BABYLONIAN LETTERS OF THE HAMMURAPI PERIOD

BY

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PHILADELPHIA
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TO MY TEACHER

FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH

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PREFACE

The cuneiform texts published in this volume were copied and autographed during my stay in Philadelphia in the winter of 1913–1914. Nearly all of them are letters belonging to the time of the so-called first Babylonian or Hammurapi dynasty (2225–1926 B.C.).

There are only two (or three) exceptions: the first is an Assyrian abît šarrim (No. 132), addressed to a certain Ardi-Gula. This man seems to be identical with Ardi-Gula of the letter H (=Harper, Assyrian letters), No. 117, mentioning Ašur-bân-apli and Šamaš-šum-ukîn (l. 5), by which fact the time of our letter is determined. The other exception is a cone of King Hammurapi, about 17, 3 cm. high, having an inscription as well on the shaft as on the base. Both inscriptions are (as far as they are preserved) identical, though it may be possible, that the inscription on the base¹ was not quite as long as that on the shaft. This text of King Hammurapi, mentioning the building of the (or a) wall of Sippar, is especially interesting by the fact that it is the only official inscription before the time of the king’s great victory over Rim-Sin. For a transcription and translation see pp. 30 ff. A third exception may be the letter No. 29, the writing of

¹This seems to have been written in three columns, the third being totally destroyed; the inscription on the shaft, however, is written in two columns.
which might suggest some time at the end of the Hammurapi dynasty; but as well the word *ia-a-nu-um*, hitherto never found in texts of that period, as the mentioning of the city of *Lubdi*\(^1\), are in favor for a later (Cassite) time. Unfortunately the letter is too badly preserved to settle the question definitely.

Most of the letters published in this volume have been purchased by the Museum from dealers; only the first twenty-nine texts were found during the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania in Nippur. The publication of all these texts had been assigned by the former editor of the Babylonian Expedition, Dr. H. V. Hilprecht, to Dr. A. T. Clay. But the latter very kindly ceded his rights to the present writer and even gave him about twenty copies previously made by him which could be utilized during the preparation of this work. I beg to offer my sincerest thanks to Professor A. T. Clay for his kindness. My thanks are also due to Dr. G. A. Barton, who gave some old Babylonian letters over to me which had been assigned to him. In this way practically the whole amount of old Babylonian letters, preserved in the Museum, could be included in the present volume\(^2\): only those not yet cleaned and repaired and some assigned to Dr. A. Poebel which could not be obtained for this collection were not made use of. I even published those letters which were very badly damaged as every little piece of information we can get from the classical

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\(^1\) This city also occurs in the Cassite letter No. 99 (1. 6) of Radau's collection (BE, XVII, 1) who, however, read \(^{\text{II}} Lu-\text{ub-di-}sh\text{b} i\) (p. 153) instead of \(^{\text{II}} Lu-\text{u} p-di 3a\text{ }k\text{ }i[\ldots \ldots].

\(^2\) Letter No. 37 published by H. Ranke in BE, VI, 1, No. 32, has been repeated here, especially as the interesting seal inscription was omitted in the first publication.
time of the Babylonian language seems to be worth while publishing.

The letters bought from dealers came from the same source as the contracts published by Dr. H. Ranke and Dr. A. Poebel in BE, VI, 1 and 2 (second part), i.e., Sippar in North Babylonia. It is, of course, often very difficult to determine the place of such a letter by internal evidence only, and it may even be the case that one or the other of them was picked up at another tell; but, on the other hand, these letters are so similar to other letters found at Sippar and so different from those found at Nippur that we may consider their origin as fairly certain.

An attempt has been made to give the letters of the two sections of this volume in historical order. As nearly always internal evidence is the only guide, such an arrangement cannot be considered as absolutely correct, though, on the other hand, the character of the writing and the formulæ of the introduction give some evidence at least for the arrangement. Quite unique are those few letters which mention the king’s name in the introductory formula, i.e., No. 75:

\[ \text{šú-lum-ka ma-ḫar ṭiššamaš šīm marduk ụ be-lī-ja am-mi-di-ta-na |} \]
\[ \text{lu da-ri “may thy welfare be lasting before Šamaš, Marduk} \]
\[ \text{and my lord Ammuditana,”} \]

and No. 90:

\[ \text{šú-lum-ka ma-ḫar ṭiššamaš šīm marduk | u be-lī-ja am-mi-ṭa-du-ga} \]
\[ \text{lu da-ri} \]

There are a few other letters the time of which is determined by a date, namely No. 37 (23d(?)) year of Hammurapi)
and No. 89 (13th or 17th + a year of Ammisaduga). The latter is especially interesting, because it is expressly called a copy (mehir, l. 42) of a letter which was sent by Iblisi-Sin and the judges of Sippar-Amnanum to the king. Another letter mentioning Hammurapi (No. 83,1,7) is only furnishing us with a terminus post quem. The oldest letter in the collection is probably No. 1, a case-tablet with remarkable seal impressions.

The writing of the letters found at Nippur might, at the first glance, suggest that they are much older than they really are. But when we compare for instance those four letters addressed to the same person Lugâ (No. 5–8) we will find young and old forms of signs even in the same letter which fact clearly shows that the old forms are merely artificial ones. As it is very probable that Agûa or Agûa mentioned in No. 9,1 and 10,13 is identical with Agûa mentioned in contracts found at Nippur and dated in the time of Rim-Sin and Samsuiluna, and that Nanna-šalasîr, the writer of No. 9 is identical with the witness in BE, VI, 2, No. 51,13 (time of Samsu-iluna), it is at least probable that most of the letters found at Nippur belong to the reigns of Rim-Sin or Hammurapi and Samsuiluna. More exact dates are unfortunately not obtainable.

As I am going to give full transcriptions and translations of

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1 There can be little doubt that bēlu means "king" in this letter. That this bēlu (bēli, bēlni) was the official address of the king is shown by quotations given in various letters written by the kings themselves; cf. BB, 43 (l. 13, bēli my lord = Hammurapi); BB, 49 (l. 10, 14, bēli = Hammurapi); BB, 51 (l. 5, bēli = Hammurapi); BB, 63 (l. 10 ff. bēlni = Samsuiluna); BB, 70 (l. 10, bēlu = Ahišu); BB, 88 (l. 9, bēlni = Samsuditana).

2 Cf. the photographic reproduction on pl. XCVII. The case could not be removed without destroying it. Therefore, the letter was not opened.

3 BE, VI, 2, No. 6, 3.

4 BE, VI, 2, No. 29, 3.
all these letters in the second part of my "Babylonische Briefe" I will only give a few interesting specimens in the introduction of this volume together with the translation of the remarkable cone of King Hammurapi.

My thanks are due to the University of Pennsylvania and especially to Provost Dr. Edgar F. Smith, who enabled me to spend the winter in Philadelphia, and also to the Director of the Museum, Dr. George B. Gordon, for his indefatigable assistance during the preparation of this work.

Arthur Ungnad.

ABBREVIATIONS

BA Beiträge für Assyriologie und vergl. sem. Sprachwissenschaft.


BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.

OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

1 A. Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek), Leipzig, 1914. The second part is finished in manuscript.
INTRODUCTION

The letters published in this volume may be divided into official and private letters. Official letters are those which are either written by or to a king or high official. There are no letters in our collection written by any king of the Ḥammurapi dynasty, but there are several official letters which may be considered as addressed to a king. As we mentioned in the Preface, the usual address to the king is simply bēlu (ana bēlija); but from this fact we are not allowed to infer that every letter having the formula ana bēlija is addressed to a king. When we consider letters like BB No. 235, which is addressed ana bēlija, we certainly do not get the impression that the addressee is the king. There are furthermore a good many letters written by women ana bēlija: in this case it is very probable that bēlu simply means the husband. In most of the cases, it is therefore quite impossible to say whether a letter addressed ana bēlija is written to the king or another high official. Only the contents may give some information in one or the other direction.

1 Cf. p. 10, note 1.
2 Cf. BB, No. 113, 114, 115.
OFFICIAL LETTERS

A good specimen of this class is No. 89 of our collection dated in the time of King Ammisaduga. It is written by a certain *Ibni-[...]* and the judges of Sippar-Ámnanum. As several of the letters of King Ammisaduga are addressed to a certain *Ibni-Sin*, a high official of Sippar², it is very probable that the name broken in our letter has to be supplied as *Ibni-[Sin]*. The letter is unfortunately damaged, but we can recognize that it is concerned with a reproach of the king to the high officials of Sippar for not having given certain taxes to a tax collector³ of Babylon sent by the king. As we mentioned before, the letter is no original but a copy that had been preserved in the archives of Sippar. It runs as follows.

(1. No. 89)⁴

O. a-na be- l[i- ni]  
    ki- bí-[ma]  
    um-ma ib- ni- ištua-sín  
                ù dajânu[*mёd si]ppar⁵ am-na-nu-u[m-ma]

5. áš-šum šá be-el-ni iš-pu-ra-an-ni-a-š[i-i]m  
    um-ma be-el-ni-ma  
    ki-ma a-na mi-ik-si ma-ka-si ta-ap-ri-ka-ma  
    a-di i-na-an-na mi-ik-su la [i]m-ma-ak-su  
    mâkis bāb-ïli ᵥ id-[...]  

10. a-na mi-nim ta-[ap-ri-ka-m]a

¹ Cf. Preface, p. 10.  
² BB. 83–85, 87.  
³ *ZAG.HA=mâkisu*: Thureau-Dangin, RA VII, p. 185.  
⁴ Cf. the photographic reproduction on pl. C.
mi-ik-su a-di i-na-an-na [la im-ma-ki-is]
[m]âkis bâb-îli'[.....
(about 20 lines missing)

R. im-ma- a[k-ka-as]
an-ni-tam nu-ub-[.....
35. ma-la i-na ê-sag-ila ma-ĥar ii-marduk [.....
îgi-mil- [ii]marduk DUB.SAR.ZAG.GA šá a-na ib-[ni-
ii-sîn iš-sá]-ak-nu
a-na û-pû-ru-tim ú-te-ir-ma a-na Ê.DUB.BA i[-ru-u]b
ki-ma be-el-ni iš-pu-ra-an-[ni-a-ši-im]
mâkis bâb-îli' mi-ik-sa a-û[a... i-n[a...š]û
40. uk- ti-in-nu .....[.....
a-na še-me-e be-li-ni ni-[š-pu-ra-am]
me-ḫi-ir û-pî š[á....
šá aš-šum mâkis[.....

U.E. warâb tebêtu ū[m.....
45. mu am-mi-za-du-g[a lugal-e]
urudu ki.lugal-g[ub.....

TRANSLATION

1 To [our] lord 2 speak: 3 thus (say) Ibni-[Sin] 4 and the judges of Sippar-Ammanum: 5 as to what our lord wrote unto us, 6 our lord (saying) as follows: 9 The tax collector of Babylon has [reported], 7 that ye have acted unlawfully with regard to the paying of the taxes, so that, 8 up to the present time, the taxes have not been paid! 10 Why have ye [acted unlawfully, so] that 11 the taxes, up to the present time, [have not been paid]? 12 The tax collector of Babylon [.....
(about 20 lines missing)

1 Cf. Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats 152.
2 Supply either [ni-maš-a] or [ši-dirig-ga]; in the first case it would be the 13th year, in the latter a year after the 16th (v. A. Ungnad, BA VI 3. p. 14).
shall be paid. This matter we have [......]. Whatever [has been delivered] in Esagila before the god Marduk, has Gimil-Marduk, the clerk, who had been appointed to Ib[ni-Sin], written down, and then be [has entered] into the archives. According to what our lord has written unto us, the tax collector of Babylon has [collected] the taxes [...]. They have proved (it) [...]. In order that our lord might hear it, we are writing (this letter).

Copy of a letter [......] which in regard to the tax collector[......]

Tebetu, the [.....th], year in which [King] Ammisaduga [set up] a kingly monument made of brass [...]

Another letter sent by Ibní-Sín and the judges of Sippar is No. 102 which is unfortunately badly preserved and carelessly written, many signs and even whole lines (26, 27) being erased. This fact shows that this letter, too, is not the original sent ana bēlini, but a rough draft from which the official letter was copied. This draft was then preserved in the archives of Sippar. The letter runs as follows.

(2. No. 102)

O. a-na be-li-ni
ki- bī-ma
um-ma ib-ni-sin
ū daqânûmeš-ma
5. i-nu-ma be-el-ni i-na sippar ki wa-āš-bu
wa-ar-ka-tum īp-pa-ar-ra-āš-ma
i-na šá-al-ma-ti be-el-ni at-ta tu-šá-ši-a-an-ni-a-ti

1 There can be little doubt that here the bēlu is King Ammisaduga.
2 Cf. the photographic reproduction on pl. C II.
i-na-an-na it-ti puḥâdišu šá ēkallim
puḥâdini ni-na-ad-di-in
10. wa-ar-ka-tum îp-pa-ar-ra-aš-ma
i-na šá-al-ma-ti nu-uš-ši
iš-tu i-na ṭup-pí šar-ri-im
'ilu-šú-ib-[ni ...... i-na sip]parimki
it-ti....... 

(about 10 lines missing)

R. um-ma .......
26. ma-an-nu1 [......
an2

a- wa-at ni-ga-ab-bu-šú-nu-ši-im ú-ul i-še-im-mu-ú
šum-ma ag-ga-li û 'daltum šá ni.. ad-da-ma
30. 3

ni-ga- bi- šú- nu-ši-im-ma
ú-ul [m-ta-ag]-ga-ru-ni-a-ti
'ilu-šú-[ib-ni.....] i..mu i-na pí-ḫa-at
a-na li-la [.........].. bi
35. e-ši-ka [.........] še
ù iš- [......
a-na [.....

L.E. [.........]-im ú-sa-si û be-lî at-ta ti-di
[i-n]a-an-na ab...la-a ši-it-ti...........ta-tum
[.....] e-ši-ti ti-di ni-a-ti-im-ma ....ta-la-a[k-k]u

TRANSLATION

1 To our lord 2 speak: 3 thus (say) Ibni-Sin 4 and the judges; 5 When our lord stayed at Sippar 6 the matter used

1 an and nu are erased
2 All the signs after an are erased.
3 The beginning of the line is erased.
to be inquired into, and safely thou, our lord, hast delivered us. Now we want to give lambs together with the lambs of the palace. The matter will be inquired into and safely we shall be delivered. After, by royal letter, Ilušu-ib[ni.

(about 10 lines missing)

the word which we say to them they do not hear.

(the rest is nearly quite unintelligible)

Several letters the envelop of which probably had the address ana bêlija have no introduction at all. One of the most interesting texts of this kind is No. 119, bringing a law-case of a certain Išme-Adad against his brother Muhaddûm before the king. The writer is not mentioned in the text: probably he was a high official (šâpiru?) at the place where the wronged man was living. The letter runs as follows.

(3. No. 119)

O. 1iš-me- iš-adad már ig-mil-tiškin wa[rad-ka]
ki-a-am ik-bi-a-am um-ma šú-[ma]
1 ōamtam libbi šá bit a-bi-ja
a-na-ku ū aḥ-ḫu-ja
a-na kaspim a-na tamkarim ni-id-di-in-ma
[kas]ap-šá ni-il-ki-e
2šamtam šú-a-ti it-ti tamkarim
a-na-ku ap-tu-u[r-š]ji-[m[a]
ka-ni-ik-šá na-ši-[a-ku]
10. iš-tu šattim X[kam]
2šamtum ši-i ma-aḥ-ri-ja [wa-āš-ba-at]
aḥ-ḫu-ja ú-ul ib-ku-r[u-šî]

1 Cf. the photographic reproduction on pl. CII.
i-na-an-na mu-ḫa-ad-du-um [a-ḫi]
ša-am-tam šú-a-ti a-šar [šá-ni-im-ma]

15. il- te- [ki]
R. ki-a-am ik-ši-[a-am]
ši-še-šu adad šú-ú
a-na ma-ḫar be-lí-ja it-t[a-al-kam]
be-lí šá-ap-ti-šú l[i-š-me]

20. ka-ni-ka-ti-šú li-m[u-ur]
i-na mu-úḫ-ḫi mu-ḫa-ad-d[u-um]
ši-is -s[i- ma]
ša-am-tam li-te-ir-ru-n[i-iš-šum]
ši-še-šu adad wara[d-ka]

25. ma-ḫar šašamaš a-na be-lí-[i]a
ši- ik -ru- ub
be-lí at-ta i-na šú-ul-mi û ba-la-ṭi
a-na báb-šíš ir-ba-am-ma
bu-nu nam-ru-tum šá šušu marduk ra-i-mi-ka

30. û šušu adad ba-ni-ka li-im-ḫu-ru-ka

TRANSLATION

1 Išme-Adad, son of Igmil-Sin, [thy] servant, 2 has spoken to me as follows: thus he (has said): 3 “One female slave belonging to those of my father’s house 4 I and my brothers 5 had given to a merchant for silver. 6 Silver for her we had received. 7 That slave from the merchant 8 I myself had released [and] 9 a sealed document concerning her [I have] taken. 10 For ten years 11 that slave [is living] at my house: 12 my brothers did not claim her. 13 Now, Muḫaddûm, [a brother of mine], 15 has taken 14 that slave [at another] place 15 for himself.”

16Thus he has spoken to me. 17 [That man] Išme-Adad
is now coming into the presence of my lord. 19 My lord may hear it from his own lips; 20 his sealed documents he may look at. 21 Against Muḫaddûm 22 he may give orders [that] 23 they shall give back the slave to him (i.e., Išme-Adad).

24 Išme-Adad, thy servant, 26 may pray 25 before Šamaš for the sake of my lord! 27 My lord, in welfare and health 28 enter into the city of Babylon, and then 29 may the splendid revelation of Marduk who loves thee 30 and of Adad, who has created thee, give their benedictions unto thee!

Other letters addressed *ana bēlija* are Nos. 63, 78, 103, 104, and probably the mutilated texts Nos. 29, 30, 62, 72, 130. Some others having no introduction (Nos. 82, 83, 84, 88, 123, 129) probably had the address *ana bēlija* on the envelop.

Another kind of official letters are those addressed *ana šāpirija* "to my governor." The position of such a šāpiru may best be understood from the text BB, 238 (=CT, IV, 1, 2). In our collection only the badly preserved text No. 70 has the address *ana šāpirija*.

Some of the letters addressed *ana awēlim* may be classed under the heading "official letters" (Nos. 66, 68, 69, 75, 76, 77(?), 90–96, 98–101, 111(?)), though it is quite certain that awēlu simply is an honorific title like Sir, Esquire or German "Hochwohlgeboren." As an example we may give No. 90.

(4. No. 90)

O. a-na a-we-lim
ki- bī- ma
um-ma īlu sīn-na-di-[n-a][h]-hi-ma
īlu šamaš ū īlu marduk da-ri-iš ūmi

1 Cf. the photographic reproduction on pl. C.
5. li-ba-al-li-tu-ka
   lu šá-al-ma-ta lu ba-al-ṭa-ta
   ilum na-ṣi-ir-ka ri-eš-ka a-na da-mi-ik-tim
   li- ki- il
   a-na šú-ul-mi-ka áš-pu-ra-am

10. šú-lum-ka ma-ḥar ʾiššamaš ʾišš marduk
    ū be-li-ja am-mi-za-du-ga
    lu da- ri
    áš-šum di-ib-ba-at ʾiššin-ri-me-ni
    ū ib-ni- ʾišš adad a-ḥi-šú

15. šá i-na sipparrī ja-ah-ru-rum
    a- mu- ru- ma
    ka-ni-ik ri-ik-sa-tim ú-še-zu-bu-šú-nu-ti
    ku-nu-uk šangē ʾiššamaš šangē ʾišš a- a

Lo.E. ū ku-nu-uk- ka-ti-ku-nu

20. ta- ak- nu- kā

R. ka-ni-ik ri-ik-sa-ti ši-na-ti
   ʾiššin-ri-me-ni šú-ú na-ši
   ki-ma ʾiššin-ri-me-ni šú-ú
   a-na ši-im-ti-šú il-li-ku

25. ʾišš adad a-ḥu-šú
    a-na bit ʾiššin-ri-me-ni ur-ta-ag-gi
    šá ku-nu-uk šangē ʾiššamaš šangē ʾišš a- a
    ū ku-nu-uk-ka-at-ku-nu ba-ak-ra
    ku-nu-uk ma-an-ni-im-ma im-ma-ah-ḥa-ar

30. ʾišš adad šú-a-ti
    li-ki-ir-ri-bu-ni-ik-kum
    i-na mu-ūḥ-ḥi-šú ši-si
    ni-šá-am i-na šá-ap-ti-šú li-ḥi-ša-ki ma
    a-na bit ʾiššin-ri-me-ni a-ḥi-šú
    la ū- ra-ag-ga

1 l. e., lišakinma = lišakin-ma. The accusative is very remarkable.
TRANSLATION

1 To the noble one 2 speak: 3 thus (says) Sin-nâdin-aḫḫī: 4 Śamaš and Marduk may, for the duration of time, 5 keep thee healthy! 6 Mayest thou be well, mayest thou be healthy! 7 The god who guards thee, 8 may lift up 7 thy head to happiness! 9 I am sending now (to inquire) after thy welfare: 10 may thy welfare 12 be perpetual 10 before Śamaš, Marduk 11 and my lord Ammisaduga!

13 As to the case of Sin-rîmêni 14 and Ibni-Adad, his brother, 15 which 16 I have investigated 15 in Sippur-Jahurrum and thereupon 17 had caused them to draw up a sealed document of their treaty, 20 you had sealed (the document) 18 with the seal of the priest of the god Śamaš, the priest of the goddess Aya 19 and your seals. 21 The sealed document of that treaty 22 had that man Sin-rîmêni received. 23 After that man Sin-rîmêni 24 had gone to his destiny (i.e., died), 25 Ibni-Adad, his brother, 26 raised claims against 4 the house of Sin-rîmêni. 27 If one is doubting the seal of the priest of Śamaš, the priest of Aya 28 and your seals, 29 whose seal should be accepted! 31 Let them bring before thee 30 that man Ibni-Adad: 32 give orders against him! 33 An oath shall be put on his lips, that 35 he will raise no claims against the house of Sin-rîmêni, his brother.
PRIVATE LETTERS

Like all old-Babylonian letters the letters referring to private affairs are very important from the linguistic point of view. Rare words and forms occur which can not be found in any historical or religious texts. The Babylonian Grammar especially benefits by the great number of verbal forms of the second person of which those of the plural are the most interesting ones. The rule, established by the present writer,⁠¹ that the ending of the second person of the plural is a and not u, even when it is masculine, is confirmed throughout these letters. There is also a new example of a letter addressed to two women giving a number of those exceedingly rare forms of the second person of the feminine plural. As only one letter so far is known,² besides that in our collection (No. 51), we will give this specimen here in transcription and, as far as it is possible, in translation, too.

(5. No. 51)³

O. a-na ka-ka-a û mi-ir-si-ja
    ki- bí- ma
    um-ma ilušín-ma-gir-ma
    ilušamaš li-ba-al-li-ît-ki-na-ti

5. na-tu........ an-nu-um
    šá warḥam lákam .... ma-ma a-na ŠU.KAZKAL še-e
    libbim
    * a-ná šú-ul-mi-ja la ta-âš-pu-ra-nim

¹ OLZ. 1906, p. 585 ff.
² Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, No. 23; cf. BB, 129.
³ Cf. the photographic reproduction on pl. XCVIII.
a-nu-um-ma 𒈗šamaš-e-pi-ri
a-na ši-ri-ki-na at-tār-dam
Lo.E. 3/30 kēm še‘im 1/30 kēm kê
11. šú- bi- la-nim
R. šá ši-bu-tim ma-aḫ-ri-ja
i-ba-āš-ši ṯēšəmtum a-na ši-ri-ja
li-li-kam-ma lu-šá-bi-la-ki-im-ma
15. a-šá-ri-iš id-na-a-ma
šá tu-šá-bi-la-nim
i-na iš-ri-ki-na-a-ma
ḥu-ur-ṣa-ma ši-ta-tum
ki-ma a-šá-pa-(ra)-ki-na-ši-im
20. šú- bi- la-nim

TRANSLATION

1 To Kakâ and Mirsiya ² speak: ³ thus (says) Sin-magir.
² Šamaš may keep you healthy! ⁵ How is it possible,¹ ⁶ that
⁴ for a (whole) month ⁷ you have not sent ⁶ anybody to me because
of the provisions for the journey …… ⁷ and in order to inquire
after my welfare!
⁸ Now I am despatching Šamaš-epiri ⁹ to you: ¹⁰ ¹/₁₀ kur
of barley flour and ¹/₃₀ kur of bean flour ¹¹ send to me! ¹² It
is wanted for some purpose with me. ¹³ A female servant
¹⁴ may come to me, and then I shall send thee² (silver).³ There-
upon ¹⁵ give (the flour) immediately and ¹⁶ what you will have
sent to me ¹⁸ take off ¹⁷ from your own tithe. ¹⁸ The rest ²⁰ send
to me ¹⁹ according to what I shall write to you.

¹ Very doubtful; there may have been, at this place, a form belonging to the root ṣamaš.
² Instead of "you"!
³ Omitted by the scribe?
Among the letters referring to business transactions we may select two dealing with the same affair, viz., the famous Luštamar-letters. Both of them (Nos. 46 and 47) were enclosed in envelopes which were opened, so that the letters could be read. Their having been preserved together with the envelopes is an indication that they were copies kept in the archives. Both envelopes are sealed: No. 46 with the seal of a certain Warad-Sin (though the writer is a certain Sin-rîmêni), No. 47 with the seal of the writer Ilušu-bâni, son of Ibi-Ilabrat, known also from the Sippar-texts BE, VI, 2, No. 72, l. 3 (21st year of Hammurapi) and BE, VI, 1, No. 50 a: 19 and b: 19 (2d year of Samsuiluna). The last text also mentions a brother of his Sin-rîmêni (50 b: 19) who may be identical with the writer of letter No. 46.

Both letters deal with transgressions of the nipûtu-right. As we know from the code of Hammurapi (§§ 114 ff.), a man who had certain claims against another was allowed to take away a slave or even a free person from the household of his debtor, in order to have this person work for him. Such a person was called nipûtu (pl. nipûtu). Evidently Luštamar had taken such a nipûtu from the daughters of a certain Īasi-ili, though his claims already had been satisfied. We read:

(6. No. 46)\(^1\)

**Envelop:** ¹[a-na l]u-uš-ta-mar  
(seal) ²warad- ³ušin  
mâr an-na-ili  
warad ³uši-amurrim  

**Letter:** O. a-na lu-uš-ta-mar  
ki- ã-ma

\(^1\) Cf. the photographic reproductions on pl. XCVIII.
um-ma HeaderValue  
\( \text{ni-pu-tum } \) šá mārat ja-si-ši-li
5. a-di ma-ḥa-ṣar ra-bi-a-nim
\( \text{nu- } \) ṣu-ru a-na bi-tim
šá mārat ja-si-ši-li
la ta-šá -zi

**Translation**

*Envelope:* ¹ [To] Luṣtamar.

*(seal) ² Warad-Sin, ³ son of Anna-ili, ⁴ servant of the god Amurru-um.*

*Letter:* ¹ To Luṣtamar ² speak: ³ thus (says) Sin-rimēni:
⁴ The *niḫtu* of the daughter of Ḯasīli ⁵ to the presence of the prefect ⁶ . . . . . . Against the house ⁷ of the daughter of Ḯasīli ⁸ thou shalt not make a claim.¹

(7. No. 47)²

*Envelope:* ¹ana lu-uš-ta-mar

*(seal) ²ulu-šu-ba-ni dam-gār
dumu  i-bi-  ulu-ilabrat
arad dingir nin-šubur-a-g[é]

*Letter:* O. a-na lu-uš-ta-mar

ki- bī- ma
um-ma ilu-šu-ba-ni-ma
mārat ²mēnja-si-ši-li
5. ki-a-am iš-pur-ra-nim um-ma ši-na-ma
še’a-am šá GÌ.PA.SÌK.ISsun
ma- ḥi- ir
li-ib-ba-šú tā-ab

¹ Literally "call."
² Cf. the photographic reproductions on pl. XCIX.
i-na-an-na ni-pa-ti-ni
10. it-ti-pí
R. ki-a-am iš-pur-ra-nim
še’a-am ma-ah-ra-a-ta
li-ib-ba-ka tá-ab
a-li-a-am-ma márât meš ja-si-ili
15. a- pu-ul

TRANSLATION

Envelop: 1 To Luštamar.

(seal) 2 Ilušu-bâni, the merchant, 3 son of Ibi-
ilabrât, 4 servant of the god Ilabrât (=Nin-
šubur).

Letter: 1 To Luštamar 2 speak: 3 thus (says) Ilušu-bâni:
4 the daughters of ḫasi-ili 5 have written to me as follows:
6 "Barley for . . . . 7 he (viq., Luštamar) has received, 8 his
heart is satisfied. 9 Now 10 he has taken away 9 nipûtus belonging
to us." 11 After this fashion they have written to me.
12 The barley thou hast received, 13 thy heart is satisfied!
14 . . . . (the requests of) the daughters of ḫasi-ili 15 answer!

Among the letters found at Nippur we may, at least, select
one dealing with a very interesting law suit:

(8. No. 7).

O. a-na lù-ga-a
ki- bî- ma
um-ma îš-sîn-pu-uť-ra-am-ma
îš-en-lîl û îš-NIN. IB li-ba-li-tu-ka
5. lû-ga-tum alpišun-Šú a-na dimtim
a-na ekīl šamaššammim e-piši-im
iz-zu-ḥa-[am]-ma
1'u-bar-lu-lu wa-ar-k[i-šú] i-la-ak
alap-šú i-mu-ut-ma
10. a-na ši-ri-ja a-na di-ni-im il-li-k[u-n]im-ma
ŠĀ. GUDzun a-li-ik i-di-šú a-šá-al-ma
ki-a-am ik-bu-nim um-ma šú-nu-ma
alpum ip-du-ur-ma šá-am-mi i-ka-al
[im-k]u-ut-ma im-tu-ut
L.E. [um-m]a a-na-ku-ú-ma
R. [a-na n]ippurimki a-na a-al dašāni meš
a-al-ka-a-ma
di-nam li-di-nu-ku-nu-ti
i-na nippurimki dašānumeš di-nam i-di-nu-šu-nu-ti
20. a-na ba-ab ʾiskirm a-na ni-iš ilim
1'u-bar-lu-lu i-di-nu
[l]ùga-tum di-nam šú-a-ti
ú-ul l[i-k]i
wa-ar-ka-zu p[u-ru-u]š-[ma]
lā iḥ-ḥa-ab-ba-al

TRANSLATION

1 To Lugā 2 speak: 3 thus (says) Sin-puṭram: 4 Enlil and NIN.IB may keep thee healthy! 5-7 Lugatum had fetched his oxen to the town of Dimtu, in order to till a field of sesame. Thereupon 8 Ubar-Lulu followed him: 9 one ox of his died; therefore 10 they came into my presence for judgment. Then 11 the herdsmen, who had helped him, I asked and 12 they spoke as follows: 13 “The ox went aside in order to eat grass; 14 [he fell] down and died.”
15 Thus I (replied): 16 [“To] Nippur to the city of the judges 17 ye must go; then 18 they will render you a judgment.”

19 In Nippur the judges rendered a judgment to them: 20-21 they assigned Ubar-Lulu to the Garden Gate for an oath. 22-23 Lugatum has not accepted that judgment. 24 [Inquire] into his matter, [in order that] 25 he may not suffer any damage.
A NEW INSCRIPTION OF ḤAMMURAPI

The cone published here as an appendix (No. 133 = pl. CIII f.) belongs to the oldest collections of the Museum. That this inscription was written during Hammurapi's earlier reign,¹ is shown by the fact that the king does not call himself šar kibrat arba’im "king of the four quarters of the world."² It refers to the building of the wall of Sippar, certainly the same operation which was celebrated by the naming of the king’s 25th year: mu bād źimirīki "year in which the wall of Sippar (was finished)." This building operation probably was begun in the king’s 23d year: mu apin bād źimirīki "year in which the foundation of the wall of Sippar (was laid)." Therefore the whole work took about two years.

The walls of Sippar again collapsed during the last years of the king’s reign. He therefore had built them anew and this operation is mentioned in the inscriptions of the British Museum No. 12212 and 12216³ in which the king is called šar kibrat arba’im (l. 4). The same operation was celebrated by naming the king’s 43d year mu źimirīki "year of Sippar."

The inscription published in this volume runs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-nu ḫušamaš</td>
<td>šarrum šá ili⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-lum ra-bi-um</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šá⁴ šá-ma-i ṣi ir-ši-tim</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-ba-am mi-gir⁶-šú ja-ti</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. also Preface, p. 7.
² Vit., Šumer-Akkad, Ešantu, Amurrō, Subartū; cf. BA, VI, 5, p. 18.
³ King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, I, 57 (pl. 97 ff.), 58 (pl. 102 ff.); III, p. 177 ff.
⁴ Original ša.
⁵ AN-AN.
⁶ Orig. ḫa.
7 in pa(-ni)1-šú nam-ru-tim
ḥa- di- iš
ip-pa-al- sā2- ni
10 šar-ru-tam da-rí-tám3
palá ūmi4 ar-ku-tim
iš- ru- kam
išid mâtim4
šá a-na be-li-im
15 i-ti- na- am
ú- ki- in- nam5
ni-ši6 sippar6
ù báb-ili7
šú- ba-at ne-iḥ-ti
20 šú- šú- ba-am
in pi-šú el-li-im
šá la na-ka-ar ik-bi-ù
dûr sippar8
e-pí- šá- am
25 ri-ši-šú ul-la-a-am
ra-bi- iš

lu-wa-ir-ra-an-ni
i-nu-ūmi9- šú
ḥa-am-mu-ra- pí
30 šarrum da-núm
šár báb-ili9
na-’i-du-um še-mu ilušamaš
na-ra-am ilu9-a-a
mu-ṭi-ib li-bil
35 ilušiš-marduk be-li-šú a-na-ku
in e-μu-ki-in
ṣi-ra- tim
šá ilušamaš it5-ti-na9-am
in ti- bu-ut
40 um-ma-an ma-ti-ja
uš-ši dûr sippar9
in e-pí- ri
ki-ma šadi10-im ra-bi-im
ri-šu-ši11-nu lu ú-ul-li
45 dûram širam12 lu e-pu-uš

46 šá iš-tu ūmum ši-a-tim
šar-ru in šarriř
48 ma-na-ma la i-pu-šú
a-na ilušamaš be-li-ja

1 Omitted by orig.
2 Sgn 3ag = damšu.
3 dam.
4 UN.
5 B: na-a(m)(?).
6 Sgn láš.
7 B: ti-bi.*
8 Orig. da.
9 Omitted by B.
10 S.A.T.U.
11 Orig. apparently ūu.
12 Or badmahšam instead of dûram širam.
50 ra-bi-ša lu e-pu-uš-zum
     dûrum šú- ú
     in ki-bi-it itiššamaš
     ḫa-am- mu-ra-pí
     ma-ḫi-ri a ir-ši
55 šum- šú
     in palē-ja dam-ki-im
     šá itiššamaš ib-bu-ù
     sippaš
     ānš-s[a-ša]tim š[a-...]
60 ummān-šú in [......]
     a-na itiššamaš lu [......]
     nār-šú lu al-[ri]
     a-na ir-ši-[ti-šú]
     me-e d[a- ru-tim]
65 lu āš-ku- [un]
     nu-ūḫ-š[a-am  ú ṭu-ūḫ-da-am]
     lu ú- [ki-in]
     a-na ni-š[i]sippaš
     r[i-š]-tam lu āš-ku-u[n]
80 a-[......]-at-ti- [......]
     [......]-ka-ra-[......]
     [šá] a-na libb-iššamaš b[e-li-ša]
     ū itišša a be-el-ti-ja
     ū-sa bu lu e-pu-uš
75 šú-mi dam-ga-am
     ūmim- ša-am
     ki-ma ilim za-ka-ra-am
     šá a-na da-ar
     la im-ma-āš-šú-ù
80 in pi-[ n]i-š[i]
     lu āš- ku- un

**TRANSLATION**

1 When Šamaš, 2 the great lord 3 of heaven and earth, 4 the king of the gods, 5 had joyfully 6 looked upon 6 me, 5 Hammurapi, 6 the prince, his favorite, 7 with his shining face, 12 (when) he had presented to me 10 an everlasting kingdom, 11 a reign of long time, 16 (when) he has established 1 the foundation of the land 14 which, in order to rule, 15 he had given to me, 21 (when he), with his pure mouth, 22 which cannot be altered, had given orders 20 to let live 17 the people of Sippaš 18 and Babylon 19 in a peaceful habitation, 27 he truly commanded me 26 in a great fashion 24 to make 23 the wall of Sippaš 25 (and) to lift its head.

28 At that time have I, 29 Hammurapi, 30 the mighty king, 31 the king of Babylon, 32 the sublime, the obedient (worshipper)
of Šamaš, the favorite of Aya, who makes rejoice the heart of Marduk, his lord, I, with the high strength that Šamaš gave to me, by means of the rising of the folk of my land, as to the foundations of the wall of Sippar, in clay like a great mountain I have lifted their head. A great wall I built. What since the oldest times no king among the kings had made, to Šamaš, my lord, in a great fashion I made for him.

That wall has the name: By the command of Šamaš may Hammurapi not have any adversaries!

During my splendid reign which Šamaš had pronounced, Sippar, the everlasting city [...], its folk in [...]. to Šamaš truly [I...]; its canal truly I dug. For [its] country everlasting water truly I procured. Riches and abundance truly I established. For the people of Sippar the best position I truly established. [...]. [That which] was pleasant for the heart of Šamaš, my lord, and of Aya, my mistress, truly I did.

My splendid name daily like a god to be mentioned who, for all times, never will be forgotten, in the mouth of the people truly I have established.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

ABBREVIATIONS

b. = brother; d. = daughter; f. = father; PN = personal name: R = receiver; S = sender; s. = son; si. = sister.

Feminine names are indicated by °. ° has been inserted after i; k after k; s and š after s; t after t.

Names of Persons

Abaçi: A-ba-çi
1. 106 : [23(?)], 34
Abijatum: A-bi-ja-tum
1. akil išpari: 32 : 5, 8
2. f. of Gimil-Gula: 33 : 6
Abum-kima-ilim: A-bu-um-ki-ma-AN
1. 11 : 13
Adad-idinnam: ūUBIM-i-din-nam
1. 86 : 29
Adad-lû-šir: ūUBIM-lu-šir
1. 88 : 3
Addi-il: A-di-AN
1. R: 52 : 1, [4], 7, 11
1. R: 9 : 1
2. *10 : 13
Ahu(m)-wâkar: A-bu-um-wa-kar,
*A-bu-wa-kar
1. *11 : 19
2. S: *12 : 3
3. R: *42 : 1
4. 43 : 7
Ağ-abâš-il: A-ja-ba-âš-il-il
1. S: 70 : 3

°Aja-lâmassi: ūUBa-a-la-mal-ši
1. 34 : 34
°Aja-ummi: ūUBa-a-um-m[u]
1. 38 : 22
Aḵâl-ana-Marduk: A-ga-al-a-na-
*išAMAR, UD
1. S: 33 : 3
°Âlija-tum: A-li-ia-tum
1. cousin(?) of Narâmtâni: 55 : 17
**Al-la-li-m[u],
1. †19 : 24
2. s. of Bûr-Adad: 37 : 3, **14
(i.e. seal)
3. *94 : 7
Ammiditana: Am-mi-di-la-na
1. (šarru): 75 : 7
Ammisaduga: Am-mi-ža-du-ga
1. (šarru): 89 : 45 | 90 : 11 | 91 : 10
Ana-ilâ(?)-taklûku: A-na-[l]-li-[l] a-
*ta-ak-la-ku
1. 23 : 6
ARThUR UNGNAD—BABYLONIAN LETTERS OF THE HammURAPI PERIOD 35

Ana-Marduk-taklāku: A-na-īnu AMAR. UD-tāk-la-ku
1. 36 : 8

Ana-Sin-taklāku: A-na-īnu EN.ZU-tāk-la-ku
1. 127 : 27

Arn...-taklāku: A-na-tāk-la-ku (erroneous)
1. šuḫaru of Ib̄katum: 43 : 14
Annā-ilī: An-na-AN
1. f. of Warad-Sin: 46 A : 3 (i.e. seal)
Anšar(?)-balāti: AN-ŠAR(?)-ba(?)-la-li
1. 25 : 17

[Image 0x0 to 486x636]

1. S: 40 : 3

Aššur-āsu: *A. USAR-a-su
1. S: 49 : 2

Atkalši: At-kal-ši
1. 94 : 33

Awtā-īnu Šamaš: KA. īnu UD, *[K]A(?)-īnu UD(?)
1. S: *20 : 4
2. mārû A.: 45 : 9

Awešši: A-WE-li-ja
1. f. of Aweš-ššar: 100 : 14

Aweššar: A-WE-il-ššar
1. S: 78 : 3
2. tamkari, s. of Awešši: 100 : 14

Aweš-Sin: A-WE-il-īnu EN.ZU
1. S: 80 : 3

Babā: Ba-ba-a
1. s. of Šamaš-garri: 5 : 5

Baginu: Ba-gi-ku
1. mārû B.: 103 : 5

Ballu-kašid: Ba-al-tu-ka-ši-id
1. S: 56 : 3

Bassī: Ba-As-si
1. S: 63 : 3

BÂ.SÁ-šarratum: BÂ. ŠÁ-īnušá-ratum
1. 82 : 9, 12

Bazītu: Ba-zi-tu
1. 110 : 13

Beštā: Be-ta-šu
1. 14 : 19
2. R.f. of Išin-Amumar: 61 : 1

Bēlušnu (m): Be-la-nu-um, *Be-la-nu
1. R: 39 : 1
2. kalamaḫu Amunitum: *107 : 16

Bēliatum: Be-li-ja-šum
1. s. of Damākum (?): 67 : 13
2. 108 : 40
*Bélissunu: Be-li-ğu-nu
1. S: 60:3
Bél-kâli(?)-[...]: Be-el-k[a-l]i(?)-
[...]
1. f. of Iliâni: 72:19
Belliiti(?): Be-el-li-li (doubtful if proper name)
1. s. of Eli(?): 83:21
Bélšunu: Be-el-shu-nu
1. R: 35:1
*Bittetum: Bi-it-te-tum
1. s. of Išušu-bâni: 100:10
Bunene-gâmil: inu-bu-ne-ne-ga-mil
1. R: 34:1
Bûr-Adad: Bur-îš-M
1. f. of Āl(i)-lalîmi: 37:15
(i.e. seal)
Damakum(?): Da-ma-ku-um (all signs uncertain)
1. f. of Belîjatum(?): 67:13
*Domki-Ištar: Du-um-ki-Ištar
1. 36:14, 16, 19
Ea-muballit: É-a-mu-ba-li-it
1. S: 21:3, 20
Eli(?): E-li-i (uncertain if proper name)
1. f. of Belliti(?): 83:21
Elmēšum: El-me-šum
1. S: 110:3
Enlil-tûram: iu-En-lil-tu-[a-a]m
1. R: 3:i
Enlil(?)-[...]: iu-[n-lil-...](?)
1. R: 26:1
Eribam: E-ri-ba-am
1. R: 42:2
*Erištum: E-ri-is-tum
1. 6:6
Etel-pi-Nabiium: E-tel-KA-înu-Na-bi-um
1. S: 94:3
*Gemutum (uncertain, if feminine):
Ge-mu-tu[m](?)
1. 17:19
Gimil-Gula: Gi-mîl-înu-Gu-la
1. s. of Abîjatum: 33:5
Gimil-ili: ŠU-i-li
1. R: 1:2
Gimillum: Gi-mîl-lum
1. 32:14, 18
2. R: 33:1
Gimil-Marduk: Gi-mîl-înu-AMAR.
UD
1. ūpârru: 89:36
Hâbil-ahî: Ha-bîl-a-hî
1. 95:12
Haburum: Ha-bu-rum
1. S: 42:5
Hâjab-ilî: Ha-ja-ab-AN
1. f. of Imdî-Ištar: 49:7
Hammurapi: Ha-am-mu-ra-pî,
*Ha-am-mu-[a-pî], î[Ha-ami]-mu-ra-pî
1. (= 2): 83:*1, 17
[2. (= 1): 133 A:5, 29, 53]
Hûlatum: Hu-la-tum
1. R: 48:1
Hunnûm: Hu-un-mu-u[m]
1. 97:4
Huqûlum: Hu-za-lum
1. S: 41:3
2. R: 42:3
3. 94:7, 41
4. 130:31
Ibi-Enil: I-bi-înu-En-il
1. šâkinu: 17:16
2. 116:18
Ibi- Ilabrat: I-bi-înu-NIN.ŠUBUR
1. f. of Išušu-bâni: 47 A:3
(i.e. seal)
Ibi-ilum: I-bi-il-lum
1. S: 1:1
Ibisi-lišu: ŠIG-ì-li-[šù]
1. f. of Šumum-libbi and Labištum; his daughter mentioned: 117:11
Ibi-Šaan: I-bi-ímuŠa-ha-an
1. S: 75:3
Ibkatum: Ib-ga-tum
1. R: 43:1
2. f. of Narāmtâni: 55:3
Ibku-Anunitum: Ib-ku-AN-nu-ni
1. S: 103:3
Ibku-Damu(?): Ib-ku-ímuD[a-mu(?)]
1. 10:18
Ibku-Šabium: Ib-ku-ímuNa-bi-sum
1. 107:14, 27, 29
Ibku-[:...]: Ib-ku-ímu[ímu(?)...]
1. 91:37
Ibni-Adad: Ib-ni-ímuIM
1. NI.ŠAG(?): 88:2
2. b. of Sin-rimêni: 90:14, 25, 30
3. R: 112:1
4. malabu: 122, 5
Ibni-Marduk: Ib-ni-ímuAMAR.UD
1. R: 112:2
2. 123:18, 21(?)
Ibni-Sin: Ib-ni-ímuEN.ZU, *Ib-ni-
[ímuEN.ZU, 1Ib-ni-XXX
1. S: *89:3, 36 (supplied according to BB 83–85)
2. 1Ib-ni-XXX
Ibni-Šamaš: Ib-ni-ímuUD
1. S: 93:3
Iddatum: Id-da-tum
1. S: 101:3
Idin-Amûrûm: I-din-ímuMAR.TU
1. s. of Bêjâ: 61:5
Idin-Ea: I-din-ímuE-a
1. 107:14, 21, 25
Idin-Ilabrat: I-din-ímuNIN.ŠUBUR
1. daia: 117:19 (probably erroneously instead of Idin-Irra)
Idin-Irra: I-din-ímuIr-ra
1. daia: 117:11, 15 (l. 19 erroneously I-din-ímuNIN.ŠUBUR)
Idin-Sin: I-din-ímuEN.ZU
1. 94:21
2. 113:14, 20, 23, 26
Igmil-Sin(?): Ig-mil-ímuEN.ZU (all signs uncertain)
1. f. of Isme-Adad and Muḥad-dûm: 119:1
Ili-ši(?): I-li-ši(?)-ri[. .]
1. 54:11
Ili-atpalam: I-li-at-pal-am
1. R: 4:1
Ili-bânî: I-li-ba-ni-i
1. 11:18
Ili(?)-darûnum: AN-da-ri-mu-um
1. R: 21:1
Ili-eribam: I-li-e-ri-ba-am
1. R: 2:1
2. 62:23
Ili-idînnum: I-li-i-din-nam
1. s. of Sin-bêl-aplim: 118:14, 16, 21, 24
Ili-îkimûm: I-li-i-ki-sha-am
1. 84:9, 11
Ili-mu[. .]: AN-mu[. .]
1. 10:17
*Ilâni: Il-la-ni
1. S, d. (? of Apîl-Ištar: 58:3
2. d. of Bêl-kâli(?)-[. .], tigliti Šamaš: 72:18, 21 (doubtful)
Iluni: I-lu-ni
1. šamallû: 117:9
2. 130:23, 29
Ilušu-abušu: AN-šu-a-bu-šu
1. R: 45:1

Ilušu-bānī: AN-šu-ba-ni
1. S: 19:13
2. S, tamkāru, s. of Ibi-Ilabrat: 47A:2 (i.e. seal); B:3
3. 99:14
4. S, b. of Bit'etum: 100:3
5. s. of Ilušu-ibni(?): 108:15, 17

Ilušu-ibni: AN-šu-ib-[ni], *AN-šu-ib-ni(?); (last signs uncertain)
1. 102:13, 33
2. f. of Ilušu-bānī: *108:15

Imdi-Ištar: Im-di-Ištar
1. s. of Ḥajab-ili, b. (?) of Warad-Sin: 49:5, 10, 15, 21

Imgur-Sin: Im-gur-illEN.ZU
1. 35:6

Ina-Esagila-ţer: I-na-È-sag-ila-ZIR
1. 84:12

Ina-pī Šamaš: I-na-pī-inUD
1. 26:16

Innunatiţa(?): In-nu-na-li-ja (first three signs uncertain)
1. mārat I.: 72:8

Iškur-mansē: dinuIM-ma-an-se
1. S: 99:3
2. akil tamkari: 103:12

Išme-Adad: Iš-me-inIM
1. s. of Ḫmēl-Sin(?), b. of Muhaddum: 119:1, 17, 24

*Ištar-ēkallā: Ištar-Ē.GAL-li
1. S, wife(?) of Nabium-mālik: 36:2

*Ištar-[-...]; Išta[r-...]
1. S: 38:3

Iṣirum: I-ṣi-rum
1. 95:28

Iškar-ušum: Ia-ak-ru-ri-im (gen.)
1. 127:23

Iasi-ilī, Iasīli: Ia-si-AN, *Ia-si-li
1. mārat I.: *46 B:4, 7 | 47 B:4, 14

*Kakā: Ka-ka-a
1. R: 51:1

Ka[...]: Ka[...]
1. R: 50:1

Kubbūrum: Ku-ub-bu-rum
1. 81:7, 11
2. 82:1, 20

Ku-Innanna: AZAG-dinurIN-NANNA
1. nuņatimmu: 15:4

*Kukiuja: Ku-ku-ja
1. R: 36:1

*Kultutatu: Ku-ut-ut-ta (acc.)
1. 120:6

Labištum: La-bi-iš-tum, *La-b[i]-ši(-tum)
1. gallānu: 100:19, 24
2. s. of Ibiš-ilišu, b. of Šumum-šibši: *117:13

*Lāmassāni: La-ma-ta-ni, *La-ma-ta-na(?)
1. *83:7(?)
2. S: 105:3 || 106:3

*Lāmassi: La-ma-si-i(-ma)
1. S: 57:3

Lišer-Sippa: Lišer-er-UD.KIB. NUN.KI
1. 37:4

Lu-Asari(?): LU-dinurSILIG-LU-[ŠAR] (uncertain)
1. f. of Sin-idinnam: 97:15

Lu-Enlilla: LU-dinurEn-lil-[štā]
1. R: 15:1

Lugā: Lu-ga-a
1. R: 5:1 | 6:1 | 7:1 | 8:1
Lugatum: Lù-ga-tum
1. 7: 5, 22
Lu-Ningunanna (?) : Lû-[dinasirNin-gin-an]-na (uncertain)
1. S: 26: 2
Luštamar: Lu-uš-ta-mar
1. R: 46 A: 1; B: 1 | 47 A: 1; B: 1
2. S: 48: 3
3. 59: 15
Mallilûm: Ma-al-li-i-li-im (gen.)
1. R: 23: 1, 8
Marduk-làmassašu : īnu AMAR. UDLA.ma-za-šu
1. S: 98: 3
Marduk-muballit: īnu AMAR. UDMU-ba-li-šu
1. 69: 8
2. 76: 14, 18
3. kalamaḫḫu (?): 93: 36
4. awēlu, abi ummāni: 108: 28
Marduk-mušallim: īnu AMAR. UDMU-ša-li m
1. awēlu: 130: 18
Marduk-mu[...]: īnu AMAR. UDMU-[...]
1. S: 81: 3
Marduk-nâšir: īnu AMAR. UD-ni-ši-ir
1. S: 32: 3
Marduk-nišu: īnu AMAR. UD-ni-šu
1. 36: 18
Mâr-irsītīm: TUR-KI
1. 48: 5
Mâr-Puratūm: TUR nār KIB.NUN. KI (erroneous)
1. 83: 2
Mirṣiqa : Mi-ir-si-ia
1. R: 51: 1
Muḥaddûm: Mu-ḫa-ad-du-um
1. s. of Igmil-Sin (?) , b. of Išme-Adad: 119: 13, 21
Nabi-Ilabrat: Na-bi-[īnu]NIN .ŠUBUR
1. šangū Anûnutûm: 117: 17, 22, 26
Nabi-ilišu: Na-bi-i-li-šu
1. 78: 4
Nabium-gâmîl: īnu-NA-bi-um-ga-mil
1. S: 35: 3
Nabium-ibni: īnu-NA-bi-um-ib-ni
1. 80: 4
Nabium-mâlik: īnu-NA-bi-um-ma-lik
1. husband (?) of Ištar-êkalli: 36: 5
Nabium-nîšu: īnu-NA-bi-um-ni-šu
1. R, b. of (?) Sin-rîmēni: 44: 1
Nabium-sême (?) : īnu-NA-bi-um-[ê]-eme (not quite certain)
1. 94: 35
Naimu: Na-imu
1. 42: 29
Nanna-manse: ēnasir ŠEŠ .KI-ma-àn-se]
1. awēlu: 129: 18
Nanna-šalasir: ēnasir ŠEŠ .KI-sâ-lâ-sir
1. S: 9: 2
Narâm-ilišu: Na-ra-[a-am]-i-li-šu
1. b. of Ša(?)-Nâna : 24: 6
Narâm-Sîn: Na-ra-am [.ânu] EN , ZU
1. S: 6: 3
οNarâmânî: Na-ra-am-la-ni
1. S: d. of Ibmûna, cousin (?) of Alûnûm: 55: 3
Nâ[...]: Na- [...]
1. 81: 9, 12
Ninnûa: Ni-ni-nu-û-a
1. 22: 16
οNiši-înišu: Ni-ši-î-ni-šû, *[Ni-ši-î-ni-šû (?)
1. R: 14: 1 (?)
2. S: 39: 4
3. R: 40: 1 | 41: 1
Nūr-Adad: Nu-ūr-[i][M]
  1. S: 79:3
Nāratum: Nu-ra-tum
  1. 55:9
Nūr-Ilabrat: Nu-ūr-[i][NIN.ŠUBUR
  1. 17:18
Nūr-Kabta: Nu-ūr-Ka-ab-la
  1. R: 57:1
Nūrüm-liši: Nu-rum-li-ši
  1. 120:5, 14
Rīš-Šubula: Ri-iš-[i][Š]ú-bu-la
  1. S: 52:2
  *Sabītum: Za-bi-tum
    1. R: 97:1
Sag-Enlilla: Sag-[in-gir] En-lil-lā
  1. 17:5
Sagila-manse: Sag-ila-ma-an-se
  1. R: 32:1
Sin-ašarid: [i][EN.ZU-aša-ri-id
  1. 31:7
  2. S: 53:3 | 54:3
Sinatum: Si-na-tum
  1. R: 53:1
Sin-bēl-aplim: [i][EN.ZU-be-el-aplim
    1. f. of Ilī-idinnam: 118:[14], 16, 21
Sin-bēl-dumkiša: [i][EN.ZU-be-el-du-tum-ki-ša
    1. 66:28
Sin-bēl-[...]: [i][EN.ZU-be-el-[...]
    1. 69:6
    2. 81:6
Sin-idinnam: [i][EN.ZU-i-din-nam
    1. 3:8
    2. S: 95:3 | 96:3
    3. s. of Lu-Asari(?): 97:3, 13
      (i.e. seal)
Sin-iššam: [i][EN.ZU-i-ša-am
    1. awēlu, ṣupšarru: 112:5
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    1. 69:3
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Sin-išme'anni [i][EN.ZU-iš-me-a-ni
    *XXX-iš-me-a-ni
      1. R: 13:1
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Sin-magir: [i][EN.ZU-ma-gir
    1. S: 51:3
Sin-menī, read Sin-rimēni
Sin-nādin-ahhi: [i][EN.ZU-na-[i]-ni-ab-hi
    1. S: 90:3
Sin-nādin-šumi: [i][EN.ZU-na-di-in-šu-mi
    1. S: 91:3 | 92:3
Sin-pušram: [i][EN.ZU-pu-ul-ra-am
    1. S: 7:3
Sin-rimēni: [i][EN.ZU-ri-me-ni,
    *[i][EN.ZU-me-ni (erroneous)
      1. 19:5(?)
      2. S: 43:3 | 45:3 | 46 B:3
      3. S, b. of (?) Nabium-nišu: 44:3
      4. R: 54:1
      5. *75:9
      6. b. of Ibnī-Adad: 90:13, 22,
         23, 26, 34
Sin-še-mī: [i][EN.ZU-še-mi
    1. 69:22
Sin-tappi-wēdim(?): [i][EN.ZU-tap-
p[i-we-di-im] (uncertain)
    1. S: 16:3(?)
Sin-uballissu(?): [i][EN.ZU-ú-bal-li-is (-ṭ) omitted
    1. 94:19
Sin-[...]-agê: $ EN.ZU-[-...]a-ge$
1. 13 $ EN.ZU-[-...]

Ša-Samaš-damka: Ša-$ UD-dam-ga$
1. S: 34 $ UD$

Šep-Ea: Še-$ É-a
1. S: 129, 10, 20 $ É$

ŠUM-libiši: ŠU-mu-um-li-ib-ši
1. S: 68 $ µ$ AN

ŠU-numa-ili: ŠU-nu-ma-AN
1. S: 66 $ µ$ 67 $ µ$

Tadin-Nunu: Ta-di-in-Nu-nu
1. R: 39 $ µ$

Taribatun: Ta-ri-ba-tum
1. S: 3 $ µ$ 13 $ µ$

Tarib-Sin(?): Ta-ri-[b-$ µEN.ZU$
1. S: 111 $ µ$

Taribun: *Ta-ri-bu-um, Ta-ri-bu
1. S: *2 $ µ$

Ubar-Lulu: U-bar-Lu-lu
1. 7 $ µ$ 8

Ubar-Nunu: U-bar-Nu-nu
1. 68 $ µ$

Ubar-Samaš: U-bar-$ µUD$
1. 45 $ µ$

Ug-ni-Anum(?): Ug(?)-ni-An-tum
1. 37 $ µ$

Ur-Sulpae: Ur-$ SUL.PA.UD$
1. S: 15 $ µ$ 3, 17
Names of Cities, Gates, Nations, Rivers, Temples, etc.

Ál-Ápit-taKi: ERÍ-A-pîl-ta-ki
113:13
Ál-Guëmna: ERÍ-Gû-en-na
16:7
Ammanum: v. Sippar
Bâb-ilí: KÁ-DINGIR.RA
16:6, 12 | 44:6(?) | 52:8 | 61:10
| 76:11 | 77:29 | 81:14 | 89:9, 12, 39 | 95:13 | 100:29 | 108:19 | 110:10
| 111:26 | 114:19 | 119:28 | 125:9, 22, 34 | 126:9 | 131:8 | 133A:18, 31; B 18
Bašu: Ba-zi
130:30

Dimtu: AN.ZA.KAR
7:5
Dûru: BÁD
4:7
Ébarrá: È.UD.RA
97:15 (i.e. seal)
Elammû: aṭiNIM.MA
86:11
Esagila: È.SAG.ILA
89:35; v. PN Sagila-manse,
Ina-Ésagila-êr
Gâgûm: bûgâ-gi-a, aûbîgâ-ge-a, üpâ-ge-a, **gâ-gi-a
72:3, 5, 20, 24, 28, 30 | *83:20 | 85:2 | **125:26
Hiritum: Hi-ri-[um...]
59 : 9
In-ki-bi-Šamaš- Hammurapi-mâhirir-ai-irši: In-ki-bi-it, i.UD-
Ha-am-mu-ra-pi-ma-ši-ri-a-irši (wall of Sippar)
133 : 52 ff.
Isin: Ni-si-im
22 : 10(?) | 32 : 6
Jabrurum, v. Sippar
Kâr-Šamaš: KAR, i.UD
72 : 11
Kaššû: šâb Ka-âš-ši-i
94 : 10
Kibalmaš(?): Ki-bal-mâ[s...]
83 : 3
Kiš: KIŠ.KI
127 : 13
Kutâ: TIG.GAB.Â
112 : 6
Lubdi: dû Lu-ub-di
29 : 7
Nippur: EN.LIL.KI
7 : 16, 19 | 14 : 4 | 27 : 29
Nukil(?): Nu-kil
101 : 11; cf. 77, 15

Purattu: v. PN Mâr-Purattim
Sagila: v. Esagila
Sippar: UD.KIB.NUN.KI; v.
PN Lišer-Sippar
1. 32 : 9 | 37 : 12 | 49 : 11 | 73 :
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| 84 : 7 | 102 : 5, 13 | 106 :
| 16 | 108 : 10 | 113 : 17 | 122 :
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17, 23, 41, 58, 68; B : 17,
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2. Sippar-Ammanum (UD.
KIB.NUN.KI-Am-nu-um[]) : 89 : 4
3. Sippar-Anunitum (UD.
KIB.NUN.KI-AN-nu-ni-
tum): 100 : 15
4. Sippar-Jabrurum (UD.
KIB.NUN.KI-Ja-ab-ru-
rum): 90 : 15
Šitullum: Ši-šu-ul-lum
34 : 32
Zabalam šâplâ: Za-ba-lum[?]
KI(?). TA
72 : 10

Names of Gods

Adad: i.UM (cf. Iškur)
1. 61 : 4 | 119 : 30
2. PN: Adad-idinnam, -â-šír;
Bûr-, Ibni-, Išme-, Nûr-
Adad
Âaia: i. A-a
1. 90 : 18, 27 [133 A : 33, 73; B : 33]
2. PN: Âaia-lâmâs, Âaia-
ummû
Amurrum: i.UMAR.TU
1. 46 : 4 (i.e. seal)
2. PN: Idin-Amurrum

Anšar(?): AN.ŠÂR(?)
1. PN: Anšar-balâti(?)
ÂAntum: An-tum
1. PN: Ugni-Antum(?)
Anum: AN
1. PN: Anum(?)-âbîl
ÂAnunitum: AN-nu-ni-tum, Âi.A-
nu-ni-tum, Anu-ni-tum
(erroneously?)
1. 71 : 1 | 101 : 18 | *107 : 16 |
117 : 17, 22, †26
2. PN: Ilâku-Anunitum
Asari: dinkir SILIG. LÚ.ŠÁR
   1. PN: Lu-Asari
Aš(u)ur: inA. USAR
   1. 49 : 3
   2. PN: Aššur-āsu
Bēl-ili: inBe-el-ši-lī
   1. 15 : 18
Bunene: inBu-ne-ne
   1. PN: Bunene-gāmil
Damu: inDa-mu
   1. 23 : 4
   2. PN: Ibku-Damu(?)
Ea: Ė-a, ina Ė-a (cf. Enki)
   1. PN: Ea-muballit, *Idin-Ea, Sēp-Ea
Enki: dinkir En-ki
   1. 27 : 5, 22
Enlil: inEn-lil
   1. 2 : 4 | 6 : 4 | 7 : 4 | [8 : 5] | 12 :
   4 | 16 : 4 | 18 : 4 | 26 : 3 |
   27 : 5
   2. PN: Enlil-tūram, Enlil-[...], Ibi-Enlil, Lu-Enlilla, Sag-Enlilla, [...]-Enlil
°Gula: inGula
   1. 23 : 4
   2. PN: [Ardi-Gula], Gimil-Gula
Ilabrāt: inNIN. SUBUR
   1. 47 A : 4 (i.e. seal)
   2. PN: Ibi-, Idin-, Nabi-, Nūr-
Ilabrāt
°Innanna: dinkir INNANNA
   1. 17 : 34
   2. PN: Ku-Innanna
Irāra: inIra
   1. PN: Idin-Irāra
Iškur: dinkir IM (cf. Adad)
   1. PN: Iškur-manse'
°Ištar: Ištar
   1. 62 : 20
   2. PN: °Ištar-škalli, °Ištar-[...]; Apīl-, Awēl-, °Dūm-
   ki-, Imdī-Ištar
Kabta: Ka-ab-ta
   1. PN: Nūr-Kabta
Lugal-duažagga: Lugal-du(l)-aṣag-ga
   1. 4 : 4
Lulu: Lu-lu
   1. PN: Ubar-Lulu
Marduk: inAMAR. UD
   1. 31 : 4 | 32 : 4 | 33 : 4 | 34 : 4
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   | 4, 9 | 99 : 4, 10 | 100 : 4, 9 |
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   108 : 1, 4, 9 | 109 : 4 | 110 :
   | 4 | 111 : 1, 4 | 113 : 9 |
   114 : 5(?), 119 : 29 | 112 : 1 |
   133 A : 35; B : 35
2. PN: Marduk-lāmassašu,
   -muballit, -mušallim, -mu-
   [...], -nāšir, -nišu; Ana-
   Marduk-lākkālu, Akāl-ana-
   Marduk: Gimil-, Ibn-, Warad-Marduk
Nabium: inNa-bi-um
   1. PN: Nabium-gāmil, -ibni,
   -mālik, -nišu, -šēme(?); Etel-
   pī-, Ibku-Nabium
°Nanā: inNa-na-a
   1. Ša(?)-Nanā
Nanna(r): dinkir ŠES. KI
   1. PN: Nanna-manse, -šalasir
Nergal: inNÉ. UNU. GAL
   1. 3 : 4 | 11 : 5 | 65 : 4
Ningunanna: *dinsir* Ning-gûn-an-na
1. PN: Lu-Ningunanna(?)

NIN.JB (𒈗𒈏𒈠𒈄): *diu*NIN.JB,
[ašlu]BAR

Ninkarranda: *diu*Nin-kar-ra-AG-
(=nā)
1. 98:13

Ninlil: *diu*Nin-lîl
1. 17:34

Nin-PISK.BAR.BAR
1. [132:10]

Nušu: Nu-nu
1. PN: Tadin-Nunu, Ubar-Nunu

Silulu(?): *dinsir* Si-lu-lu(?)
1. 28:4 (i.e. seal)

Sin: *diu*EN.ZU, *XXX
1. 53:4 | 120:10, 12

2. PN: Sin-ašarid, -bēl-aplim,
-bēl dumkija, -bēl-[…],
-idinnam, -iktšam, -imgur-
anni, -ismoanni*, -magir,
-nādin-aḫḫi, -nādin-šumi,
-pu-tram, -rimēni, -šēmi,
-tappa-uēši(?), -uballissu
(?), [... agē: Ana-Sin-
taklāku, Aweš, Ibnī*,
Idin, Igmil(?), Imgur,
Narām, Tariḫ(?), Warad-
Sin, [...]-Sin

Šāban: *diu*Ša-ḫa-an
1. PN: Ibi-Šāban

Šamaš: *diu*UD

2. PN: Šamaš-ašarid(?), -ba-
läti, -bānī, -emšili(?)
-ēpiri, -garri, -kinam-idi,
-manni, -nāšir, -nišu;
Awāt, Ibnī, Ina-pī,
Kār-Šamaš (city), Ša-
Šamaš-damka, Ubar-Šamaš

Šarratum: *dinsir* Ša-ra-tum, *diu*ša-ra-
tim (gen.)
1. *82:14

2. PN: B.A.ŠA-Šarratum

Šubula: *diu*Šu-bu-la
1. PN: Šubula-nāšir, Riš-Šu-
bula

Šulpāe: *dinsir* Šul-ša-UD.DU
1. PN: Ur-Šulpāe

Šušianna: *dinsir* Šu-zi-an-na
1. PN: Ur-Šušianna

Tutu: *diu*TU-tu
1. PN: Tutu-nāšir
# LIST OF TABLETS

## ABBREVIATIONS

- \(N\) = (found at) Nippur; \(C.B.S\) = Catalogue of the Babylonian Section; \(Kb^1\) = first Khabaza Collection; \(Kb^2\) = second Khabaza Collection; \(J.D.P\) = J. D. Prince Collection; \(J.S\) = Joseph Shemtob Collection; \(H\) = time of Hammurapi; \(Si\) = time of Samsuiluna; \(Ae\) = time of Abi-ešuḫ; \(Ad\) = time of Ammiditana; \(As\) = time of Ammisaduga; \(Ab\) = time of Assurbanipal; * = dated; † = photographed.

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