

An Archive of Simple Ledgers Featuring the e₂ um-mi-a(k), “House of the Master,” at Old Babylonian Nippur: The Daily Rosters of a Scribal School?

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For Lucy

[A group of simple ledgers from Old Babylonian Nippur mention the entity e₂-u-m-mi-a(k), “house of the master.” A detailed investigation suggests that this most likely reflects a scribal school, one that was apparently less prestigious than the well-known e₂-dub-ba-a, possibly reflecting a scribal school in a private house, as has been suggested previously by Waetzoldt and Cavigneaux.]

Keywords: Nippur, Old Babylonian Period, Scribal Education, Prosopography.

A group of unpublished texts in the University Museum in Philadelphia from among the massive tablet finds at Tablet Hill at Nippur² possess features that permit the provisional delineation of an archive,³ although it may be the case that, as will be suggested below, their actual use may in fact have been somewhat incompatible with what is usually associated with the designation “archive.” These tablets are relatively small one-column texts that reflect two basic tablet types. One type is flat with square edges and resembles the type III textual format in the curricular tablet typology of Civil⁴ (referred to in the catalog

1. I would like to thank Pascal Attinger and Gonzalo Rubio for reading an earlier draft of this article and furnishing me with many crucial corrections, observations, and additional bibliography, Robert Englund for synchronizing my catalog with the corresponding tablet entries in the catalog of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative in advance of this publication, as well as Grant Frame and Steve Tinney for checking joins for me in Philadelphia. The responsibility for the content of this article is mine alone.

2. For the issue of the inexact provenience of these texts, which are to be generally located in area TB a few hundred meters south of the ziggurat complex and the E₂-kur temple undertaken in in the general vicinity of the post World War II excavations, see, for example, Delnero 2006: 36, Proust 2007: 31-36 and Michalowski 2011: 38-39, with further citation. There is tantalizing but woefully inexplicit published and unpublished evidence in the accounts of the excavators that much of these tablet findings came from private houses: see, for example, Civil 1979: 9 n. 4, Proust 2007: 32-33, Michalowski 2011: 38-39, with further citation.

3. It is very likely that additional examples of these texts would be found in a survey of the collection in the National Museum in Istanbul that could change or otherwise qualify the conclusions of this article. At present, I am only aware of the possible fragment Ni 4020 (SLTNi 158).

4. See, for example, Landsberger, Reiner and Civil 1969: 27-28, Civil 1992: 302-303, Civil 1995: 2308.

below as format A).⁵ A number of texts in this format are written with an inexact and novice hand that is reminiscent of the type of hand that occurs in curricular texts. The other tablet type that occurs in this group of texts possesses rounded edges, resembling some examples of administrative texts from Old Babylonian Nippur, and, to some extent, some examples of the literary *imgida* format⁶ (referred to in the catalog below as format B), and is written in a more exact and thus probably more experienced hand.

These texts are simple ledgers that list either patronyms of uncertain connotation (that is, familial versus professional) that presumably designate more than one person due to the use of the plural (dumu-(me-(eš)) PN),⁷ which are always fronted within these texts, or single personal names that are, except in one apparent instance, not further qualified, thus yielding little in the way of decisive comparative prosopographical data.⁸ The personal name Inbi-ilišu is repeated, generally in consecutive entries, in several instances in this corpus, but this seems to reflect two different people, since in CBS 7069 obverse 16 the qualifier TUR.RA “young” or “junior” is added for apparent contrastive effect with the other Inbi-ilišu. The personal name Iddin-Ištar is repeated in UM 29-13-502 o13'-14' and is entered three times in N 3165 o4'-6' and UM 29-15-530 10-12 with no qualifiers (see below): it is unclear how many individuals these contexts are dealing with. Several personal names occur both as individual personal names and as patronyms in this corpus, which could indicate that these individuals progressed in their professional status (or had children) during the span of the archive. In fully intact examples of these texts, the number of small groups that are described by a patronym given in an individual ledger that I am currently aware of varies from 1 to 8, and is as many as 11 in UM 29-16-193,⁹ while the number of documented individuals varies from 9 to 25. A single column of tabulation typically precedes the names. One ledger, UM 29-16-193, exceptionally has two columns of entries. These may reflect two separate allocations, or perhaps the second column is a re-tally of the first based on completion or non-completion of the featured entity, since the number tallied in the second column never exceeds the number tallied in the first column.

Whatever it is that was tallied in these ledgers, which occurs in small amounts and in some instances giving the physical impression of a running tally,¹⁰ and, in some instances, eliciting a blank entry to indicate zero, is not explicitly named in these texts. In N 3518,¹¹ a fragmentary text that does not preserve mention of the e₂-um-mi-a but is likely to be a fragment of an e₂-um-mi-a ledger due to its format,

5. This tablet type is occasionally explicitly labeled by the scribe as an im-gid₂-da (see the remarks of Delnero 2006: 95-96: the label is also applied to numerous mathematical and metrological tables: see Proust 2007: 88-89 and Proust 2012: 7*). Aside from their mutual use of only one textual column, the type is quite physically distinct from the tablet type generally used for literary compositions that is also labeled as the im-gid₂-da (type S in the typology of Tinney 1999: 160). In a few instances, literary texts appear on manuscripts that more closely resemble curricular type III texts, such as the Two Women A exemplar CBS 7167, the Enlil A exemplar CBS 8317 (MBI 10, see Delnero 2007: 1243-1244, 2110) and the Song of the Hoe exemplar CBS 4585+CBS 15356 (PBS 12: 28, see Delnero 2006: 976-978, 1965, which is signed by one Nu-ur₂-^dDa-[mu?]) (or possibly ^dNu-ur₂-^dDa-[gan]: the former provisional restoration is more likely due to the relative prevalence of Damu theophorics in the onomasticon of Old Babylonian Nippur). Manuscripts such as these are probably to be understood as more elementary in nature.

6. Delnero 2010: 55 also refers to this as a “literary type III tablet.”

7. Some ledgers do not explicitly pluralize dumu. However, the ME sign is probably omitted either in error or is implicitly present because the rendering is uniform within these texts and the same patronymics are pluralized elsewhere.

8. The prosopography of Old Babylonian Nippur is incomplete at present, as a significant number of Old Babylonian economic texts from Tablet Hill are currently unpublished.

9. CBS 6791 may constitute another example of an e₂-um-mi-a ledger with a two-columned tally.

10. As suggested by instances when the numbers do not conform to the typical *Gestalt* of the standard numerical sign: see, for example, N 975 reverse 1'.

11. Provisionally edited by Peterson 2010: 81.

scribal hand, and prosopography,¹² obv. 9' features what seems to be the DUG sign instead of a number or a blank entry in the tabulation column. The only reading that readily suggests itself for the sign is dug "pot." The lack of numeric specification with the entry could be taken to indicate that this entry reflects something other than the main allocation, possibly in lieu of it. A possible interpretation of this entry is advanced below. In CBS 8051 rev. 4, two partially broken signs whose reading is not entirely certain to me is given before e₂-um-mi-a. The first sign may be U, thus reflecting the number 10, while the second is unclear, as it is erratically written and the top of the sign is missing. It is possible that it reflects the DUB sign and is to be interpreted as dub "tablet," but the ŠID and NIGIN signs also seem paleographically possible, perhaps even preferable, as the two horizontals that comprise the bottom of the sign are not obviously staggered from left to right, as they are in the same line with the paleographically analogous UM sign. Thus, the sign may be simply more explicitly disclosing a total arising from either šid "to count" or niġin "total."

Two texts that are analogous in format and content to the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers and may in fact reflect additional examples of these texts offer potential additional clues, although it must be stressed that these texts do not explicitly mention the e₂-um-mi-a at the end of the tablet where it is customary in to do so in these ledgers. In CBS 8661, the obverse of which preserves several patronyms that are fronted as they are in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers, the left column features either a number or the phrase nu-gub "not present," suggesting that the individuals designated as such were routine participants in the activity represented by this ledger, and that it does not reflect a single isolated allocation, which is obviously also the case in conjunction with the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers. The explicit designation nu-gub may be the equivalent of the blank entry that occurs in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers. The most explicit possible extracorporeal clue may occur in UM 29-13-752, which dates from the latter half of the reign of Rim-Sin, as evidenced by the unique system of calendrical reckoning that only occurs during this period.¹³ In rev. 2' of this text, an apparent total of 103 dub hi-a "103 various kinds of tablets" is disclosed in the margin between the end of the main text and the date.¹⁴ This designation also occurs in the summary at the end of the OB incipit inventory UET 6 196, which Michalowski understands as a generic entry referring to a group of various tablets that the scribe did not wish to enter by their incipit.¹⁵ If clay tablets are indeed what were being tabulated in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers, then the activity that would be documented in these ledgers is notably reminiscent of the most plausible proposed etymology of the term e₂-dub-ba-a as a place where tablets were distributed (e₂ dub ba. a).¹⁶

At the conclusion of the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers, either without delineation (a convention that is sometimes observed in the texts with square edges) or in a separate section delineated by a blank space, a building or institution named the e₂-um-mi-a¹⁷ is mentioned, and is often given a tally that is either

12. In particular, the repetition of the personal name Inbi-ilišu. Several names that occur in this text, however, do not occur in another e₂-um-mi-a ledger that I am currently aware of.

13. iti ki 10 kin-^dInana ud imin-kam: for this system, see Robertson 1982, Cohen 1993: 227-228, van der Mieroop 1993: 64-66, and Charpin and Ziegler 2013: 62, with further bibliography.

14. The designation dub hi-a it is also paleographically possible that this phrase could instead be urudu hi-a (for this known designation, see Reiter 1997: 195, who defines it as "wahrscheinlich um Stuck aus verschiedenem, unterschiedlich gut raffiniertem Kupfer und aus Altmaterial handelt es sich"). For the interchangeability of the abbreviated DUB and URUDU signs in OB paleographic environments see, for example, the remarks of Civil 1987: 20 and note the forms compiled by Mittermayer 2006: 44-45, signs 111 and 112b.

15. Michalowski 1984: 90-91

16. For this etymology, see Volk 2000: 3 and n. 13, Krebernik 2002: 156, Delnero 2006: 68 and n. 229, and Woods 2007: 111 n. 106, with further bibliography.

17. The aberrant and unorthographic spelling e₂-u₂?-mi-a seems to occur in N 5113+ r2.

analogous to or significantly larger than any group denoted by a patronym or individual is allotted, but not reflecting any obvious total arising from the preceding entries. In UM 29-13-457+, a total of the preceding section may be given in the intervening space between reverse lines 1 and 2, and a similar total may occur in UM 29-16-684 between reverse 2'-3', UM 29-16-193 between reverse 1'-2', N 1590 between reverse 1'-2', as well as the bottom of N 1480, although the tabulations from the entire tablet are not completely preserved in any of these examples to allow for explicit confirmation. In a number of instances, either the month or the month and day are given, but year names are not entered, which is analogous to the predominant manner of dating literary and lexical manuscripts from Old Babylonian Nippur.¹⁸ In some instances, another personal name is offset from the rest of the text together with a line disclosing the e_2 -um-mi-a: a name that frequently occurs in this position or as the final entry in non-delineated formats immediately preceding the e_2 -um-mi-a is one Šamaš-muballit.¹⁹ The personal name Pirurūtum also occurs twice by itself in this position.²⁰ In UM 29-13-457+ and most likely in the fragmentary ledger N 1480, Šamaš-muballit, Pirurūtum, and two other individuals, Ištar-lamassī and Narāmtum, are entered as such. Šamaš-muballit also occurs in this capacity with at least two other individuals, including possibly Ištar-lamassī, in CBS 6956, and the personal name Aḫiya also seems to occur in this capacity in CBS 8877 r2. Aḫiya is the only such name to occur prominently elsewhere in the e_2 -um-mi-a ledgers: Šamaš-muballit also occurs in the main list of personal names in UM 29-15-646, CBS 8012+, and probably N 2106. The role of these individuals, of whom Narāmtum and Pirurūtum are quite possibly females, within the documented activity is not entirely clear from the meager context. It is possible that these individuals are the scribe or scribes who compiled the ledger. The number that is allocated to Šamaš-muballit, when adequately preserved, is typically four, thus implicating him as a participant in whatever activities are being documented in the ledgers, at relatively high amounts versus the other entrants. In a number of instances, the e_2 -um-mi-a itself is assigned a tally, an amount that ranges widely from 0 to what appears to be 27. The relevance of this tally is not immediately clear to me.

The additional note u_3 -a- u_3 -a-aš is added to the e_2 -um-mi-a ledger N 1268 within the space between the final entered personal name and the concluding entry consisting of e_2 -um-mi-a and the date, a space that is occasionally used to render totals in other e_2 -um-mi-a ledgers. This notation most likely reflects a reduplication of the interjection /ua/, which is rendered with a variety of orthographies and is utilized variously to express joy, lament, and serves as a lullaby,²¹ married to what is either the terminative suffix -eše or the adverbial suffix -eš. The meaning of the note is not entirely certain, but this phrase could reflect the incipit of Šulgi N (Kramer 1971: 194), which is rendered as u_5 -a-a- u_3 -a in the two-column source UM 29-16-85, [...]a in the prism collective source Ni 4245 (SLTNi 134) side a' 21', as well

18. Note, for example, the multiplication tables UM 29-16-106 and N 3825 (see Proust 2012: 7*) the Šulgi A exemplar CBS 8859 (Klein 1981: pl. 12)+N 2914+N 5285+unnumbered (BPOA 9 text 130), the Nungal Hymn exemplar HS 1453a (TMH 4 8)+ (Delnero 2006: 1656), and the Ninšatapada to Rim-Sin exemplar N 4101 (Brisch 2007: pl. 15-17: see the remarks of Peterson 2011: 152).

19. Šamaš-muballit occurs in this position in CBS 8051, CBS 8438, CBS 8814, CBS 8815, N 977, N 1525, N 5232, UM 29-13-457+, UM 29-13-742, and perhaps also N 1480 and N 5585.

20. N 1480, UM 29-13-457+.

21. For this exclamation, see, for example, Krecher 1966: 114-115, Wilcke 1968: 233 n. 13, Kramer 1971: 199, Civil 1983: 50, Attinger 1993: 737 n. 2147, Edzard 2003: 167-170, Shehata 2009: 236-237 and 304, and Crisostomo 2014: 409. The indigenous understanding of a positive and negative valence of the this expression seems to be expressed in Proto-Izi 489, where the entry u_3 -a niḡ₂-duḡ₃ “u’a (that is) a good thing” has an implicit contrastive effect. Attinger differentiates between an u_8 -a “une interjection marquant la douleur physique ou morale” and an u_5 -a “le “cri” typique des nurses,” while Edzard is somewhat more circumspect in his analysis “the different sounds which probably lie behind the different notation of the two [u] sounds as u_5 and u_3 , cannot be reconstructed.”

as u₃-a KI.MIN (u₃-a) in the post-OB (MB?) landscape extract N 1751+N 4523²² lines 3-4, where an excerpt or quotation of what seems to be an expanded version of Šulgi N occurs. With the terminative suffix -eše, the note could mean “(all of the established series of texts) up until (the text with the incipit) u₃-a-u₃-a.” A potentially analogous use of the terminative suffix -eše occurs in descriptions of textual corpora encountered in the scribal curriculum in several extant literary contexts,²³ where it is used to describe the most advanced in a sequence or series of texts, sometimes in conjunction with the ablative suffix -ta or the locative suffix -a to express an entirety of a corpora via merism. Unfortunately, the incomplete disclosure of the ablative component of the phrase leaves us no information about the beginning and middle of the sequence that is potentially being alluded to. Given the nature of its extant manuscripts, Šulgi N is not generally considered to be a text used in the demonstrable phases of the scribal curriculum, but in the aforementioned collective text Ni 4245 (SLTNi 134), it does occur with the text referred to as the “Tale of Lisin” or “Lisin’s Song,”²⁴ a text whose use in the elementary phases of the scribal curriculum is verified by its attestation on type II and type IV tablets. As Kleinerman has recently noted,²⁵ despite several investigations of the topic,²⁶ we know very little of the arrangement of the advanced literary scribal curriculum at OB Nippur due to the lack of use of type II tablets beyond the elementary levels and the likelihood, as demonstrated by Delnero,²⁷ that what have been understood to be literary or curricular catalogs are likely to be tablet inventories instead, so exactly when Šulgi N may have been encountered in a curricular setting cannot be demonstrated at present.

If this note does mention Šulgi N, it could be understood as evidence that the allotments involved a set sequence of texts, and thus potentially the use of a uniform daily curriculum. If the phrase u₃-a-u₃-a-aš does not constitute a reference to Šulgi N and is simply an exclamation married to the adverbial ending -eš, a wide range of meanings could have been intended, perhaps a comment on the joyful, harrowing or soporific effect of the day’s work, or a provision for a musical chant.

A group of six e₂-um-mi-a ledgers, most of which occur within the 1929 University Museum lots, exhibit a highly similar paleography, layout, and ductus, as well as similar orthographic and paleographic practices, such as the use of the Sumerian pluralizing enclitic copula -me instead of -me-eš and the distinct paleography of the KI, DIN, A₂, and NE-šeššig²⁸ signs, and date to different days of the eighth

22. This extract appears to advance contiguous text on the obverse and reverse and therefore does not belong to the MB corpus of landscape/type V extracts that has been assembled by Veldhuis 2000.

23. Occurrences include Eduba D (Scribal Activities) 13-14 (Civil 1985: 69), Dialogue 1 (Two Scribes) 4, Igmil-Sin to Nudimmudšiga 6-7 (Civil 2000: 106, Kleinerman 2011: 186, Gadotti and Kleinerman 2011: 75), and Nabi-Enlil to ... (ANL 9) 19-20 (this latter passage is partially broken, making it unclear if the texts that are listed in line 19 pertain to the construction. This construction is also utilized to describe the whole of scribal training (zag KA-inim-ma nam-dub-sar tur-ra zag nam-šeš-gal e₂-dub-ba-še₃) in Eduba A (Schooldays) 45-46.

24. For sources of this text and discussion, see Civil 1974-1977: 67, Michalowski 1987-1990: 32.

25. Kleinerman 2011: 75-80.

26. For example, Vanstiphout 1999, Vanstiphout 2003, and Michalowski 2003. Note also the more concretely based analysis of Delnero 2012: 13-14 and 105f. about the character of manuscripts (in particular, im-gid₂-da sources) and variants of various literary texts that resemble those of the Decad, which suggests that they were employed in a similar manner, namely, as advanced curricular texts. Note additionally the discussion of Michalowski 2013, who suggests that private non-curricular libraries could occur along with curricular texts, as is most clearly evidenced by the textual finds at a private house at Meturan (see Cavigneaux 1998: 257).

27. Delnero 2010.

28. In these ledgers, this sign is consistently rendered as NE×MAN. For a recent discussion of the paleography of this sign and its complex evolution, see Rubio 2012. In the Old Babylonian period, the prevalent form is NE×PAP (Rubio 2012: 8 n. 9, Mittermayer 2006: 47, sign no. 117).

month, ^{iti} ^{gīš}apin-du₈-a/arahsamnu.²⁹ It is likely that these texts, which exhibit a more advanced paleography and lack the square edges and flat surfaces of the curricular type III tablet, come from the same year and were authored by the same scribe. For the transliteration of these texts, see further below, Appendix A. If an individual ledger is to be understood as documenting the whole of a particular institutional activity of the e₂-um-mi-a during a given day, the compilation of this incomplete dataset gives the impression of less than uniform participation by some groups and individuals over the course of a month, and relatively uniform participation by others. This occurrence of sporadic participation can be contrasted with the description of attendance in Eduba D (Scribal Activities) 21-25, where a month of a student's attendance in the e₂-dub-ba-a is described as consisting of twenty-four workdays, three idle days, and three festival days.³⁰ Given the context, however, it is not clear whether this description reflects only the participation of the model student who narrates the passage, or the normal attendance schedule for students of the e₂-dub-ba to which he adheres.

When analyzed etymologically, the function of the e₂-um-mi-a is not entirely clear, as it may have had an analogous application to the lexeme um-mi-a itself, which can be applied to a variety of different professions in addition to its well-known application to the head of a scribal school,³¹ and whose most basic meaning of “expert” or “master” revolves around the possession of competency and/or seniority.

The only occurrence of the designation e₂-um-mi-a in a Sumerian literary text that I am currently aware of is in the curricular/literary letter Nabi-Enlil to ... (ANL 9), lines 7, 9, and 14.³² Here the designation is explicitly rendered as a genitival phrase, and in lines 9 and 14 the possessive suffix is inserted prior to the genitive, which could be taken as an emphasis on the connection of the student to the teacher as opposed to the institution. This text, which was originally published by van Dijk, has been re-edited, translated, and discussed widely in the secondary literature. A substantial number of interpretational difficulties have arisen with treatments of this text, leading to a number of disparities in its interpretation, many of which are difficult to decisively dismiss in favor of another. The key problem is the establishment of the exact participation of the characters in the text. These include:

29. Several other fragments included in the catalog below may also belong to this group, including CBS 14128, UM 29-15-649, UM 29-16-597, N 3165, and N 5682, but they do not preserve the date and are therefore excluded from the current consideration.

30. Civil 1985: 76, see also the discussion of Waetzoldt 1989: 38, Civil 1992: 304 and Démare-Lafont 2010: 15. Civil notes that the presence of three free days in this schedule is consistent with the prevailing schedules of workers in general as evidenced in administrative contexts (Civil 1983: 52). I thank Professor Attinger for bringing to my attention the meaning of the technical accounting term ud-da-gi₂-da in this passage.

31. See, for example, the discussion of Volk 2000: 9-10 and n. 10, with further citation, and for the use of the term in conjunction with scribal and musical instruction, see, for example, Waetzoldt and Cavigneaux 2009: 295 and Michalowski 2010: 205.

32. This letter has been edited by van Dijk 1989: 449-451 and Kleinerman 2011: 194-198, 315-318, translated with commentary by Attinger 2013, and translated by Black et al 2004: 281-282, Sallaberger 2008: 69-70, Löhnert 2009: 83; see also the select discussion of Sjöberg 1976: 164, 176, Zettler 1984: 9, Civil 1992: 305, Civil 2000: 106, and Volk 2000: 1 n. 4., 11 n. 55, Attinger 2005: 231, Jaques 2013: 233-234, Crisostomo 2014: 1, and Delnero, in press. The sources for this text include the collective source VAT 9157 (VAS 17 44: this manuscript is Old Babylonian, but was found in a Seleucid period context in the *Bīt rēšī* temple at Uruk; see the discussion of Volk 2000: 4 n. 20, with further citation) and the Nippur sources Ni 972 (BE 31 29, ISET 1 68 (pg. 126)) and UM 29-13-520 (van Dijk 1989: 452). The recension that is reflected by the Uruk source VAT 9157 is somewhat different than the Nippur exemplars, most noticeably in the fact that the name of the addressee may differ and in the inclusion of lines 8-9 and 14, whose relevance to the version(s) reflected by the other sources is not entirely clear. A sensitivity to this issue is apparent in Civil's treatment of the text, as he uses only the Nippur sources (see Civil 2000: 106 n. 8), and Attinger discusses differences between textual recensions.

1. The sender Nabi-Enlil, a patron scribe who is given a longer list of titles that associate him with Nippur and the king in Nabi-Enlil to Iter-pīša 5-6.³³

2. The scribal students (who are referred to as di₄-di₄-la₂-e-ne, perhaps a play on its diminutive relationship to the lexeme tur,³⁴ the latter of which is routinely used to describe inexperienced or junior scribes in Sumerian literature) and their plural as well as their possibly collective or singularly representative status.

3. The letter's recipient/addressee, for whom the correct reading of his name has not been sufficiently established³⁵ who may have been the father of the students (thus Black et al), or, as Kleinerman suggests, may be being recruited by Nabi-Enlil as a teacher for the new school if Nabi-Enlil himself was not to be the teacher.

4. One Ka-^dNinurta, whose communication or correspondence with Nabi-Enlil or perhaps one of the students is referenced in the more extensive version of the text contained in the Uruk exemplar.

5. Possibly the teacher of the e₂-um-mi-a, who is not explicitly named but may nevertheless be directly referenced in the narrative: in addition to the reference reflected by the noun um-mi-a in the genitival phrase e₂ ummia.ak, perhaps also the generic designation lu₂ in line 6 and possibly line 8, according to some interpretations.

Another significant textual problem is the establishment of the specific location of this e₂-um-mi-a, as well as the location of the new school that is to be modeled after the "unique e₂-dub-ba-a" at Nippur. A number of scholars³⁶ interpret line 18 of this text to be describing Isin as the place where inferior scribal education has been occurring and where a new school remedying the problem is to be built. This interpretation hinges on the interpretation of the phrase du₃-a-bi to contain the verb du₃ "to build," and thus the line would describe the building of a "(new) Nippur" in Isin, assuming that the locative -a is suffixed to the toponym Isin in the Uruk source. Civil, Kleinerman and Attinger, however, prefer to understand this phrase to contain the expression of totality du₃-a-bi, which would here be applicable to

33. ^{D18}Na-bi-^dEn-lil₂ dub-sar nu-eš₃ ^dEn-lil₂-la₂ lu₂-zu₂?-bir₉ lugal dumu Nibru^{ki} (Peterson 2011: 220). This letter has now been fully edited by Kleinerman and Gadotti 2013: 154-161, see also Attinger 2014 for additional sources and revised readings), who utilize the additional source MS 2287 and identify UM 55-21-329 = 3N-T 454+3N-T 918, 435 (SLFN 89, BPOA 9 no. 193) as part of the same text. The unprovenanced Schøyen manuscript instead qualifies Nabi-Enlil with the same patronymic that occurs in ANL 9 line 2 (dub-sar dumu Saġ-[^dEn-lil₂-la₂-ke₄]). Nabi-Enlil is also mentioned among a list of what are presumably prominent um-mi-a in KA-Inana to Enlil-massu (SEpM 21) line 5 (Kleinerman 2011: 178). For the possibility that Nabi-Enlil and his father Saġ-Enlila were historical figures, with the former to be dated to the beginning of the Isin period and the latter perhaps the last Ur III administrator of the Inana temple at Nippur, see Hallo 1972: 93, Zettler 1984: 8-9, Kleinerman 2011: 48, and Kleinerman and Gadotti 2014: 150. The fact that the seal impression of this Saġ-Enlila also attributes him with the title of nu-eš₃ ^dEn-lil-la₂, a title held elsewhere by the chief administrator of the Inana temple at Nippur in the Ur III period, is suggestive that there was a historical connection. However, the mention of the Isin royal name Iter-pīša in ANL 7 complicates the conclusion: Kleinerman suggests that "this one-off composition probably used a name known from the Nippur literary letters to create a new composition." There is a Nabi-Enlil attested as a patronym in the e₂-um-mi-a ledger N 1242 o1, but any connection with the character in ANL 9 is entirely unverifiable and not likely.

34. For this lexemic distinction, see the remarks of Civil 1973: 32.

35. See the remarks of van Dijk 1989: 449 n. 11, Civil 2000: 106 n. 8, Kleinerman 2011: 196, 315, Attinger 2013: 1 n. 1, and Jaques 2013: 234. van Dijk suggests the reading Ilum-puzur₄-ra, while Civil tentatively suggests the reading AN.DUL₃-Iš₈-tar₂ = Silli-Ištar. Kleinerman's reading ^mDiġir-inim-si-ga is based on collation of the Uruk source VAT 9157 (VAT 17 44) by Volk. Jaques rejects Kleinerman's reading and endorses the reading as the Akkadian name AN-KA-ŠU = Anna(/Anum)-pī-šu as it suggests itself from van Dijk's copy (Jaques 2013: 233), as well as suggesting that the sign read in all previous treatments as the dative -ra is actually the ŠID sign, thus reflecting the priest designation saġġa.

36. Thus van Dijk, Black et al, Sallaberger, Löhnert, Woods 2007: 111, and Delnero in press. See also the consideration of this interpretation by Attinger 2013: 2 n. 15.

both Nippur and Isin, two cities that were located relatively close to each other, in an anticipatory genitival construction, “the whole of Nippur and Isin.” I favor the latter interpretation, which would make the location of the old, inferior school and the new and improved school less than transparent, perhaps due to the fact that it is the contrast between the e_2 -um-mi-a and the e_2 -dub-ba-a that is being stressed in this text, not their respective hosting cities.³⁷

In addition to these ambiguities, line 8, which only occurs in the Uruk source, has been understood by van Dijk, Black et al and Attinger to possibly reflect a complaint about the cramped conditions of the e_2 -um-mi-a.³⁸ Such an interpretation would potentially implicate the building housing the institution bearing the label e_2 -um-mi-a as being significantly smaller than the one reflected by the label e_2 -dub-ba-a and would neatly fit the conclusions advanced below. However, other interpretations cannot be decisively dismissed.³⁹

What is sufficiently clear from the contents of the letter is that Nabi-Enlil and probably the students of the e_2 -um-mi-a as well are dissatisfied with the caliber of education available at the e_2 -um-mi-a versus that of the e_2 -dub-ba-a, a situation that Nabi-Enlil seeks to remedy by either finding or founding another scribal school that is either an e_2 -dub-ba-a proper or modeled after the e_2 -dub-ba-a. Nabi-Enlil expects the expertise of the scribes that is to be amassed in this superior institution to include sufficient mastery of the entities denoted by KA-inim-ma, en_3 -du, and na - ru_2 -a,⁴⁰ all of which seem to be described as occurring in the chief dialect of Sumerian (eme - gir_{15}),⁴¹ and ka-tar, “praise,” perhaps

37. On the basis of overall context, Kleinerman (2011: 195) suggests that the school is to be located somewhere other than Nippur, as does Black et al 2004: 281. However, it is not entirely clear that this is the case, as Nabi-Enlil is explicitly named as a citizen of Nippur in Nabi-Enlil to Iter-pīša line 5, and the potential connotation of line 5, where the children sniff out Nippur in a modal sentence that has either deontic (thus, for example, van Dijk, Black et al, Attinger) or epistemic (thus Kleinerman, Jaques) connotation (unfortunately, the preceding line is inadequately preserved to allow for a definitive interpretation). In line 6, the verb (ir) si-im ... (AK), which is most frequently attested in conjunction with dogs, may allude to experiencing the general character of the e_2 -dub-ba-a as a Nippurean institution, or it may describe direct interaction with the city: compare Proverb Collection 2(+6).109 (Alster 1997: 67)/Eduba D 77 (in the context of a litany of insults exchanged between scribes) ur si-im-si-im e_2 - e_2 -a ku₄-ku₄ “a sniffing dog entering all houses,” an insult possibly alluding to general nosiness or perhaps a student that changed schools too frequently.

38. “Hat man keinen Platz” or “mit dem Mann reicht es nicht aus” (van Dijk), “it was cramped” (Black et al.) and “et que c’est en outré trop exigü” (Attinger).

39. Kleinerman understands the phrase lu_2 al-tur-a to refer to the instructor of the e_2 -um-mi-a: “the person (instructing them) was incompetent as well,” a contextual translation which she presumably derives from the inappropriateness that the label tur would possess if applied to a teacher. It also seems possible that the phrase is not part of the complaint conveyed to Ka-^dNin-urta by Nabi-Enlil, and instead refers to a student that is not progressing (as a quote or paraphrase?), constituting a nominalized finite verbal derivation from the common term lu_2 -tur, “child, novice,” i.e., “the (student) who is (still) inexperienced.” The conjunctive u_3 may be functioning as what Civil describes as an “emphatic adversative conjunction” (Civil 2008: 8). Compare perhaps the dub lu_2 al-^rtur’-[...], perhaps “tablet of(?) the one who is a (currently) novice ...” that occurs in the unplaced OB literary fragment N 1549 column ii? l’, where scribal education seems to be featured.

40. The argument for the use of the lexeme na - ru_2 -a as a textual label referring to a royal hymn (or perhaps more specifically a hymn of self-praise: see the remarks of Ludwig 1990: 71-74) has been primarily based on the understanding of the use of na - ru_2 -a as a summarizing entry in OB catalog Louvre (AO 5393 (TCL 15: 28) line 68 to a list of incipits of which the identifiable entries are all royal hymns. However, it is possible that this is a summarizing entry that has nothing to do with the previous entries. See the discussion of Flückiger-Hawker 1996: 106, Goodnick Westenholz 2005: 347-348 and n. 23, Shehata 2009: 229 n. 1325, Delnero 2010: 36 n. 10, 50-51, and Vacín 2014, who argues for the latter interpretation. The designations en_3 -du and na - ru_2 -a also co-occur in Išme-Dagan A (Enlil-diriše) 381-382, where Išme-Dagan describes his corpus of royal literature.

41. The noun eme - gir_{15} has been understood to modify the preceding na - ru_2 -a (Löhnert understands its use to be contrastive to the implicitly eme -sal corpus of the lamentation priest) or the following ka-tar (thus Civil). Attinger (personal communication) understands eme - gir_{15} to have a distributive effect on all of the preceding entities. van Dijk, Black et al, and Kleinerman understand its as an independent entity, i.e., the Sumerian language.

another reference to royal and/or divine hymns,⁴² as well as the liturgical corpus of the *gala* lamentation priest, which seems to reflect a rare allusion to a specialized outcome of scribal training.⁴³ As Kleinerman notes, the provision for learning the entity denoted by [a]-la-la (if van Dijk's restoration is correct), along with the lexical texts Izi and Lu₂ may also allude to the training of a singer.⁴⁴

This letter does not impart much detail about the precise character of the e₂-um-mi-a proper as a scribal school, since it is only denigrated by the negative description of the lack of mastery of its students,⁴⁵ quite possibly, as Civil concludes, for propagandistic effect. Reference is made to the non-mastery of two entities. The first is the inability (as is explicitly conveyed by the use of the abilitative infix -da- in the negated prefix chain) to recite from memory (šid)⁴⁶ twenty to thirty (i.e., many) of the entity KA-inim-ma. Although numerous scholars have understood KA-inim-ma here to refer to incantations,⁴⁷ it is most likely that this KA-inim-ma reflects the expression that unequivocally describes curricular material in several independent contexts, occurring with the verb šid several times, suggesting that that it was typically memorized.⁴⁸ Sjöberg and Civil translate it as “vocabulary” and Volk translates as “Themenbereiche.”⁴⁹ Exactly what this generic designation refers to and whether it involved entire texts or excerpted passages cannot be sufficiently proven (indeed, in some instances it seems to be used to

42. This term has frequently been left untranslated: van Dijk translates *Volksprache*(?), Löhnert translates “Prieslieder,” Kleinerman translates “(vocabulary of) praise = panegyric,” and Attinger translates “louanges.” If, as Attinger suggests, the noun eme-gir₁₅ is functioning distributively as an attributive here, it could be understood as an argument against an identification of ka-tar involving royal or divine hymns, as the implication would be that ka-tar describes a textual category featuring the Emesal dialect.

43. For a discussion of the limited evidence for the use of liturgical texts and the Emesal dialect in the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum, see Wasserman and Gabbay 2005: 76-7,7 Löhnert 2008: 436-437, Löhnert 2009: 82-86, Löhnert 2011: 407, and Gadotti and Kleinerman 2011: 76. Note also Gabbay's study of liturgical texts that are quoted in proverbs and proverbial content that is otherwise evocative of them (Gabbay 2011, see also the comments of Taylor 2005: 22-23), which occur in the highly circulated Proverb Collections 1, 2, and 3, as well as the role of a lament by the goddess Lisin of her son in the elementary curriculum, as is confirmed by its attestation on both type II and type IV texts (see Veldhuis 1997: 67, Tinney 1999: 167). Other occurrences of Emesal liturgical texts on elementary tablet types are rare, but in addition to the potential examples from Ur, Kiš and Uruk listed by Wasserman and Gabbay and Löhnert, note that a short passage from uru₂ am₃-ir-ra-bi (assuming that it reflects the more extensive passage that occurs in UET 6/3 660+667, which is highly reminiscent of other OB exemplars of this text (Cohen 1988: 541 line 20f., etc., see also Cavigneaux 1993: 255) appears to occur in the OB landscape extract tablet UET 6/3 668, Note as well as the remarks of Charpin 2003: 314-315 and Charpin 2012 about the find context of a number of liturgical manuscripts between rooms 12 and 15 of house B 59 at Larsa.

44. Kleinerman compares the conclusion of Proverb Collection 3.87 (Alster 1997: 96), which enumerates various professions and appropriate behaviors associated with them includes the following reference: nar u₈-u₂-a a-la-la “the singer (says) u'u'a alala!” For this proverb, see also Shehata 2009: 34, 236f. Note that the same progression of exclamations are attributed to Damu and other dying gods as the occupant of a failing and sinking boat in BM 114010, probably a Damu balaḡ and in a proverb (Proverb Collection 3.179, 7.77 and VAT 17353 (VAS 24: 113) 10-18, see now the consolidated edition and discussion of Gabbay 2011: 52-53, 57-62).

45. Or, as discussed by Attinger, possibly its teacher, as the referent of the verbs in lines 11-13 is ambiguous.

46. For this meaning of the verb šid, see, for example, Heimpel 1982: 155, Delnero 2006: 75-76.

47. Thus van Dijk, Attinger, Sallaberger, Löhnert, and Kleinerman (see also Kleinerman 2011: 188).

48. See the examples collected by Sjöberg 1976: 164. Note in particular the occurrence of the term in Dialogue 1 (Two Scribes) 7-8 (for this passage, see also Volk 1996: 189 n. 68, Delnero 2006: 75), 58, Eduba A (Schooldays) 45-46 and 49-50, and Enkimanšum and Girini'isag (Dialogue 3) 2, 18, 40, 148.

49. Sjöberg 1976: 164 and n. 18, Volk 1996: 189 n. 68, Civil 2000: 106. For the expression KA-inim-ma, Attinger 1984: 109 suggests the interpretation of KA-inim-ma as a frozen genitival expression with the basic meaning of “une bouche (de =) pour la parole,” d'ou “talent oratoire, éloquence.” See also Mittermayer 2009: 273-274, with previous literature, who argues for a single polysemous expression ka-inim-ma, as well as Molina 2014: 404-405, who argues for the existence of the independent expressions ka inim-ma “fixed wording” and inim inim-ma “matter, affair, legal case”.

describe the whole of the scribal curriculum), but a few contexts can be more closely compared to its occurrence in ANL 9. In Enkimanšum and Girini'isag (Dialogue 3) line 18-19, the act of seeing⁵⁰ the KA-inim-ma several times⁵¹ and then reciting five (i.e., many) of them from memory is regarded from the context as a trivial accomplishment for a scribe in training that was insufficient for understanding, while in line two of this text, the expectation that a scribe was to write various (didli) KA-inim-ma ten (i.e., many) times as part of his typical workload is expressed.⁵² Thus, the use of the KA-inim-ma in a scribal setting seems to be centered around extensive inculcation and memorization, and the criticism of the e₂-um-mi-a in ANL 9 seems to be that this was lacking. The second shortcoming of the student of the e₂-um-mi-a that is described in ANL 9 is the inability to interpret (bur₂)⁵³ ten to twenty (i.e., many) of the en₃-du, a hymnic designation that is frequently used to describe royal hymns.⁵⁴ Thus, the second criticism specifically alludes to a lack of sufficient textual comprehension, quite possibly of the royal hymn, a genre that had demonstrable importance in the scribal curriculum beginning with the so-called "Tetrad."⁵⁵ Nabī-Enlil's criticism of the e₂-um-mi-a that is advanced here, therefore, is twofold, namely, that its students lack sufficient volume and depth of textual knowledge.

The terms KA-inim-ma and en₃-du also co-occur in a more expansive context in Igmil-Sîn to Nudimmud-siga (ANL 4),⁵⁶ where *edubba'a* scribes of all levels of experience (dumu e₂-dub-ba-a tur-ta bulu₃-še₃) are described as compiling tablets and depositing them in baskets, either as part of their daily routine or, as Civil interprets the text, to send to Igmil-Sîn's son or student Nudimmud-siga, who in turn is to send a manuscript of the bala₃ composition uru₂ am₃-ir-ra-bi (the following is ANL 4 lines 6-8):

lu₂ me-me-ta lu₂ dub dil-dil-še₃ lu₂ a-ra₂-ta lu₂ ni₂-šID-ne-ne-še₃⁵⁷
 lu₂ KA-inim-ma lu₂ en₃-du bur₂-bur₂-ra

From the one(s) (working on) Syllable Alphabet A⁵⁸ to the one(s) (working on) the various tablet (types?),⁵⁹ from the one(s) (working on) multiplication tables to the one(s) (working on) their *calculations*, the one(s) interpreting KA-inim-ma and en₃-du hymns⁶⁰

50. Thus demonstrating that it could be a written phenomenon.

51. Compare, for example the use of the same sequence in Enkihegal and Enkitalu (Dialogue 2) 221 (see Woods 2008: 240).

52. For this line, see Civil 1994: 70.

53. The BUR₂ sign is clear in VAT 9157 according to van Dijk's copy (see the remarks of van Dijk 1989: 451) and has a clear parallel in Igmil-Sîn to Nudimmud-siga line 8 (see below), so the reading BAL given by van Dijk and followed by Kleinerman does not seem adequately substantiated.

54. For the term en_{3/8}-du_{1/11/12}, see Klein 1989: 297f., Attinger 1993: 488-490, Goodnick Westenholz 2005: 348-350, and Shehata 2009: 227f. with further bibliography. The term is also mentioned in conjunction with both the ki-umun₂, a relatively rare term which Michalowski understands to be a conservatory as the counterpart to Akkadian *mummu* in Dialogue 2 (Enkihegal and Enkitalu) line 98, where the en₃-du is sung, as well as the e₂-GEŠTUG₂-^dNISABA in Šulgi B 315, where the en₃-du is composed. See the discussion of Michalowski 2010: 200f. and Shehata 2010: 211-220.

55. See Tinney 1999.

56. For this passage see Civil 2000: 106, Löhnert 2009: 83-84, and Kleinerman 2011: 186-187.

57. For the ambiguities involving the reading of ni₂-šID in contexts involving scribal education, see Ludwig 1990: 179-186.

58. This elementary curricular text is well known outside of Nippur, where Syllable Alphabet B is pervasive. However, Syllable Alphabet A is attested rarely at Nippur, including on a type II tablet, reflecting at least its exceptional use in the scribal curriculum. See, for example, Veldhuis 1997: 130, Veldhuis 2004: 89-90, and Peterson 2011: 253-254 and n. 33.

59. Perhaps immediately referencing line 10, where several tablet types are described as being prepared in this context: im-dub, im-gid₂-da, and im-šu.

60. Understanding the verb šid to be functioning distributively here (suggestion of Pascal Attinger).

Nabi-Enlil also goes on to enumerate of a wish list of texts and textual corpora to be encountered in the new scribal school (ANL 9 lines 19f.): this could be understood to reflect their non-use at the e₂-um-mi-a.⁶¹ Since the list that Nabi-Enlil gives is selective, it could be understood as indirect evidence that the e₂-um-mi-a possessed a number of core curricular texts, and that Nabi-Enlil wanted the new school to fulfill his own more specific preferences that included more royal hymns and perhaps royal inscriptions,⁶² the liturgical corpus of the lamentation priest, lexical texts, specifically Lu₂ = *ša* and Izi, which accompanied each other closely in the scribal curriculum as examples of advanced lexical texts⁶³ and perhaps also instruction in singing.

The overall conception of the e₂-um-mi-a is also evidenced by the negative description of the e₂-um-mi-a in line 10: a-da-al ki al-dur₂-ru-ne-eš-a e₂-dub-ba-a gin₆-na in-nu “now, the place where they (the students) reside (the e₂-um-mi-a), it is not a true e₂-dub-ba-a.”⁶⁴ The wording of the line suggests that the institution was similar enough to the e₂-dub-ba-a to prompt the description of its dissimilarity with that institution with the lexeme gin₆ instead of a simple and more categorical statement of non-status using only the negation prefix nu- as a verbal root or negation of the existential verb me in the enclitic copula. The denunciation seems therefore to be more of an issue of relative quality and/or institutional prestige, not the fundamental incompatibility of the two institutions. It is also worth considering whether the circumstances that prompted the change of schools that is described in this letter is not simply a propagandistic construct and might instead reflect a typical development in conjunction with scribal education, with students changing schools at the behest of their patrons in response to their specific educational needs or their economic and/or political fortunes.⁶⁵

In summary, there is a significant amount of evidence that the e₂-um-mi-a that occurs in these ledgers reflects a scribal school, including the following:

61. The mutual mention of KA-inim-ma and en₃-du in lines 12 and 19 complicates such a conclusion: in their case, it may be more of a matter of specific content and/or level of mastery.

62. Nabi-Enlil may have been particularly focused on the use of royal hymns in scribal instruction, since, as noted above, he appears to be named as a royal official in Nabi-Enlil to Iter-pīša 6.

63. Veldhuis 1997: 55-56, 58; see also Black et al 2004: 281. For a detailed study of the occurrence of Izi on type II tablets and its wide ranging implications, see now Crisostomo 2014: 133-135.

64. For the connotation of this statement, see Volk 2000, 11 n. 55 and note the translation of PSD A I 53: “in the place where they now live, there is no regular schoolhouse.”

65. The somewhat similar sounding designation E₂-DUMU-MEŠ-UM-MI-A is attested in HS 194, a compilation of the areas of various buildings, primarily temples and shrines, at Nippur (Kramer and Bernhardt 1975: Sallaberger 1993: 98 n. 425 dates this text to the Kassite period), obverse line 7. It is associated with the Ekur temple complex, occurring in a corridor (dal-ba-na) presumably between the aforementioned Ekur locations and possibly the Ki'ur shrine of Ninlil that is described in the ensuing section along with the residences of the en and lagar officials (e₂ en and e₂ la-ga-ri). The E₂-DUMU-MEŠ-UM-MI-A is attributed with what would be the massive area of DIŠ-U=70 (or possibly even ġeš'u = 600?) iku. If the disclosed area is not erroneous, it would obviously describe a number of buildings, although the entity as a whole is not explicitly pluralized. The function of this e₂-dumu-meš-um-mi-a is not clarified by context and is therefore somewhat ambiguous given the variable application of the lexeme /ummi-a/ to a number of different professions. Kramer and Bernhardt understand it straightforwardly as “eines Hauses, worin die Handwerker wohnten,” and Robertson understands it similarly as “a house where craftsmen dwelt, also a part of the Ekur complex” (Robertson 1981: 368). Since the Akkadian expression *mār ummiāni*, which is probably intended here due to the use of the enclitic copula to denote a plural noun, is often used to denote a craftsman (the meaning in Sumerian is more variable, note, for example, the juxtaposition of dumu um-mi-a with simug “blacksmith” in Enkimanšum and Girini'isag (Dialogue 3) 60, to be contrasted with the entry umbisaġ “scribe” with the translation *ma-ru um-mi-a-ni* in Proto-Izi 255 (MSL 13 25, Crisostomo 2014: 244, 382, see also Proust 2007: 286), as well as the phrase dumu um-mi-a in Proverb Collection 2(+6).45 (Alster 1997: 54, see also Crisostomo 2014: 47), where a scribe is unequivocally involved). It is tempting to understand the E₂-DUMU-MEŠ-UM-MI-A as the temple workshop or workshop complex, perhaps comparable in function to the better attested *bīt mummy* and completely unrelated to the e₂-um-mi-a of ANL 9 and the ledgers under consideration.

1) The description in the literary letter ANL 9 of the e_2 -um-mi-a as a place where scribal education occurred.

2) The possibility, given the possible interpretation of the note u_3 -a- u_3 -a-aš at the conclusion of N 1268 as the incipit of Šulgi N, and the potential extra-corporeal testimony of UM 29-13-752, that the item tallied in these texts was dub-(hi-a), “(various types of) tablets” or a more specific derivative involving a specific type of extract tablet.

3) A large subgroup of these texts (format A) closely resemble type III curricular texts, and the scribal hand in some instances resembles the notably inexact and relatively large beginner’s hand that is frequently attested in curricular texts. The fact that an inexperienced scribe seems to have authored many of these texts could implicate them as something other than serious records with permanent archival value: perhaps they are to be understood as school exercises that drew upon the logistical need to distribute clay tablets within the school as a way for students to learn the basic skill of how to make a ledger and transcribe personal names. More expertly written examples such as the group within the month of ^{iti}apin-du₈-a edited below could perhaps reflect more permanent records. As discussed above, this approximate activity is reminiscent of the likely literal etymology of the e_2 -dub-ba-a as a place where tablets were distributed. It is also potentially reminiscent of the recordkeeping that is described as occurring within the e_2 -dub-ba in Eduba D (Scribal Activities) lines 26-27:⁶⁶

26) u_4 diš-e um-mi-a- $\bar{g}u_{10}$ ni \bar{g}_2 -sur-ru- $\bar{g}u_{10}$ limmu₅-ta-am₃ mu-ub-šum₂-mu

27) ni \bar{g}_2 -ka₉-bi \bar{g} ar-ra nam-dub-sar i_3 -zu-a- $\bar{g}u_{10}$ nu-ub-tum₃

“Every single day, my master (requires) that I produce my *shorn off section*(?) four times (With) the tabulations (of the completion of the assignment?) having been established, my knowledge of the scribal art has not been taken away (i.e., it is permanent?).”

This passage seems to refer to the compilation of an account (ni \bar{g}_2 -ka₉) of the fourfold assignment of the entity ni \bar{g}_2 -sur-ru that was given by the um-mi-a to the student over the course of a single day, if it is to be understood as being separate from the monthly attendance account that is described in lines 21f. There is little evidence outside of this passage regarding what the lexeme ni \bar{g}_2 -sur-ru, which also occurs in line 29 of this text, reflects: Civil suggests that it may refer to assignments involving type II tablets.⁶⁷ If a close parallel occurs between the practice described in this passage as it occurred in the e_2 -dub-ba-a and the activity that is tabulated in the e_2 -um-mi-a ledgers, it may not be a coincidence that only rarely does the number allocated to an individual exceed four in any extant example of an e_2 -um-mi-a ledger that I am currently aware of.⁶⁸

4) A significant percentage of the literary manuscripts and non-literary curricular texts from Tablet Hill at Old Babylonian Nippur that contain scribal colophons disclosing the name of the author, a practice

66. Civil 1985: 71-72: see also, for example, the freer translation of Robson 2002: 349. Cited from UET 6/2: 167 rev. 5-6.

67. Civil 1985: 76, discusses the translation ni \bar{g}_2 -sur-ru = *mišlu* “half” in bilingual Ni \bar{g}_2 -gur₁₁ 40 (MSL 13: 116). It is possible that the formulation of this noun with the derivational morpheme and the verb sur may be a straightforward description of a process of shearing the tablet by twisting a loop of string threaded through a board to prevent the twisting portion from leaving a mark on the tablet. For recent additional insight about the use and function of type II tablets, see Taylor and Cartwright 2011: 310-311, 313, who conclude based on physical analysis of type II tablets and the nature of clay that the right half of the tablet obverse reserved for student copy was scraped, not erased, and then discarded by shearing off once the surface became unsuitable for further use.

68. In CBS 5899 obverse 5, Ur-Nisaba and possibly Sîn-itūram in the preceding line (the number is partially obscured) are allocated six of the entity.

that is, rather unfortunately, quite rare, are attested in the e₂-um-mi-a corpus under consideration. It must be stressed, however, that not all of the personal names that occur in these colophons occur in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers that are currently known to me and, given the paucity of comparative prosopographical data offered by both the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers and the colophons, the evidence can only be suggestive, not conclusive, in its nature. The colophons with names matching those attested in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers include the following:

UM 29-15-997 (unpublished): type I or type II text?, obverse not preserved, reverse model contracts: the preserved content includes a caravan contract. The colophon follows a space after the final line of the main text (no concluding ruling is apparent).

šu ^dNuska-ni-šu
 dumu PA E₂⁶⁹dNuska
 dub-sar tur
 igi ^dNisaba ereš-g̃u₁₀
 ḫe₂-en-sag₉

CBS 8528: two-column manuscript of Ninmešara (Zgoll 2000: 539, 578, source UnJ, Delnero 2006: 2021, source N₁₃): for the colophon, see Zgoll 2000: 204, Delnero 2006: 1067, 2108. The colophon occurs after the concluding double ruling in reverse column 2.

[su?] *E-le-tum*

CBS 7878 (PBS 10/4 4)+N 3555: two-column manuscript of Ninmešara (Zgoll 2000: 539, source NiB+, Delnero 2006: 2021, source N₁₄): for the colophon, see Delnero 2006: 1068, 2108). The colophon occurs after the concluding double ruling in reverse column 2.

šu ^dNin-urta-mu-š[a-lim]
 igi ^dNisaba igi 'x'-[...]
 ḫe₂-en-[sag₉?]
 [additional line/lines?]

N 2785+N 3071+N 4324: im-gid₂-da manuscript of Gilgameš and Huwawa A (Edzard 1990: 171, 196-197, source NiQ, Delnero 2006: 2397, source N_{III5}): for the colophon, see Edzard 1990: 171, n. 19, Delnero 2006: 1731, and Delnero 2012: 112 n. 1). The colophon occurs on the left edge of the tablet.

'im'-gid₂'-da *Qu₃-ur-di-Is₈-tar₂*

69. PA E₂ is to be read either as ugula e₂ or šabra₂: see the remarks of Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003-2005: 628f. and Zettler and Sallaberger 2011: 25 and n. 42. The office of PA E₂ ^dNuska is also attested in OB Nippur administrative contexts (CBS 4596 (PBS 12: 53, for this text, see Richter 2004: 72-73) (not dated) obverse 4 and CBS 7193 (PBS 8/2: 131) (Samsuiluna 11 month 11) obverse 1.

HS 1446 (TUM 3 27): im-gid₂-da manuscript of Curse of Agade (Cooper 1983: 68, source P: for the colophon, see Cooper 1983: 45-46, Delnero 2012: 112 n. 1). The colophon occurs on the left edge of the tablet.

ud 25-a-kam im-gid₂-da *Qu₃-ur-di-Is₈-tar₂*

Ni 4350 (ISET 1 146 (pg. 88)): im-gid₂-da manuscript of Curse of Agade (Cooper 1983: 69, source A₂: for the colophon, see Cooper 1983: 45-46, Delnero 2012: 112 n. 1). The colophon occurs on the left edge of the tablet.

[...-ka]m 8 im-gid₂-da *Qu₃-ur-di-Is₈-[tar₂]*

UM 29-13-473+N 1380: im-gid₂-da manuscript of Gilgameš and Huwawa A (Edzard 1990: 173, 191, source NiGG, Delnero 2006: 2398, source N_{III14}: for the colophon, see Edzard 1990: 173 n. 25, Delnero 2006: 1742, 2432). The colophon occurs on the left edge of the tablet.

[im-gid₂-da? I₃]-li₂-i-din-nam

CBS 10335: im-gid₂-da manuscript of Song of the Hoe (Delnero 2006: 971-972: the colophon is not mentioned there). The colophon occurs after the concluding single ruling.

Lu₂?-^dIn[ana?]

Ni 2750 (SLTNi 118): two-column manuscript of Summer and Winter (reading provisional: this text is in need of collation) The colophon occurs after the concluding double ruling in reverse column 2.

^dr Sin[˘]-^ri!?[˘]-^rdin!?[˘]-nam

UM 29-16-8: im-gid₂-da manuscript of Dumuzi-Inana D (balbale) (Sefati 1998: 151, 164, pl. III-IV, XX) The colophon occurs after the main text on the reverse, marked by a concluding single ruling kept apart from the signs below: the connotation of the repetition of the name in this incomplete colophon is presently unclear.

[...] ^rx[˘] Gir₃-ni-i₃-s[ag₉]

[... G]ir₃-ni-i₃-s[ag₉]

In light of these arguments, a more informed guess at the meaning of the rather puzzling entry dug in N 3518 o9' may now be attempted. Vessels are mentioned in conjunction with scribal education in a few literary contexts, where they are used to store water and clay. In Eduba R (Scribal Regulations),⁷⁰ a “man of the water” (lu₂ a-a-ke₄) orders the scribal student(s) to take a jar and fill it at the canal in the center of

70. Thus CBS 4573 (PBS 1/2 98, PBS 12 30) r9'-10' (corresponding to the numeration C 9-10 given by Civil 2008: 11): [lu₂] a-a-ke₄ dug dab₅-ba-ab lu₂-im dug-zu u₃-bi₂-in-dug₄ dug ab-dab₅-be₂-ne id₂ šag₄ iri-ka-ta am₃-mi-ib-si-si-ne. Civil 1992: 303 and Civil 2008: 11 translates this passage as “when the “water man” says “take the jars!” and “idiot, your jar!” they [the students] will take the jars and fill them from the canal in the center of the city” (for this Nippur hydronym, see Edzard 1974: 289, Behrens 1978: 62-63, Klein 2001: 534). A similar passage also occurs in the unpublished exemplar MS 3311 oii 22-23 (CDLI no. P252252). A double meaning of lu₂-tum₉ “idiot” and lu₂ im-(ma.k) “one of (i.e., in charge of) clay” seems possible in this context.

the city. Also, in Eduba A (Schooldays) 39,⁷¹ a “man of the lahtan vessel⁷²” (lu₂ ^{dug}lahtan-na-ke₄) berates the student for taking whatever is denoted by the lexeme im, which could reflect either reflect unworked clay or tablets, without his permission. It is possible, therefore, that in the context of these ledgers the entry dug refers to the assignment of the individual to obtain water and/or clay⁷³ for use in the e₂-um-mi-a or to be in charge of some aspect of the manufacture⁷⁴ or maintenance of clay tablets within the e₂-um-mi-a. CBS 6094 (Kramer 1949 pl. I-II): two-column manuscript of Eduba A (Schooldays). The colophon occurs after the concluding double ruling in reverse column 2.

It has been frequently noted in the Assyriological literature that the Old Babylonian scribal schools from private houses, which at Nippur are most reliably evidenced in the finds from Area TA, House F,⁷⁵ and also seem to have constituted the source of many of the tablet finds from the poorly documented early excavations, do not seem to reflect the description of the e₂-dub-ba-a in literary contexts. Most notably, the titles of a significant number of different functionaries that are described in conjunction with the e₂-dub-ba-a in Eduba A (Schooldays) lines 29-41⁷⁶ would seem to imply that it was a sizeable institution that required a substantial building as well as a large courtyard.⁷⁷ This discrepancy has led to a number of explanations. Veldhuis suggests that these titles may simply reflect the various functions of the um-mi-a, the chief instructor of the e₂-dub-ba-a, as opposed to different people. Robson notes that the dimensions of Area TA House F are incompatible with the literary depiction of the e₂-dub-ba-a and its many specialized officials, concluding that “there must have been a significant mismatch between the idealised image of scribalism portrayed in the Sumerian literature taught in House F and the experiences of the

71. For this line, see Kramer 1949: 202, Civil 1992: 304, Volk 1996: 199 n. 131, Sallaberger 1996: 103, and George 127-128. The source CBS 2219+ UM 29-13-591(+) UM 29-15-362 appears to render both the compound verb and the semantic object as im ʾšu ʾba-e-ti-e-ʾše, suggesting that the *lahtan* vessel was used to store clay. For the limited and ambiguous archaeological evidence for the storage of clay in scribal schools, see Taylor 2011: 21, Taylor and Cartwright 2011: 301f.

72. Sallaberger 1996: 103 defines the *lahtan* vessel as a “Bier-Mischgefäß, Pithos”. See also Sallaberger 2012: 321-322.

73. Compare the logistical situation of the scribe that is described in the colophon of the votive LB extract tablet MS 5007 (George 2010: 275-277, see also Taylor and Cartwright 2011: 297-298), where one Šamaš-rihtu-ušur, who is probably to be understood as a novice scribe, given the content of the text, describes obtaining clean/pure clay from the pure clay deposit (*kullatu*) outside of the city and carrying it on his shoulder, presumably to where he authored the text. Leaving aside the issue of when clay needed to be harvested from a consecrated space (and the connotation of the standard doxology ^dNisaba za₃-mi₂ and its occasional expansions, such as in the colophon to UM 29-15-997 cited above) the need for a student to harvest clay for himself or his school may reflect typical practice. A detailed investigation of tablets and the archaeological contexts accompanying tablet finds by Taylor 2011: 21-23 and Taylor and Cartwright 2011 suggests that tablets were not generally recycled, contrary to prevailing conclusion, and most likely fresh clay was periodically obtained anew from an external source.

74. For tablet formation techniques evidenced from the physical examination of tablets and the apparent description of one such technique in BM 54746 obverse (Civil 1998: 1-3), see Ludwig 2009: 8-12, Taylor 2011: 11-12 and Taylor and Cartwright 2011: 298-300).

75. For the finds at area TA, house F, see, for example, Stone 1987: 56-59, Charpin 1990: 4-6, Veldhuis 1997: 25, Volk 2000: 6 and n. 31, Robson 2001, George 2005: 130-131, Delnero 2006: 37-44, and Michalowski 2011: 38, with further citation. Note however the remarks of Civil 1994: 13 n. 2, who observes that the tablet finds at House F could have been refuse from a school elsewhere in the neighborhood.

76. Kramer 1949: 202. See also Civil 1992: 304, Volk 1996: 199-200 and n. 131, Veldhuis 1997: 25, Volk 2000: 6-7 and n. 36, 21 and n. 102, Robson 2001: 62, George 2005: 127-130, Delnero 2006: 68-69, Woods 2007: 112 n. 107, and Delnero, in press. Some of these functionaries also occur in the unedited Eduba R (Scribal Regulations). One could even suspect that the amount of personnel could be larger than these contexts suggest, since it may be the case that an e₂-dub-ba-a could have more than one um-mi-a in it: note the mention of a nam-ugula um-mi-a “supervision of the um-mi-a” in a fragmentary context where the e₂-dub-ba-a is also mentioned in the literary fragment Ni 4037 (SLTNi 120) rev. 5': such a context may lend earlier relevance to later contexts like Examenstext A 2 (Sjöberg 1975: 140-141), where an “assembly” (ukkin) of *ummi*a is described.

77. For the conclusion that scribal education frequently occurred outdoors, see George 2005: 132 and Woods 2007: 112 n. 107, with further citations.

students who were learning it.” Delnero suggests that “the depiction of the *Eduba* as a large building which accommodated a large number of students and employees seems to be exaggerated,” and Woods contends that “the extensive school staff described in the Old Babylonian *Edubba* literature is not to be taken literally.”

A few scholars have recently elected to interpret these contexts more literally. George argues that these descriptions suggest an institution that was too large to reflect scribal education occurring within relatively small private houses, and that the *e₂-dub-ba-a* may in fact be an anachronism from the Ur III period.⁷⁸ Waetzoldt and Cavigneaux understand the *e₂-dub-ba-a* to refer to a scribal school within a palace, and suggest that scribal schools located in private houses were possibly called the *e₂-um-mi-a*.⁷⁹

If the *e₂-um-mi-a* from the corpus of ledgers under current consideration does in fact reflect a scribal school, it would seem to better reflect the entity reflected by scribal education in private houses that is explicitly evidenced elsewhere archaeologically and is probably also the case for the poorly documented original findspots of the many curricular texts from Tablet Hill at OB Nippur, according to the limited accounts of the early excavators.⁸⁰ Such a configuration would correspond neatly to the interpretation of Waetzoldt and Cavigneaux of the *e₂-um-mi-a* as a private house where scribal education occurred. Given the extreme paucity of reference to this institution in the extant literary corpus relative the recurrent attestation of the *e₂-dub-ba-a*, and then only in a context where it is denigrated, it seems probable the cultural prestige of the *e₂-um-mi-a* paled in comparison to the *e₂-dub-ba-a*. Thus, if it is indeed the case that much if not all of the curricular texts that we possess came from this institution, then we must at least entertain the possibility that much of our direct evidence for scribal education arises from what was perceived as a second-rate institution.

APPENDIX A: *A group of e₂-um-mi-a Ledgers From the Month of arahsamnu*

1) UM 29-15-597 (^{iti} ^{giš} apin-du₈-a/*arahsamnu* day 7)

obverse

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 1) 4 | dumu-me <i>U-bar-rum</i> |
| 2) 4 | dumu-me <i>Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂</i> |
| 3) 4? | dumu-me <i>I-lu-ni</i> |
| 4) 3 | dumu-me <i>A-GA-ZI</i> |
| 5) 3 | dumu-me <i>Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar₂</i> |
| 6) 2 | dumu-me <i>Qi₂-iš-tum</i> |
| 7) 0 | ^d <i>Sin-i-din-nam</i> |
| 8) 0 | <i>U₂-ši₂-qa₂-tum</i> |
| 9) 3 | <i>Na-ap-li-iš-E₂-a</i> |
| 10) 2 | ^d <i>Da-mu-i-din-nam</i> |
| 11) 2 | <i>Ha-ab-lum</i> |
| 12) 0 | <i>Nu-ur₂-E₂-a</i> |
| 13) 2 | <i>A-pil-^dIškur</i> |
| 14) 1 | <i>Diğir-sag₉-ga</i> |
| 15) 1 | <i>A-at-ta-a</i> |

78. George 2005.

79. Waetzoldt and Cavigneaux 2009: 295.

80. See, for example, the recent discussions of Proust 2007: 31-34 and Michalowski 2011: 38-39.

- 16) 1 *Nu-ur₂-^dIškur*
 17) 1 *^dNin-urta-ga-mil*
 18) 1 *I₃-li₂-ma-AN*
 19) 1 *^dEn-lil₂-ba-ni*
 20) 1 *Lu₂-^dSuen*

reverse

- 1) 22 e₂-um-mi-a
 2) ^{iti} ^{ḡiṣ} apin-du₈-a ud 7 kam

2) UM 29-13-160 ^{iti} ^{ḡiṣ} apin-du₈-a/arahsamnu day 15

obverse

- 1) 4 *dumu-me Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂*
 2) 4 *dumu-me Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar₂*
 3) 0 *dumu-me Qi₂-iš-tum*
 4) 2? *dumu-me Ip-qu₂-ki*
 5) 4 *dumu-me I-lu-ni*
 6) 0 *^dDa-mu-i-din-nam*
 7) 0 *^dSin-i-din-nam*
 8) 2 *A-pil-^dIškur*
 9) 0 *Na-ap-li-iš-E₂-a⁸¹*
 10) 3 *I₃-li₂-i-din-nam*
 11) 0 *Diḡir-sag₉-ga*
 12) 0 *Ma-an-nu-um-me-š_u-li-š_{ur}*
 13) 1 *^dNin-urta-ga-mil*
 14) 1 *Nu-ur₂-^dIškur*
 15) 1 *Nu-ur₂-^dEn-lil₂*
 16) 1 *^dEn-lil-ba-ni*

reverse

- 1) 'x' *I₃-li₂-ma-AN*
 2) '1'?' *a-ri-ba-tum*
 3) 1 *I⁸²-din-^dDa-mu*
 (blank space)
 4) 0 e₂-um-mi-a
 5) ^{iti} ^{ḡiṣ} apin-du₈-a ud 15-kam

3) UM 29-16-759 ^{iti} ^{ḡiṣ} apin-du₈-a/arahsamnu day 19

obverse

- 1) [...] [dumu]-'me' *U-bar-rum*

81. Written over a TUM sign.

82. Written over another sign.

- 2) [...] [dumu-me] *Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂*
 3) [...] [dumu-me] *I-lu-ni*
 4) [...] [dumu-me] *Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar₂*
 5) [...] [dumu-me] *Ip-qu₂-ki*
 6) [...] [dumu-me] ^dEn-lil₂-gal-zu
 7) [...] [dumu-me] *Qi₂-iš-tum*
 8) [...] [...] *-i-din-nam*
 9) [...] [^dDa-m] *u-i-din-nam*
 10) [...] [*U₂-ši?*]-*qa₂-tum*
 11) [...] [...] *-x'-x'*
 12) [...] [...] *-x'-x'*
 13) [...] [...] *-x'-x'-[x]*

(remainder missing)

reverse

(beginning missing)

- 1') [no./0? e₂]-um-mi-a
 2') [^{iti} ^{ḡiṣ}] apin-du₈-a ud 19-kam

4) UM 29-15-530 ^{iti} ^{ḡiṣ} apin-du₈-a/*araḥsamnu* day 20

obverse

- 1) x' dumu-me *Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂*
 2) 4 dumu-me *I-lu-ni*
 3) 2? dumu-me *Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar₂*
 4) 2 dumu-me *Qi₂-iš-tum*
 5) 0 dumu-me *Ip-qu₂-ki*
 6) 3 *U₂-ši₂-qa₂-tum*
 7) 2 *I-b[i]-^dEn-lil₂*
 8) 2 *Nu-ur₂-E₂-a*
 9) 0 *Na-ap-li-iš-E₂-a*
 10) 2 *I-din-Iš₈-tar₂*
 11) 2 *I-din-Iš₈-tar₂*
 12) 0 *I-din-I₈-tar₂*
 13) 2 *I₃-li₂-a-wi-li*
 14) 0 *In-bi-i₃-li₂-š^u?*
 15) 2 *I-bi-^dUtu*
 16) 2 *Diḡir-sag₉-ga*

reverse

- 1) 1 *Nu-ur₂-^dIškur*
 2) 1 *Nu-ur₂-^dEn-lil₂*
 3) 1 ^dNin-urta-*ga-mil*
 4) 1 *A-ki-i-a*
 5) 1 ^dEn-lil₂-*ba-ni*
 6) 1 *I₃-li₂-ma-AN*

- 7) 1 *Ḫa-ab-lum*
 (blank space)
 8) 12 e₂-um-mi-a
 9) ^{iti ḡiš}apin-du₈-a ud 20-kam

5) UM 29-13-161 ^{iti ḡiš}apin-du₈-a/araḥsamnu day 27?

obverse

- 1) [...] *dumu-me Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂*
 2) [...] *dumu-me I-lu-ni*
 3) 5 *dumu-me Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar*
 4) 0 *I₃-li₂-i-din-nam*
 5) 0 *30-i-din-nam*
 6) 0 *U₂-ši₂-qa₂-tum*
 7) 0 *Nu-ur₂-E₂-a*
 8) 0 *Na-ap-li-iš-E₂-a*
 9) x *^dDa-mu-i-din-nam*
 10) 0 *I-bi-^dNin-^ršubur^r*
 11) 2 *^rḪa^r-ab-[um]*
 12) 0 *I-din-Iš₈-tar₂*
 13) 0 *Im-di-^dEn-lil₂*
 14) 2 *I₃-li₂-a-wi-li*
 15) 2 *A-pil-^dIškur*
 16) 0 *Diḡir-sag₉-ga*
 17) 2 *In-bi-i₃-li₂-šū*
 18) 0 *In-bi-i₃-li₂-šū*

reverse

- 1) 1 *Nu-ur₂-^dIš-kur*
 2) 0 *A-ki-ia*
 3) 0 *^dEn-lil₂-ba-ni*
 4) 0 *Ma-an-nu-um-me-šū-li-šur*
 5) 1? *Ta-ri-ba-tum*
 6) 0 *I-din-^dDa-mu*
 7) 1 *I₃-li₂-ma-AN*
 (blank space)
 8) 2 e₂-um-mi-a
 9) [ⁱ] ^{iti ḡiš}apin-du₈-a ud 27?-kam

6) N 4089 ^{iti ḡiš}apin-du₈-a/araḥsamnu: day unclear

obverse

- 1) [...] *^rdumu^r-me Ri-im-I[š₈-tar₂]*
 2) [...] *^rdumu^r-me ^dEn-^rlil₂^r?-^rx^r-[...]*
 3) [...] *^rdumu^r-^rme^r?! I-^rlu^r-[ni]*

- 4) [...] ʾdumuʾ-ʾmeʾ?! ʾxʾ-[...]
 5) [...] [...]ʾ-xʾ-IŠ-[...]
 6) [...] [...]ʾ-xʾ-[iʾ]-din-[nam]
 7) [...] [U₂?]-ʾši₂ʾ-ʾqa₂ʾ?-[tum?]
 8) [...] [...]ʾ-xʾ-ʾxʾ-ʾBIʾ-[x]
 9) [...] [...]ʾ-xʾ-[x]
 10) [...] [...]ʾ-xʾ-ʾxʾ-[x]
 11) [...] [...]ʾ-xʾ-[x]
 (remainder missing)

reverse

- 1ʾ) [...] ʾe₂ʾ-um-mi-[a]
 2ʾ) [ʾiti] ʾgiš apin-du₈-a ud ʾxʾ-[...]

Individual Allocation in the Month of araḥsamnu

Patronyms (*day 19 is not entered, as the text is incomplete*):

	Day 7	15	20	27
A-GA-ZI	3			
^d En-lil ₂ -gal-zu				
<i>I-lu-ni</i>	4	4	4	-
<i>Ip-qu₂-ki</i>		2?	0	
<i>Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar₂</i>	3	4	2?	5
<i>Qi₂-iš-tum</i>	2	0	2	
<i>Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂</i>	4	4	(-)	(-)
<i>U-bar-rum</i>	4			

Personal names:

	Day 7	15	20	27
<i>A-at-ta-a</i>	2			
<i>A-ki-i-a</i>			1	0
<i>Diḡir-sag₉-ga</i>	1	0	2	0
<i>A-pil-^dIškur</i>	2	2		2
^d <i>Da-mu-i-din-nam</i>	2	0		(-)
^d <i>En-lil₂-ba-ni</i>	1	1	1	0
<i>Ḥa-ab-lum</i>	2		1	2
<i>I-bi-^dEn-lil₂</i>			2	
<i>I-bi-^dNin-ʾšuburʾ</i>				0
<i>I-bi-^dUtu</i>			2	
<i>I-din-^dDa-mu</i>		1		0
<i>I-din-Iš₈-tar₂</i> (one or more individuals)			2,2,0	0
<i>I₃-li₂-a-wi-li</i>			2	2
<i>I₃-li₂-ma-AN</i>	1		1	1
<i>I₃-li₂-i-din-nam</i>		3		0
<i>Im-di-^dEn-lil₂</i>				0

<i>In-bi-i₃-li₂-šu</i> (two individuals)		0		2, 0
Lu ₂ - ^d Suen	1			
<i>Ma-an-nu-um-me-šu-li-šur</i>		0		0
<i>Na-ap-li-iš-E₂-a</i>	3	0	0?	0
^d Nin-urta-ga-mil	1	1	1	
<i>Nu-ur₂-E₂-a</i>	0		2	0
<i>Nu-ur₂-^dEn-lil₂</i>		1	1	
<i>Nu-ur₂-^dIškur</i>	1	1	1	1
^d Sin-i-din-nam	0		0	0
<i>Ta-ri-ba-tum</i>		1?		1?
<i>U₂-ši₂-qa₂-tum</i>	0		3	0

APPENDIX B: *Catalog of e₂-um-mi-a Ledgers in the University Museum, Philadelphia.*

The following is a list of texts that preserve either a reference to the e₂-um-mi-a or an analogous combination of personal names that point to their membership in this provisional corpus (pieces that do not preserve explicit mention of the e₂-um-mi-a are marked with an asterisk).⁸³ Digital images of these texts are available via the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative.

- *CBS 2169+CBS 3879 (format A, date not preserved)
- CBS 5831 (format A, date not preserved)
- CBS 5899 (format A, ^{iti}gan-gan-e₃)
- *CBS 5907 (format A, date not preserved)
- CBS 6771 (format B, date not preserved)
- *CBS 6791? (format A, date not preserved)
- *CBS 6845 (format A, date not preserved)
- *CBS 6959 (format A, date not preserved)
- CBS 7069 (format A, ^{iti}gan-gan-e₃, day [...?]+7)
- *CBS 8012+CBS 13659 (format A, date not preserved)⁸⁴
- CBS 8051 (format A, date not given)
- CBS 8438 (format A, date not given)
- *CBS 8523 (format A, date not preserved)
- CBS 8853 (format A?, date not preserved)
- CBS 8814 (format A, date not given)
- CBS 8815 (format A, date not given)
- CBS 8877 (format B, date either not given or illegible)
- CBS 14122 (format B, ^{iti}gan-gan-e₃)
- CBS 14128 (format B, date not sufficiently preserved)

83. The list given here is somewhat conservative, as some fragmentary texts have been tentatively excluded from this list such as N 1565, which preserves six personal names that readily occur in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers but has an isolated line preserved on the reverse that cannot be reconciled with other examples ([...] 'x' qa-'ti'? [...]), and CBS 8306, which preserves six personal names that readily occur in the e₂-um-mi-a ledgers (including the patronyms Sin-eriš and Rīm-Ištar) but does not bear a subscript naming the e₂-um-mi-a in the anticipated space on the reverse. The latter text in particular is likely to have been part of the corpus in question: perhaps the explicit labeling of the ledger as pertaining to the e₂-um-mi-a was not always obligatory.

84. Join confirmed by Grant Frame and Steve Tinney.

- *N 944 (format B, date not preserved)
 N 975 (format A, date not given?)
 N 977 (format A, date not given)
 N 1024+N 5483 (format B, ^{iti}ab-e₃? day 23)
 N 1242 (format B, date not sufficiently preserved)
 N 1268 (format A, ^{iti}barag-zag- \bar{g} ar, day 4?)
 *N 1438 (format A, date not preserved)
 *N 1469 (format A?, date not preserved)
 N 1480 (format A, date not given)
 N 1525 (format A, date not given)
 N 1590 (format A, month [...], day 27)
 *N 2106 (format A, date not preserved)
 *N 3165 (format B, date not preserved)
 N 3243 (format B, date not sufficiently preserved?)
 *N 3518 (Peterson NABU 2010 note 71) (format A, date not preserved)
 *N 3624? (format B, date not preserved)
 N 4089 (format B?, ^{iti}apin-du₈-a, day [...])
 *N 4129 (Peterson NABU 2010 note 71) (format B, date not preserved)
 N 4220 (format A, ^{iti}apin-du₈-a, day not preserved)
 *N 4227 (format B, date not preserved)
 *N 4651 (format A, date not preserved)
 N 4879 (format A?, [...], day 22)
 N 5113+N 5311+N 6852 (format A, date not given)
 N 5232 (format A, date not given)
 N 5354 (format A, date not preserved)
 *N 5411? (format A?, date not preserved)
 *N 5453 (format A, date not preserved)
 N 5577 (format A, date not preserved)
 *N 5585 (format A, date not preserved)
 N 5680 (format unclear, ^{iti}ud₂-duru₅?, day not preserved)
 *N 5682 (format B, date not preserved)
 N 7187 (format A, date not preserved)
 UM 29-13-160 (format B, ^{iti} ^{gis}apin-du₈-a day 15)
 UM 29-13-161 (format B, ^{iti} ^{gis}apin-du₈-a day 27?)
 UM 29-13-405A (format A, date not preserved)
 UM 29-13-457+N 954 (format A, date not given)
 UM 29-13-502 (format A, ^{iti}gan-gan-e₃ day 11)
 UM 29-13-742 (format A, date not preserved)
 UM 29-15-530 (format B, ^{iti} ^{gis}apin-du₈-a day 20)
 UM 29-15-597 (format B, ^{iti} ^{gis}apin-du₈-a day 7)
 UM 29-15-646 (format A, date not preserved)
 *UM 29-15-649 (format A?, date not preserved)
 UM 29-15-815 (^{iti} format B? ^{iti}NE?-NE?- \bar{g} ar? day 16 or 17?)
 UM 29-15-836 (format A, date not preserved)
 UM 29-16-80 (format B, ^{iti}gan-gan-e₃ day 21)
 UM 29-16-193 (format A, ^{iti}še-gur₁₀-kud day 24?)

UM 29-16-524 (format A, date not given)
 *UM 29-16-597 (format B, date not preserved)
 UM 29-16-644 + N 3107 (format B, ^{iti}gan-gan-e₃)
 UM 29-16-685 (format A, ^{iti}šu-numun-a, day 11+[...?])
 UM 29-16-759 (format B, ^{iti} ^{giš}apin-du₈-a day 19)

APPENDIX C: *Personal Names Attested in e₂-um-mi-a Texts (P= Patronymic)*

A-(at)-ta-a CBS 2169+ o3', CBS 8553 r6, UM 29-15-597 o15, UM 29-15-646 r1, N 944 o8', N 977 r4', N 4129 r7, N 5113+ o21, N 5354 o12
A-GA-ZI (patronymic) CBS 14128 o6 (P), UM 29-15-597 o4 (P), N 3243 o1? (P?)
A-ḫi-i-a(a) CBS 8553 r5?, CBS 8877 r2?, UM 29-13-405A o5, N 944 o7!?', N 1438 4', N 3518 r5', N 3624 r1?', N 4129 r6
A-ki-a/A-ki-i-a-a UM 29-13-161 r2, UM 29-13-502 o19', UM 29-15-530 r4, UM 29-15-649 r2?', UM 29-16-80 r5
A-na-ši-li-šu-e-mi-id N 3518 r7'
A-pil₂^dIškur CBS 8553 o10', UM 29-13-160 o8, UM 29-13-161 o15, UM 29-13-502 o21',⁸⁵ UM 29-15-597 o13, UM 29-16-80 o18, UM 29-16-597 o7', N 3518 r3'? N 4129 r4
A?-pil?^d*Sin* N 1242 o5
A-pil₂^dDI-²x³ N 5113+ o20
A-pil₂^d[...] CBS 7069 o20
A-pil₂-a-²x³ N 944 o9'
A-pil₂[...] N 944 o2'
A-pil[...] N 975 o2' (P), UM 29-16-193 o12
A-x[...] N 3518 r1'
An-na-tum N 3518 r4'
 AN-NI?-x? N 1268 o3
 AN[...] UM 29-16-193 o1 (P)
 AN-x[...] N 1242 r1
Be-lu-u₂/u₃ CBS 8438 o9, UM 29-16-685 r3
^d*Da-mu-i-din-nam* CBS 5907 o2'?, CBS 6791 o2?, CBS 7069 o12, CBS 8438 o8, UM 29-13-160 o6, UM 29-13-161 o9, UM 29-13-502 o6', UM 29-15-597 o10, UM 29-13-457+ o10, UM 29-15-836 o8', UM 29-16-80 o10, UM 29-16-759 o9, N 1024+ o2 (P)?, N 3518 o5', N 4129 r3
 Diḡir-ma-an-šum₂ (personal name, patronymic) CBS 5907 o1'?, CBS 8814 o5 (P), CBS 8815 o5 (P), UM 29-13-457+ r1, UM 29-15-649 o3 (P), N 1469 o4? (P?), N 4879 o2 (P), N 5113 o6 (P), N 5354 o5 (P)
 Diḡir-sag₉-ga CBS 7069 o21, CBS 8553 o14'?, CBS 14122 o12, UM 29-13-160 o11, UM 29-13-161 o16, UM 29-15-530 o16, UM 29-16-597 r1, UM 29-15-597 o14, UM 29-16-80 o15, N 944 o4', N 3165 o12', N 3518 r11'?,⁸⁶ N 5453 o6'
E-el-tum/E-le-tum (personal name, patronymic) CBS 5831 o10', CBS 8051 o16?, CBS 8523 r3, CBS 8814 o2 (P), UM 29-13-457+ o13, N 977 r2', N 1525 o4 (P), N 5232 r2', N 5354 o3 (P), N 5585 o2' (P?)
E-ṭe-el-ka^d*Sin* CBS 6845 r2'?, CBS 14122 o11, N 5411 o3'

85. The IM sign is incomplete here: compare the form in o18'.

86. In Peterson 2010: 81 I suggested the restoration Gi_r₃-ni-i₃]-sag₉-ga, but this is excluded due to a lack of space.

- ^dEn-lil₂-*a-bi* CBS 14122 o5
- ^dEn-lil₂-*ba-ni* CS 7069 r5, CBS 8553 r9, CBS 14122 r4, UM 29-13-160 o16, UM 29-13-161 r3, UM 29-13-502 r1, UM 29-15-530 r5, UM 29-15-597 o19, UM 29-15-649 r6', UM 29-16-80 r2, UM 29-16-644+ r4', N 944 r6, N 1268 r1?, N 2106 o4', N 3624 r2, N 5411 o7'
- ^dEn-lil₂-*diġir* (patronymic) CBS 8051 o1 (P), CBS 8438 o1 (P), CBS 8814 o1 (P)?, CBS 8815 o2 (P), UM 29-16-524 o3 (P), N 977 o2 (P), N 1469 o2, N 1480 o4 (P), N 5113+ o2 (P), N 5232 o3, N 5354 o1 (P), N 5577 o2 (P)
- ^dEn-lil₂-*gal-zu* (personal name?, patronymic) CBS 2169+ o4'?, CBS 7069 o6 (P2), UM 29-16-80 o4 (P), UM 29-16-759 o6 (P), N 1268 o5 (P), N 4879 o6? (P)
- ^dEn-lil₂-*ni-šu?* UM 29-13-457+ o15
- ^dEn-[˘]lil₂-[˘]?-x[...] N 4089 o2
- ^dEn-l[il₂ ...] CBS 8012+ o8
- ^dEN[...] N 975 o5', N 1525 o2 (P), UM 29-16-193 o6 (P)?, UM 29-16-193 o9 (P)
- Ĝir*₃-*ni-i*₃-*sa*₆ (personal name, patronymic) CBS 2169+ o7', CBS 8523 r2, CBS 8814 o15, CBS 8815 o14, UM 29-13-457+ o14, UM 29-13-742 o5', UM 29-16-80 r6, UM 29-15-836 o7', N 977 o1 (P), N 1480 o1 (P), N 5113+ o19, N 5232 o1 (P)
- Ha-ab-lum* CBS 6791 o3, CBS 7069 o14, CBS 8553 o11', UM 29-13-161 o11, UM 29-15-530 r7, UM 29-15-597 o11, UM 29-16-80 o19, N 944 o5', N 3165 o7'
- I-bi*-^dUtu CBS 2169+ o5', CBS 5831 o9'?, CBS 8438 o7, CBS 8814 o14, CBS 8815 o13, UM 29-13-457+ o12, UM 29-13-742 o4', UM 29-15-530 o15, UM 29-16-644+ r8', UM 29-15-836 o6'?, N 5113+ o18?, N 5354 o11
- I-bi*-^dEn-lil₂ CBS 7069 o9, CBS 14122 o7, UM 29-13-405A o3'?, UM 29-13-502 o4', UM 29-15-530 o7, UM 29-16-80 o6, N 5682 o4'
- I-bi*-^dNin-*šubur* CBS 5907 r7'?, CBS 7069 o13, UM 29-13-161 o10, N 3165 o3'
- I-bi*-[...] UM 29-16-644+ o10
- I-bi*-^d[...] CBS 5907 o4'
- I-din*-[...] CBS 5907 o5', o6', o7', r3', N 3624 o4', N 5682 o9'
- I-din*-x[...] N 1024+ o3, N 5682 o10', UM 29-15-815 o5 (P)
- I-din*-^d*Da-mu* CBS 7069 r4, CBS 8012+ o 11'?, CBS 8051 o6, CBS 8553 r3, CBS 14122 r7, UM 29-13-160 r3, UM 29-13-161 r6, UM 29-13-502 o20', UM 29-15-649 r4', UM 29-16-80 r4'?, N 2106 r1, N 5411 o4'?, N 5453 o11'
- I-din*-*Iš*₈-*tar*₂ CBS 7069 o17,⁸⁷ CBS 8523 o3', CBS 8814 o6, CBS 8815 o6, UM 29-13-161 o12, UM 29-13-502 o13'-14', UM 29-15-530 o10-12, UM 29-16-80 13-14, 16, N 3165 o4'-6', N 3518 r8',⁸⁸ N 4129 o8', r1, N 5232 o7, N 5585 o4' (P?)
- I-lu-ni* (personal name?, patronymic) CBS 7069 o4 (P), CBS 14122 o1 (P), CBS 14128 o4 (P), UM 29-13-160 o5 (P), UM 29-13-161 o2 (P), UM 29-13-502 o3' (P), UM 29-15-530 o2 (P), UM 29-15-597 o3 (P), UM 29-15-649 o1 (P), UM 29-16-80 o2 (P), UM 29-16-193 o4 (P)?, UM 29-16-644+ o5 (P), UM 29-16-759 o3, N 4089 o3, N 4879 o5 (P)
- I-na*-*E*₂-*kur-ra-bi* CBS 5831 o5', CBS 6956 o6', CBS 8012+ o10, CBS 8051 o10, CBS 8438 o4, CBS 8523 o5', CBS 8814 o9, CBS 8815 o8, CBS 8877 o6, UM 29-13-457+ o5, UM 29-15-646 o4', UM 29-15-649 o8, N 975 o3', N 4651 o3', N 5113+ o10, N 5232 o10, N 5354 o8, N 5585 o5'
- I*₃-*li*₂-*a-wi-li* CBS 7069 o18, CBS 8553 o13', UM 29-13-161 o14, UM 29-13-502 o10', UM 29-15-530 o13, UM 29-16-80 o11, N 3165 o10', N 4129 r5

87. *Iš*₈-*tar*₂ is rendered as U-RI.

88. To be corrected from the *I-din*-^d*Iš*kur that I read in Peterson 2010: 81.

- I₃-li₂-i-din-nam* CBS 7069 o7, CBS 8438 o6, CBS 14128 o8, UM 29-13-160 o10, UM 29-13-161 o4, N 1268 o6, N 5682 o3'
- I₃-li₂-ip-al-sa₃/sa₆* CBS 8877 o9, UM 29-15-646 r 4
- I₃-li₂-ma-AN* CBS 7069 r6, CBS 14122 r2, UM 29-13-160 r1, UM 29-13-161 r7, UM 29-13-502 o22', UM 29-15-530 r6, UM 29-15-597 o18, UM 29-15-649 r3', N 944 r5, N 1438 7'?, N 2106 o3', N 3165 r6'?, N 5411 r1?
- I₃-li₂-ša-di-i* CBS 7069 r8, UM 29-13-502 o17', UM 29-16-80 r7, UM 29-16-597 r2
- I₃-li₂-x-x* UM 29-16-597 o6'
- I₃-li₂-x-[...]* UM 29-16-80 r1
- I₃-li₂-x-[...]* N 5453 r1
- I₃-li₂-[...]* N 1024+ o4, N 3518 o11'
- I₃-x-[...]* UM 29-16-193 o5 (P)
- Id-da-tum* CBS 14122 o6
- Il₃-mu-tab-ba-bil* CBS 8815 o15, N 977 r3', N 5232 r3', N 5354 o9, N 5585 r2'
- Il₃-šu-i-bi-šu* UM 29-16-80 o9, N 5682 o7'
- Im-di*-^dEn-lil₂ CBS 5907 o3', CBS 8553 o12', UM 29-13-161 o13, UM 29-13-502 o9', UM 29-16-597 o5', UM 29-16-644+ o12?
- ^dInana-ma-an-šum₂ CBS 5899 o6, CBS 6845 o2'?, CBS 8012+ r3', N 4220 o4
- ^dInana-TUM N 4129 o7'
- In-bi-i₃-li₂-šu* CBS 5907 o8'?, CBS 6791 o5, CBS 6845 o4', o6', CBS 7069 o15-16, CBS 8553 o6'-7', UM 29-13-161 o17-18, UM 29-13-502 o11'-12', UM 29-15-530 o14, UM 29-16-80 o12, UM 29-16-644+ o11?', N 1590 o8'?, N 3165 o8'-9', N 3624 o2'-3', N 4129 o4'-5', N 5682 o11'-12'
- IP-[...] N 1024+ o5, UM 29-16-193 o8 (P)
- Ip-qa₂-tum* (patronymic) CBS 8877 o4 (P), CBS 14122 o4 (P), UM 29-16-193 o3 (P)? UM 29-16-685 o2 (P)
- Ip-qu₂*-^dDa-mu CBS 8012+ o12, CBS 8523 o6', CBS 8814 o10, CBS 8815 o9, N 4651 o4', N 5113+ o11, N 5585 o6'
- Ip-qu₂*-^dEn-lil₂ (personal name, patronymic) CBS 8438 o3, CBS 8877 o7, UM 29-13-457+ o3 (P), o8'?, N 4879 o3 (P)
- Ip-qu₂*-^dEn-[...] (P) N 1268 o2 (P)
- Ip-qu₂*-^d[...] CBS 14128 o5, N 1024+ o6
- Ip-qu₂-er-še-tim/Ip-qu₂-ki* (personal name?, patronymic) CBS 7069 o2 (P), UM 29-13-160 o4 (P), UM 29-15-530 o5 (P), UM 29-16-80 o1 (P)?, UM 29-16-644+ o4, UM 29-16-759 o5 (P)
- Ip-qu₂-u₂-a-(a)-tum* (patronymic) CBS 8438 o2 (P), N 977 o5 (P), N 1525 o5 (P), N 5113+ o4 (P), N 5232 o4 (P)
- Ip-qu₂*-[...] N 4879 o4 (P), UM 29-15-815 o3-4 (P)
- Iš₈-tar₂-ki-ma-i₃-li₂-ia* CBS 8523 o7', CBS 8815 o10, UM 29-13-457+ o6, N 4651 o7', N 5113+ o12, N 5354 o10, N 5585 o7'
- Iš₈-tar₂-la-ma-si₂* UM 29-13-457+ r4, N 1480 r2'
- Ka-^dN[in? ...] UM 29-16-685 o5
- Ka-^dNin-urta? (patronymic) CBS 8877 o3 (P)
- Ka-^d[...] N 944 o6'

- ^dgīs KIRI₆-*ga-mil*⁸⁹ N 1438 5'?, N 3518 o6', N 4129 o6'
 Ku₃-^dInana (patronymic) UM 29-13-457+ o4, UM 29-16-524 o4 (P), N 977 o4 (P), N 1469 o3, N 1480 o5 (P)
Li-pi₂-it-^dEn-lil₂? CBS 6791 o4, CBS 6845 r3'?, UM 29-16-685 r2, N 3165 r8'?, N 5682 o8'
Li-[...] N 3518 o12'
 Lu₂-*ga-a* (patronymic) UM 29-13-457+ o1 (P), UM 29-16-524 o2 (P), N 1480 o2 (P)
 Lu₂-E₂-*šu-me-ša₄* CBS 8815 o7, UM 29-15-646 o 2'⁹⁰, N 1469 o6
 Lu₂-^dEn-lil₂-[1a₂] (personal name) UM 29-15-649 r5', N 5113+ o23
 Lu₂-^dInana CBS 5899 o3, CBS 14122 o10
 Lu₂-^dNin-urta (personal name, patronymic) CBS 2169+ o2'?, o6', CBS 8523 o9', CBS 8553 o8', CBS 8814 o13, CBS 8815 o12, UM 29-13-405A o6, UM 29-13-457+ o7, UM 29-16-524 o5 (P?), N 5113+ o1 (P)?, N 5577 o4 (P)
 Lu₂-^dSuen-(na) CBS 8553 r7?, CBS 14122 r5, UM 29-15-597 o20, N 2106 o6'?, N 5411 o6', N 5453 o12'
 Lu₂-^dEN-[...] UM 29-16-644+ r3'?, N 944 o3'
 Lu₂-^d[...] CBS 6845 o3', CBS 8012+ r4', UM 29-15-836 o3', UM 29-16-685 o4
 Lu₂-x-x CBS 7069 r9, N 1242 o3 (P)
 Lu₂-x-[...] UM 29-15-649 o7 (P)
 Lu₂-x-[...] CBS 8012+ o7
 Lu₂-[...] CBS 5907 r2', r6', UM 29-16-193 o11 (P), N 2106 o1', N 5411 o2'
Ma-an-nu-um-ma-ḥir-šu CBS 8553 r4
Ma-an-nu-um-me-šu/ša-li-šur CBS 7069 r2?, UM 29-13-502 r2, UM 29-13-160 o12, UM 29-13-161 r4, UM 29-16-80 o17, UM 29-16-644+ r5', N 5453 r2
 Mu-ḡu₁₀-i₃-pad₃ UM 29-15-646 o3'
 MU-x-[x] N 4651 o5'
 MU-x-[...] UM 29-16-193 o2 (P)
Na-ap-li-iš/is-E₂-a CBS 5899 o2, UM 29-13-160 o9, UM 29-13-161 o8, UM 29-15-530 o9, UM 29-15-597 o9, UM 29-16-644+ o9, UM 29-16-685 o3, N 5682 o6'
Na-ap-li-is-E₂-a-*ba-la-i₃* N 4220 o3
Na-bi-^dEn-lil₂ N 1242 o1 (P)
Na-ra-am-tum UM 29-13-457+ r4?, N 1480 r3'
 Nam-ma-ni-i₃-sag₉ N 1242 o2 (P)
^dNanna-TUM (patronymic) CBS 8051 o3 (P), CBS 8523 o1'?, CBS 8814 o4 (P), CBS 8815 o4 (P), N 1480 o7 (P), N 4879 o1? (P), N 5113+ o8 (P), N 5232 o5 (P), N 5354 o4 (P)
^dNan[na-...] CBS 5831 o11'
Ni-id-ni-Iš₈-tar₂ (personal name?, patronymic) CBS 7069 o5 (P), CBS 14122 o3 (P), UM 29-13-160 o2 (P), UM 29-13-161 o3 (P), UM 29-13-502 o2' (P), UM 29-15-530 o3 (P), UM 29-15-597 o5 (P), UM 29-15-649 o4 (P), UM 29-16-80 o5 (P), UM 29-16-644+ o3 (P), UM 29-16-759 o4 (P), N 3243 o3 (P?), N 5585 o3' (P?)
Ni-in-nu-tum CBS 8051 o9, CBS 8814 o11
^dNin-urta-*ga-mil* CBS 7069 r1?, CBS 8553 r10, UM 29-13-160 o13, UM 29-13-502 o16', UM 29-15-530 r3, UM 29-15-597 o17, UM 29-16-80 r3?, UM 29-16-597 r4, N 944 r1

89. Another instance of this name that I overlooked in Peterson 2010 is CBS 7135 (PBS 8/2 151) obverse line 4. In this instance, the name is rendered without the divine determinative.

90. Elided spelling: Lu₂-<E₂>-šu-me-ša₄.

- ^dNin-urta-ma?-an-šum₂!(GAR) UM 29-13-742 o3'
- ^dNin-urta-mu-ša-lim CBS 5831 o6'?, CBS 8523 o8', UM 29-13-742 o2'?, UM 29-15-646 o6', N 5113+ o14, N 5585 o8'?
- ^dNin-urta-QAR-ri-(x?) CBS 8051 o8,⁹¹ CBS 8814 o7, N 5354 o6
- ^dNin-urta-x-[...] UM 29-16-644+ r7', N 3518 r2'
- ^dNin-urta-x-[...]-x N 3518 o3'
- ^dNin-urta-[...] CBS 6791 o6, UM 29-16-193 o13?
- ^dNin-x-[...] CBS 6791 o1
- ^dNuska-ni-šu/UD CBS 5831 o8', UM 29-13-457+ o11, UM 29-15-836 o5', N 5113+ o22
- Nu-ur₂-E₂-a* CBS 7069 o11, CBS 14122 o8, UM 29-13-161 o7, UM 29-13-502 o8', UM 29-15-530 o8, UM 29-15-597 o12, UM 29-15-646 r3, UM 29-16-644+ o8?, N 3518 o4'
- Nu-ur₂-^dEn-lil₂* CBS 14122 r6, UM 29-13-160 o15, UM 29-15-530 r2, UM 29-16-80 o21, UM 29-16-597 r5?, N 944 r3, N 5453 o9'
- Nu-ur₂/ri-i-a* CBS 5831 o7'?, CBS 8814 o12, UM 29-15-646 o5'
- Nu-ur₂-^dIškur* CBS 7069 r7, CBS 14122 r1, UM 29-13-160 o14, UM 29-13-161 r1, UM 29-13-502 o18', UM 29-15-530 r1, UM 29-15-597 o16, UM 29-16-597 r6?, N 944 r2, N 5453 o7'
- Nu-ur₂-^d[...]*CBS 6845 o5', UM 29-16-80 o22
- Nu-ur₂-x* UM 29-13-405A o4
- Nu-ur₂-[...]* UM 29-16-644+ r2'
- PA-[...] N 975 o1' (P)
- Pa-ta-²x³* CBS 8877 o5
- Pi-ru-ru-u₂-tum* UM 29-13-457+ r6, N 1480 r4'
- Qi₂-iš-tum* (patronymic) CBS 14128 o7 (P), UM 29-13-160 o3 (P), UM 29-15-530 o4 (P), UM 29-15-597 o6 (P), UM 29-16-759 o7 (P)
- Qu₃/Qu₂-ur-di-Iš₈-tar₂* CBS 8051 o7, CBS 8523 o4', CBS 8814 o8, N 4651 o2',⁹² N 5113+ o9, N 5232 o8, N 5354 o7
- Ri-im-Iš₈-tar₂* (patronymic) CBS 7069 o3 (P), CBS 8051 o2 (P), CBS 8523 o2' (P), CBS 8814 o3 (P), CBS 8815 o3 (P), CBS 14122 o2 (P), CBS 14128 o3 (P), UM 29-13-160 o1 (P), UM 29-13-161 o1 (P), UM 29-13-405A o2 (P), UM 29-13-502 o1' (P), UM 29-15-530 o1 (P), UM 29-15-597 o1 (P), UM 29-15-649 o2 (P), UM 29-16-80 o3 (P), UM 29-16-524 o6 (P), UM 29-16-644+ o2 (P), UM 29-16-759 o2 (P), N 1480 o6 (P), N 1525 o6 (P), N 1590 o3' (P?), N 4089 o1 (P), N 5113+ o7 (P), N 5232 o6 (P), N 5577 o5 (P)30-[...] UM 29-15-815 8
- ^d*Sin-i-qi₂-ša-(am)* UM 29-13-457+ o9, UM 29-16-597 o3', N 3518 o9', N 5682 o13'
- ^d*Sin/30-i-tu-ra-am* CBS 5899 o4, CBS 14122 o9, N 3518 o 7', N 3624 o1'
- ^d*Sin-i-x-[...]* N 3518 o2'
- ^d*Sin/30-id-din-nam* CBS 6791 o7, CBS 7069 o8, 019, CBS 8553 o9', UM 29-13-160 o7, UM 29-13-161 o5, UM 29-13-502 o5', 15', UM 29-15-597 o7, UM 29-16-80 o7, o20, UM 29-16-597 o4', UM 29-16-644+ o6, N 3518 o10', N 5682 o14'
- 30-im-gur-ra-an-ni* N 3518 o8' *30-iš-me-a-ni* N 3518 r10'
- 30-iš-[...]* N 4129 o1'-2'
- ^d*Sin/30-ma-gir/gir₁₄* (personal name, patronymic) CBS 5907 r5', CBS 14122 r3, UM 29-13-457+ o2 (P), UM 29-15-649 r7'?, N 944 r4, N 1590 o5', N 2106 r2, N 3243 o6 (P?)

91. The final sign may have been erased: the traces resemble a RI sign.

92. Metathesized spelling: GU-DI-UR-[...].

- ^dSuen-uru₄ (patronymic) CBS 8051 o5 (P), CBS 8815 o1 (P), UM 29-13-405A o1 (P)?, UM 29-16-524 o1 (P), N 977 (P), N 1469 o1 (P), N 1480 o3 (P), N 5113+ o3 (P), N 5232 o2 (P), N 5354 o2 (P), N 5577 o3 (P)
- ^dSin-KU?-a-tum (P) N 5113+ o5 (P)
30-[...] CBS 8012+ o9, N 4129 o1'
- Ši-li₂-^dUtu (personal name, patronymic) CBS 8051 o11?, CBS 8815 o11, N 4220 o2 (P)
- Šu-mu-[...] UM 29-16-193 o10 (P)
- Šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši (P) N 1268 o4 (P)
- Šu-nu?-[...] N 975 o4'
- Ta-ri-ba-tum CBS 5907 r4?*, CBS 7069 r3, CBS 8438 o5, CBS 8553 r8, UM 29-13-160 r2, UM 29-13-161 r5, UM 29-13-502 r3, UM 29-13-742 o1?*, UM 29-16-597 o8', UM 29-16-644+ r6', N 4651 o6', 2106 o5', N 3518 r9', N 5411 o5'
- Ta-ri-bu-um (personal name, patronymic) CBS 5899 o1 (P), CBS 8438 o10, UM 29-16-685 o1 (P)?, N 1024+ o1 (P), N 3165 r13?*, N 4220 o1 (P), N 5453 o10'
- Ta-ri-x-[...] UM 29-16-80 o23
- U-bar-ru-um (personal name, patronymic) CBS 7069 o1? (P), CBS 8438 r1?, UM 29-15-597 o1 (P), UM 29-16-644+ o1 (P), UM 29-16-759 o1 (P)
- ^dU-gur-uru₄ N 5577 o1 (P)
- Ur-^dNisaba CBS 5899 o5
- U₂-ši₂-qa₂-(e)-tum CBS 7069 o10, CBS 14128 o10?*, UM 29-13-161 o6, UM 29-13-502 o7', UM 29-15-530 o6, UM 29-15-597 o8, UM 29-16-80 o8, UM 29-16-644+ o7, UM 29-16-759 o10, N 3243 o7?*, N 4089 o7?*, N 5682 o5'
- ^dUtu-lu₂-til₃ N 3518 r6'
- ^dUtu-mu-ba-al/li/li₂-iṭ CBS 6956 r2', CBS 8012+ r2?*, CBS 8438 r2, CBS 8814 r1, CBS 8815 r1, UM 29-13-457+ r3, UM 29-13-742 o6, UM 29-15-646 r2, N 977 r5', N 1480 r1?*, N 2106 o2?*, N 5232 r4', N 5453 o13'

Beginning of Personal Name Incomplete:

x-ri-tum CBS 5899 o7, [...]TUM CBS 5899 o8, [...]x-Iš₈-tar₂ CBS 6956 o2', [...]x-x-a-a-²tum³? CBS 6956 o3', [...]x-^dEn-lil₂-la₂ CBS 6956 o4', [...]x-x-a CBS 6956 o5', [...]dDa-mu CBS 6956 o7', [...]N]I?-šu CBS 6956 r1', [...]ZI³? CBS 6956 r3', [...]ia?, 6956 o8', x-[...]i-din-[nam] CBS 8553 o3', [...]ga?-a[...] N 3624 r4, x-na-x-[...] N 3624 r3, x-x-iš-me? UM 29-15-815 o7, [...]i-din-nam UM 29-16-759 o8, x-ba-x N 944 r7, x-huš-a N 1242 o4⁹³, x-x-mu-[...] N 1242 o7, [...]x-DI/KI-tum N 1265 o7, [...]Iš₈-tar₂ N 1469 o5, [...]x-NI-x N 1590 o4', [...]x-li-x-x N 1590 o6', [...]dEn-lil₂?-[...] N 1590 o10', [...]i-din-nam N 3165 o2', [...]dIškur N 3165 o11', [...]x'-TUM N 3165 r2', [...]dEN].ZU N 3165 r4', [...]dDa-mu N 3165 r5', [...]x-Iš₈-tar₂ N 3165 r7', [...]ur-ra-an-ni N 3165 r9', [...]i-din]-nam N 3165 r10', [...]x-da N 3165 r11', [...]mu-uš-ta-an-ni N 3165 r12', [...]x-ZI N 3243 o1 (P?), [...]x-NI N 3243 o2 (P?), [...]x-Iš₈-tar₂ N 3243 o4 (P?), [...]x-TUM N 3243 o5 (P?), [...]x-dEN.ZU N 3243 o7 (P?), [...]NI N 3518 r12', [...]x-DA?-BI? N 4220 o5, x-x-TUM N 4129 r2, [...]na N 4220 o6, [...]na N 4220 o7, x-x-TUM N 4879 o8? (P?), [...]Iš₈-tar₂ N 5113 o16, [...]x-i-din-[nam] N 5682 o2', [...]zid-da N 7187 o1 (P?), [...]KI N 7187 o2 (P?), [...]a N 7187 o4

93. Possibly Lugal-huš-a.

Unread Names (partially preserved but not decisively interpreted):

CBS 5907 o9', r1', CBS 6958 o1', CBS 8012+ o13, r1', 5', CBS 8051 o4, o12-15, 17, r1'-3', CBS 8523 r1, CBS 8877 o1, o2, o8, r3?, CBS 14128 o1-2, o9, o11-o13, UM 29-13-405A o7, UM 29-15-646 o1', UM 29-15-649 o5-6, o9-10, UM 29-15-815 1-2, 6, 9-11, UM 29-15-836 o1'-2', UM 29-16-193 o7, 14, UM 29-16-524 o7, UM 29-16-597 o9', o10', r3, r7, UM 29-16-644+ o13, 14, 15, r1', UM 29-16-759 o11-13, N 944 o1', r8, N 977 r1', N 1242 6, 8-10, N 1268 o1, N 1438 1', 6', 8', N 1469 o7-8, N 1525 o1, r1', N 1590 o1'-2', 7', 9', 11', N 3518 o1', o13', N 3624 r5, N 4089 o4-6, o8f., N 4129 r8, N 4220 o8, N 4879 o7, o9, N 5113+ o13, o15, o17, r1, N 5232 o9, o11, o12, r1', N 5354 o13, N 5411 o3', N 5453 o8', N 5577 o6, N 5585 o1', r1', 3'-4', N 5682 o15', entire reverse

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