

I.—FACSIMILE OF A SUMERIAN WAGE-LIST OF THE UR DYNASTY (*circa* 2350 B.C.)
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2.—COPY OF A SUMERIAN WAGE-LIST OF THE UR DYNASTY (circa 2350 B.C.)
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3.—COPY OF A SUMERIAN WAGE-LIST OF THE UR DYNASTY (circa 2350 B.C.)

REVERSE

A SUMERIAN WAGE-LIST OF THE UR DYNASTY.

BY THE REV. T. FISH.

THE accompanying plates give the Obverse, and my copy of both sides, of the largest and most interesting of the Sumerian Administration tablets in the John Rylands Library. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. \times 7 ins. \times $\frac{5}{8}$ ins. (190 \times 178 \times 21 mm.), and has 12 columns. Col. XII., 28f summarises the tablet. It is the year's wage-list. $24 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{30}$ gur, the amount of barley paid monthly (*še-ba-itu-l-kam*) from the month *itu maš-dū-kú* to the month *itu dirig-še-kin-kud*, i.e. thirteen months (*itu-bi* 13 *ám*); this barley (*še-bi*) totals $300 + 20 + 2 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{30}$ gur, i.e. $322\frac{1}{2}$ gur. In *Ba-ba-azki*. Third year of *Bur-Sin* (*circa* 2350 B.C.).

Cols. I.-X. give the names of those with whom the tablet is concerned.

A-a-kal-la	VII., 31.	* Ama-nu-tuk	VIII., 35.
Ab-ba-ša(g)-ga	VI., 23.	A-na-aḥ-i-li	IX., 18.
A-bi-tab	III., 14; IV., 11.	A-na-da-ḥúl	III., 33.
* A-bi-e-lum	III., 32.	* An-a-zu	III., 2.
A-bi-li-a	III., 8; IV., 3.	* An-ba-la	V., 8.
A-bu-tab	III., 7.	An-ba-ni	IV., 9; IX., 39.
^d Adad-ba-ni	I., 9.	* An-bu-a	IV., 31.
A-da-lál	I., 8.	* An-Pl. Bi(L)	IX., 21.
* Ad-da-gu-la	V., 10.	An-sukkal	IV., 16.
* Á-dū(?ni)-á	X., 3.	* An-ša(g)-ga	VI., 18.
A-gu-a	VI., 9.	* An-ta-lu	VII., 24.
* A-ḥa-am-ar-si	VIII., 1.	* An-zu-ba-ni-da-ra	V., 1.
A-ḥa-ni-šu	VII., 36.	* Á-ra-ag-i-li	X., 13.
A-ḥa-tùm	VIII., 8.	Arad ^d . . .	VII., 20.
A-ḥu-tab	I., 3; IV., 18.	Arad-dam	VII., 27.
A-ḥu-pi-kar	III., 13.	Arad-i-li	V., 19.
A-ḥu-we-ir	X., 10, 14.	Arad-mu	VII., 10.
* A-ḥu-um-ilu	III., 23.	Ar-ši-ih	IX., 28.
* Al-la-di-mu	VI., 20.	Awel-ša-lim	I., 14; IV., 15; VII., 29.
* Al-la-ni-zu	V., 30.		

- * A-zi-zi VI., 27.
 * A-zu-zu-nu-um III., 5.

 * Ba-aḥ-šum IV., 12.
 * Ba-a-lum VI., 25.
 Ba-ba-a II., 32.
 * Ba-ba-dan-an-na-ad {IX., 12, N-sal.
 {IX., 13, N-nita.
 * Ba-ḥa-ḥa I., 31.
 Ba-la-a VI., 32.
 Bā-ša-a-bi V., 15.
 * Bā-ša-ab-ū I., 15.
 * Bā-ša-ba-ba-az VI., 2; X., 16.
 Bā-ša-bi-ū V., 22; VI., 16.
 Bā-ša-é-a IX., 5, 23.
 Bā-ša-ḥa-ni I., 28.
 Bā-ša-i-li I., 6, 29, 32.
 Bā-ša-iš-dar VI., 11; X., 18 (?)

 Bā-ša-ma-ma III., 19.
 * Bā-ša-ū IV., 21.
 * Bā-ša-ū-gur VI., 24.
 * Bā-ša-we-ir VII., 15.
 dBa-ú-da VIII., 5.
 * Be-li-ma IV., 24.
 Bi-sa-aḥ-an I., 4.
 * Bi-GA-Ki I., 11.
 * Bi(l)-za I., 20.
 Bu-ga-a IX., 38.
 * Bu-ga-ar V., 26.
 * Bu-ha-ti III., 12.
 Bur-ma-ma VI., 8.
 * Bu-sum-še-en VI., 10.
 * Bu-šú-šú VII., 13.

 Da-ad(?) -da III., 24.
 Da-da X., 1.
 Da-da-ḥa-ma-ti VI., 1.
 * Da-da-ga-bi III., 3.
 Da-da-ni II., 10.
 Di-kud-i-li VII., 28.
 Dingir-ra-NE VII., 3.
 Dingir-ri-ka V., 4.
 * Dirig-a X., 4.
 Diš-bar III., 31; V., 11.
 Du(g)-ga-mu I., 27.
 Du-šú-mu-um IV., 20.

 É-a-[bi(l) ?]-bi(l) IX., 32.
 * É-a-tum-ki VIII., 21.
 En-um dAdad VII., 35.
 En-um-i-li III., 15; IV., 4.

 * Gar-ša(g)-te IX., 3.
 * Gim dAdad VIII., 29.
 Gimil dAdad V., 21; VI., 12; VII., 4.
 * Gimil dBabbar I., 16.
 * Gimil dGir IX., 8.
 Gimil dEn-lil I., 23.
 * Gimil dGā (?) IV., 8.
 * Gimil dNidaba IV., 26; IX., 27.
 * Gimil dNin-mug VII., 23.
 Gimil dNin-šubur IV., 5.
 Gimil dSiru V., 14.
 Gimil-i-li V., 7.
 * Gimil-i-li-su III., 19.
 Gimil-ir-ra I., 36.
 Gimil-iš-tar I., 13; II., 6, 25; IV., 17.

 Gimil-ma-ma III., 6; VI., 29
 * Gim-nin-gā VIII., 26.
 * Gul-šum I., 7.

 * Ḥu-du IV., 32.


 I-ba-ni-iz II., 33.
 * I-bi(l)-bi(l)-a I., 21.
 Ib-ni dAdad II., 26.
 * Iḥ-ši-ka VIII., 25.
 * I-da-a IX., 37.
 * I-dur (?) -an III., 24.
 * Ik-mu-lum V., 28.
 * I-li-a lum II., 22.
 I-li-an-dūl IV., 22.
 I-li-tab-ba III., 29.
 * I-li-tu-gul-ti III., 20
 Im-ti . . . VII., 32.
 Im-ti-dam IX., 16.
 Im-ti-dam-taḥ-ḥu X., 7.
 Iṛ-ra ba-ni II., 9; V., 28.
 * Iṛ-ra-ga-še-ir III., 11.
 Iṛ-ra-ur-sag IX., 34.
 I-ri-ib II., 15.

Īr-ri-ib	III., 30, VI., 17.	* Mi-na-mu	VIII., 15.
Īr-ri-ib 2	VII., 37.	* Mu-tum-an	I., 12.
Īr-ri-šum	IV., 9, VI., 3, 30.		
* I-sar-a-hi	VI., 31.	Na-ba-ša(g)	II., 27, 31.
I-sar-ba-dan	I., 34; IV., 14 IX., 13.	* Na-na-ti-a	VII., 16.
		* Na-ti-ib	VIII., 19.
I-sar-ba-dan 2,	I., 35.	dNidaba-an-dul	IX., 25; X., 41; XII., 36.
* I-ti-a-ĥu-um	II., 11.		
* I-ti-an	I., 24.	* Nin-en-ša(g)	VIII., 31.
* I-zu-zu	IX., 11.	* dNin-gir-su-ka	X., 6.
		Nin-ĥa-ma-ti	VI., 4; VIII., 27.
dKal	II., 17; VII., 1.	* Nin-ĥar-ra-ni	VIII., 12.
* Ki-li	IX., 36.	Nin-mar-ki-ka	I., 26.
* Ku-li-sum	VI., 33.	* Ni-za-li	IV., 35.
* Ku-sa-lum	X., 9.	* Ni-za-tum	VIII., 28.
Ku-ra-ad-i-li	VII., 14.	* Nu-nu-uk (?)	
* Ku-ru-ub-ir-ra	II., 8.	tum	VIII., 17.
		dNusku	I., 19.
La-gi-ib	III., 12; VII., 18; VIII., 10.	* Nu-ú-a	IX., 22.
* Lim-ma-ad-i-li	VIII., 16.	Nu-úĥ-AN	III., 1.
Lù-bal-ša(g)ga	II., 5; IV., 28.	Nu-úr-i-li	I., 22.
Lù dAdad	VII., 39.	Nu-ür ^d . . .	VII., 22.
Lù dBabbar	VIII., 32.	Nu-ür dAdad	VII., 2.
Lù dEn-zu	I., 5.	* Nu-za	I., 10.
Lù dMar-tu	VIII., 2.		
Lugal-à-zi(d)-da	VIII., 24.	Pi . . . ?	X., 11.
* Lugal-ga-ni-gi	II., 13.		
* Lugal-ka-du(g)	VII., 8.	Ša-lim-be-li	VIII., 3.
Lugal me-lam	II., 16.	* Ša-lim-g[a] . . .	VII., 21.
* Lugal-zag-gi-si	I., 37.	Še-li-bu-um	III., 16.
* Lù-gu-la	I., 33.	Šeš-kal-la	II., 20; VI., 21, VII., 34.
* Lù-ib	III., 4.		
* Lù-pa(d)-da	V., 9.	Šeš-kal-la 2	VI., 22.
* Lù-ša(g)-ni-zu	II., 28.	Šeš-šeš . . .	VII., 19.
* Lù-uš-gi-na	VIII., 13.	Šu-?-?	IX., 35.
Lul . . .	VII., 33.	Šu-a-bu	II., 23.
* Lul-zi-la	VIII., 35.	Šu-da-da	III., 21; VII., 5; X., 15.
* Ma-da-mu-gi	VII., 11.	* Šu-dam-ki-na	{ I., 30, cf. Gimil dDam-Ki-na. S.A. 3.
* Ma-ni	V., 29.		
* Ma-nu-um-e-		* Šu-dur-ul	I., 38; VII., 9, 40.
mu-uk	IX., 29.	* Šu-iš-ĥa-ra	X., 5.
Ma-šum	VII., 26.	* Šu-la-lum	V., 12.
Me dAdad	VIII., 18.	* Šu-na-bu-um	III., 10.
* Me-dam-ki-na	VIII., 36.	Šu-nu-nu	IX., 7.
* Mi-na-na	VIII., 11.		

Tab-i-li	III., 28; IV., 1.	Ur ^d Ne-gún	VI., 28.
Ṭu-ra-am-i-li	IV., 6; V., 23; X., 2.	Ur ^d Nin-giš-zi(d)- da	II., 2; VII., 6.
* Ṭ-ra-a	VIII., 9.	Úr-ri-ba-ab-ul	IX., 2.
* Ur-ab-ba	I., 25; IV., 29.	Ur-ša(g)-ga	III., 27.
Ur ^d Adad	I., 18; VII., 25.	Ur ^d Si-an-na	II., 1, 30; VIII., 33.
Ur ^d Ba-ú	V., 5, 18; VI., 26.	* Ur-temen-na	II., 19.
Ur ^d Ba-ú 2	VII., 12.	Ur-túm-al	VII., 38.
Ur ^d Ba-ú 3	VII., 17.	* Ú-ša(g)-ag-li-x	III., 35.
Ur ^d Dumu-zi(d)- da	II., 4.	Za-al-li-a	IX., 31.
* Ur-giš-gibil- ga-mes	II., 7.	* Za-an-nu-um	IX., 6.
* Ur-giš-gigir	IV., 30.	* Za-ar-?	IV., 2.
Ur ^d Ka-di	II., 29.	* Za-ga-ti	IV., 23.
Ur ^d Kal	VII., 7.	* Za-na-ḫum	V., 20.
Ur-luḫ	V., 18.	* Za-riḫ	IV., 10.
Ur-mes	V., 3; VI., 19; IX., 1.	* Zu-ku-ti	III., 9.
		* Zu-la lum	IV., 36.
		* Zu-ú-a	V., 2.

Note (1) VIII., 16 of my copy reads *PI.BA*. The original is certainly *lim-ma*.

Note (2) The majority of the names occur on Drehem texts. Those which do not are starred. Some of these are, I think, not found elsewhere hitherto.

Note (3) The tablet provides an unusually large number of personal names. This number far exceeds the number of persons to whom payment is made, i.e. 162 (see Summary XII.). These 162 are they before whose names (Cols. I.-X.) a quantity (of barley) is indicated. Actually, owing to the condition of the tablet, only 160 such persons can be traced. No doubt the other two are lost with the lines in Cols. VII., VIII., IX., X. The large remainder did not receive payment. No quantity is written against their names. They are the 54 whose names are not otherwise distinguished, the 19 dead (*ūg*), another 60 before whose name is written a sign which is quite unknown to me. It occurs 60 times followed by a Personal Name. The copy gives as much of the sign as I can see in each instance. In the several places where it is clear to the eye, it is written . The two slanted strokes are certain.

The summaries help to the negative conclusion that the sign is not a sign of numeration of *ḫa* received by the person whose name follows. The summary gives the total number of payees as 162. That number

has been adequately accounted for above. No others are included in the summary.

The persons who receive payment are distinguished (Cols. X., XI., XII.) as kal-engar (slave-husbandmen), gim (female slaves), dumu nita (male children), dumu sal (female children). Two other classes are: *Kal šu-gi*; occurs only in the summaries (X., 31; XII., 22) *šu-gi* = old, and is applied to animals also. In the totals the kal šu-gi are placed after dumu-nita and before dumu-sal; they receive more than any boy. Cf. Inv. T.T. (11) 736, C.T.I. pl. 7, 11. There also, in the total, the kal šu-gi are placed after dumu-nita.

Kal sig-a. In Cols. IX., X., occur (1) *sig-a ūg Personal Name* (4 times). (2) *sig-aX(ka) Personal Name* (17 times). The total (Col. XII.) includes 17 *kal sig-a*. This numerical correspondence indicates that *sig-a* in Cols. IX., X., has the same significance as in phrase *kal sig-a* in Cols. XI., XII.

They are included in the general class nu-giš-sar-me (XI., 40; XII. 9). So also TU 146, VI., 16-21, C.T. VII., pl. 7, IV., 2, cf. with C.T. VII., pl. 7, col. 111, 16. They had, then, something to do with the care of trees, but what in particular?

An interesting difference of order occurs in C.T. V. 43, IV.

x ka sig-a Personal Name, not, as on our tablet, *sig-a x ka Personal name*; similarly C.T. VII. pl. 7, I. 4, *ūg sig-a Personal Name*, not as on our text, *sig-a ūg Personal Name*.

OCCUPATIONS:

Engar husbandman, passim; zūr-ri engar, I. 2.

engar-ša(g)-gud-me. IV., 34 cf. C.T. IX., pl. 27, 14, 24, *engarsa(g)-gud-gan nu-engar-me*.

Ša(g)-Sahar-ra-me. V. 17; cf. C.T. 25, 26, 30, *Sahar* = *kisum* = Sword bearer.

A-kar-Nigin-me. V. 25.

The above are all combined in XI., 1, "*engar ša(g)-gud ša(g)-sahar-ra ù a-kar-NIGIN-me*."

abgal-tag-me. V., 32; XI., 4. Delitzsch suggests "Meister des taga, d.h. vielleicht des Hantierens" (S. gl. p. 85 gašam).

amar-tar, cf. R-ūg-il-me, VIII., 4; XI., 21; gim-arā-R-me, XI., 26.

ašgab, a worker in leather. N-R, V. 27, cf. Inv. T.T. vol. 2, 3488 where the ašgab works at shipbuilding.

dū-a-tar. N-R, IX. 29; R-me, IX. 4. Genouillac, Inv. T.T. Vol. 2, ad 630, "terrasiere." Deimel "Gartenarbeiter," because included amongst the *igi-nu-dū giš-me*. VAT 4600 (S. gra. p. 148).

gim-ará. ará = tēnu = to grind; female slaves who grind corn. R-amar-tar-me, XI., 26; R ù kal-amar-ri gub-ba-me, XI., 34; VIII., 38.

R ùg-il-me, VIII., 23, cf C.T. I. pl. 7, col. III., 4, 1 kal ùg-il-ará.

Gir-sí(g)-ga. še-ba R. XII., 34. Found often on Telloh tablets. Seems to be a profession of some kind.

kal-amar-ri, cf. gim-ará ù R gub-ba-me, XI., 34; VIII., 38.

nu-giš-sar-me. XI., XII. "le jardinier ou plus exactement l'homme qui soigne les plantations d'arbres." Th-D. R.A. 1920, p. 28, n. 9.

túg-GAB. N-R, V. 29, a weaver of cloth.

ùg-il. carriers, cf. amar-tar R; gim-ará R.

um-mi-a: N-R., IX., 1.; X., 8; X., 13. "Manoeuvres." Genouillac, Inv. T.T. Vol. 2 ad. 630.

Also *dub-sar*, writer, N.R., V., 14; *lù-sar-me*, gardeners. VI., 7; XI., 9; *nagar*, joiner, N.R., V., 26; *ni-dū-me*, porters, VI., 15, XI., 14.

Dumu-ni passim; *dumu-ni-me*, VI., 5, 14, etc. *dumu-sal-ni*, VIII., 6; *dumu-nita-ni*, IX., 19.

PLACE-NAMES. They are new to me.

1. *Ba-ba-as^{ki} giš-sar-Ba-ba-as^{ki}*, IX., 15; X., 12.

ša(g) Ba-ba-as^{ki}, XII., 35.

cf. Personal name *Bā-ša-ba ba a*, X., 16.

2. *Bl(L)-Zi-BÁD^{ki} giš-tir Bl(L)-Zi BĀD^{ki}*, VI., 16.

3. *Gu-dū(? ni)-na^{ki} giš sar Gu-du (? ni)-na^{ki}*, VI., 2.

Also VIII., 7, *gim giš ter-azag-ga*.

It is impossible to say for certain from which place in Sumer our tablet has come. There is no external evidence and no sure conclusion can be drawn from the internal evidence. The internal evidence is (a) *the month name* *itu maš-dū-kú*. This name is found only in the calendar of Drehem,¹ but this fact is not conclusive. The calendars of different cities, e.g. of Umma, Drehem, Adab, had certain month names in common. Later discoveries may show that the name *itu maš-dū-kú* was not peculiar to Drehem. (b) *The personal names* seem to support Drehem. But it is clear from Telloh, Drehem,

¹Professor Langdon published "Ten Tablets from the Archives of Adab" (R.A., 1922, p. 187-194). He gives a list of Adab months. The name of "2nd" month is not known. At Drehem it was *maš-du kú*. Was it so at Adab? His tablet 10, Rev. 14, is read by him *mu Du A ag-maš-dū-ka*, which he regards as a personal name. The tablet seems to be indistinct here. But from Langdon's copy, it seems more likely that the line must be read:—*mu-Du itu-maš-dū-kú*.

and Umma tablets of this period that the same names were common to several cities. (c) The phrase “ša(g) Ba-ba-az^{ki}” by itself states that the facts recorded are to be located in Ba-ba-az. It does not prove that the tablet has come from Ba-ba-az. Many tablets found in one place, e.g. Drehem, record administration work carried out in another place, e.g. Ur, Nippur, Tummal. (d) *The size* of our tablet is greater than that of any Drehem tablet hitherto published.

It seems safe to conclude that the tablet comes from a place in the Drehem-Umma district ; that place *may* be Ba-ba-az, a name which, as far as I know, has never been read on any tablet published up to date.