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Amorites in the early Old Babylonian Period

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Citation
Boer, R. de. (2014, May 28). *Amorites in the early Old Babylonian Period*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/25842

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Cover Page



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Author: Boer, Rients de
Title: Amorites in the Early Old Babylonian Period
Issue Date: 2014-05-28

Amorites in the Early Old Babylonian Period

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 28 mei 2014
klokke 11.15 uur

door

Rients de Boer

geboren te Groningen

in 1981

Promotiecommissie

Promotor:	prof. dr. W.H. van Soldt
Co-promotor:	dr. J.G. Dercksen
Overige leden:	prof. dr. H. Gzella
	prof. dr. R.J. van der Spek
	dr. D.J.W. Meijer
	dr. C. Waerzeggers

De vervaardiging van dit proefschrift is mogelijk gemaakt door het project 'The Impact of Migration: Migrant Related Change in the Ancient Near East' gefinancierd door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek. Het drukken is mede mogelijk gemaakt door een bijdrage van de J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting te Rotterdam.

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 15

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 16

CHAPTER 2 WHAT IS AN AMORITE? 20

2.1 The Amorites from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian period 20

2.1.1 Introduction 20
2.1.2 The earliest occurrences of the word MAR.TU 21
2.1.3 Amorites in Ur III times 22
2.1.4 Amorites in Old Assyrian sources 26
2.1.5 Amorites in (early) Old Babylonian sources 27
2.1.6 Amorites in Old Babylonian sources: Mari texts 29
2.1.7 Concluding remarks 30

2.2 On Amorite ethnicity 32

2.2.1 Ethnicity in Assyriology (and Archaeology) 32
2.2.2 Ethnicity in the social sciences 33
2.2.3 Ethnicity and migration 34
2.2.4 Criticism on the ethnicity paradigm 34
2.2.5 Identity and ethnicity 35
2.2.6 Akkadians and Amorites mentioned together as 'ethnicities' 36
2.2.7 The god ^{d}MAR.TU 39
2.2.8 Concluding remarks 39

CHAPTER 3 Amorite personal names, Amorite language 42

3.1 Introduction 42

3.2 Amorite personal names and the study of the Amorite language 44

3.2.1 Excursus: Amurrum as a personal name 45

3.3 Amorite names as ethnicity markers and what constitutes an Amorite name? 47

3.3.1 Personal names as markers of ethnicity 47
3.3.2 What constitutes an Amorite name? 53

3.4 Quantitative research into early Old Babylonian Amorite personal names 54

3.4.1 Introduction 54
3.4.2 Archives from Northern Babylonia 55
3.4.2.1 Sippar 55
3.4.2.2 Kiš and Damrum 56
3.4.2.3 Marad 56
3.4.2.4 Dilbat 56
3.4.3 Archives from the Diyala region 57
3.4.3.1 Tutub 57
3.4.3.2 Nērebtum 57
3.4.3.3 Nūr-Šamaš archive 57
3.4.4. Concerning hapax and dis legomenon names 60
3.4.5 Onomastic case studies 61
3.4.5.1 The case of Sippar's Amorite onomasticon 61
3.4.5.2 The case of the Diyala region Amorite onomasticon 62
3.4.5.3 The Total Northern Babylonian and Diyala Amorite onomasticon 63
3.4.6 Condensation, number of individuals per name and degree of homonymy 65
3.4.7 Popular Names and Popular Gods 67

CHAPTER 4 THE 'AMORITE' POPULATION IN EARLY OLD BABYLONIAN NORTHERN BABYLONIA 70

4.1 Sippar in the early Old Babylonian period 70

4.1.1 Introduction 70
4.1.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Sippar 70
4.1.3 Amorites in large family archives from early Old Babylonian Sippar 72
4.1.3.1 Abum-halum's descendants 73
4.1.3.2 Nūr-Šamaš 74
4.1.3.3 Lu-Ninšubur, son of Šū-Šamaš 75
4.1.3.4 Dada-waqar's daughters 76
4.1.3.5 Imgur-Sîn's sons Annum-pîša and Qīš-Nunu 76
4.1.3.6 Dammāqtum's descendants 77
4.1.3.7 Arwium's sons 77
4.1.3.8 Sîn-erībam's descendants (Akšaya's family) 78
4.1.3.9 The Me'isum family 78
4.1.3.10 Ipqu-Ištar's descendants 79
4.1.3.11 Abum-ṭābum's sons 79
4.1.3.12 Puzur-Akšak's family 80
4.1.3.13 Important family archives we do not have 80
4.1.3.14 Conclusions: Amorites in large early Old Babylonian Sippar family archives 83
4.1.4 Amorites in smaller archives from early Old Babylonian Sippar 87
4.1.5 Amorites as debtors, creditors, lessees and in various other roles 88
4.1.5.1 Debtors/Creditors 88
4.1.5.2 Leases 89
4.1.5.3 The *ED* II organization 89
4.1.5.4 Amorite and 'other' names occurring in various texts 90
4.1.6 Conclusions: the Amorite personal names in early Old Babylonian Sippar 91

4.2 Kiš, Damrum and its vicinity in the early Old Babylonian period 95
4.2.1 Introduction 95
4.2.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Kiš and Damrum 96
4.2.2.1 Texts from the 'Mananâ-dynasty' 97
4.2.3 Amorites in archives from early Old Babylonian Kiš and Damrum 98
4.2.3.1 Šumšunu-watar 98
4.2.3.2 Ṣīssu-nawrat 99
4.2.3.3 Sîn-iddinam, son of Saniya and his brothers 99
4.2.3.4 Dulluqum, son of Hadamu 99
4.2.3.5 Ibbi-Ilabrat son of Puzur-Ilaba 100
4.2.3.6 Kalāya's children 100
4.2.3.7 Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El 100
4.2.3.8 Šū-Ninhursag 101
4.2.3.9 Yerhaqum's sons 101
4.2.3.10 Amorite names in smaller files from early Old Babylonian Kiš and Damrum 101
4.2.3.11 The presence of Amorites in early Old Babylonian Kiš and Damrum 101
4.2.4 People borrowing in early Old Babylonian Kiš and Damrum 104
4.2.5 The Amorite personal names in early Old Babylonian Damrum and Kiš 105

4.3 Marad in the early Old Babylonian period 106
4.3.1 Introduction 106
4.3.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Marad: the Ilum-bāni family archive 107
4.3.3 The Amorite personal names in early Old Babylonian Marad 107

4.4 Dilbat in the early Old Babylonian period 108
4.4.1 Introduction 108
4.4.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Dilbat: the Iddin-Lagamal family archive 109

4.4.3 The Amorite personal names in early Old Babylonian Dilbat 109

4.5 The 'Amorite' presence in Northern Babylonia 110

CHAPTER 5 TOWARDS A NEW CHRONOLOGY FOR THE EARLY OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD 115

5.1 Introduction 115

5.2 Sippar's local kings in the early OB period 115

5.2.1 Introduction 115
5.2.2 Ilum-ma-Ila 116
5.2.2.1 Oaths mentioning Ilum-ma-Ila 118
5.2.3 Ammi-ṣura 119
5.2.3.1 Ammi-ṣura Yearnames 119
5.2.3.2 Oaths mentioning Ammi-ṣura 121
5.2.4 Immerum 121
5.2.4.1 Immerum Yearnames 124
5.2.4.2 Oaths mentioning Immerum and Sumu-la-El 125
5.2.4.3 Oaths mentioning Immerum 125
5.2.5 Buntahtun-Ila 127
5.2.5.1 Buntahtun-Ila year names 131
5.2.5.2 Oaths mentioning Buntahtun-Ila and others 131
5.2.5.3 Oaths mentioning Buntahtun-Ila 131
5.2.6 Altinû and Lipit-Ištar 132
5.2.6.1 Altinû year names 135
5.2.6.2 Oaths mentioning Altinû and Sumu-la-El 135
5.2.6.2 Lipit-Ištar year name 135
5.2.6.4 Oath mentioning Lipit-Ištar and Sîn-muballiṭ 136
5.2.7 Ikūn-pi-Ištar 136
5.2.7.1 Ikūn-pi-Ištar year names 136
5.2.8 Unattributable early OB year names from Sippar 136

5.3 Kiš, Damrum and its vicinity 137

5.3.1 Introduction 137
5.3.2 New texts from early OB Damrum and Kiš 138
5.3.3 Archival matters: which dossiers are connected to each other 138
5.3.4 Chronological matters pertaining to the kings of the 'Mananâ-dynasty' and early OB Kiš 141
5.3.5 A new group of texts and a new king from early OB Kiš 152
5.3.6 On the usage of year names in the early OB Kiš region 153

5.4 A new relative chronology for the early OB period 155

CHAPTER 6 A HISTORY OF NORTHERN BABYLONIA AND THE DIYALA REGION (CA. 2000-1900 BC) 157

6.1 Introduction 157

6.2 Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region in the Ur III period 157

6.2.1 Ešnunna/Tell Asmar 158
6.2.2 Sippar-Amnānum/Tell ed-Dēr 159
6.2.3 Tell Išān-Mizyad 159
6.2.4 Evidence from the large Ur III archives of southern Babylonia 160
6.2.5 Provisory conclusions 160

6.3 Two Amorite populations: one in the north, one in the south 161

6.3.1 The homeland of the Amorites 163
6.3.2 Amorite settlement patterns and migration waves 165
6.3.3 Amorites in the Zagros: Simurrum and Choga Gavaneh 166

6.4 The political situation of Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region ca. 2000-1900 BC 169

6.4.1.1 Ešnunna/Tell Asmar 169
6.4.1.2 Amorite dynasties in the Diyala region 175
6.4.1.2.1 Abda-El and Ušašum 175
6.4.1.2.2 Usû and Ilum-lu-watar 177
6.4.1.2.3 Other important Amorites 177
6.4.2 Malgium 178
6.4.3 Dēr 179
6.4.3.1 Excursus on the title gìr.nita$_2$ 180
6.4.4 Isin 181
6.4.5 Other cities: Borsippa and Kiš 182
6.4.6 Other cities: Sippar 183
6.4.7 How did the Amorites take power? 184

CHAPTER 7 A HISTORY OF NORTHERN BABYLONIA AND THE LOWER DIYALA REGION (CA. 1900-1815 BC) 190

7.1 Introduction 190

7.2 The Lower Diyala region: from Political Fragmentation to Ešnunna's hegemony 190

7.2.1 On the textual material from the Diyala region 190
7.2.1.1 Uzarlulu in the early Old Babylonian period 191
7.2.1.1.1 Introduction 191
7.2.1.1.2 The sources from early OB Uzarlulu 192
7.2.1.2 Šaduppûm in the early Old Babylonian period 193
7.2.1.2.1 Introduction 193
7.2.1.2.2 The sources from early OB Šaduppûm 195
7.2.1.3 Nērebtum in the early Old Babylonian period 196
7.2.1.3.1 Introduction 196
7.2.1.3.2 The sources from early OB Nērebtum 197
7.2.1.4 Tutub in the early Old Babylonian period 199
7.2.1.4.1 Introduction 199

7.2.1.4.2 The sources from Old Babylonian Tutub 199
7.2.1.5 The Nūr-Šamaš Archive 200
7.2.2 The earliest group of rulers in the Lower Diyala Region ca. 1900-1890 200
7.2.2.1 Ipiq-Adad I of Ešnunna 201
7.2.2.2 Išmeh-bala of Nērebtum 202
7.2.2.3 Šiqlānum 202
7.2.2.4 Abdi-Erah 203
7.2.2.5 Mašparum 203
7.2.2.6 Itūr-šarrum of Diniktum 204
7.2.2.7 Imgur-Sîn of Malgium 204
7.2.3 The next generation: Abī-madar, Yadkur-El, Sumun-abi-yarim and others ca. 1890-80 BC 205
7.2.3.1 Abī-madar 206
7.2.3.2 Ikūn-pi-Sin of Nērebtum 207
7.2.3.3 Yadkur-El 207
7.2.3.4 Sumun-abi-yarim 208
7.2.3.4.1 A Lower Diyala dynasty? 209
7.2.3.4.2 Excursus: on the importance of early OB Akšak 210
7.2.3.5 Sumu-Amnānum of Šadlaš 212
7.2.3.6 Šarrīya and Warassa of Ešnunna 212
7.2.3.7 Ephemeral rulers in the Diyala region texts 213
7.2.3.7.1 Diyala 'rulers' known from 'MU PN BA.UG$_7$' year names 214
7.2.3.7.2 Other ephemeral Diyala rulers 215
7.2.4 Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu versus Bēlakum, Ibal-pi-El I and Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna ca. 1880-1815 BC 217
7.2.4.1 Hammi-dušur's Lower Diyala state 217
7.2.4.2 The treaty of Bēlakum 218
7.2.4.3 Bēlakum 220
7.2.4.4 Ibal-pi-El I 221
7.2.4.5 Sîn-abūšu's reign in the Lower Diyala region 222
7.2.4.5.1 Sîn-abūšu's military and political feats 223
7.2.4.5.2 A letter between the King of Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu 225
7.2.4.5.3 The end of Sîn-abūšu 226
7.2.4.6 Ipiq-Adad II and the consolidation of the Diyala region 228
7.2.4.6.1 Ipiq-Adad II's year names 229

7.2.4.6.2 Ipiq-Adad II in the Mari Eponym Chronicle 230
7.2.4.6.3 Ipiq-Adad II's conquest of the Suhum 232
7.2.4.6.4 An overview of Ipiq-Adad II's conquests 233

7.3 Northern Babylonia: from political fragmentation to Babylon's hegemony 236

7.3.1 Ašduni-yarim, Abi-x-x and Yawium of Kiš ca. 1895-1869 BC 237
7.3.2 The Mananâ dynasty 238
7.3.2.1 Damrum, Kazallu and Larsa's campaigns ca. 1885-1845 BC 238
7.3.2.2 Abdi-Erah, Ahi-maraṣ, Haliyum, and Mananâ: rivalling rulers over a small territory ca. 1877-1860 BC 239
7.3.2.3 Sumu-Yamutbal, Manium, Sumu-la-El and the end of Damrum's independence ca. 1860-1845 BC 241
7.3.3 Kings of Marad ca. 1890-1861 BC 243
7.3.4 Sippar's complex situation ca. 1885-1857 BC 244
7.3.5 Sumu-abum's life and times ca. 1890-1860 BC 248
7.3.5.1 Sumu-abum was sent to...Dēr? 249
7.3.5.2 Sumu-abum in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive 249
7.3.5.3 A letter send to Sumu-abum 250
7.3.5.4 A strange tablet concerning Sumu-abum 251
7.3.5.5 The conquest of Elip/Kibalmašda 252
7.3.5.5.1 Excursus: Elip/Kibalmašda in early OB times 253
7.3.5.6 The fall of Kazallu at the hands of Isin, Babylon, and Sumu-abum around 1863-62 BC 254
7.3.5.7 The aftermath: Sumu-abum becomes king of Kisurra 256
7.3.6 Sumu-la-El's reign 1880-1845 BC 260
7.3.6.1 Sumu-la-El in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive 261
7.3.6.2 Babylon's ally: Uruk 261
7.3.6.3 The unification of Northern Babylonia by Sumu-la-El 263
7.3.6.4 The end of Sumu-la-El's reign 267
7.3.6.5 An overview of Sumu-la-El's conquests 267
7.3.7 Larsa's northern incursions 269
7.3.7.1 Sîn-iddinam of Larsa attacks, 1847-1842 BC 269
7.3.7.2 Sîn-iqīšam of Larsa rehabilitates Kazallu ca. 1840 BC 271

7.3.8 Sabium's and Apil-Sîn's rule over Northern Babylonia 1844-1813 BC 273

CHAPTER 8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 277

Appendix to chapter 3 283

Appendix to chapter 4 286

Appendix to chapter 5 415

Appendix to chapter 6 425

Appendix to chapter 7 427

Edition of unpublished texts 430

1 New texts datable to Ilum-ma-Ila 430
2 A new text datable to Ammi-ṣura 432
3 New texts datable to Altinû 433
4 New texts from the 'Mananâ-dynasty' 436
4.1 The file of Šumšunu-watar 436
4.2 The file of Ṣīssu-nawrat 446
4.3 An administrative text probably from Damrum 449
5 New texts from early OB Kiš 450
6 A text dated to Abī-madar 456
7 A text dated to Sumu-Amnānum 458
8 Texts related to Sumu-abum 460
9 A text related to the reign of Sumu-Yamutbal 464
10 A letter from Apil-Sîn of Babylon 466

Bibliography 467

Samenvatting 495

Curriculum Vitae 496

Acknowledgements

This doctoral thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of many people. First I am indebted to dr. Jan Gerrit Dercksen who provided me with the oppurtunity to write this thesis within his project 'The Impact of Migration'. As my supervisor he was instrumental in reading several draft versions and giving valuable comments. Prof. dr. Marten Stol has been my mentor in Old Babylonian studies for many years now and I owe him much and more, not in the last place as a driving force behind the writing of this thesis. He generously shared his knowledge and time reading with me many of the texts used here and commenting on the manuscript. I also thank Prof. dr. Wilfred van Soldt for his time and trust during the writing of this thesis. Thanks are due to the two people who shared my office from 2010 to 2014: Willemijn Waal and Dirk Bakker, as well as Theo Krispijn, Caroline Waerzeggers, and all other friends and colleagues at the NINO library in Leiden. Special thanks are due to Martin Baasten for his help with the layout of the manuscript and Martin Sauvage for his consent in using his map of the Middle East.

On a personal level I thank Janine Nöthlichs, my parents Jan and Janny de Boer, my sister Ancella, my friends, Fritz, and most importantly my son Lenny.

I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for their kind permission to publish several texts from the British Museum. I also thank dr. U. Kasten of the Yale Babylonian Collection for her consent in publishing a number of texts from the Yale and Nies Babylonian collections. I have many fond memories of my research stays in London in April 2012 and in New Haven in March-April 2014.

The J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting made the printing of this thesis possible through a generous subvention.

Leiden, May 2014

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis was written within the N.W.O-financed project 'The Impact of Migration: Migrant Related Change in the Ancient Near East' led by Dr. J.G. Dercksen at Leiden University. The thesis deals with one of the project's three sub-programs called 'The Effects of Amorite Migration to Mesopotamia'.

The Amorites are a people that are attested throughout the history of the Ancient Near East. There is and was much discussion about almost every aspect of the Amorites: their language, ethnicity, religion, way of life etc. They remain elusive because the cuneiform texts present them differently over time. In addition, it is often unclear whether we can distinguish them from other groups of people. Much must be inferred from Amorite personal names and scraps of information.

In an early phase of the research it was decided to focus on the early Old Babylonian (OB) period and the role that the Amorites played therein. The main reason for this limitation is that a comprehensive study of the Amorites is simply too big to fit into one thesis.

The early OB period is the period of time between the fall of the Ur III empire around 2004 BC and the accession of Hammurabi of Babylon in 1791 BC.[1] This period is defined by the existence of many small rivaling kingdoms all over the Middle East ruled by Amorite kings.

Our sources for this period are limited mostly to Southern Mesopotamia where we can distinguish between several regions. The whole of Southern Mesopotamia is called Babylonia, which we can divide into Northern Babylonia and Southern Babylonia. To the northeast of Northern Babylonia flows the Diyala river, its valley is referred to as the Diyala region. Here we can distinguish between a Lower Diyala region and an Upper Diyala region. These territories were not called by these names in the early OB period, but they will nevertheless be used throughout this thesis.

---

[1] The time limit used in this study is however the end of the reigns of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna around 1815 BC and of Apil-Sîn of Babylon around 1813 BC (according to the Middle Chronology).


ANATOLIE
TAURUS
MER
CASPIENNE
CHYPRE
MER MÉDITERRANÉE
Northern Mesopotamia
IRAN
ZAGROS
DÉSERT
SYRO-ARABIQUE
Southern Mesopotamia
GOLFE ARABO-PERSIQUE
Fond de carte : Martin Sauvage


Jebel Hamrin
Diyala
Upper Diyala
Šitullum
Tell Yelkhi
Me-Turan
Hamrin Basin
Zagros gates
Lower Diyala
Supur-Šamaš
Mankisum
Aštabala
Kar-Šamaš
Ešnunna
Rapiqum
Uzarlulu
Šaduppûm
Tutub
Nerebtum
Upi
Šadlaš
Sippar-Amnanum
Agade
Sippar-Yahrurum
Akšak
Der
Northern Babylonia
Diniktum
Kutha
Mutalu
Išan Mizyad
Malgium
Babylon
Kiš
Damrum
Kibalmašda
Borsippa
Dilbat
Ancient Euphrates
Maškan-Šapir
Kazallu
Kiritab
Apiak
Marad
Nippur
Adab
Isin
Kisurra
Karkar
Zabalam
Umma
Girsu
Southern Babylonia
Lagaš
Uruk
Bad-Tibira
Larsa
Kutalla
Ur
Eridu

The focus in this study will be mostly on Amorites in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region. Southern Babylonia was torn between the two rivaling cities of Isin and Larsa during this period (that is why the early OB period is sometimes called the Isin-Larsa Period). However, in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region many of the political developments remain unclear, even though we have numerous texts from many sites.[2] This study was able to use many recently published and unpublished texts and studies to reconsider the early OB period and the role that the Amorite people played.[3]

The central research question in the project 'The Impact of Migration: Migrant related Change in the Ancient Near East' is:

- What institutional changes can be perceived in ancient Mesopotamia and Anatolia during the selected periods and what is the role of migration therein?

The two related sub-questions are:

- Did migration lead to cultural uniformity or rather diversity?
- What interregional effects of economic or political expansion can be observed?

These overarching research questions needed to be adapted to the situation in the early OB period and the available textual material. The main research questions in this thesis are:

1) Was there a clear Amorite ethnicity and discernible Amorite migration-movements in early Old Babylonian Southern Mesopotamia?
2) How did these Amorites take control over a territory as large as Southern Mesopotamia?

---

[2] The most recent reconstruction is Charpin 2004a, see also Wu Yuhong 1994a, and the pioneering work by Edzard 1957.

[3] Amongst these texts is the unpublished Ikūn-pîša Letter Archive (*IPLA*) from Sippar, which will be published in the near future, as well as several unpublished texts from the British Museum and the Yale and Nies Babylonian collections, which can be found in the Appendix. Among the recent relevant studies we can mention for example Michalowski 2011 and Hussein 2008.

3) To what extent have the Amorites and their migration changed prevalent structures in early Old Babylonian Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region? The texts enable us specifically to take a closer look at:
    a. Population structure: how many Amorites can we perceive in the texts and what is their relation to the local population?
    b. How were the Amorites themselves organized militarily and tribally? Did this influence the existing military and societal structures in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region?
    c. Where did these Amorites live? Were they part of the urban population or were they pastoralists living on the fringes of society?
    d. What role did the Amorites play in the texts? Were they landowners, creditors or debtors, rich or poor? How did they fare compared to the local population?
4) Did the early Old Babylonian Amorite kings and their different kingdoms lead to more diversity or uniformity in Southern Mesopotamia?

The above questions are dealt with in chapters 2-8. In chapter 2 we will explore the term 'Amorite'. Chapter 3 will deal with the Amorite language and Amorite personal names. Chapter 4 will consider every occurrence of Amorites in texts from Northern Babylonia to determine the role(s) they had in the texts: were they landowners, where did they live etc. Chapter 5 takes a closer look at the extremely complicated political situation in Sippar and the vicinity of Kiš; this will result in a new relative chronology for the early Old Babylonian period. Chapters 6 and 7 aim to reconstruct the political history of Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region from the fall of the Ur III empire until ca. 1815 BC. Special attention will be given to the Amorites and Amorite rulers. The basis for this reconstruction is new textual material and insights from the previous chapters. Lastly, we return to the above research questions in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 2

What is an Amorite?

2.1 The Amorites from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian period

2.1.1 *Introduction*

In the cuneiform script the word for 'Amorite' is mostly written in Sumerian as MAR.TU and sometimes spelled syllabically in Akkadian as *a-mu-ur-ru-*(*ú*) = *amurru*(*m*).[4] These words also indicate 'The West' on the compass.[5] In the literature the overlap of these terms is sometimes confusing, because people indicated as MAR.TU could also come from the area to the north east of Babylonia, the Jebel Hamrin. The word lacks a convincing etymology.[6] The study of the Amorites goes back a long time because they are already mentioned in the Bible.[7]

[4] For the lexical occurrences (and the 'lexical confusion' with the term Tidnum/Ditanu), see Marchesi 2006:8 n. 20,:9 n. 23, the *CAD* A/2:93-94 and most recently Hrůša 2010:471-472. See Streck 2000:26-29 for a discussion of the term MAR.TU, with the comments by Charpin 2005/2006:283-284. See Michalowski 2011:106 for proof from the Ur III period that MAR.TU = *a-mu-ru-um*.

[5] Despite this fact it is known that people with Amorite names lived in the area of the Persian Gulf thanks to the excavations at the island of Failaka of the coast of Kuwait. See Glassner 1983:31-32, Zarins 1986, Glassner 1990, Glassner 2000a, Glassner 2000b, and Glassner 2002.

[6] Durand (Durand 2002b:742 and Durand 2006:609) has proposed an etymology for *amurru*(*m*). He suspects that the word *marratum* indicating 'bitter land' (the Levantine coast) and its stem MRR may have something to do with it. Dossin 1959:38 had considered the Sumerian word 'MAR.TU' as having the general meaning 'desert'.

[7] However, this study concerns itself only with the occurrences of Amorites until the OB period.

2.1.2 *The earliest occurrences of the word* MAR.TU

The first allusion to a person dubbed 'Amorite' comes from Fara/Šuruppak around 2600 BC.[8] Textual evidence for the Old Akkadian period (ca. 2350-2200 BC) is scarce, we only have a handful of references to the 'Amorites' in texts from this era. Persons designated as Amorites figure four times in Old Akkadian texts from Umma.[9] One reference to a group of sixteen Amorites is from Susa,[10] as is a disbursement to an Amorite.[11]

According to a royal inscription, Narām-Sîn did battle at Bašar, the 'Amorite mountain'.[12] This mountain is usually equated with the current Jebel Bišri.[13] A little bit further in the same inscription we see the names of two Amorites who were defeated by Narām-Sîn: Belili (*be-lí-lí*) and Kinūya (*kin-u$_8$-ú-a*), they are designated as MAR.TU MAR.TU. Right after this we see the terms *ra-bu* and *rabiānu* (*ra-bí-a-ni*), referring to the rank or status of these men.[14] The Amorites were again defeated by Narām-Sîn's son, Šar-kali-šarrī at that same mountain, as is attested in a year name.[15] The MAR.TU^{KI} land found in the Ebla texts has apparently confirmed the hypothesis of an Amorite land around the Jebel Bišri. Archi had assembled the attestations of the word MAR.TU in the Ebla texts,[16] they number about thirty (at that time). Pettinato also studied the land MAR.TU^{KI}.[17] It is the name of a region to the south-east of Ebla. The Eblaites attributed a king and council of elders to the Amorites.[18] In

[8] Deimel 1924 78 X, *TSŠ* 648 II 4. For other textual references from this period until 1977: *RGTC* 1 (Edzard, Farber, Sollberger 1977):115-116.

[9] Foster 1982:113.

[10] *MDP* XIV 18:12.

[11] *MDP* XIV 9:19.

[12] Frayne 1993 E2.1.4.2 ii14-iii24, see also Gudea, St. B vi 5.

[13] For a recent archaeological survey of the Jebel Bišri see the studies by Lönnqvist 2010 and Lönnqvist et al 2011. According to her, there are archaeological remains pointing towards a tribal organization, but it is impossible to link them positively to the Amorites (Lönnqvist 2010:125). A different archaeological approach to the Amorites is by Porter 2007.

[14] Frayne 1993 E2.1.4.2 col vi 10-15.

[15] Frayne 1993:183.

[16] Though Archi himself prefers to read 'MAR.DÚ', Archi 1985:8 n.7.

[17] Pettinato 1995.

[18] Archi 1985:8. Sommerfeld 2000:428-436 reinterpreted MAR.TU^{KI} in the Ebla texts and in the Akkadian period, see also Verderame 2010 on Amorites in the Third Millennium.

a number of articles Buccellati tried to reappraise the whole problem of the origin of the Amorites.[19]

After the Sargonic Dynasty came a period of confusion. According to the Sumerian King List, two kings ruled over the town of Akkad, a certain Dudu and Šu-Turul. A servant of the latter carries what seems to be an Amorite name: La-Bahšum.[20]

In short: the Amorites were a peripheral people in the Old Akkadian sources, they do not seem to have settled in large numbers in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, yet small groups of people designated by the word MAR.TU seem to have been present.

2.1.3 *Amorites in Ur III times*

The numerous administrative documents from the Ur III period shed considerable light on the early Amorites.[21] The first to really study this topic was Buccellati who published his *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* in 1966. Buccellati believed that the Amorites came from the west around the Jebel Bišri. However, he does remark that Amorites are never connected with Western cities.[22] He presumes that the Amorites were nomads and that they had a tribal structure. Possible tribal names are Yahmutum, Yamutum,[23] Ahbutum, and Did(a)num. The Amorites were an ever growing presence and as a result of this the addition of the appellative MAR.TU to personal names was eventually abandoned completely, so that by the time of the Old Babylonian period practically no Amorite name is designated as such by the sources.[24]

After Buccellati's landmark study, the Ur III Amorites received more attention. Wilcke states that the sources are largely mute about an Amorite contribution to the Ur III empire's downfall. Important is his remark that no so-called *yafʿal* names are attested in Ur III texts. From a contribution of Lieber-

[19] Buccellati 1990, 1992 and 2008, he often tries to explain things from the perspective of sedentarized people versus non-sedentarized people.

[20] Frayne 1993 E2.1.11.2003.

[21] Some of the problems and challenges of this impressive corpus are treated by Sallaberger 1999:200-237.

[22] Buccellati 1966:246-247.

[23] Written: *ià-a-ma-tu, ia-a-ma-ti, ia-a-ma-ti-um* or *ià-a-ma-ti*-[*um*], Buccellati 1966:242, Owen 1993a wrote an article in support of the thesis that this tribe represented the later attested Ahlamû.

[24] Buccellati 1966:355-362

man it has become clear that the Ur III armies themselves were able to raid the country of MAR.TU,[25] an area to the east and north of the Tigris. Owen revisits the question of 'Syrians' in Ur III sources.[26] He notices that we have few texts documenting connections between Syria and Sumer. In the Ur III texts some 23 names are associated with Mari, almost all of them are Akkadian.[27] Sallaberger suspects that the 'Amorites' we know from the Ur III texts onwards comprised originally two distinct populations: the first are nomads entering Mesopotamia from their 'original' homeland west of the Euphrates, the second are the remnants of the once flourishing urban culture in the Khabur triangle who adopted the latter's pastoral lifestyle and the Amorite language.[28]

Michalowski published in 2011 a new text edition of the correspondence of the kings of Ur III (CKU). He added a considerable chapter containing his most recent ideas on the Amorites.[29] He criticizes the current paradigm about the Amorites saying that it is essentially based on disparate references and the Mari material. This paradigm is tenacious despite the many new insights from other disciplines, let alone newly published texts.[30] Michalowski's main conclusions are:

- There is no evidence that the Ur III Amorites were nomads in the modern sense of the word.[31]
- Amorites did not come from the west (the Euphrates valley), but were rather present in 'the borderlands flanking the Diyala valley and perhaps in the Jebel Hamrin and in the valleys beyond, as well as further southeast along the Great Khorasan Road, where they raised equids, sheep, goats, and cattle in areas that the Drehem administrators thought of as the 'Amurrum borderlands'.[32]

[25] Lieberman 1968.
[26] Owen 1992, see also Owen 1995.
[27] Michalowski 1995:185.
[28] Sallaberger 2007:446.
[29] Michaloswki 2011:82-121.
[30] Michalowski 2011:84-88.
[31] This was already noticed by Weeks 1986.
[32] Michalowski 2011:105, but also Marchesi 2006:13-16, who discusses Michalowski's ideas. Mention must be made of the Sumerian epistolary letter *SEpM* 2 (Kleinerman 2011:116-117) written by the commander Sîn-tillati to Iddin-Dagan (an Isin king) concerning an ambush by Amorites near Kakkulātum, a city in the Diyala region.

- It seems that at least some Ur III Amorites residing in Sumer were soldiers, perhaps even members of a royal bodyguard.[33]
- There is no evidence for a large Amorite infiltration of the Ur III empire.[34]
- The Amorites played only a minor role in the disintegration of the Ur III state.[35]
- The Amorites did not take power in all Mesopotamian cities directly after the Ur III collapse.[36]

Michalowski also gives an overview of the discussion surrounding the so-called Amorite wall.[37] He stresses the very scant evidence we have about this wall and that there is nothing about it in the tens of thousands of Ur III administrative documents.

In his 2012 Ph.D. dissertation Ahmed concentrated on the history of 'Ancient Kurdistan'.[38] His focus is not so much on the Amorites as a political factor in the Ur III empire's dealings, but rather on the Hurrian states in the Transtigridian lands and Simurrum.[39] Nevertheless: Iddin-Sîn, a king of Simurrum (ca. 2030-2000 BC)[40] explicitly tells us in the so-called Haladiny inscription that he defeated Amorites during his reign (see chapter 6).[41] This establishes without a doubt an Amorite presence in the upper Diyala region during the Ur III period. It also validates the argument that the KUR MAR.TU lay around the Jebel Hamrin. Two of the five defeated Amorite *rabiānum*'s in the inscription have Akkadian names.[42]

Marchesi distinguishes between two geographical entities: Pusala (alias Basar/Basalla), located around the Jebel Bišri and Tidnum located also at the Jebel Bišri and *another* Tidnum in the Transtigridian region.[43] Michalowski thinks that Tidnum lay only in the east, more specifically in the mountains

[33] Michalowski 2011:108-110. On this point, see also Lafont 2008:37 and 39 n. 71.

[34] Michalowski 2011:110-111.

[35] Michalowski 2011:118. Also remarked by Weeks 1986:53-54.

[36] Michalowski 2011:118-119.

[37] Michalowski 2011:122-129. On the name of this wall, *Murīq-Tidnum* ('He-who-keeps-the-Tidnum-at-bay') see the bibliography in Marchesi 2006:11-12 n. 33.

[38] Ahmed 2012.

[39] Ahmed 2012:218 and 297-302, puts Simurrum and its country beyond the Jebel Hamrin mountain range.

[40] Ahmed 2012:244-245.

[41] Ahmed 2012:257-258.

[42] See Ahmed's comments on these names in Ahmed 2012:271-272.

[43] Marchesi 2006:14-17.

bordering the Diyala region; it was against them that the famous Amorite wall was intended. Michalowski believes that the Amorite polities Tidnum and Ya'madium came into being because these people were caught between the Zagros polities such as Anšan, Šimaški and Zabšali on the one hand and the Ur III empire on the Mesopotamian plains on the other.[44]

Much focus has been on the Sumerian literary compositions mentioning the Amorites and their traditions.[45] The most often quoted type-casting of the Amorites is found in the composition *The Marriage of Martu*. In the story, the god MAR.TU (Amurrum) wants to marry the daughter of the god Numušda.[46] A friend of the girl tries to persuade her not to marry MAR.TU, in doing so she tells:[47]

> The days have multiplied, no decision has yet been made. (Adgar-kidug's girlfriend speaks to her:) 'Now listen, their hands are destructive and their features are those of monkeys; he is one who eats what Nanna forbids and does not show reverence. They never stop roaming about ....., they are an abomination to the gods' dwellings. Their ideas are confused; they cause only disturbance. He is clothed in sack-leather ....., lives in a tent, exposed to wind and rain, and cannot properly recite prayers. He lives in the mountains and ignores the places of gods, digs up truffles in the foothills, does not know how to bend the knee, and eats raw flesh. He has no house during his life, and when he dies he will not be carried to a burial-place. My girlfriend, why would you marry Martu? Adgar-kidug replies to her girlfriend: 'I will marry Martu!'

Other references to MAR.TU in Sumerian compositions were gathered by Cooper who contrasts them with the Guti, a people from the Zagros mountains.[48] A Mesopotamian proverb states: '[A low] fellow/[An A]morite speaks [to] his wife, 'You be the man, [I] will be the woman'.[49] Geller found out that a similar stereotype persisted up until the time of the Babylonian Talmud.[50] Often cited are the passages in which Gudea, city-ruler of Lagaš states that he

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[44] Michalowski 2011:117.

[45] Sumerian compositions regarding 'MAR.TU' are often only known from copies made during the OB Period.

[46] Nobody has ever questioned why Martu would want to marry specifically the daughter of Numušda, Kazallu's patron god.

[47] Translation taken from the ETCSL website (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/), lines 126-141. For a commentary of the text see Klein 1996.

[48] Cooper 1983:30-33.

[49] Taken from Lambert 1960:230.

[50] Geller 1995:320.

brought stones down from the Amorite mountain and from Ditanum[51] to use them as material for statues.[52] In a literary composition found at Kültepe concerning the feats of Sargon we read that he had destroyed the Amorites' penises instead of cutting of their noses.[53]

2.1.4 *Amorites in Old Assyrian sources*

The references to Amorites are few in the Old Assyrian texts. Lewy already found attestations of a geographical entity called ^{d}MAR.TU, he thought it meant people coming from 'the Western Land'.[54] Dercksen has shown that it was probably somewhere in Northern Syria and Veenhof in turn situated it more precisely as 'the area of the western bend of the Euphrates and the Balikh'.[55]

The frequently mentioned 'Amorite silver' (*kaspum amurrum*) in the Old Assyrian texts has nothing to do with Amorites. Sturm has demonstrated that it denotes a certain quality of the silver: '(im Feuer) geprüftes Silver'.[56]

People with Amorite names occur only sporadically in Old Assyrian texts.[57] The texts from Kültepe/Kaneš do not seem to imply any Amorite minority in the city of Assur itself.[58]

2.1.5 *Amorites in (early) Old Babylonian sources*

Edzard's *Die zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens* (1957) was the first book detailing the history of Mesopotamia right after the fall of the Ur III empire around 2004 BC.[59]

The more than 900 texts from the Isin-Craft Archive are dated from Išbi-Erra 4 (ca. 2014 BC) to Šu-ilīšu 3 (ca. 1982 BC) and come from Isin, the capital

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[51] This tribal/ancestral name has generated its own body of literature; see Marchesi 2006:7-19 for an overview, with Michalowski 2011:111-118.

[52] See most recently the notes made by Streck 1999:34-36 and Michalowski 2011:112-113.

[53] In lines 55-56, *editio princeps* by Günbattı 1997 (in Turkish), most recent edition by Dercksen 2005.

[54] Lewy 1961:71. Lewy thought also that there was a strong Amorite influence on Old Assyrian culture, this is now refuted by most scholars, see Veenhof 2008:22.

[55] Dercksen 1992:792, Veenhof 2008:97f.

[56] Sturm 1995:503.

[57] Lewy 1961:35 gives some examples: Bini-ma-ahum, Ilī-madar, and Paki-ila.

[58] Veenhof 2008:22-23.

[59] Reviews: Kupper 1958, M. Lambert 1958, Hallo 1959, W.G. Lambert 1959, Bottéro 1960, and Gelb 1961b.

of Ur III's main successor state. The texts form part of the archive of a workshop engaged in manufacturing a number of products like containers, footwear, furniture, musical instruments, vehicles, doors, mats, cloth, etc.[60] The archive gives us many examples of Amorite personal names written in an orthography different from later OB sources and it mentions contacts with several persons and groups designated as Amorites.

Isin's first king Išbi-Erra is called 'the man from Mari' in a letter from the 'Correspondence of the Kings of Ur'.[61] This has led to the widespread belief that he was an Amorite from Mari.[62] Part of a hymn to glorify Išbi-Erra (IE G) was published by Michalowski in 2005 stating that he was indeed from Mari, however, this does not yet prove an Amorite background. Michalowski thinks that the political and dynastic connections between Mari and Ur had a much larger role in Ur III's demise than it was suspected up until now.[63]

The Oriental Institute in Chicago carried out excavations at Tell Asmar (ancient Ešnunna) between 1930 and 1936. In total more than 1550 texts were found which more than 80 years after their discovery have still not been published in its totality.[64] From the 1970's onwards Whiting started working on the texts.[65] In 1987 he finished his work on the Ešnunna texts with the publication of *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*.[66] He published 55 Akkadian letters dating to the very early OB period (ca. 2000-1860 BC). The rulers of Ešnunna had turbulent relations with the Amorites living in the Diyala region.

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[60] Van de Mieroop 1987a:37-42. See also the article Van de Mieroop 1986c, which is a good introduction to the archive.

[61] The well known letter from Ibbi-Sîn to Puzur-Numušda. See a bibliography in Sjöberg 1993 :211 n.1 and most recently Michalowski 2011. Huber 2001 is much more critical and considers the Ur III royal correspondence as completely apocryphal, based on the Sumerian used in the letters.

[62] For example: Edzard 1957:59, Van de Mieroop 1987a:115, Sjöberg 1993 etc. In addition one often reads that Išbi-Erra is supposedly an Amorite name. In reality it is still uncertain what the name Išbi-Erra means.

[63] Michalowski 2005:204-205, but also Sharlach 2001:68-69. Michalowski takes a fresh look at Ur III's downfall in Michalowski 2011:170-215.

[64] Jacobsen 1940:116-200 published nonetheless a lot of information, but hardly any actual texts.

[65] Whiting 1972, 1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1979, 1981, 1985a, 1985b and 1987b.

[66] Book reviews by Stol 1988, Charpin 1989, Hirsch 1990 and Greengus 1991. Whiting stopped his work on the Ešnunna texts after his 1987 publications. Reichel is now charged with their publication, see Reichel 2001a, Reichel 2001b, Reichel 2003, and Reichel 2008.

Similar early OB letters had been found by Iraqi archeologists at Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnānum) in 1941:[67] the Ikūn-pîša letter archive. These letters were found together with an important group of economic-administrative texts. They deal with trade and administrative matters, but they also document contacts with Amorite rulers. Edzard was the first to study all of these texts.[68] Only twelve letters of the Ikūn-pîša letter archive were published in 1967 by Al-'Adami and one more by Leemans.[69] Surprisingly, they generated little interest until Whiting's 1987 book.[70] The first to use the many new early OB sources was Wu Yuhong 1994 in *The Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria*. Goddeeris 2002 also gave a lot of attention to these texts from Tell ed-Dēr.[71]

In OB Sippar texts we have many references to an 'A.GÀR MAR.TU' (Amorite field),[72] and an 'Amorite road' (KASKAL MAR.TU).[73] Roads with the same name were found in other places as well.[74] These fields or roads do not refer to the Amorite people, but rather to the god Amurrum, because in some instances the divine determinative is added.[75] It is equally possible that the KASKAL MAR.TU designates in some cases the road towards the west.

Some miscellaneous geographical references: year names 8 and 9 of Išbi-Erra of Isin refer to him as having destroyed an 'Amorite city' (URU^{KI}

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[67] Baqir and Mustafa 1945.

[68] He only published the economic-administrative texts in Edzard 1970a, copies of these texts appeared in *TIM* 7, with the reviews Kraus 1973 and Leemans 1978.

[69] Al-'Adami 1967 and Leemans 1960 :106-107 (see also Edzard's additional comments on this text in Edzard 1970a:15 n.15).

[70] See for example Simmons 1978:7 (*YOS* 14) and Leemans 1978. Harris did not take the texts into account in her 1975 synthesis of Sippar (partly because Tell ed-Dēr had not yet been identified as Sippar-Amnānum).

[71] Goddeeris 2002:167-216. Reviews: Richardson 2003, very critical is De Meyer 2003 (see also the commentary on this review by Van Lerberghe, Stol and Yoffee 2003), furthermore; Charpin 2005 and Van de Mieroop 2005.

[72] Unpublished in the British Museum: Bu 88-5-12 632 and Bu 89-4-25 476 (courtesy F. van Koppen). Elsewhere: *BAP* 42:1, *BAP* 74:2, *PBS* 8/2 253:2, *PBS* 8/2 262:1, *BBVOT* 1 107:7, 9, *CBS* 1796:3, *CBS* 1592:12, *CBS* 7011:2 (courtesy M. Stol), *Scheil SFS* 10:12 (with 77:9), *Scheil SFS* 89:3.

[73] *BAP* 75:3 (*har-ra-an* ^{d}MAR.TU), *CT* 47 43:6, *CT* 47 60:7, *CTMMA* 1 60:5.

[74] In a text from Damrum: *R* 14:3, a text from Lagaba(?): *TLB* 1 181:3 and a text from Babylon: *VS* 22 26:3.

[75] *BAP* 75:3 and *PBS* 8/2 262:1. According to Tanret 1998:76 the A.GÀR Amurrum was located between the Euphrates and the Irnina canal.

MAR.TU).[76] An OB treaty from Tell Leilan between Apum and Assur lets the treaty partner swear by (amongst others) the god(s) of Amurrum and Šubartu.[77] Two irrigation ditches are named after the god Amurrum in Larsa.[78]

2.1.6 *Amorites in OB sources: Mari texts*

The discovery of the Mari archives by the French archaeologist André Parrot between 1934 and 1937 was one of the most important events in Assyriology. Over the years more than 20.000 texts were found. A full bibliography of all recent Mari-related articles is still lacking and beyond the scope of this chapter.[79]

Mari's first epigraphist, Dossin, was the first to remark that the OB Near East was a myriad of small kingdoms with an Amorite lineage.[80] Kupper's book *Les Nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* had an enormous impact at the time, being one of the first large syntheses based on texts from the Mari archives.[81]

It was from the 1980's onwards that the image of the Ancient Near East under Amorite domination came more into focus. Durand insisted on the existence of a shared consciousness concerning a common heritage by the ruling Amorite kings during the OB period.[82] An important reference article was published by Durand in 2004.[83] Durand is the first to write an extensive article on the Bensimalites. In his public courses over the years at the Collège de

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[76] See the references in Sigrist 1988:13-14.

[77] Eidem 2011 L.T.-5:20-21, ˹DINGIR MAR˺-TU, *ù šu-ba-˹ri˺-im ta-˹ma˺*.

[78] *OECT* 15 1:27, PA_5 AN.AN.MAR.TU and *Riftin* 21:4, E.SÍR ^{d}MAR.TU.

[79] Special mention must be made of B. Lafont who was interested in diplomatic relations among the Amorites kingdoms in the OB period and published two articles on the subject: Lafont 2000 and Lafont 2001.

[80] Dossin 1939:996.

[81] Not only reflected by the endurance of some of its hypotheses, but also in the huge number of book reviews it received: Leemans 1957, Ryckmans 1957, Cazelles 1958, Dussaud 1958, Edzard 1958, Garelli 1958, Moran 1958, Pohl 1958, Tournay 1958, Donner 1959, Falkenstein 1959, Goetze 1959 and Gelb 1961. Many of Kupper's conclusions have not stood the test of time. Most notably his categorization of the nomads and in taking 'Hanean' as an ethnic denominator. Durand 1998:416 has made it very plausible that the term 'Hanean' (HA.NA or *hanûm*) can be explained etymologically as 'those living in tents'.

[82] Charpin and Durand 1991 (supplemented by Durand 1994), and Durand 1992.

[83] Durand 2004a and 2004b, see also Guichard 2011.

France (from 1999 onwards), Durand had already discussed a large number of topics relevant to the subject.[84]

Two very important works by Charpin are his synthesis of the political history of the Old Babylonian period as a whole and his and Ziegler's reconstruction of Mari's political history.[85] An interesting idea that he proposes in both books is the notion of three successive waves of Amorite migration:[86] one at the end of the third millennium (the Ur III period), the second around 1900 BC (the time of Sumu-la-El of Babylon), and a third wave represented by the appearance of Yahdun-Lim at Mari and Sumu-epuh at Aleppo around 1810 BC.

A geographical entity called Amurrum is referred to a few times in the Mari sources, it is perhaps an avatar of the Late Bronze Age state by the same name. A letter written by Ibal-El to Zimri-Lim reveals the sequence Yamhad, Qaṭna and Amurrum.[87] Messengers from Haṣor and four Amorite kings are mentioned in a text.[88] Amorite singers are also reputed to have come from the region of Haṣor (see above). The same country of Amurrum is possibly seen in late OB texts from Alalah.[89]

2.1.7 *Concluding remarks*

The studies into the Amorites are influenced mainly by two things: the availability of (new) textual sources and the work of certain key scholars. The 'story of the Amorites' has been essentially the same for the last fifty years and the consensus can be summarized in a few sentences:

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[84] Durand 2000b, Durand 2001, Durand 2002b, Durand 2003, Durand 2004c, Durand 2005b, Durand 2006, and Durand 2007.

[85] Charpin 2004a and Charpin and Ziegler 2003.

[86] Charpin 2004a:80 and Charpin and Ziegler 2003:29-30.

[87] A. 2730:33-35 *ki-ma ma-at ia-am-ha-ad*^{ki} *ma-at qa-ṭá-nim, ù ma-at a-mu-ri-im*^{ki} *ni-ig-hu-um, ša* DUMU.MEŠ *ia-mi-na*... 'And as the lands of Yamhad, Qaṭna and Amurrum are the *nighum* (≈ seasonal routes followed by nomads) of the Benjaminites, *f*irst cited by Dossin 1957. Lines 1-29 are cited by Charpin in *ARM* 26/2:33 and lines 30-50 by Durand 2004a:120-121. Commentary by Fleming 1998:61-62 and Sasson 1998:121.

[88] Bonechi 1992:10; A.2760(= *LAPO* 16 375):5-10 *a-nu-um-ma* DUMU.MEŠ *ši-ip-ri,* lú *ha-ṣú-ra-a-yi*^{ki}, *ù* DUMU.MEŠ *ši-ip-ri, ša* 4 LUGAL ˹*a*˺-[*m*]*u*-˹*ur*˺-*ri-i,* ^{l}*i-šar-li-im, ú-ša-ra-kum* 'Herewith Išar-Lim has brought to you messengers from Haṣor as well as messengers from four Amorite kings'. Commentary by Durand 1997a:574 n. b and Sasson 1998:121.

[89] Once: 'KUR MAR.TU^{KI}' in Zeeb 2001 text 35:28. It is often connected to horses (*ša* MAR.TU^{KI}) and grooms (LÚ.KUŠ$_7$) visiting Alalah, Zeeb 2001:388-291.

> The Amorites are a nomadic people organized in tribes, they have their origins in the Syrian steppe and speak a West-Semitic language different from Akkadian. They are found in early texts from Mesopotamia and Ebla, but in the Ur III period we see increasing numbers of them in southern Mesopotamia. The Ur III kings were afraid of the Amorites and built a wall to stop them. Eventually, the Amorites were able to help in toppling the Ur III state. As a consequence of their migrations, we see many small Amorite kingdoms appearing all over Mesopotamia right after the Ur III period. Babylon surfaced as the most powerful state. After the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna the Babylonian state stagnated and the Amorites disappear from view.

The theories and their underlying presumptions regarding the above mentioned 'history' are anachronistic. The way in which Assyriologists regard migration (usually people acting as one homogenous, closed group going from A to B) or identity (which is in reality a very fluidic concept) could profit from a thorough reevaluation. Other domains in historical research have already greatly profited from such a fresh perspective.[90] Another useful approach to the Mesopotamian sources is the application of Comparative Historical Analysis. Especially the works by Rowton on nomadism have been pioneering in this respect.[91]

One can see a clear pattern: whenever new sources appear concerning Amorites, the 'story' is adapted a little, but it essentially remains the same. This is however not true for the Mari sources. New insights from the Mari texts usually take a long time to filter down into the rest of the Assyriological community. Two reasons are responsible for this: first of all, the last thirty years have seen an incredible increase in the number of Mari texts published, making it increasingly difficult for people to absorb the extensive Mari bibliography. Secondly, the fact that most of this bibliography is in French, has discouraged scholars (even specialists of the OB period) and made them leave the Mari texts aside altogether. On the other hand, (older) information from Mari has colored the current Amorite paradigm considerably.

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[90] For example: Heather's 2010 book *Empires and Barbarians*, in which he reassesses the migrations of the first millennium AD.

[91] See most importantly Rowton 1967a, 1967b, 1969a, 1969b, 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1976a and 1976b. They form the larger part of a series of articles that were originally intended to be reedited in one book. The last article in the series was Rowton 1987.

2.2 On Amorite ethnicity

Before continuing, we must address the matter of 'Amorite' ethnicity. Was there really such a thing as a clear Amorite identity and ethnicity? Were the Amorites perceived as different and did they feel different from the indigenous Northern Babylonian and Diyala population? Or was something else the matter and is the label 'Amorite' a 19th-20th century Assyriological construct?

2.2.1 *Ethnicity in Assyriology (and Archaeology)*

The concepts of ethnicity in the Ancient Near East were first applied by archaeologists[92] and picked up by only a small group of Assyriologists and historians of the Ancient Near East.[93] A step forward was the ethnicity theme of the 48th RAI in Leiden (2002). Special mention must be made of Van Driel's introduction in the proceedings of this RAI. In his view, ethnicity in Mesopotamia was first and foremost a matter of sedentary people versus non-sedentary people. These people were struggling for the control of land, both for agriculture and pasture. Van Driel noted that ethnic change often went together with considerable social change.[94]

Archaeologist Wossink recently applied the concepts of ethnicity on the Amorites.[95] He suggested that Amorite identity was a fluid, social construct that one could manipulate, downplay or stress in order to further one's own political or economic goals.[96] He connects the climate change in Northern Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium (when it became drier) with the popularity of an Amorite identity. In a drier climate, agriculture depending on rainfall became more difficult. In such a climate, pastoralists would have a more secure way of feeding themselves. Wossink connects these pastoralists with an Amorite identity. Rulers would have been attracted to this Amorite identity because this would associate them with a more stable way of life.

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[92] For example Jones 1997.
[93] Most notably Yoffee: Kamp and Yoffee 1980 and Emberling and Yoffee 1999.
[94] Van Driel 2005:3-9.
[95] Especially in his thesis Wossink 2009:129f, but also Wossink 2011.
[96] Wossink 2009.

2.2.2 *Ethnicity in the social sciences*

The term ethnicity with its current meaning entered the social sciences through Barth 1969. As is often the case in the social sciences, the debate about the semantics and meaning of the word is both long and tedious, with the inevitable conclusion that we cannot have one definition of 'ethnicity'.[97] Among the many descriptions found, perhaps the one by Cashmore covers the term best:[98]

> It describes a group possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity composed of people who are, at least latently, aware of having common origins and interests. So, an ethnic group is not a mere aggregate of people or a sector of a population, but a self-conscious collection of people united, or closely related, by shared experiences.

In the social sciences, there are two camps in the ethnicity debate: the 'primordialists', who believe that one is born into an ethnicity, that is: a given family, community, religion, language etc., bringing a complex of attitudes and cultural dispositions. These are to a large extent unchangeable and define a person's ethnicity.[99] Opposed to these 'primordialists' are a number of other schools of thought that all agree on a more flexible nature of ethnicity. The 'instrumentalists' believe that people accentuate or downplay certain characteristics to improve their political and economic situation. Closely connected to this point of view are the 'situationalists'. They claim that people invoke a certain ethnicity as a criterion for self-identification when this is useful in a given situation.[100] The 'constructionists' hold that ethnicities are the result of historical forces, an idea that has played an important role in the discussion surrounding the modern concept of 'nation'. The 'nation' and its associated ethnicity is seen nowadays as the result of nineteenth century politics towards the political unification of countries such as Germany and Italy. Especially the works of Smith[101] and Anderson[102] have played a key role in this debate. How-

[97] Fenton 2003:2.

[98] Cashmore 1996:119.

[99] See Fenton's discussion of this school of thought: Fenton 2003:73-90.

[100] Castles and Miller 2009:36.

[101] A discussion of 'nationalism', as well as a summary of Smith's scholarship and ideas is found in Smith 2010.

[102] Anderson 1991.

ever, most scholars take a stand somewhere between the 'primordialist' and 'instrumentalist/constructionist/situationalist' views of ethnicity.

2.2.3 *Ethnicity and migration*

Contemporary debate often deals with ethnicity's influence on nationalism, conflict and migration. Ethnic minorities are both a product of definition by others and of self-definition. Many authors have stressed that ethnicity takes on political and social meaning only when it is linked to drawing boundaries between dominant groups and (ethnic) minorities, or put differently, ethnicity becomes relevant when it becomes political.[103]

Apart from ethnicity, migration theories lead us to consider other aspects such as gender, age or class of migrants. In this respect it may be relevant to note that the early OB texts lack any women with a clear Amorite name. Moreover, the social class or age of most people with Amorite names is difficult or impossible to establish.

2.2.4 *Criticism on the ethnicity paradigm*

Even so, ethnicity has recently been criticized as an explaining tool. The critique derives mostly from the fact that ethnicity was studied too much as a field and concept of its own, instead of aiding us in explaining and describing the real world.[104] Another point is that ethnicity is widely considered as a 'fundamental and ascriptive' attribute of human populations.[105] A shift is promoted towards 'agency theory' in explaining human behavior: the analysis of people acting in concrete material situations and social structures.[106] The anthropologist Bretell states:[107]

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[103] Bretell 2003 and Castles and Miller 2009:35-37.

[104] Carter and Fenton 2009:2, with a more broad recent discussion on p. 2-8. It is interesting to note that this critique comes from Fenton, the author of a standard handbook on Ethnicity (Fenton 2003, 2nd edition from 2010).

[105] Carter and Fenton 2009:8.

[106] Archaeologists are again taking a leading role: a book with studies on the theme was recently published: *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East* (Steadman and Ross 2010). See also Carter and Fenton 2009:8-18.

[107] Bretell 2003:7.

> An anthropological approach to migration should emphasize both structure and agency; it should look at macro-level contextual issues, micro-level strategies and decision-making, and the meso-level relational structures within which individuals operate. It needs to articulate both people and process.

2.2.5 *Identity and ethnicity*

Identity and ethnicity are two different concepts that are easily confused. Without getting into a semantic discussion, 'identity' is understood here as somebody's *own* perception of himself. As such, identity is malleable: one can choose one's identity and modify it according to the situation. A good example is a second or third generation migrant who might use his 'migrant identity' among his family, but a 'native identity' in the host country. When these various identities converge they are called 'hybrid identities'.[108] When we apply these ideas to the early OB Amorites, we might speculate that somebody used his 'Amorite' identity among tribal kinsmen, but a more native 'Akkadian' identity with the settled urban elite. In fact we can see many examples of the usage of diverse identities and hybrid identities:

- King Zimri-Lim of Mari is an excellent example of somebody forced to have a hybrid identity in his royal titles: one tribal/pastoral and one sedentary/urban.
- Samsi-Addu used different identities in his conquered territories to appease the local populations.[109] One of Samsi-Addu's sons bore an Amorite name, Yasmah-Addu, but another had an Akkadian name, Išme-Dagan. These names (both meaning 'DN has heard') had an ethnic as well as a religious connotation: Dagan and Addu were among the most prominent gods in Northern Mesopotamia at the time.
- Some Babylonian kings had Akkadian names despite clear Amorite origins: Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballiṭ.
- In general, kings with Amorite roots ruling in southern Mesopotamia, used 'classic' Sumerian-Akkadian concepts of kingship and religion in their inscriptions and year names. This classic royal ideology is in stark

[108] Bolaffi et al 2003:141-143. Castles and Miller 2009:41.

[109] Samsi-Addu calls the city god of Mari, Itūr-Mêr, his 'lord' in the inscription in which he legitimizes the military conquest of Mari. However, in the same text he also calls himself 'governor' (*šaknum*) of Enlil and 'city-ruler' ($ENSI_2$) of Aššur. See Charpin 1984 no. 1 and the comments by Charpin 1991b:4-5.

> contrast to the ideals of the 'nomad warrior king' propagated in for example the 'Épopée de Zimri-Lim' and other sources.[110]

Most of these examples are royal, but we also have more mundane examples: the usage of the personal name Amurrum and people with an Akkadian name and a father with an Amorite name (and vice-versa).

The notion of ever-changing and constructed identities has its effects on the concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identities'. More specifically, on how these are imagined or reinvented through invented or shared traditions. However, identities are also characterized by the stability of some notions or factors.[111]

2.2.6 *Akkadians and Amorites mentioned together as 'ethnicities'*

There are a few sources documenting an actual dichotomy between 'Akkadians' and 'Amorites'. The first of them is the discourse of a Mari governor, Bahdi-Lim, reminding Zimri-Lim of the dual nature of his kingdom when he first entered the city around ca. 1776 BC:[112]

> I spoke thus to my lord: 'Today the land of the Benjaminites was given to you. Well, this land is clad in Akkadian clothes! My lord should honor the capital of his royalty (=Mari), as you are king of the nomads, you are also secondly the king of an Akkadian (speaking) territory. My lord should not mount a horse, he should ride a *nubālum* wagon and donkeys to honor his royal capital!' This is what I said to my lord.

This passage distinguishes between an Akkadian tradition and a nomadic (HA.NA) tradition.[113]

A second example, also from Mari is found in the treaty between Ešnunna's king Ibal-pi-El II and Zimri-Lim. The focus is on the ethnicity of troops,

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[110] The 'épopée de Zimri-Lim' is still unpublished, but quoted by Marello 1991 and Durand 1997. See also the letter by a Benjaminite king to another king about the ideal nomadic life: Marello 1991 (= *LAPO* 16 38).

[111] Calhoun 1994 and Castles and Miller 2009:35.

[112] *ARM* 6 76 (=*LAPO* 17 732):13-25.

[113] See Durand 1998:485-488 for a discussion, as well as Charpin 2005/2006:283. On the mixed character of the Mari kingdom, see most recently Durand 2010.

Zimri-Lim must swear not to send or instruct certain troops to hinder Ešnunna:[114]

> When the armies, of Ibal-pi-El, son of Dādūša, king of Ešnunna, my father (or the troops of Duhšum, having taken the lead of the armies of Ibal-pi-El, son of Dādūša, king of Ešnunna, my father), go on a campaign. I (swear that I) will not instruct or send troops of Mari, Hana, Suhum, king or leader, troops of Amurrum, Akkad, other foreign troops, auxiliary troops of his enemy or ally, troops of whatever king, present in the country.

Zimri-Lim is forbidden to instruct or send troops from:[115]

- Mari : soldiers from the sedentary population of the Mari kingdom.
- Hana : Bedouin (Bensimalite) troops loyal to Zimri-Lim.
- Suhum : troops from a region along the Euphrates south of Mari.
- 'Amorite': the exact connotation of Amorite in this treaty is unclear.
- 'Akkadian': troops from the kingdom of Babylon are perhaps meant here.[116]

A third passage that clearly distinguishes Amorites and Akkadians is far more interesting: it is found in the royal edicts of the kings of Babylon. In 1984 Kraus (re)published the then known edicts, the most important one is Ammiṣaduqa's edict (henceforth EA). Since Kraus' 1984 standard work, several new fragments of edicts have surfaced.[117]

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[114] The text (A.361) was published by Charpin 1991a and reedited by Durand 1997a (*LAPO* 16 292), lines 10'-17'.

[115] See also the comments by Charpin 1991a:146-147.

[116] Charpin 1991a:147 believes that 'Amorite' and 'Akkadian' refers here to the dual nature of Zimri-Lim's kingdom. In the Mari texts, 'Akkadians' often denote people from Ešnunna (Durand and Ziegler 2003:109) However, the land of Akkad was comprised of the kingdoms of Babylon and Ešnunna, something we learn from *ARM* 27 135:31-33.

[117] Hallo 1995 published a very small fragment of a Samsu-iluna edict. Furthermore, a letter in which an explicit allusion is made to a *mīšarum*, was published by Tammuz 1996:125-126 (*NBC* 6311 :15-20). There are several other OB texts which might be considered as containing royal acts, like the famous letter from Samsu-iluna on the 'hungry nadītums', published by Janssen 1991. Another related letter was written by Samsu-iluna at his accession to the throne, *TCL* 17 76 now published as *AbB* 14 130. See also *AbB* 8 23 and *CT* 48 71, which both allude to the raising of a torch by a king (for which see now: Charpin 2013). We have a petition to the king protesting a decision by an official concerning the application of a *mīšarum*-act, published by Finkelstein 1965 and republished as *AbB* 7 153. Charpin 2010b identified part of an edict of Ammi-ditana amongst the late OB texts from Harradum. Finally, De Boer 2012 published a small note on a *mīšarum* by the early OB Marad king Sumu-Yamutbal.

The edicts make an interesting distinction between Akkadians and Amorites, which is an anachronism in the late OB period.[118] Charpin has already noted the likelihood of the Ammi-ṣaduqa edict being based largely on a late-Hammurabi/early Samsu-iluna prototype.[119] Lieberman states that 'the path of literary development from one *mēšarum* decree to the next was cumulative'.[120] Could it be that this prototype itself was derived from an even earlier example, perhaps even from the time of Sumu-la-El? A time in which the distinction Amorite/Akkadian in Babylonia might have had more meaning than during the reign of Hammurabi and later on. The paragraphs distinguishing Amorites and Akkadians are all about private debts.[121]

The fourth example of Akkadians and Amorites being mentioned together comes from an Old Assyrian text found at Kültepe. It is a decree in which the city ruler of Assur regulates the trade of gold amongst Assyrians:[122]

> The tablet with the verdict of the city, which concerns gold, which we sent to you, that tablet is cancelled. We have not fixed any rule concerning gold. The earlier rule concerning gold still obtains: Assyrians may sell gold among each other, (but), in accordance with the words of the stela, no Assyrian whosoever shall give gold to any Akkadian, Amorite or Subarean. Who does so shall not stay alive!

The Assyrians were not allowed to trade with Akkadians, Amorites and Subareans, in short everybody who was not a native of Assur. Dercksen assumes that a large part of the non-Assyrian traders also present in Anatolia

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[118] Some however, like Hallo 2000:362 n.14 still maintain that they were still 'the two principal ethnic elements in Babylonia at the time.' Kraus 1984:318 writes: 'Begriffsinhalt etwa „Alteinheimische und Zugewanderte (ursprünglich) westsemitischer Zunge' Nach einziger Belegstelle nicht näher zu definieren'. On p. 326 he adds: 'In Ed. (Kraus 1958), S. 188f. a), habe ich mich damit begnügt, lú *amurrû* im Ausdrucke lú *akkadû u* LÚ *amurrû* usw., §3; 5; 6; ;8 ;9, nach dem von anderen gegebenen Beispiel als „Beduine' zu bezeichnen, was ich jetzt übrigens für die Zeit des Ed. A-ṣ in „Mann aus einem „Amurriter"-Stamme abändern möchte, seine Identifikation aber auf sich beruhen lassen.'

[119] Charpin 1987:44.

[120] Lieberman 1989:256.

[121] The clauses are: § 3 and §5-9. Clause §7 which covers the same subject does not contain the wording 'Akkadian or Amorite'.

[122] The text (Kt 79/k 101.11-25) was published by Sever 1990, the translation is taken from Veenhof 1994-1995:1733 (lines 9-25, comments on p. 1734-1735), see also Dercksen 1996:162.

were Amorites. He interprets the term 'Amorite' in this context as everybody living to the area west of the Euphrates.[123]

2.2.7 *The god* ^{d}*MAR.TU*

Closely connected to Amorite ethnicity is their supposedly titulary god Amurrum. In Babylonia, we encounter the logogram 'MAR.TU' mostly in personal names to denote the god ^{d}MAR.TU=Amurrum.[124] Significantly, he is (almost) never mentioned in Mari.[125] It has long been thought that Amurrum was the main god of the Amorites. Such a concept is almost certainly false. The fact that we have absolutely no Amorite names composed with the theophoric element ^{d}MAR.TU should have been a clue that he was not the Amorites' titulary god.[126] Recently, some authors have shown convincingly that the god Amurrum is in fact an intellectually constructed deity to reflect the presence of Amorites and a nomadic way of life in Mesopotamia.[127] Basing themselves mostly on personal names, some authors have studied 'Amorite religion'.[128]

2.2.8 *Concluding remarks*

People were usually identified as an inhabitant of a certain city in the early OB period.[129] However the distinction made in the above mentioned Old Assyrian text between 'a son of Assur' and an 'Akkadian', 'Amorite', and 'Subarean'

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[123] Dercksen 1996:163-164.

[124] Note also the often encountered synonym AN.AN.MAR.TU, which should be transliterated as *Il-Amurrim*: 'the god of Amurrum' (Stol 1979:178).

[125] One of the only references is a Mari letter (*FM* VIII 38) describing a stele of Yasmah-Addu featuring a representation of the god Amurrum, see Colbow 1997. For the god's iconography in general: Kupper 1961.

[126] Kobayashi 1980:71 had a different opinion: he thought that mostly Amorites had Amurrum as a theophoric element in their personal names.

[127] Most recently Beaulieu 2005 (with an extensive bibliography on p. 31 n.2), but also Streck 2000:68-69.

[128] Streck 2000:68-72, Streck 2004a, and Hutter 1996.

[129] Examples are: Puzur-Akšak from Šadlaš (*puzur*$_4$-ÚH^{ki}, LÚ *ša-ad-la-áš*^{ki}, *MHET* II/1 109:4-5), a trader from Sippar (DAM.GÀR DUMU *sí-pí-ir*, R 38:5), the traders Atanah-ili and Sîn-ide (*a-ta-na-ah-ì-lí* IGI ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-de,* DAM.G[À]R.MEŠ LÚ KIŠ(?)^{KI} *BE* 6/1 15:20-21), Ṣilli-Akšak from Baṣi (*ṣíl-lí*-ÚH^{KI} LÚ *ša /ba-a-ṣí*, *MHET* II/5 594:31), Imgur-Sîn from Halhalla (*im-gur*-30 LÚ *hal-hal-la*^{ki}, *CT* 47 78:24), the trader Nabi-Sîn s. Lu-Damu from Kazallu (*na-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU DAM.GÀR, DUMU LÚ-^{d}DA.MU, LÚ *ka-zal-lu*^{ki}, *CT* 48 63:3-5), Sîn-bēl-apli from Borsippa (^{d}EN.ZU-*be-el-ap-l*[*i*], LÚ *bar-sí-pa*^{ki}, *JCS* 33:243, D:5-6).

seems more like a perceived difference in language.[130] That an Amorite 'identity' was also a constructed one, is clearly shown by the fabricated 'genealogy of the Hammurabi dynasty' from the late OB period.[131]

The early OB period gives us almost no clues concerning an Amorite people and a nomadic lifestyle,[132] even though Michalowski does think that the MAR.TU in the Ur III KUR MAR.TU did breed equids, sheep, goats, and cattle.[133] Nor do we find proof of a struggle for the control of land between a sedentary and non-sedentary population.[134] The terms 'Amorite' and 'Amorites' are in fact fluid concepts that changed over time and from place to place.

What about Amorite ethnicity? If we consider the definition of Cashmore, we can certainly apply this to the early OB kings carrying Amorite names: from the Ikūn-pîša letter archive we know that these kings had some degree of coherence, solidarity and mutual interests, and that they were likely aware of some common origin. This is exemplified by the *puhur amurrim* (Amorite assembly) and the role of Sumu-abum.[135]

In any case, what if we forget for a moment the term 'Amorite' for certain OB kings, and instead call them 'kings with tribal connections', as opposed to kings without such an explicit connection like those of Isin or Malgium.[136] Assyriologists interpret this tribal affiliation as 'Amorite', but this does not need to be the case: in the OB period, kings confessed their tribal allegiance,[137] but almost never an explicit *Amorite* allegiance.[138]

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[130] Veenhof 1995, see above section 2.2.6.

[131] Finkelstein 1966. This list contains the ancestors of the Babylonian kings up to the founder of the dynasty, Sumu-la-El. Beyond him, we have Sumu-abum, whose exact relation to Sumu-la-El is uncertain. Beyond Sumu-abum there is a list of mythological ancestors and 'reigns', see most recently Jacquet 2002 and Durand 2012a.

[132] The early OB Ešnunna letter *AS* 22 23 mentions king Bilalama visiting a 'pasture' or 'encampment' and sitting in an assembly : lines 12-16, *a-li ša na-wi-um, ˹1˺ ku-un-za-nam, i-ma-ah-ha-ṣú, i-na pu-úh-ri-šu-nu, ú-ši-ib*.

[133] Michalowski 2011:105.

[134] As Van Driel 2005 suggested.

[135] De Boer 2014.

[136] Interestingly, the non tribal kings of Isin and Malgium (as well as some kings of Dēr and Ešnunna) had the divine determinative added to their names, whereas 'tribal kings' usually did not.

[137] A well known example was Sîn-kāšid from Uruk, who called himself in numerous inscriptions 'king of Amnānum'.

[138] Except for the title *rabiān* MAR.TU and for Hammurabi (on his seal), nobody called himself LUGAL MAR.TU. In the Mari texts, the term HA.NA instead of MAR.TU/*amurrum* is preferred, see Durand 2012b:168-169.

Not everybody in the early OB period had a tribal affiliation and many people in the great urban centers probably did not, and it is from these people that we have most of the texts nowadays, hiding the tribal (countryside) elements in society from our view. The city dwellers called the tribal kings and their people sometimes 'Amorites', as is the case in the Ešnunna royal correspondence, but that refers perhaps to their place of origin: the KUR MAR.TU in the upper Diyala valley. The problem is that Assyriologists have dubbed almost every tribe or tribe-like gentilic from the OB period as 'Amorite', while it is doubtful if this was always the case.

So was there an Amorite ethnicity? Yes and no: it depends on the period. Yes: the tribal people coming from the KUR MAR.TU (see map 1 in chapter 6) were 'Amorites', and as such they are mentioned in the Ur III and early OB texts. This Amorite ethnicity existed until ca. 1850-1800 BC and includes the rulers like Sumu-abum, Sumu-la-El, Sumun-abi-yarim, Mašparum, and Halun-pi-umu. It also includes the offspring of the MAR.TU soldiers who were at the service of the Ur III kings in southern Mesopotamia like the Larsa and Uruk kings.

No: over time, tribal realities and affiliations certainly changed and by the time of the Mari archives, around 1770 BC, the 'original Amorite ethnicity' from a century earlier had disappeared. The tribal constellations were rearranged, a process visible in the big cleavage between Bensimalites and Benjaminites, but people were no longer explicitly referred to as being 'Amorite'.[139] Even though some echo of being Amorite must have existed in collective memory (in the official and military titles composed with MAR.TU for example), it was not referred to actively from the reign of Hammurabi onwards.[140]

A new term to replace the label 'Amorites' is not proposed here. We will continue to refer to the early OB kings and their main powerbase as 'Amorites', mainly because we can probably still speak about an Amorite ethnicity in the early OB period.

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[139] That is: except for people stemming from a land called Amurru located in the Levant, see chapter 2 section 1.7.

[140] But note Hammurabi's own cylinder seal: Charpin 2001a:28: x [...], [LU]GAL MAR.T[U], DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-i*[*ṭ*], IBILA.NI, LUGAL KI.U[RI]: ... king of the Amorites (or: Amurrum), son of Sîn-muballiṭ, his heir, king of Akkad.

CHAPTER 3

Amorite personal names, Amorite language

3.1 Introduction

The Amorite language is mostly known through personal names and loan words in Akkadian or Sumerian texts. It is important to distinguish between an Amorite ethnicity and an Amorite language because both are too often put together.

What we call the Amorite language differs grammatically from Akkadian on three major points:[141] the 'imperfect-performative' verbal beginning /ya-/ instead of /i-/; the change of word-initial /w/ to /y/ (Akkadian /waqar/ versus Amorite /yaqar/, 'is precious'); Amorite has a predicative in /a/, as in Ammi-ṣaduqa 'my paternal grandfather is righteous', not seen in Akkadian.

Most people, like Gelb, Knudsen, and Streck, consider the Amorite onomasticon as a reliable source to reconstruct a lost (North-)West-Semitic language. Because of this, there have been attempts to connect Amorite to languages such as Ugaritic and Aramaic.[142] Others, such as Durand hold a completely different opinion:[143] the 'Amorite language' is a modern day phantom created by scholars. What we perceive as Amorite is nothing more than a manifestation of the multitude of more or less mutually intelligible Semitic languages: a language continuum. The clearest evidence that something like an Amorite language did exist comes from Mari. Charpin and Ziegler have devoted an article on the status of the Amorite language.[144] From the texts that these authors published we know that Yasmah-Addu was not able to speak 'Amorite', despite his clear Amorite name. A fragment from an unpublished Mari document refers to an ancient polyglot:

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[141] For more, see Gzella 2011 and Knudsen1991.

[142] Lipiński 2001:50-55 and Greenfield 1969.

[143] Durand 2012b.

[144] See Charpin and Ziegler 2007, also for the bibliography concerning this matter.

'That man can (speak) the Akkadian, Amorite and Subarean language!'[145]

The mentioning of an Amorite language here might reflect a Semitic language different from Akkadian, or the notion of a vernacular called Amorite.[146] With regard to the Amorite language, Durand 2012b might be right when he sees the OB Ancient Near East as speaking a variety of Semitic dialects, with one *grand critère unificateur*: that the form *yaprus*/*iprus* denotes a past tense.[147] Akkadian is in this constellation the canonized written language[148] and different 'Amorite dialects' were the vernacular, to quote Durand:[149]

> Les divers parlers amorrites devaient être assez proches de l'akkadien pour ne pas mériter qu'on leur donne aujourd'hui la nomenclature de « langue perdue à redécouvrir », même si les particularismes - surtout d'articulation ou d'accent de phrase que la notation de longues finales « abusives » nous font clairement deviner - devaient gêner la compréhension immédiate ; il devait à l'époque être aussi facile de passer d'une façon de dire à une autre que pour un arabophone cultivé actuel de naviguer entre les divers arabes vernaculaires.

This perhaps explains why we cannot classify a large number of Semitic personal names as either clearly Akkadian or Amorite: in a language continuum it would be an artificial distinction. We will nevertheless make this distinction in the following chapters, because the study of these names does reveal interesting information. Unfortunately, we can only make the assumption that somebody is an Amorite when he or she carries an Amorite name or patronym, but at the same time we need to keep in mind the insights and reservations from the above ethnicity debate.

Durand's idea is actually a combination of two different models to explain the situation: on the one hand a diglossic model in which Amorite is the spoken language and Akkadian the written language. On the other hand a dialect-continuum model between Amorite and Akkadian.

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[145] Durand 1992b:125, citing letter A.109 lines 14-16: LÚ *šu-*[*ú li-ša-an a*]*k-ka-di-i, a-mu-ur-ri-i ù šu-ba-ri-i i-le-i*. See also Charpin and Ziegler 2007:59 note 22. The same ethnicities are found in an Old Assyrian verdict, Veenhof 2008:89.

[146] Durand 2012b:167.

[147] Durand 2012b:186.

[148] That is: the Ešnunna dialect as the result of Ešnunnean imperialism from ca. 1850 BC onwards and Samsi-Addu's conquests, cf. Durand 2012b:170-171 and Charpin 2012a.

[149] Durand 2012b:189.

This chapter will continue with an overview of the abundant literature written on the Amorite language. After this, we shall see how personal names classified as Amorite, can be used in other ways as well: as markers of ethnicity and as proof of migration.

3.2 Amorite personal names and the study of the Amorite language

From the 1880's onwards texts from the OB period started to be published and studied. Scholars soon remarked that some royal names were not Akkadian, but nonetheless clearly Semitic.[150] The laconic textual evidence invited wild speculations about the Amorites. For example, Clay speculated that they already constituted a major power in the third millennium influencing Sumerian-Akkadian culture.[151] The Amorite names, bearing theophoric elements also lent themselves as a source for a supposed Amorite religion.[152]

In 1916, Chiera published a large and fragmentary ten-column tablet (five columns on each side) containing a large amount names, most of which are Amorite.[153] The tablet stems from Nippur and was clearly the result of scholarly activity.

A pioneering study had been written by Bauer in 1926 concerning the Amorites.[154] He distinguishes between the MAR.TU people (Amorites) and the 'East-Canaanites'. Amorites were originally to be found in the KUR MAR.TU, the 'mountain' of the MAR.TU people, located on the north-eastern fringes of Mesopotamia. They were partly recognizable by the suffix *-ānum* to their names. The East-Canaanites, on the other hand, invaded Mesopotamia from the Ur III period onward and founded several kingdoms after the Ur III collapse. Bauer's observations provoked heavy criticism.[155]

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[150] Like Pinches in 1880, but also Pognon, Sayce and Winckler, see F. Hommel 1897:88f for the earliest historiography of the Amorites. For more early references: Buccellati 1966:5.

[151] Clay 1919.

[152] Breitschaft 1918.

[153] Chiera 1916:111-125, plates XXXVIII-XXXIX.

[154] Evidently he and Landsberger worked together, because two years earlier Landsberger had also addressed the issue: Landsberger 1924.

[155] For all the references regarding this discussion see Buccellati 1966:7 note 12.

After Bauer, it was most notably Gelb who had taken an interest in the Amorite personal names as a source for an Amorite language. In 1958 he published a grammatical sketch of Amorite. Three years later he commented upon Kupper's *Nomades* in an influential review article.[156] Gelb wanted to undertake a more comprehensive study of the Amorite language by systematically employing the large corpus of personal names. In 1980 this resulted in his book *A Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite.* Gelb was however never able to finish his work before his death in 1985.

The task of writing a grammar of Amorite was taken up by Streck, who wrote *Das amuritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit 1*.[157] This is the first in an announced series, but no other volumes have appeared since then. Significantly, the Amorite verb is not treated in this volume.[158] The book was criticized by Charpin.[159] Streck published several other articles pertaining to the Amorites. One article looks at the distribution of Amorite personal names over the course of the OB period.[160]Lastly, we must not forget the work by Huffmon 1965 done on the Amorite names in the Mari corpus and Knudsen's research on the Amorite language.[161]

3.2.1 *Excursus: Amurrum as a personal name*

The word Amurrum was also used as a personal name. It occurs mostly in the early OB period and was always written syllabically.[162] One would suspect a

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[156] Gelb 1961a 'The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples'. We must not forget the important Ešnunna text TA 1930 615 that Gelb published in 1968. This list of Amorite names is a unique document showing several contingents of Amorites living in the city.

[157] A similar article by the same author had already appeared in the *RlA* 9 (Streck 1998).

[158] A grammatical sketch of the language (including the verb) is found in Streck 2011, see also the work by Golinets 2010a and Golinets 2010b (an unpublished thesis on the Amorite verb in Old Babylonian personal names).

[159] Charpin 2005/2006, other reviews are: Tropper 2000, Pruszinszky 2001 and Knudsen 2002.

[160] Streck 2004b. According to him there was a strong Amorite presence along the Middle Euphrates and in Northwest Syria. Babylonia had fewer Amorites, who were progressively assimilated. In Streck 2002 he explores the social-economic structures of nomads by looking at their transhumance and agricultural patterns (the 'dimorphic zone') as well as other modes of subsistence taking into account tribal structures.

[161] Knudsen 1991, 2002, and 2004.

[162] The name is attested up to the reign of Samsu-Iluna (*CT* 8 46:11-12).The female name Amurrītum, is seen in the Mari texts (eg. *ARM* 9 291 iii:24', *ARM* 13 xiii:18, *ARM* 22

political or tribal agenda, but the name occurs in families with predominantly Akkadian names. When we look further we find that 'geographical' names are quite common in the OB period.[163] But do ethnic names such as Amurrum or Akkadûm exist?[164] For the name Akkadûm ('the Akkadian') we might suppose that the person came from the city of Akkad, but there was no town (or land) called 'Amurrum'[165]: the conclusion seems to be that the name Amurrum *does* refer to an Amorite identity or ethnicity. Michalowski mentions three occurrences of the personal name Amurrum in Ur III documents (written *a-mu-ru-um*)[166]. In the OB texts from the Mananâ-dynasty there are at least two distinct persons with this name: Amurrum, son of Lana-AN, and Amurrum, son of Sîn-bāni, as well as several references without patronym.[167]

From early OB Sippar we have parts of a family archive in which a man called Amurrum was active, he was the son of Dammāqtum.[168] He seems to have acquired a lot of land: probably all references to an 'Amorite' area in the Sippar texts refer in reality to the area in which Amurrum son of Dammāqtum had owned fields. The personal name Amurrum occurs furthermore in OB Sippar, Šaddupûm, and Nippur.[169] We also have the female variant 'Amurrītum'.[170] Another explanation is offered by Stol: 'son of Amurrum'

52:3, *ARM* 22 71:13 (*hi-in-ni-bu a-mu-ri-tum*, here perhaps an ethnic qualifier?) and A.3151 i:49).

[163] Well known are the names composed with the town of Akšak or Sippar (Mār-Sippar etc.), or the clearly political late OB names 'Uruk-libluṭ' (cf. Pientka 1998:183) etc. Another example is a name such as 'Kanišītum (*CT* 2 23:23 and *CT* 8 32b:2), cf. Stamm 1939:268-271 ('Bezeichnungen nach Herkunft und Beruf').

[164] Akkadītum (*TIM* 7 166:17), Akkadûm (*CT* 8 4b:20).

[165] At least not in early OB Babylonia.

[166] Michalowski 2011:106. It is not certain whether Michalowski is right in taking the logogram 'MAR.TU' also as a logographic rendering of the personal name Amurrum: the Old Babylonian evidence seems to contradict this. Attinger 2011 also criticized Michalowski in a short article on his reading of the logogram MAR.TU.

[167] *SCT* 39:17, A 32113:21 (unpublished OI Chicago, courtesy M. Stol), *R* 36:4-5, *R* 3:2, *R* 3:17, *R* 11:3, *R* 13:16, *R* 17:4, *R* 31:10.

[168] Amurrum son of Dammāqti (Dammāqtum) and father of Apil-maraṣ, Takūn-mātum and Qarassumīya in *MHET* II/1 5:19-20, *CT* 8 38b:3, *CT* 45 1:3 (case of *BDHP* 31), *CT* 4 48b:4-5, and *MHET* II/1 19:11-12.

[169] Sippar: *tab-ni-iš$_8$-tár* DUMU.MUNUS *a-mu-ru-um* (*CT* 8 39a:31), *na-ra-am-ta-ni*, DUMU.MUNUS *a-mu-ru-um* (*CT* 8 46:11-12), *ša-pí-ia* DUMU *a-mu-ru-um* (*CT* 6 28:27), and 1 SAG.ÌR *a-mu-ri,* (*AbB* 7 128:5'). Šaduppûm: *ga-ab-ba-mi-ia*, *a-sà-li-ia* DUMU.ME *a-mu-ri-im* (Al-Hashimi 1964 21:18-19). Nippur: *a-mu-ru-u*, *PBS* VIII/1 98:9.

[170] Written as *a-mu-ri-tum*: *TIM* 7 90:9, *TIM* 7 92:5, *TIM* 7 93:2, *TIM* 7 100:8, *TIM* 7 97:6', *TCL* 1 65:31, *AbB* 6 47:13, *AbB* 7 129:13', 22', *VS* 13 3:2.

could in some cases refer to an Amorite ancestor.[171] Durand established that Amurrum was also the name of a Bensimalite clan. Within the Bensimalites it belonged to the Yabasa confederation.[172]

3.3 Amorite names as ethnicity markers and what constitutes an Amorite name?

The study of the Amorite population in the early OB period is essentially the study of Amorite personal names. The many Amorite names found in the cuneiform record is their most visible remnant. However, the usage of personal names to determine ethnicity is complicated: there are many cases in which a personal name is in fact not a reliable indication of ethnicity. Nevertheless, despite this problem it is unwise to dismiss the Amorite personal names as a source of ethnicity all together. We can still use them as a historical source if we bear in mind the many pitfalls, but also the recent insights from the ethnicity discourse.

3.3.1 *Personal names as markers of ethnicity*

In other academic fields, such as anthropology or public health studies, the best way to determine a person's ethnicity is by simply asking the people.[173] Such an approach is of course impossible in ancient studies. The methodological problem that imposes itself is: can we use the Amorite personal names found in early OB texts as reliable markers of ethnicity?

As opposed to Assyriology,[174] there has been a lot of progress in studying personal names in other historical disciplines. Especially in Medieval Studies

[171] Stol 2004:705-706.

[172] Durand 2004a:182, but already earlier: Sasson 1998:122. The same tribe reoccurs perhaps in an administrative text from Tell Leilan : Ismail 1991 text 135: LÚ.ŠU.GI.MEŠ *a-mu-ur-ra-yu*: 'the elders of Amurrum'.

[173] Outside of the Humanities, research has -for example- been done in studies into public health to establish ethnicity based on a person's first -and surname found in databases. This has been done to analyze disease and health patterns among different ethnic groups.

[174] The pioneering effort by Stamm from 1939 is still a work of reference. Others contributions are: Stol 1991, Zadok 1977, and recently Radner 2005.

we can see new efforts both in methodology and in gaining more insights into naming patterns, migration and ethnicity.[175]

A number of studies into public health claim to demonstrate the accuracy in predicting a person's ethnicity based on his or her personal name.[176] How do these name-based ethnicity classification methods work? In a target population the number of personal names from a certain ethnicity is classified according to a *reference list* of names from that ethnicity and they are in turn compared to the actual amount of people from that ethnicity. This actual number was usually known because the people had self-identified their ethnicity. The results seem to be promising: from a survey of thirteen such studies, the sensitivity (the percentage of people correctly ascribed to a certain ethnicity) lies between 67 and 95 %.[177] There are however a number of limitations to the used methodology for the present study:[178]

1) There are differences over time in naming patterns. This logical fact is however often forgotten in Assyriology. New names are sometimes invented, older names are forgotten, or they suddenly become popular again, and other names are shunned because of negative connotations (i.e. nobody would call his son Adolf nowadays). Sometimes we can establish why certain trends have happened and sometimes not.
2) There are regional differences in naming patterns: a common name in one region might be rare in another. In the OB period this is very clear for names composed with local city gods that are almost never used in other cities.
3) Our information is not representative for the population. The vast majority of the names preserved are masculine names; female names and women in general are underrepresented in the material.[179] Connected to this is the fact that Mesopotamian names only have patronyms added after their names, the mother's name is almost never mentioned. We have in general the names and texts of the upper strata of society, the poorer people are underrepresented in the corpus.

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[175] See the contributions in Greule and Springer 2009 and Bourin and Chareille 2010.

[176] Mateos 2007 conveniently assembled the methodology and results of thirteen selected studies, most of them from the fields of public health.

[177] Mateos 2007:254.

[178] Mateos 2007:255-259. For a similar survey of limitations connected to the Roman Near East, see Macdonald 1998:182-189.

[179] Except of course in the Sippar material, where the *nadītum* priestesses are well represented in the corpus.

4) Studies into other historical periods have shown that people tend to use names (like identities) in a number of flexible ways. As an example: studies from the (ancient) Egyptian world have shown that people could have different sets of names according to the social context in which they operated:
    - Indigenous people could adopt the names of members of the ruling elite to associate themselves with them.[180]
    - In Coptic manuscripts, Christians could bear Arabic names.[181]
    - A man could have a Greek name in a military context and an Egyptian one in a private context.[182]

    These examples show that identity and name giving in the ancient world are far more flexible than we would like to think. The phenomenon of double names is also known in Mesopotamia, but mostly during the Hellenistic period.[183] People in Mesopotamia sometimes received a new name when they entered a new phase in life; a prince ascending the throne, a man or woman being consecrated to a god, an official entering royal service, etc.[184] Apart from hypocoristic names, we have only a few examples of people carrying two totally different names.[185]
5) There are differences in the strength of association between a name and an ethnicity. Some names might not be a strong indication of Amorite ethnicity. Either, because a certain name could be good Akkadian or Amorite such as ^{d}IM-*ma-lik*, which could be Akkadian Adad-mālik or Amorite Addu-mālik. Oftentimes, a typical Amorite god such as Erah is used to identify Amorite names. However, Erah is also seen in connection to Akkadian style-names, producing hybrid Amorite-Akkadian names, examples are Ibni-Erah or Ipiq-Erah, found in texts

[180] Lambertz 1911, because this article was not available, we refer to Boiy 2005:47 for this information. For more on Egyptian double names: Calderini 1941, Calderini 1942, Martin 1956, Leclercq 1963 and De Meulenaere 1966.

[181] Legendre 2012.

[182] Clarysse 1985. A similar example is known from Hellenistic Uruk: the governor of Uruk was called Anu-uballiṭ, but he had received the Greek name Nikarchos from the Seleucid king Antioch: Boiy 2005 and Radner 2005:32 n. 178.

[183] Boiy 2005.

[184] Radner 2005:28-35.

[185] These are mentioned by Radner 2005 n. 182 and n.183: Šēlebum alias Iddin-Lagamal (Stol 1991:210) and Nakarum alias Ikūn-pi-Sîn (Van Koppen 1999).

from Šaduppûm. A name such as Abi-Erah could then be either Akkadian or Amorite. The identification of someone's ethnicity based on a personal name is more accurate if the names of the distinguishable ethnicities belong to widely varying languages. This is problematic for Amorite, because it is related to Akkadian.

6) There are names that defy qualification. Apart from reduplicated names like Bagaga, Hanhanum, Šeršedum etc., and other 'nonsense' names like Hašekunu, Lašiku, Rašahu etc.,[186] there are also many names which are clearly Semitic, like Mudādum or Kusānum. Because Amorite and Akkadian are both Semitic languages, it is sometimes impossible to classify a name as either Amorite or Akkadian. Coincidentally, the same problem exists for prosopographical studies in first millennium Babylonia, where people could have Akkadian names, but also names from a variety of other (West)-Semitic languages: Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician etc.[187]
7) Families with Amorite names tended to assimilate into the local societies by giving their children Akkadian names. This makes it even harder to identify people as Amorites, for example: an Amorite king could have an Akkadian name like Babylon's Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballiṭ. Somebody proclaiming himself as an Amorite could even have an Elamite name such as Kudur-mabuk, the father of the Larsa kings Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn.
8) Problems in normalization and spelling of names: the same name is sometimes spelled slightly different, or a logogram is to be read different. One of the main differences between Ur III Amorite names and OB Amorite names, is that the Ur III ones tend to end with *-ānum* and the OB names not, having other typical features.[188] This was already seen by earlier scholars.[189] Here we can add an additional piece of information regarding the difference or -supposed difference between the Ur III and OB Amorite names: the reading of the logogram DINGIR. Traditionally, the generic word for 'God' or 'a God' has been understood to have been 'El' in Amorite. Proof for this reading is found in

[186]Some of these are undoubtedly due to bad copies or damaged tablets.
[187] Zadok 1977.
[188] Names of the *yaf'al*-DN type and names such as Abdi-DN, Sumu-DN etc.
[189] Bauer 1926 and Buccellati 1966.

the syllabic writing of names such as Sumu-la-El as *su-mu-le-el.*[190] A variant of the word for 'God' is 'Il' as in Hayab-Il: *ha-ia-ab-ì-il.*[191] Because of this, the logogram for 'God', the sign DINGIR, is always translated as 'El' in Amorite names. However, in some names the DINGIR sign should apparently be read differently. An example is the name Yahatti-DINGIR. It is usually classified as an Amorite name because it begins with the diphthong /ya/, as a consequence, the DINGIR sign is then read as El, giving the name Yahatti-El. However in some syllabic spellings of this name we learn that we should read the DINGIR sign as *ilum*, giving us the name Yahattilum or Yahat-ilum:[192]

Yahatilum s. Hadamu
da *ia-ha-ti*-DINGIR, *R* 15:2
ia-ha-ti-DINGIR, *R* 19:17
ia-ha-ti-lum, DUMU *ha-da-mu*, *R* 45:28-29
^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, ù ia-ha-ti*-DINGIR, DUMU *ha-da-mu, R* 55:3-5

Another example of problems with spelling has to do with the diphthong /ya/ at the beginning of a personal name. It is often taken as a sign that a name is Amorite. This diphthong is usually the beginning of a verbal form, (in Akkadian verbal forms never begin with a diphthong). However, this diphthong is not always written the same. We already knew that in the Mari texts the consonants /i/ followed by /a/ changed to /ê/, and something similar appears to have been happen-

[190] IM 49222, Al-'Adami 1967, pl. 11 and 12:22.
[191] *MHET* II/1 29:18-19. Some scholars read this name however as *ha-ia-ab*-ni-*il* (ni=*ì*).
[192] Other examples:
Sama-El(?) son of Hilhilum
sa-ma-DINGIR, DUMU *hi-il-hi*-DINGIR, *RSM* 39:17-18
sa-ma-DINGIR, DUMU *hi-il-hi-lum, RSM* 55:6-7
Bunu-mašar s. Elilum
bu-un-ma-šar DUMU ˹*e-li*˺*-lum, MHET* II/1 51:23
bu-nu-ma-šar DUMU *e*˺*-li*-DINGIR, *CT* 4 33b:18-19
Šubannilum s. Yakum
šu-ba-ni-DINGIR, DUMU *ia-ku-um R* 41:3-4
šu-ba-an-ni-lum, DUMU *ia-ku*-[*um*] , *R* 51:12-13
Yahmiṣ-Ilum s. Yamhanum
ia-ah-mi-ṣi-lum, DUMU *ia-am-ha-núm, R* 16:17-18
ia-ah-mi-iṣ-DINGIR, DUMU *ia-am-ha-nu-um*, *R* 45:24-25.

ing in the early OB period, some Amorite names are spelled with the diphthong /ye/ at the beginning instead of /ya/:

Yeslimum (Mananâ dynasty texts)
ia-ès-li-mu-um, dumu *na-gi$_4$-sa-nu-um*, R 2:17-18, Nâqimum c
Yaškit-El (or Êškit-El) (Dilbat)
ia-aš-ki-it-dingir, dumu *as-sà-lum,* Gautier *Dilbat* 1:19-20, Sumu-la-El 6/III
e-èš-ki-it-dingir, dumu *a-sà-lum, TLB* 1 249:18'-19', undated
Yerhaqum (Mananâ dynasty texts)
ia-er-ha-qum, YOS 14 78:10, Mananâ ab

Even though scribes were trained in carefully editing Akkadian texts, there were no fixed rules in writing down things that fell outside of their education,[193] an excellent example is the Amorite name of the Marad king Halun-pi-umu that was rendered by different scribes as:

a-lu-pú-ú-mu, *a-lum-bi-ú-mu, ha-lam-bu-ú, a-lum-pí-ú-mu, a-li-im-pu-mu, a-lum-pu-mu,* and *ha-lu-un-pí-mu*

The above limitations affect the degree with which we can use a certain name as the indicator of an ethnicity. However, names *can* be a useful tool in subdividing *populations* into two or more ethnicities, with an acceptable margin of error. It is important to stress that this does not always hold on the individual level: there are enough examples from the OB period in which a person with an Akkadian name was of Amorite stock and vice-versa.

The key ingredient in the aforementioned public health studies into the name as an indicator of ethnicity is the reference list. This list contains the personal names that are considered to be unique to a certain ethnicity. Translated to the research into the Amorites: we would need a reference list containing certified Amorite names. This automatically brings us to a second methodological problem: how can we define a name as Amorite?

[193] There were more or less stringent rules on how to write down Akkadian personal names. The same did not wholly apply to Amorite names, even though the famous Chiera list enumerates a number of Amorite names that were probably used for scribal education.

3.3.2 *What constitutes an Amorite name?*

Whether a given name is Amorite or not is a matter of debate: each scholar essentially uses his own 'system'. For some names there can be little or no discussion, but other names are for example clearly Semitic, but not attributable to either Akkadian, Amorite or some other language. Here is where the discussion is and some scholars, like Gelb in his *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite,* use a very broad definition: 'All the names that *I considered* to be either unquestionably or *possibly* Amorite were collected in standard Assyriological transliteration (...)'.[194] A more restrained approach is preferred here.[195] All personal names found in the early OB texts fall into four linguistic categories: Akkadian, Sumerian, Amorite and 'other'. The names qualified as 'other' are names which are neither clearly Sumerian, Akkadian nor Amorite, despite being sometimes clearly Semitic. The criteria for selecting a name as Amorite are the following:[196]

- Names carrying a verbal form that starts with the prefix /Ya/Yu/Yi/Ye or the verbal form /Iṣi/:
    - Yakun-ašari, *ia-ku-un-a-ša-ri, CT* 48 10:6
    - Yahqub-El, *ia-ah-qú-ub*-DINGIR*, TIM* 7 69:iv1
    - Yantin-El, *ia-an-ti-in*-DINGIR, *CT* 4 22c:5
    - Yadidum, *ia-di-du-um, R* 23: 9
    - Iṣi-sarê , *i-ṣí-sà-re-e, CT* 47 16 :22
    - Iṣi-qatar, *i-ṣí-qá-tar*, *TCL* 1 73:4, 35
- Names with clear Amorite theophoric elements like Samsu/Samas ('sun(god)'), Yarah/Erah ('moon(god)'), or El/Ila ('god):
    - Abi-Samas, *a-bi-sa-ma-as MHET* II/1 46:3
    - Samsu-i-[...], *sa-am-su-i*-[...]*, TIM* 7 74:9
    - Abi-Yarah, *a-bi-a-ra-ah*, R 5:4
    - Abdi-Erah, *ha-ab-de-ra-ah,* IM 49219 : 46
    - Milki-la-ila, *mi-il-ki-la-i-la, MHET* II/1 43:22
    - Yahwi-El, *ia-ah-wi-el*, *UCP* 10/3 2:24, Mananâ c

[194] Gelb 1980:2, emphasis added by the present author.

[195] See also the criteria used by Huffmon 1966:13-18, and his list of Amorite names on p. 19-60.

[196] For another opinion: see Streck 1998-2001.

- Names that contain clearly Amorite words: mutu ('man'), Abdu/Habdu ('servant'), Sumu/Samu ('offspring'), As(s)ad/Asdu ('warrior'), Bahlu ('lord'):
    - Mutum-me-El, *mu-tu-me-el, JCS* 9 p. 114 no. 87:11
    - Mutum-ramê, *mu-tam-ra-me-e, MHET* II/1 25:24
    - Sumu-tamar, *su-mu-ta-mar*, *JCS* 9 p. 80 no. 32:2'
    - Sumu-nihum, *su-mu-ni-hu-um, RSM* 48:14
    - Ahi-asad, *a-hi-a-sa-ad*, *CT* 8 4a:51
    - Abdi-Erah, *ab-di-ra-ah*, *TIM* 3 11:12
    - Bahlu-lu-[...], *ba-ah-lu-lu*-[...], *JCS* 9 p. 110 no. 71:14
- Names that contain clearly Amorite words for family members: Hālum (maternal uncle), Bunu/Bina (son):
    - Ammi-šagiš, *am-mi-ša-gi-iš*, *Edubba* 7 82:2
    - Hammi-ṣura, *ha-mi-ṣú-ra*, BM 16474:4″
    - Buni-halum, *bu-ni-ha-lum, Edubba* 7 113:3
    - Bunu-mašar, *bu-nu-ma-šar, MHET* II/1 72:4
- Names that are not immediately identifiable as Amorite, but which nevertheless belong to other people who are of clear Amorite descent: Amīnum (brother of Samsi-Addu), Haliyum (king of the Mananâ dynasty), etc.

3.4 Quantitive Research into Early Old Babylonian Amorite Personal Names

3.4.1. *Introduction*

This section takes all personal names from one site together and studies them together and in relation to other sites using statistical methods. In order to get a fuller understanding of the Amorite personal names, this section also takes the early OB material from the Diyala region into consideration.

All the personal names found in published texts from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region (ca. 10450 individuals[197]) were put into one Excel spreadsheet. The spreadsheet gives for each name its frequency (number of attestations), language, and the site where it was found, for example:

[197] Only complete, readable names were included.

Utu-mansum	13	s (=Sumerian)	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum
Apil-Sîn	12	ak (=Akkadian)	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/ Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš' archive

The database is comprised of texts from seven 'cities': Sippar, Kiš and Damrum (counted as one),[198] Marad, Dilbat, Tutub, Nērebtum and the Nūr-Šamaš archive. These seven cities are all situated in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region; all texts are from the period of ca. 1900 till 1820 BC. The amount, variety, and dating of the documents from each city differs: for some cities, like Tutub or Dilbat we only have parts of one family archive. For other cities like Sippar or Kiš and Damrum we have several family archives. Using the frequency lists for each city and a 'total' containing all names, it is possible to perform many interesting quantitative calculations. Many of the insights and calculations below were taken from the works of Pascal Chareille; a French medievalist specialized in the usage of statistics and personal names. A short overview of the corpus for each city:

3.4.2 *Archives from Northern Babylonia:*

3.4.2.1 Sippar

The early OB Sippar corpus is by far the richest and largest for this time: it contains approximately 900 texts.[199] These texts can be divided into twelve large family archives, two large institutional archives, as well as several smaller groups of texts. The Sippar texts are a varied lot, it contains: loans, sales, pledges and leases of real estate, court documents, administrative texts, letters etc. They cover the time of the local Sippar kings until the reign of Sîn-muballiṭ: ca. 1885-1792 BC.

[198] The files from the Mananâ dynasty (=Damrum) and Kiš (which essentially only contains the Ṣīssu-nawrat archive) are treated as one corpus.

[199] Goddeeris 2002:33-222.

3.4.2.2 Kiš and Damrum

This corpus contains texts from several archives from Kiš, the nearby located town of Damrum, and their vicinity.[200] It is the second largest corpus of early OB texts: we have ca. 235 texts spread over nine family archives and several smaller dossiers. The genres of texts from this area are comparable to Sippar: mostly sales of real estate, slave sales, loans and some lease contracts, administrative accounts, memos etc. They span a period of time from ca. 1885-1845 BC.

3.4.2.3 Marad

The Marad corpus contains 35 texts. Most of them are from the Ilum-bāni family archive. Other smaller files of texts are probably related in some way to this family archive.[201] The archive contains mostly loans and texts concerning the sale, pledge or transfer of real estate. The Marad texts cover the period of time between ca. 1885 and 1860 BC.

3.4.2.4 Dilbat

The texts from Dilbat all stem from one large family archive: the Iddin-Lagamal archive. This archive has ca. 75 texts.[202] It covers a period of time from ca. 1880 to 1740 BC, but for this study only the texts from the period between 1880 and 1792 are taken into account (the reigns of Sumu-la-El until Sîn-muballiṭ). The vast majority of the texts concern the purchase of real estate by members of the Iddin-Lagamal family. In addition, some other text genres are also represented. For example: leases, legal documents concerning property rights, adoptions contracts, and administrative documents.

[200] Goddeeris 2002:251-304.
[201] De Boer 2013a.
[202] Goddeeris 2002:225-249.

3.4.3 *Archives from the Diyala region:*

3.4.3.1 Tutub

All texts from Tutub are from the so-called Sîn temple archive, it contains 111 texts.[203] The dating of this archive is difficult, but it probably ran from ca. 1900 until 1870 BC. It contains mostly loan documents and sales of real estate.

3.4.3.2 Nērebtum

Several groups of texts stem from Nērebtum. Most of them are from the time that the kings of Ešnunna ruled Nērebtum, but this was after the early Old Babylonian period. However, one group of documents does cover part of this early period: the Būr-Sîn/Ilšu-nāṣir archive.[204] The bulk of the archive was already published by Lutz.[205] The oldest texts in the archive belonged to Būr-Sîn. He was a chief merchant (UGULA DAM.GAR) and the son of one Ibbi-Tišpak.[206] The earliest 13 texts have Būr-Sîn as the main actor, 74 later dated texts have his son Ilšu-nāṣir as creditor. Apart from loan contracts we also have sale contracts, hire contracts, memos, and a court record. Texts are dated from Sîn-abūšu through the Ešnunna kings Ipiq-Adad II, Dādūša and finally Ibal-pi-El II: ca. 1840-1765 BC.

2.2.3 Nūr-Šamaš archive

The exact provenance of this archive is unknown: it was found by illicit diggers.[207] The vast majority of the texts from this archive are loans issued by a

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[203] Harris 1955.

[204] Greengus 1979:6-8 and Greengus 1986:5-6. DeJong Ellis 1988:124 made the valid point that we only have statements from dealers as to this archive's provenance: it might just as well not be from Nērebtum.

[205] Lutz 1931 (often abbreviated as *UCP* 10/1). Other texts from this archive are found in Greengus 1979 (quoted as *OBTIV*) Greengus 1986 (quoted as *UCLMA* 9), *TIM* 3 124-127.

[206] Greengus 1986:5 n. 15. This is known from the text *OBTIV* 29 and Būr-Sîn's seal found thereupon, as well as *UCLMA* 9/2827 (published by Greengus 1986:238) and *UCLMA* 9/2831(published by Greengus 1986:239). See Charpin 1991c for the collation of the seal found on *OBTIV* 29: *bur*-^{d}EN.Z[U], [DUMU *i*]-*bi*-^{d}T[IŠPAK], ÌR *i**-[*pí*]-*iq**-[^{d}IM].

[207] The texts were published by Van Dijk in *TIM* 3 and studied by Rashid 1965.

man called Nūr-Šamaš. Almost all 121 texts are dated with year names from a king ruling in the Lower Diyala region: Sîn-abūšu. This king probably ruled between ca. 1865 and ca. 1823.

In a table we can summarize the following information (see next page):

	Sippar	Kiš and Damrum	Marad	Dilbat	Nērebtum	Nūr-Šamaš	Tutub	Total
Number of individuals	6732	1417	296	650	396	390	576	10457
Number of different pe personal names	2589	982	236	419	262	274	453	3888
Number of hapax legonmenon names	1719	749	194	304	190	204	367	2601
Number of dis lego-menon names	334	135	28	60	44	46	63	515
% of hapax names	66%	76%	82%	73%	73%	74%	81%	66%
% of hapax and dis legomenon names	79%	90%	94%	87%	89%	91%	95%	80%
Number/% of Akkadi-an names	1631 63%	611 62%	183 78%	333 80%	202 77%	228 83%	278 61%	2341 60%
Number/% of Sumeri-an names	139 5%	38 4%	17 7%	18 4%	10 4%	5 2%	16 4%	192 5%
Number/% of Amori-te names	195 8%	87 9%	3 1%	8 2%	17 6%	10 4%	39 9%	298 8%
Number/% of Un-known names	622 24%	246 25%	33 14%	60 14%	33 13%	31 11%	120 26%	1055 27%
Condensation	0.38	0.69	0.80	0.64	0.66	0.70	0.79	0.37
Average number of persons per name	2.60	1.44	1.25	1.55	1.51	1.42	1.27	2.69
Degree of Homonymy	0.17%	0.09%	0.19%	0.22%	0.33%	0.29%	0.11%	0.14%

3.4.4 *Concerning hapax and dis legomenon names*

In studying personal names one must distinguish between the 'stock of personal names': the total amount of possible names that were once given to children in a certain time and region, and the 'corpus of personal names': the amount of names currently at our disposal for study.[208] Differently put: the corpus of names we have is only a sample of the stock of personal of names that once was.

A hapax (legomenon) name is a name occurring only once in a given corpus. A dis (legomenon) name is a name occurring twice in a given corpus. Hapax and dis names are important in lists of personal names for various reasons: they are indicative of the richness or extent of a given corpus. However, hapax and dis legomenon names might also point towards strangers in a given locality. How? The idea is that people carrying a unique name have a high probability of being (offspring of) immigrants: their names simply do not conform to the local name usages.

As an example we might compare an immigrant country such as the United States with a non-immigrant country such as North Korea. We might expect the number of hapax names to be relatively high in the United States due to the high number of immigrants. North Korea on the other hand, would have a lower amount of hapax names, due to its largely autochthonous population sharing much of the same stock of names. So, a relatively high number of hapax and dis legomenon names might be an indication of immigration. We can calculate the amount of hapax names as follows:[209]

$$percentage\ of\ hapax\ names = \frac{\text{total amount of hapax names in a corpus}}{\text{total amount of different names in a corpus}}$$

For the largest corpus, the Sippar texts, 66% of the names are hapax names, for the smaller corpora this number is higher and averages at ca. 76%. For the total we again have 66% hapax names, but this is probably due to the weight of the Sippar corpus in the total.

If we take the hapax *and* dis legomenon names we arrive at much higher numbers: for Sippar 79% of the names occur only once or twice, for the other

[208] Chareille 2008:41.
[209] Chareille and Darlu 2010:49.

archives we arrive at an average of 91%. Among all the personal names from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region, 80% of the names occur only once or twice.

These high numbers of hapax and dis legomenon names suggest either a high variation of the stock of possible personal names or perhaps a high number of immigrants. In order to delve into this deeper, we have to take the language of the personal names into consideration.

The main hypothesis is that the supposed immigrants would be the Amorites carrying Amorite and 'other' names and the autochthonous population would be carrying Akkadian, Sumerian and 'other' names. If the people carrying the Amorite names are in fact immigrants, we would expect their names to occur more often as hapax and dis legomenon names.

3.4.5 *Onomastic Case Studies*

3.4.5.1 The case of Sippar's Amorite onomasticon

Of the 195 Amorite names found in Sippar, only 27 occur three times or more, the other 168 names are hapax and dis names: 86%. This is higher than the 79% of hapax and dis names occurring for Sippar as a whole.

If we consider the 'other' names, the situation is even more interesting. There are 622 names that were not assigned to either the category Akkadian, Amorite or Sumerian, so they were classified as 'other'. Of these 622 names, only 26 occur three times or more, so the percentage of hapax and dis names in the 'other' category is 96%, much larger than the 79% for Sippar's total.

What about the majority of the population who bore Akkadian and Sumerian names? Of the total 1820 Akkadian and Sumerian names, 1287 are hapax and dis names, that is 70%: significantly lower than for the Amorite and 'other' names.

Conclusion: the proportion of names occurring only once or twice is higher for the group of Amorite and 'other' names. This attests to their rarity vis-à-vis the Akkadian and Sumerian names. An explanation for this relative newness of these names into the local stock of personal names could be immigration.

Only 8% of the available names account for more than half of the population:[210] this means that there was a core set of very frequently used personal names. Were there Amorite names amongst this core set? Not really: the first 'Amorite names' to appear on the list are Abi-Erah[211] (8 occurrences, no. 165) and Yarbi-El (8 occurrences, no. 160).[212] The other 'popular' Amorite names belonging to this 8% core set are:

- Adidum (7 occurrences, no. 161)
- Mutum-El (7 occurrences, no. 175)
- Iṣi-ašar (6 occurrences, no. 204)
- Nāqimum (6 occurrences, no. 212)
- Yantin-El (6 occurrences, no. 230)
- Abdi-Erah (5 occurrences, no. 231)
- Ahi-šakim (5 occurrences, no. 234)
- Haliyatum (5 occurrences, no. 244)
- Hayab-El (5 occurrences, no. 245)
- Samu/Sumu-Erah (5 occurrences, no. 272)
- Yatarum (5 occurrences, no. 284)

These 13 most popular Sippar Amorite names account for nearly 5% of the core set of names, lower than the total percentage of Amorite names (8%): another indication that Amorite names were less frequent than Akkadian and Sumerian ones.

3.4.5.2 The case of the Diyala region Amorite onomasticon

The Early OB Sippar documentation carries a lot of weight, so let us consider a wholly different corpus and take all of the Diyala sites together (Tutub, Nērebtum, and the Nūr-Šamaš archive).

There is a total of 1362 individuals in the texts from the three Diyala sites who carry 989 different personal names, no less than 914 of these are hapax

[210] The 284 most frequent names account for 3502 of the 6732 names that make up Sippar's corpus: $\frac{284}{3502} = 8{,}1\%$

[211] This name could technically also be an Akkadian name.

[212] The frequency list is also alphabetic, that is why Abi-Erah has a higher position than Yarbi-El, despite the fact that both names occur 8 times in the early OB Sippar corpus.

and dis names: 92%. The number of Amorite names is 63,[213] which is 6%. Only two Amorite names occur more than once or twice (Abdi-Erah (4) and Sumu-Erah(3)), so the percentage of hapax and dis names is 97%(!). What about the 'other names? We have 180 and only three of them occur three times or more (Gagum (7), Munānum (4), and Manānum (3)), so the percentage of hapax and dis names is even higher for the 'other' category: 98%.

Let us compare that to the 'indigenous' Akkadian/Sumerian population; there is a total of 589 different names for the Diyala region texts, 492 of these are hapax and dis names, making for 84%, again lower than for the Amorite and 'other' names.

3.4.5.3 The total Northern Babylonian and Diyala Amorite onomasticon

The above calculations can be done for all the individual cities, but the most interesting is of course to consider the whole corpus of personal names. Of the total amount of 298 Amorite names, 255 are hapax and dis names: 86%. Higher than the total of hapax and dis names: 80%. So, only 43 Amorite names occur three times or more.

There are 1055 'other' names on a total of 3888 different personal names: 27%. Only 218 of these names occur three times or more. So the percentage of hapax and dis names for the unknown names category is 79%, surprisingly close to the total amount of names occurring only once or twice: 80%.

How many hapax and dis names does the Akkadian and Sumerian name-carrying population have? 2533 of the total of 3888 names are Akkadian or Sumerian. Hapax and dis names are for Sumerian 153; and 1703 for Akkadian: this makes 73%.[214] This means that the 'indigenous Akkadian/Sumerian' population had less hapax and dis names than the population carrying an Amorite (86%) or unknown (79%) name: the same results as for the Sippar and Diyala corpus.[215]

Under section 3.4.5.1 we took a look at the core set of names in Sippar, we will do the same for the whole corpus. About half of all the persons (5317) in the texts carry one of the 355 most frequent names, differently put: 9% of the

[213] Less than the total from the table (17+10+39=66), because a few names occur in more than in city.

[214] $\frac{153+1703}{2533} = 73\%$.

[215] This is of course not such a surprise: the Sippar corpus accounts for 64% of the individuals and 67% of the names.

names was carried by 51% of the people.[216] Which is the most frequent Amorite name? At no. 124 we find Abi-Erah (13 occurrences). The other 'popular' Amorite names belonging to the 9% core set are

- Sa/Sumu-Erah (11 occurrences, no. 147)
- Abdi-Erah (11 occurrences, no. 148)
- Adidum (9 occurrences, no. 206)
- Mutum-El (8 occurrences, no. 244)
- Nāqimum (8 occurrences, no. 245)
- Yarbi-El (8 occurrences, no. 246)
- Amurrum (7 occurrences, no. 283)
- Iṣi-ašar (7 occurrences, no. 284)
- Yahqub-El (7 occurrences, no. 285)
- Yantin-El (7 occurrences, no. 286)
- Yaqub-El (7 occurrences, no. 287)
- Aqba-ahum (6 occurrences, no. 348)
- Haliyum (6 occurrences, no. 349)
- Hayab-El (6 occurrences, no. 350)
- Yatarum (6 occurrences, no. 351)

Only 15 of the 355 most popular early OB names are Amorite, which is 4%, much lower than the total percentage of Amorite names, which is 8%. This proves again that Amorite personal names are relatively much rarer than other names, most notably Akkadian ones.

The relative rarity of Amorite names might be the result of immigration (many hapax and dis names as the result of a new population), but could also mean that -for example- the city dwelling population tended to have less Amorite names than the countryside population, or that the upper strata of society had less Amorite names.

[216] The reason why we have not taken exactly 50% of the population has to do with the frequencies: 5306 persons have names that range from the most frequent ones until and including all the ones with a frequency of 6. If we had wanted exactly 50%, we would have to forego a few names with a frequency of 6, which would present problems, because -in this case- it would be nonsense to distinguish between names with the same frequency.

3.4.6 *Condensation, number of individuals per name, and degree of homonymy*

Another method for looking at the personal names is to see how 'rich' a given corpus is: that is how many names are available for a given population. In order to get an idea of the richness of the corpora we are studying, scholars have been using traditionally two indicators, the first is called the 'condensation' which reflects the total amount of personal names available for the sample population. It is calculated as follows:[217]

$$condensation = \frac{\text{total amount of different personal names in a corpus}}{\text{total number of individual persons in a corpus}}$$

The resulting number ranges between 0 and 1. A low condensation indicates that only a few different names were used in the corpus. A high condensation indicates a large amount of different personal names for the people within the corpus.[218] An area with a high number of immigrants would necessarily also have a high condensation.

Again the Sippar corpus is different from the other corpora: it has the lowest condensation of all with 0.38, whereas Kiš and Damrum, Marad, Dilbat, Nērebtum, Nūr-Šamaš and Tutub all have relatively high condensation numbers around 0.70. The total has a condensation of 0.37, undoubtedly again due to the heavy influence of the Sippar corpus. If we were to take these numbers at face value, we would state that Sippar was less an area of immigration than the other cities. A false assumption because the condensation in its simplicity does not account for the high number of hapax and dis legomenon names.[219]

The second traditional indicator to study a corpus of personal names is to calculate the number of individuals per name. It is actually the inverse calculation of the one done for the condensation:[220]

$$average\ number\ of\ individuals\ per\ name = \frac{\text{total number of individual persons in a corpus}}{\text{total amount of different personal names in a corpus}}$$

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[217] Chareille 2008:42.
[218] If the condensation is 1, this means that everybody has a different name.
[219] For a critique of these 'traditional' methods: Chareille 2008:43-51.
[220] Chareille 2008:42.

A high number here suggests a small stock of personal names, and a low number a large stock of personal names (when it is 1, it means that everyone in the population has a different name). The results for our corpora from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region is the same as for the condensation: Sippar would have the smaller stock of personal names than the other corpora and the total would follow again Sippar. The criticism towards this indicator is the same as it was for the condensation: it does not account for the large number of hapax and dis legomenon names.

In order to deal with the problems posed by the indicators 'condensation' and 'average number of individuals per name', Chareille has come up with another indicator that he calls the 'Taux d'Homonymie'.[221] In English this would translate roughly as 'Degree of Homonymy'. This indicator is less sensible to the size of a given population *and* accounts for the hapax and dis legomenon names. It describes the probability one has of choosing at random two individuals with the same name from the sample population. The calculation is:

$$TH = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{K} nk(nk-1)}{n(n-1)}$$

TH is the 'Taux d'Homonymie'
n is the size of the population
nk is the number of times a given name occurs in the sample

Applied to the corpora from early Old Babylonian Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region we get:

	Sippar	Kiš&Damrum	Marad	Dilbat	Nērebtum	Nūr-Šamaš	Tutub	Total
Degree of Homonymy	0.17%	0.09%	0.19%	0.22%	0.33%	0.29%	0.11%	0.14%

If the *TH* is 1 it means that everybody in the population has the same name, when it approaches 0 it means that the stock of names is very rich. An exceptionally low number is found for the Kiš and Damrum and Tutub corpora, showing that the variation in names is the highest there. Higher numbers are found for Nērebtum and Nūr-Šamaš: indicative of a slightly more homoge-

[221] Chareille 2008:156-157 and p. 191.

nous name base. The Degree of Homonymy for Sippar, Marad, Dilbat and the total levitates around 0.15%.

A lower Degree of Homonymy suggests a larger stock of personal names and higher amounts of hapax,[222] as well as dis legomenon names. In a migration context this might indicate a higher influx of immigrants. For the Kiš and Damrum corpus this is especially interesting, because -as we shall see in chapter 4- when dealing with the separate family archives we see that Kiš and Damrum harbored more Amorites than Sippar. If people with an Amorite name are in fact descendants of an Amorite migration wave.

3.4.7 *Popular Names and Popular Gods*

In section 3.4.5.3 we had a look at the most popular Amorite names in the early OB corpus. But what about the most popular Akkadian, Sumerian, and unknown names? In the Appendix to chapter 3 we will find a list with the top 100 most popular names. Included in the table is their absolute frequency, the language of the name (ak=Akkadian, am=Amorite, s=Sumerian, o='other') and the cities where the name occurs.

The most popular early OB name is Sîn-iddinam. The whole top-10 consists of Akkadian names, the first Amorite name is not even on this list, as we already knew, it is Abi-Erah, no. 124. The first Sumerian name is Nannamansum, no. 15. The only other Sumerian name is Lu-Nanna, no. 88. There are no 'other' names in the top 100, so 98% of the names are Akkadian: a very high and unexpected number.

The 25 most popular names occur in almost all seven cities (Kiš and Damrum is counted as one). Notable exceptions are Amat-Šamaš (no. 19, only Sippar) and Lamassi (no. 23, Sippar and Tutub). The explanation is again the heavy influence of the Sippar corpus. There are many Sippar texts featuring *nadītum*'s: Amat-Šamaš and Lamassi are both typical *nadītum* names, and, incidentally, two of the only 7 female names occurring in the top 100.[223] This highlights again the lopsided nature of our corpus: we should have a 50-50 distribution of male and female names, but men occur more in often in texts from Mesopotamia's patriarchal culture.

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[222] Chareille and Darlu 2010:50.

[223] The other female names are: Bēlessunu (no. 46), Iltāni (no. 69), Erištum (no. 90), Narāmtum (no. 91), and Aya-tallik (no. 95).

Perhaps the most striking feature of this list is the absolute popularity of Sîn/Nanna (the Moongod) in the personal names. 36 of the 100 names are composed with the god Sîn:

1	Sîn-iddinam	22	Būr-Sîn	55	Erīb-Sîn
2	Sîn-erībam	27	Iddin-Sîn	61	Sîn-ilum
4	Sîn-remēni	28	Sîn-bāni	67	Sîn-puṭram
5	Warad-Sîn	31	Ibbi-Sîn	68	Sîn-ublam
7	Imgur-Sîn	32	Sîn-māgir	71	Sîn-bēl-Ilī
9	Sîn-iqīšam	41	Sîn-ennam	74	Etel-pî-Sîn
12	Sîn-abūšu	42	Sîn-išmeanni	79	Ennam-Sîn
13	Sîn-šeme	43	Ibni-Sîn	81	Narām-Sîn
14	Išme-Sîn	44	Nabi-Sîn	85	Lu-Nanna
15	Nanna-mansum	45	Sîn-rabi	88	Sinīya
20	Sîn-gāmil	49	Sîn-muballiṭ	99	Sîn-imitti
21	Sîn-nāṣir	52	Nūr-Sîn	100	Sîn-nada

The second most popular god in personal names is the "personal God" (ilum),[224] which is attested in 12 names:

3	Ilšu-bāni	35	Ilšu-ibbīšu
6	Nabi-ilīšu	38	Ilī-iddinam
10	Nūr-ilīšu	56	Ilšu-abūšu
16	Warad-ilīšu	64	Apil-ilīšu
18	Awīl-ilim	76	Ilī-bāni
24	Narām-ilīšu	98	Ilum-bāni

[224] See Streck 2003-2005b for a summary of the bibliography on this subject.

If we then take a look at the 43 most popular Amorite names (in this case: Amorite names occurring three times or more):

1	Abi-Erah	16	Yatarum	30	Iṣi-sarê
2	Sumu-Erah	17	Abum-halum	31	Milkum
3	Abdi-Erah	18	Ahi-šakim	32	Mutum-me-El
4	Adidum	19	Haliyatum	33	Samu-ki-El
5	Mutum-El	20	Haya-šarrum	34	Samukum
6	Nāqimum	21	Yadidum	35	Yadihatum
7	Yarbi-El	22	Iṣi-gatar	36	Yadihum
8	Amurrum	23	Su-Ila	37	Yahkudum
9	Iṣi-ašar	24	Yahwi-El	38	Yakûm
10	Yahqub-El	25	Amīnum	39	Yaqbe-El
11	Yantin-El	26	Ašdiya	40	Yarši-El
12	Yaqub-El	27	Badiya	41	Yaškur-El
13	Aqba-ahum	28	Binniya	42	Yataratum
14	Haliyum	29	Hayam-didum	43	Yatar-El
15	Hayab-El				

We can see immediately that the Moongod Erah and El ('God') are the two most popular (and only) theophoric elements in these early OB Amorite personal names. This is a striking parallel with the Akkadian personal names. This parallel pleads against the 'Amorites' as newcomers, because such a phenomenon is typically the result of long-term contact and/or acculturation. We would have expected to see Addu and Dagan as the main gods in Amorite personal names, as it is the case in the Mari archives (our richest source for Amorite personal names). However, we cannot dismiss entirely the hypothesis that the 'Amorites' had settled in the region somewhere between 2000 and 1900 BC and that they took Erah and El as the main element in personal names over the course of several generations, resulting in the list of Amorite names seen above (which was made from texts dated between 1900 and 1791 BC). The fact that these Amorite names differ from the Mari Amorite names is strong evidence against the theory that these early OB Amorites came from Syria.

CHAPTER 4

The 'Amorite' population in early Old Babylonian Northern Babylonia

We will take a look at Amorite personal names occurring in texts from Sippar, Kiš and Damrum, Marad, and finally Dilbat. We will consider the role of the people bearing these names in the texts: were they wealthy? Did they own land or other economical resources? How are they distributed over the different archives, were there more 'Amorites' in a given city or archive? etc.

4.1 Sippar in the early OB period

4.1.1 *Introduction*

Sippar is by far the richest textual source for the early OB period. It has long been known that Sippar actually consisted of two 'twin towns', a few kilometers apart.[225] In the late OB period these two were distinguished from each other by a tribal designation; Tell Abu-Habbah was called Sippar-Yahrūrum and Tell ed-Dēr, Sippar-Amnānum. Sippar-Yahrūrum had Šamaš as its main divinity and Sippar-Amnānum had Annunītum.[226] In addition to this, the Sippar hinterland had a number of villages like Halhalla,[227] Kullizu, Hirītum, and Kār-Šamaš.

4.1.2 *The sources from early OB Sippar*

We can distinguish four groups of texts found during controlled excavations:[228]

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[225] Charpin 1988b and Charpin 1992.

[226] Annunītum was a manifestation of Ištar, Myers 2002:93-104.

[227] Apparently, archives from Halhalla were found in three baskets during illegal excavations and were subsequently sold to the British Museum, see Stol 1998.

[228] We have excluded the -official- excavations done by Hormuzd Rassam in 1881-1882 (the AH-series in the British Museum) and by Scheil in 1894.

1) In 1941 Iraqi archaeologists excavated part of Tell ed-Dēr, they found a large number of OB texts, both early and late.[229] In total, about 315 texts were found, mostly economic-administrative texts and letters.[230]
2) In the 1970's a Belgian expedition led by De Meyer started excavations at Tell ed-Dēr. The first report of the excavations (1971) contained eight copies, but in 1978 a supplementary sixty-seven tablets were published in copy, mostly from the early OB period.[231]
3) The 'jackpot' of the Belgian expedition was the excavation of Ur-Utu's house in 1974.[232] It is the largest OB private archive found, containing some 2500 texts.[233] The house and archive were abandoned in the late OB period, but it nevertheless contains a sizeable portion of (unpublished) early OB texts.
4) In 1978 Iraqi archaeologists began excavating at Abu-Habbah under the direction of Al-Jadir. The excavations continued into the 1980's and about two hundred OB texts were found.[234] Al-Rawi and Dalley published 137 texts. The texts are essentially family archives. They range in time from the rule of Immerum to Samsu-iluna year 8. Though the amount of early OB texts is relatively modest (about thirty), they have proven to be an important addition.

However, the majority of the Sippar material was excavated illegally at the end of the 19th century. The documents found their way into many collections worldwide, among which the most prominent is undoubtedly that of the British Museum;[235] other important collections are kept in the Louvre in Paris, the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, and the Yale Babylonian Collection. Important work has already been done by Goddeeris 2002: she went through all of the early OB material from Sippar and was able to establish several larger and smaller dossiers.

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[229] See the prelimary repport by Baqir and Mustafa 1945, the summary made by Goddeeris 2002:167-169 and Edzard 1970a:13-15.

[230] The economic-administrative texts were published by Edzard 1970a and their copies by Van Dijk in *TIM* 7. The letters remain largely unpublished, see Al-'Adhami 1967 and Leemans 1960:106-107.

[231] For the exact archaeological information: Gasche 1978 and the summary in Goddeeris 2002:216.

[232] See Gasche 1989 for the report on Ur-Utu's house.

[233] See Tanret 2011 for an up-to-date synthesis on Ur-Utu and his archive.

[234] Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000:5.

[235] See Kalla's 1999 article on the history of the Sippar texts in the British Museum.

4.1.3 *Amorites in large family archives from early OB Sippar*

Nobody has studied the role that Amorites (people with Amorite names) actually played in these texts. This chapter attempts to fill this gap by systematically looking at each personal name and to determine what role this person had in a given document: buyer or seller, witness, debtor or creditor etc. We do this in order to establish whether there were many 'Amorites' owning property such as houses and fields and to see how many people with Amorite names witnessed transactions.

We can distinguish about fourteen large separate groups of texts among the early OB texts from Sippar. Two of these are more or less institutional archives: the so-called *TIM* 7 organization and the *ED* II organization (see 4.1.5.3 below). The other twelve are private family archives.

We can state with relative certainty that we never possess the complete family archives. Usually, we are best informed about one person who inherited a part of the family's belongings. A typical archive contains 'older' texts from previous generations; documents that had an effect over a long period of time like contracts about the purchase of real estate or an adoption. These 'older' texts are mixed with more recent ones documenting the economic activities of the archive's last owner: loan contracts, lease contracts, administrative texts etc. From this mix of documents we are able to reconstruct part of the family tree and history. However, we never get the full picture. In this study the archives are referred to under the name of the oldest known family member, usually a father or grandfather of the one to whom the archive actually belonged.

Other people occur in these archives as buyers or sellers of property, as neighbors or as witnesses. They tend to belong to the same social milieu as the archive owners: sale contracts were often witnessed by neighbors and they often sold and bought property from each other. An excellent case in point is the group of OB texts from Halhalla, a small village community in the vicinity of Sippar.[236] We shall see that family archives carrying a large proportion of Amorite/other names (not Akkadian or Sumerian) also have a large number of neighbors and witnesses with Amorite/other names. The same holds true for families with only Akkadian and Sumerian names.

If the Amorites had formed some kind of social elite in early OB Sippar, we expect to see that some of the most important families had Amorite origins.

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[236] Stol 1998.

The only way we can ascertain this is by looking at the family trees and the social environment in which these families operated. The following assumptions apply:

- Property owners are defined as people who are selling or buying a field or house. People owning a house or field next to the one being sold are also considered owners of property.
- People with an Akkadian (or Sumerian name) *and* a father with an Akkadian or Sumerian name are categorized as Akkadian/Sumerian.
- People with an Amorite name or whose father has an Amorite name are categorized as Amorite. The 'actual' Amorite names are in **bold** (according to the criteria on p. 50-51).
- People with a name that is not clearly Akkadian, Sumerian or Amorite are classified as 'other', their names are underlined.
- Names which are too broken to put into one of both categories are omitted.
- Whenever family members act together in a text, their family is counted as *one* property owner.
- The same does not apply to the witnesses; if two brothers feature as separate witnesses in a file, they are both counted.
- Family members are not counted amongst the other property owners in a given file. For example: in Abum-halum's descendants' file, his son Būr-Sîn and granddaughter Innabatum are not counted as separate property owners.
- The family genealogies are taken or modified from Goddeeris 2002. The reader can find the exact texts and more information belonging to the archives there as well.

4.1.3.1 Abum-halum's descendants

The name Abum-halum is most probably Amorite.[237] Most of the texts we have in this archive concern his son Būr-Sîn and Būr-Sîn's daughter Innabatum, who was a *nadītum* devotee of Šamaš. The dating of these texts is very early, we find oaths by kings Ammi-ṣura, Immerum, Sabium/Sumu-la-El and also Apil-Sîn for the last generation.

[237] On this archive: Goddeeris 2002:44-47.

Amongst the property owners there is a relatively high proportion of 'other' names, but there are no clear Amorite names.

In the witnesses list from Būr-Sîn's time non-Akkadian/Sumerian names and patronymics prevail. Amongst the witnesses in Innabatum's texts the picture is completely different because she was a *nadītum*. The witnesses in her text are predominantly fellow *nadītum*'s, cloister personnel and priests connected to the Ebabbar temple. We do see three 'actual' Amorite names: Yadurum, Yabuš and Yarbi-El.

4.1.3.2 Nūr-Šamaš

Nūr-Šamaš' father is not known, so there is a possibility that we might be dealing with more than one person by this name in the texts.[238] Nūr-Šamaš apparently had children with three different women. This is reflected in the two genealogies in the Appendix. In addition to these children, Nūr-Šamaš also had a daughter called Sîn-nūri with an unknown woman. All names in Nūr-Šamaš' family are Akkadian or Sumerian. Of his nephew, Lu-Ninšubur, we also possess a sizeable corpus of texts (see below). The dates for Nūr-Šamaš' texts are all very early.

Akkadian and Sumerian names are predominant among the property owners in this file, but some interesting remarks can be made about the people with Amorite and 'other' names. Three of them are from one text: *MHET* II/1 4. In this text, Nūr-Šamaš buys an eleven IKU field in Haganum from five men, probably brothers. Two of these men have an Amorite name (Samsu-yapuhat and Ibni-Adad's son Yahatum), in addition to this, the owner of a neighboring field also has an Amorite name: Yatarum. Perhaps it is no coincidence that a witness in this text also has an Amorite name: Yasirkum. Other witnesses bear names without a clear linguistic affiliation: Parsium son of Lawiti, Adidum, son of Ili-tappê, and Ili-hitan son of Sumentil. It would appear that the Haganum district had a more than average number of people with Amorite and 'other' names.

The amount of Amorite/other names in Nūr-Šamaš' list of witnesses is relatively high. Perhaps this is due to the early date of the texts: older texts tend to show a higher proportion of Amorite/other names. For the second

[238] On Nūr-Šamaš' file: Goddeeris 2002:47-53. Text *MHET* II/1 10 does not necessarily belong to Nūr-Šamaš'file, the purchasers in this text are Šū-Šamaš and Nūr-ilišu (contra Goddeeris 2002:48).

generation of Nūr-Šamaš' file, there are few Amorite/other names, especially compared with witnesses from Nūr-Šamaš' time. An explanation could be the high number of cloister personnel and *nadītum*'s among the Akkadian/Sumerian named witnesses. It would appear that one of Nūr-Šamaš' daughters is a *nadītum*: Bēletum.[239] Another daughter of his, Munawwirtum, was a *kulmašītum* priestess. It appears that Nūr-Šamaš' children had few dealings with people carrying Amorite/other names. This is also true because one of the texts loosely connected to Nūr-Šamaš' file, *MHET* II/1 5, accounts for a number of Amorite/other names.

4.1.3.3 Lu-Ninšubur, son of Šū-Šamaš

Many of the texts in Lu-Ninšubur's file have already been included in the section on Nūr-Šamaš because Lu-Ninšubur is the main buyer of his uncle's and his nephews' property.[240] The other property owners unique to this file are found in the Appendix. Most of the documents are from the reign of Sabium. Lu-Ninšubur's family (like Nūr-Šamaš') family only carries Akkadian names. Few ties to persons with Amorite or 'other' names can be established.

Only one name among the other property owners is good Amorite: Abi-Samas. Incidentally it is also one of the very few Amorite names with the sun(-god) as its theophoric element. Because of the size of Lu-Ninšubur's file, the number of witnesses is relatively high. As expected, we have a high proportion of witnesses with Akkadian and Sumerian names. There is nevertheless a handful of 'actual' Amorite names: Abdi-Erah, Adidum, Ahi-asad, Mutum-El, Samiya, Yaqbe-El and Yarbi-El. One of these is the 'mayor'-*rabiānum* of Sippar: Abdi-Erah (see below).

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[239] None of the texts concerning her (*CT* 8 28b, *CT* 48 30 and 59) mention her explicitly as a *nadītum*. But the fact that her father had given her possessions (claimed by her brothers in *CT* 48 30) and that she adopts a niece called Šāt-Aya as her heir (*CT* 48 59), is evidence enough for her status as a *nadītum*.

[240] Goddeeris 2002:53-57. Goddeeris read Awīl-Ilabrat, but Tanret 1996:200-201, has made a convincing argument to read all instances of the name LÚ-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR.(KA) in Sumerian as Lu-Ninšubur.

4.1.3.4 Dada-waqar's daughters

Dada-waqar himself does not feature in these texts, but his three daughters do: Nuṭṭubtum, Narubtum and Ullum-eršet.[241] It is possible that he did not have any male offspring, because all three of his daughters are priestesses active in acquiring and selling real estate. Nuṭṭubtum and Narubtum are both *nadītum*'s of Šamaš and Ullum-eršet is a *kulmašītum*. Of the four texts in this file, one is dated to Immerum, one to Sabium and two to Apil-Sîn.

Two of the four texts in this file are witnessed by cloister officials and temple personnel. This accounts for about a third of the total witnesses. Two of them are in the category 'other': Bulālum son of Akum and Idādum son of Pala-Sîn. The names Akum and Idādum do not seem clearly Akkadian or Amorite. It appears that most families providing officials and priests to the temple and cloister of Šamaš come from families with only Akkadian and Sumerian names, which is also the case with other officials from the early OB period.[242]

4.1.3.5 Imgur-Sîn's sons Annum-pîša and Qīš-Nunu

This archive concerns Imgur-Sîn's sons Annum-pîša and Qīš-Nunu,[243] as well as Annum-pîša's children. Annum-pîša is one of the main protagonists in what Goddeeris calls the '*TIM* 7' organization. Here only the property deeds of this family will be considered, because the texts published in *TIM* 7 (Edzard 1970a) are almost exclusively loan contracts handed out by Annum-pîša. He must have had a long life because he is attested from Immerum to Sîn-muballiṭ. Obviously, the texts we have do not do justice to the wealth that Annum-pîša must have had as a result of his credit activities attested in *TIM* 7, so he must have owned more than these texts allow us to believe.

We see two Amorite names as property owners in this file; Iṣi-qatar and Yabušum. In the list of witnesses, the proportion Akkadian and Sumerian names versus Amorite and 'other' names is 46:5. It is perhaps no coincidence that three of the Amorite and 'other' names are all from one document, *TCL* 1 66/67.

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[241] Goddeeris 2002:57-58.

[242] One can consult the study by Tanret and Suurmeijer 2011 for a complete listing.

[243] Goddeeris 2002:58-59.

4.1.3.6 Dammāqtum's descendants

This family had large landholdings in the early OB period and seems to have had an Amorite origin. The name of one of its members attests to this: he is called Amurrum.[244] It is very likely that a whole tract of land (*tawwirtum*) was named after this man Amurrum.

The early date of some of the documents and the Amorite roots of this family are reflected in the relatively high proportion of Amorite and 'other' names. Special mention must be made of Asalīya's children, Mayatum and Sumu-Erah, who had close connections to the family.[245]

We seem to have the actual archives of two *nadītum*'s from the family: Takūn-mātum and Huššutum. As a result of this, we frequently encounter cloister officials, accounting for 25% of the witnesses.

4.1.3.7 Arwium's sons

The family of Arwium must have been important in early OB Sippar.[246] One of his sons, Ikūn-pîša, was the main recipient of the letters found in 1941 at Tell ed-Dēr. The family had dealings with the family of Dammāqtum's descendants. The only dated text from this file is from the reign of Sumu-la-El, though their lives also covered the reigns of the independent rulers of Sippar. The obvious political importance of this family is not reflected in this family's real estate holdings. The surviving documents show only that Arwium exchanged a four IKU field with Nūr-Šamaš.[247] His son Hāliqum had furthermore sold a one IKU date-palm garden to the family of Dammāqtum's descendants, more specifically to Takūn-mātum, the daughter of Amurrum (and a certain Rabatum, who is indicated as her 'mother'). This garden is later contested by Hāliqum's daughter Hiššatum (*CT* 45 1), but also by Hāliqum himself and a one Sumu-ramê and his sons (*CT* 6 42a). However, all of these claims are rejected.

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[244] Goddeeris 2002:60-62.

[245] Goddeeris 2002:63-64.

[246] Goddeeris 2002:62-63.

[247] Three surviving documents also attest to Arwium's crediting activities (*TIM* 7 17, 51 and 130), which are not taken into consideration, because they contain no information about real estate holdings.

4.1.3.8 Sîn-erībam's descendants (Akšaya's family)

The dossier of this family is the largest in early OB Sippar and covers at least four generations.[248] The main files within this archive seem to have concerned Sîn-remēni, Iltāni, Akšāya and Huzālatum. They must have had some link with the central authorities in Babylon, because in *CT* 4 19b Sîn-remēni has dealings with royal landholdings and his brother Nakkārum is called 'servant of Sumu-la-El' on his seal.[249] Everybody in this important family carries an Akkadian name, making an Amorite descent less likely. The high proportion of Amorite names is partly due to the fact that this family has many activities in Halhalla, texts from this town show many Amorite names.

From all the early OB files, this file has the largest amount of witnesses. It should not be surprising that the number of Amorite and 'other' witnesses is also high. We encounter the social elite from the village of Halhalla, including the priests of the local god Ikūnum (Abum-ṭābum and Warad-Amurrim), the local authorities (*rabiānum*'s Šamaš-ilum and Imgur-Sîn, the NU.BANDA$_3$ Awīl-ilim), Sîn-ilum the son of Pûm-rabi, Dawdānum's family, and Nabi-Šamaš the son of Ahūni. The family of Sîn-erībam's descendants had dealings with all these families. For only one connected family we have also part of the archives: the Me'isum family (see below). Some cloister and Šamaš temple personnel is also found among the witnesses these occurrences are due to the *nadītum*'s within the family: Iltāni, Huzālatum, Lamassā, and Amat-Šamaš.

The proportion of Akkadian/Sumerian versus Amorite/other witnesses is 195:53. Because of this large number, there is also a large number of 'actual' Amorite names: 21. It is interesting to note that most of these names are found in only five texts: *CT* 4 9b, *CT* 6 46 and *MHET* II/1 25, 29 and 51. These texts account for 14 of the 21 Amorite names. This demonstrates that people with Amorite names tend to appear clustered together in texts.

4.1.3.9 The Me'isum family

This is another important family from early OB Halhalla.[250] The father of the main actor Utu-zimu has a linguistically undetermined name: Me'isum. Utu-zimu was a chief merchant at the time of Apil-Sîn.

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[248] Goddeeris 2002:64-71, Harris 1969, Stol 1998:439-441, Kalla 2002:135-136 and p. 153.
[249] Frayne 1990:326.
[250] Goddeeris 2002:76-78 and Stol 1998:443.

This family had clear links with the family of Sîn-erībam's descendants. Amongst the witnesses we see the same names and families as we did in that archive; this is partly due to the fact that three texts belong to both files. The most important reason is however the shared social milieu of both families who lived in early OB Halhalla.

4.1.3.10 Ipqu-Ištar's descendants

This is a smaller file[251], all five texts are dated to the reign of Apil-Sîn. No single person with an Amorite/other name owns property in the transactions that survived from this family's archive.

Several of the witnesses found in this file also occur in Halhalla texts. In addition, the same witnesses often feature in more than one text. This could either mean that the transactions were made around the same period, or that the fields bought were in very close proximity, witnesses are often neighbors and people from the same social milieu. There are almost no people with Amorite or 'other' names in this family's file, which is surprising, in view of the link with Halhalla that some witnesses have.

4.1.3.11 Abum-ṭābum's sons

This is a medium-sized file.[252] All texts are from the reigns of Sabium and Apil-Sîn. It is obvious that we have the texts from the files of Amat-Šamaš. The proportion of Akkadian and Sumerian names versus Amorite and 'other' names is 13:2. There are two 'actual' Amorite names, both of them belonging to *nadītum*'s , which is a rarity because these women usually have stereotypical names. One of these women, Yataratum, daughter of Šamaš-rabi, appoints Etel-pi-Sîn, the son of Abum-ṭābum, as heir. This often happens between a niece and her uncle or nephew, so it could be that Abum-ṭābum and Šamaš-rabi have the same father.

[251] Goddeeris 2002:78-79.
[252] Goddeeris 2002:79-81.

4.1.3.12 Puzur-Akšak's family

Puzur-Akšak came originally to Sippar from Šadlaš (*MHET* II/1 109 :4-5).[253] The commercial activities of his son Erīb-Sin are well documented. His daughter Lamassī was a *nadītum*. There are relatively few property owners with an Amorite or 'other' name in this dossier.

The fact that this is an 'immigrant' family makes this file more interesting. The oldest member, Puzur-Akšak, must have had connections to his home town Šadlaš which were continued by his son Erīb-Sin. Šadlaš probably had a strong 'Amorite' presence.[254] The number of witnesses with Amorite or 'other' names in this file is however low. The high number of witnesses with Akkadian and Sumerian names is again in part to be explained by a *nadītum*, Iltāni, daughter of Puzur-Akšak.

4.1.3.13 Important family archives we do not have

We do not have a complete picture of early OB Sippar. There are important families that we know of, but of which we do not have any texts. The most important example is perhaps the family of the SANGA's of Šamaš.[255] The SANGA was both the most important priest and main administrator of Šamaš' Ebabbar temple. We know the family of the SANGA's of Šamaš mostly because they witnessed a lot of transactions like sales and leases. As the most important witnesses they often impressed their cylinder seal on the tablets. These impressions contain useful information about the priestly family. The SANGA's of Šamaš all belonged to one family and the office was handed down from father to son.[256] The earliest known SANGA was called Annum-pi-Šamaš, son of Warad-Sîn. This family must have had its roots in Sippar, consequently

[253] Goddeeris 2002:135-141, Harris 1962:9 and Harris 1976:148-151. On Šadlaš: Stol 2006-2008a.

[254] We have several references to rulers of Šadlaš with Amorite names, see chapter 7.

[255] Actually, the title 'SANGA of Šamaš' could refer to three offices: the 'first' SANGA of Šamaš was the most important one, he led Šamaš' Ebabbar temple in Sippar-Yahrūrum (Tell Abu-Habbah). From the reign of Sabium onwards, we see that a 'second' SANGA took office (who was later called the 'SANGA of Aya'). Finally, there was a seperate SANGA for Šamaš' Edikuda temple in Sippar-Amnānum (Tell ed-Dēr). We are dealing here with the first SANGA of Šamaš.

[256] With the exception of the last known first SANGA (time of Ammi-ṣaduqa) who was an uncle of the previous SANGA. In one case the office was also handed over from brother-to-brother (time of Ammi-ditana). See the useful genealogy and study in Tanret 2010:237.

we find no Amorite names in the surviving texts. The family seems nonetheless to have followed a certain pattern in name-giving, but all names are Akkadian.[257]

The second important archive or archives that we are lacking are those of Sippar's 'mayors': the *rabiānum*'s.[258] As opposed to the SANGA this office was not held by one family. The exact function and tenure of the *rabiānum* has been discussed many times, without providing us a definite answer. This is partly due to the fact that the word *rabiānum* was used differently throughout the OB period.[259] For OB Sippar, a number of *rabiānum*'s are attested. It seems that the people holding this office did not do so for life. The most recent discussion is in Seri 2005.[260] What the *rabiānum* did exactly in (early) OB Sippar will not be discussed further, it is nonetheless clear that he was an important local official. As is the case with the SANGA's, we encounter the *rabiānum*'s mainly as witnesses to transactions. The following men are attested as early OB *rabiānum*:

- Abdi-Erah[261]
- Amri-ilīšu[262]
- Awīl-Ištar[263]

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[257] On this sequence: Tanret 2010:201-202.

[258] See already Harris 1975:60-62 and Stol 1976:81-82. See Charpin 2007:169-170 on the translation of this title.

[259] Two different, but connected, interpretations are a kind of (Amorite) tribal leader and the leader of a local community. See Stol 1976:73-96.

[260] Seri 2005:51-96 and the important review article by Charpin 2007, notably p. 170-176. Charpin has demonstrated convincing parallels between the *rabiānum* seen in southern Mesopotamia and the *sugāgum* from the Mari texts.

[261] The same name is also found in *VAS* 8 64:7', undated (context unclear) and *MHET* II/1 34:2, Sabium (as the owner of a neighboring field). *ab-di-a-ra-ah*, *CT* 8 4a:36, Sîn-muballiṭ, *ab-di-a-ra-ah, MHET* II/1 109:19, Sîn-muballiṭ, *ab-di-ra-ah ra-bi-a-an* ZIMBIR^{KI}, *CT* 8 1a:10', Sîn-muballiṭ, *ab-di-a-ra-ah*, *VAS* 9 40:14, Sîn-muballiṭ 14.

[262] Probably a sandhi for Amūr-ilišu, *am-ri-ì-lí-šu ra-bi-a-nu-um*, CT 47 16 :18, Sîn-muballiṭ 13.

[263] Awīl-Ištar was a common name in OB Sippar, however an Awīl-Ištar, son of Marduk-nāṣir is mentioned in *CT* 48 5:3, Hammurabi 37. Two slaves are sold in this text by three of Marduk-nāṣir's children to Ibni-Marduk, also a son of Marduk-nāṣir. The only precisely dated text in which an Awīl-Ištar, *rabiānum* features is *CT* 48 1, from Sîn-muballiṭ 12, a time difference of 49 years, making it unlikely, but not impossible that the same man is involved. If this is true, than we have a father and son exercising the *rabiānum* office. *a-wi-il-iš$_8$-tár ra-bi-<a>-nu*, *CT* 47 12:8, Sîn-muballiṭ, *a-wi-il-iš$_8$-tár ra-bi-a-nu*, *CT* 48 1:10, Sîn-muballiṭ 12, *a-wi-il-iš$_8$-tár, VAS* 8 71:29, Sîn-muballiṭ.

- Marduk-nāṣir[264]
- Sumu-Akšak[265]

One can immediately see in the footnotes the following points: almost all of the examples are from the time of Sîn-muballiṭ, with Marduk-nāṣir as the notable exception. For the years Sîn-muballiṭ 12, 13 and 14 we have three different men as *rabiānum*: Awīl-Ištar, Amri-ilīšu and Sumu-Akšak. However, more interesting for our purposes is the fact that two of these five men bear an Amorite name: Abdi-Erah and Sumu-Akšak.

There are strong indications that the king of Babylon appointed the *rabiānum* in Sippar, despite Seri's statement to the contrary.[266] Charpin argues that the council of elders put forward a candidate who was in turn ratified by the palace.[267] Let us consider the case of Išar-Lim.[268] This man was a general of Išme-Dagan, who was able to ally himself closely with Hammurabi of Babylon around 1770 BC. In Hammurabi's 24th year, we see that Išar-Lim had become the *rabiānum* of Sippar. It seems hard to believe that in this case the elders of Sippar would have put forward the stranger Išar-Lim as their *rabiānum*. Perhaps he was appointed directly by Hammurabi as some kind of reward. Additional evidence is found on the seal impression of the *rabiānum* Abdi-Erah, found on *MHET* II/1 109: *ha-*ˀ*ab*ˀ*-di-ra-ah*, DUMU *a-lí*-ILLAT-*ti*, ÌR *a-pil*-^{d}EN.ZU. This inscription tells us that Abdi-Erah's father had an Akkadian name (Alitillati) and that he had this seal made under Apil-Sîn's reign. In addition to this we can state that a servant line dedicated to a king (ÌR *a-pil*-^{d}EN.ZU) was not

[264] ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣi-ir, CT* 4 7a:1, Apil-Sîn 9, ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣir ra-bi-a-num*, *MHET* II/5 692:19', undated, ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣi-ir*, *ra-bi-a-an* ZIMBIR^{KI}, *MHET* II/5 837:8-9,undated, ˹^{d}˺[AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣ*]*ir ra-bi-a-nu-um*, *TCL* I 73:30, Sîn-muballiṭ, ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣir,* ˹x x˺ ra x x[...], *TLB* 222:5'-6', undated.

[265] *su-mu*-ÚH^{KI} *ra-bi-an* ZIMBIR^{KI}, *MHET* II/1 100(+*CT* 45 18):16, Sîn-muballiṭ, *su-mu*-ÚH^{KI}, *CT* 2 46:17, Sîn-muballiṭ 14, *su-mu*-ÚH^{KI}, *CT* 2 47:16, undated.

[266] Seri 2005:95: 'That the *rabiānum* was not a royal appointee becomes clear from *rabiānum* seals'(...).

[267] Charpin 2007:172. Mainly based on evidence from Mari and a letter from Šaduppûm.

[268] For more detailed information, see: Collon 1987, supplemented by Van Koppen 2002 and Charpin and Ziegler 2003:198.

common in the early OB period. It is very well possible that Apil-Sîn or Sîn-muballiṭ had promoted Abdi-Erah to this post.[269]

Sumu-Akšak is a special case, this person and his family have been studied recently by Van Koppen and Lacambre.[270] They describe how Sumu-Akšak is encountered as a high ranking official from Sîn-muballiṭ 12 to 14. He first occurs as a witness (as the son of Munawwirum) to the sale of a royal field[271] and subsequently as the *rabiānum* of Sippar. Two of his sons are known as well: Muti-Amnānum[272] and Zimri-hammu,[273] both good Amorite names. Van Koppen and Lacambre speculate that Sumu-Akšak may have been a disgraced Ešnunna official. He must have fled to the Babylonian court during a political crisis over Narām-Sîn's succession around Sîn-muballiṭ's 12th or 13th year. After the political crisis, Sumu-Akšak returned home to Ešnunna. His son Mutu-Amnānum served the new Ešnunnean king Dannum-tahaz and his other son Zimri-hammu had a career as a Babylonian official under Hammurabi.

To sum up: there is some evidence that the *rabiānum* was nominated by the Babylonian king in the early OB period. It is not surprising that these *rabiānum*'s were men of influence and standing. That two of them had Amorite names is evidence that an elite with Amorite affinities *and* connections to the Babylonian court existed.

2.3.14 Conclusions: Amorites in large early OB Sippar family archives

The evidence from the files discussed in the preceding sections can be recapitulated in the table below:[274]

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[269] If Abdi-Erah was indeed appointed as *rabiānum* by Apil-Sîn, we would have to explain the fact that Marduk-nāṣir was also a *rabiānum* attested in the reigns of Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballiṭ.

[270] Van Koppen and Lacambre 2008-2009:168-173.

[271] *VAS* 13 9:13 and its case Szlechter *TJA* plate 44 UMM H 56:13 dated to Sîn-muballiṭ 12.

[272] BM 81641, seal inscription (published by Van Koppen and Lacambre 2008-2009): [*m*]*u-ti-am₇-na-nu-um*, [DU]MU *su-mu*-ÚH^{KI}, [ÌR *d*]*a-an-nu-um-ta-ha-az*.

[273] *JCS* 11:23 no. 10:14

[274] This table only considers the property owners and witnesses from early OB Sippar. For a more complete picture considering all people from early OB Sippar, see chapter 6.

File name			Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total
1	Abum-halum	property owners	4		5		-	
		witnesses	90		26		5	
		total	94	75%	31	25%	5	4%
2	Nūr-Šamaš	property owners	26		14		6	
		witnesses	90		37		12	
		total	116	69%	51	31%	18	11%
3	Lu-Ninšubur	property owners	25		3		1	
		witnesses	90		20		7	
		total	115	83%	23	17%	8	6%
4	Dada-waqar	property owners	10		3		-	
		witnesses	44		7		2	
		total	54	84%	10	16%	2	3%
5	Imgur-Sîn	property owners	13		2		2	
		witnesses	46		5		2	
		total	59	89%	7	11%	4	6%
6	Dammāq tum	property owners	6		7		4	
		witnesses	62		23		10	
		total	68	69%	30	31%	14	14%
7	Arwium	property owners	1					
		witnesses	3					
		total	4	-				-
8	Sîn-erībam	property owners	41		24		8	
		witnesses	195		53		21	
		total	236	75%	77	25%	29	9%
9	Me'isum	property owners	13		3		1	

		witnesses	52		19		11	
		total	65	75%	22	25%	12	14%
10	Ipqu-Ištar	property owners	8		-		-	
		witnesses	27		1		1	
		total	35	97%	1	3%	1	3%
11	Abum-ṭābum	property owners	13		2		2	
		witnesses	89		14		5	
		total	102	86%	16	14%	7	6%
12	Puzur-Akšak	property owners	13		2		1	
		witnesses	88		5		1	
		total	101	94%	7	6%	2	2%
Grand total			Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total
		property owners	173	73%	65	27%	25	11%
		witnesses	876	81%	210	19%	77	7%
		total	1049	79%	275	21%	102	8%

Although it is difficult to determine whether certain names are Amorite or not, the category of Amorite and 'other' names comprises barely 21%. The people with Akkadian and Sumerian names form a large majority of 79%. So, even if we take an extreme viewpoint, namely: all people with an Amorite and 'other' name are Amorite or have Amorite origins, the Amorites remain a (sizeable) minority. If we take a minimalist position and count only the 'actual' Amorite names, the number is even smaller: 8%.[275]

There is a difference between the percentages of property owners and witnesses; there are slightly more people with Amorite and 'other' names as property owners (27%) than as witnesses (19%). However, it would go too far to interpret this as evidence for an Amorite landowning elite.

All of the twelve families under consideration had at least one daughter who was a *nadītum*. The social environment of these women is often limited

[275] This percentage includes people with an Akkadian/Sumerian/'other' name but with a father carrying an Amorite name.

to their own family, other *nadītum*'s and temple and cloister personnel. This personnel carried almost always Akkadian or Sumerian names and as a consequence, they are responsible for a very large percentage of the total number of Akkadian and Sumerian names, showing again how biased our documentation actually is.

For those families with suspected Amorite origins (that is: one of the family members has an Amorite or 'other' name), we can state that the proportion of Amorite and 'other' names among the property owners and witnesses found in their family archives is higher than among families with only Akkadian and Sumerian names. Within these archives we have several texts that show people with actual Amorite names clustered together.[276] Examples of such families are Abum-halum's descendants, Dammāqtum's descendants, and Me'isum's descendants. The oldest generations of these families have invariably Amorite or 'other' names (Abum-halum, Dammāqtum's son Amurrum and Me'isum). The younger generations all carry good Akkadian or Sumerian names; showing (perhaps) a tendency towards assimilation, or at least a decreased popularity of Amorite and 'other' names.

The file of Abum-halum's descendants demonstrates also that the proportion of Amorite/other names was relatively higher earlier in the early OB period: the texts from Būr-Sîn's time have more witnesses with Amorite and 'other' names than those from his daughter Innabatum, even if we compensate for the temple and cloister personnel in Innabatum's texts.

Nūr-Šamaš' family, having only Akkadian and Sumerian names has a relatively high count of Amorite and 'other' names in their documents; a plausible explanation might be the very early date of many texts from this file: many documents include oaths by Ilum-ma-Ila, Immerum and Sumu-la-El.

Families without suspected Amorite roots can nonetheless have a high number of Amorite or 'other' names in their family archives. An example of such an archive is the one of Sîn-erībam's descendants. In fact, the highest total of Amorite names is found in that file: 29 in total, accounting for almost a third of the total percentage of actual Amorite names in Sippar. The interesting thing is, that this family, together with that of Me'isum, had most of its dealings in Halhalla. If we add the number of Amorite names from Me'isum's file, we get a total of 41 names, 40% of the total. This may suggest that a large part of the Amorite population did not live in Sippar itself, but rather in the

[276] The best examples are: *CT* 4 9b, *CT* 6 46, *MHET* II/1 5, 29 and 51 and *MHET* II/5 588.

surrounding villages. This phenomenon also occurs in the late OB period, where Kassite and other mercenaries also inhabited settlements and fortresses away from the main towns.

The people with 'actual' Amorite names are often seen as witnesses only once or twice; it is clear that the vast majority of the Amorite name carrying population is not documented in the texts from the more well-to-do indigenous Sippar families.

4.1.4 *Amorites in smaller archives from early OB Sippar*

The surviving documents from early OB Sippar do not only concern larger family archives. An almost equal amount of texts concerns families or persons who feature only once, twice or three times in the Sippar corpus, that is why we can call them 'smaller files'. To study the amount of property owners with an Amorite or 'other' name versus those with an Akkadian or Sumerian name, they were all assembled into one large table (see the Appendix to chapter 4). This is only done for the property owners as it seems superfluous to also discuss the personal names found in the witness lists in these smaller files. This only made sense for the larger family archives in order to get an idea about their social milieu, but not for many much smaller files.

Grand totals	Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total	Am. families	% of total
property	579		178		80		68	
owners		76%		24%		11%		9%

The totals in percentages of property owners are about the same as the twelve families we considered here above. This only confirms the general picture: about 75% of the property owning population bore good Akkadian or Sumerian names, and 25% of the population did not. Of the total property owning population, 11% carried actual Amorite names.[277]

We can notice some of the same phenomena as we did for the people with Amorite names in the larger family archives. The first is that people with

[277] This does not mean that 11% of the property owning population are Amorites. Some of the names that were qualified as 'other' (by underlining them) might in fact be Amorite. As stated above, the actual number of Amorite names might be slightly higher, but at least not more than 25% of the total population (the Amorite/other names).

Amorite names tend to occur clustered in certain texts.[278] These texts are not full of Amorite names, but usually have two or three good Amorite names, attesting to a social milieu with Amorite ties. A second phenomenon we already saw with the larger family archives is the importance of Halhalla. Several texts with a strong Amorite presence are again from Halhalla.[279]

4.1.5 *Amorites as debtors, creditors, lessees and in various other roles*

After having reviewed people with Amorite names who own property and witness texts, it is time to see what other roles they had in the cuneiform texts. We will take a look at people with Amorite names as debtors or creditors, in lease contracts, in the so-called *ED* II organization and in various other contexts.

4.1.5.1 Debtors/Creditors

The total number of creditors found in early OB Sippar is 36, with the gods Sîn and Šamaš occurring as creditors as well.[280] Some of these creditors are well known to us from a specific organization or a file of documents, like Annum-pîša,[281] Ir-Enlil and his daughter Amat-Šamaš,[282] or Urdukuga.[283] However, most creditors are seen lending silver or barley in only a single text. Except for a few linguistically unclear names or patronyms, all creditors bear Akkadian or Sumerian names.[284] People investing in business ventures (to be distinguished from creditors) are also uniquely carrying Akkadian or Sumerian names.[285]

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[278] Examples are: *MHET* II/1 16, 17, 26, 34, 43, 56, 74, 99, *CT* 4 33b and 47b, *CT* 8 26b, *CT* 45 6, *CT* 48 10, *BDHP* 10, and *BE* 6/1 7.

[279] Like *MHET* II/1 26, 56, 99, and *CT* 47 7. A list with confirmed Halhalla texts is found in Stol 1998:417.

[280] Sîn: *ED* II 37 and Šamaš: *CT* 6 40, *YOS* 14 148, *CT* 47 117 and *TIM* 7 16. See Charpin 2005c for more on gods as creditors.

[281] The son of Imgur-Sîn and brother of Qīš-Nunu, known from the *TIM* 7 organization.

[282] Goddeeris 2002:106-107.

[283] Known from the *ED* II organization, Goddeeris 2002:216-217.

[284] These linguistically unclear names are: Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Agganānum (GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ag-ga-na-nu-um, CT* 4 21b:3-4; Kisīya (*ki-si-ia, ED* II 36:3), and Zablum (*za-ab-lum, PBS* VIII/2 195:4).

[285] The six people investing in business ventures are: Adad-iddinam and Warad-Amurrum (^{d}IM-*i-din-nam, ù* ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, *BAP* 79(=*VAS* 8 8):1-2); Agum (*a-gu-um,*

There are 81 different debtors to the loans from early OB Sippar, a sizeable number of them carrying linguistically undeterminable names or patronyms (18, see Appendix), but only a few actual Amorite names or patronyms occur: Mutum-Upi, Hayam-didu, and Yantin-El.

Whereas the creditors carry Akkadian or Sumerian names, about 25% of the debtors have Amorite or 'other' names or patronyms. However, this is insufficient to argue that these people were poorer. Many of the debtors with Amorite or 'other' names occur in the *ED* II or *TIM* 7 texts.

4.1.5.2 Leases

Almost all (field) leases we have from early OB Sippar concern fields leased by *nadītum* women.[286] Some of these *nadītum* women are from families with apparently Amorite ties: Innabatum (Abum-halum's family), Huššutum (Dammāqtum's family) and Ruttum and Yaphatum, the daughters of Iṣi-qatar.

The lease documents from early OB Sippar contain 39 different lessees. Less than a quarter of the lessees carries an Amorite or 'other' name, which roughly coincides with the percentage of Amorite and 'other' names found among the property owners.

4.1.5.3 The *ED* II Organization

The texts from the '*ED* II Organization' were excavated by Belgian archaeologists at Tell-ed Dēr in the 1970's.[287] The *ED* II Organization (termed 'the central building of complex AI' by Goddeeris 2002:216-220) was housed in a residential quarter and its documents are all dated to the early OB period.

The largest group of texts was found in 'sondage A' and published in copy in 1978.[288] The total number of texts and fragments amounts to 75. Goddeeris identified two chronologically and prosopographically different groups, one

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Edubba 7 115:4); Akšak-rabi (ÚH^{KI}-*ra-bi, Edubba* 7 123:3); Awīl-ilim (*a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *TIM* 7 15:2); Dādīya (*da-di-ia, Edubba* 7 122:2), and Nabi-Enlil (*na-bi*-^{d}EN.LÍL, *TIM* 7 28:2).

[286] See Goddeeris 2002:100-104.

[287] The name is derived from the abbreviation of the book in which most of the texts were published, *Tell ed-Der II progress reports* edited by De Meyer in 1978.

[288] De Meyer 1978:147-184. Eight texts were already found during the first campaign in February 1970. Maps of these excavations (Plan 3 and 5) can be found at the end of De Meyer *et al* 1971.

from the time of Sîn-muballiṭ,[289] and the other from the period of Sippar's independent rulers.[290] For the latter group (the *ED* II organization) Goddeeris distinguishes between crediting, commercial, agricultural and administrative activities in the texts. The questions which interests us here is: what role did people with Amorite personal names play in this organization? In order to answer that question, we must look at all the Amorite and linguistically uncertain personal names from the texts, which can be found in the Appendix to Chapter 4.[291]

The amount of Amorite and 'other' names is relatively low in the text corpus of the *ED* II organization: about 15%. The number of 'actual' Amorite names is much lower, only 9, which is 5%. Given the very early date of these texts, these percentages are very low. We would have expected a higher proportion of Amorite names, as in other early OB documents.

The people central to the *ED* II organization seem to have exclusively carried Akkadian and Sumerian names (Ur-dukuga, Ennum-Sîn, Šu-Ninsun, Sîn-iddinam, and Enlil-ennam): their milieu existed also primarily of people with Akkadian and Sumerian names. However, some of their business dealings, like their crediting and agricultural activities involve people with Amorite or 'other' names.[292] In addition, the *ED* II text corpus is the only one providing us with year names of the Sippar ruler Ammi-ṣura (see chapter 5).

4.1.5.4 Amorite and 'other' names occurring in various texts

A large number of people with Amorite and 'other' names occur in administrative lists registering rations, expenditures, etc. We will consider these first, after which the Amorite names in other contexts will be studied (see Appendix).

The numerous administrative lists with personal names are seldom dated and it is therefore difficult to assign such texts to the early OB period without prior detailed prosopographical research. The *TIM* 7 organization has many administrative texts datable to the early OB period. A large number of unique

[289] Goddeeris 2002:150; *ED* II 34, 35, 36 and 37.

[290] Goddeeris 2002:217-220.

[291] It is difficult to determine for every text published in *ED* I and *ED* II whether they belonged to the *ED* II organization or not, for the sake of argument we have chosen to include all texts, except for those belonging to the separate archive from Sîn-muballiṭ's era.

[292] Eg. the field leases *ED* II 62 and 68, but also *ED* II 29.

'other' names are only found in these texts. Only a few actual Amorite names figure in the *TIM* 7 texts.

There are 28 persons with Amorite names in the administrative lists from the *TIM* 7 organization and 97 people with 'other' linguistically uncertain names. There are 515 Akkadian/Sumerian names. This means that 20% of the people had an Amorite or 'other'name, and 4% an 'actual' Amorite name. These percentages are lower than those for the property owners. This is probably due to the general low percentage of Amorite and 'other' names in the *TIM* 7 organization and reflects the social environment in which it functioned.

Finally there remains a 'rest category' of Amorite and 'other' names occurring in text genres not treated above. A short summary sketching a person's role in the text is given after every name (see Appendix). These people had various roles in the texts: there are a number of slaves (with 'other' names), people mentioned in letters, but mostly people involved in lawsuits and other disputes. However, no pattern emerges for the people with Amorite or 'other' names in these texts.

4.1.6 *Conclusion: the Amorite personal names in early OB Sippar*

Despite the interest that the Amorite personal names attracted, little research was done towards the geographical differences between text corpora with Amorite names. The Amorite personal names found in the early OB texts from Sippar show some remarkable features.

In total, there are about 355 individuals with Amorite names in the early OB Sippar corpus.[293] The most striking feature is the fact that almost no name contains the theophoric element Addu/Adad or Dagan.[294] They were the two most important gods in Amorite personal names of the early 18th century BC Mari archives. Instead, the gods that we find the most in early OB Amorite personal names are Yarah/Erah and El/Ila. Only a few examples of Samsu/Samas are known.[295]

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[293] This figure does not include the names of Amorite rulers; moreover, the number could be a little higher or lower, because the same person could have been accidentally counted twice (for example: once with his patronym and once without).

[294] But note the name Nahum-Dagan (*CT* 4 10:33) and the uncertain examples concerning Adad/Addu.

[295] Abi-Samas, *a-bi-sa-ma-as*, *MHET* II/1 46:3, Sabium 13 ; Samsiya; *sa-am-si-ia, TIM* 7 73:9, undated; Samsu-yapuhat, ^{d}UTU-*ia-pu-ha-at, MHET* II/1 4:4, Immerum, and Samsu-i-[...] *sa-am-su-i*-[...], *TIM* 7 74:9, undated.

Yarah/Erah was the name of the Amorite and West Semitic moongod.[296] His Akkadian counterpart was called Sîn and in Sumerian he was called Nanna. The name Yarah/Erah is always written syllabically and never with a logogram, or even the divine determinative.

El (which simply means 'god') is a problematic case. He is often considered as an undefined 'father-god' at the head of the West Semitic pantheons,[297] much like Anum in the southern Mesopotamian pantheon. In any case, the Mari texts seem to show that he had no temples or cult in Syria. Durand concludes that most occurrences of 'El' (written as DINGIR or syllabically) simply mean 'the god' or 'a god' and not a specific god called 'El'.[298] What the exact role or significance of this 'El' was in the early OB period remains unclear, but it would seem that the Amorites used it as a theophoric element in much the same way as the Akkadian *ilum*: to denote *a* god, but no god in particular.

If personal names are any indication of the popularity of certain gods, we might conclude that Addu and Dagan were of little interest to the early OB Amorites in Sippar. Yarah/Erah does not feature frequently in personal names along the Middle Euphrates and Northern Syria.[299] However, the undefined 'El' is popular in both early OB and Mari-era Amorite names.

A possible explanation for Yarah/Erah's predominance in Amorite names from early OB Sippar could be the general popularity of the Moongod in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia. The Akkadian Moongod Sîn is by far the most often attested theophoric element in Akkadian personal names. The Sumerian Moongod Nanna is also often seen in Sumerian names. This general popularity of the Moongod in southern Mesopotamia may have influenced Amorite parents to also give their children names composed with the Amorite Moongod Yarah/Erah.

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[296] Edzard 1976-1980:260 and Durand 2008:214-215.

[297] This is at least true for the pantheon of Ugarit.

[298] Durand 2008:180-181.

[299] Compare for example the number of names composed with Addu and/or Dagan with those containing Yarah/Erah in Mari's *Répertoire analytique* (*ARM* 16/1; 'Noms divins apparaissant dans les anthroponymes' (p. 257-268). Streck 2004a:425 writes that Addu was the most popular element in 'nomadic names', then Dagan and thirdly Yarah.

The following table represents the linguistic categorization of the early OB Sippar population (from the independent rulers until Sîn-muballiṭ). The names and name-pairs are divided according to their language.[300]

Patronym→ Name ↓	Amorite	Akkadian	Sumerian	linguistically uncertain patronyms	no patronym written	Total
Amorite	26	64	-	37	105	232
Akkadian	104	1780	119	416	997	3416
Sumerian	1	93	24	6	81	205
linguistically uncertain names	18	199	15	99	312	643
Total	149	2136	158	558	1495	Grand Total: 4496

People with an Amorite name	5%
People with an Akkadian name	76%
People with a Sumerian name	5%
People with an 'other' name (linguistically undetermined)	14%

We can draw the following conclusions from these data:

[300] It must be made clear that this table does not represent the sum of all people found in the texts. This would be impossible because the names written without patronym are only counted once. Special mention must be made of the only two Hurrian names that were found in the corpus: Puhšenni (*pu-úh-še-en-*[*ni*] , *TIM* 7 95:2, undated), and Sîn-mālik s. Pahar-šen ([d]EN.ZU-*ma-lik*, DUMU *pa-ha-ar-še-en, MHET* II/1 2:17-18, Ilum-ma-Ila, [d]EN.ZU-*ma-lik,* DUMU *pa-ha-ar-še-en, CT* 8 38b:18-19, Ilum-ma-Ila).Streck 2004b made a similar study, but for the study of OB Sippar he only used the indices found in the *MHET* II series, which is less than half of the total corpus available.

- The percentages and numbers of Sumerian and Amorite names are very much the same. Sumerian was a substrate language and 'Sumerian' is no longer considered a distinct ethnicity in OB times, whereas Amorite can be regarded as such. One could make the assumption that Amorite names were already present in significant numbers before the OB period. Unfortunately, we are badly informed about Ur III Sippar, but the evidence seems to suggest that 'Amorite' names were only found in Sippar from the early OB period onwards. The shared 5% percentage and different *a priori* assumptions about Sumerian and Amorite 'ethnicity' nevertheless show us again the precarious situation when defining an ethnicity based on the language of personal names.
- There are no people with an Amorite name and a Sumerian father; which seems logical because Sumerian names could be seen as a manifestation of a Babylonian cultural tradition. The Amorites would have little incentive to name their children with the non-Semitic Sumerian names. On the other hand: it does seem that Amorites freely used Akkadian names and adopted many facets of Sumerian/Akkadian religious culture, such as the veneration of city gods by Amorite rulers. So, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that Amorite parents could not name their children with a common Sumerian name such as Nanna-mansum. It is interesting to note that in the Ur III period, one-fifth of the people marked as 'MAR.TU' actually carried Sumerian names. However, they are almost all from Girsu, where almost everybody had a Sumerian name, according to Michalowski this is at the most indicative of onomastic habits.[301]
- If we count all people with an Amorite name and/or an Amorite patronym we get a percentage of 8% of the population with an Amorite link. If we include the linguistically undetermined 'other' names as well, 19% of the population had an Amorite or 'other'name. If we also count all the Amorite and undetermined patronyms, we get to 31 %.
- In short, amongst the population of early OB Sippar (as we know it through the surviving text corpus), the percentage of people with an Amorite linguistic affiliation is minimally 8% and at the most 31%. The real figure must be somewhere in between.

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[301] Michalowski 2011:110-111.

- There is a high proportion of linguistically undetermined names. This is partly due to the conservative classification of certain names. Most of such names are in fact probably Akkadian rather than Amorite or Sumerian. At least two names are Hurrian and some Elamite names are probably also found amongst them, but these numbers are negligible.
- It is interesting that more people had an Akkadian name with an Amorite father's name (104) than vice-versa (64). It has already been stated above that over the generations Amorite personal names tend to disappear and these figures seem to support this argument.[302] The Amorite population (people with Amorite names) quickly assimilated into the indigenous population, as far as the personal names allow us to see.

4.2 Kiš and its vicinity in the early OB period

4.2.1 *Introduction*

The area around Kiš was particularly dynamic in the early OB period, especially along the canals flowing towards the south to Marad and Kazallu. This territory was caught between the rivaling kingdoms of Isin, Babylon and Malgium. The ancient city of Kiš was actually a twin city.[303] The collection of western tells at the site carries the name Uhaimir (main deity: Zababa). The eastern mounds are the part of Kiš called Hursagkalama in antiquity, the main mound being Tell Ingharra (main deity: Inanna/Ištar).[304] Surface surveys of the area of Kiš have indicated a sizeable number of settlements for the Old Babylonian period.[305] Towns like Damrum, Kibalmašda, Sagdanipad, Dunnum, and others must have been located in the vicinity of Kiš.

[302] This was also a conclusion by Streck 2004b:325-329 based on a comparison of data from different periods of time within the Old Babylonian period.

[303] A phenomenon that was not isolated in the Old Babylonian period, another example are the two Sippar's.

[304] Gibson 1972:4.

[305] Gibson 1972:49 and p. 186.

4.2.2 *The sources from early OB Kiš and Damrum*

It is important to distinguish at least four main groups of texts from the early OB area of Kiš:

1) Texts from the so-called 'Mananâ-dynasty'. This group of texts is of the most interest for us (see below).
2) Texts from Kiš proper, excavated by De Genouillac in 1911-1912. De Genouillac excavated mainly the area around Tell Ingharra as well as the ziggurat and its surroundings at Uhaimir.[306] The texts found by him were divided over the Louvre and the Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul. De Genouillac himself published most of the French tablets in 1924 and 1925.[307] The letters were edited by Kupper in 1959. Documents located in Istanbul were in turn published by Kraus 1972 and Donbaz and Yoffee 1986.[308]
3) Texts found by the Anglo-American expedition between 1923 and 1933, which ended up in Oxford.[309] They have been published for the most part in *OECT* 13 (Dalley and Yoffee 1991) and *OECT* 15 (Dalley 2005).
4) The dossier of Adad-nada and his *nadītum* daughter Unnubtum. This archive deserves special mention. It was dug up illicitly and most of it ended up in Yale. It is dated to the Babylonian kings Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballiṭ. Charpin discussed the documents and concluded that they stem from Damrum.[310] Goddeeris gave an overview of the texts, which was in turn supplemented by Charpin and studied in depth by Barberon.[311] Charpin connected one of the oldest texts from this archive, *YOS* 14 334, to the 'Mananâ-dynasty' file of Ahūnum, son of Nūr-Ea. It is very likely that this archive was found at the same time as the 'Mananâ-dynasty' texts and the archive of Alammuš-nāṣir (dated around Samsu-Iluna's reign and also from Damrum).[312]

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[306] Gibson 1972:69.

[307] *PRAK* 1 and *PRAK* 2. Charpin 2005a published five additional texts from the 'bureau of brick production' (for which see Goddeeris 2002:294-299 and Charpin 2005a:169-171).

[308] See also the short article by Yoffee 1977.

[309] On the excavations, see Gibson 1972:70f and Moorey 1978.

[310] Charpin 1979b:191.

[311] Goddeeris 2002:302-304, Charpin 2005a:171-172, and Barberon 2012:154-155.

[312] Personal communication Charpin.

4.2.2.1 Texts from the 'Mananâ-dynasty'

The so-called Mananâ-dynasty texts are a collection of private archives with some internal coherence. They are dated to a handful of local kings and Babylon's first king Sumu-la-El. The king that occurs the most in these text is Mananâ, that is why the totality of these kings are referred to as the 'Mananâ-dynasty'. The texts are mostly sale and lease contracts. Their interest lies in the many different year names to which these economic documents are dated. These year names give us important clues about the period's political situation.

The first illegally excavated documents surfaced around 1910.[313] Since then the corpus was growing steadily to about 215 known texts at present. At the end of the 1950's Rutten published 41 texts from the Louvre, which came from the collection of Allotte de la Fuÿe.[314]

Simmons wrote a number of articles concerning early OB tablets in the Yale collections. In two of them he tried to identify archives and gave an overview of the then-known year names of the Mananâ-dynasty kings[315]. These tablets were eventually published with additional comments in *YOS* 14.[316] The dossier was expanded and studied by Charpin at the end of the 1970's.[317]

Charpin first concluded that a town called 'Ilip/Kibalmašda' was probably the origin of the documents.[318] In addition, he offered the following sequence for the Mananâ-dynasty kings: Sumu-ditāna (Marad), Haliyum, Abdi-Erah,[319] Mananâ, Nāqimum, Ahi-maraṣ, Sumu-Yamutbal, Manium and lastly Sumu-la-

[313] Johns first remarked the texts in 1910, after which Langdon 1911 and Thureau-Dangin 1911 immediately published a number of them.

[314] Rutten 1958, 1959 and 1960.

[315] Simmons 1960 and 1961.

[316] Simmons 1978:5-10.

[317] Making Pomponio's study from 1976 largely redundant: Charpin 1978a, 1978b, 1979a, 1979b and 1980.

[318] Charpin 1978a:18.

[319] A king of Tutub is also called Abdi-Erah. Most authors assume that the Mananâ-dynasty king and Tutub king are the same person (Wu Yuhong 1994:40-41, Charpin 2004:90). They are probably two different persons: Abdi-Erah is in fact one of the most common Amorite names allowing for homonomy. In addition, the new chronology that is proposed for the early OB period does not allow for the Tutub and Mananâ-dynasty occurrences to be contemporaneous.

El.[320] In his review of *YOS* 14, Charpin 1979b divides the material into several dossiers.

Charpin was later convinced that the most probable 'capital' of the Mananâ-dynasty kings was in fact Damrum.[321] A different view of the situation was presented by Wu Yuhong and Dalley (1990), who proposed that the area of Kiš was controlled by a sedentary king and a nomad king.[322] Even though a definitive answer to this matter is still lacking, we will accept Charpin's idea in which Damrum is the origin of the Mananâ-dynasty texts. Goddeeris 2002 gave a very useful overview of the material and its dossiers, Charpin expanded on her work and added several new attestations.[323]

4.2.3 *Amorites in archives from early OB Kiš and Damrum*

The approach to the Amorite names in the Kiš and Damrum corpus is essentially the same as for the Sippar corpus: we will first take a look at the larger family archives and see which family members carried Amorite or 'other' names, after which we will do the same for the property owners and witnesses in these archives. At the end the smaller files are considered.

4.2.3.1 Šumšunu-watar

Šumšunu-watar's archive is with 34 texts by far the largest archive in the early OB Kiš and Damrum corpus.[324] His family carries only Akkadian and Sumerian names. Šumšunu-watar's own name is unique in the early OB period, meaning 'Their name is exceedingly great'. Almost the whole archive can be dated to only a handful of Mananâ year names.

There are considerably more people owning property with Amorite and 'other' names than people with Akkadian or Sumerian names. For the list of witnesses we can see that the Akkadian and Sumerian names form the majority, but there is a relative high proportion of Amorite and 'other' names: 41:31, including many 'actual' Amorite names. The Šumšunu-watar archive is dominated by the occurrence of a limited number of persons and families:

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[320] Charpin 1978a:40 and Charpin 2004a:96.
[321] Charpin 1999 and Charpin 2004:89-90 n. 320.
[322] See also the criticism by Charpin 2004a:89-90 n. 320.
[323] Charpin 2005a:168-172.
[324] Goddeeris 2002:268-272.

Susinum's children, Ili-atāya's children (most notably Idiš-Zababa who probably worked for Šumšunu-watar) and Ili-kitti's children.

4.2.3.2 Ṣīssu-nawrat son of Bēlum

Ṣīssu-nawrat's archive contains at least 19 texts and seems to stem from Kiš.[325] We have no additional information about his family except for his father's name. The archive is dated mostly to the reign of Yawium, king of Kiš, but also contains a few texts dated intermittently to Mananâ and Abdi-Erah.

The number of 'other' property owners is relatively low, with a slight majority of people carrying Akkadian or Sumerian names. A unique feature is that the number of witnesses with Amorite and 'other' names is higher than the people carrying clear Akkadian and Sumerian names.

4.2.3.3 Sîn-iddinam, son of Sanīya and his brothers

With its 27 texts, this is the second largest archive in the Mananâ-dynasty corpus.[326] An interesting aspect about this family is that most people carry good Akkadian names, but there is one man called Amurrum.

The proportion of property owners with Akkadian and Sumerian names versus Amorite and 'other' names is 5:14, with 7 actual Amorite names. Sîn-iddinam had a many dealings with Adidum, Amur-ilam's family, Yakûm and Birbirum: all families and persons with Amorite or 'other' names.

4.2.3.4 Dulluqum, son of Hadamu

One of the smaller files in the Mananâ corpus with 8 texts.[327] The family has clear Amorite affinities through a name such as Yahattilum (not Yahatti-El, because of the syllabic writing *ia-ha-ti-lum,* DUMU *ha-da-mu* in *R* 45:28-29).

Dulluqum's file has strong ties with that of Sîn-iddinam. However, we find only a few Amorite and 'other' names compared to other files in the Mananâ-dynasty corpus.

[325] Goddeeris 2002:284-286.
[326] Goddeeris 2002:265-268.
[327] Goddeeris 2002:263-264.

4.2.3.5 Ibbi-Ilabrat son of Puzur-Ilaba

This is a small file of texts containing mostly loans and dated to the last years of Sumu-la-El's reign.[328] One text is even dated to Sîn-iddinam of Larsa year 5, suggesting a conquest of the area of Kiš by Larsa. Because of the large number of loans in this file, we have relatively few property owners. Ibbi-Ilabrat's social environment had relatively few people with Amorite or 'other' names.

4.2.3.6 Kalāya's children

This file contains 9 texts, one of which is unpublished (A.32133 in Chicago).[329] Most of the family's names appear to be non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian. An interesting point is that this family archive acquaints us more with the cult of Nanna in Damrum through the person of Šimat-Kubi, a *nadītum* of Nanna. They had many dealings with the family of Yerhaqum.

4.2.3.7 Ilum-ma son of Mallum and Dadušme-El son of Manmanum

The exact relationship between Dadušme-El and Ilum-ma is unclear.[330] Dadušme-El buys Ilum-ma's property not long after Ilum-ma had acquired it. The file contains 10 texts, all are concerned with the sale of real estate. Ilum-ma bought a lot of property from the (numerous) sons of Ubasum and the sons of Paratīya, both families have many non-Akkadian/Sumerian names.

The high proportion of Amorite and 'other' names in the list of witnesses attests to the frequent contact of Dadušme-El and Ilum-ma with an Amorite environment. Many of the same families recur in the texts: Ubasum's sons, Paratīya's sons, but also the sons of Ea-ṣulūli and several men not directly connected to a larger family.

[328] Goddeeris 2002:273-274.
[329] Goddeeris 2002:262-263.
[330] Goddeeris 2002:275-276.

4.2.3.8 Šū-Ninhursag

No other family members of Šū-Ninhursag are known.[331] His file is relatively small with 7 texts in which very few people with Amorite and 'other' names occur.

4.2.3.9 Yerhaqum's sons

This is a relatively small file with 7 texts.[332] All members of this family carry names that are not clearly Akkadian or Sumerian. In most documents, Nupānum buys property from his two brothers. As Goddeeris already stated, it is probable that they are selling (parts of) their inheritance.[333] This is not uncommon because some pieces of property cannot be divided physically in a satisfactory way. Because Nupānum is often buying from his brothers in this file and because these brothers often own neighboring plots, we only see a few other property owners occuring in this file.

4.2.3.10 Amorite names in smaller files from early OB Kiš and Damrum

The remaining texts from early OB Kiš and Damrum that belong to smaller files are also included in the Appendix to chapter 4. The proportion of property owners with an Akkadian or Sumerian name versus property owners with an Amorite or 'other' name is 44:33, with 9 people carrying an 'actual' Amorite name. The proportion of witnesses with Akkadian or Sumerian names versus Amorite or 'other' names is 201:94 with 23 'actual' Amorite names.

4.2.3.11 The presence of Amorites in early OB Kiš and Damrum

To put the above mentioned families and the property owners and witnesses featuring in their family archives better into perspective, we can look at this table:

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[331] Goddeeris 2002:264-265.

[332] This file shares a text with the file of Kalaya's children: *YOS* 14 93, it will not be included here.

[333] Goddeeris 2002:276.

File name			Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total
1	Šumšunu-watar	property owners	14		23		3	
		witnesses	41		31		10	
		total	55	50 %	54	50 %	13	12%
2	Ṣīssu-nawrat	property owners	13		10		3	
		witnesses	41		42		10	
		total	54	51%	52	49%	13	12%
3	Sîn-iddinam son of Sanīya	property owners	5		14		7	
		witnesses	50		34		16	
		total	55	53%	48	47%	23	22%
4	Dulluqum son of Hadamu	property owners	0		5		1	
		witnesses	24		9		2	
		total	24	63%	14	37%	3	8%
5	Ibbi-Ilabrat	property owners	9		2		0	
		witnesses	29		9		2	
		total	38	78%	11	22%	2	4%
6	Kalāya's children	property owners	7		5		2	
		witnesses	18		13		5	
		total	25	58%	18	42%	7	16%
7	Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El	property owners	10		12		4	
		witnesses	23		22		7	
		total	33	49%	34	51%	11	16%
8	Šū-Ninhursag	property owners	7		2		-	
		witnesses	24		9		1	
		total	31	74%	11	26%	1	2%
9	The sons of Yerhaqum	property owners	3		3		1	
		witnesses	13		10		3	

		total	16	55%	13	45%	4	14%
	Other files	property owners	44		33		9	
		witnesses	201		94		23	
		total	245	66%	127	34%	32	9%
Grand total			Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total
		property owners	112	51%	109	49%	30	13%
		witness-es	464	63%	273	37%	79	11%
		total	576	60%	382	40%	109	11%

Many of the observations that were made on the Sippar corpus are also valid for this corpus. However, one large bias of the Sippar corpus is not present for the Kiš and Damrum corpus: the presence of the *nadītum* women devoted to Šamaš.

The people with an Akkadian and Sumerian names form again the majority, albeit smaller than in Sippar. If we take a maximalist position and consider all people with an Amorite or 'other' name as Amorite, the Amorites would appear as a large minority. On the other hand, if we take a minimalist position and count only the people with 'actual' Amorite names (11% of the total), the number is much smaller. As was the case with the Sippar Amorites, the true percentage of people with an Amorite background must lie between 11%-40%.

There is a difference in the percentages of property owners and witnesses: there are slightly more people with Amorite and 'other' names as property owners (49%) than as witnesses (37%). Hardly evidence for an Amorite landowning elite, but nonetheless interesting, especially when compared to the Sippar situation.

The proportion of Akkadian and Sumerian names versus Amorite and 'other' names in many files is practically the same. The amount and proportion of the different name groups vary a little bit for each file, showing again that people with Amorite and 'other' names tend to appear clustered in certain text groups or files. The families with suspected Amorite roots (eg. containing Amorite and 'other' names) are Dulluqum, Kalāya's children, Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El and Yerhaqum's sons: all files with high amounts of Amorite

and 'other' names. The file of Sîn-iddinam contains most Amorite names, both absolute and relative.

The chronological window for the Kiš and Damrum corpus is about forty years (ca. 1885-1845), instead of the ca. ninety years for the Sippar corpus (ca. 1885-1791). This prevents us from making meaningful statements about the distribution of the names over time.

4.2.4 *People borrowing in early OB Kiš and Damrum*

Just as we did for the Sippar corpus, we will now look at other roles people (other than property owner or witness) had in the early OB Kiš and Damrum texts. Apart from texts registering the sale of real estate, we also have many loan contracts in which a total of 32 creditors and 72 debtors occur.[334] Some of the creditors are known from larger files, but many creditors occur only once. Most debtors occur only once as well. Another approach was chosen than with the Sippar corpus, presenting the debtors and the creditors per file in the Appendix to chapter 4.

As was the case with the property owners and witnesses: some of the more interesting observations are made when we compare the data with Sippar. As opposed to Sippar, we have many creditors with Amorite or 'other' names,[335] but none of them seems to bear names that are without a doubt Amorite.

A sizeable number of the debtors carry linguistically undeterminable names or patronyms (31, that is 43% of the total amount of debtors) , but we see only a few 'actual' Amorite names or patronyms: 11 (about 15% of the total). These percentages are roughly the same as for the property owners and witnesses in early OB Kiš and Damrum. The Sippar figures were again lower: there we had 18 debtors with a linguistically undetermined name (22% of the total of 81 debtors) and only 3 people with an 'actual' Amorite name (4% of the total). In short: when we compare the data of Kiš and Damrum with Sip-

[334] The Kiš and Damrum corpus also has a few other types of texts. These will not be dealt with separately because each genre has too few texts to say anything meaningful about the number of names. Administrative texts (*R* 65, 67, 68, *RSM* 51, 52, 54, *YOS* 14 167, *OECT* 13 82, 125, 138, 189, 190, 208, 268 and BM 103180), slave sale contracts (R 37, 38, 39 and 40, *TIM* 5 11), hire contracts (*YOS* 14 87), lawsuits (*R* 41, *JCS* 4:70 YBC 4375, *YOS* 14 79), sureties (*YOS* 14 123, BM 108915), field leases (*R* 46 and 47, *BBVOT* 1 62 and 63) and a division of an inheritance (*JCS* 4:68 UIOM 2393).

[335] Sîn-iddinam s. Sanīya, Kalāya's children (Lalīya, Hunāya and Šimat-Kubi), Ilalah, Ananīya, Kurkuzānum, Dibu s. Azuna, Katitum, Gabrilum, and Ha'ikum.

par, we have again more people with an Amorite and 'other' name, both as creditor and as debtor.

4.2.5 *The Amorite personal names in early OB Kiš and Damrum*

Many of the observations and disclaimers made on the Sippar corpus apply to Kiš and Damrum as well. Again, only Erah and El feature as theophoric elements in the Amorite names: never Addu or Dagan. In two instances we see the eponymous ancestor Ditana. A total of 117 persons with a clear Amorite name were counted.

The following table represents in essence the linguistic categorization of the early OB Kiš and Damrum population. The names and name-pairs are divided according to their language.[336]

Patronym→ Name ↓	Amorite	Akkadian	Sumerian	linguistically uncertain patronyms	no patronym written	Total
Amorite	13	7	-	21	45	86
Akkadian	16	196	15	108	346	681
Sumerian	-	7	3	1	27	38
linguistically uncertain names	15	45	-	63	138	261
Total	44	255	18	193	556	Grand Total: 1066

People with an Amorite name	8%
People with an Akkadian name	64%

[336] This table does not represent the sum of all people found in the texts; this would be impossible because the names written without patronym are only counted once.

People with a Sumerian name	4%
People with an 'other' name (linguistically undetermined)	24%

Compared to early OB Sippar, we have slightly more people with an Amorite name and slightly fewer with a Sumerian name. The percentage of people with an Akkadian name is however significantly lower than in Sippar and consequently the number of people with a linguistically undetermined name is significantly higher.

If we look at the number of people with an Amorite name and/or an Amorite patronym we get a total percentage of 11%. If we look at the linguistically undetermined names and patronyms *and* the Amorite names we get a percentage of 44%. So, the percentage of people with an Amorite linguistic affiliation is minimally 11% and at the most 44%. Again, the real figure must be somewhere in between.

As in Sippar, there are more people with an Akkadian or Sumerian name and Amorite patronym (16) than there are people with an Amorite name and an Akkadian or Sumerian patronym (7), suggesting again a pattern of acculturation of people with an Amorite name. There is however only a low percentage of Amorite-Amorite name pairs (only 1,2%), which is however still higher than in Sippar (0,5%).

4.3 Marad in the early Old Babylonian period

4.3.1 *Introduction*

From the two towns Marad[337] and Kazallu,[338] only Marad has (recently) been the object of an archaeological survey.[339] Kazallu's exact location is still unknown. We have references to these cities from most of Mesopotamia's history, from the Akkadian until the Neo-Babylonian period. In Old-Babylonian studies they are often mentioned together because it seems that they formed the core of a kingdom in the early OB period. Some OB tablets coming from

[337] Edzard 1957:127-128 and Edzard 1987-1990c:351-352.
[338] Edzard 1957:126-127 and Edzard 1976-1980:542-543.
[339] Hannun 1997-1998 (in Arabic), Al Hussayny 2010.

these towns (mostly Marad) have found their way to the antiquities market in the beginning of the twentieth century.[340]

The tell of Marad is located some fifty kilometers south of Kiš, halfway between Babylon and Isin on the Abgal canal. This canal branched from the Kiš branch of the Euphrates to the south of this city. The towns of Apiak, Kiritab and probably Kazallu were also situated on this canal as it flowed south towards Marad. One specific branch of the Abgal canal, flowing from its left flank is the Me-Enlil canal.[341] This canal is frequently mentioned in the Marad texts and also in one of the year names of the Mananâ dynasty.[342]

4.3.2 *The sources from early OB Marad: the Ilum-bāni family archive*

The illegally excavated archive of the Ilum-bāni family sheds some light on the situation in Marad from ca. 1880 to about 1850 BC.[343] The main body of the archive must have belonged to Sîn-līdiš and Ku-Ninšubur, sons of Ilum-bāni. Other children of Ilum-bāni are also attested in the archive. Marad is the most likely provenance because most of the texts carry an oath by its city god Lugal-Marad.[344] It has often been assumed that kings of Marad also controlled Kazallu,[345] but there are reasons to doubt this. In addition to the 18 documents from the Ilum-bāni family archive, there are about 17 other texts from early OB Marad (and/or its vicinity), consisting of smaller files, some of them are (indirectly) connected to the Ilum-bāni family.[346]

4.3.3 *The Amorite personal names in early OB Marad*

The rulers of Marad all bear clear Amorite names: Halun-pi-umu, Sumu-ditāna, Sumu-numhim, Sumu-atar, and Yamsi-El. By contrast, we have almost no trace of people with a clear Amorite name in texts from this city. A plausible explanation could be that we have basically one archive and some

[340] The reconstructions in Wu Yuhong 1998, can be modified on several points, see De Boer 2013a.

[341] Cole and Gasche:28-30.

[342] Charpin 1978:25, Haliyum c: MU.ÚS.SA ^{ÍD}ÁB.GAL Ù ^{ÍD}ME-^{d}EN.LÍL.[LÁ] *is-ki-r*[*u*], 'Year after the year in which he dammed the Abgal canal and the Me-Enlil canal'

[343] See De Boer 2013a.

[344] See Stol 1987-1990:148-149 on this god.

[345] Eg. Wu Yuhong 1998:221 and Charpin 2004:87-88.

[346] See De Boer 2013a.

(un)related texts (as is the case in Dilbat with the Iddin-Lagamal family archive). The main protagonists in the Ilum-bāni family archive all carry good Akkadian or Sumerian names. From the Sippar and Kiš and Damrum archives it has become clear that Amorite names tend to show up in groups or in documents concerning people with Amorite names. In general, people rarely went beyond their own social environment; they would often witness each other's transactions, own neighboring fields and houses etc. So it could be that Ilum-bāni's family had no direct dealings with Amorites and that this is the reason why we do not encounter them (yet) in Marad texts.[347]

4.4 Dilbat in the early Old Babylonian period

4.4.1 *Introduction*

Much has already been written about (early) Old Babylonian Dilbat.[348] Dilbat is situated at Tell Deylem. Apart from a short campaign by Hormuzd Rassam in the 19th century, there has only been a surface survey by Armstrong,[349] making the archaeological situation largely unknown. Nevertheless, Dilbat must have played an important role in the economy of the Babylonian state as it was situated in Babylon's hinterland.

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[347] A number of names with an unclear linguistic affiliation occur nevertheless:
Bakāya MUHALDIM, *ba-ka-a* MUHALDIM, *AUCT* IV 6:18
Gunānum[?] s. Mašum, *˹gu˺-na-nu-um* DUMU *ma-šum, RSM* 37:24.
Idisaqar AGA.ÚS, *i-di-˹sa˺-qar* AGA.ÚS, *AUCT* IV 6:17.
Kasānum, *ka-sa-nu-um* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *YOS* 14 125:17.
Kulānum s. Uštaki, *ku-la-nu-um* DUMU *uš-ta-ki*, *EGHS* 2:23, *ku-la-a-nu-um*[!] ŠU.I, MD 5 (MAOG IV):15, *ku-la-nu-um* DUMU *uš[!]-ta[!]-ki[?]-um[?]*, *Speleers* 253:18.
Lulāgum NU^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$, *lu-la-gu-um* NU^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$, *AUCT* V 126:18.
Nibīya s. Lulum-waqar, *ni-bi-ia* DUMU *lu-lu-um-wa-qar,* Durand *HEO* 18 207:3'.
Supābum s. Balagum, *sú-pa-bu-um,* DUMU *ba-la-gu-um, YOS* 14 117:9-10.
Wanāya s. Habil-ili, *wa-a-na-a-a* DUMU *ha-bil-ì-lí*, *Speleers* 234:22.

[348] See most recently Goddeeris 2002:225-230, see also the additional comments by Charpin 2005a:167. In fact, the most pertinent publications are: Klengel 1976, Desrochers 1978, Koshurnikov 1984 (article in Russian), Koshurnikov and Yoffee 1986, and Yoffee 1988.

[349] Armstrong 1995 and 2001.

4.4.2 *The sources from early OB Dilbat: the Iddin-Lagamal family archive*

Almost all of the texts known from early OB Dilbat concern one large family archive: the Iddin-Lagamal archive.[350] As is often the case, we do not have the whole archive, but only those parts that were handed down via a particular branch of the family. The texts known to us come through the subsequent fathers and sons Iddin-Lagamal, Nāhilum, Huzālum and finally Marduk-nāṣir.[351] Most of the early OB texts here under consideration are from the time of Iddin-Lagamal and his son Nāhilum (Sumu-abum to Sîn-muballiṭ). The texts from Huzālum and Marduk-nāṣir are dated to the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna and are therefore left out of this study.

4.4.3 *The Amorite personal names in early OB Dilbat*

There is little to be added to the existing studies, where it not that the focus here is slightly different. Do we see any Amorites in the Dilbat corpus? The short answer is: almost none. The most probable explanation is that we have information from only *one* family archive (as was the case with the Ilum-bāni archive from Marad). As we saw in the Sippar corpus, the occurrence of people with Amorite names depends on the archive. Some people or families apparently had more contacts or affinity with Amorites than others. It is clear that the Iddin-Lagamal family did not belong to those families with obvious ties to an Amorite community. Another explanation for the absence of Amorite names might be that there were very few Amorites present in Dilbat.

Among the personal names we counted eight names that are classified as certainly Amorite (just 2%) and another 54 names as 'other' (12%): names that are not classifiable as either Akkadian, Sumerian or Amorite. Both percentages are much lower than those from Sippar or the Kiš and Damrum texts. Interesting is the man Yaškit-El whose name is twice written completely different: once as Yaškit-El and once as Êškit-El.[352] In any case, in the Appendix to chapter 4 are all the names that were qualified as 'unknown/other' and Amorite from the early OB texts from Dilbat.

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[350] The late OB material has been collected and commented upon by Pientka 1998:409f.

[351] See Goddeeris 2002:232 for a family tree.

[352] *ia-aš-ki-it*-DINGIR, DUMU *as-sà-lum,* Gautier *Dilbat* 1:19-20; Sumu-la-El 6/III, *e-èš-ki-it*-DINGIR, DUMU *a-sà-lum, TLB* 1 249:18'-19', undated. Note also the spelling *ye-e-eš-ki-it*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 291:2 (not the same person).

Given the relatively low proportion of Amorite and 'unknown/other' names found among the inhabitants of Dilbat, it is perhaps no surprise that we also find very few people carrying these names owning land. The Iddin-Lagamal family only has members with Akkadian or Sumerian names.

It is interesting to see that one well attested family member, Nāhilum, bought property in the city centre, most notably a number of *burubalûm* plots that are situated along the main or broad street (SILA DAGAL.LA).[353] The table in the Appendix shows 67 Akkadian and Sumerian property owners (85%) and 12 Amorite and 'other' property owners (15%). The latter percentage is much lower than the one we found in Sippar or Kiš and Damrum. This confirms again the general picture: the Iddin-Lagamal family archive shows mostly 'indigenous' Akkadian/Sumerian names and almost no Amorite names.

4.5 The 'Amorite' presence in Northern Babylonia

In this chapter we have surveyed almost all personal names found in documents from early Old Babylonian Northern Babylonia, specifically the cities Sippar, Kiš and Damrum, Marad and Dilbat. The goal was to establish what social-economic role people with an Amorite name played in texts from the early OB period.

The results are not straightforward. First the absolute numbers: the vast majority of the population in Northern Babylonia must have carried Akkadian names. Basing ourselves mainly on the Sippar and Kiš and Damrum corpora, we can estimate that about 65-75 % had clearly identifiable Akkadian names, then there is a small minority of ca. 5% Sumerian names and of 5-10% of Amorite names. The remaining percentage was categorized as 'other' names, but most of these must be Akkadian or in a Semitic dialect similar to it. If we look at the two family archives from Dilbat and Marad, the percentage of Akkadian names is even higher: but having only one archive from both of these cities gives us an incomplete picture. The fact that the part of the population with Amorite names is a clear minority makes it all the more surprising that almost all known kings in Northern Babylonia during the early OB period had an Amorite name.

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[353] Explicitly indicated on the following documents: *OECT* 13 269, 270, 271, 273 (buyer: Iddin-Lagamal and Ilšu-bāni) and 274, Gautier *Dilbat* 4 (buyer: Iddin-Lagamal), 12, 15, 16, 29, 31 and 36 and finally *VAS* 7 3.

Now to the 'property owners'. When we compare the data from Kiš and Damrum with Sippar, we can make some interesting observations.

Grand total large Sippar families[354]		Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total
	property owners	173	73%	65	27%	25	11%
	witnesses	876	81%	210	19%	77	7%
	total	1049	79%	275	21%	102	8%

Grand total Kiš and Damrum		Akk/Sum names	% of total	Am/other names	% of total	Am. names	% of total
	property owners	112	51%	109	49%	30	13%
	witnesses	464	63%	273	37%	79	11%
	total	576	60%	382	40%	109	11%

First of all: the percentage and amount of Amorite/other names is significantly higher for Kiš and Damrum (40%) than it is for Sippar (21%), but the percentage and amount of actual Amorite names is about the same (8% and 11%). Based on this information we might state that the Kiš and Damrum region had relatively more people with a (supposed) Amorite background.

However, in both corpora certain files account for a higher percentage of Amorite and 'other' names. In the case of the Sippar corpus, these are at least two files associated with Halhalla (Sîn-erībam and Me'isum). The Kiš and Damrum corpus is more balanced, but we can note that it is mostly a corpus stemming from Damrum, with Ṣīssu-nawrat's file almost exclusively accounting for the data from Kiš. Damrum did not have the prestige and history of older towns like Sippar and Kiš: it is essentially a small town located in the periphery of Kiš. We might expect that the old urban elite in towns such as Sippar and Kiš had prevented the settlement of too many (lower status or military?) Amorites within their city walls. As a result, these people were more or less forced to settle in the countryside. We can compare the situation at Kiš and Damrum with Sippar and Halhalla: the Amorites seem mostly settled in

[354] We have excluded the smaller Sippar files where the percentages for the property owners were almost the same.

smaller towns around the old traditional urban centers. This may also explain the near absence of Amorite names from the Dilbat and Marad corpora.

We now return to the question of whether we can speak of an Amorite landowning elite. According to our sources, the answer is yes and no. It is a fact that the kings ruling over Northern Babylonia, both the local ones and the kings of Babylon, were of Amorite origin. At least for the Babylonian kings, we know that they owned large tracts of land and property in the cities. This is known from the texts of princess Iltāni, a sister of Hammurabi who administered part of the royal domains surrounding Sippar.[355] From a unique document published by Al-'Adami we learn that Sumu-la-El had the authority to give houses in Sippar.[356] The entourage of the Babylonian and other Amorite kings must have included men of Amorite origin of a high social standing (tribal leaders?). These men were in turn awarded with land for their service. A possible example is a *rabiānum* of Sippar, Sumu-Akšak (see above section 4.1.3.13).

A few of the larger families seem to have had Amorite origins: the families of Abum-halum, Me'isum, and Dammāqtum at Sippar, and those of Yerhaqum, Dulluqum, Ilum-ma, and Dadušme-El at Damrum. These cannot be identified immediately as *large* landowners, but at least we have an idea about their genealogies and holdings: their families carry at least one name that is not Akkadian or Sumerian.

On the other hand, why is it not possible to state clearly that an 'Amorite' landowning elite existed in early OB Northern Babylonia? The most important reason is the unbalanced picture we obtain from our sources. For several reasons we only have a very small part of the total documentation that was once written, and all the texts once written only reveal a limited part of ancient society. The cuneiform documentation primarily reflects the activities of the urban elite and large urban institutions. It does not seem that much Amorite families belonged to this urban elite, an elite that must have been indigenous for many generations. Instead, groups of people with Amorite names occur in larger numbers in the village of Halhalla or the small town of

[355] The file of the two princesses called Iltāni, the one being the daughter of Sîn-muballiṭ and the other the daughter of probably Abi-ešuh, needs to be studied again. Until that time, see Harris 1962, Harris 1969, Stol 1987 and Klengel 1999.

[356] Al-'Adhami 1997.

Damrum, suggesting that most of the people with Amorite names must have lived outside of the large urban centers. These people were not automatically pastoral nomads, a persistent paradigm caused by the Mari-era nomads.[357] In fact, almost no evidence from the early OB texts attests to any animal husbandry at all. What we can say with relative certainty is that Amorites tended to live segregated from the larger urban populations. This is proven by the fact that they often occur clustered together in certain texts and that they only occur sporadically in the documentation from the urban centers. Most of the non-elite Amorite population probably lived in an environment with little recourse to writing.

The recent ideas by Durand concerning the nature of the population carrying Amorite names might provide another explanation.[358] He suggested that what we perceive nowadays as 'Amorite' was in fact part of a Semitic language continuum comprised of many different local dialects. These different dialects are obscured to us because of the fact that scribes tended to use a uniform standardized *koine* of Akkadian in the documents. The situation is similar to the modern Middle East were many (non-written) dialects of Arabic exist alongside an official (but largely artificial) Modern Standard Arabic used in the media. Durand states that Amorite names are more likely a sign of social position instead of ethnicity or identity. In this view, the rich urban elite would have Akkadian and Sumerian names, whereas the countryside population tended to have more names composed in the local dialect, appearing to us as 'Amorite names'.[359] However, Durand's ideas do not account for the Amorite names carried by almost all early OB kings in Northern Babylonia. It would be unwise to dismiss an Amorite ethnicity completely because there are still sufficient indications for the existence of such an identity and ethnicity (see chapter 2). Even so, there was probably no such thing as a strong Akkadian-Amorite dichotomy as the current paradigm surrounding the Amorites wishes to make us believe. The solution is most likely somewhere in between: there probably was a ruling elite with Amorite names and affiliation, but the linguistic situation could have been just as Durand described: a continuum of different but mutually understandable Semitic languages. If the Akkadian of Ešnunna was the standard written language, then we would not have expected

[357] See Michalowski 2011.

[358] Durand 2012.

[359] In fact, this recalls Buccellati's ideas (eg. Buccellati 1992) about the countryside speaking Amorite and the city population speaking Akkadian.

people from the Diyala region and Northern Babylonia to have carried Amorite names as well: so there must be some new component here. However, these Amorite names or the people that carried them were apparently not perceived as completely alien by the indigenous population. The nature of our documentation is also of influence: we mostly have loans and sale contracts; not the genre of texts to mention ethnic differences or tensions. Therefore, it is also hard to distinguish any trend among the debtors and creditors: whether people with Amorite names tended to incur more debt than people with Akkadian/Sumerian names, or that there were more creditors with Amorite names etc. The loan contracts are hardly an indicator of relative wealth or poverty.

There seems to be a strong tendency towards acculturation of people with Amorite and 'other' names: while the older generations could have good Amorite names, the younger generations tend to carry more and more Akkadian names. This seems like a contradiction, because we would perhaps expect people to adopt the names of the new Amorite elite, but the reverse is the case. Because we have no texts from the period in which the Amorite kings took control over Northern Babylonia (ca. 1900), it is difficult to establish which families belonged to the entourage of these kings. Some families might have adopted Akkadian or Sumerian names already at a very early stage, which makes them unidentifiable to us in the period from which we do have texts. This also explains why over the course of the Old Babylonian period the Amorite names disappear from the Babylonian onomasticon.

CHAPTER 5

Towards a new chronology for the early OB period

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to propose a new relative chronology for the early OB period. Its main focus is on the period of ca. 1900-1825 BC, when we see a sudden surge of textual material in the lower Diyala region and Northern Babylonia, as well as a multitude of small kingdoms, led almost exclusively by men with Amorite names. There have been no recent attempts at establishing a new relative chronology of these early OB kingdoms.[360] A reconstruction based on a larger text corpus would greatly help in better understanding this period's political climate.

This chapter is comprised of three parts: in the first two we will take a fresh look at the local dynasties of Sippar and Kiš and Damrum, in the final part a new relative chronology is presented for the period 2000-1825 BC.

5.2 Sippar's local kings in the early OB period

5.2.1 *Introduction*

For a general introduction on early OB Sippar and the sources at our disposal, see chapter 4. We will be mainly concerned here with the known local rulers of Sippar and its immediate vicinity: in which texts and files they occur, which year names they had, and in which oaths they feature.

[360] The most recent overview of the matter is was published a decade ago in Charpin 2004a, most notably p. 78-100.

5.2.2 *Ilum-ma-Ila*

Ilum-ma-Ila[361] is traditionally considered as one of the earliest rulers of Sippar.[362] He features in a number of letters in the Ikūn-pîša archive and he seems to have been a member of the group of Amorite kings centered around Sumu-abum. In a number of letters there is talk about him swearing an oath in front of Ilum-ma,[363] a representative of Ikūn-pîša. This not only shows that several Sippar 'petty kings' were contemporary, but also that their relationships were formalized. There existed at least the will at coexistence: also with Sumu-la-El who is mentioned in the same letters.

A presumed seal inscription of Ilum-ma-Ila was found on a school tablet in Larsa in 1933. It was copied by Dossin in Baghdad and published in transcription by Arnaud: DINGIR-*ma*-DINGIR *ma-lik la š*[*a-na*],-*an* LUGAL *k*[*iš-ša-tim*?], [ÌR] *da-gan*.[364] 'Ilum-ma-Ila, king with no equal, king of all *totality*, servant of Dagan'.[365] The fact that it was found in Larsa on a badly written school tablet and that it is known only from a copy, makes the credibility of this inscription dubious. The most interesting features are the usage of the West-Semitic word *mālikum* 'king' and Ilum-ma-Ila's connection to Dagan, one of the most important gods of the Middle Euphrates. As was noted in the chapter on Amorite personal names; there are no clear Amorite names with Dagan as its theophoric element, making this supposed connection of Ilum-ma-Ila to Dagan all the more interesting.

People swear by Ilum-ma-Ila's name in eleven texts.[366] There are two types of oaths: the 'standard oath', in which his name and the god Šamaš are in-

[361] The name means something like 'Ilum is the god'. See Edzard 1976-1980c and Edzard 1976-1980d on the gods 'Il' and 'Ila'.

[362] Harris 1975:2 thought of the sequence Immerum→Buntahtun→Ila-Sumu-la-El (disregarding Ammi-ṣura), Charpin 2004a:92 (n. 336) is not as explicit but does confirm the sequence Immerum→Buntahtun-Ila. Wu Yuhong 1994:31 suggested that Ilum-ma-Ila and Immerum ruled at Tell-ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnānum) and Tell Abu Habbah (Sippar-Yahrūrum) respectively. This was refuted by Charpin 2004a:92.

[363] The texts are: *IPLA* (Ikun-pîša Letter Archive, De Boer forthcoming) 4 : 24, 29, 50; *IPLA* 2 : 36; *IPLA* 5 : 9, 39; *IPLA* 3 : 12, 18(fragm.); *IPLA* 9 : 12'.

[364] Arnaud 2010:5-6. Arnaud correctly assumed that it is less likely that this man is in fact the later Sealand Dynasty king Ilum-ma-Ilum. Note the absence of the divine determinative for Dagan.

[365] Arnaud read LUGAL K[IŠ^{KI}] 'king of Kiš', prof. Stol proposed that it would make more sense for Ilum-ma-Ila to call himself 'king of all totality' than king of Kiš.

[366] Tanret 2004b:256 mentions another two unpublished texts datable to Ilum-ma-Ila from the Ur-Utu archive.

voked, and the 'curse oath' in which the juror is threatened by Šamaš' wrath, should he break his oath. Šamaš as oath-god places Ilum-ma-Ila securely in Sippar-Yahrurum:[367] it is no coincidence that some of the Ilum-ma-Ila texts were excavated by Hormuzd Rassam in the 1880's at Abu Habbah.[368] We have no year names of Ilum-ma-Ila. The eleven texts containing Ilum-ma-Ila belong to the following archives:

- Nūr-Šamaš' file: 4[369]
- Dammāqtum's : 1[370]
- Nabi-Sîn son of Biru: 1[371]
- Nakulatum 1[372]
- Nabi-Enlil 1[373]
- Sîn-i[...], son of Bala: 1[374]
- x x-*sa-ku-ul* 1[375]
- Unknown: 1[376]
- Total 11

One sees immediately that Ilum-ma-Ila oaths occur more often in Nūr-Šamaš' file: the other occurrences appear isolated.

In some texts from Nūr-Šamaš' file we find Nanna-azida, the scribe, son of Sîn-muballiṭ.[377] He seems to have had a very interesting professional career,

[367] Even though the place was probably not called like this in the early OB period.

[368] BM 57887 and BM 57234 (published in the Appendix) This is easily verified because of the British Museum collection numbers starting with 'AH', cf. Kalla 1999:203f. Friedrich *BA* 5 48 is also certainly from Abu Habbah, because it was excavated by Scheil in the 1890's. The other Ilum-ma-Ila texts are probably also from Abu-Habbah.

[369] *MHET* II/1 1, *MHET* II/1 2, *MHET* II/1 3, and *CT* 8 41d.

[370] *CT* 8 38b. Through the witness Sîn-mālik, son of Pahar-šen, we have a link with *MHET* II/1 2 from Nūr-Šamaš' file. Through the scribe Sîn-šeme, son of Būr-Nunu this text is also connected to *CT* 8 26b.

[371] *CT* 8 26b. Interestingly, a man called Immerum is a witness in *CT* 8 26b:21. This text is connected through the witness Eškit-El to the Nūr-Šamaš file.

[372] *BE* 6/1 1.

[373] *BE* 6/1 2.

[374] BM 57234.

[375] Friedrich *BA* 5 48.

[376] BM 57887.

[377] *MHET* II/1 3:23-24, Ilum-ma-Ila, *MHET* II/1 13:1'-3', Sumu-la-El, *MHET* II/5 588:22-23, undated, *MHET* II/5 589:21-22, undated, *MHET* II/1 30:16', Sabium, BM 67326:19', Altinû, BM 16747:19″-20″, Ammi-ṣura.

writing texts that we can date to *five* different kings, all 'ruling' Sippar. This is a phenomenon that we see more in the early OB period: scribes appear very mobile between different social groups or families.

Apart from Nūr-Šamaš' file, few prosopographical connections are possible outside of these eleven texts with an oath by Ilum-ma-Ila. Why so many texts in the Nūr-Šamaš file carry an oath by Ilum-ma-Ila is hard to determine. It would be interesting to know how the oath-king was chosen: if there were different social groups having different overlords, would the seller's ruler then be taken as oath-king? Or the buyer's? Could this explain the phenomenon of double oaths?[378] There is something to be said for the seller's king as oath-king: in first instance it was the seller who had to promise not to come back on a sale and to answer any claims. This is nicely demonstrated in the oath of *MHET* II/1 3: 'They swore by the name of Šamaš and Ilum-ma-Ila. One shall not make claims against the other. Samehum and Sîn-erībam (the sellers) will take liability for any (lit. its) claim."[379]

5.2.2.1 Oaths mentioning Ilum-ma-Ila

1) *CT* 8 26b:16-17, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-*^{d}*i-la, it-mu-ú*. Standard oath.[380]
2) *MHET* II/1 1:12-13, MU ^{d}[UTU], *ù* DINGIR-*ma-*[*ì-la*]. Standard oath by.
3) *MHET* II/1 3:14-15, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-lá, it-mu*. Standard oath.
4) *CT* 8 41d:13-15, MU ^{d}UTU, *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
5) *BE* 6/1 1:14-15, MU ^{d}UTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la*$^{!}$, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
6) *BE* 6/1 2:7-9, MU ^{d}UTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, it-mu-ú ša a-na a-wa-ti-*[*šu*], *i-tu-ru.* Curse oath.
7) *CT* 8 38b:9-10, *le-mu-un* ^{d}UTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu i-tu-ru*. Curse oath.
8) Friedrich *BA* 5 48:12-15, [*le-mu-un* ^{d}UTU], *ù* DINGIR-*ma-i-la, ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu, i-tu-ru*. Curse-oath.
9) *MHET* II/1 2:13-16, *le-mu-<un>* ^{d}UTU, *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, ša a-na a-wa-/ti-šu-ú, i-<tu>-ru* . Curse oath.
10) BM 57887[381]:6'-8', *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU, [*ù*] DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, it-mu*. Standard oath.

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[378] See most recently Charpin 2004a:79 n. 264, p. 93 n. 342 and 343.

[379] *MHET* II/1 3:14-19, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU, *ù* DINGIR-ma-*ì-lá, it-mu a-wi-lum, a-na a-wi-li la i-ra-ga-mu, a-na ba-aq-ri-šu, sa-me-hu-um,* ⌜*ù* ^{d}EN⌝.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am i-za-zu*.

[380] Note that an extra /DINGIR/ sign is written in front of the divine name Ila.

[381] Published in the Appendix.

11) BM 57234[382]:6'-7', *ni-iš* «IGI» DINGIR-*ma-ì-la*, *it-ma*. Oath sworn in front of Ilum-ma-Ila.

5.2.3 *Ammi-ṣura*

Ammi-ṣura or Hammi-ṣura was a Sippar petty king who is mentioned in nine texts from early OB Sippar.[383] Special mention must be made of his appearance in the early OB texts found by the Belgians at Tell ed-Dēr.[384] Four of them carry year names attributable to Ammi-ṣura. It seems likely that the people who owned the *ED* II archive belonged to a social group adhering to Ammi-ṣura at Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnanum).

From *IPLA* 41 we know that there was an explicit connection between Ammi-ṣura and Mari. *IPLA* 41 is a letter addressed to Ammi-ṣura found in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive. It is written by the merchant's guild (*kārum*) of Sippar residing in Mari and Mišlan. They recount that Ammi-ṣura's messenger had arrived and had given a consignment to Halālum. The king (presumably of Mari and/or Mišlan) had told the guild that he will not release the trade caravan or messenger (bound for Sippar?) until Halālum and Kurûm have been captured. Accordingly, he detains the messenger (of Ammi-ṣura). The merchant's guild responded by asking the king of Mari/Mišlan to bring their case to Ammi-ṣura. The reverse of the letter is badly damaged, but it seems that the guild begs Ammi-ṣura not to let another caravan come to them.

The letter *IPLA* 25 is perhaps written by Ammi-ṣura to Ikūn-pîša.[385] The writer and Ikūn-pîša are clearly on equal terms, because the writer calls Ikūn-pîša his 'brother'.

5.2.3.1 Ammi-ṣura year names

a) -*ED* II 27:11-12, MU *ša e-ši ša* É, ^{d}IM *a-mi-ṣú-ra i-du*. 'Year: Ammi-ṣura laid the foundations of Adad's temple'. The same year name features slightly different in *ED* II 24.[386]

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[382] Published in the Appendix.

[383] Earlier bibliography: Harris 1975: 4 n. 14, De Meyer 1978:148 and Charpin 2004:92 and n. 334.

[384] De Meyer 1978.

[385] The name of *IPLA* 25's writer is badly preserved and a reading *am-mi*-ku-˹x˺ is preferable.

-ED II 24:18-19, MU *ša ⌜e⌝-ši* É$^{!}$ ^{d}IM, *i-na-du*. 'Year: the foundations of Adad's temple were laid'. This is basically the same year name as the one in *ED* II 27, which contains Ammi-ṣura's name.

b) *ED* II 25:14-15, MU *ša* ^{d}IM, *a-na* É *i-ru-bu*. 'Year: Adad entered the temple'. This year name is attributed to Ammi-ṣura because of the previous year name mentioning the laying of Adad's temple's foundations. The year name of *ED* II 25 would logically be situated after the one in *ED* II 24 and 27.

c) *ED* II 26:9, MU *ša be-lum* BE.KU, a variant of the same year name is found on the envelope 6': MU *ša be-lum* DUMU ⌜x⌝ ^{d}EN.[x] BE.KU. This year name poses problems. Year names commemorating the death of an important person are not uncommon in the early OB period and we might suspect that this year name commemorates the death of this mysterious Bēlum.[387] For this we would need to inverse the signs BE and KU, to obtain the reading BA$^{!}$.UG$_7$. The more complete form of this year name on the envelope seems to add this Bēlum's patronym, for which we might make this suggestion: MU *ša be-lum* DUMU ⌜*ib-ni*⌝, ^{d}EN.[ZU] BA$^{!}$↔UG$_7$ 'Year: Bēlum, the son of Ibni-Sîn, died'. The reason that this year name is here included under Ammi-ṣura's year names is the fact that all other year names connected to him occur in the same archive as this one about Bēlum's death,[388] making it likely that they were all written during the rule of Ammi-ṣura.

From these year names we learn that Ammi-ṣura probably had a special connection to Adad. This is one of the very few instances in which Adad (the main Amorite god in the Mari texts) is connected to the early OB Amorites.[389] Ammi-ṣura had built a temple for Adad (Ammi-ṣura a) and a statue of the god

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[386] Goddeeris 2002: 216 and 217 has remarked this and other Akkadian year names, but has only provided broken transliterations.

[387] See also Edzard 1957:139 n. 736. Some examples: *TIM* 7 22:11'-12', MU *ha-an-ba-ti-ia* DUMU *su-mu-a-bi-im i-mu-tu* 'Year in which Hanbatīya, the son of Sumu-abum died', *Edubba* 7 122:13, mu *ša sa-mu$^{!}$-um* ba.ug$_7$ 'Year in which Samum died', and *CT* 4 47b:30-31, mu *i-ṣí-su-mu-/a-bu-um*, BA.UG$_7$ 'Year in which Iṣi-Sumu-abum died' etc. The theory that these year names only mention rulers of neighboring cities is no longer valid: from Kisurra we know of year names stating the death of local rulers (Goddeeris 2009: 17-20).

[388] See also Goddeeris 2002:216-217 on this archive.

[389] Note also the parallel with Ilum-ma-Ila and his possible connection to Dagan (see above).

had entered the temple (Ammi-ṣura b). In her study about Sippar's religion, Myers suspects a close relationship between the cults of Šamaš and Adad.[390] The remaining year name that was attributed to Ammi-ṣura commemorates the death of a certain Bēlum. Ammi-ṣura is also mentioned in a broken letter, the context is unfortunately unclear.[391]

5.2.3.2 Oaths mentioning Ammi-ṣura

Only two other texts mention Ammi-ṣura: they both carry an oath in his name. In these oaths he is mentioned not with Adad, but with Sippar-Yahrūrum's main deity: Šamaš. One of the texts, *CT* 48 90, belongs to the file of Abum-halum's descendants.

The other text, BM 16474 (published in the Appendix), has one connection through a witness to the isolated text *CT* 8 26b, Dummuqum, son of Salim(um).[392]

1) CT 48 90:12-13, *le-mu-un* ^{d}UTU, *ù am-mi-ṣú-ra* (*ša ana awātīšu iturru*). Curse oath.
2) BM 16474:4″, MU ^{d}UTU *ù ha-mi-ṣú-ra*. Standard oath.

5.2.4 *Immerum*

Immerum is the most frequently attested local Sippar king.[393] Immerum's name is Akkadian, it has the meaning 'sheep' or 'ram'. He is mentioned in twenty-seven published texts.[394] The oaths that are sworn in his name always mention Šamaš and sometimes Aya and the town of Sippar. Like Buntahtun-

[390] Myers 2002:87-93.

[391] *ED* II 57: 1'-7': ˹li še e˺, *ù am-mi-ṣú-*[*ra...*], *a-na a-wa-ti-*[*šu...*], *i-ka-ra-tu* x [...], *ša-ma* ur-x [...], é *li-te-er* [...], x ur [...].

[392] *CT* 8 26b:3-4, Ilum-ma-Ila; BM 16474:8'-9', Ammi-ṣura.

[393] Bibliography: Edzard 1957:129, Harris 1975:2-4, Wu Yuhong 1994:31, and Charpin 2004a:92-93.

[394] Tanret 2004b:256 mentions an additional unpublished text datable to Immerum from the Ur-Utu archive. The Rosen collection at Yale university has also an additional unpublished text from Immerum's time: RBC 764.

Ila (see below), Immerum is also mentioned in an oath on an unpublished text (IM 63242) from Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm in the Diyala region.[395]

Immerum was contemporaneous with Sumu-la-El and Sumu-abum as we learn from the double oaths, but also because he receives a jar of wine from Ilum-ma in *IPLA* 7.[396] BM| 97141, published by Veenhof, attests to a legal measure taken by Immerum and 'the city' to redeem property that might have been sold out of dire economic needs. Veenhof 1999 nº 2 lines 9-11 read: *iš-tu* A.ŠÀ *ù* É, *im-me-ru-um pa-ṭà-ra-am, iq-bu-ú wa-ar-ki a-wa-at / a-li-im*. 'After Immerum had ordered the redemption of fields and houses, after the decree of the city'.[397]

Five year names are known for Immerum.[398] The first of which is an accession year name in which he took the throne. This type of year name is often interpreted as an usurpation, but the Mananâ-dynasty texts show that this does not always have to be the case. Four year names mention Immerum's building activities: a temple for Inanna,[399] the wall of the *nadītum* cloister, the digging of the 'Asuh'-canal,[400] and the construction of a temple tower for Šamaš. Immerum's building activities point mostly towards a connection with the cult of Šamaš and thus Sippar-Yahrūrum.

Documents dated to an Immerum year name or containing a (double) oath in his name (and a king of Babylon) are found in the following files or isolated texts:

- Abum-halum's descendants: 1[401]
- Nigga-Nanna s. Nanna-ašarēd:1[402]
- Nūr-Šamaš/Lu-Ninšubur: 3[403]

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[395] See now Hussein 2008:91. See Hussein 2008:80 for the Buntahtun-Ila reference, which is not an oath, but a year name. It is curious that the unpublished text from Tell Harmal with the Buntahtun-Ila oath has the number IM 63243.

[396] In the letter Sumu-abum receives a shekel of gold and Sumu-la-El and Immerum each a jar of wine.

[397] See the extensive commentary by Veenhof 1999:611-616.

[398] There is a possibility that the year name found in Van Lerberghe 1982 is also attributable to Immerum, see below 'unattributable year names from Sippar'.

[399] Perhaps Annunītum was meant with Inanna?

[400] The locality Asuh/Ašuh is rarely attested: *YOS* 13 89:2, *MHET* II/2 370:4-5, BM 22699:7 (unpublished, courtesy of F. van Koppen).

[401] *CT* 8 47b.

[402] *RA* 73 p. 20-21 (AO 7802).

[403] *MHET* II/1 4, 5 and 10.

- Sîn-emūqi s. Sîn-rabi: 1[404]
- Hālilum: 1[405]
- Ipqu-Ištar/Nūr-Šamaš: 1[406]
- Dada-waqar's children: 1[407]
- Puzur-Šamaš: 1[408]
- Imgur-Sîn's children: 1[409]
- Zablum: 1[410]
- Dammāqtum's descendants: 1[411]
- Inim-Nanna: 1[412]
- Sîn-iqīšam s. Ra'ibum: 1[413]
- Warad-Sîn s. Ibni-Sîn: 3[414]
- Bettatum d. Sikilum: 1[415]
- Nur-[...]: 1[416]
- Adad-rabi s. Etel-pi-Sîn: 1[417]
- Kumuzili: 1[418]

In many cases, the documents datable to Immerum represent the oldest text in a given archive after which the other texts are dated to Babylonian kings.

The seemingly isolated texts datable to Immerum are in fact related to each other through the witnesses. If we take *RA* 73 p. 20-21 (Nigga-Nanna s. Nanna-ašarēd): this document has a connection through witness Amur-Sîn, s. Išme-Sîn (husband of Lamassatum and father of Erīb-Ea and Tariš-Nunu) to the family of Ili-hamad.[419]

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[404] *BE* 6/1 5.
[405] *MHET* II/1 12.
[406] *BAP* 35/*CT* 45 76.
[407] *MHET* II/1 6.
[408] *Edubba* 7 121.
[409] *BE* 6/1 4.
[410] *PBS* 8/2 195.
[411] *CT* 4 50a.
[412] *BDHP* 37.
[413] *CT* 8 47a (=*MHET* II/1 9).
[414] *VAS* 8 6/7, *BE* 6/1 3 and *VAS* 8 4/5.
[415] *MHET* II/1 7.
[416] *Edubba* 7 132.
[417] Veenhof 1999 no. 2.
[418] *BDHP* 14.
[419] Cf. Goddeeris 2002:124, *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):26, Immerum; *CT* 45 3:5, Sabium 5; *MHET* II/1 41:24-25, Sabium.

Through the witness Ilšu-tillassu, s. Sîn-iddinam, there is a connection to the creditor Puzur-Šamaš in *Edubba* 7 121.[420] Through the witness Merānum, s. Ili-tūram, there is a connection to the file of Dada-waqar's children.[421] The witness Ur-Lugalbanda, s. Sîn-muballiṭ, provides a connection to the file of Dammāqtum's descendants.[422] The scribe of *RA* 73 p. 70-71, Ubar-Ninurta is like other scribes (see above the case of Nanna-azida), a node within a network of different social groups.[423]

5.2.4.1 Immerum year names

a) *-MHET* II/1 10:47-48, MU *im-me-ru-um* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA, *iṣ-ba-tu*. 'Year: Immerum took the throne'.
-MHET II/1 10 (case):29, [MU *im-me-ru-um* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *iṣ*]-⌜*ba-tu*⌝. 'Year: Immerum took the throne'.
-Edubba 7 132:10-12, MU *im-me-ru-um,* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *iṣ-ba-/tu*. 'Year: Immerum took the throne'.

b) *PBS* 8/2 195:12, MU É ^{d}INANNA, *im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year: Immerum built Inanna's temple.

c) *BDHP* 37:23-24, MU *ša* BÀD *ga-gi-im, im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year: Immerum built the wall of the *gagûm*-cloister.

d) *-Edubba* 7 121:19-20, MU.ÚS.<SA> BÀD *ga-gi*$^{!}$*-im, im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year after (the year): Immerum built the wall of the *gagûm*-cloister'.
-Edubba 7 121(envelope):13-14, ⌜1 MU.ÚS.SA⌝ BÀD *ga-gi*$^{!}$*-im* «im», *im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year after (the year): Immerum built the wall of the *gagûm*-cloister'.

e) *BAP* 10:9-10, MU *ša* I_7 *a-su-uh*, *im-me-ru-um, ih-ru-ú*. 'Year: Immerum dug the canal 'Asuh'.

f) 'Year: he made high the sand of the ziggurat of Šamaš' (not attested).

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[420] *RA* 73 p. 70-71 (AO.7802):29*,* Immerum; *Edubba* 7 121:18-19(case), Immerum d.

[421] *RA* 73 p. 70-71 (AO.7802):27*,* Immerum; *MHET* II/1 6:43-44, Immerum.

[422] *CT* 45 1:15 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtu-Ila; *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):30*,* Immerum.

[423] *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):35, Immerum, *CT* 4 48b:34-35, Sumu-la-El*, BE* 6/1 4:26, Immerum*, CT* 2 16 :30, Sabium*, MHET* II/1 38:34, Sabium, *CT* 6 42a:35 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El*, CT* 2 37:39, Sabium, *MHET* II/1 66:44, Apil-Sîn.

g) *BBVOT* 1 99:13-15, MU.ÚS.SA *ša** <SAHAR* *zi-qú*>, [SAH]AR *zi-qú-ra-at* ^{d}UTU, *ú-še-lu-ú*. 'Year after (the year): he made high the sand of the ziggurat of Šamaš'.[424]

5.2.4.2 Oaths mentioning Immerum and Sumu-la-El

1) *CT* 4 50a:16-18, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* MU ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ù su-mu-la-*DINGIR, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Double oath by Šamaš and Immerum and Marduk and Sumu-la-El.
2) *MHET* II/1 12:19-21, ⌜MU⌝ ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* ⌜MU⌝ ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ù su-mu-la-*/DINGIR, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Double oath by Šamaš and Immerum and Marduk and Sumu-la-El.
3) -Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:19-23, (Sîn-bāni year name), *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU, *ù* ^{d}AMAR.UTU, *ni-iš im-me-ru-um, ù su-mu-le-el,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Double oath by Šamaš and Marduk and Immerum and Sumu-la-El.
   -Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:13-15, (Sîn-bāni year name) (envelope), [*le-m*]*u-un* ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* [*le-m*]*u-un* ^{d}AMAR.UTU, [*ù su-m*]*u-le-el i*[*t-mu-ú*]. Double curse-oath by Šamaš and Immerum and Marduk and Sumu-la-El.

5.2.4.3 Oaths mentioning Immerum

1) -*VAS* 8 6:13-14, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
   -*VAS* 8 7 (envelope *VAS* 8 6):11-12, [MU] ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* [IN].PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
2) -*VAS* 8 4:26-30, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù* ^{d}*a-a*, *ni-iš* ZIMBIR^{KI}, *ù im-me-ru-um, ša a-na wa-ar-ki-it,* U$_4$*-mi -im i-ra-ga-mu*. Curse oath by Šamaš, Aya, Sippar and Immerum.
   -*VAS* 8 5 (envelope *VAS* 8 4):14-20, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù* ^{d}*a-a*, *ni-iš* ZIMBIR^{KI} *ù im-me-ru-u*[*m*], *ša a-na wa-ar-ki-it* U$_4$*-mi-im, a-na iš$_8$-tár-um-mi ù ma-ri-ša i-r*[*a-ga-mu*]. Curse oath by Šamaš, Aya, Sippar and Immerum.
3) -*CT* 8 47b:14-15, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um*, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

[424] The reading of this year name was taken from Charpin's 2005a:166. Goddeeris 2002:93 has signaled that this year name bears close resemblance to one of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna, but this was refuted by Charpin 2005a:166, who connects it firmly to Immerum.

-*MHET* II/1 8 (=envelope *CT* 8 47b):11-12, [MU] ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-⌜um⌝*, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

4) -*CT* 8 47a:12, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um* IN.PÀD.DÈ. Standard oath.
-*MHET* II/1 9:18-19, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ. Standard oath.
5) *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):16-17, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
6) *BE* 6/1 3:23, MU ^{d}UTU *im-me-ru-um*, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
7) *BE* 6/1 4:14, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um it-ma-a*. Standard oath.
8) *BE* 6/1 5:19, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um* IN.PÀD.EŠ. Standard oath.
9) Veenhof 1999 no. 2:19-20, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
10) *MHET* II/1 4:20-21, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù im-*[*me-ru-um*], *it-mu-ú*. Standard oath.
11) *MHET* II/1 5:17-18, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-/ri-im, it-ma.* Standard oath.
12) *MHET* II/1 6:29-30, MU ^{d}UTU, *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
13) -*MHET* II/1 7:17-20, MU ^{d}UTU *ù* ^{d}*a-a*, MU *im-me-ru-um ù* ZIMBIR^{KI}, LUGAL LA DU$_8$ SIPA?, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Oath by Šamaš, Aya, Immerum, Sippar and an extra puzzling line.
-*MHET* II/1 7 (case):17'-18', MU ⌜^{d}UTU⌝ *ù* ^{d}*a-a*, [MU *im-me-ru-um*] *ù* ZIMBIR^{KI}. Oath by Šamaš, Aya, [Immerum] and Sippar.
14) -*MHET* II/1 10:28, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* LÚ-^{d}EN.LÍL.LA *it-ma.* Standard oath by Šamaš and Immerum, specifically sworn by the owner, who had previously already given the field to somebody else.
-*MHET* II/1 10 (case):17, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-⌜me⌝-ru-um* LUGAL *it-*[*ma*]. Oath by Šamaš and Immerum, who is called 'king'.
15) *BBVOT* 1 99:10-12, MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-r*[*u-um*], *ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu*, *i-tu-ru*. Curse-oath.
16) *BAP* 35:22-24, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um, it-mu-ú ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu-nu, i-tu-ru*. Curse-oath.
17) *BDHP* 14:22-25, *le-mu-un* ^{d}[UTU], *ù im-me-ru-um, ša a-wa-at,* DUB *a-ni-im ú-na-/ka-ru*. Curse oath
18) IM 63242 (oath published by Al-Hashimi 1972:30): MU ^{d}UTU *ù im-me-ru-um* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath, from Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm.

Two texts reveal a little bit more about the oath. *VAS* 8 4/5 mentions explicitly that the 'curse oath' is directed against the one who makes claims against the

marrying couple. Secondly, in *MHET* II/1 10 the oath is specifically sworn by the seller, who had previously already given the field in question to somebody else. The king used in the oaths was the one of the seller.

5.2.5 *Buntahtun-Ila*

Buntahtun-Ila[425] is often seen as one of the last local Sippar kings.[426] His name features in six different texts.[427] Until now we have three year names mentioning him: an accession year name, one in which he brings a kettledrum into the temple of Ninkarrak/Gula,[428] and one that is not entirely readable (see below).

In oaths he is mentioned with the god Šamaš and once with Aya, making his reign at Sippar-Yahrūrum likely. There are two double oaths: one with Sumu-la-El and another one in which the town of Sippar is mentioned.[429] Buntahtun-Ila is not mentioned in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive, making it plausible that he came to political prominence after the events from this archive.

In an unpublished text from Tell Harmal (Šaduppûm), IM 63243, we seem to have a year name of Buntahtun-Ila. According to DeJong Ellis, who published an abstract of this text,[430] it carries an oath by Buntahtun-Ila. The year name's transliteration was eventually given by Blocher,[431] who also mentions that DeJong Ellis had made a typo confusing this text with IM 63244.[432] Sommerfeld wrote that Buntahtun-Ila had extended his rule over Šaduppûm.[433] Charpin has the more likely hypothesis that this text was written at Sippar, but carried to nearby Šaduppûm.[434] At least it shows a connection

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[425] His name is sometimes written *bu-un-tah-un-i-la* and sometimes *bu-nu-tah-tu-un-i-la*. It is still unclear what his name means exactly.

[426] This is mostly based on a group of texts from Dammāqtum's descendants' file: Edzard 1957:129, Harris 1975:4-5, Kraus 1984:51-52 and Charpin 2004a:92.

[427] Actually eight, but we have the case and envelope of two contracts: *CT* 48 34, *CT* 48 42 and 42a, *BE* 6/1 6, *BDHP* 31(text) and *CT* 45 1(envelop), *Edubba* 7 118 and the unpublished IM 63243.

[428] For the cult of Ninkarrak/Gula at Sippar: Myers 2002:132-134.

[429] Oaths in which the town of Sippar is mentioned alongside a Babylonian monarch are very common.

[430] DeJong Ellis 1975:133.

[431] Blocher 1994:93 n° 4. See now also Hussein 2008:80.

[432] Which is found in Al-Hashimi 1964 as number 23 without an oath or date.

[433] Sommerfeld 1983:92.

[434] Charpin 2004a:92 n. 337.

between Buntahtun-Ila-controlled Sippar and Šaduppûm in the Diyala region. The five published Buntahtun-Ila texts belong to the following files:

- Dammāqtum's descendants: 2[435]
- Ipqu-Ištar and Nūr-Šamaš: 1[436]
- Bēlessunu d. Yašabi-El: 1[437]
- Sînīya and Ama-duga 1[438]
- Total 5

The file of Dammāqtum's descendants has most of the occurrences of Buntahtun-Ila. This file has an interesting and unique mix of local Sippar kings and kings from Babylon. In the above section devoted to Ilum-ma-Ila it is proposed that the seller in a contract determined the 'oath-king' and that different oath-kings for both seller and buyer might explain the phenomenon of double oaths.

Dammāqtum's descendants' file gives us the unique possibility to test this hypothesis: this file contains amongst its texts a number of documents concerning the sale of an orchard and the subsequent claims made by the seller against the buyer. When we assign the oath-king to the seller we get the following table:[439]

	Buyer (Dammāqtum's descendants)	Seller
CT 8 38b	Hunnubtum wife of Amurrum	Ahlula'um s. Iṣi-bannum
oath-king		Ilum-ma-Ila
CT 4 50a	Takūn-mātum d. Amurrum and Rabatum 'her mother'	Hāliqum s. Arwium
oath-kings	Sumu-la-El	Immerum
	Defendant (Dammāqtum's descendants)	Accuser
CT 45 1	Takūn-mātum d. Amurrum	Hiššatum d. Hāliqum
oath-kings	Sumu-la-El	Buntahtun-Ila
CT 6 42a	Takūn-mātum	Hāliqum s. Arwium and

[435] *BDHP* 31 (text) and *CT* 45 1 (case) and *CT* 48 34.
[436] *CT* 48 42.
[437] *Edubba* 7 118.
[438] *BE* 6/1 6.
[439] Other texts from Dammaqtum's descendants file are excluded because they are dated to the later Babylonian kings Sabium and Apil-Sîn.

		Sumu-rame and sons
oath-king	Sumu-la-El (after the *mīšarum*)	
	'Stipulator' (Dammāqtum's descendants)	'Promissor'
CT 48 34	Takūn-mātum	Apil-maraṣ?
oath-king		Buntahtun-Ila

We can establish a pattern in which the family of Dammāqtum's descendants swore their oaths consistently by Sumu-la-El. The other families swore by the independent Sippar kings. Were this true, then it would mean that Arwium's family (represented by Hāliqum and his descendants) swore to the local kings Immerum and Buntahtun-Ila, something which seems to be corroborated by the text *VAS* 8 6/7 (with an oath by Immerum),[440] but contradicted by *MHET* II/1 13, with an oath by Sumu-la-El.[441]

Unfortunately, the above table is not enough evidence to definitely claim that the seller always determined the oath-king, but it remains an interesting explanation for the phenomenon of double oaths in early OB Sippar.

Can we see cross-links through the people in the Buntahtun-Ila texts to other text-groups or isolated texts? Especially the file of Ipqu-Ištar and his son Nūr-Šamaš provides some interesting extra information.[442] Below are listed the people from the three texts in this file who occur in more than one text: this shows links to other files and social groups:

- Nūr-ilīšu s. Eya[443]
- Nūr-Šamaš s. Ipiq-Ištar (b. Ili-iddinam)[444]

[440] *VAS* 8 6/7 is a sale of a *burubalûm* plot from Gagalātum to Warad-Sîn: it is witnessed by Hāliqum and his brother Kanikrum. The idea is that they belonged as witnesses of *VAS* 8 6/7 to a social group recognizing Immerum as their overlord.

[441] In *MHET* II/1 13 Nūr-Šamaš and Arwium exchange fields, the oath is by Sumu-la-El, which they both must have sworn. The scribe of this text is the well known Nanna-azida, son of Sîn-muballiṭ (see above).

[442] It contains: *BAP* 35 (with *CT* 45 76 as its case), *CT* 48 42 and *MHET* II/5 665. The last text does not officially belong to the file, but was included by Goddeeris 2002:94 based on the fact that Puzur-Šamaš son of Išme-Sîn (the plaintiff in *CT* 48 42) is mentioned as a neighbor. *MHET* II/5 665 contains the witness Šamhum, son of Yantin-El, who gives us a link to the small village of Merigat through the text *MHET* II/1 43, that he witnesses.

[443] *CT* 45 1:14 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila, *VAS* 8 6/7:25, Immerum.

[444] *MHET* II/1 41:37-38, Sabium 8, *CT* 48 42:12, Buntahtun-Ila year name 'É Ninkarak'.

- Puzur-Šamaš s. Išme-Sin[445]
- Sîn-ennam s. Iddin-Adad[446]
- Sîn-remēni s. Ibbi-Numušda[447]
- Šamhum s. Yantin-El[448]
- Utu-hegal s. Ir-Nanna[449]

Several witnesses show links with texts dated to Immerum, not only through *VAS* 8 6/7, but also to texts outside of the Ipqu-Ištar/Nūr-Šamaš file:

- Nūr-ilīšu son of Eya connects the file of Dammāqtum's descendents with Ipqu-Ištar/Nūr-Šamaš' file.
- Utu-hegal son of Ir-Nanna links with the isolated text *BDHP* 37 (dated Immerum c).
- Sîn-remēni, son of Ibni-Numušda provides a connection to *Edubba* 7 122 with the strange year name 'MU ˹*ša*˺ *sa-mu*˹-*um* BA.UG$_7$'. This text was found in the same jar as *Edubba* 7 121, dated to an Immerum year name.[450]

The document *Edubba* 7 118 is a purchase of a slave called Aya-tallik by the *nadītum* Bēlessunu, daughter of Yašabi-El. The text is witnessed by a list of cloister officials and the daughter of the Marad king Halun-pi-umu; Šāt-Aya.[451] Perhaps this text is the best evidence of some link between the cloister in Sippar-Yahrūrum and Buntahtun-Ila. Buntahtun-Ila was probably not recognized as king by the cloister officials, but he was rather the 'oath-king' because of either the seller; Rašub-ṣillāšu (a hapax in the Sippar corpus) or the buyer; Bēlessunu.

The scribe of *Edubba* 7 118 (and *CT* 45 1/*BDHP* 31) is the well known woman Inanna-ama.mu, daughter of Abum-ṭābum. Lion has devoted an article to this female scribe who catered mostly to the *nadītum* community.[452] Just like the scribe Nanna-azida (see above), she has an impressive track-record in

[445] *CT* 48 42:4-5, Buntahtun-Ila year name 'É Ninkarak', *MHET* II/5 665:7-8, time of Sumu-la-El.
[446] *CT* 48 42:33, Buntahtun-Ila year name 'É Ninkarak'.
[447] *VAS* 8 6/7, Immerum, *Edubba* 7 122:17, MU *ša Šamum* BA.UG$_7$.
[448] *MHET* II/1 43:17, Sabium J, *MHET* II/5 665:5-6, undated.
[449] *BAP* 35:31, Immerum, *BDHP* 37:34-35, Immerum c.
[450] *Edubba* 7 p. 131.
[451] See Tanret and Suurmeyer 2011 and Suurmeyer 2012 on these cloister officials.
[452] Lion 2001b.

texts dated to different kings (Buntahtun-Ila, Sumu-la-El and Immerum). A good explanation for her writing the name of a number of different kings might be that the contracting parties called for different oath-kings.

5.2.5.1 Buntahtun-Ila year names

a) *CT* 45 1:26-27, MU NÍG *bu-un-tah-un-i-la,* LUGAL.E. 'Year: Buntahtun-Ila (became) king'. This text is actually the envelope of *BDHP* 31.
-*BE* 6/1 6:27, [M]U NÍG ^{I}*bu-nu-tah-tu-un-i-la* LUGAL.E. 'Year: Buntahtun-Ila (became) king'
b) *CT* 48 42:38-40, MU *li-li-sa-am, a-na* É ^{d}NIN.KAR.RA.AK, *ù-še*$^{!}$*ri-bu.* 'Year: he made a kettledrum enter the temple of Ninkarrak'.[453]
c) IM 63243, MU *bu-nu-tah-tu-un*-[DINGIR] [LU]GAL *iṣ-ba-tu.* 'Year: Buntahtun-Ila seized the king/ or: Year: king Buntahtun-Ila seized [NP/GN]'.[454]

5.2.5.2 Oaths mentioning Buntahtun-Ila and others

1) -*BDHP* 31:19-23, MU ^{d}UTU, ^{d}AMAR.UTU, *sa-mu-la*-DINGIR, *ù bu-un-tah-un-i-la,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Oath by Šamaš and Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila.
-*CT* 45 1:11-13, MU ^{d}UTU *ù* ^{d}AMAR.UTU, MU *sa-mu-la*-DINGIR, *ù bu-un-tah-un-i-la* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. This text is actually the envelope of *BDHP* 31, it contains this oath by Šamaš and Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila.
2) *CT* 48 34:6'-8', MU ^{d}UTU, *ù* ^{d}*a-a*, [M]U *bu-un-tah-un-i-la,* [*ù* Z]IMBIR[^{KI}]. Oath by Šamaš, Aya, Buntahtun-Ila and Sippar

5.2.5.3 Oaths mentioning Buntahtun-Ila

1) *BE* 6/1 6:14-15, *ni-iš* ^{d}UTU {x x}, *ù bu-nu-tah-tu-un-i-la,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath by Šamaš and Buntahtun-Ila.
2) -*CT* 48 42:21-22, MU ^{d}UTU, *ù bu-nu-tah-tu-u*[*n*-DINGIR *it*]-*ma.* Standard oath by Šamaš and Buntahtun-Ila.

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[453] Harris 1975:4 n. 12.

[454] Hussein 2008:80 reads: MU *bu-nu-tah-tu-un-*^{r}DINGIR$^{?}$ [NAM?.LU]GAL *iṣ-ba-tu*: 'The year Buntahtun-Ila seized kingship'. Such a phrasing would be unique to the OB period.

-*CT* 48 42a:13, MU ^{d}UTU *ù bu-nu-tah-*[*tu-un-*DINGIR *it-ma*], Envelope.

3) *Edubba* 7 118:10-13, MU ^{d}UTU, *ù bu-un,-tah-un-*DINGIR, *it-ma*. Standard oath by Šamaš and Buntahtun-Ila.

5.2.6 *Altinû and Lipit-Ištar*

A handful of texts found among early OB Sippar texts mention two obscure kings called Altinû and Lipit-Ištar[455] and their oath-goddess Hašrā'itum.[456] It would appear that all but two[457] of the relevant texts belong to one family archive, that was studied by both Stol and Goddeeris:[458] the 'Sulubbana-family'. To this dossier belong the following texts:[459]

Text	Date/Oath	Contents
MHET II/1 19	Sumu-la-El 13	Abiya assigns fields, slaves and silver to his *nadītum* daughter Ahassunu, her brother Šamaš-īn-mātim is her heir.
CT 48 63	Oath by Marduk, Sumu-la-El, Altinû and Hašrā'itum. Year: Altinû took the throne.	A slave called Ahūni is bought by Ahassunu and Šamaš-īn-mātim from Nabi-Sîn, a Kazallu merchant.
MHET II/1 30	Oath by Marduk and Sabium	Ahassunu appoints her niece Amat-Šamaš as her heir.
CT 48 18	Oath by Marduk, Sîn-muballiṭ, Lipit-Ištar and Hašrā'itum	The children of Iddin-Amurrum and Šamaš-īn-mātim divide a house and a field.
MHET II/5 645	undated	Amat-Šamaš leases a field to Mati-ilim, son of Ili-tukulti. Mati-ilim will pay at the cloister gate and provide *piqittum* presents.

[455] Not to be confused with the much earlier Isin king.

[456] Charpin 2004:94 and Veenhof 1973 with a note by Stol on p. 375-376.

[457] The first text is the text published by Veenhof 1973 (dated to Sumu-la-El and Altinû). It seems to be prosopographically unrelated to other Sippar texts. However, the buyer in Veenhof 1973: Lamassatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU, daughter of Ipiq-Adad is perhaps the same woman as Lamassi, LUKUR ^{d}UTU daughter of Ipiq-Adad in *MHET* II/1 93:6'-7'.The second document is *CT* 4 22c (dated to Lipit-Ištar and Sîn-muballiṭ), this text is also prosopographically unrelated to others.

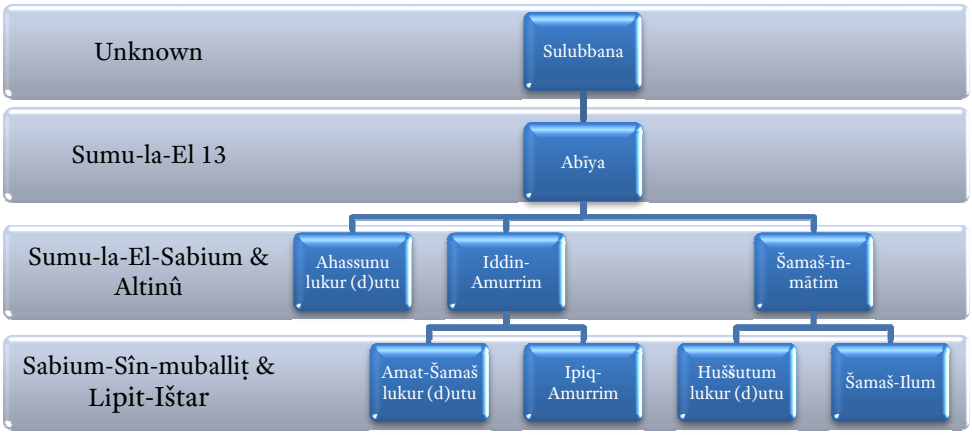
[458] Stol 1998b:96 and Goddeeris 2002:156.

[459] After Goddeeris 2002:156. We have excluded *MHET* II/1 126 from this list that Goddeeris had assigned to this archive based on its excavation number (see note 150 on p. 157 in Goddeeris 2002).

To the above texts we can add additional unpublished documents from the British Museum: BM 67324b, BM 67326, and BM 71160 (published in the Appendix). Two of these are of little interest (but are nonetheless included in copy): BM 67324b seems to be part of the case belonging to *CT* 48 63.[460] BM 71160 is also part of a case containing only the verb of the oath and the beginning of Altinû's second year name: [M]U.ÚS.SA, ^{I}*al-ti-nu-ú*, ^{GIŠ}GU$_{7}$.ZA [IN.DAB]: 'Year after Altinû took the throne'. This year follows on the one from *CT* 48 63.

BM 67326 is however of interest because it clearly belongs to the above archive. It is a field sale: the children of Uqa-Ištar sell a seven IKU field to Huššutum and her father Šamaš-īn-mātim. The oath is reconstructed, but is almost certainly sworn by Marduk, Sumu-la-El, Hašrā'itum, and Altinû. Šamaš-īn-mātim already owned a neighboring field. The date seems to be Altinû's accession (or usurpation) year.

Most of the people outside of the Sulubbana family from this text are unknown elsewhere, with two exceptions: one of the witnesses, Bēlekum son of Warad-ilīšu is also found in *CT* 48 63:35-36 and again the scribe Nanna-azida, son of Sîn-muballiṭ (see above).



[460] Even though a slightly different price is mentioned in BM 67324b: ⅓ mina of silver and 2 shekels, as opposed to ⅓ mina and 2 ½ shekels of silver in *CT* 48 63.

Through the scribe Nanna-azida and the fact that Huššutum is a *nadītum* of Šamaš, it is clear that this family archive comes from (the vicinity of) Sippar.[461] The Sulubbana family probably had special ties with Altinû and Lipit-Ištar: they swore by their names in their contracts. A remarkable fact about this family archive is that it contains the earliest year name of Sumu-la-El found in Sippar: Sumu-la-El 13 on *MHET* II/1 19. Unlike other early OB localities, early Sippar texts are usually not dated with a year name. Most early OB Sippar texts are datable only through their oaths: from the time of Sîn-muballiṭ and Hammurabi onwards we can see that Sippar scribes started to consistently write down year names. For Sumu-la-El we only have a couple of non-canonical year names from Sippar (that is: year names not found in the only list of year names known for Sumu-la-El, see Horsnell 1999). Those year names that we do have are often from the second part of his reign.[462] It is therefore hard to accept *MHET* II/1 19 as proof of Sumu-la-El already firmly ruling Sippar in his 13th year, instead we should see Sumu-la-EL 28 as the -for now- earliest year attesting to Sumu-la-El's dominance at Sippar (Sumu-la-El 29: 'Year: he built the wall of Sippar').

It is remarkable that Altinû and Lipit-Ištar only occur in one family archive and two unrelated texts. We would expect many more texts and year names from this 'dynasty'. For Altinû we only have two year names and for Lipit-Ištar one. In any case: both had a special position because they are the only known petty kings that were apparently tolerated under Babylon's rule over Sippar: the other local Sippar kings disappear from view after Sumu-la-El's annexation. It is very unlikely that the Babylonian kings would have tolerated a powerful rival within the borders of their state.[463] We might however think of a similar situation as in Zimri-Lim's kingdom where a Bensimalite administration tolerated sovereign Benjamin centers within its borders. This would imply that Altinû and Lipit-Ištar belonged to a tribe different from that of the kings of Babylon, or perhaps they *were* of the same tribe justifying their position. In the case of Zimri-Lim, the arrangement was very short-lived: within a year war broke out between him and the Benjaminite rulers. Altinû and Lipit-

[461] The oath goddess Hašra'itum implies a locality called Hašrâ (cf. Stol in Veenhof 1973:376), but such a town is unknown.

[462] *CT* 4 50a (Sumu-la-El 'd'), *BE* 6/1 7 (Sumu-la-El 29), *MHET* II/1 20 (=*CT* 6 49b, Sumu-la-El 29), *MHET* II/1 21 (=*CT* 8 44b, Sumu-la-El 'b'), *MHET* II/1 22 (Sumu-la-El 'c'; year he proclaimed a *mīšarum*, tentatively dated to Sumu-la-El 24 cf. De Boer 2012), *MHET* II/1 23 (*warki* Sumu-la-El 'c' = Sumu-la-El 25)

[463] Despite the warlike year name of Lipit-Ištar.

Ištar were clearly tolerated either because they were harmless or had special ties with the Babylonian kings, probably both.

5.2.6.1 Altinû year names

a) Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p. 360:3'', [MU *a*]*l-ti-nu-ú* LUG[AL.(E)]. ' Year: Altinû the king'.
b) -*CT* 48 63:37-38, MU.ÚS.SA *a*[*l*]$^{!}$-*ti-nu-ú,* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$^{!}$. 'Year after (the year) in which Altinû took the throne'.
-BM 71160 (AH 82-9-18 11162):3'-5', [M]U.ÚS.SA.BI, ^{I}*al-ti-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝, ^{GIŠ}⌜GU⌝.ZA, [IN.DAB] 'Year after (the year): Altinû took the throne'.
-BM 67326 (AH 82-9-18 7322):20', MU.ÚS.SA *al-ti-nu* ⌜LUGAL$^{?}$⌝ 'Year after (the year): Altinû the king'.

5.2.6.2 Oaths mentioning Altinû and Sumu-la-El

1) *CT* 48 63:17-20, MU ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ù sú-mu-la*-DINGIR, MU ^{d}*ha-áš-ra-i-tum, ù al-ti-nu-ú,* IN.PÀD.DA. Oath by Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Hašra'itum and Altinû.
2) BM 67324b (fragment of the case of *CT* 48 63):5'-7'MU ^{d}AMAR.UTU [*ù su-mu-la*-DINGIR], MU ^{d}*ha-áš*-[*ra-i-tum*], *ù al-t*[*i-nu* IN.PÀD.DA]. Oath by Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Hašra'itum and Altinû.
3) Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:30', ...*su-mu-la*-DI[NGIR] *ù* [*al-/t*]*i*-[*nu- ú*]. Oath by Sumu-la-El and Altinû.

5.2.6.3 Lipit-Ištar year name

a) *CT* 4 22c:11-12, MU *ša li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár a-mu-ru-um iṭ-ru-du-uš* 'The year in which Lipit-Ištar expelled the Amorites'.[464]

[464] This year name poses a problem: the subject seems to be *a-mu-ru-um*, not Lipit-Ištar. It does not make any sense that Lipit-Ištar would have a year name mentioning his own defeat. A possibility is that this year name was not issued by Lipit-Ištar. Another, more likely possibility is that Amurrum was the object and Lipit-Ištar the subject, this also accounts for the otherwise unusual syntax (OSV instead of SOV, cf. GAG §130f).

5.2.6.4 Oath mentioning Lipit-Ištar and Sîn-muballiṭ

1) *CT* 48 18:10-13, MU ^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ,* ^{d}*ha-<áš>-ra-i-tum, ù li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár*. Oath by Sîn-muballiṭ and Marduk and Lipit-Ištar and Hašra'itum.

5.2.7 *Ikūn-pi-Ištar*

At least two texts mention an Ikun-pi-Ištar as an early OB king. One of them is from Sippar, which is the reason why it was included here. Even so, it is very uncertain that this Ikūn-pi-Ištar actually ruled (part of) early OB Sippar.

5.2.7.1 Ikūn-pi-Ištar year names

a) *Edubba* 7 115:31, [MU] *i^{l}-ku-pi$_4$-iš$_8$-tár* x[...], [...] tu be. 'Year in which Ikūn-pi-Ištar ...[...]'.
b) *BiMes* 11 (Sigrist 1984) p.43: MU ^{d}*i-ku-un-pi$_4$-iš$_8$-tár* LUGAL. 'Year: Ikūn-pi-Ištar (became) king'.

From the excavations in Nippur we have another attestation of Ikūn-pi-Ištar: he is found on a king list from Nippur.[465] Most scholars believe that this king list enumerates kings of Uruk,[466] but as Kraus already pointed out, there is no evidence for this.[467] On this fragmentary list he is mentioned after Sumu-abum, who purportedly ruled for eight months.[468]. It is a distinct possibility that this is the same Ikūn-pi-Ištar whose year name was found on *Edubba* 7 115.

5.2.8 *Non-attributable early OB year names from Sippar*

A number of year names found in early OB texts from Sippar are not clearly to attributable to a certain king.

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[465] Published by Poebel in *PBS* 4/1 p. 95, but republished by Jacobsen 1939 (*AS* 11) on p. 8 n.15 and most recently by Glassner 2004:126.
[466] Like Charpin 2004:77 and Sigrist 1977c:372.
[467] Kraus 1985:530 n.4.
[468] For more on Sumu-abum: chapter 8.

1) *Edubba* 7 119:18-20, MU A.AB.BA-x[.x], *a-na* ^{d}*da-gan,* [m]u.un.na.dím$^{?}$ 'Year: he fashioned an a.ab.ba.x (=*ayyabbû,* 'sea'=basin?) for Dagan'.
2) *Edubba* 7 122:13 , MU *ša sa-mu*$^{!}$*-um* BA.UG$_7$. 'Year: Samum died'.
3) *Edubba* 7 130:16-17, MU NÍG BÀD *ku-lí-/zi, i-pu-šu.* 'Year: he built the wall of Kullizu'.
4) -Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:37 (tablet), MU KÁ.GAL ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni ú-di-/šu-ú.* 'Year: he renewed the gate Sîn-bāni'. There is a double oath by Immerum and Sumu-la-El in the text itself.[469]
   -Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:35-37 (envelope), MU KÁ.GAL ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* PUZUR$_4$-^{d}SAG.KUD, *i-pu-šu-ú.* 'Year: (Immerum? (re)made) the gate Sîn-bāni (that) Puzur-Sakkut built'.
5) *CT* 4 47b:30-32, MU *i-ṣí-su-mu,-a-bu-um,* BA.UG$_7$. 'Year: Iṣi-Sumu-abum died'.
6) *MHET* II/5 811:16, ⌜MU ^{GIŠ}GU⌝.[ZA...] ⌜x⌝ iš x [...]. 'Year: ... the throne ...'.
7) *TIM* 7 22:11'-13', MU *ha-an-ba-ti-ia,* DUMU *su-mu-a-bi-im, i-mu-tu.* 'Year: Hanbatīya, the son of Sumu-abum died'.
8) *TIM* 7 9:14-15, MU x x [...], ^{d}AMAR.UTU x x x. 'Year: ... Marduk ...'
9) *TIM* 7 117:16, MU [GIŠ].GU.ZA, [...] *i-pu-šu.* 'Year: [...] made a throne'.
10) *TIM* 7 117:22-23, [MU ÌR].RA-*qú-ra-ad* BA.[UG$_7$]. 'Year: Erra-qurād died'.
11) *TIM* 7 117:26, MU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-*[*šu* BA.UG$_7$]. 'Year: Narām-ilīšu died'.
12) *TIM* 7 117:35 & 42 MU *su-*[*mu*]*-a-tar* BA.UG$_7$. 'Year: Sumu-atar died'.
13) *TIM* 7 117:38, MU *ba-le-pu-úh* BA.UG$_7$. 'Year: Bal-Epuh died'.
14) *TIM* 7 117:45, [MU (x) x]-*ma*$^{?}$-an BA.UG$_7$. 'Year: .... died'.

5.3 Kiš and Damrum and its vicinity

5.3.1 *Introduction*

For a general introduction on early OB Kiš and Damrum and the sources at our disposal, see chapter 4. The approach in this section is different from the one adopted on early OB Sippar. The reason for this is that the chronological problems are different for the kings of the Mananâ-dynasty.

[469] See Van Lerberghe 1982's own commentary (p. 256-257) on this singular year name.

5.3.2 *New texts from early OB Damrum and Kiš*

Since Charpin's groundbreaking work on the texts from 'the Mananâ-dynasty', several new documents have been published[470], but many texts also remained unpublished. In an effort to unite all texts pertinent to the Mananâ-dynasty and early OB Damrum and Kiš, this thesis contains the publication of several new texts (see the Appendix). Not published here are the following texts from the Oriental Institute in Chicago:[471]

A.32133 Mananâ g/XII, oath by the king
Sale of datepalms. Lalīya buys six datepalms from Aqqatānum for 2 1/6 shekels of silver. Oath by the king. This text belongs to the file of Kalāya's children.[472]

A.32113 Haliyum f /X, oath by Nanna and Haliyum
Sale of a field. Munanātum buys a field from Hunābum for 16 shekels of silver. If he comes up with silver, he may redeem his field. This contract belongs to *SCT* 38 and 39.

The British Museum houses an important collection of unpublished tablets from Kiš and Damrum, not only pertaining to already known files. In connection to the Mananâ-dynasty texts, we have eight belonging to Šumšunu-watar's file[473] and two to the file of Ṣīssu-nawrat.[474] In view of the size, shape, color and museum number, an administrative text can be added to the corpus. The total number then comes to eleven (see the Appendix).

5.3.3 *Archival matters: which dossiers are connected to each other*

The fact that we have so many texts from the files of Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat in the British Museum is no coincidence: in other collections around the world these two files are also found mixed together: the

[470] Most notably from Oxford in *OECT* 13 and 15, the re-edition of the texts in Edinburgh by Dalley first published by Langdon 1911 (*RSM*), and the texts in *YOS* 14, and *TIM* 5.

[471] These texts were provided in transcription courtesy of prof. Stol.

[472] Goddeeris 2002:262-263 Charpin 1979b:197 (archive H and I).

[473] BM 103175, BM 103183a, BM 103184, BM 103191, BM 103194, BM 103196, BM 103197, and BM 103199.

[474] BM 103192 and BM 103198.

Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Louvre,[475] the Yale Babylonian Collection,[476] and the Royal Scottish Museum. Prosopographically they seem to stand apart from other Damrum/Kiš files. The collection number under which the Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat texts entered the British Museum is 1910-10-8 (meaning: October the 8th 1910). It is certainly no coincidence that Langdon's and Thureau-Dangin's initial publications of the Šumšunu-watar/Ṣīssu-nawrat texts from Edinburgh and Paris were both in 1911.[477] The texts in Oxford were donated by Sayce in 1916 to the Bodleian Library.[478] All this points to one logical conclusion: the archives of Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat entered the market at the same time.

Thureau-Dangin writes about their provenance: '*Or, au dire du marchand, les sept tablettes proviendraient de Aḥimir* (...)';[479] this Aḥimir is most likely another name for the tell of Kiš, now written Uhaimir. Langdon also seems convinced that his texts come from Kiš. For the archive belonging to Ṣīssu-nawrat, this is quite credible, because many of his texts are dated to Yawium, known as a king of Kiš. It is less credible for Šumšunu-watar's archive, which has no year dates of Yawium. One can only find one weak connection between the two archives. The 'irrigation ditch of Šulgi' (E-dŠUL.GI) is encountered as a neighboring canal in BM 103192:4 (Ṣīssu-nawrat), *YOS* 14 88:2 (an isolated text) and *RSM* 34:5 (Šumšunu-watar). This does however provide a clue about the geographical nearness of Ṣīssu-nawrat's and Šumšunu-watar's activities. The only other archive to which Ṣīssu-nawrat's archive seems to be connected is the small file of Ea-dāpin,[480] which seems dated slightly later towards the end of Sumu-la-El's reign.

Šumšunu-watar's large archive cannot be linked with any certainty to other archives from OB Kiš or Damrum.[481] As to its provenance, little more can be added to the statement 'in the vicinity of Kiš', despite the fact that some doc-

[475] The texts from the Louvre were published by Thureau-Dangin 1911, they must be seen apart from those later published by Rutten.

[476] Most pertinent texts have been published in *YOS* 14.

[477] There are no such indications for the texts in Yale.

[478] Dalley and Yoffee 1991:3.

[479] Thureau-Dangin 1911:68.

[480] It contains *BIN* 2 74, *YOS* 14 132, as well as the unpublished texts YBC 12224, YBC 12221, NBC 5033, and *LB* 3244+*LB* 2722.

[481] -It is perhaps linked to the archive of Kalāya's children through the scribe Nanna-bàd.gal, but the relevant text, A.32113 is only available to me in transcription, where the reading of the scribe's name is not certain (it could also be dŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG).

-Other possible connections are only through names without patronym.

uments provide tantalizing clues: once Šumšunu-watar's field is located next to the field of the palace[482] and twice we see a reference to 'the canal of the king' (I$_7$ LUGAL).[483]

The tablets in the Louvre published by Rutten and Charpin carry different museum numbers than those published by Thureau-Dangin in 1911,[484] suggesting that they entered the Louvre at different points in time.

Having separated two large files from the rest of the Mananâ-dynasty tablets, we can take a look at the other material. These are represented mostly by the texts and dossiers published by Rutten, Charpin, and Simmons. This is supplemented by several smaller files divided over various collections.

Even within these groups we can see some remarkable divisions: some files seem to be restricted to certain museum collections and prosopographically isolated.[485] See the Appendix to chapter 5 for an overview of all the text files from Damrum.

We can note that scribes often function as a bridge between otherwise unrelated groups of texts. In network analysis, the scribes would be seen as the connecting nodes between networks of people. We saw exactly the same phenomenon in early OB Sippar. It provides us with an important clue concerning the scribe's trade and mobility: it seems that scribes found their clients in a variety of social groups.

The information from the Appendix allows us to establish clusters of texts which are connected to each other:

1) The files of Sîn-iddinam, Dulluqum and Sîn-bāni are a clear cluster of interrelated texts. Almost all of them are in the Louvre.
2) Several files dated to the latter part of Sumu-la-El's reign are also prosopographically related: Ibbi-Ilabrat, Kubā'um, Ahūnum and Ahatī-waqrat. These texts are divided over several collections.

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[482] BM 103175:5.

[483] BM 103175:6 and *RSM* 35:9.

[484] The Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat texts published by Thureau-Dangin carry the numbers AO 4664- AO 4670, those by Rutten and Charpin AO 19642-AO 19682 and respectively AO 8966-8987 and AO 20342-AO 20349.

[485] We are only counting files/dossiers containing more than one text and largely using Goddeeris' division of files and dossiers, supplementing them with new texts where necessary.

3) Kalāya's children and Yerhaqum's sons form a closely-knit group of documents. Most of them are found in American collections.
4) Several files have weak prosopographical connections to other files and others have no links to other files at all. These are: Šū-Ninhursag, Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El, Warad-Sîn, Ṭabāya, Sukkalum, Sîn-naši, Ennam-Adad and Munanātum.

The above information is unfortunately not enough to establish how many different archives were actually dug up. It could very well be that all early OB Kiš and Damrum texts were in fact found in one room. The impression is that all of the texts were found around the same time, ca. 1910 in the vicinity of Kiš. Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat's texts entered the market together and were perhaps found apart from the rest of the documents. The bulk of the Mananâ-dynasty archives were probably found together and sold for the most part to the Louvre and the Yale collections. Some unconnected small archives, like those of Šū-Ninhursag and Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El could have been found separately or at a later date.

5.3.4 *Chronological matters pertaining to the kings of the 'Mananâ-dynasty' and early OB Kiš*

The relative chronology of the Mananâ-dynasty kings established by Charpin in 1978 was based on synchronisms and the internal coherence of several files. These same files present nevertheless some chronological problems:

1) The file of Dulluqum, son of Hadamu, has perhaps the longest history of all Mananâ-dynasty files:[486] texts range from Haliyum g (ca. 1890 BC?)[487] until Sumu-la-El 28, (ca. 1853 BC). Dulluqum's file must have spanned circa 35 to 40 years, which is a very long time for the archive of one individual, especially when it contains so few (surviving) texts. Also noteworthy in this respect is the complete absence of Abdi-Erah, Sumu-Yamutbal and 'Sumu-abum' year names. The other Mananâ-dynasty files typically seem to span only a couple of years.

[486] Goddeeris 2002:263-264, Charpin 1979b:198 (archive K).

[487] This date is based on Haliyum a (the year Ur-Ninurta died), which was around ca. 1898 BC. By consequence, each of Haliyum's year names (12 or 13 attested) could theoretically be placed in the period from about 1910 to 1886 BC. A lower date seems however more likely.

2) The file of Sîn-iddinam, son of Sanīya is one of the biggest Mananâ dynasty files with twenty-four texts.[488] It covers the reigns of Haliyum, Abdi-Erah, Mananâ, Ahi-maraṣ, Nāqimum, 'Sumu-abum 13' and even Sumu-ditāna. It contains the only Sumu-ditāna year name to occur outside of the Marad corpus (text *R* 4):

Sumu-ditāna h: MU <^{i7}> AB.GAL *su-mu-di-ta-na* BA.BA.AL.
'Year: Sumu-ditāna had dug the Abgal canal'

This year name does very much resemble 'Haliyum c' found on *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191:[489]

Haliyum c: MU.ÚS.SA ^{i7}ÁB.GAL *ù* ^{i7}ME-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ *is-ki-ru*
'Year after (the year): he dammed the Abgal and Me-Enlil canals

Could these two year names refer to the same event? The digging and subsequent damming of the Abgal and Me-Enlil canals to the south of Kiš? This is not unlikely, because Haliyum c does not specify the name of the king who commissioned the work. In addition, the Me-Enlil canal was more likely a part of Marad's kingdom, as we know from the Marad texts. It seems highly unlikely that Haliyum had a canal dug there and it is therefore taken as a year name belonging to Sumu-ditāna of Marad.[490] It does however complicate the relative chronology of the Mananâ-dynasty and Marad kings. In the article on Marad, De Boer 2013a tentatively dated Sumu-ditāna's reign in the 1870's, but a synchronism with Haliyum's reign (based on Ur-Ninurta's death, around the 1890's) would then be impossible! The son of Sîn-iddinam, Riš-ilum, is seen in the reign of Sumu-Yamutbal (*R* 13), acknowledging the fact that Sumu-Yamutbal came after all the other Mananâ-dynasty kings.[491]

3) The file belonging to Šumšunu-watar, son of Gubbani-idug is the largest in the corpus with thirty-four texts.[492] The first aspect that one no-

[488] Goddeeris 2002:265-268 and Charpin 1979b:198 (archive L).

[489] These two texts were in fact written after each other in the same month and concerning the same property.

[490] Just as it seems unlikely to me that Haliyum had ruled Marad in order to dig the canals.

[491] Except for Manium.

[492] Goddeeris 2002:268-271 and Charpin 1979b:198 (archive M), with the extra texts published in this thesis.

tices about this file is that fifteen of the texts are dated to 'Sumu-abum 13',[493] another four to Mananâ d,[494] as well as nine to Mananâ e.[495] The remaining seven are dated to 'Sumu-abum 3',[496]' Haliyum c,[497] Mananâ a,[498] Mananâ b,[499] and Mananâ unidentified.[500] Especially the 'Sumu-abum 13' year names are interesting, because these occur only in this archive.[501] In addition, eleven of the 'Sumu-abum 13' texts are dated to month V. This must signify something; it could mean that the archive came to an end not long after 'Sumu-abum 13' month V. Let us elaborate on this: Šumšunu-watar's file contains many loans and obligations, the type of document that is normally destroyed after the payment of a debt. There is however a recurrent case in which these texts are not destroyed: after the proclamation of a *mīšarum* (a royal annulment of certain debts and obligations). We often find clusters of cancelled loans or obligations in private archives because of a *mīšarum*.[502] The other loans or obligations in Šumšunu-watar's file are dated to month XI of the year Mananâ e (six texts) and one to 'Sumu-abum 3' month IV. It may very well be possible that the year names Mananâ e and 'Sumu-abum 13' are in fact chronologically very close to each other, because the texts dated by them were annulled by a *mīšarum*. Whiting already had the idea that the 'Sumu-abum 13' year name is in fact a Mananâ year name, because the text *RA* 8 1 combines it with an oath by Nanna and Mananâ.[503] The same might be said about the 'Sumu-abum 3' year name, which seems to have an oath by Nanna and

[493] *RA* 8 1 and 2, *RSM* 34, 35 44, 48, 52, 53 and 54, *OECT* 13 280 and 282, *YOS* 14 108 and 114, as well as BM 103175 and BM 103196.

[494] *YOS* 14 113, *RA* 8 6 and *RSM* 57 and BM 103197.

[495] *OECT* 13 279, *YOS* 14 109, *RSM* 38, 40, 50, and 56, BM 103183a and BM 103194, BM 103199.

[496] *OECT* 15 376, a text that was published after Goddeeris 2002, and BM 103184.

[497] *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191.

[498] *RSM* 42.

[499] *YOS* 14 110.

[500] *OECT* 13 286.

[501] The year name found on *R* 11 (from Sîn-iddinam's archive), MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu,* refers to the event of Kazallu's fall in general and not to a specific king. Besides, it is in Akkadian, whilst the examples from Šumšunu-watar's file are all in Sumerian.

[502] See Charpin 2005a:156 for a similar analysis.

[503] Whiting 1987:32 n. 112, followed by Charpin 2004a:85 n. 301 and Charpin 2005a:168.

Ma[nanâ] as well in *TIM* 5 38.[504] A problem with this supposed *mīšarum* by Mananâ is that we only have this circumstantial evidence.[505] Another possibility is this: the 'Sumu-abum 13' year name commemorates the destruction of Kazallu, it could be that this year name -because of the impact of Kazallu's fall- was used only for a short period of time around month V within the year Mananâ e.[506] But why would these loans and obligations (from leases) from Šumšunu-watar's archive all be dated to months V and XI?[507] Month XI is easily explained: this was the time just before the harvest when people had run out of barley and needed to bridge the gap until the harvest in the months I-III.[508] Or -if people had leased a field-, month XI allowed for a fair estimate of the field's yield. Month V is more difficult to ascertain, perhaps some of the leases or loans were concluded because month V is one of the latest months to conclude a field lease.[509] The large Šumšunu-watar archive must have a small chronological horizon: based on the year names alone one would think about five to six years. The problem here is (again) the isolated Haliyum c year name (found on the almost 'twin' documents *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191; see above sub 2), which stands apart from the other thirty-two texts. However, the prosopography from *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191 show many links with other texts from Šumšunu-watar's archive: people like Bunubalum, Iliamranni and his brother Idiš-Zababa. This is a clue that *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191 must be chronologically close to the other Šumšunu-watar documents. However, at least four years separate the reigns of Haliyum and Mananâ, based on Charpin's chronology: Abdi-Erah a and b, as well as Mananâ a and b.

4) The file of Ibbi-Ilabrat, son of Puzur-Ilaba, is relatively late:[510] we find predominantly year names of Sumu-la-El as well as some of 'unidenti-

[504] *TIM* 5 38 is from the archive of Šū-Ninhursag (Goddeeris 2002:264-265 and Charpin 1979b:198 archive R) , which has furthermore 4 texts dated to Mananâ, one text to Abdi-Erah and one undated document

[505] We only know of a *mīšarum* or *ṣimdatum* proclaimed by Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El, supposedly in the year Sumu-la-El 24, see De Boer 2012 and Goddeeris 2002:332.

[506] There is only one other archive that contains Mananâ e: Dulluqum, son of Hadamu.

[507] *OECT* 14 376 is however dated to month IV of 'Sumu-abum 3'.

[508] Stol 2004:830.

[509] Mauer 1980:153.

[510] Goddeeris 2002:273-274 and Charpin 1979b:198 (Archive J).

fied' ones on *R* 25, *R* 26 and *R* 32, and a 'Sîn-iddinam 5' year name on *R* 23:

Unidentified Year names		Oath by	Month	Texts
a[511]	MU BÀD GAL KA I_7.MAH^{KI}		V	*R* 32
	MU BÀD KA I_7.DA$^{?}$ A$^{?KI}$ BA.DÙ	the king		*YOS* 14 334
	MU BÀD GAL KA-X-X^{KI}			*YOS* 14 335
	MU BÀD.GAL X[...] BA.DÙ		XII	*RSM* 30
e	MU UM.GAR.RA^{KI} KI.BA.GI.A		XI	*R* 26
g	MU.ÚS.SA PA_5 PIRIG SAG.GÁ BA.[DÙ]		XI	*R* 25
h	MU.ÚS.SA.A.BI PA_5 PIRIG SAG.GÁ BA.DÙ		XI	*YBC* 8375
Sîn-iddinam of Larsa year 5(?)		Oath by	Month	Text
MU *ma-al-gi$_4$ iṣ-bat*			X	*R* 23
MU *ma-al-gi$_4$ iṣ-bat*			XI	*YBC* 8371

As the above table shows, at least two year names similar to the ones in Ibbi-Ilbrat's archive feature on unpublished texts from Yale: another 'Sîn-iddinam 5' year name and a MU.ÚS.SA.A.BI variant of the year name from *R* 25. The actually dated texts in this file range from Sumu-la-El 31 (*R* 20) to Sumu-la-El 33 (*YOS* 14 143 and 119). It seems likely to me that the unidentified year names (above) from Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive are in fact also attributable to the later years of Sumu-la-El. The 'Sîn-iddinam 5' year name is the same as Sumu-la-El 36. Coincidentally, Sîn-iddinam 4 commemorates a victory over Babylon, making it not wholly unlikely that the area from which Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive hails was actually conquered by Sîn-iddinam of Larsa.

5) The small file of Ennam-Adad,[512] consists of only two texts: *YOS* 14 100 ('Sumu-abum 3') and *YOS* 14 76 (Mananâ aa). It seems to suggest that these two year names are close to each other chronologically.
6) The archives of Ilum-ma son of Mallum and of the *rabiānum* Dadušme-El, son of Manmanum belong together.[513] The text *UCP* 10/3 is very important for the Mananâ-dynasty's chronology: its year

[511] Charpin 2005a:172 equates the year name from *R* 32 with the ones found on *YOS* 14 334 and 335.

[512] Goddeeris 2002:274 and Charpin 1979b:198 (Archive F).

[513] Godeeris 2002:274-276 and Charpin 1979b:198 (Archives O and P respectively).

name is Haliyum a: 'MU UR-^{d}NIN.URTA BA.GAZ' (Year: Ur-Ninurta was killed). One begins to wonder, is this Ur-Ninurta truly Isin's king who purportedly died around 1898 BC? Why then are other texts dated to Abdi-Erah and Mananâ and one even to the last years of Sumu-la-El?[514] It is hard to accept a chronological gap of almost 50 years in Dadušme-El's archive when we compare *UCP* 10/3 (Haliyum a, ca. 1898 BC?!) and *YOS* 14 335 (end of Sumu-la-El's reign, ca. 1850).

7) The small file belonging to Ea-dāpin[515] consists of *BIN* 2 74 (Sumu-la-El 31) and *YOS* 14 132 with the additional unpublished Yale texts YBC 12221, YBC 12224, NBC 5033, and from the De Liagre Böhl collection in Leiden, LB 2722 (case) and LB 3244 (tablet), the year name on the latter tablet bears a close resemblance to the one on *YOS* 14 132: These two year names should also be located towards the end of Sumu-la-El's reign, because *BIN* 2 74 is securely dated to Sumu-la-El 31.

MU ALAN *sú-mu-la*-DINGIR	*LB* 2722&3244
MU.ÚS.SA ALAN GAL *su-mu-la*-DINGIR	*YOS* 14 132

8) Ṣīssu-nawrat's file is interesting for multiple reasons:[516] it is the only file that we can localize more or less safely in Kiš, because of the oaths sworn by its city god Zababa and the king of Kiš, Yawium. A few texts are dated to Mananâ or Abdi-Erah and we have many double oaths being sworn in some texts. Because Goddeeris 2002 mistook some of Yawium's year names for those of Mananâ, a table with the year names and oaths from Ṣīssu-nawrat's archive is merited:[517]

Year names of Yawium		Oath by	Month	Text
a	not attested in Ṣīssu-nawrat's file			
b	MU.ÚS.SA GIŠ.GIGIR *ia-wi-ú-um*	Zababa and Yawium	XI	*RSM* 29

[514] *YOS* 14 335, which carries an 'unidentified' year name, it is argued above under Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive that it should be placed in the last years of Sumu-la-El.

[515] Goddeeris 2002:282.

[516] Goddeeris 2002:284-285, the texts are: *RA* 8 3, 4 and 5, *OECT* 13 281, 285 and 288, *RSM* 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45 (Goddeeris did not include this text, but because of the Yawium date it is included here), 49, 55, 59 , *YOS* 14 86, 111 and 167 (Goddeeris did not include this text, but because of the Yawium date we have included it), *UCP* 10/3 5(?) *OECT* 15 377, BM 103192 and BM 103198.

[517] In fact, Yawium g and Mananâ d are deceptively similar, the only way to distinguish between them is when a royal name is written in the year name.

	MU.DÍM			
c[518]	MU URUDU.ALAN.LUGAL		XI	*OECT* 13 281
	MU URUDU.ALAN.LUGAL	Zababa and Yawium	X	*OECT* 15 377
	[MU URU]DU.ALAN.LUGAL	Zababa and Yawium		BM 103192
d	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL	Sîn and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	VI	*YOS* 14 111
	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL		VII	*YOS* 14 167
e	not attested			
f?[519]	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA<^{KI}> BA.DÙ	Zababa and Yawium	X	*RA* 8 4
	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}	Zababa and [...]		*RSM* 45
g	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ [...]	Zababa and [...]	VI	*RSM* 43
	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ X	[...]	VI	*OECT* 13 288[520]
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ	Zababa and Yawium	VI	*RSM* 59
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ *i*[*a-wi-um*] É ^{D}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$*.RA MU.NA.AN.DÍM		XI[521]	*RSM* 55
h	MU *su-mu-di-ta-ʾna*ʾ BA.UG$_7$	Zababa and Yawium	VI	*RA* 8 3
i	MU.ÚS.SA [...] ALAN$^{?}$.A.X [...]	Zababa and Yawium		*RSM* 41
-	-	Zababa and Yawium & Nanna and Mananâ	VIII	*RSM* 36
Year names of Abdi-Erah		Oath by	Month	Text
a	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.[ZA] [I]N.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Abdi-erah[522]	III	*RSM* 39
Year names of Mananâ		Oath by	Month	Text
aa	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA I[N.DAB$_5$]		IX	*RA* 8 5
	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$			*YOS* 14 86

[518] Designated as year name 'c' on the list of Damerow and Sigrist, Goddeeris 2002:285 qualifies it as unplaced. There is in fact no reason to state that this is a Yawium year name, it seems to ressemble the year name Sumu-la-El 'a'.

[519] The year name rather looks like Sumu-la-El 6, but because of the oath by Zababa and Yawium it has been categorized as Yawium f.

[520] Because this text does not contain a divine or royal name in its year name or oath, one could also state that it is dated to Mananâ d.

[521] Written: ITI EZEN ^{d}IŠKUR, as in BM 103192, published in the Appendix.

[522] Goddeeris 2002:284 reads Yawium in the oath, Charpin 1978:16 prefers to read Abdi-Erah.

ba	MU.ÚS.SA *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Mananâ		*UCP* 10/3 5
d	MU *ma-na-na-a* KUŠ.Á.LÁ BA.DÙ		IX	BM 103198
Unidentified Year names		Oath by	Month	Text
a 523	MU BÀD.GAL X[...] BA.DÙ		XII	*RSM* 30
j	MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*[524]		XI	*RSM* 49

Almost all of the known Yawium year names belong to this file.[525] Yawium is associated with the kings Haliyum, Abdi-Erah and Mananâ. We see only the beginning of Mananâ's reign in Ṣīssu-nawrat's file. If we think purely in terms of conquest, we might conclude that Yawium was overcome by Mananâ around Mananâ's first regnal year and that Yawium had friendly relations before that with Haliyum (based on the oath from *YOS* 14 111) and Mananâ (double oath in *RSM* 36).

9) As we have seen above, the double oaths (oaths sworn by two different sets of gods and kings) that we encounter in some texts frustrate attempts at finding a chronology for the early OB period.[526] For the Kiš and Damrum texts we have the following examples:

Year names of Haliyum		Oath by	Month	Text
l	MU.ÚS.SA.ÚS.SA URUDU ŠEN.TAB.BA MU.UN.DÙ	Sin and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	IV	*YOS* 14 116
Year names of Yawium		Oath by	Month	Text
d	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL	Sin and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	VI	*YOS* 14 111
-	-	Zababa and Yawium & Nanna and Mananâ	VIII	*RSM* 36
Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El		Oath by	Month	Text
-	*wa-ar-ka-at*, MU *su-mu-le-el*, *ù su-mu-*	the king		*R* 3

[523] Charpin 2005a:172 equates the year name from *R* 32 with the ones found on *YOS* 14 334 and 335.

[524] See below on this year name.

[525] Except BM 108925 and the possible exceptions *YOS* 14 167 and *RSM* 45.

[526] See Wu Yuhong and Dalley 1990.

	ia-mu-u[*t*]*-ba-*<*al*> *ṣi-im-da-ta-tim i-iš-ku-nu*			
g	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD [SAG].DA.NI.PÀD^{KI} BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ka-at ṣí-im-da-ti ša sú-mu-le-el iš-ku-nu* (tablet) *wa-ar-ka-*[*at ṣí-im-da-ti*], *ša sú-mu-*[*le-el*], *ù su-mu-e-*[*mu-ut-ba-al*], *iš-ku-nu*	the king	IV	*OECT* 8 3
Sumu-la-El and Sumu-Yamutbal/Manium		Oath by	Month	Text
26	MU ^{d}INANNA	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Sumu-Yamutbal	I	*YBC* 4375
32	MU E IGI.HUR.SAG.GÁ	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Manium	V	*YOS* 14 119

10) Nāqimum's reign is still problematic to date: was it also around the same time as Mananâ's and Haliyum's or did he precede these kings? We have eleven attestations of Nāqimum year names and six different year names. One of these year names clearly connect Nāqimum with the cult of Inanna of Akuṣum (as the only Mananâ-dynasty king):[527] Nāqimum e. Another year name mentions the same goddess, but is as of yet unattributed; it probably also belongs to Nāqimum.[528] A man called Adidum sold parts of his property to Sîn-iddinam over several years dated to Sumu-ditāna h, Nāqimum b, Nāqimum d, Nāqimum e and 'unknown year name d'. If we assume that these years are more or less close to each other in time, we have an indirect synchronism between Sumu-ditāna and Nāqimum: they were either contemporary or one ruled directly before the other. It is interesting that we do not have any accession year names for neither Haliyum nor Nāqimum (of the type: 'year RN is king' or 'RN took the throne'). This could indicate that the documents at our disposal only mention Nāqimum and Haliyum year names from the middle or end of their reigns. Why should we assume that the surviving documents mention all of the

[527] We also have the year name 'Haliyum h', which is supposed to have a year name with Inanna as well.

[528] Unknown year name 'd': MU.ÚS.SA GIŠ.BANŠUR KÙ.BABBAR ^{d}INANNA *a-ku-ṣum*^{ki} MU.DÙ (*R* 10).

kings' year names? Nāqimum is never mentioned together with another king in a double oath.

From the above observations we can deduce that there are three fundamental changes necessary for the chronology of the Mananâ-dynasty kings:

1) Haliyum's reign, which is until now dated around 1898 BC (because of the year name mentioning Ur-Ninurta's death), should be placed later. This is necessary to 'fix' the otherwise large chronological gaps in the archives of Dulluqum, Sîn-iddinam, Šumšunu-watar, Dadušme-El and Ṣīssu-nawrat. Another argument favors a later date for Haliyum: if the argument holds true that the 'Haliyum c' year name found on *RA* 8 7 (MU.ÚS.SA ^{I7}ÁB.GAL *ù* ^{I7}ME-^{D}EN.LÍL.[LÁ] *is-ki-r*[*u*]) is in fact a Sumu-ditāna year name (found on *R* 4: MU <^{I7}>AB.GAL *su-mu-di-ta-na* BA.BA.AL), it must mean that the two kings are more or less contemporaneous. However, problematic in this proposal is the year name on *R* 56, from the archive of Ṭabāya: this is clearly Sumu-El 5 (1890 BC).[529]
2) Nāqimum's reign should precede those of Mananâ and Abdi-Erah, but it should also be contemporaneous to the rule of Sumu-ditāna of Marad.
3) Mananâ's reign should be placed somewhere around the middle of Sumu-la-El's reign. There are several reasons for this:

- The conquest of Kazallu is interpreted here as one event (see chapter 7) that is commemorated in several kings' year names. Hence, the 'Sumu-abum 13' year name, which is in fact a Mananâ year name should coincide with Sumu-la-El 18 or 20.
- Furthermore, we have 'unidentified year name a', found in Dadušme-El's archive, that was attributed to the latter part of Sumu-la-El's reign, based on Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive. Other texts from Dadušme-El's file are dated to Mananâ and Haliyum. In order to mend this chronological gap, we must situate Mananâ to the middle of Sumu-la-El's reign.
- We have a synchronism between Yawium and Mananâ (double oath in *RSM* 36), which coincides neatly with a dating to the middle of Sumu-la-El's reign: in his 12th year, Sumu-la-El destroyed Kiš and presumably ended Yawium's reign.

[529] Other texts from this archive have dates from Haliyum and Mananâ.

- The file of Sukkalum provides some evidence to place Nāqimum before Mananâ, which gives us the necessary room to put Mananâ directly before Sumu-Yamutbal. As we know, Sumu-Yamutbal has synchronisms with Sumu-la-El 24 and 26.[530]
- The archive of Warad-Sîn[531] has one document dated to Mananâ,[532] one to 'Sumu-abum 3',[533] and four to Sumu-Yamutbal.[534] In short: this archive also points towards a sequence Mananâ→Sumu-Yamutbal.
- What was the exact 'chronology' of the subsequent reigns of Abdi-Erah and Mananâ? Abdi-Erah 2 is attested only once in *R* 40, dated to month IV, so it could be that during the course of this year, Mananâ took over power from him and that Mananâ 1 is in fact the same year as Abdi-Erah 2. Coincidentally, Mananâ 1aa+1ab is only attested in combination with the months IX and XI. So, Mananâ must have taken power from Abdi-Erah between months IV and IX. We could go even further: the only Ahi-maraṣ year name we have (accession year name, twice attested) is dated to month VIII: it might even be that Ahi-maraṣ was briefly king between Abdi-Erah and Mananâ. These two Ahi-maraṣ attestations only occur in Sîn-iddinam's file.

It appears that the only way to reconcile all the data, is to assume a simultaneous rule shared between Mananâ and Haliyum. However, in this case we still have the problem of 'Haliyum a', commemorating the death of Ur-Ninurta; the only way out of this problem is to assume another person's death. A photo of *UCP* 10/3 3 can be found on CDLI.[535] While the copy by Lutz shows a clear UR-^{d}NIN.URTA, the photo on CDLI shows that the second sign is actually very damaged, making it no longer one hundred percent certain that we have UR-^{d}NIN.URTA on this tablet.[536] So we might have another man's death commemorated: UR-^{d}NIN.⌜X⌝,[537] or a homonym of Isin's king.

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[530] De Boer 2012, but also through *YBC* 4375 (*JCS* 4 3).

[531] Goddeeris 2002:261-262 and Charpin 1979b:197 (archive G).

[532] *YOS* 14 84: Mananâ h.

[533] *YOS* 14 101, for which we have argued, that it is also a Mananâ year name, see the discussion under Šumšunu-watar's archive.

[534] *YOS* 14 98, 102 and 103, as well as *UIOM* 2395 (*JCS* 4 2).

[535] The link is: http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248165.jpg.

[536] It remains possible that the tablet deteriorated after Lutz made his copies.

[537] There are nonetheless only a few options: Ur-Ninurta, Ur-Ninšubur, and Ur-Ninsun.

5.3.5 *A new group of texts and a new king from early OB Kiš*

Thanks to the help of Dr. C.B.F. Walker in the British Museum, it was possible to study four texts from early OB Kiš unconnected to the Mananâ-dynasty documents. They are edited and published in the Appendix.

All four tablets belong to the same collection (1914-4-7) and were catalogued at about the same time. They do not seem to form one coherent archive, but they are prosopographically related: we find Sîn-pilah, son of Nadašinat as a witness in both BM 108918 and BM 108928. The connection to the other tablets is less certain: BM 108925 must somehow be linked because it is clearly dated to Yawium 1. The buyer in BM 108928, Ahūni, is perhaps the same person in BM 108915 who owes the silver. According to Walker's personal catalogue all tablets are said to have come from Uhaimir (Kiš). The true interest of these tablets are the unique dates we find on them:

Year names of Yawium		Oath	Month	Text
1	MU *ia-wi-um* LUGAL.E		III	BM 108925
e	MU BÀD {KI} KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} BA.DÙ		XI	BM 108918
Other Year names				
-	MU *a-bi* x x x LUGAL.E		X	BM 108915
-	MU.ˀÚS.SAˋ [...] BA.DÙ		I	BM 108928

The two Yawium year names are the only occurrences known of these year names.[538] The other two are unfortunately hard to read. In the case of BM 108928, this is due to an old catalogue sticker over the year name and in the case of BM 108915 it is hard to provide a definite reading. The royal name on BM 108915 could be read as *a-bi-a*$^{?}$*-nu*$^{?}$*-uh*$^{?}$. There is no king by that name known. However, on a cylinder seal published by Ball (1899:20), we have a royal name that vaguely resembles this name. Frayne 1990 E4.0.6 p. 815 reads

[538] We can never really discount the possibility that the year name on BM 108918 is in fact a Sumu-la-El year name (in this case Sumu-la-El 5). We have the same problem for the texts *RA* 8 4 and *RSM* 45 (MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} = Yawium f or Sumu-la-El 6). The most probable solution is that the scribes in Kiš used a Sumu-la-El year name as a Yawium year name. The reason for this might be that the building of Babylon's wall was such a big event that scribes in nearby Kiš referred to it as well. It is hard to accept that Sumu-la-El had briefly conquered Kiš in order for this year name to be used. That is also why we retained the numbering of Yawium's year names.

the seal as: ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG, DUMU *ma-nu-um-ša-ni-in-š*[*u*], ÌR *a-bi-nu*-x. This *a-bi-nu*-x and our *a-bi-a*ʾ*-nu*ʾ*-uh*ʾ have names which look very much alike. In addition we might say that the year name 'MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*' found on *RSM* 49 is in fact the same one as on BM 108915. Langdon (in 1911) takes it as a variant of Sumu-abum 10. The year name looks like a personal name, but the name Abi-ališu does not make any sense.[539]

If BM 108915 is actually from early OB Kiš, we might have a hitherto unknown king of Kiš. Where should he belong chronologically? He probably predates Yawium, because Sumu-la-El conquered Yawium and Kiš in his 12th regnal year.[540] Before Yawium we know of at least one other king: Ašduni-yarim. This king is only known from three different versions of the same inscription.[541] Ašduni-yarim's inscription in the British Museum entered the collection in the same batch as the four tablets mentioned above and it carries the inventory number BM 108854 (1914-4-7 20).

5.3.6 *On the usage of year names in the early OB Kiš region*

A chronological problem we still face are the Mananâ and Abdi-Erah year names in Ṣīssu-nawrat's file.[542] These year names are not enough proof of Mananâ's and Abdi-Erah's rule over Kiš.[543] Rather, it seems that the usage of year names in this period allowed for local scribes to write down year names of neighboring monarchs. We have already seen a few examples of this practice:

1) Scribes in Kiš during the time of Yawium, used year names connected to the city wall of Babylon.

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[539] Langdon 1911:238 n. 50.

[540] This is based on the synchronisms between Yawium and two 'Mananâ-dynasty' kings and the Ṣīssu-nawrat dossier's internal chronology, as well as -of course- Sumu-la-El's 13th year name: Year he destroyed Kiš.

[541] Frayne 1990 E4.8.1 p. 654-656 and Marzahn 1999, see also Donbaz and Yoffee 1986:3-22, Goddeeris 2002:253and Charpin 2004a p.88-89.

[542] Ṣīssu-nawrat's dossier carries mostly Yawium year names, but also at least two Mananâ year names (*RA* 8 5: Mananâ 1 and BM 103198: Mananâ d), one Abdi-Erah year name (*RSM* 39: Abdi-Erah a) and a double oath by Mananâ and Yawium (*RSM* 36)

[543] There does exist a fragmentary royal inscription of this Abdi-Erah, which *seems* to mention him as 'king of Kiš' (Frayne 1990 E4.10.2 p. 662). Perhaps this is to be understand as *šar kiššatim* 'king of all totality' instead of the city of Kiš. See also the seal impression of Ilum-ma-Ila in section 5.2.2 above.

2) The 'Sumu-abum 13' year name, which is in fact a Mananâ year name commemorating the attack on Kazallu by Sumu-abum.
3) The year name found on *YOS* 14 116; 'MU.ÚS.SA.ÚS.SA URUDU ŠEN.TAB.BA MU.UN.DÙ' (Haliyum l: 'Year: after he made a copper double-axe'), is probably a year name situated two years after the year Mananâ f, which is: MU URUDU! ŠEN.TAB.BA *ma-na-na-a* MU.UN.DÍM (as found on *BIN* 2 86; 'Year: Mananâ made a double-axe'). The oath on *YOS* 13 116 is however by Haliyum and Yawium! Another double oath by Haliyum and Yawium is on *YOS* 14 110, which is dated to a supposed Yawium year name (Yawium d).
4) The whole discussion above about texts dated to a year name of Sumuditāna, but carrying an oath by Haliyum, also supports this view.

All this shows that scribes in the early OB period were not as precise as we might have hoped in dating their texts. Especially in the Kiš area we have many 'kings' simultaneously issuing year names. It seems naive to assume that every time a scribe dates a text with a certain year name, he is also providing us with exact political information about his region or town. We have already seen that scribes are highly mobile among the various social groups (both in early OB Sippar and the Mananâ-dynasty texts). These social groups had sometimes different kings with different year names. We cannot assume that all the scribes knew all current year names.

This practice could also partly explain the phenomenon of the double oaths in some Mananâ-dynasty texts: they indicate that the scribe knew that two kings were reigning simultaneously in roughly the same area and he would use a year name of one of them whom he knew.[544] The scribe was not consciously transmitting political information by using only the year name of the 'stronger' king or writing the 'stronger' king before the 'vassal' king: he simply wrote what he knew.

It would seem that scribes were just as 'easy-going' when they wrote down ad hoc year names such as the death of an important person, or when they referred to a royal measure not known from 'official year names':[545] they were

[544] For the Sippar texts, another theory was proposed: double oaths represent the 'oath king' of the seller and the buyer. It is not possible to definitely prove either theory, but they provide two different explanations of a complicated phenomenon.

[545] In 2012 De Boer argued that a certain year name of Sumu-Yamutbal (*mīšar kunukkātim*) found on *R* 57 is in fact a special ad hoc year name occurring within the year

just using a current political event that they knew about to date a text. This explains why we almost never see these ad hoc year names twice: they were not official, but used on occasion by the scribes.

We can go even further: if we allow for this 'scribal initiative' we might explain why we are unable to fit certain ad hoc year names in canonical lists of year names. An overview of all the year names found on tablets from Kiš and Damrum and their occurrences can be found in the Appendix to chapter 5.

5.4 A new relative chronology for the early Old Babylonian period (table)

The above discussions about the relative chronology for the early OB period has been put into a table. This table aims to summarize all relevant information concerning the reigns of almost all known early OB rulers and their reigns vis-à-vis each other.

The table starts at the fall of the Ur III empire ca. 2000 BC, until ca. 1825 BC. This date coincides with roughly the end of the rule of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna, Apil-Sîn of Babylon and Warad-Sîn of Larsa. At this time, almost all of the smaller kingdoms in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region had been conquered by Babylon or Ešnunna. This signals a new era and balance of power, well documented in the Mari archives (from the time of Yahdun-Lim onwards) and in text groups from other sites in the Diyala valley (e.g. Nērebtum, Šaduppûm, Uzarlulu) and Northern Babylonia (eg. Sippar, Dilbat, and Kiš). The most recent literature was used to establish the relative chronology:

- For the kings of Babylon and their year names: Horsnell 1999.
- For the kings of Marad: De Boer 2013a.
- For the kings of Isin: Charpin 2004a.
- For the kings of Larsa: Charpin 2004a.
- For the first few rulers of Kisurra: Sommerfeld 1983b.
- For the kings of Uruk: Charpin 2004a.
- For the kings of Ešnunna: Whiting 1987a.

Sumu-Yamutbal f. All other references to the royal measure issued by Sumu-la-El and Sumu-Yamutbal also have the character of non-standardized ad hoc year names.

- For the limmu's and reigns of the Old Assyrian kings: Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012.
- For the kings of Malgium: De Boer 2013b.
- For the rulers of the Šimaški and 'sukkalmah'-dynasty in Elam: Vallat 2007.

The relative chronology proposed here, is a provisional attempt at a better understanding of the highly complex political situation in southern Mesopotamia. Much of the information in the table is discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 6

A history of early Old Babylonian Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala Region (ca. 2000-1900 BC)

6.1 Introduction

Whereas the history of southern Mesopotamia under the dominance of Isin (and later Larsa) is relatively well documented from the fall of the Ur III empire around 2000 BC onwards,[546] we know next to nothing about the situation in northern Babylonia after the Ur III empire's collapse. Texts from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region become numerous only after 1900 BC. From 1880 BC onwards we see a multitude of smaller kingdoms in this region and almost each one is ruled by a king with an Amorite name. We are more or less in the dark about this region's history, population and culture for the period 2000-1900. One major question for this period is: were there already Amorites present in this area? And if so, where did they come from, how did they seize power and how were they organized? These questions cannot be answered outright because we lack any narrative and textual sources. However, as we shall see, it is possible to gain some indirect evidence about the pre-1900 period from later or earlier dated texts.

6.2 Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region in the Ur III period

The textual finds from Northern Babylonia in the Ur III period are very scant, especially when compared with the rich textual finds from southern Mesopo-

[546] Charpin 2004a:57-152 is still the norm for early Old Babylonian history. Wu Yuhong 1994a deals for the most part with the history of the Diyala region and Ešnunna in particular. Edzard 1957 must still be mentioned here, because of the fundamental research he did on this period.

tamia: Puzriš-Dagan, Girsu, Umma, Ur and Nippur, and recently the Garšana and Iri-Sagrig archives.

Since Steinkeller's groundbreaking article,[547] Ur III scholars have in general understood the Ur III kingdom as consisting of a directly governed core, supplemented with a more loosely controlled periphery and several vassal states, acting as a buffer.[548] In spite of its lack of sources, northern Babylonia is considered a part of the core of the Ur III state. These northern territories were conquered by Ur-Namma, the Ur III dynasty's founder, a feat which is reflected in the prologue of the 'Ur-Namma Law Code' and the 'Ur-Namma Cadastre'.[549]According to Steinkeller we know of the following Ur III provinces in northern Babylonia: Sippar, A.HA (not located), Urum (not located), Puš (not located), Kutha, Babylon, Kiš, Kazallu, Giritab (not located), and Apiak (not located). One might also consider Ešnunna and Išim-Šulgi (not located) in the Diyala region[550] and Marad which is on the frontier of northern and southern Babylonia. Each of these provinces had its own ENSI$_2$-governor.

In Sallaberger 1999a:208-210 we can find a useful list of sites that have provided texts datable to the Ur III period. From northern Babylonia we can list the following places:

6.2.1 *Ešnunna/Tell Asmar*

The American excavations at Tell Asmar yielded large numbers of Ur III texts, which have been published very sporadically. The expedition's epigraphist mentions that the Ur III texts contain year names from Šulgi 30 to the second year of Ibbi-Sîn.[551] Ešnunna was governed under the Ur III kings by an ENSI$_2$. According to the information given by Jacobsen, the first ENSI$_2$ was Urguedinna (Šulgi 31), followed by Bamu (Šulgi 46), Kallamu (Šulgi 47, transferred from Kazallu to Ešnunna, governing until at least Amar-Sîn 9) and finally Itūrīya, whose son Šū-ilīya declared himself an independent ruler of Ešnunna somewhere during Ibbi-Sîn's reign.[552] Whiting, who was charged with the tablets' publication almost half a century later, mentions that the total number of OB and Ur III texts amounts to 1400. Apart from the early Old

[547] Steinkeller 1987.
[548] However, see the comments by Sallaberger 1999a:197.
[549] See Frayne 1997 *RIME* 3/2 p.16 and p. 50-56 and Kraus 1955.
[550] Steinkeller 1987:22-23.
[551] Jacobsen 1940:159.
[552] Jacobsen 1940:196.

Babylonian letters and a few other texts,[553] no integral dossiers have been published over the years.[554]

6.2.2 *Sippar-Amnānum/Tell ed-Dēr*

One loan of barley from Ur III was found by Iraqi archaeologists at Tell-ed Dēr.[555] It is dated to the year Šū-Sîn 9, it contains seven names, of which four are Akkadian, one Sumerian and the two others undeterminable.

Two other texts (*TIM* 7 115 and 116), also published by Edzard, seem to stem from the intermittent period between Ur III and the time of the local rulers of Sippar, they are highly interesting and unique, but provide no evidence for an Ur III Amorite presence.

6.2.3 *Tell Išān-Mizyad*

Išān-Mizyad[556] is situated some 5 km north of Tell al-Uhaimir (Kiš). This large site has provided evidence of occupation from the Old Akkadian to the Neo-Babylonian period. The site has yielded two groups of texts from the Ur III period.[557] An economic-administrative archive consisting of 30 texts from the time of Ibbi-Sîn and 84 undated lists of workers. Candidates for Išān-Mizyad's ancient name have been: Akkad,[558] Bāb-Ea,[559] and Zimahula[560], but none of these have been accepted until now. The texts were published by two Iraqi Assyriologists: Rashid 1984 published most of the lists of workers and Al-Mutawally published other texts.[561]

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[553] Like Gelb's 1968 an 'Old Babylonian List of Amorites'.

[554] Whiting 'cherry-picked' the other texts and published several articles on individual texts (Whiting 1977a, 1985a, 1985b and 1987b), for Ur III: Whiting 1976, 1977b and 1979. It appears that Reichel is now charged with the publication of the Ešnunna texts, see Reichel 2001a, 2001b, 2003 and 2008.

[555] Published by Edzard 1970a as text 1.

[556] For the site in general: Karg and Streck 1994:317-318.

[557] A general description by the site's excavator is Mahdi 1986.

[558] Weiss 1975:442-451.

[559] Rashid 1984:188 (١٨٨).

[560] Al-Mutawally 1989:329.

[561] The texts themselves were published in copy : Al-Mutawally 1989. Preliminary reports are: Al-Mutawally 1982 (in Arabic) and Al-Mutawally 1991 (in English).

6.2.4 *Evidence from the large Ur III archives of southern Babylonia*

It is estimated that at least some 100,000 tablets from the Ur III period are kept in collections worldwide. The largest part (about 95%)[562] of them stem from the large institutional archives at Girsu, Umma, Puzriš-Dagan (Drehem), Ur, and private houses in Nippur.[563] Recently, two large private archives were published from Garšana and Iri-Sagrig.[564] In addition to this, two smaller private archives are currently known. The first is from the merchant Tūram-ilī[565] and the second belonged to an entrepreneur called SI.A-a.[566]

All these large Ur III archives contain haphazard information on the inhabitants of northern Babylonia, mostly in the form of names of people stemming from northern cities. An important tool is the volume on Ur III in the series *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cuneiformes* (*RGTC*).[567] This book, in spite of its age (1974) is still useful, because it not only gives us the place names, but also the names of the people associated with them (mostly their Ur III ENSI$_2$-governors), see the Appendix to chapter 6.

6.2.5 *Provisory conclusions*

The few references from Ur III northern Babylonia do not tell us very much. What is important, nonetheless, is the fact that the onomasticon in this region seems predominantly Akkadian, with a Sumerian element and a few personal names that cannot directly be assigned to any language. Even though some of the names might be considered as Amorite,[568] it remains problematic to definitely label some names as Amorite. Note that none of the texts or persons from northern Babylonia has the gentilic MAR.TU added to them.

Based on the *current* information on northern Babylonia during the Ur III period there is no sign of any significant Amorite presence, perhaps not even

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[562] Michalowski 2002:25.

[563] For the archive of Ur-Nusku DAM.GÀR: Garfinkle 2012:109-136.

[564] Owen and Mayr 2007 and Owen 2013.

[565] See Van de Mieroop 1986b and Garfinkle 2002, as well as the additional texts published by Mohammed Taher 2010. A comprehensive study was eventually published by Garfinkle 2012.

[566] See Garfinkle 2003 and Garfinkle 2012.

[567] Edzard and Farber 1974, important additions to this corpus are the review articles by Owen 1981 and Waetzoldt 1975.

[568] For example from the lists published by Rashid 1984: *bu-za-nu-um* (number 22 p.196 ii:11), *za-zi-na-ru* (number 21 p.195 ii:11), and *zi-za-ra-núm* (number 19 p.193 iii:8).

any Amorite presence at all in this region. This is in contrast to the Diyala region, where an influential Amorite group entertained relations with the rulers of Ešnunna from the end of the Ur III period onwards.

6.3 Two Amorite populations: one in the North, one in the South

It is no longer credible to state that 'the Amorites' seized power all over Mesopotamia right after the fall of the Ur III empire. There were many successor states to the Ur III domination, but none of these was ruled by people with clear Amorite names or affiliations. That came only later.[569]

The Ur III sources seem to point out only two places where there were significant numbers of Amorites (MAR.TU).[570]

1) The first group is found in the Ur III heartland. Michalowski has attempted to show that many people from this area designated as MAR.TU were in all probability members of the military and/or an elite (royal) bodyguard.[571] These people must have been highly organized militarily and this would very well explain why they took power in Larsa around or after 1975 BC.[572] It also explains why the Larsa kings traced their ancestry back to one of the most important Ur III Amorites, Naplānum, who could have been the leader of the Ur III royal bodyguard under Šulgi and Šū-Sîn[573]. This Naplānum supposedly lived in a town near Larsa called Kisig, where we might expect more Amo-

[569] We refrain from the discussion regarding Išbi-Erra's roots: it does not seem plausible that the Isin kings were of Amorite stock, because there is nothing or little to proof this, see also Michalowski 2011:118.

[570] Here we draw heavily on Michalowski's 2011 study on the (Ur III) Amorites.

[571] Michalowski 2011:105-110.

[572] This idea is not new; see Weeks 1985, Whiting 1995 and recently Michalowski 2011:109 and 119. The Larsa 'king' who 'ruled' at this time was Samium (ca. 1976-1942). There is almost no information about this man. (Fitzgerald 2002:31-35). Nor is it certain that it was Samium who broke free from Isin's rule, but it is likely that Larsa was under Isin's rule after the Ur III collapse (Charpin 2004a:69. In any case, Larsa was independent from the rule of Zabāya (1941-1933) onwards.

[573] Michalowski 2011:108, on Naplānum: Steinkeller 2004:37-40 and Fitzgerald 2002:18-25 and p. 165-167.

rites, perhaps Naplānum's kinsmen and family.[574] This military background in turn also explains the title *rabiān amurrim* carried by early OB (Larsa) kings: Charpin has argued for a common background of the royal title *rabiān amurrim* and the later OB military titles UGULA MAR.TU and GAL MAR.TU (both *rabi amurrim*): *rabiān amurrim* and *rabi amurrim* both designate someone as 'chief of the (military) Amorites'. In this view these early OB kings claimed leadership of a military Amorite elite.[575]

2) The second group of 'Amorites' stem from the KUR MAR.TU, which is not in Syria according to the Ur III sources, but to the north-east of the Ur III state, in the upper Diyala valley behind the Jebel Hamrin.[576] It is not a country, but rather a vaguely defined area, that was a frontier region from whence the Ur III armies conducted military campaigns against polities up north (Urbilum, Simurrum) or further in the Zagros (Šimaški).

It is possible that Naplānum and his men originated from this area in the Zagros foothills.[577] Before and subsequent to the Ur III collapse in 2002 BC it is possible that other Amorites trickled down the upper Diyala valley into the lower Diyala region where we encounter them in the early Ešnunna texts from 2000 BC onwards. There is sparse evidence that they were pastoralists: a reference to a pasture or 'nomadic encampment' (*nawûm*) is found in an early Ešnunna letter[578] and a locality outside of Tutub is called 'the tents' (*kuštarātum*).[579]

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[574] Steinkeller 2004:38. This reminds us of an early Išbi-Erra year name: MU URU.KI MAR.TU BA.HUL (Išbi-Erra year 8 = Ibbi-Sîn 16), 'The year: the MAR.TU town was destroyed'. This MAR.TU town could very well have been a Southern Mesopotamian town containing an Amorite garrison or mercenaries, fighting for the Ur III king.

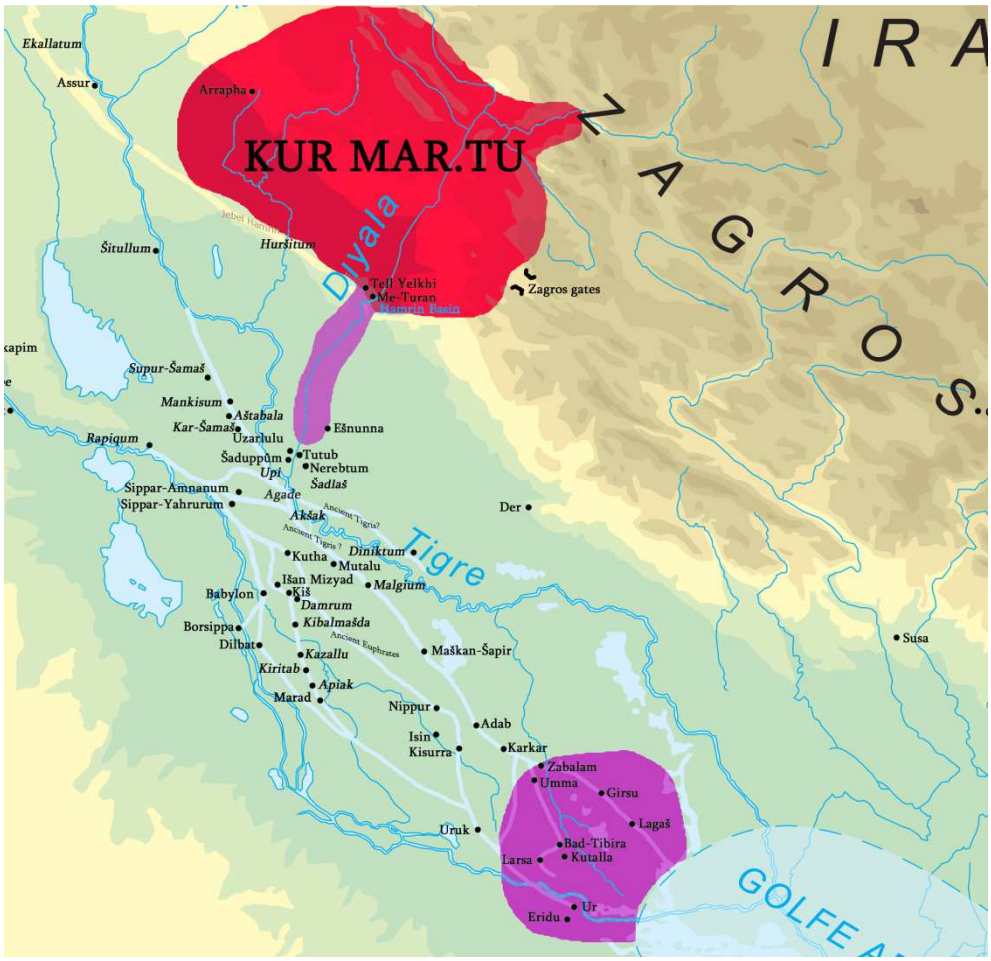
[575] Charpin 2007:170. The texts in the Lu-igisa archive (Walters 1970) provide many additional occurences of people with Amorite names in the early Old Babylonian kingdom of Larsa.

[576] Michalowski 2011:93-105.

[577] Michalowski 2011:104.

[578] Whiting 1987a *AS* 22 23:12.

[579] ŠÀ *ku-uš-ta-ra-tum*, *JCS* 9 p. 78 no. 26:5-8, MU BÀD *hu-ri-ib-šu-um*^{ki}; *ku-uš-ta-ri*^{ki}, *JCS* 9 p. 118 no. 101:4, undated. These texts are however dated between ca. 1900 and 1870 BC.



Map 1 The Presence of Amorite People (in Purple) and the 'Amorite land' (KUR MAR.TU, in Red) around 2000 BC

6.3.1 *The homeland of the Amorites*

Was this 'KUR MAR.TU' then the 'homeland' of the Amorites? Traditionally it has always been thought that the Amorites came from the region of the Djebel Bishri in Syria, from where they purportedly descended the Euphrates and penetrated the Ur III empire. That this theory is anachronistic was demonstrated by Michalowski 2011. However, another view was promoted by Charpin and Durand.

Their view has two major components, the *kispum* ritual of the Babylonian kings[580] and the so-called 'toponymie en miroir'.[581] Charpin and Durand have put forth the idea that Amorite migration waves can be identified in three of the four 'reigns' (BALA/*palûm*) in the famous 'Hammurabi genealogy'. This is a text from Ammi-ṣaduqa's reign describing food offerings to deceased members and related persons of the royal house (called a *kispum* ritual). The tablet containing the *kispum* ritual enumerates a number of eponymous ancestors, Babylonian kings, and other people connected to the Babylonian royal house. In the middle of the list we find the 'reign' of the Amorite troops (BALA ERIN$_2$ MAR.[TU]), Hana troops (BALA ERIN$_2$ *he-a-*[*na*], Gutium (BALA *gu-ti-um*), and any 'reign' that was not written on this tablet (BALA *ša i-na ṭup-pí an-ni-i la ša-aṭ-ru*). The first three 'reigns' represent according to Durand and Charpin phases in the history of the Amorite group to which the Babylonian kings belonged.[582] These 'reigns' are interpreted as their itinerary (see map 2).[583]

The second argument was worked out by Charpin as the mirror topography. Earlier, scholars had already pointed to this mirror topography,[584] in which two different regions carried the same name. It is a fact that several geographical names occur more than once across the Near East in the Old Babylonian period. Charpin has three explanations for this phenomenon: pure chance, the result of deportations, and Amorite migration waves.[585] He points out that none of the 'mirror topography' names already existed before the Old Babylonian period. In addition, a number of these geographical names are in fact tribal names. Amorite tribes would have renamed newly settled territories after their places of origin.

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[580] Finkelstein 1966, with Lambert 1968, Birot 1980, Charpin and Durand 1986, and Durand 2012a. The whole significance of the *kispum* ritual is again thoroughly revisited by Jacquet in 2002. He places it in a wider context stating that it is a cult aimed at the royal family as well as the tribe at large to which the Amorite kings belonged.

[581] Charpin 2003.

[582] Charpin and Durand 1986:166-170 and Durand 2012a:38-39.

[583] Wossink's theory (2009) connects to the idea that the Amorites came originally from Northern Syria.

[584] See for example Stol 1976:70: 'We find that Emutbalum/Yamutbalum could designate, at the same time, both the kingdom of Larsa ánd tribal groups in the North, that did not depend on Rīm-Sîn'.

[585] Charpin 2003:12-18.



Map 2 Amorite Migration Waves after Charpin and Durand

6.3.2 *Amorite settlement patterns and migration waves*

There is no direct evidence for an Amorite migration wave into Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region. However, the Amorite personal names and their distribution allow us to draw some conclusions.

The absolute percentages of Amorite personal names are the highest in Kiš and Damrum and Tutub (both 9%), the Degree of Homonymy is also the lowest for these two sites (0.09 and 0.11, see chapter 3) The Tutub texts are among the oldest texts in the whole corpus (ca. 1900 until 1870 BC), while the other (Diyala) texts are usually from a period several decades (and thus generations) later. An explanation might be that the Amorite component was less acculturated (visible in the adopting of Akkadian names) in Tutub in this early period. The high number of Amorite personal names in Kiš and Damrum might be explained by the hypothesis that the urban elites in towns such as Sippar and Kiš had prevented the settlement of too many (lower status) Amo-

rites within their city walls.[586] As a result, these people were more or less forced to settle in the countryside. We can compare the situation at Damrum and Kiš with Sippar and Halhalla: the Amorites seem mostly settled in smaller towns around the old traditional urban centers.

The research done on the occurrence of hapax and dis legomenon names has shown clearly that the Amorite and 'other' names occur relatively less frequent than the Akkadian and Sumerian names.[587] The fact that Amorite names occur once or twice more often might be indicative of a migration wave, where the names of newcomers are less frequent than those of the indigenous population. However, this information might also be interpreted differently: Amorite names could have been less frequent in the cities than in the countryside, or they were becoming less popular.

The strongest indication against an Amorite migration wave was also provided by the Amorite personal names. The main theophoric elements are the Moongod Erah and 'the God' El: exactly the same as for the Akkadian names (the Moongod Sin and 'the God' Ilum) in early OB Northern Babylonian and the Diyala region. The early OB Amorite names show little affinity with the Amorite names in the later dated Mari archives, where we encounter the main gods of the middle Euphrates and the Levant as the main theophoric elements: Addu and Dagan. The fact that early OB Amorite and Akkadian names show these similarities, suggests a period of acculturation. This means that the early OB 'Amorites' might have been indigenous to the region or that they were acculturated to the local population over the course of a few generations.

6.3.3 *Amorites in the Zagros: Simurrum and Choga Gavaneh*

Ahmed published a highly interesting text in his 2012 dissertation (already mentioned in chapter 2). The inscription is from Iddin-Sîn, a king of Simurrum[588]

[586] See Chapter 3.

[587] As a reminder: the total percentage of Amorite names in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region is 8%. Of all the Amorite names, 86% occur only once or twice. Of all the Akkadian/Sumerian names, 73% occur only once or twice.

[588] Ahmed 2012:218 and p. 297-302, puts Simurrum and its country beyond the Jebel Hamrin mountain range (the western part of the KUR MAR.TU in map 1).

(ca. 2030-2000 BC).[589] He tells us explicitly that he defeated Amorites during his reign:[590]

> [75] Mad/k/qia-[x] [76] Šawa/i/piya-[x] [77] Magiba-ni(?) [78] Ahatum [79] (and) Awīlānum, [80-81] the Amorite leaders [82] he slew them [83-85] and he chased away the Amorites from his territory (=Iddin-Sîn's). [86] The god Nišba, [87] his lord, [88-89] had heard his word(s) [90-91] (and) he destroyed the lands, [92-94] he slew the Amorites and the Šimaškians.

This text establishes without a doubt an Amorite presence in the upper Diyala region or at least the Zagros foothills and validates the argument that the 'KUR MAR.TU' lay around the Jebel Hamrin. However, this is not all: three of the names of the Amorite *rabiānum*'s are linguistically undetermined and two of them are Akkadian.[591]

A group of texts that completely turn our ideas about Amorites and Akkadians upside down was recently published by Abdi and Beckman. They published 56 texts, 28 fragments and a cylinder seal from a site deep in the Zagros mountains: Choga Gavaneh. The texts are not dated, but they have OB characteristics.[592] The personal names are overwhelmingly Akkadian, but there are also Amorite names[593] and mention of Amorite *mandu* soldiers from Dēr.[594]

It seems easiest to assume that Choga Gavaneh was home to a Mesopotamian merchant colony trading along the Great Khorasan Road (a trading route linking Mesopotamia with Central Asia). Along this route at least two commodities were headed for Mesopotamia: lapis lazuli and tin from Afghanistan.

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[589] Ahmed 2012:244-245.

[590] Taken from Ahmed 2012 p. 257-258, lines 75-94: ^{I}*ma-di/ki-a-*[*x*], ^{I}*ša-wa/wi/pi-a-*[*x*], ^{I}*ma-gi-ba-*ˀ*ni*(?)ˀ, ^{I} *a-ha-*ˀ*tum*ˀ, *Ia-wi-la-núm*, *ra-bí-a-nu*, *a-mu-ri-im*, *i-ne-er-šu-nu-ti*, *ù a-mu-ra-am*, *i-na kúl-le-*ˀ*e*(?)ˀ*-šu, iṭ-ru-«ud»-us-sú*, ^{d}*ni-iš-ba, be-el-šu, a-wa-as-sú,* ˀ*iš*ˀ*-me-ma, ma-tá-tim, ú-*ˀ*ha*ˀ*-li-iq*, *a-mu-ra-am,* ˀ*ù*ˀ *si-maš-kà-am*^{ki}, *i-ne-er*.

[591] Ahmed 2012:271-272.

[592] Abdi and Beckman 2007:46: early eighteenth century.

[593] Abdi and Beckman 2007:48 state that 13 out of 180 complete personal names are Amorite, a more conservative count would find only one: Hammurabi in *ChG* 20:v5'.

[594] The text is *ChG* 18, in which 7 *mandu* (could there be a link to the term *ummān-mandu*?) soldiers from Dēr are mentioned, 3 substitute soldiers from Agade and 8 soldiers from Ṣilli <son?> of Idi. The town of Dēr in *ChG* 18 (written BÀD^{KI}) is most likely the Transtigridian town along the Zagros foothills (mostly written BÀD.AN^{KI} though), but could also be a town in Elamite territory (see De Graef 2007:96).

The Mesopotamian merchants would themselves typically trade in textiles.[595] The texts do seem to support such a hypothesis,[596] but why has almost everybody an Akkadian name? Where are the Elamite or Gutian names? Or was Choga Gavaneh an all-Mesopotamian outpost? Perhaps people this far in the Zagros simply carried Akkadian names (Sumerian names are absent). Why are there so many female names in the ration lists? Enough questions that we will not be able to answer here.

Mention must also be made of Arim-Lim[597], *rabiān* MAR.TU, whose inscription was found at Mê-Turān, where the Diyala river breaks through the Jebel Hamrin mountains.[598] A certain Ahi-maraṣ ruled there as well.[599]

To conclude, we cannot be sure about the Amorites' 'homeland'. This notion presupposes again the outdated theory concerning mass migrations. Charpin,Durand, and Michalowski do seem to be correct that the Amorites from the Ur III period came down from the Diyala river basin from the Zagros foothills, from what the Ur III scribes conveniently called the KUR MAR.TU. The fact that none of the early OB Amorite names contains Addu or Dagan does not suggest a Syrian homeland for the early OB Amorites.[600] However, linguistically we cannot deny a connection between the languages behind the Early OB Amorites' names and the Mari era Amorites. But that does not necessarily imply a common homeland.

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[595] Perhaps from the Diyala region, given the Diyala syllabary and month names? Note also the name Nūr-Tišpak (*ChG* F1:5', cf. Abdi and Beckman 2007:47.

[596] Cloths: *ChG* 3, 4, 17. Donkeys (for caravans): *ChG* 2, 15, 44. Soldiers (perhaps to escort caravans or protect the settlement): *ChG* 5, 18, 31.

[597] His death is commemorated in the year name found on the Šadlaš/Nērebtum treaty, cf. Greengus 1979:74-77, Wu Yuhong 1994a:54-61, and Wu Yuhong 1994b.

[598] Frayne 1990 E4.16.1.

[599] Known from an unpublished Mê-Turān text, see Wu Yuhong 1994a:52.

[600] If we look at the most prominent divine names in Ebla personal names we find mostly gods such as Damu, Yišar, Malik and 'the God': Il. Names composed with Dagan and Addu (Adda in Ebla) are present, but less frequent. Interesting is the total absence of the Amorite Moongod Erah in the Ebla material. For these observations I used the list of Ebla names in Pagan 1998:269-392.

6.4 The political situation of Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region between ca. 2000-1900 BC

Under the Ur III kings the entire region was divided into provinces, ruled by ENSI$_2$'s.[601] After the fall of the Ur III empire at the hands of the Elamites and Šimaškians there were at least seven polities (that we know of) independently active in Mesopotamia: the Šimaški-confederation, Simurrum, Assur, Malgium, Dēr, Ešnunna, and Isin. The first three; Šimaški,[602] Simurrum,[603] and Assur[604] fall outside of the scope of this study, in the following section we will take a look at the situation in the other towns from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region between ca. 2000-1900 BC.

6.4.1.1 Ešnunna/Tell Asmar

The excavations at Ešnunna yielded texts from the Ur III period into the early OB period. Ešnunna had broken free from Ur III's yoke sometime after Ibbi-Sîn's third regnal year (2024): Šū-ilīya, the son of the Ur III ENSI$_2$ Itūrīya, proclaimed himself 'king of the land of Warûm'.[605] Šū-ilīya also took the divine determinative in front of his name, the only Ešnunna king to do so.[606] He exchanged gifts with Išbi-Erra of Isin, who was in power from 2019 BC onwards.[607]

Šū-ilīya was succeeded by Nūr-ahum (perhaps around 2010 BC?).[608] However it is not clear what the exact connection between the two was: in a year name Šū-ilīya's heir apparent (IBILA LUGAL) is called Ikūn-pi-Tišpak.[609] From the apocryphal Puzur-Numušda letter we learn that Nūr-ahum was also

[601] Steinkeller 1987 and Sallaberger 1999:190-199.

[602] Michalowski 2009-2011.

[603] Ahmed 2012:237-302 and Frayne 2009-2011.

[604] Veenhof 2008:122-130.

[605] Warûm is the territory of Ešnunna, Išme-Dagan of Isin (1955-1937) claims in a recently published Akkadian inscription that he was also the king of Warûm: George 2011:90.

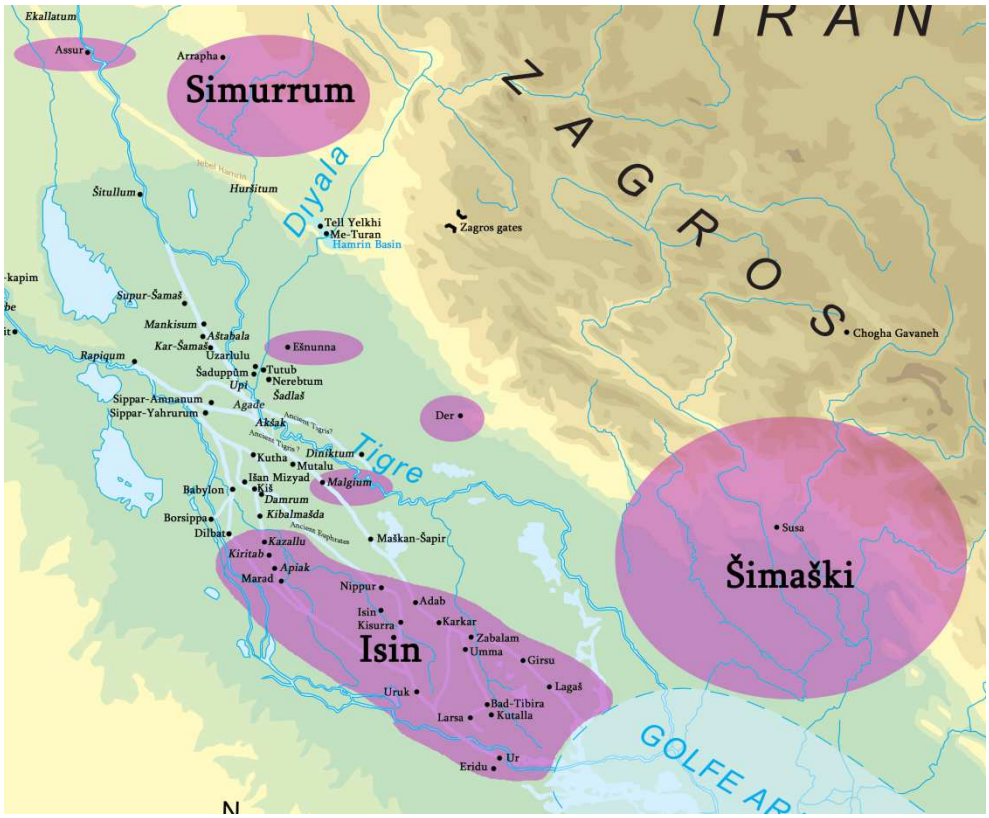
[606] Whiting 1987a:26, Wu Yuhong 1994a:2-5, and Charpin 2004a:64-65.

[607] Known from the unpublished text 1931-T148, cited by Whiting 1987a:115.

[608] Many authors state that Šū-ilīya might have been killed by Zinnum, the ENSI$_2$ of Subartu around 2010 BC (based on the Puzur-Numušda letter). This idea is refuted by Michalowski 2011:194-198, who translates the relevant passage in the Puzur-Numušda letter differently, making Zinnum an ENSI$_2$ who took prisoners in Subartu.

[609] Whiting 1977b:174 n. 10, Jacobsen 1940:173 no. 47.

allied to Išbi-Erra.[610] However, another important alliance was struck between Nūr-ahum and the Amorite chief Abda-El. A daughter of Nūr-ahum was married to Ušašum, the son of Abda-El.[611]



Map 3 The Political Situation after the Ur III collapse

Nūr-ahum was in turn ousted from the Ešnunna throne by Kirikiri: a man bearing what appears to be an Elamite name.[612] This event happened together with the destruction by fire of the Ešnunna palace and the desecration of the

[610] Michalowski 2011:197.

[611] Whiting 1987:26. What can this tell us about the hierarchy between Nūr-ahum and Abda-El? Did the stronger one present his daughter in marriage, or was it the other way around? In OB Mari Zimri-Lim married of his daughters to his vassals, and he in turn married a daughter of his overlord, the king of Aleppo. See the remarks by Whiting 1987a:27-28.

[612] See the remarks by Wu Yuhong 1994a:12.

Šū-Sîn temple.[613] Kirikiri probably founded his new dynasty around 2005 BC.[614] Even though Kirikiri was the ENSI$_2$ of Ešnunna, he was also the *king* of the land of Warûm.[615] Kirikiri must have understood the importance of continued Amorite support and he married his son Bilalama to a daughter of Abda-El.[616] Kirikiri's son-in-law Ušašum (who calls him 'my brother') even wrote a letter to Kirikiri.[617]

Bilalama[618] succeeded his father on Ešnunna's throne,[619] this must have been not long after the fall of the Ur III empire (2002 BC), his reign lasted for ten or twenty years. It should come as no surprise that Bilalama, with his suspected Elamite roots married off his daughter, Šimat-Kubi,[620] to Tan-ruhuratir, the king of the Šimaški confederation and ENSI$_2$ of Susa.[621]

Textual remains from Bilalama's time show that he was in contact with most of the important rulers of lower Mesopotamia at that time: Šū-ilīšu of Isin,[622] Šū-Kakka of Malgium,[623] Anzabazuna of Simurrum,[624] Tan-ruhuratir of the Šimaški, and Ilum-mutabbil of Dēr[625]. Apart from these city rulers,

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[613] These events were reconstructed by Reichel 2003:368.

[614] Maybe even at roughly the same time that the Elamite/Šimaški confederation conquered Ur.

[615] This is known from the famous Bilalama cylinder seal. Reichel 2003 has shown that Nūr-Ahum's official seal was recut and presented to Bilalama by his father Kirikiri.

[616] Reichel 2003:368 and Whiting 1987a:28. Again: what tells this about the underlying hierarchy, was Abda-El now the stronger party, because his daughter married to Ešnunna's ruler? Saporetti 1998:77 believes that a year name from Nērebtum also commemorates the wedding between Bilalama and Abda-El's daughter (Greengus 1979:34 no. 54): MU *ru-bu-um* DUMU.MUNUS *ha-ab-di-*[*e*]*l i-hu-zu*.

[617] *AS* 22 10.

[618] The name should probably be read as Billama, it occurs in this form on the brick inscription from his daughter (*MDP* 2 80 and *MDP* 14 24; *bil-la-ma*). It is written on a cylinder seal from a son of his as *bi-la-ma* (Frayne 1990 E5.3.4.5) and also on a cylinder seal offered to his daughter Šimat-Kubi (Frayne 1990 E4.5.3.3).

[619] Saporetti 2002:61-74 also wrote on Bilalama.

[620] There are also two cylinder seals mentioning Šimat-Kubi: one servant seal from Susa (Frayne 1990 E4.5.3.2007) and a seal offered by Bilalama to Šimat-Kubi (Frayne 1990 E4.5.3.3).

[621] *MDP* 2 80 and *MDP* 14 24, see also Wu Yuhong 1994a:13. For the sequence of the Šimaški and later Sukkalmah rulers: Vallat 2007 and 2009.

[622] Whiting 1987b:30-32.

[623] Whiting 1987b:34-35 with De Boer 2013b.

[624] Whiting 1987b:30.

[625] Whiting 1987a:28-29 n. 88.

Bilalama entertained close relations with two Amorite families which will be discussed in a later section. Bilalama was perhaps also the Ešnunna ruler who conquered Tutub.[626]

No less than eight letters in the Ešnunna correspondence were sent to Bilalama, many of them concern Amorites and the political situation.

- *AS* 22 11 (sender unknown, probably Ušašum) this letter was sent shortly before the funeral of the important Amorite chief Abda-El, the writer pleads with Bilalama to send him expensive gifts for the funeral.
- *AS* 22 12 (from Battum, wife of Abda-El) Battum complains to Bilalama about her servants.
- *AS* 22 13 (sender unknown, but probably a ruler higher in rank) the writer reproaches Bilalama about the way he addresses him.[627].
- *AS* 22 14 (from Adallal) fragmentary letter.
- *AS* 22 15 (from Ilum-lu-watar) this letter was written by the son of another important Amorite leader: Usû. He reminds Bilalama that Usû had sent a funerary gift for Bilalama's grandfather (the unknown father of Kirikiri). Now Ilum-lu-watar wants Bilalama to send him a gift for Usû's funeral.
- *AS* 22 16 (sender unknown) the letter is about a slave girl.
- *AS* 22 17 (sender unknown, but probably a ruler higher in rank) the writer reproaches Bilalama about the confinement of a messenger.
- *AS* 22 18 (sender unknown) three unconnected fragments.
- *AS* 22 23 (sender and addressee unknown) this letters mentions a discourse held by Bilalama concerning a threat to Kunzānum.

Another important source for Bilalama's contacts with Amorites are his year names. In contrast to the letters which mention good contacts between Bilalama and the Amorites, the year names commemorate conquests over the Amorites:[628]

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[626] See Saporetti 1998:94, attributed to Nūr-ahum by Wu Yuhong 1994a:7.

[627] Whiting 1987a:56-57 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:17 differ in their interpretation of this letter.

[628] For all the variants: Saporetti 1998:77-93 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:18-19. Charpin 2004a:67: 'La correspondance royale montre également que les relations de Bilalama avec les Amorites furent tantôt bonnes et tantôt hostiles;...' Wu Yuhong 1994a:18: 'Although the evidence above shows a good relationship between Bilalama and the Amorites in the Diyala region, from other letters and the year names of Bilalama we know that there were

- *OIP* 43 date 55 MU MAR.TU A.ŠÀ *i-bi-*^{d}E[N.ZU] BA.AB.RA, 'Year: the Amorite(s) of 'The-field-of-Ibbi-Sîn' were defeated.
- *OIP* 43 date 64 MU MAR.TU (BALA) *i-šur*^{ki} BA.GAZ.A, 'Year: the Amorite(s) of Išur were killed'.
- *OIP* 43 date 65 MU MAR.TU BALA *i-šur*^{ki} *bi-la-la-ma*.RA MU.NA.AN.SIM, 'Year: the Amorite(s) gave the rule of Išur to Bilalama'.
- *OIP* 43 date 66 MU MAR.TU KÁ-^{d}*i-ba-um* BA.AB.RA, 'Year: the Amorite(s) of Ka-Ibaum were defeated'.
- *OIP* 43 date 67 MU.ÚS.SA MAR.TU KÁ-^{d}*i-ba-um* BA.AB.RA, 'Year: after the Amorite(s) of Ka-Ibaum were defeated'.
- *OIP* 43 date 68 MU.ÚS.SA MAR.TU KÁ-^{d}*i-ba-um* BA.GAZ MU.ÚS.SA.BI, 'The second year after the Amorite(s) of Ka-Ibaum were killed'.
- *OIP* 43 date 70 MU *bi-la-la-ma* ENSI$_2$ ÁŠ.NUN^{KI} SAG+DU MAR.TU ŠU.TÍBIR.RA BI.IN.RA, 'Year: Bilalama, the ENSI$_2$ of Ešnunna struck the Amorite(s) on the head with the fist'.
- *OIP* 43 date 81 MU MAR.TU GÚ IM.GAR (attribution to Bilalama's reign uncertain), 'Year: the Amorite(s) submitted'.

These year names mention Amorites from three localities: Išur, Ka-Ibaum and A.šà Ibbi-Sîn. Let's take a closer look at these:

Išur is known from Bilalama's year names, a letter,[629] and a year name from Warassa,[630] almost a century later.[631] In all cases the kings of Ešnunna took control of Išur or defeated it.

Ka-Ibaum is only mentioned in Bilalama's year names. Place names of the type KÁ-^{d}DN^{ki} are rare, the most famous one is Babylon (KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}, archaic writing: KÁ.DINGIR^{KI}),[632] but most others occur only in lexical lists.[633] A god called '^{d}*i-ba-um*' is not known from other sources,[634] but Ibaum is perhaps

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also many battles between them'. We follow Wu Yuhong's translation of the year names, see his comments: Wu Yuhong 1994a:19-20.

[629] *AS* 22 12:18, a son of a certain Šū-Išhara is going to Išur.

[630] Saporetti 1998:321.

[631] A place name written as ni.šur^{ki} (=*ì-šur*^{ki}) is mentioned in a version of the Anzu epic, Saggs 1986:27 line 146, but this is probably not connected to the early OB Išur.

[632] Lambert 2011, note also the writing 'BAR.KI.BAR' for Babylon in a Pre-Sargonic inscription: Lambert:2011:73.

[633] *MSL* 11:132 v:35-39: KÁ-^{d}LÚ.LÀL^{KI}, KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}, KÁ-^{d}IŠTARAN(KA.DI)^{KI}, KÁ-^{d}KASKAL^{KI}, KÁ-^{d}GEŠTIN (read in *MSL* 11 as LUGAL).AN.NA^{ki}.

[634] In Dilbat the Uraš temple was called É-^{d}*i-bi-a-nu-um*, George 1993:102 no. 493.

a deified (Amorite) ancestor: exactly the same name occurs in the List of Amorites published by Gelb.[635] Also, KÁ-^{d}*i-ba-um* does not carry the geographical determinative KI. It is a possibility that we should actually read the name as *Bāb-Ibaum* (KÁ is Akkadian *bābum*).

A.šà-Ibbi-Sîn is perhaps the most obscure place name. This type of place name is only known for one other locality: ^{URU}A.ŠÀ.ŠIR^{KI} near Kutalla.[636] The name A.ŠÀ-*i-bi*-^{d}E[N.ZU] could rather refer to a field where some kind of battle took place than to an actual town.

To sum up: the Amorites that Bilalama fought were located in very small or obscure towns: not even one of them is found in the Harmal Geographical List, which otherwise does mention obscure towns in the Diyala region.[637] It is likely that the Amorites were defeated in temporary settlements or towns that had only been founded shortly before the battles.

It is not certain who succeeded Bilalama; a son of his is called Šalila-milkum. This name is written on a duck weight.[638] Bilalama's immediate successor seems to have been the ephemeral Išar-ramāšu,[639] the connection between him and Bilalama is unknown.

The next rulers on Ešnunna's throne were Uṣur-awāssu,[640] Azuzum,[641] Ur-Ninmarki,[642] and Ur-Ningišzida[643]. The letters and year names from this period hardly contain any clues about Ešnunna's political history or the Amorites. This does not mean that nothing happened; we just have no information.[644]

The Amorites are frequently mentioned in the early OB Ešnunna letters, but often in a broken context.[645] Amorites occurring in better preserved letters:

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[635] Gelb 1968:40 line 14: *i-ba-um*, normalized by Gelb as 'Jibâ'um'.

[636] Charpin 1980:347.

[637] *MSL* 11:56-59.

[638] Frayne 1990 E4.5.3.5.

[639] Saporetti 2002:79-80 has the idea that Išar-ramašu was in fact a eunuch who seized the throne.

[640] Saporetti 2002:74-79.

[641] Saporetti 2002:80-83.

[642] Saporetti 2002:185-189.

[643] Saporetti 2002:189-190.

[644] It serves little use to repeat what has already been stated by Whiting 1987a:29, Wu Yuhong 1994a:19-25 and Charpin 2004a:67-68.

[645] *AS* 22 3:6'; 4:11; 5:4

- *AS* 22 6 (sender unknown; to 'my lord') the text mentions an attack by the Amorites on a city.
- *AS* 22 7 (sender unknown; to Nūr-Ištar) the letter is about a certain Zihadi who commanded 2000 Amorites marching against Nūr-Ištar.
- *AS* 22 9 sender unknown; to 'my lord') a report from a commander assuring the king that he can withstand an Amorite attack.
- *AS* 22 20 (sender and addressee unknown) a letter mentioning Amorites who went 'to the mountains'.
- *AS* 22 27 (sender and addressee unknown) the writer had summoned the Amorites and he mentions a news report from Išim-Šulgi.
- *AS* 22 46 (sender unknown; to Bibi-x-ku) the letter mentions that the Amorites have taken a decision about Tutub.

6.4.1.2 Amorite dynasties in the Diyala region

Around 2000-1980 BC, the time of Bilalama of Ešnunna and Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilīšu of Isin, we are relatively well informed about two important families of Amorite chiefs: Abda-El and Usû, and less well informed about some other Amorite leaders: Šamāmum, Ilānum, Gā'ušum and Birbirum.

6.4.1.2.1 Abda-El and Ušašum

Abda-El was already mentioned a few times because of the dynastic marriages between his family and two ruling dynasties at Ešnunna. Abda-El[646] himself was apparently married to a woman called Battum.[647] An unnamed daughter of Nūr-ahum was married to Abda-El's most important son Ušašum.[648] When Nūr-ahum was replaced by Kirikiri, Abda-El married off his daughter to Bilalama, Kirikiri's son.[649] The 'deal' of these marriages was probably that the Ešnunnean kings had an Amorite political ally, and perhaps also his military

[646] His 'title' may have been *rabiān amurrim*, following Whiting 1987a:26.

[647] *AS* 22 12 and Whiting 1987a:27.

[648] Is this the 'wife of Ušašum' occuring in an administrative text from Isin? *BIN* 9 238:10, DAM *ú-ʾša-šum*ʾ/MAR.[TU].

[649] Reichel 2003.

support: Gelb's List of Amorites has different 'sections' of Amorites, Abda-El (it could be a homonym) is mentioned twice as section leader.[650]

Abda-El and Ušašum were the recipients of frequent gifts from Bilalama,[651] but also from Išbi-Erra: he is mentioned in *BIN* 9 316 (from Isin, dated Išbi-Erra 12/VII):[652] a large four column tablet recording the disbursement of oil to 'territories' of the Amorites: two of the mentioned Amorites are Abda-El and his son Ušašum.[653] This shows the extent of Abda-El's influence: he was recognized in Isin and in Ešnunna.

Abda-El had at least one other son, called Awīlānum. This Awīlānum died during the reign of Bilalama, because a gift is recorded for his funeral.[654] Incidentally, an Amorite chief called Awīlānum was reportedly killed by Iddin-Sîn of Simurrum at around the same time.[655]

Abda-El himself died during the reign of Bilalama, because Bilalama received a letter from (probably) Ušašum and one from Battum referring to his death.[656] Ušašum also corresponded with one of Bilalama's successors: Uṣur-awāssu.[657]

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[650] Gelb 1968:40 line 9 and:41 line 41. Gelb's text does not explicitly mention a military role for these Amorites.

[651] Whiting 1987a:28 n. 85.

[652] There are many similar, less specific texts registering 'gifts' (NÍG.ŠU.TAG$_4$.A) to Amorites.

[653] *BIN* 9 316 col i 1 DUG.ŠAGAN [Ì].DÙG.GA, *i-túr*-DINGIR, 1 KUŠ DÙG.[...]bi/[...]ta, m[i...i]l, ^{I}m[u...], GÌR *nu-hi*-DINGIR, ^{I}*i-la-nu-um,* ^{I}*la-mu-ma-nu-um,* ^{I}*me-wi-um,* GÌR *en-um-*^{d}EN.ZU, ^{I}*la-ú-šum*, ^{I}*nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU, ***^{I}ab-de$_4$-il***, ***^{I}ú-ša-šum/***DUMU.NI, *ik-ba-nu-um, ma-si-id-a-nu-/um,* GÌR UR-^{d}xx, col ii ^{I} *ša-ma-mu-um,*1 DUG ŠAGAN Ì.DÙG.GA, DAM *ša-ma-mu-um,* GÌR *bu-la-la-tum*, ^{I}*ma-na-nu-um,* GÌR *gu-sà-ni*, ^{I}*i-da-ne*-DINGIR, ^{I}*du-si-mu-um,* ^{I}*sà-ab-ra-nu-um,* ^{I}*ib-ra-nu-um,* ^{I}*hu-ni-na-nu-um,* ^{I}*da-tum-pi$_5$*-DINGIR, ^{I}*a-hi-da-nu-um,* 1 DUG.ŠAGAN Ì.DÙG.GA, LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, GÌR *šu-iš$_8$-tár,* ^{I}*e-me-ṣum,* col iii ^{I}*da-i-*˹x x˺, ^{I}*da-ni-iš-me-*˹x˺, ^{I}*i-na-nu-um,* GÌR *šà-gul-lum,* ^{I}*i-la-pi$_5$-il*, ^{I}*a-sa-súm,* ^{I}*ma-ra-súm,* ^{I}*bu-kà-nu-um,* ^{I}*na-ap-ta-nu-um,* GÌR *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, ^{I}[x]-*ma-nu-um,* [^{I}x]-*ku-bu-um,* [^{I}x]x-*ú-lu-um*, [^{I}]*e-ti-um,* [^{I}]*ku-bu-e-el,* ^{I}*a-bi-ad-e-el,* ^{I}*a-da-tum*, GÌR uš, col iv [..x+] 25 KUŠ DÙG.GAN.TÚG, [...K]UŠ UDU.BI 1 60, 20 DUG.ŠAGAN, KUŠ ˹x x˺, 8 KA.TAB.ŠÈ, NÍG.ŠU.TAG$_4$.A, KI MAR.TU.E.NE, ITI DU$_6$.KÙ, MU.ÚS.SA BÀD, *li-bur-*^{d}*iš-bi-, èr-ra* BA.DÙ.

[654] Whiting 1987a:115.

[655] Probably not the same man, but nevertheless interesting: Ahmed 2012:257-258 (see also the section 'Amorites in the Zagros').

[656] *AS* 22 11 and 12

[657] *AS* 22 24.

6.4.1.2.2 Usû and Ilum-lu-watar

Less attested than Abda-El is Usû, whose name is written differently in a number of sources: *ú-su$_4$-e,*[658] *i-su$_4$-e,*[659] *i-šu-e,*[660] *ú-si-i,*[661] and *u-si-um.*[662]

According to Whiting, Usû occurs in Ešnunnean administrative documents from the reigns of Šū-ilīya, Nūr-ahum, and Bilalama:[663] men of Usû, sometimes denoted as 'Amorite', received rations and precious items. A brother of Usû 'and his Amorite' is mentioned in the unpublished text 1931-T613. In the Isin Craft Archive, there are likewise many references to Usû the Amorite (*ú-sí-i* MAR.TU). His messengers (LÚ KIN.GI$_4$.A) received rations and various items.[664]

The son of Usû was called Ilum-lu-watar,[665] which is explicitly stated in *AS* 22 13. This same Ilum-lu-watar asks Bilalama for a funerary gift for his father in *AS* 12 15.

6.4.1.2.3 Other important Amorites

The chariot (^{GIŠ}GIGIR) of Gā'ušum the Amorite is repaired three times.[666] Ilānum the Amorite occurs as a recipient of gifts.[667] Samāmum the Amorite also receives goods,[668] as does his son,[669] his wife Intinum,[670] and messengers

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[658] *AS* 22 15:2'.

[659] In Ešnunna administrative documents, see the references cited by Whiting 1987a:61.

[660] *AS* 22 13:11'.

[661] Eg. *BIN* 9 324:7.

[662] *BIN* 9 39:6.

[663] Whiting 1987a:58 and 61.

[664] *BIN* 9 39:6, 324:7, 325:8, 326:5-6, 395:27, 34, 408:5, *AAICAB* 1,1 pl. 79 Ashm 1932-280:7.

[665] See Whiting 1987a:58 for remarks on the reading of this name.

[666] *BIN* 9 187:8, 191:5, *BIN* 10 86:4. He is also mentioned in *BIN* 9 409:7.

[667] *BIN* 9 190:3, 225:7, 316:7, 408:11.

[668] Written as *sà-ma-mu-um* and *ša-ma-mu-um*. *BIN* 9 224:2, 276:6, 316:18, 20, 326:21, 383:3, 390:13, and 406: 4.

[669] *BIN* 9 326:21, DUMU *sà-ma-*[*mu*]*-um.*

[670] *BIN* 9 406:6 *in-ti-nu-um* DAM *ša-ma-mu'-um*.

of his.[671] Birbirum carries the title *rabiānum* in one text[672] and is qualified as Amorite in another.[673]

6.4.2 *Malgium*

Even though the exact location of Malgium is still unknown, we can count it amongst the Northern Babylonian polities. It was probably located somewhere along the Tigris between the mouth of the Diyala river and Maškan-šāpir. Mayr recently published a group of nine clay tags from the early OB kingdom of Malgium.[674] The tags themselves yield little historical interest, but they were sealed with servant's seals of two Malgium kings: Nabi-Enlil and Šū-Amurrum. On one seal Nabi-Enlil's father is mentioned: Šū-Kakka, this man occurs in the Ešnunna royal archives as the recipient of a diplomatic gift.[675] The tablet documenting the gift is datable to the time of Bilalama: ca. 1996 BC.

After Šū-Amurrum there must have been another king called Imgur-Sîn, and possibly his father Ili-abi: a brick inscription from Imgur-Sîn's palace was reportedly found near Jemdat Nasr.[676]

Only two kings of Malgium were known to us previously: (Mut)takkil-ilissu son of Ištaran-asû, and Ipiq-Ištar, son of Apil-ilīšu.[677] The aforementioned Ipiq-Ištar is known to have been king of Malgium around 1763 BC; he was probably defeated by Hammurabi in 1761 BC.[678] All the Malgium kings carried a divine determinative in front of their names, however, Imgur-Sîn's father Ili-abi, only known from Imgur-Sîn's inscription, does not have the determinative.

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[671] *BIN* 9 423:8 and 425:17.

[672] *BIN* 9 199:8-10, *bir$_5$-bí-ru-ma, ra-bí-a-nu-um-ma*.

[673] *BIN* 9 392:3, *bir$_5$-bí-ru-um* MAR.TU.ŠÈ.

[674] Mayr 2012 and De Boer 2013b.

[675] Whiting 1987b.

[676] Englund CDLI 2013.

[677] Frayne 1990 *RIME* E4.11.1 and E4.11.2. A new inscription of (Mut)takil-ilissu was published by Arnaud 2007.

[678] Charpin 2004a:330 and Van Koppen 2005.

6.4.3 *Dēr*

Dēr (Sumerian: BÀD.AN^{Ki})[679] has never been excavated: partly because of erosion of the site and because it was a military outpost during the Iraq-Iran war. Dēr was an important city governing one of the roads from Susa to Babylonia.[680] A number of inscriptions of rulers of Dēr have been found and published. Dēr became an independent state towards the end of the Ur III empire. Nidnūša was Dēr's earliest known ruler. His name carries a divine determinative in his only inscription:[681] perhaps a remnant of Ur III practices, dropped by the other rulers of Dēr. Another ruler of Dēr, Ilum-mutabbil was a contemporary of Ešnunna's Bilalama.[682] In his inscriptions he boasts to have defeated Elam, Anšan and Šimaski, and to have aided Paraḫšum.[683]

A ruler of Dēr called Abba was a contemporary of Sabium of Babylon (1844-1831 BC), his name is known from a seal inscription found at Ešnunna[684] and a seal impression of a servant's seal in the British Museum.[685] Another ruler known only from a servant's seal impression found at Susa is Iram-x-x.[686] Finally, a certain Iddinūnim is known from one inscription as 'king of Dēr' (not: GÌR.NITA$_2$), he was the son of Nūr-mātīšu.[687]

All rulers of Dēr (except Iddinūnim) called themselves 'viceroy' of Dēr (GÌR.NITA$_2$ (*šakkanakkum*) BÀD.AN^{KI}), the true king being Dēr's main god Ištarān.[688] This theological fiction[689] is also seen with the early OB rulers of

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[679] Not to be confused with another town near Kisurra and Zabalam (Verkinderen 2006) or the multiple Dēr's known from the Mari texts.

[680] For Dēr in the texts from Susa: De Graef 2007.

[681] Frayne 1990 *RIME* E4.12.1.

[682] Whiting 1987a:28-29 n. 88. A messenger of Ilum-mutabbil, called Uṣur-awāssu, receives travel provisions in two unpublished Ešnunna administrative documents.

[683] Frayne 1990 E4.12.2.

[684] Frayne 1990 E4.12.3; his name is only partly preserved as [...]-*ba*. It is very likely that he is the same man as the viceroy of Dēr known from Blocher 1992:57 no. 152, see Verkinderen 2005.

[685] Blocher 1992:57 no. 152. The impression was found on BM 22704 (case) and BM 22693 (tablet), and it has an oath by Sabium.

[686] *MDP* 43 1699, see also Verkinderen 2006:114.

[687] André-Salvini and Salvini 1997.

[688] Ištarān is even called the king (LUGAL) of Dēr in one of Ilum-mutabbil's texts: E4.12.2.2.

[689] On this subject see also Charpin 2004a:65 and Kupper 1967:123-125.

Ešnunna, who were 'city ruler' (ENSI$_2$ = *iššakkum*) by the grace of Tišpak.[690] The same can be said of Assur's early Old Assyrianrulers, who were also 'city rulers' (called either *iššiakkum* or *waklum*) appointed by the god Assur.[691]

6.4.3.1 Excursus on the title GÌR.NITA$_2$

Charpin already suggested that the above titles are somehow remnants of the Ur III empire.[692] The Ur III state had only one king residing in Ur, but the provincial administration was in the hands of an ENSI$_2$. It is noticeable that we specifically encounter the title GÌR.NITA$_2$ at Dēr and in the Diyala region to designate the local ruler. This is the case in:

1) Išim-Šulgi.[693]
2) The Būr-Sîn/Ilšu-nāṣir archive purportedly from Nērebtum.[694]
3) Šaduppûm.[695]
4) Uzarlulu.[696]
5) Diniktum.[697]
6) Akšak.[698]
7) Rapiqum.[699]

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[690] This only changed during the rule of Ipiq-Adad II (ca. 1862-1818), cf. Charpin 2004a:130.

[691] Veenhof 2008:20-21.

[692] Charpin 1999c:102-103.

[693] Written sylabically as *ša-ka-na-ku-um*: IM 49219:32 and IM 49274:23, Al-'Adhami 1967, plates 5-8.

[694] We frequently encounter Ali-bānīšu s. Lipit-Sîn GÌR.NITA$_2$ and Šamaš-nāṣir s. Sîn-iqīšam (b. Satluma and Lipit-Enlil) GÌR.NITA$_2$ as witnesses. For the archive see Lutz 1931a, Greengus 1979:6-8, and Greengus 1986:5-6.

[695] Tutub-māgir was appointed as GÌR.NITA$_2$ by the king of Ešnunna, see Stol 1976:82. Next to the *šakkanakkum*/GÌR.NITA$_2$ there was the *rabiānum* in Šaduppûm, several *rabiānum*'s were active in Šaduppûm: see Hussein 2008:28 n. 143.

[696] See Stol 1976:82: Igihluma. Part of Igihluma's archive was found by Iraqi archaeologists, but only some texts have been published: Suleiman 1966:291-294 (D2, 112), p. 339-342 (D2 438), p. 378-382 (D2 188), Suleiman 1978:130-132, Al-Adhami 1971 no. 43-47.

[697] *TIM* 2 16: see Stol 1976: 83.

[698] *CT* 48 27:2, a man called Inbūša is GÌR.NITA$_2$, however this text carries the date Hammurabi 30.

[699] Charpin 1999c.

Stol sought to equate the Sumerogram GÌR.NITA$_2$ with the Akkadian *rabiānum*.[700] However, the case of Dēr also points towards a tradition that -during the time that Ešnunna had not yet taken control of the whole of the Diyala region (pre-1825)-,[701] the title GÌR.NITA$_2$ (*šakkanakkum*) was used by many independent rulers of the Diyala region.[702]

6.4.4 *Isin*

What specific information can we gather from the early OB Isin Craft Archive with regard to the political situation in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region? Van de Mieroop has identified five steps in the production process of the craft archive:[703] (1) the delivery of raw materials, (2) distribution of the materials to the craftsmen, (3) manufacture, (4) receipt of the finished products, and (5) disbursement of finished products. It is in the last category (containing almost 500 texts), that we might find some scraps of information: some of the goods produced in the workshop were given as (diplomatic) gifts to political entities, among which Amorites. The clearest examples are *BIN* 9 152 and 316.[704]

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[700] Stol 1976:82-83.

[701] Appproximately the year when Ipiq-Adad II took Nērebtum acccording to the eponym chronicle: Glassner 2004:160-164.

[702] It is noteworthy that in the case of Išim-Šulgi we see the title spelled as *ša-ka-na-ku-um*. However Stol's idea GÌR.NITA$_2$=*rabiānum* is supported by the inscriptions of some early OB rulers who call themselves *rabiān*+tribal name:

1) Itūr-Šamaš, king of Kisurra, calls himself *rabiān* Rababi: *i-túr-*^{d}UTU, *ra-bí-an, ra-ba-bi.*KE$_4$, DUMU *i-din-*DINGIR, ENSI$_2$, KI.SUR.RA^{ki}, KI.ÁG ^{d}UTU, *ù an-nu-ni-tum* (*RIME* 4 E.4.7.1 p. 651-652).

2) Sumu-Šamaš from the town Šadlaš calls himself *rabiān* Amnān Šadlaš : *su-mu-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *a-pil-*^{d}EN.ZU, *ra-bi-a-an, am-na-an ša-ad-la-áš* (*CT* 48 83). In addition to this, another chief of Šadlaš bears the name Sumu-Amnānim, but he calls himself king in the two extant inscriptions.

3) Two kings of Uruk also declare themselves kings of the Amnānum tribe: Sîn-kāšid in numerous inscriptions (see *RIME* 4 E4.4.1f p. 440-464) and Sîn-gāmil (*RIME* 4 E4.4.3 p. 466). See also the Anam letter: Van Koppen 2006 and De Boer 2014 on the early OB Amorite tribes.

[703] Van de Mieroop 1987a:9-18 and Van de Mieroop 1986c.

[704] Already quoted by Wu Yuhong 1994a:10. There are many similar, less specific texts registering 'gifts' (NÍG.ŠU.TAG$_4$.A) to Amorites.

- *BIN* 9 152 (Išbi-Erra 16/II) records the gift of 890 sheep and goat skins for Amorites when Elam was defeated. The document is supervised by a son of the king called Adda.[705]
- *BIN* 9 316 (Išbi-Erra 16/VII) is a large four column tablet recording the disbursement of oil to 'territories' of the Amorites: two of the mentioned Amorites are Abda-El and his son Ušašum.[706]
- Only a few Northern Babylonian cities are mentioned: a group of cities centered around the canal that flowed southwards from Kiš towards Marad; Apiak, Kiritab, and Mur.[707]
- Interesting are the references to Borsippa, a town that has few OB attestations.[708]
- Karhar, a city reputedly in the central Zagros is mentioned twice:[709] a messenger from Karhar received sandals and bags[710] and two *rēdûm* soldiers from Kiš received sandals for the journey to Karhar.[711]

6.4.5 *Other cities: Borsippa and Kiš*

Borsippa was perhaps also a 'kingdom' (that is: (semi)-independent polity). From the apocryphal Puzur-Numušda letter we learn that an ENSI$_2$ called Puzur-Tutu held sway there in the final Ur III days and that he switched sides to Išbi-Erra.[712] Borsippa's importance in the immediate post-Ur III days is underlined by the many references to it in the Isin Craft Archive (see above). The same might have been true for Kiš, which is also mentioned in the Puzur-Numušda letter: here the ENSI$_2$ is called Šū-Enlil, who is otherwise unknown.[713]

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[705] *BIN* 9 152:1-10, 1 KUŠ.UDU.ʿBABBARʾ, 2 KUŠ.SILA$_4$ KIN.[GI$_4$].A, 890 KUŠ.UD[U.MÁ]Š, NÍG.KEŠ$_2$ KÙ.BABBAR.Š[È], NÍG.BA MAR.TU, U$_4$ GIŠ.TUKUL ELAM.A, BA.ʿSÌGʾ.GA.A, [...], [x]X.ŠÈ BA.KEŠ$_2$, GÌR *a-da* DUMU.LUGAL.

[706] See footnote 651 for a transliteration.

[707] Van de Mieroop 1987:110, for more on these towns: Kraus 1955:55f.

[708] It is the destination of several journeys (KASKAL): *BIN* 9 391:3, *BIN* 9 415:18, *BIN* 9 479:3, *Rochester* 243:24 and the destination of a gift: *BIN* 9 414.

[709] Levine 1972-1975:120-121.

[710] *BIN* 9 424:6.

[711] *BIN* 10 149:7-8.

[712] Michalowski 2011:198-199. Curiously, a man also called Puzur-Tutu is the ENSI$_2$ of Babylon in *MVN* 8 139:iii 9.

[713] Michalowski 2011:198.

6.4.6 *Other cities: Sippar*

But what was the situation in the other cities such as Tutub, Nērebtum, Sippar etc.? Of course because of the lack of sources we can never know for sure, but there is some fragmentary evidence that at least Sippar functioned with a large degree of autonomy. This idea is not new and was first posited by Veenhof,[714] who compared Sippar's early OB autonomy to the situation in Assur. Seri agrees with Veenhof,[715] but she distinguished 'the city' (*ālum*) from other local institutions such as the 'mayor'-*rabiānum* and the city elders (*šibūt ālim*), for which she was criticized by Charpin and Stol.[716] The evidence for Sippar's greater autonomy in the pre-Sumu-la-El period is summarized hereunder:

1) An early loan contract from Tell ed-Dēr (*ED* II 27, dated to Ammiṣura) mentions an incomprehensible clause mentioning 'the decree of the city', l. 9-10: *a-na a-wa-at*, *a-li-im ú-la* ZU.ZU.[717]
2) Veenhof 1999 n° 2 attests to a legal measure taken by Immerum and 'the city' to redeem sold property that might have been sold out of dire economic needs. A highly interesting text, lines 9-11 read: *iš-tu* A.ŠÀ *ù* É, *im-me-ru-um pa-ṭà-ra-am, iq-bu-ú wa-ar-ki a-wa-at/a-li-im*. 'After Immerum had ordered the redemption of fields and houses, after the decree of the city'.
3) There are many early OB texts which mention an oath of the city with the oath of a Babylonian king; this practice fell into disuse during the reign of Hammurabi.[718]

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[714] Veenhof 1999:612-613.

[715] Seri 2005:156.

[716] Charpin 2007:178-179 and Stol 2007:213-214.

[717] Prof. Stol has noted that ZU.ZU might be Sumerian for Akkadian *ula ilammad* 'he has nothing to do with', even though one expects *ula idû* (he will know). See also *YOS* 14 35:15, and Veenhof 1972:419-420.

[718] *Sabium and Sippar* : *MHET* II/1 40, *CT* 8 23a, *MHET* II/1 46, *BE* VI/1 12, *CT* 2 39, *MHET* II/1 25, *MHET* II/1 42, *MHET* II/1 43, *CT* 47 20, *VAS* 9/10, *CT* 48 14, *CT* 45 3, *MHET* II/1 41. *Apil-Sîn and Sippar* : *MHET* II/5 697, *MHET* II/1 57, *BDHP* 67, *MHET* II/1 51, *BBVOT* 1 145, *CT* 47 4 en 5, *BDHP* 55, *MHET* II/1 56, *MHET* II/1 47, *MHET* II/1 68, *MHET* II/1 76, *MHET* II/1 71, *MHET* II/1 77, *MHET* II/1 50, *BBVOT* I 142, *MHET* II/1 70, *MHET* II/1 74, *MHET* II/1 67, *CT* 4 47a. *Apil-Sîn, Sippar and Annunitum*(!) : *CT* 45 7, *CT* 8 29b. *Sîn-muballiṭ and Sippar* : *CT* 8 4b, *MHET* II/1 90, *BDHP* 40, *MHET* II/1 96, *BDHP* 40, *MHET* II/1 91, *CT* 47 9, *MHET* II/1 97, *CT* 47 17, *CT* 47 16, *CT* 45 17, *CT* 47 14, *MHET* II/1 88, *MHET* II/1 92, *CT* 47 8, *MHET* II/1 118, *CT* 2 36, *CT* 4 45b, *BAP*

4) The *TIM* 7 organization. This business was run by a number of families, the two best known to us are the Imgur-Sîn family and the family of Arwium, whose son Ikūn-pîša is the most important person in the letter archive. Even though the organization had contacts with local rulers, it appears to operate on its own: there are no indications that it was subordinate or connected to any ruler.

In the century after the fall of the Ur III dynasty, Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region seem to have contained several small city-states and kingdoms. At least the town of Sippar seems to have enjoyed some autonomy from its local rulers such as Ilum-ma-Ila and Immerum. The fact that the post-Išbi-Erra Isin kings almost exclusively mention cultic activities in their year names obscures to us any military encounters with polities in Northern Babylonia or the Diyala region.[719] This changes with the advent of Larsa around 1932 BC, where Gungunum and his successors are not afraid to boast about their military victories: here we see confrontations with Bašimi (Gungunum 3), Anšan (Gungunum 5), Malgium (Gungunum 19), Isin (Abi-sare 9), etc. But Larsa could only venture upwards along the Tigris, being blocked off along the Euphrates by Uruk and Isin: that is why we do not see any references to Northern Babylonia in these early Larsa year names. However, up the Tigris Larsa would find Malgium.

In any case, it appears that in the time directly after the fall of the Ur III empire there were not yet any states led by 'Amorites' in Mesopotamia. A noticeable feature is the divine determinative carried by some of the kings of Ešnunna, Malgium, Dēr and Isin. This was probably some kind of remnant of Ur III practices. The rulers of Ešnunna and Dēr quickly abandoned this, but it was perpetuated by the Isin and Malgium kings.

6.4.7 *How did the Amorites take power?*

The Amorites did not so much 'migrate' in the conventional sense of the word. Rather they seemed to follow a common Mesopotamian pattern of set-

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37, *CT* 8 16c, *BE* 6/1 20, *BAP* 32, *BDHP* 34, *MHET* II/1 87, *TCL* 1 70, *VAS* 8 27, *MHET* II/1 89, *CT* 8 1a, *MHET* II/1 105, *CT* 6 42b(=*MHET* II/1 110), *MHET* II/1 111, *VAS* 8 52/53, *VAS* 8 58/*CT* 4 50b, *CT* 47 19, *YOS* 14 163.

[719] But note the 'Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany' letter (an OB school excercise text) *SepM* 2, written by Sîn-tillatī to Isin king Iddin-Dagan (1976-1956 BC) about an ambush by armed Amorites near the Diyala site of Kakkulātum (Kleinerman 2011:116-117).

tlement, also followed by the Kassites and (to a degree) the Arameans: they started out as mercenaries and ended up controlling the territory.[720] This has already been suggested earlier by Weeks 1985. His theories have been discarded by Charpin. The interpretations in this study differ from that of Weeks on some crucial points.

There was such a thing as an Amorite ethnicity in the Ur III and early OB period. We had already distinguished between at least two groups of Amorites: the descendants of the Ur III mercenaries in southern Babylonia, who essentially founded the first royal dynasty at Larsa,[721] and the Amorites from the Ur III 'KUR MAR.TU' who came down from the upper Diyala valley into the lower Diyala valley and Northern Babylonia. In the first case, the Amorites were already militarily organized and could presumably take power relatively easy. In the second case, they must have settled around the old cities in the Diyala valley and Northern Babylonia as mercenaries and/or farmers and pastoralists. Right after the fall of the Ur III empire we see that some important groups of Amorites (like the families of Abda-El or Usû) were in close contact with the major states Ešnunna and Isin and we might presume the same for Sippar, Malgium, Dēr, and other cities.

The Amorites did not operate as one block: Bilalama's diplomatic ties with some groups and fights with other is evident. From Bilalama's year names we know that the Amorites were probably settled in temporary or new towns.[722] That they were settled in the countryside rather than inside the larger cities was argued in chapter 4. Perhaps they already garrisoned some Ur III strongholds such as Išim-Šulgi under the kings of Ur,[723] which they were able to retain after Ešnunna had proclaimed its independence. It is not likely that the Amorites migrated in large numbers from the KUR MAR.TU, but as the Amo-

[720] Charpin 2004a:57 n. 134.

[721] An idea from Michalowski 2011:119.

[722] Ka-Ibaum, Išur etc.

[723] Išim-Šulgi could have had an important meaning to the Amorites. Little is known about this town (Edzard 1976-1980:178, *RGTC* 3:111, Owen 1997:378-379), but it is tentatively located to the north of Ešnunna. The town could have been established by king Šulgi as some kind of military fortress. However, we cannot prove this, even though one can refer to a list of tax payers among Išim-Šulgi's military: *CT* 32 pl. 19-22 (cf. Steinkeller 1987:32 fig. 2, Sallaberger 1999a:198-199 and the reedition *NISABA* 8 19), see also text Nesbit A, published by Owen 1997:369-370. It is possible that groups of Amorites had populated this fortress and gained some kind of autonomy at the end of the Ur III period and into the early OB period.

rites' political power grew through alliances and dynastic marriages, it must have become more attractive to some others to associate themselves with an Amorite or at least some tribal identity.

Since military power is often a prerequisite to take political power, the Amorites must have had some military power base in order take control of such a large part of Mesopotamia. The Amorite military organization is echoed in the later attested military ranks (UGULA/GAL MAR.TU). An indication that some of the Amorites were mercenaries in the service of the major states such as Isin and Ešnunna is provided by the great number of gifts issued to Amorite chiefs in Isin and texts such as Gelb's 1968 List of Amorites. The major states and other quasi independent cities such as Sippar, were perhaps increasingly dependent on Amorite military support to ward off other tribal groups or belligerent neighbors.

Little is known about the Amorite military in the early OB period.[724] Well known are however military ranks composed with the word MAR.TU: especially the UGULA MAR.TU and the GAL MAR.TU. These high ranks are often translated as 'general'. The term GAL MAR.TU (*rabi amurrim* = leader of the Amorites) is seen mostly in Mari (it originated in Ešnunna) and the UGULA MAR.TU (exact Akkadian reading still debated but probably also *rabi amurrim*) in Babylonia.[725] Earlier authors had coined several theories concerning the UGULA MAR.TU; mostly that he was the leader of a group of Amorite mercenaries helping Amorite kings to power.[726] The prevalence of these titles suggests that the Amorite military organization was a distinctive feature.

In the kingdom of Babylon under Hammurabi, an UGULA MAR.TU commanded about 300 men,[727] while at Mari a GAL MAR.TU could command as

[724] Through the Mari texts we are well informed about the military around the time of Samsi-Addu and Zimri-Lim, see for example Durand 1998, Abrahami 1997, Ziegler 1997, and Ziegler 2008. Note also the early OB letter *AbB* 9 118.

[725] For UGULA MAR.TU = *rabi amurrim*: Charpin 2007:170, for an overview in general: Stol 2004:805-810, older literature is Charpin 2004a:282-284 and Charpin 1987b. The title occurs from the time of Hammurabi onwards (Stol 2004:805).

[726] Eg. Harris 1975:94 or Voth 1982:131. Lafont 2008:39 n. 71 wrote that he is not surprised that the considerable military role of the Amorites in the Ur III empire resulted in the high ranks GAL MAR.TU and UGULA MAR.TU during the OB period.

[727] This is best exemplified in the text *ARM* 22 270, collated by Durand 1987:618, see also the commentary by Joannès 2002:175 and the letter *ARM* VI 28 (= *LAPO* 17 673):13-15. Voth 1982 has devoted a chapter to the UGULA MAR.TU in his thesis.

many as a 1000 men.[728] He could have a secretary called DUB.SAR MAR.TU (*ṭupšar amurrim* 'scribe of the Amorites')[729]. In late OB times, an UGULA MAR.TU could also act as a middleman in providing harvesters.[730]

Unique is the title of the Yamhad general Bin-Dammu, found in the Tell Leilan texts: SAG.GAL MAR.TU.MEŠ, which perhaps means something like 'field marshal of the Amorites'.[731] Two attestations of an AGA.ÚS MAR.TU ('Amorite foot soldier') are found in a text from the Diyala region,[732] as well as Larsa.[733] Amorite *mandu* soldiers from Dēr and Akkad are found in an OB text from remote Chogha Gavaneh (Western Iran).[734] Amorite troops (EREN$_2$ MAR.TU) are seen in late OB sources from Babylonia proper as well.[735]

A text dated to Sumu-El 25 mentions the unique term *amurrūtam alākum* as a kind of corvée comparable to the later known *ilkam alākum*.[736] We might interpret the term *amurrūtum* here in the same way as *rêdūtum* in later OB text: 'soldiership'.[737] The relevant text starts with an amount of silver: [x] mina and 2 shekels, which is his *ilkum* (GÚ.BI.ŠÈ). After this we have a 5 IKU field located within 'Bûbi' (probably a watering district). The amount of silver reflects perhaps the yield of the field. A certain Hupaṣum will fulfill (lit. 'go') the *amurrūtum* of his father Ipqu-Sîn.[738] If he does not fulfill the *amurrūtum* he must pay the amount of silver ('return it'), when this happens, Ipqu-Sîn must

[728] Durand 1998:365-366 and Charpin 2004a:283. See Abrahami 1998 for a list of GAL MAR.TU's active in Northern Mesopotamia.

[729] *ARM* I 60 = *LAPO* 17 672 and *ARM* II 13 = *LAPO* 17 457, with commentary by Durand 1998:33 n.i. See also Charpin 2004a:283 with Al-Adhami 1971 text 50 (IM 67139:18).

[730] Stol 1976:91-93 and Stol 2004:807-810. One cannot help but wonder whether these harvesters were perhaps nomads recruited by the UGULA MAR.TU. See most recently Rositani 2011 on harvest labor contracts.

[731] Vincente 1991 no. 15:5'.

[732] The man carries the Akkadian name Pir-ilišu cf. Lutz 1931b, with bibliography in Viaggio 2009:385 n. 17.

[733] *TCL* 10 53:7.

[734] Abdi and Beckman 2007:54 (*ChG* 18). On the etymology of the term *mandu*: Adalı 2011:32-34, 63, and 173-189.

[735] *TLOB* 44 (Aṣ 18) mentions several groups of 'Amorite' troops led (or provided) by men carrying Akkadian names, but belonging to Hana, Elamite, Kassite and Yamutbal contingents. *RFH* 3 (Meek 1917, date uncertain) lists an amount of sesame as provisions for EREN$_2$ MAR.TU. There are undoubtedly other examples.

[736] Stol, Mander, Pers and Rositani 2006:206-207 (III-23, A12).

[737] Stol 2004:783 n. 977 and p. 814-815.

[738] Curiously, Hupaṣum is the son of one Ipiranni on the cylinder seal impressed on the tablet. Maybe he was adopted by Ipqu-Sîn in order to perform the service.

fulfill the *amurrūtum*. In other words: a 5 IKU field is given to Hupaṣum, who might earn [x] mina and 2 shekels of silver by cultivating it. In return he must perform *amurrūtum* service: work as a soldier. If he does not work as a soldier, he forfeits the usufruct of the field and he must pay the expected yield of the field in silver: [x] mina and 2 shekels. When this is the case, his father Ipqu-Sîn is nevertheless expected to work as a soldier (*amurrūtam illak*). This text provides very strong evidence for a connection between the term 'Amorite' and military service.

Finally, we must mention the *rabiān amurrim*. This office was studied extensively in the past by Stol and more recently by Seri.[739] A *rabiānum* was usually a local ruler of a city and/or tribe. There are several examples of Amorite *rabiānum*'s from the early OB period. Special mention must be made of the little known cylinder seal impression belonging to Hammurabi of Babylon found on a clay bulla at Mari. Hammurabi is called 'king of the Amorites' and 'king of Akkad' on his cylinder seal.[740] A high official in Hammurabi's service carries the title *šāpir amurrim*.[741]

The idea that the Amorites did not actually 'migrate', but rather took over power from the urban elites, makes many modern theories and research around migration less applicable: these do not address matters of conquest. There are however certain ideas and theories that might shed more light on the Amorites taking power, most notably the concept of 'elite transfer'.

This model (also called 'elite dominance') was originally thought up by British archaeologist Colin Renfrew as an explanation for language change.[742] However, the model also has a wider archaeological and historical application. It basically states that a small group of well organized invaders is able to replace the ruling elite of a territory by force. During this process, some economic and social structures change, but most others stay the same. There are many examples in history of such an 'elite transfer': the Norman conquest of England, the Indo-Aryan invasion of India, the colonization of the Americas by the Spanish etc. This model might also proof useful in explaining

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[739] Stol 1976:73-89, Seri 2005:51-96 and the remarks in the reviews by Stol 2007:212-214 and Charpin 2007:169-175.

[740] Charpin 2001a:28: x [...], [LU]GAL MAR.T[U], DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-i*[*ṭ*], IBILA.NI, LUGAL KI.U[RI]. ... king of the Amorites (or: Amurrum), son of Sîn-muballiṭ, his heir, king of Akkad.

[741] Išar-Lim, who was originally in the service of Išme-Dagan. He supposedly governed Mari for Hammurabi after his conquest: Van Koppen 2002 and Stol 2004:805.

[742] Renfrew 1987:131-133.

how the Amorites took control in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region around 1900 BC.

Some Amorite leaders must have felt powerful enough to topple the governments of the territories and cities they were already harrassing or which they were paid to protect. The local ruling elites were then replaced by tribal leaders, who were already accustomed to living in the area, even though their powerbase did not live in the cities, but in the countryside.

Due to the fact that we have almost no textual sources illuminating the political situation between ca. 1980 and 1900 BC, we cannot link the Amorite 'dynasties' who took over political power (i.e., the descendants of people like Abda-El, Usû etc.) to the Amorite dynasties known almost one hundred years later: the time of Sumu-abum and his contemporaries.

CHAPTER 7

A history of Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala Region (ca. 1900-1815 BC)

7.1 Introduction

As we saw in the last chapter: there is little to no information about Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala region between ca. 1980 and 1900 BC. However, from 1900 BC onwards the sources at our disposal become more numerous. Also, the political situation with which we are presented becomes more and more complicated: almost every town had its own ruler and it is often difficult to establish who ruled when or where.[743]

7.2 The Lower Diyala region: from political fragmentation to Ešnunna's hegemony

7.2.1 *On the textual material from the Diyala region*

The Old Babylonian textual sources from the Diyala region have been published in an unsatisfying manner. Even so, many sites in this area were the object of archaeological surveys and research,[744] and as a result many sites yielded OB material.[745] Only six sites are of importance for the study of the

[743] For the history of this period first mention must be made of Edzard's pioneering work: Edzard 1957:100f. But also Wu Yuhong 1994a:25-79, Saporetti 2002:98f, and finally Charpin 2004a:78-116.

[744] The survey by Adams 1965 is still considered a standard in this respect. Adams registers 129 sites for the early OB period in the Diyala region, among which eight large sites (Adams 1965:47).

[745] Sites that have yielded OB material, not relevant to this study: *In the Hamrin Bassin* (see Saporetti 2002:144-165 for an overview of the rescue operations in this area before

early OB history: Ešnunna (which was already introduced in other chapters), the Nūr-Šamaš archive, Šaduppûm, Uzarlulu, Nērebtum, and Tutub. The location of important early OB towns in the Diyala region such as Diniktum, Šadlaš, Akšak or Išim-Šulgi remains unknown. One could say that the early OB material from the Diyala region presented here differs from the early OB Northern Babylonian material on one important aspect. The vast majority of the Diyala texts are loans, what is more, these loans are often issued by temples. These temples were represented by their agents, whose partial archives we have.[746] The major difference from the Northern Babylonian material is that there we have mostly the archives of private individuals and families. We shall take a closer look at each of the relevant sites from the Diyala region to see which groups of texts are of importance for early OB history.

7.2.1.1 Uzarlulu in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.1.1 Introduction

The modern site Tell al-Dhibā'i ('Hill of the Hyena') harbors the remains of the city Uzarlulu (alias Zaralulu)[747] which is situated only two kilometers north

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the Hamrin Bassin was flooded because of a dam build in the Diyala river): Tell Yelkhi (probably time of Ibal-pî-El II): Saporetti 1981, Saporetti and Rouault 1985, Saporetti 1995, Saporetti 2001, Viaggio 2004. Tell Suleimeh (ancient Batir or Awal): 30 unpublished OB texts, Al-Gailani Werr 1992:3-4, Isma'el 2007:2-3. A brick inscription of an otherwise unknown OB ruler was found here: Ayabum, see Frayne 1990 E4.17.1. Tell Halawa: 22 unpublished OB texts, Al-Gailani Werr 1992:53-54, Isma'el 2007:3. Tullul es-Sib and Hadad: a group of three tells, of which at least one was called Mê-Turān. Almost one thousand texts were found, but only a handful have been published by Muhammed 1992. See also the extensive bibliography in Charpin 2004a:445-446. *In the Lower Diyala Region*: Tell Mohammed: 30 texts from this site from the period between the OB and MB era were studied in the dissertation of Al-Ubaidi (reference: Fadhil 2001:309-11). Tell al-Aleimiyat: three tablets were found here, Isma'el 2007:4. Tell al-Muqdadiya: a few Isin-Larsa period tablets were found here, Isma'el 2007:4-5. Tullul Banaat at-Thiab: a few texts were published by Al-Zeebari 1999-2000, Isma'el 2007:5. Tullul Khattab: a total of 359 tablets (time of Ibal-pi-El II) were found here, but only 36 were published in Isma'el 2007: the archive of a *nadītum* priestess called Nīši-īnīšu.

[746] This was also remarked by Viaggio 2008b:1 n.4.

[747] The identification was made by Ahmad 1967, based on a cylinder seal impression. The seal impression shows a god and the text: ^{d}*la-sí-mu*, LUGAL, *ša ú-za-a*[*r*]-, *za-lu-lu*: 'Lāsimu, the king of Uzarlulu'. For an overview of the site see also Saporetti 1999:108-114.

of Tell Harmal (ancient Šaduppûm). It is nowadays enclosed by Baghdad's suburbs. Its main deity was Lāsimu ('the Runner').[748] Tell al-Dhibā'i was first excavated in 1949 by an Iraqi team under the supervision of Mustafa.[749] A second and third season of excavations took place in 1962 and 1965 under the aegis of Al-Najafi and Al-Gailani.[750] Work resumed again from 1982 to 1984.[751] Unfortunately, no excavation reports (apart from Mustafa 1949) have been published.

7.2.1.1.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Uzarlulu

The textual material from Uzarlulu was published in an unsatisfactory manner: from the more than 700 texts and fragments found, only four texts and a number of year names are officially at our disposal.[752] However, a number of texts from Uzarlulu were studied by Iraqi scholars in their M.A. and Ph.D. theses.

Baqir gave eight year names found on tablets from Uzarlulu during the first season of excavations (see the Appendix to chapter 7).[753] Additional information on Dhibā'i was published by Al-Hashimi in 1972, for which she drew on her MA thesis from 1964. Suleiman published four harvest labor contracts from Uzarlulu in 1978.[754] They are all dated to the same year and month.[755] The main contractor in these documents is Igihluma. This man is well known from a Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm text: he was the *rabiānum*-mayor of Uzarlulu.[756] In fact, it appears that the Iraqi's had found part of Igihluma's archives at Uzarlulu.[757]

Two other Iraqi scholars wrote their MA theses about texts from Tell al-Dhibā'i/Uzarlulu and their material is of the greatest interest to us. Al-Hashimi 1964 worked on seven economic texts from Uzarlulu (an overview of these texts can be found in the Appendix to chapter 7). These texts do not seem to

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[748] Lambert 1980-1983b.
[749] Mustafa 1949:180.
[750] Baqir 1962:12, Ahmad 1967:190 and Al-Gailani-Werr 1988:23.
[751] Killick 1983:209.
[752] See also the overview by Saporetti 2002:98-108.
[753] Baqir 1949b:141-143.
[754] Suleiman 1978:130.
[755] 'Year: he brought a golden plow into the temple of Tišpak'.
[756] *YOS* 14 40:8, ^{I}*i-gi-ih-lu-ma ra-bi-a-nu ša za-ra-lu-lu*^{ki}.
[757] Suleiman 1966:291-294 (D2, 112) and Al-Adhami 1971 no. 43-47.

form a coherent file or archive, but rather a number of unconnected texts. The main interest lies in the oaths sworn by Sîn and at least three different kings: Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur and Yadkur-El.

The Uzarlulu material studied by Ahmad 1964 is quite different, most of the texts from his M.A. thesis concern temple loans issued by the god Lāsimu, (see Appendix). The texts from this archive must span only a few years: four or five years at the most.

All in all: we can conclude that we have two main groups of texts from Tell al-Dhibā'i/Uzarlulu at our disposal:

1) The archive of Igihluma, the *rabiānum* of Uzarlulu in the time of Ešnunna's Ibal-pi-El II (ca. 1778-1765 BC). It contains letters, harvest contracts, loan contracts, and related texts.
2) The archive from Lāsimu's temple, for which we only have loan contracts at our disposal. This archive is dated to the early OB period, but contains no year names that we can immediately attribute to any of the three rulers attested in oaths from Uzarlulu; Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur or Yadkur-El. It is furthermore significant that we find no evidence for Sîn-abūšu ruling Uzarlulu.

To the above we must add an inscription of the king of Šadlaš, Sumu-Amnānum, also found at Tell al-Dhibā'i/Uzarlulu. It is an ex-voto dedicated to a goddess, who is called 'the lady of Šadlaš'.[758]

7.2.1.2 Šaduppûm in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.2.1 Introduction

One of the most interesting sites in the Diyala is Tell Harmal, ancient Šaduppûm.[759] There are two reasons for this: its small size (ca. 1,8 hectares and rising 4 meters above the plain), and the fact that almost 3000 texts of all genres have been found here. Šaduppûm seems to have been a fortified military stronghold and an administrative center. Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm is nowadays situated in the Baghdad suburb 'Baghdad al-Jedida'.

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[758] *RIME* E4.15.2, *editio princeps*: Rashid 1967.

[759] Miglus 2006-2008. See also the overview by Saporetti 2002:98-108 and Van Koppen 2006-2008.

Excavations were started by the Iraqi's in 1945 and lasted until 1963. The first excavations were led by Baqir and Mustafa under the guidance of Seton Lloyd.[760] In just two seasons they unearthed already about half of the settlement and found about 1300 tablets.[761] Subsequent campaigns unearthed further texts.[762] Among the documents found at Tell Harmal are now famous texts such as the Laws of Ešnunna, several date lists and the Harmal Geographic List. During the later campaigns, parts of the site (temple, 'Serai' and city wall) were reconstructed for tourism.[763] The university of Baghdad and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin undertook a number of supplemental excavations at the end of the 1990's.[764]

The excavators found seven layers, of which VII and VI are to be dated to the Third Millennium, V-II to the subsequent early OB period, and layer I to the Kassite period.[765] The most important layers are III and II, they represent the city as it is best known: most of the important buildings, such as the temple of Bēl-gašer,[766] the administrative 'Serai' building, and the city walls were newly built during the time of layer III. It is commonly held that Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna built the city anew somewhere during his 45-year long reign (ca. 1859-1815 BC).[767] The city was probably destroyed during Hammurabi's campaign against Ešnunna in 1762: layer II shows signs of a huge conflagration. In layer IV, the excavators found texts dated to Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu.

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[760] Baqir 1946.

[761] Baqir 1946:25, he already gives some year names found on some of the tablets, but they seem to be from later Ešnunna kings.

[762] Baqir 1948.

[763] Baqir 1961:4.

[764] Hussein and Miglus 1998, and Hussein and Miglus 1999.

[765] The archaeological information is taken from Miglus 2006-2008.

[766] The most important deity from Tell Harmal (for the identification of the main temple as Bēl-gašer's: Charpin 1987c), his name means 'The Lord is strong' and is the Akkadian rendering of Sumerian Lugal-Irra. See Viaggio 2009 and Hussein 2008:11-15.

[767] We follow here the chronology established by Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012. From the Mari Eponym Chronicle we know that Amīnum took Šaduppûm in 1862 and defeated Ipiq-Adad II around 1857, two years later Ipiq-Adad II in turn defeated Amīnum and we may assume that he took control of Šaduppûm around the same time. On the other hand, if Ipiq-Adad II already controlled Šaduppûm around 1858, we should have had more year names of Ipiq-Adad II at Šaduppûm.

7.2.1.2.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Šaduppûm

As it was the case with Tell ad-Dhiba'i, lists of year names found on Tell Harmal tablets were published soon.[768] However, the actual publication of texts from Tell Harmal was slow: less than ca. 400 texts have been published as of now. The most important texts publications are:[769] fifty letters published by Goetze in 1958; illegally excavated texts at Yale were published by Alexander[770] and later by Simmons;[771] DeJong Ellis has published a few Tell Harmal texts;[772] as did Suleiman;[773] Van Dijk;[774] and Al-Fouadi.[775] Especially some of the texts published by Simmons are interesting for our investigations:

1) The file of Gidānum, son of Ipiq-Adad:[776] loans issued by Šamaš and Gidānum. The texts are dated from Ipiq-Adad II to Iqīš-Tišpak.
2) The file of Nūratum and Anāku-Ilama, sons of Paratum.[777] This private archive contains twelve texts with oaths by Hammi-dušur. In all sale documents Nūratum and Anāku-Ilama act together in buying property.[778]

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[768] Baqir 1949a, Baqir 1949b, and Al-Hashimi 1972. See now the excellent enumeration of Harmal year names in Hussein 2008:57-86.

[769] See also the enumeration in Van Koppen 2006-2008:488-489 and Charpin 2004a:442-444. Most important is the overview by Hussein 2008:92-114, which includes all Šaduppûm texts that were studied both published and unpublished.

[770] Alexander 1943 (*BIN* 7).

[771] Simmons 1960, Simmons 1961 and in 1978 (*YOS* 14).

[772] DeJong Ellis 1971, 1974, 1975 and 1988.

[773] Suleiman 1978 no. 63-78.

[774] Van Dijk 1976 (*TIM* 9).

[775] Al-Fouadi 1979 (*TIM* 10/1).

[776] *YOS* 14 11-25 and *BIN* 7 58, 72-91. See Simmons 1959:108-119 and Charpin 1979b:197-198.

[777] 'Archive C' in Charpin 1979b:197.

[778] Loans: *YOS* 14 37 (MU *be-la-kum* BA.UG$_7$), *YOS* 14 33 (no oath or date), *YOS* 14 35 (with pledge, no oath or date). *YOS* 14 36 (no oath or date). Sale of a house: *YOS* 14 26 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn), *YOS* 14 27 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn), *YOS* 14 30 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn). Sale of a field:*YOS* 14 28 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn), *YOS* 14 29 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn). Sale of a threshing floor: *YOS* 14 31 (no oath or date). Receipt of a *nēbahum*: *YOS* 14 32 (oath by Hammi-dušur and Sîn). Legal decision: *YOS* 14 34 (contains a seal impression: ^{d}*be-el-ga-še$_{20}$-er,* LUGAL, *ša-du-pé-e*^{KI}).

Even so, of the ca. 3000 tablets found at Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm, the sheer majority of texts remains unpublished, or were studied in (unpublished) theses by Iraqi scholars.[779] Of these theses, Hussein's is very useful, because it represents a first attempt at integrally studying the Tell Harmal material. His thesis focuses on the material found in the so-called 'Serai' which seems to have been the main administrative building in Šaduppûm. The fact that he had access to unpublished material and unpublished theses, make his work a valuable addition, despite the fact that he only had (partial) access to about 1000 of the 3000 texts from Šaduppûm.

7.2.1.3 Nērebtum in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.3.1 Introduction

The modern day site Išchali is usually equated with the ancient town Nērebtum.[780] Tablets from this site were first dug up illicitly at the end of the 1920's. Together with other finds from Diyala sites, they sparked the interest of Henri Frankfort who conducted several campaigns in the Diyala region on the account of the Oriental Institute in the 1930's. The idea was to put into perspective the finds from the antiquities market.[781] Nērebtum's excavations took place between 1934 and 1936 and were carried out under Frankfort's supervision by Jacobsen and Hill. A preliminary report was written in 1936 and a final report was published in 1990.[782]

The site of Išchali/Nērebtum measures 600 x 300 m, but only a small part of the mound's eastern side was excavated. The excavators found essentially four

[779] Thanks to the publications by Fadhil (Fadhil 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2009) we are at least informed about the existence of these works, even though many of them remain inaccessible. The titles are in German and taken from Fadhil's publications, even though the original titles were -of course- in Arabic: Abd 1998 , Ahmad 1964, Al-Hashimi 1964, Fahd 1996, Hamid 1990, Hussein 2008, Munshid 1997, and Suleiman 1966.

[780] Greengus 1979:xi n.1 explains the pro's and con's against this identification, see also DeJong Ellis 1986a. For our purposes we will assume that Išchali is ancient Nērebtum. For a summary site description, see also Miglus 1998-2001.

[781] Frankfort 1936:3.

[782] Frankfort 1936, with additional information found in Frankfort 1955. The Oriental Institute undertook a project to publish the unpublished material from the excavations 'The Diyala Project': http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/diy/. See most recently Hill and Jacobsen 1990.

buildings: the large temple of Ištar Kitītum, a smaller temple dubbed the 'Gate Temple',[783] a large house (called the 'Serai'),[784] and a city gate.[785]

The large Kitītum temple was probably destroyed by the Babylonians after their war with Ešnunna in 1762 BC. After these events, the site seems to have been abandoned. According to Adams the site had been briefly reoccupied in the Middle Babylonian period.[786]

7.2.1.3.2 The sources from early OB Nērebtum

As it was stated above, an amount of tablets from Išchali/Nērebtum first surfaced on the antiquities market, so we will start with the contents of these tablets. Lutz was the first to publish a group of tablets from Nērebtum bought in 1929.[787] This group of tablets shows many similarities to 291 texts bought for the Oriental Institute by Frankfort in 1930.[788] Of these tablets, 191 were published by Greengus in 1979.[789] A few years later, in 1986, he published a new study of the Nērebtum material, adding collations and new texts not published earlier by Lutz (these texts carry the siglum *UCLMA*).

Other collections around the world containing illegally excavated Nērebtum tablets are: the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, Musée d'art et histoire in Geneva, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and the John Frederick Lewis

[783] It had first been called the 'Šamaš temple' (and sometimes still referred to under this name), but Hill 1990:3 thinks that it was more likely a temple dedicated to Sîn, because of the texts found therein. Charpin 1999b:178 is a bit more specific and proposes that the temple was dedicated to Sîn-ša-Kamānim. Viaggio 2008 wrote on this god, he doubts that the Gate Temple was dedicated to Sîn and makes a case for Šamaš as its deity.

[784] Jacobsen and Holland 1990:83-87.

[785] See the map in Hill and Jacobsen 1990:4, the same map is reproduced by Miglus 1998-2001:213.

[786] Adams 1965:153.

[787] Greengus 1979:3 writes that they were probably bought from a New York dealer called Kohlberg, from whom the University of California Lowie Museum of Anthropology bought them. Kohlberg in turn must have bought them from a middleman or dealer in Baghdad. DeJong Ellis 1987:236 n. 9 observed that this collection does not contain any tablets from the Kitītum temple.

[788] And not 390 as stated by Greengus, see DeJong Ellis 1986a:761.

[789] See Greengus 1979:2 n. 7 and 8 for the reasons why the other 199 tablets bought by Frankfort in 1930 were omitted from his publication.

collection in Philadelphia.[790] The texts (relevant to this study) stemming from Nērebtum are:[791]

1) The Būr-Sîn/Ilšu-nāṣir archive. This archive is the oldest one found among the Nērebtum texts.[792] The bulk of the archive was published by Lutz.[793] The oldest texts in the archive belong to Būr-Sîn. He was an UGULA DAM.GÀR and the son of Ibbi-Tišpak[794]. Most of the documents are loans. Thirteen texts have Būr-Sîn as its main actor,[795] and seventy-four have his son Ilšu-nāṣir as creditor.[796] Some other text genres occur: sale contracts,[797] hire contracts,[798] memos,[799] and a court record.[800] Texts are dated from Sîn-abūšu through the Ešnunna kings Ipiq-Adad II, Dādūša and finally Ibal-pi-El II.
2) A number of royal inscriptions were also found at Nērebtum.[801] In the Kitītum temple there were bricks stamped with inscriptions of Ipiq-

[790] DeJong Ellis 1986a:757 writes that she found 160 tablets (in 1987:235 she writes: 190 tablets) as belonging to the archive of the SANGA's of Kitītum. Unfortunately, these texts remain largely unpublished: DeJong Ellis has only published two important oracle texts (FLP 1674 and FLP 2064) in 1987.

[791] See also the overview by Saporetti 2002:114-123 and Gentili 2004.

[792] DeJong Ellis 1988:124 has made the valid point that we only have statements from dealers as to this archive's provenance: it might just as well not be from Nērebtum.

[793] *UCP* 10/1 1, 2, 4-9, 11, 13-25, 28-31, 34, 37-40, 42, 44-46, 50, 52, 55, 58-59, 61, 63, 68-69, 74, 78, 80-81, 85, 89-90, 93, 95, 103-104, 106-107, 110.

[794] Greengus 1986:5 n. 15. This is known from the text *OBTIV* 29 and Būr-Sîn's seal found thereupon, as well as *UCLMA* 9/2827 (published by Greengus 1986:238) and *UCLMA* 9/2831(published by Greengus 1986:239). See Charpin 1991c for the collation of the seal found on *OBTIV* 29 (the reconstruction of Būr-Sîn's father on the seal is mine): *bur*-^{d}EN.Z[U], [DUMU *i*]-*bi*-^{d}T[IŠPAK], ÌR *i**-[*pí*]-*iq**-[^{d}IM].

[795] *TIM* 3 124, 125, *UCP* 10/1 2, 61, 80, *UCLMA* 9/2827, 2831, 2864, 2906, 2942, *OBTIV* 29, 43, 44.

[796] *TIM* 3 126, 127, MAH 16163, *UCP* 10/1 1, 4-9, 11, 13-25, 28-31, 34, 37-40, 42, 44-46, 50, 52, 55, 58-59, 63, 68-69, 74, 78, 81, 85, 89-90, 93, 95, 103-104, 106-107, 110, *UCLMA* 9/2826, 2858+2863, 2860, 2862, 2895, 3019, 2958, 3030, *OBTIV* 53, 68, 69, 70, 71, 82, 94, 145, 214, 217, and 218.

[797] *TIM* 5 21 (Ilšu-nāṣir buys a garden), *UCP* 10/1 11 (Ilšu-nāṣir buys a house), *UCP* 10/1 22 (Ilšu-nāṣir buys a slave), *UCP* 10/1 52 (Ilšu-nāṣir buys a garden), *UCP* 10/1 90 (Ilšu-nāṣir buys a slave), *UCLMA* 9/3019 (Ilšu-nāṣir buys property).

[798] *UCP* 10/1 58 (Ilšu-nāṣir hires a shepherd).

[799] Eg. *OBTIV* 94, 214, 217 and 218.

[800] *UCP* 10/1 107 Tarībum, son of Bēlšunu had broken into Ilšu-nāṣir's house, the authorities hand him over to Ilšu-nāṣir.

[801] Jacobsen 1990b:89-94.

Adad II and Ibal-pi-El II. The inscription of Ipiq-Adad II has been much discussed. Fragments of a brick inscription of Sumu-Amnānum, king of Šadlaš, were found at Nērebtum; he mentions the construction of a temple for Ištar.[802]

7.2.1.4 Tutub in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.4.1 Introduction

Tutub (modern Khafajah) is actually a group of four tells in the Diyala region.[803] They were excavated by the Oriental Institute from 1930 to 1937 over the course of seven campaigns.[804] The famous 'Temple Oval' is located at mound A.[805] Mound B was the location of an OB fortress called Dūr-Samsu-iluna.[806] Mound C was hardly excavated.[807] However, Mound D, which was essentially a fortified citadel, yielded the remains of a Sîn temple, in which the excavators found 111 tablets.[808]

7.2.1.4.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Tutub

Mound D of Khafajah yielded one single archive belonging to a temple dedicated to Sîn.[809] 57 of the texts are kept at the Oriental Institute in Chicago and 54 at the Iraq Museum. Most of the texts of the archive deal with loans issued by the temple. However, there are also many sale contracts,[810] a few administrative texts, and one letter. The main interest of these documents for the political history of the Lower Diyala region lies in the twenty-five year names found on them.

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[802] Did this king of Šadlaš then rule Nērebtum for a while? The famous treaty found at Nērebtum has Hammi-dušur of Nērebtum and Sumu-numhim of Šadlaš as treaty partners.

[803] See the map opposite:207 of Delougaz 1990a. See also the overview of Saporetti 2002:123-141.

[804] See also Harris 1955:32-33.

[805] Delougaz 1940, no OB textual material was found here.

[806] Delougaz 1990a. the texts found there were published by Greengus 1979 no. 305-325.

[807] Delougaz 1990b.

[808] The hoard of tablets was found in a small room adjoining a courtyard, Delougaz 1990c.

[809] Published in its entirety by Harris 1955. There is little to add to the introductory remarks of Harris 1955:35-45, except for the fact that the EN is a priestess, not a priest.

[810] Studied in detail by Skaist 2000.

7.2.1.5 The Nūr-Šamaš Archive

The exact provenance of this archive is unknown and it has no apparent ties to groups of texts from known sites.[811] The vast majority of the texts from this archive are loans issued by a man called Nūr-Šamaš. Almost all 121 texts are dated with year names from a king ruling in the Lower Diyala region: Sîn-abūšu, making this archive an important source for Sîn-abūšu's reign. Nūr-Šamaš, son of Kubīya, perhaps acted on behalf of a temple: a seal with the divine names Šamaš and Aya is impressed on some tablets.[812] A connection to the palace (Sîn-abūšu's?) is found in *TIM* 3 75.[813]

7.2.2 *The earliest group of rulers in the Lower Diyala Region ca. 1900-1890 BC*

The best point of departure for our study of the Diyala region's political history from 1900 BC onwards is the letter *AS* 22 40, because it provides several synchronisms for Diyala region rulers. The letter was sent to Ipiq-Adad I, who was king of Ešnunna around 1900-1890 BC:[814]

> Say to Ipiq-Adad: Thus (says) Abdi-Erah and Šiqlānum: (As) for Duni-bala, we have sent Ašdu-marim and Itūr-adnum to the assembly. We will find out about all their affairs and write to you. And Mašparum wrote to us, and Šiqlānum and I....Write to Išmeh-bala and inform him that the river is blocked. And we will send out an alarm(?), but we will not [...] And thus (says) Abdi-Erah: If you are my father, [...] the river. [PN?] should inspect the water and return. I will capture the Amorites.

The letter mentions an affair about a certain Duni-bala; the writers have sent two men to an assembly to learn more. A different matter concerns Mašparum, but the letter is broken at this point. On the reverse the writers ask

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[811] The texts were published by Van Dijk in *TIM* 3 and studied by Rashid 1965. See also Saporetti 2002:179-182 (mostly on Sîn-abūšu's year names), and Saporetti 1998:253-300 also on Sîn-abūšu's year names. Charpin 2004a:99 n. 377 localizes the Nūr-Šamaš archive at Nērebtum.

[812] Like *TIM* 3 26, 39, 95, 100. Even so, it is not usually the creditor who seals a loan. This seal is discussed in more detail by Matoušová-Rajmová 1972:307. The frequent stipulation that the debtor must add Šamaš' interest (MÁŠ.BI ^{d}UTU *ú-ṣa-ab*) is no proof: this was also common usage in non temple loans. Viaggio 2008b:1 n.4 states that Nūr-Šamaš acted on behalf of the Šamaš temple, but he gives no proof.

[813] See Rashid 1965:85-86. A loan of barley is dispensed from the palace granary.

[814] Translation taken from Whiting 1987a:97.

Ipiq-Adad I to write to Išmeh-bala about a blocked river or canal: probably one of the two Diyala branches, the Ṭābān and Turān.[815] The ending of the letter states that Abdi-Erah will capture the Amorites, it suggests that a group of Amorites might have been involved in blocking the river: a known battle tactic in Mesopotamia.

In any case, this letter establishes the contemporaneity of Ipiq-Adad I, Abdi-Erah, Šiqlānum, Mašparum, and Išmeh-bala. It is not known whether Duni-bala (perhaps even the name of a river or canal), Ašdu-marim or Itūr-adnum were also rulers or politically important figures.[816]

7.2.2.1 Ipiq-Adad I of Ešnunna

From royal inscriptions found at Ešnunna,[817] we know that Ipiq-Adad I was the son of Ur-Ninmarki.[818] However, Ipiq-Adad's immediate predecessor on Ešnunna's throne was Ur-Ningišzida. Saporetti believes that Ur-Ningišzida was a brother of Ur-Ninmarki.[819] Whatever the case, some connection must have existed between Ipiq-Adad I and Ur-Ningišzida, even though Ur-Ningišzida also had sons of his own.[820]

Under the rule of Ipiq-Adad I, the palace of the rulers in Ešnunna was gradually rebuilt. This palace structure is the latest preserved phase of the building.[821]

Apart from *AS* 22 40, some other letters found at Ešnunna were also sent to Ipiq-Adad I: *AS* 22 41 (in which he is called *rubûm,* 'the prince') sent by a certain Sîn-emūqī concerning an argument. *AS* 22 42 is also addressed to 'the prince' by one Ibiš-ilum, who sees himself as 'son' (vassal or at least subordinate). *AS* 22 43 is largely destroyed, it was sent by Mašparum.

Only three year names can be attributed to Ipiq-Adad I with certainty.[822] However, a few other year names could also be assigned with more or less

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[815] Nashef 1982 and Charpin 2004a:64 n. 176.

[816] This man is again mentioned in *AS* 22 41:9.

[817] Frayne 1990 E4.5.9, see also the seal of Ipiq-Adad I when he must still have been a crown prince: Frayne 1990 E4.5.7.4.

[818] See also Saporetti 2002:190-196 on Ipiq-Adad I.

[819] Saporetti 2002:189.

[820] An Erra-bāni is known from a cylinder seal, Frayne 1990 E4.5.8.3.

[821] It was not rebuilt in its entirety by Ipiq-Adad I, Reichel 2001a:138 refers to the palace as the 'Ipiqadad I - Ibalpiel I Palace'.

certainty to Ipiq-Adad I, because they were found in the latest building phase of the palace of the rulers.[823]

7.2.2.2 Išmeh-bala of Nērebtum

One of the first rulers of Nērebtum must have been Išmeh-bala/Išme-bali.[824] We have only five attestations of his name and none of them are from Nērebtum itself. Two year names mentioning him are found on tablets from the Sîn temple at Tutub. One of them recalls the building of Nērebtum's walls: because of this it is assumed that he ruled Nērebtum.[825]

He is also featured three times in the early OB letters from Ešnunna,[826] but they are too laconic to say anything useful about Išmeh-bala. He must have ruled somewhere around 1900-1880 BC.

7.2.2.3 Šiqlānum

This supposed ruler's town has not yet been identified: in fact only very little information of him is known.[827] He is mentioned twice in the early OB Ešnunna letters,[828] and his death is commemorated in an Ipiq-Adad I era year name.[829]

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[822] Because his name is mentioned in them (without the divine determinative that Ipiq-Adad II did carry): see Saporetti 1998:144-148.

[823] So, they could also belong in fact to the later reigns of Šarrīya, Warassa, Bēlakum or Ibal-pî-El I. We do not know what criteria Wu Yuhong 1994a:26 used in attributing these year names to Ipiq-Adad I. Saporetti 1998:149-164 explains that it is the archaeological context in which the texts carrying these year names were found. Indeed, if we look at Jacobsen 1940 (who published the relevant material), we see that many supposed Ipiq-Adad I year names were found on texts found in a 'vertical drain'.

[824] The name means: 'The Lord has heard', see also Wu Yuhong 1994a:43.

[825] Wu Yuhong 1994:43 and Charpin 2004a:97. The year names of Išmeh-bala are: MU *iš-me-ba-li* LUGAL, BÀD GAL *ne-re-eb-tum*[ki], BA.DÍM.MA (*JCS* 9 p. 116 no. 94:2'-4') and MU *ša iš-me-ba-li,* GIŠGU.ZA dUTU *ú-še-ri-ʾbuʾ* (*JCS* 9 p. 110 no. 71:6'-7').

[826] *AS* 22 40:3', 43:8 and 45:9. I presume that the same man is meant as in the Tutub year names.

[827] Saporetti 1998:190. Harris 1955 had the idea that he was a ruler of Ešnunna, but this was refuted effectively by Whiting 1987a:31

[828] *AS* 22 40:4 and *AS* 22 44:6.

[829] *OIP* 43 no. 97.

7.2.2.4 Abdi-Erah

This man must not be confused with the later Abdi-Erah of the 'Mananâ-dynasty'. Little is known about this Abdi-Erah.[830] He is the main writer of the letter *AS* 22 40 cited above. A year name of Abdi-Erah turned up at Ešnunna[831] and Tutub. His death is commemorated in a year name from Šaduppûm.[832]

Because of the year name found at Tutub it is often assumed that Abdi-Erah ruled Tutub, but the evidence is very meagre: the text from Tutub reads: MU *ab-di-e-r*[*a-ah*].[833] In the break or on the edge (not given) could have been written 'BA.UG$_7$' (he died), as in the year name from Šaduppûm, making it unsure whether he ruled Tutub. It is equally possible that this year name is in fact from the time of Hammi-dušur (ca. 1875 BC) and commemorates the death of the Abdi-Erah of the 'Mananâ- dynasty'. A harvester tag dated to an Abdi-Erah is also known.[834]

7.2.2.5 Mašparum

Mašparum's seat of power is unknown, it was probably somewhere in the Lower Diyala region.[835] We only have four sources documenting him: *IPLA* 5, in which he is associated with Sumu-abum and Ilum-ma-Ila and *IPLA* 14 in which he is seen as a member of the 'Amorite assembly'. Mašparum is furthermore the writer of a badly preserved letter found in Ešnunna (*AS* 22 43) and is mentioned in another one addressed to Ipiq-Adad I (*AS* 22 40). The fact

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[830] Jacobsen 1940:120-121 thought that he was a ruler of Ešnunna, but this was disproved by Whiting 1987a:31. On this king also: Wu Yuhong 1994a:40-41 and Saporetti 2002:172-173.

[831] *OIP* 43 no. 96: MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{d}MAR.TU *ì-lí re-di-šu i-pu-šu*. It was translated by Jacobsen as 'Year when Abdierah made Amurruili his successor'. It was rendered differently by Wu Yuhong 1994a:26: 'Abdi-Erah made a statue of Amurru', and by the same author on p. 41 as: 'The year: Abdi-Erah fashioned (a statue) of Amurru, his own(?) god(?)'.

[832] On the case of IM 63161, published by Suleiman 1978:134-135 no. 69: MU *ab-di-ra-ah* BA.[UG$_7$]. This text is from the dossier of Mudādum, son of Mašum, also containing the unique royal(?) names Rīm-Tišpak (found on IM 63183, in Suleiman 1966:372) and Waqrum (IM 55460, Suleiman 1966:317), the same Waqrum year name is on IM 55388 (Al-Hashimi 1964 H5).

[833] *JCS* 9 p. 110 no. 73:7'.

[834] The text is YBC 12179.

[835] Charpin 2004a:100 suspects that Mašparum ruled Šadlaš. Together with Diniktum this seems like Mašparum's most plausible seat of power.

that Mašparum is mentioned in both the Ikūn-pîša letters and the early OB Ešnunna correspondence, provides us with a welcome link between the two archives as well as between the Diyala region and Northern Babylonia.

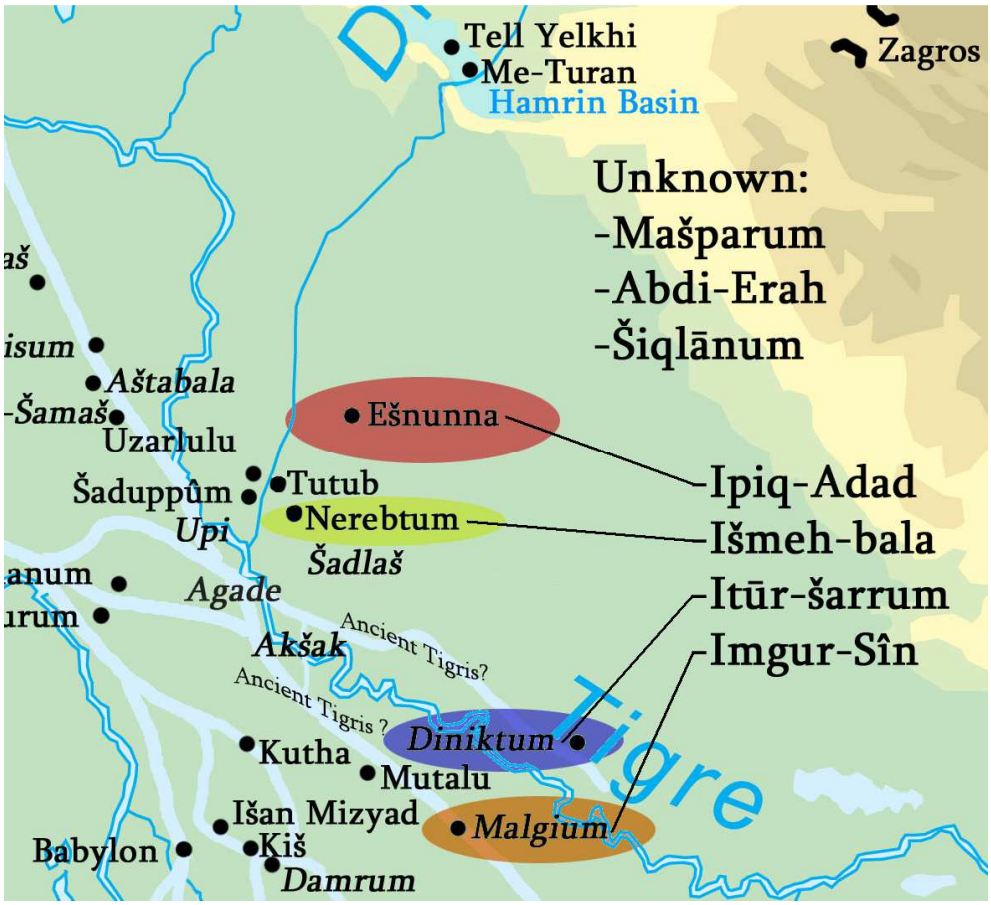
7.2.2.6 Itūr-šarrum of Diniktum

Even though he is not mentioned in the above letter, he must have been roughly contemporary with Ipiq-Adad I. His seal impression was found on an envelope in the Ešnunna palace of the rulers.[836]

7.2.2.7 Imgur-Sîn of Malgium

We can only give an approximate date for Imgur-Sîn, son of Ilī-abī, as king of Malgium.[837] Perhaps he ruled Malgium after Gungunum had conquered the town in his 18th year.

[836] Whiting 1987a:119, see also Frayne 1990 E4.13.1.
[837] De Boer 2013c.



Map 4 The Political Situation in the Lower Diyala around 1900-1890 BC

The above map sums up the situation very well: we basically only know the names of rulers and often the town they ruled, but almost nothing about political or military events. There are numerous things unknown: who ruled Akšak, Išim-Šulgi, Agade, how were the Amorite tribes organized, which families were important, etc.

7.2.3 *The Next Generation: Abī-madar, Yadkur-El, Sumun-abi-yarim, and others ca. 1890-1880 BC*

From ca. 1890 BC onwards the situation changes, small kingdoms are starting to coalesce and the sources at our disposal become again more numerous.

7.2.3.1 Abī-madar

Abī-madar is the first petty ruler to occur in documents from two different sites as a ruler.[838] Perhaps the most interesting one stems from Šaduppûm: IM 63130 is the division of an inheritance including an oath sworn by Sîn and Abī-madar *and* Bēl-gašer and Mammītum.[839]

A number of Abī-madar year names[840] were found: two in Šaduppûm: commemorating the making of a *zarzarum*[841] and the building of a *ramum.*[842] The year name concerning the *zarzarum* is also found on an unprovenienced loan contract in the Yale Babylonian Collection.[843] Two year names stem from Tutub: they refer to a *mīšarum* edict by Abī-madar: probably the earliest OB occurence of such an edict.[844] In addition, an Abī-madar year name was found at Ešnunna in which he brought a statue into Sîn's temple.[845] A person called Abī-madar is also mentioned in a later dated letter sent by the king of Ešnunna to Sîn-abūšu.[846]

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[838] Wu Yuhong 1994a:41-42 and Saporetti 2002:172.

[839] Studied in Suleiman 1966:376. Suleiman read in lines 10-12: *ni-<iš>* ^{d}EN.ZU *ù a-bi-šu-ma, ni-iš* ^{d}*be-el-ga-še-er, ù ba-sa-mi*-[x-x]. He was followed in his reading by Hussein 2008:91. This would suppose two rulers and two gods: Sîn and Abī-madar, as well as Bēl-gašer and Basami-[x x]. However, Viaggio 2008b p.2 n. 13 proposes a different reading for the last name: *ma-am*$^{!}$*-mi*-[*tum*]. Despite the fact that we lack a divine determinative, the goddess Mammītum seems a better option than to add another ephemeral ruler to an already long list. IM 63305 (DeJong Ellis 1974 text C p. 151) also contains an oath sworn by three gods: Bēl-gašer, Ahūya and Amurrum.

[840] Saporetti 1998:191-194.

[841] MU *za-ar-za-ra-am*$^{!}$ $^{!}$*a-bi-ma-dar i-pu-šu* (Suleiman 1978:137 no. 75, collated by Hussein 2008:59).

[842] MU *a-bi-ma-dar ra-ma-am i-pu-šu* (Hussein 2008:60). Perhaps a *rāmum* monument is meant, these are known from Syria in the time of the Mari archives, see Durand 2005a:143f.

[843] Published in the Appendix.

[844] MU *mi-ša-ra-am a-bi-ma-dar iš-ku-nu* (*JCS* 9 p. 113 no. 80:23) and MU EGIR NÍG.SI.SÁ (*JCS* 9 p. 79 no. 27:16).

[845] MU ^{URUDU}ALAM *ṣa-i-dam a-bi-ma-dar* É ^{d}EN.ZU *ú-še-ri-bu* (*OIP* 43 p. 195 no. 125), see the discussion about the translation of this year name in Saporetti 1998:192 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:42.

[846] Mustafa 1983 no. 141, see below for more on this letter.

7.2.3.2 Ikūn-pi-Sîn of Nērebtum

A second king associated with early OB Nērebtum is Ikun-pi-Sin. He is first known from (again) a Tutub year name, crediting him with the capture of Diniktum.[847]

He is furthermore encountered on a number of seal impressions. Two servant seals with Ikūn-pi-Sîn as the king were found on tablets from Nērebtum.[848] One seal seems to have belonged to himself; it is found on *OBTIV* 26 and 300.[849] It is unclear whether he pre- or postdated Išmeh-bala, but it is usually assumed that he came after Išmeh-bala.

7.2.3.3 Yadkur-El

This ruler was in any case at home in Uzarlulu,[850] because the oath in a sale document from this town was sworn by Sîn and Yadkur-El.[851] The impression of a servant's seal mentioning Yadkur-El from Uzarlulu is also known.[852]

The most remarkable thing about Yadkur-El is that his death is commemorated in a year name found at three different sites: Uzarlulu,[853] Tutub,[854] and Šaduppûm[855]. There are no year names clearly attributable to Yadkur-El.

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[847] MU.ÚS.SA *di-ni-*[*ik-tum*^{ki}], ^{I}*i-ku-pí-*^{d}EN.ZU *iṣ-*[*ba-tu*] (*JCS* 9 p. 120 no. 110:2''-3'').

[848] Frayne 1990 E4.14.3.2001: [...] x-*šu,* [...] GAL, [DUMU...]-*re-me-ni,* ÌR ˹*i-ku*˺*-un-pi*$_4$-^{d}EN.ZU. RIME E4.14.3.2002: *be-la-nu-um,* DUMU *e-te-el-lum,* ÌR ˹*i-ku-un-pi*$_4$-^{d}EN.ZU˺.

[849] Frayne 1990 E4.14.3.1: ^{d}*i-*˹*šar*˺-[*ki-di-šu*], LUGAL.A.NI.[IR], *i-ku-un-pi*$_4$-^{d}EN.ZU. Frayne adds an extra line to the inscription: [IN.NA.AN.BA] 'he presented (this seal)'. On the god Išar-kidišu in the Diyala region, see Viaggio 2008b and Wu Yuhong 1994a:46-47.

[850] Wu Yuhong 1994a:62-63. Wu Yuhong believed that Yadkur-El was the father of Ila-kabkabu and hence the grandfather of Samsi-Addu and Amīnum. From the Assyrian King List we know that this person was in fact named Yaskur-El. Wu Yuhong supposes that this is a variant spelling of Yadkur-El. Yadkur-El died around 1885 BC (see the chronology table of chapter 5), Samsi-Addu was born according to the MEC in 1847: a difference of more than thirty years. Such a thing is not impossible, but it is difficult to rhyme with the political situation *after* Yadkur-El's death: it was probably Sumu-nabi-yarim who ruled in Uzarlulu after Yadkur-El (and after him Hammi-dušur), not Ila-kabkabu or Amīnum. Apart from the mentioning of Amīnum in the MEC (1862: Amīnum took Šaduppûm) there is little evidence for this family being active in the Lower Diyala region. In fact, Ila-kabkabu probably roamed the Syrian steppe instead of the Diyala plains. This becomes hopefully more clear with the publication of more '*šakkanakku'* texts from Mari and Terqa, but see already the clear allussions to this in *ARM* 1 3. In short: Yadkur-El≠ Yaskur-El.

[851] IM 67032 (Al-Hashimi 1972:32 = Al-Hashimi 1964 H 46).

[852] Frayne 1990 E4.14.5.

7.2.3.4 Sumun-abi-yarim

This man was a king in the lower Diyala region.[856] Aside from the Ikūn-pîša letters he features in the oath of three documents from three different places: Tutub,[857] Uzarlulu,[858] and Nērebtum.[859] In all of these oaths, the parties also swear by Sîn. Because a Sîn temple was found at Tutub, it is usually concluded that he must have been a ruler of Tutub. However, there are at least two problems with this hypothesis: first, the text from Nērebtum was found in what is seen by some as a Sîn temple as well, and secondly why do we not find more texts or year names referring to Sumun-abi-yarim at Tutub? The Sîn temple archive at Tutub has year names mentioning many rulers active in the lower Diyala region and almost all of them are mentioned multiple times in the archive.[860] An additional problem poses the text from Uzarlulu: we know that Lāsimu was the main deity of Uzarlulu,[861] why would we find an oath by Sîn in a document from this city? There is more to this: the other two attested rulers from Uzarlulu (Hammi-dušur and Yadkur-El) are also seen in oaths from Uzarlulu together with Sîn.[862] The conclusion of all this is: Sumun-abi-yarim could have been the ruler of Tutub, but also of Nērebtum, Uzarlulu, another town or the whole lower Diyala region. If he had ruled more than one city, he would have predated Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu (see below on both kings). These two kings had ruled large parts of the lower Diyala region around ca. 1880-1825 BC, after the events known from the Ikūn-pîša letter archive. The Ikūn-pîša letters do not directly elucidate our problem.

Sumun-abi-yarim plays an indirect role in the Ikūn-pîša archive: he sits in the *puhur amurrim (*'the Amorite assembly') in *IPLA* 14 and he is seen in the Ilum-ma letters. As we learn from *IPLA* 2, a messenger (*mār šiprim*) called

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[853] IM 52783 (Ahmad 1964 A6 and Baqir 1949b:141-143).

[854] *JCS* 9 p. 73 no. 10:19.

[855] IM 63121 (Ahmed 1966 A 33).

[856] See Van Koppen 2012. Van Koppen's translation of the name as 'Sumu-abum hat sich erhaben gezeigt' is dubious. The name must mean something else, because a later queen of Yamhad is called Sumunna-abi.

[857] *JCS* 9 p. 106 no. 57.

[858] IM 67097 (Al-Hashimi 1964 H44).

[859] *OBTIV* 27.

[860] See the overview of the year names in Harris 1955:46-47.

[861] Ahmad 1967.

[862] Al-Hashimi 1964 no. 43 (IM 52859): Hammi-dušur and Sîn; no. 45 (IM 67040): Hammi-dušur and Sîn; no. 46 (IM 67032): Yadkur-El and Sîn.

Etel-pi-Sîn was in Sumun-abi-yarim's service. In *IPLA* 3, the writer Ilum-ma remarks that he should not owe any favors to Sumun-abi-yarim and Sîn-nada. This Sîn-nada could have been an important official of Sumun-abi-yarim.[863]

Sumun-abi-yarim is only mentioned in connection to Išim-Šulgi, a town that had a *šakkanakkum* as its ruler.[864] But the fact that Sumun-abi-yarim and Mašparum are the only Diyala region rulers mentioned in the letter archive does lead us to suspect that he could have ruled most of the lower Diyala region. In order to guarantee safe trade routes through this region, Ikūn-pîša's organization would have had to deal with Sumun-abi-yarim. It could be that Sumun-abi-yarim was only an ephemeral ruler, this would explain the lack of more sources. Based on synchronisms with other rulers from the Ikūn-pîša texts he ruled around ca. 1885 BC.

7.2.3.4.1 A Lower Diyala dynasty?

The 'oath god' used by people together with Sumun-abi-yarim was Sîn (as we saw above). Sîn was however also seen with (preceding) Diyala region rulers such as Abī-madar[865] and Yadkur-El. What is more, the two main lower Diyala rulers after Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur[866] and Sîn-abūšu[867] are also paired together with Sîn in oaths! This could be an indication for one dynasty of rulers. When Ešnunna took over power, Tišpak was also automatically used as oath god with the Ešnunna king, all over the region: in Šaduppûm,[868] Nērebtum,[869] Mê-Turān,[870] and Tullul Khattab,[871] regardless of any local city god. Why would the situation be any different before? Sîn was the main 'oath

[863] In fact, a Sîn-nada with the title SUKKAL occurs in an administrative text from Tutub: ^{d}EN.ZU-AN.DÙL, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-da* SUKKAL, *JCS* 9 p. 119 no. 105:14-15.

[864] We cannot discount the possibility that the *šakkanakkum* of Išim-Šulgi could have ruled at the behest of another king. On the other hand, some city rulers carried the explicit title *šakkanakkum*, such as the kings of Dēr.

[865] Abī-madar even offered a statue to a Sîn temple in one of his year names, see above.

[866] For Hammi-dušur in oaths in Šaduppûm, see Hussein 2008:91, for Uzarlulu, see above section 2.1.1.2.

[867] IM 55148 (Al-Hashimi 1964 H4), see also Hussein 2008:91. Sîn-abūšu, like Abī-madar offered a statue to a Sîn temple, see Saporetti 1998:258.

[868] See Hussein 2008:91.

[869] *OBTIV* 25.

[870] *Edubba* 1 1:15, *Edubba* 9, and *Edubba* 1 10.

[871] *Edubba* 9 1 and *Edubba* 9 3.

god' for the former lower Diyala rulers Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu.[872] Unfortunately, we have no official inscriptions of any of these rulers, which could verify whether they were related to each other.[873]

Sîn, or the Moongod, was one of the most popular deities in OB times: in chapter 3 we saw that 36 of the 100 most popular early OB personal names carry Sîn as its theophoric element. Popular gods such as Sîn, Ištar, or Adad were worshipped all over the Ancient Near East and, as a consequence, there were many local manifestations of such gods: Adad of Aleppo, Adad of Arrapha, Ištar Annunītum (Sippar), or Ištar Urukītum (Uruk) etc. The same holds true for Sîn. In fact, we know of at least two specific manifestations of Sîn in the Diyala region: Sîn of Kamānum[874] and Sîn of Ur-Iškura. They are both mentioned in the treaty concluded between Hammi-dušur 'of Nērebtum' and Sumu-numhim of Šadlaš: in case of a crime, a citizen of Nērebtum must swear by Sîn of Kamānum, and a citizen of Šadlaš by Sîn of Ur-Iškura.[875] Was Sîn of Kamānum then the tutelary deity of Hammi-dušur? This cannot be verified with the current evidence. In any case, Sîn was an important deity in the Lower Diyala region, being the main god of not only Tutub, Kamānum, and Ur-Iškura, but also Akšak. Any of these towns could be the hometown of the proposed Sumun-abi-yarim dynasty.

7.2.3.4.2 Excursus: the importance of early OB Akšak

Akšak is found as the theophoric element in many personal names.[876] City names used as a theophoric element are rare, but not unusual. What is unusual is the sheer number of names composed with Akšak found in Sippar alone: Akšak-abī, Akšak-gāmil, Akšak-iddinam, Akšak-māgir, Akšak-nāṣir, Akšak-rabi, Akšak-šemi, Iddin-Akšak, Imgur-Akšak, Nabi-Akšak, Puzur-Akšak, Ṣilli-Akšak, and the hypocoristic Akšāya. An explanation for this phenomenon might be that these names refer to the main deity or temple of the city, possibly Sîn.[877]

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[872] It is difficult to add Abī-madar and Yadkur-El to this hypothetical dynasty: we can only speculate about a unified Lower Diyala from the reign of Sumun-abi-yarim onwards.

[873] Frayne 1990 E4.14.2 is not an inscription of Sîn-abūšu, but of an Ešnunna king.

[874] Discussed by Viaggio 2008a.

[875] See Wu Yuhong 1994a:60-61.

[876] Gragg 1974 gives an overview of the attestations of Akšak from the Sumerian kinglist to the OB period.

[877] This might also explain a name such as Tutub-māgir: Tutub's tutelary deity was also Sîn.

In addition to these Akkadian names, there is also one Amorite name composed with Akšak; Sumu-Akšak. Another Amorite connection is seen in the Mari archives. A certain Akšak-māgir seems to have been in charge at Qaṭṭunân at the beginning of Zimri-Lim's reign. This Akšak-māgir was a tribesman.[878]

Akšak was situated somewhere to the east of the Tigris. An informative letter, *TIM* 1 16, states that the king of Ešnunna pleads to the king of Larsa to return Akšak to him.[879] In a text from Mari, *ARM* 9 288,[880] several messengers are mentioned, amongst whom: six from Elam, five from Babylon, two from Yamhad, eight from Qaṭna, five from Qabrâ, one from Huršītum,[881] one from Susa, and one from Akšak. Marti 2003 adds that Akšak might have ceased to exist and was perhaps replaced by Upî, an idea that is not new.[882] In any case, the mentioning of Akšak in a Transtigridian context is not unique: the letter *TIM* 2 92 places Akšak about 60 km from Dēr.[883] The so-called Khorsabad temple list puts Akšak firmly in the presence of cities like Ešnunna, Akkad, and Dēr. Temples of Ištar and the god IGI.DU were present in Akšak.[884]

Akšak is furthermore mentioned in *AbB* 1 82, which informs us that it had city walls. In *AbB* 7 175 somebody writes that he had arrived in Akšak for some kind of business. In *IPLA* 24, Ikūn-pîša is asked to go to Akšak to buy carnelian, a product imported from Iran and Central Asia, attesting again to Akšak's eastern localization. A special case is the text *CT* 48 2, which might very well be from Akšak.[885] The text is dated to Hammurabi 30 and contains a legal dispute mediated by the elders of Akšak and Sarda'i. It furthermore mentions a *šurinnum* symbol of Sîn and the oath is by Sîn, Šamaš, Marduk and Hammurabi. Lastly, the text is first witnessed (l. 27) by a certain Inbūša who is the *šakkanakkum* of Akšak.

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[878] Durand 1994:84-91. See especially footnote 15 on p. 85.

[879] The letter is edited by Wu Yuhong 1994:165-166 and Saporetti 2002:242-243.

[880] With collation by Marti 2003.

[881] Huršītum is mostly known because of the inscription of Pūhīya: Frayne 1990 E4.20.1.

[882] Cf. Van Dijk 1970:72, the problem is that the logogram for Akšak, ÚH^{KI}, was read in the first millenium as Upî/Opis (cf. Streck 2003-2005c). McEwan 1980:163 proposes two Akšak's: one in the marsh lands of the Tigris and the other in the hills some 30 kilometers from Dēr. See also Frayne 1991:395-397 for some supplementary notes on Akšak's (and Akkad's) location.

[883] Van Dijk 1970 edited and commented upon the text.

[884] George 1993:41 37'-38'.

[885] On this text (which belongs together with *VS* 8 69-70): Wilcke 1982:442-443, Seri 2005:130 and Kümmel 1973:466-467.

The eastern, Transtrigridian, location of Akšak towards the Diyala region puts it firmly into the sphere of the early OB Amorites. What link the population of Sippar had exactly with Akšak remains unclear.

7.2.3.5 Sumu-Amnānum of Šadlaš

This king is only known from two inscriptions,[886] one found at Nērebtum[887] and one at Uzarlulu.[888] Both are dedications to Inanna, 'the lady of Šadlaš'. Why these inscriptions were not found at Šadlaš[889] (location unknown) is puzzling. When he ruled Šadlaš exactly is unknown, but he probably ruled before Sumu-numhim, known from the Nērebtum treaty, so approximately during the time of Sumun-abi-yarim/Mašparum?

A document concerning the adoption of a slave girl which is published in the Appendix,[890] carries an oath by Sumu-Amnānum and the obscure god Lā-qīpum.[891] Unfortunately it is not known which city venerated Lā-qīpum as its city god, but it was apparently not Šadlaš. Sumu-Amnānum must have been recognized as a ruler in a another (Diyala region) town as well.

7.2.3.6 Šarrīya and Warassa of Ešnunna

Šarrīya and Warassa were apparently two ephemeral kings: little was left by them, in any case no official royal inscriptions.[892] There is no proof that Šarrīya was a son of Ipiq-Adad I: Saporetti even asks the question whether or not he was an official of Ipiq-Adad I who usurped the throne.[893] Only two year names of Šarrīya remain: one in which he 'took' the throne[894] and another commemorating a cultic event.[895]

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[886] With an Amorite tribal name in his personal name. See Stol 2012 and Saporetti 2002:174.

[887] Jacobsen 1990b p. 93-94, see the remarks by George 1993:120 no. 726.

[888] Frayne 1990 E4.15.1.2.

[889] Stol 2006-2008a. The Puzur-Akšak family came from Šadlaš, see chapter 4 section 2.3.3.12.

[890] YBC 10873.

[891] Lambert 1980-1983a, the name means 'Untrustworthy'.

[892] Frayne 1990 E4.5.10 and E4.5.11 only contains servant seal inscriptions.

[893] Saporetti 2002:196.

[894] MU *šar-ri-ia* ENSI$_2$ ÁŠ.NUN.NA^{KI} ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$, Saporetti 1998:166. This type of year name is often seen as an indication that the king was a usurper, because he 'took' the throne. However, this need not always be the case, I believe that a usurper would focus on

Tablet As. 30:T.575 states that Šarrīya was Bēlakum's father;[896] that is why Jacobsen and Whiting put Bēlakum before Warassa as ruler of Ešnunna.[897] However, Warassa might be a son of Šarrīya as well.[898] A seal inscription is in favor of the sequence Šarrīya→Warassa→Bēlakum.[899] Warassa's seven year names attest to a number of military events:[900] the recapture of Išur (after Bilalama did the same one hundred years before),[901] and the supposed conquests of Tutub[902] and Nērebtum.[903] If the chronology in this study is correct, Warassa (or at least Bēlakum) would have conquered these cities from Sumun-abi-yarim (or perhaps Hammi-dušur). There is however no conclusive evidence that these cities were durably incorporated into the Ešnunna kingdom at this time:[904] the more likely scenario is that Sumun-abi-yarim's 'Lower Diyala State' became a vassal of Ešnunna.

7.2.3.7 Ephemeral rulers in the Diyala region texts

Through several year names, seal impressions, and inscriptions we are informed about a large number of people who may or may not have been rulers as well.

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legitimizing himself instead of using a special 'usurpation year name'. See also the remarks by Harris 1955:53 on Warassa's accession.

[895] MU *šar-ri-ia* ^{URUDU}ALAM uš-[...] ni, Saporetti 1998:167. Perhaps some of the unattributed year names in Saporetti 1998:149-163 are in fact Šarrīya's.

[896] Jacobsen 1940:120.

[897] Whiting 1987a:32 and Jacobsen 1940:122. See also Saporetti 2002:198-200 on Warassa.

[898] Also thought by Charpin 2004a:389 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:36. Such as scheme is not unusual, in which a brother succeeded his older brother on the throne: Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn of Larsa, both sons of Kudur-mabuk, or at Ešnunna: Narām-Sîn and Dādūša are both sons of Ipiq-Adad II (even though they did not reign consecutively).

[899] See Frayne 1990:532.

[900] Saporetti 1998:315-326.

[901] MU *i-šur*^{ki} ÌR-*sà iṣ-ba-tu*, Saporetti 1998:321.

[902] MU *tu-tu-ub*^{ki} [x].ba.a.[...], Saporetti 1998:326. Assigned by Harris 1955:53-54 to Warassa.

[903] MU *ne-re-eb-tum*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB, this year name found at Ešnunna was attributed to Warassa by Harris 1955:54, she was followed by Saporetti 1998:325. Jacobsen 1940 had assigned it to Bēlakum.

[904] Hammi-dušur year names are found at Tutub and Hammi-dušur is king of Nērebtum in the treaty *OBTIV* 326.

7.2.3.7.1 Diyala 'rulers' known from 'MU PN BA.UG$_7$' year names

A large group of these 'rulers' are known form year names of the type: 'MU PN BA.UG$_7$' : 'Year: PN died'. By analogy of Ibal-pi-El II's 5th year name 'MU ^{d}UTU-*ši*-^{d}IM BA.UG$_7$' : 'Year: Samsi-Addu died', it was thought that this type of year names always commemorates the death of a ruler (and Samsi-Addu was an important king), what is more: it supposedly always commemorates the death of a neighboring ruler.

Both of these ideas have proven to be wrong. Let us start with the first: the year name 'MU *a-bi* É BA.UG$_7$' was found at Šaduppûm and Uzarlulu. Hussein in his 2008 thesis published a variant of this year name : 'MU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu a-bu bi-tim* BA.UG$_7$' : 'The year: Nabi-ilīšu , the intendant (lit. father-of-the-house) died'. This year name shows that it must not necessarily have been a ruler or king whose death was commemorated in a year name: it could also be some official.

The second idea was disproven by the documents from Kisurra published by Goddeeris 2009: it contains year names commemorating the death of Kisurra kings.[905] This proves that it is not always a neighboring ruler that was commemorated in these type of year names.

To conclude: year names of the type 'MU PN BA.UG$_7$' do not automatically reflect the death of a king or ruler. This is why the persons exclusively occurring in these type of year names are treated differently from 'rulers' known from other types of year names and other sources.

The knowledge that at least a number of the men below were no kings, greatly simplifies the complex situation in the Diyala region. Whether they were tribal rulers, officials, or generals, will probably never be known. For a similar list of year names from Northern Babylonia, see section 5.2.8.

Name	Transliteration	Towns were the year name was found	Reference
Adaki	MU *a-da-ki* BA.UG$_7$	Tutub	*JCS* 9 p. 46 no. 5
Alulum	MU *a-lu-lum* BA.UG$_7$	Uzarlulu	see section 2.1.1.2
Ašdum-labum	MU *aš-du-um-la-a-bu-um* BA.UG$_7$	Uzarlulu	see section 2.1.1.2
Bali-apuh	MU *ba-li-a-pu-uh* BA.UG$_7$	Tutub,	*JCS* 9 p. 46 no. 8

[905] Found on Goddeeris 2009 no. 192 (MU *i-túr*-^{d}UTU BA.UG$_7$), nos. 162 and 166 (MU *ṣa-lum* BA.UG$_7$).

		Sippar	*TIM* 7 117
Binima	MU *bi-ni-ma* BA.[UG$_7$]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:80
Dadbanaya	MU *da-ad-ba-na-a-/a* LUGAL.E BA.UG$_7$	Unknown	NBC 6493[906]
Hadum	MU *ha-du-um* BA.UG$_7$	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:80
Haliyatum	MU *ha-li-a-tum* BA.UG$_7$	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:80
Ila-dihad	MU *i-la-a-di-ha-ad*	Šaduppûm Uzarlulu	Hussein 2008:81 see section 2.1.1.2
Ilum-nāṣir (Kutha)	MU *ša* DINGIR-*na-ṣi-ir* GÚ.DU$_8$.A^{KI} BA.UG$_7$	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:81
Ištašni-ilum	MU *iš-ta-aš-ni-il* [BA.UG$_7$]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:81
Nabi-ilišu	many variations, see Hussein 2008:82	Šaduppûm Uzarlulu	Hussein 2008:82 see section 2.1.1.2
Rīm-Dagan	MU *ri-im-*^{d}*da-gan* BA.UG$_7$	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Sakrurum	MU.1.KAM *sa-ak-ru-rum* BA.UG$_7$	Uzarlulu	see section 2.1.1.2
Yahzir-El[907]	MU *ia-ah-zi-ir-ì-il* BA.UG$_7$ LUGAL *sí-pí-ir*^{KI}	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:81
Yamini[908]	MU *ia-mi-ni* BA.UG$_7$	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:63
... s. Kutha	M[U . . .] DUMU GÚ.DU$_8$.A BA.UG$_7$	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:85

7.2.3.7.2 Other ephemeral Diyala rulers

In addition there are a number of 'rulers' known from obscure and unique year names or 'rulers' found on servant's seal impressions, etc.

Name	Transliteration	Towns	Reference
Hadati	˹MU˺ *ha-da-ti maš-kán* giš ˹x˺	Nērebtum	*OBTIV* 50
Ibbi-Sin	MU *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU *a-na* ˹É˺ *a-bi-* ˹*šu*˺ *i-* ˹*ru*˺*-bu-* ˹*ú*˺	Nērebtum	*OBTIV* 73
Ibbišu-Mālik	servant seal: ^{d}UTU-*mu-* ˹*uš-te-pi-iš*˺, ÌR *i-bi-šu-*^{d}*ma-lik*	Nērebtum	Frayne 1990 E4.14.4
Ir-Nanna	MU ÌR-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *i-na ma-ru-uk-tim i-ša-ak-nu-ú*	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:84

[906] It is not certain whether this text originates in the Diyala region, but it is included here because of the year name, first published by Stephens 1936:25 no. 17.

[907] On this man and this specific year name: De Boer 2013a:88 with footnote 72.

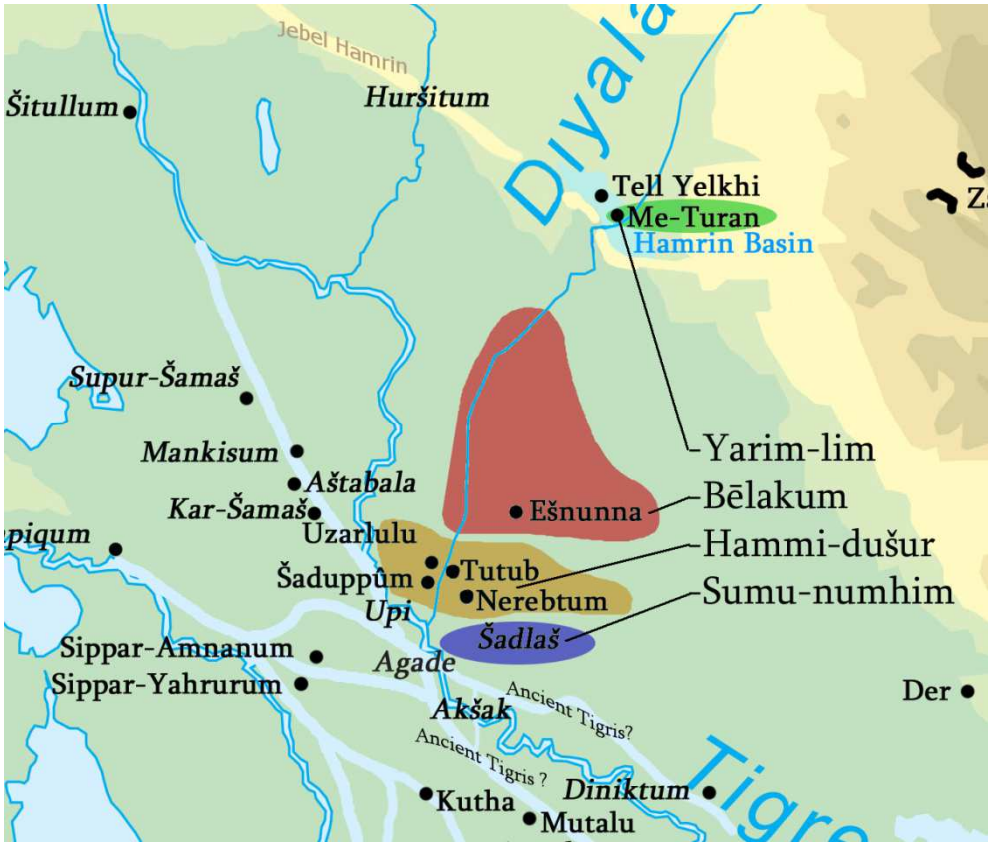
[908] This man has often been taken for Amīnum, son of Ila-kabkabu and elder brother of Samsi-Addu (Saporetti 2002:167, Wu Yuhong 1994a:63).

Rim-Tišpak	known from an oath	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:91
Sumu-[...]	M[U] *sa-mu*-[...]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Šumma-ahum	MU *šu-ma-hu-um* É ^{d}UTU *i-pu-šu*	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Tarām-Urim	MU *ta-ra-am*-ŠEŠ.UNUG^{KI} ˹É? ŠIR?˺ *ú-še-lu-ú*	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Tattanum	MU *ta-ta-nu-um i-ru-ba-am*	Tutub	*JCS* 9 p. 46 no. 2
Waqrum	MU ALAN ^{URUDU}ZABAR *wa-aq-ru-um ú-še-ri-b*[*u*]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83-84
	MU *wa-aq-ru-um* ALAN ZABAR *ú-še-ri-bu*	Unknown	NBC 8236
Yanqim-El	MU *a-an-qí-im*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *iṣ-ba-tu*	Tutub	*JCS* 9 p. 46 no. 1

At least for Yanqim-El and Ibbi-Sîn it seems clear that they were kings, because their (only) year name mentions their accession. The same is not clear for Tattanum: the year name only states that he 'entered here'. For an accession we would expect the emendation 'he entered the house of his father'.[909] The ventive suggests that he arrived in the city of the scribe.

[909] A case in point are the year names found at Tuttul when Zimri-Lim conquered the town: MU *zi-ik-ri-li-im a-na tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} *i-ru-bu* (KTT 179, Krebernik 2001:109) and MU *zi-im-ri-li-im a-na tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} *i-ru-bu* (KTT 181, Krebernik 2001:110). These year names also state that Zimri-Lim entered Tuttul, but eventually he did not rule there, he merely conquered the town, something similar might have been the case with this Tattanum.

7.2.4 *Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu versus Bēlakum, Ibal-pi-El I and Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna ca. 1880-1815BC*



Map 5 The Political Situation in the Diyala region around 1875 BC

7.2.4.1 Hammi-dušur's 'Lower Diyala State'

Hammi-dušur succeeded Sumun-abi-yarim in Uzarlulu, Nērebtum and Tutub, moreover whereas Sumun-abi-yarim's name is not attested at Šaduppûm, Hammi-dušur year names are found at Šaduppûm. In short: Hammi-dušur ruled a substantial part of the lower Diyala region around ca. 1880-1865 BC.

The accession of Hammi-dušur is commemorated in two types of year names found at Tutub and Šaduppûm: MU *ha-am-mi-du-šu-úr* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *iṣ-ba-*

tu: 'Year: Hammi-dušur took the throne'[910] and MU *ha-am-mi-du-šu-ur* LUGAL: 'Year Hammi-dušur (became) king'.[911] His father's name is nowhere given, but he might have been related to Sumun-abi-yarim.

A few of Hammi-dušur's year names mention military activities: he conquered the small Diyala town Ṣilli-Adad[912] and fortified two other towns: Dūr-Rimuš (which lay in Nērebtum's vicinity) and Biškila.[913] There is a slight possibility that another year name found at Nērebtum and Tutub could also be attributed to him: a year name commemorating the building of Huribšum.[914]

Hammi-dušur is most famous from the peace treaty concluded between him as king of Nērebtum and Sumu-numhim, the king of Šadlaš.[915] The treaty contains a number of stipulations that regulate the end of a war: the return of refugees and captives, the loss of cattle and sheep, and the enlistment of enemy soldiers. The treaty was dated to a MU.ÚS.SA year name commemorating the death of Mê-Turān's Yarim-Lim. The lower Diyala region seems to have been particularly volatile in the time of Hammi-dušur: another 'treaty' from this time is known, even though it is still unpublished; the treaty of Bēlakum, son of Šarrīya,[916] the king of Ešnunna.

7.2.4.2 The treaty of Bēlakum

Only excerpts of this text have been published in the *CAD* and elsewhere:[917]

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[910] for Tutub: Harris 1955:46 no. 9 and Saporetti 1998:236, for Šaduppûm: Hussein 2008:60.

[911] Harris 1955:46 no. 6 and Saporetti 1998:237-238.

[912] Known from a Šaduppûm year name: Hussein 2008:60. In fact, the year name only partly preserves the town's name: MU URU *ṣíl*-[*lí*-^{d}IM^{KI}] IN.[DAB$_5$], see Saporetti 1998:246. The Harmal Geographic List mentions the town Ṣilli-Adad as being in the Diyala region (*MSL* XI:57 no. 87).

[913] Known from Tutub: Harris 1955:46 no. 3 and Uzarlulu:see section 2.1.1.2. Known from a Šaduppûm year name: Hussein 2008:60 and a Tutub year name: Harris 1955:47 no. 15.

[914] It could also have been a Sîn-abūšu year name. MU BÀD ˹*hu-ri-ib*˺-[*šum*^{ki}] *OBTIV* 234 and MU *hu-ri-ib-šum*^{KI} [MU.U]N.DÙ *OBTIV* 31. For Tutub: Harris 1955:46 no. 7.

[915] *OBTIV* 326, with the commentary by Wu Yuhong 1994a:53-61 and Wu Yuhong 1994b.

[916] This information is also given in the treaty (Tell Asmar 1930, 575), the reference is Frayne 1990:532.

[917] The text is Tell Asmar 1930, 575, it is quoted in the *CAD* Q:99a and *CAD* N/2:329-330, see also Stol 1976:64 and Jacobsen 1940:198. Translation and transliteration taken from CAD Q, but emended by supplying the name Bēlakum by the author: *adi Bēlakum u anāku balṭānu lemuttašu u nikurtašu l*[*a*] *ahaššehu Akkadum, Jamutbalum, Numhium Idamaraṣ ana lemuttim u nikurtim* [*ana*] *Bēlakum li-qú-up* [*ka-a*]*k-ki eleqqēma*.

> I (swear that I) will seek no evil or hostile acts against him as long as Bēlakum and I live, should Akkadum, Yamutbalum, Numhium or the Ida-maraṣ plot evil or hostile acts against Bēlakum, I will take up arms.

Even though the other treaty partner is not known, it is possible that it might have been Bēlakum's main 'colleague' to the immediate south of Ešnunna: Hammi-dušur. Here above it was already hypothesized that Ešnunna had made a vassal of Sumun-abi-yarim (see section 7.2.3.6). If Bēlakum had concluded the treaty with Hammi-dušur, this would only add to the picture of this Lower Diyala State being Ešnunna's vassal. It seems that the treaty is not styled like a treaty between equals, but between an overlord and a vassal: it more resembles the oaths of allegiance known from the Mari archives,[918] than the contemporary treaty between Hammi-dušur and Sumu-numhim.

Of course, the main interest of this text lies in the mentioning of Akkadum, Yamutbalum, Numhium, and Ida-maraṣ: not states but (tribal) territories.[919] The treaty partner promises Bēlakum to take up arms against these entities in case of hostilities. It is safe to say that Akkadum in the text denotes the Northern Babylonian cities west of the Tigris. From the Mari archives we learned that 'the land of Akkad' was the territory of both Babylon and Ešnunna.[920] Numhium might be the territory under Šadlaš' jurisdiction:[921] one of its rulers was called Sumu-numhim. The Ida-maraṣ was, according to Charpin, situated between the Tigris and the Zagros and Gutium and Elam; Ešnunna's (north)eastern border.[922] Yamutbalum must then represent the region to the north west of Ešnunna: the lands to the south of the Jebel Sindjar (see map 6).

If the above reconstructions hold true, then the treaty stipulates that Bēlakum should be helped against all potential enemy territories surrounding the land of Ešnunna.

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[918] See most recently Charpin 2010c, with bibliography.
[919] Already remarked by Charpin 2004a:99.
[920] The relevant text is *ARM* 27 135.
[921] See also Charpin 2003b:27.
[922] Charpin 2003b:24-25.



Map 6 The potential enemies of Bēlakum, the red area is Ešnunna's territory and orange Hammi-dušur's Lower Diyala State

7.2.4.3 Bēlakum

In addition to the treaty we have a handful of year names from Bēlakum's reign,[923] a brick inscription,[924] as well as a number of servant seals.[925] He ruled somewhere between ca. 1880 and 1870 BC.

Bēlakum's accession is seen in a year name from Ešnunna.[926] He also has a few year names mentioning cultic activities: the building of two 'horns' for

[923] Saporetti 1998:301-314.
[924] Frayne 1990 E4.5.12.1.
[925] Frayne 1990 E4.5.12.
[926] Jacobsen 1940:187 no. 100.

Tišpak's ceremonial boat,[927] the fashioning of a statue,[928] and there are also a few fragmentary year names.[929]

The most interesting year name, however, is the one in which Bēlakum made a statue for 'Inanna of Kiti' (Ištar Kitītum):[930] the tutelary deity of Nērebtum. This year name has led to the discussion whether or not Bēlakum (or Warassa) had conquered Nērebtum, an event known from an unattributed year name.[931] It could be that Nērebtum was captured temporarily, but Ešnunna did not have a long lasting rule: no pre-Ipiq-Adad II (ca. 1858-1815 BC) year names were found at Nērebtum. Instead, we do find a number of Sîn-abūšu year names;[932] Hammi-dušur's successor. If anything, the aforementioned year name could belong to Ipiq-Adad II who actually took Nērebtum around 1823 BC.[933]

Bēlakum's death was important enough to be commemorated in a year name attributable to Hammi-dušur found at Tutub,[934] Šaduppûm,[935] and Uzarlulu.[936]

7.2.4.4 Ibal-pi-El I

Bēlakum was succeeded by Ibal-pi-El I.[937] It is not certain whether he was Bēlakum's son: the standard brick inscriptions in his name only state that he

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[927] Jacobsen 1940:188 no. 101.

[928] Jacobsen 1940:189 no. 104.

[929] Jacobsen 1940:189 no. 105, no. 106

[930] Jacobsen 1940:188-189 no. 102 and 103.

[931] The year name (from Ešnunna) was first mentioned by Harris 1955:54, Wu Yuhong 1994:76, Saporetti 2002:198.

[932] MU ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu*, ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DIB, *TIM* 3 124:25-26, MU ^{d}*šul-gi-na-na*^{ki}, *i-qú-ru-u*$_{16,}$ *TIM* 3 125:20-21, MU ^{d}*šul-*^{r}*gi*$^{\urcorner}$-[*na-na*^{ki}] ^{I}30-*a-bu-šu* ^{r}*iq-qí-ru*$^{\urcorner}$*UCLMA* 9/2942:2'-3', MU.ÚS.SA ^{d}[*šul*]-*gi-na-na-ru in-na-aq-ru-ú*, *UCLMA* 9/2864:20-21, MU I$_{7}$ 30-*a-bu-šu ih-ru-ú, UCP* 10/1 2:21, MU BÀD *bi-is-ki-la*^{ki} ^{I}30-*a-bu-šu i-pu-šu*, *UCLMA* 9/2831:15-16, MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *a-na ra-pí-qí-im i-hu-zu,* UCP 10/1 61:10, MU ^{d}*šul-gi-*^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *in-na-aq-ru,* Ish. 34-T. 28, Serai, MU.ÚS.SA ^{r}^{d}*šul-gi-na-na*$^{\urcorner}$^{ki}, Ish. 34-T. 41, Serai.

[933] Another possibility is that Ešnunna's Bēlakum or Warassa only 'punished' Hammi-dušur by sacking Nērebtum.

[934] Harris 1955:47 no. 17.

[935] *YOS* 14 37.

[936] See above section 2.1.1.2.

[937] He is to be distinguished from Ibal-pî-El II, who took the title 'king' of Ešnunna instead of ENSI$_{2}$, see Frayne 1990:539.

was ENSI$_2$ of Ešnunna and beloved of Tišpak.[938] He probably ruled between ca. 1870 and 1859 BC. Four servant seal inscriptions are known and at least three year names.[939] None of the year names are of historical interest: an accession year name,[940] a year name concerning the cult,[941] and the year name mentioning his death.[942] Another year name was atttributed by Saporetti to Ibal-pi-El I,[943] Wu Yuhong proposes to attribute five other year names to him.[944] Something for which Ibal-pi-El I might be credited, is the reconstruction of the palace of the rulers at Ešnunna.[945]

7.2.4.5 Sîn-abūšu's reign in the Lower Diyala

Hammi-dušur's realm in the Lower Diyala was ruled after him by Sîn-abūšu, who must have been related to Hammi-dušur. No patronyms are given for Sîn-abūšu,[946] but some proof comes from two year names:

- MU BÀD *bi-iš$_6$-ki-la*$^{!}$ *am-mi-du-šu-úr i-pu-šu* (from Šaduppûm: Hussein 2008:60, IM 63171)
- MU BÀD *bi-iš$_6$-ki-la* ^{I}30-*a-bu-šu i-pu-šu* (from Nērebtum: Greengus 1986:180, *UCLMA* 9/2831)

Twice the same year name ('Year: RN built the wall of Biškila'), but the name of the builder in the first is Hammi-dušur and in the other Sîn-abūšu. There are a few possible explanations for this, but the most logical would be to assume that both kings belonged to the same dynasty.[947] In addition, as was al-

[938] Frayne 1990 E4.5.13.1.

[939] Frayne 1990 E4.5.13.2001-2004. One seal seems to have been presented to Ibal-pî-El I's wife called Nir-[...] (Frayne 1990 E4.5.13.2).

[940] Jacobsen 1940:190 no. 110.

[941] From Nērebtum: Greengus 1979:31 no. 37 and Ešnunna: Jacobsen 1940:190 no. 111.

[942] Known from Ešnunna: Jacobsen 1940:191 no. 112 and Nērebtum: Greengus 1979:31 no. 36 (= a Sîn-abūšu year name).

[943] Saporetti 1998:332, the year name is Jacobsen 1940:193 no. 119.

[944] Wu Yuhong 1994a:39.

[945] Reichel 2001a:141-142.

[946] See also Van Koppen 2009-2011, Saporetti 2002:179-182, and Wu Yuhong 1994a:47-51 on Sîn-abūšu. The royal inscription attributed to Sîn-abūšu in Frayne 1990 (E4.14.2) actually belongs to Ipiq-Adad II, see Charpin 2004a:130 n. 558.

[947] It could have been Hammi-dušur's last year name and the work on Biškila was later finished by Sîn-abūšu. There also remains the option that both rulers were enemies and subsequently fortified Biškila, conquered it and fortified it again.

ready stated above, the 'oath god' for Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu was Sîn, pointing towards one dynasty.

Sîn-abūšu's many year names[948] were found in Šaduppûm,[949] Nērebtum,[950] Tutub,[951] and in the unprovenanced Nūr-Šamaš archive.[952] Many of them relate to historical and political events. In addition to this, the Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) helps us by mentioning some major political events starting from ca. 1869 BC.[953]

7.2.4.5.1 Sîn-abūšu's military and political feats

Sîn-abūšu must have acceded the throne around 1865 BC.[954] The MEC states that Amīnum captured Šaduppûm in 1862,[955] this must have been in the beginning of Sîn-abūšu's reign. Apart from the MEC there are no indications for this event and Sîn-abūšu's year names continue to be used in Šaduppûm. The second feat we might attribute to him is the taking of the land of 'Ṣit' a year later.[956] This country is tentatively located around the towns Mankisum and Šitullum along the Tigris by Durand.[957] Another event probably surrounding Sîn-abūšu is broken in the MEC around 1851 BC.[958]

Whereas Hammi-dušur had concluded a treaty with Šadlaš' king Sumunumhim, it appears that hostilities between the Lower Diyala State and Šadlaš had never really ended. One of Sîn-abūšu's year names attests to a siege of Šadlaš.[959] He was apparently not successful in conquering and incorporating Šadlaš durably into his kingdom because several decades later a ruler called

[948] Saporetti 1998:253-300, according to Saporetti's count Sîn-abūšu had ca. 24 year names.
[949] Hussein 2008:60-62.
[950] Greengus 1979:22-35, see Saporetti 1998:253-300 on Sîn-abūšu's year names.
[951] Harris 1955:47 no.24.
[952] Almost all year names in this archive (see above 2.1.5) are Sîn-abūšu's.
[953] Following Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012.
[954] His accession year name was found at Nērebtum and in the Nur-Šamaš archive: Saporetti 1998:255.
[955] MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Samanum/Samaya.
[956] MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Ili-ennam/Ilī-ālum. Sîn-abūšu is called Sîn-abum in the MEC.
[957] Durand 1985:236 n. 2.
[958] Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Iddin-abum. The name of Sîn-abūšu is broken.
[959] Saporetti 1998:275 (MU BÀD *ša-ad-la-aš*^{KI} ^{d}30-*a-bu-šu il-wu-ú*).

Sumu-Šamaš is know from Šadlaš.[960] Interestingly, this Sumu-Šamaš is called *rabiān Amnān Šadlaš* on his seal impression: this Amnānum tribal affiliation is at odds with the Numhium affiliation of his predecessor Sumu-numhim, but not with the first known ruler of Šadlaš, Sumu-Amnānum.

Other military confrontations are the conquest of the town of Billum,[961] the 'encroachment' on the town of Dūrum(?)[962] and the destruction of Šulgi-Nanna.[963] The construction of fortifications occur in four year names: the fortified towns are Biškila,[964] Aškuzum,[965] Nērebtum,[966] and Dūr-Sîn-abūšu.[967]

Sîn-abūšu was apparently very much concerned with establishing good relations with rulers to the immediate west of his kingdom: he married off his daughters to the ruler of Mankisum[968] and the *šakkanakkum* of Rapiqum.[969] Sîn-abūšu had no shortage of daughters, because other year names announce that his daughters were 'chosen through omens at Dūr-Rimuš',[970] a daughter was 'raised up (to priesthood)',[971] and a daughter was chosen as priestess(?) of Adad.[972]

Strangely enough we are not at all informed about the relations between the kingdom of Babylon and Sîn-abūšu, even though Sumu-la-El, Sabium, and Apil-Sîn were his contemporaries. In this respect we might note that Apil-Sîn

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[960] This Sumu-Šamaš' seal impression is found on the tablet *CT* 48 83, see Frayne 1990 E4.15.2, and Stol 1976:86-87. The year name on the tablet is barely readable: [...]bar?.ra, [...]˹bi˺.ta. I am unable to attribute this year name to a ruler. But other texts from the same dossier are dated to Apil-Sîn, Sîn-muballiṭ and Hammurabi (see Goddeeris 2002:135-140).

[961] Location unknown, Saporetti 1998:278 (MU *bi-la-am* 30-*a-bu-šu iṣ-ba-tu*).

[962] Reading uncertain, Durum is the generic name for fortress, Saporetti 1998:274 (MU *du-ri*-x-*im* ^{d}sîn-*a-bu-šu iṭ-hu-ú*).

[963] See below section 2.4.5.3.

[964] See above section 2.4.5.

[965] Saporetti:289 (MU BÀD *aš-ku-zi-im* [sîn-*a*]-*bu-šu i-pu-šu*).

[966] Saporetti:290 (MU BÀD *ne-re-eb-tum*).

[967] Either a newly founded town, or an existing town that was renamed, Saporetti:291 ([MU BÀ]D-30-*a-bu-šu, i-pu-šu*).

[968] Saporetti 1998:271 (MU 30-*a-bu-šu* LUGAL DUMU.MUNUS *a-na ma-an-ki-si-in*^{ki} *i-di-nu-ú*).

[969] Saporetti 1998:269 (MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *a-na ra-pí-qí-im i-hu-zu*/ MU 30-*a-bu-šu ma-ra-šu a-na ra-pí-qí i-di-nu*). The ruler of Rapiqum was called *šakkanakkum*, see Charpin 1999c.

[970] Saporetti 1998:262-266 (MU 30-*a-bu-šu* LUGAL, DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *i-na* BÀD-URU-*ri-muš*^{ki}, *ib-ru-u*$_{16}$). There is also a MU.ÚS.SA variation: Saporetti 1998:267 (MU.ÚS.SA˺ *ša* DUMU.MUNUS.ME[Š], LUGAL *ib-ru-ú*).

[971] Saporetti 1998 p.272-273 (MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *in-na-ši*).

[972] Saporetti 1998:268 (MU DUMU.˹munus NIN.DINGIR˺ *ša* x x, *ù ša* ^{d}IM, *i-ba-ra-a*).

had conquered the towns Upî[973] and Aštabala[974] on the Tigris, which might have been part of Sîn-abūšu's realm: when Sîn-abūšu lost his kingdom to Ipiq-Adad II, the king of Babylon might have tried to take part in the spoils.[975]

The remaining year names of Sîn-abūšu deal with the organization of the Akītum festival,[976] the dedication of statues to temples,[977] and the digging of a canal.[978] Puzzling is a Sîn-iqīšam (Larsa) year name found in the Nūr-Šamaš archive.[979]

7.2.4.5.2 A letter between the king of Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu

Sîn-abūšu was a vassal of the more powerful king of Ešnunna; this is known from a very interesting letter that was published in Mustafa's 1983 thesis.[980] His transliteration and translation can be modified on several points. Despite the fact that the tablet needs to be collated and republished, the importance of the texts deserves a new tentative transcription and translation based on Mustafa's copy (plate 58):[981]

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[973] BM 22641: MU BÀD *ú-pé-e*^{ki} BA.DÙ and BM 22713: MU *ú-pé-e*^{ki} *a-pil*-30 BA.DÙ, these year names were first signalled by Stol 1997:720. The exact place of this year name amongst Apil-Sîn's year names is unknown.

[974] Horsnell 1999 volume 2:90. The exact place of this year name amongst Apil-Sîn's year names is unknown.

[975] See citation of the unpublished letter A.405 and the remarks by Charpin and Ziegler 2003:228 with n. 531-533.

[976] Saporetti 1998:256 (MU *a-ki-tam,* ^{I}30-*a-bu-šu, iš-ku-nu*).

[977] Saporetti 1998:257-259 and p. 260. There are a few variations concerning these year names.

[978] Saporetti 1998:293-296 (MU I_7 30-*a-bu-šu ih-ru-ú*, there are a number of variations), there is also a mu.ús.sa year name: Saporetti 1998:297-298 (MU.ÚS.SA sîn-*a-bu-šu* i_7 *ih-ru-ú*, there are a number of variations).

[979] Sîn-iqīšam 2: MU ^{d}*nu-muš-da* ^{d}*nam-ra-at* (*TIM* 3 120).

[980] Van Koppen 2009-2011 has some remarks on this letter on p. 513. The fact that the letter was found at ancient Mê-Turān is problematic: it is not likely that Sîn-abūšu controlled the Lower Diyala region and the Hamrin bassin at the expense of Ešnunna. Van Koppen 2009-2011 thinks that the letter is a school exercise. In any case, the letter's historicity may be doubted.

[981] 1 *a-na* ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* 2 *qí-bí-ma* 3 *um-ma ru-bu-um a-bu-ka-a-ma* 4 *a-na mi-nim* É-*tam ša iš-tu* 5 *ia-ar-du* ^{d}MAR.TU 6 ^{I}*bi-gi-im* 7 ^{I}*iš-me-a-ra*$^{?}$-*ah*$^{?}$ 8 ^{I}*su-*^{r}*mu*$^{?}$$^{\urcorner}$-*a-bi* du$^{?}$ 9 ^{I}*a-bi-ma-da-ar* 10 *ù ia-ab-ba-am* ú x ša li kam 11 *at-ta tu-ha-*[*li-iq*] 12 *ù pa-ga-ar-k*[*a*] *t*[*u-h*]*a-la-aq* 13 *i-na at-ta ia-mu-ut-ba-la-am* 14 *ú-ul tu-ha-la-aq* 15 *am-na-an*^{ki} *ia-ah-ru-ur*^{ki} 16 *ù ia-ba-sa*^{ki} [Rest of the Obverse lost] Reverse: 1' *šum-ma* [...] 2' *iš-te-et iš-ta-nu-tu* 3' 10 *li-mi ṣa-ba-am nu-za-ki-*

[1-3] Speak to Sîn-abūšu, thus (says) the Prince, your father. [4] Why [11] did you personally destroy [4] the house that since [5] the descending of Amurrum(?), [6] Bigum, [7] Išme-Arah(?), [8] Sumu-abi(?), [9] Abī-madar [10] and Yabbam(?) ....? [12] Well, it is yourself you will destroy! [13-14] Will you not destroy Yamutbalum *by this*? [15] (The clans) Amnānum, [16] Yahrūrum [17] and Yabasa...[Rest of Obverse lost] Reverse [1'] If [...] [2'] *One by one*? [3'] We have readied a group of 10.000 men and [4'] we have brought together (the troops). [5'-6'] Who will *assemble*/*lead* before the army of the house of Tišpak (=Ešnunna)? [7'-8'] You, while you are a partner, did you give me your full (=honest) report? [9'-10'] Moreover, you swore a strong oath between us; [11'] it is an oath sworn by gods! not...[...] [12'-13'] You *opened*? (the road to) the Ida-maraṣ region. [14'] From this day on, [15'] may the god not put (*the blame*?) on me, [16'] let him *put* (*the blame*?) on Sîn-abūšu! [17'] The weapons of the Amorites and ....[18'] will kill you! [19'] Release *your*... [20'] ....

That Sîn-abūšu was Ešnunna's vassal is clear by the fact that Ešnunna's king (either Ibal-pi-El I or Ipiq-Adad II) calls himself Sîn-abūšu's 'father'. The Ešnunna king furthermore refers to 'a strong oath' between him and Sîn-abūšu in lines 9'-10'.

The tone of the letter is angry: the king of Ešnunna asks Sîn-abūšu why he 'destroyed' a number of persons and he accuses him of potentially destroying Yamutbalum; after this we have the mention of the Amnānum, Yahrūrum, and Yabasa tribes. The reverse alludes to a joint military campaign between Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu. The king of Ešnunna asks Sîn-abūšu if he gave his honest report and he reminds him that he swore an oath. Apparently Sîn-abūšu had 'opened' the road into the Ida-maraṣ territory. The letter ends with the Ešnunna king putting all blame on Sîn-abūšu and the warning that 'the weapon of the Amorites' will kill him.

7.2.4.5.3 The end of Sîn-abūšu

The end of Sîn-abūšu's reign must have been the result of a confrontation with Ešnunna's Ipiq-Adad II around 1823 BC. The MEC states:[982]

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ma [4'] *ni-ik-ta-ṣa-ar* [5'] *ma-an-nu-um a-na pa-ni ṣa-bi*[!]*-im* [6'] *ša* É [d]TIŠPAK *i-pa-hu-ur*[!] [7'] *at-ta ta-pu-ta-ma ṭe*$_4$*-em-ka* [8'] *ga-am-ra-am ta-di-nam* [9'] *ù ni-iš* DINGIR *da-an-nam* [10'] *i-na bi-ri-ti-ni ta-aš-ku-un* [11'] *ni-iš ì-lí-ma ú-ul* al[?] [x x] [12'] *ha-al-ṣa-am ša i-da-ma-ra*[?]*-aṣ*[?] [13'] *te-ep-te* [14'] *iš-tu u*$_4$*-mi-im an-ni-im*[!] [15'] DINGIR *e-li-ia a-i iš-ku-un* [16'] *e-li* [d]EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu-ma li-iš*[!]-[*ku*[?]*-un*[?]] [17'] *ka-ak-ki a-mu-ri-im ù* šu x im [18'] U.E. *i-da-ak-ka* [19'] [x]x bi ak ka *pu-ṭú-úr* [20'] [x] ta ti il.

[982] Glassner 2004:163.

> In (the eponymy of) Abu-šalim, the taking (*ṣa-ba-at*) of Sin-[abušu(?)] of Nērebt[um].

Unless new material surfaces we might never know the exact conditions surrounding Sîn-abūšu's defeat. However, we can speculate on a possible factor involved in his demise. The Sîn-abūšu year name that occurs most concerns Sîn-abūšu's conquest of Šulgi-Nanna.[983] Šulgi-Nanna was, in view of its name, founded in the Ur III period. A text from the reign of Šū-Sîn indicates clearly that it was situated on the banks of the Diyala river, and more specifically its Ṭābān branch.[984]

The Nērebtum archive of Būr-Sîn/Ilšu-nāṣir starts in the reign of Sîn-abūšu and continues into the reign of Ipiq-Adad II and the subsequent Ešnunna kings. The texts from Būr-Sîn are almost all dated under Sîn-abūšu (and once Ipiq-Adad II).[985] The texts from Ilšu-nāṣir have year names from Ešnunna kings Dadūša and Ibal-pi-El II. We might be tempted to suggest that the Sîn-abūšu year names found in the archive are actually from the end of Sîn-abūšu's reign (it contains three times a year name concerning the destruction of Šulgi-Nanna). This line of thinking is however contradicted by the accession year name ('Year Sîn-abūšu took the throne') also found in the archive. In any case, the end of Sîn-abūšu's reign is suggested by an Ipiq-Adad II year name in the Būr-Sîn/Ilšu-nāṣir archive.

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[983] There are a number of variations on this year name see Saporetti 1998:279-283 and the MU.ÚS.SA variation: p. 284-288.

[984] *UET* 3 75:6-7: ŠÀ ^{d}ŠUL-GI-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI^{KI}, GÚ ÍD.DUR-ÙL. The town also occurs in the Harmal Geographic List: *MSL* 11:57 no. 85. See also Huber Vulliet 2012 on Šulgi-Nanna.

[985] The year names are (the numbering of the year names is from Saporetti 1998):

MU ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu,* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DIB	*TIM* 3 124	Sîn-abūšu aa
MU ^{d}*šul-gi-na-na*^{ki}*, i-qú-ru-u*$_{16}$,	*TIM* 3 125	Sîn-abūšu ph
MU *šul-g*[*i-na-na*^{ki}], ^{I}30-*a-bu-šu* ⌜*iq-qí-ru*⌝	*UCLMA* 9/2942	Sîn-abūšu pe
MU.ÚS.SA ^{d}[*šul*]-*gi-na-na-ru*, *in-na-aq-ru-ú*	*UCLMA* 9/2864	Sîn-abūšu qc
MU i$_{7}$ 30-*a-bu-šu ih-ru-ú*	*UCP* 10/1 2	Sîn-abūšu va
MU ÍD.DA *li-bi* URU.KI *ip-pé-t*[*u-ú*]	*UCLMA* 9/2827	Sîn-abūšu vf
MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *a-na ra-pí-qí-im i-hu-zu*	*UCP* 10/1 61	Sîn-abūšu ib
MU BÀD *bi-is-ki-la,* ^{I}30-*a-bu-šu i-pu-šu*	*UCLMA* 9/2831	Sîn-abūšu u
MU^{I} URUDU ALAM.MEŠ *a-na* É *iš*$_{8}$*-tár i-ru-bu-ú*	*OBTIV* 43	Sîn-abūšu cd
MU ⌜ALAM.MEŠ *a-na* É <^{d}>INANNA⌝ [^{I}30-*a-bu-šu ú-še-ri-bu-ú*]	*OBTIV* 44	Sîn-abūšu cb
[...] ⌜x x⌝ [...], [30-*a*]-⌜*bu-šu* LUGAL⌝? [...]	*UCLMA* 9/2906	Sîn-abūšu
^{d}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM BA.DÍM.DÍM.⌜MA⌝	*OBTIV* 29	Ipiq-Adad II II1B
⌜MU x⌝ ^{d}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM KALAM.⌜MA⌝ DI [...]		

Very interesting is the fact that in Šaduppûm we find the Ipiq-Adad II year name:[986]

MU ⌜d⌝*šul-gi*-dŠEŠ.KI *i-pí*-*iq*-dIM *i-*⌜*pu-šu*⌝, 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II built Šulgi-Nanna'

The fact that this Ipiq-Adad II year name was found in Šaduppûm, suggests that it was anterior to Sîn-abūšu's end, so it must be one of the last Ipiq-Adad II year names. Was this a simple rebuilding of Šulgi-Nanna after Sîn-abūšu's conquest, or was there some previous connection between Ešnunna and Šulgi-Nanna? In other words: did Sîn-abūšu attack his more powerful overlord by destroying Šulgi-Nanna? This could have been a direct reason for Ipiq-Adad II to neutralize his southern neighbor and vassal.

7.2.4.6 Ipiq-Adad II and the consolidation of the Diyala region

The reign of Ešnunna's Ipiq-Adad II was one of the major turning points in Old Babylonian history,[987] even though we know very little about his reign. This is mostly due to the fact that we only have some eight Ipiq-Adad II year names, despite a reign of approximately 45 years (ca. 1859-1815). The first reason for this is that Sîn-abūšu ruled the Lower Diyala region until very late in Ipiq-Adad II's reign, the second is that the excavated palace in Ešnunna (our major source for Ešnunna chronology and dates) only yielded texts until ca. the reign of Ibal-pi-El I. Moreover, until now no archives have surfaced from the Diyala region spanning large parts of Ipiq-Adad II's reign.

Ipiq-Adad II was the son of his immediate predecessor Ibal-pi-El I; this is established by many inscriptions.[988] Ipiq-Adad II's titles are markedly different from those of earlier Ešnunna kings.[989] In his inscriptions he is no longer only the $ENSI_2$ (city ruler) of Ešnunna , but also 'the strong king, the king who enlarges Ešnunna, shepherd of the black-headed (people)'[990] and 'king of the world'.[991] Whereas before, Tišpak (the city god) was regarded as Ešnunna's

[986] Hussein 2008:63.

[987] Earlier authors on Ipiq-Adad II: Wu Yuhong 1994a:71-79, Saporetti 2002:209-215, and Charpin 2004a:129-131.

[988] See Frayne 1990:544-552.

[989] Wu Yuhong 1994a:74 provides comments.

[990] Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.2.

[991] Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.4 and Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.

king. What is more: Ipiq-Adad II's name carries the divine determinative in his inscriptions.[992]

7.2.4.6.1 Ipiq-Adad II's year names

Over the last ca. ten years three new year names of Ipiq-Adad II have become known, even though the order of these few year names still eludes us. The known Ipiq-Adad II year names are:[993]

A. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II dedicated a golden throne (for?) the exalted dais for Sîn of Tutub (variant: was made)'.
-Aa ⌜MU⌝ GIŠG[U.Z]A ⌜KÙ⌝.GI $BARA_2$ MAH, ⌜*ša*⌝ ^{d}EN.ZU *ša* du_6-*dub*^{ki}, *in-né-ep-šu* (tablet *YOS* 14 50:21-23)
MU GIŠGU.ZA KÙ.GI $BARA_2$ MAH, *ša* ^{d}EN.ZU *ša* du_6-*dub*^{ki} ⌜d⌝*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM, *ú-še-lu-*⌜*ú*⌝ (case *YOS* 14 50:23-26)
-Ab MU ⌜GIŠ⌝GU.ZA KÙ.G[I] ⌜$BARA_2$⌝ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, ^{Id}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}I[M], BA.DÍM (*YOS* 14 11:19-22)
-Ac MU GIŠGU.ZA ⌜$BARA_2$⌝ M[AH ^{d}EN.ZU/^{d}ŠEŠ.KI ^{d}*i-pí-iq*]-^{d}IM [...] (Ish 34-T.90, Greengus 1979 p. 29 no.29)
-Ad MU ⌜GU⌝.ZA $BARA_2^{!}$ MAH [...] (*YOS* 14 10:13-14)
-Ae MU GU.ZA ^{d}ŠEŠ.[KI...] (*UCLMA* 9/1816=Viaggio 2009 no. 3 p. 381)

B. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II, a statue (called) Ipiq-Adad-judge-of-the-country was made'.
-Ba ⌜MU ALAN?⌝ ^{d}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM, KALAM.⌜MA⌝.DI [...], ^{d}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM BA.DÍM.DÍM.⌜MA⌝ (*OBTIV* 29:15-17)

C. 'Year: the wall of Šimahattu was built, a golden statue (was made)'.[994]
-Ca MU BÀD *ši-ma-ha-at-tu i-na pa-šum* BA.DÙ (*TIM* 4 39:41)[995]
-Cb MU ALAN KÙ.GI, [*š*]*i-ma-ha-tu* (*OBTIV* 123:5-6)
-Cc MU ALAN KÙ.GI, ⌜x⌝ *ši-ma-ha-tu* (*OBTIV* 134:7-8)

D. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II conquered the fortress of Mê-Turān'
-Da MU *i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM, BÀD *me-*⌜*tu-ra-an*⌝, ⌜IN.DIB⌝ (*OBTIV* 63:17-19)

E. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II conquered Rapiqum (variant: was destroyed)'[996]
-Ea MU *ra-pí-qum*^{ki} ^{I}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM BA.DIB (tablet *BDHP* 38:23-24)
MU *ra-pi-*⌜*qum*⌝^{ki} ^{I}*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM BA.DIB (case BM 82499)

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[992] A practice only followed by his sons Narām-Sîn and Dādūša.
[993] Following and expanding on Saporetti's 1998:346f numbering.
[994] For the attribution of this year name to Ipiq-Adad II: Greengus 1979:23 n. 6.
[995] The exact connotation of *i-na pa-šum* ('by axe?') is unknown.
[996] For a reedition of this text: Van Koppen and Lacambre 2009:156-162.

-Eb MU *ra-pí-qum*^{ki} IN.DIB (*TIM* 3 123:17-18)
-Ec MU *ra-pí-qum* BA.GUL$^{!}$ (*YOS* 14 45:12)[997]

F. 'Year: after (the year) Ipiq-Adad II built the dike of Yabliya'[998]
-Fa MU.2.<KAM> ˹*ša*˺ *i-ka-am, ša ia-ab-li-ia*^{ki}, $^{!}$*i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM, *i-pu-šu-*˹*ú*˺ (Mohammed 2002 text 1 p. 1-2)

G. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II dedicated the golden throne of Adad'
-Ga [M]U GU.ZA KÙ.GI *ša* ^{d}IM *i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM *ú-še-lu-*˹*ú*˺ (Hussein 2008 p. 63)

H. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II built Šulgi-Nanna'
MU ^{d}ŠUL-GI-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM *i-*˹*pu-šu*˺ (Hussein 2008 p. 63)

Perhaps: MU *ha-*˹*la*˺-[...], *ru-bu-um, iṣ-ba-tu* (*TIM* 3 5:21-22)
'The year: the Prince took Hala-[...]'[999]
Perhaps: MU *ru-bu-um,* DUMU.MUNUS *ha-ab-di-*˹x˺, *i-hu-zu* (*OBTIV* 61:16-18)
'The year: the Prince married the daughter of Habdi-x'

7.2.4.6.2 Ipiq-Adad II in the Mari Eponym Chronicle

Ipiq-Adad II is actually one of the main 'stars' in the early part of the Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) and as such it provides us with a framework concerning the events of his rule. From the MEC we can establish that Ipiq-Adad II's reign started around 1861 BC.[1000] Four years later in 1857 he was defeated by Amīnum, Samsi-Addu's older brother,[1001] he retaliated in 1854 when Amīnum was in turn defeated.[1002] What Amīnum's role or status was exactly is unclear,[1003] because he and his father Ila-kabkabu are also mentioned in texts from Mari (pre-Yahdun-Lim).

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[997] For the attribution of this text to the time of Ipiq-Adad II instead of Ibal-pi-El II: Saporetti 1998:355.

[998] See the comments by Van Koppen and Lacambre 2009:161-162 and Charpin and Millet-Albà 2009:266.

[999] The term 'prince' (*rubûm*) denotes the king of Ešnunna. This year name was found in the Nūr-Šamaš archive, but must almost certainly refer to Ipiq-Adad II, although Ibal-pi-El I is also a possibility. The place name is probably not Halabit as Reshid 1965:40 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:76 suggests: Halabit is simply to far away (between the Habur and Tuttul).

[1000] 'Ipiq-Adad II entered the house of his father', MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Ennam-Aššur.

[1001] MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Hanna-narum.

[1002] MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Kapatīya.

[1003] See Wu Yuhong 1994a:63-65 on Amīnum.

In 1853 Ipiq-Adad II took Ziqqurātum,[1004] another event concerning him is broken away in the following year.[1005] There is a large gap in the MEC and it picks up the events concerning Ipiq-Adad II twenty years later in 1832,[1006] when he is defeated by an Elamite king.[1007] In 1828 Ipiq-Adad II headed northwest of Ešnunna's territory and he took Arrapha,[1008] the MEC mentions for the next year that a town called Ga-[...] was taken.[1009] After these events the MEC finally mentions the defeat of Sîn-abūšu 'of Nērebtum' in the Lower Diyala in 1823.[1010] The defeat of Sîn-abūšu must have signified also the definite annexation of Tutub, Šaduppûm and Uzarlulu.

The annexation of Nērebtum was a significant step in Ešnunna's history because Nērebtum housed the large temple of Ištar-Kitītum.[1011] Two royal inscriptions of Ipiq-Adad II were found at Nērebtum: one is a clay cylinder found in the foundation of Ištar Kitītum's temple.[1012] It is written in Sumerian and very fragmentary, Tutub and its surroundings are mentioned. A passage concerns the digging of a canal and he calls upon the gods Amurrum(?) and Ištar Kitītum. The other is a brick inscription in which Ipiq-Adad II bestows Nērebtum onto Ištar-Kitītum.[1013] This has led to the discussion whether Nērebtum had another principal city god before Ipiq-Adad II's conquest,[1014] or that Nērebtum was perhaps called differently.[1015] From a much later dated text

[1004] MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Išme-Aššur.

[1005] MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Aššur-mutabbil.

[1006] In the eponym of Danīya (1838 BC) the MEC mentions the capture of Hupšum, this might be Ipiq-Adad II's doing. A year name from the Larsa king Sîn-iddinam (year 6, 1844 BC) mentions a raid on Ešnunna: in a previous year he had already defeated Ibrat and Malgium and Sîn-iddinam must have pushed on into the Diyala region. One only wonders if he did not first have to face Sîn-abūšu in the Lower Diyala region.

[1007] MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Šarrum-Adad.

[1008] MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Dadāya II.

[1009] MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Ah-šalim. Glassner suggests to read *ga-s*[*ú-ri-im*^{ki}(?)] (Gašur) in the break, the later town of Nuzi which was in Arrapha's vicinity.

[1010] MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Abu-šalim, even so, Ipiq-Adad II is not mentioned explicitly as Sîn-abūšu's conqueror.

[1011] See already above section 2.1.3.2.

[1012] Frayne 1990 E.4.14.2 and Jacobsen 1990:89-90, this inscription was erroneously attributed to Sîn-abūšu.

[1013] Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.3 and Jacobsen 1990:91-92.

[1014] Charpin 1999b:179 believes that Nērebtum had Sîn as its principal deity before Ipiq-Adad II's gift. This was in turn contested by Viaggio 2008 who sticks to Ištar Kitītum.

[1015] DeJong Ellis 1986a:759 and Viaggio 2008 suppose that Nērebtum was called Kiti before Ipiq-Adad II's conquest. Charpin 1999b:179 keeps to Nērebtum, which is only

we know that Ištar-Kitītum acted as an oracle for Ibal-pi-El II (Ipiq-Adad II's grandson); perhaps this close connection between her and the Ešnunna royal house already existed at the time of Ipiq-Adad II.[1016]

In 1818 Ipiq-Adad II defeated an unnamed enemy.[1017] Finally, in 1815 it appears that the MEC mentions Ipiq-Adad II's death.[1018]

7.2.4.6.3 Ipiq-Adad II's conquest of the Suhum

The conquest of the Suhum, a specific part of the Middle Euphrates, by Ipiq-Adad II is not mentioned in the MEC and the (approximate) dating of the event is unknown. The first stage of the conquest must have been the capture of Rapiqum, an important city that served as the gateway between Northern Babylonia and the Suhum. The capture of Rapiqum is commemorated in one of Ipiq-Adad II's year names (see above year name E).

The actual control of the Suhum can be inferred from a year name found at Tell Šišin (ancient Āl-kapim)[1019]: year name F: 'Year: after (the year) Ipiq-Adad II built the dike of Yabliya'.

Another part of the puzzle is a text published by Charpin in 1991,[1020] showing the extent of Ešnunna's territory. According to the text, Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari, had to buy back a huge amount of land near Mari from an unnamed king of Ešnunna (probably Narām-Sîn, Ipiq-Adad II's successor) for three talents of silver. The territory is called Puzurrân and was previously apparently the seat of a (semi) independent ruler,[1021] illustrating the political fragmentation in the Suhum prior to Ešnunna's conquests.

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logical, because the name Nērebtum occurs already in earlier texts, see for example section 2.2.2 about Išmeh-bala of Nērebtum.

[1016] DeJong Ellis 1987.

[1017] MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Atanah.

[1018] MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Inbi-Ištar. The relevant passage is broken and it reads: (line 13') *i-na i-ni-i*[*b-iš*$_8$*-t*]*ár i-pí-iq-*^{d}IM[. . .]. However, Ipiq-Adad II no longer occurs in the MEC after this passage.

[1019] Charpin and Millet Albà 2009.

[1020] Charpin 1991d.

[1021] A cylinder seal of Ya'uš-Addu, king of Puzurrân is in the Rosen collection: Frayne 1990 E4.24.1.

7.2.4.6.4 An overview of Ipiq-Adad II's conquests

There is yet another source which seems to document another part of Ipiq-Adad II's victories. It is a text from Tell Harmal (IM 54005) originally published by Van Dijk in 1957. Van Dijk studied the document himself in an article published thirteen years later.[1022] The tablet contains two letters both written by the king of Ešnunna ('the Prince') to a vassal. The name of the vassal is unfortunately broken,[1023] but the king of Ešnunna calls himself 'father'. The fact that two letters were written on one tablet suggests that we might be dealing with a copy. The first letter concerns Ešnunna's discontent with the vassal's continued loyalty to the city of Šinam. The king of Ešnunna gives examples of towns that Šinam was not able to help: [1024]

> Well, wherever Šinam went to aid militarily, it did not save Nērebtum, nor did it save the land of Uršitum,[1025] nor did it save Diniktum, nor Mankisum...

This list of towns and one country looks conspicuously like a number of towns that Ipiq-Adad II might have conquered: for Nērebtum this is sure, but we can also imagine that he took Diniktum in the Diyala region, Mankisum along the Tigris and the land of (H)uršītum along the Jebel Hamrin: this all fits the general picture in which Ipiq-Adad II consolidated all of Ešnunna's neighboring territories. However, it is hard to believe that the writer of these letters was Ipiq-Adad II, it was rather one of his successors: the other events in the letters suggests a later date.[1026]

Šinam does not seem to appear in other sources currently at our disposal. There are a number of references to the town of Šinamum somewhere in the

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[1022] Van Dijk 1970a, see also the English translation and comments by Wu Yuhong 1994a:77-79.

[1023] From the second letter we can still see that the name ended with the theophoric element ^{d}IM.

[1024] The relevant parts are lines 7'-11': *ga-na a-ša-ar ši-nam*^{ki} *ti-lu-ta-am i-li-k*[*u...*], *lu-ú ne-re-eb-tum ú-ul* [*ú*]-*ša-al-li-im, lu-ú ma-at ur-ši-tim*^{ki} ú-*ul ú-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú di-ni-ik-tum*^{ki} *ú-ul ú-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú ma-an-ki-si*^{ki}.

[1025] A royal inscription of one Puhūya stems from here: Frayne 1990 E4.20.1. Another king of Huršitum is mentioned in the second letter found on IM 54005: (line 42') Iškun-x x.

[1026] The message that the writer turned back somebody to Hana and Qaṭna (line24'-25'), the mentioning of a rebellion at Ekallatum (line 37') all suggest at least the time of Narām-Sîn (1815-?) and Samsi-Addu.

upper Tigris valley,[1027] but Šinam somewhere in or around the Diyala region still eludes us.

To illustrate the impact of Ipiq-Adad II's reign we present two maps of the kingdom of Ešnunna: one before Ipiq-Adad II and one after his reign. Independent cities and countries conquered under Ipiq-Adad II are indicated with orange.



Map 7 The extent of Ešnunna's realm around 1860 BC

[1027] See the references in Charpin 2003b:29.

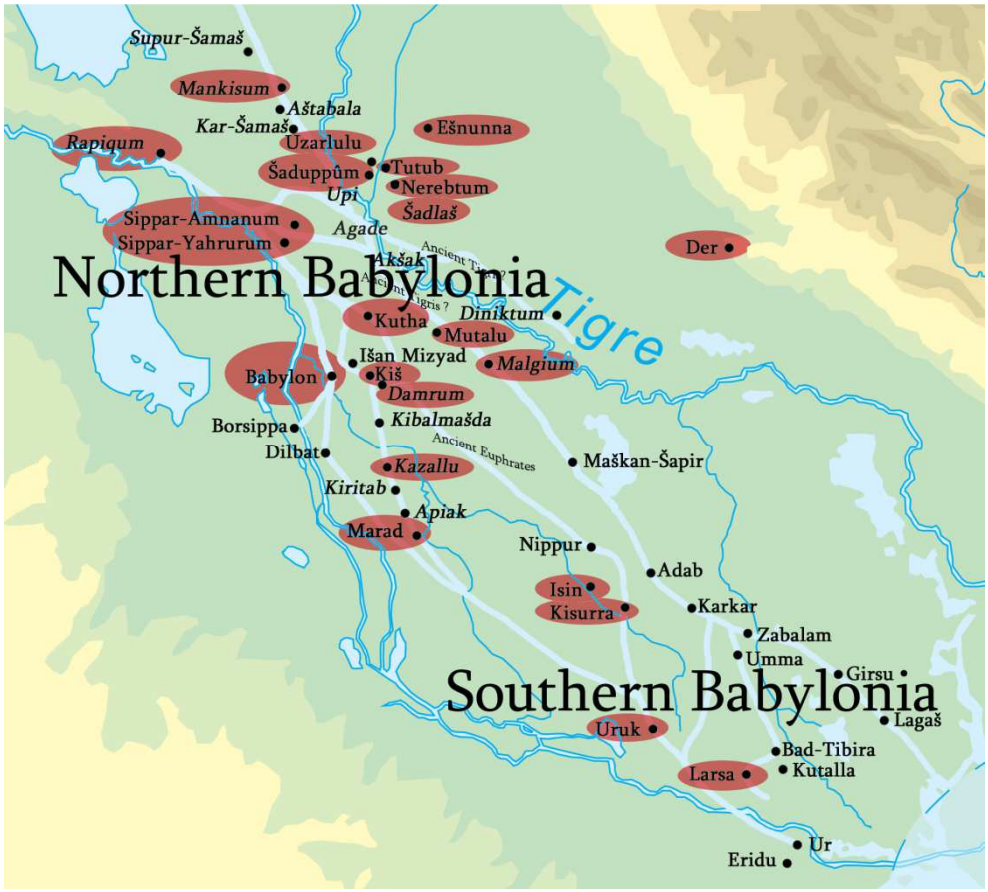


Map 8 The presumed extent of Ešnunna's realm around 1815 BC

7.3 Northern Babylonia: from political fragmentation to Babylon's hegemony

This chapter proposes a new political history for Northern Babylonia from ca. 1900 to the end of Apil-Sîn's reign in 1813, because this coincides well with the end of Ipiq-Adad II's reign around 1815.

Just as in the Diyala region, the political landscape was extremely complex, with many independent and semi-independent kings. Almost all of these rulers carried an Amorite name, but aside from this, a huge Amorite presence or ruling elite has left no clear textual traces. The map hereunder illustrates this complexity: all towns which were independent at one time or another between 1900 and 1813 BC are indicated with red.



Map 9 Political fragmentation in Northern and Southern Babylonia: every town in red was at one time independent

7.3.1 *Ašduni-yarim, Abi-x-x-x and Yawium of Kiš ca. 1895-1869 BC*

The first ruler known to us by name in Northern Babylonia from the period of ca. 1900 BC onwards is Ašduni-yarim of Kiš.[1028] This man is only known through three royal inscriptions.[1029] These inscriptions are essentially the same, but we have a long and short version. It recounts how Ašduni-yarim did battle for eight years against 'the four quarters' (of the world), but that in the eighth year his enemy 'turned to clay'. Ašdunu-yarim's own army counted only three hundred men. With the help of Ištar and Zababa, he went on a one-day expedition and he made the enemy land bow to him for forty days. The inscription continues with the statement that he (re)built Kiš' city-wall called 'Inūh-Kiš' (Kiš has calmed down) and that he dug a canal called Imgur-Ištar. In that same period, 'the four quarters' became hostile again and he built Kiš' outer wall and dammed up the Nundi canal as a reaction.

In section 5.3.5 we encountered a hitherto unknown king of Kiš: Abī-x-x-x, where should his reign be placed? Charpin already suggested that Ašduni-yarim was defeated by Sumu-El of Larsa in 1885 (commemorated in Sumu-El 11).[1030] Ašduni-yarim must have ruled at least eight years according to his own inscription. Considering this, it seems most logical to place our new king Abī-x-x-x after Ašduni-arim and before Yawium.[1031] It was argued recently that Sumu-ditāna of Marad did not rule Kiš,[1032] so we then have a chronological window between 1885 (Sumu-El's defeat of Kiš) and 1869 (Kiš' destruction by Sumu-la-El) to fit in Yawium's and Abī-x-x-x's reigns.

Yawium's reign is poorly known: we have two letters presumably written by him[1033] and a number of his year names.[1034] The letter archive to which the two letters belong is tentatively dated to the period of ca. 1885-1880 BC.[1035] If

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[1028] A liver model from Mari mentions the defeat of Išme-Dagan (of Isin) at Kiš: Rutten 1938:44, with Edzard 1957:79.

[1029] Frayne 1990 E4.8.1 p. 654-656 and Marzahn 1999, see also Donbaz and Yoffee 1986:3-22, Goddeeris 2002:253 and Charpin 2004a p. 88-89.

[1030] Charpin 2004a:89. Edzard 1957:130 places Ašduni-yarim after Lipit-Ištar of Isin based on orthographic observations.

[1031] Of course, this reconstruction still hinges on whether BM 108915 is actually from Kiš or not, which -I admit- is not a hundred percent certain.

[1032] De Boer 2013a:87-88.

[1033] *IPLA* 12 and 13.

[1034] See the Appendix to chapter 5 for a complete overview of all his year names.

[1035] The Ikūn-pîša archive, De Boer forthcoming.

this is correct, Yawium already ruled around 1880 and Abī-x-x-x's reign must have been very short-lived.

None of Yawium's year names commemorates military or political activities, even though one year name attests to the death of Sumu-ditāna of Marad. He probably ruled some seven or eight years, considering the amount of Yawium year names. It is unlikely that Mananâ and Abdi-Erah from nearby Damrum also ruled Kiš.[1036] What seems sure however, is that Sumu-la-El of Babylon conquered Kiš in 1869 BC.

7.3.2 *The Mananâ Dynasty*

7.3.2.1 Damrum, Kazallu and Larsa's northern campaigns ca. 1885-1845 BC

In chapter 5 we established that Nāqimum was perhaps the oldest of the known 'Mananâ-dynasty' rulers, ruling from ca. 1885-1878. None of his year names mention political or military activities,[1037] but from one of them it is clear that he controlled the town of Akuṣum.[1038] In 1892 Akuṣum had been 'destroyed' and Kazallu was defeated by Larsa (Sumu-El 4).[1039] This could have happened already during the reign of Nāqimum. Whether he controlled Akuṣum already at this time, or whether it belonged to Kazallu, remains unknown. Kazallu was again defeated by Sumu-El in 1880 (Sumu-El 15).

From several sources we learn that Kazallu was probably pronounced as 'Kasalluk' in OB times,[1040] even though other spellings are also attested.[1041] In

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[1036] See the considerations in section 5.3.6.

[1037] See the overview of his year names in the Appendix to chapter 5. Charpin 1999a wrote about the *dublamahum* sanctuary that he built at Damrum.

[1038] Year name e, see chapter 5 section 3.6. Akuṣum is not located, but it must have been somewhere between Kiš and Kazallu.

[1039] Usually it is assumed that Kazallu and Marad formed one kingdom, in De Boer 2013a it is shown that there is currently too little information for this. In this thesis it is assumed that Marad and Kazallu were two different political entities.

[1040] Most notably : *ARMT* 26/2 365 (*ka-sa-al-lu-uk*^{ki}), 366 and *OECT* 13 282 (*kà-za-lu-uk*^{ki}), with Charpin 1991:190, Heimpel 1996 (who translates Kasalluk from Sumerian as 'Mouth-of-the-Narrows), Charpin 2001b, Charpin 2003c, and Charpin and Ziegler 2003:220 note 460. See also the new examples from Charpin and Durand 2004:101 (A.1215:50) and Abraham 2008:30.

[1041] Kasalluh (*ka-zal-luh-hi*) in a first millenium *tamitu* text (see Charpin 1991:190), lexical HAR.RA=*hubullu*: *MSL* 11:45:51' (KA.ZAL.LUH^{KI} = *ka-za-al*) and p. 131 col iv:21 (KA.ZAL^{KI}) but also Kazallum (*ka-zal-lum*^{ki}): *MSL* 11:16:10.

Ur III times Kazallu was the seat of a governor and apparently pivotal in the last days of the Ur III empire.[1042] Michalowski has drawn attention to the fact that Kazallu was a troublesome town throughout Mesopotamian history: it instigated rebellion already under the kings of Akkad Rimuš and Narām-Sîn.[1043] Kazallu or people from Kazallu only occur haphazardly in economic or administrative texts.[1044]

Together with his defeat of Kiš in 1885, the picture emerges that Sumu-El was particularly active in the region of Kazallu-Kiš between 1892 and 1880.[1045] His armies had to bypass Larsa's archenemy Isin (ruled by Būr-Sîn) and possibly Malgium every time they went up to this area. One can imagine that Sumu-El was covered in his back by the semi-independent king of Kisurra, Ibni-šadûm who was married to Sumu-El's daughter.[1046] Perhaps Larsa paid the price in the latter part of Sumu-El's reign, because it appears that Būr-Sîn of Isin had taken control of Ur around Sumu-El's 17th to 21st year.[1047]

The reasons for Sumu-El's northern expeditions are unclear, but according to his year names he did not go there again. We can speculate that it had something to do with the water supply towards the south: Kazallu was in a position to severely hinder the southern states. Extensive water works in the kingdom of Larsa are documented, probably at the detriment of Isin.[1048]

7.3.2.2 Abdi-Erah, Ahi-maraṣ, Haliyum, and Mananâ: rivaling rulers over a small territory ca. 1877-1860

Why Nāqimum's reign in Damrum came to a halt around 1878 BC is unknown. In chapter 5 a chronology was established in which Haliyum ruled contemporaneously with Abdi-Erah and Mananâ. Abdi-Erah's reign is an-

[1042] Michalowski 2011:128 mentions the earliest governor as being Issariq, who was followed by Kallamu. In the CKU-corpus, there are two famous letters between Ibbi-Sîn and Kazallu's last governor: Puzur-Numušda (CKU 23 and 24, Michalowski 2011:439-482 and p. 138-140 on the person Puzur-Numušda/Puzur-Šulgi). See Michalowski 2011:170-215 for the historical events surrounding the end of the Ur III state.

[1043] Michalowski 2011:136-137.

[1044] See the references in *RGTC* 3:136, add: *OLA* 21 18 iii:30, iv:23, 30.

[1045] Also remarked by Charpin 2004a:77.

[1046] Charpin 2002.

[1047] Charpin 2004a:77.

[1048] See Walters 1970 (and the comments by Stol 1971), Frayne 1989, Fitzgerald 2002:55-77, and Charpin 2004a:77-78.

nounced by a year name stating that he took the throne: he might have been a usurper or Nāqimum's son or relative.[1049] The following year of his short rule is a MU.ÚS.SA year name: 'year: after (the year) he took the throne'. This year name (Abdi-Erah 2) is attested only once, it could be that during the course of this year Mananâ took over power from him and that Ahi-maraṣ was briefly king between Abdi-Erah and Mananâ.[1050]

Abdi-Erah and Mananâ year names were also found in the archive of Ṣīssu-nawrat, which is supposedly from Kiš. So did they rule Kiš? Perhaps, but this is hard to believe, as we saw in chapter 5.3.6: it seems that the usage of year names in this period allow for local scribes to write down year names of neighboring monarchs.

Haliyum's reign must have been contemporary with Sumu-ditāna and Sumu-atar of Marad, Yawium of Kiš and Mananâ.[1051] Haliyum's relationship to Nāqimum,Abdi-Erah or Mananâ is unknown. However, there is one thing that links all of the 'Mananâ dynasty' kings together: the oath god Nanna/Sîn and their reverence to his cult as evidenced by the year names.[1052] There is no accession year name for Haliyum. We might ask the question: if Haliyum and Mananâ ruled at the same time, where exactly did they rule? Both their year names do not give us a clue, but the area of Damrum contained at least a number of towns: SAG.DA.NI.PÀD, Akuṣum, Kibalmašda, and Dunnum.[1053] If we look solely at the number of preserved year names, Mananâ must have outlived Haliyum. An estimation is that Haliyum ruled from ca. 1878 to 1870; it seems that his territory was taken over by Mananâ, because there are no longer chronological problems to assume a double Mananâ and Haliyum reign.

Generally speaking, all the Mananâ-dynasty year names inform us only sparingly about political or military events: the majority commemorate cultic donations to Nanna/Sîn. Mananâ's ca. fifteen year names mention the building

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[1049] A very fragmentary inscription, Frayne 1990 E4.10.2 is attributed to an Abdi-Erah (the text reads: *ab-di*-[...], DUMU *hu-zu*-[...] etc. This is not necessarily the Mananâ-dynasty king.

[1050] For more on these events: section 5.3.4.

[1051] Because of similar year names, double oaths, and MU PN BA.UG$_7$ year names, see section 5.3.4.

[1052] Wu Yuhong and Dalley 1990 have hypothesized that in certain areas there was a sedentary king and a nomad king, who each had different oath gods. The Mananâ rulers would be the nomad kings, swearing by Nanna/Sîn. Charpin 2004a:83-84 has rejected this idea.

[1053] Charpin 1978a:18-20. Multiple rulers in the same area are also assumed for Sippar in the same period, so there is a parallel.

of two fortresses (or city walls): those of Dunnum and Akuṣum. Mananâ must also have had contacts or at least reverence for Sumu-abum, because a Mananâ year name explicitly mentions Sumu-abum's conquest of Kazallu.[1054]

7.3.2.3 Sumu-Yamutbal, Manium, Sumu-la-El and the End of Damrum's Independence ca. 1860-1845 BC

Mananâ must have died around 1860, because we have a synchronism between his successor Sumu-Yamutbal[1055] and Sumu-la-El 24 (1857 BC).[1056] Sumu-Yamutbal's name is interesting, because Yamutbal is a tribe: the god Sîn had a special connection to the Yamutbal tribe.[1057] The whole Mananâ-dynasty could be of Yamutbalean origin. Sumu-Yamutbal is known for his *mīšarum* (an edict aimed at reversing certain social- and economical injustices) that he promulgated together with Sumu-la-El of Babylon.[1058] Whether or not Sumu-Yamutbal was a vassal of Babylon is hard to determine,[1059] but it seems certain that Sumu-la-El was the stronger man.

There is a curious text from Yale (NBC 7302 published in the Appendix), that is dated to Sumu-Yamutbal 1. The document registers the transfer of fifteen slaves to the account of one Sîn-abūšu. Almost all of these so-called slaves are however inhabitants of the kingdom of Babylon, hailing from Kiš, Babylon, and several other places. Each man is described by his patronym and under the responsability of a man qualified as GÌR. Slaves are usually not described in such a manner and the men do not carry names typical of slaves.[1060] One is tempted to interpret NBC 7302 as a list with prisoners-of-war brought

[1054] The pseudo 'Sumu-abum 13', see below section 7.3.5.4.

[1055] Frayne 2012. The king Sumu-Yamutbal is not to be confused with the official by the same name from the reign of Larsa's Sîn-iddinam.

[1056] See Charpin 1978:34 n. 67 and De Boer 2012.

[1057] Kudur-mabuk, the 'father of Emutbala', had named his three sons with a name containing Sîn: Warad-Sîn, Rīm-Sîn, and Sîn-muballiṭ. But perhaps the most clear indication comes from Himdīya's recently published seal impression: Eidem 2011 (=*PIHANS* 117):281: 'Himdiya, prefect of Sîn, the lord of Yamutbalum, king of Andarig'. In the letter *PIHANS* 117 43:9' Sîn is also called 'lord of Yamutbalum'.

[1058] Much has already been written about this event: see De Boer 2012, Goddeeris 2002:330-334, and more general Kraus 1984.

[1059] Based on double oaths and the conjoint *mīšarum* proclamation alone.

[1060] For example: Nabium-gāmil (NBC 7302:4).

in by soldiers, but this would suppose a military clash between Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El for which there is not other evidence.

Almost all of Sumu-Yamutbal's year names deal (again) with cultic donations: a notable exception is the building of the fortress or walls of SAG.DA.NI.PÀD.[1061] A Sumu-Yamutbal features in at least five letters, but none seem to refer clearly to the Mananâ-dynasty king. This Sumu-Yamutbal is rather an official at the time of the Larsa king Sîn-iddinam.[1062] There is also a servant seal known mentioning Sumu-Yamutbal.[1063]

Sumu-Yamutbal must have died before Sumu-la-El 32 (1849 BC), because in one single text (*YOS* 14 119) we find a double oath by Sumu-la-El and Marduk and Manium and Nanna. This Manium is obviously Sumu-Yamutbal's successor but we know nothing more than his name.[1064] The exact relation between the kingdom of Babylon and the Mananâ-dynasty is still not clear.

The end of Damrum's independence was probably at the hands of Larsa's Sîn-iddinam (ca. 1849-1843 BC). The latest dated text that we find in the Mananâ-dynasty archives is Sîn-iddinam year 5: MU *ma-al-gi$_4$ iṣ-ba-at*, 'Year: he took Malgium'.[1065] The two texts with this year name are from Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive which has many texts dated towards the end of Sumu-la-El's reign.[1066] Sîn-iddinam campaigned extensively towards Northern Babylonia: the area of Damrum could have been conquered during these expeditions.[1067] Sîn-iddinam's fourth year (1846 BC) recalls the defeat of the army of Babylon: it is easy to imagine that this happened in the area of Kiš and/or Damrum.

[1061] The only other reference to this town is in the OB letter *AbB* 9 140: a letter send by Awīl-ilim to 'my lord'. Awīl-ilim talks about an enemy that came and inflicted casualities. Because of a lack of soldiers in SAG.DA.NI.PÀD nobody can hold the district. Awīl-ilim proposes to have 500 men in SAG.DA.NI.PÀD and 500 in Damrum to hold the district. Connected to this letter might be *AbB* 2 147.

[1062] Stol 2009-2011:517.

[1063] Frayne 1990 E4.10.6.

[1064] Frayne 1990 E4.10.7 is a servant seal of Manium.

[1065] *R* 23 and the unpublished *YBC* 8371. Charpin 1978a:32-33 thinks that this year name belongs either to Sumu-la-El or Manium.

[1066] See section 5.3.4 apud 4.

[1067] There is another possibility: the scribes of Ibbi-Ilabrat were so impressed by the conquest of Malgium that they simply named a year after this event, regardless of any political dominance by Larsa.

We find texts from Damrum again some fifteen years later with the archive of Adad-nada and his *nadītum* daughter Unnubtum, which are dated to Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballiṭ.[1068]

7.3.3 *Kings of Marad ca. 1890-1861 BC*

At about the same time as Sumu-El's northern campaigns, Marad became independent from Isin. One early Marad text is still dated to an Isin year name,[1069] but not long after that we see that Halun-pi-umu had become king at Marad around ca. 1880. Just how he took power or what his relation was to Isin remains unclear, but Isin did at least keep some 'cultural' influence in the style of year names and the local writing traditions.[1070] The ca. 35 texts that we have from Marad do not show any large Amorite influence: apart from the royal names, almost no Amorite names could be distinguished (but this might be due to the fact that we have only one family archive and some related texts).

Halun-pi-umu belonged to the group of Amorite rulers surrounding Sumu-abum. At least one and perhaps two of his year names are known.[1071] He is primarily known because of his conquest of Dilbat in the year 1879. An actual text from Dilbat carries one of his year names attesting to this fact. Leemans reconstructed the events surrounding this episode. He concluded that Halun-pi-umu ruled Dilbat between Sumu-la-El year 2 month V (1879) and the beginning of Sumu-la-El year 3 (1880).[1072] The year name Sumu-la-El 3 also records the defeat of Halun-pi-umu. He was probably killed during these events and Sumu-ditāna succeeded him on the throne of Marad.

The struggle between Sumu-la-El and Halun-pi-umu has often been connected to the events in *IPLA* 14.[1073] In this letter, Ikūn-pîša writes how he went to the Amorite assembly and met with Sumu-abum, Mašparum and Sumun-

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[1068] See section 4.2.2 apud 4.

[1069] *MAOG* 4 MD 5 is dated to Būr-Sîn f.

[1070] The Marad year names seem heaviliy influenced by Isin practices, see De Boer 2013a:83-84.

[1071] See De Boer 2013a: MU *a-lu-pú-ú-mu, dil-bat*^{ki} IN-DIB (*TLB* I 233), MU *dil-bat*^{ki} IN-ˀDIBˀ (*YOS* 14 120). Perhaps a Halun-pi-umu year name is: MU ^{i}[^{7} *ši-ma*]-*at-bur*ˀ-^{d}[EN]/ZU (Būr-Sîn g/Halun-pi-umu c?) (*YOS* 14 124), MU ^{i7}*ši-ma-at-bur*-^{d}EN-ZU (Būr-Sîn g/Halun-pi-umu c?) (*AUCT* 4 6).

[1072] Leemans 1966.

[1073] Ikūn-pîša Letter Archive 14, De Boer forthcoming, see already Al-'Adhami 1967:152-156 for this letter.

abi-yarim. He stresses that they are united and that Mašparum will go and talk to Halun-pi-umu about his intentions concerning war or peace. Ikūn-pîša motivates the addressees to also take action. Sumu-la-El is however not featured in this letter, nor is Dilbat: *IPLA* 14 concerns other events. From *IPLA* 10 we know now that Halun-pi-umu and Sumu-la-El actually worked together in supplying Sumu-abum with an amount of silver.

Finally, Halun-pi-umu had a daughter called Šāt-Aya, who was a *nadītum* devoted to Šamaš in Sippar. Her name is found on a text (*Edubba* 7 113) and a seal impression (*Edubba* 7 118) from Sippar-Yahrūrum (Tell Abu Habbah).[1074]

The above information on Halun-pi-umu makes it all the more puzzling why he turns up as king in relatively far away Marad. The king who succeeded Halun-pi-umu on Marad's throne was Sumu-ditāna. His relationship to Halun-pi-umu is unknown (nor the relationship between any of the Marad kings). Five of Sumu-ditāna's year names are known, but he must have ruled ca. eight years from 1878-1871. His rule did probably not extend over Kiš or Damrum as well.[1075] Around this time an ephemeral king called Sumu-atar was also king of Marad. After Sumu-ditāna, Sumu-numhim was ruler from ca. 1870-1864, at least five year names can be attributed to him. His successor was Yamsi-El, who probably only ruled one or two years, before we see that Sumu-la-El year names are used in Marad from 1861 onwards; there is even a text from the time of Sabium. It might be that Marad was conquered after Kazallu's conquest by Babylon, Isin, and Sumu-abum (see below).

The year names certainly attributable to the Marad kings all have cultic donations or actvities as their main subject. A few year names that cannot be linked to one king talk about the construction of fortresses or city walls (BÀD) for Ṣilli-Ninurta^{ki}, MÁ^{ki}, and BÀD GAL x[...].[1076]

7.3.4 *Sippar's complex situation ca. 1885-1857 BC*

The incredibly complex situation in early OB Sippar can probably never be clarified completely. This does not mean that we cannot gain some information from Sippar's plentiful sources.

A considerable handicap is the fact that early OB Sippar tradition had it that texts were only very seldom dated with a year name: the exceptions being

[1074] *Edubba* 7 113 and 118.
[1075] De Boer 2013a:87-88.
[1076] De Boer 2013a:85-86

mostly loan contracts.[1077] Other types of contracts such as sale-documents or texts concerning inheritances, adoptions, and assignments of property only sparingly carry oaths mentioning a king. Finally, there are text genres from early OB Sippar that never carry an oath or year name, like field leases.[1078] Not even every loan carries a year name and not every sale document carries an oath. The documents from early OB Sippar carry oaths and year names attributable to different rulers, as well as oaths sworn by two kings: always a local king and the Babylonian king Sumu-la-El. It could happy in OB Mesopotamia that people in one town had different overlords.[1079] It is a possibility that the Sippar 'kings' were vassals of the king of Babylon (or Sumu-abum), but not always. There must have been a moment when Sumu-la-El took complete control over Sippar, but under his great-grandson Sîn-muballiṭ there is still at least one local ruler: Lipit-Ištar, illustrating the complexity of the situation.

At least nine 'kings' that we know of were active in early OB Sippar or its immediate vicinity: Ilum-ma-Ila, Ammi-ṣura, Ikūn-pi-Ištar (perhaps), Immerum, Buntahtun-Ila, Altinû, Lipit-Ištar, Sumu-abum and the kings of Babylon: Sumu-la-El, Sabium, Apil-Sîn, and Sîn-muballiṭ.

The oldest attestations concern Ilum-ma-Ila and Ammi-ṣura, who were perhaps contemporaneous. The more recent attestations mention Immerum first and then Buntahtun-Ila. For the other kings it is harder to establish when they reigned approximately. The double oaths containing Sumu-la-El show that this king of Babylon was at least contemporary with Immerum and Buntahtun-Ila. The Ikūn-pîša letter archive teaches us that Immerum, Ilum-ma-Ila, Sumu-la-El, and Sumu-abum were contemporary. The same archive seems to suggest that several Amorite rulers were united in some kind of gathering led by Sumu-abum: the *puhur amurrim* ('Amorite assembly'). This leads us to believe that the 'kings' active in Sippar were not constantly engaged in battling each other. In fact, from the Ikūn-pîša archive we can read about diplomatic contacts between these kings.

Sumu-la-El's 28th regnal year is the *terminus ante quem* for his control of Sippar: the following year is named after his construction of Sippar's wall. One document (*MHET* II/1 19) carries Sumu-la-El's 13th year name, but, as it was explained in chapter 5, this is hardly evidence of his definitive rule over Sippar

[1077] As opposed to the texts from Dilbat, Marad or the Mananâ-dynasty.

[1078] The first dated Sippar field leases are from Apil-Sîn's reign: *CT* 6 48a (case=*MHET* II/1 73) and *TJB* pl. 36.

[1079] The Old Assyrians living in Kaneš, the Benjaminites in the kingdom of Mari etc.

at this time. The current documentation provides no exact information about when and how Sumu-la-El ended the rule of the local Sippar kings. However: *CT* 6 42a (case= *MHET* II/1 23) is a litigation with an oath by Sumu-la-El *and* mentioning the proclamation of a *mīšarum*. From the Mananâ-dynasty texts we know that this *mīšarum* took place in Sumu-la-El 24 (1857 BC), making this year also a possible *terminus ante quem*. Around this same time, Sumu-la-El was struggling with an opponent called Yahzir-El.[1080] This Yahzir-El is still a somewhat shadowy figure.[1081] A Diyala text in which he is dubbed as a king of Sippar is often cited but this only adds to the confusion.[1082] The common name Yahzir-El occurs in other documents as well.[1083]

Often quoted is the text *BE* 6/1 9 in which an oath by Sumu-la-El and Sabium is found. Edzard interpreted this as evidence of Sabium ruling Sippar as crown prince before he succeeded Sumu-la-El.[1084] An unpublished text in the British Museum also mentions Sumu-la-El and Sabium together. If the tentative interpretation of this partly broken document is correct, it gives crown prince Sabium a military role in the vicinity of Sippar.[1085]

[1080] Charpin 2004a:93-94 and Horsnell 1999 II:56 n. 26.

[1081] See De Boer 2013a.

[1082] Baqir 1949:137: MU *ia-ah-zi-ir-ì-il* BA.UG$_7$, edge: LUGAL *sí-pí-ir*^{ki}. The year name was found on a (hitherto unpublished) tablet (IM 54687) found in Harmal level III. Along with this year name, Baqir published a number of other year names. The remark that 'LUGAL *zi-bi-ir*^{ki} (Baqir's reading) was found on the edge is suspicious. Only a copy of the year name is given and nothing is said about the general contents of the tablet, making it feasible that 'LUGAL *zi-bi-ir*^{ki}' might pertain to other matters on the tablet. Besides, the type of year names commemorating the death of rulers, never mention that the person in question ruled a certain town. A logographic writing of Sippar is not expected either. The strongest evidence for Yahzir-El's kingship is *VAS* 18 20, a field sale containing an oath by Šamaš and *a-ah-za-ar-ì*-DINGIR (line 20). Unfortunately, the people occuring in this text cannot be linked prosopographically to other Sippar texts.

[1083] *ia-ah-zi-ir-ì*-DINGIR, *CT* 45 8:6, Apil-Sîn. Name in broken context. *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR, DUMU *sà-bi-bu-um, ED* I 3 seal inscription, undated.

[1084] Edzard 1957:151, see also the comments of Charpin 2004 a:93-94.

[1085] BM 17154 is a text recording the obligation of a certain Edihum to Sumu-la-El and Sabium. In my interpretation, this Edihum will perform service as a soldier to the king (*sagbi* LUGAL) in Merriqat, a village in Sippar's vicinity. He shall answer to both Sumu-la-El and Sabium. Perhaps Sabium was involved with a garrison of (Amorite?) troops in Merriqat. Transliteration: 1. [...] *e-di-hu-um,* 2. [(x?)] DUMU *hu-na-bu-um,* 3. [...*s*]*a-ag-bi* ˹LUGAL?˺, 4. [...*i*?-*n*]*a*? *me-ri-qá-at,* 5. [*iz*]-*za-az,* 6. [...]x at, 7. [*su-m*]*u-la*-DINGIR, L.E. 8. ˹*ù*˺ *sà-bi-um,* R.9. *i-ta-na-pa-al,*10. IGI *i-ṣí-da-pa-*˹x˺, 11. DUMU *ba-li-lum,* 12. IGI *i-su-ka-ši-/id,* 13. IGI *lu-ud-lu-*<*ul*>-30, 14. DUMU *mu-ga-li-šum*?, U.E. 15. IGI *puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU, 16. [D]UMU *hu*ˡ-*na-a-a*. An additional attestation of Sabium at Sippar might perhaps be found in the letter

The several larger family archives that we have from early OB Sippar seem to suggest that there were different social groups living in and outside of Sippar. This is apparent from the fact that some files or dossiers regarding a certain family have no or little prosopographical connections to other text groups. An interesting point is that scribes often function as connecting nodes between these different groups ('networks') of people, connecting several otherwise unconnected files prosopographically to each other.

The hypothesis here is that early OB Sippar contained several groups of people who each had their own leader or 'king'. This might have tribal backgrounds: several Amorite rulers held sway over their own groups of people living closely together. The word 'tribes' is avoided, because we must bear in mind that we have mostly texts from the urban elite and these people display almost no Amorite influences in their personal names. The Amorites seem to have mostly lived in the countryside in towns like Halhalla or Merriqat. Whether this means that these rulers also lived in the countryside is not clear: no early OB Sippar text mentions a palace.[1086] This did not hinder the Amorite rulers to exercise some control over the urban areas. However: the 'town' (*ālum*) of Sippar seems to have had its own independence as well. Its limited sovereignty comes to the foreground in the many oaths taken in name of the kings of Babylon *and* the town of Sippar. Similarly in precious references to the 'town' acting out of its own initiative: the redemption of houses proclaimed conjointly by Immerum and 'the town', or the curious phrase in the text *ED* II 27.[1087] This special 'semi-autonomous' status of Sippar disappears under Hammurabi.

Only in the later OB period a tribal distinction is explicitly made between Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnānum) and Tell Abu Habbah (Sippar-Yahrūrum). There is no doubt that the early OB Sippar kings belonged to an Amorite tribe, but which one is never written down. It is still impossible to assign kings to either one of both Sippar's: this is mainly because Šamaš is always the oath god in texts carrying an oath by a local Sippar king.

To sum up: It would seem that the town of Sippar had some kind of independence with several Amorite rulers mingling in its affairs.

ED II 52 addressed to 'my lord' *sa-bu-um*. 'Sabûm' is known as a variant of the name Sabium.

[1086] We only known about a palace in Sippar under Hammurabi and his successors, see Van Koppen 2001:212.

[1087] See above section 6.4.6.

7.3.5 *Sumu-abum's life and times ca. 1890-1860 BC*

Sumu-abum is still one of the most elusive persons from the early OB period.[1088] His name is often spelled differently: we encounter *sa-mu-a-bi-im,*[1089] *sa-mu-a-bi,* [1090] *su-mu-a-bi-im,* [1091] *su-mu-a-bum,* [1092] and [d]*su-mu-a-bu-um.* [1093] The name must mean something like 'descendant of the father'. There are also composite personal names such as Haya-Sumu-abum or Iṣi-Sumu-abum that use 'Sumu-abum' as element. However, this had nothing to do with the historical figure: a name such as Haya-Sumu-abum already occured for an adult during Sumu-abum's lifetime.[1094] Such *Beamtennamen* are never Amorite, but always Akkadian or Sumerian.[1095]

Sumu-abum has always been considered as the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon. This is mainly based on the fact that he is mentioned as Babylon's first king in king-lists and lists of year names from later periods.[1096] In addition to this, contracts containing his year names were found at several Mesopotamian sites.[1097] Recently, Charpin and Goddeeris have -independently from each other- established that Sumu-la-El was actually the first king of Babylon.[1098] The year names attributed to Sumu-abum in the lists of year names show many parallels with those of Sumu-la-El and many of them are of the type 'MU ÚS.SA', repeating events from previous years.[1099] It is very likely that

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[1088] Goddeeris 2012a wrote most recently on Sumu-abum summing up what is known until now. See also Charpin 2004a:80-86 and Sommerfeld 1983b.

[1089] *IPLA* 18:5.

[1090] Gautier *Dilbat* 1:15.

[1091] *TIM* 7 22:12'.

[1092] *OIP* 42 Date Formula no. 113,:191.

[1093] Only in the texts from Kisurra.

[1094] *ha-a-su-mu-a-bu-um,* DUMU *e-eq-ni*-DINGIR, *OECT* 15 377:24-25, 'Yawium c'/X, *ha-su-mu-a-bu-um,* DUMU *e-ek-ni*-DINGIR, *RSM* 29:24-25, 'Yawium c'/XI.

[1095] See also the remarks by Durand 1984:132. Note that a canal in lexical texts was called Sumu-abum: *MSL* 11:30:14' (e *su-mu-a-bu*) and *MSL* 11:48 iv:1a (íd *su-mu-a-bi*).

[1096] Horsnell 1999 Vol. 1:175-286. Grayson 1980-1983:100: *su-mu-a-bi* LUGAL MU.15.KAM.

[1097] Sippar (*VAS* 8 1), Dilbat (*YOS* 14 128), the Mananâ dynasty (*RA* 8 p. 70-71, AO 4665), and Kisurra (see below).

[1098] See Charpin 2004a:80-86, Charpin 2012b:29-30, Goddeeris 2002:318-324, and Goddeeris 2005 for a more elaborate explanation.

[1099] Goddeeris 2005.

Sumu-abum's year names known from later Babylonian lists were in fact fabricated later.[1100]

Sumu-abum's descendance is unknown,[1101] but he did have a son, called Hanbatīya.[1102] Other family members or siblings are unknown. It would have been interesting to know what Sumu-abum's connection might have been to previous important Amorite rulers such as Abda-El or Usû, who lived almost a century earlier. Or, what his exact connection might have been to Sumu-la-El and others from his entourage.[1103]

7.3.5.1 Sumu-abum was sent to...Dēr?

What seems to be the earliest Sumu-abum reference is very puzzling: an Ešnunna year name mentions that Sumu-abum 'was sent to Der':[1104]

> MU *su-mu-a-bu-um a-na dēr*(BÀD.AN$^{?}$)^{ki} *i-ṭà-ar-du.*'The year: Sumu-abum was expelled to Dēr' *OIP* 43 no.113, p. 191

According to Jacobsen, it is from the time after Ur-Ninmarki, possibly around the reign of Šiqlānum.[1105] Whatever the case is, it must date to around 1890 BC. Who sent him to Dēr? What was Sumu-abum's connection to Dēr?[1106]

7.3.5.2 Sumu-abum in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive

The second earliest occurence of Sumu-abum is both in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive (*IPLA*) and in two texts from Dilbat,[1107] both around 1880 BC. Thanks

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[1100] Sumu-abum year names did exist in the early OB period, the lists of year names compiled *later* contain fabricated year names attributed to Sumu-abum.

[1101] Disregarding the information from the 'Hammurabi genealogy'.

[1102] Known from the year name of *TIM* 7 22:11'-13' MU *ha-an-ba-ti-ia,* DUMU *su-mu-a-bi-im, i-mu-tu.* 'Year: Hanbatiya, the son of Sumu-abum died.'

[1103] There is also one servant seal known: a man called Daganīya: Frayne 1990 E4.3.1.

[1104] Goddeeris 2012a:301 links this year name to one from Kisurra: mu *ša su-mu-a-bu-um a-na a-li-šu i-tu-ru.* 'The year: Sumu-abum returned to his city' *Santag* 9 21:15-16.

[1105] He bases himself on prosopographical evidence, Jacobsen 1940:191. Šiqlānum was probably no king of Ešnunna.

[1106] In any case, a year name mentioning a Šumu-abi found at Susa is unconnected to our Sumu-abum, MU *šà šu-mu-a-bi* (*MDP* 10, 2), see the arguments by Vallat 1996:311.

[1107] Gautier *Dilbat* 1 (oath by Sumu-abum, dated to Sumu-la-El 6) and *YOS* 14 131 (oath by Sumu-abum).

to the Ikūn-pîša letters we gain a bit more understanding about the political importance of Sumu-abum.[1108]

The most interesting letter of the whole archive is without a doubt *IPLA* 14. It was send by Ikūn-pîša himself to two (unknown) addressees. He tells how he went to the Amorite assembly and convened with Sumu-abum, Mašparum and Sumun-abi-yarim. He stresses that they are united and that Mašparum will go and talk to Halun-pi-umu about his intentions concerning war or peace. Ikūn-pîša motivates the addressees to also take action. *IPLA* 14 teaches us that Sumu-abum probably led the 'Amorite assembly' and that he had an important role amongst the Amorite rulers during his lifetime.[1109] In the other letters from the archive he is portrayed as having a lot of power: he has an important, but mostly unspecified, role in the Ilum-ma letters (*IPLA* 3, 5, 7 and 9). *IPLA* 7 and 18 are both concerned with audience gifts (*tāmartum*) for Sumu-abum, attesting to his prominence. From *IPLA* 10 we learn that Sumu-la-El was subordinate to him and that Sumu-la-El feared him. In *IPLA* 44 he decides whether a cultic statue of Annunītum goes up to Babylon or not.

7.3.5.3 A letter send to Sumu-abum

A highly interesting letter (YBC 9955) sent to Sumu-abum by one Sassanatum is in the Yale Babylonian Collection, for a complete edition, see the Appendix, a translation is given here:

> [1-3] Speak to Sumu-abum, thus says Sassanatum.
> [4-6] Enlil has appointed you as lord of the armies. [7-8] If you are a father and a lord: [9-11] Lalâtum, she is for an Amorite, give (her)! [12-16] However, I, Lalâtum, and Ayalala, to ... [....] Rest of reverse broken
> [1'-2'] Do whatever pleases you!

This letter tells us unequivocally that Sumu-abum was a military leader 'appointed by Enlil'. Such an appointment suggests a link to Nippur but it does not seem that Sumu-abum had a fixed seat of power.[1110] We cannot date this letter but Sumu-abum is explicitly not addressed as king, but as 'lord of the armies' (*bēli ummanātim*). The plural suggests that he commanded several

[1108] Baqir and Mustafa 1945 mentions that the letter archive also contains a letter send by Sumu-abum to Ikūn-pîša (IM 49271), unfortunately, the author had no access to this letter.

[1109] See De Boer 2014 (forthcoming).

[1110] Not until later in his reign when he ruled Kisurra (and perhaps even Isin).

groups. If we combine this information with the fact that Sumu-abum led the *puhur amurrim* 'Amorite assembly', we can state that he led a coalition of Amorite tribal leaders and their armies. It is not sure if Sumu-abum and his armies were responsible for the conquest of large parts of Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala region. However, many of the rulers in his entourage ended up in towns somewhere in Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala: Halun-pi-umu in Marad, Sumu-la-El in Babylon, Sumun-abi-yarim perhaps reigned over a number of towns,[1111] Mašparum somewhere in the lower Diyala, and Ilum-ma-Ila in Sippar. Sumu-abum's name turns up in oaths from Sippar,[1112] Dilbat,[1113] and Kisurra (see below on Kisurra).[1114]

The second part of the letter is also interesting, a woman named Lalâtum is intended for an Amorite (*lalâtum and mār amurrim šī-ma*). 'An Amorite' is written as *mār amurrim*: 'son of Amurrum', designating either an ethnicity or a class. Unfortunately we do not know who the writer of the letter, Sassanatum, or the other two persons mentioned, Lalâtum and Ayalala, are.

7.3.5.4 A strange tablet concerning Sumu-abum

BM 23751 may or may not have to do with Sumu-abum. It is included here because if it does mention 'our' Sumu-abum, its importance would be great. The BM catalogue reads:[1115]

> Ration list in flour (DABIN ZÌ.GA); GÌR *su-mu-a-bu-um*; ITU ZÍZ.A MU *a-lum-bu-ú*/^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG.A

The text is published in the Appendix. The date is Sumu-la-El 3 (ca. 1878 BC), month XI. It mentions on its obverse amounts of flour and the names of men, often rare or unusual names. On the reverse we see that 'responsible' (GÌR) for the disbursements was Sumu-abum. Some other disbursement entries follow and a total, again with the mention 'GÌR Sumu-abum'.

The total amount of flour is very large: more than 17 GUR. Was our Sumu-abum acting here as some kind of administrator? The recipients of the flour

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[1111] See above section 2.3.4.

[1112] *VAS* 8 1and 2, *MHET* II/1 11.

[1113] Gautier *Dilbat* 1 and YOS 14 131.

[1114] *YOS* 14 128, 351, and *TIM* 5 13.

[1115] Sigrist et al. 2006 (Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Volume III):6.

look like men of importance: men from Zabalam and Dēr, a man carrying the royal name Abī-madar, a Babylonian called Marduk-nāṣir, etc. Were they important dignitaries invited by Sumu-abum for a dinner? Unfortunately, we do not know any of the men in the text.[1116] The term SÁ.DUG$_4$ (Akkadian *s/šattukku*) for rations is often reserved for important 'guests' like citizens and gods.[1117] The name Sumu-abum was of course not exclusive to the Amorite ruler, so another scenario is that we are dealing with a homonym.[1118]

7.3.5.5 The conquest of Elip/Kibalmašda

The first attestations of Sumu-abum date to ca. 1890 BC, the last attestations have to do with Sumu-abum's rule of Kisurra (see below) around 1862 BC. What happened in between? There is a year name concerning Sumu-abum that provides some clues:

> mu *e-li-ip iṣ-ṣa-ʾab*-[*tu*]. 'The year (in which) Elip was taken'(*VAS* 8 1)[1119]
> mu *e-li-ip iṣ-ṣa-ab-t*[*u*]. 'The year (in which) Elip was taken' (*VAS* 8 2, case of *VAS* 8 1)

This is the only explicit Sumu-abum year name dealing with the conquest of the town of Elip. This event has often been equated with the conquest of Kibalmašda: in the list of Sumu-abum year names later composed, his third year name is called 'MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DIB' 'The year: he captured Kibalmašda'. This exact year name is found among the Mananâ-dynasty texts.[1120] However, these year names are most probably Mananâ year names[1121], but Mananâ year names could refer to events undertaken by Sumu-abum: a Mananâ year name

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[1116] Except perhaps Abī-madar, who might be the same as the ruler from the Diyala region, see above 7.2.3.1.

[1117] Stol 2006-2008b:264-265.

[1118] Homonyms are found in Isin: *su-mu-a-bi-im*, IB 1829:6, (Krebernik 1992:116) and the Kiš and Damrum area: *su-mu-a-bu* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 103:22.

[1119] This text has an oath by Sumu-abum and Šamaš.

[1120] MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DAB$_5$ (*YOS* 14 101), MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}, (*TIM* 5 38, oath by Nanna and Ma[nana]), MU KI.BAL.[MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}] BA.[DAB$_5$] (*YOS* 14 100), MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} (*YOS* 14 99), MU <KI>.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} IN.DIB (BM 103184), MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} IN.DIB (Kutscher 1971 1) Kutscher 1971 only published a poor translation and one photo of the tablet's obverse, making it necessary to make some guesses about the tablet's contents.

[1121] Also indicated by Simmons 1961:75-77, who dated the text to Mananâ or Sumu-Yamutbal.

explicitly talks about Sumu-abum's conquest of Kazallu (see below). An interesting variant of the Kibalmašda conquest year name is this one:[1122]

> MU BÀD KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DÙ 'Year: the fortress of Kibalmašda was built' (*OECT* 15 376)

7.3.5.5.1 Excursus: Kibalmašda/Elip in early OB times

The equation Kibalmašda = Elip was first proposed by Reiner in 1961 and has been generally accepted.[1123] Even so, Edzard has some reservations, mainly because we cannot unite the two different etymologies of Sumerian KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ and Akkadian *Ilip*/*Elip*.[1124] Kibalmašda is glossed as [*n*]*é-bir ṣa-bi-i* (*MSL* 11:14:33),[1125] which is a literal translation of the Sumerian, meaning: 'The place of crossing for the gazelle'. The Akkadian word *elip* seems to mean 'boat'. Both etymologies nonetheless suggest a river or canalside location. Charpin in addition has added the equation Elip = Urum, proposing that Urum was an older name of Elip.[1126]

From a year name of Hammurabi (Ha. 17) we might deduce that Inanna was one of the main deities of Elip. The temple to Inanna here was called É.KI.TUŠ.GIR$_{17}$.ZAL ('House, abode of Joy').[1127] Another obscure year name, only found on *UET* 5 274 and *TIM* 5 58, seems to refer to the destruction of

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[1122] The text belong to the Šumšunu-watar archive, see chapter 5 section 3.4 sub 3.

[1123] Reiner 1961:123 n. 7 and p. 124. her argument is twofold: she equates the Sumerian version of the 'Sumu-abum 3' year name; MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DIB with the Akkadian one found on *VAS* 8 1 and 2 MU *e-li-ip iṣ-ṣa-ab-t*[*u*]. Her second argument is of a lexical nature, she reads the town (formerly read as Ì.LUL) as Ì.LIP.

[1124] Edzard 1976-1980:587.

[1125] Kibalmašda is also found in *MSL* 11:60:52, *MSL* 11:13:21, *SLT* 213 viii:15, *RA* 32 p. 170 iii:49 ([KI.BAL].MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}).

[1126] Charpin 1978:17.

[1127] George 1993:111 and Charpin 1972:18 note 21. The temple was (re)built by Apil-Sîn according to his 9th year name (on this year name cf. Al-Rawi 1994:27). Another year name with apparently the town Kibalmašda is found on *BDHP* 28:32, MU$^{!}$ KI.BAL.MAŠ$^{!}$.DA$^{!KI!}$ (see also Stol 2002:735-736).

Marad and Kibalmašda.[1128] Charpin suspects that Elip was located at tell no. 248 between Kiš and Marad in the survey of the environs of Kiš by Gibson.[1129]

An inhabitant of Kibalmašda,[1130] called Mār-Purattim, is mentioned in *AbB* 11 83:3. Another inhabitant is found in *TEBA* 32:2 (dated Aṣ 16) : Eppeš-ilum is qualified as GÌR.NITA$_2$ of KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}, he receives an amount of grain. An unnamed female worker comes from Ilip in *YOS* 13 111:2-3. *YOS* 13 281:4-5 mentions Sîn-iddinam, a shepherd, as someone living in Ilip, the same man seems also to be present in *YOS* 13 317:3. The town Ilip/Kibalmašda is found in more (late) OB texts; in *YOS* 13 105:3-4, barley and silver is received for the harvest along the canal of Kibalmašda. In a land register, Kibalmašda appears after the name of a village.[1131] *AUCT* V 43, a receipt of silver for dates, seems to have been written in Kibalmašda.[1132]

7.3.5.6 The fall of Kazallu at the hands of Isin, Babylon and Sumu-abum around 1863-62 BC

The importance of Kazallu in OB politics has been underrated and we lack meaningful texts informing us about Kazallu's rulers. Around 1863-62 BC Kazallu had to endure an attack for the third (and not last) time in 40 years. As usual, we do not know what provoked this attack on Kazallu, but it seems to have been a coordinated attack by three rulers: Sumu-la-El of Babylon, Erra-imittī of Isin, and Sumu-abum. All these rulers have a year name commemorating the attack on Kazallu:

- Erra-imittī e: MU ^{d}*èr.ra-i-mi-ti*, BÀD *ka-zal-lu*^{ki}, BA.HUL (*YOS* 14 319:24-26)
- Sumu-abum '13': MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu* (*R* 11)
  -MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RA* 8 1)
  -MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 34)
  -MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*YOS* 14 114)
  -MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.D[ÍB] (*RSM* 44)

[1128] *UET* 5 274:37, MU ˹*ma*˺-*ra-ad*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB. *TIM* 5 58:22-23, MU *ma*$^{!}$-*ra-ad*^{ki}, *ù* ˹URU KI.BAL˺.

[1129] Charpin 1978:22, Gibson 1972. The argument made by Reiner 1961:124 and Edzard 1976-1980:586 that Elip was most likely situated near Sippar is contestable: the geopolitical situation favours a localization in the Kiš-Marad region.

[1130] The same information in this part was also provided by Pientka 1998:451.

[1131] *OECT* 15 2 ii:5': URU *mi-*˹x˺-*ur*-DINGIR KI.BAL.MA[Š.DÀ^{KI}].

[1132] This text belongs to other similar texts from *AUCT* V: 44, 45 and 46.

-MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*OECT* 13 280)
-MU *ka-zal-*[*lu*^{ki}] BA.A[N.DÍB] (*YOS* 14 108)
-[m]u *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 48)
-MU *kà-za-lu-uk*^{ki} IN.DÍB (*OECT* 13 282)
-MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *sa-mu-a-bi-im* IN.DÍB (*RA* 8 2)
-MU [*k*]*a-zal-*[*l*]*u*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 35)
-MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 53)
-MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 52)
-MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 54)
-[MU *k*]*a-zal-lu*^{ki} [*sa-mu-a*]*-bi-im* IN.DÍB (BM 103175)
-MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (BM 103196)

- Sumu-la-El: MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL (*MAOG* 4 *MD* 6:17)
  MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki}, ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.DIB (Testi Cuneiformi di Vario Contenuto Torino 748)
  MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.H[UL] (*Speleers* 232:25)

The Sumu-la-El year names give us the best chronological 'hold': the event can be dated to either ca. 1863, 1861 or 1856: there are three official Sumu-la-El year names connected to Kazallu (according to the list of year names):[1133]

- Sumu-la-El 18: MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR šà *ka-zal-lu*-TA BA.RA.È 'Year: Yahzir-El was driven from Kazallu'.
- Sumu-la-El 20: MU BÀD *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL *ù* ERIN$_2$.BI ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG 'Year: the wall of Kazallu was destroyed and its army was defeated'.
- Sumu-la-El 25: MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG 'Year: Yahzir-El was defeated by weapons'.

These are year names found in a much later written list. Actual texts dated to Sumu-la-El show another picture: there are only two variants, 'Year: Kazallu was destroyed' (MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL) and 'Year: Yahzir-El was defeated by weapons' (MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG).[1134] We can safely equate Sumu-la-El 25 with this latter actually attested year name. But what about Sumu-la-El 18 and 20? Which of these represent the actually attested year name 'The year: Kazallu was destroyed'? Perhaps both? The question is which of the Sumu-la-El Kazallu year names coincide with Erra-imittī's and Sumu-

[1133] Horsnell 1999:53-56.
[1134] See the Appendix to chapter 5 for the year names.

abum's year names. Erra-imittī's rule lasted from ca. 1870 to 1863, making it likely that we have to go with Sumu-la-El 18. This hypothesis automatically makes Erra-imittī's Kazallu year name his last one.

The year name commemorating Sumu-abum's attack on Kazallu is actually a Mananâ year name: on two of the tablets with this year name we see an oath sworn by Mananâ.[1135] It is therefore anachronistic to refer to this year name as 'Sumu-abum 13'. The same is true for another supposed Sumu-abum year name ('3'): 'The year: he took Kibalmašda'. Mananâ's rule was between ca. 1876 and 1860.[1136]

It seems likely that Yahzir-El was ruling Kazallu at the time of the three-pronged attack in 1863-62. Perhaps Marad was also captured in the wake of Kazallu's defeat, because Sumu-la-El's year names turn up at Marad starting with 'Year: Kazallu was destroyed'.[1137] Marad stayed under Babylon's sway for at least a few more years.[1138]

7.3.5.7 The aftermath: Sumu-abum becomes king of Kisurra

Sumu-abum participated in the defeat of Kazallu, just as Sumu-la-El of Babylon and Erra-imittī of Isin did. The only attestation of Erra-imittī's year name alluding to Kazallu's defeat comes from a Kisurra text. This Kisurra text belongs to the archive of a man called UR-ZI.EDIN.NA. Five known texts belong to this archive with the following dates:

- *YOS* 14 344:33-34: MU BÀD É.HÚB.BA^{ki} *ib-ni-ša-du-um* BA.AN.DÍB (Ibni-šadûm e/X)
- *YOS* 14 319:24-26: MU ^{d}*èr.ra-i-mi-ti*, BÀD *ka-zal-lu*^{ki}, BA.HUL (Erra-imittī e)
- *YOS* 14 128:26: MU ^{d}*sú-mu-a-bu-um* LUGAL ('Year: Sumu-abum is king'/XI)
- *TIM* 5 13:28: [MU ^{d}*sú-m*]*u-*^{r}*a-bu*$^{\urcorner}$-[*um*] ^{r}LUGAL$^{\urcorner}$ (Year: 'Sumu-abum is king')
- NBC 6318:13: MU ^{d}*sú-mu-a-bu-um* /LUGAL (Year: 'Sumu-abum is king/XI')[1139]

If the above reconstruction of events is correct, Kazallu's defeat happened around 1863-62. This coincides with the supposed penultimate year of Erra-imittī, year e. When we follow the accepted Kisurra chronology, Ibni-šadûm's

[1135] *RA* 8 1 and *TIM* 5 38, see the Appendix to chapter 5.
[1136] see chapter 5 on the chronology of the Mananâ kings.
[1137] *Speleers* 232.
[1138] At least until the reign of Sabium, De Boer 2013a:88-89.
[1139] This text is published in the Appendix.

reign is to be situated much earlier in time, around 1880-1885 BC.[1140] So, somewhere around the period 1885-1862 we would also have to place Sumu-abum's ephemeral reign over Kisurra.[1141] However, the current consensus is that Kisurra lost its independence to Larsa after Ibni-šadûm's reign around 1885.[1142] The basis for this conclusion consists of the 'foreign' year names found in the Kisurra texts. The principle is simple: a non-indigenous year name (eg. Larsa or Isin) equals foreign domination. Sommerfeld found a period of 22 years without foreign year names in Kisurra, from 1920/1915 BC to ca. 1885 BC and he placed the Kisurra kings in this period of independency. The new Kisurra texts published by Goddeeris 2009 have already invalidated this period as 'fully independent': we have at least two new year names from the beginning of Būr-Sîn's reign (ca. 1897).[1143]

The principle 'foreign year name = foreign rule' is still much used in Assyriology,[1144] but is not tenable in all cases: reality was much more complicated. Proof for this is provided by Van Koppen and Lacambre who showed that Ešnunna year names could easily turn up in Sippar as a result of trade or family relations: there is no need to state that Ešnunna ever ruled Sippar.[1145] Another example is found at late OB Harradum (ruled by Babylon), here we find two texts dated with Assyrian eponyms.[1146] So there are reasons enough to question both the accepted old and the newer Kisurra chronology proposed

[1140] Sommerfeld 1983b:229. A completely different chronology for the rulers of Kisurra is proposed by Tyborowski 2012. He also places Ibni-šadûm's reign later, albeit even later than here: he proposes (p. 259): 1862?-1856? (the question marks are his). Tyborowski also places Sumu-abum's reign over Kisurra after Ibni-šadûm (p. 258).

[1141] Tyborowski 2012:248 proposes Sumu-abum as the ruler of Uruk, following Sommerfeld 1983:28.

[1142] Sommerfeld 1983b:229, Charpin 2004a:75 and implicitly Goddeeris 2009:71-72.

[1143] *Santag* 9 101 (mu ^{d}*bur*-^{d}EN.ZU LUGAL), 202 (M[U *bur*$^{?}$]-^{d}EN.ZU LUGAL *iṣ-ba-tu* and 199 (MU ^{d}*bur*-^{d}EN.ZU LUGAL MU.2.KAM).

[1144] Tyborowski 2012 uses this principle in his reconstruction of Kisurra chronology: every year name belonging to an Isin, Larsa, Babylon or Uruk king is interpreted as a change in Kisurra's leadership. The reigns of the indigenous Kisurra kings are fitted in between these episodes of 'foreign rule'. This results in a chronology in which Kisurra changes hands almost every five years over a period of more than sixty years (Tyborowski 2012:260-262).

[1145] Van Koppen and Lacambre 2008-2009.

[1146] *Haradum* II 29 (*li-mu a-bi*-30), 41 ([*li-m*]*u wa-ar-k*[*i*...].

by Tyborowski 2012. In fact, the UR-ZI.EDIN.NA archive could point us towards a totally different chronology.[1147]

As argued in the chapter on the chronology of the archives from Damrum, we may expect small archives and files to be chronologically restricted in time, not stretched out over decades. The only certainty we have for UR-ZI.EDIN.NA's archive is the date of Erra-imittī e found on *YOS* 14 319. We might expect the other texts to be close in time to this date: this means that we should place Sumu-abum's and Ibni-šadûm's reigns in Kisurra also around 1865. How can we do this? Another year name of Erra-imittī's eight year reign, 'Erra-imittī d' states that Kisurra was destroyed.[1148] This must have happened before *YOS* 14 319 (with date 'Erra-imittī e'), which was written in Kisurra. Erra-imittī of Isin must have defeated either Sumu-abum or Ibni-šadûm. According to the above hypothesis concerning Kazallu's defeat, Erra-imittī was in a coalition with Sumu-abum, so Ibni-šadûm is the most likely candidate to have been defeated by Erra-imittī somewhere between ca. 1870 and 1865 BC. This would place Sumu-abum in charge of Kisurra either after Kazallu's defeat or after Erra-imittī's death, somewhere between ca. 1865 and 1860.

We can only speculate on the exact details: Erra-imittī could have 'rewarded' Sumu-abum with Kisurra's kingship. Or, Sumu-abum could have turned against Erra-imittī after Kazallu's fall and have been instrumental in his death. Mesopotamian tradition recounts an unlikely story about Erra-imittī's death: he had put the 'gardener' Enlil-bāni on the throne as substitute king in order to thwart bad omens, but Erra-imittī died nonetheless ('whilst drinking small sips of a hot brew') and Enlil-bāni stayed on the throne.[1149]

This is not all: there is an obscure royal chronicle from OB Nippur,[1150] mentioning Sumu-abum as having ruled 8 months after a man called (lines 2'-4'): ^{d}ì[R...], u[r...], DUMU nu mu [...]. Unfortunately we do not know have the full name of the man who ruled 8 years before Sumu-abum's eight months rule, but it is tempting to reconstruct ^{d}*è*[*r-ra-i-mi-ti*]: Erra-imittī ruled for eight

[1147] This hypothesis revolving around Kisurra's chronology only concern the rulers from Ibni-šadûm onwards (ca. 1885-1860 BC). For now, this study has followed the older chronology etablished by Sommerfeld 1983 for the Kisurra kings before Ibni-šadûm.

[1148] MU ^{d}*èr.ra-i-mi-ti* KI.SUR.RA^{KI} BA.HUL, found on *ARN* 6, 4 NT 82, *PBS* 8/2 103 and a MU.ÚS.SA variant 'year after' is on *Santag* 9 216: MU.ÚS.SA KI.SUR.RA^{KI} ^{d}*èr.ra-i-mi-ti* BA.AN.DÍB. Previous literature: Sommerfeld 1983b:226-227 and Charpin 1979b:191.

[1149] See the commentary by Glassner 1999:162-163.

[1150] Glassner 2004:126-127, *JCS* 15 p. 79 (N.1610) and *PBS* IV/1 p. 81.

years according to the Sumerian King List.[1151] However, such a reconstruction would mean that Sumu-abum ruled Isin, for which there is no other evidence. Even so, we have to mention that a man called Sumu-abum occurs in the Isin text IB 1829,[1152] as being responsible to deliver sacrificial animals to Nippur. The text belongs to the so-called 'Mehl-Archiv'.

The current consensus about Kisurra chronology states that Ibni-šadûm was 'defeated' around 1885. This is hard to link with the diplomatic ties he concluded by marrying the daughter of Sumu-El, the king of Larsa.[1153] Why would Larsa conquer Kisurra (or let it be conquered), if the daughter of Larsa's king was married to Kisurra's king?[1154] It is much more likely that Ibni-šadûm was a vassal of Larsa between ca. 1885-1865, and that he was eventually defeated by Erra-imittī of nearby Isin.[1155] This would also explain the many Sumu-El year names found in the Kisurra texts: a vassal state should have little problems in occasionally using the year names of its overlord.

Back to Sumu-abum: his rule in Kisurra seems very short-lived:[1156] the only Sumu-abum 'year name' found here looks like an accession-year name ('year 1').[1157] Sumu-abum's name carries a divine determinative, which is no surprise: it fits in the southern (Isin) traditions of deifying the king. The fact that we have no other 'official' Sumu-abum year names could mean that we have

[1151] Glassner 2004:124-125.

[1152] Date: Enlil-bāni L[?], published by Krebernik 1992:116.

[1153] This information was not known to Sommerfeld in 1983, see Charpin 2002.

[1154] These things nonetheless happened: Ibal-Addu, king of Ašlakkâ was married to a daughter of Zimri-Lim. He rebelled against his father-in-law after years of vassalship (cf. Charpin and Ziegler 2003:239-240).

[1155] Who in turn must have seen his chance to retake Kisurra after Sumu-El's problems in the latter part of his reign (cf. Charpin 2004a:78) and eventual death around 1866. Charpin 2004a:101, (following Van Dijk 1965:15) suspect that Sumu-El's successor on Larsa's throne (Nûr-Adad) might have been a usurpator.

[1156] The letter *AbB* 2 122 contains perhaps another reference to Sumu-abum's time in Kisurra, or at least the south of Mesopotamia. *AbB* 2 122 belongs to a group of letters (*AbB* 2 117-131 and *AbB* 13 54-59) addressed to (mostly) two men called Lu-Bau and Lipit-Ištar (occasionally also other men) by Ahum-ma. The contents and museum numbers of these letters point towards Southern Mesopotamia, even though Van Soldt 1994:ix thinks of Umma as the most likely point of origin. See also the remarks by Sommerfeld 1983b:220 n. 51.

[1157] The Kisurra text *YOS* 14 351 and the one published by Goddeeris 2002a carry the same year name 'Sumu-abum 1', but they seem unconnected to Ur-zi.edin.na's archive.

simply not found any other ones yet, or that Sumu-abum died or was chased away from Kisurra in his first regnal year.[1158]

The most likely further scenario for Kisurra seems to be that Isin was in control, even though we have no dated texts from the reigns of the Isin kings after Erra-imittī[1159]. Almost sixty years later we learn that Rīm-Sîn of Larsa conquered and annexed Kisurra (Rīm-Sîn year 20).

7.3.6 *Sumu-la-El's reign*

After having discussed Sumu-abum, it is time to focus on that other large political figure from Northern Babylonia: Sumu-la-El, the first king of Babylon.[1160] He ruled from ca. 1880 to 1845 BC. The 'roots' of Sumu-la-El are unknown. He was considered by the other kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon as the founder of their dynasty.[1161] However, he still could have been a relative of Sumu-abum: we just do not know.

Puzzling is the reference to 'an emblem' (^{GIŠ}ŠU.NIR) of Sumu-la-El and an offering (SISKUR$_2$) by Sumu-la-El found in a text from Ur, dated to the year Gungunum 7 (= ca. 1926 BC).[1162] This Sumu-la-El must have been an earlier homonym of Babylon's king.

We know several *Beamtennamen* composed with 'Sumu-la-El':[1163]

- Sumu-la-El-nada: 'Praise Sumu-la-El!' (unprovenanced).[1164]
- Sumu-la-El-dūri: 'Sumu-la-El is my fortress' (Nērebtum, school exercise).[1165]

[1158] For the latter possibility there is actually some proof: *Santag* 9 21 carries the year name: 'Year Sumu-abum that returned to his city' (15-16, mu *ša su-mu-a-bu-um, a-na a-li-šu i-tu-ru*). The same remark was made by Goddeeris 2009:16 n. 5. This year name is found in Sîn-bāni's archive, which has mostly undated texts, texts with unattributable year names, and one dated to Kisurra king Ubāya year c.

[1159] Contra Tyborowski 2012:258.

[1160] Goddeeris 2012b, Charpin 2004a:94-95, and earlier Edzard 1957:124-126.

[1161] See the evidence assembled by Charpin 2004a:81 n. 273.

[1162] U 2588, published by Loding 1976:240 as no. 7.

[1163] These are names usually carried by royal officials, styled as a prayer for the king. An up-to-date study of this type of personal names is lacking, see the bibliography in Stol 1991:204 n. 131.

[1164] *AbB* 13 151 (addressee, not: Sumu-la-^{d}nada, see Edzard's review of *AbB* 13 in *ZA* 85:143).

[1165] *OBTIV* 281:3.

- Sumu-la-El-libluṭ: 'May Sumu-la-El live!' (unprovenanced, receipt).[1166]

7.3.6.1 Sumu-la-El in the Ikūn-pîša Letter Archive

In the Ikūn-pîša letters Sumu-la-El seems to be subordinate to Sumu-abum and even fearful of him.[1167] Some special connection must have existed between Sumu-la-El and Sumu-abum because in *IPLA* 18 they are travelling together. Sumu-la-El wrote two letters to Ikūn-pîša (*IPLA* 10: to both Ikūn-pîša's, and 11). From one of these (*IPLA* 10) we learn that king Halun-pi-umu and he actually worked together: the same person that he defeated in his second regnal year. *IPLA* 11 concerns the dispatch of a messenger called Erībam and Sumu-la-El's problem about not having any silver at hand. In *IPLA* 33 there is talk about a *rābiṣum* in the service of Sumu-la-El. In *IPLA* 40 there is mention of a field belonging to Sumu-la-El that was reassigned to Ikūn-pîša, son of Arwium.[1168]

Curiously, nothing in the *IPLA* letters hints at Sumu-la-El's royal position. This is perhaps due to the early date of the archive: it is either from the beginning of Sumu-la-El's reign, or it predates his time as king of Babylon. Another explanation is that Sumu-la-El wrote the letters to Ikūn-pîša, not as a king, but as a private person. The exactly same phenomenon happens in the Old Assyrian corpus: the king of Assur (called the *waklum* in his letters) sometimes wrote to the *kārum* in Kaneš on official business, but on other occassions he would write as a private person about his own business enterprises to traders in Kaneš.[1169]

7.3.6.2 Babylon's ally: Uruk

Sumu-la-El had an important ally in the kingdom of Uruk. The first known rulers of Uruk had Amorite names: Sumu-binasa[1170] and Alila-hadum.[1171] Their

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[1166] *CUSAS* 14 79:3, dated to Rīm-Sîn I.

[1167] In *IPLA* 7 Ilum-ma wants to give a shekel of gold to Sumu-abum and a jar of wine to both Sumu-la-El and Immerum. In *IPLA* 10, Sumu-la-El fears repercussions if the two Ikūn-pîša's do not deliver 10 minas of gold.

[1168] See also *AbB* 6 177:23-25, where the writer warns the addressee that an amount of barley belongs to Sumu-la-El.

[1169] See Michel 2001:61-76 and Kryszat 2004.

[1170] Goddeeris 2012c and Sommerfeld 1983b:221-225. For the year names: Goddeeris 2009:16.

year names are only known from Kisurra, they perhaps ruled Uruk around ca. 1920-1910 BC.[1172] The next ruler known to us is Narām-Sîn, who must have ruled shortly before Sîn-kāšid of Uruk (ca. 1865 BC).[1173]

Only with Sîn-kāšid we are sure about good relations with Babylon:[1174] one of Sumu-la-El's daughters, Šallurtum, was married to Sîn-kāšid[1175] (another daughter of his, Ayalatum, was a *nadītum* in Sippar's cloister).[1176] Falkenstein dates the beginning of Sîn-kāšid's dynasty to about 1865-60.[1177] He was an enterprising king and numerous clay cones carrying his inscriptions are found in collections around the world. One of the more salient features of these inscriptions is the claim that he was 'king of the Amnānum', from the Mari archives known to be a Benjaminite tribe. Falkenstein concludes that he must have reigned a long time, because his successor Sin-erībam left no inscriptions, although a synchronism between him and Warad-Sîn of Larsa's 6th year name exists (1829).[1178]

The German excavations of Uruk in the 1960's found hundreds of texts in a palace built by Sîn-kāšid.[1179] However, none of these texts are dated by Sîn-kāšid year names; instead they stem from the reigns of his successors:[1180] Sîn-erībam, Sîn-gāmil, Ilum-gāmil, Anam, Irdanene, and Nabi-ilīšu .

The administrative texts (even though most are dated after 1830 BC) from the palace provide more tantalizing clues about the close connections between the royal houses of Uruk and Babylon.[1181] Some examples: a man from Babylon receives a silver axe,[1182] Babylonian troops receive ceremonial weap-

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[1171] Sommerfeld 1983b:221-225, for the year names: Goddeeris 2009:16.

[1172] In any case before Sumu-El 5 (Year: he defeated Uruk) in 1890 BC.

[1173] Three inscriptions of Narām-Sîn are known: see Von Dassow 2009 and Sanati-Müller 2011.

[1174] Charpin 2004a:108-109.

[1175] The fact is known through a seal impression found at Uruk: Frayne 1990 E4.4.1.16.

[1176] *a-ia-la-tum*, *CT* 47 11:24, Sîn-muballiṭ, *a-ia-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS [*su-m*]*u-la*-[DINGIR], Al 'Adhami 1997:73-75(envelope):33, Apil-Sîn 2, ^{d}*a-a-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *sumu-la*-DINGIR, *CT* 8 29b:22, Apil-Sîn.

[1177] Falkenstein 1963:7.

[1178] *YOS* 5 124.

[1179] Falkenstein 1963, Mauer 1987.

[1180] The place of Etēya in the sequence of Uruk rulers is unknown, see Frayne 1990 E4.4.5.

[1181] The texts were published over many years by Sanati-Müller 1988-2000, see the comments by Charpin and Durand 1993. For other OB text groups from Uruk: Mauer 1987, Cavigneaux 1996, and Reiter and Waetzoldt 1996.

[1182] Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 106.

ons,[1183] a large amount of copper is received from Babylon,[1184] there is perhaps even an allusion to direct relations between Sabium of Babylon and Uruk,[1185] etc.

Perhaps the most famous evidence for the Uruk-Babylon connection is a letter written by Uruk's king Anam to Sîn-muballiṭ of Babylon.[1186] The letter was found in the Sîn-kāšid palace, together with the remnants of other diplomatic letters and a treaty.[1187] The Anam letter was either never sent or it was a copy kept by Uruk's chancellery for future reference. Anam addresses the grievances of Sîn-muballiṭ who complains that Babylonian troops were not allowed to enter Uruk or to parade in front of Uruk's noblemen. Babylon had manifestly sent troops to the south to help Uruk against either Isin or Larsa. The letter calls the troops of Babylon 'of Amnān-Yahrūr'[1188] and states that Uruk and Babylon 'are (like) one house'.[1189] These are certainly references to a common tribal ancestry. The letter also mentions that Babylonian troops had helped Uruk two or three times before[1190] and that Sabium came to Uruk with one thousand soldiers:[1191] perhaps to do battle with Larsa in Sabium's 4th year?[1192]

7.3.6.3 The unification of Northern Babylonia by Sumu-la-El

As the king of Babylon, Sumu-la-El managed to unite Northern Babylonia into one state to rival other kingdoms such as Ešnunna, Larsa, Isin, Malgium, and Uruk. He took power in seemingly all Northern Babylonian cities, replacing

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[1183] Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 108.

[1184] Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 140.

[1185] Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 100, with the proposed new reading by Charpin and Durand 1993:369-370.

[1186] W 20473 *Editio* princeps by Falkenstein 1963:56-71, a recent English translation is by Van Koppen 2006:127-130. For the problems surrounding the date of the letter (Sîn-muballiṭ supposedly ruled Babylon after Anam ruled Uruk), see Charpin 2004a:111 n. 460.

[1187] Mauer 1987 no. 6-17. Unfortunately, most of these letters are merely fragments, except for the Anam letter to Sîn-muballiṭ.

[1188] W 20473i: 2, 29, ii:27, iii:30, 39. Several Uruk kings claim to have an Amnanum ancestry: Sîn-kašid in numerous inscriptions (see Frayne 1990 E4.4.1f p. 440-464) and Sîn-gāmil (Frayne 1990 E4.4.3 p. 466).

[1189] W 20473 ii:1-2 *an-na* UNUG^{KI} *ù* K[Á.DINGIR.R]A^{KI}, *bi-tum iš-te-en-ma*.

[1190] W 20473 iii:30-32.

[1191] W 20473 iii:36-37.

[1192] As is commemorated in his 5th year: 'The year: he defeated the troops of Larsa (...)', Horsnell 1999 volume 2:67.

local rulers. This process shows parallels with how Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna unified the Lower Diyala region several years later.

The main framework of events for Sumu-la-El's conquests comes from his list of year names.[1193] In fact, Sumu-la-El's military exploits show a two-tiered approach: the annexation of cities coupled with the building of fortresses and fortifications.

The first military act of Sumu-la-El was during his second year (1879 BC) and this was an act of restoration: Halun-pi-umu of Marad had taken Dilbat from Babylon. Sumu-la-El acted swiftly and took it back, while in the process Halun-pi-umu lost his throne and probably his life.[1194] These events were commemorated in his third and fourth year name.

The attack by Halun-pi-umu must have caught Sumu-la-El off guard and in his fourth year (1877 BC) he (re)built the walls of Babylon itself.

The next military encounter was with Yawium of Kiš in 1869 BC.[1195] The defeat and annexation of nearby Kiš was apparently a huge event, because it was commemorated in five Babylonian year names in a row: Sumu-la-El 13 to 17.[1196] Kiš' defensive walls were eventually destroyed seven years later.

In 1864 BC Sumu-la-El teamed up with Sumu-abum and Isin to teach Yahzir-El of Kazallu a lesson.[1197] Two years later Kazallu's walls were torn down and apparently its army was again defeated. The main culprit Yahzir-El was eventually defeated in 1857 BC.

The year 1857 was a special year for Sumu-la-El now for another reason: he proclaimed a *mīšarum* edict conjointly with Sumu-Yamutbal of Damrum. We know of this *mīšarum* because it was mentioned specifically in texts from Sippar and Damrum.[1198]

[1193] We will follow here the list of year names BM 92702, lastly reedited by Horsnell 1999 volume 1:234-246.

[1194] See section 7.3.3 for the details.

[1195] See already section 7.3.1 for Yawium.

[1196] I had first thought that five year names commemorating Kiš' defeat was excessive, and that something must have happened in the transmission of Sumu-la-El's list of year names. In Horsnell's list of actually attested year names (Horsnell 1999 volume 2:52-53) we do not find any attestations of the third, fourth of fifth year name after Kiš was destroyed. However, on an unpublished text (BM 103190) we can read: MU.4.KAM.MA KIŠ^{KI} BA.[HUL].

[1197] See section 7.3.5.4 and De Boer 2013a:88.

[1198] Sometimes it is called a *ṣimdatum*, but *ṣimdatum* and *mīšarum* were used interchangeably in this period (Goddeeris 2002:326, De Boer 2012). This *mīšarum*/*ṣimdatum*

Sumu-la-El's 27th year name commemorates the building of the wall of Kutha and the (building) of the AN.ZA.GÀR (=*dimtum*, tower or stronghold) of Ur.ku.[1199] There are some indications that Kutha was an independent city before Sumu-la-El took over:[1200] a year name from Šaduppûm mentions that a certain Ilum-nāṣir of Kutha died;[1201] another year name from the same site states that '[PN]...a son of Kutha died.[1202] A similar situation might have been the case with Borsippa: there is some evidence for Borsippa's independence after the fall of the Ur III empire.[1203] The year after the building of Kutha's walls, Sumu-la-El brought a '*bursallu*' bowl into Borsippa (year 28).

The Northern Babylonian city Lagaba, mostly known because of its extensive archives from the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna,[1204] appeared to have had an independent ruler as well. In *TIM* 5 22:16-17 we see that an oath is sworn by the local deity Ištar of Lagaba and one Mutum-me-El.[1205] This otherwise undated sale contract has many archaic features and must be early Old Babylonian.

Sumu-la-El's 29th year name commemorates the building of Sippar's city walls (in 1853); this year marks the date when Sippar had definitely lost its independence to Babylon. Two years later, the city walls of Habus near Kiš were built.[1206] A year name of Sumu-la-El, not found in the canonical list of year names, states that he had also built Dilbat's walls.[1207] To summarize: in the latter part of his reign, Sumu-la-El sought to consolidate his kingdom by building many fortresses.

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was studied in detail already by Kraus 1984:51-54, Goddeeris 2002:332-333, with a supplement by De Boer 2012.

[1199] On this toponym 'Ur.ku', see Horsnell 1999 volume 2:57 n. 33.

[1200] Not indicated by Edzard and Gallery 1980-1983.

[1201] Hussein 2008:81: MU *ša* DINGIR-*na-ṣi-ir* GÚ.DU$_8$.A^{KI} BA.UG$_7$.

[1202] Ahmad 1964 A.43: M[U...], DUMU GÚ.DU$_8$.A^{KI} BA.UG$_7$.

[1203] See chapter 7 section 4.5.

[1204] See Barberon 2012:58-60 for a recent overview and bibliography.

[1205] I thank prof. M. Stol for pointing this out to me. Edzard 1970b:45 was the first to have read the deity's name correctly (mu *iš$_8$-tár*$^{!}$*-la-ga-b*[*a*^{ki}]), but he read the name of the ruler as *mu-tu-we-di*. Such a name makes no sense, after Stol (personal communication) it is better to read: *mu-tu-me*$^{!}$*-*⌜*el*⌝.

[1206] Pientka 1998 volume 2:367.

[1207] Horsnell 1999 volume 2:62-63.

In a much later royal inscription, Samsu-iluna writes that he had restored six fortresses originally built by Sumu-la-El.[1208] Each fortress was dedicated to a god:

- Dimat-Enlil to Ninmah
- Pada to Adad
- Lagaba to Sîn
- Yabušum to Lugal-asal[1209]
- Gulaba to Nergal[1210]
- Uṣi-ana-Erra to Nergal

This inscription seems to be paralleled by Samsu-iluna's 17th year name :

> 'The year: Samsu-iluna, the king, (restored and rebuilt) the great fortresses of Emutbalum which had been destroyed.'[1211]

For Lagaba it is certain that it was not located in Emutbalum.[1212] Likewise, Dimat-Enlil could either be in Sippar's vicinity,[1213] or near Nippur.[1214] Pada was somewhere in North or Central Babylonia.[1215] Gulaba lay probably also somewhere to the north.[1216] Yabašum's and Uṣi-ana-Erra's approximate location remains unknown. Perhaps some of these fortresses lay towards the south of the Northern Babylonian territory: they were intended by Samsu-iluna to protect the core of the kingdom against incursions from the Sealand Dynasty.[1217] In the time of Sumu-la-El the fortresses must have been built as protection against mainly Larsa and to a lesser extent Isin. Whether or not Sumu-la-El controlled other 'petty kings' throughout Northern Babylonia prior to his conquests remains to be seen.

[1208] Frayne 1990 E4.3.7.5.
[1209] A netherworld god associated with Nergal: Krebernik 1987-1990.
[1210] Written as BÀD URU *gu-la*-BÀD^{KI}, see Steinkeller 1992:105 no. 68:3.
[1211] Translation by Horsnell 1999 volume 2:204.
[1212] It lay on a canal between the Euphrates and Kutha: Tammuz 1996b.
[1213] Harris 1975:382.
[1214] *RGTC* 2:31.
[1215] Streck 2003-2005a.
[1216] Steinkeller 1986:40 n. 64, with *RGTC* 3:11 (Al-Gula).
[1217] Charpin 2004a p.347 n. 1801 interprets the region Emutbalum from the year name as the area around Maškan-šapir.

7.3.6.4 The end of Sumu-la-El's reign

The last year names of Sumu-la-El are unknown, mainly because the only extant date list is damaged towards the end.[1218] However, from the files of Ibbi-Ilabrat and Ea-dāpin[1219] we can get an idea of some of the other later Sumu-la-El year names. Sumu-la-El 34 recounts how the king defeated somebody in 1848 BC.[1220] The date list BM 92702 does not preserve the name of the defeated city, but the unpublished text YBC 12224 (from Ea-dāpin's file) does: MU ERIN$_2$ GIŠ.AL^{KI} ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG 'Year: the troops of GIŠ.AL were defeated by weapons'.[1221] It is possible to interpret the sign /al/ as /kušu$_2$/, to obtain the logogram for the city of Umma (GIŠ.KUŠU$_2$).[1222] However, it seems unlikely that Sumu-la-El penetrated this deep into southern Mesopotamia.

Sumu-la-El was succeeded on the throne by Sabium in 1844 BC, seemingly without problems: Sabium and Sumu-la-El are mentioned together in at least two texts.[1223]

7.3.6.5 An overview of Sumu-la-El's conquests

Just as we did for Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna, we will show on two maps the extent of Sumu-la-El's conquests in Northern Babylonia. Cities in yellow are cities that had (more or less) certainly an independent ruler, prior to being incorporated into the Babylonian kingdom. It is unknown whether Dilbat and Borsippa were under Sumu-la-El's rule from the start.

These maps show very clearly that Sumu-la-El's kingdom centered around the Euphrates river and the main canals branching off from it. Throughout OB history, the kings of Babylon would never lose control over this core, which enabled Babylon to impose its administrative structures over this area for hundreds of years, ensuring its longevity and coherence. This core remained part of the Babylonian kingdom for more than 1200 years.

[1218] BM 92702, Horsnell 1999 volume 1:236-237.

[1219] see chapter 5 section 5.3.4 sub 7.

[1220] Horsnell 1999 volume 2:61 n.46 suspects that it is Malgium (following Simmons *JCS* 14 p. 81), based on the year name 'MU *ma-al-gi$_4$ iṣ-ba-aṭ*' found in the Mananâ-dynasty texts.

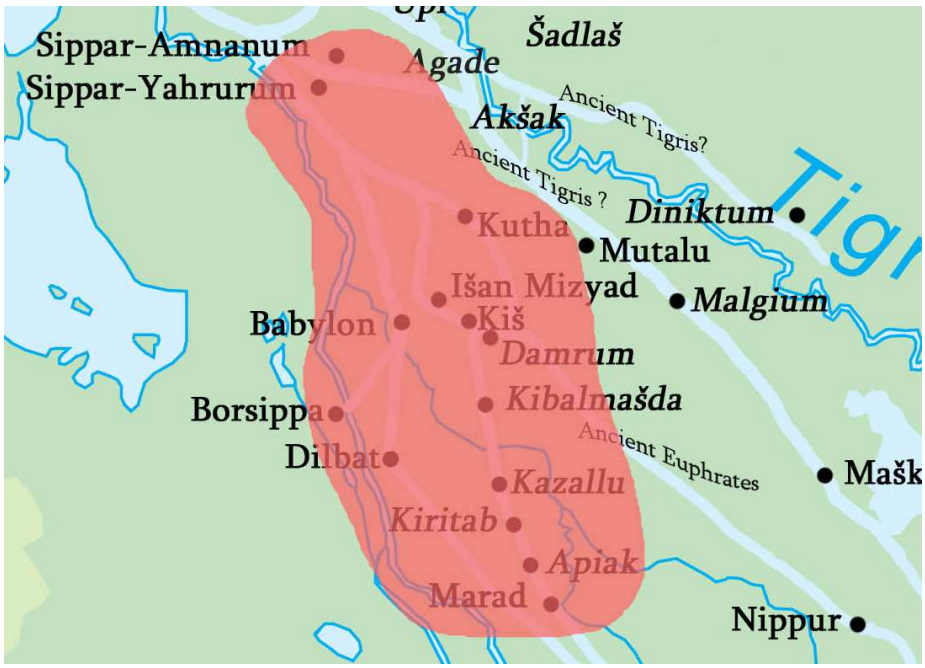
[1221] See the catalogue of the Yale Babylonian Collection, Beckman 2000:240.

[1222] I owe this idea to prof. Stol. During my stay at the Yale Babylonian Collection I was able to collate the tablet and the sign /al/ is clearly written. For the different renderings of the sign /kušu$_2$/ one can consult Mittermayer 2006:182 no. 457.

[1223] From Sippar: BM 17514 and *BE* 6/1 9.



Map 9 Northern Babylonia around 1880 BC



Map 10 The Kingdom of Babylon at Sumu-la-El's death around 1845 BC

7.3.7 *Larsa's Northern Incursions*

7.3.7.1 Sîn-iddinam of Larsa attacks, 1847-1842 BC

We have to look at Larsa and its enterprising king Sîn-iddinam to know what is going on around 1845 BC in Northern Babylonia. Sîn-iddinam succeeded his father Nūr-Adad on Larsa's throne in 1849 BC.[1224] Interestingly, Nūr-Adad seems to have abdicated in favor of his son, because he is still alive under Sîn-iddinam's rule.[1225]

The first three year names of Sîn-iddinam recount his accession, the digging of the Tigris,[1226] and the (re)construction of the Ebabbar temple's foundations.[1227]

Year names 4 to 6 all recount military expeditions towards the north. The fourth year name informs us that the army of Babylon was defeated in 1847 BC.[1228] One can imagine that this happened in the vicinity of Kiš or Damrum, because a variant of the 5th year name belonging to Sîn-iddinam is found in one of the archives from Damrum.[1229] In 1846, Sîn-iddinam had defeated Malgium[1230] and he had seized Ibrat as well as several other towns.[1231] In 1845 Sîn-iddinam pushed even further north all the way up to Ešnunna whose land was 'destroyed': a sensitive blow to the expanding Ipiq-Adad II. Sîn-iddinam's 7th and last regnal year commemorates the building of the fortifications of Maškan-šāpir.[1232]

[1224] Stol 2009-2011, Charpin 2004a:104-106, and Fitzgerald 2002:98-117.

[1225] On the conditions surrounding Sîn-iddinam's accession and a co-regency with Nūr-Adad: Fitzgerald 2002:99-100.

[1226] 'To provide water for Larsa', this event is also referred to in Sîn-iddinam's inscriptions: Fitzgerald 2002:105.

[1227] This is also remembered in Sîn-iddinam's royal inscriptions: Fitzgerald 2002:106.

[1228] MU UGNIM TIN.TIR^{KI} GIŠ.TUKUL BA.AN.SÌG.

[1229] See above section 7.3.2.3.

[1230] Malgium is probably to be equated with the town MURUB$_4^{KI}$ 'The Middle City' found in year name variants of Sîn-iddinam 5 and the inscription published by Volk 2011 (see his comments on MURUB$_4$ and Ibrat on p. 80-82). From the point of view of Larsa, Malgium could very well be called 'middle city' because it lay between Larsa and the northern kingdoms of Babylon and Ešnunna.

[1231] For all four variations of this year name: Fitzgerald 2002:104 and Sigrist 1990:24. On the attribution of this year name to Sîn-iddinam: Sigrist 1985.

[1232] Also commemorated in a royal inscription found at Maškan-šapir: Steinkeller 2004:135-152.

A royal inscription on a barrel published in 2011 by Volk adds new pieces to the puzzle. We learn that Sîn-iddinam had fortified Adab, Sabum and Zarbilum: all towns along the Tigris downstream from Maškan-šāpir. The 'upper land' had become hostile to Larsa and Sîn-iddinam did battle with this land, he won and destroyed its fortifications along the shores of the Euphrates and the Tigris. He deported the population and divided the booty among his troops. This 'upper land' might be the kingdom of Babylon whose army was defeated in Sîn-iddinam's third year (commemorated in his fourth year). Next we read in the inscription that Sîn-iddinam battled on: an unclear passage tells us about 'people from the mountains' and that the king had taken Ibrat, 'MURUB$_4^{KI}$' (probably Malgium), and several other towns, in one day. He exacted tribute and restored the borders. The ruling king of Malgium at that time is unknown. After these events there was a confrontation with new enemy troops led by a king called Warassa. This king's home town is not mentioned directly in the inscription, but a strong case can be made for Dēr.[1233] The inscription continues to state that Sîn-iddinam took Warassa as his prisoner and took him to Larsa. Sîn-iddinam's name was proclaimed in Dēr and he answered to Ištarān (Dēr's city god) about Warassa's fate. Warassa was probably a dynastic name in Dēr, because another king[1234] of Dēr from the time of Hammurabi was also called Warassa.[1235]

The picture seems to be that Sîn-iddinam campaigned heavily towards the north for whatever reason (one might suspect that he wanted to secure the flow of water from the Tigris to the south). In a group of texts dated to Sîn-iddinam 6 and 7,[1236] we see that groups of men are being given rations of grain. Interestingly, these men do not come from towns belonging to the Larsa kingdom (Uruk, Isin, Rapiqum, Diniktum, Kimaš, Terqa, and Šašillani). A few of them even come from towns that were defeated by Sîn-iddinam (Malgium, Dēr, Ešnunna, perhaps Mutalû). These men are probably messengers/ambassadors or people in the service of Larsa.

There are a number of letter prayers written by Sîn-iddinam recounting many problems at the end of his reign: disease, incessant battle, and a popula-

[1233] Volk 2011:63-64 tries to find a synchronism with Ešnunna's Warassa, who ruled several decades earlier.

[1234] The title 'king' in Sîn-iddinam's inscription is slightly problematic because the rulers of Dēr are traditionally called GÌR.NITA$_2$ (=*šakkanakkum*), see section 6.4.3.

[1235] *ARM* 26/2 372:44.

[1236] Goetze 1950b:94-95. See also Fitzgerald 2002:115 and Charpin 2004a:116.

tion in distress.[1237] Charpin has interpreted these as overdramatizations typical for the genre.[1238] A historical omen may or may not refer to his death.[1239] In any case, after Sîn-iddinam's spectacular years of military exploits, his reign comes to an abrupt end.

It has only recently been established that Sîn-iddinam of Larsa was not succeeded on the throne by a son of his. Sîn-irībam, his successor, was the son of an otherwise unknown man called Ga'eš-rabi.[1240] One cannot help but think that he usurped the throne from Sîn-iddinam, but the exact conditions surrounding Sîn-iddinam's death and succession are unclear. Little is known about Sîn-irībam's short reign: we only have two year names, an accession year name and another one in which he donates a statue to Nanna. In his only known royal inscription he reconstructs or repairs the Ebabbar temple in Larsa.[1241]

7.3.7.2 Sîn-iqīšam of Larsa rehabilitates Kazallu ca. 1840 BC

The short-lived reign of Sîn-irībam was followed by the equally short reign of Sîn-iqīšam (1840-1836 BC). Sîn-iqīšam was the son of his predecessor.[1242] Sîn-iqīšam is especially interesting for his efforts to rehabilitate Kazallu, more than twenty years after its destruction by Isin, Babylon and Sumu-abum.

Sîn-iqīšam commemorates in his second year name (ca. 1839 BC) that he had taken the cities Pi-Nārātim and Nazarum, as well as the fact that he had statues made of Numušda (Kazallu's city god), Namrat and Lugal-Apiak and brought them to Kazallu.[1243]

[1237] An edition of the letters is online: ETCSL, see also Fitzgerald 2002:110-114.

[1238] Charpin 2004a:106.

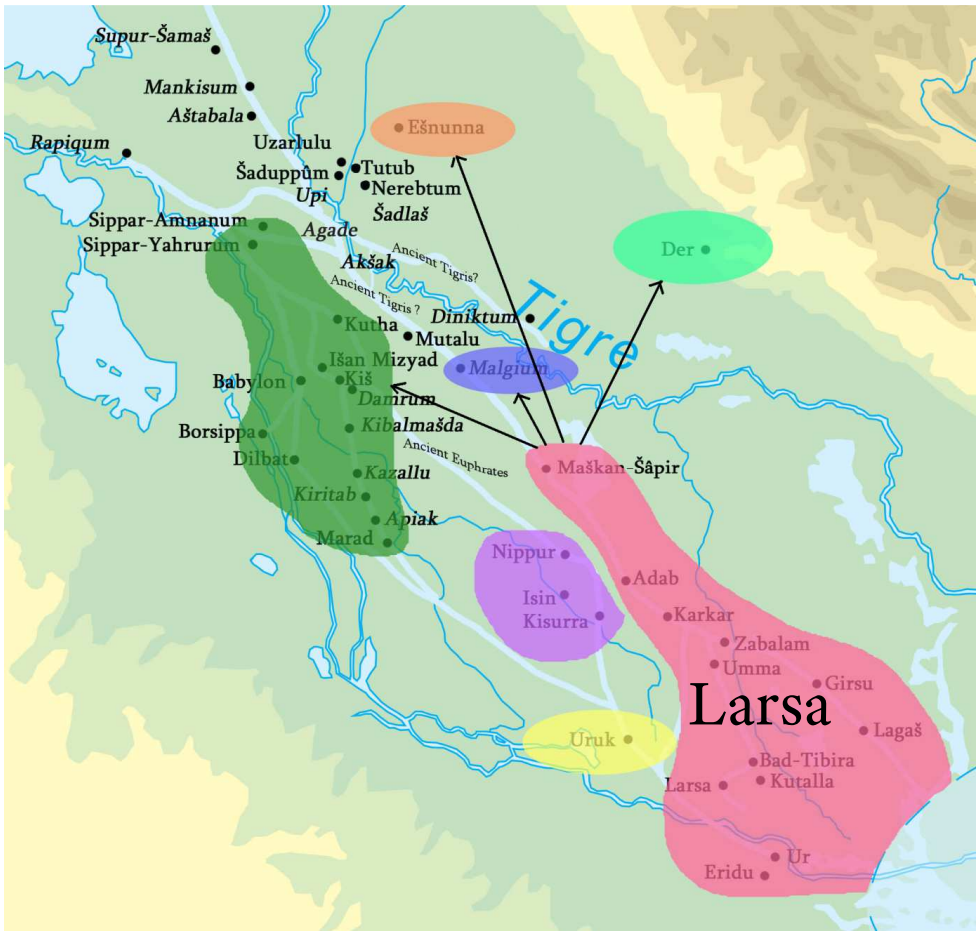
[1239] *YOS* 10 1, some authors (eg. Charpin 2004a:106 and Stol 2009-2011:517) keep to a reading of the omen in which Sîn-iddinam had an accident in Šamaš' temple. Hallo 1967:96-97 proposes a different reading in which the omen is favorable to Sîn-iddinam (followed by Fitzgerald 2002:117).

[1240] George 2011:106-107.

[1241] On Sîn-irībam: Fitzgerald 2002:117-119, De Graef 2009-2011, with new information by George 2011:106-107.

[1242] Frayne 1990 E4.2.11.2.

[1243] See Sigrist 1990:27 for the variants. This year name is also found on *TIM* 3 120 (from the Nūr-Šamaš archive) for some reason.



Map 11 The Campaigns of Sîn-iddinam of Larsa

There was a hymn composed to Numušda for the benefit of Sîn-iqīšam.[1244] In the composition he is the son of Sîn, appearing as a powerful war-like deity. Sîn-iqīšam is praised as the one who restored Kazallu and its territory. This interest for Numušda by Sîn-iqīšam was connected by Sigrist to the unique occurrence of Numušda in the *sattukku* texts from Nippur from this king's reign.[1245]

It is very well possible that Sîn-iqīšam took it upon him to rebuild Kazallu after this city's destruction. If he had succesfully integrated Kazallu into Larsa's kingdom, he would have encircled the territories of Isin and Uruk,

[1244] Sjöberg 1973, see also the ETCSL for a recent edition: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.6.7*#.

[1245] Sigrist 1984:108.

which is probably why these states attacked Sîn-iqīšam in 1838. The inhabitants of Kazallu were also not very grateful for Larsa's troubles: Sîn-iqīšam year 5 (1837 BC) recounts that he defeated a coalition of troops from Uruk, Elam, Isin, and Kazallu. In the end it seems that Larsa gained little from its exploits.

7.3.8 *The rule of Sabium and Apil-Sîn over Northern Babylonia, 1844-1813 BC*

The reigns of Sumu-la-El's immediate successors are hardly known:[1246] we have almost no royal correspondance and the year names seldom mention political or military feats.[1247] The only known lists of year names for Sabium are broken for the first ca. seven years of his reign.[1248]

Sabium built the walls of Kār-Šamaš in his first regnal year. This must have been the Kar-Šamaš in Sippar's vicinity, not the one that lay on the banks of the Tigris.[1249] Sabium's fifth year name commemorates his victory over an army of Larsa in 1841: this was when either Sîn-irībam or Sîn-iqīšam sat on Larsa's throne. The following year he defeated the army of ZI-MA-[...].[1250]

A major event during Sabium's reign was (again) some kind of confrontation with Kazallu in 1835 (year name: Sabium 11). The year name concerning this event is slightly damaged, but Sabium most likely destroyed Kazallu's city walls.[1251] This was only three years after Kazallu had joined in an ill-fated coalition against Larsa. This only makes us more curious about who had ruled Kazallu and what Kazallu did again and again to merit such misfortunes.

Sabium was interested in the south of Mesopotamia. For some reason a year name of his was found at Nippur: hardly any proof for him ruling Nippur, but nonetheless noteworthy.[1252] Sabium led an expedition of apparently one

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[1246] See already Charpin 2004a:113-116.

[1247] Attention must be drawn to the letter Tell ed-Der II no. 52 (De Meyer 1978). It seems to be addressed to Sabium and concerns a huge amount of (crown?) land (lines 1-4): *a-na be-lí-ia sà-bu-um,* [*qí*]*-bí-ma, um-ma ha-a-ta-ru-um-ma*, 72 IKU A.ŠÀ *e-ri-iš-ma*...

[1248] One is the same list that contains Sumu-la-El's year names: BM 92702, the other was published by Al-Rawi 1994. Horsnell does provide reconstructions, which we follow here: Horsnell 1999 volume 1:12-19.

[1249] Röllig 1976-1980.

[1250] Horsnell 1999 volume 2:68.

[1251] See the discussion in Horsnell 1999 volume 1:237 n. 41 and p. 283 n. 326.

[1252] Stol 1976:28, with Charpin 2004a:114.

thousand soldiers southwards to help Uruk.[1253] Somewhere during his reign he also proclaimed a *mīšarum* edict.[1254]

There are a four known *Beamtennamen* composed with Sabium:[1255]

- Sabium-abī 'Sabium is my father' (Sippar).[1256]
- Sabium-bāni 'Sabium is my begetter' (Sippar).[1257]
- Sabium-ilī 'Sabium is my god' (Sippar).[1258]
- Sabium-šēme 'Sabium listen!' (Sippar).[1259]

Apil-Sîn was Sabium's successor in 1830,[1260] ruling eightteen years. Among his first acts were the strengthening of the defences of the kingdom. First its core: Borsippa and Babylon itself (year names 1 and 2) and secondly a fort called 'Dūr-Apil-Sîn' to the north east of Sippar to defend the kingdom against Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu in the Lower Diyala.[1261] On the outer reaches of the kingdom, near Nippur he built the fortifications of Nukar in 1827.[1262]

The main interest of Apil-Sîn's reign lay however in the expansion of the kingdom along the banks of the Tigris to the north east. It is clear that Apil-Sîn was acting opportunistically, because this region had been under the control of Sîn-abūšu's Lower Diyala State and other independent kings. These rulers were however coping with Ešnunna's formidable Ipiq-Adad II. Apil-Sîn must have seen his chance (perhaps even conjointly with Ipiq-Adad II, who knows?) to annex several cities. His twelfth year name states that he restored the banks of the Tigris and (re)built Kār-Šamaš around 1819 BC:[1263] only a few years after Sîn-abūšu's demise in 1823 BC. In addition, there is a non-

[1253] Known from the Anam letter, see above section 3.6.2.

[1254] Known from remarks (not year names) on a tablet: see Goddeeris 2006-2008 and the attestation in Horsnell 1999 volume 2:73.

[1255] Note also the servant seal (impressions) in Frayne 1990 E4.3.3.

[1256] *TJDB* 76 MAH 16.28, *MHET* II/2 158, *MHET* II/5 717:15, *VAS* 8 21, *CT* 8 39a, *TCL* 1 77:20, *CT* 45 92. BM 97003 (Veenhof).

[1257] *OLA* 21 26 (case).

[1258] *CT* 33 45, *CT* 45 92, *CT* 47 21, *CT* 47 42a.

[1259] *CT* 45 58:3, with seal impression.

[1260] It is nowhere explicitly said that Apil-Sîn was Sabium's son, but the year name on *CT* 6 48a explicilty states that Apil-Sîn 'entered the house of his father'.

[1261] Cole and Gasche 1998:20, p. 22 n. 104 and the map on p. 46.

[1262] For this localization: Charpin 2004a:114 with n. 476.

[1263] On this year name: Horsnell 1999 volume 1:27.

canonical year name stating that Apil-Sîn built the walls of Upî[1264] and another one in which he 'entered' Aštabala. Both towns are located along the Tigris.[1265] From an unpublished Mari letter we know that Apil-Sîn also had laid his hand on Mankisum and the small town Šahaduni.[1266] It is unclear how Apil-Sîn's Tigris holdings related to Ipiq-Adad II conquests in the Suhum, because Ipiq-Adad II had to go through this area along the Tigris to reach it.

An extraordinary juridical document found at Sippar describes how a case was brought before Apil-Sîn in Babylon.[1267] The case is about a house that was given by king Sumu-la-El to Šamaš-šarrum and his entourage. The house is claimed by one Nūr-ilīšu. Apil-Sîn rejects the claim and Nūr-ilīšu may no longer litigate against Šamaš-šarrum. The text is witnessed by a number of important people from Sippar, among which Ayalatum (Sumu-la-El's daughter) and several Ebabbar officials.

The only royal letter attributable to Apil-Sîn is YBC 7602 (published in the Appendix), it deals with the conduct of trade caravans:

> [1-5] Speak [to PN_1 and PN_2], thus says Apil-Sîn, your lord. [6-7] Is it good to you, this way of doing? [8-9] That the caravans are constantly entering here, [10-12] (that) they are continuously acquiring information without (paying) compensation and [13] (that) you are not objecting (to this)? [14-16] If you are truly my servants: [18-20] tell Warad-Ilišu that [he...] with the workmen/troops of Taribuša ....

Only one *Beamtenname* is attested for Apil-Sîn:

- Apil-Sîn-ilī 'Apil-Sîn is my god' (provenience unknown)[1268]

The map on the next page shows how Northern and Southern Babylonia looked around 1815 BC, the main powers were Ešnunna, Larsa, and Babylon, with Isin, Uruk, Malgium, and Dēr as minor polities.

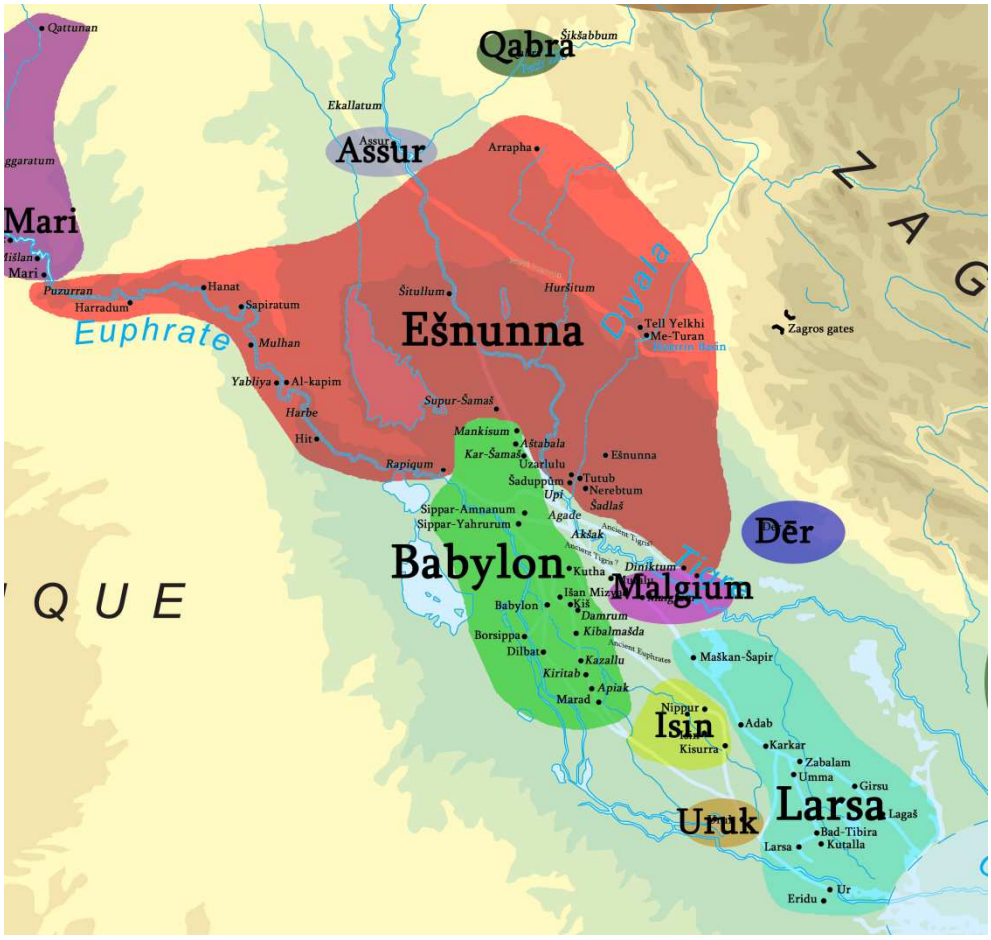
[1264] BM 22641: MU BÀD *ú-pé-e*^{ki} BA.DÙ and BM 22713: MU *ú-pé-e*^{ki} *a-pil*-30 BA.DÙ, these year names were first signalled by Stol 1997:720.

[1265] The year name (non canonical) is found in Horsnell 1999 volume 2:90. Aštabala's location on the banks of the Tigris is inferred from a Narām-Sîn year name (see Hussein 2008:64), in which Aštabala and Ṣupur-Šamaš are mentioned together. This allows for a reconstruction of a Dadūša year name (Hussein 2008:66) in which it is written that Ṣupur-Šamaš and [Aštabala] lay along the banks of the Tigris.

[1266] A.405 cited by Charpin 2004a:115.

[1267] Al-'Adami 1997.

[1268] Probably from Sippar, a letter: *AbB* 12 93.



Map 12 Northern and Southern Babylonia around 1815 BC

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What can we say about the early Old Babylonian Amorites in Southern Mesopotamia in the period from ca. 2000 to 1815 BC? Let us look back at the main research questions in chapter 1 and see what answers can be given.

1) Was there a clear Amorite ethnicity and discernible Amorite migration-movements in early Old Babylonian Southern Mesopotamia?

It is important to distinguish an Amorite ethnicity from an Amorite language because the existence of a separate Amorite language within the Semitic family is still debatable. It is difficult to distinguish an Amorite population from a local population on the basis of the texts available to us. Even so, Amorite personal names are often clearly distinguishable. There does seem to have been a distinction between 'Amorites' and other people, especially in the earliest time of the Old Babylonian period. One could even speak of an ethnicity. This is based on the fact that almost all early Old Babylonian kings bore Amorite names, the mentioning of an Amorite assembly as a political institution and the indication of (military) encounters with MAR.TU people. This Amorite ethnicity must have existed until ca. 1850-1800 BC. However, over time, tribal realities and affiliations changed and by the time of the Mari archives, around 1770 BC, this Amorite ethnicity from a century earlier had disappeared. There was no longer explicit talk of people having an Amorite ethnicity. Even though some echo of being Amorite remained in collective memory (in the title GAL/UGULA MAR.TU and the Babylonian edicts for example), it was not referred to actively from the reign of Samsu-iluna onwards.

Migration movements are not mentioned explicitly in the cuneiform record, still evidence for migrations can be inferred from the sources. This is however not conclusive. In chapter 3 we saw that the distribution of Amorite personal names shows the pattern of a migration (names are less frequent than Akkadian names and there are relatively more hapax and dis legomenon names). This pattern might also be explained differently: out of social-economic grounds for example (Amorite names were the names of poorer

people). In fact, a strong argument against the Amorites as newcomers to Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region is the prominent occurrence of the gods Erah and El in the Amorite names, which is mirrored in the Akkadian names, where the counterparts Sîn and ilum are ubiquitous. There must have been some migration from the KUR MAR.TU (upper Diyala region), but not in very large numbers.

2) How did these Amorites take control over a territory as large as Southern Mesopotamia?

A distinction can be made between two groups of Amorites: one in the south around Larsa and one along the Diyala River and in Northern Babylonia. In order to seize political power, these Amorites must have had military power. It seems likely that many Amorites were mercenaries hired first by the Ur III kings and later by independent cities and local rulers. They may have been hired to protect them against other groups of Amorites or aggressive neighbors. The best evidence we have for this is the very early Old Babylonian 'list of Amorites' from Ešnunna published by Gelb in 1968, showing groups of Amorites organized by section. A theory that might explain the Amorite takeover is the 'elite transfer' model: at a certain point in time the Amorite mercenaries ousted the local elites that had hired them, but they left most institutions and political structures intact: they styled themselves as Amorite leaders, but also as traditional Sumerian-Akkadian kings, they did not pillage the cities, left the religious status quo as it was, etc. This ensured a smooth and relatively uninterrupted regime change: the people did not rebel and there are no accounts of Amorite brutalities. Over time these Amorites were so much integrated into Mesopotamian culture that the Amorite ethnicity disappeared.[1269] Such an explanation is different from the traditional view of Amorite mass-migrations into southern Mesopotamia.

3) To what extent have the Amorites and their migration changed prevalent structures in early Old Babylonian Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region?

[1269] It was however kept alive out of dynastic grounds by the Babylonian monarchy and in other petrified institutions such as the *mīšarum* edicts.

a. Population structure: how many 'Amorites' can we perceive in the texts and what is their relation to the local population?

Considering the personal names in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region (the only evidence we have to answer this question), it turns out that 8% of the people had a clear Amorite name, versus 60% Akkadian, and 5% Sumerian. No less than 27% of the population had a name that was unclassifiable: it could be either Akkadian, Amorite or belong to another language. This means that the actual percentage of people carrying Amorite names lay somewhere between 8% and 27%. The stock of Amorite personal names was smaller and also less frequent. They occur more often only once or twice compared to Akkadian or Sumerian names. This makes the Amorites (people with an Amorite name) a sizeable minority that may have been new to the region.

b. How were the Amorites themselves organized militarily and tribally? Did this influence the existing military and societal structures in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region?

The Amorites had some kind of military organization still reflected in a title such as *rabi amurrim*. This title shows similarities to the *rabiān amurrim*, which was used by some early OB kings, apparently as a epithet. From the later Mari archives we know that the *rabi amurrim* commanded several hundred men. Several tribes are mentioned in the early OB material: the Amnānum, Yahrūrum, Rabābum, Yamutbalum, Numhâ, Mutiabal, and Yabasa tribes. However, these tribes are *never* called 'Amorite'. We can only assume that these tribes fall under our catch-all term 'Amorite'. Similarly, we cannot tell whether our Amorites were organized militarily along tribal lines, even though this seems likely because in the Mari archives groups of soldiers were divided according to tribe.

The title *rabi amurrim* was adopted all over the Middle East for military commanders, but lower ranks were called AGA.ÚS ('crown following') or ŠU.HA ('fisherman'),[1270] not reflecting any Amorite titles. The title *rabi amurrim* was not used in the Middle Babylonian period. The cuneiform texts present no evidence that tribal divisions influenced everyday life in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region. On the other hand, it did very much influence OB politics: many cases of armed conflict are explainable from a tribal perspective

[1270] In addition to other less frequent titles such as RÁ.GABA or AGA.ÚS LUGAL.

because rulers from the same tribe often supported each other. However, tribal allegiances were also fluid and could just as easily be changed, downplayed, or stressed if the situation demanded so. In the eastern part of Mesopotamia, 'Amorite' tribal divisions disappear from our sources at the end of Hammurabi's reign (ca. 1750 BC). Thanks to the Tell Leilan archives we know that in Upper Mesopotamia politics were still very much tribally oriented after this period. However, from ca. 1720 BC onwards, there are no references to Amorite tribes or their political relevance anymore.

c. Where did these Amorites live? Were they part of the urban population or were they pastoralists living on the fringes of society?

There is a paradox concerning the Amorites: even though Amorite kings were in charge all over Mesopotamia, people carrying Amorite names hardly occur in the extant family archives. When they do, they are people of seemingly little importance.
One explanation is that people with Amorite names lived mostly in the countryside, outside of the scope of the cuneiform record because it was mostly the urban elite and institutions that resorted to writing. Amorite names occur more often in family archives from small towns, such as Halhalla and Damrum. There is some logic to this: if the Amorites started out as mercenaries, the city population must have been reluctant to allow them to live in the city, forcing them to live in the countryside surrounding the urban centers. It is interesting to note in this respect that people with Amorite names tend to appear clustered together in certain texts.

There is little to no evidence that the Amorites were nomads or even pastoralists in the early OB period. This might again be the result of the nature of our documentation, there are no early OB herding contracts and references to sheep and goats are never associated with Amorites.

d. What role did the Amorites play in the texts? Were they landowners, creditors or debtors, rich or poor? How did they fare compared to the local population?

The people with Amorite names do not seem to have had radically different roles in the texts than people with Akkadian or Sumerian names. There is a slightly higher percentage of Amorites owning property in Sippar and Kiš and Damrum (11 and 13%), than there are Amorites (8 and 9%), but this is hardly

proof of a landowning elite. The same goes for debtors and creditors: it is impossible to establish any pattern based on the personal names alone. Because we only have parts of family archives it is almost impossible to determine whether even one family was rich compared to another: we lack the whole picture.

4) Did the early Old Babylonian Amorite kings and their kingdoms lead to more diversity or uniformity in Southern Mesopotamia?

The Ur III empire had unified southern Mesopotamia for a century, but political fragmentation was already a fact before Ur's last king Ibbi-Sîn was defeated around 2004 BC. Isin, Ešnunna and probably also Malgium and Dēr had already asserted their independence before this date. Interestingly, Amorite rulers were not yet a factor of importance at this time: none of the kingdoms was led by someone carrying an Amorite name. The first Amorite rulers entered the historical stage decades later: first Larsa kings such as Zabāya and Gungunum (from ca. 1945 BC onwards) and later the Kisurra kings and the many Amorite 'petty rulers' in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region. Around 1880 BC southern Mesopotamia was a patchwork of small states ruled by Amorite kings. Eventually, all small kingdoms were incorporated by Sumu-la-El of Babylon and Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna. Much later, Hammurabi conquered all of southern Mesopotamia, neutralizing the last independent states of Malgium and Larsa. He deported the population of Malgium and annexed the territory of Larsa in 1763 BC. Ešnunna remained independent, but was severely crippled after the Elamites had killed the royal family and pillaged the land in 1765 BC. The south never adapted completely to Babylonian rule and under Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna it broke free. During the subsequent late Old Babylonian period, Southern Mesopotamia was divided into the Babylonian kingdom in the north and the Sealand dynasty in the south. The whole of Southern Mesopotamia was united again under Kassite rule around 1500 BC. This was never possible were it not for the fact that the Babylonian kingdom had been consolidated over hundreds of years after Sumu-la-El, laying the foundation for a state that lasted for more than a thousand years.

Either directly or indirectly the time of the Amorite kingdoms also had a major unifying effect on Southern Mesopotamia's culture: the Nippur calendar was adopted all over the area, making the many local calendars redundant.

The literature was akkadianized and Sumerian as an administrative and literary language gradually lost its importance.

It remains difficult to ascertain whether 'Amorites' were really seen as very different from the local city urban populations and whether this difference was mostly ethnic or social.

Appendix to Chapter 3

The top 100 most popular personal names found in texts from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region from ca. 1900 to 1815 BC.

Name	Frequency	Lang-uage	Occurences
Sîn-iddinam	126	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sin-erībam	85	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ilšu-bāni	74	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Sîn-remēni	74	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Warad-Sîn	74	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Nabi-ilīšu	58	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Imgur-Sîn	57	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ipquša	57	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sîn-iqīšam	56	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Nūr-ilīšu	55	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Nūr-Šamaš	54	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sîn-abūšu	50	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sin-šeme	50	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Išme-Sin	49	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Nanna-mansum	49	s	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Warad-ilīšu	48	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ahūni	47	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Awīl-ilim	47	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Amat-Šamaš	46	ak	Sippar
Sin-gamil	44	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sin-nāṣir	43	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Būr-Sîn	42	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Lamassi	38	ak	Sippar/Tutub
Narām-ilīšu	37	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Šamaš-nāṣir	37	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ahum-waqar	35	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub/Marad
Iddin-Sin	35	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Tutub
Munawwirum	35	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sin-bāni	35	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Abum-ṭābum	34	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad

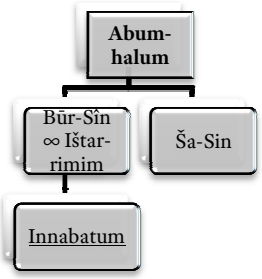
Ibbi-Sin	34	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sîn-māgir	34	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Belšunu	33	ak	Sippar/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Bur-Nunu	33	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Tutub
Ilšu-ibbišu	33	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Ipiq-Ištar	32	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Abum-waqar	31	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Ili-iddinam	31	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Tutub
Puzur-Šamaš	31	ak	Sippar/Marad
Imgurrum	30	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sin-ennam	30	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat
Sin-išmeanni	29	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum
Ibni-Sin	28	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Nabi-Sin	28	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad
Sin-rabi	28	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Belesssunu	27	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum
Erībam	27	ak	Sippar
Nuriya	27	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Sîn-muballiṭ	27	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Ibni-Adad	26	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ikūn-pîša	26	ak	Sippar
Nur-Sin	26	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad
Ipiq-Adad	25	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nērebtum/Tutub
Riš-Šamaš	25	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nērebtum
Erib-Sin	24	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ilšu-abušu	24	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Nērebtum
Lipit-Ištar	24	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš
Warad-Šamaš	24	ak	Sippar/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Ibbi-Ilabrat	23	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Akšaya	22	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Tutub
Sin-ilum	22	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Tutub
Ubarum	22	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Ubar-Šamaš	22	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Apil-ilīšu	21	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum
Manium	21	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat

Nur-Ištar	21	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat
Sin-puṭram	21	ak	Sippar/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Sin-ublam	21	ak	Sippar/Marad
Iltāni	20	ak	Sippar/Nūr-Šamaš
Šamaš-tappešu	20	ak	Sippar
Sîn-bēl-Ilī	20	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nūr-Šamaš
Bur-Adad	19	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Etellum	19	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum
Etel-pi-Sin	19	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Iddin-Amurrim	19	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Ili-bāni	19	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Nur-Kabta	19	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Belanum	18	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad
Ennam-Sin	18	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš
Iddin-Šamaš	18	ak	Sippar/Dilbat
Narām-Sin	18	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub
Nidnuša	18	ak	Sippar/Nūr-Šamaš
Warad-Amurrum	18	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš
Ahušina	17	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Nērebtum
Muhaddum	17	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nērebtum/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Šamaš-rabi	17	ak	Sippar
Sinniya	17	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Marad/Nērebtum/Tutub
Lu-Nanna	17	s	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Tutub
Beltani	16	ak	Sippar/Nērebtum
Erištum	16	ak	Sippar/Dilbat/Nērebtum
Naramtum	16	ak	Sippar/Marad/Nērebtum/Tutub
Nur-Kubi	16	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nūr-Šamaš/Tutub
Adad-rabi	15	ak	Sippar/Dilbat
Awīl-Amurrim	15	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Tutub
Aya-tallik	15	ak	Sippar
Buṣiya	15	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat/Tutub
Huzalum	15	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Nērebtum
Ilum-bāni	15	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat
Sin-imitti	15	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Dilbat
Sin-nada	15	ak	Sippar/Kiš&Damrum/Marad/Dilbat/Nērebtum/Tutub

Appendix to Chapter 4

Clear Amorite names are written in **bold**, linguistically uncertain names are underlined. Akkadian and Sumerian names are not marked seperately. The family genealogies were taken from Goddeeris 2002.

4.1.3.1 Abum-halum's descendants



Other people in Abum-halum's file owning property:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite and 'other' names
Adilum s. Abi-ilum *a-di-li-im,* DUMU *a-bi-i-lu-um, CT* 6 40b:1-2, undated	Huššutum d. Qarassumiya -DA *hu-šu-tum, CT* 33 42:3, undated *-hu-šu-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *qa-ra-sú-mu-ia, CT* 6 43:6, undated
Arwītum d. Ilī-bāni *i-ta ar-wi-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ba-ni, CT* 6 43 :3-4, Apil-Sîn	Ibnasum *ib-na-si-im, CT* 48 89:4, undated
Dārikum *da-ri-kum, CT* 48 89:5, undated	Nanakum *na-na-ki-im*, *MHET* II/5 775:3, undated
Wardum s. Hawirānum ÌR-*dum* DUMU *ha-wi-ra-nim, CT* 8 47b(=*MHET* II/1 8):4, Immerum	Nig-Utu (d. of Hanhanum) *i-ta* NÍG-^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 43:2, Apil-Sîn
	Samum s. U-x-rum *sa-mi-im*, DUMU *ú-x-ri-im, CT* 48 91:2-3, Ammi-ṣura

Witnesses in the texts from Būr-Sîn's time:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite and 'other names'
Enlil-zubi ^{d}EN.LÍL-*zu-bi, MHET* II/5 775:10, early	Atamanum, s. Zuzim *a-ta-ma-nu-um,* DUMU *zu-zi-im, CT* 48 89:15-16, early
Hālilum s. Erra-mālik *-ha-li-lum*, DUMU *èr-ra-ma-lik*[1], *CT* 48 90:21-22, Ammi-ṣura	Enagum *e-na-gu-um*, *MHET* II/5 775:9, early

-ha-li-lum, CT 48 91:12, early	
Išme-Sîn s. Hālilum *iš-me-*^{d}EN-ZU DUMU *ha-li-li-im, CT* 6 40b:10-11, early	Išhitīya *iš-hi-ti-ia, CT* 48 91:15, early
Hubšum s. Ilī-emūqī *-hu-ub-šu-um,* DUMU *ì-lí-e-mu-qí, CT* 6 40b:12-13, early *-hu-ub-šu-um, CT* 48 91:14, early	Kukīya s. Šū-Nunu *ku-ki-ia,* DUMU *šu-nu-nu, CT* 6 40b:18-19, early
Mudādum s. Ilī-iqīšam *-mu-da-du-um*, DUMU *ì-lí-i-qí-ša-am, CT* 6 40b:14-15, early *-mu-da-du-um*, *CT* 48 90:23, Ammi-ṣura	Lamānum, s. Amasim *-sa-ma-ra-ah*, *la-ma*-AN, DUMU.MEŠ *a-ma-sí-im CT* 48 90:18-20, Ammi-ṣura *-la-ma*-AN, DUMU *a-ma-sí-im, CT* 48 89:11-12, early
Nabi-Sîn s. Lú-DINGIRA *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU LÚ.DINGIR.RA, *CT* 6 40b:20-21, early	Mahminum s. Kalbīya *ma-ah-mi-nu-um,* DUMU *ka-al-bí-ia, CT* 48 89:17-18, early
Samum (the son of U-x-rum?) *sa-mu-um*, *CT* 48 91:13, early	Qarassumīya s. **Amurrum** *-qá-ra-su-mi-ia,* DUMU *a-mu-ri-im*, *CT* 48 89 :19-20, early *-qá-ra-su-mi-ia*, *MHET* II/5 775 :12, early
Muhaddûm, s. Šiqlum *mu-ha-du-um*, DUMU *ši-iq-li-im*, *CT* 48 90:25-26, Ammi-ṣura	Salsalum s. Kunānum *sà-al-sà-lu-um,* DUMU *ku-na-ni-im*, *CT* 6 40b:16-17, early
	Samūqum *sa-mu-qum*, *CT* 48 90:24, Ammi-ṣura
	Sumu-Erah, s. Amasim *sa-ma-ra-ah*, *la-ma*-AN, DUMU.MEŠ *a-ma-sí-im CT* 48 90:18-20, Ammi-ṣura
	Warad-Sîn s. Didadum ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *di-da-di-im, CT* 48 89:13-14, early

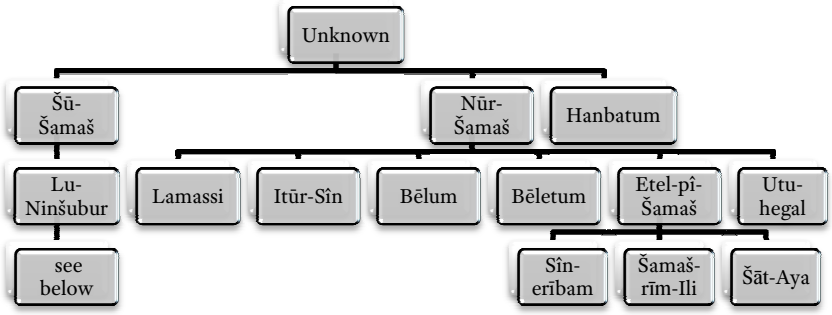
Witnesses in the texts from Innabatum's time

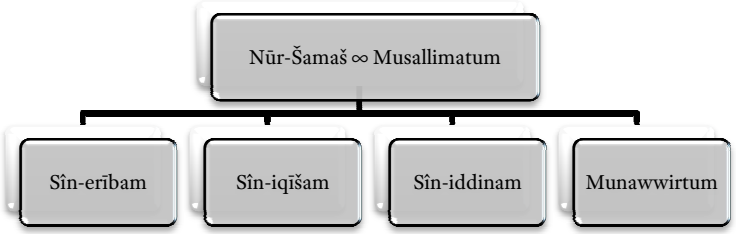
Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite and 'other' names
Adad-remēni s. Damu-galzu (RÁ.GABA, cloister official) -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 6 43:18, Apil-Sîn -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni*, *CT* 8 29a :18, Apil-Sîn	Aya-tallik d. Šilānum ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* DUMU.MUNUS *ši-la-num*, *CT* 8 29a :33, Apil-Sîn
Ahatum *a-ha-tum, CT* 6 26a:22', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Aya-x-x d. Hanhanum ^{d}*a-a-*^{d}EN?-LÍL?, DUMU.MUNUS *ha-an-ha-nu-um*, *CT* 6 43:31-32, Apil-Sîn
Amat-Šamaš d. Šamaš-bāni GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*ba-ni*, *CT* 8 29a :31, Apil-Sîn	Burtāni d. Makula *bur^{úr}-ta-ni*, DUMU.MUNUS *ma-ku-la*, *CT* 8 29a :25-26, Apil-Sîn
Amat-Šamaš GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 29a :35, Apil-Sîn	Erištum d. **Yadurum** *e-ri-iš^{t}-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *ia-du-rum*, *CT* 6 43:27-28, Apil-Sîn
Amurrum-bāni s. Ilum-mušallim (cloister official) -^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, CT* 33 42:20, early -^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, CT* 33 43:16, early -^{d}MAR.TU-*ba/-ni, MHET* II/5 743 :17, early -^{d}MAR.TU/*-ba-ni, MHET* II/5 784:13, early -^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, CT* 6 26a:7', Sabium and Sumu-la-	Hubudīya s. Baṣinum *hu-bu-di-ia,* DUMU *ba-ṣí-nim, CT* 8 47b (*MHET* II/1 8):22-23, Immerum

El	
Aya-damqat ^{d}*a-a*-SIG$_5$, *CT* 6 26a:24', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Huwilum s. Lulu-Haya *hu-wi-lum* DUMU *lu-lu-ha-a*, *CT* 6 26a:10', Sabium and Sumu-la-El
Ayartum *a-ia-ar-tum, CT* 6 26a:25', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Idādum ì.du$_8$ (cloister official, son of Pala-Sin) *i-da-dum-um* ì.DU$_8$, *CT* 6 26a:8', Sabium and Sumu-la-El
Aya-šitti d. Būr-Nunu (cloister official) ^{d}*a-a-ši-ti, CT* 6 26a:13', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Ilum-šarrum s. Samuqum DINGIR-*ša-ru-um,* DUMU *sa-mu-qí-im, CT* 8 47b (*MHET* II/1 8):20-21, Immerum
Aya-tallik UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Bur-Nunu (cloister official) -^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 43:17, Apil-Sîn -^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 29a :21, Apil-Sîn	Kumuzili *ku-mu-zi-li, CT* 6 26a:18', Sabium and Sumu-la-El
Arwītum d. Ilī-bāni *ar-wi-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ba-ni*, *CT* 6 43:29-30, Apil-Sîn	Kuyatum d. Asallīya *ku-ia-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-sà-li-ia*, *CT* 8 29a :29-30, Apil-Sîn
Bēlessunu *be-le-sú-nu, CT* 6 26a:11', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Lamassi d. **Yabuš** *la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-bu-uš*, *CT* 8 29a:28 Apil-Sîn
Būr-Nunu UGULA KU LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU s. of Imlik-Sîn (cloister official) *bur-nu-nu* UGULA KU LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 26a:5', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Matīya d. Munānum *ma-ti-ia,* DUMU.MUNUS *mu-na-nim, CT* 8 47b (*MHET* II/1 8):24-25, Immerum
Damiqtum d. Šamaš-tappêšu (SANGA ^{d}UTU) -*da-mi-iq-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu*, *CT* 6 43:22-23, Apil-Sîn -*da-mi-iq-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu*, *CT* 8 29a :22-23, Apil-Sîn	Munabi *mu?-na?-bi?* , *CT* 8 29a :35, Apil-Sîn
Damu-galzu (cloister official) -^{d}DA.MU-GAL.ZU, *CT* 33 42:19, early -^{d}DA.MU-GAL.ZU, *CT* 33 43:15, early -$^{r d}$DA.MU$^{\rceil}$/-GAL.ZU, *MHET* II/5 743:16, early -^{d}DA.MU/-GAL.ZU, *MHET* II/5 777:15, early -^{d}DA.MU/-GAL.ZU, *MHET* II/5 784:12, early -^{d}DA.MU-GAL.ZU, *CT* 6 26a:6', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Sanakratum d. Musallimum *sa-na-ak-*^{r}*ra*$^{\rceil}$*/-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *mu-sa-li-mi/-im, CT* 8 47b (*MHET* II/1 8):26-27, Immerum
Hatalum s. Mudādum -*ha-ta-lum, CT* 33 42:23, early -*ha-ta-lum* DUMU *mu-da-du, CT* 6 26a:9', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	**Yarbi-El** s. Tuqarum *ia-ar-bi*-DINGIR DUMU *tu-qa-ru-um*, *CT* 33 42:21-22, early
Hudultum d. Nūr-ilīšu *hu-du-ul-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 6 43:25-26, Apil-Sîn	
Inanna-amamu -^{d}INANNA-AMA.MU, *CT* 33 42:24, early -^{d}INANNA-AMA.MU, DUMU.MUNUS a-ab-ba-*ṭà-bu-um* DUB.SAR *CT* 33 43:17-19, early -^{d}INANNA-AMA.MU, DUMU.MUNUS a-ab-ba-<*ṭà-bu-um*>,*MHET* II/5 743:18-19, early -^{d}INANNA-AMA./MU, DUMU.MUNUS A.AB.BA,-^{r}*ṭà-bu-um*$^{\rceil}$ DUB.SAR *MHET* II/5 784:14-16, early	
Lamassi d. Sîn-ennam (second SANGA ^{d}UTU)	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)

-la-ma-sí DUMU.MUNUS 30-*en-nam, CT* 6 43:24, Apil-Sîn *-la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS 30-*en* ˹*-nam*˺, *CT* 8 29a:24, Apil-Sîn	
Lamassī *la-ma-sí, CT* 6 26a:12', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Sîn-īn-nīšu s. Nabi-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-ni-*ˀ*šu*ˀ, DUMU *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/5 777:16-17, early
Lipit-Ištar SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Šamaš-tappêšu *li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár, CT* 6 26a:4', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Sukkatāni *sú-ka-ta-ni, CT* 6 26a:15', Sabium and Sumu-la-El
Mattatum d. Ibni-Adad *ma-ta-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *CT* 8 29a :27, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-ENGUR.A-nīši (a cloister official, rá.gaba) -^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*ni-ši, CT* 33 42 :18, early -^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*ni-ši, CT* 33 43 :14, early -^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*ni-*ˀ*ši*ˀ, *MHET* II/5 743 :15, early -^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*ni-ši, MHET* II/5 777 :14, early -^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*ni-*<*ši*>, *MHET* II/5 784 :11, early
Mattatum d. Šamaš-ˀxˀ *ma-ta-tum* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-ˀxˀ, *CT* 8 29a :34, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-tayar (cloister official) -^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar, CT* 6 43:20, Apil-Sîn -^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar, CT* 8 29a :20, Apil-Sîn
Narubtum *na-ru-ub-tum, CT* 6 26a:16', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Ša/umuh-Sîn second SANGA s. Nur-Sin *-šu-mu-uh*-30, *CT* 6 43:17, Apil-Sîn *-šu-mu-uh*-30, *CT* 8 29a:17, Apil-Sîn
Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, *CT* 6 43:19, Apil-Sîn -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, *CT* 8 29a :19, Apil-Sîn	Šāt-Aya, DUB.SAR.MUNUS *ša-at-*^{d}a-a DUB.SAR.MUNUS, *CT* 8 47b (*MHET* II/1 8):28, Immerum
Rubatum *ru-ba-tum, CT* 6 26a:14', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Šāt-Kubi *ša-at-ku-bi, CT* 6 26a:17', Sabium and Sumu-la-El
Sassatum *sà-sà-tum, CT* 6 26a:19', Sabium and Sumu-la-El	Warad-Sîn SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Lipit-Ištar -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 6 43:16, Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 29a:16, Apil-Sîn
Sîn-erībam s. Nūr-ilīšu ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 8 47b:16-17, Immerum	[...]-Sîn d. Būr-Sîn [...]-30 DUMU.MUNUS *bur*-30, *CT* 6 26a:20', Sabium and Sumu-la-El

4.1.3.2 Nūr-Šamaš





Other people owning property in the file of Nūr-Šamaš:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Anahum *a-na-hu-um, MHET* II/1 2:6, Ilum-ma-Ila	**Dādum** s. KAim *i-ta da-di-im* DUMU KA-*i-ʾim*ʾ, *MHET* II/5 595:2, undated
Arwium *ar-wi-um*, *MHET* II/1 13:4, Sumu-la-El	Dihatum *di-ha-ti-im*, *MHET* II/5 588:6, undated
Bēlâ *be-la-a, MHET* II/1 5:5	**Ibiš-El** *i-bi-iš-i-el*, *MHET* II/5 588:4, undated
Bēlī-Ašgi ús.sa.du *be-lí-àš-gi, CT* 8 41d:7, Ilum-ma-Ila	Ili-madiah *i-ta ì-lí-ma-di-ah, MHET* II/5 588:3, undated
Bēltim *be-ʾel*ʾ*-ti-im*, *MHET* II/5 571:2, undated	Ipiq-Adad and his son **Yahatu** *i-pí-iq-*^{d}IM, *ù ia-ha-tu ba-ʾru*ʾ DUMU.NI, *MHET* II/1 4:7-8, Immerum
Būr-Nunu *i-ta bur-nu-nu, MHET* II/1 3:4, Ilum-ma-Ila	Itbidanum *it-bi-da-num, JCS* 30 p.235 E:5 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El
Erīb-Enlil *e-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.LÍL*, MHET* II/1 4:6, Immerum	**Samehum** and his son Sîn-erībam *sa-me-hu-um, ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 3:5-6, Ilum-ma-Ila
Etel-pî-Sîn *e-te-el-pí-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 4:5, Immerum	**Samsu-yapuhat** ^{d}UTU-*ia-pu-ha-at, MHET* II/1 4:4, Immerum
Hunabum *hu-na-bu-um, MHET* II/5 573:2, undated	Sîn-iddinam s. Kusanum ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU *ku-sa/-nim*, *MHET* II/1 10:8, Immerum
Huššutum *hu-šu-tum* LUKUR ^{d}[UTU], *MHET* II/1 14:5	Sîn-šeme s. IZpati ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me* DUMU ʾIZʾ-[*pa-ti*], *MHET* II/1 14:5, Sumu-la-El
Iddišum *i-di-šum, MHET* II/5 592:2, undated	Ṣirahatum *ṣi-ra-ha-tum*, , *MHET* II/5 582:3, undated
Ilšu-bāni s. Sin-[...] DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU ʾ^{d}ENʾ.ZU-[...], *MHET* II/5 697:6, undated	**Yatarum** *ù i-ta ia-ta-ru-um, MHET* II/1 4:3, Immerum
Lamassê *la-ma-sé-e, MHET* II/1 5 :6, Immerum	Šalubi *ša-lu-bi, MHET* II/5 595:3, undated
Lamassī *la-ma-sí* AMA.NI, *MHET* II/5 582:4 (case), undated	Zurzurum and his mother Asatum -*ʾzu*ʾ*-úr-zu-ru-um*, *MHET* II/1 1:2, Ilum-ma-Ila *-zu-ur-zu-ru-um ù a-sà-tum* AMA.NI, *MHET* II/5 598:2-3, undated
Lu-Enlil s. Sîn-ṣulūlī LÚ-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-AN./DUL$_7$-[*li*], , *MHET* II/1 10:7, Immerum	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Manium s. Adaya *ma-ni-um* DUMU *a-da-ia*, *MHET* II/5 697:5	

Nūr-ilīšu *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu*, *MHET* II/1 10:11, Immerum	Ṣīssu-nawirat *i-ta ṣí-sú-na-wi-ra-at, MHET* II/1 4:2, Immerum
Sîn-gāmil ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mi-il, MHET* II/5 571:5, undated	Šelēbutum d. Sassi NIN ^{d}UTU *ša ši-le-bu-tim,* DUMU *sà-si* NIN ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 10:3-5, Immerum
Sîn-nūri d. Sîn-erībam ^{d}EN.ZU-*nu-ri* DUMU.MUNUS 30-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/5 697:4, undated	Šinunūtum *ši-nu-nu-ti-im, MHET* II/1 5:4, Immerum
Sîn-rabi ^{d}EN.ZU-*ra-bi, CT* 8 41d:2, Ilum-ma-Ila	Šū-Šamaš *šu-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 10:6, Immerum
Sîn-remēni ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni*, *MHET* II/5 588:5, undated	Tabni-Ištar d. Šamaš-šadûni *tab-ni-iš$_4$-tár,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-KUR-*ni, JCS* 30 p.235 E:3-4 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El

Witnesses in the texts from the time of Nūr-Šamaš

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Aba-Nanna-gim DUB.SAR A.BA-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-GIM, DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/5 598:21-22, undated	**Adidum** s. Ilī-tappê *a-di-du-um, ì-lí-*TAB.BA-*e, MHET* II/1 4:27, Immerum
Ada s. Šū-Nunu *a-da-a*, DUMU *šu-nu-nu, MHET* II/1 2:19-20, Ilum-ma-Ila	**Adidum** s. Sîn-iddinam *a-di-du-um* DUMU *ì-lí-* ˹TAB.BA˺, *MHET* II/1 4:27, Immerum
Ahūni s. Abu-waqar DAM.GÀR *a-hu-ni* DUMU *a-ba-<wa>-qar, MHET* II/1 10:33, Immerum a Seal :[*a*]-*hu-ni,* [DUMU *a*]-*bu-um-wa-qar,* DAM.GÀR	**Ahi-šakim** s. Būr-Nunu *-a-hi-ša-ki-* ˹*im* DUMU *bur-nu-nu, MHET* II/1 1:17-18, Ilum-ma-Ila *-a-hi-ša-ki-im* DUMU *bur-nu-* ˹*nu*˺, *MHET* II/1 4:25, Immerum *-a-hi-ša-ki-* ˹*im*˺, DUMU *bur-nu-nu, MHET* II/5 571:10-11, undated *-a-hi-ša-ki-im*˺, *MHET* II/5 573:9, undated
Arwium *ar-wi-* ˹*um*˺ DUMU ˹x x x˺, *MHET* II/5 598:17, undated	Akaya s. Ahi-maraṣ *a-ka-ia,* DUMU *a-hi-ma-ra-aṣ, CT* 8 41d :24-25, Ilum-ma-Ila
Ennam-Sîn s. Ikūn-pîša *en-nam-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *i-ku/-pí-ša, MHET* II/1 10:42, Immerum a	**Aqba-ahum** DUB.SAR s. Manatum *aq-ba-hu-um* DUB.SAR, DUMU *ma-na-ti-im, MHET* II/1 2:25-26, Ilum-ma-Ila
Erra-gāmil s. Abum-ṭābum *èr.ra-ga-mi-il* DUMU A.AB.BA-/*ṭà-* ˹*bu*˺, *MHET* II/1 10:43, Immerum a	**Aškidum** *áš-ki-di-im, MHET* II/5 573:10, undated
Ili-ṣulūli s. Šū-Adad *ì-lí-*AN.DUL$_7$*-lí* DUMU *šu-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 10:41, Immerum a	**Badiya** *ba-di-ia* [...], *MHET* II/5 598:15, undated
Ilšu-nāṣir s. [...] DINGIR-*šu-na-ṣi-ir* [DUMU] ˹x x˺, *MHET* II/1 10:36, Immerum	Ba/ma?-iašari-[...] s. Adnānum BA?/MA?-*ia-ša-ri*-[...], DUMU *ad-na-ni-im, MHET* II/5 571:14-15, undated
Imlik-Sîn s. Būr-Sîn *im-lik-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.[ZU] , *MHET* II/1 4:22, Immerum	**Ešķit-El (Yaškit-El)** s. Kusum (possibly the same man as in *CT* 8 26b and thus perhaps the brother of Lanasumu) *e-eš-ki-it-*DINGIR ˹DUMU *ku*˺*-si-im, MHET* II/1 10:34, Immerum a
Imgur-Sîn	Ili-hiṭanni s. Sumentil

im-gur-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/5 595:19, undated	*ì-lí-hi-ta-an-<ni>* DUMU su.me.en<ti.DINGIR>?, *MHET* II/1 4:24, Immerum
Ipiq-Ištar s. Šū-Kubim *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár,* DUMU *šu-ku-bi-im*, *MHET* II/1 4:31-32, Immerum	Iškur-en.DINGIR ^{d}IŠKUR-EN-DINGIR, *MHET* II/5 595:20, undated
Iškur-hegal s. Iddin-Adad ^{d}IŠKUR-HÉ-GÁL, DUMU *i-din-*^{d}IM *MHET* II/1 2:23-24, Ilum-ma-Ila	**Mutum-El** s. Balānum *mu-tum-me-el*, [DUMU] *ba-la-nu-um, MHET* II/1 1:21-22, Ilum-ma-Ila
Līlum *li-lum* DUMU ˹x˺ [...], *MHET* II/5 598:16, undated	Nurum s. Balānum *nu-ú-ru-um,* DUMU *ba-la-ni-im*, *MHET* II/5 588:18-19, undated
Maratīya d. Šū-Nunu *ma-ra-ti-ia,* DUMU *šu-nu-nu*, *MHET* II/1 1:18-19, Ilum-ma-Ila	Paknānum s. Bit-ša-pahim(?) *pa-ak-na-nu-um*, DUMU é-*ša-pa-hi-im, MHET* II/1 10:39-40, Immerum a
Nabi-Sîn s. Maṣam-[...] *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ma-ṣa-am*-[...], *MHET* II/1 4:23, Immerum	Parsim s. Lawiti *-pa-ar-si-im* , DUMU *la-wi-ti, MHET* II/5 571:12-13, undated *-pa-ar-si-um* DUMU *la-wi-ti*, *MHET* II/1 4:28, Immerum -[*pa*]-˹*ar*˺*-sú* DUMU *la-wi-ti, MHET* II/1 3:22, Ilum-ma-Ila *-pur-si-im*, DUMU *la-wi-ti*, *CT* 8 41d :20-21, Ilum-ma-Ila
Nanna-azida DUB.SAR s. Sîn-muballiṭ -[^{d}ŠEŠ].KI-Á.ZI.DA, ˹DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU˺*-mu-ba-lí-/iṭ, MHET* II/1 3:23-24, Ilum-ma-Ila -[^{d}ŠEŠ].KI-Á.ZI.DA DUB.SAR DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-*˹*ba*˺-[*lí-iṭ*], *MHET* II/1 13:1'-3',Sumu-la-El -^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-Á.ZI./DA DUB.SAR, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*, *MHET* II/5 588:22-23, undated -[^{d}ŠEŠ].KI-Á.˹ZI.DA˺ [DUB.SAR], [DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU]-˹*mu*˺*-ba-lí-*˹*iṭ*˺*, MHET* II/5 589:21-22, undated	Sîn-iddinam s. ˹x˺-iašari ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU ˹x˺*-ia-ša-ri, MHET* II/5 571:16-17, undated
Nemel-Sîn s. Nūr-Ilī *ne-me-el-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *nu-úr-ì-/lí, MHET* II/1 10:35, Immerum	Sîn-išmeni s. **Dādum** ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-ni*, DUMU *da-di-im*, *CT* 8 41d :22-23, Ilum-ma-Ila
Nūratum *nu-ra-ti-im*, *MHET* II/5 595:15, undated	Sîn-malik s. Pahar-šen (Hurrian name) ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik*, DUMU *pa-ha-ar-še-en, MHET* II/1 2:17-18, Ilum-ma-Ila
Nūr-Šamaš s. Nūrum *nu-úr-*[^{d}UTU DUMU] *nu-ri-im, MHET* II/1 10:46, Immerum a	Sîn-šemi s. IZpati ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi* DUMU IZ*-pa-ti, MHET* II/1 10:44, Immerum a
Puzur-ilum s. Salatānum *puzur$_4$*-DINGIR, DUMU *sà-la-ta-nu-um, MHET* II/1 2:21-22, Ilum-ma-Ila	Sumentil s. Harinnum su.me.en.ti.DINGIR, DUMU *ha-ri-nim, MHET* II/1 10:31-32, Immerum a
Puzur-Sîn s. Būr-Sîn *puzur$_4$-*˹^{d}en˺.zu DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU*, MHET* II/1 10:45, Immerum	Šamhum s. Kunānum *ša-am-hu-um,* DUMU *ku-na-nu-um*, *MHET* II/5 588:20-21, undated
Salim s. Bulālu *sa-lim,* DUMU *bu-la-lu* *x x x*, *MHET* II/5 589 :17-18, undated	Watar-Sîn s. Ili-kibri *wa-tar-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *ì-lí-ki-ib-ri, MHET* II/5 574:15-16, undated
Sîn-bāni s. Ilum-tillatum ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni*, DUMU DINGIR-ILLAT, *MHET* II/5 588:16-17, undated	**Yasirkum** s. Hulālum *ia-si-ir-kum,* DUMU *hu-la-lum*, *MHET* II/1 4:29-30, Immerum
Sîn-bēl-ili s. Nuhhubum ^{d}EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí*, DUMU *nu-úh-hu-bi-im, MHET*	Zikūrīya s. Balānum *-zi-kur-ri-*[*ia*], DUMU *ba-la-nu-*˹*um*˺ , *MHET* II/1 1:15-

II/1 10:37-38, Immerum a	16, Ilum-ma-Ila *-zi-kur-ri-ia,* DUMU *ba-la-<ni>-im*, *MHET* II/5 588:14-15, undated *-zi-kur-i*, *MHET* II/5 598:18, undated
Sîn-ēriš ^{d}EN.ZU-*eriš$_4$*, *MHET* II/5 595:14, undated	Adad, *MHET* II/5 595:12, early Šamaš, *MHET* II/5 595:13, early
Sîn-remēni s. Qaqqatum ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU *qá-qá-tim*, *CT* 8 41d :16-17, Ilum-ma-Ila	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Sîn-remēni s. Zimuya ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU *zi-mu-ia*, *MHET* II/5 574 :19-20, undated	
Sîn-remēni NAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni* NAR, *MHET* II/5 595:18, undated	Ubar-Sîn s. x x-[...] *u-bar-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU * x x*-[...], *MHET* II/5 592:24, undated
Ṣīssu-nawirat s. Ennam-Adad *ṣí-is-sú-na-wi-ra-/at*, DUMU *en-nam-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/5 574:17-18, undated	[...]-Ilšu [...]-DINGIR-*šu, MHET* II/5 592:22, undated
Šadum-ilīšu KUR-*ì-lí-šu*, *MHET* II/5 595:17, undated	[...]-Ilšu-ib$^{?}$/ba$^{?}$-ni [...]-DINGIR-*šu-ib$^{?}$/ba$^{?}$-ni, MHET* II/5 592:21, undated
Šāt-inbi *ša-at-in-bi*, *MHET* II/5 595:16, undated	[...]-remēni NAGAR ^{r}d$^{?}$[...]-*re-me-ni* nagar, *MHET* II/1 3:25, Ilum-ma-Ila
Ṭāb-ṣilli-Šamaš s. Ṭāb-Adad *ṭà-ab-*MI-^{d}^{r}UTU$^{?}$, DUMU ^{r}*ṭà*$^{?}$-*ab-*^{d}^{r}iškur$^{?}$$^{?}$, *MHET* II/5 598:19-20, undated	[...]rūt-Ištar [...]-*ru-ut-iš$_8$-tár*, *MHET* II/5 574:21, undated
Ubarrum s. Ubar-Sîn *-u-bar-ru-um*, DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 41d :18-19, Ilum-ma-Ila *-u-bar-ru-um,* DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/5 571 :18-19, undated	

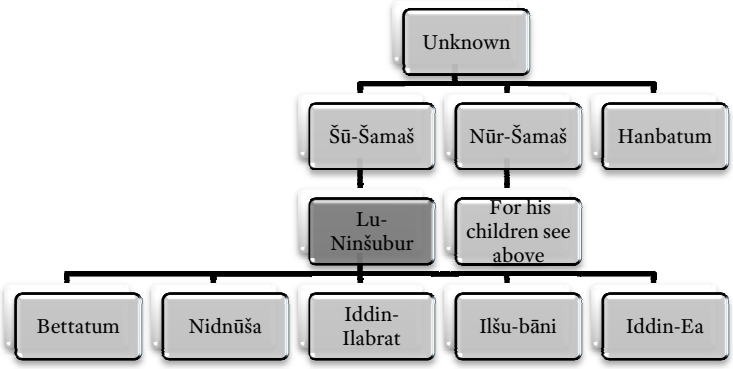
Witnesses in the texts from the time of the children of Nūr-Šamaš

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abum-waqar *a-bu-um-wa-qar*, *MHET* II/5 582:20, undated	Ababānum s. Muhaddum *a-ba-ba-nu-um,* DUMU *mu-ha-da-um MHET* II/1 5:21-22, Immerum
Amurrum-bāni (cloister official) -^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, JCS* 30 p.235 E :29 (=KB IV 10-13), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice. -^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, CT* 48 59:27, Apil-Sîn	**Amurrum** s. Damaqti (=Dammāqtum) *a-mu-ru-um,* DUMU *da-ma-aq-ti, MHET* II/1 5:19-20, Immerum
Ašar-Enlil s. Bēlum *a-ša$^{?}$-ar$^{?}$-*^{d}EN.LÍL$^{?}$ DUMU *be-lum*, *BE* 6/1 9:28, Sumu-la-El and Sabium.	Bēlētum d. I-ṣí$^{?}$-ip-ilum$^{?}$ *be-le-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *i-ṣí$^{?}$-ip$^{?}$-*DINGIR$^{?}$, *CT* 48 59:34, Apil-Sîn
Aššur-iddinam s. Sallum (b. Iddin-Ilabrat) ^{d}*a-šur$_4$-i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/5 582:21, undated	Burriya s. Ya-x-di *bur-ri-i*[*a*], DUMU.MEŠ$^{!}$ *i*[*a-x*]-*di-*[*x*], *JCS* 30 p.235 E :34-35 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice
Awīlum s. Būr-Sîn *-a-wi-lum* x, *CT* 48 30:29, Sumu-la-El *-a-wi-lum* DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 28b :24, Sumu-la-El	Burriya s. **Yabkudum** *bur-ri-ia* DUMU *ia-ab-ku-di-im*, *BE* 6/1 8:34 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice

-a-wi-lu-ma DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *BE* 6/1 8:32 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice	
Aya-šitti d. Būr-Nunu ^{d}*a-a-ši-ti*$^{!}$, *CT* 48 59:28, Apil-Sîn	Kumazi s. Ya-[x]-di-[x] *ku-ma-zi, bur-ri-ia,* DUMU.MEŠ$^{!}$ *i*[*a-x*]-*di*-[*x*], *JCS* 30 p.235 E :33-35 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice
Aya-tallik d. Imgūya? ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik,* DUMU.MUNUS *^{r}*im-gu*$^{\backprime}$*-ia** *MHET* II/1 5:28-29, Immerum	Kunâ d. Ilum-nāṣir *ku-na-a* DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR$^{!}$-*na*$^{!}$-*ṣí*-[*ir*] , *CT* 48 59:29, Apil-Sîn
Aya-tallik d. Nūr-ilīšu ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 48 59:33, Apil-Sîn	Kutītum d. Atanah *ku-ti-tum* (case adds: DUMU.MUNUS *a-ta-na-a*[*h*], *CT* 48 59:39, Apil-Sîn
Aya-tallik ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik, CT* 48 59:38, Apil-Sîn	Narām-ilīšu s. **Adidu** *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* [DUMU] *$^{\forward}$a-di-du*$^{\backprime}$, *BE* 6/1 9:25, Sumu-la-El and Sabium
Bēlētiya d. Puzur-[...] *be-le-ti-ia* (case adds DUMU.MUNUS *puzur*$_{4}$-[...], *CT* 48 59:35, Apil-Sîn	Parsim s. Lawiti *pa-ar-si-im,* DUMU *la-wi-ti MHET* II/1 5:25-26, Immerum
Damiqtum d. Hunabi *da-mi-iq-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *hu-na-bi, CT* 48 59:31-32, Apil-Sîn	Warad-ilīšu s. Bi-su$^{?}$-súm$^{?}$ ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *bi-su* $^{?}$*-súm*$^{?}$, *BE* 6/1 9:30, Sumu-la-El and Sabium
Damu-galzu (a cloister official) ^{d}DA.MU-GAL.ZU, *JCS* 30 p.235 E :28 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice	Zabāya s. Nur-Ištar *za-ba-ia* duimu *nu-úr-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, MHET* II/5 697:23, Apil-Sîn
Enlil-mansum s. Lu-Ninšubur ^{d}EN.LÍL-MA.AN.SUM DUMU *$^{\forward}$*LÚ*$^{\backprime}$*-[^{d}NIN].*$^{\forward}$*ŠUBUR*$^{\backprime}$*.KA, *MHET* II/5 697:19, Apil-Sîn	Zakâ s. Etel-pî-Sîn *za-ka-a* DUMU *e-tel-pí*-30*, CT* 48 59:30, Apil-Sîn
Erišti-Aya d. Imlik-Sîn (cloister official) *e-ri-iš-ti-*^{d}*a-a,* UGULA NÍG *na-di-tum*, *JCS* 30 p.235 E :31-32 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice	Ilabrat, *MHET* II/5 582:19, undated Šamaš, *MHET* II/5 582:18, undated
Etel-pî-Šamaš s. Sîn-bēl-Ilī *e-tel-pi-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30 *-be-lí-ì-lí, BE* 6/1 9:24, Sumu-la-El and Sabium	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Puzur-Šamaš *-i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$*-*^{d}UTU,*CT* 8 28b:27-28,Sumu-la-El *-i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *CT* 48 30:31, Sumu-la-El	
Ibbi-Šamaš *i-bi-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 582:23, undated	Nūr-ilīšu *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu MHET* II/1 5:27, Immerum
Iddin-Šamaš s. Enne-x *i-din-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *en-ne-x*, *JCS* 30 p.235 E:36-37 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice	Nūr-Kabta s. Sin-da[...] *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.TA DUMU 30-*da*-[*x*] , *MHET* II/5 697:16, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-bāni s. Nūr-ilīšu DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* *$^{\forward}$*DUMU *nu*$^{\backprime}$*-ú*[*r-ì-l*]*í-šu*, *BE* 6/1 9:26, Sumu-la-El and Sabium	Nūr-Šamaš *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 582:22, undated
Ilum-nāṣir s. Nūr-Ea -DINGIR-*na-ṣi-ir* DUMU *nu-úr-é-a, CT* 8 28b:26, Sumu-la-El -*$^{\forward}$*DINGIR*$^{\backprime}$*-na-*$^{\forward}$*ṣi-i*[*r*], *CT* 48 30:30, Sumu-la-El	Nūr-Šamaš *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU *$^{\forward}$*x*$^{\backprime}$* x *$^{\forward}$*x*$^{\backprime}$* [...], *MHET* II/1 14:9', Sumu-la-El
Ilum-bāni s. Nanna-mansum DINGIR-*ba-ni,* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM *MHET* II/1 5:23-24, Immerum	Rīš-Šamaš DUB.SAR *ri-iš-*^{d}UTU DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/5 582:24, undated

Imgur-Sîn s. Abum-waqar *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *x* [*x*] DUMU *a-bu-wa*$^{!}$*-qar*, *JCS* 30 p.235 E :38-39 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice	Sîn-abūšu, *rābiṣum* s. Kīnam-Ilī -30-*a-bu-šu, ra-bí-ṣum, CT* 48 30:32-33, Sumu-la-El -^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu ra-bí-ṣum,* DUMU *ki-nam-ì-lí, CT* 8 28b:29-30, Sumu-la-El -^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* DUMU *ki-nam-ì-lí*, *BE* 6/1 8:31 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice
Imgur-Sîn s. Sîn-ēriš *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU , [D]UMU ^{d}EN.ZU *e*$^{!}$*-ri-i*[*š*] , *JCS* 30 p.235 E :40-41 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice.	Sîn-iddinam s. LÚ-[...] ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU LÚ-[...]-x, *BE* 6/1 9:27, Sumu-la-El and Sabium
Inanna-ama.mu DUB.SAR d. Abum-ṭābum (cloister official) ^{d}INANNA-AMA.MU, DUMU.MUNUS A.AB.BA-*ṭà-bu-um*, DUB.SAR, *CT* 48 30:35-37, Sumu-la-El ^{d}INANNA-AMA.MU, DUMU.MUNUS A.AB.BA-*ṭà*$^{!}$*-bu-um* DUB.SAR DI.KUD.MEŠ É ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 28b:31-33, Sumu-la-El	Sîn-iddinam s. [...]-bāni ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU [...]-*ba-ni*, *MHET* II/5 697:24-25, Apil-Sîn
Ipiq-Adad s. Sîn-[...] *i-pí*]*-iq* ˹-^{d}IM˺ DUMU 30-[...] *MHET* II/1 14:6', Sumu-la-El	Sîn-idi s. Ibbi-Sîn -^{d}EN.ZU-*i-di* DUMU *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 28b :24, Sumu-la-El -30-*i-di, CT* 48 30:31, Sumu-la-El
Itūr-Sîn s. Erību-[...] *i-túr-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *e-ri-bu*-[...], *BE* 6/1 8:42-43 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice	Sîn-išmeanni s. Sîn-remēni ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-an-*[*ni*], DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-*[*me-ni*] , *MHET* II/5 697:17-18, Apil-Sîn
Lamassi d. Išme-Adad *la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS *iš-me-*^{d}IM, *CT* 48 59:36, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-nada 30-*na-da, MHET* II/1 14:8', Sumu-la-El
Lamassi LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU d. Nūr-Šamaš *la-ma-sí* ^{MUNUS}LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU, [DUMU].MUNUS *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *BE* 6/1 9:31-32, Sumu-la-El and Sabium	Šamaš-ENGUR.A-niši (cloister official) ^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*n*[*i-š*]*i*, *JCS* 30 p.235 E :29 (=KB IV 10-13)), Sumu-la-El, after the king proclaimed justice
Lipit-Ištar s. Iškur-mansum *li-pí-it-iš*$_{8}$*-tár*, DUMU ^{d}iškur-MA.AN.SUM, *BE* 6/1 8:40-41 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice	Šū-^{d}ša-x-HU s. Burriya *šu-*^{d}*ša** x * HU, DUMU *bu-ri-ia*, *MHET* II/5 697:21-22, Apil-Sîn
Lipit-Ištar SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Šamaš-tappêšu *li-pí-it-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, CT* 48 59:26, Apil-Sîn	Ummatum d. Puzur-[...] *um-ma-tum* (case adds DUMU.MUNUS *puzur*$_{4}$-[...], *CT* 48 59:37, Apil-Sîn
Manium s. Ubar-Su[gallītum] *ma-ni-um* DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}su$^{!}$[.gal] ˹x˺ [...], *MHET* II/5 697:20, Apil-Sîn	Warad-ilīšu DUB.SAR ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 14:12', Sumu-la-El
Munawwirtum d. E-x[...] *mu-na-wi-tum*$^{!}$ ir (case adds: DUMU.MUNUS e-x-[...], *CT* 48 59:40, Apil-Sîn	[...]-nāṣir [...]-*na-ṣir, MHET* II/1 14:7', Sumu-la-El
Nabi-Šamaš s. Enbi-Enlil $^{?}$ *na-bi-*^{d}UTU DUMU *en-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL $^{?}$, *BE* 6/1 9:29, Sumu-la-El and Sabium	[...]-nunu s. Ubar-lulu [...]-*nu-nu* DUMU ˹*u-bar*˺*-lu-lu*, *BE* 6/1 8:35 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice
Nūr-ilīšu s. Ikūn-pîša *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *i-ku-pi*$_{4}$*/-ša*, *BE* 6/1 8:33 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice	[...]-Sîn s. Šamaš-la-šanān [...]-^{d}EN.ZU [DUMU] ^{d}UTU-*la-ša-na-an*, *BE* 6/1 8:36 Sumu-la-El, after he proclaimed justice

4.1.3.3 Lu-Ninšubur, son of Šū-Šamaš



Other people owning property in Lu-Ninšubur's file

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Apil-ˀxˋ *a-pílʔ-*ˀxˋ, *MHET* II/1 40:9, Sabium 5	**Abi-Samas** *i-ta a-bi-sa-ma-as, MHET* II/1 46:3, Sabium 13
Apilīya's sons Sîn-remēni and Šamaš-qarrad ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, ù* ^{d}UTU-*qar-ra-ad* DUMU[.ME *a*]-*píl-ia*, *CT* 8 23a:5-6, Sabium	Bikakim DA É *bi-ka-ki-im, CT* 45 79:7, time of Sabium
Awīlum-ma and his sons Ilšu-bāni, Adad-iddinam and Nabi-ilīšu DINGIR-[*šu*]-*ba-ni,* ^{Id}IM-*i-din-nam, ù na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU.me *a-wi-l*[*um-ma*], *BE* 6/1 13:12-13, Sabium	Garubum s. Šumi-ahhiya *ga-ru-bu-um* DUMU *šu-mi-a-hi-ia, CT* 8 17a:9-10, Sabium
Erībam s. Ibni-Adad *i-ta e-ri-ba-*ˀ*am*ˋ, DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 39:2-3, Sabium	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Erībam's sons Sîn-mušallim and Šamaš-nāṣir ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ša-lim, ù* ^{d}UTU-*na-*ˀ*ṣir*ˋ ŠEŠ.A.NI DUMU.me *e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 38:12-14, Sabium	
Erībam *e-ri-ba*[*-am*], *CT* 4 35a:5, Sabium	Sîn-iddinam s. Warad-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 35a:6-7, Sabium
Hubum s. Iddiya *i-ta hu-bu-um,* DUMU *id-di-ia*, *CT* 8 23a:2-3, Sabium	Sîn-iddinam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *CT* 8 4a:15, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ibni-Adad DA É *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *CT* 45 79:8, time of Sabium	Sîn-iqišam 30-*i-qí-ša-am*, *CT* 8 4b:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iddin-[...] *i-ta i-din*-[...], *CT* 8 4a:14, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-i[...] *i-ta* 30-*i*-[...], *CT* 8 4a:30, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilum-rabi s. Šu-Nunu DINGIR-*ra-bi,* DUMU *šu-nu-nu*, *MHET* II/1 38:3-4, Sabium	Sîn-ublam s. Ada-x-x ^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam* DUMU *a-da-x /* ˀxˋ-[.], *MHET* II/1 40:8, Sabium 5
Ilum-rabi *i-ta* DINGIR-*ra-bi, BE* 6/1 14:4:, Sabium	Šamaš-kinam-ide -^{d}UTU-*ki-nam-i-de, BE* VI/1 14:5, Sabium -^{d}UTU-*ki-nam-i-de*, *MHET* II/1 38:7,Sabium

	-^{d}UTU-*ki-nam-i-d*[*e*] , *CT* 8 4a:13, Sîn-muballiṭ.
Ilum-rabi *i-ta* DINGIR-*ra-ʾbi*ˋ *MHET* II/1 46:4, Sabium 13	Šāt-Aya d. I-ʿx xˋ *ša-at-*^{d}*a.a*, DUMU.MUNUS *i-ʿ...*ˋ*, MHET* II/1 40:14-15,Sabium 5
Ikun-pî-Ea nar *i-ku-un-pi*$_4$*-é-a* NAR, *MHET* II/1 40:7, Sabium 5	Šuhum *šu-hu-um*, *BE* 6/1 14:7, Sabium
Inim-Nanna and his sons Imgur-Nanna and Narām-Sîn *im-gur-*^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *ù na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU.me INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *BE* 6/1 14:8-10, Sabium	Šū-Ninsun *šu-*^{d}NIN.SÚN, *CT* 8 4b:2, 5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sāpiratum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-ennam *ù i-ta sa-pí-ra-tum* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*en-nam* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 23a:4, Sabium	Tarib-Nunu *ta-ri-ib-nu-ʿnuˋ, MHET* II/1 40:5, Sabium 5
Sîn-iddinam s. Warad-Sîn and Hiššatum ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU ÌR-^{d}en.[zu], *ù hi-ša-tum* AMA.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 39:6, Sabium	

Witnesses in the texts of Lu-Ninšubur

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Adad-iddinam ^{d}IM-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/1 39:34, Sabium	**Abdi-Arah** (*rabiān* Sippar) *ab-di-a-ra-ah*, *CT* 8 4a:36, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ahūni s. Mattatum *a-hu-ni* DUMU *ma-ta-tim*, *BE* 6/1 14:28, Sabium	**Adidum** s. Sîn-ennam *a-di-du-um* DUMU 30-*en-nam, MHET* II/1 38:33, Sabium
Akšak-iddinam s. Nūriya úh^{ki}-*i-din-nam* DUMU *nu-úr-ʿia*$^{?}$ˋ , *MHET* II/1 40:32, Sabium 5	**Ahi-asad** DUB.SAR *a-hi-a-sa-ad* DUB.SAR, *CT* 8 4a:51, Sîn-muballiṭ
Amat-Aya LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Awīl-[...] GEME$_2$-^{d}*a.a*^{1} LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *a-wi*-[...], *BE* 6/1 13:29, Sabium	Amkinum *am*$^{?}$*-ki-nu-um*, *CT* 8 4a:40, Sîn-muballiṭ
Amurrum-bāni s. Mušimum ^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni,* DUMU *mu-ši-mi-im*, *CT* 8 23a:32-33, Sabium	Erra-imittī s. Lunahum *èr-ra-i-mi-ti* DUMU *lu*$^{?}$*-na-hu-um, MHET* II/1 38:29, Sabium
Aššur-iddinam s. Sallum (b. Iddin-Ilabrat) *a-šur*$_4$*-i-din-nam ù i-din-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU.ME *sà-lum*, *CT* 8 4a:45-46, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ibni-Enlil s. Maširašaniahšu$^{?}$ *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.LÍL DUMU *ma-ši-ra-ša-ni-ah-šu*, *CT* 4 35a:23-24, Sabium
Awīl-Adad s. Išme-Adad LÚ-^{d}IM DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 38:28, Sabium	Idida s. Ennen-Sîn *i-di-da*, [DUMU] *en-ʿneˋ-en*-30, *BE* 6/1 14:30-31, Sabium
Bēlīya s. Nūr-ilīšu *-be-lí-ia* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, MHET* II/1 38:26, Sabium *-be-lí-ia* DUMU *nú-ur-ì-lí-šu,* , *MHET* II/1 39:23, Sabium *-be-lí-ia* DUMU *nu-úr*-[...], *BE* 6/1 14:22, Sabium. *-be-lí-ia* DUMU *nu-ú*[*r*$^{?}$*-ì-lí-šu*], *CT* 8 17a:14, Sabium	Muanmu s. Nanna-medim *mu-an-mu* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ME.DÍM, *CT* 8 4a:50, Sîn-muballiṭ
Bēlum s. Abiya *be-lum* DUMU *a-bi-ia*, *CT* 8 4a:47, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Mutum-El** s. Hi-i-ru-bi$^{?}$ *mu-tum*-DINGIR DUMU *hi-i-ru-bi*, *CT* 4 35a:27, Sabium
Bulālum s. Puzur-Šamaš *-bu-la-lum* DUMU *puzur*$_4$-^{d}UTU, *BE* 6/1 14:27, Sabium *-bu-la-lum* DUMU *puzur*$_4$-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 46:17,	Narām-ilīšu s. **Adidu** *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *a-di-du-um*, *BE* 6/1 13:35-36, Sabium

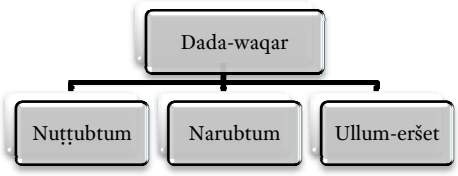
Sabium 13	
Enki-šidu s. Enlil-medu ^{d}EN.KI-ŠI.DU DUMU ^{d}EN.LÍL-ME.DU, *MHET* II/1 46:21, Sabium 13	Nudilum s. Beliya *nu-di*-DINGIR DUMU *be-lí-ia, MHET* II/1 38:31, Sabium
Etellum s. Iddīya *e-te-lum* [DUMU] *i-dí-ia, MHET* II/1 40:34, Sabium 5	**Samāya** s. Nūr-Ištar *-sa-ma-ia* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár, CT* 45 79:37, time of Sabium *-sa-ma-ia* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár, CT* 8 4b:17, Sîn-muballiṭ. *-sa-ma-ia* DUMU ˹*nu*˺*-úr-iš$_8$-tár, MHET* II/1 95:21, Sîn-muballiṭ
Etel-pî-Sîn s. Šū-Šamaš *e-tel-pi$_4$*-30, DUMU *šu-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 35a:33-34, Sabium	Sîn-bēl-ili s. **Adidum** 30-*be-el-ì-lí* DUMU *a-di-du-um, CT* 8 23a:20, Sabium
Etel-Šamaš s. Sîn-bēl-ili *-e-tel-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30-*be-el-ì-lí, MHET* II/1 39:22, Sabium *-e-tel-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30-*be-el-ì-lí, CT* 8 23a:22, Sabium	Sîn-erībam s. Kusānum ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* ˹DUMU˺ *ku-sa-nim, MHET* II/1 39:26, Sabium
Hunnubum s. Sîn-remēni *hu-nu-*˹*bu*˺*-um* DUMU 30-*re-me-*˹*ni*˺, *MHET* II/1 39:29, Sabium	Sulagum s. Munawwirum *sú-la-gu-um* DUMU *mu-na-wi-ru-um, MHET* II/1 40:30, Sabium 5
Iballuṭ s. Nabi-Sîn *-i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 38:32, Sabium *-i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 39:28, Sabium *-i-ba-lu-uṭ,* DUMU *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 35a:25-26, Sabium	Šamaš-nāṣir s. Saniku/ba -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *sa-ni-ku/ba, BE* 6/1 14:29, Sabium. -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *sa-ni-ku/ba, MHET* II/1 38:30, Sabium
Iballuṭ s. Sîn-iddinam *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, MHET* II/1 40:29, Sabium 5	Ubarrum s. Sikili *u-bar-ru-um* DUMU *si-ki-li*-x[...], *CT* 8 23a:25, Sabium
Iballuṭ s. Utu-hegal *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU ^{d}UTU-HÉ.GÁL, *MHET* II/1 39:36, Sabium	**Yaqbe-El** s. Nūr-Adad *aq-be*-DINGIR DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 39:27, Sabium
Ibbi-Ilabrat s. [...] *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR DUMU [...], *BE* 6/1 13:32, Sabium	**Yarbi-El** *ia-ar-bi*-DINGIR, *BE* 6/1 13:37, Sabium
Ibbi-Šamaš s. Šū-Ninsun *i-bi-*^{d}UTU DUMU *šu-*^{d}NIN.SÚN, *CT* 8 4a:48, Sîn-muballiṭ	Zabāya s. Ga/bisalum *za-ba-ia* DUMU *ga?/bi?-sa-lum, MHET* II/1 39:25, Sabium
Ibni-Enlil *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.LÍL, *MHET* II/1 39:35, Sabium	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ibni-Sin s. Maninum *-ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ma-ni-num, BE* 6/1 14:7, Sabium. *-ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ma-an-ni-num, CT* 8 17a:20-21, Sabium 13 *-ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU ˹*ma-na*˺*-nim, MHET* II/1 46:16, Sabium 13	
Iddin-Adad s. Puzur-Hali(um) *i-din-*^{d}IM DUMU *puzur$_4$-ha-lí, CT* 8 23a:21, Sabium	Riš-Šamaš SANGA Annunitum *ri-iš-*^{d}UTU SANGA *an-nu-ni-tum, CT* 45 79:40, time of Sabium
Iddin-Ilabrat s. Lu-Ninšubur *i-din-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR DUMU LÚ-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR.KA, *MHET* II/1 40:28, Sabium 5	Sālilum s. Sîn-bēl-ili *sa-li*-DINGIR DUMU 30-x[...],*CT* 8 17a:17, Sabium *sà-li-lum* DUMU 30-*be-el*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 46:18, Sabium 13
Iddin-Sîn DUB.SAR *-i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 40:38, Sabium 5.	Sîn-abūšu s. Išme-Sîn -30-*a-bu*-[...] DUMU *iš-me*-30, *CT* 45 79:35, time of Sabium

-*i-din*-^{d}EN.ZU DUB.SAR, *BE* 6/1 13:341, Sabium	-^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* DUMU *iš-me*-[...], *CT* 8 4a:39, Sîn-muballiṭ -30-*a-bu-šu* DUMU *iš-me*-30, *CT* 8 4b:16, Sîn-muballiṭ. -^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* DUMU * x *-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 95:16, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iddin-Šamaš s. Buṣatum *i-din*-^{d}UTU DUMU *bu-ṣa-tum*, *MHET* II/1 95:18, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-erībam s. Išme-x[...] 30-*e-ri-<ba>-am* DUMU *iš-me-/x*[...], *CT* 4 35a:28, Sabium
Iddīya DUB.SAR *i-dí-ia* DUB.SAR, *BE* 6/1 14:32, Sabium	Sîn-erībam s. Nanna-amah (b. Lipit-Sin) *li-pí-it*-30 *ù* 30-*e-r*[*i-ba-am*$^{?}$], DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-Á.MAH, *CT* 8 4a:41-42, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ikūn-pi-Ea *x *mi** ˹*i-ku* ˺*-un-pi*$_{4}$*-é-a*, *MHET* II/1 40:31, Sabium 5.	Sîn-erībam s. Šū-Šamaš ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* /DUMU *šu*-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 39:31, Sabium
Ilabrat-bāni s. Būr-Nunu (cloister official, overseer of the *nadītum*'s) ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni*, *BE* 6/1 13:39, Sabium	Sîn-gāmil s. Sîn-imitti ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mi-il*, DUMU 30-*i-mi-ti*, *MHET* II/1 40:35-36, Sabium 5
Ilān-dinā s. Sîn-šēmi (brother of Ubar-Šamaš) *i-la-an-di-na* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi*, *MHET* II/1 38:25, Sabium	Sîn-iddinam s. Akkadum 30-*i-din-nam* DUMU *a-ka-di-im*, *CT* 8 4b:20, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-hiṭanni s. Ili-abi *ì-lí-hi-ṭá-an-ni* DUMU *ì-lí-a-bi*, *CT* 8 4b:23, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-iddinam s. Išme-Sîn 30-*i-din-nam* DUMU *iš-me*-30, *CT* 8 23a:18, Sabium
Ili-iddinam s. Ipiq-Ištar (b. Nūr-Šamaš) *ì-lí-i-din-nam*, DUMU *i-pí-iq-iš*$_{8}$*-tár*, *CT* 8 23a:28-29, Sabium	Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-iqīšam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-*˹*ša-am* ˺, *MHET* II/1 95:22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilšu-abūšu s. Bulālum DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu* DUMU *bu-la-lum*, *MHET* II/1 95:25, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-iqīšam UGULA DAM.GAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am* UGULA DAM.GAR, *CT* 8 4a:38, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilšu-bāni s. Šamaš-tillassu DINGIR-*šu*$^{!}$*-ba-ni* DUMU ^{d}UTU-ILLAT-*su*, *CT* 8 4a:49, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-mušallim s. Erībam 30-*mu-ša-lim*, DUMU *e-ri-ba-am*, *CT* 4 35a:32-33, Sabium
Ilšu-tillassu s. Puzur-Šamaš (b. Ilšu-bāni, Daksatum and Nabi-ilīšu) DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su* DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 46 :19, Sabium 13	Sîn-pi-[...] NI s. Sin-rabi ^{d}EN.ZU-˹*pi*$_{4}$ ˺-[...] NI DUMU 30-GAL, *MHET* II/1 40:33, Sabium 5
Imgur-Sîn s. Ilšu-abūšu *im-gur*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu*, *CT* 8 17a:22-23, Sabium	Sîn-puṭram s. Warad-ilīšu (brother Ilšu-bāni) -30-*pu-uṭ-ra-am*, DUMU ÌR-*ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 8 23a:26-27, Sabium -30-*pu-uṭ-ra-am* igi DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, DUMU.MEŠ ÌR-*ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 8 23c:17-18, Sabium
Inim-Utu s. Sîn-ennam INIM-^{d}UTU DUMU 30-*en-nam*, *BE* 6/1 14:26, Sabium	Sîn-remēni s. Sîn-abūšu 30-*re-me-n*[*i*], DUMU 30-*a-bu-šu*, *CT* 4 35a:32, Sabium
Ipiq-Adad s. Dāmiqum *i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM DUMU *da-mi-qum*, *BE* 6/1 14:24, Sabium	Sîn-šeme s. Puzur-Šamaš 30-*še-me* DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$-^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 4a:43, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipiq-Nunu s. Sîn-bāni *i-pí-iq-nu-nu* DUMU 30-*ba-ni*, *CT* 8 23a:24, Sabium	Sîn-tillatum s. Sîn-imitti 30-ILLAT DUMU 30-*i-mi-ti*, *CT* 8 23a:19, Sabium
Lipit-Sîn s. Nanna-amah (b. Sîn-erībam) *li-pí-it*-30 *ù* 30-*e-r*[*i-ba-am*$^{?}$], DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-Á.MAH, *CT* 8 4a:41-42, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sīyatum s. Narām-Adad *sí-ia-tum* DUMU *na-ra-am*-^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 95:19, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lu-Nanna LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *BE* 6/1 13:42, Sabium	Ṣilli-Ištar s. Ahūni -*ṣíl-lí-iš*$_{8}$*-tár* DUMU *a-hu-ni*, *CT* 45 79:36, time of Sabium

	-ṣíl-lí-iš$_8$-tár DUMU *a-hu-ni*, *CT* 8 4b:18, Sîn-muballiṭ. *-ṣíl-lí-iš$_8$-tár* DUMU *a-hu-ni*, *MHET* II/1 95:16, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-ilīšu s. Ahūni *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *a-hu-ni*, *CT* 8 23a:23, Sabium	Šamaš-abum s. Puzur-Enlil ^{d}UTU-*a-bu-um* DUMU *puzur$_4$*-^{d}EN.LÍL, *CT* 8 4b:19, Sîn-muballiṭ.
Nabi-ilīšu s. Erībam *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *e-ri-ba-am, CT* 8 4b:24, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-kinam-ide s. x x[...] ^{d}UTU-*ki-nam-i-de* DUMU x x [...], *BE* 6/1 14:23, Sabium
Nabi-ilīšu s. Utu-mansum *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM, *BE* 6/1 13:40, Sabium	Šamaš-nāṣir s. Kīnam-ilī ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir,* DUMU *ki-nam-ì-lí*, *CT* 8 23a:30-31, Sabium
Nanna-kiag s. Arik-idi-Enlil -^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG DUMU *a-ri-ik-i-di*-[^{d}EN.LÍL], *CT* 8 17a:18-19, Sabium. -^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI-ÁG, DUMU *a-ri-ik-i-di*-^{d}EN.LÍL, *CT* 8 23a:34-35, Sabium and Sippar -^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG, *MHET* II/1 39:37, Sabium	Šamaš-rabi s. Nūr-Šamaš ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU *nu-úr*-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 46:20, Sabium 13
Nanna-mansum s. Sîn-šēmi ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi*, *MHET* II/1 39:32-33, Sabium	Šamaš-rabi s. Ur-dukuga ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU UR-DU$_6$.KÙ.GA, *CT* 45 79:39, time of Sabium
Nidnūša s. Ipiq-Nunu (b. Šū-pîša) *-ni-id-nu-ša* DUMU SIG-*nu-nu*, *CT* 45 79:42, Sabium *-šu-pí-ša ni-id-nu-ša,* DUMU.ME SIG-*nu-nu*, *CT* 8 4b:21-22, Sîn-muballiṭ *-šu-pí-ša ù ni-id-nu-ša,* DUMU.MEŠ *i-pí-iq-nu-nu*, *MHET* II/1 95:23-24, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-tappêšu s. Nanna-mansum ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.S[UM] , *CT* 8 4a:37, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nidnūša s. Nūr-Ištar *ni-id-nu-ša,* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár*, *CT* 4 35a:29-30, Sabium	Šamšatum s. Nanna-medu ^{d}UTU-*ša-tum* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ME.DU, *MHET* II/1 95:20, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nigga-Nanna s. Inim-Nanna -NÍG.GA-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *MHET* II/1 38:27, Sabium -NÍG.GA-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *MHET* II/1 39:24, Sabium	Šāt-Kabta *ša-at*-[^{d}]KAB.TA AMA ?, *BE* 6/1 13:30, Sabium
Nunu-ēreš s. Ahu-ṭābum *nu-nu*-APIN DUMU *a-hu-ṭà-bu-um*, *MHET* II/1 40:27, Sabium 5	Šū-pîša s. Ipiq-Nunu *-šu-pí-ša ni-id-nu-ša,* DUMU.ME SIG-*nu-nu*, *CT* 8 4b:21-22, Sîn-muballiṭ *-šu-pí-ša ù ni-id-nu-ša*, DUMU.MEŠ *i-pí-iq-nu-nu*, *MHET* II/1 95:23-24, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nūratum *nu-ra-tum* DUMU x[...], *CT* 8 4a:36, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ubar-Ninurta DUB.SAR (s. Šamāya$^{?}$) *u-bar*-^{d}NIN.URTA (last witness: DUB.SAR?) , *MHET* II/1 38:34, Sabium
Nūrīya s. Mannum-kī-Sîn (f. Ili-iddinam) *-nu-ri-ia,* DUMU *ma-nu-um-ki*-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 17a:15-16, Sabium. *-nu-úr-ia* DUMU *ma-nu-u*[*m-ki*]/^{d}EN.ZU, *BE* 6/1 13:34, Sabium	Utu-mansum s. Inim-Utu ^{d}UTU-[MA.AN].SUM DUMU INIM-^{d}UTU, *CT* 45 79:34, time of Sabium
Nūr-Kabta s. Sîn-itê *nu-úr*-^{d}KAB.TA DUMU 30-*i*$^{!}$-*te*, *CT* 8 4a:44, Sîn-muballiṭ	Utu-mansum ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM, *BE* 6/1 13:38, Sabium
Nūr-Šamaš *nu-úr*-^{d}UTU DUMU x[...], *BE* 6/1 13:33, Sabium	Utu-šumundib s. Enlil-me-ab-x? ^{d}UTU-<ŠU>.MU.UN.DIB DUMU ^{d}EN.LÍL-ME-AB-x, *CT* 45 79:38, time of Sabium

Nuṭṭubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU *nu-tu-ub-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU ki?[...] , *CT* 45 79:41, time of Sabium	[...]tīya LUKUR ^{d}UTU [...]-ʿxʾ-*ti-ia* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 40:39, Sabium 5
Puzur-Ninkarrak s. Erībūnišu *-puzur$_4$-*^{d}NIN.KAR.RA.AK, DUMU *e-ri-bu-ni, MHET* II/1 38:23-24, Sabium *-puzur$_4$-*^{d}NIN.KAR.RA.AK, *MHET* II/1 39:30, Sabium	
Rabi-ṣillāšu s. Sin-[...] *ra-bi-ṣíl-la-šu* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-ʿx xʾ, *MHET* II/1 95:26, Sîn-muballiṭ	

4.1.3.4 Dada-waqar's daughters



Other people owning property the file of the daughters of Dada-waqar

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Apil-Kubi s. Šarrānum *a-pil-ku-bi,* DUMU *šar-ra-nim, CT* 45 10:2, Apil-Sîn	Ilī-ublam s. Dadanum DA *ì-lí-ub-lam,* DUMU *da-da-nu-um, MHET* II/1 6:3-4, Immerum
Gamil-Sîn s. Šarrānum *i-ta ga-mil-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *šar-ra-nim, CT* 2 3 :2, Sabium 13	Ilum-bāni s. Upa ʿDINGIRʾ*-ba-ni,* DUMU *ú-pa-a, MHET* II/1 6:17, Immerum
Iballuṭ s. Nūr-Šamaš *i-ba-lu-uṭ,* DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 31c:6-7, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Šamaš s. Suhāya DA *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU *sú-ha-ia, MHET* II/1 6:2, Immerum
Iddin-Sîn s. Sîn-šeme *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me, BDHP* 67:3, Apil-Sîn	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ilum-bāni s. Nanna-mansum DINGIR-*ba-ni,* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *MHET* II/1 6:19-20, Immerum	
Manium s. Ubar-Sugallītum *-ma-ni-um* DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}*su-g*[*a-li-tum*] , *CT* 2 3:5, Sabium 13 *-ma-ni-um,* DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}*su-gal, CT* 45 10:3, Apil-Sîn *-u-bar-ri-ia, ù ma-ni-um* DUMU.A.NI, *CT* 8 31c:4-5, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-abūšu s. Maṣiam-ili DA ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu,* DUMU *ma-ṣi-am-ì-lí, MHET* II/1 6:9-10, Immerum
Muhadditum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Nūr-Šamaš *mu-ha-di-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.<MUNUS> *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 45 10:5, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-remēni DA ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, CT* 8 31c:2, Apil-Sîn
Pilah-Sîn s. Narām-Ea *ù* DA *pí-la-ah-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *na-ra-am-é-a, MHET*	

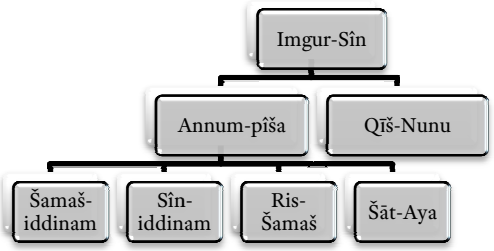
II/1 6:9-10, Immerum	

Witnesses in the file of the daughters of Dada-waqar

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Adad-remēni s. Damu-galzu (rá.gaba, cloister official) -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 2 3:24, Sabium 13 -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 45 10:17, Apil-Sîn	Bulālum (cloister official, son of Akum) *bu-la-lum, CT* 2 3:25, Sabium 13
Amat-Šamaš d. Mannu-šāninšu GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.<MUNUS> *ma-nu-ša-nin-šu, CT* 2 3:33, Sabium 13	**Habdi-Erah** s. Hummuṣum *ha-ab-di-ra-ah,* DUMU *hu-um-mu/-ṣú-um, MHET* II/1 6:36-37, Immerum
Amur-iluma s. Aqbû *a-mur-i-lu-ma,* DUMU *aq-bu-ú CT* 8 31c:26-27, Apil-Sîn	Idādum ì.du$_8$ (cloister official, son of Pala-Sîn) *-i-da-du-um* ì.DU$_8$, *CT* 2 3:23, Sabium 13 *-i-da-du-um, CT* 45 10:18, Apil-Sîn
Aya-šitti d. Būr-Nunu (cloister official) ^{d}*a-a-ši-it-ti, CT* 2 3:30, Sabium 13	Munānum s. Dadinum *mu-na-nu-um* DUMU *da-di-nu-um, CT* 2 3:26, Sabium 13
Bēlšunu s. Nabi-ilīšu *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, CT* 2 3:28, Sabium 13	Sîn-remēni s. **Dādum** ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU *da-du-um, MHET* II/1 6 :32-33, Immerum
Būr-Adad *bur-*^{d}IM*, MHET* II/1 6:46, Immerum	Šara-zida s. **Dādum** ^{d}ŠARA-ZI.DA DUMU *da/-di-im, MHET* II/1 6:45, Immerum
Gemēya s. Sîn-rem[ēni] *ge-me-ia* DUMU 30-*re-m*[*e-ni*] *, CT* 2 3:34, Sabium 13	Zaga-Amurrum *za-ga-*^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 8 31c:22, Apil-Sîn
Huzulum d. Ubar-Sug[allītum] *hu-zu-lum* DUMU.MUNUS *u-bar-*^{d}*su-g*[*a-li-tum*] *, CT* 2 3:32, Sabium 13	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Iballuṭ s. Ipquša *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU *ip-qú-ša, CT* 45 10:25, Apil-Sîn	
Iballuṭ *i-ba-lu-uṭ, CT* 45 10:19, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Sîn s. Ibbi-^{d}[...] *nu-úr*-30 DUMU *i-bi-*^{d}[...], *CT* 45 10:23, Apil-Sîn
Ibni-Sîn s. Awīl-Sîn *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU LÚ-^{d}EN.ZU*, CT* 2 3:29, Sabium 13	Rubatum d. Išme-Ea *ru-ba-tm* DUMU.<MUNUS> *iš-me-é-a, CT* 2 3:31, Sabium 13
Ilabrat-bāni s. Bur-Nunu (cloister official, overseer of the *nadītum*'s) -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni* UGULA LUKUR *, CT* 2 3:22, Sabium 13 -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni , CT* 45 10:24, Apil-Sîn	Sig-Nanna SIG-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *CT* 8 31c:28, Apil-Sîn
Ilum-bāni DINGIR-*ba-ni, MHET* II/1 6:47, Immerum	Sîn-abi DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bi* DUB.SAR*, CT* 45 10:22, Apil-Sîn
Išar-Šamaš SANGA ^{d}UTU (second SANGA ^{d}UTU) *i-šar-*^{d}UTU*, CT* 2 3:21, Sabium 13	Sîn-gamil s. Amur-Beli ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil,* DUMU *a-mur-be-lí CT* 8 31c:20-21, Apil-Sîn
Išme-Adad s. Elali-waqar *iš-me-*^{d}IM, DUMU *e-la-li-wa-qar, MHET* II/1 6:34-35, Immerum	Sîn-iqīšam s. Māgirum ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am*, DUMU *ma-gi-ru-um, BDHP* 67 :17'-18', Apil-Sîn
Lipit-Ištar s. Šalim-palih-Šamaš *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár,* DUMU *ša-lim-pa-li-ih-*^{d}UTU*, CT* 45 10:21, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-išmeanni s. Sîn-remēni ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, BDHP* 67 :15', Apil-Sîn

Lipit-Ištar SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Šamaš-tappêšu *-li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár, CT* 2 34:19, Sumu-la-El *-li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár , CT* 45 10:15, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-rabi ^{d}EN.ZU-*ra-bi CT* 8 31c:25, Apil-Sîn
Manium s. Ubar-Su[gallītum] *ma-ni-um,* DUMU *u-bar-^{d}su.gal, CT* 45 10:20, Apil-Sîn	Sîyatum s. Bur-Adad ^{d}EN.ZU-*ia-tum* DUMU *bur-^{d}*IM*, BDHP* 67 :16', Apil-Sîn
Mattani d. Abum-waqar *ma-ta-ni* DUMU.MUNUS *a-bu-um-wa-qar, CT* 2 3:35-36, Sabium 13	Ṣīssu-nawirat *ṣí-sí-na-wi-ra-at, MHET* II/1 6:39, Immerum
Merānum s. Ilī-turam *me-ra-nu-um,* DUMU *ì-lí-tu-ra-am, MHET* II/1 6:43-44, Immerum	Šamaš-ilum s. Būr-Nunu ^{d}UTU-DINGIR, DUMU *bur-nu-nu CT* 8 31c:23-24, Apil-Sîn
Nabi-Šamaš s. Abum-waqar *na-bi-^{d}*UTU DUMU *a-bu-um-wa-qar, BDHP* 67 :13', Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-kima-Ilīya ^{d}UTU-*ki-ma-ì-lí-ia CT* 8 31c:29, Apil-Sîn
Nanna-gugal ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-gú.gal [...], *MHET* II/1 6:38, Immerum	Šamaš-nāṣir ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir, CT* 45 10:22, Apil-Sîn
Nanna-hegal ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-hé.⸢gál⸣, *MHET* II/1 6:48, Immerum	Ša/umuh-Sîn second SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Nūr-Sîn *ša-mu-uh-^{d}*EN.ZU*, CT* 45 10:16, Apil-Sîn
Nanna-mansum s. Šamaš-tappêšu ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUMU ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu, CT* 8 31c:16-17, Apil-Sîn	Waqartum d. Šalim-palih-Šamaš *wa-qar-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ša-lim-pa-lih-^{d}*UTU*, CT* 2 3:37-38, Sabium 13
Nanna-sagkal ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-SAG.KAL*, BDHP* 67 :19', Apil-Sîn	Warad-Šamaš ÌR-^{d}UTU*, CT* 2 3:25, Sabium 13
Narām-ilīšu s. Urra-bāni *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *úr-ra-ba-ni, BDHP* 67 :14', Apil-Sîn	[...]-iqīšam [...]-*i-qí-ša-am, BDHP* 67 :20', Apil-Sîn
Nūr-Adad s. Baṣīya *nu-úr-^{d}*IM DUMU *ba-zi-ia, CT* 2 3:27, Sabium 13	

4.1.3.5 Imgur-Sîn's sons Annum-pîša and Qīš-Nunu



Other people owning property in the file of Imgur-Sîn's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Amurrum-bāni *ù i-ta* É ^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, MHET* II/1 57:3, Apil-Sîn	**Iṣi-qatar** *i-ta* É *i-ṣí-*[*qá*]-⸢*tar*⸣, *MHET* II/1 57:2, Apil-Sîn
Damiqti *ù i-ta d*[*a-m*]*i-iq-ti*$^{?}$, *TIM* 7 32:4, undated	**Yabišum** s. Beliya *ia-bi-šum* DUMU *be-lí-ia, CT* 2 16 :5, Sabium
Iddin-Sîn	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)

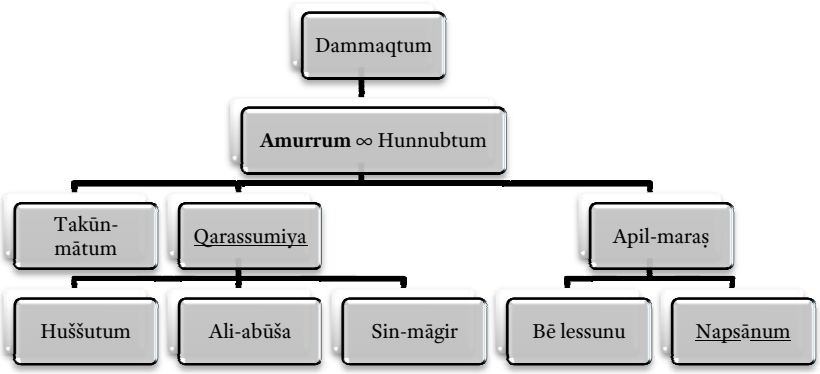
i-[*t*]*a i-d*[*in*]-^{d}E[N.ZU] , *TIM* 7 32:3, undated	
Iliš-nadi *i-ta ì-lí-iš-na-di, CT* 2 16 :2, Sabium	
Ilšu-bāni DINGIR-*šu-ba-*[*ni*]*, TIM* 7 32:5, undated	Sîn-šeme *ù i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me, BE* VI/1 12:3, Sabium
Ina-qati-Šamaš s. Nabi-Sîn *i-na-qá-ti-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 57:8-9, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-ennam *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}UTU-*en-nam, BE* VI/1 12:5, Sabium
Ipqūša s. Etēya *ù i-ta ip-qú-ša* DUMU *e-te*^{i}*-ia, CT* 2 16 :3, Sabium	[...]-Ilabrat [...^{d}]NIN.ŠUBUR, *BE* VI/1 4:5, Immerum
Nanna-mansum s. Sîn-šeme -[^{d}ŠEŠ.KI]-MA.AN.SUM DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mé, BE* VI/1 4:6,Immerum -^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUMU 30-*še-me, BE* VI/1 12:4, Sabium	[...]x-iddinam s. Ahūni [...]-x-*i-din-nam* DUMU *a-hu-ni, BE* VI/1 4:2, Immerum
Rubatum LUKUR <^{d}UTU> *ru-ba-tum* LUKUR <^{d}UTU>, *BE* VI/1 4:7, Immerum	

Witnesses in the file of Imgur-Sîn:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abu-waqar s. Iddin-Akšak *a-bu-wa-qar* DUMU *i-din-*ÚH^{KI}*, CT* 2 16 :19-20, Sabium	Bēlšunu s. **Ahi-šakim** *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *a-hi-ša-ki-im*, *MHET* II/1 57:20, Apil-Sîn
Adad-rabi s. Lībur-Beli ^{d}IM-*ra-bi* DUMU *li-bur-be-*[*lí*] , *MHET* II/1 57:25, Apil-Sîn	Bulālum (cloister official, son of Akum) [*b*]*u-la-lum*, *TCL* 1 66/67:15, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ahulap-Sîn s. Išme-Sîn *a-hu-la-ap-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *iš-me-*30*, BE* 6/1 4:18, Immerum	**Haliyatum** *ha-li-ia-tum*, *TCL* 1 66/67:30, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ahūni s. Etel-Ištaran *a-hu-ni* DUMU *e-tel-*^{d}KA.DI*, BE* 6/1 4:25, Immerum	Idida s. Ennen-Sîn *i-di-da* DUMU *en-ne-en-*^{d}EN.ZU, *BE* 6/1 4:21, Immerum
Aya-tallik ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik*, *TCL* 1 66:27, Sîn-muballiṭ	Narubtum d. Nādidum *na-ru-ub-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *na-di-du-um*, *TCL* 1 66/67:26, Sîn-muballiṭ
Bēltani *be-el-ta-ni*, *TCL* 1 66:30, Sîn-muballiṭ	Akkadian and Sumerian names (contineud)
Elali s. Sîn-ublam *e-la-lí* DUMU 30-*ub-lam, CT* 2 16 :18, Sabium	
Huššutum d. Nannatum *hu-šu-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*tum TCL* 1 68:21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-emūqi 30-*e-mu-qí, CT* 2 16 :25, Sabium
Huššutum *hu-šu-tum*, *TCL* 1 66:25, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-erībam s. Inim-Enlil 30-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU INIM-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ*, CT* 2 16 :27-28, Sabium
Iddīya s. Lu-INANNA *i-dí-ia* DUMU LÚ-^{d}INANNA, *MHET* II/1 57:21, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iddinam s. Išme-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU *iš-me-*30, *MHET* II/1 57:2, Apil-Sîn
Iddīya DUB.SAR [*i-d*]*í-ia* DUB.SAR*, BE* 6/1 12:22, Sabium	Ša-ilīšu *ša-ì-lí-šu, CT* 2 16 :29, Sabium
Ikūn-pîša s. Lu-Nanna *i-ku-pi*$_{4}$*-ša* DUMU LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI*, BE* 6/1 4:22, Immerum	Šalim-palih-Šamaš (actually: Šalim-palih-Marduk), s. Sîn-gamil (second SANGA) *ša-lim-pa-li-<ih-*^{d}UTU>, *TCL* 1 68:17, Sîn-muballiṭ

Ikūn-pîša s. Mannum-šaninšu *i-ku-pi$_4$-ša,* DUMU *ma-nu-um-ša-ni-in-šu, BE* 6/1 4:23-24, Immerum	Šamaš-tappêšu s. Sîn-iddinam ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam, CT* 2 16 :21-22, Sabium
Ilšu-ibbīšu DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu*, *TCL* 1 66:28, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-tappêšu ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-[*šu*] , *TCL* 1 66:19, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilum-nāṣir DINGIR-*na-ṣir, CT* 2 16 :26, Sabium	Šamaš-tayar ^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar*, *TCL* 1 68:19, Sîn-muballiṭ
Imgur-Sîn s. Sîn-abūšu *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU 30-*a-bu-šu, CT* 2 16 :23-24, Sabium	Šāt-Aya *ša-at-*^{d}*a-a*, *TCL* 1 66:23, Sîn-muballiṭ
Itūr-kinum s. Iddin-Sîn *i-túr-ki-nu-um* DUMU *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 2 16 :17, Sabium	Takūn-mātum (probably the daughter of Amurrum) *ta-kum-ma-tum*, *TCL* 1 66:120, Sîn-muballiṭ
Kalumum (s. Adad-remēni, cloister official) *ka-lu-mu-*[*um*], *TCL* 1 66/67:18, Sîn-muballiṭ	Tappum s. Narām-Sîn *tap-pu-um* DUMU *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *BE* 6/1 4:17, Immerum
Līburram s. Hunnubum (cloister official) *-li-bu-ra-a*[*m*] , *TCL* 1 66:17, Sîn-muballiṭ *-li-bu-ra, TCL* 1 68:20, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ubar-Ninurta DUB.SAR (s. Šamaya?) *-u-bar-*^{d}NIN.URTA DUB.SAR, *BE* 6/1 4:26, Immerum *-u-bar-*^{d}NIN.URTA, *CT* 2 16 :30, Sabium
Mattatum *ma-ta-tum*, *TCL* 1 66/67:21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ubar-Šamaš *u-bar-*^{d}UTU, *TCL* 1 66:29, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-ilīšu s. Ahūni *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *a-hu-ni, BE* 6/1 4:20, Immerum	Waqartum d. Sîn-iqīšam *wa-qar-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS 30-*i-qí-ša-<am>*, *TCL* 1 68:27-28, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-ilīšu s. Narām-Sîn *na-bi-ì-lí-šu*, DUMU *na-ra-am*-30, *MHET* II/1 57:23, Apil-Sîn	Warad-Sîn SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Lipit-Ištar ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *TCL* 1 68:16, Sîn-muballiṭ
Narāmtum d. Šamaš-tillassu *na-ra-am-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-ILLAT-*su*, *TCL* 1 68:25-26, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warassa s. ˹x˺ [...] ÌR-*sà* DUMU ˹x˺ [...], *MHET* II/1 57:26, Apil-Sîn
Narubtum d. Nabi-Sîn *na-ru-ub-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *na-bi*-30, *TCL* 1 68:23-24, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...]bam s. Šū-Šamaš [...]-*ba-am* DUMU *šu-*^{d}UTU, *BE* 6/1 12:20, Sabium
Narubtum *na-ru-ub-tum*, *TCL* 1 66:22, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...] s. Sîn-bēl-ili [...] DUMU 30-*be-el-ì-lí, BE* 6/1 12:21, Sabium
Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, *TCL* 1 66:14, Sîn-muballiṭ -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, *TCL* 1 68:18, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...]x-tayar [...]x-*ta-ia-ar*, *TCL* 1 66:16, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nūr-Šamaš s. Sîn-nāṣir *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30-*na-ṣir, BE* 6/1 4:16, Immerum	

4.1.3.6 Dammāqtum's descendants



Other people owning property in the file of Dammāqtum's descendants

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Arwītum d. Ili-bāni *-ù i-ta ar-wi-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ì-li-ba-ni*, *CT* 45 11 :8-9, Apil-Sîn 12 *-i-ta ar-wi-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ba-ni*, *CT* 6 43 :3-4, Apil-Sîn	Ahlulā'um s. **Iṣi-banum** *ah-lu-la-um* DUMU *i-ṣí-ba-ni-im, CT* 8 38b:4, Ilum-ma-Ila
Hāliqum s. Arwium *ha-li-qum* DUMU *ar-wu-um, CT* 4 50a:5, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Mattatum d. **Iṣi-dare** *ma-ta-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *i-ṣí-da-re-e*, *CT* 2 50:21, Sabium 12
Níg-UTU d. Ur-Lisina *i-ta* NÍG-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ur-^{d}li.si$_{4}$.na, *CT* 45 11 :6-7, Apil-Sîn 12	Asalīya's children Mayatum and **Sumu-Erah** *-ma-ia-tum ù su-mu-ra-ah,* DUMU.me *a-sa-li-ia*, *CT* 2 50:21, Sabium 12 *-ma-ia-tum, ù su-mu-ra-ah, CT* 4 36b :14-15, Sabium *-su-mu-ra-ah, BDHP* 64:6, time of Apil-Sîn/Sabium
Nūr-Šamaš DA *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 26b:3, Sabium	Kanikrum s. Arwium (b. Haliqum) ÚS.SA.DU *ka-ni-ik-ru-um,* šeš.a.ni, *CT* 4 50a:2-3, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d
Rabatum (perhaps the adoptive mother of Takun-matum) *ra-ba-tum* DAM.A.NI, *CT* 4 50a:8, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Kirkirānum DA *ki-ir-ki-ra-nim, CT* 4 36b :6, Sabium
Šamaš-la-šanān DA ^{d}UTU-*la-ša-na-an, CT* 4 36b :5, Sabium	Nig-Utu (d. of Hanhanum) *i-ta* NÍG-^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 43:2, Apil-Sîn
	Sumu-ramê *sú-mu-ra-me-e, CT* 6 42a (*MHET* II/1 23):9, Sumu-la-El

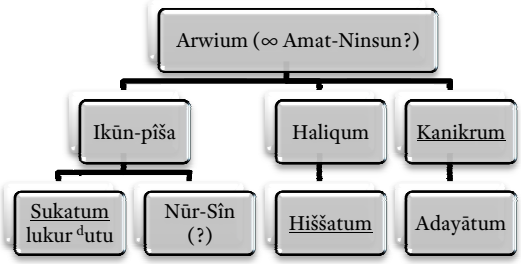
Witnesses in the file of Dammāqtum's descendants:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abum-bāni s. x-Sîn *a-bu-um-ba-ni* DUMU NIN?-30, *BDHP* 64:16, Apil-Sîn/Sabium	Abum-ṭābum s. Azaknanum A.AB.BA-*ṭà-bu-um* DUMU *a-za-ak-na-nu-um, CT* 4 50a:21, Immerum/Sumu-la-El, Sumu-la-El d
Adad-rabi s. Etel-pî-Sîn ^{d}IM-*ra-bi* DUMU *e-te-el-pí*-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 38b:17, Ilum-ma-Ila	Asalīya *a-sà-lí-ia*, *TLB* I 230:13', Apil-Sîn
Adad-remēni s. Damu-galzu (rá.gaba) -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni*, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):35, Sabium 12 -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 4 26b(=*MHET* II/1 35):23, Sabium -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, TLB* I 230:8', Apil-Sîn -[^{d}IM]-*re-me-ni, CT* 45 11 :36, Apil-Sîn 12 -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 6 43:18, Apil-Sîn	Aya-kuga (cf. *CT* 8 25a:49-50) d. Hanhanum -^{d}*a-a*-KÙ$^{!}$-GA$^{!}$ DUMU.MUNUS *ha-an-ha-nu-<um>*, *CT* 45 11 :41, Apil-Sîn 12 -^{d}*a-a*-KÙ$^{!}$-GA$^{!}$, DUMU.MUNUS *ha-an-ha-nu-um*, *CT* 6 43:31-32, Apil-Sîn
Ahūšina *a-hu-ši-na, MHET* II/5 789:20'(case), Sabium or Apil-Sîn	Bulālum (cloister official, son of Akim) *bu-la-lum*, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):33, Sabium 12
Ali-abūša d. Qarassumiya (member of the family) *a-lí-a-bu-ša* DUMU.MUNUS *qá-ra-su-mu*[*-ia*], *TLB* I 230:11', Apil-Sîn	Būr-Adad s. Tatum *bur*-^{d}IM DUMU *ta-ti-im, CT* 4 50a:23, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 45 11 :42, Apil-Sîn 12	Ennam-Sîn s. Manūnum *en-nam*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *ma$^{!}$-na-ni-im*, *CT* 6 42a:224-25 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Amur-Sîn *a-mur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 6 42a:31 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice	Erištum d. **Yadurum** *e-ri-iš^{d}-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *ia-du-rum*, *CT* 6 43:27-28, Apil-Sîn
Annum-pî-Šamaš SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Warad-Sîn an-ka-^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 50a:26, Immerum/Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Hatalum s. Ibbi-Sîn *ha-ta-lu-um* DUMU ʿ*i-bi*-^{d}EN.ZUʾ, *BDHP* 64:14, Apil-Sîn/Sabium
Apil-Kubi s. Šamaš-tillassu *a-pil-ku-bi* DUMU ^{d}UTU-ILLAT-*su, CT* 4 50a:22, Immerum/Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Ikun-pî-Sîn s. **Sumu-Ila** *i-ku-pí*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *su-mu-ì-la-a, CT* 8 38b:13-14, Ilum-ma-Ila
Arwītum d. Ili-bāni *ar-wi-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ba-ni*, *CT* 6 43:29-30, Apil-Sîn	Ilšu-bāni s. Inukibi DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):36, Sabium 12
Awīl-Amurrim LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 6 42a:33 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice	**Itur-Asdum** s. **Aqba-ahum** *ì-túr-ás-du-um* DUMU *aq-ba-hu-um* ni, *CT* 4 50a:20, Immerum/Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El
Awīlu-ma *a-wi-lu-ma*, *CT* 6 42a:36 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice	Kanikrum s. Arwium (b. Haliqum and Ikūn-pîša) *ka-ni-ik-ru-um* DUMU *ar-wu-um, CT* 4 50a:19, Immerum/Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d
Aya-tallik UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Bur-Nunu ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 43:17, Apil-Sîn	Mayatum *ma-ia-tum*, *TLB* I 230:12', Apil-Sîn
Bēlessunu *be-le*-[*su-nu*] , *TLB* I 230:14', Apil-Sîn	Nupa s. x x x x-tya *nu-pa-a* DUMU * x x x*/*ti-ia, MHET* II/5 789:19'(case), Sabium or Apil-Sîn
Bilum s. Bulālum (b. Sabirum) *bi-lu-um,* IGI *sa-bi-ru-um* DUMU.me *bu-la-lum, CT*	Nūr-ilīšu s. Eya *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *e-ia*, *CT* 45 1:14 (case of *BDHP* 31),

8 38b:20-21, Ilum-ma-Ila	Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila
Buṣatum s. Ennam-ili *bu-ṣa-tum* DUMU *en-nam-ì-lí, CT* 6 42a:21 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice	**Samu-Erah** *sa-mu-ra-ah*, *TLB* I 230:12', Apil-Sîn
Damiqtum d. Šamaš-tappêšu (SANGA ^{d}UTU) *da-mi-iq-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu*, *CT* 6 43:22-23, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-mālik s. Paharšen (the patronymic is Hurrian) ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik,* DUMU *pa-ha-ar-še-en, CT* 8 38b:18-19, Ilum-ma-Ila
Damu-galzu (a cloister official) ^{d}DA.MU-GAL.ZU, *CT* 45 1:19 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El/Buntahtun-Ila.	Sumentil s. **Yatarum** *sú-me-en-te-il*, DUMU *ia-ta-ri-im, CT* 8 38b:11-12, Ilum-ma-Ila
^{d}ENGUR.A-abum s. Ali-tillati ^{d}ENGUR.A-*a-bu-um* DUMU *a-lí*-ILLAT-[*ti*] , *CT* 45 1:21 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila	Warad-Sîn s. **Binīya** ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *bi-ni-ia, BDHP* 64:21, Apil-Sîn or Sabium
Huddultum d. Nūr-ilīšu *hu-du-ul-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 6 43:25-26, Apil-Sîn	**Yarbi-El** s. Tuqarum (b. Yahwi-El) *ia-ar-bi*-DINGIR DUMU *tu-qa-ru-um, MHET* II/5 789:16'-17'(case), Sabium or Apil-Sîn
Ibbi-Sîn s. Nabi-ilīšu DI.KUD *i-bi*-30 DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):27, Sabium 12	**Yarši-El** s. Lipit-Ištar *ia-ar-ši*-DINGIR, DUMU *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár, CT* 8 38b:15-16, Ilum-ma-Ila
Enlil-mansum s. Sîn-rīš-ili ^{d}EN.LÍL-MA.AN.SUM, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš ì*[*-lí*], *BDHP* 64:12-13, Apil-Sîn or Sabium	Zikzikum *zi-ik-zi-kum, CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):33, Sabium 12
Ilabrat-bāni s. Būr-Nunu (cloister official) -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni*, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):34, Sabium 12 -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni, CT* 4 26b(=*MHET* II/1 35):24, Sabium	[...]x-tum d. **Yakur-^{d}x x** [...]*x-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-kur-*^{d}*a?-um ,BDHP* 64:19, Apil-Sîn or Sabium
Ilšu-bāni s. Nanna-mansum DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *BDHP* 64:11, Apil-Sîn or Sabium	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ilum-mušallim (the doorman of the cloister) -DINGIR-*mu-ša-lim* Ì.DU$_8$, *CT* 4 50a:28, Immerum/Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d -DINGIR-*mu-ša-lim*, *CT* 45 1:19 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-Ela and Buntahtun-Ila	
Imgur-Sîn NAR *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU NAR, *CT* 4 50a:27, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Sîn-abūšu s. Išme-Sîn [^{d}EN.ZU-*a-b*]*u-šu* DUMU *iš-me*-30, *CT* 45 11 :38, Apil-Sîn 12
Inanna-ama.mu DUB.SAR d. Abum-ṭābum -^{d}INANNA-AMA.MU, DUMU.MUNUS A.AB.BA-*ṭà-bu*-[*um*], *CT* 45 1:23-24 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El/Buntahtun-Ila. -^{d}INANNA-AMA./MU, *CT* 6 42a:34 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice	Sîn-abūšu ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, CT* 48 34:16, Buntahtun-Ila
Innabatum d. Būr-Sîn *in-na-ba-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *bur*-30, *BDHP* 64:18, Apil-Sîn and Sabium	Sîn-ennam s. Ibbi-Ilabrat ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam*, DUMU *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *CT* 6 42a:28-29 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Išme-Adad DI.KUD *iš-me-*^{d}IM, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):28, Sabium 12	Sîn-erībam s. Nūr-ilīšu ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 45 1:16-17 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila
Išme-Adad	Sîn-ibni s Šu-Mamītum

iš-me-^{d}IM, *CT* 4 26b(=*MHET* II/1 35):20, Sabium	^{d}EN.ZU-*ib-ni* DUMU *šu-*^{d}*ma-mi-*[*tum*], *CT* 45 1:22 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila
Lamassi d. Sîn-ennam (second SANGA ^{d}UTU) *la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS 30-*en-nam*, *CT* 6 43:24, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-šeme DUB.SAR s. Būr-Nunu ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me* DUMU *bur-nu-nu, CT* 8 38b:22, Ilum-ma-Ila
Lu-dari RÁ.GABA (cloister official) *lu-da-ri* RÁ.GABA, *CT* 4 50a:29, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Sîn-tillassu s. Sîn-muballiṭ ^{d}EN.ZU-ILLAT-*su,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-li-iṭ, CT* 6 42a:26-27 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Lu-Nanna s. Būrani LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU *bu-*[*ra-ni*] , *CT* 45 1:25 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila	Šamaš-ṣulūli s. ˹x x x˺ ^{d}UTU-AN.DÙL-*lí* DUMU ˹x x x˺, *BDHP* 64:15, Apil-Sîn or Sabium
Nabi-Enlil *na-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, , *CT* 4 26b(=*MHET* II/1 35):22, Sabium	Šamaš-ENGUR.A-niši (cloister official, RÁ.GABA) ^{d}UTU-ENGUR.A-*ni-ši* RÁ.GABA, *CT* 45 1:20 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila
Nanna-mansum s. Narām-Sîn ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, DUMU *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 50a:24-25, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d	Šamaš-tayar Ì.DU$_8$ *gagim* s. Ana-qāt-Šamaš-anaṭṭal (cloister official) ^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar, CT* 6 43:20, Apil-Sîn
Narām-ilišu *-na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, CT* 6 42a:30 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice *-na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, TLB* I 230:10', Apil-Sîn	Šamšaya DI.KUD (full name probably Utu-mansum, son of Sîn-iddinam di.kud, see *MHET* II/1 17 (case=*CT* 8 28a) ^{d}UTU-*ia*, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):29, Sabium 12
Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM UGULA LUKUR ^{d}[UTU], *TLB* I 230:9', Apil-Sîn -[^{d}NIN].ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 45 11 :37, Apil-Sîn 12 -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, *CT* 6 43:19, Apil-Sîn	Ša/umuh-Sîn second SANGA s. Nūr-Sîn *-ša-mu-úh-*^{d}E[N.ZU] , *TLB* I 230:7', Apil-Sîn *-šu-mu-uh-*30, *CT* 6 43:17, Apil-Sîn
Nunu-ēreš *nu-nu-*APIN, *CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):32, Sabium 12	Ubar-Ninurta DUB.SAR (s. Šamaya?) *u-bar-*^{d}NIN.URTA, *CT* 6 42a:35 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Nūratum d. Gāmil-Sîn *nu-ra-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *ga-mil-*^{d}EN.ZU, *BDHP* 64:17, Apil-Sîn or Sabium	Ur-Lugalbanda s. Sîn-muballiṭ UR-^{d}LUGAL.BÀN.DA DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, , CT* 45 1:15 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila
Nūr-ilišu DI.KUD *-nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 2 50(=*MHET* II/1 45):30, Sabium 12 *-nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 4 26b(=*MHET* II/1 35):21, Sabium	Utu-kam DUB.SAR ^{d}UTU.KAM DUB.SAR, *CT* 4 50a:30, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d
Nūr-ilišu *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 48 34:15, Buntahtun-Ila	Warad-ilišu s. Nūrum ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *nu-ru-um, CT* 6 42a:22 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Nūrum s. a * x / nu x *nu-ru-rum* DUMU a * x /x nu x*, MHET* II/5 789:18'(case), Sabium or Apil-Sîn	Warad-Sîn SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Lipit-Ištar -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU SANGA ^{d}UTU, *TLB* I 230:7', Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 6 43:16, Apil-Sîn
Sābirum s. Bulālum (b.Bilum) *bi-lu-um,* igi *sa-bi-ru-um* DUMU.me *bu-la-lum, CT* 8 38b:20-21, Ilum-ma-Ila	Zababa-abum s. Puzurša ^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$-a-bu-um,* DUMU *puzur$_4$-ša CT* 4 50a:34-35, Immerum and Sumu-la-El, date Sumu-la-El d
Sag-Nanna-izu s. Iddin-Sîn SAG-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-I.ZU DUMU *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 45 1:18 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila	

4.1.3.7 Arwium's sons



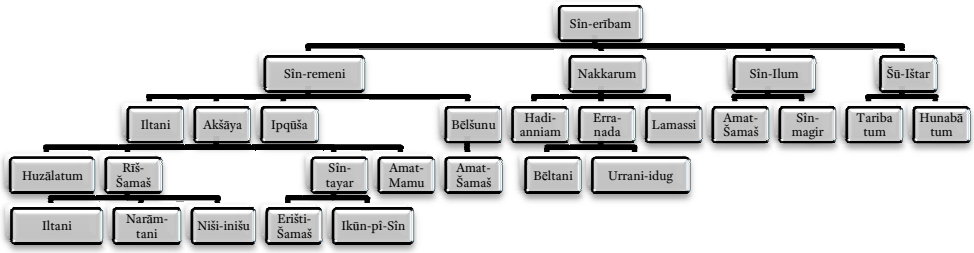
Other people owning property in the file of Arwium's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Nūr-Šamaš *ʾnu ʿ-úr-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 13:3,5, oath by Sumu-la-El	

Witnesses in the file of Arwium's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Imgur-[...] s. KÙ-^{d}[...] *im-gu*[*r*...], [d]umu kù-^{d}[...], *TIM* 7 17:1'-2', undated	
Kubi-ēreš *ku-b*[*i-e-re-eš*] , *TIM* 7 17:3', undated	
Nanna-azida DUB.SAR s. Sîn-muballiṭ [^{d}ŠEŠ].KI-Á.ZI.DA DUB.SAR DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ʾba ʿ-*[*lí-iṭ*], *MHET* II/1 13:1'-3', Sumu-la-El	

4.1.3.8 Sîn-erībam's descendants (the Akšāya family)



Other people owning property in the file of Sîn-erībam's descendants:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abum-ṭābum s. Narbi-Sîn A.AB.BA-*ṭà-ʾbu*ˋ*-um*, DUMU *na-ar-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 27:5-6, Sabium	Abaq-[...] *a-ba-aq-*[...], *MHET* II/1 51:6, Apil-Sîn
Akšak-gāmil SAG.BI.1.KAM ÍD ÚH^{KI}-*ga-ʾmil*ˋ, *MHET* II/1 58:5, Apil-Sîn	Abīnum DA *a-bi-nu-um, MHET* II/1 25:2, Sabium
Bēlšunu *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *be-el-šu-nu, CT* 47 9:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Agigum and his son Awīl-Amurrim *a-gi-gu-um, ù* LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU.NI *MHET* II/1 25:4-5, Sabium
Ea-ṣulūli d. [...]-*šum* *ù i-ta é-a-*AN.DÙL-*lí,* DUMU.MUNUS [...]-*tim*, *CT* 6 46 :3, Apil-Sîn 13	Ahlulam and his brother **Bunu-mašar** *bu-nu-ma-šar, ù ah-lu-lam* ŠEŠ.A.NI *MHET* II/1 72:45, Apil-Sîn
Ennam-Šamaš *ù* DA É *en-nam-*^{d}UTU*,* *MHET* II/1 51:3, Apil-Sîn	Anna-binatum nin^{d}UTU d. Uštašni-ilum and **Yadihatum** *-na-bi-<na>-tum* NIN ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *uš-ta-aš-ni-*ʿDINGIRˋ *ù ia-di-ha-tum*, *MHET* II/1 52:3-5, Apil-Sîn
Erībam SAG.1.KAM *e-ri-ba-am, BDHP* 40:5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Bēlessunu d. Saqahtanu *i-ta be-le-su-nu* DUMU.MUNUS *sa-qa-ah-ta-nu-ú*?*, CT* 6 46 :2, Apil-Sîn 13
Erra-habit *i-ta* É *èr-ra-ha-bi-it, CT* 8 39b(=*MHET* II/1 112):4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Be/Nu-[...] *be/nu-*[...], *MHET* II/5 629:5, undated
Erra-nāṣir s. Nakkarum *i-ta èr-ra-na-ṣi-ir*, DUMU *na-ka-ru-um*, *MHET* II/1 58:2-3, Apil-Sîn	Buda and Ramanu-Šamaš sons of Asalum *bu-da* DUMU *a-sa-lum, CT* 47 4 :6, Apil-Sîn
Etel-pî-Sîn *i-ta e-tel-pi*$_4$-30, *BDHP* 55 :2, Apil-Sîn	**Dadūša** s. Watar-Sîn *-da-du-ša* DUMU *wa-tar-*3[0], *CT* 47 13:7, Sîn-muballiṭ *-i-ta* A.ŠÀ *da-ʾduˋ-ša* DUMU *wa-ʾtarˋ-*[^{d}EN.ZU/30], *MHET* II/1 80:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Gallabum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ga-la-bi-im*, *BDHP* 55 :3, Apil-Sîn	**Dawdanum** and his son Bēlakum *-i-ta da-aw*$_7$*-da-nu-ʾumˋ, MHET* II/1 29:2, Sabium *-ù i-ta be-la-kum, CT* 6 21c :2, no date DA A.ŠÀ ÌR-*sà ù be-la-kum, CT* 8 31a:2, Apil-Sîn
Habil-kīnum and Uqa-ilim sons of Eteya *ha-bi-il-ki-nu-um, ù ú-qa-*DINGIR-*im,* DUMU.ME *e-te-ia*, *MHET* II/1 84:3-5, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Dihatānum** and his son Belum *be-lum* DUMU *di-ha-ta-nu-ʾumˋ, MHET* II/1 51:7, Apil-Sîn *ù* DA É *di-ha-ta-nu-um, CT* 47 4 :3, Apil-Sîn
Ibnīya s. Ilā-rabiā *ù i-ta ib-ni-ia,* DUMU DINGIR-DINGIR-*ra-bi-a, CT* 8 44b:6-7 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Erībam-Sîn s. **Hayašarrum** [...] ʿx xˋ-x-ʿ*um*ˋ DUMU *ha-ia-a-ša-ri, MHET* II/1 33:5, Sabium
Ilšu-bāni s. Sîn-nāṣir DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni,* DUMU 30-*na-ṣi-ir, MHET* II/1 24:4-5, Sabium	Erṣētiya s. Rababānum *-er-ṣé-ti-ia*, DUMU *ra-ba-ba-nu-um*, *BDHP* 55 :4-5, Apil-Sîn *-er-ṣe-ti-ia*, DUMU *ra-ba-*[*ba-nu-um*], *MHET* II/5 729:5, undated
Iltāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU *ù* DA *il-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU*, CT* 6 7b:3 (=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn	Hasum DA É *ha-su-um, MHET* II/1 91:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Inim-Nanna s. Narām-ilīšu INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, CT* 8 44b:3	Iddaratum *ù i-ta id-da-ra-ʾtumˋ, MHET* II/1 58:2-3, Apil-Sîn

(case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	
Lu-dingir-[...] *i-ta* A.ŠÀ LÚ-DINGIR-[...], *CT* 45 9:2, Apil-Sîn	Kukunum s. Buṣiya *i-ta ku-ku-nu-um* DUMU *bu-ṣí-ia, CT* 8 44b:5 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b
Manium *ma-ni-um, BDHP* 40:6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Kuhum *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ku-hu-um, CT* 6 21c :2, undated
Nabi-ilīšu DA É *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, CT* 47 4 :2, Apil-Sîn	Palirušu *pa-li-ru-šu, MHET* II/1 24:3, Sabium
Nidnūša *ni-id-nu-ˀša*ˋˀxˋ [...], *MHET* II/5 707:6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Rababānum s. Ašri-[...] *ra-ba-ba-nu-um,* DUMU *áš-ri*-[...], *MHET* II/1 29:3-4, Sabium
Nūr-Kabta SAG.1.KAM *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.TA, *CT* 6 7b:4 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn	Ramamīya *i-ta ra-ma-mi-ia*, *MHET* II/5 567:3, 6, Sabium
Puzur-Halium DA *puzur₄-ha-li-um*, *MHET* II/1 52:2, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-remēni s. Idadinna 30-*re-me-ni* DUMU *i-da-din-na, BDHP* 40:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîn-erībam -^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/1 24:2, Sabium -SAG.3.KAM.MA É 30-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/1 91:4, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Sumūya** s. Ha'um 1 SAG.BI *su-mu-ia* DUMU *ha-ú-um, CT* 6 46 :5, Apil-Sîn 13
Sîn-iddinam DA ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/1 27:3, Sabium	Šallurtum d. Anzanum *ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *an-za-nu-um, CT* 8 44b:9 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b
Sîn-iddinam DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, CT* 47 20:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-tillassu s. **Dadinum** sag.bi.1.kam.ma ^{d}UTU-illat-ˀ*su*ˋ, DUMU *da-di-nu-um*, *CT* 47 20:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-erībam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/5 567:7-8, undated	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Sîn-ilum's sons *i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MEŠ 30-DINGIR, *CT* 6 21c :5, undated	
Sîn-iqīšam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša*-[*am*], DUMU [...], *CT* 45 9:4-5, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-ilum s. Watar-Ikūnum ^{d}UTU-DINGIR DUMU *wa-tar-*^{d}*i-ku-num, MHET* II/1 83:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîn-māgir s. ˀx x xˋ ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir* DUMU ˀx x xˋ, *MHET* II/1 58:6, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-īn-matim s. Puzur-Šamaš ^{d}UTU-*i-in-ma-tim,* DUMU *puzur₄-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 46 :7-8, Apil-Sîn 13
Sîn-nūr-matim s. Ibnīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*nu-úr-ma-tum* DUMU *ib-ni-ia, CT* 8 44b:8 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Šumma-ili *šum-ma*-DINGIR DUMU [...], *CT* 47 20:7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîn-remēni SAG.1.KAM.MA 30-*re-me-ni, MHET* II/1 91:4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šumšunīya *ù* DA É *šum-šu-ni-ia, MHET* II/1 91:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîyatum s. Būr-Nunu ^{d}EN.ZU-*ia-tum* DUMU *bur-nu-nu, CT* 47 9:7, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Ṭāb-ṣilli-Šamaš s. Ur-Sîn *ṭa-ab*-MI-^{d}UTU DUMU UR-ˀ^{d}ˋ[en].zu, *CT* 6 7b:12 (=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn
Sîn-[...] *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-[...], *CT* 45 9:3, Apil-Sîn	Utu-zimu UGULA DAM.GÀR (probably the son of Me'īsum) ^{d}UTU-ZI.MU UGULA DAM.GÀR, *CT* 47 5 :5', Apil-Sîn
Sîn-[...] s. Sîn-e[...] DA É ^{d}enˀzuˋ-[..], DUMU 30-ˀ*e*ˋ-[..], *MHET* II/5 629:2-3, undated	Warassa DA A.ŠÀ ÌR-*sà ù be-la-kum, CT* 8 31a:2, Apil-Sîn

Ṣillalum DA É *ṣíl-la-li-im, MHET* II/1 51:2, Apil-Sîn	

Witnesses in the file of Sîn-erībam's descendants:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abīyatum s. Bēlanum *a-bi-ʾia*ˀ-[*tum*] DUMU *be-la-nu-um, MHET* II/1 51:18, Apil-Sîn	Agigu DUB.SAR *a-gi-gu* DUB.SAR, *CT* 4 9b:29, Sumu-la-El
Abīyatum s. Nūr-Ea *-na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu ù a-bi-iatum,* DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-é-a, BDHP* 40:20-21, Sîn-muballiṭ *-a-bi-ia-tum* DUMU *nu-úr*ˡ*-é-a*ˡ, *CT* 47 4 :26, Apil-Sîn *-a-bi-ia-tum,* DUMU *nu-úr-é-a*, *MHET* II/1 91:22-23, Sîn-muballiṭ	Alubum s. Sassa (b. Ibni-Sîn) *a-lu-bu-um* , IGI *ib-ni*-30, DUMU.MEŠ *sà-sà, MHET* II/1 27:23-25, Sabium
Abīyatum s. Sîn-gamil *a-bi-ia-tum* DUMU 30-*ga-mil, CT* 8 31a:24, Apil-Sîn	Alubum *-a-lu-bu-um ʾùˀ* [...], DUMU.ʾme.MEŠ?ˀ [...], *MHET* II/1 33:10-11', Sabium *-a-lu-bu-um, MHET* II/5 567:24, undated
Abīyatum *a-bi-ia-tum*, *MHET* II/1 58:28, Apil-Sîn	**Amnānum** s. Ibni-Sîn *a-ma-na-nu-um* DUMU *ib-ni*-30, *CT* 4 7a :12, Apil-Sîn
Abum-kima-ilim s. Abum-waqar *a-bu-um-ki-ma*-DINGIR DUMU *a-bu-wa-qar*, *MHET* II/1 58:21, Apil-Sîn	Ašdiya s. Ilaya *aš-di-ia*, DUMU *i-la-ia, MHET* II/1 27:21-22, Sabium
Abum-ṭābum SANGA Ikūnum s. Narbi-Sîn *-a-pa-ṭà-bu-um*, DUMU *na-*ʾ*ar*ˀ*-bi*-30 *MHET* II/1 52:28, Apil-Sîn -A.BA.-*ṭà-bu-um* DUMU *na-*ʾ*ar-bi*ˀ-ᵈʾEN.ZUˀ, *MHET* II/1 26:14, Sabium *-a-pa-ṭà-bu-um* SANGA, *MHET* II/1 29:24, Sabium	Aššatum s. (d.?) **Abu-dadi** [*a-ša*]-*tum* DUMU *a-bu-da-di, CT* 6 7b:33 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn
Abum-ṭābum A.BA-*ṭà-*ʾ*bu*ˀ-[*um*] [...] ʾxˀ , *MHET* II/1 33:24', Sabium	Awatīya s. Menehim *a-wa-ti-ia* DUMU ʾ*me*ˀ-[*ne-hi-im*], *MHET* II/5 729:4', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ)
Abum-waqar s. Iddin-Sîn *a-bu-um-wa-qar* DUMU *i-din*-30, *CT* 6 7b:24 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn	Awīl-Amurrim s. Agigum -LÚ-ᵈMAR.TU, DUMU *a-gi-gu-um*, *MHET* II/1 52:25-26, Apil-Sîn -LÚ-ᵈMAR.TU DUMU *a-gi-gu-um, MHET* II/1 24:21-22, Sabium -LÚ-ᵈMAR.TU DUMU *a-gi-*[*gu-um*] , *CT* 45 9:22, Apil-Sîn -LÚ-ᵈMAR.TU DUMU *a-gi-gu-um*, *MHET* II/5 615:6', undated
Adad-iddinam s. Nabi-ilīšu ᵈIM-*i-din-nam* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu*, *MHET* II/1 72:24, Apil-Sîn	Awīl-ilim s. **Yadidum** *a-wi-il*-DINGIR DUMU *ia-di-du-um*, *MHET* II/1 72:16, Apil-Sîn
Adad-napišti ᵈIM-*na-pí-iš-ti* DUMU [...], *MHET* II/5 707:20, Sîn-muballiṭ	Bēlakum s. **Dawdanum** (b. Etel-pi-Sîn and Annum-pîša) *-be-la-ku-um* ʾxˀ [...], *MHET* II/1 25:26, Sabium *-be-la-kum* DUMU *da-aw₇-da-*[*nu-um*], *MHET* II/1 52 (case:5'), Apil-Sîn *-be-la-kum,* DUMU *da-aw₇-da-nu-um, MHET* II/1 24:23-24, Sabium *-be-la-kum* [DUMU] ʾ*da*ˀ*-am-da-nim, MHET* II/1 83, Sîn-

	muballiṭ *-be-la-ki* DUMU *da-aw$_7$-da-nim*, *MHET* II/1 84:22, Sîn-muballiṭ *-e-tel-pí*-30 IGI *be-la-kum,* DUMU.me *da-aw$_7$-da-a-nu-um*, *MHET* II/5 615:4'-5', undated *-be-la-kum* DUMU *da-aw$_7$-da-num, CT* 8 31a:21, Apil-Sîn *-be-la-kum* DUMU *da-aw$_7$-da-nu-um, CT* 47 9:28, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Adad-remēni s. Damu-galzu (RÁ.GABA) -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 47 5 :20', Apil-Sîn -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):23, Sîn-muballiṭ -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni*, *MHET* II/5 567:16, undated	Bulālum (cloister official, son of Akim) *-bu-la-ˀlumˋ*, *MHET* II/1 52:27, Apil-Sîn *-bu-la-lum, MHET* II/5 567:17, undated
Aham-nirši s. Abi-ilum *a-ha-am-ˀnirˋ*-[*ši*], DUMU *ˀaˋ-bi*-DINGIR ˀxˋ [...], *MHET* II/5 707:28, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Bunu-mašar** s. Elilum *bu-un-ma-šar* DUMU *ˀe-liˋ-lum, MHET* II/1 51:23, Apil-Sîn
Aham-nirši UGULA DAM.GAR ida(?) *a-ha-am-nir-ši* UGULA DAM.GÀR *i-da*, *CT* 4 7a :5, Apil-Sîn	**Bunu-nawe** s. **Habdi-El** *bu-nu-na-we-e,* DUMU *ha-ab-di*-DINGIR*, MHET* II/1 51:19-20, Apil-Sîn
Ahi-maraṣ s. Uṣur-awāssu *a-hi-ma-ra-aṣ*, DUMU *ú-ṣur-a-wa-sú, MHET* II/1 24:17-18, Sabium	Burīya s. Adiya-[..] *bu-ri-ia* DUMU *a-di-ia*-[...], *MHET* II/1 51:22, Apil-Sîn
Ahūni s. Abatum *a-hu-ni* DUMU *a-ba-tum, CT* 4 9b:23, Sumu-la-El	Butūya s. La-x-x-x-x *bu-tu-ia* DUMU *la-ˀx x x xˋ CT* 47 4 :29, Apil-Sîn
Ahūni *a-hu-ni*, *MHET* II/1 27:31, Sabium	Ebabbar-lūmur s. Menanum É.BABBAR$_2$-*lu-mu-ur*, DUMU *me-na-nu-um, CT* 47 4 :25, Apil-Sîn
Ahušina s. Mašum *a-hu-ši-na* , DUMU *ma-šum, CT* 6 46 :24-25, Apil-Sîn 13	Enlil-šeme d. **Yarum** [^{d}EN].LÍL-*še-me* DUMU *ia-rum*, *MHET* II/1 58:24, Apil-Sîn
Ahūšina DUMU É.GAL *a-hu-ši-na* DUMU É.GAL*, CT* 6 46 :21, Apil-Sîn 13	Erībam-Sîn s. **Haya-x[...]** *ˀeˋ-ri-ba-am*-30 DUMU *ha-ia*-x[...], *CT* 45 9:36, Apil-Sîn
Akšak-nāṣir s. Sîn-ilum -ÚH^{KI}-*na-ṣi-ir* DUMU 30-DINGIR, *BDHP* 55 :19, Apil-Sîn -ÚH^{KI}-*na-ṣir, CT* 6 21c :19, no date	Eridum *e-ri-du-um, MHET* II/5 567:23, undated
Akša-[...] s. Sîn-be-[...] *ak-ša*-[...], DUMU 30-*be*-x[...], *CT* 47 9:35-36, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Etel-pî-Sîn s. **Dawdanum** (b. Bēlakum and Annum-pišu, father Huzalum) *-e-tel-pi$_4$*-30 DUMU *da-wi-an-nim*, *BDHP* 55 :20, Apil-Sîn *-e-tel-pi$_4$*-30 DUMU *da-wi*-[...], *CT* 45 9:21, Apil-Sîn *-e-tel-pí*-30 IGI *be-la-kum,* DUMU.me *da-wi-da-a-nu-um*, *MHET* II/5 615:4'-5', undated *-e-tel-pi$_4$*-30 DUMU *da-wi-da-num, CT* 8 31a:19, Apil-Sîn
Akšāya s. Warad-ilīšu ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni* IGI *ak-ša-ia,* DUMU.me ÌR-*ì-lí-šu, CT* 6 7b:28-29 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn	Etiamu *e-ti-ia-mu, CT* 4 9b:21, Sumu-la-El
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR [^{d}UTU] , *MHET* II/1 27:31, Sabium	Gamil-didam *ga-mil-di-da-am, CT* 4 9b:19, Sumu-la-El
Amat-Šamaš MUNUS.DUB.SAR GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU MUNUS.DUB.SAR*, CT* 6 46 :29, Apil-Sîn 13	**Hayab-El** s. **Sumu-habnu** *ha-ia-ab-ì-il,* DUMU *sú-mu-ha-ab-nu*, *MHET* II/1 29:18-19, Sabium
Ana-Šamaš-taklāku s. Abu-kima (f. Iddin-Šamaš) *-a-na*-^{d}UTU-*ták-la-ku* DUMU *a-bu-ki-ma*-[...], *CT* 45	Idādum ì.du$_8$ (cloister official, son of Pala-Sîn) *i-da-du-um* <ì>.DU$_8$, *CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):26,

9:25, Apil-Sîn *-a-na-*^{d}UTU-*ták-la-ku* DUMU *a-bu-ki-ma,* IGI *i-din-*^{d}UTU DUMU.A.NI *CT* 47 9:23, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Sîn-muballiṭ
Annesuna-emūqi s. Lu-Ninsikilla AN.NE.SÚ.NA-*e-mu-qí* DUMU LÚ-^{d}NIN.SIKIL.LA*, CT* 8 44b:18-19 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Iddin-Amurrim s. **Mutum-El** *-i-din-*^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *mu-tu-me-el, CT* 8 31a:25, Apil-Sîn *-i-din-*^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *mu-tu-*[*me-el*] *, MHET* II/5 729:6', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ)
Annum-pîša s. Apil-Ištar an-*pi*$_4$*-ša* DUMU *a-pil-i*[*š*$_8$*-tár*] *, CT* 45 9:35, Apil-Sîn	Ilšu-ibbišu s. Akudiya DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu* DUMU *a-ku-di-ia*, *MHET* II/1 27:30, Sabium
Apil-ilim s. Ana-Sîn-taklāku *a-pil-*DINGIR DUMU *a-na-*30-*tá*[*k-la-ku*] *, CT* 45 9:34, Apil-Sîn	Ipquša s. Balkiya *ip-qú-ša* DUMU *bal-ki-ia, BDHP* 40:24, Sîn-muballiṭ
Apil-ilīšu *a-pil-ì-lí-*ʾ*šu*ʾ, *MHET* II/5 629:4', undated	**Iṣi-ašar** s. Awīl-Adad *i-ṣí-a-šar* ! DUMU *a-wi-il-*^{d}IM*, CT* 47 4 :22, Apil-Sîn
Apil-Ištar rabiān uru-šubula *a-pil-iš*$_8$*-tár ra-bi-a-an* URU-*šu-bu-la*, *CT* 45 9:27, Apil-Sîn	Itti-ilim-milki s. Bazaza [*it*]-*ti*-DINGIR-*mil-ki* DUMU *ba-za-za*, *CT* 45 9:29, Apil-Sîn
Apil-Ištar *a-pil-iš*$_8$*-tár, CT* 4 9b:20, Sumu-la-El	Itūr-pî-ilim s. Me'isum -^{d}UTU-ZI.MU *ù* [*i-túr*]-pí-ʾ*DINGIR*ʾ, DUMU.MEŠ ʾ*me-i*ʾ-[*sú-um*] *, MHET* II/1 33:8'-9', Sabium *-i-túr-pí-*ʾDINGIRʾ, DUMU *me-i-sum*, *MHET* II/1 52:19-20, Apil-Sîn *-i-túr-pí-*DINGIR DUMU *me-i-sú-um, CT* 6 7b:21 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn *-i-túr-pí-*DINGIR DUMU *me-su-um*, *MHET* II/1 84:19, Sîn-muballiṭ -[*i-túr-pí*]-DINGIR DUMU *me-i-su-um, CT* 8 31a:28, Apil-Sîn
Ašri-Enlil s. Bēlum *aš-ri-*^{d}EN.LÍL DUMU *be-lum* ! *, CT* 4 7a :8, Apil-Sîn	Kurrušu *kur-ru-šu, MHET* II/5 567:23, undated
Awatīya s. Ṣilli-Šamaš *-a-wa-ti-ia* DUMU *ṣíl-lí-*^{d}UTU*, MHET* II/1 33:21', Sabium *-a-wa-ti-ia,* DUMU *ṣíl-lí-*^{d}[UTU], *MHET* II/1 83(case):17, Sîn-muballiṭ	Lama-[...] s. Isirrum *la-ma*-[...] DUMU *i-si-ir-rum, MHET* II/1 25:20, Sabium
Awīl-Amurrim Ú.TÚL LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU ú.túl*, CT* 4 7a:2, Apil-Sîn 9	**Mālik-halum** s. Warad-Šamaš *ma-lik-ha-lum, CT* 6 46 :22, Apil-Sîn 13
Awīl-Amurrim LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU [...], *MHET* II/5 729:3', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ)	Marduk-hāzir s. Imdiki ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*ha-zi-ir* DUMU *im-di*ʾ*ki*ʾ, *MHET* II/5 707:21, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lu-Ninšubur DUB.SAR LÚ-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR.KA, DUB.SAR*, BDHP* 40:25-26, Sîn-muballiṭ	Munanīya *mu-na-ni-ia*, *MHET* II/1 52:30, Apil-Sîn
Awīl-ilim s. Ili-erībam *a-wi-il-*DINGIR DUMU *ì-lí-e-ri-*[*ba-am*] *, CT* 45 9:24, Apil-Sîn	**Mutum-El** *mu-tu-*DINGIR*, MHET* II/5 567:24, undated
Awīl-ilim s. Warad-Sîn nu.banda$_3$ Halhalla *a-wi-il-*DINGIR DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU*, CT* 47 9:24, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Nakkarum s. Milalum *na-ka-ru-um* DUMU *mi-la-lum, CT* 47 4 :36, Apil-Sîn
Aya-rīšat UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ilabrat-bāni ^{d}*a-a-ri-ša-at,* UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU*, CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):32-33, Sîn-muballiṭ	Nupanum s. Kulānum *nu-pa-nu-um* DUMU *ku-la-nu-um, CT* 47 4 :20, Apil-Sîn

Beli ázlag *be-ʾlíʾ* LÚ.ÁZLAG ʿDUMUʾ LÚ.ÁZLAG?, *MHET* II/1 25:22, Sabium	Rababānum *ra-ba-ba-ʿnuʾ*-[*um*...] ʿxʾ, *MHET* II/1 33:15', Sabium
Bēliya s. Nūr-ilīšu *be-li-ia* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* , *MHET* II/1 27:26-27, Sabium	Sîn-erībam s. Sadāya ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU *sà-da-a-a, CT* 4 9b:24-25, Sumu-la-El
Bēlšunu s. Sîn-litūr *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*li-tu-ur, MHET* II/1 83(case):21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-iddinam s. Kupahum 30-*i-din-nam* DUMU *ku ?-pa?-hu?-um CT* 47 4 :31, Apil-Sîn
Burrušum DUB.SAR *bu-ru-šu-um* DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 27:32, Sabium	Sîn-iddinam s. x-parum 30-*i-din-nam* DUMU x-*pa-ru-um, MHET* II/1 51:21, Apil-Sîn
Dallaqum s. Lalum *da-la-qum,* DUMU *la-lu-um, MHET* II/5 567:21-22, undated	Sîn-pilah s. Sunanum -30-*pí-lah* DUMU [*sú*]-ʿ*na*ʾ-*nu-um, MHET* II/1 33:16', Sabium -30-*pí-la-ah,* DUMU *sú-na-nu-um*, *MHET* II/1 29:25-26, Sabium
Damiqtum *da-mi-iq-tum, CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):30, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Sumu-atar** *su-mu-a-tar, CT* 4 9b:18, Sumu-la-El
Daqqum s. Imgurrum *da-aq-qum* DUMU *im-gur-ru-um, CT* 47 9:23, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	**Sumu-hadnu** *su-mu-ha-ad-nu, CT* 4 9b:15, Sumu-la-El
Erīb-Sîn *e-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 9b:22, Sumu-la-El	Šum-la-biya s. Ennam-Šamaš *šum-la-bi-ia* DUMU *en-nam-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 47 4 :37, Apil-Sîn
Erištum s. Sîn-ilum (b. Iballuṭ) *i-ba-lu-uṭ,* IGI *e-ri-iš-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ 30-DINGIR, *CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):27-29, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ubarrum s. Sunubum *u-bar-ru-um* DUMU *su-nu-bu-um, CT* 47 4 :24, Apil-Sîn
Erra-nada s. Nakkarum *-èr-ra-na-da* DUMU *na-ka-rum*, *BDHP* 55 :18, Apil-Sîn *-èr-ra-na-da, CT* 6 21c :18, no date *-èr-ra-na-da* DUMU *na-ka-*[*ru-um*] , *MHET* II/5 615:3', undated *-èr-ra-na-da* DUMU *na-ka-ru-um, CT* 8 31a:17, Apil-Sîn	Unnubtum s. **Sumu-hala** *un-nu-ub-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *su-mu-ha-la, CT* 6 46 :28, Apil-Sîn 13
Etellum *e-te-ʾlumʾ* [...] BI NA NI, *MHET* II/1 25:25, Sabium	Utu-zimu s. Me'isum -^{d}UTU-ZI.MU *ù* [*i-ṭúr*]-pí-ʿDINGIRʾ, DUMU.MEŠ ʾ*me-i*ʾ-[*sú-um*] , *MHET* II/1 33:8'-9', Sabium -^{d}UTU-ZI.MU DUMU ʿxʾ x [...], *MHET* II/1 33:7', Sabium -^{d}UTU-ZI.MU, *MHET* II/1 52:6-7, Apil-Sîn -^{d}UTU-ʿZIʾ-MU DUMU *me-i-sum*, *MHET* II/1 29:20, Sabium
Etel-pî-Ištar s. Manium *e-tel-pi*$_4$*-iš*$_8$*-tár,* DUMU *ma-ni-um, MHET* II/1 91:18, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Ilabrat s. Abatabnim ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR DUMU *a-ba-tab-nim*, *CT* 45 9:26, Apil-Sîn
Hummuṣum *hu-mu-ṣum, CT* 4 9b:16, Sumu-la-El	**Yadahhalum** s. Muhra-gamil *ia-da-ah-ha-lum,* DUMU ^{d}*mu-uh-ra-ga-mil, CT* 6 46 :26-27, Apil-Sîn 13
Huzālum s. Etel-pî-Sîn *hu-za-lum* DUMU *e-tel-pi*$_4$-30, *CT* 8 31a:20, Apil-Sîn	**Yahziri** s. Sîn-šeme *ia-ah-zi-ri,* DUMU 30-*še-me, CT* 47 4 :34-35, Apil-Sîn
Iballuṭ s. Ilum-mušallim *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU DINGIR-*mu-ša-lim, CT* 6 46 :19, Apil-Sîn 13	**Yakun-ašar** s. Mannum *-ia-ku-un-a-ša-ar,* DUMU [*ma-nu*]-*um, MHET* II/1 33:17'-18', Sabium

	-ia-ku-un-a-ša-ar, DUMU *ma-nu-um*, *MHET* II/1 29:21-22, Sabium
Iballuṭ s. Sîn-ilum (b. Erištum) *i-ba-lu-uṭ,* IGI *e-ri-iš-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ 30-DINGIR, *CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):27-29, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Yiqbi-El** *i-iq-bi-*ˀDINGIRˀ [...] ˀxˀ, *MHET* II/1 25:23, Sabium
Ibbi-Sîn s. Ilīya *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *i-li-ia*, *MHET* II/1 58:22, Apil-Sîn	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ibbīya s. Sîn-šeme *i-bi-ia* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me, CT* 8 44b:17 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	
Ibni-Adad s. Sîn-ennam *ib-ni-*^{d}IM DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, CT* 8 44b:25-26 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Nūr-Kabta *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.ˀTAˀ x [...] x, *MHET* II/1 51:25, Apil-Sîn
Ibni-Sîn s. Ahatanum *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *a-ha-ta-*ˀ*nim*ˀ, *MHET* II/1 51:17, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Šamaš SANGA ^{d}UTU (Edikuda temple in Sippar-Amnanum) *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU SANGA ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 44b:16 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b
Ibni-Sîn s. Sassa (b. Alubum) -[*ib-ni*]-30 DUMU *sà-sa, CT* 8 31a:29, Apil-Sîn *-a-lu-bu-um* , IGI *ib-ni*-30, DUMU.MEŠ *za-za, MHET* II/1 27:23-25, Sabium	Nūr-Šamaš LÚ.ÀR.ÀR *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU LÚ.ÀR.ˀÀRˀ, *MHET* II/1 72:15, Apil-Sîn
Ibni-Sîn *ib-ni*-30, *MHET* II/5 567:24, undated	Nūr-Šamaš *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 9b:28, Sumu-la-El
Iddin-Adad s. Puzur-Hali(um) *-i-din-*^{d}IM DUMU *puzur$_4$-ha-*[*lí*] , *MHET* II/1 33:5', Sabium *-i-din-*^{d}IM, DUMU *puzur$_4$-ha-li-*[*um*] , *MHET* II/1 52:21-22, Apil-Sîn	Pûm-rabi s. Qurud-Ištar (perhaps the same as the chief judge in , *CT* 8 31b:9, Apil-Sîn?) *pu-um-ra<bi>* DUMU *qú-ru-ud-iš$_8$-tár, MHET* II/1 24:16, Sabium
Iddin-Amurrim *i-din-*^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 6 21c :23, no date	Puṭīya s.Ilšu-muballiṭ *-pu-ṭú-ia,* DUMU DINGIR-*šu-mu-ba-li-iṭ, MHET* II/1 24:19-20, Sabium *-*ˀ*pu*ˀ*-ṭú-ia* DUMU DINGIR-*šu-mu-ba-*ˀ*lí*ˀ*-iṭ*, *MHET* II/1 84(case):23, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iddin-Šamaš s. Ana-Šamaš-taklāku *a-na-*^{d}UTU-*ták-la-ku* DUMU *a-bu-ki-ma,* IGI *i-din-*^{d}UTU DUMU.a.ni *CT* 47 9:23, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Rabi-ṣillāšu DUB.SAR -[*ra-bi*]-*ṣíl-la-šu* DUB.SAR, *CT* 6 7b:35 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn *-ra-bi-*ˀ*ṣíl*ˀ*-la-šu* DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 84:27, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ra-bi-ṣíl-la-šu* [DUB.SAR] , *MHET* II/5 729:10', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ)
Iddin-Šamaš s. Sîn-dayān *-i-din-*^{d}UTU DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-di.kud, *MHET* II/1 84:25, Sîn-muballiṭ -ˀ*i-din*ˀ-^{d}UTU DUMU 30-[...], *MHET* II/5 629:6', undated	Rabūt-Sîn s. Bēlakum *ra-bu-ut*-30 DUMU *be-la-kum, CT* 8 31a:22, Apil-Sîn
Iddišum s. É?-GIR *i-di-šum* DUMU É?-GIR? , *BBVOT* 1 145:12', Apil-Sîn	Sagila-zimu Ú.TÚL SAG.ÍLA-ZI.MU Ú.TÚL, *CT* 4 7a:3, Apil-Sîn 9
Ikūn-pîša s. Šamaš-rabi *i-ku-un-pi$_4$-ša* DUMU ^{d}UTU-ˀ*ra*ˀ*-bi*, *MHET* II/1 58:20, Apil-Sîn	Salīya s. Sabiyatum *sa-li-ia* DUMU *sà-bi-ia-tum*, *MHET* II/1 58:23, Apil-Sîn
Ikūn-pîša *i-ku-un-pi$_4$-ša*, *BBVOT* 1 145:13', Apil-Sîn	Sîn-abūšu s. Išar-Šamaš 30-*a-bu-šu,* DUMU *i-šar-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 80:3'-4', Sîn-

	muballiṭ
Ikūn-pîša s. Ibni-Sîn *i-ku-pí-ša,* DUMU *ib-ni*-30, *MHET* II/1 72:19-20, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-abūšu s. Išme-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* DUMU *iš-me*-30, *CT* 4 7a :9, Apil-Sîn
Ikūnum-gāmil s. Abatum *i-ku-nu-* ˹*um*˺-[*ga-mil* DUMU *a-ba*]-*tum, MHET* II/1 25:21, Sabium	Sîn-bāni ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni CT* 47 4 :32, Apil-Sîn
Ikūnum-mušallim s. Ipqūša ^{d}*i-ku-nu-um-<mu-ša-lim>* DUMU *ip-qú-ša, MHET* II/1 91:19, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-ennam s. Sîn-imitti (second SANGA, father of Lamassi and Šat-Šamaš) ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam*, *MHET* II/5 567:14, undated
Ilabrat-bāni s. Būr-Nunu (cloister official, overseer of the *nadītum*'s) ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni*, *MHET* II/5 567:15, undated	Sîn-erībam s. Ahūni 30-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *a-hu-ni, CT* 47 4 :27, Apil-Sîn
Ilam-nada s. Sîn-imitti -DINGIR-*na-da* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-mi-ti, CT* 6 7b:27 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn -DINGIR-*na-da* DUMU 30-*i-* ˹*mi*˺-[*ti*] , *MHET* II/5 629:5' , undated	Sîn-erībam s. Warad-Sîn 30-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU ÌR-˹^{d}EN.ZU˺, *MHET* II/1 91:20, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilān-dinā s. Sîn-šemi (brother of Ubar-Šamaš) *u-bar*-^{d}UTU, DINGIR.DINGIR-*di-na*, DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me*, *MHET* II/1 29:27-29, Sabium	Sîn-erībam -30-*e-ri-ba-am CT* 47 4 :33, Apil-Sîn -^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU ˹x˺ [...], *MHET* II/5 707:23, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-amranni s. Sîn-abūšu *ì-lí-am-ra-an-ni,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, CT* 8 44b:21-22 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Sîn-ēriš -^{d}EN.ZU-*eriš$_4$* [...], *CT* 45 9:33, Apil-Sîn -30-*eriš$_4$, CT* 6 21c :24, no date
Ili-iddinam DUB.SAR *ì-lí-i-din-nam,* DUB.SAR, *CT* 47 13:24-25, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-gāmil s. Nurrubum -30-˹*ga*˺-*mil* DUMU *nu-ru-bu, MHET* II/1 25:19, Sabium -^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil* DUMU *nu-ru-bu*, *MHET* II/5 615:8', undated -^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil* DUMU *nu-ru-bu-um, CT* 8 31a:23, Apil-Sîn -^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil* DUMU *nu-ru-bu-um*, *MHET* II/5 729:8', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ) -^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil* DUMU *nu-ru-bu-um, CT* 47 9:31, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Ili-imitti s. Sîn-iddinam -*ì-lí-i-mi-ti* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam*, *BBVOT* 1 145:17', Apil-Sîn -*ì-lí-i-mi-ti* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, CT* 6 7b:30 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-erībam (b. Ibbi-Ilabrat) ˹^{d}EN.ZU˺-*i-din-nam* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-mi-ti, CT* 6 7b:27 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn
Ili-māliki s. Warad-Erra -*ì-lí-ma-li-ki,* DUMU ÌR-*èr-ra, MHET* II/1 33:23-24', Sabium -*ì-lí-ma-li-ki* DUMU ÌR-*èr-ra*, *BBVOT* 1 145:15'-16', Apil-Sîn -[*ì-lí*]-*ma-li-ki* DUMU ÌR-*èr-ra, CT* 6 7b:34 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn -*ì-lí-ma-li-ki* DUMU ˹x˺ [...], *MHET* II/1 51:27, Apil-Sîn -[*ì-lí*]-*ma-li-ki* DUMU ÌR-*èr-ra, CT* 8 31a:27, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iddinam -30-*i-din-nam* [...] x, *MHET* II/1 33:20', Sabium -[^{d}en].zu-*i-din-nam* [...], *MHET* II/1 58:25, Apil-Sîn
Ili-qāti s. Būr-Sîn -*ì-lí-qá-ti* DUMU *bur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 44b:20 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b -˹*ì*˺-*lí-qa-ti,* DUMU *bur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 27:28-29, Sabium	Sîn-ilum s. Pûm-rabi (Pum-rabi same as the chief judge in *CT* 8 31b and *MHET* II/1 56) -30-DINGIR DUMU *pu-um-ra-bi*, *BDHP* 55 :22, Apil-Sîn -30-DINGIR ˹DUMU˺ *pu-<um>-ra-bi, MHET* II/1 83(case):18, Sîn-muballiṭ -30-DINGIR DUMU ka-[*ra-bi*] , *MHET* II/5 615:12', undated

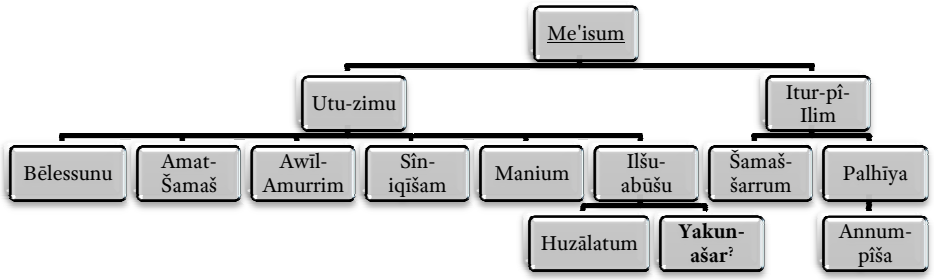
	-^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU *pu-um-ra-bi, BDHP* 40:19, Sîn-muballiṭ -^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU *pu-ra-bi*, *MHET* II/5 729:9', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ) -^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU *pur-ra-bi, CT* 47 9:30, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Ilšu-abūšu s. Nawirum-ili DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu,* DUMU *na-wi-ru-um-ì-lí*, *MHET* II/1 29:30-31, Sabium	Sîn-ilum s. Sîn-erībam ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, CT* 8 31a:16, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-bāni s. Sîn-erībam (b. Ubar-Šamaš) DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/5 615:10', undated	Sîn-ilum 30-DINGIR*, CT* 47 13:23, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilšu-ibbīšu s. Lipit-Ištar DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu,* DUMU *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár, CT* 8 44b:27-28 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Sîn-ilum(Ú.TÚL) ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR Ú.TÚL, DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am*, *CT* 4 7a :13-14, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-tillassu DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*s*[*u*] , *CT* 47 5 :24', Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iqīšam s. Inim-Utu ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am* DUMU INIM-^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 7a :11, Apil-Sîn
Ilum-qî DINGIR-*ki-i, CT* 4 9b:27, Sumu-la-El	Sîn-išmeanni s. Warad-ilīšu ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni* IGI *ak-ša-ia,* DUMU.me ÌR-*ì-lí-šu, CT* 6 7b:28-29 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn
Imgurrum *im-gur-ru, MHET* II/5 567:23, undated	Sîn-māgir s. Sîn-tayar 30-*ma-gir* DUMU 30-*ˀta*ˋ*-ia-ar, MHET* II/1 33:25', Sabium
Imgur-Sîn *rabiān* U[RU...] *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU *ra-bi-a-an* U[RU...], *CT* 45 9:19, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-muballiṭ s. Warad-ilīšu -^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* DUMU ÌR-*ì-lí-šu, CT* 8 44b:23-24 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b -30-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ,* DUMU ÌR-*ì-lí-šu*, *MHET* II/1 72:22-23, Apil-Sîn
Imgur-Sîn *im-gur*-30*, CT* 47 13:26, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sînīya s. Ibbi-Sîn 30-*ni-ia* DUMU *i-bi*-30 *CT* 47 4 :30, Apil-Sîn
Ipiq-Adad s. Puzur-Hala SIG-^{d}IM DUMU *puzur$_4$*-ha-la, *CT* 45 9:28, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-remēni s. Ikūn-pîša -30-*re-me-ni,* DUMU *i-ku-pí-ša MHET* II/1 83(case):16, Sîn-muballiṭ -^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni* DUMU *i-ku-pi$_4$-/ša*, *MHET* II/1 84:20, Sîn-muballiṭ -^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni* DUMU *i-ku-pí-ša, CT* 47 9:26, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Ipiq-Adad -*ˀi*ˋ*-pí-iq-*^{d}IM DUMU [...], *MHET* II/1 33:10', Sabium -ˀSIGˋ-^{d}IM DUMU ^{d}ˀxˋ [...], *MHET* II/1 58:27, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-remēni s. Sukkaliya Only attested through his seal on *MHET* II/1 84, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipiq-ilim *i-pí-iq*-DINGIR*, MHET* II/1 83:23, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-remēni 30-*re-me-ni, CT* 47 13:20, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipqatīya *ip-qà-tiˀ-ia, MHET* II/5 567:20, undated	Sîn-šeme s. Munawwirum 30-*še-me* DUMU *mu-na-<wi>-rum, CT* 47 4 :38, Apil-Sîn
Ipqūša s. Abu-ṭabum (b. Nidnuša) *ip-qú-ša* DUMU ab.ba-*ṭà-bu-um*, *MHET* II/1 72:21, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-ublam s. Abu-ṭabum (b. Ahum) ^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam* DUMU *a-bu-ṭà-bu-um*, *CT* 4 7a :10, Apil-Sîn
Ipqūša s. Sîn-remēni *ip-qú-ša* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, CT* 47 9:24, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Sîn-ublam s. Sîn-imitti ^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-mi-ti*, *BBVOT* 1 145:20', Apil-Sîn
Ipqūša s. Warad-Sîn *ip-qú-ša* DUMU ÌR-30, *MHET* II/1 29:23, Sabium	Sukkalu *sú-ka-lu-ú* DUMU [...], *MHET* II/1 58:19, Apil-Sîn
Ipqūša DUB.SAR	Ṣilli-ilim

-ip-qú-ša DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 72:26, Apil-Sîn *-ip-qú-ša* DUB.SAR, *CT* 47 9:32, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	*ṣíl-lí-*DINGIR DUMU x[...], *MHET* II/1 33:11', Sabium
Ipqu-Šamaš *ip-qú-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 83:22, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šallurum *ša-lu-ru-um, MHET* II/1 83:20, Sîn-muballiṭ
Išme-Ea *iš-me-é-*ˀa [...], *MHET* II/5 707:26, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-abi[...] ^{d}UTU-*a-bi-*[...], *CT* 45 9:32, Apil-Sîn
Itūr-kīnum s. Iddin-Sîn *i-túr-ki-nu-um* DUMU *i-din-*30, *CT* 4 7a :7, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-ilum *rabiānum* Halhalla s. Watar-Ikunum -^{d}UTU-DINGIR *ra-bi-<a>-nu-um, CT* 6 21c :18, no date -Only attested by his seal on *MHET* II/1 83, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lamassi *la-ma-sí, CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):31, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-kima-iliya s. Sahilatum ^{d}UTU-*ki-ma-ì-lí-a* DUMU *sà-hi-la-tum*, *MHET* II/1 52 (case :4'), Apil-Sîn
Lipit-Ištar s. Nannatum *li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*tum*, *CT* 47 5 :21', Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-nāṣir s. Sîn-iddinam ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam, CT* 6 46 :20, Apil-Sîn 13
Lipit-Ištar SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Šamaš-tappêšu *-li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár* SANGA, *CT* 47 5 :18', Apil-Sîn *-li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár* SANGA ^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 46 :16, Apil-Sîn 13 *-li-pí-it-iš$_{8}$-tár*, *MHET* II/5 567:13, undated	Šamaš-nūr-[matim] s. Nūr-ilīšu ^{d}UTU-*nu-*ˀ*úr*ˀ-[*ma-tim*], DUMU *nu-úr*-DINGIR-ˀ*šu*ˀ, *MHET* II/5 629:2'-3', undated
Lu-Iškurra s. Lu-Damu LÚ-^{d}IŠKUR.RA DUMU LÚ-^{d}DA.MU, *CT* 47 5 :22-23', Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-rabi s. Nabi-ilīšu -^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, CT* 6 7b:25 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn -^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, BDHP* 40:22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lu-Nanna s. Ibni-Adad -LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 51:29, Apil-Sîn -LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *CT* 6 7b:36-37 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn -LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}ʳIMˀ, *MHET* II/5 615:9', undated	Šamaš-šeme s. Nabi-Šamaš ^{d}UTU-*še-me* DUMU *na-bi-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 83(case):22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Mannu-šāninšu s. Lipit-Sîn *ma-nu-ša-nin-šu* DUMU *li-pí-it-*30, *MHET* II/1 72:25, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-tappê s. Šamaš-a.engur-niši ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*e* DUMU ^{d}UTU-a.engur-*ni-ši, CT* 6 46 :18, Apil-Sîn 13
Mannum s. Warad-Sîn *ma-nu-um*, DUMU ÌR-30, *MHET* II/1 27:19-20, Sabium	Šamaš-tappêšu s. Annum-pi-Sîn ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu,* DUMU AN-*pi₄*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 29
Marduk-nāṣir ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣi-ir, CT* 4 7a:1, Apil-Sîn 9	Šamaš-tappêšu s. Ili-iddinam ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu* DUMU *ì-lí-i-din-nam, CT* 47 4 :23, Apil-Sîn
Mattatum *ma-ta-tum*, *CT* 4 7a:15, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-tappešu aga.ús é ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu* aga.ús é, *CT* 4 7a :4, Apil-Sîn
Munawwirum s. Ahum *mu-na-wi-rum* DUMU *a-hu-*ˀ*um*ˀ, *MHET* II/5 707:24, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-tayar ^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar, CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):24, Sîn-muballiṭ
Mutam-ramê s. Ikūnu *mu-tam-ra-me-e* [DUMU ^{d}*i*]-*ku-nu, MHET* II/1 25:24, Sabium	Šamayatum *ša-ma-ia-tum, CT* 6 21c :20, no date
Nabi-ilīšu s. Ahūni *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *a-hu-ni CT* 47 4 :28, Apil-Sîn	Ša/umuh-Sîn second SANGA s. Nūr-Sîn *-ša-mu-uh-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 47 5 :19', Apil-Sîn *-šu-mu-uh-*^{d}EN.ZU SANGA ^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 46 :17, Apil-Sîn 13 *-šu-mu-úh-*30 SANGA ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1

	112):22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-ilīšu s. Sîn-iddinam *-na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam, CT* 47 4 :21, Apil-Sîn *-na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU 30-[*i-din-nam*] , *MHET* II/1 91:17, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šarrum-Adad KÙ.DÍM *šar-ru-um-*^{d}IM KÙ$^{!}$.DÍM*, CT* 6 7b:26 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn
Nabi-Sîn s. Hulālum *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *hu-la-lum, MHET* II/1 25:18, Sabium *na-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, DUMU *hu-la-lum*, *MHET* II/1 52:23-24, Apil-Sîn	Šū-Abiyatum *šu-a-bi-ia-tum*, *BDHP* 55 :24, Apil-Sîn
Nabi-Šamaš s. Ahūni *-na-bi-*^{d}UTU DUMU *a-hu-ni*, *CT* 45 9:23, Apil-Sîn *-na-bi-*^{d}UTU DUMU *a-hu-ʾni`*, *MHET* II/5 729:5', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ) *-na-bi-*^{d}UTU DUMU *a-hu-ni, CT* 47 9:27, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Šū-pîša s. Ahum-waqar *su-pí-ša* DUMU *a-hu-wa-qar*, *MHET* II/1 84:26, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-Šamaš *-na-bi-*^{d}UTU*, CT* 6 21c :21, no date *-na-bi-*^{d}UTU*, CT* 47 13:21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Tappum s. [...] *tap-pu-um* DUMU [...], *MHET* II/5 707:25, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nakkarum s. Sîn-erībam *na-ka-ru-um*, DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/5 567:18, undated	Taribium *ta-ri-bi-um, CT* 6 21c :25, no date
Nanna-kiag s. Ur-Lugalbanda ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG DUMU UR-^{d}LUGAL.BÀN.DA, *CT* 4 7a :6, Apil-Sîn	Taribum s. Būr-Sîn *ta-ri-ʾbu`-um* DUMU *bur*-30*, MHET* II/1 83:23(case), Sîn-muballiṭ
Nanna-mansum DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/5 615:11', undated	Ubarrum s. Nūr-Ištar [*u*]-*ʾbar`-ru-um nu-úr-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, CT* 6 7b:31 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn
Nanna-šalasud DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ŠÀ.LÁ.SUD DUB.SAR*, CT* 8 44b:29 (case=*MHET* II/1 21), Sumu-la-El b	Ubar-Šamaš s. Sîn-šeme (b. Ilān-dinā) *u-bar-*^{d}UTU, DINGIR.DINGIR-*di-na*, DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me*, *MHET* II/1 29:27-29, Sabium
Narām-Adad MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD *na-ra-am-*^{d}IM MÁŠ.ŠU.[GÍD.GÍD] , *MHET* II/1 33:6', Sabium	Uṣi-Nurum *ú-ṣí-nu-ru-um, CT* 4 9b:26, Sumu-la-El
Narām-ilīšu s. Nūr-Ea (b. Abīyatum) *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu ù a-bi-ia-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-é-a, BDHP* 40:20-21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Uṣur-awāssu *ú-ṣur-a-wa-su, CT* 4 9b:17, Sumu-la-El
Narām-ilīšu *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu*, *BDHP* 55 :23, Apil-Sîn	UTU-hegal s. Iddin-Lagamal ^{d}UTU-HÉ.GÁL ʿDUMUʾ *i-din-laʿga-malʾ*, *MHET* II/1 51:24, Apil-Sîn
Narubtum *-na-ru-ub-tum, CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):34, Sîn-muballiṭ *-na-ru-ub-tum, MHET* II/1 80:5', Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Amurrim SANGA ^{d}Ikūnum s. Abum-ṭābum -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU a.pa-*ṭà-bu-um, MHET* II/1 51:28, Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU SANGA $^{d!}$*i-ku-nu-um*, *BDHP* 55 :21, Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU SANGA*, CT* 6 7b:22 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU A.AP.PA-*ṭà-bu*-[*um*] , *MHET* II/1 84:23, Sîn-muballiṭ -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *a-pa-ṭà-bu-um*, *MHET* II/5 615:7', undated -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU A.AB.BA!-*ṭa-bu-<um>, CT* 8 31a:26, Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *a-ṭa-ṭà-bu-um, BDHP* 40:18, Sîn-

	muballiṭ -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *a-pa-ṭa-bi, MHET* II/1 91:21, Sîn-muballiṭ -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *a-ab-bu-ʾumʾ*-[*ṭà-bu-um*] , *MHET* II/5 707:22, Sîn-muballiṭ -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU SANGA, *MHET* II/5 729:7', undated (Sîn-muballiṭ) -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU SANGA ^{d}*i-ku-ni, CT* 47 9:29, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM [UGULA LUKUR] ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):25, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Amurrim s. Ili-rabi ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, DUMU *ì-lí-ra-bi*, *MHET* II/1 72:17-18, Apil-Sîn
Nūr-Ea -*nu-úr-é-a*, *BDHP* 55 :25, Apil-Sîn -*nu-úr-é-a, CT* 47 9:36, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Warad-Amurrim -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 45 9:, Apil-Sîn -ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 6 21c :22, no date
Nūr-ilīšu s. ni-x *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* DUMU ni-x, *BBVOT* 1 145:14', Apil-Sîn	Warad-ilīšu s. Narām-ilīšu ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, BDHP* 40:23, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nūr-ilīšu *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 47 13:22, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Sîn SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Lipit-Ištar ÌR-30 SANGA ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 39b (=*MHET* II/1 112):21, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nurīya s. KA nu x *nu-ʾriʾ-ia* KA nu x, *MHET* II/1 33:22', Sabium	
Nūr-Kabta s. Sîn-iti -*nu-úr*-^{d}KAB.TA DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-ti, CT* 6 7b:23 (case=*MHET* II/1 65), Apil-Sîn -*nu-úr*-^{d}KAB.TA DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-/ti*, *MHET* II/1 84:24, Sîn-muballiṭ	

4.1.3.9 The Me'isum family



Other people owning property in the file of Me'isum's family:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Akšāya SAG *i-ta ak-ša-ia, MHET* II/1 90:8, Sîn-muballiṭ	Agu-[...] *a-gu*-[...], *MHET* II/6 843:1', Sabium
Bēlšunu s. Lipit-Ištar *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *li-pí-it-iš₈-tár*, *MHET* II/5 837:2, undated	Sābibum s. **Hayab-El** *-sà-bi-bu-um* DUMU[*ha-ia-ab-ì*-DINGIR],*MHET* II/5 627:6, undated *-sa-bi-bu-um* DUMU *ha-ia-ab-ì*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/5 630:5, undated *-sa-bi-bu-um,* DUMU *ha-ia-ab-ì*-DINGIR,*CT* 47 18:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ea-bāni s. Imgur-Ea *ù i-ta é-a-ba-ni* DUMU *im-gur-é-a, MHET* II/1 43:4, Sabium j	Sîn-iqīšam s. Tuzalium 30-*i-qí-ša-am*, DUMU *tu-za-li-um, MHET* II/1 90:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erra-nada ^{d}*èr-ra-na-da*, *MHET* II/6 843(case):3, Sabium	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Huzālatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Akšaya *hu-za-la-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU ÚH^{KI}*-ia, BDHP* 40 :7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ	
Iltāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-remēni *-il-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}ʿUTUʾ, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-ʿ*re-me-ni*ʾ, *CT* 47 5 :6'-7', Apil-Sîn *-il-*[*t*]*a-ni* LUKUR ^{d}[UTU] , *CT* 45 9:6, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iqīšam EGIR É ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am*, *MHET* II/5 627:3, undated
Ilum-nāṣir s. Ili-imgur DINGIR-*na-ṣi-ir* DUMU *ì-lí-*ʿ*im-gur*ʾ, *MHET* II/1 43:5, Sabium j	Šamaš-šeme *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}UTU-*še-mi*, *MHET* II/6 843(case) :3, Sabium
Mār-Šamaš *i-ta* DUMU-^{d}UTU [...]-ʿxʾ-*ri-im, MHET* II/1 90:9-5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ubar-Šamaš s. Munawwirum *i-ta u-bar*-^{d}UTU DUMU *mu-na-wi-rum, MHET* II/1 43:3,Sabium j
Sîyatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU ʿSAGʾ.1.KAM EGIR 30-*ia-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 630:4, undated	Zikarum *i-ta zi-ka-rum, CT* 47 18:3, Sîn-muballiṭ

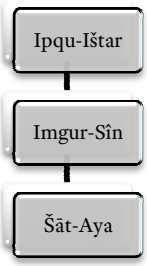
Witnesses in the file of Me'isum's family:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abīyatum s. Nūr-Ea *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu ù a-bi-iatum,* DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-é-a, BDHP* 40:20-21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Awīl-Amurrim s. Agigum LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *a-gi-*[*gu-um*] , *CT* 45 9:22, Apil-Sîn
Adad-remēni s. Damu-galzu (RÁ.GABA) ^{d}IM-*re-me-ni*, *CT* 47 5 :20', Apil-Sîn	Bēlakum s. **Dawdanum** (b. Etel-pi-Sîn and Annum-pîša) *ʿbe-laʾ-kum*, DUMU *da-<wi>-ʿdaʾ-nu-um, MHET* II/1 90:24-25, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ahūšina s. Ṭabiya *a-ʿhuʾ-ši-na*, DUMU *ṭà-bi-ia, MHET* II/1 90:26-27, Sîn-muballiṭ	Bēlšunu s. **Ašdi-litur** *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *aš-di-li*^{1} (lu)-*tur*^{1} (tar) , *CT* 47 18:19, Sîn-muballiṭ
Akšak-iddinam s. Huzālum -úh-ki-*i-din-nam* DUMU *hu-za-lum*, *MHET* II/1 42:17, Sabium c -úh-ki-*i-din-nam* DUMU *hu-za*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 43:18, Sabium J	Erībam-Sîn s. Haya *ʿeʾ-ri-ba-am*-30 DUMU *ha-ia*-x[...], *CT* 45 9:36, Apil-Sîn
Ana-Šamaš-taklāku s. Abu-kima (f. Iddin-Šamaš) *a-na-*^{d}UTU-*ták-la-ku* DUMU *a-bu-ki-ma*-[...], *CT* 45 9:25, Apil-Sîn	Etel-pî-Sîn s. **Dawdanum** *e-tel-pi$_{4}$*-30 DUMU *da-wi*-[...], *CT* 45 9:21, Apil-Sîn
Annum-pîša s. Apil-Ištar an-*pi$_{4}$-ša* DUMU *a-pil-i*[*š$_{8}$-tár*] , *CT* 45 9:35, Apil-Sîn	**Hayab-El** s. **Sumu-habnu** *ʿha-ia-ab-ì*-DINGIRʾ, DUMU * *su-mu*^{1}-[*ha-ab-nu...*], *MHET* II/1 42:20-21, Sabium c
Apil-ilim s. Ana-Sîn-taklāku *a-pil*-DINGIR DUMU *a-na*-30-*tá*[*k-la-ku*] , *CT* 45 9:34, Apil-Sîn	Ilum-pišu s. Kusanum DINGIR-*pí-šu,* DUMU *ku-sa-nim*, *MHET* II/1 42:29-30, Sabium c
Apil-Ištar *rabiān* Šubula *a-pil-iš$_{8}$-tár ra-bi-a-an* URU-*šu-bu-la*, *CT* 45 9:27, Apil-Sîn	Ipqūša s. Balkīya *ip-qú-ša* DUMU *bal-ki-ia, BDHP* 40:24, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lu-Ninšubur DUB.SAR LÚ-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR.KA, DUB.SAR, *BDHP* 40:25-26, Sîn-muballiṭ	Išmeanni s. Bēlakum (grandson of **Dawidanum**) -*ʿiš-me-a-an-niʾ* DUMU *be-la-ki*, *MHET* II/1 42:28, Sabium c *-iš-me-a-ʿniʾ* DUMU *be-la-kum*, *MHET* II/1 43:24, Sabium J
Awīl-ilim s. Ili-erībam *-a-wi-il*-DINGIR DUMU *ì-lí-e-ri*-[*ba-am*] , *CT* 45 9:24, Apil-Sîn -[...]-DINGIR DUMU *ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/5 837:5'',undated	Itti-ilim-milki s. Bazaza [*it*]-*ti*-DINGIR-*mil-ki* DUMU *ba-za-za*, *CT* 45 9:29, Apil-Sîn
Awīl-ilim s. Warad-Sîn NU.BANDA$_{3}$ Halhalla [*a-wi*]-*ʿilʾ*-DINGIR DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU NU.BANDA$_{3}$ *hal-hal-la*^{ki}, *MHET* II/5 837:6'',undated	**Milki-la-Ila** s. **Aqba-ahum** *mi-il-ki-la-i-la,* DUMU *ʿaqʾ-ba-hu-um*, *MHET* II/1 43:22-23, Sabium J
Iddin-ilum s. Awīl-ilim *i-din*-DINGIR DUMU *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *CT* 47 18:19, Sîn-muballiṭ	Munawwirum s. Supapum *ʿmuʾ-na-wi-rum* DUMU *sú-pa-pu-um*, *MHET* II/5 630:3', undated
Ilšu-abūšu s. Ili-ublam (b.Ilum-nāṣir and Iturrum) DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu ù* DINGIR-*na-ṣir,* DUMU.MEŠ *ì-lí-ub-lam*, *MHET* II/1 42:18-19, Sabium c	Samaya s. Nūr-Ištar [*sà*]-*ʿma-iaʾ* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_{8}$-tár*, *MHET* II/5 630:2', undated
Ilšu-tillassu DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*s*[*u*] , *CT* 47 5 :24', Apil-Sîn	Šabašimi *ù ša-ba-ši-mi, ma-ru-šu, MHET* II/1 90:20-21, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilum-nāṣir s. Ili-ublam (b. Ilšu-abušu) DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu ù* DINGIR-*na-ṣir,* DUMU.MEŠ *ì-lí-ub-*	Šamhum s. **Yantin-El** *ša-am-hu-um* DUMU *ia-an-ti-ni*/DINGIR, *MHET* II/1

lam, *MHET* II/1 42:18-19, Sabium c	43:17, Sabium j
Imgurrum *im-gur-rum* [...], *MHET* II/6 843:16', Sabium	**Yamṣi-El** s. **Iṣi-ašar** (b.Yantin-El) *ia-an-ti-ni*-DINGIR IGI *ia-amʾ-ṣíʾ*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 43:19-20, Sabium j
Imgur-Sîn s. Uqa-ilim *im-gur*-30 DUMU *ú-qa*-DINGIR, *CT* 47 18:20, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Ilabrat s. Abatabnim ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR DUMU *a-ba-tab-nim*, *CT* 45 9:26, Apil-Sîn
Imgur-Sîn *rabiān* U[RU...] *im-gur*-^{d}EN.ZU *ra-bi-a-an* U[RU...], *CT* 45 9:19, Apil-Sîn	[...] s. Sunumum [...] ʾxʾ DUMU *su-nu-mu-um*, *MHET* II/5 837:8'', undated
Imgur-Sîn *im-gur*-^{d}EN.ZU ʾDUMUʾ [...], *MHET* II/6 843:15', Sabium	[....] s. **Yantin-El** [...] BE? DUMU *ia-ʾan-tiʾ-el*, *MHET* II/5 837:10'', undated
Ipiq-Adad s. Puzur-Hala SIG-^{d}IM DUMU *puzur$_4$-ha-la*, *CT* 45 9:28, Apil-Sîn	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Lipit-Ištar SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Šamaš-tappêšu *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár* SANGA, *CT* 47 5 :18', Apil-Sîn	
Lipit-Ištar s. Nannatum *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*tum*, *CT* 47 5 :21', Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-ap[...] s. Nabi-ilīšu ^{d}UTU-*ap*-[...DUMU *na*]-*bi-ì-lí-šu*, *MHET* II/5 627:3', undated
Lu-Iškurra s. Lu-Damu LÚ-^{d}IŠKUR.RA DUMU LÚ-^{d}DA.MU, *CT* 47 5 :22-23', Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-ilum *rabiānum* Halhalla s. Watar-Ikūnum ^{d}UTU-DINGIR *ra-bi-a-an hal-hal-la*, *MHET* II/6 843 :13', Sabium
Marduk-muballiṭ DUB.SAR ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* DUB.SAR, *CT* 47 18:24, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-rabi s. Ašri-Enlil (b. Ipiq-Ištar) ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU *aš-ri*-^{d}EN.LÍL, *MHET* II/5 837:4'', undated
Nabi-Šamaš s. Ahūni *-na-bi*-^{d}UTU DUMU *a-hu-ʾniʾ*, *MHET* II/6 843:14', Sabium *-na-bi*-^{d}UTU DUMU *a-hu-ni*, *CT* 45 9:23, Apil-Sîn *-na-bi*-^{d}UTU, DUMU *a-ʾhu-niʾ*, *MHET* II/1 90:18-19, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-rabi s. Nabi-ilīšu ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu*, *BDHP* 40:22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nanna-sagkal s. Ipiq-ištar ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-sag.kal, DUMU sig-*iš$_8$-tár*, *MHET* II/5 627:4'-5', undated	Utu-mansum ^{d}ʳUTU-maʾ.[an.sum] , *MHET* II/6 843:17', Sabium
Narām-ilīšu s. Nūr-Ea (b. Abiyatum) *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu ù a-bi-ia-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-é-a*, *BDHP* 40:20-21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Amurrim SANGA ^{d}Ikūnum s. Abum-ṭābum ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *a-pa-ṭà-bu-um*, *BDHP* 40:18, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîn-ēriš ^{d}EN.ZU-*eriš$_4$* [...], *CT* 45 9:33, Apil-Sîn	Warad-Amurrim ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 45 9:, Apil-Sîn
Sîn-idi s. Sîn-puṭram 30-*i-di* DUMU 30-*pu-uṭ-ra-am*, *MHET* II/1 43:25, Sabium J	Warad-ilīšu s. Narām-ilīšu ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu*, *BDHP* 40:23, Sîn-muballiṭ
Sîn-ilum s. Pûm-rabi ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU *pu-um-ra-bi*, *BDHP* 40:19, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...]-bēl-ili s. La[...] [...]-*be-el-ì-lí* DUMU ʾlaʾ-[...], *CT* 45 9:37, Apil-Sîn
Sîn-rabi s. Ikūn-pi-Sîn 30-*ra-bi* DUMU *i-ku-un-pí*-30, *CT* 47 18:23, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...]-māgir s. Ilīšu-[...] [...]-*ma-gir* DUMU *ì-lí-šu*-[...], *CT* 45 9:30, Apil-Sîn
Sîn-remēni s. Sîn-erībam -30-*re-me-ni*, DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 42:22-23, Sabium c -30-*re-me-ni* DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1	[...] s. Elali [...] DUMU *e-la-li*, *MHET* II/5 837:1'', undated

43:21, Sabium J	
Sîn-ublam s. Sîn-damiq 30-*ub-lam,* DUMU 30-*da-mi-iq*, *MHET* II/1 42:26-27, Sabium c	[...] s. Išme-Adad [...] DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/5 837:2'', undated
Ṣilli-Akšak s. Iddin-Pîya *ṣíl-lí-*ÚH^{KI} DUMU *i-din-pí-ya, CT* 47 18:22, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...] s. Sîn-iddinam [...]-ˊxˋ-du DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/5 837:7'', undated
Ša/umuh-Sîn second SANGA s. Nūr-Sîn *ša-mu-uh-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 47 5 :19', Apil-Sîn	[...] s. Sîn-remēni [...] DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni*, *MHET* II/5 837:9'', undated
Šamaš-abi[...] ^{d}UTU-*a-bi*-[...], *CT* 45 9:32, Apil-Sîn	[...] s. Urdukuga [...] ˊBI?ˋ DUMU UR.DU$_6$.KÙ.GA, *MHET* II/5 837:3'', undated
Šamaš-abum s. Sîn-iddinam ^{d}UTU-*a-bu-um,* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam, MHET* II/1 90:22-23, Sîn-muballiṭ	

4.1.3.10 Ipqu-Ištar's descendants



Other people owning property in the file of Ipqu-Ištar's descendants:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Iddin-Ilabrat s. Ikūn-pîša *i-din-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR DUMU *i-ku-*ˊ*pi$_4$-ša*ˋ,*MHET* II/1 77:5, Apil-Sîn 6	
Inim-Utu *ù* INIM-^{d}UTU, *CT* 47 3 :3, Apil-Sîn	
Nabi-ilīšu and Ipiq-Nunu sons of Munawwirum & Nuṭṭubtum *na-bi-i-lí-šu* DUMU *mu-na-wi-ru-um,* ^{I}*i-pí-iq-nu-nu* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *ù nu-ṭú-ub-tum* DAM *mu-na-wi-ru*ˊ*um*ˋ, *um-mi-šu-nu MHET* II/1 77:7-10, Apil-Sîn 6	
Nabi-Šamaš and Nūr-Šamaš, sons of Rē'um *-na-bi-*^{d}UTU DUMU SIPA, *CT* 47 3 :2, Apil-Sîn *-nu-úr-*^{d}[UTU DUMU *ri-i*] , *MHET* II/1 47:4, Apil-Sîn *-nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU *ri-i*, *MHET* II/1 76:5, Apil-Sîn 11 *-nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU SIPA, *CT* 47 3:4, Apil-Sîn *-nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU SIPA, *MHET* II/1 71:9, Apil-Sîn	
Nūr-Šamaš s. Sîn-nāṣir *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30-*na-ṣir*, *MHET* II/1 77:3, Apil-Sîn 6	

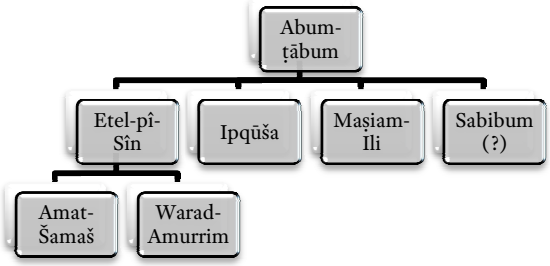
Sîn-iqīšam *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí/-ša-am*, *MHET* II/1 76:4, Apil-Sîn 11	
Šarrūt-Sîn's daughter, NU.GIG SAG.1.KAM A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS *šar-ru-ut*-^{d}EN.ZU NU.GIG, *MHET* II/1 77:4, Apil-Sîn 6	
Ur-Ninšubur s. Hunnubum UR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR DUMU *hu-nu-ʾbuʾ*, *MHET* II/1 77:6, Apil-Sîn 6	

Witnesses in the file of Ipqu-Ištar's descendants:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Ašri-Enlil s. Annalim *aš-ri*-^{d}EN.LÍL DUMU *an-na-lim*, *MHET* II/1 71:29, Apil-Sîn	**Amnānum** s. Ibni-Sîn *a-ma-na-nu-um,* DUMU *ib-ni*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 76:17-18, Apil-Sîn 11
Ašri-Enlil s. Bēlum -*aš-ri*-^{d}EN.LÍL DUMU *be-lum*, *CT* 47 3:14, Apil-Sîn -*aš-ri*-^{d}EN.LÍL DUMU *be-lum*, *MHET* II/1 77:31, Apil-Sîn 6	Akkadian and Sumerian names (contineud)
Awīl-Adad s. Išme-Adad -LÚ-^{d}IM DUMU *iš-me*-^{d}IM, *CT* 47 3:21, Apil-Sîn -LÚ-^{d}IM IGI *en-nam*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU.ME *iš-me*-^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 71:24-25, Apil-Sîn	
Awīl-Amurrim s. UTU-zimu LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, DUMU ^{d}UTU-ZI.MU, *MHET* II/1 76:25-26, Apil-Sîn 11	Nabi-ilīšu s. Ennen-Sîn (b. Erībam) -*na-bi-ì-lí-šu,* DUMU *en-ne-en*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 47:15-16, Apil-Sîn -*na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *en-ne*-30, *CT* 47 3:16, Apil-Sîn
Awīl-ilim s. Lu-Nanna *a-wi-il*-DINGIR DUMU LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *MHET* II/1 77:34, Apil-Sîn 6	Nanna-x s. Sîn-nāṣir ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ʾxʾ DUMU 30-*na-ṣir*, *CT* 47 3:15, Apil-Sîn
Dingir-mansum s. Sîn-tillassu -DINGIR-MA.AN.SUM DUMU 30-ILLAT-*su*, *MHET* II/1 47:17, Apil-Sîn -DINGIR-MA.AN.SUM DUMU 30-ILLAT-*su*, *CT* 47 3:18, Apil-Sîn -DINGIR-MA.AN.SUM DUMU 30-ILLAT-*su*, *MHET* II/1 71:24, Apil-Sîn	Narām-ilīšu s. Munawwirum *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *mu-na-wi-rum*, *MHET* II/1 71:27, Apil-Sîn
Ennam-Sîn s. Išme-Adad (b. Awīl-Adad) -*en-nam*-^{d}EN.ZU, ʿDUMUʾ *iš-me*-^{d}ʿIMʾ, *MHET* II/1 47:18-19, Apil-Sîn -*en-nam*-30, DUMU *iš-me*-^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 76:23-24, Apil-Sîn 11 -LÚ-^{d}IM IGI *en-nam*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU.me *iš-me*-^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 71:25-26, Apil-Sîn	Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM, UGULA lukur.MEŠ ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 77(case):33-34, Apil-Sîn 6
Erībam s. Ennen-Sîn (b. Nabi-ilīšu) -*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *en-ne-en*-30, *CT* 47 3:19, Apil-Sîn	Nunu-ēreš DAM.GÀR s. Ahum-ṭābum *nu-nu*-APIN DUMU *a-hu-ṭà-bu-um*, *MHET* II/1 77:32, Apil-Sîn 6
Iballuṭ s. Ilum-mušallim -ʾ*i-ba*ʾ-*lu-uṭ* ʿDUMUʾ DINGIR-*mu-ša-lim*, *MHET* II/1 77(case):33, Apil-Sîn 6	Nūr-ahi s. Ibbi-Sîn *nu-úr-a-hi*, DUMU *i-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 76:19-20, Apil-Sîn 11
Iddin-Sîn DUB.SAR	Nūr-Šamaš s. Iddin-Šamaš

*-i-ʾdin*ˋ-^{d}EN.ZU DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 77(case):38, Apil-Sîn 6	*nu-úr*-^{d}UTU DUMU *i-din*-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 76:25-26, Apil-Sîn 11
Iddīya DUB.SAR (=Iddin-Sîn?) *-i-di-ia* DUB.SAR, *CT* 47 3:17, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Šamaš s. Ikūn-pîša *-nu-úr*-^{d}UTU, DUMU *i-ku-ʾpi$_4$*ˋ*-ša*, *MHET* II/1 76:21-22, Apil-Sîn 11 *-nu-ʾúr*ˋ-^{d}UTU DUMU *i-ku-pí-ša*, *MHET* II/1 71:28, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-bāni s. Sîn-iddinam -DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/1 77:30, Apil-Sîn 6	Rīš-Šamaš DUB.SAR *ri-iš*-^{d}UTU DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 71:31, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-ibbišu s. Ilum-ma -DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu* DUMU DINGIR-*ma*, *MHET* II/1 71:23, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iqīšam s. Nūr-ili 30-*i-qí-ša-am* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí*, *MHET* II/1 77:33, Apil-Sîn 6
Imgur-Sîn s. Hummut *-im-gur*-30 DUMU *hu-mu-/ut*, *MHET* II/1 77:36, Apil-Sîn 6	Šamaš-nāṣir ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir*, *MHET* II/1 77:37, Apil-Sîn 6
Inim-Enlila s. Ilšu-bāni -INIM$^{!}$-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ DUMU DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, *CT* 47 3:20, Apil-Sîn	Tappum s. Sîn-emūqi *tap-pu-um* DUMU 30-*e-ʾmu*ˋ*-qí*, *MHET* II/1 71:30, Apil-Sîn

4.1.3.11 Abum-ṭābum's sons



Other people owning property in the file of Abum-ṭābum's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Ahūni *ù i-ta a-hu-ni* DUMU ʾxˋ [...], *MHET* II/1 61:2, Apil-Sîn	**Yataratum** LUKUR ^{d}UTU *ia-ta-ra-tum* LUKUR [^{d}UTU] , *ARN* 161:14, Apil-Sîn
Apil-kīnum *ù i-ta a-pil-ki-nu-u*[*m*] , *ARN* 161:7, Apil-Sîn	**Yaṣira-[...]** LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-rabi [*i-ta*] A.ŠÀ *ia-ṣí-ra*-[...] LUKUR ^{d}UTU, [DUM]U.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi, PBS* VIII/2 258 :2-3, undated
Awīl-Amurrim *-ù* DA É LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, *RSM* 16:5', Sabium -ÚS.SA.DU É LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, *MHET* II/1 32:2, Sabium	Akkadian and Sumerian names (contineud)
Awīl-^{d}[...] *a-wi-il*-^{d}[...], *MHET* II/5 693:4', Apil-Sîn	
Ili-Arahtum *-ša* DA É *ì-lí-a-ra-ah-ʾtumˋ*, *RSM* 16:4', Sabium	Munawwirum *ʾi-taˋ* A.ŠÀ *mu-na-wi-rum* DUMU ʾxˋ , *MHET* II/1 61:2,

-ù ì-lí-a-ra-ah, *MHET* II/1 32:3, Sabium	Apil-Sîn
Ipqu-Ningal, s. Apil-ilīšu *ip-qú-*^{d}NIN.GAL, DUMU *a-pil-ì-lí-šu, BBVOT* 1 115:4-5,Apil-Sîn 8	Sîn-rē'um's children Awīlaki, Lamassatum and Ištar-ummi *-a-wi-la-ki* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-[SIPA] , *BE* 6/1 16:3ʿ, Apil-Sîn *-a-wi-la-ki* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-SIPA*, la-ma-sa-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-sipa *TLB* 1 220:3-6, Apil-Sîn *-a-wi-la-ki* ˹DUMU 30-SIPA˺*, iš*$_8$*-tár-um-mi, TCL* 1 64:4-5, Apil-Sîn
Išar-Šamaš s. Nūr-ilīšu *i-šar-*^{d}UTU DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, TCL* I 63:15, undated	Šū-^{d}nin[...]'s sons Ahiya'um, Šamaš-nāṣir and Nanna-mansum -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* ^{Id}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *ù a-hi-ia-um* DUMU.MEŠ *šu-*[...], *MHET* II/1 61:4-5, Apil-Sîn -[^{d}šeš.]ki-MA.AN.SUM, [*ù a-hí*]*-ia-um* DUMU.MEŠ *šu-*^{d}NIN[...], *PBS* VIII/2 258 :5-6, undated
Itti-Enlil-kīni DA É ki-^{d}EN.LÍL-*ki-ni, TCL* 1 59:2, Sabium	The children of [...]-mit: Etellum, Marduk-ilum, Erīb-Sîn and Iṣṣi-Gula *e-te-lum* ^{d}AMAR.UTU-DINGIR, *ù e-ri-ib*-30, *ù i-iṣ-ṣí-*$^{d!}$gu$^{!}$-la, D[UMU.ME...]x-*mi-it, CT* 4 16a:6-9, Apil-Sîn 12
Lamassi d. Iddin-Šamaš *la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS *i-din-*^{d}UTU, *TCL* 1 59:7, Sabium	

Witnesses in the file of Abum-ṭābum's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abīya s. Būriya *a-bi-ia* DUMU *bu-ri-ia*, *TCL* 1 59:20, Sabium	Bēlum s. **Abi-Erah** *be-lum* DUMU *a-bi-ra-ah*, *TCL* 1 59:23, Sabium
Abum-ṭābum s. Ipqūša (b. Erībam) *a-bu-um-ṭà-bu-um* IGI *e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU.ME *ip-qú-ša*, *MHET* II/5 692:27'-28', undated	Buzû s. Šunaya *bu-zu-ú* DUMU *šu-na-ia*, *TCL* 1 59:16, Sabium
Adad-gāmil MUHALDIM s. Nārum-laba (b. Adad-pilah) ^{d}IM-*ga-mil* MUHALDIM, DUMU ^{d}I$_7$-˹la-ba x˺*, BBVOT* 1 115:16'-17', Apil-Sîn 8	Gidānum s. Matatum *gi-da-nim* DUMU *ma-ta-a-tum*, *MHET* II/1 32:21, Sabium
Adad-pilah s. Nārum-laba -^{d}IM-*pí-lah* DUMU ^{d}I$_7$-*la-ba*, *MHET* II/1 61:30, Apil-Sîn -^{d}IM-*pi-la-ah,* DUMU ^{d}I$_7$-*la-ba, PBS* VIII/2 258 :11'-12', undated -^{d}IM-*pí-lah* DUMU ^{d}I$_7$-*la-ba*, *MHET* II/5 693:6'', Apil-Sîn	Hangadi s. Ipiq-Ištar *ha-an-ga-di* DUMU *i-pí-iq-iš*$_8$*-tár, RSM* 16:29', Sabium
Adad-remēni s. Damu-galzu (RÁ.GABA) -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni* ˹RÁ.GABA˺*, TLB* 1 220:21, Apil-Sîn -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni,* DUMU ^{d}DA.MU-GA[L.ZU] *, BBVOT* 1 115:8'-9', Apil-Sîn 8 -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni* ì.DU$_8$, *MHET* II/1 61:20, Apil-Sîn -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni,* DUMU ^{d}DA.MU-GAL.[ZU] *, PBS* VIII/2 258 :3'-4', undated -^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, TCL* 1 63:27, undated	Idādum ì.du$_8$ (cloister official, son of Pala-Sîn) *-i-da-du-um* ì.du$_8$, *, TLB* 1 220:22, Apil-Sîn -*<i>-da-du-um* ì.du$_8$, *MHET* II/1 61:21, Apil-Sîn *-i-da-du-um* ì.du$_8$*, PBS* VIII/2 258:6', undated
Akšak-māgir DUB.SAR ÚH^{KI}-*ma-gi-ir* DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 32:24, Sabium	Ili-yatim s. Kutiyānum *ì-lí-ia-tim,* DUMU *ku-ti-ia-nim, BBVOT* 1 115:24'-25', Apil-Sîn 8

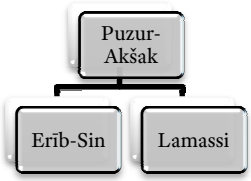
Akšak-rabi s. kal? x ÚH[KI]-*ra-bi* DUMU kal? * x* [...], *MHET* II/5 693:5'', Apil-Sîn	Kupāpum *ku-pa-pu-um, CT* 4 16a:26, Apil-Sîn 12
Amat-Šamaš d. Rīš-Abum? GEME$_2$-[d]UTU, DUMU *ri-iš?-a-bu-um, BBVOT* 1 115:28'-29', Apil-Sîn 8	Manini s. Šamaš-šaduni *-ma-ni-ni* DUMU [d]UTU-*ša-du-ni*, *MHET* II/1 61:25, Apil-Sîn *-ma-ni-ni* DUMU ˹[d]UTU-*ša-du-ni*ˀ, *PBS* VIII/2 258 :17', undated
Ana-pāni-ilim s. [...] *a-na-pa-ni*-DINGIR DUMU [...], *TCL* 1 63:42, undated	**Nāqimum** s. **Iṣi-šar** *na-qí-mu-um* DUMU *i-ṣí-šar, CT* 4 16a:27-28, Apil-Sîn 12
Ana-Šamaš-šūṣir s. Šallurum(?) *a-na*-[d]UTU-*šu-ṣir,* DUMU *ša-lu-ru*(?)-[*um*(?)] , *MHET* II/5 693:7''-8'', Apil-Sîn	Narubtum d. **Binanti-El** *na-ru-ub-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *bi-na-an-ti-el, TLB* 1 220:26, Apil-Sîn
Awīl-Adad s. Ili-wedēku LÚ-[d]IM DUMU *ì-lí-we-de-ku, RSM* 16:30', Sabium	Nuṭṭubtum d. Adkilum *nu-ṭu-ub-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ad-ki-lum, TLB* 1 220:24-25, Apil-Sîn
Bēlenum s. Hāliqum *be-le-nu-um* DUMU ˹*ha*ˀ-*li-qú-um*, *TCL* 1 59:15, Sabium	Sîn-iqīšam s. ˹x*ˀ-ma-ni-/rum* 30-*i-qí-ša-am* DUMU ˹x*ˀ-*ma-ni-*/rum, *MHET* II/5 693:10'', Apil-Sîn
Bēlšunu s. Nūr-ilīšu *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, TCL* 1 63:41, undated	Tutu-nāṣir (probably the son of Sassiya and the brother of **Yamlik-El**) *tu-tu-na-ṣir, CT* 4 16a:23, Apil-Sîn 12
Emūqi-Adad s. Ubarrum *e-mu-qí-*[d]IM, DUMU *u-bar-ru-um*, *MHET* II/1 32:22-23, Sabium	**Yabnik-El** s. Sassīya (in *MHET* II/5 669 Yamlik-El ?) *ia-ab-ni-ik*-DINGIR, DUMU *sa-si-ia, CT* 4 16a:24-25, Apil-Sîn 12
Enlil-abum s. Puzur-Šamaš [d]EN.LÍL-*a-bi-im,* DUMU *puzur$_4$*-[d]UTU, *TCL* 1 64:22-23, Apil-Sîn	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Enlil-abum DUB.SAR -[d]EN.LÍL-<*a*>-*bu-um* DUB.SAR, *MHET* II/1 61:31, Apil-Sîn -[d]EN.LÍL-*a-bu-um* DUB.SAR, *PBS* VIII/2 258 :18', undated	
Erībam s. Ipqūša (b. Abum-ṭābum) *a-bu-um-ṭà-bu-um* IGI *e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU.ME *ip-qú-ša*, *MHET* II/5 692:27'-28', undated	Narāmtum d. Ilum-nāṣir *na-ra-am-tum* DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*na-ṣir, TLB* 220:27, Apil-Sîn
Erībam *e-ri-ba-am, CT* 4 16a:29, Apil-Sîn 12	Narāmtum d. Sîn-[...] *na-ra-am-tum* DUMU.MUNUS [d]EN.ZU-[...], *ARN* 161:42, Apil-Sîn
Habil-kīnum s. Ibni-Enlil *ha-bi-il-ki-nu-um,* DUMU *ib-ni-*[d]EN.LÍL, *TCL* 1 59:17-18, Sabium	Erra-mušallim s. Ennam-Sîn *èr-ra-mu-ša-lim*, DUMU *en-nam*-30, *BBVOT* 1 115:26'-27', Apil-Sîn 8
Habil-kīnum s. Nūr-ilīšu *ha-bil-ki-nu-um* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, TCL* 1 63:34, undated	Nidnūša s. Sani-[q-pi-DN?] [*ni-i*]*d-nu-ša* DUMU *sa-ni*-[...], *TCL* 1 59:19, Sabium
Iballuṭ s. Nūr-Šamaš *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU *nu-úr-*[d]UTU, *RSM* 16:26', Sabium	Ninbantuk DUB.SAR NIN$_9$.BA.AN.TUK, DUB.SAR, *TLB* 1 220:30-31, Apil-Sîn
Ibni-Gibil DUB.SAR s. Šamaš-[...] *ib-ni-*[d]BIL.GI DUMU [d]UTU-[...] DUB.SAR, *TCL* 1 63:40, undated	Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR [d]UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni [d]NIN.ŠUBUR-ma.an.[sum UGULA] LUKUR [d]UTU, *BBVOT* 1 115:10', Apil-Sîn 8
Ilabrat-bāni s. Bur-Nunu (cloister official, overseer of the *nadītum*'s)	Nūr-Kabta s. Warad-Kubi *nu-úr-*[d]KAB.TA, DUMU ÌR-*ku-bi*, *MHET* II/1 61:33-34,

-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni, TLB* 1 220:20, Apil-Sîn -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni* UGULA LUKUR [^{d}]ˀUTUˋ, *MHET* II/1 61:19, Apil-Sîn -^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba*-[*ni, PBS* VIII/2 258 :2', undated]	Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-bāni s. Ibnīya DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU *ib-ni-ia*, *MHET* II/5 692:24', undated	Puzur-Šamaš s. Abum-waqar *puzur$_4$*-^{d}UTU, DUMU *a-bu-um-wa-qar, TCL* 1 64:24-25, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-bāni s. Ir-Enlil DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.LÍL.lá, *MHET* II/1 32:19, Sabium	Sagil-zimu s. Ibbi-[...] SAG.ÍL-ZI.MU DUMU *i-bi*-[...], *ARN* 161:31, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-bāni s. Nūr-ilīšu DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, TLB* 1 220:29-30, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-abūšu s. Išar-Šamaš ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* DUMU *i-šar*-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 692:25', undated
Ilšu-bāni s. Sîn-išmeanni (cloister official) -DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU 30-*iš-me-a-ni*, *ARN* 161:33, Apil-Sîn -DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU 30-*iš-ma-an-ni*, *MHET* II/1 61:24, Apil-Sîn -DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-ni, PBS* VIII/2 258 :7', undated -DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU 30-*iš-me-an-ni, TCL* 1 63:29, undated	Sîn-abūšu s. Šamaš-dīn (cloister official?) -^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu,* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*di-in, TCL* 1 64:20-21, Apil-Sîn -30-*a-bu-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTUˀ*di*-[*in*] , *MHET* II/5 693:3'', Apil-Sîn -30-*a-bu-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*di-in, TCL* 1 63:33, undated
Ilšu-bāni DUB.SAR DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUB.SAR*, RSM* 16:31', Sabium	Sîn-bāni s. Sîn-iddinam ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/1 32:20, Sabium
Ilšu-ibbīšu s. Ipiq-Ištar (b. Ku-Nanna) -DINGIR-*šu-i-bi* IGI KÙ-^{d}ŠEŠ[.KI], DUMU.MEŠ *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár*, *BE* 6/1 16:11'-12', Apil-Sîn -DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu* DUMU SIG$^{!}$-*iš$_8$-tár*, *MHET* II/1 61:32, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-erībam s. Akšak-šeme 30-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU ÚH^{KI}-*še-me, CT* 4 16a:32-33, Apil-Sîn 12
Ilšu-ibbīšu DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-*ˀ*šu* DUMU xˋ [...], *MHET* II/5 693:2'', Apil-Sîn	Sîn-ibni s. [..] 30-*ib-ni* DUMU [...], *ARN* 161:40, Apil-Sîn
Imgurrum s. Nūr-Sîn *im-gur-ru-um* DUMU *nu-úr*-^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 16:25', Sabium	Sîn-nāṣir s. Nunu-ēreš (b. Inim-UTU, Lu-NinSîna and Enamtila) -LÚ-^{d}NIN.SI.NA IGI INIM-^{d}UTU, IGI 30-*na-ṣir* DUMU.me *nu-nu*-APIN, *MHET* II/1 61:27-28, Apil-Sîn -^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣir,* IGI INIM-^{d}UTU, DUMU.me *nu-nu*-APIN, *PBS* VIII/2 258 :13'-15', undated -INIM-^{d}UTU IGI 30-*na-ṣir,* DUMU.MEŠ *nu-nu*-APIN*, TCL* 1 63:31-32, undated
Imgur-Sîn s. Ipiq-Ištar *im-gur*-30 DUMU *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár, TLB* 1 220:28, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-rabi s. Uṣur-pî-Šamaš ^{d}EN.ZU-*ra-bi* DUMU *ú-ṣur-pi$_4$*-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 692:26', undated
Imgur-^{d}[...] *im-gur*-^{d}[...], *MHET* II/5 693:1'', Apil-Sîn	Sîn-ublam s. Immerum (cloister official) -30-*ub-lam* DUMU *im-me-rum*, *ARN* 161:32, Apil-Sîn -30-*ub-lam* DUMU *im-me-rum*, *MHET* II/1 61:22, Apil-Sîn -^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam* DUMU *im-me-rum, PBS* VIII/2 258 :5', undated -30-*ub-lam* DUMU *im-me-rum, TCL* 1 63:28, undated
Ina-qāti-ilim s. Aqbu (b. Uštašni-ilum) *i-na*-šu-DINGIR DUMU *aq-bu-ú*, *ARN* 161:34, Apil-Sîn	Ṣabi-Amurrim s. Sîn-gamil *ṣa-bi*-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU 30-*ga-*ˀ*mil*ˋ, *MHET* II/5 693:4'', Apil-Sîn

Inim-Nanna-igim s. Ilšu-ibbīšu INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-Ì.GIM DUMU DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu*, *MHET* II/5 692:21', undated	Ṣililum s. Narām-Sîn *ṣí-li-lum* DUMU *na-ra-am*-30, *TCL* 1 63:36, undated
Inim-Su'en-zimu s. Ibbi-Sîn INIM-^{d}EN.ZU-ZI.MU, *MHET* II/5 692:23', undated	Ṣilli-Ninkarrak UGULA É MI-^{d}NIN.KAR.RA.AK UGULA É, *MHET* II/6 692:18', undated
Inim-Utu s. Nunu-ēreš (b. Lu-Ninsina and Sîn-nāṣir) -INIM-^{d}UTU DUMU *nu-nu*-APIN, *TCL* 1 59:22, Sabium -LÚ-^{d}NIN.SI.NA IGI INIM-^{d}UTU, IGI 30-*na-ṣir* DUMU.ME *nu-nu*-APIN, *MHET* II/1 61:27-28, Apil-Sîn -^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣir,* IGI INIM-^{d}UTU, DUMU.me *nu-nu*-APIN, *PBS* VIII/2 258 :13'-15', undated -INIM-^{d}UTU IGI 30-*na-ṣir,* DUMU.MEŠ *nu-nu*-APIN, *TCL* 1 63:31-32, undated	Ṣulūli-Šamaš s. Sîn-išmeanni AN.DÙL-^{d}UTU, DUMU 30-*iš-me-ni, CT* 4 16a:30-31, Apil-Sîn 12
Ipiq-Nunu s. Iddin-Akšak *i-pí-iq-nu-nu* DUMU *i-din*-ÚH^{KI}, *RSM* 16:28', Sabium	Ša-ilīšu s. Iddin-Šamaš *ša-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *i-din*-^{d}[UTU], *MHET* II/5 693:9'', Apil-Sîn
Itti-Ea-napišti-mātim s. Sîn-remēni *it-ti-é-a* DUMU 30-*re*-[*me-ni*] , *TCL* 1 63:37, undated	Šallurtum d. Hunnubum *ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *hu-nu-bu-um, PBS* VIII/2 258 :10', undated
Itti-ilim-milki s. Siyatum ki-DINGIR-*mi*-[*il*]-*ki*, DUMU 30-*ia-ti TCL* 1 59:24-25, Sabium	Šallurtum d. Sîn-[...] *ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.MUNUS 30-[...], *ARN* 161:43, Apil-Sîn
Itti-lulikīšu?-anaddin? dím s. Hušašum *it-ti-lu-li-ki-šu-a-na-din* DÍM, DUMU *hu-ša-šum, BBVOT* 1 115:12'-13', Apil-Sîn 8	Šallurtum d. Šū-Sîn? *ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.MUNUS ˹*šu*˺-^{d}EN.ZU$^{?}$, *ARN* 161:41, Apil-Sîn
Ku-Nanna s. Ipiq-Ištar (b. Ilšu-ibbi) DINGIR-*šu-i-bi* IGI KÙ-^{d}ŠEŠ[.KI], DUMU.MEŠ *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár*, *BE* 6/1 16:11'-12', Apil-Sîn	Ša/umuh-Sîn second SANGA s. Nūr-Sîn -*ša-mu-uh*-[^{d}EN.ZU] , *TLB* 1 220:19, Apil-Sîn -*ša-mu-uh*-^{d}EN.ZU SANGA ^{d}UTU, *BBVOT* 1 115:7', Apil-Sîn 8 -[*ša-mu-u*]*h*-30, *MHET* II/1 61:18, Apil-Sîn -*ša-mu-uh*-[^{d}EN.ZU/30], *PBS* VIII/2 258 :1', undated -*ša-mu-uh*-30, *TCL* 1 63:25, undated
Lamassi d. Ili-tukulti *la-ma-sí,* DUMU *ì-lí*-tukul-*ti*, *ARN* 161:45-46, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-bāni s. Abum-ṭābum ^{d}UTU-*ba-ni* DUMU *a-pa-ṭà-bu-um, TCL* 1 63:38, undated
Liburram s. Hunnubum (cloister official) [*li-bu*]-˹*ur*˺-*ra-am* DUMU ˹*hu*˺-*nu-bu*-˹*um*˺, *MHET* II/5 692:27'-28', undated	Šamaš-nāṣir s. Imgur-Sîn -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *im-gur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *RSM* 16:27', Sabium -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *im-gur-30*, *TCL* 1 59:21, Sabium -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *im-gur*-30, *MHET* II/1 61:29, Apil-Sîn -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *im-gur*-30, *TCL* 1 63:30, undated -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *im-gur*-30, *MHET* II/5 692:22', undated
Lipit-Ištar s. Šalim-palih-Šamaš *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár*, DUMU *ša-lim-pa-lih*-^{d}UTU, *TCL* 1 64:18-19, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-nāṣir ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir, PBS* VIII/2 258 :16', undated
Lipit-Ištar SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Šamaš-tappêšu -*li-pí*-[*it-iš$_8$-tár*], *TLB* 1 220:19, Apil-Sîn -[*li-pí-it*]-*iš$_8$-tár*, *MHET* II/1 61:17, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-tayar Ì.DU$_8$ *gagim* s. Ana-qat-Šamaš-anaṭṭal ^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar* DUMU *a-na*-šu-^{d}UTU, *BBVOT* 1 115:11', Apil-Sîn 8
Lu-Ninsina s. Nunu-ēreš (b. Inim-Utu and Sîn-nāṣir) -LÚ-^{d}NIN.SI.NA IGI INIM-^{d}UTU, IGI 30-*na-ṣir* DUMU.ME *nu-nu*-APIN, *MHET* II/1 61:27-28, Apil-	Šāt-Aya d. Ibbi-Sîn *ša-at*-^{d}*a-a* DUM[U.MUNUS] *i-bi*-30, *ARN* 161:44, Apil-Sîn

Sîn -LÚ-^{d}NIN.SI.NA DUMU *nu-nu*-APIN$^{!}$ x, *PBS* VIII/2 258 :9', undated	
Manium s. Šamaš-šeme -*ma-ni-um* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*še-me*, *MHET* II/1 61:23, Apil-Sîn -*ma-ni-um* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*še-me*, *PBS* VIII/2 258 :8', undated	Warad-ilīšu s. Ibbi-[...] ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *i-bi*-[...], *ARN* 161:35, Apil-Sîn
Marduk-nāṣir *rabiānum* ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣir ra-bi-a-num*, *MHET* II/6 692:19', undated	Warad-Kubi s. Sîn-adallal ÌR-*ku-bi* DUMU 30-*a-da-làl*, *TCL* 1 63:39, undated
Munawwirum s. Hunnubum *mu-na-wi-rum* DUMU *hu-nu-bu-um*, *MHET* II/1 61:26, Apil-Sîn	Warad-Sîn SANGA ^{d}UTU s. Lipit-Ištar -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU SANGA ^{d}UTU, *BBVOT* 1 115:6', Apil-Sîn 8 -ÌR-30 SANGA ^{d}UTU, *TCL* 1 63:26, undated
Narām-ilīšu s. Šamaš-[...] *na-ra-am-ì-lí-š*[*u*], DUMU ^{d}UTU-[...], *ARN* 161:36-37, Apil-Sîn	Warad-Šamaš s. Apil-[...] ÌR-^{d}UTU DUMU *a-pil*-[...], *TCL* 1 59:26, Sabium
Narām-ilīšu s. Utu-hegal -*na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTU-HÉ.GÁL, *BBVOT* 1 115:14'-15', Apil-Sîn 8 -*na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTU-HÉ.GÁL, *TCL* 1 63:35, undated	Watartum d. Iddin-Sîn *wa-tar-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *i-din*-30, *TLB* 220:23, Apil-Sîn
Narām-Sîn s. Mudadum (b. Sîn-abūšu) *na-ra-am*-30 DUMU *mu-da-du-um*, *MHET* II/6 692:20', undated	

4.1.3.12 Puzur-Akšak's family



Other people owning property in the file of Puzur-Akšak's family:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Gāmilum GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ga-mi*-DINGIR, *CT* 2 26:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	**Hayab-El** and his son Abi-maraṣ -*ù* DA É *a-bi-ma-ra-aṣ* DUMU *ha-ia-ab-ni*-DINGIR, *CT* 2 26:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 19 -SAG É *ha-ia-ab-ni*-DINGIR, *CT* 6 31a:4, Apil-Sîn
Bēltani LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Manium *be-el-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ma-ni-um*, *MHET* II/1 100(+*CT* 45 18):4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Amat-Šamaš d. Supāpum -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *su-pa-pu-um*, *BDHP* 24:5, Sîn-muballiṭ -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *sú-pa-pu-um*, *MHET* II/1 100(+*CT* 45 18):2, Sîn-muballiṭ GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *su-pa-pu-um*, *CT* 2 47:4,

	undated
Erra-gamil ∞ Naramtum & Saminu and his children Ahūšina, Ibni-Šamaš, Iltāni, Kuzabātum *-ù* É *èr-ra-ga-mil*, *CT* 48 83:3, unclear yearname *-èr-ra-ga-mil, CT* 2 22 :7, undated *-a-hu-ši-n* I*ib-ni-*dUTU, I*il-ta-ni* I*ku-za-ba-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ *èr-ra-ga-mil,* I*na-ra-am-tum ù* I*sa-mi-nu-ú, aš-ša-at èr-ra-ga-mil ù nu-úr*-30, ŠEŠ *a-bi-šu-nu, CT* 2 46:1-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 *-ku-za-ba-tum,* DAM DUMU-*er-ṣe-tim, ù ib-ni-*dUTU *a-hu-su, CT* 8 43a:4-6, Hammurabi. *- il-ta-ni* LUKUR dUTU DUMU.MUNUS *èr-ra-ga-mil*, *MHET* II/1 100(+*CT* 45 18+):5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ikūn-pîša's children DA É DUMU.ME *i-ku-pi$_4$-ša*, *MHET* II/1 66:15, Apil-Sîn	Nawirum-ili *na-wi-ru-um-ì-lí*, *MHET* II/1 66 :14, Apil-Sîn
Ilšu-tillassu *ù* DA É DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su, CT* 6 31a:3, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Šamaš s. Rē'um KUŠ$_7$ -DA É *nu-úr-*dUTU DUMU SIPA KUŠ$_7$, *MHET* II/1 66 :2, Apil-Sîn -DA É *nu-úr-*dUTU KUŠ$_7$, *MHET* II/1 66 :6, Apil-Sîn
Ipṭur-Sîn s. Sîn-ibni and his sons Marduk-muballiṭ and Sîn-iddinam *-ip-ṭur-*ˇdenˋ.zu, DUMU den.ˇzuˋ*-ib-ni* KUŠ$_7$, *MHET* II/1 66 :3-4, Apil-Sîn *-ip-ṭur-*dEN.ZU, DUMU 30-*ib-ni*, *MHET* II/1 66 :10-11, Apil-Sîn -dAMAR.UTU-*mu-ba-lí-it, CT* 4 6a :23, Sumu-la-El? -dEN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *CT* 6 34b:12, undated -dAMAR.UTU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ,* I<<*ù*>> dEN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU.ME *ip-ṭur*-30, *MHET* II/1 66 :24-25, Apil-Sîn -dAMAR.UTU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, ù* dEN.ZU-*i-din-nam* ŠEŠ.A.NI, DUMU *ip-ṭú-ur-*dEN.ZU, *CT* 6 33b :1-3, Apil-Sîn 8	Sîn-erībam's daughter *-ù* DA É DUMU.MUNUS-dEN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am*, *BDHP* 24:4, Sîn-muballiṭ -DUMU.MUNUS-dEN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 100(+*CT* 45 18):6, Sîn-muballiṭ -DUMU.MUNUS-dEN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, CT* 2 47:5, undated
Muhaddîtum DA É *mu-ha-di-tum*, *BDHP* 24:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-ibni iš dEN.ZU-*ib-ni*, *MHET* II/1 66 :8, Apil-Sîn
Nabi-ilīšu s. Šamaš-īn-matim (father Ilšu-bāni and Bēlšunu) -DA É *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, CT* 6 31a:2, Apil-Sîn *-na-bi-ì-lí-šu,* DUMU dUTU-*i-in-ma-tim,* I*be-el-šu-nu,* DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* ŠEŠ.A.NI, DUMU.MEŠ *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):2-6(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Šāt-Aya LUKUR dUTU d, Awīl-ilim *-ša-at-*d*a-a* LUKUR dˇUTUˋ, DUMU.MUNUS *a-wi-il-*DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 66 :22-23, Apil-Sîn *-ša-at-*d*a-a* DUMU.MUNUS *a-wi-il-*DINGIR, *CT* 6 33b :9, Apil-Sîn 8

Witnesses in the file of Puzur-Akšak's family:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Ad-māti-ili s. Nūr-Šamaš *ad-ma-ti-ì-lí,* DUMU *nu-úr-*dUTU, *CT* 6 31a:23-24, Apil-Sîn	Amat-Šamaš d. Sapipum GEME$_2$-dUTU DUMU.MUNUS *sa-pí-pu-um*, *BDHP* 24:21, Sîn-muballiṭ
Apil-Šamaš d. Mannum-šānin<šu> *a-pil-*dUTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ma-nu-um-ša-ni-in-*<*šu*>, *BDHP* 24:37-38, Sîn-muballiṭ	Bulālum (cloister official, son of Akim) *bu-la-lum*, *BDHP* 24:13, Sîn-muballiṭ
Apilum s. Ibni-Bau	Bur-Adad s. A-x[...]-dum

a-pí-lum DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}BA.Ú, *CT* 2 46:37, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	*bur-*^{d}IM DUMU *a-*x[...]*-du-um, CT* 2 22 :24, undated
Lu-Ninšubur s. Nabīya LÚ-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR.KA DUMU *na-bi-ia, CT* 2 46:31, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Šamāya s. Išqiqi-iliya *ša-ma-ia,* DUMU *iš-qí-qí-ì-lí-ia, CT* 8 37b:16-17, Hammurabi 1
Awīl-ilim s. Kubbutum *-a-wi-il-*DINGIR DUMU *ku-bu-tum, CT* 2 26:16, Sîn-muballiṭ 19 -[*a*]*-wi-il-*DINGIR DUMU *ku-bu-tum*, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):51, Sîn-muballiṭ	Tamnanni d. **Yarbi-El** *ta-am-na-an-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-ar-bi-*DINGIR, *BDHP* 24:29-30, Sîn-muballiṭ
Aya-tallik UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Bur-Nunu ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *BDHP* 24:18, Sîn-muballiṭ	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Bēlšunu s. Mannum-kima-Ilīya *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-ì-lí-ia, CT* 2 22 :28, undated	
Bunene-[?] s. Sîn-tillatum (b. Šamaš-šādi-ili) ^{d}*bu-ne-ne-*[?] IGI ^{d}UTU-KUR*-i-ì-lí,* DUMU.ME 30-ILLAT, *CT* 2 26:29-30, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Nūr-ilīšu s. Warad-Sumuqan *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* DUMU ÌR-^{d}GÌR, *CT* 2 26:22, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Būr-Adad s. Ili-iddinam *bur-*^{d}IM DUMU *ì-lí-i-din-nam, CT* 4 6a :3, Sumu-la-El?	Nūr-Nunu s. Sîn-ennam *nu-úr-nu-nu,* DUMU 30*-en-nam, CT* 6 31a:21-22, Apil-Sîn
Būr-Sîn s. Ṣillilum *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ṣí-li-lum, CT* 8 43a:25, Hammurabi	Nūr-Šamaš s. Sîn-kīnam-dīni *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30*-ki-nam-di-ni, CT* 2 46:39, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Ea-hegal s. Nūr-Sîn *é-a-*HÉ.GÁL DUMU *nu-úr-*30, *CT* 2 26:31, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Nūr-Šamaš s. Sîn-šeme *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU 30*-še-me*, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):50, Sîn-muballiṭ
Eidimanna-šeme s. Sîn-lamassu É.IDIM.AN.NA*-še-me* DUMU 30*-la-ma-su, CT* 2 46:40, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Nūr-Šamaš *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU [...], *CT* 4 6a :4, Sumu-la-El?
Enlil-abum s. Puzur-Šamaš ^{d}EN.LÍL*-a-bu-um* DUMU *puzur*$_4$-^{d}UTU, *CT* 2 26:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Puzur-Šamaš s. Hurusānum (b. Sîn-nāṣir) ^{d}EN.ZU*-na-ṣi-ir* IGI *puzur*$_4$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MEŠ *hu-ur-sà*$^{!}$*-nim, CT* 2 22 :25-26, undated
Enlil-abum DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.LÍL*-a-bi* DUB.SAR, *CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):33(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Qīš-Nunu s. Ibni-Adad (b. Imgur-Sîn) *im-gur-*30 IGI *qí-iš-nu-nu,* DUMU.MEŠ *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *CT* 2 46:32-33, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Erīb-Sîn s. Erībaya *e-ri-ib-*30, DUMU ˹*e*˺*-ri-ba-ia, CT* 2 46:42-43, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Rubatum d. Lu-sigga *ru-ba-tum* DUMU.MUNUS LÚ-SIG.GA, *BDHP* 24:22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erra-gāmil s. Šamaya *èr-ra-ga-mil* DUMU *ša-ma-ia, CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):31(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Samāya s. Itti-ilim-milki *sa-ma-ia* DUMU *it-ti-*DINGIR*-mil-ki*, *CT* 2 26:24, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Sîn-erībam (b. Sîn-iddinam) 30*-i-din-nam* IGI *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU*-e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):48-49, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-bāni s. Igmillum EN.ZU*-ba-ni* DUMU *ig-mi-*DINGIR, *CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):28(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ
Ibni-Erra s. Etel-pî-Erra *ib-ni-èr-ra*, DUMU *e-tel-pi*$_4$*-èr-ra*, *CT* 8 37b:14-15, Hammurabi 1	Sîn-erībam s. Ikūn-pîša (b. Bur-Adad) -^{d}EN.ZU*-e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *i-ku-pi*$_4$*-ša*, *CT* 2 26:19, Sîn-muballiṭ 19 -30*-e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *i-ku-pi*$_4$*-ša, CT* 8 43a:24, Hammurabi
Ibni-ilum s. Sîn-ide *ib-ni-*DINGIR, DUMU 30*-i-de, CT* 6 31a:30-31, Apil-	Sîn-erībam s. Nanna-lu-ti -^{d}EN.ZU*-e-ri-ba-am* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-LÚ-TI, *CT* 2 26:17,

Sîn	Sîn-muballiṭ 19 -30-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-LÚ-TI, *CT* 2 46:29, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Ibšatum s. Bēlšunu (b. Lu-Ninsianna) LÚ-^{d}NIN.SI.AN.NA, IGI *ib-ša-*{bi}*-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ *be-el-šu-nu, CT* 6 31a:25-27, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-gāmil ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil* DUMU [...], *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):44, Sîn-muballiṭ
Igmil-Sîn s. Sîn-bēl-Ilī *-ig-mil-*30 DUMU 30-*be-el-ì-lí, CT* 2 22 :23, undated *-ig-mil-*30 DUMU 30-*be-el-ì-lí, CT* 2 46:34, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-erībam (b. Ibbi-Ilabrat) 30-*i-din-nam* IGI *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):48-49, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-bāni *ì-lí-ba-ni, CT* 2 47:38, undated	Sîn-iddinam DUB.SAR 30-*i-din-nam* DUB.SAR, *CT* 2 26:32, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Ili-iddinam s. Ennam-Sîn *ì-lí-i-din-nam* DUMU *en-nam-*30, *CT* 2 46:28, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Sîn-iqīšam 30-*i-qí-ša-am, CT* 2 47:41, undated
Ili-ma-ahišu s. Sîn-remēni *ì-lí-ma-a-hi-šu,* DUMU 30-*re-me-ni*, *BDHP* 24:39-40, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-nāṣir s. Alip-Šamaš (b. Narām-ilīšu) *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* IGI 30-*na-ṣir,* DUMU.me *a-li-ip-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 43a:26-27, Hammurabi
Ili-[...] Sîn *ì-lí-*[...]-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):43, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-nāṣir s. Hurrusānum (b. Puzur-Šamaš) ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir* IGI *puzur*$_4$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MEŠ *hu-ur-sà*$^{!}$*-nim, CT* 2 22 :25-26, undated
Ilšu-bāni s. Būr-Sîn DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 6 34b:3, undated	Sîn-puṭram s. Manium ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am* DUMU *ma-ni-um*, *CT* 2 26:18, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Ilšu-tillassu s. Puzur-Šamaš (b. Ilšu-bāni, Daksatum and Nabi-ilīšu) -DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su* DUMU *puzur*$_4$-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):46, Sîn-muballiṭ -DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su, CT* 2 47:40, undated	Sîn-ublam s. Immerum (cloister official) 30-*ub-lam* DUMU *im-me-ru-um, CT* 6 31a:28-29, Apil-Sîn
Imgur-Akšak s. Ṣillīya *im-gur-*ÚH^{KI} DUMU *ṣí-l*[*i-ia*], *CT* 6 34b:1, undated	Suhuš-kuga/sig.ga d. Sîn-ta-[...] SUHUŠ-KÙ/SIG.GA, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*ta-*[...], *BDHP* 24:31-32, Sîn-muballiṭ
Imgur-Sîn s. Ibni-Adad (b. Qīš-Nunu) *im-gur-*30 IGI *qí-iš-nu-nu,* DUMU.MEŠ *ib-ni-*^{d}IM, *CT* 2 46:32-33, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Suhuš-kuga SUHUŠ-KÙ.GA, *BDHP* 24:41, Sîn-muballiṭ
Imguya s. Šamaš-nāṣir *im-gu-ia* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir, CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):27(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Ṣilli-Adad s. Iddin-Sîn MI-^{d}IM DUMU *i-din-*30, *CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):32(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipiq-Adad s. Narām-ilīšu (b. Nūr-Šamaš) -sig-^{d}IM DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 2 26:20, Sîn-muballiṭ 19 *-i-pí-iq-*^{d}IM, DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, CT* 2 22 :29-30, undated -sig-^{d}IM DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, CT* 2 46:35, Sîn-muballiṭ 14	Šamaš-nāṣir s. Erībam -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *e-ri-ba-am*, *CT* 2 26:27, Sîn-muballiṭ 19 -^{d}UTU-*na-ṣi-ir,* DUMU *e-ri-ba-am*, *CT* 8 37b:18-19, Hammurabi 1
Ipiq-Ištar SIG-*iš*$_8$*-tár* DUMU é, *CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):29(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-nāṣir s. Nūr-ilīšu ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 2 26:28, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Ipqatum s. Sîn-erībam *-ip-qá-tum* DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am*, *CT* 2 26:25, Sîn-muballiṭ 19 *-ip-qá-tum* DUMU 30-*e-*[*ri-ba-am*], *CT* 6 34b:2, undated *-ip-qá-tum* DUMU 30-*e-ri-ba-am, CT* 2 46:38, Sîn-	Šamaš-nūr-matim s. Šamaš-šādi-ili ^{d}UTU-*nu-úr-ma-tim* DUMU ^{d}UTU-kur-*i-ì-lí*, *CT* 2 26:21, Sîn-muballiṭ 19

muballiṭ 14	
Kalumum (cloister official) s. Adad-remēni *ka-lu-mu-um*, *BDHP* 24:15, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-šādi-ili s. Sîn-tillatum (b. Bunene-[?]) ^{d}*bu-ne-ne*-[?] IGI ^{d}UTU-KUR-*i-ì-lí,* DUMU.me 30-ILLAT, *CT* 2 26:29-30, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Lamassi d. Ilšu-bāni *la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, *BDHP* 24:27, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-tappê ì.DU$_8$ KÁ *gagim* s. Šamaš-liṭṭul ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*e*, *BDHP* 24:17, Sîn-muballiṭ
Līburram s. Hunnubum (cloister official) *li-bur-ra-am*, *BDHP* 24:16, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-tayar ì.du$_8$ *gagim* s. Ana-qat-Šamaš-anaṭṭal ^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar*, *BDHP* 24:14, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lu-Ninsianna s. Bēlšunu (b. Ibšatum) LÚ-^{d}NIN.SI.AN.NA, IGI *ib-ša*-{bi}-*tum,* DUMU.MEŠ *be-el-šu-nu, CT* 6 31a:25-27, Apil-Sîn	Šamāya s. Ṣīssu-nawirat (f. Erra-gamil) *ša-ma-ia* DUMU *ṣí-su*$^{!}$*-na-wi-ra-at, CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):30(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ
Luštamar-Sîn s. Ili-iddinam *lu-uš-ta-mar*-30 DUMU *ì-lí-i-din-nam*, *CT* 2 26:26, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Šū-ilīšu s. Lu-Utu *šu-ì-lí-šu* DUMU LÚ-^{d}UTU, *CT* 2 46:30, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Mannīya s. Ipiq-Ištar *ma-an-ni-ia* DUMU *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár, CT* 2 22 :27, undated	Šumi-ahīya s. Itur-kīnum *šu-mi-a-hi-ia* DUMU *i-túr-ki-nu-um*, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):47, Sîn-muballiṭ
Muhaddîtum d. Nūr-Šamaš *mu-ha-di-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *BDHP* 24:19-20, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ummi-ṭābat d. Huzālum *um-mi-ṭà-ba-at,* DUMU.MUNUS *hu*$^{!}$*-za-lum*, *BDHP* 24:33-34, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-ilīšu s. Šamaš-īn-mātim (father of Bēlšunu and Ilšu-bāni) *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*i-in-ma-tim, CT* 8 45b(=*MHET* II/1 101):26(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Unnubatum d. Būratum *un-nu-ba-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *bu-ra-tum*, *BDHP* 24:28, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-ilīšu s. Sîn-iddinam *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam*, *CT* 8 37b:20, Hammurabi 1	Utu-mansum s. Inim-UTU ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DUMU INIM-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):45, Sîn-muballiṭ
Narām-ilīšu s. Alip-Šamaš (b. Sîn-nāṣir) *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu* IGI 30-*na-ṣir,* DUMU.me *a-li-ip-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 43a:26-27, Hammurabi	Warad-ilīšu s. Puzur-Šamaš ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *puzur$_4$*-^{d}UTU, *CT* 2 46:36, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Narāmtani d. Sîn-išmeanni *na-ra-am-ta-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-an-ni*, *BDHP* 24:25-26, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Sîn s. Sîn-gāmil ÌR-30 DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil, CT* 2 22 :32, undated
Narāmtum d. Ana-Sîn-taklāku *na-ra-am-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-na-*^{d}EN.ZU-*ták-la-ku*, *BDHP* 24:23-24, Sîn-muballiṭ	Wēr-iddinam s. Sîn-māgir ^{d}*we-er-i-din-nam,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir, CT* 4 6a :1-2, Sumu-la-El$^{?}$
Nidnūša s. Lu-šadlaš$^{ki?}$ *ni-id-nu-ša*m DUMU LÚ-*ša-ad-la*$^{!}$-<*áš*>^{ki}, *CT* 6 31a:19-20, Apil-Sîn	[...] s. Ilān-rišā [...] DUMU DINGIR-DINGIR-*ri-ša*, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):41, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ninšubur-mansum UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Ilabrat-bāni ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-MA.AN.SUM UGULA LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *BDHP* 24:12, Sîn-muballiṭ	[...] s. Inim-UTU [...] ˊx x xˋ DUMU INIM-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 100(=*CT* 45 18+):42, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nūr-ilīšu s. Ikūn-pîša *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *i*$^{!}$*-ku-un-pi$_4$-ša, CT* 2 22 :31, undated	

4.1.4 Amorites in smaller archives from early OB Sippar

Property owners in smaller files:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Abani and his children Ummi-Ningal and Mannum-kima-itēya (f. Ibbi-Ilabrat) *um-mi-*^{d}NIN.GAL DUMU.MUNUS *a-ba-ni, MHET* II/1 60:16, Apil-Sîn.	**Abdi-Erah** *i-ta ab-di-ra-ah, MHET* II/1 34 :2, Sabium
Abatum and Ilānum *a-ba-tim ù i-la-nim, MHET* II/1 34:8, Sabium	**Abdi-Nārim** SAG.BI.2.KAM *ab-di-*^{d}I$_7$*, Scheil Sippar* 10:15, 16, Sîn-muballiṭ
Abatum DA É *a-ba-tum, CT* 2 36:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Abi-Erah** *a-bi-e-ra-*[*ah*], *CT* 6 28a:4, undated
Abum-ṭābum *i-ta a-bu-um-ṭà-bu-um, CT* 6 38b:4, undated	**Abi-har**'s children **Yahilatum**, Iqipum, Salilum, **Yarhi-El** and Marusatu and Sîn-remēni, father of Waqartum -30-*re-me-ni*, *CT* 8 34a:5, undated *-wa-qar-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS 30-*re-me-ni*, *MHET* II/5 805:5-6, undated *-ia-hi-la-tum*, *CT* 48 27:14-15, Sabium *-ia-hi-la-tum* NIN DINGIR *ša* ^{d}UTU, *CT* 6 22a:12-13, Apil-Sîn
Abum-waqar s. Abum-waqar *a-bu-um-wa-qàr* DUMU ˹*a-bu-um-wa-qàr*˺, *MHET* II/1 97:12', Sîn-muballiṭ	Abi-hatan *ù* ús.sa.<du> *a-bi-ha-ta-an, BDHP* 45 :5, Apil-Sîn
Abum-waqar s. Iddin-Sîn *a-bu-um-wa-qar,* DUMU *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU*, CT* 4 33b:5-6, Apil-Sîn	**Abi-samata** A.ŠÀ *a-bi-sa-ma-ta, TIM* 7 120:4', undated
Abum-waqar and Hanbatum *a-bu-um-wa-qar, ù ha-an-ba-tum, MHET* II/1 123:2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ 16	Abiya s. Sulubbana (father of Ahassunu LUKUR ^{d}UTU, Šamaš-in-matim (f. Huššutum and Šamaš-ilum) and Iddin-Amurrim (f. Amat-Šamaš and Ipqu-Amurrim) *-a-bi-ia* DUMU *su-lu-ub-ba-na, a-na a-ha-at-sú-/nu,* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS.NI, *MHET* II/1 19:13-16, Sumu-la-El 13. *-a-ha-at-sú-nu* lukur$^{!}$, DUMU.MUNUS *a-bi-ia, ù* ^{d}UTU-*i-in-ma-tim*, *CT* 48 63:8-10, Sumu-la-El and Altinû. -˹*a-ha-sú*˺*-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-bi-ia, MHET* II/1 30:1-2, Sabium. *-hu-šu-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *ù* ^{d}UTU-DINGIR DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}UTU-*i-na-ma-tim,* $^{!}$GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *ù* SIG-^{d}MAR.TU, DUMU.MEŠ *i-din-*^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 48 18:1-5, Sîn-muballiṭ and Lipit-Ištar. -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, DUMU *i-din-*^{d}MAR.TU, *MHET* II/5 645:5-6, undated
Abum-waqar's sons *ù i-ta* DUMU.MEŠ *a-bu-um-wa-qar, CT* 4 10:8, Apil-Sîn 1	Abi-maraṣ s. **Hayab-El** -DA É *a-bi-ma-ra-aṣ,* DUMU *ha-ia-ab-ì*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 109 :2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Adad-mālik ^{d}IM-*ma-lik, BDHP* 56:2', time of Apil-Sîn	Abi-san s. Bitum-nurum *a-bi-sa-an* DUMU É *nu-rum, CT* 45 82 :7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Adad-rabi s. Etel-pî-Sîn ^{d}IM-*ra-bi* DUMU *e-tel-pi$_4$-/*^{d}EN.ZU, Veenhof 1999 n° 2:5-7, Immerum	Abulim *ù a-bu-li-im, MHET* II/5 594:10, time of Apil-Sîn
Adad-rabi	Abum-ṭābum s. Sananum

i-ta A.ŠÀ ^{d}IM-GAL*, BDHP* 70:5, Sîn-muballiṭ	*i-ta* A.ŠÀ *a-bu-um-ṭà-bu* DUMU *sà-na-nu-um YOS* 14 163:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Adad-šadûni ^{d}IM-*ša-du-ni*, *MHET* II/1 56:3, Apil-Sîn	Abunnum s. Šamaš-wedeku *a-bu-un-nu-um* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*we-de-ku, MHET* II/5 666:7, undated
Adaya É *ša a-da-a-a*, *MHET* II/5 594:14, time of Apil-Sîn	Adi-rahat *ù i-ta a-di-ri-ha-at*, *MHET* II/5 805:4, undated
Adayatum DA É *a-da-ia-tum, VS* 8 58/*CT* 4 50b:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ahi-lutar DA *a-hi*-LÚ.tar(?), *CT* 6 49b(=*MHET* II/1 20):3, Sumu-la-El 29
Aham-arši s. Nūr-ilīšu *a-*ʾ*ha*ʾ-[*am*]-ʾ*ar*ʾ-*ši* DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu*, *MHET* II/1 31(=*CT* 4 45a):5'(envelope), Sabium	Ahi-rawe DA ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *a-hi-ra-we-e*, *MHET* II/5 594:13, time of Apil-Sîn
Aham-arši *ù i-ta* a.[...]/*a-ha-am-ar-ši, MHET* II/5 807:4-5, undated	Ahiša-waqrum s. **Yantin-El** (father of Nuṭṭubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU) *a-hi-ša-wa-aq-ru-*ʾ*um*ʾ, DUMU *ia-an-ti*-DINGIR, *a-na nu-tu-ub-tum na-di-tum /ša* ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 819:6-8, undated
Aham-nuta IGI *ka-ri-im ša a-ha-nu-ta, BAP* 35:3, Immerum	Ahulap-Šamaš s. Anānum *a-hu-la-ap-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *a-na-nu-um, TCL* I 56:4, Sumu-la-El
Ahassunu d. Puzur-Ninkarrak *a-ha-su-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *puzur$_4$-*^{d}nin.kar.ra.ak, *MHET* II/5 849:5-6, undated	Ahūšina s. Išdi-El(?) *a-hu-ši-na* DUMU ʾ*iš*ʾ-*di*-DINGIR, *VAS* 8 108/109:2, Hammurabi 4
Ahassunu *ù a-ha-su-nu*, *CT* 6 19a:3, Sabium	Akšāya s. A'elum -ÚH^{KI}-*ia, CT* 45 5:3, Sabium *-ak-ša-ia, CT* 45 5:8-9, Sabium
Ahatāni s. Kurum *a-ha-ta-ni* DUMU GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ku-ru-um, CT* 47 16 :7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Akuni s. Ili-tappe [*a*]-*ku-ni* DUMU *ì-lí*-TAB.BA-*e, CT* 45 93:8, Sumu-la-El
Ahatāni d. Sîn-iqīšam *a-ha-ta-ni* [lukur^{d}]UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-*ʾ*qí-ša*ʾ*-am, MHET* II/1 50:9-10, Apil-Sîn	Alum-lalum s. Abum-ilum *a-lu-um-la-lum*, DUMU *a-bu-um*-DINGIR, *RT* 17 13:6-7, undated very early
Ahatani ÚS.SA *a-ha-ta-ni, MHET* II/5 745:3, undated	Amnīnum *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *am-ni-nu-um, RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):2, Immerum
Ahatum d. Sîn-māgir ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir, a-bu-ša, a-na a-ha-tim, ma-ar-ti-šu, BDHP* 69:10-13, undated	Anānum *i-ta a-na-ni-im, VAS* 8 1:2, Sumu-abum
Ahatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Adad-remēni *a-ha-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}IM-*re-me-ni, MHET* II/1 107:11, Sîn-muballiṭ	Anna-binātum d. Uštašni-ilum *-an-na-bi-na-tim-ma*, *CT* 8 31b:6, Apil-Sîn *-*ʾ*an-na-bi-na*ʾ*-ti*, *MHET* II/1 56:4, Apil-Sîn
Ahatum (mother of Beltani LUKUR ^{d}UTU) *a-ha-tum....*, *a-na be-el-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 29c:12-13, Apil-Sîn	Apaya's sons Ili-Sukkal, Nanna-mansum and Ṭab-ṣilli-Šamaš ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.[SUM], DUMU *a-pa-ia, MHET* II/1 67:5-6, Apil-Sîn
Ahulap-Šamaš (b. Ammar-ili and Mami-šarrat) *a-hu-la-ap-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 62:1, Apil-Sîn	Apazi *ù a-pa-zi, VAS* 8 1:3, Sumu-abum
Ahulap-Šamaš *a-hu-la-pí-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 8 49b:9, Apil-Sîn 1	Apil-Kubi s. Ziklum *ù i-ta a-pil-ku-bi* DUMU *zi-ik-lum*, *MHET* II/1 31(=*CT* 4 45a):3, Sabium
Ahum-nišu *a-hu-um-mi-šu*, *MHET* II/1 16:8, Sumu-la-El	**Aqba-ahum** *i-ta aq-ba-hu-um*, *CT* 6 48a(case=*MHET* II/1 73):2,

	Apil-Sîn 1
Ahum-waqar s. Sassum (father of Unnubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU) *a-hu-wa-qar* DUMU *sà-súm, a-na un-nu-ub-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 47 68/68a:5, undated	Arayabi *ù* ÚS.˹SA˺.DU *ar-a-ia-bi*, *MHET* II/5 819:3'(envelope), undated
Ahum-waqar s. Sîn-šeme *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *a-hu-wa-qar* DUMU 30-*še-me*, *CT* 47 68/68a:2, undated	Arkalla *šu-*^{d}DA.[MU], ^{I}*ar-ka-al-a*[...], *ù na-ru-ub-tum* NU.GIG, *BE* 6/1 6:6-7, Buntahtun-Ila 1
Ahum-waqar s. Šerum-ili *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *a-hu-wa-qar,* DUMU ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí*, *CT* 47 68/68a:3-4, undated	Aršīya s. Batatta *ša i-ta ar-ši-ia* DUMU *ba-ta-at-ta*, *TCL* I 73:13, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ahūni s. Sîn-iddinam *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *a-hu-ni* DUMU 30-*i-din-nam, MHET* II/1 103:4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Artum (d. Nabi-Sîn) *ar-tum*, *CT* 45 2:5, Sumu-la-El
Ahūšina s. Ilšu-abūšu (b. Warad-s[ibi]tim] *a-hu-ši-na ù* ÌR-*s*[*i-bi*]-*tim*, *TCL* 1 70:11, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	**Ašdum-Abi**, Aškidum, Birbirum, **Yaškur-El**, Rubatum and Nakulatum *aš-ki-du-um, bi-ir-bi-ru-um, ia-áš-ku-úr*-DINGIR, *áš-du-um-a-bi, ru-ba-tum, ù na-ku-la-tum, BE* 6/1 1:4-9, Ilumma-Ila
Akšak-iddinam (f. Inbūša, Riš-Šamaš, Ipqatum and Šamaš-u-Sîn) ^{d}UTU-*ù-*^{d}EN.ZU, ^{I}*in-bu-ša,* ^{I}*ri-iš-*^{d}UTU, *ù ip-qá-tum,* DUMU.˹MEŠ˺ ÚH^{KI}-*i-din-nam, VAS* 8 66/67:6-10, undated.	Awīlīya s. **Iṣi-iasi-[...]** *i-ta a-wi-li-ia,* DUMU *i-ṣi-ia-sí*-[...], *CT* 8 16c:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Akšak-rabi s. Sîn-rē'u -ÚH^{KI}-*ra-bi* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-SIPA, *MHET* II/1 54(case):10, Apil-Sîn -*ù* DA É ÚH^{KI}-*ia* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-SIPA, *CT* 4 49a:3(case=*MHET* II/1 68), Apil-Sîn	Balamānum *i-ta ba-la-ma-nu-um, BBVOT* 1 99:3, Immerum e
Akšaya s. Sîn-šeme *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ÚH^{IKI}-*ia* DUMU 30-*re-me-ni, CT* 47a 19:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Bašbazim [*ba-aš*]-*ba-zi-im* (reconstruction by Friedrich) *, Friedrich BA* 5 48:4, Ilumma-Ila
Akšāya AGA.UŠ DA É ÚH^{KI}-*ia* AGA.UŠ, *CT* 4 49a:2(case=*MHET* II/1 68), Apil-Sîn	Bedilum *be-di*-DINGIR, *TIM* VII 33:4, undated
Akšāya *ša i-ta* ÚH^{KI}-*ia*, *MHET* II/1 54 :8, Apil-Sîn	Bēlessunu d. Asanum *be-le-su-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-sà-nu-um, VS* 8 12/13:1-2, Sabium
Akšāya [*i*]-˹*ta*˺ ÚH^{KI}-*ia, MHET* II/1 75:2, Apil-Sîn 1	Bēlessunu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Kuhitanu *be-le-su-nu* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ku-hi-ta-nu-ú, CT* 47 7 :1-2, Apil-Sîn
Akšak-gāmil SAG.BI.2.KAM ÚH^{KI}-*ga-mil, MHET* II/1 81/82:6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Bēlessunu d. **Mutum-El** *be-le-sú-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *mu-tu-me*^{I}*-el*, *MHET* II/5 706:15-16, undated
Akšak-iddinam s. Sînīya *ù* DA É ÚH^{KI}-*i-din-nam, MHET* II/1 127:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Bēli-ennen s. Hulhulum *be-lí-e-ni-en*^{I}, DUMU *hu-ul-hu*^{I}*-lum, MHET* II/5 739(case=*MHET* II/5 703):4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ 15
Alikum DA É *a-li-kum, MHET* II/1 127:1, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Bēlšunu s. **Ašdi-litur** *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *aš-di-li-tu-ur*, *CT* 47 8:4, Apil-Sîn/Sîn-muballiṭ
Ama-dugga ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-ia, ù* AMA.DÙG.GA, *BE* 6/1 6:6-7, Buntahtun-Ila 1	Bidataku (adoptive father of Sîn-iddinam) *bi-da-ta-ku, MHET* II/5 581:1, undated
Amat-Šamaš d. Būr-Sîn (m. Narāmtum, adopted?)	**Binnīya**

-GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *bur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *TCL* I 74 :7, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 -ÚS.SA.<DU> *na-ra-am-tum* GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *bur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *BDHP* 45:3-4, Apil-Sîn	*i-ta* A.ŠÀ *bi-in-ni-ia*, *CT* 4 10:39, Apil-Sîn 1
Amat-Šamaš d. Ibni-Amurrim *ù* GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ib-ni*-^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 8 49a:8, Apil-Sîn	Bulum *ù* DA É *bu-ú-lum, TCL* I 75:5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Amat-Šamaš d. Iddin-Amurrim DA É GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *i-din*-^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 8 25a:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	**Buni-halum** *bu-ni-ha-lum, Edubba* 7 113:3, Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Igmillum -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ig-mi*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 109:8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Burburnušu *ù i-ta bur-bur-nu-ˀšuˀ, Scheil Sippar* 10:17, Sîn-muballiṭ
Amat-Šamaš d. Ilum-mālik *ù* DA É GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*ma-lik, YOS* 14 163:10, Sîn-muballiṭ	Burriya s. Mutānum *bur-i-a,* DUMU *mu-ta-ni-im, RT* 17, 13:8-9, undated
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ipqu-Adad -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU , DUMU.MUNUS *i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM, *CT* 47 6:7-8, Apil-Sîn *-i-ta* A.ŠÀ GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS sig-<^{d}>IM, *CT* 4 34c :2-3, undated	Dadīya's family, wife **Ašdiya** and son Sîn-remēni *-da-di-ia, aš-di-ia, ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni* DUMU.A.NI, Veenhof 1999 n° 2:5-7, Immerum *-ù i-ta da-di-ia, CT* 8 26b:5, Ilumma-Ila
Amat-Šamaš d. Ir-Nanna GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ÌR-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *BDHP* 22:3-4, Sabium 11	Damiqtum d. Kikīnum (sister of Sippiritum, Šamaš-tappešu, Iddin-Ilabrat, Erībam-Sîn and Abu-waqar) *da-mi-iq-tim,* DUMU.MUNUS *ki-ki-nim, BDHP* 34/35:2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Amat-Šamaš d. Išme-Sîn -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *iš-me*-30, *CT* 45 12:6, Apil-Sîn -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *iš-me*-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 6 35a:3-4, undated	Dašuratum d. [...]-iddinam *ù* [d]a *da-šu-ra-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS [...]-*i-din-nam, BDHP* 69:4-5, undated
Amat-Šamaš d. Manium -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ma-ni*-[*um*] *, MHET* II/5 764:2, undated -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ma-ni-um, CT* 4 10:5, Apil-Sîn 1	Dašurum s. Aqbi *da-šu-ru-um* DUMU *aq-bi, RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):5, Immerum
Amat-Šamaš s. Sîn-erībam *i-ta* GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS 30-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/1 85:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Dāwidum's** descendants Bēlakum's children Iltāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU, Qaqadanum, Iddišum and Ibni-Amurrim$^{?}$ (Bēlakum is the son of Dawidum) *be-la-kum a-na il-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *ma-ar-ti-šu, CT* 47 19:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ Etel-pi-Sîn (probably the son of Dawidum) *e-tel-pi$_4$*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 26:1, Sabium
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-māgir -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS 30-*ma-gir*, *CT* 4 10:28, Apil-Sîn 1 -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ÌR-30, *CT* 4 10:35, Apil-Sîn 1	Dihatānum *di-ha-ta-nu-um, MHET* II/1 34:5 , Sabium
Amat-Šamaš d. Sîn-šeme *ù* ˀdaˀ É GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS 30-*ši-mi, MHET* II/1 60:9, Apil-Sîn	Dudānum *du-da-ni-im, ED* II 62 :3, undated
Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-li-[...] GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-li, *CT* 47 14:8'-10', Sîn-muballiṭ	Erībam-Sîn and Ipqūša sons of **Hayašarrum** *-e-ri-ba-am*-30 *ù ip-qú-ša,* DUMU.me *ha-ia-ša-ru-um*, *MHET* II/1 54 :23-24, Apil-Sîn

	-e-ri-ba-am-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ha-ia-šar-ru-um, MHET* II/5 837:6,undated
Amat-Šamaš GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 128:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Erištum d. **Yarbi-El** (granddaughter Darum-bāni) *e-ri-iš-tum* (case: [DUMU].ˀMUNUSˀ.a.ni), *MHET* II/1 85:11, Sîn-muballiṭ
Amat-Ningal *i-ta* GEME$_2$-^{d}NIN.GAL, *CT* 6 48a(case=*MHET* II/1 73):6, Apil-Sîn 1	Etellum and his brothers, sons of Ismehum *e-tel-lum ù a-hi-ˀšuˀ,* DUMU.me *is-me-hu-um, MHET* II/5 669:6-7, undated
	Gagalātum s. Sabānum *ga-ga-la-tum*, DUMU *sà-ba-nu-um, VAS* 8 6/7:3-4, Immerum
Amat-^{d}[...] DA É GEME$_2$-^{d}[...], *CT* 8 39a:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ha'e'um *ù ha-e-um, CT* 47 7:8, Apil-Sîn
Amur-Sîn s. Išme-Sîn (husband of Lamassatum and father of Erib-Ea and Tariš-Nunu) *-a-mur-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 45 3:5, Sabium 5 *-ta-ri-iš-nu-nu* DUMU *a-mur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *ù e-ri-ib-é-a* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 41:24-25, Sabium 8	Halamānum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ha-la-ma-nim, BDHP* 70:6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ana-Sîn-taklāku DA É *a-na-*^{d}EN.ZU-*ták-la-ku, BDHP* 26:4, undated	**Haliyatum** d. Awīl-Amurrim and her brother Ili-imnanni *ha-li-ia-tum, ša* LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU *a-bu-ša, CT* 48 29:6-7, Apil-Sîn
Ana-Šamaš-anaṭṭal (b. Ha-[...] and Imgur-Sîn?) *a-na-*^{d}UTU-*a-na-*[*ṭà-al*], *CT* 6 28a:13, undated	**Haliyatum** d. Iddin-Šamaš *ha-li-ˀa-tumˀ,* DUMU.MUNUS *i-din-*^{d}UTU *MHET* II/5 699:6-7, Apil-Sîn
Annum-pî-Sîn DA É an-ka-^{d}en.[zu], *TCL* 1 60:5, Apil-Sîn 4	**Haliyatum** d. Supāpum *-ha-li-ia-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *sú-pa-pu-um, MHET* II/1 55:1-2, Apil-Sîn *-ha-li-ia-tum, CT* 2 31:1, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ha-li-ia-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *CT* 47 12:6, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ha-ˀliˀ-*[*ia*]*-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *sú-ˀpaˀ-*[*pu*]*-ˀumˀ, MHET* II/5 631:3-4, undated *-ha-li-ia-tum, MHET* II/5 748:3, undated
Annum-pî-Sîn AN-*pi$_4$* -30, *TCL* 1 193:3, undated	**Haliyum** s. **Yawium** *ha-li-ia-um,* DUMU *ia-wi-um, CT* 8 44a(case=*CT* 48 31):7-8, Sumu-la-El
Annum-pî-Sîn - AN-*pi$_4$*-30, *CT* 4 14b:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 17 -ˀ AN-*pi$_4$*-^{d}ENˀ.ZU, *CT* 48 118:1, Sîn-muballiṭ 17	Hamaṣirum d. **Abi-har** *ha-ma-ṣí-ru-um,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-bi-ha-ar, MHET* II/1 17:4-5 (case=*CT* 8 28a), Sumu-la-El
Annum-pî-[...] an-ka-x*, *MHET* II/5 618:6, Sabium or Sîn-muballiṭ	**Hammatar** (father of Sa'eratum) *ha-am-ma-ta-ar, a-na sa-e-ra-tum, ma-ar-ti-šu*, *BDHP* 25:10-12, time of Sumu-la-El
Apil-ilīšu s. Lu-Nanna *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *a-pil-ì-lí-šu* DUMU LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *CT* 4 10:22, Apil-Sîn 1	**Hana** *ù i-ta ha-na-a*, *TCL* 1 195:3, undated
Apil-ilīšu *a-ˀpil-ì-líˀ-šu* DUMU [...], *MHET* II/1 111:5', Sîn-muballiṭ	Hanikuttim *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ha-ni-ku-ut-tim, BAP* 37:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Appan-ilum s. Lirbi-Sippar (b. Aya-tallik) ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *li-ir-bi-*ZIMBIR^{ki}, *ù a-pa-an-*DINGIR ŠEŠ.A.NI,*CT* 4 49b (=*MHET* II/1 121):6-8, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	**Hari-māliki** *ha-ri-ma-li-ki*, *TCL* I 190:6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Aqbi-ilum s. Etēya	Hašānum

aq-bi-DINGIR DUMU *e-te-ia, MHET* II/1 119:4'(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ 13	*ù ha-ša-a-nim ša* É.GAL? *, BE* 6/1 5:4, Immerum
Arik-idi-Enlil s. Ilšu-bāni (f. Lu-Enki) *a-ri-ik-i-di*-^{d}EN.LÍL, DUMU DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* da, *ù* LÚ-^{d}EN.KI SAG.DUMU.NI, *BE* 6/1 5:6-8, Immerum	Humasi *hu-ma-sí, CT* 45 65:6, Apil-Sîn 1
Arši-Ahati d. Nūr-ilīšu *ar-ši-a-ha-ti,* DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, CT* 47 15:6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ	Hummusatum d. **Iṣi-ašar** *hu-mu-sa-tum* DUMU.<MUNUS> *i-ṣí-a-šar, TCL* I 62 :3', Apil-Sîn
Arwītum *i-ta ar-wi-tum*, *MHET* II/5 805:3, undated	Hunabīya s. Bitata *hu-na-bi-ʾʿa*ʾ, DUMU *bi-ta*-[*ta*], *MHET* II/1 11:2-3, Sumu-abum
Awāt-Aya d. Šamaš-tayar INIM-^{d}*a-a* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*ta-ia-ar CT* 4 34c :4-5, undated	Huzālum s. Ikūn-pîša and **Yahinatum** *hu-za-lum* DUMU *i-ku-pí-ʾša*ʾ, *ù ia-hi-na-tu-um* AMA.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 118:10-11, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Awāt-Aya d. Sîn-[...] INIM-^{d}*a-a* DUMU.MUNUS ʿ^{d}EN.ZUʾ-[...], *MHET* II/1 63:12, Apil-Sîn	Ili-aptan DA *ì-lí-ap-ta-an, CT* 8 44a(case=*CT* 48 31):6, Sumu-la-El
Awāt-Aya sag.bi A.ŠÀ INIM-^{d}a-a ʿxʾ [...], *MHET* II/5 607:4, undated	Ili-ihta *ì-lí-ih-ta-a, BBVOT* 1 99:4, Immerum e
Awīl-ilim s. Kubbutum (b. Šamaš-rabi) *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, DUMU *ku-bu-tum, MHET* II/1 103:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Ilšu-ibbīšu s. Ukum DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu* DUMU *ú-kum*, *VAS* 8 108/109:4, Hammurabi 4
Awīl-ili s. Warad-Erra *a-wi-il-ì-lí* DUMU ÌR-ʿ*èr-ra*ʾ, Al 'Adami *Iraq* 59 p. 73-75(envelope):6, Apil-Sîn 2	Imgurrum s. **Amīnum** *im-gu-ru-um,* DUMU *a-mi-nu-um, MHET* II/1 28:2-3, Sabium
Awīl-ilim and his wife Munawwirtum *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *CT* 8 34b (=*MHET* II/1 117):14, Sîn-muballiṭ 11	**Iṣi-ašar** and his children **Haliyatum** (who is the mother of Iltāni) and Nakimum *ha-li-ia-tum* LUKUR ^{d}AMAR.UTU, *ša i-ṣí-a-šar*, *CT* 8 49b:12-13, Apil-Sîn 1
Awīl-ilim SAG.1.KAM. *mu-ṣú-um ša a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 74:3, Apil-Sîn 1	**Iṣi-Nabû** [DA] ʿÉʾ *i-ṣí-na-ʾbu*ʾ-[*ú*], *MHET* II/5 706:2, undated time of Sîn-muballiṭ
Awīl-ilim *ù i-ta* É *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *CT* 48 68:3, Apil-Sîn 1	**Iṣi-Sumu-abum** *i-ṣí-sa-mu-a-bu-um, CT* 8 29c:7, Sumu-la-El
Awīl-Sîn s. Sililum DA LÚ-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *sí-li-lum, TCL* 1 60:2-3, Apil-Sîn 4	**Iṣīya** s. Puzur-[Hali?] *i-ṣí-ia* DUMU *puzur$_4$-h*[*a-li*], , Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:17', Sumu-la-El and Altinû
Aya-kuzub-mātim LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ṣilli-Akšak ^{d}*a-a-ku-zu-ub-ma-tim* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ṣíl-lí*-ÚH^{KI}, *CT* 47 8:5-6, Apil-Sîn/Sîn-muballiṭ	**Iṣīya** s. Puzur-[Hali?] *i-ṣí-ia* DUMU *puzur$_4$-h*[*a-li*], , Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:17', Sumu-la-El and Altinû
Aya-simat-mātim d. Ibni-Adad ^{d}*a-a-sí-ma-at-ma-tim,* DUMU.MUNUS *ib-ni*-^{d}IM, *CT* 8 45a:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 15	**Iṣi-ya-[...]** *ù i-ta i-ṣí-ia*-[...], *TJB* pl.36:4, Apil-Sîn 1
Aya-simat-mātim ʿ*ù*ʾ DA É ^{d}*a-a-sí-ma-at-ʿma*ʾ-[*tim*] *, MHET* II/5 832:5, undated	The sons of Kaba-[...] *ù i-ta* DUMU.ME ka-ba-[...], *CT* 6 28a:8, undated
Aya-šarratum [DA É] ^{d}*a-a-šar-ra-tum TLB* I 222:2, undated	Kapatīya DA A.ŠÀ *ka-pa-ti-ia, MHET* II/1 22:3, Sumu-la-El, the year he established justice
Aya-tallik d. Būr-Sîn -^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *bur*-^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 103:10-11, Sîn-muballiṭ	Kiramtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Riš-Šamaš GÍD.DA.2.BI ^{I}*ki-ra-am-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ri-iš*-^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 43b:3-4, undated

-^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* DUMU.MUNUS *bur*-30, *CT* 4 16b:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	
Aya-tallik m. Imgur-Akšak and Nanna-mansum *im-gur*-ÚH^{KI}, ^{Id}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *ù* ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* AMA.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 92:7'-9', Sîn-muballiṭ	Kukūya son of Lammaša *ku-ku-ú-a,* DUMU *la-ma-ša, VAS* 8 1:4-5, Sumu-abum
Aya-tallik LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Lirbi-Sippar (sister of Appan-ilum) ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *li-ir-bi*-ZIMBIR^{KI}, *CT* 4 49b (=*MHET* II/1 121):6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Kukku (father of Belessunu LUKUR ^{d}UTU, Etel-pi-Numušda and Sîn-ilum) HA.LA A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR, *ù* HA.LA, A.ŠÀ *e-te-el-pi*$_4$-^{d}*nu-muš-<da>, ša a-na be-le-su-nu* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *ku-uk-ku-ú*, AD.A.NI, *VS* 8 3:2-7, MU BARA$_2$ ša Nergal Narām-Sîn BA.DÙ.
Aya-tallik LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-gāmil ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS$^{!}$ ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil, MHET* II/1 118:12-13, Sîn-muballiṭ 12	Kumuzili, d. Išhitīya *-ku-ma-zi- *, DUMU.MUNUS *iš-hi-ti-ia, CT* 6 43 :7, Apil-Sîn *-ku-mu-zi-*[*li*], *BDHP* 14:11, Immerum. *-ku-mu-zi-li, MHET* II/5 745:4, undated
Aya-tallik d. Sîn-iqīšam $^{d\lceil}$*a-a*$\rceil$*-tal-lik* DUMU.MUNUS $^{\lceil d}$EN.ZU$\rceil$*-i-qí-ša-am, MHET* II/1 119:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Kunâ d. ^{d}ku-ursag? *ku-na-a* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ku-ur-sag, *CT* 6 19a:4, Sabium
Aya-tallik LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Utu-lugal-an.ki.a DI.KUD ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-LUGAL-AN.KI.A DI.KUD, *RSO* 2 4 :11-12, Sîn-muballiṭ 12	Kunābum 2 NINDA ÚS.BI DA É *ku-na-bu-um, TCL* I 76:22, Sîn-muballiṭ
Aya-tallik's sons Imgur-Akšak and Nanna-mansum *im-gur*-ÚH^{KI}, ^{Id}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *ù* ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik* AMA.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 92:7'-9', Sîn-muballiṭ	Kunnutum d. **Abdi-Erah** *ku-nu-tim,* DUMU.MUNUS *ab-di-ra-ah, MHET* II/1 17:2-3 (case=*CT* 8 28a), Sumu-la-El
Aya-tallik DA ^{d}*a-a-tal-*[*lik*], *TLB* I 221:2, undated	Kuzabātum *-ù i-ta ku-za-ba-tum, MHET* II/1 113:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 6 *-ù* DA É *ku-za-ba-tum*, *MHET* II/1 116:1, Sîn-muballiṭ 9
Aya-tallik -^{d}*a-a-tal-lik, MHET* II/5 661:4, undated -^{d}*a-a-tal-lik, MHET* II/5 685:4, undated	Lamamīya *i-ta* [A].ŠÀ *la-ma-*$\lceil$*mi*$\rceil$*-ia, MHET* II/1 102:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Bela d. Sîn-māgir *be-la-a* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir*, *CT* 8 39a:6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Lašala SAG.BI *la-ša-la, BE* 6/1 5:5, Immerum
Bēlakum *-i-ta be-la-kum, MHET* II/1 105:2, Sîn-muballiṭ -DA É *be-la-kum, CT* 6 42b(=*MHET* II/1 110):2, Sîn-muballiṭ *-i-ta be-la-kum, MHET* II/5 696:7, undated	Luya[...] *lu-ia-*x[....], *TLB* I 221:4, undated
Bēlanīya s. Bettetum DA É *be-la-ni-ia* DUMU *be-te-tum, VS* 8 78+49:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Mahnub-El** s. Milkum *ma-ah-nu-ub*-DINGIR, DUMU *mi-il-ki-im, BAP*36 (=*MHET* II/1 48):6-7, Apil-Sîn
Bēlessunu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ili-ma-abum *be-le-su-nu* LUKUR [^{d}UTU], DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ma-a-b-um*, *TCL* I 203:3-4, undated	Manurum UŠ.GAL *ma-nu-ru-um, RSO* 2 4 :5, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Bēlessunu d. Mannum *ù* DA *be-le-sú-nu, MHET* II/1 78:5, Apil-Sîn 10	Mār-Sukallim s. **Yadihum** *i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU-SUKKAL-*li* DUMU *ia-di-hu-um, MHET* II/5 647 :2, undated
Bēlessunu d. Pa-[...] *be-le-*$\lceil$*sú*$\rceil$*-nu* DUMU.MUNUS $\lceil$pa?$\rceil$-$\lceil$x$\rceil$ [...], *MHET* II/1 63:13, Apil-Sîn	Masmaratum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ahūšina *-ma-as-ma-ra-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.<MUNUS> *a-hu-ši-na, MHET* II/5 712:5-6, undated *-ma-as-ma-ra-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *a-hu-ši-na, MHET* II/5 804:5-6, undated

	-ma-as-ma-[*ra-tum*...], DUMU.MUNUS *a-hu-ˀši-naˋ*, *MHET* II/5 807:6-7, undated *-ma-as-ma-ra-ˀtimˋ*, DUMU.MUNUS *a-hu-ši-na*, *MHET* II/5 811:2-3, undated
Bēlessunu NIN ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-rēʾum *be-le-su-nu* NIN ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}[UTU]-SIPA, *MHET* II/1 87:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Mašnit-El** DA *a-ta-pí-im, ša maš-ni-te-el*, Veenhof 1999 nº 2:2-3, Immerum. This man owns an irrigation ditch
Bēlessunu DA *be-le-su-nu, VS* 8 12/13:17, Sabium	Matṣimadum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ma-at?/ṣi?-ma-du-um, MHET* II/5 666:4, undated
Bēlessunu *-ù i-ta* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *be-le-sú-nu, BDHP* 70:3, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ù i-ta* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *be-le-sú-nu, BDHP* 70:9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Meyamuta *me-ia-mu-ta, BE* 6/1 1:10, Ilumma-Ila
Bēlessunu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sikilum *be-le-su-nu* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *sí-ki-li-im*, *TCL* I 185, undated	**Milki-El** *mi-il-ki-el* , *Pinches Peek* 13:2, Sabium mu dil-bat^{ki} *sà-bi-um* [m]u.dím.ma
Bēletum d. Riš-Šamaš *be-le-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ri-iš-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 114:8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Mira-lim *ù i-ta mi-ra-li-im, MHET* II/1 34 :3, Sabium
Bēletum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-tillassu *be-le-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-ILLAT-*su*, *MHET* II/1 70:12-13, Apil-Sîn	Muluktum *mu-lu-uk-tum*, *CT* 47 16:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 13
Bēliya DA *be-li-ia, CT* 2 34:4, Sumu-la-El	Munawwirtum d. Hakanam ˀSAGˋ.BI.1.<KAM> *mu-na-wi-ir-tum/* DUMU.MUNUS *ha-ka-nam, MHET* II/1 88:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Bēli-[...] s. Ana-pî-Šamaš-ik-[...]? *ša i-ta be-lí-*[...], *a-na-pí-*^{d}UTU-ik$^{?}$x-[...], *VS* 13 6:4, Apil-Sîn	Musallimum (father of Ahatum NU.GIG and Sanakratum LUKUR) and Sassatum *-sà-sà-tum ù mu-sa-li-mu-um MHET* II/1 11:4, Sumu-abum *-sa-na-ak-ra-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *mu-sa-li-mu-um* LUKUR, *a-ha-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *mu-sa-li-mu-*[*um*]/NU.GI[G], *CT* 48 57:2-4, undated
Bēlšunu s. Puzur-Tutu SAG.BI.1.KAM ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *be-el-šu-nu*, DUMU *puzur$_4$-*^{d}*tu-tu, CT* 4 10:23-24, Apil-Sîn 1	Nabi-Sîn s. Birû *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *bi-ru-ú, CT* 8 26b:7, Ilumma-Ila
Bēlšunu DA É *be-el-šu-nu, MHET* II/5 832:3, undated	**Nahum-Dagan** *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *na-hu-um-*^{d}*da-gan*, *CT* 4 10:33, Apil-Sîn 1
Bēltani LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ipiq-Adad *be-el-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS SIG-^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 124:6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 16	Nakulatum *na-ku-la-tum, CT* 8 44a(case=*CT* 48 31):3, Sumu-la-El
Bēltani d. Sîn-nāṣir [*b*]*e-el-t*[*a-n*]*i* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS [^{d}EN.ZU/30-*na-ṣir*], *TCL* 1 60:8, Apil-Sîn 4	Namīya d. Sassīya *-na-mi-ia*, *CT* 45 3:8, Sabium 5 *-na-mi-ia* MUNUS.DUMU (sic) *sà-ˀsíˋ-a, MHET* II/1 41:10, Sabium 8
Bettatum d. Sikillum *be-ta-ˀtumˋ* [DUMU].MUNUS *sí-ˀkiˋ-lum, MHET* II/1 7:8, Immerum	Narāmtum d. **Abī-madar** *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *na-ra-am-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-bi-ma-dar*, *CT* 8 25a:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Bettetum and Šarrayātum (d. of Narām-Sîn) *be-te-tum, ù ša-ra-ia-tum, MHET* II/1 53:10-11, Apil-Sîn	Narāmtum NU.BAR d. Šamaš-bēl-ili and Pilhitum (sister Taribum and Yata-x x-Šamaš) *na-ra-am-tum* nu.bar, [DUMU].ˀMUNUSˋ ^{d}UTU-*be-el-ˀi-líˋ, ša* ^{d}ˀUTUˋ*-be-el-ì-lí ˀaˋ-bu-ša, ù ˀpílˋ-hi-tum* AMA.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 116:2-5, Sîn-muballiṭ 9
Bittata's sons Išme-Sîn, Sîn-iddinam and Sîn-ublam	Našpatum *nadītum* (d. Ballum and sister of **Yatar-El** and

iš-me-^{d}EN.ZU, ^{Id}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,ù* ^{Id}EN.ZU-*ub-lam,* DUMU.ME *bi-ta-ta, VAS* 8 1:6-9, Sumu-abum	Arnabum cf. *CT* 2 35 and *CT* 6 30a) *i-ta na-aš-pa-tum na-di-tim*, *BDHP* 25:4, time of Sumu-la-El
Būr-Aya SANGA Ningal DA É *bur-*^{d}*a-a, MHET* II/1 129:24, Sîn-muballiṭ a	Nūr-Šamaš s. Saka-[...] *nu-úr-*$^{r d}$[UTU], DUMU *sà-ka-*^{r}*x*$^{\rceil}$-[...], *MHET* II/1 64:6'-7', Apil-Sîn
Būrriya *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *bu-ri-ia YOS* 14 163:4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Nūr-Šamaš s. Sunnum DA É *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *sú-un-nim, CT* 4 45b:2-3(case=*MHET* II/1 94), Sîn-muballiṭ
Būr-Sîn s. Būr-Enlil *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.LÍL, *CT* 48 25:4'-5', Sabium	Nūr-Šamaš s. **Yakub-El** *ù i-ta nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *ia-ku-ub*-DINGIR, *CT* 8 25a:22-23, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Būr-Sîn s. Sîn-ka-[...] *bur*-30 DUMU 30-*ka*-[...], *CT* 8 29c:5, Apil-Sîn	Pagan *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *pa-ga-an, TCL* I 190:3, undated
Būr-Sîn's children, Nabi-Sîn, Ibiš-Nunu, Nūr-ilīšu and Utul-Mama -DUMU.ME *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/5 594:3, undated - *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, * x x* *i-bi-iš-nu-nu,* ^{I}*nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, ù ú-túl-*^{d}*ma-ma, MHET* II/5 594:19-24, time of Apil-Sîn	**Paka-Ila** MÁ.LAH$_4$ s. Šumum-libši *-pa-ka-i-la* DUMU *šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši, VS* 8 11:1, Sabium *-pa-ka-i-la, CT* 4 33b, Apil-Sîn *-pa-ka-i-la, CT* 45 90:7, undated
Busarum *i-ta bu-sà-ru-um, TCL* I 56:2, Sumu-la-El	Pardīya DA É *pa-ar-di-ia, MHET* II/1 59:8, Apil-Sîn
Buṣīya s. Nabi-ilīšu *bu-zi-ia* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 4 10:44, Apil-Sîn 1	Puzur-Šamaš' children; Ibbi-Ilabrat, Ilšu-bāni and Daksatum *ù* DA É *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU *puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 45b:4-5(case=*MHET* II/1 94), Sîn-muballiṭ -SAG.BI.1.KAM.MA É *da-ak-sa-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 45b:6-7(case=*MHET* II/1 94), Sîn-muballiṭ
Dāmiqtum d. Utu-hegal *da-mi-iq-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-HÉ.GÁL, *TCL* 1 195:6-7, undated	Qabadu's sons *i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MEŠ *qa*$^{?}$*-ba*$^{?}$*-du$_8$, CT* 4 10:8, 13, Apil-Sîn 1
Dāmiqtum *da-mi-iq-tum, MHET* II/1 28:4, Sabium	Rababāni *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ra-ba-ba-ni, CT* 47a 19:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Dan-Erra s. Ili-abi GUDU *ù* DA É *dan-èr-ra* DUMU DINGIR-*a-bi* GUDU, *CT* 8 20b:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Rababāniši s. Immiritum$^{?}$ *ù i-ta ra-ba-ba-ni-ši,*DUMU$^{?}$ [...] *im-mi-ri-tum, MHET* II/5 696:2-3, undated
Dān-ilīšu s. Awīlīya (husband of Erṣētīya and brother of Išum-nāṣir, the *nadītum* Aya-rešat and the *kulmašītum* Erištum) *dan*-DINGIR-*šu* DUMU *a-wi-li-ia*, *BAP* 111 (=*VAS* 8 17/18):2, Apil-Sîn	Rašahu DA É *ra-ša-hu*, *MHET* II/1 116:1, Sîn-muballiṭ 9
Dariš-liBur DA *da-ri-iš-li-bur, CT* 45 19:1, Sîn-muballiṭ	Rīš-Šamaš s. Sala *ri-iš-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *sa*$^{!}$*-la-a, CT* 47 16 :5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 13
Dīnam-ili *i-ta di-nam-ì-lí, MHET* II/1 9 (=*CT* 8 47a):3, Immerum	Rīš-Wēr s. Agugum *-ri-iš-*^{d}*we-er* DUMU *a-gu-gu-um, MHET* II/1 74:8, Apil-Sîn 1 *-ri-ši-*^{d}*we-er,* DUMU *a-gu-gu-um, CT* 48 68:8-9, Apil-Sîn 1
Duhšatum *du-uh-ša-tum, MHET* II/1 124:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 16	Saka d. Uqaqa DA É *sa-ka-a* DUMU.MUNUS *ú-qa-qa-ma, MHET* II/1 60:8, Apil-Sîn
Dummuqum s. Salim *i-ta du-mu-qum,* DUMU *sa-li-im, CT* 8 26b:3-4,	Salātum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Urkutānum *sa-la-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ur-ku-ta-nim, CT*

Ilumma-Ila	8 20b:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ
Edim-mansum É.DIM.MA.AN.SUM, *MHET* II/1 104:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Salīya s. Halīya *sà-a-li-ʾia*ˋ, DUMU *ha-li-i*[*a*] , Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:18'-19', Sumu-la-El and Altinû
Elali *i-ta e-la-li*, *MHET* II/5 593:8, undated	**Sama-El** s. [...]ri[...] *sa-ma*-DINGIR DUMU [x]ri[...], *PBS* VIII/2 205:7, undated early
Elali s. Ibni-[...] *e-la-li* DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}[...], *BAP* 32:9, Sîn-muballiṭ 17	**Samehum** *u sa-me-hu-um*, *BDHP* 25:7, time of Sumu-la-El
Eli-erēssa LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Annum-pi-[...] *e-li-e-re-sa* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 618, Sabium or Sîn-muballiṭ	**Samīya** AD.KID *ù* DA É *sa-mi-ia* AD.KID, *CT* 4 49b (=*MHET* II/1 121):3, Sîn-muballiṭ 13
Eli-erēssa LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Siyatum *ša sí-ia-tum, a-na e-li-e-re-sa* DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 81/82:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sanātum NIN ^{d}UTU and her sister Puyātum *sà-na-tim* NIN ^{d}UTU, *pu-ia-tum,* NIN.A.NI, *ED* II 50:4-6, undated
Enlil-abum ^{d}EN.LÍL-*a-bu-ʾum*ˋ, *CT* 8 16c:6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sassīya's sons Tutu-nāṣir and **Yamlik-El** *tu-tu-na-ʾṣir*ˋ, *ù ia-am-lik*-DINGIR DUMU *sà-ʾsí-ia*ˋ, *MHET* II/5 669:4-5, undated
Enlil-ennam ^{d}EN.LÍL-*en-nam*, *ED* II 68:4, undated	Sîn-iddinam s. Kadada 30-*i-din-nam* DUMU *ka-da-da, CT* 47 78:4, undated
Enlil-li-[...] b. Ibbi-Enlil *ù* ÚS.SA.DU a.sà ^{d}EN.LÍL-*li*-[...] šeš.a.ni, *CT* 8 16a(=*MHET* II/1 106):4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-iddinam s. Kusanum ús.sa ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* , DUMU *ku-sa-nim, CT* 45 93:5-6, Sumu-la-El
Enlil-nāṣir s. Itūr-kīnum ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.LÍL-*na-ṣi-ir*, DUMU *i-túr-ki-nu-um CT* 8 16a(=*MHET* II/1 106):9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-iqīšam s. Rā'ibum -^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am*, DUMU *ra-i-bu-um, MHET* II/1 9(=*CT* 8 47a):10-11, Immerum -30-*i-qí-ša-am* DUMU *ra-i-bu-um*, *MHET* II/1 54 :5, Apil-Sîn
Erībam s. Ibbi-ilum *e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *i-bi*-DINGIR, *TIM* VII 35:3, undated	Sîn-mālik s. Buttešina DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik,* DUMU *bu-ut-te-ši-na*, *MHET* II/1 19:8-9, Sumu-la-El 13
Erībam s. Imgur-Sîn *e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *ʾim*ˋ-[*gur*-^{d}EN.ZU] , *MHET* II/1 114:7, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Sîn-puṭram s. **Yatadatum** ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am,* DUMU *ia-ta-da-tum, VS* 8 12/13:13-14, Sabium
Erībam s. Sukkalum *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *e-ri-ba-am* DUMU *su-ka-lum, CT* 47a 19:6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-rabi s. Huba *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-gal DUMU *hu-ba, BE* 6/1 5:3, Immerum
Erībam s. Uṣi-Nūrum (b. Mannum) *ma-ni-um ù e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU.MEŠ *ú-ṣí-nu-ru-um, CT* 2 17(=*MHET* II/1 69):6-7, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-remēni's sons Ilšu-abūšu, Sîn-erībam and **Samāya** *sa-ma-ia ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, ù* DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu,* DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni*, *MHET* II/1 93:3'-5', Sîn-muballiṭ
Erībam SAG.BI.1.KAM A.ŠÀ *e-ri-ba-ʾam*ˋ, SAG.BI.2.KAM A.ŠÀ *e-ri-ba-ʾam-ma*ˋ, *MHET* II/1 114:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	**Sumu-Erah** and Mayatum children of Asalīya *-ma-ia-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-sa-li-ia, CT* 2 34 :9-10, Sumu-la-El *-su-mu-ra-a-ah, CT* 2 39 :1, Sabium
Erībam *i-ta e-ri-ba-am, CT* 4 33b:2, Apil-Sîn	Ṣirihātum *-i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ṣi-ri-ha-ʾtum*ˋ [...] IB NAM, *MHET* II/1 63:15, Apil-Sîn -sag.2.kam ^{I}*ṣi-ri-ha-tum, MHET* II/1 99:5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erīb-Sîn s. Ea-rabi *ʾe*ˋ*-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU, [DUMU ^{d}e-a]-*ʾra-bi*ˋ, *MHET* II/5 607:6-7, undated	Šallurtum d. **Išmah-El** *-ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *iš-ma-ah*-DINGIR, *CT* 45 3:7, Sabium 5 *-ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.<MUNUS> *is-ʾma*ˋ*-ha-ʾ*DINGIRˋ,

	MHET II/1 41:29, Sabium 8 *-ša-lu-ur-tum a-na* GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS.a.ˀniˋ, *MHET* II/1 89:10-11, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erīb-Sîn -DA A.ŠÀ *e-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 31b:3, Apil-Sîn -DA A.ŠÀ *e-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 56:2, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-itê s. Sunābum ^{d}UTU-*i-te-e,* DUMU *su-na-bu-um, CT* 4 44b:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erišti-Aya NIN ^{d}UTU d. Emūq-Ilīya [*e-ri*]-*iš-ti-*^{d}a-a nin ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ˀ*e*ˋ-*mu-uq-ì-lí-ia, MHET* II/1 87:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-liṭṭul, Aya-šemeat, **Hayam-didum** children of **Yahkudum** ^{d}UTU-*li-ṭú-ul, ù* ^{d}*a-a-*ˀ*še*ˋ-*me-at, ù ha-ia-am-*[*di-d*]*u-um,* DUMU *ia-ah-ku-du-um, CT* 45 5:4-7, Sabium.
Erišti-Aya d. Ilšu-ibbišu *-e-ri-i*[*š-ti-*^{d}*a-a*], DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*šu-i-*[*bi-šu*], *TJB* pl.59:2'-3', Apil-Sîn *-e-ri-iš-ti-*^{d}[*a-a*], DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*šu-i-*[*bi-šu*], *TLB* 218:8-9, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-muštēšer s. **Abi-Erah** ^{d}UTU-*mu-uš-te-*[*še-er...*] a.ni, DUMU *a-bi-e-ra-*ˀ*ah*ˋ [...], *MHET* II/1 74:6-7, Apil-Sîn 1
Erišti-Aya LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ipiq-Adad *e-ri-iš-*<*ti*>-^{d}*a-a* LUKUR ^{d}ˀUTUˋ, DUMU.MUNUS *i-pí-iq-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/6 844:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamhum s. **Yantin-El** SAG.BI.1.KAM A.ŠÀ *ša-am-hu-*ˀ*um*ˋ, DUMU *ia-an-ti-in-*DINGIR, *MHET* II/5 665:5-6, undated
Erišti-Aya d. Ṣillilum *e-ri-iš-ti-*^{d}*a-a*, DUMU.MUNUS *ṣí-li-lum, CT* 4 37d:3-4, undated	Šaskum s. Ili-ublam *ša-as-ki-im* DUMU *ì-lí-ub-lam, TIM* 7 172:2, undated
Erišti-Aya LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ubar-Šamaš *e-ri-iš-ti-*^{d}*a-a* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *u-bar-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 108 :8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šāt-Aya d. **Yahsub-El** *ša-at-*^{d}*a-a*, DUMU.MUNUS *ia-ah-su-ub-*DINGIR, *TLB* I 221:6-7, undated
Erišti-Aya *e-ri-iš-ti-*^{d}*a-a, CT* 48 17:12, Apil-Sîn	Šeršedum *še-ir-še-du-um, CT* 8 29c:6, Sumu-la-El
Erištum d. Ilšu-abūšu [*e-ri*]-*iš-tum,* [DUMU.MUNUS] DINGIR-[*šu*]-ˀ*a*ˋ-*bu-šu, VS* 8 54:6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šumman-la-Šamaš s. **Iṣi-qatar** *ša i-ta* A.ŠÀ *šum-ma-an-la-*^{d}UTU DUMU *i-ṣí-qá-tar, TCL* I 73 :3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erištum d. Sîn-ilum *-e-ri-iš-tum* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR, *CT* 47 7:2, Apil-Sîn *-e-ri-iš-tum,* ˀDUMUˋ.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 102:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ	Tappûm s. **Yarbi-El** *-tap-pu-um* DUMU *ia-ar-bi-*DINGIR, *BAP* 37:5, Sîn-muballiṭ *-tap-pu-um* DUMU *ia-a*[*r-bi-*DINGIR], *CT* 8 16c:8, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erištum and Qištum children of Sîn-muballiṭ *qi-iš-tum, ù e-ri-iš-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ 30-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, BAP* 32:6-9, Sîn-muballiṭ 17	Tugatem s. Sîn-nāṣir *tu-ga-te-e-em,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir, MHET* II/1 22:7-8, Sumu-la-El, the year he established justice
Erištum d. Warad-Šamaš *e-ri-iš-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ÌR-^{d}UTU, *CT* 47 15:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Waplimum DA É *wa-ap-li-mu-um, CT* 45 6:5, Apil-Sîn 17
Erra-Adad's children (Erištum and Ippaya) *e-ri-iš-tum,*^{I}*ip-pa-ia* DUMU.MEŠ *èr-ra-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 49:17-18, Apil-Sîn	Warad-Sîn s. Kurnum *ša i-ta* ÌR-30 DUMU *ku-ur-nim, MHET* II/1 119:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 13
Erra-habit's children Lunad-ištar, Ṭab-ṣilli-[...] and Qurdi-Ištar *qú-úr-di-iš$_8$-tár* ^{I}*ṭà-ab-ṣíl-lí-*[...], *ù lu-na-ad-iš$_8$-tár* nin.a.ni, DUMU.me *èr-ra-ha-bi-*ˀ*it*ˋ, *CT* 45 19:5-8, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Yabasatum** d. Ili-aptan *ia-ba-sa-tim,* [DUMU.MUNUS] *ì-lí-ap-ta-an, CT* 8 44a(case=*CT* 48 31):3-4, Sumu-la-El
Erra-imittī DA *èr-ra-i-mi-ti, MHET* II/1 78:4, Apil-Sîn 10	**Yadihum's** sons **Habdi-El** and **Yahzir-El** *-ha-ab-di-*DINGIR, *ù ia-ah-za-ar-ni-il*, DUMU.MEŠ *ia-di-*[*hu-um*] , *BE* VI/1 10:5-7, Sabium 2 *- a-na ha-ab-di-*dinghir, *ù ia-ah-za-ar-*DINGIR, DUMU.me *ia-di-hu-um, Pinches Peek* 13:18-20, Sabium MU *dil-bat*^{ki}

	sà-bi-um [M]U.DÍM.MA
Erra-nada s. Nakkarum *i-ta èr-ra-na-da,* DUMU *na-ka-ru-um, BDHP* 69:2-3, undated	**Yahwi-El** s. Tuqarum *ia-ah-wi*-DINGIR, DUMU *tu-qá-ru-um*, *MHET* II/1 16:6-7 Sumu-la-El
Erra-[...]'s daughter sag.bi.1.kam.ma A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS *èr-ra-**ˤxˀ*, *MHET* II/1 118:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 12	**Yahwi-El** *ù i-ta ia-ah-ˤwiˀ*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 55:8, Apil-Sîn
Erṣētīya *er-ṣé-ti-ia, VAS* 8 74:2, undated	**Yah-El** *ù i-ta ia-ah*-DINGIR, *CT* 47 12:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Erṣētum *rabiṣum* *-ṭe$_4$-hi* É *er-ṣe-e-tum ra-bi-«a»-ṣi, MHET* II/1 74:2, Apil-Sîn 1 -SAG.2.KAM *mu-ṣú-um ša er-ṣe-e-tum ra-bi-/ṣi, MHET* II/1 74:4, Apil-Sîn 1 *-er-ṣé-ti-ia,* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*ri-ma-am, CT* 48 68:6-7, Apil-Sîn 1	**Yah[...]** *i-ta ia-ah*-[...], *TLB* I 218:3, Apil-Sîn
Etellīya *ù* DA É *e-te-li-ia, JCS* 11 no. 1:3, Apil-Sîn	**Yakun-madar** *ia-ku-un-ma-dar,* Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:6', Sumu-la-El and Altinû
Etel-pî-Nabium [...] ˤxˀ *e-tel-pi$_4$-na-bu-um, MHET* II/1 53:3, Apil-Sîn	**Yamuddirum** da$^{?}$ *ia-mu-ud-di-rum*, *BDHP* 14:9, Immerum
Etel-pî-Sîn s. Abum-ṭābum *e-tel-pi$_4$*-30, DUMU *a-bu-um-ṭà-bu-um*, *Pinches Peek* 13:15-16, Sabium	**Yaphatum** LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. **Iṣi-gatar** (sister of Ruttum) *ia-ap-ha-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *i-ṣí-ga-tar, MHET* II/1 125:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Etēya *ù* DA É *e-te-ia, MHET* II/1 88:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	**Yašubum** *ia-šu-bu-um*, *CT* 4 16b:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Gurrudum s. Atamar-Sîn SAG.BI.2.KAM A.ŠÀ *gur-ru-du-um* DUMU *a-ta-mar-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 10:25, Apil-Sîn 1	**Yawi-El** DA *ia-wi*-DINGIR, *CT* 8 34a:4, undated
Hanbatum *ha-an-ba-tum, BE* VI/1 7:3, Sumu-la-El	**Yenqim-El** *ù e-en-qí-im*-DINGIR, *CT* 6 49b(=*MHET* II/1 20):4, Sumu-la-El 29
Hulālum and his children *be-la-nu-um ù* ŠEŠ.A.NI, [DUMU].MEŠ *hu-la-lum, MHET* II/1 22:9-10, Sumu-la-El, the year he established justice	sa-níg-Sîn *i-ta* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ * ZA NÍG 30*, *MHET* II/1 85:7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Hunabātum *ù* DA É *hu-na-ba-tum, MHET* II/1 87:4, Sîn-muballiṭ. This woman owns a neighboring house.	Zizānum *zi-za-nu-um, BE* 6/1 11:8, Sabium
Hunnubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU *hu-nu-ub-tum, CT* 6 30a:1, Sumu-la-El	Zizzizizzu *zi-iz-zi-zi-iz-zu*(?), *Friedrich BA* 5 48:5, Ilumma-Ila
Huššutum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ahūni *hu-šu-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *a-hu-ni*, *CT* 8 45a:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 15$^{?}$	Zurzurīya's children; Erib-Sîn, Naramtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU, Puzur-Šamaš, Šamaš-rabi and Riš-Šamaš *na-ra-am-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, ^{I}*puzur$_4$*-^{d}UTU, ^{I}*e-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU, ^{Id}UTU-*ra-bi, ù ri-iš-*^{d}UTU,DUMU.MEŠ *zu-úr-zu-ri-ia*, *CT* 47 11:5-10, Sîn-muballiṭ
Huššutum NIN ^{d}UTU d. Ea-balaṭi *ša* DA É *hu-šu-tum* NIN ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *é-a-ba-la-ṭì, MHET* II/1 87:2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Zurzuru *i-ta zu-ur-zu-ru-ú, MHET* II/5 661:3, undated
Huššutum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-puṭram *-hu-šu-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am, MHET* II/1 113:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ 6	[...]-ibbušutum s. Hunanum [...]-*ib-bu-šu-tum,* [dum]u *hu-na-nim*, *BDHP* 45:8-9, Apil-Sîn

-hu-šu-tum LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am, BDHP* 4:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 13 *-hu-šu-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am, MHET* II/5 824:6'-7', undated *-hu-šu-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am, BDHP* 6:5-6 date lost *-hu-šu-tum,* ˹DUMU˺.MUNUS 30-*pu-uṭ-ra-am, MHET* II/5 752:2-3, undated	
Iballuṭ s. Nūr-^{d}[...] *i-ta i-ba-lu-*[*uṭ*] DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}[...], *TLB* I 218:4-5, Apil-Sîn	The gods Šamaš and Aya ^{d}UTU *ù* ^{d}*a-a, MHET* II/1 109:7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iballuṭ *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU *ì-*[...]-DINGIR, *MHET* II/5 713:5, undated	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ibbi-Enlil (b. Sîn-māgir and Enlil-li-[...]) *i-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, *CT* 8 16a(=*MHET* II/1 106):24, Sîn-muballiṭ	
Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Sîn-pilah *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*pi-lah*, *CT* 4 7a :16, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Šamaš s. Ipiq-Ištar *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 48 42:12, Buntahtun-Ila yearname "É Ninkarak"
Ibbi-Sîn. s. Ili-iddinam and Narāmtum *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ì-lí-i-din-nam*, *ù na-ra-am-tum* AMA.A.NI, *MHET* II/1 70:10-11, Apil-Sîn	Nūr-Šamaš s. Šamaš-bāni and his children (Bettani and her brother) *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU DUMU.<<MUNUS>> ^{d}UTU-*ba-ni*, *CT* 48 14:6, Sabium 13
Ibbi-Sîn *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 45 6:2, Apil-Sîn 17	Nūr-Šamaš' daughter *i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *TIM* VII 35:2, undated time of Sabium
Ibbi-Sîn DA É *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *Scheil Sippar* 10:21, Sîn-muballiṭ	Nūr-Šamaš *ša i-ta nu-úr-*^{d}UTU *VS* 13 6:6, Apil-Sîn
Ibnatum s. Waradiya *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ib-* ˹*na*˺*-tum* DUMU ÌR-*i-ia, MHET* II/1 108:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Nūr-^{d}[...] *nu-úr-*^{d}[...], *TLB* I 218:6, Apil-Sîn
Ibni-Amurrim s. Utul-Mami *-ib-ni-*^{d}MAR.TU DUMU *u-tul-*^{d}*ma-mi, CT* 2 36:7, Sîn-muballiṭ -SAG.BI.2.KAM *ú-túl-*^{d}*ma-mi, CT* 2 36:5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Nurrubtum NU.BAR d. Dadiya *-nu-ru-ub-tum,* NU.BAR, Veenhof 1999 n° 2:23-24, Immerum *-nu-ru-ub-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *da-* ˹*di*˺*-ia, MHET* II/6 924:4, undated
Ibni-Gibil DA É *ib-ni-*^{d}BIL.GI, *CT* 47 15:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Nūrum *-nu-ru-um, CT* 6 38b:7, undated *-nu-ru-um, VAS* 8 1:10, Sumu-abum
Ibni-Šamaš (f. Warad-Išhara) ÌR-^{d}*iš-ha-ra,* DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *BAP* 96:1-2, Sumu-la-El	Nusku-la-šanān $^{<d>}$nusku-*la-ša-na-an, MHET* II/1 18:6, Sumu-la-El
Iddin-Erra *i-din-èr-ra*, *CT* 48 27:3, Sabium	Nuṭṭubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Awīl-Adad *nu-tu-ub*^{1}*-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS LÚ-^{d}IM, *TLB* I 217:6-7, Sumu-la-El
Iddin-Ea ˹*ù*˺ DA É *i-din-é-*[*a*], *TCL* 1 60:6, Apil-Sîn 4	Nuṭṭubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Namrum-šarur *nu-tu-ub-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *na-am-ru-um-ša-ru-ur, CT* 47 11:11-12, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iddin-ilum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *i-din-*DINGIR, *CT* 45 6:3, Apil-Sîn 17	Nuṭṭubtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU *nu-tu*^{1}*-ub*^{1}*-tum* ˹lukur˺ ^{d}UTU, *BAP*36 (=*MHET* II/1 48):2, Apil-Sîn
Iddin-Sîn's family, husband of Ribatum and father of Adad-iddinam, Lamassi, Muhaddîtum, Sîn-iddinam	Pûm-rabi GAL.DI.KUD *-pu-um-ra-bi* GAL.DI.KUD, *CT* 8 31b:9, Apil-Sîn

and Ibni-Adad -DA É *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 47 17:2, 3, Sîn-muballiṭ -[sag].bi.1.kam É ^{d}IM-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/5 705:1', undated, Sîn-muballiṭ? *-la-ma-sí* lukur ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *i-din-*30, *MHET* II/5 705:4', undated, Sîn-muballiṭ?	*-pu-ra-bi*, *MHET* II/1 56:4, Apil-Sîn
Iddin-Šamaš *ù* DA É *i-din-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 2 36:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Puṭur-Sîn *ù* DA É *pu-túr-*30, *CT* 2 4:3, Sîn-muballiṭ. This man owns a neighboring house
Iddīya *i-dí-ia* DUMU [...], *TLB* I 218:7, Apil-Sîn	Puzur-kubi s. Sîn-bāni f. Ipiq-Ištar *puzur$_4$-ku-bi* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni, ù* ^{I}*i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár* DUMU.NI, *CT* 4 48b:8, Sumu-la-El
Idsišum DA *i-di-šum, CT* 8 44a(case=*CT* 48 31):2, Sumu-la-El	Puzur-mami? *i-ta puzur$_4$-ma-mi*$^{!}$ x, *MHET* II/5 696:3, undated
Igmil-[...] SAG.2.KAM *i-ku-um ša* A.ŠÀ *ig-mil-*[...], *MHET* II/6 844:7, Sîn-muballiṭ	Puzur-rabi *a-tap-pu-*[*um*], *ša puzur$_4$-ra-*[*bi*], *MHET* II/1 98:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ikun-pî-Sîn s. Išme-Sîn *i-ta* É *i-ku-pi$_4$-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *iš-me-*30, *CT* 48 14:2, Sabium 13	Puzur-Šamaš s. Būratum *i-ta puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *bu-ra-tim, ED* II 50:2-3, undated
Ikūn-pîša *i-ku-pí-ša* [...], *MHET* II/1 64:9', Apil-Sîn	Puzur-Šamaš s. Išme-Sîn *-puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}<EN.ZU>, *CT* 48 42:4-5, Buntahtun-Ila yearname "É Ninkarak" -SAG.BI.2.KAM A.ŠÀ *puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/5 665:7-8, undated time of Sumu-la-El
Ikun-pî-Šamaš *i-ku-pí-*^{d}UTU, *VAS* 8 6/7:2, Immerum	Qabīyatum *qá-bi-ia-tum*, *MHET* II/1 92:5', Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilabrat-bāni *ù* ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni* DUMU [...], *MHET* II/1 86:5', Sîn-muballiṭ	Qīš-Nunu s. Warassa (husband of Hunabiya) *qí-iš-nu-nu* DUMU ÌR-*sà*, *CT* 4 49a:5(case=*MHET* II/1 68), Apil-Sîn
Ilabrat-bāni *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, ù* ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni, CT* 4 45b:9-10(case=*MHET* II/1 94), Sîn-muballiṭ	Rabātum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šelebum *ra-ba-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *še-le-bu-um, MHET* II/1 86:6'-7', Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilabrat-tukulti DA ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*tu-ku-ul/-ti, MHET* II/1 18:3, Sumu-la-El	Rabum's daughter *-ù* DA DUMU.MUNUS *ra-bi-im*, Veenhof 1999 n° 2:4, Immerum. *-i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS *ra-bi-im, MHET* II/6 924:2, undated, time of Sumu-la-El
Ilabrat-u-Sîn ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ù-*^{d}EN.ZU *CT* 4 48b:10, Sumu-la-El	Rībam-ili, his wife Aya-tallik and their daughters Erištum NU.GIG and Amat-Šamaš LUKUR ^{d}UTU *-ri-ba-am-ì-lí a-bu-ša, ù* ^{d}*a-a-tal-lik-um-ma-ša, a-na e-ri-iš-tum ma-ar-ti-šu /*NU.GIG, *MHET* II/1 105:4-6, Sîn-muballiṭ -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU NIN.A.NI, ^{I}*e-ri-iš-tum* NU.GIG, DUMU.MUNUS *ri-ba-am-ì-lí, CT* 6 42b(=*MHET* II/1 110):4-6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-Amurrim *ù i-ta ì-lí-*^{d}MAR.TU, *CT* 8 25a:24, Sîn-muballiṭ 7	Rībatum d. Puzurīya *-ri-ba-tum, CT* 33 45a:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 16 *-ri-ba-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *puzur$_4$-ia, MHET* II/5 647 :4-5, undated
Ili-dūri *i-ta ì-lí-*BÀD-*ri, CT* 8 49a:15, Apil-Sîn	Rībatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU s. Sîn-nāṣir *ri-ba-tum* lukur$^{!}$ ^{d}UTU DUMU.<MUNUS> 30-*na/-ṣi-*[*ir*], *Edubba* 7 109:8, Sîn-muballiṭ 14

Ili-ennam s. Išar-dayān *ì-lí-en-nam,* ˹DUMU˺ *i-šar*-DI.KUD, *MHET* II/5 739(case=*MHET* II/5 703):6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 15	Rībatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-itê *ri-ba-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*i-te-e*, *TCL* I 76:7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-erībam *ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/1 26:2, Sabium	Rīš-ilim *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ri-iš*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 98:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-erībam *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ì-lí-e-ri-ba, MHET* II/5 696:5, undated	Rīš-Šamaš s. Ibnatum (b. Nidnuša) *ri-iš*-^{d}UTU, *ù ni-id-nu-ša,* DUMU.[ME/MEŠ] *ib-na-tum, MHET* II/5 698:5-6, undated
Ili-imitti *i-ta* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *ì-lí-i-mi-ti*, *CT* 4 10:15, Apil-Sîn 1	Rīš-Šamaš *i-ta* kislah *ri-* ˹*iš*-^{d}UTU˺, *MHET* II/1 114:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Ili-midi *ù i-ta ì-lí-mi-di, CT* 2 37:12, Sabium	Rubāya *ru-ba-ia, Edubba* 7 113:2, Sumu-la-El, after he established justice
Ili-šadûni *ì-lí*-KUR-*i, CT* 45 8:2, Apil-Sîn	Sābibum *ù* DA A.ŠÀ *sa-bi-bu-um*, *CT* 47 8:3, Apil-Sîn/Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-šadûni *i-ta ì-lí-ša-du-ni*, *BE* 6/1 3:8, Immerum	Sābikum *sa-bi-kum, TCL* I 190:5, undated
Ili-wēdim SAG.BI.1.KAM.MA É *ì-lí-we-di-im*, *BDHP* 26:7, undated	Sabtum DA É *sa-ab-tum, CT* 4 20a:1, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Ilšu-abūšu s. Utu-zimu *i-ta* A.ŠÀ DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu* DUMU ^{d}UTU-ZI.MU, *MHET* II/1 63:2, Apil-Sîn	Salatānum DA A.ŠÀ *za-la-ta-nu-um, CT* 4 47b:4, mu Iṣi-Sumu-abum ba.ug$_7$
Ilšu-abūšu's daughter *ù i-ta* DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu, Scheil Sippar* 10:31, Sîn-muballiṭ	Salātum d. Awīliya *sa-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *a-wi-li-ia, BAP* 37:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilšu-abūšu DA É DINGIR-*šu-a-bu-šu, VS* 8 54:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Salātum *sa-la-tum, CT* 45 112:14, undated
Ilšu-bāni s. Nūr-ilīšu DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, TIM* 7 149:2-3, undated	Salātum DA É *sa-la-tum*, *CT* 8 25a:13, Sîn-muballiṭ 7. This woman owns a neighboring house.
Ilšu-bāni s. Nūr-Sîn DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU *nu-úr*-^{d}EN.ZU, *BE* 6/1 3:12-13, Immerum	Salimātum d. Nēmelum and her family (sister of Sîn-ennam and Bēlšunu, adoptive mother of Ana-Aya-uzni, aunt of Erištum and Ir-Nanna, who are the children of Bēlšunu) *-sa-li-ma-tum,* LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ne-me-lum, CT* 8 29c:13-15, Sumu-la-El *-a-na-*^{d}*a-a-uz-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *sa-li-ma-tum, CT* 2 33:1-2, Sumu-la-El -ÌR-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *ša e-ri-iš-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *be-el-šu-nu, BDHP* 70:11-13, Sîn-muballiṭ *-i-ta* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *sa-li-ma-tum, BDHP* 70:8, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilšu-bāni s. Sîn-nāṣir DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU 3[0-*na-ṣi-ir*], *CT* 45 4 :5, Sabium	Salim (f. Dummuqum in *CT* 8 26b) *i-ta sà-lí-im, Friedrich* BA 5 48:3, Ilumma-Ila
Ilšu-bāni and his daughter Šāt-Aya DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni a-bu-ša, a-na ša-at-*˹^{d}˺[a-a], *Scheil Sippar* 10:38-39, Sîn-muballiṭ Ilšu-bāni DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, *CT* 47 14:6', Sîn-muballiṭ	Sāriqum *i-ta sà-ri-qum*, *TJB* pl.36:3, Apil-Sîn 1
Ilšu-bāni É *i-ta* DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, *MHET* II/5 593:5, undated	Sāriqum SAG.BI.1.KAM *sa-ri-qum, CT* 2 36:4, Sîn-muballiṭ

Ilšu-bāni DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, CT* 2 37:12, Sabium	Sîn-abūšu s. Išme-[...] ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-*[*šu*], DUMU *iš-me-*[...], *BDHP* 26:10-11, undated
Ilšu-rabi s. Ennam-Adad DINGIR-*šu-ra-bi* DUMU *en-nam-*^{d}IM, *CT* 8 26b:6, Ilumma-Ila	Sîn-abūšu s. Šamaš-kên *ša* DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*e*^{sic}*-bu-šu,* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*ke-en*, *CT* 4 14b:2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ 17
Ilšu-tillassu s. Puzur-Šamaš -DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su, BE* 6/1 20:3, Sîn-muballiṭ -DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su,* DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 129:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ -DA É DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*ˀsúˀ, MHET* II/1 129:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-abūšu s. Ubar-Šamaš *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-ˀšuˀˀ* DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}UTUˀ(?), *BAP* 37:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilšu-tillassu *i-ta* DINGIR-*šu*-ILLAT-*su, MHET* II/1 113:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 6	Sîn-abūšu DA ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu*, *CT* 48 27:4, Sabium
Iltāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Apil-ilīšu *il-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *a-pil-ì-lí-šu,CT* 4 49b (=*MHET* II/1 121):9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Sîn-abūšu DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, VS* 8 58/*CT* 4 50b:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iltāni d. Beia *il-ta-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *be-ia-a*, *MHET* II/1 92:5'-6', Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-abūšu's sons Sîn-bāni and Nanna-mansum ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni* ŠEŠ.A.NI, DUMU.ME ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, CT* 2 37:9-11, Sabium
Iltāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-išmeanni *il-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, [DUMU.MUNUS] ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-an-ni, MHET* II/5 696:4-5, undated	Sîn-ahi-iddinam *ù* DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *MHET* II/5 706:6, undated time of Sîn-muballiṭ
Iltāni d. Emūqi-Adad *il-ta-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *e-mu-qí-*^{d}IM, *CT* 33 44b:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Sînatum *i-ta sí-na-tum, MHET* II/1 124:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 16
Iltāni d. Imgurrum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *il-ta-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *im-gur-ru-um, MHET* II/1 107:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-bāni *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni* DUMU [...], *CT* 47 12:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Iltāni d. Muṣīya *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *il-ta-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *mu-ṣi-ia, CT* 47 11:2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-bēl-Ilī ^{d}EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí, MHET* II/5 823:15, undated
Iltāni d. Nīši-īnīšu *il-ta-ni* DUMU.MUNUS *ni-ši-i-*[*ni-šu*], *CT* 8 16c:7, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-emūqi s. Sîn-rabi ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-mu-qí* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-GAL, *BE* 6/1 5:9, Immerum
Iltāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šuba-Ilan *-il-ta-ni* DUMU.MUNUS *šu-ba*-DINGIR-ˀDINGIRˀ, *CT* 8 39a:7, Sîn-muballiṭ *-il-tani* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *šu-ba*-DINGIR-DINGIR, *Edubba* 7 70(envelope):3-4, undated	Sîn-ennam's children Aya-tallik and Šamaš-tappe ^{d}*a-a-tal-ˀlikˀ* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam*, Al 'Adami *Iraq* 59 p. 73-75(envelope):4, Apil-Sîn 2
Iltāni[?] *ù* DA É *il-t*[*a-ni*] , *CT* 8 39a:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-ēreš *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-APIN, *Scheil Sippar* 10:6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ilum-mālik DA É DINGIR-*ma-lik*, *MHET* II/5 594:5, time of Apil-Sîn	Sîn-erībam s. Adi-mati-ili DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU *a-di-ma-ti-ì-lí, CT* 8 34b (=*MHET* II/1 117):2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ 11
Ilum-nāši and Ilum-dāmiq DINGIR-*na-ši ù* DINGIR-*da*-mi*-iq, BBVOT* 1 99:5, Immerum e	Sîn-erībam s. Ilšu-bāni ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUMU DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, BDHP* 27:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Ilum-rē'u *ù* DA DINGIR-SIPA, *CT* 8 31b:4, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-erībam and [...]-erībam sons of Halilum [...^{d}en].ˀzuˀ-*e-ri-ba-am*, [...]ˀ*e-ri-ba-am* ŠEŠ.A.NI, DUMU.MEŠ *ha-li-lum, MHET* II/1 12:9-11, Immerum/Sumu-la-El
Ilum-waqar's daughter	Sîn-erībam, Puzur-Nunu and Idiš-Sîn sons of Iddin-

i-ta DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*wa-qar, Scheil Sippar* 10:8, Sîn-muballiṭ	Išum ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* ^{I}*puzur$_{4}$-nu-nu, ù i-di-iš-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU.MEŠ *i-din-*^{d}*i-šum, MHET* II/1 9(=*CT* 8 47a) :6-9, Immerum
Ilūni *i-ta i-lu-ni, CT* 8 49b:1, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-erībam *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ 30-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/1 102:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Illussa *ù i-ta i-lu-sà, CT* 8 49a:11, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-erībam ÚS.SA.DU ^{Id}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-*[*am*], *MHET* II/5 739(case=*MHET* II/5 703):2, Sîn-muballiṭ 15
Ilussu *i-lu-su, MHET* II/1 34:4, Sabium	Sîn-erībam *ù i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/1 89:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Imgur-Akšak *ù im-gur-*ÚH^{KI}, *MHET* II/1 64:11', Apil-Sîn	Sîn-gāmil s. Išme-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil* DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 118:9, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Imgurrum s. Bēli-dayān *im-gu-ri-im,* DUMU *be-lí-da-a-an, CT* 6 38b:5, undated	Sîn-gāmil *i-ta a-tap-pu-um ša* 30-*ga-mil, MHET* II/1 118:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Imgurrum s. Pala-Erra *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *im-gur-rum* DUMU *pa-la-èr-ra, CT* 47a 19:7, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-gāmil *ù* 30-*ga-*ˀ*mil*ˋ, *MHET* II/5 685:3, undated
Imgurrum s. [...] *im-gu-ru-um* DUMU * ˊxˋ * [...], *MHET* II/1 86:4', Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-gāmil [DA] É 30-*ga-mil, VS* 8 54:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Imgur-Sîn *im-gur*-30, *CT* 48 4:3, undated time of Sabium.	Sîn-ibni *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ib-ni* DUMU (sic) , *MHET* II/1 55:7, Apil-Sîn
Imgur-Sîn *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 6 28a:15, undated	Sîn-ibni *i-ta* A.ŠÀ 30-*ib-ni, BDHP* 70:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Imgūya *ù i-ta* É *im-gu-ia, MHET* II/5 713:3, undated	Sîn-iddinam s. Marduk-ilum ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU ^{d}AMAR.UTU-DINGIR, *CT* 4 10:26, Apil-Sîn 1
Inbatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ili-haziri *in-ba-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ha-zi-ri, MHET* II/6 844:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-dān ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*dan, CT* 45 93:10, Sumu-la-El
Inib-Nunu (father of Huddultum, Qīš-Nunu, Imgurrum and Ilum-abi) *hu-du-ul-tim,* DUMU.MUNUS *i-ni-ib-nu-nu, qí-iš-nu-nu, im-gur-ru-um, ù* DINGIR-*a-bi a-hu-ša, CT* 6 49b(=*MHET* II/1 20):5-9, Sumu-la-El 29	Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-erībam *i-bi-ir-ma a-na* SAG A.ŠÀ 30-*i-din-nam*, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am u-ṣí MHET* II/1 70(case):7-8, Apil-Sîn
Inim-Enlil s. Enlil-isa INIM-^{d}EN.LÍL.lá, DUMU ^{d}EN.LÍL-ì.SA, *PBS* VIII/2 205:5-6, undated, early	Sîn-iddinam *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, CT* 47 7:7, Apil-Sîn
Inim-Nanna-Igim *wa-ar-ka-at-su* É INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.<KI>-ì.GIM, *CT* 48 14:5, Sabium 13	Sîn-iddinam *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *BE* 6/1 3:6, Immerum
Inim-Nanna-Igen -INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ì.GE.EN, *CT* 4 14b:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 17 -INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ˀì.GEˋ.[EN], *CT* 48 118:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 17	Sîn-iddinam's son *ša* A.ŠÀ DUMU 30-*i-din-nam, TIM* 7 147:13, undated
Inim-Utu DA INIM-^{d}UTU, *CT* 45 5:2, Sabium	Sîn-ide s. Itūr-Sîn *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-de,* DUMU *i-túr-*ˀ^{d}EN.ZUˋ, *MHET* II/5 593:2-3, undated
Ipiq-Adad s. Uṣi-Nūrum	Sîn-iqīšam and his brothers Ibni-Šamaš and Erra-nāṣir

-i-pí-iq-^{d}IM DUMU *ú-ṣí-nu-ru-um*, *TCL* I 76:26, Sîn-muballiṭ -1 NINDA SAG.BI.KAM DA É *i-pí-iq-*^{d}IM, *CT* 2 17(=*MHET* II/1 69, case):5, Apil-Sîn	-30-*i-qí-ša-am, ša* KI *ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *ù èr-ra-na-ṣir*, *BAP* 103:5-7, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *ša* KI 30-*i-qí-ša-am, ù èr-ra-na-ṣir, BAP* 104:5-7, Sîn-muballiṭ. *-èr-ra-na-ṣir, ša* KI 30-*i-qí-ša-am, ù ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 2 4:5-7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipiq-Annunitum s. Lu-Nanna *i-ta* A.ŠÀ SIG-*an-nu-ni-tum* DUMU LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *CT* 4 10:2, Apil-Sîn 1	Sîn-iqīšam's daughter SAG.BI SILA.DAGAL EGIR.BI É DUMU.MUNUS 30-*i-qí-ša-am*, *CT* 8 39a:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipiq-Arahtum s. Nunu-ēreš *i-pí-iq-a-ra-ah-tim,* ˹DUMU˺ *nu-nu-*APIN, *MHET* II/1 53:6-7, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-iqīšam *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am, MHET* II/1 81/82:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipiq-Irnina *i-pí-iq-ir-ni-na, MHET* II/6 844:8, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-išmēni ÚS.SA.DU ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-ni, VS* 8 12/13:9, Sabium
Ipiq-Ištar (father of Nūr-Šamaš) *-i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár, BAP* 35:9, Immerum *-i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár*, *CT* 48 42:11, Buntahtun-Ila yearname "é Ninkarak"	Sîn-māgir s. Annum-pîša DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir* DUMU AN-*pí-ša, MHET* II/5 832:4, undated
Ipiq-Marduk *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ SIG-^{d}AMAR.UTU, *MHET* II/1 98:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-māgir s. Ennen-Sîn *ù i-ta* 30-*ma-gir,* DUMU *en-ne-en-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 122:5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 15
Ipqatum s. Gurrudum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ip-qá-tum* DUMU *gur-ru-du-um*, *CT* 4 10:4, Apil-Sîn 1	Sîn-māgir b. Ibbi-Enlil ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *CT* 8 16a (=*MHET* II/1 106):3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipqatum s. Iṣṣur-Adad *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ip-qá-tum,* DUMU *i-ṣur-*[^{d}IM], *MHET* II/1 81/82:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-muballiṭ s. Narām-ilīšu (b. Nanna-mansum) ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ,* DUMU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, ša i-ti* ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *MHET* II/5 593:10-12, undated
Ipqūša DA É *ip-qú-ša, BAP* 32:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 17	Sîn-mu-[...] s. Puzur-Šamaš *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-˹*mu*˺-[...], [DUMU] *puzur$_4$-*^{d}UTU *MHET* II/5 665:2-3, undated time of Sumu-la-El
Ipqūša (probably the son of Ahi-šakim) *i-ta ip-qú-ša, TIM* VII 34:2, undated	Sîn-nāṣir *ša i-ta* 30-*na-ṣir*, *MHET* II/1 54 :2, Apil-Sîn
Ipqūša *ip-qú-ša, MHET* II/1 104:4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-nāṣir *ù* DA É 30-*na-ṣir, CT* 47 15:3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ipqūša *i-ta* a.ša ˹*ip*˺*-qú-ša, MHET* II/1 99:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-nāṣir DA É 30-*na-ṣir, MHET* II/1 127:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Ipqūša DA É *ip-qú-ša, VS* 8 78+49:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-nāṣir 30-*na-ṣí-*[*ir*], *CT* 8 29c:6, Apil-Sîn
Ir-Nanna *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ÌR-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *MHET* II/1 97:4', 7', 9', Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-nāṣir s. Šamaš-rabi (and his children Bēltani, Taram-Ulmaš, Warad-Sîn, Sîn-remēni and Sîn-muballiṭ) -^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣir* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi*, *CT* 48 1:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 12 -^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam,* ^{I}*be-el-ta-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, ^{I}*ta-ra-am-ul-ma-aš* NU.BAR, ^{I}ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU ^{Id}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, RSO* 2 4 :6-9, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Iṣṣur-Adad s. Sîyatum *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *i-ṣur-*^{d}IM DUMU *sí-ia-tum*, *MHET* II/5 618:3, Sabium or Sîn-muballiṭ	Sînīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-ia, ù* AMA.DÙG.GA, *BE* 6/1 6:6-7, Buntahtun-Ila 1
Išdu-kîn *iš-du-ki-in, TLB* I 217:19, Sumu-la-El	Sîn-nāṣir s. Hubbudīya (and his sons Ilšu-bāni and Nūr-Šamaš) 30-*na-ṣir* DUMU *hu-bu-*˹*di*˺*-ia*, *MHET* II/1 54 :3, Apil-Sîn
Išme-Adad	Sîn-nūr-matim s. Etel-pî-Sîn

iš-me-^{d}IM, *CT* 8 44a(case=*CT* 48 31):13, Sumu-la-El	^{Id}EN.ZU-*nu-úr-ma-tim, MHET* II/1 36:2, Sabium
Išme-Adad *ù i-ta iš-me-*^{d}IM, *Scheil Sippar* 10:11, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-puṭram DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am, CT* 45 19:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Išme-Ea SAG.BI *iš-me-é-a, CT* 8 23c :2, Sabium	Sîn-remēni DA 30-*re-me-ni, CT* 47 1:3, Sabium
Ištar-ṣillāša *iš$_8$-tár-ṣi-la*$^{!?}$*-ša, BAP* 104:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-remēni s. Ikūn-pîša -30-*re-me-ni* DUMU *i-ku-pi$_4$-ša, MHET* II/1 54 :16, Apil-Sîn -SAG.BI.2.KAM.MA A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni*, DUMU *i-ku-un-pí-ša, MHET* II/1 108 :5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Ištar-tallik d. Ṣilli-Ištar *iš$_8$-tár-tal-lik,* DUMU.MUNUS *ṣíl-lí-iš$_8$-tár, BBVOT* 1 105/147:5-6, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-remēni *i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, CT* 47 78:2, undated
Izib-ilim *i-ta i-zi-ib*-DINGIR, *BDHP* 25:6, time of Sumu-la-El	Sîn-rē'u ^{d}EN.ZU-SIPA, *MHET* II/1 54 :2, Apil-Sîn
Kamiṣum *i-ta ka-mi-ṣum, CT* 8 49a:7, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-šemi s. Ahum A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi,* DUMU *a-hu-um, CT* 4 47b:6-7, mu Iṣi-Sumu-abum ba.ug$_7$
Kasap-Ištar and his daughter Amat-Šamaš *-ka-sa-ap-iš$_8$-tár, VS* 8 22/23:4, undated -GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS KÙ.BABBAR-*iš$_8$-tár, VS* 8 58/*CT* 4 50b:9-10(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-šeme s. Narām-Ea ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me* DUMU *na-ra-am-é-a, CT* 2 36:6, Sîn-muballiṭ
Kasap-Sîn *ù i-ta* gaz-^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 10:34, Apil-Sîn 1	Sîn-šemi s. Ikūn-pîša *ù i-ta* ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi,* DUMU *i-ku-un-pí-ša, MHET* II/1 9(=*CT* 8 47a):4-5, Immerum
Kisallum *ki-sa-li-im, RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):3, Immerum	Sîn-šeme's sons (Ahum-waqar, Qīš-Nunu, Abum-waqar, Būr-Nunu, Būr-Sîn, Ilšu-rabi and Sîn-remēni) *-a-hu-um-wa-qar* DUMU 30-*še-me, ša it-ti qí-iš-nu-nu a-bu-um-wa-qar,* ^{Id}UTU-*ra-bi* ^{I}*bur*-30, ^{I}DINGIR-*šu-ra-bi* ^{I}30-*re-me-ni,* DUMU.MEŠ 30-*še-me, VS* 8 52/53:19-23, Sîn-muballiṭ -DA É 30-*re-me-ni, VS* 8 52/53:11(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ -DINGIR-*šu-ra-bi,* 30-*še-me, MHET* II/5 849:5-6, undated
Kunnutum d. ˹hu˺?-[...]um *ù ku-nu-tum* DUMU.MUNUS ˹*hu*˺-[...]-*um, MHET* II/1 7:3, Immerum	Sîn-tillassu *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{Id}EN.ZU-ILLAT-*su, BDHP* 6:3, date lost
Kunnutum s. Sîn-remēni *ku-nu-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS 30-*re-me-ni, TJB* pl.36:5-6, Apil-Sîn 1	Sîn-tillassu's daughter *-ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS 30-ILLAT-*su, BDHP* 4:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 13 *-ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS 30-ILLAT-*su, BDHP* 6:4, date lost
Kurum *ku-ru-um, CT* 45 17:2', Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-ublam *hazannum* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam, ha-za-a-nu -um, CT* 4 7a :18-19, Apil-Sîn
Kutallatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ibbiya and Ili-hamad (also a LUKUR ^{d}UTU) *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ku-tal-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *i-bi-ia, ù* DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ha-ma-ad, MHET* II/1 70:3-4, Apil-Sîn	Sîn-[...] *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{Id}EN.ZU-[...], *MHET* II/5 607:3, undated
Lalatum *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *la-la-a-˹tum˺, MHET* II/5 666:3, undated	Sîn-[...] DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-[...] *MHET* II/1 111:1', Sîn-muballiṭ

Lamassāni, LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Abum-waqar *la-ma-sà-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *a-bu-wa-qar*, *CT* 4 10:45-47, Apil-Sîn 1	Suddurum DA *su-du-ru-um, CT* 6 22a:5, Apil-Sîn
Lamassāni LUKUR ^{d}UTU *la-ma-sà-ni* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ma*-[...], *CT* 4 10:18, Apil-Sîn 1	Ṣilli-Adad s. Erīb-Sîn *ṣíl-lí*-^{d}IM DUMU *e-ri-ib*-30, *VAS* 8 73:4, undated
Lamassatum d. Ilšu-bāni *la-ma-sà-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, VS* 8 12/13:3-4, Sabium	Ṣilli-Adad *i-na sú-qí-im ṣíl-lí*-^{d}IM, *YOS* 14 163:11, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lamassatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ipqu-Adad *la-ma-sà*-[*tu*]*m* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ip-qú*-^{d}IM, Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:20'-21', Sumu-la-El and Altinû	Šamaš-abi-wēdim SAG.1.KAM.MA ^{d}UTU-ad-*we*-[*di-im*], *BAP* 32:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 17
Lamassatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU *la-ma-sà-tum* LUKUR <^{d}UTU>, *TIM* VII 33:5, undated	Šamaš-abum's sons (Rīš-Šamaš, Kima-ahīya and Sāriqum) *-ri-iš*-^{d}UTU, ^{I}*ki-ma-a-hi-ia, ù sa-ri-qum* DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}UTU-*a-bu-um, TCL* I 74 :5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 *-ri-iš*-^{d}UTU ^{I}*ki-ma-a-hi-ia, ù sà-ri-qum* DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}UTU-*a-bu-um*, *TCL* I 73:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lamassi d. Ahūni *la-ma-sí,* DUMU.MUNUS *a-hu-ni*, *MHET* II/5 671:3-4, undated	Šamaš-abum s. Suqqutum ^{d}UTU-*a-bi-im,* DUMU *su-qú-tim*, *CT* 47 6:5-6, Apil-Sîn
Lamassi LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Bēlšunu *'la'-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, [DUMU.MUNUS *b*]*e-el-šu-nu, TCL* I 62 :5'-6', Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-abūšu ^{d}UTU-*a-bu-šu, CT* 4 33b:3, Apil-Sîn
Lamassi LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Erībam *la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *e-ri-ba-am*, *MHET* II/5 822:8-9, undated	Šamaš-emūqi *ù i-ta* ^{d}UTU-*e-mu-qí*, *CT* 6 48a(case=*MHET* II/1 73):3, Apil-Sîn 1
Lamassi LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Ipiq-Adad *la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *i-pí-iq*-^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 93:6'-7', Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-ilum s. Watar-Ikunum ^{d}UTU-DINGIR DUMU *wa-tar-i-ku-nim*, *MHET* II/1 108 :7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Lamassi LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Nanna-mansum *la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *CT* 8 20b:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-ilum ^{d}UTU-DINGIR, *MHET* II/5 618:9, Sabium or Sîn-muballiṭ
Lamassi d. Nūr-Kubi *ù i-ta la-ma-sí*, DUMU.MUNUS *nu-úr-ku-úb-bi, MHET* II/1 85:8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaši LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamāyatum (s. Ittum) *ša-ma-ia-tum* DUMU *it-tum, a-na ša-ma-ši* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS.a.ni, *CT* 4 43b:6-7, undated
Lamassi LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šerum-ili *-i-ta* A.ŠÀ *la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, TCL* I 74 :2, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 *- la-ma-sí* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, TCL* I 74 :8, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 *-ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, TCL* I 73 :5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ *-la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, TCL* I 73 :15, Sîn-muballiṭ. *-la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, CT* 4 44b :6, Sîn-muballiṭ *-la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, CT* 45 82 :8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ *-la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, TCL* I 75:8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-ilum DA É ^{d}UTU-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 127:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Lamassi LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Warad-Erra *la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ÌR-*èr-ra*, *CT* 6	Šamaš-īn-mātim DA É ^{d}UTU-igi-*ma-tim, TCL* 1 60:4,7 Apil-Sîn 4

48a(case=*MHET* II/1 73):8-9, Apil-Sîn 1	^{d}UTU-IGI-*ma-tim, CT* 4 37d:1, undated
Lamassum d. Nanna-mansum DA É *la-ma-súm* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM *YOS* 14 163:9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-liwwir SAG.BI.2.KAM.MA A.ŠÀ ^{d}UTU-*li-wi-ʾir*ʾ, *MHET* II/1 118:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Lamassūya's children; Iddin-Adad, Adayatum and Awīl-Adad *-i-din-*^{d}IM, *JCS* 11 no. 1:4, Apil-Sîn -ʾDAʾ É *a-da-ia-tum, JCS* 11 no. 1:3, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-lullik ^{d}UTU-*lu-lik, MHET* II/1 115:4 and 5, Sîn-muballiṭ 8
Lammaša *ù* DA A.ŠÀ *la-ma-ša, MHET* II/1 22:4, Sumu-la-El, the year he established justice	Šamaš-mušallim -DA É ^{d}UTU-*mu-ša-lim, TCL* I 75:4, Sîn-muballiṭ *-mu-ṣu-šu* É ^{d}UTU-*mu-ša-lim, CT* 2 17(=*MHET* II/1 69):1, Apil-Sîn
Lu-Enlil *ù* É ^{I}LÚ-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ, *MHET* II/1 129:4, Sîn-muballiṭ a	Šamaš-nāṣir ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣi*[*r*] , *TCL* I 62 :2', Apil-Sîn
Lu-Nanna *-ù i-ta* LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *MHET* II/1 105:3, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ù* DA É LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *CT* 6 42b(=*MHET* II/1 110):3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-nūri ^{d}UTU-*nu-ri*, *TLB* I 221:5, undated
Luštamar-Adad SAG.BI.2.KAM *lu-uš-ta-mar-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 119:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Šamaš-nūr-mātim sag.bi *a-na sú-qí-im ša* ^{d}UTU-*nu-úr-ma-tim, CT* 4 49a(case=*MHET* II/1 68:4), Apil-Sîn
Mamīya *ma-mi-ia*, Al 'Adami *Iraq* 59 p. 73-75(envelope):2, Apil-Sîn 2	Šamaš-nūr-mātim *i-ta* ^{d}UTU-*nu-úr-ma-tim, Pinches Peek* 13:14, Sabium MU *dil-bat*^{ki} *sà-bi-um* [M]U.DÍM.MA
Manium s. Inim-apin *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ma-ni-um* DUMU INIM-APIN, *MHET* II/6 844:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-qarrad s. Puzur-Šamaš *i-ta* ^{d}UTU-*qar-ra-ad,* DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 122:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 15
Manium s. Nūr-Šamaš *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ma-ni-um* DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 10:21, Apil-Sîn 1	Šamaš-rabi s. Kubbutum ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU *ku-*ʾ*bu*ʾ-[*tum*], *MHET* II/1 103:9, Sîn-muballiṭ
Manium DA É *ma-ni-um, TCL* I 75:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-rabi s. [...] ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* DUMU ʾx x x xʾ, *MHET* II/5 705:3', undated
Mannaša d. Annum-pi-[...] an-ka-[...], *a-na ma-an-na-ša, na-di-it* ^{d}UTU *ma-*ʾ*ar*ʾ-[*ti-šu*], *MHET* II/5 696:18-20, undated	Šamaš-rabi *i-ta* A.ŠÀ [...] ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi*, *MHET* II/1 63:8, Apil-Sîn
Mannaša d. Sîn-šeme *ma-an-na-ša* DUMU.MUNUS 30-*še-me, BAP*36 (=*MHET* II/1 48):8, Apil-Sîn	Šamaš-rabi *i-ta* ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi*, *MHET* II/5 593:7, undated
Mannum-balum-ilim *ù i-ta* a.ʾšàʾ *ma-nu-um-ba-lum*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 99:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-rabi DA A.ŠÀ ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi* ŠEŠ$^{?}$, *VS* 8 52/53:2, 4, 5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Marduk-abi *i-ta* ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*a-bi*, *MHET* II/5 645:3, undated	Šamaš-rabi *i-ta* ^{d}UTU-*ra-bi, Scheil Sippar* 10:17, Sîn-muballiṭ
Mār-erṣētim DA É DUMU-*er-ṣe-tim, MHET* II/1 104:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šamaš-šarrum s. Sîn-abūšu ^{d}UTU-*šar-ru-um* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-b*[*u-šu*] , Al 'Adami *Iraq* 59 p. 73-75(envelope):1, Apil-Sîn 2
Mār-Kulilum DA DUMU-*ku-li-lum, CT* 8 34a:2, undated	Šamaš-tappê DA É ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*e, BDHP* 27:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Mārum *ma-ru-um, VAS* 8 74:3, undated	Šamaš-tappê ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-ʾ*e*ʾ, *VS* 8 22/23:3, undated
Mattani d. Ili-ublam *ma-ta-ni,* DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ub-lam, TIM* VII 33:3-4, undated	Šamaš-tappêšu (f. Amat-Šamaš and husband of Belessunu) ^{d}UTU-TAB.BA-*šu, MHET* II/1 78:7, Apil-Sîn 10

Mattiya d. Erībam *ma-ti-ia,* DUMU.MUNUS *e-ri-ba-am, MHET* II/1 120:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 13	Šamaš-tillassu *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{Id}UTU-ILLAT-*su, BDHP* 4:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 13
Mattani d. Ipqūša (s. Awīliya) *ša ip-qú-ša* DUMU *a-wi-li-ia, a-na ma-ta-ni ma-ar-ti-* ˹*šu*˺, *MHET* II/1 122:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ 15	Šamāyatum s. Abum-waqar DA É *ša-ma-ia-tum,* DUMU *a-bu-um-wa-qar, MHET* II/1 49:4-5, Apil-Sîn
Mattani DA *ma-ta-ni, CT* 6 19a:2, Sabium	Šamhattum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Warad-ilīšu *ša-am-ha-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ÌR-*ì-lí-šu*, *CT* 48 14:7, Sabium 13
Mātum s. Etel-pî-Sîn DA É *ma-tu-um*, DUMU *e-tel-pi$_4$-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 36:3-4, Sabium	Šara-zida's children Imgurrīya, Bēletiya LUKUR ^{d}UTU and Ilšu-bāni *-be-le-ti-ia* LUKUR ^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ŠARA-ZI.DA, *ša* ^{d}ŠARA-ZI.DA *a-bu-ša id-di-nu-ši-im,* ^{1}*im-gur-ri-ia a-hu-ša, YOS* 14 163:13-15, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *be-le-* ˹*ti-ia*˺, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ŠARA-ZI.DA, *MHET* II/1 114:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 7 .da, *MHET* II/1 88:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ -DA É ^{d}ŠARA-ZI.DA, *MHET* II/1 88:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Mudādum *i-ta mu-da-du-u*[*m*], *TLB* I 218:2, Apil-Sîn	Šāt-Išum d. Abum-ṭābum *ša-at-*^{d}*i-šum* DUMU.MUNUS [*a*]-*bu-um*-[*ṭà*]-*bu-um*, Al ʿAdami *Iraq* 59 p. 73-75(envelope):5, Apil-Sîn 2
Muhaddîtum *i-ta mu-ha-di-tum*, *CT* 45 12:4, Apil-Sîn	Šāt-Šamaš d. Ahulap-Šamaš *a-hu-la-ap-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *a-na-nu-um, a-na ša-at-*^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI, *TCL* I 56:4-7, Sumu-la-El
Muhadditum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Bulālum *mu-ha-di-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *bu-la-li-im, CT* 45 19:8-9, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šāt-Šamaš *ša-<at>-*^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS [...], *MHET* II/1 97:13'-14', Sîn-muballiṭ
Munawwirtum d. Adad-bāni *mu-na-wi-ir-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}IM-*ba-ni, CT* 6 47a:6-7, Sabium 10	Šāt-Šamaš DA *ša-at-*^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS ˹x x x˺, *CT* 45 2:2, Sumu-la-El
Munawwirtum d. Nabi-Šamaš *-mu-na-wi-ir-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *na-bi-*^{d}UTU, *BBVOT* I 142:4'-5', Apil-Sîn -˹*mu*˺*-na-wi*-[*ir-tum*] LUKUR ^{d}UTU, [DUMU.MUNUS] *na-bi*-[*i*]-*lí-šu, MHET* II/1 96 :6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šālebum DA É *še-le-bi-* ˹*im*˺, *MHET* II/5 698:2, undated
Munawwirtum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Sîn-ublam *mu-na-wi-ir-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}EN.ZU-*ub-lam, MHET* II/1 107:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šerum-ili 3 ½ KÙŠ SAG.BI DA É ^{d}*še-rum-ì-lí, TCL* I 76:4, Sîn-muballiṭ
Munawwirtum LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU *mu-na-wi-ir-tum,* LUKUR NÍG ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 18:6, Sumu-la-El	Šeš-dugga *ù* DA É ŠEŠ-DÙG.GA, *Scheil Sippar* 10:21, Sîn-muballiṭ
Munawwirtum *mu-na-wi-ir-tum, CT* 45 91:4, undated	Šī-Lamassi d.Sîn-iqīšam *ši-la-ma-sí* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS 30-*i-qí-ša-am*, *CT* 8 23c :8-9, Sabium
Munawwirtum *mu-na-wi-ir-tum, MHET* II/1 102:4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Šī-Lamassi d. Dān-ilīšu (sister Enlil-mālik, Ibni-Amurrim and Šamaš-tillassu) -^{d}EN.LÍL-*ma*$^{!}$*-lik*$^{!}$, $^{!}$*ib-ni-*^{d}MAR.TU, *ù* ^{d}UTU-ILLAT-*sú,* $^{!}$*ši-la-ma-sí, CT* 8 42a:2-5, Sabium 14 *-ši-la-ma-sí,* DUMU.MUNUS *dan-*{x}DINGIR-*šu, CT* 8 49a:1-2, Apil-Sîn
Munawwirum *ù i-ta mu-na-wi-ru-um, MHET* II/1 115:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 8	Šī-Lamassi d. Šarrūt-Sîn *-ši-la-ma-s*[*í*], DUMU.MUNUS *šar-ru-ut-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 45 2:6-7, Sumu-la-El *-ši-la-ma-sí,* DUMU.MUNUS *šar-ru-ut*-30, *CT* 6 19a:5-6,

	Sabium *-ši-la-ma-sí, MHET* II/5 815:3, undated *-ši-la-ma-sí,* DUMU.MUNUS *šar-ru-ut-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 8 25a:1-2, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Nabi-Enlil *na-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, *BE* 6/1 1:11, Ilumma-Ila	Šū-Amurrim *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *šu-*^{d}MAR.TU, *MHET* II/1 70:5, Apil-Sîn
Nabi-ilīšu s. Narām-Sîn *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *na-bi-ì-lí-ʾšuˋ,* DUMU *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *MHET* II/1 118:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 12	Šū-Damu *šu-*^{d}DA.[MU], ^{I}*ar-ka-al-a*[...], *ù na-ru-ub-tum* NU.GIG, *BE* 6/1 6:6-7, Buntahtun-Ila 1
Nabi-ilīšu *i-ta na-bi-ʾ*DINGIRˋ*-šu, MHET* II/5 685:12, undated	Šū-Dumuzi *i-ta šu-*^{d}DUMU.ZI, *TCL* 1 195:2, undated
Nabi-Sîn's sons Utu-mansum and Ili-iddinam ^{d}UTU-ma.an.ʾsumˋ, *ù ì-lí-i-ʾdinˋ-nam* [DUMU.MEŠ] *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ʾZUˋ, *MHET* II/1 50:7-8, Apil-Sîn	Šū-Ištar *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *šu-iš*$_{8}$*-tár*, *MHET* II/5 618:2, Sabium or Sîn-muballiṭ
Nabi-Sîn *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 47 7:9, Apil-Sîn	Šu-Ištar *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{I}*šu-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, MHET* II/5 696:6, undated
Nabi-Šamaš' children (Rubatum and Šamaš-šeme) *na-bi-*^{d}UTU *a-na ru-ba-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI *i-di-in,* IBILA *ru-ba-ʾtumˋ* ^{d}UTU-*še-me, CT* 47 78:19-21, undated	Šū-pîša's sons *šu-pí-ʾšaˋ, MHET* II/1 63:3, Apil-Sîn
Nabi-Šamaš *na-bi-*^{d}UTU, *VS* 13 6:7, Apil-Sîn	Šū-pîša's daughter *ù* A.ŠÀ DUMU.MUNUS *šu-pí-ša*, *CT* 4 10:3, Apil-Sîn 1
Nakkarum s. Šuti-[...] *na-ka-ru-*[*um*], DUMU *šu-ti-ʾ*xˋ-[...] *MHET* II/5 699:4-5, Apil-Sîn	Tabni-Ištar d. Nabi-Sîn *tab-ni-iš*$_{8}$*-tár,* DUMU.MUNUS *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 2 35:1-2, Sumu-la-El
Namrum-ili's children (Abum-waqar, Bettetum and Sîn-imitti) *a-bu-wa-qar* ^{d}EN.ZU*-i-mi-ti, ù be-te-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ *na-ru-um-*DINGIR*, VS* 8 58/*CT* 4 50b:6-8(envelope), Sîn-muballiṭ	Tarībatum LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šu-Ištar(?) *ta-ri-ba-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.[MUNUS] *šu- iš*$_{8}$*-t*[*ár*?], *CT* 45 4 :6-7, Sabium
Nanna-amah *i-ta* ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-Á.MAH, *ED* II 68:3, undated	Tarībum SAG.BI.1.KAM *ta-ri-ʾbuˋ-um, MHET* II/1 81/82:5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nanna-intuh *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-IN.TU.UH, *MHET* II/5 822:3, undated, time of Sîn-muballiṭ	Tarīdum s. Būr-Sîn *ù i-ta* A.ŠÀ *ta-ri-du-um* DUMU *bur*-30, *MHET* II/1 108 :3, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nanna-mansum's family; his wife Bēla and sons Puzur-Šamaš and Puzur-Erra *-be-la-a* ^{I}*puzur*$_{4}$*-*^{d}*èr-ra*, *ù puzur*$_{4}$*-*^{d}UTU DUMU.me ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *CT* 8 23c :6-7, Sabium *-i-na ma-aš-ki-tim ša* ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *CT* 8 23c :4, Sabium	Tullid-Šamaš *ṭe*$_{4}$*-hi tu-li-*[*id-*^{d}UTU] , *MHET* II/1 7:2, Immerum
Nanna-mansum's sons Išme-Šamaš and Ningal-maš-[...] ^{d}NIN.GAL*-ma-ʾašˋ*-[...], *ù* ki* *iš*^{2}*-me-*^{d}UTU [...], DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ma.ʾanˋ.[sum], *MHET* II/1 129:6-8, Sîn-muballiṭ a	Ṭāb-ṣilli-Šamaš (s. Ur-Sîn?) *ṭà-ab-ṣíl-lí-*^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 36:5, Sabium
Nanna-mansum *ù i-ta* ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM$^{!}$, *CT* 6 28a:5, undated	Ubarrīya s. Huzālum DA É *u-bar-ri-ia* DUMU *hu-za-lum,CT* 4 49b (=*MHET* II/1 121):2, Sîn-muballiṭ 13
Nanna-medu ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ME.DU, *MHET* II/5 666:8, undated	Ubarriya (Ubar-Sugallitum) *u-bar-ri-ia, CT* 8 31c:4, Apil-Sîn
Nannatīya *-i-ta na-na-ti-ia*, *MHET* II/1 16:3, Sumu-la-El	Ubarrīya DA É *u-bar-ri-ia*, *CT* 2 4:2, Sîn-muballiṭ

-ù i-ta A.ŠÀ *na-na-ti-ia, RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):4, Immerum	
Nannatīya *ù* DA É *na-na-ti-ia, BDHP* 26:5, undated	Ubarrum (father Tarib-Nunu) *u-bar-ru-um,* ˹NAM˺ *ta-ri-ib-nu-nu, MHET* II/1 75:6, Apil-Sîn 1
Nanna-zimu s. Iddišum *ù* DA É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-ZI.MU, DUMU *i-di-šum, MHET* II/1 59:9-10, Apil-Sîn	Ubar-Šamaš s. Imgur-Sîn *u-bar-*^{d}UTU *ù im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *CT* 4 45b:11(case=*MHET* II/1 94)
Narām-Adad *i-ta na-ra-am-*^{d}IM, *MHET* II/1 115:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 8	Ubar-Šamaš s. Nūrīya *u-bar-*^{d}UTU DUMU *nu-ri-*[*ia*], *CT* 47 1:6, Sabium
Narām-ilīšu *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, ù* ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ba-ni, CT* 4 45b:9-10(case=*MHET* II/1 94), Sîn-muballiṭ	Unnubatum *ù i-ta un-nu-batum, CT* 4 16b:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Narām-ilīšu *ù i-ta na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, MHET* II/5 647 :3, undated	Uqa-pî-Ištar UGULA DAM.GAR DA É *ú-qá-pí-iš*$_{8}$*-tár* UGULA DAM.GÀR, *CT* 8 16a(=*MHET* II/1 106):15, Sîn-muballiṭ
Narām-Sîn s. Mudādum *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *mu-da-du-um, RSO* 2 4 :4, Sîn-muballiṭ 12	Ur-Ninsianna (f. Alammuš-šeme) *ù* DA A.ŠÀ UR-^{d}NIN.SI.AN.NA, *MHET* II/1 41:5, Sabium 8 *i-ta* A.ŠÀ ^{d}LÀL-*še-me, MHET* II/1 89:2, Sîn-muballiṭ
Narāmti LUKUR ^{d}UTU *na-ra-am-ti ma-ar-ti-šu*(!), LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/6 924:5-6, undated, time of Sumu-la-El	Ur-Šubula *ù* DA UR-^{d}*šu-bu-la, CT* 48 27:5, Sabium
Narāmtum d. Amat-Šamaš (who is the d. Būr-Sîn) *na-ra-am-tum* DUMU.MUNUS GEME$_{2}$-^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *BDHP* 45:10-11, Apil-Sîn	Uṣur-mê-Šamaš' family, his wife Bāltani and children Ipqūša and Erra-mušallim *ip-qú-ša* ^{I}*èr-ra-mu-ša-lim,* DUMU.MEŠ *ú-ṣur-me-e-*^{d}UTU, *ù be-el-ta-ni um-mi-šu-nu, Edubba* 7 109:5-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 14
Narubtum NU.GIG *šu-*^{d}DA.[MU], ^{I}*ar-ka-al-a*[...], *ù na-ru-ub-tum* NU.GIG, *BE* 6/1 6:6-7, Buntahtun-Ila 1	UTU-hegal s. Sîn-remēni ^{d}UTU-HÉ.GÁL, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, BDHP* 26:8-9, undated
Narubtum NIN ^{d}UTU *na-ru-ub-tum* NIN ^{d}UTU, *TIM* VII 34:3, undated	Utul-Mami *ù* DA É <*ú*>*-túl-*^{d}*ma-mi, CT* 8 25a:14, Sîn-muballiṭ 7
Nidnuša s. Ibnatum (b. Riš-Šamaš) *ri-iš-*^{d}UTU, *ù ni-id-nu-ša,* DUMU.[ME/MEŠ] *ib-na-tum, MHET* II/5 698:5-6, undated	Warad-Enlil s. Nabi-ilīšu ÌR-^{d}EN.LÍL DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-/šu CT* 4 48b:6, Sumu-la-El
Nidnūša DA É *ni-id-nu-ša, CT* 2 39 :2, Sabium	Warad-Enlil *ù i-ta* ÌR-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ, *CT* 8 16c:5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nidnūša's children, Sîn-erībam, Ili-sarikum, Šamaš-ba-[...] and their sister ki ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-*[*am...*], ^{I}DINGIR-*sa-ri-kum* ˹ÌR$^{?}$˺ [...], ^{Id}UTU-*ba*$^{?}$-[...] *ù* *˹x˺* [...], *a-ha-ti-šu-nu* ˹DUMU˺.[MEŠ/me] *ni-id-*[*nu-ša*], *MHET* II/5 704:2-5, undated	Warad-Erra SAG.BI A.ŠÀ ÌR-*èr-ra, CT* 4 43b:5, undated
Nigga-Nanna s. Nanna-igidu NÍG.GA-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU ^{d}˹ŠEŠ˺.KI-IGI-/DU, *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):6, Immerum	Warad-Ilabrat ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *MHET* II/5 581:9, undated
Nin-azu d. Abum-ṭābum NIN-A.ZU, DUMU.MUNUS *a-bu-um-ṭà-bu, MHET* II/1 107:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Sîn s. Ahūni ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *a-hu-ni, MHET* II/5 822:7, undated, time of Sîn-muballiṭ
Ningal-tallik ^{d}NIN.GAL-*tal-/lik, MHET* II/1 18:6, Sumu-la-El	Warad-Sîn s. Ba-[...] (f. Šū-Ninsun) ˹ÌR˺-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ba-*x[...], *CT* 48 25:6', Sabium
Nīši-īnīšu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Abīyatum	Warad-Sîn s. Ibni-Sîn and his children Šallurtum, Mad-

ni-ši-i-ni-šu ˹lukur˺ ^{d}UTU *a-bi-ia-tum, MHET* II/1 88:10-11, Sîn-muballiṭ	dumuq-ilim and Sîn-iqīšam (father of Ibni-Šamaš, Nūrum-liṣi, Ibni-Adad and Warad-Ilabrat) -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, *VAS* 8 6/7:5, Immerum -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *BE* 6/1 3:14, Immerum -ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, *VAS* 8 4/5:6, Immerum -DA É *ma-ad-du-mu-uq*-DINGIR *ù* DA É ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am,* DUMU.ME ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, HA.LA *ša-lu-ur-tum* DUMU.<<MUNUS>> ÌR-30, *BAP* 101 (=*VAS* 8 27):2-5, Sîn-muballiṭ 6 *-ib-ni-*^{d}UTU ^{I}*nu-ru-um-li-ṣí,* ^{I}*ib-ni-*^{d}IM *ù* ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *BAP* 102 (=*VAS* 8 56/57):12-13, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ma-du-mu-uq*-DINGIR, *ù* GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU LUKUR ^{d}UTU, *a-na nu-ru-um-li-ṣí, VAS* 8 33/34:6-8, Sîn-muballiṭ *-nu-ru-um-lí-ṣi a-na* GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU, *BAP* 81(=*VAS* 8 31/32):3, Sîn-muballiṭ 9. ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR *a-na* gem[e$_2$]-˹^{d}UTU˺, *BAP* 81 (=*VAS* 8 31/32):7, Sîn-muballiṭ *-nu-ru-um-li-ṣí,* DUMU 30-*i-qí-ša-am,hu-šu-tum* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *CT* 4 20a:3-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 *-ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *ù* ^{I}*nu-ru-um-li-ṣí, VAS* 8 45:1-2, Sîn-muballiṭ 14 *-ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, *ù* ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *VAS* 8 65:8-9, undated, time of Sîn-muballiṭ -ha.la *ib-ni-*^{d}UTU, DUMU.<<MUNUS>> 30-*i-qí-ša-am, ša it-ti* ÌR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *ù ib-ni-*^{d}IM ŠEŠ.A.NI, *VAS* 8 108/109:9-12, Hammurabi 4
Nīši-īnīšu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Qišatum *ni-ši-i-ni-šu* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *qí-ša-tum, BDHP* 27:9-10, Sîn-muballiṭ 19	Warad-Sîn SANGA ^{d}UTU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU SANGA ^{d}UTU, *RSO* 2 4:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Nīši-īnīšu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-abušu [*n*]*i-ši-ni-šu* LUKUR [^{d}UTU], [DUMU.munu]s ^{d}UTU-*a-bu-šu, Ct* 45 17:3'-4', Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Sîn *rabiānum* (flanked by several others) É *a-lim* ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU *ra-bi-a-nim,* ^{Id}UTU-*še-mi,* ^{Id}EN.ZU-*ša-du-ni,* ^{I}*i-túr-aš-du-um,* ^{I}*ša-ma-ia-tum,* ^{I}*ta-ri-bu-um,* ^{Id}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, ù ši-bu-ut a-lim*, *MHET* II/5 706:7-14, undated time of Sîn-muballiṭ
Nīši-īnīšu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šamaš-mušallim *-ni-ši-i-ni-šu,* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*mu-ša-lim, TCL* I 75:6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ *-ni-ši-i-ni-šu* LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}UTU-*mu-ša-lim, CT* 2 17(=*MHET* II/1 69):8-9, Apil-Sîn	Warad-Šamaš s. Ili-ennam (husband Tarām-Sagil and Iltāni) -ÌR-^{d}UTU DUMU *ì-*[*lí-en-nam*], *TCL* 1 61:1-3, Apil-Sîn 13 -ÌR-^{d}UTU, *CT* 2 44:4, undated -ÌR-^{d}UTU DUMU *ì-lí-en-nam, BAP* 89:4, undated
Nīši-īnīšu LUKUR ^{d}UTU d. Šēlebum *ni-ši-i-ni-* ˹*šu*˺ LUKUR ^{d}UTU, DUMU.MUNUS *še-le-bi-im, MHET* II/5 698:7-8, undated	Warad-Šamaš *i-ta* É ÌR-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/5 713:2, undated
Nunu-ēreš' sons (Enamtila, Sîn-nāṣir, Lu-Ninsianna and Awat-Šamaš) -^{d}EN.˹ZU-*na*˺-*ṣir, ù* ˹a x x˺ *a-hi-šu,* DUMU.MEŠ *nu-nu*-APIN, *MHET* II/1 49:11-13, Apil-Sîn -É.NAM.TI.LA DUMU *nu-nu*-APIN, *TCL* I 73:13, Sîn-muballiṭ - É.NAM.TI.LA, *VS* 8 24/25:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 2 -[É].NAM.TI.LA DUMU *nu-nu*-APIN, *VS* 8 54:5, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Šamaš DA É ÌR-^{d}UTU, *TCL* I 76:5, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nūr-Gibil s. Sassīya DA É *nu-úr-*^{d}BIL.GI DUMU *za-zi-ia, CT* 8 20b:2, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-Šamaš ÌR ^{d}UTU, , *TCL* I 185:2, undated
Nūr-ili	Warad-Šamaš

ù ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ *nu-úr-ì-lí* na wi, *CT* 8 16a(=*MHET* II/1 106):11, Sîn-muballiṭ	DA ÌR-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 127:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 19
Nūr-ilīšu s. Būr-Sîn *nu-úr-ì-lí-ˀšuˋ* DUMU *ˀbur-*^{d}EN.ZUˋ, Al ʿAdami *Iraq* 59 p. 73-75:14, Apil-Sîn 2	Wardum *i-ta wa-ar-du-um*, *CT* 6 28a:7, undated
Nūr-ilīšu s. Puzur-Kubi *i-ta nu-úr-ì-lí-šu* DUMU *puzur*$_4$*-ku-bi*, *MHET* II/1 31(=*CT* 4 45a):2, Sabium	Waṣum-Beli *i-ta* A.ŠÀ *wa-ṣum-be-lí YOS* 14 163:7, Sîn-muballiṭ
Nūr-ilīšu s. Sîn-ennam (father of Bela) *a-na be-la-a* DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI, *nu-úr-ù-ì-lí-šu,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, CT* 4 47b:12-14, MU Iṣi-Sumu-abum BA.UG$_7$	Watar-Ikūnum -DA A.ŠÀ *wa-tar-*^{d}*i-ku-nim*, *CT* 47 8:2, Apil-Sîn/Sîn-muballiṭ *-i-ta wa-tar-i-ku-nu-um, CT* 47 78:7, undated
Nūr-ilīšu's sons Sîn-abūšu and Sîn-remēni ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU.ME *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, BAP* 35:7-8, Immerum	Zawiran-abi *za-wi-ra-an-a-bi, TCL* I 56:3, Sumu-la-El
Nūr-ilīšu *i-ta nu-úr-ì-lí-šu*, *BE* 6/1 3:4, Immerum	[...]latum d. Dada [...]-*la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS [*da*]-*da, MHET* II/1 7:7, Immerum
Nūr-ilīšus. Enlil-nada *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu*, DUMU ^{d}EN.LÍL-*na-da, CT* 6 36a:3-4, Sumu-la-El	[...]li-iddinam [...]-*lí-i-din-nam, MHET* II/1 12:5, Immerum/Sumu-la-El
Nūr-Išum *nu-úr-*^{d}*i-šum*, *Pinches Peek* 13:1, Sabium MU *dil-bat*^{ki} *sà-bi-um* [M]U.DÍM.MA	[...]sunu NIN.DINGIR ^{d}UTU [...]-*sú-nu* NIN.DINGIR ^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 12:6, Immerum/Sumu-la-El
Nūrīya s. Sassâ SIPA DA A.ŠÀ *nu-ri-ia* DUMU *sa-sa-a* SIPA*, MHET* II/1 41:4, Sabium 8	[...]-Šamaš d. Marduk-muballiṭ [...]-^{d}UTU, ˊDUMU.MUNUS ^{d}ˋ[AMAR].UTU-*mu-ba-lí-ˀiṭˋ*, *MHET* II/5 607:9, undated
Nūr-Kubi *ù* DA É *nu-úr-ku-bi, CT* 45 19:3, Sîn-muballiṭ	
Nūr-Kubi *i-na ˀbaˋ-ab nu-úr-ku-bi, MHET* II/5 581:12, undated	

4.1.5.1 Debtors/Creditors

Ahum-nišu s. Sayātum *a-hu-um-mi-šu* DUMU *sà-ia-tim, TIM* 7 70:1, undated	Ku-xx-riya s. Iltakum *ku*-x-x-*ri-ia,* [du]mu *il-ta-ku-um*, *TIM* 7 13:4-5, undated
Akaya s. Susallim *a-ka-ia,* DUMU *su-s*[*a*]*-li-im, TIM* 7 3:5, undated	Mati-Ilama and Mutanišu *ma-ti-i-la-ma, ù mu-ta-ni-šu-ú*, *Edubba* 7 107:4-5, Apil-Sîn 12
Andiki *an-di-ki*, *ED* II 63:6, undated.	Melibaddian *me-li-bad-di-an, TIM* 7 70:3, undated
Ankakīya s. **Mutum-Upi** *an-ka-ki-ia* DUMU *mu-tum-u*$_4$*-pi, TIM* 7 70:7, undated	Nārum-ili s. Andiki *na-ru-um-ì-lí,* DUMU *an-di-ki*, *ED* II 24:5-6, Ammi-ṣura a
Apil-ilīšu s. **Hayamdidu** *-a-pil-ì-lí-šu,* DUMU *ha-ia-am-di-du*, *BAP* 14:6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 13 *-a-pil-ì-lí-šu,* DUMU *ha-ia-am-di-du-um, VAS* 39/40(=*BAP* 17):5-6, Sîn-muballiṭ 12	Nummarahi-x s. Warad-Enlil *num-ma-ra-hi*-x, DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.LÍL, *ED* II 25:5-6/7, Ammi-ṣura b
Asi-Apil[?]	Sîn-puṭram s. Patem

a-si-a-pil, ED II 61:3, undated	^{d}EN.ZU-*pu-uṭ-ra-am,* DUMU *pa-te-e-em, CT* 4 21b:5-6, undated
Gagānum *kisa'um* *ga-ga-nu-um ki-sa-um, ED* II 27:4, Ammi-ṣura a	Šaklum *ša-ak-lum, TIM* 7 2:3, undated
Ilšu-bāni s. Nubaša DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU *nu-ba-ša, TIM* 7 70:6, undated	Uku-ma[...] s. Susallim *ú-ku-ma*-x, DUMU *su-sa-li-im, TIM* 7 21:4-5, undated
Ipiq-^{d}[...] s. Aku-x[...] *i-pí-iq-*^{d}[...] DUMU *a-ku*-x[...], *TIM* 7 70:9, undated	Warad-Sîn s. Karšaya ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ka-ar-ša-ia, BDHP* 37:3, Immerum c
Kišuša s. Sîn-erībam *-ki-šu-ša, ED* II 34:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 7 *-ki-šu-ša,*DUMU 30-*e-<ri>-ba-am, ED* II 36:4-5, undated	**Yantin-El** *ia-an-ti-in*-DINGIR, *CT* 4 22c:5, MU *ša Lipit-Ištar Amurrum iṭruduš*
Kišušu *ki-šu-šu-ú, CT* 6 40c:3, Sabium 2	

4.1.5.2 Leases

[...]nabalu ʾ s. [...]gāmil [...] *na-ba-lu**ʾ <DUMU> [...]-*ga-mi-il, MHET* II/5 784:4-5, undated	Ipqūša s. **Ahi-šakim** *ip-qú-ša* DUMU [*a-hi-ša-ki-im*] *, TIM* VII 33:6, undated *ip-qú-ša ,* [dum]u *a-hi-ša-ki-im, TIM* VII 34:4-5, undated
Sîyatum s. **Iṣi-banum** (brother of Ahlula'um) *sí-ia-tum*, DUMU *i-ṣí-ba-nu-um, MHET* II/5 789:5-6, time of Sabium or Apil-Sîn	Andiki *an-di-ki, ED* II 62 :5, undated
Kulālum s. Šamaš-ṣulluli *ku-la-ʿlum*ˋ[...], DUMU ^{d}UTU-*ṣú-ʿlu*ˋ-[*li*] *, MHET* II/5 807:5'-6'(case), undated	Annum-pîšu s. Asuya AN-*pi$_4$-šu,* DUMU *a-su-ia*, *ED* II 68:5-6, undated
Manine s. Šamaš-šaduni *ma-ni-ne,* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*ša-du-ni*, *MHET* II/5 805:7-8, undated	Sîn-iqīšam s. **Yakudi-El** ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am,* DUMU *ia-ku-di*-DINGIR, *CT* 48 107:3-4, undated

4.1.5.3 The *ED* II organization

Abi-Erah (creditor) *a-bi-ra-ah, ED* I 2:2, undated	Nammarahi-xʾ s. Warad-Enlil (debtor) nam-ma-ra-hi-x, DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.LÍL, *ED* II 25:5-7, Ammi-ṣûra b
Adidum (on a list of silver amounts) *a-di-di-im, ED* II 65:2', undated	Nanna-gal s. Kutumriki ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-GAL, DUMU *ku-tum-ri-ki, ED* II 68:21-22, undated
Agunum (on a list of silver amounts) *a-gu-nu-um, ED* II 65:3', undated	Nārum-Ilī s. Andiki (debtor) *na-ru-um-ì-lí,* DUMU *an-di-ki, ED* II 24:5-6, Ammi-ṣura a
Ašdi-rahšu (witness) *aš-di-ra-ah-šu, ED* I 3:13, undated	**Sabium** (addressee of a letter, the king of Babylonʾ) *sà-bu-um, ED* II 52:1, Sabium
Ammi-ṣu[ra] (mentioned in a fragment) *am-mi-ṣú-*[*ra...*], *ED* II 57:2', undated	Sanaqum s. Datawahabu (witness) *sà-na-qú-um,* DUMU *da-ta-wa-ha-bu*, *ED* II 27:15-16, Ammi-ṣura a
Andiki (lessee) *an-di-ki, ED* II 62:5, undated	Sîn-gimlanni s. Pašuki (witness) ^{d}EN.ZU–*gi-im-la-ni* DUMU *pa-šu-ki*, *ED* II 24:16-17, Ammi-ṣura

Andiki (debtor) *an-di-ki, ED* II 63:6, undated	**Sumu-ha-[...]** (mentioned in a letter order) *su-mu-*[...] (envelope : *su-mu-ha-*[...], *ED* II 47 :3, undated
Annum-pišu s. Akiya (lessee) AN-*pi₄-šu,* DUMU *a-ki-ia, ED* II 68:5-6, undated	**Sumu-hazi-[...]** (mentioned in a letter order, probably the same as in *ED* II 47) *su-mu-ha-zi-*[...], *ED* II 48 :3', undated
Dudānum (lessor) *du-da-ni-im, ED* II 62:3, 4, undated	**Yabiš-El** (witness) *ia-bi-iš-*DINGIR, *ED* I 3:10, undated
Gagānum *kisa'um* (debtor) *ga-ga-nu-um ki-sa-um, ED* II 27:4, Ammi-ṣura a	**Yahzir-El** s. Sābibum (seal inscription only) *ia-ah-zi-ir-*DINGIR, DUMU *sa-bi-bu-um*, seal on *ED* I 3
Hatarum (sender of a letter) *ha-a-ta-ru-um, ED* II 52:3, Sabium	Zazurum (on an administrative text) *za-zu-ru-um, ED* II 72:8, 5', undated
Hulim s. Ahi-sadab (witness) *hu-li-im,* DUMU *a-hi-sa-da-a, ED* II 26:10-11, Ammi-ṣura c	[...]-ah s. Ekuli (witness) [...]-*ah,* DUMU *e-ku-li, ED* II 28:14-15, undated
Imgur-Sîn s. Ašnabu-[...] (witness) *im-gur-*30, DUMU *aš-na-bu-*x[...], *ED* II 50:19-20, undated	x-bi-lam s. Haqusanum (witness) ʿx *bi* ˋ*lam* DUMU *ha-qú-sa-nim, ED* II 50 :15-16, undated
Mazazuni (will measure out an amount of barley) *ma-za-zu-ni, ED* II 29:3, undated	

4.1.5.4 Amorite and "other" names occurring in various texts

Administrative texts from early OB Sippar:

Abdi-Erah *ab-di-ra-ah, TIM* 7 156:13, undated	Imiliya *i-mi-lí-ia, TIM* 7 97:10', undated
Abīyatum s. Baqatum *a-bi-ia-tum* DUMU *ba-qa-tu*[*m*] *, TIM* 7 62:5', undated	Ipquša s. Ebāya *-ip-qú-ša* DUMU *e-ba-a, TIM* 7 113:5', undated *-ip-qú-ša* DUMU *e-ba-a, TIM* 7 103:3, undated
Abum-halum *a-bu-*[*u*]*m-ha-lum, TIM* 67:4', undated	Iṣrupāni *iṣ-ru-pa-ni, TIM* 7 99:6', undated
Adidum *a-di-di-im, ED* II 65:2, undated	**Išar-padan** *-i-šar-pa-dan*, *TIM* 7 93:4, undated *-i-šar-pá-dan, TIM* 7 96:5, undated
Agatīya *a-ga-ti-ia, TIM* 7 166:11', undated	**Išhi-Nabum** s. **Hammû** *iš-hi-na-bu-u*[*m*] DUMU *ha-am-mu-ú*, *TIM* 7 68:iii6, undated
Agunum *a-gu-nu-um, ED* II 65:3, undated	Išmēya s. Sunadu *iš-me-ia* DUMU *sú-na-du, TIM* 7 71:iii8', undated
Ahi-šakim's wife dam *a-hi-ša-ki-im, TIM* 7 83:3, undated	Kakkūya *ka-ku-ú-a, TIM* 7 106:7', undated
Ahu-x-x s. Bequm *a-hu-*x-x DUMU *be-qú-um, TIM* 7 62:12', undated	Kamāninum s. **Abi-asad** *ka-ma-ni-nu-um* DUMU *a-bi-a-sa-ad*, *TIM* 7 68:iv11, undated
Akšak s. Bagaga úh-ki DUMU *ba-ga-ga*, *TIM 7* 55:4, undated	Karšāya *ka-ar-ša-ia, TIM* 7 166:10', undated
Alubum *a-lu-bu-um*, *TIM* 7 68:iv12, undated	Kilāya *ki-la-ia, TIM* 7 61:6, undated
Alunīya *a-lu-ni-ia, TIM* 7 91:10, undated	Kiniš-luba *-ki-ni-iš-lu-ba, TIM* 7 59:19, undated

	-ki-ni-iš-lu-ba, TIM 7 94:17, undated *-ki-ni-iš-lu-ba, TIM* 7 95:6', undated
Amurītum *-a-mu-ri-tum*, *TIM* 7 90:9, undated *-a-mu-ri-tum*, *TIM* 7 92:5, undated *-a-mu-ri-tum*, *TIM* 7 93:2, undated *-a-mu-*[*ri-tum*] , *TIM* 7 100:8, undated *-a-mu-ri-tum, TIM* 7 97:6', undated	Kunabum *-ku-na-bu-um, TIM* 7 59:25, undated *-ku-na-bu-um, TIM* 7 95:5, undated
Amû *-a-mu-ú*, *TIM* 7 90:10, undated. This person is on a list with barley rations. *-a-mu-ú, TIM* 7 97:15', undated	Kunnāya *ku-u*[*n*]*-na-a, TIM* 7 166:3, undated
Ananatum *a-na-na-tum, TIM* 7 97:14', undated	Kuwum *ku-wu-um, TIM* 7 94:18, undated
Aninum *a-ni-nu-um, TIM* 7 73:19, undated	Lašiku *la-ši-ku*, *TIM* 7 91:17, undated
Asutum *a-sú-tum, TIM* 7 136:11', undated	Mannum s. Magal[2] *ma-nu-um* DUMU *ma-gal*[2] , *TIM* 7 101:17, undated
Aškidadum *áš-ki-da-du-um, TIM* 7 60:11, undated	Melilum *me-li-lum*, *TIM* 7 83:6, undated
Atalanum *a-ta-la-nu-um, TIM* 7 100:3', undated	**Milkuma-El** *-mi-i*[*l*[2]*-k*]*u*[2]*-ma-il*[1] (nim) , *TIM* 7 85:22, undated *-mi-il-ku-ma-il, TIM* 7 95:6, undated
Awīl-ilim s. Adanu *a-wi-il-*d[ingir] DUMU *a-da-nu*, *TIM* 7 68:iii16, undated	Mulluk *mu-ul-lu-uk, TIM* 7 145:4, undated
Asalum s. Ku-x-num *a-sà-lum* DUMU *ku-*[x]*-nu-um, TIM* 7 60:8, undated	Mutmirum *mu-ut-mi-rum*, *TIM* 7 88:4, undated
Balānum *ba-la-nu-um, TIM* 7 71:ii6', undated	**Mutum-El** *mu-tum-*DINGIR, *TIM* 7 59:23, undated [*mu-t*]*um-*DINGIR, *TIM* 7 85:16, undated
Balāya *ba-la-ia, TIM* 7 58:5, undated	Mututum-an *mu-tu-tum-*an-{tu}, *TIM* 7 79:6, undated
Banišitum *ba-ni-ši-tum*, *TIM* 7 91:9, undated	**Mutum-[...]** *mu-tu-um-*[...], *TIM* 7 100:15', undated
Barsim *ba-ar-sí-im, TIM* 7 108:10, undated	Nadkilum [*n*]*a-ad-ki-lum, TIM* 7 60:2, undated
Bedilum *-be-di-*DINGIR *TIM* 7 87:12, undated *-be-di-*DINGIR, *TIM* 7 113:5, undated	Nanna-mansum s. Unilu[2] [d]ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUMU *ú*[2]*-ni-lu*[2] *TIM* 7 117:41, undated
Beditum *be-di-tum, TIM* 7 145:10, undated	Pagnanum *pa-ag-na-nu-um, TIM* 7 103:4, undated
Bēlšunu s. **Ahi-šakim** *be-el-šu-nu* DUMU *a-hi-ša-ki-im*, *TIM* 7 84:i2', undated	Resutum *re-sú-tum*, *TIM* 7 92:8, undated *re-sú-tum*, *TIM* 7 100:1, undated
Bukatum *bu-ka-tum, TIM* 7 58:9, undated	Rumāya *ru-ma-ia, TIM* 7 61:2, undated
Bun-basar s. **Bali-El** *bu-un-ba-sar* DUMU *ba-li-*DINGIR, *TIM* 7 68:iv7, undated	**Samsīya** *sa-am-si-ia, TIM* 7 73:9, undated
Bunum-šagiš *bu-nu-um-ša-gi-iš, TIM* 7 73:15, undated	**Samsu-i-[...]** *sa-am-su-i-*[...], *TIM* 7 74:9, undated
Bušagiš *-b*[*u*]*-ša-gi-iš, TIM* 7 94:4, undated	**Samum** *sa-mu-um, TIM* 7 59:6, undated

-bu-ša-gi-iš, TIM 7 175:2, undated	
Butaša-x *bu-ta-ša*-x [...], *TIM* 7 74:7, undated	Sanakratum *sa-na-ak*-[*ra-tum*] , *TIM* 7 154:4', undated *sa-na-ak-ra-tum, TIM* 7 61:10, undated
Dašurum *da-šu-ru-um, TIM* 7 60:3, undated	Sapâ *sa-pa-a, TIM* 7 73:16, undated
Dira-x-x *di-ra*-x-x, *TIM* 7 88:2, undated	Sigaši *ši-ga-ši, TIM* 7 92:1, undated
Edittum *e-di-it-tum, TIM* 7 63:8, undated	Sîn-bāni s. Mananâ ^{d}30-*ba-ni* DUMU *ma-na-na, TIM* 7 108:3, undated
Ekuli ˹x x x˺-ah, DUMU *e-ku-li, ED* II 28:14-15, undated	Sîn-iddinam s. Pulusika 30-*i-din-nam* DUMU *pu-lu-si-ka, TIM 7* 55:3, undated
Etadini *-e-*[*ta-d*]*i-ni, TIM* 7 58:4, undated *-e-ta-di-ni, TIM* 7 90:15, undated *-e-ta-di-ni, TIM* 7 92:9, undated *-e-ta-di-ni, TIM* 7 97:2, undated	**Sumu-abum** [*s*]*u-mu-a-bi-im, TIM* 7 111:5, undated
Etēya s. Halani *e-*[*te*]*-ia* DUMU *ha*$^{?}$*-la-ni*, *TIM* 7 68:ii6, undated	Supāpum *sú-pa-pu-um, TIM* 7 145:6, undated *sú-pa-pu-um, TIM* 7 74:19, undated *sú-pa-pu-um TIM* 7 87:5', undated *sú-pa-pu-um, TIM* 7 95:7, undated [*s*]*ú-pa-pu-um, TIM* 7 113:1, undated [*sú*]*-pa-pu-um, TIM* 7 114:6', undated
Gulubāya *-gu-l*[*u-ba-i*]*a, TIM* 7 58:13, undated *-gu-lu-ba-a-a, TIM* 7 99:9', undated	**Ṣidqanum** *ṣi-id-qá-nu-um*, *TIM* 7 85:45, undated
Habanātum *ha-ba-na-tum, TIM* 7 63:6, undated	Šabsim DUMU.MEŠ *ša-ab-si-im, TIM* 7 101:8, undated
Hanu-x-natum *ha-nu-x-na-tum*, *TIM* 7 92:4, undated	Šaskum *-ša-as-ki-im, TIM* 7 172:2, undated. *-ša-as-ki-um, TIM* 7 183:3, undated
Harriya *-ha-ri-ia, TIM* 7 73:8, undated *-ha-ri-ia*, *TIM* 7 80:16, undated	Talsa-x *ta-al-sa*-x, *TIM* 7 92:6, undated
Hašekunu *ha-še-ku-nu, TIM* 7 61:17, undated	Talum *ta-lu-um, TIM* 7 112:13, undated
Hatānum *ha-ta-ni-im, TIM* 7 147:12, undated	Timāya *ti-ma-ia, TIM* 7 58:4, undated
Hatītum *ha-ti-tum*, *TIM* 7 93:1, undated	Umara-x *ú-ma-ra*-x, *TIM* 7 61:11, undated
Hayašarrum *-ha-ia-ša-*[*rum*] , *TIM* 7 75:6, undated *-ha-ia-ša-rum TIM* 7 87:7', undated -[*ha-ia*]*-ša-rum, TIM* 7 114:9', undated	Ummahum *um-ma-hu-um*, *TIM* 7 85:29, undated
Hišātum 1 GEME$_2$ *hi-ša-tum, Scheil Sippar* 10:37, Sîn-muballiṭ	Warad-ilīšu s. Hišatum ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUMU *hi-ša-tum*, *TIM* 7 68:iv8, undated
Hubātum *hu-ba-tum*, *TIM* 7 110:2, undated	**Yabišum** *ia-bi-šum, TIM* 7 98:2', undated
Huduliš *-hu-du-li-iš/it, TIM* 7 74:23, undated *-h*[*u-d*]*u-li-iš, TIM* 7 59:5, undated	Yadi-x *ia-di-*[x] , *TIM* 7 144:6, undated

Hupadi DUMU.MUNUS *hu-pa-di, TIM* 7 101:12, undated	**Yahqub-El** *ia-ah-qú-ub*-din[gir] , *TIM* 7 69:iv1, undated *ia-ah-q*[*ú*-DINGIR] , *TIM* 7 74:32, undated
Hurtum [*h*]*u-úr-tum, TIM* 7 58:16, undated	**Yaqritum** *ia-aq-ri-tum, TIM* 7 154:15', undated
Ibni-Sîn s. Aza? *ib-ni*-30 DUMU *a-za*ʾ , *TIM* 7 79:2, undated	Zadidu *za-di-du, TIM* 7 200:1, undated
Ibuṣatum *i-bu-ṣa-tum TIM* 7 87:11, undated	Zāʾidatum *za-i-da-tum, TIM* 7 90:2, undated *za-i-da-tum, TIM* 7 97:9', undated
Ikukim *-i-ku-ki-im, TIM* 7 145:18, undated *-i-ku-ki, TIM* 7 74:24, undated	Zasim's children DUMU.MEŠ za-*si-im, TIM* 7 146:4, undated
Ikūni *i-ku-ni, TIM* 7 74:21, undated	Zazurum *za-zu-ru-um, ED* II 72:5', undated
Ikur-bali *i-ku-ur-ba-li, TIM* 7 102:9, undated	Zikitum *zi-ki-tum, TIM* 7 99:7, undated
Ili-midih's children DUMU.MEŠ *ì-lí-mi-di-ih, TIM* 7 146:14, undated	Ziklitum *zi-ik-li-tum, TIM* 7 58:18, 24, undated *zi-ik-li-tum, TIM* 7 61:3, undated
Ilissahram *ì-lí-is-s*[*a-ah-ra-am...*], *TIM* 7 72:11', undated	Zubalim *zu-ba-li-im, TIM* 7 152:18, undated
Iliš-tammar s. **Abi-Yarah** *i-lí-iš-ta-m*[*a-ar*] DUMU *a-bi-a-ra-a*[*h*] , *TIM* 7 68:iii4, undated	
Ilšu-bāni s. Arga DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUMU *ar-ga-a, TIM* 7 102:2, undated	
Ilūni s. Bahānum *i-lu-ni* DUMU *ba-ha-nim, TIM* 7 71:iv7', undated	
Ilu-x-x s. **Ahi-šakim** *i-lu*-x-x DUMU *a-hi-ša-ki-im, TIM* 7 69:i2', undated	

Various occurences of Amorite/other names in early OB Sippar texts:

Ahūni s. Šagiritum (*a-hu-ni,* DUMU *ša-gi-ri-tim, TIM* 7 140:3-4, undated). Somebody writing in the first person received an amount of barley from Ahūni's house and from Nuriya.

Ammi-su-[...] (*am-mi-su/ṣú-*[*raʾ*...], *ED* II 57:2', undated). Fragment of a letter.

Ammi-šagiš (*am-mi-ša-gi-iš*, *Edubba* 7 82:2, letter, *-am-mi-ša-gi-iš, Edubba* 7 83:4, undated)

Ašnum (1 SAG.ÌR *áš-nu-um*, *MHET* II/1 19:3, Sumu-la-El 13). This man is a slave being given to a *nadītum.*

Bēlessunu d. **Yašabi-El** (*be-le-su-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-ša-bi-el, Edubba* 7 118:3-4, Buntahtun-Ila). Aya-tallik is sold as a slave by Rašub-ṣillašu to Belessunu, daughter of Yašabi-El.

Būrrīya s. Akiya (*bur-ri-ia* DUMU *a-ki-ia, CT* 48 56:4, Sîn-muballiṭ). Burriya son of Akiya marries Huššutum, daughter of Amat-Šamaš (probably a *nadītum* who adopted a girl.

Egege (1 ÌR *e-ge-ge-e, Scheil Sippar* 10:30, Sîn-muballiṭ). This person is a slave being given by Ilšu-bāni to his daughter Šat-Aya.

Gurgudum (*gur-gu-du-um*, *CT* 8 26a:8, time of Sîn-muballiṭ). This text is a list of *nadītum* names with their opponents in court.

Hamaharum's children (DUMU.MEŠ *ha-ma-ha-rum*, *CT* 8 25a:33, Sîn-muballiṭ 7). Aya-šarrat, daughter of Hamaṣirum is appointed (and adopted) as the heir of Ši-Lamassi.

Hatarum (*ha-a-ta-ru-um, ED* II 52:3, Sabium). Letter from Hatarum to "my lord" Sabum.

Ikkatum (*ik-ka-tum, CT* 6 24c:14, Sîn-muballiṭ 16). This man is one of the "GÌR" persons in the delivery of live-stock.

Inbatum d. Diyatani (*in-ba-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *di-ia-ta*ˡ*-ni*, *CT* 8 26a:13, time of Sîn-muballiṭ). This text is a list of

nadītum names with their opponents in court.

Iribuniš (*i-ri-bu-ni-iš, TIM* 7 169:3, undated). Note on barley.

Iṣi-sarê (*i-ṣí-sà-re-e, CT* 47 12:22, Sîn-muballiṭ). Haliyatum and Yarbi-El made an agreement at the gate. Amat-Šamaš, Iṣi-sarê and Mannum will not litigate against Haliyatum again.

Kikinum MÁ.LAH$_4$ (*ki-ki-nu-um,* Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir-Šumim* p. 246-249:4, Sin-bāni yearname). Ṭab-ibenum claimed Kikinum into servitude as a boatsman.

Kunatum's children ([...] *ip-qú-ša* DUMU.MEŠ *ku-na-tum, VS* 8 78+49:5, Sîn-muballiṭ). Broken context.

Kutibi (1 SAG.GEME$_2$ *ku-ti-bi, CT* 8 25a:15, Sîn-muballiṭ 7). This woman is a slave that is part of a *nadītum*'s inheritance

Mārat-erṣētim d. Milsu-x (DUMU.MUNUS-*er-ṣ-tim* DUMU.MUNUS *mi-il-su*-x, *CT* 8 26a:15, time of Sîn-muballiṭ). This text is a list of *nadītum* names with their opponents in court.

Mār-erṣētim s. Milsu-x (DUMU-*er-ṣe-tim* DUMU *mi-il-su*-x, *CT* 8 26a:16, time of Sîn-muballiṭ). This text is a list of *nadītum* names with their opponents in court.

Nūrīya s. Išinitum (*nu-ri-ia* DUMU *i-ši-ni-tim, TIM* 7 140:7-8, undated). Somebody writing in the first person received an amount of barley from Ahūni's house and from Nūrīya.

Sabbīya (*sà-ab-bi-ia, CT* 6 24c:18, Sîn-muballiṭ 16). This man is one of the "GÌR" persons in the delivery of livestock.

Sakaya (*sà-ka-ia, BDHP* 68:4, Sabium). The men Sakāya, Pak-[...], Warad-Šamaš and Abūni divide the possessions of [...] equally.

Samīya (*sa-mi-ia, CT* 8 26a:21, time of Sîn-muballiṭ). This text is a list of *nadītum* names with their opponents in court.

Sîn-emūqi s. Lašatum (30-*e-mu-qí,* DUMU *la-ša-ti-im, MHET* II/5 819:15-16, undated). This man is the heir of the *nadītum* Nuṭṭubtum.

Sîn-iddinam (adoptive son of Bidataku) (^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam a-píl bi-da-ta-ku, MHET* II/5 581:1, undated).

Sîn-remēni, Awīl-ili, Erībam, Bur-Adad and Halala (children of Adad-bāni?) (^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* ^{I}*a-wi-il-ì-lí,* ^{I}*e-ri-ba-am,* ^{I}*bur-*^{d}im, *ù ha-la-la, CT* 6 47a:8-12, Sabium 10). Sîn-remēni, Awīl-ili, Erībam, Būr-Adad and Halala will not litigate against Munawwirtum, daughter of Adad-bāni.

Sugāgum (adoptive son of Sîn-abūšu and Ummi-ṭabat) (*su-ga-gu-um, CT* 4 42a:1, Sumu-la-El, year he broke the tablets). Sugagum is adopted by Sîn-abūšu and Ummi-ṭabat.

Sumu-dara (KASKAL *su-mu-da-ra, CT* 4 10:6, Apil-Sîn 1). This man has a road named after him.

Sumu-ha-[...] (*su-mu-ha*-[...], *ED* II 47:3'(envelope), undated). Letter order.

Sumu-hazi-[...] (*su-mu-ha-zi*-[...], *ED* II 48:3', undated). Letter order.

Ša-Šalarima (*ša-*^{d}*ša-la-ri-ma, TIM* 7 149:9, undated). This person measures barley.

Te'išhum (1 SAG.ÌR *te-iš-hu-um, CT* 8 16a(=*MHET* II/1 106):20, Sîn-muballiṭ).

Ṭāb-ṣilli-Šamaš s. Apaya (b. Nanna-mansum and Ili-sukkal) (*ṭà-ab*-mi-^{d}UTU, *MHET* II/1 67:7, Apil-Sîn). This man has divided an estate with his brothers.

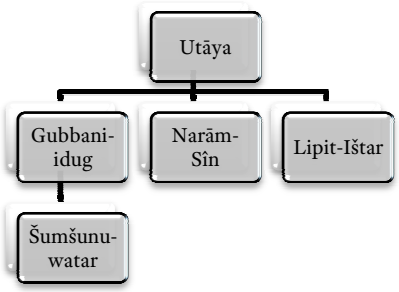
Ubar-Šamaš s. Lalum (*u-bar-*^{d}UTU DUMU *la-lum, VAS* 8 20:2, undated, Sabium or Apil-Sîn). Nūrīya son of Ili-ennam makes a claim against Ubar-Šamaš son of Lalum.

Ukkudum (*ú-ku-du-um, TIM* 7 147:6, undated). This text has three entries of large barley deliveries.

Yahzir-El (*ia-ah-zi-ir-ì*-DINGIR, *CT* 45 8:6, Apil-Sîn). Name in broken context.

Yarbi-El and his daughter Amat-Šamaš (GEME$_2$-^{d}UTU DUMU.MUNUS *ia-ar-bi*-DINGIR, *MHET* II/1 55:3, Apil-Sîn).

4.2.3.1 Šumšunu-watar



Property owners in the file of Šumšunu-watar:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Aham-nuta *a-ha-am-ú-ta, RSM* 40:10, Mananâ e	Annabum [d]a *an-na-bu-um,* BM 103175:3, "Sumu-abum 13"
Ali-pan DA ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *a-lí-pa-an, RSM* 34:2, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Ali-ahūni s. Nunatum *a-lí-a-hu-ni, OECT* 15 376:6, "Sumu-abum 3ʾ"/IV *a-lí-a-hu-ni,* BM 103184:6, "Sumu-abum 3/III" A.ŠÀ *a-lí-a-hu-ni YOS* 14 110:2, Mananâ ba/X
Arwitānum *ar-wi-ta-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:5, Haliyum c/IV *ar-<wi>-ta-nu-um,* BM 103191:6, "Haliyum c"/III	A-[...]-mum SAG.BI *a*-[...]-*mu-um, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:3, Mananâ d/X
Awīl-ili SAG.BI A.ŠÀ *a-wi-li-ʾliʾ, RA* 8 p. 69 1:4, Sumu-abum 13, oath by Mananâ/V	Bēlessunu d. **Yakum** *be-le-sí-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-kum RSM* 35:4, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Elmešum *el-me-*[*šum*], *OECT* 13 279:2, Mananâ e/XI	Bunubalum s. Ṣibarum *bu-nu-ba-lum* DUMU *ṣí-ba-ru-um, RA* 8 p. 69 1:21, Sumu-abum 13 oath by Mananâ/V *bu-nu-ba-lum,* DUMU *ṣí-ba-ru-um,* BM 103191:11,-12 "Haliyum c"/III DA ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR *bu-nu-ba-/lum,* BM 103199:2, Mananâ e *bu-nu-ba-lum,* DUMU *ṣí-ba-ru-um, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:9-10, Haliyum c/IV
Gurīya DA A.ŠÀ *gu-ri-ia,* BM 103197:2, Mananâ e	Dadi DA A.ŠÀ *da-di, OECT* 13 280:2, 4, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Ili-išmeni AD.KID *ù* DA *ì-lí-iš-me-ni* AD.ʾKIDʾ, *RA* 8 p. 69 1:3, Sumu-abum 13 oath by Mananâ/V	Etellum s. **Haliyum** *e-te-el-lum ,* BM 103199:5, Mananâ e
Ilšu-bāni DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, RSM* 48:4, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Gadatum sag.bi *ga-da-tum, RSM* 57:3, Mananâ d/IX
Imdi-Erra DA ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *im-di-èr-ra YOS* 14 110:5, Mananâ ba/X *im-di-èr-ra, RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:4, Sumu-abum 13/V	Hasikum s. Halum *ù ha-si-kum YOS* 14 110:3, Mananâ ba/X *ha-si-kum, YOS* 14 114:10, "Sumu-abum 13"/V DA ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *ha-si-kum, RSM* 48:2, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Itti-Ilīya DA *i-ti-ì-lí-a, RA* 8 p. 69 1:2, Sumu-abum 13 oath by Mananâ/V	Hināya s. Uraš-rabi *hi-na-a-a* ʾDUMUʾ ^{d}URAŠ-*ra-bi, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:7, Mananâ d/X

ù it-ti-ì-lí-a, OECT 13 280:5, "Sumu-abum 13"/V NÍG.ŠU *it-ti-ì-lí-a, RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:3, Sumu-abum 13/V	
Kudānum *ku-da-nu-um,* BM 103196:3, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *ku-da-nu-*[*um*], *YOS* 14 110:9, Mananâ ba/X	Huzalum s. Kugiya DA A.ŠÀ *hu-za-lum, RSM* 35:8, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Lipit-Ištar s. Utāya (b. Narām-Sin and Gubbani-idug, uncle Šumšunu-watar) *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár, OECT* 13 282:3, 5, "Sumu-abum 13" DA A.ŠÀ *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár, RSM* 53:8, "Sumu-abum 13"	Ili-kitti's family s. Atanah-ili (f. Annaṣum and Utu-mansum) *ì-lí-ki-ti* DUMU *a-ta-na-ah-ì-lí, RA* 8 p. 69 1:9, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V *an-na-ṣum, RA* 8 p. 69 1:9, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM, *RA* 8 p. 69 1:11, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V seal
Sîn-dāmiq SAG ^{d}EN.ZU-*da-mi-iq*, BM 103191:4, "Haliyum c"/III ^{d}EN.ZU-*da-mi-iq, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:6, Haliyum c/IV	Išme-Sîn s. Ananum *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *a*-x[...], *RSM* 57:6, Mananâ d/IX
Ṣīssu-nawrat s. Abum *ṣ*[*i*]*-sú-na-aw$_7$-ra-at,* DUMU *a-bu-um,* BM 103183a seal	Inun-Ea *ù* SAG.BI A.ŠÀ *i-nun$^{?}$-é-a, RA* 8 p. 69 1:5, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V
	Išmēya s. Mubikum *iš-me-ia,* DUMU *mu-bi-kum,* BM 103175:9-10, "Sumu-abum 13"
	Kābiṣum s. Damerum *ka-bi-ṣum,* DUMU *da-me-ru-um, OECT* 13 286:9-10, Mananâ
	Karisu *ka-ri-su,* BM 103191:6, "Haliyum c"/III *kà-ri-sú-um, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:5, Haliyum c/IV
	Nisatānum *ni-sà-ta-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:4, Mananâ d/X
	Salala s. Palum *sà-la-la* DUMU *pa-lum,* BM 103197:5, Mananâ e
	Susinum's children (Šamšani/UTUni, Ibbi-Enlil, Erra-gašer) DA ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ ^{d}UTU-*ni,* BM 103183a:2, Mananâ e/XI ^{d}UTU-*ni,* DUMU *sú-sí-nu-um, RSM* 34:11-12, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-bi-*^{d}E[N.LÍL], *RSM* 44:9, "Sumu-abum 13" DA *i-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, BM 103196:2, "Sumu-abum 13"/V DA giš.sar *i-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, , *YOS* 14 114:2, "Sumu-abum 13"/V^{r} *èr-*[*ra*]*-ga-še-er*, *RSM* 44:2, 16, "Sumu-abum 13"
	Šamaš-dahi DA ^{d}UTU-*da-hi-i, RSM* 57:2, Mananâ d/IX
	Warad-Sîn s. Sanāya IR$_{11}$-^{d}EN.ZU, BM 103191:9, "Haliyum c"/III
	Yatumum ÚS.SA.DU *ia-tu-mu-um,* BM 103191:2, "Haliyum c"/III ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ *ia-tu-mu-um, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:2, Haliyum c/IV DA *ia-t*[*u-mu-um*] , *OECT* 13 286:5, Mananâ

Witnesses in the file of Šumšunu-watar:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Ali-ahum *a-lí-a-hu-um, RSM* 53:14, "Sumu-abum 13"	Ahi-kulub s. Sadaya *a-hi-ku-lu-ub, RSM* 53:20, "Sumu-abum 13" *a-hi-ku-lu-ub,* BM 103175:19, "Sumu-abum 13" *a-hi-ku-lu-ub, RSM* 53:20, "Sumu-abum 13"
Ali-ahūni *a-lí-a-hu-ni ,* BM 103196:13, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *a-lí-a-hu-ni, YOS* 14 114:16 "Sumu-abum 13"/V *a-lí-a-hu-ni, RSM* 48:13, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Akutīya s. **Aškudum** *a-ku-ti-ia,* DUMU *aš-ku-du-um, RSM* 57:6'-7', Mananâ d/IX
Amurrum-bāni s. Iddin-Sin ^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-*[*ni*], DUMU *i-din-*^{d}en.z[u] *, OECT* 13 286:22-23, Mananâ ^{d}MAR.TU-ʿ*ba-ni*ʾ, *RSM* 53:18, "Sumu-abum 13"	Alalum *a-la-lum,* BM 103196:14, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *a-la-lum, YOS* 14 114:17, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Anni-ilum *an-ni-*DINGIR du[mu x] ʿni$^{?}$ ia$^{?}$ʾ *, OECT* 13 286:24, Mananâ	Annaṣum s. Ili-Kitti (b. UTU-mansum) *an-na-ṣum, RSM* 56:8, Mananâ e/XI
Būrrīya *bur*^{I}*-ri-ia, RSM* 53:14, "Sumu-abum 13"	Bunubalum s. Ṣibarum *bu-nu-ba-lum, OECT* 13 279:9, Mananâ e/XI *bu-nu-ba-*[*lum*], *YOS* 14 108:9, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *bu-nu-ba-lum, OECT* 13 280:11, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Ibbi-Enlil *i-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL*, RSM* 34:20, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Dadi *da-di, RSM* 38:11, Mananâ e/XI
Idiš-Zababa s. Ili-atāya (b. Ili-amranni) *ì-lí-am-ra-an-ni, i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, DUMU.MEŠ *ì-lí-a-ta-a-ia, RA* 8 p. 69 1:24-26, Sumu-la-El 20$^{?}$ oath by Mananâ/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:12, Sumu-abum 13/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:17, Mananâ d/X *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:17, Haliyum c/IV *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, YOS* 14 114:19, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, OECT* 15 376:11, "Sumu-abum 3$^{?}$"/IV *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, OECT* 13 280:10, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-d*[*i-iš-*^{d}]*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, OECT* 13 282:9, "Sumu-abum 13" *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, DUMU *i-la-ta-*[*a*]*-ia, OECT* 13 286:25-26, Mananâ *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 38:10, Mananâ e/XI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 42:7, Mananâ ab/XI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 48:15, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 50:9, Mananâ e/XI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 52:2, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 54:14, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 56:9, Mananâ e/XI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 57:8', Mananâ d/IX *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$*, RSM* 34:22, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, BM 103175:21, "Sumu-abum 13" *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, BM 103184:15, "Sumu-abum 3" *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$ BM 103191:20, "Haliyum c"/III	Erra-gašer s. Susinum *èr-ra-ga-še-er ,* BM 103197:15, Mananâ e *èr-ra-ga-*{ši}*-še-er,* DUMU *sú-sí-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:20-21, Haliyum c/IV *èr-ra-ga-še-er, RSM* 34:19, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ʿ*èr*ʾ-[*ra*]*-ga-še-er*, *RSM* 44:2, 16, "Sumu-abum 13"

i-di-iš-^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, BM 103194:9, Mananâ e/XI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, BM 103197:13, Mananâ e *i-di-iš-*^{d}*a-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, BM 103199:12, Mananâ e	
Ili-amranni s. Ili-ataya (b. Idiš-Zababa) *ì-lí-am-ra-an-ni, i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, DUMU.MEŠ *ì-lí-a-ta-a-ia, RA* 8 p. 69 1:24-26, Sumu-la-El 20$^{?}$ oath by Mananâ/V *ì-lí-am-ra-ni,* BM 103184:13, "Sumu-abum 3"/III *ì-lí-am-ra-ni* BM 103191:19, "Haliyum c"/III *ì-lí-am-ra-ni, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:16, Haliyum c/IV *ì-lí-am-ra-ni, OECT* 15 376:9, "Sumu-abum 3$^{?}$"/IV	Gakinīya *ga-ki-ni-ia, RSM* 53:15, "Sumu-abum 13"
Ili-kitti *ì-lí-ki-ti YOS* 14 110:21, Mananâ ba/X *ì-lí-ki-ti, RSM* 50:7, Mananâ e/XI	**Habdīya** s. **Yiskur-El** *ha-ab-di-ia,* DUMU *is-kur*-DINGIR, *RSM* 35:23-24, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Ilšu-bāni s. Ali-Ahūni DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni,* DUMU *a-lí-a-hu-ni, RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:18-19, Haliyum c/IV DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni,* DUMU *a-lí-a-hu-ni,* BM 103191:17-18 "Haliyum c"/III	Hagalum s. x x-num *ha-*^{r}*ga*$^{?}$*-lum* DUMU ^{r}x x$^{?}$*-nu-um*, *RSM* 35:18, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Ilšu-bāni (probably also the son of Ali-Ahūni) DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni,* BM 103175:22, "Sumu-abum 13" DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, YOS* 14 113:13, Mananâ d/XI DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*, *RSM* 44:17, "Sumu-abum 13"	Hasikum s. Halum *ha-si-kum,* BM 103196:8, 15 "Sumu-abum 13"/V *ha-si-kum*, *RSM* 44:18, "Sumu-abum 13" *ha-si-kum, OECT* 13 279:11, Mananâ e/XI *ha-si-kum, RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:14, Sumu-abum 13/V
Ilum-nāṣir s. Ili-[...] DINGIR-*na-ṣi*$^{!}$-[*ir*], DUMU *ì-lí*-[...], *OECT* 13 286:27-28, Mananâ	Hināya *hi-na-a-a, RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:13, Sumu-abum 13/V *hi-na-ia ,* BM 103197:14, Mananâ e
Imdi-Erra *im-di-èr-ra, RSM* 34:18, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *im-di-èr-ra*, *RSM* 44:15, "Sumu-abum 13" *im-di-èr-ra, RSM* 42:6, Mananâ ab/XI *im-di-èr-ra, RSM* 40:8, Mananâ e *im-di-èr-ra, RSM* 50:10, Mananâ e/XI	Huzālum s. Kugīya *hu-za-lum* DUMU *ku-gi*$_{4}$*-ia*, *RSM* 35:17, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Iqīš-Sîn *i-qí-iš-*^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 42:9, Mananâ ab/XI	Kābiṣum s. Damerum (b. **Yadihum**) *ka-bi-ṣum, YOS* 14 113:11, Mananâ d/XI *ka-bi-ṣum, RA* 8 p. 69 1:18, "Sumu-abum 13",oath by Mananâ/V [*ka*]-^{r}*bi*$^{?}$*-ṣum,* DUMU *da-me-ru-um, RSM* 57:4'-5', Mananâ d/IX *ka-bi-ṣum, OECT* 13 279:10, Mananâ e/XI *ka-bi-ṣum, RSM* 40:7, Mananâ e
Išme-Sîn DUB.SAR *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU DUB.SAR, BM 103175:23, "Sumu-abum 13"	Kinumaši *ki-nu-ma-ši, RSM* 38:12, Mananâ e/XI
Išme-Sîn *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU*,* BM 103197:12, Mananâ e *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU *,* BM 103199:11, Mananâ e *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 50:8, Mananâ e/XI	Mutahtanu *mu-ta-ah-ta-nu-ú,* BM 103175:20, "Sumu-abum 13"
Kubi-nada *ku-bi-na-da, YOS* 14 108:11, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Nabi-Sîn s. Gulsatum *na-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *gu-ul-sà-tum*, *RSM* 35:21-22, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Kudānum *ku-da-nu-um, YOS* 14 114:3, 15 "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Salala s. Palum *sà-la-la* DUMU *pa-lum, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:16, Mananâ d/X *sà-la-la, YOS* 14 113:10, Mananâ d/XI

ku-da-nu-um, *RSM* 44:14, "Sumu-abum 13" *ku-da-a-nu-um, RSM* 40:9, Mananâ e	
Ku-Ninsianna DUB.SAR KÙ-^{d}NIN.SI.AN.NA DUB.SAR, *RSM* 42:10, Mananâ ab/XI	Sakumum *sa-ku-mu-um, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:14, Mananâ d/X
Lipit-Ištar DUB.SAR *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár* /DUB.SAR, BM 103194:10, Mananâ e/XI	Salim-˹x˺ x x *sà-lim-* ˹x˺ x x, *RSM* 53:13, "Sumu-abum 13"
Lipit-Ištar *li-pí-it-iš$_8$-tár,* BM 103175:25, "Sumu-abum 13"	Sin-kibri[?] ^{d}EN.ZU-*ki-i*[*b-ri*] , *OECT* 13 286:31, Mananâ
Mupettum *mu-pé-tu-um, RSM* 54:4, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *mu-pé-tu-um*, BM 103194:7, Mananâ e/XI	**Sumu-nihum** *su-mu-ni-hu-um, RSM* 48:14, "Sumu-abum 13"/V *su-mu-ni-hu-um,* BM 103196:12, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Nammahani DUB.SAR NAM.MAH.A.NI, BM 103183a:2', Mananâ e/XI NAM.MAH.A.NI DUB.SAR, *RA* 8 p. 69 1:29, Sumu-abum 13, oath by Mananâ/V NAM.MAH.A.NI /DUB.SAR, *RSM* 57:9, Mananâ d/IX NAM.MAH.A.NI DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 108:13, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	**Sumu-x-im** *su-mu-*[x]-*im, YOS* 14 114:18, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Nanna-bàd.gal [^{d}ŠE]Š.KI-BÀD.GAL , BM 103175:26, "Sumu-abum 13" ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL , BM 103183a:1', Mananâ e/XI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL /DUB.SAR , BM 103196:16, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL , BM 103199:13, Mananâ e ^{d}[ŠEŠ]-ki.BÀD.GAL , *YOS* 14 114:20, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL DUB.SAR, *RSM* 38:13, Mananâ e/XI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL DUB.SAR, *RSM* 48:16, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Šamšani/Utuni s. Susinum ^{d}UTU-*ni* , BM 103197:16, Mananâ e ^{d}UTU-*ni*, *YOS* 14 108:12, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ^{d}UTU-*ni, OECT* 13 280:12, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Nanna-kiag DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG DUB.SAR, *RA* 8 p. 78-79 7:22, "Haliyum c"/IV ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG DUB.SAR, BM 103191:21, "Haliyum c"/III	Warad-Sîn s. Sanāya ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *sà-na-a-a, RSM* 34:23, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *sà-na-a-a, OECT* 13 280:13, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Narām-Sîn *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *OECT* 13 282:13, "Sumu-abum 13"	**Yabharum** s. Sippir *ia-ab-ha-ru-um,* DUMU *sí-pí-ir*, *RSM* 35:25-26, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Nūr-Kabta *nu-*[*úr-*^{d}]KAB.TA, *OECT* 13 282:11, "Sumu-abum 13"	**Yadihum** s. Damerum (b. Kabiṣum) *ia-di-hu-um,* DUMU.MEŠ *da-me-ru-um, RA* 8 p. 69 1:19-20, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V *ia-di-hu-um, YOS* 14 113:12, Mananâ d/XI
Ramānum *ra-ma-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:18, Mananâ d/X	**Yahwi-El** *ia-ah-wi-*DINGIR, BM 103175:24, "Sumu-abum 13"
Rīš-Beli DUB.SAR *ri-iš-be-li,* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 113:8-9, Mananâ d/XI	**Yantinum** *ia-an-ti-nu-um, RSM* 53:16, "Sumu-abum 13"
Sassīya *sà-sí-ia, RSM* 42:8, Mananâ ab/XI	**Yašukim**-El s. **Abiya-har** *ia-šu-ki-im-*DINGIR DUMU *a-bi-ia-ha-ar, RA* 8 p. 69 1:22-23, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V
Simat-Ištar	**Yatumum**

sí-mat-iš$_8$-tár, RA 8 p. 76-77 6:15, Mananâ d/X	*ia-tu-mu-um*, *OECT* 15 376:10, "Sumu-abum 3?"/IV *ia-tu-mu-um* , BM 103184:14, "Sumu-abum 3"/III
Sîn-ennam ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, YOS* 14 110:20, Mananâ ba/X	Akkadian and Sumerian names
Sîn-iddinam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, RSM* 34:21, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, RSM* 53:17, "Sumu-abum 13"	
Sîn-iqīšam ^{d}EN.ZU-*í-qí-ša, YOS* 14 113:3, Mananâ d/XI	Ṣīssu-nawrat s. Abum *ṣi-sú-na-aw$_7$-ra-at,*DUMU *a-bu-ú, RA* 8 p. 69 1:27-28, Sumu-abum 13oath by Mananâ/V *ṣi-sú-na-aw$_7$-ra-at*, *RSM* 44:19, "Sumu-abum 13" *ṣi-sú-na-a*[*w$_7$-ra-at*], DUMU *a-bu*-[...], *OECT* 13 286:29-30, Mananâ *ṣi-i-sú-na-aw$_7$-ra-/at*, *YOS* 14 109:11, Mananâ e/XI
Sîn-remēni ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:13, Mananâ d/X	Šamhum *ša-am-hu-um*, BM 103194:8, Mananâ e/XI
Sîn-šeme ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me* , BM 103197:11, Mananâ e	Utu-mansum DUB.SAR s. Ili-kitti ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:15, Sumu-abum 13/V ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *RA* 8 p. 76-77 6:19, Mananâ d/X ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *OECT* 15 376:12, "Sumu-abum 3?"/IV ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *OECT* 13 280:14, "Sumu-abum 13"/V ^{d}UTU-[MA.AN.SUM] DUB.SAR, *OECT* 13 282:12, "Sumu-abum 13" ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *RSM* 56:10, Mananâ e/XI ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM, BM 103184:16, "Sumu-abum 3"/III ^{d}UTU-MA.A[N.SUM], *YOS* 14 108:10, "Sumu-abum 13"/V
Sîyatum *sí-ia-tum, RSM* 53:19, "Sumu-abum 13"	Zababa-nada ^{d}*za*-[*ba$_4$-b*]*a$_4$-na-da, OECT* 13 282:10, "Sumu-abum 13"

4.2.3.2 Ṣīssu-nawrat son of Bēlum

Property owners in the file of Ṣīssu-nawrat:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Ahūni *a-hu-ni, RSM* 32 :3, date lost	**Abi-Yarah** *ù* ÚS.SA.[DU] A.ŠÀ *a-bi-ra-ah, OECT* 13 288:3, Mananâ d/VI
Ali-pan DA ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *a-lí-pa-an, RSM* 34:2, "Sumu-abum 13"/V [D]A A.ŠÀ *a-lí-pa-an*$^{!}$ *, RSM* 43:2, Mananâ d/VI	Hilhilum's sons Ahi-din and Dullutum *a-hi-ʿdiˋ-i*[*n*], *ù du-lu-tum,* DUMU.MEŠ *hi-il-hi-lum, RSM* 39:5-7, Abdi-Erah a/III
[Awīl]īya DA [*a-w*]*i-li-ia, RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:3, Yawium h/VI	Ibbi-Sîn s. **Yanum** *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ia-nu-um, RSM* 36:6', Mananâ and Yawium oath
Arwium s. Iddin-Išum	**Mani-El**

ar-wi-um ,DUMU *i-din-*^{d}*i-šum, RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:5-6, "Yawium f"(Sumu-la-El 6)/X	*ma-ni-el* [...] um*, RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:7, Yawium h/VI
Bēlanum s. Sîn-erībam *be-la-nu-um,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am*, *RSM* 41:6-7, Yawium "i"	Meskānum SAG.BI.2.RÁ.2.KAM A.ŠÀ *me-ès-kà-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 111:4, "Yawium d"/VI
Erīb-Sîn [*e*]-*ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 32 :7, date lost	Muhaddûm s. Sagarum *mu-ha-du-ú-um,* DUMU *sa-ga-ru-um, RSM* 29:7-8, "Yawium c"/XI
Ili-[...] DA É *ì-lí-*[...], *RSM* 41:2, Yawium "i"	Muna-[...] *mu-n*[*a...*], *OECT* 13 288:7, Mananâ d/VI
Ir-Nanna ÌR-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI*, RSM* 32 :4, date lost	Nāqumum$^{?}$ ÚS.SA.DU ˹*na-qú*$^{?}$˺-[*m*]*u-*˹*um*˺*,* BM 103192:2, Yawium c/XI
Manium *ma-ni-um, RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:5, Yawium h/VI	Nūr-Kabta s. Sisanum *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.TA, DUMU *sí-sà-nu-um, RSM* 43:7, Mananâ d/VI
Muhaddûm SAG.1.KAM *mu-ha-du-um, RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:3, "Yawium f" (Sumu-la-El) 6/X	Uqa-ilum s. Bananum and his son Sîn-šeme *ú-qà-*DINGIR DUMU *ba-na-nu-um,* ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me* DUMU *ú-qà-*DINGIR, *YOS* 14 111:5-6, "Yawium d"/VI
Sukallīya *su-ka-li-ia,* BM 103192:3, Yawium c/XI	
Sîn-nawir É ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-*[*ir*], *RSM* 41:5, Yawium "i"	
Šeret-Sîn s. Nukkurum *še-re-et-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *nu-ku-ru-um* , BM 103192:5-6, Yawium c/XI	

Witnesses in the file of Ṣīssu-nawrat:

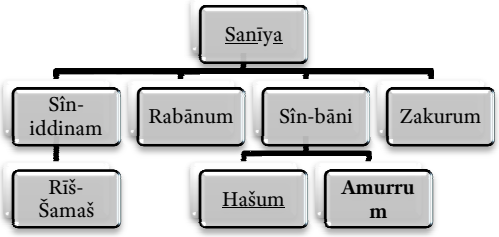
Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Aham-arši s. Būr-Sîn *a-ha-mar-ši,* DUMU *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 49:14-15, unknown MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*/XI	Abbarum s. Paratanum *ab-ba-ru-um,* DUMU *pa-ra-ta-a-nu-um, RSM* 39:15-16, Abdi-Erah a/III
Annum-pî-Sîn s. Ur-Ninsun AN-*pi*$_{4}$-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU UR-^{d}NIN.SÚN*, RSM* 30:13-14, "unknown mu BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ"/XII	**Abum-halum** s. **Amīnum** *a-bu-um-ha-lum,* DUMU *a-mi-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:20-21, "Yawium f"(Sumu-la-El 6)/X *a-bu-um-ha-*[*lum*]*,* DUMU *a-mi-nu-u*[*m*] *, RSM* 55:15-16, Yawium g/XI
Burqānum *bu-úr-qá-nu-*[*um*] *, RSM* 59:18, Yawium g/VI	Ad-mati-ilum s. Zimu-dara *ad-ma-at-ì-lí,* DUMU *zi-mu-da-ra, RA* 8 p. 75-76 5:1'-2', Mananâ aa/IX
Būr-Sîn s. Erra-bāni *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, [DUMU] *èr-ra-ba-ni, RSM* 43:23-24, Mananâ d/VI	Akīya s. Ṣilli-Ištar *a-ki-ia,* DUMU *ṣi-lí-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, OECT* 13 281:14-15, "Yawium c"/XI
Būr-Sîn s. Erra-gašer *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *èr-ra-ga-ši-er, RSM* 29:26-27, "Yawium c"/XI	Amurrum-bāni s. Halu-x ^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni* DUMU *ha-lu-*˹x˺*, RSM* 39:19, Abdi-Erah a/III
Damu-azu s. Warad-Ea DUB.SAR ^{d}DA.MU-A.ZU DUB.SAR, DUMU ÌR-*é-a, RA* 8 p. 75-76 5:5'-6', Mananâ aa/IX ^{d}DA.MU-A.ZU DUB.SAR*, RSM* 36:22', Mananâ and Yawium oath	Aruma (s. Hata'ummanum$^{?}$) *a-ru-ma, RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:16, "Yawium f"(Sumu-la-El 6)/X
Erīb-Uraš s. Qiš-Nanaya	Asaranum s. **Eqni-El** (b. Haya-Sumu-abum)

e-ri-ib-^{d}URAŠ, DUMU *qí-iš-na-na-a-a, RSM* 30:15-16, "unknown mu BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII	*a-sa-ra-nu-um*, DUMU *e-eq-ni*-DINGIR, *OECT* 15 377:22-23, "Yawium c"/X
Erra-qurrad *èr-ra-ʿqú*$^{!}$*-ra-ad, RSM* 49:13, unknown mu *a-bi-a-lí-šu*/XI	Asatum s. Rubum *a-sa-tum* DUMU *ru-bu-um*, *RSM* 41:27, Yawium "i"
Ibbi-Amurrim s. Ikūn-pêm *i-bi-*^{d}MAR.TU, DUMU *i-ku-ka, RSM* 30:17-18, "unknown MU BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII	Babum s. Unanum *ba-bu-um, OECT* 13 288:1', Mananâ d/VI *ba-bu-um,* DUMU.MEŠ *ú-na-nu-um, RSM* 59:16-17, Yawium g/VI
Iddin-Sîn s. Burratum *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *bur-ra-tum, RSM* 32 :19-20, date lost	Bazālum *ba-za-lum, RSM* 59:14, Yawium g/VI
Iddin-Sîn s. Sîn-nišu *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-šu*, *YOS* 14 111:22, "Yawium d"/VI	Bidium s. Gabidanum *bi-di-um,* DUMU *ga-bi-da-nu-um*, *RSM* 41:19-20, Yawium "i"
Ilam-qî DUB.SAR DINGIR-*ki-i* DUB.SAR, DUMU har su me ne, *RSM* 30:23-24, "unknown MU BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII	Būr-Adad s. Kunanum *bur-*^{d}IM DUMU *ku-na-nu-um, RSM* 36:16', Mananâ and Yawium oath
Ili-ki-abiya s. Ili-tukulti *ì-lí-ki-a-bi-ia,* DUMU *ì-lí-tu-kul-ti*, *RSM* 41:17-18, Yawium "i"	Burānum s. **Yaqub-El** *bu-úr-a-*{x}*-nu-um,* DUMU *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *OECT* 13 288:6'-7', Mananâ d/VI
Ili-uṣranni s. Iddin-Sîn *ì-lí-uṣ-ra-ni,* DUMU *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:15-16, Yawium h/VI *ì-lí-uṣ-ra-ni,* DUMU *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *OECT* 13 281:10-11, "Yawium c"/XI	Dazihum s. **Malana-Ditana** *da-zi-hu-um* DUMU *ma-a-la-na-di-ta-na, RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:17-18, Yawium h/VI
Ilum-nāṣir s. Šū-Iltum DINGIR-*na-ṣi-ir,*DUMU *šu-il-tum*, *YOS* 14 111:25-26, "Yawium d"/VI DINGIR-*na-ṣi-ir,* DUMU *šu-il-tum, RSM* 43:19-20, Mananâ d/VI	Hadā-Ilān s. Hata-ummanum (b. Lašelka-abim) *la-ši-el-ka-a-bi-im, ha-da*-DINGIR-DINGIR, DUMU.MEŠ *ha-ta-um-ma-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:17-19, "Yawium f"(Sumu-la-El 6)/X
Imdi-Ištar s. Bītum-ṣulluli$^{?}$ *im-di-iš$_{8}$-tár* DUMU *é-*AN.ʿDÙLˋ, *RSM* 30:22, "unknown mu BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII	**Haya-Sumu-abum** s. **Eqni-El** (b. Asaranum) *ha-a-su-mu-a-bu-um,* DUMU *e-eq-ni*-DINGIR, *OECT* 15 377:24-25, "Yawium c"/X *ha-su-mu-a-bu-um,* DUMU *e-eq-ni*-DINGIR, *RSM* 29:24-25, "Yawium c"/XI
Imgur-Sîn s. Ahūšina *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *a-hu-ši-na, RSM* 32 :23, date lost	Huzālum s. Kutanum *hu-za-lum,* DUMU *ku-ta-nu-um, RSM* 29:29-30, "Yawium c"/XI
Ipiq-Ištar s. Wer-Kubi *i-pí-iq-iš$_{8}$-tár,* DUMU ^{d}*we-er-ku-bi*, BM 103192:23-24, Yawium c/XI	Iktašerum$^{?}$ DUB.SAR *ik-ta$^{?}$-še-ru-um* DUB.SAR, *RSM* 32 :25, date lost
Išum-bāni s. Dān-Erra ^{d}*i-šum-ba-ni,* DUMU *dan-èr-ra,* BM 103198:12-13, Mananâ d/IX	**Ilum-halum** s. Kuhanum DINGIR-*ha-lum, RSM* 59:6, Yawium g/VI DINGIR-*ha-lum,* DUMU *ku-ha-nu-um, OECT* 13 288:2, 9'-10', Mananâ d/VI
Kubbutum s. Buqāqum *ku-bu-tum,* DUMU *bu-qá-qù-um, RSM* 43:21-22, Mananâ d/VI	Ipiq$^{?}$-Sîn s. **Yanum** SIG$^{?}$-^{d}EN.ZU ŠEŠ.A.NI DUMU *ia-nu-um, RSM* 36:15', Mananâ and Yawium oath
Kussīya s. Anni-ilum *ku-sí-ia,* DUMU *an-ni*-DINGIR, BM 103198:10-11, Mananâ d/IX	Ipqūša s. **Yahli-El** *ip-qú-ša* DUMU *ia-ah-li*-DINGIR, *RSM* 36:19', Mananâ and Yawium oath
Lu-dingirra s. Simat-Šala	Kunānum s. Nanukum

LÚ-DINGIR.ra, DUMU ME-^{d}*ša-la*, *OECT* 15 377:16-17, "Yawium c"/X	*ku-na-nu-um,* DUMU *na-nu-kum,* BM 103198:8-9, Mananâ d/IX
Mārum-imlik s. Atanah-ili DUMU-*im-lik,* DUMU *a-ta-na-ah-ì-lí, RSM* 36:20'-21', Mananâ and Yawium oath	Kukānum s. Ah-[...]-DINGIR *ku-ku-nu-um,* DUMU *ah*-[...]-DINGIR, *RSM* 39:22-23, Abdi-Erah a/III
Muhaddûm s. Erīb-Sîn *mu-ha-du-um,* DUMU *e-ri-ib-*^{d}EN.ZU, *RSM* 30:19-20, "unknown MU BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII	Kurānum s. x[...] *ku-ra-nu-um,* DUMU x[...], *RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:19-20, Yawium h/VI
Nabi-ilīšu s. Sîn-abūšu *na-bi-ì-lí-šu,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu*, *RSM* 41:23-24, Yawium "i"	Lašelka-abim s. Hata-ummanum (b. Hada-Ilan) *la-ši-el-ka-a-bi-im, ha-da*-DINGIR-DINGIR, DUMU.MEŠ *ha-ta-um-ma-nu-um, RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:17-19, "Yawium f"(Sumu-la-El 6)/X
Rašub-bītum s. Ikān-pû-Erra *ra-šum*-É, DUMU *i-ku-pi$_4$-èr-ra*, BM 103192:19-20, Yawium c/XI	Lalu-x-um s. Ilum-iqišam *la-lu*-x-*um* DUMU DINGIR-*i-qí*-[*ša-am*] , *RSM* 41:25, Yawium "i"
Rišīya s. Šū-Ninkarrak DUB.SAR *ri-iš-ia* DUB.SAR, *OECT* 15 377:26, "Yawium c"/X *ri-ši-ia* DUMU *šu-*^{d}nin.kar./ra.ak, DUB.SAR, *RSM* 29:35-36, "Yawium c"/XI *ri-ši-ia* [...], *RSM* 41:29, Yawium "i"	Marsila s. Unānum (b. Babum) *ma-ar-sí-l*[*a*] , *RSM* 59:15, Yawium g/VI *ma-ar-sí-la,* DUMU.MEŠ *ú-na-nu-um, OECT* 13 288:2'-3', Mananâ d/VI
Sassiya s. Ili-tappe (b. Sîn-bāni) *sà-sí-ia,* DUMU *ì-lí*-TAB.BA-*e*, *OECT* 15 377:20-21, "Yawium c"/X	Mašna s. Ka-[...] *ma-áš-na-a* DUMU ka-[...], *RSM* 41:28, Yawium "i"
Sîn-bāni s. Ili-tappe (b. Sassiya) ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU *ì-lí*-TAB.BA-*e*, *OECT* 15 377:18-19, "Yawium c"/X	Mašum gu ˹x˺ s. Malilum *ma-šum* gu ˹x˺, DUMU *ma-li-lum, RSM* 55:17-18, Yawium g/XI
Sîn-ennam s. Aha-nuta ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam,* DUMU *a-ha-nu-ta, RSM* 29:20-21, "Yawium c"/XI	Muhaddûm s. Sagārum [*mu*]-*ha-du-um,* DUMU *sa-ga*$^{!}$*-ru-um, RSM* 59:21, Yawium g/VI
Sîn-ennam s. Ṣilli-Ištar ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam,* DUMU *ṣi-lí-iš$_8$-tár*$^{!}$ *, RSM* 49:11-12, unknown mu *a-bi-a-lí-šu*/XI	Narbum s. Kudādum *na-ar-bu-um,* DUMU *ku-da-du-um, RA* 8 p. 75-76 5:3'-4', Mananâ aa/IX
Sîn-erībam s. Ea-balāṭi ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU *é-a-ba-la-ṭì*, *YOS* 14 111:23-24, "Yawium d"/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU *é-a-ba-la-ṭì, RSM* 43:17-18, Yawium g/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU *é-a-ba-la-ṭì,* BM 103192:17-18, Yawium c/XI	Puhāya s. Kurkiya *pu-ha*-[...], DUMU *ku*-[...], *RA* 8 p. 72-73 3:21-22, Yawium h/VI *pu-ha-a-a,* DUMU *ku-úr-ki-ia, OECT* 13 281:12-13, "Yawium c"/XI *pu-ha-a-a,* DUMU *ku-˹úr-ki-ia˺, RSM* 29:27-28, "Yawium c"/XI
Sîn-iddinam DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUB.SAR, *RSM* 43:25, Mananâ d/VI	Salsalum s. Mutātum *sà-al-sà-lum,* DUMU *mu-ta-tum, OECT* 13 288:4'-5', Mananâ d/VI
Sîn-išmeanni DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 111:27, "Yawium d"/VI	Sama-El s. Hilhilum *sa-ma*-DINGIR, DUMU *hi-il-hi*-DINGIR, *RSM* 39:17-18, Abdi-Erah a/III
Sîn-nāṣir s. Nūr-Ištar ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár, RSM* 36:17', Mananâ and Yawium oath ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir,* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár, RSM* 39:20-21, Abdi-Erah a/III [^{d}EN.ZU]-*na-ṣi-ir* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár*, *YOS* 14 111:21, "Yawium d"/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir* DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár, RSM* 30:21, "unknown mu BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII	Sarāni DUB.SAR *sà-ra*$^{!}$-[*ni* D]UB.SAR, *RSM* 39:24, Abdi-Erah a/III

^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir*, DUMU [x x]x [...], *RSM* 55:11-12, Yawium g/XI	
Sukkalīya s. Ili-ki-abīya *su-ka-li-ia*, DUMU *ì-lí-ki-a-bi-a*, *RSM* 29:22-23, "Yawium c"/XI	Sîn-emūqi s. Hubabum ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-mu-qí*, DUMU *hu-ba-bu-um*, *RSM* 32 :21-22, date lost
Ṣillīya s. Awīl-Sîn *ṣi-lí-ia*$^{!}$, DUMU LÚ -^{d}EN.ZU, BM 103192:21-22, Yawium c/XI	Sîn-ennam s. **Yer-aliba** ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam*, DUMU *e-er-a-li-ba*, *RSM* 41:21-22, Yawium "i"
Šumi-Ilīya s. e$^{?}$-x-[...] *šu-mi-ì-lí-a* DUMU *e*$^{?}$-x-[...], *RSM* 41:26, Yawium "i"	Susālum *su-sà-lum* DUMU *ik-ka-ru-um*, *OECT* 13 288:8', Mananâ d/VI
Šumi-Ilīya DUB.SAR *šu-mi-ì-lí-a* DUB.SAR, *RA* 8 p. 73-74 4:22, "Yawium f"(Sumu-la-El 6)/X	Šū-Ištar s. Papparum *šu-iš$_{8}$-tár* DUMU *pa-ap-pa-ru-um*, *RSM* 32 :18, date lost
Šumma-ilum LÚ.TÚG *šum-ma*-DINGIR LÚ.TÚG, *RSM* 32 :24, date lost	Uṣi-ilum s. Kunanum *ú-ṣi*-DINGIR DUMU *ku-na-nu-um*, *RSM* 36:18', Mananâ and Yawium oath
Warad-ilīšu DUB.SAR ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUB.SAR, BM 103192:25, Yawium c/XI	**Yatar-El** SAG.BI *ia-tar*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 111:3, "Yawium d"/VI
	[...] s. Kunānum [...]x DUMU *ku-na-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 111:19, "Yawium d"/VI

4.2.3.3 Sîn-iddinam, son of Saniya, and his brothers



Property owners in the file of Sîn-iddinam:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Ahi-ma-ilum SAG.BI *a-hi-mi-lum*, R 1:2, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII	**Abi-Yarah** ÚS.SA.DU *a-bi-a-ra-ah*, *R* 5:4, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Ibni-Sîn s. Šu-Ilabrat *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *šu-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *YOS* 14 83:2, 6-7, Mananâ d/XI	Adidum s. Haziza-[x] *a-di-du-um*, *R* 4:4, 10, Sumu-ditāna h/VI *a-di-du-um*, *R* 8:2, 6, Nāqimum b/XI *a-di-du-um*, *R* 9:2, 5, Nāqimum d/XII *a-di-du-um*, *R* 10:5, unattributed unknown king d /V *a-di-*[*du-um*], *R* 18:1, Nāqimum e/VIII
Ili-iddinam *ì-lí-i-din-nam*, *R* 6:8, Mananâ bb	Amur-Ilam's sons Nūr-Ištar, Išbi-Erra, Ašerum, Ili-ahtalīya and Nabi-Sîn ÚS.SA.DU *a-mur*-DINGIR, R 43:3, Abdi-Erah a/XII

	nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár DUMU *a-mur*-DINGIR, R 6:7, Mananâ bb *i-la-ah-ta*-DINGIR, DUMU *a-mur*-DINGIR, R 42:2, 6-7, unknown king f/VII DA *a-mur*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 83:3, Mananâ d/XI
Iṣṣur-ilum ÚS.SA *i-ṣur*-DINGIR *R* 2:3, Nāqimum c DA *i-ṣur*$^{!}$-DINGIR, R 4:5, Sumu-ditāna h/VI	**Amurrum** (uncertain whether this is the same man as Sîn-iddinam's cousin) ÚS.SA.DU *a-mu-ru-um, R* 11:3, Sumu-abum 13? MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI *a-mu-r*[*u-um*], *R* 17:4, Mananâ g/V ÚS.SA *a-mu-ru-um,* R 3:2, Sumu-Yamutbal alliance Sumu-la-El
Itur-salim SAG.BI *i-túr-sa-lim, R* 1:3, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII	**Ba-Yarah** s. Kuniya *ba-ia-ra-ah, R* 7:3, Haliyum f/XI
	Birbirum s. Dinikmum (f. Ilum-katazi and Aqbanum) *bi-ir-bi*-[*ru-um*], DUMU *di-ni*$^{!}$*-ik*-[*mu-um*], *R* 16:3-4, Haliyum i
	Dada ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *da-da-a, R* 11:1, Sumu-abum 13? MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *da-da-a*, *R* 18:2, Nāqimum e/VIII
	Digānum *u* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ *di-ga-nu-um, R* 11:2, Sumu-abum 13? MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI
	Gadibum's children (**Iṣi-qatar**, Šimat-Sîn en ^{d}Nanna and Sîn-riš) KI ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš,* K[I *ši*]-*ma-at*-^{d}EN.ZU EN ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, [*ù* KI] *i-ṣí-qá-tár*, *R* 43:7-10, Abdi-Erah a/XII
	Kubīya *ù* ÚS.SA.DU *ku-bi-ia*, *R* 5:5, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
	Yahmiṣ-ilum s. **Yamhanum** DA *ia-ah-m*[*i-i*]*s*-DINGIR, *R* 7:4, Haliuym f/XI
	Yakûm s. Nagisanum (b. Yeslimum and father of Yatar-El) *ia-ku-ú-um,* DUMU *na-gi$_4$-sa-nu-um, R* 2:7-8, Nāqimum c *ia-ku-ú-um, R* 5:2, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII *ù ia-ku-um, R* 6:3, Mananâ bb
	Yan(h)urum's family (his son Sîn-bēl-Ilī and wife [...]-šarrat) *ia-nu-ru-um, R* 4:6, Sumu-ditāna h/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí,* [DUMUm *i*]*a-nu-ru-um, R* 11:9-10, Sumu-abum 13?MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI [...]-*šar-ra-at* AMA.NI, *R* 11:11, Sumu-abum 13? MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI DA *ia-nu-ru-um, R* 18:4, Nāqimum e/VIII
	Zunzunum's sons Ili-madiah and Sîn-šemi ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi, ù ì-lí-ma-di-ah,* DUMU.me *zu-un-zu-nu-um, R* 1:7-9, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII

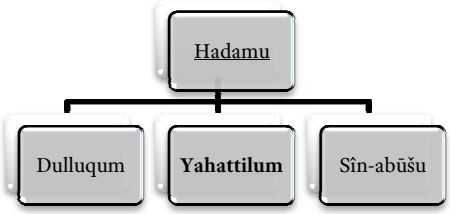
Witnesses in the file of Sîn-iddinam:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/<u>other and 'other'</u> names
Ahum-ilum *a-hu-um*-DINGIR, *R* 10:12, unattributed unknown king d /V	<u>Adidum</u> *a-di-du-um, R* 11:19, Sumu-abum 13?MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI
Ali-kalum s. Iddīya *a-li-ka-lum,* DUMU *i-di-ia*, *R* 37:19-20, Haliyum d	Ahi-ili s. **Yamhanum** *a-hi-ì-lí,* DUMU *ia-am-ha-nu-um, YOS* 14 83:18-19, Mananâ d/XI
Ali-pan *a-lí-pa-an*, *R* 6:21, Mananâ bb	**Amurrum** (uncertain whether this is the same man as Sîn-iddinam's couSîn) *a-mu-*[*u*]*r-ru, R* 31:10, Abdi-Erah a/VIII *a-mu-ru-um, R* 13:16, Sumu-Yamutbal cb/VIII
Beya [*be*]*-ia, R* 16:21, Haliyum i	<u>Ašerum</u> s. Amur-Ilam *a-še-ru-um*, *R* 6:17, Mananâ bb
Būr-Adad *bur-*^{d}IM, *R* 24: 10, Nāqimum e/IX	**Bahdi-El** *ba-ah-di*-DINGIR, *R* 7:18, Haliuym f/XI
Būrāya *bur-a-a, R* 27:13, Mananâ m/X	<u>Bala-Til</u> *ba-la-ti-il*, *R* 5:21, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Būr-Sîn *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 39:19, Abdi-Erah a/VI	**Ba-Yarah** s. <u>Kuniya</u> *ba-a-ra-ah, R* 39:18, Abdi-Erah a/VI
Ennam-bēli s. Ubar-Sîn *en-nam-be-lí,* DUMU *u-bar-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 33:13-14, Haliyum d	<u>Birbirum</u> *bi-ir-bi-ru-um, R* 7:15, Haliuym f/XI
Ennum-bēli *en-num-be-li, R* 4:15, Sumu-ditāna h/VI	Dulluqum (probably the son of <u>Hadamu</u>) *du-lu-qum, R* 3:16, Sumu-Yamutbal alliance Sumu-la-El
Hāzirum *ha-zi-ru-um*, *R* 43:18, Abdi-Erah a/XII	Hābibum s. <u>Lana-El</u> *ha-bi-bu-um,* DUMU *la-na*-DINGIR, *R* 27:14, Mananâ m/X
Ibni-Sîn *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 5:19, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 7:16, Haliuym f/XI *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 1:14, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII	<u>Ilak-duba</u> *i-la-ak-du-ba, R* 1:16, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII *i-la-ak-du-ba*, *R* 2:22, Nāqimum c *i-la-a*[*k*]*-du-ba*, *R* 5:18, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Ili-ahtaliya s. Amur-Ilam *ì-lí-ah-ta*-DINGIR, *R* 6:16, Mananâ bb	Ilīya s. **Askudum** *ì-lí-ia* DUMU *ás-ku-du-um, R* 11:24, Sumu-abum 13?mu *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI
Ili-ahulapi *ì-lí-a-hu-la-pí*, *R* 6:22, Mananâ bb	<u>Iṣi-salim</u> *i-ṣi-sa-lim*, *R* 4:19, Sumu-ditāna h/VI *i-ṣi-sa-lim, R* 8:7, Nāqimum b/XI *i-ṣi-sa-lim, R* 9:13, Nāqimum d/XII *i-ṣi-sa-lim, R* 10:9, unattributed unknown king d /V *i-ṣi-sa-lim*, *R* 18:18, Nāqimum e/VIII *i-ṣi-sa-lim, R* 24: 9, Nāqimum e/IX
Ili-danāni s. E-mah *ì-lí-da-na-ni,* DUMU é-mah, *R* 33:11-12, Haliyum d	<u>Ite-[...]</u> *i-te-*[...], *R* 31:11, Abdi-Erah a/VIII
Ili-dīnam s. Šu-Ilabrat (b. Ibni-Sîn) *ì-lí-di-nam,* DUMU *šu-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *YOS* 14 83:15-16, Mananâ d/XI	Kibir-Sîn s. <u>Kurdānum</u> *ki-bi-ir-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *kur-da-a-nu-um, R* 11:25-26, Sumu-abum 13? MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI
Ili-rabi DUB.SAR *ì-lí-ra-bi* DUB.SAR, *R* 17:9', Mananâ g/V	<u>Kunānum</u> DUB.SAR *ku-na-nu-um*, *R* 5:24, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII *ku-na-nu-um* DUB.SAR, *R* 8:20, Nāqimum b/XI *ku-na-nu-um, R* 10:13, unattributed unknown king d

	/V *ku-na-nu-um* DUB.SAR, *R* 7:17, Haliyum f/XI *ku-na-nu-um*, *R* 42:20, unknown king f/VII *ku-na-nu-um* DUB.SAR, *R* 1:19, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII *ku-na-nu-um* DUB.SAR, *R* 31:12, Abdi-Erah a/VIII *ku-na-nu-um* DUB.SAR, *R* 24: 12, Nāqimum e/IX
Ili-unneni *ì-lí-ú-ne-ni*, *R* 6:20, Mananâ bb	**Lamlik-El** *la-am-li-ik*-DINGIR, *R* 5:22, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Ilšu-bāni DUB.SAR DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *R* 36:12, Mananâ m/VI	**Mutum-me-El** *mu-tu-me-el, R* 40:18, Abdi-Erah b/IV
Imlik-[DN] *im-lik*-^{d}[DN] , *R* 31:9, Abdi-Erah a/VIII	Nakrahum *na-ak-ra-hu-um*, *R* 2:19, Nāqimum c *na-ak-ra-hu*-[*um*] , *R* 5:17, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Išbi-Erra s. Amur-Ilam *iš-bi-èr-ra*, DUMU.NI.MEŠ *a-mur*-DINGIR, *R* 6:18-19, Mananâ bb	Salhum *sà-al-hu-um*, *R* 6:23, Mananâ bb
Išme-Sîn s. Dān-ili *iš-me*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *dan-ì-lí, YOS* 14 83:19-20, Mananâ d/XI	Sasum *sà-a-súm*, *R* 42:19, unknown king f/VII
Išme-Sîn *iš-me*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 9:14, Nāqimum d/XII *iš-me*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 10:8, unattributed unknown king d /V	Sîn-ilum s. Atmaya ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU *at-, ma-a-a, R* 27:20-21, Mananâ m/X
Lammaša DUB.SAR *la-ma-ša, R* 3:18, Sumu-Yamutbal alliance Sumu-la-El	Sîn-muballiṭ s. **Samu-ki-El** ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ,* DUMU *sa-mu-ki-el*, *R* 2:20-21, Nāqimum c ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, R* 1:18, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Lu-Enlila DUB.SAR LÚ-^{d}EN.LÍL.LÁ DUB.SAR, *R* 27:16, Mananâ m/X	Sukallum s. Haniya *su-ka-lum,* DUMU *ha-ni-ia*, *R* 17:6'-7', Mananâ g/V
Musanniqum *mu-sà-ni-qum, R* 11:23, Sumu-abum 13?MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI *mu-sà-ni-qum, R* 40:17, Abdi-Erah b/IV	Sukaya s. Titaya *su-kà-ia,* DUMU *ti-ta-a-a, R* 33:9-10, Haliyum d *sú-ka-a-a,* DUMU *ti-ta-a-a*, *R* 37:18, Haliyum d
Nabi-Sîn (s. Amur-Ilam) *na-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 6:15, Mananâ bb *na-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 42:15, unknown king f/VII	**Yahmis-ilum** s. **Yamhanum** *ia-ah-mi-is*-DINGIR, *R* 2:23, Nāqimum c *ia-ah-mi-is*-DINGIR, *R* 5:23, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII *ia-ah-mi-iṣ*-DINGIR, *R* 39:16, Abdi-Erah a/VI *ia-ah-mi-iṣ*-DINGIR, *R* 40:15, Abdi-Erah b/IV *ia-ah-mi-ṣi-lum,* DUMU *ia-am-ha-núm, R* 16:17-18, Haliyum i
Narām-Adad *na-ra-am*-^{d}IM, *R* 36:11, Mananâ m/VI	**Yahqub-El** DUB.SAR *ia-ah-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *R* 11:27, Sumu-abum 13?mu *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *R* 40:19, Abdi-Erah b/IV *ia-ah-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 83:21, Mananâ d/XI *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *R* 13:18, Sumu-Yamutbal cb/VIII
Nūratum *nu-ra-tum*, *R* 21:8, Haliyum f	**Yahzib-El** s. Hidiya *ia-ah-zi-ib*-DINGIR, *R* 21:7, Haliyum f
Nūr-Dagan *nu-úr*-^{d}*da-gan*, *R* 21:9, Haliyum f	**Yaku** (probably the son of Nagisanum) *ia-ku-ú, R* 16:16, Haliyum i
Nūr-Ištar s. Amur-Ilam *nu-úr-iš-tár*, *R* 42:18, unknown king f/VII	**Yantin-Arah** s. Šu-Nunu *ia-an-ti-na-r*[*a-ah*], *R* 8:17, Nāqimum b/XI *ia-an-ti-na-ra-ah,* DUMU *šu-nu-nu, R* 11:20-21, Sumu-abum 13?mu *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI

Nūrīya *nu-úr-ia*, *R* 4:14, Sumu-ditāna h/VI *nu-úr-ia, R* 8:15, Nāqimum b/XI *nu-úr-ia, R* 10:11, unattributed unknown king d /V *nu-úr-ia*, *R* 18:19, Nāqimum e/VIII *nu-úr-ia, R* 39:20, Abdi-Erah a/VI	**Yatar-El** *ia-tár*-DINGIR, *R* 39:15, Abdi-Erah a/VI
Nūr-Kubi (=Nuriya[2]) *nu-úr-ku-bi, R* 11:22, Sumu-abum 13?MU *ka-zal-lu*[ki] *i-ṣa-ab-tu*/XI	**Yeslimum** s. Nagisanum (b. Yakum) *ye-ès-li-mu-um,* DUMU *na-gi*$_4$*-sa-nu-um*, *R* 2:17-18, Nāqimum c
Rabānum (probably the son of Saniya) *ra-ba-nu-um*, *R* 4:16, Sumu-ditāna h/VI *ra-ba-nu-um, R* 8:18, Nāqimum b/XI *ra-ba-nu-um, R* 39:17, Abdi-Erah a/VI *r*[*a-ba-nu-u*]*m*, *R* 43:17, Abdi-Erah a/XII *ra-ba-nu-um*, *R* 42:17, unknown king f/VII *ra-ba-a-nu-um, R* 24: 11, Nāqimum e/IX	**Yeškittum** *e-iš-ki-tum, R* 27:11, Mananâ m/X
Sanīya *sà-ni-ia*, *R* 4:18, Sumu-ditāna h/VI *sà-ni-ia* AD.DA.NI, *R* 8:14, Nāqimum b/XI *sà-ni-ia*, *R* 18:15, Nāqimum e/VIII	Zuzālum *zu-za-lum, R* 9:16, Nāqimum d/XII
Sassīya *sà-sí-ia, R* 27:10, Mananâ m/X	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Sîn-abum [d]EN.ZU-*a-bu-um*, *R* 42:16, unknown king f/VII	
Sîn-bāni [d]EN.ZU-*ba-ni, R* 8:3,16, Nāqimum b/XI [d]EN.ZU-*ba-ni*, *R* 18:16, Nāqimum e/VIII	Ša-Amurrim *ša*-[d]MAR.TU, *R* 43:20, Abdi-Erah a/XII *ša*-[d]MAR.TU, *R* 5:20, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Sîn-bēl-Ilī [d]EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí, R* 43:21, Abdi-Erah a/XII [d]EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí, R* 39:21, Abdi-Erah a/VI	Šū-Amurrim *šu*-[d]MAR.TU, *R* 1:17, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII
Sîn-erībam [d]EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, R* 13:17, Sumu-Yamutbal cb/VIII	Šumi-abīya *šu-mi-a-bi-ia*, *R* 43:19, Abdi-Erah a/XII
Sîn-gāmil [d]EN.ZU-*ga-m*[*i-il*] , *R* 17:8', Mananâ g/V	Šū-Purattim *šu*-[17]UD.KIB.<NUN.NA>, *R* 27:12, Mananâ m/X
Sîn-idi [d]EN.ZU-*i-di, R* 10:10, unattributed unknown king d /V	Ubar-Sîn GUDU$_4$ *u-bar*-[d]EN.ZU GUDU$_4$, *R* 18:21, Nāqimum e/VIII
Sîn-iddinam s. Dagan-nāṣir [d]EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU [d]*da-gan-na-ṣi-ir*, *R* 17:4'-5', Mananâ g/V	Zababa-qarrad DUB.SAR *za-ba*$_4$[!]*-ba*$_4$*-qar-r*[*a*]*-ad*, *R* 6:24, Mananâ bb
Sukāya *su-ka-a-a*, *R* 18:17, Nāqimum e/VIII *sú-ka-a-a, R* 1:15, Ahi-maraṣ a/VIII	Zakūrum s. Sanīya *za-ku-ru-um*, *R* 4:17, Sumu-ditāna h/VI *za-ku-ru-um, R* 8:19, Nāqimum b/XI *za-ku-ru-um, R* 9:15, Nāqimum d/XII *za-ku-ru-um, R* 40:16, Abdi-Erah b/IV *za-ku-ru-um* DUMU *sà-ni-ia, YOS* 14 83:17(enveloppe), Mananâ d/XI *za-ku-ru-um,* DUMU *sà-ni-ia, R* 36:9-10, Mananâ m/VI

4.2.3.4 Dulluqum, son of Hadamu



Property owners in the file of Dulluqum:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
	Iṣi-salim *i-ṣi-sa-lim, R* 29:4, Nāqimum b/X
	Qulqullum s. Buzazu[?] *qú-ul-qú-lum , R* 47:6, Sumu-la-El 28/XI
	Sîn-bāni s. Balala [d]EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU *ba-la-la-a, R* 12:2, 8-9, Mananâ j/IV
	Šuhum s. Ušan *šu-hu-um* DUMU *ú-ša-an, R* 29:6, Nāqimum b/X
	Yahqub-El s. Hasātum *ia-ah-qú-ub*-DINGIR DUMU *ha-sa-tum*, *R* 15:6, Mananâ e/XII

Witnesses in the file of Dulluqum:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Ahum-waqar s. Tūram-ili *a-hu-wa-qar* DUMU *tu-ra-am-ì-lí, R* 29:12-13, Nāqimum b/X	**Bahdiya** (=Bahdi-El[?]) s. Hamaṣirum *ba-ah-di-ia* DUMU *ha-ma*-[*ṣi-ru*] , *R* 12:23(envelope), Mananâ j/IV *ba-ah-di-ia, R* 22:11, Mananâ l/XII
Erra-imittī *èr-ra-i-mi-ti*, *R* 47:17, Sumu-la-El 28/XI	Balala (f. Sîn-bāni) *ba-la-la-a*, *R* 15:15, Mananâ e/XII *ba-la-la-a*, *R* 35:15, Haliyum g/IV
Ibbi-Sîn *i-bi*-[d]EN.ZU, *R* 35:14, Haliyum g/IV *i-bi*-[d]EN.ZU, *R* 22:10, Mananâ l/XII	Iliya s. **Askudum** *i-li-ia,* DUMU *às-ku-du-um, R* 55:11-12, Mananâ ba/XI
Iddin-Ea *i-din-é-a, R* 55:13, Mananâ ba/XI	Kunānum *ku-na-nu-um* DUB.[S]AR, *R* 35:16, Haliyum g/IV
Ikun-pi-Sîn *i-ku-un-pí*-[d]EN.ZU, *R* 38:19, Sumu-la-El 23/V	Kutānum *ku-ta-nu-um*, *R* 38:20, Sumu-la-El 23/V
Ili-ahtalīya s. Amur-Ilam *ì-lí-ah-ta*-DINGIR, [DUMU] *a-mur*-DINGIR *R* 12:19(envelope), Mananâ j/IV *ì-lí-ah-ta*-DINGIR, *R* 15:12, Mananâ e/XII	Sîn-bāni s. Balala [d]EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU *ba-la-la-a, R* 12:2, 8-9, Mananâ j/IV
Ili-rabi	Warnum

ì-lí-ra-bi, *R* 38:21 (envelope), Sumu-la-El 23/V *ì-lí-ra-bi*, *R* 47:19, Sumu-la-El 28/XI	*wa-ar-nu-um, R* 22:17, Mananâ l/XII
Ilšu-bāni DUB.SAR DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *R* 12:20, Mananâ j/IV DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *R* 22:12, Mananâ l/XII	Zanatīya *za-na-ti-ia*, *R* 38:16, Sumu-la-El 23/V
Išme-Sîn *iš-me*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 15:13, Mananâ e/XII	Zidīya *zi-di-ia*, *R* 38:17, Sumu-la-El 23/V
Kubbutum *ku-bu-tum*, *R* 15:14, Mananâ e/XII	Akkadian and Sumerian names
Lammaša DUB.SAR *la-ma-ša* DUB.SAR, *R* 55:15, Mananâ ba/XI	
Puzur-Amurrim *puzur*$_4$-^{d}MAR.TU, *R* 47:15, Sumu-la-El 28/XI	Sukallum *sú-ka-lum*, *R* 38:18, Sumu-la-El 23
Sîn-abum ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-um*, *R* 47:16, Sumu-la-El 28/XI	Šeret-Sîn *še-re-et*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 35:13, Haliyum g/IV
Sînatum ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-tum*, *R* 35:12, Haliyum g/IV	Šeš-batuk ŠEŠ-BA.TUK, *R* 47:18, Sumu-la-El 28/XI
Sîn-iddinam s. Sanīya ^{r}^{d}EN.ZU$^{\urcorner}$-[*i-din-nam*], DUMU *sà-ni-ia R* 55:9-10, Mananâ ba/XI	Šu-Ninkarrak s. Puhānum *šu*-^{d}NIN.KAR.RA.AK, DUMU *pu-ha-nu-um, R* 29:14-15, Nāqimum b/X
Sîn-mālik ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik, R* 55:14, Mananâ ba/XI	Ubar-Zababa *u-bar*-^{d}*za-ba*$_4$-*ba*$_4$, *R* 29:15(envelope), Nāqimum b/X
Sîn-nada ŠU.I ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-da* ŠU.^{r}I$^{\urcorner}$, *R* 12:18(envelope), Mananâ j/IV	Zakūrum s. Sanīya *za-ku-ru-um,* DUMU *sà-ni-ia, R* 12:20-21(envelope), Mananâ j/IV
Sînāya s. Ibni-Sîn *sí-na-ia,* DUMU *ib-ni*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 29:10-11, Nāqimum b/X	

4.2.3.5 Ibbi-Ilabrat son of Puzur-Ilaba

Property owners in the file of Ibbi-Ilabrat:

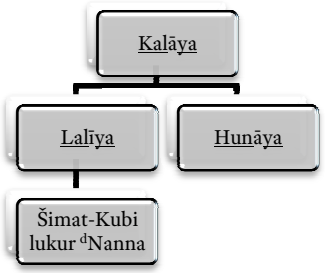
Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Awīl-ilim *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *R* 20:6, Sumu-la-El 31/XII	Mahlilum ÚS.SA *mah-li-lum, R* 46:4, Sumu-la-El 33/I
Išme-Sîn ÚS.SA *iš-me*-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 46:3, Sumu-la-El 33/I	Namurazu DA É *na-mu-ra-zu, YOS* 14 119:2, Sumu-la-El 32/V
Kabsum ÚS.SA *ka*-[*a*]*b-su-um, R* 46:6, Sumu-la-El 33/I	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Lu-Bau DA É LÚ-^{d}BA.Ú, *R* 20:3, Sumu-la-El 31/XII	
Mālik-rabi DA ^{d}*ma-lik-ra-bi*, *R* 20:2, Sumu-la-El 31/XII	Sîn-bēl-Ilī ^{d}EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí, YOS* 14 119:9, Sumu-la-El 32/V
Nanna-DA.NE ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-DA.NE, *R* 46:16, Sumu-la-El 33/I	Ur-Bau's children: Išme-Dagan and Sîn-erībam *iš-me*-^{d}*da-gan, ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU.MEŠ UR-^{d}BA.Ú, *YOS* 14 119:6-8, Sumu-la-El 32/V
Nūr-Šamaš s. Qīš-Nanaya *nu-úr*-^{d}UTU, DUMU *qí-iš*-^{d}*na-na-a, R* 46:12-13, Sumu-la-El 33/I	

Witnesses in the file of Ibbi-Ilabrat:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Adad-iddinam ^{d}IM-*i-din-nam*, *R* 32:10, unknown king a/V	Būr-Nunu s. Bussatum *bur-nu-nu,* DUMU *bu-us-sa-tum, YOS* 14 137:13-14, Sumu-la-El 26/XII
Ahum *a-hu-um, R* 23:11, Sîn-iddinam 5(?)/X	**Mutum-me-El** *mu-tum-me-e*[*l*] , *R* 32:8, unknown king a/V
Ahum-ilum *a-hu-um*-DINGIR *YOS* 14 143:1', Sumu-la-El 33/XI	Nunma-ilum[?] *nu-un-ma*-DINGIR, *R* 26:9, unknown king e/X
Awāt-Sîn *a-wa-at*-30, *R* 25:8, unknown king h/XI	Nūr-Šamaš s. Anahīya *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, [dum]u *a-na-hi-a*, *R* 20:15-16, Sumu-la-El 31/XII
Awīl-Alammuš LÚ-^{d}LÀL, *R* 25:9, unknown king h/XI	Salālum *sà-la-lum*, *R* 34:10, Sumu-la-El 26[?]/IV
Awīl-ilim *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *R* 46:17, Sumu-la-El 33/I	Sîn-ilum s. Attamānum ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR DUMU *at,-ta-ma-nu-um, YOS* 14 119:16-17, Sumu-la-El 32/V
Ayatum *a-ia-tum, R* 26:11, unknown king e/X	Sîn-iqīšam s. Dadāya ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am,* DUMU *da-da-a, YOS* 14 119:22-23, Sumu-la-El 32/V
Bēlānum *be-la-nu-um, YOS* 14 143:3', Sumu-la-El 33/XI	Tukākum *tu-ka-kum, R* 46:18, Sumu-la-El 33/I
Bēli-rē'um *be-lí*-SIPA, *R* 25:7, unknown king h/XI	**Yadidum** *ia-di-du-um, R* 23: 9, Sîn-iddinam 5(?)/X
Bītum-muballiṭ É-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*, *R* 20:19, Sumu-la-El 31/XII É-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, R* 23: 12, Sîn-iddinam 5(?)/X É-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*, *R* 26:12, unknown king e/X É-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*, *R* 34:11, Sumu-la-El 26[?]/IV É-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ, R* 46:20, Sumu-la-El 33/I	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ea-dāpin DUB.SAR *é-a-da-pí-in* DUB.SAR, *R* 30:12, Sumu-la-El 22/XII	Sîn-iqīšam s. Ur-Ninurta ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am,* DUMU UR-^{d}NIN.URTA, *YOS* 14 119:6-8, Sumu-la-El 32/V
Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Puzur-Ilaba *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU *puzur*$_4$-DINGIR.*a-ba*$_4$, *YOS* 14 119:18-19, Sumu-la-El 32/V	Sîn-rīš ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš*, *YOS* 14 143:4', Sumu-la-El 33/XI
Ibni-Ea *ib-ni-é-a*, *R* 32:11, unknown king a/V	Sîn-tiri ^{d}EN.ZU-*ti-ri*, *R* 20:17, Sumu-la-El 31/XII
Ili-ennam *ì-lí-en-nam, R* 23: 10, Sîn-iddinam 5(?)/X	Ṣilli-Sîn *ṣi-lí-*^{d}EN.[ZU], *YOS* 14 136:12, Sumu-la-El 26[?]/XI
Lipit-Ištar DUB.SAR *li-pí-it-iš*$_8$*-tár, YOS* 14 137:17, Sumu-la-El 26/XII	Šallurum *ša-lu-ru-um, R* 26:10, unknown king e/X
Muhaddûm s. Ubarrum *mu-ha-du-um*, DUMU *u-bar-ru-um, YOS* 14 137:15-16, Sumu-la-El 26/XII	Šamaš-bāni ^{d}UTU-*ba-ni, R* 46:19, Sumu-la-El 33/I
Munawwirum *mu-na-wi-ru-um*, *R* 34:8, Sumu-la-El 26[?]/IV	Utu-mansum DAM.GÀR ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM DAM.GÀR, *R* 30:11, Sumu-la-El 22/XII
Nūr-Ištar NAGAR *nu-úr-iš*$_8$*-tár* NAGAR, *R* 34:9, Sumu-la-El 26[?]/IV	Wardīya NAR/GÌR.[NITA$_2$] *wa-ar-di-ia* NAR (or GÌR.[NITA$_2$]) , *R* 30:9, Sumu-la-El 22/XII
Sîn-erībam	Waṣiya

^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-<am>*, *R* 30:8, Sumu-la-El 22/XII	*wa-ṣi*$^{!}$*-ia, YOS* 14 143:2', Sumu-la-El 33/XI
Sîn-iddinam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *R* 20:18, Sumu-la-El 31/XII ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *R* 32:9, unknown king a/V	

4.2.3.6 Kalāya's children



Property owners in the file of Kalaya's children:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Annababdu A.NA.BA$^{!}$.AB.DU$_{7}$, *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:6, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	Aqqatānum s. **Yerhaqum** *aq-qa-ta-ni-im,* DUMU *ia-ar-hi-qú-um,* A.32133:6-7, Mananâ h/XII *a-qà-ta-a-nu-um,* DUMU *ia-er-ha-qum, YOS* 14 93:7-8, Mananâ g/VIII
Ennum-Sîn *en-num*-^{d}EN.ZU, *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:9, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	Aribānum s. Amirum DA *a-ri-ba-a-nu-um, YOS* 14 97:2, date lost
Inim-Nanna's son *ù* DUMU INIM-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *YOS* 14 93:3, Mananâ g/VIII	Hiklum *hi-ik-lum, YOS* 14 97:3, date lost
Qaqqadānum *qà-qà-*ˀ*da-nu-um*ˀ, *YOS* 14 89:6, Mananâ g	Kukūnum s. Zituya *ku-ku-nu-um,* DUMU *zi-tu-ia, YOS* 14 97:6-7, date lost
Sîn-gimlanni ^{d}EN.ZU-*gi-im-la-ni, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:4, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	**Yaqub-El** *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, Owen & Wasilewska Fs. Leichty p. 296 LoganIR 6:4, unknown/VI
Rīš-bitum *ri-iš*-É, *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:8, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	
Tutu-nada DA *tu-tu-na-da, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:2, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	

Witnesses in the file of Kalaya's children:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Ahi-ma *a-hi-i-ma, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:16, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	Agānum *a-ga-nu-*[*um*] , *YOS* 14 82:8, Mananâ ab
Anni-ilum s. Bedi-ilum	Aribānum s. Amirum

an-ni-DINGIR DUMU *be-di*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 93:18, Mananâ g/VIII	*a-ri-ba-a-nu-um,* DUMU *a-mi-ru-um, YOS* 14 93:14-15, Mananâ g/VIII
Erībam *e-ri-ba-am, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:13, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	A-x-num *a-* ˊxˋ*-nu-um, YOS* 14 79:9, Mananâ ab
Hunābum s. Etel-pi-[...] *hu-na-bu-um,* DUMU *e-te-el-pi*$_4$$^{!}$-[...] , A.32133:18-19, Mananâ h/XII	Gangānum *hazannum* *ga-an-ga-nu-um, ha-za-an-nu-um*, Owen & Wasilewska Fs. Leichty p. 296 LoganIR 6:17-18, unknown/VI
Ikun-pî-Sîn *i-ku-pí-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 96:8, Mananâ bb	Hinīya s. Bēli-[...] *hi-ni-i*[*a*], DUMU *be-lí*-[...], Owen & Wasilewska Fs. Leichty p. 296 LoganIR 6:21-22, unknown/VI
Imlik-Sîn *im-lik-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 93:19, Mananâ g/VIII	Ibni-Sîn s. Kukūnum *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, [DUMU] *ku-ku-nu-um, YOS* 14 97:14-15, date lost
Ipiq-Nunu s. Abayatum *i-pí-iq-nu-nu,* DUMU *a-ba-ia*-[*tum*] , A.32133:15-16, Mananâ h/XII	Ili-hiṭani s. Nanum *ì-lí-hi-ṭa-ni,* DUMU *na-nu-um, YOS* 14 93:20-21, Mananâ g/VIII
Nanna-BÀD.GAL DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD$^{!}$.GAL$^{!}$ DUB.SAR, A.32133:20, Mananâ h/XII	**Ilum-halum** DINGIR-*ha-lum, YOS* 14 81:11, Mananâ aa
Nannāya *na-na-a, YOS* 14 89:12, Mananâ g	Kukūnum *ku-ku-nu-um, YOS* 14 82:9, Mananâ ab
Nur-Bau *nu-úr-*^{d}BA.Ú, *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:19, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	Lummānum s. **Yerhaqum** *lu-ma-nu-um, YOS* 14 81:12, Mananâ aa *lum-ma-nu-um, YOS* 14 89:11, Mananâ g *lum-ma-a-nu-um,* DUMU *ia-er-ha-qum, YOS* 14 93:16-17, Mananâ g/VIII
Sîn-abum ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-um, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:14, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	Nupānum s. **Yerhaqum** *nu-pa-nu-um, YOS* 14 79:8, Mananâ ab *nu-pa-nu-um* DUMU *ia*-[...], A.32133:2, Mananâ h/XII *nu-pa-nu-um, YOS* 14 82:10, Mananâ ab
Sîn-erībam DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 93:22, Mananâ g/VIII ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, YOS* 14 82:11, Mananâ ab ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, YOS* 14 96:10, Mananâ bb	**Sumu-Erah** *su-mu*$^{!}$*-ra-ah,* A.32133:17, Mananâ h/XII
Sîn-gimlanni ^{d}EN.ZU-*gi-im-la-ni, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:15, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	**Yantelum** *ia-an-te-lum, YOS* 14 89:13, Mananâ g
Sîn-išmeanni s. Naplis-DN ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš*$^{!}$*-me-a-ni*, DUMU *na-ap-li*-[*is*-DN] , Owen & Wasilewska Fs. Leichty p. 296 LoganIR 6:19-20, unknown/VI	
Ṣilli-Sîn *ṣi-lí-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 89:14, Mananâ g	
Šulpae-enzi ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È-EN.ZI, *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:18, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	
Šū-Mama *šu-*^{d}*ma-ma, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2393:17, Sumu-Yamutbal a/II	
[...]-iddinam [...]-*i-din-nam, YOS* 14 96:9, Mananâ bb	

4.2.3.7 Ilum-ma son of Mallum and Dadušme-El son of Manmanum

Property owners in Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El's file:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Ahūnīya *a-hu-ni-ia, YOS* 14 335:2, 5, 18, unknown king a	**Aqba-ahum** s. Gurum *aq-ba-hu-um,* DUMU *gu-ru-um, YOS* 14 106:3, Abdi-Erah a/VI *aq-ba-hu-um, UCP* 10/3 4:2, Abdi-Erah a/VIII *aq-ba-hu-um, UCP* 10/3 1:8, 15, Mananâ bb
Akšak-šeme s. Pulluhum *ak-ša-ak-še-me,* DUMU *pu-lu-hu-um, UCP* 10/3 2:9-10, Mananâ c	Halabša-ilum/El[2] DA *ha-la-ab-ša*-DINGIR, *UCP* 10/3 7:3, Mananâ ba
Erība's sons: Erīb-Sîn, Sîn-wedu and Lu-Enki LÚ-EN[!].KI, ^{d}EN.ZU-*we-du, ù e-ri-ib*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *e-ri-ba, YOS* 14 335:20-23, unknown king a	Ilum-bini DINGIR-*bi-ni, YOS* 14 106:2, Abdi-Erah a/VI DINGIR-*bi-ni, YOS* 14 107: 3, Abdi-Erah a/VI DINGIR-*bi-ni, UCP* 10/3 1:7, 12, Mananâ bb
Erisum *e-ri-su-um, YOS* 14 335:6, unknown king a	Kimi-El *ki-mi-el, UCP* 10/3 2:2, Mananâ c
Iddin-Erra *i-din-èr-ra UCP* 10/3 6:3, Abdi-Erah a/VI *i-din-èr-ra, UCP* 10/3 1:3, Mananâ bb	Kudūdum *ku-du-du-um, UCP* 10/3 3:3, Haliyum a/V
Immerum DA *im-me-ru-um, UCP* 10/3 4:3, Abdi-Erah a/VIII *im-me-ru-um, UCP* 10/3 1:16, Mananâ bb	Lahanikinim DA *la-ha-ni-ki-in-im, UCP* 10/3 2:5, Mananâ c
Puṭram-ilum SAG.BU *pu-uṭ-ra-<am>*-DINGIR, *UCP* 10/3 7:4, Mananâ ba SAG.BI *pu-uṭ-ra-<am>*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 105:3, Mananâ ba/XI	**Malik-El** *ma-li-ki*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 335:4, unknown king a
Rīš-Adad DA *ri-iš*-^{d}IM, *YOS* 14 107: 2, 4, Abdi-Erah a/VI *ri-iš*-^{d}IM, *UCP* 10/3 1:11, 13, Mananâ bb	Manibum's sons: Ahuya and Kukunum *ku-ku-nu-um, ù a-hu-ú-ia,* DUMU.ni *ma-ni-bu-um, YOS* 14 107: 8-10, Abdi-Erah a/VI
Sîn-ennam ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, UCP* 10/3 2:2, Mananâ bb	Paratīya's children: Ibbi-Sîn, Ilaya, Sîniya, Milkiya and **Yabuhum** *mi-il-ki-ia, i-la-a-a,* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ia, ù i-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 105:6-9, Mananâ ba/XI *mi-el-ki-ia,* KI ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-ia,* ki *i-la-ia,* KI *i-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, *ù ia-bu-hu-um,* DUMU.NI.MEŠ *pa-ra-ti-ia, YOS* 14 106: 8-13, Abdi-Erah a/VI *mi-il-ki-ia, i-la-a-a,* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-ia, ù i-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 105:6-9, Mananâ ba/XI *i-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *pa-ra-ti-ia, UCP* 10/3 3:7-8, Haliyum a/V
Ur-Dagan DA UR-^{d}*da-gan UCP* 10/3 6:4, Abdi-Erah a/VI UR-^{d}*da-gan, UCP* 10/3 1:4, Mananâ bb	Sabātum s. Kurum *sà-ba-tum,* DUMU *ku-ru-um, YOS* 14 107: 24-25, Abdi-Erah a/VI
	Šiya *ši-ia UCP* 10/3 6:5, Abdi-Erah a/VI *ši-ia, UCP* 10/3 1:5, Mananâ bb
	Ubasum's sons : **Abi-Yarah**, Ali-Lama, Awīl-ilim, Warad-Sîn, Labisama, Sîn-riš and **Samsanum**

	la-bi-sa-ma, KI ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, ki *a-lí-la-ma,* KI *sa-am-sa-nu-um,* KI *a-wi-el*-DINGIR, KI *a-bi-ra-ah*, DUMU.ni.MEŠ *ú-ba-sú-um, UCP* 10/3 6:9-15, Abdi-Erah a/VI KI *la-bi-sa-ma,* KI ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš,* KI ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, KI *a-lí-la-ma,* KI *sa-am-sa-nu-um,* KI *a-wi-el*-DINGIR, *ù a-bi-a-ra-ah,* DUMU.NI *ú-ba-sú-um, UCP* 10/3 4:8-15, Abdi-Erah a/VIII KI *la-bi-sa-ma, a-lí-la-ma, a-bi-a-ra-ah,* ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *sa-am-sa-nu-um, a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *ù* ^{d}EN.ZU-*we-du,* DUMU.MEŠ$^{!}$ *ú-ba-sú-um*, *UCP* 10/3 7:7-14, Mananâ ba DA *ú-ba-sí-im, YOS* 14 105:2, Mananâ ba/XI

Witnesses in the texts from Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El's file:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/<u>other and 'other'</u> names
Awīl-Adad DUB.SAR LÚ-^{d}IM DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 106: 34, Abdi-Erah a/VI LÚ-^{d}IM DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 107: 26, Abdi-Erah a/VI LÚ-^{d}IM DUB.SAR, *UCP* 10/3 6:35, Abdi-Erah a/VI LÚ-^{d}IM DUB.SAR, *UCP* 10/3 4:30, Abdi-Erah a/VIII	**Abum-halum** *a-bu-um-ha-lum*, *UCP* 10/3 7:23, Mananâ ba *a-bu-um-ha-lum, YOS* 14 105:19, Mananâ ba/XI *a-bu-um-ha-lum*, *UCP* 10/3 3:20, Haliyum a/V *a-bu-um-ha-lum, YOS* 14 335:24, unknown king a
Awīlum s. Abi-iddinam *a-wi-lu-um,* DUMU *a-bi-i-din-nam*, *UCP* 10/3 2:28-29, Mananâ c	**Alasi-El** *a-la-si-e-el*, *UCP* 10/3 3:17, Haliyum a/V
Ayyalum *a-a-lum, YOS* 14 335:29, unknown king a	Ali-lama s. <u>Ubasum</u> *a-lí-la-ma, YOS* 14 107: 22, Abdi-Erah a/VI *a-lí-la-ma* DUMU *ú-ba-sú-um, YOS* 14 105:17, Mananâ ba/XI *a-lí-la-ma*, *UCP* 10/3 3:27, Haliyum a/V
Ea-iddinan s. Ea-ṣulluli *é-a-i-din-nam, UCP* 10/3 6:26, Abdi-Erah a/VI *é-a-i-din-nam*, *UCP* 10/3 1:39, Mananâ bb	**Aqba-ahum** s. Gurum *aq-ba-hu-um,* DUMU *gu-ru-um, YOS* 14 106: 22-23, Abdi-Erah a/VI *aq-ba-hu-um* DUMU *gu-ru-um, UCP* 10/3 6:24, Abdi-Erah a/VI *aq-ba-hu-um*, *UCP* 10/3 7:22, Mananâ ba *aq-ba-hu-um, YOS* 14 105:16, Mananâ ba/XI
Ea-rabi s. Ea-ṣulluli *é-a-ra-bi,* DUMU *é-a*-AN.DÙL, *YOS* 14 106: 24-25, Abdi-Erah a/VI *é-a-ra-bi, UCP* 10/3 6:25, Abdi-Erah a/VI *é-a-ra-bi*, *UCP* 10/3 1:33, Mananâ bb	<u>Attamanum</u> *a-ta-ma-nu-um*, *UCP* 10/3 3:22, Haliyum a/V
Erisum s. Erra-šaduni *e-ri-su-um,* DUMU *èr-ra-ša-du-ni, YOS* 14 106: 30-31, Abdi-Erah a/VI *e-ri-su-um,* DUMU *èr-ra-ša-du-ni, UCP* 10/3 6:33-34, Abdi-Erah a/VI	**Dadišme-El** *rabiānum* s. <u>Manmannum</u> *da-di-iš-me-el, ra-bi-nu-um, YOS* 14 106:20-21, Abdi-Erah a/VI *da-di-iš-me-el, YOS* 14 107: 17, Abdi-Erah a/VI *da-di-iš-me-el ra-bi-a-nu, UCP* 10/3 6:22-23, Abdi-Erah a/VI *da-di-iš-me-el, UCP* 10/3 4:22, Abdi-Erah a/VIII
Halilum s. Immerum *ha-li-lum*, *UCP* 10/3 7:24, Mananâ ba *ha-li-lum,* DUMU *i-mi-ru-um*, *UCP* 10/3 2:20-21, Mananâ c	<u>Haniya</u> *ha-ni-ia*, *UCP* 10/3 7:28, Mananâ ba *ha-ni-ia, YOS* 14 105:18, Mananâ ba/XI
Ibbi-Sîn *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *UCP* 10/3 1:41, Mananâ bb	<u>Hanuya</u> *ha-nu-ia, YOS* 14 335:25, unknown king a

Ibbuša s. Ittanah *íb-bu-ša,* DUMU *it-ta-na-ah, UCP* 10/3 6:31-32, Abdi-Erah a/VI *íb*^{l}*-bu-ša,* DUMU *it-ta-na-ah, YOS* 14 106: 28-29, Abdi-Erah a/VI *íb-bu-ša*, *UCP* 10/3 1:38, Mananâ bb *íb-bu-ša*, *UCP* 10/3 3:25, Haliyum a/V	Hunīya s. Buṣum *hu-ni-ia,* DUMU *bu-ṣu-um*, *UCP* 10/3 2:22-23, Mananâ c
Išme-Sîn *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *UCP* 10/3 7:25, Mananâ ba *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 105:21, Mananâ ba/XI *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *UCP* 10/3 3:21, Haliyum a/V	Ilāya s. Paratīya *i-la-ia,* DUMU *pa*$_{x}$*-ra-ti-i*, *UCP* 10/3 2:18-19, Mananâ c
Kunum *ku-ú-nu-um, UCP* 10/3 1:35, Mananâ bb	Kadīya *ka-di-ia, YOS* 14 335:30, unknown king a
Lu-Nanna DUB.SAR LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUB.SAR, *UCP* 10/3 1:43, Mananâ bb	Labisama s. Ubasum *la-bi-sa-ma*, *UCP* 10/3 1:28, Mananâ bb *la-bi-sa-ma*, *UCP* 10/3 3:19, Haliyum a/V
Nabi-ilīšu *na-bi-ì-lí-šu, YOS* 14 335:26, unknown king a	Mehatum *me-ha-tum*, *UCP* 10/3 3:18, Haliyum a/V
Nanna-mansum s. Ea-nāṣir ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, DUMU *é-a-na-ṣi-ir, YOS* 14 106: 26-27, Abdi-Erah a/VI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, DUMU *é-a-na-ṣi-ir, UCP* 10/3 6:29-30, Abdi-Erah a/VI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM*, UCP* 10/3 4:29, Abdi-Erah a/VIII ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *UCP* 10/3 1:32, Mananâ bb	Milkīya s. Paratīya *mi-el-ki-i*[*a*] , *UCP* 10/3 1:29, Mananâ bb
Ninurta-[...] ^{d}NIN.URTA-[...], *UCP* 10/3 3:26, Haliyum a/V	Palhūya s. TUTUgum *pa-al-hu-ú-a,* DUMU *tu-tu-gu-um, YOS* 14 107: 20-21, Abdi-Erah a/VI *pa-al-hu-um,* DUMU *tu-tu-gu-um, UCP* 10/3 4:25-26, Abdi-Erah a/VIII *pa-al-hu-um*, *UCP* 10/3 7:27, Mananâ ba *pa-al-hu-um, YOS* 14 105:22, Mananâ ba/XI
Nūr-Ištar DUB.SAR *nu-úr-iš*$_{8}$*-tár* DUB.SAR, *UCP* 10/3 3:28, Haliyum a/V	**Samsānum** s. Ubasum *sa-am-sa-nu-um,* DUMU.NI *ú-ba-sú-um, YOS* 14 107: 8'-9'(envelope), Abdi-Erah a/VI *sa-am-sa-nu-um*, *UCP* 10/3 1:36, Mananâ bb
Nūr-Kubi (=Nuriya$^{?}$) *nu-úr-ku-bi*, *UCP* 10/3 3:23, Haliyum a/V	Sînīya s. Paratīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-ia*, *UCP* 10/3 1:31, Mananâ bb
Rīš-Sîn *ri-iš-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 335:28, unknown king a	Tuhānum s. Lalanum *tu-ha-nu-um,* DUMU *la-la-a-nu-um*, *UCP* 10/3 2:26-27, Mananâ c
Sîn-bāni s. Ea-ṣulūli ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU.NI.MEŠ *é-a*-AN.DÙL, *UCP* 10/3 6:27-28, Abdi-Erah a/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU *é-a*-AN.DÙL*, UCP* 10/3 4:27-28, Abdi-Erah a/VIII ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni*, *UCP* 10/3 1:34, Mananâ bb	Warad-Sîn s. Ubasum ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *UCP* 10/3 1:30, Mananâ bb
Sîn-remēni s. Warassunu ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU ÌR-*su-nu, YOS* 14 106: 32-33, Abdi-Erah a/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU ÌR-*su-nu-ú, YOS* 14 107: 18-19, Abdi-Erah a/VI ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni,* DUMU ÌR-*su-nu-ú, UCP* 10/3 4:24,	**Yahwi-El** s. **Aruš-Elum** *ia-ah-wi-el,* DUMU *a-ru-uš-e-lum*, *UCP* 10/3 2:24-25, Mananâ c

Abdi-Erah a/VIII ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni*, *UCP* 10/3 1:37, Mananâ bb	
Sîn-remēni SIMUG ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni* SIMUG, *UCP* 10/3 3:24, Haliyum a/V	**Yaqub-El** s. Ašdi-luma *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, DUMU *aš-di-lu-ma*, *UCP* 10/3 2:30-31, Mananâ c
Sukallum *sú-ka-lum, YOS* 14 335:27, unknown king a	**Yaqub-El** *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *UCP* 10/3 7:26, Mananâ ba *ia-qú-ub*-DINGIR, *YOS* 14 105:20, Mananâ ba/XI
Ur-Inanna DUB.SAR UR-^{d}INANNA DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 105:23, Mananâ ba/XI UR-^{d}INANNA DUB.SAR, *UCP* 10/3 7:29, Mananâ ba	

4.2.3.8 Šū-Ninhursag

Property owners in the file of Šū-Ninhursag:

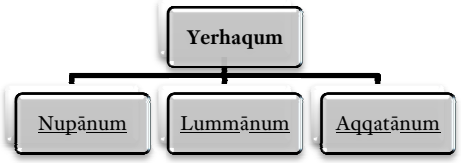
Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Arnabum *ù* ÚS.SA.DU *ar-na-bu-um, TIM* 5 28:4, Mananâ h	Abum-ṭābum s. Zanzanum *a-bu-um-ṭà-bu-um,* DUMU *za-an-za-nu-um TIM* 5 36:6-7, Mananâ c
Iddin-Sîn *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *TIM* 5 32:6, Mananâ d	Ili-emuqi s. Lilum-dan *ì-lí-e-mu-qí* DUMU *li-lum-dan, TIM* 5 28:8-9, Mananâ h
Ili-akni-x *ì-lí-ʾak-ni-*xˋ, *TIM* 5 32:7, Mananâ d	
Ilšu-bāni ÚS.SA.DU DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, TIM* 5 28:3, Mananâ h	
Qaqqatum (father of Ur/ib-ṣi$^{?}$-ne$^{?}$) *qá-qá-tum*, *TIM* 5 31:9, Abdi-arah a/XII	
Sîn-pilah s. Iddin-Enlil ^{d}EN.ZU-[*pí-la-ah*], DUMU *i-din*-[^{d}EN.LÍL], *TIM* 5 38:14-15, Sumu-abum 3/XII	
Ur-Bau DA UR-^{d}BA.Ú, *TIM* 5 32:2, Mananâ d	

Witnesses in the file of Šū-Ninhursag:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Amīnum-ili *a-mi-nu-um-ì-lí*, *TIM* 5 38:16', Sumu-abum 3/XII	Awīl-ištar s. Amur-ka-at *a-wi-il-iš$_{8}$-tár,* DUMU *a-mur-ka-at, TIM* 5 28:6'-7', Mananâ h *a-wi-il-iš$_{8}$-tár,* DUMU *a-mur-*ʾ*ka*ˋ*-at, TIM* 3 155:9-10, undated
Ayiš-ili *a-e-ì-iš-ì-lí*, *TIM* 5 31:16, Abdi-arah a/XII	A-x[...] s. Husamānum *a-*x[...] DUMU *hu-sà-ma-nu-um*, *TIM* 5 38:10', Sumu-abum 3/XII
A[...] s. Iddin-Sîn *a-*[...] DUMU *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU, *TIM* 5 38:9', Sumu-abum 3/XII	Baniku s. Alīya *ba-ni-ku* DUMU *a-lí-ia*, *TIM* 5 38:13', Sumu-abum 3/XII
Balṭu-dāri s. Marduk-dayān	Ili-šedani$^{?}$ s. Nunum$^{?}$

ba-al-ṭú-da-ri, DUMU ^{d}AMAR.UTU-DI.KUD*, TIM* 5 28:8-9, Mananâ h *ʾba-al-ṭú-da*$^{!}$*-ri*$^{!}$, DUMU [^{d}amar].UTU-DI.KUD*, TIM* 3 155:13-14, undated	*ì-lí-še*$^{?}$*-da*$^{?}$*-ni* DUMU ʿ*nu-nu-um*ˀ, *TIM* 5 38:14', Sumu-abum 3/XII
Bēlīya *be-lí-ia*, *TIM* 5 32:18, Mananâ d	Maškakum *ma-aš-kà-kum*, *TIM* 5 31:17, Abdi-arah a/XII
Būr-Mama s. Hanābum *bur-*^{d}*ma-ma* DUMU *ha-na-bu-um*, *TIM* 5 38:17', Sumu-abum 3/XII	**Samu-Erah** *sa-ma-ra-*[*ah*] , *TIM* 5 32:14, Mananâ d
Ibni-Ea s. Ennum-Sîn [*i*]*b-ni-é-*[*a*], DUMU *en-num-*^{d}EN.[ZU], *TIM* 5 36:2'-3', Mananâ c/III *ib-ni-é-a TIM* 5 11:15, Mananâ c/III	Siklum *sí-ik-lum*, *TIM* 5 31:19, Abdi-arah a/XII
Iddin-Erra *i-din-èr-ra*, *TIM* 5 32:17, Mananâ d	Sîn-abum s. Kudāya ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-um* DUMU *ku-da-a-a TIM* 5 11:17, Mananâ c/III ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-um,* DUMU *ku-da-a-a TIM* 5 36:6'-7', Mananâ c/III
Ili-bāni s. Nūr-Sîn *ì-lí-ba-ni,* DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU*, TIM* 5 28:4'-5', Mananâ h *ì-lí-ba-ni,* DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU*, TIM* 3 155:11-12, undated	Tatāya *ta-ta-a*, *TIM* 5 31:15, Abdi-arah a/XII
Ili-iddinam *ì-lí-i-din-nam TIM* 5 11:18, Mananâ c/III	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Ili-iddinnašu s. Ea-mālik *ì-lí-i-din-na-aš-šu* DUMU *é-a-ma-lik*, *TIM* 5 38:15', Sumu-abum 3/XII	
Ili-iddinnašu s. Ur-Šulpae *ì-lí-i-di-na-aš-šu,* DUMU UR-^{d}ŠUL.PA.È *TIM* 5 28:2', Mananâ h *ì-lí-i-di-na-aš-šu,* DUMU UR-^{d}ŠUL.PA.È*, TIM* 3 155:7-8, undated	Nūr-Gula$^{?}$ DUB.SAR *nu-úr-*^{d}*ku-la* DUB.SAR, *TIM* 5 11:19, Mananâ c/III
Kubi-nada s. Puzur-mana *ku-bi-na-da,* DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$*-ma-na TIM* 5 36:4'-5', Mananâ c/III *ku-bi-na-DA TIM* 5 11:16, Mananâ c/III	Nūr-Kabta s. Iku-[...] *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.TA DUMU *i-ku-*[..] *TIM* 5 11:14, Mananâ c/III
Mālikum *ma-l*[*i*]*-kum*, *TIM* 5 32:15, Mananâ d	Sîn-ennam A.ZU ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam* ʿA.ZUˀ$^{?}$, *TIM* 5 32:19, Mananâ d
Mudādum *mu-da-du-um*, *TIM* 5 31:18, Abdi-arah a/XII	Sîn-erībam DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUB.SAR*, TIM* 5 28:10', Mananâ h [^{d}EN.ZU]-ʿ*e*ˀ*-ri-*ʾ*ba-am* DUB.SARˀ*, TIM* 3 155:15, undated
Nabi-ilīšu DUB.SAR *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUB.SAR, *TIM* 5 38:18', Sumu-abum 3/XII	Sîn-pilah ^{d}EN.ZU-*pí-la-ah*, *TIM* 5 32:16, Mananâ d
Nanna-mansum DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *TIM* 5 32:20, Mananâ d	Ur-Ninurta s. x x x x UR-^{d}NIN.URTA DUMU x x xʿxˀ, *TIM* 5 38:12', Sumu-abum 3/XII
Nūr-Bau *nu-úr-*^{d}BA.Ú *TIM* 5 36:8', Mananâ c/III	

4.2.3.9 Yerhaqum's sons



Property owners in the file of Yerhaqum's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/Other names
Pānum ÚS.SA.DU *pa-nu-um, YOS* 14 78:3, Mananâ ab	Aribānum s. Amirum sag.bi É *a-ri-ba-nu-um, YOS* 14 99:3, "Sumu-abum 3"
Šulpae-ennam s. Ibni-x DUB.SAR DA ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È-[*en-nam*], *YOS* 14 90:3, Mananâ g ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È-*en-nam, YOS* 14 99:8, "Sumu-abum 3"	Lalīya s. Kalaya *la-li-ia,* A.32133:8, Mananâ h/XII
	Yan(h)urum ÚS.SA.DU *ia-an-hu-ru-um, YOS* 14 91:2, Mananâ f/IV

Witnesses in the file of Yerhaqum's sons:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Ahum-bānum *a-hu-ba-nu-um, YOS* 14 78:12, Mananâ ab	Amūya s. Ili-išar Kutscher 1971 1, "Sumu-abum 3"/XII
Apil-Šahan *a-pil-*^{d}*ša-ha-an, YOS* 14 99:19, "Sumu-abum 3"	Aribānum s. Amirum *a-ri-ba-a-nu-um, YOS* 14 91:13, Mananâ f/IV
Būr-Nunu DUB.SAR *bur-nu-nu* DUB.[SAR], *YOS* 14 99:20, "Sumu-abum 3"	Gazānum s. **Yaqbu** Kutscher 1971 1, "Sumu-abum 3"/XII
Hunābum *hu-na-bu-um* ˹AGA^{2}.ÚS˺, *YOS* 14 91:18, Mananâ f/IV *hu-na-bu-um, YOS* 14 99:18, "Sumu-abum 3"	Hā'ikatum *ha-i-ka-tum, YOS* 14 99:17, "Sumu-abum 3"
Hunābum s. Etel-pi-[...] *hu-na-bu-um,* DUMU *e-te-el*-ka$^{!}$-[...] , A.32133:18-19, Mananâ h/XII	Kusānum *ku*$^{!}$*-sà-nu-um, YOS* 14 78:15, Mananâ ab
Ilam-qî DUB.SAR DINGIR-*qi* DUB.SAR, Kutscher 1971 1, "Sumu-abum 3"/XII	Labi-[...] *la-bi*-[...], *YOS* 14 90:23, Mananâ g
Ipiq-Nunu s. Abayatum *i-pí-iq-nu-nu,* DUMU *a-ba-ia*-[*tum*] , A.32133:15-16, Mananâ h/XII	Mudādum *mu-da-du-um, YOS* 14 91:17, Mananâ f/IV
Nanna-bàd.gal DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD$^{!}$.GAL$^{!}$ DUB.SAR, A.32133:20, Mananâ h/XII	Ribānum *ri-ba-a-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 90:16, Mananâ g
Sîn-ašranni s. Aha-[...] [^{d}EN.Z]U-*aš-ra-ni,* DUMU *a-ha*-[...], *YOS* 14 90:21-22, Mananâ g	**Sumu-Erah** *su-mu*$^{!}$*-ra-ah,* A.32133:17, Mananâ h/XII
Sîn-ašranni s. Ana-Sîn-taklāku	**Yerhaqum**

[^{d}EN].ZU-*aš-ra-ni,* du[mu *a*]-*na*-^{d}EN.ZU-*ták-la*-[*ku*] , *YOS* 14 90:19-20, Mananâ g	*ia-er-ha-qum, YOS* 14 78:10, Mananâ ab
Sîn-iddinam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, YOS* 14 78:13, Mananâ ab [^{d}EN].ZU-*i-din-nam*, *YOS* 14 90:17, Mananâ g ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam, YOS* 14 91:14, Mananâ f/IV	
Ṣillīya *ṣi-li-ia, YOS* 14 78:14, Mananâ ab	
Šulpae-ennam s. Ibni-x DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È-*en-nam* DUMU *ib-ni*-x, Kutscher 1971 1, "Sumu-abum 3"/XII ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È-[*en*]-*nam* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 91:19, Mananâ f/IV	

4.2.3.10 Amorite names in smaller files from early OB Kiš and Damrum

Property owners in smaller files from early OB Kiš and Damrum:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Abum-waqar SAG.BI *a-bu-um-wa-qàr*, *OECT* 13 154:4, 6 Apil-Sîn 9/III/16	**Amīnum** DA É *a-mi-nu-um, RSM* 45:2, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Ahum-ṭābum *a-hu-ṭà-bu-um*, *OECT* 8 3:5, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV	Apsisum *ap-si-su-um, OECT* 13 101:1, 3, Sîn-muballiṭ 9/VI
Ahūni s. Īssu-nawrat *a-hu-ni,* DUMU *ṣ*[*i-s*]*ú-na-aw*$_{7}$*-ra-*ʾ*at*ʾ, *OECT* 13 285:3-4, 8-9 Sumu-la-El 27/IX	A[...]uppalu *a*-[...*u*]*p-pa-lu, YOS* 14 116:9, Haliyum l/IV
Ahūnum s. Nūr-Ea and his son Ea-dāpin *a-hu-nu-um, OECT* 8 3:11, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV *é-a-da-pí-in, YOS* 14 334:9, unknown king a	**Bahdīya** (=Bahdi-El$^{?}$) s. Hamaṣirum *ba-ah-di-ia, YOS* 14 104:5, Mananâ k/iti ab.di.a
Arwium *ù* ÚS.SA.DU *ar-wi-um, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:3, 16, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI	Banānum DA É$^{!}$ *ba-na-nu-um, RSM* 45:2, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Awīl-[x] LÚ-^{d}[...], *YOS* 14 98:2, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII	Egi'um *e-gi*$_{4}$*-ú-um, YOS* 14 76:6, Mananâ aa
Buggurum *bu-gu-ru-um, UCP* 10/3 5:3, 7, Mananâ ba	Hābibum s. Lana-El *ha-bi-bu-um*, *SCT* 39:2, Haliyum f/X
Burrušum *bu-ru-šu-um, UCP* 10/3 5:6, Mananâ ba	Hazuzarum's children; Birtiya, Sumaliya and Tabni-Ištar and wife Puzurtum KI *bi-ir-ti-ia,* KI *sú-ma-li-ia,* KI *ta-ab-ni-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, ù* KI *pu-zu-ur*$_{5}$*-tum* AMA.NI.TA, DUMU.<MEŠ> *ha-zu-za-ru-um*, *R* 45:7-11, no date
Buṣīya *ù* ÚS.SA.DU *bu-ṣí-ia*, *YOS* 14 98:3, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII	Hunnubum s. Lana-El *hu-nu-bu-um*.ta, DUMU *la-na*-DINGIR, A 32113:9-10, Haliyum f/X
Ennam-Adad *en-nam*-^{d}IM, *YOS* 14 100:8, "Sumu-abum 3" *en-nam*-^{d}IM, *YOS* 14 76:7, Mananâ aa	Hunum *hu-nu-um*, *SCT* 39:5, Haliyum f/X
Erra-bāni *èr-ra-ba-ni, YOS* 14 130:2, Sumu-la-El 22$^{?}$/IV	Hušānum s. Ba-[...]-im *hu-ša-nu-um,* DUMU *ba*-[...]-*im, YOS* 14 116:6-7, Haliyum l/IV

Etellum sag.bi *e-te-lum, YOS* 14 76:3, 12, Mananâ aa	Ibni-Sîn s. Šelha *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *še-el-ha, YOS* 14 118:8, Nāqimum f/XII
Ili-tillati [*i*]*-lí-*ILLAT*-ti R* 14:8, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII	Ili-madiah *ì-lí-ma-di-ah*$^{!}$, *R* 14:7, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII
Ilum-muddin s. Nūrīya and his son Ili-bāni DINGIR*-mu-di-in, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:8, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI DINGIR*-mu-di-in, ù ì-lí-ba-ni* DUMU.ni, *YOS* 14 98:7-8, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII	Ikun-pî-Sîn s. Ziknum *i-ku-pi*$_{4}$*-*^{d}EN.ZU*, TIM* 5 27:7, Sumu-Yamutbal bb
Ikun-pî-Sîn ÚS.SA.DU *i-ku-pí-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 14:2, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII	Ili-emūqi s. Akīya *ì-lí-e-mu-qí,* DUMU *a-ki-ia, UCP* 10/3 5:11-12, Mananâ ba
Ilum-abum DINGIR*-a-bu-um*, *JCS* 4 p.70YBC 4375:5, Sumu-la-El 26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I	Insatum *in-sà-tum, UCP* 10/3 5:5, Mananâ ba
Ipiq-Adad *ù* DA A.ŠÀ ˹SIG˺*-*^{d}IM*, TIM* 5 27:3, Sumu-Yamutbal bb	**Inūh-Ditan** *i-nu-uh-di-ta-an*, *SCT* 39:3, Haliyum f/X
Ipiq-Ištar DA *i-pí-iq-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, YOS* 14 101:3, "Sumu-abum 3"	Kakāya s. Ea-rabi *ka-ka-a* DUMU *é-a-ra-bi, BIN* 2 86:7, Mananâ f
Išme-Erra s. Išme-Sîn *iš-me-èr-ra*, DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 45:7-8, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6	Kanānum s. Sîn-nāṣir *ka-na-nu-um,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU*-na-ṣi-i*[*r*] *, RSM* 45:5-6, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Kuppulum *ku-pu-lum*, *OECT* 13 154:5, Apil-Sîn 9/III/16	Kišušu ÚS.SA.DU giš.kiri$_{6}$ *ki-šu-šu, UCP* 10/3 5:2, Mananâ ba
Lamassatum d. Ribam-ili *la-ma-sà-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ri-ba-am-ì-lí OECT* 13 285:5,-6, 10-11, Sumu-la-El 27/IX	Kuba'um *ku-ba-um, BBVOT* 1 62:5, Sumu-la-El 31 *ku-ba-um, BBVOT* 1 63:5, Sumu-la-El 31
Mannum-kī-Sîn *ma-nu-um-ki-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 84:2, Mananâ h/II	Kumatānum s. **Ikun-ašar** *ku-ma-ta-a-nu-um,* DUMU *i-ku-un-a-šar, SCT* 38:2, 5-6, x$_{8}$/V
Nabi-Enlil *na-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL, *R* 45:2, no date	Kusum *ku-su-um, YOS* 14 130:3, 9, Sumu-la-El 22$^{?}$/IV
Nanna-mansum DA ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM*, YOS* 14 101:4, "Sumu-abum 3" ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *YOS* 14 88:7, Mananâ c/IX	Munanātum d. **Yahbitum** *mu-na-na-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-ah-bi-tum, SCT* 38:7-8, x$_{8}$/V
Nūr-Ištar *nu-úr-iš*$_{8}$*-tár*, *YOS* 14 88:6, Mananâ c/IX	**Mutiya** *mu-ti-ia, BIN* 2 86:3, Mananâ f
Nūr-Kabta *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.TA*, YOS* 14 104:6, Mananâ k/iti ab.di.a	Nigga-Bau s. Ulamaši NÍG.GA-^{d}BA.Ú, DUMU *ú-la-a-ma-ši, YOS* 14 118:6-7, Nāqimum f/XII
Puzur-Nunu *puzur*$_{4}$*-nu-nu, BIN* 2 86:8, Mananâ f	**Sumu-Erah** *sa-mu-a-ra-ah*, *YOS* 14 84:3, Mananâ h/II
Qaqqadānum's sons Arwium, Kurulum and Sukkalum *ku-ru-lum, ù ar-wi-um, YOS* 14 101:7, "Sumu-abum 3" DA *su-ka-lum, YOS* 14 101:2, "Sumu-abum 3" *ku-ru-lu-um,* DUMU *qá-qá-da-*[*nu-um*], *YOS* 14 103:8-9, Sumu-Yamutbal a	Sanum s. **Abi-Erah** *sa-a-nu-um* DUMU *a-bi-*[*e-ra-ah*] *, YOS* 14 84:8, Mananâ h/II
Rībam-ili ÚS.SA.DU *ri-ba-am-ì-lí, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:2,	Sîn-kašid and his children: Alāya LUKUR Nanna, Nabi-ilīšu

Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI	^{d}EN.ZU-*ka-ši-id,* ^{l}*na-bi-ì-lí-šu, ù a-la-ia* LUKUR $^{d\text{r}}$ŠEŠ$^{\text{`}}$.KI, DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*ka-ši-id*, *JCS* 4 p. 70 YBC 4375:1-4, Sumu-la-El 26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I
Rīšatum *ri-ša-tum*, *OECT* 8 3:3, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV	Sîn-rabi s. Nupanum$^{?}$ ^{d}EN.ZU-*ra-bi* DUMU *nu-p*[*a-nu-um*] , *YOS* 14 116:8, Haliyum l/IV
Sassatum s. Gu-[...] *sà-sà-tum,* DUMU *gu*-[...], *UCP* 10/3 5:13-14, Mananâ ba	Sursurum DUMU.MEŠ *sú-ur-sú*-[*ru-um*] , *OECT* 13 101:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 9/VI
Sîn-abūšu's sons Sîn-bāni and Ili-dayan *ì-lí-da-ia-an*, *R* 19:2, 6 Mananâ aa ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *R* 19:7, Mananâ aa ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu*, *R* 45:12, no date	Warad-Sîn s. Bidānum ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *bi-da-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 84:9, Mananâ h/II ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 101:5, "Sumu-abum 3" ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 103:10, Sumu-Yamutbal a ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:9, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 98:9, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII
Sînanum *si-na-nu-um, YOS* 14 100:7, "Sumu-abum 3"	**Yahatilum** ÚS.SA.DU *ia-ha-te*-din[gir] , *BBVOT* 1 63:2, Sumu-la-El 31
Sîn-ennam DA ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, YOS* 14 76:2, Mananâ aa	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Sîn-mālik s. Dannāya ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik* DUMU *dan-na-a-a*, *OECT* 8 3:10, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV	
Sîn-nāši ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ši, TIM* 5 27:8, Sumu-Yamutbal bb	Warad-Amurrim s. Sîn-rē'um ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-SIPA, *YOS* 14 130:7-8, Sumu-la-El 22$^{?}$/IV
Sîn-[...] DA ^{d}EN.ZU-[...], *YOS* 14 100:2, "Sumu-abum 3"	Warad-Erra DA ÌR-*èr-ra, TIM* 5 27:2, Sumu-Yamutbal bb
Šamhānum *ša-am-ha-nu-um, YOS* 14 100:6, "Sumu-abum 3"	Warad-Sîn ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *TIM* 5 27:14, Sumu-Yamutbal bb
Ṭabāya s. Abum-waqar *ṭà-ba-a-a*, DUMU *a-bu-um-wa-qar, R* 44:5-6, date broken	[...]-mušallim [...]-*mu-ša-lim*, *OECT* 13 154:8, Apil-Sîn 9/III/16
Ṭabāya s. Sîn-ennam DÙG.GA-*ia,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, R* 44:7-8, date broken	

Witnesses in smaller files from early OB Kiš and Damrum:

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Abatum DUB.SAR *a-ba-tum* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 104:13, Mananâ k/iti ab.di.a	Abatum s. Paya *a-ba-tum* DUMU *pa-ia, R* 64:21, Nāqimum b
Abūya *a-bu-ia* ŠU.HA, *YOS* 14 132:12, Sumu-la-El "a"/X *a-bu-ú-ia, R* 62:10, Sumu-la-El 25$^{?}$	**Abda** s. Hummurum *ab-da-a* DUMU *hu-mu-ru-u*[*m*], *SCT* 38:15, x_8/V
Adad-iddinam ^{d}IM-*i-din-nam*, *R* 59:17, Nāqimum a$^{?}$ ^{d}IM-*i-din-nam*, *OECT* 8 3:21, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV	Abi-Lula s. Gabnanum *a-bi-lu-la,* DUMU *ga-ab-na-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 92:13-14, Mananâ h
Adda-^{r}x x$^{\text{`}}$	**Abum-halum**

ad-da-ˀx x`, BBVOT 1 63:14, Sumu-la-El 31	*a-bu-um-ha-lum*, *R* 53:14, Abdi-Erah a/VI
Ahati-waqrat *a-ha-ti-wa-aq-ra-at, YOS* 14 123:5, Sumu-la-El 30/III	Addilum s. Eriš-Sîn *ad-di-lum,* DUMU *e-ri-iš-*^{d}EN.ZU*, RSM* 45:19-20, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Ahūni s. Nūr-Sîn *a-hu-ni,* DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 58:15-16, Mananâ c/IV	Adūnum s. In-[...] *a-du-nu-um* DUMU *in-*[...], A 32113:27, Haliyum f/X
Ahūni DUB.SAR *a-hu-ni, R* 60:10, Mananâ ab *a-hu-ni* DUB.SAR*, R* 61:11, unknown king b/XI	Agāya *a-ga-ia, YOS* 14 141:10, Sumu-la-El 30/XI *a-ga-a-a, YOS* 14 86:1', Mananâ aa
Ahūni ŠEŠ AB.DU.UL$_x$ *a-hu-ni,* ŠEŠ AB.DU.UL*, RSM* 31:10-11, Sabium 1/XII	Ahi-nakar *a-hi-na-ka-ar*, *R* 52:14, Nāqimum a
Ahūnum s. Awīl-Ea *a-hu-nu-um* DUMU LÚ-*é-a, YOS* 14 118:22, Nāqimum f/XII	Akūni *a-ku-ni* ŠEŠ.A.NI (of Ennam-Adad) , *OECT* 8 3:23, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV
Ahūnum s. Nur-Ea *a-hu-nu-um.* DUMU *nu-úr-é-a, YOS* 14 123:10-11, Sumu-la-El 30/III	Almutāni *al-mu-ta-ni, R* 48:10, Haliyum f
Ahūnum *a-hu-nu-um, JCS* 4 p.70YBC 4375:20, Sumu-la-El 26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I	Amat-Bau d. Dadanum [GEM]E$_2$$^{?}$-^{d}BA.Ú, [DUMU].MUNUS *da-da-nu-um*, *R* 51:7, Haliyum j or Mananâ g
Akšāya s. Sassīya *ak-ša-a-a,* DUMU *sà-sí-ia*, *R* 58:17-18, Mananâ c/IV	Amurrum s. Lana-El *a-mu-ru-u* DUMU *la-na-*DINGIR, *SCT* 39:17, Haliyum f/X *a-mu-ru-um* DUMU *la-*[*na-*DIN]GIR, A 32113:21, Haliyum f/X
Ali-waqru *a-lí-waq$_x$-ru,YOS* 14 94:7, Mananâ j/X	Annamāya *an-na-ma-a-a*, *R* 14:15, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII
Alīya LÚ.TÚG *a-lí-ia* LÚ.TÚG*, R* 49:11, Haliyum e	**Aqba-ahum** *aq-ba-a-hu-um, UCP* 10/3 5:28, Mananâ ba
Amurrum-Azu ^{d}MAR.TU-A.ZU DUMU.A.NI*, UCP* 10/3 5:30, Mananâ ba	Asatum s. Rubum *a-sa-tum* DUMU *ru-bu-um, RSM* 45:21, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Ana-Sîn-taklāku s. Ili-šam (woman) *a-na-*^{d}EN.ZU*-ták-la-ku,* DUMU *ì-lí-ša-am*, *YOS* 14 85:3-4, Mananâ h	Asīya UGULA É *ša* Sîn-x *a-sí-ia,* UGULA É *ša* ^{d}EN.ZU-x[...], *RSM* 31:12-13, Sabium 1/XII
Anni-ilum *an-na-*DINGIR, *YOS* 14 98:17, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII *an-ni-*DINGIR*, TIM* 5 27:19, Sumu-Yamutbal bb	Asu-niš-ili s. Ali-tillati *a-su-ni-iš-ì-lí,* DUMU *a-lí-*ILLAT*-ti, BIN* 2 86:13-14, Mananâ f
Apil-ahi *a-*[*pil-a*]*-hi, YOS* 14 123:1, Sumu-la-El 30/III	Awûm s. Husmanum *a-wu-ú-um* <DUMU> *hu-us-ma-*[*nu-um*]*, SCT* 38:21, x$_8$/V *a-wu-ú-um* DUMU *hu-us-ma-nu-*[*um*] , *SCT* 39:21, Haliyum f/X *a-wu-ú-um* DUMU *hu-us-ma-nu-um*, A 32113:22, Haliyum f/X
Apilīya LÚ.TÚG *a-pil-ia* LÚ.TÚG*, YOS* 14 134:10, Sumu-la-El 25	Babābum s. Hulludum *ba-ba-bu-um* DUMU *hu-lu-du-um, SCT* 38:22, x$_8$/V
Apil-Sîn *a-pil-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 14:19, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII	**Badīya** s. Ili-iddinam *ba-di-ia* DUMU DINGIR*-i-di-nam*$^{!}$, *SCT* 38:23, x$_8$/V
Apilšunu *a-pil-šu-nu*, *YOS* 14 87:15, Mananâ d/IX	Bagani s. Lubluṭ-Šamaš *ba-ga-ni* DUMU *lu-ub-lu-uṭ-*^{d}UTU, *SCT* 39:18, Haliyum

	f/X
Arwium s. Qaqqadanum *su-ka-lum*, [IGI] *ar-wi-um,* [DUMU].MEŠ *qá-qá-da-nu-um, YOS* 14 103:16-18, Sumu-Yamutbal a	Buṣīya s. Imtaṣa-Ea *bu-ṣí-ia* DUMU *im-ta-ṣa-é-a, YOS* 14 92:9-10, Mananâ h
Arwium s. Ur-^{d}[...] *ar-wi-*[um], DUMU UR-^{d}x[...],*RSM* 31:2-3, Sabium 1/XII	Dadānum *da-da-nu-um, YOS* 14 76:14, Mananâ aa
Awīl-Adad s. Išme-Sîn LÚ-^{d}IM, DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 88:14-15, Mananâ c/IX	Dila *di-i-la, YOS* 14 139:11, Sumu-la-El 28/XII
Awīl-Adad LÚ-^{d}IM, *OECT* 8 3:17, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV LÚ-^{d}IM, *TIM* 5 27:20, Sumu-Yamutbal bb *a-wi-il-*^{d}IM, *R* 65:8, undated	Dulluqum s. Hadamu *du-lu-qum,* DUMU *ha-da-mu*, *R* 19:18-19, Mananâ aa
Awīl-Amurrim LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, *R* 51:16, Haliyum j or Mananâ g	Erra-mālik s. Sukukum *èr-ra-ma-lik,* DUMU *su-ku-kum*, *R* 54:9-10, Haliyum h
Awīl-Amurrim DUB.SAR LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU, *SCT* 39:23, Haliyum f/X LÚ-^{d}MAR.TU [DUB.SAR] , A 32113:28, Haliyum f/X	Hābibum s. Lana-El *ha-bi-bu-um* DUMU *la-na*-DINGIR, *SCT* 38:20, x_8/V
Awīl-ili *a-wi-il-ì-lí, UCP* 10/3 5:27, Mananâ ba	**Hammâtar** *ha-ma-a-tar, YOS* 14 139:12, Sumu-la-El 28/XII
Awīlīya s. Išme-Sîn *a-wi*$^{!}$*-li-ia,* DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 59:15-16, Nāqimum a	**Haya-šarrum** DUB.SAR *ha-a-a-ša-ru-um* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 141:12, Sumu-la-El 30/XI
Ayatum *a-ia-tum, YOS* 14 92:4, Mananâ h	Hāzirum s. Ha'ikum *ha-zi-ru-um,* DUMU *ha-i-ki-im, R* 44:13-14, date broken
Banīya *ba-ni-ia, R* 57*biš*:11, Mananâ d	Hišāya *hi-ša-a-a, BIN* 2 86:17, Mananâ f
Bēli-bāni DUB.SAR *be-lí-ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *R* 48:12, Haliyum f	Ibbi-Sîn s. Zilibīya *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *zi-li-bi-ia*, *R* 19:20-21, Mananâ aa
Bēli-[...] *be-lí-*[...], *YOS* 14 95:12, Mananâ k/VIII	Ili-pahaluma s. Iluki *ì-lí-pa-ha-lu-ma,* DUMU *i-lu-ki OECT* 13 285:16-17, Sumu-la-El 27/IX
Būr-Adad *bur-*^{d}IM, *R* 63:21, Mananâ c *bur-*^{d}IM, *TIM* 5 27:15, Sumu-Yamutbal bb	Ipuš-Kubum *i-pu-uš-ku-bu-um, YOS* 14 76:13, Mananâ aa
Burqum s. Marduk-dayān *bu-úr-qú-um,* DUMU ^{d}AMAR.UTU-DI.KUD, *R* 64:19-20, Nāqimum b	Ir-Nanna s. Ili-ṣiba-[...] ÌR-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI. DUMU *ì-lí-ṣí-ba-*x, *RSM* 45:25-26, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Būr-Sîn *bur-*^{d}EN.ZU, *OECT* 8 3:19, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV	Išme-Sîn s. Maridunum *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ma-ri-du-nu-um, YOS* 14 118:17, Nāqimum f/XII
Burtum *bu-úr-t*[*um*], *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:20, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI	Išme-Sîn s. Sananaqum *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *sà-na-na-qum*, *R* 45:20-21, no date
Buṣīya s. Hubbudiya *bu-ṣí-ia,* DUMU *hu-bu-di-a, YOS* 14 115:9-10, Nāqimum c/X	Išši-ṭup-níg.šu s. Ennam-Adad *iš-ši-ṭup*-NÍG.ŠU, DUMU *en-nam-*^{d}IM, *YOS* 14 123:12-13, Sumu-la-El 30/III
Buṣīya s. Šarrīya *bu-ṣí-ia,* DUMU *šar-ri-ia*, *R* 51:14-15, Haliyum j or Mananâ g	Kunānum s. Ka-[...] *ku*$^{!}$*-na-nu-um* DUMU *ka*-[...], *RSM* 45:27, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Buṣīya *bu-ṣí-ia, YOS* 14 101:15, "Sumu-abum 3"	Kurulum s. Qaqqadanum (b. Sukkalum and Arwium) *ku-ru-lum, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:17, Sumu-Yamutbal

	d/VI
Damu-azu s. Warad-Ea DUB.SAR ^{d}DA.MU-A.ZU DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 132:13, Sumu-la-El "a"/X	Kusānum s. Namālum [*ku*]-*sà-nu-um,* DUMU [*n*]*a*$^{?}$-*ma-lum, RSM* 58:9-10, Mananâ a/Abdi-Erah a/Ahi-maraṣ a, [...]x ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA/XI
Dān-Erra s. Ili-turam *dan-èr-ra*, DUMU *ì-lí-tu-ra-am, RSM* 58:11-12, Mananâ a/Abdi-Erah a/Ahi-maraṣ a, [...]x ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA /XI	Kutānum *ku-ta-nu-um* ŠEŠ.A.[NI] , *YOS* 14 84:14, Mananâ h/II
Danin-Sîn s. Sîn-tillatum *da-ni-in-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-ILLAT*, YOS* 14 118:18-19, Nāqimum f/XII	Lalata *la-la-ta, YOS* 14 76:15, Mananâ aa
Dan-Nunu *dan-*^{d}*nu-*[*nu*] *, R* 49:14, Haliyum e	Lapalula s. Ea-rabi *la-pa-lu-la,* DUMU *é-a-ra-bi*, *YOS* 14 92:11-12, Mananâ h/VIII
Duhšum *du-uh-šu-um, YOS* 14 132:10, Sumu-la-El "a"/X	Mahlilum s. Agigum *ma-ah-li-lum* DUMU *a-gi-gu-um, YOS* 14 118:16, Nāqimum f/XII
Ea-iddinan s. Ea-ṣulūli *é-a-i-din-nam, UCP* 10/3 5:23, Mananâ ba	Mahlilum s. Huzranum *mah-li-lum,* [DUMU *hu*]-*uz-ra-nu-um, R* 64:22-23, Nāqimum b
Ea-dāpin s. Ahunum *é-a-da-pí-in,* DUMU *a-hu-nu-um, BBVOT* 1 62:10-11, Sumu-la-El 31	Manu$^{?}$-ili s. Tulanum$^{?}$ *ma-*[*nu*]-*ì-lí,* [DU]MU [*tu-l*]*a-nu-um*, *R* 58:13-14, Mananâ c/IV
Ea-dāpin DUB.SAR *é-a-da-pí-in*, *JCS* 4 p.70YBC 4375:23, Sumu-la-El 26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I	Mislimu$^{?}$ *mi-ìs-li-mu, YOS* 14 104:10, Mananâ k/iti ab.di.a
Ea-rabi s. Ea-ṣulūli *é-a-ra-bi, UCP* 10/3 5:22, Mananâ ba	**Mutum-me-El** s. **Yakunum** *mu-tum-me-el,* DUMU *ia-ku*$^{!}$*-nu-um, LB* 3244+*LB* 2722:8-9, Sumu-la-El a/VII
Enlil-abum s. Iddin-Erra ^{d}EN.LÍL-*a-bu-um,* DUMU *i-din-èr-ra*, *YOS* 14 102:12-13, Sumu-Yamutbal f	Naplis-ilum s. Saliya *na-ap-lí-is*-DINGIR, DUMU *sa-li-ia, YOS* 14 118:20-21, Nāqimum f/XII
Enlil-mude ^{d}EN.LÍL-*mu-de-*ˀ*e*ˋ*, R* 56:8, Sumu-El 5	**Nāqimum** *na-qí-mu-um, TIM* 5 27:17, Sumu-Yamutbal bb
Ennam-Adad *en-nam-*^{d}IM, *OECT* 8 3:22, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV	Nūrīya s. Zabaya (b. Rimaya) *nu-ri-ia* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *R* 59:13, Nāqimum a$^{?}$
Ennam-Sîn s. Aba-x-x *en-nam-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *a-ba*-x-x*, SCT* 38:16, x_8/V	Nūr-Kubi s. Šudultum *nu-úr-ku-bi,* DUMU *šu-du-ul-tim*, *R* 58:11-12, Mananâ c/IV
Erībam *e-ri-ba-am*, *YOS* 14 102:11, Sumu-Yamutbal f	Nūr-Sîn s. **Inuh-ditan** *nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *i-nu-úh-di-ta-an, SCT* 38:17-18, x_8/V
Erra-qurrad *èr-*[*ra*]*-qú-ra-ad, RSM* 58:13, Mananâ a/Abdi-Erah a/Ahi-maraṣ a, [...]x ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA /XI	Nu-[...] s. Sasum *nu-*[...], DUMU *sà-a-súm*, *YOS* 14 88:20-21, Mananâ c/IX
Etellum SAG.BI *e-te-lum, YOS* 14 76:3, 12, Mananâ aa *e-te-lum, YOS* 14 100:17, "Sumu-abum 3" *e-te-lum, UCP* 10/3 5:25, Mananâ ba	Pahum s. x x [...] *pa-a-hu-um* DUMU ˀx xˋ [...], *RSM* 45:24, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
E-x-Zababa s. Warad-Sîn ˀ*e*-xˋ-^{d}*za-ba*$_4$*-ba*$_4$, DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU*, YOS* 14 116:25-26, Haliyum l/IV	Parsum *pa-ar-su-um, R* 64:1, 7, Nāqimum b
Hālilum s. La-qipum *ha-li-lum,* DUMU *la-qí-pu-um, R* 54:11-12, Haliyum	Putīya *pu-ti-ia* DUMU *, YOS* 14 334:10, unknown king a

h	
Hāzirum *ha-zi-ru-um, R* 65:4, undated	Rabāya (wife Imtaṣiam) *ra-ba-a-a* dam *im-ta-ṣi-am, YOS* 14 118:23, Nāqimum f/XII
Hunābum *hu-na-bu-um, R* 61:8, unknown king b/XI	Rašubasu *ra-šu-ba-su, OECT* 8 3:20, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV
Hunnubum s. Warad-Sîn *hu-nu-bu-um*, DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 14:17-18, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII	Rimāya s. Zabaya *ri-ma-a-a* DUMU *za-ba-a-a*, *R* 59:12, Nāqimum a?
Hušašum *hu-ša-šum, R* 48:11, Haliyum f	Sakkum *sa-ak-kum* LÚ.TÚG, *YOS* 14 130:15, Sumu-la-El 22?/IV
Ibbi-Sîn *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *TIM* 5 27:18, Sumu-Yamutbal bb	**Sumu-Erah** *sa-ma-ra-ah, YOS* 14 141:11, Sumu-la-El 30/XI *sa-ma-ra-ah, SCT* 38:19, x_8/V
Ibni-Dagan *ib-ni-*^{d}*da-gan, YOS* 14 104:11, Mananâ k/iti ab.di.a	Sanīya *sà-ni-ia, YOS* 14 101:18, “Sumu-abum 3”
Ibni-Ea s. Ennum-Sîn *ib-ni-é-a*, DUMU *en-nam-*^{d}EN.ZU, *LB* 3244+*LB* 2722:12-13, Sumu-la-El a/VII	Sarāni DUB.SAR *sà-ra-ni* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 115:14, Nāqimum c/X
Ibni-Sîn s. Šu-Ilabrat *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *šu-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *R* 45:18-19, no date	Sasum s. Ili-Nuri *sà-a-súm* DUMU DINGIR-*nu-ri*, *YOS* 14 88:13, Mananâ c/IX
Ibni-Sîn *ib-ni-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 103:15, Sumu-Yamutbal a	Saya DAM.GÀR *sà-ia* DAM.GÀR, *BBVOT* 1 63:111, Sumu-la-El 31
Iddin-Erra *i-din-èr-ra, R* 60:8, Mananâ ab	Saya *sà-a-a, YOS* 14 132:11, Sumu-la-El “a”/X
Iddin-Išum *i-din-*^{d}*i-šum*, *R* 63:18, Mananâ c	Sîn-nāṣir s. Lana-El(?) ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir*, DUMU *la-na*-DINGIR, *SCT* 39:19-20, Haliyum f/X ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir* [DUMU *l*]*a-na*-DINGIR, A 32113:24, Haliyum f/X
Iddin-Zababa DUB.SAR *i-din-*^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$* DUB.S[AR] , *RSM* 45:28, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6	Si-x-šinum s. Išme-Ea *si*?-x-*ši-nu-um*, DUMU *iš-me-é-a, R* 49:11-12, Haliyum e
Ikūya *i-ku-a-a*, *YOS* 14 86:5’, Mananâ aa	Sukubum s. Iddin-Adad *sú-ku-bu-um*, DUMU *i-din-*^{d}IM, *R* 64:24-25, Nāqimum b
Ilabrat-ma-x[x] ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR-*ma*-x[x] , *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:19, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI	**Sumu-abum** DUB.SAR *su-mu-a-bu* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 103:22, Sumu-Yamutbal a
Ilam-qî DUB.SAR *i-lam-ki-i* DUB.SAR, *R* 52:16, Nāqimum a	**Sumu-la-El** *su-mu-la*-DING[IR], *RSM* 31:1, Sabium 1/XII
Ili-ahtaliya s. Amur-Ilam *ì-lí-ah-ta*-DINGIR, DUMU *a-mur*-DINGIR, *R* 19:13-14, Mananâ aa	**Sumu-tamar** *sú-mu-ta-mar*, *YOS* 14 86:4’, Mananâ aa
Ili-bitum DUB.SAR *ì-lí*-É DUB.SAR, *SCT* 38:28, x_8/V	Ṣillāšu s. Titaya *ṣi-la-šu*, DUMU *ti-ta-a-a, R* 28:9-10, Mananâ k
Ili-dananni *ì-lí-da-na-an-ni* LÚ.TÚG, *YOS* 14 130:14, Sumu-la-El 22?/IV	Ṣīssu-nawrat s. Kanutim *ṣí-sú-na-aw$_7$-ra-at*, DUMU *ka-nu-ti-im*, *R* 58:9-10, Mananâ c/IV
Ili-hitam AD.KID s. Ili-Beli *ì-lí-hi-ta-am* ad.kid, DUMU *ì-lí-be-lí, SCT* 38:26-27, x_8/V	Šadīya *ša-di-ia*, *YOS* 14 86:3’, Mananâ aa
Ili-rabi	Šašanum

ì-lí-ra-bi, R 62:13, Sumu-la-El 25[2]	*ša-ša-nu-um, YOS* 14 100:16, "Sumu-abum 3"
Ili-rabi DUB.SAR *ì-lí-ra-bi, YOS* 14 123:17, Sumu-la-El 30/III	Šubannilum s. **Yakum** *šu-ba-an-ni-lum,* DUMU *ia-ku-*[*um*] , *R* 51:12-13, Haliyum j or Mananâ g
Ili-rē'um DINGIR-SIPA, *R* 61:9, unknown king b/XI	Šubum *šu-bu-ú-um, YOS* 14 130:12, Sumu-la-El 22[2]/IV
Ili-ṣulluli *ì-lí-*an.dùl, *R* 61:10, unknown king b/XI	Šu-Tirum s. **Ya'elim** *šu-ti-ru-um,* DUMU *ia-e-lí-im, YOS* 14 116:27-28, Haliyum l/IV
Ili-tukulti *ì-lí-tu-ʾku-ul-tiʾ, YOS* 14 101:17, "Sumu-abum 3"	Taddinam s. Sukukum *ta-di-nam,* DUMU *sú-ku-ku-um*, *R* 58:4-5, Mananâ c/IV
Ili-turam s. Nigga-Bau *ì-lí-tu-ra-am,* DUMU NÍG.GA-[d]BA.Ú, *R* 44:11-12, date broken	Tappum s. Haniya *tap-pu-um,* DUMU *ha-ni-ia, RSM* 31:4-5, Sabium 1/XII
Ilšu-bāni DUB.SAR DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 88:24, Mananâ c/IX	Ubarrum NU.[GIŠ]KIRI$_6$ s. Sukukatim *u-bar-ru-um* NU.GIŠ.KIRI$_6$, DUMU *su-ku-ka-ti-im, YOS* 14 334:18-19, unknown king a
Ilšu-bāni DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:18, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI	Uṣūya s. Kubuya *ú-ṣu-ia,* DUMU *ku-bu-ia, YOS* 14 334:16-17, unknown king a
Ilšu-ibbīšu pa.ši DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu* pa.ši, *YOS* 14 134:9, Sumu-la-El 25	Warad-ilīšu s. **Yeškurum** ÌR-*ì-lí-šu,* DUMU *e-èš-ku-ru-um*, *R* 45:22-23, no date
Ilum-hālil DINGIR-*ha-li-il, R* 44:15, date broken	**Yahatilum** s. Hadamu (b. Dulluqum and Sîn-abūšu) *ia-ha-ti-*DINGIR, *R* 19:17, Mananâ aa *ia-ha-ti-lum,* DUMU *ha-da-mu*, *R* 45:28-29, no date
Ilum-rabi s. Sîn-šeme DINGIR-*ra-bi* DUMU 30-*še-mi, OECT* 13 101:5', Sîn-muballiṭ 9/VI	**Yahqub-El** *ia-ah*[1]*-qú-ub-*DINGIR, *R* 59:14, Nāqimum a[2] *ia-ah*[1]*-qú*[1]*-ub-*DINGIR, *YOS* 14 134:11, Sumu-la-El 25
Ilum-rē'um[2] DINGIR-SIPA[!] , *JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:21, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI	**Yahmiṣ-ilum** s. **Yamhanum** *ia-ah-mi-iṣ-*DINGIR, DUMU *ia-am-ha-nu-um*, *R* 45:24-25, no date
Inim-Enlil INIM-[d]EN.LÍL, *R* 65:4, undated	**Yahmum** *ia-ah-mu-um*, *R* 57*biš*:9, Mananâ d
Ipiq-Ištar *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár, YOS* 14 134:8, Sumu-la-El 25	**Yakzi-El** *ia-ak-zi-*DINGIR, *YOS* 14 76:16, Mananâ aa
Išar-dāpin *i-šar-da-pí-in, R* 65:2, undated	**Yatarum** *ia-ta-ru-um, UCP* 10/3 5:26, Mananâ ba
Išme-Adad *iš-me-*[d]IM, *R* 57:10, Sumu-Yamutbal e/X	**Yazunum** *ia-zu-nu-um, YOS* 14 115:13, Nāqimum c/X
Išme-Sîn *iš-me-*[d]EN.ZU, *UCP* 10/3 5:24, Mananâ ba	Zizānum s. Išmeya *zi-za-nu-um, YOS* 14 334:8, unknown king a
Ištar-nūri *iš$_8$-tár-nu-ri* DUMU.MUNUS.*mu*-[..] , *UCP* 10/3 5:29, Mananâ ba	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Išum-bāni [d]*i-šum-ba-ni, R* 65:9, undated	
Ittāya d. Ṣīssu-nawrat *it-ta-ia,* DUMU.MUNUS *ṣi-sú-na-aw$_7$-ra-at, RSM* 31:16-17, Sabium 1/XII	Sîn-išmeanni DUB.SAR [d]EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni* DUB.SAR, *BIN* 2 74:14, Sumu-la-El 31/XI
Itti-ilim-milki *i-ti-*DINGIR-*mi-il-ki, R* 64:3, Nāqimum b	Sîn-lu-šemi s. El-mannum [d]EN.ZU-*lu-še-mi,* DUMU *e-*DINGIR-*ma-nu-um*, *R* 45:26-27, no date
Itūr-Šamaš	Sîn-māgir s. Bur-Adad

i-túr-^{d}UTU, *YOS* 14 104:12, Mananâ k/iti ab.di.a	30-*ma-gir* DUMU *bur*$^{!}$-^{d}IM, *OECT* 13 101:4', Sîn-muballiṭ 9/VI
Kubbutum s. Sassīya *ku-bu-tum,* DUMU *sà-sí-ia, R* 44:16-17, date broken	Sîn-mālik ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik*, *R* 63:17, Mananâ c
Lammaša DUB.SAR *la-ma-ša*, *R* 41:19, MU.ÚS.SA BÀD SAG.DA.ÈN.DA BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ki ṣi-im*-[*d*]*a-ti*	Sîn-mupahhir ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-pa-hi-ir, YOS* 14 139:10, Sumu-la-El 28/XII
Lipit-Ištar s. Bēli-bāni *li-pí-it-iš*$_{8}$*-tár,* DUMU *be-li-ba-ni, BIN* 2 86:15-16, Mananâ f	Sîn-nada ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-da*, *OECT* 8 3:18, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-da, R* 64:2, Nāqimum b
Lu-Nanna s. Lu-DINGIRra LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI DUMU LÚ-DINGIR.RA, *OECT* 13 285:28, Sumu-la-El 27/IX	Sîn-nāṣir DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir* /DUB.SAR, *LB* 3244+*LB* 2722:14, Sumu-la-El a/VII
Mannum-gerrīšu s. Amurrum-bāni *ma-nu-um-ge-ri-šu,* DUMU ^{d}MAR.TU-*ba-ni, YOS* 14 140:11-12(case), Sumu-la-El 30/VII	Sîn-nāṣir ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir, R* 56:9, Sumu-El 5 ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir*, *YOS* 14 87:16, Mananâ d/IX ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir, RSM* 45:16, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Mannum-kī-Sîn *ma*-[*nu*]-*um-ki*-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 101:13, "Sumu-abum 3"	Sîn-nawir DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 140:11, Sumu-la-El 30/VII ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR, *BBVOT* 1 62:16, Sumu-la-El 31 ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR, *BBVOT* 1 63:16, Sumu-la-El 31
Maši-ilum s. Mil-x *ma-ši*-DINGIR DUMU *mi-il*-x, *SCT* 38:14, x$_{8}$/V	Sînniya s. Adda-mannu ^{d}EN.ZU-*ni-ia* DUMU *ad-da-ma-nu, R* 28:11-12, Mananâ k
Mašum s. Ili-qati-ṣabat *ma-šum,* DUMU *ì-lí-qá-ti-ṣa-ba-at OECT* 13 285:24-25, Sumu-la-El 27/IX	Sîn-pilah s. Puzur-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*pí-la-ah,* DUMU *puzur*$_{4}$-^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 88:22-23, Mananâ c/IX
Munawwirum s. Ea-balaṭi *mu-na-wi-ru-um* DUMU *é-a-ba-<la>-ṭi, BBVOT* 1 62:12, Sumu-la-El 31	Sîn-pilah ^{d}EN.ZU-*pí-la*-[*ah*] , *SCT* 39:22, Haliyum f/X ^{d}EN.ZU-*pí-la-ah* LÚ-X, A 32113:23, Haliyum f/X
Nabi-ilīšu DUB.SAR *na-bi-ì-lí-šu* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 118:24, Nāqimum f/XII	Sîn-rabi s. Nūr-Kubi ^{d}EN.ZU-*ra-bi,* DUMU *nu-úr-ku-bi, BIN* 2 74:9-10, Sumu-la-El 31/XI
Nabi-ilīšu *na-bi-ì-lí-šu*, *YOS* 14 87:17, Mananâ d/IX	Sîn-rīš s. Aham-nuta ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš,* DUMU *a-ha-nu-ta*, *R* 19:15-16, Mananâ aa
Nabi-Sîn s. Qīš-Nanaya *na-bi*-^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *qí-iš-na-na-ia, YOS* 14 102:9-10, Sumu-Yamutbal f	Sîn-riš s. Warad-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš* DUMU ˹ÌR˺-^{d}EN.ZU, *R* 14:16, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII
Nanna-bāni DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *OECT* 8 3:24, Sumu-Yamutbal g/IV ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 130:17, Sumu-la-El 22$^{?}$/IV ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-*ba-ni* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 334:20, unknown king a	Sîn-riš ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš*, *JCS* 4 p.70YBC 4375:19, Sumu-la-El 26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I ^{d}EN.ZU-*ri-iš*, *R* 41:18, MU.ÚS.SA BÀD SAG.DA.ÈN.DA BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ki ṣi-im*-[*d*]*a-ti*
Nanna-mansum ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *R* 54:15, Haliyum h ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *YOS* 14 76:17, Mananâ aa ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM, *R* 64a:24, Nāqimum b	Sîn-ṣulluli ^{d}EN.ZU-AN.DÙL-*lí*, *R* 57*biš*:10, Mananâ d
Nanna-mansum DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 84:23,	Sîn-šeme ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me*, *JCS* 4 p.70YBC 4375:21, Sumu-la-El

Mananâ h/II	26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I
Narām-Sîn DA É *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 334:3, unknown king a	Sîn-wuššer DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*wu-še-er* DUB.SAR, *R* 58:19, Mananâ c/IV ^{d}EN.ZU-*wu-še-er* DUB.[SAR] , *R* 63:22, Mananâ c
Nūr-Kubi s. Aliqum *nu-úr-ku-bi,* DUMU *a-li-qum*, *R* 63:19-20, Mananâ c	Sîyatum ^{d}EN.ZU-*ia-tum, R* 65:3, undated
Nūr-Kubi s. Bur-Adad *nu-úr-ku-bi,* <DUMU> *bur-*^{d}IM, *BIN* 2 74:11-12, Sumu-la-El 31/XI	Sukkali s. Lubluṭ-ilum *su-kà-li* DUMU *lu-ub-lu-uṭ-*DINGIR, A 32113:25, Haliyum f/X
Nūr-Kubi s. Dulluqum *nu-úr-ku-bi,* DUMU *du-lu-qum, LB* 3244+*LB* 2722:10-11, Sumu-la-El a/VII	Sukkalīya *sú-ka-li-ia*, *YOS* 14 98:16, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII
Nūr-Sîn *nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 84:15, Mananâ h/II	Sukkalum s. Qaqqadānum *su-ka-lum*, [IGI] *ar-wi-um,* [DUMU].MEŠ *qá-qá-da-nu-um, YOS* 14 103:16-18, Sumu-Yamutbal a *su-ka-lum* DUMU *qá-qá-da-nu-um, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:15, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI
Nūr-Šamaš s. Qiš-Nanaya *nu-úr-*[^{d}UTU], DUMU *qí-iš-*^{d}[*na-na-a*], *YOS* 14 84:20-21, Mananâ h/II *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, DUMU *qí-iš-*^{d}*na-na-a, YOS* 14 103:20-21, Sumu-Yamutbal a	Sukkalum *sú-ka-lum* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *YOS* 14 98:15, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII *sú-ka-lum*, *YOS* 14 86:2', Mananâ aa *sú-ka-lum*, *R* 41:16, MU.ÚS.SA BÀD SAG.DA.ÈN.DA BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ki ṣi-im-*[*d*]*a-ti*
Nūr-Šamaš LÚ Sîn-bēl-Ilī *nu-úr-*^{d}UTU, LÚ ^{d}EN.ZU-*be-el-ì-lí, YOS* 14 140:9-10(case), Sumu-la-El 30/VII	Ṣilli-Ištar *ṣi-lí-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, YOS* 14 139:9, Sumu-la-El 28/XII
Puzur-Nunu ENGAR *puzur*$_{4}$*-nu-nu* ENGAR, *R* 60:9, Mananâ ab	Šahan-muballiṭ ^{d}*ša-ha-an-mu-ba-lí-iṭ, YOS* 14 92:15, Mananâ h
Puzur-ʿx xʾ ŠU.I s. Dan-ili *puzur*$_{4}$*-*ʿx xʾ ŠU.I, DUMU *dan-ì-lí, SCT* 38:24-25, x$_{8}$/V	Šalāmum-ṭab *ša-la-mu-um-ṭà-ab*, A 32113:26, Haliyum f/X
Qurdatum s. Ilum-halil *qur-da-tum,* DUMU DINGIR-*ha-li-*<*il*>, *R* 54:13-14, Haliyum h	Šamaš-nāṣir ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir, R* 62:11, Sumu-la-El 25[2]
Rīš-Erra (b. Sîn-ašranni) *ri-iš-èr-ra* ŠEŠ.A.NI, *BBVOT* 1 62:15, Sumu-la-El 31	Šamāya *ša-ma-ia*, *R* 41:17, MU.ÚS.SA BÀD SAG.DA.ÈN.DA BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ki ṣi-im-*[*d*]*a-ti*
Rīš-Šamaš *ri-iš-*^{d}UTU, *R* 65:7, undated	Šat-Zababa *ša-at-*^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$, *YOS* 14 123:6, Sumu-la-El 30/III
Rīš-^{d}[ND] *ri-iš-*^{d}[DN] , *YOS* 14 123:2, Sumu-la-El 30/III	Šeret-Sîn *še-re-et-*^{d}EN.ZU, *YOS* 14 87:14, Mananâ d/IX
Sābibum s. Kaṣirānum *sà-bi-bu-um*, DUMU *kà-ṣi-ra-nu-um, R* 14:21-22, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII	Šina-ahūya *ši-na-a-hu-ú-ia, YOS* 14 123:16, Sumu-la-El 30/III
Samtum aga.ús *sà-am-tum* AGA.ÚS, *BBVOT* 1 62:13, Sumu-la-El 31	Šubula-abi ^{d}*šu-bu-la-a-bi, BBVOT* 1 63:15, Sumu-la-El 31
Sassīya *sà-sí-ia, UCP* 10/3 5:21, Mananâ ba	Šubula-na'ad *šu-bu-la-na-ad*, *R* 53:16, Abdi-Erah a/VI
Simat-Ištar *sí-mat-iš*$_{8}$*-tár, TIM* 5 27:16, Sumu-Yamutbal bb	Šulpae-ennam s. Ibni-x DUB.SAR ^{d}ŠUL.PA.<È>-*en-nam*, *YOS* 14 98:18, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII
Sîn-abum ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-um* LU.TÚG, *YOS* 14 130:13, Sumu-la-El 22[2]/IV	Šumi-ahīya s. Lu-Nanše *šu-mi-a-hi-ia,* DUMU LÚ-^{d}NANŠE, *YOS* 14 118:14-15, Nāqimum f/XII

Sîn-ašranni s. Ur-numušda (b. Rīš-Erra) ^{d}EN.ZU-*aš-ra-an-ni, BBVOT* 1 62:14, Sumu-la-El 31 ^{d}EN.ZU-*aš-ra-an-ni,* DUMU UR-^{d}*nu-muš-da, BBVOT* 1 63:12-13, Sumu-la-El 31	Šumma-ilum s. Sukkalum *šum-ma*-DINGIR, DUMU *su-ka-lum OECT* 13 285:22-23, Sumu-la-El 27/IX
Sîn-ašranni NAGAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*aš-ra-ni* NAGAR*, YOS* 14 130:16, Sumu-la-El 22?/IV	Šū-Ninkarrak *šu*-[^{d}N]IN.KAR.RA.AK, *YOS* 14 84:19, Mananâ h/II
Sîn-emuqi ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-mu-qí, R* 56:8, Sumu-El 5	Tarib-Nunu DUB.SAR [*t*]*a-ri-ib-nu-*[*nu*] *, JCS* 4 p.68 UIOM 2395:22, Sumu-Yamutbal d/VI *ta-ri-ib-nu-nu* DUB.SAR*, YOS* 14 98:19, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII
Sîn-ennam ^{d}EN.ZU-*en-nam, R* 44:18, date broken	Ṭabāya s. Abum-waqar *ṭà-ba-ia,* DUMU *a-bu-wa-qar, R* 49:10-11, Haliyum e
Sîn-erībam s. Išme-Sîn ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am,* DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU *OECT* 13 285:18-19, Sumu-la-El 27/IX	Ṭabāya DÙG.GA-*ia*, *R* 63:16, Mananâ c
Sîn-erībam ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, BIN* 2 86:18, Mananâ f ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, R* 57:8, Sumu-Yamutbal e/X ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am, BIN* 2 74:13, Sumu-la-El 31/XI	Ubarrum *u-bar-ru-um, R* 57:9, Sumu-Yamutbal e/X
Sîn-gāmil s. Nabi-ilīšu ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mi-il,* DUMU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu OECT* 13 285:20-21, Sumu-la-El 27/IX	Ur-Ninurta DUB.SAR UR-^{d}NIN.URTA DUB.SAR*, YOS* 14 139:13, Sumu-la-El 28/XII
Sîn-iddinam s. Lu-Nanše ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU LÚ-^{d}NANŠE*, YOS* 14 115:11-12, Nāqimum c/X	Warad-Enlil ÌR-^{d}EN.LÍL*, R* 53:15, Abdi-Erah a/VI
Sîn-iddinam s. Nāhilum ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU *na-hi-lum, YOS* 14 123:14-15, Sumu-la-El 30/III	Warad-ilīšu s. Sîn-gamil ÌR-*ì-lí-šu,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil, RSM* 31:6-7, Sabium 1/XII
Sîn-iddinam s. Sassānum ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam,* DUMU *sà-sà-nu-um, RSM* 31:8-9, Sabium 1/XII	Warad-Nunu ÌR-*nu-nu, R* 56:10, Sumu-El 5 ÌR-^{d}*nu-nu*, *R* 52:15, Nāqimum a
Sîn-iddinam s. Sîn-x[...] ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-x[...]*, OECT* 13 101:3', Sîn-muballiṭ 9/VI	Warad-Sîn s. Arnabum ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ar-na-bu-um*, *R* 14:20, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII
Sîn-iddinam DUB.SAR ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUB.SAR*, YOS* 14 86:6', Mananâ aa ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUB.SAR*, UCP* 10/3 5:31, Mananâ ba	Warad-Sîn s. Kānišum ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ka-ni-šum*, *R* 14:23, Sumu-Yamutbal a/XII
Sîn-Ilu DUB.SAR s. Ahūni ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-lu* DUB.SAR, DUMU *a-hu-ni OECT* 13 285:26-27, Sumu-la-El 27/IX	Warad-Sîn ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU*, YOS* 14 334:5, unknown king a ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU*, R* 62:12, Sumu-la-El 25?
Sîn-ilum s. Puzur-Qudma ^{d}EN.ZU-DINGIR, DUMU *puzur$_4$-qú-ud-ma, R* 28:13-14, Mananâ k	Waṣiya *wa-ṣi-ia, YOS* 14 100:15, "Sumu-abum 3"
Sîn-imitti ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-mi-ti, JCS* 4 p.70YBC 4375:22, Sumu-la-El 26/oath Sumu-la-El/Sumu-Yamutbal/I	Zababa-litu s. Ilšu-bāni ^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$-li-tu,* DUMU DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, RSM* 45:22-23, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6
Sîn-iqīšam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am, YOS* 14 334:11, unknown king a	Zababa-qarrad DUB.SAR *za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$-qar-ra-ad* DUB.SAR, *R* 19:22, Mananâ aa
Sîn-išmeanni s. Zababa-abum ^{d}EN.ZU-*iš-*[*me*]*-an-*[*ni*], DUMU ^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$-a-bu-*	

um, RSM 45:17-18, Yawium f/Sumu-la-El 6	

4.2.4 People borrowing in early OB Kiš and Damrum

The creditors heading the list of debtors.

Šumšunu-watar s. Gubbani-idug	
Ahi-kulub s. Sadāya *a-hi-ku-lu-ub*, BM 103194:2, Mananâ e/XI	Narām-Sîn s. Utāya (b. Gubbani-idug) *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *ù* GUB.BA.NI-DÙG, DUMU.MEŠ *ú-ta-a-a, RSM* 53:3-5, "Sumu-abum 13"
Bēlessunu d. **Yakum** *be-le-sí-nu,* DUMU.MUNUS *ia-kum RSM* 35:4, "Sumu-abum 13"/V	Sakumum s. Qabum *sa-mu-ku-um* DUMU *qá-bi-im, RA* 8 p. 70-71 2:6, Sumu-abum 13/V
Hasikum s. Halum *ha-si-kum, RSM* 40:4, Mananâ e	Sîn-dayān ^{d}EN.ZU-DI.KUD, BM 103194:1, Mananâ e/XI
Gubbani-idug s. Utaya (b. Narām-Sîn and father Šumšunu-watar) *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, *ù* GUB.BA.NI-DÙG, DUMU.MEŠ *ú-ta-a-a, RSM* 53:3-5, "Sumu-abum 13"	Utu-mansum DUB.SAR s. Ili-kitti ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM, DUMU *ì-lí-ki-ti, RSM* 50:3-4, Mananâ e/XI
Išme-Sîn s. **Aškudum** *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *aš-qú-du, RSM* 56:4, Mananâ e/XI	
Ṣīssu-nawrat s. Bēlum	
Halālum s. Puhiya *ha-la-lum,* DUMU *pu-hi-ia,* BM 103198:4-5, Mananâ d/IX	Sîn-bāni s. Warad-Ea ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU ÌR-*é-a, RSM* 30:5-6, "unknown mu BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ "/XII
Ipqu-nārim s. Ahum-waqar *ip-qú-na-ri-im,* DUMU *a-hu-wa-qar, RSM* 49:4-5, unknown mu *a-bi-a-lí-šu*/XI	Ṣilli-Sîn s. Hadramanum *ṣi-lí-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *ha-ad-ra-ma-nu-um, OECT* 13 281:4-5, "Yawium c"/X
Sama-El s. Hilhilum *sa-ma-*DINGIR, DUMU *hi-il-hi-lum, RSM* 55:6-7, Yawium g/XI	**Yakunnum** s. Huzzubum *ia-ku-nu-um,* DUMU *hu-zu-bu-um, RA* 8 p. 75-76 5:6-7, Mananâ aa/IX
Sîn-bāni s. Sanīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni* ŠEŠ.A.N[I] DUMU *sà-ni-ia*, *R* 24: 5-6, Nāqimum e/IX	
Sîn-iddinam s. Sanīya	
Alīya s. Manium *a-lí-ia,* DUMU *ma-ni-um, R* 31:5-6, Abdi-Erah a/VIII	Nūr-Kabta s. Kuruzu *nu-úr-*^{d}KAB.TA, *R* 21:1, Haliyum f
Amurrum s. Sîn-bāni *a-mu-ru-um,* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni, R* 36:4-5, Mananâ m/VI	**Yahzib-El** s. Hidiya *ia-ah-zi-ib-*DINGIR, DUMU *hi-di-ia R* 27:4-5, 8, Mananâ m/X
Maškarum s. Kunum *maš-kà-ru-um,* DUMU *ku-nu-um, R* 33:5-6, Haliyum d	
Dulluqum	
Sakirum s. Kunum *sa-ki-ru-um*, *R* 35:6, Haliyum g/IV	Šuhum s. Ušan *šu-hu-um* DUMU *ú-ša-an, R* 29:6, Nāqimum b/X
Sîn-abūšu s. Hadamu (b. Dulluqum and Yahatti-El) ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, ù ia-ha-ti-*DINGIR, DUMU *ha-da-mu, R* 55:3-5, Mananâ ba/XI	**Yahatilum** s. Hadamu (b. Dulluqum and Sîn-abūšu) ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu, ù ia-ha-ti-*DINGIR, DUMU *ha-da-mu, R* 55:3-5, Mananâ ba/XI
Ṣir-Adad s. Zananaqum	

ṣi-ir-^{d}IM, DUMU *za-na-na-qum, R* 22:3-4, Mananâ l/XII	
Ibbi-Ilabrat:	
Abi-Kurub s. Šu-Ninhursag *a-bi-ku-*[*lu*]*-ub*, DUMU *šu-*^{d}[NIN.HUR.S]AG.GÁ, *R* 23: 3-4, Sîn-iddinam 5(?)/X	Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Puzur-Ilaba *i-bi-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, DUMU *puzur*-DINGIR.A.BA$_4$, *R* 23: 5-6, Sîn-iddinam 5(?)/X
Arwium s. Abi-ili *ar-wi-um,* DUMU *a-bi-ì-lí*, *R* 32:4-5, unknown king a/V	Ili-qati-ṣabat s. Dagum-x *ì-lí-qá-ti-ṣa-ba-*[*at*], DUMU *da-gu-um* x, *YOS* 14 136:4-5, Sumu-la-El 26$^{?}$/XI
Awīl-ilim s. Šagani *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, DUMU ŠÀ.GA.NI, *R* 34:4-5, Sumu-la-El 26$^{?}$/IV	Kukūya s. Sakununum *ku-ku-ia,* DUMU *sa-ku-nu-nu-um*, *R* 26:3-4, unknown king e/X
Būr-Nunu s. Puzur-Ilaba *bur-nu-nu,* [DUMU] *puzur$_4$*-DINGIR.A.BA$_4$, *YOS* 14 137:4-5, Sumu-la-El 26/XII	Nunu-dūri ^{d}*nu-nu-du-ri*, *R* 25:3, unknown king h/XI
Bulālum *bu-la-lum, YOS* 14 143:4, Sumu-la-El 33/XI Hunnubum (=Unnubum) *hu-nu-bu-um*, *R* 30:4, Sumu-la-El 22/XII	
Kalāya's children (Lalīya, Hunāya and Šimat-Kubi)	
Arik-idi-Ištar s. Šu-Ilabrat *ar-ki-di-iš$_8$-tár,* DUMU *šu-*^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR, *YOS* 14 81:4-5, Mananâ aa	Hunāya s. Kalāya *hu-na-a-a,* DUMU *ka-la-a, YOS* 14 82:4-5, Mananâ ab
Šū-Ninhursag	
Ili-emūqi s. Lilum-dan *ì-lí-e-mu-*^{r}*qí*^{1}, DUMU *li-lum-dan, TIM* 3 155:3-4, undated	
Ṭabāya	
Hubbudum s. Maṣi-ilum *hu-bu-du-um,* DUMU *ma-ṣi*-DINGIR, *R* 56:4-5, Sumu-El 5	Rasum s. Sassīya *ra-sú-*[*u*]*m,* DUMU *sà-sí-ia*, *R* 54:4-5, Haliyum h
Lelum s. Ezulatum *le-e-lum,* DUMU [*e-z*]*u-*[*l*]*a-*^{r}*a*^{1}*-tum, R* 49:4-5, Haliyum e	
Ahūni	
Hummurum s. Nūr-Sîn *hu-mu-ru-um* DUMU *nu-úr-*^{d}EN.ZU *R* 63:6, Mananâ c	
Warad-Sîn	
Kurrulum s. Qaqqadānum (b. Sukkalum and Arwium) *ku-ru-lum, YOS* 14 102:5, Sumu-Yamutbal f	
Ahunum	
Hašhašum s. Ea-rabi *ha-aš-ha-ši-im, YOS* 14 140:3, Sumu-la-El 30/VII	Apil-Sîn s. Dārikum *a-pil-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *da-ri-kum, YOS* 14 141:5-6, Sumu-la-El 30/XI
Ilalah	
Sumu-Erah s. Munukīya *sa-ma-a-ra-ah,* DUMU *mu-nu-ki-ia, R* 48:5-6, Haliyum f	
Huzālum	
Nūr-Alammuš *nu-úr-*^{d}LÀ[L] , *R* 50:4, Haliyum f	

Awīl-ili	
A'isum s. Mahmaṣum (husband of Šimaya and father of Amaya) *a-i-su-um*, *R* 53:4, Abdi-Erah a/VI	
Sukkalum	
Gatalalum s. Aliqum *ga-ta-a-la-lum,* DUMU *a-li-qum, R* 60:4-5, Mananâ ab	Sîn-abum s. Kaṣiranum ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-um,* DUMU *ka-ṣi-ra-nu-um*, *R* 59:6-7, Nāqimum a
Puzur-Kubi s. Marṣinum *puzur$_4$-ku-bi,* DUMU *mar-ṣí-nu-um*, *R* 59:4-5, Nāqimum a	
Šimat-Sîn d. Puzur-A[dad$^{?}$]	
Ana-Sîn-taklāku s. Ganinanum *a-na-*^{d}EN.ZU-*ták-l*[*a-k*]*u,* du[mu] *ga-*[*ni-n*]*a-núm*, *R* 51:5-6, Haliyum j or Mananâ g	
Unnubum	
Bahdīya (=Bahdi-El$^{?}$) s. Hamaṣirum *ba-ah-di-ia,* DUMU *ha-ma-iṣ-ru, R* 28:4, Mananâ k	
Ananīya	
Sîn-nāši s. Kudāya ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ši,* DUMU *ku-da-ia, YOS* 14 94:4-5, Mananâ j/X ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ši,* DUMU *ku-ʿdaʾ-ia, YOS* 14 95:4-5, Mananâ k/VIII	
Kurkuzānum	
Nūrīya s. Imtaṣiam *nu-úr-ia,* DUMU *im-ta-ṣi-a-am*, *R* 52:6-7, Nāqimum a	
Dibu s. Azuna	
Lakasu s. Narām-ilim *la-ka-su, R* 57:4, Sumu-Yamutbal e/X	
Išme-Adad	
Kunīya s. **Haliyum** *ku-ni-ia,* DUMU *a-li-ú-um*, *R* 57*biš*:4-5, Mananâ d	
Katitum	
Ili-šam d. Saramanum (mother Ana-Sîn-taklaku) *ì-lí-ša-am,* DUMU.MUNUS *sà-ra-ma-a-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 85:7-8, Mananâ h	
Gabrilum	
Ahūšina *a-hu-ši-na*, *YOS* 14 92:7, Mananâ h	
Azašum	
Sîn-gāmil s. Bēlīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mi-el,* DUMU *be-lí-ia, R* 61:4-5, unknown king b/XI	
Hā'ikum	
Ilān-kinā and his son Narām-ilīšu *i-la-an-ki-na, ù na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu, R* 62:4-5, Sumu-la-El 25	
Ili-iddinam	
Bītum-dari s. Ennam-Adad and Salimātum *é-da-ri,* DUMU *en-nam-*^{d}IM*, YOS* 14 139:4-5, Sumu-la-El 28/XII	Salimatum (mother Bitum-dari) *sa-li-ma-tum* AMA.NI*, YOS* 14 139:6, Sumu-la-El 28/XII
Buṣīya	

Haliyum s. Bītum-darum *ha-li-um,* [DU]MU É-*da-ru-um, YOS* 14 115:4-5, Nāqimum c/X	
Urkitam-nūri	
Ahati-waqrat *a-ha-ti-wa-aq-ra-at, YOS* 14 134:3, Sumu-la-El 25/VII	
Ea-dāpin	
Narām-Sîn s. Ili-kimari *na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU, DUMU *ì-lí-ki-ma-ri, BIN* 2 74:4-5, Sumu-la-El 31/XI	Maṣīya (wife Bante-El, case has Bantelum) *ma-ṣi-a,* DAM *ba-an-te*-DINGIR*, YOS* 14 132:5-6, Sumu-la-El "a"/X
Rabiānum s. Sîn-nāṣir *ra-bi-a-nu-um, LB* 3244+*LB* 2722:4, Sumu-la-El a/VII	
Išme-Sîn	
Puzur-Erra s. Dān-Erra *puzur$_4$-èr-*^{r}*ra*$^{?}$, DUMU *dan-èr-ra, RSM* 58:4-5, Mananâ a/Abdi-Erah a/Ahi-maraṣ a/XI	
Kunnutum	
Wēr-tillati s. **Sumu-darê** ^{d}*we-er*-ILLAT-*ti,* DUMU *sú-mu-da-re,* BM 108918:6-7, Yawium e(=Sumu-la-El 5)/XI	
Ea-mālik	
Šubā-Ilān s. Ensium *šu-ba*-DINGIR-DINGIR, DUMU *en*$^{?}$*-si-um,* BM 108925:4-5, Yawium 1/III	

4.4 The Amorite personal names in early OB Dilbat

Unknown/other and Amorite names in early OB Dilbat

Unknown/other names (underlined)	Amorite names
Adamtelum s. Awīl-ili *a-dam-te-lum* DUMU *a-wi-il*-DINGIR*, Gautier Dilbat* 31:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 18/VII	**Abi-yatar** s. Sîn-nāṣir *a-bi-ya-ta-ar* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir, Gautier Dilbat* 2:8, Sumu-la-El 7
Adunum DA A.ŠÀ *a-du-nu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 1:2, Sumu-la-El 6/III	**Abum-halum** DA É *a-bu-um-ha-lum, Gautier Dilbat* 15:4, Apil-Sîn 6 [*a-b*]*u-um-ha-lum, Gautier Dilbat* 41:12, undated
Ahum s. Matakum *a-hu-um* DUMU *ma-ta-a-kum*, *Gautier Dilbat* 12:24, Apil-Sîn 13	**Ahi-asad** s. x-at-Amurrim AGA.UŠ GÌR.NITA$_2$ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} *a-hi-a-sa-ad* DUMU x at ^{d}MAR.TU AGA.UŠ GÌR.NITA$_2$ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}*, TLB* I 241:12'13', Sîn-muballiṭ
Anadiya (wife Itti-ilim-milki) *a-na-di-ia,* dam *i-ti*-DINGIR-*mi-il-ki*, *TLB* 1 232:11'-12', Sumu-la-El *a-na-di-ia, Gautier Dilbat* 40:3, Sumu-la-El 7	**Haliyum** s. Eliya *a-li-ú-um* DUMU *e-li-ia*, *Gautier Dilbat* 33:21, undated
Apil-Sîn s. Habnum (b. Sîn-šeme, Uratiya, Riš-Uraš and Etel-pi-Sîn) ^{I}*a-pil*-30, ^{Id}EN.ZU-*še-me,* ^{I}*ú-ra-ti-ia ù e-tel*-[*pi$_4$*]-^{d}EN.ZU, [DUMU.m]eš [*ha-ab-nu-um*] *, Gautier Dilbat* 30:15-17, uncertain date	Iddin-Lagamal s. **Yamnum** *i-din-*^{d}*la-ga-ma-al*, DUMU *ia-am-nu-um,* seal inscription*, Gautier Dilbat* 22, Sîn-muballiṭ *i-dí-ia* DUMU *ia-am-nu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 21:16, Sîn-muballiṭ 11 (also seal inscription, same as G 22)

ri-iš-^{d}URAŠ DUMU *ha*$^{!}$-*ab*$^{!}$*nu-um, TLB* 1 249:5', undated	*i-din*-^{d}*la-ga-ma-al* DUMU *ia-am-nu-um,* ÌR ^{d}*la-ga-ma-al,* seal inscription *TLB* I 238, Sîn-muballiṭ
Asīya s. Bēlīya *a-sí-ia* DUMU *be-lí-ia, OECT* 13 273:18 mu ús.sa ús.sa bàd uru za.gìn kù.gi	Sanbum s. **Yakib-El** *sà-an-bu-um* DUMU *ia-ki-ib*-DINGIR, *TIM* 5 33:23, Sumu-la-El 31/III
Ayalatum d. Gumānu *a-ia-la-tum,* DUMU.MUNUS *gu-ʹmaʹ-nu*, *VS* 7 3:25-26, Sîn-muballiṭ 1	Uraš-gāmil s. **Samaya**$^{?}$ ^{d}URAŠ-*ga-mil* DUMU *sa*$^{?}$-*ma*$^{?}$-*ia, Gautier Dilbat* 21:20, Sîn-muballiṭ 11
Bahaṣinum s. x x x *ba-ha-ṣi-nu-um* DUMU x x x$^{!}$, *TLB* 1 249:16', undated	**Yaškit-El** s. Assalum *ia-aš-ki-it*-DINGIR, DUMU *as-sà-lum, Gautier Dilbat* 1:19-20, Sumu-la-El 6/III *e-èš-ki-it*-DINGIR, DUMU *a-sà-lum, TLB* 1 249:18'-19', undated
Bikkīya s. Mannum-šuklul *bi-ik-ki-ia*, *Gautier Dilbat* 33:3, undated	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Dilbat-abi s. Ulammadu DA É dili-bad^{ki}-*a-bi, TLB* I 236:5', Sîn-muballiṭ dili.bad^{ki}-*a-bi* DUMU *ú-lam-ma-du*, *Gautier Dilbat* 14:25, Apil-Sîn 13	
Erištum d. Uhhum (sister I-x x x x and Uštašni-ilum) *i*-x-x-x-x, ^{I} *e-ri-iš-tum, ù uš-ta-<aš>-ni*-DINGIR, DUMU.MEŠ *ú-uh-hu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 18:4-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 2	Muyatum s. Nanna$^{?}$-remēni *mu-ia-tum* DUMU ^{d}ʹšeš$^{?}$[ki]-*re-me-ni*, *Gautier Dilbat* 32:12, Sîn-muballiṭ 12
Etellum s. Gaga *e-tel-lum* DUMU *ga-ga-a*, *TLB* 1 243:20', Apil-Sîn 5/XII	Nanum s. Gaganum *na-nu-um* DUMU *ga-ga-nu-u*[*m*], *VS* 7 1 :20, Sumu-la-El 1/II
Gurku-x s. Ili-ennam(?) *gur-ku*-x DUMU *ì-lí-en*$^{!}$-*nam*$^{!}$, *TLB* 1 249:6', undated	Rībam-ili s. Ikah-El$^{?}$ *ri-ba-am*-DINGIR, DUMU *i-ka-ah*-DINGIR, *Gautier Dilbat* 3:26-27, Sumu-la-El 8
Hadūnum s. Sarikātum *ha-du-nu-um,* DUMU *sa-ri-ka-tum*, *YOS* 14 131:13'-14', Sumu-abum	Rīš-Erra s. Asanum *ri-iš-èr-ra* DUMU *a-sa-nu-ʹumʹ*, *TLB* 1 243:22', Apil-Sîn 5/XII
Halāya sag A.ŠÀ *ha-la-a-a, VS* 7 1 :2, Sumu-la-El 1/II	Sagārum s. Hasisum *sa-ga-ru-um* DUMU *ha-sí-zu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 9:24', Sumu-la-El *sa-ga-ru-um,* DUMU *ha-sí-zu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 8:16-17, Sumu-la-El *sa-ga-ru-um* DUMU *ha-sí-zu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 4:22, Sumu-la-El 13
Halālum DA É *ha-la*-din[gir], *Gautier Dilbat* 10:3, Sabium 6/XII	Sakatīya s. x x x *sa-ka-ti-ia* DUMU x x x, *TLB* 1 246:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 16. Sakatiya and Habilum let a house for 1 year to Šallurtum
Hambīya *nu-ri-ia ù i-ni-x,* DUMU.eš *ha-am-bi-ia, OECT* 13 273:7-8, mu ús.sa ús.sa bàd uru za.gìn kù.gi	Sîn-abūšu s. Silibīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu,* DUMU *sí-ʹliʹ-bi-ia, TIM* 5 33:20-21, Sumu-la-El 31/III
Hanakīya [*ù* d]a *ha-na-ki-ia, Gautier Dilbat* 2:4, Sumu-la-El 7	Sîn-bāni s. Innamum ^{d}EN.ZU-*ba-ni,* DUMU *in-na-mu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 6:24-25, Sumu-la-El/XI/14
Haqirātum *ha-qí-ra-tum, TLB* I 233:6, Alum-pi-umu b	Sîn-iddinam s. Azabum sa.ku.bi ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU *a-za-bu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 23:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 18

	^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU DINGIR-*šu*-[...], *Gautier Dilbat* 34:5, Apil-Sîn 17/V ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU *a-za-bu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 25:21, Sîn-muballiṭ 18/IV
Hiparīya s. Sîn-nāṣir (b. Sunabum) *hi-pa-ri-ia,* IGI *su-na-bu-um,* DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir*, *TLB* 1 232:22'-24', Sumu-la-El	Sîn-iddinam ì.SUR s. Kukunum 30-*i-din-nam* ì.sur DUMU *ku-ku-nu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 6:30-31 Sumu-la-El/XI/14
Iballuṭ s. Apasagum? *i-ba-lu-uṭ* DUMU *a-pa-sa-gu-um*, *VS* 7 4:18, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sunābum s. Sîn-nāṣir (b. Hipariya) *hi-pa-ri-ia,* IGI *su-na-bu-um,* DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir*, *TLB* 1 232:22'-24', Sumu-la-El
Ibsatum s. Nibirum *ʾib-saʾ-tum* DUMU *ni-bi-rum, TLB* I 236:19', Sîn-muballiṭ	Uhhum s. Awīli *ú-uh-hu-um* DUMU *a-wi-li*, *Gautier Dilbat* 12:23, Apil-Sîn 13
Ilum-nāṣir s. Babil DINGIR-*na-ṣir* DUMU *ba-bil, Gautier Dilbat* 26:4, undated	Uratīya s. Babānum *ú-ra-ti-ia* DUMU *ba-ba-nu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 20:19, Sîn-muballiṭ 8
Imgur-Sîn s. Hilāya *im-gur-*^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *hi-la-a-a,Gautier Dilbat* 7:14-15, Sumu-la-El 12/IV	Urra s.m Ilšu-nāṣir *ur-ra* DUMU DINGIR-*šu-na-ṣir, OECT* 13 273:16 mu ús.sa ús.sa bàd uru za.gìn kù.gi
Ipiq-Ištar s. Ernitneni(?) *i-pí-iq-iš$_8$-tár,* DUMU *er-ni-it-ne-ni, Gautier Dilbat* 40:10-11, Sumu-la-El 7	Surum d. Taram-ilīšu *sú-ru-um* DUMU.MUNUS *ta-ra-am-ì-lí, OECT* 13 270:6, Apil-Sîn 13/V
Kakaka *ù* DA É *ka-ka-ka-a, TLB* I 236:6', Sîn-muballiṭ	Wēdīya s. Kubilum *we-di-ia* DUMU *ku-bi-lum, TIM* 5 33:25, Sumu-la-El 31/III
Kûku s. Sarrum *ku-ú-*[*ku*] DUMU *sa-ru-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 4:33, Sumu-la-El 13	Warad-Amurrim s. Hillati ÌR-^{d}MAR.TU, DUMU *hi-il-la-ti*, *Gautier Dilbat* 15:30-31, Apil-Sîn 6
Kukūnum *ku-ku-nu-um, TIM* 5 33:3, Sumu-la-El 31/III *ku-ku-nu-um*, *YOS* 14 347:24, Sumu-la-El 6/IX	Zazinum *za-zi-nu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 41:3, undated
Mannum-kima-Uraš s. Halatānum and Sabbum (b. Šamaya and Šimat-Uraš) *ša-ma-ia,* ^{I}*ma-nu-um-ki-ma-*^{d}URAŠ, DUMU *sà-ab-bu-um, ù ši-ma-at-*^{d}URAŠ nin.a.ni, DUMU.MEŠ *ha-la-ta-a-nu-um, TIM* 5 33:6-10, Sumu-la-El 31/III	Zazum s. Hambiya (b. Ištar-rabiat) *za-zu-um, ù iš$_8$-tár-ra-bi-a-at* nin.a.ni, DUMU.MEŠ *ha-am-bi-ia, PSBA* 29 p. 275:6-8, Sumu-la-El 6/XI
Meat-Libas d. Ibbi-Sîn (sister Ipquša) *me-at-li-ba-as,* DUMU.MUNUS *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU, *TLB* 1 232:13'-14', Sumu-la-El *me-at-li-ba-as, Gautier Dilbat* 40:4, Sumu-la-El 7	Zizrum s. Ilaya *zi-iz-ru-um* DUMU *i-la-a-a Gautier Dilbat* 3:32, Sumu-la-El 8
Munānum s. Šamaš-ad.ri *mu-na-nu-um* DUMU ^{d}UTU-ad.ri, *TLB* 1 246:29, Sîn-muballiṭ 16	[...] s. Bikakum [...] DUMU *bi-ka-kum, Gautier Dilbat* 29:8', undated
Munānum *mu-na-nu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 36:3', mu giš.gu.za x x *mu-na-nu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 26:2, undated	

Property owners known in Iddin-Lagamal's archive from early OB Dilbat

Akkadian and Sumerian names	Amorite/other and 'other' names
Abum-waqar DA *a-bu-um-wa-qar, OECT* 13 273:2 MU ÚS.SA	**Abum-halum** DA É *a-bu-um-ha-lum, Gautier Dilbat* 15:4, Apil-Sîn 6

ÚS.SA BÀD URU ZA.GÌN KÙ.GI	
Adad-bāni ^{d}IM-*ba-ni*, *Gautier Dilbat* 35:1, undated	Adamtelum s. Awīl-ili *a-dam-te-lum* DUMU *a-wi-il*-DINGIR, *Gautier Dilbat* 31:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 18/VII
Ahum-waqar *ù a-hu-wa-qar*, *OECT* 13 271:11, Sîn-muballiṭ 2/XI DA É *a-hu-wa-qar, OECT* 13 274:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 3/V	Habnum's children: Sîn-šeme, Apil-Sîn, Uratiya and Etel-pi-Sîn ^{I}*a-pil*-30, ^{Id}EN.ZU-*še-me*, ^{I}*ú-ra-ti-ia ù e-tel*-[*pi$_4$*]-^{d}EN.ZU, [DUMU.m]eš [*ha-ab-nu-um*] , *Gautier Dilbat* 30:15-17, uncertain date
Ali-tukulti *a-lí-tu-ku-ul-ti*, *Gautier Dilbat* 12:18, Apil-Sîn 13	Halāya sag A.ŠÀ *ha-la-a-a, VS* 7 1 :2, Sumu-la-El 1/II. This man owns a neighboring field
Anni-ilum s. Ili-duri *an-ni*-DINGIR DUMU *ì-lí*-BÀD-*ri, Gautier Dilbat* 4:8, Sumu-la-El 13 DA É *an-ni*-DINGIR, *PSBA* 29 p. 275:2, Sumu-la-El 6/XI DA É *an-ni*-DINGIR, *Gautier Dilbat* 31:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 18/VII	Hambīya's children Nuriya, Ini-x and Zazum and Ištar-rabiat *-nu-ri-ia ù i-ni-x,* DUMU.eš *ha-am-bi-ia, OECT* 13 273:7-8, MU ÚS.SA ÚS.SA BÀD URU ZA.GÌN KÙ.GI *-za-zu-um, ù iš$_8$-tár-ra-bi-a-at* nin.a.ni, DUMU.MEŠ *ha-am-bi-ia, PSBA* 29 p. 275:6-8, Sumu-la-El 6/XI *-ù* DA *iš$_8$-tár-ra-bi-a-at,OECT* 13 273:3 MU ÚS.SA ÚS.SA BÀD URU ZA.GÌN KÙ.GI
Apil-ilīšu *a-pil-ì-lí-šu*, *Gautier Dilbat* 34:7, Apil-Sîn 17/V	Haqirātum *ha-qí-ra-tum, TLB* I 233:6, Alum-pi-umu b
Apiliyātum d. Quššudum *a-pil-ia-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *qú*^{l}*-šu-du, VS* 7 3:8, Sîn-muballiṭ 1	Kakaka *ù* DA É *ka-ka-ka-a, TLB* I 236:6', Sîn-muballiṭ
Awīl-mātum LÚ-*ma-tum*, *Gautier Dilbat* 13:2, 3, 5, 15 (+envelope *TLB* I 245, 259 and 261), Apil-Sîn 13	Sîn-iddinam s. Azabum SA.KU.BI ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU *a-za-bu-um*, *Gautier Dilbat* 23:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 18
Dilbat-abi DA É *dili-bad*^{ki}*-a-bi, TLB* I 236:5', Sîn-muballiṭ	Surum d. Taram-ilīšu *sú-ru-um* DUMU.MUNUS *ta-ra-am-ì-lí, OECT* 13 270:6, Apil-Sîn 13/V
Etēya d. Ili-ippalsa (sister Šat-Uraš) *ša-at-*^{d}URAŠ DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ip-pa-al-sà, ù e-te-ia* DAM.A.NI^{l}, *OECT* 13 270:2-3, Apil-Sîn 13/V	Uhhum's children *i*-x-x-x-x, ^{I} *e-ri-iš-tum, ù uš-ta-<aš>-ni*-DINGIR, DUMU.MEŠ *ú-uh-hu-um, Gautier Dilbat* 18:4-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 2
Erībam s. Uraš-abi DA É *ʾe`-ri-ba-am*, DUMU ^{d}URAŠ-*a-bi, TLB* I 238:7-8. Sîn-muballiṭ	Uttetum d. Bikkīya *ú-te-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *bi-ik-ki-ia, Gautier Dilbat* 29:4, 5, undated
Eriš-[...] d. Uraš-zānin DA É *e-ri-iš*-[...], DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}URAŠ-*za-ni-in*, *Gautier Dilbat* 16:2-3, Apil-Sîn 11	Zida-x-ʾx xʾ's sons *ù* DA A.ŠÀ DUMU.MEŠ zi-da-x-ʾx-xʾ, *CT* 45 13:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 17/III
Erištum *ù* DA É *e-ri-iš-tum*, *OECT* 13 169:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 14/dirig XII	Akkadian and Sumerian names (continued)
Hudat-ṣulūli s. Išme-Sîn *hu-da-at*-AN.DÙL, DUMU *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *Gautier Dilbat* 5:11-12, Sumu-la-El 14	
Iddin-Amurrum's sons Apil-ilīšu and Kurum *a-pil-ì-lí*-[*šu*], [*ù*] *ku-ru-um* ŠEŠ.[A.NI], *TLB* 1 237:11-12, Sîn-muballliṭ 7/XI	Napšeram-ili *na-ap-še-ra-am-ì-lí, TLB* 1 237:2, Sîn-muballliṭ 7/XI
Iddin-Lagamal s. Bēl-x x x *ù* DA É *i-din-*^{d}*la-ga-ma-al,* DUMU *be-el-*ʾx x xʾ, *VS* 7 3:4-5, Sîn-muballiṭ 1	Narām-ilīšu *na-ra-am-ì-lí-šu*, *Gautier Dilbat* 20:4, Sîn-muballiṭ 8
Iddin-Uraš	Qaqqadīya's sons; Nūr-ilīšu and Namrāya

sag A.ŠÀ *i-din-*^{d}URAŠ, *VS* 7 1:3, Sumu-la-El 1/II *ù* ÚS.SA.DU *i-din-*^{d}URAŠ, , *VS* 7 2:3, Sumu-la-El 2/V	*nu-úr-ì-lí-šu ù nam-ra-ʾ ia ʾ*, DUMU.MEŠ *qá-qá-di-ia, Gautier Dilbat* 21:3-4, Sîn-muballiṭ 11
Iddin-Sîn's sons DA DUMU.MEŠ *i-din-*^{d}EN.ZU,*Gautier Dilbat* 7:2, Sumu-la-El 12/IV	Rakibu SA.KU *ra-ki-*[*b*]*u, Gautier Dilbat* 3:6, Sumu-la-El 8
Ikūn-piya's sons; Ahum-waqar, Šumi-ilum and Šumum-libši *a-hu-wa-qar,* ^{I}*šu-mi-*DINGIR, *ù šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši,* DUMU.MEŠ *i-ku-un-pi*$_4$*-ia, OECT* 13 269:6-9, Sîn-muballiṭ 14/dirig XII	Sagil-gaba$^{?}$'s sons Marduk-ennam and Erra-gāmil ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*en-nam, ù*$^{!}$ *èr-ra-ga-mil,* DUMU.MEŠ SAG.ÍL-GABA$^{?}$, *Gautier Dilbat* 36:8-10, MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA x x
Ili-nūri *ì-lí-nu-ri, Gautier Dilbat* 17:13, Apil-Sîn	Sasâ SAG.KI.BI A.ŠÀ *sà-sà-a, VS* 7 2:4, Sumu-la-El 2/V
Ilīšam's sons Sîn-māgir Apil-yatum Iddin-Nabium, Imdi-Ištar, Warad-Sîn and Bēlīya) É ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-gir* ^{I} *a-pil-ia-tum,* ^{I}*i-din-*^{d}*na-bi-um* ^{I}*im-di-iš*$_8$*-tár,* ^{I}ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU *ù be-lí-ia*, DUMU.MEŠ *i-li-ša-am, OECT* 13 271:6-9, Sîn-muballiṭ 2/XI	Sîn-abūšu s. Ahum-waqar ^{d}EN.ZU-*a-bu-šu* DUMU *a-*[*h*]*u-wa-ʾqarʾ, YOS* 14 154:4', Sîn-muballiṭ
Ili-ṣulūli ÚS.SA.DU *ì-lí-*an.dùl, *VS* 7 2:2, Sumu-la-El 2/V	Sîn-gāmil DA *mu-ṣé-e* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil, OECT* 13 270:7, Apil-Sîn 13/V DA *mu-ṣú-ú-um, ša* ^{d}EN.ZU-*ga-mil*, *Gautier Dilbat* 16:4-5, Apil-Sîn 11
Ilšu-bāni DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni, OECT* 13 273:10 MU ÚS.SA ÚS.SA BÀD URU ZA.GÌN KÙ.GI	Sîn-iddinam s. Ilšu-[...] ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* DUMU DINGIR-*šu*-[...], *Gautier Dilbat* 34:5, Apil-Sîn 17/V
Imgurrum's sons *ù* DUMU.MEŠ *im-gur-rum, Gautier Dilbat* 34:8, Apil-Sîn 17/V	Sîn-iddinam ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam*, *Gautier Dilbat* 20:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 8
Ipiq-Išhara [*i-pí*]-*iq-*^{d}*iš-ha-ra*, *Gautier Dilbat* 24:3, 4, Sîn-muballiṭ	Sîn-mušallim s. Iddīya ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ša-lim*, DUMU *i-dí-ia*, *Gautier Dilbat* 19:7-8, Sîn-muballiṭ 6
Ipiq-Ištar s. Nūr-Ištar *-i-pí-iq-iš*$_8$*-tár* DUMU *nu-úr-iš*$_8$*-tár, OECT* 13 274:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 3/V	Sîn-nāṣir ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣi-ir* x x x, *TLB* I 233:5, Alum-pi-umu b
Ipqūša s. Ilum-abi *ip-qú-ša,* DUMU DINGIR-*a-bi*, *Gautier Dilbat* 15:13-14, Apil-Sîn 6	Sîn-nāṣir ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ṣir*, *TLB* I 238:13. Sîn-muballiṭ
Išgum-Erra *iš-gu-um-èr-ra*, *Gautier Dilbat* 10:2, Sabium 6/XII	Sîn-remēni's sons DA A.ŠÀ DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ZU-*re-me-ni, CT* 45 13:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 17/III
Išme-Sîn SAG.2.KAM *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU, *Gautier Dilbat* 10:5, Sabium 6/XII	Sîyatum d. Gamil-Sîn DA É *sí-ia-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *ga-mil*$^{!}$-^{d}EN.ZU, *OECT* 13 169:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 14/dirig XII
Kutum DA É *ku-ú-tum* x x x, *Gautier Dilbat* 36:2, MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA x x	Šamaš-nāṣir s. [...]-biya *ù* A.ŠÀ ^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir* DUMU [...]-*bi-ia*, *Gautier Dilbat* 23:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 18
Lagamal-emūqi s. Hilum ^{d}*la-ga-ma-al-e-mu-qí,* DUMU *hilum, VS* 7 2:7, Sumu-la-El 2/V	Šarrum (= the actual king$^{?}$) *ù* DA A.ŠÀ *šar-ru-um, Gautier Dilbat* 34:4, Apil-Sîn 17/V
Lagamal-tukulti s. Iddīya ^{d}*la-ga-ma-al-tu-ku-ul-ti*, DUMU *i-dí-ia, CT* 45 13:6-7, Sîn-muballiṭ 17/III	Šāt-Uraš d. Ili-ippalsa (sister Eteya) *ša-at-*^{d}URAŠ DUMU.MUNUS *ì-lí-ip-pa-al-sà, OECT* 13 270:2, Apil-Sîn 13/V
Lu-Nanna (probably the son of Nūr-ilīšu) ÚS.SA.DU LÚ-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, *Gautier Dilbat* 3:3, Sumu-la-	Šeret-Uraš *-ù* DA *še-re-et-*^{d}URAŠ, *OECT* 13 272:5, Apil-Sîn 18/XI

El 8	*-ù* ÚS.SA.DU *še-re-et-*^{d}URAŠ, *Gautier Dilbat* 22:9, Sîn-muballiṭ
Manniya *ù* DA *ma-an-ni-ia, Gautier Dilbat* 4:4, Sumu-la-El 13 SA.KU.BI É *ma-an-ni-ia*, *Gautier Dilbat* 15:8, Apil-Sîn 6	Šubula-nāṣir ^{d}*šu-bu-la-na-ṣi-ir, TLB* 1 237:3, Sîn-mubalḷḷiṭ 7/XI
Mannum-šuklul *ma-nu-um-šu-uk-lul, Gautier Dilbat* 33:7, undated	Uraš-bāni s. Hilum ^{d}URAŠ-*ba-ni* DUMU *hi-lum, VS* 7 1 :6, Sumu-la-El 1/II
Mattīya d. Iddin-Uraš *ma-at-ti-ia* DUMU.MUNUS *i-din-*^{d}URAŠ*, CT* 45 101:2, Apil-Sîn 12	Uraš-nā'id s. Sîniya DA A.ŠÀ ^{d}URAŠ-*na-id* DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ia*, *Gautier Dilbat* 23:2, Sîn-muballiṭ 18
Nabium-mālik DA É ^{d}*na-bi-um-ma-lik*, *Gautier Dilbat* 15:5, Apil-Sîn 6	Uraš-qarrad DA A.ŠÀ ^{d}URAŠ-*qá-r*[*a-ad*] *, Gautier Dilbat* 5:6, Sumu-la-El 14 ^{d}URAŠ-*qar-ra-ad, TLB* I 236:1', 8', 12', Sîn-muballiṭ
Namraya s. Ili-sa-ili(?) DA É *na-am-ra-ia,* DUMU *ì-lí-sà-ì-lí, VS* 7 3:2-3, Sîn-muballiṭ 1	Uraš-šadûni DA ^{d}URAŠ-*ša-du-ni*, *OECT* 13 272:4, Apil-Sîn 18/XI
Namrāya *ù* DA É *na-am-ra-ia, Gautier Dilbat* 31:3, Sîn-muballiṭ 18/VII	Ur-Lagamal s. Ili-Ināya UR-^{d}*la-ga-ma-al*, DUMU *ì-lí-i-na-a-a, TLB* 234:5'6', Sumu-la-El
Nanna-ašarēd *-ù* ÚS.SA.DU ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-IGI.DU*, Gautier Dilbat* 3:4, Sumu-la-El 8 -^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-IGI.DU, DUMU *nu-úr-ì-lí-šu, Gautier Dilbat* 9:3'-4', Sumu-la-El	Warad-Sîn s. Aplum ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU DUMU *ap-lum*, *Gautier Dilbat* 23:6, Sîn-muballiṭ 18
Nanna-ašarēd$^{?}$'s sons SAG.BI A.ŠÀ DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-˹IGI.DU˺ *CT* 45 13:5, Sîn-muballiṭ 17/III	

Appendix to chapter 5

Overview of the text files from Damrum

- Sîn-iddinam, son of Sanīya.[1271]
  Louvre (26 texts), Yale (1 text). This large file has several connections to other files, most strongly to the ones of Dulluqum and Sîn-bāni. Through one person it is also linked to Munanātum.[1272]
- Dulluqum, son of Hadamu.[1273]
  Louvre (8 texts). One finds many connections to Sîn-iddinam's dossier. More interesting is the possible link to Ṣīssu-nawrat's dossier through a man called Šeret-Sîn.[1274]
- Ibbi-Ilabrat, son of Puzur-Ilaba.[1275]
  Louvre (8 texts), Yale (4 texts). This dossier dated to the latter part of Sumu-la-El's reign has only two connections: one to the file of Warad-Sîn, son of Bidānum and one through a scribe to Kubā'um's and Ahūnum's files[1276].

[1271] *R* 1,2,3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24 ,27, 31, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42 and 43, *YOS* 14 83.

[1272] This is Hābibum son of Lana-El:
ha-bi-bu-um, DUMU *la-na*-DINGIR, R 27:14, Mananâ m/X
ha-bi-bu-um DUMU *la-na*-DINGIR, SCT 38:20, x_8/V
ha-bi-bu-um, *SCT* 39:2, Haliyum f/X.

[1273] *R* 12, 15, 22, 29, 35, 38, 47, 55.

[1274] In the Ṣīssu-nawrat text BM 103192 a certain Šēret-Sîn son of Nakkurum sells a field next to the canal E-Šulgi. It is by all means not certain whether he is the same man as Šēret-Sîn (no patronym) found in *R* 35:13 and *YOS* 14 87:14, but it seems possible because of the rareness of the name Šēret-Sîn.

[1275] *R* 20, 23, 25, 26, 30, 32, 34 and 46, *YOS* 14 119, 136, 137and 143.

[1276] Nūr-Šamaš s. Qīš-Nanāya
nu-úr-^{d}UTU, DUMU *qí-iš*-^{d}*na-na-a,* R 46:12-13, Sumu-la-El 33/I (Ibbi-Ilabrat)
nu-úr-[^{d}UTU], DUMU *qí-iš*-^{d}[*na-na-a*], *YOS* 14 84:20-21, Mananâ h/II (Warad-Sîn)
nu-úr-^{d}UTU, DUMU *qí-iš*-^{d}*na-na-a, YOS* 14 103:20-21, Sumu-Yamutbal a (Warad-Sîn)
Sîn-nawir DUB.SAR
^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR*, YOS* 14 140:11, Sumu-la-El 30/VII (Ahunum)
^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR*, YOS* 119:24, Sumu-la-El 32/V (Ibbi-Ilabrat)
^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR*, BBVOT* 1 62:16, Sumu-la-El 31 (Kuba'um)
^{d}EN.ZU-*na-wi-ir* DUB.SAR*, BBVOT* 1 63:16, Sumu-la-El 31 (Kuba'um)

- Ṭabāya.[1277]
  Louvre (6 texts). This dossier seems to stand on its own prosopographically.
- Sukkalum.[1278]
  Louvre (4 texts).This dossier seems to stand on its own prosopographically.
- Kubā'um.[1279]
  Louvre (2 texts).This file is connected to Ahūnum's and Ibbi-Ilabrat's file, which are both also dated to the latter part of Sumu-la-El's reign.
- Sîn-bāni, son of Sîn-abūšu.[1280]
  Louvre (2 texts). This small file is strongly linked to Sîn-iddinam's dossier.
- Kalāya's children.[1281]
  Yale (7 texts),Chicago Oriental Institute (2 texts), Utah State University (1 text). This file is clearly connected to Yerhaqum's sons and to Šū-Ninhursag's file through a scribe.
- Yerhaqum's sons.[1282]
  Yale (5 texts), Chicago (1 text), Wadsworth Atheneum (1 text). Strongly connected to the file of Kalāya's children, but also to Warad-Sîn through the scribe Šulpae-ennam[1283]
- Warad-Sîn, son of Bidānum.[1284]
  Yale (5 texts), Chicago (1 text). Through the scribe Nanna-mansum we have a connection to Šū-Ninhursag. Through Nūr-Šamaš son of Qīš-Nanāya to Ibbi-Ilabrat and through the scribe Šulpae-ennam to Yerhaqum's sons.
- Ahūnum, son of Nūr-Ea.[1285]

[1277] *R* 44, 49, 54, 56, 58 and 63.

[1278] *R* 59, 60, 64 and 66.

[1279] *BBVOT* I 62 and 63.

[1280] *R* 19 and 45.

[1281] *YOS* 14 79, 81, 82, 89, 93, 96 and 97, *JCS* 4 1 (*UIOM* 2393), A.32113 and Owen and Wasilewska p. 296, LoganIR 6.

[1282] *YOS* 14 78, 90, 91, 93 and 99, A.32113 and Kutscher 1971 1.

[1283] Šulpae-ennam DUB.SAR
[d]ŠUL.PA.È-[*en*]-*nam* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 91:19, Mananâ f/IV (Yerhaqum's sons)
[d]ŠUL.PA.<È>-*en-nam*, *YOS* 14 98:18, Sumu-Yamutbal g/VII (Warad-Sîn)
[d]ŠUL.PA.È-*en-nam, YOS* 14 99:8, "Sumu-abum 3" (Yerhaqum's sons)

[1284] *YOS* 14 84, 98, 101, 102 and 103, as well as *JCS* 4 2 (*UIOM* 2395).

[1285] *OECT* 8 3, *YOS* 14 130, 140, 141 and 334.

Yale (4 texts), Oxford (1 text). Because Ahūnum witnesses a text of Ahati-waqrat, it is connected to that file. Through the scribe Sîn-nawir this file is also linked to Ibbi-Ilabrat and Kubā'um, in whose file Ahunum's son Ea-dāpin also witnesses.[1286]

- Ennam-Adad.[1287]
  Yale (2 texts). This small file seems to stand on its own.
- Sîn-naši, son of Kudāya.[1288]
  Yale (2 texts). This small file seems to stand on its own.
- Ahati-waqrat.[1289]
  Yale (2 texts). This file is connected to Ahunum's because Ahunum witnesses one text.
- Šū-Ninhursag.[1290]
  Baghdad Museum (7 texts). This file is only prosopographically connected to others through three scribes.[1291]
- Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El.[1292]
  Berkeley (6 texts), Yale (4 texts). This file is not prosopographically connected to other dossiers.
- Munanātum.[1293]

[1286] He is witness in YOS 14 123:10-11. Ea-dapin son of Ahunum is witness in *BBVOT* 1 62:10-11 (Kuba' um) and *YOS* 14 334:9 (Ahunum). This latter text was not included by Goddeeris 2002 in Ahunum's file.

[1287] *YOS* 14 76 and 100.

[1288] *YOS* 14 95 and 95.

[1289] *YOS* 14 123 and 134.

[1290] *TIM* 3 155, *TIM* 5 11, 28, 31, 32, 36 and 38.

[1291] Nabi-ilišu DUB.SAR
na-bi-ì-lí-šu DUB.SAR, *TIM* 5 38:18', Sumu-abum 3/XII (Šu-Ninhursag)
na-bi-ì-lí-šu DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 118:24, Naqimum f/XII (stand alone text).
Nanna-mansum DUB.SAR
^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 84:23, Mananâ h/II (Warad-Sîn son of Bidānum)
^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-MA.AN.SUM DUB.SAR, *TIM* 5 32:20, Mananâ d (Šū-Ninhursag).
Sin-eribam DUB.SAR
^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUB.SAR, *TIM* 5 28:10', Mananâ h (Šū-Ninhursag)
^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am* DUB.SAR, *YOS* 14 93:22, Mananâ g/VIII (Sîn-naši son of Kudāya)
It is very well possible that Abi-Kulub was Šu-Ninhursag's son, he is seen in *R* 23:3-4 (file of Ibbi-Ilabrat).

[1292] *YOS* 14 105, 106, 107 and 335, *UCP* 10/3 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7.

[1293] Not mentioned in Goddeeris 2002 as a file, it contains the texts *SCT* 38 and 39 as well as A.32113.

Smith College (2 texts), Chicago Oriental Institute (1 text). Through Habibum, son of Lana-El this file is linked to Sîn-iddinam's dossier.

- Ea-dāpin.[1294]
  Yale (5 texts), Leiden (1 text).

Year names known from the Kiš and Damrum texts

Yearnames of Nāqimum		Oath by	Month	Texts
a	MU DUB.LAL.MAH BA.DÙ	the king	XI	*R* 8
	DUB.LAM.[MAH] BA.DÙ			*R* 59
	MU É.DUB.LAL.MAH BA.DÙ			*R* 52
b	MU.ÚS.SA, É.DUB.LAL.MAH, *na-qí-mu-um* BA.DÙ		X	*R* 29
	MU.ÚS.SA É.DUB.LAL.MAH BA.DÙ			*R* 64
c	MU *na-qí-mu-um* KI.BI BI.GI$_4$.A	the king		*R* 2
	MU *na-qí-mu-um* KI.BI.ŠÈ BA.GI$_4$		X	*YOS* 14 115
d	MU.ÚS.SA *na-qí-mu-um,* [K]I.BI.ŠÈ BA.GI$_4$.A	the king	XII	*R* 9
e	MU KÁ ^{d}INANNA *a-ku-ṣum*^{ki} MU.[DÙ]	the king	VIII	*R* 18
	MU KÁ ^{d}INANNA *a-ku-ṣum*^{ki} *na-qí-m*[*u*]-*u*[*m*] M[U].DÙ		X	*R* 24
f	MU *na-qí-mu-um* x-um É.AN.NA BA.DÙ	the king	I	*YOS* 14 118
Year names Haliyum		Oath by	Month	Texts
a	MU UR-^{d}NIN.URTA BA.GAZ	Nanna and Haliyum	V	*UCP* 10/3 3
b	not attested			
c	MU.ÚS.SA ^{i7}ÁB.GAL *ù* ^{i7}ME-^{d}EN.LÍL.[LÁ] *is-ki-r*[*u*]	Sîn and Haliyum	IV	*RA* 8 7
	MU.ÚS.SA ^{i7}ÁB.GAL *ù* ME-^{d}EN.LÍL *is-ki-/ru*	Sîn and Haliyum	III	BM 103191
d	MU KÁ ^{d}EN.ZU, *ha-li-i-a-um,* MU.DÙ.A			*R* 33
	MU KÁ.MAH ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *a-li-i-ú-um,* MU.UN.DÙ	the king		*R* 37
e	MU.ÚS.SA [KÁ].˹MAH˺ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *a-li-i-ú-um* BA.DÙ.A			*R* 49
f	MU *a-li-i-ú-um* KI.BI BA.GI$_4$.A	the king	XI	*R* 7
	MU *a-li-ú-um,* KI.BI.GI$_4$.A			*R* 21
	MU *a-li-i-ú-um* [KI].BI.GI$_4$.A	Nanna and Haliyum	X	A.32113
	MU *a-li-i-ú-um* KI.BI.GI$_4$.A		X	*SCT* 39
	MU *a-li-i-ú-um* KI.BI.GI$_4$.A		X	*R* 48
	˹MU˺ *a-li-i-ú-um* KI.BI.GI$_4$			*R* 50
g	MU.ÚS.SA *a-li-i-ú-um* KI.BI.ŠÈ BA.GI$_4$.A		IV	*R* 35
h 1295	MU ^{GIŠ}BARA$_2$.M[AH] É ^{d}x[x]? *a-li-i-ú-*[*um*] MU.NA.DÍM			*R* 54
i	MU NA.MU.ru *ša* É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *a-li-yu-um* MU.NA.AN.D[ÍM]	Nanna and Haliyum		*R* 16
j	not attested			
k	not attested			
l	MU.ÚS.SA.ÚS.SA URUDU ŠEN.TAB.BA MU.UN.DÙ	Sîn and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	IV	*YOS* 14 116

[1294] *BIN* 2 74, *YOS* 14 132, NBC 5033, YBC 12221, YBC 12224, and *LB* 3244(tablet) with *LB* 2722 (case).

[1295] The reading of the divine name in this yearname is by no means certain based on Charpin's copy, even though Charpin reads ^{d}INANNA.

?	MU *su-mu-a-tar* BA.UG$_7$[1296]	the king		*SCT* 38
Year names of Abdi-Erah		Oath by	Month	Texts
a	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	XII	*TIM* 5 31
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah,* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VI	*R* 39
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	XII	*R* 43
	MU *ab-di*$^{!}$*-ra-ah,* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$		VIII	*R* 31
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VI	*YOS* 14 106
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VI	*YOS* 14 107
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VI	*UCP* 10/3 6
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VIII	*UCP* 10/3 4
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$		VI	*R* 53
	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.[ZA] [I]N.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Abdi-Erah[1297]	III	*RSM* 39
b	MU.ÚS.SA *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	IV	*R* 40
Year name of Ahi-maraṣ		Oath by	Month	Texts
a	MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VIII	*R* 1
	MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king	VIII	*R* 5
Year names Mananâ		Oath by	Month	Texts
aa	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$			*YOS*14 81
	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king		*YOS* 14 76
	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA I[N.DAB$_5$		IX	*RA* 8 5
	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$			*YOS* 14 86
ab	MU *ma-na-na* LUGAL.E	the king		*YOS* 14 79
	MU *ma-na-na-a* LUGAL.E		XI	*RSM* 42
	MU *ma-na-na* LUGAL.E			*YOS* 14 78
	MU *ma-na-na* LUGAL			*R* 60
ba	MU.ús.sa *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$		XI	*R* 55
	MU.ús.sa *ma-na-n*[*a-a*] ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$		X	*YOS* 14 110
	MU.ÚS.SA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Mananâ	X	*UCP* 10/3 7
	[MU].ÚS.SA *ma-na-na-a* [^{GI}]^{Š}.GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Mananâ	XI	*YOS* 14 105
	MU.ÚS.SA *ma-na-na-a* [^{G}]^{IŠ}.[G]U.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	the king		*R* 19
	MU.ÚS.SA *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Mananâ		*UCP* 10/3 5
bb	MU.ÚS.SA *ma-na-na-a*	the king		*UCP* 10/3 1
	MU.US.SA *ma-na-na* LUGAL	the king		*R* 6
c	MU LI.LI.ÌS ZABAR$^{!}$ [É] ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *ma-na-*[*na-a*] MU.NA.AN.DÍM		IV	*R* 58
	[MU LI].LI.ÌS *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.AN.DÍM	the king	[x]a	*R* 63
	MU LI.LI.ÌS É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI MU.N[A.DÍM]	the king	III	*TIM* 5 11
	MU LI.LI.ÌS ZABAR É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.AN.DÍM	the king	III	*TIM* 5 36
	MU [LI.LI.ÌS ZA]BAR É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *ma-na-na* BA.DÙ	the king		*UCP* 10/3 2
	MU LI.L[I.ÌS] ZABAR *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.DÍM	the king	IX	*YOS* 14 88
	-[MUL I.L]I.IS Z[ABAR MU.N]A.DÍM			*R* 57bis
d	MU KÚŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI MU.NA.DÍM	the king		*TIM* 5 32
	MU KÚŠ-Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *ma-na-na-a* MU-DÍM	the king	XI	*YOS* 14 83

[1296] Because this text belongs together with *SCT* 38 and A.32113, it seems likely to me to attribute this yearname to the reign of Haliyum.

[1297] Goddeeris 2002:284 read Yawium in the oath, Charpin 1978:16 is followed, who prefers to read Abdi-Erah.

	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ [*ma-n*]*a-na-a* [MU].NA.AN.DÍM		XI	*YOS* 14 113
	MU KUŠ-Á-LÁ *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.AN.DÍM	the king	X	*RA* 8 6
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.DÍM		IX	*RSM* 57
	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ		IX	*YOS* 14 87
	[MU KUŠ].Á.LÁ [É] ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA A MU.NA.RU		XI	BM 103194
	MU ^{GIŠ}KUŠ.Á.<LÁ> *ma-na-na-a* ˹É˺ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA MU.NA.DÍM	the king		BM 103197
	MU *ma-na-na-a* KUŠ.Á.LÁ BA.DÙ {MU}		IX	BM 103198
e	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.AN.DÙ	the king	XII	*R* 15
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA A MU.NA.RU		XI	*OECT* 13 279
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA A MU.NA.[AN.DÍM]		XI	*YOS* 14 109
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI MU.NA.DÍ[M]		XI	*RSM* 38
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA.A MU.NA.DÍM			*RSM* 40
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ MU.NA.AN.DÍM		XI	*RSM* 50
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA MU.NA.DÍM		XI	*RSM* 56
	MU.ÚS.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA A MU.NA.RU	[...]	XI	BM 103183a
	MU.ÚS.SA ˹KUŠ.Á˺.LÁ ˹É˺ [^{d}Š]EŠ.KI.<RA> A MU.NA.RU	the king		BM 103199
f	MU ŠEN.TAB.BA KÙ.GI	the king	IV	*YOS* 14 91
	MU URUDU$^{!}$ ŠEN.TAB.BA *MA-NA-NA-A* MU.UN.DÍM	the king		*BIN* 2 86
	MU ŠEN.TAB.BA MU.NA.DÍM			*R* 51
g	MU É ^{d}MAR.TU, MU.UN.DÙ.[A]			*YOS* 14 89
	[MU É] ^{D}MAR.TU [*ma-na*]-*na-a* [MU.U]N.DÙ.A	the king	VIII	*YOS* 14 93
	MU É ^{d}MAR.TU *ma-na-na-a* MU.UN.DÙ.A	the king	XII	A.32133
	[MU É] ^{d}MAR.TU [*ma*]-*n*[*a*]-*na-a* MU.UN.DÙ.A	mu LUGAL za$^{?}$ na$^{?}$ x	V	*R* 17
	MU É ^{d}MAR.TU *ma-na-na-a* MU.UN.DÙ.A	the king	XII	A.32113
	MU É ^{d}[MAR.TU]	[the king]		*YOS* 14 90
	[MU É] ^{d}MAR.TU [*ma-na*]-*na-a* [MU.U]N.DÙ.A	the king	VIII	*YOS* 14 93
h	MU ^{GIŠ}MEDDU (KU.BAD.AN) *ma-na-na-a* BA.DÙ	the king	II	*YOS* 14 84
	MU ^{GIŠ}MEDDU AN.NA KÙ.GI NA_4-ZA.[GIN] ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.AN.DÍ[M]			*TIM* 5 28
	MU ^{GIŠ}˹MEDDU˺ *ma-na-na-a* MU.UN.DÍM			*YOS* 14 85
	MU ^{GIŠ}MEDDU AN.NA KÙ.GI NA_4.ZA.GÌN ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA MU$^{!}$.NA.AN.DÍM$^{!}$		VIII	*YOS* 14 92
i	not attested			
j	MU.ÚS.SA NI.IR MUL MAR.TU *ma-na-na-a* BA.DÙ	the king	IV	*R* 12
	MU.ÚS.SA {ITI} NI.IR ^{d}[MAR.TU] *ma-na-na* BA.DÙ		X	*YOS* 14 94
k	MU BÀD *du-nu-um* BA.DÙ	the king	ab.di.a	*YOS* 14 104
	MU GAL.BÀD *du-nu* BA.DÙ			*R* 28
	MU BÀ[D] *ma-na*-[*na* BA.DÙ]		VIII	*YOS* 14 95
	MU BÀD *du-nu* [*m*]*a-na-na* [BA.DÙ]		X	YBC 8081
l	MU BÀD *a-ku-ṣum*^{ki} *ma-na-na-a* MU.NA.AN.DÍM		XII	*R* 22
m	MU.ÚS.SA bàd *a-ku-ṣí* ^{ki} MU.DÙ		X	*R* 27
	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD *a-ku-ṣum*^{ki} *ma-na-na-a* BA.DÙ		VI	*R* 36
n	MU ^{d}UTU	Nanna and Mananâ	?	*PSBA* 33 p. 99c
-		Nanna and Mananâ	IV	*OECT* 13 286
Year names of Sumu-Yamutbal		Oath by	Month	Texts
1	MU *sú-mu-e-mu-ut-ba-<lim>*	the king		YBC 10887
	MU *su-mu-e-mu-ut-ba-lim*		VI/3	NBC 7302
a	[^{GI}]^{Š}GU.ZA ^{D}NIN.GAL [*su*]-*mu-e-mu-ut-ba-lum* MU.NA.AN.DÍM	the king	IV	*YOS* 14 103
	MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA ^{D}NIN.GAL *šu-mu-e-mu-ut-ba-la* MU.NA.AN.DÍM	the king	II	*UIOM* 2393

	MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA KÙ.GI ^{d}NIN.GAL	the king	XII	*R* 14
bb	MU UR.MAH MIN.A.BI É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA MU.NA.DÍM	the king		*TIM* 5 27
ca	MU.ÚS.SA UR.MAH MIN.A.BI [É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI MU.NA.AN.DÍM]	the king	VII	*YOS* 14 98
cb	MU.ÚS.SA.A.BI UR.MAH MIN.A.BI É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI MU.NA.DÍM	the king	VIII	*R* 13
d	MU ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA *su-mu-e-mu-ut-ba-*[*la*]	the king	VI	*UIOM* 2395
fa	MU BÀD SAG.TA.PÀD MU.NA.DÍM			*YOS* 14 102
fb 1298	mu *su-mu-e-mu-ut-ba-la mi-šar ku-nu-ka-tim iš-ku-nu*		X	*R* 57
g	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD [SAG].DA.NI.PÀD^{KI} BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ka-at ṣí-im-da-ti ša sú-mu-le-el iš-ku-nu* (tablet). *wa-ar-ka-*[*at ṣí-im-da-ti*], *ša sú-mu-*[*le-el*] *ù su-mu-e-*[*mu-ut-ba-al*], *iš-ku-nu*	the king	IV	*OECT* 8 3
	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD SAG.DA.ÈN.DA BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ki ṣi-im-*[*d*]*a-ti*	Nanna and the king		*R* 41
h	MU.3.KAM BÀD SAG.DA.[NI].ˊPÀDˀ^{KI} [MU.N]A.DÙ		XI	YBC 7981
	MU.3.KAM BÀD SAG.DA.NI.PÀD^{KI}	the king	XI	YBC 8655
Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El				
-	*wa-ar-ka-at*, MU *su-mu-le-el*, *ù su-mu-ia-mu-u*[*t*]*-ba-*<*al*> *ṣi-im-da-ta-tim i-iš-ku-nu*	the king		*R* 3
g	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD [SAG].DA.NI.PÀD^{KI} BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ka-at ṣí-im-da-ti ša sú-mu-le-el iš-ku-nu* (tablet). *wa-ar-ka-*[*at ṣí-im-da-ti*], *ša sú-mu-*[*le-el*] *ù su-mu-e-*[*mu-ut-ba-al*], *iš-ku-nu*	the king	IV	*OECT* 8 3
26	MU ^{d}INANNA	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Sumu-Yamutbal	I	*YBC* 4375
Year names Sumu-la-El		Oath by	Month	Texts
22	MU ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA ^{d}AMAR.UTU, MU.NA.DÍM		XII	*R* 30
	MU GU.ZA *su-mu-la-*<DINGIR>		VI	*OECT* 13 82
22b?	[M]U.ÚS.S[A].A.BI *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL	the king	IV	*YOS* 14 130
23	MU.ÚS.SA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA GAL.MAH É ^{d}AMAR.UTU MA.NA.[DÍM]	the king'	V	*R* 38
25	MU *ia-*ˊ*ah-zi*ˋ*-ir-i*^{1}-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG		VII	*YOS* 14 134
	MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG		I/3?	*OECT* 13 138
	MU *ia-ah-zi-irb-ì-*/DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG		X/10	*RSM* 33
	MU *ia-ah-zi-ir-ì-il*		XII	*YOS* 14 138
	MU *ia-ah-zi-ir-ì*-DINGIR		XII	*YOS* 14 135
25b?	MU.ÚS.SA DÙL.A *ṣà-ar-pa-n*[*i*]*-tum* BA.DÙ, EGIR *ṣi-im-da-tim*			*R* 62
26	MU ^{d}INANNA	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Sumu-Yamutbal	I	*YBC* 4375
26b?	[MU].ÚS.SA *i*[*a*?*-a*]*h-za-er-el sú-mu-la*-DINGIR BA.SÌG		XI	*YOS* 14 136
	MU.ÚS.SA *ia-ah-zi-ir-ì*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG		XII	*YOS* 14 137
27	MU BÀD GÚ.DU$_8$.A^{KI}	[...]x and Sumu-la-El	IX	*OECT* 13 285
	[MU BÀD G]Ú.DU$_8$.A x x ˊx xˋ		IX	*OECT* 13 197
28	MU BAR.SÍ.PA$^{KI\ I}$ *su-mu-la*-DINGIR BA.AN.DAB$_5$.KU$_4$		XI	*R* 47
	MU ŠÀ BAR.SI.PA^{KI} *su-mu-la*-DINGIR BA.AN.KU$_4$		XII	*YOS* 14 139
30	MU É.ME.TE.UR.SAG		VII/24	*YOS* 14 140

[1298] On this yearname: De Boer 2012.

	MU É.ME.TE.UR.SAG MU.NA.AN.DÍM		XI	*YOS* 14 141
	MU É ^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$* ^{l}*su-mu-la*-DINGIR BA.DÙ	king Sumu-la-El	III	*YOS* 14 123
31	MU BÀD GAL *ha-bu-u*[*s*] BA.DÙ	Nanna and the king	XII	*R* 20
	MU BÀD *ha-bu-us*^{ki}		XI	*BIN* 2 74
	MU BÀD *ha-bu-us*^{ki}		XI	*BBVOT* 1 62
	MU BÀD *ha-bu-us*^{ki}		XI	*BBVOT* 1 63
	MU BÀD *ha-bu-us*		VI	*YOS* 14 142
32	MU E IGI.HUR.SAG.GÁ	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Manium	V	*YOS* 14 119
33	MU.ÚS.SA E IGI.HUR.SAG.GÁ		I	*R* 42
	MU.ÚS.SA E <IGI>HUR.SAG.GÁ		XI	*YOS* 14 143
a	MU *su-mu-la*-DINGIR, ALAN GAL.GAL BA.DÙ		IV	*R* 34
	MU ALAN *sú-mu-la*-DINGIR			*LB* 2722
	MU ALAN *su-mu-la*-DINGIR			*YOS* 14 144
b	MU.ÚS.SA ALAN GAL *su-mu-la*-DINGIR		X	*YOS* 14 132
Year names of Sabium		Oath by	Month	Texts
1	MU *sà-bi-um* LUGAL.E		XII	*RSM* 31
Year names of Larsa		Oath by	Month	Texts
Sumu-el 5	MU UGNIM UNUG^{KI} ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.S[Ì]G			*R* 56
Sîn-iddinam 5(?)	MU *ma-al-gi$_4$ iṣ-bat*		X	*R* 23
	MU *ma-al-gi$_4$ iṣ-bat*			*YBC* 8371
'Year names of Sumu-abum'		Oath by	Month	Texts
3	MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DAB$_5$			*YOS* 14 101
	MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}	Nanna and Ma[nana]	XII	*TIM* 5 38
	MU KI.BAL.[MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}] BA.[DAB$_5$]			*YOS* 14 100
	MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}	the king	VI[1299]	*YOS* 14 99
	MU <KI>.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} IN.DAB$_5$	the king	III	BM 103184
	MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} IN.DAB$_5$	the king	XII	Kutscher 1971 1[1300]
3bis	MU BÀD KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DÙ		IV	*OECT* 15 376
13	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *i-ṣa-ab-tu* (Mananâ year name)	the king	XI	*R* 11
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$	Nanna and Mananâ	V	*RA* 8 1
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$	the king	V	*RSM* 34
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$	the king	V	*YOS* 14 114
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.D[AB$_5$]	the king		*RSM* 44
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$		V	*OECT* 13 280
	MU *ka-zal-*[*lu*^{ki}] BA.A[N.DÍB]		V	*YOS* 14 108
	[M]U *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$		V	*RSM* 48
	MU *kà-za-lu-uk*^{ki} IN.DAB$_5$			*OECT* 13 282
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} ***sa-mu-a-bi-im*** IN.DAB$_5$		V	*RA* 8 2
	MU [*k*]*a-zal-*[*l*]*u*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$		V	*RSM* 35
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$			*RSM* 53
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$		V	*RSM* 52
	mu *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$		V	*RSM* 54

[1299] [ITI] ˹*e*˺*-nu-nu-um* (=*Elulum*^{2}).

[1300] Kutscher 1971 only published a faulty translation and one photo of the tablet's obverse, making it necessary for me to make some guesses about the tablet's contents. He writes about the month on p. 43: 'Additional (i.e.) intercalary month of the Harvest of Barley'.

	[MU *k*]*a-zal-lu*^{ki} [*sa-mu-a*]-*bi-im* IN.DAB$_5$	the king		BM 103175
	MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DAB$_5$		V	BM 103196
Yearnames of Yawium		Oath by	Month	Text
1/a	MU *ia-wi-um* LUGAL.E		III	BM 108925
b	MU.ÚS.SA ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *ia-wi-ú-um* MU.DÍM	Zababa and Yawium	XI	*RSM* 29
c	MU URUDU.ALAN.LUGAL		XI	*OECT* 13 281
1301	MU URUDU.ALAN.LUGAL	Zababa and Yawium	X	*OECT* 15 377
	[MU URU]DU.ALAN.LUGAL	Zababa and Yawium		BM 103192
d	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL	Sîn and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	VI	*YOS* 14 111
	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL		VII	*YOS* 14 167
e	MU BÀD {KI} KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} BA.DÙ		XI	BM 108918
f[?]	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA<^{KI}> BA.DÙ	Zababa and Yawium	X	*RA* 8 4
1302	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}	Zababa and [...]		*RSM* 45
g	mu kuš.á.lá [...]	Zababa and [...]	VI	*RSM* 43
	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ X	[...]	VI	*OECT* 13 288
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ	Zababa and Yawium	VI	*RSM* 59
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ *i*[*a-wi-um*] É ^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$*.RA MU.NA.AN.DÍM		XI[1303]	*RSM* 55
h	MU *su-mu-di-ta-*ˀ*na*ˀ BA.UG$_7$	Zababa and Yawium	VI	*RA* 8 3
	MU.ÚS.SA [...] ALAN[?].A.x [...]	Zababa and Yawium		*RSM* 41
-		Zababa and Yawium & Nanna and Mananâ	VIII	*RSM* 36
Year name of Sumu-ditāna of Marad		Oath by	Month	Text
h	MU <^{17}>AB.GAL *su-mu-di-ta-na* BA.BA.AL		VI	*R* 4
Unidentified Year names		Oath by	Month	Texts
a	MU BÀD GAL KA I$_7$.MAH^{KI}		V	*R* 32
1304				
	MU BÀD KA I$_7$.DA[ʾ] A[?^{KI}] BA.DÙ	the king		*YOS* 14 334
	MU BÀD GAL KA-x-x^{KI}			*YOS* 14 335
	MU BÀD.GAL x[...] BA.DÙ		XII	*RSM* 30
b	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD GAL BA.DÙ		XI	*R* 61
c	not attested			
d	MU.ÚS.SA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR KÙ.BABBAR ^{d}INANNA *a-ku-ṣum*^{KI} MU.DÙ		V	*R* 10
e	MU UM.GAR.RA^{KI} KI.BA.GI.A/XI (type of GN Iškun-um^{ki})			*R* 26
f	MU *la-ma-sà ša* /KÙ.BABBAR, É ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI, MU.NA.DÍM	the king	VII	*R* 42
g'	not attested			
g	MU.ÚS.SA PA$_5$ PIRIG SAG.GÁ BA.[(BA).AL]		XI	*R* 25
h	MU.US.SA.A.BI PA$_5$ PIRIG SAG.GÁ BA.DÙ			*YBC* 8375
i	MU.ÚS.SA x ˹x˺ [...], mi[?]	the king	VI	Owen and Wasilewska p.296,LoganIR 6

[1301] Designated as yearname "c" on the list of Damerow and Sigrist, Goddeeris 2002:285 qualifies it as unplaced.

[1302] The yearname rather looks like Sumu-la-El 6, but because of the oath by Zababa and Yawium it has been categorized as Yawium f.

[1303] Written: ITI EZEN ^{d}IŠKUR.

[1304] Charpin 2005a:172 equates the yearname from *R* 32 with the ones found on *YOS* 14 334 and 335.

j	MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*[1305]		XI	*RSM* 49
k	[...]x ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA (Mananâ a/Abdi-Erah a/Ahi-maraṣ a)		XI	*RSM* 58

[1305] See the comments on the similar yearname found on the Kiš text BM 108915 in the Appendix hereunder.

Appendix to chapter 6

Personal names from Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region in Ur III texts

Apiak

-an ENSI$_2$ called Šarrum-bāni is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.13)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Šū-Tirum is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.13)

Babylon

-an ENSI$_2$ called Abba is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.21 and Owen 1981 p.248)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Aršiah ia attested (*RGTC* 2 p.21 and Owen 1981 p.248)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Itūr-ilum is attested (*RGTC* 2p.22, Owen 1981 p.248, Waetzoldt 1975 p. 272)
-an ENSI$_2$ called SIG$_4$-*te-li* is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.22 and Owen 1981 p.248)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Puzur-Tutu is attested in *MVN* 9 139: iii9
-an ENSI$_2$ whose name is broken away states that he was the son of Ahu-ilum and the man of Ilum-beli and Ur-kubi. It is a votive inscription for the building of Marduk's temple and it is probably datable to the pre-Sargonic era[1306].

Dēr[1307]

-a man called Dān-ili is attested (*RGTC* 2p.22)
-a GÌR.NITA$_2$ called Pušu-ilum is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.22 and Owen 1981 p.248)
-a man called Nabi-Enlil is the son of En-ili a ŠAGINA of Dēr (Owen 1981 p.248)

Ešnunna

-a man called Bēli-bāni is attested (Owen 1981 p.248)

Kutha[1308]

-an ENSI$_2$ called GÙ.DÉ.A is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.66)-an ENSI$_2$ called LÚ-^{d}ŠÁRA is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.67)
-an ENSI$_2$ called NAM.ZI.TAR.RA is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.67)
-a man called Ea-bāni DUB.SAR, son of the ENSI$_2$ of Kutha, Pišah-ilum is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.67)
-a man called Ir-Nanna, son of the ENSI$_2$ of Kutha, UR-SA$_6$.GA.MU is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.67)
-a man called Šū-Ištar is attested as GÌR.NITA$_2$ (Owen 1981 p.252)

Išim-Šulgi

-an ENSI$_2$ called LUGAL-PA.È is attested (RGTC 2 p.86, Owen 1981 p.253, Owen 1997 p. 378)
-two men called UR-SA$_6$.SA$_6$.GA and Ahu-waqar are attested, the last one also as an ENSI$_2$ (RGTC 2 p.87, Owen 1997 p. 378)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Nanna-isa is attested (Owen 1997 p. 378)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ur-Utu is attested (Owen 1997 p. 378)
-an ENSI$_2$ called KÙ-^{d}ŠÁRA is attested (Owen 1981 p.253, Owen 1997 p. 378)

Kazallu

-an ENSI$_2$ called Apillaša is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.94 and Owen 1981 p.254)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ibni-ilum is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.94)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Isarriq is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.94)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ititi is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.94)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Kallamu is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.94)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Puzur-Numušda is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.95)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Puzur-Šulgi is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.95)

[1306] See most recently Lambert 2011.
[1307] Trans-Tigridian Dēr, not the one near Zabalam and Kisurra cf. Verkinderen 2006.
[1308] See Owen 1993b on the ENSI$_2$'s of Kutha.

-an ENSI$_2$ called Šū-Mama is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.95 and Owen 1981 p.254)
-an ENSI$_2$ called UR-AMA.NA is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.95)
-a man called Ibni-ilum is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.95)
-a GÌR.NITA$_2$ called Apillaša is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.95)

Kiš

-an ENSI$_2$ called Ahum-bāni is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.106)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Šū-Enlil is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.106)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ú.GU.LA is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.106 and Owen 1981 p.254)

Marad

-an ENSI$_2$ called Ea-bāni is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.117, *BIN* 3 378:4)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Imlik-Ea is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.117)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Lišānum (son of Šu-Ilî) is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.117)
-an ENSI$_2$ called bí-bí is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.117 and Owen 1981 p.255)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Watarum is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.117)
-a man called Abīya is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.118)

Puš

-an ENSI$_2$ Ahūya is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.154, Waetzoldt 1975 p. 276)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ahu-ma is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.154 and Owen 1981 p.260)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ea-ili is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.154)
-an ENSI$_2$ called IGI.AN.NA.KE$_4$.ZU is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.154)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Ṭāb-ili is attested (Owen 1981 p.260)
-an ENSI$_2$ called LUGAL-KÙ.ZU is attested (Owen 1981 p.260)
-a man called Šū-Sîn is NU.BANDA$_3$ of Puš (Owen 1981 p.260)

Sippar

-an ENSI$_2$ called Nūr-Dagan is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.168 and Owen 1981 p.261)
-an ENSI$_2$ called Šamaš-bāni is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.168)
-an ENSI$_2$ called a.a.k[al.la] is attested (Owen 1981 p.261)
-a SANGA priest of Šamaš called Ennum-ili is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.169)
-a SANGA priest of Šamaš called Nūr-Dagan is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.169)
-a ŠABRA official called Šamaš-bāni is attested (*RGTC* 2 p.169)
-a man called Būr-Mama is attested (Owen *JCS* 33 p.261)

Appendix to chapter 7

Uzarlulu year names published originally by Baqir 1949b

1) MU *bi-it-qa-am, ša bur-ra-ma-nim, iš-ki-ru*. 'Year the dam of Burramānum was blocked off'.
2) -MU *be-la-kum* BA.UG$_7$. 'Year:Bēlakum died'.
   -MU *be-la-ki* BA.UG$_7$.
3) MU *i-la-da-ha-ad*, BA.UG$_7$. 'Year Ili-dahad died'.
4) -MU.<1>.KAM *sa-ak-ru-rum,* BA.UG$_7$. 'First year Sakrurum died'.
   -MU .1.KAM *sa-ak-ru-rum,* BA.UG$_7$.
5) MU *a-bu*-é BA.UG$_7$'Year: the-father-of-the-house (=intendant) died'.
6) MU *ša a-bi*-é BA.UG$_7$'Year *that* the-father-of-the-house died'.
7) -MU *áš-du-um-la-,a-bu-um* BA.UG$_7$. 'Year: Ašdum-labum died'.
   -MU *áš-du-um-la-, a-bu-um* BA.UG$_7$.
8) MU *ia-ad-kur-*ˈDINGIRˈ, BA.UG$_7$.'Year: Yadkur-El died'.

Uzarlulu texts from Al-Hashimi 1964

Main protagonist	Text	King, oath and/or 'Year name'	Description of the text
Yaptehum	H 42 (IM 52858)	oath by Sîn and Hammi-dušur	Sale of a slave. Yaptehum buys a slave called Ayahum from his father Nūr-Kubi, the texts contains the usual sale clauses.
Yaptehum	H 43 (IM 52859)	oath by Sîn and Hammi-dušur	A duplicate of H 42. It adds the information that Ayahum's mother was called Ahatī-waqrat and a completely different list of witnesses.
W[arad]-Sîn(?)	H 44 (IM 67097)	oath by Sîn and Sumun-abi-yarim	Sale of a house(?) Muhaddûm sells a 1 SAR É.MU.DÙ(?) to W[arad]-Sîn. The texts contains the usual sale clauses.
Suk[am]um	H 45 (IM 67040)	oath by Sîn and Hammi-dušur	Sale of a house. Sukamum, son of Ilum-da[yā]n buys a 1 ½ SAR house from Labahula(?) and Bītum-gāmil, sons of Ipiq-Erah.
Nābimum	H 46 (IM 67032)	oath by Sîn and Yadkur-El	Sale of a house. Nābimum buys a 2 ½ SAR house from Bazatum and Kukudanātum. The text contains the usual sale clauses.
Lahurawe/ Belatum	H 47 (IM 67272)	oath by the king	Sale of a slave. Lahurawe/Belatum buys the slave girl Nuṭṭubtum from her sister Rīmatum.
[...]	H 48 (IM 67081)		Sale. First half of the tablet is destroyed

Uzarlulu texts from Ahmad 1964 (loans from Lasimu's temple)

Debtor	Text	King and/or 'Year name'	Description/peculiarities of the text
Haliyatum	A 1 (IM 52781)	MU *a-bi* É BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 3 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest. Contains Lāsimu's seal.
Nūr-Sîn s. Batulim	A 2 (IM 52787)	MU *i-la-da-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 5.1.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Ili-kibri	A 3 (IM 52801)	_	Loan of 2.1.3 gur of barley, 33% interest.
Ahum-ṭābum s. Burqānum	A 4 (IM 52793)	MU *áš-du-um-la-bu-um* BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 1 gur of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Yadni-El	A 5 (IM 52810)	[MU *be-la*]-*kum* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Masihānum *ša ta-mi-nim*	A 6 (IM 52783)	MU *ša ia-ad-kur*-DINGIR BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 1.4.2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Subum	A 7 (IM 52809)	mu *i-la-da-h*[*a-ad* BA.UG$_7$]	Loan of 6.3.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Yadihum s. Nurrubum	A 8 (IM 52813)	MU *áš-du-um* BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Mahlilum, Warad-Kubi, Muhaddûm Awīl-ilim and Tutanab	A 9 (IM 52778)	MU *i-la-da-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loans: Mahlilum 1 gur, Warad-Kubi: 1.1.0 GUR ŠÀ *ka-ku-la-tim*^{ki}, Muhaddûm: 1.4.0 GUR SANGA *ša* ^{d}IM, ŠÀ *is-ru-ga-tim*^{ki}, Awīl-ilim NAGAR 0.1.0 GUR ŠÀ.GAL, Tutanab NIN.DINGIR 0.2.3 GUR. [1309]
Kisānum	A10 (IM 52780)	MU *i-la-da-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 1.2.3 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Malālum s. Lā-qīpum	A11 (IM 52811)	MU *i-la-da-h*[*a-ad*] BA.[UG$_7$]	Loan of 2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Budum	A12 (IM 52818)	MU *a-bu* É BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 0.1.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Igmilum s. Lasīya	A13 (IM 52808)	MU *i-la-di-ha-a*[*d*] BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 1.1.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Ilum-nāṣ[ir](?) s. Warāya	A14 (IM 52816)	MU *i-la-da-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 1.1.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest. The creditor is not written on this tablet. The case is A 21.
Yakūnum	A15 (IM 52779)	MU *i-la-da-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 0.1.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, at harvest.
Itti-^{d}[...], Ili-iddinam and Ili-ennam	A16 (IM 52790)	MU *aš-du-um-la-bu-um* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 1 GUR each of barley, 33%, repayable at harvest.
Yaptehum s. Sapsapum	A17 (IM 52785)	MU.1.KAM *sa-ak-ru-rum* BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Ipqūša s. Šillāya	A18 (IM 52786)	MU *a-bu* É BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 1.4.0 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Anna-elum	A19 (IM 52788)	MU *aš-du-um-la-bu-um* BA.UG$_7$	Loan of 0.3.2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Samāya s. Bikkum	A20 (IM 52814)	MU *i-la-da-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$	UR$_5$.RA loan of 2 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.

[1309] This text was published by Fadhil and Idan 2008:197.

	A21 (IM 52817)		Case of A 14.
Hālišum s. Tantanum	A25 (IM 52774)	[M]U *i-la-d*[*a-ha-ad* BA.UG$_7$]	Silver loan of one mina of silver, Šamaš' interest, repayable in the month Girritum. The debtor is servant of Yadkur-El according to his seal.

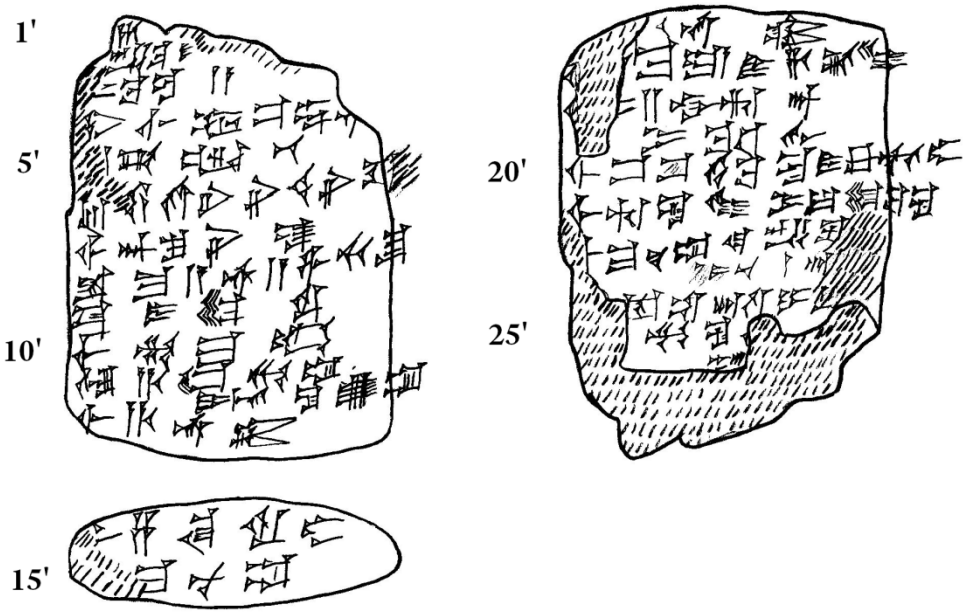
Other Uzarlulu texts from Ahmed 1964

Creditor	Debtor	Text	King and/or 'Year name'	Description/peculiarities of the text
Lasatum	Ibbi-Sîn and Kubbutum	A 22 (IM 67205)	MU *ì-lí-da-ha*(?)-*ti* [GIŠ].GU.ZA *iṣ-ba-tu*	UR$_5$.RA loan of 5(?) gur ofbarley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Huzālum	Igihluma, Iṣṣuriyami and Kudasu	A 23 (IM 67204)	MU ALAN SAG KÙ.GI (Ibal-pi-El II)	*Hubbutātum* loan of 13 GUR of barley, repayable within a month in Ešnunna.
Sîn-dingir.bi	H[amu]r-abdar(?)s. Zimri-˹x˺-[...]	A 24 (IM 67149)	[MU] ˹x˺-te-me^{ki} [*i*]*l-la-wi-ú*	UR$_5$.RA loan of 153.1.4 GUR of barley, 33% interest, repayable at harvest.
Ikūn-pîya	Arwītum	A 26 (IM 67274)	MU *a-lu-lum* BA.UG$_7$	Silver loan of 10 shekels. he will add 5 shekels as Šamaš' interest, repayable at harvest.
Zimri-El	Isberum(?)	A 27 (IM 67264)	MU ˹x˺ [...]	Silver loan of 10 shekels. Šamaš' interest, repayable harvest.
Subālum	Ilum-bāni and his wife Ašmeni	A 28 (IM 67096)	MU BÀD^{KI}-*ri-muš i-pu-šu* (Hammi-dušur)	Silver loan of 9 shekels for a business trip. For each shekel they will add a half(?)

Appendix:
Edition of unpublished texts

1. *New texts datable to Ilum-ma-Ila*

BM 57234 (AH 82-7-14 1642)
Text concerning the sale of property.

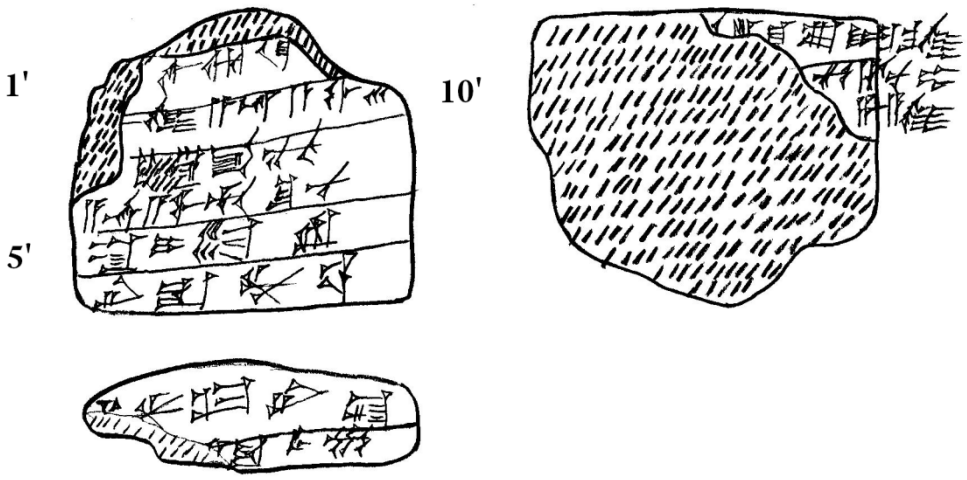


1’ [x] ha [...]
^{d}EN.ZU-*i*-[...]
[DU]MU *ba-la-a*
IN.ŠI.ŠÁM ^{GIŠ}GAN.N[A <ÍB.TA.BAL>]
5’ [IN]IM.BI AL.TIL
KÙ.BABBAR ŠÀ.<GA>.NI Ì.DÙG *ni-iš*
IGI DINGIR-*ma-ì-la*
it-ma a-na a-wa-ti-šu
la i-tu-ru

15’ [DUMU/IGI] *ma-nu-um*
R. [IGI] x *na-tum*
I[GI] x-*ba-ia* DUMU *ha-ga-lum*
I[GI *i*]*a-aq-ri*-DINGIR
DUMU *ba-ba-tim*$^{!}$
20’ IGI *is-*⌜*ma*⌝*-ah-ba-la* DUMU *sú-mu-um*
IGI *hu-la-lum* DUMU *ib*$^{?}$*-tu-ba-la*
[I]GI *ma-nu-um-ki-*^{d}EN.ZU
⌜DUMU⌝ *bad*$^{?}$ ⌜*di*$^{?}$⌝-⌜DINGIR⌝ [...]

10’ IGI *mu-ma-kum*
ù ha-ka-mu-um
DUMU.MEŠ *la-ú-um*
IGI *ha-na-tum*
U.E.[I]GI *za-ki-ru-um*
[IGI P]UZUR$_4$-^{d}UTU DUMU x[...]
25’ [IGI] *mu-la-l*[*um*]
[D]UMU DIN[GIR....]
Rest broken

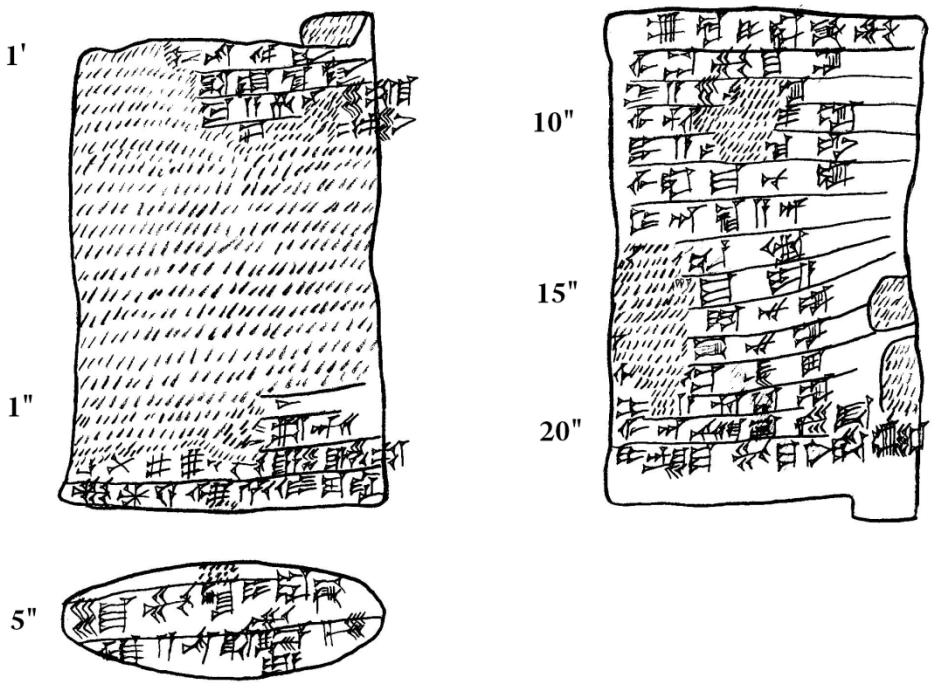
BM 57887 (AH 82-7-14 2296)
Fragment of a tablet concerning the sale of property.



1’ [*a-na*] *wa-ar-ki-*[*at u*$_4$*-mi*]
[*a-wi*]*-lum a-na a-wi-l*[*i-m*]
[*la*] ⌜*i*⌝*-ra-ga-mu*
a-na a-wa-ti-šu-nu
5’ *la i-tu-ru*
ni-iš ^{d}UTU
^{I}DINGIR-*ma-ì-la / it*^{I}*-mu*
[...]x da
R. [IGI...] ku sú DUMU *qú-lu-lum*
10’ [IGI...DUMU] *mu-ha-nu-um*
[IGI...DUMU] *za-a-lum*

2. *A new text datable to Ammi-ṣura*

BM 16474 (Bu 92-5-11 10)
Sale of property.

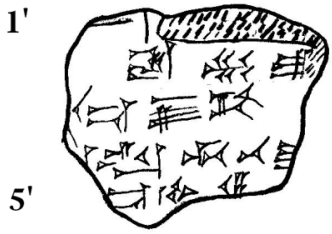


1’ [...t]um na di tum$^{?}$
[...] *ša-ad-la-as*
[...] ma a ha k[u] li šu
[...] lu$^{?}$ [...]$^{\lceil}$*i*$^{\rceil}$*-di-in*
Large gap of ca. 9 lines
1″ [...] aš
[^{GIŠ}GAN.NA Í]B.TA.BAL
UD.KÚR.ŠÈ INIM$^{\text{!}}$ (LU) NU.MU.GI$_4$.GI$_4$.TA
MU ^{d}UTU *ù ha-mi-ṣú-ra*
L.E.5″ *tu-mu la i-ra-ga-/mu*
ù a-na ša sa$_6$-sí-/ia
R. *ú-la i-ra-ga-mu*
IGI *du-mu-qú-um*

DUMU *a-l*[*i*-x]*-um*
10″ IGI *hu-*[...]*-lu-um*
DUMU *a*-x-[...]*-la-tum*
IGI *ra-ma-nu-um*
DUMU DINGIR-*la-a*-DINGIR
$^{\lceil}$IGI$^{\rceil}$ $^{\lceil}$*nu*$^{\rceil}$*-úr-iš$_8$-tár*
15″ [DUMU *sa*$^{?}$]*-ma-ia*
[IGI...]*-da-nu-um*
[DUMU...]*-ga-nu-um*
IG[I *nu-ú*]*r-*^{d}EN.ZU
DUMU *a-hu-du-um*
20″ igi ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-Á.ZI.DA /DUB.SAR
DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*

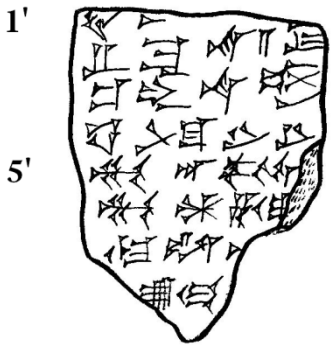
3. *New texts datable to Altinû*

BM 71160 (AH 82-9-18 11162)
Fragment of a tablet containing part of the oath and yearname



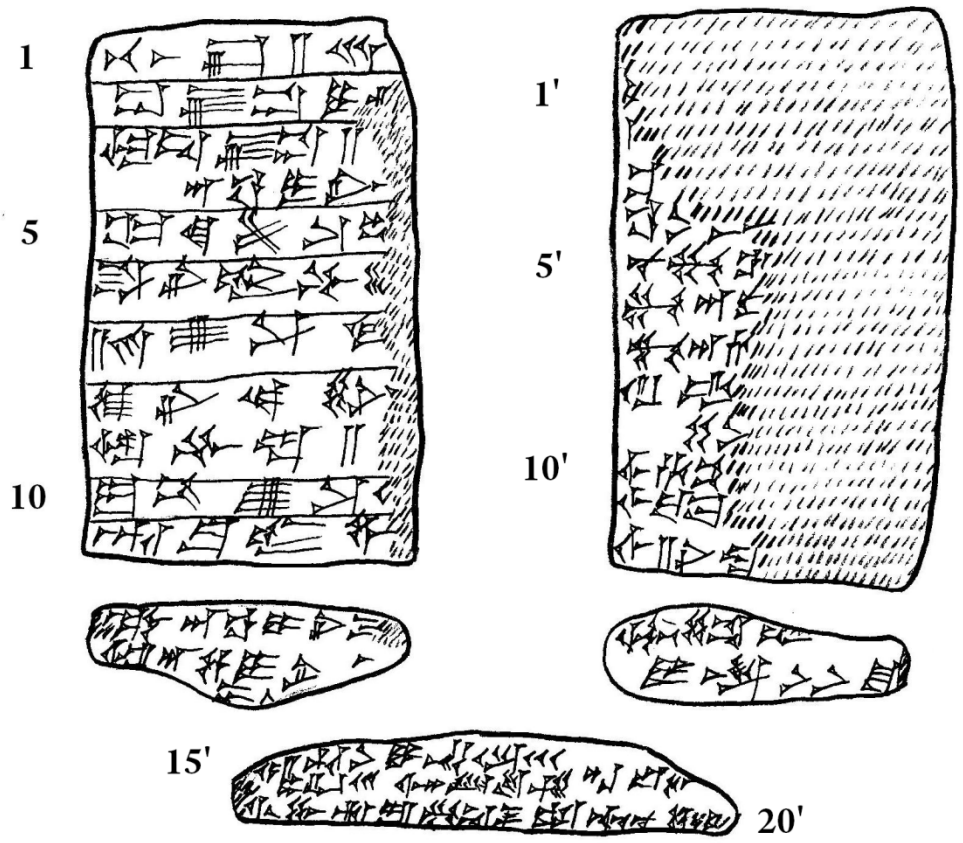
1' x [...] — [I]*al-ti-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝
it-mu-ú — 5' [GIŠ⌜]GU⌝.ZA
[M]U.ÚS.SA.BI — [IN.DAB$_5$]

BM 67324b (AH 82-9-18 7320b)
This is probably a piece of the case belonging to *CT* 48 63



1' ⌜IN⌝.[ŠI.ŠÁM]
1/3 MA.NA 2 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR IN.NA.LÁ]
[GIŠ]GAN.NA ÍB.[TA.BAL]
UD.KÚR.ŠÈ LÚ.LÚ [INIM NU.MU.GI$_4$.GI$_4$]
5' MU [d]AMAR.UTU [*ù su-mu-la*-DINGIR]
MU [d]*ha-áš-*[*ra-i-tum*]
ù al-t[*i-nu-ú* IN.PÀD.DA]
ú-ul [...]

BM 67326 (AH 82-9-18 7322)
Sale of a field by the sons of Uqa-Ištar to Huššutum and her father Šamaš-īn-mātim



1 7 IKU A.ŠÀ
ÚS.SA.DU *i-z*[*i*...]
ù ÚS.SA.DU A.[ŠÀ]
^{d}UTU-*i-ni-*[*ma-tim*]
5 SAG.KI KASKAL *qa-a*[*b*$^{?}$*-li*$^{?}$*-tum*$^{?}$]
ša-ni-tum pu-t[*u-um*]
A.ŠÀ *ú-qa-iš*$_{8}$*-tár*
KI *ni-di-in-*[DN]
ù bu-la-a-[...]
10 DUMU.MEŠ$^{!}$ *ú-qa-iš*$_{8}$-[*tár*]
UD.KÚR.˹ŠÈ LÚ˺.[LÚ]
5' NU.MU.UN.[GI$_{4}$.GI$_{4}$]
MU ^{d}AM[AR.UTU *ù su-mu-la*-DINGIR]
MU ^{d}*ha-*[*áš-ra-i-tum*]
ù a[*l-ti-nu-ú*]
IN.[PÀD.DÈ.EŠ/DA]
10' IGI *ha-bi-*[...]
IGI su ba [....]
IGI *a-lí-la-*[....]
U.E. IGI *be*$^{!}$*-le-kum*

	[I]*hu-šu-tum* LUKUR [[d]UTU]		DUMU ÌR-*ì-lí-šu*
L.E.	DUMU.MUNUS [d]UTU-*i-ni-m*[*a-tim*]	Le.E.	15’ IGI *a-hu-ni*
	ù [d]UTU-*i-ni-m*[*a-tim*]		DUMU x-30
	DU[MU] *a-ʾbiʾ-*[*ia*]		IGI *bu-ri-ia*
R.	first few lines broken		DUMU *en-num*-30
1’	x [...]		IGI [d]ŠEŠ.KI-Á.ZI.DA DUB.SAR
	x [...]	20’	MU.ÚS.SA *al-ti-nu* ˹LUGAL[?]˺
	[GIŠ][.GAN.NA ÍB.TA.BAL]		

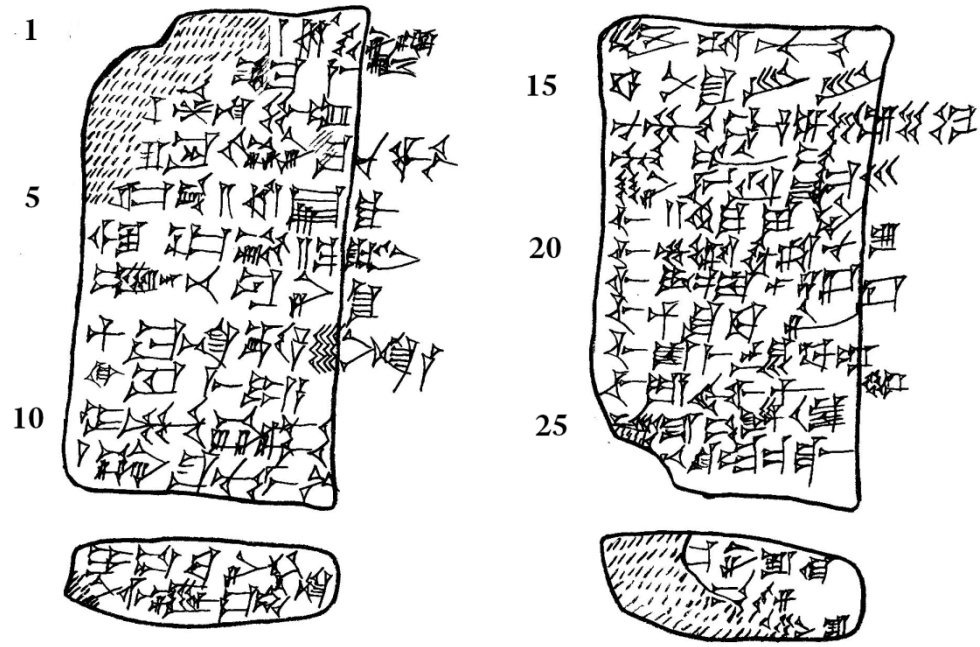
Comments:

15’-20’. The left edge is presumably divided into two columns, even though the scribe has not indicated this by means of a seperation line.

4. *New texts from the Mananâ-dynasty and early OB Kiš*

4.1 *The file of Šumšunu-watar:*

BM 103175 (1910-10-8 103)
'Sumu-abum 13'
Sale of a field**.** Šumšunu-watar buys an [x] IKU field for ½ mina of silver from Išmeya, son of Mubbikum.



1 [x IKU] A.ŠÀ *hi-ir-ṣe-/tum*
[...]x ÍL.LÁ
[D]A *an-na-bu-um*
ù DA.2 *šum-šu-nu-wa-tar*
5 SAG.BI A.ŠÀ É.GAL
ù SAG.BI.2 I_7 LUGAL
ŠÁM.TIL.LA.NI.ŠÈ
½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR IN.NA.LÁ
KI *iš-me-ia*
10 DUMU *mu-bi-kum*
^{I}*šum-šu-nu-wa-tar*
NU.MU.UN.GI_4.GI_4.DAM
MU LUGAL.BI
IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ
IGI *a-hi-ku-lu-ub*
20 IGI *mu-ta-ah-ta-nu-ú*
IGI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_4$*-ba*$_4$
IGI DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*
iš-me-^{d}EN.ZU DUB./SAR
IGI *ia-ah-wi*-DINGIR
25 ⌜IGI⌝ *li-pí-it-iš*$_8$*-tár*
[IGI ^{d}ŠE]Š.KI-BÀD.GAL

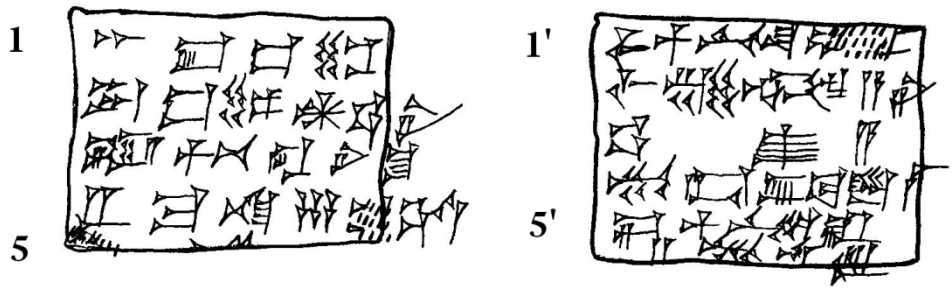
L.E. DUMU GUB.BA.NI-DÙG
[I]N.ŠI.ŠÁM GIŠGAN.NA
R. ÍB.TA.BAL
15 UD.KÚR.ŠÈ LÚ.LÚ

U.E. [MU *k*]*a-zal-lu*ki
[*sa-mu-a*]-*bi-im*
IN.DÍB

BUR.GUL seal found on left edge: *iš-me-ia*
DUMU *mu-bi-<kum>*

Comments:
1. The word *hirṣētum* (or *herṣētum*?) is commented upon by Stol 1988 (*BSA* 4) p.173-174.
4. The "2" in this line and line 6 is written as "20", but its meaning seems nonetheless clear.

BM 103183a (1910-10-8 111)
Mananâ e/XI
Sale of a garden. A two iku garden is sold for 26 shekels of silver. The seller can be identified based on his seal: Ṣīssu-nawrat, son of Abum (also known from, *RA* 8 p. 69 1:27-28 and *RSM* 38:4-5 on which the same seal features). Prosopographically the tablet belongs to Šumšunu-watar's file. The original tablet was sawn in half, probably by a dealer, the other half is lost. The fragment BM 103183 found in the same tray has nothing to do with this tablet.



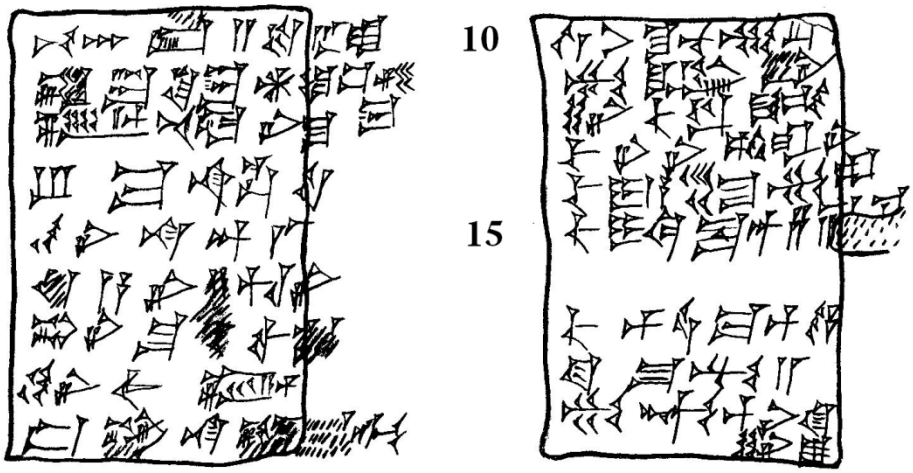
1 2 IKU GIŠKIRI6
DA GIŠKIRI6 dUTU-*ni*
ŠÁM.TIL.LA.NI.ŠÈ
⅓ MA.NA 6 ⌜GÍN⌝ KÙ.BABBAR
5 [...] ⌜x x⌝ [....]

R.1' IGI dŠEŠ.KI-B[ÀD.G]AL
IGI NAM.MAH.A.NI
ITI ZÍZ.A
MÚ.US.SA KUŠ.Á.LÁ
5' É dŠEŠ.KI.RA
A MU.NA.RU

seal rolled over left side and upper edge: *ṣ[i-s]u-na-aw$_7$-ra-at*
(same seal on *RSM* 38) DUMU *a-bu-um*

Comments:
5. Normally one would expect the payment clause here: in.na.(an).lá

BM 103184 (1910-10-8 112)
'Sumu-abum 3'/III
Sale of a field. Šumšunu-watar buys a nine IKU field for 40 shekels of silver from Ali-ahūni. Oath by the king.

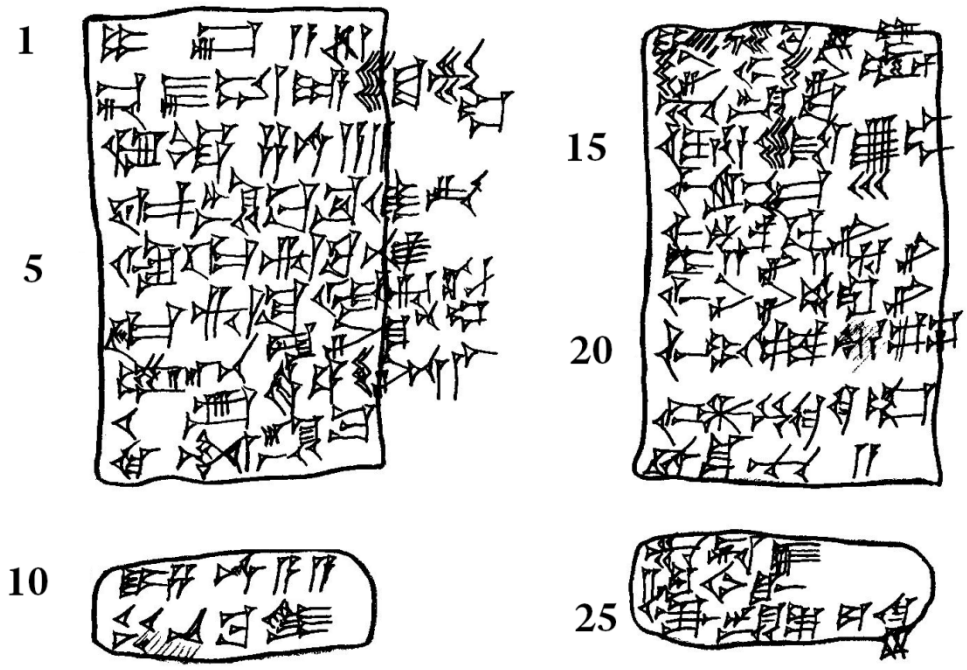


1 9 IKU A.ŠÀ GAR.RA
sa.dul$_2$ ur.ki.da-^{d}NIN.GIŠ.ZI./DA
ŠÁM.TIL.LA.NI.ŠÈ
⅔ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
5 [I]N.NA.AN.LÁ
ᵏᴵ *a-lí-a-hu-ni*
šum-šu-ᵐᵘ-wa-ᵗᵃʳ
IN.ŠI.ŠÁM
^{GIŠ}GAN.NA Í[B.T]A.BAL
R.10 UD.KÚR.ŠÈ NU.MU.G[Á.GÁ]
MU LUGAL.[B]I
IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ
IGI *ì-lí-am-ra-ni*
IGI *ia-tu-mu-um*
15 IGI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$*
IGI ^{d}UTU-MA.AN.SUM
ITI ŠU.NUMUN.A
MU <KI>.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}
IN.DÍB

BUR.GUL seal rolled over the whole tablet: *a-lí-a-hu-ni*
DUMU *nu-na-tum*

Comments:
1. 'A.ŠÀ GAR.RA' means *tawwirtum*, see the comments by Stol 1988 (*BSA* 4) p. 177-181
2. This line must tell us something about the field's location, this is why is opted for a reading "sa.dul?" which means "rear". A problem nevertheless remains with the signs ur? ki da. We could interpret Urkida-Ningišzida as a personal name, but such a name would be unique. It could also refer to some kind of shrine of Ningišzida.

BM 103191 (1910-10-8 119)
'Haliyum c'/III
Sale of a field. Bunubalum buys a four IKU field from Warad-Sîn, son of Sanaya for ten shekels of silver.



1 4 IKU A.ŠÀ
ÚS.SA.DU *ia-tu-mu-/um*
ù PA_5 *sà-na-a-a*
SAG ^{d}EN.ZU-*da-mi-iq*
5 *ù* SAG DAL.BA.NA
ka-ri-su ù ar-<wi>-ta-/nu-um
ŠÁM.TIL.LA.NI.ŠÈ
10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR IN.NA.LÁ
KI IR_{11}-^{d}EN.ZU
10L.E. DUMU *sà-na-a-a*
ʾbuʾ-nu-ba-lum
R. DUMU *ṣí-ba-ru-um*
IN.ŠI.IN.ŠÁM

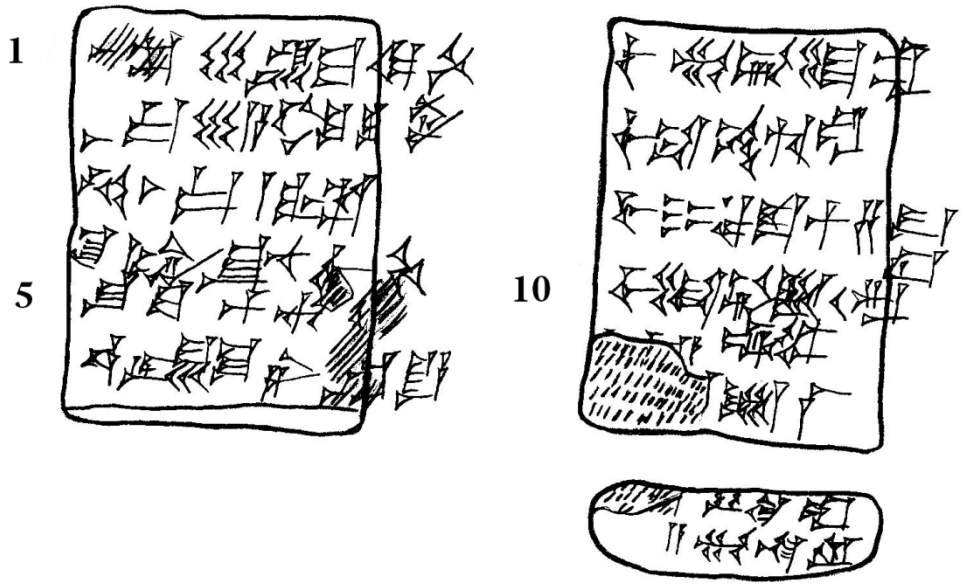
BUR.GUL seal on upper and left edge: ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU
DUMU *sà-na-a-a*

MU ^{d}EN.ZU
15 *ù ha-li-ú-um*
<IN>.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ
IGI DINGIR-*šu-ba-ni*
DUMU *a-lí-a-hu-ni*
IGI *ì-lí-am-ra-ni*
20 IGI *i-di-iš*-^{d}*za-ba*$_4$-*ba*$_4$
IGI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG
ITI ŠU.NUMUN.A
U.E. MU.ÚS.SA
I_7 ÁB.GAL
25 *ù* ME-^{d}EN.LÍL *is-ki-/ru*

Comments:
This is the same field that was sold in the same year and month by Bunubalum to Šumšunu-watar in *RA* 8 7: it has the same size, price and neighbors. The witnesses also are largely the same. Bunubalum must have acted as a middle man for Šumšunu-watar. It is likely that this text and *RA* 8 7 were written consecutively. Why Šumšunu-watar did not buy the field directly from Warad-Sîn remains a mystery.

This text was written first and it shows some signs of sloppiness: the canal of Sanaya in line 3 is defined in *RA* 8 7 as 'PA_5 $ŠAG_5$ *sàˈ-/na-a-a*': The 'good' canal (of) Sanaya. The writer Nanna-kiag has also forgotten the sign /wi/ in Arwitānum's name in line 6 and the sign /in/ in the verb in line 16. In addition, the witness Erra-gašer, son of Susinum, is missing in our text. This could also mean of course that both texts were in fact written on two seperate moments. The yearname is actually a yearname belonging to Sumu-ditāna of Marad.

BM 103194(1910-10-8 122)
Mananâ e/XI
Loan of barley. Šumsunu-watar lends one GUR of barley to both Sîn-dayyān and Ahi-kulub, they must repay at harvest. The interest is the regular 33% on barley.

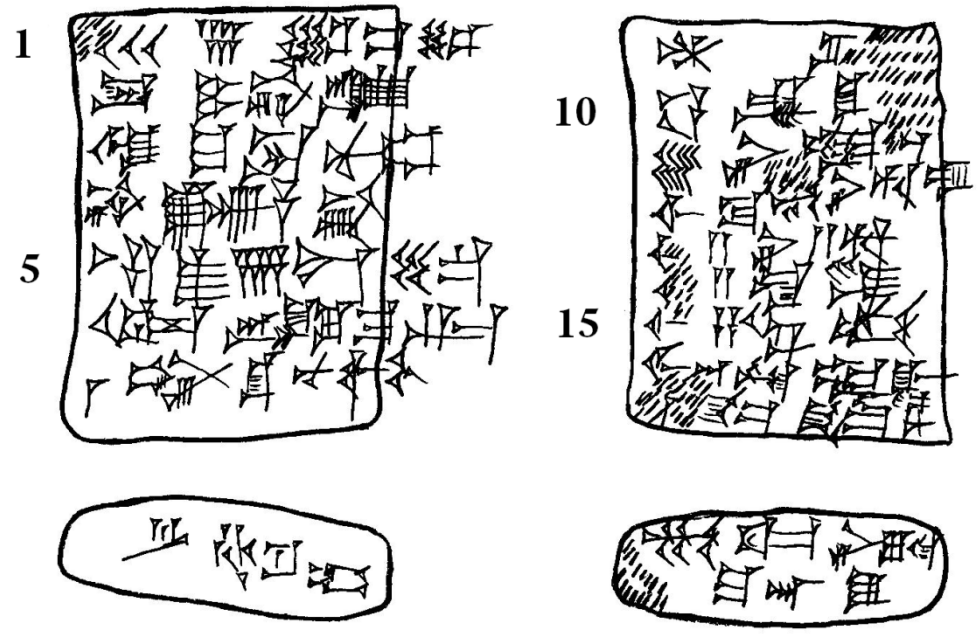


1 1 GUR ŠE ^{d}EN.ZU-DI.KUD
1 GUR ŠE *a-hi-ku-lu-ub*
MÁŠ 1 GUR 0.1.4.0.TA
KI *šum-šu-nu-wa-tar*
5 ŠU.BA.AN.TI.ʿEŠʾ
UD.EBUR.ŠÈ Ì.ÁG.E
R. IGI *mu-pé-tu-um*
IGI *ša-am-hu-um*
IGI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_4$*-/ba*$_4$
10 IGI *li-pí-it-iš*$_8$*-tár* /DUB.SAR
[ITI ZÍ]Z.A
[MU.Ú]S Á.LÁ
U.E [É ^{d}]ŠEŠ.KI.RA
A MU.NA.RU

BUR.GUL seal on lower and left edge: *a-hi-ku-lu-ub*
DUMU *sa-da-a-a*

Comments:
12. Šumšunu-watar's archive contains six other obligations all dated to month XI Mananâ e, it is most likely that this text also belongs within this group, that is why the yearname is reconstructed as Mananâ e, instead of Mananâ d.

BM 103196 (1910-10-8 124)
'Sumu-abum 13'/V
Obligation. Šumšunu-watar has a claim on Sîn-mālik concerning the yield of a thirty-seven SAR garden, payable at harvest. Hasikum acts as 'NÍG' responsible.



1 37 SAR ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$
DA *i-bi-*^{d}EN.LÍL
ù ku-da-nu-um
GÚ.UN.BI
5 1.3.4.9 SILA$_3$ ŠE.GUR
UGU ^{d}EN.ZU-*ma-lik*
^{I}*šum-šu-nu-wa-tar*
L.E. NÍG *ha-si-kum*
R. AN.TU[K]
10 UD.EBUR.ŠÈ

ŠE Ì.ÁG.^{r}E^{r}
IGI *sú-mu-ni-hu-um*
IGI *a-lí-a-hu-ni*
IG[I] *a-la-lum*
15 IGI *ha-si-kum*
IGI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL /DUB.SAR
^{r}ITI^{r} NE.NE.GAR
U.E. mu *ka-zal-lu*^{ki}
BA.AN.DÍB

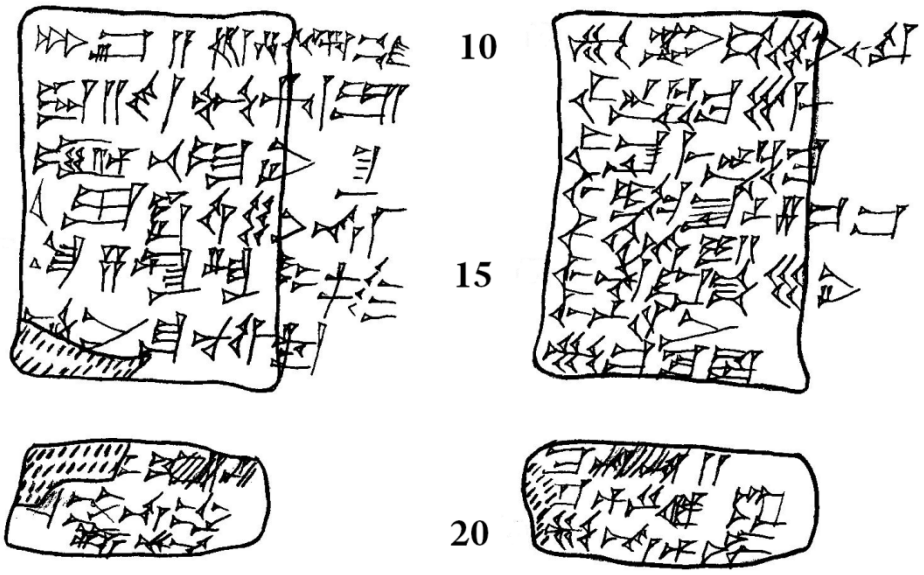
BUR.GUL seal on left edge and lower edge: *ha-si-kum*
DUMU *ha-lu-um*

Comments:
This type of text occurs more often in Šumšunu-watar's file, see the other examples and explanation in Goddeeris 2002 p. 271-272. We would expect to see the lease of this garden expressed in dates, but Sîn-malik apparently owes Šumšunu-watar an amount of barley as the garden's lease.

This text clearly belongs to *YOS* 14 114, in which the same garden is bought by Šumšunu-watar from Hasikum for ten and ⅔ shekels of silver (dated to the same month and year). Šumšunu-watar first buys the field and then leases it to a third party (Sîn-malik). However, the original seller still retains a certain role by sealing the lease and occuring in the text with the sign 'NÍG' and as a witness.

A parallel case is seen in *RSM* 48 where Kudānum acts as 'NÍG' for a garden leased out by Šumšunu-watar. This garden was probably bought by Šumšunu-watar from Kudānum in *YOS* 14 110. Incidentally, it borders Hasikum's garden. We see that Šumšunu-watar's purchases concern mostly garden and fields bordering each other. Hasikum and Kudānum were probably brothers and the sons of Halum/Halilum.

BM 103197 (1910-10-8 125)
Mananâ e
Sale of a field. Šumšunu-watar buys a 3 IKU field from Salala, son of Pallum for 10 shekels of silver.



1 3 IKU A.ŠÀ *ha-ar-bi* x
DA A.ŠÀ *gu-ri-ia*
ŠÀM.TIL.LA.NI.ŠÈ
10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR IN.NA.LÁ
5 KI *sà-la-la* DUMU *pa-lum*
[*š*]*um-šu-nu-wa-tár*
L.E.[IN.Š]I.ŠÁM
[G]IŠGAN.NA ÍB.-
TA.BAL
R.10 MU LUGAL.BI IN.PÀD

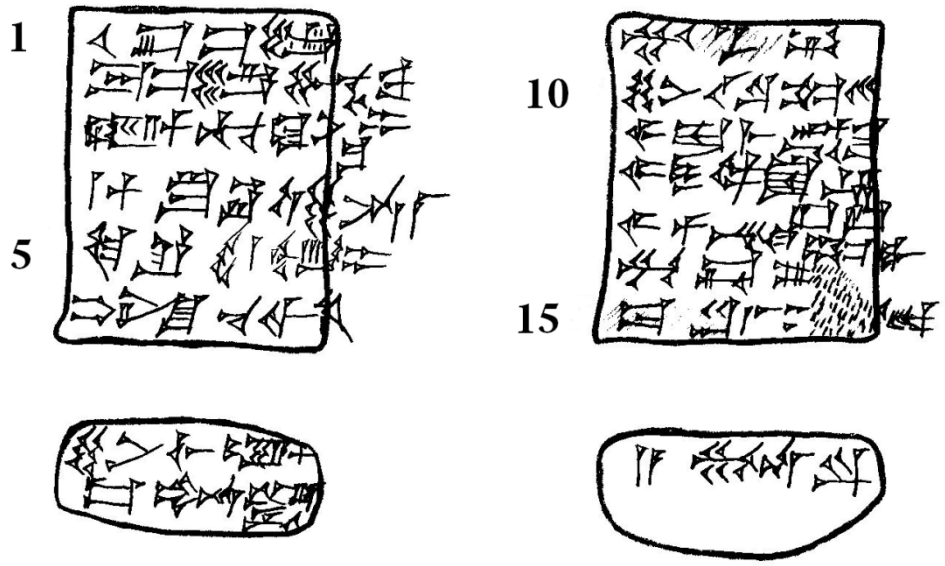
IGI ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-me*
IGI *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU
IGI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-ba*$_4$*-ba*$_4$
IGI *hi-na-ia*
15 IGI *èr-ra-ga-še-er*
IGI ^{d}UTU-*ni*
MU ^{GIŠ}KUŠ.Á.<LÁ>
U.E *ma-na-na-a*
⌜É⌝ ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI.RA
20 MU.NA.AN.DÍM

BUR.GUL seal found on left edge: *sà-la-la*
DUMU *pa-al-lum*

Comments:
1. The qualification of the field is again difficult to understand. I suspect that *ha-ar-bi*-x has something to do with the word *harbum* 'deserted' or 'plow'.

17. The occurence of both GIŠ and KUŠ as determinatives is noteworthy.

BM 103199 (1910-10-8 127)
Mananâ e
Sale of an orchard of date-palms. Šumšunu-watar buys a half IKU orchard from Etellum, son of Haliyum for one and a half shekels of silver.



1	½ IKU ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR	R.	MU ˹LUGAL˺.BI
	DA ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR *bu-nu-ba-/lum*	10	IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ
	ŠÁM.TI.LA.NI./ŠÈ		IGI *iš-me-*^{d}EN.ZU
	1 ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR IN.NA.LÁ		IGI *i-di-iš-*^{d}*za-/ba$_4$-ba$_4$*
5	KI *e-te-el-lum*		IGI ^{d}ŠEŠ.KI-BÀD.GAL
	šum-šu-nu-wa-tar		MU.ÚS.SA
L.E.	IN.ŠI.ŠÁM	15	˹KUŠ Á˺.LÁ ˹É˺ [^{d}Š]EŠ.KI
	^{GIŠ}GAN.NA ÍB.TA./BAL	U.E.	A MU.NA.RU

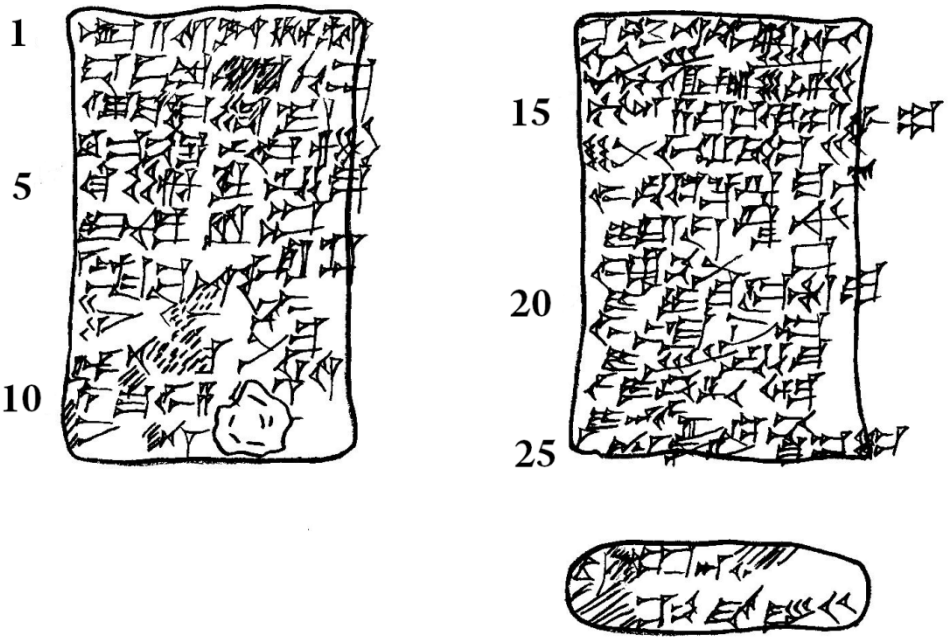
BUR.GUL seal rolled over whole tablet: *e-te-lum*
DUMU *ha-˹li-um˺*

Comments:
3. Note that the sign /ti/ is written instead of /til/.

4. The price is very low, especially when compared to *RSM* 34, where a one IKU orchard is sold for 35 shekels.

4.2 *The file of Ṣīssu-nawrat:*

BM 103192 (1910-10-8 121)
Yawium c/XI
Sale of a field. Ṣīssu-nawrat buys a one IKU field from Šēret-Sîn, son of Nukkurum, for 3⅔ ¼ shekels of silver



1 1 iku A.ŠÀ *i-na* ha.an.ša ⌜x⌝
ÚS.SA.DU ⌜*na-qú*⌝-[*m*]*u*-⌜*um*⌝
ù sú-ka-li-ia
SAG.BI E ^{d}ŠUL.GI
5 KI *še-re-et*-^{d}EN.ZU
DUMU *nu-ku-ru-um*
^{I}*ṣi-sú-na-aw*$_{7}$*-ra-at*
IN!.⌜ŠI⌝.ŠÁM!
ŠÁM.TIL.[L]A.NI.ŠÈ
10 3⅔ GÍN IGI.4.G[ÁL K]Ù.BABBAR

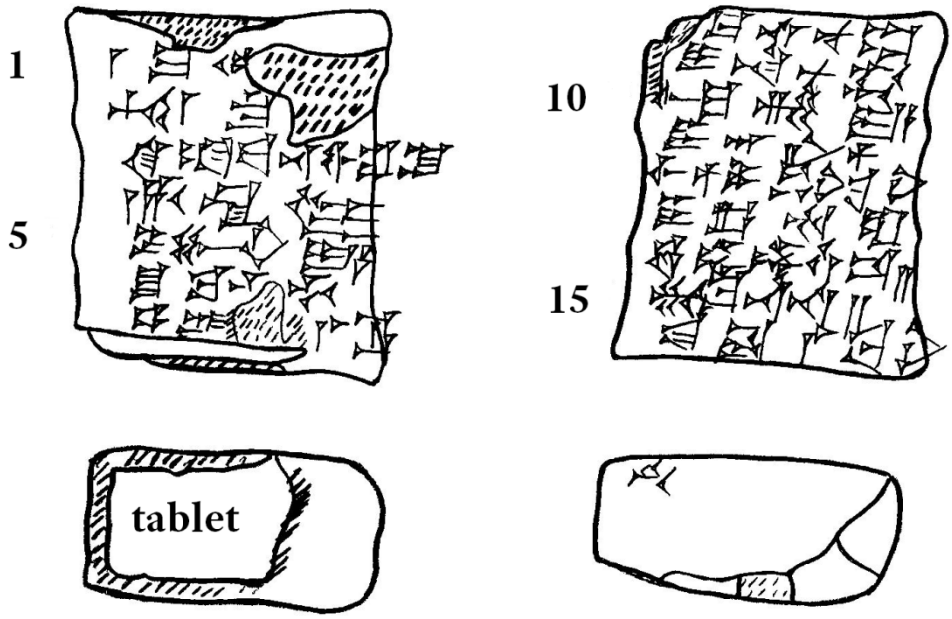
15 MU ^{d}*za-ba*$_{4}$*-ba*$_{4}$ *ù ia-wi-um*
IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ
IGI ^{d}EN.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am*
DUMU *é-a-ba-la-ṭì*
IGI *ra-šum*-É
20 DUMU *i-ku-pi*$_{4}$*-èr-ra*
ṣi-lí-ia!
DUMU LÚ-^{d}EN.ZU
IGI *i-pí-iq-iš*$_{8}$*-tár*
DUMU ^{d}*we-er-ku-bi*

[I]N.˹NA˺.[AN.L]Á
R. GIŠGAN.NA ÍB.TA.BAL
UD.KÚR.<ŠÈ> LÚ.LÚ
NU.MU.UN.GI$_4$.GI$_4$
25 I[GI]ˈ ÌR-*ì-lí-šu* DUB.SAR
U.E. I[TI] EZEN ^{d}I[ŠKUR]
[MU URU]DU ALAN LUGAL

BUR.GUL seal found on lower and left edge: *še-re-et-*^{d}EN.ZU
DUMU *nu-ku-ru-um*

Comments:
1. The qualification of this field is puzzling, 'ha.an.ša' perhaps refers to the field's location.
19. This name should be read as Rašub-bītum.
26. As in *RSM* 55, the month name is Semitic, see Greengus 1987 and Greengus 2001.

BM 103198 (1910-10-8 126)
Mananâ d/IX
Loan of silver. Ṣīssu-nawrat lends one shekel of silver at interest to Halalum, son of Puhiya, repayable at harvest. Unopened envelope.



1 1 GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR]
MÁŠ 1 GÍN [...]
KI *ṣi-sú-na-aw-ra-at*
I*ha-la-lum*
5 DUMU *pu-hi-ia*
ŠU.BA.AN.TI
UD.EBU[R.ŠÈ Ì].LÁ.E
R. [IGI] *ku-na-nu-um*
DUMU *na-nu-kum*

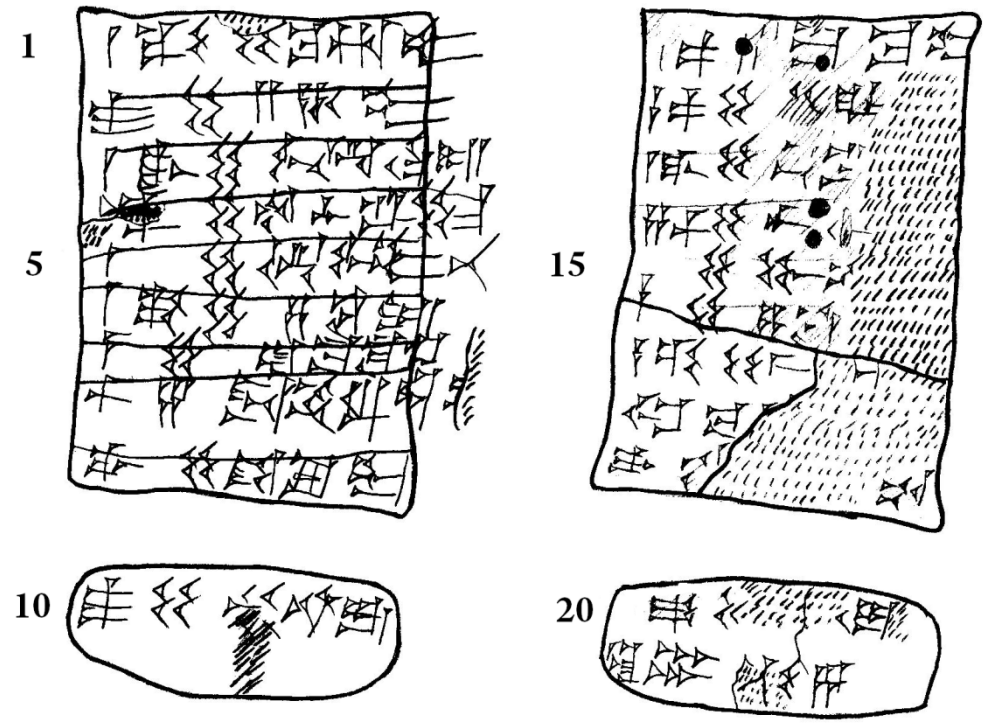
10 IGI *ku-sí-ia*
DUMU *an-ni*-DINGIR
IGI d*i-šum-ba-ni*
DUMU *dan-èr-ra*
ITI GAN.GAN.È.A
15 MU *ma-na-na-a*
KUŠ.Á.LÁ BA.DÙ
U.E {MU}

BUR.GUL seal on all edges: dEN.ZU? x x
[DUMU] *pu-hi-a-a*

Comments:
We would expect the BUR.GUL seal to be made out in Halalum's name, but this does not seem to be the case.

4.3 *An administrative text probably from Damrum*

BM 103180 (1910-10-8 108)
undated
Administrative text. Amounts of barley followed by mostly people with female names.



1 0.1.5.0 ŠE *ku-ri-tum*
0.0.3.0 ŠE *a-ha-tum*
0.1.4.0 ŠE *wa-ar-˹di˺-ia*
˹0.1˺.4˺.0˺ ŠE ÌR-^{d}MAR.˹TU˺
5 0.1.0.0 ŠE *ar-wi-tum* {nu}
0.1.5.0 ŠE *sà-ba-ia*
0.2.0.0 ŠE *la-ma-su-um*
0.0.1.5 *da-am-ru-um-* x[...]
0.0.4.0 ŠE *ša-lu-úr-<tum>*
L.E. 10 0.0.3.0 ŠE ˹*mu*˺*-na-ia*
R. 0.1.2.˹6˺ ˹*ma*˺ *-ma-tum*
0.2.2.0 ŠE ˹30˺-*ra*˺-[*bi*˺]
0.1.4.0 ŠE ˹^{d}EN˺.ZU˺˺-[....]
0.4.1.0 ŠE ^{d}˹x˺-[...]
15 0.1.0.0 ŠE ˹*bu*˺-˹x˺-[...]
0.1.0.0 ŠE ˹x x˺ [...]
0.2.5!.0 ŠE ˹x˺ [...]
ù ba-[...]
0.0.4.0 ŠE ˹x˺ [...]
U.E.20 ˹0.1˺.5˺.0 ŠE˺ [...] ˹x˺ ia
ŠU.NIGIN 6.0˺.˹5˺˺.5

Comments:
This text, has been included here because it is part of the same collection as the other Mananâ-dynasty texts found in the British Museum. In addition, it has all the same features as these texts: same shape, colour and size. This is however not proof that it also belongs to these archives.
8. The name in this line is interesting: Charpin 2004 p. 89 note 320 has proposed Damrum as the main provenance for the Mananâ-dynasty texts.
21. The total does not add up, possiby because the reading of some amounts remains uncertain.

5. *New texts from early OB Kiš*

BM 108915 (1914-4-7 81)
unknown date
Surety. Sîn-naši accepts the liability over the claim of 16 shekels of silver owed by Yamukum to Ahūni.



1 *ba-aq-ri*
16 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
ša ia-mu-kum

10 DUMU *iš-ma-ah*-DINGIR
IGI *ha-an-ha-nu-um*
DUMU *ri-iš-be-lí*

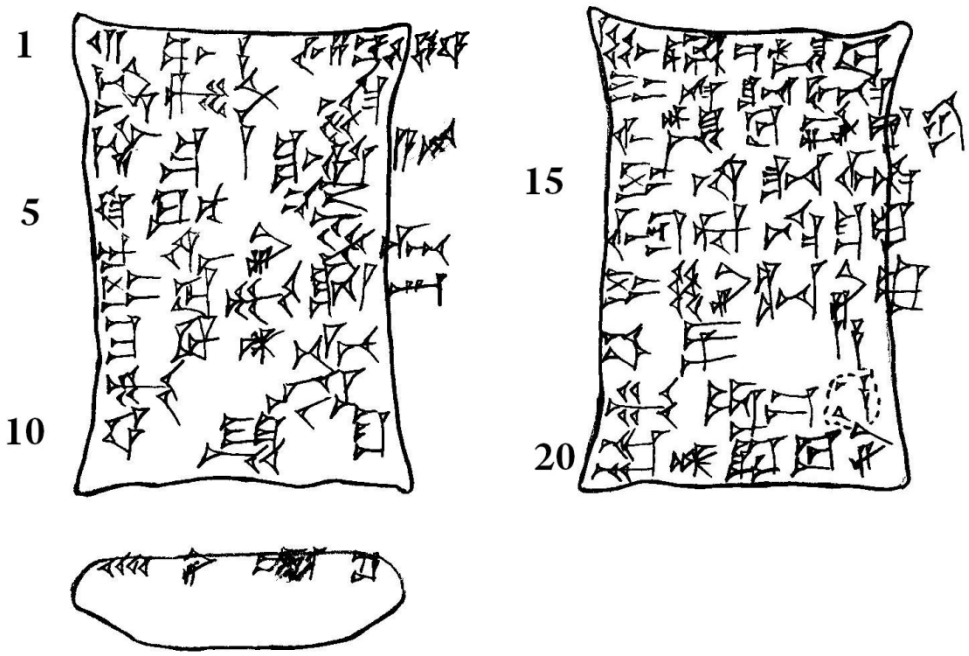
UGU *a-hu-ni i-šu-<ú>*
5 ^{d}EN.ZU-*na-ši*
BA.NI.IB.GI$_4$.GI$_4$
IGI *ú-ṣi-na-wi-ir*
R. DUMU *ha-na-kum*
IGI *ni-di-it*-DINGIR
IGI *ri-iš-èr-ra*
DUMU *ba-tu-lum*
15 IGI *e-ri-ib*-^{d}EN.ZU
ITI AB.È.A
U.E. MU a-bi-x x x
LUGAL.E

illegible seal impression on left edge

17. The name of the king is -unfortunately- not very readable. My best guess is that the name could be read as *a-bi-a*$^{?}$*-nu*$^{?}$*-uh*$^{?}$. There is no king by that name known to me. However, on a cylinder seal published by Ball in 1899 (p. 20), we have a royal name that vaguely resembles this name. Frayne 1990 E4.0.6 p. 815 reads the seal: ^{d}ŠEŠ-KI.ÁG, DUMU *ma-nu-um-ša-ni-in-š*[*u*], ÌR *a-bi-nu*-x. This *a-bi-nu*-x and our *a-bi-a*$^{?}$*-nu*$^{?}$*-uh*$^{?}$ have names which look very much alike.

A similar (royal) name is found as yearname on *RSM* 49 (MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*), see the comments by Langdon 1911 p. 238 n. 50 ; he takes it for a variation of Sumu-abum 10.

BM 108918 (1914-4-7 84)
Yawium e (=Sumu-la-El 5)/XI
Double loan. Kunūtum lends 12 ¼ shekels of silver against the normal interest rate and 420 $sila_3$ of barley at an interest rate of 33% to Wēr-tillatī. During the harvest he will repay in barley.



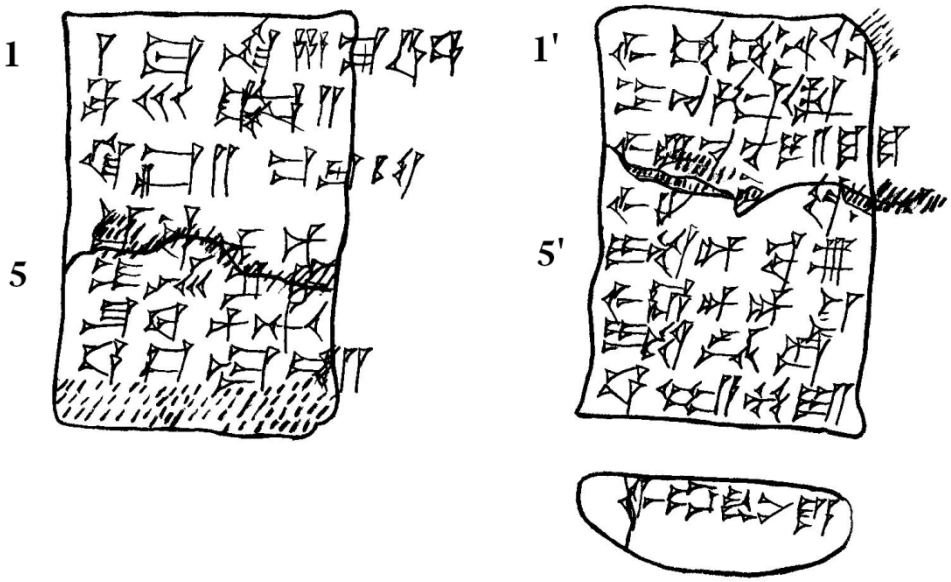
1	12 GÍN! IGI.4.GÁL KÙ.BABBAR	L.E.	ŠE Ì.AG.E
	MÁŠ GI.NA	R.	[IG]I *bu-úr*{is}-^{d}EN.ZU
	1.2.0.0 ŠE		DUMU *na-da-ši-na*
	MÁŠ 1 GUR 0.1.4.0.TA!.ÀM		IGI ^{d}EN.ZU-*pí-la-ah*
5	KI *ku-nu-tum*	15	DUMU *na-da-ši-na*
	^{d}*we-er*-ILLAT-*ti*		IGI *sú-hu-na-ku-um*
	DUMU *sú-mu-da-re*		DUMU *še-er-da-ni-um*
	ŠU.BA.AN.TI		ITI ZÍZ.A
	MU.TÚM		MU BÀD {KI}
10	UD.EBUR.ŠÈ	20	KÁ.DINGIR.RA$^{<KI>}$ BA.DÙ

[3] The amount of barley is squeezed between lines 2 and 4.

[16-17)] These personal names are unknown to me.

BM 108925 1914-4-7 91
Yawium 1/III

Loan of silver (*hubuttātum*). Ea-mālik lends a large amount of silver (1 mina and 6 shekels) to Šubā-Ilān. Repayment of the loan seems to be in month VIII.



1 1 MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
KÙ EŠ.DÉ.A
KI *é-a-ma-lik*.TA
˹*šu-ba*˺-DINGIR-DINGIR
5 DUMU *en*[?]*-si-um*
ŠU.BA.AN.TI
ITI [GIŠ]APIN.DU$_8$.A
L.E. [KÙ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E]
[....]?

R.1' IGI *qá-qá-da-nu-um*
DUMU *nu-úr-iš$_8$-tár*
IGI ˹*bur*˺*-nu-nu* DUMU *a-ku-ku*
IGI ˹*ì-lí-ki-*˺*ti*˺
5' DUMU ÌR-^{d}BA.Ú
IGI *dan*^{an}-DINGIR-*šu*
DUMU ÌR-^{d}EN.ZU
ITI SIG$_4$.A MU *ia-*
U.E. *wi-um* LUGAL.E

6. The extra sign /an/ is interpreted as a phonetic complement to the sign /dan/.

part of case: BM 108925b (1914-4-7 91b)

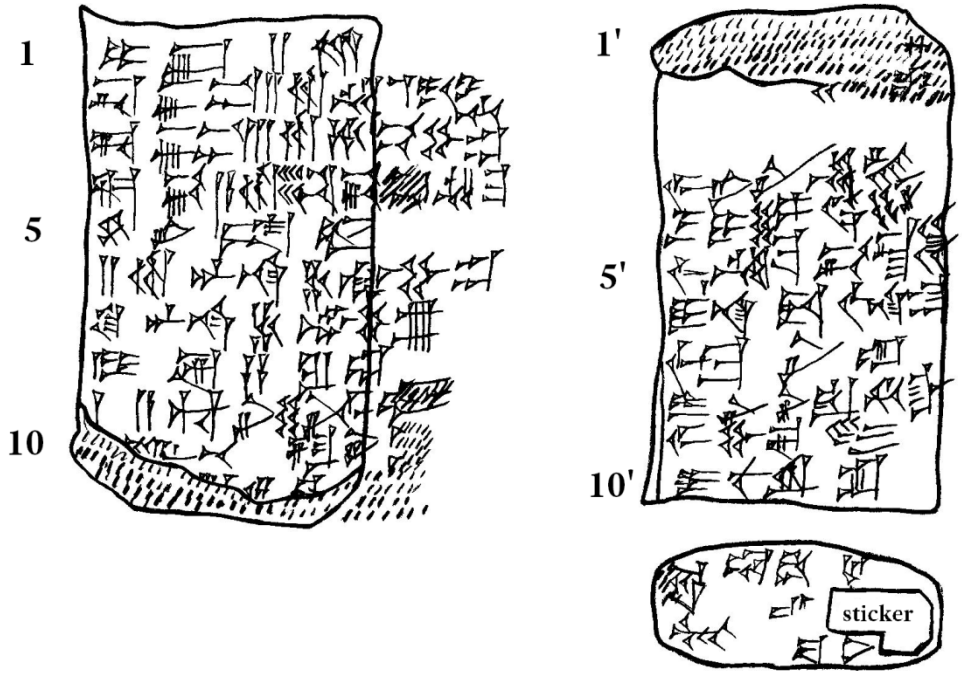


1’ Ì.L[Á].E
[*q*]*á-qá-da-nu-u*[*m*]
[DUMU] *nu-úr-iš*$_8$*-tá*[*r*]
⌜IGI *bur*⌝*-nu-nu* DUMU *a-ku-ku*

5’ ⌜IGI⌝ *dan*^{an}-DINGIR-*šu* DUMU ÌR-^{d}E[N.ZU]
⌜IGI *ì*⌝*-lí-ki-ti*
[IT]I ⌜SIG$_4$⌝.A

NB. BM 108925a is a fragment of a case that has nothing to do with BM 108925 or BM 108925b.

BM 108928 (1914-4-7 94)
?/I
Sale of a field. Anna-haqbum sells a 4 IKU field to Ahūni for [x] shekels of silver.



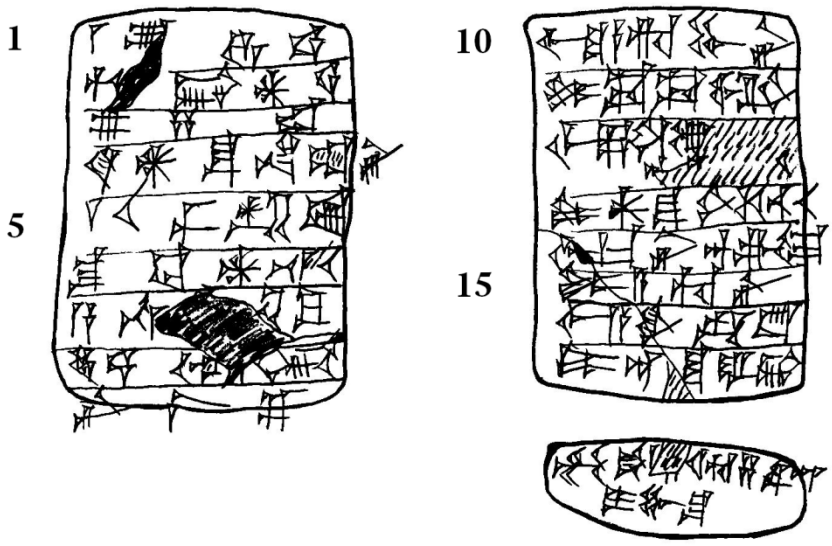
1 4 IKU A.ŠÀ
ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-mi-/ti*
ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ *ha-bi-bu-um*
SAG.BI A.ŠÀ *li-pí-it-*^{d}EN.ZU
5 *hi-ir-ṣe-tum*
A.ŠÀ *an-na-ha-aq-bu-um*
KI *an-na-ha-aq-bu-ú*
DUMU *sú-sà-lu-um*
^{I}*a-hu-ni* IN.ŠI.˹ŠÁM˺
10 [Š]ÁM.TIL.LA.NI.Š[È]
[x] ˹GÍN˺ KÙ.BABBAR
[IN.NA.LÁ]
L.E. broken

R.1' [...] ˹x˺
[...] ˹x x˺
IGI *ì-lí-en-nam*
DUMU *i-šar-ki-in*
5' IGI ^{d}EN.ZU-*pí-la-ah*
DUMU *na-da-ši-na-at*
IGI *ma-ni-um*
DUMU *ì-lí-iš-ti-kál*
IGI *bu-sú-lum*
10' DUMU *nu-ru-um*
U.E. ITI BARA$_2$.ZAG.GAR
MU.˹BÀD$^{?}$˺ [...]
BA.DÙ

6-7. It is noteworthy that Anna-haqbum's name is once written with mimation and once with an elongated /u/.
1'-2'. I would expect the oath to be somewhere in these lines.
12'. Part of the yearname is obscured by an old sticker on the tablet. It looks like it was stuck on by museum staff in the past to catalogue it. I did not try to remove it out of the risk of damaging the tablet. Given the tablet's prosopogrpahical connections to BM 108918 and BM 108925, it seems probable to me that the yearname is the same as on BM 108918, hence Yawium e (=Sumu-la-El 5).

6. *A text dated to Abī-madar*

NBC 7723
Abi-madar mu *ša za-ar-za-ru-um i-pu-šu*
Loan of silver. Ubar-Sîn loans 1 shekel of silver with Šamaš' interest added from Ilšu-nāṣir, repayable during the harvest.



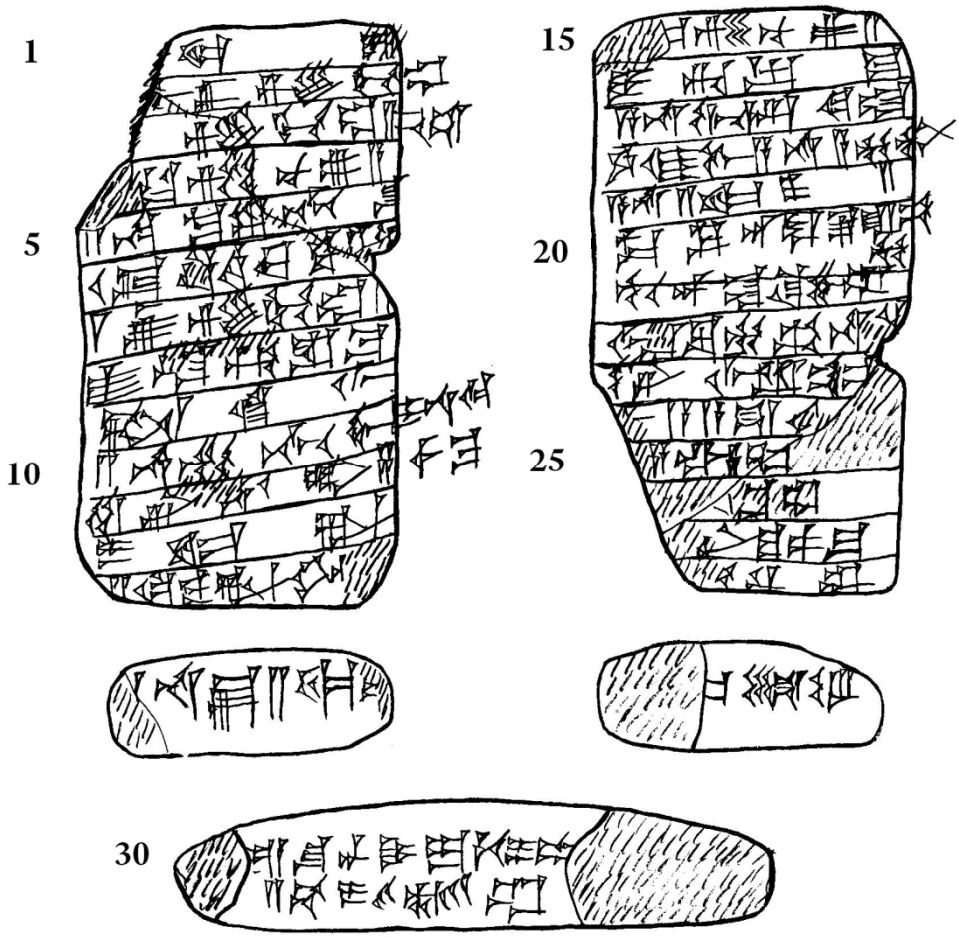
1 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
MÁŠ.BI ^{d}UTU
ú-ṣa-ab
KI DINGIR-*šu-na-ṣi-ir*
5 ^{1}*u-bar*-^{d}EN.ZU
DUMU *da-da-wa-qar*
igi *e-te-el*-[*pi*$_4$]-/^{d}x$^{\rceil}$ [x] $^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$
15 DUMU dingir-*šu*-ILLAT-*ti*
IGI *ib-ni*-^{d}MAR.TU
DUMU *a-hu-ni*

ŠU.BA.AN.TI
a-na ˹UD˺.[E]BUR.ŠÈ
KÙ.BABBAR *ù* MÁŠ.BI
Ì.LÁ.E
R.10 IGI *e-ri-bu-ni*
IGI *a-mur-*^{d}EN.ZU
DUMU DINGIR-*šu-ra-bi*
U.E MU *ša z*[*a*]-*ar-za-ru-um*
i-pu-šu

Comments:
18. Note that the *zarzarum* ('cricket?') is not in the accusative case as in the other example of this year name: MU *za-ar-za-ra-am*$^{!}$ ^{1}*a-bi-ma-dar i-pu-šu* (Suleiman 1978:137 no. 75, collated by Hussein 2008:59).

7. *A text dated to Sumu-Amnānum*

YBC 10873
Sumu-Amnānum
Adoption of a girl. Akiya is adopted by Zinūya from Sagigum.



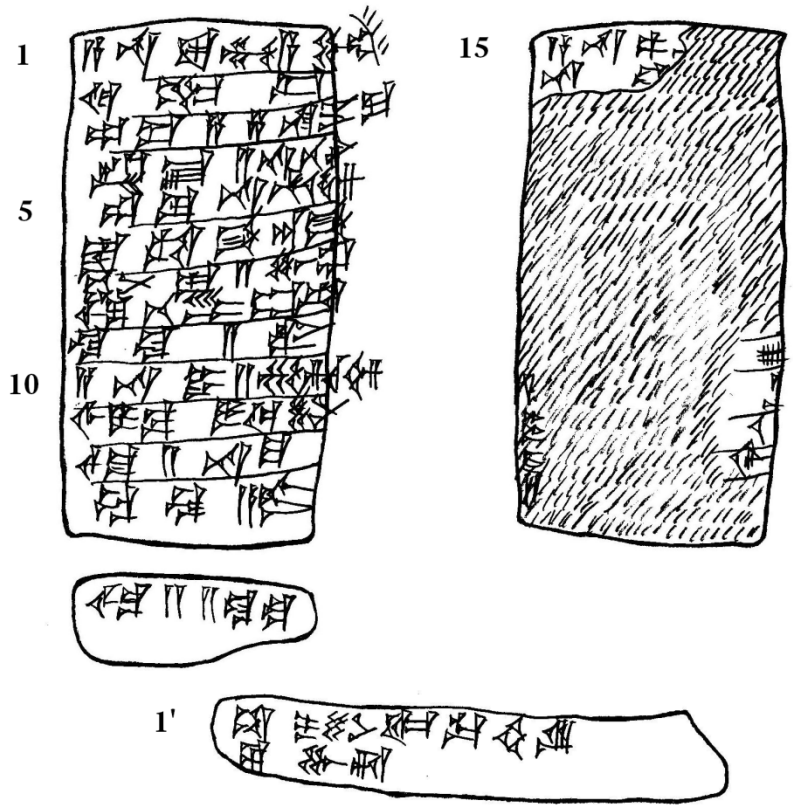
1 [^{1}a]-*ka-*⌜*ia*⌝
[DUMU].MUNUS *sa-gi-gu-um*
[KI *sa*]-*gi-gu-um a-bi-ša*
[x] x *zi-nu-ú-a*
5 *a-na ma-ru-ti-šu*
10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ṣú-ba-*⌜*ta*⌝-[*am*]
a-na wa-ar-ki-at
u$_4$-mi-im a-na a-mu-tim
a-na a-ka-i-a
20 *ma-ma-an la e-ra-ga-/mu*
MU ^{d}*la-qí-pu-um*

[1]*sa-gi-gu-um a-*[*bu-ša*]
ú-la-bi-iš-ma
il-{ki}*-qé-ši*
10 *a-na mu-ti-im i-na-di/-ši-ma*
te-er-ha-as-sà
i-ka-al
a-di ba-al-ṭa-a[*t*]
L.E. [*a*]*-na* É *a-ka-i*[*a*]
R.15 [x]x *zi-nu-ú-a*
i-re-eb-ma
ù sú-mu-am-na- ⌜*num*⌝
IN.PÀD.DÈ
[I]GI *a-a-ša-*x[...]
25 [...] *sà-ak-sà-tum* [...]
[...]x-*hu-um*
[...]*-ni-ku-ú-ma*
[...]x-*ru-um*
U.E. [...]x-*le-el*
Le.E.30 [...] *e-šu-*DINGIR *ia-mi-ku*[*m*]
a-bi-i-din-nam DUB.[SAR]

16. One expects *irub*.

8. *Texts related to Sumu-abum*

YBC 9955
Letter from Sassanatum to Sumu-abum.

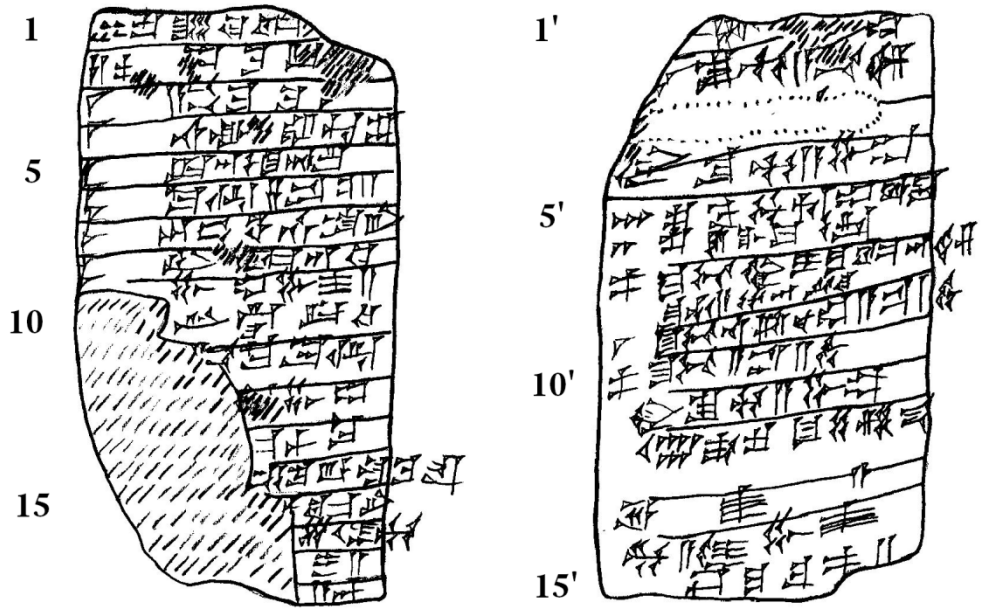


1 *a-na sú-mu-a-bu-u*[*m*]
qí-bí-ma
um-ma za-za-*na-tum-ma*
^{d}EN.LÍL *a-na be-lí*
5 *um-ma-na-ti-im*
iš-ta-kà-an-kà
šum-ma a-bu-um
ù be-lum at-ta
la-la-a-tum
10 *a-na* DUMU *a-mu-ri-im*
ši-i-ma i-di-in
ù a-na-ku
la-la-a-tum
L.E. *ù a-a-la-la*
R.15 *a-na pa*-x[...]
na x[...]
Rest of reverse broken and fragmentary
Le.E 1' *ša i-in-ka ma-ah-ru*
e-pu-uš

[1-3] Speak to Sumu-abum, thus says Sassanatum.
[4-6] Enlil has appointed you as lord of the armies. [7-8] If you are a father and a lord: [9-11] Lalâtum, she is for an Amorite, give (her)! [12-16] However, I, Lalâtum, and Ayalala, to ... [....]
[1'-2'] Do whatever pleases you!

Comments:
4. The usage of *bēli* instead of *bēl* as the status constructus is unusual, but not impossible see GAG § 64a-c. The mentioning of Enlil seems to suggest that Sumu-abum was appointed at Nippur.
4-5. The title *bēli ummanātim* has no parallels in any OB inscription that I know of. Closely related is perhaps Anam's title AB.BA UGNIM UNUG^{KI}.GA.KE$_4$ 'father of the army of Uruk' (*RIME* 4 E4.4.6.3:2-3).
6. Note the usage of /ga/ with the reading /kà/ in line 6 versus the normal /ka/ used on the left edge.
7-8. This is a stock phrase that is however usually found slightly different as: 'If you are my father and lord' (*šumma bēlī ū abī atta*).
9. The usage of the pronoun *šī-ma* in line 11 seems to suggest that Lalâtum is a feminine name. Another Lalâtum is found as the owner of a field in *MHET* II/5 666:3. In later dated Uruk texts (Rīm-Anum archive), Lalâtum is the name of a royal woman: Rositani 2003:138 no. II, 30:3.
10. The phrase DUMU *a-mu-ri-im* is interpreted as 'an Amorite'.
14. This name is puzzling and I know of no parallels.

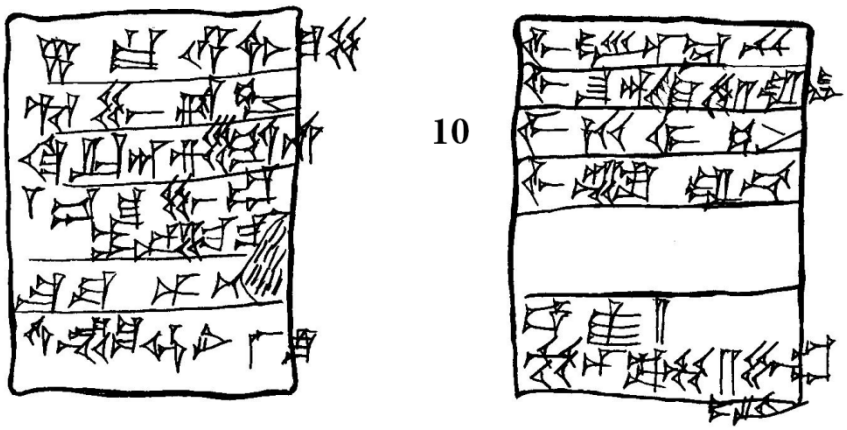
BM 23751 (98-2-15 133)
Sumu-la-El 3/XI
List of flour rations. Responsible (GÌR) is Sumu-abum. Food for important people?



1.	⌜4?⌝ GUR DABIN SÁ.DUG$_4$ x[...]		[...]
	0.4.2.0 AB.BA-*ṭà*?-[*bu-um*]		1-2 lines missing?
	0.1.0.0 *a-pil-ku-bi*	R.1'	[...]x [...]-*um*
	0.1.0.0 *na-ak-ra-hu-um*		[G]ÌR *su-mu-a-bi-im*
5.	0.1.0.0 UR-^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR		{line erased}
	0.1.0.0 *ma-ar-ṣa-du* SUKKAL(?)		GÌR *su-mu-a-bu-um*
	0.1.0.0 ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣi-ir*	5'	3.0.0.0 GUR *ba-ah-hu-um* ITI.DA
	0.1.0.0 LÚ ⌜BÀD⌝.AN^{KI}		2.0.0.0 GUR ŠÀ.GAL UDU MUNUS.SILA$_4$
	0.1.0.0 *bu-um-bu-ú-a*		0.0.2.0 ZÍD.GU GÌR *i-ku-pi*$_4$-^{d}IM
10.	[x] LÚ ZABALAM^{KI}		ŠU.TI.A GEME$_2$-^{d}ŠEŠ.KI
	[x] ⌜*a-bi*⌝- *ma-da-ar*		0.0.0.1 *na-<ap>-ta-nu-um* A.RÁ.1.KAM
	[...*t*]*a*?-⌜*ri*?⌝-*bu-um*	10'	0.0.2.0 ZÍD.GU A.RÁ.2.KAM
	[...] is maš ba		GÌR *su-mu-a-bu-um*
	[...*a-na*]-^{d}EN.ZU-*ták-la-ku* KUŠ$_7$		17.0.5 GUR DABIN ZI.GA
15.	[...DN-A]N.DÙL-*lí*		ITI ZÍZ.A
	[...DN]-*še-mi* MUHALDIM		MU *a-lum-pu-ú*

[...]-*ia* 15’ GIŠTUKUL BA.SÌG.A
[...].ÀM

NBC 6318
Sumu-abum 1/XI
Loan (*hubuttātum*) of silver and flour. Duššupum loans 5 shekel of silver from Ur-Zi’edinna, repayable during the harvest.

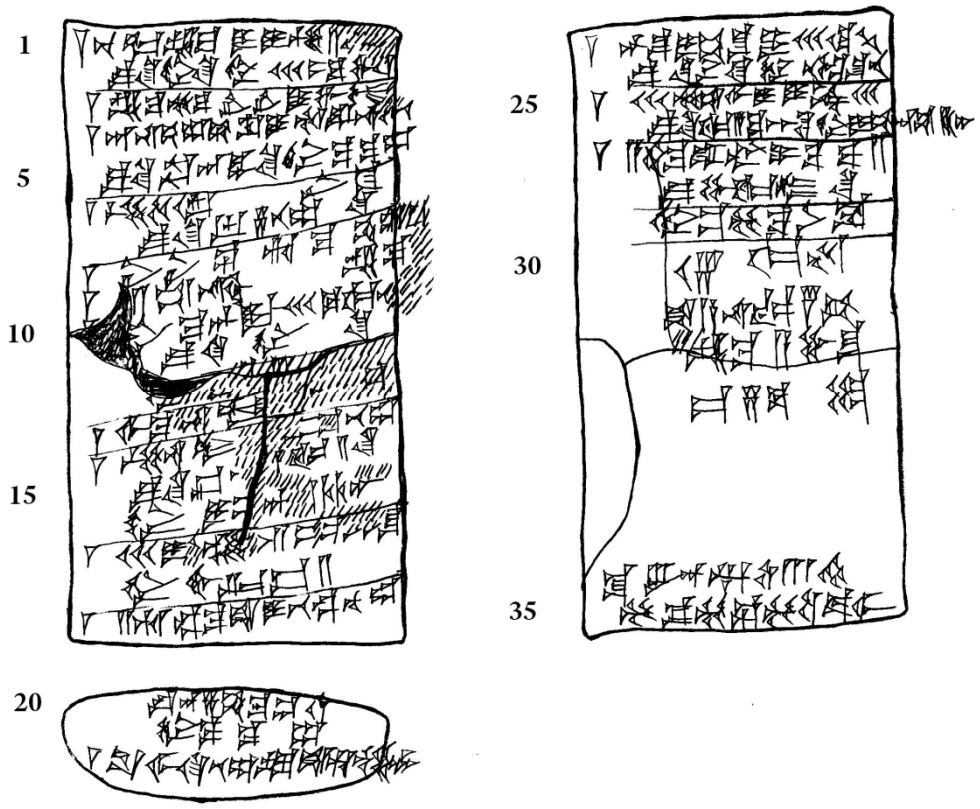


1 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1.0.0.0 ZÍD.ŠE
hu-bu-ta-tum
KI UR-ZI.EDIN.NA
[1]*du-šu-pu-um*
5 DUMU [d]EN.ZU-*ba-*⌜*ni*⌝
ŠU.BA.AN.T[I]
UD.EBUR.ŠÈ KÙ Ì.LÁ.E

R. IGI LÚ-[d]DA.MU
IGI *šu*-[d]NIN.KAR.RA.AK
10 IGI *ha-ši-šum*
IGI [d]EN.ZU-*ra-bi*
ITI ZÍZ.A
MU [d]*sú-mu-a-bu-um* /LUGAL

9. *A text dated to the reign of Sumu-Yamutbal*

NBC 7302
Sumu-yamutbalum 1/VI/3
List of men. Fifteen men designated as slaves are credited to the account of one Sîn-abušu. For every man we have a patronym and hometown, as well as somebody who was responsible for him (GÌR).



1 [1]*nu-úr-*[d]EN.ZU DUMU *i-ṣí-a-š*[*ar*?]
URU.KI KIŠ[KI] GÌR 30-TAB.BA-*we-de*
[1d]EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*[!] DUMU *wu-súm*
[1d]*na-bi-um-ga-mil* DUMU *èr-ra-na-ṣir*
5 URU.KI KÁ.DINGIR.RA[KI] GÌR *ku-ku-um*
[1]*zi-kur-iš*$_8$*-tár* LÚ.TÚG
URU.KI *ur-sà-nu-um*[ki]

[1]*ì-lí-e-ri-ba-am* ⌜SANGA?⌝
[1]*a-ta-na-ah-*[d]EN.ZU
[1]*šum-ma-*DINGIR DUMU.MEŠ *ku-ka-nu-*[*um*?]
URU.KI KIŠ[KI]
⌜GÌR *i-bi-*[d]*ša?-ha?-an?*⌝ [...]
[1]*ši-ma-na-tum* [DUMU] ⌜x⌝ [x] ⌜x⌝
[1]*sí-na-tum* [DUMU] ⌜x *ma*⌝*-nu-um*
URU.KI É-⌜x⌝*-ka-a*[ki]
GÌR *i-b*[*i*]*-*[d][*š*]*a-ha-an*
30*-i-din-nam* ⌜DUMU⌝ *a-pil-ì-lí-šu*
GÌR *im-lik-é-a*
a-hu-la-ma-ša dumu *be-la-nu-um*
URU AN.ZA.GAR-*da-du*[ki]
GÌR *ku-ku-um*
da-ši-ki-nu-um SIPA *ša hu-mu-*x
[1]DINGIR-*šu-i-bi-šu* DUMU 30-DI.KUD
URU.KI KIŠ[KI] GÌR *be-el-šu-nu*
[1]30*-mu-ša-lim* DUMU *i-túr-*30
URU.KI KA-ÍD.DIDLI[KI] GÌR *i-bi-*[d]*ša-ha-an*
[1]*a-hi-ma-ra-aṣ* DUMU *ba-ba-a*
URU *bu-ka-tum*[ki]
GÌR É*-mu-ba-lí-iṭ*
15 SAG.ÌR
ša a-na SAG.NÍG.GA
[d]EN.ZU*-a-bu-šu*
iṣ-ṣa-ba-tu
ITI KIN [d]INANNA UD.3.KAM
MU *su-mu-e-mu-ut-ba-lim*

Comments:

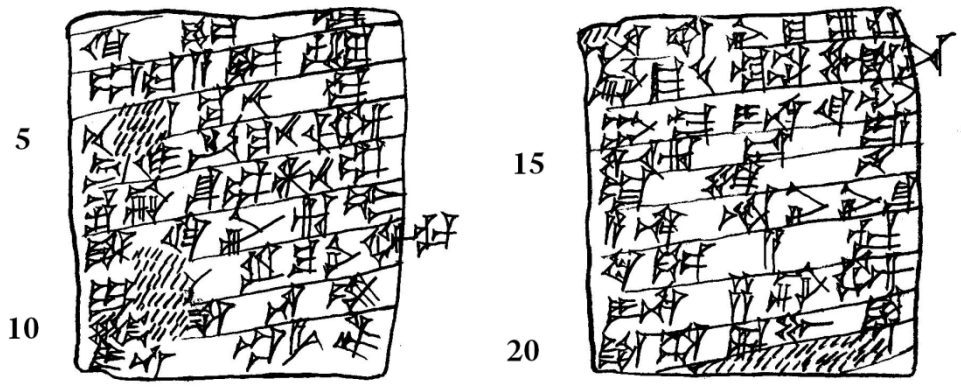
7. A town called Ursānum is not known to me.

20. Sîn-muballit's 6th year name commemorates the building of a fortress called Dūr-dimat-Dada (BÀD-AN.ZA.GAR-[d]*da-da*), this might be a variant spelling of this geographical name.

31-33. See *CAD* Ṣ 28b for *nikkassū ṣabātum/naṣbutum*.

10. *A letter from Apil-Sîn of Babylon*

YBC 7602
Letter from Apil-Sîn of Babylon to unknown addressees



1 [*a-na* PN]
[*ù* PN]
qí-bí-ma
um-ma a-pil-^{d}EN.ZU
5 *be-*[*e*]*l-ku-nu-ma*
da-mi-iq-ku-nu-ši-im
e-pé-šu-um an-nu-um
ša ke-er-re-tum
i-t[*e-n*]*é-ru-ba-ni-im-ma*
10 *l*[*i-š*]*a-na-am*
i-na la NÍG.BA

R. [*i*]*l-te-né-qú-ú-ma*
pí-ku-nu la te-pu-ša-nim
šum-ma i-na ki-tim
15 *wa-ar-du-ia*
at-tu-nu
a-na ÌR-*ì-lí-šu*
qí-bí-a-ma
i-na ṣa-bi-im
20 *ša ta-ri-bu-ša*
[...] x

[1-5] Speak [to PN_1 and PN_2], thus says Apil-Sîn, your lord. [6-7] Is it good to you, this way of doing? [8-9] That the caravans are constantly entering here, [10-12] (that) they are continuously acquiring information without (paying) compensation and [13] (that) you are not objecting (to this)? [14-16] If you are truly my servants: [18-20] tell Warad-Ilišu that [he...] with the workmen/troops of Taribuša ....

5. It is unusual for the king of Babylon to identify himself in a letter as 'your lord', see Charpin 2012a:127 and Charpin 2012b:22-23.

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Samenvatting

De Amorieten komen als volk of ethniciteit voor in teksten uit vele tijden en gebieden van het Oude Nabije Oosten. Er is en was veel discussie over hun herkomst, taal, religie, ethniciteit en levensstijl.

De eerste echte attestaties van de Amorieten stammen uit de Akkad tijd (ca. 2334-2154 v.C.). In de tijd van het derde rijk van Ur (ca. 2112-2002 v.C.) komen ze veelvuldig voor in administratieve teksten als huurlingen en als inwoners van het gebied rond de Jebel Hamrin. In de Vroeg Oud-Babylonische tijd (ca. 2002-1800 v.C.) wordt het gehele Midden Oosten gekenmerkt door een veelheid aan kleine koninkrijkjes bestuurd door Amorietische koningen. De Amorieten in deze periode vormen het onderwerp van studie van dit proefschrift.

Reeds voor de val van het Ur III rijk kunnen we al een versplintering constateren van het politieke landschap omdat vele stadstaten zich losmaakten van de controle van Ur. Deze eerste koninkrijkjes waren echter nog niet onder de controle van Amorietische heersers. Het lijkt erop dat de Amorieten in deze periode (ca. 2000-1950 v.C.) voornamelijk op twee plekken aanwezig waren in Mesopotamië: in het zuiden rond Larsa en in de vallei van de Diyala rivier. Ze waren georganiseerd in stammenverbanden en militair actief maar ze hadden nog maar weinig politieke macht.

Ondanks hun militaire kracht bleven de Amorieten een minderheid in de gebieden van zuidelijk Mesopotamië. Voor de geschiedschrijving van deze periode zijn we vooral aangewezen op talloze privé teksten zoals leningen, koopcontracten, adoptiecontracten en enkele brieven. Het enige bewijs dat we vinden in deze teksten van een Amorietische aanwezigheid zijn persoonsnamen. Deze vormen op zichzelf een interessant object van studie. Uit bestudering van deze namen blijkt dat Amorietische namen enerzijds kenmerken vertonen van een recent gemigreerde bevolking en anderzijds kenmerken delen met de autochtone Akkadische namen. Desondanks lijkt er wel sprake te zijn geweest van een aparte Amorietische ethniciteit, maar er is geen bewijs voor Amorietische massamigraties.

Rond 1900 v.C. worden de bronnen die tot onze beschikking staan plotseling veel talrijker: in het hele gebied van Noord-Babylonië en de Diyala vallei (ongeveer het huidige centraal Irak) zijn er talloze staatjes ontstaan die

bijna allemaal geregeerd worden door een Amorietische koning. De Amorieten waren waarschijnlijk door de mensen woonachtig in de steden ingehuurd om ze te beschermen tegen andere Amorietische groepen en rivaliserende steden. Omdat de Amorieten militair beter georganiseerd waren dan de stadsbevolking namen ze uiteindelijk de macht over door de zittende elite eruit te werken.

Er zijn sterke aanwijzingen dat een groep heersers rondom Sumu-abum instrumenteel is geweest in deze machtsovername. Deze Sumu-abum komt naar voren als een legeraanvoerder en leider van een Amoritisch stammenoverleg. Uiteindelijk waren bijna alle kleine staatjes rond 1815 v.C. door twee grootmachten geannexeerd. In het geval Noord-Babylonië was het Babylon dat onder de leiding van Sumu-la-El groot werd, maar nog machtiger werd Eshnunna in de Diyala vallei dat onder aanvoering van Ipiq-Adad II een groot gebied bestuurde. Nog veel later, onder Hammurabi van Babylon was rond 1760 v.C. bijna de helft van het Midden Oosten onder Babylonische invloed gebracht.

Aan de ene kant brachten de Vroeg Oud-Babylonische Amorietische heersers in zuidelijk Mesopotamië aanvankelijk een sterke decentralisering van de macht teweeg, maar aan de andere kant werd in deze tijd ook de basis gelegd voor Babylon's latere vooraanstaande rol in de wereldgeschiedenis.

Curriculum Vitae

Rients de Boer is geboren op 20 maart 1981 te Groningen. Hij is opgegroeid in Veendam, waar in 1999 ook het VWO diploma werd behaald. Hierna volgde een in vier jaar met succes voltooide opleiding in de Accountancy en Controlling aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. In 2004 werd begonnen met een studie Arabisch en Assyriologie in Groningen. Na een jaar volgde een verhuizing naar Leiden om de studie van de Assyriologie voort te zetten. Binnen drie jaar werd het Bachelor diploma behaald, waarna hij in 2008 met een beurs voor een tweejarige Master naar Parijs is gegaan. In 2010 is het begin gemaakt met de voorliggende dissertatie aan de Universiteit Leiden en in 2011 volgde een verhuizing terug naar deze stad. Reeds.