OLD BABYLONIAN PERSONAL NAMES

Marten Stol

Any serious study of Babylonian and Assyrian personal names has to begin with the standardwork written by J.J. Stamm in 1939, *Die akkadische Namengebung*. Due to the political situation in Nazi Germany, he had to be silent on the role of his teacher, B. Landsberger, during his work[1]. The superficial reviews of this excellent book did not add anything; Stamm himself gave a summary in a Swiss theological journal[2], and only when the book was reprinted in 1968 did Schuster write a short review, praising the book for its merits and adding a useful general bibliography of later studies on names in the Ancient Near East. Stamm's classification of the names, although sometimes a bit too formalistic and involved, has never been contested; his distinction between «A» (primarily for boys) and «B» names looks enlightening; his discovery of the large group «Ersatznamen» was excellent. Indeed, nomenclature in the Babylonian world offers a variation unparalleled among other Semitic peoples. In later publications he stressed that he had been correct in stating that the newborn child is the speaker in a number of «B» names[3]. M.H. Silverman used the types suggested by Stamm and M. Noth, with some modifications, in his book on Jewish names at Elephantine (1985). Stamm made remarkably few mistakes. He did not discuss the names composed with river names like *Purattum, Idiglat, Araḫtum, Silakkum, Irnina, Ṭaban*, clearly an oversight[4]. The rivers are often named «my mother» (*Silakkum-ummī* in YOS 13), but Ṭaban, a canal east of the Tigris, is a «father» in the name *Ṭaban-abum* (YOS 14).

Not many important studies have been published since 1939; the few that have been are listed below in the bibliography. The most enlightening article is certainly that written by D.O. Edzard (1962), relating names of men and women to unexpected masculine and feminine verbal forms. A man never had a name with a clearly feminine verbal form in it: *Kasap-Ištar* or *Iddin-Ištar* are acceptable but *Aja-gamilat* or *Tašme-Ištar* are not. New interpretations in the two Akkadian dictionaries and scattered notes or remarks in current literature have added to our understanding of particular names.

A new group of names was discovered by J.J. Finkelstein: due to wars, the people of Uruk had to move to Kiš, where they gave their children the nostalgic names *Uruk-*

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[1]   Cf. W.F. Albright: JBL, 60 (1941), p. 212; Schuster 1969; Stamm 1980, XI-XII.

[2]   ThLZ, 65 (1940), pp. 9-10. For the reviews, see Schuster, p. 184, note 2.

[3]   Stamm 1980, XIII, pp. 16-19 (*contra* H. Ranke), pp. 90-92.

[4]   Some refs. were given by B. Groneberg, in RGTC, 3 (1980), pp. 272 ff.

liblut «May Uruk live», and *Eanna-liblut* «May (its temple) Eanna live»[5]. We add that a literary text speaks of the revivification of a «dead Uruk»[6]. As Charpin showed later, emigrations like this one were not unusual: priests from Eridu had moved to Ur. The dispersion of communities must have been a general problem in the Ancient Near East, and kings (like Hammurabi) prided themselves on having «gathered the scattered people»[7]. A proper name like *Saphum-liphur* can now be explained as referring to such displaced persons: «May the scattered gather». The complaint *Mati-utta-alī* «When will I find my city ?» (YOS 14) also fits the situation; is *Litur-a-lí* «Let my city (?) come back» (YOS 12) also pertinent ?

Our contribution, restricted to Old Babylonian personal names, always has to start with Stamm. We will do our best to adduce names and examples not known to him. As to the sources, we simply refer the reader to the Indexes of Personal Names in new text editions when quoting a name: TEBA (by M. Birot), YOS 12 (by S.I. Feigin), etc. Names from TIM 7 can be found at the end of the edition by D.O. Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (1970). Names with the qualification «Mari» were taken from the index made by M. Birot in ARMT XVI/1 (1979); those dubbed «Ur» will be found in UET 5; those from «Tell Sifr» (including some Ur names!) were listed by Charpin (1980) in his index.

Writing

Reading proper names is not always easy because of the unusual readings of signs. Only in names do signs have these values and even there not in a free context: they are traditional writings in specific names.

Sumerograms – Well known are SIG = *ipqum*, NIN = *erištum*; less well known is KAM = *erištum* [8]. The combination KASKAL+KUR = ILLAT stands for Akkadian *tillatum* «help», not *ellatum* (an error often made); compare the name of a slave-girl *Bēltī*-ILLAT-*ti* with *Bēltī-ti-la-ti* «My lady is my help»[9]. The sign AN in names like AN-KA-DN stands for *annum* «approval»; compare *An-nu-um*-KA- [d]Nin.šubur in the text with AN-KA-[d]Nin.šubur in the seal inscription of TIM 4,4; the name was pronounced *Annum-pi-Ilabrat*. SAG.KAL is *ašared* [10]. KAR stands for *etērum* in the

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5   YOS 13 (1972), pp. 11-13 (note 57); Charpin 1986, pp. 403-15. *Eanna-liblut* is attested in VAS 18 15:7.

6   J. van Dijk, UVB XVIII (1962), Tafel 28c, line 17 (cf. 11): Uruk[ki] *mi-tum i-ib-ta-lu-ut*.

7   G. Widengren, *Yahweh's Gathering of the Dispersed*, in *In the Shelter of Elyon. Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G.W. Ahlström*, Sheffield 1984, pp. 227-45. Cf. C. Wilcke: OrNS, 54 (1985), pp. 307-308.

8   PBS 8/2 188:2, 12. Cf. [d]Nanna-kam in CT 45 118:2, 5, etc.; Ur; ARM 24.

9   *Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Philadelphia 1989, 526:15, 46 (= OLA, 21 [1986], n° 95), and CT 2 23:25.

10   VAS 16 193:3; BM. 80775:1.

name *Ṭāb-eṭēr-Enlil* (dùg-kar-ᵈen.líl)[11]. ŠU stands for *qātum* in names of the type *Ina-qāt-Šamaš/ili*[12], but also, surprisingly, a few times for *Gimil*-[13]. Quite unusual is NÍG.BA for the element *iqīšam* in *Sîn-iqīšam*[14]. BA alone seems to represent *Iqīš* in Diyala texts[15]. KA in the name *Ikšud-KA-šu* stands for *appum* «nose»[16]. KUM or GAZ followed by a divine name stands for *Kaspi-* or *Kasap-* : KUM-*Ištar* and *Ka-ás-pí--Ištar* are one and the same person[17]. We have learned from the variant writings *É-a--ṣú-lu-li* and ᵈEn.ki-an.dùl-*lí* in YOS 12, 169 and its seal impression that AN.DÙL stands for *ṣulūlum*. The element KÙ or ZALÁG in names like that of the author of the Atram-ḫasīs myth, «Kù-Aja», is a problem[18]. A reading *Šamuḫ* for the sign APIN remains isolated[19]. A.SUG or SUG.A is a mystery[20]. «Kassite» may be the cylinder seal where we find ŠÈ = *ana*, a value also attested in a Middle Babylonian medical text from Nippur[21].

Stamm rejected the idea that the element *Rīš-* could mean «slave» (*rēšum*) and translated «ist umjubelt»[22]. The present author holds it as highly probable that *Rīš* in the names *Rīš-E-ibbiānum* and *Rīš-Etuppim*, attested in texts from Dilbat and Kiš (YOS 13, etc.), actually does mean «Slave of», because we occasionally come across ìr--é-bí-a-nu(-um) and ìr--é.dub in other texts from the same places[23]. We will have to wait for prosopographical identifications.

Syllabic values – Archaic is GA for *kà* in *Ilī-kašid*, etc. (ARN). This writer believes that *ga-še-er* in *Irra-gašer* (BIN 7) and *Ea-gašer* (variant *Ea-kašer*) (Ur) ought to be read *kà-še-er* ; note that the names *Irra-ku-súr* and *Ea-gu-sur* (the same

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[11] TIM 4 20:26; cf. Stamm, p. 234 (I owe this ref. to F.R. Kraus). Its structure is not that of a Sumerian name.

[12] Ranke, 109a, «I-na-shu-ilu», «I-na-shu-Shamash»; cf. ARN 161 rev. 15. Cf. *I-na--qá-ti--*dingir, CT 47 11a:37; *Iq-qa-at-i-lí* in BM. 81256:5 (unpubl.).

[13] Sommerfeld 1982, p. 141, note 2.

[14] M. Stol: AbB, 9 (1981), p. 151, note to n° 244:10; YOS 12, p. 55a ᵈSUEN-NÌ.BA, BIN 2 93:1 (one archive); BIN 7; CT 47 68:19 (=68a:26).

[15] S. Greengus, *Studies in Ishchali documents*, Malibu 1986, p. 28 (*Lipit-* ?).

[16] CT 48 19 left edge (the only example). Cf. Stamm, p. 127.

[17] VAS 9 130:9, compared with K. van Lerberghe, in OLA, 21 (1986), n° 76:4. See M. Stol: JCS, 31 (1979), p. 181, note 26, and *apud* D. Charpin: BiOr, 38 (1981), p. 542. Cf. Stamm, p. 319.

[18] C.B.F. Walker: RA, 76 (1982), pp. 95 f.; W.G. Lambert: RA, 77 (1983), p. 95.

[19] J. van Dijk, in HSAO (1967), p. 241, note 41 (*ad* TIM 5 68:10).

[20] Stamm, p. 228, note 1; M. Stol: AfO, 35 (1988), 179a.

[21] ŠÈ-IGI-LUGAL-*na-di* = *Ana-pāni-šarrim-nadi*, I.M. Price: AJSL, 20 (1903-1904), p. 114, n° 3. Cf. BAM 4 396 II 10, 17; IV 10. — See also R. Borger: BiOr, 28 (1971), p. 65, *ad* CAD, A/2, pp. 100 f.

[22] Stamm, pp. 262 f., against Ungnad.

[23] VAS 18 102 rev. 22; MCS, 4 (1954), 24 n° 4:7-8; Th. Pinches: PSBA, 39 (1917), Plate XII n° 24:9; TCL I 171:4, 6 (ìr--E.); and E. Szlechter, in TJAUB, (1963), p. 34 UMM H 54:29 (!), VAS 18 1:44, 75:15, A. 26370:10 (ìr--é.dub-*pí*) (unpubl.; Chicago).

gods!) appear in CAD under the verb *kašāru* (C)[24]. Traditional are the sign values *bar* in *Ubar-*, *erí* in DN-*erībam*, *gim* in *-gimlanni*, *gur* in *Imgur-*, *ìs* in the name *Issu-kabit*, *kal* in *Atkal-*, *làl* in *Adallal*, *mil* in *Igmil-* or *Gimil-*, *qì* and *gi₄* in *La-qīp(um)*, *qúr* in *Qurdi-*, *ták* in *-taklāku*, *tal* in *Aja-tal-lik* (Sippar)[25], *tel* in *Etel-*, *tukul* in DN-*tukultī*, *ṭa* in *ṭābum*, *ṭúl* in *liṭṭul* (etc.) or *uṭul-* [26]. DIB is *ṭib* in the name *I-ṭib-libbašu*[27], GAL is *kál* in *ṭikal*[28], UR is *lik* in forms of *malākum* and *taš* in *Tašme-*. AN has the reading (*i*)*lum* in the names *Ga-mi-*AN and *Za-li-*AN[29]. Kraus has shown why the scribes wrote *-i-din-nam* instead of grammatical *iddinam*[30]. Playful is the use of *šár* for *šārum* «wind» in the type *Ina-šár-Marduk-allak* «I walk in the wind of Marduk» (YOS 13) or *Ṭāb-šár-ilī* «Good is the wind of the god(s)». The old suggestion that we can read PA = *ḫaṭ* in the name *Ali-ḫaṭ-ilī/Šamaš* still looks acceptable; although Gelb now sees in it an Amorite name, *Alipa-il*[31]. Also playful is *lit* in the name of the slave-girl *Aja-ummi-ālittim*[32].

A problem is posed by some instances where the sign LAM with the normal reading *lam* does not fit: AN-*lam-KA-ša* for *Annum-piša*, and dingir-*lam--mi-lik*, dingir-*lam-li-ṭúl*[33]; in the last two cases one expects the nominative dingir-*lum*. Another surprising accusative is attested in *We-da-am--i-lí* (Ur). There is now abundant evidence for dingir-*lam-*APIN = *Ilam-ēriš* «I asked the god», certainly not an error, and partly upsetting Stamm's discussion of names like *Sîn-ēriš* («Sin hat gefordert»)[34].

We observe that the great expansion of syllabic values of signs beginning in the Middle Babylonian period has its predecessor in these traditional or playful writings in Old Babylonian personal names.

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[24]   Other gods in similar names, H. Waetzoldt: OrNS, 55 (1986), pp. 335 f.

[25]   CT 45 16 rev. 23; 111 rev. 7; etc.

[26]   One can now compare ᵈ*ú-túl-lam--nišu* (VAS 7 79:3, 10; etc.) with ᵈ*Ut-tu-la--ni-šu* (YOS 13 191:6). Cf. Stamm, p. 293.

[27]   BAP 30:21. Cf. AbB 2 112:15.

[28]   CT 8 12a:22, 47 27:5; VAS 8 17:19.

[29]   UET 5 348:5, 352:11. PBS 8/2 110:22, Tell Sifr, YOS 5, resp. CT 8 17a:17, 48 70 rev. 10, with case (cf. *Ig-mil-*AN = *Ig-mil-lum*, rev. 1). Note *Ig-mi-ilum* in UET 5.

[30]   Kraus 1957. Cf. W. Farber: WO, 7 (1973), p. 23 note 8, or *Ta-ad-di-nam*, CT 6 41a:3. Note ᵈEN.ZU-*id-na-am* in I. Finkel: RA, 70 (1976), p. 47:20.

[31]   Stamm, p. 165; F.R. Kraus: BiOr, 42 (1985), p. 540; W. Sommerfeld: AfO, 29 (1983), 96a.

[32]   CT 47 30:17 (*-a-li-tim* on the case).

[33]   BE 6/1 65:4, resp. OBTI 34:20, resp. TIM 3 38:15 (and more often; see the diss. by F. Reschid; note the correct *Ilam-luṭṭul* in 19:9). Cf. *Ilī-liṭṭul* in JCS, 9 (1955), p. 66, n° 28:8, or dingir-*na-TI-il*, ARN 82:3, and Siegelbeischrift (for the child).

[34]   Stamm, p. 144. Examples are Dingir-*lam-*APIN: YOS 12 73:4, 11; 14, seal 147; AbB 4 116:6; and refs. from Mari; A. Goetze: JCS, 17 (1963), p. 82a, «I asked the god (for the child)». Note *i-lí-*APIN in TEBA 69 III 20.

Lexicon

The words used in personal names are normal Akkadian; sometimes one detects a literary flavour. A few substantives are found only in names. The dictionaries do not list *gumlum* «mercy» in the Mari names *Gumul-Sîn*, *Ilī-gumlija* (*Ili-gumlaja* in ARM 21 and 23), *Išḫara-gumlī*, *Gumullum* (ARM 22). Compare the unusual word *gimlum* with the same meaning in a «Tell Sifr» name, *Ilī-gimlī*. Neither will one find in the dictionaries *ḫitar-* attested in Nippur and Larsa names[35], nor *ḫabiš* in *Irra-ḫabiš* and *Ilum-ḫabiš*[36]. The preposition *itti* has the meaning «with the approval of» in the names *Itti-ilim-baliṭ* «He is alive with the approval of the god» (Tell Sifr) and *Itti-ilim-bani* «he has been created with the approval of the god» (BIN 7)[37]. New is a word *nuṣrum* in Akkadian names from Mari: *Baštī-nuṣrī* (a woman) or *Nuṣrī-ilī* («My god is my protection (?)»; a man)[38]. What is the interpretation of the Mari names *Ḫitlal-Irra* (*Itlal-Irra*) or *Ḫitlal-Dagan*[39] ? The name *Andakkullum* known from Ur (read as «Ilum-dakkul» etc.; also in «Tell Sifr») has now emerged in letters from Kisurra as a word meaning something like «Frohnarbeiter» (thus the editor, B. Kienast). No interpretation has been suggested for the name *Iṣrupanni*, used both for men and women. A riddle is *Ṣerrenum* [40].

Grammar

Archaic features in names, survivals of the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods, are the elements *Iliš* and *nada*; we owe the explanation of the latter to I.J. Gelb: -*a* is the predicate state ending, not an imperative plural[41]. The Mari texts offer both *Ummī-ṭāba* and *Ummī-ṭābat* «My mother is good». The name *Ba-ú-i-la* (a male witness in Tell Sifr) could very well mean «Bau is the goddess». We can recognize the same ending in variants of the name *Anāku-ilumma* «I am the god»: *A-na-ku-i-la-ma* in early texts (YOS 14), later on (corrupted into?) *A-na-ku*-dingir-*lam-ma*, *A-na-ku-i-la-am-ma* [42].

The locative-terminative -*š* not only occurs in *Iliš*. W. von Soden found the explanation of *Libur-niaš*, now also attested in Mari[43]. *Niaš* means «for us»; similarly, *šiaš*

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35   As in OECT 8 2:23; also TCL 11 174 rev. 29, VAS 13 89a seal B.7 (Larsa).

36   CT 45 98:9, cf. 19:7; 48 29 left edge, with (6), resp. TIM 5 16:13.

37   More examples for *itti* «with the consent of» are given in note 241 to my article *Beer in Neo-Babylonian Times* to be published in 1991 (Rome).

38   J.-M. Durand: M.A.R.I., 1 (1982), p. 93, note 5; the man's name in ARM 21 392:1.

39   M.A.R.I., 5 (1987), 677a, resp. ARM 22.

40   AHw (one ref.). Add BIN 7 197:17, VAS 18 111:4.

41   *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, Chicago 1961[2], pp. 148 ff.; Gelb, 1965.

42   ARMT XVI/1, p. 61; J.-M. Durand: RA, 84 (1990), p. 62; cf. 91a.

43   T. B. Jones read the name thus; W. von Soden: BiOr, 19 (1962), pp. 150 f., translated «Er möge für uns in Erscheinung treten». Correct Stamm, p. 122 (-*nirum*).

means «for her»: the present author proposes to read the name of some female weavers in Mari, «Šiyarum-taklāku», as *Ši-ja-aš--ták-la-ku*, and to translate «I trust in her» (the index of ARM 23 also gives this correct form). Old Akkadian parallels are *Su₄-a-áš-da-gal* and *Šu-iš-da-gal* [44]. The ending -*iš* can be followed by a pronominal suffix. A classic example is *Takil-ilissu*, new is *Iliš-ka-uṭul*, contracted to *Iliškuṭul* «Look at your god»[45].

One has the impression that archaic names like these were replaced by others. Stamm saw the connection between *Talik-ilissu* and *Ana*-DN-*taklāku* ; we may add that *Iliš-nadi* probably was replaced by names of the type *Ana-pani*-DN-*nadi*. The present author has the feeling that «archaic» names going back to the Ur III and earlier periods are more frequent in the Mari texts than in Babylonia proper; one more example are the names starting with *Ilak*- «your god». Only in Mari we still have the dual pronoun *šinī* in *Šinī-damqā* «The two of them (fem.) are good», referring to a pair of goddesses.

Remarkable is *Lu-ḫa-ad-* next to *Lu-na-ad-* as a form of the verb *nâdum* «to praise». Baffling is the accusative *anniam* in *Adi-annia(m)-ilī* «Up to this (child?), my god» [also *(Ḫ)adu-anniam*][46]; compare *Adi-annītim*, a woman[47].

Some verbal forms look dialectal. The normal preterit form of *waṣûm* is *ūṣi* and occurs as such in names. However, a form *īṣi* also exists, as noted by CAD[48]. In personal names one finds *E-ṣí-dannum* (BIN 9) next to *Ù-ṣí-dannum*, *Ù-ṣí-nūrum* next to *I-ṣi-nūrum* (YOS 5), *Iṣ-nūrum* (YOS 14), *I-ṣí-Sumu-abum* next to *Ù-ṣí-Sumu-abum*[49]. The influence of Amorite is detectable here; *i-ṣí* is normal in Amorite[50]. Within Amorite, we can compare *I-ṣi--a-šar* with *Ja-ṣí--a-šar*[51]. The latter may be a hypercorrect writing by a Babylonian scribe.

Iš-me-eḫ- «he hears», instead of *Išme-*, although having a parallel in the rare Akkadian form *ipteḫ* «he opens»[52], looks influenced by Amorite: the theophorous element is *Ba-al* or *Ba-la* [53]. «He hears» is written in Amorite as *Jasmaḫ*. Names like

44   A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, Part Two*, Copenhagen 1987, nᵒˢ 40 II 3 and 140:15. W. von Soden: ZA, 80 (1990), p. 136: «noch nicht erklärbar».

45   The name *Iliš-kuṭul* in Ishchali and Kisurra has been explained by C.B.F. Walker as *Iliška-uṭul* ; see D. Charpin: RA, 82 (1988), p. 90a: «Look at your god». Contrast W. von Soden: ZA, 71 (1981), p. 150 (*qâlum* Gtn ?).

46   TCL 10 12:17. Forms without *ilī* in CAD, A/1, p. 119b; F.R. Kraus: AbB, 7 (1977), p. 3, *ad* nᵒ 3:1. Also Kassite (F. Peiser, *Urkunden der 3. babyl. Dynastie* ... P. 114:5). Stamm, p. 162: «Bis hierher (und nicht weiter) !».

47   TCL 1 23:1.

48   CAD, A/2, p. 383b. Add *iṣ-ṣí* in VAS 9 5/6:14, *i-ṣú-ú-ma* in TCL 1 29:16. Forms like *aṣ-ṣ[í]* (AbB 6 168:18) and *aṣ-ṣí-a* (TCL 1 104:21) can be due to «Vokalfärbung».

49   Huffmon, p. 127, resp. Th. Meek: AJSL, 33 (1916-17), p. 244 RFH 40:19 (=HG 6 1886), cf. AUCT IV 94:5 (!).

50   Huffmon, p. 185, *i-zi* -- Note the discussion by J.-M. Durand: M.A.R.I., 4 (1985), p. 149, note 13.

51   YOS 8 108, seal, 2, resp. E. Szlechter, in TJA (1958), 140 MAH 16.342:2.

52   M. Stol: JCS, 25 (1973), p. 221, note 3.

53   ARMT, XVI/1, p. 131 (also *Iš-ma-aḫ-Ba-al*!), resp. E. Szlechter, in TJAUB (1963), 52 FM 43:6.

Iš-me-eḫ-AN, *Is-me*-AN, and *Is-ma*-AN lie between Amorite and Akkadian[54]. As a rule, we may say that Amorite verbal forms beginning with *ja*- could be changed into *i*- under the influence of Akkadian. Examples abound: the name of the god *Jakrub-El* becomes *Ikrub-El*, *Janūḫ-Samar* becomes *Inūḫ-Samar*[55], *Janūbum* becomes *Inūbum*[56], *Jakūnum* becomes *Ikūnum*. On the other hand, Akkadian *Itūr* almost never becomes *Jatūr*[57].

It is not always easy to distinguish between Akkadian and Amorite names. Some matters have been settled: the root *šmr* in *ištamar* is Akkadian, not Amorite[58]; the name *Mutum-El* (**Mutu-ma-ēl*) is Amorite, not Akkadian. The interference between both languages can be observed in grammar (see above) and lexicon. Amorite name elements like *bunu* «son» and *ḫammu* «uncle», *dadu* (?) combine in names with Akkadian verbs: *Bunum-šagiš* (TIM 7), *Ḫammi-šagiš* (Mari), *Ḫabil-dadu(m)*[59], *Dadu-aḫī* (YOS 13). The element *ḫāzir* or *ḫāṣir* (cf. also *Ḫāṣ/zirum*) is an Akkadianized participle of the non-Akkadian verb *'zr* «to help»[60]. The verb *enēnum* is not genuinely Akkadian: *I-nu-un--E-el* is Amorite and *Sîn-īnunam* («Sîn was merciful to me») is an example of adjustment to Akkadian grammar[61].

Sumerian names

Sumerian names continued to be used and were particularly popular among the clergy[62]. Lamentation priests everywhere liked them[63]. A «court-sweeper» living during the reign of Rīm-Sîn II bore the name Lú-Amar-Suen, clearly a family name passed down many generations[64]. And indeed, papponymy was not unusual among those old «Sumerian» families[65]. Sumerian names are seen in syllabical or corrupted writings, showing how they were pronounced: «dNanna-in.tu.uḫ» for dNanna-in.du$_8$ in

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[54] B. Kienast, *Kisurra*, n° 40:9, resp. VAS 9 141:2, resp. TEBA.

[55] Huffmon, p. 237 (add AbB i 58:3).

[56] CT 45 97:18 (a man from Suḫum), resp. ARN 165:2 (theophorous element).

[57] Huffmon, p. 270 TR, and pp. 271 f., Itūr-Mer. Note *I-tar-Mu-lu-uk*, CT 33 29:15.

[58] A new example is *Emuqī-ilim-šitmar*, AbB 12 85:20 (and more unpubl. refs.).

[59] In the unpubl. letters BM. 85248:22, 35, and BM. 85455:4, 6, 12 (courtesy W.H. van Soldt).

[60] Stamm, p. 215. Cf. Albertz, p. 67, and Lipinski, pp. 115 f. Note *A-zi-ir-*d*Da-gan*, AbB 12 164:1. *I-lí-az-ra-ni* (in JCS, 26 [1974], p. 141:18) could stand for *Ili-uṣranni*.

[61] UET 5 569:2, resp. CT 48 29b, note (5). Cf. Stamm, p. 182.

[62] Particularly interesting is the investigation by Charpin 1986, pp. 396-402: he even found a text with Akkadian translations of the complicated Sumerian names (Ur).

[63] R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, Istanbul 1975, p. 173 (Sippar; add now the archive of Ur-Utu in Tell ed-Dēr); J.-M. Durand, in AEM I/1 (1989), p. 548 (Mari); Charpin 1986, p. 397.

[64] Th.G. Pinches: PSBA, 39 (1917), Plate IX, seal a, with n° 17:16.

[65] Charpin 1986, pp. 91, 214, 243, 394. — Papponymy: Stamm, p. 302; R. Harris 1972, pp. 103 f. (not in Sippar); D. Charpin: BiOr, 38 (1981), pp. 546 f. and NABU 1987, n° 36 (in the Balmunamḫe family). In Kassite Nippur: V. Scheil: RT, 19 (1897), p. 51, n° 12.

Sippar letters[66], «Šešpatuku» for Šeš.ba.tuku in Ur, Kisurra and Larsa[67], «Balum-enumḫe» (and variants) for Bala.mu-nam.ḫé and ^{d}Nanna-šalasu for ^{d}Nanna-šà.lá.sù[68] in Mari.

We should like to point out that a few Sumerian names were used in Akkadian translation. Convincing examples are a number of «Ersatznamen», as Stamm has shown. We add the three-element names A.ba-^{d}utu.da-nu.me.a = *Mannum-balum-Šamaš* (cf. ^{d}Utu.da-nu.me.a in Ur and Dingir.da-nu.me.a elsewhere)[69], An.né-ba.ab.du$_7$ = *Ina-Šamê-wussum*[70], *^{d}Inanna-za.e-me.en = *Ištar-kûm-anāku*[71].

Ìr-si.gar goes back to Ur-si.gar in Ur III texts and the element si-gar, here «the (holy) bolt (in the temple)», also occurs in the forms ^{d}si.gar, si.gar.ru, si.gá.gá; note Ur-si.gar.ra[72]. It was probably pronounced *Warad-šigari* as the writing Ìr-*ši-ga-ri* suggests[73].

Theology

Stamm did not pay much attention to the «theology» reflected in the names. What makes the Babylonian names so special is exactly the various relationships between God and man they reflect. In a later study, Stamm suggested that we can discover here – and in similar Egyptian names – the influence of the phraseology of prayers, a later development beyond older Semitic name-giving with its simpler schemes[74]. Indeed, elaborate names can be found back in prayers almost literally; an example is *Ana-šasê-qerub* «He is close to (my) invocation», as explained by W.R. Mayer[75]. In the same mood are *Sîn-lēqi-unninnī* «Sîn accepts my supplication» or *Šamaš-šēmi-ikribašu* «Šamaš listens to his prayer», *Išemme-sullāja* «He listens to my praying» (all YOS 13). Most names of this type are Late Old Babylonian, already foreshadowing further developments in Kassite name-giving, studied by A.L. Oppenheim in 1936.

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66   AbB 2 166:1, cf. 165:3, 175:1.

67   Larsa: TCL 10 4 B:36, etc. — Cf. for syllabic writings of Sumerian divine names J.-M. Durand, *Noms de dieux sumériens à Mari*: NABU, 1987, n° 14.

68   ARMT 23, p. 450 *ad* n° 527; cf. YOS 13.

69   Cf. M. Stol: JCS, 31 (1979), p. 181.

70   Cf. An.ni-ba.ab.tu, J.J. Finkelstein, *Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, p. 188:13. Cf. H. Sauren: ZA, 59 (1969), p. 29. Not: «He (=the father) jumped sky-high», as commonly assumed.

71   M. Stol, in *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, p. 274.

72   YOS 13 376:7, resp. CT 47 57a:4, resp. TCL 17 28:37 (cf. si.gar in 31), resp. VAS 8 20:17 and in UET 5 (Ur-si.gar.ra).

73   YOS 12; Ur; VAS 9 31:9. Note the name *Si-ga-ru--ra-bi* in F. Lajard, *Introduction ... Mithra* (see HKL I, p. 264), Pl. XXXVIII n° 6 (=A. Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, 1842, n° 52).

74   Stamm 1980, p. 95 (originally 1967).

75   YOS 13 4:5-6; Stamm, pp. 318 f. W.R. Mayer, «*Ich rufe dich von ferne, höre mich von nahe*». *Zu einer babylonischen Gebetsformel*, in R. Albertz (etc.), *Werden und Wirken des Alten Testaments. Festschrift für Claus Westermann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Göttingen - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980, pp. 302-17, esp. p. 316, note 77.

Actually, every page of his book is full of «theology», especially piety; Stamm uses the word «psychological» in describing «die religiösen Stimmungen» (pp. 22, 66). Maybe in reaction against B. Gemser's earlier book on personal names, with its alleged strait-jacket of «dogmatic categories» (pp. 1, 65), Stamm refrained from systematically discussing the religious ideas behind the names. This omission has been partly made good by R. Albertz (1978) who used Old Babylonian names comparing them with pious phrases in letters of the same age. With these means, Albertz drew a broad picture of the piety of the common Babylonian living within his family or clan, contrasting this faith, full of reliance and thankfulness, with the official religion of the state. One example: God is praised as creator of the individual in names and letters; the royal inscriptions refer to the gods as kings of heaven and earth, a theologoumenon one was not interested in at home. Here, simply speaking of «God» is justified because this piety looks like henotheism[76], a tendency also detectable in names from the West[77].

This does not mean that one remains totally silent about cosmic qualities of gods. Names can sound like epithets: *Dagan-bēl-ilī* «Dagan (is) the lord of the gods» (TEBA), *Adad-šamuḫ-ilī* «Adad is flourishing (among) the gods»[78]. A god is elevated to the status of Enlil by names like *Bau-Enlila* «Bau is Enlil», *Šamši-Enlila* «My Sun (?) is Enlil»[79].

The relationship between god and man can be expressed in gnomic statements like *Abi-enšim-Uraš* «Uraš is a father of the weak (male)» or *Ištar-ummi-eništim* «Ištar is a mother of the weak (female)», used for a man and a woman respectively[80]. The name *Šamaš-mītam-uballiṭ* «Šamaš has revived the dead» looks like a reminder of the Sumerian *credo* ᵈutu ug₅ ti.la «Utu revives the dead» appearing on seals[81].

Names deserve a really theological explanation when they describe gods as judges passing a verdict – favourable to the bearer of the name, no doubt. Examples are *Damu-dīnī-lidīn* «May Damu pass a verdict over me» (BIN 7), *Dīnam-ilī* «Pass a verdict over me, my god»[82]. Stamm duly listed such names and he later devoted two articles to «Namen rechtlichen Inhalts»[83] but failed to inform the reader that they presuppose a «legal» relationship between God and man. The classic article on this

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[76] Albertz, pp. 73, 139.

[77] Caquot 1975.

[78] JCS, 5 (1951), p. 80 MAH 15970:42. Cf. Stamm, p. 226.

[79] Riftin 133:1, 25 (ᵈBa.ú-ᵈen.líl.lá), resp. PBS 13 52 rev. 5, ARN (ᵈutu-ᵈen.líl.lá), VAS 13 88 rev. 7 (ᵈutu-*ši*- ᵈen.líl.lá). Cf. Stamm, p. 226.

[80] TLB I 235:4 and TCL 10 105:28 with RA 70 87, UET 5 95:2 (in both cases a slave girl). Cf. Stamm, p. 240.

[81] VAS 8 135; 9 93, 131; J.J. Finkelstein, *Kramer Anniversary Volume, cit.*, p. 189. Misunderstood apud E. Klengel-Brandt: AOF, 16/2 (1989), p. 310, a, as a PN «Ugtila». For the Babylonian name (CT 48 105:2), see H. Hirsch: AfO, 22 (1968-69), p. 55 («referring to birth»).

[82] TIM 5 1:17, 19.

[83] Stamm 1939, pp. 172, 191; Stamm 1980, pp. 159-98.

«Semitic religious notion» was written by B. Gemser[84]. As to name-giving, O. Keel gave the following explanation: «So fühlt sich eine kinderlose Frau beschimpft, beschuldigt und angeklagt (1 Sam 1, 5), denn Kinderlosigkeit wird oft als Strafe und die Betroffene als schuldig betrachtet (Gn 20, 18; Lv 20, 21; Hos 9, 12). Wenn ihr nach langem doch ein Kind zuteil wird, kann sie triumphieren: Gott hat mir Recht verschafft! (Gn 30, 6). In diesem Sinn werden auch zahlreiche Personennamen wie *'li-špţ, jhw-špţ, dni-'l, pll-jh* usw. zu verstehen sein»[85]. Male gods can provide justice; recently published names show that a goddess, Ištar, can only further justice – if we may interpret the causative D of *diānum* this way: *Udān-Ištar, Ištar-mudinnat*[86]. It is likely that names describing a god as «my/their 'answerer'» (*āpilum*) suggest the same situation: the god pleads for justice in court, as the name *Ana-kittim-āplum* seems to imply[87]. Stamm explicitly rejected this idea (pp. 213 f.) but the name *Ilī-atpalam* is also significative of a court-room setting. *Apālum* Gt can mean «to justify»[88] and so the name says «My god, justify me». This is also the right situation for the prayer «Stand by my side, my god» (*Izizzam-ilī*)[89].

Albertz thinks that human sin and divine wrath do not play any role in personal piety, the «Vertrauensbeziehung» precluding estrangement between god and man[90]. This cannot be true for the Babylonians. Names like *Mini-ḫaţi-ilī* «In what respect have I sinned, o God», *Amī-ul-ide* «I do not know my sin»[91], *Minam-ešīţ* «What did I do wrong ?» (TIM 7), *Amī-puţri* «Release my sin» (ARM 23) are telling. Divine wrath is not a conspicuous theme in Stamm's book because he misinterpreted the word *šērtum* «punishment» as «(astral) light». *Kabtat-šēressu* «Heavy is his punishment» is one example[92]. Another name, appearing neither in Stamm nor in the modern

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[84]   B. Gemser, *The rîb- or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality*: VTS, 3 (1955), pp. 120-37; repr. in *Adhuc loquitur. Collected Essays of Dr. B. Gemser*, Leiden 1968, pp. 116-37. — Cf. also M. Malul: JSOT, 46 (1990), pp. 97 f.

[85]   O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner*, Stuttgart 1969, p. 61.

[86]   VAS 18 73:1, TIM 7 92:2. Cf. *Udan-ilum* in YOS 12.

[87]   M. Stol: JCS, 25 (1973), p. 218, with a wrong explanation. — Hebrew «to answer» has the legal meaning «to testify, respond to summons, answer charges»; see N.C. Habel in *Essays (...) in Honor of G.W. Ahlström* (see note 7), pp. 82 f.

[88]   The best parallel is ARM 14 72:17 (with ventive), «je veux aller me justifier devant mon seigneur [*lu-ta-ap-lam-ma*]» (M. Birot). More new refs. are BaM, 2 (1963), pp. 56 f., I 21 (with ventive), II 20; ARN 174:10 («before the judges they spoke and justified themselves [*id-bu-bu i-tap-lu*]»), AbB 10 189:18, AEM 1/1 109 n° 12:5'. Cf. Stamm, p. 171.

[89]   Stamm, p. 171; YOS 8 114:5 (*-i-lî*). Note AbB 10 189:18: «Stand up (*iziz*) and discuss (*atpal*) with the gentlemen».

[90]   Albertz, pp. 39, 70 f., 120 f. (in the Babylonian texts), 125.

[91]   AbB 8 21:1 with W. Moran: JAOS, 104 (1984), p. 574a, resp. TIM 4 42:1. Much more in Stamm, p. 164.

[92]   CT 48 22:24; other names: AHw, p. 1218 *šērtum* I. In much earlier Sumerian names: M.A. Powell, *Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg, cit.*, p. 448, note 6.

dictionaries, is *Šamur-ezēssa/u* «Raging is her/his anger»[93]. The name *Sūnuḫ-Šamaš* «Šamaš has been appeased» (Mari) has the same background[94]. In the Old Babylonian period, we do not yet come across names confessing a polarity in the god's mood, like later *Ez-u-pašir* «He is angered but (also) relenting»[95].

Another more or less «theological» issue not seen by Stamm is the relationship between god and man in financial terms. Names speaking of the god Sîn as «redeemer» can perhaps be explained as follows. We know that a person could be redeemed (*paṭārum*) with money from the temple of Sîn in the township Damru; the merchants were instrumental in these transactions[96]. In this situation, the god can be praised as «Sîn is my merchant» (*Sîn-tamkarī*), a type of name not mentioned by Stamm (consult AHw)[97]. It now seems possible to explain the many names of the type «Sîn, redeem for me» (*Sîn-puṭram*; cf. *Sîn-paṭer, Ipṭur-Sîn* and Sumerian Nanna-in.du$_8$), a name that caused Stamm much trouble[98]. This wish was perhaps pronounced by mother and children while the father or another relative was held captive. The community was responsible for redeeming their fellow-citizens: ^{d}*Akšak-ipṭuram* «Akšak (a city) redeemed for me» fits this situation[99]. A group of Mari texts gives us full information on the paying of ransom money (*ipṭirum*) for captured Benjaminites, thus illustrating a relatively normal practice in those troubled times[100]. It must have been as common as the dispersion of local populations, discussed earlier in this contribution.

Other «financial» names, however, point in a different direction. In his discussion of the name *Kasap*-DN «Silver of (a god)», Stamm comes up with the translation «Lösegeld», interpreting this as the god making good for the loss of an earlier child that had died – an «Ersatzname»[101]. We can perhaps modify this idea. One could loan money from a temple in order to regain physical or financial health[102]. For the resulting «profit» the word *nemēlum* was used. This word is also attested as an element in personal names. A personal name not listed in the dictionaries is *Šiqlum*, «shekel»[103]. Furthermore, there is a Middle Assyrian name «I have bought him from

93 TLB I 290:7, AbB 10 181:3 (!),VAS 18 29:5, C. Wilcke, in *Zikir Šumim*, Leiden 1982, 430 MLC 2656:49.

94 Cf. Stamm, pp. 168 f.

95 E. Reiner, *Šurpu. A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, Graz 1958, 59b, *ad* 3.

96 AbB 9 32, with lit.

97 A commercial agent (*šamallûm*) bears the unique name «Šamaš is my provider of capital (*ummeānum*)»,AbB 7 95:5.

98 Stamm, pp. 169 f.

99 R. Harris: JCS, 9 (1955), p. 100, n° 93:4.

100 P. Villard, in ARMT, 23 (1984), pp. 476-503.

101 Stamm, pp. 301 f. — Note *Ṣibat-Šamaš* «Interest (?) of Šamaš» in TIM 7.

102 Recently K.R. Veenhof, in M. Mindlin a.o., *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*, London 1987, pp. 58-75.

103 AbB 10 58:1; H.F. Lutz, in UCP, IX/6 (1930), p. 381:19, with seal impr. (collated); Tell Sifr. Note *Šiqlānum* in TCL 1 118:2.

Assur/the god» (*Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu*), a name that R. Borger associated with Eve's «I have gotten a man with the help of the Lord» (RSV; *qānītī 'īš 'et-JHWH*), explaining Cain's name (Genesis 4:1)[104]. Do the «financial» names presuppose a gift in silver given to the god by parents desiring (*erēšum*) a child, «redeemed» by the god when the child is born?

Pledges made in order to get children – a well-known motive in West-Semitic birth-stories and name-giving; root *ndr* – are not (yet) known in Mesopotamia. In that situation, the parents pay only after having received a child[105].

Our conclusion is that the «financial» names have not yet been explained in a satisfactory way.

Gods in names

Most abundant as a theophorous element in personal names are the major gods, like Sîn and Šamaš. The gods Ea/Enki, Marduk, Nabium and Nergal in names have been studied by H.D. Galter (1983), W. Sommerfeld (1982), F. Pomponio (1978) and E. von Weiher (1971) in their monographs on these gods. City gods can be used in their own town: Uraš in Dilbat names and Damu in Isin names. Lulu and Ḫumat are lesser known as gods in Marad[106], Sugallītum in Zabalam (*Ubar-Sugallītum*)[107] or Arḫanītum in the Diyala region (*Arḫanītum-ummī*)[108]. There is a number of obscure gods whose names are only attested as an element in names of persons; often the determinative «god» is lacking[109]. During the first half of this century they were duly listed by J.B. Alexander, A. Deimel, D.E. Faust, E.M. Grice, H. Ranke, F. Thureau-Dangin and A. Ungnad, in their indexes of divine names, but this practice has died out. We notice with satisfaction that it was revived in the Mari *Répertoires* (ARMT XV and XVI/1). Of some of them one suspects that they were important gods in localities not yet known to us: the Amorite god Ditan in *Ilī-Ditan* or Me-Ditan[110]; the god Ašdu in *Ašdum-abī* (Ur), once implored as «great lord of heaven and earth» in order to «give life to the land»[111]. The deified «steppe land» (*Ṣērum*) or «highlands»

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[104] R. Borger, *Gn. iv 1*: VT, 9 (1959), pp. 85-86.

[105] Cf. the recent article by K. van der Toorn, *Female Prostitution in Payment of Vows in Ancient Israel*: JBL, 108 (1989), pp. 193-205.

[106] M. Stol, in RlA, VII/1-2 (1987), p. 148, *sub* Lugalmarada (Lulu); M. Anbar: IOS, 6 (1976), p. 61 *ad* 14; M. Stol: JCS, 31 (1979), p. 180 *ad* YOS 14 166, and below (Ḫumat).

[107] M. Anbar: RA, 69 (1975), p. 124; P. Michalowski: JCS, 38 (1986), pp. 169 f.

[108] M. de Jong Ellis: JCS, 24 (1972), pp. 54 ff., n°s 31:5, 37:11, 41:5; JCS, 27 (1975), p. 132 *ad* IM 63237. — Does the name mean «She of the river Irḫan» ?

[109] An example is «Tel» or «Til», studied by M. Stol: AfO, 27 (1980), p. 164a (below).

[110] CT 48 29 rev. 19 (=38) and UET 5 497:11; cf. Huffmon, p. 184.

[111] V. Scheil, in RT, 19 (1897), p. 48, n° 2 (cylinder seal from Sippar). Cf. Huffmon, p. 169. Note the «Hand of *Aš-di*» in a much later medical text, *Iraq*, 19 (1957), p. 41 ND 4368 VI 15-16.

(*Šadûm*) are seen in some names[112]. The god «stone» (*Abnum*) in names like *Warad-Abnum* could be a «betyla» (*sikkannum*): in the Tell Sifr texts we come across a *Wa-ra-ad--Sí-ka-ni*[113].

We will now restrict ourselves to some of these obscure divine names which look like proper names of human beings, often in abbreviated form: *Ikrub-El* (*Jakrub-El*), *Ikšudum, Ikūnum, Iqūlam* (not: *Ikulam*), all entries in RlA[114]. We can add *Ḫarikum*, in *Ḫarikum-abī*[115], *Inūbum*, in ᵈ*Inūbum-nāṣir* (see ARN)[116], *Ibānum*, in the names *Ḫatin-*ᵈ*Ibānum, Sa-di-*ᵈ*I-ba-nu-um* and ᵈ*Ibānum-gāmil*[117], *Ippalis* (ᵈ*Ip-pa-lí-is*) in *Ṣilli-Ippalis*, or *Liburram* in *Sumu-*ᵈ*Liburram*[118]. One of them, Ikūnum, had a «priest» at Sippar. We know that a private person could institute a cult «for his life», with a «priest», for the minor gods Ḫaniš and Šullat[119]. Some of these names not only look like personal names but actually are names used by human beings: the names *Ippalis* «He watched» and *Liburram* «May he stay in good health» were studied by Stamm. Realising that such a thing is possible, we can expand our group with the personal names *Amat--Bēltani*, «Slave-girl of Bēltani», *Awil-ilim--erībam* «Awil-ilim restituted to me», *Ea-tukultī--qarrād* «Ea-tukultī is a hero»[120]. Bēltani, Awil-ilim and Ea-tukultī are normal names of mortals but here they appear as if they had a divine status. Divine status is indeed suggested by the addition of the determinative «god» in the geographical name *Titur--*ᵈ*Šumi-aḫija* «Bridge of (the divine) Šumi-aḫija», again a mortal[121]. In a seal impression a man names himself «Servant of (the divine) Bēlšunu» (ìr ᵈ*Be-el-šu-nu*)»[122].

Here, we are confronted with something new in Assyriology: down-to-earth human beings being presented as gods. The best solution is to assume that deceased members of a family, as «patriarchs» or «ancestors», could acquire this status under circumstances not known to us. Similarly, in a cloistered community of priestesses, Amat-Bēltani considered the priestess Bēltani as her «matriarch». Some obscure

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112 *Ṣērum-gāmil*, AbB 4 35:8, 20; 11 165:7, 13; Eden.e-ki.ág, ARN, p. 124; the royal name *Ibni-Šadûm* in the Kisurra texts.

113 W. Sommerfeld: OrNS, 53 (1984), pp. 445 f. (*Abnum*); J.-M. Durand, in *Mélanges M. Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 79-84; NABU, 1988, n° 8 (*sikkannum* = «bétyle»).

114 Also attested as proper names of human beings: Limet 1968, p. 348. Add *I-ku-nu-um* in the cylinder seal published by Y. Tomabechi, *Catalogue of the Artifacts in the Babylonian Collection in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology*, Malibu 1984, Plate X, pl. 66 (cat. n° 107).

115 A. Goetze: JCS, 11 (1957), p. 25, n° 12 rev. 2.

116 Note «servant of ᵈ*I-nu*» in YOS 13, p. 90, n° 340, A.

117 W.W. Hallo, in *Studies B. Landsberger*, Chicago 1965, p. 201 YBC 5447:5, A. Goetze: JCS, 4 (1950), p. 110 UIOM 2040:16, and CT 2 41:7.

118 D.I. Owen: *Mesopotamia*, 10-11 (1975-76), p. 27 A. 32101:23 (cf. YOS 5 38:8), and D. Charpin, *Documents cunéiformes de Strasbourg*, Paris 1981, n° 119:4.

119 CT 6 36a (=VAB 5 n° 220).

120 TIM 4 53:2, 4, resp. CT 45 105:18, resp. TLB I 13:19.

121 TCL 18 105:11.

122 AUAM 73.2365 (unpublished; by courtesy of Marcel Sigrist). –AUCT IV 49 otherwise!

«gods» in names and seal inscriptions seem to belong to this group of god-like kinsmen: «servant of Father ($^{d}Abum$)» in a seal inscription[123]; «Old Man» ($^{d}\check{S}\bar{\imath}bum$) in the names $\check{S}\bar{\imath}bum$-ḫāzir and $\check{S}\bar{\imath}bum$-qarrād or in $\S illi$-$\check{S}\bar{\imath}bi$[124]; wēdum, a family member with a special status[125], in many personal names; we list only those cases where it is preceded by the determinative «god»: Wēdum-mušallim, Wēdum-ilī, Nūr-Wēdum[126]. One is «servant of ^{d}Wēdum» according to two seal inscriptions[127]. «Father», «Old Man» and wēdum must have been positions held in the family by deified men like Ippalis or Liburram. Some of these venerable kinsmen survived as minor gods whose human origin is still visible in their names: names like Ikūnum, etc., mentioned above; La-qīpum – name of a god and of persons; perhaps Uṣur-awassu: a god in the name ^{d}Uṣur-awassu-gāmil[128] whereas Uṣur-awassu/a is the name of a human being (Mari, BIN 7). In later times Uṣur-amassa was a goddess in Uruk. The name of the obscure goddess Magir-qabuša sounds like a normal woman's name – admittedly not attested – and may survive in later Magrat-amassu, a minor god – admittedly a male god[129]. Etawirašum (^{d}E-ta-i-ra-šu) is another example[130]. The Middle Babylonian god's name Ea-šarru has the structure of a personal name.

Some readers may remark that these personal names used as a theophorous element could very well be the names of kings. Using the reigning king's name in your own name is indeed an important Sumerian tradition practised by royal officials[131]; thus, a name like $^{d}En.ki$-šam-balāṭim «Enki is the plant of life» was imitated in «(King) Išbi-Erra is the plant of life» in the name of a singer at court[132]. But we do not know kings with the names Ippalis, Liburram, etc., and certainly not a queen (!) Bēltani. Nor is a royal name ever combined with the elements ṣilli- or -erībam. Ippalis and Liburram must have been important persons in their group, family or clan; they were «Old Man», etc. The qualification «god» in this context means that they were dead, «called up» (qerûm) by their god, as one used to say when somebody died. One man in the Old Babylonian texts bore the name Eṭemmu-rabi, «The spirit (of a dead person) is great»; his name can be compared with a name like Abum-rabi «Father is

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123 TIM 4 5, seal 1.

124 A. Goetze: JCS, 11 (1957), p. 25, n° 12 rev. 3, resp. BIN 2 68:6, 15, resp. S. Graziani: AION, 39 (1979), p. 682, n° 35. Note fem. (?) $^{d}\check{S}e$-bi-tum--na-ṣir, VAS 18 102:18.

125 Stamm, pp. 51 f., wisely hesitates; CAD: ēdu «only child»; AHw: wēdum «in PN meist einziges Kind».

126 BIN 7; VAS 18 96:13, resp. YOS 12 490:14 (seal 2: «servant of Wēdum»), resp. YOS 12 479:4.

127 E. Douglas van Buren, Catalogue of the Ugo Sissa Collection, Rome 1959, n° 254; YOS 12 490, Plate C, seal 2.

128 YOS 13 203 rev. 21; E. Szlechter, in TJAUB, 1963, p. 178b. — Cf. A-lí-ú-ṣur-a-wa-sí: JCS, 9 (1955), p. 92, n° 58:17 ?

129 YOS 13 65:2; for the later name, see W.R. Mayer: OrNS, 57 (1988), p. 159.

130 YOS 13 68:4. Cf. Stamm, p. 184.

131 Kings as an element in names is an important topic that we will not discuss here. See Stamm, pp. 122, 315; Dalley: BiOr, 46 (1989), pp. 644 f.; Durand: M.A.R.I., 3 (1984), p. 132; Edzard, in ZZB, (1957), p. 61; Huffmon, pp. 126-28; Klengel 1976; Sommerfeld 1982, p. 48, note 7.

132 UET 5 94:1, resp. BIN 9 415:15.

great» (YOS 5). It looks as if we have to reassess some of Stamm's «Ersatznamen». «Theophor gebrauchte Verwandtschaftswörter als Erbe alter semitischer Stammesreligion» do occur on a somewhat larger scale than he thought[133].

Family god

Are they, then, the family god; in Akkadian idiom «god of the father»? Their position in the last line of cylinder seal inscriptions («PN, son of PN$_2$, 'servant of Sîbum'») indeed suggests this. It has been shown that the gods appearing in this line are gods of the family, not of the individual owner of the seal[134]. This «god of the father» (*il abim*) is present explicitly as an element in some proper names: *Aramma-il-abi* «I love the god of the father», *Bašti-il-abi* «My happiness is the god of the father»[135]. The name *Ili-abiš-tikal* goes back to Old Akkadian *Il$_3$-a-ba$_4$-iš--da-gal* «Rely on the god of the father»[136]; a modernisation is *Ana-Ilaba-taklāku* in the Mari texts (a woman).

Women did not have a tutelary god («Schutzgott»), Stamm claimed[137]. He was correct in this, and his suggestion that her father's or husband's god was hers, too, has been confirmed by Kh. Nashef[138]. We can now say that this was the family god.

Several officials serving under king Hammurabi bore the name «Hammurabi is my god» (*Hammu-rabi--ili*) and the seal inscription of one of them is known: he is «servant of Hammurabi»[139]. This confirms that the divine name in the third line always is «my god». An official in the kingdom of Isin bore the name *Būr-Sîn--ili*, «(King) Būr-Sîn is my god» and he named his son dingir-*ba-aš-ti* «My/The god is my happiness»[140]. The name *Ili-bašti* is amply attested as a name for dependent women, and only once for a man[141]. The name of the son implies dependency, and the «god»

[133] Stamm 1939, pp. 53-58 (*contra* M. Noth); the quotations were taken from Stamm 1980, pp. 85, 92.

[134] Independently discovered by Th. Jacobsen, D. Charpin, and M. Stol. See now D. Charpin, in *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper*, Liège 1990, pp. 72-74. See already Th. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, New Haven 1976, p. 159.

[135] AbB 12 121:3, resp. M. Stol: JCS, 25 (1973), p. 218; R. Frankena, SLB IV (1978), pp. 33, 36, 294 (the various ways of writing obscured the real meaning of the name). — Our translation «happiness» for *baštum* is provisional and was inspired by the context of the Neo-Assyrian letter LAS 310:3.

[136] CT 47 27:5, resp. MAD 3, 295 (Man. Obelisk).

[137] Stamm, pp. 73, 309. For this god as intermediary, see Stamm, pp. 209 f.

[138] Kh. Nashef, *Zur Frage des Schutzgottes der Frau* : WZKM, 67 (1975), pp. 29-30; ad OBTR n° 116.

[139] Klengel 1976, p. 158; AbB 11 156. — Note *Ili-u-Šamaš* «My god and Šamaš», «servant of Hammurabi», UET 5 64 seal impr., as collated by R. Frankena (unpubl.) and M. van de Mieroop: JCS, 41 (1989), p. 247.

[140] BIN 7 215, with seal.

[141] TIM 7 90:6, 97:8 («Frauen»); BE 6/1 95:12, CBS 1696:6 (slave-girl); OBTR 122:17 (serving-woman). A man in BE 6/2 81:9 (first witness). Read in C. Wilcke: ZA, 73 (1983), p. 54 CBS 1303:17 *Ili-tukul-ti*.

seems to refer to the king. We will not discuss the problem whether Hammurabi-ilī –
and his many colleagues, also naming themselves «servant of Hammurabi» – had to
give up his family god for Hammurabi.

The name of the family god does not systematically appear as a theophorous
element in the names of the family members; on the contrary[142]. Stamm found one
striking example for Ea, «Familiengott einer Schifferfamilie», used in the names borne
by two «sailors», father and son[143]. Scribes often are «servant of Nabium»; in two
cases they have names composed with Nabium[144]. In these cases Nabium clearly
was the god of a family of scribes.

Perusal of all available inscriptions on cylinder seals – originals and impressions –
by the present author gave a relatively low number of «hits» for the type «Iddin-Ea,
son of Ea-rabi, servant of Ea»[145]. They are perhaps worth listing here: Adad[146],
Amurrum[147], Enki (=Ea)[148], Nabium[149], Nanna (=Sîn)[150], Ninurta[151], Sîn[152], Ša-
maš[153], Šulpae[154]. Note «Ibni-Eraḫ, son of Muti-Eraḫ, servant of S[în]»: Eraḫ is the
Amorite name of the moongod, Babylonian Sîn[155]. We assume that the name of the
family god was consciously used in these names of father and son. Were they the
eldest? More or less obscure family gods also appear in the names: «Sakkut-tajjār,
son of Sîn-muballiṭ, servant of Sakkut»[156]; coincidence seems to be excluded here.

We would also like to point out that people named after the god Dagan sometimes
are «servant of Dagan». We have three examples: Dagan-abi, son of Ibni-Dagan

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[142] Harris 1972, pp. 103 f.; Charpin 1980, pp. 289 f.

[143] Stamm, p. 60. — The original publication by E. Douglas van Buren was not available to the
present author.

[144] YOS 13, p. 88, n⁰ 253, B (Ipqu-Nabium, junior scribe according to line 7); D. Collon, *Cylinder
Seals BM* III, n⁰ 196 (Nabium-naṣir). See also R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar, cit.*, p. 285, note 117; D.
Charpin, in *Mélanges J.-R. Kupper, cit.*, pp. 74 f.

[145] L. Delaporte, in *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud* II, Paris 1939, after p. 910, Pl. IV n⁰ 16.

[146] V. Scheil: RA, 23 (1926), p. 39, n⁰ 8 (servant of Adad and Šala).

[147] L. Delaporte, *Cyl. Louvre* II, A. 547 (on TCL 11 217); cf. D. Charpin, in *Mélanges J.-R. Kupper,
cit.*, p. 63; PBS 14 361.

[148] YOS 12 169.

[149] L. Delaporte, *Cyl. Louvre* II, A. 382.

[150] TCL 1 99 and VAS 9 74 (Nanna-mansum, son of Naram-Sîn, servant of Sîn and AN.Amurrum).

[151] D. Collon, *Cylinder Seals BM* III, n⁰ 148; Ward, n⁰ 477.

[152] AbB 6 206; UET 5 615 seal 3; D. Collon, *Cylinder Seals BM* III, n⁰ 626 (servant of Sîn and
AN.Amurrum).

[153] L. Delaporte, *Cyl. Louvre* II, A. 540, B (on TCL 11 209); YOS 8 151.

[154] YOS 12 147.

[155] YOS 13 199 seal impr. B.

[156] *Newell Coll.* n⁰ 233. For Sakkut, see now R. Borger: ZAW, 100 (1988), pp. 73-76; cf. O. Loretz:
ZAW, 101 (1989), pp. 286-89.

(father and son!); Dagan-tajjār, son of Damqi-ilišu; Dagan-bani, son of Sîn-abušu[157]. The god Dagan rarely appears as family god in seal inscriptions. Note that king Iddin-Dagan spoke of «Enlil, my king; Ninlil, my lady; Dagan, my god»[158]. The only example of a man to name himself «servant of Ilaba [=Family God]» is Kabi-Dagan, a name only attested in Mari – if this combination of Dagan and Family God means anything[159].

Old Babylonian cylinder seals often show a god taking the seal owner's hand, introducing him to another deity. This is the personal god, «taking his hand» according to the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh Epic, as J. Renger has shown[160]. One is inclined to interpret the proper name *Sîn-qātī-ṣabat* «Sîn, take my hand», with very few Old Babylonian attestations (YOS 5), as this «introduction». Indeed, Sîn very often is tutelary god in the third line of seal inscriptions.

Women

The corpus of names of the ladies at court on the one hand and the women working in the weaving shops on the other has enormously increased thanks to the publications by the Mari *équipe*; as a result, the list of «Noms de personnes» in ARMT XVI/1 bristles with «tisseuses»[161]. Names of women deserve a fresh and comprehensive study. We will make a few remarks.

The bulk of the personal names of women belong to Stamm's group B or have female deities as a theophorous element. But there always are exceptions to these rules[162]. It is not always easy to draw the line between names of men and women: *Sîn-nada* can be both. The element *baštī* «(is) my happiness» most often points to a woman as bearer; however, Mr. ᵈ*Ab-ba--ba-aš-ti* occurs among men (VAS 7) and *Ilī-baštī* can be a man (see above). And, indeed, in an Old Assyrian letter a man speaks of «my god: my trust and my *baštum*»[163]. The wife of king Rīm-Sîn had the name «Rīm-Sîn: (goddess) Šala is his happiness»[164]. Male slaves had the name *Lu-šalim-baštī* «May my happiness be well», referring to their lord's happiness[165].

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[157] *Collection de Clercq* I, 144, n° 245, resp. *Catalogue sommaire des cylindres orientaux à la Haye*, La Haye 1952, 21, n° 64, resp. YOS 12 304, seal.

[158] D. Loding: AfO, 24 (1973), p. 48, lines 35 f.

[159] H.E. von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock*, Uppsala 1957, 148, n° 261. The name is typically Mari.

[160] J. Renger: RA, 66 (1972), p. 190. Confirmed by G. Wilhelm: ZA, 78 (1988), p. 109 *ad* Z. 7.

[161] Ladies at court: J.-M. Durand: M.A.R.I., 4 (1985), pp. 385-436; menial workers: G. Dossin: RA, 65 (1971), pp. 40-66; ARMT XIII, n° 1; J.-M. Durand, in ARMT 21, n° 403.

[162] Stamm on names of women: pp. 28, 31-36, 67, 73, 122-26, 159, 308 f. Add now the remarks by S. Sanati-Müller: BaM, 20 (1989), pp. 281-83.

[163] KTS 15:41 f.

[164] Stamm, pp. 210 note 7; 273.

[165] Stamm, p. 311; add C.B.F. Walker: JCS, 26 (1974), p. 70:4, 6, etc.

The names *Šimat*-DN are only borne by women[166]; the same can be said of the names DN-*dumqī* (but not *Mād-dumuq*-DN). The woman's name DN-*rēmet* «(Goddess) DN is merciful» (Ur) has no counterpart in a name *DN-*rēmi* for men; for them, DN-*rēmēni* is used. J.-M. Durand announced an article establishing the rule «que certains noms féminins ne sont autre chose que le 'renversement' d'un nom masculin», with the example Kibri-Dagan (a man) vs. Dagan-kibrī (a woman)[167]. Priestesses like the *nadītum* and the *entum* bore special pious names[168]. Ladies at court (and elsewhere) could receive «political» names like *Kunši-mātum* «Bow down, o land»; cf. *Kanšassu-mātum* «The land has bowed down for him», i.e., the king[169]. Male royal officials had similar names; they were studied by J.-M. Durand and D. Charpin[170].

Women were dependents. But every citizen in Babylonia was the «servant» of someone higher in rank and the question always is: dependents of whom? A nice example is the name *Mannam-luplaḫ* «Whom should I fear?». We learn from the Mari texts that this can be the name of a female weaver (she has to fear her husband — or her mistress, if she is a slave) and, in ARM 22, of a general of the Babylonian army (he fears his king). King Šu-Sîn, in his turn, fears the god Enlil, as the Ur III name *Šu-Sîn-ipallaḫ-Enlil* shows[171].

Similarly, one can sometimes distinguish slaves from free women. A free woman had the name *Bēltum-rimenni* «Lady, have mercy on me» (Ur): the Lady is a goddess. A slave girl was named *Bēltī-rimenni* «My lady, have mercy on me»[172]. Her lady is her mistress. The element «My lady/mistress» is indeed typical of names of female slaves, as Stamm has seen; sometimes simple «her» is enough: one and the same slave has the name «I trust in my mistress» and, abbreviated, «I trust in her»; another slave was named «I am looking at her eyes» (*Anaṭṭal-īnīša*)[173]. One more criterium for slave names is *Aššumija-* «as to me» as first element, followed by a wish for the mistress: «As to me, may she live»[174]. It remains difficult, however, to distinguish between names of free and enslaved women. The latter often bore normal women's names and Stamm considers too many of them as specifically slave names in his chapter «Sklavennamen». An example is *Adad-dumqī*, a married woman receiving letters, not a slave[175]. R. Harris (1977) has made a new beginning in studying slave names and is more optimistic than the present author.

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[166] R. Harris: JCS, 9 (1955), p. 103b, and confirmed by new material. – Also in canal names.

[167] J.-M. Durand, in AEM, I/1 (1988), p. 395.

[168] Harris 1964; J. Renger: ZA, 58 (1967), p. 125 (lit.).

[169] Durand 1984. The second name, of a *nadītum*, appears in CT 47 30:26.

[170] Durand 1984; Charpin 1987. See also Stamm, p. 122, and add *Balassu-rāmā* «Love his life» (Mari) and *Šarrussu-rāmā* «Love his kingship» (VAS 18 18:30).

[171] PDT 563 II 1-2, coll. S. Picchioni; see also M. Sigrist, *Studies Å.W. Sjöberg, cit.*, pp. 503-504.

[172] CT 48 94:3.

[173] CT 6 37a:2 and, abbreviated, 47b:1, 16, resp. CT 48 28:1.

[174] AbB 3 2:5, CT 33 46b:1, PBS 8 / 2 204:4, TLB I 229:11 (*A-na-šu-mi-ja-li-ib-lu-uṭ*); cf. *Aššumija-libur* in Mari (weaver and baker) and in YOS 12 185:27.

[175] AbB, 9 nos 270-2.

Precious new evidence on the name-giving of slaves has come forward since Stamm's book. The Nippurian woman Niši-Inišu bought a slave-girl and re-named her *Amat-ilija* «Slave-girl of my god» – the god of the mistress, of course[176]. A «birth certificate» has been published establishing the birth of a daughter of the slave *Amat-Bau* on 8.V; she received the name *Amat-eššešim* «Slave-girl of the (monthly) festival *eššešum*»[177].

Names and occupations

Not only women with a special status – be they slave or priestess – could receive names befitting their position. High officials sometimes had names with the name of their king as theophorous element, as we saw above. Indeed, the king was like a god. One could live in his «shadow» as in a god's shadow: the «elliptic» proper names composed with *ṣillum* «shadow», «protection» of a god, can be compared with this blessing in a Mari letter written by a woman: «May Jasmaḫ-Addu be well (*lu šalim*) and as to me (*aššumija*), may I fare well in his shadow (*ina ṣillišu ludmiq*)»[178]. The «Beamtennamen» were studied by Stamm[179]; one more example is *Bēlī-tajjār* «My lord is forgiving», the name of the king's cup-bearer (YOS 5). Two attendants in the harem have the names «At his feet is well-being (*šulmu*)» and «At his feet is life»[180]. A number of such names speak of the king's protective spirit (*lamassum*). A «servant of Hammurabi» has the name «Šamaš is his protective spirit»[181]. Beautiful are the two names «Rīm-Sîn: Šamaš is his protective spirit», and «Rīm-Sîn: Nergal is his protective spirit», also abbreviated to «Nergal is his protective spirit»[182]. We assume that the first name was valid in the principal capital of the kingdom, Larsa (god Šamaš), and the second in the other capital, Maškan-šapir (god Nergal)[183]. Incidentally, names composed with *lamassī* «(is) my protective spirit» are mostly borne by women.

Priests (and their fathers) could be named after the god they served: «Utu.mu-zalag, son of Iddin-Šamaš, *gudapsû* of Šamaš, servant of Ninsianna», or: «Nanna-sa₆.ga, scribe, son of Nanna-kù.zu, *gudapsû* of Nanna, servant of Nimintabba»[184]. The sophisticated Sumerian names of the clergy in the temple Ekišnugal at Ur were

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[176] ARN 59:8 with F.R. Kraus: JCS, 3 (1949), p. 163. Name of a slave-girl in YOS 8 98:17.

[177] YOS 13, p. 192, with J.J. Finkelstein, pp. 14-16.

[178] Stamm, pp. 16, 235, 276; the letter is ARM 10 3 rev. 22; see now M.A.R.I., 4 (1985), pp. 396 f.

[179] Stamm, pp. 119-22, under «Nachgebildete Namen», and pp. 315-17, under «Beamtennamen». See also R. Harris: JAOS, 88 (1968), p. 728.

[180] TIM 5 68:11-12. Other names: Durand 1984, pp. 127 f., note 2.

[181] M. Stol: JCS, 34 (1982), pp. 152, 190a.

[182] UET 5 445, seal, resp. Lowie Museum 9-1846:1, 1852:1. See M. Stol: AfO, 32 (1985), p. 94b, and Charpin 1987.

[183] For the two capitals, see D. Charpin, in AEM, 1/2 (1988), p. 148.

[184] AUCT IV 13, resp. UET I 60 with D. Charpin 1980, p. 16.

related to the cult; the scribes deemed it necessary to give Akkadian translations *ad usum delphini* [185].

The names consciously adopted by people working in the private sector are very few in number. The only example is the unique name *Šamaš-ummeānī* «Šamaš is my provider of capital», borne by a commercial agent (*šamallûm*)[186]. According to Stamm, Ea is the god appearing in names of a «Schifferfamilie» (see above).

Cattle could get names of men or women; they were studied by G. Farber and D. Charpin[187].

Names in use, disuse, and misuse

Names could be abbreviated in various ways. The long name *Mannum-išannan-bēlī* appears as *Mannija* on the case of a tablet[188]. A name composed with the god's name Asalluḫi, according to the seal impression on an Old Babylonian letter, appears as *Salluḫum* as the sender in the address[189]. The number of abbreviated names is steadily increasing[190]. More intriguing are the cases where somebody appears to have two completely different names: Iddin-Lagamal and Šelebum, «the fox», for example[191]. «The Fox» could be a nickname because this animal was proverbial for its cunning[192]. It also was a common proper name.

The boys in school learned how to write proper names and the long lists to be copied by them have been found[193]. They continued practising long after the Old Babylonian period was over and when new names were the fashion. The lists found in Ugarit are an example[194]. The name «Hammurabi» survived in later times and places as a royal name; we consider the names of the Ugaritic kings Ammurapi and Ammištamru as corruptions of *Ḫammu-rabi* and *Ḫammi-ištamar* [195]. Very learned later scribes interpreted an Elamite word like *simakir (an occupation) as the well-

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[185] Discovered by D. Charpin 1986, pp. 396 ff.

[186] AbB 7 95:5. Cf. Stamm, p. 271.

[187] G. Farber 1982; D. Charpin, in *L'archéologie de l'Iraq. Perspectives et limites...*, Paris 1980, p. 154, note 83; add DCS 100:1.

[188] OECT 8 15:21 and seal, case rev. 20.

[189] A. Goetze: JCS, 11 (1957), p. 106 CUA 57.

[190] Stamm, pp. 111-17; Sommerfeld 1985, p. 93, note 5; Charpin 1980, pp. 342 f.; Charpin 1986, p. 118, note 2.

[191] C. Wilcke: WO, 8 (1976), p. 274, *ad* YOS 13 382 and 53. More examples were discussed by Charpin 1980, pp. 343 f.; J.-M. Durand: M.A.R.I., 4 (1985), p. 410. Cf. Stamm, pp. 272 f.

[192] H.J.L. Vanstiphout, followed by B. Alster: JCS, 41 (1989), pp. 187-98.

[193] R. Borger, HKL III (1975), p. 111 § 97. Add DCS 149; OBTI 280, 281; M. Tanret, in *Mélanges M.-J. Stève* (1986), pp. 141 f.; *Mélanges A. Finet* (1989), pp. 167 f. Old Akkadian: W.G. Lambert, in *Studies A.J. Sachs* (1988), pp. 251-60.

[194] J. Nougayrol, in *Studies B. Landsberger, cit.*, p. 30. Cf. MB UET 7 145 rev. III.

[195] M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, Istanbul 1976, p. 32, note 10.

known proper name *Sîn-māgir*, as W. von Soden has suggested[196]; note that Old Babylonian texts already offer the personal name *Simmugra* and the geographical name *Dūr-Summugri* [197]. Other scribes played around with the word for «night blindness», *sillurmâ*, trying to recognize in it the name of the moongod Sîn. The most daring was the Old Babylonian scribe who interpreted the word as a proper name, so it seems: *Sîn-nūr-meatim* [198].

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[196] Repr. in *Bibel und Alter Orient. Altorientalische Beiträge zum Alten Testament von W. von Soden*, Berlin-New York 1985, pp. 158-64.

[197] YOS 5 172:7, 174:9 (name of the father), resp. AbB 9 150:18, BRM 4 53:41.

[198] MSL SS I (1986), 26 Sag A V 36.

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