

The Cuneiform Collection of the Clinton Historical Society  
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§1 *Introduction*

§1.1 The following six tablets belong to the collection of the Clinton Historical Society of Clinton, MA.<sup>1</sup> A newspaper clipping from the Clinton Daily Item dated to July 2, 1913, says about the acquisition of the tablets that they “were purchased from Dr. Edgar J. Banks of Greenfield who has spent years in archaeological work in the east and who was present when they were uncovered so that their genuineness is undoubted.”<sup>2</sup> Banks directed a University of Chicago expedition to the site of Adab in the early 1900’s. However, as Foster (2006: 55) noted, “his reputation for acquiring and smuggling antiquities eventually aroused the Ottoman authorities, [and] his project was terminated.” Nevertheless, Banks “deal[t] in tablets and antiquities for the rest of this life, selling small collections of tablets with highly enthusiastic labels to schools, libraries, and seminars.” These tablets here are yet another such example of Banks’ legacy.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These tablets were brought to our attention by David I. Owen, who, in turn, was made aware of them by Christine Latini of the Clinton Historical Society of Clinton, MA. We wish to thank the Clinton Historical Society for making the tablets accessible to us, and for their permission to publish them here. Thanks in particular go to Ms. Latini, who arranged for the loan of the tablets to Cornell and provided information on the history of the Society’s collection. Tablet measurements given are in millimeters, H x W x T.

<sup>2</sup> The same notice appeared three days later on July 5 in the now-defunct Clinton Courant.

<sup>3</sup> For more on Banks, see the comments in Englund (2004) and Owen and Wasilewska (2000) with bibliography.

§2. *Transliterations and Commentary*

§2.1. *No. 1*

*Provenience: Uruk*  
*Size: 80 × 55 × 22mm*  
*Date: no date*

obv.

- 1) <sup>d</sup>suen-ga-ši-id
- 2) nita kal-ga
- 3) lugal unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga
- 4) lugal am-na-nu-um
- 5) u<sub>2</sub>-a
- 6) e<sub>2</sub>-an-na

rev.

- 1) e<sub>2</sub>-gal
- 2) nam-lugal-[erasure]-la-ka-ni
- 3) mu-du<sub>3</sub>

§2.1a. This text is identical to Frayne (1990: 444-447) E4.4.1.3.

§2.2. *No. 2*

*Provenience: Umma*  
*Size: 22 × 21 × 13mm*  
*Date: no date*

obv.

- 1) 1(u) la<sub>2</sub> 1(diš) udu
- 2) 1(diš) maš<sub>2</sub>
- 3) la-a-mu agrig

rev. blank

§2.2a. The provenience of this tablet is suggested by the name La<sub>2</sub>amu, which is not an uncommon name at Umma. A steward (agrig) by that name is attested several times, e.g. *SAT* 2, 507 (Šulgi 46) and *MVN* 21, 410 (Amar-Suena 3 xiii).

§2.2b. This type of text is rare, noting only a quantity of animals and a personal name with no verb or action indicated. Likewise, no date or other information is provided. A similar example is *Buffalo SNS* 11-2 144, 12. It is possible that these were small ‘chits’ serving to remind a scribe of a transaction to be recorded on a larger tablet at some future time.

### §2.3. No. 3

*Provenience: Umma*

*Size: 48 × 41 × 21mm*

*Date: Šu-Sin 9 v*

obv.

- 1) 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 4(u) 1(aš) 1(barig) 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) še gur
- 2) ugula gu-u<sub>2</sub>-gu-a
- 3) 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 1(u) 7(aš) 4(barig) še ᵀgur ᵀ
- 4) ugula kas<sub>4</sub>
- 5) a-ša<sub>3</sub> ša-ra-ḫum-ma

rev.

- 1) še geš e<sub>3</sub>-a
- 2) ki-su<sub>7</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-sum-ma
- 3) iti RI
- 4) mu ᵀšu-ᵀsuen lugal-e e<sub>2</sub>-ᵀšara<sub>2</sub> umma<sup>ki</sup>-ka mu-du<sub>3</sub>

§2.3a. Obv. 2) Gu’ugu’a appears as an foreman (ugula) in five other texts, all dated between Šu-Sin 2 and Ibbi-Sin 3 vii. In *MCS* 7, 21 AO 19544 (Šu-Sin 9), he appears as a foreman together with Kas as in this text. In *BPOA* 1, 84 (Ibbi-Sin 3 vii 22), he is the foremen of a work team involved with hoeing and cutting boxthorn in the Šarraḫum field, almost certainly a variant writing for Šarraḫuma.

§2.3b. Obv. 4) This name always appears as Kas (written kas<sub>4</sub>) in Umma tablets, but, as already noted in Dahl (2007: 87 n. 309), his seal always reads en-kas<sub>4</sub>.

§2.3c. Rev. 3) For the reading of this month name as dal, “flight,” see now Englund (2004: 38).

### §2.4. No. 4

*Provenience: Umma*

*Size: 45 × 40 × 17mm*

*Date: Amar-Suena 7 iv*

obv.

- 1) 4(barig) še ba lugal
- 2) 2(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-geš
- 3) lu<sub>2</sub>-ᵀiškur
- 4) 4(barig) še ba
- 5) 2(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-geš
- 6) a-ad-da-mu
- 7) šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ab-du-me

rev.

- 1) iti nesag
- 2) kišib<sub>3</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka
- 3) inim gu-za-ni
- 4) šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ab-du-ta
- 5) ugula ḫu-ba-a
- 6) mu ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḫul

Seal

col. 1

- 1) ᵀamar-ᵀsuen
- 2) nita kal-ga
- 3) lugal uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma
- 4) lugal an-ub-da-limmu<sub>2</sub>-ba

col. 2

- 1) ur-ᵀli<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>
- 2) ensi<sub>2</sub>
- 3) umma<sup>ki</sup>
- 4) ARAD<sub>2</sub>-ZU

§2.4a. Obv. 7 and rev. 4) The term šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ab-du as a type of official occurs not infrequently at Umma and elsewhere in the Ur III corpus, but its exact meaning is unclear. The *CAD*, s.v. *šarrabrū*, notes that the function “may be connected with surveying fields and agricultural work.” In the Ur III period, this title seems to have been a function held only on a temporary basis.

### §2.5. No. 5

*Provenience: Unknown*

*Size: 85 × 52 × 22mm*

*Date: no date*

obv.

- 1) [n] sar kin ᵀsahar ᵀ-ra
- 2) nam-zi-tar-ra
- 3) 5(diš) me-e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ta
- 4) 5(diš) ur-ᵀnun-gal
- 5) 1(diš) 1/3(diš) ur-e<sub>2</sub>-an-na
- 6) 5(diš) ᵀlu<sub>2</sub> ᵀ-KU-maḫ
- 7) 8(diš) 1/3(diš) e<sub>2</sub>-ᵀšul-gi-ra
- 8) 1(diš) tu-gara<sub>2</sub>-aš
- 9) 1(diš) 2/3(diš) šu-ma-am<sub>3</sub>
- 10) 1(diš) 2/3(diš) ᵀᵀgigir-re
- 11) 3(diš) sipa 1(diš) 2/3(diš)-ta
- 12) [n] 2/3(diš) ḫa-da-da
- 13) [n] šeš-kal-la

rev.

- 1) ᵀ2(diš) ᵀ 1/2(diš) ba-sag<sub>10</sub>
- 2) 1(u) aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
- 3) 5(u) 6(diš) (erasure?)

§2.5a. This unusual text appears to list earth-work performed by various individuals. Most such documents

provide other information such as the place where the work was performed, the wages of the workers, overseers or other officials, a date, and so on (e.g. *BPOA* 2, 2383 [Amar-Suena 9]).

§2.5b. Obv. 6) KU is clear in the text; one might still suggest a reading  $tug_2^1$ , though Lu-tugmah is only sparsely seen, and then only in texts from Girsu.

§2.5c. Obv. 8) Other attestations of this name make it uncertain whether the scribe intended it to be tu-gara<sub>2</sub>-aš as is seen here (cf. *UTI* 5, 3425:6 [Šu-Sin 3], where the copy clearly shows a gara<sub>2</sub>) or tu-ga-aš, as is more commonly attested (cf. *SANTAG* 7, 68: 11 [Amar-Suena 3]). Alternatively, these could be two different but similar names.

## §2.6. No. 6

*Provenience: Umma*

*Size: 154 × 87 × 27mm*

*Date: Šu-Sin 7*

obv. i

- 1) 7(aš) 3(barig) še numun gur
- 2) 1(aš) gur a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> hun-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 3) kišib<sub>3</sub> i<sub>7</sub>-pa-e<sub>3</sub>
- 4) 7(aš) še numun gur
- 5) kišib<sub>3</sub> šeš-kal-la
- 6) 5(aš) še numun gur
- 7) kišib<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-TAR
- 8) 5(aš) še numun gur
- 9) 2(barig) a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> hun-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 10) kišib<sub>3</sub> ur-e<sub>2</sub>-nun-na
- 11) 6(aš) 2(barig) 5(ban<sub>2</sub>) 6(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> gur še ba iti-da
- 12) 4(barig) sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> dšara<sub>2</sub>
- 13) kišib<sub>3</sub> al-u<sub>2</sub>-a
- 14) 1(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) še zi<sub>3</sub>-da gur
- 15) kišib<sub>3</sub> ab-ba-gi-na
- 16) 1(geš<sub>2</sub>) gur še gi-a sa<sub>10</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>
- 17) kišib<sub>3</sub> šeš-kal-la dumu lugal-ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>8</sub>-re  
*blank line*
- 18) [ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 1(geš<sub>2</sub>)<sup>2</sup>] 1(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur
- 19) gur zabar-ta
- 20) [ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 2(u) 4(aš) 3(barig) gur
- 21) gur še numun-ta
- 22) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 8(aš) 3(barig) 5(ban<sub>2</sub>) 6(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> gur
- 23) gur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ta
- 24) 1(geš<sub>2</sub>) 3(u) 5(aš) 1(barig) 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) 6(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> gur
- 25) ki-su<sub>7</sub> uš-gid<sub>2</sub>-da-ta
- 26) 1(geš<sub>2</sub>) 5(u) 9(aš) gur
- 27) ma<sub>2</sub>-[a si]-ga nibru<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>
- 28) [kišib<sub>3</sub>] lu<sub>2</sub>-dingir-ra

obv. ii

- 1) 1(u) 3(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) še zi<sub>3</sub>-da gur
- 2) kišib<sub>3</sub> ab-ba-gi-na
- 3) 1(aš) še gur
- 4) 8(aš) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur
- 5) sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> dšara<sub>2</sub>
- 6) kišib<sub>3</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-mu
- 7) 2(aš) 4(barig) gur a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> hun-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 8) 2(aš) ziz<sub>2</sub> numun gur
- 9) 3(barig) gig numun
- 10) kišib<sub>3</sub> šeš-kal-la
- 11) 2(aš) 3(barig) gur a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> hun-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 12) 5(ban<sub>2</sub>) še ba
- 13) 2(aš) ziz<sub>2</sub> numun gur
- 14) 3(barig) gig numun
- 15) kišib<sub>3</sub> i<sub>7</sub>-pa-e<sub>3</sub>
- 16) 3(aš) 4(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur mu-ša
- 17) kišib<sub>3</sub> du<sub>11</sub>-ga-zi-da
- 18) 3(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-siskur<sub>2</sub>-ra a-ša<sub>3</sub>-ga  
*blank line*
- 19) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 1(u) 2(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur
- 20) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 3(aš) 4(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur
- 21) gur zabar-ta
- 22) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 4(aš) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur
- 23) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 1(aš) 1(barig) gig gur
- 24) gur še numun-ta
- 25) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 6(aš) 2(barig) 5(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur
- 26) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 8(aš) 3(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur
- 27) gur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ta
- 28) 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 3(u) 8(aš) 1(barig) 1(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur
- 29) ki-su<sub>7</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na-ta
- 30) 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) gur
- 31) ma<sub>2</sub>-a si-ga nibru<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>

rev. i

- 1) kišib<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-dingir-ra
- 2) 1(u) 3(aš) 2(barig) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) še zi<sub>3</sub>-da [gur]
- 3) kišib<sub>3</sub> ab-ba-gi-na
- 4) 3(aš) 1(barig) gur [a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> hun]-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 5) 2(barig) [1(ban<sub>2</sub>) še ba<sup>2</sup>]
- 6) 1(aš) 4(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> numun gur
- 7) 4(barig) gig numun
- 8) kišib<sub>3</sub> ur-e<sub>2</sub>-nun-na
- 9) 3(aš) gur a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> hun-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 10) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) še ba
- 11) kišib<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-TAR
- 12) 1(barig) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) še ba iti-da
- 13) 2(aš) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur ša<sub>3</sub>-gal anše<sup>k</sup>kunga<sub>2</sub>
- 14) lu<sub>2</sub>-dšara<sub>2</sub> munsub<sub>x</sub>(PA.GU<sub>2</sub> *guni*)
- 15) 2(aš) 1(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> numun gur
- 16) 1(aš) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) gig numun gur
- 17) kišib<sub>3</sub> šeš-kal-la  
*blank line*
- 18) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 1(u) 3(aš) 2(barig) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur
- 19) gur zabar-ta
- 20) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 4(aš) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur
- 21) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 1(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) gig gur

- 22) gur še numun-ta  
 23) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 9(aš) 1(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur  
 24) gur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ta  
 25) 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 3(u) 2(barig) 1(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur  
 26) ki-su<sub>7</sub> i<sub>7</sub>-lugal-ta  
 27) 5(u) 8(aš) 4(barig) gur  
 28) ma<sub>2</sub>-[a] si-ga nibru<sup>[ki-še<sub>3</sub>]</sup>  
 29) kišib<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-dingir-ra<sup>1</sup>  
 30) 3(aš) 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) še<sup>1</sup> zi<sub>3</sub>-da gur  
 31) kišib<sub>3</sub> [...]-ku-li  
*blank line*  
 33) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 1(geš<sub>2</sub>) [1(aš) 4(barig)] 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur  
 zabar-ta  
 34) ki<sup>1</sup>-su<sup>7</sup> sag-du<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-ta
- rev. ii
- 1) 1(aš) 1(barig) še numun gur  
 2) 1(barig) 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> ĥun-ga<sub>2</sub>  
 3) kišib<sub>3</sub> i<sub>7</sub>-pa-e<sub>3</sub>  
 4) 1(aš) 1(barig) še numun gur kišib<sub>3</sub> ur-e<sub>2</sub>-nun-na  
 5) 1(aš) še numun gur kišib<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-TAR  
 6) 1(aš) še numun gur kišib<sub>3</sub> šeš-kal-la  
*blank line*  
 7) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 4(aš) 2(barig) gur še numun-ta  
 8) ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 1(barig) 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ta  
 9) 4(aš) 3(barig) 3(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur  
 10) ki-su<sub>7</sub> šu-nu-kuš<sub>2</sub>-ta  
*blank line*  
 11) ŠU+NIGIN<sup>1</sup> [6(geš<sub>2</sub>)] 3(u) 1(barig) 1(ban<sub>2</sub>) še gur  
 12) ŠU+NIGIN 3(aš) 4(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur  
 13) gur zabar<sup>1</sup>-ta  
 14) ŠU+NIGIN 2(u) 9(aš) še gur  
 15) ŠU+NIGIN 8(aš) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur  
 16) ŠU+NIGIN 3(aš) 4(ban<sub>2</sub>) gig gur  
 17) gur še numun-ta  
 18) ŠU+NIGIN 2(u) 4(aš) 3(barig) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) 6(diš) sila<sub>3</sub>  
 še<sup>1</sup> gur  
 19) ŠU+NIGIN 8(aš) 3(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> gur  
 20) gur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ta  
*blank line*  
 21) še-bi 7(geš<sub>2</sub>) 5(u) 2(barig) 5(ban<sub>2</sub>) 6(diš) sila<sub>3</sub> gur  
 22) še gibil GAN<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 23) guru<sub>7</sub>-ta e<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-a  
 24) ša<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na u<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> muš-bi-an-na  
 25) giri<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-dšul-gi-ra  
 26) mu<sup>d</sup>šu<sup>d</sup>-suen lugal-e ma-da za-ab-ša-li<sup>ki</sup> mu-ĥul

**§2.6a.** This text lists newly harvested grain of domain land (še gibil GAN<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub>) from five threshing floors (ki-su<sub>7</sub>) located in settlements in the Gu'edena and Mušbiana districts of Umma<sup>4</sup>: Ušgida (obv. i 1 to i 26), Gu'edena (obv. i 27 to ii 29), I-lugal (obv. ii 30 to rev. i 26), Sag-du (rev. i 27 to i 33), and Šunukuš (rev. ii 1 to ii 8).

<sup>4</sup> As will be argued in Vanderroost (forthcoming), the Umma districts of Gu'edena and Mušbiana were usually considered to be a single administrative unit.

The entry for each location is similarly structured with subtotals divided into up to three distinct categories, gur zabar, gur še numun, and gur sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>. The literal translation of gur zabar-ta is “from the bronze gur-measure,” but such a reading in this context makes little sense. For instance, in the sub-totals from the Gu'edena threshing floor, we find for gur zabar-ta (obv. ii 19-20):

ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 2(geš<sub>2</sub>) 1(u) 2(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) gur  
 ŠU+NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 3(aš) 4(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur

The latter total matches exactly the entry in obv. ii 16-17:

3(aš) 4(barig) ziz<sub>2</sub> gur mu-ša  
 kišib<sub>3</sub> du<sub>11</sub>-ga-zi-da

The former total is the sum of obv. i 26 - ii 2:

1(geš<sub>2</sub>) 5(u) 9(aš) gur  
 [ma<sub>2</sub>-a si]-ga<sup>1</sup> nibru<sup>ki-še<sub>3</sub></sup>  
 [kišib<sub>3</sub>] lu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-dingir-ra  
 1(u) 3(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban<sub>2</sub>) še zi<sub>3</sub>-da gur  
 kišib<sub>3</sub> ab-ba-gi-na

But while the numbers properly add up there is nothing in the qualifications mu-ša, ma<sub>2</sub>-a si-ga nibru<sup>ki-še<sub>3</sub></sup>, or zi<sub>3</sub>-da to suggest any connection to the bronze gur-measure. Similarly, while the totals labeled sa<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub> are made up of entries with that qualification, they also include entries with other qualifications, most often “wages for hired workers” (a<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> ĥun-ga<sub>2</sub>). Only the summaries labeled še numun are composed entirely from entries qualified as such.

**§2.6b.** Obv. i 3) I-pa'e also appears in obv. ii 15 and rev. ii 3. According to Vanderroost (forthcoming), he is not among the several chief plot managers (nu-banda<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>4</sub>) working in this district under Lu-Šulgira (cf. iv 23). It is unclear if this person is the same as the I-pa'e attested as a plot manager for the Da-Umma district. However, as Studevent-Hickman (2006: 34-35) has already shown, there is often an overlap of activities among the four Umma districts.

**§2.6c.** Obv. i 7) GuTAR was one of four chief plot managers for the Gu'edena and Mušbiana districts (Vanderroost forthcoming). He appears in this text again in rev. i 11 and ii 5.<sup>5</sup>

**§2.6d.** Obv. i 10) Like GuTAR, Ur-Enuna was one of the district's chief plot managers under Lu-Šulgira. He appears again in rev. i 8 and ii 4.

<sup>5</sup> See also Studevent-Hickman (2006: 49).

§2.6e. Obv. i 28) Lu-dingira was another chief plot manager of this district. He appears again in rev. i 1 and rev. i 29. Each of his entries concerns grain loaded on a boat bound for Nippur (ma<sub>2</sub>-a si-ga nibru<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>).

§2.6f. Rev. ii 21) The total here is correct. As noted in Englund (1991: 269 n. 20, with references), wheat (gig) was artificially converted into barley (še) at the rate of 2:1. Thus, the entry in rev. ii 16 counts as 6;1.2 and not 3;0.4 for the purpose of arriving at a total value.

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