, Jumraṣ-El, Ili-iddinam and ni.ud.

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

![Fig. 18](image)

This text more or less proves that Mutu-ramē issued beer to people other than those recorded in the majority of the texts of this archive. This tablet is sealed by Samaš-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):
Obv. 28½ šila kaš-sig₅ 34.4 liters good beer,
sá-sag géme-ługal  food allotment for the royal harem;
2 šila 2 lú-nagar  2.4 liters for two carpenters;
2 šila Gu-mu-ši  2.4 liters for Gumushi;
2 šila Lú-*IM  2.4 liters for Awil-Adad;
2 šila Mē-me-[en]-a-tal  2.4 liters for Memen-atal;
2 šila la-aa[p-la-ah]-AN  2.4 liters for Japlah-El;
3 šila l-li-i-din-nam  3.6 liters for Ili-iddinam
2 šila N.I.U.D  2.4 liters for ...;

Lo.E. 1 šila šu-ut ²štu$kul  1.2 liters for the arms-bearer(s);
3 šila Al-mi-na  3.6 liters for Alminna;
2 šila Hu-za-nim  2.4 liters for Huzanum;

Rev. 2 šila lb-ni-ia  2.4 liters for Ibni;
[x] šila ša nu-ba-lim  [x] liters for the sedan carriers;
20[+x] šila kaš-sig₅  (ip-ri)  24[+x] liters good beer,
4½ šila kaš ús-sa-sig₅  dumu-meš ši-ip-ri  5.2 liters good billatum-beer for
1 pi-ḫu sig₅  mi? il?  the messengers;
šu-nigin 1 anše ½ šila kaš-sig₅  1 jar of good beer for the female carri-
1 pi-ḫu sig₅  ers’;
4½ šila kaš ús-sa-sig₅  t-na  Total: 120.8 liters good beer,
giš-bán ki-na-te-e  1 jar of good beer,
zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e  5.2 liters good billatum-beer, according
U.E. iti A-bi-im  to the menials’ measure,
u, 2 kam  issued by Mutu-ramê.
li-mu Za-az-za-bu  Month XI, l.immu Zabzabu.
li-mu Za-az-za-bu  day 2,

The other texts of this month usually omit some of the recipients, especially N.I.U.D, the arms-bearer and Alminna. Ibbi-Amurru or Zaranu are sometimes added instead.
p) Tirum (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](image-url)

Obv. 29\frac{1}{2} sila kaš-sig₃
sá-sag gême-lugal
2 sila 2 lú-nagar
2 sila Gu-mu-ši
2 sila Lú-₄₂⁴₄M
2 sila Me-me-en-a-tal
2 sila Ja-ap-la-aḫ-\(\tilde{A}N\)
4 sila eb-bu-tim
1 sila Za-ra-nu

Lo.E. 1 sila ła qi-iš
3 sila Al-me-na
2 sila Ḥu-za-nûm
[x] sila iplina

Rev. [x] sila ša nu-ba-lim
[x] \(\frac{1}{2}\) sila 3\frac{1}{3} su dumu-mēš
si-\(\tilde{A}\)-ri
[x] pi-\(\tilde{A}\)-u sig, ु-sa-am-ma
šu-nigin 97 sila 3\frac{1}{3} su kaš-sig
1 pi-\(\tilde{A}\)-u sig₃
i-na giš-ban ki-na-te-e
zi-ga Mu-ru-ra-me-e

U.E. iti Ti-ri-im
u, 16 kam
li-mu Za-az-za-bu

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 Japlah-El;
4.8 liters for the ombudsmen;
1.2 liters for Zaranu;
1.2 liters for Jaqiš;
3.6 liters for Alminna;
2.4 liters for Ḥuzanum;
[x] liters for Ibnia;
[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-ramē.

Month XII, day 16,
limmu Zabzabu.
Of the legible records most omit one or more entries, often with Tulipa-xxx as a replacement.

q) Niqmum (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):

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 Japlaḫ-El;
2.4 liters for Tulipa-...
7.2 liters for the ombudsmen;

[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 Japlaḫ-El;
2.4 liters for Tulipa-...;
7.2 liters for the ombudsmen;]
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. 29½ sila kaš-sig₃₃  35.6 liters good beer,  
sá-sag [gême-lugal]  food allotment for the royal harem;  
2 sila [2 lú-naga]r  2.4 liters for two carpenters;  
6 sila eb-[bu-tim]  7.2 liters for the ombudsmen;  
2 sila Me-me-en-a-tal  2.4 liters for Memen-atal;  
1 sila Iš-qi-ia  1.2 liters for Išqia.

Rev. šu-nigin 40[½ sila kaš-sig₃₃]  Total: 48.8 liters good beer,  
[i-na giš-bân ki-na-te-]e according to the menials’ measure,  
[zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me]-e issued by Mutu-ramê.  

U.E. iti Ni-îq-mî  Month 1,  
u₄ 16 kam  day 16,  
li-mu A-ḫu-wa-qar  limmu Aḫuwaqar.

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

r) Kinûnum (II) limmu Aḫuwaqar

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. 21½ sila kaš-sig₃₅, 26 liters good beer, 
sā-sag gême-lugal  food allotment for the royal harem; 
2 sila Me-me-en-a-tal 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 
2 sila l-li-i-din-nam 2.4 liters for Ili-iddinam; 
Rev. šu-nigin 27½ sila kaš-sig₃₅  Total: 33.2 liters good beer, 
i-na [giš-bân ki]-na-te-e according to the menials' measure, 
[z]i-[ga] Mu-[tu]-ra-me-e issued by Mutu-ramê. 
iti Ki-nu-nim  Month II, 
U.E. u 13 kam  limmu Aḫuwaqar. 
day 13,  
li-mu A-ḫu-wa-qar  limmu Aḫuwaqar. 

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) Tamḫûrum (III) limmu Aḫuwaqar

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. 31½ sila kaš-sig₃₅ 40 liters good beer, 
sā-sag gême-lugal  food allotment for the royal harem, 
zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e issued by Mutu-ramê. 
Rev. iti Tām-hi-ri  Month III, 
u 26 kam  limmu Aḫuwaqar. 
day 26,  
li-mu A-ḫu-wa-qar  limmu Aḫuwaqar. 

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 Arwîtum. One additional text includes more recipients, but the month name is very unclear.

t) Nabûrum limmu Aḫuwaqar

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-sig₃₅ 36[+x] liters good beer, 
sā-sag gême-lugal  food allotment for the royal harem; 
3 sila Za-ra-nu 3.6 liters for Zaranu; 
2 sila Me-me-en-[a-tal] 2.4 liters for Memen-atal; 
1 sila U-šûr-pî-i-lugal 1.2 liters for Ušûr-pî-šarrim; 
3 sila Al-me-na 3.6 liters for Alminna; 
Lo.E. 1 sila Ḥu-za-nûm 1.2 liters for Ḥuzanum; 
8½ sila 3½ [su] 9.67 liters, 
Rev. sā-sag dumu-meš ši-ip-r[i]  food allotment for the messengers. 

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šu-nigin 51½ sila 3½ su
kaš-sig,
i-na giš-bân ki-na-te-e
zi-ga Mu-tu-ra-me-e

Total: 61.87 liters good beer,
according to the menials’ measure,
issued by Mutu-ramê.

U.E. iti Na-ab-ri
u4 12 kam
li-mu A-ḫu-wa-qar

Month IV,
day 12,
limes Aḫuwaqar.

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 Aḫuwaqar 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.


Hurrian: Kileš-ewri, Ku-li-ú, Memen-ataḫ, Tulip-ra-wa-šī, 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 (gēme-lugal) 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 gištukul), and the embassy of a man named Sumi-etàr, 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 kūl- (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 English. 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-rāmē 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 (*nebritum*), 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 û 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):

![Fig. 23](image)

---

1 sila kaš–sig₅ 1.2 liters good beer,
[i]r –di lugal (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 qû. “Good beer” is also distributed in jars, pîhu 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 qû, as amounts of more than 100 qû 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 qû? Somehow, I doubt that as it would not have made sense to add it up separately. A third type of beer, always issued in qû, 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 imêru system of Northern Mesopotamia is not known, but a su is usually ⅓ 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 imêru 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”.
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 com-
pletely preserved tablet was found, L91-550, containing four columns list-
ing 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 Meso-

opotamian 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-ramē 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-ramē’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 šila [x] šē kaš-siḡ, 730.8[+x] liters barley for good beer
zi-ga iti Ṭumu-zi issued: Month X.
[3+3] anše 86% [šila] šē kaš
iti A-bi-im 824.2 liters barley for beer:
[x] anše 20 šila šē kaš 24[+x] liters barley for beer:
iti Ti-ri Month XI.
[/i-miş] ḠA-šur-tākh-la-ku Month XII.

double line
7 anše 21[+x]½ šila šē kaš zi-
ša nu-ba-lim 865.8[+x] liters barley for beer issued
to …;
7 anše 20 (šila) [?] ša nu-ba-lim
9 anše 22 šila [...]u-meš ši-
ip-ri 1106.4 liters for the messengers;
2 anše [x+]4 šila šā-sag g[e]-
lugal] 244.8[+x] liters, food allotment for the
itu Ni-iq-mi Month I.
royal harem:

single line
14 anše 19 šila 10 su [...] 1703 liters [barley for beer]:
iti Ki-nu-ni[m] Month II.

single line
10 anše 25½ šila šē kaš] 1230.8 liters barley for beer:
iti Ṭām-hi-ri Month III.
Fig. 24
The crucial term in this document is bullūtu, for which Durand has established the French translation “ventiler”, i.e. to perform an accounting operation establishing a periodic balance\(^{31}\). So we do not have a record of the barley for beer issued by Mutu-ramē, 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-ramē, 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...
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 Śamaš-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-emūqi, 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 Śamaš-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 Śamaš-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 Zûzû on the throne of Šubat-Enlil. Soon afterwards Zûzû

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-Enlil. 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 coalition, and several Mari letters relate how Qarni-Lim often stayed at Šubat-Enlil.

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

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<td>4. L91-399</td>
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