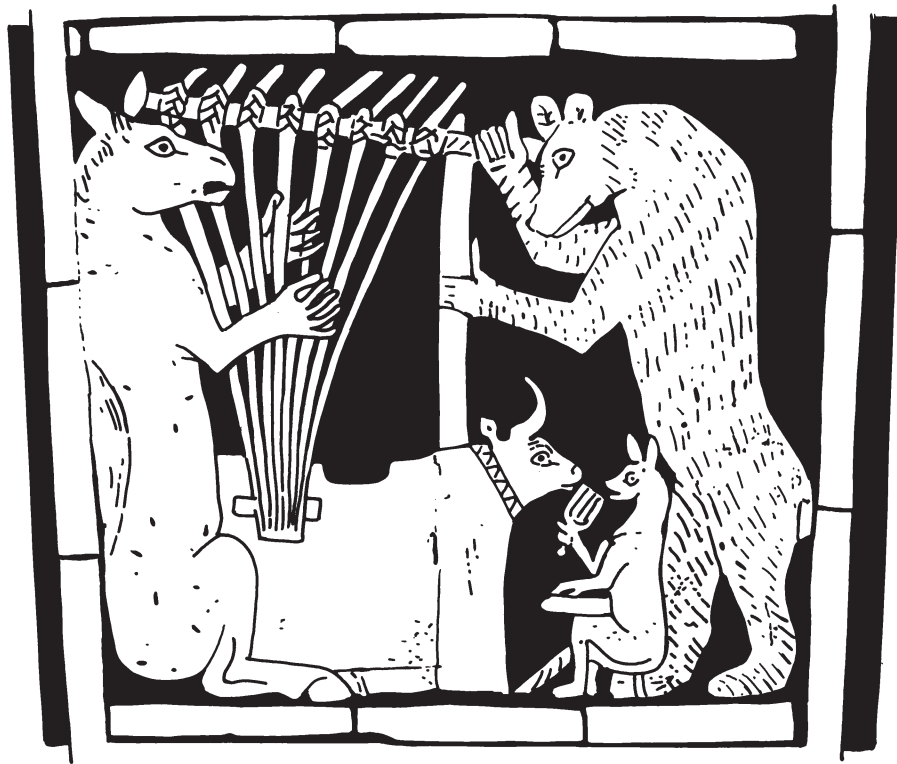


OFFPRINT FROM

# STRINGS AND THREADS

*A Celebration of the Work of  
Anne Draffkorn Kilmer*



*Edited by*  
WOLFGANG HEIMPEL and GABRIELLA FRANTZ - SZABÓ

Winona Lake, Indiana  
EISENBRAUNS  
2011

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www.eisenbrauns.com

Drawing on the cover and beneath the title on p. iii  
by Cornelia Wolff, Munich,  
after C. L. Wooley, *Ur Excavations* 2 (1934), 105.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Strings and threads : a celebration of the work of Anne Draffkorn Kilmer / edited by Wolfgang Heimpel and Gabriella Frantz-Szabó.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-57506-227-3 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Kilmer, Anne Draffkorn. 2. Music—Middle East—History and criticism. 3. Music archaeology—Middle East. I. Kilmer, Anne Draffkorn. II. Heimpel, Wolfgang. III. Frantz-Szabó, Gabriella.

ML55.K55S77 2011

780.9—dc22

2011036676

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# *Aspects of Name-Giving in Presargonic Lagash*

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It is a pleasure to dedicate this study to my teacher Anne Kilmer, munus-balaĝ-di eden-na.

For texts and publications cited here, see on the Web the “Abbreviations for Assyriology” page of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI).

In his examination of collective labor in Girsu-Lagash, K. Maekawa remarks that the Pre-sargonic administrative texts “permit a detailed prosopography for the working personnel in the ‘house of the city-ruler’s wife’ that is rare in the study of ancient Mesopotamian society.”<sup>1</sup> The preserved remains of the well-known Girsu é-mí archive, together with a handful of contemporaneous texts from the nearby city of Lagaš, now number nearly 1,800 texts,<sup>2</sup> mostly dated or datable to the reigns of Enentarzi, Lugalanda, and Uruinimgina,<sup>3</sup> a period of around 23 years. The highly

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1. “Collective Labor Service in Girsu-Lagash,” in *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (ed. M. A. Powell; AOS 68; New Haven, 1987) 50.

2. To the list of 1,752 administrative texts assembled by G. Selz in *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš (UGASL)* (Philadelphia, 1995) 9–10, add D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, *Documents Cunéiformes de Strasbourg I* (Paris, 1981) Nos. 1–10 (9 texts); D. Foxvog, *JCS* 46 (1994) 11–15 (1 text); B. Foster, *ASJ* 19 (1997) 53–62 (YBC 12130); J. Marzahn and H. Neumann, *AoF* 22 (1995) 110–16 (VAT 6121); G. Selz, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 207–29 (Eremitage 14004 and 14065). To the 16 Collection Böhl texts listed on *UGASL* p. 9, add no. 932; all are now available in CDLI under the museum siglum LB. An additional unpublished text is available in CDLI under the number P247598. Finally, copies of 98 VAT texts have since been published by Marzahn as VS 27 (NF 11) (1996).

3. This spelling of the name rather than traditional Urukagina will be maintained here for convenience, while the familiar abbreviation Ukg will be retained for identifying regnal years. For consistency, the (eme-sal) value uru rather than (eme-gi<sub>7</sub>) iri will also be used throughout. For a history of the problem of uru vs. iri and ka vs. inim in the royal name, see J. Bauer in *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (ed. P. Attinger and M. Wäfler; OBO 160/1; Freiburg, 1998) 435–36, 475–77, and add P. Attinger, *ZA* 88 (1998) 166 n. 11 to the discussion. Bauer intriguingly noted that some Lagaš geographical and personal names are Emesal forms and states: “Es drängt sich der Schluß auf, daß nicht die sumerische Hochsprache in Lagaš heimisch war, sondern daß man dort einen Dialekt sprach, der charakteristische Züge des Emesal aufwies.” He concludes that Uruinimgina is the most probable reading, though Urukagina cannot be excluded. Edzard’s preference (*AuOr* 9 [1991] 77–79) for -ka- rather than -inim- gains some support from a name change recorded in this corpus by the fisherman lugal-ka-gi-na who, as will be demonstrated in a later section, after some point in Ukg 4 became known as lugal-ka-ge-du<sub>10</sub>. Such name changes were always minor in nature, suggesting that his earlier name was indeed to be read lugal-ka-gi-na rather than lugal-inim-gi-na. Accordingly, the existence of an Assyro-Babylonian god named <sup>d</sup>lugal-inim-gi-na ad-duced by W. G. Lambert (*Or* 39 [1970] 419) as one support of his preferred reading Uruinimgina loses some

detailed ration lists, offering lists, tax rolls, listings of work assignments, issuings of field parcels, records of income or expenditures of commodities, fish, and animals, or manufactured items, inventories of household goods—in short, all manner of accounts and accountings—mention many of the same persons repeatedly, often over years, providing a rich source indeed of material for prosopographic and demographic analysis.

The present study of selected aspects of Lagaš I personal names is based on a corpus of these texts combined with legal and epistolary texts from the same time and places. It draws from a sortable database of 25,500 entries recording all mentions of persons, whether by name or only by title—men, women and children of all ages—each entry provided with detailed prosopographic information designed to help identify discrete individuals. Each individual has been assigned a unique index number within the corpus, and each textual mention of an individual under this index number has been given a rating as to the reliability of the identification and the reasons for this rating: complete certainty, near certainty, or good likelihood, based upon such criteria as same or similar occupation or title, same filiation or foreman, occurrence within a regularly occurring group of persons, same text date or type, same ration amount, and so on. The several estimates below of numbers of various population groups within this corpus, along with counts of individuals bearing the same names and the linking of short names with their respective full forms, depend upon this method of prosopographic identification of individual persons and may be regarded as reasonably reliable, if not always completely certain.

#### NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE CORPUS

Within the text corpus as described above, 3,371 discrete individuals have been identified thus far—men, women, and children, named or unnamed. This is certainly somewhat higher than the true number, since an unknown number of sets of occurrences of a particular name may actually represent the same person but lack prosopographic criteria for declaring them identical. It must also be emphasized that this figure does not reflect the actual size of a particular *é-mí* household, since the data are derived from the households of the wives of three separate rulers over a span of 23 years and include as well references to personnel from temple households and other places outside of Girsu proper and from reigns of a few earlier rulers. This figure also does not include another 215 references to work-gangs or other groups of multiple unnamed persons identified only by occupation or foreman.

Of the 3,371 individuals, 267 are unnamed wives referred to by their husbands' names or titles. Another 159 are unnamed children (*šà-du<sub>10</sub>*) virtually all of whom are listed alongside their mothers in ration lists: 77 sons, 80 daughters, and 2 of uncertain gender. A further 18 are unnamed orphans (*nu-siki*): 10 males and 8 females.<sup>4</sup> Named royal personages total 53, including the 6 principal Lagaš kings and queens of this period, *nin-ĝiskim-ti* the queen of Adab, *si<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>* the *énsi* of Uru<sub>18</sub>, and 45 relatives and dead ancestors. Unnamed royals include the *énsi* of

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salience. P. Steinkeller's last word on the subject again supports *-ka-* over *-inim-* (*JAOS* 115 [1995] 541–42). It may be that the old reading *Urukagina* will ultimately turn out to be the best choice after all. Because of its equivocal inherent meaning, the reading of the parallel name *niĝir-KA-gi-na* in this corpus remains uncertain.

4. One anonymous female orphan reached maturity late in Ukg 2 and was subsequently known as *ŠÀ.TAR*; compare DP 112 xiv 1 with Nik I 1 xv 2.



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Adab, the Man of Umma, the Man of Uruk,<sup>5</sup> an infant daughter of Baranamtara, an ab-ba énsi-ka, an ab-ba munus, and an énsi-gal (probably referring to Lugalanda).

The corpus database features a raw total of approximately 1,700 names, including full names, short names, variant writings of the same name, and a small number of names the ends of which cannot be restored. The beginnings of 40 additional names are broken. The following sections present selections of these names organized according to a variety of arbitrarily chosen topics. These do not by any means exhaust the total number of names or large range of name types contained in this corpus.<sup>6</sup>

### MOST POPULAR NAMES

Names borne by nine or more individuals each, with the number of persons indicated in parentheses, include:

Ú-Ú (34)	amar-ezem (28)	ur- <sup>d</sup> ba-ú (27)
šubur (26)	ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su (24)	e-ta-e <sub>11</sub> (23)
zà-mu (19)	gala-tur (18)	nam-mah-ni (16)
ur-ki (16)	é-ki-(bé-ġi <sub>4</sub> ) (15)	lugal-šà-lá-tuku (15)
ur- <sup>d</sup> en-ki (15)	ur-saġ (14)	za-na (14)
lugal-ù-ma (13)	<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-lú-ġu <sub>10</sub> (13)	ur- <sup>d</sup> dumu-zi (13)
ur-é-bábbar (13)	ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-mar <sup>ki</sup> (13)	ad-da (12)
íl (12)	silim-utu (12)	sa <sub>6</sub> -sa <sub>6</sub> (10)
ses-tur (10)	ùšur-ra-sa <sub>6</sub> (10)	ur-du <sub>6</sub> (9)

### GENDER-SPECIFIC NAME INCIPITS

Both men and women can bear names beginning, for example, with é ‘(ancestral) house, estate’, or ‘temple’, bára ‘dais, throne’, or ses<sup>7</sup> ‘brother’. But names with certain other initial elements tend to be gender specific, at least in this corpus. Names borne all or mostly by women begin with, for example:

ama ‘mother’	21 different names borne by 25 females, 3 gender unknown (probably males)
géme ‘maid, servant’	9 names borne by 46 females

5. DP 545 iii 3 (Ukg 4), referring either to Enšakušana of Uruk or his field commander, according to Bauer in OBO 160/1 (1998) 479–80.

6. For an incomplete but still useful catalog of the Presargonic Lagash personal names see V. V. Struve, *Ономастика раннединастического Лараша* (Moscow, 1984). I am currently preparing a full analytical listing. For studies of Sumerian onomastics in general, see especially M. Krebernik, “Zur Struktur und Geschichte des älteren sumerischen Onomastikons,” in *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik* (ed. M. Streck and S. Weninger; AOAT 296; Münster, 2002) 1–74, and D. O. Edzard, “Name, Namengebung (Onomastik) A. Sumerisch” in *RIA* 9.1–2 (1998) 94–104, as well as H. Limet’s earlier *L’Anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3<sup>e</sup> dynastie d’Ur* (Paris, 1968). For Fara and Abu Salabikh personal names, see F. Pomponio, *La Prosopografia dei Testi Presargonici di Fara* (StSem NS 3; Rome, 1987) and “I nomi personali dei testi amministrativi di Abū Šalābīh,” *SEL* 8 (1991) 141–47.

7. For ses rather than traditional šeš, see Bauer, *AoN* 21 (1985) 2 and se-ès = ŠEŠ in Proto-Ea 623 (MSL 14, 56).



gan (var. of géme)	16 names (not variants of the above géme) borne by 20 females, 4 unknown (doubtless females)
nin 'lady; sister' <sup>8</sup>	121 names borne by 189 females, 4 males, 7 unknown

Names borne all or mostly by men begin with, for example:

a 'father'	59 different names borne by 49 males, 6 females, 14 unknown
ad-da 'father'	4 names borne by 15 males
amar 'calf'	28 names borne by 81 males
diġir 'god'	12 names borne by 22 males
en 'lord'	72 names borne by 123 males, 1 female (en-hi-li-nu-til), 7 unknown
lugal 'king'	150 names borne by 302 males, 1 female (lugal-mu-tu), 22 unknown
lú 'man, person'	20 names borne by 29 males, 11 unknown (probably males)
niġir 'herald'	6 names borne by 18 males
saġ 'head, person' <sup>9</sup>	18 names borne by 27 males
sipa 'shepherd'	5 names borne by 5 males
šubur 'servant'	9 names borne by 32 males
šul 'youth'	13 names borne by 16 males, 2 unknown (probably males)
Ú-Ú '?'	1 name borne by 33 males and 1 female (a wool-worker)
ur 'dog (he, one)' <sup>10</sup>	138 names borne by 409 males, 21 unknown

Names beginning with certain deities also seem to be to some extent gender specific. Names borne predominantly by women begin with, for example:

8. When nin does not represent later nin<sub>g</sub>, note that G. Marchesi in *Or* 73 (2004) 186–89 has argued that only in the relatively limited meaning 'mistress' (female master) or 'proprietary' (owner, possessor) does the sign have the value nin. In the meaning 'lady' or 'queen' it is always to be read ereš.

9. In the elliptical saġ-<sup>d</sup>DN-da construction specifically, represented in this corpus by four different names, Selz, *UGASL* 116 n. 434, translates 'der Erste (bei/mit DN)' but does not exclude 'Sklave' (*rēšu*) or 'Geschenk' (*šeriktu*). G. Farber in "saġ as Pars Pro Toto for 'Person' and 'Dead Body'," in *An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein* (ed. Y. Sefati et al.; Bethesda, 2005) 110–11 translates 'servant for DN' in this construction, noting that "In the Ur III period the comitative postposition is normally dropped and the names are reduced to saġ-<sup>d</sup>DN." M. Krebernik, *AOAT* 296 (2002) 50, remarks that the syntax and meaning of the saġ-X-da construction in general are unclear and that a literal translation 'beim Haupte von X!' probably only provokes false associations.

10. Though it may seem an unhappy choice to the modern sensibility, 'dog' has become the consensus translation for this term in ur-<sup>d</sup>DN and related expressions. See the extended discussion of ur and its compounds (also téš) by A. Cavigneaux and F. Al-Rawi in *Gilgameš et la Mort* (CM 19; Groningen, 2000) 48–52, who favor the translation 'dog' at least in the context ur-<sup>d</sup>DN. They discount completely the earlier notion that ur may have been an archaic personal pronoun ('he, one'), though the translation 'der(jenige) von' is maintained by Edzard in *RIA* 9.1–2 (1998) 95. Krebernik compares the use of amar 'calf' in personal names and assumes that the original meaning at least was literally 'dog'. See *AOAT* 296 (2002) 11–12 for his review of the problem. G. Marchesi in *LUMMA in the Onomasticon and Literature of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Padova, 2006) 81 n. 464, likewise translates 'dog' and supplies additional references. Limet in *L'Anthroponymie* 64–68 noted parallels with lú-<sup>d</sup>DN names and translated 'homme'. Selz, *UGASL* 17 n. 2, chose the translation 'Held' for convenience.





Ba'u <sup>11</sup>	17 different names borne by 23 females and 5 males
Inana	9 names borne by 6 females and 3 males
Ninšubur	1 name ( <sup>d</sup> nin-šubur-ama-ĝu <sub>10</sub> ) borne by 3 females and 1 male

Names borne only or mostly by men begin with, for example:

Nanše	6 different names borne by 9 males
Ninĝirsu	8 names borne by 30 males
Dumuzi	2 names borne by 2 males
Enki	8 names borne by 11 males
Enlil	5 names borne by 5 males
Mesandu	2 names borne by 2 males
Utu	12 names borne by 22 males and 1 female <sup>12</sup>

### SHORT NAMES

It is difficult to identify, in this corpus, hypocoristic names in a strict sense—that is, consciously childish or pet names borne by adults in adult settings, although certain names ending in -tur or -bànda<sup>da</sup> might qualify as kinds of diminutives, and a number of other names could indeed be described owing to their form or content as caritative or affectionate or as nicknames based on physical characteristics. More common is a kind of shortened name that could be characterized as an informal or casual name perhaps comparable in degree of formality to English “Rob” or “Ed” derived from formal or legal “Robert” or “Edward” but not as affectionate or childish as “Bobbie” or “Eddie.”

These short names are usually mechanically truncated forms of longer full names.<sup>13</sup> Some 164 short names that can be prosopographically securely linked with full names in the corpus are attested. Another 53 occur alongside possible full forms that have, however, no prosopographical features in common. Many other names look like short names but have no obvious source forms

11. For arguments in favor of the reading <sup>d</sup>ba-ú or the like rather than <sup>d</sup>ba-ba<sub>6</sub>, see most recently Marchesi, “On the Divine Name <sup>d</sup>BA.Ú,” *Or* 71 (2002) 161–72.

12. <sup>(d)</sup>Utu-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub>. Contrast this female name with its interesting gender mismatch with the corresponding name <sup>(d)</sup>Utu-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> borne by two men. Another kind of gender switch is seen with a female deity in the case of two women named <sup>d</sup>Nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub> and <sup>d</sup>Nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ama-pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub> contrasting with two men named <sup>d</sup>Nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-lú-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ‘Ninmar is my Man/Person’. Selz, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 221, suggests instead that this “religionsgeschichtlich problematische” name is perhaps better interpreted as <sup>(d)</sup>šerda<sub>x</sub>(UTU)-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ‘Šer(da) (ist) meine Mutter’, basing this reading on the unique variant writing ur-<sup>d</sup>šè-šer<sub>7</sub>UTU<sup>da</sup> from Nik I 125 vii 5 for standard ur-<sup>d</sup>šè-šer<sub>7</sub>-da.

13. Other common patterns of abbreviation of Sumerian names exist, especially deletion of an initial subject noun or adverbial phrase. See below for several examples, as well as Limet, *L’Anthroponymie* 97–99. Limet attempts (pp. 91–99) to distinguish between “phrases incomplètes”—our short names—and “hypocoristiques.” Many of the former, he suggests, are inspired by literary passages—for example, kur-ĝiri-ni-šè ‘Le pay étranger à ses pieds’. Others are fragmentary allusions to religious ceremonies—for example, lugal-má-gur<sub>8</sub>-re ‘Le roi vers le bateau’, or lugal-NINA<sup>ki</sup>-ta ‘Le roi (venant) de Nina.’ A hypocoristic, on the other hand, is “un nom agréable, de caractère moins sévère que le nom véritable, qu’il est destiné à remplacer dans la bouche des parents et des familiers de l’enfant.” His examples include ka<sub>5</sub>-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ‘Mon renard’ or sila<sub>4</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ‘Mon agneau’—in other words, affectionate or caritative names, German *Kosenamen*. In the body of his book, Limet usually speaks merely of “abbreviated” names. Edzard, *RIA* 9.1–2 (1998) 95, recapitulates and summarizes Limet’s distinctions.



in this corpus. Securely linked short names include, in addition to the special types that are discussed separately:

a-ba-sá(-i-bé)	a-gúb(-ba-ni-du <sub>10</sub> )	a-lú(-si-sá)
ad-da(-šu-sikil)	ama-ab(-é-ta)	ama-bi(-a-rá-nú)
an-na(-bí-kúš)	<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-ama(-da-rí)	bára-nam(-tar-ra)
e-gi(-a-na-ak)	e-ta(-e <sub>11</sub> )	é-bára(-da-rí)
é-ed-en-né(-si)	é-hi-li(-sù)	é-igi-íl(-eden-na)
é-inim(-si-sá)	é-ki(-bé-gi <sub>4</sub> )	é-me(-lám-sù)
é-úr(-bi-du <sub>10</sub> )	en-bi(-šà-ga)	en-da(-gal-di)
en-ġiri(-na-sè)	en-ki(-šár-ra)	en-kù(-a-rá-nú)
<sup>d</sup> en-líl-bàd(-ġu <sub>10</sub> )	en-lú(-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga)	en-na(-na-me)
en-né(-mu-na-áġ)	en-kù(-a-rá-nú)	en-ku <sub>4</sub> (en-kur-ra-a-rá-nú)
en-lú(-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga)	en-na(-na-me)	en-né(-mu-na-áġ)
en-šu(-gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> )	gala(-tur)	gan-ki(-kù-ga)
géme-šu(-ga-lam-ma)	géme-tar(-sír-sír-ra)	gi-num(-é-šà-ga)
ġiri-ni(-ba-dab <sub>5</sub> )	gù-bi(-du <sub>10</sub> )	gu <sub>4</sub> -si(-kisal)
i <sub>7</sub> -lú(-dadag)	igi- <sup>d</sup> ba-ú(-šè)	igi-bar(-lú-ti)
igi-mu(-an-šè-ġál)	igi-zi(-bar-ra)	IM-NI(-PA)
<sup>d</sup> inana-men(-zi-pa <sub>4</sub> -pa <sub>4</sub> )	inim-du <sub>11</sub> (-du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni-an-dab <sub>5</sub> )	
inim- <sup>d</sup> en-líl(-lá-an-dab <sub>5</sub> )	inim-ma(-ni-zi)	ka-kù(-ga-ni-mu-ba)
ki-gub(-ba-ni)	ki-bùru(-a-bí-ti-le)	ki-ti(-la-ni-lú-me-PI)
kiš-a(-bí-tuš)	lú-kur(-ré-bí-gi <sub>4</sub> )	lú-na(-nam)
lugal-á-na(-gub)	lugal-an-da(-nu-huġ-ġá)	lugal-ġána(-zú-lum-ma-gub)
lugal-da(-nu-me-a)	lugal-ġá(-ab-e)	lugal-igi(-an-na-ke <sub>4</sub> -su)
lugal-ka(-gi-na)	lugal-ki(-gal-la)	lugal-kur(-dúb)
lugal-nam(-gú-sù)	lugal-ni(-ġá-ni)	lugal-piriġ(-tur)
lugal-ra(-mu-gi <sub>4</sub> )	lugal-sur <sub>x</sub> (ERIM)(-ré-ki-áġ)	lugal-šà(-lá-tuku)
lugal-ú(-tag <sub>4</sub> )	lugal-ùšur(-ra-nú)	ma-al-ga(-sù)
maš(-tur)	me-kisal(-le)	me-lem <sub>4</sub> (-kur-ra)
me-lú(-nu-DU)	nam-mah(-ni)	<sup>d</sup> nanše-da(-nu-me-a)
ne-saġ(-ġá-ni-du <sub>10</sub> )	nì-lú(-nu-du <sub>10</sub> )	niġir-KA(-gi-na)
nin-é-unu <sup>ki</sup> -ga(-nir-ġál)	<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-bàd(-ġu <sub>10</sub> )	<i>qí-bi(-ba-la-tì)</i>
saġ-ġá(-tuku-a)	sig <sub>4</sub> -ki(-bé-gi <sub>4</sub> )	šà-ġá(-lú-bi)
ses-da(-gal-di)	šu-na(-mu-gi <sub>4</sub> )	šul-bí(-nu-um)
šul- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le(-ki-áġ)	šul-me(-šár-ra-túm)	ú-zi(-šà-ġál)
ur-bára(-si-ga)	ur-har(-sar-ra)	ur-hi-li(-ġar-ra, var. -e-ġar)
ur-ká(-tur)	ur-ki(-sa <sub>4</sub> -la)	ur-pu <sub>6</sub> (-saġ)
ur-saġ(-tur)	ur-sila(-sír-sír-ra)	ur-šu(-ga-lam-ma)
úr-bi-šè(-ba-ak)	uru-inim(-gi-na)	uru-ki(-du <sub>10</sub> )
<sup>d</sup> utu-igi-du(-lugal-an-da)	utu-lú(-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga)	zi-li(-li)
zi-ġu <sub>10</sub> (-an-da-ġál)		

Possible short name and full name pairs contained in the corpus for which, however, no prosographic links can at present be established include:



a-ne-da(-nu-me-a)	ab-ba(-nir-ġál, -zi-le)	al-mu(-ni-du <sub>11</sub> )
am <sub>6</sub> -ma(-ni-UD-BA)	du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni(-mu-gi-na)	é-an-né(-mud)
é-e(-a-na-ak, -ba-ta-e <sub>11</sub> -dè)	é-ġissu-bi(-du <sub>10</sub> )	é-nam(-zu-šè)
é-utu(-ġin <sub>7</sub> -è, -ġu <sub>10</sub> )	é-zi(-šà-ġál)	en-an-na-túm(-sipa-zi)
en-na(-u <sub>4</sub> -ġu <sub>10</sub> )	en-ra(-gub)	en-u <sub>4</sub> -da(-na)
en-úr(-ni)	ġu-ni(-DU)	gub-ba-ni(-an-na-sa <sub>6</sub> )
IM-su(-su-ġá)	ka-ka-rí(-tah)	ki-gub(-ba-ni)
ki-ni(-mu-su)	LAM.SAG(-dù)	lugal-an-né(-ki-áġ)
lugal-bára(-ġa-ni-du <sub>10</sub> )	lugal-uru(-bar)	lugal-lú(-du <sub>10</sub> , -ni, -ti-ti, -zi)
lugal-mu(-da-rí, -pà, -tu)	lugal-šà(-sù)	lum-ma(-bàd-gal, etc)
mes-bára(-si)	nin-bur(-šu-ma)	nin-é-ni-šè(-nu-kár-kár)
nin-ezem-ma-né(-ki-áġ)	saġ-en(-né-su)	túl-ta(-pà-da)
ur-absu(-bànda <sup>da</sup> )	ur-an(-ta-sur-ra)	ur-ki(-ġa-ra, -HAR-ra)
ur-lugal(-eden-na)	ur-saġ(-pa-è)	

Speaking of similar abbreviation of Akkadian personal names, J. Stamm wrote: Die Verkürzung der Namen kann sinnvoll geschehen, so daß der verkürzte Name noch immer ein sinnvolles, aus sich verständliches Ganzes darstellt, oder aber sie kann rein mechanisch gehandhabt werden und dann dazu führen, daß der übrigbleibende Bestandteil grammatisch unvollständig wird” and further that the resulting name is “aus sich heraus nicht mehr verständlich.”<sup>14</sup> The situation is very much the same for Sumerian names. A cursory examination of the above forms immediately reveals the difficulty of discerning the correct meaning of most short names without prior knowledge of the underlying full form of the name. A translation ‘The King is a Mountain’ or the like for the short name lugal-kur is a far cry from lugal-kur-dúb ‘The King Makes the Mountains Tremble’, and an attempt such as ‘Fine Food’ or ‘Food of Life’ for ú-zi has only a basic idea in common with ú-zi-šà-ġál ‘(Having) Life-giving Food’. In some instances, the full form of a name occurs so rarely as to seem fortuitous. In this corpus, compare the 136 occurrences of inim-du<sub>11</sub> versus the 3 of inim-du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni-an-dab<sub>5</sub> ‘He Seized All the Words He/She Spoke’,<sup>15</sup> the 67 occurrences of a-ba-sá versus the 3 of a-ba-sá-ì-e/bé ‘Who is Equal He/She Says’, the 66 occurrences of ġi-num versus the single occurrence of ġi-num-é-šà-ġa ‘Honest One of the Inner Chamber’, the 30 occurrences of en-bi versus the single occurrence of en-bi-šà-ġa ‘That Lord in the Heart’, or the 27 occurrences of igi-zi versus the single occurrence of igi-zi-bar-ra ‘Looked Upon Rightly’.<sup>16</sup>

Added confusion arises from the fact that a short name can derive from more than one underlying full form. In the present corpus, one finds the following short names securely linked with two or three different source names:

bára-zi(-šà-ġál)	bára-zi(-kur-ra)
ġír-nun(-ki-du <sub>10</sub> )	ġír-nun(-zi-šà-ġál)
lugal-me(-ġal-ġal)	lugal-me (= lugal-mè-tur-šè-nu-še-ge)

14. *Die Akkadische Namengebung* (Darmstadt, 1968) 111, 112.

15. With this unique name compare the equally unique inim-<sup>d</sup>en-líl(-lá)-an-dab<sub>5</sub> ‘He Seized the Word of Enlil’.

16. The converse can also be the case. Compare the 83 occurrences of saġ-ġá-tuku-a ‘Taken By/At My Head’ versus the single occurrence of saġ-ġá, a man who clearly preferred to be addressed by his full, formal name.



lugal-mu(-da-kúš)	lugal-mu(-šè-ĝál)	
lugal-šùd(-dè-ba-gub)	lugal-šùd(-du <sub>10</sub> -ga)	
lugal-tigi <sub>x</sub> (É.BALAĜ)(-mete)	lugal-tigi <sub>x</sub> (É.BALAĜ)(-ni-du <sub>10</sub> )	
me(-an-né-si)	me(- <sup>d</sup> nin-ĝír-su)	
mu-ni(-kalam-ma)	mu-ni(-na-ga-me)	
šubur(- <sup>d</sup> ba-ú)	šubur(-tur)	šubur(-utu)
ur-é(-bar <sub>6</sub> -bar <sub>6</sub> )	ur-é(-gíd-da)	ur-é(-mùš)
ur-šu(-ga-lam-ma)	ur-šu(-íl-la)	
ur-igi(-ama-šè)	ur-igi(-ĝál)	
zà-mu(-ba-ni-mah)	zà-mu(-ba-ni-ús)	

Short names may feature unexpected writings that further mask their source names. Note in particular occurrences of an unexpected loss of /n/ from the pronunciation of an underlying AN sign:<sup>17</sup>

a-ku <sub>4</sub> /kur <sub>9</sub> (a-kur-ra)	amar-ku <sub>6</sub> /kua (amar-kuara <sup>ki</sup> )
bára-a <sup>18</sup> (bára-an-né)	en-ĝíri (en-ĝíri-na-sì)
en-ku <sub>4</sub> (en-kur-ra-a-rá-nú)	lú-ku <sub>4</sub> (lú-kur-ré-bí-gi <sub>4</sub> )
lugal-me (lugal-mè-tur-šè-ge)	me-a (me-an-né-du <sub>10</sub> )
mu-a (mu-an-né-nu-še-ge)	mu-a (mu-an-né-du <sub>10</sub> )

Divine determinatives are sometimes omitted in personal names, again masking source names, particularly in the case of short names (the last examples, marked with asterisks, are guesses based on form, not secure links):

gan-ba (gan- <sup>d</sup> ba-ú)	gème-ba (gème- <sup>d</sup> ba-ú)
ur-ĝiš (ur- <sup>d</sup> ĝiš-bar-è)	ur-igi (ur- <sup>d</sup> igi-ama-šè)
ur-níĝ (ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-ĝír-su) <sup>19</sup>	ur-šul (ur- <sup>d</sup> šul-pa-è)
ur-šùš <sup>20</sup> (ur- <sup>d</sup> šùš- <sup>d</sup> ba-ú)	puzur <sub>4</sub> -su <sup>21</sup> (puzur <sub>4</sub> - <sup>d</sup> suen)*
ur-dumu <sup>22</sup> (ur- <sup>d</sup> dumu-zi)*	ur-mes (ur- <sup>d</sup> mes-an-DU)*
ur-nu (ur- <sup>d</sup> nu-muš-da)*	

17. A value /a/ for AN does not occur in Proto-Ea or its branches.

18. Since bára-an-né is most likely already a short name, this is a doubly shortened name, perhaps a true hypocoristic?

19. With Bauer, *AoN* 1–4 (1976) 5 ad OIP 14, 57 ii 3 with parallels CT 50, 29 i 6 and CT 50, 30 ii' 9, who compares the Fara period writings ur-<sup>d</sup>níĝ-ĝír-su in RTC 5 i 2, v 2 and <sup>d</sup>níĝ-nisi for <sup>d</sup>nin-nisi in RTC 8 ii 6. See Bauer on these writings again in OBO 160/1 (1998) 435, 505, but with the latter name read as <sup>d</sup>nim<sub>5</sub>-mú, a proposed assimilation that he believes confirms the reading mú in the divine name rather than older sar or more recent nisi, for which see A. Cavigneaux, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasien: Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer* (ed. U. Finkbeiner et al.; Mainz, 1995) 65. In *BiOr* 50 (1993) 178, Bauer remarked: “Es ist umstritten wieviele Gottheiten sich hinter der Graphie <sup>d</sup>nin-SAR verbergen, und wie sie zu lesen sind.”

20. The reading šùš rather than traditional kuš<sub>7</sub> is still uncertain for early periods. See Visicato and A. Westenholz in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni* (ed. S. Graziani et al.; Naples, 2000) 1112.

21. The link with puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>suen is affirmed by Selz, *FAOS* 15/2, 559, who cites abbreviations for <sup>d</sup>suen assembled by H. Watzoldt in *NABU* 1990, 73 (No. 95).

22. Compare ur-<sup>d</sup>dumu in Böllinger 1:15 (Sargonic Umma), “wohl Abkürzung von ur-<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-da” according to C. Wilcke, *Afo* 25 (1974–77) 85.



A small amount of variation is seen in the construction of short names. Compare the following alternate short names for the same person together with the number of times each occurs in the corpus:

bára-nam (1)	bára-nam-tar (1)	bára-nam-tar-ra (379)
é-me (11)	é-me-lem <sub>4</sub> (1)	é-me-lem <sub>4</sub> -sù (76)
gan-ki (1)	gan-ki-kù (1)	gan-ki-kù-ga (4)
ka-kù (3)	ka-kù-ga-ni (1)	ka-kù-ga-ni-mu-ba (2)
ki-ti (4)	ki-ti-la-ni <sup>23</sup> (1)	ki-ti-la-na-lú-me-PI (1)
lú-ku <sub>4</sub> (3)	lú-kur (4)	lú-kur-ré-bí-gi <sub>4</sub> (47)
lugal-a (3)	lugal-a-a-GÚG-a-ni (1)	lugal-a-a-GÚG-a-ni-nu-si (1)
lugal-šùd (5)	lugal-šùd-dè (4)	lugal-šùd-dè-ba-gub (1)
lugal-ùšur (1)	lugal-ùšur-ra (18)	lugal-ùšur-ra-nú (18)
nam-šita (4)	nam-šita-ġu <sub>10</sub> (10)	nam-šita-ġu <sub>10</sub> -bí-du <sub>11</sub> (33)
ur-har (1)	ur-har-ra (1)	ur-har-sar-ra (4)

There are many more short names in the corpus for which no long forms are registered. For some of these, one can easily imagine one or more possible long forms based on patterns of existing parallel names, for example, <sup>d</sup>en-líl-da(-nu-me-a/-gal-di). On the other hand, while it is a bit disconcerting to be confronted with Sumerian utterances that take the form of nominal chains that are not connected with a following predicate in a fuller construction, it is at least conceivable that some such names could be true sentence fragments rather than truncated forms of longer, original names. A large number of these remaining short names end in adverbial case markers, and all the cases are represented, for example:

ergative:	lugal-zi-dè ‘By the Righteous King’
dimensional locative-terminative:	ama-i <sub>7</sub> -dè ‘Mother By the Canal’
	gú-bé ‘Next to the Riverbank’
	lugal-edén-né ‘King By the Desert’
	lugal-u <sub>4</sub> -dè ‘King By the Storm’
adverbial locative-terminative:	aš <sub>10</sub> -a-né ‘Alone’
	gig-bé ‘Sickly’
	min-na-né ‘Doubly’
locative:	lagas <sup>ki</sup> -ġiri-na ‘Lagaš At His Feet’
	maš-du <sub>6</sub> -a ‘Goat Among the Mounds’
	mes-u <sub>4</sub> -ba ‘Vigorous Youth in That Storm’
comitative:	<sup>d</sup> en-líl-da ‘With (Thanks to) Enlil’
	mu-ni-da ‘With His Name’
ablative-instrumental:	á-ni-ta ‘By His Strength’
	du <sub>6</sub> -ta ‘From the Mound’
	gu <sub>4</sub> -ta ‘With a Bull’
	ki-ta ‘From the Earth’
	kèš <sup>ki</sup> -ta ‘From Keš’

23. Not a strict truncation of the full form in view of the slight grammatical modification (deletion of the locative case or replacement with the locative-terminative). Compare the form ur-har-ra, at the bottom of this list, where the genitive of the end of the full form is applied to the short form ur-har to make it more comprehensible.



terminative:  
 me-kuara<sup>ki</sup>-ta ‘Divine Powers from Kuara’  
 an-zà-šè ‘To the Limits of Heaven’  
 bára-u<sub>4</sub>-sù-šè ‘Throne Unto a Far Time’  
 igi-lugal-šè ‘Before the King’  
 kur-ġiri-ni-šè ‘Land Unto His Feet’  
 nam-uru-na-šè ‘Because of His City’

Finally, a kind of short name rare in this corpus modifies a full name not by truncation of following elements but by deletion of a head noun:

en-ra-gub ‘He Stands Before the Lord’ for a-en-ra-gub ‘Father Stands Before the Lord’  
 me-zi-da ‘She of the Righteous Divine Powers’ for nin-me-zi-da ‘Lady of the Righteous Divine Powers’  
 ha-ši ‘He Was Indeed Careless’ for a-ha-ši ‘Father Was Indeed Careless’<sup>24</sup>

### THEOPHORIC NAMES

Sumerian theophoric names in standard patterns such as ur-DN, amar-DN, géme-DN, DN-a-ġu<sub>10</sub>, DN-ama-ġu<sub>10</sub>, DN-diġir-ġu<sub>10</sub>, DN-téš-ġu<sub>10</sub>, DN-da-nu-me-a and the like are well represented in this corpus.<sup>25</sup>

Some 69 different divine names appear in personal names. The most popular divinities are, as one might expect, the principal deities of the Lagaš state pantheon. In the following list, the number of distinct persons bearing a name in which one of these most popular divine names appears is given in parentheses: the city gods of Girsu Ba’u (75) and Ningirsu (38); the water-god Enki (15), his daughter Nanše (22) and her consort Nindara (9) together with their daughter Ninmar (19); the air-god Enlil (30), his son Utu (51) the sun-god and god of justice, and his daughter the Venus goddess Inana (17) together with her consort Dumuzi (13).

The remaining deities appear less frequently in names, most having only one to three attestations. They include:

<sup>d</sup> ab-Ú	<sup>d</sup> ama-ġeštin	aš <sub>8</sub> -ġi <sub>4</sub>	<sup>d</sup> ašnan	<sup>d</sup> bil-àga-mes
<sup>d</sup> dumu-zi	<sup>d</sup> erra <sub>x</sub> (KIŠ) <sup>ra</sup>	<sup>d</sup> ēš-ir-nun	<sup>d</sup> gašam	<sup>d</sup> gibil <sub>6</sub>
( <sup>d</sup> ġirid <sup>(ki)</sup> )	<sup>d</sup> ġiš-bar-è	<sup>d</sup> ġiš-zi-da	<sup>d</sup> GUR <sub>8</sub> -x	<sup>d</sup> ha-ma-zi
<sup>d</sup> hendur-saġ	<sup>d</sup> igi-ama-šè	<sup>d</sup> ištaran	<sup>d</sup> kínda-zi	<sup>d</sup> kù-nun(-na)
<sup>d</sup> kù- <sup>sù</sup> sug <sub>x</sub> (PA.SIKIL)-ga		<sup>d</sup> lamma	<sup>d</sup> li <sub>9</sub> -si <sub>4</sub>	<sup>d</sup> lugal-bànda <sup>da</sup>
lum-ma <sup>26</sup>	ma-ma	<sup>d</sup> me-dar-an-na	<sup>d</sup> mes-an-DU	nagar-šà

24. Limet discusses the hypothetical pattern of Ur III diġir-ġu<sub>10</sub>-ma-an-šúm with “hypocoristic” ma-an-šúm in *L’Anthroponymie* 81–82, 97–99, although he does not rigorously demonstrate that his examples are prosopographically linked. A more complex pattern is seen in UET 3, 1288, where line 6 reads kišib ga-ti-e ‘seal of Ex-voto’ while the seal impression itself gives his full name as lugal-ga-ti-e-ki-áġ ‘The King Loves the Ex-voto’.

25. See R. A. Di Vito, *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names: The Designation and Conception of the Personal God* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 16; Rome, 1993), particularly pp. 26–32, and M. Krebern timer in AOAT 296 (2002) 1–74, for catalogs and Presargonic Lagaš examples of these common name types. See also Selz, *UGASL*, for an exhaustive study of all the deities found in these texts.

26. There are four persons named lum-ma in this corpus, and 16 other names feature this term as a theophoric element, ruler’s name, or verbal adjective equated with Akk. *unnubu*. These meanings and names are sorted out in Marchesi, *LUMMA*, especially pp. 65–118.





<sup>d</sup> nám-nun	<sup>d</sup> nin-a-su	<sup>d</sup> nin-dar	<sup>d</sup> nin-dub	<sup>d</sup> nin-gublaga
<sup>d</sup> nin-kilim	<sup>d</sup> nin-mar <sup>ki</sup>	<sup>d</sup> nin-MI-dam <sup>27</sup>	<sup>d</sup> nin-MUŠ×MUŠ-da-ru	
<sup>d</sup> nin-nisi	<sup>d</sup> nin-piriĝ	<sup>d</sup> nin-šára <sup>28</sup>	<sup>d</sup> nin-šubur	<sup>d</sup> nin-ti
<sup>d</sup> nin-tu	<sup>d</sup> nin-uru-a-mu-DU		<sup>d</sup> nin-zadim	<sup>d</sup> nu-muš-da
<sup>d</sup> PA	<sup>d</sup> pa-bil-saĝ	<sup>d</sup> saĝ-ku <sub>5</sub>	<sup>d</sup> sàman	<sup>d</sup> si-bí
<sup>d</sup> suen	<sup>d</sup> šèšer <sub>7</sub> -da	<sup>d</sup> šùba	<sup>d</sup> šul-pa-è	(šubur) <sup>29</sup>
<sup>d</sup> šul-MUŠ×PA <sup>30</sup>	tílla <sup>31</sup>	<sup>d</sup> utu	<sup>d</sup> za-ra	

Nineteen men bear 11 different names beginning with the element <sup>d</sup>iĝir, which may refer to the so-called personal god:<sup>32</sup>

<sup>d</sup> iĝir-a-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	God is My Father	<sup>d</sup> iĝir-al-sa <sub>6</sub>	God is Gracious
<sup>d</sup> iĝir-ama-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	Goddess is My Mother	<sup>d</sup> iĝir-bàd	God is a City Wall
<sup>d</sup> iĝir-ì-kúš	God Concerned Himself	<sup>d</sup> iĝir-kal-ga	Strong God
<sup>d</sup> iĝir-mu-dah	God Added Him	<sup>d</sup> iĝir-sipa	God is Shepherd
<sup>d</sup> iĝir-sukkal	God is Minister	<sup>d</sup> iĝir-ses-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	God is my Brother
<sup>d</sup> iĝir-téš-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	God is my Dignity		

#### NAMES REFERRING TO TEMPLES

The element é “temple” begins the names of 199 persons bearing 67 different names, and other names feature é in other constructions. This type of name was equally popular in Ur III and even more so in Fara; the catalogs of Limet and Pomponio register more than 90 and 150 distinct examples, respectively, of names beginning with é. To judge from the epithets employed, virtually none of the names in this corpus seems to refer to a mundane, residential “house” or patrimonial “estate.” Furthermore, few of these names mentions any particular deity directly; it is the temple itself that is invoked. A sample of the religious sentiments found in such names includes:

27. This rare deity occurs once in the name ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-MI-dam (Nik I 40 ii 2). Compare the name ur-en-MI-dam in DP 32 iv 19 from the time of Enmetena as well as the Fara deity <sup>d</sup>MI-dam. See Selz, *UGASL*, 261.

28. Reading with Selz, *UGASL* 264, but see N. Veldhuis, CM 22 (2004) 273–75 for a reading <sup>d</sup>nin-imma<sub>x</sub>.

29. See n. 43.

30. See the criticism of the conventional reading <sup>d</sup>šul-utul<sub>12</sub> by W. G. Lambert, *Or* 64 (1995) 135–36, also P. Mander, *Il Pantheon di Abu-Šālabikh* (Napoli, 1986) 66 for the deity <sup>d</sup>MUŠ×PA (= lahšū<sub>x</sub>).

31. See Selz, *UGASL* 282–83. R. di Vito, *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names*, 30 reads NAB in the names gan-tilla<sub>x</sub>(AN.AN) and géme-tilla<sub>x</sub> even though both are more often written with unequivocal tílla(AN.AŠ.AN); an example is DP 114 vi 5 where tílla is clear on the CDLI photo. W. G. Lambert, *Or* 64 (1995) 134, states that in these names this term is “certainly to be read nab, perhaps the Elamite noun *napi* ‘god’.” Bauer, perhaps following Lambert, also claims that a god Nab was venerated in Lagaš (OBO 160/1 [1998] 498 and 510–11).

32. Although it is not common practice to translate Sumerian personal names, in this and most of the following sections attempts at translations will be given in order to provide a small glimpse into the flavor of Sumerian daily life via the terms of address of, for the most part, ordinary people going about ordinary tasks. These translations should be regarded as essays only, especially in view of the high frequency of potentially misleading short names found in this corpus.



é-an-na-túm	Fit for the Eanna Temple <sup>33</sup>
é-an-né-mud	Temple Created By An
é-(an)ánzu <sup>mušen</sup>	Anzu-Bird Temple <sup>34</sup>
é-bára-šu-du <sub>7</sub>	Temple With a Perfect Dais
é-e-a-na-ak	What Was Done for the Temple
é-ġeštín-sù	Temple Filled <sup>35</sup> With Grapevines
é-ġissu-bi-du <sub>10</sub>	Temple Whose Shade is Pleasant <sup>36</sup>
é-gu <sub>4</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> -sahar-ra	Temple Like a Bull in the Dust
é-gù-nun-di	Temple Making Loud Sounds
é-hi-li-sù	Temple Full of Allure
é-ì-gára-sù	Temple Sprinkled With (or Which Sprinkles) Fat and Cream
é-i <sub>7</sub> -da-diri	Temple Floating On a Canal

33. For a recent discussion of *túm* = *šuluku* ‘to be fit, suitable for’ see Å. Sjöberg, “Notes on the Ebla Vocabulary (IV)” in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke* (ed. W. Sallaberger et al.; Wiesbaden, 2003) 263 and n. 29. See Selz, *UGASL*, 23 n. 23, for previous translations of this short form usually thought to be derived from the full royal throne name é-an-na-<sup>d</sup>inana-ib-gal-ka-ka-a-túm, which Selz translates ‘Ins E’anna der Inanna von Ibgal hat/habe man/ich (ihn/ihr) gebracht’. Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 2 n. 7, suggests that the short form is a “defective writing for /hay’(/y)annâbtum/ < {hay-’an.’a-’a.b.i.tum}” (a novel modern analysis) and that the full name was instead “a ceremonial name derived from É-an-na-túm” (p. 3 n. 9).

34. Since in this corpus the *ÁNZU* sign may be written with or without an initial *AN* sign, the standard Borger AbZ signlist value can be misleading. R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (AOAT 305; 2003) 171 (No. 641) now recommends the transliteration <sup>an</sup>anzu for *AN.IM.DUGUD* and *ánzu* for *IM.MI*, leaving one free to transliterate unambiguously the full Presargonic writing *AN.IM.MI* as <sup>an</sup>ánzu.

35. The interpretation of *sù* in such names, in final position where no consonantal Auslaut is preserved, is frequently problematic. The frequent syntagm *hi-li-sù*, for example, has been interpreted in different ways. Compare Limet’s ‘dont le charme (s’exerce) au loin’ (*L’Anthroponymie* 296) with R. Kutscher’s ‘Sprinkled With Charm’ (*ASJ* 5 [1983] 61) and M. Civil’s ‘full of (sexual) charm’ (*AuOr* 5 [1987] 26). The Akkadian scribes were themselves somewhat perplexed, rendering the expression with *kuzbu* combined with verbs meaning ‘to sprinkle, overlay’ on the one hand and ‘to fill’ on the other. Omitting from discussion *sù(g)* ‘to be empty’ and *sù(g)* ‘to sink’, one clear alternative in certain names is *sù(d)* ‘to be distant, far-reaching, prolonged’. A second is *sù* either ‘to sprinkle’ (*elēhu*, *salāhu*, *zarāqu*) or ‘to decorate, adorn’ based upon the OB equivalence *sù* = *ul-lu-hu-um* of Proto-Ea Secondary Branches No. 7 i 28 (MSL 14, 119) and that meaning of the D stem of *elēhu* found in Neo-Babylonian contexts; AHW offers ‘etwa (ver)zieren mit, reich ausstatten’. More to the point, doubtless the same *sù* is also equated with *zānu* ‘to overlay, plate or stud with precious stones, to decorate, embellish’ (*CAD*). See, for example, Marchesi in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente Antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni* (ed. S. Graziani et al.; Napoli, 2000) 672–79, where the participle *sù-sù* is translated ‘adorned’ in a number of literary contexts. The reduplication often seen with this term may indicate the repeated action of studding or applying embellishments upon an object. Note that ePSD cautiously registers no consonantal Auslaut for its lemma *sù* ‘to sprinkle, to adorn’, contrary to the citation form *sud* found in several of the pertinent *CAD* or *AHW* entries. A last alternative is the *sù(g)* that is a by-form of *si(g)* = *malû* ‘to be full’; see A. Falkenstein, *SGL* 1 (1959) 75 for basic references. This term is seen in such literary passages as é-engur-ra šà hé-ġál(-la) *sù-ga(-àm)* ‘Temple of the Deep with an interior filled with abundance’ (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 50, cf. 88); ‘en-líl nì galam-ma galam-ma-zu nì-me-ġar *sù-ga* ‘Enlil, your many clever things are full of awesomeness’ (Enlil in the Ekur 131, cf. Dumuzi’s Dream 18, Lugalbanda Epic I 362, Gilgameš and Huwawa A 73); ġéštu-ġu<sub>10</sub> nì galam-ma *sù-ga(-àm)* ‘my mind is full of clever things’ (Šulgi Hymn B 54). Given this variety of possibilities, translations of names involving the term *sù* should generally be viewed as tentative.

36. Explicit copulas are virtually non-existent in personal names. In this corpus, a notable exception is a second-person form in the slave-name *ama-ġu<sub>10</sub>-me* You Are My Mother (VS 25, 69 x 13).





é-ib-zi	Righteous Niche/Oval Temple
é-igi-ġá-téš-bi	Temple That is the Dignity of My Eye
é-igi-íl-eden-na	Temple That Lifts its Face Over the Desert
é-ir-nun	Temple With Princely Fragrance
é-kù	Holy Temple
é-me-lem <sub>4</sub> -kur-ra	Temple With the Divine Radiance of a Mountain
é-me-lem <sub>4</sub> -sù	Temple Filled With Divine Radiance
é-me-nam-nun	Temple Having the Divine Power of Nobility
é-men-eden-na	Temple That is the Crown of the Desert
é-mu-bi-du <sub>10</sub>	Temple Whose Name is Pleasing
é-še-è	Temple That Makes the Barley Come Forth
é-šeg <sub>12</sub> (SIG <sub>4</sub> )-zi-dè	By the Temple With Fine Brickwork
é-ú-íl-sù	Temple That Carries and Fills With Food
é-u <sub>4</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> -è	Temple Come Forth Like Daylight
é-úr-bi-du <sub>10</sub>	Temple Whose Base is Pleasing
é-zi-šà-ġál	Temple Having the Wherewithal For Life

Examples of other references to sacred places and objects or divine phenomena include:

absu-kur-gal	The Apsu is a Big Mountain
absu-pa-è	The Apsu Coming Forth Radiantly
a-absu-si	Father Occupies the Apsu
ama-absu-si	Mother Occupies the Apsu
mes-absu	Vigorous Youth of the Apsu
giš <sup>ti</sup> -absu	Arrow of the Apsu
ur-absu	Dog of the Apsu
ur-absu-bànda <sup>da</sup>	Dog of the Smaller Apsu (Temple)
dug-ru-ma-da-âġ	The Dugru Temple (of Ningirsu) Measured Him/It Out To Me
é-dam-si	The One Who Occupies the Temple of the (Divine) Spouse
èš-kur-gal	The Shrine is a Big Mountain
géme-é-dam	Servant of the Temple of the Spouse
géme-niġar	Servant of the Cella
géme-šu-ga-lam-ma	Servant of the Šugalam (Gate) <sup>37</sup>
géme-ub <sub>5</sub> -kù-ga	Servant of the Holy Drum(s)
ġír-nun-ki-du <sub>10</sub>	The Girnun (Noble Procession Road) is a Pleasant Place
ġír-nun-zi-šà-ġál	The Girnun is the Wherewithal for Life
ġišgal-ir-nun	Socle With Princely Fragrance
ġišgal-le-si	That Which Occupies the Socle
ib-mud	The Creative Oval/Niche (Temple)
lugal-ki-gal-la	King of the Great Place <sup>38</sup>

37. The main gate of the Eninnu, temple of the city-god Ningirsu. See W. Heimpel, "The Gates of the Eninnu," *JCS* 48 (1996) 17–29, especially 20–21. Compare the male name ur-šu-ga-lam-ma.

38. ki-gal can refer to the pedestal or socle of a statue, for example, ki-gal alan <sup>d</sup>šu-<sup>d</sup>suen in ITT 2, 795:5. It can also be understood as a euphemism for the netherword. The Akk. loan *kigallu* has the same two senses. For a number of other early names featuring the term, see F. Pomponio, *SEL* 8 (1990) 144. Ur III examples are discussed by Limet, *L'Anthroponymie*, 263. In this corpus, the term is seen once again in the name lum-ma-ki-gal-la.



me-an-né-du <sub>10</sub>	Divine Powers Good Against the Sky
me-an-né-si	Divine Powers Filling the Sky
me-kisal-le	Divine Powers (Filling) the Courtyard
me-kuara <sup>ki</sup> -ta	Divine Powers From Kuara
me-lem <sub>4</sub> -kur-ra	Divine Radiance of the Mountains
me-mah-pa-è	Exalted Divine Powers Come Forth Radiantly
me-nîgar-ta	Divine Powers From Within the Cella
me- <sup>d</sup> nin-ġîr-su	Divine Powers of Ningîrsu
me-sàg-nu-di	Divine Powers Which Cannot Be Dissipated
me-su-an-da	Your Divine Powers (Are Equal) With (Those of) Heaven <sup>39</sup>
me-unu <sup>ki</sup> -si	Divine Powers Filling Uruk
nîgar-mud	The Creative Cella
ur-an-ta-sur-ra	Dog of the That Which Dripped From Heaven (Temple)
ur-bára-ru-a	Dog of the Placed Dais
ur-bára-si-ga	Dog of the Placed Dais
ur-é-bábbar	Dog of the White Temple
ur-é-dam	Dog of the Temple of the Spouse
ur-é-mùš	Dog of the Temple of Holy Space(?)
ur-éš-dam	Dog of the Tavern (Shrine)
nin-éš-dam(-me)-ki-áġ	Lady Who Loves (or is Loved By) the Tavern <sup>40</sup>
ur-nîgar	Dog of the Cella
ur-igi-ġál	Dog of the Wisdom (Temple) <sup>41</sup>
ur-kara <sub>6</sub>	Dog of the Grain Store
ur-sila-sír-sír(-ra)	Dog of the Narrow Streets (Temple)
ur-šà-pà-da	Dog of the (Temple) Chosen By the Heart (of Nanše)
ur-ses-e-ġar-ra	Dog of the (Temple) Established By (Ningîrsu) the Brother
ur-šu-ga-lam-ma	Dog of the Šugalam (Gate)
ur-šubur	Dog of Earth(?) <sup>42</sup>
ur-TAR-SAR-a	Dog of the TAR-SAR-a (Offering Place)
ur-ti-ra-ás	Dog of the Tiras (Temple)
ti-ra-ás-a	He of the Tiras
uru-kù-a-bí-lu <sub>5</sub>	She Tended <sup>43</sup> Him in the Holy City

39. J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973) 211, translates the Fara parallels me-zu/zu<sub>5</sub>-an-da as ‘deine me (, o Gottheit x,) wetteifern mit den me des An (-sá-a ergänzt)’.

40. Since éš-dam is an impersonal noun, -e can of course represent either the ergative or the locative-terminative, depending upon the interpretation. See Limet, *L’Anthroponymie*, 265–67 for active vs. passive uses of -ki-áġ in Ur III names, and compare Selz, *UGASL* 22 and n. 36.

41. The temple of Nanše in Gu’aba, see Selz, *UGASL* 183 and n. 836.

42. With Selz, *UGASL* 264 and n. 1283 s.v. <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur, following Falkenstein, *ArOr* 30 (1966) 108. A chthonic netherworld reference? Note, however, that this name, frequent in all periods, has a rare variant (Fara, Ur III) ur-<sup>d</sup>šubur(-ra).

43. In this name, as well as in the elsewhere attested name kiš-a-bí-LUL, P. Steinkeller (*Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts*, 24–25) suggests a reading tuš<sub>x</sub>(LUL) based on the parallel name kiš-a-bí-tuš and his assumption that “the root lu<sub>5</sub>(k) is restricted to the singular subject of the class of animals.” Å. Westenholz doubts this reading in *JAOS* 115 (1995) 536, and our names lu<sub>5</sub>-ka Tended One and a-lu<sub>5</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub> Father Tends Well would indeed seem to demonstrate a less restricted semantic domain—for



Finally, the names nin-ma-al-ga-sù Lady (that is Ba'u) Who Fills (with) Understanding and ma-al-ga(-sù) She Who Fills With Understanding certainly feature an eme-sal reference to the é-galga-sù Temple That Fills With Understanding, an epithet (or shrine) of the é-sila-sír-sír-ra temple of Ba'u in Girsu.<sup>44</sup>

#### NAMES BASED ON PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Names possibly referring to a person's size, strength or other personal characteristics, including likely hypocoristics:

hur-saĝ	Mountain Range	kal-ga-ni	His/Her Strong One
kur-ra-á-ĝál	Having Strength in/of the Mountains		
lú-gíd	Tall Man	šu-mah	Large Hands
šu-ni-al-dugud	His Hand is Heavy	ur-saĝ	Hero
ur-saĝ-tur	Little Hero		
úr-kiši <sub>17</sub> -dù-a	Thighs (Trunk) of an Upright Acacia (m.)		
úr-mah	Large Thighs (m.)	úr-mud	Creative Thighs (m.)
ad-da-tur	Little Father	ama-tur	Little Mother
dìm-tur	Little Figure <sup>45</sup>	ku-li-tur	Little Friend
lúgud-da	Shorty	munus-tur	Little Woman
nì-bàn-da	Small Thing	sal-la	Delicate (or Skinny)
tur-tur	Tiny	za-na	Doll
zàbar-tur (f.)	Little Bronze <sup>46</sup>	ze <sub>x</sub> -na	Palm Midrib (f.) <sup>47</sup>
ki-áĝ	Beloved	ki-ni-mu-su	He Knew His Place
mes-zi	Steadfast/Vigorous Youth	nì-šu-du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ni	What She Accomplished
nir-ĝál	Trustworthy One	nita-zi	Steadfast Male

Referring to beauty or graciousness:<sup>48</sup>

a-sa <sub>6</sub>	Handsome Father	al-sa <sub>6</sub>	She's Beautiful
sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	The Beautiful One <sup>49</sup>	munus-sa <sub>6</sub> (-ga)	Beautiful Woman

personal names, in this corpus at least. Note Steinkeller's earlier reading of the common Sargonic name a-bí-lu<sub>5</sub>(k) with translation 'Father-has-pastured/taken-care-of' in WZKM 77 (1987) 193.

44. See Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš* (AnOr 30; Rome, 1966) 146 + n. 10; Sumerian Temple Hymns line 265 with comments of Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3 (1969) 105; and A. George, *House Most High* (MesCiv 5; Winona Lake, 1993) 89.

45. Compare 1 dìm ĝis<sup>is</sup>taskarin tur '1 small boxwood figure', RTC 19 i 3. Bauer, *RIA* 7.3–4 (1988) 179, translates 'Püppchen'.

46. Compare lugal-urudu The King is Copper and nin-zàbar The Queen is Bronze.

47. Var.: ze<sub>x</sub>(ÁB.ŠÀ.GE)-na, the midrib of the palm frond (without leaves) according to B. Landsberger, *The Date-Palm and Its By-Products* (AfO Beiheft 17; Graz, 1967) 25–27, Ur III zé-na, Akk. zinû; see Selz, FAOS 15/2 (1993) 533f. for additional references. Is the image one of suppleness, or thinness?

48. Selz, *UGASL* 28 n. 80 argues sensibly that in personal names sa<sub>6</sub> must have a meaning 'gut, gnädig' rather than 'beautiful' when said of a deity as in diĝir-al-sa<sub>6</sub> The God is Gracious. In other contexts, however, the meaning need not be so limited.

49. Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 113 n. 577, assumes that at least in a name such as ur-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga Dog of the Beautiful One in this corpus "the appellative sa<sub>6</sub>-ga is likely to designate the goddess Bawu."



EISENBRAUNS

Offprint from:  
Wolfgang Heimpel and Gabriella Frantz-Szabó, eds.,  
*Strings and Threads: A Celebration of the Work of Anne Draffkorn Kilmer*  
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sa <sub>6</sub> -sa <sub>6</sub>	Most Beautiful One	ka-sa <sub>6</sub>	Pretty Mouth
igi-huš	Fiery Eyes (m.) <sup>50</sup>	igi-si <sub>4</sub>	Brown Eyes
igi-gùn	Colorful Eyes (m.) <sup>51</sup>	šembi-zi	Fine Kohl
la-la	Charming (m.)	mul-la	Radiant (m.)
nam-ku-li-ni-du <sub>10</sub>	His Friendship is Pleasant		

Referring to a disability or negative quality:

èh	Cripple <sup>52</sup>	èh-gu-la	Big Cripple
èh-tur	Little Cripple	gig-bé	Sickly
háb-ba (f.)	Smelly(?)	hal-hal	Shy (or Groveling?) <sup>53</sup>
igi-diš	One Eye	sa-nu-ġál	Has No Muscles
saġ-háb(-ba)	Smelly Head/Person(?) (m.) <sup>54</sup>		
su <sub>6</sub> -mú	Growing a Beard (f.) <sup>55</sup>	šu-àš	Six(-Finger) Hand <sup>56</sup>

and perhaps

gan-UM	Woman with a Birthmark(?)
kù-sàg-du <sub>11</sub> -ga	Scattered Silver
lú <sub>11</sub> lil-nam-šita-sù	Fool With Far-Reaching(?) Prayers

Animal comparisons, both wild and domestic:

buru <sub>5</sub> <sup>mušen</sup>	Bird	buru <sub>5</sub> <sup>mušen</sup> -tur	Little Bird
gu <sub>4</sub> -gu-la	Big Ox	gu <sub>4</sub> -si-par <sub>4</sub> (KISAL)	Ox of the s.-Implement <sup>57</sup>
HAR-ti	ṣ <sup>58</sup>	ka <sub>5</sub> -a	Fox
lugal-piriġ-tur	Little Lion King <sup>59</sup>	maš-dà	Gazelle
maš-aš <sub>8</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	Goat of (the god) Ašgi <sup>60</sup>	maš-du <sub>6</sub> -a	Goat Among the Mounds

50. Considered an abbreviation of lugal-igi-huš by W. G. Lambert, *NABU* 1996, 111 (No. 126), which is the name of one of Ningirsu's personified harps (Selz, *UGASL*, 105 n. 379).

51. A popular Fara name, including that of a gême-kar-kid in WF 71 vii 5-6.

52. Unless simply a Lallname ku-ku.

53. Compare dāra hal-hal-la 'scheuer Steinbock', Heimpel, *RIA* 4.6-7 (1972-75) 419, citing B. Landsberger, *Fauna* 99-100.

54. Steinkeller, *ZA* 71 (1981) 26-28 prefers túl to háb because of the sense. Likewise Selz, *FAOS* 15/2 (1993) 312f., leaves the reading open "da das semantische Feld von háb (= bišu, i-háb = ikūku) schlecht zu einem PN zu passen scheint." But compare the MB Akk. name *ikkukku*, perhaps connected with *ikūku* 'ill-smelling oil' (Stamm, *Namengebung* 268, *CAD* s.v.).

55. Steinkeller, *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (MesCiv 3; Winona Lake, 1992) 19-20, provides references for "Sum<sub>4</sub>-mú 'Bearded', which is characteristically a feminine name."

56. Understood as an abbreviation for šu-si-àš 'six fingers'. See R. Barnett, "Six Fingers and Toes: Polydactylism in the Ancient World," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16/3 (May/June 1990) 46-51.

57. If not more simply gu<sub>4</sub>-si-kisal Horned Bull of the Courtyard, compare Enki and the World Order 319: nun-gal 'en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>4</sub> si-par<sub>4</sub> ús-a ba-an-šúm 'The great prince Enki gave to them oxen which follow the . . .' and see ePSD references for si-par<sub>4</sub> 'type of implement'.

58. A qualification of cattle according to Bauer, *Afo* 36/37 (1989-90) 88, citing OSP 1, 101 ii 1.

59. The name of this fisherman is regularly shortened to lugal-piriġ, which seems to exclude a reading lugal-nemur<sub>x</sub>(PIRIĠ.TUR) 'Leopard King'. Lugal-nemur<sub>x</sub> is indeed, however, possibly the name of the sanga é-bábbar or the simug, for whom no shortend variants are registered.

60. Compare amar-<sup>a</sup>aš<sub>8</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> in the AbS Names and Professions List 209, OIP 99, 68.



maš-gu-la (f.)	Big(ger) Goat	maš-gur-ra	Fat Goat
maš-tur (f.)	Little Goat	MUNUS.U <sub>8</sub> -tur	Little Ewe
MUNUS.U <sub>8</sub> -sig-ama-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	Weak Ewe is My Mother <sup>61</sup>		
piriĝ-kur-ra	Mountain Lion	sila <sub>4</sub> -tur (f.)	Little Lamb
sim-tur (f.)	Little Swallow	sún-ama-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	A Wild Cow is My Mother
TAR <sup>mušen</sup>	TAR-Bird <sup>62</sup>		

The 28 distinct names based on amar ‘calf, young animal’ are probably not strictly animal metaphors but rather forms comparable to the popular names based on ur, originally ‘dog’ (see n. 10). 16 names take the form amar-DN, mainly invoking lesser deities such as <sup>d</sup>ašnan, <sup>d</sup>hendur-saĝ, <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim, <sup>d</sup>sàman, or <sup>d</sup>šùba. Others invoke localities such as amar-é-gibil Calf of the New Temple, amar-é-gal Palace Calf, amar-gírid<sup>ki</sup> Calf of Girid, or amar-kuara<sup>ki</sup> Calf of Kuara. Could the extremely popular name amar-ezem Festival Calf refer to the occasion of the owner’s birth or conception?<sup>63</sup>

#### BIRTH AND FAMILY OF THE CHILD

References to a child’s birth or origin may include:

al-mu-ni-du <sub>11</sub>	I Desired Him
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-mu-tu	Ba’u Caused Him to Be Born
diĝir-mu-dah	(My) God Added Him
ĝá-ka-na(-nam)-hé-ti (f.)	May He Live For My Sake
ha-ma-ti (m.)	He Lived For Me!
kešda-gin <sub>7</sub> -tu (m.)	Born Like One (Still) Attached(?)
mu-an-né-du <sub>10</sub>	(With) a Name Made Good by An <sup>64</sup>
nin-šà-su-ĝu <sub>10</sub> (f.)	The Lady was My Midwife
pu <sub>6</sub> /túl-ta-pà-da	Found In the Well-Pit
šeg <sub>12</sub> (SIG <sub>4</sub> )-ĝe <sub>26</sub> -na-gi <sub>4</sub> (f.)	He Decided to Return to My Brick <sup>65</sup>
ti-la	The One Who Lived
ì-ti-e	He Lives!

and perhaps

ba-zi	He Stood Up
dab <sub>5</sub> -ba-ni (var. dab <sub>5</sub> -ba-an)	Hold Onto Him!

61. Selz, CM 7 (1997) 173 and n. 157, understands MUNUS.U<sub>8</sub>-sig ‘Young Ewe’ as a deified animal.

62. See Veldhuis, CM 22 (2004) 286, for this unidentified bird, Akk. *šibārum*.

63. Compare the Akk. name *mār i-si-ni* Son of the Festival and similar names cited by J. Stamm, *Die Akkadische Namengebung* (Darmstadt, 1968) 271–72, under the heading “Bezeichnungen nach Tag oder Monat der Geburt.”

64. With Bauer, OBO 160/1, 515, meaning “daß An das Wesen des Neugeborenen wohlgestaltet hat.”

65. The translation follows Bauer’s ‘Auf meine Ziegel ist (es, das Kind) zurückgekehrt’, *AfO* 36/37 (1989–90) 80–81 and OBO 160/1, 556f., who compares the AbS name šeg<sub>12</sub>-ĝe<sub>26</sub>-tu Born on My Brick (IAS No. 298 i 11). If indeed referring to the “brick of birth,” for which see A. D. Kilmer, *JNES* 46 (1987) 211–13, the meaning of the name of this brewery worker with two sons remains obscure. Selz, *FAOS* 15/2, 233, suggests that the following names from this corpus also refer to the brick of birth: šeg<sub>12</sub>-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le, šeg<sub>12</sub>-ki(-bé-gi<sub>4</sub>), šeg<sub>12</sub>-kur, and šeg<sub>12</sub>-zi, though references to a city’s protective brickwork seem more reasonable.





nì-DU <sub>7</sub> -pa-è	A Fitting Thing Come Forth Radiantly
zi-nì-ba-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	Life Was My Gift

A number of the 21 names beginning with the term ama ‘mother’ feature sentiments more appropriate to a deity than to an actual human being, for example:

ama-abzu-si	Mother Occupying the Apsu
ama-bára-si	Mother Occupying the Throne
ama-en-tu	Mother Bearing the Lord
ama-numun-zi	Mother is the Good Seed

and nearly all of those ending with the expression -ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ‘is my mother’ refer either to a goddess or once to the wife of king Enentarzi in the name NI-a-a-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub>. In the name of the female slave ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-me You Are My Mother, ama perhaps refers to an owner. Still, names referring to a birth-mother might conceivably include:

ama-da-nu-sá	There is None Equaling Mother
ama-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	Beautiful Mother
ama-téš-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	Mother is My Dignity <sup>66</sup>

References to the father may include:

a-agrig-zi	Father is a Trusty Steward
a-an <sup>an</sup> ánzu <sup>mušen</sup>	Father is an Anzu
a-bàd-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	Father is my City Wall
a-da-gal-di	Excels With (Thanks to) the Father
a-ĝeštin	Father is a Grapevine <sup>67</sup>
a-giri <sub>17</sub> -zal	Father is a Joy
a-hi-li-nu-til	The Father With Endless Charms
a-ì-nun	Father is (Like) Ghee <sup>68</sup>
a-ir-nun	Father is/has Princely Fragrance <sup>69</sup>
a-kiši <sub>17</sub> -gal	Father is a Big Acacia <sup>70</sup>

66. This translation of téš (Akk. *baštu*) in this context is for convenience, relying on *CAD baštu* 2. ‘dignity (personified as a protective spirt)’. See Selz, *FAOS* 15/2 (1993) 176; Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 71 n. 361; F. Wiggermann, *RIA* 9.1–2 (1998) 46–47. More recently Selz, *ArOr* 72 (2004) 43 and n. 49 and in *Von Sumer bis Homer: Festschrift für Manfred Schretter* (AOAT 325; Münster, 2005) 583, has preferred ‘Lebenskraft’ with *AHW baštu* 3.

67. Note the parallel name lugal-ĝeštin. Could the reference instead be to (the sweetness of) grapes? Also possibly syllabic for ʾà-ĝeštin; compare the name é-ĝeštin-sù in this corpus or Ur III é-ĝeštin for example in UET 3, 1202:3. Both a-ĝeštin and ses-ĝeštin are frequent in Fara.

68. This is a rare name. Parallel lugal-ì-nun is more frequent and is also found in Fara, OAKk., and Ur III. Both are easily confused with a-ir-nun and lugal-ir-nun respectively. For example, the two Fara instances of lugal-ì-nun are emended to lugal-ir!(NI)-nun by Pomponio, *Prosopografia*, 157.

69. Ukg 4 x 11–13 shows ir-nun used concretely: 1 sila ir-nun, ereš-diĝir-ré ba-de<sub>6</sub> ‘1 quart of princely perfume was taken away by the e.-priestess’, for which H. Behrens and H. Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 177, cite the late lexical equivalent ir = *armannu* ‘(a tree and aromatic substance obtained from it)’ (*CAD*). Selz, *UGASL*, 133 n. 538, therefore translates ‘Der Vater (ist mit) fürstlichem Parfüm (gesalbt)’. Within names, the term otherwise appears only in connection with places: bára-ir-nun, é-ir-nun, ʿèš-ir-nun, ĝišgal-ir-nun.

70. The name is found also in Fara and in the Abu Salabikh Names and Professions List, OIP 99, 67:188. See Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 112, on the alternate readings of (ĝi<sup>is</sup>)UL<sub>4</sub>-gal ‘likely to denote a thorny



a-lú-du <sub>10</sub>	Father is a Good Person
a-lu <sub>5</sub> -lu <sub>5</sub>	Father Tends It Well <sup>71</sup>
a-me-da-nú	Sleeping With Our Father <sup>72</sup>
a-men	Father is the Crown
a-mes	Father is a (Fruitful) <i>mes</i> Tree <sup>73</sup>
a-pa-è	Father Came Forth Radiantly <sup>74</sup>
a-sa <sub>6</sub>	Handsome Father
a-ze <sub>x</sub> -ze <sub>x</sub> (ÁB.ŠÀ.GE)	Father is (a Bunch of) Palm Midribs.

Negative references may include:

a-ha-ši (var. ha-ši)	Father (var. He) Was Indeed Careless
a-lú <sup>lil</sup> -la	Father is a Fool <sup>75</sup>
a-nu-su	Doesn't/Don't Know the Father

Clear references to royal fathers include:

a-kur-gal	Father is a Big Mountain (the son of the dynasty founder Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nanše)
a-šurmin	Father is a Cypress <sup>76</sup> (the wife of Enanatum)
a-en-ra-mu-gi <sub>4</sub>	Father Responded to the Lord
a-en-né-ki-áĝ	Father is Loved by the Lord
a-en-ra-gub	Father Serves the Lord (apparently three names of a son of Uruinimgina)

Some references to siblings may include:

ses-tur	Little Brother
nin-tur	Little Sister
nin-ses-ra-ki-áĝ	Sister Who Loves (Her) Brother
ses-a-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	The Brother is My Father (f.)
ses-á-nu-kúš	Brother With Untiring Arms <sup>77</sup>
ses-kiši <sub>17</sub> -gal	Brother is a Big Acacia
ses-da-gal-di	Excels With (Thanks to) the Brother (f.)

plant or tree" in names and literary texts and its possible use as a metaphor for protection.

71. Assuming the verb is lu<sub>5</sub>(k). See n. 43.

72. Compare Fara a-da-nú Sleeping With the Father or a-da-tuš Staying With the Father.

73. Alternately translate Father is a Vigorous Male. For this meaning of *mes*, contrasted with *šul* 'young/youthful one', see Marchesi, *Or* 73 (2004) 191–93, also p. 197 n. 253 for the *mes* tree as "a symbol of fruitfulness."

74. Unless syllabic for é-pa-è, common in Oakk and Ur III but absent from this corpus. Both a-pa-è and é-pa-è are frequent in Fara.

75. Unless a genitive construction to be translated Father of a Fool (so Bauer, *BiOr* 50 [1993] 179), the form shows the variant <sup>lil</sup>lil-la of more usual <sup>lil</sup>lil seen elsewhere in this corpus in the name <sup>lil</sup>lil-nam-šita-sù. Oakk <sup>lil</sup>lil-la appears in RTC 246:5 (Girsu) and <sup>lil</sup>lil-[la (x)] in CT 50, 77:6. Compare Oakk <sup>lil</sup>lil-lum in AAS 2 rev. 1 (Umma) and lil-la in TMH 5, 16:9 (Nippur), also Ur III lil-la in SAT 3, 1342: 3 etc. For the Oakk, OA, and OB name *Lillum*, see *CAD lillu* A d.

76. Marchesi, *Or* 73 (2004) 197 n. 253, reads ája-<sup>šu-meš</sup>šurmen<sub>x</sub>(EREN) and translates 'the Father is (as great/luxuriant as) a cypress'.

77. See F. Pomponio, *SEL* 8 (1990) 145, for early parallels, including pa<sub>4</sub>-á-nu-kúš (AbS), dumu/en/lugal-á-nu-kúš (Fara) and munus-á-nu-kúš (Sargonic).



ses-ki-na	A Brother In His Place
ses-lú-du <sub>10</sub>	Brother is a Good Person
ses-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	Handsome Brother
ses-téš-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Brother is my Dignity (f.)

#### NAMES CONNECTED WITH OCCUPATIONS

Occupational terms employed as personal names include:

am-ma	He of the Aurochs <sup>78</sup>
àr-dú	Domestic Servant <sup>79</sup>
dub-sar	Scribe (CT 50, 29 iii 5, 30 rev. i 3)
gala-tur	Little Gala
gala	(possibly always a short name for gala-tur)
íl	Porter
mu <sub>6</sub> -sùb	Herdsmen <sup>80</sup>
nagar-šà	Interior Carpenter <sup>81</sup>
nar (nar <sub>x</sub> ) <sup>82</sup>	Musician
niġir-si	Paronymph <sup>83</sup>
ú-du	Herdsmen
um-me	Wet Nurse
URI <sub>x</sub> (LAK 526) <sup>84</sup>	?
zur-zur	One Who Treats With Care <sup>85</sup>

The term niġir ‘herald’ serves as the initial element of five names:

niġir-absu	Herald of the Apsu
niġir-ama <sub>x</sub> (ENGUR)-na	Herald of His Mother(?) <sup>86</sup>
niġir-èš-a-du	Herald Who Goes Into the Shrine <sup>87</sup>
niġir-KA(-gi-na)	Herald With True Words (or Mouth)
niġir-zi	Trusty Herald

78. With Bauer, *A/O* 36/37, 85; see also p. 86 for nagar-šà and niġir-si.

79. While the occupational term is very common, this term is used as a name only once in this corpus (DP 128 iii 7). Compare more frequent Fara àr-dú, àr-dú-tur, àr-dú-<sup>d</sup>sùd and the Ur III name written ir or ir<sub>11</sub>. On the meanings of àr-dú, géme, and ir<sub>11</sub> (unequivocally ‘slave’) in this corpus, see Selz, FAOS 15/1 (1989) 138–39 and FAOS 15/2 (1993) 209–11.

80. Selz translates ‘Pferde- Zugtierführer o. ä.’, FAOS 15/1 (1989) 342–43. See further Krecher, ZA 63 (1973) 202.

81. For another possible early example see Krecher, ZA 63 (1973) 257 and compare en-nagar-šà (Fara) and nagar-šà-ga (Ur III).

82. See C. Mittermayer, *Die Entwicklung der Tierkopfszeichen* (AOAT 319; Münster, 2005) 72, for RSP 468 and its variants in this corpus, also Krecher, ZA 63 (1974) 198.

83. Akk. *susapinnu*. See L. Sassmannshausen, *BaM* 26 (1995) 181–82, who translates ‘Brautführer’.

84. A kind of agricultural worker according to Å. Westenholtz, *ECTJ* 14 ad 5:1.

85. Akk. *kunnû, kutennû*. See Selz, FAOS 15/2 (1993) 588, who translates ‘(Tier)pfleger’.

86. For ENGUR as an early form of the ama sign, compare ama<sub>x</sub>(ENGUR)-a-zu<sub>5</sub> in AnNip 42: 2 (H. Steible, FAOS 5, Teil II [1982] 249), and see Bauer, *WdO* 24 (1993) 163, for other references, especially the ses-ENGUR-na of OIP 104, 112 No. 37 rev. i 10.

87. See Selz, FAOS 15/2 (1993) 274, citing P. Steinkeller’s reading of the occupation èš-a-ab-du, contra older ab-a-ab-du, in FAOS 17 (1989) 81 and n. 238.





A few names that may reflect an individual's occupation include:

amar-gù-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	Calf With a Sweet Voice (a gala)
gù-bi-du <sub>10</sub>	Its Voice is Sweet (a gala sold as a slave)
nin-tigi <sub>x</sub> (É.BALAĜ)-ni-du <sub>10</sub>	Lady Whose Praise Hymns <sup>88</sup> are Sweet (a gala)
ur-sal	Delicate Dog (a gala)

perhaps also

gù-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	He With a Sweet Voice (a boatman)
ùšur-ré-du <sub>10</sub>	Good to Neighbors (a merchant)

Both a cattle herder (sipa gu<sub>4</sub>) and a goat shepherd (sipa uzud) are named ur-<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi.

### NAMES REFERRING TO LOCALITIES

Like temples and other holy sites, towns and other localities are often featured in personal names. A common pattern takes the form GN-ki-du<sub>10</sub> GN is a Pleasant Place, in which the determinative for places, ki, is invariably omitted from the geographical name itself.<sup>89</sup> The localities so named are: ĝiš-šà, gú-ab-ba, he-en-da, ki(-nu)-nir, kuara, niĝin<sub>x</sub>(NINA), širara, SAHAR, umbin, uru, and uru<sub>11</sub>. Other names mentioning localities include:

ég-ga-né	By His Levee
gan-gírid <sup>(ki)</sup>	Servant of Girid
géme-du <sub>6</sub>	Servant of the Mound
géme-ĝanun	Servant of the Storehouse
géme-gú-en-na	Servant of the Throne Room
géme-i <sub>7</sub> -eden-na	Servant of the Desert Canal
géme-ki-sal <sub>4</sub> -la	Servant of Kisalla
i <sub>7</sub> -mud	Creative River
kèš <sup>ki</sup> -ta	From Keš

88. There is some confusion in the literature concerning the reading of É.BALAĜ. The parallelism of Šulgi Hymn D 366–367 favors a reading tigi<sub>x</sub>: si-im á-lá-e šeg<sub>12</sub> mu-na-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>, É.BALAĜ šir [du<sub>10</sub>-ge-eš (?)] mu-na-ab-[du<sub>11</sub> (?)] ‘The šem and á-lá drums roared for him, the tigi drums [played] songs [finely] for him’. See note to line 367 by J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat-Gan, 1981) 120. This reading was followed by W. Sallaberger, *Der Kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* (UAVA 7/1; Berlin, 1993) 142 n. 668, as support for a reading tigi<sub>y</sub> for a compound NAR.É.BALAĜ understood as a variant of standard tígi(NAR. BALAĜ) in the *Šū-Suen* historical text Civil, *JCS* 21 (1967) 34 xii 12–14: šir-kù nam-šub, mu-na-an-du<sub>12</sub>, NAR.É.BALAĜ nì du<sub>10</sub>-ge, si mu-na-ab-sá ‘Holy songs and incantations he played for him, tigi-hymns, fine ones, were performed for him.’ Compare tigi nì du<sub>10</sub>-ge si ha-ba-ni-sá in Šulgi Hymn A 54 or the syllabic parallel in Gudea Cyl B x 9: ti-gi<sub>4</sub> nì du<sub>10</sub>-ga si sá-a-da. Either an error or some different justification must underlie the reading of the Fara personal name É.BALAĜ as é-tigi<sub>x</sub> in the catalogs of Pomponio, *StSem* ns 3 (1987) 93, and Visicato, *Indices of Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak* (Naples, 1997) 36. The reading tigi<sub>x</sub> for the BALAĜ sign alone was further carried over to the profession balaĝ-di ‘harp player’ by Visicato in *ASJ* 19 (1997) 256 n. 60, who reads tigi<sub>x</sub>-di for the profession and é<sup>munus</sup>tigi<sub>x</sub>-di for a women’s institution found in the Sargonic Ešnunna text MM 497 ii 5’ (AnOr 7, No. 342), read more cautiously as É SAL.BALAĜ.DI by its editor M. Molina in *AuOr* 9 (1993) 142 with earlier references including those assembled by Steinkeller in *Or* 51 (1982) 367–68.

89. In other times and places, the determinative is present for example in the Sargonic Nippur name adab<sup>ki</sup>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> (OSP 1, 102 ii 4) or the Ur III Lagaš names ĝír-su<sup>ki</sup>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> and lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> (Limet, *L’Anthroponymie*, 262).



kísig <sup>(ki)</sup> -a-bí-tuš	I Had Him Live in Kisig
kiš-a-bí-tuš	I Had Her Live in Kiš <sup>90</sup>
lagas <sup>ki</sup> -ĝiri-na	Lagaš (is) at His Feet
lugal-kèš <sup>ki</sup>	The King of/to Keš <sup>91</sup>
me-kuara <sup>ki</sup> -ta	(With) Divine Powers From Kuara
me-unu <sup>ki</sup> -si	(With) Divine Powers Filling Uruk
nin-é-unu <sup>ki</sup> -ga-nir-ĝál	Lady Who is Sovereign in the Uruk Temple
nin-uru <sub>18</sub> -ni-du <sub>10</sub>	Lady Whose (City) Uru is Pleasant
sipa-uru-da-kúš	Shepherd Who Concerns <sup>92</sup> Himself (or is Content) with the City
sipa-lagas <sup>ki</sup> -e-ki-ág	Shepherd Loved By Lagaš
sirara-pa-è	Sirara Come Forth Radiantly
ur-du <sub>6</sub>	Dog of the Hill <sup>93</sup>
ur-gú-eden-na	Dog of the Desert's Edge
ur-ká-tur	Dog of the Small Gate
ur-ki-sa <sub>4</sub> -la	Dog of Kisalla
ur-pu <sub>6</sub> -saĝ	Dog of the Well-Pit
pu <sub>6</sub> -saĝ (var. pú-saĝ)	(He of a) Well-Pit <sup>94</sup> (an abbreviation of the previous)

90. See the critical comments regarding the reading and interpretation by Å. Westenholz, *JAOS* 115 (1995) 536.

91. Bauer, OBO 160/1 (1998) 512, translates ‘der König (ist nach) Keš (gegangen)’.

92. Use of comitative -da- with the verb of emotion kúš can be confusing. Intransitively, the verb has the sense ‘to be troubled or concerned with’ (Akk. *anāhu*) or ‘to be content with’; see T. Balke, *Das sumerische Dimensionalkasussystem* (AOAT 331; Münster, 2006) 104, 106, ‘zufrieden sein (mit), sich kümmern (um)’. With šà as object, the verb has the sense ‘to make the heart content, soothe the heart’ and with comitative ‘to take counsel, consult with’; see now F. Karahashi, *Sumerian Compound Verbs With Body-Part Terms* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2000) 147.

93. A popular name here, borne by nine individuals, but not found in Fara. Perhaps a short form of ur-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga Dog of the Holy Hill, attested in Ur III, and thus possibly a literary allusion to the cosmological residence of the primeval gods. Compare, for example, the ‘a-nun-na du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne of the Sumerian debate Sheep and Grain 30/33, and see the discussion of B. Hruška, “Zum ‘Heiligen Hügel’ in der altmesopotamischen Religion,” *WZKM* 86 (1996) 161–75. Note further line 245 of Sumerian Temple Hymn No. 20 to the é-ninnu of Ningirsu: šeg<sub>12</sub> du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ta nam tar-re-da, hur-saĝ-gin<sub>7</sub> sa<sub>7</sub>-ga ‘brickwork where the fates are to be determined from the holy hill, beautifully formed like a mountain range’. On the other hand, Bauer, OBO 160/1 (1998) 439, points out that field names reveal the existence of at least seven named du<sub>6</sub> (tells) in the vicinity of Girsu.

94. Akk. *šatpu* ‘pit, well, excavated soil’. M. A. Powell in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (ed. P. E. McGovern et al.; Amsterdam, 1996) 106 describes “a structure, loosely associated with irrigation, called in Sumerian *pu* or *pu sang* . . . which may denote a reservoir together with the earth that is thrown out of it. . . . The *pu* of a garden is also said to be ‘heaped up’ with baked brick, and, occasionally, it is said to produce *lal* and *geštin*, that is grape syrup and either grapes, raisins, must, wine, or perhaps all of these.” These two names were fairly popular, borne by nine and five persons, respectively. See Limet, *L’Anthroponymie*, 290, for Ur III ur-pú-saĝ and géme-pú-saĝ. Note that Steinkeller, *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts*, 20, reads túl-saĝ, written either LAGAB×U or LAGAB×TIL, according to period. See Selz, *FAOS* 15/2 (1993) 175–76, for discussion.



uru-inim-gi-na	City of True Words <sup>95</sup>
uru-na-a-na-gu-lu <sub>5</sub>	What is More Clever In His City <sup>96</sup>

Three names might be loosely described as gentilics:

niĝin <sub>8</sub> -bar	(He of the) Outer District, <sup>97</sup>
sud-áĝ	(He of) Electrum (or Amber) <sup>98</sup>
ti-ra-ás-a	He of the Tiras (Temple)

With the last two, compare more explicit ur-sud-áĝ and ur-ti-ra-ás in this corpus.

### NAMES HONORING THE KING

As G. Marchesi has stated:

Whether the term lugal in the onomasticon refers to the king (that is the earthly ruler) or the divine lord of a given city-state remains a disputed matter. . . . In point of fact, lugal can refer to either the human king or the divine lord depending upon the name-pattern and, more importantly, on whether another more specific theophoric element is or is not present.<sup>99</sup>

By these criteria, it seems likely that many if not most of the personal names in this corpus that begin with lugal invoke the secular ruler rather than the national god Ningirsu, although one could reasonably argue that names such as lugal-an<sup>an</sup>zumu<sup>mu</sup>sen The King is an Anzu-Bird or lugal-me-gal-gal King With All the Great Divine Powers do indeed refer to that god, or that, for example, lugal-itu-da-tu King Born Monthly might refer instead to the moon-god Suen,<sup>100</sup> or, indeed,

95. Compare D. Edzard's reading iri-ka-gi-na and translation 'Stadt des zuverlässigen Mundes (Ausspruchs)', *AuOr* 9 (1993) 79. The name is a genitive compound, as shown, for example, by Ukg 41 or 43 (Steible, FAOS 5, Teil I [1982] 350–51).

96. Based on ni-galam-ma, ni-gu-lu-da = ni-ki-il-tu Nabnitu VII 169–170 (MSL 16, 110), Steinkeller, *SEL* 1 (1984) 16, posits a variant /gulud/ of galam 'ingenious, clever, skillful' and cites the parallel names from this corpus a-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-gu-lu<sub>5</sub> What of Mine is (More) Clever and nin-ra-a-na-gu-lu<sub>5</sub> What is More Clever Than the Lady, as well as Ur III gu-lu<sub>5</sub> Clever One.

97. Usually read ušur-bar or usar-bar, but see Powell, *Or* 43 (1974) 400 for niĝin<sub>8</sub>(LÁL×SAR) or niĝin<sub>9</sub>(LÁL×SAR) = nagū 'district' and 401 n. 16 for the Ur III name lú-niĝin<sub>9</sub>-bar-ra Man of the Outer District with which compare lugal-niĝin<sub>8</sub>-bar-ra in MVN 6, 535 i 4. See also Selz, *UGASL* 45 and n. 201. According to Civil in *Dumu-é-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (ed. H. Behrens et al.; Philadelphia, 1989) 58–59 niĝin<sub>8</sub>-bar was "a riverain [sic] locality, a stop in the ceremonial trip of the boat of Nanše and Nindara," according to AO 4209:13 (NFT p. 185, Ur III).

98. See Selz, FAOS 15/1, 309 ad Nik I 92 i 3. Sud-áĝ occurs between the temple name é-bábbar and the divine name nin-gublagā in the gala-list DP 159 iii 2 and is taken as a temple name by A. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30 (1966) 30 and 37, followed tentatively by RGTC 1, 147. But see also references for sud-áĝ, a later Sumerian name for the goddess Aja, in T. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit* (AOAT 257; Münster, 1999) 299–301 and n. 1216.

99. *LUMMA* 72 n. 381 with references and illustrations. Compare Edzard, *RIA* 9.1–2 (1998) 96: "Bei Namen mit lugal 'König, Herr' und nin 'Königin, Herrin' ist von Fall zu Fall zu entscheiden, ob eine Gottheit oder ein Mitglied des Herrscherpaares gemeint ist." Di Vito comes to a similar cautious conclusion in *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names*, 86–87. On the other hand, Westenholz, speaking of Sargonic Nippur names, concludes (OSP I [1975] 6) that "in most, if not all cases, lugal refers to the human king."

100. Suggestion of Selz, *UGASL* 99 n. 358. But compare also the 12th stanza of OB Inana Hymn E: 'And so, for you (Inana), Heaven shall beget him (anew) each month on the day of the new moon, like the Moon (himself), and king Ama'ušumgalana, the beloved of your heart, they shall praise like the risen Sun',



that in some instances lugal might refer to the bearer of the name or, in the case of a slave, to the master. See further below for the contrast with names beginning with the term en.

Names describing the king's physical characteristics, including comparisons from nature:

lugal-á-na-gub	King Standing in His Strength
lugal-á-šúm-ma	King Given Strength
lugal-á-zi	King With a Steadfast Arm
lugal-ad-nì-du <sub>10</sub>	King With a Sweet Voice
lugal-kiš <sub>17</sub> -gal	The King is a Big Acacia
lugal-eden-né	The King By the Desert
lugal-(GÁNA)zú-lum-ma-gub	King Standing Among the (Tracts of) Dates <sup>101</sup>
lugal-ĝešt <sub>in</sub>	The King is a Grapevine
lugal-gu <sub>4</sub>	Bull King
lugal-i <sub>7</sub> -da	King of the River
lugal-id <sub>5</sub> -mah	The King is a Great River
lugal-nemur <sub>x</sub> (PIRIĜ.TUR)	Leopard King
lugal-šu-mah	King With Great Hands
lugal-tir-a-gub	The King Stands (to Serve) in the Forest <sup>102</sup>
lugal-urudu	The King is Copper

Names of praise and flattery:

lugal-al-sa <sub>6</sub>	The King is Handsome
lugal-aš <sub>10</sub> -né	The King Alone
lugal-dalla	Manifest King
lugal-èn-tar-sù	King Who Inquires Afar
lugal-gi <sub>16</sub> -sa	Enduring King
lugal-hé-ĝál-sù	King Replete With Abundance
lugal-hi-li	Charming King
lugal-ì-nun	The King is (Like) Ghee
lugal-igi-huš	King With Fiery Eyes <sup>103</sup>
lugal-ka-gi-na	King With a True Mouth <sup>104</sup>
lugal-inim-zi-da	King With Righteous Words
lugal-ka-ge-du <sub>10</sub>	The (Word) King is Sweet to the Mouth
lugal-ki-âĝ	Beloved King
lugal-lú-du <sub>10</sub>	The King is a Good Man
lugal-lú-zi	The King is a Righteous Person

probably referring to Šulgi of Ur. See D. Foxvog, "Astral Dumuzi," in *The Tablet and the Scroll* (ed. M. Cohen et al.; Bethesda, MD, 1993) 105.

101. Or, reading -túm, The King is Fitting for the Date (Tracts). For zú-lum 'date' as a synecdoche for 'date palm', compare the occupation šu-ku<sub>6</sub> zú-lum-ma 'fisherman of the dates' (DP 174 i 4, VS 27, 95 ii 1). Compare also the temple name é engur-ra zú-lum-ma Temple of the Engur of the Dates from Ent 1 ii 7 with variant é engur-ra GÁNA<sup>1</sup> zú-lum-ma Temple of the Engur of the Date (Palm) Tract from the parallel Ent 44 ii 4f.

102. Or, reading -túm, The King is Fitting for the Forest.

103. See n. 49.

104. This fisherman changed his name to lugal-ka-ge-du<sub>10</sub> sometime in Ukg 4. Since name changes tended to involve only minor changes (see other examples in a later section), the value ka rather than inim is more likely in this earlier name.



EISENBRAUNS

Offprint from:  
Wolfgang Heimpel and Gabriella Frantz-Szabó, eds.,  
*Strings and Threads: A Celebration of the Work of Anne Draffkorn Kilmer*  
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lugal-mete-na	King By Himself
lugal-mu-da-rí	King With a Lasting Name
lugal-mùš-me-ki-âĝ	King With a Loving Countenance
lugal-nita-zi	The King is a Righteous Man <sup>105</sup>
lugal-pa-è	King Come Forth Radiantly
lugal-saĝ-kal	Foremost King
lugal-si-sá	Just King
lugal-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	Handsome (or Gracious) King
lugal-temen	The King is the Foundation
lugal-tigi <sub>x</sub> (É.BALAĜ)-ni-du <sub>10</sub>	King Whose Praise Hymns are Sweet
lugal-tigi <sub>x</sub> (É.BALAĜ)-mete	King With Fitting Praise Hymns
lugal-zi-dè	By the Righteous King

Names celebrating the king as leader and protector of the land:

lugal-àga-zi	King With a True Crown
lugal-bàd	The King is a City Wall
lugal-bára-ga-ni-du <sub>10</sub>	King Whose Throne is Good
lugal-da-nu-me-a	Not Without the King
lugal-ég-gi	The King is a Secure Levee <sup>106</sup>
lugal-ég-pa <sub>5</sub> -mah	The King is a Great Levee and Ditch
lugal-en-nu	The King is Guardian <sup>107</sup>
lugal-ĝíri	The King is/has a Dagger
lugal-ĝiš-búr	King With a Crook
lugal-ig-gal	The King is a Great Door <sup>108</sup>
lugal-kur-dúb	The King Makes the Mountains (or Foreign Land) Tremble,
lugal-má-tab-ba	The King is a Double(?) Boat
lugal-mè-tur-šè-nu-še-ge (var. -šeg <sub>12</sub> -ge)	The King Does Not Agree to (or Cry Out for) Small Battles
lugal-men	King With the Diadem
lugal-nam-gú-sù	King is Full of Oppressiveness
lugal-nì-á-zi-nu-ak	The King Does No Violent Act
lugal-nì-lu-lu	The King Makes Things Abundant
lugal-nám-ma-kalam	The King is the Everything(?) of the Land
lugal-sa-š <sub>4</sub> -gal	The King is a Great Net
lugal-si-ĝar	The King is a Bolt <sup>109</sup>

105. Or possibly lugal-uš-zi The King Makes the Foundation Platform Right, following Bauer, ZA 79 (1989) 9 n. 7 and *BiOr* 50 (1993) 177. Compare in this corpus utu-nita-zi and nita-zi.

106. Steinkeller, *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts*, 46, translates Sargonic lugal-ég as ‘King-of-the-Dike’, citing the divine name <sup>d</sup>lugal-ég-ga (Steible, FAOS 5/2, 345, Anonym 10) and Sargonic ur-ég-ga. Compare Ur III lugal-ég and lugal-ég-zi.

107. En-nu represents (lú-)en-nu-ùĝ ‘guard, watchman’ with loss of the final nasal; see references in Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 91–92 and n. 512. See also Pomponio, *SEL* 8 (1990) 145, for Sargonic diĝir/lugal/nin-en-nu and Fara nin-en-nu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>, among other parallels.

108. The name is found from Fara through Ur III. Names formed with the syntagm ig-gal are listed and discussed by Selz, *UGASL*, 145 n. 598.

109. The king as a fortified city wall, a great door, and a gate-bolt are, of course, all related images. The metaphors are remarked upon by Limet, *L’Anthroponymie*, 331, who cites the Ur III parallels lugal-si-ĝar and nin-si-ĝar.





lugal-sipa	The King is the Shepherd
lugal-sur <sub>x</sub> (ERIM)-ré-ki-ág	The King is Loved By the Teams
lugal-sur <sub>x</sub> (ERIM)-ra-sa <sub>6</sub>	The King is Best Among the Teams
lugal-ti-úš-da-kúš	The King Concerns Himself With Life and Death
lugal-ù-ma	Victorious King
lugal-ùĝ-ĝe <sub>26</sub> -du <sub>10</sub>	The King is Good to the People <sup>110</sup>
lugal-ùri	The King is a Standard <sup>111</sup>
lugal-uru	King of the City
lugal-uru-bar	King of the Outskirts
lugal-uš-su <sub>x</sub> (MUŠ)	The King Makes the Building Plot Reach Far(?) <sup>112</sup>
lugal-ùšur-ra-nú	The King Sleeps Among the Neighbors (or Junior Wives) <sup>113</sup>

Names referring to the king's relationship to the gods:

lugal-absu-a-gal-di	The King Excels in the Apsu
lugal-AN-da-nu-huĝ-ĝá	King Who With An(?) Was Not Soothed <sup>114</sup>
lugal-an-na-túm	King Fit for Heaven
lugal-an-né-ki-ág	King Loved by Heaven
lugal-an <sup>an</sup> anzu <sup>mušen</sup>	The King is an Anzu-Bird <sup>115</sup>
lugal-é-ni-šè	The King to His House
lugal- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-da	The King With Enlil
lugal- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le	The King (was Known) by Enlil
lugal-eridu <sup>ki</sup> -šè	The King to Eridu
lugal-èš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	King of the Good Shrine
lugal-ĝipar <sub>x</sub> (KISAL)-a-gub	The King Serves in the Gipar <sup>116</sup>
lugal-igi-an-na-ke <sub>4</sub> -su	The King Known to the Eye of An
lugal- <sup>d</sup> ištaran	The King is (like) Ištaran

110. For the choice of case, compare lugal-ùĝ-ĝe<sub>26</sub> dumu <sup>d</sup>inana-ur-saĝ from TMH NF 5 1 iii 3 (Sargonic Nippur) with variant lu:gal-ùĝ-e dumu <sup>d</sup>inana-u[r-saĝ] from TMH NF 5 171:3, cited in Westenholtz, *OSP* 1 (1975) 91.

111. In this corpus, ùri(n) 'gate post, standard' also appears in: mu-ni-ùri His Name is a Standard, <sup>d</sup>nanše-ùri Nanše is(?) a Standard, ses-ni-ùri His Brother is a Standard, ur-ùri-maš Dog of the Goat Standard, and ur-ùri-ru-a Dog of the Placed Standard. Lugal-ùri and mu-ni-ùri are both found in Fara.

112. Translation follows Selz, *FAOS* 15/2, 109, to whose references for su<sub>x</sub>(MUŠ) add J. Krecher, *Šulmu* 4 (Poznan, 1993) 194.

113. See Powell, *Or* 43 (1974) 309–402, for ùšur = šē'u, šē'itu 'neighbor, secondary wife'. Compare the female counterpart nin-ùšur-ra-nú The Queen Sleeps Among (Her) Neighbors. Other names in this corpus featuring this term include ùšur-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub>, ùšur-ra-sa<sub>6</sub>, ùšur-ré-du<sub>10</sub>, and en-ùšur-ré.

114. The sense of this full name of the Lagash king remains uncertain. The comitative can also indicate an indirect object with emotive verbs like húl 'to rejoice over' or ní te 'to be afraid of', and so perhaps intended here is a notion such as 'to be pacified, appeased, regarding An'. Selz has translated 'Der König, der sich für An nicht beruhigt', *UGASL* 24 n. 55, 232 n. 1135. Bauer, *OBO* 160/1 (1998) 475, prefers the alternative interpretation of huĝ: 'Ist der König nicht mit An inthronisiert worden?' Note that Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 68 n. 319, now reads lugal-diĝir-da without translating. Compare the short name lugal-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-da in this section.

115. Parallel names include <sup>d</sup>inana/<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝir-su/<sup>d</sup>utu-an<sup>an</sup>anzu<sup>mušen</sup> as well as a-an<sup>an</sup>anzu<sup>mušen</sup> and é-an<sup>an</sup>anzu<sup>mušen</sup>.

116. In this name as well as in ama-KISAL-si, en-KISAL-si, and nin-KISAL-šè either kisal or ĝipar<sub>x</sub>(KISAL) would be possible, depending upon interpretation. See Bauer, *A/O* 36/37 (1989–90) 80.



lugal-itu-da-tu	King Reborn Monthly
lugal-kèš <sup>ki</sup>	King of Keš
lugal-ki-gal-la	King of the Great Place
lugal-lagas <sup>ki</sup>	King of Lagash
lugal-me-gal-gal	King With Many Great Divine Powers
lugal-mu-pà	The King Chosen by Name(?)
lugal- <sup>d</sup> nanše-mu-tu	King Whom Nanše Bore
lugal-pà-da	Chosen King
lugal-ša-pà-da	King Chosen by the Heart
lugal-šùd-dè-ba-gub	The King Stood (Serving) at Prayer <sup>117</sup>
lugal-šùd-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	King of Pleasing Prayers

Names referring to the king as protector of the individual:

lugal-a-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	The King is My Father
lugal-ab-ba-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	The King is My Elder
lugal-diĝir-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	The King is My (Personal) God <sup>118</sup>
lugal-ĝá-ab-e	I (Will) Speak About My King <sup>119</sup>
lugal-ì-kúš	The King Concerned Himself
lugal-éb-ta-ni-è	The King Sent Him Out Here from It
lugal-igi-tab	The King is (My) Blinkers
lugal-lú-ni	The King is His Man
lugal-lú-ti-ti	The King Keeps Persons Alive
lugal-ma-túm	The King Suits Me
lugal-mu-da-kúš	The King Concerned Himself with Me
lugal-mu-šè-ĝál	The King Made It Be to Me(?)
lugal-ni-ĝá-ni	The King Is His Thing
lugal-ra-mu-ĝi <sub>4</sub>	He Responded (or Turned Back) to the King
lugal-ša-lá-tuku	The King Has Pity

#### NAMES HONORING THE CITY GODDESS BA'U

When not used as a writing for later nin<sub>9</sub> 'sister', nin 'lady, queen' as the initial element in personal names seems to refer primarily to the goddess Ba'u, to judge from the nature and exuberance of the sentiments contained in them, although some epithets could as well apply to a different Sumerian goddess. For example, since nin-ĝiskim-ti The Reliable Lady is the name of the queen of Adab, nin there may refer to the patron goddess of that city or the queen herself,

117. The same structure is seen in the name é-di-dè-ba-gub The Temple Stood By the Verdict/Case. Selz (FAOS 15/2, 383) compares such Ur III short names as lugal-di-dè, niĝir-di-dè, and <sup>d</sup>utu-di-dè (Li-met, *L'Anthroponymie*, 224).

118. Compare the corresponding female name pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>-diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub> Papa is My Goddess, referring to Queen Baranamtara, the wife of Lugalanda.

119. For the use of the locative here, see n. 133 concerning parallel nin-ĝá-éb-e with reference to Ba'u. Note that a number of the names in this section in fact have parallel forms referring to Ba'u, for which see the corresponding section below. One should probably draw the conclusion that the king is being invoked as a powerful, god-like protector, although one cannot rule out the possibility that these names refer instead to Ba'u's consort Ningirsu.



and nin-uru<sub>16</sub>-šè-nu-kár-kár She Does Not Permit Insults to the Lady of Calm Waters (f.) must refer to Nanše, who is regularly called nin-uru<sub>16</sub> in royal inscriptions. Some instances of less exalted descriptions might also refer instead to wives of the rulers of Lagaš, for example, nin-é-gal-le-si Queen Who Occupies the Palace or nin-ùšur-ra-nú Queen Sleeping Among Neighbors, with its male counterpart lugal-ùšur-ra-nú, but identifying them with any certainty is usually difficult. In ordinary textual contexts the royal wives are normally referred to either by name, by their rare short titles discussed later, or by the term munus The Woman. Except for the three marked as belonging to males, all the following names are borne by women.

Names referring to the appearance, attributes or qualities of the goddess:

nin-àga-zi	Lady With a True Crown
nin-al-mah	The Lady is Exalted
nin-al-sa <sub>6</sub>	The Lady is Beautiful
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-al-sa <sub>6</sub>	Ba'u is Beautiful <sup>120</sup>
nin-an-da-ġál	The Lady Being There With An
nin-an-né-si	Lady Who Fills the Sky
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-ama-da-rí	Ba'u is the Eternal Mother
nin-ba-ba	Lady Who Does the Allotting
nin-bábbar (m.)	Bright Lady
nin-bára-da-rí	Lady With an Everlasting Throne
nin-bára-ge	Lady Upon the Throne
nin-bur-šu-ma	Lady Matriarch <sup>121</sup>
nin-e-rib-ba-ni-gin <sub>7</sub> -munus-zi	The Lady is a Righteous Woman Like Her Sister-in-law <sup>122</sup>
nin-edén-né	Lady By the Desert
nin-ġaéš	The Lady is a Trader
nin-gal-lam	The Lady is Great
gal-lam	She is Great
nin-ĠÁNA-zi	The Lady is a Fertile Field
nin-ġil <sub>6</sub> -sa	Enduring Lady
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-gin <sub>7</sub> -a-ba-sa <sub>6</sub>	Who is as Beautiful as Ba'u
nin-hé-ġál-sù	Lady Full of (or Who Fills With) Abundance
nin-hi-li-sù	Lady Full of Charm
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-ig-gal	Ba'u is a Big Door
nin-igi-an-na-ke <sub>4</sub> -su	Lady Known By the Eye of An
nin-igi-du	Lady Going at the Fore
nin-inim-zi-da	Lady of Righteous Words
nin-kal-điri	Exceedingly Precious Lady

120. Selz (*UGASL* 98) translates 'Baba erweist Gnade'. In addition to these three instances, the stative prefix al- occurs in five other names: al-sa<sub>6</sub>, al-tuš, diġir-al-sa<sub>6</sub>, lugal-al-sa<sub>6</sub>, šu-ni-al-dugud. Only a few rare examples are to be found in Ur III names, according to Limet (*L'Anthroponymie* 83), replaced by the neutral prefix i- as in nin-i-mah or lugal-i-ša<sub>6</sub>.

121. An epithet of the goddess Nanše in the later Nanše Hymn A 59. This name could therefore refer to Nanše rather than Ba'u.

122. Ba'u, as the wife of Ningirsu, is the sister-in-law of Nanše who is called munus zi in Nanše Hymn A 62/63 and Nanše Hymn C Segment A 17. Ba'u is compared to a munus zi in Gudea Cyl B v 10–11: <sup>d</sup>ba-ú á-mi-ni-šè ġen-na-né, munus zi é-a-ni-šè šu ġá-ġá-dam 'When Ba'u went to her women's quarters, she was like a righteous woman about to take charge of her household'.





nin-kara <sub>6</sub>	The Lady is a Grain Store <sup>123</sup>
nin-kas <sub>4</sub> -íl-íl	The Lady is a Runner and Bearer
nin-lagar	The Lady is a Lagar Priestess
nin-lum-ma-ki-âg	Lady Loved by Lumma
nin-ma-al-ga-sù	Lady Who Fills With Understanding <sup>124</sup>
nin-me-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	Lady of Good Divine Powers
nin-me-sikil-an-na	Lady With the Pure Divine Powers of An
nin-me-zi-da	Lady With Steadfast Divine Powers
nin-nam-tág-nu-tuku	The Lady Has No Sin
nin-nam-mu-šub-e	Does the Lady Not Cast It(?) Forth <sup>125</sup>
nin-nì-hi-li-túm	Lady Fit for Charming Things
nin-pà-da	The Chosen Lady
nin-ra-a-na-gu-lu <sub>5</sub>	What is More Clever Than the Lady
nin-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	Beautiful Lady
nin-si-ġar-ab-ba	The Lady is the Bolt of the Sea
nin-si-sá	Just Lady
nin-šà-sa <sub>6</sub> -sa <sub>6</sub>	The Lady With a Most Beautiful Heart
nin-šer <sub>7</sub> -zi	Brilliant Lady <sup>126</sup>
nin-šu-gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>	Lady Who Requires
nin-ù-ma	Victorious Lady <sup>127</sup>
nin-ul-gùru	Lady Bearing Flower Buds <sup>128</sup>

Ba'u and the palace and temples of Lagaš:

nin-é-gal-le-si	Lady Who Occupies the Palace
nin-é-gi <sub>6</sub> -na/né	Lady In/By Her Dark Temple
nin-é-mùš-šè	The Lady To the Emuš Temple
nin-é-ni-šè-nu-kár-kár	Lady Does Not Permit Insults to Her Temple
nin-é-unu <sup>ki</sup> -ga-nir-ġál	Lady Who is Sovereign in (Her) Uruk Temple <sup>129</sup>
nin-éš-dam-e-ki-âg	Lady Who Loves the Ešdam Shrine
nin-ezem-gal	Lady of the Great Festival <sup>130</sup>

123. See Marchesi, *LUMMA* 111 and n. 569, for this reading of GURU<sub>7</sub> in the meaning 'silo, granary' and references for parallel names such as lum-ma-kara<sub>6</sub> and lugal-kara<sub>6</sub>-gal. In this corpus, note also ur-kara<sub>6</sub>.

124. Compare <sup>d</sup>ba-ú ma-al-ga sù-ge uru-inim-gi-na-ra ki-gub mu-na-pà mu-bi 'Ba'u who fills (with) understanding revealed the (cultic) standing-place to Uruinimgina is its name', Ukg 57, 1–4 (Steible, *FAOS* 5, Teil I [1982] 357).

125. The name occurs again in OSP 1, 23 iv 7, 37, vii 13 (Sargonic Nippur); compare lugal-nam-mu-šub-e in 24 iii 2. Both have variant writings: nin-nam-mu-šub-bé, H. Martin et al., *The Fara Tablets* (Bethesda, 2001) no. 48 i 2, and lugal-nam-mu-šub-bé, NFT p. 263 SR 118 v 3'. If nam-mu- is not a writing for na-mu-, then perhaps a back-formation from, if not the source of, nam-šub 'incantation', in which case, translate The Lady Casts the Fates?

126. See Bauer, *ASJ* 12 (1990) 354, who cites an Adab parallel nin-šer<sub>7</sub>-zi.

127. Compare lugal-ù-ma Victorious King in this corpus.

128. Or Lovable Lady? Compare ul-gùr-ru = *minûtu* 'lovable' OBGT XI v 11 and see Akk. *menû*.

129. For this temple of Ba'u and Ningirsu in Uruk, see Selz, *UGASL* 35 and n. 121, Heimpel, *JCS* 48 (1996) 20, and Sallaberger, *Kultische Kalender* I, 298.

130. Marchesi, *LUMMA* 110, posits a value asila<sub>x</sub> for EZEM in 3rd-millennium texts, suggesting the translation The Lady is Great Joy and comparing lugal-aasila<sub>x</sub>(EZEM) in DP 135 v 13.



nin-ezem-ma-né-ki-ág	Lady Who Loves Her Festival <sup>131</sup>
nin-ġipar <sub>x</sub> (KISAL)-šè	The Lady To the Ġipar
nin-uru-ni-šè-nu-kár-kár	The Lady Does Not Permit Insults to Her City

Names referring to Ba'u as protector of the individual:

nin-a-su	The Lady (is a) Physician <sup>132</sup>
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-ama-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ba'u is My Mother
nin-ama-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lady is My Mother
nin-ama-na	The Lady of Her Mother
nin-bàd-ni-du <sub>10</sub>	The Lady Whose City Wall is Good
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-da-nir-ġál	Trusting in Ba'u
nin-da-nu-me-a	Not Without the Lady
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-diġir-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ba'u is My (Personal) Goddess
nin-e-an-su	The Lady Knew Him
nin-e-ki-ág	Loved By the Lady
nin-ġá-éb-e	I (Will) Speak About My Lady <sup>133</sup>
nin-ġu <sub>10</sub> -da-nu-me-a (m.)	Not Without My Lady
nin-hé-gúr-gúr	May the Lady Watch Over
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-ì-kúš	Ba'u Concerned Herself
nin-ì-kúš	The Lady Concerned Herself
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-ì-su	Ba'u Knew Him/It
nin-igi-ġá-téš-bi	The Lady is the Dignity of My Eye
nin-igi-tab-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lady is My Blinkers
nin-ka-ġá-inim-bi	'Lady' is the Word of My Mouth
nin-lú-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lady is My Person
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-lú-ti	Ba'u Makes a Person Live
nin-lú-ti-ti	The Lady Keeps Persons Alive

131. Certainly meant is the major end-of-year festival and month name called ezem <sup>d</sup>ba-ú, the occasion, depending upon the regnal year, of the 11th or 12th monthly barley ration allotments for the lú it-uda 'monthly persons' or the fourth barley allotments for the lú šuku dab<sub>5</sub>-ba 'persons who take (quarterly) subsistence portions'. See T. Maeda, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 306.

132. If the reference is indeed to Ba'u, this might be an early indication of the later syncretism of Ba'u with the healing goddess Gula explicitly stated, for example, in the 1st-millennium Gula Hymn of *Bulluṣarabi* 139–48, B. Foster, *Before the Muses* (Bethesda, 1993) 497.

133. The use of the locative here is noteworthy. See Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne* (Göttingen, 1993) 247 and 408, for the locative with du<sub>11</sub>/e in the meaning 'to speak (apropos) of something' or rarely 'to speak to or for something'. Compare Fara nin-ġá-ab-e and Sargonic and Ur III nin-ġá-bí-du<sub>11</sub> I Spoke About (To?) My Lady. The latter form and several parallels such as diġir-ġá-bí-du<sub>11</sub>, <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-bí-du<sub>11</sub> and an-na-bí-du<sub>11</sub> were discussed by Limet, *L'Anthroponymie* 86, 87, and nn. 1 and 234. Limet assumed that the locative replaced the dative and translated 'J'ai expliqué à ma Dame (à mon dieu)', etc., and remarked that "Le locatif qui, théoriquement, ne peut affecter que des mots de la classe des choses, se rencontre néanmoins avec des noms de la classe des personnes en néosumérien. . . . On peut s'étonner que nous n'ayons aucun exemple avec le datif dans les anthroponymes." Compare Steinkeller, *FAOS* 17 (1989) 15, who speaks of the "locative-dative -a" which can replace dative -ra in constructions with the verb sa<sub>10</sub> in Ur III sale documents. M.-L. Thomsen notes that "From NS on the locative sometimes replaces the dative"; see *The Sumerian Language* (2nd. ed.; Copenhagen, 1987) 98 for some additional comments.



nin-ma-túm	The Lady Suits Me <sup>134</sup>
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-men-zi-pa <sub>4</sub> -pa <sub>4</sub>	Ba'u is the True Tiara of Papa (Baranamtara)
nin-mu-da-kúš	The Lady Concerned Herself With Me
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-mu-tu	Ba'u Caused Him to Be Born
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-na-na	It Really is Ba'u
nin-nì-ġá-ni	The Lady is Her Thing
nin-nì-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lady is My Thing
nin-nu-nam-šita	The Lady is a Person of Entreaty
nin-ra-mu-ġi <sub>4</sub> (m.)	He Responded (or Returned) to The Lady
nin-saġ-ġe <sub>26</sub> -tuku	Having the Lady at My Head
nin-šà-lá-tuku	The Lady Who Has Pity
nin-šà-su-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lady was My Midwife
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-téš-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ba'u is My Dignity
nin-um-me-da	The Lady is a Nurse
nin-úr-ni	The Lady's Lap (is Pleasing) <sup>135</sup>
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-utu-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ba'u is My Sun
<sup>d</sup> ba-ú-zi-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ba'u is My Life

It is unclear whether Ba'u, as a source of plenty, is meant in the name of the brewery worker nin-nì-u-ġu<sub>10</sub> 'My Lady (or Sister?) With Ten Things!' identified as a literary reference by C. Wilcke apud G. Selz, FAOS 15/2, 234. Compare: ama-ugu-ġu<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-sún-ra, dumu nì-iá nì-u-ni ġe<sub>26</sub>-e-me-en 'For Ninsuna, my birth mother, I am her son with five things, with ten things' (Šulgi Hymn B 112–113); ama-ġu<sub>10</sub> nì-iá-àm ġù hé-em-me, ama-ġu<sub>10</sub> nì-u-àm ġù hé-em-me 'Let my mother (Duttur) call out: Five Things! Let my mother call out: Ten Things!' (Dumuzi's Dream 10–11); ama-ġu<sub>10</sub> nì-iá-mu ġù hé-em-me, ama-ġu<sub>10</sub> nì-u-mu ġù hé-em-me 'Let my mother (Duttur) call out: My Five Things! Let my mother call out: My Ten Things!' (Eršemma 88, 49–50); nin<sub>9</sub> lú nì-iá ma-ra-de<sub>6</sub>-a-ġu<sub>10</sub>, nin<sub>9</sub> lú nì-u ma-ra-de<sub>6</sub>-a-ġu<sub>10</sub> 'My sister to whom I have brought five things, my sister to whom I have brought ten things' (Dumuzi-Inana C 23–24); muss[a nì-iá m]ussa nì-u '(You are) the son-in-law with five things, the son-in-law with ten things' (Dumuzi-Inana G 9). On these passages see Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* (Ramat-Gan, 1998) 84–85 and B. Alster, *Mesopotamia* 1 (Copenhagen, 1972) 85–87. Though he provided only a few possible Ur III illustrations, H. Limet remarked that "L'anthroponymie sumérienne a d'autre part trouvé une source d'inspiration dans la liturgie, les hymnes, les inscriptions royales."<sup>136</sup>

134. This translation assumes that nin is grammatically a subject rather than an unmarked agent; nin-ma-gub The Lady Stands for Me is likewise also grammatically possible. On the other hand, the Ur III parallels nin-ma-a-túm or <sup>d</sup>ba-ú-ma-a-túm) argue for a translation 'The Lady Brought Him to Me' (so Limet, *L'Anthroponymie*, 309). P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique*, 220, provides other illustrations that show that in Ur III orthography ergative "[n] pouvait disparaître avec allongement compensatoire de la voyelle précédente." Compare the parallel name lugal-ma-túm above. For a Sargonic example of nin-ma-túm see W. G. Lambert, "An Old Akkadian List of Sumerian Personal Names," in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs* (ed. E. Leichty et al.; Philadelphia, 1988) 253 line 15.

135. See parallel en-úr-ni below, and compare the popular (seven persons) and very abbreviated name úr-ni in this corpus. OAk and Ur III attest lugal/nin-úr-ra-ni. Limet, *L'Anthroponymie*, 313–14, assumes an archetypal name of the form \*lugal-úr-ra-ni-du<sub>10</sub> and compares Ur III úr-ra-ni-du<sub>10</sub> and úr-ni-du<sub>10</sub>(-ga).

136. *L'Anthroponymie* 91–92.



## NAMES HONORING NINGIRSU THE GOD OF THE NATION

In the Lagaš royal inscriptions, Ningirsu may be referred to as lugal-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ‘my master’, or lugal ki-âĝ-ni ‘his beloved master’, or lugal ba-gára ‘master of the Bagara temple’, for example, but he is relatively rarely called directly lugal ‘king’. Several exceptions are Gudea Cyl A x 13: <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝír-su lugal išib an-na ‘Ningirsu, king, lustration priest of An’, lugal a-ma-ru <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá ‘king, flood of Enlil’, or lugal u<sub>4</sub> ĝù-di <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá ‘king, noisy storm of Enlil’. Instead, in the royal inscriptions, Ningirsu is normally called en ‘lord’. See the several early Lagaš examples cited in Behrens and Steible, FAOS 6 (1983) 110, and compare later Gudea Cyl A i 2, i 18, vii 1, etc. Similarly, in our administrative texts, most of the personal names beginning with the term en appear to be invoking the god Ningirsu.<sup>137</sup> The epithets employed in them seem more austere than those seen in names invoking his consort the goddess Ba’u or the earthly king, as perhaps befits a more distant high god of the city and the nation. Note that there are substantially fewer names attested beginning with the god’s name or the term en in comparison with the names invoking the king or Ba’u listed in the previous two sections, and while the common name-type ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝír-su ranks high in the list of most popular Lagaš personal names, it was a bit less popular than ur-<sup>d</sup>ba-ú.

Names referring to Ningirsu’s attributes, qualities, or relationships to other gods:

en-absu-a-túm	Lord Fit for the Apsu
en-absu-si	Lord Who Occupies the Apsu
en-an-na-túm	Lord Fit for Heaven
en-an-né	The Lord by An
<sup>d</sup> nin-ĝír-su-(an)ánzu <sup>mušen</sup>	Ningirsu (is) the Anzu
en-dalla	Manifest Lord
en-é-nu[n-né]-si	Lord Who Occupies the Princely Temple <sup>138</sup>
en-eden-né	Lord by the Desert
en- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-le	The Lord by Enlil
en-èn-tar-zi	The Righteous Inquiring Lord
en-ĝi <sub>16</sub> -sa	Enduring Lord
en-ĝišgal-a-túm	Lord Fit for the Pedestal
en-ĝù-ra-a-né	Lord at Whose Roar
en-hi-li-nu-til	The Lord With Endless Charm

137. There are very few possible references to en as a religious title in the é-mí archive and none to the en of a particular deity. If the lugal-šùd-du<sub>10</sub>-ga, en, of VS 14, 65 ii 8–9, RTC 27 iii 4–5, MAH 15856 iv 2–3 (*Genava* 26 [1948] 57–59), and DP 519 iii 3–4, is indeed an en rather than the son or employee of an en, with Selz *UGASL* 35 n. 119 contra J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (Studia Pohl 9; Rome, 1972) 508, then he has a dual occupation, since there, as in other attestations, he is also a sipa ‘shepherd’. Otherwise, leaving aside the field designation nì-en-na, the term occurs only in the unusual title en kalam-ma of DP 92 v 5 (Enz 4), with which compare the AbS profession [e]n kal[am] of OIP 99, 63:15; in the term é en-na ‘house of the en’ which is a recipient of offerings in DP 54 viii 4, VS 74 vii 6; and probably also in DP 82 v 2–3, where an unnamed ĝudu<sub>4</sub> priest seems to receive an offering sheep for the é en.

138. The reading é-nun in this hapax name seems preferable to the uncertain term agrun, which refers to the shrine of Ningal in Ur. The moon-god Nanna-Suen and his consort Ningal were apparently not venerated in Presargonic Lagash-Girsu; neither Nanna nor Ningal is attested, and references to Suen are rare. See Selz, *UGASL* 274–75. P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 1; Winona Lake, 1989) 105–6, reads the name of the Ur shrine more cautiously as É.NUN. é-nun occurs again in this corpus in the short name é-nun-né borne by a female weaver and an igi-du<sub>8</sub> ‘seer’. En-é-nun-né-si and é-nun-né are of course very similar, and the former might well be the full name underlying the latter, though no prosopographic link between them can be demonstrated.



<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-ig-gal	Ninġirsu is a Big Door
en-ig-gal	The Lord is a Big Door
<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-igi-du	Ninġirsu Goes at the Fore
en-ki-šár-ra	Lord of the Entire Earth
en-ġipar <sub>x</sub> (KISAL)-si	Lord Who Occupies the Gipar
en-kù-a-rá-nú	Holy Lord Who Sleeps Upon the Way(?)
en-kur-ra-a-rá-nú	Lord of the Mountains Who Sleeps Upon the Way(?) <sup>139</sup>
<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-men-zi	Ninġirsu With the Righteous Diadem
en-mussa-zi	Lord Righteous Son-in-Law <sup>140</sup>
en-mu-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	Lord With a Pleasing Name
en- <sup>d</sup> nanše-ki-âġ	Lord Loved by Nanše
en-še-ku <sub>4</sub>	Lord Who Brings In the Barley
en-šu-dadag (var. sikil)	Lord With Pure Hands
en-šu-ġi <sub>4</sub> -ġi <sub>4</sub>	Lord Who Requires
en-mete-na	Lord in His Own Right <sup>141</sup>
en-šul-túkur	The Lord is an Important Youth
en-u <sub>4</sub> -da-na	Lord In His Storm
en-zi(-da)	Righteous Lord

Names referring to Ninġirsu as protector of the individual:

<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-bàd-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ninġirsu is My City Wall
di-en-né-mu-ku <sub>5</sub>	The Verdict was Rendered by the Lord
en-da-gal-di	Excels With (Thanks to) the Lord
en-da-nir-ġál	Trusting in the Lord
en-diġir-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lord is My (Personal) God
en-ġiri-na-si	The Lord Places at His Feet
en-ku-li	The Lord is Friend
<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-lú-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ninġirsu is My Person
en-né-a-na-ak	What Was Accomplished By the Lord
en-né-mu-na-âġ	The Lord Measured It Out to Him <sup>142</sup>
en-ra-gub	Serving Before the Lord
en-šà-kúš	Lord Who Soothes the Heart

139. The meaning of a-rá here remains uncertain. Other names featuring this syntagm include: a-rá-nú He Who Sleeps Upon the Way, ama-bi-a-rá-nú That Mother Who Sleeps Upon the Way, bára-a-rá-nú Ruler Who Sleeps Upon the Way, eden-ba-a-rá-nú He Who Sleeps Upon the Way in That Desert, lugal-a-rá-nú King Who Sleeps Upon the Way, and mes-a-rá-nú Vigorous Youth Who Sleeps Upon the Way. Compare the also uncertain nin-a-rá-ti Lady Living Upon the Way, saġ-a-rá-ba-šúm He Hurried Out to the Way, and šà-ge-a-rá-bi-du<sub>11</sub> The Heart Spoke Regarding the Way. The term is generally read a-DU without translation; see Bauer, *Afo* 36–37 (1989–90) 80, who cites Krecher, *ZA* 63 (1973) 198–99, also Pomponio, *SEL* 9 (1990) 141 n. 1, and Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique*, 371. A literal or figurative meaning of the Akk. equivalent *alaktu* ‘road, way, course; behavior, customary ways’ (*CAD*) seems most likely.

140. The sky-god An was Ba’u’s father and thus Ninġirsu’s father-in-law. See Selz, *UGASL*, 102 and n. 369.

141. Compare lum-ma-en-mete-na and see Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 83, for other contexts in which this epithet occurs.

142. Limet, *L’Anthroponymie* 81, argues that âġ in Ur III lugal/nin-ġu<sub>10</sub>-ma-âġ is an abbreviation for ki-âġ. In this corpus, compare nin-ma-da-âġ, nin-ġu<sub>10</sub>-ma-da-âġ, and dug-ru-ma-da-âġ, where a presumed ablative *-\*ta-* would seem to exclude an abbreviated *-ki-âġ*.





en-úr-ni	The Lord's Lap (is Pleasant)
en-ùšur-ré	The Lord (Good) to Neighbors (compare ùšur-ré-du <sub>10</sub> )
<sup>d</sup> nin-ġír-su-téš-ġu <sub>10</sub>	Ninġirsu is My Dignity
en-utu-ġu <sub>10</sub>	The Lord is My Sun

### REDUPLICATED NAMES

For general remarks on reduplicated names, see Limet, *L'Anthroponymie*, 99–106, B. Foster, *Or* 51 (1982) 302–303, and Edzard, *RIA* 9.1–2 (1998) 96 §3.2. Forms of the types AA and ABB can be found in this corpus. Examples of the first type may include: da-da, du-du, dun-dun, dur-dur, me-me (f.), na-na (f.), pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub> (f.), Ú-Ú, um-um, ur-ur, ze-ze. Two possible examples of type ABB are: ad-da-da and ag-ga-ga.

Baranamtara, the wife of Lugalanda, possessed a short name or title pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub> (var. pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup> in TSA 10 vii 11), and 13 women had pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub> as a component of their names.<sup>143</sup> Likewise, Sasa, the wife of Uruinimgina the succeeding king, may have been referred to as me-me, based on DP 70 rev. ii 1 and parallel references to the ġanun pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub> and ġanun me-me in DP 503 i 4 and ii 3. Their predecessor Dimtur, the wife of Enentarzi, likewise had a name or title NI-a-a which appears in the name NI-a-a-ama-da-rí Nġa'a is the Eternal Mother, used by three different men, and in the female name NI-a-a-ama-ġu<sub>10</sub> Nġa'a is My Mother.<sup>144</sup> All three of these short names defy confident translation.

### NON-SUMERIAN NAMES

As J. Bauer has remarked: “Die Suche nach elamischen PN in den as. Urkunden aus Girsu ist enttäuschend.” In addition to the names he has suggested,<sup>145</sup> namely ha-ne and mi-DU from Nik I 11 and bu-da-ši-ir, ka-ka-rí-tah, lú-ta-li, LAK 497-na-gir and PI-en-x from Nik I 310, other names identified in texts by the term elam that are at least possibly neither Sumerian nor Semitic include ab-ba, al-la, ha-ba-ra-du-ne, KA-za, KUM-tuš-šè and ra-bí. Further, DP 339 lists igi-nu-du<sub>8</sub> ‘blind’ agricultural workers described as dumu uru-az<sup>ki</sup>-ka-me ‘citizens of Bear City’, a town thought to be Elamite, thus possibly blinded Elamite prisoners of war. Names in that text that are not necessarily either Sumerian or Semitic include: ab-um-BALAG, BU-su-e, gal-BALAG, KAM-ba-e, ku-ku, and PUZUR<sub>4</sub>-ma-DÛL. The “banana” name zi-li-li (with a short name variant zi-li) may also be Elamite, according to R. Zadok, *SEL* 8 (1990) 232.

See Selz *UGASL* 294 n. 17 for a list of ca. 33 likely Semitic names found in this corpus, to which might be added: HAR-TU,<sup>146</sup> da-du-lu<sub>5</sub>, EN-kí-num, ìl-su<sub>13</sub>-ibni(DÛ),<sup>147</sup> im-ni,<sup>148</sup> im-ni-i, la-la,

143. For the possible meaning of this term and a complete listing of these names, see Selz, *UGASL* 272–73. See also Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 68 n. 319, who reads the queen's name as Paranamtarra, for further discussion and references.

144. See discussion by Selz, *UGASL*, 212

145. *Afo* 36/37 (1989–90) 82.

146. Generally read àr-dú but as a personal name at least, Krebern timer (OBO 161/1 [1998] 263 n. 267) suggests: “vielleicht war<sub>x</sub>-tu zu lesen und als Lehnwort aus akk. zu erklären,” noting that a value /war/ for HAR exists at Ebla.

147. Reading uncertain, one of the the female(!) saġ sa<sub>10</sub>-a ‘purchased slaves’ serving as weavers in HSS 3, 23 viii 8.

148. Perhaps from Akk. menû ‘to love, become fond of’ (*CAD*). Compare Ur III Im-ni-<sup>d</sup>Adad, Adad Be-came Fond (of Me), Ma-ni-<sup>d</sup>Adad Loved By Adad, etc., I. Gelb, *MAD* 3 (1957) 179.



LUGAL-*bí-nu-um*, *su*<sub>4</sub>-SAR, ŠUL-*bí-nu-um*, and *zi-la-la*. Note that the *a-lum-dan* of DP 116 v 17 is the same person as the *ì-lum-dan* of DP 117 v 12 and five other parallel ration texts. That the *a-lum-BA* of DP 116 v 1 and four other texts and *lum-BA* of DP 117 v 5 and Nik I 20 v 6 are likewise the same person also presents a problem.<sup>149</sup>

#### NAME CHANGES

Thanks to the carefully detailed nature of various series of monthly ration-lists and other accounts in which the work-lives of individuals can be followed over a number of years, it can be shown approximately when—though rarely why—a few persons made certain generally minor changes to their names. The dating of the attestations of each pair of names in the following examples is by regnal year and monthly ration period where pertinent.

While the prosopographic link is not completely secure, it is likely that the female servant known as <sup>d</sup>ba-ú-al-sa<sub>6</sub> Ba'u is Beautiful in Ukg 1–2 (DP 133 iv 8) became the virtually synonymous nin-al-sa<sub>6</sub> The Lady is Beautiful by Ukg 2/8 (DP 113 viii 13) and remained so through Ukg 6/12. En-šu-dadag Lord With Clean Hands from Enz 2 to early Lug 1 (DP 615 iii 4) became en-šu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> The Lord is One Who Requites sometime in Lug 1 (DP 657 i 2), possibly celebrating his having newly become chief oil maker (ka-šakan) at the beginning of Lugalanda's reign. This second name was used at least until Lug 4 (VS 14, 173 i 5), alongside the short name en-šu as late as Lug 6, though apparently this person was also once mistakenly called en-šu-sikil Lord With Pure Hands in Lug 2 (DP 622 iii 2). The worker known as géme-<sup>d</sup>lamma in Ukg 4 (Nik I 15 i 2) used the variant form of the name gan-<sup>d</sup>lamma from Ukg 5/3 through Ukg 6/9 (VS 25, 69 i 9). The potter known as KASKAL.LA.NI from Ukg 2 through Ukg 4/6 (Nik I 2 xiii 13) became KASKAL.GA.NI in Ukg 4/7 (TSA 15 xiv 20) and thereafter. The fisherman known as lugal-ka-gi-na King of the True Mouth from Ukg 3 to Ukg 4 (HSS 3, 28 v 1) adopted the more flattering name lugal-ka-ge-du<sub>10</sub><sup>150</sup> (The Word) 'King' is Sweet to the Mouth sometime in Ukg 4 (TSA 47 ii 4). The surveyor of Ningirsu called lugal-šà-lá-tuku The King Has Mercy from Lug 2 to Lug 5 (DP 59 ix 13) became lugal-šà-sù in Lug 6 (RTC 44 v 6), a name of perhaps calculated ambiguity: The King with a Far-Reaching Heart (sud), or The King Fills the Belly (sug<sub>4</sub>), or even The King is Emptiness/Hunger (šà-sug<sub>4</sub>). It is almost certain that the net-casting sea-fisherman lugal-tigi<sub>x</sub>-ni-du<sub>10</sub> The King Whose Praise Hymns are Sweet of Enz 2 (DP 283 iv 3) became lugal-tigi<sub>x</sub>-mete King With Fitting Praise Hymns by Lug 2 (DP 278 iv 2), with a short name lugal-tigi<sub>x</sub> attested once in Lug 1 (DP 191 ix 2). A subtle play on words possibly reflecting a change in work status might be seen in case of the female barber of the household of prince A'eneki'aĝ, who was known as nin-igi-ĝá-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> The Lady (Mistress?) In Front of Me is My Dignity through Ukg 3/5 (HSS 3, 26 ix 8), but became nin-igi-ĝá-téš-bi The Lady (Ba'u) is the Dignity of My Eye by Ukg 3/9 (FAOS 15/2 No. 124 viii 12). The female brewery worker nin-mu-da-kúš The Lady Concerned Herself With Me of Ukg 1 (DCS 4 r. v 4', HSS 20 r. i 7) became nin-uru-da-kúš The Lady Concerns Herself With the City by Ukg 2/9 (HSS 3, 21 xi 18). Since no difference whatsoever in her employment

149. Marchesi (*LUMMA* 88–89) interprets this name as <sup>a</sup>lum-yiqiš 'The City Has Donated(?)', comparing *ì-lum-BA* in OSP 1, 23 xiv 3. See Bauer in *RIA* 7.3–4 (1988) 168–69 s.v. "LUM-ma" §1.1 and 1.4 who compares the An:Anum synonym list alternation <sup>d</sup>lum-ba : ma from CT 25, 28 b 3.

150. A double adjective can not be ruled out entirely, lugal-ka-gi-du<sub>10</sub> King With a Good True Mouth, but compare mu-ka-ge-du<sub>10</sub> Name Sweet to the Mouth in Nik I 38 iii 4. For the reading ka-ge rather than the grammatically unsupported earlier reading du<sub>11</sub>-ge in these names or in Ur III names such as mu/lugal/nin-ka-ge-du<sub>7</sub>, see Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique*, 371.



is recorded between the two dates, perhaps the change reflected some unhappiness in her personal life. The female porter known as *nin-ses-da* The Sister ( . . . ) With the Brother from Lug 6 through Ukg 3/6 (CT 50, 36 iv 17) became *nin-ses-ra-ki-âg* The Sister Loves the Brother in Ukg 3/10 (HSS 3, 17 iv 18). The chief plowman known as *ses-lú-du<sub>10</sub>* The Brother is a Good Person from Ukg 3 through Ukg 4/4 (Nik I 16 v 4) became *a-lú-du<sub>10</sub>* The Father is a Good Person by Ukg 4/7 (DP 116 vi 2), perhaps indicating either the birth of a brother's child or some friction between two brothers. If two separate princes are not involved, the son of Uruinimgina known as *a-en-ra-mu-gi<sub>4</sub>* from Ukg 2 to Ukg 3/5 became *a-en-né-ki-âg* from Ukg 3/9 to Ukg 6. The situation is complicated by the appearance of another prince's name *a-en-ra-gub* in Ukg 2–3, which Selz has suggested may a Nebenform of *a-en-ra-mu-gi<sub>4</sub>*.<sup>151</sup>

Finally, four women had *pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>*, a short, possibly caritative name or title of Lugalanda's queen Baranamtara (or Paranamtara), as the initial element of their names in the last year of that king's reign through the first (*énsi*) year of his successor Uruinimgina. They then removed *pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>* from their names in view of the arrival of the new queen Sasa. *Pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>-diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub>* Papa is My Goddess became *<sup>d</sup>ba-ú-diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub>* Ba'ú is My Goddess, *pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>ba-ú-mu-tu* Ba'ú Caused Papa To Be Born became just *<sup>d</sup>ba-ú-mu-tu* Ba'ú Caused Her To Be Born, *pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>-dinana-da-gal-di* Papa Excels With (Thanks to) Inana became just *<sup>d</sup>inana-da-gal-di* She Excels With Inana, and the *pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>-ama-da-rí* Papa is the Eternal Mother of Lug 6/9 through Ukg e 1 went a step further and in Ukg e 1/5 became *NI-a-a-ama-da-rí*, replacing the title *pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub>* of the old queen with the short name or title of the new queen Sasa.

#### GRAMMATICAL VARIANTS

Several kinds of grammatical variation are seen in these texts, doubtless attributable in large part to orthographic practice. Among the simplest is presence or absence of the nominalizing suffix *-a* on adjectives or participles. Attested variants of the same person's name include: *a-gúb(-ba)-ni-du<sub>10</sub>*, *diĝir-kal(-ga)*, *kù-ge-pà(-da)*, *lú-nì-bàra(-ga)*, *lugal-šùd-du<sub>10</sub>(-ga)*, *nin-inim-zi(-da)*, *nin-me-zi(-da)*, *nin-pà(-da)*, and *saĝ-háb(-ba)*.

Genitive *-ak* is typically, though not always, omitted on alone-standing names.<sup>152</sup> Names with at least one variant that shows the genitive include: *amar-ĝírid<sup>ki</sup>(-da)*, *amar-<sup>d</sup>nám-nun(-na)*, *amar-NI-lam(-ma)*, *gan-ki-kù(-ga)*, *inim-<sup>d</sup>en-líl(-lá)-an-dab<sub>5</sub>*, *ur-har(-ra)*, *ur-i<sub>7</sub>(-da)*, *ur-<sup>d</sup>kù-<sup>sù</sup>sug<sub>x</sub>(PA.SIKIL)(-ga)*, *ur-<sup>d</sup>nám-nun(-na)*, *ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-dar(-a)*, *ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>(-ra)*, *ur-sila-sír-sír(-ra)*. Conversely, contrast the writing *ur-<sup>d</sup>šer<sub>7</sub>* twice in DP 614 i 3/ii 3 (Enz 3) with the 98 later instances of the plene writing of the name of the foreman *ur-<sup>d</sup>šer<sub>7</sub>-da* Dog of the Dawn Goddess in texts from Lug and Ukg.<sup>153</sup>

The postposition *-e* is slightly more often present than absent in name variants such as: *ambar(-ré)-si*, *ĝišgal(-le)-si*, *lugal-sur<sub>x</sub>(ERIM)(-ré)-ki-âg*, *lugal-šùd(-dè)*, *me-kisal(-le)*, *nam-nin(-e)-an-na-gúr-gúr*, *nin-éš-dam(-me)-ki-âg*, *sipa-lagas<sup>ki</sup>(-e)-ki-âg*, *tir-kù(-ge)-si*.

151. FAOS 15/2 (1993) 712.

152. Edzard observes: "Die für das Sumerische im Prinzip verbindlichen morpho-syntaktischen Regeln werden im PN teilweise außer Kraft gesetzt. Betroffen sind hier vor allem die Genitivzusammensetzungen, bei denen die Anzahl der Genitivmorpheme (-ak-) gegenüber der Norm reduziert sein kann. . . . Diese Erscheinung ist so häufig, daß man sie kaum nur der Nachlässigkeit einzelner Schreiber anlasten darf" (*RIA* 9.1–2:96 [1998]).

153. See Powell, "Aia ≈ Eos" in *Dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (ed. H. Behrens et al.; Philadelphia, 1989) 448 n. 6, on the short form of the divine name, a loan /šerd/ from Akk. *šertu* 'morning'. Šerd(a) was the consort of Utu the sun god.





Locative -a is absent in two out of seven writings of the name of the orchardman lugal-ùšur(-ra)-nú.

Four names that usually feature non-finite participles each have single variants made finite with a prefix ì: uru-inim-gi-na-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le(-ì)-su, uru-inim-gi-na-<sup>d</sup>nanše(-ì)-su, uru-inim-gi-na-<sup>d</sup>nin-ġír-su-ke<sub>4</sub>(-ì)-su, and šul-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le(-ì)-su. The first three persons always occur together and are doubtless related. The difference in meaning ì- conveys is minimal but not completely insignificant, approximately: ‘Uruinimgina Was (Once) Known by DN’ vs. ‘Uruinimgina Whom DN Knows’.<sup>154</sup>

One name shows a variant that explicitly marks an object with infixed -b- in a finite imperfective verb: a-ba-sá-i-bé Who is (His) Equal I(?) Say<sup>155</sup> (DP 195 iv’ 1’) for a-ba-sá-i-e (2 instances). One name shows a variant of the comitative infix: a-ba-mu-dì-ni-e Who Speaks With Me About Him(?) (VS 25, 89 iv 7) for a-ba-mu-da-ni-e (4 instances).

#### ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIANTS

Syllabically written variants include: a-gi<sub>16</sub>-sa (HSS 3, 21 xi 5) for ’à-gi<sub>16</sub>-sa, a-ša<sub>4</sub>-né for aš<sub>10</sub>-a-né (and aš<sub>10</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub>-né), lugal-mè-tur-šè-nu-šeg<sub>12</sub>(SIG<sub>4</sub>)-ge (4 instances) for lugal-mè-tur-šè-nu-še-ge (1 instance),<sup>156</sup> ur-é-muš for ur-é-mùš, and ze-na for ze<sub>x</sub>(ÁB.ŠÀ.GE)-na.<sup>157</sup> A *gunû* variation is seen in šeg<sub>12</sub>-ġá-na-gi (CT 50, 33 vii 10, DP 112 ix 9, TSA 10 viii 7) for šeg<sub>12</sub>-ġá-na-gi<sub>4</sub>. A *šeššig* by-form da<sub>x</sub>(Á)-na appears instead of da-na in Nik I 6 iii 13 (clear in photo). Signs whose writing is in flux include variants pú and pu<sub>6</sub> in pú-saġ and ur-pú-saġ; pù and pu<sub>11</sub>(Ú) in pù-za; tílla and tillax(NAB) in gan-tílla, géme-tílla and tílla-ig-gal; the variants of NAR (see RSP 468, 468*bis* and 468*ter*); the variants of the URI/kínda complex of signs (see RSP 379, 380 and 380*bis*); and ušur<sub>4</sub> for ùšur in, for example, DP 112 x 4 or DCS 3 rev. ii 4, as well as the variant intermediate between the two seen, for example, in DP 129 rev. ii 7. Other alternate writings include: anachronistic lugal-id<sub>5</sub>(A)-mah for lugal-i<sub>7</sub>-mah in DP 136 iv 5 and um-mi for um-me in DP 160 ii 8. The significance of su<sub>x</sub>(MUŠ) in the names lugal-uš-su<sub>x</sub> and nin-uš-su<sub>x</sub> remains elusive.<sup>158</sup>

Non-significant gemination of consonants in the same person’s name is seen in: e-ba-an-ni for e-ba-ni, lugal-ġá-ab-bé for lugal-ġá-ab-e, mu-na-tam-me for mu-na-tam-e, and nin-éš-dam-me-ki-áġ and nin-éš-dam-me-e-ki-áġ for nin-éš-dam-e-ki-áġ. Loss of /n/ is seen in en-e-tar-zi for en-èn-tar-zi the king in DP 39 ii 4 and the letter FAOS 19, asGir 1 i 4 (*CIRPL* p. 46). Compare absence of copular /m/ in ġá-ka-na-hé-ti (CT 50, 33 x 9 and DP 230 obv. vi’ 3) for ġá-ka-nam-hé-ti (DP 112 viii 20 and seven other instances).

154. Compare B. Foster’s contrast between Sargonic names of the type DN-šag<sub>5</sub> vs. DN-ì-šag<sub>5</sub>: “it is hard to see a difference in meaning, unless ì-šag<sub>5</sub> refers to a specific good deed (birth of a child) whereas šag<sub>5</sub> is a general qualification” (*JAOS* 115 [1995] 538).

155. B. Jagersma, *AfO* 42/43 (1995–96) 223, reads a-ba-di-i-e/bé and translates “Who will pronounce judgement?”

156. Selz finds in this alternation of še and SIG<sub>4</sub> instead an example of “alte Übergänge š > s” as in the writing lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-sa of DP 43 i 11; see “Nissaba(k), ‘Die Herrin der Getreidezuteilungen’” in *Dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a*, 492 n. 6.

157. On the other hand, a reading mí-sàġ-nu-di for me-sàġ-nu-di in DP 135 i 11 which, according to Krebernik, *AOAT* 296 (2002) 14 n. 43, proves the existence of a Presargonic sign value mí, is slightly suspect and needs collating.

158. See Bauer, *ZA* 79 (1989) 9.



Determinatives other than those for deities (<sup>d</sup>DN) and places (GN<sup>ki</sup>) are rare in personal names, and even then they are often omitted: for example, en-ki-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> or ur-igi-ama-šè. Two names feature a wood determinative: ĝi<sup>š</sup>ban Bow and ĝi<sup>š</sup>ti-absu Arrow of the Apsu. A phonetic complement a is seen once on pa<sub>4</sub>-pa<sub>4</sub><sup>a</sup>-diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in TSA 10 vii 11 and also possibly on lugal-<sup>a</sup>asilal<sub>x</sub>(EZEM) in DP 135 v 13 (so Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 110). An apparent phonetic complement gal precedes the name ĝišgal-si in MAH 15855 iv 3 (*Genava* 26, 67 No. 1); all other attestations omit it. Since a reading <sup>gal</sup>gàl-si seems unlikely, the complement either refers to the second syllable of ĝišgal or is an unerased error anticipating the gal-ùĝ in the next line. Compare é.<sup>me</sup>mete, either a unique variant (VS 14, 183 iii 2) of the well-attested name é-mete, or more likely an unerased lapsus calami.

### SIGNIFICANT ERRORS

Producing often quite lengthy and detailed personnel lists must have been exacting work, and it is natural that some scribal errors more significant than the usual sorts of careless mistakes can be found among these names. An apparent grammatical error is nam-uru-ni-šè (1 instance) instead of nam-uru-na-šè (15 instances). Near-synonym replacements include ur-<sup>d</sup>ba-ú for lú-<sup>d</sup>ba-ú in DP 115 i 12<sup>159</sup> and perhaps ur-bára-ru-a for ur-bára-si-ga in TSA 47 i 2. A personal pronoun was incorrectly added in nin-uru<sub>16</sub>-ni-šè-nu-kár-kár for nin-uru<sub>16</sub>-šè-nu-kár-kár in Nik I 2 xi 5 and repeatedly in nin-uru-ni-šè-nu-kár-kár for nin-uru-šè-nu-kár-kár in DP 113 iv 1, DP 114 iv 1 and iv 10.<sup>160</sup> A personal pronoun was deleted in nin-ma-da-ág in Nik I 45 i 4, which is an error for nin-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ma-da-ág. More serious lapses are en-ku<sub>4</sub> for en-kù the porter in VS 25, 71 v 4, géme-é-dam for géme-é-zi-da in VS 25, 69 iii 10, lú-éš-gíd for lú-gíd in DP 171 ii 8, lugal-an-da-nu-me-a for lugal-da-nu-me-a in VS 27, 4 iii 1, nam-šita-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-bí-di for nam-šita-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-bí-du<sub>11</sub> in HSS 3, 15 vii 15, niĝir-èš-ma-túm for niĝir-èš-a-túm in DP 177 iv 6, nin-bi-a-rá-nú for ama-bi-a-rá-nú in TSA 10 i 10, sig<sub>4</sub>-bé-gi<sub>4</sub> for sig<sub>4</sub>-ki-bé-gi<sub>4</sub> in DP 59 ii 2, ses-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> for dam-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in Nik 1, xv 11, and ùšur-ra-nú for ùšur-ra-sa<sub>6</sub> in VS 25, 14 rev. ii 3. A minor lapse was saĝĝa(SANGA)-ĝá-tuku-a for saĝ-ĝá-tuku-a in RTC 68 ii 5.

The names saĝ-ĝá-tuku-a Taken By/At My Head and saĝ-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ab-tuku I was Taken By/At My Head were virtually synonymous and easily confused.<sup>161</sup> The very frequently attested head plowman saĝ-ĝá-tuku-a was twice called saĝ-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ab-tuku (HSS 3, 8 v 9 and 11 v 7) and once called saĝ-ĝá-ab-tuku (RTC 74 v 2), while the barber saĝ-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ab-tuku was once called saĝ-ĝá-tuku-a (HSS 3, 26 v 12).

Standard epithets were often confused. The donkey-team shepherd lugal-diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub> of DP 119 i 8 (Ukg 2/4) or HSS 3, 26 (Ukg 3/5) was twice called lugal-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in the successive ration lists BIN 8, 359 i 12 (Ukg 2/10) and HSS 3, 25 i 12 (Ukg 2/11)—probably a harried scribe merely

159. Such a juxtaposition of ur-DN and lú-DN names led Limet to prefer the translation “homme” for ur in this context (*L'Anthroponymie* 65).

160. Uru (iri) and uru<sub>16</sub> certainly look like graphic variants in the same basic name, but the spellings are kept carefully distinct for the two pairs of women who bear these two names. Compare Nik I 2 iii 15 and iv 7 versus xi 5.

161. According to Selz (FAOS 15/2, 205): “Beides scheinen nur Spielformen ein und desselben Namens zu sein.” The name may be the expression of a religious sentiment. Compare the OB Uruk Lament H 36–37: ‘lamma ĝá-la nu-dag-ge saĝ-ĝá-na-tuku-bí-íb, nam-tar-ra-né inim?-zi du<sub>11</sub>-ga-a-ba ‘O ceaseless guardian angel, take that one by his head, say a good word for his fate!’ Any connection with saĝ-tuku = *ašarēdu* ‘foremost’ seems grammatically impossible.



copying a previous error, since the correct name reappears again in later parallel lists. The female servant of queen Dimtur <sup>d</sup>ba-ú-ama-ĝu<sub>10</sub> of DP 110 v 4 and DP 176 rev. i 2 is called <sup>d</sup>ba-ú-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in DP 111 iii 7. The cupbearer <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝír-su-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> of DP 115 vii 10 or HSS 3, 18 v 11 is called <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝír-su-lú-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in DP 114 vii 14, and the female porter nin-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> of MVN 3, v 8 is called nin-diĝir-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in DP 228 iv 9. The female wool-worker known as dam-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in Ukg 4 (Nik I 6 iv 19 and BIN 08, 344 iv 17) became nin-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in Ukg 5 (TSA 12 iv 17 and HSS 3, 22 iv 17), only to re-emerge as dam-téš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> in Ukg 6 (VS 25, 69 iv 8 and HSS 23 i 7). While a temporary name-change cannot be ruled out, especially since nin ‘lady’ and dam ‘spouse’ both probably invoke the goddess Ba’u, a scribal copy error is possible.

Finally, the shepherd lugal-mè-tur-šè-nu-še/šeg<sub>12</sub>-ge of, for example, VAT 4459 ii 3 (*Or SP* 20, 28) had a short name written lugal-me which can be seen in RTC 27 ii 2. The scribe writing MAH 15856 (*Genava* 26, 70 No. 7) created an erroneous full name lugal-me-gal-gal for this person in ii 5, probably based on prior knowledge only of the short name. VAT 4459 and MAH 15856 are similar in structure and content and all three texts probably date to Lug 4. The same cause may lie behind a similar error in BIN 8, 381 iii 2, where the donkey shepherd šul-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le-su of DP 114 xiii 13 is called šul-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le-ki-áĝ, the name of a lú-é-šà-ga ‘man of the inner chamber’ who is more often known by his short name šul-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le as in the same text DP 114 viii 8.

Another dozen such errors could be adduced, but the above are representative of the types encountered among the personal names in this corpus.





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*Offprint from:*

Wolfgang Heimpel and Gabriella Frantz-Szabó, eds.,  
*Strings and Threads: A Celebration of the Work of Anne Draffkorn Kilmer*  
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