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NOTES BRÈVES

11) New etiquettes from Lagaba concerning beer and by-products, and the placement of the year

MU GIBIL — A recent article by L. R. Siddall, W. Horowitz et P. Zilberg (2018, henceforth ‘the authors’) brought 14 new etiquettes (*bullae*), originally from Lagaba, to our attention, presented in a table and accompanied by partial photographs. Twelve of these etiquettes, which W. J. Beasley, founder of the Australian Institute of Archaeology, acquired from the Baghdad-based antiquities dealer E. Jawahery in August 1935, are nowadays held at the Australian Institute of Archaeology at Macleod, in the suburbs of Melbourne (IA7.877 to IA7.887), and at the Nicholson Museum of the University of Sydney (NM44.20); two others were discovered in the collection of the Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand (E47.285 and E47.540). As already noted by the authors, two further etiquettes previously published by O. Tammuz (1994) should be added to this group, which originally come from the Ternbach collection and are held at the Israel Museum of Jerusalem (IMJ 87.160.0652 and IMJ 87.160.0653). The list can be augmented by another etiquette, probably also from the Ternbach collection, and nowadays preserved in the Michail collection in Milan, which was published by G. Pettinato (1997: 191, no. 107). Here follows the text, with corrections of the *editio princeps* by reconsidering the available photo (corrections indicated by *):

	0,0.4* DUH* DURU ₅ *	40 SILA ₃ of moist draff
2	ŠU.TLA <i>be-el-šu-nu</i> KI <i>î*-lî*-î*-d</i> UTU	received by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš.
4	ITI DU ₆ .KÛ U ₄ 2.KAM MU ^{gis} TUKUL ŠU.NIR*	(Date:) 2/vii/Si 7.

There are thus (up to date) 17 etiquettes that form a coherent dossier covering a limited amount of time: each records the receipt of a certain type of good delivered by Ili-u-Šamaš. Thirteen of them are dated between the months v and x of Samsu-iluna 7 (henceforth Si 7; date formula MU ^{gis}TUKUL ŠU.NIR KÛ.GI), and the other four date to the month iii of a year whose name is not directly specified (MU GIBIL “new year”). The available editions and photographs do not always allow to decipher the name of the recipient: when the name is readable, it is Belšunu for the texts dating to Si 7 while Sin-abušu is recipient in those dated by the formula MU GIBIL. As already remarked by the authors, these etiquettes have two distinct forms depending on their date. The texts dating to Si 7 have three roughly oval and curved surfaces (“cornish pasty shape”), while those dated to MU GIBIL have a “three-sided pyramid shape”.

Some photographs show that the etiquettes had string holes. The authors follow the idea that the etiquettes were attached to the good they recorded by means of a string (Siddall, Horowitz and Zilberg 2018: 11). However, it is now known that these concise administrative texts could have been strung together on a cord to preserve their chronological order to facilitate the production of a recapitulative account if necessary (see Charpin 2008 and most recently Charpin in press). That explains why these texts are found in one archive and not scattered across the archives of the recipients (as would be the case if they were attached to the delivered good).

The authors assume further, following O. Tammuz (1994), that the object that is received is designated by the logogram ŠIM, to be read *riqqum* (cf. CAD R, p. 368 sq.), and that we are dealing with receipts of an aromatic substance. Upon re-examination of the available photographs, a reading as DUH DURU₅ = *tuhhū raṭbūtum* ‘moist draff’ seems preferable (cf. CAD T, p. 453b-454a). This by-product of

beer production is commonly used as animal fodder (see Röllig 1970 and the review by Stol 1971, specifically on this subject). This is supported by the fact that these etiquettes are related to a dossier of beer receipts associated with the same Ili-u-Šamaš, certainly a brewer, but which were written on tablets sealed by the recipient. Eleven of those beer receipts are held at the Yale Babylonian Collection. O. Tammuz edited them in his unpublished PhD thesis (1993) and they will soon be published by A. Jacquet in BIN 11 (nos. 155-165). The oldest one, NBC 8819, dating to 12/viii/Si 6, is apparently a receipt of barley (scribal error by writing ŠE instead of KAŠ?); the recipient is Šamaš-muballit, son of Abum-waqar (according to his seal). The other ten, all receipts of beer, are dated between the months vi and xi of Si 7; they are thus contemporaneous with the etiquettes discussed here; the recipients are either Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, or his brother Marduk-našir (according to their seals), both well-known individuals from the Lagaba archives (Frankena 1973). Furthermore, there are three receipts held in the De Liagre Böhl Collection at Leiden that belong to the same dossier. They were published by W. F. Leemans in TLB 1 (copy) and SLB 1/3 (edition) as numbers 107-109. SLB 1/3 107 is a receipt of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš dated to 7/xii/Si 19, so twelve years after the first group; numbers 108 and 109 are dated to the days 13 and 19/ix/Si 19 respectively (or perhaps Si 21, the use of the abbreviated year name MU GU.ZA BĀR IN.DĪM allows for both); the recipients are Pirhum-lizziz, Zababa-našir (son of Šu-Amurru and nephew of Belšunu and Marduk-našir) and Sin-išmeanni.

D. Charpin commented on that dossier of beer receipts in his article tracing the impact of royal edicts in Old Babylonian archives (Charpin 2000: 193-194), proposing that these texts styled as receipts were in fact debt notes that were never reimbursed due to the pronouncement of the *mīšarum* edict by Samsu-iluna in month iii of his 8th regnal year. Given the dates of the texts, this idea is certainly tempting, but the forthcoming study of the Lagaba texts by A. Jacquet permits to regard the entirety of these texts as simple administrative receipts which would have been discarded, perhaps coinciding with the *mīšarum*, when the brewer Ili-u-Šamaš revisited his archives to sort out cancelled debts. The draff receipts apparently suffered the same fate.

The currently available documentation does not seem to allow to determine the reasons for using one medium rather than the other (etiquette vs. tablet). Both carry the same amount of text (usually five lines) and are mostly sealed. There are, however, two differences. First, writing medium varies according to the product documented: the beer receipts (dealing with something liquid) were written on tablets while the draff receipts (dealing with something solid) were written on etiquettes. Second, the beer tablets are sealed by the recipient (Belšunu or Marduk-muballit) while the draff receipts are sealed with the seal of a man whose entire name is not yet known to us, [...]Ištaran, son of Abum-[wa]qar, servant of Ninsianna (reading A. Jacquet) who is not the explicit recipient of the product as indicated in the text. Only a full edition of these documents might allow a better understanding of the use of these different supports.

The four etiquettes dated to the year MU GIBIL are problematic. It is generally considered that the texts dated with this date formula are, within the reign of Samsu-iluna, texts from his 29th regnal year (thus an abbreviated form of MU GIBIL EGIR MU *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL.E Á.ÁG.GÁ ⁴EN.LÍL.LÁ; see for example TMH 10 185). At Lagaba, this is certainly the case in SLB 1/3 150 (20/iii/MU GIBIL = Si 29), an account of barley expenditures from the service of Bašti-il-aba. Afterwards this same Bašti-il-aba can be found again renting a field in SLB 1/3 142, a contract dated to 30/vi/Si 30 (MU GIBIL 2.KAM.MA). This perhaps also applies to SLB 1/3 92 (recapitulative account of barley expenditures for the month GU₄.SI.SÁ [ii]; 1/iii/MU GIBIL = Si 29?) and SLB 1/3 166 (barley[?] ration list; 10/i/MU GIBIL = Si 29?). However, four unedited documents from the Yale Babylonian Collection seem to indicate the proximity of year called MU GIBIL to the years Si 6 and Si 8: NBC 8534 (-/i/MU GIBIL; to be published as BIN 11 22) is part of a series of 16 barley and silver loans which were granted by Marduk-muballit between xi/Si 5 and vii/Si 8, and were cancelled by the *mīšarum* in Si 8 (Charpin 2000: 194 sq.; Jacquet 2013: 78 sq.). NBC 8543 (1/i/MU GIBIL; BIN 11 114), NBC 8578 (2/i/MU GIBIL; BIN 11 115), and NBC 8872 (2+x/i/MU GIBIL; BIN 11 116) are part of a series of 85 barley expenditures sealed by Sagil-mansum and dated between vi/Si 6 and xi/Si 7. According to O. Tammuz (1993: 63) “they were written either in Samsuiluna year 6, or more probably in Samsuiluna year 7”. These tablets are dated to the very first days of the year which led O. Tammuz (1993: 64) to suggest that “it is plausible that Sagil-mansum (the sender) was not yet informed of

the name of the new year when he sent the tablets” (see also O. Tammuz 1993: 171, with the same argument). Within this series hitherto known texts dated with the year formula MU GIBIL could be placed either at the very beginning of Si 6, or at the very beginning of Si 7, or even at the very beginning of Si 8, an option not considered by O. Tammuz.

What to think of the four new etiquettes dated to the month iii/MU GIBIL? Positioning them at the beginning of Si 6 seems very unlikely because the following text in the series of moist draff receipts (IA7.879) is dated to the 16/v/Si 7 and there would thus be a gap of more than a year in the sequence. Positioning them at the beginning of Si 7 is possible within the sequence of receipts, but is at odds with the sequence of barley expenditures sealed by Sagil-mansum, which shows that the official year name of Si 7 is used from the 16/i (NBC 8871 = BIN 11 54) as well as during the month ii (NBC 8910 = BIN 11 55 and NBC 8732 = BIN 11 56). The last option is to position the four texts at the beginning of Si 8, which seems permissible by each of the three series. The most likely positioning of those texts dated with the formula MU GIBIL is thus Si 8, neatly following the texts of Si 7 and just preceding the proclamation of the *mīšarum*. It is still unclear why, in these dossiers, the year name MU GIBIL had been carried through into iii/Si 8 even though the official year name has already been known at Lagaba, according other local archives, since the beginning of the year (see NBC 8563 = BIN 11 178 [14/i/Si 8] and NBC 6749 = BIN 11 188 [1/iii/Si 8]). This argument would also apply to a placement at the beginning of Si 7. If our hypothesis is correct, the dossier of beer and moist draff receipts belonging to Ili-u-Šamaš can thus be reconstructed as follows (subject to a full edition of the texts in Australia and New Zealand collections; the asterisks* signal corrections made, especially considering the reading of the months names, based on the available photographs):

Type	Reference	Date	Content
tablet	NBC 8819 [BIN 11 155]	12/viii/Si 6	Receipt of 124 SILA ₃ of barley by Šamaš-muballit from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Šamaš-muballit, son of Abum-waqar, servant of Ninsianna
etiquette	IA7.879	16/v/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
tablet	NBC 8798 [BIN 11 156]	1/vi/Si 7	Receipt of 56 SILA ₃ of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
etiquette	IMJ 87.160.0653 ¹⁾ [Tammuz 1994]	13/vi/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: [...]Ištaran, son of Abum-waqar, servant of Ninsianna
etiquette	IMJ 87.160.0652 ²⁾ [Tammuz 1994]	14/vi/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: [...]Ištaran, son of Abum-waqar, servant of Ninsianna
tablet	NBC 8554 [BIN 11 157]	15/vi/Si 7	Receipt of 256 SILA ₃ of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
etiquette	IA7.886	26/vi/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	IA7.878	1/vii*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	Michail 107	2/vii/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: not visible on available photos
tablet	NBC 8779 [BIN 11 158]	9/vii/Si 7	Receipt of 53 SILA ₃ of beer by Marduk-našir from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Marduk-našir, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
etiquette	IA7.884	16?/vii*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
tablet	NBC 8786 [BIN 11 159]	8/viii/Si 7	Receipt of 20 SILA ₃ of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
etiquette	IA7.887	10/viii*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealed but the sealing is not readable on the available photo
etiquette	IA7.885	11*/viii*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	IA7.881	20/viii/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
tablet	NBC 8750 [BIN 11 160]	22/viii/Si 7	Receipt of 16 SILA ₃ of beer by Marduk-našir from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Marduk-našir, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
etiquette	IA7.877	1/ix*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information

etiquette	E47.285	4/ix*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	NM44.20 ³⁾	16/ix*/Si 7	Receipt of 40 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: [...]Ištaran, son of Abum-waqar, servant of Ninsianna
tablet	NBC 8785 [BIN 11 161]	6/x/Si 7	Receipt of 20 SILA ₃ of beer by Marduk-našir from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Marduk-našir, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
tablet	NBC 8588 [BIN 11 162]	7/x/Si 7	Receipt of 22 SILA ₃ of beer by Marduk-našir from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Marduk-našir, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
tablet	NBC 8795 [BIN 11 163]	17/x/Si 7	Receipt of 20 SILA ₃ of beer by Marduk-našir from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Marduk-našir, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
tablet	NBC 8796 [BIN 11 164]	19/x/Si 7	Receipt of 73 SILA ₃ of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
tablet	NBC 8775 [BIN 11 165]	30/xi/Si 7	Receipt of 71 SILA ₃ of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium
etiquette	E47.540	6/iii/MU GIBIL = Si 8	Receipt of 20 SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	IA7.883	16/iii*/MU GIBIL = Si 8	Receipt of [...] SILA ₃ of moist draff by (?) from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	IA7.880	20/iii/MU GIBIL = Si 8	Receipt of 30 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Sin-abušu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
etiquette	IA7.882	20/iii/MU GIBIL = Si 8	Receipt of 20 SILA ₃ of moist draff by Sin-abušu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: no information
tablet	SLB 1/3 108	13/ix/Si 19 (or 21?)	Receipt of 70 SILA ₃ of beer by Pirhum-lizziz, Zababa-našir, and Sin-išmeanni from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Zababa-našir, son of Šu-Amurrum, servant of Nabium
tablet	SLB 1/3 109	19/ix/Si 19 (or 21?)	Receipt of 66 SILA ₃ of beer by Pirhum-lizziz, Zababa-našir, and Sin-išmeanni from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Zababa-našir, son of Šu-Amurrum, servant of Nabium
tablet	SLB 1/3 107	7/xii/Si 19	Receipt of 90 SILA ₃ of beer by Belšunu from Ili-u-Šamaš Sealing: Belšunu, son of Imgur-Edimanna, servant of Nabium

Table 1. Accounts of the brewer Ili-u-Šamaš from Lagaba during the reign of Samsu-iluna in chronological order.

Notes

1. See the CDLI photo: P430059.
2. See the CDLI photo: P430057.
3. A high quality photograph is available on the museum website of the University of Sydney: https://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.40255; see also CDLI: P418022.

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