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New epigraphic materials from Tell Drehem/Puzriš-Dagān: the stamped bricks of Amar-Zuena

(TAB. III-XI)

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1. Introduction

The thirty-seven stamped bricks published in the present study were collected during the first campaign of the QADIS survey project in January 2016 on the surface around and within the main excavation trench dug in 2007 by the Iraqi expedition at the foot of the northwestern side of Tell Drehem's ziggurat (Fig. 1)². Sixty-four Ur III cuneiform tablets were unearthed in the same administrative complex and in another area approximately 160 m to the north-west, five of which have recently been published (al-Mutawalli–Shalkham 2014)³. Only one stamped brick (PD.07/21) was found set into a wall at the eastern end of the excavated complex (Fig. 2); two other such bricks were discovered on top of the ziggurat (PD.07/3, PD.07/25), while the remainder were collected from the ground around the excavations in the lower part of the mound (Figs. 3-3a). The size of the bricks ranges from 30 to 35 cm in length × 29 to 31.5 cm in width, with a thickness of 6 to 7.3 cm⁴.

¹We would like to thank Nicolò Marchetti (Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna), director of the Iraqi-Italian QADIS survey project, for suggesting us to study the inscribed bricks from Tell Drehem. We are grateful to the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage for permission to publish the present material and to our colleague Ali Shalkham who directed the excavations of Tell Drehem. Thanks are due to Gianni Marchesi (Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna) and Lorenzo Verderame (Sapienza – Università di Roma) who read the manuscript and offered many helpful comments. Needless to say, any remaining errors are our own responsibility. The findings presented here were analyzed in the frame of the EU funded project "EDUU – Educational and Cultural Heritage Enhancement for Social Cohesion in Iraq" (EuropeAid CSO-LA/2016/382-631). — Abbas al-Hussainy wrote § 1, while Palmiro Notizia is the author of § 3-4; § 2 and tables 1-2 were written jointly.

²For a detailed report on the first two seasons of the QADIS survey project, see Marchetti et al. 2017.

³The five tablets belong to the 'armory' dossier of Dajjānum-mīšar, the official in charge of weapon deliveries at Puzriš-Dagān. See Paoletti 2012, 202 ff.

⁴Only seven bricks are complete or nearly complete (PD.07/20, PD.07/24, PD.07/25, PD.07/26, PD.07/27, PD.07/30, PD.07/34), while in three cases (PD.07/3, PD.07/22, PD.07/36)

2. The inscription

All the stamped bricks presumably display the same standard nine-line Sumerian inscription of Amar-Zuena (RIME 3/2.1.3.1), including the fragmentary exemplars and those whose inscription is badly preserved and mostly unreadable. The text is stamped only on one face of the brick, it exhibits rulings and is arranged in one column. The inscriptions, written in monumental style, are generally well-oriented and centered with the exception of a few specimens which were impressed on a slight angle. The best-preserved source is PD.07/26 (Fig. 4), although ll. 8-9 are partially obscured by bitumen, which was frequently used as mortar.

The (composite) text reads as follows:

- 1. damar-dzuen
- 2. nibruki-a
- 3. dellil_x-le
- 4. mu pad₃-da
- 5. saĝ-us₂
- 6. e₂ dellil_x-ka
- 7. nita kalag-ga
- 8. lugal urim₅^{ki}-ma
- 9. lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba

(1)Amar-Zuena, (2-4)nominated by Enlil⁵ in Nippur, (5-6)mainstay⁶ of Enlil's temple, (7)mighty man, (8)king of Ur, (9)king of heaven's four corners.

The inscription is known from more than one hundred exemplars on either stamped or inscribed bricks, as well as from clay and stone vessels

either the whole length or width are preserved. For the dimensions of Ur III bricks, see Sauvage 1998, 126-129.

 5 The name of the god Enlil is consistently written d EN.E2 in 3rd millennium sources (Marchesi 2006, 32 n. 142, with previous literature; Steinkeller 2010; cf. also Englund 2011 and Wang 2011 for a different view). However, it is worth noting that in the brick inscriptions from Tell Drehem, as well as in other Ur III royal inscriptions, different graphic variants of the sign $\rm E_2$ are attested in the writing of e2 'temple' (l. 6), Enlil (ll. 3, 6), and Nippur (l. 2), also within the same inscription (cf. Jacobsen 1989, 268 n. 3); see in detail the remarks on PD.07/5 (fig. 11), PD.07/8 (fig. 9), PD.07/12 (fig. 5), PD.07/18 (fig. 6), PD.07/26 (fig. 4), and PD.07/27 (fig. 8) in Tab. 2. Cf. also CUSAS 17, 16 and RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 61, the two known brick-stamps of RIME 3/2.1.3.1 (see § 3 below): in CUSAS 17, 16 the graphic variant $\rm E_{2-a}$ occurs in n i br u (EN.E2-a)^ki (l. 2) and d e11i1_x(EN.E2-a). In RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 61, on the other hand, Nippur (l. 2) and Enlil (ll. 3, 6) are written with two different graphic variants: n i br u (EN.E2-a)^ki vs. d e11i1_x(EN.E2-a). (cf. e.g. RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 38 = CDLI no. P226871 and ROM 969.034.000 = CDLI no. P4174444).

⁶Cf. George 2011, 90.

⁷E.g., OIP 14, 40 (copy and photo: CDLI no. P226502), from Adab.

originating from numerous sites (for the brick-stamps see § 3 below). Frayne (1997, 245-247) records around ninety objects bearing the RIME 3/2.1.3.1 inscription⁸. To this number must be added one inscribed limestone fragment published by Pappi (1999). Three more bricks from Maškan-šāpir and one in the Schøyen Collection have been published by Steinkeller (2004, 146) and George (CUSAS 17, 34), respectively. Five badly preserved exemplars of this inscription of unknown provenance are housed in a private collection in Jerusalem (Gabbay et al. 2013, 77).

CDLI adds twelve additional exemplars:

- 1. CBS 16537 (CDLI no. P461407), from Ur² 9.
- 2. HUJI 08078 (CDLI no. P429843), unknown provenance.
- 3. HUJI 08082 (CDLI no. P429846), unknown provenance.
- 4. MAH 16098 (CDLI no. P424028), unknown provenance.
- 5. RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. add80 (CDLI no. P429412), found in situ at Ur.
- 6. RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. add84 (CDLI no. P480794), found in situ at Ur.
- 7. RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. add86 (CDLI no. P498068), found in situ at Ur.
- 8. RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. add87 (CDLI no. P498531), found in situ at Ur.
- 9. ROM 969.034.000 (CDLI no. P417444), unknown provenance.
- 10. SM 1954.03.002 (CDLI no. P408059), unknown provenance.
- 11. UM 84-26-122 (CDLI no. P461484), unknown provenance.
- 12. UM 84-26-78 (CDLI no. P461441), unknown provenance.

Frayne's exemplars nos. 14 (BM 90043, CDLI no. P226671, Eridu), 52 (CBS 15331, CDLI no. P227089, Ur), 53 (CBS 15339, CDLI no. P227092, Ur), and 59 (UM 84-26-004, CDLI no. P227157, Ur) deserve some attention, as: (a) they have nine lines, (b) they display (CBS 15331, UM 84-26-004) or do not display (BM 90043, CBS 15339) the inversion of 1. 2 (nibru^{ki}-a) with 1. 3 (dellil_x-le), and (c) they all present the variant lugal kalag-ga in 1. 7¹⁰. The inversion of II. 2-3 and the royal epithet lugal kalag-ga instead of nita kalag-ga are characteristic of the thirteen-line building inscription of Amar-Zuena RIME 3/2.1.3.15 (Frayne 1997, 260-262) commemorating the construction of Enki's temple in Eridu¹¹. Most of the surviving exemplars

⁸ RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 61 is not a brick, but a brick-stamp (see § 3 below).

⁹Cf. Behrens 1985, 229 n. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. also the unpublished CBS 8820bis (CDLI no. P461895, unknown provenance; no inversion in Il. 2-3, l. 7 lugal kalag-ga). Contrary to what was affirmed by Frayne (1997, 247), (1) RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 53 (CBS 15339, CDLI no. P227092) does not reverse the order of Il. 2-3, (2) RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 60 (UM 84-26-005, CDLI no. P227158) l. 7 reads nita kalag-ga.
¹¹ Eight brick inscriptions from Ur and Eridu in the British Museum (Walker 1981, 32 = RIME 3/2.1.3.15 exs. 6, 8, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, and 31), MOA 4.30 (ex. 50 = CDLI no. P227179), one published by Tyborowski (2001), SANTAG 7, 66 (CDLI no. P218141), one (MHBA 78.0001E)

of RIME 3/2.1.3.15 come from either Eridu or Ur¹². These facts allow us to think that those nine-line exemplars with or without inversion of Il. 2-3, but with lugal in l. 7, are abbreviated versions of RIME 3/2.1.3.15¹³. At any rate, the presence of nita kalag-ga in our inscriptions suggests that the bricks found at Tell Drehem date to years 1 to 6 of Amar-Zuena. As a matter of fact, a change in Amar-Zuena's royal titulary occurred starting from his seventh regnal year when nita kalag-ga was replaced by lugal kalag-ga (Sallaberger 1999, 166, 180)¹⁴. This of course does not imply that the whole area where the bricks were found was (re)built in the same years, as the bricks could have been reused during the reign of Amar-Zuena or by later kings¹⁵.

The range of sizes of the stamped area in the bricks from Tell Drehem is the following: 7.2-12.8+ cm (width) × 10.8-19.8 cm (length). Cuneiform writing on our bricks can be either embossed (i.e. an impression which stands above the level of its background) or engraved, depending on which type of stamp was used to produce it ¹⁶. The inscriptions also show slight differences in the arrangement of signs within the cases corresponding to Il. 8-9, as well as some unusual features (see in detail the remarks in Tab. 2). In PD.07/4, PD.07/8, and PD.07/23, for example, Il. 8-9 read: ⁽⁸⁾lugal urim₅^{ki}-/ma, with the indented line -/ma *above* the line lugal urim₅^{ki}; ⁽⁹⁾lugal anub-da/limmu₂-ba with the indented line limmu₂-ba *above* the line lugal

⁼ CDLI no. P414694) published by Everling (2008), CUSAS 17, 35 (CDLI no. P250591), and BLMJ 213 (see Appendix below) do not reverse the order of ll. 2-3, i.e. they read: nibru^{ki}-a, d e11i1 $_{x}$ -1e. Cf. also the unpublished CBS 15329 (CDLI no. P227088, Ur), CBS 16465 (CDLI no. P227107, Ur), and Anonymous 273268 (CDLI no. P273268).

¹² For the British Museum bricks allegedly coming from Eridu, see the remarks by Walker (1981, 30).

¹³ Contrary to what was stated by Walker (1981, 32), BM 90061 (RIME 3/2.1.3.15 ex. 9 = CDLI no. P226675, Ur) probably has only nine lines. For an example of an abbreviated version of RIME 3/2.1.3.15, see Text D (CDLI no. P414695) published by Everling (2008). Here the inscription begins with 1. 3 and does not record the name of the king.

¹⁴ Note however that the title lugal kalag-ga is already attested in tablets dated to years 4-6 of Amar-Zuena: BPOA 6, 832 (AS 4, Umma), OIP 121, 169 (AS 4, Puzriš-Dagān), UTI 3, 1766 (AS 4, Umma), SAT 2, 894 (AS 5, Umma), BPOA 7, 3022+3023 (AS 5, unknown provenance), BIN 3, 400 (AS 6, Puzriš-Dagān), BPOA 2, 2473 (AS 6, Umma), BPOA 6, 1323 (AS 6, Umma), PDT 1, 392 (AS 6, Puzriš-Dagān), PDT 1, 398 (AS 6, Puzriš-Dagān), SACT 2, 21 (AS 6, Umma), SACT 2, 249 (AS 6, Umma), SAT 2, 926 (AS 6, Umma), ZA 101 55 6 NT 938 (AS 6, Nippur).

¹⁵ Note that no explicit mention of building activities at Puzriš-Dagān is known from contemporary sources. On the reuse of bricks with stamped inscriptions in public buildings as well as in private houses, see Zettler 1991, 252; Sauvage 1998, 125, 126 n. 5; Sallaberger–Zettler 2011, 15 and n. 29; cf. also Tsouparopoulou 2014, 25. The carrying of 'old bricks' (sig₄-sumun) is attested in a text from Garšana (CUSAS 3, 335).

¹⁶Apart from the exemplars here published (see in detail Tab. 2), we were able to identify only three other Ur III stamped bricks with embossed writing: the Ur-Namma inscription RIME 3/2.1.1.2 ex. add63 (CDLI no. P498069, Ur), BM 137419 (CDLI no. P226871, Ur) and CUSAS 17, 34 (CDLI no. P250542), both bearing the same Amar-Zuena inscription as our bricks (RIME 3/2.1.3.1).

an-ub-da (Fig. 7). A similar organization of signs within the cases occurs in the inscription on the clay vessel fragment from Adab OIP 14, 41 (A 438 = RIME 3/2.1.3.2, CDLI no. P226501).

Other anomalies concern the shape of the signs. In several exemplars the sequence of signs is correct but all cuneiform signs appear inverted horizontally (Fig. 8)¹⁷. In one instance (PD.07/8) all signs are inverted except for the lugal in l. 8 (Fig. 9). In PD.07/35 (Fig. 10), on the contrary, signs appear in the right order and are not inverted, but the inscription presents an odd structure. Apparently, the text runs downwards starting from l. 9 (lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba), in the upper case, to l. 1 (damar-dzuen), in the lower one — after l. 6 the inscription is barely legible —, that is to say, the order of the lines is reversed ¹⁸.

3. The stamp(s)

Two brick-stamps of this inscription are known:

- 1. CUSAS 17, 16 (unfinished) = MS 2764 (CDLI no. P251790); made of pale stone.
- 2. RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 61 = BNUS 374 (CDLI no. P227172); made of clay.

RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 76, listed by Frayne as BLMJ with no inventory number, is probably to be identified with BLMJ 213 (cf. CDLI no. P226597). However, the object in question is not a brick-stamp but a stamped brick (see Appendix below). Note also that the dimensions and the number of lines given by Frayne are in fact those of RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 77 ¹⁹. This stone fragment, in turn, is most likely a brick-stamp of the inscription RIME 3/2.1.3.15 ²⁰.

The variation in the size of the stamped area, the different arrangement and shape of signs, as well as the other unusual features described above, clearly indicate that the inscriptions on the bricks found at Tell Drehem were made by different stamps. Furthermore, one inscription (PD.07/5) which displays a clear vertical crack only in the middle of the frame (Fig. 11) suggests that it was made by using a clay stamp evidently damaged. Similar observations

¹⁷ PD.07/4, PD.07/8, PD.07/10, PD.07/18, PD.07/23, PD.07/27. Cf. BM 137419 (RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 38 = CDLI no. P226871, Ur) where the inscription is stamped in reverse (Walker 1981, 30, 167). Note that all these exemplars display embossed cuneiform writing. In the unpublished CBS 8820bis (CDLI no. P461895, unknown provenance) only the sign EN appears upside down in ll. 1-3, but the same sign apparently has its normal shape in l. 6.

 ¹⁸ Cf. the Tukultī-Ninurta I's brick inscription RIMA A.0.78.38 ex. 7 (Grayson 1987, 288).
 ¹⁹ Curtis 1994, 78 and 103.

²⁰ Curtis 1994, 103-104 (transliteration, translation and description), 113 (copy): no inversion in ll. 2-3, l. 7 lugal kalag-ga.

have been made for a group of stamped bricks probably from Tell al-Wilaya (Gabbay et al. 2013, 81).

The majority of the preserved Mesopotamian brick-stamps are made of baked clay, but some stone specimens are known²¹. The inscription on the base of these tools was carved/moulded/inscribed in mirror-image. When this type of stamp was impressed into soft clay, it normally produced engraved cuneiform writing on the bricks²². On the other hand, we also know of some brick-stamps that produced an embossed inscription on clay (see note 16 above), as is the case with RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 61. In particular, this brick-stamp is engraved with high-quality cuneiform script, which clearly indicates that its signs were impressed by a trained scribe with a stylus as if it were a standard clay tablet. This implies that the clay stamp itself was first manufactured by a craftsman, after which a scribe added the inscription; unless one concludes that the craftsman and the scribe were one and the same person. In most of the cases, however, the flat rectangular-shaped clay block with the inscription on its face (i.e. the stamp) was created almost certainly by using a single mould and the handle was applied only at the end of the manufacturing process when the object was still in a plastic condition²³. Then, the finished stamps were fired in kilns. However, how do we explain the mistaken writings, the inverted signs, and the other anomalies attested on several bricks from Tell Drehem? It has been proposed that movable type was in use in Mesopotamia and that this might explain similar errors ²⁴. Still, no traces of the assumed interchangeable sign-units are visible in the impressions on our bricks, nor, to the best of our knowledge, do they appear on any other Ur III stamped brick. As similar inaccuracies are also visible in seal impressions on tablets from Ur III Umma²⁵, we argue that errors result from the inexperience of scribes who prepared particular inscriptions.

In conclusion, we propose that:

(1) clay brick-stamps with embossed cuneiform writing were manufactured by using a rectangular mould probably made of wood ²⁶. At the base

²¹ CUSAS 17, 16 and RIME 3/2.1.3.1 ex. 77 for the Ur III period. See Abraham 2012 and Gabbay et al. 2013, 81 for more references. As well, indirect evidence indicates that bronze brick-stamps were in use during the Ur III period (see Nisaba 15/2, 877 from Irisaĝrig and cf. Owen 2013, vol I, 379 n. 641, 400-401 n. 733).

²² The only known Ur III clay brick-stamp with embossed cuneiform writing is the fragmentary 3N 313 (McCown et al. 1967, pl. 148 no. 8) recovered at Nippur in the administrative building known as House J, located in Area TB on Tablet Hill (Zettler 1991, 152; Zettler 1992, 85; Frayne 1997, 113).

²³ Cf. Sauvage 1998, 39.

²⁴Grayson 1987, 172 and 287; Sass-Marzahn 2010, 11 with further literature; Finkel-Taylor 2015, 18.

²⁵ Mayr 2005, 16.

²⁶Cf. YOS 4, 256 r. ii 11: 5 sila₃ i₃-ĝeš ĝeš mu-sar sig₄! ar-ḫa! ĜA₂ ba-ab-šeš₄ '5

of the frame a flat clay block bearing the inscribed text and the horizontal dividing lines was placed in order to produce the impression of the text in mirror-image on the face of the stamp;

(2) clay brick-stamps with engraved cuneiform writing were also manufactured by using a mould, but the text of the inscription was handwritten.

In both cases it is possible that the author of the inscription copied the text from a written model ²⁷. Regardless of whether or not the craftsmen were always also the authors of the inscriptions on the stamps, everything seems to indicate that some of the stamps employed at Tell Drehem were produced by artisans who, though familiar with the shape of cuneiform signs, were only partially literate. They also demonstrate that, as far as the accuracy of the inscriptions is concerned, quality control exercised by central authorities over the manufacturing process of both the stamps and the stamped bricks was not particularly strict ²⁸. Moreover, the fact that the stamped bricks, at least to some extent, were accessible to a larger public also raises doubts as to how developed the passive literacy skills of their unintended audience were ²⁹.

After bricks were stamped at the brickyards (where they were moulded and subsequently stacked)³⁰, brick-stamp(s) were cleaned and kept in administrative buildings, as demonstrated by 3N 313 which was found in the 'Scribal Quarter' of Nippur (see note 22 above)³¹.

Since the state of preservation of the bricks from Tell Drehem is generally poor, it is impossible to subdivide the inscriptions into sub-groups or indicate the exact number of brick-stamps used to produce them. Nevertheless, on the basis of the size of the stamped area and other distinctive features (see in detail the remarks in Tab. 2) we have been able to distinguish at least two

liters of sesame oil were used to anoint the wooden (frame of the mould) of the stamp (lit. inscription) to be placed? on half-bricks'. For YOS 4, 256 see in detail Steinkeller 2015, 188.

²⁷Copies or preparatory drafts of royal and dedicatory inscriptions are extremely rare. See e.g. the early Sargonic tablet from the Umma region published in Marchesi 2011.

²⁸ Cf. Tsouparopoulou 2016, 268-272.

²⁹On active vs. passive literacy, see Pollock 2016. Needless to say, the primary intended audience of the brick inscriptions were the gods and the future restorers. Nonetheless, a great number of people were exposed to the text recorded on the bricks: the workmen participating in the construction works and their overseers, the laborers who made and carried the bricks, the craftsmen and scribes who manufactured the stamps, not to mention the cultic personnel involved in rituals related to the building activities (Porter 1995, 67; Tsouparopoulou 2014, 28). Even though the positioning of inscribed bricks inside a building apparently did not follow a clear pattern (Sauvage 1998, 40; Zettler 1992, 14) and the inscribed face of the bricks was normally hidden inside the walls, we know that in the case of paving bricks and bricks with edge inscriptions the text was perfectly visible to those who had access to the structures (Zettler 1992, 66, 73).

³⁰ Heimpel 2009, 222.

³¹ Cf. also the three brick-stamps of Narām-Sîn found at Adab on Mound IV in an administrative centre dated to the reign of Sarkaliśarrī (Wilson 2012, 71).

different stamps for the bricks displaying embossed cuneiform script (10), nine for those with engraved script (∇), and another four potential stamps.

•	▼	⊚/▼?
1. PD.07/26 (10.5 × 15.5)	1. PD.07/1 (8.6 × 6+)	1. PD.07/17 (8 × 4.1+)
2. PD.07/27 $(10 \times 19.8)^{32}$	2. PD.07/3 (9.1 × 6+)	2. PD.07/22 (7+ × 19)
	3. PD.07/5 (8 × 12.9+)	3. PD.07/34 (7.2 × 13)
	4. PD.07/12 (10.1 × 8.4+)	4. PD.07/30 (12.8+ × 15.4+)
	5. PD.07/20 (11.8 × 15) ³³	
	6. PD.07/24 $(11.2 \times 15+)^{34}$	
	7. PD.07/25 (7.9 × 10.9)	
	8. PD.07/35 (10.2 × 12.5+)	
	9. PD.07/36 (8.8 × 10.8)	

4. Appendix – The stamped brick BLMJ 213 (Fig. 12)

The Bible Lands Museum of Jerusalem houses a baked-clay half-brick (Sumerian $sig_4-\frac{1}{2}$ / sig_4 ar-ha)³⁵ which bears a thirteen-line inscription commemorating Amar-Zuena's rebuilding of the Abzu temple at Eridu (RIME 3/2.1.3.15). The text appears on both the face of the brick and on its right edge, the latter being partially covered by bitumen. The object, whose provenance is unknown, is described in the internal records of the museum as a 'brick from the temple of Enki'.

BLMJ 213 $26.5 \times 13 \times 7.5$ cm

Face	Edge
1. damar-rdzuen	1. [dam]ar-rdzuen
2. nibru ^{ki} -a	2. [nib]ru ^{ki} -[a]
3. dellil _x -le	3. $[den]lil_x$ - fle^{\dagger}
4. mu pad₃-da	4. [mu] pad ₃ -da
5. saĝ-us ₂	5. [saĝ]- ^r us ₂ ¹
6. e_2 dellil _x (EN/.E ₂)-ka	6. $[e_2]^{d\Gamma}$ enlil _x 1 (EN/.E ₂)-ka

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^{32} Cf. PD.07/8 (8.4+ × 14+); PD.07/10 (10 × 8.2+); PD.07/18 (8.7+ × 9+); PD.07/23 (8.7+ ×
7.8+). ^{33} Cf. PD.07/21 (7.3+ × 14.4+).
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³⁴ Probably the same stamp as PD.07/20 and PD.07/21. ³⁵ Heimpel 2004, §2.2. Cf. BPOA 6, 104 o. 1-3 (78004 sig₄-gal, 4456 sig₄-²/₃, 1621 sig₄-¹/₂) and UTI 5, 3006 o. 1-3 (11 $^{\frac{1}{2}e^{\frac{1}{2}}}i_3$ - $^{\frac{1}{2}u}b$ u₃-ku-ru-um, $2^{\frac{1}{2}e^{\frac{1}{2}}}i_3$ - $^{\frac{1}{2}u}b$ -²/₃, $5^{\frac{1}{2}e^{\frac{1}{2}}}i_3$ -²/₃ ub ar-ha!).

7. lugal kalag/-ga8. lugal urim₅/ki-ma

9. lugal an-ub/-da limmu₂-ba-^rke₄¹

10. den-ki

11. lugal ki-aĝ₂/-ĝa₂-ni-ir 12. ^rabzu¹ ki-^raĝ₂¹/-ĝa₂-[ni]

13. [mu-na-du₃]

7. [lugal] kalag/-ga

8. [lug]al urim₅/ki-ma

9. [lug]al an-ub/-da 「limmu₂¹-ba-「ke₄¹

10. [den-ki]

11. [lugal ki-a \hat{g}_2 /- $\hat{g}a_2$ -ni]- $^{\Gamma}$ ir 1

12. [abzu ki-aĝ₂/-ĝa₂-ni]

13. $[mu-na-du_3]$

(1)Amar-Zuena, (2-4)nominated by Enlil in Nippur, (5-6)mainstay of Enlil's temple, (7)mighty man, (8)king of Ur, (9)king of heaven's four corners, (10)for Enki, (11)his beloved lord, (12-13)built his beloved Abzu.

Table 1. Bricks

Brick No.	Preservation	Fragments	Length	Width	Thickness	Remarks
PD.07/1	Fragmentary	1	22+	15.2+	7	
PD.07/2	Fragmentary	1	17+	15.5+	6.3	
PD.07/3	Fragmentary	1	32	16+	6	About half of the brick preserved. Traces of bitumen and salt incrustations on the back. Brick found on the top of the ziggurat.
PD.07/4	Fragmentary	1	16.2+	10.2+	6.5	Salt incrustations on the back.
PD.07/5	Fragmentary	1	29.7+	19+	6	
PD.07/6	Fragmentary	1	16+	11+	6.6	
PD.07/7	Fragmentary	1	16+	13.5+	6	
PD.07/8	Fragmentary	1	16+	11.8+	6	Salt incrustations on the back (also a pottery fragment attached to the surface due to these).
PD.07/9	Fragmentary	1	16.5+	15.8+	6	Salt incrustations.
PD.07/10	Nearly complete	1	31.5+	30.6+	6.5	
PD.07/11	Fragmentary	2	20+	17+	6	
PD.07/12	Fragmentary	1	24+	12.6+	5.4+	Traces of bitumen on the front and on one side.
PD.07/13	Fragmentary	1	19+	15.3+	5.6+	Salt incrustations on all sides.
PD.07/14	Fragmentary	1	21+	11+	6	
PD.07/15	Fragmentary	1	16.5+	14+	7	Salt encustations on the front side.
PD.07/16	Fragmentary	1	16.5+	14+	6	
PD.07/17	Fragmentary	1	25+	14+	6	
PD.07/18	Fragmentary	1	23+	17+	6	

PD.07/19	Fragmentary	1	28+	27+	7	Sporadic traces of bitumen. Rough and grit fabric. Very badly preserved.
PD.07/20	Complete		30	29	6	Traces of bitumen with some vegetal inclusions. Salt incrustations.
PD.07/21	Fragmentary	1	21.5+	17+	7	Salt incrustations on the sides and the back. Brick found <i>in situ</i> .
PD.07/22	Fragmentary	1	35	18.5+	6	
PD.07/23	Fragmentary	1	21+	16.5+	6.3	
PD.07/24	Nearly complete	1	31.5	31.5	6	Salt encustations on the front side.
PD.07/25	Complete		30	30	6	Salt encustations on the front side. Brick found on the top of the ziggurat.
PD.07/26	Complete		30.5	31.5	6.5	Traces of bitumen with vegetal inclusions both on the front and the back.
PD.07/27	Nearly complete	1	30.8	31.5	7	Salt encustations on the front side.
PD.07/28	Fragmentary	1	20+	19+	6.5	
PD.07/29	Fragmentary	1	19+	18.1+	6	
PD.07/30	Complete		31.5	31.5	7	
PD.07/31	Fragmentary	1	7.4+	4.8+	2.1	
PD.07/32	Fragmentary	1	13+	14.3+	5.6+	Salt encustations on all sides.
PD.07/33	Fragmentary	1	15.5+	12+	5.2+	
PD.07/34	Fragmentary	3	35	29.2	7.3	
PD.07/35	Fragmentary	5	31+	29+	7	
PD.07/36	Fragmentary	6	30.4	30+	7	
PD.07/37	Fragmentary	4	17+	14+	5.7+	

Measures are in cm.

Table 2. Inscriptions

Brick No.	Inscription (w × l)	Preserved lines*	Stamp type	Remarks
PD.07/1	8.6 × 6+	8-9	•	Indented lines: l. 8 'lugal' 'urim ₅ '/' ^[ki] -[ma']; l. 9 'lugal' 'an'-[ub']-[da' 'limmu ₂ '-[ba'] (cf. PD.07/5, PD.07/12, PD.07/16, PD.07/19, PD.07/20, PD.07/21, all \blacktriangledown).
PD.07/2	$7.6+ \times 6.2+$	1-4	▼	Upper right corner of the inscription preserved.
PD.07/3	9.1 × 6+	1-5	▼	Almost half of the frame preserved.

Brick No.	Inscription (w × l)	Preserved lines*	Stamp type	Remarks
PD.07/4	7.8+ × 3.1+	8-9	•	Lower right corner of the inscription preserved. Barely legible. Signs appear in the right order but are upside down (cf. PD.07/10, PD.07/18, PD.07/23, PD.07/27, all). Indented lines: 1. 8 [lugal uri]m ₃ ^{rki1} -[/ma] with indented line -[/ma] above the line [lugal uri]m ₅ ^{rki1} ; 1. 9 [lu]gal an-ub-da/ rlimmu ₂ ¹-ba with indented line rlimmu ₂ ¹-ba above the line [lu]gal an-ub-da (cf. PD.07/8, PD.07/23). Note, however, that the position of the signs rlimmu ₂ ¹-ba within the case is not the same as in PD.07/8, PD.07/23. In PD.07/4, signs limmu ₂ -ba are located between -ub and -da, with -ba almost at the end of the indented line, whereas in the other two examples limmu ₂ -ba are located above an-ub-, on the left of -da.
PD.07/5	8 × 12.9+	4-9	▼	Vertical line in the middle of the inscription, from top to bottom. Graphic variants of sign E_2 in 1.6 : $^{\Gamma}e_2^{1}(E_{2-a})^{d\Gamma}ellil_x^{1}$ (EN. E_{2-b})-ka (cf. PD.07/12). Sign -ka in 1.6 is very condensed. Indented lines: 1.8 lugal urim $_3$ /ki-ma; 1.9 lugal an-ub/-da limmu $_2$ -ba (cf. PD.07/1, PD.07/12, PD.07/16, PD.07/19, PD.07/20, PD.07/21, all \blacksquare).
PD.07/6	5.6+ × 2.3+	1	•	Upper left corner of the inscription. Only one line preserved (damar-[dzuen]).
PD.07/7	3+ × 4+	1	•	Upper right corner of the inscription. Only one sign preserved ([damar-den].zu).
PD.07/8	8.4+ × 14+	3-9	•	Right side of the inscription missing. Signs appear in the right order but are inverted horizontally (cf. PD.07/4, PD.07/10, PD.07/18, PD.07/23, PD.07/27, all), except for the lugal in 1. 8 which is correct. Graphic variants of sign E₂ in 1. 6: e₂(E₂-c) dellil₂(EN. E₂-c)-k[a]. Indented lines: 1. 8 lugal urim₃[ki]/-rma¹ with indented line -rma¹ above the line lugal urim₃[ki]; 1. 9 [lugal an-ub-da]/ rlimmu₂¹-ba with indented line rlimmu₂¹-ba above the line [lugal an-ub-da] (cf. PD.07/23). Note the form of the sign MU in 1. 4 (cf. PD.07/10, PD.07/27, PD.07/29):
PD.07/9	9+ × 8+	?	?	Left side of the inscription? Indeterminable number of lines. Illegible.

Brick No.	Inscription (w × l)	Preserved lines*	Stamp type	Remarks
PD.07/10	10 × 8.2+	1-4	•	Signs appear in the right order but are inverted horizontally (cf. PD.07/4, PD.07/8, PD.07/18, PD.07/23, PD.07/27, all). Note the form of sign Mu in l. 4 (cf. PD.07/8, PD.07/27, PD.07/29):
PD.07/11	5.4+ × 12.7+	?	?	Left side of the inscription? Indeterminable number of lines. Illegible.
PD.07/12	10.1 × 8.4+	5-9	•	Graphic variants of sign E_2 in l. 6: $e_2(E_{2-a})^{a\Gamma}$ ellil $_x$ ¹(EN. E_{2-b})-[ka] (cf. PD.07/5). Indented lines: l. 8 「lugal¹ 「urim $_5$ ¹/「ki¹-「ma¹; l. 9 「lugal¹ 「an¹-「ub¹/-[da limmu $_2$ -ba] (cf. PD.07/1, PD.07/5, PD.07/16, PD.07/19, PD.07/20, PD.07/21, all \blacktriangledown).
PD.07/13	4.6+ × 8.8+	?	?	Lower part of the inscription? Indeterminable number of lines. Illegible.
PD.07/14	6.3+ × 3.1+	1	▼	Only one line preserved ([d]amar-den.[zu])
PD.07/15	7.5+ × 7.8+	6-9	•	Lower right corner of the inscription preserved. No indented lines in Il. 8-9 as in PD.07/25 (\blacktriangledown), PD.07/26 (\circledcirc), PD.07/36 (\blacktriangledown), CUSAS 17, 34 (\circledcirc).
PD.07/16	3.6+ × 5.2+	7-9	•	Lower right side of the inscription preserved. Indented lines: 1. 8 [lugal] ^r urim ₅ ^{1/ki} -ma; 1. 9 [lugal an-ub/-da] limmu ₂ -ba (cf. PD.07/1, PD.07/5, PD.07/12, PD.07/19, PD.07/20, PD.07/21, all ▼).
PD.07/17	8 × 4.1+	?	?	Lower part of the inscription? Indeterminable number of lines. Illegible.
PD.07/18	8.7+ × 9+	5-9	•	Left side of the inscription. Signs appear in the right order but are inverted horizontally (cf. PD.07/4, PD.07/8, PD.07/10, PD.07/23, PD.07/27, all ●). Graphic variants of sign E ₂ in l. 6: [e ₂ ^d e]nlil([E]N.E _{2-e})-ka. Indented lines in ll. 8-9 impossible to determine.
PD.07/19	8.8+ × 13.5+	1-9	•	Indented lines: l. 8 「lugal¹ 「urim₃¹\[\frac{1}{1}\] ma¹; l. 9 impossible to determine (cf. PD.07/1, PD.07/5, PD.07/12, PD.07/16, PD.07/20, PD.07/21, all $\$). Note the form of the sign MU in l. 4 (cf. PD.07/26):

Brick No.	Inscription (w × l)	Preserved lines*	Stamp type	Remarks
PD.07/20	11.8 × 15	1-9	▼	Barely legible. Indented lines: 1. 8 'lugal¹ 'rurim ₃ ¹/rs¹- 'ma¹; 1. 9 probably 'lugal¹ 'ran¹-rub¹/-rda¹ 'limmu₂¹-rba¹ (cf. PD.07/1, PD.07/5, PD.07/12, PD.07/16, PD.07/19, PD.07/21, all ▼).
PD.07/21	7.3+ × 14.4+	3-9	•	Only right side of the inscription preserved. Sign -ka in 1. 6 is not condensed as in PD.07/05. Indented lines: 1. 8 [lug]al urim ₃ /ki-ma; 1. 9 [lug]al an-ub/-da limmu ₂ -ba (cf. PD.07/1, PD.07/5, PD.07/12, PD.07/16, PD.07/19, PD.07/20, all ▼).
PD.07/22	7+ × 19	?	?	Half of the frame preserved (left side of the inscription?). Illegible.
PD.07/23	8.7+ × 7.8+	7-9	•	Lower right corner of the inscription preserved. Signs appear in the right order but are inverted horizontally (cf. PD.07/4, PD.07/8, PD.07/10, PD.07/18, PD.07/27, all (i) Indented lines: 1. 8 [lug]al urim ₅ ki/-fma¹ with indented line -fma¹ above the line [lug]al urim ₅ ki; 1. 9 [lug]al an-fub¹-da/ limmu₂-ba with indented line limmu₂-ba above the line [lug]al an-fub¹-da (cf. PD.07/8).
PD.07/24	11.2 × 15+	1-9	▼	Lower left corner of the inscription missing. Barely legible. Indented lines in ll. 8-9 impossible to determine.
PD.07/25	7.9 × 10.9	1-9	•	Barely legible. No indented lines in Il. 8-9 as in PD.07/15 (▼), PD.07/26 (●), PD.07/36 (▼), CUSAS 17, 34 (●).
PD.07/26	10.5 × 15.5	1-9	•	Graphic variants of sign E_2 in II. 2, 3, 6: 'fnibru¹(EN. $E_{2\cdot a}$) ^{ki} -a, 'fellil _x ¹(EN. $E_{2\cdot a}$)-le, e_2 ($E_{2\cdot a}$) 'dellil _x (EN. $E_{2\cdot a}$)-ka. Presence of indented lines not clear because of bitumen partially obscuring II. 8-9. Possibly no indented lines as in PD.07/15 (\blacktriangledown), PD.07/25 (\blacktriangledown), PD.07/36 (\blacktriangledown), CUSAS 17, 34 (\circledcirc). Note the form of the sign MU in I. 4 (cf. PD.07/19):

Brick No.	Inscription (w × l)	Preserved lines*	Stamp type	Remarks
PD.07/27	10 × 19.8	1-9	•	Signs appear in the right order but are inverted horizontally (cf. PD.07/4, PD.07/8, PD.07/10, PD.07/18, PD.07/23, all ●). Graphic variants of sign E ₂ in 1. 2: ^r nibru¹(EN.E _{2-c}) ^{ki_r} a¹. Barely legible after 1. 3. Note the form of the sign MU in 1. 4 (cf. PD.07/8, PD.07/10, PD.07/29):
PD.07/28	7.3+ × 6.8+	1	▼	Upper right corner of the inscription. Only one line preserved ($[^d]$ amar- f dzuen 1).
PD.07/29	8.7+ × 10.8+	1-4	•	Upper left corner of the inscription preserved. Note the form of the sign MU in 1. 4 (cf. PD.07/8, PD.07/10, PD.07/27):
PD.07/30	12.8+ × 15.4+	?	?	Almost all the frame preserved. Illegible.
PD.07/31	$5.9+ \times 2.3+$	1	▼	Only two signs partially preserved ([dama]r-rden1.[ZU]).
PD.07/32	8+ × 12.2+	3-9	•	Right side of the inscription preserved. Barely legible.
PD.07/33	$6.5 + \times 5.7 +$?	?	Upper left/lower right corner? Illegible.
PD.07/34	7.2 × 13	?	?	Almost all the frame preserved. Illegible.
PD.07/35	10.2 × 12.5+	9-6	•	Almost all the frame preseved. Lower part of the inscription partially covered with incrustations. Signs appear in the right order and are not inverted horizontally. However, the text runs downwards, starting from 1. 9. After 1. 6 the inscription is nearly illegible.
PD.07/36	8.8 × 10.8	1-9	▼	Partially damaged and nearly illegible. No indented lines in Il. 8-9 as in PD.07/15 (▼), PD.07/25 (▼), PD.07/26 (●), CUSAS 17, 34 (●).
PD.07/37	3.7+ × 8.5+	?	?	Almost all the frame preserved. Illegible.

Measures are in cm.

^{▼ =} engraved cuneiform script; • = embossed cuneiform script.
* A line is preserved when it contains at least one readable sign.

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 $\label{eq:control} Fig.~1-Orthophoto~of~the~administrative~building~excavated~at~Tell~Drehem~at~the~foot~of~the~ziggurat~\\ (Courtesy~of~the~Iraqi-Italian~QADIS~survey~project).$



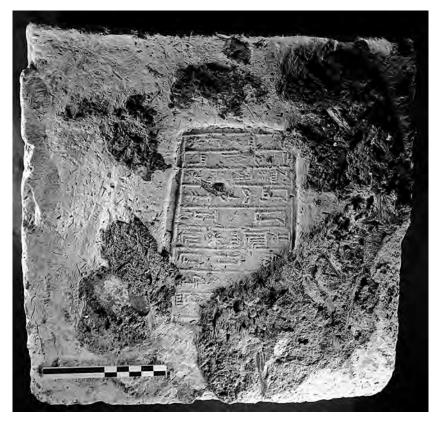
Fig. 2 – Brick PD.07/21 *in situ* in a wall of the administrative building (Courtesy of the Iraqi-Italian QADIS survey project).



Fig. 3 – Bricks lying on the ground along the edge of the main excavation area at the foot of the ziggurat (Courtesy of the Iraqi-Italian QADIS survey project).



Fig. 3a – Bricks lying on the ground along the edge of the main excavation area at the foot of the ziggurat (Courtesy of the Iraqi-Italian QADIS survey project).



 $Fig.\ 4-PD.07/26\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$

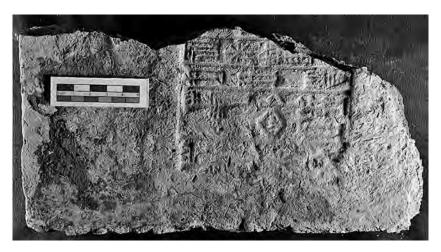
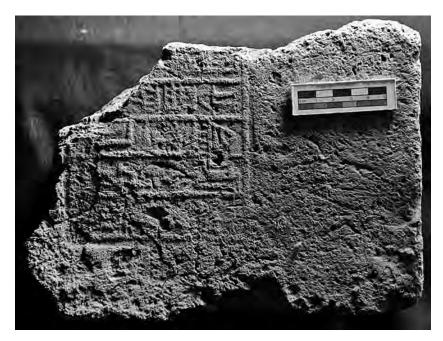


Fig. 5 – PD.07/12 (Courtesy of the Iraqi-Italian QADIS survey project).



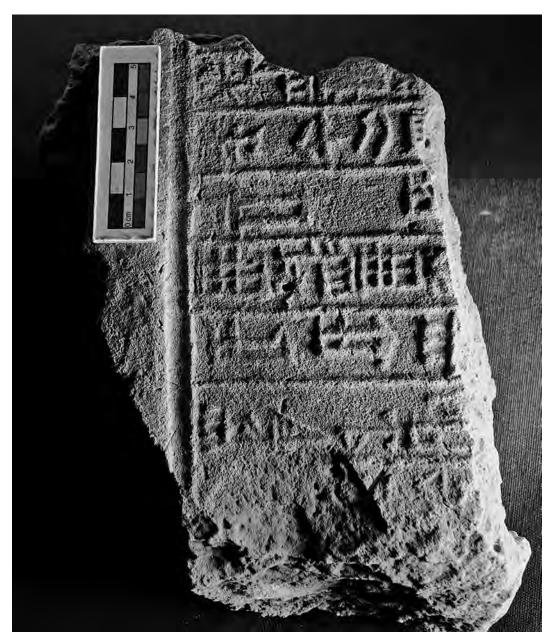
 $Fig.\ 6-PD.07/18\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$



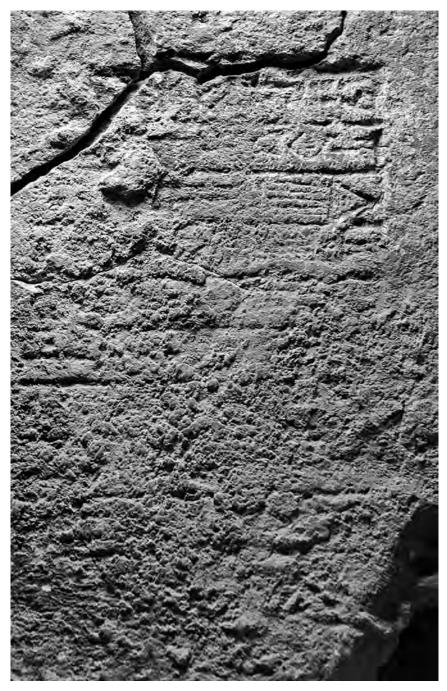
 $Fig.\ 7-PD.07/23\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$



 $Fig.\ 8-PD.07/27\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$



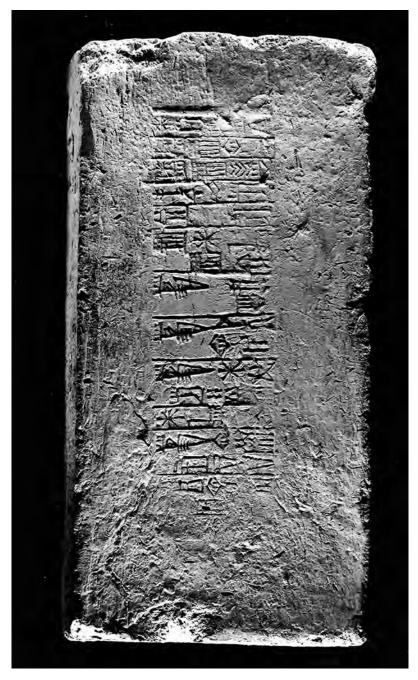
 $Fig.\ 9-PD.07/8\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$



 $Fig.\ 10-Detail\ of\ PD.07/35\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$



 $Fig.\ 11-PD.07/5\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Iraqi-Italian\ QADIS\ survey\ project).$



 $Fig.\ 12-BLMJ\ 213\ (Courtesy\ of\ the\ Bible\ Lands\ Museum\ Jerusalem;\ Photo:\ M.\ Amar\ \&\ M.\ Greyevsky).$