THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, A LIFE!

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While cataloguing a group of 341 tablets from the Shlomo Moussaieff collection that were on temporary loan to Bar-Ilan University for roughly two years until January 2008, we came across a group of tablets that list expenditures by an official at Maškān-šāpir.¹

The thirteen tablets published here belong to one dossier in which the principal figure is a man by the name of Warad-Nanna, a gu-za-lá-official.² He was stationed at Maskan-šāpir where he administered the disbursals of beer, flour and barley to various destinations. This is clear from the phrase that concludes all but one of the tablets (no. 11; but this tablet surely belongs to the same group). It stands before the date formula and reads:

ki īr-₄nanna gu-za-lá ša maš-kān-šabra⁵ ba-zi
(Commodities) expended by Warad-Nanna, the gu-za-lá official, at Maškān-šāpir

The main destination of these expenditures was the naptānum ceremonial banquet. It occurs in eleven of the thirteen cases, dated between Rim-Sin’s sixth and eighth year. Nos. 1 and 13, which lack a reference to naptānum, happen to be the earliest and latest texts in the dossier.

In this paper we will first edit the tablets in chronological order and then discuss their content in broad outline, touching upon matters of typology,

¹ We thank Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff for giving us the opportunity to study the tablets and publish them. The administrative texts, which are the majority of this collection, were catalogued by Kathleen Abraham, Uri Gabbay and Marcel Sigrist. We are grateful to Marcel Sigrist for his help in the preliminary identification and reading of the tablets. We would also like to thank Aage Westenholz and Yuval Levavi who were in charge of baking and restoring the tablets.

² For gu-za-lá, cf. Goodnick-Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 124-127. Note that the gu-zal-la mentioned in relation to Maškān-šāpir in an OB text probably from Larsa dating to Rim-Sin’s reign (Goodnick-Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 122, ii:3-5), is probably to be understood as kazzallu, a profession connected to sheep (Stol 2007, 410).
chronology, and history. We hope with this publication of Old Babylonian tablets to honor Karel Van Lerberghe, who is to be credited, among his many achievements, for having identified hundreds of Old Babylonian legal and administrative tablets in the Rosen Collection at Cornell University and having provided exhaustive editions of the tablets (Van Lerberghe and Voet 2009).

Edition of the Texts

1. SM Tablet 281 (27/vi/6 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. 10 gur zi-gu
      10 + x gur še
      šu-šu-šu-a ka-ra-nu-tum
      (vacat)
      ki ir₄-nanna gu-za-lá
      5. ša maš-kán-sabra₃
         ba-zi

Rev. (vacat)
      iti 'kin₄-inanna` ud-27-kam
      mu é 'dbára-ul`-e-gar-ra`
      ša ad[a]₃ mu-un-dù₄
      10. 'ù alan` kù-si₂₂ ḏEN.ZU-i-din-nam
          lugal lars[a₃-m]a mu-dím-ma

2. SM Tablet 282 (10+/vii/6 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. [2 gur] d[abin]
      [0;3.1] z[i-gu]
      [0;0.2 nī-g-àr]-ra še`-bi [0;0.3]
      'na-ap-la`-nu-u[m]
      5. 0;1 dabin lú ur₄[-f ]
         0;2.3 še ša-gal [anše kúnga]
         0;1.2 dabin ša-du₁₁ u`kin`-[gif-a]
            '2;2.2` gur dabin
            0;3.1 zi-gu
      10. 0;3 še
      (vacat)

Rev. ki ir₄-[nanna] gu-za-lá
      ša maš-[kán-ša]bra₃
      ba-zi
EXPENDITURES BY THE GU-ZA-LÁ OFFICIAL AT MAŠKAN-ŠAPIR

(vacat)

15. [mu] ṣè-ḅára-ul-e-ġár-[ra]
   [ṣà ada]bù [mu-dù-a]

3. SM Tablet 312 (7/viii/6 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. 3 gur dabin
   0;2.1 zi-gu
   0;0.2 nígb-àr-ra še-bi 0;0.3
   na-ap-ta-nu-um
   5. 0;2.3 šè šà-gal anše kúnga'
   0;1.3 dabin 0;0.1 zi-gu
   sá-du₁₁ īkin-gi₄-a
   3;1.3 gur dabin
   0;2.2 zi-gu
   10. 0;3 šè

Rev. [k]i ir-a₄-nanna' gu-za-lá
   šà maš-kán-šabra'ki
   ba-zi
   (vacat)
   iti ṣà apin-du₈-a ud-7-kam
   15. mu é ḏbára-ul-e-ġar-ra
       šà adabši mu-dù-a

4. SM Tablet 300 (13/viii/6 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. 3 gur dabin
   0;2.1 zi-gu
   0;0.2 nígb-àr-ra še-bi 0;0.3
   na-ap-ṭa-ṭa-ṭu-um
   5. 0;2.3 śè šà-gal anše kúnga
      '2' gur dabin a-na u-bar-ā₂₄-utu
      0;2 dabin 0;0.3 zi-gu dumu-munus lús₄-dumu-zi-da
      0;2 dabin sá-du₁₁ īkin-[g]li₄-a
      5;4 (erasure) gur dabin
   10. 0;2.4' zi-gu
       0;3 šè

Rev. [k]i ir-a₄-nanna gu-za-lá
   ba-zi
   (vacat)
iti šiš apin-du₇-a ud-13-kam
15. mu é dšāra-ul-e-šar-ra
šà adab₄ mu-un-du₉-a
ù alan kù-gi d'EN.ZU-i-din-na[m]
lugal larsa₄-ma
mu-un-dım-ma

5. SM Tablet 329 (10/vii/7 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. '1² gur 'kaš'-gin na-ap-ta-nu-um
0;4 sá-du₁₁ érin 'bi₄₂' lú unug₄
'0;3² sá-du₁₁ 'érin₄₄₃ lú i-s-u₅ki
0;0.1 d'EN.ZU'-na-wi₄₅
5. 0;0.1 x x (x)-la-AN
'0;0.1 'ik'-ka₅'-nu
[0;0.1] (x x) mi² x
lú murgu₄
0;0.1 d'EN.ZU-iš-me-[an-n]i
10. 0;0.1 i-[din]-[qan]na₇
lú [UD₃],UNUG₄
0;0.1 d'EN.ZU-i-din-nam
0;0.1 ha-₅₅-sú-um
lú an-za-an
15. 0;0.1 bur-ri-ia
0;0.1 ta-ri-bu-um
0;0.1 la-qí-pu-um
0;0.1 d'IM-am-mar
0;0.1 d'EN.'ZU'-₅₆-ga-mil

Rev. 20. 0;0.1 mi-in-[ ]
lú i-si'-in'[ki]
0;0.1 DINGIR-šu-ba-ni
0;0.1 i-lu-qí₅-ba
0;0.1 a-da-ia-tum
25. 0;0.1 a-bu-wa-qar
0;0.1 i-li-ma-a₃-hi
0;0.1 a-bu₄₄we-er
0;0.1 iḥ-bi-it-ir-ra
0;0.1 da-aq-qum
30. 0;0.1 ir-ra-ba-ni
0;0.1 i-ri-ba-am
0;0.1  a-ḫu-ni
lú  eš-nun₃ki
0;0.1  ta-ak-ku-ú-a
35.  ’lú’  ak-za-₃ki
      3;1.2”  gur  kaš-ḫin
      ki  ’lr-ḥanna’  gu-za-lá
      šà  maš-kán-šabra”ki
      ba-zi
U.E.  40.  iti  du₄₃-kù  ud-10-kam
      mu  abul-a  2-bi  maš-kán-šabra”ki
      mu-du-‘a’

NOTES

14. An-za-an (see also no. 9:7) is the common spelling for Anšan in Elamite sources (Vallat 1993, 14-15). Note, however, that most references are later than our tablet (Middle Elamite period). The Elamite writing with ZA in our line and in no. 9:7 (rather than the regular writing with ŠA), points to the close connection between Maškan-šapir and Elam.


34. For a similar name construction, see perhaps ta-at-tu-ú-a (Hinz and Koch 1987, 257-258).

35. For ak-za-₃ki (also in no. 11:10), see Groneberg 1980, 10. Note that the occurrence of this toponym in TIM 2, 14:24 should probably be dated to the reign of Rim-Sin of Larsa (Cagni 1980, 11, n. 14a). We suggest that this is a variant syllabic writing for Akšak. For the use of the sign ZA instead of ŠA, cf. the writing of Anšan as an-za-an₃ki (see note to line 14 above). Note also other syllabic spellings of Akšak without the final consonant (Groneberg 1980, 7-8).

6. SM Tablet 262 (12/vii/7 Rim-Sin)

Obv.  1. ’3 gur’ dabin
      0;2.3  zi-gu
      0;0.2  niŋ-ār-ra  še-bi  ’0;0.3’
      na-ap-ta-₃nu-um
5.   0;2.1 (še) ša-[ga]l anše kúnga
    1 gur  zi-gu  1 gur  dabin ’dumu”’  é-dub-ba
    0;3  dabin  6  érin  ḫmá-lá  ša  ’gi’  pisaḵ-im-sar-ra
    0;0.5  dabin  kurum₆₃ḫi  MĪ  nam-ra  ù  3  érin  a-sí-ru
    2  gur  dabin  2  gur  še
10.  sá- du₁¹  érin₃ḫi  lú  i-si-₃ki
6. For dumu é-dub-ba in administrative and military context, see Stol 2004, 780 with n. 961.

7. SM Tablet 339 (1/vii/8 Rim-Sin)

Obv.  1. 0;3 dabin
     0;2 zì-gu
     0;0.1 2 sìla níg-àr-ra še-bí 0;0.1 8 sìla
     na-ap-ta-nu-um
  5. 0;1.5 še šà-gal anšë kúnga
     0;2 dabin dam ṃEN.ZU-mu-pa-še-er
     0;0.1 9 sìla dabin 8 sìla zì-gu
     sá-du₁₁ ṃkin-gi₄-a
     1;0.1 9 sìla gur dabin
  10. 0;2 8 sìla zì-gu
     0;2 8 sìla še
     (vacat)

Rev.  [ki] ir₄-nan[n]a’gu’-z[a-lá]
     šà maš-kán-šab[ra₄]
     ba’-zi
     (vacat)
  15. iti du₄-kù ’ud-1’-kam
     mu é ṃen-ki šà úr[i₄]-ma
EXPENDITURES BY THE GU-ZA-LÁ OFFICIAL AT MAŠKAN-ŠAPIR

8. SM Tablet 286 (3/vii/8 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. 0;2.4 kaš-ĝin na-ap-ta-nu-‘um
       0;2.4 kaš-ĝin
       ki ir-ânanna gu-za-lá
       šà maš-kán-šabra
       5. ba-zi

Rev. (vacat)
       iti du₅₉-kù ud-3-kam
       mu é 4en-ki šà úri-ki
       ū é 4nin-ê-nim-ma
       šà é 4nin-mar-ki
       10. mu-du

9. SM Tablet 324 (2/viii/8 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. '0;3.3' kaš-ĝin na-ap-‘ta-nu-um'
       0;0.1 x x [ ]
       0;0.1 4EN.ZU-[ ]
       lú x (x x)₅₉
       5. 0;0.1 ir-ânanna
       0;0.1 4EN.ZU-ma-lik
       lú an-za'(A)-an
       0;4.2' kaš-ĝin
       (vacat)
       'ki' ir-ânanna gu-za-lá
       10. šà maš-kán-šabra
       ba-zi

Rev. (vacat)
       iti ši₇₉-apin-du₅₉-a
       ud-2-kam
       mu é 4en-ki šà úri-ki
       15. 'ū é 4nin-ê-nim-ma
           šà é 4nin-mar-ki ’mu-un-du’-a

NOTES

4. Probably read murgu (for Malgium).
7. For an-za-an, see note to no. 5:14 above.
10. SM Tablet 319 (9/ix/8 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. '0;3' kaš-époque na-ap-'ta-nu'-um
0;0.1 a-bi-a-sa-ad
0;0.1 ₄utu-a-bi
0;0.1 Šu-ni-ia
5. lú ᵇ-ᵽ-nun₃₃
0;3.3 kaš-époque
(vacat)
‘ki Šu.₄-nanna ‘gu-z₃-lat’
‘ša’ maš-k₃-an-[§]abra ‘ki’
‘ba’-zi
(vacat)

Rev. 10. iti ‘gan-gan-ē’ ud.9.kam
mu ‘e’ ᵅ'en-ki ša ūri₃₃-ma
mu-un-d₃-a

11. SM Tablet 293 (20/ix/8 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. 0;3 kaš-époque na-ap-ta-nu-um
0;0.1 i-₃₄-lam₃-du-⁻du
0;0.1 a-da-a-a-tum
0;0.1 a-bi-a-sa-ad
5. 0;0.1 ₄utu-a-bi
0;0.1 Šu-ni-ia
0;0.1 x x-bi
lú ᵇ-nun-na₃₃
Rev. 0;0.1 lú i-si-[in₃₃]
10. lú ak-za-a₃₃
0;4.1 kaš-époque
(vacat)
iti ‘gan-gan-ē’ ud-20-kam
mu ‘e’ ᵅ'en-ki ša ūri₃₃-ma
mu-un-d₃-a

NOTES

10. For ak-za-a₃₃, see note to no. 5:35.

12. SM Tablet 291 (21/ix/8 Rim-Sin)

Obv. 1. [0;4] dabin
0;2 zi-gu
EXPENDITURES BY THE GU-ZA-LÁ OFFICIAL AT MAŠKAN-ŠAPIR

0;0.1 5 sīla \/ni-\r-a ẽ-bi 0;0.2 2 sīla
\na-\pa-tu-\nu-m

5. 0;1.5 ẽ-gal anše kùnga
0;0.2 dabin 7 (sīla) zi-gu
sá-du₁₁ \uk\\kin-gi-a
0;4.2 dabi[n]
0;2.0 7 (sīla) zi-g[u]

10. 0;2.'1' 2 sīla ẽ
\(\text{(vacat)}\)
ki irl\-nanna gu-za-lá
sà maš-kán-šabra\(\text{ki}\)
ba-zi

Rev. iti ẽ-gan-\-è ud-21-kam

15. mu ẽ \'en-ki sà ū\(\text{r}\)\(\text{ki}\)-ma
\'u\(\text{r}\) ẽ \d\(\text{e}\)\(\text{ni}\)-\(\text{e}\)-nim-ma
[\(\text{u}\) \(\text{e}\) \d\(\text{e}\)\(\text{nin}\)-mar-ki
mu-du-a

13. SM Tablet 332 (30/ix/13\(\text{r}\) Rim-Sin)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>0;2.3 ẽ</th>
<th>0;1.0 dabin</th>
<th>0;0.1 5 sīla zi-gu</th>
<th>0;1.5' kaš-sig₅</th>
<th>0;2.4 (sē) kaš-gin</th>
<th>0;2.3 (sē) kaš-gin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0;0.3</td>
<td>0;0.1</td>
<td>0;1.0' kaš-ú-sa ẽ-bi</td>
<td>0;0.1</td>
<td>dingir-'na-\s(\text{ir})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0;0.3</td>
<td>0;0.1</td>
<td>0;1.0' kaš-ú-sa ẽ-bi</td>
<td>0;0.1</td>
<td>(\text{puzur}_4)(\text{mar-\text{tu}})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0;0.1</td>
<td>5 sī[la]</td>
<td>0;1.(\text{a})-ba-(\text{a})-(\text{di-})(\text{nu})-(\text{um})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. 0;0.1 5 (sīla) 0;0.1 \(\text{dEN.ZU-i-ri-ba-am}\)
0;0.1 5 (sīla) 0;0.1 \(\text{dwe-er-a-bu-\text{su}}\)
K. ABRAHAM AND U. GABBAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0;0.1</th>
<th>5 (sīla)</th>
<th>0;0.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-a'-ga'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0;0.1</th>
<th>5 (sīla)</th>
<th>0;0.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫa-zi-ru-um</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>0;0.1</th>
<th>5 (sīla)</th>
<th>0;0.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0;0.1</th>
<th>5 (sīla)</th>
<th>0;0.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aḫu-wa-qr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev. 2;2.2 še gur
       0;1.5 5 sīla dabin
       0;0.1 5 sīla zi-gu
sā-du₆₁ ki₆₂₂₈₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆суд

| 15. | ki₄₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2 |
|------|--------|--------|
| ša₄₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2 maš-kán-šabra₄₆₂₈₂₆2 |
| ba-zi |
| iti₈₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2 gan-gan-è ud-30-kam |

| 20. | mu₉₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2 bàd-gal ʻiš'-ku-un₉₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2 nè-iri₆₁ gal bà-dù |

NOTES

1. If the reading of the PN la-wi-la-an in the last column is correct, this would perhaps be the same messenger from Ešnunna mentioned as a recipient of a sheep in a tablet dated to the year Rim-Sin 7 (Ali 2009, 16, no. 1:2-3).

Related Texts

A group of similar texts was recently published by M. Ali (2009). These texts, dated to Rim-Sin 7-9 and 21, list expenditures for the naptānum, for various individuals and for messengers from Ešnunna and Uruk. Unlike the texts published here, they record expenditures of sheep and lambs and not of barley and beer.

Another group of tablets that may be relevant to the texts published here is TLB I, nos. 50-54, edited by Leemans (1954, 76-90). This is a

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3 One of the messengers from Ešnunna mentioned in this group may occur in our tablet 13, see note to no. 13:1 above.

4 Note the term é₂₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2-gu-za in some of these texts (Ali 2009, 16-20, nos. 1:3, 3:3, 4:3, 6:3), which may be connected to the profession gu-za-lá of Warad-Nanna in our texts. Note especially the related writing lù₂₂₆₂₈₂₆₂₈₂₆2-gu-za in some texts (Goodnick-Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 124).

5 For no. 54, see also Robson 2004, 132.
group of expenditures of barley and flour for *naptānum*, animal fodder (*ša*-*gal*), maintenance (*šu*-*hērē*, *šu*-*ku* PN [no. 51], *šu*-*ku* é [no. 54]) and named individuals. The texts in this group are set in non-tabulated (nos. 50-51) and tabulated (nos. 52-54) form. None of the texts has a year date, but it is generally assumed that they are from the later years of Rim-Sin (Leemans 1954, 71; Robson 2004, 131-132).

A group of ten small tablets was found in house B.59 in Larsa (Charpin 2003, 314). They record an amount of flour (dabin), followed by *naptānum* and the name of the month and day, but not the year. D. Charpin suggests to compare the *naptānum* in these Larsa tablets to the *naptān šarrim* from Mari, but previously he linked them to texts from Tell-ed-Dèr where the same kind of disbursals are categorized as “food provision” (*šu*-*ku* lú) (Charpin 1996, 222).

Lastly, an unpublished text related to our group is mentioned by Civil (2000, 675). During a discussion of a different issue, Civil refers to an unpublished administrative text, dated to Rim-Sin 7: “Among supplies for the *naptanu* of Kudur-Mabuk, and other ritual occasions, the tablet lists several equids, among them the ‘horse of Inanna’.”

**Text Typology**

**Type A:** Flour expenditures (nos. 2-4, 6-7, 12). These documents mention types of flour and groats (dabin, *zi*-gu, *nī*-ār-ra) for the ceremonial banquet (*naptānum*) and for the regular supplies to the messengers (*sá*-du₅ *₅*-a), as well as barley (*šē*) for the fodder of the mules (*anšē* *kūnga*). Texts nos. 3 and 12 mention these three destinations. The other texts in this group are more elaborate than texts nos. 3 and 12. They add to the above mentioned destinations also disbursals to named and unnamed individuals, workmen, and prisoners.

Text no. 1 is also a flour and barley expenditure by Warad-Nanna, but the only beneficiary mentioned is a woman named Karānatum. It is therefore different from the above texts in that no banquet, mules or messengers are mentioned. It is also the earliest text in the dossier.

**Type B:** Beer expenditures (nos. 5, 8-11). These documents mention beer for the *naptānum* and for various individuals from different localities (PN lú GN).

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6 Or is this another reference to *anšē* *kūnga*’ as in our texts?
7 For details on the beneficiaries, see below.
8 For this feminine personal name, cf. *CAD K*, 202b.
Type C: Tabular expenditure of flour and beer (text 13). The latest text in the dossier mentions both beer and flour expenditures which were dispensed “for the regular deliveries of the messengers from Ešnunna.” The nine recipients in question are listed by name. The “landscape” orientation of the tablet, as well as its tabular nature, are characteristic to the early years of the reign of Rim-Sin (Robson 2004, 128-130). Unlike other tabulated tablets of this period, there is no heading to the table in text no. 13. The first row functions as heading to the first five columns by naming the types of commodities that are dispensed, but also specifies the amounts that are dispensed to the persons who are mentioned in the sixth and final column.

Chronological Framework

Warad-Nanna administered the disbursal of beer, flour and barley at Maškan-šapir in the reign of Rim-Sin. All but one of the texts are dated in autumn or early winter (months vi-ix) of this king’s sixth, seventh and eighth year. The table below orders the texts in chronological order and summarizes the evidence that they provide regarding the types of disbursals that fell under Warad-Nanna’s responsibility and the date on which he reported about them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text No</th>
<th>Disbursals from Maškan-šapir</th>
<th>naptānum</th>
<th>day</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>year</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>beer (Type B)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>beer (Type B)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>beer (Type B)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>beer (Type B)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>beer (Type B)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>flour + barley (Type A)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>flour + barley and beer</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>13a</td>
<td>Rim-Sin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen, Warad-Nanna’s first attested report on an expenditure took place in Rim-Sin’s sixth year, on the 27th day of month vi (no. 1). It is exceptional in that it mentions only one individual as beneficiary, whereas all future expenditures of barley or flour (also) refer to a banquet (*naptānum*), mules and messengers. Soon afterwards, namely on the 10th day of month vii, another expenditure followed (no. 2), this time of the usual type A. About 3–4 weeks later two more expenditures of type A were organized by Warad-Nanna, separated from each other by six days, namely on the 7th and 13th days of month viii (nos. 3 and 4).

In Rim-Sin’s seventh year Warad-Nanna is in charge of two expenditures which are separated from each other by two days. On the 10th of month vii he dispensed beer (no. 5, type B), and on the 12th — flour and barley (no. 6, type A). The beer was for the *naptānum*, as well as for workers and individuals from a variety of cities; the flour and barley were for the usual Type A beneficiaries (*naptānum*, fodder for mules, and messengers), as well as for a scribe, a team of workers in charge of rafts carrying tablet containers, workers from Isin and Uruk, prisoners and captive women.

The first two expenditures in Rim-Sin’s eighth year are separated from each other by two days, namely on the 1st and 3rd days of month vii (nos. 7 and 8). The first of these two expenditures is of flour (type A) and the second is of beer (type B). One month later, an additional expenditure of beer takes place (type B), namely on the 2nd day of month viii (no. 9). This time men from various cities are mentioned besides the banquet. Five weeks later, a similar expenditure of beer is recorded (type B), namely on the 9th day of month ix (no. 10). The next expenditure, of beer as well (type B), occurs eleven days later, namely on the 20th of month ix (no. 11), for the *naptānum* and for people from various localities, including six individuals from Ešnunna, three of them identical to the ones listed in no. 10. Finally, one day later, an expenditure of flour and barley (type A) is recorded, namely from the 21st day of month ix (no. 12), destined for the usual banquet, mules and messengers.

A gap of five years occurs before the next known tablet of expenditures by Warad-Nanna. No. 13 (Type C), from the end of month ix of Rim-Sin’s 13th year, is different from the previous texts not only in chronological terms, but also in its format (tabular) and to some degree even its content. It combines expenditures of barley, flour and barley for beer\(^9\) on

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\(^9\) That barley for the preparation of beer is meant also in the column that only mentions *kaš-gin* is seen by the total amount of barley noted at the end of the tablet, which also includes the amounts for *kaš-gin* beer.
one and the same tablet and organizes the relevant data in a six-column table. The beneficiaries are ten men, messengers of Ešnunna.

**Historical Framework**

The noun *naptānum* may refer to various types of banquets: cultic banquets to the gods, royal banquets, military banquets and private banquets. In some cases there is only a fine line separating disbursals for a “banquet” from those for the so-called “maintenance” of certain individuals, even to the point that the former are simply categorized as “food provisions” (šuku lú) (Charpin 1996, 222). It is quite possible that the *naptānum* banquets for which Warad-Nanna had to supply various kinds of flour were held in honor of members of the royal family and their entourage. Maškan-šapir is known to have been the residence of members of the royal family of Larsa. Kudur-Mabuk had probably already taken up residence in Maškan-šapir during the end of the reign of Sin-iddinam and he remained firmly in control of Maškan-šapir until the end of Warad-Sin’s reign and the beginning of the reign of Rim-Sin (Steinkeller 2004a, 33). Kudur-Mabuk must have died during the first years of Rim-Sin’s reign. Since an inscription of Rim-Sin, dealing with the building of Enki’s temple in Ur, does not mention Kudur-Mabuk (Frayne 1990, 278-279, no. 6), and since the eighth year name of Rim-Sin mentions the same act (Sigrist 1990, 40-41), Frayne (1990, 270, 278) concluded that Kudur-Mabuk was dead by Rim-Sin 8. According to Steinkeller (2004a, 41, n. 77), Kudur-Mabuk died even earlier, since the installation of statues of Kudur-Mabuk in the year names of Rim-Sin 3 and 5 (Sigrist 1990, 38-39), may indicate that he was dead by then, at least in Rim-Sin 5 which mentions that the statues were brought into é-gal-bar-ra, perhaps a royal funerary chapel (George 1993, 87, no. 311). Therefore, Steinkeller concludes that Kudur-Mabuk died not later than the year Rim-Sin 5.

Our group of texts (excluding no. 13) range between Rim-Sin 6 and 8. Although this may be a coincidence, perhaps one should connect this to the possible death of Kudur-Mabuk just before or during this period. The termination of the *naptānum* texts in Rim-Sin 8 may indicate the decline of Maškan-šapir as a place of political residence in these years.

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11 Cf. *CAD N/I*, 323.

12 Steinkeller gives the date as Warad-Sin 5, but this must be a mistake for Rim-Sin 5.
and therefore the royal *naptānum* did not take place there anymore. Later, Rim-Sin seems to have assigned his brother Sin-muballit to be in charge of Maškan-šapir (Steinkeller 2004a, 28-29).\(^\text{13}\)

The dates of the Maškan-šapir expenditures may have other historical implications. It may be mere coincidence, but Warad-Nanna’s most active years in Maškan-šapir (Rim-Sin 6-8) concur with fortification and irrigation works at Maškan-šapir done by Rim-Sin in this period. Thus, the seventh year of Rim-Sin’s reign was named after such works: “Year: He had two large doors built in Maškan-šapir and had a four mile long canal dug for the fields and the pastures” (Sigrist 1990, 40).

**Beneficiaries**

The following destinations and beneficiaries are found in the texts:

(1) *Naptānum* (all texts, except nos. 1 and 13)

The ceremonial banquet (*naptānum*) for which Warad-Nanna had to supply various kinds of flour, barley and beer were probably held in honor of members of the royal family and their entourage. The flour and barley transactions (Type A) always contain three ingredients: dabin (semolina), *zi*-gu flour, and groats of barley (*nīg-*ār-ra). In the three documented expenditures in months vii-viii of Rim-Sin 6 (nos. 2-4, all Type A) and in the only Type A transaction of the year Rim-Sin 7 which occurred in month vii (no. 6), the amounts of these ingredients are equal or similar, ranging between 2-3 *kor* of semolina, 130-190 *sila* of *zi*-gu flour, and 30 *sila* of barley for the production of 20 *sila* of groats. The amounts change in the two *naptānum* Type A documents of year 8 of Rim-Sin (nos. 7 and 12): the amount of semolina ranges only between 180-240 *sila*, the amount of *zi*-gu flour is only slightly smaller than in the previous years (120 *sila*), and the amount of barley goes down to 18-22 *sila* for the production of 12-15 *sila* of groats.

One tablet lists beer expenditures for the *naptānum* (Type B) in year Rim-Sin 7 and four tablets list this for year 8. In the document from year Rim-Sin 7 (no. 5), dated to month vii, probably 1 *kor* of beer is listed. Again, the amounts in year 8 of Rim-Sin (nos. 8-11) seem to be considerably smaller, ranging between 160-210 *sila* of beer.

\(^{13}\) Van de Mieroop (1993, 51) raises the possibility that a brother of Rim-Sin, perhaps Sin-muballit, succeeded their father Kudur-Mabuk in Maškan-šapir after his death.
Is it possible that the diminishing quantities of flour and beer seen in the chronological framework of the various expenditures should be connected to the death of Kudur-Mabuk and consequently to the decline of Maškan-áapir as a place of royal and political residence (see above)?

(2) Messengers (lúkin-gí₄-a)
Messengers are listed in the corpus in two ways:

- in general, namely in the form of “regular deliveries to the messengers” (sá-du₁₁ lúkin-gí₄-a, nos. 2-4, 6-7, 12)
- in particular, namely in the form of “regular deliveries to the messengers from Ešnunna” (sá-du₁₁ lúkin-gí₄-a èš-nun₈₁, no. 13)¹⁴

In the general listing, without the mention of the toponym, the messengers receive various amounts of semolina (ranging between 10-120 sila), as well as zì-gu flour (ranging between 7-10 sila). In tablet no. 13 the ten messengers of Ešnunna receive rations of semolina, zì-gu flour, barley and beer.

(3) Fodder for mules
The amounts of barley for fodder for mules decline from year to year during the three years such transactions are attested. The three tablets from the year Rim-Sin 6 (nos. 2-4) list the same amount of barley for fodder for mules: 150 sila. The tablet from the year Rim-Sin 7 (no. 6) lists a slightly smaller amount: 130 sila. Both transactions of fodder from year Rim-Sin 8 (nos. 7 and 12) list the amount of 110 sila.

(4) Individuals
Six individuals, three women and three men, are mentioned in the tablets as receiving flour, four of whom are not identified by name but rather by their affiliation to other named individuals (man of PN, daughter of PN, and wife of PN), or by their affiliation to an administrative or military establishment (dumu é-dub-ba):¹⁵

- Karanātum (no. 1; she receives flour and barley)
- Ubar-Šamaš (no. 4)
- Man (lú) of Ur-₄[...] (no. 2)

¹⁵ See note to no. 6:6 above.
EXPENDITURES BY THE GU-ZA-LÁ OFFICIAL AT MAŠKAN-ŠAPIR

- Daughter (dumu-munus) of Lu-Dumuzida (no. 4)
- Wife of Sin-mupaššer (dam PN, no. 7)
- Scribe (‘dumu” é-dub-ba, no. 6)

5) Group of men from various localities (lú GN)

Individuals identified by their place of origin, and often also by their personal name, are mentioned in four tablets (nos. 5, 9-11) as recipients of beer (Type B), always 10 *sila*. The three named individuals from Ešnunna in no. 10 are also listed in no. 11 (both from month ix of year Rim-Sin 8). One of the persons from Ešnunna mentioned in no. 11 (month ix of year Rim-Sin 8) is also mentioned more than a year earlier in no. 5 (month vii of year Rim-Sin 7). Following are the various topographic affiliations mentioned in the corpus:

- from Akša(k) (nos. 5, 11)
- from Anšan (nos. 5, 9)
- from Ešnunna (nos. 5, 10, 11)
- from Isin (nos. 5, 11)
- from Malgium (no. 5 and possibly no. 9)
- from Larsa(?) or Uruk(?) (no. 5)

The mention of Akšak, Anšan, Ešnunna and Malgium, all in the Babylonian (north-)eastern frontier, as well as the central and southern Babylonian cities of Isin and Uruk, and perhaps Larsa, reflect the geographical and strategic importance of Maškan-šapir, situated on the road from Larsa to Dēr, Ešnunna and Elam.

Note that Isin, as well as Uruk, were not yet part of the kingdom of Rim-Sin when the documents mentioning the expenditure of commodities to some of the persons associated with them were written. According to the year name of Rim-Sin 14, he defeated a coalition of forces, among them from Uruk and Isin (Sigrist 1990, 43-44; Van de Mieroop 1993, 51), and according to the year names of Rim-Sin 21 and 29, he captured Uruk and Isin respectively (Sigrist 1990, 49, 58-59; Van de Mieroop 1993, 53). As mentioned, these events occurred after the documents were written.

6) Workmen (érin)

Workmen from Uruk and Isin are mentioned in two tablets of Type A and B dated to month vii of year Rim-Sin 7 (nos. 5-6), as receiving regular deliveries (*sá-du₁₁*) of beer, semolina and barley. For the mention of these two cities, see above.
Tablet no. 6 also lists deliveries of semolina to a team of six raft-men in charge of the transportation of reed tablet containers (6 ērin lú má.lá ša ʾpisāq-im-sar-ra).

(7) Prisoners
- female prisoners of war (mununam-ra) (no. 6)
- prisoner-workmen (3 ērin a-sí-ru) (no. 6)

Origin of the tablets

The tablets were written in Maškan-šapir, where the transactions occurred, as indicated by the remark ša maš-kán-šabra towards the end of the tablets, before the date formula. It is therefore possible that the tablets originated from illicit excavations in Tell Abu Duwari, the modern site which was identified since 1989 as Maškan-šapir (Stone and Zimansky 2004). Charpin (1994, 214) has already speculated, based on prosopography, that some of the texts considered to stem from Larsa, actually originated in illicit excavations in Tell Abu Duwari.

However, it is possible that the tablets published here, although surely written in Maškan-šapir, were found in Larsa rather than Tell Abu Duwari. Indeed, they could have been removed from the archives of Maškan-šapir already in antiquity, in order to have them shipped to Larsa, where the central administration was located, especially after the death of Kudur-Mabuk in the beginning of the reign of Rim-Sin (see above), when royal residence in Maškan-šapir seems to have ended. In fact, there is a slight possibility that tablet no. 6 published here may contain a clue to such a transfer. Line 7 of this document mentions a group of six workmen in charge of a raft carrying tablet containers (6 ērin lú má-lá ša ʾpisāq-im-sar-ra). Could this be an indication of the transfer of the discussed tablets?  

Index of Personal Names

(Note the following abbreviations: An = Anšan; Ak = Akšak; E = Ešnunna; I = Isin; L = Larsa; M = Malgium; U = Uruk)

Abī-ašād (E)
   a-bi-a-sa-ad no. 10: 2; 11: 4

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16 The only texts from this site which originated in an excavation are royal building inscriptions (Steinkeller 2004b).
17 Note that the pairing of boats (mā) with tablet containers (ʾpisāq-im-sar-ra) occurs also in some Ur III administrative texts, e.g., Ozaki and Sigrist 2006, 140, no. 362:3.
Abu-waqar (E)  
  a-bu-wa-qar no. 5: 25
Abu-Wēr (E)  
  a-bu-wē-er no. 5: 27
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