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VOLUME XIV
EARLY OLD BABYLONIAN DOCUMENTS

BY

STEPHEN D. SIMMONS, Ph.D.

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
EDWIN C. KINGSBURY, Ph.D.

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In Memory of

ALBRECHT GOETZE

and

FERRIS J STEPHENS
CONTENTS

Preface ix
Abbreviations xi
Introduction 1
Time Chart in Synchronistic Form 26
List of Texts by Dynasty and King 29
Catalogue 31
Indices 45
Personal Names
Names of Deities 87
Temples and Buildings 88
Titles and Occupations 89
Geographical Names 90
Peoples and Places 90
Water courses 92
Fields 93
Concordances 94
Seal Inscriptions 94
Seal to Text(s) 96
Text to Seal(s) 98
Accession Numbers 98
JCS Number Cross-References 102
Autographed Texts Plates I–CXVII
Tablets Plates CXVIII–CXXIII
Seal Impressions
PREFACE

I would like to use this preface for two purposes, first, to present a brief account of the history of the volume and secondly, to publicly express my gratitude to the several people who played an important part in the production of this volume.

Work on the volume began in 1956 in connection with a doctoral dissertation done under the guidance of the late Professor Albrecht Goetze, then Laffan Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at Yale University. When the degree was granted in 1958 autographs of over a hundred of the tablets in this volume had already been made. At the suggestion of Professor Goetze and with the permission of the then Curator, the late Professor F. J Stephens, I began to copy the additional tablets which, along with the tablets used in my dissertation, make up this volume. Because of my academic duties in other parts of the country between 1958 and 1967, I could only devote the summer months to the task of copying the additional texts. In this connection I wish to thank the University of Texas for financial support during several summers. When the copying had been completed, Professor W. W. Hallo, who had by then become Curator of the Babylonian Collection, entrusted the collation of the tablets to Dr. E. Kingsbury. His careful collation of the tablets has added immeasurably to the accuracy of the copies. In addition he has worked long hours perfecting the catalogue and indices, which were in a rudimentary form when I presented them to Professor Hallo, the editor of this volume. Last, but not least, in preparing the present Introduction, I had the benefit of a tentative introduction prepared by Dr. Kingsbury. During June and July of 1974 and 1975, thanks to the invitation of Professor Hallo and to a stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Dr. Kingsbury and I were able to discuss matters pertaining to the volume person to person and at some length, with the resources of the Yale Babylonian Collection at our disposal. Both he and I wish to thank Professor W. W. Hallo, not only for his constant encouragement, but also for allowing us to intrude freely on his time and erudition. As the dedication page suggests I owe a great debt of gratitude to my teachers, the late Professor Albrecht Goetze and the late Professor F. J Stephens. A brief statement cannot adequately express the extent of my indebtedness to them, both as scholars and as human beings. May this volume, despite its shortcomings, serve as a tribute to their memory.
I would also like to express my appreciation to Jane Isay of Yale University Press and Ulla Kasten of Yale Babylonian Collection for their contributions to the volume.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not thank Yale University and the donors of the Alexander Kohut Fellowship for financial help during the years 1953–1958, making it possible for me to pursue my studies at Yale and now at long last to present to the public a work begun so long ago.

S. D. S.

New Haven, Connecticut
July 1975
## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AASOR</td>
<td><em>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</em></td>
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<td>AfO</td>
<td><em>Archiv für Orientforschung</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>AnOr</td>
<td><em>Analecta Orientalia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOS</td>
<td><em>American Oriental Series</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ArOr</td>
<td><em>Archiv Orientální</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bagh. Mitt.</td>
<td><em>Baghdader Mitteilungen</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>BIN</td>
<td><em>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BiOr</td>
<td><em>Bibliotheca Orientalis</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td><em>British Museum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>CAD</td>
<td><em>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>HUCA</td>
<td><em>Hebrew Union College Annual</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the American Oriental Society</em></td>
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<td>JCS</td>
<td><em>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</em></td>
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<td>LE</td>
<td>A. Goetze, <em>The Laws of Eshnunna</em> (= AASOR 31)</td>
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<td>MLC</td>
<td>Morgan Library Collection</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSL</td>
<td>B. Landsberger et al., <em>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</em>, Rome, 1937–</td>
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<tr>
<td>MVAG</td>
<td><em>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NBC</td>
<td>Nies Babylonian Collection</td>
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<tr>
<td>OIP</td>
<td><em>Oriental Institute Publications</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLZ</td>
<td><em>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>PSBA</td>
<td><em>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td><em>Revue d’Assyriologie</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>RLA</td>
<td>E. Ebeling et al., <em>Realelexikon der Assyriologie</em>, Berlin, 1932–</td>
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<tr>
<td>UET</td>
<td><em>Ur Excavation Texts</em>, British Museum</td>
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<tr>
<td>YBC</td>
<td>Yale Babylonian Collection</td>
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<tr>
<td>YNER</td>
<td><em>Yale Near Eastern Researches</em></td>
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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains copies of 351 early Old Babylonian tablets, for the most part of an economic and legal nature. The reader is referred to the Catalogue for a brief description of the content of each tablet, including key words and phrases. As the Concordance shows, tablets belonging to three of the collections housed at Yale University have been used: the Nies Babylonian Collection (NBC), the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC), and the Morgan Library Collection (MLC). In addition, a copy of a tablet belonging to the private collection of the late Dr. Douglas Rugh of New Britain, Connecticut has been included with the permission of Mr. Robert E. Massman, Director of the Elihu Burritt Library. All the autographs were made by the author with the exception of text 344, which was copied many years ago by the late Professor F. J Stephens, and several seals which were copied by Dr. E. Kingsbury.

All the tablets in this volume were written during the period of Mesopotamian history which has come to be known as the Old Babylonian Period. To be more precise, the tablets date to the earlier part of this period, namely the two centuries between the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the rise to power of Hammurabi of Babylon. They thus provide further documentation for the reconstruction of the political and economic history of Babylonia during the period when Isin and Larsa were vying for power and Babylon was preparing herself for the role which she would eventually play under the leadership of Hammurabi.

To determine the provenience of the tablets in this volume, the investigator must rely almost entirely on internal evidence. The one exception is the group of tablets from Ḫarmal mentioned below. In this case, the information provided by the dealer from whom the tablets were acquired was confirmed by the internal evidence from the tablets themselves. When there are indications that a tablet or a group of tablets came from a particular site, this will be commented upon below. In grouping the tablets, archival criteria have been useful in several cases.

For the purposes of this Introduction the tablets may be divided into seven groups:

I. Tablets from Ḫarmal (ancient Šaduppûm) and related tablets
II. Tablets bearing year names of several early Old Babylonian “petty” kings
III. Tablets dated to the First Dynasty of Babylon

1. This period has been described in some detail by D. O. Edzard in his book Die “zweite Zwischenzeit” Babyloniens (abbreviated ZZB hereinafter); Edzard gives references to the literature up till 1957; see also S. D. Walters, Water for Larsa (YNER 4) for a treatment of part of this period from the point of view of the irrigation system.
INTRODUCTION

IV. Tablets dated to the Larsa Dynasty
V. Tablets dated to the Isin Dynasty
VI. Tablets dated to the reign of Rim-Anum and dealing with asirum
VII. Miscellaneous

Most of the tablets in groups I and II were published in transliteration and translation in my article “Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Ḫarmal and Elsewhere.” Since the numeration of the tables in the article and in this volume differs in many cases, a cross-reference concordance of numbers has been included in this volume for the convenience of the reader. The remainder of the Introduction will be devoted to a description of each of the groups listed above.

I. TABLETS FROM ḪARMAL (ANCIENT ŠADUPPŬM) AND RELATED TABLETS

A detailed analysis of all but one of these tablets was published in the article mentioned above. A brief summary of the conclusions reached in the article may be helpful. The tablets were arranged, as far as possible, on the basis of archival criteria. Three separate archives were discovered: (1) the archive of Uqa–il and his son Warad–Tišpak; (2) the archive of Gidanum, son of Ipīq–Adad; and (3) the archive of Nūratum and Anāku–Ilamma, sons of Parratum. A study of the prosopography of these tablets and a comparison with published and unpublished tablets in the Iraq Museum excavated at Ḫarmal led to the conclusion that the tablets in this group came from the same site, known in ancient times as Šaduppŭm, an important administrative center of the Diyala region. Supporting evidence came from the month names used on the tablets, known previously from Diyala sites such as Ešnunna, Išqalī, Khafajah, and, again, from unpublished tablets found at Ḫarmal and now in the Iraq Museum.

Many of the tablets in this group bear year names of previously known independent rulers of Ešnunna such as Belakum, Ipīq–Adad II, Naram–Sin, Daduša, Ibal–pi–el II, Belakum I, and others.

2. See S. Simmons, “Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Ḫarmal and Elsewhere,” JCS 18 (1959), pp. 71–93, 105–19; JCS 14 (1960), pp. 20–32, 49–55; JCS 15 (1961), pp. 81–93. This study was originally submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Yale University. It was done under the guidance of the late Professor Albrecht Goetze. With the publication of this volume the autographs at long last appear. Tablet numbers used in this Introduction will refer to the tablet numbers used in this volume, not to the numbers used in the JCS article (unless otherwise indicated).

3. See JCS 18 (1959), pp. 71–74 for a discussion of these archives. The JCS article was based not only on the tablets published now in this volume but also on twenty tablets from the archive of Gidanum published by J. B. Alexander in BIN VII; see JCS 18, p. 71, n. 1; since the article was written another tablet from the archive of Gidanum has been published by J. van Dijk in Texts in the Iraq Museum 3, and discussed by Fausti Reschid in Archiv des Nār–Samaš und andere Darlehensurkunden aus der altbabylonischen Zeit (Dissertation: Ruprecht–Karl University, Heidelberg, 1995).

4. See JCS 18 (1959), p. 71, n. 3 and 4 for references to the literature on the excavations, identification, and etymology of the name Šaduppŭm; the unpublished tablets to which I refer were made accessible to me in transliteration through the kindness of A. Goetze.

5. The months are, listed alphabetically: Abum, Dīrī Kīnkum, Elānum, Girīrīnum, Kīnkum, Kīkīsum, Māgratūnum, Məmminūnum, Naḫrum, Nûgīgal (lim), Nīkmum, Saharāqūnum, Simānum, Sāddīnum, Summum, Tamhīrīnum, C. GUL.Lä; the order is not yet known.
INTRODUCTION

Ḫumri-Irra, and  AppleWebKit-Ṭispak, to list them in chronological order as established by T. Jacobsen and T. Baqir. These kings ruled in the Diyala region during the same period of time when Sumu-la-el and his successors, including Hammurabi, were ruling in Babylon. Several other kings who ruled in the Diyala region are also mentioned on tablets of this group, namely, Ḥammi-dušur, Dannum-taḥaz, and (Y)akur-el.

Ḫammi-dušur, known previously from Tutub, Nergitum, and unpublished tablets from Ḥarmal, was a contemporary of Sumu-numḫim of Marad and Sumu-la-el of Babylon, but his relationship with the kings of Ešnunna is obscure. His name is invoked in the oath of six tablets in this group, proving that he ruled over Șaddûpûm at least for a time. Since the JCS article appeared, collation by E. Kingsbury shows that the year name of text 50, formula (w) in my article, should be read: MU Ḥa-mi-[du-šu-ur Band]-Ri-muṣ [ba.dım] (Year: Ḥammi-dušur built Dur-Rimuṣ), and is thus the same as or a variant of formula (dd) in text 62 and the year name from Khafajah published by R. Harris.

That Dannum-taḥaz was also a king in the Diyala region is proven by seal 114 on text 78: "Sin-im-ma-tim dub,sar / dumu bûzur-4,sar,kud / warad Da-an-nu-um-la-ḥa-az. This information should be added to the discussion under date formula (q). I am indebted to E. Kingsbury for bringing to my attention the year name imbedded in the text of tablet 78 (line 8); Mu[giš,g]u.z[a bâra,mâḥ x x. This appears to be a variant of date formula (z) in my article, an Ipiq-Adad II formula. The year name of the tablet is a variant of date formula (a), which I had tentatively ascribed to Daduṣa on the basis of prosopography. It may belong to Dannum-taḥaz. His relation to the kings of Ešnunna, however, still remains obscure.

The third king, (Y)akur-el, whose death is mentioned in the year name of text 58, is also known from year names found at Khafajah and Tell Dhiba'i. The city where he ruled is not known.

Since the publication of the JCS article new material from Ḥarmal has been published by M. de Jong Ellis. In looking over the 76 tablets from the Iraq Museum which she published I find no new year names. A list of correspondences between the year names which appear on her tablets and those published in my article may be helpful to the reader: JCS (aa) = Ellis 13, 18; (bb) = 14, 42; (f) = 25; (g) = 15, 30; and (h) = 27, 31, 33, 36.

The tablets in Group I include loans, real estate sales, several legal affidavits, hire

6. For a discussion of these kings see JCS 13 (1959), pp. 74–82; this discussion has references to previous literature on the subject. Of basic importance are T. Jacobsen in The Gimilṭin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (= OIP 43, 1940), pp. 116–200, "Historical Data;" T. Baqir, Sumer 5/1, pp. 74 ff.; a useful synthesis of all the pertinent data known up to 1957 is given by D. O. Edzard, ZSB, Chapters 16 and 26.

7. See R. Harris, "The Archive of the Sin Temple in Khafajah (TUTUB)," JCS 9 (1955), pp. 49 ff.; the letters in parentheses refer to the order of the year names used in my JCS article mentioned above.

8. See JCS 13 (1959), p. 77, for further information on this king, also known from the Mari letters.


contracts, an adoption, lists, a pledge, a text dealing with nēbāhum, two letters, and several other texts. The loans include barley loans, silver loans, several loans involving both silver and barley, an emmer loan, and a loan of bricks. The prevailing rate of interest for barley loans was 33\% percent. Only once is the interest rate for silver expressed numerically, namely 33\% percent in text 54. Ordinarily the interest on silver loans was specified by the phrase MĀŠ 4UTU (šibat 4Šamaš), “interest of Šamaš.” This phrase is known not only from the Diyala region but also from other Old Babylonian sites. W. F. Leemans argues that the MĀŠ 4UTU was equivalent to the normal 20 percent interest on silver loans while A. Poebel maintained that it was lower than the normal rate.\(^\text{12}\)

Many of the loans in this volume from Group I are characterized by the term ĥubuttum, known not only from the Diyala region, but also from Kiš, Marad, and Sippar. The exact meaning of this term is not known.\(^\text{13}\) It has usually been translated as “interest-free” because of certain texts in which the word is followed by the phrase MĀŠ NU.TUKU (šibta ulâ šišu), “not bearing interest.”\(^\text{14}\) E. Bilgiç has argued that this type of loan was not interest-free, but that the interest was added at the time of the loan to the actual amount of the commodity loaned.\(^\text{15}\) Tablet 23 of this volume does indeed confirm the fact that a ĥubuttum loan could bear interest. The pertinent part of the text is quoted:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item 200 sīla ŠE UR₅ RA
  \item ĥu-[bu]-la-tum
  \item ki Gi-da-[nu-um]
  \item 14Šamaš-x-x
  \item ŠU BA.AN.TI
  \item a-na maš-kán-nim
  \item ū-ši-ti-iq-ma
  \item ŠE ū MĀŠ.BI
  \item 300 sīla 100 sīla MĀŠ.BI ū-ša-ab
\end{enumerate}

The following translation expresses the substance of the contract as I understand it: “Šamaš—... borrowed 200 sīla of barley from Gidanum; an interest-bearing loan; ĥubuttum; he shall pay back the loan at the threshing-floor; should he let (the term) expire, he shall pay interest on the barley and its interest at the rate of 100 sīla per 300 sīla (i.e. 33\% percent).”

In the texts of this volume the creditor may be one person, two persons, an individual

\(^{11}\) For a discussion of the contents of these tablets see JCS 13 (1959), pp. 82–93; for the latest treatment of texts 85 (= JCS 14, p. 121, No. 99) and 92 (= JCS 14, p. 124, No. 107) see B. Eichler, Indenture at Nuzi (YNER 5), pp. 55–56.


\(^{13}\) See CAD ḫ, s.v. ĥubuttu, where it is defined simply as “a type of loan.”

\(^{14}\) See JCS 13 (1959), pp. 85–86 for a discussion and relevant quotations from the lexical series.

\(^{15}\) Ankara Üniversitesi Dergisisi 5, pp. 451 ff.
and the god Šamaš, or simply a god, either Šamaš or Bêl-gašer. The term of the loan is usually described as “at the threshing-floor” (ana maškanim).

The general outline of the real estate contracts from Ḥarmal may be summarized as follows:

A. Sale proper.
   (1) Object of purchase, size, and location.
   (2) kī clause.
   (3) Form of the verb “to buy.”
B. Statement that the full price has been paid.
C. Statement that the seller is satisfied.
D. The handing over of the bukannum, “pestle.”
E. Statement that the transaction has been terminated.
F. Oath of renunciation of claims (la ragâmum).
G. Bagrum clausula.
H. Witnesses and date.

The language of the clausulae, originally Sumerian and well known from other Old Babylonian contracts, is often Akkadian in the texts from Ḥarmal.

For a discussion of the other texts in this group the reader is referred to the discussion in the *JCS* article. Since the article was written another tablet, 350, was discovered with a previously known year name of Naram-Sin of Ešnunna. The term of this tablet, a silver loan, has the interesting phrase a-na ša-la-am ḫarranim kī ša-al-mi-šu-nu ʿi ki-ni-šu-nu kū. BABBAR ʿi MĀŠ.BI i-le-qē-e. The terms šalmum and kīnum refer to joint liability and occur on other tablets in this volume, e.g. 16. The same terms are used in *BIN VII* 83 and 87, both belonging to the archive of Gidum, and thus related to tablets in Group I. In *BIN VII* 83 (= No. 18 in the *JCS* article) the Sumerian equivalents of šalmum and kīnum are used: LŪ.S.RIM.MA and LŪ.GI.NA.16

The author hopes that the remaining thousand or so Ḥarmal texts of an economic nature in the Iraq Museum will become accessible to Assyriologists in the near future. Their publication will make possible a broader perspective on life in one of the western outposts of the kingdom of Ešnunna in Old Babylonian times. The site which has already given us the Laws of Ešnunna, many letters, and important mathematical texts has still much to offer.

II. TABLETS BEARING YEAR NAMES OF SEVERAL EARLY OLD BABYLONIAN “PETTY” KINGS

After the dissolution of the Third Dynasty of Ur, many of the city-states which had previously been under its dominion were conquered and ruled by kings bearing West-Semitic names and whose political and military power was restricted to a limited domain.

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16. See *JCS* 18 (1959), p. 86 for a discussion and reference to the literature on these terms.
 INTRODUCTION

The tablets in Group II, for the most part of unknown provenience, bear year names of several of these “petty” kings. Among the kings mentioned are Ḥaliım, Abdi-araḫ, Manana, Sumu-yamūtbāl, Manium, Yawium, Sumu-ditan(a), Naqimus, Alumbiumu, Yamsi-el, Sumu-atar, and Sumu-numḫīm. The tablets deal with the economic and legal aspects of life during the two centuries between the end of Sumerian control of central and lower Mesopotamia and the unification of the region under Hammurabi. Most of the tablets in this group were transliterated and translated in the JCS article mentioned above. Since the article was written, ten more tablets belonging to this group were discovered and have been included in this volume. They are 108, 109, 110, and 113, all belonging to the archive of Šumšunu-watar of Kiš; 111, with an oath by Sin and Alium, Zababa and Yawium; 166, with an oath by Lugal-Marada and Sumu-numḫīm, and a broken year name; 167, with a year name belonging to Yawium; 343, with an oath by Inanna and Irdanene of Uruk and a previously known year name; 345, with an oath by Ninurta and Mana-balte-el; 344, with an oath by Ninurta and a king named Ibnī-ṣadum.

As the chart which is included in this volume shows, these rulers were contemporaries of the earlier kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. Tablets 114, 108–10, and 113, as noted above, belong to the archive of Šumšunu-watar of Kiš, and thus are related to the tablets from this archive published by S. Langdon and F. Thureau-Dangin. Four of these texts have year names of Manana, who is known to have ruled over Kiš for several years. A list of his year names may be found in my JCS article. There it was argued that the city in which Manana ruled may have been Kutha. Other kings who belonged to the same dynasty as Manana were Ḥaliım, Abdi-araḫ, Sumu-yamūtbāl and Manium. All of these kings are mentioned in year names or oaths on tablets in this volume. Both Ḥaliım and Manana are invoked in oaths with another king belonging to this period and evidently at home in Kiš, namely Yawium, a worshipper of the god Zababa. Tablets 111 and 167 have a previously known year name of Yawium mentioning the digging of the Ḥiritum Canal in Kiš.

Since the JCS article was published, at least two important articles dealing with some of the kings mentioned above have appeared. M. Rutten’s publication of 41 tablets in the Louvre was completed and E. Reiner’s article on the year names of Sumu-yamūtbāl was published. Despite the title of M. Rutten’s article, the tablets that she published

17. For a discussion of these kings see JCS 14 (1960), pp. 76–87 and D. O. Edzard, ZZB, passim.
18. The chart is a consolidation and expansion of the two charts which appeared in my JCS article; I am indebted to E. Kingsbury for the chart in its present form.
20. See JCS 14 (1960) pp. 79 ff. for a discussion of these kings.
INTRODUCTION

Sure the names of many of the kings that we are discussing. Besides year names of
Manana, her tablets have date formulae of Abdi–araḫ, Ḥalium, Naqimum, Sumu–
ditan(a), and Ahī–marsz. From a study of the personal names on the Louvre texts it
follows that they come from a different site, or at least a different archive, from the tab-
lets in our Group II, with the exception of 88 and 119. That the tablets published by
M. Rutten come from Kiš is not beyond dispute.

The article referred to above by E. Reiner clears up several points with regard to the
year names of Sumu–yamūtbāl and the rest of Manana. She notes that what I had taken to
be a year name of Sumu–yamūtbāl on text No. 8, published by M. Rutten in her article
just referred to, is in actuality a șimdatum formula of Sumu–yamūtbāl and Sumu–la–el,
issued jointly; date formula (ss) in my article she attributes to Sumu–abum; and she
confirms with new evidence my conjecture that date formula (vv) belongs to Sumu–
yamūtbāl, and that the year name of UIOM 2390 is its ús.sa date, and does not belong
to Manana as I had proposed on the basis of prosopography. The reader is referred to her
article for a discussion of the fortress SAG.DA.IN.PĀD.KI mentioned in the two year
names just referred to, and her identification of KI.BAL.MAŠ.DĀ, mentioned in year
name (ss), with Ilip (Elip), a city probably in the vicinity of Sippar.

Several kings of Marad, or at least kings who held control over Marad, are mentioned
on tablets in Group II: namely Alumbiumu, Yamši–el, Sumu–numḫim, and possibly
Sumu–ditan(a). In oaths these kings are invoked along with the city-god Lugal–
Marada and sometimes Numušda. There are several indications that Sumu–ditan(a)
ruled over Kiš for a while. His death is mentioned in the year name of a tablet from Kiš
when Yawium was ruling there.

That Marad had political relations with the Diyala region is proven by an unpublished
treaty between Sumu–numḫim and Ḥammi–dušur, found at Išchali.

Tablet 166 of this volume has an oath by Lugal–Marada and Sumu–numḫim, though
the year name is broken. Alumbiumu may have been the predecessor of Sumu–numḫim
if he is the same person as the Ḥalambū whose defeat is mentioned in the year name of
Sumu–la–el 3. Alumbiumu is mentioned along with Lugal–Marada in the oath of 124.
The year name of the tablet is damaged and difficult to read. In my treatment of this
king in the JCS article I hesitated in the reading of the king’s name between Alumbiumu
and Alumbū. New evidence from Dilbat, presented by W. F. Leemans in his article
“King Alumbiumu,” makes it certain that the reading of the name is Alumbiumu and
that date formula (kkk) mentioning his capture of Dilbat on text 120 is to be attributed
to this king. As Leemans points out in his article, there are good reasons for not

24. For a discussion of these kings see JCS 14 (1960), pp. 84–86; see also D. O. Edzard, ZEZB, pp. 127–29.
equating Alumbiumu with Ḥalambū and whether the king ruled from Marad or simply held control over it from another city is still open to question.

Several other kings are mentioned on the tablets of this group. Two year names of a king named Naqīnum are found on tablets 115 and 118 in this volume. This king is also known from the tablets published by M. Rutten and from an unpublished tablet from the University of Illinois. He, and another king named Aḫi-amaraz, ruled in the same unknown city, probably a site under the influence of a southern tradition, to judge from the clausula used in text 118.28

Sumu-atar, a king whose death is mentioned in the year name of a tablet published by Cyrus Gordon, is mentioned in the oath of text 127. The tablet published by Gordon is said to have been found at Tell Ḥabl Ibrāhīm (ancient Kutha).29 If the capital city of Manana was, indeed, Kutha, Sumu-atar may belong to the “Manana dynasty.” The name of the deity in the oath of text 127 is broken, but a cult object for the god Numušda is mentioned in the year name. Numušda is also mentioned in connection with Sumu-ditin(a) and Sumu-numūšim. In the northern part of Babylonia it is known that Kazallu was a center where Numušda was worshipped.30

Among the tablets not used for the JCS article are 343, 344, and 345. Tablet 343, dealing with the redemption of a house, is dated to the reign of Irdane of Uruk, seventh king in the dynasty of Sin-kašid of Uruk. The year name of the tablet refers to a golden statue of Anam which his son Irdane installed in the temple of Nana. The oath of the tablet is by the king and the goddess Inanna. The reader is referred to the discussion of the nine kings of this dynasty by A. Falkenstein.31 Rim–Anum also belonged to this dynasty; the texts in this volume dated to his reign are discussed below under Group VI.

Text 344 (tablet and case) is an adoption contract, noticed and copied many years ago by the late Professor F. J Stephens. His copies have been included in this volume. Professor Stephens was evidently intrigued by the interplay of Sumerian and Akkadian in the clausulae of the contract as they appear either on the case or inner tablet. From the copious notes which he left behind, it is apparent that he intended to publish an article on the tablet after it had been presented to the public in the popular magazine Life, March 15, 1948. His notes have been helpful in reading the year name of the hitherto unknown king Ibni-šadum: MURAD E. HŪB BA.KI IB–ni–ša–du–um MU·NI·NIM (case: BA·AN·DAR), “Year: Ibni–šadum seized Bad–eḫubba.” The apparently deliberate playfulness of the scribe in his alternate use of Sumerian and Akkadian can best be illustrated by quoting the relevant portions of the text:

28. On these two kings see M. Rutten, RA 52 (1958), p. 212; and JCS 14 (1960), p. 84.
INTRODUCTION

Tablet

5. TUKUM.BI
1UR-ZI.EDIN.NA
a-na Ma-na-tum DAM.A.NI
NU DAM.A.NI ig-ša-bi-i
i-na bi-ti-im

10. ū ma-ri-ī
UR-ZI.EDIN.NA ū-la a-wa-zu-ū
ū TUKUM.BI
1A-pil-4Sin
ū Ir-ra-ga-mi-il

15. a-na Ma-na-tum
AMA.A.NI ū-la ū-mi-i
at-ta(sic) ig-ta-bi-i
KU.BABBAR IN.NA.AN.SUM

Case

5. TUKUM.BI
1UR-ZI.EDIN.NA
a-na Ma-na-tum DAM.A.NI
ū-la a-ša-ši-i al-ši
BA.NA.AN.DUG₄

10. 1UR-ZI.EDIN.NA
ū ū DUMU IB.TA.AN.X
ū TUKUM.BI
1A-pil-4Sin ŠEŠ.GAL
ū Ir-ra-ga-mi-il

15. a-na Ma-na-tum AMA.A.NI X
AMA.MU NU.ME.EN
BA.NA.AN.DUG₄.MEŠ
KU.ŠE BA.AB.SUM

“If Ur-ziedina says to his wife Manatum: ‘You are not my wife,’ he shall forfeit (?) house and sons; and if (either) Apil-Sin or Irra-gamin says to Manatum his mother: ‘You are not my mother,’ he shall be sold.”

The oath of the tablet is by Ibni-šadum and Ninurta. This suggests that it may have come from Isin, Nippur, or Kisurra, all centers of Ninurta worship in Old Babylonian times.32 Ur-ziedina and his wife Manatum are also mentioned in tablet 128, which is dated to the reign of Samu-abum and will be discussed below under Group III. Another tablet in this volume which mentions a person named Ur-ziedina is 319. It is probable that he is the same person mentioned in tablets 128 and 344 since the scribe of tablets 128 and 319 is presumably the same, a certain Lu-tingira. Tablet 319 is dated to the reign of Irra-imitti of Isin and will be discussed below under Group V. The relationship between Ibni-šadam, Irra-imitti of Isin, and Sumu-abum of Babylon remains obscure. All three kings are invoked in the oaths of the tablets along with the god Ninurta.

The final tablet in Group II, 345, also has an oath by Ninurta and a previously known king, Mana-bal-te-el, who is known to have ruled over Sippar.33 According to a note by D. O. Edzard, A. Falkenstein found his name in oaths on unpublished tablets from Kisurra.34

The tablets in Group II are for the most part barley and silver loans and real estate

33. See D. O. Edzard, ZZB, p. 129.
sales. The loans follow the schema well known from other Old Babylonian texts. In many of the real estate sales the position of the clausula specifying that the full price has been paid (SÁM. TÉ. L.A. NÍ.ŠÉ. . . . . KU. BABBAR IN. NÁ. LÁ, and variants) differs from its position in the usual Old Babylonian schema. In addition to loans and sales, several texts dealing with hire, adoption, surety, distraint, or claims are found, categories well known from previously published tablets.

It is to be hoped that with the publication of these texts and others from the same period, a clearer picture of the confused political situation in pre-Hammurabi Babylonia will become possible. The words of E. Reiner in her article mentioned above are pertinent in this connection, “. . . every piece of new evidence can be helpful in restating, if not solving, the questions relating to the early Old Babylonian period.”

III. TABLETS DATED TO THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

This third group consists of 39 tablets of uncertain provenience dated with year names of the following kings of Babylon: Sumu-abum, Sumu-la-el, Apil-Sin, and Sin-muballit. Three of these tablets were published in the JCS article: 114, 119, and 123. The others are 108, 128, 130–49, 151–65, 347, and 351. A clue to the provenience of several of these texts may be provided by the name of the deity invoked in the oath. A list of the deities and kings follows: Uraš and Samu-abum (131); Uraš and Sumu-la-el (847); Ninurta and Sumu-abum (128, 351); Marduk and Sumu-la-el (133); Sin, Marduk, and Apil-Sin (145); Marduk, Zababa, and Apil-Sin (149); Marduk, Zababa, Muḫra-gamil(?), and Sin-muballit (161); Šamaš, Marduk, Sin-muballit, and the city of Sippar (163); Sin and Sin-muballit (152, 154, 157, 160, and 162); Marduk and Sumu-la-el along with Nanna and Manium (119). Uraš points to Dilbat or Sippar; Ninurta to Isin, Kisurra, Larsa, Nippur, Ur, or Uruk; Šamaš to Kisurra or Sippar; Zababa to Dilbat, Kiš, Lagaba, or Ur; Sin to any number of sites; Marduk preeminently to Babylon.

The origins of the First Dynasty of Babylon are shrouded in obscurity. Later kings of Babylon traced back their ancestry to Sumu-la-el and not to Sumu-abum, who was a contemporary of Sumu-el of Larsa. Date list A as reconstructed by A. Ungnad assigns fourteen years to the reign of Sumu-abum, his first year being named for the construction of the great wall of Babylon. There is some evidence, however, that Sumu-abum reigned for fifteen years. It is therefore interesting to note that tablets 128 and 351 of this volume provide us with a year name which refers to the accession of Sumu-abum

41. See F. Schmidtke, loc. cit., p. 48.
to the throne: \( m\text{u} \text{ } ^{6}\text{Su-mu-a-bu-um Lugal} \) (128); \( m\text{u} \text{ } ^{4}\text{Su-mu-bu Lugal} \) (351); \( m\text{u} \text{ } ^{4}\text{Su-mu-bu-um Lugal} \) (351 case). If indeed the Sumu-abum referred to in tablets 128 and 351 is the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon it is noteworthy that he is deified as was the case with the kings of Ur, Isin, and Ešmunna, but not the later kings of Babylon. D. O. Edzard notes that the first year of the reign of the earlier kings of Babylon was not dated by the otherwise common practice of mentioning the king’s accession to the throne.\(^{42}\) In the light of the new evidence this would not apply to Sumu-abum.

Sumu-abum’s taking of the city of KI.BAL.MAŠ.DA\( \text{ } (=\text{ Eliip/Hip}) \) is mentioned in the year names of texts 99, 100, and 101, all three of which were published in my \( JCS \) article and discussed under date formula (ss) and by E. Reiner in her article mentioned above. The thirteenth year of Sumu-abum was named after his destruction of Kazallu, a year name discussed in the article under date formula (yy) and appearing on tablets 108 and 114, both belonging to the archive of Šumšunu-watār of Kiš.

The tablets bearing year names of Sumu-la-el belong to the latter part of his thirty-six year reign, years 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, and 33. The year name of text 130 is possibly a variant of Sumu-la-el, year 22. It is not possible to place the abbreviated year names of 114 (\( \text{mu \ alan} \text{ } ^{6}\text{Su-mu-la-el} \) and 132 (\( \text{mu \ us.\ sa \ alan} \text{ } ^{6}\text{Su-mu-la-el} \) exactly since statues are mentioned in several of the date formulae of this king.\(^{43}\) Tablet 135, a legal affidavit dated to Sumu-la-el 25, mentions a previously known city called Zizibanum and a city named Neribtum \( š\text{nītum} \), perhaps related to the city of Neribtum in the Diyala region.\(^{44}\)

Of the five tablets dated to the reign of Apil-Sin, four are difficult to place exactly because of the poor state of preservation of their year names. Several of the tablets belonging to the reigns of Apil-Sin and Sin-muballit\( \) are linked together on the basis of archival criteria. They deal with the legal affairs and real estate transactions of Adad-nada and his daughter Unnubtum, a priestess of Marduk. I am indebted to E. Kingsbury for the following summary of the fortunes of the family:

Adad-nada’s fortunes begin with an inheritance of several parcels of real estate from his father (text 145). To those he added another parcel by purchase against which a claim was laid. Adad-nada settled the claim by a cash payment (text 146). A short while later Adad-nada agreed to support his mother, Ḫusubtum, for life in return for her share of the father’s estate. The penalty clauses in that agreement (text 147) share much with adoption documents and their clauses dealing with disinowing the parent or child.

In the seventh year of Sin-muballit\( \), about twenty-five years after Adad-nada’s first acquisitions, his daughter, Unnubtum, now a priestess of Marduk, purchased her first parcel of real estate, which, one month later, she traded for a like parcel belonging to Sin-qist\( \) (texts 152 and 155).

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\(^{42}\) See D. O. Edzard, \( ZZB \), n. 641.

\(^{43}\) Sumu-la-el 24, 26; see A. Ungnad, \( RLA \), pp. 165, 166.

\(^{44}\) On Zizibanum see I. J. Gelb, \( MAD \text{ } 3 \), sub the root \( ZZB \).
Beginning there, Unnubtum acquired yet other parcels of land adjoining her father's property (text 156). Adad-nada himself returned to the real estate market with a purchase of eleven acres (1kU) of land in the tenth year of Sin-muballit (text 159), and a year after that he acquired yet another adjacent lot (text 160). During the same month he bought a very small tract on the Bazhat-Irra canal next to his daughter's land there (text 162).

Finally, about four years after his last purchase, Adad-nada died. One might suppose that he was not too popular with his neighbors, because shortly after his death a certain Nabi-Sin and his son laid claim against the estate of Adad-nada (text 165). The outcome of the claim, which did go to court, remains in question because the text is broken. Anyway, during his lifetime Adad-nada accumulated more than twenty-six acres (1kU) of land, while his daughter bought over twelve acres more.

Such a story shows, at least, that the acquisition of wealth was possible, and perhaps also that the one who acquires it is bound to make enemies.

Most of the texts in this group are real estate transactions, loans and legal affidavits. Other categories are a slave sale (128), a hire contract (153), and a text (123) dealing with surety (qišqum).

IV. TABLETS DATED TO THE LARSA DYNASTY

This group consists of 148 tablets bearing year names of the following kings of Larsa: Gungunum, Abi-sare, Sumu-el, Nur-Adad, Sin-iddinam, Sin-eribam, Sin-qišam, Silli-Adad, and Warad-Sin, i.e. from the very beginning of Amorite control over Larsa up to the time of Rim-Sin, the contemporary of Hammurabi. The bulk of the material, however, comes from the reign of the first three kings of the dynasty, Gungunum, Abi-sare, and Sumu-el.

It is difficult to determine whether the texts in this group come from Larsa itself or from some site or several different sites under the control of the kings of Larsa. Until Senkereh (ancient Larsa) has been more thoroughly excavated the investigator must rely solely on internal evidence to determine the provenience of the tablets in Group IV.

Up to the present time there has been a dearth of material published which could shed light on the early years of the Larsa dynasty. Most of the material has come from Ur and the Nies Collection here at Yale University. Recently S. D. Walters used some of this material to produce his interesting work entitled Water for Larsa, based on texts published in BIN VII and others which he copied. The new texts published in this volume should, therefore, be a welcome addition to the corpus of early Larsa economic texts.

As stated earlier, the bulk of the tablets in Group IV comes from the reigns of the first three kings of the dynasty. Most of these texts record expenditures and deliveries of

45. See D. O. Edzard, ZBB, passim, for a useful synthesis of all pertinent facts about early Larsa known up to 1957; Edzard's treatment of the subject is based on the fundamental work on the period by L. Matouš, cited above in n. 39.
INTRODUCTION

sesame and sesame oil for cultic purposes. The following schemata show the general form in which these documents were drawn up:

A. Expenditures

1. Amount of the commodity.
2. Purpose for which it is expended.
3. (Geographical indication).
4. 𒐕 (PN of functionary) 𒆠较好
5. Seal notice of the šâ.tam.(E.NE) or PN.
6. Date.

B. Deliveries

1. Amount of the commodity.
2. Purpose of the delivery.
3. (Geographical indication).
4. 𒆠.tūm followed by PN of functionary.
5. Seal notice of the šâ.tam.(E.NE) or PN.
6. Date.

Most of these documents bear one or more seal impressions. A common type of seal impression follows the pattern:

PN
DUB.SAR
DUMU PN
ir RN

The seal of the same individual often appears on several tablets belonging to this group. When the king's name is mentioned on the seal it is possible to get some idea of how long a certain individual served as DUB.SAR / šâ.tam. For example, Sin-iddinam, son of Ilašia, servant of Gungunum, served at least until year 5 of Abi-sare (Seal 79). Text 185, dated to year 3 of Abi-sare, bears the seal impression (Seal 82) of another servant of Gungunum, whose name is illegible. The seal impression of the scribe Nanna-ursag-kalama, son of Isru(panni), servant of Gungunum (Seal 87), is found on tablets dating to the period between Abi-sare 5 and Sumu-el 1. The seal impression of the scribe Sin-naṣir, son of Ku-Nanna (Seal 94), appears on many tablets between the years Abi-sare 10 and Sumu-el 10. The seal impression of Ešub-el, servant of Abi-sare (Seal 101), appears on text 220, dated to Sumu-el 4. The scribe Warad-Sin, son of Zinat-iluma,

46. The justification for the label Expenditure is the verbal form 𒆠较好 (“was expended”); see A. Goetze, LE, p. 31.
47. The justification for the label Delivery is the form 𒆠.tūm (“he brought”); tūm = abâlu (“to bring”), CAD A:1, s.v. abâlu A; see A. L. Oppenheim, AOS 32, pp. 20-21.
48. The reader is referred to the Index of Seal Inscriptions in this volume.
49. The seal inscriptions show that the scribe performed the function of the šâ.tam (= šatammu), a certain type of administrative official.
INTRODUCTION

servant of Abi-sare, left his seal impression (Seal 104) on many tablets from the reign of Sumu-él, years 6–14.

Several of the seals on tablets in this group do not follow the schema outlined above. Seal 86 mentions the ú. DÚL (ullultu = shepherd) of Abi-sare; Seal 88 is the seal of the SANGA (šangâ = priest) of Ningal; Seal 93 is the seal of the ŠUGA šu.1 (weakil gallâbi = foreman of the “barbers”), who is also characterized as ra-bi-an MAR.TU (chief of the Amorites).50 Seal 106 is especially interesting; it reads as follows: [ ] mu ṭx1 / LUGAL KALAG.GA / LUGAL URÍ. KI-MA / LUGAL KI. EN.GI. KI. URI. KE4 / LÚ-6-KI. ŠUBUR / DUB.SAR / DUMU KU-da-NU-AM / IR.ZU, “......mu......, mighty king, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, Lu-Ninšubur, the scribe, son of Kudanum, your servant.” This seal impression is found on tablets dated to years 10, 12, 13, and 14 of Sumu-él. The king’s name should, therefore, probably be read as Sumu-él.

The two most prominent functionaries mentioned in the tablets being discussed are Lipit-Irra and Irra-asû. Lipit-Irra appears for the most part on tablets dated to the reign of Abi-sare, while Irra-asû worked during the reign of Sumu-él, the successor of Abi-sare. Both men occur as functionaries in text 212, dated to year 6 (or 7) of Sumu-él. During the reign of Gungunum, Tarib-Sin (171), Ubar-Sulgi (176), Nur-Šamaš, and Adad-šemi (179) are mentioned as functionaries. Mušda-badgal is mentioned on two tablets from the first year of Abi-sare (180, 181).

In addition to the ubiquitous sesame oil (i. GÍŠ = ullu / ellu)51 and sesame (šE. GÍŠ.1 = šamâššammu) mentioned in these tablets, other commodities which were issued include the following: malt (MUNU₄ = buqlu),52 flour (šE. ZÍD. DA = qēmu),53 barley (šE = še'uu),54 bran (gara),55 dates (su₄. LUM = suluppû),56 cedar (?) (ERÍN = erênu),57 and cedar oil (?) (i. ERÍN).58

The particular cultic use for which these materials were intended is in many cases

50. On the rabuían MAR.TU see MSL 12, p. 33, line 22; see also S. Smith, “Excavations at Tell Harmal,” Sumer 2, pp. 19 ff.; D. O. Edzard, ZRB, p. 37; M. Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History, pp. 73–89.
52. 170; see CAD B, s.v. buqlu.
53. 176.
54. 181, 380.
55. 214–16, 254, 255.
56. 260.
57. The sign transliterated as ERÍN appears to be the same as N. Schneider, Die Keilschriftzeichen der Wirtschaftskunden von Ur III, No. 896, although Schneider gives no Assyrian equivalent; the preceding sign in Schneider’s list (No. 895) is the well-attested sign ERÍN (= erênu, “cedar”), examples of which are collected by C. Fossey, Evolution des Cunéiformes, pp. 963, 964; Schneider’s No. 896 differs from 895 mainly by having oblique wedges in the second half of the sign; if the sign being discussed is indeed ERÍN, it is never preceded by GÍŠ in this volume, but is followed by NE (206, 209, 259, 268–70) or ÉNE (247, lines 2, 3, 5), presumably the plural suffix; in texts 170, 247, 250, and 255, the measure used is šTAs; it should also be noted that the sign in question may also be read as šEŠa = pašiûnû, “to anoint” (Labat, Manuel, No. 541); see the following note for the same sign preceded by šEša.
58. 191, 193, 198, 255, 264, 266, 270 (i. ERÍN NE), 272, 276; for cedar oil see CAD E, s.v. erênu, A d); see also A. Deimel, AnOr 2 (1931), p. 36 and R. C. Thompson, Dictionary of Assyrian Botany, pp. 284, 285.
connected with the “inner bolt” (SL. GMR = șigarru) of the cells of various temples or the festival called NE. NE. GMR, perhaps a “fire festival.” Other occasions mentioned are the “regular offering” (SÁ. DUG₄ = sattukku), the festival of the Akitu, and the sacrifice (SáKUR). A list of the festival days, in addition to those mentioned above, includes the following: U₄ Hursubum, U₄ MÁ.AN.NA, U₄ Hl(m)matim, U₄ Ezen É.x.RA, (Ezen) Elulu, U₄ A.SU.X.A, and (U₄) U.SAG. Other purposes for which the materials were to be used include the “oil ration” (I.BA), the miksum-taš (NIG.KUD), fodder (SÁ.GAL) for several types of animals, sacred emblems (SU.NIR), some type of throne or chair (GIS.GU.ZA X), a royal chariot (GIS.GIGIR LUGAL), and LUGAL.X.E.NE, a term of unknown meaning.

The various deities and/or their temples mentioned in these texts include Adad, Amurrur, BA-ú, DUMU.ZI, EN.KI, Nergal, NIN.GAL, NIN.GI.ZI.BAR.RA, NIN.KAR.RA.AK, NIN.LÍL, NIN.MAR.KI, NIN.ME, NIN.SÁR.AN.KI, and SIN. The reader is referred to the Index of god names for the tablets in which the deities and temples are named.

As noted above, there is often a geographical indication on tablets of this type, presumably to specify where the commodity was issued. The name of the city is usually preceded by SÁ (lībbi = “in”). A list of the city names found on these tablets will give some indication of the geographical scope of the operations recorded on them, although the exact location of many of the cities and towns is not known: Larsa, Ur, Girsu, and the following names usually preceded by URU.KI: É.KUR₄₋₅.SUL.GI₄, BÁD.BUR₄(.RA)₄, ZI-ib-na-tum, SIN-KALA(G), PA-ka-ka-a-a, U-bar-ja, AŠ.DUB.BA, BÁD.NE₄, É₄.NIN.MAR.KI, ĦU-un-zi, KUN.ZI.DA, and PA-al-di-ma₄. The mention of Larsa and Ur in several of the texts points to a southern site as the provenience of the tablets.

60. 176, 220.
61. 194, 202, 265.
62. 171, 211.
63. 211.
64. 268.
65. 170, 269.
66. 284; x = TUR (= tarbašu)?; see Labat, Manuel, No. 87a.
67. 194, 231, 238(?).
68. 233, 247.
69. 218, 234.
70. 182, 188, 189, 207.
71. 176, 249.
72. 181, 214–16, 254, 255.
73. 232, 247, 280.
74. 239; x = UZU(?); see Labat, Manuel, No. 17.
75. 250.
76. 205, 208, 210; the sign x appears to be SIKIL; see Labat, Manuel, No. 564.
77. See the Index of Geographical Names in this volume for references.
INTRODUCTION

In using these texts to reconstruct the political history of Larsa the historian is confronted with the problem, still unsolved, of the number and order of the year names of Sumu-êl. Since the publication by E. Sollberger of the list of year names of Sumu-êl from Ur, new confusion has surrounded this problem. Not only does the Ur list differ from the previously known Larsa list in the number of years attributed to the reign of Sumu-êl, but the order of the year names in both lists differs in several instances. The present volume adds to the complexity of the situation, since it contains several tablets with a year name of Sumu-êl which occurs in neither list. The formula, which has several variants, is "MU URU.KI Sa-bu-um Û URU.KI DIDLI GÚ 17 Purattûm BA.AN.DAB.DAB, "Year: he seized the city of Sabum and various towns on the banks of the Euphrates." The most interesting variant occurs in text 284, where, instead of URU.KI DIDLI, the expression URU TUR.TUR.KI occurs. W. W. Hallo has shown that this phrase means "small towns" or "villages." Though the king’s name is not mentioned in the year name it is certain that it is to be attributed to Sumu-êl since BIN VII 104, which has this year name, has an oath by Sumu-êl. Supporting evidence that it belongs to Sumu-êl is provided by the fact that the functionary Irra-asû, whose name occurs on most of the tablets just mentioned, is known from other tablets in this volume to have served exclusively during the reign of Sumu-êl.

In a recent article entitled "The Year Names of Sumu-êl" S. D. Walters attempted to reconcile the discrepancies between the two king lists and to place the unplaced formula under discussion in its correct order in the succession of the years of Sumu-êl. In passing it should be noted that Walters had access to most of the year names of Sumu-êl appearing on the tablets published now in this volume. His conclusion was that the unplaced formula should be assigned to Sumu-êl, year 19, mainly, it would seem, on the basis of the fact that construction work on the Euphrates Canal is mentioned for year 19 in both the Larsa and Ur date lists.

While Walters's solution of the problem is not out of the question, there are other possible solutions based in part upon archival criteria. As noted above, the functionary Irra-asû is mentioned on most of the tablets using the unplaced formula. He also appears on other tablets dated to the reign of Sumu-êl. Most of these tablets are dated to Sumu-êl 11, 12, and 13, years which occupy the same order in both date lists.

80. 295, 266, 268-81, 284.
83. RA 67, p. 21, n. 4; to bring his Concordance (p. 40) up to date note the following correspondences: YBC 10327 = 274 of this volume; YBC 10410 = 276; YBC 12066 = 277; YBC 12010 = 239; YBC 12015 = 222; YBC 12014 = 247; YBC 12106 = 215; YBC 12111 = 214.
84. RA 67, p. 88.
85. 295, 266, 268-80, 284.
86. Year name 11 (230-34); year name 12 (236-40); year name 13 (245, 246, 248).
remaining six tablets in which Irra-asū is mentioned, two or three (242, 247, and possibly 249) are dated to the fourth year after the defeat of Kiš, that is, Sumu-el 14, though both lists disagree as to the year name, neither of them mentioning Kiš for this year. Of the remaining three tablets mentioning Irra-asū, text 218 is dated by the defeat of Kazallu (year 14 in the Ur list, but year 22 in the Larsa list); text 212 is dated by the defeat of Uruk (year 6 in the Ur list but not mentioned in the Larsa list); text 264, with a broken year name, may be left out of the discussion. Tablet 212 is the only tablet in the archive which mentions both Irra-asū and Lipit-Irra, who served during the reign of Sumu-el’s predecessor, Abi-sare.

On the basis of the archival considerations just mentioned, it is suggested that the unplaced year name would better fit closer to the sequence Sumu-el 11–14, than to year 19. Indeed, both the date lists from Larsa and Ur agree that Sumu-el was engaged in intense military activity from year 8 through 14 or 15, despite the variations in the lists.

If the argument above is correct two possibilities should be entertained. Either the unplaced formula is a new year name, in which case the number of years attributed to the reign of Sumu-el may have to be increased, or it may have taken the place of an ús.sa or ús.sab.formula of year 10, relying again on the sequence 11–14, to which tablets of this volume mentioning Irra-asū are dated.87 Sumu-el 15–18 would seem to be excluded since they are all dated with reference to the seizure of the city of Nanna-isa according to both date lists.

Evidence that our unplaced formula may be dated to the last part of Sumu-el, year 10, may be provided by the fact that of the tablets bearing the formula under discussion (and also mentioning the functionary Irra-asū) none are dated before the fifth month of the year. Indeed they date mainly from month 7 (265, 269–71), month 8 (273–78) and month 9 (279, 280). Tablets 266 and 272 are dated to month 5 of the year under discussion.

An additional indication that the unplaced formula should be assigned to the first half of the reign of Sumu-el rather than to the second half may be provided by the seal impression of the scribe Warad-Sin. This seal impression occurs on tablets dated to years 11–14 of Sumu-el and also on tablets bearing the unplaced year name. Warad-Sin is called warad Abi-sare on the seal. It is more likely that a scribe who had served as a functionary under Abi-sare would serve during the earlier years of Sumu-el, the successor to Abi-sare on the throne of Larsa. A definitive solution to the problem raised by the reign of Sumu-el must probably await further documentary evidence.

In addition to the texts labeled Expenditures and Deliveries, the texts in Group IV dated to the reigns of the first three kings of Larsa include several loans and real estate transactions. The loans include several varieties known previously from Old Babylonian times. In text 221 the interest on silver is 20 percent; the interest on barley is either 20 percent (texts 178, 261) or 33⅓ percent (text 186). Text 261 has as its creditors the god

87. In developing this argument I am indebted to E. Kingsbury who first proposed the latter part of year 10 as a possibility for the unplaced formula in his unpublished notes.
Samaš and an individual, a type of loan which was commented on above. The silver loan of text 322 is characterized as Māš NU.TUKU (“not bearing interest”) while the barley loan 183 is described as šu.LA (= qiptum), usually translated as “interest-free.” There are several instances of loans drawn up, not with the commonly used verb šu.BA.AN.TI (“he received”) but rather after the schema, also known previously: (Amount of commodity) eli PN₁ PN₂ IN.TUKU, i.e. (literally) “PN₂ has (amount of commodity) over PN₁.” Texts which use this schema are 172 and 218. In text 218 the term of the loan specifies that the barley is to be paid back in Larsa. Text 282 is an atypical loan in which there is an oath by Nanna, Samaš, and Sumu-ẹl.

Of the three real estate sales dated to the reign of Sumu-ẹl two have the oath of renunciation of claims in a form found only in southern Babylonia (263, 267) while the third (285) uses the normal clausula found in the north. In text 263 the oath is made by Nanna and Sumu-ẹl. For a brief description of the remainder of the texts from the reigns of Gungunum, Abi-sare, and Sumu-ẹl the reader is referred to the Catalogue.

Sumu-ẹl’s successor to the throne of Larsa, Nūr-Adad, is represented by only four tablets in this volume (98, 121, 283, 285). There is still difficulty in arranging the year names of Nūr-Adad. In fact, of the sixteen years attributed to him by the king list, J. van Dijk was able to list only eleven, but not their order, except for the accession year. The accession year appears in this volume in text 283 with an oath by Nanna, Samaš, and Nūr-Adad. The year name of text 121 is evidently a variant of that found on UET V 105 and listed by van Dijk and Edzard. Text 98 of this volume possibly supplies the US.SA date to this formula, though the name of the god is missing. Both texts 98 and 121 were presented in transliteration and translation in my JCS article. The year name of the text 285 (with an oath by Nūr-Adad) makes it certain that Ungnad was correct to assign the year name to Nūr-Adad. Whether it is a new year name or a variant of the year name of UET V 105 mentioned above is open to debate since Utu is mentioned in text 285, rather than Nanna. D. O. Edzard doubts that it is the same year name, as does J. van Dijk.

Two of the above mentioned texts are real estate transactions (93 and 283); text 285 deals with the division of an estate and text 121 is an adoption contract.

88. See above, p. 4.
89. See CAD s, s.v. šedu a.
90. On this idiom see CAD 1/3, s.v. šedu (= tuku), “to have a claim against (eli) someone.”
91. ša UD.UNUG.KI še 1.î.E.
92. The clausula in the south has the form U₁, KUR.ŠE (type of real estate) NU.UB.BÁN MU (DN) ú (RN) IN.PAD; the northern formula reads: U₁, KUR.ŠE LÚ.ŠE BA NU.MU.UB.GÁ, GI₂, DAM MU (DN) ú (RN) IN.PAD; 263 has LÚ.ŠE U₁, U₂ instead of LÚ.ŠE BA; see my discussion in JCS 19 (1959), p. 91 and JCS 14 (1960), pp. 118, 119, with references to the literature; see R. Harris, JCS 9 (1955), pp. 91–92 for the reading of GÁL as U₁.
94. See J. van Dijk, JCS 19, p. 18, formula (b) and D. O. Edzard, ZZB, p. 142, year name (b).
95. See the cross-reference Concordance for the appropriate numbers in the JCS article.
INTRODUCTION

The nine tablets in this volume dated to the seven-year reign of Sin-iddinam of Larsa provide additional documentation for his year names as arranged by A. Goetze.\(^98\) They were written during the sixth and seventh years of the king’s reign. Texts 292 and 293 are from the first month of year 7 and bear the ús. sa date of the preceding year. Several of these texts were commented on by W. W. Hallo, who gave useful summaries of their contents, especially those in which Sumu-emûtalim is mentioned.\(^99\) This is, no doubt, the same Sumu-yanûthâl who most likely belonged to the “Manana dynasty” and was discussed above under Group II.\(^100\) His relationship to Sin-iddinam was first recognized by A. Goetze.\(^101\) The phrase “in Larsa” in the silver receipt, 288, suggests that the transaction took place and was recorded in the capital city of the dynasty.\(^102\)

Of the thirteen tablets dated to the two-year reign of Sin-erîbâm, successor to Sin-iddinam, all but one are dated to his accession year.\(^103\) Text 305 is dated to the first month of his second and last year. Five of the texts dated to the thirteenth month of his first year and the one dated to the first month of his second year (300–05) deal with tribute (gû. un = biltum) payable to the palace in barley for work assigned to plowing teams (éš. gâr 1 giš. apin).\(^104\) The amount of land worked by the team is in each case 60 acres (i̇ku). The tax in each case is four kor of barley (per acre?). The productivity expected from the teams was forty kor of barley per ten acres.

The reign of Sin-iqīšam is represented by four tablets (307, 309, 323, 324). The year name of 307, previously known, refers to the king’s building of the wall of Larsa (year 3), while the year names of both 323 and 324 mention his defeat of Elam and Zambija, king of Isin (year 5). Text 307 is a delivery, following the same pattern as the ones mentioned above.\(^105\) Text 324 is a receipt from the bit kunukki (“the storehouse”) for wages paid in barley,\(^106\) while text 323 is a receipt for green dates which two persons are to pay back.\(^107\) The verb form in this text (i-ma-an-da-du) suggests that it comes from a southern site.\(^108\)

New evidence proves that the year name of text 309 belongs to Sin-iqīšam.\(^109\) The formula was previously known from several tablets but there was doubt as to which king

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\(^100\) See above, p. 6.


\(^102\) êâ UD. UNUG. KI = “in Larsa” (line 8).

\(^103\) 294–305, 348.

\(^104\) On biltum see CAD B, s.v. biltum; on éš. gâr (= iškarum) see CAD 1/J, s.v. iškaru.

\(^105\) See above, p. 13.

\(^106\) On bit kunukki see CAD K, s.v. kunukku.

\(^107\) s-kî-în; see Bezold-Goetze, Glossar, s.v. uqûnû, p. 24, col. 1.


\(^109\) The reading of the year name is: Mu \(4\)Nû-\(mû\-î\(d\)û \(4\)Nam-ra-at \(4\)Lugal-\(A\-pi-akû\) \( bask\) \( BA. D.N. D.M. \( AB \) \( ×\) \( ]\); “Year; he constructed (statues) of Nunnûšda, Namrat, and Lugal-Apiak. . . . . . . . . . . . .”; what follows the verb form is not clear; the AB may be read as êâ (sanctuary).
it should be attributed.\textsuperscript{110} Ungnad cited it from Larsa texts in the Louvre.\textsuperscript{111} It was also known in an abbreviated form from a text copied by J. van Dijk and commented upon by F. Reschid.\textsuperscript{112} Several texts from Nippur to be published by M. Sigrist make it certain that the year name belongs to Sin–iqišam.\textsuperscript{113} It thus represents the missing fourth year of the five-year reign of Sin–iqišam.\textsuperscript{114}

The accession year of Silli–Adad and the only year that he reigned is attested on text 310. This tablet deals with female clothing workers and contains several terms relating to the clothing industry. The $\text{b}^\text{b} \text{s} \text{g} \text{a} \text{r}$ mentioned above occurs in its Akkadian form in line 14 (iš–ka–ra–am).

The remaining two tablets in Group IV come from the reign of Warad–Sin. Tablet 311, a long list dealing with large numbers of cattle and oxen, is dated to Warad–Sin 12. The final one (129) is dated to Warad–Sin 6 and belongs to the archive of the well-known real estate dealer, Balmunamša.\textsuperscript{115}

V. TABLETS DATED TO THE ISIN DYNASTY

This group consists of sixteen tablets bearing year names of several of the kings of Isin. Though not as large as the preceding group, it furnishes some new information about this poorly documented era of the early Old Babylonian period. The year names of several of the tablets in this group were published many years ago by the late F. J. Stephens.\textsuperscript{116} The tablets include real estate sales, several texts dealing with division of estates, and a letter. The letter (317) has been transliterated and translated by E. Sollberger.\textsuperscript{117} Text 321, dated to the reign of Enlil–bani and dealing with the division of an inheritance, bears the seal impression (Seal 182) of Enlil–mašzu, gudu–priest, son of Abba–kala. It is likely that this text comes from Nippur since the priestly family to which Enlil–mašzu belonged is known from previously published tablets, discussed both by F. R. Kraus and J. Renger.\textsuperscript{118}

113. The name of the king is mentioned in several of the year names on tablets from Nippur; I mention these tablets with the kind permission of M. Sigrist.
114. See F. Reschid, loc. cit., p. 10.
115. See D. E. Faust, Contracts from Larsa (= YOS 8), Introduction, p. 4, for the rather extensive archive of Balmunamša; D. O. Edzard discusses the year name of this tablet (mU gA.nUN.mAH 4Nanna na.dU), ZZZ, p. 171, year name (b); for the year names of Warad–Sin see now M. Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History (1976), pp. 1–18.
117. E. Sollberger, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, p. 92; see also W. W. Hallo, BiOr 26 (1969), pp. 175–76 for a transliteration of the seal inscription.
INTRODUCTION

In addition to the fields and orchards with which the tablet deals, mention is also made of oxen (GUD.Á.ÚR.RA and GUD.Á.B.MURUB₄.SAG). The names of the oxen are also given: Sin-nawir, Sin-magir, and Irра-imitti.¹¹⁹

Since this group of tablets is so small it is perhaps better to comment briefly on the year names of each tablet separately, taking them in chronological order.

The first two kings of Isin are not represented in this volume. The third king of the dynasty, Iddin-Dagan, is mentioned in the year name of text 313:¹²⁰

**MU ₄I-din-₄Da-gan¹ / LUGAL.E GIŠ.GU.ZA ḏkū³ [ ] / ḏškur ennigi. Ki mu.na.dîm**

Isme-Dagan, the fourth king of the dynasty is mentioned in the year names of three tablets in this volume:

**MU ₄Iš-me₄Da-gan Lugal imi₄ / Nin ₄nin.urta ba. ḫu.n.gā.a (text 312);¹²¹**
**MU ḍš. sa ₄Iš-me₄Da-gan / Lugal imi₄ nin ₄nin.urta / BA. ḫu.n.gā.a (text 316);¹²²**

[**MU**] ḍš. sa ₄Iš-me₄Da-gan / [Lugal.e] e₄nan₄na [urî.] ki-ma BA. ḫu.n.gā /
**[MU]** ḍš.₁. sa. a. bi (text 314).¹²³

The fifth king of the dynasty, Lipit-Ištar, is mentioned in the year names of two tablets:

**MU ₄Li-pi-it-Ištar / Lugal.e nî. sl.sá / Ki.en.gi ki.ur.la / mu.ni.in.gar (text 315);¹²⁴ and**
**MU ₄Lî[−pi−]it-Ištar / Lugal.e inim ₄en.lîl / ₄nan₄na.ta šeṣ.unug.ki ki.bi**

[bî].in.gi₄.a (text 317).¹²⁵

Ur-Ninurta, the sixth king in the succession of the kings of Isin, is mentioned in the fragmentary year name recorded on text 318:¹²⁶

**MU ₄Ur-nin.urta / [ ] x A[ ] x gal.gal [ ] x An x [ ]**

Bûr-Sin, who followed Ur-Ninurta as seventh in line, is mentioned in the year name of text 320:¹²⁷

**MU ₄Bur₄Sin Lugal / Lugal.e giš.šu.nir.gal / mu.na.dîm**

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¹¹⁹. See further on ox teams M. Civil, "New Sumerian Law Fragments," *AS* 16, p. 5.
¹²⁰. Published by F. J. Stephens, *loc. cit.*, No. 49; collation shows that the sign read by Stephens as BABA may be read as Kû; whether it was followed by BABBAR or GI is impossible to say; see D. O. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 74.
¹²¹. The year name of 312 = Stephens No. 14.
¹²⁴. Stephens No. 52; see D. O. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 93, year name (a).
¹²⁵. Stephens No. 16; see D. O. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 93, year name (b).
¹²⁶. Not published by Stephens; from what can be read of this year name it is probable that it is different from the two previously attested year names of Ur-Ninurta; see D. O. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 103.
¹²⁷. This appears to be a new year name of Bur-Sin; see D. O. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 137.
INTRODUCTION

Irra-imitti, the ninth king of Isin, mentions his attack on Kazallu in the year name of text 319.128

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{Ir-ra-i-mi-ti / Bād Ka-zal-\text{lu}^{\text{xii}} / Ra.\text{Gul} } \)

The tenth king, Enil-bani, refers to his construction of some kind of golden implement for Enlil in the year name of text 321.129

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{En-lil-ba-ni Lugal / Giš.Šu.lú Guškin / En.líl.\text{ra} \text{Mu.Na.An.dím} } \)

On tablet 322, Zambia, the eleventh king of Isin records his construction of a golden statue for the goddess Inanna.130

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{Za-am-bi-ia Lugal.e / Giš.Aššu.lú Guškin 4(?)\text{.bi} \text{Inanna.ra} / Mu.Na.dím } \)

The accession year of the twelfth king, Itêr-piša, is recorded in text 326.131

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{I-te-er-piša-ša Lugal } \)

Another of his year names appears on tablet 325.132

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{I-te-er-piša-ša Lugal / Lí1.\text{li.ēš} Zabarg \text{Zabalam1.\text{ki.}ra} \text{Mu.Na.dím} } \)

On tablet 327 we have reference to a cult emblem which Urdukuga, thirteenth king of Isin, made for Nanna and Utu.133

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{Ur-Dû₉.kû.gà / Šu.Nîr.gal.gal Guškin x TA min.a.bi / Inanna ụ Utu.\text{ra} Mu.Ne.dím } \)

The building activity of Sin-magir, the fourteenth in line, is mentioned in the year name of text 328.134

\( \text{MU}^4 \text{Sin-ma-gir Lugal.e / Bâd.gal Gû₁₇ ụ Sur.gu.la / Sin-ma-gir Ma.da.na } \text{Dagal.dagal I.dû } \)

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128. Unless this is a variant of the year name of ARN 6, quoted by D. O. Edzard, ZZZ, n. 732, it is a new formula; see above p. 9 for further discussion of Irra-imitti.

129. This appears to be a new year name of Enil-bani; E. Kingsbury suggests that the tiš.Šu.lú mentioned in the year name was a censer in the shape of a man’s hand; A. Salonen, BM 3: 106 ff. mentions several types of implements but not the one found in this year name; see B. Landsberger, Afo/B 17, p. 28, where tiš.Šu is translated as “stocks.”

130. This year name is the same as that of NBC 5322 (= BIN VII 69); it is discussed by F. R. Kraus, JCS 5, pp. 7, 8-21.


132. This year name is a variant of that discussed by F. R. Kraus in JCS 5, p. 7; the variant (ARN 12) has \( \text{Ur} \) before the GN; \( \text{Ur} \), however, is not known to have been worshipped in Zabalam; for Zabalam = Išuag, see A. Goetze, Sumer 11 (1955), p. 127 and W. W. Hallo, BiOr 18 (1961), p. 11.

133. Stephens No. 18; see D. O. Edzard, ZZZ, p. 157.

134. Stephens No. 19; see D. O. Edzard, ZZZ, n. 837; \( \text{Ur} \) is a rather common designation of a canal; see H. Sauren, Topographie der Provinz Umma nach den Urkunden der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur, p. 63.
The fifteenth and final ruler of the Dynasty of Isin, is mentioned in the year name of 329.135

MU ₄Da-₄i₄-q₄-₄l₄-₄u / 17 LUGAL MU.BA.AL

VI. TABLETS DATED TO THE REIGN OF RİM–ANUM DEALING WITH ASİRUM

This small group of seven tablets provides additional documentation for the reign of Rim–Anum, a contemporary of Rim–Sin of Larsa. His year names have been listed by Ungnad and discussed by A. Falkenstein and W. F. Leemans.136 Texts 339, 341, and 342 have his accession year; 338, 340, and 346 mention his defeat of Uruk and its inhabitants while 337 refers to his defeat of Emût–bâlum.

All the texts in this group deal with asîrum (prisoners of war), known from texts already published and studied by W. F. Leemans and previous authors mentioned by him in his article.137 The texts published here are closely related in many ways to the ones dealt with by Leemans, though no mention is made of “dead men” (UG₂), as in the texts dating to Rim–Sin.138 The nîg₄.₄u functionary, Sin–šeme, the “foreman” of the asîrî (UGULA asîrî), already known from Leemans’s texts, occurs also on 337–40 and 346 in this volume. Daganma–ilî, whom Leemans takes to be king of Mutî–abal at the time of Rim–Anum, also is mentioned in text 340 of this volume. The foreign localities mentioned in the texts published here agree almost exactly with those noted by Leemans in the texts he used: Gutium, Isin, Kisurra, Subir, Ešnunna, and Babylon. In addition, text 339 mentions an unknown place named BÂD.LUGAL.KI ša Isin.139 As in several of the texts referred to by Leemans, female weavers are mentioned (M.LUŠ.BAR.MEŠ),140 as is a certain Sin–bêl–lî, foreman (UGULA = vaklum) of the weavers. As in several of Leemans’s texts the bit asîrî, “house of the prisoners,” is referred to in connection with providing flour (ZID.DA = qênum), namely texts 341 and 346. The ÂGRIC (bit abarakki), “house of the steward,” is also mentioned several times as in Leemans’s texts.141 That the people characterized as asîrum were indeed, as Leemans argues, prisoners of war put to work in various occupations by the government is suggested by the term šallatum,

135. This year name is a variant of formulae 0 and 0+1 discussed by F. R. Kraus in JCS 3, p. 9; see also D. O. Edzard, ZZB, pp. 115, 158, and n. 581. Year 7 according to E. Prang, JCS 27 (1975), pp. 152–52.
137. See CAD A:2, s.v. asîrû; D. O. Edzard, ZZB, n. 858; and A. Falkenstein, Bagh. Mitt., p. 39, n. 180, where he mentions 45 unpublished asîrum-texts in the British Museum.
139. RA 55, p. 67.
140. RA 55, p. 68.
141. See CAD A:1, s.v. abarakku.
“booty,” used in texts 339 and 340 of this volume. Text 339 characterizes seventeen asiru as the booty of a certain individual, whose name is difficult to read; text 340 characterizes a young male prisoner (tur. ra = šuḫaru) as the booty (šallat) of Daganma-ilu. Text 337 mentions both female and male prisoners of war. Several of the tablets in this group bear seal impressions but in no instance is the seal of the ša.tam mentioned as it is in several of the tablets dealt with by Leemans. The new texts published here should help to further elucidate the position of the asirum, evidently a widespread social institution in Old Babylonian times.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

This final group consists of several tablets with unplaced year names or no dates, except for those tablets dealt with in my JCS article, for which the reader is referred to the Catalogue and the cross-reference index. Text 168, a silver loan from the palace, bears no indication of when or where it was written. Text 306, an affidavit, mentions a certain Šilli-Adad. Whether he is to be taken as the king of Larsa or not depends on the interpretation of lines 5–8. Line 6 is especially difficult to interpret. Text 333, listing sesame rations for several individuals, mentions a certain Kudur-mabug and Elamites (lu nim.ma), but gives no indication of its provenience or date.

Text 334 has the following year name: MU BAD KA-ĐL. DA. KI / BA. DÚ “Year: he built the wall of Pi-naratim”. The location of Pi-naratim is not known. Three kings of Larsa claim to have taken it: Abi-sare (year 8), Sin-iqisham (year 2), and Rim-Sin (year 15). On the basis of the evidence available no conclusion can be reached as to the date or provenience of the tablet. The same applies to text 335 which has the partially legible date MU BAD GAL KA 5XXX (“Year: ..., the great wall”).

The final text in this group (150) has the following year name: MU 6 NE[.IRI11. GAL] A-pi-ak [ ] (“Year: ..., the temple of Nergal of Apiak”). Though Nergal of Apiak is known, the year name of this tablet must remain unplaced until further evidence comes to light. A comparison of the spelling of the city name in text 150 and in the year name of text 309 suggests that it should be read Apiak rather than Awak.

It is to be hoped that with the publication of this volume the new material contained

142. See CAD S, s.v. šuḫaru (= tur. ra, used only of prisoners).
143. See W. F. Leemans, RA 55, p. 62.
144. RA 55, pp. 75, 76; Leemans refers to the asirum in Alalah, Ugarit, Palestine, and Anatolia (Hittite texts).
145. On the reading of the name see D. O. Edzard, ZZZB, n. 546.
146. ZZZB, p. 110 and n. 546 (where Sin-iqisham should be substituted for Sin-iddinam) and p. 150.
148. In text 309 the sign is PI, while in text 150 the sign is NE; the sign NE had the value pi in Old Akkadian times (see I. J. Gelb, MAD 2, p. 74, sub 122).
INTRODUCTION

herein will help to shed further light on the political and economic life of Babylonia during the span of almost two centuries covered by this collection of tablets.

At the end of this Introduction I would like again, at the risk of repetition, to thank all those who had a hand in bringing to fruition a work so long in process.

For the errors still remaining I accept responsibility — except for those committed by the original scribes who wrote the tablets.
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<th>Babylon</th>
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<tr>
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1 Letters with parentheses are standard references. Without parentheses they refer to symbols in JCS 13-15.
2 Except for his first two years the chronological order of the year names of Manana is not yet known; see the Introduction.
3 See the Introduction on this unplaced date formula.
4 See now M. Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History, pp. 1-31; according to the tablet A. 7534 Warad-Sin ruled 13 years.
LIST OF TEXTS BY DYNASTY AND KING

ISIN

Iddin-Dagan: 313
Isme-Dagan: 312, 314, 316
Lipit-Istar “a”: 315, “b”: 317
Ur-Ninurta: 318
Bur-Sin: 320
Irra-imitti: 319
Enlil-bani: 321
Zambia: 322
Itēr-piša 1:326; “b”: 325
Urdukuga: 327
Sin-magir: 328
Damiq-ilišu: 329

LARSA

Abi-sarē 1:180–81, 183–84; 2:186; 3:185;
4:308(?); 5:187–91, 193, 196–98; 6:192,
194–95, 199–204, 336; 7:205–06, 208,
217; 9:211(?); 10:182, 207, 209–10
Sumu-el 1:213–16; 4:220–21, 225; 6:222,
264; 7:212, 223, 226, 229; 8:227; 9:126;
?:224, 265–66, 268–81, 284; 11:230–35;
22:218, 332; 23:263; 24:330; 26:262;
28:267; oath:282
Nūr–Adad 1:283; “b”: 285 (ZZB, p. 142); “uu”: 98(?), 121 (JCS 14, p. 78)
Sin–iddinam 6:286–87, 289–91; 7:169,
288, 292–93
Sin–eribam 1:294–304, 348; 2:305
Ṣili–Adad 1:310
Warad–Sin 6:129; 12:311

BABYLON

Sumu–la–el 6:347; 22(?):130; 25:133–35,
31:142; 32:119, 331; 33:143;
36:132, 144
Apil–Sin 2(?):145–46, 149; 11(?):148;
17:147
Sin–muballit 6:151; 7:152, 155–56; 8:
157–58; 10:159; 11:160, 162; 14:165;
16:153, 161; oath:154, 163

149. See the Introduction.
KIŠ

Abdi-araḫ 1:106–07
Manana 1:76, 78–79, 81–82, 86; 2:96, 105, 110; “ii”:84; “jj”:85; “kk”: 88, 88 (see 113); “ll”:87, 109; “mm”:91; “nn”:89, 90, 93; “oo”:92; “pp”:95, 104 (JCS 14, p. 77)

Sumu-ditân “ddd”:112 (JCS 14, pp. 84 f.); oath:122

Yawium: 111, 116, 167 (cf. JCS 14, pp. 82 f.)

Sumu–yamûtbâl “a” = “tt” 103; “b” = “vv” 102 (JCS 14, pp. 78, 81 f.)

Manium oath: 119

EŠNUNNA

Bëlakum “v”:37
Ipiq–Adad II “k”:10–11 (JCS 13, p. 76);
“z”:50 (JCS 13, p. 79)

Narām–Sin “l”:12–14 (JCS 13, p. 76);
“m”:16–19, 350 (JCS 13, p. 76);
“o”:20–21 (JCS 13, p. 76)

Iqiš–Tišpak 1:15
Daduša ?:74

Ibbâl–pî–el 3:63; 5:4; 7:3, 5; 8:45; 9:6, 9, 38, 48, 72, 80; 10:8, 77; 11:7; “j”:2

(JCS 13, p. 76); oath:42; “bb”:55

Minor Dynasties in chronological order of the texts

SIPPAR

Mana–balte–el: 345 (oath)

KISURRA?

Ibni–šadûm: 344

MARAD

Alumbiumu: 120, 124
Yamsi–el 2:117

Sumu–numḫim: 125, 166

TUTUB

Ĥammi–dušur “w”:39; “dd”:62; oath: 26–30, 32

Dannum–taḥaz “a”:1, 73 (JCS 13, p. 74);
“q”:22 (JCS 13, pp. 76 f.); “ff”:70

(JCS 13, p. 82)

URUK

Rim–Anum 1:339, 341–42; “a”:337;
“b”:338, 340, 346

Ir(da)nene: 343

Unplaced Kings

Naqimum “bbb”:118 (JCS 14, p. 84);
“ccc”:115 (JCS 14, p. 84)

Sumu–atar “iii”:127 (JCS 14, p. 86)

Yadkur–el “ee”: 53 (JCS 13, p. 82)

150. Kutha was proposed as the center for these kings, JCS 14, pp. 80 f.
CATALOGUE

The years marked by a letter are commented on in my article, "Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Harmal and Elsewhere," *JCS* 13–15.

Certain unusual and/or important words in the texts are transliterated in the descriptions below. Other more common words indicative of various categories of texts are keyed as follows: Loan at interest = *ur₃-ra*; Expenditure = *ba₂ zi*; Delivery = *mu₄ tum*; Receipt = *šu₄ ti₄ a*; Assigned work = *ēš gār*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>Loan of barley from Šamaš; na₂-pa₄-kum, Māš ma₅-ka₄-tum.</td>
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<td>Magrattum</td>
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32
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¹⁵¹. Beginning with the reign of Manana the usual Old Babylonian month names appear and henceforth will be listed by number.

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85
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153. For the Sumu-el dates, we cite the year formula from *RLA* and *UET* 8:66. (See my Introduction, pp. 16 ff.)
154. mu e₄-ne.[be:11.gal] a.pi.ak[...].
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155. MU Ú.SA URU.DU.AN A-bî-ša-ri-e E-šTU 1.NI.TUR.[RI]. Lipit-Irra was functionary into the first years of Sumu-el.
156. See my Introduction for a discussion on Sumu-el.
157. MU Ša-bu-umû B ÚRU.KI DIŠI GÛ h'ParattûM MA.AN.DÎB.DÎB; cf. note 160 on number 265 below; cf. also Introduction.
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<td>259</td>
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<td>NBC 6770</td>
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158. MU US SA 4. BI UGNI M KIŠ. KI GIŠ. TUKUL BA. SIG.
159. 256 and 257 were published in transliteration by S. D. Walters, Water for Larsa (YNER 4), p. 121.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
<td>263</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
<td>264</td>
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<td>Receipt for expenditure of sesame oil</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl?</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>NBC 8030</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
<td>268</td>
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<td>Receipt for expenditure of sesame oil for the fire offering and torch</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
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<td>Receipt for expenditure of sesame oil; GABA.RI R.A.E.GAL.</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>YBC 10286</td>
<td>Delivery of sesame</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumu-ēl (oath)</td>
<td>(date lost)</td>
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<td>YBC 7632</td>
<td>Loan of silver with penalty clauses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nūr-Adad 1</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NBC 6796</td>
<td>Purchase of orchard</td>
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<td>Sumu-ēl</td>
<td>284</td>
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<td>Expenditure of sesame oil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nūr-Adad &quot;b&quot;</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NBC 7843</td>
<td>Division of estate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sin-iddinam 6</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NBC 6427</td>
<td>Fragmentary account</td>
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160. 265-66, 278-81, 284 have the unplaced formula mu *Sa-bu-*um§ & urum§ piddi (var. uru tu.r tu.rib§)
162. The Sin-iddinam dates are those shown by A. Goetze, *JCS* 4 (1950), pp. 83 ff.; see also my Introduction.
<table>
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<td>287 Sin–iddinam 6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NBC 6766</td>
<td>Deliveries of barley to storehouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>288 Sin–iddinam 7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NBC 7646</td>
<td>Receipt for silver</td>
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<td>289 Sin–iddinam 6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Delivery of four slaves</td>
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<td>290 Sin–iddinam 6</td>
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<td>NBC 8014</td>
<td>Receipt for purchase of gold</td>
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<tr>
<td>291 Sin–iddinam 6</td>
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<td>NBC 6432</td>
<td>Memorandum concerning large work parties</td>
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<td>292 Sin–iddinam 7</td>
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<td>NBC 6433</td>
<td>Ration list</td>
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<td>293 Sin–iddinam 7</td>
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<td>Text dealing with hides and wool</td>
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<td>Statement of debt</td>
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<td>295 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>NBC 6814</td>
<td>Memorandum concerning cloth</td>
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<td>296 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>NBC 6808</td>
<td>Memorandum concerning woolen goods</td>
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<td>NBC 7327</td>
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<tr>
<td>298 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>NBC 6815</td>
<td>Votive gifts for DN</td>
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<tr>
<td>299 Sin–eribam 1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>NBC 6747</td>
<td>Assumption of debt</td>
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<tr>
<td>300 Sin–eribam 1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>NBC 6813</td>
<td>Assigned work of plow; (ES.GAR GIS.APIN)</td>
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<tr>
<td>301 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>NBC 6805</td>
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<td>302 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>Assigned work of plow</td>
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<td>303 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>NBC 7729</td>
<td>Assigned work of plow</td>
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<td>304 Sin–eribam 1</td>
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<td>305 Sin–eribam 2</td>
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<td>NBC 6812</td>
<td>Assigned work of plow payable to palace</td>
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<td>306 no date</td>
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<td>NBC 7713</td>
<td>Affidavit</td>
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<td>307 Sin–iqišam 3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>YBC 10294</td>
<td>Deliveries of sesame</td>
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<tr>
<td>308 Abi–sarē 4(?)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>YBC 10248</td>
<td>Receipt for delivery of barley</td>
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<tr>
<td>309 Sin–iqišam 4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NBC 6884</td>
<td>Statement of debt</td>
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<td>310 Śilli–Adad 1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NBC 7290</td>
<td>Work given to women clothing workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>311 Warad–Sin 12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NBC 7695</td>
<td>Accounts of large numbers of cattle</td>
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<tr>
<td>312 Išmē–Dagan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NBC 6507</td>
<td>Account of barley flour for the regular offering of the high priestess of DN</td>
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<tr>
<td>313 Iddin–Dagan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NBC 6431</td>
<td>Delivery of sheep</td>
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<td>314 Išmē–Dagan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NBC 8666</td>
<td>List (fragmentary); GU.UN</td>
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42
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<td>Offering list</td>
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<td>Ismē–Dagan</td>
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<td>NBC 8688</td>
<td>Offering list of copper vessels</td>
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<td>Lipit–Ištar “b”</td>
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<td>NBC 6429</td>
<td>Letter</td>
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<td>Ur–Ninurta</td>
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<td>NBC 7655</td>
<td>Fields designated for assigned work</td>
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<td>Bur–Sīn</td>
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<td>Division of inheritance</td>
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<td>Enlil–bani</td>
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<td>Zambia</td>
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<td>Receipt for green dates</td>
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<td>Iṭēr–piša 1</td>
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<td>Purchase of “priestly” prerogatives; cf. No. 328</td>
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<td>Urdukuga</td>
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<td>NBC 6506</td>
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<td>NBC 6451</td>
<td>Division of inheritance of “priestly” prerogative; ḫa. lā. ba.; cf. No. 326</td>
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<td>Damiq–ilišu</td>
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<td>Sumu–el 24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NBC 6750</td>
<td>Delivery of barley at the storehouse of DN</td>
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<td>Sumu–la–el 32?</td>
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<td>YBC 6778</td>
<td>Rental of field for 3 years</td>
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<td>Abī–sarē 6</td>
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<td>Rim–Anum</td>
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<td>MLC 837</td>
<td>Asirum text; expenditure of flour š̄à  ē a–si–ri</td>
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164. A transliteration and translation of this text appears in Edmond Sollberger, *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*, p. 92; the seal impression has been published in transliteration by W. W. Hallo in *BiOr* 20, p. 175 f.
165. *mu ḫadd* Pl₁–nāqmûm *ba. dû* (see the Introduction).
166. *mu ḫadd gaš gal.* KA¹.xxx¹ (see the Introduction).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
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<td>MLC 1589</td>
<td>Asirum text; consignment of prisoners for field work</td>
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<td>Ir(da)nene</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>YBC 6768</td>
<td>Redemption of house;</td>
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<td>Ibnī–ṣadūm</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>NBC 7342</td>
<td>Adoption</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mana–balte–el (oath)</td>
<td>345</td>
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<td>NBC 7305</td>
<td>Purchase of house</td>
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<td>Rim–Anum</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>YBC 11995</td>
<td>Asirum text</td>
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<td>Sumu–la–el 6</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>MLC 1218</td>
<td>Judgment concerning field</td>
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<td>Sin–eribam 1</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>MLC 1283</td>
<td>Account</td>
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<td>Gungunum 21</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>YBC 4235</td>
<td>Receipt by various merchants of 𒇻.GAR;</td>
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<td>te-bi–ib–tum LUGAL</td>
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<td>Narām–Sin “m”</td>
<td>350</td>
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<td>NBC 9762</td>
<td>Loan of silver from Šamaš and PN; Ṣamaš</td>
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<td>Sumu–(a)bum 1</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rugh\textsuperscript{167}</td>
<td>Adoption</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{167}. Text held in the private possession of the late Dr. Rugh.
INDICES

PERSONAL NAMES

The indices below follow a sign by sign transliteration using the sign values of René Labat, Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne. In addition the following conventions have been employed: 4Adad = 4IM, 4Amurru = 4MAR.TU, 4Ilabrat = 4NIN.ŠUBUR, Ilam or Ilum = AN, 4Nergal = NE.IRI11.GAL, 4Sin = 4EN.ZU, Sin = 30, 4Šamaš = 4UTU, Warad, War(ad) or War(a) = 1R. Presumed Amorite names are prefixed by an asterisk as they occur in the alphabetical list.

A-ba-ra-bi, 123:1. 4Ab-ba-ra-bi, f. of Šu-4Na-na-a, seal 83.
*Ab-di-a-ru-a (king), 106:36, case 83; 107:28.
A-bi-a-ra-ab, f. of Za-a-nu-um, 84:8, seal 21.
A-bi-la-la, s. of Ga-ap-na-um, 92:13.
EARLY OLD BABYLONIAN DOCUMENTS

*A—bi—sa—ri—e, *A—bi—sa—ri—e* (king), 180:7; 181:10; 182:7*; 183:10*; 184:8'; 205:10*; 206:2'; 208:10; 209:8*; 210:9; 211:9; seals 80*; 86; 88*; 93; 101; 104*.
A—bi—si—la—(ku)—um, f. of A—si—rum, 42:case 19.
A—bi—si—um, 342:2.
A—bi—ṭu—bu—um, A—bi—ṭabum(DÜG)*, 62:9; 124:2*.
*A—bu—ia, 132:12, case 12.
*A—bu—um—ha—lum, 105:19; 225:3; 335:24.
A—bu—um—ṭa—bu—um, A—bu—um—ṭa—bu*,
 2. f. of *NANNA—GU.GAL, 127:16.
 3. s. of Za—na—nu—um, 163:3*.
A—bu—um—wa—qar, A—bu—wa—qar*,
 1. s. of Ė—a—mu—ši—im, 160:28*.
 2. s. of I—li—tu—ra—am, 11:16.
 3. 165:20*; 293:10*; 297:5*.
*A—da—el—i—li, 1. s. of dumu—dutu, 23:11.
 2. 46:9.
 2. s. of Hu—su—ub—tum, 147:1, 7, 9, 14, 20.
 4. 145:13; 155:9; 156:3, 4; 157:2, 5; 160:5, 8; 162:5; 165:3.
Adad—ra—bi, s. of ur—nin.giš.zi.da, 326:6, 8; seal 136.
Adad—re'ili(SIPA),
 2. 34:19; 290:8.
Adad—ri—me—ni, f. of Ka—la—mu, 163:35.
Adad—še—mi, 179:8.
Adad—TAB.BA—e, 23:10.
A—da—la—lum, s. of Ip—ṭu—ri, 22:12, case 1'.
A—da—la—lum, *A—da—ta*,
 1. f. of A—na—Da—mu—tak—la—ku, seal 139*.
 2. f. of *Da—mu—ri—me—ni, seal 141*.
 3. f. of I—din—Da—mu, seal 140.
 4. s. of Ilam—šam—di—i, 52:10.
 5. f. of Šu—mi—a—ḫi—ia, seal 138*.
 6. 9:11; 71:5.
Ad—a—ti—il, f. of Bitum(Ē)—ma—gir, 16:13.
A—di—an—ni—a, 348:27.
A—di—du—um, E—di—du—um*,
 1. b. of Be-la—nu—um, 72:2.
 2. b. of Ma—nu—um, 72:2.
 3. s. of Na—ni—bu—um, 72:2.
 4. s. of Ša—Ištar, Ša—Ištar†, 3:11; 7:17†; 46:5†.
 5. 72:7*, 14.
 1. s. of La—an—še—me—a, 325:27*.
 2. 135:4, case 4†, 10, case 10, 12, case 12.
PERSONAL NAMES

A-e-ni-š-ı-š-li,
1. s. of Būzur-gin, lit, seal 75.
2. 332:4.
A-ga-a-a, 86:1.
82:8.
*A-gi-gu-um, f. of Ma-aḥ-li-lum, 118:
16.
A-ḥa-mar-ši, A-ḥa-am-ar-ši*,
1. s. of Ka-an-da-a-a, 128:20.
2. f. of 4Marduk-na-ši-ir, 339:1*.
3. s. of 4Šamaš-kā-ši-id, seal 121.
4. 122:18; 281:5; 306:11.
A-ḥa-nūm, 94:9.
A-ḥa-nu-ta, A-ḥa-am-nu-ta*, A-ḥa-
am-nu-tam†,
1. f. of A-ra-ia-tum, seal 55.
A-ḥa-ti-wa-aq-ra-at, 123:5; 134:3; seal-
49.
A-ḥa-tum,
1. w. of Im-gur-4Sin, 329:5, 6.
2. w. of 4Sin-ia, seal 142.
3. 329:17, 19; 337:2.
A-ḥa-tu-ia,
1. m. of A-li-wi-um, 47:4.
2. w. of A-si-ru-um, A-si-rum*, 47:9,
14*.
3. m. of 4Sin-ri-me-ni, 47:4.
A-ḥi-ē-ē-a, 150:15.
A-ḥi-ia, s. of 4..., 326:31.
*A-ḥi-ia-šu-uh, f. of Be-la-ki, 39:16.
A-ḥi-ia-li,
1. s. of Ya-am-ḥa-nu-um, 83:case 18.
2. 83:18.
A-ḥi-ma-a, 53:5.
A-ḥi-ma-ra-as, 244:13.
*A-ḥi-su-mu-na, 59:5.
A-ḥi-um-mi-šu, f. of I-qi-šum, 67:15.
A-ḥu-um-il, 143:1*.
A-ḥu-ia-ga-nil, s. of Du-ni-4A-ḥu-ia,
16:14.
A-ḥu-ia-tum, f. of 4Sin-ra-bi, 2:13;
5:13.
A-ḥu-la-a-a, 287:2.
A-ḥu-ni, A-ḥu-ni-ia*,
1. f. of 4Adad-na-da, 146:8; 159:10;
162:9.
2. f. of Be-el-šu-nu, 47:27.
3. f. of E-a-da-pi-in, 334:case 9*.
4. s. of Hi-ša-a-a, 28:4; 32:1.
6. s. of I-pi-īq-ši-na, 72:32], seal
154.
7. s. of Is-me-4Sin, 319:7, case 8;
seal 131.
8. f. of 4Sin-e-[ri-ba-am], 327:19.
9. b. of 4Sin-ub-lam, 319:7, case
8.
10. 26:24; 34:22; 53:4; 124:19; 225:8*;
335:2*, 5*, 13*, 18*.
A-ḥu-nu-um, A-ḥu-un-nu-um*,
1. s. of Awil-ē-a, 118:22.
2. s. of Nu-ur-ē-a, 123:10; 141:3.
4. 140:4, case 5.
A-ḥu-ši-na,
1. s. of Akšak-šē-me, 47:22.
2. 92:7; 161:29.
A-ḥu-šu-nu, f. of Šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši,
328:17.
A-ḥu-ū-ia,
1. b. of Ku-ku-nu-um, 107:9, case 9;
seal 35.
2. s. of Ma-ni-bu-um, 107:9, case 9;
seal 35.
A-ḥu-wa-qar,
1. s. of [A]-hi-Šamaš, 18:12.
2. s. of Im-gur-Sin, 11:13.
4. s. of Ip-ğu-ša, 24:12.
5. s. of Iš-DINGIR,RA, 145:23.
7. f. of Rêš(SIPA)-Sīn, 160:27.
9. 223:5.
A-ia-lum (See: A-ia-lum).
*A-ki-ia, 120:2.
Ak-ša-a, f. of E-ri-ba-Sīn, 44:10.
Akšak-ki-din-nam, f. of Ibl-ni-Amurru,
4:7.
Akšak-ki-še-me, Akšak-ki-še-mi*.
2. s. of Wara(s)-ša, 50:case 6; seal 15*.
3. 50:6.
A-ku-ū..., 184:2.
A-la-lum, 114:17.
A-li-ba-ni-šu, 40:28; 69:13, 27, 35;
74:10.
A-li-la-ma,
1. b. of Sa-am-sa-nu-um, 107:case 7*.
2. s. of U-ba-zu-um, 103:17; 107:case 7*.
3. 107:22.
A-li-šu-nu, s. of Sīn-i-qi-[ša-am],
329:23.
A-li-tillat[ILLAT⁴], f. of A-bi-iš-ta-
mart, 17:15.
*A-li-ū-um (See: Ḫa-li-ū-um).
A-li-wa-aq-ram, A-li-wa-aq-ru-um*,
1. f. of Mi-il-kī-ia, 350:13, case 11.
2. f. of Nu-ûr-Kab-ta, 11:8; 350:5,
case 4.
3. s. of Sīn-e-ri-ba-am, 325:19*.
*A-li-wi-um,
1. s. of A-ḫa-ta-ia, 47:1.
2. s. of A-sī-ru-um, 47:1.
3. b. of Sīn-ri-me-ni, 47:1.
*A-li-da-ia-an, f. of Tâ-ba-an-a-bu-
um, 12:17.
*A-mal-ra-bi, s. of Warad-Sīn, 155:28.
AMAR-..., f. of Ḫi-mu-ta-bil, seal 110.
AMAR-ṭISKUR (See also: Bur-Adad),
171:4.
AMA.SUkkAL, 254:5; 255:5.
A-ma-at-..., 217:8.
A-ma-at-Sīn, 310:2.
Amal(GEME)-Šamaš, d. of Ḫi-ma-lišk,
163:10.
*A-mi-ru-um, f. of A-ri-ba-a-nu-um,
93:15.
*A-mi-sa-gi-iš,
1. s. of Sīn-i-qi-ša-am, seal 146.
2. 72:11.
*A-mu-ra-pi,
1. s. of Sīn-e-ri-ba-am, 52:8.
2. 60:7.
Am-ta-lik-a-ḫu-um, s. of Bu-uq-ḫa-nu-
um, 345:23.
*A-mu-ū-a, d. of A-ra-ta-tum, 128:3.
A-mur-liš, 83:3, case 3.
A-mur-i-lu-su, f. of Itti(KI)-Sīn-tak-
la-ku, 116:22.
*A-murra-ba-ni,
1. f. of Ma-nu-um-ri-šu, 140:10,
case 12.
2. 251:14.
PERSONAL NAMES

Amurru-še-mi, 311:7.
A-na-. . .
1. f. of . . .-Iš-ḫa-ra, 154:18*.
2. 167:3.
A-na-Da-mu-tāk-la-ku,
1. s. of A-da-ta, seal 139.
2. 322:30; 328:5.
A-na-E-a-tāk-la-a-ku, 129:7*.
A-na-Ištar-uz-ni, 253:5.
A-na-ku-i-la-ma, A-na-ku-il-a-ma*,
1. b. of Nu-ra-tum, 26:7; 29:7.
2. s. of Pa-ra-tim, 26:7; 29:7.
3. 27:5; 28:7, case 6; 30:6; 31:7*; 32:4; 33:5; 34:4*; 9*, 17*; 35:8; 38:8.
A-na-ni-ia, 94:3.
A-na-nu-um, A-na-ni-im*, f. of Ma-
ah-li-tum, 26:34; 28:23*, case 22*.
A-na-Sim-tāk-la-ak, A-na-Sim-tāk-
la-ku*,
1. s. of I-li-ša-am, 85:3*.
2. f. of Sim-aš-ra-ni, 90:20*.
3. 60:8; 112:26*; 262:2*.
An-na-ili, An-ni-il-ili*, An-ni-ili-[li]†,
1. s. of BE-di-ili, 93:18*.
2. 90:18; 91:16; 98:17; 135:16, case 16; 342:10†.
An-na-Ištar,
1. s. of Warad-Ištar, seal 48.
2. 120:3.
A-ni-ili, f. of Ištaran(KA.DI)-
ri-me-ni, seal 128.
AN.NE-BA.AB.DU₇₇,
1. f. of Sa-ru-um, 326:9
2. f. of Šamaš-na-šir, 149:22.
3. f. of Warad-Uruk²⁴, 321:rev. II.4*.
4. 321 obv. II.5.
Anum-pi-li, 133:4, 8, 12.
Anum-pi-Ištar, 311:30.
Anum-pi-ša, An-um-pi-ša*,
1. f. of Ri-im-Adad, seal 18*.
2. s. of Šu-Nin-ḫur-sag-gd, 147:37.
A-pil-Amurru, A-pil-Amurru*,
1. s. of Iš-aq-., seal 147.
2. f. of Sin-ba-ni, 153:1*.
A-pil-la-tum, 161:3.
A-pil-[um], 165:22.
A-pil-Ku-bi, A-pil-Ku-bi*,
1. s. of Pu-hu-um, 72:31?; seal 77.
2. s. of Zi-a-tum, 350:14, case 12.
A-pi-Sin, A-pil-Sin* (king), 145:17,
33; 146:17; 147:45; 148:16*, case 16*; 149:19, 30.
A-pil-Sin, A-pil-Sin*, A-pil-Sin†,
1. s. of Da-ri-kum, 141:5*; seal 61.
2. f. of E-bi-bu-um, 63:11†.
3. b. of Ir-ra-ga-mi-il, 344:1, case 1,
13, case 13.
4. h. of La-ma-si, 1:5*.
5. s. of Ma-na-tum, 344:1, case 1, 13, case 13.
6. s. of Sin-im-ma-tim, 16:18†.
7. f. of Šamaš-e-li-na-ma-tim, 1:5*.
8. s. of UR-zi.EDIN.NA, 344:1, case 1,
13, case 13.
A-pil-ša, A-pil-ša*,
1. s. of I-li-ia, 133:21.
2. 165:25*; 603:5*.
A-pîl-Ša-ḫa-an, A-pîl-Ša-ḫa-an*,
1. s. of 𐏳Da-mu-ә-su, 152:19; seal 68.
2. 99:19; 157:21*.
A-pîl-šu-nu, A-pîl-šu-nu*,
1. f. of bûzûr-Š[NIN.KAR].RA.AK, 87:2*.
2. 87:15; 267:12*.
Ap-pa-an-li, i
1. s. of 4Šin-i-qi-ša-am, Šin-i-qi-ša-am†, 20:case 19†; 22:16, case 5*.
2. 20:18; 48:12; 75:17.
*Aq-ba-ḫu-um,  i
1. s. of Kû-ru-um, 106:22, case 20.
2. 105:16; 106:3, case 3.
*Aq-qâ-ša-nu-um, *Aq-qâ-ša-nu-um*,
*Àq-qâ-ta-a-nu-um†, *Àq-qa-ta-a-nu-um†, *Àq-qâ-ta-a-nu-um†, *Àq-qâ-ša-nu-um§,
1. s. of E-er-ḫa-qum, Ya-er-ḫa-qum, 93:7†; 99:6*; seals 25†; 26†;
2. b. of Lum-ma-a-nu-um, seal 26†.
3. 78:6; 90:6†, 10*; 91:6§.
A-ra-ia-tum,  i
1. d. of A-ḫa-nu-ta, seal 55.
2. m. of A-mu-u-a, 128:4.
3. m. of 4Šin-ru-ri, 128:4.
*A-ri-šu-um, A-ri-šu-um*,
1. s. of A-mi-ru-um, 93:14*.
2. 78:12; 90:16*; 91:13*; 95:3?; 97:2, 17; 99:3.
Ar-ki-ši-Idšar,167 s. of Šu-4I(ar)brat, 81:4.
Ar-ši-ḫu-um, Ar-ši-ḫu-um*,
1. s. of Da-qa-qi-ia, 2:8.
2. s. of Ku-ta-tum, Ku-ta-tim†, 51:18*, case 14†.
Ar-wi-um,  i
1. s. of Qâ-qâ-da-nu-um, 103:17.
2. b. of Sû-ka-lum, 103:17.
3. 101:7; 125:19; 239:2; 292:8.
*A-ša-nu-um, f. of 4Da-mu-ri-me-ni, 328:23.
A-si-ia,  i
1. s. of Nu-ur-î-šu, 67:8.
2. s. of Šu-Purattim (UD.KIB. NUN.NA), 145:24.
A-sî-ru-um, A-sî-ru-um*,
1. s. of A-bî-sî-la-<ku>-um, 42:case 19*.
2. f. of A-li-wi-um, 47:3.
3. f. of 4Šin-ri-me-ni, 47:3.
4. 47:8, 14*; 97:18?.
*As-ni-ša, f. of I-din-4Amurru, 68:10.
A-sû-a, f. of 4Šin-ub-lam, seal 102.
A-šu-me-li, s. of Hi-su-lum, 58:2'.
A-ta-na-ah-î-li,  i
2. s. of 4Da-mu-a-su, 325:25.
3. f. of I-šu-i-ši-šu, 24:19.
*At-ri-ɔa-dum, 75:16.
*At-la-ma-nu-um, f. of 4Šin-li, 119:16/17.
Awil(LU)-E-a, f. of A-ḫu-nu-um, 118:22.
A-wi-li-ia,  i
1. s. of Za-qâ-ti-im, 345:19.
2. 267:3; 339:6.
A-wi-il-li, A-wi-il-il-li*, Awil(LU)-ilî†,
1. s. of Ig-mi-lu, 75:4*.
2. s. of Ir-ra-ga-šê-er, 161:27.
3. s. of 4Šin-ga-mil, seal 111†.
4. 119:3*; 262:3.

167. li. Ar(i)k-îd(i)-Ištar.
PERSONAL NAMES

Ba-ri-, 217:4.
Ba-su-mu-um,
1. b. of Ib-ni-E-a, 26:27.
3. b. of Sa-mu-ra-a-ah, 26:27; 27:22.
4. b. of Zu-bu-šum, 27:22.
Ba-ši-ilu, s. of Ša-ri-un-tum, 337:8.
Ba-tu-lum, s. of Lu-ru-ubADad, 345:18.
BE-di-ilu, f. of An-ni-ilu, 93:18.
Be-la-ki, s. of A-ši-ia-šu-ub, 39:15.
Be-la-kum, 37:21 (King); 245:11.
Be-la-nu-um, Bi-la-nu-um*,
2. b. of Ma-nu-um, 72:3.
3. s. of Na-ni-bu-um, 72:3.
Be-li-, 95:12.
Be-li-a-ri-ik,
2. f. of ...ba..., seal 73.
Be-li-ia, Bi-li-ia*,
1. s. of La-li-e-el, 51:14, case 9.
2. f. of 4Šama(UTU)-ni, 120:11*.
Be-li-su-nu, Be-li-su-nu*,
1. m. of E-pir4Šamaš, 7:3*.
2. w. of Ri-is4Šamaš, 7:3*.
3. w. of Ša-Ištar, 22:18, case 7'.
4. 22: case 1e.
Be-li-iti-ia,
1. sister of Im-gur-ri-ia, 163:13, 22.
2. d. of 4Šara-ZI-DA, 163:13, 22.
Be-el-su-nu,
1. s. of A-šu-ni, 47:27.
2. f. of Hu-za-lum, 15:16; 19:12.
4. f. of Īl-šu-na-šir, 8:11.
Be-el-ta-ni, 294:5.
Be-lum, 189:7.
Bi-bi-Ṣīn (cf. Stamum, MVAG 44 under KUM-Ṣīn), 331:13.
Bi-la-la..., f. of Dā-di-ī-li-ia, seal 78.
Bi-ād-ru-ni, f. of Warad-Ṣīn, 84:9.
Bitum(E)-da-ri,
1. s. of En-nam-Ṣīn, 139:4; seal 59.
2. s. of Sa-li-ma-tum, 139:4.
Bitum(E)-da-ru-um, f. of Ha-li-um, 115:5.
Bitum(E)-na-gir, s. of Ad-da-ti-ī-li, 16:12.
Bi-tum-mu-ba-li-ṭ, s. of ..., 326:32.
Bu-du-um, 89:4; 144:8.
*Bu-ub-nu-na-um, 152:2.
*Bu-uk-nu-um, f. of Ya-la-ru-um, 345:6; seal 150.
Bu-la-lum,
1. s. of E-ri-ba-Ṣīn, 143:4; seal 62.
2. s. of Ū-ši-na-wi-ir, 325:17.
Bu-la-ṭa, 258:3.
Bu-li-E-a,
1. s. of Ku-zu-bu-um, seal 128.
2. 320:6.
*Bu-nu-ba-lum,
1. s. of Se-ba-ru-um, 113:4.
Bur-x..., 329:8.
Bur-a-e, Bu-ri-ia*, 46:2*; 59:13; 163:4*.
Bur-Adad (See also: AMAR-ŠJKUR), 312:2*; 317:7.
Bur-Nin-si-[an-na], f. of ..., 154:16'.
Bur-Nu-nu,
1. s. of Bu-uṣa-tum, 137:13.
2. s. of Pāzur-ṣA-mal, 137:4; seal 58
3. f. of ṢANNA-MA-AN-SUM, 156:21; [160:19]; 162:18; seal 69.
4. 188:6; 320:4, 10.
Bur-Ṣīn (king), 320:21.
Bur-Ṣīn, Bur-Ṣīn*,
1. f. of MARDUK-na-šir, 161:22*.
2. f. of Sin-ga-mil, 147:36*.
Bu-tum, 217:11.
*Bu-ṣa-na-um, h. of Na-na-a-a, 59:4.
Bu-ṣi-ia,
2. s. of Im-ta-ṣa-E-a, 92:9.
3. f. of Ṣin-ra-bi, 162:23.
4. s. of Wara(s)-ṣa, 11:15; 25:16.
5. 98:3; 101:15; 115:3; 283:2.
Bu-za-zi, f. of Ṣin-ma-gir, 147:41.
Búzur-ḥナー, s. of Tu-ba-li-ṭ-Ḥi-bi, 326:26.
Búzur-Ḥa-MU,
2. 325:10.
Búzur(ḥa)-DINGIR, 168 122:4, 15; 260:7 (cf. 260:3).
Búzur-GU.LA, 324:6.
Búzur-Iš-DAB, 53:11.
Búzur-Iš-SUM, 184:2; 308:4.

168. *Bu-ṣa in 122 is apparently a gloss giving the reading of KA.ŠA.
PERSONAL NAMES

\*ùzùr-\*\textsuperscript{4}\textit{kab.ta}, f. of \*e.a-šeš.ti, 322:31; 326:30.

\*ùzùr-\*\textsuperscript{4}mar.tu,
1. s. of \*en-nam-.\ldots, seal 137.
2. 327:4, 6, 13.

\*ùzùr-\*\textsuperscript{4}nin.kar.\*ra.ak,
1. s. of \*a-pil-šu-nu, 87:1.
2. 146:7.

\*ùzùr-\*\textsuperscript{4}sak.kud, f. of \*sîn-im-ma-tim, seal 114.

\*ùzùr-\*\textsuperscript{4}ụtu,
1. f. of \*samaš-ib-ni, 2:11; 45:10.
2. 117:13.

\*bu-ni-\*\textsuperscript{2}za-tum,\textsuperscript{169} f. of \*bur-nu-nu, 137:14.

\*da-.\ldots, 95:11; 100:13.
\*\*da-da-\*nu-\*um, \*dā-\*dā-\*nu-\*um\*, 76:14; 100:16\*.
\*\*da-di-\*ē-\*me-el, \*da-di-\*iš-\*me-\*ēl\*,
\*\*da-di-\*dā-\*me-\*ēl\*†,
1. s. of \*ma-an-\*ma-\*nu-\*um, 330:3\*.
2. 106:20, case 18; 107:17, case 2\*; 333:7\*†.

\*da-\*dī-\*i-a,
1. f. of \*\*i-\*pi-\*iq\*-\*ma-\*mi, 42:10, case 23.
2. 133:1.
\*\*da-\*dī-\*i-li-\*i-a,
1. s. of \*bi-\*la-la-.\ldots, seal 78.
2. 178:4.
\*\*da-du-\*ša (king), 74:12; seals 10; 77; 151; 153.
\*\*da-gan-ma-\*i-\*lu, 340:2.
\*da-ma-qâ-\*um, 133:9.
\*da-mi-\*iq-\*i-li-\*šu (king), 329:28.
\textsuperscript{169} Cfr. \*Úzùr-\*a-mal.

\*da-\*qa-\*nu-\*um, \*da-am-\*qa-\*nu-\*um\*,
1. f. of \*i-gi-\*mîl-\*sîn, 7:18; 44:4; seal 6.
2. s. of \*i-\*š-me-\*sîn, 50:case 8\*.
3. f. of \*tu-\*tu-u\*\*p\*\*\*k\*\*\*\*ma-gir, 8:10; 10:5; 49:15; seal 5.
4. 50:7\*.
\*da-\*mu-\*a-\*zu, \*da-\*mu-\*a-su\*,
1. s. of \*a-ab.\*ba-\*kal-\*la, seal 155.
2. f. of \*a-pil-\*sâ-\*ha-an, 152:20\*; seal 68\*.
3. f. of \*a-ta-na-\*ah-\*i-li, 325:26\*.
4. f. of \*ka-.\ldots, seal 97.
5. 132:13, case 13; 145:11; 321:obv. II.17, rev. I.1\*.
\*da-\*mu-\*en-num, 320:18.
\*da-\*mu-\*gal-\*zu, s. of \*[i]-bi-\*d\ldots, seal 100.
\*da-\*mu-\*mu-.\ldots, f. of \*ni-\*g-\*nanna, 160:20.
\*da-\*mu-\*na-\*ṣı-\*ir, f. of \*úzùr-\*da-\*mu, 306:10.
\*da-\*mu-\*ri-\*me-ni,
1. s. of \*a-da-\*i-a, seal 141.
2. s. of \*a-sa-\*nu-\*um, 328:22.

\*da-\*adad, 221:11.
\*da-\*a-li, 127:2.
\*da-\*i-li, f. of \*i-\*š-me-\*sîn, 83:20, case 20.

\*da-\*ir-\*ra, 337:3.
\*da-\*an-\*bi-\*ri-\*šu, f. of \*warad-\*amurru, 350:6, case 5.
\*da-\*ni-\*ia, 207:5; seal 93.
\*da-\*ni-pa-lil, \*da-\*pa-lil\*.
1. f. of \*li-.\ldots, seal 122\*.
2. 282:4, 14.
(a) Da-an-nu-um-ta-ba-az, (d) Da-nu-ta-
ha-az* (king), 22:23*, case 12';
70:15*; seal 114.
Da-aq-ga-tum, 294:11.
Da-aq-qa-ia, f. of Ar-ši-la-um, 2:9.
Da-qù-um, Da-qù-um*.
   1. s. of Ha-li-lum, 39:13.
   2. f. of L-li-qá-ti-ša-ba-at, 136:5*.
Da-ri-kum, f. of A-pilšSin, 141:6; seal
61.
Da-šu-ru-um, 207:2.
Di-ib..., 313:11.
Di-ib-di-bu-um, s. of Sin-mu-ba-li-ši;
12:10.
*Di-na, f. of Ip-gi-En-lil, 47:23.
Di-ni..., 235:16.
Din(SA)-i-la, Di-in-ila*, 139:11;
349:18*.
*Du-udu-ša-lim, 144:4.
*Du-udšu-um, Du-udšu-um*, 132:10,
case 10*.
Du-lu-qum, Du-lu-qù-um*, 75:9;
331:2*, 4*.
Dumu-hidigna, s. of šSin-i-qi-ša-am,
16:4.
Dumu-tišpak,
   1. s. of Lu-ša-lim, 40:24.
Du-nišA-ḫu-ia, f. of šA-ḫu-ia-ga-mil,
16:15.
Du?-ur-ša, 75:3.

Éa(d)..., 84:17; 155:11.
Éa..., 1. f. of Im-lik-Éa, 156:22.
    2. 235:14.
PERSONAL NAMES

*E-li₄-e, 300:5.
*EN...., s. of ...., 88:18.
*EN.KI-MAŠ.ZU, f. of 4....nu-ri, seal 91.
*En-lil-a-bu-um,
1. s. of E-tel-pi₄-En-lil, 10:11.
2. 61:2.
*En-lil-ba-ni, f. of Ri-iš₄-Samaš,
*En-lil-i-sú, 170 f. of Ša-bu-lum, 42:12, case 15.
*EN.LI₄-MAŠ.ZU,
1. s. of A.AB.BA-KAL.LA, seal 132.
*En-lil-na-da,
1. f. of E-tel-pi₄-Samaš, E-tel-pi₄-
2. s. of ...., 146:25.
*En-lil-ri-me-[ni], f. of ...., seal 82.
En-nam...., f. of Bûzur₄-MAR.TU, seal 137.
En-nam₄-Adad,
1. f. of Is-si₄-tup-makkuri(NÎG.SU),
123:18.
2. 76:7; 100:8.
En-nam₄-Sin, f. of Bitum(E)-da-ri,
139:5; seal 59.
En-né-nu-um, En-ne-nu-um*, 28:5,
case 5; 29:27*; 36:12; 61:5.
170. It is possible to read, *En-dag-i-sú.
E-te-ia, 166:14.
E-te-ia-tum, 337:5.
E-te-el-pi₄-Sin-Da-mu, f. of Lu₅-Da-mu, 326:24; 328:19.
E-te-el-pi₄-ī-sar, s. of Ē-a-sar, 349:6.
E-te-el-pi₄-Sin-lil, f. of Ṣin-lil-a-bu-um, 10:12.
E-te-pi₅-Sin, E-⟨te⟩-el-pi₅-Sin*,
  1. f. of Ibx₅-Amurru, 343:17*.
  2. s. of Sa-am-su, 72:25.
E-te-pi₅-Šamaš, E-te-pi₅-Šamaš*,
  1. s. of Ṣin-līl-na-da, 18:12; 47:20*.
  2. s. of . . ., 146:19.
  3. 40:33.
E-te-lum, E-te-el-lum*, 28:4, case 5;
     54:4; 76:3, 12; 100:17; 117:12;
     267:11*; 283:12.
E-te-[er]-tum, 217:19.

GAL.ZU-LU.LU, 166:16.
Ga-nil-tum, 217:8.
Ga-ni-na-nu-um, f. of E-su-ub-ēl, seal 101.
Gap-la-nu-um, 84:5.
*Ga-ap-na-nu-um, f. of A-bi-lu-la,
     92:14.
Gi-da-nu-um, Gi-da-num*, Gi-da-ni-im†,
  1. s. of I₃-pi₆-Adad, 13:4*; 22:5,
     case 4.
  2. s. of Iš-me-ia, 67:10.
  3. 11:6†; 12:8; 14:4; 15:5; 16:3; 17:3;
     18:5; 19:4; 20:4, case 5; 21:3, 7;
     23:8*; 24:8; 25:3; 61:6; 116:5*.
Gi-ni-lum, 311:24.
GIR.l.sā, 164:23.
GIR.ni-l.sā, 1. s. of Ē.ki-gal.la, seal 115.
  2. s. of Șin-e-ri-ba-am, 327:20.
Gu-lu-tum, 306:1, 5.
Gu-un-gu-nu-um (king), seals 79; 82; 87.

Hā..., 110:18.
*Hā-a-ša-ru-um, 141:12.
*Hā-ab-di-ru-aḥ, *Hā-ab-di-ra-aḥ*,
  1. s. of Șin-a-bu-šu, 348:12.
  2. 172:3*; 174:4; 348:29.
Hā-bil-ki-nu, Hā-bi-il-ki-nu*, s. of
     Warad₄-We-er, 72:28; seal 31*.
Hā-ab-li-ia, 75:3.
Hā-di-um, Hā-di-im*,
  1. s. of (Y)a-ās-kur-ēl, 133:2.
  2. 133:11*.
*Hā-du-nu-um,
  1. f. of Ǝi-re’i(SIPA), 147:30.
*Hā-i-ka-tum, m. of Nu-pa-nu-um,
     99:17.
  1. f. of Da-qū-um, 39:14.
  2. f. of Ya-qū-ub-[el], 37:16*.
*Hā-li-um, s. of Bitum(E)-dā-ru-um,
     115:4.
     111:13*; 116:17.
*Hā-lu-um,
  1. f. of 3a-si-gum, seal 36.
  2. f. of Ku-da-a-nu-um, seal 52.
*Hā-lu-ma-da-ri, *Hā-lu-ma-dar*,
     s. of Zi-im-ri-lu-ma, 50:11, case
     13; seal 17*.
*Hā-ma-a-tar, 139:12.
Hā-ma-si-is?, f. of Ba-aḫ-di-ia, seal 54.
PERSONAL NAMES

*Ḫa-ḫa-ša-tum, 337:4.
Ḫ-ḫa-ša-tum,
  1. f. of Nu-ṣār-E-a, 112:29.
  2. f. of Tab-ni-Ištar, 347:6.
Ḫu-ba-tum, s. of . . . , 24:14.
Ḫu-dā-nu-um, Ḫu-da-a-nu-um*,
  2. f. of Ku-bu-su-um, 59:8*.
Ḫu-na-a-a, Ḫu-na-ia*,
  1. s. of Ka-la-a-a, 82:4; seal 20*.
  2. 79:1, 5*.
Ḫu-na-bu-um, Ḫu-nu-bu-um*,
  1. f. of Ma-ṣi-um, 131:17*.
  2. 91:18; 99:18; 344:30*, case 31*.
Ḫu-na-tum, s. of . . . , 326:22.
Ḫu-un-pi-el, 61:7.
Ḫu-up-pu-[um], s. of Ḫb-ni-Adad, 137:11.
Ḫu-ra-tum,
  1. w. of Ra-bi-ṣīl-li-Sin, 24:5.
  2. 217:15.
Ḫu-sa-mu-um,
  1. s. of Šu-te-da-um, seal 98.
  2. 214:4.
Ḫu-su-ub-tum,
  1. m. of ḪAdad-na-da, 147:1, 7, 10, 15, 19.
  2. 147:2, 4.
Ḫu-za-la-tum, 253:3.
Ḫu-za-lum,
  1. s. of Be-el-ṣu-nu, 15:15; 19:11.
  2. s. of Mu-ṭa-ad-di-tum, 157:8.
  3. s. of Nu-ṣār-Ištar, 125:18.
  6. 46:3; 251:11.
PERSONAL NAMES

*I-la-ia, *I-la-a-a*,
1. b. of I-bi=Sin, 106:10, case 10; seal 34.
2. b. of Mi-el-ki-ia, 106:10, case 10; seal 34.
3. s. of Pa-ra-ti-ia, 106:10, case 10; seal 34.
4. b. of Sin-ni-ia, 106:10, case 10; seal 34.
5. b. of Ya-pu-ju-um, 106:10, case 10.
6. 105:7*.

*I-la-ki,
1. s. of U-bar=Samaš, 184:5.
2. 184:4.

Iam=am-ag..., f. of A-pil=Amurru, seal 147

Iam=am-di-i, f. of A-da-tum, 52:11.

Iam=am-e-ri-iš, 1:15.

Iam=am-pi-la-ah, f. of E-ri-ib=Sin, 52:13.

I-la-ni, 1-li-la-ni*,
1. f. of Ur=Sû.bu.lá, 128:19; seal 148*.
2. 345:2; 349:17.

I-la-ti-ia, f. of Sin-i-din-na-am, seal 79.

I-li-..., 1. f. of Dan-palil, seal 122.
2. s. of Šu-mu-..., 88:16.

Ili-a-bu-um, s. of Nu-pa-nu-um, 147:39.


I-li-am-ra-ni,
1. f. of Nu-úr-i-li-šu, 181:5.
2. s. of Ú-ba-a-a, seal 44.
3. 124:8.

I-li-an-dùl-li,
2. 121:16.
I-li-ba-ni, Ili-ba-ni*, Ili-bani(DÜ)†,
1. s. of Ili-mu-di-in, 98:8.
2. s. of ăršin-mu-ba-li-il, 71:12†.
3. 112:3*; 28*; 122:7*; 282:7*, 13*.
I-li-be-li, Ili-bi-li*,
1. f. of E-a-na-ši-ir, 138:3*.
2. 106:2*, case 2*; 107:3*, case 3*; 286:25; 305:5.
I-li-di-nam, s. of Šu-Ilabrat, 83:15,
case 15.
I-li-e-ri-ba-am,
1. s. of Šin-daian(DI.KU₃), 161:16.
2. s. of ..., 322:29.
I-li-gim-la-an-ni, s. of ăršinaš-ra-bi,
350:15, case 13.
Ili-ḫa-šum, 81:11.
I-li-ḫa-zi-ri, s. of Warad-i-li-šu,
261:13.
I-li-ḫi-ta-ni, s. of Na-nu-um, 93:20.
I-li-... 336:10.
I-li-ia, Ili-ia*,
1. f. of A-pil-ša, 133:22.
2. s. of Be-li-i-li, 112:27.
3. f. of Sā-[šim], seal 99*.
I-li-i-din-na-am, I-li-i-din-nam*,
I-li-i-din-na-<am>†,
1. s. of Iz-ba-nu-um, seal 43.
2. f. of Na-ar-bu-um, 147:28*.
3. s. of Nu-ur-ăršin, 129:8*.
4. 125:2, 7, 21*; 138:5†; 139:3*;
172:4*; 289:1*, 3*.
I-li-idd-na-an-ni, 130:14, case 13;
349:19.
1. f. of I-li-we-ki-du, 30:5.
2. 55:3*.
*I-li-ip-di-a-am, f. of ăršin-mu-ba-li-il,
249:5.
I-li-iš-me-an-ni, I-li-iš-me-a-ni*,
1. f. of Qa-ru-du-un, Qa-ru-du-un†,
40:23; 52:15†.
2. 262:8*.
Ili-li-tul, Ili-li-pu-ul-AN*,
1. f. of I-nu-nam, 31:5.
2. f. of Ku-ru-ub-ăršin, 31:5.
3. s. of še-ḫu-šu, 343:2*.
4. b. of ăršin-ma-gir, 343:2*.
5. 31:9.
I-li-ma-a-bi, 158:3, 5, 8, 12, 16.
I-li-ma-a-hi,
2. s. of Warad-ăršin-ma-šum, 1:11.
3. 228:8.
I-li-ma-a-ki, f. of ăršin-e-ri-ba-am,
40:1.
Ili-ma-li, f. of Arama-GE₂-ăršin,
163:10.
Ili-mu-di-in,
2. s. of Nu-ur-ia, seal 32.
Ili-mu-ta-bil, s. of Amar-... seal
110.
Ili-na-ap-li-[is], 322:11, 12.
Ili-na-ši-ir, Ili-na-šir*,
1. s. of Ka-ab-su-um, 147:38*.
2. s. of Šu-il-tum, 111:25.
3. 332:11.
Ili-nu-... f. of E-a-ra-bi, 326:27.
PERSONAL NAMES

Il-šu-ib-bi-šu, Il-šu-i-bi-šu*,
1. s. of A-ta-na-ah-ili, 24:18*.
2. s. of Be-el-šu-nu, 49:12; 50:19*,
case 21*; seal 10*.
3. 134:9*; 188:8*; 166:7*; 290:4*.
Il-šu-mu-ba-li-il, 156:25.
Il-šu-na-šir,
1. s. of Be-el-šu-nu, 8:11.
2. 38:10; 40:2, 12, 16.
Ilu-la-a-hi, 64:10.
Ilum-DU.AN, 44:5.
Ilu-ma, 105:10; 106:14, case 14; 107:11,
case 11.
Ilum*ma-a-hi, Ilu-ma-a-hi*, 4:19*;
42:20, case 24.
Im-di-Ir-ra, 110:5.
Im-gur-..., 14:12.
Im-gur-Akšak*kl, s. of Il-šu-ba-ni, 16:20.
Im-gur-ri-ia,
1. b. of Be-li-ti-ia, 163:15, 21.
2. s. of šara-zi-da, 163:15, 21.
Im-gur-rum, Im-gu-rum*kl,
1. f. of Lú-šanna, 17:12*.
2. s. of Nu-ru-um, 14:7.
Im-gur-Šin, Im-gur-Šin*kl,
1. h. of A-ša-tum, 329:5, 6.
3. s. of 3š-me-Šin, 17:4*.
4. f. of Tu-tu-[ub-ma-gir], 6:5; seal 1.
5. 63:3*; 65:11; 287:4; 345:8.
Im-gur-Šamaš, s. of Nu-ru-bu-um,
17:16.
Im-lik-É-a, s. of É-a-..., 156:22.
Im-lik-Šin, 98:19.
Im-ši-ši,
1. s. of *NIN.lil-zi.mu, 321:rev. I.9*.
Im-ta-ša-É-a, f. of Bu-šī-ia, 92:10.
Im-ta-ši-am, h. of Ra-ba-a-a, 118:23.
In-bi-ši-šu, 331:15.

In-bi-Ištar,
2. 2:14; 41:6, 9’; 46:6; 251:7.

In-bu-ša, 75:2.


INIM-4NANNA, 89:3; 93:3; 318:1.
INIM-4NANNA.NI, f. of NIG-4UTU, seal 118.

INIM-TIŠPAK, f. of Sin-še-me, 16:17.
I-nu-nam,
1. s. of 4Iš-iš-túl, 31:3.
2. b. of Ku-ru-ub-4Sin, 31:3.
3. f. of 4Šamaš-na-šir, 63:5.
4. 34:1.

Ip/b..., 84:18.


I-pi-ši-4Da-gan, 164:40; 251:4.

I-pi-ši-4En-lil,
1. s. of Sa-mu-um-ba-ni, seal 119.
2 225:7; 322:2

I-pi-ši-4Iš-šu, s. of Na-ra-am-4Sin, 6:11; seal 2.

I-pi-ši-Ištar,
1. s. of Ba..., seal 42.
2. f. of Šarru-4Da-mu, 319:20.
3. 101:3; 121:19; 122:6; 134:8; 263:16; 294:10.

I-pi-ši-4Ma-mi, s. of Da-di-ia, 42:18, case 22.

I-pi-ši-4Nu-nu, s. of La-am-ši-um, 345:21.


*I-pi-ši-4ni-šu, s. of Ḫa-zi-ri-im, 51:12, case 7.

Ip-qa-tum, Ip-qa-tum*,
2. 3:4; 161:18*.

Ip-qi-E-a,
1. s. of Ḫa-an-zi-ia, 326:25.

Ip-qi-4En-lil, s. of Di-na, 47:23.
Ip-qi-4Ir-ra, s. of Iš-ra-mu-Ir-ra, 147:34.

Ip-qi-4..., 1. s. of Šarru-ki-nam, 326:29.

Ipqu(SIG)-a-ra-ah, s. of A-at-ta-a, 158:23.

Ip-qi-4A-zu, f. of Zi-ki-ir-ši-šu, seal 126.

Ip-qi-4Kala-ma!,
1. s. of Šu-4Dumu-zi, seal 135.
2. 325:3, 9, 12.

Ip-qi-4Sin, 263:15; 285:10, 11.

Ip-qi-4ša,
2. s. of Iš-mil-4Sin, 49:6.
3. f. of Ši-li-ia, 158:22.


Ip-qi-4Tišpak (king), 15:17.
Ip-šum, s. of A-ḫi-um-.mi-šu, 67:14.
Ir(DA).NE.NE (king), 343:9.
Ir-qi-ia, 229:3.
Ir-ḫa-gum, f. of Qa-qa-[da-nu-um], seal 24.

PERSONAL NAMES

Ir-Ra-Azu, 212:3; 218:3; 210:5; 224:4; 230:5; 231:5; 232:4; 233:4; 234:5; 236:5; 237:4; 238:4; 239:7; 240:4; 242:7; 245:5; 246:6; 247:9; 248:4; 249:9; 264:5; 265:5; 266:5; 268:7; 269:6; 270:5; 271:3; 272:5; 273:5; 274:6; 275:6; 276:8; 277:5; 278:5; 279:7; 280:6; 284:4.
Ir-ra-ba-ni, 112:2, 11, 20; 127:3; 130:2; 150:7; 186:12.
Ir-ra-ga-mi-il, 1. b. of A-pil-Sin, 344:2, case 2, 14, case 14.
2. s. of Ma-na-tum, 344:2, case 2, 14, case 14.
4. 266:3.
Ir-ra-ha-bi-it, 65:10.
9Ir-ra-i-mi-ii (king), 319:15, 24.
2. 40:21.
*Is-hu-um, 58:1.
4Iškur-Illat, 1. f. of Ha-zi-rum, 162:25.
2. 165:37.
Iš-me-a-ni, 135:14, case 14.
4Iš-me-4Da-gan (king), 312:4'; 314:9'; 316:2'.
Iš-me-4Da-gan, 1. b. of 4Sin-e-ri-ba-am, 119:6; seal 37.
2. s. of Ur-4Ba.ú, 119:6; seal 37.
Iš-me-4En-lîl, 1. s. of I-bi-4En-îlî, 327:18.
2. s. of Mu-ša-di-im, 38:5.
Iš-me-ia, 1. f. of Gi-da-nu-um, 67:11.
2. f. of Zi-za-nu-um, 334:case 7'; seal 145.
Iš-me-Is-ra, 226:5.
Iš-me-4Sin, Iš-me-Sin*, 1. f. of A-hu-ni, 319:8, case 8; seal 131.
4. f. of Im-gur-Sin, 17:4*.
5. f. of Lo-4Iškur, 88:15.
8. f. of 4Sin-ub-lâm, 319:8, case 8.
Iš-ši-šup-makkuri(Nîg.Sû), s. of En-nam-4Adad, 123:12.
Ištar-ilî, 340:7.
Ištar-mi-il-ki, 121:1, 9.
Ištar-um-mi, 310:5, 7, 8.
4Ištarum(KA.DI)-ri-me-ni, 1. s. of An-na-ma-li, seal 123.
2. 299:5, case 5.
*Iš-ta-as-ni-el, 26:30.
Iš-ta-tum, w. of 6Sin-we-du, 129:3, 5.
6I-šum-ba-ni, f. of Ša-lu-ru-um,
162:20.
6I-šum-na-šir, 261:12.
6I-te-er-piš-ša (king), 325:29; 326:34.
I-tiq-bitum(ê), f. of Šu-Ištar, seal 66.
It-ta-na-aḫ, f. of Šám-bu-ša, 106:29, case
27.
It-ti-bitim(ê)-mi-él-ki, 129:4'.
Itti(KI).6Šamaš-la-la-tu-um, f. of
6Šamaš-na-šir, 49:5.
*Iz-ba-nu-um, f. of I-li-i-din-na-am,
seal 43.
*I-zi-su-mu-a-bu-um, s. of Ya-duğunu-
ub-il, 14:5.
*Iz-kur-za-ma-an-gar, 75:18.
*Iz-nu-ru-um,
1. s. of Li-pi-it-ši-li, 28:20, case 19,
29:19.
2. 32:15.
*I-zu-sa-ma, 127:7; 150:2.

Ka-ab-su-um, f. of Ili-na-šir, 147:38.
Ka-di-ia, 335:30.
Ka-la-a-a,
1. f. of Ḥu-na-a-a, Ḥu-na-ia*, 82:5; 
seal 20*.
2. f. of La-li-ia, 93:9.
Ka-la-ab-4Ba-ú, Kalab(URab)-4Ba-ú*,
127:2*; 228:9.
Ka-la-ab-6Šamaš, 340:1.
Ka-la-nu, s. of 6Adad-ri-me-ni,
163:35.
Ka-na-zu, Ka-na-az-zu*, h. of Ši-mar-
at-kur-bi, 299:3, case 3*.
Ka-an-da-a-a, f. of A-ha-mar-si, 
128:20.
Ka-pi-šum,
1. f. of Warad-I-[šum], seal 38.
2. 113:11.
Ka-sa-nu-um (See: Qa-sa-nu-um).
Ki-ma-ah-ia,
1. s. of Na-ni-bu-um, Na-ni-bu-ma*,
63:12*; 72:29.
Ki-nu-nu-um, 218:11; 249:10; 250:16.
Ki-nu-um, 314:8.
Ki-nu-ma-ša-šu,
1. f. of 4KU-4NANNA, seal 89.
2. f. of Nu-ur-lilli, seal 84.
Ki-ra-nu-um, 36:6.
Ki-ša-ta-ni-im, 43:2.
Ki-tum-li-zi-iz, s. of 6Da-mu-... 
326:28.
Ki-zu-nu-um, 61:9.
KU-4NANNA,
1. s. of Ki-nu-ma-ša-šu, seal 89.
2. f. of 6Sin-na-ši-ir, seal 94.
3. 186:3?; 314:7*.
KU-4NIN.surur, 138:7; 166:2.
KU-Šiṣ-pak, s. of Lu-4NIN.surur, 11:18.
Ku-bi-ša, s. of Um-mu-ṣa-bu?, 4:17.
2. 40:11*, 15*.
Ku-bi-šu, 80:5.
Ku-bi-sa-um, s. of Ḥu-da-a-na-um, 
59:7.
PERSONAL NAMES 65

Ku-bu-tum, Ku-bu-ti-im*, Ku-bu-tim†,  
1. f. of Lú-(d)Mar.tu, 15:12; 42:15,  
   case 14*.  
2. f. of Ù-sur-Ma-mi, 12:15.  
3. 29:3†.  
Ku-da-ia, f. of 4Sin-na-ši, 94:5; 95:5;  
   seal 27.  
*Ku-da-nu-um, *Ku-dá-nu-um*, *Ku- 
   da-a-nu-um†, *Ku-dá-nim‡,  
1. s. of Ha-lu-um, seal 52‡.  
2. f. of Lú-(d)Nin.Šubur, seal 96, 106.  
3. 53:12; 84:14*; 110:9; 114:3, 15;  
   168:42‡; seal 96.  
Ku-ku-nu-um, Ku-ú-ku-nu-um*,  
1. b. of A-ḫu-ú-ia, seal 35.  
2. s. of Ma-ni-bu-um, 107:8, case 8;  
   seal 35.  
4. 82:9; 97:15; 243:7, 12, 13; 347:24;  
   seal 86*.  
KUM-4Sin (See: Bi-bi-4Sin).  
Ku-ru-ub-4Sin,  
1. s. of Iš-li-šul, 31:4.  
2. b. of I-nu-nam, 31:4.  
3. 34:2.  
*Ku-ru-lu, *Ku-ru-lum*, *Ku-ru-lu- 
   um†, *Ku-ru-lim‡,  
1. f. of Ib-ni-4Amurru, 68:12‡.  
2. s. of Qa-qa-da-nu-um, 103:8†; seal  
   33.  
3. 60:14; 101:6*; 102:5*.  
Ku-ru-um, f. of Aq-ba-ḫu-um, 106:23,  
   case 21.  
Ku-ši-ḫi-im-ri, 60:19.  
Ku-ta-tum, Ku-ta-tim*, f. of Ar-ši-á- 
   ḫu-um, 51:19, case 15*.  
Ku-ú-a, 178:10.  
Ku-zu-bu-[um], f. of Bu-li-Ē-a, seal  
   128.  
Ku-zu-um, 130:3, 9, case 6'.  
La..., 100:12.  
La-ab?..., 65:4.  
*La-ah-ma-ta-nu-um, s. of Si-la-tum,  
   71:10.  
La-la..., s. of ..., 90:23.  
La-la-la, 76:15.  
La-la-ši-ia, b. of Qa-sa-nu-um, 125:16.  
*La-li-e-el, f. of Be-li-ia, 51:15, case  
   10.  
La-li-ia,  
1. s. of Ka-la-a-a, 93:9.  
2. f. of Ši-ma-at-ku-bi, 97:10.  
3. f. of ..., seal 108.  
4. 78:14; 79:2; 81:3; 89:2, 7; 93:2.  
La-lu-um, La-lum*, La-li-im†,  
1. f. of E-ri-ib-4Sin, seal 19.  
2. f. of Li-pi-it-Ištar, 37:18†.  
3. 186:10*.  
*La-ma-ša, 158:21.  
La-ma-si,  
1. w. of A-pil-4Sin, 1:6.  
2. m. of 4Šuma-e-li-ši-na-ma-tim,  
   1:6.  
La-ma-sum, d. of 4Nanna-Ma.an.sum,  
   168:9.  
La-ma-ša, 145:1.  
La-am-ši-um, f. of I-pi-iq-Nu-nu,  
   345:22.  
*La-an-shum-a, f. of A-di-ma-ti-l-li,  
   325:28.  
La-ṣa-la, s. of Ē-a-ra-bi, 92:11.  
La-qi-pu-[um], 65:14.  
Larsa(U.D.UNU.KI)-na-ši-ir, 129:5'.  
Li-ba-a, 217:13.  
Li-bi-ia, 87:3.
Li-bur-ḫa-du-um, 193:3; 198:3.
Li-la-mi-li-li-šu, 61:8.
Li-la-wi-ū, 333:2.
Li-pi-it-È-a,  
1. s. of I-bi-ia, 152:7.  
2. 152:5, 6; 155:5.
Li-pi-it-il, f. of Iz-nu-ru-um, 28:21,  
case 20; 29:20.
Li-pi-it-Inanna, s. of Si-ma-ta-nu,  
75:1.
Li-pi-it-Ir-ra, 164:6, 33; 182:3; 187:6; 188:3; 189:11; 190:4; 191:4; 192:4; 193:4; 194:6; 195:4; 196:4; 197:5; 198:4; 199:4; 200:5; 201:5; 202:10; 203:7; 204:5; 205:5; 206:5; 207:3; 208:5; 209:4; 210:5; 211:4; 212:6; 213:5.
(a) Li-pi-it-Ištar (king), 315:3; 317:13; 318:10.
Li-pi-it-Ištar,  
1. s. of La-li-im, 87:17.  
Lu-, f. of iŠin-, 289:9.
Lú-, 165:30.
Lú-AMAR-šIN, seal 90.
Lú-ASAR.LU-.BI, 112:9; seal 41.
Lú-DA.MU,  
1. s. of E-te-el-piš-DA-mu, 326:24; 328:18.  
2. f. of UR-šUL.PA.È, 321:rev. I.12'.
LÚ-DINGIR.RA,  
2. s. of INIM Теп.LIL, 321:rev. I.15'.  
3. s. of NIN.URTA-ZI.MU, 321:rev. I.13'.  
4. s. of Nu-ūr-ia, 152:27.  
5. s. of UDU-ḪE.GAL, 159:28; 160:25.  
6. s. of Warad-A-. . ., seal 85.
LÚ-ŠKUR, LÚ-ŠKUR.RA*,  
1. s. of Iš-me-šIN, 88:14.  
LÚ-LAL (See, Awil-ŠKUR).  
LÚ-ŠMAR.TU,  
1. s. of Ku-bu-tum, Ku-bu-ti-im,  
15:11; 42:15, case 14.  
2. 177:4, 19.
LÚ-NANNA,  
1. s. of IM-gu-ru-um, 17:11.  
2. s. of iš-SIN-e-ri-ba-am, 145:27.
LÚ-NANŠE,  
1. f. of iš-SIN-i-din-nam, 115:12.  
2. f. of ŠU-mi-ḫi-ia, 118:15.
LÚ-NIN-SI₄-AN.NA, f. of In-bi-Ištar,  
7:20; 10:10.
LÚ-NIN.SUBUR,  
1. f. of kū-ŠTIPAK, 11:18.  
2. s. of Ku-da-nu-um, seal 96, 106.  
3. f. of Warad-[I]-šum, seal 88.  
LÚ-UTU,  
1 f. of LULI-li-tu-ul-AN, 343:2.  
2. f. of šIN-ma-gir, 343:2.
LUGAL-IBILA, s. of NINANNA-MA-AN.SUM,  
seal 105.
LUGAL-ŠUBA(MÜŠ.ZA),  
1. s. of UR-šUBU.KU.GA, seal 80.  
*LUM-MA-nu-um, *LU-MA-nu-um*,  
*LUM-MA-a-nu-um†, *LU-MA-a-nu-um‡,  
1. b. of Aq-ga-ta-a-nu-um, seal 26†.
PERSONAL NAMES

2. s. of Ya-er-ḫa-qum, 93:16†, seal 26†.
3. 78:11; 81:12*; 89:11*; 90:2†, 9†; 91:5†; 99:2*.
Lu-ru-ub₃ Adad, f. of Ba-tu-lum, 345:18.
2. s. of ₃Sin-ub-lam, 162:19.
3. 217:2.

Ma-a-a-û, 261:11.
*Ma-ḫa-nu-um, 78:15.
*Ma-ah-li-um, 1. s. of A-ḫi-gu-um, 118:16.
3. s. of I-bi-III/Ilabrat, 26:35.
*Ma-lu-ši-el (See: *Ma-ru-li-e-el).
*Ma-na-ba-al-te-el (king), 345:14.
*Ma-na-ba-al-te-el, s. of Sin-še-me, 147:33.
Ma-na-ba-ni, f. of Šum-šu-nu-wa-tar, 147:42.
Ma-na-tum, 1. m. of A-pil-Sin, 344:3, case 3, 15, case 15.
2. m. of Ir-ra-ga-mi-il, 344:3, case 3, 15, case 15.
Ma-ni-bu-um, 1. f. of A-bu-ia, 107:10, case 10; seal 85.
2. f. of Ku-ku-nu-um, 107:10, case 10; seal 85.
*Ma-ni-um, 1. f. of Ḫi-li-ia, 108:5; seal 51.
3. f. of Sin-di-iš, 149:27.
*Ma-an-ma-nu-um, f. of Da-di-iš-me-el, 330:4.
Ma-nu-um, 1. b. of A-di-du-um, 72:1.
2. b. of Be-la-nu-um, 72:1.
3. s. of Na-ni-bu-um, 72:1.
4. s. of ₃Tišpak-a-bu-um, 50:9, case 11.
Ma-nu-um-ba-lu-im-ilum, Ma-nu-um-ba-lu-um-ilum*, 344:29, case 30*.
Ma-nu-um-gi-ri-šu, s. of ₃Amuru-ba-ni, 140:9, case 11.
2. 84:2; 101:13; 146:22*; 165:28*.
Ma-nu-um-ki-ma-Samaš, 71:4.
Ma-an-nu-um-ma..., 129:2.
Ma-nu-um-ša-nin-šu, Ma-nu-um-ša-ni-in-šu*, s. of ₃Sin-še-me, 50:15, case 17*.
Mār(DUMU)-Babili(KĀ.DINGIR.RA. KI), 338:15.

*Marduk—..., 155:25.
*Marduk-a-bi,

2. 159:25; 165:27.

1. s. of Bur-Šin, 161:22.
2. s. of A-ḫa-am-ar-ši, 339:2*.
Ma-ri-du-nu-um, f. of Iš-me-Šin, 118:17.
Ma-ar-ti-il-ti, 64:4.
*Ma-as-ma-ru-um, 32:17; 61:1.
Ma-ši-a, Ma-ši-ia*, Ma-ša-a†,[Ma-ši]-a-tum‡,

1. w. of Ba-an-te-ilum, Ba-an-te-lum, 182:5, case 5‡; seal 57†.
2. 155:2*.
Ma-ši-a-am-Ištar, 310:3.
Ma-ši-i-li, f. of Sa-mu-um, 28:25, case 23.
Ma-ši-um, s. of Ḥu-nu-bu-[um], 131:16.
Ma-šum, f. of Šin-i-nam, 47:19.
Ma-ti-ut-ta-a-li, 44:11.
Me-E-li-mu-um (See: Mi-EŠ-li-mu), s. of Ra-bi-um, 59:11.

ME.4ŠA.RA, 257:2.
Me-ra-nu-um, 267:13.
Mi-ḫa-Ištar, 318:12.
*Mi-il-ki-ia, *Mi-el-ki-ia*,


2. b. of I-bi-Šin, 106:8*, case 8*; seal 34*.
3. b. of I-la-ia, 106:8*, case 8*; seal 34*.
4. s. of Pa-ra-ti-ia, 106:8*, case 8*; seal 34*.
5. b. of Šin-ni-ia, 106:8*, case 8*; seal 34*.
6. b. of Ya-bu-ḫu-um, 106:8*, case 8*.

Mil-ki-lu-ma, 91:15.
*Mi-il-ku-ni-im, *Mi-il-ku-nim*, f. of Ū-sa-bu-um, Ū-sa-bi-im†, 26:33; 51:17†; case 12†.
Mi-na-um, 26:5, 24.
Mi-ES-li-mu (See: Me-ES-li-mu-um), 104:9, case 10.
Mi-ta-kū-ba-la, 75:12.
Mu-ḫa-ad-di-tum,

1. m. of Ḥu-za-lum, 157:9.
2. m. of Šin-ra-bi, 157:9.
Mu-ḫa-du-um, Mu-ḫa-di-im*, Mu-ḫa-di-um†,

1. f. of Ba-su-mu-um, 26:29*; 27:24.
2. f. of Il-ni-E, 26:29*.
3. f. of Iš-me-EN-li-lil, 39:6*.
5. s. of U-bar-ru-um, 137:15.

7. 62:4†.
Mu-na-nu-um,

1. s. of Ni-id-nu-ša, 20:14, case 15.
2. b. of Šin-i-gi-ša-am, 20:14, case 15.
3. 75:19.
Mu-na-tum, s. of Da-du-ni, 29:23.
MUS-ŠAB-ŠAB.GAL, 180:3; 181:5.
Mu-tu-a-za-ra, 222:3.
Mu-tu-ma, 131:15.
PERSONAL NAMES

Mu-tum-ili,
2. f. of Šin-ta-ia-ar, 147:29.
3. 286:27; 329:25.

*Na-... f. of A-..., 136:11.
Na-bi-En-ili,
3. 332:8.

Na-bi-šu,
1. f. of Il-šu-ba-ni, 148:5, case 5.
3. 75:5; 87:17; 118:24; 145:2, 7, 10;
   147:22; 148:13, case 18; 177:18;
   286:22; 290:6; 335:26; 348:17;
   351:14, case 141.

Na-bi-šin,
1. s. of Qi-ši-Na-na-ia, 102:9, case 1.
2. f. of TAB.BA-...-ni, 165:1.
3. 125:4; 133:24; 135:3, 8, case 3,
   8; 165:11?.

Na-bi-Šamaš, 331:5, 10.
Nabi-un-ekallim(E.GAL1m),
1. s. of Warad-...-, seal 144.
2. 331:14.

*Nabi-šu-ma-li-k, 65:12.
*Nabi-šu-um-ma-li-k, 348:19.
*Nabi-ši-lum, *Nabi-ši-ilum*,
1. s. of I-din-2La-ga-ma-al, 154:5*.
2. f. of 4šin-i-din-nam, 123:15.

*Nabi-ši-um, 61:3.
*Nabi-aš-ma-a-ni, f. of Še-li-bu-um, seal 74.

Nam-ka-rum, 155:4; 228:18.

Nam.Mah, 321:ovb. 1.8.
Nam.Ti.La.Ni-DUG, 348:82.

Na-na-a-a, Na-na-a*,
1. w. of Bu-ša-nu-um, 59:3.
2. 89:12*.
Na-ni-bu-um, Na-ni-bu-ma*,
2. f. of Be-la-nu-um, 72:4.
4. f. of Ma-nu-um, 72:4.

Nanna-Bad.Gal,
1. s. of ...-aḥ, 158:24.
2. 112:10; 114:20.

Nanna-eriš(Apin), s. of ..., 147:27.
Nanna-Ki.Aga, 149:6; 166:15; 252:7;
   258:7.

Nanna-Ma.Am.Sum,
1. s. of Bur-Nu-nu, 156:21; 160:19;
   162:18; seal 69.
3. f. of La-ma-sùm, 163:9.
4. f. of Lugal-Ibila, seal 105.
5. s. of Nu-úr-li-bi, Nu-úr-li-ib-bi*,
   42:13, case 16; 251:12*; seal 13.
7. 40:20; 48:2; 52:3; 54:14; 73:2;
   76:17; 84:22; 88:7; 101:4; 160:19;
   283:5; 290:9; 294:8.

Nanna-tum,
1. s. of 4Šin-ri-me-ni, 6:15, seal 4.
3. 9:10.

Nanna-ur.Sag-Kala.Ma, s. of Ḫr-ru,
   seal 87.
Ni-di-in-Ištar, s. of Wa-tar-pi-ša, Wa-tar-pi-ša*, 152:17; 157:22; seal 67*.
Ni-id-na-at-Šin, Ni-id-na-at-Šin*, 158:1, 15*.
Ni-id-nu-ša,
1. f. of Mu-na-nu-um, 20:15, case 16.
2. f. of Sin-i-qi-ša-am, 20:15, case 16.
3. s. of Ub-ŠIN-..., 155:21.
NIG-4NANNA, s. of Da-mu-mu-..., 160:20.
NIG-4UTU, s. of INiM-4NANNA.NI, seal 118.
NIG-4BA-Č, s. of U-la-a-ma-ši, U-la-ma-ši*, 118:6; seal 40*.
2. 118:1, 11.
Ni-ša-ša-dam, 62:12.
4NIN.GIš.ZID.DA-DI.KU3, s. of Šu-4NIN-kar-ra-ak, 145:21.
4NIN.LIL.ZI.MU, f. of Im-ši-ši, 321:rev. I.10'.
4NIN-ma-ša-bat-qi-šu, 250:5.
4NIN.SUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, 163:33.
4NIN.URTA-ZI.MU, f. of LU-DINGIR.RA, 321:rev. I.14'.
Nu-..., 1. s. of Sa-a-su, 88:20.
2. 166:8.
Nu-un-ni-ba-ni-at, 57:3.
2. f. of Ili-a-bu-um, 147:39.
3. 75:8, 7; 79:8; 82:10; 90:7*; 91:7*.
Nu-úr1..., 221:15.
Nu-ur-..., AN, f. of ..., 146:23.
PERSONAL NAMES

\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) A-ba, 164:48; 322:3, 22; 349:3, 9.} 
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Adad (king), 283:10, 21; 285:18; seal 126.} 
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Immaru,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. s. of En-nam-â-î-li, seal 9.
  \item 2. 42:2; 46:1; 235:2; 291:4?.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Na-ra-tim,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. b. of A-na-ku-i-la-ma, 26:6; 29:6.
  \item 2. s. of Pa-ra-tim, 26:6; 29:6.
  \item 3. f. of Sin-be-el-î-li, 161:26.
  \item 4. 27:4; 28:6, case 6; 30:3*, 6; 31:6; 32:3; 33:4; 34:3, 8, 12*, 16; 35:7; 36:3; 37:7*.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Be-li-li,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item s. of Ba-al-ûm-kâ-â-sî-id, 328:24.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Da-gan, 331:12, case 17, case 19.
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Er-a,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. f. of A-â-û-nu-un, 123:11; 141:4.
  \item 2. s. of Hu-ba-â-un, 112:29.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) En-lîl, 320:17.
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) En-ri-ia,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. f. of Ilî-nu-di-in, seal 32.
  \item 2. f. of Lû-dingir-ra, 152:27.
  \item 3. s. of Sin-ib-nî, 121:2*; seal 46*.
  \item 4. f. of Sin-ra-bî, 116:8*; seal 39*.
  \item 5. f. of Warrad-Sin, 37:14*.
  \item 6. 121:7*; 166:13.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) I-lî,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. s. of Ki-nu-ma-â-su, seal 84.
  \item 2. 65:3; 150:3.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) I-li-su,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. f. of A-sî-ia, 67:9.
  \item 2. s. of Il-i-an-ra-â-nî, 131:4.
  \item 3. 9:9; 144:1; 320:2, 8; 348:8.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) I-r-ra, 244:3.
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) I-star,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. f. Hu-za-lûm, 125:18.
  \item 2. f. of . . . na-â-î-ir, 111:21.
  \item 3. 88:6; 244:5.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr}-(a) Kab-la,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. s. of A-li-wa-ag-rum, 11:7; 350:5, case 4.
  \item 2. f. of Šu-Da-mu, 155:22; 156:23; 157:28.
  \item 3. 104:5, case 6; 160:29.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr-Ku-bî, 117:11.}
\[ \text{Nu-úr-î-bi,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item Nu-úr-î-bi, Nu-úr-î-ib-bi*, f. of \( ^{\text{6}} \text{NANNA-MA-AN-SUM} \), 42:14, case 17; 251:18*; seal 13.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr-ma-tu-shu, 348:25.}
\[ \text{Nu-úr-î Sin,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. f. of Ib-ni-Sin, 53:10.
  \item 2. f. of Î-li-i-din-nam, 129:9*.
  \item 3. 84:15; 225:6.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-úr-î Šamaš,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. s. of Qî-îs-î-Na-na-a, 84:20; 103:20.
  \item 2. f. of Sin-i-din-nam, 163:32.
  \item 3. 68:5; 140:8, case 9; 179:7; 243:15; 283:23; 310:11, 24; 323:4, 10.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-ru- . . . , 95:10.}
\[ \text{Nu-ru-bù-un, f. of Im-gur-î Šamaš,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 17:17.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-ru-un, f. of Im-gur-rum, 14:7}
\[ \text{Nu-rum-li-ši,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item s. of U-tûl-î Ma-mi, 3:13.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{Nu-ûl-up-tûm, 142:7.}
\[ \text{î Pa-lal-ba-ni, f. of Šamaš-ki-ma-i-li-ia, 67:13.}
\[ \text{Pa-al-û-un, Pa-al-û-ú-á*,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. s. of Tu-tu-gu-un, 107:20*, case 5*.
  \item 2. 105:22.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{î Pa-li-la-ma, 283:14.}
\[ \text{î Na-nu-un, f. of Sin-ga-mi-il,} 
\begin{itemize}
  \item 325:22.
\end{itemize}
\[ \text{î Pas-nigîn-gar-gar-gar-gar-ad, s. of Adad-re'î(SIPA), 159:23.}
*Pa-ra-ti-ia,
1. f. of I-bi-*Sin, 106:13, case 13; seal 34.
2. f. of I-la-ia, 106:13, case 13; seal 34.
3. f. of Mi-el-ki-ia, 106:13, case 13; seal 34.
4. f. of *Sin-ni-ia, 106:13, case 13; seal 34.
5. f. of Ya-pu-*hu-um, 106:13, case 13.

Pa-ra-tum, Pa-ra-tim*,
1. f. of A-na-ku-i-la-ma, 26:8*; 29:8*.
2. f. of Nu-ra-tum, 26:8*; 29:8*.
3. 31:10.
*Pi-Da-da, 26:2; 27:3.
*Pi-*i-la, s. of *Za-ba-*ba-*sa-*mu-ah, 149:28.
Pi-iq-qum, 349:22.
Pir-hi-*Amurru, s. of *Su-ri-un-tum, 337:7.
Pir-i-*hu-um, 87:4.
Pir-ir-ti-ia, s. of Warad-*ZU.GAL, 116:25.
Pu-*hu-um, f. of A-pil-ku-bi, seal 77.
Pu-ri-ia, s. of E-*a-da-pi-in, 334:10.
Pu-uf-ra-ili, 105:3.
Puzur-*A-mal, 171
1. f. of Bur-Nu-nu, 137:5; seal 58.
2. f. of I-bi-*Ilabrat, 119:19.
Puzur-*Sin,
1. f. of *Sin-ga-mil, 157:27.
2. f. of *Sin-pi-la-ah, 88:23.
3. 183:5; 260:3 (cf. 260:7).

172. It is possible to read Qi-*iš-(ti)-*En-dag.

*Qà-qá-da-uu-*um, *Qà-qà-dá-uu-*um*,
1. f. of Ar-ri-*um, 103:18.
2. s. of Ir-*ha-*qum, seal 24*.
3. f. of Ku-ru-ru-*um, Ku-ru-ru-*um†, 103:9; seal 33†.
4. f. of Sú-ka-*um, 103:18; seal 30.
5. 89:6*.
Qar-na-na, f. of Qà-ru-du-*um, 12:5.
Qà-sa-uu-*um,
1. b. of La-la-ti-ia, 125:17.
2. 125:5.
Qi-*iš-à-li, f. of *Sin-eriš(APIN), 311:35.
Qi-*iš-i-li-ia, s. of *Sin-im-ma-tim, 20:16, case 17.
Qi-*iš-*Na-na-a, f. of Nu-*ár-*Šamaš, 84:21; 103:21.
Qi-*iš-*Na-na-ia, f. of Na-*bí-*Sin, 102:10, case 2'.
Qi-*ur-du-*um, Qi-*ur-du-*um*,
1. s. of I-li-*iš-me-an-ni, 40:28*; 52:14.
2. s. of Qar-na-na, 12:4.
3. 228:3; 235:15?.
Qi-*ur-su, f. of Za-*ba-*um, 107:25, case 10'.

Ra-*bà-a-a, w. of Im-*ta-si-am, 118:23.
*Ra-*ba-*sí-pár-*ru, f. of Ya-*am-*lik-él, 149:25.
Ra-*bí-*šil-li-Šin, h. of Hu-*ra-*um, 24:4.
Ra-*bí-*um, f. of Me-*E-li-*mu-*um, 59:12.
PERSONAL NAMES

1. 147:24.
   Sa-bu-um, s. of ..., 155:27.
   Sa-gu-ù, 40:31.
   4Saḥan-ba-ni, s. of ..., 17:9.
   4Sa-li-ia, *Sa-li-ia*, *Sa-li-ia†,
   1. f. of Na-ap-li-is-ù, 118:21†.
   2. f. of 4Sin-i-din-nam, 83:case 8.
   3. f. of Za-ku-ru-um, 83:case 17.
   4. 75:8*; 101:18.
   *Sa-li-kum, 142:4.
   *Sa-li-ma-tum, m. of Bitum(E)-da-ri,
   139:6.
   *Sa-ma-ra-ah, 141:11.
   *Sa-am-sa-nu-um,
   1. b. of A-li-la-ma, 107:case 8′.
   2. s. of Ū-ba-zu-um, 107:case 8′.
   *Sa-am-si, f. of E-tel-pî-4Sin, 72:25.
   *Sa-am-si-e-Adad (king), 4:20.
   *Sa-am-su-ba-la, 43:4.
   *Sa-mu-...-ES, f. of 4Sin-sé-mi, 348:15.
   *Sa-mu-a-bi-im (king), 131:11.
   *Sa-mu-a-ra-ah, *Sa-mu-ra-a-ah†,
   1. b. of Ba-su-mu-um, 26:28*; 27:23*.
   2. b. of Ib-ni-È-a, 26:28*.
   3. s. of Mu-ḥa-du-um, Mu-ḥa-di-im†,
   26:28†; 27:23*.
   4. b. of Zu-bu-ù-um, 27:23*.
   5. 84:3.
   *Sa-mu-ki-el,
   1. s. of Ma-ru-li-e-el, Ma-lu-li-el*,
   27:17; 29:21*.
   2. 30:21; 32:14; 58:4′.
   Sa-mu-um, s. of Ma-ṣl-ī-ī, 28:24, case
   23.
   Sa-mu-um-ba-ni,
   1. f. of I-pî-îq-4En-lil, seal 119.
   2. f. of ..., seal 107.
   Sa-pa-[a]-a, 283:19.
*Sa-pi-ra-tum, 333:5.
Sa-qa-qum, 130:15, case 14'.
Sù-sùm, Sù-a-sùm*, 1. s. of Ḳa-li-a, seal 99.
2. s. of Ḫu-nu-ri, 88:18*.
3. f. of Nu-u-, 88:21*.
4. 218:2, 8; 250:15.
Si-ik-lum, Si-qi-lum*, 344:31, case 32*.
*Si-la-tum, f. of La-aḫ-ma-ta-nu-um, 71:11.
Si-ma-la-nu, f. of Li-pi-it-Assan, 75:1.
$Sin-...,
1. s. of Lu-...-, 289:8.
2. 100:3; 155:10.
$Sin-a-bu-um,
1. s. of I-din-Ir-ra, 102:12, case 12'.
2. 33:6; 130:13, case 12'.
$Sin-a-bu-šu,
1. s. of A-ḫu-wa-gar, 154:4'.
2. f. of Ḫa-ab-di-a-ra-aḫ, 348:12.
3. s. of Iš-me-$Sin, 163:31.
5. f. of Warad-$Sin, 152:23; 156:20; 160:6, 7.
6. 154:3', 14'.
$Sin-a-ia-ba-aš, 160:3.
$Sin-an-duš-li, 228:2.
$Sin-i-ša-ri-id, 159:3.
2. s. of A-na-$Sin-tāš-la-[ku], 90:19.
3. 130:16, case 11*.
$Sin-ba-ni,
2. 178:9; 318:8; 347:5, 17, 20, 28.
5 $Sin-be-el-š-il, $Sin-be-er-š-il, $Sin-be-el-il†,
1. f. of Ma-ni-un, 160:22.
2. s. of Nu-ra-tum, 161:26*.
3. 119:9; 136:3; 137:3; 140:case 10; 339:16; 348:7†.
$Sin-daian (DI.KU9), $Sin-daian (DI.KU9)*,
1. f. of I-li-e-ri-ba-am, 161:17*.
2. s. of U-qd-li-[el], seal 53.
3. 109:3.
$Sin-da-mi-q, 226:3; 6; 235:5.
$Sin-e-mu-q, 121:21.
$Sin-en-nam,
1. s. of Ba-al-šum-Ir-ra, seal 116.
2. s. of Ka-ra-na-at, 120:9.
3. 76:2; 110:20; 126:8; 225:2; 259:4, 6.
$Sin-e-ri-ba-am, $Sin-i-ri-ba-am*
(king), 294:14; 295:5; 296:8*; 297:8; 298:13; 299:11, case 11;
300:9; 301:9; 302:11; 303:8; 304:9*; 305:9; 348:34*.
$Sin-e-ri-ba-am, $Sin-e-ri-ba-am*,
1. s. of A-ḫu-ni, 327:19.
4. s. of É-a-ba-la-ši, 111:23.
5. f. of gur-ni-i-sa, 327:20.
6. b. of Ḫa-ši-šum, 128:22.
8. s. of I-li-ma-ši, 40:1.
9. b. of Iš-me-$Da-gan, 119:7; seal 37.
11. s. of Nu-maš-[da]-ba-ni, 54:12.
12. s. of $Sin-mu-ba-li-š, $Sin-mu-ba-li-š†, 6:17; seal 3†.
14. f. of $Sin-ra-bi, 15:14*.
15. s. of Šum-šu-nu, 158:29*. 
PERSONAL NAMES

16. s. of UR-BA-Ú, 119:7; seal 37.
17. s. of Za-ka-na, 128:22.
18. 40:10; 74:8; 82:11; 93:22; 96:10; 327:3; 344:28; case 29.
Sin-eriš(APIN),
1. s. of E-a-awas(INIM)-sù, 127:14.
2. s. of Qi-is-a-li, 311:35.
3. 164:46.
4Sin-ga-mil, Sin-ga-mil*, 4Sin-ga-mi-til,  
1. f. of Awil(LÚ)-ili, seal 111.
2. s. of Bur-Sin, 147:86.*
3. s. of Pa-na-nu-um, 325:21†.
4. s. of Puzur-4Sin, 157:27.
6. 152:21; 307:21†; seal 76.
5Sin-ia (See: Sin-ni-ia).
6Sin-ib-ni,  
1. f. of Nu-ri-ia, 121:2; seal 46.
2. 342:11.
7Sin-id-in, 351:16, case 18.
8Sin-i-din-nam, Sin-i-din-nam*, Sin-i-din-na-am†, Sin-i-din-na-am†,  
1. f. of I-bi-4Sin, 22:15, case 4†.
2. s. of I-la-ti-ia, seal 79†.
3. s. of LÚ-4NANŠE, 115:11.
4. s. of Na-hi-lum, 123:14.
5. s. of Nu-úr-4Šamaš, 163:32.
6. s. of Ri-pi-Ištar, 283:21†.
7. s. of Sà-li-ia, 83:case 8.
8. s. of Šil-li-ia, 49:16.
11. s. of I-din-4Sin, 124:15.

Sin-i-di-š, Sin-i-di-š*,  
1. s. of Ma-ni-um, 149:26*.
2. 113:3.
3Sin-ilu,  
1. s. of At-la-ma-nu-um, 119:16.
3. f. of Ma-nu-um-ki-4Sin, Ma-nu-um-ki-ma-4Sin†, Ma-an-nu-um-ki-4Sin†, 152:22; 156:19†; 157:24; 159:21†; 160:21†; 162:21†; seal 72.
4Sin-i-mi-ti, 126:9.
5Sin-im-ma-tim, Sin-im-ma-tim*,  
1. f. of A-pil-Sin, 16:19*.
2. s. of BÚZUR-ŠAK.KUD, seal 114.
3. f. of Qi-is-i-li-ia, 20:17*, case 18.*
Sin-i-nam, s. of Ma-šum, 47:19.
6Sin-i-qi-ša-am, Sin-i-qi-ša-am*, Sin-iqišam(NIG.BA)†, Sin-i-qi-šam†,  
7Sin-i-qi-šaš,  
2. s. of Am-mi-ša-gi-š, seal 146.
5. f. of DUMU-3DIGANA, 16:5.
7. b. of Mu-na-nu-um, 20:13*, case 14*.
8. s. of Ni-id-ru-ša, 20:13*, case 14*.
10. s. of War(ad)-di-ia, 13:20*.
11. s. of Za-na-a, 311:11.
12. case 20 le*; 21:6†; 47:25; 163:30; 175:5; 334:11; 335:19§.
Sin-i-ri-ma-am, 244:4.
4Sin-iš-me-a-ni, Sin-iš-me-an-ni*

4Sin-iš-me-ni†, Sin-iš-me-a-ni‡, Sin-iš-me-nil§.

1. f. of Ša-al-mu-um-še-mi, 161:20§.
2. s. of Ša-lim-le-qqù-

4Sin-i-tu-ra-am, 75:7.


4Sin-li-di-iš,

1. s. of Ra-ma-nu-um, 152:24; 157:25.
2. 125:8.

4Sin-ma-gir (king), 328:27, 29; seal 139.

4Sin-ma-gir, 4Sin-ma-gir*, 1. s. of Bu-za-zi, 147:41.
2. f. of Išu-za-lum, 157:7.
4. s. of Lù-utu, 343:1.
7. s. of Ši-li-4Nin-..., seal 134.
8. s. of Ša-ma-a-a, 343:11.
9. 75:11; 149:8; 309:7, 9, 11; 321:obv. II.20* (an ox); 322:18, 21, 23, 25; 327:22; 331:3; 348:22.

2. 116:29; 220:5.


1. f. of Di-ib-di-bu-um, 12:11‡.
2. f. of Iš-bani(ŠU), 71:13*.
4. f. of 4Sin-e-ri-ba-um, 6:18; seal 3†.
5. 60:10†; 75:9, 15; 153:13; 164:50; 170:10; 177:3; 186:8; 259:5; 282:22; 294:9.

4Sin-mu-pa-ši-ir, 139:10.

4Sin-mu-ša-lim,

1. s. of Ha-ri-ia, 343:15.
2. 8:1; 75:10; 348:6.


4Sin-na-qad, 129:3.

4Sin-na-šir, Sin-na-šir*, 4Sin-na-ši-ir†, 1. s. of KU-ANNA, seal 94†.
3. f. of Warad-4Sin, Warad-Šin‡, 147:25‡; seal 64‡.
4. 40:26; 44:12*; 87:16†.

4Sin-na-ši,

1. s. of Ku-da-ia, 94:4; 95:4; seal 27.
2. 262:7.

4Sin-na-wi-ir,


4Sin-ni-ia, 4Sin-ia*, 1. h. of A-ša-tum, seal 142*.
2. s. of Ḫu-ša-du-um, 304:5.
3. b. of I-bi-4Sin, 106:9, case 9; seal 34.
4. b. of I-la-ia, 106:9, case 9; seal 34.
6. b. of Mi-el-ki-ia, 106:9, case 9; seal 34.
7. s. of Pa-ra-ti-ia, 106:9, case 9; seal 34.
8. b. of Ya-pu-hu-um, 106:9, case 9.
9. 105:8; 223:3*; 243:22*; 244:6*.
PERSONAL NAMES

 Sindī-su,
 1. f. of I-dīn-Sīn, 111:22.
 2. s. of Nu-ra-[am-Sīn], 133:17.
 Sindī-ru, s. of A-ra-ia-tum, 128:2.
 Sindī-la-aḫ, Sīn-la-la-aḫ*,
 1. s. of Pūzur-Sīn, 88:22.
 2. 133:23*; 165:31; 349:11.
 Sindī-pu-ur-ra-am, Sīn-pu-ur-ra-am*, f. of Zi-mī-Samaš-lu-mur, Zi-im- Samaš-lu-mur†, 3:10*; 50:14†, case 16†.
 Sindī-qa-ra-ad,
 2. 158:5, 9, 10, 18.
 Sindī-qi-īš-[i], 155:13, 14.
 Sindī-ri-bi, Sindī-rabi(GAL™), Sindī-ribi†,
 1. s. of A-ḫu-ia-tum, 2:12; 5:12.
 2. s. of Bu-ši-ia, 162:23.
 3. b. of Hu-za-tum, 157:6, 8.
 4. s. of I-din-Sīn, seal 130.
 5. s. of Mu-ḫa-ad-dī-tum, 157:8.
 6. s. of Nu-ri-ia, 116:8; seal 39.
 9. f. of Samaš-en-nam, 47:24†.
 10. 116:3; 144:7; 145:30*; 147:43; 157:30; 189:3; 254:5; 255:5; 320:9.
 Sindī-re’i(SIPA), f. of Warad-Amurru, 130:8, case 5; seal 56.
 Sindī-ri-me-ni, Sindī-ri-me-ni*,
 1. s. of Aḫa-tu-ia, 47:2.
 2. b. of A-li-ωi-um, 47:2.
 3. s. of A-si-ru-um, 47:2.
 4. s. of Bur-Samaš, 161:30*.
 5. f. of Iṣ-ru-pa-an-ni, 42:16*, case 18*; seal 11.
 6. f. of Nanna-tum, 6:16; seal 4.
 8. s. of Waraq(s)-ṣū-nu, Waraq(s)-ṣū-nu-ā†, 106:32, case 30; 107:18†, case 3†.
 9. s. of Za-ka-na, seal 149.
 Sindī-ri-īs, 121:22; 143:4*.
 Sindī-ṣi-nu-šu, Sindī-ṣi-nu-šu*, 286:26; 290:10*.
 Sindī-ṣe-me, Sindī-ṣe-me*, Sindī-ṣemī†,
 1. s. of Inīm-tišpak, 16:16*.
 2. s. of I-zi-sā-ri-ia, 149:23.
 3. f. of Ma-na-ba-al-te-el, 147:33*.
 4. f. of Ma-nu-um-ša-nin-šu, Ma-ν-um-ša-ni-in-šu†, 50:16, case 18†.
 5. f. of Na-ap-sūm, Na-ap-su-um§, 22:8†, case 7§; 48:11§.
 6. s. of Sa-mu-. . . -eš?, 348:14†.
 7. f. of Sindī-ma-gir, 154:17†.
 Sindī-la-a-ar, Sindī-la-a-ar*, Sindī-la-a-ar†,
 1. s. of Mu-tum-šu, 147:29*.
 2. s. Ṣi-li-Nin- . . . , seal 133.
 3. 148:3†, case 3†; 322:9, 19, 24; 348:11†.
 Sindī-tab.ba-we-di, 75:13.
 Sindī-tillati(ILLAT), f. of Id-ni-in-Sīn, 118:19.
 Sindī-tābum(Dūl), f. of Utu-Maš.zu, seal 120.
$Sin$-ub-lam,
2. s. of $A$-sú-a, seal 102.
3. s. of $Iš$-me$^4$Sin, 319:7, case 9.
4. f. of Lu-úš-ta-mar, 162:19.
5. f. of Warad$^3$Sin, 117:4; seal 47.
$Sin$-wa$-sum$, 343:16.
$Sin$-we-du,
1. h. of $Iš$-ta-tum, 129:2, 4.
2. 335:21.
*Si-na-nu-um, 100:7.
$Si$-na-tum, 262:9.
$Sú$-ga-gu-um, f. of $Náru$-ša-a-an, 55:11.
$Sú$-ka-lum, Su-ka-lum*,
1. b. of Ar-wi-um, 103:16.
2. s. of Qá-gá-da-nu-um, 103:16; seal 30.
3. 86:2; 98:15; 101:2, 16; 335:27*.
*Su-mu$-a$-bu-um, *Su-mu$-e$-bu-um*,
*Su-mu$-bu$† (king), 128:17, 26; 351:10†, case 10*, 18†, case 22*.
$Su$-mu-a$-la$ar (king), 127:12.
$Su$-mu$-di$-a-an (king), 112:17; 122:13.
$Su$-mu$-d$ (king), 213:9; 214:9; 215:7; 216:8; 263:11, 20; 282:19; seal 98; 106 (-i-la).
*Su$-mu$-nu$-um-hi-im (king), 125:14; 166:10.
*Su$-pa$-bu$-um$, *Su$-pa$-bu$-um*$,
1. s. of Ba$-la$-gu$-um$, 117:9*.
2. 36:13.
$Su$-qá$a, 217:6.

$Sa$-ab-ru-um, 311:32.
$Sa$-la-la, 113:10.
$Sa$-la-la-a, 281:3.
$Sa$-al-mu-um-hé-mi, s. of Sin$-i$-me-ni, 161:19.
$Se$-ba$-ru$-um, f. of Bu$-nu$-ba-lum, 113:4.
$Si$-li$-Adad (king), 310:27.
$Si$-li$-I$i$-tar, 389:9; 217:17; 348:9.
$Si$-li$-I$-šu$m, 348:23.
$Si$-li$-N$-li$-Nin$-...,
1. f. of $Sin$-ma-[gir], seal 134.
2. f. of $Sin$-la-a-a-[ar], seal 133.
$Si$-li$-N$-li$-u$rta, 344:case 33.
$Si$-li$-Sin, 89:14; 136:12.
$Sil$-la$-ši$-na, 62:10.
$Sil$-li$-ia$-ša$, $Sil$-li$-ia$t,
1. s. of Ip-gú$-ša$, 153:22†.
2. f. of Ku$-ku$-nu$-um$, 97:7*.
$Sil$-li$-U$-uraš, 347:2.
PERSONAL NAMES

Ši-i-su-na-wa-ra-at, Ši-is-su-na-wa-ra-at*, Ši-su-na-wa-a-ra-at†, 31:23; 109:10; 111:7†.
*Šu-ri-en-tum,
1. m. of Ba-ši-li, 337:6.
2. m. of Pir-ḫi-ša-Amurru, 337:6.

Ša-a-mu-ú, 325:2.
Ša-a-ra-bi, f. of La-pa-šu-la, 92:12.
Ša-[li-šu], f. of Warad-Sin, 15:6.
Ša-Ištar, Ša-Ištar*,
1. f. of A-di-du-um, 3:12; 7:17*; 46:5*.
2. h. of Be-li-su-nu, 22:19, case 8′.
3. f. of Tu-tu-ub{k}šem, Tu-tu-ub{k}šem, 42:17*, case 21*; 77:6*; seal 151*.
Ša-4Nin-mê, 126:10.
Ša-Sin, s. of Il-ka-pi-la-ab, 70:10.
Ša-4Sa—., 217:5.
Ša-4Tišpak, f. of E-ri-ba-am-Sin, 4:16.
Ša-bi-um,
1. s. of 4En-lil-i-su, 42:12, case 15.
2. seal 14.
*Ša-di-ia, 86:3.
šu-ša-an-mu-ba-li-et, 92:15.
Ša-lim-pa-li-ilšu, 163:29.
Ša-lu-ur-tum, 144:2; 298:6.
Ša-lu-ru-um,
1. s. of An-nep-ba-ab-du₂₇, 326:9.
2. s. of šu-šum-ba-ni, 162:20.
3. f. of šu-sum-ša-an-la-Sin, 159:7, 9; seal 71.
Ša-ma-a-a, f. of 4Šin-ma-gir, 343:12.
šamaš—., 282:23.
šamaš-e-li-i-na-ma-tim, šamaš-e-el-im-ma-tim*,
1. s. of A-pil-Sin, 1:4.
2. s. of La-ma-si, 1:4.
3. 5:4*.
šamaš-en-nam, s. of Sin-ra-bi, 47:24.
šamaš-ša-si-is, f. of Ne-me-el-Sin, 319:22.
šamaš-ib-ni, s. of Būzur-šu, 2:10; 45:9.
šamaš-idda-ni, 60:9.
šamaš-ki-li-ia, s. of Pa-lāl-ba-ni, 67:12.
šamaš-šu-tul, 40:27.
šamaš-nahar,
1. s. of An-nē-ba-ab-du₂₇, 149:21.
2. s. of I-nu-nam, 63:4.
3. s. of šu(KI)-šamaš-ba-la-tu-um, 49:4.
4. s. of šu-Sin-di-nam, 18:16.
5. 165:21.
šamaš-rešu(SIPA), s. of [šu-bu]-la-wa-qa-r, 327:21.
šamaš-TABBA, 64:8.
šamaš-ta-ar, 163:34.
šamaš-tu-kul-ti, f. of Zi-mu-E-a, 124:16.
šamaš-x-x, 23:4.
šām-bu-ša, s. of It-ta-na-ab, 106:28, case 26.
*ša-am-ḫa-nu-um, 100:6.
*ša-am-bil-um, 69:1.
Šamuša(u)tu)-ni,
1. s. of Bi-li-ia, 120:10.
2. 108:12.
Šamša(u)tu)-a-tum, 48:13, le.
Ša-ni-nu-um, 33:13.
Ša-pi-ra-a-a, f. of ..., 111:20.
Šara-zi-da,
2. f. of Im-gur-ri-ia, 163:13, 21.
Šarru-E-a, 218:9.
Šarru-Da-mu, s. of I-pi-iq-Ištar,
319:19.
Šarru-ki-nam, s. of Ip-qu-a ..., 326:29.
Ša-at-Sin, 253:4.
Ša-at-Za-baq-baq, 123:6; seal 49.
Ša-Zabalamkl, s. of Zi-it-tum, seal 158.
Še-el-ḫa, f. of Ib-ni-Sin, 118:8.
Še-li-bu-um, Še-li-bu*,
1. s. of Na-ah-ma-a-ni, seal 74.
2. s. of Na-na-na-A-nu-Su, 44:13*.
3. 60:2; 64:11; 168:4, 6.
Še-ri-Sin, Še-ri-it-Sin*.
2. 87:14*; 223:6*.
Ši-ma-at-Da-[mu], 161:2.
Ši-ma-at-Ku-bi,
1. w. of Ka-na-zu, Ka-na-az-zu†,
299:2, case 2†.
2. d. of La-li-ia, 97:8.
3. 82:3; 96:4.
Ši-na-aḫ-ša-ia, 123:16.
Šu-... f. of Ni-di-[in] ..., 153:10.
Šu-Amurru, 165:35.
Šu-AN.na-a-a, 238:16.
Šu-ba-la-na-ši-ir, s. of Na-bi-En-ilil,
343:13.
Šu-bu-la-la-na-ši-ir, s. of Na-bi-En-ilil,
343:13.
Šu-bu-la-la-na-ši-ir, f. of Šamaš-
re'i(SIPA), 327:21.
Šu-Da-gan, 251:7.
Šu-Da-mu,
1. s. of Nu-ur-Kab-ia, 155:22;
2. s. of ..., 53:12.
Šu-Dumu-zi, s. of [Ip]qu-ša-Kalam-
ma, seal 135.
Šu-GUL.LÁ, 58:6*.
Šu-ḫu-ra-ia,
1. m. of TAB.BA-we-di, 72:5.
2. 72:14.
Šu-Ilabrat,
1. f. of Ar-ki-di-Ištar, 81:5.
2. f. of Ib-ni-Sin, 83:7, case 7; seal
23.
3. f. of I-li-di-nam, 83:16, case 16.
Šu-Ištar,
1. f. of 1-din-Sin, 150:5.
2. s. of I-tiq-Bitum(E), seal 66.
3. 133:10.
Šu-ka-ka, 135:15, case 15.
Šul-pa-e-ba-ni, s. of ..., 329:24.
šul-pa-e-en-nam, šul-pa-[e]-en-nam*,
90:3; 91:19; 98:18*; 99:8.
Šu-MÁ.GURB, f. of Na-ra-am-il-šu,
143.
Šu-Ma-ma, 124:3.
Šu-ma-an-il, f. of Ba-li-e-ra-ah,
147:35.
Šu-mi-a-bi-ia, 30:4; 34:7, 15; 244:14;
260:9; 277:8.
Šu-mi-a-bu-um, 243:16.
Šu-mi-a-hi-ia,
1. s. of A-da-ta, seal 138.
2. s. of Luša-Naššu, 118:14.
3. 244:11; 328:3.
PERSONAL NAMES

2. 41:5; 70:12.
Šum-ma-an-la-ŠšIn, s. of Ša-lu-ru-um, 159:6, 8; seal 71.
Šum-šu-nu, Šu-un-šu-nu*,
1. f. of Ši-en-ri-ba-am, 158:30.
2. 311:16*.
Šum-šu-nu-wa-tar, Šum-šu-nu-wa-tar*,
1. s. of Ma-na-ba-ni, 147:42.
Šu-mu-un-li-ib-šu, s. of Ašu-šu-nu, 328:16.
Šu-na-na-a, Šu-na-na-a*,
1. s. of 4Ab-ba-ra-bi, seal 83*.
2. 189:4.
Šu-Nin-gir-sū, s. of Nanna-tum, seal 109.
Šu-Nin-šu-sag-ga, 1. f. of Anum-pi-ša, 147:37.
2. 145:3.
2. 84:19.
Šu-NIN.NE.RI.MA, Šu-NIN.NI.
ERIM*3 MA*, 344:24, case 26*.
Šu-pu-ú-um, 130:12, case 10'.
Šu-ŠšIn, f. of War-ad-š-li-šu, seal 129.
Šu-Šha-an, s. of ..., 158:26.
*Šu-te-da-um, f. of NUS-a-nu-um, seal 98.
Šu-ti-ru-um, s. of Ya-e-li-im, 116:27.
Ta-a-ar-tum, 189:6.
TAB.BA-...ni, s. of Na-bi-ššIn, 165:2.
TAB.BA-we-di, 1. s. of Šu-uḫ-ra-ia, 72:6.
2. 72:16.
Tab-ni-Ištar, s. of Hu-ba-šum, 347:6.
Ta-bur-ša-du-um, 198:3.
Ta-lim-bitum(É), 60:18.
Ta-[ap-pa]-we-dam, s. of UTU-DAM.
gāb, 350:16.
Tap-pu-um, 165:34.
Ta-[ra]-am-Ku-bi, 189:2.
Ta-ra-am-Sag-il, 217:12.
Ta-ri-ib-Nu-nu,
2. 98:19.
Ta-ri-ib-ššIn, 171:2.
Ta-ri-ru-um, 283:17.
Ta-ri-im-tum, 331:11.
Ta-ar-ma-ia, 121:3, 13.
Ta-ta-as-bi, 43:3.
Ta-ta-nu-um (See: Da-da-nu-um).
Ta-ti-š-li-ia (See: Da-da-š-li-ia).
Ti-ia-ru-um, 327:7, 15; 329:3, 7.
Tig-qi-ú-a, 178:8.
Tišpak-a-bu-um, f. of Ma-nu-um,
50:10, case 12.
Tišpak-ba-nu, 250:2.
Tišpak-ša-zi-ir, 60:3.
Ti-iz-qá-ru-um, h. of Ba-nu-tum, 221:5, 8.

173. ERIM is followed by an uncertain gloss: ME.DU.UR.
Tu-ba-li-î-Bi-bî,
2. s. of Ki-îš-be-lî, 328:20.


TU-na-šîr, 60:4, 11.
Tu-tu-ub(ki)-ma-gîr,
1. s. of Dam-qa-nu-um, 8:10; 10:4; 49:14; seal 5.
2. s. of Im-gur-êSin, 6:4; seal 1.
3. 8:3; 38:5; 41:8; 251:9.
Tu-tu-ub(ki)-še-mî, Tu-tu-ub(ki)-še-me*,
s. of Ša-îštar, 42:17, case 20;
77:5*; seal 151.

Tu-tu-gu-um, f. of Pa-al-û-û-û-a,
107:21, case 6*.

Ta(b)(Dûg)-îštar, s. of Ha-nu-um,
145:22.

Ta-ba-an-a-bu-um, s. of Al-la-da-ia-an,
12:16.

Ta-ab-šîl-la-šu, 35:5.

Ta-ab-ši-i-rum, 75:6.

Ú-ba-a-a,
1. f. of I-li-am-ra-ni, seal 44.
2. 311:2.

U-bar-ru-um, U-bar-rum*,
1. s. of A-bu-um-ma, 112:25.
2. f. of Mu-êla-du-um, 137:16.
4. s. of Ya-gû-ub-êl, 18:6*.
5. s. of Zu-ku-ka-ti-im, 334:18, case 14*.
6. 334:2.

U-bar-êSin,
2. 177:7; 329:4.

U-bar-êŠamaš,
1. f. of I-la-ki, 184:6*.

*U-ba-zu-um, U-ba-zî-im*,
1. f. of A-li-la-ma, 105:17; 107:case 9*.
2. f. of Sa-am-sa-nu-um, 107:case 9*.
3. 105:2*.

Ú-bi-tu, 60:12.

Ú-la-li, 58:5.

Ú-la-a-ma-ši, Ú-la-ma-še*, f. of nig.
GA-êBA.û, 118:7; seal 40*.

Um-mi-ra-bi-a-al, 310:4.

Un-nu-ub-tum,
1. d. of 4Adad-na-da, 152:9; 155:6,
15; 156:8; 157:10.
2. 250:3.

Un-nu-um-bu-um, f. of 4êSin-ga-mil, 157:23;
159:22.

Ú-qa-ilî, Ú-qâ-ilî*,
1. s. of Ba-na-nu-um, 111:5*; seal
50*.
2. f. of 4êSin-še-me, 111:6*.
3. f. of Warad-êTîšpak, 4:5; 5:11; 6:3;
7:4; 8:9; 10:3; 77:4.
4. 1:3; 2:2; 3:3; 111:17*.

Ú-qâ-li-êl, f. of 4êSin-daiân(DI.Kû6),
seal 53.

Ú-qa-êŠamaš, s. of 4UTU-MA.AN.SUM,
24:10.

UR-ê..., f. of ..., 321:rev. II.2*.

UR-êBA.6,*
1. f. of Iš-me-êDa-gan, 119:8; seal 37.
2. f. of 4êSin-e-ri-ba-am, 119:8; seal
37.


UR-DU6.Kû.GA,
1. f. of LUGAL-ŠUBA(MÛS.ZA), seal 80.
2. f. of UR-bar-êSin, seal 108.

UR-êINANNA, 105:23.

PERSONAL NAMES

ur-4lamma(KAL), 336:4.

ur-4nin----, 1. f. of Ni-id-nu-sa, 155:21.
2. 150:18.

ur-4nin.(A).zu,
1. f. of 6.ki-gal.la1, seal 113.
2. 189:13; 164:43; 349:15.

ur-4nin.zi.dA, f. of 4Adad-ra-bi,
326:7; 8; seal 136.

ur-4nin.si4.an.na, 112:30.

ur-4nin.urta (king), 318:16.

ur-4nin.urta,
2. 135:17, case 17; 317:1.

ur-4su.bu.la, ur-4su.bu.la*,
1. s. of I-la-ni, I-li-la-ni†, 128:19; seal 146†.

ur-4su.la.e.a, ur-4su.la.e*,
1. s. of lu-4da.mu, 321:rev. l.11*.
2. 319:17.

ur-6zi.edin.na,
1. s. of A-za-nu-ta, 128:8.
4. h. of Ma-na-tum, 128:8; 344:4, case 4, 6, case 6.
5. 319:9, case 10; 344:11, case 10.

6Uraš-daiyan(DI.KU₃), b. of A-la-wa-
gar, 347:27.

ù-sa-bu-um, ù-sa-bu-um*, ù-sa-bi-
im†,
1. s. of Mi-il-ku-nim, Mi-il-ku-ni-
im†, 26:32†; 51:16†, case 11†.
2. 32:16.


ù-sur-4Ma-mi, s. of Ku-bu-tum,
14:12.

Ut-ša-Maš.tab, 75:12.

6Ut-4zu, 9:3.

6Ut-6dam.gar, f. of Ta-[ap-pa]-we-
dam, 350:16.

6Ut-6gal.zu, s. of 1-li-an-di-l-l, 161:23.

6Ut-6he.gal, f. of lu-6dingir.ra,
159:29; 160:25.

6Ut-6gi-an.kI, f. of Zi-kir-pi4-lštar,
160:23; 162:22.

6Ut-6ma.an.sum,
1. f. of Û-qa-6šamaš, 24:11.
2. 108:10.

6Ut-6maš.zu, s. of 6Sin-6bāhum(DUG),
seal 120.

6Ut-6numun.a, s. of 6a-da-pi-in,
162:6, 8.

6Ut-6palil, 286:24; 290:7.

Ú-túl-4Ma-mi, f. of Nu-rum-li-ši,
3:14.

Ú-zu-ia, s. of Ku-bu-ia, 334:16.

Wa..., 251:1.


Wa-qar-tum, 250:7.

Warad-6..., 1. f. of lu-6dingir.ra, seal 85.
2. s. of lu-6nin.shubur, seal 88.
3. f. of 6Na-bi-um-ekallim(E.GAL),
seal 144.

4. f. of ..., 154:19′.
5. 153:11.

Warad-6Amuru,
1. s. of Da-an-ki-bi-ri-šu, 350:6, case 5.
3. s. of Ha-ma-si-rum, 47:21.
4. f. of 1-li-ma-a-hi, 1:12.
5. s. of 6Sin-re′i(SIPA), 130:7, case 4′; seal 56.
6. 144:3; 160:2; 228:10.

Wa-ra-6Ba-ú, 336:2.
War(ad)-di-ia,
2. 33:15.
Warad-E-a, f. of I-di-šum, 21:4.
Warad-Išum, 324:2.
Warad-li-šu,
2. s. of Il-šu-ba-ni, 13:7.
3. s. of Šu-Šin, seal 129.
4. 60:15; 161:1; 320:7; seal 124.
Warad-Ištar,
1. f. of An-na-Ištar, seal 48.
2. 349:23.
Warad-Išum, Warad-Išum (ŠA.
LAL-SA)*, Warad-Išum (ŠA.
LAL-AN),
1. b. of I-li-TAB.BA-e, 351:1, case 1*.
2. s. of Ka-pi-šum, seal 38.
3. 351:5, case 4†.
Warad-Šin, Warad-Šin*,
2. f. of Ba-da-ra-nu-um, Ba-da-
〈ra〉-nu-um†, 20:6*, case 7†.
3. s. of Bi-ta-um-um, 84:9.
5. s. of Nu-ri-ia, 37:15.
6. s. of Šin-a-bu-šu, 152:23; 156:20;
160:6, 7.
7. s. of Šin-na-šir, Šin-na-ši-ir†,
147:25*; seal 64†.
8. s. of Šin-ub-lam, 117:4; seal 47.
9. s. of Ša-li-šu, 15:8†.
10. s. of Zi-na-at-i-lu-ma, seal 104.
11. 75:14*; 98:9; 101:5; 102:4;
103:10; 142:1*; 146:5; 163:28;
183:3; 186:4, 11; 334:5, case 3*;
338:10; 344:26, case 27; 345:7.
Warad-Šamaš,
2. 64:9; 339:8.
Warad-Tišpak,
1. s. of Ťa-ša-li, 4:4; 5:10; 6:2; 7:4;
8:9; 10:2; 77:3.
2. 8:1e.; 9:2; 40:30; 74:3.
Warad-Uruk, s. of AN.NÉ-BA.AB.DU₇,
321:rev. II.3†.
*Warad-We-er, f. of Ḫa-bi-li-nu, Ḫa-
bi-il-ki-nu*, 72:28; seal 31*.
Warad-ZU.GAL,
2. 261:10.
Wa-ra-ia, Wa-ra-a-a*, 100:15; 143:2‡;
308:6*.
Warad-sa,
1. f. of Akšak-še-me, Akšak-še-mi†,
50:case 7; seal 15‡.
Warad-sú-nu, Warad-sú-nu-š*, f. of
Šin-ri-me-ni, 106:33, case 30;
107:19*, case 4*.
Wa-šum-be-li, 163:7.
Wa-tar-pi-ša, Wa-tar-pi-ša*, f. of Ni-
di-in-Ištar, 152:18; 157:22; seal
67*.
*We-er-na-šir, s. of Ya-ás-kur-él,
50:17, case 19.
*Ya..., f. of I..., 155:24.
*Ya-di-šu-um, 110:19?; 113:12.
*(Y)a-ad-kur-él (king), 53:13.
*Ya-e-š-qi-da-an, 291:2.
*Ya-ša-ti-él, 142:2.
*Ya-ši-š-él, 348:2.
*Ya-šu-ub-él, *Ya-šu-ub-él*,
1. f. of I-zi-su-mu-a-bu-um, 14:6.
2. 134:11*
*Ya-šu-un-pi-él, 35:18.
*(Y)a-ši-ši-él, 51:5, case 3.
PERSONAL NAMES

*Ya-āḥ-zi-ir-ni-ēl, *Ya-āḥ-zi-ir-ni-il*,
*Ya-āḥ-za-ir-ēl†, *Ya-āḥ-zi-ni-
ir-ēl‡ (king), 133:25; 134:13‡;
185:19, case 19; 186:16†; 137:19;
188:10*.  
*Ya-ak-zi-ēl, 76:16.  
*Ya-am-ḥa-nu-um, f. of A-ḥi-ī-li, 83:
case 19.  
*Ya-am-lik-ēl, s. of Ra-ba-ši-pār-ru,
149:24.  
*Ya-am-si-ēl (king), 117:15.  
*Ya-an-ḥu-ru-um, 91:2.  
*(Y)a-an-il-nu-um, *Ya-an-te-nūm*,
58:5; 89:13*.  
*Ya-ap-lu-sum, s. of Ha-ri-im, 29:4.  
*Ya-pu-ḥu-um,  
1. b. of I-bi-Sīn, 106:12, case 12.  
2. b. of I-a-li-a, 106:12, case 12.  
3. b. of Mi-ēl-de-ia, 106:12, case 12.  
4. s. of Pa-ra-ti-ia, 106:12, case 12.  
5. b. of Sīn-ni-ia, 106:12, case 12.  
*Ya-gū-ub-ēl, *Ya-āḥ-gū-ub-ēl*,
1. s. of Ha-li-im, 37:15.  
*Ya-er-ḥa-um, *E-er-ḥa-um*,
1. f. of A-qā-ta-a-nu-um, Aq-qā-ta-
u-um†, Aq-qā-ta-a-nu-um‡,
93:8; 99:7†; seals 25; 26‡; 29*.  
2. f. of Lum-ma-a-nu-um, 98:17;
seal 26.  
3. 78:10.  
*Ya-ri-im-li-im, f. of DUMU-TISPAK,
47:26.  
*Ya-āš-kur-ēl, *(Y)a-āš-kur-ēl*,
1. f. of Ya-di-um, 133:2*.  
2. f. of 4We-er-na-šir, 50:18, case 20.  
*Ya-āš-ma-āḥ-ēl, 33:11.  
*Ya-āš-ni-iq-ēl, 33:14.  
*Ya-su-us-pi-ēl, 26:31.  
*Ya-tā-nu-um, 121:17.  
*Ya-tar-ēl, 111:3.  
*Ya-ṭa-ru-um, s. of Bu-uk-nu-um,
345:5; seal 150.  
*Ya-ṭa-um, 26:3.  
*Ya-ū-um†, 283:3.  
*Ya-wi-um, *Ya-wi-ū-im* (king),
111:14; 116:19*.  
*Ya-zu-nu-um, 115:13.  
*Za-a-ia, *Za-a-a*, 132:11, case 11*.  
*Za-a-nu-um, s. of A-bi-a-ra-āḥ, 84:8;
seal 21.  
*Za-ba-ṣ-ba-ṣ-ṣa-nu-ūḥ, f. of Pi-ṣ-i-la,
149:28.  
Za-ba-tum,  
1. s. of Qū-ru-sū, 107:24, case 10'.
2. 243:3.  
Za-bi-in-nu-ū-a, 310:12.  
*Za-ka-na,  
1. f. of Ha-ši-šum, 128:22.  
3. f. of 4Sin-ri-me-ni, seal 149.  
*Za-ki-ia, 263:2.  
*Za-ku-ru-um,  
1. s. of Sā-li-ia, 83: case 17.
2. 83:17; 100:14.  
*(Ω) Za-am-bi-ia (king), 322:32; 323:15;
324:10.  
Za-an-... 150:17.  
Za-na-a, f. of 4Sin-i-qi-ṣa-am, 311:12.  
Za-na-nu-um, f. of A-bu-um-ṭa-bu,
163:3.  
*Za-an-mah-gu-um, 267:14.  
*Za-ra-ma-ṣ-nu-um, *Za-ra-ma-nu-
um*, f. of I-li-ṣa-am, 85:8; seal
22*.
Za-ri-qum,
1. s. of Ri-im-x-GA, seal 117.
Za-ru-[ut-l]-li, s. of Qú-ur-da-Sín, 133:19.
Zi-ia, 348:28.
Zi-ia-tum,
2. 163:36; 283:7.
Zi-ki-lum (see: Si-ik-lum).
Zi-ki-ir-i-li-šu, Zi-ke-er-i-li-šu*, 1. s. of Ip-gù-a-Zu, seal 126.
2. 184:3*; 288:3*; 333:6.
Zi-kir-pi-ištar, s. of ḠUTU-IGI-AN.KI, 160:23; 162:22.
*Zi-im-ri-lu-ma, f. of Ḡa-lum-ma-da-
ri, Ḡa-lum-ma-dar*, 50:12, case 14; seal 17*.
Zi-im-Samaš-lu-mur, Zi-mi-Šamaš-
u-lu-mur*, s. of Šin-pu-ul-ra-am,
Sinn-pu-ul-ra-am†, 3:9†; 50:13, case 15, l.c.
Zi-mu-Ė-a, s. of Šamaš-tu-kul-ti, 124:16.
*Zi-na-at-lu-ma, f. of Warad-Šin, seal 104.
Zi-it-tum, f. of Ša-Zabalam†, seal 158.
*Zi-za-nu-um,
1. s. of Iš-me-ia, 344:case 6'; seal 145.
2. 334:4, 8, case 2'.
Zi-zi-i, 144:5.
*Zu-bu-ū-um, *Zu-bu-um*,
1. b. of Ba-su-mu-um, 27:21.
4. 30:23*; 37:9*.
*Zu-i-la, 142:3.
Zu-ku-ka-ši-im, f. of U-bar-ru-um, 334:19, case 15'.
Zu-ku-um, 130:4, case 1'.
*Zu-ku-ru-um, s. of Bu-ru-ši-im, 59:9.

Names Broken at the Beginning

*a, 122:16.
...a-a, 170:9.
...Adad, 14:16, 19.
...an-ni, 57:7.
...ba..., s. of Be-li-a-ri-ik, seal 73.
...ba-li-ia, 159:2.
...bu-a-a-ni, 320:15.
...di-ka-ma?, 228:12.
...e-ri-ib, s. of E-ri-ba-tum, 18:14.
...gi-im-la-ni, 66:16.
...ḫa-rum, 292:5.
...ia-tar, 56:9.
*a-ili, 91:16.
...i-li, f. of Sā-bi-um-mu-us-ta-al, seal 65.
...Ir-ra?, 101:14.
...Iš-ša-ra, s. of A-na..., 154:18'.
...ku, s. of I...155:23.
...lam-a-ka, 228:5.
...lum..., šu?, f. of ĠANNA-ZI.MU, seal 41.
...lu-ra-a-ri, 75:14.
...MA.AN.SUM,
1. f. of Bu-r-Šin, 285:8.
3. 14:17.
...ma-gir, s. of ...; 146:24.
...-mu-i-la, seal 106.
...-[mu]-ša-lim, f. of I-din-Šin,
154:20.
...na-ši-ir, s. of Nu-úr-Ištar, 111:21.
...-Šin, seal 10.
...ri-Šin, 159:5.
...ri-me-ra-ru, 97:16.
...ri-tum,
2. 342:4.
...-ši-ia, 21:12.
...-Šin, ..., Šin*.
1. f. of Šu-Ša-mu, 153:12.
2. 21:15*.
...-še-tum, 217:16.
...še-pa-qar, 341:4.
...zi, seal 90.

NAMES OF DEITIES

**A-a**, seals 12; 81; 112; seal of 28 (not copied).
**Adad**, 84:4; 275:2; 313:16; seal 18.
**Akšak**, seal 6.
**Amuurru** (see also, ê-**Amuurru**), 230:3;
seals 11; 16; 93; 108; 158.
**Ammu**, 315:2.
**AN.MAR.TU** (see also, ê-**AN.MAR.TU**), 272:3.
**Ba-úr**, 234:3; 284:3; 314:6?.
**Be-el-ga-ši-er**, **Be-el-ga-ši-ir***, 7:22;
19:3; 34:5*; 43:5; 45:3; seal 8*.
**BIL.GI**, seal 143.
**Da-gan**, 315:1.
**Da-mu** (see also: ê-**Da-mu**), 328:1.
**DUMU.ZI** (see also, ê-**DUMU.ZI**), 194:2;
231:3; 245:3; 265:3; 279:2, 4.
**È-a**, seal 63.
**EN.KI**, 140:2, case 3; 197:2.
**EN.LIL.(LÁ)** (see also, ê-**EN.LIL**), 316:3;
**INANNA** (see also, ê-**INANNA**), 75:2;
322:33; 343:9.
**Ištar**, 267:2.
**Kab-ta**, seals 71; 124.
**LUGAL.LÁ**, 315:3.
**LUGAL-A.PI.AK***, 309:16.
**LUGAL-MÁR.DA**, 112:15; 122:12, 124:12;
125:13; 166:9.
**Marduk**, 119:13; 133:6, 15; 145:16;
149:18; 152:9; 155:6; 156:4; 157:10;
**Mu-úb-ra-[ga-mil?], 161:12, 29.
**Nam-ra-át**, 309:15.
**NANNA** (see also, ê-**NANNA**), 11:20;
83:24, case 23; 92:20; 97:9; 105:14;
109:13; 119:14; 121:25; 129:12; 170:15;
172:8; 174:7; 175:12; 206:4;
263:11; 267:17; 282:19; 283:9; 294:6;
298:9; 314:10; 317:15; 327:25; 330:12.
**Nergal**, 202:4?; 238:3; 247:4, 8; 271:2;
280:3.
**NIN-É.GAL**, 240:2.
**NIN.GAL**, 103:24; 199:3; seal 88.
**NIN.GIŠ.ZI.DA** (see also, ê-**NIN.GIŠ.ZI.DA**), 146:3; 156:2; 162:3; 238:3.
**NIN.HUR.SAG.GÁ**, 200:4?; 224:3; seal 157.
**NIN.IGI.ZI.BAR.BA**, 246:2.
**NIN.KAR.RA.AK**, 204:4; seals 70; 71.
**NIN.LIL.(LÁ)**, 330:7, 8; seal 132.
**NIN.MAR.KI** (see also, ê-**NIN.MAR.KI**), 211:2; 242:3; 273:3.
TEMPLES AND BUILDINGS

É-AGRIG, 338:1; 340:3; 341:5.

É-ÂMURRU, 89:15; 90:25; 93:24; 192:2; 201:3; 209:3; 277:3.

É-ÂAN.MAR.TU, 236:3; 250:12; 270:3; 278:3.

É-ÂAN.NA, 118:27.

É-ÂA.SI.RUM, 346:1.

É-ÂBABBAR, 163:17.

É-ÂDA.MU, 328:1.

É-ÂDUMU.ZI, 213:3.


É-ÂÎNÂNA AKŠAK, 148:15, case 15.


É-ÂNÈ.[IRI11.GAL], 150:20.

É-ÂNIN..., 103:4.


É-ÂÎN.Â.SI.IN, 112:32.

É-ÂÎN.MAR.KI, 249:3; 260:6.

É-ÂÎN.SÂR.AN.KI, 190:2.


É-ÂSÂ.GAR.RA, 9:12; 80:8.

É-ÂTÉR-tim, 5:16.

É-ÂÎNÂNA, 314:6'.


É-ÂTÜR.GU.LA, 311:37.

É-ÂTÜR/ŠAMAŠ, 147:4; 179:14; 182:10; 211:10; 285:30.

É-ÂZA.BA4.BA4, 123:19.

GÁ.NUN.MAẖ-ÂNÂNA, 129:12'.


É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.

É-ÂTUŠ.PA.È, seal 157.
TITLES AND OCCUPATIONS

AD. KID (atkuppû), 103:19.

AGHIG (abarraqqu), 341:5.

Amalu (AMA 4INANNA), 75:2.

BUR. GUL (purguullu), 112:28.

DAM. GAR (tampkarû), 125:16; 164: passim;
181:3; 319: case 3; 332:9, 11; 349:24;
seal 120.

DI. KU₃ (meš) (daiânu), 40:6; 163:16, 36;
165:7.

DUB. SAR (tupsarrû), 1:16; 2:14; 4:19;
11:18; 12:18; 14:20; 17:16; 20:19;
35:22; 36:14; 37:20; 39:18; 42:20;
44:14; 54:15; 58:7'; 67:14; 68:13;
71:14; 83:21, case 21; 84:22; 86:7;
88:24; 91:20; 92:15, 98:19; 103:22;
104:12, case 13; 105:23; 106:34, case
31; 107:26, case 11; 108:13; 111:27;
112:30; 115:14; 117:13; 118:24;
119:24; 120:10; 122:19; 124:19;
125:19; 127:18; 128:24; 130:17, case
15; 132: case 13; 135:17, case 17;
137:17; 139:13; 140:13, case 15;
141:12; 145:30; 147:43; 148: case 13;
152:28; 156:25; 157:31; 160:29;
162:25; 163:87; 165:37; 243:21;
263:17; 283:18; 319:23; 327:22;
332:10; 334:20; 343:16; 347:27;
350:17; seals 83; 84; 85; 87; 88; 89;
90; 91; 94; 97; 99; 100; 102; 103; 104;
105; 106; 107; 109; 113; 114; 115; 116;
119; 156.

EN. 4NANNA, 191:6; 262:13; 263:19;
264:97; 267:17; 314:10'; 330:12.

EN. 4UTU, 182:8; 207:7; 209:9; 210:10;
222:9; 223:12; 226:12; 229:8.

ENS. MEŠ (tššakkû), 164:15.

ERIN, 8:12; 77:8; 165:39; 220:1-4;
224:1; 291:1, 5, 9; 348:20.

ERIN- MAR. TU, 164:16, 18.

GAL. KUD, 72:12.

GAL. KALU, 326:3.

GUDU (paššu), 150:5, 15; 321:rev. I.9',
11'; 326:3, 19; 328:1; seal 132.

GUDU. ABU (gudapsu), 326:23; 328:14.

GURUS, 9:1.

GU. ZA. LA (guzalû), 175:3.

KISAL. LUH (kisallûhû), 254:4; 255:4.

KU. DIM (kutimu), 267:11.

LUGAB, 35:20.

LUGAL. SHIDIN (tiltingallu), 339:8.

LUH. HAL (bârû), 249:2.

LUG HUN. (GÁ) (agru), 130:13, 14, 15,
20:12', 13', 14'; 134:10; 142:5;
144:9; 153:5; 5; 256:1; 339:3.

LUGA, 220:2; 348:18, 21, 30.

LUG SIMUG (nappâhu), 251:3.

LUG SEM (muraqqû), 326:1.

LUKUR 4MARDUK, 152:9; 155:6; 156:8;
157:10.

LUKUR 4NANNA, 97:9.

LUKUR 4UTU, 163:18.

MAŠ. (SU). GUD. GID (bârû), 75:5, 16; seal
154.

MUG, 340:7.

NAGAR (nağaru), 130:16, case 11.

NAR, na-ri*, 46:4; 75:3, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15*;
333:4; 348:22.

NAR. GALL (nargallu), 75:10.

NIN 4NIN. URTA, 312:5 et passim; 316:3'.


NU. GIG (gadištu), 121:3, 13.

NU. GIL. SHAR (nukaribbu), 334:18, case 14.

RA-BI-AN MAR. TU, seal 93.
Ra-bi-a-nu-um, Ra-bi-a-nu-um\(†\), Ra-bi-nu-um\(†\), Ra-bi-ni-im\(†\), 40:8\(*\), 42:10\(*\),
case 12\(‡\), 106:21\(†\), case 19\(†\), 145:19;
152:21; 157:20; 160:18; 161:15;
RA.GABA (rakbu) 84:5; 113:9; 337:11.
SANGA (sangû), 7:22; 40:24; 48:13;
161:29; 163:28, 29; 175:8; seal 88.
SANGA.MAH, 326:25.
SIMUG (nappâhu), 29:27, 54:9; 112:26;
SIPA (re\(u\)), 40:25; 116:9; 293:8.
SUKKAL (sukullu), 75:2.
SU.SI.G, šu-ši-ik-kum\(*\), 75:8\(*\); 293:11.
ŠABRA (šabrû), 147:32; 241:5; 252:5;
258:5.
ŠÀ.TAM (šatammu), 164:21; 170:12;
176:9; 187:2\(†\); 190:6; 192:6; 194:8;
195:6; 197:7; 199:6; 200:7; 201:7;
202:12; 203:9; 204:7; 205:7; 208:7;
209:6; 210:7; 211:6; 213:7; 214:7;
215:5; 216:5; 222:7; 223:10; 226:10;
229:6; 230:7; 231:7; 232:6; 233:6;
234:7; 236:7; 237:6; 238:6; 239:9;
240:6; 242:9; 245:7; 246:8; 247:11;
250:18; 264:7; 265:7; 266:7; 268:9;
269:8; 270:7; 271:5; 272:7; 273:7;
274:8; 275:8; 276:10; 277:7; 278:7;
279:9; 280:8; 284:6; 290:11; 307:6;
317:2; 326:24; 328:16, 18.
ŠITIM (itinnu), 75:13; 126:11; 150:16?;
332:8\(*\); 344:23, 24, 26, case 25, 27.
ŠU.1 (gallûbu), 73:2\(†\).
ŠU.PES₂ (HÂ) (ba'irû), 182:12, case 12.
UGULA (wašlu), 26:26, 29:29; 220:5.
UGULA.A.SI.KUM, UGULA a-si-rî\(*\),
337:18; 338:20\(*\); 339:19\(*\); 340:9;
342:7, 12.
UGULA DAM.GÀR, 163:50; 164:38.
UGULA ERIN, 134:9.
UGULA LUKUR-UTU, 163:33.
UGULA ŠITIM, 344; case 24.
UGULA ŠU.1, 327:5; seal 93.
UGULA ŠU.PES₂ (HÂ).MEŠ, 72:11.
UGULA MUŠ.BAR, 389:17.
UKU.УŠ (rešû), 91:18; 163:36; 308:2; 348:23.
MUŠ.BAR.MES (išartû), 337:15; 339:15,
17.
У.ДУЛ (uttullu), seal 86.
ZABAR.DAB (zabardabbu) (part of designation of a field), 243:17.
MU...-da?-ru-um, 189:10.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Peoples and Places

A.PI.AK\(κ\) (see also: LUGAL-A.PI.AK\(κ\)), 150:21.
AKKAD, 50:9, case 11; 315:5\(†\); seal 106.
A–ku–sum, A–ku–uḫ\(κ\)\(*\), 220:8; 221:19\(*\).
AN.ŠA.ÅN\(κ\), 287:3.
APSI (ZU.ÅB\(κ\))\(κ\) PN?, 306:2.
AŠ.DUB.BA\(κ\) (see also: URU\(κ\) AŠ.DUB.
BA), 273:4.
Babili\(κ\) (KÁ.DINGIR.RA\(κ\), TIN.TIR.
KI\(*\)), 40:5; 146:31; 338:3; 348:3\(*\).
BÀD AN.ZA.QAR Da-da\(κ\) ( = Dûr–
DIMAT-DADA), 152:30; 155:30; 156:27.
BÀD Bûr\(κ\) (see also: URU\(κ\) BÀD Bûr.
(ÀRA\(κ\)), 194:3; 245:4; 279:5.
BÀD Da-du–ša, 74:12.
BÀD Du–nu–um\(κ\), 104:14, case 15.
Bād É-ḫū.b. Bākī, 344:1e, case 36.

Bād Ennigi (IM. KI), 160:31; 162:27.

Bād Ha-bu-as, 142:14.


Bād Larsa (UD. UNU.KI MA), 192:9; 194:11; 195:10; 199:9; 200:10; 201:10; 202:15; 203:12; 204:10.

Bād Lugalīša 1 sl.XK, 339:10–11.


[Ḫa]-Rī-muš, 39:19.

Bād Sāg.ta.ru ?ī, 102:14, case 6'.


Bād Tibra, 164:8; 34.

Bād.gal Larsa (UD. UNU.KI MA), 177:21; 179:10; 307:8; 349:28.

Bād.gal Maš.gan.Šabra, 169:3; 288:8.


[Ḫa]-Maḫ Bābilīkī (Kā.dingir. ra), 149:31.

Bar.si.Pa, 139:15.

Dili.bat, 120:13.

Du-nu-um (see also: Bād Du-nu-um), 178:12.


É-du.rū₂-1.slā, 252:10; 253:8; 254:7; 255:7; 256:7; 257:7; 258:11; 259:10; 260:12.


Elam (Kur.nim ma), 323:14; 324:9; 333:8.

Elīpī (KI. BAL. MAŠ. DĀ. KI), 99:21; 100:18; 101:19.

E-mu-ut-ba-lum (see: Uru Ḫī-mu-ut-ba-lum).

ENNIGI (IM. KI) (see also: Bād Ennigi), 313:16.


Gīr. SII, 219:3; 284:3.

Gū.dū.a, 158:21.

Gu-tu-ū(m) (Kī), 338:10; 339:7.

Ḫa.nī, 75:17, 18, 19.

Ḫē.na, 8:12; 77:9?.

Ḫu-un-zi (see: Uru Ḫu-un-zi).

Im!-me-ru, 342:13.

(In).SII.na (see also: Bād Lugalīša 1 sl.XK), 324:11.

Kā-sī-i, 75:7.


Ki-kur-ri-im, 63:16.

Ki-la-a-nu-um (see: Uru Ḫī-Ki-la-a- nu-um).


Kūn.zi.da (see: Uru kūn. zi.da).

Ku-za-ia, 75:2.

Larsa (UD. UNU.KI MA) (see also: Bād Larsa and Bād.gal Larsa), 197:3; 218:6; 219:2; 234:4; 275:4; 277:4; 279:3; 288:5.

Lu... (see: Uru Lu...).

Ma-an-ḫi-tim (see: Uru Ḫī-Ma-an-ḫi-tim).


Uru Mi-ru-um, 289:10.


Pa-ka-ka-a—a (see: urukl Pa-ka-ka-a—a).
Pa-al-di-ma"kl (see: urukl Pa-al-di-ma"kl).
Ra-ha-bu-um (see: urukl Ra-ha-bu-um).
Ri-muš (see: bād Ri-muš).
Ra-pi-qum, 45:12.
(uru"kl) Sa-bu-um"kl, Sa-a-bu-um*,
265:9; 266:9; 268:11; 269:10; 270:9;
271:7; 272:9; 273:9; 274:10; 275:10;
276:12; 277:10*; 278:9; 279:11;
280:10; 281:7; 284:7.
Šīn-kala(g) (see: urukl Šīn-kala(g)).
Siippar (UD. NUN. KIB. KL, UD. KIB.
NUN. KL), 69:11; 163:27*.
SU. BAL. BIR"kl, 77:8.
SU. BIR"kl, 8:12; 338:7.
SUMER, 315:6*; seal 106.
Ša-al-mu-um (see: uru"kl Ša-al-mu-um).
Ša-du-pi-ē"kl, Ša-du-pi-im*, Ša-du-up-
pi-ē"kl†, 40:9†; 72:9*; seal 8.
TuklTU. TURkl, 50:22, case 24.175
U-bar-ia (see: urukl U-bar-ia).
UR, 176:12; 202:8; [314:11]; 317:15;
seal 106.

Water courses

1šAM. KU. KUM, 160:4.
1šAN. NE-PAD. DA, 187:5'; 188:8; 189:15;
190:9; 191:8; 193:9; 196:9; 197:9;
198:9.
(PA)ša-ta-ap-pu-um, ša-ta-pu-um*,
58:9*; 156:5.
šBA-az-ša-al IR-ra, 157:3; 162:2.
"HUR. SAG. GÁ, 143:7'; cp. 331:19.

šIM-ŠAR-Inanna, 186:14.
šLAŠšKI-li, šI-li-im*, 28:2*, case 3;
29:2; 35:4; 58:2.
šLUGAL, 329:28.
šMAŠ A-bi-Šari, 205:9; 206:1';
208:10; 217:22.
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

2. Purattum (UD).KIB.NUN.NA/KI),
   224:9; 261:16; 265:11; 266:11;
   268:13; 269:12; 271:9; 273:11;
   274:12; 275:12; 276:14; 278:11;
   279:12; 280:12; 284:9.
3. Ra-ka-ba-at[1], 111:2.
7. U.SUR-GU.LA, 328:28.

Fields

A.ŠÀ GUG₄.ŠE, 321:obv I.1, II.4.
A.ŠÀ IGI.BAR.BAR.RI, 327:2; 329:2.
A.ŠÀ SŒ-MU-ta-ri-ik, SŒ-MU-ti-ri-ik[1],
   51:3, case 2[1].
A.ŠÀ ZA.WA.AR[1], 243:24.
### CONCORDANCES

#### SEAL INSCRIPTIONS

*Seal to Text(s)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Text(s)</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6, 9, 58</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8, 38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>93</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>120</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>79, 82</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>123</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>111</td>
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<td>137</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>250, 264-66, 268-71,</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>273-76, 278-80, 284</td>
<td></td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>209-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>212, 250, 275</td>
<td></td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>212</td>
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<td>152</td>
<td>220</td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>231, 236, 264-65, 270-72,</td>
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<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>275, 284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>281-33, 236, 245, 272</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>219, 230-34, 237-40, 242,</td>
<td></td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>245-47, 250, 264, 266,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>270, 272, 277, 279-80, 284</td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>219, 230-31, 234, 236-37,</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>245, 264, 266, 269, 273,</td>
<td></td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>277, 279-80</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>236, 238, 245-46, 265, 268-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>71, 273, 275-76, 278, 284</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>180, 196</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>182, 189, 193, 198</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>241</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>242, 245-48</td>
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<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>187, 190, 192, 202, 204</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>340</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>187, 190, 192, 197, 208-13</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>254-55</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>252</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>190, 197</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>194, 197, 199, 201-03, 206, 210-11, 213</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>258</td>
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<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>190, 208, 210-11</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>259</td>
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<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>192, 194, 202, 204, 208</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>263</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>268, 278</td>
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<td>91</td>
<td>195, 199, 200, 203-04, 209, 212-13</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>270</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>224, 276</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>281</td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>209, 224, 231-34, 236, 239-40, 242, 245, 247-48,</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>299</td>
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