Kingship in the Early
Mesopotamian Onomasticon
2800–2200 BCE

Jakob Andersson
Abstract

Thousands of Sumerian and Old Akkadian personal names from 3rd millennium BCE Mesopotamia are known and documented. The present study inspects names containing the royal appellatives, Sumerian lugal and Akkadian šarrum. The study aims at uncovering the relationships between personal names and the development of early historical kingship and religious thought in the area.

An overview of Sumerian and Old Akkadian names and name-giving serves as a starting point for semantic investigations of lugal- and šarrum-names. Sumerian and Old Akkadian names are to a large extent meaningful, and the literal meaning can be used to arrive at an understanding of the symbolic value, which led to the coining of the name. Discussions rely on comparable passages of contemporary and later written traditions.

To facilitate discussion and comparisons between the languages, names are divided into semantic groups based on characteristic traits found in contemporary royal inscriptions and religious texts. Parallel constructions are noted whenever such constructions are known. Names are assigned human or divine referents when possible. A look at political and religious developments puts the distribution of certain name types over time and space into perspective. Local and regional traditions and types are displayed and related either to royal ideological traits or to theological speculation. Besides locally significant gods, a few other deities can be identified as referents in names. A brief statistical overview of different archives shows that names featuring the figure of the lugal experience an increase in popularity at the expense of other types.

A system of annotation gives approximate numbers for bearers of names belonging to the types investigated. Lists of attestations, which document date and archival context, form the basis for discussions and conclusions and make the material available for inspection and further exploration.

Keywords: Sumerian, Old Akkadian, personal names, onomastic studies, kingship

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Preface

Sumerian names, representing the oldest substantial corpus of personal names in recorded history, have been studied for over a hundred years now. Yet many of their mysteries remain unsolved. Any work on these names will be indebted to the great number of philologists and archaeologists who laid the foundations for cuneiform onomastic studies. It has not been possible in each and every instance to ascribe a reading or an interpretation to an individual scholar. But just as the unearthing of clay tablets from the occupational layers of Ancient Near Eastern sites is a group effort, so, too, is much of the subsequent work done by philologists.

This book is a humble acknowledgement of many a good piece of advice I have received over the years. It is thus with sense of indebtedness I offer my sincerest thanks to all those who have affected me in my choice of studies, and those without whose continuous support and encouragement this work would probably never have seen the light of day. My academic advisor Olof Pedersén, Uppsala, has been helpful in organizing the sometimes unwieldy data. He has incessantly made me push myself further to make the most out of the time given to me, and for this I am truly grateful.

In Copenhagen and Dianalund, my secondary advisor, friend and devil’s advocate, Aage Westenholz, and his wife Inger Jentoft deserve my lifelong gratitude for their untiring hospitality during my visits there. But the gratitude must also befall Westenholz for the many years I was fortunate to spend with him, in class and outside.

For his ongoing assistance and helpful suggestions, I am indebted to Manfred Krebernik. His willingness to act as my opponent during the final seminar held in Uppsala in December 2011, despite a very busy schedule, was most welcome. During two visits to Jena in 2008 and 2009, made possible by means of grants from STINT (Stiftelsen för internationalisering av högre studier) and H. S. Nybergs stipendiestiftelse, I benefitted much from the weekly seminars under the auspices of Krebernik. I wish to thank the other participants, Kamran V. Zand, Mohammed Hajouz and Giulia Ferrero for their criticisms, and along with the aforementioned, Peter Stein, Christa Müller-Kessler and the Jenaer Hilfskräfte for their good cameraderie.

I also wish to express my thanks to those who regularly attended my seminars in Uppsala for taking the time to read and formulate criticisms concerning my material. These include my Assyriological colleagues Hans Ahlberg and Mattias Karlsson, who were both kind enough to offer written
critique on different chapters; and also Mats Eskhult, Bo Isaksson, Stig Norin and others. Thanks are due also to teachers and peers from my years at Copenhagen University, Bendt Alster and Mogens Trolle Larsen, Thomas Hertel, Jacob Dahl, Gojko Barjamovic Johansen, Steven Lumsden, Jan Gerrit Dercksen, and Jacob Thøgersen; and at the Department of Linguistics and Philology in Uppsala, Sina Tezel and Lina Petersson.

Since my first few weeks in Uppsala, Åke Sjöberg and his wife Gunnil have showed me boundless kindness and goodwill. Åke opened his library to me, which has been very useful with regards to the time periods following on the Sargonic period.

Aage Westenholz and Walter Sommerfeld have generously allowed me access to their vast collections of photographs. I have furthermore benefitted greatly from the photographs available through the CDLI database, and its industrious directors, associates and contributors.

Needless to say, neither of the above mentioned scholars are in any way to blame for errors and oversights contained or lacking within these pages; the fault is entirely my own.

My language has seen improvement through the kind assistance of Lesley-Ann Brown, Copenhagen, whose diligence is hereby acknowledged.

Friends and family have in various ways supported me despite years of complete physical absence. And so, last but certainly not least among the persons who have influenced me and my work: my wife Rikke Wulff Krabbenhøft. Without her dedication, patience and encouragement, the last few years would have been hollow and void in comparison. Thank you for sharing your life with me.
**Abbreviations**

Abbreviations mainly follow the conventions of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, with a number of additions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADFU</td>
<td>Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka (Berlin, Leipzig etc 1936–)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AfO</td>
<td>Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, Graz, Horn 1923–)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJSL</td>
<td><em>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</em> (Chicago 1895–1941)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OBO 160/1 (Freiburg & Göttingen 1998)

Annäherungen 3

AnOr
Analecta Orientalia (Rome 1931–)

AnOr 1
N. Schneider, Die Drehem- und Djoha-Urkunden der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Autographie und mit systematischen Wörterverzeichnissen (Rome 1931).

AnOr 28

AnOr 30

Anthroponymie
H. Limet, L'Anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3e dynastie d'Ur. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 180 (Paris 1968)

AOAT
Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969–)

AOAT 3/1
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M. P. Streck & S. Weninger (eds.), Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik (Münster 2002)

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R. Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon (Münster 2004)

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K. Lämmerhirt, Wahrheit und Trug: Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Begriffsgeschichte (Münster 2010)

AOAT 362
J. Peterson, Godlists from Old Babylonian Nippur in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Münster 2009)

AoF
Altorientalische Forschungen. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients (Berlin 1971–)

AoN

AOS
American Oriental Series (New Haven, CT, 1924–)

APN
K. Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 43/1 (Helsinki 1914)

ARES 1

ARET
Archivi reali di Ebla. Testi (Rome 1981–)

ARET 1
A. Archi, Testi amministrativi: Assegnazione di tessuti (archivio L.2769) (Rome 1985)
ARET 7  A. Archi, *Testi amministrativi: Registrazioni di metalli e tessuti* (Rome 1988)
ArOr  *Archiv Orientální*. Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague 1929–)
AS  The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Assyriological Studies (Chicago, IL, 1931–)
AS 11  T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, IL, 1939)
Atiqot  ‘Atiqot ES. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities, English Series (Jerusalem 1955–)
AulaOr  *Aula Orientalis* (Barcelona 1983–)
BA  *Biblical Archaeologist*. Published by the American Schools of Oriental Research (Atlanta, GA, 1938–1997)
Babyloniaca  *Babyloniaca*. Études de philologie assyro-babylonienne (Paris
BagM  
*Baghdader Mitteilungen* (Berlin, Mainz 1960–)

BARI  
British Archaeological Reports International Series (Oxford 1978–)

BARI S2135  

BBVO  
Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Berlin 1982–)

BBVO 5  

BBVO 7  

BBVO 11  

BCSMS  

BE  
The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts (Philadelphia, PA, 1893–)

BE 1/1  

BE 1/2  

BE 3/1  

BFE  

Bilinguismo  

BiMes  
*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* (Malibu, FL, 1975–)

BiMes 3  

BiMes 17  
V. Donbaz & N. Yoffee, *Old Babylonian Texts from Kish Conserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums* (Malibu, FL, 1986)

BIN  
Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University (New Haven, CT, 1917–)

BIN 2  
J. B. Nies, & C. E. Kaiser, *Historical, Religious and
Economic Texts and Antiquities (New Haven, CT, London, & Oxford 1920)

BIN 3  C. E. Keiser, Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem  (New Haven, CT, 1971)

BIN 8  G. G. Hackman, Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts from Predynastic Times to the End of the Akkad Dynasty (New Haven, CT, 1958)

BiOr  Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden 1943/44–)


BroTa  R. Kutscher, The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa. Royal Inscriptions (Haifa 1989)


CAD  A. L. Oppenheim, E. Reiner et al. (eds.), The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago, IL, 1956–2011)

CAJ  Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge 1991–)


CDLN  Cuneiform Digital Library Notes (Berkeley, CA, & Berlin 2003–)  http://cdli.ucla.edu/pub.html


CHÉU  G. Contenau, Contribution à l’histoire économique d’Umma. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études fasc. 219 (Paris 1915)

CIRPL  E. Sollberger, Corpus des inscriptions «royales» présargoniques de Lagaš (Geneva 1956)

CollAn  Colloquium Anatolicum (Istanbul 2002–)

CRAIB  Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris 1857–)

CRRA  Compte rendu de la …e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (1951–)

CST  T. Fish, Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library (Manchester 1932)

CT  Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British
| CT 1 | L. W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum vol. 1 (London 1896) |
| CT 7 | L. W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum vol. 7 (London 1899) |
| CT 9 | L. W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum vol. 9 (London 1900) |
| CT 31 | P. S. P. Handcock, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum vol. 31 (London 1911) |
| CT 32 | L. W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum vol. 32 (London 1912) |
| CT 36 | L. W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum vol. 36 (London 1921) |
| CT 44 | T. G. Pinches, Miscellaneous Texts (London 1963) |
| CT 50 | E. Sollberger, Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Economic Texts (London 1972) |
| CTMMA 1 | I. Spar (ed.), Tablets, Cones and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia B.C. Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1 (New York, NY, 1988) |
| CTNMC | T. Jacobsen, Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen (Leiden 1939) |
| CUSAS | Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumeriology (Bethesda, MD, 2007–) |
| CUSAS 1 | S. Monaco, The Cornell University Archaic Tablets (Bethesda, MD, 2007) |
| CUSAS 11 | G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Early Dynastic and Early Sargonic Tablets from Adab in the Cornell University Collections (Bethesda, MD, 2010) [CUSAS11-X# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the list of unidentified signs, p. 124] |
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| CUSAS 14 | S. Monaco, Early Dynastic mu-ití Cereal Texts in the Cornell University Cuneiform Collections (Bethesda, MD, 2011) |
| CUSAS 17 | A. R. George (ed.), Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection (Bethesda, MD, 2011) |
| DAS | B. Lafont, Documents administratifs sumériens, provenant du site de Tello et conservées au Musée du Louvre, Édition Recherche sur les Civilisations, Mémoires 61 (Paris 1985) |
| Death Rituals | A. C. Cohen, Death Rituals, Ideology, and the Development |
of Early Mesopotamian Kingship: Toward a New Understanding of Iraq’s Royal Cemetery of Ur. Ancient Magic and Divination 7 (Leiden & Boston, MA, 2005)

Déc 2 E. de Sarzec & L. Heuzey, Découvertes en Chaldée 2 (Paris 1912)

DOG Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin)

DP F. M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, Documents présargoniques (Paris 1908–1920)


ECTJ A. Westenholz, Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena. Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Documents from Nippur and Fara in the Hilprecht-Sammlung vorderasiatischer Altertümer, Institut für Altertumswissenschaften der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena (Copenhagen 1975)

EDATŠ F. Pomponio & G. Visicato, Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak. IUO Series Maior 6 (Naples 1994)


EK 1 S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish vol. 1: 1923–1924 (Paris 1924)

EK 4 L. Ch. Watelin & S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish vol. 4: 1925–1930 (Paris 1934)

Épithètes M.-J. Seux, Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes (Paris 1967)


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Fs Civil  
*AulaOr* 9 (1991)

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Fs Groneberg  

Fs Hallo  

Fs Hirsch  

Fs Hrouda  

Fs Jacobsen  

Fs Kienast  

Fs Kilmer  
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Fs Kramer

Fs Kraus

Fs Lambert

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J. G. Dercksen (ed.), Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen. PIHANS 100 (Leiden 2004)

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J. Marzahn & H. Neumann (eds.), Assyriologia et Semitica:

Fs Owen

Fs Pettinato

Fs Röllig

Fs Römer

Fs Schretter

Fs Sigrist

Fs Westenholz

Fs Wilcke

FT
H. de Genouillac, Fouilles de Telloh, 2 Vols. (Paris 1934 & 1936)

FTUM

GAG

Genava
Genava. Revue d’histoire de l’art et d’archéologie, Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève (Geneva 1923–1952)

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F. Thureau-Dangin, Les cylindres de Goudéa. Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre 8 (Paris 1925)

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G. J. Selz, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen

Gs Cagni

Gs Diakonoff

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History of the Ancient Near East /Studies (Padua 1990–)

HANE/S 5

HANE/S 10
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Hirose

HLC

HSAO
Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient (Wiesbaden, Heidelberg 1967–)

HSS
Harvard Semitic Series (Cambridge, MA, 1912–)

HSS 3

HSS 4
M. I. Hussey, Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum, Part 2, From the Time of The Dynasty of Ur (Cambridge, MA, 1915)

HSS 10
T. J. Meek, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi (Cambridge, MA, 1935)

HUCA
Hebrew Union College Annual (Cincinnati, OH, 1924–)

IAS
R. D. Biggs, Inscriptions from Tell Ahû Šalâbîkh. OIP 99 (Chicago, IL, 1974) [used as siglum for cuneiform texts 1–515 only. For introduction, edition and commentary on individual compositions, see OIP 99]; R. D. Biggs & J. N.

**Imgula**

Imgula (Münster/Marburg 1996–)

**Imgula 5**


**Iran**


**IRSA**


**ISET 1**


**ITT**

Inventaire des tablettes de Tello, conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman, tomes I–V (Paris 1910–1921)

**ITT 1**

F. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes de l’époque d’Agadé (Fouilles d’Ernest de Sarzec en 1895)* (Paris 1910)

**ITT 2**


**ITT 5**

H. de Genouillac, *Époque présargonique, époque d’Agadé, époque d’Ur* (Paris 1921)

**IUO**

Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici: Series Minor (Naples 1974–); Series Maior (1979–)

**JANES**


**JAC**

*Journal of Ancient Civilizations* (Changchun 1986–)

**JAOS**

*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, CT, etc. 1843/49–)

**JBVO 5**


**JCS**

*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, CT/Boston, MA, etc. 1947–)

**JCSMS**

*Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* (Toronto 2006–)

**JESHO**

*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden 1957/58–)

**JNES**

*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago, IL, 1942–)

**JSOTS 270**

<p>| Kaskal | Kaskal. Rivista di storia, ambiente e culture del Vicino Oriente antico (Padua 2004–) |
| Keš Temple Hymn | See TCS 3 |
| LAK | A. Deimel, Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 40 (Leipzig 1922) [LAK# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the sign list] |
| L’uomo | G. Pettinato, L’uomo cominciò a scrivere: Iscrizioni cuneiformi della collezione Michail (Milan 1997) |
| MAD 1 | I. J. Gelb, Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region (Chicago, IL, 1952) |
| MAD 2 | I. J. Gelb, Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar (Chicago, IL, 1952). Second, revised edition (Chicago, IL, 1961) |
| MAD 3 | I. J. Gelb, Glossary of Old Akkadian (Chicago, IL, 1957) |
| MAD 4 | I. J. Gelb, Sargonic Texts in the Louvre Museum (Chicago, IL, 1970) |
| MAD 5 | I. J. Gelb, Sargonic Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Chicago, IL, 1970) |
| MAM | Mission archéologique de Mari (Paris 1956–) |
| MARI | Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires (Paris 1982–) |
| MCS | Manchester Cuneiform Studies (Manchester 1951–1964) |
| MDOG | Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin |</p>
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<tr>
<td>MDP</td>
<td>Mémoires de la délégation de Perse etc (Paris 1900–)</td>
<td>V. Scheil, <em>Textes élamites-sémitiques: première série</em> (Paris 1900)</td>
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<td>MEE</td>
<td>Materiali epigrafici di Ebla (Naples 1979–)</td>
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<td>MEE 4</td>
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<td>G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della bibliotheca L. 2769. Parte 1: Traslitterazione dei testi e ricostruzione del VE (Naples 1982). [VE# refers to the lexical entry with corresponding number in the volume]</td>
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<td>Menschenbild</td>
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<td>Pettinato, G., <em>Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmyperhen</em>, Ph.D. diss. (Heidelberg 1971)</td>
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<td>MesCiv</td>
<td>Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake, IN, 1989–)</td>
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<td>MesCiv 1</td>
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<td>P. Michalowski, <em>The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur</em> (Winona Lake, IN, 1989)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MesCiv 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Goodnick Westenholz, <em>Legends of the Kings of Akkade: The Texts</em> (Winona Lake, IN, 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MesCiv 14</td>
<td></td>
<td>G. Marchesi &amp; N. Marchetti, <em>Royal Statuary of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia</em> (Winona Lake, IN, 2011)</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia</td>
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<td>Rivista di Archeologia, Epigrafia e Storia Orientale Antica (Turin 1966–)</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia 2</td>
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<td>B. Alster, <em>The Instructions of Suruppak</em> (Copenhagen 1974)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia 7</td>
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<td>M. Trolle Larsen (ed.), <em>Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Cultures</em> (Copenhagen 1979)</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. Alster (ed.), <em>Death in Mesopotamia</em>. CRRA 26 (Copenhagen 1980)</td>
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<td>Mesopotamia 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>B. R. Foster, <em>Administration and Use of Institutional Land in Sargonic Sumer</em> (Copenhagen 1982)</td>
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<td>MLVS 1</td>
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<td>F. M. T. Böhl, <em>Oorkonden uit de periode der rijken van Sumer</em></td>
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en Akkad (3000–2000 v. Chr.). Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties 1 (Amsterdam 1933)


MO *Maništāšu Obelisk*, in: I. J. Gelb et al., OIP 104, pl. 67–72

MSL B. Landsberger et al. (eds.), Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon/Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (Rome 1937–)


MSL 14 M. Civil, M. W. Green & W. G. Lambert (eds.), *Ea A = nāqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts* (Rome 1979)

MSVO Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients (Berlin 1991–)


MVN Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico (Rome 1974–)


MVN 3 D. I. Owen, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection* (Rome 1975)


MVN 16 H. Waetzoldt & F. Yıldız, *Die Umma-Texte aus den Archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul*, vol. 2 (Rome 1994)


MVN 21 N. Koslova, *Neusumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Umma aus
der Sammlung der Ermitage zu St. Petersburg - Russland (Rome 2000)

NABU
Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires (Paris/Rouen 1987–)

Namengebung
J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (e.V.) Bd. 44, (Leipzig 1939)

Namengebung

Names
Names: A Journal of Onomastics (New York, NY, etc 1952/53–)

NATN
D. I. Owen, Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur in the University Museum, the Oriental Institute and the Iraq Museum (Winona Lake, IN, 1982)

NFT
G. Cros, L. Heuzey, F. Thureau-Dangin, Nouvelles fouilles de Tello (Paris 1914)

Nik 1
M. V. Nikol’skij, Dokumenty chozâjstvennoj otčetnosti drevnejšej epochi Chaldei iz sobraniâ N. P. Lichačeva. Drevnosti Vostočnîâ vol. III/2 (St. Petersburg 1908)

Nik 2

NIN
NIN. Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity (Groningen 2000–)

NTSŠ

OAIC

OBO
Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg & Göttingen 1973–)

OBO 166
E. Flückiger-Hawker, Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition (Freiburg & Göttingen 1996)

OBO 203

OECT 4
P. E. van der Meer, Syllabaries A, B\textsuperscript{1} and B with Miscellaneous Lexicographical Texts from the Herbert Weld Collection (London 1938)

OECT 7
S. Langdon, The Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr Excavated by the Oxford and Field Museum Expedition (London, 1928)

OIP  Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, IL, 1924–)

OIP 14  D. D. Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (Chicago, IL, 1930)

OIP 47  G. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with A Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (Chicago, IL, 1940)

OIP 53  P. Delougaz & T. Jacobsen, *The Temple Oval at Khafajah* (Chicago, IL, 1940)

OIP 58  P. Delougaz, S. Lloyd, H. Frankfort & T. Jacobsen, *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (Chicago, IL, 1942)

OIP 72  H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (Chicago, IL, 1955)


OIP 99  R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Ābū Ṣālābīkh* (Chicago, IL, 1974), with a chapter on the archaeological findings by D. P. Hansen [Introduction, edition and commentary on individual compositions only. For the texts, see IAS]


OIP 129  A. McMahon (ed.), *The Early Dynastic to Akkadian Transition: The Area WF Sounding at Nippur* (Chicago, IL, 2006)

OLA 5  E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* vol. 1, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 5 (Leuven 1979)

OLZ  *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient und seine(n) Beziehungen zu den angrenzenden Kulturkreisen* (Berlin/Leipzig 1898–)


Onomastika  V. V. Struve, *Ономастика раннединастического Лагаша [Onomastika rannedinastičeskogo Lagaša]* (Moscow 1984)

OrAnt  *Oriens antiquus: rivista del Centro per la antichità e la storia dell’arte del Vicino Oriente* (Rome 1962–1990)


OrNS  *Orientalia Nova Series* (Rome 1932–)
OrSP  Orientalia Series Prior (Rome 1920–1930)
OrS  Orientalia Suecana (Uppsala, Stockholm 1952–)
OSP 1  A. Westenholz, Literary and Lexical Texts and the Earliest Administrative Documents from Nippur. Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, Chiefly from Nippur, 1. BiMes 1 (Malibu, FL, 1975) [OSP1-X# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the list of unidentified signs, p. 117–119]
PBS 5  A. Poebel, Historical and Grammatical Texts (Philadelphia, PA, 1914)
PBS 9  G. A. Barton, Sumerian Business and Administrative Documents from the Earliest Times to the Dynasty of Agade (Philadelphia, PA, 1915)
PBS 11/3  E. Chiera, Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur. Lists of Sumerian Personal Names (Philadelphia, PA, 1919)
PBS 13  L. Legrain, Historical Fragments (Philadelphia, PA, 1922)
PBS 15  L. Legrain, Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon (Philadelphia, PA, 1926)
Personennamen  A. Poebel, Die sumerischen Personennamen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon. Habilitationsschrift (Breslau 1910)
PIHANS  PIHANS. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden (Leiden 1956–)
POANE  K. Watanabe (ed.), Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near
Prosopografia
F. Pomponio, La prosopografia dei testi presargonici di Fara. Studi Semitici Nova Series 3 (Rome 1987)

PSD
The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (Philadelphia 1984–)

QDLF
Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica - Università di Firenze (Florence, 1990–)

QuadSem
Quaderni di Semitistica (Florence, 1971–)

QuadSem 13
P. Fronzaroli (ed.), Studies on the Language of Ebla (Florence 1984)

QuadSem 18
P. Fronzaroli (ed.), Literature and Literary Language at Ebla (Florence 1992)

RA
Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale (Paris 1884/85–)

RÉC
F. Thureau-Dangin, Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme (Paris 1898); Supplément (1899) [RÉC# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the sign list]

RGTC

RGTC 1

RGTC 2

RHR
Revue de l'histoire des religions (Paris 1880–)

RIAA
L. Speleers, Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles: Textes sumériens, babyloniens et assyriens (Brussels 1925)

RIME
Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods (Toronto 1993–2008)

RIME 1
D. R. Frayne, Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC) (Toronto 2008)

RIME 2
D. R. Frayne, Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC) (Toronto 1993)

RIME 3/1
D. O. Edzard, Gudea and his Dynasty (Toronto 1997)

RIME 3/2
D. R. Frayne, Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC) (Toronto 1997)

RIÄ
Realelexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie) (Berlin, Leipzig 1928/32–)

Rochester
Sigrist, M., Documents from Tablet Collections in Rochester, New York, Bethesda, MD, 1991

RSO
Rivista degli studi orientali (Rome 1907–)
RSP Y. Rosengarten, Répertoire commenté des signes présargoniques sumériens de Lagaš (Paris 1967) [RSP# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the sign list]

RTC F. Thureau-Dangin, Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes (Paris 1903)


SAKI F. Thureau-Dangin, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek Bd. 1, Abteilung 1 (Leipzig 1907)


SANTAG SANTAG. Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde (Wiesbaden 1990–)

SANTAG 7 T. Ozaki, Keilschrifttexte aus japanischen Sammlungen. SANTAG 7 (Wiesbaden 2002)


SAT 1 M. Sigrist, Texts in the British Museum. Sumerian Archival Texts 1 (Bethesda, MD, 1993)

SAT 2 M. Sigrist, Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections, Part 1. Sumerian Archival Texts 2 (Bethesda, MD, 2000)

SCT C. H. Gordon, Smith College Tablets: 110 Cuneiform Texts Selected from the College Collection (Northampton, MA, 1952)

SET T. B. Jones & J. W. Snyder, Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty: A Catalogue and Discussion of Documents from Various Collections (Minneapolis, MN, 1961)


SF A. Deimel, Schultexte aus Fara. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 43 (Leipzig 1923)

SIA Z. Yang, Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab. The Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations Periodic Publications on Ancient Civilizations 1 (Changchun 1989)

Six City-State Cultures M. H. Hansen, (ed.), A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen
Polis Centre. Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 27 (Copenhagen 2002)

SKIZ
W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin-Zeit (Leiden 1965)

SMS
Monographic Journals of the Near East. Syro-Mesopotamian Studies (Malibu, FL, 1977–)

SMS 5/1
L. Milano, Mozan 2: The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season (Malibu, FL, 1991)

SNAT
T. Gomi & S. Sato, Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum (Abiko 1990)

SRU

STA
E. Chiera, Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem: Cuneiform Tablets in the Library of Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, 1922

StEb
Studi Eblaiti (Rome 1979–)

StEL
Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Verona 1984–)

StOr
Studia Orientalia (Helsinki 1925–)

StPohl
Studia Pohl: dissertationes scientifcaae de rebus Orientis antiqui (Rome 1967–)

StPohl 1
F. Gröndahl, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit (Rome 1967)

StPohl 2
See Tierbilder

StPohl 6

StPohl 9
See AWL

StPohl 10
G. Farber-Flügge, Der Mythos “Inanna und Enki” unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der m e (Rome 1973)

StPohl SM
Studia Pohl Series Maior (Rome 1969–)

StPohl SM 2
A. J. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur (Rome 1973)

StPohl SM 13
A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2, Supplement (Rome 1986)

StPohl SM 16
R. A. di Vito, Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names: The Designation and Conception of the Personal God (Rome 1993)

StPohl SM 17
G. Cunningham, ‘Deliver Me from Evil’: Mesopotamian Incantations 2500-1500 BC. (Rome 1997)

STTI
Subartu 2  
F. Ismail et al., *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993–1994)*. Subartu 2 (Turnhout 1996) [Subartu2-X\# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the list of unidentified signs, p. 56f.]

Subartu 4/2  

Subartu 12  

Sumer  

Šulgi A  

Šulgi C  
G. R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)* (Rome 1973), 243–294

Šulgi D  

TCABI  

TCL 5  

TCS 3  

TCTI 1  

TCTI 2  

TCVBI  

TCVC  

TH  
The Sumerian Temple Hymns, see TCS 3

Tierbilder  
W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur*. StPohl 2 (Rome 1968)

xxxii
| TIM | Texts in the Iraq Museum Published by the Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad (Baghdad, Wiesbaden, etc., 1964–) |

**Titles**

| Titles | W. W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis.* AOS 43 (New Haven, CT, 1957) |

**TMH**

Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena (Leipzig, etc., 1932–)

**TMH 5**

A. Pohl, *Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* (Leipzig 1935)

**TMH NF 1–2**

A. Pohl, *Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur. TMH Neue Folge 1–2* (Leipzig 1937)

**Toronto 1**


**TRU**


**TSA**


**TSŠ**


**TSU**


**TUT**


**Tutub**


**UE**


**UE 2**


**UE 3**

L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal Impressions* (London &
Philadelphia, PA, 1936)

UE 10

UET

UET 1

UET 2
E. Burrows, *Archaic Texts* (London 1935). [UET2-# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the sign list, pl. 1–34]

UET 3

UET 5

UET 7
O. R. Gurney, *Middle Babylonian Legal Documents and Other Texts* (London 1974)

UET 8

UHF

UNT
H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*. Studi economici e tecnologici 1 (Rome 1972)

*Urban Mind*
P. J. J. Sinclair, G. Nordquist, F. Herschend & C. Isendahl (eds.), *The Urban Mind: Cultural and Environmental Dynamics* (Uppsala 2010)

Urnamma A
E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 93–182

Urnamma B
E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 183–203

Urnamma C
E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 204–227

Urnamma D
E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 228–259

Urnamma EF
E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 260–289

Urnamma G
E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 290–296

USP

UVB
...er Vorläufiger Bericht über die von (dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der DOG aus Mitteln) der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen / unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka (Berlin etc. 1930–)

VE
The Vocabulary of Ebla, see MEE 4

VS
Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (vols. 1–16, Berlin 1907–1917); Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (vols. 17–


*Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Wuppertal/Göttingen 1947/52–)

Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts (New Haven, CT, & London 1915–)


C. E. Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty* (New Haven, CT, & London 1915)

F. J. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria* (New Haven, CT, & London 1937)

J. J. Finkelstein, *Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters* (New Haven, CT, & London 1972)

A. Goetze & B. R. Foster, *Cuneiform Texts from Various Collections* (New Haven, CT, & London 2010)


*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* etc (Berlin, New York 1886–)

M. W. Green, H. Nissen et al., *Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk. ADFU 11* (Berlin 1987) [ZATU# refers to the sign with corresponding number in the sign list]
Technical Abbreviations

Abbreviations of royal names in ED datings of texts etc. mainly follow those used by E. Sollberger, *CIRPL*, and H. Steible ABW, with some additions.

(*#) In discussions denotes discrete entries e.g. in lists of PNN or exercise texts dating to the period 2800–2200 BCE

(af) In discussions denotes estimated number of persons attested as bearing a variant of a certain name during the period 2800–2200 BCE

3H Excavation no. of the third American expedition to Lagaš
4H Excavation no. of the fourth American expedition to Lagaš
4N Excavation no. of the fourth American expedition to Nippur
5N Excavation no. of the fifth American expedition to Nippur
6N Excavation no. of the sixth American expedition to Nippur
7N Excavation no. of the seventh American expedition to Nippur
A Siglum for tablets in the Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
Akg. Akurgal, 2nd ruler of the 1st Lagaš Dynasty, c. 2470 BCE
Akk. Akkadian
AO Siglum for tablets and inscribed objects in the collection Antiquités orientales of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
Ashm Siglum for tablets in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
b. In lists of attestations: brother
BCE Before the Common Era
BM Siglum for tablets in the British Museum, London
CDLI P Photo in database of Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, http://cdli.ucla.edu
CN Canal name
CS Classic Sargonic, c. 2240–2200 BCE
DN(N) Divine name(s)
Ean. Eanatum, 3rd ruler of the 1st Lagaš dynasty, c. 2450 BCE
ED I-II Early Dynastic I-II, c. 2900–2700 BCE
ED IIIa Early Dynastic IIIa, c. 2700–2550 BCE
ED IIIb Early Dynastic IIIb, c. 2550–2335 BCE
Edin Siglum for tablets in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
Eig. Eiginimpae, ruler of Adab, c. 2520 BCE
En. I  Enanatum I, 4th ruler of the 1st Lagaš dynasty, c. 2420 BCE
En. II  Enanatum II, 6th ruler of the 1st Lagaš dynasty, c. 2370 BCE
Enšak.  Enšakušana, ruler of an ED Uruk dynasty, c. 2350 BCE
Ent.  Enmetena, 5th ruler of the 1st Lagaš dynasty, c. 2400 BCE
Enz.  Enentarzi, 7th ruler of the 1st Lagaš Dynasty, c. 2360 BCE
ES  Early Sargonic, c. 2330–2260 BCE
EŞEM  Siglum for tablets in Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi, Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul
f.  In lists of attestations: father
ff.  In lists of attestations: grandfather or forefather
FN  Field name
FPN(N)  Female personal name(s)
GN(N)  Geographical name(s)
h.  In lists of attestations: husband
IM  Siglum for tablets and inscribed objects in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
L  Siglum for Girsu tablets in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
LS  Late Sargonic, c. 2200–2150 BCE
Lug.  LugalAnDa, penultimate ruler of the 1st Lagaš dynasty, c. 2350 BCE
Lukin.  LugalKigubnišedu, ruler of an ED Uruk dynasty, c. 2400 BCE
Lukis.  LugalKisalsi, ruler of an ED Uruk dynasty, c. 2380 BCE
Luzag.  LugalZagesi, last ruler of the ED Umma-Uruk dynasty, c. 2340 BCE
M(N)  Month (name)
MA  Middle Assyrian
Man.  *Maništušu*, son of Šarrukēn of Akkade, c. 2280–2260 BCE.
MB  Middle Babylonian
MMA  Siglum for tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY
MPN(N)  Male personal name(s)
MS  Middle Sargonic, c. 2280–2240 BCE
n(n).  In index section, footnote(s)
NBC  Siglum for tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, CT
Ni  Siglum for Nippur tablets in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
NS.  *Narām*-Su’ēn, penultimate ruler of the 1st Akkade dynasty, c.
<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Siglum for tablets in the Carol McDonald Gardner Rare Book Room, St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, MO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>Excavation no. of the German expeditions to Uruk-Warka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YBC</td>
<td>Siglum for tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven CT</td>
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<td>Year name(s)</td>
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1. Introduction

This study is focused primarily on certain name types in the early literate societies in the Mesopotamian cultural area, about 2800–2200 BCE, and the veneration of human and divine patrons in them. Early historic Mesopotamia consisted of city-states, each of which had its social elite and a divine counterpart, tied together with those of other city-states in a political, economic and religious framework. Most written sources were in the Sumerian language, in cuneiform writing.

In the course of the 3rd millennium BCE, power became concentrated in the hands of strong urban elites. The leaders of this process portrayed their position using a language firmly rooted in religious ideals of the times, even though the process was not uniform in all places and at all times. Local and regional strategies differed, and toward the end of the 3rd millennium the divine nature of the ruler had become religious dogma. By this time, territorial state formations had emerged, ruled successively by the Semitic-speaking Akkade dynasty and the last Sumerian-speaking dynasty of Ur III. Although civil authorities like councils of elders or popular assemblies did exist, they would never be as influential in Near Eastern societies as the palace and the autocratic ruler. The idea of a single king, authorized by divine backing, was an enduring concept in Mesopotamian myth as well as politics, though the extent of the king’s influence of course varied with time.

Personal names will be shown to offer insight into developments in ideas concerning the interdependence of human and divine rulership. Ancient Mesopotamian names were meaningful and often convey information on aspects of both civic and private life, of prevalent value systems and their relevance to the people. By delimiting and contextualizing the onomastic material and by comparing it to the historic, literary and material output of

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1 Such elites most certainly also existed already by the late 4th millennium. I define urban here as indicative of strong ties to central settlements. Elite implies families wealthy and influential enough to be able to procure materials and people for accomplishing organizational, economic, architectural and military feats characteristic of early Mesopotamian kingship. See, generally, section 1.6 and Chapter 6, below.

2 See A. Westenholz & W. Sallaberger, Annäherungen 3, for a closer look at these periods.

3 In the following, some attempts have been made to make the terminology harmonize with that used within the field of onomastic studies. For a discussion of issues concerning terminology adopted here, see T. Witkowski, Namenforschung, 288–294.
Mesopotamian civilizations a number of lingering questions surrounding key figures in the political and religious spheres may find their answers.

1.1 The aim of the study

From around 3000 BCE onwards, written documentation provides information on many different aspects of life in the ancient Near East. Names of people and places are abundant. A number of local calendars were in use in which months were named, for instance, after events in the agricultural cycle or locally significant festivals. Certain objects relevant to individuals could also receive names. The onomastic corpora of these peoples contain many thousands of names of individuals, and several hundred names of deities, locations and dozens of commemorative objects, specific occasions and moments in time. Sumerian names are by far more common at all times in the south during the 3rd millennium BCE. In the north Akkadian names are more frequent. These all carry the potential for shedding light on the history of ideas in the early literate societies. The crucial point for a survey centered on personal names is that, in most cases, ancient Mesopotamian Sumerian and Akkadian names were both comprehensible and meaningful. In the words of I. J. Gelb:

The first observation that can be made about ancient Near Eastern personal names is that they are generally easy to understand. The reason for this comprehensibility is that they were usually couched in the current language of the person or persons giving the name. The reason for their being couched in the current language of the name-givers was that the latter customarily formed names for their children in order to express a sentiment, a wish, or gratitude, revolving around their progeny or themselves.  

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4 The approximate dates are hereafter based on the Middle Chronology, following J. A. Brinkman, apud A. L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, revised ed., Appendix, p. 335–348. The Middle Chronology is in general held to be too high, but is used here for practical reasons since most scholarly material on the 3rd millennium BCE published in the last 30 odd years has used this chronology. For an overview of chronological considerations for dating texts based on tablet shape, layout and appearance of script, see, e.g. M. Maiocchi, CUSAS 13, 5f.  
5 R. A. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 18; 123. ‘Sumerian’ and ‘Akkadian’ in the following, refer to ethno-linguistic entities whose names can be etymologized and explained using the grammar and lexicon of respective language. The Sumerian language is a linguistic isolate. Akkadian, a member of the Semitic language family, is the more problematic of the two. It is taken to include pre-Sargonic Mesopotamian and north Syrian Semitic onomastic material; a division which will certainly not be to everyone’s liking. The question on Sumerian versus Akkadian has been problematized several times; in relation to onomastic material aptly by B. Foster, OrNS 51 (1982), 297–354.  
6 I. J. Gelb, Names 10 (1962), 47.
Not only, then, were names meaningful, but they performed a function beyond the mere identification of an individual: they expressed, to the best of our knowledge, thanksgiving or well-wishes for the name-bearer. The world view of the ancients was inseparably tied to religious beliefs. Thoughts about important personas in human society, and divine actors on a cosmic scale, found outlets in the onomasticon. But having said this, it is difficult to prove whether the literal meaning of names can and should be taken at face value or rather as elaborations on beliefs current in society at the time when specific names were coined. R. di Vito saw the literal meaning of names as virtually meaningless after the time after their coining. A. Westenholz, on the other hand, regarded the distribution of theonyms in Old Akkadian PNN as evidence of sorts against di Vito’s rather pessimistic stance, but he also concedes that the literal meaning was “mostly unimportant.” It will be argued here that name-givers made use of a culture-specific set of symbols, governed by and reinforcing social and religious order. This means that the literal meaning is at all times subordinate to the symbolic associations the names evoked, but that the underlying concepts of the name had to be both factual and actual. Factual in the sense that the statement contained in the name had to convey a meaning that was in accordance with reality as perceived by the name-giver; and actual in the sense that the meaning was seen as applicable to the name-giving situation.

This study will attempt to uncover key elements in the systems of beliefs surrounding early human and divine lordship in Mesopotamia. Central to this undertaking will be to pinpoint characteristic ideas – religious, socio-economical or political – that were connected with the ruler, or ‘king,’ when used about humans; and ‘lord,’ when signifying male divinities. The appellatives normally thought of as roughly corresponding to these modern translations were lugal with the Sumerians, and šarrum with the Akkadians. Sumerian names containing lugal are by far more common than

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7 StPohl SM 16, esp. p. 92f. w. fn. 71, and 270–273.
8 Annäherungen 3, 79.
9 Six city-State Cultures, 34f.
11 The system for rendering sibilants in this study is based on the model of W. Sommerfeld, Tutub, 26–28. In transliterations, š denotes an etymological value other than š < θ. Exact correspondences are at times thorny due to inconsistencies in cuneiform orthography. The word šarrum is consistently given as such for Sargonic and earlier Akkadian passages, while words which originally featured š may be given with š when referring to citation forms of the major dictionaries. For further reading on the early sibilants, see G. Rubio, The Akkadian Language in its Semitic Context, 114f.; ibid. NABU 2009/66.; R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 135–145; and also the introductory remarks by B. Kienast, FAOS 8, vii-viii.
12 For a problematization of this equation depending on the Hebrew, Greek and Latin terms for ‘king,’ see D. O. Edzard, CRRA 19, 146f.; and W. G. Lambert, JSOTS 270, 54–57.
śarrum-names, both generally speaking and when seen in relation to other name types within the respective linguistic groups. More space will therefore be devoted to discussing them. The central lines of questioning in the present study explore the place and function of these groups of names within the early Sumerian and Akkadian onomastics:

- What are the meanings behind names that can be understood and which semantic patterns are visible?
- What kinds of relationships existed between personal names containing the appellative lugal and the development of institutionalized kingship on the one hand, and theological notions on the other?

The only way to obtain answers to the above questions is to note the relative distribution over time and space of the relevant names; and from that point, to try and assess how common the lugal- and śarrum-names were in relation to other contemporary onomastic material. The work will, by necessity then, also include many observations on onomastics in general, as well as on language development and on the history of early Mesopotamian religion.

It is regrettable that a study of this size can only superficially treat other significant appellatives current in early Mesopotamian name-giving. Important among these are lu₂, en, minun and nin in Sumerian names, and ba’lum and malkum in Akkadian names. To arrive at a better picture of the relationships between these appellatives and of the early Mesopotamian onomastic traditions, all of the aforementioned appellatives require dedicated and systematic study.13

By contextualizing and contrasting Sumerian and Akkadian names of similar kinds of meaning or structure, some conclusions concerning the differences and similarities between the naming traditions of these two languages will be reached. But diachronic study will most likely also show divergences in naming patterns due to local and regional preferences within these linguistic units, and perhaps even differences based on the socio-economic position of name-bearers. It would be vain to believe that all names can meet with an explanation. This is of course not the case. But in collecting and cataloguing names with a common feature, and in subjecting them to analyses and grouping them into categories, even those that are not fully understood at present, are made available for further scrutiny by the scholarly community. Even being able to assign a small percentage with a

13 A systematic study of these other appellatives is not attempted here. See generally the remarks below, sections 1.6.1.2, 2.3.2, 2.4.3, 5.2.2–5.2.3, and 5.3. For many insightful perspectives on early titulature and its application, both in Sumerian and in Akkadian, see G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, especially p. 103–113.
large degree of certainty to one referent or another, be it a divinity or a human referent, would still add to the knowledge about early 3rd millennium naming practice.

A hypothesis for this work is that names containing the appellatives lugal and śarrum will demonstrate local differences resulting from the specific political-ideological or theological peculiarities of the area in which the names were current. A larger degree of uniformity will be expected as Mesopotamia entered into an era of territorial states, and perhaps also with the development of a common literary legacy. Since the sources are not evenly distributed over space and time, any conclusions reached have to take this state of affairs into consideration. Another working hypothesis is that the writing of names ought to have differed between different areas in accordance with the level of acquaintance with the language conveyed by the name in that area in general, and by the scribe writing down the name in particular.

The relevant names are subjected to a philological method, consisting of combined structural and semantic analyses, aided by a number of quantitative investigations of orthography and distribution of key lemmas. The quantitative studies are intended as illustrations or overviews of statistic distribution of certain name types and orthographic patterns. Special attention is paid to local and regional differences between the above-mentioned systems of belief, but also to similarities that could be useful in understanding how both divine and human rulership were regarded, explained, and consolidated over a period of about 600 years, between 2800 and 2200 BCE. Comparative materials are used to clarify ideas expressed in the names. The method will be described in greater detail in section 1.3, and in the introduction to Chapter 3.

1.1.1 Theoretical background

I shall assume, based on the general comprehensibility of names and the existence of observable structural and semantic patterns in Mesopotamian naming practices, that names fulfilled a number of functions over and above the identification of an individual. The primary functions were social in that they designated a person and made him or her available for repeated reference by others who came into contact with that person. But since the language of names is to such a large extent of a religious nature, names also served to confirm the cultural order of society. Although little is known about the act of name-giving in early Mesopotamia, anthropological

14 In structural functionalist terms I believe that society and religion are interrelated, and that the social structures to a great degree determine those of the religious system, see, e.g. G. Cunningham, Religion & Magic, 42.
evidence suggests that, even if it was performed within the context of the closest family, it took place with a degree of formality.\textsuperscript{15}

Early Mesopotamian personal names can quite easily be interpreted as if they were meant to be favourable for the individuals bearing them.\textsuperscript{16} Objects were often given names relating to their function,\textsuperscript{17} and many deities bore names relating to their area of responsibilities, and thus, names were part of the essence of that which was designated.\textsuperscript{18} As in many traditional cultures, having children who could offer support in old age was equal to having a life insurance. In later Mesopotamian cultures, and elsewhere also, childlessness was regarded as a punishment of the gods,\textsuperscript{19} and there is evidence that children ideally were expected to care for the spirits of their deceased parents in the beyond.\textsuperscript{20} While systematic evidence of the honouring of deceased ancestors is wanting for large parts of the population, it is at least attested with respect to royal families during the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium.\textsuperscript{21} A name with good implications for the future would be to the advantage of everybody in the close family and may be considered to be a relatively basic way of influencing one’s own future by means of positive verbal association clothed in religious terms.\textsuperscript{22} Name-giving in Mesopotamian societies may, in the words of Mary Douglas, be characterized as expressions of devoutly employed high ritualism.\textsuperscript{23} That is, there was a belief in traditionally efficacious symbols and formulae to achieve wanted ends, but these were chosen and manipulated to reflect the social contexts in which they were used. This could be done because of the flexibility inherent in the religious

\textsuperscript{15} See the persuasive comparison of nouns and proper names by M. Lambek, The Anthropology of Names and Naming, 120–124.
\textsuperscript{16} For the early periods this is rarely alluded to, but see for instance Izi G 53–56 quoted in CAD s.v. \textit{šumu}: mu \textit{du₄₀}₅ₐ-ga = \textit{MU \textit{ta-a-bu}}, \textit{MU nu-du₄₀}₅ₐ-ga = \textit{MU \textit{la MIN}}, ‘favourable’ and ‘unfavourable name,’ respectively, following upon \textit{mu sig₅-ga = MU \textit{dam-qu}}, \textit{mu nu-MIN} = \textit{MU \textit{la MIN}} ‘good’ and ‘bad reputation’; and the epithet \textit{mu du₂₁}ₙ₂-a ‘named with a good name’ used by Eanatum and Enanatum I of Lagaš, FAOS 6, 282f. s.v. sa₄ 1b.
\textsuperscript{17} Z. Bahrani, The Babylonian World, 168.
\textsuperscript{18} See K. Radner, Die Macht des Namens, 15f. with many references.
\textsuperscript{19} See for instance M. Stol, StEb 8 (1991), 200, for evidence of this view in name-giving.
\textsuperscript{20} See generally M. Bayliss, \textit{Iraq} 35 (1973), 115–125.
\textsuperscript{21} See, in general, G. Jonker, The Topography of Remembrance.
\textsuperscript{22} Thus J. Bauer, \textit{WO} 6 (1970–71), 110: “Man mag bedenken, daß man das Unglück nicht nennt, um es nicht herbeizurufen und ihm Dauer zu verleihen.”
\textsuperscript{23} Natural Symbols, 28. Instead of a definition which would separate magic from religion, Douglas chose to characterize symbolic attitudes on the basis of low or high concerns “that efficacious symbols be correctly manipulated and that the right words be pronounced in the right order,” \textit{loc. cit.} The extreme of the “high ritualist” end of the spectrum can be seen, for instance, in the highly formalized celebrations of the New Year festivities in 1\textsuperscript{st} millennium BCE Babylonia. See also G. Cunningham, StPohl SM 17, 181.
system itself, as it had developed during the course of countless centuries from pre- and protohistoric times.  

Names thus performed a social function. The older generations to some extent could partake in shaping their own future destiny, but primarily that of their descendant. Social bonds between members of the family were confirmed. And by invoking power-laden symbols and religious terms, the family could strengthen the efficacy of the positive associations inherent in the name. The word “symbol” is used to denote not only visibly or materially significant representations but also spoken words. Potent imagery could in theory be borrowed from any aspect of human culture.

Different kinds of sources which could inspire name-giving were available to the vast illiterate or modestly educated masses. A comparison may be drawn to the early 2nd millennium, for which a decent body of incantations in the vernacular Babylonian and Assyrian dialects are known; rarely in more than one copy, though often with associated ideas and formulae. The incantations are regarded by some scholars as couched in the oral poetry of their times, hence more accessible and widely known than the scholarly works of a specialized theological nature.

But names were not limited to the immediate family surroundings. Outside of the home names functioned on another level. They associated the name-bearer with the cultural order to which others in his or her linguistic context also belonged. Names by sheer number and relative uniformity strengthened the commonly accepted cultural and religious concepts. They did this without necessarily being limited to a fixed set of religious dogmas, because they stemmed from a personal perspective on the world. Serving as condensed statements of the physical and mental world order, names, simply put, were social and cultural motors in themselves of considerable flexibility. They borrowed, adapted, and reinforced the symbolic associations of society and culture and helped strengthen the bond between the individual and society.

With this said, the concepts underlying symbolic associations merit explanations, or attempts at explanations. One might characterize this search for meaning as divided into two parts: one being an understanding of the cognitive processes underlying the naming in itself, the other those manifested by the symbols used. The attempts at explanation on the other hand depends to a greater extent on comparative material and is constantly at risk of being fundamentally subjective and intuitive, thereby not being

24 See, e.g. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 5: “The native of any culture naturally thinks of himself as receiving passively his ideas of power and danger in the universe, discounting any minor modifications he himself may have contributed.”
verifiable.\textsuperscript{27} That is, interpreters may claim intimate knowledge of the cultural aspects involved, without openly displaying the underpinnings for their interpretations, or they may accept the material at face value. The material is therefore offered here in the form of a thematic discussion which sets out to present the basis for interpretations, and this form may be a platform for a continuous discussion on the feasibility of such a method. Understanding the processes of the minds of the ancients is an objective in itself,\textsuperscript{28} but it is equally relevant to explain the expressions resulting from the combinations of potent symbols to understand the significance of names, over and beyond the mental processes they shed light on.

1.1.2 Reasons for the study

For a good century and a half, Mesopotamian kings and their exercise of kingship have been studied in great detail. Several editions of royal inscriptions and numerous works on the political achievements of single rulers or entire dynasties have been edited and made available to the scholarly as well as a wider public.\textsuperscript{29} Still, not much is known today about what people outside of the royal courts thought of the human ruler; arguably – since early historic times at least – the single most important person in society. The king would often portray his position as one instated by the gods. Images of divine selection, patronship and continuing support are commonplace in royal inscriptions of different kinds. But to what degree would such imagery be accepted and adhered to by his subjects? And from where did ideas associated with the human regent and his unique position in the world originate?

Much of the work that has been done on royal ideology has focused on the Ur III and Neo Assyrian periods and has perhaps been too eager to point out similarities instead of underlining and trying to understand the differences that existed between the kingship of different historical periods.\textsuperscript{30} An exception is the recent work of G. Marchesi and N. Marchetti, \textit{Royal Statuary of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia}.\textsuperscript{31} Though their book contains many important insights into the political development of early historic Mesopotamian states, and a handy collection of illustrations of inscribed objects – and to which this work to some extent will be indebted – the index of that volume only contains some 20 writings of contemporary lugal-names.

\textsuperscript{27} C. Renfrew, \textit{The Ancient Mind}, 6.
\textsuperscript{28} C. Renfrew, \textit{The Ancient Mind}, 9.
\textsuperscript{29} The ones being the most important for the time periods touched upon here are: \textit{SAKI}; \textit{IRSA}; \textit{ABW}; \textit{SARI}; \textit{FAOS} 7 and the Toronto RIME series.
\textsuperscript{30} See the discussion and an overview of research, S. Franke, \textit{Königsinschriften}, 32–35.
\textsuperscript{31} Published in 2011.
A weighty argument for directing one’s attention to the period before Ur III is the differences between earlier and Ur III kingship. The Ur III state was a full-blown empire-like administrative regime. And although they stood on the shoulders of the kings of Akkade, the Ur III period was characterized by far more peaceful circumstances than the Sargonic period. The nature of Ur III kingship is documented by historical inscriptions, hymns and personal names alike. The rulers were for the most part deified during their own lifetime, something which only exceptionally was the case in earlier periods. In a few words, attitudes surrounding kingship are better understood with regards to the Ur III period. If ideas concerning kingship from earlier periods influenced the Ur III royal and political ideology it is relevant to investigate this earlier material.

Written sources from the 3rd millennium all the way down to the end of the first millennium BCE share a common outlook on the institution of kingship: it was considered the pinnacle of human civilization and a position which more or less separated evolved cultures from less civilized ones. It is not merely a matter of late historians taking an interest in monarchs of old who once wrote history; the ancient records are replete with observations on the nature of kingship and its repercussions in the world of men.32

As the historical documentation of ancient Near Eastern monarchy makes such frequent use of religious terminology, and since monarchs themselves at times could aspire to be divine, the socio-political process can hardly be separated from religious thought and speculations. The interplay between the royal and the divine needs to be considered. Reflexes of the prime royal appellatives as they appear in the onomastic material can be used as a point of departure, but a complete separation between statements that primarily concerned deities and those that concerned human regents or other prominent figures in society can probably never be fully undertaken. Many names may indeed have referred equally well to a divinity as to a historical person, all depending on the context surrounding the people involved in the name-giving event; a context which almost always escapes deeper insight. Comparing the onomastic data with other epigraphic and archaeological materials ought reasonably to offer the best basis for obtaining a more complete understanding of the ideology of rulership in 3rd millennium BCE Mesopotamia, especially from the point of view of the subjects.

This survey is to serve as a complement to the sources which have been predominant in the study of early Mesopotamian kingship: the statements of the rulers and their closest kin themselves, paired with economic and archaeological data. While the latter two categories of source materials can

32 Among the many works written on the subject, see e.g. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Das geistige Erfassen der Welt im Alten Orient*, 167–190, with many refs.; A. Westenholz, *Annäherungen* 3, 26–28.
more readily be seen as facts on the ground, they are often silent on motivational factors and on the human need for rationalizing the surrounding world, so prominent in religion and arts. Through names one can attempt to display the forces that fuelled a long-term social and ideological process toward centralization of power, and the lasting dominion of political dynasties. The combined corpus of PNN offers a source of information which, having their origin in the context of families and therefore primarily reflecting their primary concerns, to a large extent was devoid of official bias and royal propaganda. That is to say, that it is unlikely that all individuals carrying names celebrating the king had anything to gain from doing so; as it would entail being brought to the king’s attention, either by reputation or when meeting with him face to face. In the cases of some prominent officials, however, the situation may have to be interpreted differently.

1.2 Name and appellative

This investigation makes use of general linguistic terms as well as terminology current in Assyriology. It is necessary first to direct attention toward the ancient vocabularies in connection with names. After this, a survey of previous work on Mesopotamian onomastics follows suit. Further notes on the name types to which this study is devoted are found in sections 2.3.3 and 2.4.3.

1.2.1 Names and their contexts of use

The giving of names may rightfully be considered one of the most basic functions of a language. Proper names dealt with in the following denote primarily human subjects. But proper names could equally well denote a place or an event, such as a festival or another delimited time-span. A name differs from referential markers such as pronouns in that the latter imply contextual knowledge of the subject or object.

The Sumerian and Akkadian words for ‘name’ were mu and šumum, respectively. In Sumerian, mu also denoted ‘year.’ Though the etymology

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33 R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 18; A. Westenholz, Six City-State Cultures, 34.
35 See for instance W. van Langendonck, Theory and Typology of Proper Names, 22. This idea ultimately goes back to John Stuart Mill. See for example O. F. Summerell, Namenforschung, 370f., section 7.1.
36 The meaning (male) offspring, MAD 3 274 s.v. ŠM šumum; CAD Ş/3 s.v. šumu, 4.; AHw, 1275, B, is anachronistic for the Sargonic period. All instances from 3rd millennium curse formulae referred to in the dictionaries are all more likely to mean ‘name,’ whereas ‘offspring’ is rendered by the sign nitaḫ/us. The personal names cited do not contradict this.
of that word may be wholly different, it is perhaps no coincidence that, beginning in the late ED period, the Sumerian basis for year reckoning consisted of year formulae recalling an important event from the previous year.\textsuperscript{38}

Name and object were viewed as virtually inseparable; qualities inherent in any named object was manifest in the name itself. By extension, inanimate objects were also given names inseparable from their function, something to which scholars ancient and modern have devoted quite some time and effort.\textsuperscript{39}

The cuneiform writing system, orthographic developments over time and local fashions meant that a certain name could be written in a variety of ways. The use of Sumerian word signs, logograms, to convey an Akkadian word is commonplace also outside of the onomastic corpus. Here, name or PN refers both to any given writing of a particular name and to the name in an idealized form combining known, morphologically comparable variants into a standard form which for instance would correspond to the lexical lemmas found in the major Assyriological dictionaries. For instance, Akkadian \textit{i₃}-\textit{li₂}-\textit{be-li₂} and \textit{i₃}-\textit{li₂}-\textit{be₆-li₂} are considered as local, phonetically conditioned variants of the same name: /\textit{iš}-\textit{ba-li}/ ‘my god is my lord.’ It can be compared with later \textit{iš}-\textit{bēli}. Sometimes the equation of two readings is conjectured and merits further discussion.

Practices known from later periods like the use of ancestral or family names, and of naming animals, are not attested in the periods touched upon here.\textsuperscript{40} Hypocoristic forms of PNN, so-called pet names, are attested with some frequency in later Akkadian onomastic traditions. Such names exhibit structural shortening, or have one or more components substituted for a diminutive morpheme, similar to hypocoristica in modern languages.\textsuperscript{41} A name type commonly referred to as Banana-names, which exhibit reduplication of the second syllable,\textsuperscript{42} and a few other types, might in certain

\begin{footnotes}
\item[37] The variant term \textit{mu an-na}, which appears in logographic use in later times, appears to be used with no distinguishable difference in meaning. See \textit{CAD Š/2} s.v. \textit{šattu}; and see H. Hunger, \textit{JAOS} 116 (1996), 777, note to p. 401.
\item[38] For the earliest YNN, from Nippur, see A. Westenholz, \textit{JCS} 26 (1974), 154–156.
\item[39] See the discussions of G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 148 w. fnn. 94–95; and 162, with references. Ancient examples are the learned explanations of the 50 names granted to Marduk in the Babylonian epic \textit{Enûma eliš}.
\item[40] J. A. Brinkman, \textit{Fs Leichty}, 23–43, contains a summary of studies on 2nd and 1st millennium ancestral names. On the subject of animal names, see G. Farber, \textit{Fs Kraus}, 34–36; and K. Radner, \textit{Die Macht des Namens}, 35–37. R. Harris noted that, in OB Sippar at least, names of bovines were patterned after slave names, \textit{JCS} 29 (1977), fn. 15, p. 51.
\item[41] L. Bloomfield \textit{Language}, 157, compares, e.g., the English names Tom (from Thomas), Will (< William), Dan (< Daniel) with names adding the diminutive suffix –\textit{y/-ie}, as in Maggie (< Margaret) or Billy (< William).
\item[42] Called iterative names by T. J. Meek, HSS 10, xiii w. fn. 27, xiv; \textit{RA} 32 (1935), 51–55.
\end{footnotes}
cases represent structural abbreviations. Some evidence exists for hypocoristica, both in the Sumerian and the Sargonic onomastic corpora.43

On a graphic level, names of people, cities, months and commemorative objects were generally written out in one line of a cuneiform text.44 Two personal names could be written in the same space on a tablet without the persons being identical. Also, filiations such as indications of family ties, profession or a person’s place of origin, could be placed in the same line as the person, or in a following line. Year names, in contrast, were originally quite often written over two or more lines, but should still be considered as a single semantic unit.

The present investigation is concerned mostly with the human onomasticon of mid 3rd millennium Mesopotamia. To enhance a line of argument, a year name (YN)45 or a geographical name (GN),46 names of months, statues or other commemorative objects may be drawn into discussions.

1.2.2 Previous research on Mesopotamian onomastics

Studies on the ancient Mesopotamian onomasticon have been around for a good century. They represent several different approaches to the study of the ancient Near East, and their central concerns have been either to document the onomastic source material with references to the texts in which they appear, or to treat the names more extensively by means of discussions.

During the first half of the 20th century a number of important studies were published. First out was H. Ranke’s Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie,47 which was superseded by J. J. Stamm when the latter published his Die akkadische Namengebung in 1939. Stamm’s book dealt with the situations in which names were given, and the different types of names were divided into categories based on their semantic contents. His categories were ingeniously devised and his discussions detailed to the point that the precision of a great deal of his conclusions

43 See below, 2.3.1.1 (Sumerian names), and 2.4.1 (Akkadian names). S. Langdon, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. 9, “Names (Sumerian),” 171, denied the existence of hypocoristica in the Sumerian onomastic tradition entirely.
44 Exceptions to this rule include an early month name found in G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Kaskal 2 (2005), 55–78 no. 9, noted by the authors, p. 60; the celebratory name of Eanatum in the Stele of the Vultures inscription, as well as the name of the latter monument; and some commemorative objects dedicated by Urukagina of Lagaš. K. Radner, Die Macht des Namens, 43–59, lists 105 objects with names from the time of Eanatum onwards.
45 ED IIIb and ES YNN are discussed in A. Westenholz, JCS 26 (1974), 154–156; Sargonic YNN are collected and commented on in RIME 2, 8; 40; 85–87; 182–186; FAOS 7, 49–61.
46 I. J. Gelb, JCS 15 (1961), 40–41 discusses the linguistic situation in early historical Syria from the extant GNN and draws parallels to the situation in Mesopotamia. On the same subject, see E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages, 41f.: 3.1; 570: 67.8.
47 Munich 1902.
remain firm today. Even though the book has now been around for about 70 years, it is still to all intents and purposes a cornerstone of cuneiform onomastic studies. The one drawback was hardly a fault of the author: the book does not contain many Akkadian personal names from the time before 2100 BCE.

The Finnish scholar K. L. Tallqvist published both a volume on Neo-Babylonian personal names, and one on Assyrian names. The latter was an exhaustive survey of the forms of Assyrian names from all periods based on the textual material known by that time. Both works are to be regarded as Namenbücher or catalogs, rather than as critical surveys, which does not necessarily detract from their practical use. Tallqvist’s readings and interpretations are to some extent in need of revision, but many have withstood the test of time.

The to-date only substantial treatment of Sumerian personal names is H. Limet’s L’anthroponymie sumérienne from 1968. Based on the onomasticon of 2100–2000 BCE Sumer, Limet surveyed the meanings of Sumerian names and what set them apart from Akkadian ones. To some extent he also drew older material into the discussions, but the main focus was on the Ur III period. Limet’s survey pointed to important differences between Sumerian and Akkadian personal names with regards to subject matter, syntax, and the relationship between name-bearer and name-giving situation. For reasons of accessibility, ease of reference, as well as sheer volume, it remains an invaluable addition to early Mesopotamian onomastic research. His influence will be readily noticeable in many of the interpretations presented in the present study.

K. Fenzel (later Abrahamsohn) tackled the problematic personal names of the oldest texts found at Ur in his 1967 unpublished Ph.D. thesis from the University of Innsbruck, “Präsargoniche Personennamen aus Ur (UET II).” Fenzel went about organizing the names by assigning a reading order to the component signs, and then attempted translations and subsequent links to the typology set up for Akkadian names by J. J. Stamm where the author saw fit.

In 1972, the revised version of J. J. M. Roberts’ 1969 Harvard dissertation was published under the title The Earliest Semitic Pantheon. It combined epigraphic and onomastic data in an attempt to define and describe the by then earliest witnesses to a regional Semitic pantheon. Since the Ebla

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48 Neubabylonisches Namensbuch, Helsinki 1905; Assyrian Personal Names, Leipzig 1914. 49 See M. Schretter & K. Oberhuber, Zwischen Euphrat und Tigris, 24 and fn. 61. The thesis was made available to me in electronic form through the kind and helpful assistance of Miss Martina Schmidl, Vienna, and K. V. Zand. Unfortunately I became aware of this thesis only at a late stage in my research and have therefore not been able to assess and include all of the relevant discussions in it. The manuscript is in a poor state and partly illegible due to age.
archives had not been found at that time, their absence is of course regrettable. But it must be said that the early Syrian and Old Akkadian pantheons are not wholly one and the same. The raw data for reconstructing qualities of deities in the Sargonic period, and the ideas surrounding them, largely consists of personal names. Many of the discussions hence relied solely or to a great extent on the onomastic material. Though Roberts received some strong criticism for parts of his conclusions on the personal god, his investigation managed to illustrate what kinds of information the onomastic material of the period can convey when put to systematic use.

A study in the vein of Roberts’ is another revised Ph.D. thesis: R. A. di Vito’s book on reflexes of the personal god in 3rd millennium Sumerian and Akkadian names. Names were investigated following a classification largely borrowed from Stamm’s work. Di Vito contributed a great deal to the understanding of certain names when presenting diagrams with variants, but he still struggled with the format for the presentation of names to illustrate their importance for the development of personal deities and the individual’s attachment to his personal faith. Names derived from the ED IIIb Ebla archives are unfortunately sorted under the preceding time period (Fara). In a similar fashion, entries from the ES Maništűšu Obelisk (MO), are attributed to the ED IIIb period. Though strictly speaking a considerable part of the names belong in the period before the accession of the Akkade dynasty, they would have added considerably to the Sargonic period attestations in di Vito’s tables and overviews. Furthermore, the mainstay of names in his survey were entered from indices to major publications, and hand copies or photographs were consulted primarily to inspect more suspicious writings.

In 2002, M. Krebernik treated the form and contents of the earliest Sumerian onomasticon in an important article. His study centered on exemplifying the earliest name-giving traditions, primarily using names from before the advent of the Akkade dynasty. Each grammatical or topical type was discussed, and several diagrams show the specifics of productive lemmas and their distribution over time and space. Krebernik’s study showed the way for further semantic analyses of the earliest Sumerian personal names.

1.2.2.1 Previous studies on PNN containing royal appellatives

As will become apparent during the course of this study, a considerable share of Sumerian PNN incorporated the appellative lugal, and a great deal

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50 3rd millennium texts only started to pour out of the ground at Ebla during the middle of the 1970’s. See P. Matthiae, The Royal Archives of Ebla.
52 Ibid., 19 with fn. 3. See W. G. Lambert's criticism, OrNS 64 (1995), 133.
of the Akkadian ones incorporated similar terms. In some places or archives, around 25% of the Sumerian names attested could incorporate lugal. This fact in itself warrants closer inspection of this type of onomastic material.

To try and make sense of the corpus of Sumerian lugal-names, D. O. Edzard devised 5 categories which in his view would cover the contents of the names: 1. a wish or (expression of) admiration; 2. the lugal in cultic functions; 3. the lugal in relation to epithets stemming from his activities and responsibilities; 4. the lugal and his residence; and 5. the lugal and the divine world. Edzard in most cases unfortunately did not ascribe specific names to these different categories. In all he treated 15 different lugal-names. Also, the statements contained in names belonging to categories 2, 3 and 5 can often be seen to overlap. However, ample and clear translations of names in his article allows one to follow the intended line of reasoning.

Similarly, A. Westenholz made an independent effort at defining qualities ascribed to the lugal, without paraphrasing Edzard, departing from a list of about 50 lugal-names. Westenholz suggested six different categories for describing the lugal: 1. strength, dominion and lordship; 2. wisdom; 3. justice and protection (communal or individual); 4. kindness and care; 5. provision of fertility in the land; and 6. cultic functions. Compared to Edzard’s categories, Westenholz’s are more diverse, and they allow for a more precise semantic categorization of lugal-names.

Neither Edzard nor Westenholz suggested that their divisions of the material into categories should be seen as iconic and self-contained semantic units. They were meant to serve merely as illustrative of traits associated with the figure of the lugal in names. Even so, their respective approaches may be used as an outline for discussions of these types of names and naming in general. Combining the categories suggested by the two provides more accuracy in some respects, especially for the large number of neutral statements on qualities attributable to just about any god, or to any decent individual in society. A considerable number of such general statements which revolve around the persona of the lugal, his physique, strength, and positive qualities will be collected under a separate heading (compare Edzard’s 1st category). The headings selected are by no means fool-proof, and objections to subdivisions may rightfully be raised and other solutions envisaged. The categories outlined serve as a structural aid for discussions

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54 An overview with diagrams for the most common appellatives doubling as royal titles can be found below, section 5.2.2.
55 CRRA 19, 141–149.
56 Ibid., 142: “Vœu et admiration; le lugal en fonction cultuelle; le lugal pourvu de certaines épithètes dérivant de ses activités et responsabilités; le lugal et sa résidence; le lugal et le monde des dieux.”
57 OSP 1, 6–8.
58 As this work was drawing to a close, M. Krebernik kindly directed my attention to an article by D. Foxvog, Fs. Kilmer, 59-97, in which Foxvog presents his views on late Early
and will be useful for the sake of comparison. Assigning a name to one category rather than another does not preclude that the name might be shown to have affinity with names discussed under other headings.

1.2.2.2 A study of Akkadian kyriophore names

In 2002, M. Hilgert published a survey of Akkadian kyriophore names of the Ur III period, a name type closely related to those investigated here. His study proved that there is much to be gained by comparing statements of names containing the king’s given name with contemporary epigraphic material. Hilgert’s basic approach was philological, first looking at the lexemes contained in the names, then dividing the names according to typology. The concluding section of Hilgert’s study was devoted to the statements of the names in relation to the royal ideology of the times.59 He formulated three main categories for the division of the statements relating to the ruler: 1. the connection between the ruler and the divine sphere; 2. the ruler and the ruled; and 3. the ruler and dominion.60 Compared to Edzard’s and Westenholz’s categories, the categories may have been overly inclusive, but the study benefits from being very clear with regard to the referent of the names.

Four main factors sets Hilgert’s work apart from the present investigation. Firstly, the names he studied are composed with the name of the king, not the appellative ‘king.’ The second point derives from the first that since the names in Hilgert’s study all contain the ruler’s given name there is no possible confusion as to whom the names refer to. Thirdly, all Ur III kings except the founder of the dynasty were deified during their lifetime. Finally, the names central to Hilgert’s study are all in Akkadian, but this does not detract from its value in respect to the present study.

1.3 Method

This work applies a philological method to the material, using, as far as possible, a hermeneutical approach which limits the basis for comparison to those Near Eastern cultures who wrote using Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform. Chapter 3 consists of a semantic analysis of the personal names relevant to the survey. Sumerian and Akkadian names are considered separately.

59 JBVO 5, 39–76. Compare also ibid., Imgula 5, 424f. fn. 52 (Amar-Su’en); 456 w. fn. 50 (Ibbi-Su’en); 488–490 (Šu-Su’en).
60 Ibid., 72: “Die Anbindung des Herrschers an die Sphäre des Göttlichen”; “Herrschers und Beherrschte(s)”; “Herrschers und Herrschaft.”
meriting different subsections for each language. The level of transparency and the existence of parallels has influenced the treatment of individual names.

Names are divided under nine main headings, devised much along the lines of Westenholz and Edzard, as recounted above, in the previous section. An overview in tabular format presents the distribution of the number of bearers of names pertaining to each semantic group, across different time periods and across different archival centers. Most of the nine categories concur with functions of the lugal and šarrum in royal inscriptions and other source types, but can sometimes equally be ascribed to divinities in religious contexts. The problem of assigning a referent to the appellative; to decide whether the name refers to a human by using a royal title, or to a god, using an epithet, is definitely the main crux of this survey. Different scholars agree that the best procedure for this type of survey consists of establishing existing parallel name forms. The task would then be to isolate names that do not have counterparts with theophores in place of the appellatives, and see what those names have in common.61 But this approach is not without flaws either. Regional differences, imperfectly preserved names and developments over time must also be considered. Therefore grouping the names into semantic headings will serve to ensure a higher level of certitude for conclusions proposed.

Chapter 4 consists of a tabulary overview of lexemes found in the names. It is followed by Chapter 5, a discussion with comparisons between the two onomastic corpora.

With this as a point of departure for the remainder of the study, characterizations and patterns of action of the lugal and šarrum can be seen in a different and more complete light. More specifically, then, the names are placed within a cultural context described in Chapters 2 and 6, in which both literal meaning and symbolic associations make better sense.

Pregnancy and birth were fraught with risk in ancient times, and the rates of survival for newborns can only be guessed at. The survival of mother and child was of the utmost concern for the closest family and no doubt also for the extended family, and a healthy baby ensured the continuation of the family line. To express hopes, wishes and thanksgiving for receiving an offspring about to receive a name, Mesopotamians quite naturally drew on an imagery related to concepts present in their natural, concrete surroundings. These surroundings were acknowledged as a creation in the hands of a large group of gods, who were also responsible for the upkeep of this world. To these gods was ascribed a level of personal interest in their human subjects.

61 A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 6; G. J. Selz, OLZ 85 (1990), 303; R. A. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 86; G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 72f. fnn. 381f. (lugal- and ŠIN-names respectively); 84f.
Naturally the division of secular societies between a religious and a worldly sphere does not apply to ancient Mesopotamia. Yet in modern terms, in name-giving, the aspirations of a social group – the family – are given strength by means of a language often borrowed from the sphere of religion. The relationships between gods were believed to be timeless, the dynamic principles which guided life on earth, and the beings that wielded the power of these principles, were all popular themes in names. The question is: can one ever deduce the meaning of such symbolic language other than on a highly rudimentary semantic level? And further, is it necessary to understand the whole picture to make sense out of the diverse statements contained in names? Is it crucial to possess knowledge about how the statements are connected to a referent and his or her Sitz im Leben in order to be able to discuss the contents of names? One may perhaps even be so bold as to turn the question around and address it to the ancient Mesopotamians themselves: how much did they understand of certain symbolic statements contained in personal names, given that they were fluent or at least well versed in the vernacular of the language used in the name.

No matter how much a name may have been abbreviated, it would still have been recognized as a name since it appeared in predictable contexts. People at home in a cultural setting in which the words of and by themselves were meaningful would also have been able – to a certain extent – to piece the necessary information together into a coherent message, rendering even an abbreviated name meaningful. And while one may question the theological skills or knowledge about the intricacies of the world of an ordinary person in the street, the spread and longevity of certain name forms disclose that they were popular enough so as to warrant their living on for, in a few extraordinary cases, more than a millennium. The continuity displayed by central features of early Mesopotamian name-giving traditions cannot be stressed enough.

The limits of the material are inherent to the types of sources used. Brevity, things taken for granted in the process of transmission, and damage

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62 A brief discussion of material relevant to the name-giving situation can be found below, Chapter 2.
63 Here description theory could be helpful in explaining parts of the processes inherent in receiving and making sense of the abbreviated type of information conveyed by names. The theory allows for a holistic use of names and designations, and it is not expected of each and every language user to be familiar with all the specific contexts in which a certain word may occur. It is instead through the general comprehensibility of individual words when contextualized that meaning is acquired. See e.g. F. Collin & F. Guldmann, *Meaning, Use, and Truth*, 55f.
64 Compare e.g. be-la-šu-nu (ba’lašumu) ‘(he is) their lord,’ OIP 104 41 o. viii 16’ (ES Sippar), and references to later forms be-el-šu-nu (MPN), and be₂-lat-su-nu, and be-le-su₂-nu (FPNN), J. J. Stamm, *Namengebung*, 244 (add also K. Tallqvist, *APN*, 59 be₂-le-su₂-nu), all ‘(she is) their (m.pl.) mistress.’
to the writing medium, all in their own way hamper understanding of any type of historic material. In discussing the merits of applying information theory on cuneiform sources, M. Civil concludes that there exist several stages in the passing of information from the point of origin to a recipient. The point of origin represents the authority in need of reporting a given circumstance. An encoder puts the fact into writing. The message is housed on a medium, most often, then, a clay tablet. A decoder interprets the message and draws from it the relevant facts of what has transpired and this is finally transmitted to the recipient of the message. Civil identifies a number of factors at play during the process; among others: the need for a code common to those who put information on or extract information from the medium; economizing with writing space; the necessity that the information transmitted must be new to the recipient, and; pieces of information already known by the recipient may be removed from the message without loss of pertinent information. What is put to the medium, what is written on the tablet, therefore depends on the value of the information.

With the above said in mind, the present work is inclusive but not exhaustive, given the restrictions of time and space. Effort has been spent not only to acquire a workable material from which shortened forms could be compared and reconstructed; but also to benefit future work on related subjects. An alternative approach would have been to limit the material and to supply only one instance of each variant form of a name. This would, however, also limit the possibility to gain an immediate impression of the distribution over time and space of a certain name or its variants.

1.4 Source materials and scope

From the period between c. 2800–2200 BCE, in excess of 20,000 cuneiform texts have been found and published in one form or another; all represent potential sources for the present study. The different text categories in which names are found can be divided into two main groups: originals and copies, each with a few subgroups. The terms refer in the following sections only to the place of the individual source in the textual tradition, not its modern form of publication, photo or hand copy.

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66 German “Quelle.” The terminology of source materials follows the discussion of I. Hausner, *Namenvorschungen*, 294–298, esp. section 2.1. With ‘source’ is intended a textual witness containing a name of relevance to the investigation. In contrast to ‘source,’ ‘text’ implies a cuneiform tablet or monumental inscription, whether containing a name or not.
The categories carry different weight as witnesses to contemporary naming traditions depending on their originality. Some sources reflect a living onomastic tradition, others represent scholarly activities which could preserve names that were outdated by the time they were copied, or names that were formed freely from the scribe’s own imagination. In the following sections some notions concerning the written materials, their categorization, find contexts and their treatment are discussed.

1.4.1 Original sources

Around 90% of cuneiform texts from the period once served an administrative purpose, and the absolute majority contain personal names. In some cases only one or a few names; in most cases several. Administrative texts from this period are as a rule unique and exist in only one exemplar. Legal documents and sales contracts make for other types of texts belonging to the original source category.

Commemorative inscriptions exist by the hundreds from the ED through the Sargonic periods. They are mostly unique, though royal inscriptions may be found in more than one exemplar. Some early commemorative inscriptions are only attested in copies made in later periods.67

Inscribed cylinder seals are attested from the late ED III period onward. Seals and their sealings are often published separately from texts and even when inscribed are often viewed as archaeological rather than textual objects.68 For the ED and Sargonic periods this is in fact quite logical as tablets dating to these periods were hardly ever sealed.69 This may in part account for the absence of seal inscriptions in prosopographic notes on certain individuals.70 The minute script on seals is often hard to read, which can cause some source-specific problems.

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67 Commemorative inscription is used to designate both votive and dedicatory inscriptions. ‘Votive’ denotes inscribed objects donated to deities or temples by private citizens or royalty on behalf of themselves and sometimes of their family. This is in line with the reasoning of J. A. Brinkman, Materials and Studies for Kassite History 1, 56 n. 179. For a different view, see A. K. Grayson, OrNS 49 (1980), 156–157 n. 80, who argued that the etymological value of votive would entail an a priori vow by the donator. The term dedicatory in contrast refers to inscribed objects donated by individuals for the explicit benefit of someone other than the donor him- or herself.

68 On this phenomenon and on some of the rewards of integrating textual and archaeological data, see McG. Gibson, Iraq 34 (1972), 113–123.


70 A case in point is the omission in the otherwise excellent treatment of ED and Sargonic letters by B. Kienast & K. Volk, FAOS 19. Commenting on the letter Um 4, the authors state
Original sources of the administrative type stem for the most part from archival contexts. Seals were definitely used as administrative tools but could also serve as markers of social status. Commemorative inscriptions most often belong to contexts in connection with temples. The original storage context of sales contracts is less certain.

1.4.2 Scholastic texts

The original sources are in contrast to scholastic texts. Some of these are known in several copies with the same or fairly similar wording. To this category belongs, for example, lists of personal names, some with official titles and GNN interspersed among them.\(^\text{71}\) This has been taken to mean that they denoted real persons and thus testify to a living onomasticon, albeit from an earlier period than the time to which the actual tablet dates.\(^\text{72}\) Names from such lists are in the following always kept apart from names found in original sources; partly because a precise place and period of origin is difficult to ascertain, and partly since certain names crop up in the same sequence in different lists.

Thematic lists collecting names beginning for instance with a specific sign – acrographic lists – are more dubious in their relation to a living onomasticon. They begin to appear in the ED IIIa, and early examples are known from Kiš, Ebla and Nippur.\(^\text{73}\) A degree of influence may have been exercised on the compilation principles of such texts by lists of divine names, sometimes containing sections arranged acrographically.\(^\text{74}\) These

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\(^\text{71}\) An overview of the two most important traditions is given by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 2–4 w. fn. 9 on p. 4.

\(^\text{72}\) It is my impression that the time of origin of the so-called Names and Professions List (NPL, N2 in Krebernik’s article cited in the previous footnote), known from Abī Ṣalābiḫ and Ebla is later than a list with examples known from Šuruppag, Nippur, Lagaš and elsewhere in ED IIIa and b period copies (N1 in Krebernik’s aforementioned article). I hope to address this and other issues in a forthcoming edition of the list from Šuruppag and elsewhere.

\(^\text{73}\) MesCiv 14 pl. 23, 3: H+Y is a badly damaged ED IIIa Kiš tablet; the remaining lines all contain names beginning with lugal. MEE 3 59 is a tablet with six cols. of writing on the obv. and three on the rev. The first half of the obv. consists of one col. each of lines beginning with UD, lugal and šar, respectively. The rest is a practical vocabulary or the like. MEE 3 67 likewise collects personal names, six of which begin with lugal. Two ED IIIb texts from Nippur, TMH 5 172 consists of two practically identical columns listing names beginning with ur. TMH 5 173 collects ur- and me-names written in UGN orthography in one column and in normal orthography in the other. A Sargonic prism edited by W. G. Lambert, Gs Sachs, 251–259, lists names beginning with nin. CUSAS 13 188 is a CS text listing 3 lugal-names.

\(^\text{74}\) See, e.g. SF 1 r. iv (end) and v. Though badly broken, the remains show DNN composed with lugal grouped together.
texts may be termed copies regardless of their origin in time and place and regardless of whether they have been recovered in one exemplar or several. Names recovered exclusively from scholastic texts are always specifically marked as such, and they are in the following consistently dated to the period in which the actual tablet was made and written, and not to the time in which the text may have been composed.

1.4.3 Treatment of sources and collection of data

The names are all assembled from browsing through published texts; they have not been culled from indices. For ED IIIb Girsu texts, the posthumously published Namenbuch of V. V. Struve was utilized, but the names were consistently checked against the original publications, and additional forms not given by Struve have been added. Furthermore, the overviews in the form of transliterations by H. de Genouillac, have not been used. When available, photographs have been preferred to hand copies. Necessity has dictated that names from some key texts and areas only published in transcriptions be incorporated. These are always clearly stated to be from transcriptions, but insofar as they conform to other attested writings, they are rarely awarded less importance than names from sources published in photograph, so caveat lector.

The primary database consists of roughly 5800 name entries. Of these, about 5400 date to before the Ur III period, the rest is primarily made up of OB PNN list entries. More than 50% of the total number of names have been checked against photographs, the rest were mostly entered from hand copies. From this data, around 750 different writings of ED and Sargonic names containing the appellative lugal were extracted; the figure for names composed with different forms of šarrum amounts to about 90. Sumerian names in discussions are supplemented by names containing other appellatives, such as en and nin. Akkadian šarrum-names benefit greatly from comparison with the appellative ba’lum, which was also intimately

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75 Onomastika Iânnediniatskogo Lagâša, Moscow 1984. A welcome update promising to supersede this scarce work will be published shortly by T. E. Balke.
76 See ITT 2/2, 1–53; and ITT 5, 31–39.
77 Thanks are due to A. Westenholz and W. Sommerfeld for granting me access to their collections of photographs of both published and unpublished texts. To Westenholz I also owe thanks for supplying me with photographs of hundreds of texts housed in the collections of Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., and edited by him among many others in the series CUSAS, under the auspices of D. I. Owen. The extensive number of photographs in the CDLI database have furthermore been helpful for collating many texts published in hand copies alone.
78 It has been decided upon to render the word as ba’lum to indicate the original stem of the noun, derived from the verb bêlum (*b’l*). The raising of /a/ to /e/ in the environment of syllable-final /’/, with subsequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, is not consistently carried out in Sargonic orthography. See R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 84f. An overview of the different views on the 3rd millennium usage of BE in ba’lum-names is J.
associated with control and rule. The parallels will be discussed wherever convenient to establish more firmly the many problematic interpretations offered in this survey. Some statistics for the distribution of the above-mentioned appellatives can be seen below in section 5.2.2.

No systematic attempt has been made to survey other language families in the Near East.\textsuperscript{79} Identifying foreigners in cuneiform texts is not always difficult, as people are often qualified by an ethnonym or provided with a remark in the form of a geographical name. Surely, the figure of the ruler ought to have been venerated also in adjacent cultures, and equally likely, divine beings would have been described in terms similar to those used in Mesopotamia. Usage of royal titles and epithets in personal names outside of the Sumerian and Semitic cultures treated here is therefore to be expected.

A full set of references is not given for rulers with names composed with the royal appellatives. Therefore, all known instances of, e.g., the name Šarrukēn, is not covered by the lists of attestations. All known variant writings of the names are, however, entered in these lists.

When citing or referring to names, units in ration lists or measuring units appearing in the same line of text are as a rule not written out; neither are Personenkeilen or similar scribal remarks.

For the semantic analysis, historical, votive, dedicatory and literary texts are drawn into the discussions and they are used to shed light on motifs incorporated in the names and on other aspects worthy of notice in early Mesopotamian royal ideology.\textsuperscript{80} Sign values have been assigned largely following the BCE system.\textsuperscript{81} In cases where a 1\textsuperscript{st} millennium sign originally represented two or more 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium signs, the reading is often completed by a reference to an inventory number in a specialised 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium sign list. In the case of ligatures, parentheses enclose component parts.

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\textsuperscript{79} R. Zadok has, for instance, pointed out the existence of names composed with the Elamite word sunki- ‘king,’ in the 1\textsuperscript{st} millennium BCE, \textit{StEL} 8 (1991), 232 and 234.

\textsuperscript{80} The ED IIIa literary corpus has been described and commented on by M. Krebernik, \textit{Annäherungen} 1, 317–325. The more modest body of ED IIIb literary texts is outlined by J. Bauer, \textit{Annäherungen} 1, 516–518 and n. 106 on p. 516.

\textsuperscript{81} For BCE (Borger, Civil, Ellermeier), see R. Borger, \textit{Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon}, vi; 464–466, with notes on the development of this system. Exceptions are formed when discussing Uruk III PNN, which uses values common within the study of these texts; and in the case of UGN texts. For the latter I follow the system of K. V. Zand, with the proposed reading of an UGN value in ordinary characters, and with the actual sign(s) written in parenthesis below the line, eg. lugal_{PA,\textit{NUN}}-
Fig. 1: Map of cities with archives in Mesopotamia and the Near East, c. 2800–2200 BCE
1.5 Early Mesopotamian cities

A comprehensive overview of text finds from the period between 2800 and 2200 BCE is still lacking and this is hardly the place to attempt one. It is still worthwhile to devote some space to discussing finds of provenanced texts used throughout this survey. The discussions begin according to a rough chronological order, and then follow the rivers from the south to the north and northwest. But first, a look back in time to the periods preceding the ED phase of Mesopotamian history may serve to put the text finds from the third millennium into a temporal perspective.

Precursors of cuneiform texts which record the Sumerian and Akkadian languages are represented by various administrative devices. The ubiquitous cylinder seals, trademarks as they are for the emergent bureaucracy of larger Mesopotamia, came to serve several purposes over the millennia in which they were used. The bureaucratic purpose was only one, but at that, probably one of the earliest usages. In combination with tokens imprinted on, and enclosed in, spherical clay balls, or bullae, they could convey information as to the amount and type of goods transmitted from one place to another, or from one part of a bureaucratic entity to another part. Other important material is made up by early tablets containing only numerical annotations.

German expeditions to the site of Uruk (al-Warkā) have extracted the most comprehensive find of texts from the Uruk IV and III periods, c. 3200–2900 BCE. In all, Uruk has yielded around 5400 texts and fragments from these formative stages of the development of writing. About 90 percent of these were found in the Eanna district. Other sites, from the Diyālā on the northeastern rim of the floodplain down to cities in the south-central part of the floodplain have also produced troves of early documents. The site of Ğamdat Naṣr produced a few hundred tablets dating to the Uruk III period, in part during illicit, in part during controlled excavations in the mid 1920’s. But many texts from the late Uruk period are not attributable to a specific location as they were not found during controlled excavations. The majority of texts dating to the Uruk IV and III phases belong to the bureaucratic departments of large-scale households. A smaller portion – less than 15 percent – belongs to the sphere of education or science, like sign lists and texts commonly known as lexical lists.

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82 The renderings of modern GNN in the main follow the conventions of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Sonderforschungsbereich 19, poster no. B II 7, prepared by U. Finkbeiner, W. Röllig and T. Mallmann, under the auspices of W. Denk.
83 D. Schmandt-Besserat, Before Writing, passim; R. K. Englund, Annäherungen 1, 17; 42–56.
84 See especially the texts edited in MSVO 1.
85 See in general R. K. Englund, Annäherungen 1, 24–32. A few hundred such texts were published by S. Monaco, CUSAS 1.
86 R. K. Englund, Annäherungen 1, 17.
In Susa (Šūš) on the Iranian highland plateau another early form of script, Proto-Elamite, developed around 3000 BCE. It was used for administrative purposes, similar to the Mesopotamian script. So far no examples of sign lists or lexical texts exist. During the Uruk period Susa had intimate connections with southern Mesopotamia. Proto-Elamite was certainly inspired by the Uruk period script, but most likely it represents an indigenous development. After a couple of hundred years, this writing system went out of use, and to this day it remains largely undeciphered.

The largest text find from the ED I-II period comes from Ur (Tell al-Muqayyar) in the far south end of the Mesopotamian floodplain. Over the course of five seasons of digging, in layers beneath the so-called Royal Cemetery excavator Sir C. L. Woolley and his team uncovered about 330 archaic-looking tablets and fragments. All these texts were located in a secondary context. Only a handful of texts served other purposes than administrative ones. In layers above the Royal Cemetery excavators came across another batch of tablets: about 50 texts dating to the late ED IIIb and Early Sargonic periods. Important are the inscribed seals – some associated with interments – and large amounts of sealings found in Ur. Other small lots of tablets, and deposits of inscribed votive objects were also found at Ur, and at nearby Tell al-ʿUbaid (ancient Nutur?).

A much smaller number of economic tablets from the ED I-II through the ED IIIb periods were found by the German excavators at Uruk: about 30 pieces; hardly what one would expect given the previous and later political significance of the city of Uruk. A few ED II and IIIa land sale documents

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88 The later linear Elamite used mainly for royal inscriptions is not related, save for some graphic similarities, to the earlier Proto-Elamite, with which it is often lumped together. Outside the topic of this survey, it is still important to remember that with deciphering might come the benefit of identifying proper names, see, e.g., F. Vallat, *World Archaeology* 17 (1985–86), 338f.; J. Dahl, *CDLJ* 2005:3, 14: §5.5.
89 Instead of discarding entirely the term ED II, which lacks general applicability to material culture, I have subsumed it under a collective label ED I-II. For a discussion of the ED II in general, and the basis for its disappearance, see D. R. Frayne, *JCSMS* 4 (2009), 38f.
90 E. Burrows, UET 2, 1. A number of texts found in these surveys and published among the archaic texts belong, in fact, to the ED IIIa period.
91 E. Burrows, UET 2, 1. The texts were published in hand copies in the supplement of the volume. A. Alberti & F. Pomponio subsequently treated them in StPohl SM 13.
92 Primarily published by L. Legrain, UE 3 and UE 10.
94 E. Sollberger, *Iraq* 22 (1960), 69–89 collected references to such texts from Ur and al-ʿUbaid in general, including seal inscriptions. The identification of the latter site with ancient Nutur was suggested by P. Steinkeller, *ASJ* 17 (1995), 278–281.
95 Published in part in A. Falkenstein, *ATU*, pl. 63f.; and by M. W. Green, *ZA* 72 (1982), 163–177. Add also UVB 10 pl. 26 no. 10; UVB 16 pl. 33 (W. 19412,2, literary); UVB 25 pl. 27a.
and a literary text were also either found at the site, or may be attributed an Uruk provenience on other grounds.\textsuperscript{96}

Texts from the ED IIIa period are best attested from Šuruppag (Fāra), where also a handful of tablets from an earlier stage of writing were found. Most of the Šuruppag texts served administrative purposes,\textsuperscript{97} but a healthy part is made up of scholastic texts, and a considerable number make up witnessed contracts. German and American excavators led by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG) and the University of Philadelphia respectively, succeeded in unearthing more than a thousand tablets and fragments at the site. The findspots of the German excavation are known for some tablets, and have been surmised for groups of tablets depending on their proposed original archival context.\textsuperscript{98} A catalog lists at least 925 entries which can safely be attributed to the DOG excavations. At the division of the finds, most tablets went to Istanbul, while the DOG deposited their share of texts in Berlin.\textsuperscript{99} The Philadelphia expedition found over a hundred texts, most in secondary context.\textsuperscript{100} Further texts from Šuruppag have surfaced by means of both legitimate excavations and through the antiquities market.\textsuperscript{101} A site which has brought to light more literary works than administrative tablets is Abū Ṣalābīḥ, situated in the northern half of the Babylonian floodplain. The ancient name of the city remains unknown. American and British-led expeditions have each uncovered important textual finds, adding up to a total of more than 500 tablets and fragments.\textsuperscript{102} Most of the texts unearthed came from a single architectural unit which ought to have served some official administrative purposes. Excavators speculated whether the building was connected to a temple complex, but no sanctuary was ever identified.\textsuperscript{103} The date of the texts is marginally later than those from

\textsuperscript{96} See M. Krebernik, \textit{Annäherungen}, 376f., for an overview.
\textsuperscript{97} See D. O. Edzard, OLA 5, 153–169.
\textsuperscript{98} M. Krebernik, \textit{Annäherungen} 1, Faltkarte 2, offers a map of the site with an overview of the areas excavated by the German and American expeditions.
\textsuperscript{99} 243 texts in all were published by A. Deimel in his three volumes on Fara/Šuruppag, LAK (2), \textit{SF} (86) and \textit{WF} (155), which make up the majority of the texts in Berlin. The Istanbul Šuruppag texts have received less complete treatment. 301 texts and fragments were published by R. R. Jastin in his \textit{TSŠ} and \textit{NTSŠ}. A complete edition of all Šuruppag texts from the DOG excavations is foreseen from the hands of H. Steible and M. Krebernik. For an overview of the circumstances surrounding the textual finds of the German expedition, see M. Krebernik, \textit{Annäherungen} 1, 245f. w. fn. 89, p. 246; and ibid. NABU 2006/15.
\textsuperscript{100} The texts were edited in \textit{FTUM}. Only three tablets postdate the ED period.
Šuruppag, but still with a firm date in the ED IIIa. Abū Ṣalābīḫ was largely abandoned after Early Dynastic times and would not become resettled to any larger extent.

The single most comprehensive collection of ED IIIb texts has come from the southeastern city-state of Lagaš. Many thousands of tablets were found by French excavators during their 20 campaigns in Girsu (Tellō). More were dug up after the death of the leader of the first set of excavations, M. de Sarzec, by eagerly enterprising locals. These people later either sold the tablets to the French, or saw them dispersed via the antiquities market networks to end up in collections throughout the world. Eight texts dating to the transition between the ED IIIa and IIIb periods found at Tell K mark the oldest administrative texts from Girsu. Although the exact find spots of the illicitly excavated tablets are lost, prosopographical links to tablets excavated by the French make for a secure identification with Girsu. Important and sizeable finds of Sargonic, Lagaš II and Ur III texts were also made at the site.

At the political capital of Lagaš (Tulūl al-Hibā’), American excavators performing four seasons of excavations in the 1970’s found further administrative and monumental texts from the ED IIIb; but the numbers are dwarfed by the comparative mass of documents from Girsu. Royal inscriptions from different sites in the Lagaš state make for the largest corpus of such inscriptions from ED Mesopotamia.

Bordering on the Lagaš state to the northwest was Umma (Tell Ğūḥa), with its satellite Zabala (Buzaiḥ). The two sites have seen only little in the

104 M. Krebernik, Annäherungen 1, 257–259.
105 D. P. Hansen, in R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, 5. There are, however, some indications of settlement in the Sargonic period, H. Crawford, Sumer and the Sumerians, 38f.
106 H. de Genouillac mentions the princely figure of 70,000 tablets and fragments in his introduction to ITT 5, i, most of which belong to the Ur III period. For an overview of the findspots of the ED IIIb period tablets, see R. Opificius, RIA 3 (1957–71), “Girsu. B”, fig. 1, p. 391. A. Parrot, Tello, is a summary of the French excavations.
107 See for example F. Thureau-Dangin, RTC, ii (deuxième série): nos. 19; 24–27; 29–75
108 See the overview of Girsu texts in worldwide collections, J. Bauer, AWR, note 27 p. 40–42. Add to that list texts in the Free Library of Philadelphia, edited in MVN 3. Some of the British Museum texts mentioned by Bauer were edited in CT 50, nos. 26–46 (ED IIIb texts); 49–188 (CS texts). The remaining ED IIIb texts in the Staatlichen Museum zu Berlin were mainly edited in VS 25 and 27. See in general J. Marzahn, VS 27, 5.
109 A. Parrot, Tello, 63, and fig. 15 (upper part ) facing page 63, findspot marked as no. 15. The texts were edited by F. Thureau-Dangin, RTC 1–8.
110 B. R. Foster, Mesopotamia 9, 17–19 gives an overview of Sargonic texts from Girsu and a proposed archival context.
111 G. J. Selz, Untersuchungen, 4 w. fn. 20, with previous literature. R. D. Biggs, BiMes 3 contains text finds from the first two seasons; texts from the third and fourth seasons were published by V. E. Crawford, Iraq 36 (1974), 29–35; JCS 29 (1977), 189–222.
112 Assembled by E. Sollberger, CIRPL; with additions in H. Steible ABW vol. 1.
way of systematic excavations, though texts dug up from the mounds by illicit diggers have almost incessantly managed to find their way onto the antiquities market since the beginning of the 20th century. Texts found outside of controlled circumstances bring their own sets of problems. However, Umma-Zabala texts from the ED IIIb can be identified due to palaeographic peculiarities, i.e. sign shapes. Sargonic texts from Umma, furthermore, are sometimes provided with a local dating system, the so-called mu-iti formula, which draws on an earlier local system of dating. Along with prosopographic analyses, Umma texts can be given a fairly certain provenience, although the exact find context is of course unknown. Some of the earlier texts suffer from an apparent lack of consistency in the reading order of signs, which can make analyses, for instance of PNN, difficult at times. Since the 2003 American-led invasion of Iraq, and the subsequent breakdown of Iraqi control over cultural heritage sites, both Umma and Zabala have suffered massive onslaughts of destructive looting parties, leaving the surface of the sites riddled with holes; a fate shared by many ancient sites in southern Iraq.

A considerable amount of texts from the ED III and the latter half of the Sargonic periods comes from Adab (Bismāyā). During excavations in the beginning of the 20th century American excavators found somewhere in the region of 900 texts. Most were of an economic character, but royal inscriptions were also discovered there. 300 texts were brought back to Chicago, while 600 went to Istanbul. The absolute majority of the Sargonic texts belonged to the ensi₁’s archive, located in Mound IV, but Mound III also produced tablets. After the first Gulf War, texts from Adab have trickled out onto the antiquities market. As a consequence, the Adab texts now greatly outnumber other textual finds from these periods, like those from Ur and Nippur (Nuffar) and is second only to the mass of

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114 ED Umma and Zabala texts are hard to tell apart. A good overview of the problems is M. A. Powell, *HUCA* 49 (1978), 1–58 with a breakdown of texts into categories on p. 13–18. A fairly complete list of publications and an overview of texts awaiting publication is given by S. Monaco, CUSAS 17, 1f.
116 See note by M. A. Powell, *HUCA* 49 (1978), 13f. Powell states that in cases where the order of signs is jumbled, the order of writing of the signs in most cases actually follows the expected order and that this is apparent from studying the texts under a magnifying glass.
117 Most of the Chicago texts were published by D. D. Luckenbill, OIP 14; and Z. Yang, *SIA*.
120 Publication of these tablets has begun through F. Pomponio, G. Viscatico, A. Westenholz et al., *TCABI*; G. Viscatico & A. Westenholz, CUSAS 11; M. Maiocchi, CUSAS 13.
documentation stemming from Girsu. In round numbers, about 2500 texts from Adab from the time before the Ur III period are known to exist.\textsuperscript{121}

At Nippur, the religious “capital” of Sumer, American expeditions beginning in the late 1800’s uncovered many thousands of texts. A few hundred of them belong to the periods before the Ur III dynasty. Economic texts, a few scholarly tablets, and a wealth of royal and commemorative inscriptions from the ED IIIa down through the Sargonic period and onwards are represented in the material.\textsuperscript{122} Later American expeditions to Nippur have also produced small numbers of texts from the pre–Ur III portions of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium BCE.\textsuperscript{123}

In late MS to CS times, in the southern part of the floodplain, presumably situated between Umma and Lagaš, an agricultural estate headed by a certain Mesag is known from texts that came through the antiquities market. The published part of the archive of Mesag adds up to about 150 known individual texts.\textsuperscript{124} The administration of non-landed holdings belonging to this estate was to an extent written in Akkadian.\textsuperscript{125} A few other archives of comparatively modest size are known from southern Mesopotamia. Some of these were located inside cities, others outside of them. A couple of these archives have produced documents in Akkadian.\textsuperscript{126}

The Akkadian-speaking northern city-states are represented in part by finds from the northern half of the floodplain. British- and American-led expeditions to Kiš (Inšarra and possibly including finds from Tell al-Uḫaimir), to the northwest of Nippur, uncovered texts ranging from the Uruk III period down to the last few centuries BCE.\textsuperscript{127} The size and importance of Kiš is in some respects similar to the situation with Uruk further south. Kiš

\textsuperscript{121} I. Schrakamp, \textit{BiOr} 65 (2008), 665–667 provides much valuable information on the various collections and discusses the secure assigning of at least large parts of the texts to Adab.

\textsuperscript{122} Texts have mainly been published in BE 1/1–2, PBS 9, TMH 5. Many of these were republished by A. Westenholz, in \textit{ECTJ}, with some new texts, OSP 1 and OSP 2 (including some which were published in PBS 9). Westenholz's reeditions are often crucial to the readings used in this thesis, although the reference may be to the original publication.

\textsuperscript{123} Including texts published in AS 17, OIC 22, OIP 97 and OIP 129.

\textsuperscript{124} Brief surveys of the Mesag tablets have been made by F. Pomponio & G. Visicato, \textit{StEL} 17 (2000), 7f., fn. 7; and E. Salgues, \textit{Fs Westenholz}, 253f. fn. 3, including an overview of published texts. For the debated original location of the archive, see B. R. Foster's notes, Mesopotamia 9, 52; \textit{JAOS} 114 (1994), 445; and the dissenting view of P. Steinkeller, MesCiv 4, 8–10.

\textsuperscript{125} B. R. Foster, Mesopotamia 9, 52f.

\textsuperscript{126} See A. Westenholz, \textit{Annäherungen} 3, 50 w. fn. 167 for a discussion of these archives, and for refs. to secondary literature.

\textsuperscript{127} The texts are strewn across a large number of publications, the ones most important for the relevant parts of the third millennium include a few ED texts published in hand copy in EK 4 and OECT 7, of which a few were republished in \textit{AAICAB} 1/1–2; and a sizeable number of Sargonic texts published in MAD 5. Texts from the Uruk III period have been published as MSVO 1 nos. 205, 207, 224 and 241. An edition by A. Westenholz of the remaining ED texts from Kiš, including some previously published, is in preparation.
must have been a teeming center with respect to both politics, production and trade, but the excavated textual record is disappointingly meager.

Northeast of Kiš lay Mugdan (Umm al-Ǧīr), a site of seemingly little importance to which a group of Classic Sargonic texts dealing with agricultural matters have been attributed.128

Sippar (Tell ad-Dēr and Abū Ḥabba), on the northwest end of the floodplain was a city of great importance. It was located at the junction where trade routes to or from the east met with the Euphrates in an area where several river branches parted with the Euphrates southwards.129 Like Kiš, Sippar has yielded only a modest number of sources from the 3rd millennium. British excavations during the late 19th century and a subsequent series of 20th century Belgian expeditions have all contributed to the picture of Sippar; though the Old Babylonian and later periods remain infinitely better known than the earliest historic periods. Most of the early textual finds ought to have come from the area of the Ebabbar, the main temple devoted to the cult of the Sun God.130 The material amounts to about 30 inscribed pieces, such as commemorative inscriptions, contract texts and economic documents.131

Situated to the northeast of Sippar, sites in the Diyālā river region have generally been of great help in establishing a chronological sequence for the early 3rd millennium. During six successive years beginning in late 1930, American excavators headed by H. Frankfort carried out work at four different sites in the area of confluence between the Diyālā and the Tigris rivers.132 The excavations brought more than 300 Akkadian texts belonging to the MS-CS phases to light at three of the four sites: Ešnuna (Tell Asmar),133 Tutub (Ḥafāğa),134 and Tell Ağrab.135 Clandestine excavations at

128 B. R. Foster, ASJ 4 (1982), 7–51. The identification of Mugdan with Umm el-Jīr depends on both archaeological and textual evidence. See Foster’s overview, op. cit., 9, and 38, note 7.
129 C. Woods, ZA 95 (2005), 41.
130 As suggested by A. Westenholz, Fs Larsen, 599f. w. fnn. 5 and 6.
131 For an overview of the 3rd millennium inscribed finds of the early excavations, see C. B. F. Walker & D. Collon, “Hormuzd Rassam’s Excavations for the British Museum at Sippar in 1881–1882,” in L. de Meyer (ed.), Tell ed-Dēr 3, 93–114 and pl. 26–28. Further texts are BE 1/1, pl. VI-VIII; DP 1/1 2; and a few texts published in CTMMA 1.
132 Several volumes of accounts and finds have been published in two of the Chicago Oriental Institute series of publications. Those with the most bearing on the present subject are OIP 44, 53, 58, and 72.
133 Published in transliteration by I. J. Gelb as MAD 1 1–195.
134 MAD 1 196–266 (transliteration); reedited by W. Sommerfeld, Tutub. A handful of tablets seemingly belong to an earlier phase, i.e. late ED IIIb or ES times, see W. Sommerfeld, Fs Pettinato, 288–290, 292.
135 MAD 1 267–269. A few votive inscriptions were also found during excavations there, for which, see OIP 58, 291 nos. 8–11.
Ešnuna and other mounds in the area have further enriched the picture of the lower Diyālā river basin administration.\textsuperscript{136}

Further upstream along the Diyālā lay Awal (Tell as-Sulaima),\textsuperscript{137} which was excavated in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s by Iraqi archaeologists as part of the Hamrīn salvage project. During the second and third seasons, archaeologists came across two batches of tablets. The total of texts found amounts to just under four dozen pieces.

In Gasur (renamed Nuzi during the 2nd millennium BCE, modern Yorgan Tepe), in the seasons between 1928 and 1930, American excavators in conjunction with the relatively newly-founded American School of Oriental Research came upon an archive consisting of more than 200 texts, including nine letters, all dating to the CS period.\textsuperscript{138} The archive was unfortunately found in a secondary context. Gasur makes for the most northerly situated comprehensive text find from a city under the direct control of the Akkadian central government during CS times.

The Assyrian heartland to the west of Gasur is represented by more than a dozen inscribed objects and tablets found by German excavators in the city of Aššur (Qalʿat aš-Šarqāt) in early March 1912.\textsuperscript{139} A few of them consist of scholastic lists of Akkadian personal names and as such they are of great interest for the study of the demographic situation in northern Mesopotamia at the time.\textsuperscript{140}

Susa on the Susiana plain to the east of Sumer was for a period under the control of Akkade only later to fall into the hands of a local dynasty.\textsuperscript{141} French excavations of the site began in the late 1800’s. Besides Sargonic period economic texts,\textsuperscript{142} excavators discovered inscribed steles, including

\textsuperscript{136} For instance MAD 1 270–336 (Ešnuna). The \textit{OAIC} texts edited by I. J. Gelb are of a probable Diyālā origin. See Gelb’s own comments, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 162 and 169–174; and the discussion on a Diyālā provenience of all these texts and more by P. Steinkeller, \textit{OrNS} 51 (1982), 365f.

\textsuperscript{137} F. Rasheed, \textit{AIHA}; R. Dsharakian, \textit{ZA} 84 (1994), 1–6; G. Visicato, \textit{JCS} 51 (1999), 17–30. The identification of Awal was made by F. Rasheed on the basis of the number of times the GN Awal is mentioned in the texts from Tell as-Sulaima, \textit{Sumer} 40 (1981), 55f.

\textsuperscript{138} R. Dsharakian, \textit{ZA} 84 (1994), 6–10. The archive was held by the editor of HSS 10, T. J. Meek, to be of ES date, \textit{op. cit.}, ix, but the writing and tablet format of the texts place them quite firmly in a CS timeframe. A recent study of the archive by E. Markina has resulted in a number of joins among the published texts, \textit{Fs Westenholz}, 201–215.

\textsuperscript{139} The tablets were found somewhere between the 4th and the 11th of March, judging by the reports of W. Andrae, \textit{MDOG} 48 (1912), 24. See further description of the texts, O. Pedersén, \textit{Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur} 1, 25f., and add OIP 104 pl. 80, no. 45, fragmentary contract on stone. A complete edition of the Aššur tablets by H. Neumann is forthcoming. In the meantime, see Neumann’s preliminary study in \textit{CRRA} 39, 133–138 with many references to previous work.

\textsuperscript{140} A few names were incorporated by I. J. Gelb in his MAD 3, and were subsequently included in R. di Vito’s \textit{StPohl} SM 16.

\textsuperscript{141} An overview of political and diplomatic connections between Mesopotamia and Elam in the 3rd millennium BCE is given by T. Potts, \textit{Mesopotamia and the East}, 87–142.

\textsuperscript{142} Most tablets were published in MDP 14.
the Maništūšu Obelisk (MO),\textsuperscript{143} Naram-Su’en’s Victory Stele, and the stele containing the Old Babylonian king Ḫammurapi’s famous code of laws, brought to Susa as booty by the Elamite king Sutruk-Nahunte around the middle of the 12\textsuperscript{th} century BCE. Susa represents the eastern limit to the onomastic material treated herein.

West of the Syrian border, Mari (Tell al-Ĥarīrī) has been the subject of continuous excavation since the 1930’s.\textsuperscript{144} Besides a significant body of commemorative inscriptions on different mediums,\textsuperscript{145} a small but important number of administrative texts have been found during excavations there.\textsuperscript{146} North of Mari, in the Ḥabūr area lay a few sites which have provided evidence of cuneiform administration. Nagar (Tell Birāk) appears to have been a power centre in the area, and in CS times, it fell under the control of the kings of Akkade.\textsuperscript{147} Nabada (Tall Baidar), which was occupied between c. 2900–2100 BCE has yielded in excess of 200 texts, including a literary Sumerian text.\textsuperscript{148} Around 40 tablets dating from the latter half of the Sargonic period have been found at Urkeš (Tell Mûzān) to the northeast of Nagar.\textsuperscript{149}

Far removed from the southern floodplain, text finds from Ebla (Tell Mardîḥî) in the western half of modern Syria, display a complex palatial bureaucracy responsible for an enormous wealth and showing political and economic ties with remote regions, paired with a large scholastic and academic output.\textsuperscript{150} Somewhere in the region of 15000 tablets predating the Ur III period were unearthed at Ebla by an Italian expedition, predominantly in the season of 1975.\textsuperscript{151}

Further, less comprehensive text finds are known or are believed to have come from a number of further localities like Bad-tibira (Tell al-Mâdaʾîn), Isin (Išān al-Baḥrīyāt), Larsa (as-Sankara), Marad (Tell aš-Šadûm), and

\begin{thebibliography}{1}
\bibitem{143} The Maništūšu Obelisk (MO), of immense importance to the investigation of the earliest Sargonic onomasticon was first edited in MDP 2, but the present work relies on the different order of the sides as established in OIP 104, 116–140.
\bibitem{144} For an overview of excavations, see J.-C. Margueron, Mari: Métropole de l’Euphrate au III\textsuperscript{e} et au début du II\textsuperscript{e} millénaire av. J.-C.
\bibitem{145} Key publications include MAM 1, 3 and 4.
\bibitem{146} ED III texts were published and edited by D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand, MARI 5 (1987), 65–127; D. Charpin, MARI 6 (1990), 245–252.
\bibitem{147} Most of the texts and inscribed objects found at Nagar were edited or reedited in ETB 2.
\bibitem{148} Published in Subartu 2 and 12. The name issue was treated by W. Sallaberger, NABU 1998/130. M. Lebeau, Fs Meyer, 291–330, provides a summary of the archaeological facts.
\bibitem{149} For a brief overview of Urkeš and its history, see G. Buccellati & M. Kelly-Buccellati, BA 60 (1997), 77–96. A few of the texts mentioned by the former, op. cit., 94, were published by L. Milano, SMS 5/1.
\bibitem{150} Ebla texts are mainly published in the ARET and MEE series, with a liberal helping of articles in diverse journals. A helpful tool is G. Conti’s Index of Eblaic Texts (Published or Cited) from 1992, which is in serious need of an up-to-date complement.
\bibitem{151} Overviews of archival contexts and contents are given by P. Matthiae, CRRA 30, 53–71; ibid., The Royal Archives of Ebla; and A. Archi, CRRA 30, 72–86.
\end{thebibliography}
Umm al-Ḥafriyyāt. To these must be added a great deal of unprovenanced texts, which have as of yet evaded being assigned a place of origin.

1.6 Historical and ideological background

The basis for a comprehensive view of early Mesopotamian kingship relies on different types of information. Some information can be deduced from texts written with specific purposes in mind, such as historical and commemorative inscriptions, hymns and other literary creations. Other data comes from painstaking work on large and small archives, legal documentation, seal inscriptions and so on. Personal names make for a third type of source material, and it is the kind which will be analyzed and drawn on for the most part of this survey. Here at the onset of the investigation the first two documentary groups are combined to provide an initial framework against which the results of the analytical chapter can be held, and, in the end, combined. A short historical and ideological background picture must first be drawn. This overview serves as an introduction to more in-depth discussions of pertinent facts in Chapter 6.

1.6.1 The Early Dynastic period

The rivers Euphrates and Tigris and their major canals formed a veritable network of life-giving arteries on the Mesopotamian plains on their way to the marshlands of the Gulf delta. Without them, the civilizations of the Sumerian floodplain would never have seen the light of day. The forbidding expanses of desert and steppes would not have been able to sustain human life. But because of these two rivers and their tributaries flowing from the Taurus and Zagros mountain ranges to the north and east, Sumero- Akkadian culture flourished. Over the course of a few millennia, urban locales gradually grew to cultural centers exercising a measure of influence over their immediate surroundings, and over the region at large.\(^\text{152}\)

The agrarian-based economy of Mesopotamia was supplemented by horticulture, animal husbandry, fishing, hunting and fowling.\(^\text{153}\) The basis for life on the floodplain hinged on the upkeep of canals, major and smaller, which not only offered water for irrigation, but also communication lines navigable by boat.

\(^{152}\) A general overview of environmental issues can be found in O. Pedersën et al., *Urban Mind*, 114–123; 127–132.

During the Early Dynastic period the number of large settlements on the floodplain increased, and more people appear to have settled in larger communities. This process reached its apex around the ED III period. It was to some extent related to a general dwindling of the flow of water through the rivers. The concentration of people in urban environments and the steady growth of central settlements presented the burgeoning city-states with a set of managerial problems which had to be addressed with increasingly complex administrative structures. Demographic changes and the strategy for coping with growing numbers of people in cities and towns were addressed by the civic leadership by means of a growing bureaucracy.

Society was hierarchically organized. Economic managerial and administrative offices oversaw a plethora of units involved with production and craftsmanship. Central to the administration were some key architectural and/or economic units and their managers. In ED I-II Ur, two large accounting units were known as AB and e₂-gal, though it is not entirely clear how they were distinguished from one another. The former was an earlier invention while the latter represents an innovation, as far as the evidence goes. In slightly later times e₂-gal were the households of rulers or local governors, normally translated as “palace.” In their hands lay the overarching responsibilities for inter-city cooperation and probably also trade. Over time such units accrued resources in the form of surplus goods, economic wealth and the services of dependent workers who relied on the larger communities for their subsistence, since not all urban dwellers could produce everything needed to sustain themselves.

A central political leadership for the southern floodplain during the earliest part of the 3rd millennium BCE, is not readily identifiable in the sources. Two pieces of evidence may potentially demonstrate an arrangement along political, economical, or religious lines. One is a lexical list of urban centers known from Uruk of around the turn of the 3rd millennium, known also in ED IIIa exemplars. The first four cities listed are Ur, Nippur, Larsa and Uruk. This order corresponds well with a roughly

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155 A detailed overview of these factors can be found with H. J. Nissen, Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Frühzeit des Vorderen Orients, 140–182; and G. Visicato, The Power and the Writing, 235: 240f. On climatic conditions of the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean area, see M. Finné & K. Holmgren, Urban Mind, 46, though it must be noted that the closest points for proxy data were at the head of the Persian Gulf, central Anatolia and the Levant.
156 A synthesis of the evidence is proposed by W. Sallaberger, Shepherds, 31–35.
157 It is not known exactly when palaces as the architectural base for royalty began to appear in Mesopotamia. For now, see the discussion of G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 214 w. fn. 15, who cautiously place their appearance in the transition between ED IIIa-b.
158 G. Visicato in FTUM, 121f., with references.
contemporary seal, found rolled over a number of clay tags at the site Ġamdat Naṣr. On this seal, signs representing a number of important cities appear; the order of the first four are Ur, Larsa, Nippur and Uruk.\textsuperscript{159} The order of cities is yet to be satisfactorily explained, but it will be seen that these cities all had important roles to play in the maturing Sumerian kingship, as politically or ideologically important.\textsuperscript{160} Variations between the two sources aside, the order of these first entries was hardly coincidental. A number of sealings from Ur, slightly later in time, exhibit greater diversity in organizing the cities.\textsuperscript{161}

\textbf{1.6.1.1 Dynastic seats in the Early Dynastic period}

The Sumerian concept of kingship was called nam-lugal, but Sumerian had no specific word for a dynasty. Instead, the type of leadership encompassed by the expression nam-lugal was often pictured as bestowed on an individual basis. In reality, however, already by the turn of ED IIIa-b, a succession of fathers and sons as ensi\textsubscript{2} or lugal of a city-state can be observed, notably at Ur, but also in Lagaš.\textsuperscript{162} By the end of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium, the idea that nam-lugal rested with a dynasty which was epitomized by the use of the name of their capital had gained influence, a perspective that would continue to influence historiographic works of the early 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium.\textsuperscript{163}

Dynasties of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium would come to be established in Adab, Akšak, Kiš, Lagaš, Mari, Umma, Ur and Uruk.\textsuperscript{164} Of these only the latter two were included among the cities on the sealings of the preceding periods. The shifting fortunes of these key players in the power politics on the floodplain can be traced in contemporary and later written sources and their influence was felt also in the neighbouring regions. Nippur, although technically not the seat of a dynasty, would be of utmost importance in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennia as an ideologically important center.\textsuperscript{165} Akšak has never been the subject of excavations and has therefore yielded no texts. Kiš makes for a special case as it was part of a title, lugal Kiš, used by rulers who did not stem from the area. More on this below.


\textsuperscript{160} A parallel example is furnished by the early OB list of geographical names from Šaduppûm, S. J. Levy, \textit{Sumer} 3 (1947), 50–83. It begins by listing Ur, Nippur, Isin, Uruk and Larsa, cities of key political and ideological importance in contemporary and earlier times.

\textsuperscript{161} See L. Legrain, UE 3 nos. 390–431, especially no. 429.

\textsuperscript{162} For a different view, see, e.g. G. J. Selz, \textit{Fs Römer}, 282f., with notes on previous discussions.

\textsuperscript{163} See e.g. P. Michalowski, \textit{JAOS} 103 (1983), 242f.

\textsuperscript{164} A detailed overview of most rulers known from the ED and ES periods is given by G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 118–128, with plenty of references and discussions on individual rulers.

\textsuperscript{165} See, e.g., G. J. Selz, CRRA 35, 189–225; W. Sallaberger, CDOG 1, 147–168.
1.6.1.2 Leaders of urban communities

In Uruk period texts the highest office is en. According to R. K. Englund, en might have been a manager of any large household, not necessarily a communal leader. Judging by the texts that have been published, the importance of the en to a large extent diminished during the ED I-II period, but echoes of the importance of this office crops up now and then in later times also.

Around ED I-II, the office of lugal appears in documents from the city of Ur. The latter would be the preferred designation of the human ruler in Sumerian society, alongside the title ensi₂. The distinction between lugal and ensi, is not clear, and perhaps it is not even meaningful to separate too strictly between them as they need not have been mutually exclusive. Both en and lugal were also used as designations of deities, primarily in literary texts, but also in the divine and human onomasticon. An epithet ensi₂, on the other hand, was only used sporadically in literary texts and the onomasticon.

By ED III, en represented a high clerical office tied to specific deities; and the term would henceforth be associated with such a function, occupied by men or women, depending on the deity. In a few royal inscriptions en was used epithetically by rulers from the city-states of Uruk and Umma where

166 Sign ATU383; ZATU134. W. W. Hallo, Titles, 3 and fn. 2, noted that the sign EN sometimes appears alone in cases indicating that it should most probably be taken as a title.
167 R. K. Englund, Annäherungen 1, 70 and n. 135. The en is sometimes identified as one of three male personae depicted with some regularity in late 4th and early 3rd millennium iconography, see discussion of J.-J. Glassner, StOr 70, 14f.
168 The archaic texts from Ur have yielded one secure instance of the office, UET 2 184 o. ii 4, which may point to the en as responsible for the plowing of the fields listed on the obverse of the tablet. Compare UET 2 227 o. 4'. C. Wilcke’s treatment, Fs Boehmer, 669–674, of OIP 104 18 (“Le figure aux plumes”), an ED I-II stone tablet from Girsu listing landed property, gives reason to believe that the compound verb nam-en-ak was used to describe divine exercise of authority. Wilcke offered two different interpretations, parts of which offer descriptions of idyllic scenery mixed with building activities and phrases pertaining to the running of an important urban institution.
169 So for instance in an incantation known in exemplars from Ebla and Abū Ṣalābīḫ, where an en takes on a central role in building and maintaining a house or temple. See M. Krebernik, BFE, no. 27.
170 E.g. in UET 2 162. See W. Sallaberger, Shepherds, 33; H. Steible, CollAn 7 (2008), 104 fn. 33. Whereas Steible sees UET 2 205B as referring to a lugal of Lagaš, noted also by E. Burrows, UET 2, 17, I believe that the line on the basis of later parallels represents a PN.
172 One example is the Ur III Girsu FPN nin-ensi₂-uru-na ‘the queen/lady is the ensi₂ of her city,’ TUT 158 r. iii 7’; D. Foxvog, ASJ 18, 88 no. 24 r. iii 23’; abbreviated as nin-ensi₂, no doubt referring to the goddess Bau and her sacred precinct Uru-ku₃. See also the OB Keš Temple Hymn, l. 79: Ṣul-pa-e₂-a ensi₂-ke₄ nam-en mu-un-ᵀₓ-xₓ¹ Ṣulpaea the governor [exercises] lordship (there)’. A variant has ensi₂-gal in place of ensi₂-ke₄.
173 P. Steinkeller, POANE, 124–129, offers a reconstruction of the early history of en-priestesses along with a valuable set of footnotes containing references to primary sources.
the primary titles otherwise were ensi₂ or lugal.¹⁷⁴ And in certain literary compositions, the two titles en and lugal appear in parallelism which give the impression that en, at the time of composition, and in theory at least, was still regarded as a functional correspondence of lugal.¹⁷⁵ Exceptionally, in the Lagaš state the term en was used for a collective of deceased governors, their immediate families, and some other high officials.¹⁷⁶

The female correspondence to en, lugal and ensi₂ was nin, usually ‘lady,’ but also sometimes to be read ereš ‘queen’ or nin₉ ‘sister.’ The title ereš is only rarely attested for named females before the Ur III period.¹⁷⁷ It was often circumscribed, using instead the queen’s affiliation to the ruler as an epithet, whether referring to the indigenous queen or to one from outside.¹⁷⁸

This was the case even though the queen sometimes disposed of considerable assets. In the Sargonic period, the title was used unless the queen’s name was stated.¹⁷⁹ As with en and lugal, nin was also used to designate goddesses in different text types and in the human onomasticon.¹⁸⁰ However, as the first element in divine names, nin was gender neutral.

¹⁷⁴ For Uruk rulers, see discussion of A. Westenholz, *Six City-State Cultures*, 34 w. n. 43; and for Umma, see E. Sollberger, *OrNS* 28 (1959), 339 i 4’ en za₉ ke₉ ‘Nin-ur₄-ke₄ ‘the … en of Ninur,’ and compare the titles ensi₂ and lugal in i 8’ and i 10’ (Gišakidu of Umma).

¹⁷⁵ E.g. in *IAS* 113 o. ii 13: nam₃-en₃(GAL) nam₃-lugal₃(PA,NUN), noted by M. Krebernik, *BFE*, 280 (in a context dealing with Enlil’s separation of heaven and earth). The titles are paralleled also in *IAS* 124 o. iv’ 8’–10’.


¹⁷⁷ A few women from ED IIIa-b Ur are the only known examples before the Sargonic period, see G. Marchesi, *OrNS* 73 (2004), 175f. Some writings of NIN can be explained as referring to people in the service of, or relations of, the queen: ur₃Dam-gal-nun, ereš, *AAICAB* 1/1 pl. 8 Ashm. 1928–442 o. i 2–3 (ED IIIa Kiš) ‘Ur-Damgal-nun, (the one of the) queen’; [ur]-ur, dumu lugal-ša₉, ereš, TMH 5 3 o. i 5–ii 2 (ED IIIb Nippur) ‘[Ur]-ur, son of Lugal-ša₉, (the one of) the queen’; and šeš ereš, OIP 14 150 r. 6’ (CS Adab) ‘brother of the queen.’ For another interpretation of the Nippur reference, see A. Westenholz, *ECTJ* 13, note to no. 3 ii 2; and T. E. Balke, *Onoma* 32 (1994), 75.


¹⁷⁹ See for example the texts treated by B. R. Foster, *JANES* 12 (1980), 29–42. The political, economic and possibly religious functions of some of the Old Akkadian queens, have been discussed by F. Weiershäuser, *Die königlichen Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur*, 195ff.

¹⁸⁰ I am unable to get the point of J. M. Asher-Greve, *NIN* 4 (2006), 8 fn. 28, where she argues that ‘queen’ should be used instead of the traditional translation of nin as ‘lady’ when referring to a goddess, merely for the reason that “in non–sexist language “lady” should be replaced whenever possible.” If I translate nin as ‘lady’ in personal names, it is indicative of the level of my understanding of certain personal names and to whom they refer. It is neither intended as an insult to the goddesses who may have been intended by the names, nor to any semantically sensitive peers.
1.6.1.3 Local and regional leadership

The most common expression of control over a geographical area is expressed by means of lugal GN or ensi₂ GN, where GN represents the capital of a city-state. The size of these areas may have fluctuated with time, and it is therefore hard at any given time to delimit the exact extent of a ruler’s dominion.

Texts from ED IIIa Šuruppag make repeated mention of a group of cities, namely Šuruppag, Uruk, Adab, Nippur, Umma and Lagaš. They may have been headed by a lugal, but it is not entirely clear where this lugal would have resided. G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti have pointed to the likely occurrence of a lugal of Kiš granting land to a subordinate in the south, recorded in a Šuruppag text, which would indicate a form of subordinate role of all the aforementioned cities. Šuruppag has been suggested as the administrative center of the group. At any rate, texts found at Šuruppag listing workers busy at a construction site, KI(UK)KIN, and soldiers from the aforementioned cities, indicate that the intentions for these joint operations were of a permanent kind, and involved military activities – but defensive or offensive functions are not necessarily the key reasons for the existence of the site in itself.

Toward the end of the ED IIIb, some rulers of Umma and Uruk made claims to the control of ‘the land’ lugal kalam-a(k). The title can not have encompassed all Sumerian cities as Lagaš remained independent until the beginning of the Sargonic period, and Adab may have been autonomous until the very last few decades of the ED period.

A few of the earliest known inscriptions, dating to the ED IIIa period, were composed by persons bearing the title lugal Kiš: Mebarasi, Mesilim, and a ruler whose name is unknown, but whose filiation attests to a parent’s name Munusušumgal. It is not known with certainty if they all hailed from Kiš. A few ED IIIb rulers of southern city-states who were definitely not

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181 Different perspectives on this group of cities or city-states can be found in T. Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957), 121f. who calls it a “league”; and F. Pomponio & G. Visicato, EDATS, 14, who refer to it as a “union.”
182 See NTSŠ 154 o. i 2: me-nun-si lugal Kiš ĝar aja₂-ki-gal, and the discussion of this line, G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 101 fn. 38.
183 So G. Visicato in FTUM, 124.
184 A wealth of information on the textual evidence concerning the activities of this group of cities is found in F. Pomponio & G. Visicato, EDATS, 10–20.
185 Enšakusuša and Lugalzagesi, see refs. in FAOS 6, 184 s.v. kalam, 2.
187 The dating and internal chronology of these three relies mainly on palaeography, J. S. Cooper, SARI 1, 4. Cooper’s statement, op. cit. 19, note to Ki 2, that lugal-Kiš was a popular PN is probably based on a misreading of piriḡ as kiš, see G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 100f. fn. 30.
citizens of Kiš in various ways also used the title. As a consequence, the title has been the object of some speculation. T. Jacobsen and J. S. Cooper are among several scholars who have expressed views to the effect that the title lugal Kiš “could be taken by any ruler who claimed hegemony over northern Babylonia,” and that Kiš refers to the city of the same name. According to M. B. Rowton, Kiš is more likely to have represented an expression of a geopolitical nature. Given a foothold in the Kiš area, a military leader would have been in a position to control an economic and military-strategic entrance down to the southern floodplain. Economic documentation from the ED Kiš and Diyālā area is scanty, and little is known of the early political history of that region, so these two sets of theories are not dead certain, though they do offer good suggestions as to why the title was adopted also by rulers further south.

A point which is often overlooked in scholarly literature is the fact that none of the rulers who used the title claimed to be the descendants of a lugal Kiš. And conversely, none of the rulers who mentioned that their father had held nam-lugal Kiš used that same title. In summing up, this kingship of Kiš was different from ED IIIb Sumerian local authority, in that it was seen as an appropriate designation for rulers of different cities, and that it does not seem to have been a hereditary position.

1.6.1.4 Secular vs. religious leadership

To distinguish between religious authorities and civic bureaucracy under a palace is not only difficult, in some places such a distinction was apparently not carried out to any great extent. This, however, is not to say that there could not have existed frictions between the two institutions.

There are a few reasons why the temple and the burgeoning palace economies need not be seen as competitive, but rather as complementary, institutions. First, a brilliant ideological device had probably existed since very early on: the tutelary deity of each urban center was considered the owner of the city or town, its assets and its people. Ownership of cities was expressed by the same word that signified the ruler of the e₂-gal, lugal. Secondly, Sumerian rulers spent a wealth of resources on supporting and enlarging religious structures, thereby undoubtedly strengthening the prestige of religious institutions, while at the same time they made manifest their connections to the divine sphere. In some instances, local rulers could

188 J. S. Cooper, SARI 1, 18. See also T. Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957), 118.
189 SANE 2/1, 7f. w. fn. 5. Cooper dismisses a suggestion by D. O. Edzard to see Kiš, not as the city, but as representing by extension northern Babylonia.
190 Fs Kraus, 318–325.
191 Eanatum of Lagaš stated that he was given nam-lugal of Kiš by the goddess Inana, CIRPL Ean. 2. But only after having beaten a coalition consisting of Kiš, Akšak and Mari on the borders of the Lagaš state. More on this below, section 6.4.
be instrumental in assigning cultic staff to temples they had themselves built or restored.\textsuperscript{192} In the southeastern floodplain, a handful of rulers are known to have filled priestly or managerial offices linked to temples, prior to, or concurrently with, their acting as ensi\textsubscript{2} or lugal. The most famous of these was Lugalzagesi, the last cardinal Sumerian ruler of the Early Dynastic period.\textsuperscript{193} Even if this phenomenon should prove to be relevant only for the southeastern part of the Mesopotamian floodplain, the examples show that this area at least, by late ED IIIb allowed for clear links between political offices on the one hand,\textsuperscript{194} and managerial temple offices on the other.\textsuperscript{195} By late ED IIIb the Girsu ruler Uru\textsuperscript{K}Agina seems to have merged the civil and temple households under one office at about the same time as he changed his title from the traditional ensi\textsubscript{2} to lugal. This would then not only imply that the two institutions had been regarded as separate entities until that time,\textsuperscript{196} but also that they were fundamentally compatible.\textsuperscript{197}

This mutually beneficial relationship allowed the Sumerian rulers to define their position as one which was intimately tied to the divine order of the world; epithets could range, for instance, from being engendered by gods through acting on their direct orders, to using titles borrowed from “secular” administration in relation to divinities, underlining the close ties between economy and the religious sphere. This was done without the rulers taking on a divine status in their lifetime, though the associations between the crown and religious concepts clearly were firmly established already by the ED IIIa.

\subsection*{1.6.1.5 Elite funerary cult}

The most eye-catching example of elite burials from any time period in Mesopotamia is the burial site in Ur dubbed by its discoverer the Royal Cemetery.\textsuperscript{198} It was used as a burial site from late ED IIIa times down into

\textsuperscript{192} As is the case in CIRPL Urn. 24 iii 3–6, where a dam ⁴\textsuperscript{Nanše is appointed by extispicy. The tradition of instating a princess as high priestess of the Moon God at Ur might also be a practice of the ED III period perpetuated by Šarrukēn of Akkade, see A. Westenholz, \textit{Annäherungen} 3, 38 with ref.

\textsuperscript{193} Lugalzagesi followed in the footsteps of his father U’u, who had been ensi\textsubscript{2} of Umma and lu\textsubscript{2}-maḫ of the goddess Nisaba prior to his son. This U’u is at present known exclusively from his son’s inscriptions from the time when the latter became king of Uruk and lugal of the land (kalam). A survey of the latter is given by P. Steinkeller, \textit{Fs Kienast}, 621–637.

\textsuperscript{194} J.-J. Glassner StOr 70, 18f.

\textsuperscript{195} See for instance lu\textsubscript{2}-, saḡa of Zabala, contemporary of Enmetena of Lagaš, who became the ensi\textsubscript{2} of Umma, \textit{CIRPL} Ent. 28 iii 28–29; and about a generation later, Enentarzi, saḡa of Ningirsu, who went on to become ensi\textsubscript{2} of Lagaš, e.g. \textit{DP} 1/1 31 i 4–5. A Classic Sargonic example is Lugalalājaḡu, a saḡa of Iškur who acted as ensi\textsubscript{2} of Adab, CUSAS 17 13 i 1–4.


\textsuperscript{197} See also M. Powell’s comments on the quite comparable situation in Umma-Zabala, \textit{HUCA} 49 (1978), 24–27.

\textsuperscript{198} For the finds, see C. L. Woolley et al., UE 2. H. J. Nissen’s \textit{Königsfriedhof}, is very useful for the chronological issues raised by archaeological and inscribed finds from the cemetery.
the post–Sargonic period, and was situated some 200 metres to the southeast of the Ur III ziggurat. The name is perhaps misleading as the definite majority of the several thousand interments on the site belonged to private individuals. 199 16 tombs stand out from the rest by means of their rich funeral goods and tomb architecture, and the fact that some of these monumental burials exhibit signs of human sacrifice. 200 A. C. Cohen has argued that the ceremonials surrounding these latter burials were intended to cement the elitist ideology of ED Ur royalty. The impressive pomp of mass interments and mourning ceremonies would impress upon all spectators that the palace was set apart from the rest of society, in life and in death. 201 Comparable evidence from other city-states is wanting, but seeming elite burials on a smaller scale have been excavated at Kiš. 202

Evidence for the ancestral cult of deceased rulers is found in some cities, mainly from Ebla and the Girsu state. How widespread this phenomenon was is hard to assess. The evidence from these latter two city-states implies that the ancestral cult was official business, and so the expenditures for offerings to the dead ended up in official records. At other locations the veneration of deceased ancestors may well have existed, but could rather have been viewed as a private affair, much along the lines of what is known about such practices in the Old Babylonian period.

1.6.2 The Sargonic period

With the advent of the Sargonic dynasty, the political center of gravity moved northwards, toward the area of confluence between the Diyālā and Tigris rivers. 203 The precise location of Akkade remains unknown. However, many thousands of documents and inscriptions from the Ḫabur area in the northwest to Susa in the southeast testify to the policies of Sargonic kings and their importance for the development of royal ideology in Mesopotamia down until the 1st millennium BCE can not be overestimated. The fact that

199 The exact number of burials is unclear. The index of Woolley et al., UE 2, counts around 1850 graves, while Woolley mentions, p. 16, that the number may have been two or three times that amount. H. J. Nissen, Königsfriedhof, 2, speaks of 450 previously unpublished burials, which must have been part of Woolley’s higher figures. Nissen further notes that a number of graves were erroneously dated in the original publication. S. Pollock, CAJ 1 (1991), 173, mentions a round figure of 2000 graves, but adds, p. 175, that Woolley mentioned coming across 4000 more that were too damaged to bother recording them. Several relevant observations were furthermore made by G. Marchesi, OrNS 73 (2004), 153–197.

200 The crania of a number of the retainers buried in full costume along with the main occupants of the tombs exhibit damages caused by a sharp instrument, about an inch in diameter, NY Times, Oct. 27 2009, New York Edition, section D4.

201 Death Rituals, 42–44, 121–125, 147f.


203 J.-J. Glassner, BBVO 5, 9f.
the names of two kings of Akkade were echoed by those of Akkadian-speaking rulers of the 2nd and 1st millennia serves to illustrate this point.

When the political situation so allowed, the Sargonic kings probably engaged in labour-intensive temple building projects, also in the southern parts of the land. Examples are made up by the temple of Enlil in Nippur and that of the Moon God in the far south. The founder of the dynasty, Šarrukēn, originally adopted traditional Sumerian epithets of a religious nature. At some point he, followed by his two sons Rīmuš and Manišṭāšu, opted for an almost exclusive use of a much simpler – yet still traditional – title, lugal Kiš. He, as well as his successors, underlined the fact that they were supported by Enlil, the leader of the Sumerian pantheon, and ʿAštar, the Semitic goddess of war. Šarrukēn seems to have introduced the concept of a standing army to southern Mesopotamia.

The kings of Akkade met staunch opposition from the Sumerian city-states, as witnessed by reports of recurring southbound campaigns and the tearing down of city walls. From a political point of view, the Akkadian kings introduced an order based on personal responsibility toward the ruler. Letters and administrative documents reveal that governors of Sumerian cities travelled to Akkade, doubtlessly to meet with the king personally. The king’s officials obviously had great authority, even in giving orders to city governors. Both were sometimes characterized as servants of the king named in their seal inscriptions, which indicates a loyalty to the person of the king rather than to the office. Legally the king was the highest authority in the land with civilians sometimes swearing by his name in oath-taking ceremonies. And during this time there are indications that capital punishment lay in the hands of the king alone, as was ideally the case later during the times of Hammurapi of Babylon.

Ideologically, the most important idea to gain some degree of acceptance during the Sargonic period was the deification of the living ruler. The evidence for a cult based on the person of the ruler in Sargonic times is

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204 See references, A. Westenholz, Annäherungen 3, 54 fn. 201f.
205 See in general the overview by W. G. Lambert, JSOTS 270, 57–59. Contrary to Lambert’s characterization of Šarrukēn, the latter did actually use the title ensi₂ in the Akkadian version of his bilingual Nippur inscription, as parallel to Sumerian ensi₂-gal, see T. Jacobsen, Fs Civil, 114 n. 9.
206 Portrayed by A. Westenholz, HANE/S 5, 157–169, as a difference in mentality between Sumerians and Akkadians. I believe Westenholz is in essence right. Difficulties encountered by Akkadian bureaucrats in administering state affairs inevitably led to a jargon foreign to Sumerian bureaucracy. But many of the differences to which Westenholz points might perhaps rather stem from the accountability of officials in relation to their superiors rather than a mentality ingrained in them at home or during their education in scribal schools.
207 In MS-Cs Nippur, an oath was taken simultaneously by the god Ninurta and by the king, OSP 2 74, and p. 85 w. comment to lines 9–10.
208 Indeed, all of the evidence published so far is circumstantial. See for instance the letter treated by B. Kienast & K. Volk, FAOS 19, 134–136. See also below, p. 95f. w. fn. 493.
mostly derived from seal inscriptions and in particular the preposed divine determinative written in front of the royal name.\textsuperscript{209} Beginning in the last century of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium BCE, the statues of these rulers, along with those of the prolific builder Gudea, governor of Lagaš, and those of the Ur III dynasty, are mentioned in texts as recipients of offerings.

1.6.3 The Late Sargonic period and the Gutian interregnum

After the first five kings of the Sargonic dynasty, a period of political turmoil ensued. The Akkadian state shrank and a dynasty based in the borderlands of the eastern mountains, the Gutians, came to power. The extent of their influence over Sumer is unknown. Nippur, Umma and Adab, all seem to have been under their control in one way or another, but the documentation that can be attributed to this period is limited. The best source material consists of a handful of inscriptions authored by Gutian rulers or by local governors under their influence.\textsuperscript{210}

In the southeast, the Lagaš state seems to have managed quite well, and written sources attest to a return to old associations between the worldly and the divine spheres of power. A short inscription by an independent sovereign, \textit{Puzur-Mama}, attests to the survival of Early Dynastic ideological traits, as his epithets are very similar to those used by ED IIb Lagaš rulers.\textsuperscript{211} This could either be due to the survival of inscribed pieces of monumental art, or to traditions of ideological tenets in the form of oral or written compositions. Lengthy texts from the governor Gudea testify to large-scale building projects and a blossoming literary tradition. A hymn to the goddess Bau mentioning Gudea was composed during this period.\textsuperscript{212}

1.6.4 The Ur III period

The memory of the Sargonic kings remained firm with the Ur III kings. The floodplain was characterized by peaceful circumstances, which meant that

\textsuperscript{209} But see, e.g. the Bassetkī inscription of \textit{Naŗām-Su'en}, A.-H. Al-Fouadi, \textit{Sumer} 32 (1976), 63–75; W. Farber, \textit{OrNS} 52 (1983), 67–72, mentioning a “house” built by the citizens of Akkade for \textit{Naŗām-Su'en}.

\textsuperscript{210} E.g. \textit{BroTa} 2 & 3 (OB copies of original inscriptions by Erriduwizir); V. Scheil, \textit{CRAIB} 55 (1911), 319, inscription by Lugalanatum, ensi₂ of Umma dated to the reign of Si₃-um.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{211} H. de Genouillac, \textit{RHR} 101 (1930), 221 (AO 11253); and the edition with commentary of cols. ii and iii by K. Volk, \textit{ZA} 82 (1992), 28f. As Volk shows, the epithets of \textit{Puzur-Mama} resemble those of Eanatum more than any other Lagaš ensi₂. It is thus likely that a monumental inscription of Eanatum had somehow been available to \textit{Puzur-Mama}.

\textsuperscript{212} See the edition of a hymn for Bau with a section honouring Gudea, A. Falkenstein & W. von Soden, \textit{Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete}, 85–87. Another hymn, Dumu Ana, sometimes taken to refer to a human ruler, was discussed and treated by G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 119f., and 132–139, with notes on previous editions.
the kings of Ur could focus much of their attention on intensifying productivity, thereby increasing revenues to the state. Leading cities of the floodplain became the scene of building projects on a grand scale. Prisoners of war were put to work in booming industrial facilities and in production of foodstuffs.\(^{213}\) Now more than ever, the divine nature of kingship came to the fore in hymns extolling the unique position and function of kingship. To a large extent, these hymns are linguistically influenced by the Lagaš material.\(^{214}\) Furthermore, the language and wording of the Ur III hymns show much affinity to concepts found in personal names throughout the 3rd millennium.

Consistencies between concepts encountered in pre–Ur III personal names and in late 3rd millennium royal hymns are so great that a continuity of key ideas must be presupposed. To give a proper picture of how this flow of ideas worked, the onomastic, historical and hymnic material of the 21st century BCE would also have to be inspected and judged. Such an undertaking is to a large extent beyond the scope of this study. But part of the purpose of this investigation is to identify older ideological material in a specific group of names, and put them in a perspective which can also shed light on the very beginnings of kingship in ancient Mesopotamia. In Chapter 6, this brief historical background will be discussed along with key findings from the analytical Chapter 3.

\(^{213}\) An overview of the Ur III period is found in W. Sallaberger, *Annäherungen* 3.

\(^{214}\) J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*; E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166.
2. Names and time of name-giving

Sumerian and Semitic names in Mesopotamia during the period 2800–2200 BCE differed from each other in some respects. Within these groups also, names could differ depending, for instance, on temporal or geographic considerations, perhaps also depending on a person’s social standing. The traditions which defined name-giving and how much is known about the situations in which names were given vary between the cultures. The Sumerian and Akkadian onomastic materials are both introduced and described in general terms and in respect to traits peculiar to respective language.

2.1 The name

Personal names appear in cuneiform texts throughout the better part of three millennia: from about 3000 BCE to the beginning of the Common Era. They contain a spectrum of statements, ranging from descriptions of references to the child’s appearance to condensed statements about the physical world and the way it connected with the social and cultural world of ideas in which the name-givers and -bearers lived and believed. The majority of names from all periods of Mesopotamian name-giving were composed with divine names or objects connected with the divine sphere encompassing a degree of divinity themselves, or with appellatives potentially referring either to humans or to divine denizens of the world.

It is reasonable to assume that every person reaching a certain level of maturity had a name, formal or informal, by which others in the individual’s surroundings would know and refer to him or her, and by which he or she could be entered into official documentation. Hardly any evidence for

215 The Uruk III sign combinations collected by R. K. Englund, CDLJ 2009:4, 1–29, esp. p. 18–23, and convincingly argued by him to be names of Uruk III labourers are only briefly examined below, section 2.3. Englund takes an agnostic stance on whether the language of Uruk III texts is Sumerian. The names collected by him are admittedly different from names of the ED I-II period, when the Sumerian basis of substantial parts of the onomasticon is more secure. I hope to be able to publish a more in-depth study of this material in the future.

namelessness is hinted at by the extant sources, but a form of deliberate anonymity may be the case in some instances.²¹⁷ Those beings who had not been accorded names were liminal and potentially dangerous.²¹⁸ Some rather specific texts from later Ugarit and other western cultures in certain cases refer to an individual only as ‘son of PN,’ but these cases no doubt involved people who had names of their own; the administrative context only demanded that the persons be identified with an affiliation due to obligations or privileges in connection with state offices.²¹⁹

Undoubtedly, names were as important to the ancient Mesopotamians as they are in modern societies, and not only for ease of reference in administrative contexts. When factoring in certain features of the terminology surrounding names and naming, this becomes clear. The Sumerian verb še₂₁ (in older literature sa₄) ‘to name’ persons or objects closely associated with persons, was the same as the verb ‘to appoint’ a person to a function. Both meanings have a correspondence in the Akkadian verb nabûm.²²⁰

The ‘name,’ Sumerian mu, Akkadian šumum, especially of the lugal or an important local god, was invoked in legal proceedings from at least the middle of the Sargonic period onwards.²²¹ Mere mention of the name in this doubtlessly rather formalized context would then bind the pledger to the contractual agreement.²²² Whether by a divine order or by the earthly legal system, disregard for the sworn arrangement was surely thought to bring

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²¹⁷ See, for instance, the entry mu nu-tuku “having no name,” E. Sollberger, BiOr 16 (1959), pl. 5 (AO 15540=M. Lambert, OrAnt 18 (1979), 225f., copy), o. iv 4 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala, Luzag. ensi₂ 6). The entry is perhaps short for a previously unattested interrogative name missing an appellative, such as: lugal/nin/en-mu-nu-tuku ‘is the … not famous?’ I see no basis for connecting this entry with the OB lemma munutukû ‘without heir,’ for which, see CAD M/2 s.v. Compare mu nu-ub-tuku, standing in for a name in anonymous donations (a ru-a) from private individuals in OB Ur, perceived as a name by S. Dunham, ZA 75 (1985), 258 and fn. 97. Compare also the MB legal document cited in CAD I/J s.v. jânu, 1b, where an interrogee stated he did not know his father’s name and that his brother had no name. Furthermore, an OB exemplar of the Sumerian King List notes the first Gutian king as mu nu-tuku, while the Ur III version of the list, P. Steinkeller, Fs Wilcke, 280, suggests that the Gutians shared power for three years before a lugal emerged from among them.

²¹⁸ So, for instance, the nameless demonic beings known under the collective moniker of udug ḫul, Akk. utukkû lemmûtu, mu-bi an-ki-a la-ba-an-ĝal₂-la-a-meš, mu-šu₂-nu ina šamē erṣeti ul ibašši “their (the demons’) names do not exist in heaven or on earth,” quoted by CAD s.v. šumu, lex. sect. The fate of stillborn children was quite optimistically depicted in the composition Bilgames, Enkidu and the Netherworld, receiving butter and playing with gold and silver buckets (or tables), see A. Cavigneaux & F. al-Rawi, Iraq 62 (2000), 7, l. 16.

²¹⁹ See A. Alt, ArOr 18 (1950), 9–24.

²²⁰ CAD N/1 s.v. nabû A, lex. sect.; AHw, 699f.

²²¹ See references to oaths by the ruler or by the name of the ruler, A. Westenholz, Annäherungen 3, 54 fn. 198.

²²² It is not unlikely, though, that some sort of binding ritual act was performed simultaneously with the uttering of the king’s or god’s name or in immediate connection to it; enhancing or completing the solemn agreement between the parties.
about some form of penalty from a supreme authority to which all parties in the matter were answerable. Earlier reports on oaths are scanty, but the treaty section in the Lagaš ruler Eanatum’s Stele of the Vultures focused on objects belonging to divinities which both the administering and the swearing parties could acknowledge. And as the tutelary deities of Umma and Girsu were seen as affected by the proceedings, they were not featured among the divinities by whom oaths were sworn.223

2.2 Name-giving

Information on naming practice is quite sparse and for the most part circumstantial. The point at which children received their names in the early historic periods is still unclear. The person pronouncing the name is in all likelihood a close relative, probably a parent, but that parent would not necessarily be the one who decided upon the name to be given. In the following, what can be said with reasonable safety about naming from the extant sources will be looked at, and evidence from later periods will be drawn on for comparison.224

2.2.1 Early periods

When trying to pinpoint facts about Near Eastern name-giving one often has to deal with administrative and contractual sources. Such texts are drawn up with a specific purpose in mind: to document single transactions or sequences of transactions and the parties taking part in these. If age is noted or if age can be deduced from implicit factors in the documents, it is definitely worthy of notice with respect to the question of name-giving even though that often says very little about the context in which names were given.

Therefore it is of interest to note that certain Uruk III period documents may have specified the age of named, quite young, children in lists of labourers. These probably sorted under a bureaucratic office. According to some views, some children may have been as young as one or a few years old.225 A similar practice for (unnamed) animals is known from contemporary administration, and also later, where the age of animals is

223 A summary of the oath procedures and ritual acts of this treaty is given by C. Wilcke, *EANEL*, 74f.
224 The following discussion is in part influenced by observations made already by J. J. Stamm, *Namengebung*, 8–10, save that he mainly looked at Akkadian names.
225 See R. K. Englund, *CDLJ* 2009:4, 13f., and note 35, p. 13; and also the discussion of some of these names, below p. 58f. w. fn. 280.
noted, along with gender and breed. Administrative documents from the Early Dynastic and later periods, however, never express age when writing: ‘PN₁ child of PN₂.’ Sizes of rations received by a person disclose an approximate level of physical maturity or the ability to perform labour tasks, as will be shown in section 2.2.2, below.

During the ED and Sargonic periods, adult male and female workers are very often listed by name. Children, when belonging to a worker family, are usually only mentioned as dumu ‘child.’ Appearing more regularly beginning in the Sargonic period, is a qualifier for the gender of the child, dumu nitaḫ ‘boy child,’ and dumu munus ‘girl child.’ Another term is ša₃-du₉ ‘immature child.’ Infants are listed as dumu ga, amar gaba or just plain gaba ‘suckling child,’ much depending on local terminology. The exact age groups covered by these terms are unclear and perhaps fleeting, though the ga- or gaba-children are most certainly younger than plain dumu-children.

A rather unique document from Girsu lists family units consisting of adults, servants and children, coming to the temple of Bau via Guabba from around the southern countryside. All persons, regardless of age grouping, are listed by name. The total at the end of the document lists the male providers first, followed by the male servants and the ‘boys’ ša₃-du₁₀ nitaḫ. After that, the women, called ama dumu, ‘mothers (with) children,’ the ‘girls’ ša₃-du₁₀ munus, and lastly the female servants.

As for a time of name-giving, some 3rd millennium Sumerian names in themselves appear to refer to specific points in local cultic calendars. When seen in the light of later Akkadian name-giving, such names may arguably be said to refer to a point in time coinciding either with the birth of the child,

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226 R. K. Englund, *Annäherungen* 1, 176. Later examples include VS 14 160 (ED IIIb Girsu, equids); B. R. Foster, *USP* 74 (CS Umma, equids), commented with more examples, p. 128.

227 This is one of the factors which led S. Langdon to the assumption that Sumerian children only received names when reaching maturity, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. 9, “Names (Sumerian),” 171. The other factor was the supposed lack of references to circumstances of birth in Sumerian names, so-called Begrüßungsnamen.

228 At least judging by the evidence from earlier periods. For an OB Kiš example which could point to the opposite, compare V. Donbaz & N. Yoffee, *BiMes* 17, 62, sections H and N, where a “son” (dumu) receives 2/3 of the rations received by “an infant” (dumu gaba) belonging to another household. The corresponding terms for orphans – not always denoting small children – were nu-siki nitaḫ, nu-siki munus or dumu nu-siki, depending on time and place. See the discussion with many textual references by I. J. Gelb, *JNES* 24 (1965), 239f.

229 The document, Nik 1 19 has been treated and commented on by I. J. Gelb, *OLA* 5, 61–63.

230 Some of the boys’ names are: en-ne₂-a-na-ak, lugal-iti-da-tu (o. ii 4–5); and some of the girl's names are nin-si-ĝar-ab-ba, šeš-ku₂-ge-še₂-mu-ĝal, (o. ii 8–9), uru-ku₂-a-bi₂-lu₅ (o. iii 13), and ereš-e-rib-ba-ni-gin₂-mi₂-zi(-du₁₁-ga) (o. iv 10). The reconstruction of the latter form depends on the reading of G. Marchesi, *HANE/S* 10, 189, fn. 199. About a third of the names are either hapaxes, are hardly attested, or contain rare combinations of elements seldom seen in the Sumerian onomasticon. This is probably due to the fact that these people came from the southern countryside.
or with the act of name-giving itself – perhaps both. A few other names may refer to recurring natural phenomena, and could similarly be taken as indications of a time of birth or the time of name-giving.

In essence, these facts represent the basis for a time of name-giving in the earliest periods. The context of naming is of course not worthy of notice to bureaucrats and so such information is not even alluded to. If early official documentation is all but silent on this point, literary sources give no information at all about name-giving with respect to humans. Even without such information, several scholars have assumed that the father was the person responsible for naming his children.

Historical texts, on the other hand, often relate to the naming of rulers by gods. The most famous, and definitely the most extensive account of such an event is the one alluded to by Eanatum in his Stele of the Vultures. K. Volk’s treatment of the passage suggests that Eanatum’s account of his own birth can be used as a model for understanding the procedures around name-giving. After a divine conception, Eanatum is said to have received his name by the goddess Inana, who then placed him on the lap of another goddess, Ninḫursaḡ, for breast feeding. After this, Ninḡirsu examines the child and he (probably) confirms the name given by Inana. Based on that inscription, Volk suggests that the name was given by a midwife, and that later the father confirmed it. Naturally, the circumstances surrounding Eanatum’s conception and raising stand out as more ideologically motivated than as descriptions of matter-of-fact child rearing. All Eanatum’s other inscriptions featuring this episode in more contracted, epithetical form have the nurturing epithet precede the name-giving epithet. Furthermore, different goddesses are involved. But the sequence of events is not altogether implausible, which is the key issue here. As will be seen presently, later Akkadian textual witnesses have more to offer on this point.

231 See for instance the discussions of the names lugal-ezem, p. 130f.; and lugal-⁻(g)₃ apin-du₁₀ and lugal-apin-ne₂, p. 131f.
232 See discussions of lugal-it₁⁻(tu), p. 172; and lugal-še-gu-na, p. 133, below.
233 K. Volk, OBO 203, 84 fn. 84 mentions specifically H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 310; but compare also B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien 1, 390 and 395; T. Jacobsen, CTNMC, 5; K. Radner, Die Macht des Namens, 28.
234 The stele itself has a name, of which it is said: na-ru₂-a, mu-bi, lu₃-a nu ..., “the name of this stele is not that of a man,” CIRPL Ean. 1 r. x 23–25.
235 OBO 203, 71–92, especially p. 83f. Another treatment of the passage, CIRPL Ean. 1 o. iv 18–v 29, in a survey of the Near Eastern tradition of royalty with divine parentage is found in M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible, 83–89.
236 In the Nippur inscription of Lugalzagesi of Uruk-Umma, the chain of epithets mention him among other things as chosen (mū pa₂-da) by the Sun God Utu, as the son born by Nissaba, fed by the wholesome milk of Ninḫursaḡ, and brought up by Ningirim, the lady of Uruk, BE 1/2 87 i 19–33.
237 See list of writings and attestations in FAOS 6, 282f., and note CIRPL Ean. 6 iv 7–10 where Nanšē is mentioned instead of Inana.
2.2.2 Ur III and later periods

If 3rd millennium sources divulge little in the way of a time or context of name-giving, later periods do offer more information that can serve as points of comparison. Ur III documentation, for instance, is useful because of its sheer abundance. In texts from this period one may follow individuals appearing in the same archive, sometimes spanning several years. In this period, working class children are called by name in rations disbursement documents, even at a young age, far more regularly than before.

H. Waetzoldt, writing on children’s place in Ur III work teams, indirectly touches upon the subject of age and naming. He cites a text in which a mother appears along with her four named children, all five have Sumerian names. All four children are too young to carry out work but they still receive a low amount of rations: 10 sila of barley each, roughly 10 liters worth. The youngest child is qualified as “born afterwards” (eger tu-da), that is, “after the last inspection or accounting.”

The time frame involved ought to be a year or two at the most, given the regularity of Ur III accounting.

The economic documentation aside, a unique slave sale text from Šu-Su’en’s first regnal year reports on a boy child, 1 1/2 cubits (kuš₃) high (c. 75 cm), being sold. His name was given as ₆Nanna-sa₆-ga ‘Nanna is favourable.’ Considering the height of the boy, an age of 1 1/2–2 years is not improbable. In two other Ur III slave sales documents, one involving a male and a female slave along with a baby boy, the other involving a female slave and her baby girl, only the adults are named. The children are mentioned as clinging to the breasts of their mothers. The boy who appears on his own merits naming in the sales contract while the children who were sold along with parents obviously did not. The latter seem to have been considered part of a package deal and so their names, if they had any by that time, were not seen as necessary for drawing up the sales document.

By the beginning of the 2nd millennium, there are numerous examples of names which refer to a body part of a newborn. These names ought then to be related to phrases uttered by nursemaids, female relatives, older siblings or any member of the entourage surrounding a woman giving birth, if not by the mother herself. Examples include Aḥa-arši ‘I received a brother,’

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238 H. Waetzoldt, Labor in the Ancient Near East, 132f.
239 UET 3 26 (=OIP 104 281). The envelope had the height recorded as 1 kuš₃. The price of the boy was the modest sum of 2 šeqels (gin₂) of silver, which would be rather low for a child fit for heavier labour.
240 See for instance the dating of a skeleton of about the same height, H. Martin, J. Moon, J. N. Postgate, Graves 1 to 99: Grave 11, measurements on site agreeing with dental analysis on an age of 1 1/2–2 years. Conservative measuring of the skeletal parts as published yield a height, when alive, of just under 80 cm.
241 The texts are NATN 761, and OIP 104 279. Both are from Nippur.
242 Some examples are given by J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 127–136. The names were characterized by Stamm as “greeting names” (Begrüßungsnamen). M. Stol, Birth in
found already in the Ebla texts;²⁴³ *Ikšud-appašu* ‘his nose has arrived,’²⁴⁴ and *Mīn-arri* ‘what have I done to deserve this?’,²⁴⁵ both from the OB period.

An OB contract from Kiš mentions a servant girl, *Amat-Eššēšīm*, daughter of *Amat-Bau*, being handed over into the care of the latter’s mistress *Ruttīya*. The poignant part of the document is the fact that it was drawn up on the exact same day as the named baby girl was born.²⁴⁶ A father of the child is not mentioned and is hence taken to be absent totally during the proceedings leading up to the handing over of the girl. The name thus, with all certainty, was given by the mother before the baby girl was handed over to her mistress. The day of birth of *Amat-Eššēšīm* must have coincided with the celebration of the *Eššēšum* festival, which occurred a few times per month. Other similar names are known and add to the impression of a name-giving event as early as the first day of a child’s life.²⁴⁷ In fact, the Sumerian word for ‘festival,’ *ezem*, forms part of the most common Sumerian lugal-name in the time between 2600 and 2200 BCE, and this could favour a time of birth – or of name-giving – for individuals bearing this name, during a festival.²⁴⁸

In another OB adoption contract, a baby boy by the name *Mār-Ištar*, son of a slave girl, is adopted by a man. The period of nursing which would take place in the birth home of the boy is stipulated to two years, while the standard time was three years. This is likely to imply that the boy was around 1 year old by the time of adoption.²⁴⁹ In the NB period, a 1-year-old girl, or a girl in her first year, was named *Šikkū* ‘mongoose.’²⁵⁰ Two documents from the Achaemenid period record the sale and subsequent cancellation of a male servant along with his three daughters, all named. The

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²⁴³ Attested also with the opposite word order, M. Krebernik, *BBVO* 7, 122 and 143.
²⁴⁵ So A. Westenholz, *AfO* 42/43 (1995–96): “He must have been an ugly child indeed.” See also M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible*, 168, for more names of a similar kind.
²⁴⁷ See, e.g. MA *mār-ūmi-esrā* ‘son of the 20th day,’ C. Saporetti, StPohl 6/1, 321; and the considerations of A. R. Millard, *ARES* 1, 163f., on months and festivals as component parts of PNN in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.
²⁴⁸ According to an Eduba dialogue, a schoolboy gives his work month as consisting of 24 days in school, 3 holidays and on average 3 days off for festivals, H. L. J. Vanstiphout, *The Context of Scripture*, 592 ll. 21–25. Whether this can be applied also to the time before the OB period is unclear, but the numbers can not be very far off the mark.
²⁵⁰ J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus* 75 r. 4: (u₂₃) *mmušinšīk-ku-ut₂ mārat šattīšu* (dumu munus mu-šu₂). Quoted by *CAD* Š/2 s.v. *šattu*, 1k 1’. For *šikkū* in other PNN, see *CAD* Š/2, s.v. Among the latter is at least one other instance of a female bearing this name, made up of a masculine noun. The phenomenon of girls or women bearing or choosing male names is known in other cultures, see e.g. G. vom Bruck, *The Anthropology of Names and Naming*, 226–250.
third daughter, Šēpēt-Ninlil-ašbat ‘I grabbed hold of Ninlil’s feet,’ was qualified as ēniqtu, ‘suckling girl child.’

A few different points concerning the persons in the above-mentioned economic texts and contracts are of interest. In all cases they refer to people from the lower strata of society; either servants or slaves. It seems apparent that there was no need to put to writing the event of a birth within families belonging to the middle or upper classes. In the case of the first OB contract, the mother parting with her baby girl needed to be mentioned, as well as her subordinate status, in order to prevent her from reclaiming her child in the future.

If, with due reservation, this is also applied to the earlier periods and higher strata in society, a possible time of name-giving might be envisaged, ranging from the first day of a child’s life up to within a few years of age. At the latest, children ought to have received names during early adolescence when they had grown old enough to take on tasks that merited ratio payments from a bureaucratic department of a civic institution. The Mesopotamian material may be compared with early Hebrew society, where the mothers often appear to have been responsible for naming their children, close to the time of birth.

2.2.3 Name change and kyriophores

The practice of renaming or adding additional components to a person’s name is known from different areas and time periods in the ancient Near East. A number of instances indicate that certain individuals renamed themselves or were renamed by others. This fact strengthens the idea of a name being associated on an intimate level with its bearer, as the new name can be seen more befitting of the current standing and altered life situation of the bearer. When, for instance, persons show up in official texts bearing names incorporating the name of a ruler – so called kyriophore names –


252 The names cited by K. Radner, Die Macht des Namens, 27 w. fn. 144, as evidence for a Sumerian tradition of Begrüßungsnamen are problematic in the light of parallels. For instance, an-ney₂-ba(-ab)-du₇ should not be taken as “Bis zum Himmel ist er/sie gesprungen,” as the name i₇-de₂-ba-du₇, CTNMC 54 o. iv 2, can hardly be taken to mean “he jumped in the river” for joy at the arrival of the child.

253 See, e.g., J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 10 fn. 1; I. Willi-Plein, Namenforschung, 871f.

254 See in general the short discussion by E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages, 569: 67.5.

255 M. Hilgert, JBVO 5 (2002), 39f. and fn. 5, p. 40, argues for the need to distinguish between theophore and kyriophore names, and contrasts those to the term basiliophore, used about kings who were not necessarily deified. Hilgert’s first line of argument is followed here,
who had been in power for only a comparatively short period of time, then there is reason to suspect that renaming had taken place previous to the date of the document being drawn up. Similar to the original name-giving situation, the circumstances surrounding a person’s renaming are unknown.

2.2.3.1 Early periods

A few instances from the ED IIIb Lagaš state suffice to show that renaming was practiced then and there. Each of the last few rulers of Girsu, did not stay in power for very long. Therefore, when persons are called ‘Utu-palil-Lugal-AN-da’ and Uru-KA-gi-na-En-nil₂-le-(i₃)-su, Uru-KA-gi-na-Nin-ĝir₂-su-ke₄-(i₃)-su and Uru-KA-gi-na-Nanše-(i₃)-su, meaning ‘UruKA-gina is known by DN,’ in texts written during the respective reigns of the rulers mentioned in the names, they bear witness to such practice. LugalAN-da’s wife also, Baranamtara, was honoured in a similar way. But names referring to her (personally or in her function as wife of the chief administrator of the city?) substituted her name for a noun of uncertain meaning: PAP.PAP.

Only a few of the persons bearing names of this type seem to have performed important functions; for instance the temple steward (aĝrig) named Enanatum-sipa-zi ‘Enanatum is a faithful shepherd’ who merited mention in a famous letter. But the chronology involved is somewhat problematic as the person is described as no longer alive, and there is no indication in the letter as to how long the person had been deceased. At any rate the name is, at present, the earliest attested kyriophore name from Mesopotamia.

From ES and CS times two examples merit attention. Two princesses in the Akkadian royal family had Sumerian names, both beginning with the appellative en; and both performed the function of high priestesses (en, Akk. entum) of the Moon God in the southern Sumerian city of Ur. Since no other

256 An IL₂ known from texts dating between Lug. Y 6 and Ukg. ensi₂ Y 1. See V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 206, for references.

257 The men appear in four sources from Ukg. lugal Y 3–4, HSS 3 27 r. iv 1–3; 42 o. i 1–ii 1; both were treated by G. J. Selz as AWAS 26 and 42 with commentary (“Höflingsnamen”). See also op. cit. no. 124 r. iii 2–4; DP 1/2 116 r. i 10–ii 1.

258 For these names, see G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 272f., and a few examples, below, p. 89, 120, 144 fn. 806. A suggestion by E. Sollberger to read PAP.PAP as variant of munus(PAP+PAP), seeing in it a phonetic rendering of munus ‘woman,’ is refuted by Selz, p. 272 fn. 1338. However, the appellative munus replaces PAP.PAP in closely related phrases, and both terms refer to Baranamtara, e.g. RTC 47 and DP 1/2 89. Compare the discussion of the meaning of geme₂, normally ‘female servant’ or the like, FTUM, 121 w. fn. 36.

259 Found in the letter CIRPL Enz. 1, rev. iii 4. The dating of this letter in the latter half of Ukg.’s reign appears solid, see D. R. Frayne, RIME 1, 237, w. refs. The text more than likely refers to events taking place a generation or more before the date of composition.
instances of Sumerian names are attested among those known to have belonged to the royal lineage in Akkade, they are very probably programmatic, and not original names.⁴²⁰ No doubt, the appellative en of these names referred not to the priestesses, but to the deities whom they served. The name en-he₂-du₇-an-na, ‘the en is an adornment of Heaven’ is more befitting as epithet of a planetary deity traversing the skies than as referring to a priestess of the Moon God – daughter of a king or not. Hence, a reference to the divinity of en is logically more preferable than viewing it as the professional title of the en-priestess of Nanna.⁴²¹ A name like ḌNa-ra₆-Su’en-š₁₀₂ ḌNa-ra₆-Su’en is my god’ from early on in Šarkališarrē’s reign might also be taken to be a name acquired in adulthood, but considering the unknown length of ḌNa-ra₆-Su’en’s rule, it is also quite possible that the person bearing the name had had it since early on in life.

Throne names adopted by rulers in connection with their accession were never to become a tradition, even in the most generous sense of the word, judging from the available source material.⁴²³ Only a single possible case from 3rd millennium Mesopotamia presents itself: Ḡu₆-Kiš, a rebel leader from Kiš under the reign of ḌNa-ra₆-Su’en. Though he is probably historical, he has left behind no sources of his own, and it may well be that his unusual name refers to the manner in which he was catapulted to power.⁴²⁴

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⁴²⁰ Interestingly the en of Enlil in Nippur, Tuṭṭa-nabûum, daughter of ḌNa-ra₆-Su’en kept her Akkadian name. See family tree of the Akkade dynasty, W. W. Hallo & W. K. Simpson, The Ancient Near East: A History, 58; additional children of ḌNa-ra₆-Su’en are listed in RIME 2, 87. Another daughter is now known, ṭa₂-r₂-am₃₃₂-A₃₃₂-de₃₃₄, see G. Buccellati & M. Kelly-Buccellati, Fs Oates, 14, with an overview of the royal family, note 3, p. 29 At least two more persons belonged to the lineage: Ḍš₂₂₂-mi₂-ig₂-r₁₂₂, BIN 8 121 o. i 7 (dumu lugal); ṭ-i₃₂-l₃₂-s₃₁₂₃ (šeš lugal), RIME 2.0.0.1001. “Father” of Ḡu₆₂-ša₃₂-li₂₁₂₂ is to be stricken from Hallo’s and Simpson’s scheme.

⁴²¹ Compare, e.g. M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 9 fn. 20, who considered the possibility that names of, among others, priests and priestesses, actually did refer to the name-bearing. If all en-names are taken to be similar in scope, then the name en₄-Nanna₄-Amar₄-Su’en-ra₂-ki₂-ağa₂, ‘the divine en Nanna loves Amar-Su’en,’ borne by an en priestess at Karzida, UET 3 1499 r. ii 7, offers the best evidence that en in names of en-priestesses of Nanna denoted, not the official, but the deity under whom the priestess served. But it may be said that, generally, the lack of a substantial corpus of inscriptions by people termed exclusively en (or nin, ama, aja₂, šeš, etc.), make the problems of knowing when the appellative refers to a human and when it refers a divinity much more complex than is the case with lugal-names. Also, in names of en-priests or -priestesses of other divinities, en may indeed prove to denote the official. A further study of this problem could prove most rewarding.

⁴²² USP 31 o. 4: ḏN₄-ra₂-am₄₂₁₂₁₂₂₁₂₂₁₂₂₁₂₂ (2 mu 5 iti 5 u₄, probably of Šarkališarrē date).

⁴²³ J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 11 w. fnn. 1 and 3. Compare A. Becker, BagM 16 (1985), 304–307, who notes that out of 5 known rulers of Uruk in the final half of the ED IIb period, 4 had names beginning with lugal, but the implications of this are unclear. Most of the royal names cited by Becker, op. cit., 298 fn. 280, are probably not to be seen as throne names. The question is addressed again by E. Frahm, NABU 2005/44, who offers some interesting reflections on the MA and NA royal onomasticon, and by K. Radner, Die Macht des Namens, 33–35.

⁴²⁴ See discussion below, section 6.1.
Furthermore, there are no noticeable difference in names after rulers had undergone deification in their own lifetimes.

2.2.3.2 Ur III and later periods

In the latter half of the Ur III period, a handful of examples are known where a high-ranking person appears under two different names; seemingly making a deliberate change sometime during his career. The top Ur III official\(^{265}\) ir\(_{11}\)-\(\hat{g}\)u\(_{10}\) ‘my servant’ who was later called ir\(_{11}\)-\(d\)Nanna ‘Nanna’s servant,’ is one example.\(^{266}\)

Kyriophore names of this period can be found throughout the region controlled directly by the Ur III state, and also as attributed to persons from neighbouring areas with which the Ur regime was in close political contact.\(^{267}\) They could be construed both in Sumerian and Akkadian, and in rare cases the linguistic affinity of a name is unknown.\(^{268}\) The higher echelons of society seem especially well-represented with regard to this specific category of names,\(^{269}\) but they in fact appear in all strata of society and thus attest to the importance of the king to the people’s lives in a very tangible way.

A tradition for deification of Ur III rulers in their own lifetimes definitely led to a considerable increase in the amounts and varieties of kyriophore names in this period. The inception of this tradition of kyriophore names in the Ur III period began under its long-lived, second ruler, Šulgi (c. 2094–2048 BCE), who, it is speculated, assumed divine status somewhere between his 12\(^{th}\) and his 20\(^{th}\) regnal years.\(^{270}\) From a preliminary survey of the Ur III onomasticon, the earliest instance of a person bearing a kyriophore name dates from Šulgi’s 25\(^{th}\) regnal year. The person in question, \(^d\)Šul-gi-zi-\(\hat{g}\)u\(_{10}\) ‘Šulgi is my life,’ a cook by profession, appears in a text from Nippur.\(^{271}\) Judging by the date, there is a distinct possibility that he had had this name since childhood, only having the divine determinative added when the effects of Šulgi’s deification becomes visible in the sources. It is only a few years after Šulgi’s 25\(^{th}\) year that dated sources begin to number steadily in

\(^{265}\) See W. Sallaberger, *Annäherungen* 3, 188f., with fn. 228, p. 188, for previous literature.

\(^{266}\) For a discussion on the assumed identity of Šulgi-\(\hat{s}\)im\(\hat{t}\), wife of Šulgi, 2\(^{nd}\) king in the dynasty of Ur III and Abi-\(\hat{s}\)im\(\hat{t}\), wife of Amar-Su’\(\hat{e}\)n, see F. Weiershäuser, *Die königlichen Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur*, 106f.


\(^{268}\) For the name ḫu-\(\hat{u}\)-\(\hat{u}\)n, \(^d\)Šul-gi, see the comments by A. Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), 18, and fn. 82; and I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 129f., sub \(\hat{H}\)NN, hunnum “mercy.” Other examples are listed in P. Michalowski, *The Organization of Power*, 55 fn. 48.

\(^{269}\) M. Hilgert, JBVO 5 (2002), 40f.

\(^{270}\) See the discussions by D. R. Frayne, RIME 3/2, 91; 99.

\(^{271}\) *NATN* 740 r. 1.
the hundreds.\textsuperscript{272} Most names with Šulgi as theophore element are found in texts dating to his last 10 or so regnal years. There is thus no reason to assume \textit{a priori} that names including Šulgi as theophore resulted from a change of name. Kyriophore naming practice continues to be attested well into OB times.\textsuperscript{273}

Kyriophore names and names which had bearing on the king and his prerogatives were thus found over considerable geographic areas. The popularity and continuity of this part of Mesopotamian onomastic tradition goes to prove that not only was the king well-known to his subjects, but individuals actually took an interest in the persona of the king and internalized his functions for the benefit of themselves and their loved ones. There can be no doubt that the roots of this practice go back at least to late ED times. As will be shown in Chapter 3, the hymnic material devoted to immortalizing the Ur III kings also rested on much older associations between the lugal and the rest of the physical world, and beyond.

2.3 Sumerian names: a brief overview

Sumerian was the predominant language for written sources in southern Mesopotamia throughout the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium and the beginning of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium BCE. The main part of onomastic cuneiform material from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium is best explained as Sumerian. Whether that can be taken as implying that Sumerian-speaking individuals were in the majority in Sumer as a whole during this time is another question. The wealth of administrative documentation is the only basis for judging the question, and this points in the direction of Sumerians as making up the majority of inhabitants on the southern floodplain.\textsuperscript{274}

The definition of a Sumerian PN followed here is a name which ideally can be understood on a literal level as conveying sense in Sumerian and which on a structural level conforms to grammatical and syntactic conventions as far as a modern understanding of that language goes. Names, however, are not always completely understandable today. Some contain highly unusual signs with as yet unknown readings,\textsuperscript{275} which may not yet have cropped up in contexts other than personal names, at least not in the

\textsuperscript{272} See diagram in W. Sallaberger, \textit{Annäherungen} 3, 149.
\textsuperscript{273} See M. Stol, \textit{StEb} 8 (1991), 204 fn. 131, for references.
\textsuperscript{274} The only survey of the demographic picture of southern and northern Mesopotamia respectively has been done by B. R. Foster, \textit{OrNS} 51 (1982), 297–354, who looked at Sargonic period administrative records from a number of different cities. See below, 5.2.1.
\textsuperscript{275} See for example many of the signs labeled X\textsubscript{1} through X\textsubscript{22}, in OSP 1, 117–119.
early periods. Certain local writings of names employ signs which can only be explained by means of less opaque variants.

The normal syntactic order of clause components in a Sumerian transitive clause is S(subject) O(object) V(verb). This order is consistently adhered to in almost all types of sources, including names. A special case is made up by topicalization in commemorative inscriptions when the indirect, dative object is put at the very beginning of the inscription. In a similar fashion – common in PNN but only rarely in narrative texts – the grammatical object may precede the subject of the predicate, the result being a passive participial chain where the logical subject (grammatical object) is qualified by what follows. The language of the Sumerian onomasticon was to all intents and purposes in accordance with the vernacular encountered in inscriptions and in the administrative texts, but with a tendency toward subject matters which put specific demands on wording.

A number of Uruk III names or personal designations seem to be precursors of names found in later sources. At least, the similarities are too great to be overlooked. Out of the 400 plus writings from this period, identified as possible personal names by R. K. Englund, about a dozen are strongly or vaguely reminiscent of names which can with all certainty be identified as possible personal names by R. K. Englund, about a dozen are strongly or vaguely reminiscent of names which can with all certainty be termed Sumerian when appearing in later texts. Already in these Uruk period textual witnesses, a number of points characteristic for the later Sumerian onomasticon present themselves, such as a preoccupation with certain appellatives and the predicates si ‘to be just right (for something),’ and du₁₀ ‘to be good, make good.’ The appellative lugal also figures, but

276 Like the second component in the name ur-zikum(LAK773)-ma, for instance in ITT 5 9206 o. i i 3 (ED IIIb Girsu); also attested in Sargonic Adab, Girsu (note ITT 1 1241 o. 7’, r. 2, person qualified: lu₂ ki Ma-ri₁₅-(a-me)), and Nippur. All names composed with this sign, also in Ur III, seem to formed as genitive compounds with zikum as nomen rectum.

277 Like the verb su₃ and its functional counterparts su₁₀(BU), su₂₀(SIM), su₃(MUŠ), and su₃(TAG), though no PN is attested with all these variant writings. See table below, 4.4.

278 M.-L. Thomsen, Mesopotamia 10, 51f.: §44.

279 Sometimes referred to as the “Mesanepe-construction,” coined by A. Falkenstein, Das Sumerische, 54: §40 c. 1f.

280 In Englund’s list, CDLJ 2009:4, 21–23, compare, for instance: A EN₄ with A EN₄ DA₃, UET 2 357 o. ii 3’; aja₂-en-da, e.g. RTC 3 o. iii’ 1’, and munus-en-da, o. iii’ 3’;

AK EN₄ GAL₃ with NIN AN GAL₃ AK₃ (AK₋₄(Nin-gal)), UET 2 9 o. ii 4;

AN EN₃ DU with en-an-na-tum₂, passim in the 3rd millennium;

BAHAR₂₉ EN₃ with AMA UET2-370₆, UET 2 248 o. iv 4; and en-eden-ne₂₆(-si), passim in ED IIIb;

DARA₄₁ SI with SI DARA₄₇ AMA, UET 2 92 o. i 5; and ama-bara₂₋₄(DARA₄₀)-ge, OIP 14 61 o. i 2; WF 34 o. iii 5; ama-bara₂₋₄(DARA₄₀)-si, TSS 525 o. iii 4; WF 26 o. iii 5;

GIR₃₋₅₄ NI₃ with gir₃-ni-ba-dab₂, passim in ED III-Ur III times;

ḪI NIN SAG withḪI SAG₂₁₆, UET 2 252 o. i 8; and lugal-sag-du₁₀ (see list of attestations.);

KISAL-b₁ PAP₃ SI with KISAL-b₁ SI AMA₅, UET 2 252 o. i 4; and nin-kisal-si, OIP 14 5 5.

281 So I understand most names featuring non–finite forms of this verb, see below, 2.3.2.
never along with a predicate or other qualifying element. More work on this small but significant corpus will no doubt contribute immensely to the understanding of the earliest recorded principles of Sumerian onomasticon and catapult the history of certain well-attested name types as far back in time as seems at present to be possible.

Names in texts from the ED I-II period provide morphologically and phonetically more developed forms of grammatical relationships than what is witnessed by earlier texts. By then, 2800–2700 BCE, writing had been simplified and the inventory of signs had shrunk to a more manageable number, and many signs had obtained phonetic values which made it easier to express morphological traits. Even so, the script never was to become a full representation of spoken Sumerian. The development of the cuneiform script was probably due to the combination of a need for precision from a managerial viewpoint, and ingenuity on the part of the scribal professionals. At least, the developments undergone in the early parts of the 3rd millennium allowed for cuneiform to be adapted for and by other linguistic groups to convey their own languages. The role of names of people, buildings, and points in time like festivals in the initial stages of this process is no doubt an important one.

2.3.1 Some formal characteristics of Sumerian names

PNN in Sumerian texts were identified on a grammatical level with sentient (human) beings, similar to nouns of the animate class. This is apparent from the suffigation of the ergative particle –e to the end of names acting as subjects in transitive clauses, and of the dative particle –ra. Sumerian names come in a variety of forms, ranging from single words and nominal
phrases, to transitive clauses. The following brief description of forms is arranged according to complexity.

Single element names appear regularly, though as a group their number is fairly limited.\textsuperscript{287} The names $\text{IL}_2$ (uncl. mng.),\textsuperscript{288} $\text{ka}_5$-a ‘fox,’\textsuperscript{289} sa-a ‘cat,’\textsuperscript{290} maš ‘goat(’s kid),’\textsuperscript{291} and $\text{AK}$ (nominal formation derived from ak, ‘to create’),\textsuperscript{292} are some examples. With the possible exception of the last name,\textsuperscript{293} this group does not seem to be abbreviations of more complex types.

Some professional denominations were introduced into the Sumerian onomasticon during the course of the 3rd millennium, the most wide-spread being gala, a singer of cultic laments.\textsuperscript{294} The distribution in the social strata of these names may be limited to the lower classes in society. No such names appear in early commemorative inscriptions. This could, with due reservation, be taken to imply that people bearing such names were rarely in a position to afford the expense of dedicating an inscribed object to a divinity. In ED IIIa administrative texts, titles sometimes appear instead of named persons, serving as identifiers of other, named, persons; indicating that the latter belonged to the bureaucratic sphere of the title office. Without additional graphic or grammatical distinctions, it is often hard to separate between a single noun standing in for a personal name or for a profession.

Phrase names present combinations of nouns with deverbal attributes or predicates like šeš-kal-la ‘the brother is precious,’\textsuperscript{295} and lugal-mas-su ‘the lugal (is) victorious’ (or ‘a victor’); or genitival noun combinations such as geme$_2$-$\text{Dumu}$-$\text{zi}$ ‘(female) dependent (of) Dumuzi.’\textsuperscript{296} These two groups represent extremely common name types. Names featuring a genitive construction perhaps makes for the single most common type of Sumerian name.\textsuperscript{297} Other phrase names are made up by two nouns where the one is qualified, serving as an attribute of the first element: $\text{d}$-$\text{En}$-$\text{lil}_2$-$\text{sipa}$ ‘Enlil is a

\textsuperscript{288} \textit{CIRPL} Ent. 28 iii 28–29: $\text{u}_4$-ba $\text{Il}_2$, sağa $\text{Zabala}$, \text{B}$_1$-kam ‘around that time, $\text{Il}_2$ was the chief temple administrator of $\text{Zabala}$.’
\textsuperscript{289} \textsc{OSP} 2 64 r. 7 (CS Nippur).
\textsuperscript{290} \textsc{BIN} 8 86 o. iii 14.
\textsuperscript{291} E.g. TSS 467, o. i 4 (ED IIIa Šuruppag); OIP 104 49 r. iii 8 (ED IIIb Adab, Eig. \text{ensi}$_2$).
\textsuperscript{292} E.g. MVN 10 1 2 (AK, lugal, Umma\textsuperscript{2}).
\textsuperscript{293} Names composed with a named god preceded or followed by $\text{AK}$ were frequent in the ED I-II Ur texts, see for instance R. A. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 115f.; M. Krebernik AOAT 296, 12 and fn. 35.
\textsuperscript{294} The phenomenon is common to modern cultures, with names such as Smith, Baker, Müller etc. See H. H. Hock & B. D. Joseph, \textit{Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship}, 311.
\textsuperscript{295} E.g. BIN 8 176 o. 7 (MS-CS Unknown).
\textsuperscript{296} E.g. \textit{Amherst} 2 o. iii 2 (ED IIIb Girsu).
\textsuperscript{297} H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 63–72; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 11.
shepherd. Some names combine nominal elements with dimensional markers, like igo-ĝun₁₀-AN-še₃-ĝal₂ ‘my eyes are fixed at the god/the skies.  

A sizeable group of PNN incorporate anticipatory genitive constructions functioning similarly to a subordinate clause: e₂-ur₂-bi-du₁₀ ‘the foundation of the house is good,’ E₂-muš₃-ša₃-bi-gal ‘the inside of the Emuš is great.’ The end result is a topicalizing construction where the focus is on the first element of the name. The construction is used to the same effect in literary texts and this underscores the literary affinities of Sumerian name-giving. In names this construction can be traced back at least to ED IIIa times. The use of anticipatory genitives outside of literary contexts is quite limited, and, although in part outside the scope of this work, the distribution of this construction in names could produce interesting results.

Clause names, finally, encompass a number of name types. In the ED I-II sources no secure instances of a verbal prefix are attested, apart from the modal negative prefix nu-, and finite forms remain comparatively limited in number until the Ur III period. Predication by verbal root alone continues to be a very common construction throughout the 3rd millennium. The consistency exhibited by this type of predication makes it implausible that they are in each and every instance a product of a graphic convention of shortening the names, but rather that they express an unmarked participle. However, a number of 3rd millennium writings of names do feature unmistakable verbal prefixes mu- and i₃-, whereas other writings of the same individuals dispense with these prefixes. The formal aspect aside, the semantic import of such names remain the same, albeit that a punctual action or quality is exchanged for a durative one. In the present work this difference

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298 TMH 5 27 o. i 7; ii 7 (ED IIIb Nippur); 180 o. i 7’ (MS Nippur). For the construction, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 73–76.
299 E.g. DP 1/2 113 o. viii 6 (ED IIIb Girsu). Compare igo-AN-še₃, ECTJ 9 o. ii 2’ (ED IIIb Nippur); TCVBI 1-1 r. i 6; igo-AN-še₃-[(x²)]; OSP 2 98 r. i 13 (ES-MS Nippur).
300 WF 33 o. iv 7 (ED IIIa Šuruppag); DP 1/2 135 o. i 5 (common in ED IIIb Girsu); OSP 1 46 o. 8 (simug, ED IIIb Nippur); TCVBI 7 o. 3 (ED IIIb Zabala); D. Foxvog, Mesopotamia 8, 68–69 (UCLM 9-1798) o. i 10 (šeš bil₂-lal₃-la(me), ED IIIa-b Adab area economic document, Eig. ensi₂). Compare e₂-mu-bi-du₁₀ Struve Onomastika, 47; ECTJ 29 r. iii 10 (CS Nippur).
301 SF 33 r. ii 8 (umbisaš, ED IIIa Šuruppag colophon).
302 For investigations on genitive constructions in Sumerian in general, and on the stylistic traits of the anticipatory construction in particular, see G. Zólyomi, JCS 48 (1996), 31–47, especially 39–45; E. Haber, RA 103 (2009), 1–10. Neither of these studies focus on or address the question of the anticipatory construction in personal names.
303 See, e.g., the notes by J. Hayes, ASJ 13 (1991), 185–194, on the surprisingly limited distribution of the anticipatory genitive in Sumerian, despite its syntactic nature as an SOV language. A similar end result may be observed in some Old Persian dialects under the influence of Aramaic, B. Utas, Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion, 70f.
304 See full discussion of the phenomenon by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 22f.
305 See some kyriophore examples examples composed with the name of UruKAkina given above, p. 54.
is of less importance than the main focus of the name in relation to its content.

Clause names can feature dimensional objects, for instance: en-abzu-ta-mud ‘the en (is someone) born from the Abzu,’ lugal-uru-na-nu₂ ‘the lugal (is one) lying down in his city.’ The predication is hardly ever marked by the expected copula -(a)m.

2.3.1.1 Principles of abbreviation

Personal names in bureaucratic contexts could easily be abbreviated since they were secondary to the bottom line: the number of units at disposal, disbursed, dispatched, rented, borrowed, received or missing. But even when looking at sources where one could expect more precision, and the writing out of otherwise normally abbreviated names, e.g. in commemorative inscriptions on objects presented to gods, serving to remind the divinities of their subjects’ piety, one can not detect any distinct differences in the way names were written. That is, names that appear shortened in administrative texts appear that way also in commemorative inscriptions. I. Diakonoff once demonstrated that written contracts from the city Šuruppak dating to the period around 2600 BCE are more generous in supplying grammatical morphemes than the economic texts from the same place and general time period. And indeed, some personal names appearing in those contracts differ from the writings normally encountered in economic documents of the same period. The differences in purpose for these types of text ought to have played a role in their composition. While the one type was meant for purely bureaucratic use within a limited timespan, mainly by the same office that produced it, the other was clearly meant to last for generations.

After a close look at the Sumerian onomastic corpus it is clear that any element in phrase and clause names could be discarded. Nominal predicates could thus be “headless,” lacking a logical subject, as in engar-zi ‘x is a reliable farmer.’ The components that suffer the most from abbreviation are

306 See F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 97, for references (all instances ED IIIa Šuruppak). For the interpretation of mud in the early Sumerian onomasticon, perhaps with a mng. similar to e₃ ‘to come forth,’ see M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 46.
307 UET 2, suppl. 14 r. i 4, photo in A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, StPohl SM 13 pl. 2 (ED IIb Ur).
308 See examples with H. Limet, Namenforschung, 852: 1.2.2; and compare, for the pre–Ur III period, T. E. Balke, Onoma 32 (1994), 78f. For the use of the copula, Old Sumerian am₃(AN), later am₄(A.AN), see M.-L. Thomsen, Mesopotamia 10, 275–278: §§ 541–546.
309 I. Diakonoff, Fs Jacobsen, 105f. The names from Šuruppak sales contracts are collected in FTUM, 141–162. No other 3rd millennium site has yet provided such a wealth of contemporary sources belonging to both these text categories.
310 An example of fuller orthography is the unique writing of a divine determinative before the theonym Utu in a contract, contrary to the usage in administrative texts. See the discussion of lugal-UD, p. 146. Compare also lugal-bara₂-ge-du₁₀, WF 70 r. v 10, against lugal-bara₂-du₁₀, twice in a scholastic composition, SF 28 and 29; and lugal-bara₂-si, WF 65 r. v 1.
grammatical ones, such as the case markers. The relative consistency with which this is executed raises a suspicion that it is not merely a matter of orthographic, scribal convention to economize space. Nouns representing subject and object were less prone to be excluded, but ample examples of such practices exist; it is not always possible to say whether what remained was the subject or the object, when lacking the ergative marker. Verbal predicates may have been easier to discard as they most often find themselves at the end of a name, given Sumerian syntax. Verbal prefixes could then be discarded altogether or be left hanging. This latter clause component is especially interesting as it is key in understanding verbal clause names as either punctual or durative in force. The overall situation concerning abbreviations is in some respects similar to that in the earliest known Sumerian literature, from the ED IIIa period, though sentences featuring verbal prefixes without a subsequent verbal root is to my knowledge unattested in literary sources.

Another principle which comes to the fore in some simple, two-component genitive chain names was observed by J. Bauer. A few examples composed with the noun ur are illustrative. In ED IIIb Girsu, a certain ur-šul is for prosopographic reasons identical with a person named ur-dšul-pa-e₁ in other texts. In CS Umma, a person named ur-zu in some texts is identical with ur-dšu’én known from other texts of the same archive. In this case, the fuller form features a double genitive when the syntax of the documentation demands it, while in the abbreviated form the double genitive is, as could be expected, discarded. The single attestation of the name ur-en is suspicious by its mere scarcity, because both ur-lugal and ur-nin abound. The name is rare also in the Ur III period, and is likely to be the result of an abbreviation from a longer form, perhaps ur-dEn-lil₂ ( > ur-dEn-šil₂). Judging by the names ur-šul and ur-zu, the names are shortened on a phonetic basis, and hence the divine determinative is not written out, and what remains after shortening is the first syllable in the theonym (in the latter case zu < dEn:ZU).

311 See, e.g. the example of the shepherd dUtu-mu(-gi₄), fn. 315, below.
312 Compare the later omissions of all but the first component(s) in parallel verbal chains, as in M. E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma*, 29f., no. 29; and 139f., no. 10.
313 *AWL*, 498, note to v 3–4.
314 Compare ur-šul in DP suppl. 630 o. ii 1 = ur-dšul-pa-e₁ in VS 27 6 o. vi 11. The first form is about 9 times as common as the second in the ED IIIb Girsu archive.
315 Compare MAD 4 92 o. 1–5: 1 kuš ud₁₃ za₃-šuš, ur-zu-kam, dUtu-mu-gi₁₃, sipa (dated 4 mu 10 iti); MAD 4 109 o. 1–4: 1 kuš ud₁₃ za₃-šuš, ur-zu-kam, dUtu-mu sipa (dated 4 mu 11 iti); and MAD 4 100 o. 5–r. 3: 2 kuš ud₁₃, ur-dšu’én-ka-kam, dUtu-mu sipa-de₁₃ mu-DU (dated 4 mu 12 iti; all three texts are published in transliteration only). Other texts are cited by W. Sommerfeld, *Fs Westenholz*, 295 fn. 27, who had arrived at the same conclusion concerning the identity of ur-zu/dšu’én. On the nature of the archive, see B. R. Foster, *USP*, 62–78.
The abbreviating may in some cases have been done by those scribes compiling the documents. The phenomenon can be demonstrated in official as well as private archives. Whether the use of names among family members differed from official use is not obvious from the sources. Judging from Sargonic period private letters, no differences from the official usage of names can be detected. Kinship terms or appellatives like ‘my lord,’ can be used as compliments, which sometimes muddles understanding of the relationship between sender and receiver.\(^{316}\) It is hard to say whether people writing to one another were in fact related, or if the formal use of names and abundant compliments are results of the level of literacy at the time. Scribes and perhaps someone who read the letter out loud to the recipient, could have acted as mediaries of the message. But the letters may well be faithful reflections of the tone of both familiar and professional interaction.

2.3.2 Sumerian names: speaker and contents

It has been suggested above that Sumerian personal names, with the exception of the simple genitive constructions, are in general impersonal as to voice or reference. Very little in the way of tendencies which would place the name in the mouth of a speaker, or relating it to the name-bearer can be discerned, as formulated by Henri Limet:

“…dans leur grosse majorité, les noms sumériens sont «objectifs», en ce sens que, pour la plupart, ils énoncent un fait ou une idée de caractère général, sans référence, donc, à un sujet parlant.”\(^{317}\)

The ideas that are called to mind in the names are taken from the social and cultural – most often specifically religious – surroundings of the name-bearer or name-giver. Preoccupation with birth and the place of the child in the family is rare in the earliest times, as opposed to Akkadian name-giving.\(^{318}\) The logical subject, the appellative explicitly written out or not, in the names, is therefore frequently to be understood as being someone other than the name-bearer him- or herself.\(^{319}\) Names consisting of a genitive chain in which the first element often can be seen as referring to the individual bearing the name form are an exception.

A common trait of Sumerian names is the extensive use of terms which served as appellatives for prominent persons in society or in the divine realm. Among these, lugal ‘king, lord, owner,’ and nin ‘queen, lady, sister,’

\(^{316}\) Most pre–Ur III letters from Sumer and Akkade known at present, official and private, are edited and commented in B. Kienast & K. Volk, FAOS 19.

\(^{317}\) H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 62. See also R. A. di Vito StPohl SM 16, 21; 82.

\(^{318}\) M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 50.

\(^{319}\) M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 9.
are among the most common ones. Names formed with en may sometimes denote ‘(high) priest,’ but when referring to a divinity, the noun is culturally specific and untranslatable. Interestingly, nin and en appear in names of both genders, while lugal-names were only exceptionally borne by females. Besides these, original kinship terms such as aja₂ ‘father,’ ama ‘mother,’ šeš ‘brother’ and nin(₉) ‘sister,’ and the male designations mes, and šul, both roughly corresponding to ‘(young) man,’ figure prominently. Names containing these and other nouns must be subjected to serious analysis before certitude can be reached as to whom the designation applies. Not all names containing the noun lugal have bearing on the human ruler; neither do names containing the appellative en always have to be interpreted as relating to a religious official.

Some important predicates characteristic of the Sumerian world view recur with high frequency. They seem to share in a view of the universe where the outlines of existence are god-given and already decided upon, and where what abides by these outlines is ‘proper, reliable’ or ‘right,’ gi and zi. That which has the capacity to measure up to the inherent potential of a cultural phenomenon, a natural numen or a power-laden place was thought to ‘fill’ it. And so the Sumerian onomasticon is replete with names like ama-bar₂-ge-si ‘the mother is just right for the throne.’ For some reason the predicate si does not appear with any regularity in theophore names. A verb of similar import is tum₂, which is in the following regularly given as ‘to be befitting,’ with respect to someone or something. The verb du₁₀, is in the following most often given as ‘to be, make good.’ The true sense may, however, in certain cases be a derived one, ‘to (make) function properly,’ as

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320 See in part the discussion above, p. 55. An extensive investigation of en in the onomasticon is required to put the results of the present thesis in perspective. Given restrictions in time and scope this has not been attainable but must await further study. For some preliminaries, see D. O. Edzard, CRRA 19, 142f., but note that a name lugal-abzu-si, which Edzard described as non-existent, has since been attested at ED IIIb Nippur.

321 The only likely occurrences of lugal in FPNN in the time between 2800–2200 that I have managed to find are geme₂-lugal, from CS-LS Nippur, and lugal-an-na-tum₂, who appears as geme₂ in two Sargonic Nippur texts, TMH 5 39 and 44. The latter is, however, less secure, as typically male names (beginning with ur-) appear in close connection to this lugal-an-na-tum₂.

322 VE1044: ama-MU = uts-mu-mu.

323 VE1043: šeš-MU = a-ḫu-um.

324 VE1183: nin₉ = a-ḫa-tum.

325 See G. Marchesi, OrNS 73 (2004), 191f., w. fnn. 221f., for a closer analysis of these appellatives.

326 See K. Lämmerhirt’s excellent work on these two latter lemmas, AOAT 348, passim.

327 The Akkadian correspondences are maššim ‘to be equal to, sufficient for,’ and malām ‘to fill,’ for which, see CAD M/1 s.v.v For previous studies of Sumerian si and its manifold functions, ‘to fill’ no doubt being the original sense, see e.g. D. O. Edzard, Za 53 (1959), 12–15; P. Michalowski, Fs Wilcke, 199–201; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 23–32.

328 OSP 1 66 o. 4; and see also GN GAN₂ ama-bar₂-ge-si³¹, op. cit. 114 o. 1 2. As in so many other early ama-names, ama appears to be something else than ‘mother.’
a complementary form of the verb si, indicating a stronger measure of transitivity. However, the verbs do not seem to occur very often in connection with the same objects.  

2.3.3 Sumerian lugal-names: who is the lugal?

The term lugal takes on separate meanings in modern translations depending on the context in which the word is found. Fundamentally, it entails a male being who exercises a measure of control or authority over something, be it a place, a thing, or another being. Hence its use as a title of autonomous rulers, as an epithet of deities under certain circumstances, as the term for ‘owner’ of a specified object, or even as an honorary term of address in a message. The four main usages and their potential applications in the human onomasticon will in the following be treated in some more detail.

2.3.3.1 The ruler as referent

A traditional way of translating lugal in PNN is ‘king.’ In certain cases this is the likely idea behind the name in the first place. There is also a possibility that ideas expressed in some names may originally have been associated with a divinity or a human being other than the ruler, but, with time, would come to be associated with the ruler given developments in how nam-lugal was perceived. Associations may also have passed the other way, from originally having denoted a characteristic of the human ruler to being linked to a specific deity. In other names, the idea may be as applicable to a human being as to a divinity.

Thanks to previous research into onomastic features and into the socio-political system of early Mesopotamian state formations, there are some key elements to bear in mind when interpreting the meaning behind personal names. Much depends on the ideas being expressed and whether there are exact or close formal parallels with names featuring theonyms in place of the appellative. The human ruler has been posited by A. Westenholz to be a likely referent in early Nippur names pertaining to the fulfillment of cultic duties and of providing fertility in the land.  

More recently, Westenholz has argued that the lugal was deeply involved with cultic matters; and that the term denoted an individual with religious duties rather than a political office. G. Marchesi on his part, showed that the lugal is plausibly to be interpreted as the human ruler in certain contexts where a named deity appears. And given close parallels in later royal hymns, the import of

329 See, first and foremost, the names lugal-barā₂-du₄₀, lugal-barā₂-ga-ne₂-du₄₀, lugal-barā₂-ge-du₄₀ and lugal-barā₂-si; and perhaps lugal-me-du₄₀-ga and lugal-me-si.  
330 OSP 1, 6, 8.  
331 Six City-State Cultures, 23–42.  
332 HANE/S 10, 72f. fnn. 381f.
certain other names also may be attributed to the ruler. Though in any given case the existence of parallels, whether incorporating a theonym or another appellative, must always be kept in mind to arrive at an interpretation as to the identity of the referent.

2.3.3.2 A divinity as referent

G. J. Selz has shown that many names which have uncritically been ascribed to the human ruler may in fact rather have had a divinity as referent. He cites a selection of parallel nominal phrase names in which names with the appellative lugal have precise or close correspondences with names incorporating the theonym Ningirsu, the tutelary deity of Girsu.\textsuperscript{333} But even if seeming parallel constructions with an appellative on the one hand, and theonyms on the other, can be demonstrated to have existed side by side at the same time and place, the identity of the deity with the appellative is not carved in stone. More than one deity could be characterized in the exact same manner. By far the best type of corroborating evidence would be to have inscriptive material, literary, religious or scholastic texts, preferably contemporary with the name, that would bolster any assumptions made as to the identity of the referent. That is, textual evidence linking a deity with, for instance, a certain kind of quality, action or place, which also surfaces in the onomasticon. In many cases such material exists - in many cases, unfortunately, it does not. However great the difficulties of projecting later expressions of belief back into the 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium, such associations often offer the best basis for understanding a great deal of not only personal names, but mythical literary themes in general.\textsuperscript{334}

Certain divine names feature lugal as first element and may originally have been epithets which developed into free-standing names.\textsuperscript{335} The epithet lugal could theoretically apply to any male divinity – given Mesopotamian theology where each god or goddess was responsible for a given part of the physical, cultural or divine world – but this is, of course, not the case. Some deities were widely revered outside of their home communities – most were not. This fact, I believe, is a key to understanding and interpreting lugal-names and for being able to correctly attribute names appearing in several places at the same time. It is also equally important for names which are so far unique and only attested once or twice in one place. The epithet lugal is most often used about gods in a few specific contexts: as the owner, or ‘lord’

\textsuperscript{333} OLZ 85 (1990), 303. A. Westenholz also entertained a similar idea for certain names, concerning An and Enlil, OSP 1, 6.
\textsuperscript{334} For some such themes, see M. Krebernik, \textit{Annäherungen} 1, 221f.
\textsuperscript{335} For a discussion of such DNN, see D. O. Edzard, \textit{RIA} 7 (1987–90), 108f., “Lugal (in Götternamen).”
of a geographic location, such as a city, a temple or a cosmologically significant locus, or as the ‘lord’ of a ruler or a private citizen in commemorative inscriptions on votive objects or in building inscriptions. If some of the gods whose popular appeal was more widespread than others are referred to as lugal, without further qualification, then these divinities are perhaps more likely to turn up as the referents more regularly in lugal-names from cities other than those which housed their prime sanctuaries.

After inspecting the early inscripional and literary material available, a few deities set themselves apart as more likely to be referred to as lugal in the Sumerian onomasticon. The first are An, god of heaven at home in Uruk, and his son Enlil, father of Ninurta, patron god of Nippur. Enlil is said to be the lord of the lands and the father of the gods. The former trait he shared with his father An in inscriptions of Uruk rulers. Enlil was furthermore considered as the one who had settled the gods in their cities, some time in the beginning of history. As rulers of the known world, An and Enlil are prime candidates for being the referents behind a number of lugal-names. In particular perhaps Enlil, whose authority was essentially unchallenged during the 3rd millennium.

336 E.g. W. Schramm, *WO* 7 (1973–74), 16, 1f.: ‘En-lu-ki, lugal Eridu(-ra) ‘for Enki, the lord of Eridu.’ An interesting example is ARET 5 20 (=21=IAS 278), o. i 5: An nu-gal uru-ka₂-kam₄ ‘An is the lord of Uruk,’ following M. Krebernik, *Fs Röllig*, 187. The phonetic writing /uru/ for normal Sumerian /unu/ is consistent with evidence from the CS period, in the gentilic [u]r-[k]i-[u]m ‘man of Uruk,’ MAD 1 172 o. 10’, photo and copy in J. Goodnick Westenholz, MesCiv 7, 400f. The reading uru, besides ere, i.e., iri, of URU, may find further support in the DN d’Mes₃-sa₂-[a]-unu₇, *FTUM* 106 o. i 1’, normally featuring UNUG; and, perhaps, in the alternation nin-uru/uru₂-ni₃-[e]₂-nu₄-, see notes to lugal-e₂-ni₃-[e]₄ below. This would of course mean that the sign URU had more than a few possibilities for vocalization, as suggested also by the Akkadian pronunciation /ru/ (ru₄) of URUₓ₄ₓ₄, e.g. J. Goodnick Westenholz, *op. cit.*, 228 l. 10.

337 E.g. TH 218: d’Dumu-z˘ lugal E₂-mu₃⁻₄-a-k(e₄) ‘Dumuzi, lord of the Emuš.’

338 E.g. TH 463–464: nun-zu d’Ir₃-ra lugal Mes-lam-ma, ḫuš ki-a lugal u₄ šu₃[=x] ‘your prince, Erra, the lord of the Meslam, fierce one of the Underworld, lord (of the) … sunset.’


340 The following overview is influenced to some extent by T. Jacobsen’s article from *Encyclopedia Britannica*, reprinted in *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, 16–38.

341 *CIRPL* Ent. 28 i 1–3: d’En-li₄, lugal kur-kur-ra, ab-ba diḫ- diḫ–re₂-ne-k(e₄). See also for the first epithet IAS 137 o. ii 2’–3’: d’(UD)₄₄-[g]₄₄ *[GAL], lugal[PA,NUN], kur(UD)-kur(UD); ‘Enlil, König aller Länder,’ following M. Krebernik, *BFE*, 280.

342 E.g. in Lugalzagisi’s Nippur inscription BE 1/2 87 i 13–14: igi zi bar-ra, An lugal kur-kur-ra ‘looked upon with a graceful eye by An, the lord of the lands.’ For more references, see FAOS 6, 222 A 5’.

343 OIP 99, 46–53, l. 11–14: d’En-li₄-a-nun, ki mu-ṣar-ṣar, diḫ-i gal-gal, za₄-me mu-du₄₄ ‘Enlil established places (of worship) for the Anuna(-gods) and the great gods (as one) praised him.’ Translation is free and based on key observations by M. Krebernik, *Fs Hrouda*, 151–157.
Enlil’s brother Enki, at home in Eridu, was portrayed in later times as the best friend with great insight into the gods’ plans that humans could ever have asked for. Wisdom and magic were his traditional areas of expertise. He resided in the Abzu, a power-laden place in close touch with the subterranean waters. Sanctuaries termed Abzu were located also outside of Eridu. The ED Lagaš state appears to have supported up to 9 such Abzus, and others are known from, for instance, Nippur, Ur, and Kiš. M. Krebernik has pointed to the possibility of seeing in early Abzu-names links to ideas surrounding birth, as a body of water which the unborn child and the mother had to cross. And indeed the imagery of a boat laden with cornelian and lapis lazuli figures in an Ur III period incantation with its roots in ED IIIa traditions. The earlier forerunner features only repeated mentions of water and other body fluids.

The Moon God of the city Ur, Nanna (in texts from Ur) or Su’en (in texts from outside of Ur), is one of two or three deities referred to epigraphically as lugal without any reference to a specific locus or object in the ED IIIa za₃-me hymns from Abū Ṣalābīḫ. He counted as the son of Enlil. Nanna/Su’en’s areas of responsibility lay to a great deal in aspects of fertility; especially with cattle, the waning and waxing crescents similar in appearance to the horns of a bull. His journey across the night skies marked the passing of time, and the Mesopotamian calendar was lunar-based.

Nanna’s son Utu, is another deity about whom lugal is used epigraphically without a governed noun in the za₃-me hymns. He was the patron god of Larsa in the south-central floodplain and of Sippar at the northern end of the same. In both places his temple was called the Ebabbar, ‘the shining house.’ Unfortunately, not much is known about Utu’s traits in the early periods. In UD.GAL.NUN literary works he is awarded nam-lugal, probably by Enlil himself, for services rendered to other gods. In later times Utu

345 AOAT 296, 46, w. ref. to a survey on later incantations pertaining to this theme.
346 M. Krebernik, BFE, 36–47. See also G. Cunningham, StPohl SM 17, 21f., and 69–75; M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible, 60–63.
347 R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, 46–53, l. 36: lugal  "Nanna za₃-me ‘lord Nanna, praise!’
348 R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, 46–53, l. 38: lugal "Utu za₃-me ‘lord Utu, praise!’ Compare also the notes in FTUM, 107, on a deity "Lugal-UD in three administrative Šuruppak texts. P. Mander, Pantheon, 60, note to no. 187, took the DN as combining the appellative lugal with the name of the Sun God, Utu. Lugal-UD is not found in any of the larger ED IIIa god lists. See also M. Krebernik, Annäherungen 1, 321 w. fin. 801, on a deity PA.NUN.UD, which could be taken as UGN for lugal(PA.NUN).Utu, but other readings also present themselves.
349 TH 176 (Larsa), 491 (Sippar): "Utu lugal e₃-babbar₂-ra¬k(e₃)." This led to Utu’s characterization by W. H. Ph. Römer, Historia Religionum 1, 131: “According to Sumerian Texts, the role played by this god appears to have been comparatively subordinate.”
350 SF 37 o. iv 19‘–20’: "piriţ me-te an₃ UD ki₃ UNUG₃ ta₃ TAGUM₃ ba₃ LAGAB₃ " nam₂₃ [ (x₇ x₇) ] mu₃ se₂₃; SF 38 o. iii 1–2: "piriţ₃ [ an₃ UD ] ki₃ UNUG₃ ta₃ ba₃ LAGAB₃ [ x x x ]-se₂₃; IAS 114 o. iv 1":
presided over the dispensing of justice and the principles that lay the foundations for an ordered society; a trait he to some extent shared with his father. There are also indications that Utu’s functions in earlier times were related to the upholding of law and order,\(^{352}\) functions he would have had in common with his Semitic counterpart Šamaš. The latter is the subject of a hymnic composition going back at least to ED IIIa times, found at both Abū Ṣalābīl and Ebla, and composed in an early Akkadian dialect.\(^{355}\) In it, Šamaš and the god KA.DI gather by the river (and) source (ENGUR) to perform some, unfortunately, unintelligible act.\(^{354}\) A main theme of the composition seems to be inter-city trade.\(^{355}\)

Together, Utu and Nanna/Su’en may be seen as the most conspicuous embodiments of the divine world visible to the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia – alongside Inana/Aštar, who was associated with the planet Venus – and thus it comes as no surprise that they were highly popular among the people in general. In later times, Nanna/Su’en and Utu/Šamaš were two of the three main male deities who were venerated in connection with delivering babies.\(^{356}\) If there are indications of such responsibilities also in earlier times, this could have left traces in the onomastic material.

Certainly, these are not the only male divinities which might be referred to in lugal-names. However, they were generally regarded as important for human society and they commanded great respect over most of the region that used cuneiform for a vehicle of writing.

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\(^{352}\) See the survey of ED IIIb Girsu PNN by G. J. Selz, *Götterwelt*, 287f. Utu was among the deities invoked in the Stele of the Vultures, along with Enlil, Ninḫursāg, Enki and Su’en. Utu’s name formed part of the complaint i₃-[d]Utu. See passages quoted in *CAD* I s.v. *iutû* (Gudea Cyl. B and *CIRPL* Ukg. 6). A similar word composed with Nanna’s name, *inanmû*, with the same meaning, is found in later texts. For more on the mng. of i₃-[d]Utu, see D. O. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar*, 169, 15.10.


\(^{354}\) *ARET* 5 6 r. ii 4. The god KA.DI is in later times at least read Ištaran. He is explicitly named in connection with the marking of boundaries in the dispute between Umma and Lagaš, *CIRPL* Ent. 28 i 10. Given the phonetic complement -na in this passage, an older form of Ištaran is likely.

\(^{355}\) As noted already by D. O. Edzard, *ARET* 5, 30.

\(^{356}\) The third being Asallūḫi/Marduk. See, in general, M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible*, 10f., 63–72, 133. Stol surmises, *op. cit.*, 72, that the reason why Nanna would assist in giving birth was due to his being the tutelary god of Ur, home of the Ur III dynasty. I believe it is rather due to his association with farm animals and their proliferation. For an in-depth analysis of Utu in connection with birth and determining fates, from the OB period onwards, see J. Polonsky, *Fs Leichty*, 297–311.
2.3.3.3 An owner as referent

One of the meanings of lugal is ‘owner.’ This can be compared with the fact that a significant proportion of Sumerian names are composed with a noun governing a theonym, such as ur-Enlil ‘man of Enlil,’ or gemé₂-Bau ‘female servant of Bau.’ Similar names composed with the appellative lugal are also known. The relationship between the referent expressed by this noun and the referent of the governed noun is rarely clear. But the grammatical relationship so clearly presented through such names, gives reason to believe that there is a deeper, personal kind of relationship underlying the words. If such was the case, then appellatives appearing in place of the theonyms in parallel names might easily be imagined as representing a divinity. But granted that the human counterparts of these appellatives were also judged as positive influences in the lives of normal people, there is every reason to believe that for instance ur-lugal could be interpreted as a statement from or concerning a thankful subject which was then epitomized in a name given to a child promising future loyalty in return for continuous support.

If the relationship was somehow formalized and an accepted part of the name-giving traditions, pronominal markers -gu₄₀, -(a)ni, etc., for the first and third person singular, can conceivably be indicators for names of this type, when no other solution presents itself as the more plausible.

2.3.3.4 A term of address

The formula lugal-ĝu₄₀ ‘Milord,’ was quite common in letter incipits. Sometimes replacing the name of the recipient entirely, with all the speculation that this entails. Due to the nature of the Sumerian language and its writing system, the vocative form of a noun is not written in a particular way, but has in theory to be marked by other means, such as the addition of 1st or 2nd person pronominal elements. Of these, the former appears with some frequency while the latter is hardly attested at all. Thus, the possibilities for interpreting lugal in personal names as a term of address is hampered by a number of factors, notwithstanding the fallacies resulting from abbreviation.

2.4 Akkadian names: a brief overview

As a member of the Semitic language family, Old Akkadian personal names as well as toponyms naturally share a lot of traits with formations in other

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357 I have kept the traditional reading of this goddess’ name throughout even though a reading Ba-ba, has met with general acceptance within the field of Assyriology.
358 B. R. Foster, USP 136, provides a partial list.
359 See discussion by B. Kienast & K. Volk, FAOS 19, 79.
Semitic languages and therefore to a large extent lend themselves to cross-cultural comparisons. Points of common interest in the onomastic material are personal relations, deities, and aspects of their being in themselves or in relation to the name-bearer or -giver. Old Akkadian names often have close parallels in the later Babylonian and Assyrian dialects, although similar name formations for humans and geographic locations belonging to areas further west and north are richly attested in the Ebla archives, and in the Ḥabur area. Quite a few constructions and themes are common to both Sumerian and Akkadian names. One must reckon with a measure of influence or exchange between the two linguistic groups.

2.4.1 Some formal characteristics of Akkadian names

Akkadian names, like Sumerian, exhibit a wide range of types: from single element names over one-participant verbal phrases, on to full transitive clause-type names. In Akkadian texts, neither personal names nor place names were normally declined. In a few cases the nominative case may appear where the genitive would have been expected from the context.

Single element names are more common in Akkadian than in Sumerian. They consist mostly of nouns and adjectives, the latter of which are totally absent as single element names in Sumerian. As a result of this, Akkadian names can to a higher extent be said to describe the name-bearer him- or herself. Some single element names are clearly the result of abbreviation and may be termed hypocoristica. A common type consists of names derived from finite verbal forms where a case ending has been added to the finite

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360 A summary of name forms shared by members of the Semitic language family can be found in E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 570: 67.7. For a handy overview of monographs on the subject of Semitic onomastics, with special attention paid to the Amorite personal names, see M. P. Streck, *AOAT* 271, 131–138.


362 See a few instances of the determinative pronoun šu in genitive relations in MAD 3, 247, sorted under the demonstrative. The signs šu and šu₂ (demonstrative) are grammatically distinct, but the signs are very similar. The slightest damage to the left side of the sign can be very problematic for establishing a reading and an interpretation. On the name of the daughter of Narām-Su’en, written tu-DAN-[na]-AB-šum, see the discussion and the evidence for a reading *Tuṭṭanābšum* ‘Sie (die Göttin) bereitet ihm (dem König) immer wieder Gutes,’ going back to an interpretation by W. von Soden, and put forward by W. Sommerfeld, *Fs Westenholz*, 290–292, with previous readings.


verb: *yir*eum ‘tended one’ <*yir*e-DN ‘DN tended,’ using the verb *reʾûm as an example.\(^{365}\)

Names composed by a single or two elements make up the main part of the 3\(^{rd}\) millennium Akkadian onomasticon. Genitive constructions featuring two nouns or noun plus theophore element, are rare. Instead, the determinative pronouns are used, as in šu-ʾAštar ‘he of Aštar,’ common in the Diyālā area and at Gasur. This may be contrasted with the Sumerian onomasticon, in which a nominal chain is one of the most commonly encountered constructions. In Sargonic times, names containing 3 or 4 elements – including suffixed pronominal elements – existed, but only found more widespread use in the 2\(^{nd}\) millennium.\(^{366}\) For instance ḌMalik-zinšu ‘Malik is his rain (i.e. source of abundance).’\(^{367}\) Many of the more complex names contain a dimensional reference like the terminative suffix (*-iš*): ʾIlīš-takal ‘trust in the god!’.\(^{368}\) or a personal referent, most often a possessive personal suffix, as in ʾIlak-nu’ ‘praise your god.’\(^{369}\)

It is rather common for nouns in Old Akkadian names to lack mimiation.\(^{370}\) This is, however, a rule with many exceptions. All names are seemingly not put to writing in exactly the same way throughout the times and places involved here. Examples range from simple orthographic variations to quite distinct morphological alternations. A high-ranking officer Nahšum-šanat, known from CS Nippur, is a case in point. Two different writings of his name are known, all from the same archival context: na-āḫš-ša-na-at and na-ḥašš-ši-na-at.\(^{371}\) Another example is formed by the name of Šarrukēn, for which three contemporary writings, šar-ru-ši, šar-rum₂-ši and šar-um₂-ši, are attested.\(^{372}\) Mimation in names and in other sources would require a study of its own.

Unfortunately, knowledge of which syllables a sign actually represented remains a problem. The ligature KA×ŠU in Akkadian contexts had a reading

\(^{365}\) The type is discussed by H. Ranke, *AJSL* 23 (1907), 359. Ranke dismissed the form as being hypocoristic. According to him, it was simply an abbreviation.


\(^{367}\) ḌMalik-zi-in-šu, dumu I-da-AN, gal.sukkal, /.../, dumu(-dumu) Akkade, MO A xi 9; B xvi 1; C xx’ 11; D vii’ 16 (ES).

\(^{368}\) E.g. BIN 8 121 o. i 1, r. ii 2. In the Ur III period, prepositions *ana* and *in*(a) begin to replace *-iš* in this function in PNN.

\(^{369}\) E.g. HSS 10 155 o. i 9.

\(^{370}\) I. J. Gelb, MAD 2, 145: 1, d.; W. von Soden, GAG § 63d. For the Eblaite onomasticon, see discussion by M. Krebernik, *BBVO* 7, 31f. For a comparison of forms with and without mimiation in the Akkadian Ur III period onomasticon, see M. Hilgert, *Imgula* 5, 134–144.

\(^{371}\) See A. Westenholz, *OSP* 2, 94f. with references. The noun nahšum perhaps means ‘bounty, riches,’ and *sattum*, normally means ‘year,’ but the exact mng. remains opaque. The associations invoked are clearly highly poetic.

\(^{372}\) Compare also the name šar-ru-iš₃-li₂, attested from the ES period onwards, with šar-um-iš₃-li₂, in a text from MS-CS Umma. And see further p. 211, finn. 1343–1344.
$b/pu_3$, but also $b/pum$. Whichever is meant when occupying final position in a name is basically for a modern reader to decide. This survey for the most part favours short readings of such signs.

The language of Akkadian names is at times archaizing.\(^373\) The normal word order of Akkadian: noun – verbal predicate, strictly observed in administrative and commemorative sources of the times, was not the rule in Sargonic PNN. Instead, the finite forms occupy the first position in sentence type names consisting of a predicate and a subject,\(^374\) at least as long as the predicate was not further embellished by a suffix or a specified object was expressed in the clause.\(^375\)

Another key characteristic is the relative freedom of components in nominal clauses to occupy first or second position with just about equal frequency.\(^376\) In stative names, a morpheme $-a$ is regularly found attached to stems of nouns, marking what can be interpreted as predicative forms.\(^377\) This morpheme was only exceptionally used outside of PNN. Word order, subject choice, and nouns uncommon outside of the onomasticon have led some scholars to describe the language of names as close to literary,\(^378\) even if the lack of a decent corpus of Old Akkadian literature – disregarding the historical inscriptions – somewhat takes the edge off such statements. While this may be so, Akkadian names are more tersely formulated than Sumerian ones, but to a large extent, the subject matters show affinities in style and pomp to the Sumerian onomasticon.

At any rate, the freedom which allowed for renewal of name structure and contents, indicates that names were part of a dynamic and living linguistic tradition, which was not just inherited and senselessly repeated until the names had lost much of their original meaning.\(^379\)

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\(^373\) The archaizing traits of the PNN were one of the strongest reasons why R. Hasselbach opted not to use them for her systematic study *Sargonic Akkadian*, see esp. p. 20f. Hasselbach’s decision was supported by the reviewers L. Kogan & K. Markina who at the same time wished for more onomastic material to be drawn into the investigation, exercising “due caution,” *Babel und Bibel* 3, 559.

\(^374\) As was also the case with Ebla names. A survey of finite forms is given by M. Krebernik, *BBVO* 7 34–65.


\(^376\) Some tendencies for word placement in names combining nouns and a stative are noted by J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 5–8.


\(^379\) See the discussion by J. J. Stamm, *Namengebung*, 14f.
2.4.2 Akkadian names: speaker and contents

Studies in Akkadian personal names of the 3rd millennium suffer from a dearth of material. Though there are many thousands of texts to draw upon, the Akkadian onomasticon is dwarfed by the significantly higher number of Sumerian names from the same period. Therefore at present, much more can be said about the latter. But with more and more sites in northern Mesopotamia and Syria yielding cuneiform texts from the 3rd millennium, this situation may well change over the next few decades. Given the material available in published form, it is still possible to come to conclusions on similarities and differences in name-giving traditions. For instance, references to a speaker are more common in Akkadian names. Personal suffixes of the third person singular appear already in the ED IIIa, as far back as Akkadian names go. More rarely, verbal attribution to a first and second person subject appear with varying degrees of regularity throughout the Akkadian-speaking area, depending on the time period surveyed.

To a large extent, early Akkadian names, like their Sumerian counterparts, relate to systems of a social and cultural nature surrounding the name-bearer and -giver. The names depict the deeds and qualities of dozens of divinities used as theophore elements, though these are quite often summarily written as diğir, 'ilum or 'il, ‘the god.’ While Sumerian diğir could freely represent any divinity, male or female, Akkadian names containing the feminine form ʾiltum are rare.380

One of the things that separate Akkadian names from Sumerian is the prominence of the lugal in the latter; his dealings and his peers. The corresponding appellative šarrum only found limited distribution in Akkadian names.381 The instances of šarrum that do exist, however, become even more interesting precisely due to the scarcity of occurrence.

2.4.3 Akkadian šarrum-names: who is the šarrum?

Akkadian names surpass Sumerian ones in number, as they are attested for far longer, from about 2600 BCE down to around the beginning of the Common Era and even beyond that. Even though Akkadian name-giving traditions underwent its fair share of changes, certain names remain in attested use over millennia. But material for comparing šarrum-names of the earliest periods with those of later times is limited. The šarrum was simply

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380 See I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 26–36: 0 attestations of names composed with ʾiltum for the time before Ur III. The note by R. A. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 12, about a predominance of names composed with ʾilum and ʾiltum in the Old Akkadian period accredited to Westenholz is a misreading and should of course read ʾilum or ʾil, and ʾAštar. The reference should be to A. Westenholz, ARES 1, 103.
never as popular in the Akkadian onomasticon as lugal appears to have been in the Sumerian. The usages of these appellatives also differed within their linguistic settings. Whereas Sumerian lugal, as recounted above, was used with at least four different basic senses, šarrum seems only to have filled two: those of ‘king’ in royal titulary contexts, and as ‘lord,’ in an epithetical sense. The noun ba’lum was instead used both in the sense of ‘owner,’ and as formal address in letters. An etymology of the noun šarrum seems at present unattainable. There is no pristine Semitic verb *šarārum/šarārum attested before the 2nd millennium.

2.4.3.1 The ruler as referent
There is no reason to doubt that many, if not most, names including the appellative šarrum do in fact refer to the human ruler. As has been pointed out by A. Westenholz, the ascent of Šarrukēn of Akkade brought with it a marked increase of, and a change in focus of šarrum-names. It will be seen that these changes were influenced both by the native onomastic traditions and by cross-fertilization with the Sumerian culture of the south. C. Saporetti’s study of Middle Assyrian names points in a similar direction, where the latter ascribed 12 names to a human referent, and 16 to a divine referent. Interestingly, the ones attributed to the human ruler by Saporetti exhibit a larger diversity in form and semantic content than the ones ascribed to a divine referent.

2.4.3.2 A divinity as referent
Several names are construed along the pattern of DN-šar, or šar-DN, giving šarrum in its most basic realizable shape, indicating a predication of the theonym: ‘the god x is king.’ As has been remarked earlier, the unfortunate lack of an Old Akkadian literary corpus results in a number of blind spots with regards to the contemporary world of ideas which comes so vividly, albeit mutely, to the fore in for example cylinder seals. According to J. Bottéro, the Akkadians adopted the Sumerian pantheon and kept on developing it, adding several hundreds to the already during the

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382 Or so I interpret the names formed on the pattern DN-šar, see examples below, 3.2.7.6.
383 The sign LUGAL in Akkadian linguistic settings was predominantly used as a logogram for šarrum. B. R. Foster has pointed to passages in which nothing but ba’lum can be intended; specifically in situations expressing ownership of immovable property, which would rightly be written lugal had the text been in Sumerian, USP, 136.
384 See also L. Kogan’s discussion on the denominative root *šrr in later West Semitic, Babel und Bibel 3, 239 w. fn. 6.
385 Mesopotamia 7, 111, and nn. 21f., p. 121.
386 StPohl 6/2, 160f.
387 This pattern was common elsewhere also: 6 out of 16 MA names attributed by C. Saporetti to a divine referent feature the stative form, masculine and feminine, StPohl 6/2, 160.
388 See in general R. M. Boehmer, EGA.
3rd millennium known Sumerian divinities. Most of these additions were given Sumerian names.\textsuperscript{389} This reworking of the pantheon may in part be due to new inventions as well as a resurfacing of deities which have yet to be discovered in texts from the 3rd millennium. During the Sargonic period about 100 divine beings were revered in personal names.\textsuperscript{390} Many were of only marginal importance. Some of the more important deities in the Sumerian pantheon were syncretized with Semitic deities. This goes for Enki, Utu and Nanna/Su’en, who were better known to Akkadians under the names Ea, Šamaš, and Su’en. Enlil retained his name, as did Ninurta and the goddess Nisaba.\textsuperscript{391} These and a few other male divinities will be noted in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.4.3.3 The child as referent
The existence in later times of a homonymous šarrum, more often šerrum ‘baby, infant, young child,’\textsuperscript{392} with cognates in adjacent regions, opens up for another interpretation of phonetic writings which have previously been interpreted as šarrum in 3rd millennium texts. In certain cases to be discussed in Chapter 3, an interpretation as šarrum ‘child’ is a definite possibility.

\textsuperscript{389} J. Bottéro, \emph{Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia}, 44–48.
\textsuperscript{390} See J. J. M. Roberts, \emph{ESP}, passim.
\textsuperscript{391} See in general J. Bottéro, \emph{Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia}, 44–48.
\textsuperscript{392} \emph{CAD} Š/2 s.v. šerru; \emph{AHw}, 1217f. s.v. šerru(m). See also G. del Olmo Lete & J. Sanmartín, \emph{A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition} vol. 2, 933 s.v. ṣrrt, with refs. to, e.g. Egyptian and Ugaritic cognates; and F. Gröndahl, StPohl 1, 200 s.v. ṣrrt.
3. Semantic analyses

In this chapter the semantics of personal names including the Sumerian and Akkadian appellatives lugal and šarrum are examined. The statements about the referents of these appellatives are categorized and discussed under sets of subgroups of varying number, each reflecting qualities, distinct areas of responsibility, or characteristic patterns of actions on the part of the referent of the apppellative. In the following, the question whether the referent of a certain name or name type is human or divine is discussed where enough information is available, and the results of this discussion are also resumed in a separate section toward the end of the chapter. Names with similar contents or structure, but featuring other appellatives are drawn on for comparison. Sumerian and Akkadian names are in the end also contrasted in order to compare Sumerian and Akkadian names of the relevant types.

The names composed with the appellatives lugal and šarrum are in the following discussed under nine main headings. The headings stem from suggestions by D. O. Edzard and A. Westenholz, who individually divided lugal-names into five and six semantic categories respectively. A combination of the two has proved most fruitful for dividing the material. The headings are as follow:

1. Dominion
2. Wisdom and awareness
3. Protection
4. Care and attentiveness
5. Creation, fertility and prosperity
6. Cult or gods
7. Qualitative-descriptive

Under two additional headings further names are found. The eighth heading collects names which in one way or another are not readily attributable to any of the first seven categories. They may in part be understood but still escape assignment to either of the headings listed above, or they may be totally incomprehensible. The ninth heading collects names which have previously been assigned incorrect readings. In all around 750 different

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393 See above, p. 14–16.
writings of names containing lugal and about 90 featuring šarrum have been assigned to the above categories.

The first seven headings correspond quite well to areas of royal activity and ideological tenets found in royal inscriptions from between the 27th century BCE and the end of the Sargonic period. Since, for instance, no lugal proclaimed something similar to a law code until the time of Ur-Namma of Ur (c. 2112–2095 BCE), a name like lugal-di-de₃, which addresses a legal function of the lugal, has been entered under the third heading. It might also be imagined to belong under the first heading, as a prerogative of the highest office in the land or city-state; but also as indicative of the field of responsibility of the tutelary deity of a city. This name in particular has been ascribed to a protective function of the lugal, as guarantor of an ordered society, a function which would benefit not only one individual, but the population of the city or country as a whole, hence its placement under the third heading. Other cases where similar considerations come into effect are of course discussed in relation to the names in question.

The subgroups of the main headings are construed in relation to the focus of the name. For instance names bearing on the dominion of the lugal or šarrum can be divided into subgroups based on the proximity to a subject and/or an object; from the regalia of kingship used as indicators of the status of ruler to the dominion over the land or the universe. Other categories can be divided along similar lines. The second heading, bearing on the wisdom of the lugal or šarrum, is not further subdivided since it involves a limited, but clearly valid, group in and of itself.

A relevant objection that may be raised against this type of division of the material is the fact that a ruler could never be reduced to just one characteristic. A Near Easter ruler, in order to exert lasting hegemony, of course had to be both clever, attentive, caring, skilled in the art of warfare, kind-hearted and pious. The above enumerated semantic categories are therefore not to be seen as mutually exclusive. They individually, first and foremost, represent a recurring focus for whichever feelings on the part of the name-giver or name-givers which found an output through the onomastic traditions.

3.1 Semantic analysis of Sumerian lugal-names

The word lugal was most often written as a ligature, GAL.LU₂. Exclusive to Nippur was a semi-phonetic logographic variant GAL.LU. It could appear in

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395 Exchange of LU for LU₂ is not limited to writings of this word, A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 5.
the same texts as lugal-names written with the expected LUGAL. A small
group of phonetic writings nu-gal comes mainly from cities north of the
Sumerian floodplain. No specific function with regards to syntax or
reference can be identified, and most of these names have sound parallels in
names featuring the normal writing of the appellative.

As a rule, general information on the distribution over time and place of
the semantic categories, and of individual names and name types are
documented throughout this chapter mostly for parallel formations. The list
of attestations for lugal-names from the relevant periods is located in one of
the main appendices. The raised parenthesis with an ° followed by a number,
e.g. \( (a1) \) or \( (a\geq5) \) or \( (>20) \) refers to an estimated relative distribution of the name,
the number indicating number of bearers. In the first case, only one person is
attested in the sources as carrying that name; in the second, five or more
persons; and in the third, more than 20 individuals may have had the relevant
name. A table in the introduction to each of the first 7 semantic categories
summarizes the distribution of name-bearers in the different cities which
have yielded texts, or which are mentioned in relation to a person bearing a
name sorting under the heading in question.

In contrast with these numbers are ones following raised \( ^* \) which indicates
the number of attestations in scholastic texts. Since some such texts were
canonical and saw distribution over large areas, the number after \( ^* \) refers to
entries from unrelated lists, not to the total number of entries in different
manuscripts of the same composition. If the name in question is attested both
in documentary sources and in scholastic texts the numbers are separated by
a virgule, e.g. \( (a1/^*1) \).

Names featuring certain other appellatives sometimes offer evidence for
interpretation; mainly names containing en and nin instead of lugal. But
other appellatives also, as well as theonyms, may provide clues to both
reading and interpretation. These are regularly provided with data such as
the city or cities and the period(s) in which that particular name is found.

To a certain extent, the headings of the individual sections which follow
are self-explanatory. The most questionable attributions are those of the
seventh category, termed Qualitative-descriptive. They encompass names
that do not lend themselves to a direct association with a field of action or a
clear point of reference in relation to an individual or a place in time or
space. Other divisions of the material contained in that specific subsection
might be envisaged.

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E.g. OSP 1 25: GAL.LU once, GAL.LU\(_2\) nine times. In all, about 45 writings of GAL.LU in
Nippur names are known, as against more than 730 writings of names containing GAL.LU\(_2\).
3.1.1 Dominion

Many names quite naturally refer to the lugal as lord and master. This is one of the fundamental aspects of nam-lugal and one of the main implications of the very term lugal. The subcategories of names pertaining to dominion are:

- Ownership
- Family terms, house and indoor loci
- Insignia of power
- Verbal communication and commands
- The city
- Country and people
- The cosmic order

When used to denote ‘owner’ it could be applied also to citizens in general who in one way or another exercised a right to a locale, an object or a subordinate person. In Sumerian PNN, persons, places and objects all feature as belonging to the lugal. In some names bearing on this type of relationship, it is more than likely that the object standing in direct relation to the lugal is the name-bearer him- or herself. A productive example is made up by ur-lugal, borne by more than 15 people from Nippur and southward throughout the time period at hand. Hegemony is displayed in a substantial group of names which relate the lugal to insignia of kingship or lordship, such as a special headdress or a throne dais. Other names relate to the direct exercise of authority in the land, or to the lugal taking specific actions to subdue opposition from outside.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abū Ṣalābīḥ</td>
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<td>Adab</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Gasur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Girsu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiš</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2: Name-bearers, 3.1.1, Dominion. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.
Fig. 2, above, records the distribution of 263 persons, an estimated minimum number of people bearing 102 variants of names discussed in relation to dominion. Category 1 as a whole shows marked relationships to category 3, Protection.

### 3.1.1.1 Ownership

As in all other categories, the appellative lugal most often occupies the first position in a name. To this category belong names which express a personal relation between the name-bearer and the referent of the appellative. Another group has lugal functioning as nominal predicate. As these groups contain a limited number of names they make for a good beginning of the study. Also, they can be seen to relate to one of the most commonly expressed themes in royal inscriptions, that of a human or a divinity as governing a locus, like a temple, a city, or the country.

Names belonging to this category are poignant expressions of the benefits of hierarchically ordered society. A set of proverbs is sometimes cited in this connection, as bearing testimony to the ancient Near Eastern attitude towards monarchy:

A people without a king (is like) sheep without a shepherd. A people without a foreman (is like) water without a canal inspector. Labourers without a supervisor (is like) a field without a ploughman. A house without an owner (is like) a woman without a husband.  

The proverb collection from which the quote stems is admittedly late in comparison with 3rd millennium PNN, but the ideas expressed therein no doubt stretch way back into early history. In the onomasticon one finds expressions of this type of reliance upon the lugal, of servitude to him, and the idea that the results of a subject-lugal relationship are beneficial to man.

Structural subordination to a person or divinity is commonly expressed by means of a specific, gender-oriented set of governing nouns in a genitive chain. The earliest attested is ir₁₁-lugal (42) ‘servant of the lugal,’ found already in the ED I-II period. As of yet, only one feminine counterpart geme₂-lugal is known from before the Ur III period. A likely structural

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398 The exact phonetic shape of ir₁₁ is debated. Important observations were made by J. Krecher, *WO* 18 (1987), 7–19 on complements and phonetic writings; and by C. Wilcke, *ZA* 86 (1996), 31 w. fn. 68, on the history of the sign beginning in the Uruk III period (ZATU268).

399 *EGA* 773, pl. 23 fig. 264, from CS-LS Nippur. See collection of Ur III Girsu references with H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 418.
parallel is lu₂-lugal \(^{(a3)}\) ‘man of the lugal,’\(^{400}\) known mainly from Nippur, beginning in ED IIIb times.\(^{401}\) Its relative scarcity accords with the fact that lu₂-DN is not a common name pattern before the Sargonic period.\(^{402}\)

Servitude to the referent of the apppellative lugal also appears neatly in a small number of names using the abstract nominal element nam, as in nam-lugal, of a person or a divinity: nam-lugal-ni \(^{(a1)}\) from MS Adab, probably short for nam-lugal-ni-du₂ni₁₀ \(^{(a2)}\) ‘his kingship is good,’\(^{403}\) exclusively attested in ED IIIb Lagaš state sources.\(^{404}\) The translation ‘kingship’ is based on a later Akkadian parallel which excludes the notion ‘ownership,’ but which allows for a translation ‘lordship.’\(^{405}\) Add to these, possibly, also lugal-ni:du₂ni₁₀ \(^{(a1)}\) from ED IIIb Girsu ‘his king(ship)’ is good.’\(^{406}\) The latter could well be an unabbreviated, independent form, for instance extolling the qualities of the name-bearer’s personal deity or some older, male family member close to the name-bearer. In keeping with the concept of the lugal as owner, a group of names with a wealth of forms seems to refer to the name-bearer as an object. The fullest attested form is lugal-ni₃-ša₂-ni-še₃ \(^{(a1)}\) ‘the lugal … toward something of his’ from CS Umma. It is amply provided with variants leaving out one element

\(^{400}\) There is no reason to see lugal in this name as a nominal predicate. Such names are very rare in ED III times. Thus, a translation ‘the man is lugal (i.e. noble, lordly),’ is unlikely. A potential writing ‘lu₃-[I]u(gal)-la₂ \(^{(a1)}\), perhaps from CS Isin would not be without parallels.

\(^{401}\) H. Limet saw a possible semantic parallel in lugal-lu₂-ni \(^{(a1)}\), attested apart from the Ur III period also in ED IIIb Girsu. Limet’s rendering, *Anthroponymie*, 272: “Du roi, son homme (l’homme du roi),” may be correct. There are, however a number of nin-names from Ur III Girsu which give the impression of an abbreviation. Compare, e.g. nin-lu₂-nu⁻si-ge, *TUT* 158 r. (!) iv 5; and nin-lu₂-ni-ša-ge, *MVN* 2 175 r. iii 13, of unknown meaning. A subordination is in any case central to the theme of the names, marked by the suffix -(a)ni.

\(^{402}\) See discussion by G. Marchesi, *HANE/S* 10, 93 w. fn. 526.

\(^{403}\) Compare nam-ku-li-ni-du₁₀ ‘his friendship is good,’ e.g. V. V. Struve, *Onomatistika*, 125 s.v. nam-ku-li-₃-du(₃) (ED IIIb Girsu); nam-um-me-ga-ni ‘her nursing is …’ M. Powell, *HUCA* 49 (1978), 34f. no. 1 (A 7554) o. iii 15 (ED IIIb Zabala, Luzag. 7); nam-ušur₃-ni-še₃ ‘her neighbourliness is …’ *OSP* 1 23 o. ii 4” (MS-CS Nippur). For the Ur III period, see nam-egi-ni-du₁₀ separated for unclear reasons from nam-nin-(a)-ni-du₁₀. H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 496f. s.v.v., and s.v. nam-nin-ī₃-du₁₀.

\(^{404}\) G. Vissicato *StEl* 9 (1992), 5 fn. 22, places one of the sources, BIN 8 12 in Adab, which can not be the case. Among other things, the ligature of gur sa(g)al₂, speaks for a Girsu origin. F. Pomponio, *TCABI*, 55 w. fn. 164, discusses a Sargonic school text in the Schøyen collection (now CUSAS 17 10). On the obverse are names of persons holding the office of ensi₃ in Adab. The reverse has ra-am-ra-zu-en-zu, followed by nam-lugal-ni-du₁₀. The former could, with Pomponio, be a writing of *Narām-Suʿen*, and the latter is with all probability also a PN.

\(^{405}\) See Ur III Akk. PN šar-ru-su₂-ta-bat₅, *UET* 3 754 o. ii 18’ (cited as OAkk, *CAD* Š/2 s.v. šarrūtu, 2e), commented on by M. Hilgert, *Imgula* 5, 405 fn. 309.

\(^{406}\) V. V. Struve, *Onomatistika*, 100: Lugal-du(₃) (?)-ni; G. J. Selz, *AWEL*, 188, note to o. i 5: lugal⁻X₃⁻ni. A photo of the text (CDLI P221737) shows that the copy in Nik 1 30 does not do the placement of the signs justice. NI might have been placed below lugal due to lack of space.
or more.\(^{407}\) If the name does not in fact offer evidence of an objectification of a human subject, then the implications are still with all probability an expression of the care invested in things under the lugal’s aegis, which could be transferred to include also humans. Another name borne by a small group of persons from the ED IIIb onwards might also bear on this same imagery, lugal-ni₃-U.TA \(^{(a≥3)}\) \(^{408}\), where the latter term, perhaps with a reading za₃, is attested in economic contexts as denoting “property, assets,” making for a likely interpretation “belonging of the lugal.”\(^{409}\)

In some names expressing personal relations with the lugal, imagery was borrowed from the animal world, as in amar-lugal \(^{(a≥2)}\) ‘calf of the lugal,’\(^{410}\) and ma₅-lugal \(^{(a≥3;71)}\) ‘goat(’s kid) of the lugal.’\(^{411}\) The former is limited to ED I-II Ur and Uruk, while the latter is attested also in ED IIIa. The singular ar₃-du₂:lugal \(^{(a1)}\) \(^{412}\) could belong in the late ED I-II period or the early ED IIIa, and might have had a sense similar to the aforementioned, as ar₃-du₂ in ED texts appears as a special term in relation with both equids and persons of both sexes.\(^{413}\) Parallel formations of amar-names, most often construed with a divinity as governed noun, continued down into Ur III times.\(^{414}\) Some early forms were construed using a GN\(^{415}\) or an official title.\(^{416}\) This indicates that the referent in amar-lugal might be a human figure. As was shown above,

\(^{407}\) lugal-ni₃-ḡa₂ \(^{(a1)}\), and lugal-ni₃-ḡa₂-ni \(^{(a≥5)}\), ED IIIb and CS Girsu with one MS-CS unknown; lugal-ni₃-ni \(^{(a2)}\) from ED IIIa Šuruppak and ES-MS Umma; and lugal-ni₃-šē₃ \(^{(a≥2)}\), all from the ED IIIb Umma area. Compare ED IIIb Girsu FPN nin-ni₃-ḡa₂-ni, e.g. DP 2/1 230 o. v’ 9; Ur III abbreviations include ni₃-ḡa₂-ni, e.g. HSS 4 6 o. i 11’; nin-ni₃-ni, e.g. H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 510 s.v. nin-ḡar-ni.

\(^{408}\) ED IIIb Isin; ES to MS-CS Nippur; MS-CS Umma and one unknown. The latter is found in a text (MAD 4 37) which exhibits an inconsistent use of the i₃/-c- prefix in otherwise identical verbal chain with a-vowel: i₃-da-ḡa₂ (o. 5) and e-da-ḡa₂ (r. 3). This along with the fact that the overwhelming majority of tablets in H. de Genouillac’s tablet acquisition dated June 22 1929 come from Umma makes an Umma provenance also for this text probable.

\(^{409}\) On the reading and interpretation, with previous literature, see C. Wilcke. EANEL, 70 w. fn. 214. In a few cases, ni₃-U.TA occurs by itself as a PN, e.g. TCABI 70 o. 6 (MS Adab).

\(^{410}\) Note the unique PN amar-en-ne₃-il₃-š₃, TMH 5 124 ii 5, ED IIIb Nippur, ‘calf lifted by the lord,’ evoking traditional imagery of an animal young held at the bosom of a person or deity.

\(^{411}\) In ED I-II Ur economic documents the animal is consistently written ma₅. The relationship between the two is, then, purely phonetic and the one is only used in an onomatopoeic context. The writing ma₅ takes precedence over ma₅ for goat(’s kid) in ED IIIb Girsu texts. In other places ma₅ seems the most attested one used in that sense.

\(^{412}\) Interpreted as ḤAR.TU, lugal, and dated to ED II by G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 129f. Their reluctance in the commentary to the name, p. 165, to see in this writing a personal name due to the fact that such a name is otherwise unattested is understandable and sound. However, it may be noted that 55% of lugal-names appearing in ED I-II are so far exclusive to that period. As noted by Marchesi and Marchetti, op. cit., fn. 70 p. 165, sole ḤAR.TU/ar₃-du₂ would most likely make up an abbreviation of an original ar₃-du₂ plus a theophore. An appellative is just as expected.

\(^{413}\) See discussion by G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 165.

\(^{414}\) Also composed with the deified Šulgi. See, e.g., H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 375f.

\(^{415}\) Some refs. are found in RGTC 1, 79 s.v. (n)sin; 95f. s.v. Ku’ara.

\(^{416}\) See, for instance, UET 2, 30, PN no. 189: amar-sağā.
section 2.2.1, amar was used also in reference to infant children, boys as well as girls. But no woman has been identified as bearing an amar-name so it appears as though amar in PPN was not considered gender neutral. The corresponding Akk. bûr-names are attested from Late Sargonic times onward, but the logographic use of AMAR for bûr- makes the identification of an Akkadian name problematic at times.\(^{417}\) No clear-cut instance links Akkadian bûr- with any of the Semitic appellatives for lord or ruler. PPN with maš- fell almost completely out of use after the ED period apart from the rare Ur III attestation.\(^{418}\)

Names with amar- and maš- were part of a name-giving tradition which gradually gave way to the very productive ur-names, as in ur-lugal \(^{(a>15/°1)}\) ‘man (lit. phps. ‘dog’) of the lugal,’\(^{419}\) appearing in sources throughout the period from the area south of Nippur. Writings older than ED IIIb of the name might perhaps rather intend lugal-teš₂, but would be hard to identify without poss. pron. -šu₁₀ ‘my,’ which appears only beginning in the MS-CS period, specifically at Adab and Nippur. Theoretically, ur-lugal could in some cases be a short form of names where the governed noun is made up by a theophore containing lugal as first sign and missing the divine determinative,\(^{420}\) but no secure prosopographic evidence for this exists. The hapax ur-lugal-la₂ \(^{(a₁)}\) ‘man of the lugal,’ which uncharacteristically marks the genitive, unfortunately is too rare to form a basic rule of restoring the genitive marker when missing. The simpler construction lugal-la₂ \(^{(a≥5)}\) ‘one of the lugal,’\(^{421}\) found primarily at Adab and Isin from the ED IIIa down to CS

\(^{417}\) See generally MAD 3, 91f.; \(\text{CAD B s.v. } \text{bûru A, 2. b).}\)
\(^{418}\) E.g. I. J. Gelb, \(\text{RA 66 (1972), pl. III-IV facing p. } 28f., \text{r. iii’ } 10: \text{maš-}₃\text{-Nin-}₃\text{-gir₃-su (Girsu).}\)
\(^{419}\) E. Chiera, \(\text{PBS 11/3, 226, no. 809: “The servant of the king”; similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 70f., 37.3, 7. A different interpretation of } \text{ur as short form of ‘hero’ (“Held“) in this name was offered by G. J. Selz, } \text{Götterwelt, 17 fn. 2, with refs., but see discussion of A. Cavigneaux, } \text{Die sumerisch-akkadischen Zeichenlisten, 148. Cavigneaux points to a tradition going back to OB times of equating } \text{lu₂ and ur (sometimes with an explicit reading /lu/) in the meaning ‘man,’ in part likely to be influenced by similarities between } \text{ur-}₃\text{-DN and } \text{lu₃-}₃\text{-DN names.}\)
\(^{420}\) E.g. ur-₄\text{Lugal-}²\text{ba-gara₂} \(^{(a₁)}\), C. Wilcke, \(\text{ZA 86 (1996), 36, w. fn. 36; ur-₄\text{Lugal-}₃\text{-ban₃-da} \(^{(a₂)}\), popular in Ur III times, H. Limet, } \text{Anthroponymie, 551 s.v., and still in use during later periods, A. Poebel, } \text{Personennamen, 29; K. Tallqvist, } \text{APN, 243. The case with the ED IIIa name ur-₄\text{Lugal-DU} \(^{(a≥5)}\), F. Pomponio, } \text{Prosopografia, 255f., can be compared with ur-₄\text{Lugal-eden(na), attested a handful of times before Ur III. The theonym in the latter is not always written with divine determinative, which indicates that it was first and foremost an epithet, later taking on a life of its own. The expected double genitive comes to show in an Ur III source, } \text{BE 3/1, 134 o. 7. An overview of the history of Lugal-eden is given in W. G. Lambert, } \text{RIA 7 (1987–90), 137. Compare lugal-eden(-nē₂-₃si).}\)
\(^{421}\) For Ur III attestations, see H. Limet, \(\text{Anthroponymie s.v. C. Wilcke saw a possibility to link lugal-la₃, in } \text{BIN 8 34 o. i i 1 with lugal-a of M. Lambert, } \text{RA 73 (1979), 5–6 o. vi 5 and 14, } \text{ZA 86 (1996), 53f. The reason for choosing } \text{LAL instead of } \text{LA is not clear. At any rate there are no writings with lugal-LA for the genitive in PPN of the periods under scrutiny here. Note, however, the writing } \text{GAN₂ gi-lugal-la₃(-ka) for a FN in the Lagaš region, } \text{BiMes 3 10 o. i 2, r. iv 4; lugal-la in damaged context, } \text{UET 2 suppl. 25 r. ii 9 (ED IIIb-ES Ur); and the difficult
times,\textsuperscript{422} may or may not be an abbreviation of this or a similar name. It has parallels for instance in the rather common \textsuperscript{4}En-lil₂-la₂.\textsuperscript{423} The reason for the use of la₂ to mark the genitive in (ur-)lugal-la₂ is not clear. More troublesome is the -ra in PN ur-Lugal-ra (\textsuperscript{a1}) \textit{‘man of Lugal-ra (?)’}, for which no explanation can at present be offered.\textsuperscript{424} It is worth noting that while ur-nin appears less than half as many times as ur-lugal from the ED IIIb period, only one writing ur-en has so far been attested.\textsuperscript{425} Later kyriophore parallels give reason to believe that behind the appellative in many of these names may hide the human ruler.\textsuperscript{426}

It is easy to imagine the amar-names as indicative of a society with closer ties to rural environments whereas with time people settled to a larger extent in cities. The symbol favoured to express affection and devotion lost ground and the symbolic import was passed from one animal to another, one which fared better in walled human communities, from amar to ur. It is interesting to note that names combining amar with names of cities and titleholders were not supplanted by ur-names. Part of the valid symbolism was lost and the name type lost much of its original meaning.

An abbreviated writing lugal-nam₂ (\textsuperscript{a1}) ‘the lugal is a prince (?)’, possibly belongs among names centered around dominion, but the identity of the second sign may be questioned.\textsuperscript{427}

3.1.1.2 Family terms, house and indoor loci

In PNN, the lugal was sometimes described using terms borrowed from kinship terminology, and could at times be pictured in relation to the difficult term ‘house’ e₂. A handful of names picture the lugal as a father-like figure. Such names automatically evoke homely pictures, but it is not evident from the names themselves which aspect of fatherhood is intended; whether, for instance, as leader of a household, as provider, or as one who establishes a secure upbringing for his offspring. What can be said for certain is that family terminology implied a reciprocal exchange of dedication and devotion. But at the same time, it may have been expressive of a one-way
respect and awe before the authority held by the referent of such appellatives.

Contrary to Akkadian names of later times the connection was not expressed in a plain genitive chain using as nomen regens a proper noun denoting offspring, like dumu. Instead the relation was expressed using a nominal predicate. Names describing the lugal as father appear beginning in the ED IIIb period, and hence do not seem to be part of the earliest layer of ideas associated with the lugal. The oldest attested PNN are lugal-ab-ba-\(\text{š}_\text{e}\) (432) and lugal-aja,-\(\text{š}_\text{e}\) (426), ‘the lugal is my father.’ Both are attested mainly in the ED IIIb period, with single attestations in the Sargonic period. Exclusively Sargonic forms are lugal-ab-ba (422), lugal-abba (421), and lugal-ad-da (41), ‘the lugal is a father.’ While, for example, the appellative diğir exhibits alternation between first and second position in nominal predicate names with similar import, this is only exceptionally the case with lugal. That is, as opposed to diğir, in this type of names lugal only rarely appears in name-final position; a feature shared with true theophores.

It is not clear what lugal-šē (45), literally ‘the lugal (is) a brother’ is supposed to mean. Perhaps an expression of brotherly support?

A couple of names link the lugal to the noun e₂. This e₂ is probably in neither case an abbreviation of a TN. The first, lugal-e₂-šē (423), ‘the lugal … for his house’ is attested already in ED IIIa Šuruppak, thereafter in ED IIIb Girsu, Umma-Zabala and Ur. Due to parallels with nin these names are probably to be understood as abbreviations of unattested *lugal-e₂-šē₃-nu-

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428 For the Akkadian usage, see references with CAD M/1 s.v. māru 1 d) 3'; C. Saporetti, StPohl 6/1, 309, 317–321; and compare Mār-Ištar, above p. 52.
429 But see the note to the name lugal-A-UR-sikil, below, p. 175 fn. 1028.
431 For the erroneous writing a for AN in lugal-diğir-\(\text{š}_\text{e}\)₄₀, see notes to the latter name.
432 Similarly H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 169; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 58, 30.4a, 2: “(The) lord is father.” The word “sea” would often times be indistinguishable from “father.” See, e.g. a variant writing of the homonymous DN, M. Krebernik, RIA 7 (1987–90), 109 s.v. “Lugal-a’abba „König des Meeres“.” However, evidence for (a)-ab-ba in PNN is meager while kinship terms abound. Add to this name, phps., lugal-AB (=abba (?))?
433 Tentative. The meaning father for abba₃ is attested at least once in a female servant sales contract, also from Sargonic Adab, SLA 713 o. 4. A translation of abba₃ as ‘old man,’ Akk. šibum, could also be considered, perhaps bearing on the sagacity of elderly persons.
435 See R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 81–85, discussing names with suffixed -\(\text{š}_\text{e}\)₄₀.
437 Similarly H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 173, 202; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 59, 30.4a, 7.
438 With variant lugal-e₂-šē₃-\(\text{š}_\text{e}\)₃₀ (41), only attested at Umma-Zabala. The sign šē₃ rotated 90°, and sometimes very similar to GAN₂ is a local variant of normal šē₃. On this sign, see M. Powell, HUCA 49 (1978), 13, comment to MVN 3 3. Compare abbreviation e₂-šē₃, WF 73 r. i 1 (ED IIIa Šuruppak); MesCiv 4 3 o. i 6 & 7 (ED IIIb Umma).
kar₃-kar₂, ‘the lugal is one who does not cease working for his house.’

The other name incorporates an anticipatory genitive: e₂-lugal-be₂-zu (ᵃ¹) ‘the house is known by its master,’ and might well refer to a human, given later parallels.¹⁴⁰ Names with e₂ as the first element were popular in the earlier part of the ３ʳᵈ millennium but would steadily decrease in number as time passed.¹⁴¹ Here e₂ fills the function of a direct object which has been moved to the first position to achieve the wanted focus.

### 3.1.1.3 Insignia of power

Symbols characteristic of nam-lugal include certain paraphernalia, such as the aga₃, a headdress of sorts, as seen in lugal-ag₃-e₃, and variant lugal-ag₃-zi (ᵃ²⁴), both: ‘the lugal (wears) the legitimate crown.’¹⁴² The aga₃ is common in later royal hymns and is bestowed on the lugal by the gods,¹⁴³ though the material of manufacture remains unknown. The names seem so far to be limited to ED IIIb Isin and Girsu texts. Quite possibly unqualified lugal-ni₃-gir could in some cases be read lugal-aga. As will be seen below, several factors indicate that the referent associated with these headdresses should be interpreted as divinities.

Another piece of attire, the men-headdress, is found in the name lugal-men, with a number of variants,¹⁴⁴ attested from ED I-II down through ED period Sumer, with a single attestation from CS Adab. In scholastic texts the name appears at Abū Šalābīh, Ebla and Kiš.¹⁴⁵ The variant lugal-men-nun (ᵃ¹)

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¹⁴³ See CAD N/I s.v. naparkā, lex. sect., for examples of kar₃(GA₃)–dag. Compare FPNN nin-e₂-ni-še₂₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂, e.g. VS 25 69 o. viii 17–18; nin-uri₁₃-ni-še₂₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂, Nik 1 2 o. iii 14; iv 7; nin-uri₁₆-ni-še₂₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂, r. ii 4'; nin-uri₁₆-ni-še₂₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂, Nik 1 15 o. iii 1. All names are from ED IIIb Girsu. See, perhaps, lugal-EN-ne₂ (uru₃-ne₂)?

¹⁴⁴ Many Ur III parallels to this phrase name exist, most exhibit the direct object in first position, e.g.: TCL 5 6056 r. 19: e₂-lu-be₂-dug (Umma); MVN 12 202 o. 5: e₂-lu₂-be₂-du₃₇ (Girsu); AAIÇAB 1/1 pl. 67f. (Ashm 1924-667) r. ii 24: e₂-lu₂-be₂-zu (Umma); D. Foxvog, ASJ 18, 88, 24 o. iii 13: e₂-lu₂-be₂-su (Girsu); MVN 16 922 o. iv 4: e₂-lu₂-be₂-zu (Umma). The syntax is similar, though not identical, with Ur III sa₃-gal-lugal-e-zu and sa₃-gal-Nanna₄-Utu-zu, H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 523f. s.v.; and sa₃-gal-nin-e-zu, e.g. CTNMC 54 o. iv 8 (Girsu). The former was given by Limet, Anthroponymie, 325 as “L’esclave que le roi connaît,” while on p. 291 he asserted about this name: “... signification nous échappe.”

¹⁴⁵ So according to I. J. Gelb,OLA 5, 9f. See also parallel nin-ag₃-zi, e.g. HSS 3 38 o. ii 6; and abbreviated forms ag₃-zi, Nik 1 41 r. ii 2; ag₃-zi, e.g. Nik 1 297, ii 1 (all ED IIIb Girsu).

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. Šulgi D I. 390, where two sources have aga(LAK154, MIR) and aga₃(LAK667, TUN₃), respectively.

¹⁴⁷ See translation by H. Steible, CollAn 7 (2008), 93: “der König (hat) die Krone,” and similarly on p. 97. Variants: lugal-men₁₃ (ᵃ³); lugal-men₂₃(G₃-XEN) (ᵃ³=ᵇₓ;²); lugal-men₃₃(LAGAB-XEN) (⁺¹) Compare FPN nin-men₃₃(giatan-XEN): UET 2 283 o. iii 5’ (ED I-II Ur); nin-men₁₃: TSS 150 o. i 5 (ED IIIa Šuruppak). Most, but not all, other names with men₁₃₃ are construed as DN-men₁₃₃. The import of the writings lugal-men₂₃-e₃-am₃ (⁺¹), lugal-me₃-₃ (⁺²), lugal-mi₃-₃ (⁺¹), and nugal-me₃-₃₃-₃₃, all from scholastic texts, is difficult to establish, save that they come across as partially phonetic variants. It is unclear if the writings stand for men₁₃₃ alone or men₁₃₃ with qualifying adjective.
adds what may be taken as a qualifying adjective ‘sublime.’\textsuperscript{446} As with aga, the material used for making the men is unknown but may have varied.\textsuperscript{447} The headdress is not found in the titulature of early rulers, but is repeatedly referred to in the Ur III royal hymns.\textsuperscript{448} A few names from ED IIIb Girsu associate the men with local royalty, for example the PNN \textsuperscript{d}Ba-u₃-men-zi-PAP.PAP,\textsuperscript{449} \textsuperscript{d}Inana-men-zi-PAP.PAP  ‘Bau/Inana (is/has/gives) the legitimate men-headdress (of/for) PAP.PAP.’\textsuperscript{450} The names imply a form of legitimizing by means of a deity’s active involvement, though no such deity is mentioned in the names combining lugal and men. And in no case is it obvious that the men is worn by the queen called PAP.PAP. It is on the other hand likely that men in itself in some other cases should be understood as a symbol representing a deity. Two examples of this is the name of the en-priestesses en-men-an-na ‘the en is the men of heaven,’ daughter of Narām-Su’ēn,\textsuperscript{451} and en-agāzi-an-na ‘the en is the legitimate crown of heaven,’ daughter of Amar-Su’en of Ur.\textsuperscript{452} These names surely refer to the Moon God Nanna.\textsuperscript{453} The relation between Nanna and his son Utu on one hand, and the men is perhaps also visible in the big god list from Šuruppag, where their names are followed by two rather marginal deities \textsuperscript{d}Men₃(\textsuperscript{GA}₂×EN)\textsuperscript{2} and \textsuperscript{d}Men₃(\textsuperscript{GA}₂×EN)-bar.\textsuperscript{454} PNN construed with men gradually became more and more scarce during Sargonic times. Considering the fact that the men is never expressly

\textsuperscript{446} The entry is damaged in the Abū Salahīṯ version of the Names and Professions List. Compare M. Bonechi, \textit{NABU} 2001/29, who argued that the name should be read lugal-men with a qualifier nun, corresponding to Akk. \textit{rubūm}. Bonechi’s arguments that the text has bearing on people from Kiš are interesting. He notes that no king of Kiš by the name lugal-men is known. However, if I should entertain an alternate interpretation of the line, I would suggest reading men-nun lugal (followed by \textit{AK-Utu ensi₂}). Note that according to the Sumerian King List, two kings of the city Kiš have very similar names, en-me(n)-nun-na of the first Kiš dynasty, and men-nun-na of the second, T. Jacobsen, AS 11, 80:23, and 97:30 (the latter misread \textsuperscript{GA}₂×RU); and C.-A. Vincente, ZA 84 (1995), 253, note to ii 1’.

\textsuperscript{447} See discussion by B. Alster & H. L. J. Vanstiphout, \textit{ASJ} 9 (1987), 32, note to Laḥar and Ašnān 1. 17, who contend that the men was made from textile; like a cap or turban, due to its association with Utu. They further point to the men as being tied onto the head of the bearer. But compare the men₃ ku₄, ‘silver men’ in D. Foxvog, Mesopotamia 8, 67–75 o. ii 7; and the men₃ saḫ si-against ku₄ luḥ-ḥa “Krone aus geläuertem Silber, die das (ganze) Haupt bedeckt,” G. J. Selz, \textit{Götterwelt}, 199 [56]. The latter was perhaps destined for wear by the statue of a deity. There is no arguing that the association of the men with the goddess of weaving, Utu, suggests a textile headdress, but it is also possible that usage of the term changed with time.

\textsuperscript{448} One source for Šulgi D I. 295, \textit{ISET} 1, pl. 21 (Ni 4571), r. ii 9’, has men written with three gūnu-strokes on the left hand part, emulating the shape of aga.

\textsuperscript{449} \textit{DP} 2/1 157 r. i’ 6. \textsuperscript{d}Ba-u₃-men₃(\textsuperscript{GA}₂×EN)-Z[i]-PAP.PAP. Compare the ED IIIb Nippur PN \textsuperscript{d}Utu-men-zi, OSP 1 99 o. i 4.

\textsuperscript{450} See G. J. Selz, \textit{Götterwelt}, 280 w. fn. 1396 for the latter, and parallel formations in PNN and in the names of votive objects of Enmetena and UrukAgīna.

\textsuperscript{451} For inscriptions mentioning Enmena, see \textit{RIME} 2.1.4.2018–2020.

\textsuperscript{452} E.g. CT 36 pl. 2 (BM 114684) I. 23.

\textsuperscript{453} For the relation men an (ki/urāš)-a, see Å. Sjöberg, \textit{MNS}, 67, 106 and 126. This symbolism exists even today in the English terms lunar and solar corona.

\textsuperscript{454} \textit{SF} 1 o. i 5–8.
stated as being owned or worn by humans before the Ur III period, names composed with terms for headdresses should be regarded as expressive of a quality or act on the part of a deity, not a human.

Another object associated with rule was for instance the staff/sceptre ŝidri, as in lugal-šidri (a1) ‘the lugal (holds?) a sceptre,’ lugal-šidri-du₄₁₀ (a₂/e₁) ‘the lugal (of?) the good sceptre.’ The sign šidri is written with the pictogram PA, which for example forms part of the diri-compounds ensi₂(PA.TE.SI), sipa(PA.LU), maškim(PA.KAS₄), and šabra(PA.AL). PA has other readings which could arguably fit this name, and uguš ‘foreman’ can not be excluded as one of them.⁴⁵⁵ The import is one of marked responsibilities in relation to others, and as such the šidri features among Lagaš and Akkade rulers’ epithets describing the authority of the lugal, given to him by various gods.⁴⁵⁶

The bara₂, which in some names might be interpreted as ‘throne dais’ is the object in a handful of names which individually are attested no more than a few times each.⁴⁵⁷ Fuller writings of such names include lugal-barα₂-ge-du₁₀ (a₁) and lugal-barα₂-ga-ne₂-du₁₀ (a₁) ‘the lugal makes the/his throne dais good.’⁴⁵⁸ They both might correspond to the abbreviation lugal-barα₂-du₁₀ (a₂), attested only in scholastic texts from ED IIIa Šuruppag and Kiš. An early name attested already in ED I-II Ur, and then rarely in the ED IIIa, uses the predicate si, lugal-barα₂-si (a₃) ‘the lugal is just right for the throne dais’⁴⁵⁹; that is, the lugal is one who realizes the full potential of the powers inherent in the throne dais. Some intriguing parallels have been interpreted as featuring a potential missing direct object.⁴⁶⁰ The name lugal-barα₂-kalam (a₁)

⁴⁵⁵ A reading mu₄ for PA in lugal-šidri was suggested by H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 469, perhaps corresponding to Akk. etlum, for which, see CAD E s.v., lex. sect.

⁴⁵⁶ See references to šidri in FAOS 6, 142; Akk. ḫattum, written ṣidri, in FAOS 8, 208.

⁴⁵⁷ The short form lugal-barα₂ (a₂/e₆), was correctly analysed by H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 221 as “début d’une phrase qui a servi de nom propre après avoir abrégé.”

⁴⁵⁸ Compare the interpretation of this and parallel with nin by G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 104 fn. 376: “Dem Herrn/der Herrin auf dem Thron ist (es’) angenehm.” Name correctly identified as containing loc.-term. -e and du₁₀, without translation, M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 34f.; G. Marchesi, OrNS 73 (2004), 190 fn. 213, given as “the Lord delights the dais (?).” The short form barα₂-ga-ne₂ is attested about a dozen times, from the ED IIIb onwards, e.g. TMH 5 102 o₁ 7 (ED IIIb Nippur).


⁴⁶⁰ See M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 23–25, with a number of intriguing examples from the archaic Ur texts. For the name e₂-alam-gal-gal-si, Krebernik suggested either seeing an elided subject “[X] ist einer, der das Haus mit großen Statuen füllt,” or having e₂-alam-gal-gal serve as a dimensional object, op. cit., p. 24f. According to the scheme followed above, the name should rather be interpreted as “the temple is just right for (housing) the great statues (of the gods).” However, not all the names discussed by Krebernik allow for such an interpretation,
might have a different interpretation altogether, as bara₂ is sometimes used figuratively to denote a person occupying the throne dais.⁴⁶¹ Thus for instance in Lugalzagesi’s Nippur inscription and in the ED IIIb Ur PN bara₂-An-ne₂-pa₃-da ‘the prince is one chosen by An,’⁴⁶² Hence, a translation ‘the lugal is (a) prince of the land,’ might be ventured, which would rather belong below, under subheading 3.1.1.6, and which would aptly describe a human ruler. The available evidence allows for the extension of bara₂, from signifying a locus, to denoting the occupant of the locus, to be traced not much further back than 2400 BCE, or to around the time of the final pre–Sargonic Uruk dynasty. As a loan, bara₂ with this interpretation may feature in the CS Mugdan PN be-li₂-bar₃a ‘my lord is a prince,’⁴⁶³ though the metonymic use of Akkadian parakkum to signify a person is only attested lexically.⁴⁶⁴

Another outer royal characteristic which made its way into the onomasticon in Sargonic times was the ‘splendid robe’ of the lugal and nin, as seen in lugal-tug₂-maḥ⁴ᵃ⁻⁴⁴ the lugal is (one wearing) a splendid robe.⁴⁶⁵

Perhaps the unique name lugal-suluhu₂(SIG₂,BU)⁴⁽¹⁾, referring to wool from a long-haired breed of sheep, used to make a particular type of ceremonial garment also belongs here.⁴⁶⁶ According to E. Flückiger-Hawker, a robe made from suluhu-hair during the Ur III period was “part of the regalia of

so the question must remain open. The name en-me-bara₂-si of later traditions is probably a reinterpretation and does not add to the understanding of the earlier names.⁴⁶⁷

See in general PSD B, bara₂ A 2.

⁴⁶² Note the parallelism in the Lugalzagesi inscription, BE 1/2 87 ii 21–22: bara₂-bar₃a ki-engi, ensi₂ kur-kur-ra. The PN bara₂-an-ne₂-pa₃-da ‘the prince is one chosen by An,’ is found in UET 2 suppl. 6 o. 1. It may just be coincidence that the “choosing” deity is an Urukean god, but the ties between 3rd millennium Uruk and Ur are numerous. See G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 157, fnn. 18–19, for a discussion of some related names.

⁴⁶³ MAD 5 74 o. 2; 77 r. 2 (same person in both instances).

⁴⁶⁴ See, e.g. Malku-šarru 1 4 pa-rak-ku = šarru, cited CAD P s.v. parakkû A, lex. sect.

⁴⁶⁵ If anything is missing, the predicate mu₄ ‘to dress, wear’ is a likely restoration. The lemma tug₂ maḥ is given by H. Waetzoldt, UNT xxi w. fn. 34, as “Prachtgewand,” and is said to have been worn by Dumuzi; the present name is given on p. xxiii as “der König ist (wie) ein Prachtgewand.” Compare J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973), 238: “der König zieht (zum Fest) das …-Gewand an.” H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 460 and 474, w. fn. 3, divided the name into -dur₂-maḥ and -tug₂-maḥ, but indicated that they might have a common reading. Abbreviation lugal-tug₂⁴⁽¹⁾, attested only in MS-CS Nippur; as commented by A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 197, it may be an abbreviation of the present name or an erroneous writing of -gi₂. No comparable form *nin-tug₂ is known from this or later periods. See further comments by W. Sommerfeld, Tutub, 103, for parallel attestations and a discussion of the tug₂ maḥ in economic contexts.

⁴⁶⁶ OBO 166, 173, note to Urmanna A l. 98 The term appears also in an Inana-Dumuzi composition, Y. Sefati, Love Songs, 263, l. 31, there referring to Inana’s unkempt hair “which knows no comb.” The Ur III variant lugal-suluhu₂(SIG₂,SUD), given by H. Waetzoldt, UNT, xxiii, as: “der König ist (wie) lange Wolle,” is compared by him to the names lugal-si-ḡar and lugal-bad₃. Waetzoldt further, fn. 73 p. xxiii, did not rule out the possibility that shortened forms without appellative referred to the hairs on the newborn baby’s head. If so, compare later Akk. apparrû/apparritu “(the one with) tufty (hair),” and see J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 266.
kings.” The lack of the textile determinative tug₂ is not decisive, as inclusion in PNN of determinatives is inconsistent at best. The exceptions are determinatives used for marking divinity and place, and occasionally even these could be discarded. That kings and queens would distinguish themselves from the lower classes by means of their dress is perhaps to be expected, and the aforementioned names may then well refer to a characteristic of the human ruler. Should the analysis be anywhere near correct, certain people of Sargonic Adab and Nippur may have been keen observers of contemporary fashion introduced by the nobility from Akkade. No parallel formation with a theonym instead of the appellative is in any case known.

3.1.1.4 Verbal communication and commands

A central principle in the Mesopotamian conception of the world was the creative power of spoken words. In short, out of necessity an idea grew about that which was to be created, or ordered. Its functions were established as blueprints in the mind of gods, and creation followed by the determining of the name and fate of the new creation. This chain of causes and effects are often taken to have been influenced by the chain of command in human society, with the king at the top of the political and social hierarchy. Divine decrees, when coming from the highest authority, could not be countermanded, so perhaps even in an ED IIIa name of unknown origin: lugal-du₁₁-ga-ni-nu-[kur₂?] (a₁) ‘what the lugal says can not [be altered?]’.469

Words, orders and statements were epitomized in names, and lugal-names offer plenty of variations on this theme. Permanence and the correctness of whatever the lugal has decreed, are common associations. So for instance in lugal-du₁₁-ga-ni-zi (a₁) ‘what the lugal says is reliable,’470 which is hard to

467 Following the reasoning of J. Bottéro, Religion of Ancient Mesopotamia, 90–95.
468 OIP 99, 46–53, l. 8–10 (za₃-me hymns): (Enlil) en du₁₁-ga, nu-gi₄-gi, nu-šar₂-šar₂: “Enlil, lord (whose) words cannot be contested, cannot be argued against (?).” For the last line, compare amata šutābku, CAD A/1, 27f. c, “to discuss, argue a matter.”
469 According to photo (CDLI P010547), the last sign must be quite small. Restoration kur₂ is likely. See, e.g., TCS 3, 18, l. 20; Urnamma A l. 209; or perhaps šar₂, see previous footnote. Another possibility would be a kyriophore name with the addition -nu-[me-(-a)], as in lugal-an-da-nu-me-a (see below, p. 141), but at the same time, the formation lugal-du₁₁(-ga)-ni is not very common this early on; compare, perhaps, lugal-ni-ka from ED I-II Ur, and lugal-ka-ni-nu-šuba₂, mentioned below, p. 94.
delineate from lugal-inim-gi-na \(^{(a>12)}\) ‘the lugal of permanent word.’\(^{471}\) Both have close parallels in Akkadian names, for instance the Sargonic pu₂-su-gi ‘his word is reliable,’\(^{472}\) and OB names featuring the verb sanāqu, in the sense “to execute exactly, reliably.”\(^{473}\) The sense of reliability also applied to the words spoken, such as is seen in lugal-inim-zī-da \(^{(a=10)}\) ‘the word (of the) lugal is reliable’,\(^{474}\) and that which had been spoken was also considered beneficial: lugal-inim-du₁₀-ga \(^{(a3)}\) ‘the lugal … a good utterance,’\(^{475}\) probably to be completed with the verb du₁₁\(^{476}\) and lugal-du₁₁-ge-du₁₀ \(^{(a2)}\) ‘what the lugal says is good.’\(^{477}\)

A personal perspective sometimes enters into the names, implying that what was spoken was directed at the name-giver or name-bearer. Examples of this are found from ED IIIb onwards, and include lugal-ĝe₂₆-ab-e \(^{(a3)}\) ‘it was spoken by my lugal,’\(^{478}\) and lugal-inim-ĝa₂-ka-bi \(^{(a1)}\) ‘the lugal is one who states my case,’\(^{479}\) which both echo sentiments of prayers for offspring

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472 E.g. MO B iv 8 (ES); MesCiv 4 72 r. 2 (CS Unknown).

473 See R. Kutscher, *Oh Angry Sea*, 48 w. fn. 5; *CAD* S s.v. sanāqu A, lex. sect.; and the collection of names, *loc. cit.*, 4 e.

474 Abbreviation lugal-inim-zī \(^{(a=2)}\). A probable variant is lugal-inim-ma-ni \(^{(a1)}\) ‘the word of the lugal (is …)’ in a scholastic text, which corresponds to three writings with plain lugal-inim, see list of attestations, s.v. I have chosen this interpretation for both the ED IIAs and ED IIIb writings, well aware of the possibility to read *inim-lugal-da-zī, for which, compare ED IIIb Girsu inim-Utu-zī, e.g. VS 25 26 o. iii 4, and notes to inim-lugal-da, below. The three witnesses to the present name, in two different texts from Girsu and Umma-Zabala, consistently write lugal-inim-zī-da.

475 H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 171, 228: “Le roi dont la parole est bonne.” Compare E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 213, no. 293: “The king speaks good words.” Abbreviated lugal-inim-du₁₀ \(^{(a2)}\), seen by H. Limet, *op. cit.*, 232, as an elliptic phrase: “Le roi (qui fait regner) la bonne parole.” Another possibility would be to read lugal-ka-du₁₀-ga, with roughly the same meaning, see *CAD* P s.v. pu₂, lex. sect.: [ka-du₁₀-g]a = qa-a-du-ka = pu₂ u[a-bu]. I can not explain the singular lugal-inim-du₁₀,ki \(^{(a1)}\) from ED IIIa Adab, CUSAS 11 6 o. ii 4, in which ki does not look like it is part of a scribal note ki lugal-inim-du₁₀(-ga)-ta, or the like.

476 See *CIRPL* Ukg. 41 for a parallel.


478 Abbreviated lugal-ĝe₂₆ \(^{(a2)}\) One of the persons named lugal-ĝe₂₆-ab-e, the sagi and gala mah of the city of Nina appears often in the ED IIIb Girsu documentation under the abbreviated form. A variant form is lugal-ĝe₂₆-ab-be₂ \(^{(a1)}\). Translation follows A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 201(index), note to E₂₆-Diḫir-ĜA₂-ab-be₂. Note the unique Ur III writing diḫir-ĝe₂₆-ab-be₂-en₂, perhaps ‘you are what my god spoke to me about,’ BIN 3 576 r. 3 (Puzriš-Dagān).

or a safe birth having been answered. Perhaps related to these names are lugal-nu-du₁₁-ga (a≥³) ‘was it not spoken by the lugal?’, in the form of a rhetorical question, and, perhaps, inim-lugal-da (a₁) ‘the decision (rests?)’ with the lugal.\textsuperscript{480}

A name extant only at MS-CS Nippur, but which has roots in the ED IIIa was lugal-inim-kalag-ga (a₁). Whether -a marks kalag as standing in the genitive ‘lugal of the strong word,’ or as an adjective ‘the lugal (is) a powerful word,’ is not evident from any writing. In Ebla, the name appears both in normal orthography and written phonetically at the beginning of an acrographic listing of names and phrases all beginning with lugal.\textsuperscript{481}

The following names are not entirely understood, but many names featuring the pattern with KA in second position following the appellative belong here. It is likely that these names belong to this category: lugal-inim-gal₂-la (a₂) lugal-KA-nu-šuba₂ (a₁) ‘is the word (?) of the lugal not pure (?)’,\textsuperscript{482} and ED I-II Ur lugal-NI-KA (a₁).\textsuperscript{483} At the moment, little can be said about them. And even though this subsection contains a fair share of idioms related to speech, the names are generally not attributable to one referent or the other. It is, however, relevant to note that the association between en and inim or du₁₁-(g) was exceedingly rare in all periods, while such names composed with nin or with theophores are found more regularly.

3.1.1.5 The city

There are some indications from literary sources of later times that the lugal interacted with, and sought approval for his ideas, in a city assembly. For instance, in a Šulgi hymn, the weight attributed in the assembly to the king’s word is mentioned. Cosmic order was also believed to have rested in the hands of a divine assembly.\textsuperscript{485} Little in the way of such information is apparent from pre–Ur III sources. The name lugal-uğken-ne₂ (a≥³) can


\textsuperscript{481} The name is not likely to be an abbreviation of lugal-inim-zi-da since one would not expect leaving out the root zi. Compare discussion to that name above, and see also inim-sud₂-da, \textit{SF} 63 r. iv 6, short for inim-šud₂-da-zi. F. Pomponio, \textit{StEL} 8 (1991), 144, connected this writing with *inim-lugal-da-zi, see above, note to lugal-inim-zi-da.

\textsuperscript{482} Difficult. The reading inim here might indicate a borrowing from legal terminology, see e.g. \textit{CAD} E s.v. enimgallu “claim (or claimant).”

\textsuperscript{483} For a discussion of the nominal and adjectival meanings of šuba₂, see E. Flückiger-Hawker, \textit{OBO} 166, 223, on Urnamma C l. 53. The meaning here remains enigmatic.

\textsuperscript{484} Compare the normal writing KA-ni in ED IIIa Šuruppak, against only one instance of inimm-na, F. Pomponio, \textit{Prosopografia}, 126 and 129 s.v. The latter writing is found in a contract.

\textsuperscript{485} See discussion by C. Wilcke, \textit{CRRA} 19, 182f., with refs.
probably be reconstructed by means of the name uğken-ne₂-si, and the
resulting translation of this PN would be something like ‘the lugal is just
right for the council.’ The implication is that the lugal enables the uğken to
function as it is supposed to by reaching a unanimous and fruitful decision.
Regardless of the fact that the uğken is rare in early 3rd millennium sources,
the cooperation between different civic institutions clearly would serve the
common good. Decisions on when to wage war was hardly a decision which
at all times rested with the king alone, without having listened to what
military advisors and, for instance, the assembly, had to say on the matter.
Two persons acting as leaders of the assembly in Ur III times had military
backgrounds, or so later traditions would have it. And in a list including
city governors and high ministers these two feature as ab-ba uru ‘city elders,’
and/or nu-bandā₃, here clearly used in its function of military rank. If an
ab-ba uru also in earlier times was a city representative in the uğken, then the
rare CS Girsu name lugal-ab-ba-uru (a₁) ‘the lugal is a city elder,’ with
possible variant lugal-abba₂-uru (a₁), from contemporary Adab, could
commemorate situations where the human ruler had acted in the best interest
of these cities, utilizing the institutions which could levy troops from the
available work forces.

Some names from ED IIIb Umma-Zabala associate lordship with the
leading city in the region: Umma₃,(HI×DIŠ)₃-lugal (a₁), and Umma₃,(HI×DIŠ)₃-
lugal-gün₁₀ (a₁) ‘Umma is my lord.’ They both stem from the time in which
Lugalzagesi was lugal of the land, with his power base in Umma and Uruk.
It is tempting to draw a parallel to the famed CS Umma letter which states
that a citizen of Akkade must not be put to death since [A]-ka₃-de₃ lugal-
am₃, ‘Akkade is lugal,’ and also to later traditions that ascribed lordship to

488 See C. Wilcke, *CRRA* 19, 182.
489 A. Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), 1–31 (YBC 13087, unpublished). One of the persons, a₂-bi₂-la-
ša, is known from other texts as ensi₂ of Kazallu, and from his personal seal (wr. a-bi₂-la-
ša), as šagina of the same city, *RGTC* 2, 94f.
491 Reading URU very uncertain. There is no trace of right vertical on tablet.
492 On the sign taken to render the name of the city Umma here, HI×DIŠ, see R. Borger, *AOAT* 305, with a list of references; and add W. G. Lambert, *JNES* 49 (1990), 75–80.
493 The letter, T. Donald, *MCS* 9 (1964), 252, has been thoroughly commented and provided with a bibliography of treatments by B. Kienast & K. Volk, *FAOS* 19, 134–136. Most of the Sargonic texts in Manchester come from Umma, but the provenience and original place of
the city in which a dynasty held nam-lugal. In establishing the reading and understanding of this line of the letter, B. R. Foster referred to names similar to the present two, having a city as head noun in a nominal predicate chain. One name is from the same region as the above-mentioned, Zabala\textsuperscript{ki-ama} ‘Zabala is (like a) mother.’ The names of the cities appear to be used metonymically for the deity residing in them.

One ED IIIb Ur name relates the lugal to activities in cities or towns. It has a cultic or religious ring to it, lugal-uru-na-nu\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the lugal lies down in his city,’ and may in fact rather be sorted under heading 3.1.6.3, dealing with cultic acts and ceremonials. It may be the fuller writing of slightly more common lugal-uru-na \textsuperscript{(a3)} There is, however, nothing formally in the way of interpreting the latter as a qualified nominal phrase name lugal-uru-na as ‘(he is) lord in/of his city.’ One might also consider the name as an abbreviation missing a nominal predicate. If the names uru-na-bad\textsubscript{3}-bi ‘(he is) the fortress (i.e. protection) of his city,’ or names with an appellative or theonym qualified as bad\textsubscript{3}-uru-na ‘(so-and-so is) the fortress of his/her city,’ could serve to fill in what is missing, the name might, rather than simply refer to the lugal’s dominion over his city, have to do with his protection of the same. A few names of that type are found in section 3.1.3.2, below.

Outside the city and its cultivated surroundings (for which, see 3.1.5.2–3) lay the steppe, eden. A few names revolve around this ominous locus. The semi-arid plain played a liminal and at times ambiguous role. As the haunt of demons and demonic creatures it was manifestly a dangerous place for mankind. At the same time the vegetation that could survive in the steppe offered pastures for flocks of sheep and goats. Names which incorporated eden most probably had this latter aspect in mind, as is apparent the ED IIIa Šuruppak name lugal-eden-ne\textsubscript{2}-si \textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the lugal is just right for the steppe.’

dispatch of the letter is unknown. If the recipient was stationed at Umma, then the sender might deliberately have used a local idiom current and clear to the recipient.

Besides the SKL, see the myth of Inana and Enki, G. Farber-Flügge, StPohl 10, where Inana removes, among other things, nam-lugal from Eridu to Urub; and further the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur, P. Michalowski, MesCiv 1, 57: 364–368.

B. R. Foster, \textit{RA} 73 (1979), 179.

Inana, at home in Zabala (and pretty much everywhere else in Sumer), is referred to in an ED IIIb Girsu name, \textit{Inana-ama-ĝu\textsubscript{10}}, e.g. \textit{DP} 1/2 116 o. iii 2. See further the Ur III name \textit{Nanna-lugal}, discussed below, p. 141, and compare the modern symbolic usage of the much later female personifications of national spirit in Mor Danmark and Moder Svea from Denmark and Sweden respectively.

Abbreviations: lugal-eden \textsuperscript{(a1)}, and lugal-eden-ne\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a\textgreek{alpha})}.  

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Abbreviations figure most prominently in ED IIIb Girsu, and parallels featuring the appellatives en and e₂ are also found. The figure behind this appellative lugal is likely to be identical with the deity whose byname figures in the PN ur- (d)Lugal-eden(-na), the earliest attestation of which is also found at Girsu. It is furthermore quite probable that this deity was related to animals grazing on the eden. And so si here may have played a double role, indicating that the lugal encompassed the powers resident in the steppe, and being able to ‘fill’ it with objects that made full use of the potentials of the steppe; in this case livestock. Of course, the benefits of healthy livestock with plenty of land for grazing is obvious. But bearing in mind the association of people and terms for animal young, especially amar and maš, the meaning may be quite pragmatic, referring to the teeming peoples, and maybe even by extension to the name-bearer him- or herself.

3.1.1.6 Country and people
Names which portray the lugal as keeping enemy forces at bay, or as protecting his home land and its inhabitants, make up a group of considerable size. Names denoting strength and authority are to some extent recognizable, but others may escape detection due to abbreviation, hindering an analysis on semantic grounds.

Names formed with Sumerian a₂ are reasonably productive, and carry a wide range of meanings. A concept central to nam-lugal is the subject of a group of names containing the sign a₂ “arm,” “power, force, ability.” Only one name combining the appellative en with the noun a₂ is known from the early periods. Along with adjectival or verbal complements, a₂ holds key information to the granting of power to be wielded by both humans and divinities. The variant writings of lugal-a₂-mahhₐ (a≥87°1) ‘the lugal (possesses) the ultimate authority,’ are mostly found in the later ED period. The oldest attestation is around ED I-II in date, the latest from the Ur III period. The

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502 See, e.g. M. Lambert, *Gs Unger*, 29f. no. 1, r. iii 1: en-eden-ne₂-si; *DP* 2/1 195 o. v’ 8’: e₂-eden-ne₂-si. See also above, p. 58 fn. 280, for the earliest recorded history of this name type.
504 *PSD* A/2 s.v. a₂ A.
505 The name belongs to an ensi₂ of Umma, en-a₂-kal-le, of uncertain interpretation, e.g. YOS 9 6, l. 5. In BIN 8 83 o. i 2, the same name occurs, but it probably represents another person.
506 D. O. Edzard, *CRRA* 19, 142: “le lugal a la plus grande force”; *ZA* 88 (1998), (Enlil) “(ist/hat) höchste Kraft.” Variants are: lugal-a₂-mahh₂ (a₂), from ED IIIa Šuruppag and ED IIIb Marad (?); lugal-a₂(De)-mahh₂ (a₂), from ED IIIa Šuruppag and Nippur. The latter writing is paralleled by an entry in an OB list of PNN, *PBS* 11/3 25 o. iv’ 8’. Compare H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 168: “Le roi dont la puissance est grande”; 218: “Le roi dont le bras (ou la puissance) est grand.”
507 For Ur III references with the appellative lugal, see H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 456 s.v.
names are formed with lugal and nin,\textsuperscript{508} alongside certain theonyms. The divinities attested in combination with \(a_2\) maḥ are few, but bear on divine power as simultaneously universal and local. Thus, Enlil is one of two gods appearing in names from outside their main cities in the ED and Ur III periods, the other being Utu; the latter limited to names of the ED III period.\textsuperscript{509} In a description by Lugalzagesi of his native city Umma, \(a_2\) maḥ, much like nam-lugal in the traditions of the SKL, is portrayed as resting with that city.\textsuperscript{510} During the Sargonic period, no theophore names, only such constricted with lugal and nin, are found. In the Ur III, the deified kings Sulgi and Šu-Su’en also figure in names containing \(a_2\) maḥ,\textsuperscript{511} and their hymns, along with those of Ur-Namma, contain this compound both as nominal forms and as composite verb.\textsuperscript{512} Furthermore, one of the variants of Šulgi’s 23 regnal YN was named after some unknown event in which the king is said to have been given (šum₂-ma) \(a_2\) maḥ from the god Enlil.\textsuperscript{513}

The combination of the figures that appear in relation to \(a_2\) maḥ, along with the Ur III occurrences, make clear that \(a_2\) maḥ lay in the hands of a higher authority, and was delegated to the holder of the office of nam-lugal. This empowerment comes to the fore in the Adab and Girsu name lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma \textsuperscript{(a2)}‘the lugal is granted authority,’ the first instance of which belongs in the late ED IIIb or early Sargonic period. The compound is not attested with any other appellative or with theophores.\textsuperscript{514} There exists a clear correspondence to an epithetical phrase encountered in ED IIIb Lagaš royal inscriptions. As with \(a_2\) maḥ, the earliest occurrences deal with the transfer of power from Enlil or the main deity on a local level.\textsuperscript{515} Related to the preceding names is lugal-a₂-tuku \textsuperscript{(a1)}‘the lugal is powerful.’\textsuperscript{516} The usage of \(a_2\) tuku was dependent on the context, but refers in all instances to persons with authority, for good or for bad.\textsuperscript{517} No other appellative is attested with \(a_2\)

\textsuperscript{508} E.g. \textit{WF} 65 r. i 8 (ED IIa Šuruppag); TMH 5 159 o. ii 14‘ (ED IIIb Nippur); MVN 3 52 r. 2 and 6 (ES-MS Isin). No Ur III attestation of this name is known to me.

\textsuperscript{509} Enlil: e.g. \textit{FTUM} 43 o. 2 (ED IIIa Šuruppag); Utu: e.g. \textit{WF} 9 r. v 8 (\(a_2\)-maḥ₂); and possibly TMH 5 170 o. i 2 (\(a_2\)-maḥ₂), ED IIIb Nippur); \textit{4Šu₄-a₂-maḥ₂}, F. Pomponio, \textit{Prosopografia}, 215f. s.v. The name \(d₃\)Šara₂-a₂-maḥ appears in an Ur III Umma text, \textit{Rochester} 116 o. 7.

\textsuperscript{510} BE 1/2 87 ii 38–42: Umma\textsuperscript{ki}, uru ki-a₂₆, \(d₅\)Šara₂–ke₆, \(a_2\) maḥ, mu-dab₃-cl ‘Umma, the city beloved by Šara, wielded the utmost authority through (lit. with) him.’

\textsuperscript{511} For \(šul-gi-a₂-maḥ\), see H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 398 s.v. \(d_{DUN}\)-gi-a₂-maḥ₂ (all attestations from Girsu); and for \(šu₄-Su’en-a₂-maḥ\), see \textit{Hirose} 389 o. 4 (Umma).

\textsuperscript{512} See, e.g. E. Flückiger Hawker, OBO 166, 303 (index); Sulgi A ll. 90 and 98; Å. Sjöberg, \textit{FS Kramer}, 414:33 (Su-Su’en D). More refs. are found with \textit{PSD} A, 10f., 6.1.3 \(a_2\)-maḥ–sum.

\textsuperscript{513} See in general D. R. Frayne, RIME 3/2, 104; and M. Sigrist, \textit{Fs Owen}, 221.

\textsuperscript{514} Short form \(a₂-šum₂-ma\) is attested, for instance, in CS Girsu, \textit{RTC} 255 r. 9; and LS-Gutian Nippur, PBS 9 41 o. 3 (ma₂-lab₂); and Ur III Umma, SAT 2 737, seal l. 2 (translit. only).

\textsuperscript{515} See references with \textit{PSD}, 10 s.v. \(a₂-šum\) 6.1.1.

\textsuperscript{516} See, e.g., \textit{CIRPL} Ean. 1 o. vi 1: \(a₂\)-tuku-e; o. v 21: \(a₂\) \textit{(DA)}-tuku-e, qualifying Eanatum, and compare the PN lugal-DU₂-tuku \textsuperscript{(a1)}from ED I-II Ur.

\textsuperscript{517} In texts bearing on proper conduct (lu₂) \(a₂\)-tuku is used idiomatically in contrast to widows and orphans. See refs. to ED IIIb and later passages with \textit{PSD} A/2, 111, \(a₂\)-tuku A 1.
tuku in PNN, and lugal-a₂-tuku is not yet attested later than the MS-CS period, although a form without a head noun occurs in Ur III texts.\(^ {518} \) Many names construed with a₂ are general in scope and attest to a quality rather than a specific pattern of action.

The name lugal-gaba-ĝal₂ (a₁/°₁) ‘the lugal is influential,’\(^ {519} \) probably also refers to his standing in the land, or in relation to larger groups of people. This attribute sometimes occurs in parallelism with (nam-)nir-ĝal₂, for instance in a 3rd millennium royal inscription,\(^ {520} \) and also in an early literary work.\(^ {521} \) Some form of complementarity of the phrases may reasonably be inferred. Names composed with the abstract nam-nir, roughly ‘nobility,’ or ‘authority,’\(^ {522} \) or plain nir, roughly ‘lord,’\(^ {523} \) appeared with some regularity beginning in the ED IIIa period. The nominal predicate names lugal-nir (a₃)\(^ {524} \) and related lugal-nir-ĝal₂ (a₂⁰/₇°₂) ‘the lugal is lord(ly),’\(^ {525} \) lack parallel formations with theonyms before the Ur III period.\(^ {526} \) As with other names referring to dominion, the lugal is portrayed as receiving his authority from

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\(^ {518} \) The name is exclusively attested at Girsu, e.g. MVN 12 295 o. 2 (tablet and envelope).

\(^ {519} \) See MSL 12, 181: 37f.: lu₃ gaba-ĝal₂ = ša i-ir-tam ma-ti₃, ra-ap-ša-am i-ir-tim.

\(^ {520} \) E. Sollberger, OrNS 28 (1959), 339 i 3’–4’: nir-ĝal₂ ūš saq₃ ki-en-gi₃, gaba-ĝal₂ nu-gi₃ kur-kur-ra-ke₃₃ ‘fearsome lordly one, head of Kiengi, influential one, unchallenged in (lit. of) all lands’ (ED IIIb, Gisakhidu of Umma). Compare PBS 5 36 r. iii 18’–20’: na-e e-er-tim la i-di₃₃-nu-šum ‘(As Enlil) did not give him one who could oppose him’ (OB Nippur copy of N.-S. inscription).

\(^ {521} \) Instructions of Šuruppak, IAS 256 r. iv 6–7: nir-ĝal₂ ni₃ du₁₀ du₁₀ gaba-ĝal₂ me nam-nun-kam₃, which I would interpret as: ‘authority is the best thing (there is), influence is a princely quality.’ For another interpretation, and for the somewhat different OB version, see B. Alster, Mesopotamia 2, 17, l. 209; and 46–47 l. 209.

\(^ {522} \) This compound was part of an epithetical byname of Enlil, Nunammir, attested since the ED IIIa, e.g. OIP 99, 46–53, l. 6–7, and see M. Krebernik’s comments to these lines, Fs Hrouda, 154. For Akk. correspondences, see CAD E s.v. etellûtu; and M/2 s.v. mêtellûtu.

\(^ {523} \) See CAD E s.v. etellu, lex. sect.

\(^ {524} \) So, e.g. H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 167: “Le roi est prince,” with further remark, p. 289: “[d]ans le nom Lugal-nir, le terme nir a la même valeur que nir-ĝal₂.” Compare names composed with the comitative, ‘s.o. is respected by (lit. with) s.o.,” e.g. nin-da-nir, TMH 5 136 o. i 3 (ED IIIb Nippur); ³Ba-u₂-da-nir-ĝal₁ and en-da-nir-ĝal₂, V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 27 (s.v. ³Ba-ba₂-da-nir-ĝal₂) and 48 (all ED IIIb Girsu); and further, nir-AN-da-ĝal₂, V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 157 (ED IIIb Girsu), also in OSP 1 23 o. ix 3 (ES-MS Nippur).

\(^ {525} \) See preceding note. Related to this name may be the DN ⁴Lugal-nir-ĝal₁, discussed by W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 150 s.v. “Lugal-nirgal,” rendered: “The princely lord,” and in An-Anum taken as byname of Ningirsu. So also K. Tallqvist, AGE, 356 s.v., attributing a meaning “König und Herr” (sic) to Ningirsu. ED IIIb-ES Adab and Isin texts share a specific form of NIR where the extreme right wedges are not superimposed as in other places. Compare lugal-gaba-ĝal₁.

\(^ {526} \) The name aja₂-nir, IW 74 r. vi 4 “the father is (like) a lord” (ED IIIa Šuruppak), seems unique and might well be an abbreviation. Compare also ab-ba-nir-ĝal₂, VS 25 69 o. x 15; with nin-ab-ba-nir-ĝal₂, Nik 1 19 r. ii 1 (both ED IIIb Girsu), phps. ‘she/the lady (Νανςῆ?) is respected in the Ocean(?).’ See also G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 35 fn. 121 on the ED IIIb Girsu FPN nin-e₂-Umug₂ “ga-nir-ĝal₂ “Die Herrin (ist) im Tempel von Uruk angesehen.” For Ur III names, see e.g. „Šarar₂-nir-ĝal₂, H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 528 s.v.
another party: lugal-nam-nir-šum₂\(^{(a1/°1)}\) ‘the lugal is granted authority.’\(^{527}\) This name lacks any theophore parallel.\(^{528}\) The graphic distinction between the signs denoting kalam ‘land,’ and û₂₃ ‘people,’ was not strictly adhered to until after the Sargonic period.\(^{529}\) This can lead to a confusion of readings where no phonetic complement is present.\(^{530}\) The relation between the land and its inhabitants was a close one, and hardly needs further elaboration. The lugal of course had a special relation to both the land and its population. Already in the ED IIIa this connection appears in a scholastic text with mixed content from Šuruppag: lugal-sağ-kalam \(^{(71)}\) ‘the lugal is exalted in the land.’ This can be compared with lugal-barar₂-kalam, discussed above, section 3.1.1.3. The people of the kalam, û₂₃, is sometimes portrayed as the object for the lugal’s benevolent actions. With all likelihood, all names combining lugal and û₂₃ are variants on an identical theme, as seen in lugal-û₂₃-ĝe₂₆-du₁₀ \(^{(a1)}\).\(^{531}\) From ED IIIb Girsu and lugal-lu₂₉₀-û₂₃-du₁₀ \(^{(a1)}\) from ED IIIb Ur. They follow a pattern common to ED III names in that they feature the appellative without the ergative marker, followed by a direct object marked by the locative-terminative case and an unmarked participial root-only verb. Two parallel

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\(^{527}\) Compare the phonetic ED IIIb Ebla variant nu-gal-nam-URU-šu-ma \(^{(°1)}\), and further the pair lugal-nam-nir \(^{(4)}\) and nu-gal-nam-URU \(^{(°1)}\). The phonetic quality of URU in this connection is obviously related to the syllabic value ri₃, but even so, does not fit very well with the traditional value /nir/ for NIR. See, however, D. O. Edzard’s attempts at reconciling the two, ARET 5, 44f.

\(^{528}\) The DN \(^{6}\)Nam-nir in the Šuruppag PN, amar-\(^{(d)}\)Nam-nir, F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 34 s.v., is probably identical with \(^{6}\)Nam₃-nir, appearing together with Uruk divinities in SF 1 o. vii 17. See further M. Krebernik, RIA 9 (1998–2001), 140 s.v. “Namnir.”

\(^{529}\) LAK729 (kalam) and LAK730 (û₂₆). See M. Krebernik, Annäherungen 1, 281, on the ED IIIa period. For the ED IIIb, compare writing of kalam in Lugalzagesi’s Nippur inscription, BE 1/2 87 i 39–40: nam-lugal, kalam(LAK729)-ma; and i 42: igi kalam(LAK730)-ma-ke₄. For Sargonic examples, see PPN ama-kalam(LAK730)-ma, OSP 2 63 o. ii 4 (MS-CS Nippur); and eren kalam(LAK730)-ma, SIA 874 o. 3 (CS Adab); û₂₃(LAK729)-ĝe₂₆, OSP 2 68 o. 9 (MS-CS Nippur); û₂₃(LAK729)-IL₂, e.g. HSS 10 66 o. 9 (CS Gasur).

\(^{530}\) Abbreviated lugal-KALAM \(^{(a2)}\) is slightly damaged in all three instances, but all appear to have LAK729 as the second sign. It is perhaps preferable to see LAK729 here as representing -û₂₃(-e). Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 175: “Il est le roi … du pays.” As noted by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 32 fn. 169, genitive -ka in Limet’s example comes from the syntactic position of the name as rectus in a double genitive chain (strike -ma- in Krebernik’s analysis.) A GN Lugal-kalam-ma \(^{(a3)}\) appears once, in a sales contract, said to be from Dilbat/DAilem, written in Akkadian, CT 32 pl. 7–8 (BM 22460, reedited as OIP 104 37) r. iii 4‘.

\(^{531}\) With variants lugal-û₂₃-e \(^{(a3)}\), lugal-û₂₃-ĝe₂₆ \(^{(a5)}\), and lugal-û₂₃-du₁₀ \(^{(a1)}\). The second form occurs among a few names listed by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 32, as possible abbreviations of phrase names originally incorporating -si, -du₁₀, or -e, and which incorporate locative marker -a instead of loc.-term. -e. A reading /ĝe/ (/ĝe₂₆) was posited for names beginning in ED times, A. Westenholz apud G. Visicato, FTUM, 54; there also used to explain an ED IIIa period name. .vaadin, PE₃ ergative (-e) is evidenced in ED IIIb Girsu, for instance in DP 2/2 442 o. i 4: ur-sağ-ĝe₂₆, but the sign could also express ġ plus loc.-term. -e.
formations, lugal-bara₂-ga-ne₂-du₁₀, mes-kalam-ne₂-du₁₀, and a few OB Akkadian names from Mari, indicate that the country and its human resources were considered his responsibility, in more than just a fleeting sense. Maybe, then, lugal-u₂-gē₃₂-du₁₀ and parallels can be translated ‘the lugal is one who does good for the (i.e. his) people.’ The idea is surely that of providing a safe and benign situation for his people. He is supposed to keep the peace, or organize the defence of the land should hostilities threaten, and to see to the upkeep of the social and religious order. In his role as caretaker of the interest of his people, it is quite logical that he should be portrayed as its father: lugal-aja₂-u₂-du₃ (a₁), and literary evidence from later times provide similar imagery, only transposed to the country.₅₃₅

There is a distinct possibility that some abbreviated names, for instance lugal-lu₂ (a≥₁₀), and lugal-lu₂-du₁₀ (a₁) ‘the lugal is one who does good for man’ are related to the aforementioned. A few alternative interpretations might be considered. It is, however, not very likely that the latter two represent nominal predicate names.₅₃₆ Given the parallel names discussed in the previous paragraph, lu₂ is here the direct object of a transitive verb. Another possibility would be to see the adjective du₁₀ as ḥi, Akk. balālum “to mix.”₅₃₇ But for a translation ‘the lugal mixes (with) man(kind),’ or the like, a reduplicated ḥi might have been expected because the action involves multiple participants.₅₃₈ Two variants, so far unique to Adab: lugal-lu (a≥₂₃), and lugal-lu-du₁₀ (a₁), are possibly to be connected with the Nippur orthography in which lu at times interchanges for lu₂. This orthographic peculiarity was current also in Isin sources. The sign lu might in the former...

₅₃₂ See discussion of this name, with another explanation by G. Marchesi, OrNS 73 (2004), 191. The three writings of mes-KALAM-NI-du₁₀, all seem to feature LAK729, that is kalam. In light of parallels, Marchesi’s reading *mes-u₂-gē₂-du₁₀ is not unavoidable. Read, rather, mes-u₂-gē₂-du₁₀ or mes-kalam-ne₂-du₁₀, and see also the following note.
₅₃₃ E.g. ta₂-ab-e-li-ma-ti-šu ‘he is good toward his country,’ and ta₂-ab-e-li-um-ma-ni-šu ‘he is pleasing toward his people.’ See refs. with CAD T s.v. ṭābu 1i; U/W s.v. unnāmu A 2c.
₅₃₅ See, for instance, the byname of Šin (³30) in a late god list, K. Tallqvist, AGE 354 s.v. Lugal-kalam-ma-u₂-tu-ud, given as: “König, Erbauer des Landes.”; W. G. Lambert, RLA 7 (1987–90), 145 s.v. “Lugal-kalamma-utud.” Lambert suspected the mng. behind the name to be of extra-Babylonian origin, but the theme is found for instance in an emesal prayer, A. Sjöberg, MNS, 167, 15: u₂-[tu]-ud-da-ka-nağ-ga₂, Akk.: bānû màṭa “the one creating the land,” and comments p. 175; see also CAD R s.v. rašādū, lex. sect.
₅₃₆ As interpreted, for instance, by H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 228; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 66, 30.5d, 1; and G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 111. Should their interpretations prove to be the correct one.
₅₃₇ CAD B s.v.
₅₃₈ The 2nd millennium composition Atra-ḫasīs illustrates a belief in the mixing of substances to create mankind, but this is so far unattested in 3rd millennium texts. See G. Pettinato, Menschenbild, 145 (glossary) s.v. balālu.
₅₃₉ See note to lugal-la₂, above, p. 85f. fn. 422, on the provenience of BIN 8 242.
PN also represent true lu, Akk. *duššim* “to make abundant,” as in the Adab royal name lugal-da-lu, see below, 3.1.5.3. To be sure, lu₄ is in itself no uncomplicated term. It encompasses, but is not limited to, concepts which were also attributed to the lugal, such as quality, status, and responsibility.⁵⁴¹

The lugal was furthermore expected to be vigilant in order to secure such ideal circumstances: lugal-igi-kalam-ма (al) ‘the lugal is the eye of the land,’ from ED IIIb Girsu.⁵⁴² Judging from later Akkadian parallels it is possible that the referent of this last name – as it stands – is one of the main planetary deities, the Sun- or Moon God.⁵⁴³ However, a collective ‘eye of the land,’ meaning the attention of the people, is known from contemporary and later sources,⁵⁴⁴ so an interpretation ‘the lugal (does something to) the eye of the land,’ is not impossible either.

From ED IIIb Girsu comes the name lugal-kalam:ма:ду́₃ (al) ‘the lugal covers the land,’⁵⁴⁵ which implies that a lugal could envelop the land figuratively, either with an object, or with his mere presence, perhaps indicative of his protection. In a name reminiscent of the former kur may be equal to kalam. One such name is featured in an ED IIIa Šuruppak scholastic text, lugal-kur-ra-a₄-bad (⁷₁) ‘the lugal stretches (his) arm over the land.’⁵⁴⁶ It is, however, not entirely certain that kur here refers to the land and not to the mountains. The outstretched arm of a deity is a sign of favour in another, later, context. According to a clay tag, the name of a commemorative object

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⁵⁴⁰ See for instance ‘lugal-lu’ in OB PNN list TIM 9 91 o. iii’ 12’, following on lugal-sipa (PA.KU) and lugal-mа₄-gur₃-re. Compare lugal-lu-lu.

⁵⁴¹ The precise nuance of lu₄ is difficult to assess, but T. Jacobsen, *Gs Kutscher*, 69–79, offers much appealing evidence for the general interpretations “person in charge of others,” or more specifically, “provider.” See also discussions by R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 114.

⁵⁴² Compare the Ur III PN miscopied as *⁷⁴*Ama’r-Su’en-a-kalam-ма in N. Schneider, AnOr 1 (1931), 292 o. i 26. A photo of the text (CDLI P101283) shows that the sign copied as A is really ḫgt, hence ḫgt-Su’en-igi-kalam-ма. The sign which must obviously be read kalam is furthermore written using expected LAK729 and not LAK730, against Schneider’s copy. The epithet igi-kalam-ма is used about the temple of Lugalmarad, TH 407.

⁵⁴³ *CAD* I/3 s.v. ḫnu (s.), 1., 4’ d.

⁵⁴⁴ E.g. Lugalgasesi’s Nippur inscription, BE 1/2 87 i 36–43: у₄ ḫEn-lil₃, lugal kur-kur-ra-ke₄, Lugalg-z₃-ga-si, nam-lugal, kalam-ма, e-na-šum₃-ма-a, igi kalam-ма-ke₄, si e-na-sa₂-a ‘when Enlil, the lord of all lands granted kingship over the land to Lugalgasesi, he directed the eye of the land at him,’ loosely following Č. Wilcke, *Fs Moran*, 464. An alternative understanding of this passage might have bearing on the present name, as igi could correspond to Akk. *panum* “front,” “face,” but also “concern, opinion,” see *CAD* P s.v. pu₂₃_-ma, and lex. sect. quoting Kagal G 103: *pa-nu iša-r[u₄]*, perhaps ‘just concerns,’ or ‘correct opinions.’ Hence, the last two lines in the latter inscription might mean ‘(Enlil) put the concerns of the land in order for him,’ which could affect the understanding of the name lugal-igi-kalam-ма. However, the Akk. parallels with itum cannot be completely disregarded.

⁵⁴⁵ So J. Bauer, *Fs Hirsch*, 41–46, without translation. Bauer suggested dating the sources to the ED IIIa-b, and that although found in Girsu, they were perhaps foreign to the Lagaš state.

⁵⁴⁶ The name possibly appears in abbreviated form in *SF* 28 r. ii 9=29 o. iv 6 as kur-γa-bad. Compare ED IIIa Šuruppak PN a₂-(ni)-kur-ra F. Pomponio, *Prosopografia*, 141f., (s.v.v. kurra-a₂ and kur-ra-a₂-ni); and a₂-ni-kur-ra from ED IIIb Girsu, V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 23f.
from ED IIIb Girsu was: ‘Ninĝirsu stretches his arm out like the Anzu for UruKagina.’

But the outstretched arm that offers protection might equally well be perceived as a threat to enemies. If, furthermore, the reading order of a₂ and kur-ra were adjusted, lugal-ɑ₂-kur-ra-bad could conceivably mean ‘the lugal is one who removes the strength of the mountain.’ Since no direct parallel is at hand, save abbreviated lugal-kur-ra (ɑ≤3) ‘the lugal in/over the land/mountains,’ which could be derived from such a fuller form, the correct reading remains unknown. Another possible instance is lugal-kur-si (ɑ¹), which might be interpreted as ‘the lugal is just right for the land (?)’.

The last few names disclose a telling aspect of the land: it is portrayed as a passive entity, and the lugal is raised above it. The obligations of the land as a whole toward the lugal is hardly ever touched upon in names. When the lugal is pictured as the father of the people, the name only implicitly invokes ideas of loyalty and respect. This makes sense if the outlook of the names is one in which the individual name-bearers are somehow meant to partake in what the name states. Speaking in very general terms, and without overt reference to the kalam, the name lugal-mas-su(ɑ≥12) at least implies that the responsibilities of the lugal was as a leader, an enabler, or organizer, and that at the other end of the spectrum, there were individuals ready to carry out the work necessary for maintaining an orderly society. Further names which bear on this relationship between lugal and subjects appear under heading 3.1.3, Protection.

3.1.1.7 The cosmic order

Central to Mesopotamian theology was the concept of nam-tar ‘fate, destiny’ Akk. šīmtum. Two variants of a very early name may, highly tentatively, bear on the lugal’s role of governing the cosmos by means of controlling destinies. One name is attested at ED I-II Ur, lugal-šu⁺PA.SIKIL-nam-tar (ɑ≥1), the other name comes from a slightly later scholastic text edited by A. Deimel among texts from Šuruppak, lugal-šu⁺PA(MAŠ).SIKIL-nam-tar (°1). Despite the writing MAŠ for PA in the latter variant, everything speaks in
favour of these names as being identical. J. Bauer has subjected the compound PA.SIKIL to a careful study and has suggested a reading sugx, with a possible original meaning “bright beams (?).” M. Krebernik drew attention to the related writing ₃₃₂₃₂₃₂₃二十四PA.SIKIL and a connection with later u₂-si-na, “evening,” “West.” The compound ₃₃₂₃₂₃₂₃二十四PA.SIKIL might then refer to a locus or a time of the day when destinies were determined. But this association of the western horizon as the place for deciding fates is at odds with other sources, including a Sargonic building inscription from Umma. There, the deciding of destinies is connected with sunrise, hence with the eastern horizon. If either of the suggestions above should be near the mark, the referent is most likely a deity, and in particular, one who distinguishes himself through brilliance and the deciding of fates. Since the origin of the oldest witness of the name is Ur, Nanna might be considered, although he is only rarely described in later literature as a deity concerned with the deciding of fates.

Other names testify more securely to the deciding of fates, like lugal-nam-tar-re₂ (₃₄) ‘the lugal is one who determines fates.’ In contrast, in lugal-nam-zì-tar-ra, the lugal himself appears as the beneficiary of the act (see below, 3.1.7.1).

3.1.2 Wisdom and awareness

Under the second heading are collected names which bear on the lugal as possessing or dispensing wisdom. The names which relate to the wise side of the lugal makes for the smallest category and could perhaps be seen as a subcategory of category 7, which bears on general descriptive characteristics of the lugal. No further subdivision is hence called for. This type of name appears first in ED IIIa. Most names are quite rarely attested, some are exclusively known as referring to a single, or a few, persons. The most widely used name belonging to this category is lugal-ni₃-zu which is known from one ED IIIa Šuruppag text and which is attested the most times in texts from Nippur and Isin. No writings of this name are known from Girsu until the latter half of the Sargonic period. Fig. 3, below, records the distribution of 41 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 13 variants of names discussed in this category.

552 J. Bauer, AoN 19 (1982), 7 “helle Strahlen.”
553 See M. Krebernik Annäherungen 1, 281f. fn. 512.
554 YOS 1 14. See discussion of the name lugal-ki-gal-la, below, p. 156f.
555 So Å. Sjöberg, MNS, 36f. It goes without saying that the distance in time between the early 3rd millennium and OB and later hymnic traditions could account for this fact.
Wisdom can be conceived as a quality as well as a foundation for action and interaction with the outside world. A person or god can only be considered wise in relation to his or her sphere of responsibilities, past actions or capacity to convey good advice to those in need of enlightenment. In Mesopotamia, the connection of skill and wisdom with the ears is well-known and the god most associated with wisdom during the third millennium was Enki. In the few royal epithets referring to wisdom he is without exception the one related to the granting of wisdom.\textsuperscript{557} Personal names, however, mostly focus on wisdom as an innate quality, as seen by the variant forms lugal-šepštusu\textsubscript{20} (a\textsubscript{1}), lugal-šepštusu\textsubscript{20} (a\textsubscript{2}), and lugal-šepštusu\textsubscript{13} (a\textsubscript{1}), all ‘the lugal is wide of wisdom.’ These names taken together are attested only a handful of times in Šuruppak texts dating to the ED IIIa period, and in an ED IIIa-b text with a possible Isin provenience.

The two names lugal-nam-uzu\textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the lugal knows all,’ and lugal-ni\textsubscript{3}-uzu\textsuperscript{(a>20)} ‘the lugal knows (every)thing,’\textsuperscript{558} both share in the same syntactic pattern, as transitive participial phrases, as well as the same general semantic import. The direct objects are neutral nouns with double-duties similar to indefinite pronouns “something, anything,” and the different translations rather reflects a wish to separate between the two names than any defined difference in original meaning. This said, ni\textsubscript{3} is more common than nam in such constructions in Sumerian – similar in function to a nomen agentis – ni\textsubscript{3} replacing the object in a two-participant construction.\textsuperscript{559} While lugal-nam-uzu is attested only in the case of one person, lugal-ni\textsubscript{3}-zu was at times

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & ED I-II & ED IIIa-ED IIIb & ED IIIb-ES & ES-MS & MS-CS \\
\hline
Adab & & 3 & 1 & 1 & \\
Girsu & 1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & \\
Isin & 2 & 3 & 1 & 1 & \\
Marad & 1 & & & & \\
Nippur & 2 & & & 4 & \\
Šuruppag & 8 & & & & \\
Umma-Zabala & & 1 & 3 & 3 & \\
Unknown & & & & & 3 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textit{Fig. 3: Name-bearers, 3.1.2, Wisdom and awareness. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.}

\textsuperscript{557} For a list of passages, see H. Behrens & H. Steible, FAOS 6, 304 s.v. sum II, b). The Ur III kings seem not to have used this concept in their epithet chains, neither anything similar to it. During the Lagaš II dynasty Puzur-Mama revived the connection with Šek, while Gudea simply professes his own broad wisdom as an inherent character trait.

\textsuperscript{558} Compare H. Limet, \textit{Namenforschung}, 852: “le roi qui sait tout”; \textit{Anthroponymie}, 325, simply “Le roi … connaît,” with Ur III parallels. A variant lugal-ni\textsubscript{1}-su\textsuperscript{(a1)} is attested once for a person from Girsu, if the copy of MVN 2 298 is correct. More on this name, below, p. 236.

\textsuperscript{559} See M.-L. Thomsen, \textit{Mesopotamia} 10, §§ 56, 59, 511.
widespread, and may also be intended in some cases of the common writing lugal-ni₂₃.

The same construction, though with more concrete objects, is found in the names lugal-inim-zu (a₂₄) ‘the lugal is wise (with regards to) word,’ and lugal-ku₃₃-zu (a₃) ‘the lugal is wise.’ The former seems related to speech activities, but if it entails the lugal as the active or receiving party is not necessarily clear. The latter name incorporates a term used adjectivally in a rather general sense; it is attested in the latter half of the Sargonic period only, exclusively at Girsu.

Equally generally applicable is the predicate in lugal-gal-zu (a₅) ‘the lugal is wise,’ where gal ‘great’ either stands in for a noun or carries an unmarked adverbial sense ‘knows great(ly).’ In royal inscriptions the compound gal–zu is used repeatedly in a modal construction by Eanatum of Lagas in connection with the oath swearing imposed by him on the ‘man of Umma.’

The name lugal-gal-zu is attested for a handful of people from late ED Isin and Adab; and the MS-CS Umma area, with one attestation in an OB copy of a Rīmuš inscription from Nippur. It is not altogether excluded that the Sargonic references should be read in Akkadian, as the CS parallel šar-ru-gal-zu from Umma.

The name type which invokes qualities related to intelligence and wisdom is thus readily attested throughout the late ED and Sargonic periods. The number of attested name forms related to the subject and the number of name-bearers are however not overwhelming in any way. A possible exception is lugal-ni₃₃-zu which in form represents a rather common construction. Another name bearing on an innate quality is the singularly attested lugal-ša₃₃-kuš₂ (a₁) ‘the lugal is sensible,’ found at ED IIIa Girsu. A well-known name of a related type is en-ša₃₃-kuš₂-šu₃₃ ‘the divine en is an advisor of An,’ an ED IIIb lugal of Uruk. The name of a well-known literary figure, Lugalbanda, may have been given to him on account of his wits. It is at least possible to interpret his name lugal-ban₃₃-da (a₂) as ‘the lugal is resourceful.’

560 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 169: “Le roi est sage,” further specifying the mng. of ku₃₃-zu as participle, “celui qui sait clairement,” with additional parallels, p. 325; similarly E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, IRSA, 319; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 64, 30.5a, 12. The name appears also in an OB Ur list of PNN beginning with lugal, UET 7 77 i’ 5’ ([lugal]-ku₃₃-zu).

561 For the Akkadian equivalent, see CAD E s.v. emqu, b) 1’–3’.

562 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 169: “Le roi est sage,” analyzing gal-zu furthermore as: “celui qui sait grandement.” Parallels given there are formed with nin, with the DNN Enlil and Nanna, and with Šulgi.

563 For a list of these passages, see H. Behrens & H. Steible, FAOS 6, 127 s.v. gal-uzu.

564 CT 50 188 o. i 11. For an Umma provenience of the text, see B. R. Foster, USP, 124f.

565 See CAD M/2 s.v. muštālu, lex. sect., ša₃₃-kuš₂-u₃₃. For other names composed with kuš₂ and composite phrases, see J. Bauer, AWL, 94f.; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 48 w. fn. 262.

566 So, already, K. Tallqvist, AGE, 351: “König der Besonnenheit (oder Regulus?)” For this translation, see CAD R s.v. ridu A, s. “common sense, proper attitude.” Compare D. O.
At any rate, the dispensing of wisdom to others is thus not a prime focus in names. Only in the name lugal-ad-ĝar-du₁₀ (a₁) ‘the lugal (gives/is) good advice,’ an act of mediation may be expressed. As du₁₀ along with a direct object may indicate the factitive one may also imagine a meaning making the figure behind the appellative a guarantor of good advice, ‘the lugal makes advice (a) good (thing).’ A genitive construction ‘the lugal of good advice,’ is not entirely out of the question. Advice being the result of spoken words, this latter name ties in with names extolling the good and reliable qualities of the words or speech of the lugal, treated in section 3.1.1.4, above; and like these, lugal-ad-ĝar-du₁₀ can not at the moment be assigned a referent. The same goes for lugal-i₃-kuš₂ (a₁) ‘the lugal takes counsel,’ for which all attestations come from ED IIIb Girsu, and which merely hints at an act of deliberation. Parallel formations are construed with a few theophores and nin, and are found also outside of the Lagaš state.

3.1.3 Protection

The third heading involves the lugal as guarantor of a functioning, just society. Names sorting under this heading have been further subdivided according to the focus expressed:

- Protection of the individual
- Protection of the city
- Protection of the country

To this category belongs a number of names which seem to equate the lugal with defensive structures like the city wall, bad₃, and with the watchtower or ‘guard,’ en-nu(n). The former is limited to the Lagaš state and the Nippur-Adab area, while names containing the second element are found also at Šuruppag and Isin between ED IIIa and CS times. Fig. 4, below, records the distribution of 126 persons, the estimated minimum number of persons bearing 49 variants of names of this category.

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Edzard, ZA 55 (1962), 99: “junger König,” which is also fully possible. The translation of H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 311: “Le roi terrible,” implies a mg. corresponding to *ekdu* “fierce.” This may perhaps rhyme well when the lugal is compared to a lion or such, but hardly when applied adnominally to the appellative. E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA*, 318 chose a translation close to Limet’s. The mg. *ekdu* indeed underlies the translation of Ean. 1 o. xx 2–3: amar ban₃-da. ⁵⁶⁷ *En-lil₂-k(a), said about Su’en, by e.g. J. S. Cooper, SANE 2/1, 46, followed by C. Wilcke, EANEL, 74, fn. 226.

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⁵⁶⁷ Following J. Bauer, *AWL*, 94f., kuš₂ reflecting original ša₃–kuš₂, giving parallel AN-i₃-kuš₂ “An/der Gott ist mit sich zu Rate gegangen.”

⁵⁶⁸ E.g. ⁴Ba-u₃-i₃-kuš₂, VS 25 69 o. iv 7 (ED IIIb Girsu); ⁴Utu-i₃-kuš₂, *TCABI* 208 r. 9 (CS Adab); nin-i₃-kuš₂, OSP 1 23 o. iv 26, and passim (ES-MS Nippur).
3.1.3 Protection of the individual

The power of the lugal to offer protection to his subjects is a popular theme in names, though a referent for most of them remains uncertain. The simplest consist of two-element nominal phrases, such as lugal-an-dul₃ (a≥8) ‘the lugal is protection,’⁵⁶⁹ and lugal-bad₃ (a≥8) ‘the lugal is a fortress.’⁵⁷⁰ M. Krebernik has suggested that the nominal predicate in lugal-ul₄-gal (a≥4), which is of a type quite well-attested in early historical times, may be interpreted as “great thornbush,” which would rhyme well with the idea of protection.⁵⁷¹ The interpretation of lugal-palil (a²/°1) ‘the lugal is a vanguard,’ known only from the ED IIIb period, hinges on it corresponding to Akk. ašarēdum and synonyms.⁵⁷² The name seems to express faith in the lugal’s leadership abilities. Most other PNN featuring palil are construed with deities, both male and female; and one kyriophore construct is also known: ḫUtu-palil-Lugal-AN-da. A related name is lugal-en-ĝu₁₀ (a₁) ‘the lugal is my guardian,’ attested already at ED IIIa Šuruppag, which has a contemporary

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>31</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4: Name-bearers, 3.1.3, Protection. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

⁵⁶⁹ See rare parallel nin-an-dul₁₇, OSP 1 23 o. vii 11 (ES-MS Nippur). The similar wording of IAS 357 o. ii’ 2’, nin an-dul₄, probably does not represent a PN. Most other 3rd millennium names featuring an-dul₂ are theophores. For a brief list of -an-dul₂-names see F. Pomponio & G. Visicato, StEL 17 (2000), 9, note to o. 4. The writing lugal-an-<an>–dul₃ (a₁) in DAS 343, CS-LS Girsu is clearly a writing error, as noticed already by the editor B. Lafont, op. cit., 95.

⁵⁷⁰ Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 171: “Le roi est un rempart”; and 331, w. ref. to names composed with -bad₃–uru-na as having become “quasi … un titre royal.” The singular writing lugal-UEΤ2-300–si (a₁) from ED I-II Ur, is problematic. UET2-300 corresponds to LAK617=bad₃. On the one hand si occurs regularly in clause final position. But here the word bad₃-si might be considered, which formed part of a wall and which, as pointed out by P. Michalowski, MesCiv 1, 102 note to l. 420, was sometimes described as inhabited by birds. The sign LAK617 is discussed in connection with similar signs by R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, 56; and compare the variant writings of a PN LAK611(EZEM×BAD)-si-DU and bad₃(LAK619b)-si-DU in OIP 104 15 o. v 8 and 11 respectively (ED IIIa-b Adab?).

⁵⁷¹ AOAT 296, 21, and fn. 90 p. 22, with parallels.

⁵⁷² CAD A/2 s.v. ašarēdu, lex. sect.
parallel formed with nin.\textsuperscript{573} Probably of similar import, and with a larger distribution over time, are the names lugal-a₂-zi\textsuperscript{(a1)\textsuperscript{574}} and lugal-a₂-zi-da\textsuperscript{(a≥5)}, literally ‘the lugal on the right side.’\textsuperscript{575} The right side being, as in many other cultures, associated with positive attributes.\textsuperscript{576} Also, the arm is figurative for strength, hence for protection, which might be the subject of names of the type\textsuperscript{577}

\textsuperscript{573} See nin-en-nu-\textsuperscript{̃}u\textsubscript{10} TF 31 r. ii 1; 74 r. i 4, and compare lugal-en-nu and lugal-en-nun, below, section 3.1.3.2.

\textsuperscript{574} H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 168: “Le roi dont la puissance est sûre,” interpreted this as an independent name, while on p. 217 it seems he paired it with the abbreviation a₂-zi-da.


\textsuperscript{576} Relevant literature can be found in the discussion of K. Lämmerhirt, AOAT 348, 23f.

\textsuperscript{577} E.g. OSP 1 25 “ii” 11’ (ED IIIb Nippur). See for this name type in general, W. G. Lambert, QuadSem 18, 58, with parallel formation in Akk. \textit{emūqī}. Note \textit{NATN} 858 o. 3: \textsuperscript{4}Utu-a₂-\textsuperscript{̃}u\textsubscript{10}, and the inscription on the seal l. \textit{3}: \textsuperscript{4}Utu-a₂-\textsuperscript{̃}u₂.

\textsuperscript{578} The reading lama of \textit{LAM} is secured from an ED IIIa Abū Ṣalābih UGN text, \textit{IAS} 397, o. ii’ 5’–6’: nin me-zi-da, lama \textsuperscript{4}Nin-sun₂ ‘the lady of the true me-functions, the lama Ninsun.’ The epithet lama₃ is otherwise commonly associated with this goddess - even in god lists, e.g. SF 1 o. i 15 - and the fact that it is missing here can be attributed to the fact that \textit{LAM} fills that function. Though \textit{IAS} 397 is an UGN text, \textit{LAM} for lama is a predictable phonetic variant, and hence not a true UGN value.

\textsuperscript{579} The qualifier zi serves another function in \textsuperscript{4}Lama-names of later periods in the same function, rather representing the noun ‘life’ than the adjective zi-(d). Thus, the name \textsuperscript{4}lama₃-zi-\textsuperscript{̃}u\textsubscript{10} in H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 449 s.v., should, judging from parallels be seen as a nominal clause, ‘(the) Lama-spirit is my life.’

\textsuperscript{580} H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 376 (\textsuperscript{4}Amar-\textsuperscript{4}Su en-\textsuperscript{4}Lama₃-\textsuperscript{̃}u\textsubscript{10}); 400 (\textsuperscript{4}Sul-\textsuperscript{4}gi-\textsuperscript{4}Lama₃-\textsuperscript{̃}u\textsubscript{10}).

\textsuperscript{581} TIM 7 1 r. 2: \textsuperscript{4}Utu-\textsuperscript{4}Lama₃-\textsuperscript{̃}u\textsubscript{10} (Sippar, Tell ed-Dēr).
river, i.e. reprieve from a critical state. The first person referent in the poss. pron. suffix -ĝu₁₀, ‘my,’ may cautiously be taken as referring to the name-giver. Looking at OB names, M. Stol has looked at some names in which man may be seen as a party to a legal relationship with the gods, but this is not an apparent motif in the earliest onomastic material. However, a situation in which a child has finally been granted to a mother would certainly be cause for celebration and due thanksgivings. Given that childlessness was considered a punishment, the name lugal-lu₂-dadag (a₁) and variant lugal-lu-dadag (a₁), ‘the lugal is one who exonerates man,’ may well bear on this general concept. A divine referent for all these names is very likely. Compare also the names lugal-nam-gu₂-su₃, below, 3.1.3.3, and lugal-nam-dag, further below, section 3.1.6.1.

3.1.3.2 Protection of the city
A small number of nominal sentence-names with a fair distribution in the Girsu and Nippur area make a connection between the lugal and the idea of a town guard, lugal-en-nu (a₉), with variants lugal-en-nun (a₄) ‘the lugal is a guardian.’ It is likely that the qualities of the noun were thought to benefit the township as a whole, as opposed to the similar lugal-en-nu-ĝu₁₀, discussed directly above, section 3.1.3.1. It is probably no coincidence that not a single name composed with a specific theonym and en-nu(n) has as of yet been attested, and hence a human referent is likely. The link to the city comes to the fore in the Ur III name uru-na-en-nu-bi ‘(he/she is) the guardian of his/her city,’ which originally may well have incorporated an appellative such as lugal or nin.

582 Once with divine determinative, lu:gal-ɖI₁-ĝu₁₀ (a₁). All attestations are from Nippur. It is perhaps relevant to note that a few texts referring to the river ordeal have been found at Nippur. Such documents are otherwise not very common, see C. Wilcke, EANEL, 46, 3.3.7, and fnn. 118–119.
583 M. Stol, StEb 8 (1991), 199–201.
584 The combination lu₂-dadag(UD.UD) is seen also in the TH 264, in describing the temple of Bau in Uruku.
585 See, e.g., CIRPL Ukg. 17–33, featuring en-nu bad₃(-da) as the first line. The terms appear to have been interchangeable also at Ebla. See notes on VE908 en-nun-ak = na-zu-lum, and en-nu-ak, M. Bonechi, QDLF 16 (2006), 87.
586 OSP 1 28 o. i 9: diĝ-er-en-nu (ED IIb Nippur). Compare niĝir-en-nu, ITT 2/1 923 o. 2 (Ur III Girsu). In view of the name i₃-li₂-en-nu, MAD 5 57 o. i 12, diģir-en-nu may rather be Akkadian. The signs -en-nu could then be seen either as ennum ‘mercy,’ or, for instance, as a logogram for a nominal derivation of našārum.
587 UNT 88 vii 6 (following column division of H. Waetzoldt, UNT, 260–263, translit. only). Compare also the discussion of lugal-uru-na, along with the names uru-na-bad₃-bi and bad₃-uru-na, above, p. 96.
3.1.3.3 Protection of the country

The largest group of names which deal with the lugal and his protective duties are linked to activities which can be said to benefit the country as a whole. A concept traditionally held as underlying Sumerian royal ideology is the idea of the lugal as a shepherd of the people. Central to this concept is protection of a herd, which symbolizes the people. Provisioning and leadership are also important aspects of this symbolism. The imagery has lasted well into modern times.\(^{588}\) The name lugal-sipa \(^{8}\) ‘the lugal is a shepherd,’ starts to appear in the sources in the ED IIIb and the connection could also be construed as a kyriophore, as shown by the late ED IIIb name Enanatum-sipa-zi,\(^{589}\) and several Ur III parallels. The noun sipa is not found with the appellatives en or nin in contemporary names.\(^{590}\) During the time before Ur III, the deities An and Enlil feature most often in names containing sipa, Ninurta once. With the exception of the latter, these names mostly have the deity in the ergative, and so it is reasonable to see ‘the shepherd’ as someone other than the deity mentioned, and the human ruler is one of the possible referents. From this time and on through the OB period, kings and divinities alike were characterized as shepherds.\(^{591}\) An important exception being the kings of the Akkade dynasty, as pointed out by S. Franke.\(^{592}\)

Perhaps related to the protector-provider imagery of shepherding may be the rhetorical question name lugal-da-nu-me-a \(^{(a3)}\) ‘(what would be) without a lugal?’,\(^{593}\) found only in Girsu. Implicit in the name is that the referent of the appellative is a guarantor of an ordered existence, depending on the capacity of that referent. Literary parallels from later times using the same phraseology point to the universal importance of the divinity addressed. His or her area of responsibilities were expressed as essential for the upkeep of the world order.\(^{594}\) The name is only attested in the ED IIIb Lagaš state, as is the feminine correspondence nin-da-nu-me-a. An ED IIIa Šuruppak name

\(^{588}\) An in-depth study of the early imagery of the shepherd has been done by J. Goodnick Westenholz, Melammu Symposia 4, 281–310, and pl. 23–26.

\(^{589}\) See above, p. 54.

\(^{590}\) An exception is posed by the SKL which lists an otherwise unknown lugal of Larak named en-sipa-zi-an-na. The name is most likely a later construct.

\(^{591}\) See in general the discussion of C. Zaccagnini, History of Religions 33 (1994), 270f.

\(^{592}\) Königsinschriften, 35, 125, 196. Note, however, that later literary traditions associate Narām-Su’en with the epithet “shepherd,” specifically in contexts describing his kingship. See J. S. Cooper, The Curse of Agade, 52 l. 40; J. Goodnick Westenholz, MesCiv 7, 273 l. 11f.

\(^{593}\) The name is composed as a defective rhetorical question. Compare lugal-an-da-nu-me-a \(^{(a1)}\) ‘(what would be) without LugalAn-da?’, (ED IIIb Girsu); and Utu-nu-me, UET 2 28 o. ii 2; 199 o. i 7. For this type of name, see J. Bauer, AWL, 192; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 49. A diverging interpretation centered around the name-bearer is offered by H. Limet, Namenforschung, 852, discussing a parallel, nin-ğu₁₀-da-nu-me-a: “sans ma Dame, peut-il exister?”

\(^{594}\) Some examples address Utu and Enlil, P. Michalowski, Fs Civil, 131–136.
an-dul₂-nu-me ‘(what would be) without protection,’ perhaps offers more weight to the interpretation of lugal/nin-da-nu-me-a as bearing specifically on protection.

A small group of names link the lugal to destructive natural forces, specifically such having to do with water. Names like lugal-a-ğe₆ (a24) ‘the lugal is a flood’ and lugal-a-ma-ru (a1) ‘the lugal is a deluge,’ are examples of nominal predicate names which are never construed with another appellative. While the former was part of the natural life cycle of the land, controlled floods being necessary for sustaining life on the floodplain, the latter has far more menacing consequences. When used to describe divine weapons, the import is clearly directed at foreign enemies. So for instance in the CS Girsu name lugal-ṣar₂-ur₃-e (a1) ‘the lugal (answered? grasped?) Šarur.’ Strong connections exist between a-ma-ru, ṣar₂-ur₃ and the deities Ningirsu and Ninurta. During Ur III times a-ğe₆ and a-ma-ru were loosely associated with the human king, as a sign of forcing foreign lands to submission.

The chariot of the lugal was not only used for warfare, as seen for instance in traditional imagery on ED plaques. Names featuring the lugal in connection with the chariot are found from the MS-CS period onwards, and are to begin with unique to the southeast corner of the floodplain. No other appellative appears in the same type of construction with gigir₂ before

595 TSS 93 o. iv 1’.
596 TH 289 has a ğe₆ followed by a-ab-ba(-ka), in broken context, translated as “on the waves of the sea” by A. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 34, concerning the temple of Nin-mar-ki in Guabba.

598 One would expect the seal of NATN 163 lu₃-a-ma-ru to harmonize with the writing on the tablet r. 4 lu₃-gal³-a-ma-ru, preserving only the bottom wedge of GAL. As copied there is not much room for GAL to the left of LU₃ on the seal. Photo (CDLI P120861) is inconclusive.
599 The name is taken to include a literary allusion to Ningirsu perhaps conversing with, or using, his weapon. The predicate could perhaps be either gi₆ to answer,” with Šar₂-ur₃ marked as an inanimate with the loc.-term., or perhaps šu-du₄ to hold (in the hand). Compare also K. Tallqvist, AGE, 358 s.v. “Lugal-ur₃-ur₄,” with note “wahrscheinlich missverstandenes Šar₂-ur₄” (sic); M. Krebernik, RIA 12 (2009–11), 85 s.v. “Šar-ur und Šar-gaz,” §2. The name ur₄Šar₂-ur₃-ru was extant in the Lagaš II-Ur III period, e.g. ITT 2/1 4216 r. 1 and seal l. 4 (Girsu). See furthermore note to lugal-URUDU-da, below, p. 182 fn. 1128.
600 See refs. in PSD A/1 s.v. a-ma-ru, 1.2, 2–3. Iškur also was associated with a-ma-ru, e.g. in TH 338, in broken context.
601 See for instance PSD A/1 s.v. a-ma-ru, 1.2 (Šu-su’en); Sulgi D II. 344–345 (the sign A is missing from parallel lines 228–229). Note the incipit lugal a-ma-ru of a hymn attested only in an Ur III literary catalogue, W. W. Hallo, JAOS 83 (1963), 171f. o. ii 9. The section in which the entry appears is expressly stated to be en₆-du lugal “royal songs,” but whether the incipit referred to a god or a human is not known.
602 See in general the excellent discussion on this matter by G. J. Selz, Göttewelt, 137f.
the Ur III, and then nin appears only exceptionally.603 A human referent is quite possible. The names may indicate that the focal value of wheeled implements in personal names is one bearing on their significance for the defence of the country. Something that was beneficial and used in support of the homeland was simultaneously a deterrent for outside attacks. The names themselves are mostly construed with the loc.-term. -e, as in lugal-šiliš-gigir₂-e (a=4) ‘the lugal … the chariot.’604 The predicate may, on the basis of a questionable abbreviated ED IIIb writing, have been du₁₀ ‘to be, make good.’605 But it is likely that the chariot counted among the objects which could take si ‘to be just right (for something),’ as predicate.

The name lugal-šiliš-e (a₁) ‘the lugal … the šiliš-axe,’606 is probably to be seen in the light of this defensive imagery. During the first half of the 3rd millennium the šiliš-axe is known from a number of depictions of military scenes,607 but later traditions associated it with the god Ninurta.608

An implement known to be used by both gods and men is the throwing net, used for hunting and warlike purposes alike. Two different terms for nets are extant in lugal-names, with no discernible difference in meaning,609 lugal-sa-par₂ (a₁),610 with variants using par₄,611 all: ‘the lugal … the throw

603 The genitival PN ur-šiliš-gigir₂ ‘man of the chariot’ is during this period also mostly found in Umma and Girsu texts. See further A. Westenholz, ECTJ, 59, note on TMH 5 104 r. i 4. Only one Ur III instance of another appellative is known to me, SAT 1 440 r. 2: nin-šiliš-gigir₃ dumu nin-uru₄₁-ši₃ (Girsu, translit. only; mother given as “Nin-en-gi,” in publication).
604 Attested variants are: lugal-šiliš₂-e (a₁), lugal-šiliš-re₂ (a₁), and lugal-šiliš-gigir₂-re₂ (a₁).
605 MLVS 1, 8 no. 10 (ED IIIb probably Girsu, published in partial translocation only, but see photo, CDLI P247607) o. i 1–3: 2 kuš gu₄₁ šiliš₂-gigir₂-du₁₀ ba-la₂: ‘2 hides of oxen, Gigirdu withheld (?)’. The identification as a PN must be considered tentative, since otherwise a predicate is consistently missing from names featuring the šiliš₂-gigir₂. Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 92, 275: “Le roi vers le char.”
606 Compare also lugal-šiliš (a₁) See the axe type termed šiliš in JAS 33 o. xi 7’, and in general E. Salonen, Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier, 13f. The absence of the šiliš-determinative can be compared to the usual pre–Ur III writing of lugal-apin-du₁₀. There is a remote possibility that šiliš should be read banšu₂, see e.g. J. Bauer, AoN 35. However, in MesCiv 4 30 (MS-CS Umma), the only attested writings of both lugal-šiliš-e and lugal-banšu₂-e appear. Both are qualified as ugalu but probably serving in different capacities.
607 Compare the axes held in the Stele of the Vultures chariot register, E. Salonen, Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier, pl. II, fig. 2–5; and the drawing of an aga-šiliš in an OB omen text, CT 31 12, quoted by CAD A/1 s.v. agasaralkku.
608 In Angim I. 133, Ninurta compares his aga-šiliš to an agašimal which disposes of corpses.
609 See in general E. Salonen, Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier, 97 s.v. saparru; and 99 s.v. šuškallu(m).
610 Compare the divinebyname Lugal-sa-par₄ attributed in the OB period to Alla, Ningišzida’s vizier, J. Peterson, AOAT 362, 96, note to ii’ 1, and references. K. Tallqvist, AGE, 356f. s.v. “Lugal-sa-par,” given as: “König des Netzes,” suggested a possible link to Dumuzi, while W. G. Lambert underlined that the net invoked by the name was a divine weapon, RIA 7 (1987–90). 151 s.v. “Lugal-sapar.”
611 Notably the ED IIIa Kiš variant lugal-sa-par₄ (a₁) (SA not E₂ as copied twice, AAICAB pl. 6, Ashm 1928-431, kindly collated by A. Westenholz); and lugal-sa₂(Su₂-SA)-par₄ (a₁), perhaps from the ED IIIb Umma-Zabala area. See this latter graphic variant also in OIP 104 15 o. ii 4: e₂-sa₂(Su₂-SA)-par₄. Add these attestations to the list in P. Steinkeller, ZA 75 (1985), 42, and
net’; and lugal-sa-šuš-gal (≥2) ‘the lugal … the great throw net.’ Imagery from Girsu stelae of ED and early Sargonic date are well-known illustrations of the use of nets to catch and contain enemies. Nets, as divine weapons, were used in the oath-swearing ceremonies recounted in Eanatum’s Stele of the Vultures. Later texts attest to similar procedures in connection with oaths, though not directly with nets at hand. Associations between the just principles of deities and kings remained embedded in the symbolic comparisons with throw nets in the late 3rd millennium and onwards. A single occurrence of lugal-sa-par₂-re from the Ur III period shows that the connection lost much of its appeal with time, but at least it provides the loc.-term. dimensional suffix for the object.

Another, more opaque name is known from the ED I-II period onwards and takes on a multitude of variant orthographies. It incorporates the Anzu, a mythological being much revered in the Early Dynastic period. The complex ideas behind the name lugal-an-Anzu₂(MI)₃₅₂₆(hal) (≥2) 615 are everything but clear, and indeed, the Anzu merits a monograph of its own. However, a few important pointers can be singled out. The Anzu most often appears with the bird determinative __milen, and its many written attestations indicate that it had a form of popular appeal. It is likely due to the popular appeal of Anzu that it would have appeared as a winged creature in depictions of the time. A number of texts speak of the outstretched wings of the Anzu, sometimes clearly as a sign of protection. And several matching depictions of a lion-headed bird with its wings extended to the sides are known, from the far south of the floodplain to Mari in the northwest. Sometimes the bird-like creature in the pictures spreads its wings over a pair of animals while seated on their hindparts.

As with the imagery of throw nets discussed above, it is not improbable that the Anzu represented a divine force beneficient to...
friends and catastrophic to foes. In art the Anzu features as a focal point of the net in which Ningirsu captures the enemies subdued by his earthly representative Eanatum on the Stele of the Vultures. The opposite side of the Anzu’s sphere of responsibility is perhaps the small lapis and gold figurine, part of the hoard called the “Trésor d’Ur,” found at Mari. The fine pieces of craftsmanship could represent part of an elaborate diplomatic exchange between two key political centers situated on the Euphrates river. The inclusion of the Anzu among the objects might then represent assurances of an alliance and mutual protection. While the nature of Anzu depends on perspective, the idea behind the name lugal-\textsuperscript{an} Anzu\textsubscript{2/x} (mušen) can accordingly be understood to have expressed the dualistic sense of peaceful and warlike protection combined. It seems reasonable to translate the name as a nominal sentence, indicating comparison and not identity, ‘the lugal is (like) the Anzu,’ and judging from parallel names it is hard to state with certainty to whom the appellative lugal refers, though a human referent is not impossible.

Subjugating the enemy lands was probably the meaning of such names as lugal-kur-dub\textsubscript{2} (a≥4) ‘the lugal is one who shatters the mountains,’ from the ED III Umma and Girsu area. The name appears to be firmly rooted in the mythology surrounding Ningirsu. The meaning of the latter is reminiscent of the names kur-\textsuperscript{šu}-ni-še\textsubscript{3} ‘the mountains are in his grasp,’ and kur-giri\textsubscript{3}-ni-še\textsubscript{3} ‘the mountains (are) at his feet,’ though these do not explicitly feature an

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619 E.g. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, 73 fig. 75. E. Porada, CRRA 38, 69–72, has also made the connection between the lion-headed bird, Anzu/Imdugud, and warlike activities.

620 See MAM 4, for greater detail as to the contents of this hoard. On different readings of the inscription on the “perle de Mari,” see J. S. Cooper, *RA* 80 (1986), 73f., with refs.

621 Connections between Ur and Mari are admittedly not built on firm evidence. See tentatively J. S. Cooper’s discussion, *RA* 80 (1986), 73f. In the Ur III period the situation is clearly another, with strong relations between the two cities. See F. Weiershäuser, *Die königlichen Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur*, 29f., and 106 w. fn. 397 for refs. Note also that two queens of ED IIIb Ur may have come from Semitic-speaking environments: pušt-AD and, judging from her inscription, UET 8 2, gan-saminn₄(SE(SE₅)BU(NUN)-nu). The last mentioned inscription features a sign which ought to be a possessive pronoun, -šu₃/-su₃, but see R. D. Biggs, *OrNS* 66 (1973), 56f. fn. 8, for a different opinion.

622 Similarly G. Marchesi, *OrNS* 73 (2004), 183 fn. 173. Compare R. de Vito, StPohl SM 16, 61, 30.4c\textsuperscript{a}, 1: “(A) lord is Anzud.”

623 Most of the pre–Ur III parallels with other appellatives are collected by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 20f.; and by K. V. Zand, *Fs Gronenberg*, 433–439.


625 Later tradition used this name as an epithet of Ninurta, see J. Peterson, AOAT 362, 97, note to ii’ 5. The name was sometimes also used for a standard of Ningirsu. Compare also the partial description of a chariot of Ningirsu, related to the road southbound to Eridu, M. Lambert, *RSO* 47 (1973), 3 (AO 24414) ii 8: ʰʰ̃gir₂ kur dab₂ ʰNin-ʰgir₂-su₂-ka ‘chariot which encircles the mountains.’
appellative. According to H. Limet, a human referent is not excluded. A passage in a Girsu royal inscription, to the effect that Enanatum I had been granted victory over the foreign countries, adds additional weight to that impression. Another name from the ED IIIa-b Girsu and Umma area can be recreated as "lugal-igi-nim-še₃-du ‘the lugal goes to the highland.’ A preemptive strike or a retaliation against the forces of the highlands toward the east seem to be the general idea in the name, attested in a few variants.

A few terms related to doors appear regularly in contexts which signify the protection of the homeland or the home city from outside threats. They appear sometimes as poetic descriptions of the human king in the Ur III period, and sometimes they refer to acts of divine beings. The names lugal-ig-gal (a3) ‘the lugal is a great door,’ lugal-igi-tab (a2⁴) ‘the lugal is one who seals off (the land),’ and lugal-si-ĝar (a2³) ‘the lugal is a door bolt,’ are found in ED IIIb Girsu, and then also in Umma and Adab. All of these cities were situated on the southeastern fringe of Sumer, facing the passage into the floodplain from Susa and Elam. It is reasonable to assume that the names appear in this region due to their position, but it is not clear whether the names refer to defensive actions benefitting first and foremost a city or the whole country.

626 Following A. Westenholz, Six City-State Cultures, 34. The names are found e.g. in DP 1/2 137 r. iii 5; and TSA 47 o. i 5. Compare in the latter text o. v 2, Lagaš ki-‘gir₁-na ‘Lagaš (is) at his feet,’ and see further kur-mu-gam ‘the mountain bends (before him),’ BIN 8 104 o. i 2 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala).
627 Anthroponymie, 169.
628 F. A. Ali, Sumer 29 (1973), 30 (IM 67847, En. I 33) iii 1–8: (u₁ Lugal-Uru₃ ki-s₂) en-an-na-tum₁-ra, nam-lugal, Lagaš ki-mu-na-šum₁-ma-a, kur šu-ni-še₃, mu-še₃-ĝar-ra-a, ki-bal gir₁-‘ni₁-še₃, [mu-še₃-ĝar-ra]-a ‘when Lugal-Uru had given nam-lugal of Lagaš to Enanatum, he delivered the foreign lands in his grasp, [placed] the rebellious land at his feet.’
629 See D. O. Edzard, SRU, 177: “Lugal-nimše-genà(?)”. The writings with the terminative-adverbial -še₃ are all from Umma-Zabala texts: lugal-igi-nim-še₃ (a2¹), and lugal-igi-nim-še₃₉₋₃ (a1) (the traces of the second sign in TCVBI 1-19 o. 3 match expected igit); lugal-nim-DU (a2¹) is known from ED IIIa Girsu. Compare E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 227, no. 826: ur-igi-nim-DU.
630 See the passages cited by J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, 160f., note to Šulgi X 121f.
631 The earliest attested PNN with this nominal predicate feature female appellatives: ama-ig-gal, munus-ig-gal, and nin-ig-gal. See F. Pomponio, Prosopogaphia, 28, 182, 197f. s.v.v. for refs. During the ED IIIb lugal and en predominate, along with a few DN. The phrase seems to have gone out of fashion during the Sargonic period, and is relatively rare thereafter.
632 For a discussion of the verb igi-tab, see J. S. Cooper, Angim, 111 note to l. 65.
633 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 331: “verrou,” with parallels. Note the opening lines to the Abû Šalâbî and Eblà Samaš hymn, which mention the Sun God in connection with the door bolt of heaven. For bilingual passages with the same god, see CAD S/2 s.v. šgaru, 1d. The only name featuring a fuller writing is nin-si-ĝar-ab-ba, the ED IIIb PN of a girl from the Guabba district in the state of Lagaš, Nik I 19 o. ii 8. For the less credible option of seeing si ţar as a passive participle “endowed (with) horns,” see CAD Q s.v. qarnû, lex. sect.; and an Ur III literary catalogue of songs, W. W. Hallo, JAOS 83 (1963), 171f. (YBC 3654), r. i 9: gu₄-e si ţar-re.
Explicit fighting is the subject of lugal-me₃⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾ ‘the lugal … battle,’⁶³⁴ and of lugal-me₃-TUR-šE₃-nu-šE-ge⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾ ‘does the lugal not howl fiercely (?) in battle?,’⁶³⁵ with variant lugal-me₃-TUR-šE₃-nu-šE₂₇-ge⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾. Both are somewhat opaque, but appear to signal an aptitude (eagerness?) for fighting. In Ur III times, lugal-me₃ is exclusively found in Girsu texts, with a form lugal-me₃-a¹ found at Nippur. This distribution could indicate that the name belonged to the mythical cycles of Ninḫursa/Ninurta, at home in these cities.⁶³⁶

The function of the lugal in neutralizing threats is the likely idea behind lugal-nam-gu₂-su₃⁽ᵃ⁽²⁾¹⁾ ‘the lugal is one who eradicates oppression.’ The referent may well be the human ruler.⁶³⁷ More questionable is the name lugal-ni₃-a₂-zi-nu-ak⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾ ‘the lugal is not one to commit a violent act,’⁶³⁸ which, compared to the interpretation of some other names featuring modal prefix nu- could be construed as a (rhetorical) question. However, it would be hard to explain such a statement, at least if names are supposed to be in the main positive expressions thought to favour the individual bearing the name. Such a question would be expected to yield an affirmative answer – hardly in keeping with a line of reasoning which expects to see in names positive expressions of hopes for the future of an individual.

In an ordered world, there is still the need for institutions to carry out the due process of law. Texts from the Ur III period describes a belief that deceased kings served as judges in the realm of the dead.⁶³⁹ Evidence for the living ruler as a legal authority is present also in earlier times. Names such as lugal-di-de₃⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾ ‘the lugal passes verdict,’⁶⁴⁰ and lugal-₁₁₂₇-ši⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾ ‘the lugal is

⁶³⁴ H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 169 and 281, sees the name as a genitive compound, due probably to Ur III parallels: “Le roi de la bataille.”
⁶³⁵ Interpretation of TUR/banda₄ is difficult; it might qualify the noun me₃ or serve as adverbial complement of šE₂₇-ge. See, perhaps, Akk. ekdiš, šE₃ then serves as the adverbial suffix. Compare T. Balke, Onoma 32 (1994), 78 fn. 17: “Lord who doesn’t agree in smaller battles.” Note that TUR-šE₃ also forms a diri-compound kun/š₃, hence, compare lugal-kun₄.
⁶³⁶ For references, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 469 s.v.v.
⁶³⁷ The verb su₃ is here taken to equate Akk. sapānum, often used in connection with non-obliging enemies, see CAD S s.v., lex. sect. The proponent of the name ought then to be a heroic character. Compare Urumma B 1. 59 and 61: nam-gu₂ mah-am₃ lil₃ am₃-mi-(N) in-su-ub “He made the wind sweep away the great oppression,” following E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166, 197. Abbreviation [lugal]-nam-gu₂⁽ᵃ⁽¹⁾¹⁾, gab₂-kas₄₃ in DP 1/2 124 o. i 1f. was read nam-gu₂ by V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 125; so also by Y. Rosengarten, RHR 156 (1959), 153 fn. 12 who identified this person with lugal-nam-gu₂-su₃ gab₂-kas₄₃ in DP 1/2 125 o. i 1f.
⁶³⁸ Similarly D. O. Edzard, SRU, 60, note to v 3: “der König tut keine Gewalttat.” V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 107 has one instance of the name as lacking -nu-, which is, however, visible on photo of Nik 1 r. iii 3’ (CDLI P221710). For the mng. “vehemence, violence” of ni₃-a₂-zi-(g), see, in part, PSD A/2 s.v. a₂-zi, and compare the statement in CIRPL Ukg. 14 ii’ 6’: ni₃ a₂-zi-šE₃ nu-ak ‘I have not acted violently.’
⁶³⁹ See D. Katz, The Image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian Sources, 121f.
⁶⁴⁰ See C. Wilcke, EANEL, 44: 3.3.5.1: di-bi di ḫE₂₇-be₃ “may he speak a judgement for this case.” Compare ṝE₂₇-di-de₃-ba-gub ‘the house stood by (for) the verdict.’ Nik 1 2 o. i 11; ḫUr-di-de₃, ITT 2/2 3159 o. ii 9’ (translit. only, CS? Girsu); nin-di-de₃ (OSP 1 23 o. iv 36; vi 7,
just right for the river,” may be rare witnesses to that end. Another possibility would be to connect them with Utu. The name lugal-si-sa₂ (≥10) ‘the lugal is just,’ while being very formulaic may also relate to legal terminology. Perhaps the name lugal-inim-TAR (a₁) ‘the lugal is one who decides matters (?)’ is also related to this group.643

3.1.4 Care and attentiveness

Central to names under the fourth heading is the view that the actions of the lugal affect people on a personal level. A sense of security on the part of the people, and an interest taken by the lugal in his subjects or in things under his aegis are implicit. Names have been further subdivided as follows:

• Care for the individual
• Care for the city
• Care for the country
• Care for the dead

This category also encompasses names in which a wish is expressed from the point of the name-bearer to be in the presence of the lugal, or to partake in benefits at the disposal of the lugal. Few names of this category were ever widely distributed, but names which featured compounds with ša₃, like lugal-ša₃-la₂-tuku and lugal-ša₃-gid₂. Interestingly, the first is attested exclusively in the ED IIIb Lagaš state, with more than a dozen bearers, most of which can be shown to have been contemporaries; they account for almost half of the number of persons bearing names belonging to this category in that area during that particular time. The other name is found at ED IIIa Šuruppak and also in other Sumerian cities of the ED IIIb period. One single attestation of this lugal-ša₃-gid₂ from MS-CS Nippur survives. As with many other names, these fuller writings may underlie a quite common abbreviation, lugal-ša₃.

ES-Ms Nippur; UET 2 suppl. 33 o. 4, MS-CS Ur). And see the discussion by B. Alster, Mesopotamia 2, 97, on di–gub. 641 Compare PN I₁-de₃-si, CUSAS 13 o. 2 (CS Adab).

642 Here the interpretation of H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 171, 292: “Le roi est juste,” has been followed. See, similarly, D. O. Edzard CRRA 19, 142; and R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 65, 30.5a, 16. The name, used as a divine epithet was seen as a noun with an attribute by K. Tallqvist, AGE, 357 s.v.: “Der gerechte König,” Compare the name of a divine counsellor of Ningirsu, interpreted variously by A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 83, as: “Herr, der recht leitet”; and W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 151f. s.v. “Lugal-sisa,” as: “The lord who directs.” 643 Compare Ur III Nippur nin-inim-TAR, BBVO 11 271 (6N-T190+239, translit. only) o. i 24. The predicate phrase (?) may appear as a noun in W. Farber & G. Farber, WO 8 (1975), 180 o. iv 6; WF 30 o. iii 1: inim-TAR-nin-şa₂ ‘(it is) the decision of my lady(?)’ (both ED IIIa Šuruppak). In Ur III times this expression is primarily attested with the female Lagaš divinities Bau and Nanše, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 443 s.v. ka-tar-DN. Is perhaps inim-TAR in these latter names to be linked with inim–sila, for which, see CAD Ş/1 s.v. šalatu A “to dominate, to rule, to control.”
Fig. 5, below, records the distribution of 90 persons, the estimated minimum number of persons bearing 31 variants of names sorted under this category.

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Fig. 5: Name-bearers, 3.1.4, Care and attentiveness. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.1.4.1 Care for the individual

Two sets of names form an aspectual correspondence: those rare ones in which the subject is expressly said to pay attention to the lugal, represented by one name, and those more common in which the lugal directs his attention toward the subject. The distribution of such names serves as a good illustration of the prevalent focus on the benefits a name-bearer could reap when provided with an auspicious name. Among the rare names belonging to the present subcategory is one found exclusively in the ED IIIb period, but with Ur III parallels, igi-lugal-še₃₉₀°⁶⁴⁴ (a²) ‘eyes are set on the lugal.’ These names correspond to other names in which the name-bearer or -giver may be held to be active.⁶⁴⁵ They are likely to have a divine referent.

Much more productive were names in which acts of the lugal were portrayed as beneficient to an individual, whether the name-bearer or the name-giver. The voice of the speaker is of course best shown by personal affixes, either through pronominal suffixes or through infixes in a verbal chain. Empowering of the individual is a theme current in [a₂/za₃]-lugal-ğ₂₉₂-

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⁶⁴⁴ With variant igi-lugal-še₃₉₀°⁶⁴⁴ (a²). The most plausible interpretation of igi-X-še₃-names has been proposed by G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 109 and fnn. 563–565. His proposal has been followed here. No genitive markers are present in any writing of a name of this type. The terminative -še₃ is irregular for animate nouns, but seems here to be part of a phraseology, as indicated also by a passage in the opening of Gudea Cyl. A i 3: ‘En-lil₂-e en ₈Nin-ĝir₂-su₂-še₃ igi zi mu-ši-bar ‘Enlil had directed his just gaze toward the lord Ningirsu.’ In later lexical and bilingual passages both the phrases igi ₄Utu-še₃ and igi ₄Utu-ka corresponds to Akk. ina mah₃ar ₄Samaš, see CAD M/1 s.v. mah₃ru s., lex. sect. For other names written igi-DN-še₃, see, e.g., A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 85: index; Struve, Onomastika, 83f.

⁶⁴⁵ See e.g. igi-ğ₂₉₁₀-AN-še₂-ğ₂₉₂ ‘my eyes are fixed at the god/the skies,’ above, p. 61.
ta\(^{(a1)}\) ‘by the strength of my lord,’\(^{646}\) and related a\(_3\)-lugal-ta\(^{(a1)}\), both from the ED IIIa. Provisioning and expectations of personal assistance underlies the name lugal-di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\)\(^{(a28)}\) ‘the lugal is my god,’\(^{647}\) which began to appear in the ED IIIb. The ambiguity of reference in this name depends much on the modern appreciation of what the term di\(_g\) entailed. If di\(_g\) is to be seen as a symbolic description for caring and providing, then the term can be likened to elements in names comparing the lugal to a mountain or a walled enclosure, like a fortress.\(^{648}\) ED IIIb parallels containing the qualified nominal predicate -di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) are mostly composed with other appellatives.

Two theophores and a name mentioning queen PAP.PAP, the wife of LugalAN\(\text{nda},\) are known to have been borne by women from ED IIIb Girsu.\(^{649}\) Even though the deification of the living ruler was still a couple of generations away, the view of the lugal as a semi-divine personality has compelling parallels from a late example. In one of his cylinder inscriptions, Gudea, ensi\(_2\) of the Laga\(\text{s}\) state termed himself the ‘god of his city,’ in a passage which has him utter prayers and showing reverent submission before the gods, he describes himself:\(^{650}\)

“The ruler, who is wise, is knowledgeable, kisses the ground over and over before the divinities; with rites and prayer, in submission, he touches the ground; the ruler the (personal) god of his city, says a prayer.”

While not attempting to conceal his elevation above the common man, Gudea marks his subordination to the gods, emphasizing his pious stance which so frequently figures in his other inscriptional material. There is no mistaking the attempt to portray the humble attitude of a person acting as an intermediary between the gods and the citizens for whose benefit said acts were performed. In his role as middle-man between the gods and men, the

\(^{646}\) Similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 72, 39.2, 2 and fn. 18. G. Visicato & A. Westenholz in editing the text (A 33676), \(\text{Gs Cagni,}\) 1113–1117, could draw, for instance, on a contemporary name za\(_3\)-nin-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{a}\)\(_\text{a}\)-ta, \(\text{FTUM}\) 72 o. 3. In accordance with this, adjust the entry in F. Pomponio, \(\text{Prospografia,}\) 202, *nin-za\(_3\)\(\text{-ta}=\text{E}_3;\) photo of \(\text{WF}\) 37 (CDLI P010994) has clear \(\tilde{\text{G}}\)_\(\text{A}\)\(_\text{a}\) instead of \(\text{E}_3.\)

\(^{647}\) G. J. Selz contends, \(\text{Göterwelt,}\) 112 fn. 411, that a twice attested alternation lugal-\(\text{\(\text{A}\)}}\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) for lugal-\(\text{AN}\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) in the ED IIIb Girsu archive, would set this name apart from homonymous names during the Ur III, which are more likely to refer to the human king. During the Ur III period the name lugal-di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) is attested with about a dozen name-bearers. For references, see generally H. Limet, \(\text{Anthroponymie,}\) 459.

\(^{648}\) See also the Sargonic period incantation, W. W. Hallo, \(\text{OrNS}\) 54 (1985), 57 (RBC 2000), reedited by N. Veldhuis, \(\text{CDLB}\) 2003:6, r. 2: di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) \(\text{a}\)_\(\text{\(\text{A}\)}}\)\(_\text{\(\text{\(\text{dah}\)}}\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) \(\text{ba-am}3\) ‘May my god be my helper,’ following Veldhuis’ edition.

\(^{649}\) For di\(_\text{\(\text{nana}\)}}\)-di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\) and Ba-\(\text{u}_{2}\)-di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\), see, e.g., \(\text{DP}\) 1/2 112 o. v 4 and o. viii 3; for PAP.PAP-di\(_g\)-\(\tilde{\text{g}}\)_\(\text{u}_{10}\), see \(\text{CT}\) 50 33 o. vii 4. In Sargonic times the construction was comparatively rare.

\(^{650}\) Following D. O. Edzard, \(\text{RIME}\) 3/1.1.7.CylB i 12–15. For a dissenting view on the interpretation of di\(_g\) uru-na-k(\(\text{e}_4),\) see, e.g. J. N. Postgate, \(\text{JCS}\) 26 (1974), 49, example 30.
ED lugal fulfilled much the same role, and names comparing him to a god must be seen in the light of the lugal’s function, rather than of an essence inherent in him as a person; in the office rather than the man.

Entreaties for intercession by the lugal or proclamations announcing the assistance of the lugal are the subject of a few names. The name lugal-ḫa-šu₂ (a²) ‘lord, may (the child) survive for my sake!’ appears for the first time in the ED IIIb and stays in use throughout the 3rd millennium. The verbal chain ha-ma-ti hardly ever appears with an explicitly written theonym as subject in any period though the referent is likely to be a deity; the only clear exception is formed by ḫUtu-ḫa-ma-ti, from Ur III Girsu. A unique writing in the style of the former asks for the intercession of the lugal, lugal-ḫa-mu-ši₂₂₂ (a¹) ‘lord, may (the child) return to me!’ A name with a few, probably locally conditioned, abbreviated variant writings can be reconstructed as *lugal-e-a₂2-na-mu-gub ‘the lugal (placed him/her) on his arm.’ Something in the region of 10 people are known to have carried variants of this name. The lugal as intermediary in delivering a child to his or her parents may be the import of lugal-ma-de₆ (a²7) ‘the lugal brought (him/her) to me,’ strongly reminiscent of contemporary i-di₃-DN and later DN-ma-an-šum₃-DN-iddinam-names. All these formations are likely to have deities as their referents.

A few names containing compound phrases with ša₃ ‘heart’ may be interpreted as extolling the empathic qualities of the lugal. At least two of them are fairly well attested: lugal-ša₃-gid₂ (a²8) ‘the lugal is considerate,’

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651 Similarly T. Balke, *Onoma* 32 (1994), 73f.: “Oh King! May you leave her(him) alive for me.” Compare H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 87, 106, 174, 306: “Que le roi me fasse vivre!” An abbreviated form lugal-ḫa-ma₃ (a²) is known from the CS period; and an independent form ḫa-ma-ti is well attested from the ED IIIb down to the Ur III period, e.g. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 79 s.v.; H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 429 s.v.

652 SAT 1 413 o. ii 3 (translit. only, undated).

653 Attestations range from lugal-a₂2-na (a≥5¹), limited to ED IIIa Šuruppag, and the ED IIIb-CS Umma and Girsu region; lugal-a₂2-na-gub (a¹), from ED IIIb Girsu; to writing lugal-e-a₂2-na (a≥23), the writings of which are all from Sargonic Nippur and the Umma state. Prefix mu- comes from three attestations of the Girsu name a₂2-na-mu-gub, e.g. *DP* 1/2 113 o. vii 15, but no prosopographical link exists between this and other writings treated here. The reconstructed name presupposes a direct object for the verb since lugal is in the ergative, and gub fits with the locative. For a differing opinion, see G. J. Selz, *Götterwelt*, 17, fn. 1: “Der König steht an seiner Seite,” which, however, does not account for the ergative particle. Selz also draws comparisons to the Nippur name lugal-da-na, *OSP* 1 79 o. 2. The Ebla name quoted by Selz as *LUGAL-da-na was given a plausible Semitic etymology from danānum, read da-na-LUGAL and da-ni-LUGAL by B. Kienast, *Ebla* 1975–1983, 41, though I have not seen the texts from which these names were drawn. Note GN E₉ “Nin-a₂2-na,” *TMH* 5 24 o. iv 2’ (ED IIIb Nippur); and PN nin-e-a₂2-na from Ur III Ur (tablet, seal), H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 508.

654 Parallel nin-ma-de₆ is found at ED IIIb Girsu, e.g. *DP* 1/2 112 o. viii 1; and ES-MS Umma, Nik 2 53 o. ii 5; the theophore Ṣara₂2-na-de₆ is found at Ur III Umma, e.g. MVN 21 223 o. 14.

655 Abbreviated, perhaps from ša₃ša₃₂ gid₂, literal meaning: “to take to heart,” Akk. *ana li₃bim šadādum*, see *CAD* S¹ s.v. šadādu, lex. sect. Compare lugal-ša₃₂-su₃, which opens up for the possibility that lugal-ša₃₂-gid₂ could be read lugal-ša₃₂-su₁₃ without a noticeable change in...
attested from the ED IIIa down through the Sargonic period; and lugal-ša₃-la₂-tuku (a1) ‘the lugal has compassion,’⁶⁵⁶ which was exceedingly popular in the ED IIIb Lagash state.⁶⁵⁷ Both names have correspondences with the appellative nin in place of lugal.⁶⁵⁸ lugal-ša₃-su₃ (a3) ‘the lugal is full of compassion (lit. ‘heart’),’⁶⁵⁹ is more difficult to interpret. The present attempt relies on ša₃-la₂-su₃, attested as an Ur III PN,⁶⁶⁰ which must have been a close parallel of ša₃-la₂-tuku, and su₃ may then be a writing for sug₄ < si-g, ‘to be full,’ ‘to be abundant.’⁶⁶¹ The name lugal-ša₃-su₃ is attested in ED IIIb Girsu, Umma and Ur; and the latter would fit with later traditions of ascribing this epithetical phrase to the Moon God.⁶⁶² It is not found with other appellatives in the onomasticon.

Compassionate action is furthermore the theme of a group of variant writings. The direct object involved, en₃š-tuku is likely to correspond to a concretization of the basic needs of an individual, hence a translation “provisions,”⁶⁶³ is no doubt justified. The majority of writings occur with the verb su₃ or su₃(TAG), and so a translation of lugal-en₃-tar-su₃ (a23),⁶⁶⁴ as meaning. 5 out of 11 attestations of lugal-ša₃-gid₃, are from Nippur sources, and the names are kept apart here due to the fact that no other Nippur name featuring the value su₃(BU) is known to me. About the single attestation from Marad (?), it is hazardous to say anything with certainty. The attestations from Šuruppak, Umma and possibly Isin, might on the other hand more safely be read lugal-ša₃-su₃ as the value su₃(BU) is known in names from these places.

⁶⁶⁵ H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 170, 308: “Le roi (est) compatissant”; 297 fn. 5: “Le roi qui a de la pitié.” T. Jacobsen identified an abbreviated form lugal-ša₃ as referring once to fuller lugal-ša₃-la₂-tuku, as both forms appeared in one text, CTNMC 2, with qualifier ugula.

⁶⁶⁶ One possible Ur III occurrence of lugal-ša₃-la₂-tuku from outside the Lagash state is SAT 2 499 o. 4 (Umma, translit. only); given by M. Sigrist, op. cit. p. 176 as: (ki) lugal-ša₃-naغا(a-ta. This ša₃-naغاز is unexpected and can quite easily be emendated to la₂-tuku.

⁶⁶⁷ For nin-ša₃-gid₃, only one person is known, H. Steible & F. Yıldız, Fs Limet, 149–159 (Ş. 1006) o. iii 1; for nin-ša₃-la₂-tuku, see, e.g. VS 25 69 o. x 3; r. ii 12; r. iv 16, three different women carrying the same name.

⁶⁶⁸ Compare singularly attested Ur III Girsu name ša₃-ga-ni-en-su₃, MVN 6 129 o. 10 (translit. only), possibly bearing witness to the same idea; and see also lugal-ša₃-ga, below, p. 181.

⁶⁶⁹ See attestations with H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 527 s.v. The seal on PDT 1 388 l. 5, *lugal-ša₃-[g]a-su₃, should be held against PDT 1 218 r. 4, lugal-ša₃-la₂ recording a transaction no doubt involving the same persons as no. 388 (both Puzriš-Dagān, translit. only.), Limet, Anthroponymie, 473, correctly, has the former as lugal-ša₃-[la₂]-su₃.

⁶⁷⁰ Compare the hymnic epithet chains of Bau: ša₃ la₂ tuku arḫu₃ su₃ kalam-ma, and TH 267: (nu跽-zu nun) ša₃ la₂ su₃ kalam-ma ama kur-kur-ra, both discussed by Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 105, note to l. 267. See, further, J. Bauer, AWL, 389f., note on PN e₂-i₃-gara₃-sug₄.

⁶⁷¹ See A. Sjöberg, MNS, 106, note to l. 5, with Akk. translation šarrum rēmēnūm.

³⁷² See CAD P s.v. piqittu, lex. sect. The name nin-en₃-tar-ű₄₃₃₄₅ in Ur III times, e.g. TUT o.! ii’ 8 (Girsu, date broken), makes it less likely that a meaning can be derived from šīṭūluṃ (<ša₃ álum) “to deliberate,” CAD ś/1 s.v. šalu A. In the latter name, en₃-tar rather represents a participial construction parallel to Akk. pāqidum.

³⁷³ Variants include: lugal-en₃-tar-su₃ (a1), lugal-en₃-tar-su₃(TAG) (a1), lugal-en₃-tar (a1), lugal-en₃-tar-su₃ (a22), lugal-en₃-tar-su₃ (a1), lugal-en₃-tar-su₃(TAG) (a1). For the variant lugal-e₄-tar-su₃ (a23) from Sargonic Ur, see A. Alberti & F. Pomponio StPohl SM 13, 79f. Compare, phps., lugal-e₃-tar (a1), from ES-MS Umma. The writing lugal-en₃-su₃ (a1) no doubt also belongs to this group.

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something along the lines of “the lugal is one who provides (abundantly),” might be suggested.\textsuperscript{665} The earliest attestations are from ED IIIb Girsu, but the bulk of attestations lie in the Sargonic period, from Nippur and cities toward the south. This compound is unattested with theonyms and is not found verbatim with other appellatives. A human referent is not excluded. The head noun surfaces in nominal phrase names with en and nin as appellative in ED IIIb Girsu,\textsuperscript{666} and in the Ur III period, respectively.\textsuperscript{667}

The association of lugal with other positive aspects related to care is furthermore found in other names, such as lugal-lu₂-ti-ti (a2) ‘the lugal is one who quickens man,’ found at ED IIIb Girsu and Ur. The factitive reduplication of ti with the object lu₂ is repeatedly found in later times in connection with the Moon God,\textsuperscript{668} and in contemporary sources mostly with the appellative nin.\textsuperscript{669} The object lu₂ is found also in lugal-lu₂-sa₆-ga (a1) ‘the lugal is one who is kind to man,’\textsuperscript{670} limited to the ED IIIb Umma-Zabala state. Contemporary parallels from Girsu use a theonym, en or sipa ‘shepherd,’ as head noun.\textsuperscript{671} It is likely that these names referred to activities of gods toward people.

Somewhat problematic is the name lugal-mu-da-kuš₂ (a5/a1), which in light of its variant writings shows a considerable geographical spread during the ED IIIb period. It would be tempting to see in this MU a direct object or a possessive suffix, but a number of names can be shown with certainty to consist only of appellative and verbal prefix(es), among others names composed with mu- and the modal prefix ḫa-. An abbreviated writing of this name exhibits a structural shortening to plain lugal-mu (a3)\textsuperscript{672} Comitative -da

\textsuperscript{665} For two other suggestions, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 171: “Le roi est celui qui se préoccupe, qui prend soin au loin (=pour l’avenir)”; and 240: “Le roi qui s’occupe (de moi?).” The diverging interpretations were noted by A. Alberti & F. Pomponio StPohl SM 13, 80.

\textsuperscript{666} For references to the ensi, of Lagaš en-en₃-tar-zi ‘the en is a reliable provider,’ see e.g. V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 49. His career is outlined by J. Bauer, Annäherungen 1, 473–475.

\textsuperscript{667} E.g. BBVO 11, 269 (6N-T43, transitil only) o. 6: nin-en₃-tar-ğu₆, ‘the lady is my provider’ (Ur III Nippur).

\textsuperscript{668} Å. Sjöberg, MNS, 106; CAD B s.v. halātu (v.), lex. sect. See also discussion on single and reduplicated ti by A. Poebel, Personenennamen, 37. The parenthesis in the translation of the name takes into account that reduplicated ti might also refer to plural objects. An extension over time could likewise be considered, making the verbal action habitual.

\textsuperscript{669} See V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 147 s.v. Note faulty reference to a PN *nin-lugal-ti-ti, E. Chiera, PBS 11/1, 72 no. 413. Photo (CDLI P135735) shows lu₂, not lugal.

\textsuperscript{670} Interpretation following G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 98 (226) and fn. 355. Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 272 (lugal-lu₂-sa₆-sa₆): “Le roi est quelqu’un de bon.” The examples quoted by Limet, p. 272f., should all rather be interpreted as having lu₂ as object for the activity or result of the verb.

\textsuperscript{671} See e.g. DP 1/2 113 o. iv 15: ʰMes-an-du-lu₂-sa₆-ga; o. v 13: ʰNanše-lu₂-sa₆-ga; o. v 15: Utu-lu₂-sa₆-ga; o. vii 10: ʰBa₂-lu₂-sa₆-ga (MPN); o. viii 16 ʰBa₂[Lu₂]-lu₂-sa₆-ga (FPN); Nik 1 3 r. i 3’ ʰEn-li₂-lu₂-sa₆-ga; VS 14 173 o. i 9: en-lu₂-sa₆-ga; BIN 8 381 o. iii 3: sipa-lu₂-sa₆-ga.

\textsuperscript{672} So in the cases of at least three persons known from elsewhere under a fuller writing lugal-mu-da-kuš₂. For two of these, see G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 75 w. fn. 393. See another example of this practice, above, p. 63 w. fn. 315.
with kuš₂ has a sense of ‘to be concerned with s.th.’ Given a variant, phonetic writing from ED IIIb Ebla, nu-gal-me-šu-u₃ (a₁),⁶⁷⁴ and an Ur III theophore parallel Ỉškur-ma-kuš₂,⁶⁷⁵ the sense becomes more clear. Behind the prefix -mu- is likely to hide a personal pronominal element for the 1ˢᵗ or 2ⁿᵈ person sing.,⁶⁷⁶ which then becomes the object referent of the chain. The verbal root in the Ebla variant seems adamant on the fact that the verb has a vocalic ending, and so is probably a marû form; something which a writing with -kuš₂ would not automatically exclude.⁶⁷⁷ Hence a translation ‘the lugal concerns himself with me/you,’ is thinkable.⁶⁷⁸ Variants found in Nippur and Isin dispenses with the comitative infix, lugal-mu-kuš₂ (a²),⁶⁷⁹ a verbal chain otherwise only associated with Utu,⁶⁸⁰ and yet another phonetic writing is known from Ebla, borne by a person characterized as a singer from Mari, nu-gal-mu-da-kaš₂ (a₁).⁶⁸¹ Both are more than likely to have carried the same meaning as lugal-mu-da-kuš₂(-e), and a divine referent seems the most likely for this set of names.

The same is likely to be the case with a name which expresses the hope of continuing assistance in life. lugal-nam-mu-šub-be₂ (a₁)⁶⁸² from ED IIIb Girsu, with variant writing lugal-nam-mu-šub-e (a₁),⁶⁸³ from contemporary Nippur. The type is known already in ED IIIa Šuruppag and the attested parallels feature the appellative nin or a theonym.⁶⁸⁴ This marû verbal phrase name with a prohibitive, or rather vetitive, sense, probably features an object

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⁶⁷³ Compare, for another opinion, J. Bauer, AWL, 94f., of kuš₂ as reflecting original ša₂y-kuš₂, interpreting -mu- as 1cs poss. pron. -gu₁₀, and translating: “Mit meinem Herrn... sich beratend,” followed by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 48 w. fn. 262.

⁶⁷⁴ P. Steinkeller, Fs Hallo, 239; M. Krebernik Fs Röllig, 190 w. fn. 13; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 48 fn. 262, correct printing error -e₃ to -u₃.

⁶⁷⁵ YOS 4 207 r. ii 11’.

⁶⁷⁶ The case prefix for the 1ˢᵗ person sing. is unknown, but could in later sources take on the form of the 2ⁿᵈ person -e-, see M.-L. Thomsen, Mesopotamia 10, 217 §428.

⁶⁷⁷ A KVKV-value is missing from R. Borger, AOAT 305, still I refrain from positing a kuš₂₃(DUL₃) value for the sign.

⁶⁷⁸ For a somewhat different interpretation, see G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 75 w. fn. 393. His rendering of the name LUM-ma-MU, MesCiv 4 8 o. iii 2’ as ‘LUM-ma <exerted himself for> me/him’ should be held against the fact that lugal-mu-da-kuš₂ only has a full parallel in nin-mu-da-kuš₂, e.g. VS 14 63 o. i 2. In all other cases the comitative -da- is missing.

⁶⁷⁹ Judging by the MS-CS date of lugal-kuš₂ (a₁) it is likely to be abbreviated from original lugal-mu-(da)-kuš₂.

⁶⁸⁰ E.g. WF 36 o. iv 7 (ED IIIa Šuruppag), writing Utu-mu-kuš₂, all extant writings lack the divine determinative.

⁶⁸¹ M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 48 fn. 262.

⁶⁸² There is a distinct possibility to see in this and the following name a negative precative, ‘may the lugal not forsake …’; and reconstruct a personal infix for the first or second persons, or perhaps an elided object, like a city.

⁶⁸³ Compare nin-nam-mu-šub-e, HSS 3 23 o. ix 15’ (ED IIIb Girsu); OSP 1 23 o. iv 9, 38, vii 13 (ES-MS Nippur).

⁶⁸⁴ See nin-nam-mu-šub-be₂, FTUM 48 o. i 2; and compare the Ur III Girsu PNN ỈBa-u₂-nu-mu-šub-be₂, CTNMC 54 r. iii 19; and nin-mu-šub-e, STA 6 r. vi 7’.
referent in the verbal chain; a translation ‘may the lugal not abandon me/you,’ suggests itself. It is reminiscent of the opening passages in Inana’s Descent, which describes how the goddess abandoned heaven and earth, cultic offices and a number of her temples to journey to the Netherworld. In the present name, however, the sense is more likely one pertaining to involvement on a personal level.

3.1.4.2 Care for the city

Not only were individuals cause for concern for a lugal. His city or its main sanctuary was the probable object for his care and attention in the name lugal-ki-tuš-du₄₁₀ (aᵉᵛ) ‘the lugal is one who makes the dwelling place pleasant.’ the full form known only from ED IIIa Šuruppak, and there it was quite popular. Perhaps similar in scope was lugal-uru-da-₄ (aᵉᵛ), found at ED IIIb Nippur and CS-LS Girsu. The latter name is likely to be completed with the verb kuš₂, as in the examples above and below, and as demonstrated by the name nin-uru-da-kuš₂. This would yield ‘the lugal (is one who concerns himself) with the city.’ If understood correctly, both these names should probably be seen in the light of the responsibilities of the tutelary deities toward their cities, but a human agent is not out of the question. Should, however, URU serve as a verbal prefix, the name lugal-iri/ere-da-(kuš₂) would be parallel in meaning to lugal-mu-da-kuš₂,-(e) in the preceding subsection.

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685 See M.-L. Thomsen, Mesopotamia 10, 195f., §375, and 198f., §381, with some examples.
686 Following D. Katz, *The Image of the Netherworld*, 251–254, Inana’s abandonment of her cultic offices and temples is indicative of her relinquishing control over these institutions.
687 As is brought home by the later hymn bearing the title nam-mu-un-šub-be₂-en, treated by M. E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymanology: The Eršemma*, 29–35.
689 One of the Nippur instances, TMH 5 8 o. ii 1, records a person from Šuruppak. A possible ED IIIa-b Girsu example of the name, *RTC* 2 r. i 1, is damaged and may have featured one more sign. The votive name by ha-laⁿ-a⁴³Ba⁻u₂, wife of lugal-uru-da, edited by G. C. Cameron, *JCS* 20 (1966), 125, is by no means from the time of Ur-Nanšē. I am not aware of a theophoric ha-la-name from before the Ur III dynasty.
690 For this name, see J. Bauer, *AWL*, 94f.; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 48 w. fn. 262. Compare also sipa-uru-da-kuš₂, e.g. *DP* 1/2 113 o. vi 6 (ED IIIb Girsu).
691 A damaged ED IIIa-b Girsu reference, *RTC* 2 r. i 1, may originally have featured a predicate, though this would be a singular occurrence in 3rd millennium sources. The entry lugal-uru-da-lugal, H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 475, is faulty. Read instead: lugal-uru-da šandani(GAL.NI).
692 For the modal verbal prefix iri/ere, of uncertain meaning, see examples in M.-L. Thomsen, Mesopotamia 10, 211 and fn. 94, including an ED IIIb passage.
3.1.4.3 Care for the country
A single attestation of the lugal as caring for the country as a whole is known from ED IIIb Girsu. The land, most often referred to as kalam, is in this name rather referred to using kur, lugal-kur-da-kuš₂(a1) ‘the lugal is one who concerns himself with the land.’ Translating kur as ‘mountain(land)’ would yield less sense in this name, as it may be regarded as a potential source of danger, and as other names composed with kuš₂ all seem to favour an interpretation of caring or of concern in the most positive sense.

3.1.4.4 Care for the dead
Finally, a name with a very tentative translation, lugal-ti-uš₂-da-kuš₂(a1) ‘the lugal is one who concerns himself with the living and the dead,’⁶⁹³ might point to the reach of the figure of the lugal beyond the world of the living. In later periods the deceased lugals were believed to fill the function of judges among the dead but earlier periods do not offer much in that connection. Since the name is only attested at ED IIIb Girsu, and since the ruling family there is known from official records to have cared for the spirits of deceased ancestors, it is possible that the name, if understood correctly, refers to a human ruler. By making sure that the powerful deceased lords and ladies of the city were cared for, the future survival of the city was secured. Of course, a number of deities whose functions extended also into the realm of the dead might be considered.

3.1.5 Creation, fertility and prosperity
Heading five gathers up names in which the primary function of the lugal is ensuring abundance in the land. Some names do not bear directly on the lugal as being active in making this abundance manifest. Further subdivisions belonging to this heading are:

• The lugal and the procreation of man
• Provisions for the city
• Countryside, produce and farming
• Life and plenty

A name which bears an apparent connection to festivals, lugal-ezem, celebrated on a regular basis in accordance with the agricultural cycle, was the single most popular lugal-name during the periods investigated here. More than 40 persons were called by that name; from the ED IIIa onwards,

⁶⁹³ The sign read uš₂ corresponds to til in the survey of P. Steinkeller, ZA 71 (1981), 19–28. Since the verbal adjective ti (tila₃) is in the sing., uš₂ has likewise been interpreted as sing. It is perhaps possible to understand the words as collective objects, but it would not alter the sense of the name given the interpretation offered here.
from Ur in the southwest to Ešnuna in the northeast. Fig. 6 records the distribution of 129 persons, an estimated minimum number of people bearing 47 variants of names sorting under this category and the different cities with which they were associated, divided by periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adab</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ešnuna</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Girtab</td>
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<td>Marad</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 6: Name-bearers, 3.1.5. Creation, fertility and prosperity. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.1.5.1 The lugal and the procreation of man

People in Mesopotamian mythological works are sometimes portrayed as workers on the estates of the gods. The subordinate position of humans was considered part of the state of the world, organized in detail by the gods who each oversaw their specific niche of culture or nature. This perspective led, among other things, to the belief that specific gods were instrumental in the creation of individual humans. This was then the subject matter of a number of Sumerian and Akkadian names. A few names containing the appellative lugal seem to have a bearing on such matters. Though it is not always equally obvious whether lugal here denoted a divine or a human overlord, the former seems more likely, given the subject matter.

A difficult case is made up by the rather rare name AK-lugal (a2°1) ‘creation of the lugal,’ which, if correctly interpreted, could correspond on a semantic level to Akkadian names construed with the verb banûm. The

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694 So, for instance, in the myth Enki and Ninmah, Enki is encouraged by the goddess Nammu to create men as substitutes for the gods, so that the gods could enjoy their leisure. This is echoed in later times by the Atra-hasî and Enûma elîš epics.

695 Reading order for this name is supported by an ED IIIb Nippur commemorative inscription, A. Goetze, JCS 23 (1970), 52 (7N-153); and a LS-Ur III list of PNN, M. E. Cohen, Fs Hallo, 79–86 iv 12, followed by ur-lugal.

696 For a discussion on AK in PNN see M. Krebernik, AOAT 296 12 w. fn. 35, where a sense “created (by)” is considered. Compare ibid., BFE, 244, to the effect that AK ought to be a
gods were in contemporary and later texts described as taking active part in the conception of children, mostly of kings but also of commoners.⁶⁹⁷ Since this name type went out of use quite early, around ED IIIa, there are no indications as to whether it was considered a genitive compound or not. A name in a similar vein is lugal-mu-dah° (a1) ‘the lugal added (another child),’ attested only from Sargonic Girsu.⁶⁹⁸ That MU is not the 1st person pron. suff. is evident from parallels with a theonym in place of the appellative.⁶⁹⁹ But it is not entirely clear if MU should be taken as a noun ‘name’ or as a verbal prefix.

A few sentence names might refer to childbirth, such as lugal-eb₂-ta-e₃ (a1) ‘the lugal brought (him/her) out from there,’⁷⁰⁰ with a variant expressing the locative, lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃ (a2)° ‘the lugal brought (him/her) out from in there.’ The names may allude to problems in the process of delivery. They are found in the ED IIIb Lagaš and Umma states, and also in post–Sargonic Girsu and Nippur, with some parallels.⁷⁰¹ The verbal chain with locative marker -ni- is attested verbatim in a pair of ED IIIb Girsu royal inscriptions,⁷⁰² but this only shows that the name was firmly set in the language of that time and general region. Such comprehensive verbal chains are, however, most unusual to come across in the onomasticon. A shorter parallel is lugal-eb-e₃ (a2) ‘the lugal brought it out,’ attested at ED IIIb Girsu and in a MS-CS text of uncertain provenience.

The birth situation might arguably be the focus of a CS Nippur name: lugal-ša₃-zu (a1).⁷⁰³ The compounded participle ša₃-zu otherwise has a meaning ‘midwife,’⁷⁰⁴ and there are indeed references to a male divinity noun and not a verbal form of ak ‘to make.’ Both suggestions are possible. For lists of ED I-II Ur and ED IIIa Šuruppak PNN composed with ak, see J. Bauer, WO 18 (1987), 6; and AoN 21 (1985), 12 note to 29, 2 respectively.

⁶⁹⁷ See e.g. M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible, 83–86.
⁶⁹⁸ See, further, diḫir-mu-dah, MVN 3 2 r. iii 5 (ED IIIb Girsu); and compare R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 55, 24.6e: “(The) god has helped me,” probably intending an original *diḫir-e₃-₃-su-mu-dah.
⁶⁹⁹ E.g. Ur III PN ⁴Nanna-mu-dah, see refs. with H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 500 s.v. See also nin-mu-dah, e.g. TUT 162 o. i 2, 19. The problematic ED IIIa Šuruppak name nin-MU₃-ba-dah, MVN 10 84 o. iv 2; RTC 13 o. iii 2, is probably not a parallel in the strictest sense.
⁷⁰⁰ H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 79, on the basis of Ur III parallels translates: “Le roi a fait resplendir (quelque chose) parmi ...”
⁷⁰¹ See DCS 5 14 o. 2 (Lagaš II Girsu); TMH NF 1–2 177 o. 5 (Ur III Nippur). See, furthermore, nin-ib₂-ta-e₃, e.g. W. G. Lambert, Gs Sachs, 251–259 iii 16 (Sargonic list of n-names); ⁴Ba-u₂-ib₂-ta-e₃, e.g. UNT 34 o. ii 15 (Ur III Girsu); and plain ib₂-ta-e₃, e.g. HSS 4 o. i 16. Compare the Lagaš II and later construction [in]im-an-gir₂-su-ka-ib₂-ta-e₃ ‘the word of Ningirsu brought him/her out of there,’ RTC 191 o. 2.
⁷⁰² CIRPL Ent. 28 ii 3 (=29 ii 14), Eanatum established a boundary dike between Lagaš and Umma.
⁷⁰³ Collation from photo (CDLI P216347) shows that the second sign deviates from copied Nu₉ in next line. Probable abbreviation of lugal-ša₃-an-zu.
⁷⁰⁴ See, e.g. M. Bonechi, QDLD 16 (2006), 89, on VE0371: ša₃-zu = wa-a-tum “ostetrical,” nomen agentis from the verb wa-la₃-dum.
serving as male midwife in connection with birth incantations. The similar 
lugal-ša₃-an-uzu (a₁) from ED IIIa Šuruppak, may or may not have bearing on 
the same matter, using instead what looks like a finite verbal form as the 
predicate. Assisting at birth, adding a measure of divine protection to the 
hazardous situation was far more often a prerogative of female divinities.

3.1.5.2 Provisions for the city

There are a number of passages in royal inscriptions which characterize the 
human ruler by means of titles borrowed from the bureaucratic regime. One 
example is the epithet ensi₂-gal, perhaps ‘chief tiller,’ of a chief god of the 
pantheon. In inscriptions with claims on regional hegemony, it is always 
Enlil, in local Lagaš inscriptions it is as expected Ningirsu. The title is 
mentioned in at least one ED IIIb PN, en-ensi₂-gal, which with all 
probability refers not to a human en, but to a divine one. In the bureaucracy 
the function was one of medium rank. It often appears to be used in 
parallel with engar ‘farmer.’ This latter image, of the ensi₂-gal as an 
official with responsibilities toward farming is most likely the concept 
underlying its inclusion in royal titularies from the ED IIIb and ES periods.

More important than the ensi₂-gal in the civic administration was the 
ağrig, or ‘steward,’ used as an epithet by Lugalzagesi in the titulary chain of 
his Nippur inscription. Names such as lugal-ağrig (a₂), and lugal-ağrig-zi 
(a₄) ‘the lugal is a faithful steward,’ point to this aspect of royalty as part of

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705 See reference to Asalluhi as midwife, Akk. šabsu, M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the 
Bible*, 70–72. An alternative is to see a petition referring to the heart or mind of the lugal, 
being, perhaps, unfathomable, distant, or lenient. To this end, see, e.g., Gudea Cyl. A i 1–2.
706 Abbreviated form ša₃-an-zu(AN:ZU:ŠA₃) appears in *FTUM* 103 o. ii 1. Not a DN. See also, 
in a scholastic Lagaš text, BiMes 3 28 o. iv 4: lugal ša₃(ŠA₃×TAB) an-su, and G. Marchesi’s 
notes, *StEL* 16 (1999), 12f. Compare ibid., *OrNS* 73 (2004), 189 w. fn. 201 (ereš-e-an-zu “the 
Lady knows me”), and add ereš-še₃-ane-su (/ereš-e/), VS 25 69 o. iv 19 (ED IIIb Girsu). See, 
furthermore, the list of PNN edited by M. E. Cohen, *Fs Hallo*, 85 (YBC 2124) v 10’: ša₃-AN-
[x] (duplicate NBC 11202 vii 9’ has just ša₃-AN-AN).
707 See, e.g. ED IIIb Girsu FPN nin-ša₃-su-ĝu₁₀ ‘the lady is my midwife,’ *DCS* 4 o. iii 4.
708 See refs. with different translations in *FAOS* 6, 117 s.v. ensi₂-gal (ED IIIb); *FAOS* 8, 134 
(Šarrukēn); and 217f. s.v. iššiakkum (a) (ED IIIb Mari lugalsls).
709 See refs. in *FAOS* 6, 117 s.v.
710 See V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 49 s.v., for attestations.
711 D. O. Edzard, *OLA* 5, 164, showed that the ensi₂-gal in ED IIIa Šuruppak did not belong to 
the upper echelons of the civic administration; but compare the conclusions by L. Schrakamp, 
*BiOr* 65 (2008), 679, with many references to previous interpretations of the office other than 
the one followed here. Schrakamp takes as point of departure the situation in Sargonic Adab.
712 See discussions by T. Jacobsen, *Fs Civil*, 113f. w. fnn. 4–7; and Å. Sjöberg, *Fs Limet*, 
125f., note to ii 16. Sjöberg refers to many examples where ensi₂ alone carried this meaning.
713 BE 1/2 87 i 34f.: ağrig maḫ, diĝir-re-ne-ra ‘the august steward for all the gods.’
714 Compare nin-ĝiskim-ti, e.g. OSP 1 23, o. ii 4’ and passim; and Ur III PN lugal-ĝiskim-ti, 
MVN 21 372 r. 4. No writing combining lugal and ġiskim-ti is known from ED sources.
715 Other appellatives attested with the qualified nominal predicate ağrig are few: aja₂, e.g. *DP* 
1/1 59 o. ii 14 (ED IIIb Girsu); and in later times: îu₂, e.g. *Toronto* 1 21 r. 1 (Ur III Puzriš-
human lordship. They are attested from various city-states beginning in the transition between ED IIIa-b, and onwards. An interesting point from the time of Gudea is that the latter, at least once, termed himself aģrig zi of Nanše, and that he had a son by the name lugal-aģrig-zi.716 The appellative in the name of this son, then, could realistically be thought to refer to the father, Gudea, regardless of the fact that he never used that title about himself in his known inscriptions. The name, by incorporating a nominal predicate borrowed from civic administration, can plausibly be seen as referring to activities benefitting the relationship between the world and the gods. Hence a strong relationship exists with names of category 6, relating to cult or gods.

A group of names refer to the function of the lugal as providing plenty and stability. The royal name lugal-sila(TAR)-si (a1) ‘the lugal is just right for the road,’717 of a lugal from Uruk, seems to allude to the upkeep of roads or thoroughfares, in- or outside the city. That is, as one who is preoccupied with the correct functioning of overland communication lines, enabling movement of people and goods. It can be compared with lugal-uru-si (a2) ‘the lugal is just right for the city,’718 attested from ED I-II Ur and once in an OB copy of a Sargonic royal inscription. More widespread is lugal-ezem (a>40) ‘the lugal … the festival,’719 the most common lugal-name from the ED IIIa period onwards. In some instances the name may rather represent a genitive compound, ‘lugal of the festival.’720 The only parallel featuring a fuller writing appears to be nin-ezem-ma-ne₂-ki-aĝ₂, literally ‘the lady loves her festival’ from ED IIIb Girsu.721 Celebrations of certain points of the

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716 RIME 3/1.1.7.Cylfrgms 8+3+5+4 ii’ 2’; and 3/1.1.7.100 (inscribed macehead).
717 Reading suggested by J. S. Cooper, *JNES* 33 (1974), 415: “the king who ‘fills’ the boulevard”; followed by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 27. The idea of bustling roads connecting cities in a network of trade is close at hand. The sign TAR was left untranslated by E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA* 319; and by H. Steible, *ABW* 2, 219f., note to l. 4, with previous literature. Compare en-sila-si, e.g. BIN 8 83 o. i 5 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala); i₃-lu-lu-sila-si ‘singing fills the street,’ *CHÉU* 53 o. 2; Nik 2 15 (Both ES-MS Umma). See also the short form sila-si, TMH 5 11 o. iii 2 (ED IIIb Nippur).
718 Compare DN 4Nin-uru-si, e.g. RTC 211 (Lagaš II Girsu).
719 Rendered by A. Westenholz, *Six City-State Cultures*, 34: “the-lugal-(goes)-to the festival.”
720 A few Ur III period writings of this name indicate a genitive compound as -ka is used when the PN forms part of a genitive chain. Thus the translations of E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 210, no. 218: “The king of the feast”; and E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA*, 318: “roi (ou: maître) du festival,” could essentially be correct, at least where later forms are concerned. An ED IIIb Nippur example seems to rule this out for earlier periods, BE 1/2 111 2’, where the wife of lugal-ezem is the agent of the verb, indicated by -ke. The name still saw use in the OB period, A. Poebel, *Personennamen*, 29. For more on this name, see below, p. 235.
721 Nik 1 15 o. i 8. Abbreviation nin-ezem-ma-ne₂ in VS 27 33 r. ii 5 (Uru-KA UN:gal). The entry taken as a PN by G. Pettinato, MVN 17 4 r. 19, and index on p. 99, 4Šul-gi ezem-ma
agricultural year with the procurement of specific sets of resources may here echo the securing of the family line through another family member. Also, there is a distinct possibility that the names featuring ezem refer to ongoing festivities taking place at the time of birth, as surmised already by D. O. Edzard, though the Sumerian names are not as accurate as later Akkadian names alluding to a specific festival, a month or a day. Most of these names are plausibly to be ascribed divine referents. Since the ezem-names are related to the agriculturally defined yearly cycle, they have been assigned to this category, although they are closely related to names dealing with cultic matters.

3.1.5.3 Countryside, produce and farming

The Sumerian view of the world was closely tied to its rural origins and the farm country remained the backbone of the economy. Hence, it is not surprising to see the vocabulary in general, and the onomasticon in particular, in several ways make use of imagery borrowed from agriculture and animal husbandry; see for instance names composed with amar, discussed above, 3.1.1.1. As for lugal-names, a handful relate in a rather general way to plowing. The oldest, from ED IIIa Šuruppag, is lugal-engarzi (a21) ‘the lugal is a reliable farmer.’ Beginning in the ED IIIb, another name appears: lugal-apin-du₁₀ (a28), and a CS variant, only attested once in pre–Ur III sources, lugal-ŷidityapin-du₁₀ (a1), both ‘the lugal is one who makes the plow good.’ The similar ED IIIb Girsu name lugal-apin-ne₂ (a21) ‘the lugal … the plow,’ is explained by the previous two, as the verb du₁₀ takes the loc.-term. ending -e on the direct object. Two Sargonic Nippur writings [x]-apin-ne₂, are clear parallels. Interestingly, the names featuring apin
‘plow,’ are almost exclusively attested in Girsu and Nippur, cities which both had tutelary deities intimately connected with agriculture. And so it is likely that these names dealt with the respective deities of these cities. Though it may be kept in mind that a ceremony involving the king plowing fields was celebrated in the Ur III and following periods, and that the king could be addressed in hymns as ‘the reliable farmer.’ Thus lugal-engar-zi may well have had a human referent in mind. None of these names have parallels featuring clear writings of other appellatives before the Ur III period. It is tempting to see these names as indicative of a time of birth for the child bearing such a name, which could then be placed quite firmly in the late summer or early autumn months.

Names concerned with fields, gardens, dikes, canals, and their produce are also well attested, in a multitude of different guises. The irrigation infrastructure is mentioned in a few names from Girsu and Umma: lugal-eg₂-ge \( (a²) \) ‘the lugal … the levee,’ and lugal-eg₂-pa₅-maḥ \( (a₁) \) ‘the lugal is one who makes canal and ditch magnificent (?)’. Compare in this connection also lugal-i₇-maḥ \( (a₁) \), ‘the lugal makes the river magnificent (?)’. A name which relates the lugal to land in general is in some instances perhaps an abbreviation, but an original, complete form is unfortunately hard to recreate: lugal-GAN₂ \( (a≥6) \) ‘the lugal, the field,’ mostly borne by people from the Umma state and Nippur. The predicate zi is added in a Sargonic Nippur name: lugal-GAN₂-zi \( (a₁) \) ‘the lugal is one who puts the fields in

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728 The plow was a symbol of Ningirsu and, as suggested by M. Civil, *Fs Kramer*, 85f., an Isin-period text related to plowing may draw upon earlier traditions. The epithet engar-zi anna, Akk: ik-ka-ru ki-nu ša₂ A-nim, is in later times ascribed to Ninurta, see Å. Sjöberg, *Fs Limet*, 125, note to ii 16. The association of plowing with fertility in general and sexual acts specifically is apparent from, for instance, love lyrics, and is a common metaphor in cultures all around the world, see e.g. M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible*, 1f., but is probably not the underlying theme in these names.

729 See preceding note and compare also the description of the king in Urnamma G l. 19–20 lugal/ur\( -\)Namma engar zi GAN₂ daḡal-la eg₂ pa_r-e ki […]]; and see note on the use of this epithet by OB kings, E. Flückiger-Hawker, *OBO* 166, 296.

730 E.g. n\([in]\)-engar-[z]i, *BBVO* 11, 295 (6N-T632) o. 7 (translit. only, Ur III Nippur); lu₂-engar-zí, *MVN* 21 403 r. 12 (Ur III Umma).


732 Compare the singularly attested DN \"Lugal-eg₂-ga, “Herr(n) des Wassergrabens,” on an unprovenanced statue of ED IIIb date, G. J. Selz, *Götterwelt*, 161, with further refs.; and PN nin-eg₂-ge, *OSP* 1 23 o. ix 15; 24 o. iv 10 (both ES-MS Nippur).

733 See the description of a vessel in a difficult *Ibbi-Su’en* inscription, *RIME* 3/2.1.5.3, l. 25f.: gi ku₃-gi-bi, pa₅ maḥ ga(Bl)-lam, ‘whose golden drinking (reed) is an artfully (made) main conduit,” following D. R. Frayne. Note, furthermore, the epithet of the god Enkimdu in Urnamma A l. 25: lugal eg₂ p[a₂-re], “lord of embankments and di[thes],” following E. Flückiger-Hawker, *OBO* 166, 105; and compare note to lugal-engar-zí.

734 The names eg₂-GAN₂-a, e.g. *CUSAS* 11 193 o. ii 4 (ED IIIb-ES Adab); and nin-GAN₂-a, e.g. *PBS* 9 15+110 o. i 7 (CS Nippur), are hard to interpret.
order.\textsuperscript{735} A specific locus is mentioned in the ED IIIb Girsu name lugal-GAN₇-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub \textsuperscript{(a₁)} ‘the lugal stands in the Date-field,’\textsuperscript{736} with variant lugal-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub \textsuperscript{(a₁)}, both used about the same person. The field of Su₁₁-lum forms part of a description of a temple dedicated for Nanšē; the FN is not provided with a place determinative until after the Akkadian period.\textsuperscript{737} Two variants of one name relate the lugal to a garden, though the predicate is left unexpressed, lugal-ši₃-kir₆ \textsuperscript{(a₂²)} ‘the lugal … the garden,’\textsuperscript{738} and lugal-kir₆-e \textsuperscript{(a₁)} ‘the lugal … the garden.’\textsuperscript{739} Another possible link to fields is found in the rare name lugal-im-nun-ne₂ \textsuperscript{(a₁)} ‘the lugal … the border (of the) field.’ The name incorporates a word denoting a stretch of soil on the edge of land used for agricultural purposes, which may have been used as protection against desertification.\textsuperscript{740}

As for produce, only a few different products are specifically named. The name lugal-še \textsuperscript{(a₂)} ‘the lugal … grain (?)’, is securely attested in Sargonic Umma. Whether it is an abbreviation of the Nippur and Adab name lugal-šegu-na \textsuperscript{(a₂³)} ‘the lugal of grain (and) flax,’\textsuperscript{741} is hard to say. The latter seems founded in the beliefs surrounding the god Iškur of Karkara,\textsuperscript{742} perhaps modern Tall Ǧidr,\textsuperscript{743} located between Umma and Adab. Iškur’s character in Pre–Sargonic times is badly understood but his links to wind, rain, and the

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\textsuperscript{735} Following J. Bauer, \textit{AoN} 21 (1985), p. 10 note to (\textit{CIRPL}) 39, 1. Bauer discusses the meaning of this compound as referring to Ninurta/Ningirsu, and this name is at present only attested at Nippur, Ninurta’s tutelary city. But compare the discussion of the Instructions of Šuruppag l. 219 and the Nanšē hymn l. 60: mumus zi gan₂ zi-še₃ lu₂ ši-in-ga-ša₂-ga₂ B. Alster, \textit{Mesopotamia} 3, 27, and the note to the former composition on p. 143. The line is damaged but securely attested also in the ED IIIa Abū Šalābīḫ version.


\textsuperscript{737} See Selz, \textit{Götterwelt}, 185, fn. 849 for references.

\textsuperscript{738} The secure attestations of this name are all from Sargonic Umma. In one instance, CT 50 172 r. ii 16 (CS Girsu), most likely not a PN but a note on a payment to the owner of the garden where the transactions recorded in the text took place.

\textsuperscript{739} Read by the editors of the text \textit{TCVC} 730, as lugal-'nesaš\textsuperscript{731}-e, but that noun is written nešaš in o. ii 2 of the same text.

\textsuperscript{740} See G. J. Selz, \textit{Götterwelt}, 286 fn. 1423; \textit{AWAS}, 385f. Besides lugal-im-nun-ne₂, the name ur-im-nun was used in Ur III Girsu, H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 465, 548 s.v. The expression im-nun seems limited to Girsu, but the provenience of the text in which the present name occurs is unknown. Judging from other names in the text, e.g. sipa-uru-na in o. i 8, a Girsu origin is not excluded.

\textsuperscript{741} What follows the appellative either consists of a qualified noun, še gu₃-a ‘speckled barley’ or ‘late barley,’ or of two nouns, še ‘grain’ and gu ‘flax.’

\textsuperscript{742} The expression is associated with him in the Abū Šalābīḫ za₃-me hymns, l. 87; paralleled by še gu-nu in TH 332. In the commentary to the latter passage, Å. Sjöberg refers to Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, l. 9, where rain brings forth še gu-nu, TCS 3, 117. Rain was of course one of Iškur’s attributes. Compare en-še-gu-na, in the agricultural text \textit{WF} 78 o. vii 14 (ED IIIa Šuruppag).

\textsuperscript{743} Identification proposed by M. Powell, \textit{JNES} 39 (1980), 47–52.
plenty associated with them, is clear. It is not unthinkable that this name was suitable for a child born just before harvest time, in late spring. A name like lugal-kara₆-gal-gal (a1) ‘the lugal enlarges the grain heap(s),’ further underlines the lugal’s important role in amassing surplus resources. The name seems not to be a specifically cultic reference, unlike the name lugal-nesa₂-e, for which, see below 3.1.6.3. None of the produce-names discussed here have parallels featuring other actors than lugal.

In a very general way, many names revolve around the topic of plenty, for instance the royal name lugal-da-lu (a1) ‘(things) flourish with the lugal,’ from ED IIIb Adab. The same verb is used in the ED I-II Ur name lugal-lu-lu (a1) ‘the lugal is one who makes (things) thrive,’ with variants expressing the object ni₃ ‘thing(s),’ lugal-ni₃-lu-lu (a1), attested at ED IIIb Girsu, and lugal-ni₃-lu-lu-a (°1) in a Sargonic scholastic text. The latter has a perfect parallel in Sargonic ḪUtu-ni₃-lu-lu-a, but otherwise the names with duplicated verb lu-lu are not found with other agents during this period.

Somewhat better attested are names composed with the nominal compound ḫe₂₂-gal₂. The word was commonplace both in onomastic and literary sources and has very positive connotations throughout. The name lugal-ḫe₂₂-gal₂, (a6°1), ‘the lugal … abundance,’ was well-known to the point that it ended up in texts found in Ebla; once written phonetically as nu-gal-ḥi-gal (°1). Whether these names are to be understood as a nominal sentence, or whether they may be thought originally to have featured an elided predicate is not possible to say. For lugal-ḫe₂₂-gal₂-su₃ (a5) ‘the lugal (is one who) extends abundance,’ an ED IIIb Girsu parallel with the appellative

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744 Compare the reading of G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 111: “lugal-kara₆-gal, “The Lord Is a Great Granary”,” with lexical evidence adduced in fn. 569. Besides GAL in ligature LUGAL, two more GAL are visible on photo in MVLN 3 pl. 5–6 o. iii 10. A comparative or superlative adjectival mng. of gal-gal might be considered, but compare, e.g., lugal-lu₂-ti-ti.

745 Similarly D. R. Frayne, RIME 1, 23: “(Things) flourish beside the king.” Compare AN-da-lu, TSŠ 93 r. iv 3'; NI₂₂-da-lu, TSš 49 o. iii 4; 704 o. iv 7 (all ED IIIa Šuruppag); Ḫ₂₆-aš₂₂-gi₄-da-lu, OIP 14 126 r. 1 (CS Adab); Nibr₈₄-da-lu, OSP 1 138 o. ii 1; var. -da₂₂-lu₂₂, TMH 5 113 r. 1 (both ED IIIb Nippur); e₂₂-da-lu, BIN 8 170 o. 7 (ED IIIb-ES Isin ?); MAD 4 71 r. 7 (CS Unknown). Note Ur III FN kur-da-lu-lu, SNAT 183 o. 3 (Girsu).

746 For a detailed discussion of the date of this lugal in the early ED IIb, see G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 130–132.


748 For ḪUtu-ni₂₂-lu₂₂-a, see STTI 106 o. 2 (CS Girsu); and compare Šulgi A 1. 55: Ḫ₂₂-sul₂₂-lu₂₂ (var. lugal) ni₂₂-lu₂₂-me-en ninda ǧiš ha-ba-ni-tag “I, Šulgi, the generous provider, presented there meal-offerings,” following translation by J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, 195. A comprehensive but not complete list of parallels is found with H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 252.

749 Attested throughout Ur III times, H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 464 s.v.; down through OB times, A. Poebel, Personennamen, 29. The following names with the verb su₂₂ show that this name is not necessarily a genitive compound, such as is the case with what later became a free-standing divine epithet taking on the function of a DN, Ḫ₂₂-lugal-ḫe₂₂-gal₂(-la), for which see W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 141 s.v.: “Lugal-hēgallā,” “Lord of abundance.”

750 There is also a possibility to interpret su₂₂(-g) as parallel to si, Akk. malû, see, e.g. CAD H s.v. Ḫe₂₂-gallu, and Y. Sefati, Love Songs, 351, note to 13–14. The associations of ḫe₂₂-gal₂ and
nin exists, but otherwise fuller writings are rare during the earlier periods. The variants lugal-ē₂-ga₄-l₈-su₂₀ (a₁) 752 and lugal-ē₂-ɡa₄-l₈-su₆(TAG) (a₁), 753 probably do not represent deviations in meaning. Whether there is an aspectual difference in names within this group is not clear.

Names revolving around the lugal and his connections with animals are few, apart from when the animal name serves as a nominal predicate in describing the lugal. An exception to this is furnished by the ED IIIa Šuruppak name lugal-ab₂-ki-ā₃₂ (a₁) ‘the lugal loves the cow.’ 754 There is a definite possibility that the ‘cow’ is euphemistic for a goddess, and that lugal refers to a male divinity, like the Moon God, who in later times is often associated with cattle. 755 There is also a slight possibility that the cow in this name in actuality is used symbolically for the woman giving birth. The Moon God is known for his assistance at birth in incantation texts of the second millennium. 756 And as suckling children were characterized as amar ga or gaba, the extension of the designation ‘cow’ to an animate object could be strengthened, but more examples of this would be required.

A few names associate the lugal with vessels for transporting plenty or with places for storing wealth. Especially prominent are names which relate to waterways. A name which is unfortunately never attested in its full form, but which can be reconstructed on the basis of sound parallels is *lugal-ma₂-gur₈-e-si ‘the lugal is just right for the cargo ship,’ 757 for which all witnesses are from the Sargonic period. The term ma₂-gur₈ was sometimes used figuratively about the Moon God due to his appearance as the new moon, and birth incantations could also use a boat as a vehicle for

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751 One instance is made up by the canal named 5: ṇBa-ur-ē₂-ɡa₄-l₈-su₆, RTC 253 r. 11 (date formula, Lagas II Girsu).
753 For the reading su-b (sub,) of TAG, see J. Bauer, WO 9 (1977–78), 4. Either su₆ in this name functions as a local phonetic writing of su₅ or the name expresses another, but clearly related, meaning. See, e.g. CAD S/3 s.v. šukulu (v.), lex. sect.
754 See discussion of lugal-gur₄ with ref. to Ur III variant lugal-gur₄-e.
755 See, for instance, PSD A/2, ab, A 4, 3.7, last example (untranslated), fragmentary passage from a hymn to Nanna; and N. Veldhuis, A Cow of Sin, 1, and the account of the first encounter of the Moon God with the bovine bombshell, 8, l. 12: binūtim kashat ʾimuršīma irāmšī ‘she was attractive of appearance – as soon as he saw her he fell in love with her.’
756 See M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible, 66–70, especially p. 67.
757 The variants attested are lugal-ma₂-e₂₄; and lugal-ma₂-gur₈-e (a₁). Compare ma₂-gur₈-si, e.g. Nik 1 306 o. ii 4 (ED IIIb Girsu); and OSP 2 126 o. ii 11 (MS-CS Nippur), and see, already, A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 8; Six City-State Cultures, 34. Compare DN Lugal-ma₂-gur₈-ra, K. Taulqvist, AGE, 355 s.v. “Lugal-ma₂-gur₈-ra,” given as: “König des makurru-Schiffes”; W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 148 s.v. “Lugal-magurra.”
the woman in labour and her baby.\footnote{758} In a literary text from ED IIIa Abū Šalābīhā, a lugal takes a ride (u₃) on a ship, probably destined for Bad-tibira in the south, to present offerings there.\footnote{759} The imagery of unloading a boat is found in lugal-kar-e-si (a₁) ‘the lugal is just right for the harbour,’\footnote{760} attested at Sargonic Umma only, but with antecedent forms from as early as ED IIIa-b. It is uncertain what names mentioning boats alluded to, and hence also who the referent might have been. If a link should be made to the popular motifs on cylinder seals, found practically all across Mesopotamia, of a deity travelling in a boat, then the Moon and Sun Gods might be considered.\footnote{761} Parallels are made up mostly by nin-names.\footnote{762}

After the transport of the goods to the final destination, foodstuffs that were not directly intended for use in the temple service would end up in storage for distribution through different offices and mediaries, as seems to be the idea behind the ED I-II Ur name lugal-ḡa₂-si (a₁) ‘the lugal is just right for the barn.’\footnote{763} It is possible that the ED IIIa parallel lugal-e₂-si (a₁) represents a further development on this theme, only with more focus on a societal institution, albeit anonymous. The e₂ was central to private and official economy alike, and it is of course possible that e₂ in the latter name refers to a private household or “family.” The referents of the names are unknown.

3.1.5.4 Life and plenty

The lugal is sometimes described as one embodying the abstract concept of life, zi or (nam)-ti. For instance, lugal-zi-ša₃-ḡal₂ (a₁) ‘the lugal is one who establishes life,’\footnote{764} from ED IIIa Šuruppag, treats the lugal as a source for

\footnote{758} See, Å. Sjöberg, \textit{MNS}, 27; M. Stol, \textit{Birth in Babylonia and the Bible}, 60–63; and more above, p. 69.

\footnote{759} \textit{IAS} 392 o. iv’ 3’–4’: lugal-[PA_NUN] ma₂-gur₄ ma₂ še₂-[u₃]₁, E₂-[muš₃] nesa[g] an-[še₂ il₂, the lugal/owner of the ship went for a ride on the ship, in the Emuš he raised the firstling offerings towards the sky.’ An incantation from Ebla begins with Enki taking a boat ride. It was directed at illness generally, and was edited by M. Krebernik, \textit{BFE}, 172–175.

\footnote{760} Variants include: lugal-kar (a₁), all attestations save one from Nippur; lugal-kar[(TE)] (a₁), is Nippur short hand for the former; lugal-kar-e (a₁) from CS Adab; lugal-kar-re (a₁), and lugal-kar-re₂ (a₁), were limited to Sargonic Girsu and possibly Adab. The writing lugal-kar-si (a₁), is found in texts from a few different locations, from the ED IIIa-b onward. In the Ur III the writing lugal-kar-re was the most common, see H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 466 s.v.

\footnote{761} For a discussion with references to literature on the “boat-god” motif on ED and Sargonic seals from the Ḥabur down to Ur, see D. Ławecka, \textit{Fs Łyczkowska}, 131–143, especially p. 131–134.

\footnote{762} E.g. Ur III Umma FPN nin-ma₂-gur₄-re-si, N. Schneider, AnOr 1 292 o. ii 18 (st clear on photo, CDLI P101283; following line not in Schneider’s copy); \textit{Rochester} 166 r. 2 (translit. only), which support this reading; nin-kar-re₂, TMH 5 39 o. ii 15’ (MS-CS Nippur); nin-kar-re, H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 513 s.v.

\footnote{763} Compare nin-ḡa₂-si, UET 2 2 o. iii 3 (ED IIIa Ur), and see D. Foxvog’s discussion of ţa₂ as representing “outbuilding, shed, barn,” \textit{NABU} 1998/7.

\footnote{764} The basic meaning of zi-ša₃-ḡal₂ is understood in accordance with the discussion of B. Alster & H. L. J. Vanstiphout, \textit{ASJ} 9 (1987), 41, note 9, with refs., that zi-ša₃-ḡal₂ refers to an
life. The many parallels that exist show that the same perspective applied to a number of loci, persons and divinities.\textsuperscript{765} A kyriophore Ur III name offers an angle to the possible interpretation: \textsuperscript{d}Amar-\textsuperscript{d}Su’en-\textsuperscript{d}Ašnan-gin-\textsuperscript{t}zi-ša₃-\textsuperscript{a}gal₂-kalam-ma ‘Amar-Su’en establishes life in the land like Ašnan,’\textsuperscript{766} comparing Amar-Su’en to a god of agricultural produce. The connection between the two may be further enhanced by the observation of G. Pettinato, who proposed to see zi ša₃ gal₂ as the result of agricultural work which produced the essentials for human civilization.\textsuperscript{767} Another name from ED IIIa Šuruppak ties in nicely with the two aforementioned names, showing that the association with the land at large was an old one: lugal-zi-kalam \textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the lugal is the life (of) the land.’\textsuperscript{768} The life-bringing mechanisms may furthermore be alluded to in the name lugal-an-ta-ti \textsuperscript{(a21)} ‘the lugal (bestows) life from above,’ from ED IIIb-ES Nippur.\textsuperscript{769} If the interpretation is near the mark, it expresses a belief in a recurrent fertilization of the earth from on high. Similar ideas seem to underlie the Ur III names an-na-ḥe₂-ṭal₂,\textsuperscript{770} and an-ta-ḥe₂-ṭal₂,\textsuperscript{771} ‘plenty in/from heaven.’ The first two names might well be ascribed to an earthly leader. Names locating the source of life or plenty in the heavens, by extension, could refer to a human being who by means of ceremonials or rituals could ensure the welfare of the world. This mediary position is the subject of some names in the following category.

\textsuperscript{765} For the ED IIIb period, see e.g. V. V. Struve, \textit{Onomatika}, 32f. s.v. bara₂-zī-ša₃-ṭal₂; 67 s.v. e₂-zī-ša₃-ṭal₂; 76 s.v. Gir₂-nun-zī-ša₃-ṭal₂. For the Ur III period, zī ša₃ ṭal₂ survives in names with e₂, lugal, nin, deities and the deified king as first element. From the OB period, see e.g. UET 5, 133 r. 6: 466 o. 8: 4Nanna-zī-ša₃-ṭal₂; 682 r. 7: e₂-zī-ṭal₂-kalam-ma (TN or PN ?); and the lexical entries in lists of PNN, E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 212, no. 282: lugal-zī-ša₃-ṭal₂, w. parallels, p. 235, no. 1174 (nin); 237, no. 1285a (4Nin-lil₂).

\textsuperscript{766} So according to copy, YOS 15 114 o. i 8 (Umma); The ṣe following the name is read -še₃ by M. Sigrist, \textit{Rochester} 159, p. 101. The tablet is no longer in its original Rochester collection according to R. K. Englund, \textit{CDLN} 2010:004. Thus no confirmation of either reading has been possible to obtain.

\textsuperscript{767} G. Pettinato, \textit{Menschenbild}, 57.

\textsuperscript{768} M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 17 w. fn. 58: “der König ist Leben.”

\textsuperscript{769} E.g. SAT 2 625 o. 2 (Umma, translit. only).

\textsuperscript{771} E.g. \textit{DAS} 194 r. 1 (Girsu).
3.1.6 Cult or gods

The sixth heading collects names in which the lugal appears in relation to gods, cultic places and ritual objects or acts. Names relating the lugal to divinities can easily be accessed below in table 4.1, and place names are found in table 4.2. Under this heading, names are discussed under a handful of separate subheadings:

- Prayer, petition and purification
- Relations to the divine
- Cultic insignia, acts and ceremonial
- Sacred loci, sanctuaries and installations

A few kyriophores have made their way into this section, though they do not in the strictest sense belong here; they are listed for the sake of completeness. Fig. 7, below, records 262 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 113 variants of theophore lugal-names, and such bearing on cultic topics or in different ways linking the lugal to the divine sphere.

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
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<th>MS-CS</th>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fig. 7: Name-bearers, 3.1.6, Cult or gods. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.*

3.1.6.1 Prayer, petition and purification

A few lugal-names relate to prayer. The most common word used to signify ‘prayer’ is šud₃, but it could perhaps also signify ‘petition,’ when addressed to human superiors. Names with šud₃ as object appear from the ED IIIa down through the Sargonic periods. The fullest form attested is lugal-šud₃-
de₂-ba-ša₄ (a₁) ‘the lugal stands by for prayer,’⁷⁷² forming a full transitive clause with the object marked by loc.-term. -e. This name expresses the readiness on the part of the lugal to pay attention to prayer, as is evident from an ED IIIb Girsu inscription. There, a goddess stands by to receive the prayers of a human.⁷⁷³

In comparison with the latter name, the name lugal-šud₃-du₁₀ₗ-ga (a₂) ‘the lugal of a good prayer,’⁷⁷⁴ limited to ED IIIb Girsu sources, has been taken to consist of a qualified genitive chain, parallel to lugal-mu-du₁₀ₗ-ga. No specific verbal action is apparent, and only an earlier parallel, e₂-šud₃-du₁₀ₗ-ga, is known.⁷⁷⁵ The abbreviated form lugal-šud₃-de₃ (a²>₇) ⁷⁷⁶ is quite likely to be an abbreviation of lugal-šud₃-de₃-ba-ša₄; whereas lugal-šud₃ (a²>₁₀), could be a short form of any of the two former and also another name, treated below.

Other names also feature the lugal as one who receives prayer and supplication. The MS-CS Nippur PN lugal-inim-e-ĝiš-tuku (a₁) ‘the lugal is one who pays attention to words,’ with variant lugal-inim-e (a₁),⁷⁷⁷ uses the compound verb ĝiš–tuk, but with loc.-term. -e instead of the expected com. suffix on the direct object. It has therefore been taken to reflect attentive listening rather than a close to passive hearing. It has a close parallel in ED IIIa Šuruppag lugal-šud₃-ĝiš-tuku (a₁) ‘the lugal is one who hears prayers.’ The predicate is left out entirely in the name lugal-inim-še₃ (a¹),⁷⁷⁸ belonging to a single person from Isin attested between ES and CS times.⁷⁷⁹ Contracted forms like lugal-ĝiš, lugal-ka and lugal-šud₃ may be abbreviations of these names. No close parallels with other appellatives serving as subjects are

⁷⁷² Full writing of this name attested only once. The ED IIIb Girsu chief scribe so named is attested also with abbreviated forms lugal-šud₃ and lugal-šud₃-de₃. Compare Ur III Nippur PN e₂-šud₃-de₃, BBVO 11, 261f. (4N-T213) o. ii 17 (translit. only, date broken). See also discussion of lugal-di-de₃, section 3.1.3.3, p. 117f.

⁷⁷³ CIRPL Ukg. 54–55 1–3; ³Ba-u₁₀ₗ Šud₃-ur₂-ka-ša₄, ba-ša₄, mu-bi ‘Bau stands by for the prayers of Urkagina, is its name.’

⁷⁷⁴ Short form lugal-šud₃-du₁₀ₗ (a₂) known from ED IIIb Girsu and Umma-Zabala.

⁷⁷⁵ See F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 92, for references. Abbreviated form šud₃-du₁₀ₗ-ga is found in TSS 363 o. ii 2.

⁷⁷⁶ Compare W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 152 s.v. “Lugal-šudde,” given as: “The lord who utters benedicitions,” in later times equated with Ninurta or Dumuzi. See also Ningišzida’s Boat-Ride to Hades, T. Jacobsen & B. Alster, Fs Lambert, 337 (MS B) o. 8, used about Ningišzida.

⁷⁷⁷ The name lugal-inim-e appears twice in a single text from MS-CS Nippur (OSP 2, 44). From one of the passages it is clear that the name is not marked by ergative -e. Other texts, plausibly from the same archive and around the same period (OSP 2 45; 48; 49), has this name in its fuller form lugal-inim-e-ĝiš-tuku. The reservations by A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 61, note to ii 1 and 8, should be contrasted with the fact that lugal-ka-e is otherwise never written save to mark the name-bearer as the ergative subject.


⁷⁷⁹ J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973), 224, made a connection between two instances, MAD 4 71 and 153, but a third should be added to these due to the stated filiations, see list of attestations.
known. Not knowing in each and every instance whether the word signified ‘prayer’ or ‘petition’ it is difficult to assign a referent to such names. A human referent is in any case not excluded.

A special case is formed by the unique name of a citizen of Nippur temporarily settled in Lagaš during Sargonic times. If understood correctly, it represents an intervention by the lugal to rectify a state of impurity: lugal-nam-dag (a1), tentatively: ‘the lugal (removes?) sin.’ While no Nippur parallels exist, some other Girsu names do offer suggestions as to what idea was intended by the name. They would imply that the lugal is qualified as one without flaws or as one who removes guilt.780 A historical parallel may be seen in the work of Gudea, who in preparation of building the temple of Ningirsu banned all wicked words and corporal punishment, and furthermore banished people of compromised purity to ensure the correct circumstances for the founding of the temple.781 At this point it is not possible to say which alternative is the most likely, or whether this name belongs to any of the following subsections.

With due hesitation, the word šita may also carry a sense of ‘prayer,’ as in the rare name lugal-šita (a2).782 At least, no secure parallel formation connects the lugal with a specific type of priestly office. ŠITA could also be taken to represent a weapon of sorts, for which parallel examples abound, and the missing determinative ĝi would have ample parallels, for instance in lugal-apin-du₁₀, attested once with the determinative. However, two names offer the possibility of a link between šita and prayer, lugal-šita-ĝu₁₀ (a1), and lugal-šita-uru (a1), both from ED IIIb or ES Adab.783 It is not altogether unlikely that these latter two names represent genitive formations, ‘the lugal (hears) my prayers,’ and ‘the lugal (hears) the prayers of the city.’784

3.1.6.2 Relations to the divine

A large number of theophore names are known which associate the lugal with named divinities. The divinities can be both male and female, and in the case of the latter, lugal is most likely never an epithet of these goddesses. By analogy, it is not unlikely that names in which lugal and a male divinity

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780 All parallels are from Girsu. Compare nam-dag-su₃ ‘the (lugal/lady, etc.) is free from blame,’ ITT 5 9215 o. 5'; and 'nin-nam-dag-nu'-tuku ‘the lady is faultless,’ Nik 1 21 o. iii 3 (all ED IIIB); nin-nam-tag-du₃ ‘the lady is one who absolves sin,’ UNT 34 o. iii 10, undated; and see nin-nam-(MU)-tag-du₃ in TUT 158 r. iii 16 (both Ur III).

781 The sequence is found in Gudea Cyl. A xii 21–xiii 15.

782 ŠITA corresponds to LAK503, second variant copied by Deimel.

783 Note that a šita uru is mentioned in other ES Adab texts, TCABI 51 and CUSAS 11 310. An abbreviation lugal with official title would be unexpected.

784 It would have been preferable to have the abstract element nam prefixed to šita in the earlier periods, as in the ED IIIB Girsu name nam-šita-ĝu₁₀-ū₃-ĝu₁₁, e.g. CT 50 36 rev. iii 11 & iv 6 (2 different persons); and Lugalzagesi’s Nippur inscription, BE 1/2 87 iii 17–18: nam-šita-ĝu₁₀, ĝe₂-na-be₂ ‘may (Enlil) utter my prayer to him (An).’
appear in connection with each other express a formalized relationship between two parties. This said, it is very likely that lugal in some, or even many cases, refers to a male god. Often an expected predicate is missing, and in some cases there is an underlying strength in seeing nominal predicate names as being expressions which served to identify the lugal with the key powers of the divinity serving as the predicate. As opposed to Akkadian names of the same general type, lugal never appears in the expected final, predicative position in names featuring a theonym. For the Ur III period, the picture is another, as the name dNanna-lugal represents a conspicuous but expected break with earlier Sumerian onomastic traditions.\textsuperscript{785} Nanna of course being the tutelary deity of the city which held nam-lugal. On the whole, however, lugal and nin practically never appear as nominal predicates.\textsuperscript{786} Simply put, there is no universal key to defining the identity of the lugal; each and every name has to be tried on its own merits and on parallels from texts of different types, not only the onomastic source material.

The best known example of a full sentence name, featuring a negated passive participle is the name of an ensi\textsubscript{2} of the Lagaš state in the late ED IIIb period: lugal-AN-da-nu-ḫuṣ-ḫa₂, \textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘is the lugal not put in office by An/a god?’.\textsuperscript{787} The name of this ensi\textsubscript{2} is most often written lugal-AN-da \textsuperscript{(a2:5)}, a writing which he shared with a few other known individuals. This shortened form could also stand for names such as lugal-AN-da-nu-me-a ‘(what would be) without LugalANda?’, which, given the provenience and time of the name, refers to the ensi\textsubscript{2} himself.\textsuperscript{788} Considering the short rule of LugalANda this person must have received or taken this name in adulthood. For the other persons referred to as lugal-AN-da, other fuller writings could be envisaged, such as *lugal-AN-da-nir-ĝal₂, ‘the lugal is respected with An/the god,’ or *lugal-AN-da-maḥ-di ‘the lugal is one famous with An/the god.’ The only

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{785} E.g. NATN 6 r. 6 (Nippur); and compare dNanna-lugal\textsuperscript{-}dalla ‘Nanna is a shining lord,’ TRU 196 r. 1 (Puzriš-Dagān).
\item \textsuperscript{786} Seeming exceptions formed with 1\textsuperscript{st} person poss. pron. suffixes can often also be explained away. The following examples are all from Ur III Girsu: lu₂-nin-MU, ITT 2/1 950 o. i 4 (translit. only), must, no doubt, be explained as a phonetic writing of lu₂-dIn-nu\textsubscript{2}, for which, see HLC 2 94 o. ii 7; the cryptic nin-ĝu₁₀-nin-ĝu₁₀, HLC 3 238 o. ii 2, is doubtlessly a phonetic rendering of nin-ĝu₁₀-niĝin-ĝu₁₀, ‘my lady is my all,’ as in MVN 2 176 o. i 6.
\item \textsuperscript{787} The verb ḫuṣ is usually seen in the light of Ur III YNN, which talk of the installation of priests and priestesses in the service of specific deities, see J. Krecher, RIA 8 (1993–97), 156f. s.v. “Miete. A. 1.” The usual Akk. correspondence of ḫuṣ is agārum, which, however, did not cover the sense of ḫuṣ in this name or in the YNN. Compare E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, IRSA, 318: “le roi n’est pas inactif (au service) du ciel (ou: d’An)”; G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 24: “Der König, der sich für An nicht beruhigt”; B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien 1, 396: “Der König ist beim Himmelsgott kein Lohndiener (?)”.
\item \textsuperscript{788} See above, p. 111 fn. 593. Other kyriophore ED IIIb Girsu names incorporating the name of LugalANda are known: dNanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da \textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘Nanše is the mother of LugalANda;’ and dUtu-pal-li-Lugal-AN-da \textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘Utu is the vanguard of LugalANda.’ For the former, compare the LugalANda inscription CIRPL Ukg. 9 i 6’–7’: ([Lugal-AN-da]) …[du]mu tu-da, 4Ba-u₂.
pre–Ur III formal parallel is lugal-₄En-lil₂-da (a1) ‘the lugal … with Enlil,’ 789 where the comitative marker -da is visible. 790 Furthermore, secure readings of di̇gir for AN are rather few in number and mostly of a structurally simpler kind. Judging from all this, AN in the name lugal-AN-da-nu-ḫuĝ-гад₂ is both statistically and logically more likely to have been An, the god of heaven, than an anonymous ‘god’ or a collective, di̇gir. 791 Quite expectedly, then, most of these names underline the fact that the human ruler in part owed his position to close association with a deity. This perspective of nam-lugal is one that frequently comes to the fore in royal inscriptions.

An and Enlil are also featured in a number of other names, full and abbreviated. The eye of An is said to behold the lugal, lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su (a2) ‘the lugal is one known by the eye of Heaven,’ 792 i.e. Utu, who was sometimes also portrayed as the (watchful) eye of Enlil. 793 Similar in scope is lugal-An-ne₂-su (a1) ‘the lugal is one known by An’; which corresponds to the MC-CS name lugal-₄En-lil₂-še-an-zu (a1) ‘the lugal is one whom Enlil knows,’ probably from Isin. 794 The meaning of these names may be contrasted to activities of evil spirits who are said to operate at night, when the gods were less watchful. Hence, daylight serves as a backdrop for the undertakings of the human lugal, acting in accordance with the will of the gods. An is also said to love the lugal, lugal-₄En-ne₂-ki-ağa₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is one loved by An.’ 795 Names which feature An and Enlil as active participants were comparatively common and were often simply abbreviated to lugal-₄An-ne₂ (≥14), 796 and lugal-₄En-lil₂-le (≥6). 797 It is probably no coincidence that

789 Compare en-da-nir-ĝal₂, e.g. DP 2/1 190 r. i 1 (ED IIIb Girsu); ⁴En-lil₂-da-nir-ĝal₂ ‘(s.o.) is respected with Enlil,’ BE 3/1 86 r. 7’; and the FN ⁴Su-⁴Su’en-⁴En-lil₂-da-nir-ĝal₂ ‘Su-Su’en is respected with Enlil,’ e.g. NATN 448 r. 10’ (both Ur III Nippur); Nin-da-mah-di, e.g. SAKF 3 o. iii 8 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala); and ⁴En-lil₂-da-mah-di ‘(s.o.) is one famous with Enlil,’ BBVO 11 279 o. 5’, 10’ (Ur III Nippur).

790 The OB entry in a lexical list of lugal-names lugal-da-nir-ĝal₂, PBS 11/3 25 o. iii’ 3’, may represent either an abbreviation discarding a head noun: ‘(s.o.) is respected with the lugal’; or a dropped theonym: ‘the lugal is respected with (DN).’

791 G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 68 fn. 319 transcribes “Lugaldiĝirda,” without discussion.

792 One instance of the name, VS 25 r. iii 16, is written in a very compact space but can safely be connected with another, unambiguous writing for the same person. For the interpretation, see Gudea Cyl. A xxiv 5: e₂-ninnu igi An-na-ke₄ zu, “Eninnu is what heaven’s eyes know,” following D. O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 84.

793 Compare abbreviation, E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 211f., no. 254: lugal-igi-an-na, “The king is the eye of heaven,” also referring to this particular name. Note similarities with ⁴Utu-i-ṭ[n]-⁴En-lil₂ and ⁴Utu-igi-⁴En-lil₂-la₂ mentioned by E. Chiera, PBS 11/2, 146, no. 1584.

794 The oath formula of the text exhibits pa for pa₂, known from other Isin texts.

795 For parallel formations, see G. J. Selz, Göttewelt, 131.

796 An Ur III PN lugal-an-ne₂-ba-DU was interpreted by H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 86 (wr.: -an-ne-), as phonetic alternation for du₂. The matter is complicated in that a person an-ne₂-ba-du₂ (r. 8) sealed the document, as against two writings of lugal-an-ne₂-ba-DU, o. 3, 11. E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 212 fn. 2, suggested a mng. for this name similar to PBS 11/1 7 r. vi 23: lugal-ga-ba-nu-tuku, with Akk. translation: šar-rum ša ma-ḫi-ra la [i]-²šu³-ų₂.
these two deities were named extensively in the onomastic material connected with lugal as they represented the highest authorities in the cosmos, and they seem to have been recognized as such all across Sumer.\textsuperscript{797}

Two variants, on the other hand, seem to feature AN as locus, that is, ‘heaven.’ The name lugal-an-na-tum\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a1)} \textsuperscript{799}, and variant lugal-an-tum\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a2)} \textsuperscript{800}, “the lugal befits heaven,” found in a number of cities from the ED IIIa onwards, places the lugal in an otherworldly context. A deity with an astral connection is a likely candidate for the identity of the lugal. In comparison, the ED IIIb Ur name lugal-\textsuperscript{d}Nanna-ra-tum\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a1)} “the king is one who befits Nanna,”\textsuperscript{801} refers to an animate object, and hence exhibits the expected dative marker -ra. It is more than likely here to see lugal as the earthly ruler. The name lugal-ra-tum\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a1)}, from ED IIIb Nippur, could also belong to this type of name, though it would necessitate restoring an object. Perhaps it is safer to see the name as complete in itself and translate ‘(he is) fit for a king!’, perhaps bearing on the healthy nature of the child bearing the name.\textsuperscript{802}

Similar in meaning to the former group is a rare name from CS Girsu, lugal-\textsuperscript{b}he\textsubscript{2}-du\textsubscript{7} \textsuperscript{(a1)} “the lugal is befitting (of DN/GN?).” Some parallel formations in Sumerian and Akkadian point to the name as involving an inner quality which makes the lugal fitting for service to a god or perhaps a locus.\textsuperscript{803} Only Utu appears expressly along with this predicate in the onomasticon, but it is associated with other deities in later literary sources.\textsuperscript{804}

\textsuperscript{797} See, furthermore, lugal-\textsuperscript{d}En-lil\textsubscript{2} \textsuperscript{(a2/6/11)}, primarily found in the ED IIIb, denoting persons from Girsu, Nippur and Akkāš.

\textsuperscript{798} Although the title lugal kur-kur-ra is only attested for An in inscriptions of ED IIIb Uruk lugals I am unaware of any \textsuperscript{3\textsuperscript{rd}} millennium evidence that would refute the An-Enlil power-dyad. But compare P. Steinkeller, POANE, 113f. who pictured Enki as the sole male divinity at the head of a veritable harem of obliging goddesses during proto-historic times.

\textsuperscript{799} With Ur III var. lugal-an-na-ab-tum\textsubscript{2}, H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 309: “Le roi qui est digne du ciel”; closely followed by E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, IRSA, 318. The CS PN lugal-anna (a1), of unknown provenience, is an abbreviation of this name.

\textsuperscript{800} W. Sallaberger, Fs Schretter, 574, features a list of parallel names. G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 23 fn. 50, discusses close parallels, and offers a different interpretation of the name: “Dem König/Herrn hat man (ihn) gebracht.” The lack of the dative case is not a critical issue. But more to the point, the implicit introduction of a name-bearer to a king or divine lord begs further explanation or parallels, preferably from outside the onomasticon.

\textsuperscript{801} Theoretically the appellative might be considered as preposed to Nanna’s name as epithet: ‘(one) befitting of lord Nanna.’

\textsuperscript{802} Compare, for instance en-ra-tum\textsubscript{2}, e.g. BIN 8 352 r. i 1; (lu\textsubscript{2}) aj\textsubscript{2}-en-ra-tum\textsubscript{2} (-me), e.g. HSS 3 43 o. ii 2; and mes-en-ra-tum\textsubscript{2}, e.g. VS 25 11 o. v 13’ (all ED IIIb Girsu); e\textsubscript{2}-en-ra, WF 151 o. i 4 (ED IIIa Šuruppag); nin-en-ra, OSP 1 23 (ES-MS Nippur).

\textsuperscript{803} See Ur III Akkadian kyriophores composed with the verb wasāmum, given by M. Hilgert, JBOV 5, 61, w. finn. 207–210: wu-sum\textsubscript{2}, Sul-gi “besonders angemessen (gestaltet) ist Šulgī”; and \textsuperscript{d}Šu-\textsuperscript{d}Šu’en-wu-su-tum-i-šar-rī “Šu-Suen ist besonders angemessen (gestaltet) unter den Königen.” Compare OB Ur PN i-na-ša-mē-e-wu-sum\textsubscript{2}, UET 5 91 r. 11, with en-\textsuperscript{b}he\textsubscript{2}-du\textsubscript{7}-an-na, “the en is befitting of An,” daughter of Šarrukēn; and Ur III Girsu name ġi\textsubscript{e}-par\textsubscript{e}-he\textsubscript{2}-du, ‘he/she is fitting for the ĝīpar,’ TMH NF 1–2 271 o. i 12, with variant ġi-par\textsubscript{(KISAL)}, ITT 2/1 3514 o. 4; E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 213, no. 287: lugal-\textsuperscript{b}he\textsubscript{2}-du\textsubscript{7}-an-ki “the king is the magnificence of heaven and earth.” M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible, 88, offered
Two, maybe three, goddesses also appear in close connection with the lugal in phrase names parallel to epithets in royal inscriptions. The ED IIIa Šuruppak name lugal-Šud₃-ki-aḫ₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is beloved by Sud,’⁰₀⁵ can be compared to CS Adab lugal-Šud₃-de₃ (a1), which contains the expected, though in ED IIIa names largely amissible, ergative marker. In the ED Lagaš state, several names and largely royal inscriptions attest to Nanše’s exalted status. Thus, the name lugal-Nanše-mu-tu (a1) ‘the lugal is one born by Nanše,’⁰₀₆ is only a confirmation of the distribution of royal ideological tenets in certain layers of society. It no doubt refers to the human ruler in Girsu, as demonstrated amply by G. Marchesi.⁰₀⁷ It echoes passages from royal inscriptions in which regents refer to themselves as dumu (ki-aḫ₂) DN, or dumu tu-da DN.⁰₀₈ A name with similar overtones is lugal-tu (a1) ‘the lugal … (the goddess) Tu,’⁰₀₉ probably from ED IIIb Umma-Zabala. Tu is most likely a “mother goddess” whose name was later most often written Nin-tu.⁰₁₀ Two abbreviated names should most likely be seen as related to the above: lugal-ša₃-ge-ib₂-tu (°1) ‘the lugal was born in the heart (of DN?),’ found only in a later scholastic list of early personal names is problematic,⁰₁₁ but lugal-mu-tu (a1) ‘the lugal is one born (by DN),’ from ED IIIb Girsu, is straightforward by comparison.⁰₁₂

A small number of names which presuppose the presence of divine ordinance and selection remind of further passages in royal inscriptions. A name which bears on the lugal as ordered by one or more gods is lugal-inim-

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another interpretation of i-na-ša-me-e-wu-sum₂, “Made beautiful in heaven,” as evidence of the determining of children’s destinies before birth. In light of the parallels listed here, that interpretation probably does not apply to this name.

⁰₀⁴ E.g. Utu-he₂-du₃, OIP 14 150 r. 2’ (abba₃ uru, CS Adab). For literary refs. to other deities, see Å. Sjöberg, MNS, 25; K. Tallqvist, AGE, 322.

⁰₀⁵ Compare H. Limet, Namenforschung, 852: lugal-Nanše-ki-aḫ₂, “le roi qui Nanše aime.”

⁰₀₆ Compare parallels en-Nanše-mu-tu ‘the en is one borne by Nanše,’ DP 2/1 175 o. ii 3; VS 14 86 o. ii 6; PAP.PAP,Nanše-mu-tu and PAP.PAP,Ba₂-u₃-mu-tu ‘PAP.PAP is one borne by Nanše/Bau,’ Nik 1 9 o. 7, 9.

⁰₀⁷ HANE/S 10, 72f. fn. 381.

⁰₀₈ See generally refs. in FAOS 6, 85–91 s.v. dumu, esp. p. 90, A) 3. and 4.

⁰₀₉ This writing for the goddess appears also in another ED IIIb Umma-Zabala text, M. A. Powell, HUCA 49, 1–58, no. 1 o. i 11.

⁰₁₀ See J. Bauer, WO 24 (1993), 163, note to no. 14 VII 5; Annäherungen 1, 499f.; and further, M. Krebernik, Annäherungen 1, 284 fn. 532, who notes that a pair of ED IIIa Šuruppak god lists feature two d₃Tu after another.

⁰₁₁ The interpretation presupposes a genitive construction following the hamtu verbal chain, where the -b- refers back to the loc.-term. -e in /ṣag-e/. A passive-intransitive understanding of this name is thus taken for granted. See here the discussion of C. Wilcke, ZA 78 (1988), 35–49, esp. 40–42 and fn. 140. Other solutions could perhaps be envisaged. The list containing the name in question, M. E. Cohen, Fs Hallo, 79–86 (YBC 2124), contains a number of archaic-looking names but also writings more akin to Ur III or later orthographies.

⁰₁₂ The less certain lu:gal-tu (°1) from ES Nippur, if read correctly, could be an even more abbreviated form of this name, or perhaps of lugal-tu.
ma-se₃-ga (a2) ‘the lugal is one instructed (by/of DN),’ is found at ED IIIb Nippur and, perhaps, Zabala. Abbreviated variant lugal-inim-se₃-ga (a1), is attested in ED IIIb Ur.

A form of vocation and call to office by gods seems also to be the meaning underlying the CS Adab name lugal-gu₃-de₂-a (a1) ‘the lugal is summoned.’ The appointment process is sometimes qualified adverbia
lly as zi, and can hence be translated as ‘truthful,’ and thus in accordance with
the overarching ordinances of the world instated by the all-powerful gods. The gods documented by royal inscrip

tional material as responsible for this call to office are Enlil and Inana.

Divine selection is the theme behind the variants lugal-š₃ₐ₃-p₃ₐ₃-da (a2) ‘the lugal is one chosen in the heart (of DN),’ and variant lugal-š₃ₐ₃-p₃ₐ₃ (a2), attested at Šuruppag, Girsu and Ur during the ED III period. A few lugal

ames featuring the verb p₃ₐ₃ but lacking an indirect object, are likely to be abbreviations of the previous type. A possible reference to the one doing the choosing is contained in two exemplars of a list of PNN from ED IIIa Šuruppag. One text has lugal-mes-nun-p₃ₐ₃ (°1) ‘the lugal is one chosen by the noble hero (?),’ while the duplicate has lugal-nun-p₃ₐ₃ (°1) ‘the lugal is one chosen by the noble one.’ It is of course possible, though less likely, that mes nun in the former should be taken as an added description of the referent of lugal. In names where the selection is said to take place in the heart (of DN), a human referent is plausible.

Names in which the lugal may be likened to gods; that is, names which do not feature any remains which could point to their originally having been phrase names, like dimensional suffixes or predicates, are relatively few in number. They seem for the most part to accord well with later practice in royal hymns of the Ur III period, comparing the king to certain divinities. Here, however, in the absence of a corpus of royal hymns, an identification


814 See, e.g. the use of šasûm in PNN, *CAD Š/2 s.v. šasû (v.), 3’.


816 Compare PN Š₃ₐ₃-k₃u₃-ge₁-p₃ₐ₃-da[a] (dumu ensi₂-ke₄, PBS 15 2 1’, ED IIIb Nippur) and see Š₃ₐ₃-k₃u₃-ge₂-p₃ₐ₃-da₃, Nanše, nin uru₆-nₐ₆-ke₄, epithet of Eanatum in *CIRPL* Ean. 60 i 6–8.

817 Including lugal-p₃ₐ₃ (al°/1), and lugal-p₃ₐ₃-da (a2). The Ebla variant nu-gal-p₃ₐ₃(BA)-da (°1) is phonetic for the latter.

818 The fuller writing appears in *SF* 28 which sometimes exhibits further signs compared to the larger exemplar of the same text, *SF* 29. The rarely attested divinity ḍMes-nun-sₐ₆-a₅g₃, e.g. *AUCT* 2 97 r. 1 7 (Ur III Puzrîš-Dagān), is hardly intended by the fuller writing. The name of an ED IIIb Ur lugal has traditionally been read as mes-kiₐ₅g₃-nun, but see G. Marchesi, *OrNS* 73 (2004), 167f. fn. 97, who proposes a more likely reading mes-nun-kiₐ₅g₃, which forms a nice parallel to the present name, and is more in keeping with other ED IIIa name types.
is not clear-cut, and hence the question of what or who is intended must remain open. The names which appear to be nominal phrase names may be abbreviations for longer ones featuring a predicate or they may simply be elative phrases praising the qualities of the divinity by means of addressing him as lugal, ‘lord!’ The names are: two variants of lugal–Dumu-zi \(^{(a1)}\) \(^{819}\), mostly attested in the ED IIIa; lugal–KA.DI \(^{(a1)}\) \(^{820}\) from MS-CS Nippur; and the contemporary lugal–Utu \(^{(a1)}\) \(^{821}\), probably from Isin. \(^{821}\) Less secure are the names lugal–mes-lam (or \(\text{d}'\text{Lugal-mes-lam?}\) \(^{(a1)}\) \(^{822}\) and lugal–UD \(^{(a2671)}\) \(^{823}\). The names lugal–Utu and lugal–KA.DI probably bear on the lugal in relation to the sphere of legal activities, as a source for social justice, see above, 3.1.3.3, end. They might also be condensed writings of longer forms, such as lugal–Utu-gin₁₇-e₃, for which, see below, section 3.1.7.10. \(^{824}\) The name lugal–AN \((a2771)\) ‘An/the god … the lugal (?),’ \(^{825}\) can be an abbreviated form of many different names. As An was considered one of the deities who conferred nam-lugal on humans it is not altogether unlikely that AN does refer to the god An in some instances of this abbreviated name. Similarly, lugal–En-lil₂ might rather be a short form of names which, like similar ones composed with An, originally featured an ergative marker, and sometimes a transitive verb, zu ‘to know,’ or ki–āg₂ ‘to love.’

\(^{819}\) Dumuzi is here more likely the nominal predicate than the subject. The PN lugal–dumu–zi \((a2471)\), is almost exclusively found in the ED IIIa period, with one reference in the Ebla copy of the Names and Professions List, and is a probable alternative writing of this name, without divine determinative, thus, e.g. H. Steible, \(\text{CollAn 7}\) (2008), 97; so also M. Krebernik, \(Fs Wilke}\, 152f., with the alternative suggestion “der König ist ein ‘rechtes Kind.’” The only attestation of lugal–Dumu–zi is \(\text{TSS} 131\), a small Šuruppak donkey text. A small majority of the other Šuruppak attestations (4 out of 7 in all) are also from donkey texts. However, no direct prosopographical connections between \(\text{TSS} 131\) and the rest of these texts exist.

\(^{820}\) H. Limet, \(\text{Anthroponymie}, \) 172, discussed similar names as meaning: “Le roi est [DN],” or: “Le (vrai) roi (de la cité), c’est [DN]!”

\(^{821}\) Oath formula in the text uses pa phonetically for pa₃, known from other Isin documents. If the name is unabbreviated, \(\text{d}'\text{Utu}\) is the nominal predicate, not the head noun.

\(^{822}\) Also written lugal–mes–lam \((a271)\) in ED IIIa Šuruppak. An epithet of Nergal lies close at hand, for which see, W. G. Lambert, \(\text{RIA 7}\) (1987–90), 149 s.v. “Lugal–Meslama,” translated: “Lord of (the shrine) Meslam.” The ambiguity of the placement of the dinğiř–determinative is perhaps witnessed by the ED IIIb Nippur GN e₂ lugal–mes–lam, \(\text{TMH 5} 24 \text{ o. ii} 1\), compared to MS Nippur GN e₂ \(\text{d}'\text{Lugal-mes-lam}^{1}\), \(\text{OSP 1} 102 \text{ o. ii} 2\).

\(^{823}\) Not all names can be said with all certainty to refer to Utu, but as has been pointed out by H. Steible, \(\text{CollAn 7}\) (2008), 101 w. fn. 25, Utu is most often written without the \(\text{d}'\) determinative in early texts, including PNN. In ED IIIa Šuruppak economic documentation, \(\text{d}'\)Utu is written only once, L. Matouš, \(\text{ArOr 39}\) (1971), p. 14 o. iii 3: di–\(\text{d}'\)Utu. J. Krecher, \(\text{ZA 63}\) (1973), 213f., saw that text as ED IIIb, in pointing, among other things, to this name. The reading of \(\text{WF 41} \text{ o. vii} 6\) with \(\text{EDATS}\), 170 as: \(\text{lu₃–d}'\)Utu is not supported by photo (CDLI P010998). Read instead \(\text{AN.BU.DU₃}, \) and compare F. Pomponio, \(\text{Prosopografia}, \) 39 s.v.

\(^{824}\) See also some entries in OB PNN lists, e.g. PBS 11/3 20 r. i 8’f.: lugal–\(\text{d}'\)Utu–gin₃, \(\text{f}'\text{lugal–d}'\)Utu–gū₃, and TIM 9 91 o. ii 6’: \(\text{f}'\text{lugal–d}'\text{KA.DI–} \text{f}'\text{gin–} \text{di₃–} \text{ku₃–da-pa–e₃}\).

\(^{825}\) Not necessarily a nominal predicate name, as it was interpreted by H. Limet, \(\text{Anthroponymie}, \) 174; and R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 60, 30.4b, 1.
Names which belong, or most likely belong to this category, but which have not been fully understood are: lugal-diĝir-re (a1) “the god … the lugal”; and lugal-^En-ki-a-DU (a1) \(^826\) from ED IIIa Šuruppak.

### 3.1.6.3 Cultic insignia, acts and ceremonial

Certain external signs of lordship which bear on the lugal’s cultic role have already been mentioned in discussions above. The men, discussed in section 3.1.1.3, for instance, seems to have had a double function of indicating both worldly and cultic responsibilities. But while this outer characteristic of lordship did no more than separate its owner from the surrounding world, other objects presuppose specific acts on the part of the lugal. So, for instance, the name lugal-banšur-e (a1) ‘the lugal … the (offering) table,’ points to a demand for providing meals for the gods. The loc.-term. suffix -e and the exclusive access to an offering table suggest that the verb missing is si ‘to be just right (for something),’ indicating special access of the lugal to cultic paraphernalia of this sort. Texts describing allocations of such offerings are known both from contemporary texts and later copies.\(^827\)

That which went to the offering tables of the sanctuaries was sometimes characterized as nidba, and a few variant names exist which associate the lugal with such offerings; most of them are from Nippur, all are of Sargonic date. The earliest form, lugal-nidba₂ (a1),\(^828\) may carry a meaning along the lines of: ‘the lugal (is just right for) the nidba-offerings (?)’. From the ED IIIb and ES period, a handful of independent rulers are known to have provided such offerings for local sanctuaries and for the all–important gods of Nippur.\(^829\) A name with an analogue semantic import is lugal-kadra (a1) ‘the lugal (presents) a gift (offering),’ attested once at CS Umma.\(^830\) A

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\(^826\) Maybe a-DU is to be read a-ra₂, and be understood as ‘advice,’ pointing to a relationship between Enki and the lugal as informed by the god. Another, more or less equally forced interpretation would be to see the name as an abbreviation originally mentioning the Abzu of Enki: lugal(-abzu)-\(^4\)Enki(-ga-k)a-tum₂ ‘the lugal befits the Abzu of Enki.’ Alternatively, one might consider a wholly different reading: lugal-\(^a\)ki-en-DU-am₆, freely ‘the lugal is water (in) the waterway,’ though admittedly, this is without parallel.

\(^827\) E.g. from the reign of Rîmus, BE 1/1 13; A. Westenholz, ECTJ, 100, with notes on no. 219, a late 3rd millennium copy of an earlier original.

\(^828\) Slightly later are the MS-CS variants lugal-nidba₂-x, and lugal-nidba₁-e (a₁), and lugal-nidba₂-e (a₁). Note the entry lugal(-nidba-x, in a CS Girsu text edited by B. R. Foster, JANES 12 (1980), 30 no. 1 (MLC 114), o. ii 2’. The final sign is not -e, according to Foster, who did not see the entry as a PN, but the copy shows a sign more like lu. A reading of the line as a PN, and a restoration lugal-nidba-si (?) is possible, and the predicate -si is at any rate the most likely one.

\(^829\) See, e.g., A. Westenholz, Iraq 39 (1977), 19–21 (Ukg. lugal 2); TMH 5 84–86 (nidba-offerings of Sarrukēn); and compare the statement of Lugalzagesi, BE 1/2 87 iii 7–12: \(^6\)En-lil₂, lugal-ni, Nibrú\(^k\)₁-a, nidba gal-gal, e-na-su₁₁-[de₃], a du₁₀ e-na-d[e₂-e] ‘for his lord, Enlil, in Nippur, he serves up surpassing nidba-offerings (and) pours sweet water.’ See also OSP 1 16 (nidba₂-offerings from Adab).

\(^830\) For the interpretation, see the note by the editors, W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, Gs Diakonoff, 195, to l. 9.
special category of offerings may be the nesāg (Akk. *nisannu*), as in the name lugal-nesāg-e (a2 commodious) ‘the lugal (is just right for) the firstling (offering),’ which is most commonly encountered in the Umma region. But the noun is perhaps to be understood rather as a locus, ‘the lugal by the sacristy,’ or the like, depending on which verb was associated with nesāg.

A small group of ED IIIb names are related to the performance of music. They are all from the Girsu area, and they can with some degree of certainty be linked to a specific context. According to J. Cheng, Sumerian iconography has a preference for depicting musical performances only in relation with banquets, although he notes that according to texts, music was performed also, for instance, during funeral ceremonies. The relevant names all feature the noun tigi, lugal-tigi₄(E₂,BALAĜ)-mete(TE+ME) (a1) ‘the Harp is befitting of the lugal,’ lugal-tigi₃(E₂,BALAĜ)-ni-du₁₀ (a1) ‘the Harp of the lugal is pleasant (sounding).’ A parallel of the latter with the appellative nin is also extant. No comparable theophore constructions exist for either of these two names.

Some names combine the lugal with objects which might have served purposes for cultic acts. For instance lugal-gu₄ (a2) ‘the lugal … the ox,’ found in a few different ED IIIb cities, and lugal-guₓ-DU (a1) so far limited to a CS lexical text of unknown provenience. The dedication by royalty of

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831 With variant lugal-nesāg (a2 commodious). For the reconstruction with -si, see the name lugal-nesāg-e-si, S. Langdon, *Babyloniaca* 6 (1912), 53 B r. 5 (Uruk III Umma).
835 The short form lugal-tigi₄(E₂,BALAĜ) (a1), belongs to this fuller writing, as against G. J. Selz, *Götterwelt*, 104. Uncertain interpretation. The crux lies in defining the relation between the tigi₄ and lugal. If comparable to the following name, there is an underlying anticipatory genitive, lugal-(ak) tigi₃-(ni) mete(am), but this must remain speculative. For the reading tigi₃ of E₂,BALAĜ, see discussion below of *lugal-e₂-balağ*, etc., p. 185.
836 Compare also nin-tigi₃-ni, T. Gomi, *Orient* 19 (1983), p. 2–3 o. iii 2 (ED IIIa Šuruppak). That the verb du₁₀ is used for the effects of musical instruments is clear, for instance, from Gudea Cyl. B 9–15. Another interpretation is offered by G. J. Selz, *Götterwelt*, 104 w. fn. 377: “lugal-e₂-balag-i₃-du₁₀ (Dem) Herrn (des) Hauses ist die Harfe angenehm.” The comparative rarity of this and the two previous names against contemporary nin-tigi₃-ni-du₁₀ can be explained from the fact that the two or three persons with this latter name are found more often in the e₂-ME₁ documentation. Note unclear [l]u₂ tigi₃-me in CS Girsu, *STTI* 158 r. 6.
837 Recreate, with all probability, loc.-term. suffix -e, as in Ur III lugal-guₓ-e, H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 463 s.v.; given on p. 329 as: “le roi vers le beuf … (pour le sacrifice?).” Compare lugal-ab-ki-aš; and, perhaps, ED IIIb Girsu PN nin-maš-e, V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 148 s.v. Note the possibility that the bulls refer to a traditional motif associated with Enil in birth incantations, with witnesses from the ED IIIa and Ur III periods. The last treatment of these are found in M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible*, 60–63.
838 The name is unique and the interpretation hinges on the multivalent final sign. Is DU a phonetic writing for duₓ, as in guₓ duₓ, ‘bull without defect,’ Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 81 note to l. 147, with refs.; or rather guₓ duₓ, ‘goring bull,’ or the like, corresponding to Akk. *nakāpum* and derived forms?
utensils to temples and deities is known from early on, but whether the Sargonic name lugal-bur (a≥3) ‘the lugal … the bowl,’ has bearing on this phenomenon is not clear. A likely later parallel supplies a predicate, nin-bur-e-si ‘the lady/queen is just right for the bowl.’ No fitting theophore parallels exist.

One of the most difficult words in Sumerian is me. It appears regularly in PNN, but its placement in the names vary, and seemingly so also its functions. Another reading of the sign ME is išib, which denoted a priestly role. For some names, me can tentatively be translated as ‘rites,’ that is, the execution of predefined cultic acts with a specific and expected end-result. In other instances, it is likely that me signifies the dynamic powers which lay at the base of each and every cultural and natural phenomenon. An example of the former is posed by lugal-me-še₃-gal₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is present for the rites,’ from ED IIIb Nippur. Although it is not immediately clear in the latter whether lugal is the one performing or presiding over the rites, other names and literary passages add weight to the assumption that the lugal is the active party in the proceedings. The name lugal-ME₂-En-[il₁] (a1) ‘the lugal … the rites of Enlil (?),’ from ED IIIb Kiš can be held against Ningirsu’s role as išib of An in one of Gudea’s cylinders. Another name, lugal-me-gal-gal (a2) ‘the lugal (performs) the great rites (?),’ relates to the later theology of Ningirsu and Ninurta. In the case of the former, me gal-gal probably refers to rites executed in his honour at a specific festival, known at least from Ur III times. In the case of Ninurta, me gal-gal is linked to an-ki, heaven (and) earth, and thus are more likely to refer to his responsibilities and powers.

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839 See, conveniently, J. Goodnick Westenholz, BiOr 55 (1998), 44–59, with many refs., for an investigation into different types of inscribed objects and vessels from the Sargonic period.
840 MVN 21 240 o. 7 (Ur III Umma).
841 An alternative interpretation, interpreting me-še₃ as the interrogative, ‘what is the lugal for?’, is implausible.
842 Collation by A. Westenholz, autumn 2011, confirms the copy by J. P. Grégoire, AAICAB 1/1 pl. 5 (Ashm 1928-427 r. 1 i) is correct.
843 Gudea Cyl. A x 13. The passage is one of only six times in the cylinders where Ningirsu’s role as išib of An in one of Gudea’s cylinders. Another name, lugal-me-gal-gal (a2) ‘the lugal (performs) the great rites (?),’ relates to the later theology of Ningirsu and Ninurta. In the case of the former, me gal-gal probably refers to rites executed in his honour at a specific festival, known at least from Ur III times. In the case of Ninurta, me gal-gal is linked to an-ki, heaven (and) earth, and thus are more likely to refer to his responsibilities and powers.
Further names featuring ME are less overt as to meaning; the name lugal-me-si (a=1) ‘the lugal is just right for the ordinances,’ contains the predicate –si; while lugal-me-du₁₀-ga (a=1) ‘the lugal of the good ordinances,’ has the appearance of a qualified genitival compound. Other names are even less clear, such as lugal-me-sikil (a=1) ‘the lugal (is just right for) the pure ordinances (of DN),’ which has a parallel featuring the appellative nin; and the ED IIIa entry in a scholastic text lugal-me-zi (°1) ‘the lugal … the true me-functions,’ which also appears as a theophore featuring Enlil.

That an interpretation išib of ME is fully possible is demonstrated by lugal-šu-luh₃-An-na (a=1) ‘the lugal (is one befitting for) the holy handwashing rites of An’ known from ED IIIb Ur, and which nicely echoes the role later ascribed to the tutelary deity of Ur, Nanna, in relation to An. A name which is likely to refer to the human lugal is lugal-šu-sikil (a=1) ‘the lugal is the pure hand (of DN),’ from the MS-CS period, and which bears some resemblance to passages in 3rd millennium royal inscriptions.

A most interesting group of lugal-names relate to activities connected with beds: the unique lugal-na₂-du₁₀-ga (a=1) ‘the lugal on/of the good bed,’ limited to the ED IIIa, and lugal-ni₃-bar₃-du₁₀ (a=4) with variant lugal-ni₃-

847 Abbreviated. An original form incorporating a directional object marked by loc.-term. –e, by or in which the lugal fills the me – whatever they may be in this connection – is envisaged by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 23f.
848 H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 172: “Le roi dont les me sont bonnes.” It is hardly coincidental that a nin-me-du₁₀-ga is mentioned just before a lugal-me-du₁₀-ga in a difficult passage in a CS Nippur text. The couple ought reasonably to be related to each other. Only two attestations of lugal-me-du₁₀-ga predating the Ur III period are known; nin-me-du₁₀-ga is more common.
849 DCS 9+10 r. iii’ 8’: nin-me-sikil-An-na (ED IIIb Girsu FPN).
850 See the ED IIIb Girsu name 2En-lil₃-ma-zi, VS 27 13 o. iv 10. It is possible that a predicate is missing, as is shown by the ED IIIa Šuruppag name me-zi-pa-e₃, e.g. WF 41 o. vii 8. It is also possible that me zī formed part of a genitive chain, governing a divinity, for which, see the later en-me-zi-An-na, e.g. MVN 1 144 o. 5° (Ur III Puzriš-Dagān).
851 Once abbreviated to lugal-šu.
852 See the passage from an OB adab-song to Nanna: en šu-luḥ ku₃-ga An-e gub-ba-am₃-ma “en (responsible) of the holy handwashing rites that An put in place,” largely following Å. Sjöberg, *MNS*, 37. The verbal chain is not entirely clear to the present writer.
853 Interpretation following G. Marchesi, *OrNS* 73 (2004), 180f., with parallels. It is possible that the two known occurrences of this name refer to the same person.
854 See, for instance, Šu-Su’en’s priestly functions in YOS 1 20 i 7–11: išib An-na, gudu₄ šu dada₃(UD,UD), 2En-lil₃, 2Nin-lil₃-ka, u₄ di₃-₃-gal-gal-e-ne, ‘the purification priest of An, pure-handed gudu₄-priest of Enlil, Ninlil and of all the great gods.’ For earlier titularies, see Lugalzagesi’s Nippur inscription BE 1/2 87 i 6: išib An-na; and see S. Franke on Šarrukēn’s borrowing of this part of Lugalzagesi’s titulary, *Königsinschriften*, 96–98.
855 Abbreviation lugal-na₂-du₁₀ (1/1) is found both at Šuruppag, and, in a scholastic text, at Abū Șalāḥīh. Contemporary sources and most later lexical entries have (a) na₂ or ki na₂ as representing ‘bed,’ but one source equates ki na₂-du₁₀-ga with [a-šar] ma-a-a-lim (MIN,MIN), ‘sleeping place,’ *CAD* M/1 s.v. majālu, lex. sect.
856 As noted by F. Pomponio & G. Visicato, *FTUM*, 34, the name is not found outside of Šuruppag. Neither does na₂ du₁₀-ga appear with other appellatives or a theonym.
bara₃-du₁₀ (a₁₂, a₁₆) attested from the ED IIIa down through the Sargonic periods, both meaning ‘the lugal is one who makes joyous (things) on the bedspreads.’

The names may deal with what is commonly referred to as the ‘sacred marriage,’ the union between earthly and divine aspects which served to ensure plenty on earth. The actors in this ceremony were by the late 3rd millennium human actors, one being the deified king, the other a woman representing the divine Inana.

However, the earliest history of the sacred marriage is as of yet shrouded in mystery. If the association of these names should prove correct, they would then be linked to a festival of great concern to people in general, which would in part explain the popularity of the name lugal-ni₃-bar₃-du₁₀, borne by more than 15 persons, predominantly in the Nippur, Adab and Isin area. Perhaps this could also be taken as indicative of the time of birth of persons so named, around the time of the celebration of this ceremony. The closest – though not identical – parallels are construed with the appellative nin.

A symbol connected with different activities was a type of standard, uri₃. The name lugal-uri₃ (a₁₂, a₁₆) known from as early on as ED I-II Ur, has a rare variant in lugal-uri₃-da (a₁) ‘the lugal … by the standard.’ Apart from lugal, and nin, the uri₃ appears also in names composed with the theonyms Utu and Nanše, in the Ur III period also with Nanna. As a visible symbol indicative of guidance, uri₃ appears in the cylinder inscription of Gudea, and a name mu-ni-uri₃ ‘his/her name is a standard,’ may relate to the same idea.

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form with the comitative signals some form of activity involving the standard but none presents itself.

A reference to an architectural detail by the doorways of temples is lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ (*a3) ‘the lugal … the door ornament,’ limited to the ED IIB-ES period. The decorations of the ĝiš-bur₂ could feature wild animals. No parallels are known that could explain closer the relation between the lugal and this architectural feature.

A few names may arguably sort under this heading, though at present precise interpretations are hard to propose: lugal-LUḪ₂ (*a2) ‘the lugal (is) pure (or purifies?) (?),’ lugal-na-de₂-ga (*a≥1) ‘the lugal is pure (?).’

3.1.6.4 Sacred loci, sanctuaries and installations

Place names occur in the human onomasticon in combination not only with lugal but also with the other popular appellatives en, and nin. A number of names contain references to loci associated with the god Enki, at home in Eridu, in the far south of the floodplain. Names mentioning the Abzu are mostly attested during the ED period. Later on in time, the Abzu became a cultic installation attested in places other than Eridu, but for the ED period it is reasonable to assume that Abzu in the human onomasticon was identical with or symbolically linked to the body of sweet water over which Enki exercised his powers. As stated earlier, M. Krebernik has argued for a possibility to see in early Abzu-names ideas related to birth. The Abzu would then be a body of water which the unborn child and the mother had to cross. Few lugal-names, however, can be connected to such a crossing.

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868 This implement or architectural detail is discussed by P. Michalowski, MesCiv 1, 102, note to ll. 420, and 421–424, with refs.
869 The determinative is definitely part of the word as is indicated by the direct loan into Akkadian, see CAD G s.v. gišburru. The fact that the same word was used for a tool of exorcising could indicate that the ĝiš-bur ornament served an apotropaic function similar to lamassu-figures in later Assyrian palaces.
870 Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 333: “Le roi est messager.” W. G. Lambert, OrNS 64 (1995), 136, proposes “vizier” as possible translation. It is not clear if that sense is applicable in this or other names of the same type.
871 Interpretation difficult. The name could also be taken to mean ‘the lugal is instructed.’ The verb na–de₂ was examined by W. Sallaberger, Fs Klein, 229–253. He concluded the investigation by proposing an original meaning “to clear, to clarify,” and a set of derived meanings, including “to clarify, enlighten, explain,” and “to clarify, consecrate, purify.”
872 E.g. en-Kul-aba₂-si ‘the en is just right for Kulaba,’ UET 2, PN no. 292f. (ED I-II Ur), given as: “le en réside à Kulaba,” D. O. Edzard, CRRA 19, 144. On inspection of a photograph of IAS 504 r.1, entry ‘x³ Kul-aba₂, the damaged sign can not be read ‘lugal,’ but the remark notes a locus connected with the transactions recorded on the obverse of the text. Compare the remark Bar₂ on the reverse of IAS 510. In IAS 505 r. i’ 4’–5’, lugal, Ere₂₂, refers to the north Mesopotamian town of the same name. See D. R. Frayne, RIME 1, 375; and ibid., JCSMS 4 (2009), 47, for the locations of some of these towns on the northern half of the floodplain.
873 E.g. the ED IIB Girsu PN nin-e₂-Unug₂–ga-nir–gal₂, V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 141 s.v.
874 AOAT 296, 46, w. ref. to a survey on later incantations pertaining to this theme.
The variant writings of the names lugal-ma₂-gur₈-e(-si) and lugal-kar-e-si, are two possibilities, but they remain unclear as to referent. None of the early variants mentioning the Abzu is found in more than two cities. Names such as lugal-abzu-si (a₁) ‘the lugal is just right for the Abzu,’ from ED IIIb Nippur, and lugal-abzu-a-gal-di (a₂) ‘the lord is prominent in the Abzu,’ featuring locative marker -a, both indicate a presence at, or an involvement with, the Abzu. For lugal-abzu-a-gal-di the referent is more than likely to have been a deity. Nothing can be said with certainty about the abbreviation lugal-abzu (a₂). Provided that the Abzu mentioned in these names was identical with the one found at Eridu, at least a superficial connection exists with the ED IIIb Girsu lugal-Eridu₃-šₑ₃₃ (a₁) ‘the lugal … to(wards) Eridu.’ This name attests to early mythological and, perhaps, cultic contacts between Girsu and Eridu. In later times, traditions are known which involve journeys, some perhaps only mythological, some no doubt undertaken by the divinities in the form of their statues to visit their kin elsewhere in Sumer.

Eridu was hardly inhabited in historical times, and thus never held political sway over other cities during the times from which documentation survives, so in whatever capacity it appears in personal names, its function as a religious center of one of the most important deities in the pantheon is likely to have been a crucial factor. It appears in administrative texts from ED IIIb Ur where a lugal is said to have provided sacrifices for the city, no doubt intending the main sanctuary there.

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875 See above, section 3.1.5.3, p. 135ff.
877 Compare abbreviations lugal-abzu-a (a₂), and lugal-abzu-da (a₂). Abzu with comitative -da also attested in a few other names, abzu:da, UET 2 112 o. v’ 5” (ED I- II Ur); ama-ab-zu-da, OIP 58, 291 no. 3 ii 1 (ED IIIb Tutub); M. Powell, *HUCA* 49, 58 no. 25 o. iv 1’ (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala). The comitative seems malplaced in connection with an inanimate such as Abzu. Is Abzu-da, then, to be understood as metonym for Enki, taking on the grammatical form of its metonymic correspondence?
878 See discussion by G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 72f. fn. 381; and compare the name of an UN:gal of ED IIIb Girsu, en-abzu-a-tum₂ ‘the en befits the Abzu’; and en-da-gal-di, e.g. HSS 3 18 o. vii 11, from the same time and place.
879 As indicated by A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, StPohl SM 13, 106, the name is abbreviated. Writing: ki lugal-abzu-šₑ₃ in UET 2 suppl. 47 o. i 4 does not indicate a genitive compound, as opposed to the byname of Enki from the ED IIIa on, for which, see M. Krebernik, *RIA* 7 (1987–90), 110: “Lugal-abzu,” “König des Abzu.”
880 H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 173: “Le roi vers Eridu …” Compare the name of a palm tree planted by UruKagina during his third year as lugal, lugal-Eridu₃-šₑ₃₃-nu-kuš₂, ‘the lugal is one who is untiring with regards to Eridu,’ *CIRPL* Ukg. 36; and the Ur III Girsu FPN me-Eridu₃-₃₄-ta, e.g. *TUT* 150 o. i 18.
881 See the discussion of compositions involving divine journeys in A. J. Ferrara, StPohl SM 2, 1–11, with many references. Note also J. Bauer, *NABU* 2005/31, on a possible journey by Ningirsu to Nippur. Ur III Girsu names composed with Ninak₁ in a few cases have the ablative -ta, e.g. *HLC* 3 381 o. 3. Neither of these name types are attested from the Sargonic period.
882 See G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, *Kaskal* 2, 59f. nos 7 and 8; and discussion, p. 63f.
in conjunction with lugal in names are otherwise of various importance and size. The city, or state, of Lagaš, is mentioned in a few lugal-names primarily from the Lagaš state, but also from outside.\footnote{883} Nippur appears to be part of an ED IIIa Šuruppak lugal-name, and is definitely part of the name of a merchant appearing in an ED IIIb text from that same city.\footnote{884} The importance of Nippur in later times, figuring in epithets of Ur III royalty as synonymous with acceptance by Enlil, may offer a key to understanding the name.\footnote{885} Ur, the city of the Sumerian Moon God, is found in the names of two persons from Sargonic times.\footnote{886} The important cultic center of Ninḫursağ in Keš, somewhere in the region of Adab, is mentioned in the name of at least three people, from ED IIIb Girsu and Sargonic Adab, and is likely to refer to the human lugal.\footnote{887} To these should probably be added EZEM\textsuperscript{×}GAL\textsuperscript{ki} a southern city or town in the area between Lagaš and Ur, which also figures in such names from these two cities. The location in this general area is corroborated by external sources, but the name of this urban center, along with its significance meriting inclusion in the onomasticon, is at present unknown.\footnote{888} Besides Keš, it is at present difficult to assign a referent to other cities appearing in the lugal-onomasticon, as both divine figures and human rulers may be connected with some of these cities, it is at present not easy to assign referents to this group of names.

\footnote{883} Variants: lugal-Lagaš \textsuperscript{(a1)}, from ED I-II Ur; lugal-Lagaš\textsuperscript{(ŠIR.BUR)} \textsuperscript{(a1)}, from CS Girsu; and lugal-Lagas\textsuperscript{ki} \textsuperscript{(a2)}, from the ED IIIb Lagaš state. H. Steible, CollAn 7 (2008), 104 fn. 33 sees the ED I-II Ur reference not as a PN but as testimony that Lagaš had a lugal by that time.

\footnote{884} Lugal-Nibiru\textsuperscript{ki} \textsuperscript{(a2)}. Collation of TSŠ 627 indicated by H. Steible, CollAn 7 (2008), 93, 95 fn. 14, and 96. Steible seems to regard the writing lugal-Nibru\textsuperscript{ki} not as a name, but as referring to a lugal from outside of Šuruppak, partly due to other officials from Nippur in the same text. Steible indicates, op. cit., 93, that lugal and Nibru\textsuperscript{ki} appear in the same line. This is also indirectly supported by Jestin’s copy of TSŠ 627 in that the sign representing the amount of thread (\textit{SN}×\textit{U}) handed out to lugal-Nibru\textsuperscript{ki} appears next to Nibru\textsuperscript{ki}, and hence the sign lugal was placed above the E₂ in Nibru\textsuperscript{ki}. As can easily be seen, all other GN in this text appear in lines separate from the titles they qualify. Thus lugal-Nibru\textsuperscript{ki} is most likely a PN.

\footnote{885} See e.g. CIRPL Ent. 32 i 4°-8°, where Enmetena states he had been granted an insignium (probably scepter, a small sign like \textit{PA} is likely) of great authority from Enlil in Nippur.

\footnote{886} In lugal-Urim\textsuperscript{ki-ė} \textsuperscript{(a1)}, from CS Adab; and lugal-Urim\textsubscript{(AB. URI)}\textsuperscript{ki} \textsuperscript{(a1)}, CS Unknown. H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, has the former variant as abbreviation of original lugal-Urim\textsuperscript{ki-ė-ki-ağa₂}, giving a translation on p. 171: “Le roi qui aime la ville d’Ur” ; 266: “Le roi qui aime Ur.” Compare homonymous DN, attributed by W. G. Lambert to Nanna/Su’en, \textit{RIA} 7 (1987–90), 153 s.v. “Lugal-Urim.” The DN is with all probability a genitive compound, the PN, according to the writing, is not. See also *lugal-AB. URI\textsubscript{ki}.

\footnote{887} lugal-Keš\textsuperscript{ki} \textsuperscript{(a2)}, probably with J. Bauer, Annäherungen 1, 512, to be interpreted as: “der König (ist nach) Keš (gegangen).” The relation of the human lugal to Keš is seen for instance in the ED IIIa version of Keš Temple Hymn found at Abū Ṣallābīḥ, for which, see the editions of R. D. Biggs, ZA 61 (1971); and D. O. Edzard, OrNS 43 (1974), 103–113.

\footnote{888} The ligature EZEM\textsuperscript{×}GAL might also be dugin\textsubscript{a}(EZEM\textsuperscript{×}MIR), for which, see J. Bauer, \textit{WO} 18 (1987), 5f.; or EZEM\textsuperscript{×}SIG\textsubscript{a}, with proposed readings kisig\textsubscript{a} or ud(i)nim, discussed by P. Steinkeller, \textit{NABU} 1990/132; and see also R. Borger, AOAT 305, 309, note to no. 281. A damaged writing from ED IIIb Ur lugal-EZEM.GAL.[x] could contain an alternative writing of the name of this GN.
Cultic locations, such as temples, are the focus of a further handful of names, for instance Tiraš in the Lagaš state, and the temple of Dumuzi in Bad-tibira, the Emuš. The latter was, as has already been described above, section 3.1.5.3, the destination of a journey made by an unknown lugal, as recounted in an ED IIIa literary text. The lugal upon arrival presented firstling offerings in the Emuš. Small, less important local shrines may hide behind some other names, like for instance an installation called the Mušš-bar, which ought to have been situated in the Lagaš area due both to the archive in which the name was found and other corroborating evidence. A temple by the name of E₂-maš occurs in a lugal-name found at Sargonic Adab, but a building by that name is otherwise best attested in Ur III Umma texts. For all these names a divine referent is the most likely.

A number of names refer to installations in or around the main temple area. The idea of a place in which the lugal served his cultic functions was later on called the KI.LUGAL.GUB, loosely 'place (where the) lugal stands (in service).' This "place" is likely referred to also during the pre–Ur III period in a royal name of the dynasty of Uruk, which can be restored from its variants as *lugal-ki-gub(-a)-ni-še₃-du₇-du₇, "the lugal is the one best suited for the place (where) he serves." The variants, found from Nippur in

889 lugal-TIr-aš₂-še₃ (a²). It is uncertain if the sign -še₃ represents the terminative or a phonetic complement /s/ plus the loc.-term. -e, but compare the discussion on lugal-Eridu₃-šₑ₃ above, p. 153. A possible further attestation is noted by W. Farber, JCS 26 (1974), 198 fn. 12. Other PNN referring to the temple Tiraš are ED IIIb Girsu genitival PNN Ti-ra-aš₂-a, DP 1/2 138 o. i 4; and ur-TIr-aš₂, e.g. VS 27 13 o. 3; emendate UET 3 1411 o. 2 (*ma-ti-ra-aš₂), accordingly. The entry: ... Ti-ra-aš₂-šₑ₃, ba-de₇ in DP 2/1 163 o. iv 10–r. i 1 (Ukg. ensi₂) probably is an abbreviation of the present name. Ur III attestations are also known, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 474. For *lu₂-TIr-aš₂-šₑ₃ (so on tablet; on seal lugal-TIr-aš₂-šₑ₃), UNT 64 (BM 14752, translit. only) o. 4, compare H. H. Figulla, Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 1, 229, who reads lugal also on the tablet.

890 The variants are: lugal-E₂-muṣ₃ (a₁), found exclusively at ED IIIb Girsu; lugal-E₂-muṣ₂-e (a¹), and lugal-E₂-muṣ₂-šₑ₃ (a¹), both attested in the CS Mesag archive. For the genitive construct used as a divine epithet, see generally W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 137 s.v. "Lugal-Emuša." Much information is found in M. Lambert, RSO 47 (1973), 2–4; 6–8 (who argued for a development of muṣ₃ < munus); and G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 161f. An OB list of PNN from Ur has the phonetic writing 'lugal₁-E₂-muṣ₂-e, UET 7 77. For the temple E₂-muṣ₂-š₃-kalam-ma, see A. R. George, MesCiv 5, 129: 829.

891 The name lugal-Muṣ₂-bar-ki-ağa₂, (a¹), was the name of an ED IIIb gudu₃-priest of the deity Eš₂-ir-nun. Without parallel formations indicating loc.-a or loc.-term. -e, the agency in relation to the predicate ki-ağa₂, remains obscure. The interpretations 'the lugal is one who loves the Mušš-bar-temple,' or: 'the lugal is beloved in the Mušš-bar-temple,' are both possible. See discussion of *lugal-dam-me-ki-ağa₂.

892 The name figures as lugal-E₂-maš-e (a²). Compare the name ur-E₂-maš, H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 543, for Ur III Umma attestations.

893 For later KI.LUGAL.GUB see discussion by E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166, 221, on Urmamma C 1. 13.

894 I generally concur with the discussion about lexical matters by H. J. Nissen, Königsfriedhof, 123 fn. 358, but still prefer reading DU as gub, not ṣen. My reading thus to all
ends and purposes concurs with that of the original editor of the first known inscriptions by this lugal, H. V. Hilprecht, e.g. in BE 1/2, 8–9, and passim.


897 See lugal-gub-ba-ni (₅₋₁₂) ‘the lugal … (where) he serves,’ from Nippur, and the Mesag and CS Girsu archives; for short lugal-gub-ba (₅₋₁₁), a variant found only at ED IIIb-ES Adab.

898 Perhaps this amissability indicates that the phonetic nature of the terminative after a vowel was rather /e/ than /e/.

899 See S. Dunham, *RA* 80 (1986), 31–64 for the usage of the word temen and the Akkadian loan *tem(m)ennu*. On the prerogative of building in ED royal inscriptions on statues, see some examples in G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, *MesCiv* 14, 147f.

900 Compare the ED IIIb-ES names lugal-temen (₅₋₁₆), and lugal-temen-na (₅₋₁₁), with the entry en-ne₃ temen-na in BiMes 3 27 r. ii 4 (=28 r. i 4), and see G. Marchesi’s comments on this composition, *StEL* 16 (1999), 15–17. The Ur III Girsu writing (igi) en-temen-na(-še₃), *MVN* 7 447 o. 3’, and r. 4 (translit. only), is singular and rather uncertain. H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 209, interpreted the fuller writing lugal-temen-na as a genitive: “Roi du temenos.”

901 The references are collected in FAOS 6, 330 s.v.

902 Besides lugal-ki-gal-la, found from the ED IIIa down to Sargonic times, the variants cover lugal-ki-gal (₅₋₁₆), from the ED IIIa-b, and lugal-ki-gal-la (₅₋₁₁), attested only at ED IIIa Suruppag. The extra gal compared to the previous name is inexplicable in this connection.
for the realm of the dead in the early periods, for which meaning later Akkadian sources sometimes used the loanword *kigallu.*

However, a building inscription by an ensi₂ of Umma, Lu₂-ᵈUtu, from LS or Gutian times, contains a dedication to the goddess Ereškigal, who, it might be said, embodied the idea of the Great Beyond ‘the lady (of) the Great Earth.’ The inscription provides her with the epithet ‘the lady of the place of sunset,’ i.e. the west, and then goes on to state that the temple was built facing the east, ‘where destinies are determined.’

D. Katz showed in her treatment of this inscription that the realm of the dead in Sumerian cosmological thought was normally not associated with the western horizon, but with the kur ‘mountainland.’

Compared to the temen-names, names with ki-gal as second component exhibit a richer inventory of appellatives. However, from the ED IIIa onwards, lugal is the appellative most often associated with this ki-gal, and in the majority of cases ki-gal is marked by an -a, which most probably expresses the locative -a.

The exact meaning, which would account for the evolution of this locus, is at present hard to pinpoint. Texts dating back to the Ur III and OB periods often have this word as signifying a pedestal or podium, though sometimes that equation becomes a bit forced.

The courtyard, kisal, was another location popular in personal names. Two different predicates are known for this object: lugal-kisal-a-gub (ᵃ¹) ‘the lugal stands in the courtyard,’ and lugal-kisal-si (ᵃ²ᵇ,a) ‘the lugal is just right for the courtyard.’ Since the latter is the more common writing, and since the verb si takes the loc.-term. suffix, the abbreviation lugal-kisal (ᵃ²ᵇ,a) 'the lugal is just right for the courtyard.'

This interpretation was the reason for H. Limet’s translation “Le roi des enfers,” in Anthroponymie, 263. It is hard to see the name ki-gal-du₄₉₀, IAS 502 o. ii 2, from ED IIIa Abū Ṣalābīt, as meaning “the grave is a happy (place).” For a collection of references to discussions on ki-gal, see J. Klein, RA 80 (1986), 3 fn. 14. For the Akkadian usage of logographic ki-gal, see A. Westenholz, AF 23 (1970), 27–31. For Akkadian *kigallu,* see the entries in AHw and CAD s.v.

See, e.g. G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 254 w. fn. 1218, though the genital nature of Ereškigal’s name, as well as the other names containing ki-gal might be put in question.

The largest wealth of names composed with ki-gal is found in the ED IIIa period, represented by more than a dozen varieties, and then settles at just over a handful for each of the main remaining periods of the 3rd millennium. For a brief list of different ki-gal-names, see F. Pomponio, StEL 8 (1991), 144, though a few readings should be emendated.

This against M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 32, who saw in this -a a morphological marker of abbreviation. All of Krebernik’s examples save the last represent loci, and the last should rather be read lugal-u₂₃ľ₄₉₂, and does not belong to this group.

See for instance D. O. Edzard’s remarks on the Keš Temple Hymn, OrNS 43 (1974), 110, note to l. 87. The line is not included in the archaic version from Abū Ṣalābīt.

Compare E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, IRS₄, 319: “roi qui emplit le parvis.” Information on some persons with this name is found with H. Neumann, AoF 8 (1981), 80f., and passim. The name formed part of the name of a stele erected by Gudea in Girsu, Cyl. A xxiii 9.

Following H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 207, seeing a truncated name: “Le roi … le parvis.”
likelihood represents shortening of kisal(-e-si), as suggested by later parallels.\footnote{Here, a traditional reading of the name has been chosen due to the appearance in the latter text (o. 3 and 14) of the PN ur-\textit{g}i\textit{r}-\textit{par}u. Thus, the reading \textit{gi}par\textsubscript{2}(-\textit{k}is\textit{al}), suggested and proven in a number of contexts, see in general J. Bauer, \textit{BiOr} 46 (1989), 639, is not applicable in this name. See also the unpublished ED IIB-ES name lugal-kisal-le-si referred to by G. Marchesi, \textit{OrNS} 73 (2004), 174 (collated from photo); and strike the Ur III name *\textit{en-g}i\textit{par},(-\textit{k}is\textit{al})-re-si referred to \textit{op. cit.} 175. The latter was published by T. Ozaki & M. Sigrist, BPOA 1, as no. 241, and the name in o. 4 is given as en-kisal-e-si; for which, compare the Ur III writings en-kisal-e-\textit{eras eru}le-si, \textit{UET} 3 864 o. 5' (Ur); and lugal-kisal-e-si, S. Levy & P. Artzi, \textit{A\textit{t}iq\textit{ě}ot} 4 (1965), pl. 6 no. 30 o. 6 and r. 3 (Umma).}

\textit{Gir\textsubscript{2}-nun}, a stretch of road located to the east of the city-center of Girsu is mentioned in a couple of local names from around the CS period. The names are never provided with a predicate, but the road ought to have filled some role in local religious practice.\footnote{Variant forms (?) are: lugal-Gir\textsubscript{2}-nun\textsuperscript{(a1)}, and lugal-Gir\textsubscript{2}-nun-n\textsubscript{e}₂\textsuperscript{(a2).} See W. Heimpel’s reconstruction of Gudea’s Eninnu with the Girmun-road leading to a weir and bridge crossing the waterway to the east of the main tells of Girsu, \textit{JCS} 48 (1996), 23, fig. 4. Does the name then refer to activities toward the east which entailed a (ritual) crossing of the water to reach some structure outside of Girsu, or does it hint at (martial) movement further east toward Elam? Compare the name of a statue of Lugal\textit{anda}, \textit{CIRPL} Ukg. 9, iii’ 3’: lugal-an-da-nu-hug-\textit{ga}^\textsuperscript{1}-Gir\textsubscript{2}-nun\textsuperscript{1}-\textit{se}₂\textsubscript{1}-nu-[kuš]\textsuperscript{2} “Lugal\textit{anda}nu\textit{ha}ng”a ermi\textit{d}ut sich nicht his\textit{ni}schlich des ‘Hohen Weges,’” following G. J. Selz, \textit{Götterwelt}, 19, with discussion.} It could equally well refer to a divinity as to a human ruler and his connection with this landmark.

A handful of names referring to cultic loci are rather generally formulated. Some seem to refer to specific,\footnote{\textsuperscript{Such names include: lugal-E₂-\textit{DU}-\textit{si}}\textsuperscript{(a1), from ED I-II Ur, and lugal-E₂\textsuperscript{-NUN-si}}\textsuperscript{(a2)} ‘the lugal fills the reed-sanctuary.’ The translation depends on J. Krecher’s rendering of VE238: E₂\textsuperscript{.\textit{NUN}} = \textit{šut}\textit{ikk}\textit{um}, “wohl … eine Rohrhütte für Riten,” \textit{Bilingualism}, 160. For the E₂\textsuperscript{.\textit{NUN}}, with likely reading agrun, see generally \textit{PSD} A/3, 65–68, esp. 67, 5.2.2–3. The name is found at ED I-II Ur and ED IIIa Šuruppak. Compare the discussion of an E₂\textsuperscript{.\textit{NUN}} of Ningal at Ur, P. Michalowski, \textit{MesCiv} 1, 105f. note to l. 477. A divinity \textit{Lugal-agrun-na} is found in a few god lists from the OB period on, M. Krebernik, \textit{RIA} 7 (1987–90), 110 s.v. “Lugal-agrunna.”} others to generic locations.\footnote{The lack of parallels makes attribution to a divinity or a human for these names troublesome, though the safest is to regard them collectively - awaiting evidence to the contrary - as referring to deities.}

\footnote{Like for instance lugal-ti-ma-\textit{nu}\textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the lugal lies down in the sanctuary,’ which has the appearance of a phonetic spelling of itima, later \textit{GAlim} ×\textit{mi}, Akk. \textit{kisšu}; for the loss of initial i- in (i)itima, see comment to lugal-iti-da, below. Other names of the same general type are lugal-uzu\textsubscript{1}(\textit{AN-ZAG})-\textit{se}_₂\textsuperscript{(a4)} ‘the lugal … \textit{towards} the cella (?),’ from the ED IIIa-b; and lugal-za₂ge-si\textsuperscript{(a2)} ‘the lugal is just right for the sanctuary.’ The interpretation of the locus as sanctuary follows W. H. Ph. Römer, \textit{SKIZ}, 134:200, transl. p. 142, and note to the same line on p. 196. An ED IIIa variant is lugal-za₂-si\textsuperscript{(a1)}, and other short forms are lugal-za₂\textsuperscript{(a1)}, and lugal-za₂ge\textsuperscript{(a1)}, both from the Sargonic period. The parallel uru-za₂ge-si, \textit{MVN} 3 45 r. ii 2 (ES Isin or Nippur?) indicates that whatever action the ‘filling’ entailed, it could be done by a collective. Hence, a translation of \textit{si} as ‘to be just right for’ probably better captures the notions of the verb, and the latter name can be given as ‘the city is just right for (having) the sanctuary.’}
3.1.7 Qualitative-descriptive

The seventh heading gathers short statements concerned with inner or outer qualities of the lugal as trademark traits or notes on his physical appearance. They are not specific enough to warrant attributing the name to another heading. A large portion of the names is phrase names. In many cases there are hints at qualities or actions which could be attributed to one of the former categories. The names relevant to this category have been divided into the following subsections:

• Favour
• Physical constitution
• Physical strength and prowess
• Aptitude for combat
• Fame and good reputation
• Likeness and equation
• Uniqueness and aloofness
• Similes and kindness
• Justice and dependability
• Light, brilliance and visual phenomena

The most well-attested name is one which links the lugal to the cycle of the month, lugal-iti-da and is most probably a name which refers to the Moon God. About 40 persons are attested as bearing that name. It is found as far north as Kiš, but is mostly attested in Nippur and southwards.

<table>
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<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
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Fig. 8: Name-bearers, 3.1.7, Qualitative-descriptive. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.
Fig. 8, above, records the distribution of 287 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 94 variants of names of this category and the different cities with which they are connected.

### 3.1.7.1 Favour

The lugal as selected or chosen by gods has already been discussed above. Other names, also, focus on praiseworthy attributes of the lugal and his elevated position, such as lugal-a-nun (a2) ‘the lugal is a princely offspring,’ from the ED IIIb and Sargonic Umma and Adab area. The human lugal as one who has received a stamp of approval by gods or men is likely to be the idea behind lugal-mi₂-zi-du₁₁-ga (a1) ‘the lugal is praised,’ with variants. The same can be said about a MS-CS Nippur name, lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra (a1) ‘the lugal is one (whose) fate is reliably determined.’ In both these names, zi has been taken as adverbial complement portraying the lugal as one whose fate is decided in keep with the divine regulations of the world. A divinity is probably intended as the referent of lugal-aja₂-da (a1) ‘the lugal (is one honoured) with the father,’ where ajₐ₂ could perhaps refer to An or Enlil.

More opaque is the ED and ES Adab and Isin name lugal-numun-zi (a2). Here, zi could be interpreted as an adjective in an elliptic clause missing the verb, or as a participle in a transitive clause with numun serving as object. Based on later literary examples, a set of interpretations may be proposed: ‘the lugal (is) a reliable offspring,’ or ‘… (loves) the reliable offspring.’

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916 Interpretation following M.-L. Thomsen, *Mesopotamia* 10, 301. For a passage indicating divine approval, see, e.g., Umma C 1 22–23 (approval by Enil and Enki). The reading was suggested already by E. Sollberger, *BiOr* 16 (1959), 117. Provenience from Adab proposed by A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 55 (1962), 30 fn. 114. The shape of zi suggests Adab or another site close to Nippur, but the small, rounded tablet is written in an at times rather sloppy hand. M. Powell, *HUCA* 49 (1978), 16f. suggests Zabala as probable provenience, but he also admits there is not much in support of this.

917 lugal-mi₂ (a2), from MS-CS Umma and Girsu; lugal-mi₂-du₁₁-ga (a1), from CS Adab. The latter also appears in OB lists of PNN, see E. Chiera, *PBS* 11/3, 210, no. 217.

918 Once lugal-nam-zi-tar (a1) and very likely referring to the same person.

919 Compare Lugalzagesi’s wish at the end of his Nippur inscription, BE 1/2 87 iii 32–33.: nam sa₉-ga, mu-tar-re-eš₂-a, šu na-mu-da-ni-bal(₃)-e-ne ‘the propitious fate which they have determined for me, may they not turn it against me.’ A variant has correct form of bal.

920 Compare ED IIIb Girsu name aja₂-da-gal-di, V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 12 s.v.

921 Writings -zi-da-kam and -zi-_de₃ (erg.) in BIN 8 211 indicate that zi represents expected zid, ‘(to be) right, true, faithful.’ Related names include ama-numun-zi, V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 16 (ED IIIb Girsu); ama-še-numun-zi (MAD 4 73 o. 3, CS Umma); and plain numun-zi (TMH 5 14 o. i 4’, ED IIIb Nippur).

922 Compare, for instance, the OB and later royal self-designations (zēr šarrūtim, roughly ‘(of) royal descent’) quoted by *CAD* Z s.v. zēru 4b, and Lipit-Îstar A 1: lugal mi₂ du₁₁-ga ša₃-ta numun zi-mē-en ‘I am a respected king, ever since birth a reliable offspring,’ e.g. *ISET* 1, pl. 46 (Ni 4451), 51 (Ni 9696), 128 (Ni 9923) o. i 1, with Akkadian glosses to zi-mē-en: ki-nu ana-[ku] (Ni 9696).
A few names contain exclamations of praise. They may be situational, and potentially they refer to circumstances surrounding expectancy or birth. They include the affirmative phrase name lugal-na-nam \(^{(a1)}\) ‘a lugal (he is) indeed!’\(^{924}\) and lugal-za-me \(^{(a2)}\) ‘you are (a) lord!’\(^{925}\) Other formations that have bearing on the recognition of a referent as lugal is a type featuring writings of the reflexive pronoun ni₂-te and me-te ‘(own) self.’ A few different variants are seemingly limited to the Girsu and Umma areas, all with a likely translation ‘a lord unto himself.’\(^{926}\) Two CS Umma writings, lugal-ne-te-na \(^{(a1)}\), and lugal-ni₂-te-na \(^{(a1)}\) may denote the same person.\(^{927}\) In Girsu and ED IIIb Umma on the other hand, the writings favour an initial /m/: lugal-me-te-na \(^{(a2)}\),\(^{928}\) and lugal-mete(TE+ME)-na \(^{(a2)}\). The idea behind these names may be that some unknown referent took unilateral action to ensure a positive outcome of a situation. An ED IIIa parallel, in use at Šuruppag and elsewhere, nigir-me-te-na,\(^{929}\) might even be suggested to describe the infant itself, ‘he is his own herald,’ which could refer to a very noisy baby. Quite possibly, the name lugal-ra-tum₂, discussed above, section 3.1.6.2, may be compared to some of the aforementioned names.

\(^{923}\) See, e.g., Gudea Cyl. B xxiii 19–20: diğiš ama-zu \(^{4}\)Nin-sun₂-na ama-gan numun zi-da, numun-e ka-a₂-g₃-am₃ ‘your mother goddess is Ninsuna, the mother who bore healthy offspring and who loves (her) offspring,” following D. O. Edzard, RIME 3/1.1.7.CylB.

\(^{924}\) Parallel forms to this name are few in number; from the earlier periods \(^{4}\)Ba-ų₃-na-nam and lu₂-na-nam predominate, see V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 28; 117. For the interpretation chosen here, see the Ur III PN lu₂-bi-na-nam “he is indeed their master!,” for short lu₂-bi. See refs. with H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 452 s.v.v. More distant is the variant PN ga₂-ka-na-nam-he₂-ti from ED IIIB Girsu, DP 2/1 230 r. iv 12 (all other attestations lack -na-, V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 68), ‘(because) he/she is verily mine, let him/her live! (?)’

\(^{925}\) See, e.g. nin-za-me, V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 157 (sa₂ ga₁₀ of Bau, ED IIIB Girsu). It is not clear if theophoric constructs like \(^{4}\)Nin-šir₂-su-za-me, *DPA* 44 r. 1 (PUL 52, CS Umma (?)), correct reading pointed out by J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1995/50), and other names of the same type correspond exactly to lugal-za-me. Note discussion by H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 75 w. fn. 2, on the gloss to the name \(^{4}\)Nanna-za-me-en in an OB list of PNN, lu₂-a-na-k₃u, *PBS* 11/1 7 o. i 8.

\(^{926}\) B. Alster, *JCS* 26 (1974), 178–180 argued in favour of mete as combining two lexical items, one of which is an early writing of ni₂-te, largely corresponding to Akk. *ramnam*, ‘self.’ The /e/ vowel also shows, e.g. in Gudea Cyl. B xviii 16: ne-te-ni bi₂-zu. Compare other names with the component mete(TE+ME), collected by G. J. Selz, *Götterwelt*, 104 fn. 378.

\(^{927}\) Both texts in which these names figure feature a ka₃ku₃, dumu Šeš-tur. The writing is found also in Ur III Umma, e.g., TCL 5 5674 o. ii 24, r. v 16. See remarks by H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 175 with fn. 1: ‘Le roi par lui même …,” contemplating the possible origin of this name in the genre of religious hymns.

\(^{928}\) One example of this name, M. de J. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), 42f. no. 7 o. v 13’ has half a line divider inside a case with the names \(\ddot{g}\)iš-ša₃ and lugal-me-te-na. Two names have been decided upon due to the problematic syntax resulting from reading them as one. Compare BIN 8²8₂ o. iv 5: [\(\ddot{g}\)iš-ša₃ (x )]-me-te-na.

\(^{929}\) E.g. *WF* 18 r. v 11; in *TS* 292 o. i 3’, denoting a person from Uruk. Interpreted differently by L. Sassmannshausen, *BagM* 26 (1995), 192: “Der Herold des Fundamentes’ (ist er)”

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3.1.7.2 Physical constitution

A few names refer to physical traits of the lugal, and are not directly tied to strength or the exercise of power. These names are mostly concentrated to Girsu texts of the Sargonic period. One of them, known also from the ED IIIb, lugal-igi-ḫuš (a24) ‘the lugal (is) angry-looking,’ has clear links to the divine cast surrounding Ningirsu.\(^930\) Another name, lugal-igi-sa₃ (a₁) ‘the lugal (is) friendly-looking,’\(^931\) appears to be the direct opposite of the former name.\(^932\) But it is also possible to translate these names as something along the lines of: ‘the lugal is frightening to behold,’ and ‘the lugal is pleasing (to) the eye.’ At any rate, the referents are most likely divine characters.

The name lugal-a₂-gur-ra (a₃) is limited in time to the ED III.\(^933\) The name is cryptic and, if understood correctly, it refers to a physical trait, ‘the lugal (has) thick horns’; or the name might focus on the bodily stature of the lugal, ‘the lugal is sturdy of frame.’\(^934\) In the case of the first interpretation it is reasonable to see the name as referring to an unknown male divinity,\(^935\) in the case of the second, both a human and a divine lugal might be intended.

The name lugal-ur₂-ra-ni (a₁) ‘the lugal … his (her?) lap,’ is perhaps too late in date to be included here, as it is found in a text which most likely dates to the Lagaš II dynasty.\(^936\) The name became more popular in Ur III times.\(^937\) The noun ur₂ ‘lap’ might belong to another person or referent.

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\(^932\) The Ur III form lugal-igi-sa₃-sa₆ is found both at Girsu and Umma, e.g. SAT 2 941 o. 3 (Umma, translit. only).

\(^933\) One individual bearing this name in ED IIIb Nippur (lu:gal-a₂-gur-ra, OSP 1 121 r. ii 3’, followed by da-da), is probably identical with the person given as da-da, dumu ‘a₂-gur-ra’, TMH 5 63 o. ii 10–11).

\(^934\) See discussion in PSD A/2, 72 s.v. a₂-gur, with reference to VE538.

\(^935\) See references to a number of candidates with PSD A/2, 7, A₂ A, 2.3–2.4. Compare also the PN ma₃-gur-ra ‘(healthily) fattened lamb,’ e.g. VS 14 159 o. vi 4.

\(^936\) The date of the text, RTC 221, is debated; the YN mentions the building of the Eninnu of Ningirsu, and fits with building activities of both Ur-Bau and Gudea of the Lagaš II dynasty. The YN does not feature in RIME 3/1. Note, however, the the pre–Ur III names ur₂-ra-ni-se₄, R. M. Boehmer, EGA, pl. 13 no. 144; and ur₂-ra-ni-du₃(ga), given by G. Visicato, FTUM, 27, as: “Her bosom is good.”

\(^937\) See, e.g., H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 475 s.v.; and 461 s.v. lugal-engar-ra-ni.
3.1.7.3 Physical strength and prowess

A small number of names relate to the lugal as a strong individual. The rare name lugal-kalag-ga (a2) ‘the lugal is strong,’938 is so far attested only at EDIIIb-ES Adab. It only has a few contemporary parallels, e.g. AN-kalagg-ga.939 An unexpected use of ni3 in a function similar to an independent pronoun is present in the related name lugal-ni3-kalag-ga (a1) ‘the lugal is strong.’940 This use of ni3 is not without parallels in the onomasticon.941 A powerful nature is implied by lugal-šu-maḥ (a2)942 ‘the lugal (is) forceful,’943 favoured in the Girsu and Umma region. The name may signal physical strength as well as strength in battle.944 As the lugal is characterized as physically potent, a name like lugal-lirum (a1) ‘the lugal is an athlete/wrestler,’ sees him put his strength to use.945 The iconicographic motif of men grappling is a well-known one in Mesopotamian art, and figures both in sculpture in the round and on stone plaques.946 The idealizing image of the power of the lugal as a constant trait comes to the fore in lugal-nušiliq (a3/3)947 ‘the lugal is untiring,’ limited to the ED III period. The motif, however, was

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939 E.g. DP 1/2 117 o. i 11 (ED IIIb Girsu, Ukg. lugal Y 4); TMH 5 80 o. i 7 (reign of Šarrukēn); BIN 8 25 o. i 4 (ES-MS Umma). Compare PBS 9 11 r. 5: (e2) AN-me-me-kalag-ga. Meme may be identical with the deity discussed by J. J. M. Roberts, ESP, 45. For Ur III parallels, see the forms attested with H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 258, 77, kal.
940 The name appears only in BIN 8 264, belonging to the Mesag archive. Only one out of the six persons listed, the sagi Ur-Inana, is known from other Mesag texts. Concerning the implement urudu ni₃-kalag-ga, Akk. erū dannu ’strong copper,’ discussed by J. S. Cooper, Angim, 150–153, the combination of these two elements seem not to predate the OB period, so it is improbable that lugal-ni₃-kalag-ga refers to the name of a vanquished enemy of Ninurta.
941 Such as the Ur III ama-ni₃-kal-la ‘a mother is something precious,’ e.g. MVN 2 277 o. ii 15, attested in Umma and Girsu; and ni₃-ša₃-na-ke₄-ba-du₄₀ ‘the lady is something (that) gladdens the heart of An,’ CTNMC 54 o. vi 27.
942 A fuller writing including the verbal roots du₁₁ or gi₄ are most probable; lugal-šu-du₁₁ or lugal-šu-mu-gi₄ may be complementary forms of this name. For the meaning, see the lexical evidence cited by CAD E s.v. emāqu “strength (in physical sense as localized in the arms)”; and see similar imagery referring to the arm, a₂₁, PSD A/2, 111, sub a₂₁-tuku 1.4. The name appears also in the Ur III period, e.g. NATN 145 r. 1 (Nippur); also the abbreviation šu-maḥ, HLC 2 10 r. i 5.
943 See, e.g. J. Klein, Three Sulgi Hymns, 118, note to ll. 354–361.
944 The parallel en-lirum appears once in an ED IIIa Šuruppag contract, see G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, 1107–1109, no. 1 o. v 3 (translit. only), and note to line on p. 1109.
of course one fitting for many rulers eager to portray themselves as superhuman in strength.  

3.1.7.4 Aptitude for combat

A couple of names refer to the lugal as brave or competent in exercising the prerogatives of heroic deeds. Neither of them is very informative, and it may well be that the intended motifs behind the names are different in scope. Abbreviations from longer constructions are hard to establish, but in the case of lugal-u₃-ma (a≥10) ‘the lugal is victorious,’ the missing verb is probably gub “to establish.”

A rather productive element in names was ur-sağ, as in lugal-ur-sağ (a≥10/°2) ‘the lugal is a hero/warrior.’ A number of appellatives and theonyms are attested along with this nominal predicate, representing both male and female beings. Exactly which qualities are covered by this expression – bravery, a disposition to tackle situations over and above the ordinary, belligerence, or any combination of the aforementioned qualities – is hard to ascertain. The noun ur-sağ was also borrowed into the Akkadian onomasticon. For none of the names above does a specific character, human or divine, present itself.

3.1.7.5 Fame and good reputation

Reference to the renown of the lugal is seen in names which in all likelihood contain the noun mu ‘name,’ for instance the ED IIIb name lugal-mu-da-ri₂ (a2) ‘the lugal (has) a lasting name.’ The name might testify to the type of traditions which resulted, among other things, in the Sumerian King List or the epic cycle of the early rulers of Uruk. The setting up of objects inscribed with the names of kings and well-to-do citizens was obviously a means of prolonging one’s favour with the gods, even beyond the grave, and also a

946 So for instance the self-lauding Šulgi: “wie bei einem Eselshengst versiegt meine (d.i. Šulgi’s) Kraft beim Laufen nicht,” following W. Heimpel, Tierbilder, 269.

947 Compare Akk. *irnittam šakānum*. For the phrase u₃-ma(-ni) gub-gub, see e.g. TH 258 (Eninnu of Ningirsu); and W. H. Ph. Römer, SKIZ, 112. Note variant lugal-u₃-ma₂ (a1) in BIN 8 46 (possibly ED IIIb Zabala). The shape of u₃ is a bit quaint, but the copy is confirmed by photo (CDLI P221555). The PN u₃-ma-ni is attested at ED IIIb Nippur (e.g. TMH 5 53 o. ii 3), and was popular in the Ur III period.


950 The phrase da-ri₂ appears in a few other places in the ED IIIb period. See, for instance, Eanatum’s Stele of the Vultures, *CIRPL* Ean. 1 o. xx 16: da-ri₂ da-gal-še₃ in a negated clause in the oath-swearing ceremony with the king of Umma; and Lugalzagesi’s Nippur inscription BE 1/2 87 iii 36. A variant Ur III orthography lugal mu da-a-ri “king with a lasting name,” is found in Urnammu D 41”. I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 106, followed by R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 215, 30.5a, 8, understood the related writing lugal-da-ri₂ as an Akkadian PN; di Vito in turn also saw lugal-mu-da-ri₂ as an Akkadian name, which is unlikely.
means of establishing a name for oneself. The inscriptions, mu (sar-ra) in Sumerian, šùmum (šatrum) in Akkadian, were in the case of kings sometimes provided with a curse formula to insure that no-one would later interfere with the object or the name of the author. It might as well be taken to refer to a divinity, whose lifespan was infinitely less limited than that of a human.

The name attested as lugal-mu-du₁₀(952) in ED III times, and as lugal-mu-du₁₀-ga (953) ‘lugal of a good name,’ in the Sargonic period, appears to be formed with a specific referent in mind, but it is at this point not possible to assign this name to either a human or a divinity.

3.1.7.6 Symbolic identification and equation

A simple but effective way of ascribing a given set of qualities to a referent is by means of symbolic identification. This has been explored above in names such as lugal-Anzu. A lot of such names will remain obscure beyond their literal meaning, and sometimes even the literal meaning is beyond grasp due to difficulties in understanding Sumerian generally. However, it is for instance absolutely certain that the most obvious imagery called to mind when comparing the lugal to four-legged animals, to portray him as covered with fur and crawling around on all fours, is not the point intended by the symbolic association. Hence, it is more than likely that the names lugal-nemurₓ(PIRIĜ.TUR) (954) ‘the lugal is (like) a leopard,’ and lugal-piriĝ (955) ‘the lugal is (like) a lion,’ all point to other trademark qualities than appearance. A foundation deposit found cast in bitumen in the lowest course of bricks in the White Temple at Uruk contained the bones of the front legs of a pair of feline cubs, one leopard and one lion, with their paws cut off. A millennium or so later, Gudea mentions that the doorways to the Eninnu...
of Ningirsu had depictions of young lions and leopards resting on their paws.\footnote{See the discussion of R. S. Ellis, \textit{Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia}, 42f. and appendix 4. The interpretation of the Gudea passage, Cyl. A xxvi 26–27, follows rather D. O. Edzard’s rendering, RIME 3/1, 86. For the sake of argument, I have retained the reading nemur\(_x\)\(\times\)(\text{PIRI}\_\text{G} \_\text{TUR}) with a translation “leopard.”}

It should be noted that animal symbolism is not regularly used in self-characterizations of human rulers before the Ur III period; at least not in royal inscriptions. But if people could be characterized as amar ‘calf,’ in PNN and in economic documents, and as inanimate terms denoting ‘property’ in PNN, then for subjects to compare a leader of society to a powerful animal would make sense. Associating kings with animals endowed with an aura of strength or force is a common phenomenon in early civilizations. It is possible that other names belong to this group, such as lugal-dara\(_3\)’(LAK263’) \footnote{For \text{ERIM+X and proposed readings, see R. D. Biggs, ARES 1, 94 fn. 26. W. G. Lambert, \textit{JCS} 41 (1989), 11–14, suggested a mng. similar to \text{qurādum}/\text{garrādum}. A. Archi, \textit{MARI} 4 (1985), 54, left the name untranslated. M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 89f., interpreted this name as Semitic, which is not altogether unlikely.} ‘the lugal is (like) a dara\(_3\)-goat (?)’, and lugal-ERIM+X \footnote{Compare H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 168, 283, 329: “le roi est un dragon”; similarly E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, \textit{IRSA}, 319; and R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 66, 30.5a, 20. Compare also E. Chiera, PBS 11/1, 78, no. 928: “The king is the only great one.”} ‘the lugal is (like) the ERIM+X-quadruped’,\footnote{Gudea Cyl. B iv 17–19 mentions lions (ur-maḫ and purig) as lying down with ušumgal.} although they might well be abbreviations of longer names only expressing the appellative along with a direct or indirect object.

In the section dealing with care and attentiveness, a name describing the lugal as the god of a person was discussed.\footnote{Bilingual and Akkadian examples are found in \textit{CAD U/W s.v. ušumgallu}. M. Krebernik, \textit{Fs Wilcke}, 153–156, gives a history of interpretation of the DN \textit{d}Amaušumgal(-an-na).} Specifically, the name lugal-diḫi-\(\text{g}_1\_\text{g}_u\)\(_{10}\) mentions a first person perspective, and thus hints at a motif of personal support. Other names also might contain a measure of symbolic identity, where the appellative is combined with a theonym, with or without an equative marker -gin.\footnote{Compare \text{ERIM+X and proposed readings, see R. D. Biggs, ARES 1, 94 fn. 26. W. G. Lambert, \textit{JCS} 41 (1989), 11–14, suggested a mng. similar to \text{qurādum}/\text{garrādum}. A. Archi, \textit{MARI} 4 (1985), 54, left the name untranslated. M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 89f., interpreted this name as Semitic, which is not altogether unlikely.} A name which probably belongs in this category is lugal-ušumgal \footnote{See, e.g. lugal-UD, lugal-\textit{d}Utu, and lugal-\textit{d}KA\_\text{DI} above, p. 146; and compare discussion of lugal-Utu-gin\(_3\)-\text{e}_\(3/6\) below, p. 173. The amissability of -gin\(_3\) in some cases may perhaps be due to its general coordination with, or substitution for, the copula -\text{am}(3/6), which is regularly omitted from writings of PNN. See W. Heimpel, \textit{Tierbilder}, 24–42, esp. p. 33–36.} ‘the lugal is a \textit{fierce beast} (?)’.\footnote{Compare \text{ERIM+X and proposed readings, see R. D. Biggs, ARES 1, 94 fn. 26. W. G. Lambert, \textit{JCS} 41 (1989), 11–14, suggested a mng. similar to \text{qurādum}/\text{garrādum}. A. Archi, \textit{MARI} 4 (1985), 54, left the name untranslated. M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 89f., interpreted this name as Semitic, which is not altogether unlikely.} In late 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium poetic imagery, ušumgal is mentioned in connection with lions, as if it were a natural occurrence in the fauna of southern Mesopotamia.\footnote{Compare H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 168, 283, 329: “le roi est un dragon”; similarly E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, \textit{IRSA}, 319; and R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 66, 30.5a, 20. Compare also E. Chiera, PBS 11/1, 78, no. 928: “The king is the only great one.”} Later on the ušumgal was predominantly a mythical creature and an honorific epithet of kings and gods.\footnote{Gudea Cyl. B iv 17–19 mentions lions (ur-maḫ and purig) as lying down with ušumgal.} An interpretation similar to that of the Anzu, which could be characterized asbeneficent to the allies of the lugal, but detrimental to

\footnote{See the discussion of R. S. Ellis, \textit{Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia}, 42f. and appendix 4. The interpretation of the Gudea passage, Cyl. A xxvi 26–27, follows rather D. O. Edzard’s rendering, RIME 3/1, 86. For the sake of argument, I have retained the reading nemur\(_x\)\(\times\)(\text{PIRI}\_\text{G} \_\text{TUR}) with a translation “leopard.”}
whoever opposed him, might be imagined. It is worth noting that only Anzu appeared as the nominal predicate in theophore names before the Ur III period.\(^{963}\) The expression had already by the time of Eanatum of Lagaš taken on a potentially hostile overtone.\(^{964}\) Originally, however, the ušumgal was probably something very different from a predator; something that may have left a few traces in lexical texts and hymns.\(^{965}\) The referent of the name remains unknown.

Massive landmarks such as the foothills of the mountains were endowed with supernatural powers, marking the boundary between the civilizations of the plains and the ominous highland areas. The function of this stretch of land may hint at an idea of protection as an operative meaning of the name lugal-ḫur-saĝ (\(^{a23}\)) ‘the lugal is a mountain,’ attested at Umma-Zabala, Nippur and Adab, in the late ED IIIb or Early Sargonic periods. There are no indications that the name is either a genitive compound or an abbreviation.\(^{966}\) The name is not attested in later periods, save as an Ur III DN, possibly construed as a parallel of Ninḫursaĝ.\(^{967}\) In fact, the noun ṣur-saĝ is not very common in the early Sumerian onomasticon.\(^{968}\)

3.1.7.7 Uniqueness and aloofness

A small group of names encompass the antithesis of the previous group of names, in which the lugal is subjected to a symbolic identification. In lugal-ni₃-da-sa₂ (\(^{a1}\)) ‘what can compare with the lugal?’,\(^{969}\) and lugal-ni₃-nu-da-me

\(^{963}\) See M. Krebernik on ušumgal and Anzu in ED names, AOAT 296, 20f. w. fn 81; and ibid., Fs Wilcke, 155f.

\(^{964}\) As is evident from the curse formula in CIRPL Ean. 63+N. 5 ii’ 2’–3’: \(d\)Nin-ĝi₂-su, ušumgal-ni ḫe₂ ‘may Ningirsu be his (the malfeitor’s) ušumgal,’

\(^{965}\) In ED Lu A the title ušumgal appears between officials having to do with fattening and caretaking of small livestock. Perhaps the original meaning is implicated in Šulgi T line 10, Ḫ. Sjöberg, Fs Kramer, 419, l. 100. There, Ninurta is termed ad gî₂-gi₄ ušumgal kalam-μa. The term ad gî₂-gî₄ “adviser,” is hardly one which can be attributed to a snarling beast. The development of this early bureaucrat may be similar to those of the maškim and gal₂-la₂ officials whose titles came to denote demonic beings around the end of the 3rd millennium.

\(^{966}\) R. di Vito also saw this as a nominal predicate name, StPohl SM 16, 64, 30.5a, 8. Compare the PN ki-ni-ḫur-saĝ-še₂-mah ‘his/her abode is awesome (all the way) to the mountains,’ UET 2 2 o. ii 3 (ED IIIa Ur).

\(^{967}\) The DN \(d\)Lugal-ḫur-saĝ is to my knowledge only attested in the list of offerings SET 73 r. i 19, eight lines after Ninḫursaĝ (Puzriš-Dagān, translit. only).

\(^{968}\) See e₂-ḫur-saĝ, e.g. WF 22 o. iv 5; ni₂-ḫur-saĝ, e.g. WF 67 r. iii 5; ka-ni-ḫur-saĝ, TSŞ 58 r. v 15 (all ED IIIa Šuruppak); mu-ni-ḫur-saĝ, e.g. BRM 4 45 l. 6 (ED IIIb Uruk); and me-ḫur-saĝ, e.g. IAS 506 o. iii’ 4’ (ED IIIa Abū Šalābīh). Compare also notes to sar-ru-ḫur-saĝ.

\(^{969}\) Compare lu₂-mu-mu-da-sa₂, ‘no man can compare with (him/her),’ or ‘no(one) can compare with the master,’ e.g. TSŞ 827 (ED IIIa Šuruppak); a-ba-AN-da-sa₂, ‘who can compare with An/the god?,’ TMH 5 29+ r. iii 11 (MS-CS Nippur). Perhaps AN in the latter is to be analyzed as a prefix and object referent /aba-a-n-da-sa₂/, ‘who can compare with him/her?’ A in the contemporary close parallel a-ba-A-da-sa₂, TMH 5 52 o. ii 13, might be interpreted either as ‘who can compare with father?’ (A=aja₂) or, less likely, as a prefix.
‘the lugal, nothing is beside (him),’ the lugal is portrayed as someone who is beyond comparison. Both names are of ED III date.

Similarly, a few names attest to the singular status of the lugal, or to the lugal as taking action alone, lugal-aššu [a1] ‘the lugal is one of a kind,’ [a1] and lugal-aššu-ni [a2] ‘the lugal … by himself.’ [a7] It is unclear who the intended referent is, but high deities such as Enlil or Nanna, are likely candidates. [a2]

Other names are in many ways too general to be understood as referring either to divinities or to men. Only a few of these saw any greater distribution in the onomasticon. Some may be abbreviations of fuller forms. The variants lugal-mah [a1/a7] from the ED III period, and lugal-mah₂ [a2], predominantly found in the Sargonic period, [a2/a7] are both probably to be interpreted as: ‘the lugal is the greatest/sublime.’ [a2]

The name lugal-u₄-su₃-še₃ [a2/a7] is likely to be completed with the adjective ma₃, ‘the lugal is the greatest for far-off days.’ [a2] Like the former, the name lugal-gil-sa [a1] ‘the lugal is (of) everlasting (value),’ involves both a qualitative and a temporal aspect. [a2] The use of the attribute gil-sa in the human onomasticon was almost exclusively limited to the ED IIIb period. [a2]

Further proclamations of elevated status seem to be the theme of a number of names composed with saq ‘head, top,’ such as lugal-saq [a2/a7] ‘the lugal is exalted,’ [a2] and lugal-saq-rib [a2] ‘the lugal is preeminent.’ [a2]

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[a1] With variant lugal-aš from ED IIIa Uruk.
[a2] For the reading, see abbreviated forms aš₄-an, aš₄-su₄-ni and a-š₄-ni discussed by J. N. Postgate, AFO 24 (1973), 77; G. J. Selz, OLZ 85 (1990), 305. The Akk. term wēdīššu is found as gloss to aš-ni in Proto-Izî, MSL 13, 23:173. See also GAG § 67, f.
[a3] See, e.g. PBS 5 66 o. i 1–3: "En-lil₃, an-ki-še₃ lugal-am₄, aš-ni di-gi₄-ra-am₃ ‘Enlil, who is lord over the heavens and the earth, who alone is god’ (OB copy of earlier commemorative inscription of Išme-Dagān of Isin); and other refs. to aš-ni in literary contexts, as attribute of Enlil, Nanna, and Inanna with H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 168 fn. 2. As a PN, aš-ni is known from ED times onwards, e.g. OSP 1 53 o. i 4 (ED IIIb-ES Nippur).
[a4] One instance of lugal-mah₂ from the ED IIIb Lagaš area may be an abbreviation. Compare lugal-al-sa₄, attested for one person from ED IIIb Girsu.
[a5] The interpretation follows H. Limet’s proposal, Anthroponymie, 277, to see ma₃ as a descriptive adjective. The possibility remains that lugal-mah₃ is an abbreviation.
[a6] A single writing of lugal-u₄-su₃-[(še₃)₄] [a1], with su₃=bugumù is known from CS Adab.
[a7] Paraphrasing PSD A/2 s.v. abzu, 1.8.6: (Ningirsu) en abzu-ta u₄-su₃-še₃ ma₃. Note that the name is not attested from the Lagaš state and that all examples have su₄₃ for su₃. Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 171 (u₄₃-su₃₄): “Le roi, pour de longs jours (qu’i1 vive!)” (sic); 295: “Le roi vers des jours lointains”; D. O. Edzard, CRRA 19, 142: “lugal, à des jours lointains (que tu vives)!" Compare singular ED IIIa Adab writing lugal-su₃-še₃ [a1], and Ur III PN en-u₄₃-su₃₄-[še₃₄], RTC 401 o. iii 3 (Girsu).
[a8] A thorough investigation of gil-sa (or gi₄-sa), with many textual references, was made by A. Falkenstein, ZA 58 (1967), 5–10.
[a9] Compare, e.g. en-gil-sa, father of UruKagina, ensi₃ of Lagaš, MO A xiv 8, and passim; DP 2/1 157 o. i 2 (sagi, ED IIb Girsu).
[a10] The name may be abbreviated. Appellative + saq is found also in a few Girsu names, such as ED IIIb nin-saq-še₄-tuku ‘the servant has acquired a mistress,’ e.g. Nik 1 20 o. iv 6; or the...
Certainly in the same vein is lugal-sağ-bi-še₃(q0) (a1) ‘the lugal takes precedence.’ Names of similar import might be: lugal-šu-du₇ (a1/q1)₈₂ and lugal-šu-du₇-a (a1) ‘the lugal is perfect’₈₃; and perhaps also lugal-sukud₇₁-[ra₂] (a1) ‘the lugal is lofty.’₈₄ These names largely lack parallels composed with another appellative or theonym.

3.1.7.8 Similes and kindness
A considerable number of names depict the lugal in terms of his agreeable nature. Such names are very hard to assign any other function than as general expressions of praise. Most such names have parallels with other appellatives or theonyms. They form part of a common and popular group of names which are often construed as similes, comparing the head noun to another, positively charged object. The type goes as far back as ED I-II, as lugal-lal₃ (a2/q1) ‘the lugal is (sweet as) honey (or syrup),’ is attested already in the oldest texts from Ur. The association between lugal and lal₃ went out of fashion by ED IIIa times and is not found thereafter, though the nominal predicate is found along with other nominal elements after this point.₈₅

Another commodity favoured for its flavour was wine, as in lugal-ĝeštin (a2/q2) ‘the lugal is (sweet as) wine,’₈₆ limited to ED IIIb Girsu. As has been pointed out by M. Krebernik, honey (or syrup) and wine sometimes appear together in literary contexts, and these names are therefore comparable on more than one level. Similar names are lugal-ʾı₂-nun (a2/q9) ‘the lugal (is)

₈₀ On the reading rib of KAL alongside usage of this compound in OB titulary chains, see M.-J. Seux, Épitèthes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes, 439 w. fn. 466.
₈₁ The predicate _weights can with all certainty be appended to the name. See in general the discussion of P. Michalowski, MesCiv 1, 99 note to l. 368; and furthermore RIME 3/2.1.4.1 iii 24–25: (Šu-Su’en) kalag-ga-ni, saq-bi-še₃ _weights ‘whose strength is outstanding.’ For bilingual lexical examples, see A. Cavigneaux, Die sumerisch-akkadischen Zeichenlisten, 139. Compare ED IIIb Nippur abbreviation saq-be₃-_weights, TMH 5 66 o. ii 3.
₈₂ It is possible that an object me is missing, as can be seen, for instance, in the PN lugal-mešu-du₃ ‘the lugal is one who perfects the rites,’ UET 7 77 o. ii’ 5’, OB list of lugal-PNN; and short me-šu-du₃, RTC 18 o. iii 7; and DN Nin-me-šu-du₃, for which see FTUM, 110.
₈₃ Compare Ur III PN en-ne₂-šu-du₇-a ‘made perfect by the lord (?)’; H. de Genouillac, Babyloniaca 8 (1924), pl. IX (following p. 40, HG 1) o. 2 (Ur III Girsu).
₈₄ Sign sukud(TA×SE) quite damaged; inscribed še₃ not visible. In the Ur III period a homonymous DN lugal-sukud-ra₂ is known, see e.g. SAT 1 o. 4 (transl. only). Translation following A. Sjöberg, Orr 19-20 (1970–71), 151, l. 34.
₈₅ See, e.g. ama-lal₃, SLA 868 o. 5 (CS Adab); mu-ni-lal₃ ‘his name is (sweet as) honey (or syrup),’ TCABI 31 o. i 1; and šeš-lal₃, CUSAS 11 277 o. i 5 (both ES Adab).
₈₆ Compare aja₂-ĝeštin, e.g. UET 2 2 r. ii 5 (ED I-II Ur); ama-ĝeštin, M. W. Green, ZA 72 (1982), 174 no. 12 o. ii’ 2‘ ED I-II Uruk; munus-ĝeštin, e.g. RTC 4 o. i 6 (ED IIIa Girsu).
₈₇ AOAT 296, 17–20; and ibid. Fs Wilcke, 159f., with parallel name formations.
excellent oil,’ lugal-ir-nun (a1) ‘the lugal (is) excellent smell,’ 988 and lugal-
šembi₃ (a2/²) ‘the lugal is ointment.’ 989

Rather general in scope are the names lugal-du₄₀ (a2/²) ‘the lugal is
good,’ 990 and lugal-du₄₀-ga (a1), the latter limited in time to the last part of the
Sargonic period. Short names such as these might be taken to be
abbreviations of longer names, but no prosopographical links to fuller
writings are known. The predicate du₄₀ could then be seen as an attribute to a
nominal predicate or as a transitive-factitive verb. 991

The associations evoked by the adjective sa₆ were both popular and
lasting. It was a highly productive component in names from ED IIIb times
and throughout the remainder of the 3rd millennium. Examples include lugal-
ni₃-sa₆-ga (a⁴) ‘the lugal is something favourable,’ 992 and the the more concise
lugal-sa₆ (a⁸) ‘the lugal is favourable,’ found only in the Sargonic period, and
lugal-sa₆-ga (a⁵) limited to the preceding period. 993

A name which could easily be taken as an abbreviation of a name
originally featuring a theonym as subject, or an object is lugal-ki-a₃a₆ (a⁵)
‘the lugal is beloved.’ 994 A verbal predicate could be missing from lugal-ḫi-li
(a⁶) ‘the lugal is pleasant.’ 995 Other names of this general type represent terse
statements describing the lugal in positive terms. are lugal-asila₆, (A,EZEM)

988 Compare suggestion by G. J. Selz, Göttewelt, 133 fn. 538: “Der König (ist mit)
fürstlichem Parfüm (gesalbt),” with parallels.
989 An ED IIIa Šuruppak source has the defective writing lugal-šembi₃(DUG×I) (a1)
990 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 228: “Le bon roi”; but compare, ibid., p. 76: “Le roi est bon.”
991 See the discussion by M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 32–39 with many parallels composed
with this productive verbal component, and compare the table below, 4.4.
992 Apart from an entry in a Sargonic period prism with nam-names, W. G. Lambert, Gs Sachs,
259f. ii 21: nin-ni₃-sa₆-sa₆-ga, no close parallels composed with other appellatives are known.
See discussion of lugal-ni₃-kalag-ga. Compare DN ³Lugal-ni₃-sa₆-ga, known from later god
of pleasant things.”
993 See R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 65, 30.5a, 17, with references to names with sa₆ (ša₆) and
sa₆-ga collected in one table. For other names composed with sa₆, see table 4.4, below.
(des dieux),” with further discussion on p. 265. The lugal-³a₃a₆ proposed by A. Alberti & F.
Pomponio, StPohl SM 13, 107 for UET 2 suppl. 48 o. ii 3 is unclear on photos, though it
would be parallel to ³Nanna-a₃a₆ in o. i 5. both are otherwise unattested. See table 4.4, below,
s.v. ki–a₃a₅, for names featuring the same predicate combined with divinities or objects.
995 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 253, compares the name to a fuller form lugal-ḫi-li-an-na, “Le
roi est le charme du ciel.” Abbreviation of *lugal-ḫi-li-su₃ possible, compare, e.g. lu₂-ḫi-li-su₃,
MVN 3 3 r. vi 11 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala).
A popular group of names, including ones with lugal as appellative, link the individual with an external source for well-being, protection and good luck, teš₂, Akkadian baštu₄. “The lugal is joyous,” lugal-gi₇ “the lugal is noble,” and lugal-ku-li “the lugal is a friend.”

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3.1.7.9 Justice and dependability

The lugal as a guarantor of an ordered society has already been discussed above, under heading 3.1.3.3. The adjectives gi and zi were seen to be central concepts. In the onomasticon, further links between the lugal and conceptions of righteousness and just behaviour were expressed. In Umma, for instance, the lugal was characterized as ‘a righteous man,’ lugal-lu₂-zi-na “the lugal is a reliable man.” Parallels with the noun nitazi₂, probably with a very similar meaning: lugal-nitazi₂ “the lugal is a reliable man,” and lugal-nitazi₃, were both more common seen in relation to number of bearers, but also regarding geographical spread. A possible further name which stressed the quality of reliability of the lugal was lugal-nigir(LAK154) “the lugal is a herald.” The niţar was an important persona in the early city-states, as shown not least by the

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996 Or a-si₄₆(EZEM). One of the attestations of this name is found on the incompletely published, pre–Ur-Nansë “bas-relief circulaire” (AO 2350+3288). See L. Heuzey, Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes, no. 5; and Thureau-Dangin, SAKI, 2 note a 4. In CS Umma the name is once attested as lugal-asila₄(EZEM X A) “the lugal is a herald.” Compare discussion on readings, G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 110.

997 Following R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 59, 30.4a, 5. The name is booked in MAD 3, 145 s.v. KLL kul₄um, along with ku₄l₂-SAR in ITT 1 1372 (CS Girsu). The interpretation of this latter name is far from certain. Even though lugal-ku-li appears in the MO as a citizen of Akkade, see below, p. 237, the name of the father is arguably Sumerian and there is therefore no need to posit an Akkadian reading of either element in this specific name.

998 See G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 71 w. fn. 361: teš₂ = baštu, with ref.; W. Lambert, OrNS 64 (1995), 134; and, more generally, CAD B s.v. baštu.

999 The same person in MS-CS Adab is twice qualified as muḥaldim “cook” and once receives a shipment of mixed fish. It is uncertain if lugal-teš₂-šu₄₀ in SIA 933 is to be identified with this same professional. At any rate, lugal-teš₂-šu₄₀ is rare in Sargonic sources.

1000 Add name to K. Lämmerhirt, AOAT 348, 529: Materialsammlung ge(-n). Compare R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 72, 40.6a, 1: aja-gi-na “Father is sure.”

1001 See interpretation by G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 287 w. fn. 1429, of this and parallel Utu-nitazi₂: “Utu (ist) ein gerechter Mann,” or: “Utu (ist dem) Mann gerecht.” Compare J. Bauer, ZA 79 (1989), 9 fn. 7, with reference to A. Falkenstein, who speculates on the mng. of Uš as “Gründungsplatte” and translates: “König der das Uš recht macht.” Bauer further questions the reading of the Ur III DN Lugal-nitazi₂, for which, see W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 150 s.v. Lugal-nitazi. This deity belonged to the circle of the goddess Ninsun of Kuara see P. Steinkeller, ASJ 17 (1995), 277 fn. 12. The present reading is chosen on the basis of the parallel lugal-nitazi₂, as nitazi₂ is not used to express a value Uš.

1002 Following H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 170: “Le roi est un héraut”; and L. Sassmannshausen, BagM 26 (1995), 191: “Der König ist ein Herold.” The sign LAK154 may also be read aga, and could then be an abbreviation, or a parallel of, lugal-aga-zī, see p. 88, above.
popularity of the title in personal names. His duties included – but were surely not limited to – public announcements. All these names might equally well have had a human as a divine referent.

3.1.7.10 Light, brilliance and visual phenomena

The association between the lugal and luminous phenomena is the subject of a variegated group of names. Among them is found one of the Sumerian lugal-names with the largest number of attested bearers: lugal-iti-da (a>35) 1004. It appears in the ED IIIb, at Nippur to begin with, and then fans out southward. A fuller parallel makes the identity of the lugal as Nanna or Su’en likely, lugal-iti-da-tu (a1) ‘the lugal is (re)born each month,’ referring to the lunar cycle in which the moon disappears only to reappear and start the cycle all over. A later tigi-hymn makes the identification with Nanna/Su’en even more likely. 1006 Also, the fact that the cult of the Moon God was next to non-existent at Girsu may help explain why the scribe wrote this name down without abbreviating it. Names containing the theonyms Nanna or Su’en were only rarely attested at Girsu from the ED down through the Sargonic period. 1007 The appearance of the new moon is an important time of the month and it is very probable that lugal-iti-da-(tu) contains an auspicious reference to the point in time when the child was born or the time of name-giving. A damaged name may contain a parallel to the above mentioned names, lugal-iti-da-[zal?]]-le (a1) ‘the lugal [brightens?] the month,’ though the damage affects the identification of a predicate there. 1008

The placement of the lugal in the heavens is the theme of a few names, all of them from the Sargonic period: lugal-û₄-an-na (a1) ‘the lugal is the light of the skies,’ and lugal-ši-û₄-a (a1), ‘the lugal in the high heavens (?)’. One

1003 For lists of names composed with ni孙悟ir, see L. Sassmanshausen, BagM 26 (1995), 191f.; A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, StPohl SM 13, 109–111. 1004 Sargonic period abbreviation lugal-iti (a2). A phonetic writing is most likely the case in ES Umma lugal-ti-da (a1). Note the Ur III text Hirose 344, with writing lugal-iti-da on tablet, o. 5, and lugal-ti-da on seal, l. 1 (Umma); and compare lugal-iti-ma-na₃, which is likely to be a phonetic writing of itima, denoting a sanctuary of sorts. See further, below, p. 235. 1005 See G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 99 fn. 358: “Der König/Herr (=Su’en?)” (wird) monatlich geboren”; and the equation iti-da, arḫišam “monthly,” J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, 163, note to Šulgi X 134–140; CAD A/2, s.v. arḫišam, lex. sect.: itu-itu-da, Akk. wa-a[=r-ḥi]-ša-am, in a bilingual inscription of Samsuiluna. 1006 See the passage in a tigi to Inana, CT 36 pl. 33f. (BM 96739) r. 17–18: iti-da uskar-ra ṣu’en-gin, An-ne₃ ṣa-ra ša-mu-ra-an-û₄-tu, lugal ḫama-usumgal-an-na ša₂₃,za ki-âq₂₃,bi-im ‘each month on the day of the New Moon, like Su’en, An gives birth to him for you, the lord, Amašumgalana is the beloved one of your heart.’ 1007 Only two ED IIIb names are booked in V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 169, s.v.v. Nanna₃, and Nanna-erim₂₃-ma. For Sargonic refs., see W. Sommerfeld, Tutub, 37. 1008 The restoration [zal?] is offered on the basis that a professional title would be out of place. 1009 Similarly E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 212, no. 256. See discussion of literary attestations, Å. Sjöberg, MNS, 38f., noting the variant lugal-û₄-an (a1); and that the phrase was associated with Nanna and Ningublaga of Kiabrig in earlier times. See also Ur III Nippur PN ḫUtu-an-na,
of the luminaries is likely to be the referent of these names. An ED I-II Ur name might revolve around the return of the city’s tutelary deity Nanna to the night skies after an eclipse, or to the appearance of one of the luminaries in the morning: lugal-u₄-su₃-gi₄ (a₁)¹⁰¹¹ but this interpretation is tentative. The cosmic associations of the name are, however, not in doubt.

It is not always certain that a divinity is intended as the referent of names associating the lugal with natural or numinous phenomena emitting light. An example of this is the ED IIIb Umma name lugal-Utu-gin₇-e₃ (a₂)¹⁰¹³ the lugal goes forth like Utu,⁰¹⁰¹² which compares the (or a) lugal to the Sun God. The use of the verb e₃, ‘to go out,’ suggests a symbolic association based on the movement of the sun, and especially on his emerging in the morning; his visibility enabling him to fulfill his functions related to justice, ensuring the proper functioning of the cosmos as a whole. This identification between king and the Sun God can be found also in later times, and quite naturally it made its way also into the onomastic material; both Sumerian and Akkadian.¹⁰¹³ Another name which is echoed in an Ur III hymn is lugal-me-lam₂-su₃ (a₁) ‘the lugal spreads an ominous sheen.’¹⁰¹⁴ In one of Šulgi’s self-characterizations he describes himself: ‘I am like a magnificent storm made its way also into the onomastic material; both Sumerian and A

The composite verb pa–e₃ was popular in Sumerian name-giving from the ED IIIa period onwards. The name lugal-pa-e₃ (a₂)¹⁴ ‘the lugal is shin-

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⁰¹⁰⁰ NATN 444 o. 7. An OB Nippur list of PNN agrees with the Sargonic writings in not using a divine determinative before the sign UD, PBS 11/3 o. iii’ 14, followed by lugal-u₄-an-ki.

⁰¹⁰¹ Compare the writings si-un₃-na, for a celestial high point or “zenith,” e.g. in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, I. 271, H. L. J. Vanstiphout, *Epic of Sumerian Kings*, 70 (“high heaven”); and Urnamma A I. 13; and note the possible value un₃ of UD.

⁰¹⁰² This ED I-II Ur name may refer to a time of day or to a state of either the sun or moon. Compare u₄-e₃-gar₂-e-gi₄-a, k₃-s₂=₄-t₄(m), and u₄-am₃-bi₃-še₃-gi₄-a, l₃-l₃=₄-t₄(m), “morning” and “evening,” respectively. And see the lexical equations su₃-bi/ba = a₃-s₄-a-t₄, “disorder, confusion,” and “eclipse,” *CAD* E s.v. es₃-t₄, lex. sect.

⁰¹⁰³ Besides the occurrences in ED IIIb Umma-Zabala texts, the name lugal-Utu-gin₇-e₃ is reported also to appear in an unpublished MS-CS Umma text (Serota 2, translit. only, given as *Lugal-UD.DIM₂.E₃* by B. R. Foster, *OrNS* 51 (1982), 338 s.v.). The only comparable names are formed with e₃, e.g. e₃-Utu-gin₇-e₃, *WF* 72 r. iii 5.

⁰¹⁰⁴ See, e.g. the references in M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, 460 s.v. utu, and compare šar-ru-ki,⁴|Utu, below, p. 211.

⁰¹⁰⁵ Also written lugal-me-lam₂-su₂(M) (a₁) in ED IIIa Šuruppak. A possible abbreviation is lugal-me-lam₂ (a₁) from ED IIIb Isin, but is rather uncertain, as only the horizontals on the left part of the last sign remain.

ing/splendid,\textsuperscript{1017} therefore has many parallels composed with other appellatives, but also with names of loci. Some early theophore parallels feature Utu and Ašgi of Adab.\textsuperscript{1018} A closely related formation is lugal-dalla-pa-e₂ (a\textsuperscript{1}/\textsuperscript{17}) ‘the lugal shines brightly,’\textsuperscript{1019} which is uniquely attested with lugal as head noun.

To the above mentioned can be added a handful of names with only minute discernible differences in meaning: lugal-dalla (a\textsuperscript{7}) ‘the lugal is bright,’\textsuperscript{1020} lugal-šer₇-zi (a\textsuperscript{2}/\textsuperscript{11}) ‘the lugal is resplendent,’\textsuperscript{1021} and lugal-su₃-ağa₂ (a\textsuperscript{1}) ‘the lugal is brilliant.’\textsuperscript{1022}

3.1.8 Unattributable or unintelligible

Under the eighth and final heading are collected some 220 writings of names which for different reasons are difficult to assign to another heading, and without there being cause for constructing a separate semantic category. They may be understandable in part and may thus be used for comparisons in notes and discussions in other sections and chapters. Out of these names, closer to 130 writings, that is about 60\%, are attested only once. A handful of these unique writings are abbreviations for persons known from the same

\textsuperscript{1017} A likely defective writing is lugal-pa-du (a\textsuperscript{1}). Compare H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 238: “Le roi qui s’avance brillant”; D. O. Edzard CRRA 19, 142: “le lugal apparaît en éclat”; and R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 64, 30.5a, 14: “(The) god is brilliant.” Add Fara, Pre–Sargonic and Sargonic attestations to di Vito’s table. Compare W. G. Lambert, \textit{RIA} 7 (1987–90), 150 s.v. “Lugal-pa’e/Lugal-urupa’e,” given as: “Shining lord.” Name of an unspecified divinity in later god list.

\textsuperscript{1018} Utu-pa-e₂ appears, e.g. in \textit{WF} 87 o. ii 8. Around the turn of ED IIIb and Sargonic times, the name Ašg₂-gi₄-pa-e₂ appears in Adab sources, e.g. CUSAS 11 278 o. 3. Compare the ED IIIb Adab ruler, e₂-igi-nim-pa-e₂. E₂-igi-nim ought to be a cultic building of sorts, for which, see PN ur-E₂-igi-nim, BIN 8 26 o. ii 5’; MVN 3 90 o. ii 4 (both ED IIIb Adab), a temple of Dumuzi; and E. Sollberger, \textit{UET} 8, 10, note to no. 53.

\textsuperscript{1019} The name has been reconstructed on two occurrences, both of which are problematic. A scholastic list of PNN, R. D. Biggs & J. N. Postgate, \textit{Iraq} 40 (1978), 112 o. ii 2, has a cluster of signs which in outline could match PA and IDIGNA. The second sign in BIN 8 53 o. ii 2 is similar to LAK63 (=REC28), but is missing a vertical in the left hand part and a horizontal on the right hand side.

\textsuperscript{1020} H. Limet, \textit{Anthroponymie}, 168: “Le roi est fort, brillant.”

\textsuperscript{1021} Compare parallel FPN nin-šer₇-zi, e.g. \textit{DP} 1/2 110 (gēmē₂; Girsu, Enz. 3); BIN 8 177 o. 5 (CS Unknown); nin-šer₇-zi (\textit{SLA} 989 r. 5, MS-CS Adab). See also ED IIIa Šuruppak name Sud₁₃-šer₇-zi. For Ur III, see the programmatic name of the en-priestess en-šer₇-zi-an-na, UET 3 1320, seal l. 1. The name lugal-šer₇-zi appears also in an OB list of lugal-PNN from Ur, UET 7 77 ii’ 10’. For the reading šer₇-nir, see J. Bauer, \textit{AfO} 36/37 (1989/90), 80 note to 1 vii 2; \textit{ASJ} 12 (1990), 353–355. A possible variant is lugal-šer₇-zi (a\textsuperscript{2}), attested twice at ED IIIa Šuruppak. See also, perhaps, the Ebla phonetic writing nu-gal-ḫi₇-zi (Ḫḫ=šer₇-zi).\textsuperscript{1022}

\textsuperscript{1022} Name appears also in OB list of lugal-PNN, UET 7 77 ii’ 4’. Compare DN Nin-su₃-ağa₂, \textit{SF} 1 o. iv 17’; and PN e₂-su₃-ağa₂, from ED IIIa Šuruppak, F. Pomponio, \textit{Prosopografia}, 91f. s.v.; also found at ED IIIb Adab, OIP 104 32, passim. Lexical equivalencies and deities associated with su₃-ağa₂ can be found in A. Falkenstein, \textit{ZA} 52 (1957), 304–307; and Å. Sjöberg, \textit{OrS} 19-20 (1970–71) 163f.
archives under fuller names, but which are still difficult to interpret. 14 of the unique writings come from scholastic texts.

No separate table has been construed to illustrate the geographic and temporal distribution of names collected under this heading. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

lugal-a (a5) 1023 lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si (a1) 1024 lugal-a-bi₂-KU (a1) 1025 lugal-a-DU-nu₆ (a1) 1026 lugal-a-MIR-nu₂ (a1) lugal-a-RU (°1) lugal-a-St (a1) 1027 lugal-a-UR-sikil (a1) 1028 lugal-a UD (a1) lugal-a₃ (a27) lugal³-a₂-da-DU (a1) 1029 lugal-a₂-LAK175 (a1) lugal-a₂-p₃ (a2) lugal-AB (a₅) 1030 lugal-AB-da-SAG (a1) 1031 lugal-ab-du₁₀-ga (a1) lugal-AB-x-da (a1) 1032 lugal-al-s₆ (a2₆) it is pleasing to the lugal, lugal-al₆-s₆ (a1) (see prev.), lugal-al₃ (a1), lugal-al-am (°1) 1034 lugal-am-gal (a1) 'the lugal (is) a great bull,' lugal-ambar (a1) 'the lugal ... the marshes (?),' lugal-AN-AB (a1), lugal-

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1023 Compare lugal-a-a, the normal Ur III orthography, H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 169: “Le roi est un père;” and similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 58, 30.4a, 1. In Nik 1 44 o. i 3 (and r. i 4?), lugal-a is most likely identical with lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si in DCS 8 o. i 8, so that lugal-a is not always a nominal predicate name. See also notes to lugal-aja₂-GUG₂ and lugal-la₂.

1025 Once also lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂ (a1). The name consists of an anticipatory genitive lugal-a(k), plus a noun or nominal compound a(-)GUG₂, the resumpting 3cs poss. pron. suff. with loc. term. -e, and a negated verb. Read, phps., lugal-a-a-gar₃-a-ne₂-nu-si 'is the lugal not one who is just right for his meadows? (?).

1026 Writing of a tall and narrow KU may be the result of spacing; read then, perhaps, lugal-a-bi₂-dab₃ (KU), with an original form *gir₂-lugal-a(k)-bi₂-dab₃, and compare Ur III PN gir₂-lugal-ḡ₂₁₂₂-dab₃, 'I grasped the feet of my lugal,' HSS 4 49 o. i 19 (Girsu); and see R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 97. For a discussion of the different interpretations suggested for the PNN *kiš-a-bi₂-LUL/tuš, etc., see A. Westenholz, JAOS 115 (1995), 536, note to p. 24f.

1027 Parallel forms collected by J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973), 198f.; J. Bauer, AJ 36/37 (1989/90), 80 note to 1 i 7; M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 48f.

1028 With all likelihood two different names: lugal-A and ur-sikil/lugal-sikil and aja₂-teš₂/lugal-teš₃ or ur-lugal and aja₂-sikil.

1029 Compare lugal-a₂-da(-šₑ₂), ITT 5 6722 o. 4 (Ur III Girsu).

1030 Read, phps. lugal-abba and compare lugal-ab-na, lugal-ab₂, and lugal-ad-da.

1031 See, perhaps, names of the type lugal-x-da-kuš₂ and compare also lugal-AB-x-da.

1032 Ab definitely not part of compound sign abzu since all attestations of this word in ED I-II Ur has the normal sign order ZU:AB.

1033 The name seems in certain instances to contain a loc.-term. -e for expected dat. -ra or com. -da. See for instance ⁴En-lil₂-al-sa₀, for short ⁴En-lil₂-le, OSP 2, index p. 196 s.v.v.; am-an₂-al-sa₀, CT 50 60 o. 7, and Nik 2 68 o. ii 2 (both Sargonic Umma); and the Ur III name nin-b₇₂-al-sa₀, SAT 1 o. ii 18 (translit. only). A solution to the Ur III Nippur name ⁴En-lil₂-la₂-al-sa₀. H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 407 s.v., would be to picture -la₂- as harmonizing with the following vowels, but this is not altogether satisfactory. R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 65, 30.5a, 18, suggested that the predicate qualified the first component, in this case lugal.

1034 Reading order based on munus-alam-ak (nu-band₃₉), BiMes 3 14 r. 1 l. 1, list of names and professions from ED IIIb Lagaš; the duplicate SF 29 r. i 9 leaves out the appellative munus.

1035 Compare the am gal kur-[ra?]², maybe a weapon of Ninurta, or an epithet of one, in Angim, l. 28; and Sulgi D l. 29: am z₁ am gal-še₃ tu-da-gin, "like a rampant wild ox, born to be a great ox," following J. Klein, Three Sulgi Hymns, 73. Compare also Sulgi D l. 299 of similar import. Note the DNN ⁴Am-gal-nun and ⁴Am-gal-kiš, IAS 86 o. ii 4 and iii 1. Since the PN is attested at Girsu only, it may hark back to a theologem of Ningersu so far unattested.
AN-BU (?) (a1), lugal-AN-diš (a1), lugal-an-da (a2) ‘the lugal … with heaven and earth’.,
lugal-AN-ki₂-dub (c1) ‘the lugal makes heaven and earth quake (?)’,
lugal-AN-kur₂-gi (a1), 1039 lugal-AN-mar (c1), lugal-ASAL₂-RU (c1).
lugal-bi₂-tum₂ (a1), 1041 lugal-bu₃-la-ni (a1).
lugal-da (a8), 1043 lugal-DA-gur (a1), lugal-DA-gur-ra (a1), 1044 lugal-DA-HU (c1) ‘the lugal is a DA(or a₂=ti₂)-bird (?)’, lugal-DA-KI (a1), lugal-DA-MU (a2) 1045 lugal-da-na (a2), 1046 lugal-da-nam (a1), lugal-da₂-tab₂-ba (a1), 1047 lugal-DA-zì (a2) ‘the lugal, right side

1036 Compare ED IIIb Girsu PN: ambar-re₂-si, e.g. DP 1/2 114 r. ii 14; and see DN “Lugal:ambar in SF 1 r. iv 4”.
1037 Or perhaps lugal-an-ki is to be taken separately as a free-standing genitivally compounded epithet, presupposing a DN, as did A. Poebel, Personennamen, 36: “[Utu]-lugal-an-ki-a, “[Utu] ist der Herr des Himmels und der Erde.” See also CIRPL Ean. 1 o. xvi 21–22: zi ²En-lil₂, lugal an-ki-ka.
1038 Uncertain interpretation. The name appears in an Ebla scholastic text, MEE 3 59 o. ii 4. Note the similarity to another Ebla scholastic text ARET 5 24–26, and its rendering of ki in one of the exemplars as gi, hence ki₂. In that same text dub₂ is rendered in three different ways, including du-bu₂, and dub could be yet another phonetic writing of this same verb.
1039 Also attested in the Ur III period, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 459 s.v. lugal-diḡ₂r₂-gi. There are no parallel formations with other appellatives, though an-kur₂-gi does appear as short form, see, e.g. TCTI 1 896 o. iii 17 (translit. only, Ur III Girsu), a doorkeeper of Ninḥursaḡ; and compare the epithet of the latter goddess in the anonymous and fragmentary Ur III royal inscription BIN 2 10 ii’ti 4’ nin An ku₃-g[e] s[a₃(-a)] ‘lady, named by holy An.’ It is of course also possible to see -e as a loc.-term. suffix denoting a placement of the lugal in the holy heavens, that is, as a heavenly body.
1040 Follows on lugal-a₂-RU in SF 28 o. iii 6–7. Corresponds to ²asal:RU in SF 29 o. ii 10.
1042 Abbreviation bu₂-la-ni appears e.g. in ED IIIb Girsu, DP 1/1 38 o. i 2; DP 1/2 101 o. i 1; and in CS Adab, SIA 640 o. i 8.
1043 E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 194: “…lugal-da … is an abbreviation of lugal-da₂-nu-me-a.”
1044 It would be tempting to see DA here as an incomplete writing for A₂, and relate the name to lugal-a₂-gur-ra. That is, however, problematic. The writings of this name in OIP 104 14 and 15 (ED IIIb-l Isin (?)) are all with DA and other names in no. 14 feature clear a₂, e.g. a₂-kal-le (o. iii 15) and lugal-a₂-zì-da (r. vi 5). RA is probably part of the name despite the fact that it on more than one occasion appears before a transitive verb featuring the dative infix -na-. The verb gur together with the comitative has a sense of “renew, go back on (a previous agreement),” J. S. Cooper, JNES 33 (1974), 415 (Eanatum’s oath swearing passages involving the ensi, of Umma).
1045 See the final line of a late 3rd millennium incantation of unknown provenience, W. W. Hallo, OrNS 54 (1985), 57 (RBC 2000), reedited by N. Veldhuis, CDLB 2003:6, r. 8: da₂-ge₂, ‘Nanše al-me-a ‘Nanše is at my side,’ following Veldhuis’ edition. DA, though visible in the copy, was left out entirely by Hallo in his edition. The ED IIIb Nippur attestation of the name is written with normal lugal (coll. from photo), as against five writings with lugal ligature in the same text.
1046 See, possibly, the discussion of an enigmatic formula da-na in an administrative context, G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Kaskal 2 (2005), 64f. The Šuruppak attestation was collated from a photo graciously provided by A. Westenholz, and a reading DA is secure.
1047 Very uncertain. If the reading is correct, the name may relate to the lugal as holding a double-bladed weapon, see Šulgi D 1. 191, commented by J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, 103.

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en-il₂-lugal (a1) 1055 lugal-e (a2?) lugal-e-e (a1) lugal-e-gal-gal (a1) lugal-e₂ (a2≥) ‘lugal (of?) the house,’ lugal-e₂-ab-ba (a1) ‘the lugal in the E₂-ab-ba (?)’, 1056 lugal-e₂-da (a3) ‘the lugal … with the house,’ 1057 lugal-e₂-ĝiṣ (a1) 1058 lugal-e₂-pa₄ (a1) lugal-em-e-UŠ (a1) 1059 lugal-EN-ne₂ (a1) 1060

1048 Or is the name an independent form similar to the name given by H. Limet, Namenforschung, 852: “En.ki.da.zi «la vie avec (le dieu) Enki!»”? I have not been able to locate that name anywhere.

1049 See comments on lugal-dam-MU; and compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 173: “Le roi est l’époux,” explaining the name “[ces anthroponymes] doi[ven]t être complété[s]: le roi est … l’époux de telle déesse.”

1050 Compare, phps., FPNN dam-da-nu-sa₂, e.g. RTC 63 o. i 6; and ama-da-nu-sa₂, e.g. VS 25 11o. ii 17: ‘(nothing) compares to the wife/mother’ (both ED IIIb Giru). But the sense would be different in the present name.

1051 Since dam is largely gender neutral, the intended meaning may be similar to an entry in SF 77 o. vii 2: en dam mu-ĝi₄ ‘the (divine) en answered (his) wife.’ If this is the case, a dative is missing, evident from other names. See notes to lugal-ra-μu-ĝi₄. Compare furthermore nin-dam-MU, also from ED IIIb Nippur, OSP 1 18 o. i 4. The interpretation by R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 56, 29.1a, 7: “(The) lord is my spouse,” is hence not inevitable.

1052 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 140: “(Il appartient) au roi qui est dieu.” D. O. Edzard, AFO 22 (1968/69), 13, 11.10, read the name as lu₂(lugal)-diĝi[r]-ra, and it is rather an unexpected name for a person. The name referred to a village or agricultural estate in Sargonic times, e.g. STTI 48 o. 2, and later it was used as an epithet of the storm god Adad, W. G. Lambert, RL 7 (1987–90), 133 s.v. “Lugal-đingirra.”

1053 Writing order in SF 28 o. iii 2: lugal-du-ME; SF 29 o. ii 5: lugal-ME.DU.

1054 H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 241, seems to interpret this as an abbreviation of -gaba-ĝal₃. No prosopographical evidence from the early periods points to this.

1055 Difficult. The person is qualified as mu₄-sub₃, and en-il₂ can thus not be a professional title corresponding to lu₂-en-il₂ in ED Lu C, MSL 12, 14:44. I am not sure whether en-il₂ in the ED IIIa Šuruppak texts is a PN, as F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 98, has it; but in the ED IIIb-ES Adad text CUSAS 11 186 o. ii 1 a name en-il₂-’lu₃’₃-nil is found. Inspection of photo of the latter text is inconclusive as to the identity of the third, damaged sign.

1056 Name from ED I-II Ur, read phps. lugal-ab-ba-e₂?

1057 Compare PNN e₂-da-ḥul, ‘he/she rejoices with the house,’ e.g. TMH 5 8 o. ii 3; e₂-da-lu ‘he/she has grown with the house,’ e.g. MAD 4 71 r. 7; and the FN e₂-da-sur-ra ‘he/she it shines with the house.’

1058 Interpretation as PN not certain; writing ǧiṣ;e₂-e[u]gal.

1059 Difficult. Read perhaps an unorthographic writing eme for im-mi, lugal-eme-us₂. The sign eme is not in common usage in onomastic sources.

1060 See discussion on PN lugal-e₂-nil-še₃, above, p. 87f. w. fn. 439, for a possible fuller form.
lu[gal²]-ga \(a_1\), lugal-gal-bi₂-tum₂ \(a^{11}\) ‘the lugal performs great deeds (?)’,\(^{1061}\) lugal-GIM \(a_1\) ‘like a lugal’,\(^{1062}\) lugal-GU₂ \(a_2^{24}\), lugal-gu₂-gal \(a_2\) \(^{1063}\) lugal-GU₂-ĝu₁₀ \(a_1\), \(^{1064}\) lugal-gu₂ \(a_1\), lugal-GUG₂ \(a^{11}\) \(^{1065}\) lugal-GURₙ-[x] \(a_1\).

lugal-ĝir₂ \(a_2\), lugal-ĝis \(a^{20}\), lugal-ĝiš-[U] \(a_1\).

lugal-ḥar-an-ne₂ \(a_2\), \(‘the lugal (is just right for?) the road’,\(^{1066}\) lugal-ḥar:an-ne₂ \(a_1\) (see prev.),\(^{1067}\) lugal-ḤAR-ma-du₁₀ \(a_1\), \(^{1068}\) lugal-ḤAR-sa \(a^{11}\), \(^{1069}\) lugal-ḥe₂ \(a^{14}\), lugal-ḥe₂-a \(a_1\), lugal-ḤI-zi \(a^{11}\) \(^{1070}\) lugal-ḤU-ḫ \(a_1\).

lugal-i-MU \(a_1\) \(^{1071}\), lugal-i₂-bi₂ \(a_1\) \(^{1072}\), lugal-I₁-da \(a_1\) \(‘the lugal in/of the river’,\(^{1073}\) lugal-i₂-bi \(a_1\) \(a_1\) \(‘the lugal raises (his) eyes’,\(^{1076}\) lugal-igi-ni \(a_1\), lugal-ildum₃ \(a^{25}\) \(^{1077}\) lugal-ildum₃-e \(a_2\), lugal-

\(^{1061}\) Sign read by G. Pettinato as tum₂, MEE 3, 261, not clear on photo, pl. 37. For the meaning, compare C. Wilcke, Lugalbanda, 50 and fn. 156, note to l. 50. See also PN lugal-bi₂-tum₂, above, p. 176.

\(^{1062}\) Or, perhaps, lugal-ši₂tim, or lugal-dim₂.

\(^{1063}\) H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 167, translates “prince, premier,” based on the Akk. correspondence ašarēdum, given in an OB list of PNN, PBS 11/1, 7 o. i 8. The interpretation “canal inspector” for this ED III word might be supported by ED LU D, where the profession precedes ‘potter’, bahar₂. The name has parallels in nin-gu₂-gal, for which, see refs. with F. Pomponio, Prosopograφia, 197; and the rare en‘gu₂-gal, CUSAS 11 282 o. 2 (ES Adab).


\(^{1065}\) Name read as lugal-bar₂, by E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 240, no. 1450. Sign is GUG₂, not bar₂.

\(^{1066}\) Compare E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 213, no. 298: “The king is the fear of heaven”; and see nin-ḤAR-an-[x] in SIA 640 o. ii 5 (CS Adab, prob. FPN).

\(^{1067}\) C. Wilcke, EANEL, 197 fn. 63, discussed the reading and the possible identification of this person with one of the bearers of the previous name. Add to Wilcke’s references also lugal-ḥar-an-na, PBS 11/3 25 o. iv 17\(^{\prime}\), OB list of lugal-names.

\(^{1068}\) The verbal chain ma-du₁₀ is rare in PNN. Two Ur III names are uru-gu₂-ma-du₁₀ and lugal-ma-du₁₀, given by H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 81, as: “Ma ville m’a rendu heureux, m’a fait du bien,” and “Le roi m’a fait du bien,” respectively. However, ḤAR would be hard to explain. Read perhaps as a phrase name with anticipatory genitive, *lugal-(aK)-muru₃-ma(n)-du₁₀, “the resounding of the lugal is good,” bearing on an atmospheric phenomenon?

\(^{1069}\) Attested only at Ebla. Read perhaps lugal-ḥur-sa₃, for lugal-ḥur-saq₃, and compare the alternative writings ur-sa₃-saq₃-da for the same person, also representing a Sumerian name, M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 90 fn. 90.

\(^{1070}\) Compare nu-gal-ḥi₂zi, and see in ḫ a phonetic writing of šer, (šar₂)?

\(^{1071}\) Compare lugal-ni-MU, below, p. 180, also of unknown meaning.

\(^{1072}\) Sumerian? Compare Akk. be-il₂-NE, e.g. MAD I 326 o. i 8, o. ii 7 (CS Esnuna); šar-ru₁-ne₂, and later Sumerian lugal₂-bi₂-la, e.g. RTC 198 o. 6 (Lagaš II Girsu).


\(^{1074}\) Perhaps not a lugal-name. Reading IB₂, or IB₂.GAL as professional title, is possible.

\(^{1075}\) With H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 256, the name is an abbreviation.

\(^{1076}\) Naturally, igi-il₂ could be seen as a passive participle, ‘the lugal is looked at,’ perhaps with a sense of ‘admired.’ See Å. Sjöberg, MNS, 59: “das Auge (den Blick) erheben ... ist oft ein Ausdruck des Begehrens oder Auswählens,” with many refs.
IM \(^{(a5)}\), lugal-IM-ru \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-IM-ru-a \(^{(a1)}\) ‘the lugal (in/of?) the neighbourhood (?)’, \(^{1079}\) lugal-IM-SILA\(^{3}\) \(^{(a1)}\).

lugal-KA \(^{(a-25)}\), lugal-KA-GAN-ki \(^{(a1)}\), \(^{1081}\) lugal-KA-NIL\(\_\)_U \(^{(a2)}\), lugal-KA-SI-U\(\_\)_2-L U M \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-KA-U\(\_\)_2 \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-kas\(\_\)_4 \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-kas\(\_\)_4-e \(^{(a4)}\) ‘the lugal runs (?)’, lugal-kas[kal] \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-kI \(^{(a20)}\), lugal-ki-NI\(\_\)_1 \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-ki-NI-g\(\_\)_4 \(^{(a2}\), lugal-ki-nu-g\(\_\)_1 \(^{(a1)}\) ‘the lugal (in) the place of no return (?)’, \(^{1084}\) lugal-KI-SIR-PA \(\_\) J\(\_\)_X \(^{(a1)}\), \(^{1085}\) lugal-KISAL\(\_\)PAP \(^{(1)}\), lugal-KI\(\_\)S\(\_\)_3-GA\(\_\)_2-GU\(\_\)_4 \(^{(a1)}\), lugal-ku\(\_\)_3 \(^{(a2)}\), lugal-kun \(^{(a3)}\), lugal-

\(^{1077}\) Only rarely found outside of the Umma-Zabala area. Compare later deity by a similar name, W. G. Lambert, \(\_\)_RA \(\_\)_7 (1987–90), 142 s.v. “Lugal-ilduma,” given as “Lord of the clan.” Once, BIN 8 114 r. (!) i 10 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala), this name (ildum\(\_\)_3 here written NAGAR\(\_\)_MUNU\(\_\)_3), is written in the same case as a PN ur-sa\(\_\)_g; a comparison with M. deJ. Ellis, JCS \(\_\)_31 (1979), 30–55 no. 6. o. iv 11–14 shows 3 of the same persons as are found, in different order, in BIN 8 114 r. (!) i 7 and 10. Hence, there is no reason to posit a \_*lugal-ur-sa\(\_\)_g-ildum\(\_\)_3.

\(^{1078}\) The hand copy of the earliest instance of lugal-IM-ru shows damage. Restore probably original NI\(\_\)_4(LAK377) for this name according to parallel Utu-NI\(\_\)_3-ru, \(\_\)_WF \(\_\)_41 o. v \(\_\)_7; \(^{1077}\) o. iv 4. The meaning of IM-ru here as “neighbourhood,” “family,” or “clan,” is therefore not secure. See in general discussion by M. Krebseni, \(\_\)_BF E, 27f., w. note 27, and 308.

\(^{1079}\) For alternation between -ri and -ru in im-ri/-ru “family,” and other compounds, see M. Krebseni, \(\_\)_BF E, 309, note 34. The lexical equivalent of ram\(\_\)_um, CAD \(\_\)_R s.v. ram\(\_\)_u B, is evidently never given as ru, but would merit an interpretation as a descriptive name ‘the lugal is endowed with awe/instills fear.’ Compare E. Chiera, PBS 11/1, 69, no. 351: “[lugal]-im-ri-a” (glossed sa-[a-\_\)_n\_\)_]), and fn. 4, offering two proposals: “the king of the storming wind,” and “the king who goes by himself.” See further Chiera’s translation of essentially the same name, PBS 11/3, 212, no. 264: lugal-ni\(\_\)_3-ri-a “The only king.”

\(^{1080}\) Name etched into clay after hardening. Reading of last sign and mng. uncertain.

\(^{1081}\) Compare, phps., \(\_\)_FP N GAN-ki, e.g. \(\_\)_DP \(\_\)_1/2 128 o. ii 6; 129 o. ii 6 (ED IIIb Girsu).

\(^{1082}\) One attestation from ED IIIb Umma-Zabala, one from ES Umma. For the possibility that both attestations refer to the same individual, see B. R. Foster, \(\_\)_US P, 43. Foster discusses prosopographical links between ED IIIb texts and the ES mu-itu-archive from his group A. Compare, perhaps, lugal-gu\(\_\)_3, from CS Girsu.

\(^{1083}\) For short: ki-NI-g\(\_\)_4, \(\_\)_FTU M 83 o. i 2. Writing with appellative and gi\(\_\)_4 predicate only attested in texts from ED IIIb Umma-Zabala. Compare e\(\_\)_2-ki-be\(\_\)_2-g\(\_\)_4, \(\_\)_TS A 10 r. iv 15 (ED IIIb Girsu); and e\(\_\)_2-ki-be\(\_\)_2-g\(\_\)_4, \(\_\)_TMH 5 29 (with better copy \(\_\)_ECT J 29) r. iii 7.

\(^{1084}\) Known only from an ED I-II Ur text; reading not entirely secure. Name is preceded by a GA\(\_\)_2 which is hard to explain in this context. Connections to kur-nu-g\(\_\)_1 of much later times are tentative to say the least.

\(^{1085}\) PN ? The text lists GN, Adab and \(\_\)_\(\_\)_Ur uppag, without place determinative \(\_\)_ki, and what looks like PNN, e.g. AN\_mud. A reading lugal-GN\(\_\)_ki is therefore less likely.

\(^{1086}\) Damaged and very doubtful.

\(^{1087}\) Three instances from the CS Adab archives sport damaged signs following ku\(\_\)_3. A reading si[m\(\_\)_mg\(\_\)_] for two of the attestations (\(\_\)_S I A 675 & \(\_\)_O P 14 106) was proposed by Z. Yang, \(\_\)_S I A, 301; 323. At least one of the texts deals with deliveries of copper, which adds some weight to Yang’s assumption. For OIP 14 78, B. R. Foster, \(\_\)_J AO S 115 (1995), 538, read lugal-ku\(\_\)_3-zu, attested elsewhere in the same period, though not in texts from CS Adab. Photos of all three texts have proven inconclusive. The remains of the last sign are not compatible with \(\_\)_mâh, as in lugal-ku\(\_\)_3-mâh, from Ur III Nippur, \(\_\)_N AT N 970 r. 2; and Girsu, \(\_\)_SET 315 o. 5 (translit. only).
kun₃ (TURE₃) (a₂), lugal-kun₃ (TURE₃)-ne₂ (a₁), lugal-kur (a₂) and the lugal (is like?) a mountain.¹⁰⁸⁹

lugal-lu₂-LAK₅₄₅-ne-saq (a₁), lugal-lu₂-saq (a₁), lugal-lu₂-ŞE₃-IG-ŞE₃ (a₁).

lugal-ma₂-tab-ba (a₁) 'the lugal ... a two-pronged boat (?)',¹⁰⁹⁰ lugal-ša-su₂(A₂,KAL) (a₁), lugal-ša-kim-e (a₂),¹⁰⁹² lugal-me (a₁) 'the lugal ... by the hero',¹⁰⁹⁴ lugal-MU (a₂₈),¹⁰⁹⁵ lugal-mu-da (a₃),¹⁰⁹⁶ ju₂-gal-mu-dib (a₁), lugal-mu-šal₂ (a₁) 'the lugal is present (at/for ...)', lugal-mu-LAGAB×PA (a₁), lugal-mu-ni-da (a₁) 'the lugal ... with his name (?)',¹⁰⁹⁷ lugal-mu-ŞE₃-šal₂ (a₂),¹⁰⁹₈ lugal-mu-zu-da (a₂),¹⁰⁹₈ lugal-muš (a₂).

lugal-nag₂ (a₁) 'the lugal (is) a carpenter', lugal-nag₂-z₂ (a₂) 'the lugal (is) a reliable carpenter', lugal-nam (a₂₃), lugal-nam-DUB (?) (a₁), lugal-NE-ni-si (a₁), lugal-NE-ni-um (a₁),¹⁰⁹⁹ lugal-ni-du₂ (a₁),¹¹₀₀ lugal-ni-i-MU (a₁),¹¹₀¹ lugal-ni₂-bi-ak (²¹), lugal-ni₂-D[U⁷]

¹⁰⁸⁸ Read as *lugal-dumu-gir₁₃-ni by M. Maiocchi, CUSAS 13 108 r. 3, and also on p. 17.
¹⁰⁸⁹ The discussion by H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 271ff., on the equation kur = nap₄₅₄u is probably beside the point, but nap₄₅₄u does appear in later PNN, CAD N/1 s.v., 4c, b'. At least once, Nik 1 3 o. ii 7, the name is short for lugal-kur-dub₂₂, DP 1/2 136 o. i 2 (ED IIb Girsu).
¹⁰⁹⁰ Copy of RIAA 44 is inaccurate in many ways. Photo (CDLI P010547) is clear. Compare DN ḍLugal-LAK₅₄₅ in Abū Ṣalābīḥ god list, IAS 83 r. iv 10, to which, see W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 134, ‘Lugal-dur(a)’: “perhaps ... lord of the (cosmic bond).” See also the discussion on DUR(LAK₅₄₅) by G. Marchesi N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 161 fn. 44.
¹⁰⁹¹ Name perhaps referring to the appearance of the moon at the beginning of the month, as in Enûma elîš V 16, quoted by CAD Q s.v. gara₃u, 3.
¹⁰⁹² The exact meaning of ma₃₅₅kim here is open to question. Compare Urmamma EF I. 35: ḍUr₄-Namma-ke₂₅₅ ma₃₅₅kim (with phon. var. ma₅₅₅-gi-i ...) im-me “Urmamma is in charge,” following E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166, 283.
¹⁰⁹³ All attestations of this name can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to the reign of Lugalanda of Lagaš. On G. J. Selz's, FAOS 15/1, 401, remarks on a possible identification on phonetic grounds with lugal-ma₂₅₅-TUR-ŞE₂₅₅-MU-ŞE₂₇₁₇₁₂₇₁₂₅₅, compare J. Bauer, AFØ 36/37 (1989/90), 87 note to 175 K, who finds lugal-me more likely to be an abbreviation of lugal-me-gal-gal. No prosopographical ties between either name are known to me.
¹⁰⁹⁴ Compare H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 316: “Le roi est un héros.”
¹⁰⁹⁵ At least four persons from ED IIb Girsu are associated with the abbreviated writing lugal-mu for lugal-mu-da-ku₂₅₅ and lugal-mu-šal₂. See further H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 93 and 175: “Mon roi (…)” where Limet discusses the name as an end result of a process in which both verbs and qualifiers could be disposed of.
¹⁰⁹⁶ The name was taken as variant of Akk. šar-ru-mu-da by R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 216f., 30.5a, 18. If the name is to be read in Sumerian – which is likely given the fact that two attestations come from the ED IIb south – compare lugal-mu-da-ku₂₅₅, lugal-mu-da-ri₂₅₅, and theophoric parallel ḍUt₂₅₅-mu-da-ḥul₂, e.g. DP 2/1 191 r. iii 4 (ED IIb Girsu).
¹⁰⁹⁷ Compare mu₂-ni₂-ṭ₂₅₅, CUSAS 14 258 o. i 3 (ED IIb Umma-Zabala); and the more commonly attested mu₂-ni₂-da, e.g. DP suppl. 487 r. ii 2 (ED IIb Girsu).
¹⁰⁹⁸ Suggestion by I. J. Gelb, apud G. Eisen, OIP 47, 81, note no. 33, to read ZU as su₂ does not add to the understanding of this name.
¹⁰⁹⁹ See discussion of *lugal-bi₂-nu-um.
¹¹₀₀ Read lugal-i₂-du₂ ‘the lugal released (?)’; or lugal-ni₂-du₂ ‘his lugal is one who opens(?)’. The former could potentially be interpreted as referring to the profession “door-opener,” making the lugal an opener of doors (to the world of the living). Parallel names formed with other professions are well-known.
¹¹₀¹ Compare lugal-i-MU, above, p. 178, likewise of unknown meaning.
lugal-pa₄-zu (a2) ‘the lugal knows the uncle.’

lugal-ra (a2)¹⁴ ... to the lugal,’¹¹⁰⁵ lugal-ra-diри (a1), lugal-ra-mu-gi₄ (a2)² ... answered the lugal,’¹¹⁰⁶ lugal-ra-si (a?) (a1), lugal-ru (a?)

lugal-sa₂-sa₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who vanquishes (evil portents?)’, lugal-sa₂-du₁₀ (a1) lugal-si (a1), lugal-sa₂ (a1) lugal-si-DU₆-e (a1), lugal-si-NE-e (a2)¹¹¹⁰ lugal-sa₂ (ERIM) (a2), lugal-sa₂ (ERIM)-ra-sa₂ (a1), lugal-sa₂ (ERIM)-re₂-ki-a₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who loves the (work) troops (?)’

lugal-ša₃ (a²)¹¹¹¹ lugal-ša₃-ENGR (a1)¹¹¹² lugal-ša₃-ga (a1)¹¹¹³ lugal-ša₃ (a²)¹¹¹⁴ lugal-ša₃-G₃ (a³)¹¹¹⁵ lugal-ša₃-uru (a1) ‘the lugal in the midst of the city,’ lugal-ša₃ (a³) [x] (a>12)¹¹¹⁶ lugal-ša₃-sa₂ (a1)¹¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰² The sign N₃ corresponds to UET2-389b, DU is a possibility given the remaining wedges.
¹¹⁰³ One instance, SF 63 o. vi 4, was left out by Deimel, visible on photo (CDLI P010654).
Sign order is the same in all exemplars. Compare ED Word List C 1–4: ad-gi₄ ‘advice,’ ki-sa₂-gi₄ ‘secret,’ ad-ša₃ ‘secret,’ abrig ‘steward.’ An interpretation sa₂-gi₄ = sakkū “rites, ritual regulations,” CAD S s.v. sakkū A, is possible, but the negation nu remains problematic. Compare PNN ur-ki-sa₂ (BIN 8 26 o. ⅲ 3), ED IIIb Adab, Meskigala ensi, Adab²/Luzag. lugal; SIA 667 o. 4’, CS Adab (not copied; photo: CDLI P217481); MesCiv 4 60 lower edge, CS, prob. Adab); and ki-sa₂-gam-gam ‘(s)he nods the head (toward) the ground,’ MVN 3 14 o. ⅲ 2 (ED IIIb, unknown).
¹¹⁰⁴ According to later lexical tradition pa₄ could represent the father, brother or (exclusively male?) offspring. It is quite difficult to see which is intended in earlier PNN, see e.g. CAD B s.v. bukr₄, lex. sect.
¹¹⁰⁵ The name is an abbreviation, several possible alternatives exist, see e.g. J. Hilgert, Imgula 5, 207 fn. 148.
¹¹⁰⁶ A possible abbreviation of (noun)-lugal-ru-mu-gi₄. Compare aj₂-en-ra-mu-gi₄, e.g. Nik 1 211 o. ⅱ 2. There is no room on photo of MVN 10 85 for gal in lugal]-ra-mu-gi₄ suggested by F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 160. Copy of Nik 1 41 r. i 5 erroneously leaves out 'gi₄',³ indicated by G. J. Selz, AWEL, 207. The earliest attestation of this name is ED IIIb in date.
¹¹⁰⁷ Name is copied by L. Legrain, Rā 32 (1935), 126, with line divider between lugal and sa₂-du₁₀. I follow here the renderings of F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 160; and FTUM, 152.
¹¹⁰⁸ Object or predicate missing. Is si=garrum, šarūrum, mālûm, or mašûm? Compare the homonymous DN, W. G. Lambert, RIA 7 (1987–90), 151 s.v. ‘Lugal-si’.
¹¹⁰⁹ Compare R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 62f., 30.5a, 2: “(The) god is preeminent,” interpreting SIA as dirig, which is certainly possible. See also lugal-A-SI and lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si.
¹¹¹⁰ Name appears also in Ur III sources: H. Limet, Anthroponomie, 472 s.v. ‘Lugal-si-bil-e’. One of the attestations reads si-NE-e only. Most Ur III references come from the Umma area.
¹¹¹¹ Variant lugal-sa₂-ur₄ (ERIM)-ki-a₂ (a1). All attestations are from ED IIIb Girsu. An alternative interpretation could be ‘the lugal is beloved by the working (class).’ It all depends on the function of -e, as ergative marker on a collective or the loc.-term. marker used on the logical object for ki-a₂.
¹¹¹² Attested as abbreviation for several persons named lugal-ša₃-ia₃-tuku in ED IIIb Girsu; including a chief singer, a field measurer, a cook and a scribe. See more, below, p. 236.
¹¹¹⁴ The name ought probably to be completed with a poss. pron. suffix -ni, as the abbreviation sa₂-ga-ni is attested from the Sargonic period on. See Nippur refs., A. Westenholz, OSP 2, index p. 198. The full form is difficult to reconstruct, but see comm. to lugal-ša₃-st₄₃.
lugal-su (a²6), lugal-su-du₁₁ (a¹) ‘the lugal transformed … (?)’,¹¹¹⁷ lugal-su-gi₄-gi₄ (a¹)¹¹¹⁸ lugal-su-gal₂ (PN?), lugal-su-mu-gi₄ (a¹) the lugal restored … (to someone),¹¹¹⁹ lugal-SU₂ (a¹), lugal-shub₃₃ (a¹), lugal-shub₃₂-zî (a¹)¹¹²⁰ lugal-tab (PN?), lugal-TAR (a²⁷),¹¹²¹ lugal-TAR-me-te (a¹), lugal-tî (a²)¹¹²² lugal-tir (a²)¹¹²³ ‘the lugal … the forest,’ lugal-tir-a-DU (a¹) ‘the lugal stands (?) in the woods,’ lugal-TUR-x (a¹)¹¹²⁴ lugal-u₃ (a²),¹¹²⁵ lugal-u₃-dag-dag (a¹), lugal-u₃-tak₄ (a²), lugal-u₄-de₃ (a²)¹¹²⁶ lugal-uru, lugal-URUDU-da (a¹)¹¹²⁷ lugal-UṢ (a⁴),¹¹²⁸ lugal-uṣ-su₂₀ (a¹), lugal-uṣ-su₄ (MUŠ)

¹¹¹⁵ Perhaps two names in a single line. The second could be za₃-mu. Both names are found in Adab during the ES-MS period, but they are so far never attested in the same text.
¹¹¹⁶ Compare lugal-imim-š, and lugal-sa₂₄-bi-še₃₉₉, p. 139 and 169, above, respectively.
¹¹¹⁷ A sense ‘to touch,’ Akk. lapātum could also be considered. However, many senses of the verb lapātum have negative overtones, e.g. CAD L s.v. lapātu, and hence the idea of a transformation, a change of state in a positive sense is to be preferred. The slightly later sense of (handi)work, creation,’ attested for the nominal derivative, CAD L s.v. līptu A s., lex. sect., is seen, e.g. in the name li-pi₃ -it-ix₃-še, ensi₁ of Marad and son of Narām-Su’en, YOS 1 10 ii 2.
¹¹¹⁸ Compare lugal-šu-mu-gi₄.
¹¹¹⁹ The interpretation is tentative but is strongly reminiscent of a recurring phrase in ED IIIb Lagaš royal inscriptions, šu-a-š, for which, see refs. in FAOS 6, 139b. Also, šu-a-gi₄-a was the term used for a type of payment or due, see W. Sallaberger, Fs Klein, 249–251; G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, CUSAS 11, 8. Compare ED IIIb Uruk PN šu-na-mu-gi₄, RIAA 14 o. 12, an official under Enšakušana. The object “restored” is unclear, but it may be the child.
¹¹²⁰ Compare H. Limet, Anthropomymie, 474: “lugal-šub₃₂-zî,” w. fn. 1; translated on p. 316 as: “le roi est un héros fidèle.”
¹¹²¹ Compare, perhaps, lugal-sila(tar)-si, above, p. 130.
¹¹²² Compare E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 213, no. 312: lugal-tî-la, given as “The king of life.”
¹¹²³ Neither photo nor copy of the text has been published, but it is unlikely that tir represents ŠŠŠ (št). The text, MAD 4 45, is from Umma, and other Umma names include the professional title nagar ‘carpenter.’ This name, then, is part of a group of names native to that area.
¹¹²⁴ C. L. Woolley assigned a date of ED IIa or -b to the seal on which the name is found, and suggested a reading *lugal-tur-nir (?), UE 2, 316 fn.1; 588. The date is at any rate too high and should probably rather be ED IIIb-ES. In accordance with the discussion by G. Marchesi, OrNS 73 (2004), 185, a reading *lugal-tur is out of the question, but a better reading for the third sign does not present itself.
¹¹²⁵ Appears once as an abbreviation of lugal-u₃-tak₄.
¹¹²⁶ See, tentatively, the brief discussion by S. Mirelman & W. Sallaberger, ZA 100 (2010), 184, note to r. 2’ etc.: u₄-de₃ with gloss di, and the suggested meaning “today.” That interpretation would be obscure in this PN. An abbreviation is most likely.
¹¹²⁷ Compare DN in E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, IRS₄ 319: Lugal-uru “‘roi de la ville.’ Sans doute Nin-Girsu”; similarly K. Tallqvist, AGE, 358 s.v.: “König der Stadt”, and see dissenting view by H. Steible, ABW 2, 8 note 9 (comm. to CIAPL Urn. 24), who preferred to see in Lugal-uru an abbreviation for the DNN Lugal-uru-bar(-ra) or Lugal-uru₄(U₄KAR₃).
¹¹²⁸ Attested only at ED IIIb Umma-Zabala. The name may contain a reference to a copper artefact associated with Ningirsu, receiving oil offerings, alongside šar₃-ur₃ and šar₃-gaz and an anonymous ig ‘door,’ in RTC 196 o. ii 2–6. The URUDU-da and the ig both receive twice the amount of oil as šar₃-ur₃ and šar₃-gaz, which makes it reasonable to assume that the entries cover two distinct objects in each line. Compare Gudea StB v 37–44. Another name related to Ningirsu attested at Umma-Zabala is lugal-kur-dub₂.
lugal-ušum-AN (a1), lugal-ušur₃ (a≥5), lugal-ušur₃-MU (a≥4), lugal-ušur₃-ra (a≥7), lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₂ (a>3) lugal-ušur₄ (a3), lugal-ušur₄-MU (a≥5), lugal-ušur₄-LAL+KU (a1).

lugal-zī (a≥7) “the lugal is reliable (?”), lugal-zī-de₃ ? (a1).

nu-gal (a≥3) nu-gal-AŠ₂-DA (a1), nu-gal-ḪḪ₁-zi (a1), nu-gal-NI-zi (a1), nu-gal-zī-ga (a1).

UD-lugal-le (a1) (PN?), za-lugal (a1).

3.1.9 Non-existent names and misreadings

Assyriology has long depended on hand copies of texts made available to larger audiences. With the advent of cheaper photographic reproduction in text publications came the potential for greater accuracy. However, the problems of reproducing three-dimensional script on rounded tablet surfaces, not to mention partially destroyed signs are obvious. Even today, with the possi-

\[\text{ED IIIa attestation from Šuruppag employs ARAD for later UŠ, in accordance with writing conventions of the times.}\]

\[\text{Reading of this and the previous name discussed as parallels, without suggestion as to meaning by J. Bauer, ZA 79 (1989), 9. See parallel nin-uš-su₂₀, e.g. VS 25 69 o. vii 15 (ED IIIb Girsu).}\]

\[\text{Once written lugal-ušur₃-nu₃, (a1). M. Powell, OrNS 43 (1974), 398–403, has a list of different writings, and presents evidence that ušur₃ and ušur₄ denotes a person.}\]

\[\text{Similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 66., 30.5a, 21: “Ba’u is faithful.” See also the GN bad₃-lugal-zi²⁴, perhaps located in the area east of Girsu, STTI 141 o. 9’ (CS Girsu), and B. R.}\

\[\text{Foster, AfO 28 (1981–82), 141. The Ur III PN lugal-zi-šu₁₀ “the lugal is my life,” H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 477 (-zi-mu), offers another avenue for interpretation. It could also be an abbreviation of a longer name.}\]

\[\text{One instance from CS Adab, CUSAS 13 11 o. 3, was discussed by the editor M. Maiocchi as possibly containing a phonetic rendering of the title lugal, which is likely given the context. The person or office of nu-gal is listed as receiving 10 workers, following upon 7 destined for the queen and 4 for the šabra e₂. Compare DN ²⁴Nu-gal in the Abū Šalābīḫ god list, IAS 83 o. iii’ 6’; 84 o. i’ 4’}. \]

\[\text{Reading nu phonetic for nu₁₁? See P. Mander, Pantheon, 60, no. 181, and compare note to PN lugal-Unug, above.}\]

\[\text{P. Steinkeller, Fs Hallo, 239 proposed reading nu-gal-az₂-da, for lugal-az₂-zi-da.}\]

\[\text{Name of a singer from Mari in the Ebla documentation. To be read nu-gal-šar₂-zi, and to be interpreted as phonetic for lugal-šer₂-zi? See also lugal-ḪḪ₁-zi.}\]

\[\text{Name of a singer from Mari in the Ebla documentation. Interpreted as “*lugal-i₃-zi,” said to be parallel with “inim-i₃-zi” (read instead inim-ni₃-zi), P. Mander, JAOS 108 (1988), 482. P. Steinkeller, Fs Hallo, 245, held the name to be a phonetic writing for lugal-ezem due to an entry in a still unpublished text (TM.75.G.1917) which sported the writing EN:LUGAL, not in itself unproblematic. Compare his discussion op. cit., p. 239. See further M. Krebernik, Fs Röllig, 190 w. fn. 13.}\]

\[\text{Interpreted as “*lugal-zi-ga,” with ref. to lugal-mu-ba-zi-ge, Limet, Anthroponymie, 121, P. Mander, JAOS 108 (1988), 482. P. Steinkeller, Fs Hallo, 237 & 245 (Addendum), pointed out that *lugal-zi-ga has no direct parallel in 3rd millennium Mesopotamia and that a variant in the text mentioned in the previous footnote (TM.75.G.1917) has u₃-zī-ga, without LUGAL. Perhaps phonetic for lugal-užug₆(AN.ZAG)-šē₃?}\]
bilities of internet databases of photographs, nothing outdoes actual handling and inspection of the original tablets.

In the following, some readings of lugal-names extant in secondary literature are corrected. The following names are readings which can now be discarded. Discrepancies from the present work which are the result, for example, of varying diacritic values, or tonal quality of sibilants, are not improved on; nor are values which are readily identifiable or well-established, e.g. -ur-mu > -teš₂-ḫu₁₀. Notes on the new readings result from collation of photographs and from more general comparison of onomastic materials. The readings have been converted to the standards followed in this work unless otherwise indicated.

*AN-lugal.¹¹³⁸ In Sumerian contexts related to offerings to be read diğiğir lugal(-ak). Attestations are known from Ur, Ginsu and Adab.¹¹³⁹
*dumu-lugal-nam.¹¹⁴⁰ To be read as regens-rectus chain dumu Lugal-nam(-ak).
*lu-ga-lu-mu-ug.¹¹⁴¹ Not a phonetic writing for a Sumerian name. To be understood as lā-kalāmuk ‘he is indeed your lamb.’
*lugal-a-mah.¹¹⁴² A parallel makes for an identification with lugal-i₇-maḥ certain. Read lugal-i₇(A)-maḥ, or lugal-i₇₃-maḥ.¹¹⁴³
*lugal-a₂-gur-re₂.¹¹⁴⁴ To be read lugal-a₂-gur-ra, as indicated already by A. Westenholz and supported by photo of text.¹¹⁴⁵
*lugal-a₂-MUG.GU-pa₃.¹¹⁴⁶ The elements MUG.GU were correctly identified by J. Bauer as a name lugal-a₂-pa₃ with the title gu:šur.¹¹⁴⁷ P. Steinkeller’s suggestion to read lugal-pa₃:da’(A₂),¹¹⁴⁸ might be considered were it for a single case, but all 4 writings, 3 of ED IIIb date, sport the sequence a₂-pa₃, of uncertain meaning.

¹¹³⁸ So the editors of TCABI 8. The text reads: 1 udu niğa, diğiğir lugal(-ak), <ezem/iṭ>Šub₃-nun. The last line probably indicates a time of the year, most likely a festival, even though the word ezem is missing. A festival of Šub₃-nun, giving rise to a month name, is known from the early Adab calendar, see M. E. Cohen, The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East, 201–205; TCABI, 62f.
¹¹³⁹ For ED IIIb Ur, see G. Viscicato & A. Westenholz, Kaskal 2 (2005), 65; for an ED IIIa Girsu attestation, see RTC 8 o. iii 3: diğiğir lugal, listing deities and temples receiving bread offerings.
¹¹⁴⁰ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 40. Read in DP 2/2 453 o. i 2: dumu lugal-NAM(-ke₄, na bi₃-ri).
¹¹⁴¹ OAIC 31 r. 1. I. J. Gelb understood the name as lugal- and gave a parallel for the interpretation of umug.
¹¹⁴² So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 97.
¹¹⁴³ Same person appears in Nik 1 3 o. iv 1. See note on variants A maḥ and i₇ maḥ in different versions of the Instructions of Šuruppak, J. Bauer, AoN 21 (1985), 2f.
¹¹⁴⁴ So A. Falkenstein, AnOr 28, 27, fn. 2; D. O. Edzard, SRU no. 25.
¹¹⁴⁵ See A. Westenholz, ECTJ no. 75, and photo (CDLI P020489).
¹¹⁴⁶ So H. Steible & H. Behrens, ABW 2, 345 (Anonym 10), 1. 3. The name was read by E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), 66, as: *mug-gu-pa₃ dumu lugal-a₂.
¹¹⁴⁷ J. Bauer, OLZ 80 (1985), 150.
¹¹⁴⁸ NABU 1990/14. In Steinkeller’s note on parallels to this name, correct DP 59 to 593.
*lugal-AB.URI₃.KI.¹¹⁴⁹ Despite the orthographic problems, read lugal-Urim₃(AB.URI₃)KI. Parallels made up by other important cities and the close graphic similarity between ṢEŠ and URI₃ are factors which speak in favour of the identification, while the writing order and one or two missing wedges inside URI₃ speak against it.

*lugal-an-na-igi-su-su.¹¹⁵⁰ Read lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su.¹¹⁵¹

*lugal-dam-me-ki-aŋ₂.¹¹⁵² Read instead lugal-Muš₂-bar-ki-aŋ₂₂, as copied. A deity ḫNin-Muš₂-bar is attested a handful of times in ED IIIb Girsu.¹¹⁵³ See also *lugal-muš₂-me-ki-aŋ₂₂.

*lugal-dib-ra-na₃.¹¹⁵⁴ Following G. J. Selz, read lugal-šu₃ur₃(DIB)₃-ra-nu₂.¹¹⁵⁵

*lugal-du₁₀ₐ₉-bar-SU.¹¹⁵⁶ Read lugal-mas-su₄ «x».

*lugal-dub-saŋ-ki.¹¹⁵⁷ With all probability not a lugal-PN.¹¹⁵⁸

*lugal-e₂-balaḡ, *lugal-e₂-balaḡ-mete(TE+ME), *lugal-e₂-balaḡ-ni-du₁₀.¹¹⁵⁹ Read lugal-tigi₃(E₂,BALAḠ), etc.¹¹⁶⁰

*lugal-e₂-gal.¹¹⁶¹ Read lugal-sa-suḥ-gal. No PN combining lugal and e₂-gal is known before the Ur III period. A FPN nin-e₂-gal-le-si is, however, known from ED IIIb Girsu;¹¹⁶² and the e₂-gal is mentioned also in the genitival phrase name ur-e₂-gal, attested already at ED IIIA Šuruppak.¹¹⁶³

*lugal-en₃-nu-su₄.¹¹⁶⁴ Read securely lugal-en₃-tar′-su₄.

*lugal-engar-du₁₀.¹¹⁶⁵ On account of a Sargonic and several later parallels with the determinative ṢES, read lugal-apin-du₁₀.

¹¹⁴⁹ So J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973), 252–254, with a well-founded argumentation. Krecher categorically denied that AB.URI₃ could stand for Urim₃(ŠEŠ.AB), but no convincing alternative presents itself. I. J. Gelb read the same name, MAD 4 36 r. 6 as lugal-ab Bala-ki.

¹¹⁵⁰ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 98.

¹¹⁵¹ Collation of tablet in Berlin shows J. Marzahn’s copy of VS 25 70 to be very accurate, but there is no doubt as to the identity of the person, otherwise given with -ke₄.

¹¹⁵² So G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 202 fn. 933, and index p. 402 on DP 2/1 220 o. iii 5.

¹¹⁵³ G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 262f., with notes.

¹¹⁵⁴ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 99.

¹¹⁵⁵ G. J. Selz, AWEL, 79, on Nik 1 3 o. vii 14.

¹¹⁵⁶ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 100. Nikol’skij’s copy of MAŠ as BAR in Nik 1 181 o. iii 2 is faulty. Photo (CDLI P221950) has clear MAŠ.


¹¹⁵⁸ Since the text is only published in partial transliteration it is hard to assess what the entry means. Read, possibly: ‘2 calves (for) the lugal. First (accounting), place of the scribe.’ Compare ITT 2/2 5762 r. 4’: ensi, dub-saḡ [remainder of reverse broken].

¹¹⁵⁹ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 100.

¹¹⁶⁰ Reading tigi₃(E₂,BALAḠ) following J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, 120, note to Šulgi D 1. 366–367; and W. Sallaberger, Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit, 142 fn. 668.

¹¹⁶¹ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 100; G. J. Selz, AWEL, 79.

¹¹⁶² E.g. DP 1/2 110 o. v 2. The similar name nin-e₂-gal-NI-si, OSP 1 23 o. vi 8 (ES-MS Nippur) is difficult. A finite verb e₂-si is totally unexpected; and although preferable, seeing a poss. pron. suffix -(a)ni + loc.-term. e₂-gal-ne₂ is not entirely uncomplicated.

¹¹⁶³ See, for references, F. Pomponio, Protopografia, 249 s.v.

¹¹⁶⁴ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 101.
*lugal-ĝa₂-ab-e. G. Visicato & A. Westenholz have demonstrated that parallel names from the Ur III period composed with nin must be taken to include the ergative marker –e. A reading /ğe/ for ġa₂ was posited from at least the ES period,¹¹⁶⁶ but the first secure usage of the value, judging from the evidence presented by lugal-PNN, can be traced back at least to the time of Enentarzi of Lagaš. Read lugal-ğe₂-ab-e.

*lugal-ğeštin²-zu.¹¹⁶⁷ The sign read as ġeštin² is missing two oblique converging wedges. The reading lugal-niṭaḥ⁷-zu has been adopted here.

*lugal-ğissu.¹¹⁶⁸ A PN *lugal-ğissu is not yet attested from any period. Otherwise most ġissu-names have e₂ as head noun, with a few early names featuring the appellative nin in the same position.¹¹⁶⁹ Read instead lugal-[a⁷]-ğe₆.

*lugal-i₃-i₃-gara₂.¹¹⁷⁰ Read lugal-uĝu₃-du₁₀, and see notes to *lugal-NIr₂.KAK, above.

*lugal-KA-gu-la.¹¹⁷¹ Read lugal-KA gu-la ‘lugal-KA senior,’ following B. R. Foster.¹¹⁷²

*lugal-kal-ľa₁.¹¹⁷³ Probably not a lugal-PN.¹¹⁷⁴

*lugal-kaskal-du₁₀.¹¹⁷⁵ Reading lugal-du₁₀ has long been established for this entry in the Abû Êlabbîh and Ebla NPL.¹¹⁷⁶ KASKAL is part of filiation ga:eš₃.

*lugal-kur-ğeštin.¹¹⁷⁷ Correct reading lugal-kur-du₂ was given by C. Wilcke.¹¹⁷⁸

*lugal-kur₆.¹¹⁷⁹ Read lugal-ša₃.¹¹⁸⁰ Nikol’skij’s copy of Nik 1 125 o. ii 11 is accurate.

*lugal-lə-la¹.¹¹⁸¹ Although the second sign is damaged, lugal-nuNUMun¹-zu is certain.


¹¹⁶⁶ FTUM, 54, with notes on earlier interpretations.

¹¹⁶⁷ Reading forwarded by C. Wilcke, EANEL, 172. The second sign in the line MVN 3 62 o. 2 is not entirely clear, but niṭaḥ is in several respects the best match.

¹¹⁶⁸ So the editors of TCABI 64. The text preserves only lugal-[x]-mi, but ġiš in the break is questionable.

¹¹⁶⁹ E.g. TMH 5 1 o. ii 3: (dumu) e₂-ğissu-bi (ED IIIb Nippur); BIN 8 39 r. ii 2: nin-ğissu; 173 o. 6: nin-ğissu-nu-NI (both ED IIIb Isin; same woman in both instances).

¹¹⁷⁰ Reading of OIP 104 14 r. ii 1 suggested by C. Wilcke, ZA 86 (1996), 37.

¹¹⁷¹ So J. J. Gelb, MAD 4, 68.

¹¹⁷² USP, 70. For this interpretation, see also TMH 5 11 ii 6: ad-da; r. iii 3: ad-da(-bi₃); and r. iii 4: ad-da gu-la. Note that no other lugal-KA is mentioned in MAD 4 68, but lugal-KA was extremely common and so in need of disambiguating remarks such as this.

¹¹⁷³ So G. Visicato, The Power and the Writing, 293.

¹¹⁷⁴ If the name refers to the owner of the seal EGA 462, pl. 11 fig. 118 (BM 104489), the writing surface is wiped clean and does not contain any trace of a name.

¹¹⁷⁵ So M. Krebernik, AOAT 296, 36 w. fn. 191. Krebernik points out that the Abû Šalabiḫ NPL has a propensity to place PN and title in separate cases. But one would then expect a professional title or a GN in the following line. IAS 74, especially. col. ii, features a number of lines conflated in the same manner.


¹¹⁷⁷ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 104 with question mark on DP 1/2 136 i 11 (ref. to RTC 1 col. xi is faulty); OIP 104, 69–72 no. 20 (= PBS 9 2) o. iv 6.

¹¹⁷⁸ ZA 86 (1996), 27 w. fn. 63.

¹¹⁷⁹ So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 104.

¹¹⁸⁰ M. V. Nikol’skij’s copy of Nik 1 125 o. ii 11 is accurate. Sign is RSP320, 1st variant.

¹¹⁸¹ So the editors of TCABI 3 r. i 2.
*lugal-Lagas₃-šakan₃-na. ¹¹⁸² Not a lugal-PN. Read Lagas₃-girig₃-na. ¹¹⁸³
*lugal-Ma₃-gan. ¹¹⁸⁴ Exact reading uncertain; see provisionally lugal-KA-GAN-ki.
*lugal-mu-da-kaš₄. ¹¹⁸⁵ The name was posited as normal orthography for the phonetic Ebla writing nu-gal-mu-da-kaš₂. Correctly identified as a writing of lugal-mu-da-kuš₂ by P. Steinkeller. ¹¹⁸⁶
*lugal-mu-na-Du₂. ¹¹⁸⁷ Following C. Wilcke, not a PN. ¹¹⁸⁸
*lugal-mu-ša₃-da. ¹¹⁸⁹ The line in question contains two PNN, lugal-MU and ša₃-da, as is made apparent by the plural copula in the following line. ¹¹⁹⁰
*lugal-muš₃-me-ki-aš₂. ¹¹⁹¹ Read lugal-Muš₃-bar-ki-aš₂₄, as copied. See also *lugal-dam-me-ki-aš₂₄.
*lugal-ni₃-bar₆₄-ga. ¹¹⁹² The text as copied has no BA. See also the following name.
*lugal-ni₃-bar₆₄-ga. ¹¹⁹³ The third sign is a miscopied sa₆. ¹¹⁹⁴ The names combining lugal and ni₃-bar₆₄ apparently never end in loc. or genitive -a. Read lugal-ni₃-sa₆-ga.
*lugal-ni₃-bar₆₄-ge. ¹¹⁹⁵ Misprint for nin-ni₃-bar₆₄-ge. The names combining lugal and ni₃-bar₆₄ apparently never contain the loc.-term. ending -e.
*lugal-ni₃-lul. ¹¹⁹⁶ Not a lugal-PN. Published photo has clear lu₂₄.
*lugal-NIG₃-da-nu-tuku. ¹¹⁹⁷ This person appears in two Šuruppak contracts. The name is damaged in both instances, but in one case the last sign looks like ME more than TUK. ¹¹⁹⁸
*lugal-NIG₂,KAK. ¹¹⁹⁹ Read lugal-uḡ₂₄-du₁₀. The form of uḡ₂₄ is verified by another name in the same text, remembering the commonplace alternation of the forms

¹¹⁸² So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 104.
¹¹⁸³ The sign lugal appears neither in TSA 47 o. v 2, nor in Nik 1 3 r. i 1’.
¹¹⁸⁴ So Sollberger, BiOr 16 (1959), 117.
¹¹⁸⁶ F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 159, referring to MVN 10 85 o. ii 8; followed by FTUM, 151; and K. Lämmerhirt, AOAT 348, 649 w. fn. 6.
¹¹⁸⁷ So F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 156; FTUM, 151.
¹¹⁸⁸ WF 35 o. v 2.
¹¹⁸⁹ So the editors of OIP 104 for no. 14 r. ii 1.
kalam(LAK729) and uĝ₃(LAK730). The sign du₁₀ when written on stone sometimes comes off looking like DU₃.

*lugal-niğir(LAK667)-zi*. In one ED IIIb Girsu text, the sign LAK154 is used twice with the value niğir, while this name appears in an adjacent column written with LAK667. Read therefore lugal-ag₃-zi.

*lugal-niğir(LAK154)-gi*. The sign rendered gi is a misreading for zi. Read lugal-aga-zi and see notes on the following name.

*lugal-niğir(LAK154)-zi*. The adjective zi, as far as I am aware, never associated with niğir in any literary or lexical context. But there is ample evidence in literary and possibly also in lexical sources for zi as qualifying aga(3).

*lugal-nu-zu(?)*. With all probability not a lugal-PN. The name appears in an OB copy of a Sargonic royal inscription. The passage is damaged and the text is written in an exceptionally cursive hand. Following C. Wilcke, the name might read ur₃-Sakan₃(ANŠE.AMA.ŠA.GAN.DU).

*lugal-pirig-ga₃-dug₃(sic)*. Perhaps the result of slips in reading transliterations (UG and UG₃)? Read lugal-uĝ₃-ge₂₆-du₁₀.

*lugal-sağ-kalag-ga*. Sign copied as SAČ is probably KA. Read lugal-inim-kalag-ga.

*lugal-SUR.ZA-zi*. According to published hand copy, read lugal-šuba₃-zi.

*lugal-TE+UNU(?)*. The name appears in the same text as *lugal-nu-zu(?)*, above. C. Wilcke’s reading lugal-sağ₃ is no doubt correct.

*lugal-ti-nu-da-kuš₂*. Sign read NU is copied as TIL(LAK17, 2nd variant). Read tentatively lugal-ti-uṣ₂-da-kuš₂ and see note on name.

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1200 OIP 104 14 r. vii 7: mu-ni-kalam(LAK730), and compare PN mu-ni-kalam(LAK730)-ma, e.g. *FTUM* 97 r. ii 5 (ED IIIa Šuruppag); TMH 5 8 o. i 4 (ED IIIb Nippur); and mu-ni-kalam(LAK729)-ma, Nik 1 7 o. ii 5 (ED IIIb Girsu).

1201 Compare shape of ṭṭ in OIP 104 15 r. vii 27: [e₃]-ur₃-bi-du₁₀.

1202 So V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 107.

1203 *DP* 2/1 226.


1205 So e.g. A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, *StPohl SM* 13, 110 (refs. to CT 50 36 and 37 belong to another name); L. Sassmannshausen, *BagM* 26 (1995), 191; C. Wilcke, *EANEL*, 96 fn. 298.

1206 Refs. to literature on aga(3) zi is found with H. Steible, *FAOS* 1, 18f.; Å. Sjöberg, *MNS*, 73 note to l. 8. See phps. also Izi Ugarit, *MSL* 13, 130:229f.: aga-mi₃-g[i-n₃], aga-mi₃-z[i-da₃].

1207 So D. R. Frayne, *RIME* 2, 92.

1208 *ZA* 87 (1997), 23, J iv 10, and copy on p. 31.

1209 So V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, 109.

1210 As is shown clearly in hand copy VS 25 26 o. i 3

1211 So A. Westenholz, *ECTJ* 63 o. i 5.

1212 So according to photo of o. i 4 (CDLI P020477).


1215 So D. R. Frayne, *RIME* 2, 93, iv 31.

1216 *ZA* 87 (1997), 23, iv 32, and copy on p. 31.


1218 *DP* 1/2 135 r. v 4.
*lugal-Unug. 1219 The GN Unug without place determinative ki would be unexpected. Read instead lugal-abb₂.

*lugal-ur₂-ni-še₃. 1220 Such a writing of normal lugal-ur₂-ra-ni is otherwise unattested. The traces accord better with a reading lugal-ni₂-ša₂-ni-še₃.

*lugal-uš-gid₂. 1221 The third sign shows faint gunû-strokes on “snout” and an oblique wedge on the far right. 1222 Read, following J. Bauer: lugal-uš-su₃(Mu₅). 1223

*nin-lu[gal]. 1224 Due to a lack of compelling parallels, the line most likely refers to a sister 'nin(o)' of a person whose name begins with lugal-. The text in question lists other names of related family members. 1225

*dNin-MAR-lugal-ĝu₁₀. 1226 Copy is not entirely faithful to the original. The sign read GAL as part of ligature lugal is really kl. 1227 Read instead dNin-MAR₃-lu₂-ĝu₁₀.

*dSu’en-lugal-ni. 1228 The line divider between 'Su’en and the following line is clear. Photo shows that there is hardly any room for GAL before LU₂. Read instead: 3 si₃a₃ zi₃ gu, dSu’en, l.lu₂-1-ni, nu-eš₃, zi-ga, inim-ma. 1229

*šu-ni-ĝiš-uštil-lugal. 1230 Not a lugal-PN. With lugal in final position, the line probably represents a PN followed by a professional title. Copy not entirely faithful to original. 1231 A more likely reading is: šu-ni aga₃-us₂ lugal.

*[]-lugal-uru-bar. 1232 Not a lugal-PN. Restore at the beginning of the line rather a professional title, sa₃ga, išib or gudu₄, and the divine determinative, followed by the theonym Lugal-uru-bar. 1233 The other preserved lines in the section where the name appears predominantly consist of name and title.

*ur- dNin-ĝir₃-su-lugal-sa₅-ga. 1234 The posited name refers to two individuals who appear in close association in a few ED IIb Girsu texts. In other texts their names are written in separate writing cases. 1235 Read ur- dNin-ĝir₃-su (and) lugal-sa₅-ga.

1219 So the editors of TCABI 57 o i 6.
1220 So B. R. Foster, OrNS 51 (1982), 338 on USP 46 r. 2”.
1221 So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 115 on Nik 1 3 o. iv 11.
1222 According to photo (CDLI P221710).
1224 So Z. Yang, SIA, 289f., translit. of no. 640 o. ii 1.
1225 E.g. ama PN in o. i 9, 11; i 3, 7; abba, PN o. ii 8.
1226 So V. V. Struve, Onomastika, 149 on Nik 1 19 r. iii 4.
1227 Photo (CDLI P221726) shows faint oblique wedge to the left of the horizontals. Compare shape of lugal in o. ii 6.
1228 So Z. Yang, SIA, 376, translit. of A 1026, o. 2 (“d-[lu]gal-ni”).
1229 So according to photo (CDLI P217619). See also lu₂-ni nu-eš₃ in another zi-ga document, SIA 947 r. 4.
1230 So A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, StPohl SM 13, 70 on UET 2 suppl. 22 o. i 2: “almost certainly a personal name.”
1231 See photos (CDLI P217341, P217341_d).
1232 So G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 169 on BiMes 3 10 o. vi 1’.
1233 For all about this aspect of Ningirsu, see G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 169–171.
1234 So G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 248f. w. fn. 1196 on CT 50 30 o. ii’ 9. The size of the rations of barley compared to single recipients in the same text show that two persons are involved.
1235 CT 50 29 o. i 6 and ii 1. Compare also J. Marzahn & H. Neumann, AoF 22 (1995), 110f. (VAT 6121) o. v 2’f. In OIP 14 57 o. ii 3 Ur-dNin-ĝir₃-su is likely to hide behind the writing Ur-ni₂g₂. For Ni₃G₂ as a rare writing for nin in early Girsu texts, see G. J. Selz, Götterwelt, 218.
3.2 Semantic analysis of Akkadian šarrum-names

In this section, Akkadian names are sorted under a heading according to the proposed interpretation of each name. The procedure is similar to that used for Sumerian names in the preceding section. The statements in names are correlated with qualities or distinct patterns of action and the relation to a point of reference: the šarrum himself, or, for instance, a subordinate or a locus.

As seen in the treatment of Sumerian names above, the appellative lugal was normally written using the ligature \textit{GAL.LU}_2, with a semi-phonetic logogram \textit{GAL.LU}, limited to Nippur sources. Exclusively in texts from northern and northwestern cities, the word could appear as nu-gal. These writings do not in any way reflect a specific syntactic function or any discernible distinction between a human or a divine referent. Depending on grammatical form, šarrum also could be written in a number of different ways. Lone SAR is used in a seeming logographic function, especially in ED IIIb names from Ebla and Mari. As such it could theoretically stand for any conceivable grammatical shape the word šarrum could take on. In the orthography of later periods SAR could be used to express a stative (the predicative form of the noun), the construct state regens in a genitive chain, and sometimes the absolute state of the noun šarrum.\footnote{A similar suggestion is forwarded by P. Steinkeller apud R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 242.} No graphic distinction has been made in the following; SAR is consistently given as šar.

Names featuring other appellatives are sometimes helpful for interpretation; mainly names containing \textit{ba`lum} and \textit{malkum} instead of šarrum. Other appellatives too, as well as theonyms, provide clues to both reading and interpretation.

The lack of a substantial corpus of Old Akkadian literature paired with the comparative brevity of Akkadian names often makes the attribution to a subcategory more hazardous than is the case with Sumerian names of the corresponding subcategory. Many subcategories to which Sumerian names can be shown to have belonged do not have semantically parallel formations in Akkadian šarrum-names. The numbering of subsections is retained however, to enable easier access to corresponding name types in lugal-names. If the focus of the Akkadian onomasticon in general, in comparison to Sumerian names, is to a larger extent directed toward the individual and his or her immediate surroundings and the situation around his/her birth, then this will be readily visible in the treatments below.
3.2.1 Dominion

The first heading encompasses names where the imagery relates to the attention directed toward the appellative as a source of authority. Here also, the subject’s attention toward the referent of the appellative can be found. There are some potential links to heading 3, depending on how the imagery of fatherhood should be viewed. Fig. 9, below, records the distribution of 5 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 5 variants of śarrum-names related to dominion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Ebla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nagar</td>
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</table>

Fig. 9: Name-bearers, 3.2.1, Dominion. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.2.1.1 Ownership

None of the names which can potentially be linked to a personal relationship between an individual and a śarrum specifies the nature of the relation. They all appear to be formed by the appellative combined with a personal suffix in the first person singular: śar-ri₂⁽¹⁾, ‘my śarrum’,¹²³⁷ or plural: śar-ru-ni⁽¹⁾, ‘our śarrum’,¹²³⁸ and perhaps śar-ru-na⁽¹⁾, with the same meaning.¹²³⁹ All of these names are from Ebla and Nagar. Brief as they are, these names provide no further information. There is even a possibility to see śarrum here as the homonym which in later times most often was written šerrum, more rarely šarrum, and denoting ‘baby, child.’¹²⁴⁰ The names would then strictly speaking not belong to the onomasticon formed around the śarrum. A third option is to see the names as vocatives, or as abbreviations of longer names. The first two interpretations have as a likely referent the child who bore the name, hailed as the one to whose needs and interests the mother would tend, or as one welcomed into the family. If the names should turn out to be vocative forms or abbreviations, this is less likely to be the case.

The Akkadian term śarrum is formally not used to convey a sense of ‘owner,’¹²⁴¹ and it is not known whether the ownership aspect was in any

¹²³⁷ Compare the Diyālā PN be-li₂, which was borne by about five persons from the MS period onwards; e.g. AIHA 42 o. 8.
¹²³⁸ Compare, e.g. E. Chiera, PBS 11/2, 137, no. 1013: a-hu-ni “Our brother.”
¹²³⁹ As noted by R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 150 fn. 11, the pron. suffix -na appears only in the onomasticon, and never in the syllabically written Akkadian texts.
¹²⁴⁰ See perhaps also the MA name šar-ri-ni, written phonetically and not with either of the common logograms MAN or LUGAL, C. Saporetti, StPohl 6/1, 461; 6/2 160 s.v. šarru ‘re.’
¹²⁴¹ See further, above, p. 76 w. fn. 383, on the usage of the logogram LUGAL to denote Akk. ba’ lum, in the sense of ‘owner.’
way inherent in the term when used about divinities. It may however have allowed for a managerial aspect. Šarkališarrē of Akkade described himself as šar Akkade u buʾulātī Enlil ‘king of Akkade and of the subjects of Enlil,’ in a Nippur inscription known in at least three different contemporary exemplars.1242

3.2.1.2 Family terms, house and indoor loci
A range of name variants contain the noun ’abum, which invariably serves as the nominal predicate in verbl ess clauses. The stem is then variably given as marked by predicate -a, as in lugal-a-ba₄ (ε₁), and šar-a-ba₄ (ε₁/ε₂) both: the šarrum is a father,’ and both found exclusively in texts from ED IIIb Ebla.1243 Names combining the words šar(rum) and ’abum thus have ’abum as the second element, which is in keeping with Sumerian names of a similar kind. The semantics of ’abum are not altogether straight-forward, as it may be expected to hold an overtone of a male superior in an organization based on blood-ties or other loyalties.1244 The noun ’abum is one of the most productive components of the Old Akkadian onomasticon, like its Sumerian counterparts abba, adda, and ajja₂, and was surpassed in number only by names formed with ’ilum and ba’lum.1245

3.2.1.3 Insignia of power
Certain objects can be connected with the exercise of power by Sargonic dynasts. The horned crown of Narām-Su’en, for instance, figures in different iconographic representations, like his Stele of Victory. Furthermore, both Šarrukēn and Narām-Su’en made a point of having received weapons from different divinities at home in cities of the north, such as Ilaba, Dāgān and Nergal. They both also mentioned that they washed their weapons upon

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1242 E.g. BE 1/1 2 i 4–8. Treatment and commentary by A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 57f. The sense of the noun buʾulātum is rendered freely. An abbreviated version is known from a NB period mould of an earlier original, see below, p. 201 fn. 1290, for references.

1243 The form šar-a [614], used for a merchant from Mari in an Ebla text, probably represents a shortening of šar-a-ba₄, thus šar-a-ba₄. See for the translation A. Archi, MARI 4 (1985), 54: “Le roi est le père”; similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 208, 30.4a, 1. Compare, for a different view, G. Pettinato, MEE 3, 245, who preferred to see ’aba as a theonym: “šar-a-ba₄ è strutturato in maniera identica a šar-ma-ni della riga precedente: a-ba₄ è quindi il teonimo così produttivo nei nomi del periodo paleo-accadico…” I am not certain what to do with LUGAL E₂ BE, I-bu-TUM [41], in ARET 8 21 o. iii 2–3, but it is hard to explain it as a PN. Therefore I suggest, very tentatively a reading LUGAL BE:E₂, representing the highest authority in I-bu-TUM. Though the order BE E₂ for baʾlu(bu) bētim is attested in the same text along with Il₃zi. See the notes by A. Archi on the latter and his function, Fs Foster, 31. I have discounted the name šar-ra-bu₃, e.g. Subartu 2 17 o. ii 2 (ED IIIb Nabada); ARET 13 15 o. iii 4 and 14, due to the variant writing sa-ra-bu₃, ARET 13 19 o. i and 5.

1244 See for instance the greeting formula in the CS Ešnuna letter MAD 1 191 (=FAOS 19 Es 6) o. 1–8: en-ma, šu-kur-bu₄, [a]-na ši-hur-sa₄, be-li₃, u₃ a-bi₃, qi₃-bi₃ ma “Thus (speaks) Šu-Kūbu, say to Ši-hur-sa₄, my lord and father.”

1245 See I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 9–12, with a list indicating the different orthographic variants.
reaching the sea during their successful campaigns. Neither crown nor the divine weapons were connected with the šarrum in onomastic material. Though names mentioning a weapon are known, they fail to make a connection either to a god or a human. In a few ED depictions of royal figures, and perhaps also in one of Šarrukēn, the ruler holds a mace.

As in the preceding period, the scepter was as a sign of acceptance by the gods and of the authority to rule; it was bestowed on the king by Enlil. The scepter is so far unattested in PNN from the Sargonic period, but appears in Ur III names.

3.2.1.4 Verbal communication and commands

Sargonic kings hardly ever describe a background for their actions by referring to orders from the gods. The exception is Narām-Su’en who claimed to be on a mission, siprum, of ‘Aštār. But the idea may also have been the subject of an epithet used by Šarrukēn and Narām-Su’en, maškim-gi₄, of ‘Aštār or of the (great) gods. The exact rendering of the term maškim-gi₄ in 3rd millennium Akkadian is not certain. But it ought to have had a sense of ‘representative,’ that is, of someone acting at the behest and under instructions of someone else. There are no traces of such empowerment in the human onomasticon. For the names previously read *lugal-pu₅, *lugal-pum and *pu₃-šar, see below, 3.2.9.

3.2.1.5 The city

Narām-Su’en claims to have saved his capital from certain destruction when the four corners of the world rebelled against him. And because he managed to secure the foundations of his city, the citizens of Akkade took action to have the king be the protective deity of the city, asking gods of Sumer and Akkade for permission to do so. This represents the official version of how Narām-Su’en came to be deified, which would have far-reaching consequences for southern Mesopotamian royal ideology for the following 600 years or so.

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1246 See textual references in FAOS 8, 223f. s.v. kakkum.
1247 The textual references are collected by I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 142 s.v. KK. See also below, [3.2.3.1].
1248 See discussions by G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 142 and 148, with references and illustrations on pl. 56.
1249 The sceptre, Akk. ḫattum, was mentioned in inscriptions of Šarrukēn and Maništūšu. In curse formulae of the Sargonic and Gutian periods, the sceptre is variously connected with Enlil and with ‘Aštār; see references in FAOS 8, 208 s.v. ḫattum.
1250 I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 136 s.v. HT; and see J. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 49f. s.v. lubburu(m).
1251 See references in FAOS 8, 297 s.v. siprum.
1252 See, e.g. M. Bonechi, QDLF 16 (2006), 80: (lu₂) maškim-e-gi₄/gi “ambasciatore”; FAOS 8 267f. s.v. rābisum, and compare lugal-maškim-e, appearing in CS times.
1253 So according to the inscription on the Bassetkī statue base, A.-H. Al-Fouadi, Sumer 32 (1976), 63–75 i 20–ii 2.
For names referring to the city and its defences as symbols for the protection of the individual, see below, section 3.2.3.1.

**3.2.1.6 Country and people**

There are at present no attestations of names linking the šarrum to the land or its people. In later times such associations are not uncommon in relation to deities and in kyriophore names. But references are of course not lacking from inscriptive materials. *Narām-Su’en*, for example, often alludes to the people as part of his dominion; and sometimes it is described more specifically as a gift from Enlil.

**3.2.1.7 The cosmic order**

Akkadian names referring to the dominion over the universe are lacking from contemporary šarrum-names. However, names proclaiming a deity to be king may be seen as touching upon this subject. They are discussed below, section 3.2.7.6.

**3.2.2 Wisdom and awareness**

As with Sumerian names falling under this heading the number of names attested are not that many. No more than two distinct nominal predicates make up the repertoire attributing wisdom to the šarrum. Akkadian names bear witness to a bit more variation in the placement of the nominal predicate due to the freer syntax. As opposed to Sumerian names treated under the corresponding heading, above, the Akkadian names all refer to wisdom as a characteristic of the appellative, not as something that could be dispensed to others. None of the variants of the names belonging to this category has been attested more than a few times. Fig. 10, below, records 4 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 3 variants of šarrum-names related to wisdom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIlb</th>
<th>ED IIib-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mugdan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippar</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fig. 10: Name-bearers, 3.2.2, Wisdom and awareness. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.*

As is common in Akkadian names with appellatives baʿlum and šarrum, the former is most often provided with the possessive marker -ī while the latter

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1254 See, e.g. MAD 3 168f. s.v. *Mʿs*T mātum; M. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 51; C. Saporetti, StPohl 6/2, 160f.

1255 See references in FAOS 8, 260 s.v. *nišū*. 
turns up lacking the nominative case mimation. Other than this the two appellatives show striking similarities in qualifying predicates used. The predicates are – as far as can be ascertained – all participles. Some doubt lingers as to the Akkadian identity of the word behind the compound gal-zu, but a logographic writing for a word similar in meaning to the participle mūdûm ‘knowing, wise’ seems likely, given the correspondence between the Sumerian and the Akkadian terms and the fact that no syllabic writings for another Akkadian root with a suitable meaning is attested in the onomasticon. But gal-zu is not likely to be a logographic writing for mūdûm. Both writings sometimes appear in the same texts. Also, no name in which the phonetic writing mu-da- occupies first position is known. The referent of the predicate ought reasonably to be the figure behind the appellative and no direct object is expressed, nor likely to have been intended. The name thus has been very widespread in Sargonic names including the latter text (MVN 3 104) was of course not published by the time of Sollberger’s study.

The verb edûm is also used in a finite form along with ba’lum, i-da-be (a1) ‘the lord knows,’ and i-da-be-li₂ ‘my lord knows,’ respectively. This double usage of a specific verbal root in both participial and finite forms seems not to have been very widespread in Sargonic names including the appellatives ba’lum and šarrum, but see, e.g. below, 3.2.5, for names

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1256 The definitive transcription and mng. of this name, Šarru-mūda: “the king is wise,” was established once and for all by E. Sollberger, JCS 10 (1956), 16, note to l. ii 1. The G participle mūdûm of the verb edûm in PNN was different from the only attested syllabic writing outside of names, me-da-a (dual.), see R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 223. The latter text (MVN 3 104) was of course not published by the time of Sollberger’s study.

1257 E.g. MVN 3 38 o. 6 (MS Ešnuna).

1258 E.g. MO B xi 7 (ES).

1259 Similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 216f., 30.5a, 18: “(The) god is wise/concerned.”

1260 As suspected already by the editor of the text, B. R. Foster, USP, 18. For another case of variation -mu-da/-ma-da in Mari PNN at Ebla, see P. Steinkeller, Fs Hallo, 241. The phonetic value ru₃(KU) was later proposed by J. Krecher, QuadSem 18, 300 for the name ku₃-du₃(KU)-ub-e-la-ak. See also C. Woods, ZA 95 (2005), 30f. for another example.

1261 The name as given here follows the transliteration of B. R. Foster, ASJ 4 (1982), 16f.

1262 AIHA 2 r. i 8. Compare R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 195, 25.2c, 1: “(The) god knows (the child).”

1263 HSS 10 157 r. i 1.
construed with banûm. The verb reʾûm ‘to tend, shepherd,’ appears both as participle and as finite verb but not with the same appellative as the subject.

3.2.3 Protection

Names of the third heading invoke the appellative as a source for personal protection. Certain names have ended up here which could perhaps equally well be taken as sorting under the first or seventh headings. Fig. 11, below, records 9 persons, the estimated minimum number of persons bearing 9 variants of śarrum-names which can be attributed to this category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Adab</td>
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<td>Akkade</td>
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<td>Gasur</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girsu</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazallu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutub</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 11: Name-bearers, 3.2.3, Protection. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.2.3.1 Protection of the individual

The śarrum was one to whom people turned, whether for protection, for comfort or for sustenance. The relationship is seen for instance in šar-iš-ta₂-kal₂ (a1) and variant, šar-ri₂-iš-ta₂-kal₂ (a1), both: ‘rely on the śarrum!’,1264 from CS Gasur and Girsu, respectively. The name incorporates the object marked by the terminative ending -iš and a masculine sing. imperative takal. In this it was parallel to other nouns, such as the aforementioned ʾilum and baʿlum, but also to theonyms.1265 Also, a high-ranking official by the name Šuā(i)š-takal ‘rely on him!’, is known from both northern and southern, and even CS sources - as far afield as Susa.1266 Considering the personal loyalty which was

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1264 E. Sollberger & J.-R. Kupper, IRSA, 336: “fais confiance au roi”; similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 197, 27.2d, 1. The form ti-ka₃-al, consistent with the vowel pattern of later times, is found in a Sargonic letter, but PNN consistently use the form takal, see R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 199 w. fn. 143. Compare be-li₂-iš-ta₂-kal₂, e.g. STTI 33 o. 4 (MS Girsu).

1265 See in general the formations listed in MAD 3, 295.

1266 See note on different writings, A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 55 note to no. 40 ii 3. Compare the pronominal element in the name šu-Ni-iš-ta₂-kal₂, MAD 1 86 r. i 10 (translit. only, MS-CS Ešnuna), which could represent either the oblique dual independent pronoun šunî+iš-, or šu ʾāyiš- (šu-ʾa₂(NI)-iš). The referents of whichever pronoun is chosen remain unknown.
central to the Sargonic chain of command, a human ruler is a quite reasonable assumption for the latter, or for both of these takal-names.

A pair of names from the northern floodplain and Syria illustrate the protective aspects of the figure of the šarrum. One is i-mi-šar-ru(9) the šarrum protected, from Sargonic Sippar. Finite forms of the same verb is attested also with theonyms Erra, Su’en and Šamaš. The other, iš-tup-šar(9) the šarrum saved, the name of an ED IIIb lugal of Mari, likewise lacks the object. This unexpressed direct object is, however, more than likely to be the child bearing the name.

In nominal predicate names, the šarrum is likened to shade, as in sī-lu-lugal(9), and a form of walled structure, dūrum, most often written with the Sumerian sign bad₃. Though the noun dūrum could be taken as a defensive structure benefiting the population of a city, or of the country as a whole, all extant names featuring a further qualification of either the appellative or bad₃/du₃rūm are pronominal, and hence refer to the protection of single individuals.

The element al in the name šar-ru-al-ši-in(9) represents the construct of ālum ‘city,’ and is a further example of the metaphorical use of trademarks of the urban settlement as signs of security. It is less likely to see al as the preposition ‘on, upon, against,’’ which, however, also appears in personal names. The referent of the pronominal suffix sin(a) ‘their’ might

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1267 For this form as a preterite of amūm (<hmy), see M. Hilgert, Imgula 5, 450–452, w. refs. R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 229, 39.2g, 1, interpreted i-mi-a truncated form of emēdum.

1268 See F. Pomponio, StEL 8 (1991), 143, for refs, to parallels; J. J. M. Roberts, ESP, 21, s.v. I-mi/me-Ir₃-ra; and 49, s.v. ʾim-Su’en. Add also to these refs. i-mi (DUGU₃)-i₃-lum, MVN 3, 45 o. i 2 (ES Išin or Nippur ?).

1269 Compare R. D. Biggs, ARES 1, 93: iš-tup-il “Il rescued”; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 193, 24.1b, 1: “(The) god preserved (him).” The verb šatūpum is quite productive in the Mesopotamian onomastico, including Mari. See, for instance, iš-tup-be, MO B iv 5, and a few other parallel names. According to A. Archi, Eblaitica 1, 131, the verb occurs only in names of foreigners at Ebla.


1271 Attested writings are šar-bad₃(9), in an ED IIIb Ebla scholastic text, and šar-ru-bad₃(9) ES Akkade (MO); and phonetically: šar-ru-du₃-ri₃(9) from MS-CS Adab. Compare be-li₃-bad₃, ITT 1 1103 r. 3 (CS Girsu); be-li₃-du₃-ri₃, MAD 1 163+165 o. ii 26 (collated from photo courtesy of W. Sommerfeld); and be-šu₃-bad₃, MAM 3, 329 fig. 346 l. 6. For the interpretation “wall,” “fortress,” see MAD 3, 106f., with parallels.

1272 Besides the references listed in the previous note, see, e.g. be-su₃₃-bad₃, MAM 3, pl. 70 (M 2241) 6 (ED IIIb Mari); and FPN be-li₃-bad₃-ri₃, MAD 5 56 o. i 7 (geme¢, CS Kiš).

1273 Note also the name of an ensi₃, appearing twice in unpublished MS Adab texts, šar-ru-ur₃-il₃, “il re è la mia città,” F. Pomponio, TCABI, 55 w. fn. 160. For some theophore parallels, compare ʾSu’en-al-šu, MO A iv 16: Ašš₂₃-x₃₃-al-šu, MO D ii 1; an-al-šu, HSS 10 169 o. 4; ʾI₃₃-al-al-šu, ITT 2/2 449 (translit. only). J. J. M. Roberts, ESP, 37: Estar-ʾāšu “ʾEstar-Is-His-City”; and R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 202, 29.1c, 2, both took -al- as “city.”

1274 Some instances of this preposition are given by R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 168. Compare also, e.g. MO A xii 5: tukul₃₃šu-ši₃₃-al-šu-in ‘his weapon is upon them,’ and compare the Girsu letter STTI 185, edited by B. Kienast & K. Volk, FAOS 19, 116f., r. 6°-7°: lu a-ga-
refer to a collective of females, like elder sisters. But more likely, -šin(a) refers to a noun in the feminine plural, such as nišû ‘people.’ Two Sargonic PNN that could serve as comparisons are names composed with the noun rēʾūm ‘shepherd’: sipa-ši-in from MS-CS Tutub, and sipa-ni-še₂, attested at MS-CS Nippur and CS Gasur.

Another name of uncertain meaning is šar-ru-gu₂ (a₁), where gu₂ may be a writing for kišādum, or possibly kibrum, both with a meaning ‘bank (of river, canal, etc.).’ At least kibrum is attested in Ur III and later names, almost always with a possessive suffix for the 1st person. At the moment the exact reading of the name and its nuances remain unclear.

3.2.3.2 Protection of the city

In a few cases discussed above, the city, ālum may feature in personal names composed with šarrum. No names are known which combine writings of geographical names with the appellative šarrum, nor are there any comparable names composed with baʾlum.

3.2.3.3 Protection of the country

A single name from MS-CS Nippur has been proposed as potentially referring to the šarrum as a shepherd of the people, thus, as a protector of more than the individual. As has been noted by Sabina Franke, the shepherd imagery is totally absent from Old Akkadian royal inscriptions. The editor of the text opted for a reading supported by contemporary parallels. The name is critically damaged. Given what remains, [₁]u₂(-)-sipan-ni-še₂, and assuming the first sign would be lugal, it would be without a real ma-šu₂, štukul da-mi₃ al-šu la a-ša-k₃a₃-nu “Ich werde ihn verschonen (und) die ‘Waffe des blutes’ gegen ihn nicht erheben,” as part of an oath, hence the subjunctive.

See, phps., the CS Nippur PN iy-bu-ut-ši-in ‘he plundered (?) their city,’ OSP 2 8 o. 1 for another name possibly including āl(um) ‘city.’ For the verb(s) ūbātum, see J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 318; and CAD H s.v. ūbātu A-D.

Tutub 4 (=MAD 1 254) r. i 5. OSP 2 146 o. ii 2; HSS 10 153. For the reading of the Nippur attestation, see discussion immediately below, 3.2.3.3.

See CAD K s.v. kišādu, 3; and kibrum, 1d. Note that in the case of the latter, all the evidence cited by the CAD in the lex. sect. has the term peš₃₂₂(K,A). Compare be-li₂-gu₂, e.g. SIA 862 r. 1; and the different writings of the same official, be-lu₂-gu₂, ITT 1 1472 r. i 4, and be-lum₂-gu₂, CT 50 172 r. ii 8 (both CS Girsu).

See J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 212 and compare the objections raised by K. de Graef, NABU 2007/24.

The entry SAR.A.GU₂ in BIN 8 277 o. 6 (MS-CS Unknown) is probably a reference to an edible plant rather than a personal name.

A. Westenholz, OSP 2, note to no. 146, l. 2’: “the signs in our text could … be read as … LUGAL-SIPA-ni-še₂ »The King is a shepherd of the people<.”

Königsschriften, 35, 125, 196. See, however, p. 111 fn. 592, above, for references to later traditions pinning the epithet of shepherd to Narām-Su’en; quite obviously with a sense of historical criticism.
structural parallel in the entire Sargonic onomasticon.\textsuperscript{1283} The regens in a construct chain under normal circumstances only serves as the nominal predicate when the second element is a possessive personal pronoun, as for instance in the MS-CS names gal-zu-sipa-\textit{ni} ‘our shepherd is a wise one,’ from Umma;\textsuperscript{1284} and be-\textit{li}_2-tu3-kul-t\textit{i} ‘my lord is my (source of) support,’ from Tutub and Sippar.\textsuperscript{1285} Apart from this, secure writings of lugal to convey \textit{sarrum} at Nippur are much fewer in number than phonetic writings. The Nippur name, then, ought best be read as sipa-\textit{ni}-\textit{še}_2, and the \textit{lu}_2 as referring to someone in the service of this person. The referent of the appellative sipa remains unknown.

3.2.4 Care and attentiveness

The fourth heading summarizes names where positive aspects of the relationship between the name-bearer or -giver and the referent of the appellative are in focus. Fig. 12, below, records 8 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 3 variants of \textit{sarrum}-names related to this category, and the cities with which they were associated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
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<td>Mugdan</td>
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<td>Umma</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 12: Name-bearers, 3.2.4, Care and attentiveness. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.2.4.1 Care for the individual

Names describing the king as a person’s god belonged to a common type of names formed with a number of appellatives, theonyms and the given names of rulers. The latter may be considered the closest to the name \textit{šar-ru-i}_3-\textit{li}_2 (a\geq 5) ‘the \textit{sarrum} is my god,’ known from the ES period onwards, as there is no reason to doubt that \textit{sarrum} here refers to the king reigning at the time

\textsuperscript{1283} In the Ur III period, however, such names begin to increase in number. See, for instance the kyriophore names of types 4 and 5 in M. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 39–76. For later nominal compound predications with \textit{nišū}, see e.g. the short list in E. Chiera, PBS 11/2, 162, s.v. \textit{nišu}, “people.”

\textsuperscript{1284} M. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 39–76.

\textsuperscript{1285} MAD 1 244 r. ii 8’ (MS-CS Tutub); CT 44 48 o. 19 (CS Sippar).

\textsuperscript{1286} M. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 39–76. For later nominal compound predications with \textit{nišū}, see e.g. the short list in E. Chiera, PBS 11/2, 162, s.v. \textit{nišu}, “people.”

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of birth of the name-bearer. A literal interpretation should, following G. Marchesi, be avoided, as is evident when comparing šarru-ʾīlī, for instance, to the kyriophore šar-rū-gi-ī₃-li₂ (a1) ‘Šarrukēn is my god,’ typical for kyriophores of the Sargonic period; he states:¹²⁸⁷

A personal name like Sar-rū-gi-ī₃-li₂ does not mean that Sargon was a divine being, but rather that Sargon was the protector or the source of good luck of the name-bearer (i.e., to the king are attributed the functions of a personal god). Thus, reverential names sometimes employed the personal-god language for the purpose of extolling and pleasing the king.

This perspective, from the point of view of the ancients, was a simple and useful way for expressing the hopes and aspirations of a name-giver for the benefit of the one so named. Divinity was certainly not a thing to be taken lightly, but in formulaic utterances such as those manifested in personal names, the figurative understanding of the term ʾilum would hardly have been lost on contemporaries. Even a modern-day atheist may be caught appealing to higher powers, in exclamations such as ‘good lord!’ or ‘oh my god!,’ well aware of the implications of each and every word individually, but that would not make him or her a religious person.

3.2.4.2 Care for the city

No names are known which could be interpreted as the šarrum directing his attention to a specific or unspecified urban center.

3.2.4.3 Care for the country

No names are known which express an explicit link between the šarrum and the land or its inhabitants.

3.2.4.4 Care for the dead

In the section of Sumerian names bearing on this issue, a single name was analyzed as perhaps bearing on the existence in Girsu of an ancestral cult for members of the ensi₂ family line. There are no indications for a cult around deceased members of the Akkadian dynasty before Ur III times.¹²⁸⁸ In fact, the Akkadian dynasts, contrary to the earlier Lagaš rulers, were for some reason reluctant to mention their genealogy in monumental inscriptions; a practice which would influence the composing of Ur III royal inscriptions. In the Lagaš state, the cult of some of the ED III governors seems to have

¹²⁸⁷ HANE/S 10, 68 fn. 322, citing other kyriophores. The name ᵄNa-ra-am.⁴EN.ZU-ī₃-li₂, is found in USP 31 o. 4. Sargonic kyriophores are almost exclusively formed with the qualified nominal predicate ʾilī. For the only probable exception, see below, [3.2.7.9], note to the name of Šarrukēn.
¹²⁸⁸ For the evidence, see J. G. Westenholz, Fs Sigrist, 253–256.
continued uninterrupted down into CS times. The account of the deification of Narām-Su’en mentions a ‘house’ erected by the citizens of Akkade in his honour, which could be either a temple or a palatial building, but there is no compelling evidence of the fate of this structure post-dating this account. There is on the other hand a mould made from an inscription by Šarkališarrē, said by its NB originator to have been cast from an original in the palace (ē₂-gal) of Narām-Su’en in Akkade.

3.2.5 Creation, fertility and prosperity

Heading five gathers names focusing on some aspect of creating, or on opulence. Fig. 13, below, records 4 persons, the estimated minimum number of people bearing 3 variants of šarrum-names related to such matters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIA-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girsu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fig. 13: Name-bearers, 3.2.5, Creation, fertility and prosperity. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.*

3.2.5.1 The šarrum and the procreation of man

The šarrum is hailed as a creator in a few names containing the root banūm. An administrator under Šarkališarrē, whose seal is preserved, went by the name of ib-ni-lugal (≥1) ‘the šarrum created.’ Judging from the artisanry of the seal, he belonged to the very top of Akkadian society. A few other attestations of this name, from MS-CS Umma and Girsu may all refer to the same person. Quite clearly, names with preterite forms of the verb banūm only occur with certain appellatives during the Sargonic period: as far as the evidence goes, šarrum, ba’lum, and ’ilum. During the Ur III period, proper theophore and kyriophore names composed with the 3rd ms preterite ibni- become more commonplace.

A name containing a non-finite form of a verb banūm might be linked to the idea of the šarrum as a creator. But the name šar-ru-ba-ni (≥1) is open to speculation. Formally ba-ni could denote an active (bānī-) or passive

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1289 At least one CS document lists offerings destined for the statue of Enmetena, ITT 1 11081.
1290 See photograph of the mould in H. V. Hilprecht, *Exploration in Bible Lands*, 517; and D. R. Frayne, RIME 2, 197f., for further publication references and an up-to-date edition.
1292 See in general MAD 3, 98 for ED IIIb-Ur III PNN, and add the Sargonic references ib-ni-ba-li₂, Nik 2 42 o. 4 (ES-MS Umma); ib-ni-be₂-li₂, OSP 1 83 r. ii 9 (ES-MS Nippur).
1293 See M. Hilgert, Imgula 5, 417f., with references.
participle (bani- verbal adjective or stative) in predicative position. The known variants accord with those featuring the preterite of the verb ‘to create’ in having mainly the same appellatives as the head noun.

3.2.5.2 Provisions for the city
There are no names relating the šarrum to economic activities, nor are such names commonplace in the Sargonic Akkadian onomasticon.

3.2.5.3 Countryside, produce and farming
There are no obvious names relating the šarrum to agricultural activities, nor are such names commonplace in the Sargonic Akkadian onomasticon. The only exception, and a difficult one, is the doubtlessly Akkadian, ES-MS Nippur name šar-ḥa-lu-ub₂ (a1) ‘the šarrum … oak(tree).’ In a later mythological text the haluppu-tree plays a pivotal role, and a medicinal text lists haluppu-seeds as stimulating pregnancy, but the form and function of šar in relation to any of these remain enigmatic. The ḫa-ḫa-ub₂ otherwise appears only rarely in the onomasticon, and it usage is limited to the late ED and Sargonic period.

3.2.5.4 Life and plenty
No names relating to this aspect of kingship are known. Sumerian names revolving around the central concepts of ‘life,’ ti and zi, are attested both as lugal-names and in later kyriophore names from the Ur III period. In Akkadian kyriophore personal names of the same period, not a single instance of a name of this type is known.

3.2.6 Cult or gods
The sixth heading collects names in which the appellative was portrayed in relation to gods, cultic places and ritual objects or acts. Most such names are

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1294 Compare also be-li₂-ba-ni, e.g. HSS 10 109 o. 7 (CS Gasur), attested for more than a hadful of bearers between ES and CS times. A pron. suff. -ī is with all likelihood not the case, as that would imply a reading /bāniʔ/, which the writing does not immediately support. Instead, a reading ba-li₂ could be considered, and compared to the name ba-al-li₂, e.g. BIN 8 335 r. 5 (CS Umma), also known from the Ur III period, see H. Limet, Anthroponymie, 382 s.v. Ba-al-NI.
1295 See MAD 3, 98 for references. I follow the editors of FTUM in seeing no. 93, with the name E₂-a-ba-ni in o. 4, as early Ur III in date. S. N. Kramer, JAOS 52 (1932), 113, in his survey of the tablet finds of the American excavation at Šuruppak, dated it to the ES period.
1296 Noted by M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible, 52f. B. Böck discusses this in relation to the myth of Bilgames and the Haluppu-tree as oppositions of life-giving and barren forces, Sefarad 69 (2009), 275f. The text in which the name figures, OSP 1 47, is chock-full of rare orthographies, denoting names of boys or young men, summarized as dumu nitah.
1297 I am only aware of the name E₂-ḥa-ḫa-ub₂, e.g. M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), 30–55 no. 6 o. i 3 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala, Luzag. Y 7); BIN 8 127 o. 5 (CS Mesag).
made up of descriptive names of the type ‘the šarrum is like the Sun God.’ Such names are taken to be qualitative statements, and do not entail any link between the referent of the appellative and service or a special relation to the gods. The corresponding heading is rather productive where Sumerian names are concerned. A few Akkadian names mention sanctuaries, notably the names of three of Narām-Su’en’s children whose names mention the Ulmaš-temple, the main sanctuary of Akkade’s prime goddess, ʿAṣtar.1298

There might be further allusions to interaction between gods and the šarrum, but they remain implicit in the names and the connections are much less overt than in Sumerian names. See, for example, the discussion of the female PN tu-ta₂-lugal-li-bi₂-iś, below, 3.2.6.2. Fig. 14, below, records 3 persons, the estimated minimum number of persons bearing 3 variants of šarrum-names which possibly deal with relations to the divine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ešnuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girsu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 14: Name-bearers, 3.2.6, Cult or gods. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.2.6.1 Prayer, petition and purification

No šarrum-names relating to these subject matters are known. Such activities were, however, not foreign to accounts of activities of Sargonic kings. In Šarrukēn’s account of his Syrian campaign he relates that he knelt in prayer before Dagān in Tuttul, who then gave him the upper land to rule.1299 On arrival at the upper and lower seas, Šarrukēn and Narām-Su’en both state that they performed a ceremonial washing of their weapons.1300 Šarrukēn furthermore, in a tragically broken context, speaks of his purifying Nippur for Enlil.1301 But what kinds of acts it entailed is not clear, nor are similar passages encountered in any of the other Akkadian rulers’ inscriptions.

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1298 The inscriptions, with publication refs. were edited as RIME 2.1.4.52–54. For the temple Eš-ul-maš, see in general A. R. George, MesCiv 5, 155:1168. A. Westenholz has suggested to me that the temple name might be used as metonym for its inhabitant ʿAṣtar Ulmaštiēnum. J. J. Stamm, Namengebung, 91–93, discussed the phenomenon of metonymy, but remained sceptical.

1299 PBS 5 34+PBS 15 41 o. v 14’–19’: Du₃-du₄-,[i₄]-ki-ra,da-gan-ra, ki-a mu-na-za, šud₃ mun₃ kalam igi-nim, mu-na-šum₂ = vi 19’–26’: in Tu-tu-li₄, a-na, Da-gan, uš-ka₃-en, i₃-ik-ru-ub₃-su₃, ma₃-tam₂, a-li₂-tam₂, i-di₃-šum.

1300 See above, 3.2.1.3, p. 192f.

1301 PBS 15 41 o. x 3”–6”. The episode takes place after Šarrukēn’s defeat of Uruk. Was it done in preparation of a temple building project that never materialized?
3.2.6.2 Relations to the divine
Evidence for an association on a personal level between the śarrum and a divinity comes from the Classic Sargonic period, and the name tu-ta₃-śar-li-
bi₂-ış (a1) ‘she found a śarrum of her liking.’ As pointed out by A.
Westenholz, the future queen of Akkade might have been called by this
name even before her husband’s accession to the throne. This makes the
identity of the speaker of the name more likely to be someone other than the
name-bearer herself, perhaps a goddess? Though it is also possible that this
woman had been designated as a future spouse of prince Šar-kali-śarrē since
childhood. This queen of Akkade was hardly a commoner, but of noble, if
not even royal birth. Her name is quite singular structurally and content-
wise, and a better knowledge about the substantial royal family in Akkade is
at any rate a desideratum.

A name with only a few parallels is śar-ru-da-di₃ (a1) from CS Girsu. Free-
standing da-di₃ is common in the second half of the Sargonic period all
across the Sumerian- and Akkadian-speaking areas. The word is probably to
be understood as dādum ‘darling, favourite’; and the suffix -ī can hardly be
anything but the 1cs poss. pron. suffix. There is a remote possibility that
dādi should be seen as a noun in the construct state, governing an elided
noun or theonym which would be a neat parallel for Šarkališarrē’s epithet
dumu da-di₃ Enlil ‘the beloved son of Enlil.’ A writing lugal-da-di₃ (a1)
from Ešnuna makes it less likely that śarrum corresponds to later śarrum or
šerrum, which would otherwise have made perfect sense ‘the child is my
favourite one.’

3.2.6.3 Cultic insignia, acts and ceremonial
As recounted above, section 3.2.1.3, Sargonic kings sometimes mentioned
owing their success to weapons of gods. These weapons are never described
in any detail.

3.2.6.4 Sacred loci, sanctuaries and installations
As was seen above, Šarrukēn purified Nippur for Enlil, and the verb used
indicates a cultic significance of sorts. Other than that, the passage remains

1302 Also written tu-ta₃-lugal-li-bi₂-ış (a1) in Ešnuna sources. Similarly A. Westenholz, RIA 12
(2009–11), 65, s.v. “Šar-kali-šarrē” § 4: “she has found the king of her heart.”
1303 RIA 12 (2009–11), 65 § 4. D. R. Frayne, RIME 3, 198, perceived her name as assumed
upon marriage.
1304 Compare R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 199, 29.1a, 8. Note comment by W. G. Lambert,
OrNS 64 (1995), 136, pointing to VE1161: pa₄-ĝu₁₀ = da-dum, and the possibility of
understanding da-di₃ as “my uncle.” Compare, perhaps, the Danish besteforælder,
Norwegian besteforelder, ‘grandparent’ (lit. ‘best parent’).
1305 E.g. BE 1/1 2 i 2; and variant, A. Goetze, JAOS 88 (1968), 57 (6N-T658) o. i 1–5: dEn-
lil₂, lugal, i₃-le, Šar-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂, dumu da-di₃-šu.
opaque. The reasons for this act are unknown, though the results may have been a more suitable environ in which to perform certain royal duties.

It is known that the Sargonic kings built temples just as their Sumerian counterparts. Their continued support of these temples after construction is nowhere further elaborated on. Some Sargonic kings instated their own children as en-priests and priestesses in a few southern cities.\footnote{1306 See, above, p. 54f.}

3.2.7 Qualitative-descriptive

Descriptive statements on the nature and character of the referent of the appellative sort under heading seven. Such names were common among lugal-names, and so is the case also with šarrum-names. Such brief statements will be seen to have been well-suited for Akkadian onomastic practice. Fig. 15, below, records 35 persons, the estimated minimum number of persons bearing 32 variants of šarrum-names of this type and their distribution in cities with which they are associated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>ED I-II</th>
<th>ED IIIa-ED IIb</th>
<th>ED IIIb-ES</th>
<th>ES-MS</th>
<th>MS-CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akkade</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awal</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ešnuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girsu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiš</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Susa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šuruppag</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutub</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 15: Name-bearers, 3.2.7, Qualitative-descriptive. Estimated minimum number of individual name-bearers.

3.2.7.1 Favour

Šarrukēn and his successors, like their Sumerian forebears, underlined the fact that they had been placed in power by gods, although the family relations, thereby the dynastic succession, between the first five Sargonic kings were probably no secret. The name of the fifth and last king of Akkade
belonging to Śarrukēn’s bloodline and that of a sibling, šar-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂
(a1) ‘śarrum of all śarrums,’¹³⁰⁷ and bi-in-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂ (a1) ‘offspring of all śarrums,’¹³⁰⁸ seem to extol another kind of favour, one bearing on lineage. This can be said with some certainty even though the referents of both the governing nouns, and of the “kings” in these names, are unclear. The two names are clearly structurally parallel. And given a degree of latitude in interpretation, the first element in the names could easily also be seen as parallel, since there is the possibility to see šar- here as šar, representing later šarrum, or šerrum ‘baby, child.’ If this should be the case, chances are that śarrum/śarrum and bīnum or binnum both referred to the name-bearers as royal offspring following in the line of earlier kings (of Akkade and Kiš?), indicating dynastic succession.

3.2.7.2 Physical constitution
There are no attestations alluding to the physical build or to specific body parts of the śarrum. However, under the following subheading a few names are discussed which have bearing on qualities which relate to his appearance.

3.2.7.3 Physical strength and prowess
Typical for the Sargonic onomasticon is the form šar-ru-dan (a2) ‘the śarrum is powerful,’¹³⁰⁹ which nicely echoes the prime epithet da-num₂ of Narām-Su’en in virtually all of his own inscriptions, and in many of those of his successors. Accounts of the Sargonic king felling cedars or wild bulls on campaigns to the northern regions lay further focus on the physical abilities of the king,¹³¹⁰ something that is also apparent when studying monumental pieces of royal art. The Victory Stele of Narām-Su’en is a famous example. While statues of Narām-Su’en’s predecessors sport long, flowing gowns, Narām-Su’en is depicted on his stele wearing his horned crown and a loincloth. He stands in front of his men, armed to the teeth, looming over an enemy who draws his final breath, one of the king’s arrows piercing his throat. Divine symbols crown the scene with their presence.


¹³⁰⁸ For the textual evidence, see CAD B s.v. bīnu (binnu) B, and compare the feminine form, op. cit., s.v. biuntu. Two imperfect variants of the name are known, one where in is left out, inadvertently, or due to assimilation of n to k; and one where the first sign is miswritten as a combination of in and Ni₂. The second writing also has šar instead of expected lugal.

¹³¹⁰ Similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 214f., 30.5a, 5. Note also K. Tallqvist, APN, 69, dan- nu-šarru “mighty is the king.” Compare also be-li₂-dan, e.g. HSS 10 65 r. 10 (CS Gasur).

See FAOS 8, 189 s.v. batāqum; 270f. s.v. rimum.
Two names which invoke more fearsome aspects of the figure of the šarrum seem to be moulded on the model of names featuring other appellatives and theonyms. Thus, both šar-ru-la-ba \(^{311}\) ‘the šarrum is a lion,’ and šar-ru-pa₂-luh \(^{311}\) ‘the šarrum is awe-inspiring,’ are more productive with other appellatives than šarrum. \(^{313}\) A single name of a foreign prince attested at Ebla, lugal-na-iš \(^{313}\) might have as its second component a nominal predicate *nahiš, which corresponds to later Akkadian nēšum ‘lion.’ \(^{313}\) A nominal formation from the verb nahāšum, “to live, be alive,” remains a possibility, but a passive participle or stative form, giving ‘the šarrum is alive’ would be unexpected. At least the Sumerian parallels lugal-piriğ and lugal-nemur₄(PIRIĜ.TUR) testify to the appeal of the lion motif across language barriers.

### 3.2.7.4 Aptitude for combat

šar-ru-gar₃ \(^{311}\) is probably to be understood as šarru-qarrād ‘the šarrum is a hero.’ \(^{313}\) The meaning and reading of the sign GAR₃ has been the subject of speculation. However, the nominal predicate of a šagina by the name ’Ilšu-qarrād is variously written il₃-šu-gar₃, il₃-šu-qara₄(GAgunû)-ad, and il₃-šu-qa₂-ra-ad in the CS Nippur archives. \(^{317}\) The rarity with which ’il-šu ‘his god’ appears in southern archives coupled with the fact that three out of the four attestations feature his title šagina makes it well near certain that a single person is meant by all these writings. Further evidence can be adduced from Sargonic Umma texts, where the names eš₃-me-qara₄(GAgunû), \(^{318}\) and

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\(^{311}\) R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 216, 30.5a, 15: “(The) god is (a) lion.” See discussion by H. Limet concerning names including lābum/lab’um as nominal predicate, DPA, 57 fn. 6, with refs.; and see discussion of cognates by A. Militarev & L. Kogan, AOAT 278/2, 194–197. Compare be-li₂-la-ba, e.g. MVN 3 30 o. 3 (ES-MS Unknown); il₃-šu-la-ba, MO C v’ 16 (ES, mentioned in connection with the township of Ki-babbar³).  

\(^{312}\) Following R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 217, 30.5a, 21. Also written lugal-pa₂-luh \(^{311}\). I have opted against a 2ms imperative of palātum as šarrum is in the nominative case. Compare also the proposed reading be-li₂-pa₂-luh, e.g. MAD 1 317 r. i 10 (be-li₂-pa₂-[luh]), and 324 o. 2 6 ([be-li₂]-pa₂-luh, both CS Ešnuna). Compare, perhaps, lugal-ni₂-bi-ak, above, p. 180.  

\(^{313}\) See in general MAD 3 159f. s.v. LB ³; and 214 s.v. PLH.  

\(^{314}\) A. Militarev & L. Kogan, AOAT 278/2, 210f. no. 159; and see also L. Kogan, Babel und Bibel 3, 294.  

\(^{315}\) See also be-li₂-gar₃, e.g. ITT 2/1 3150 o. 8 (CS Girsu). Compare R. di Vito StPohl SM 16, 220, 30.5a, 32: “(The) god is precious,” suggesting a derivation from waqārum “to be rare, precious.” On this identification, see the excursus of M. Hilgert, Imgula 5, 220, 30.5a, 32: “(The) god is precious,” suggesting a derivation from waqārum “to be rare, precious.” On this identification, see the excursus of M. Hilgert, Imgula 5, 331–333, with ED, Sargonic and Ur III parallels.  

\(^{316}\) The meaning inferred here was proposed already by M. Krebernik, Annäherungen 1, 261 fn. 213. Krebernik left the question open and referred to problematic writings, leaving the ED IIIb and Sargonic refs. of the discussion.  

\(^{317}\) See A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 195 s.v.v. Diār-su-gar₃ and Diār-su-ga-ra-ad, with refs. A parallel writing il₃-šu₃-gar₃, appears in Abû Ś alâbih colophons, eg. in IAS 122 and 298. Compare also the Mari merchant be-šu₂-ga₂-ra-du, ARET 8 10 o. ix 1 (ED IIIb Ebla).  

\(^{318}\) TCVC 728 o. iii 14; Nik 2 54 o. 3 (eš₃-me⁻¹qara₄’).
eš₂-me-qara₂-ad, appear, representing one or two individuals. Comparative evidence in the form of other pre–Ur III PNN including the preterite of šēmûm show that this verb is used primarily in conjunction with a pronominal suffix, with ʾilum or with a named deity, like Suʿen or Śamaš. Note also the names EZEM-qa-ra-ad from ED IIIb Adab, most likely to be read esme₃(EZEM)-qarrād, and iš₂-ma₂-qa-du, from ED IIIb Ebla. A related meaning is probably the case of the common borrowed writing ur-saḡ, as in ʿar-ru-ur-saḡ ʿa1) ‘the šarrum is a hero.’ The logographic writing may hide a loanword, as signalled by some phonetic spellings from Ebla and elsewhere. The meaning is, at least, semantically related, if not synonymous. The referent of šarrum, based on these more or less parallel formations, is likely to be a deity.

Needless to say, the Sargonic kings were accomplished warriors. Some of the kings prided themselves with having won a specified number of battles; Sarrukēn mentioned 34 without closer defining the timeframe involved; Rīmus mentioned three specifically fought on Sumerian soil; and Narām-Suʿen claimed to have won nine battles in the course of a single year. But where the names ʿar-ru-ɡar₃ and and ʿar-ru-ur-saḡ are concerned, the frequency of finite forms of šēmûm along with deities or divine appellatives arguably tips the scales toward a divine and not a human referent, although the latter is not entirely unthinkable.

3.2.7.5 Fame and good reputation

There are no clear attestations of names revolving around the šarrum as renowned. Neither was this category very productive among Sumerian lugal-names. But a recurring theme which comes to the fore the most clearly in Narām-Suʿen’s inscriptions is that he had gone places and accomplished feats which no king before him had ever gone or done. See references in FAOS 8, 234f. for discussion and examples.

See M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 90f., w. fnn. 90–93, for discussion and examples.

R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 217f., 30.5a, 23 “My god is (a) hero (warrior)”;

D. O. Edzard, AfO 22 (1968/69), 14: “ʿar-ru-ɡurād.” The reading qurād(um) is not certain, though plausible considering, e.g., the correspondence between the Abû ʾalāʾ bēl and Ebla recensions of the Samaš hymn, IAS 326+ o. iii 14: ʿSuʿen ur-saḡʾṣītu = ARET 5 6 o. v 5: ʿSuʿen qur₂-da-šu, as pointed out in passing by R. D. Biggs, ARES 1, 98 fn. 51. The writing be-li₃-kara₃(GUR-), OAJC 4 r. 6 (MS-CS Éṣnuna), was interpreted by G. Marchesi, HANE/S 10, 111 as “My Lord Is My Granary.” The name is unique and GUR₃ might represent qara₃(GUR-), for qarrā(um).

See references in FAOS 8, 276–278 s.v. šaʾārum.

See references in FAOS 8, 240 s.v. mannāma; and the comments by S. Franke, Königsinschriften, 170–172, 191–193. Franke’s suggestion that Enheduana was influenced by this aspect of Narām-Suʿen’s self depictions when compiling her temple hymns, something no other person had done before, is definitely to the point and an interesting observation.
3.2.7.6 Symbolic identification and equation

Most Sargonic Akkadian theophore šarrum-names feature the appellative šar(rum) as nominal predicate. When šar(rum) occupies first position, it is regularly followed by the non-coordinating -ma, filling what is sometimes termed an asseverative particle. This particle, which ought to have carried the emphasis, is evidently easily coloured by the following syllable /‘i/; thus, expected šar-ma-iṣ-šarum (a1/a2) ‘a šarrum indeed is the god!,’1327 attested at ED IIIa-b Tutub, and in a scholastic Ebla text, corresponds to ED IIIb Mari šar-ma-ill (a1),1328 and Ebla šar-mi-lu (a1). Reduction of syllable final /l/ may be demonstrated by Eblaite šar-ma-NI (a1),1329 /šar-ma-‘i/. CS šar-me-NI (a1) on the other hand is likely to display a retained /l/ along with a suffigated pronoun ‘my,’ /šar-ma-‘iš-iš>/šar-me-šiš, common during this time.1330 The singular šar-ma (a1), attested only in an Eblaite scholastic list of names may be a hypocoristic form of the same type or a variant on the same theme but without a subject referent for the stative form šar. A possible ED IIIa witness from Šuruppag il-šar-šar (a1) ‘a šarrum indeed is the god,’1331 employs another particle with an asseverative function, ši, fully in keeping with the other early names featuring -ma.

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1327 Compare be-la-ma-an, Subartu 2 5 o. v 4 (ED IIIb-ES Nabada). Positioning of -ma is debated. On one side, I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 287; M. Krebernik, ZA 81 (1991), 140, and A. Westenholz, e.g. AJo 42-43 (1995–96), 221 w. fn. 18 all read /šar-ma-‘ilum/; on the other side, H. Steible, ABW 2, 207f.: AnHaf 4; followed by R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 134, 212, 291; I. J. Gelb, & B. Kienast, FAOS 7, 29, VP 4; and B. Kienast & W. Sommerfeld, FAOS 8, 327, all have /šar-‘ilum-ma/. See, however, Sommerfeld’s rendering in Fs Pettinato, 288, siding with Gelb’s original interpretation. See the important observations of P. Fronzaroli, ARES 1, 12f. about the placement of the asseverative on the first element, termed “prédicat exclamatif.” Although the semantic difference is academic and hardly affects interpretation, it should be added that all available evidence supports the reading used here, and to the author’s knowledge no evidence to the contrary exists. Note, for instance, dan-ma-ḥum, Nik 2 48 r. 1 (ES-MS Umma); dan-ma-šeš, SET 207 r. 3 (Ur III Umma); and, lastly, the two post-Šamši-Adad OA kings šar-ma.4 Adad.

1328 Following R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 212, 30.4c, 8. Remove reference in Di Vito’s table to a PN *sar-ma-daṭṭir from the Ur III period. The copy of BIN 3 546 o. 7, has šar-na-an, as noted already by A. Westenholz, AJo 42/43 (1995–96), 217 fn. 18. For notes on other suggested readings, see M. Stol, RIA 12 (2009–11), 61 s.v. “Šar-II.”

1329 For asseverative -ma plus elided ‘i(b)’ in other Eblaite writings, see e.g. A. Archi, Eblahtica 1, 130; and for the reduction generally, see M. Krebernik, BBVO 7, 99–101. G. Pettinato, MEE 3, 245, contends that ma-ni is a DN; as does C. H. Gordon, ARES 1, 153, treating the word in other names. A divinity ‘Ma-ni appears already in an Abī Šalābīḥ god list, for which, see M. Krebernik, Annäherungen 1, 269 w. fn. 408. The adjective mani(yum) may be the case in J. J. Roberts, ESP. 129: “Mani-(i)lī Beloved-Of-My-God”; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 223, 36, 2 (ma-ni)-: “Beloved of (the) god.”

1330 See e.g., be-li₄-me-li₂, ETB 2 75 o. 5 (CS Nagar). I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 179 s.v. MNyaw offered an interpretation menjuum “love,” for names ending in me-ni, but added the comment “interpretation doubtful.”

1331 After R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 212, 30.4c, 7. Compare A. Westenholz, AREs 1, 106: “Il is the only king.”
Divinities qualified as ‘king,’ or ‘lord,’ range from anonymous *i₂-lum* ṣu₃-(ma) ‘he (alone),’ to gods written out with their full names. The deities appearing in Akkadian names as ‘kings’ are: Ea, Adad, and Su‘en. A single goddess, Mama, is correspondingly dubbed ‘queen,’ ṣarrat(um). Compare also ṣar-ru-ki₄ Utu, below, section 3.2.7.9.

The name ṣar-ru-ḥur-sağ (a1) ‘the šarrum is a mountain,’ has a sound parallel in lugal-ḥur-sağ. The imposing weight and steadfastness of the šarrum may be the effective imagery behind the name.

### 3.2.7.7 Uniqueness and aloofness

There are no clear-cut matches to Sumerian lugal-names of the corresponding subheading above.

### 3.2.7.8 Similes and kindness

Simple names construed with šarrum as head noun followed by a stative are made up by ṣar-ru-du₄ (a1) ‘the šarrum is good,’ and ṣar-ru-sig₃ (a1) ‘the šarrum is kind.’ The logographic writings should with all probability be read in Akkadian as ᵗāḇ, and ᵈamaq, respectively. There are, as of yet, no attestations of names corresponding to the Sumerian PNN of the type lugal₃ or lugal-i₃-nun.

### 3.2.7.9 Justice and dependability

A good handful of names relate the just nature of the šarrum. The name of the founder of the Sargonic dynasty, Šarrukēn ‘the šarrum is dependable,’

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1332 Forms include i₂-lum-ṣar (a1) from ES Sippar; and CS Tutub AN-ṣar (a1).

1333 Writing ṣu₂-ma-ṣar (a1) ‘he alone is king’ from MS Awal. Compare R. D. Biggs, ARES 1, 96: ṣu₃-ma-a-ba₃ “He is a father,” with variant ṣu₂-ma- in next name on Biggs’ list.

1334 Variants: E₂-a-ṣar (a2), and E₃-a-ṣar (a1). Pre–Sargonic reference to the latter in R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 134 is correct, and table 7 on p. 212 should be emended accordingly. Compare OB variant, A. Poebel, Personennamen, 24: E₂-a-ṣar-rum.

1335 Written ᵈMa-ṣar (a1). Compare ᵈAdad-ṣar-ru-um, A. Poebel, Personennamen, 24, with variants switching positions of appellative.

1336 Variants: ᵄEN:ZU-ṣar (a1), and ᵄEN-lugal (a1). So also J. J. M. Roberts, ESP, 48; R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 212, 30.4c, 7 and 8. The writing order ᵄEN in this name marks one of two breaks with normal orthography ᵄEN in Mesopotamian sources; for Ebla writing Zu-i-nu in Kiš PNN, see A. Archi, Ḗblaṭica 1, 130. A Sargonic GN LugalᵈEN,ZU² is attested in a CS Sippar text, CT 1 pl. 1 (Bu. 91-5-9,588 = BM 80452) o. 11.


1338 Compare parallels ši-ḥur-sağ, e.g. MAD 1 293 o. 3 (MS-CS Ešnuna); and Ma-ma-ḥur-sağ, e.g. USP 33 o. 2 (MS-CS Umma).

1339 R. di Vito StPohl SM 16, 219, 30.5a, 29: “(My) god is good.” The same person appears more than 5 times in CS Girsu texts. Compare be-li₂-du₄ (a1) e.g. TCABI 36 r. i 3 (ES Adab).

1340 Similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 230, 40.6a, 2.

1341 Compare R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 216, 30.5a, 14: “(The) god is true”; K. Tallqvist, APN, 217: Šarru-kin(u) “The king is true,” with many later variants.
is sometimes perceived as a programmatic name adopted at the accession to the throne, but based on the rarity of throne names such an assumption is unwarranted.\textsuperscript{1342} What is clear is that his name represents an innovation compared with the earlier Akkadian onomasticon which predominantly featured ʾšar(rum) as a predicate. As for a possible development in import, the main problem is that the earliest writings of ʾšar(rum) are rather few, stereotypical, and quite vague in respect to meaning. A few variant writings of ʾŠarrukēn’s name are known;\textsuperscript{1343} and he appears furthermore in a number of kyriophore names.\textsuperscript{1344}

Other names which revolve around the same subject matter as the former are i-ʾšar-ʾšar-ri₂\textsuperscript{(a1)}, and ʾšar-ru-i-ʾšar\textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the ʾšarrum is just.’\textsuperscript{1345} Both are formed with predicative forms of the verb ʾešērum. A name which offers a parallel to Sumerian names involving aspects of a just nature or dependability is ʾšar-ru-ki₄Utu\textsuperscript{(a1)} ‘the ʾšarrum is like Šamas.’\textsuperscript{1346} The use of the preposition kī corresponds to the use of Sumerian gin₇₁, which is also attested along with the name of Utu.\textsuperscript{1347}

3.2.7.10 Light, brilliance and visual phenomena

There is a single possible parallel to the rather productive type of Sumerian names which attach to the lugal the quality of brightness. It is tempting to interpret the ES-MS Ur name lugal-ʾnu-ru\textsuperscript{(a1)}, as Akkadian ‘the ʾšarrum is light,’\textsuperscript{1348} but the reading is not entirely secure. The lack of mimation in the nominative is not a huge problem,\textsuperscript{1349} but it is perhaps all too convenient to have the name appear in a city whose tutelary deity was identified with a luminary, and who himself was often referred to as lugal in different

\textsuperscript{1342} See, for instance, B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien 1, 396: “Legitimer König”; also perceived by W. G. Lambert to be a throne name, JSOTS 270 (1998), 58; and, furthermore, the discussion by W. Sommerfeld, RIA 12 (2009–11), 45 “Sargon,” § 1.

\textsuperscript{1343} Including: ʾšar-ru-gi\textsuperscript{(a1)}, ʾšar-rum₂-gi\textsuperscript{(a1)}, and ʾšar-um-gi\textsuperscript{(a1)}. Compare be-li₂-gi, attested in at least 8 different archives, e.g. TCVB 1-51 o. 5 (CS Umm al-Ḥaṣraṯyāt). See also the following note.

\textsuperscript{1344} An MS-CS kyriophore offers the writing lugal-gi-pa-ʾe₄\textsuperscript{(a1)}. The predicate is probably to be taken as šu-pūm, šāpīʾ(um), “brilliant, famous.” Compare the entries in two 1st millennium literary catalogues of a hitherto unknown tale about ʾŠarrukēn with the incipit ʾŠarrukēn šūpū, J. Goodnick Westenholz, JNES 43 (1984), 78 fn. 14. In the same text appears a person called plainly lugal-gi\textsuperscript{(a3)}. Such a name is otherwise unattested in Sumerian, so there is a real possibility that it also represents an Akkadian reading ʾšarruLUGAL-kēn(GI), whether abbreviated or not. Later kyriophore names incorporating ʾŠarrukēn are not uncommon, M. Hilgert, Imgula 5, 393f., offers a list of such names.

\textsuperscript{1345} R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 216, 30.5a, 11: “My god is righteous.”

\textsuperscript{1346} Following J. J. M. Roberts, ESP, 52.

\textsuperscript{1347} Compare the Sumerian names lugal-ʾUtu-gin₇₁, attested in an OB list of PNN, E. Chiera, PBS 11/3, 213, no. 289; and lugal-Utu-gin₇₁-ʾe₃, above, p. 173, section 3.1.7.10.

\textsuperscript{1348} Compare K. Tallqvist, APN, 219: ʾŠarru-nūrī “The god is my light,” with different writings; similarly R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 205, 29.1c, 22; and be-li₂-ʾnu-ri₂, MAD 1 3 o. i 2 (CS Ešnuna).

\textsuperscript{1349} See Sargonic and Ur III parallel forms, all with mimation, MAD 3, 192 s.v. N^₁ᵣR.
Sumerian contexts. Reading nu-ru as a negated participle and interpreting the name as Sumerian nominal phrase name does not make it more intelligible.

3.2.8 Unattributable or unintelligible

Under the eighth and final heading are names collected which for different reasons are difficult to assign to another heading. They may be understandable in whole or in part but still not readily attributable to another heading.

Two variants from the Names and Professions List feature a nominal predicate which is otherwise unknown for the 3rd millennium. The name is given as lugal-GA.NIR (1) in the Abū Śalābīḫ version, and as lugal-KA.NIR (71) in the Ebla version. Given that the name is Akkadian, no syllabic value with a velar stop would account for the orthographies GA and KA in these variants. GA in the Abū Śalābīḫ source being older, is probably the more correct of the two, leaving KA as a possible hearing error during copying. Alternatively, KA in the Ebla source could be read gu₃. Turning to later parallels, a participle of the verb kašārum “to replace, compensate,” might be considered as the nominal predicate contained in this name. This would yield an interpretation lugal-ka₃šer₇(NIR) ‘the šarrum is one who compensates.’ If the name is understood correctly, it would make for a thanksgiving-name with a semantic affinity to names containing the verb riābum, with a similar meaning, but the orthography of the Eblaite name hampers a definite solution to the meaning.

A name from CS Gasur, en-bu-lugal (a1), has been interpreted as incorporating imagery of plant life, ‘fruit of the šarrum.’ The word “fruit,” ʿenbum, could be used about living beings, denoting “offspring.” The later epithet inbu(m) was used primarily about the Moon God, though in personal names, it was used as poetic description of both gods and goddesses. However, a couple of factors make an interpretation ʿenbum of en-bu unlikely. To begin with, the sign EN is at present only known to represent the syllables /hin/, /ḥin/, and most often /yin/, which does not...
support seeing the first syllable as ‘/′en/, or the like. The nominative -u, would be problematic as a construct state noun ending; this goes also for the parallel en-bu-AN. The expected -i-ending is seen in an ED IIIb Kiš royal name, en-bi₃-Aš₁₀-tar₂, but nor are these two latter names – with initial EN – likely to be derived from *‘nb, although links between the king and ‘Aštar are later formulated in precisely this manner. Thirdly, the sign lugal alone would have to be taken to stand for the genitive šarri(m), which it never does otherwise in the onomasticon, without a phonetic complement. Thus, while en-bu could be a nominal predicate occupying first position, the orthography prevents an interpretation along the line of ‘a fruit is the šarrum.’ A derivation of en-bu from nabûm “to call, to name,” would in comparison offer only the slight problem of the unexpected ending in -u, as opposed to expected -i, which indeed is demonstrated by the aforementioned en-bi₃-Aš₁₀-tar₂.

Other names which at present escape interpretation are: i-ba-lugal (a1) ‘the šarrum drew near (?)’, i-bi₂-sár-ru (a2) a šarrum emerged (?), i-pu₂-sár (a2) lugal-OSP1-X₃ (a1) šar-a-Ti-Gu-Bi-ši-in (a1) šar-Ku-Da (a1) šar-Ni-sa (a1) šar-

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1355 See generally R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 66f. The sign EN is also amply attested in the onomasticon in nominal formations from a verb enēnum, that is, as /hi/n/ or /hen/, see MAD 3, 51–53 s.v. ‘NN.
1356 See R. Hasselbach, Sargonic Akkadian, 182, along with the critical notes by L. Kogan & K. Markina, Babel und Bibel 3 (2006), 573f. A certain example of st. constr. ending -u is furnished by kal₂-bu₂-Aš₁₀-tar₂, OSP 1 47 o. i 3 (ES-MS Nippur), and see other names with UR/kala/ib-, M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 93–95.
1357 E.g. BIN 8 121 r. i 9 (MS-CS Kazallu).
1358 BE 1 2/104 5”.
1359 So, for instance, G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 123.
1360 See the Ur III kyriophore 4Šu-Šu’en-i₃-ni-ib-Aš₁₀-tar₂, M. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 48, w. refs. The first element conforms to a 3rd person masc. preterite vi. Attested forms of this name have i-li₂₃, against I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 30; correctly J. Bauer, WO 24 (1993), 165. A derivation from the verb elûm “to go up, emerge,” is a possibility. The note by B. R. Foster, JAOS 115 (1995), 539 begs collation.
1361 Both attestations are Early Dynastic in date. The reading order of TSŠ 750 o. 2, as far as the name is indeed the same, is corroborated by the ED IIIb Mari writing in MAM 3 8. R. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 194, 24.6e, 1, interpreted the name with reservation to be derived from apûlum “to answer,” “(The) king answered.” An alternative interpretation would be to see the name as a sandhi writing for yihpu₂-sár(ru) ‘the šarrum made (him).’ However, the verb epēšum is not found in the Sargonic onomasticon.
1362 The great majority of names in the text, OSP 1 47, are Akkadian, or at least not Sumerian.
1364 Compare, phps., Aš₁₀-tar₂-ni-sa, MAD 1 163+ o. iii 17 (translit. only, MS-CS Eshnuna).
3.2.9 Non–existent šarrum-names and misreadings

A small number of names have previously been thought to be composed with šarrum. Some feature the logogram LUGAL, others the sign SAR. Contextual analysis and comparable onomastic material makes it clear that a reading šar(rum) can no longer be upheld in the following names.

*aš-maṣṣī-sar.* Already M. Krebernik held the reading for uncertain. Three Šuruppag texts all feature boat crewmen and skippers, and all share variant writings of this formulaic expression. The writing of proposed aš with the sign BAR in at least two of the texts is hard to harmonize with a syllabic reading. On top of that, SI (MA₂) in the remainder of these texts is used to denote river-faring vessels. The sign SI (MA₂) furthermore consistently stands at either end of the writing cases. Read, then, rather a technical term denoting a type of vessel, in Sumerian.

*il₂-eš-sar.* Not a šarrum-name. Parallels from, for instance, Nabada and Ebla, indicate that the present name contains a sandhi writing combining a 3ms preterite of leʾûm, and the stative of ešērum “to be well; to be straight, fair”: /yilʾay+yisar/. The combination of these two verbs was traditional and remained in use throughout the 2nd millennium.

*kiš-sar.* As was suspected by C. Wilcke, the writing does not represent a PN. The writing ki.SAR-šē₃ appears in a sales contract of a garden and ki represents a phonetic indicator: ki.kiri₂-šē₃ ‘(sales price) for a garden.’

*lugal-a-mi.* This suggested Akkadian reading for the writing lugal-a-ge₃ would imply that Nippur orthography LU:GAL could interchange freely with normal

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1367 Compare be-il₂-du-gul, MAD 1 163+165 r. iv’ 7 (translit. only). Since the same text contains the writing TU for /du/, in be-il₂-du₂-ri₃a, a reading tu₃-gul might be preferred.

1368 See note to lugal-ī₂₂₂-bi₂, above, p. 178.

1369 See discussion on possible readings, B. Kienast & K. Volk, FAOS 19, 74.

1370 The name does not make sense. Perhaps a Banana-name?

1371 See discussion of *šar-ru-um-Dilmun-mu-bi₂*, below, p. 215.

1372 Name of two individuals, both persons appear as citizens of Akkade in MO.

1373 See, e.g. F. Pomponio, Prosopografia, 52, s.v. aš-maṣṣ₂-sar.

1374 Annäherungen 1, 261 w. fn. 215–216.

1375 WF 67–69.

1376 Writing found in CS Adab, SI4 Y2; and Sargonic Girsu, ITT 2/2 2914 (translit. only).

1377 See, e.g. il₂-er-eš-sar, common at ED IIIb-ES Nabada, e.g. Subartu 2 21 o. ii 2; and Ebla, AET 8 10 r. ix 8.

1378 See the Ur III names listed in MAD 3, 158 s.v. Lʾ₃š₃ lʾa iyum, leʾûm; and the entry in an OB list of PNN: išar-le-e, OECT 4 155 ii 36.

1379 Treated as a PN by J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973), 237ff., w. notes on previous literature; and also by the editors of OIP 104, pl. 146, no. 185.

1380 EANEL, 102 fn. 324.

1381 See the Ur III names listed in MAD 3, 158 s.v. Lʾ₃š₃ lʾa iyum, leʾûm; and the entry in an OB list of PNN: išar-le-e, OECT 4 155 ii 36.

1382 See discussion of *šar-ru-um-Dilmun-mu-bi₂*, below, p. 215.

1383 Writing found in A. Goetze, JCS 23 (1970), p. 48 (5N-T452), 2′.

1384 R. diVito, StPohl SM 16, 198, 29.1a, 5.
LUGAL to denote Akk. śarrum,\(^{1383}\) for which there is no corroborating evidence. Read instead lugal-a-ĝe₃.

*lugal-*bi₂-*nu-um.\(^ {1384}\) Due to parallel DUN-NE(-nu-um), the interpretation of the name as Akkadian is unlikely.\(^ {1385}\) While no better option can be forwarded, read, for the moment, lugal-NE-nu-um.

*lugal-na-da.\(^ {1386}\) A few circumstances speak against seeing the name as Akkadian. The measurements of silver are Sumerian style with the unit after the object measured; the other names that can be read all appear to be Sumerian, and specifically, the name aja₂-lal₃ (o. 3) speaks for a possible provenience in the Adab-Nippur region. Read, more likely lugal-it'i-da.

*lugal-*pu₃(KA).\(^ {1387}\) Judging from known parallels to this posited name, the placement of *pu₃(KA) would be uncharacteristic in that it is unqualified and occupies a name-final position. The latter sign must temporarily be read KA and the name should be understood as Sumerian, beginning with lugal-du₃(-ga/-ge etc.), or lugal-inim. See also the following name.

*lugal-pum.\(^ {1388}\) See note to the previous name, and read, in Sumerian, lugal-šud₃.

*pu₃-šar.\(^ {1389}\) The name should be read consistently in Sumerian, as su₃-mu₂. As indicated by J. Krecher, in many — if not all — cases the first sign in this name does not represent original KA×ŠU, bu₄, but what is later to become KA×SA, with a reading su₄ “beard.” For some reason it is often (always?) borne by females.\(^ {1390}\)

*šar-be-li₂.\(^ {1391}\) Misreading of a seal belonging to the major domo of the Sargonic queen Tūtaʾ-šar-libbīs.\(^ {1392}\) Read i-šar-be-li₂.

*šar-ru-um-Dilmun-mu-bi₂,\(^ {1393}\) šar-ru-um-maḥ₃-mu-pi₃.\(^ {1394}\) Whatever the reading and meaning of the final component, mu-NE, it only appears in two-element names. There is no reason to see DILMUN/maḥ₃ as a logogram with an Akkadian reading. To interpret this line as containing two distinct names would be more in keeping with the rest of the Sargonic onomastic material. At any rate, šarrum without further qualification would be unexpected. Read, perhaps, i₃-šar-ru-um and al-NE.\(^ {1395}\)

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\(^ {1383}\) See TMH 5 156 o. 4 (lu:gal-a-ĝe₃).

\(^ {1384}\) So E. Sollberger, ZA 54 (1961), 14 no. 49.

\(^ {1385}\) See discussions by A. Westenholz, OrNS 44 (1975), 434; and J. Bauer, AfO 36/37 (1989/90), 88 note to 221 i ii 3K.


\(^ {1387}\) See I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 210 s.v. P pum “mouth,” “word,” written lugal-ka.

\(^ {1388}\) See I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 210 s.v. P pum “mouth,” “word.”

\(^ {1389}\) See I. J. Gelb, MAD 3 210 s.v. P pum “mouth,” “word”; and the suggested interpretations of D. O. Edzard, SRU, 116 no. 62 (=RTC 12) o. i 6 and notes to line.

\(^ {1390}\) See discussion by J. Krecher, ZA 63 (1973), 204–206, with many references.

\(^ {1391}\) R. M. Boehmer, Fs Moortgat, pl. 13 no. 28.


\(^ {1393}\) So I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, 55 s.v. ḫ₂-wuṣṣum. Line found in UET 2 suppl. 50 r. 3.

\(^ {1394}\) So A. Alberti & F. Pomponio, StPohl SM 13, 115f., with diverging interpretation.

\(^ {1395}\) Compare, e.g. i₃-šar-ru-um in AIIHA 7 o. i 11 (MS Awal).
4. Overview of lexemes

In the following, a selection of lexical items contained in lugal- and šarrum-names are arranged in tables organized according to word class. The order of listing of lemmas in the individual tables is alphabetical. The first section gives the names of divinities appearing in the names; the second specific loci, followed by a third section containing nouns and a fourth for verbs and adjectives. Two more sections give the attested verbal prefixes for Sumerian names and the finite forms contained in Akkadian names. In the left column the lemmas are listed, in the right the names in which the lemmas appear. Names which are attested only in scholastic texts are marked by means of °.

For a number of reasons, names where reading and interpretation are in doubt have only been assigned to tables when there are compelling reasons to do so. Names which have been deemed unintelligible in the preceding treatments, 3.1.8 and 3.2.8 have been entered in the tables below whenever enough information is provided in the name itself to allow doing so.

A question mark following a name indicates that the reading of the name is in question. A question mark within parenthesis means that the attribution of a name to a lemma is less secure.

4.1 Divinities

In the two tables below are found names in which divinities and superhuman beings appear associated with the appellatives lugal and šarrum. Sumerian and Akkadian names have been assigned to their respective table mainly on the basis of overall observations on orthography, syntax and date. The latter is, however, not indicated in the table. Note that not all references to the (divine) river I₇ may refer to a divine being, and that il(um) may in some cases be the generic term for a male god in Akkadian.

### Sumerian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An</th>
<th>lugal-AN (?), lugal-AN-da (?), lugal-AN-da-nu-huğ-ğa₂ (?), lugal-AN-da-nu-me-a (?), lugal-AN-ku₂-ge (?), lugal-AN-ne₂, lugal-AN-ne₂-ki-ağa₂, lugal-AN-ne₂-su, lugal-igi-An-na-ke₁-su, lugal-šu-luh-ku₂-An-na, ³Nanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da (?), ⁴UTu-palil-Lugal-AN-da (?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anzu</td>
<td>lugal-ᵐ⁰Anzu₂, lugal-ᵐ⁰Anzu₄-mušen, lugal-ᵐ⁰Anzu₄, lugal-ᵐ⁰Anzu₄-mušen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumuzi</td>
<td>lugal-Dumu-zi, lugal-dumu-zi (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enki</td>
<td>lugal-En-ki-a-DU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil</td>
<td>lugal-En-lil₂, lugal-En-lil₂-da, lugal-En-lil₂-le, lugal-En-lil₂-le-an-zu, lugal-ME-En-[il₂]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id</td>
<td>lugal-I₂-da, lugal-I₂-ĝu₁₀, lugal-I₂-ĝu₁₀, lugal-I₂-maḥ, lugal-I₂-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٤KA.DI</td>
<td>lugal-4KA.DI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanna</td>
<td>lugal-Nanna-ra-tum₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanše</td>
<td>lugal-Nanše-mu-tu, &quot;Nanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sud</td>
<td>lugal-Sud₁-de₃, lugal-Sud₁-ki-ağ₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šarur</td>
<td>lugal-Šar₂-ur₃-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td>lugal-Tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utu</td>
<td>lugal-UD, lugal-⁴Utu, lugal-Utu-gin₇-e₃, UD-lugal-le (PN?), ⁵Utu-palil-lugal-AN-da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Akkadian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adad</th>
<th>⁴IM-šar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>E₂-šašar, E₃-šašar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫイラ ( {?})</td>
<td>AN-šar, il-루-šar, šar-ma-i₃-lum, ⁰šar-ma-NI, šar-me-il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mama</td>
<td>Ma-ma-ša-ra-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su-en</td>
<td>⁴EN:ZU-šar, ZU:EN-lugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šamaš</td>
<td>šar-ru-ki-⁴Utu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2 Localities

The following table lists mythological and worldly locations associated with the appellative lugal in personal names. No such name has thus far been securely identified with šarrum-names. The names ḫπחר-Kiš and Ṭαราม-Akkade are examples which show that cities sometimes formed part of personal names. A few others were discussed briefly above, 3.2.6.

**Sumerian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abzu</th>
<th>lugal-abzu, lugal-abzu-a, lugal-abzu-a-gal-di, lugal-abzu-da, lugal-abzu-si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emuš</td>
<td>lugal-E₂-muš₃, lugal-E₂-muš₃-e, lugal-E₂-muš₃-še₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eden</td>
<td>lugal-eden, lugal-eden-ne₂, lugal-eden-ne₂-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eridu</td>
<td>lugal-Eridu⁴-še₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZEM×GAL</td>
<td>lugal-EZEM.GAL-[x] ( {?}), lugal-EZEM×GAL⁴-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulummar</td>
<td>lugal-GAN₂-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub, lugal-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šिरईन</td>
<td>lugal-Gir₂-nun, lugal-Gir₂-nun-ne₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ığı)-nim</td>
<td>lugal-ığı-nim-še₃, lugal-ığı-nim-še₃₉₀°, lugal-nim-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KA.GAN ?</td>
<td>lugal-KA-GAN-Ki ( {?})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keš</td>
<td>lugal-Keš⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kur</td>
<td>lugal-kur, lugal-kur-da-kuš₂, lugal-kur-dub₂, lugal-kur-ra, ⁰lugal-kur-ra-a₂-bad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4.3 Nouns

The following tables represent selective lists of objects which occur alongside lugal and šarrum, regardless of their syntactic function. Syllabically written Akkadian words are given in their Old Babylonian citation forms.

**Sumerian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lemma</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Attested writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a₂    | “arm, side” | [a₂/zaz]-lugal-.gca₂-
              -ta, a₂-lugal-ta, lugal-a₂-
              , lugal-a₂-
              -da-DU ?, lugal-a₂-
              -gur-ra, lugal-
              a₂-LAK175, lugal-a₂-
              -mah, lugal-a₂-
              -mah₂, lugal-a₂-
              (DA)-mah, lugal-a₂-
              -na-gub, lugal-a₂-
              -pa₃, lugal-a₂-
              -sum₂-ma, lugal-
              a₂-tuku, lugal-a₂-
              -zi, lugal-a₂-
              -zi-da, lugal-e-
              a₂-na, °lugal-kur-
              ra-a₂-bad, lugal-
              ni₃-a₂-zí-
              nu-ak          |
|        | “strength”  |                      |
|        | “authority” |                      |
|        | “horn(s)”   |                      |
| ab-ba  | “father, elder” | lugal-ab-ba, lugal-
              ab-ba-
              ùru, lugal-abba₂-
              , lugal-abba₂-
              -du₁₀, lugal-
              abba₂-uru', lugal-
              ad-da, lugal-
              aja₂-
              -gùu₁₀, lugal-
              aja₂-
              -ugùu₁₀ |
| abba₂  |              |                      |
| ad-da  |              |                      |
| aja₂  |              |                      |
| aga₃(3) | (a headdress) | lugal-agá-zi, lugal-
              aga₂-
              -zi           |
| bara₂  | “throne dais” | lugal-bar₂-
              , lugal-
              bara₂-
              -du₁₀, lugal-
              bara₂-
              -ge-du₁₀, lugal-
              bara₂-
              -kalam, lugal-
              bara₂-
              -si          |
|        | “prince”    |                      |
| da     | “side”       | lugal-da, lugal-
              da-gur*, lugal-
              da-gur-ra, lugal-
              da-tab-ba?    |
| dam    | “spouse”     | lugal-dam, lugal-
              dam-da-[x], lugal-
              dam-MU       |
| e₂     | “house, temple” | e₂-lugal-be₂-
              -zu, lugal-e₂-
              , lugal-e₂-
              -ab-ba, lugal-
              e₂-da, lugal-
              e₂-DU₅-si, lugal-
              e₂-ğiš ?, lugal-
              e₂-ni-
              -še₃, lugal-
              e₂-ni-
              -še₃₉₀, lugal-
              E₂.NUN-si, lugal-
              e₂-
              -pa₄, lugal-
              e₂-si     |
| en-nu(n) | “watchtower, guard” | lugal-
              en-nu, lugal-
              en-nu-
              -gùu₁₀, lugal-
              en-nunn    |
| e-tar  | “provision”  | lugal-'e-tar′ ([?], lugal-
              e-tar-su₃, lugal-
              e₃-tar-
              -su₃, lugal-
              en₃-tar-
              -su₅(TAG), lugal-
              en₃-su₅, lugal-
              en₃-
              tar, lugal-
              en₃-
              tar-su₃, lugal-
              en₃-
              tar-su₃, lugal-
              en₃-
              tar-su₅(TAG)    |
<p>| en₃-tar |              |                      |
| en₄-tar |              |                      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŠI</td>
<td>“wood(en object)”</td>
<td>lugalsi-apin-du₁₀, lugalsi-ešš, lugalsi-gigir₂, lugalsi-gigir-e, lugalsi-gigir-re, lugalsi-gigir-re₂, lugalsi-giš, lugalsi-giš-bur₂, lugalsi-giš-S[U₇], lugalsi-giri₆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAN</td>
<td>“road, campaign”</td>
<td>lugal-han-ne₂, lugal-han-ne₁₀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GI</td>
<td>“eye”</td>
<td>igi-lugal-še₃, igi-lugal-še₃₉₀, lugali-i, lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su, lugali-igi-bi, lugal-igi-ḫuš, lugal-igi-il₂, lugal-igi-kalam-ma, lugal-igi-ni, lugal-igi-nim-še₃, lugal-igi-sa₆₀, lugal-igi-tab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>“month”</td>
<td>lugal-iti, lugal-iti-da, lugal-iti-da-tu, lugal-iti-da-[zal]₀-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR</td>
<td>“harbour”</td>
<td>lugal-kar, lugal-kar², lugal-kar-e, lugal-kar-e-si, lugal-kar-re, lugal-kar-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KISAL</td>
<td>“courtyard”</td>
<td>lugal-kisal, lugal-kisal-a-gub, lugal-kisal-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUR</td>
<td>“mountain(land)”</td>
<td>lugal-kur, lugal-kur-da-ku₂, lugal-kur-re, lugal-kur-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAMA</td>
<td>“guardian spirit”</td>
<td>lugal-lama-si₀, lugal-lama₃[KAL], lugal-lama₃-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>“ship”</td>
<td>lugal₂-ma₂, lugal₂-ma₂-gur₈-e, lugal₂-tab-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas-su&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>“leader”</td>
<td>lugal-mas-su, lugal-mas-su&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>“(divine) ordinances” “rites” “principles of existence”</td>
<td>lugal-DU-ME, lugal-me, ʰlugal-me-am, lugal-me-du&lt;sub&gt;10&lt;/sub&gt;-ga, lugal-ME&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;En-[ilj], lugal-me-gal-gal, lugal-me-še₂-ĝal₂, lugal-me-si, lugal-me-sikil, ʰlugal-ME-zi, lugal-tigi₂(E₂.BALAG)-mete(TE+ME)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-lam&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>“ominous sheen”</td>
<td>lugal-me-lam&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt; (?), lugal-me-lam&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;-su&lt;sub&gt;3&lt;/sub&gt;, lugal-me-lam&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;-su&lt;sub&gt;20&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam</td>
<td>“(the totality of essence of sth.)”</td>
<td>lugal-nam, lugal-nam-dag, lugal-nam-gu₂, lugal-nam-gu₂-su&lt;sub&gt;3&lt;/sub&gt;, lugal-nam-MES&lt;sup&gt;²&lt;/sup&gt;, lugal-nam-zu, nam-lugal-ni, nam-lugal-ni-du&lt;sub&gt;10&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam-nir</td>
<td>“nobility”, “authority”</td>
<td>lugal-nam-nir, lugal-nam-nir-šum₂, ʰnu-gal-nam-URU, ʰnu-gal-nam-URU-šu-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam-tar</td>
<td>“fate”</td>
<td>lugal-nam-tar-re₂, lugal-nam-zi-tar, lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra, lugal-šn&lt;sup&gt;²&lt;/sup&gt;PA.SIKIL-nam-tar, lugal-šn&lt;sup&gt;²&lt;/sup&gt;PA.(MAŠ).SIKIL-nam-tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nesağ ne-sağ</td>
<td>“firstling offerings”</td>
<td>lugal-lu₂-LAK545-ne-sağ (?), lugal-nesağ, lugal-nesağ-e, lugal-nesağ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni₃(-te)</td>
<td>“self” “fear”</td>
<td>lugal-me-te-na, lugal-mete(TE+ME)-na, lugal-ne-ʻte-na&lt;sup&gt;₁&lt;/sup&gt;, ʰlugal-ni₂-bi-ak, lugal-ni₂-te-na, lugal-TAR-me-te (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nir</td>
<td>“lord”</td>
<td>lugal-nir, lugal-nir-ĝal₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sağ</td>
<td>“head, top, prime” (also in composites)</td>
<td>lugal-AB-da-SAĞ (?), lugal-㙏u-sağ, lugal-lu₂-LAK545-ne-sağ (?), lugal-lu₂-sağ, ʰlugal-nu-KI-SAĞ, lugal-sağ, lugal-sağ-bi-she₂&lt;sup&gt;³&lt;/sup&gt;-90&lt;sup&gt;⁰&lt;/sup&gt;, lugal-sağ-du&lt;sub&gt;10&lt;/sub&gt;, ʰlugal-sağ-kalam, lugal-sağ-rib, lugal-SE₂-sağ, lugal-ur-sağ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si-ĝar</td>
<td>“door bolt”</td>
<td>lugal-si-ĝar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>unknown mng.</td>
<td>lugal-si-DU&lt;sub&gt;6&lt;/sub&gt;-e, lugal-si-NE-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šu</td>
<td>“hand”</td>
<td>lugal-ğiš-Š[U'] ?, lugal-šu, lugal-šu-du₂,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Logographic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abum</td>
<td>“father”</td>
<td>lugal-šu-du₂₄, šar-a-ba₂₄, šar-a-ba₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ālum</td>
<td>“city” (?)</td>
<td>šar-ru-al-ši-in (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bānum</td>
<td>“creator”</td>
<td>šar-ru-ba-ni (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binum/</td>
<td>“offspring”</td>
<td>bi-in-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂, bi-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂, bi-ka₃-li₂-šar-[re₂]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binnum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dādum</td>
<td>“loved one (or uncle?)”</td>
<td>lugal-da-di₃, šar-ru-da-di₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>därum</td>
<td>“wall, fortress”</td>
<td>攻关bad₂₉, šar-ru-bad₂₉, šar-ru-du₂₃ri₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilum</td>
<td>“god”</td>
<td>i₂₃-lum-šar, il-šar, šar-ma₁₂₃-lum, ◯šar-ma-NI, šar-me₁₂₃, šar-mi₁₂₃, šar-me-NI, šar-ru-gi₁₂₃-li₂, šar-ru-i₂₃-li₂, šar-um₁₂₃-li₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lábum</td>
<td>“lion”</td>
<td>šar-ru-la-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libhum</td>
<td>“heart”</td>
<td>tu-ta₂₃-lugal-li-bi₂₃-ši₂₃, tu-ta₂₃šar-li-bi₂₃-ši₂₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūdim</td>
<td>“knowledgeable one”</td>
<td>šar-ru-mu-da, šar-ru,(KU)-ma-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēšum</td>
<td>“lion”</td>
<td>lugal-na-i-ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūrum</td>
<td>“light”</td>
<td>lugal-nu-ru (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarrādum</td>
<td>“hero”</td>
<td>šar-ru-gar₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīllum</td>
<td>“shade”</td>
<td>ši₂-la-lugal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akkadian</th>
<th>Logographic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šu₃d₃</td>
<td>“prayer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u₄</td>
<td>“day, light, storm”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u₃g₃</td>
<td>“people”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u₃šu₄₃ₓ</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za₃₄</td>
<td>“side, strength”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za₃₃</td>
<td>“sanctuary”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akkadian</th>
<th>Logographic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gal-zu</td>
<td>“wise one”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu₂</td>
<td>“river bank” (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-saṅ</td>
<td>“hero”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.4 Adjectives and verbs

The following tables list verbs occurring in finite and non–finite forms in 
lugal- and šarrum-names. Akkadian statives are listed following the citation 
forms of their respective Old Babylonian adjective. For Akkadian finite 
verbs, see table 4.6.

**Sumerian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sumerian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Akkadian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki-a₂g₂</td>
<td>“to love”</td>
<td>lugal-ab₂-ki-a₂g₂, lugal-An-ne₂-ki-a₂g₂, lugal-ki-a₂g₂, lugal-Muš₂-bar-ki-a₂g₂, lugal-dSud₂-ki-a₂g₂, lugal-surₓ-ki-a₂g₂, lugal-surₓ-re₂-ki-a₂g₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su₃-a₂g₂</td>
<td>“to shine”</td>
<td>lugal-su₃-a₂g₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak</td>
<td>“to make, do”</td>
<td>lugal-alam-ak, °lugal-ni₃-zi-nu-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban₃-da</td>
<td>“small, fierce”</td>
<td>lugal-ban₃-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-ri₁</td>
<td>“lasting”</td>
<td>lugal-mu-da-ri₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dab₃</td>
<td>“to seize, grab”</td>
<td>lugal-dab₃, lugal-dab₃-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dab₆</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>lugal-dab₆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadag</td>
<td>“to cleanse,”</td>
<td>lugal-lu-dadag, lugal-lu₂-dadag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dah</td>
<td>“to add”</td>
<td>lugal-mu-dah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalla</td>
<td>“to shine”</td>
<td>lugal-dalla, lugal-dalla-pa-e₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-de₃</td>
<td>“pure”</td>
<td>lugal-na-de₃-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de₆</td>
<td>“to bring, deliver”</td>
<td>lugal-ma-de₆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dib</td>
<td>“to pass, go along” (?)</td>
<td>lugal-mu-dib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diri</td>
<td>“to exceed, surpass”</td>
<td>lugal-an-diri, lugal-ra-diri, lugal-sla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>°lugal'-a₂₁-da-DU, lugal-DU, lugal-DU-ME, lugal-DU-NI, lugal-En-ki-a-DU, °lugal-gu₄-DU, lugal-nun-DU, lugal-tir-a-DU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du₇</td>
<td>“to be fitting, suitable” (also in idioms)</td>
<td>lugal-hec₂-du₇, lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₁-du₇, lugal-ki-ni-sé₃-du₇-du₇, lugal-šu-du₇, lugal-šu-du₇-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du₈</td>
<td>“to loosen, release”</td>
<td>lugal-du₈, lugal-Ni-du₈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du₂₁</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to say”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to make, do”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| e₃  |
| “to go out”  |
| lugal-ab-e₃, lugal-eb₂-ta-e₃, lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃, lugal-Utu-gin₇-e₃ |

| pa-e₄  |
| “to appear”  |
| lugal-dalla-pa-e₃, lugal-pa-e₃ |

| gal  |
| “big, great”  |

| gi  |
| “to be permanent, true”  |
| lugal-inim-gi-na, lugal-lu₂-gi-na |

| gi₄  |
| “to (re)turn”  |

| gid₂  |
| “to be long”  |
| lugal-ša₂-gid₂ |

| gub  |
| “to stand”  |
| lugal-a₂-na-gub, lugal-GAN₂-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub, lugal-gub-ba, lugal-gub-ba-ni, lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₁₁-du₁₁, lugal-kisal-a-gub, lugal-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub |

| gu(-n)  |
| “to be multicoloured”(?)  |
| lugal-še-gu-na |

| gur  |
| “to bend”  |
| lugal-a₂-gur-ra, lugal-da-gur ?, lugal-Da-gur-ra |

| ġal₂  |
| “to be (in place)”  |
| lugal-gaba-ğal₂, lugal-ḫe₂-ğal₂, lugal-ḫe₂-ğal₂-su₃, lugal-ḫe₂-ğal₂-su₂₅, lugal-ḫe₂-ğal₂-su₂₅(TAG), lugal-me-še₂-ğal₂, lugal-mu-ğal₂, lugal-mu-še₂-ğal₂, lugal-nir-ğal₂, lugal-šu-ğal₂ (PN?), lugal-zi-ša₂-ğal₂, ūnu-gal-ḫi-gal |

| ġen/du  |
| “to go”  |
| lugal-nim-du |

| il₂  |
| “to raise”  |
| lugal-igi-il₂ |

| kalag  |
| “to be strong, mighty”  |
| lugal-inim-kalag, lugal-inim-kalag-ga, lugal-kalag-ga, lugal-ni₃-kalag-ga, ūlugal-en-nam-gal-ga |

| KU  |
| (?)  |
| lugal-a₂₁-KU |

| ku₃  |
| “to be sacred”  |
| lugal-AN-ku₂₃-ge, lugal-ku₃ (?), lugal-ku₃-zu, lugal-šu-łu₃-ku₃-An-na |

| kuš₂  |
| “to be tired”  |

| lu  |
| “to be abundant”  |
| lugal-da-lu, lugal-lu, lugal-lu-lu, lugal-ni₃-lu-lu, ūlugal-ni₃-lu-lu-a |

| luḥ  |
| “to clean, wash”  |
| lugal-ka-luḥ, lugal-LUḤ, lugal-šu-łu₃-ku₃-An-na |

| maḥ  |
| “to be great”  |
| lugal-a₂-maḥ₂, lugal-a₂-maḥ₂, lugal-a₃(DA)- |
| me  | “to be (in existence)” lugal-AN-da-nu-me-a, lugal-da-nu-me-a, lugal-na-nam, lugal-ni₃-nu-da-me, lugal-za-me |
| nu₂ | “to lie down” lugal-a-DU-nu₂, lugal-a-MIR-nu₂, lugal-urun-na-nu₂, lugal-ti-ma-nu₂, lugal-ušur₂-nu₂, lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₂ |
| sa₂ | “to equal, match” lugal-ni₂-da-sa₂ |
| si−sa₂ | “to be fair, true” lugal-si-sa₂ |
| sa₆ | “to be good, beautiful” lugal-igi-sa₁₀, lugal-lu₁₂-sa₁₂-ga, lugal-ni₃-sa₁₂-ga, lugal-sa₁₂, lugal-sa₁₂-ga, lugal-sur₃-ra-sa₁₀ |
| sag₇ | “to disperse” lugal-s¹-sag₁ |
| se₃ | “to throw (down)” lugal-inim-ma-se₂₂-ga, lugal-inim-se₂₂-ga |
| si | “to be just right (for s.th.)” lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂₃-nu-si, lugal-A-SI, lugal-abzu-si, lugal-bara₂-si, lugal-e₂-DU₃-si, lugal-E₂-NUN-si, lugal-e₁-si, lugal-edenu₁-ne₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si, lugal-ša₁₂-si |
| sikil | “to be pure” lugal-me-sikil, lugal-s₉-pa₁₂(SIKIL-nam-tar, lugal-su₉-pa₁₂(MAŠ).SIKIL-nam-tar, lugal-šu-sikil |
| su₃ | “to sprinkle, stew” lugal-e-tar-su₂₃, lugal-en₁₂-ta-su₂₃, lugal-en₁₂-tar-su₂₃, lugal-še₂₂-ša₂₂-su₂₃, lugal-me-lam₂₂-su₂₃, lugal-nam-su₂₂-su₂₃, lugal-ša₂₂-su₂₃ |
| su₁₃ | “to sprinkle, stew” lugal-en₁₂-tar-su₁₂, lugal-en₁₂-su₁₂, lugal-en₁₂-tar-su₁₂, lugal-ša₁₂-su₁₂ |
| su₂₀ | “to sprinkle, stew” (?) lugal-še₂₂-ša₂₂-su₂₁₀, lugal-ša₁₂-ša₂₂-su₂₁₀, lugal-me-lam₂₂-su₂₁₀, lugal-uš₂₂-su₂₁₀ |
| su₆(TAG) | “to sprinkle, stew” lugal-en₁₂-tar-su₆, lugal-en₁₂-tar-su₆, lugal-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akkadian Verb</th>
<th>Logographic</th>
<th>Akkadian Stative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>su₄</strong> <em>(MUS)</em></td>
<td>&quot;to sprinkle, strew&quot; (?)</td>
<td>he₂-ǧal₂-su₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilig</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to cease&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-nu-šilig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šuba₂</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to be pure, clear&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-KA-ni-nu-šuba₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šum₂</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to give, grant&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-a₂-šum-ma, lugal-nam-nir-šum₂, ʰnu-lugal-nam-URU-šu-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tab</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to double&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-da-tab-ba ?, lugal-igi-tab, lugal-ma₂-tab-ba, lugal-tab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tar</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to cut&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-inim-TAR, lugal-nam-tar-re₂, lugal-nam-zi-tar, lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra, lugal-š²PA.SIKIL-nam-tar, lugal-š²PA'(MAŠ).SIKIL-nam-tar, lugal-TAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tu</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to give birth&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-iti-da-tu, lugal-mu-tu, lugal-‘Namšem-tu, ʰlugal-ša₃-ge-ib₂-tu, lu:gal-tu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuku</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to have, possess&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-a₂-tuku, lugal-DA-tuku, lugal-š₃₂-la₂-tuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>giš–tuku</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to be aware&quot;</td>
<td>inim-e-ğiš-tuku, lugal-šud₂-de₃-ğiš-tuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tum₂</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to be befitting&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-an-na-tum₂, lugal-an-tum₂, lugal-bi₂-tum₂, ʰlugal-gal-bi₂-tum₂, lugal-‘Nanna-ra-tum₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>u₄</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to shine&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-si-u₄-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ur₃</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to wipe clean&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-Šar₂-ur₃-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>zal</strong></td>
<td>&quot;to shine&quot;</td>
<td>lugal-iti-da-[zal']-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Akkadian Stative Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akkadian Verb</th>
<th>Logographic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>dannum</strong></td>
<td>&quot;strong&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>išarum</strong></td>
<td>&quot;true, righteous&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>palhum</strong></td>
<td>&quot;terrifying&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Logographic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Logographic</th>
<th>Akkadian Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>damqum</strong></td>
<td>&quot;kind, beneficient&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kīnum</strong></td>
<td>&quot;permanent, true&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šūpum (?)</strong></td>
<td>&quot;resplendent, famous&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tābum</strong></td>
<td>&quot;good, sweet&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.5 Sumerian verbal prefixes

The following is a tabular overview of verbal prefixes encountered in ED and Sargonic lugal-names. Included are also the modals ḫa-/ḫe₂-, na-, and nu-. Frozen nominal forms such as he₂-ĝal₂ or Ḫe₂-du₂, serving as objects, are not included. For such forms, see above, 4.4, under the relevant verbal root. Nor are names included which feature a dimensional infix which seems appended to the object referent rather than to the prefix chain. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>lugal-AB-da-SAG (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al(ₐ)⁻</td>
<td>lugal-al-sa₉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>lugal-AN-diri (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>lugal-šud₂-de₄-ba-ša₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi(ₐ)⁻</td>
<td>lugal-bi₄-tum₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e⁻</td>
<td>lugal-e-gal-gal (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eb₂⁻/ib₂⁻</td>
<td>lugal-eb₂-ta-e₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖa⁻/ Ḧe₂⁻</td>
<td>lugal-ẖa-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i₃⁻</td>
<td>lugal-i₃-bi₂ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-)ma⁻</td>
<td>lugal-ẖa-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na⁻</td>
<td>lugal-na-nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam⁻</td>
<td>lugal-nam (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni⁻</td>
<td>lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta⁻</td>
<td>lugal-eb₂-ta-e₃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1396 Following the rationale of M. Civil, *ASJ* 22 (2005), 31.
4.6 Akkadian finite verb forms

As far as can be seen, the šarrum-names featuring finite verbs are all 3rd person preterite forms. A single verb, takālum, is found in the imperative. The stative forms were given above, under 4.4. The verbs are given according to their Old Babylonian citation forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Citation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amûm</td>
<td>“to protect”</td>
<td>i-mi-šar-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā’um?</td>
<td>“to come near”</td>
<td>i-ba-lugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banûm</td>
<td>“to create, build”</td>
<td>ib-ni-lugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elûm</td>
<td>“to go up, emerge”</td>
<td>i-li₂-šar-ru (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epēšum</td>
<td>“to do, make, build”</td>
<td>i-pu₂-šar (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaṭāpum</td>
<td>“to preserve (life), rescue”</td>
<td>iš-ṭup-šar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takālum</td>
<td>“to trust”</td>
<td>šar-iš-ta₂-kal₂, šar-ri₂-ša₂-ta₂-kal₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watûm</td>
<td>“to find, discover”</td>
<td>tu-ta₂-lugal-li-bi₂-ša, tu-ta₂-šar-li-bi₂-šiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bʾ,𝑛</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>u-Bi-in-lugal-ri₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Semantic comparison of lugal- and śarrum-names

During the course of the preceding chapters, it has hopefully been made apparent, that the semantic import of Sumerian lugal-names and Akkadian śarrum-names are divergent on many points, and are comparable or identical on a number of points. Differences and similarities deserve to be inspected separately. In Chapter 6, the *Sitz im Leben* of these names will be inspected from the viewpoint of their historical and cultural settings.

Almost a third of the different writings of names containing lugal remain unclear as to semantic import, and about a fifth of the different writings of names containing śarrum. About 60% of lugal-names which have as of yet defied interpretation are only attested once. In some cases opaque principles of abbreviation are to blame, but certainly not in all cases. Statistics are bound to be skewed by the fact that Sumerian names during the period investigated are more commonly attested than Akkadian names: writings of lugal-names outnumber śarrum-names by almost 8:1. Hence, the relative scarcity of an Akkadian name must be seen in the light of the fact that relatively few northern centers have yielded texts during the 700 or so years covered by this survey. About half of all śarrum-names are so far only attested once; and adding those Akkadian names that are attested more times but only with one bearer, this figure becomes even higher.

5.1 Synchronic perspectives

The major trends of individual periods are defined and described. Given the number of unintelligible names and names which can not with certainty be ascribed to a specific semantic category, the following sections are to a large part based on the discussions contained in sections 3.1 and 3.2. Names are treated here regardless of a proposed identity of the referent for lugal.

5.1.1 ED I-II

ED I-II names are best attested at Ur. 55% of the writings of lugal-names found in ED I-II are exclusive to this period. No subcategory is represented by more than four names. Dominion 3.1.1, makes for the largest group, with
the names amar-lugal, found also at Uruk, maš-lugal, ur-lugal and ir₁₁-lugal. The first belongs to a group that is common during this period. Two names, lugal-bar₆-si and lugal-menₓ, relate to insignia of power. There are no clear references to wisdom as a characteristic of the lugal, nor to a caring attitude on the part of the lugal, name types which are all well represented in later times. Creation, fertility and prosperity (3.1.5), is represented by four names, counting AK-lugal, lugal-ĝ₃-si, lugal-lu-lu and lugal-uru-si, all very general in focus. Most names which relate in a general way to cultic issues (3.1.6), are not very informative, except for lugal-p₃₄, which could be taken to imply that the lugal was formally selected by some form of mantic practice (see further below, section 6.2). Neither of them mention a divinity by name; the name lugal-E₂.NUN is also somewhat unclear. The two names which use nominal predicates about the lugal (lugal-lal₃, lugal-ur-saĝ), belong to a quite common group of names. Two clause-names set themselves apart in being uncharacteristically detailed: lugal-₄₄₃₄PA.SIKIL-nam-tar, lugal-u₄-su₃₃- gi₄. Both of these are probably to be explained as expressions of local theology surrounding the main tutelary deity Nanna.

5.1.2 ED IIIa

Archival material for the ED IIIa period is available from about ten different sites. 55% of the writings of lugal-names found in this period are attested only in ED IIIa or ED IIIa-b. Names which bear on the lugal’s dominion increase steadily in number; those relating to insignia of power (3.1.1.3) circle around the throne dais, bara₂, the scepter, ĝidri, and the headdress men, which are, however, not all attributable to humans. The first clear instances of the innate power of the words or utterances of the lugal (3.1.1.4) are found; they are mostly connected with the adjectives gi and zi, implying accordance with the will of the gods. The first few names which combine the lugal with the land, kalam and kur, and its inhabitants, uĝ₃, make their appearance (3.1.1.6, 3.1.5.4). Names focusing on the lugal’s sagacity (3.1.2) are now well-represented in the material, displaying eight different writings. Few parallels to these are known. Some wisdom-names may have human referents, but royal inscriptions which mention wisdom being bestowed by Enki on the human ruler are of a later date. The fertility of the city and its hinterlands (3.1.5.2–3) become popular themes. Divinities are now mentioned in connection with the lugal (3.1.6.2), predominantly Enlil and Dumuzi, and judging from later parallels, An and Utu are probably also mentioned in a number of names. This indicates a development in which the lugal is brought into a relation to marked divine actors. From having expressed acts or describing states through nominal predication names now introduce the lugal as acting alongside gods. Some of the aforementioned names with all certainty refer to a human lugal. The šarrum-names of this and the following period mostly feature šar(rum) as a nominal predicate.
5.1.3 ED IIIb

More than twice as many ED IIIb texts have been published compared with texts dating to the ED IIIa. 47% of the writings of lugal-names found in this period are attested only in ED IIIb texts, or in texts which could possibly belong in the preceding or following periods (ED IIIa-b and ED IIIb-ES).

Names bearing on the dominion of, and the personal relation to, the lugal, reach their high point during the ED IIIb and Sargonic periods, both in the number of forms and the number of bearers attested. Names related to the dominion over the country and its people (3.1.1.6) are also at a high point during the ED IIIb. The protective features of the lugal (3.1.3) become more and more popular in the onomasticon, and a few of these may with some degree of certainty be ascribed to the human lugal. This type is now also attested for šarrum-names. About three quarters of all writings of lugal-names designated as having to do with protection of the individual, the city, or the country as a whole are attested during this time. About 40% of names belonging to category (3.1.6), relating to the cult or deities, are attested either for the first time or exclusively in ED IIIb.

5.1.4 ES-LS

61% of the writings of lugal-names found in the Sargonic period are exclusive to this period, or they appear in texts which could possibly belong in the preceding period (ED IIIb-ES). Among names dealing with insignia of power (3.1.1.3), other than headdresses, the Sargonic period has the first occurrences of names composed with terms for different types of robes, lugal-tug₂-maḫ and lugal-suluḫ₂. Names featuring headdresses, men and aga, on the other hand, all but disappear during this period. In category (3.1.3.3), connecting the lugal to functions of protecting the country, names mentioning the chariot ḫīššigir₂ of the lugal appear all of a sudden; their distribution seems limited to Umma and Girsu. Writings mentioning the lugal as providing for the needs of the individual, (3.1.4.1), grow in number. Names dealing with the lugal in relation to the cult or deities (3.1.6) experience a downturn during Sargonic times. Only a quarter of all names devoted to this theme are attested during this period. But some new names during this period are worth noticing. For instance lugal-bur, lugal-banšur-e, and names mentioning nidba-offerings, are all seen for the first time, and they are to some extent paralleled by passages in administrative contexts. Names connecting the lugal to sacred loci, sanctuaries and installations (3.1.6.4) tend to focus more on specific locations, such as named cities or temples, rather than on generic place terms. Names praising the lugal as heroic and apt for battle (3.1.7.4) drop in number and are only rarely attested during this period as compared to their relative popularity earlier on. The number of references to light, brilliance and visual phenomena (3.1.7.10)
increase, both with regards to attested writings and to the number of bearers; names bearing on the Moon God, e.g. lugal-iti-da, and variants, seem especially popular during this time and continued to be so in Ur III times. The $\textit{sarrum}$-names become much more variegated than in earlier times.

5.2 Diachronic perspectives

To attempt a survey of how common a certain appellative was in local or regional name-giving is perilous and the pitfalls are many. The following sections can only be regarded as first steps in such a direction. First, an attempt will be made to outline the possibilities of obtaining a fairly reliable estimate on the demographic composition during the 3rd millennium of cities which have produced archival material. To this will be added a few notes on how certain foreign influences in the material can be identified and explained, and on how the gender of people appearing in the written documentation may influence the results.

5.2.1 Demographics

An article published in 1982 by B. R. Foster bearing on the question of “Ethnicity and Onomastics” in Sargonic Mesopotamia contains the hitherto only attempt at establishing figures for the relative sizes of Sumerian- and Akkadian-speaking populations for any given period in third millennium Mesopotamia.1397 Foster first went about assigning texts from around a dozen sites to archives of a general area, of individual cities, or to archival dossiers from specific sites.1398 He devised four different categories, based on linguistic or formal criteria, which he used for classifying the onomastic material: Sumerian, Akkadian, reduplicated and unassigned names. Foster then set out to count individuals.

Each name appearing in an archival record is counted by Foster as one occurrence, thereby as one individual. In the short run this would appear to be slightly more problematic than indicated by Foster. Some persons appear frequently in the same archive, some are mentioned in more than one archive, and the same individual may appear in the same archive under two similar, but differently written names, as known from ED archives. Foster

1397 B. R. Foster, OrNS 51 (1982), 297–354. Previous to that, R. D. Biggs had published an article on Semitic names in ED IIIa Abū Ṣalāḇīḫ. Biggs looked at colophons of literary and lexical texts and found that individuals with Sumerian names were about as common as such bearing Semitic names. This, however, only goes to prove that the works documented by the tablets had undergone a long chain of tradition, and the people mentioned in the colophons may have been active also outside of Abū Ṣalāḇīḫ.

1398 Specifics on the the individual sites are found ibid., 300f.
made the assumption that, provided that the material for both Sumerian and Akkadian names is large enough, persons with Sumerian and Akkadian names are equally likely to turn up more than once in the records. A levelling effect might be thus be expected. This would make the total number of attestations stand in relation to the number of individual name-bearers and hence give a reasonably fair image of the composition of the time and the society in which the archive was placed.

A point worthy of notice is that, as Foster pointed out, families where more than one language was used in name-giving appear to have been quite rare. This could be taken as evidence for names as representative of the language spoken by an individual. Unfortunately, the linguistic identity of a mother in relation to her children often remains unknown. When a parent is mentioned in notes on filiation, it is practically always the father.

The unexpectedly high number of individuals with Akkadian names found in the “Umma C” archive – really a group of archives from CS Umma – begs an explanation. Looking at the types of texts in which Akkadian names abound, it becomes clear that about 75% of the Akkadian names from Umma C are culled from texts recording the disbursements of bread and beer. That is, people who received their subsistence from the state, as opposed to rations such as flour. These people were hardly firmly rooted in the Umma area. Persons with Sumerian names are very often qualified as the son of so-and-so, or as performing some specific administrative function; this is only exceptionally the case with persons bearing Akkadian names.

5.2.2 Distribution of appellatives

However tentative, a brief look at the relative distribution of some key appellatives in Sumerian name-giving may be instructive. The results of the following, very brief survey, are not absolute in any way, but depend on the types of texts represented in the archives. The present investigation has attempted to display the wealth of names which contain the appellatives lugal and šarrum. In discussing these, other appellatives too have sometimes offered parallels or have supplied variants supporting a reading or a certain

1399 Ibid., 303. Out of 10000+ individual attestations, Foster points to less than ten instances of family members with both Sumerian and Akkadian names. As far as the evidence goes, all these persons appear to be male. Partial or true bilingualism, adoption or intermarriage between spouses with different linguistic backgrounds are possible explanations. Too little is known about all these factors during this period at any rate. F. R. Kraus’ points on the text CT 32 pl. 7–8 (BM 22460, reedited as OIP 104 37), Sumener und Akkader, 84f., are of interest in this connection. Most of his observations on this text remain valid, but correct the sequence in o. iii’ 4–5, i-šar-il i₃-ḫal ur- UM.AN, to: i-šar-il, taš₂-tup-AN.AN, and see in this latter, based on the verbal prefix /ta/, the name of a sister of the former.
1400 See index of names appearing in Umma C, ibid., 323–354.
1401 About 260 out of 350 attestations, using Foster’s model of calculation.
interpretation. Separate investigations of these other appellatives, along with theophore names, however crucial for a full picture, are not possible within the limits of this work.

Foster’s study, outlined above, sought to give an estimate of the comparative sizes of linguistic groups in Sargonic Mesopotamian archives. The following is a schematic overview of name forms appearing in different cities. No attempt has been made to distinguish between different archives published together. It is merely meant to indicate the relative wealth of a few of the most commonly encountered appellatives, with a semantic range close to those surveyed in this thesis, found within the same onomastic tradition.

Fig. 16: Relative frequency of appellatives en, lugal, nin in Sumerian names, and of ba’ lum, and šar(rum) in Akkadian names.

Fig. 16 lists in the left column the periods and places which have supplied the information noted in the rest of the table. The numbers refer to attested numbers of forms of names, and not to the number of name-bearers. Hence, lugal-šu-luḫ-ku₃-An-na is given as much weight as ur⁻⁴En-lil₂. Similarly, en-lu₁ and en-lu₂-sa₋⁻⁶-ga are counted once each even though they refer to the same person. Even though Akkadian names are few in number in southern archives, they have been noted wherever applicable. The percentages of Akkadian names are only noted when the total number of names attested exceed 30. The figures and percentages are rounded.¹⁴⁰²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period/Place</th>
<th>Sum.</th>
<th>en</th>
<th>lugal</th>
<th>nin</th>
<th>Akk.</th>
<th>ba’ lum</th>
<th>šar(rum)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ED I–IIIa Ur</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ED IIIa Suruppag</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3,5%</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4,5%</td>
<td>4,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ED IIIb Girsu</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>4,5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ED IIIb-ES Adab</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
<td>18,5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ED IIIb-MS Ur</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ED IIIb-MS Nippur</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>11,5%</td>
<td>8,5%</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. MS Adab</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>13,5%</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. MS-CS Adab</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0,5%</td>
<td>0%–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. CS Adab</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>14,5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8,5%</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. CS Girsu</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>3,5%</td>
<td>12,5%</td>
<td>0,5%</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. CS Mesag</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14,5%</td>
<td>0%–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. CS Nippur</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4,5%</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ur III Sumer</td>
<td>3950</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
<td>9,5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average ED I–Ur III</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10,5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6,5%</td>
<td>1,5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can easily be seen from the numbers in Fig. 16, lugal is almost consistently more common than en and nin throughout the parts of Sumer inspected. This, even in archives and specific periods in which the sources include many female names, such as ED IIIb-MS Nippur and the Ur III period. M. W. Green drew attention to the fact that at ED I-II Uruk, en may be seen to have filled the same function as lugal in contemporary names at Ur, though the selection is fairly limited. A measure of local variation in earlier times must be considered, and the general lack of sources from ED I-II and the remainder of the 3rd millennium means that the picture is incomplete. But given the consistency in numbers from ED I-II Ur and ED IIIa Šuruppak, it can be seen that at least outside Uruk, lugal-names were twice as common as en-names.

F. R. Kraus stated that by the ED IIIa, lugal had come to supplant en both in the human and in the divine onomasticon. Furthermore, he meant that theonyms composed with en had stopped being invented around the time of the Šuruppak texts while many theonyms composed with lugal were later products. If comparing Kraus’ observations to the percentages in Fig. 16, it may be argued that concerning the human onomasticon, this process had been underway since the ED I-II period, at least judging by the onomasticon of Ur. E. Burrows made a similar observation regarding ama-names of ED I-II Ur, which would be outnumbered by names composed with nin as time progressed. Burrows also pointed to close parallels between early ama-names and contemporary lugal-names, and noted that ama-names outnumbered lugal-names 60:40.

In ED IIIb to CS Girsu the percentage of names containing the relevant titles appears to be fairly consistent. Only the names composed with nin exhibit a drastic drop in numbers. This is due to the different archival scopes of the ED IIIb Bau temple administration and the civic archive of CS times. That names with en in Girsu sources should be so common compared to most other cities in the region could either have to do with its usage as a term for deceased royalty, or with a widespread usage of that word as an epithet for leading gods in the local pantheon. Outside of Girsu the names

be expected given the publication of new texts and collations of texts used by Limet in his study. This increase would only marginally influence the percentages of these names in relation to the onomasticon as a whole.

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1403 Za 72 (1982), 165.
1404 F. R. Kraus, JCS 3 (1951), 66, followed by D. O. Edzard, CRRA 19, 143. Kraus’ low count for the lugal-names is due to the fact that the sections containing these names fall in some of the more damaged parts of SF 1, and that he used only Deimel’s index of SF 1. For estimates on the original line count, and on the number of lugal-, en-, and nin-names contained therein, see M. Krebernik’s remarks, ZA 76 (1986), 163; and compare P. Mander, Pantheon, 117.
1405 UET 2, 5, 20. See also W. W. Hallo, Titles, 29f.; R. A. di Vito, StPohl SM 16, 88f.
1406 UET 2, 20f.
composed with en relatively steadily lose ground compared to names composed with lugal and nin. It is conceivable that this decrease is connected with a growing association of that appellative with the title of the religious official en. Adab might be an exception, but the increase is probably within a margin of error and so developments in the Adab onomasticon could bear closer scrutiny. The comparatively high number for nin-names in ED IIIb-MS Nippur is influenced by an ES-MS tablet of considerable size which lists hundreds of female dependents. This tablet alone accounts for more than half the nin-names encountered in published texts from Nippur before the CS period.

Although the numbers above are rough estimates and only show the distribution of appellatives among groups of people who were documented using their names, the picture that presents itself is still valuable for assessing roughly how common these epithets were in the population at large. The archives used presumably present a cross-section of both urban and rural settlements during the time periods in question.

5.2.3 Brief overview of parallel formations

Throughout the survey comparative materials have been drawn into discussions. It has been seen that lugal-names have close parallels in names construed with other appellatives. Both nin and en feature prominently, as do certain theonyms and proper names of Ur III rulers. A brief digression into the five most commonly encountered lugal-names along with extant, exact parallels, might be illustrative. All names were borne by 20 or more persons.

**lugal-ezem** (a>40) ‘the lugal … the festival’
The closest direct parallel is e₂-ezem from ED IIIa Šuruppag, which is probably an abbreviation of e₂-ezem-du₁₀. The single writing lu₂-ezem, also at Šuruppag, might be an abbreviation or defective writing of lugal-ezem. Names composed with ezem suffer a drastic reduction in number during the Sargonic period but regain popularity during the Ur III period.

**lugal-iti-da** (a>35) ‘the lugal is (reborn each) month’
The name has only one parallel, e₂-iti-da, attested once at ED IIIb Nippur.

**lugal-KA** (a>25) *abbreviation*
The name is clearly an abbreviation; the comparable names nin-KA and e₂-KA are known. Neither is found anywhere near as often as lugal-KA. The sign KA in most cases probably represents inim or du₁₁.

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1407 With a few new volumes of Adab texts published in the CUSAS series, an in-depth study of Adab name-giving practice promises to deliver interesting results. See more on the published Adab archives and texts, above, p. 29f.
1408 OSP 1 23. Without the 47 names appearing only in this text, the nin-names would have made up about 3.5% of the total Sumerian onomasticon.
1410 So with the editors of *FTUM* 37, note to r. i 1.
1411 OSP 1 25 “v” 7.
lugal-ša₃ (a>27) abbreviation
As with the preceding name, the comparable names found in contemporary sources are composed with nin and e₂, but neither is as commonly attested as lugal-ša₃.1413
Most lugal-names featuring the noun ša₃ have it following directly upon the appellative, apart from lugal-zi-ša₃-ĝal₂.1414

lugal-ni₃-zu (a=20) ‘the lugal knows (every)thing’
The parallel nin-ni₃-zu is limited to the Nippur-Adab-Isin area.1415

lugal-ĝiš (a=20) abbreviation
Parallel e₂-ĝiš is found at Sargonic Adab, Mesag, Nippur and Umma;1416 nin-ĝiš is found at Sargonic Adab and Nippur.1417

It will be readily noticeable from this very brief list, that where parallels to lugal-names exist, the nouns which most often occupy the same position as lugal are e₂ and nin. The same situation applies when enlarging the list to encompass the 30 most commonly attested lugal-names. The two most common lugal-names both deal with aspects of time. The festival, ezem, represents a recurring celebration marking specific points of the year; and the year was divided into lunar calendar months, iti. A connection with the time of birth is possible for both these names, and at least lugal-iti-da is very likely to refer to the Moon God Nanna or Su’en.

5.2.4 Northern lugal-names
lugal-names are attested in a wide sweep from Ebla in the far northwest to Susa in the southeast. The same holds true for šarrum-names. At Ebla, the names of many foreigners to the city are recorded, but also, a trove of scholastic material has been documented. Only in the scholastic material does the sign LUGAL appear to represent Sumerian lugal.1418 Otherwise, in PNN, it is used as a logographic writing here taken to represent šar(rum).1419
In economic contexts, Sumerian names composed with lugal are written nu-gal, as for instance in the names of singers travelling to Ebla by way of Mari, but perhaps also residents of Mari. Maria Tonietti considered them as possible “stage names” adopted by the singers as status markers, which is not at all impossible.1420 On the other hand, she also mentions a passage in which a woman from Adab who received a payment in silver is noted as the

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1412 For nin-KA, see, e.g. TCVB1 1-34 o. i 6; r. i 1 (ED IIIb Umma-Zabala); for e₂-KA, see CUSAS 11 186 o. iv 6 (ED IIIb-ES Adab).
1413 For e₂-ša₃, see W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, Gs Diakonoff, 185–231 no. 5 o. 4; for nin-ša₃, see, e.g. CT 50 106 r. i 17 (CS Girsu).
1414 See above, table 4.3.
1415 E.g. OSP 1 23 o. viii 12 (ES-MS Nippur).
1416 E.g. USP 19 o. 5 (CS Umma).
1417 For e₂-ĝiš, see OSP 2 80 o. ii’ 1 (MS-CS Nippur); for nin-ĝiš, see E.g. in the colophons of ARET 5 20 and 21.
1418 See M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 90; and compare G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 103f. fn. 57.
1419 In Subartu 4/2, 88 and 97.
mother of a junior singer, who would in his turn also originally be from Adab.  

The writing nu-gal is found elsewhere also, but always as a single-component name, which does not add significantly to the understanding of the appellative and its reception outside of the Sumerian linguistic area.  

Apart from the names of Mari singers, sites located north of Kiš have yielded about ten lugal-names. A few additional Sargonic period lugal-names from northern areas are unfortunately damaged, hindering insight into which types of lugal-names were in use there. Apart from this, some texts are of uncertain, but northern, provenience. The legible names are:

ED IIIa: ar₃-du₂:lugal, (commemorative inscription), Tell Ağrab
ED IIIb: lugal-kisal-si (commemorative inscription), Ešnuna; lugal-UD (commemorative inscription), Mari; lugal-₃En-lil₂ (adm.), Akšak
ES: lugal-ku-li, Akkade (MO)
CS: lugal-ezem (adm.), lugal-An-ne₂ (scholastic) Ešnuna;
lugal-a₂ (adm.), Tutub; lugal-ni₃-lu-lu-a, Mugdan (scholastic)

Only the first of the names above is unique; the last represents a variant of a known type. The name lugal-ku-li, found in Maništāšu’s Obelisk, is attested for the first time there, but appears later in the south also. Those two that appear in everyday economic documents are nothing out of the ordinary. The Mari-name lugal-UD, need not have belonged to a person from that city, but others carrying lugal-names were, as was seen above, connected with Mari in one way or another. In Kiš, consistent with an increase in Semitic names, the number of lugal-names diminishes as time progresses. Before the Sargonic period lugal-names found there accorded with those found in the southern cities. At Abū Šalābih, a bit further to the south, only two of the lugal-names encountered come from everyday documents, inim-lugal-da, and lugal-šu-ĝal₂; the rest are either entries in scholastic texts of different kinds or appear in colophons. The material is quite small and does not really allow for anything but broad generalizations, but for a large part, the northern material does not display a unique tradition concerning lugal-names. With all likelihood, it depended on onomastic developments in centers further south.

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1421 Ibid., 84 ex. [5] (TM.75.G.2429 o. xx 4–12).
1422 MO C xiv' 8, xvii' 29 (ES, name of an ancestor of people from Marad); HSS 10 158 r. i 5 (CS Gasur). In CT 50 183 o. i 4 (CS Girsu), reconstruct [ur]-₃Ma-nu-gal, and compare e₂-Ma-nu-gal, IAS 61 o. x 15 (NPL), and ur-₃Ma-nu-gal, TCABI 151 o. 7; 170 r. 1.
1423 So OIP 104 41 o. ix 3’ (lugal-[x-x], ES Sippur?); HSS 10 169 o. 8 (lugal-m[a]s-su₂ ?, CS Gasur); CT 44 48 r. 8 (lugal-[x]-da, CS Sippur?). The PN lugal-ĝiš appears four times in MVN 3 29 (ES-MS), of unknown, northern provenience.
1424 See discussion by M. V. Tonietti, Subartu 4/2, 95.
5.3 Diachronic developments

The Sumerian onomasticon of ED I-II is for the largest part structurally comparable with the earliest attested Akkadian onomasticon, though they differ with respect to semantic content. Akkadian names are far more preoccupied with the arrival of the child into the family while Sumerian names focus on societal and religious aspects of existence. A significant number of names consist of two-element nominal phrases (aja₂-ul₄-gal), adjectival phrases (amar-du₁₀), or passive participles (mes-pa₃-da). Constructions that can be identified as containing an active participle feature direct objects, and here is where Sumerian names begin to exhibit more complex patterns than ED III Akkadian names. Also, the double noun genitival constructions (amar-ezem), lack any substantial distribution in the earliest Akkadian onomasticon; ka₃-la-ab-E₂-a in the Māništēšu Obelisk is a calque of the common Sumerian name type. Furthermore, Sumerian names featuring dimensional markers (Nanna-gin₁₇-du₁₀) are found already by the ED I-II, although in the beginning they are rare. These correspond to a few ED IIIb Akkadian names containing prepositional phrases (e.g. ma-ki-be-li₂).

With the above points in mind, it is relevant to note that lugal-names conform structurally to the rest of the Sumerian onomasticon. Extant in about 40 names from ED I-II Ur, lugal-names are less common than names containing the appellatives aja₂, ama, amar, and ur. Although many of the names are of a simple structure, they are still difficult to interpret.

The appearance in ED IIIa of names extolling the lugal’s wisdom may be due to the limited material available from ED I-II times, but it may also be that this represents a new focus in the figure of the lugal. The appearance in ED IIIb of a range of names portraying the lugal as a father figure indicate a true development in ideas surrounding the lugal. Names focusing on the lugal as a victorious and heroic figure (e.g. lugal-u₃-ma, lugal-ur-sağ), peak during the ED IIIb and then lose ground.

A stronger focus on the lugal and terms signifying brightness and visual phenomena appearing in the Sargonic period continues to be important throughout the 3rd millennium. It may be linked to the introduction of a new set of ideas which were accessible across great layers of society, or to the popularization of an already existing set of ideas.

Although the appellative ba’lum often can be used to supply comparisons for šarrum-names, the former could be, and was, used to express distinctive, social connections between the speaker of the name and the world around

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1425 See discussion above, p. 64–66, section 2.3.2.
1426 OIP 104 40 B xi 4.
1427 CT 7 pl. 4 (BM 22451) 1.
her or him. This was easily done by adding the poss. pron. -ī (or -ni, -na) to the word stem: baʾli. The šarrum-names of this type are rare in the Sargonic onomasticon and continue to be so. In this respect, the appellative sarrum behaves more like theonyms, in that these were seldom provided with pronominal suffixes; an exception was the name of the Akkadian Sun God Šamaš.

5.4 Semantic differences

This chapter has demonstrated ways in which Sumerian and Akkadian names revolving around a comparable subject differ from each other. A name-giving tradition developing in close association with the languages spoken by their users will be deeply indebted to both concepts and formulae extant in their respective languages. Sometimes similarities may be masked by seeming divergent terminology or imagery, and conversely, sometimes related terms or symbolism may overshadow deep-seated differences in semantic associations. But by definition, such considerations only come into play when Sumerian and Akkadian names bear strong resemblances in wording and are syntactically comparable. This is more likely to happen in simple nominal clause names than in structurally more complex names, as the latter type is less common in the Akkadian onomasticon at this point in time. A few points will illustrate some fundamental differences.

Akkadian šarrum-names lack reference to symbolic attributes of power, whereas these were quite popular in lugal-names. Also, these emblems might be conceived of as related to the exercise of kingship or power over the land and its inhabitants. The qualities and benefits of the land having an overlord is taken for granted in lugal-names, but has to be made explicit in the Akkadian names which request allegiance to and faith in the šarrum (šarrīš-takal), as well as faith in and reverence to the gods. See, for instance, Illīš-takal and Ilak-nuʾʾid. A link here exists to the royal ideological traits which make subjects responsible to the king personally rather than to an office. This confirms a suspicion that Sumerian names were linked to age-old, but constantly developing, ideas about the place of man in the world. Such generally held conceptions may indeed have existed amongst Akkadian-speaking societies, but they are harder to identify – in the onomastic material at least.

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1428 See discussion of names above, p. 191, section 3.2.1.1. Only one name dating to the Sargonic period features a 1st person pronominal suffix, i-šar-šar-ri₂; the rest are of ED date.
1429 E.g. be-li₂-ša₂-Utuš, MAD I 109 o. 3’ (translit. only, MS-CS Ešnuna).
1430 See discussion on deities appearing in ED and Sargonic seals with boat motifs above, section 3.1.5.3, p. 135f.; and further, section 2.3.3.2, p. 69.
Akkadian names also generally lack reference to the positive relations between a leader and his city or cities, otherwise a rather productive motif in Sumerian names, and not only those featuring lugal as appellative. The understanding of šarru-ālšin as ‘the šarrum is their city,’ would not imply a special relationship to towns or cities, but would rather serve to illustrate the protective qualities of the šarrum, on a par with other names using for instance bad₃/dūrum, as a nominal predicate, types which are at any rate known also in Sumerian.

The overt associations between the šarrum and cultic, or religious matters in a broad sense, are much less common than is the case with lugal-names. But in some cases, personal markers as personal prefixes or pronominal suffixes might hide a specific deity, for example in the name Tūtaʾ-šar-libbīš, which perhaps refers to a goddess.

While there are some points in common between the gods mentioned in lugal- and šarrum-names, the difference most often lies in the relation between the appellative and the divinity. As has been said, šar occurs as a nominal predicate in Akkadian names; hence they give a good indication as to the identity of šarrum when used as a divine epithet. In section 4.1, above, the Akkadian divinities qualified as šar(um) were displayed in tabulary form: Adad, Ea, 'Ilum and Su’en were all honored as kings in the onomasticon. Šamaš featured specifically in a comparison with the king, similar to a Sumerian construction with Utu. In Sumerian names before the Ur III period the identity of the divine lugal was never so explicitly stated. But still, some of these deities in their Sumerian guises are likely to have been intended as the referents of lugal-names.

5.5 Semantic similarities

It is clear that while the šarrum was not as central a figure in the Akkadian name-giving tradition as lugal was in the Sumerian, a considerable overlap between the two figures can be seen. From the known ED writings featuring the logogram LUGAL or the sign SAR, šarrum-names fall mainly into three categories: the first has šar(um) as a nominal predicate qualifying a deity; the second combines the šarrum with qualities of a potentially threatening nature (šarru-GAR₃, šarru-paluḫ); and the third with protection in general. Only the second and third categories were ever in common use in the Sumerian onomasticon. And while threatening qualities of the lugal may be seen as directed outwards, the Akkadian formations do not supply any further information.

The comparison with a father-figure is found with both appellatives, as are names which ascribe the fortunes of an individual to the lugal or šarrum, often marking this relationship through the addition of a possessive suffix to the noun ‘god.’
The symbolic association of the lugal with large felines is also found in Akkadian names (lugal-pirig, lugal-nemur; šarru-lāba; lugal-na-iš) as is the comparison with the god Utu/Šamaš. While the former remain a bit shady as to their symbolic import, the comparison with Utu/Šamaš is likely to deal with the dispensing of justice in the land and the general reliability of the referent, as is also made apparent by other names (e.g. lugal-si-sā₂; šarru-yīšar; lugal-di-de₂). Sumerian names formed with the adjectives gi and zi, and Akkadian names formed with kēnum, also bear on this same idea. These adjectives were also commonplace in the onomastica in general.

Wisdom, strength and kindness are further traits which are associated with both the lugal and the šarrum.

5.6 Comparison with Ur III kyriophore names

When comparing ED and Sargonic lugal-names with Ur III kyriophores in Akkadian, which have the advantage of being clear as to their referent, it is useful to call to mind M. Hilgert’s conclusions on the latter. Hilgert proposed three main semantic categories which could account for statements in kyriophore Ur III names: the connection between the ruler and the divine sphere; the ruler and the ruled; and the ruler and dominion. All three categories have their correspondence in one or more categories devised for the present study. Hilgert noted that the most eye-catching innovations in structure of such names occurred during the reign of Šu-Šu’en; innovations which allowed for more detailed information on ideological matters to be conveyed by the names. He also proposed a correlation with a conscious strategy by the latter king to proclaim his greatness already at the beginning of his reign. If Hilgert’s interpretation should prove correct, kyriophore names during this period were finely tuned to changes in contemporary royal ideology.

While this is not the place for discussing Ur III kyriophores in-depth, a few points are worthy of notice. In both Sumerian and Akkadian kyriophores, those construed with Šulgi are the most common. In his names, the association of the king of Ur with other divinities are rare. Such connections become more common only with Amar-Su’en, at least where Sumerian names are concerned. During Šu-Su’en’s times they are even more plentiful, but by then, kyriophores in Akkadian had become more common than those in Sumerian. As for the relation to earlier traditions, the Sumerian and Akkadian kyriophores composed with Šulgi’s name form the closest parallels to ED and Sargonic lugal- and šarrum-names alike. A closer

1432 See above, p. 16.
1433 M. Hilgert, JBVO 5, 66–70.
investigation would no doubt shed further light on this matter, and the materials for comparison are of the most fruitful kind, as it includes both monumental and hymnic sources. On top of this, there is an overabundance of parallels to be drawn from year names, names of locations, and other types of personal names from texts which are often datable, down to a certain king’s regnal year.
6. lugal- and šarrum-names in their historical and cultural settings

Sumerian and Akkadian names incorporating the royal titles lugal and šarrum are clearly part of the living onomastic traditions. They exhibit expected changes over time and orthographic variations consistent with a great geographical and temporal spread. In many cases, comparable names featuring other appellatives are known; but in a surprisingly large number of cases, no such parallels are so far attested. Thus, while lugal- and šarrum-names were part of the onomastic traditions, they both formed subgroups in that larger stream of tradition, with unique and specialized functions. The present chapter is an attempt to put these names in the larger perspective of the times in which they saw use.

6.1 The historical setting

Studies of the political history of the 3rd millennium owe a great deal to Thorkild Jacobsen who in a seminal article characterized the burgeoning Mesopotamian city-states as autocracies. The principle was “the concentration of political power in as few hands as possible.” He describes the political developments of the 3rd millennium as if inescapably plummeting toward the centralization of all power in the hands of one individual. In reality, any person making claims to singular hegemony over larger areas of land encompassing several originally independent state formations could do so only by emphasizing a set of ideas common to the area to which he laid claim. This set of ideas formed the basis of royal ideology, which remains unclear in many details. However, enough remains in royal inscriptions and literary texts to enable a hazy picture of what these commonly accepted ideas may have entailed. The lugal, Jacobsen argued in a follow-up to the former article.

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1434 JNES 2 (1943), 159–172.
1435 T. Jacobsen, JNES 2 (1943), 159f.
1436 ZA 52 (1957), 91–140.
was chosen for his skill in warfare and physical endurance. He was therefore typically a young man – usually he still lived at home under parental authority – and of noble family; his father was generally a rich landowner on whose servants and retainers the son could draw for followers on his military ventures.\textsuperscript{1437}

Parts of this description of the human king is recognizable both in onomastic sources and royal inscriptions. Descriptions of the lugal as vigorous and skilled in warfare are to be expected as both names and commemorative inscriptions were intended to give vent to an ideal view of the world. But in particular, Jacobsen’s descriptions of the lugal as a young man, and at that, one living with his parents, find little support in any way, shape or form. The lugal is rather, beginning in the ED III, sometimes described as a fatherly figure, hardly in keeping with the idea of a young man in a modern sense, but more often just characterized as an independent man.\textsuperscript{1438} No material evidence exists to support his idea that a lugal, or an ensi\textsubscript{2}, lived in his father’s house; though it must be stated that the hereditary principles of these high offices are not perfectly understood, and that most reigns of pre–Ur III rulers are estimates.

Jacobsen describes the origins of the types of leadership embodied by the en and the lugal as temporary, and ad-hoc solutions to specific situations; in the case of the en situations demanding administrative leadership or the restoration of law and order (‘‘organizer’’); in the case of the lugal a situation where a threat from outside had arisen (‘‘war-leader’’).\textsuperscript{1439} Besides the literary texts Jacobsen draws on for evidence, little survives from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} (or 4\textsuperscript{th}) millennium to confirm Jacobsen’s views.\textsuperscript{1440} But there is indeed an account of a single instance in which a lugal is chosen by an assembly, dating to Classic Sargonic times. That this matter of course was not or was no longer common practice may be seen from the name given to or taken by this lugal: \textit{Ipḫur-Kiš ‘Kiš assembled,’} a programmatic name known only from the inscriptions of his enemy \textit{Narām-Su’en}.\textsuperscript{1441} Though councils, elders, and city-elders are attested, not much is known about them in the early

\textsuperscript{1437} T. Jacobsen, \textit{ZA} 52 (1957), 103.
\textsuperscript{1438} Or so I interpret names including the appellatives lu\textsubscript{2} and nītah\textsubscript{31} (zi).
\textsuperscript{1439} T. Jacobsen, \textit{ZA} 52 (1957), 103; and compare also ibid. \textit{JNES} 2 (1943), 169f. For a criticism of this stance, see G. J. Selz, \textit{Fs Römer}, 291 w. fn. 40.
\textsuperscript{1440} A single ED IIIb text from Ur mentions the delivery by the lugal of [x number of animals] to an uḡken:gal. It is not certain from the text itself or from the dossier to which it belongs whether this latter represents a person, an office or an institution. The text was published and discussed by G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, \textit{Kaskal} 2 (2005), 60, no. 9, and p. 64.
\textsuperscript{1441} As noted by A. Westenholz, \textit{Six City-State Cultures}, 38. On the career of this person and the circumstances under which he was elevated to the throne of Kiš, see ibid., \textit{Annäherungen} 3, 51–55.
The paucity of sources attesting to an initial choice of a leader to address a given state of emergency is perhaps only to be expected. With time the royal inscriptions described the selection as lying in the hands of higher authorities: the divine leaders of the local and regional pantheons.

Elements of this selection can be seen already earlier, in names such as lugal-inim-ma-ṣe₃-ga ‘the lugal is one instructed (by DN),’ and lugal-ṣa₃-pa₃-da ‘the lugal is one chosen in the heart (of DN)’ which profess divine acceptance and privilege.

This attachment to religious structures was not limited to a language of power. Evidence for the lugal interacting with the socially and economically important temple institutions in urban centers abound. So much in fact, that G. J. Selz proposed to see lordship on the Sumerian end of the floodplain as bureaucratic-sacred: with firm roots in the administrative organization of the southern urban milieu. He contrasted this with a cultural tradition of the Semitic-speaking areas to the north, whose leadership style he termed dynastic-charismatic. These different ideological strategies Selz ascribed to the different types of demands put on human societies in the south versus the north. And speaking specifically about nam-lugal, A. Westenholz characterized Sumerian lordship from at least 2500 BCE to be of a religious rather than a political nature. In his opinion, the lugal acted as a chairman of a league of interconnected city-states; as a caretaker of religious ceremonies to the benefit of all those involved. The lugal was not primarily a political leader, although his arbitrations sometimes had real political repercussions, since he both served as arbiter in disputes between cities and as a military leader. At the top of the political hierarchies in the Sumerian city-states were the city-governors, ensi₂, whose roles overlapped with that of the lugal only in the state of Lagaš. Westenholz saw the religious tone of the lugal-names, and the practical lack of names formed with ensi₂, as supporting this view.

6.2 ED I-II (c. 2900–2700 BCE)

In the archaic Ur texts, the title lugal was used about one of a number of professionals involved in managing the comprehensive assets of urban institutions. However, the title does not appear in any of the known Uruk...
and ED period scholastic lists enumerating public offices, nor in lists of cultic professionals. The simplest etymological analysis of the title itself indicates that the one bearing the title was a man (lu₂), and that he was “large” (gal), i.e. prominent; more precisely a man who exercised control over others who under different circumstances could have been eligible to fill his position themselves. Whether this position was hereditary to begin with depends on where it originated. If the original sense was that of ‘owner,’ it would have been carried by the head of a private household and quite naturally passed down to the next generation, or to a younger brother. In the least it would have remained within the same nuclear or extended family grouping. If on the other hand, the title originated outside the family, in the context of a bureaucratic environment, nam-lugal would not necessarily have been hereditary, or even an appointment held for life.

Much of the resources in local societies of the dawning 3rd millennium BCE ought to have been tied up in landed property, livestock and their surplus yields, and in material and human assets supervised by large urban institutions. City-state formations consisted of a conglomerate of large estates and institutions. Institutions may be divided into private estates and communal households. The former were governed by representatives of autochthonous families; the latter by bureaucratic and cultic specialists, or by other types of leaders who either inherited their position or were empowered by some form of popular assembly. But then again, the name lugal-pa₃ does in itself indicate that the lugal was regarded as chosen, presumably not by peers, but by higher powers, if the meaning of the predicate in ED I-II is in keeping with later usage of the verb pa₃. Temples belonged to the latter category and were ideally seen as owned by their main inhabitant; and by extension, the owner of the temple also exercised lordship over all available resources within the borders of the city or city-state. Thus, during this time or perhaps already during the end of the Uruk period, the title lugal was transferred to male divinities of local significance, and this surfaced also in personal names, as is shown by a few examples from ED I-II Ur.

The very earliest occurrences of lugal are in the form of a PN, where lugal appears to be unqualified, and so they are not very helpful in ascertaining the earliest history of the appellative.

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1447 The question as to who owned the land and animals that were administered by different institutions is a complex one. For a brief overview of the problem, with a number of references, see B. R. Foster, CRRA 41, 1–10, especially p. 3.

1448 Compare, for instance, the occurrence of a temple functionary, dam ³Nānšē, being selected by means of omen, CIRPL Urn. 24 3i 3–6 ur-nimin, dam, ³Nānšē, maš be₂-pa₃.

1449 See, e.g. the repeated references to lugal in the sense of owner of temples, TH 176, 218, 256, 431, 440, 445, 454, 491.

1450 See discussions of the ED I-II names lugal-su₃PA.SIKIL-nam-tar, and lugal-u₄-su₃-o₃-gi₃.

1451 See above, p. 58f. w. fn. 282.
Society appears to have been highly stratified. The accumulation of surplus wealth and resources combined with craft and academic specializations, and the rights to utilize these, led to the forming of urban elites. The lugal appears as a member of these elites, but he is not markedly set apart from other high officials at this point. In depictions of the time there are no specifically royal distinguishing markers.\(^\text{1452}\) A few names which may refer to him in his official role are known from Ur and Uruk.\(^\text{1453}\) The symbolism behind these names indicate a responsibility of caretaker or provider for subordinates, who were portrayed as animal young.

6.3 ED IIIa (c. 2700–2550 BCE)

During this period, historical sources in the form of commemorative inscriptions begin to supplement administrative records. The area stretching along the river Euphrates, from eastern Syria down to the southernmost end of the floodplain was a political hotspot of formidable proportions, with a handful of dynastic seats vying for influence. The area from Nippur and downstream is the one best covered by administrative texts, though nowhere is the picture supplied by these documents comprehensive enough so as to grant a complete image of how a city-state worked, or how political alliances were tied and maintained.

Early inscriptive evidence portrays lugals as taking part in ceremonials. This is witnessed by inscribed shallow bowls (Sum. bur) dedicated by lugals of Kiš. Some were dedicated to temples rather than deities.\(^\text{1454}\) A number of anonymous inscriptions featuring only the name of a temple should perhaps be seen as additional witnesses to this tradition,\(^\text{1455}\) mentioned in the so-called Keš temple hymn,\(^\text{1456}\) and which is echoed by the name lugal-Keš₃ ki, borne by a few individuals from ED IIIb Girsu and Sargonic Adab. The lugal also figures as builder of temples in inscriptions of rulers of local and regional

\(^{1452}\) G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 213.
\(^{1453}\) See discussions of amar-lugal and maš-lugal; and P. Charvát, ArOr 47 (1979), 18.
\(^{1454}\) See T. Jacobsen apud J. S. Cooper, SARI 1, 15, note to Ad 1. I believe, however, that that particular object should be discounted, since it is dedicated by a local ruler of Adab, and has the “wrong” shape. See also the following note. OIP 14 5 is the best example. Compare also the broken bowls featuring the name of Mebarasi, OIP 53, 147 no. 2 (bowl?), from the ED temple of Su’en in Tutub; who may or may not be identical with the lugal Kiš by that name, who dedicated a bowl in an unknown place, D. O. Edzard, ZA 53 (1959), 9 (IM 30590) w. fn. 1 (unknown provenience, confiscated at Kūt al-Imāra). G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 99 fn. 18, with previous literature, hold the two Mebarasi to be two different persons.
\(^{1455}\) OIP 14 7, 9, 11, 16 (?), 31. The vessel fragments OIP 14 8 and 17 feature inscriptions which set them apart from the former, they are furthermore classified as vases in the catalogue, op. cit., 1.

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significance alike; though building activities were not reserved for royalty alone.\textsuperscript{1457} Names relating the lugal to specific architectural features are unclear as to referent, but the verb du₃, which is the normal verb used in conjunction with building work is not attested along with the appellative lugal in the onomasticon of the time.\textsuperscript{1458} However, the connection of the lugal to the gods as one who provided them with places for dwelling and organized worship is clear beginning in this period. A number of theophore constructs attest to this connection as one which was readily acknowledged by the people.

As a manager of large-scale construction work, the lugal must have had access to or have been in control of a considerable work force which had to be provisioned, at least for the duration of the work. Whether the disbursements were allocated from private or public funds, is not known.\textsuperscript{1459}

Mythical literature of the time was replete with the doings of gods and heroic figures, their relations with one another, and with specific points on the map. The constant reiteration of names of cities and sanctuaries were central concerns of Sumerian religion, which shows in the writings of the learned scribes of the ED IIIa. The lords and kings of the politically more important of these cities were described as if acting alongside, or on behalf of gods who took active part in the mythical events.\textsuperscript{1460} With the same institutions functioning in later times and in the same places, and with the work laid down by previous generations of kings, noble folk, and ordinary citizens visible all across the land, it ought to come as no surprise that the makers and shakers of history were in fact central to the world view of ancient Mesopotamians.\textsuperscript{1461} But so far, the relation to the people and the land is only attested to a moderate degree in contemporary lugal-names.\textsuperscript{1462} Names which focus on the elect position of the lugal begin to appear.\textsuperscript{1463}

\textsuperscript{1457} See the discussion with examples of other officials mentioning building activities in statue inscriptions, G. Marchesi & N. Marchetti, MesCiv 14, 162–164. In a Sargonic text, CUSAS 17 13, the builder also mentions part of the staff with which he supplied the temple.

\textsuperscript{1458} Compare the name of the fictitious ED Adab ruler Lugalanemundu, who entered into the stream of tradition in the early 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium BCE, judging by the look of his name.

\textsuperscript{1459} A later parallel, the construction work on the Enlil temple in Nippur in CS times would indicate that the temple organization provided part of the workers’ diet. The king, on his part, supplied part of the labour force from his dependents. Whether this picture may apply also to much earlier times is of course difficult to know. See, A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 26.

\textsuperscript{1460} I\textit{AS} 247 ii’ 1’–8’: \textit{lugal}ḷ[PA.NU]N Kiš, Kiš-t[a], \textit{lugal}ḷ[PA.NUNO] Adab, Adab-ta, \textit{en}ḷ[GA]L Aratta Aratta-ta, \textit{en}ḷ[GA]L Ki-’en-gi, Ki-en-gi-ta, \textit{En}ḷ[GA\textit{y}]{\textit{k}i\textit{[UNUG]}}, […], “the lugal of Kiš from Kiš, the lugal of Adab from Adab, the en of Aratta (from) Aratta, the en of Kientgi from Kientgi, Enki […]. For the reading see M. Krebernik, \textit{Annäherungen} 1, 242 fn. 60. Cf. P. Michalowski, \textit{JCS} 40 (1988), 161, who prefers to read Aratta as Šuruppak although the en of Šuruppak is never an important figure in ED or later literature; the en of Aratta is.

\textsuperscript{1461} See in general the survey by D. R. Frayne, \textit{JCMS} 4 (2009), 37–75.

\textsuperscript{1462} E.g. lugal-\textit{aja}_₂-\textit{u₃u₃}, \textit{lugal-ṣa₃-kalam}, and perhaps \textit{lugal-ṣa₃-ra-a₃-bad}.

\textsuperscript{1463} E.g. lugal-\textit{ṣa₃-p₃}, reminiscent of later epithets mentioning a deity. Compare also lugal-\textit{Sud}_₂-\textit{ki-a₃g₂}, and later lugal-\textit{Sud}_₂-de₃.
few names point to distinguishing attributes such as a staff or scepter, and a throne dais. And also, a number of names which might bear on the human lugal presuppose that his empowerment came from a superhuman source. The theophore lugal-names composed with the names of An and Enlil prove that he bore the stamp of approval by the most prominent gods in the Sumerian pantheon.

A number of lugal-names are reminiscent of later literary parallels linking them to specific gods. The Moon God Nanna may possibly already be associated with childbirth. Ningirsu of Lagaš is most certainly the referent behind a name which has been found both at Girsu and Umma and which contains traces of ideas surfacing in literary contexts a few hundred years later.

Two large god lists have been found at Šuruppag and Abū Ṣalābīḥ, respectively. They may be taken to illustrate systematic theological traditions of their times and may therefore contain clues as to which deities were most often intended when a lugal-name is most likely to have a divine referent, when that referent was not identical with the tutelary deity of the city-state in which the name was found. The lists contain primarily Sumerian deities, but also a few Akkadian and more foreign gods. The Šuruppag list is the larger of the two, and may originally have contained around 560 individual entries; the Abū Ṣalābīḥ witnesses about 430. Within these lists, some groups are organized according to importance, others according to their geographical origin. Others are listed together based on some specific theological significance, and some groups are defined by having a sign in common. The most important male divinities that have surfaced in discussions earlier in this survey are listed along with their place in the lists:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Šuruppag: SF 1</th>
<th>Abū Ṣalābīḥ: IAS 82</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. An</td>
<td>1. [An]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Enlil</td>
<td>2. [Enlil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Enki</td>
<td>4. ʾEnki¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nanna</td>
<td>5. ʾNanna¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Utu</td>
<td>8. Ningirsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1464 See discussions of lugal-ḏidri-du₄₀ and ʾlugal-bara₂₄-du₄₀. The name lugal-bara₂₄-si was extant already in ED I-II Ur and the association continued in ED IIIa times.
1465 See, e.g. the discussions on lugal-ʿa₂₄-maḥ₂₃, which is known already by ED I-II times; and lugal-ʿa₂₄-tuku.
1466 See discussion of lugal-ʿa₂₄-ki-ʾaḡ₂.
1467 See discussions of lugal-kur-dub₂ and lugal-ma-gal-gal.
1468 SF 1 from Šuruppag and IAS 82–84, 86–90. SF 1 has been treated by M. Krebernik, ZA 76 (1986), 161–204 and also by P. Mander, Pantheon, 77–102 and passim. The latter is in the main dedicated to the study of the Abū Ṣalābīḥ text. Another article focusing on the Abū Ṣalābīḥ list is A. Alberti, StEL 2 (1985), 3–23.
1469 M. Krebernik, ZA 76 (1986), 163. P. Mander, Pantheon, 117 reckons with a total of around 600 lines.
1470 P. Mander, Pantheon, 117f.
It is uncertain when the lists were compiled; if they represent efforts at systematizing an unwieldy pantheon during a time of increased contacts between city-states; or if the cities in which they were found also were the original places of authorship. It is, however, likely that the general organization of the beginning lines reflect the most important gods in the Sumerian pantheon, as perceived there and then. In the Abū Șalāḥī list, Utu must have featured in one of the many damaged lines, for instance in one of the five completely destroyed lines following the tutelary deity of Adab, Ašgi. The same may go for Ninurta, whose presence in l. 81 is mere conjecture. All the deities listed here are ones who figured in discussions above, in Chapter 3, and it is interesting to note the distribution of these deities and the internal differences in order and organization when comparing the lists. The end of the trajectory for some of these gods and their relation to nam-lugal will become a bit more clear in the overview of the next section, which is concerned with the following time period.

6.4 ED IIIb (c. 2550–2335 BCE)

The period ending with the advent of Šarrukēn of Akkade has yielded a wealth of written sources. Economic documentation and commemorative inscriptions complement each other, but the number of published literary works from the southern floodplain is small compared to the ED IIIa. This final phase of the Early Dynastic period is characterized by a complex patchwork of political formations involving a few key players. There are no references to a joint political undertaking similar to the group of cities mentioned in ED IIIa Šuruppag economic and literary sources. Instead, more loosely-knit alliances were formed, sometimes between dynasts, sometimes between royal houses on the one hand and political and religious officials on the other. Only around 2400 BCE are there tendencies toward a regional political construct, which would be pursued with even more political fervour in the following, Sargonic period.

1471 T. Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957), 124–129.
1472 E.g. CIRPL Ent. 45–73, recounting the brotherhood treaty between Enmetena and Lugalkigunšedu. Compare also the discussion of possible dynastic contacts between Ur and Mari, above, p. 115 w. fn. 621.
1473 Such as the ensi₂ of Nippur, the ensi₂ of Adab and the lu₂-maḫ of Uruk, appearing alongside the ereš-diğer of Inana as holders of land in Zabala-texts dating to Lugalzagesi. The latter was, of course, himself a lu₂-maḫ of Nisaba. See discussion of M. Powell, HUCA 49 (1978), 26f.
Influential cities on the south-central floodplain can be divided into three general geo-political areas. The northernmost encompassed Adab, Nippur and Isin. It bordered in the southeast on the sphere of Uruk, to which Ur and Umma also belonged, and who succeeded each other as the politically dominant city of that area. In the southeast lay the Lagaš state with its political capital Girsu. The central one, encompassing Uruk, Ur, and Umma, is the least documented of the three. The demographic picture is one of a diminishing number of smaller settlements and a resulting concentration of the population in larger towns and cities. To some extent onomastic traditions may have followed communication lines. In some cases, lugal-names are exclusive to one of the groups mentioned above, in others, names and orthographic variants appear in neighbouring city-states which are normally not considered to be close-knit politically.

Notable changes in the royal ideology of the times is in part perhaps dependent on an increase in number and length of royal inscriptions. But central concepts which link a lugal or ensi₂ to divinities by selection, rearing or birth, become more and more commonplace in commemorative inscriptions. This corresponds also to a veritable explosion in number and distribution of lugal-names with reference to close relationships between deities and human rulers. The first clear examples of kyriophores referring to incumbent rulers and queens also begin to appear during the ED IIIb and express ideas similar to those formed with appellatives in place of the royal proper names.

Kiš had suffered a loss of importance after the ED IIIa. It became the target of attacks by southern city governors andlugals and there are no indications that they were able to mount successful retaliative strikes. Akšak, a city probably located in the southeast Diyālā area, briefly ascended to a leading position in the northern floodplain but suffered a bitter defeat at the hands of Eanatum of Lagaš, who went on also to strike out against Kiš and other cities in the region, without establishing lasting dominion over them.

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1474 See above, p. 36, for a brief overview.
1475 R. McC. Adams, Heartland of Cities, 160f.
1476 See, e.g. the distribution of lugal-gal-zu, lugal-inim-ĝal₂-la, lugal-la₂, lugal-lu-dadag and lugal-lu₂-dadag, for which the earliest witnesses come from Nippur, Adab, and Isin; and also lugal-nunun-zí, found only at Adab and Isin.
1477 See, e.g. lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃, lugal-eden-ne₂, lugal-he₂-ĝal₂-su₃, lugal-kur-dub₂, lugal-šud₂-du₂, during this period found only in texts from the Lagaš and Umma states. Compare also lugal-ig-gal, lugal-igi-tab and lugal-si-ĝar, all attested during ED IIIb, and later on also in Umma and Adab. The latter three names all deal with protection of the land or the home city.
1479 See generally above, p. 54–56.
1480 Eanatum’s accounts of campaigns undertaken against more northerly situated states sometimes feature listings of states together, adding to the impression of limited military coalitions, especially CIRPL Ean. 2 vi 21–vii 2: Kiš³ Akšak⁴, Ma-ri₂(URU×DIŠ), An-ta-sur-ra,
It was instead the Uruk region, with Ur and Umma as satellites, which was to establish itself as the unifier of the south under one dynasty. Adab and the Lagaš state may have been among the last to succumb to this aspiring regional state. Though the process is most likely to have been gradual, under the reign of Lugalzagesi a state of some significance with contacts to key institutions around Sumer had materialized. And although others before him had used the title lugal kalam-a(k), they had not been in control of as large a state as he.

In his only extant Nippur inscription, Lugalzagesi expresses his standing in relation to the highest deities of the Sumerian pantheon. After the dedication to Enlil, his prime titles and genealogy, he portrays himself as:

\[
\text{igi zi bar-ra, An lugal kur-kur-ra, ensi}_2\text{-gal }^d\text{En-lil}_2, \text{ }^d\text{ĝeštu}_3, \text{ }^d\text{šum}_2\text{-ma }^d\text{En-ki, mu }^d\text{pa}_3\text{-da }^d\text{Utu, sukkal-maḥ }^d\text{Su’}_en, \text{ }^d\text{šagina }^d\text{Utu}
\]

one looked upon favourably by An, lord of the lands, chief tiller of Enlil, granted wisdom by Enki, chosen by Utu, minister of Su’ en, general of Utu

The order of the gods corresponds roughly to that set out above, in section 2.3.3.2, and for a large part it coincides with the order set out by the ED IIIa god lists. Interestingly, Utu is mentioned twice; Nanna is given under his name Su’ en which is natural for a lugal residing in another city than Ur itself. More important is the fact that three of the above quoted epithets make use of terminology couched in the economic and political structure of Sumerian society: chief tiller of Enlil, minister of Su’ en and general of Utu. These positions would normally sort under the highest economic and political authority of a city-state, the ensi₂ or lugal. Thus, the gods involved are not only portrayed as Lugalzagesi’s superiors, but they are described in a fashion that would befit divine lugals, and Lugalzagesi depicts himself as an overseer of the financial, (foreign-)political and military affairs of state. Here, G. J. Selz’s suggestion to see Sumerian lordship as “bureaucratic-sacred,” and A. Westenholz’s characterization of the lugal as a ceremonial head of a league of cities with additional military functions, are brought to mind. It may also be noticed that out of the five different deities mentioned, four of them have correspondences in the city list and sealings of Uruk III date:

Nanna/Su’ en of Ur, Enlil of Nippur, Utu of Larsa and An of Uruk.

\[^d\text{Nin-ĝi}_2\text{-su-ka-ta, }\text{tun}_2\text{-šE}_3 \text{ }^d\text{be}_2\text{-se}_3, \text{ ‘Kiš, Akšak and Mari he fended off from the Antasurra (canal) of Ningirsu.’}
\]

\[^1481\text{ Adab was surely part of Lugalzagesi’s closest allies during the final phase of the ED IIIb. An example of this close contact is BIN 8 26, which names Meskigala as ensi}_2\text{ of Adab and Lugalzagesi simply as lugal. Before that point, RTC 19, from Girsu, dated to Lug. 3, indicates high-level formal contacts between the royal houses of Lagaš and Adab.}
\]

\[^1482\text{ BE 1/2 87 o. i 13–24.}
\]

\[^1483\text{ See above, p. 35f.}
\]
The political and religious ascendency of these cities and their associated deities can thus perhaps be traced back to the dawn of the third millennium BCE. All of them also figure in one capacity or another in lugal-names.

Against this backdrop of an ever more united homeland being a political reality since a few generations before the end of the ED IIIb, names that celebrate the lugal as one who does good for his people and the land are in keeping with the political developments. Though they had to some extent been around since the ED IIIa, during the present period they are found distributed over a larger area.\(^{1484}\) In this period the imagery of the shepherd is found, as a symbol of protection, both in royal inscriptions and in a kyriophore Girsu name, which speaks in favour of lugal-sipa as referring to the human ruler.\(^{1485}\) A connection with names known since ED I-II which described the subjects in terms of animal young is possible.

As was mentioned previously, the literary production of ED IIIb is not nearly as large as that of ED IIIa. Some tendencies are, however, discernible. The inclusivistic pantheon of earlier days largely fell apart into its local components. But the highest deities were, with notable exceptions,\(^{1486}\) officially revered across the land. This is especially visible in the onomasticon. The lugal-names are no exception, as no new deities are introduced in ED IIIb or Sargonic theophore lugal-names. Those that are mentioned were all present in corresponding names during the ED IIIa, or belong to the pantheon of the area from which the name is attested.\(^{1487}\) On a regional scale the wealth of forms for names names involving An and Enlil increase. In many cases these names appear to express a link between the human ruler and the highest gods of the pantheon.\(^{1488}\)

A steadily growing number of lugal-names present early forerunners of concepts which in later times were associated with specific deities. The Moon God is one, and the ideas that come to the fore bear for instance on his luminous qualities, as marking the passage of time, which might in some cases have a bearing on the time of birth around the time of the new moon.\(^{1489}\) Also, his kind-hearted attitude toward mankind was probably also the subject of certain names.\(^{1490}\) Such names are found as far north as Nippur. Another deity who figures as lugal in a Nippur and Adab name is Iškur, and the name is related to his functions as weather god in connection with

\(^{1484}\) See, e.g. lugal-uḫg₃-ĝe₂₆-du₁₀, with variants, and lugal-KALAM.
\(^{1485}\) See above, section 3.1.3.3, p. 111.
\(^{1486}\) A case in point is the lack of a cult of Nanna or Su’en in the ED IIIb Lagaš state, although he was included among the deities of the oath-swearers in the Stele of the Vultures; this while neither Umma’s nor Girsu’s tutelary deities were mentioned. See above, p. 172.
\(^{1487}\) Thus I take it for granted that Utu was behind many ED IIIa writings of lugal-UD.
\(^{1488}\) See, e.g. lugal-An-ne₂, lugal-i₄₃-En-lil₂(+l)ₑ, and, probably, lugal-AN-da(-nu-hu₃-ĝa₃).
\(^{1489}\) E.g. lugal-it₁-da, and variants.
\(^{1490}\) See discussion of lugal-ša₃-su₃ and lugal-luo₂-ti-ti.
crops. The underlying meaning may also be related to a certain time of the year, when the barley fields were nearing harvest time. Utu is as could be expected also featured in lugal-names; though the writing of his name without the divine determinative for large parts of the third millennium can sometimes be problematic. He is furthermore difficult to identify as a referent of lugal in the onomasticon, though with all likelihood, some lugal-names refer to him; either in his capacity as god of justice, or as sharing in traits of his father Nanna/Su’en.

Another tendency is the steady growth in popularity of certain names relating to the personal care invested in the individual by a lugal, which in these names most likely stands for one or more divinities.

In the far north, Ebla and Mari both were regional players whose influence was felt way beyond their closest surroundings. Records from Ebla speak of continuous contacts between the two, of an academic as well as a confrontational kind. Because of contacts of the former kind Ebla has yielded the largest number of literary and lexical texts from any ED IIIb site, northern or southern. With all certainty, these texts were in part transmitted to Ebla via scholars from Mari. Some compositions have more or less exact correspondences in texts of different genres known from southern ED IIIa sites. These include a body of incantations with predecessors from Šuruppak, a hymnic composition centered on Utu/Šamaš, and other scholastic texts also known from Abū Ṣalābih. The Ebla literary trove is deeply indebted to the academic fervour of the ED IIIa. It is quite possible that the universalist agenda which characterized the ED IIIa literary output in Sumer lingered on for a longer period of time in the far northwest.

At Ebla, a text was found in three exemplars, in both normal orthography and in a phonetic rendering, which some scholars claimed was a hymn. It

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1491 See lugal-še-gu-na.
1492 See, e.g. the discussions of the names lugal-di-de₃, lugal-₄₁-si; lugal-n₁₇-lu-lu, lugal-n₁₇-lu-lu-a and ₃Utu-n₁₇-lu-lu-a; and the literature cited in connection with Utu, p. 69f. If more pre-OB texts were found at Larsa, chances are that Utu could be identified as lugal in more, at present anonymous, lugal-names.
1493 See, e.g. lugal-ḥa-ma-ti, lugal-ₐ₃-ti-ti, lugal-ma-de₃, and lugal-mu-da-kuš₂, with variants.
1494 A detailed study of Ebla and Mari military activities can be found in the study of A. Archi & M. G. Biga, JCS 55 (2003), 1–44.
1495 For references to treatments of the Utu/Šamaš composition, see above, p. 70 fn. 353. In addition to this, a list of names and professions, and one enumerating geographical names, corresponding to those treated by R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, 62–78, were also found at Ebla.
indeed begins with a hymnic introduction, but this introduction is followed by a list of 8 lugal-names, as observed by D. O. Edzard, who deemed it a school exercise. All but two of the names have parallels in texts from the south.

6.5 ES-MS (c. 2330–2240 BCE)

The ascent to power of the Sargonic dynasty in many ways transformed the face of royal ideology in Mesopotamia. Many changes were slowly effectuated and a full grasp of the circumstances during the first half of the Sargonic period is at present beyond reach. Nippur, Adab and Umma provide the largest number of sources for the earliest phase of this period.

The background of the dynasty is never alluded to. Later traditions about Šarrukēn as a foundling or a cupbearer in the service of a so far unattested king of Kiš may be as fanciful as the OB assertion that he founded the so far uncharted city of Akkade.

Important sources for Šarrukēn’s rise to power are in the shape of later copies of original inscriptions, most of them found at Nippur, and that city retained a key ideological position throughout the Sargonic period. In the beginning of his rule over a united north and south, Šarrukēn appears to have borrowed elements from late ED royal ideology. In his epithets the divinities Aštar, An and Enlil were given pride of place. Utu/Šamaš figures constantly in curse formulae of his and of his successors. He furthermore persisted in ED III royal practice, having nidba-offerings presented to the divine dining table, something that no doubt found its way into the name-

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1499 ARET 5, 43–45, nos. 23–25; so also M. Krebernik, Fs Röllig, 186–191.
1500 The name lugal-nam-nir looks like an abbreviation of the following name, lugal-nam-nir-sum₂, known to have been borne by a lugal of Kiš. The name lugal-ṭṭi-zi, with variant nu-gal-ṭṭi-zi, might with some reservation be linked to southern lugal-šer-zi. For another solution, see M. Krebernik, Fs Röllig, 190 w. fn. 15.
1501 The texts belonging to the later Babylonian literary traditions in the Akkadian language surrounding Šarrukēn and his grandson Nārām-Su’ēn have been collected and treated by J. Goodnick Westenholz, MesCiv 7.
1502 See variants on this theme in the Sumerian King List, T. Jacobsen, AS 11, 111. An overview of the suggested locations for the city can be found in A. Westenholz, Annäherungen 3, 31–34.
1503 See S. Franke, Königsschriften, 86–89, for an evaluation of the sources.
1505 At least in all cases where the curse section is complete, Šamaš or Utu figures. See, briefly, G. Cunningham, StPohl SM 17, 61–63. For a brief overview of the other deities appearing alongside Šamaš, see E. Markina, Fs. Westenholz, 211f. w. fn. 40.
giving of Sargonic Nippur as lugal-nidba₂-e. If his policies managed to sway a number of Sumerians, the continuity of naming practice compared to the previous period may bear witness to this.

But not everyone was at peace with the new king. Šarrukēn and his successors had to stave off repeated rebellions in the south while at the same time they managed to retain a measure of control over areas east of the floodplain. Šarrukēn also mentioned the instating of citizens of Akkade to the positions of ensi₂ in cities across the floodplain, for which only scraps of evidence exist so far.

The Sargonic period is regrettfully a period marked by a lack of literary sources, in either Akkadian or Sumerian. A large amount of seal cylinders illustrate aspects of Akkadian mythology; but only in a few cases are the gods and goddesses depicted identifiable. A particularly popular divinity was Šamaš, who features passing between the doors of heaven, ascending over a mountain range, or enthroned. There is also a wealth of theophore Akkadian personal names. A. Westenholz has argued that Akkadian names during the Early Dynastic period, before the accession of Šarrukēn, were largely ditheistic; a great majority of theophore names contained the theonyms ʾIl(um) and ʾAštar. The picture changes somewhat during the Early Sargonic period when more Akkadian names are attested which feature other named gods and goddesses, even though ʾIl(um) and ʾAštar remain in common use. Apart from these, Su’en was especially popular in the north.

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1506 Compare also, perhaps, the CS Umma name lugal-kadra.
1507 A. Westenholz, *Annäherungen* 3, 39 w. fn. 118. A problem in identifying citizens of Akkade is brought home when considering that among the 49 citizens of Akkade mentioned in MO, a handful carry Sumerian names, including Urušagina, former ensi₂ of Lagaš.
1508 A. Westenholz, *Annäherungen* 3, 75 w. fnn. 352–353, has a summary of the sources.
1509 R. M. Boehmer, *EGA*, features depictions of close to 700 seals of Sargonic date, and descriptions of several hundred more.
1510 E.g. *EGA*, figs. 392–438, and 440–463.
1511 Studied in detail by J. J. M. Roberts, *ESP*.
1512 ARES 1, 99–117, especially p. 103; *Annäherungen* 3, 78–80; see also ibid. *OrNS* 45 (1976), 215f. The picture of the onomastic material in the Ḥabur-area in northern Syria is similar to the situation in southern Mesopotamia before the advent of Šarrukēn. As was shown by A. Catagnoti, Subartu 4/2, 41–66, especially p. 61f., it lacked any explicit references to divinities whatsoever. The Ḥabur material is quite distinct in this respect from the Ebla, Mari and southern traditions.
1513 See A. Westenholz, *Annäherungen* 3, 78 fn. 371. Out of the 34 theophore names in the MO containing specific deities other than ʾIl(um) and ʾAštar, nine names, or roughly 25%, are composed with Su’en; or close to 12% of the total of theophores in that stele.
6.6 MS-CS (c. 2280–2200 BCE)

The Middle to Classic Sargonic period encompasses roughly the reigns of Maništūšu,¹⁵¹⁴ Narām-Su’en and his successor Šarkališarrē. Not much is known about the reign of Maništūšu. That he waged war on the southern and southeastern frontiers of the kingdom is clear from contemporary and Old Babylonian copies of his inscriptions.¹⁵¹⁵ The inscribed obelisk associated with him is an invaluable source for ES names, first and foremost from cities on the northern end of the floodplain.¹⁵¹⁶

During the time of his son and successor, Narām-Su’en, clearly the most notable development to occur is the functional apotheosis of the living ruler. While this may have had less of an impact in Narām-Su’en’s own time, the consequences for later periods were considerable. He managed to stave off a massive and coordinated attack on the Akkadian heartland. The king had proven that the gods were with him, vanquishing a coalition which had seemed to engage all four corners of the world with the intent to finish off Akkadian rule once and for all. Hence the citizens of Akkade must have reckoned that the fortunes of such a fortuitous king could be transferred also to his capital should Narām-Su’en be made a (not the) protective god of Akkade. But for the rest of his kingdom, the practical consequences of his deification are everything but clear. No clear-cut correspondence between šarrum-names and the deification of the living ruler can be demonstrated. Names such as šar-ru-ı̇3-li₂ and šar-ru-gi-ı̇3-li₂, are already attested in Maništūšu’s time, as the names of citizens of Akkade.¹⁵¹⁷

The city governors were already tied to the ruler by personal oaths of allegiance and they were probably expected to pay visits to Akkade during their terms of office.¹⁵¹⁸ This type of loyalty may also have been borne out in a few personal names.¹⁵¹⁹

Narām-Su’en took it upon himself to restore the temple facilities of Enlil in Nippur, something which would have to be finished by his son and successor Šarkališarrē, in the most faithful manner; a scheme which may have been repeated also for other building projects begun by Narām-Su’en.¹⁵²⁰ Such projects bear witness to prolonged interludes when Sumer

¹⁵¹⁴ For an overview of later traditions surrounding Maništūšu, see J. Goodnick Westenholz, Fs Sigrist, 254.
¹⁵¹⁵ See A. Westenholz, Annäherungen 3, 44–46.
¹⁵¹⁶ Treated in detail by I. J. Gelb et al., OIP 104 40.
¹⁵¹⁷ E.g. MO A xii 8, xv 25, and passim. Compare also the discussion, above, p. 199f.
¹⁵¹⁸ As illustrated by seal inscriptions, e.g. those of Lugalušumgal of Girsu, RTC 165 (time of Narām-Su’en), and 162 (time of Šarkališarrē). The picture of northern cities is a bit different, as A. Westenholz shows, Annäherungen 3, 63 w. fn. 279, in that the ensi’s were sometimes blood relations of the king.
¹⁵¹⁹ See discussions of ibni-šarrum, šarriš-takal; and further, p. 239.
¹⁵²⁰ See in general A. Westenholz, OSP 2, 27–29; ibid., Fs Oelsner, 554.
and Akkade must have enjoyed peace. The great rebellion in which the four corners of the world rebelled against the former had already been quelled. No comprehensive god list dating to the Sargonic period is known. What can be said about the religion of the times must mainly be drawn from economic sources and monumental inscriptions, from personal names and cylinder seals. A few lugal-names which make their first appearances during this time relate to traditions surrounding the god Ningirsu. It is at present not possible to say whether they were new inventions or whether their inclusion in the onomasticon represents a popularization of older ideas.

In the Akkadian onomasticon after the Early Sargonic period, a few deities are mentioned more often than others. ʾIlum, ʾAštar and Suʾen remain popular, and joining them are among others Ea and Šamaš. Adad and Nergal gain in popularity with time. Other deities are, of course, attested, but less consistently, and the divergences due to local flavours in names appear to be considerable.

6.7 The names and their referents

It has proved difficult to assign referents to the lugal- and šarrum-names, but more so with the former. Thanks to evidence provided by the contemporary and later textual record, some names are more likely to be attributable to the one referent or the other. The human king is more likely to be the subject of names dealing with authority such as lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma, lugal-nam-nir-šum₂; and names referring to the country and its inhabitants such as lugal-baras₂-kalam and lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆-du₁₀. Such names are less often formed with the appellative nin, never with en, and during this period there are no direct Akkadian correspondences, although pronominal elements might sometimes be suspected to conceal a collective like the people. Local ideological traits concerning the person of the human ruler surface in the names lugal-Šanna-ra-tum₂ and lugal-Šanše-mu-tu, from ED IIIb Ur and Girsu respectively. Parallels formed with en The lugal as chosen by the gods is the subject behind lugal-ša₃-pa₃-da, and his attentiveness to the will of the gods comes to the fore in lugal-inim-ma-se₃-ga. Names focusing on strength, authority, selection and the issuing of orders and commands are intimately associated with the lugal, and are rarely paralleled by formations with en.

1521 But such lists ought to have existed. See for instance the fragment, A. Westenholz, AfO 25 (1974–77), 104, no. 38, AOAT 3/1 75 (MS-CS Nagar).
1522 E.g. the name lugal-igi-sa₆, a more benign name related to lugal-igi-ḫuš, found already in ED IIIb Girsu; and lugal-šar₂-ur₃-e. All these names probably refer to aspects of divine protection.
1523 See discussion of A. Westenholz, Annäherungen 3, 78–84.
1524 See the name šar-ru-al-ši-in, above, p. 197f. w. fnn. 1274–1275, for further examples.
A deity is likely to be the referent behind Umma₂⁻ki-lugal-ĝu₁₀, with the name of the city or city-state standing in metonymically for a male god, most likely Šara. The Moon God Nanna or Su’en is referred to in lugal-itি-da, the second most common lugal-name during the time-period in question. Ningirsu and his weapon Šarur figure in the name lugal-šar₂-ur₃-e. He and Ninurta are likely candidates for lugal in lugal-apin-ne₂ and lugal-(ğiš)apin-du₁₀. Iškur of Karkar figures in the name lugal-še-gu-na.

For śarrum-names, certain formations in themselves provide the names of deities associated with qualities of the śarrum, Adad, Ea, ’Ilum and Su’en. A female counterpart is made up by the goddess Mama. In a phrase name, the human śarrum is furthermore likened to Šamaš.

The king is the likely referent of names like šar-ru-i₃-li₂ and tu-ta₂-lugal-li-bi-iš, and perhaps also šar-ka₃-li₂-šar-re₂. The śarrum is most often associated with positive attributes, and with protective aspects, although it cannot always be stated with certainty whether the referent of such names is either human or divine.

Certain names could be witnesses to an early occurrence of the word śarrum or šerrum to denote ‘child,’ e.g. šar-ri₂, šar-ru-na and šar-ru-ni, all known exclusively from cities to the northwest of the floodplain. With some hesitation, the royal name šar-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂ might also be suggested to belong to these few names on the basis of its close association with the name of a sibling bi-in-ka₃-li₂-lugal-re₂. The latter is commonly thought of as containing the word bīnum or bin(n)um, a poetic term for ‘(male) offspring.’ The names in this latter group could definitely bear closer scrutiny, but comparative evidence will be hard to come by.
7. Concluding discussions

7.1 Conclusions

Clear relationships exist between lugal-names and the development of political leadership on the one hand, and concepts of a religious nature on the other. Interrelationships between political and religious functions of human rulers no doubt strengthened the associations which surface in the onomastic traditions from the investigated periods. For šarrum-names the picture is less clear, although some names clearly demonstrate connections between cultural and political ideological layers similar to that found in Sumerian lugal-names. It is tempting to assume that this development in Akkadian name-giving was influenced by Sumerian ideas. But at the same time the Akkadian witnesses are so integrated in a general development of the Semitic Mesopotamian onomasticon that it may well in part have been a result of internal changes within the system itself, or even a deliberate attempt on the part of the upper classes to create new frames of reference in which they themselves partook, and which in the long run could serve real political needs for cultural and social cohesion.

Where lugal-names are concerned, previous studies by D. O. Edzard, A. Westenholz, G. J. Selz and others, all can be proven right to a large extent. The human ruler and the chief deities of influential cities in the areas in which certain names appear to have originated, figure consistently in the material. This study also shows that deities venerated more widely across the land, or in a neighbouring city-state, can be identified in the material. The lugal-names are an integral part of the Sumerian onomastic tradition, and offer insight both into the conceptions of early Mesopotamian kingship as well as theological matters, and attest to the early development of characteristic traits of human and divine lugal identifiable in contemporary and later source materials. And when viewed as a group, lugal-names also help to shed light on name-giving practices of early Mesopotamia.

Names were conceived and presented to the bearer in settings where the names themselves were not considered out of place. Given parallels from later periods, some 3rd millennium names formed with the appellative lugal give the impression that names could be situational, that names could be chosen depending on the time of birth or of name-giving. Some sort of simple ceremonial befitting the name-giving event might be suggested. As there are no indications that naming involved anything but family members or
relatives, a setting suitable for name-giving could be created and supervised by laypersons in the comfort of their own homes or in a place to which the family had access.

The deities that appear as lugal in the onomastic material include Nanna/Su’en and Ninurta/Ningirsu. For the former there are contemporary literary correspondences where he is also termed, simply, lugal. Nanna/Su’en’s functions as luminary, and his association with cultural phenomena derived from the light he emitted, were no doubt in part reasons for the widespread popularity of such names. The constant “rebirth” of the moon, and his association with cattle, were no doubt relevant for his importance, at least in later times, as a god called upon for assistance at childbirth. As was the case with names mentioning the “rebirth” of the Moon God, those featuring the word for “festival” were also most clearly associated with lugal, and largely lacked parallels composed with other appellatives. It is quite thinkable that dozens of other names, not only such formed with the royal appellatives, also referred to specific points in local calendars or in the natural cycle – given Mesopotamian deities and their close connections with cultural and natural phenomena – and further research on this topic might well provide more insight into such matters.

Ninurta and Ningirsu were both associated with agriculture, which formed the economical backbone of Sumer. The agricultural cycle was important for the calendar, and agricultural chores of the season of birth might be commemorated in certain names. At the same time, these two deities were gods of combat. Names associated with these two in this latter capacity could be found in neighbouring towns and areas also. Later literary works focusing on Ningirsu’s warlike aspects, are, for instance, reflected in personal names from the Lagaš state as well as from neighbouring Umma.

The ideas that surface in lugal-names are variegated and show that the naming traditions were deeply embedded in a society where concepts, phrases and idioms circulated in a continuous flow. Certain phrases were general in scope and could be attributed to several subjects; others were no doubt coined as describing a specific figure; in some cases divinities, in others, the human king. To a certain extent it is possible to trace long-term trends of adaptation to fit with developments on the political and the religious scene during the course of the 3rd millennium BCE. For instance, as time progresses, more focus is put on the lugal in relation to the country.

The wording of Sumerian names was, to a much higher extent than Akkadian names, tuned to the world outside of family and filiation. Although lugal-names linking an individual to the lugal in relation to dominion, protection and care, thus indicating a closeness or attachment between lugal and subject, presented quite popular patterns. Some common Sumerian name-types which refer to a name-bearer (ur-lugal, lu₂-lugal) are often genitival in Sumerian, whereas the corresponding constructions are more rarely attested in early 3rd millennium Akkadian names in general, and among Sargonic
sarrum-names they appear to be completely absent. This strengthens the impression that the efficacy of Sumerian names was thought to lie in their preoccupation with a superhuman reality, while Akkadian ones during this period more often dealt with the arrival of the child into the world, into a social context.

The appellative lugal in the clear majority of cases formally occupies the position at the head of phrases; either serving as the subject or as the prepositioned object, pushed to the fore by topicalizing tendencies. This trait is shared also by names containing other appellatives, and is common in masculine as well as feminine names, though the choice of appellative to some extent depended on the gender of the name-bearer. Before the Ur III period female bearers of lugal-names are exceedingly rare, and the same holds true for šarrum-names. This should not be taken to imply that bearers of lugal- or šarrum-names were the referents of the appellative, but rather that some gender-sensitive principle applied to these nouns, to a higher extent than, for instance, en-, nin-, and baʿlum-names of similar semantic contents.

As identifiers, it can be seen that most names were borne only by one or a few bearers at any given time and place. So lugal-names, although popular, would in most cases have served well to designate individual members of local society. However, sometimes surprisingly many bearers of the same name are attested at about the same time, sometimes in the same archive. There are examples of about a dozen persons carrying the same name, which ought to have been roughly contemporary with each other. Even so, only rarely do more than two namesakes appear on the same tablet. Though one may have to reckon with the possibility of abbreviations which have produced seemingly identical names from originally distinct name patterns, a more likely explanation is that such names resulted from local naming fashions, and that perhaps some other method of disambiguation was involved which does not always appear in documents, or at least, one which does not leap out and present itself to a modern observer.

It has been assumed that part of the function of a name is to provide a good fate for a child. This is not contradicted by those lugal-names which lend themselves to an interpretation. The many references to warlike acts, weapons, or potentially harmful implements were not directed at the world of the name-giver or -bearer, but at potential threats from outside. Battles could be pictured as ongoing on a superhuman level, and actualized by the continuous use of the name, both in conversation and in administration. Also, some name formulae were borrowed from the cultic sphere; and their continuous use thereby regularly confirmed and re-actualized the associations which the name made manifest. This was certainly a factor beyond the control of name-bearers and name-givers, but may actually have served to strengthen the belief in names as potent statements in themselves. The nature of the contents of names as non-finite is seen by the many examples of participial, two-participant constructions, by clear instances of imperfective
forms, including modal constructions, and by nominal predicate names where predication expresses a state. Genitive construct names imply a state of continuous subordination to a higher authority and conform with the non–finite forms.

The high extent of anonymity for the referent behind the appellative is not a characteristic exclusive to lugal-names, but is common to Sumerian name-giving generally. It is difficult to see appellatives in names which are obvious references to divinities as a substitute for a theonym. There were no discernible taboos surrounding the use of theonyms in other contexts; neither in personal names, nor in the names of objects, nor in place names. Rather, from at least the ED IIIa period onwards, it may be productive to see lugal as epitomizing a system of male sovereignty – human or divine – where actions of any “lugal” could be seen to benefit the bearer in the future, although names were with all likelihood originally coined with a specific referent in mind. One of the positive aspects of nam-lugal lay in the fact that regardless of which person or dynasty that held power at the moment, there were always several layers of heavenly authority above, first on a local scale, then on a regional, and thirdly on a cosmic scale. All these different levels of the divine world were involved in granting legitimacy to whole dynasties and to single rulers. The auspicious results of a pious or reverent reference to a lugal was not lost because of a shift in worldly power, because the intent remained the same, as did, perhaps, the belief in the continuity of nam-lugal even through times of hardship. The alternative was potential chaos.

Names appear to confirm royal self-representations in that they acknowledge the lugal and his connections with the divine world and with significant earthly locations. His position in relation to the gods is sometimes pictured in terms of titles of offices, both in names and in monumental inscriptions. Divine selection and acceptance appears to be ubiquitously acknowledged throughout Sumer, and beyond.

It follows from this survey that lugal-names are likely to have referred to deities more often, or at least as often as they could have had a human referent. It has been made clear that a good deal of the names either have clear parallels in names with explicitly written theonyms, or that the contents of the names may be elucidated by direct correspondences in text passages which concern a deity. But some names are clear markers of a belief in the lugal as involved in taking care of central cultural concerns, keeping order and balance in the world. It is also evident that ideas revolving around certain specific actors which merited the use of the epithet lugal about the Moon God, Ningirsu, Ninurta, and other characters, were well-known; some of these names were found over large areas, some were long-lived but mostly of local significance, others were known and used in a few city-states.

From this survey, it is possible to state a few, very general points, on the importance of the literal meaning of names. It was said at the beginning of the study, that the literal meaning was at all times subordinate to symbolic
associations invoked by the name. If the symbolic connection, with time, would come to be expressed more clearly by means of another term or phrase, then a previously popular name type would go out of fashion and others would take its place, regardless of whether or not these new types expressed precisely the same sentiments as the superseded name. It is clear that naming fashions changed over time, and that might in itself be taken to imply that both literal and symbolic contents of names were reinterpreted to fit with changes in the mindset of the people. In short, names that were not both factual and actual would not remain in use for long in the human onomasticon.

The popularity of lugal-names compared to names composed with other appellatives is a question worthy of further inquiry. It was suggested that the drop in relative figures of names composed with en could be a consequence of an increasing identification of that appellative with the office of en.

The basis for the Ur III kings on which to mould their royal ideal was a fruitful one. Many passages in royal hymns of that era echo distant ideas of characteristics and functions for which the best parallels are made up of onomastic evidence. The hymns testify to a living tradition of symbolic verbal associations between an appellative, the institution it designated, and imagery of authority. Whereas lugal-names are in many respects brief and idiomatic witnesses to such beliefs, the composers of hymns could embellish upon these age-old associations and breathe new life into them by linking them to a living human being who simultaneously partook in divine essence, and who therefore was in a position to fulfill his royal duties more perfectly than had ever been done before.

If another investigation was to be undertaken, using the same source materials but with another method for organizing the material, say, along lines of linguistic structure, but with the same aims, I believe the results would in the main remain the same, since so much of the understanding of names is based on comparisons with literary, monumental, and material sources. Naming patterns were under the influence of a number of factors, geopolitical and cultural-religious factors were prominent among these.

All said and done, many question marks remain, and new questions have been posed. An investigation into Sumerian names of any type is bound to reveal formal patterns, and formulae favoured for inclusion in names. Identifying traits of specific referents and understanding underlying concepts depend on the existence and wealth of comparative materials, mainly from non-onomastic sources. Just because ajā₂, ama, en, lugal, mes, nin and šul are common components in the early Sumerian onomasticon, it does not automatically follow that such names are clear as to the link between subject matter and referent, or that establishing identities of referents is a straightforward affair. In the case of lugal, recourse consists of archival and historical inscriptional material as well as literature. For the other appellatives,
literature alone basically offers parallel material, and such material in the main does not revolve around human actors.

7.2 Avenues for future research

Most importantly, a Sumerian *Namenbuch* is a badly needed, and a prerequisite for future comprehensive treatment of early Mesopotamian onomastics. The form, electronic or printed, is subordinate to the practical use such a collection of names would have. The names should not only be listed alphabetically, but component parts should be listed separately in order to obtain a better overview over parallels. It is not necessary – to begin with – for such a *Namenbuch* to be a critical edition complete with analyses and translations. The usual source-critical information should be appended to each entry, along with an indication as to whether the name was culled from transliterations, hand copies, black and white or full colour photograph, or from physical inspection. Publication of texts in transliteration only should not be deemed fit for full inclusion before confirmation by physical inspection or publication in any of the aforementioned acceptable formats. Such a project is obviously enormously time-consuming, but the knowledge that stands to be gained is equally immense.

A special focus on female personal names and how they set themselves apart from male personal names would be a fruitful area for future studies which could either be envisaged as a specific result of a more complete *Namenbuch* project, or as an independent and self-contained study.

The kyriophore names of the 3rd millennium, Sumerian and Akkadian, could bear closer inspection. Because of the abundance of administrative sources and sealed tablets, especially from the Ur III period, an investigation taking into consideration the distribution of such names in the different layers of society could yield interesting results. Connections between the kyriophore names on the one hand, and the corpora of monumental inscriptions and royal hymns from this and the following period on the other, could definitely bear scrutiny.

Another potentially rewarding project would be closer inspection of the occurrences of anticipatory genitive constructions in onomastic compared with other contexts. Their distribution over time and space would certainly result in a better understanding of Sumerian genitive syntax which would complement previous studies on the subject.
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— “Lugal-Emuša”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 137
— “Lugal-ḫegalla”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 141
— “Lugal-idda”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 142
— “Lugal-igihuš”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 142
— “Lugal-illum”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 142
— “Lugal-inimina”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 143
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— “Lugal-kur-dub”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 147
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— “Lugal-nirgal”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 150
— “Lugal-nišaga/Lugal-nisigga”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 150
— “Lugal-nitazi”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 151
— “Lugalpa’e/Lugal-urupa’e”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 150
— “Lugal-sapar”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 151
— “Lugal-si”, RIA 7 (1987–90), 151
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Lists of attestations

1. List of lugal-names

Entries in the lists of attestations are provided with a heading in bold script. The heading provides the writing encountered in the previous chapters. A raised parenthesis signals the number of bearers (given as \(\text{(a\#)}\)), and/or discrete entries in scholastic lists of PNN (given as \(\text{(^\#)}\)). The translation suggested in discussions is then followed by the section or subheading under which the name was treated, followed by page references, including cross references.

Underneath the bold heading, the writing of the name, filiations (if any), date (with ruler and regnal year if known), provenience, publication data, column and line number follow. Attestations are organized according to date and provenience.

Entries are divided into the discrete time periods ED I-II, ED IIIa, ED IIIa-b, ED IIIb, and ES. Later Sargonic references are not further subdivided due to difficulties in assigning a precise date to texts belonging to the second half of the Sargonic period. A few later attestations are also included due in part to the same reasons, or if they form part of an earlier tradition, as in the case of a few scholastic texts. Hence, some references to texts dated to CS-LS, LS-Lagaš II, or LS-Ur III are also listed. Names taken from OB copies of older original inscriptions are marked as (OB) following the date of the original inscription. The date designation OAkk is used for 11 entries from 5 texts which have not been available in copy or photo, and where closer indications of a date have not been given. Names culled from transliterations only are always clearly marked.

Multiple attestations of a name from the same period and place are organized alphabetically after publication. Each and every known instance of lugal-names in Girsu texts is not found in the list. V. V. Struve’s *Onomastika* was used to achieve a preliminary set of ED IIIb names, to which further names were added. Neither are attestations entered from H. de Genouillac’s summaries, ITT 2/2, p. 1–53; or ITT 5, p. 31–39. For the remainder of sites, a more complete picture has been strived for.

Museum or excavation number are given when texts lack sequential numbering (e.g. *AAICAB*), or when the numbering of illustrations follows a different sequence than the treatment of the texts in the monograph (*DPA*). Also, when a page or plate contains a number of figures, museum numbers are given to tell texts apart.

Abbreviations used in notes on filiations are given in Technical Abbreviations.
[a₁/za₂]-lugal-ḡa₂-ta (a₁) ‘by the strength of my lord’ 3.1.4.1, p. 119–120
[a₁/za₂]-lugal-ḡa₂-ta₁b ED IIIa Šuruppag? G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, *Gs Cagni*, p. 1107–1133 3 r. iii 1
a₁-lugal-ta (a₁) ‘by the strength of the lord’ 3.1.4.1, p. 120
a₁-lugal-ta ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 12 o. i 3
AK-lugal (a₂/²) ‘creation of the lugal’ 3.1.5.1, p. 127, 229
AK-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 12 o. i 5
AK-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 87 o. i 4(‘?)
AK-lugal Ama₃-Inana ED I-II Uruk *ATU* 614 o. 3
ᵃAK-lugal LS-III Unknown M. E. Cohen, *Fs Hallo*, p. 79–86 (YBC 2124) iv 12
amar-lugal (e²) ‘calf of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 84–85, 229, 247 n. 1453
amar-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 85 r. i 3
amar-lugal ³Nesāg₃ ki ED I-II Ur UET 2 112 o. ii’ 2
amar-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 181 o. ii’ 7
amar-lugal ³lu:gal’ ED I-II Ur UET 2 193A o. i’ 4’
amar-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 274 Edge i 2
amar-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 341 r. i 3
amar-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 354 o. ii 1
amar-lugal ED I-II Uruk M. W. Green, *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 163–177 8 o. ii 4’
ar₃-du₂:lugal (a₁) ‘servant of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 84, 237
ar₃-du₂:lugal ED IIIa Tell Agrab OIP 58, p. 291 8 5
e₂-lugal-be₂-zu (a₁) ‘the house is known by its master’ 3.1.1.2, p. 88
e₂-lugal-be₂-zu ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₇ Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 o. i 13
en-il₂-lugal (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
en-il₂-lugal mu₃-sub₃ ED IIIa Nippur OSP 1 125 o. i 1
geme₂-lugal (a₁) ‘female servant of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 65 n. 321, 82
geme₂-lugal w. U₃-ma-mi, ‘um’-mi-a Nibrû’ CS-LS Nippur *EGA* 773 pl. 23 fig. 264 4
igi₂-lugal-še₂ (a²) ‘eyes are set on the lugal’ 3.1.4.1, p. 119
igi₂-lugal-še₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 5(+1?) Girsu VS 25 14 o. vi 7’
igi₂-lugal-še₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 37 r. i 2
¹igi₂-lugal-še₂ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 45 r. i 1’
igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂ (a²) ‘eyes are set on the lugal’ 3.1.4.1, p. 119 n. 644
igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂ (lugal-igi₂-lugal-še₂) ED IIIb Adab *TCABI* 13 r. i 5
igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂ (lugal-igi₂-lugal-še₂) ED IIIb/X Y 28 Umma-Zabala *SAKF* 3 o. iv 7
igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂ (igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂) (igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂) (igi₂-lugal-še₂,še₂) ED IIIb Zabala (?) BIN 8 46 o. iii 5
inim₂-lugal-da (a₁) ‘the decision (rests?) with the lugal’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93 n. 474, 94, 237
ir₃-lugal (a²) ‘servant of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 82, 229
ir₃-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 128 o. iv’ 5’
ir₃-lugal MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 33 o. 1
lu₂-lugal (a₃) ‘man of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 82–83, 261
lu₂-lugal ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 32 r. i 2
¹lu₂-lugal ED-MS Nippur OSP 1 54 o. ii 4
lu₂-lugal ED-MS Nippur OSP 1 56 r. i 4
lu₂-lugal ED-MS Nippur OSP 1 154 o. ii’ 6
lu₂-lugal CS Umma Nik 2 84 o. 2
lu₂-lugal-la₂? (a₁) ‘man of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 83 n. 400
lugal-a (identical with lugal-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂ and lugal-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si)
lugal-a dub-sar ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu Nik 1 44 o. i 3
lugal-a ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu Nik 1 44 r. i 4

lugal-a (a) (abbreviation or genitival PN lugal-a(?) Compare lugal-la₃ 3.1.8, p. 85 n. 421,
175 w. nn. 1023 & 1028
lugal-a f. KU₁₀⁻¹₀ & Lugal-inim-gal₂-la ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73
(1979), p. 5–6 o. vi 5
lugal-a f. KU₁₀⁻¹₀ ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. vi 14
lugal-a ES Adab CUSAS 11 317 o. i 3
lugal-a CS/Škš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 r. iii 4’
lugal-a b. (?) Ur-Šu-me-ša₄ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 158 o. 4
lugal-a [ṣaṇ apin] CS Mesag BIN 8 152 o. i 17
lugal-a aga₃-u₃ MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 236 o. 7
lugal-a saṣ-apin CS Mesag M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 16 o. i 6
lugal-a MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 64 r. 2
lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂ (identical with lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si) 3.1.8, p. 175 n. 1024
lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂ RU-lugal ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu VS 25 8 o. i 6
lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175 w. nn. 1023–1024, 181 n. 1109
lugal-a-a-GUG₂-a-ne₂-nu-si dub-sar ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DCS 8 o. i 8
lugal-a-bi₃-KU (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-a-bi₃-KU MS-CS Ur UET 2 suppl. 48 o. i 11
lugal-a-du₃-nu₂ (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-a-du₃-nu₂ nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu AWAS 122 o. v 7
lugal-a-du₃-nu₂ nitaḥ, il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 115 o. v 5
lugal-a-du₃-nu₂ nitaḥ,il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu TSA 16 o. iv 4
lugal-a-ĝe₃ (a) ‘the lugal is a flood’ 3.1.3.3, p. 112, 214–215
lugal-a-ĝe₃ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 48 o. i 3
lugal-a-ĝe₃ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 50 o. iv 2
lugal-a-ĝe₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 102 o. iii 10
lugal-a-ĝe₃ ED IIIb Nippur A. Goetze, JCS 23 (1970), p. 48 (5N-T452) 2’
lugal-a-ţe₂ IL IIIb Nippur TMH 5 156 o. 4
lugal-a-ţe₂ IL IIIb Umma-Zalabu CUSAS 14 142 o. iii 2
lugal-a-ţe₂ IL IIIb Umma-Zalabu CUSAS 14 270 o. ii 6
lugal-a-ţe₂ ES Adab CUSAS 11 277 o. iii 5
lugal-a-ţe₂ ES Adab CUSAS 11 319 o. 3
lugal-[a]-ţe₂ ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 o. i 7’
lugal-a-la₃ ma-ru (a) ‘the lugal is a deluge’ 3.1.3.3, p. 112
lugal-a-la₃ ma-ru CS-LS Girsu RTC 254 o. ii 20
lugal-a-MIR₃-nu₂ (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-a-MIR₃-nu₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 r. v 5
lugal-a-nun (a) ‘the lugal is a princely offspring’ 3.1.7.1, p. 160
lugal-a-nun ED IIIb/Gišakidu ensi, Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 252 r. i 3
lugal-a-nun ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. iv 10
lugal-a-nun ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. ii 15
lugal-a-nun ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 o. ii 3
lugal-a-RU (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-a-RU ED IIIa Šuruppak SF 28 o. iii 6

300
lugal-a-si (a1) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175, 181 n. 1109
lugal-A-st ED IIIa Šuruppag  RTC  14  o. iv 2
lugal-a'-UD (a1) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-a'-UD ED IIIa-b Marada?  AAICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1924-467)  o. i 2
lugal-A-UR-sikil (a1) two different names in one case: unkn. reading.  3.1.8, p. 87 n. 429, 175
lugal-A-UR-sikil ED I-II Ur UET 2 199  r. i 7
lugal-a'x1 ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  149  o. iii 9
lugal-a'x1 MS-CS Nippur  TMH 5  39  r. i 8
lugal-a_3 (a2) abbreviation  3.1.8, p. 175, 184 n. 1146, 237
lugal-a_3 s. Ur₂-mud ED IIIb Girsu  DP suppl.  555  r. i 2
lugal-a_3 ED IIIb Nippur  OSP 1 25  “ii” 12
lu[gal']-a_3 ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala  BIN 8  82  o. iv 12
lugal-a_3 ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala?  BIN 8  189  o. 3
lugal-a_3 ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V*
(W 2/7)  o. ii 10
lugal-a_3 sipa ud₃ MS Adab  TCABI 117  r. 2
lugal-a_3 CS Girsu  ITT 5  9304  r. 2’
'lugal'-a_3 CS Girsu  RTC  84  o. 1
lugal-a_3 Me-ra-num₂ CS Tutub  MAD 1  233  r. i 2
lugal-a_3 CS/Škš Y 2 Umma  CT 50  53  o. 8
'lugal'-a₁,da-du' (a1) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175
'lugal'-a₁,da-du' 'ni'-is-ku CS Adab  OIP 14  194  o. 2
lugal-a₂-gur-ra (a2) ‘the lugal (has) thick horns’ or ‘the lugal is sturdy of frame’  3.1.7.3, p. 162, 176 n. 1044, 184
lugal-a₂-gur-ra ED IIIa Šuruppag > Nippur  TMH 5  75  o. ii 10
lugal-a₂-gur-ra ma₃-lah₄ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu  Nik 1  17  o. ii 1
lu:gal-a₂-gur-ra ED IIIb Nippur  OSP 1  121  r. ii 3
lugal-a₂-LAK175 (a1) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-a₂-LAK175 ED IIIb Umma-Zabala  BIN 8  65  o. ii 2
lugal-a₂-LAK175 ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ Umma-Zabala  BIN 8  86  o. iii 12
lugal-a₂-LAK175 ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55  6  o. iii 14
lugal-a₂-LAK175 Maš-da₂, Lugal-a₂-LAK175, Ur-e₂-me ED IIIb Zabala M. Powell, HUCA 49 (1978), p. 1–58  10  o. i 2
lugal-a₂-mah (a28)7 ‘the lugal (possesses) the ultimate authority’  3.1.1.6, p. 97, 249 n. 1465
lugal-a₂-mah sağa ED I-II Umma (?)  OIP 104  12  B-C i 2
lugal-a₂-mah ED IIIa Adab  CUSAS 11  8  o. ii 4
lugal-a₂-mah ED IIIa Adab  CUSAS 11  10  o. iii 4
lu[gal]-a₂-mah dub-sar ED IIIa Šuruppag  TSŠ  931  r. v 1
lugal-a₂-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  41  o. vi 6’
lugal-a₂'-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  65  r. v 9
lugal-a₂'-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  66  r. i 9’
lugal-a₂'-mah a-ru ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  72  o. iii 1
lugal-a₂'-mah sukkal ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  75  o. iv 2
lugal-a₂'-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  84  r. i 2
lugal-a₂'-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  85  o. i 2
lugal-a₂'-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  86  o. iii 2
lugal-a₂'-mah ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  108  r. iii 2
⁰lu[gal]-a₂-mah ED IIIb Ebla  MEE 3  67  o. i 1
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ ED IIIb Marada? \textit{AAICAB} 1/1 (Ashm 1924-465) o. i 2
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ₁? ES Adab CUSAS 11 320 o. i 3
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ azlag,-(-ra) MS Adab \textit{TCABI} 149 o. 5
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ engar CS Adab CUSAS 13 21 r. 6

\textbf{lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ₂}  \(^{(2)}\) ‘the lugal (possesses) the ultimate authority’ 3.1.1.6, p. 97 n. 506, 249 n. 1465
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ₂ ED IIIa Śuruppag \textit{TSŠ} 290 o. ii 1
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ₂[ma]₁₂ ED IIIa-b Marada? \textit{AAICAB} 1/1 (Ashm 1924-462) r. i 4
lugal-\(a\)₂-maḥ₂ ED IIIb Marada? \textit{AAICAB} 1/1 (Ashm 1924-468) o. i 5

\textbf{lugal-\(a\)₃(DA)-maḥ₂}  \(^{(2)}\) ‘the lugal (possesses) the ultimate authority’ 3.1.1.6, p. 97 n. 506
lugal-\(a\)₃-maḥ₂ umbisāg ED IIIa Śuruppag \textit{SF} 27+\textit{TSŠ} 327+\textit{NTŠŠ} 294 r. iii 6
lugal-\(a\)₃-maḥ₂ ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iii 1
lugal-\(a\)₃-maḥ₂ ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iv 5

\textbf{lugal-\(a\)₃-na (identical with lugal-\(a\)₂-na-gub)}
lugal-\(a\)₃-na¹ šuku dab₂-ba, Gir₂-nun, gab₂-kas₄-da, e-da-se₁₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu BIN 8 381 o. ii 3
lugal-\(a\)₃-na ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu CT 50 41 o. i 2
lugal-\(a\)₃-na ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu CT 50 43 o. ii 1
lugal-\(a\)₃-na šu-ku₆ e₂ mi₂ ED IIIb Girsu \textit{DP} 2/2 334 o. i 4
lugal-\(a\)₃-na ag₃-uzu₂ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 102 o. ii 3
lugal-\(a\)₃-na ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 o. i 6
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu CT 50 106 o. ii 6
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu CT 50 137 r. 1
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu CT 50 138 r. 2
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu CT 50 149 r. 5
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu CT 50 150 r. 6
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu ITT 2/1 2984 r. 3
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4378 r. 3
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4636 r. 3
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu ITT 2/2, pl. 87 1xxx o. i 6
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu ITT 2/2, pl. 87 1xxx r. iii 1
lugal-\(a\)₃-na ugula CS Girsu \textit{RTC} 90 r. i 5
lugal-\(a\)₃-na CS Girsu \textit{RTC} 139 r. 5

\textbf{lugal-\(a\)₃-na-gub}  \(^{(1)}\) ‘the lugal placed (him/her) on his arm’ 3.1.4.1, p. 121 w. n. 653
lugal-\(a\)₃-na-gub Gir₃-nun, gab₂-kas₄-da, e-da-se₁₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu \textit{DP} 1/2
114 r. iv 12

\textbf{lugal-\(a\)₃-pa₃}  \(^{(1)}\) unk. mng. 3.1.8, 3.1.9 (s.v. *lugal-\(a\)₃-MUG.GU-pa₃), p. 175, 184
lugal-\(a\)₃-pa₃ f. Ur-saḡ-Utu, gu:sur ED IIIa-b Unknown E. Sollberger, \textit{Genava} 26 (1948), p. 48–72 fig. 5 3
lugal-\(a\)₃-pa₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 98 o. ii 1
lugal-\(a\)₃-pa₃ ūgula₁ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 98 r. i 1
lugal-\(a\)₃-pa₃ ūgula₁ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 100 o. ii 2

\textbf{lugal-\(a\)₃-šum.-ma}  \(^{(2)}\) ‘the lugal is granted authority’ 3.1.1.6, p. 98, 258
lugal-\(a\)₃-šum₂-ma ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 106 o. i 3
lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 140 o. ii 2’
lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma ES Adab TCABI 29 o. ii 5
lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma CS Girsu CT 50 134 o. 5
lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma CS Girsu RTC 125 o. ii 11
lugal-a₂-šum₂-ma nagar CS Girsu RTC 126 o. ii 13’

lugal-a₂-tuku (a) ‘the lugal is powerful’ 3.1.1.6, p. 98–99, 249 n. 1465
lugal-a₂-tuku ED IIIa Šuruppag H. Steible, CollAn 7 (2008), 97 (§ 380, transl. only)

“iii 9”
lugal-a₂-tuku MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. iii 9

lugal-a₂-zī (a) ‘the lugal on the right side’ 3.1.3.1, p. 109
lugal-a₂-zī ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu VS 27 54 o. ii 5

lugal-a₂-zī-da (a,b) ‘the lugal on the right side’ 3.1.3.1, p. 109, 176 n. 1044, 183 n. 1134
lugal-a₂-zī-da ED IIIa Šuruppag M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27–49 1 o. ii 9
lugal-a₂-zī-da ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. vi 5
lugal-a₂-zī-da ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 144 o. ii 3
lugal-a₂-zī-da ir₁₁ Lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 50 o. i 1
lugal-a₂-zī-da ĝiš-šu-ri-ri ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. iii 14
lugal-a₂-zī-da ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 103 o. i 4
lugal-a₂-zī-da dab₂ ku₅-gi-[{(x)}] CS Umma CT 50 75 r. 4
lugal-a₂-zī-da f. ‘Ur-šul³³ CS/NS. Unknown BIN 8 162 r. 2
lugal-a₂-zī-da-[{(x)}] CS Adab SIA 713 o. 4’

lugal-Ab (a,b) unkn. mngg. 3.1.8, p. 87 n. 432, 175 n. 1030
lugal-Ab ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. iv 12
lugal-Ab (ag₃-u₂₃) ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 616 r. i 4
lugal-Ab ED IIIb Girsu VS 14 190 r. i 2
lugal-Ab ED IIIb/X Y 2 Girsu VS 25 83 o. ii 2
lugal-Ab f. Lugal-nam₂ ES Ur UET 1 269 1
lugal-Ab CS Girsu DPA 22 (PUL 40) o. 7
lugal-Ab CS Girsu STTI 131 o. 6
lugal-Ab CS Mesag M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 16 r. i 5’
lugal-Ab CS/NS. Mesag MesCiv 4 45 r. 21
lugal-Ab CS Mesag T. Ozaki, SANTAG 7 7 o. 7
lugal-Ab CS/NS. Umma MAD 4 74 o. 2
lugal-Ab f. KA-ku₄ MC-CS Umma MesCiv 4 28 o. ii 18
lugal-Ab f. Ur₃-Ab¹-[u₂₃] MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 28 r. ii 1
lugal-Ab? CS Umma MVN 15 378 o. 4
lugal-Ab OAKK Unknown MAD 4 25 (translit. only) o. 3

lugal-ab-ba (a,b) ‘the lugal is a father’ 3.1.1.2, p. 87, 175 n. 1030
lugal-ab-ba CS Girsu ITT 1 1053 r. 3
lugal-ab-ba CS Girsu ITT 1 1053 r. 5
lugal-ab-ba CS Girsu STTI 122 o. 4

lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ (a) ‘the lugal is my father’ 3.1.1.2, p. 87
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ nu-si₂₄-ni₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 116 o. iv 9
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ nu-si₂₄-ni₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu DP 1/2 117 o. iii 8
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ nu-si₂₄-ni₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu DP 1/2 118 o. iii 14
lugal-ab-ba-[ğu₄]₃ ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9203 o. 6
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ nita₉, lu₂ gemε₂₂[Ba-u₂] ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu Nik 1 15 r. i 1
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala ? RIAA 81 o. 1
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ ED IIIb/l₂ ensi₂ Zabala TCIBI 1-1 o. i 5
lugal-ab-ba-ğu₄ ED IIIb Zabala TCIBI 1-21 o. 3
lugal-ab-ba-uru  (a1) ‘the lugal is a city elder’  3.1.1.2, p. 95
lugal-ab-ba-uru  CS Girsu RTC  125  o. ii 7

lugal-AB-da-SAG  (a1)  unk. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-AB-da-SAG  ED IIIa Šuruppak A. Westenholz, OrNS 44 (1975), p. 434–438  1  r. i 5

lugal-ab-du-ga  (a1)  unk. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-ab-du-ga  dub-sar ED IIIb Girsu HSS 3  43  o. ii 3

lugal-ab-e  (a2) ‘the lugal brought it out’  3.1.5.1, p. 128
lugal-ab-e  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu DP 1/2  128  o. v 7
lugal-ab-e  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu DP 1/2  129  o. iv 10
lugal-ab-e  CS Unknown (Girsu?) MVN 2  298  r. i 9

lugal-AB-x-da  (a1)  unk. mng.  3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-AB-x-da  ED I-II Ur UET 2  199  r. ii 2

lugal-SA-B(×AS2)1-[x] ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  83  o. ii 4

lugal-ab-ki-aš  (a1) ‘the lugal loves the cow’  3.1.5.3, p. 135, 148 n. 837, 249 n. 1466
lugal-ab-ki-aš  ED IIIa Šuruppak? G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, p. 1107–1133  3  o. vi 1

lugal-abbā3  (a2) ‘the lugal is my father’  3.1.1.2, p. 87, 175 n. 1134, 189
lugal-abbā3  ES Adab TCABI  57  o. i 6

lugal-abbā3-ĝuš  (a2) ‘the lugal is my father’  3.1.1.2, p. 87 n. 430
lugal-abbā3-ĝuš  ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11  21  o. ii 3
lugal-abbā3-ĝuš  ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  107  o. i 4
lugal-abbā3-ĝuš  ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  142  o. ii 1
lugal-abbā3-ĝuš  ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  198  o. ii 3
lugal-abbā3-ĝuš  maškim-bi ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  203  o. ii 1

lugal-abbā3-uru?  (a1) ‘the lugal is a city elder (?)’  3.1.1.2, p. 95
lugal-abbā3-uru?  CS Adab SIA  753  o. 1

lugal-abzu  (a2) ‘the lord … the Abzu,’ abbreviation  3.1.6.4, p. 153
lugal-abzu  ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala R. D. Freedman, The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis  48  o. i 8
lugal-abzu  ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14  36  o. i 3
lugal-abzu  ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14  117  o. i 4
lugal-abzu  ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl.  47  o. i 4

lugal-abzu-a  (a2) ‘the lord … in the Abzu’  3.1.6.4, p. 153 n. 877
lugal-abzu-a  ED IIIb/Luzag. (?)  7  Umma-Zabala BIN 8  55  o. ii 2
lugal-abzu-a  ED IIIb/Umm-Zag. ensi2 X Umma-Zabala BIN 8  82  o. i 12
lugal-abzu-a  ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14  40  o. i 3
lugal-abzu-a  ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14  112  o. i 3
lugal-abzu-a  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi2  7  Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55  7  r. i 7
lugal-abzu-a  azlag7  MS-CS Nippur TMH 5  147  r. 3

lugal-abzu-a-gal-di  (a2) ‘the lord is prominent in the Abzu’  3.1.6.4, p. 153
lugal-abzu-a-gal-di  lu₂ lu₂[a₂×ni₂g₂] ED IIIb/Enz. ensi X Girsu DP 2/1  195  o. iv’ 6’
lugal-abzu-a-gal-di  aga₂-us₂ ED IIIb/[Enz. ensi2 X] Girsu DP 2/1  231  o. ii’ 3’

lugal-abzu-da  (a2) ‘the lord … with the Abzu (?)’  3.1.6.4, p. 153 n. 877
lugal-abzu-da’ ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC  1  o. iii 1

lugal-abzu-si  (a1) ‘the lugal is just right for the Abzu’  3.1.6.4, p. 65 n. 320, 153
lugal-abzu-si  nager ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1  46  o. iv 6
lugal-ad-da (a1) ‘the lugal is a father’ 3.1.1.2, p. 87, 175 n. 1134
lugal-ad-da sagi MS-CS Isin? BIN 8 158 r. i 9
lugal-ad-gar-du₄₀ (a1) ‘the lugal (gives/is) good advice’ 3.1.2, p. 107
lugal-ad-gar-du₄₀ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. i 4
lugal-aga(LAK154)-zi (a2) ‘the lugal (wears) the legitimate crown’ 3.1.1.3, p. 88, 171 n.
1002, 188
lugal-aga-zì ED IIIb Isin BIN 8 80 r. i 5
lugal-aga-zì s. NIM ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 53 o. iii 6
lugal-aga-zì ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. v 15
lugal-aga₄₋₅(LAK667)-zi (a3) ‘the lugal (wears) the legitimate crown’ 3.1.1.3, p. 88, 188
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 2 Girsu BIN 8 347 r. ii 12
lugal-aga₄₋₅ lu₄ a-kum₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu BIN 8 353 o. iii 5
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DCS 8 o. iv 1
lugal-aga₄₋₅ lu₄ a-kum₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP 1/2 132 r. ii 13
lugal-aga₄₋₅ lu₄ igi-nišin₂ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ X Girsu DP 2/1 195 o. ii’ 6’
lugal-aga₄₋₅ [lu₂ a-kum₂] ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu DP 2/1 226 r. i 4
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu DP suppl. 615 o. iii 3
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP suppl. 632 r. i 5
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP suppl. 624 o. i 3
lugal-aga₄₋₅ gab₃-dan₄ ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP suppl. 626 o. i 3
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu DP suppl. 657 o. ii 3
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 4 Girsu Nik 1 42 r. i 1
lugal-aga₄₋₅ lu₄ igi-nišin₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu Nik 1 79 r. i 2
lugal-aga₄₋₅ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 4 Girsu RTC 70 r. i 2
lugal-ağrig (a2) ‘the lugal is a steward’ 3.1.5.2, p. 129–130
lugal-ağrig ED IIIb-b Unknown T. Ozaki, JAC 22 (2007), p. 1–8 1 o. i 2
lugal-ağrig sipa anšè CS Adab SIA 639 o. ii 5
lugal-ağrig-zi (a4) ‘the lugal is a faithful steward’ 3.1.5.2, p. 129–130
lugal-ağrig-zi ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 40 o. ii’ 4
lugal-ağrig-zi ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 140 o. iii 6
lugal-ağrig⁻²-zi ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 58 r. ii 2
lugal-ağrig⁻³-zi MS-CS Adab OIP 14 176 o. i 4
lugal-ağrig⁻³-zi s. Lugal-nil₃-bar₃-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 92 o. 4
lugal-aja⁻₀-da (a3) ‘the lugal (is one honoured) with the father’ 3.1.7.1, p. 160
lugal-aja⁻₀-da ED IIIa Şuruppak TSŠ 401 r. iii 3
lugal-aja⁻₀-da ED IIIa Şuruppak WF 74 o. iii 4
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ (a6) ‘the lugal is my father’ 3.1.1.2, p. 87, 175 n. 1023
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ ED IIIb Adab Eig. m’ensi₂ OIP 14 51 r. iii 8
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ E₂₄Ur₂-Bi₂-du₁₀, gudu₄-da, e-da-se₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu AWAS 119 r. ii’ 5’
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ [mar]-ğu₃-ka i₃-ti, U₃-₄₃, sa₂-₄-gal-da e-da-ti ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu AWAS 120 r. iv 20
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ U₃-₄₃, sa₂-₄-gal¹-da, e-da⁻⁴-se₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu AWAS 123 o. iii’ 2’
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ sa胍-[apin] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu AWAS 124 o. i 2
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ 2 kam-ma, sa胍-[apin] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu AWAS 124 o. i 3
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ [š]ip₃a ‘anše’₃ sun₄-ka, nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu BIN 8 359 o. i 5’
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 r. iv 2
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ lu₃ iti-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 116 o. i 13
lugal-aja⁻₀-ğu₁₀ sa胍-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 117 o. i 4
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ [sağ-apin] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu  \( DP \ 1/2 \) 118 o. i 4
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ sağ-apin, nitaḫ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2(+)x? Girsu  \( DP \ 1/2 \) 119 o. ii 1
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ s. An-na-bi₂-kuš₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu  \( DP \ 1/2 \) 138 o. ii 3
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ nitaḫ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu HSS 3 15 r. ii 3
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ nitaḫ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu HSS 3 16 r. ii 15
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ sağ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 17 r. v 20
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ sağ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu HSS 3 25 o. i 2
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ sağ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu HSS 3 25 o. i 3
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ \( [E₂-r\ur₃-bi-du₁₀, \ gudu₄-da, \ e-da-ṣe₂₁₂ \) ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu D. Charpin, \( RA \ 71 \) (1977), p. 97–105 r. iv 9
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ sağ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu \( TSA \ 18 \) o. i 2
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ sağ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu \( TSA \ 18 \) o. i 3
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 11 r. iii 9
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ nitaḥ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 71 r. iii 17
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ dam-ga₂r, şa₂ga₂-gal ED IIIb Uruk M. W. Green, ZA 72 (1982), p. 163–177 16 o. ii 10
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ şa₂ \( Š \)Iškur (ensi₂ Adab\(^{ab} \) ) MS Adab M. G. Biga, \( Fs \ Klein \), p. 29–38 i 1
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ MS Adab \( TCABI \ 130 \) o. 3
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ CS Adab CUSAS 13 58 r. 2’
lugal-aja₂-ğu₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 119 o. 2
lugal-aja₂-ğu₃[LAK730] \(^{(a1)} \) ‘the lugal is the father of the people’ 3.1.1.6, p. 101, 248 n. 1462
lugal-aja₂-ğu₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag \( RTC \ 13 \) o. iii 1
lugal-al-sa₆ \(^{(a2)} \) ‘it is pleasing to the lugal’ 3.1.8, p. 168 n. 973, 175
lugal-al-sa₆ b. En-lu₂-du₁₀ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 40 o. iv 11
lugal-al-sa₆ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 40 o. v 2
lugal-al-sa₆ gudu₆ \(^{A} \)Ama-geštin-na ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 40 o. vi 10
lugal-al-sa₆ \(^{a2} \) gudu₆ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 40 r. iii 4
lugal-al-sa₆ \(^{f} \)Lugal-igi₂-an-na-ke₂-esu ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 40 r. iv 1
lugal-al-sa₆ b. En-lu₂-du₁₀ ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 14 170 r. ii 1
lugal-al-sa₆ gudu₆ \(^{A} \)Ama-geštin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu VS 25 70 r. iii 14
lugal-al-sa₆ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 164 o. i 3
lugal-al-sa₆ dub-sar maḥ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 166 r. ii 2
lugal-al-sa₆ lu₂ \(^{[e]} \)EDIN-gur ES Adab \( TCABI \ 32 \) o. i 3
lugal-al-sa₆ \(^{[e]} \)h. Ama₂-e₂ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. i 8
lugal-al-sa₆ \(^{(a1)} \) ‘it is pleasing to the lugal’ 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-al-sa₆ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 39 r. ii’ 3
lugal-alam \(^{(a1)} \) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-alam ED I-II Ur UET 2 224 o. ii 4
lugal-alam-ak \(^{(a1)} \) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-alam-ak ED IIIa Šuruppag \( SF \ 29 \) o. vi 5
lugal-am-gal \(^{(a1)} \) ‘the lugal (is) a great bull’ 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-am-gal CS Girsu \( DPA \ 1 \) (PUL 1) r. 4
lugal-ambar \(^{(a1)} \) ‘the lugal … the marshes (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-ambar E₂-lu’₂-a, Lugal-ambar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? \( BIN \ 8 \) 62 o. ii 6
lugal-AN (a27/1) ‘An/the god … the lugal (?)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 146
lugal-AN ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 8 o. iv 3
lugal-AN ED IIIa Nippur OIP 97 2 r. i 3
lugal-AN ED IIIa Šuruppag CUSAS 11 344 r. ii 3
*lugal-AN šitim ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 o. vi 10
lugal-AN ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 65 r. ii 9
lugal-AN ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 152 r. i 2
lugal-AN ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 9 o. iii 2
lu:gal AN šu-i ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 67 o. ii 9
lugal-AN ES Adab TCABI 28 o. i 8
lugal-AN sipa ‘udu’ CS Girisi SCT 2 r. i 9
lugal-AN nu-bandāa3 CS Umma CT 50 188 r. i 13
lugal-AN-AB (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175
lugal-AN-AB ED IIIa-b Umma? YOS 1 2 3
lugal-AN-BU? (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175–176
lugal-AN-BU? ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 453/1 r. (?) iii 3’
lugal-AN-da (a5) ‘the lugal … by An/a god,’ abbreviation 3.1.6.2, p. 141, 153 n. 1488
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb/Enz. saqa 17 Girisi BIN 8 352 r. iii 3
lugal-AN-da sipa anše ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girisi DCS 8 r. iv 3
lugal-AN-da dumu saqa ED IIIb/Enz. or En. II Girisi? DP 1/1 31 v 18
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girisi DP 1/2 136 r. iii 16
lugal-AN-da sipa anše ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girisi DP 1/2 132 r. iv 4
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girisi DP 1/2 132 r. v 4
lugal-AN-da ugula ma₂ gal-gal ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ Girisi DP 2/2 434 o. i 2
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girisi E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), p. 48–72 1 r. iii 6
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girisi E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), p. 48–72 2 r. iv 2
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girisi E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), p. 48–72 3 r. iv 4
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girisi E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), p. 48–72 6 r. i 1
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girisi E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), p. 48–72 6 r. ii 4
lugal-AN-da [x] Lugal-sa₂ (gudu₄) ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girisi HSS 3 40 o. vi 4
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girisi Nik 1 3 r. vi 17
lugal-[AN]-da ED IIIb Girisi Nik 1 4 o. ii 1
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girisi Nik 1 25 o. ii 7
[lugal-AN-da] ED IIIb Girisi Nik 1 38 o. i 4
lugal-AN-da sipa e₂ gibil ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girisi Nik 1 164 o. i 2
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb Girisi Nik 1 226 o. ii 2
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb Girisi Nik 1 235 o. i 2
lugal-AN-da sipa anše ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girisi RTC 54 o. vi 18
lugal-AN-da s. Maš-gur-ra ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girisi VS 14 159 o. vi 4

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lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 2  Girsu  VS 14  159  r. iii 5
lugal-AN-da ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 4  Girsu  VS 14  173  r. iv 4
lugal-AN-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3  Girsu  VS 27  85  o. i 3
lugal-AN-da f. [(x)]-[tib]₃-[x]₃  CS  Girsu  MVN 3  113  o. i 14

lugal-AN-da-nu-huḡ-ga₃ (a₁) ‘is the lugal not put in office by An/a god?’  3.1.6.2, p. 141-142, 253 n. 1488
lugal-AN-da-nu-huḡ-ša₂ ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 2  Girsu  AWEL, p. 548  1 (Riftin 1)  r. i 3
lugal-AN-da-nu-ḫuḡ-ga₂ ensi₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 1  Girsu  RTC  33  r. ii 2

lugal-AN-da-nu-me-a (a₁) ‘(what would be) without Lugalanda’  3.1.6.2, p. 92 n. 469, 111 n. 593, 141
lugal-AN-da-nu-me-a ED IIIb/(Ukg. 2)  Girsu  VS 27  4  o. iii 1

lugal-AN-dir (a₁) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-AN-dir ED IIIa Šuruppag  TSS  7  o. i’ 4’
lugal-AN-dir ED IIIa Šuruppag  WF  74  o. iv 9’

lugal-an-dul₄ (a₂) ‘the lugal is protection’  3.1.3.1, p. 108
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIa-b Unknown  L’uomo  3  o. iii 7
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Adab  CUSAS 11  28  o. ii 3
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Adab  CUSAS 11  52  r. i 4
lugal-an-dul₃ s. Kas₅-e-ki-₃₄(-kam) ED IIIb-ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  83  o. i 4
lugal-an-dul₃ Ur-lum-ma, Lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb-ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  91  o. ii 6
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb-ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  92  o. i 5
[ lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb-ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  94  o. i 2
[ lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb-ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  96  o. ii 4
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb-ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  252  r. i 5
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Adab  TCABI  5  o. 5
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Adab  TCABI  6  o. 3
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Girsu  ITT 5  9200  o. ii 4
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Girsu  ITT 5  9201  o. ii 1
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Girsu  ITT 5  9208  r. (?) i 1
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Nippur  OSP 1  28  o. i 6
lugal-an-dul₃ sagi, MAH-zì (or al₅-zì) ED IIIb Nippur  TMH 5  10  o. 1
lugal-an-dul₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala  CUSAS 14  4  r. iii 6
lugal-an-dul₃ ES-MS Unknown  MVN 3  58  r. 7
lugal-an-dul₃ sipa MS  Adab  TCABI  115  o. 2
lugal-an-dul₃ MS-CS  Adab  CUSAS 13  8  r. 2
lugal-an-dul₃ MS-CS  Unknown  BIN 8  275  o. 2
lugal-an-dul₃ MS-CS  Unknown  BIN 8  289  o. (?) 5
lugal-an--uri₃-l)i₄₃ kisal-luḫ CS-LS  Girsu  DAS  343  o. 5

lugal-an-ki-da (a₂) ‘the lugal … with heaven and earth’  3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-an-ki-da ED IIIb Umma-Zabala  MVN 3  3  r. iii 14

⁰lugal-an-ki₂-dub (a₁) ‘the lugal makes heaven and earth quake (?)’  3.1.8, p. 176
⁰lugal-an-ki₂-dub ED IIIb Ebla  MEE 3  59  o. ii 4

lugal-an-ku₂-ge (a₁) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-an-ku₂-ye ǧurūš CS  Umma  BARI S 2135  40  o. 5’
⁰lugal-an-mar (a₁) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 176
⁰lugal-An-mar ED IIIa Abū Šalābīḫ  IAS  330  o. ii 1
lugal-an-na (a₁) (abbreviation of the following)  3.1.6.2, p. 143 n. 799
lugal-an-na CS Unknown (Girsu?) MVN 2 298 o. ii 21

**lugal-an-na-tum₂**<sup>(a=11)</sup> ‘the lugal befits heaven’ 3.1.6.2, p. 65 n. 321, 143
lugal-[an]-na-tum₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 157 o. ii 2
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ED IIIb Girsu RTC 18 r. iii 1
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ED IIIb/X Y 6 Lagaš BiMes 3 20 i 5
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 9 o. i 4
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 45 o. ii 2′
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ED IIIb-ES Nippur TMH 5 94 o. 3
lugal-an-na-tum₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 145 o. 6
lugal-an-na-tum₂ CS Adab SIA 699+823 r. 10
lugal-an-na-tum₂ šita₂ u CS Girsu RTC 96 r. ii 9
lugal-an-na-tum₂ CS-LS ? Girsu RTC 198 r. 5
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ugula CS Girsu ITT 1 1350 o. 2
lugal-an-na-tum₂ CS Girsu ITT 5 9270 r. 6′
lugal-an-na-tum₂ CS Girsu CT 50 126 o. 2
lugal-an-na-tum₂ MS-CS Isin ? MVN 3 25 r. 1
lugal-an-na-tum₂ geme₂ za₃₄ unhealthy MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 39 o. ii 12′
lugal-an-na-tum₂ geme₂ za₃₄ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 44 o. iii 5′
lugal-an-na-tum₂ dumu AN-LU₃ italian, šaruš CS Umma BARI S 2135 40 o. 3′
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ugalu CS Umma USP 50 o. 4
lugal-an-na-tum₂ ens₃₄ Umma ki LS Umma V. Scheil, CRAW 55 (1911), 318–327 1

**lugal-An-ne₂**<sup>(a=14)</sup> ‘An… the lugal’ 3.1.6.2, p. 142, 237, 253 n. 1488
lugal-An-ne₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 78 o. ii 5
lugal-An-ne₂ ir₃₉ šIG₃zi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal Girsu TIM 9 94 iv’ 3′
lugal-An-ne₂ ni₃r ED IIIb-ES Isin (?) BIN 8 170 r. 1
lugal-An-ne₂ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 73 o. 4
lugal-An-ne₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 203 o. 3
lugal-An-ne₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 48 o. 4
lugal-An-ne₂ ’nu-kiri₃₄ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 120 o. i 5′
lugal-An-ne₂ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 10 o. i 3
lugal-An-ne₂ s. Ur-me MS Adab TCBABI 70 o. 1
lugal-An-ne₂ lugal-An-ne₂₄ [r]g-ru-sa-am lugal [(x)], «x» Urim₄ ki CS Ešnuna MAD 1 172 o. 6
lugal-An-ne₂ CS Girsu CT 50 107 o. 7
lugal-An-ne₂ CS Girsu CT 50 134 r. 1
lugal-An-ne₂ CS Girsu DPA 31 (PUL 23) o. 7
lugal-An-ne₂ f. Šeššeš CS Girsu ITT 1 1174 o. 4
lugal-An-ne₂ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4588 o. 7
lugal-An-ne₂ CS Isin MVN 3 1 r. ii 8
lugal-[An-ne₂] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 58 r. 10
lugal-An-ne₂ [šandar] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 59 r. 9
lugal-An-ne₂ E₂-ša₂, Lugal-An-ne₂₂₄ be₃ da MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 60 o. 9
lugal-An-ne₂ E₂-ša₂, Lugal-An-ne₂₂₄ be₃ da MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 60 r. 2
lugal-An-ne₂ 3 FPN sa₃₄ Lugal-An-ne₂₂₄ me MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 63 o. ii 5
lugal-An-ne₂ (-e, erg.) MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 11 r. 4
lugal-An-ne₂ MS-CS Umma MAD 4 22 (translit. only) o. 6

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lugal-An-ne₂ ? MS Umma MAD 4 68 o. 9
lugal-An-ne₂ i‘irɪ₁₁’ Ur-bi ? MS-CS Umma ? TCVC 728 o. ii 5
lugal-An-ne₂ s. Lugal-iii-da CS Umma USP 71 o. 6
lugal-An-ne₂ MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 31 r. 3
lugal-An-ne₂ MS Unknown MVN 3 37 o. 6
lugal-An-ne₂ f. [x-x] CS Unknown MVN 3 108 r. 5
lugal-An-ne₂ dub-sar CS-LS Unknown EGA 653 pl. 17 fig. 195

lugal-An-ne₂-ki-aĝɑ₂ (al) ‘the lugal is one loved by An’ 3.1.6.2, p. 142
lugal-An-ne₂-ki-aĝɑ₂ lu₂ umum-ma DP 2/1 ED IIIb/Lug. 2 176 o. ii 4
lugal-An-ne₂-su (al) ‘the lugal is one known by An’ 3.1.6.2, p. 142
lugal-An-ne₂-su CS Girsu ITT 5 9301 o. 2
lugal-an-ta-ti (a2) ‘the lugal (bestows) life from above’ 3.1.5.4, p. 137
lugal-an-ta-ti ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 25 ‘v’ 3
lugal-an-ta-ti ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. ii 16’

lugal-an-tu₂₉ (a2) ‘the lugal befits heaven’ 3.1.6.2, p. 143
lugal-an-tum₁ (lu₂ ganun) ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 16 r. i 2
lugal-an-tum₂₂ lu₂-gan[un] ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 117 o. i 3
lugal-an-tu₂₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 154 r. i 2
lugal-an-… ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 14 o. iii 3
lugal-an-[x] MS-CS Ur UET 2 suppl. 32 o. 1’

lugal-an-Anzu₂(N₁-MI) (a1) ‘the lugal is (like) the Anzu’ 3.1.3.3, p. 114 n. 615, 165
lugal-an-Anzu₂ i‘irɪ₁₁ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 75 r. 3

lugal-an-Anzu₂(N₁-MI)₉ (a2) ‘the lugal is (like) the Anzu’ 3.1.3.3, p. 114 w. 615, 165
lugal-an-[E]₉ Anzu₂ mel[m] ED IIIb Girsu V. Donbaz, NABU 1997/52 A 3
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] nagar ša₃ ED IIIb Girsu OIP 14 57 r. i 2
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ Girsu OIP 104 22 r. ii 42
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 25 26 o. i 1
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ (Im-MI) (a1) ‘the lugal is (like) the Anzu’ 3.1.3.3, p. 114 n. 615, 165
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ ED I-II Ur UET 2 128 r. i 4
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ (IM-MI) (a3/7) ‘the lugal is (like) the Anzu’ 3.1.3.3, p. 114 n. 615, 165
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] Lagas₉ ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 70 r. v 1
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] IB ED IIIa Šuruppak NTSS 262 r. i 2
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] ED IIIa/ED IIIb Ur UE 2 pl. 197 no. 60 1
lugal-an-an-Anzu₂₉ mel[m] ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 67 o. i 3
lugal-apin? (a1) ‘the lugal … the plow’ 3.1.5.3, p. 131 n. 725
lugal-apin? Ur-ba, i‘ir₁₁ Lugal-apin? CS Girsu RTC 96 r. i 13’

lugal-aḏ apin-du₄₀ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who makes the plow good’ 3.1.5.3, p. 50 n. 231, 131
w. n. 725, 140, 259
lugal-aḏ apin-du₄₀ nar CS Umma USP 41 o. 5

lugal-apin-du₄₀ (a2) ‘the lugal is one who makes the plow good’ 3.1.5.3, p. 50 n. 231, 131,
140, 185, 259
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 52 o. iv 7’
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb ES Adab CUSAS 11 252 r. ii 1
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 36 o. i 4’

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lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 39 o. iii 4’
lugal-apin-du₄₀ tug₂-du₄ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. iv 4
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 4 o. i 1
lugal-apin-du₄₀ f. Lugál-ur-sağ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. i 7
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 15 o. ii 7
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 56 o. i 3
lugal-apin-du₄₀ muḥaldim ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 79 o. iii 2
‘lugal-apin’-[du₁₀] MS Adab TCABI 114 o. 6
lugal-apin-du₄₀ dam-[gara₃] MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 78 r. 4
lugal-apin-du₄₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 95 o. i 10
lugal-[apin]-[du₁₀] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. i 3
lugal-[apin]-[du₁₀]’ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 106 o. 6
lugal-apin-du₄₀ ġir₂-[la₃] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 162 r. 1
lugal-[apin]-du₄₀ muḥaldim, ugula-[b]’i₃ MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 11 r. 7
lugal-apin-du₄₀ CS/N.S. Nippur PBS 9 15+110 o. i 5
lugal-[apin]-du₄₀ CS Nippur PBS 9 36 o. i 4’
lugal-apin-du₄₀ CS Nippur PBS 9 77 o. i 2’
lugal-apin-du₄₀ CS Nippur PBS 9 79 o. i 2’
lugal-apin-du₄₀ MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 105 o. (?) i 1’
lugal-apin-du₄₀ CS/N.S. Nippur TMH 5 7+184+201a o. i 6
lugal-apin-du₄₀ dumu nu-siki MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 34 r. i 14
lugal-[gal]-apin-du₄₀ dumu nu-siki MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 39 o. i 16’
lugal-apin-ne₂[₁] ‘the lugal is one who makes’ the plow (good)’ 3.1.5.3, p. 50 n. 231, 131, 259
lugal-apin-[ne₂] AN-palil, azlag₃, Lugal-apin-[ne₂], e-da-ti ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu
A&WAS 124 r. ii 18
lugal-apin-ne₂ Ur-[u₃]-u₂₃, mi₂-us₂-sa, Lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu
Am list 2 o. ii 3
lugal-apin-ne₂ Ur-[u₃]-u₂₃, mi₂-us₂-sa, Lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu DP 1/2 125
o. ii 2
lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 116 r. iv 1
lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 117 r. iii 8
lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP 1/2 124 o. i 9
lugal-apin-ne₂ Ur-[u₃]-u₂₃, mi₂-us₂-sa, Lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 1/2
126 o. ii 1
lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb X ¥ 4 Girsu HSS 3 19 r. i 9
lugal-apin-ne₂ lu₂₃ ni₃₃-bara₃ ED IIIb X ¥ 5 Girsu RTC 39 r. i 5
lugal-apin-ne₂ azlag₄ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu RTC 50 o. iii 1
lugal-apin-ne₂ Ur-[u₃]-u₂₃, mi₂-us₂-sa, Lugal-apin-ne₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu VS 27
75 o. i 2
⁹lugal-asal,-ru[₁] unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
⁹lugal-asal,-ru ED IIIa Suruppag SF 28 o. iii 7
lugal-asila,EZEM×₄[₁] ‘the lugal is joyous’ 3.1.7.8, p. 171 n. 996
lugal-asila₄ s. Si-du₄ CS Umaa USP 46 o. 16
lugal-asila,A,EZEM[₁] ‘the lugal is joyous’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170–171
lugal-asila₄ ED IIIa Girsu L. Heuzey, Catalogue des antiquités chaléennes no. 5
(AO 2350+3288)
lugal-asila₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. v 13
lugal-as[₁] ‘the lugal is one of a kind’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168 n. 970
lugal-as ED IIIa Uruk M. W. Green, ZA 72 (1982), p. 163–177 5 o. i 2
lugal-āš₉ (a⁴) ‘the lugal is one of a kind’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
lugal-āš₉ šu-ku₉ lugal CS Girsu ITT 1 1040 o. 5’
lugal-āš₉ na-gada CS Girsu ITT 1 1059 o. 6
lugal-āš₉ l₃₃₄₉ Mar-tu-ne₉ ki CS Girsu ITT 1 1475 o. 9
lugal-āš₉ sipa CS Girsu ITT 5 6710 o. 2
lugal-āš₉ maškim CS Girsu RTC 127 o. v 8’
lugal-āš₉ maškim CS Girsu RTC 127 o. v 27
lugal-āš₉ₙi (a⁴) ‘the lugal is one of a kind’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
lugal-āš₉ₙi du₃₄₉-ka₉ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu AAW 122 o. iii 3
lugal-āš₉ₙi ki šu-ku₉₉ CS Girsu RTC 91 r. ii’ 5
lugal-āš₉ₙi [ni’] saḫ-ta₂[s]p₂in³ MS-CS Umma? TCYC 733 r. i’ 3’
lugal-āš₉ₙi CS Umma MAD 4 39 o. 7
lugal-āš₉ₙi CS Umma MAD 4 32 o. 8
lugal-bad₃ (a⁸) ‘the lugal is a fortress’ 3.1.3.1, p. 91 n. 466, 108
lugal-bad₃ Ed IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 48 o. ii 4
lugal-bad₃ l₃₃₄₉ igiatan₂ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu AAW 124 o. ii 12
lugal-bad₃ [l₃₃₄₉ igiatan₂] Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu BIN 8 359 o. ii 10’
‘lugal-bad₃’ nītaḥ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2(+x?) Girsu DP 1/2 119 i 1
lugal-bad₃ l₃₃₄₉ igiatan₂ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu HSS 3 25 o. ii 12
lugal-bad₃ l₃₃₄₉ igiatan₂ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 26 o. ii 11
lugal-bad₃ l₃₃₄₉ igiatan₂ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 27 o. iii 4
lugal-bad₃ l₃₃₄₉ igiatan₂ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu TSA 18 o. ii 12
lugal-bad₃ GAB₂ Ed IIIb Nippur OSP 1 36 o. i 1’
lugal-bad₃ muḫaldim Ed IIIb Nippur OSP 1 36 o. i 4’
lugal-bad₃ s. Gu₂-nil, …, nu-kiri₉ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 6 o. ii 6
lugal-bad₃ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 21 o. iii 7’
lugal-bad₃ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 56 o. i 6
lugal-bad₃ muḫaldim Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 56 r. iii’ 3’
lugal-bad₃ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 79 o. ii 5
lugal-bad₃ muḫaldim Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 79 o. ii 6
lugal-bad₃ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 164 o. ii 7
‘lugal-bad₃’ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 167 o. i 5
‘lu:gal-bad₃’ Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 174 o. ii 2
lu:gal-bad₃ muḫaldim Ed IIIb Nippur TMH 5 174 o. ii 4
lugal-bad₃ ES Adab CUSAS 11 331 o. ii 5
lugal-bad₃ muḫaldim ES Nippur OSP 1 31 o. i 5’
lugul-bad₃ CS Girsu ITT 5 9263 o. ii 3
lugal-bad₃ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 2 o. 17’
lugal-bad₃ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 4 o. 18
lugal-ban₃₉₄ (a₂) ‘the lugal is resourceful’ 3.1.2, p. 106
lugal-ban₃₉₄ Ed IIIb Marada? AAIÇAB 1/1 (Ašhm 1924-468) r. ii 4
lu[gal]-ban₃₉₄ CS Adab CUSAS 13 56 o. ii 8
lugal-banṣér-e (a¹) ‘the lugal is just right for) the (offering) table(?)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 113 n. 606,
147, 230
lugal-banṣér-e ugula MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 30 o. i 1
lugal-bara₂ (a⁹) ‘the lugal … the throne dais’ 3.1.1.3, p. 90 n. 457
lugal-bara₂ l₃₃₄₉ i₂₉₉₉ nu-banda₉ Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu DP 2/2 374 o. iii 1
lugal-bara₂ l₃₃₄₉ banṣer Ed IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP suppl. 590 o. v 7
lugal-bara₂ ES Adab CUSAS 11 318 o. 3
lugal-bara₂ Mar-ḥa-ši₉[ki] ES-MS Umma CST 8 o. i 2
lugal-barā₂ [ugula]-ni ES-MS Umma Nik 2 13 o. 4
lugal-barā₂ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 62 o. i 6
[lu]gal₂-barā₂ Mar-ḫa-ṣi₂ ES-MS Umma USP 7 r. 8
lugal-barā₂ sağ-apin-na CS Girsu STTI 86 o. ii’ 17’
lugal-³baraq₂ CS Girsu STTI 151 r. i’ 6’
[lu]gal₂-barā₂ CS. Umma MAD 4 39 o. 5

lugal-barā₂ Lugal-barā₂ ni-tuk-MU, NIM-me MS Umma L’uomo 33 o. i 5

°lugal-barā₂-du₄° (2) ‘the lugal makes the throne dais good’ 3.1.1.3, p. 62 n. 310, 66 n. 329, 90, 249 n. 1464
°lugal-³baraq₂-du₁₀ ED IIIa Kiš MesCiv 14, pl. 23, 3: H+Y r.(?) ii’ 3
°lugal-barā₂-si₂ ED IIIa Șuruppag SF 28 o. iii 4
°lugal-barā₂-du₁₀ ED IIIa Șuruppag SF 29 o. ii 7

lugal-barā₂-ga-ne₂-du₉° (a1) ‘the lugal makes his throne dais good’ 3.1.1.3, p. 66 n. 329, 90, 101
lugal-barā₂-ga-ne₂-du₁₀ nu-bandā c₂ Lum-ma-tur-ka ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ 4 Lagaš BiMes 3 10 r. iii 1
lugal-barā₂-ge-du₉° (a1) ‘the lugal makes the throne dais good’ 3.1.1.3, p. 62 n. 310, 66 n. 329, 90
lugal-barā₂-ge-du₁₀ Unug₂ ED IIIa Șuruppag WF 70 r. v 10

lugal-barā₂-kalam (LAK729) (a1) ‘the lugal is a prince of the land’ 3.1.1.3, p. 90–91, 100, 258
lugal-barā₂-kalam (LAK729) ir₄ šukkal-maḥ MS-CS Umma? TCVC 728 o. iii 9
lugal-barā₂-si (a3) ‘the lugal is just right for the throne dais’ 3.1.1.3, p. 62 n. 310, 66 n. 329, 90, 229, 249 n. 1464
lugal-barā₂-si ED I-II Ur UET 2 248 o. ii 1
lugal-barā₂-si³ ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 6 o. ii 5
lugal-barā₂-si ED IIIa Șuruppag WF 65 r. v 1

lugal-bi₄-tum₄ (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176, 178 n. 1061
lugal-bi₄-tum₂ ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. ii 12
lugal-bi₄-tum₂ ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. vi 18

lugal-bu₄-la₂ (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-bu₄-la₁ ni ES-MS Umma Nik 2 17 o. 4

lugal-bur (a2) ‘the lugal … a bowl’ 3.1.6.3, p. 149, 230
lugal-bur CS Girsu CT 50 100 o. 2
lugal-bur šabra CS Girsu ITT 1 1040 o. 4’
lugal-bur CS Girsu ITT 5 6679 r. 2
lugal-bur LS-Lagaš II Girsu ITT 5 6689 o. 2
lugal-bur CS Girsu ITT 5 9268 o. 4’
lugal-bur ša-aš-ur-saq šimag, ir₄ Lugal-bur CS Girsu? MVN 10 137 r. 1
lugal-bur ağrig CS Girsu STTI 6 o. 7’
lugal-bur CS Girsu STTI 7 r. 8
lugal-bur CS Girsu STTI 98 o. 3
lugal-bur CS Girsu STTI 118 o. 4
lugal-bur CS Girsu STTI 121 o. 3’
lugal-bur CS Girsu STTI 182 r. ii 7’
lugal-bur šabra CS Umma CT 50 75 r. 9

lugal-da (a8) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-da ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 161 r. 2
lugal-da ED IIIb X Y 2 Girsu DP 2/2 461 r. ii 4
lugal-da sipa udu-siki ED IIIb/ltk. ensi 1 Girsu DP 2/1 259 o. i 4
lugal-da sipa udu-siki ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu Nik 1 293 r. i 3
lugal-da Ir 1 E 2-ERIM ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. vi 22
lugal-da ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 104 o. i 1
lugal-da Pa 2-ma ED IIIb Unknown MVN 3 14 o. iii 4
lugal-da ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. iii 13
lugal-da ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. vi 17
lugal-da nagar MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 63 o. i 10
lugal-da f. Lu 3-digir-ra, sipa anše lugal-ka MVN 3 107 r. 4
lugal-da' CS Kiš B. Buchanan, Catalogue 1 307 i
lugal-DAGUR? (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-DAGUR7 ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. vi 10'
lugal-DAGUR-RA (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176 w. n. 1044
lugal-DAGUR-RA ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. viii 4
lugal-DAGUR-RA ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. ix 1
lugal-DAGUR-RA ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. ix 10
lugal-DAGUR-RA ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. ix 16
lugal-DAGUR-RA ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 l.e. 24
lugal-DAGUR-HU (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-DAGUR-HU ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 r. iii 11
lugal-DAGUR-KI (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-DAGUR-KI MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 88 o. 2'
lugal-DALU (a1) (things) flourish with the lugal’ 3.1.5.3, p. 102, 134
lugal-DALU lugal Adab (a1) ED IIIb/Lugaladalu X Adab E. J. Banks, AJSL 21/1 (1914), p. 57–59 2
lugal-DALU-MU (a2) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-DALU-MU ED IIIa Larsa? AAICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1924-455) o. i 3
lugal-DALU-MU ED IIIa-nar ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 67 o. iii 2
lugal-DALU-NA (a2) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 121 n. 653, 176
lugal-DALU-NA ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 467 r. ii 3
lugal-DALU-NA ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 79 o. 2
lugal-DALU-NAM (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-DALU-NAM ED I-II Ur UET 2 143 o. i 1
lugal-DALU-NUME (a3) (what would be) without a lugal?’ 3.1.3.3, p. 111–112, 176 n. 1043
lugal-DALU-NUME sipa u [du siki-ka] ED IIIb/ltk. lugal X Girsu AWAS 69 o. v 11'
lugal-DALU-NUME sipa udu [siki]-ka ED IIIb/ltk. lugal 3 Girsu AWAS 118 o. vi 9
lugal-DALU-NUME sipa udu siki-ka ED IIIb/ltk. ensi 1 Girsu AWAS 119 r. i 6'
lugal-DALU-NUME sipa udu siki-ka ED IIIb/ltk. lugal 4 Girsu AWAS 120 r. iii 17
lugal-DALU-NUME [gab 2]-ra' [udu siki-ka] ED IIIb [ltk. lugal 3] Girsu AWAS 121 r. v 1
lugal-DALU-NUME-[a] [sipu udu siki-ka-me] ED IIIb/ltk. lugal 1? Girsu AWAS 123 o. vii 21
lugal-DALU-NUME sipa udu siki-'ka' ED IIIb/ltk. lugal 3 Girsu BIN 8 391 r. i 10
lugal-DALU-NUME sipa udu siki 2 ED IIIb/ltk. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 r. iii 5
lugal-da-nu-me-a lu₂ iti-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 116 o. i 14
'lugal-da'[nu-me-a] [sipa udu-siki-ka] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu CTNMC 3 o. vi 12
lugal-da-nu-me-a (sipa udu siki) ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu DCS 7 o. vi 5∗
lugal-da-nu-me-a saq-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 117 o. i 2
lugal-da-nu-me-a saq-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal [X] Girsu DP 1/2 118 o. i 2
lugal-da-nu-me-a gab₂-ra udu siki₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 17 r. iv 10
lugal-da-nu-me-a sipa udu siki₃-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ Girsu MVN 3 2 r. iii 14
lugal-da-nu-me-a sipa udu siki₃-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu MVN 3 7 o. iii 2
lugal-da-nu-me-a (+2 PNN) ba-ug₇-ge-e₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂? Girsu Nik 1 7 o. iii 4
lugal-da-nu-me-a sipa udu siki-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu Nik 1 13 r. iv 7
lugal-da-tab-ba? (a₁) unkn. mg. 3.1.8, p. 176
lugal-da-tab-ba? ED IIIb/X Y 28 Umma-Zabala SAKF 3 o. i 6
lugal-da-tuku (a₁) (compare lugal-a₂-tuku ‘the lugal is powerful’) 3.1.1.6, p. 98 n. 516
lugal-da-tuku ED I-II Ur UET 2 53 r. 1
lugal-da-zī (a₂) ‘the lugal, right side (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 176–177
lugal-da-zī Ni₂-zu₄-kur-še₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak TŠŠ 222 o. i 4
lugal-da-zī Ni₂-zu₄-kur-še₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak TŠŠ 794 r. i 3∗
lugal-da-zī Ni₂-zu₄-kur-še₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 9 o. i 6
lugal-da-zī Ni₂-zu₄-kur-še₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 18 o. iv 9
lugal-da-zī ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 32 o. ii 2
lugal-da-[x] ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 8 o. iii 1
‘lugal-da’-[{x}]-šē-um ED IIIb Ur G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Kaskal 2 (2005), 55–78
6 o. 3
⁹lu[gal]-da-x ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 67 o. ii 1
lugal-da-[(x)] [umbiṣaš] ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 20 r. iii 1∗
lugal-dab (a₂8) ‘the lugal grasped (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-dab₁ ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 r. iv 2
lugal-dab₂ im₃, maškim MS Adab TCABI 79 o. 4
lugal-dab₃ dam-gar₃ CS Adab CUSAS 13 78 o. ii 14
lugal-dab₄ CS Adab CUSAS 13 108 o. 10
lugal-dab₅ CS Adab OIP 14 192 r. 4
lugal-dab₆ CS Girsu DPA 40 (PUL 30) o. 6
lugal-dab₇ s. Ni₄-ul CS Girsu ITT 1 1337 o. 1
lugal-dab₈ ugula, s. Ur-me CS Girsu RTC 96 r. ii 8
lugal-dab₉ CS Girsu RTC 96 r. ii 10
lugal-dab₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 o. ii 2
lugal-dab₁₁ dub-sar CS Nippur OIP 129 pl. 157 no. 1 1
lugal-dab₁₂ dub-sar CS Nippur OIP 129 pl. 157 no. 2 1
lugal-dab₁₃ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 7 o. 3∗
lugal-dab₁₄-e (a₁) ‘the lugal grasps (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-dab₁₄-e MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 53 r. 3
lugal-dab (a₂) unkn. mg. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-dab₁₅ ar₃-du₂ e₂-ša₂-ga-ta’ ED IIIb Girsu OIP 14 57 o. i 4
lugal-dab₁₆ CS Girsu CT 50 85 o. i 9
lugal-dalla (a₂₇) ‘the lugal is bright’ 3.1.7.10, p. 174
lugal-dalla saša ED IIIb/Ukg. [lu][gal] 1 Girsu BIN 8 364 r. iii 5
lugal-dalla saša ED IIIb X Y 1 Girsu DP 1/2 91 o. i 3
lugal-dalla saغا ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP 1/2 98 r. iii 3
lugal-dalla saغا Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu *DP 1/2 132 o. v 12
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu *DP 1/2 133 o. ii 4
lugal-dalla saܓ Abzu Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu *DP 2/1 206 o. iv 7
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb Girsu *DP 2/1 216 o. i 1
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu *DP 2/1 226 o. v 1'
lugal-dalla lupherdalla ED IIIb Girsu *DP 2/2 359 o. i 2
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *DP suppl. 631 o. iii 3
lugal-dalla ED IIIb X Y 1 Girsu *DP suppl. 637 o. i 5
lugal-dalla ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu Nik 1 146 o. iii 6
lugal-dalla ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu TSA *4 o. iv 6
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu TSA *5 o. i 3
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu TSA *23 r. iv 4
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 14 173 o. v 2
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu VS 14 179 o. iii 4
lugal-dalla saܓ Paurgy-īrku ED IIIb/(Lug.) 2 Girsu VS 25 27 o. iii 4
lugal-dalla ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu VS 27 11 r. i 1
lugal-dalla ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu VS 27 42 r. i 2
lugal-dalla ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 62 o. i 3
lugal-dalla ED IIIb-ES Ur UET 2 suppl. 19 r. i 4
lugal-dalla lu₂ ma₂-gur₂ ES Adab *TCABI 61 o. iv 3
lugal-dalla s. Ur-a-MIR CS Umma *USP 45 o. ii 9
lugal-dalla šitim CS Unknown CUSAS 13 200 r. 1

*lugal-dalla-pa-e₃ (a1/a2) 'the lugal shines brightly' 3.1.7.10, p. 174
lugal-dalla-pa-e₃ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala? *BIN 8 53 o. ii 2

*lugal-dam (a1) 'the lugal … a/the spouse (?)' 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-dam lu₂ Ur-abzu CS Girsu *RTC 95 r. 6

*lugal-dam-da-[x] (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
*lugal-dam-da-[x] ED IIIb Unknown (Adab ?) *BIN 8 27 r. i 1

*lugal-dam-MU (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177 w. nn. 1049 & 1051
*lugal-dam-MU ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 28 o. i 4

*lugal-dara? (LAK263) (a1) 'the lugal is (like) a dara₂/goat (?)' 3.1.7.6, p. 166
lugal-dara₂ guruš, dumu gi₁, CS Girsu *ITT 1 1182 r. 1

*lugal-di-de₃ (a1) 'the lugal passes verdict' 3.1.3.3, p. 79, 117, 139 n. 772, 241, 254 n. 1492
lugal-di-de₃ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 102 o. iii 3

*lugal-di-gi₄ (a2/a8) 'the lugal is my god' 3.1.4.1, p. 87 n. 431, 120, 166
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 94 o. i 7
*lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb-Enz. 17 Girsu BIN 8 352 r. iii 4
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Enz. or En. II Girsu? *DP 1/1 31 v 10
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *AWS 124 o. i 15
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *DP 1/2 116 o. ii 5
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP 1/2 117 o. i 18
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal [x] Girsu *DP 1/2 118 o. ii 6
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 (+x?) Girsu *DP 1/2 119 o. i 8
lugal-di-gi₄ lu₂ Ur-sağ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu *DP 1/2 136 o. i 1
lugal-di-gi₄ (λ)-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu *HSS 3 25 o. i 12
lugal-di-gi₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *HSS 3 26 o. i 12
lugal-diğir-ğu₁₀ sipa anše-surus₂-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu HSS 3  27 o. ii 4
lugal-diğir-ğu₁₀ ri-muşen ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1  3 o. i 16
‘lugal’-[diğir]-ğu₁₀ (+2 PNN) ba-ug₂-te-e₃₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ ? Girsu Nik 1  7 o. i 3
lugal-diğir-ğu₁₀ sipa anše-surus₂-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu Nik 1  16 o. ii 5
lugal-diğir (A)-ğu₁₀ sipa anše-surus₂-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu TSA 18 o. i 12
lugal-diğir-ğu₁₀ ? ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 r. i 4”
lugal-diğir-ğu₁₀ šu-i, maškim-‘bi ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 35 o. 3
lugal-diğir-ğu₁₀ ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 o. iv 8
lugal-diğir-ra (a₁) ‘lugal of the gods’ 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-diğir-ra f. Lugal-me-du₁₀-qa MS Unknown EGA 522 2
lugal-diğir-re (a₁) ‘the god … the lugal’ 3.1.6.2, p. 147
lugal-diğir-re CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4516 r. 6
lugal-du (a₁b) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-du ? ED IIIb Girsu ? BIN 8 12 r. ii 2
lugal-du sağa (?) ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 86 o. iii 15
lugal-du ED IIIb Umma-Zabala E. Milone, Sefarad 65 (2005), 327–351 16 o. 2
lugal-du lu₂ tu-ra ES Adab TCABI 26 r. ii 3
lugal-du Gal-zu CS Adab CUSAS 13 137 o. 4
lugal-du sipa, dumu ur₃ ki MS-CS Adab OIP 14 167 o. 2
lugal-du nagar MS-CS Mesag MesCiv 4 45 o. 2
lugal-du CS/NS.-Šks Nippur OSP 2 79 o. 2
lugal-du MS-CS Umma MAD 4 35 (translit. only) o. 9
lugal-du sağ-apin-na lugal CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 236 o. i 10
lugal-du₄-ME (a₁/’’) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-du₄-ME ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 5 o. ii 1
ºlugal-du₄-ME ED IIIa Šuruppak SF 28 o. iii 2
ºlugal-du₄-ME ED IIIa Šuruppak SF 29 o. ii 5
lugal-du₄-ni (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-du₄-ni MS-CS Umma AAS 3 o. 2
lugal-du₄-UD ? (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-du₄-UD ? ED IIIb Adab OIP 14 74 o. ii 5
lugal-du₈ (a₁b) “the lugal is one who releases (?)” 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-du₈ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. ii 12
lugal-du₈ sipa šagan₃ ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 587 r. ii 2
lugal-du₈ ma₂-laḥ₆ ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu DP suppl. 637 r. iii 2
lugal-du₈ ma₂-laḥ₆ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1  3 r. iv 12
lugal-du₈ ma₂-laḥ₆ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu Nik 1  32 o. ii 7
lugal-du₈ [u]nu₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu TSA 30 o. i 5
lugal-du₈ gudu₄ ED IIIb/Enz. 3 Girsu VS 25 61 o. iii 4
lugal-du₈ nu-kiri₆ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 113 o. i 2’
lugal-du₈ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 167 o. iii 5
lugal-du₈ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi 6 Umma M. Lambert, OrAnt 18 (1979), p. 225–226 (AO 15540) o. i 6
lugal-du₈ maškim-bi ES-MS Umma CHÉU 53 o. 3
lugal-du₈ dub-sar ES-MS Umma Nik 2 46 r. 1
‘lugal’-du₈ MS-CS Adab OIP 14 151 o. 3
lugal-du₈ lu₂ eme CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 172 r. i 10
lugal-du₈ s. Lu₂ ³ba³ CS Girsu MVN 3 113 r. iii 3'
lugal-du₈ ugula CS Umma CT 50 188 o. i 7
lugal-du₈ saḫ-apin-na lugal CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 236 o. i 6
lugal-du₈ ir₁₁ Me-lam₂ MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 30 o. ii 8
lugal-du₈ CS Umma USP 48 o. i 13'
lugal₈ dumpsters OAkk Ur M. Civil, AulaOr 6 (1988), 105 (U 4395, translit. only) o. 1
lugal-du₈ LS-Lagaš II Girsu RTC 255 o. 5
lugal-du₈ Lagaš II Girsu RTC 201 r. 7

lugal-du₁₀ (a² ²/³) 'the lugal is good' (or abbreviation) 3.1.7.8, p. 170, 186

lugal-du₁₀ ga:es₈ ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 61 o. vii 13
lugal-du₁₀ lu₂ [... ] ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 66 o. iii' 4'
lugal-du₁₀ ga:es₈ ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 69 o. vi' 4

lugal₁¹-du₈ 'lu₂ xu' [x (x)] ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 73 (o.) v 6'
lugal₁¹-du₈ ga[e:es₈] ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 74 o. vi 7'
only) o. v 11

lugal₁¹-du₈ lu₂ ma₄ addir, ED IIIb Girsu DP suppl. 592 o. ii 10
lugal₁¹-du₁₀ ED IIIb-ES Uruk M. W. Green, ZA 72 (1982), p. 163–177 19a o. (?) ii' 3'
lugal₁¹-du₁₀ ED-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. iv 19
lugal₁¹-du₁₀ x CS Unknown MAD 4 71 o. 8

lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga (a) 'the lugal is good (?)' 3.1.7.8, p. 170
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga s. u₂-DA CS-LS Ur UE 2 pl. 216 no. 379 1

lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga (a) (abbreviation of one of the following names) 3.1.1.4, p. 92 n. 470
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga ES-MS Umma Nik 2 60 o. ii 3

lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni (a) 'what the lugal says' 3.1.1.4, p. 92 n. 470
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni ³½ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 152 o. 4
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni ġuru₃, ir₉ dub-sar-ne ES-MS Umma CHÉU 54 o. i 2
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni CS Umma W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, Gs Diakonoff,
225–231 4 o. 6

lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni-nu-[kur₃] (a) 'what the lugal says can not [be altered?]’ 3.1.1.4, p. 92
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni-nu-[kur₃] l[u₃₃] dub sar ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 r. i 3

lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni-zī (a) 'what the lugal says is reliable' 3.1.1.4, p. 92–93
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ga-ni-zī Umma₈₁⁻₃ CS (OB)/NS. Nippur < Umma C. Wilcke, ZA 87 (1997),
p. 11–32 (HS 1954⁺) o. v 21

lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ge-du₈ (a) 'what the lugal says is good’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ge-du₈ šu-ku₃ ab-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. iv 5
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ge-du₈ šu-ku₃ ab-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 47 o. ii 4
lugal₁¹-du₁₀-ge-du₈ sa₂₂-sug₃ ED IIIb Isin BIN 8 37 o. i 2

lugal₄-Dumu-zī (a) (perhaps) ‘the lugal (is like) Dumuzi’ 3.1.6.2, p. 146 w. n. 819
lugal₄-Dumu-zī ED IIIa Śuruppag TSŠ 131 o. ii 2

lugal₄-Dumu-zī (a² ²/³) (perhaps) ‘the lugal (is like) Dumuzi’ 3.1.6.2, p. 146 n. 819
lugal₄-Dumu-zī a. DIM ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 61 o. xi 12
lugal₄-Dumu-zī a. DIM ED IIIa Abū Šalābijh IAS 69 r. i 7
lugal₄-Dumu-zī ED IIIa Kiš AACAB 1/1 (Ashm 1928–429) o. i 3'
lugal₄-Dumu-zī sa₈a ED IIIa Nippur OIP 97 2 r. i 2
lugal₄-Dumu-zī sa₈a ED IIIa Śuruppag NTSŠ 444 o. ii 6
lugal-duumu⁴ ED IIIa Šuruppak NTSŠ 444 o. iii 5
lugal-dumu-zi ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 3 r. ii 6
lugal-dumu-zi ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 9 o. iv 6
lugal-dumu-zi ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 13 o. iv 4
lugal-lugal⁴ ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 65 o. v 3
lugal-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 71 o. vii 10
lugal-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 72 o. iii 9
lugal-lugal a-MIR(LAK154) ED IIIb Ebla A. Archi, StEb 4 (1981), p. 177–204 r. iv 1

lugal-e (a²) unk'n. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. v 9
lugal-e ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 82 r. i 5'
lugal-e ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 141 r. 4
lugal-e ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 147 o. ii 4
lugal-e ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 158 o. ii 4
lugal-e ED IIIb/Il₂ ensi₂ Zabala TCVBI 1-1 r. i 1
lugal-e ES Adab TCABI 25 o. i 4
lugal-e ES Adab TCABI 46 o. 3
lugal-e MS Adab TCABI 122 o. 3
lugal-e CS Girsu CT 50 95 o. 3
lugal-e f. Ur₄-Nin-mug CS Girsu CT 50 98 o. i 8
lugal-e lu₂ e₂-gal-a nu₂ CS Girsu CT 50 101 o. 3
lugal-e CS Girsu CT 50 105 o. 3
lugal-e engar ki-duru₄, dab₂-ba CS Girsu DPA 33 (PUL 38) o. 13
lugal-e ugula CS Girsu ITT 1 1106 r. 2'
lugal-e Girsu (ugula) ġuruš MS-CS ITT 1 1352 o. 3
lugal-e Girsu (ugula) ġuruš, ag₃-us₂ gibil MS-CS ITT 1 1353 o. 3
lugal-e CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4511 o. 3
lugal-e ugula CS Girsu ITT 5 6677 o. 2
lugal-e ugula CS Girsu ITT 5 9258 o. i 7'
lugal-e CS Girsu ITT 5 9269 o. 2'
lugal-e f. Ur₉-KUN³ CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. ii 10
lugal-e CS Girsu RTC 93 o. 3
lugal-e CS Girsu STTI 9 o. 3
lugal-e CS Girsu STTI 39 o. 2
lugal-e CS Girsu STTI 81 o. 3
lugal-e f. Ur₉-x-du₄-a³ CS Girsu STTI 105 r. 7'
lugal-e CS Girsu STTI 144 o. 3
lugal-e CS Girsu STTI 146 o. 3'
lugal-e CS Girsu STTI 146 o. 11'
lugal-e MS-CS Umma MAD 4 73 r. 5
lugal-e MS-CS Umma MAD 4 138 (translit. only) r. 4
lugal-e sipa CS Unknown MAD 4 168 o. 6

lugal-e₄-a₄-na (a²³) ‘the lugal (placed him/her) on his arm’ 3.1.4.1, p. 121 w. n. 653
lugal-e₄-a₄-na f. Zabala₆ ki₄-a MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 243 r. 3'
lugal-e₄-a₄-na f. [Zabala₆ ki₄-a] MS-CS Mesag MesCiv 4 45 r. 2
lugal-e₄-a₄-na CS/NS.-Skš Nippur OSP 2 79 r. 1
lugal-e₄-a₄-na MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 83 o. 6
lugal-e₄-a₄-na MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 r. i 7
lugal-e₄-a₄-na [x E₂]-mi₇-r-kam (?) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 107 r. 1
lugal-e₄-a₄-na s. Ur-Abzu, b.₄ En-li₄-l₄₁ & Si-du₃ CS Umma USP 47 r. ii 4
lugal-e-e (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e-e ED IIIa Šuruppag RTC 15 o. iv 6
lugal-e-gal-gal (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e-gal-gal ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 1 o. iii 4
lugal-e-tar (a1) (probable abbreviation of the following) 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-e-tar Ad-da ugula Lugal-e-tar ES-MS Umma USP 16 o. 6
lugal-e-tar-su1 (ae1) ‘the lugal provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-e-[x(-x)]-Ni-tu1 ugula-[bi] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. ii 18
lugal-e (ae2) ‘lugal (of?) the house’ 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu Nik 1 151 o. i 2
lugal-e2,1 ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 25 “iii” 7 2
lugal-e f. Bahar2 ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 87 o. 6
lugal-e ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 142 o. iii 7
lugal-e ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 201 o. i 2
lugal-e MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 16 o. 4
lugal-e MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 138 r. 2
lugal-e MS-CS Adab TCABI 198 o. 6
lugal-e MS-CS Adab OIP 14 99 r. 2
lugal-e2 MS-CS Adab OIP 14 108 r. 1
lugal-e2,1 dub-sar MS-CS Adab OIP 14 120 o. 3
lugal-e2 MS-CS Adab OIP 14 155 r. 1
lugal-e2 MS-CS Adab OIP 14 167 r. 6’
lugal-e2 MS-CS Adab OIP 14 174 r. 1
lugal-e2,1 CS Adab SIA 713 r. 3
lugal-e2 CS Adab SIA 842 o. 7’
lugal-e-ab-ba (a1) ‘the lugal in the E₂-ab-ba (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e-ab-ba ED I-II Ur UET 2 348 r. ii 1
lugal-e-da (ae2) ‘the lugal … with the house’ 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e-da kikken2 ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DCS 8 r. iii 3
lugal-e-da lu₃₂₂ rum4 Ba-u₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 o. iv 7
lugal-e-da kikken2 ED IIIb Girsu DP 2/1 231 o. v’ 4’
lugal-e-da gudu₄ ED IIIb/X Y 6 Girsu DP suppl. 655 r. i 1
lugal-e-da ED IIIb Girsu RTC 18 o. iii 2
lugal-e-da kikken2 ED IIIb/Lug. ensi₄ Girsu RTC 66 o. iv 10
lugal-e-da s. Lu₂-gi₄₂₂ Lu₂ lu₃₂₂,(bi×Ni)₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 25 34 o. ii 6
lugal-E₂,DU₂-si (a1) ‘the lugal is just right for the E₂ DU (?)’ 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 914
lugal-E₂,DU₂-si ED I-II Ur UET 2 201 o. i 4
lugal-e-ǧiš? (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e-ǧiš (giš-e₂-lugal) ad-l₃? ED IIIa Šuruppag FTUM 29 r. i 3’
lugal-E₂-maš-e (a2) ‘the lugal (is just right) for the Emaš (?)’ 3.1.6.4, p. 155 n. 892
lugal-E₂-maš-e CS Adab CUSAS 13 21 o. 3’
lugal-E₂-maš-e engar Ur-[x(-x)] MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 22 r. 4’
lugal-E₂-maš-e CS Adab CUSAS 13 49 r. 3’
lugal-E₂-maš-e engar CS Adab SIA 863 o. 6
lugal-E₂-maš-e gal₃₂₂-la₂-gal CS Adab TCABI 210 o. 4
lugal-E₂-muš (a1) ‘the lugal … the Emuš’ 3.1.6.4, p. 155 n. 890
lugal-E₂-muš₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu VS 14 5 o. vii 6
lugal-E₂-muš₂-e (a1) ‘the lugal (is just right) for the Emuš (?)’ 3.1.6.4, p. 155 n. 890
lugal-E₂-muš₂-e dumu nitaḥ CS Mesag BIN 8 152 r. ii 13'
lugal-E₂-muš₂-še₃ (a1) ‘the lugal … for/to the Emuš’ 3.1.6.4, p. 155 n. 890
lugal-E₂-muš₂-še₃ ġuruš MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 148 r. i 6
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ (a2) ‘the lugal (is one who does not cease working) for his house’ 3.1.1.2, p. 68 n. 336, 87–88, 177 n. 1060
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ tu₃ sa₄ gu₃ ED II₂a Šuruppag? MVN 10 84 o. ii 11
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED III-a-b Unknown *L’uomo* 3 r. i 1
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ du₄-a-ku₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu *AWAS* 122 o. ii 4
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ nu-kiri₆ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu *CTNMC* 3 r. iii 9
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu *DP* 1/2 114 o. ii 5
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu *DP* 1/2 115 o. ii 5
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ (nu-kiri₆?) ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 116 o. vi 14
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 117 o. vi 7
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ s. E-ta(GU₄)-da ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP* 2/2 339 o. iii 6
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9203 o. 4
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 12 r. 2
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 42 o. 4
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃,₉₀₀ (a1) ‘the lugal (is one who does not cease working) for his house’ 3.1.1.2, p. 87 n. 438
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃,₉₀₀ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. vi 16
lugal-E₂-NUN-si (a2) ‘the lugal is just right for the reed-sanctuary’ 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 914
lugal-E₂-NUN-[si?] ED I-II Ur UET 2 159 o. i 2
lugal-E₂-NUN-si ED I-II Ur UET 2 201 o. i 3
lugal-E₂-NUN-si ifᵢ₁ ED I-II Ur UET 2 259 o. i 3
lugal-E₂-NUN-si ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 28 o. iii 3
lugal-E₂-NUN-si ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 o. ii 6
lugal-E₂-NUN-si ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 133 o. iv 3
lugal-e₂-pa₄ (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 177
lugal-e₂-s₁ (a1) ‘the lugal is just right for the house/temple’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136
lugal-e₂-s₁ dub-sar, maškim ED IIIa Šuruppag *TSŠ* pl. 33f. “X” o. vi 4
lugal-e₂-s₁ (dub-sar aš₃₃) ED IIIa Šuruppag (“gekauft”) *WF* 33 r. ii 2
lugal-e₂-s₁ dub-sar aš₃₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag (“gekauft”) *WF* 33 r. iii 1
lugal-e₂ (-x-) BU ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, *Fs Kramer*, pl. III*-Y*- (W 2/7) o. v 4’
lugal-e₂-[x(-)] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 130 r. i’ 7
lugal-eb₂-ta-e₃ (a1) ‘the lugal brought (him/her) out from there’ 3.1.5.1, p. 128
lugal-eb₂-ta-e₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 57 o. 3
lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃ (a2) ‘the lugal brought (him/her) out from in there’ 3.1.5.1, p. 128, 251 n. 1477
lugal-eb₂-ta-[ni-e₃] ‘niġir’ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 317 iii 6’
[lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃] ? ‘niġir’ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 317 iv 3’
lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃  ED IIIb  Umma  MesCiv 4 3  o. ii 7
lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi X  Umma-Zabala  BIN 8 82  o. ii 13
lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi X  Umma-Zabala  BIN 8 82  o. v 18
lugal-eb₂-ta-ni-e₃  ED IIIb  Umma-Zabala  M. Powell  HUCA 49 (1978) 13  o. i 5

**lugal-eden**  (a₁)  ‘the lugal … the steppe’  3.1.1.6, p. 85 n. 420, 96 n. 501, 97
lugal-eden  lu₂  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal 6  Girsu  DP 1/2 135  o. v 5

**lugal-eden-ne₂**  (a₂)  ‘the lugal … for the steppe’  3.1.1.6, p. 85 n. 420, 96 n. 501, 251 n. 1477
lugal-eden-ne₂  gala  ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1  Girsu  MVN 3 2  r. v 10
lugal-eden-ne₂  (šuₜuₜₛ  a  du₉-ga ?)  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal 5  Girsu  Nik 1 3  r. i 12
lugal-eden-ne₂  ED IIIb  Girsu  Nik 1 14  o. iii 1
lugal-eden-ne₂  gala, ġuruš  ED IIIb/Lug. 6  Girsu  Nik 1 17  o. i 1
lugal-eden-ne₂  gala  ED IIIb/Lug. 6  Girsu  D. Charpin, RA 71 (1977), p. 97–105  r. iv 17
lugal-eden-ne₂  šuₜuₜₛ  a  du₉-ga  ED IIIb/X Y 4  Girsu  TA 47  o. v 4
lugal-ê[den-ne₂]  gala, ġuruš  ED IIIb/Lug. 6  Girsu  VS 25 11  r. iv 2
lugal-eden-ne₂  gala, ġuruš  ED IIIb/Lug. 6  Girsu  VS 25 71  r. iv 6
lugal-eden-ne₂  ED IIIb  Umma-Zabala  CUSAS 14 235  o. ii 3
lugal-eden-ne₂  gu₉-apin  CS/NS.  Nippur  TMH 5 7+184+201a  o. ii 6

**lugal-eden-ne₂-si**  (a₁)  ‘the lugal is just right for the steppe’  3.1.1.6, p. 85 n. 420, 96–97
lugal-eden-ne₂-si  ED IIIa  Šuruppag  M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27–49 1  o. ii 10
lugal-eden-ne₂-si  ED IIIa  Šuruppag  L. Milano, StEL 3 (1986), p. 3–12  r. ii 1

**lugal-eg₂-ge**  (a₂)  ‘the lugal … the levee’  3.1.5.3, p. 132
lugal-eg₂-ge  lu₃  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal 6  Girsu  DP 1/2 135  o. vii 11
lugal-eg₂-ge  na₃-kuₜₛ  ?  MS-CS  Umma  MAD 4 93 (translitr. only)  o. 2
lugal-eg₂-ge  MS-CS  Umma  MAD 4 99 (translitr. only)  o. 3
lugal-eg₂-ge  MS-CS  Umma  MAD 4 111 (translitr. only)  o. 6
lugal-eg₂-ge  ?  MS-CS  Umma  MAD 4 119 (translitr. only)  o. 5
lugal-eg₂-ge  MS-CS  Umma  MesCiv 4 19  o. 2

**lugal-eg₂-pa₃-mah**  (a₃)  ‘the lugal is one who makes canal and ditch magnificent (?)’
3.1.5.3, p. 132
lugal-eg₂-pa₃-mah  ED IIIb  Girsu  DP suppl.  612  o. iii 1

**lugal-eme-uš**  (a₁)  unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 132
lugal-eme-uš  (3 PNN)  Lugal-eme-uš, ba-ug₂-ge  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal 4  Girsu  DP 1/2
138  o. ii 1

**lugal-êEn-ki-a-du**  (a₁)  uncertain mng.  3.1.6.2, p. 147
lugal-êEn-ki-a-du  ED IIIa  Šuruppag  WF 35  o. iii 4

**lugal-êEn-êIL₃**  (a₄)  ‘the lugal … Enlil’  3.1.6.2, p. 143 n. 797, 146, 237, 253 n. 1488
ôlugal-êEn-êIL₃  ED IIIa  Abû Šalâbîh  IAS 462  o. i 5
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  Ur₃-Sudₗ₄  lu₃  ma₃  Lugal-êEn-êIL₃  ED IIIa  Šuruppag  WF 79  r. i 3
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  ED IIIb/Lug. 1  Girsu  RTC 75  r. i 2
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  lu₃  u₃  Aksâkhê  ED IIIb/En. I ensi₄ 4  Lagaš  BiMes 3 10  o. vi 1
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  ED IIIb  Nippur  OSP 1 17  o. ii 5
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5 170  o. ii 3
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5 170  r. i 1
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  sa₃-ga₃  Eš-peš  ES  Adab  CUSAS 11 331  o. ii 1
lugal-êEn-êIL₃  CS/NS.  Nippur  TMH 5 7+184+201a  o. i 2

**lugal-êEn-êIL₃-d₃**  (a₁)  ‘the lugal … with Enlil’  3.1.6.2, p. 142
lugal-êEn-êIL₃-d₃  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal 5  Girsu  DP 1/2 136  r. ii 8

**lugal-êEn-êIL₃-le**  (a₅)  ‘Enlil … the lugal’  3.1.6.2, p. 142, 253 n. 1488

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lugal-[^En-lil_1]-le šu-i₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu AWAS 124 o. ii 14
lugal-[^En-lil_2]-le šu-[i₁] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu BIN 8 359 o. iii 1
lugal-[^En-lil_3]-le lu₃ i₃-ḍa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 116 o. i 3
lugal-[^En-lil_4]-le šu-i₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 117 o. iii 15
lugal-[^En-lil_5]-le šu-i₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2+X Girsu DP 1/2 119 o. i 4
lugal-[^En-lil_6]-le sagi ED IIIb/Lug. 5(+1?) Girsu VS 25 14 o. v 6’
lugal-[^En-lil_7]-le sagi ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 37 o. v 10
lugal-[^En-lil_8]-le ED IIIb Nippur ECTJ 222 o. 5
lugal-[^En-lil_9]-le ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 99 o. i 5
lugal-[^En-lil_10]-le ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 110 o. 4
lugal-[^En-lil_11]-le lu₃ gub-ba CS Adab SIA 667 o. 12
lugal-[^En-lil_12]-le CS Girsu ITT 5 6688 r. 2
lugal-[^En-lil_13]-le-an-zu (a1) ‘the lugal is one whom Enlil knows’ 3.1.6.2, p. 142
lugal-[^En-lil_14]-le-an-zu MS-CS Inšu? MVN 3 81 r. 4
lugal-[^En-ne₃] (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 88 n. 439, 177
lugal-[^En-ne₃] ED IIIb X ensi₂ 5 Girsu VS 27 44 o. i 3
lugal-[^En-nu] (a≥9) ‘the lugal is a guardian’ 3.1.3.2, p. 109 n. 573, 110
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 r. ii 9
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9203 o. 5
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb-ES Inšu BIN 8 39 o. ii 6
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb Nippur BE 1/2 114 5’
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 25 “iii” 3’
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 26 o. ii’ 1’
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 37 o. ii 2
lugal-[^En-nu] ED IIIb-ES Nippur TMH 5 42 o. i 4
lugal-[^En-nu] f. Ur-gu ED IIIb Unknown BIN 8 44 o. 6
lugal-[^En-nu] ES-MS Unknown BIN 8 163 o. 4
lugal-[^En-nu] CS Adab CUSAS 13 97 o. 4
lugal-[^En-nu] CS Adab TCABI 219 r. 2
lugal-[^En-nu] CS Adab TCABI 255 o. 4
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Inšu? MAD 4 155 r. 6
lugal-[^En-nu] s. An-lu₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 51 o. 15
lugal-[^En-nu] sukkal₄ Dumu-zī-da MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 57 r. 7
lugal-[^En-nu] s. An-lu₂-maḥ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 63 r. i 12
lugal-[^En-nu] s. An-lu₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 64 o. 4’
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 68 r. 5
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 69 r. 11
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 71 r. 4
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 o. ii 7
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 86 o. i 8’
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 91 o. 2’
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. ii 9
lugal-[^En-nu] CS/Shkš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 r. ii 12’
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 101 o. ii’ 2
lugal-[^En-nu] miṅgišt maškim-bi₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 123 o. 9
lugal-[^En-nu] f. Ur-sa₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 174 r. 4
lugal-[^En-nu] UN.SUKKAL MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 178 edge
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 28+34 r. ii’ 7’
lugal-[^En-nu] CS Umma? CUSAS 13 201 o. 2
lugal-[^En-nu] MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 61 o. ii 10

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lugal-en-nu-ğu₄₀ (a1) ‘the lugal is my guardian’ 3.1.3.1, p. 108–109, 110

lugal-en-nun (a4) ‘the lugal is a guardian’ 3.1.3.2, p. 109 n. 573, 110
lugal-en-nun ED IIIa-b Unknown BIN 2 2 o. iii 95
lugal-en-nun ED IIIb-ES Adab TCABI 17 o. i 4’
lugal-en-nun ED IIIb Unknown MVN 3 14 o. iii 7
lugal-en-nun lu₃ bappir-ra CS Unknown L’uomo 16 o. 6

lugal-en₄-tar-su₃ (a2) ‘the lugal is one who provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122–123, 185
lugal-en₄-tar(NU)-su₃ (apin-la₃) ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu TSA 7 r. ii 13
lugal-en₄-tar-su₃ apin-la₃ ED IIIb/X Y 2 Girsu VS 25 93 o. i 6
lugal-en₄-tar-su₃ sipa ensi₂-ka MS-CS Adab OIP 14 144 o. 2
lugal-en₄-tar-su₃ MS Adab TCABI 132 o. 2
lugal-en₄-tar-su₃ muḥaldim, ir₃ Qis-šum CS Girsu ITT 1 1471 o. 1
lugal-en₄-tar-su₃ CS Unknown MAD 5 105 o. 5

lugal-en₄-tar-su₁₃ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en₄-tar-su₁₃ MS Adab TCABI 80 o. 4’
lugal-en₄-tar-su₄(TAG) (a1) ‘the lugal is one who provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en₄-tar-su₄ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 o. ii 8
lugal-en₄-tar-su₄ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. iv 2’
lugal-en₃-tar-f₄x⁷ CS Adab SIA 802 r. 8
lugal-en₃-tar-[x] ḡuruš CS Girsu?/Nippur? MVN 3 68 o. 5
lugal-en₃-tar-[x] s. UŠ-[A]ₙ²,…, ḡuruš dumu nita₃ CS Girsu MVN 3 113 r. iii 5’
lugal-en-su₁₃ (a1) (defective for lugal-en₃₅-tar-su₁₃) 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en-su₁₃ ES Adab CUSAS 11 281 r. 4

lugal-en₅-tar (a1) (defective for lugal-en₃₃₅-tar-su₁₃) 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en₅-tar na[gar?] MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 58 r. 6

lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ (a2) ‘the lugal is one who provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en₆₅-tar(ME)-su₃ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 67 o. i 2
lugal-en₆₅-tar(ME)-su₃ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 67 o. ii 2
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ CS Adab CUSAS 13 61 o. 8
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ CS Adab SIA 676 o. 5
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ CS Umma AAS 204 o. 1’
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ uguša CS Umma BARI S 2135 40 r. 7’
‘lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃’ CS Umma? CUSAS 13 201 r. 4
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 239 r. 7
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ f. Lugal-iti-da CS Umma USP 47 r. i 19
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ CS Umma USP 49 o. 3
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₃ CS Umma USP 65 o. 2

lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₁₃ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₁₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 103 o. ii 1

lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₄(TAG) (a1) ‘the lugal is one who provides (abundantly)’ 3.1.4.1, p. 122 n. 664
lugal-en₆₅-tar-su₄(TAG) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 84 o. i 9
lugal-engar-zi (a2) ‘the lugal is a reliable farmer’ 3.1.5.3, p. 131–132
‘lugal³-[engar]-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 207 o. ii 6
lugal-engar-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 207 r. i 2
lugal-engar-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 280 o. ii 1

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lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 8  o. ii 11
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 9+127  o. ii 10
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 102  r. iii 6
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 260  o. ii 6
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 260  o. iii 1
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 704  o. i 1
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 794  o. iii 1
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 9  o. ii 1
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 13  o. ii 1
dlugal-engar-zi dGibil₆  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 18  o. vi 11
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 53  o. iii 15
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 56  o. ii 1
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 65  r. iv 1
lugal-engar-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 124  o. v 8

**lugal-Eridu₅ ki-še₃³** (a₁) ‘the lugal … to(wards) Eridu’  3.1.6.4, p. 153 w. n. 880, 155 n. 889
lugal-Eridu₅ ki-še₃³ bi₃₃₃ su₃₃₃-ha  ED IIIb/UKg. lugal 6  Girsu  *DP* 1/2  135  o. i 9

**lugal-ERIM+X** (a₁) ‘the lugal is (like) the ERIM+X-quadruped’  3.1.7.6, p. 166 w. n. 957
lugal-ERIM+X Ma-ri₅ ki  ED IIIb Ebla A. Archi, *MAWI* 4 (1985), p. 63–83  84 (translit. only)  o. v 6b

**lugal-ezem** (a₁–a₁₀) ‘the lugal … the festival’  3.1.5.2, p. 50 n. 231, 126, 130–131, 183 n. 1136, 235, 237
lugal-ezem b. Er₂-zi-zi  ED IIIa Šuruppag CUSAS 11  344  r. i 2
lugal-ezem dam-gar₃  ED IIIa Šuruppag?  G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, *Gs Cagni*, p. 1107–1133  5 (translit. only)  o. iv 1
lugal-ezem E₂-ku[r]  ED IIIa Šuruppag *NTS§* 569  r. iii’ 8’
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag A. Westenholz, *OrNS* 44 (1975), p. 434–438  1  r. ii 3
lugal-ezem dub-šsar₃  ED IIIa Šuruppag>NIppur  TMH 5  71  o. v 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 1  r. iii 13
lugal-ezem Nam-maḥ₂₃, Lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 1  r. v 14
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 14  o. ii 10
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 53  r. i 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 627  o. ii 3
lugal-ezem na-gada ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 794  o. ii 3
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *TS§* 878  o. ii 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 1  o. v 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 3  o. iii 7
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 7  o. i 8’
lugal-ezem PA.PA ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 7  r. iii 2
lugal-ezem E₂-kur ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 18  r. vi 1
lugal-ezem PA.PA sila ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 25  o. iii 15
lugal-ezem nu-kiri₆  ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 25  r. iii 13
lugal-ezem sipa ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 27  o. iii 9
lugal-ezem Nam-maḥ₃, Lugal-ezem, e₂-geme₂ ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 27  o. iv 4
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 59  o. 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 65  r. v 3
lugal-ezem Lugal-ezem, KA-TAR-zi engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78  r. vi 3
lugal-ezem lu₃₃₃₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 95  o. iv 6
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 99  o. ii 2
lugal-ezem lu₃₃₃₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 99*  o. ii 2
lugal-ezem ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 104  o. iii 4
lugal-ezem ED IIIa-b Girsu *RTC* 1  r. i 4’
lugal-ezem f. Maš-lugal ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 o. iii 8
lugal-ezem ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. vi 12–13
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. i 23
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. ii 22
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. iii 20
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. iv 20
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. v 19
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. vi 26
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. vii 23
[lugal-ezem] engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 r. ii 24
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 r. iii 23
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 r. vi 10
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 r. vii 6
lugal-ezem engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 l.e. 4
lugal-ezem lu₅esk₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 107 o. iii 1
lugal-ezem b. Tu-tu ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. ii 3
lugal-ezem s. Bil₂-lal₃-a₂ lu₂ ni₃-sa₈₁₀ ka₂ ED IIIb/(Eig. ni₃ ensi₂) Adab D. Foxvog,
Mesopotamia 8, p. 67–75 (UCLM 9-1798) o. iv 4
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Adab OIP 14 67 o. ii 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Girsu ? BIN 8 14 r. ii 3
lugal-ezem s. Ur₅Nanše ED IIIb/Urn. X Girsu CIRPL Urn. 20 Upper register,
center caption
lugal-ezem sağa ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu HSS 3 51 r. i 4
lugal-ezem lu₁ inim duₐ₁ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. iii 12
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur BE 1/2 111 2’
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 25 “ii” 3’
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 33 o. i 1’
lugal-ezem s. فاعل₂-ul₄-gal-ke₄ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 44 o. 7
lugal-ezem t>alert₂ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. ii 7
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 66 r. 1
lugal-ezem s. U₃-lu₂-N.L₁, azla₂, ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 104 o. 2
lugal-ezem f. Lugal-i-غا₂₂₄, nu-κι₂, ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 6 o. i 1
lugal-ezem nagar ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 10 o. 4
lugal-ezem f. Ur₅Nin-urta ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. ii 5
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 20 r. 4
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 90 o. ii 1
lugal-ezem f. A-ne-da ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 134 o. ii 5
lugal-ezem f. Ur-tur ED IIIb/Enšak. Y X Nippur TMH 5 158 o. 6
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. vi 10’
lugal-ezem s. فاعل₂-[f-x₂], maš[kim-bi] ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 r. i 5
lugal-ezem ugülar e₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 176 o. ii 2
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 203 o. 6
lugal-ezem ugülar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 54 o. i 3
lugal-ezem ugülar ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. i 3
lugal-ezem ugülar ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. i 6
lugal-ezem ugülar ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. ii 7
lugal-ezem ugülar ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. iv 16
lugal-ezem ugülar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 90 o. ii 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 r. i 1
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 112 o. ii 2

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lugal-ezem ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 159 o. ii 2
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 241 o. ii 5
lugal-ezem ugula ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 252 o. ii 2
lugal-ezem Ur-sağ-diğer Lugal-ezem ED IIIb Umma MesCiv 4 3 o. i 2
lugal-ezem AMAR-x3 ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. iii 13
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. iv 2
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Zabala (?) BIN 8 46 o. i 3
lugal-ezem ED IIIb Zabala (?) BIN 8 46 o. ii 5
lugal-ezem lu₂ tu-ra ES Adab TCABI 26 r. i 5
lugal-ezem ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. iv 29
lugal-ezem f. Puzur₄-pa₄-pa₂ ... ţuruš, be-lu gan₂, Gir₁₃-tabki ES/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 B vi 4
lugal-ezem ugula, ... ţuruš, abba₂, abba₂, gan₂, Gir₁₃-tabki ES/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 B x 6
lugal-ezem ES-MS Umma Nik 2 14 o. iii 5
lugal-ezem [x x] x [x x] ES (recut later?) Unknown EGA 354 (translit. only) 1
lugal-ezem CS Adab CUSAS 13 23 o. 1
lugal-ezem CS Adab CUSAS 13 78 o. ii 13
lugal-ezem CS/Škš Adab OIP 14 117 o. 5
lugal-ezem ugula CS/Škš Adab OIP 14 117 o. 14
lugal-ezem CS Adab SIA 699+823 o. 4
lugal-ezem nu-bandā₂ baḥar CS Adab SIA 863 o. 4
lugal-ezem CS Adab SIA 1113 o. 2
lugal-ezem? CS Adab SIA 685+734 o. 19
lugal-ezem’ MS Adab TCABI 79 o. 8
lugal-ezem CS Ešnuna MAD 1 292 r. 5
lugal-ezem šu Ur₄-Iškur CS Girsu DPA 2 (PUL 5) o. 5
lugal-ezem CS Girsu DPA 40 (PUL 30) r. 2
lugal-ezem šu Ur₄-Iškur, ţuruš CS Girsu DPA 43 (PUL 47) o. 5
š’ugal-ezem maškim CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4438 r. 1
lugal-ezem ad-(kup₄) CS Girsu ITT 5 6867 o. 8
lugal-ezem maškim CS Girsu ITT 5 9277 r. 4’
lugal-ezem CS Girsu MVN 3 114 r. 1
lugal-ezem f. Lu₂-UN-da CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. ii 4
lugal-ezem f. Lu₂-gu-la CS Girsu MVN 3 113 r. iii 22’
lugal-ezem s. Lugal-ni₂-zu-(ke₄) CS Girsu RTC 81 o. 4
lugal-ezem maškim CS Girsu RTC 101 r. 5
lugal-ezem CS Girsu STTI 54 r. 6
lugal-ezem CS Girsu STTI 143 o. ii 6'
lugal-ezem CS Girsu STTI 155 o. 2
lugal-ezem ad-kup4 CS Girsu STTI 166 r. i 3'
lugal-ezem sip[a x], ..., ĝuruš CS Mesag M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 16 o. iii 18
lugal-ezem 'sipā anš[e] MS-CS Mesag MesCiv 4 33 r. 2
lugal-ezem ku₂-dim₃ MS-CS Nippur OIP 97 13 r. 3
lugal-ezem Uru₃(URU×UD)₃[k] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 118 o. 2
lugal-ezem MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 158 o. 7
lugal-ezem ? ens[i-gal] MS-CS Umma ? TCVC 726 o. iii 18
lugal-ezem Lugal-ezem, Ur-₄Inana ĝa:eš₄, mu-du MS-CS Unknown L’uomo 30 o. 5
lugal-ezem CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 2 o. 10'
lugal-ezem CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 3 o. 10
lugal-ezem CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 4 o. 9

lugal-EZEM.GAL-[x] (α) (compare, perhaps, the following) 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 888
lugal-EZEM.GAL₃-[x] sagi ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 23 o. i 2
lugal-EZEM.GAL₃-[x] (α) ‘the lugal … (the town) EZEM×GAL’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 w. n. 888
lugal-EZEM.GAL₃-[x] CS-LS ? Girsu RTC 254 r. i 10
lugal-EZEM×X₁ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 o. ii 3
lugal-[g]a (α) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lu[g]a CS-LS ? Girsu RTC 254 o. i 3

lugal-gaba-gal₂ (α/β) ‘the lugal is influential’ 3.1.1.6, p. 99
lugal-gaba-gal₂ ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 59 o. ii 3
lugal-gaba-gal₂ sukkal-Ga₂×U₂ ES-MS Ur UET 2 suppl. 16 r. i 3’
lugal-gal-bi₂-tum₃ (α) ‘the lugal performs great deeds (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 176 n. 1041, 178
lugal-gal-bi₂-tum₂ ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 67 o. ii 2

lugal-gal-zu (α) ‘the lugal is wise’ 3.1.2, p. 106, 251 n. 1476
lugal-gal-zu ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 r. iii 6
lugal-gal-zu ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 r. iv 7
lugal-gal-zu ED IIIb Adab Eig. mën₁ Isin OIP 14 49 o. iv 6
lugal-gal-zu s. X-ke₄ ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 r. i 26
lugal-gal-[z]-u₂ ens₂ Zabala₃ ES/Rīmuš (OB) Nippur PBS 15 41 r. viii 7’
lugal-gal-zu ‘nu-banda₃’-ni ES-MS Umma Kan 8 314 o. 4
lugal-gal-zu l₃ Lugal-gal-zu ES-MS Umma Nik 2 19 o. iii 7
lugal-gal-zu l₃ Lugal-gal-zu nu-banda₃-bi ES-MS Umma Nik 2 19 o. iii 12
lugal-[g]al-zu ES-MS Umma Nik 2 60 o. i 6
lugal-[g]a-[z]-u₂ [nu]-banda₃-[bi] ES-MS Umma Nik 2 65 r. 6

lugal-GAN₁ (α) ‘the lugal … the field’ 3.1.5.3, p. 132
lugal-GAN₁ Lugal-GAN₂, Lugal-kar, KAL.EDIN ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. iii 6
lugal-GAN₂ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 27 o. i 9’
lugal-GAN₂ (PN?) ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIS 8 114 r. (!) i 8
lugal-GAN₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. ens₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) r. i 3
lugal-GAN₂ ugula ED IIIb/Luzag. (?) Y 7 Zabala BIS 8 61 o. ii 1
lugal-GAN₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 108 o. 12
lugal-GAN₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 82 o. 2
lugal-GAN₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 89 o. 4
lugal-GAN₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 90 o. i 1
lugal\(^2\)-GAN\(_2\) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. i 13
lugal-GAN\(^3\) ? MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. iii 8
lugal-GAN\(_3\) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 o. ii 5
lugal\(^4\)-GAN\(_2\) CS/Škē Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 o. iii 1
lugal-GAN\(_2\) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 101 r. i 2
lugal-GAN\(_3\) CS Susa MDP 14 26 o. 6
lugal\(^5\)-GAN\(_3\) f. E₂-Šiš & Lugal-mi₂ MS-CS Umma? ṬCV 731 o. i 15

**lugal-GAN\(_2\)-su₄₄-lum-ma-gub** (a1) ‘the lugal stands in the Date-field’ 3.1.5.3, p. 133
lugal-GAN\(_2\)-su₄₄-lum-ma-gub šu-ku₆ a du₁₀-ga ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu TSA 47 o. iv 8

**lugal-GAN\(_2\)-zi** (a1) ‘the lugal is one who puts the fields in order’ 3.1.5.3, p. 132
lugal-GAN\(_2\)-zi MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 153 o. 5
lugal-GAN\(_2\)-zi nar c₂ nin-ke₄ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 177 o. 4

**lugal-gi.** (a³) ‘the lugal is noble’ 3.1.7.8, p. 171
lugal-gi₁ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 2926 o. 5
lugal\(^6\)-gi₁, \(\bar{g}ur\)uš\(_{7}\) MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 148 o. ii 8
lugal\(^6\)-gi₂ MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 243 o. 1
lugal-gi₂, MS-CS Mesag MesCiv 4 45 o. 10
lugal-gi₂, GAN\(_2\)-ban\(_{3}\)-da₄ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 81 r. 5
lugal-gi₂, ? sīpa ma₃₉-bar-du₉ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 180 r. 3

**lugal-\(\bar{g}i\)gir₂** (a1) ‘the lugal … the chariot’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113 n. 604
lugal-gi₂-gi₂ dub-sar CS Umma BIN 8 335 o. 3
lugal-gi₂-gi₂ dub-sar MS-CS Umma BIN 8 340 o. 4

**lugal-\(\bar{g}i\)gir₂-e** (a2₄) ‘the lugal … the chariot’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e CS/Škē Y 2 Umma CT 50 53 r. 7
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e CS Umma MVN 15 379 o. 1
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e s. E₂-abzu CS Umma Nik 2 70 o. 9
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e [nu’]-band₉₄ (?) CS Umma Nik 2 72 r. 7
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e CS Umma USP 19 r. 2
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e s. Ur₂-Imana CS Umma USP 45 r. i 19
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e dumu URU.KI CS Umma USP 45 r. i 17
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e s. Ur₂₂₂₂ b. Lugal-nesag₂ CS Umma USP 47 o. ii 9
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e nu-band₉₃ CS Umma USP 47 r. ii 13
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e CS Umma USP 48 o. 4
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e f. [X]-KL CS Umma USP 48 r. 10
lugal-gi₂-gi₂-e CS Umma USP 73 o. 9

**lugal-\(\bar{g}i\)gir₂-re** (a1) ‘the lugal … the chariot’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113 n. 604
lugal-gi₂-re CS Girsu *DPA* 17 (PUL 49) r. 5

**lugal-\(\bar{g}i\)gir₂-re₂** (a) ‘the lugal … the chariot’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113 n. 604
lugal-gi₂-re₂ CS Girsu STTI 140 o. 6

**lugal-gi₂-sa** (a1) ‘the lugal is (of) everlasting (value)’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
(1987), p. 303–319 1 o. ii 2
lugal-gi₂-sa s. [Ur-igi] ED IIIb/(Ukg. lugal) 3 Girsu VS 14 26 o. i 6

**lugal-gim** (a) ‘like a lugal’ 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-gim CS Girsu CT 50 85 o. ii 2
**lugal-GU₂** unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178

lugal-GU₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 152 r. 5
lugal-GU₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 152 r. 10
lugal-GU₂ CS Girsu STTI 20 r. 2'

lugal-GU₂ ⁴Sara-bi₂-du₄₁, ir₁₁ Lugal-GU₂ dam-gar₃ MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 30 o. ii 13
lugal-GU₂ u gusta-bi MS-CS Unknown T. Ozaki, SANTAG 7 4 r. 6
lugal-GU₂ (b. Lugal-nu-du₄₁₂₃₄₂₅₆₇₈₉) CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 2 o. 12'
lugal-GU₂ b. Lugal-nu-du₄₁₂₃₄₂₅₆₇₈₉ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 2 o. 15'
lugal-GU₂ (b. Lugal-nu-du₄₁₂₃₄₅₆₇₈₉) CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 3 o. 12
lugal-[GU₉] b. Lugal-nu-du₄₁₂₃₄₂₅₆₇₈₉ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 3 o. 15
lugal-GU₂ (b. Lugal-nu-du₄₁₂₃₄₂₅₆₇₈₉) CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 4 o. 12

**lugal-gu₂gal** (a₂) uncertain mng. 3.1.7.7, p. 178 w. n. 1063
lugal-gu₂gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 35 o. v 5
lugal-gu₂gal ED IIIb Adab MVN 3 90 o. ii 6

lugal-GU₂ Šu₉? (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178 w. n. 1064
lugal-GU₂ Šu₉? or: muḫaldim? ED I-II Ur UET 2 28 o. ii 1

**lugal-gur-de-a** (a₁) ‘the lugal is summoned’ 3.1.6.2, p. 145
lugal-gur-de-a CS Adab SIA 948 o. 3
lugal-[gur₃]-de-a² CS Adab SIA 948 r. 3

**lugal-gu₄** (a²) ‘the lugal … the ox’ 3.1.6.3, p. 135 n. 754, 148 w. n. 837
lugal-gu₄ f. Ur-AN,AN, dub-sar ED IIIb/Meskigala ensi₂ X/Luzag. lugal Adab BIN 8
26 r. i 3
lugal-gu₄ ED IIIb Adab MVN 3 90 o. i 2
lugal-gu₄ ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu VS 25 22 o. i 6

º**lugal-gu₄-du** (a₁) ‘the lugal … the ox’ 3.1.6.3, p. 148
º**lugal-gu₄-du** CS Unknown CUSAS 13 188 o. 3

**lugal-gu₅** (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178, 179 n. 1082
lugal-gu₅ dam-gar₃ CS Girsu B. R. Foster, JCS 35 (1983), p. 156 (L 3015, translit. only) o. 1

**lugal-gub-ba** (a₁) (abbreviated writing of the following) 3.1.6.4, p. 156 n. 897
lugal-gub-ba ED IIIb/ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. iv 9

**lugal-gub-ba-ni** (a²) ‘the lugal … (where) he serves’ 3.1.6.4, p. 156 n. 897
lugal-gub-ba-ni s. Dur₅-kilim, f. Ur₅-Erra-ra & Ur₅-Nin-tu ED IIIb/ES Adab CUSAS 11 77 o. i 5
lugal-gub-ba-ni Ur-dam, Lugal-gub-ba-ni, Ad-da-b[e₂] ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 r. iii 2
lugal-gub-ba-ni ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 40 o. 1
lugal-[gub₃]-ba-ni ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 115 o. i 3
lugal-gub-ba-ni ES/Šk. Nippur TMH 5 151 r. 1
lugal-gub-ba-ni sagi CS Girsu STTI 123 r. 2
lugal-gub-ba-ni s. ME-f₅HA₁[(x')], b. E₂-f₅-x₃ & A₂-k[a₁]₅-[x] CS Mesag BIN 8 152 r. i 5
lugal-gub-ba-ni ‘nagar’ MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 245 o. i 3
lugal-gub-ba-ni [na]gar MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 254 o. 8
lugal-gub-ba-ni s. ME-f₅HA₁[(x')], b. E₂-f₅-x₃ & A₂-k[a₁]-x CS Mesag M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 16 r. i 11
lugal-gub-ba-ni MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 95 o. iii 10
º**lugal-gub-ba-ni** MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. i 6
º[lu:gal-gub₃]-ba-ni MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 102 r. iii 3
lugal-gub-ba-ni MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 104 o. i 6

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lugal-gub-ba-ni MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 110 o. 5
lugal-gub-ba-ni MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 111 o. i’ 5’

*lugal-GUC*₂ (1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
*lugal-[G]UG₂ LS-Ur III Unknown M. E. Cohen, *Fs Hallo*, p. 79–86 (YBC 2124) ii 15

lugal-GR₈-[x] (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-GR₈-[x] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 148 r. 1’

lugal-ša,-si (a1) ‘the lugal is just right for the barn’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136, 229
lugal-ša,-si ED I-II Ur UET 2 109 o. iv 5

lugal-ša,-si X”³ ED IIIa-b Girsu *RTC* 1 o. i 3

lugal-že₂⁶ (a2) *(in most instances identical with lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e, sagi)*, p. 93 n. 478
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu *AWAS* 119 o. vi 6
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *AWAS* 120 o. vii 1
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *AWAS* 121 o. vii 5’
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu *AWAS* 122 o. vii 14

lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu *AWAS* 123 o. v 11
lugal-že₂⁶ ED IIIb Girsu *DCS* 4 o. vi 5
lugal-že₂⁶ lu, iji-niĝi₂, ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 3 Girsu *DP* 1/2 110 o. iii 6
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 111 o. i 3
lugal-že₂⁶ ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu *DP* suppl. 657 o. ii 4
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu HSS 3 16 o. vi 2
lugal-že₂⁶ saji ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu MVN 3 2 o. vii 4
lugal-že₂⁶ ED IIIb/X Y 6 Girsu Nik 1 61 o. i 7

lugal-že₂⁶-ab-be₂ (a1) ‘it was spoken by my lugal’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93 n. 478
(latin. only) o. ii 7

lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e (a3) ‘it was spoken by my lugal’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93, 186
lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e saji ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu *DCS* 8 o. iv 2
lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e saji ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu *DP* 1/2 114 o. vii 7
lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e saji ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu *DP* 1/2 132 o. v 14
lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e nitaḥ ED IIIb/X ensi₂ 3, Girsu *DP* 2/1 176 o. iv 3
lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e saji ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu *DP* suppl. 623 r. ii 2
lugal-že₂⁶-ab-e³ saji ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 14 173 o. v 4
(AO 15540) o. i 5

lugal-žeštin (a2) ‘the lugal is (sweet as) wine’ 3.1.7.8, p. 169
lugal-žeštin ED IIIa-b Adab CUSAS 11 17 r. iii 1
lugal-žeštin ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 252 o. ii 6
lugal-žeštin nagar, lu₂ suku dab₂₂-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 116 o. i 8
lugal-žeštin nagar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 117 o. i 13
lugal-žeštin nagar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal [x] Girsu *DP* 1/2 118 o. ii 1
lugal-žeštin nagar, nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2+X Girsu *DP* 1/2 119 o. i 3
lugal-žeštin nagar, saĝ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu HSS 3 25 o. i 7
lugal-žeštin! ‘nagar’, [u]₂[a]₂ api-[u]₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 26 o. i 7
lugal-žeštin [nag]ar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 27 o. i 14
lugal-žeštin [n]₂[a]₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu Nik 1 16 o. i 1
lugal-žeštin nagar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *TSA* 18 o. i 7

lugal-žeštu-su₂₀ (a1) ‘the lugal is wide of wisdom’ 3.1.2, p. 105
lugal-žeštu-su₂₀ ᵄDud₂₂-ur-saḡ, ugula ED IIIa Šuruppak *WF* 71 r. v 8’
lugal-ĝēštusu₂₀ (a²) ‘the lugal is wide of wisdom’  3.1.2, p. 105
lugal-ĝēštusu₂₀ f. Lugal-uri₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak MVN 10  82 o. v 3
lugal-ĝēštusu₂₀ f. Lugal-uri₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak MVN 10  83 o. iv 2
lugal-ĝēštusu₂₀ su₃₀ ED IIIa Šuruppak WF  65 o. iii 9
lugal-ĝēštusu₂₁ (a³) ‘the lugal is wide of wisdom’  3.1.2, p. 105
lugal-ĝēštusu₂₁₂ ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104  14 o. ii 14
lugal-ĝidri (a⁴) ‘the lugal (holds?) a sceptre’  3.1.1.3, p. 90
lugal-ĝidri štim, be-šu bu-dum, in Umma ki CS Umma CT 50  188 o. i 4
lugal-ĝidri-du₁₀ (a²²/¹) ‘the lugal (of?) the good sceptre’  3.1.1.3, p. 90, 249 n. 1464
lugal-ĝidri-du₁₀ lu₂ di ED IIIa Šuruppak ŠSS  45 r. i 4
lugal-ĝidri-du₁₀ MS Adab TCABI  157 r. 2
lugal-ĝidri-du₁₀ 2 geme₂ Lugal-ĝidri-du₁₀ CS Adab CUSAS 13  66 r.  4
lugal-ĝidri-du₁₀ CS Unknown CUSAS 13  188 o. 1
lugal-ĝir₂ (a²²) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ĝir₂ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11  52 o. ii 5'
lugal-ĝir₂ ED IIIb Girsu CT 50  28 o. v 2
lugal-ĝir₂ ED IIIb Girsu VS 25  1 r. ii 2
lugal-Ĝirⁿun (a¹) ‘the lugal … the Ğirnun(-road)’  3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 913
lugal-Ĝirⁿun engar ki-du₃₄₅, dab₂₃-ba CS Girsu DPA 33 (PUL 38)  0. 8
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ (a²⁲) ‘the lugal … the Ğirnun(-road)’  3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 913
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ CS/Škš Girsu CT 50  51 o. 3
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ CS Girsu DPA 4 (PUL 6)  0. 4
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ CS Girsu DPA 31 (PUL 23)  0. 12
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ CS Girsu DPA 32 (PUL 24)  0. 7
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ CS ITT 2/1  4416 o. 2
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ PNN [ir₁₁] Lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂-me CS Girsu RTC 96 o. i 5'
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ PNN gme₃ Lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂-me CS Girsu RTC 96 r. iii 8
lugal-Ĝirⁿun-ne₂ CS Girsu STTI 128 r. 4
lugal-ĝiš (a²⁰) abbreviation of a number of possible readings  3.1.8, p. 139, 178, 236, 237 n. 1423
lugal-ĝiš ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  102 o. i 5
lugal-ĝiš ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  159 o. i 4
lugal-ĝiš ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11  186 o. iv 5
lugal-ĝiš sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP suppl.  563 o. iii 4
lugal-ĝiš ED IIIb Isin BIN 8  66 o. 2
lugal-ĝiš ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1  25 “ii” 10'
lugal-ĝiš? sağa ES Unknown BIN 8  36 o. i 2
lugal-ĝiš ES-MS Unknown BIN 8  85 o. 6
lugal-ĝiš ES-MS Unknown (north) MVN 3  29 o. i 5
lugal-ĝiš ES-MS Unknown (north) MVN 3  29 o. ii 4
lugal-ĝiš ES-MS Unknown (north) MVN 3  29 r. i 2
lugal-ĝiš ES-MS Unknown (north) MVN 3  29 r. i 7
lugal-ĝiš ES Adab TCABI  41 o. i 5
lugal-ĝiš ES-MS Isin BIN 8  154 o. ii 2
lugal-ĝiš maškim MS Adab TCABI  79 o. 2
lugal-ĝiš MS Adab TCABI  188 o. 3
lugal-ĝiš MS Umma L ’uomo  33 o. i 12
lugal-ĝiš Lugal-ĝiš Ur-saq CS/NS. Isin BIN 8  164 r. 3'
lugal-ĝiš? CS Adab CUSAS 13  24 o. 12'
lugal-ĝiš CS Adab CUSAS 13 66 o. 3
lugal-ĝiš³ CS Adab CUSAS 13 96 r. 2

30a, b i 3
lugal-ĝiš ensi₂ Adab[βi]-ba CS/Škš Adab SIA 650 o. 5
'lugal'⁴-ĝiš šu-i CS Adab SIA 699+823 r. 4
lugal-ĝiš CS Adab SIA 745 o. 4
lugal-ĝiš³ (ensi₂) CS Adab SIA 815 o. 5
lugal-ĝiš (ensi₂) CS Adab SIA 885+1062 o. 1
lu[gal]-ĝiš CS Adab SIA 886 o. 4
lugal-ĝiš [ensi₂ A][daβ³i] CS Adab SIA 886 r. 2
lugal-ĝiš s. E₂-ki CS Isin TCVBI 1-56 o. 11
lugal-ĝiš nitaḫ, ĝuruš CS Giršu DPA 45 (PUL 22) r. 3
lugal-ĝiš niĝir CS Giršu ITT 1 1452 o. 2
lugal-ĝiš Beš-li-'li³ MS-CS Isin? MAD 4 78 r. 2
lugal-ĝiš Beš-li-li CS MS-CS Isin? MAD 4 150 r. 6
lugal-ĝiš s. Ne-sağ ugula CS Isin MAD 4 169 r. 4
lugal-ĝiš s. A₂-kal-le MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 50 r. i 5
[lugal-ĝiš] s. Šeš-kur-ra šanda MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 55 r. 2
lugal-ĝiš s. En-lili-š[eš][ga] CS-CS Nippur OSP 2 59 o. 12
lugal-ĝiš [šanda] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 59 r. 5
lugal-ĝiš šandaš MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 61 o. ii 6
lugal-ĝiš šandaš MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 62 r. i 7
lugal-ĝiš šandaš MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 63 o. ii 12
lugal-ĝiš MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 o. i 5
lugal-ĝiš MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 81 r. 3
lugal-ĝiš³ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 o. i 3
lugal-ĝiš saši MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 137 o. 6
lugal-ĝiš saši MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 138 r. 10
lugal-ĝiš MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 55 o. 1
lugal-ĝiš MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. i 6'
lugal-ĝiš saši(šu,ši,[a]₃,DU₃) MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 57 o. 7
lugal-ĝiš MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 59 r. 5
lugal-ĝiš? ĝuruš MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 68 o. 3
lugal-ĝiš Ur-PA Lugal-ĝiš, maškim-še₃, mu-da-gi₄ MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 77 r. 12
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ (a²) ‘the lugal … the door ornament’ 3.1.6.3.1, p. 152
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ (lu₂, u₂-rum, [a]₂-u₂) ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Giršu DP 1/2 135 o. v 11
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ šu-ku₆ ED IIIb/Ukg. ens₁ 1 Giršu DP 2/1 194 r. i 7
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ šu-ku₂, Su₂₃-lum-ma ED IIIb/X Y 3 Giršu DP 2/2 335 o. i 1
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ šu-ku₁, ED IIIb/X Y 1 Giršu DP suppl. 637 o. iii 2
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ šu-ku₂, a du₂₀-ra ED IIIb/Ukg. ens₁ 1 Giršu HSS 3 6 r. iii 9
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ šu-ku₂, a du₂₀-ra ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Giršu TSA 20 o. iii 6
lugal-ĝiš-bur₂ ED IIIb-ES Ur UE 2 pl. 205 no. 171 1
lugal-ĝiš-š[u]² (a²) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ĝiš-š[u]² CS Adab SIA 845 o. 2’ A 845
lugal-ḥa-ma (a²) ‘lord, may (the child survive) for my sake!” 3.1.4.1, p. 121 n. 651
lugal-ḥa⁻³-ma⁻³? I₂-li₃ lu₂ Lugal⁻³-ḥa⁻³-ma⁻³ CS Giršu RTC 95 r. 9
lugal-ḥa-ma ni-is⁻³-ku², h. Nin-šer-z[i] CS Nippur? BIN 8 177 o. 3

333
lugal-ḫa-ma-ti (a3) ‘lord, may (the child) survive for my sake!’ 3.1.4.1, p. 121, 254 n. 1493
lugal-ḫa-ma-ti ￨ ED Illb Adab OIP 14 62 o. i 5
lugal-[ḫa]-ma-ti[?] ES Adab CUSAS 11 268 o. ii 10
lugal-ḫa-m[a]-ti Lugal-ḫa-m[a]-ti, I₂-lum-[x] ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 136 o. ii 5
lugal-§-ma-ti§ MS-CS Mesag MesCiv 4 43 o. 2

lugal-ḫa-mu-gi-gi (a1) ‘lord, may (the child) return to me!’ 3.1.4.1, p. 121
lugal-ḫa-mu-gi-gi ￨ ED Illb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. i 2

lugal-ḫa-an-ne₂ (a2) ‘the lugal (fills?) the road’ 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ḫa-an-ne₂ f. Gala CS Girsu ITT 1 1324 o. 3
lugal-ḫa-an-ne₂ CS Isin TCVBI 1-56 r. 3

lugal-ḫa-an-ne₂ (a1) ‘the lugal (fills?) the road’ 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ḫa-an-ne₂ saĝ Lugal-ḫa-an-ne₂-še₃, E₂-ziz-ē šu-ba-ti MS-CS Isin? MVN 3 81 o. 14

lugal-ḫa-ma-du₃ (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ḫa-ma-du₃ dub-sar ED IIIa Šuruppak ṬSŠ 14 o. iii 2

lugal-ḫa-an-sa (a1) (phonetic for lugal-ḥur-saĝ ?) 3.1.8, p. 178 w. n. 1069
lugal-ḫa-an-sa ED Illb Ebla MEE 3 59 o. ii 6

lugal-ḫe₂ (a8) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ḫe₂ usan₁-du₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak? DP 1/1 38 r. ii 3
'lugal-ḫe₂ engar ³Maḥ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 86 o. i 3
lugal-ḫe₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 117 o. i 3
lugal-ḫe₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 139 o. i 3
'lugal-ḫe₂ ? ED Illb Adab MVN 3 28 r. iii 12

lugal-ḫe₂ ED Illb/X ensi₂ 3 Girsu BIN 8 349 o. v 3
lugal-ḫe₂ aga₂-us₂ Ama-diḡir-re₂-ne-ka ED Illb/Lug. 1 Girsu DP 2/1 184 o. i 6
lugal-ḫe₂ ar₂-du₁-e₂-ša₂-ga ED Illb/Lug. 7 Girsu HSS 3 30 r. i 8
lugal-ḫe₂ 'ar₂'-du₁-e₂-ša₂-ga ED Illb/Lug. [ensi₂] 3 Girsu DCS 6 o. v 10
lugal-ḫe₂ muḥaldim ED Illb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP 1/2 132 r. i 10
lugal-ḫe₂ [muḥaldim] ED Illb/Lug. 4 Girsu DP 2/1 226 o. vi 8
lugal-ḫe₂ lu₂-ti ED Illb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu DP suppl. 591 o. v 8
lugal-ḫe₂ nu-kiri₅ ED Illb/X Y 5 Girsu DP suppl. 593 o. v 5
lugal-ḫe₂ muḥaldim ED Illb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu HSS 3 18 o. v 17
lugal-ḫe₂ muḥaldim ED Illb/Ukg. ensi₁ 3 Girsu MVN 3 2 o. vii 11
lugal-ḫe₂ gala ED Illb/X Y 5 Girsu Nik 1 111 o. i 4
lugal-ḫe₂ ar₂-du₁-e₂-ša₂-ga-ke₄ ED Illb/(Lug.) Y 4 Girsu Nik 1 157 r. i 1
lugal-ḫe₂ ar₂-du₁-e₂-ša₂-ga-ke₄ ED Illb/X Y 5 Girsu Nik 1 197 o. i 2
lugal-ḫe₂ muḥaldim ED Illb/Ukg. lugal 6] Girsu TSA 17 o. 5 ²
lugal-ḫe₂ ar₂-du₁-e₂-ša₂-ga ED Illb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu VS 14 9 r. i 1
lugal-ḫe₂ muḥaldim ED Illb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 14 173 o. vii 11
lugal-ḫe₂ ED Illb/Luzag. (?) 7 Umma-Zabala BIN 8 55 o. i 1
lugal-ḫe₂ ED Illb/Luzag. (?) 7 Umma-Zabala BIN 8 55 o. ii 5
lugal-ḫe₂ ED Illb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 157 o. i 2
lugal-ḫe₂ ? lu₂-ē₂-gi₂-gi₂ ED Illb Zabala BIN 8 76 o. ii 3
lugal-ḫe₂ ED Illb Zabala TCVBI 1-4 o. iv 3

lugal-ḫe₂ ES Adab CUSAS 11 329 o. 3
lugal-ḫe₂ CS Girsu SCT 1 o. i 8
lugal-ḫe₂ CS Girsu STTI 147 o. 10
lugal-ḫe₂ CS Adab SLA 658 o. 3
lugal-[ḫe₂] f. Ur-lugal CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. i 14
lugal-ḫe₂ engar CS Girsu RTC 143 r. 4
lugal-ḫe₂ s. DU-DU CS Umma USP 47 r. ii 8

lugal-ḫe₂-a (a) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ḫe₂-a MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 143 r. 6

lugal-ḫe₂-du, (a) ‘the lugal is befitting (of DN/GN?)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 143
lugal-ḫe₂-du, gur[uš] CS Girsu ITT 1 1365 o. 3

lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ (a) ‘the lugal … abundance’ 3.1.5.3, p. 134
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ engar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 49 o. iii 5
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ IB ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 115 o. iv 1
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 158 o. iii 5
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 158 o. v 6
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ IB ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 6 o. iv 9
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 34 o. ii 8
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 41 o. iv 15 (?)
lugal-ḫe₂-[šal₁] Ur-nin, štim ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 77 o. vi 13
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 50 o. iv 1
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 55 o. iii 1
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 59 o. i 6
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ [umbisaš] ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 20 r. iv 1
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ umbisaš ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 21 r. vii 1’
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 25 o. i 2
lu[gal]-ḫe₂-gal₁ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 70 o. i 3
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 79 o. i 5
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂ šita uru ES Adab TCAΒΙ 51 o. i 2

lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ (a) ‘the lugal (is one who) extends abundance’ 3.1.5.3, p. 134–135, 251 n. 1477
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ [umbisaš], lu₂ dub-ba šu ḡal₂-la ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 r. i 5
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ f. Amar-Saman₃, gala ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu BIN 8 363 o. ii 2
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ dub-sar mah ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ Girsu OIP 104 23 o. x 3
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ dub-sar mah ED IIIb/En. I ensi₄ Lagāš BiMes 3 10 o. v 2’
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ ED IIIb/Meannedu 5 Umma T. Ozaki, JAC 23 (2008), p. 55–64 1 o. iii 6
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₃ štim ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. vi 4

lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₂₀ (a) ‘the lugal (is one who) extends abundance’ 3.1.5.3, p. 135
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₂₀ štim ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 87 o. iii 3

lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₅(TAG) (a) ‘the lugal (is one who) extends abundance’ 3.1.5.3, p. 135
lugal-ḫe₂-gal₂-su₅ ED IIIb/X Y 28 Umma-Zabala SAKF 3 o. iv 4

lugal-ḫi-li (a) ‘the lugal is pleasant’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170 w. n. 995
lugal-ḫi-li nimgir-us₂ ED IIIb/Enz. ensiₓ X Girsu RTC 17 r. ii 2
lugal-ḫi-li ES Adab TCAΒΙ 40 r. 1
lugal-ḫi-li CS Adab SLA 632 o. i 4
lugal-ḫi-li CS Adab SLA 800+1011 o. 8
lugal-ḫi-li ugula Ꞥ[ği]u₁-zu-la₂ CS Adab SLA 646 o. ii 8’
lugal-ḫi-li CS-LS? Adab OIP 14 170 r. 2
lugal-ḫi-li b. An-za₃ CS Girsu ITT 1 1370 r. 1
lu[gal]-ḫi-li s. (?) [Gl]u₂-de₂-a CS Girsu ITT 5 6680 o. 3
lugal-ḫi-li CS Girsu CT 50 107 o. 13
lugal-ḫi-li dub-sar CS Girsu RTC 98 r. 5
lugal-ḫi-li f. Lugal-u₂ CS Umma USP 46 o. 23
₇lugal-ḫi-zì (²¹) (phonetic for lugal-šer,ḫi-zi (šar₂) ? Compare nu-gal-ḫi-zì) 3.1.8, p. 178, w. n. 1070, 183 n. 1135
₇lugal-ḫi-zì ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 25 r. ii 1
lugal-ḫu-x (α) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-ḫu-x ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 r. ii 8
lugal-ḫur-sağ (²⁵) ‘the lugal is a mountain’ 3.1.7.6, p. 167, 178 n. 1069, 210
lugal-ḫur-sağ ED IIIb-ES Adab TCABI 14 o. i 3
lugal-ḫur-sağ ED IIIb-ES Adab TCABI 14 o. i 4
lugal-ḫur-sağ sağa ḍEn-lil₁,² I Nippur ED IIIb A. Goetze, JCS 23 (1970), p. 51 (7N-136+155) 1
lugal-ḫur-sağ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi X ? Umma MesCiv 4 3 r. i 2
lugal-ḫur-sağ Lugal-il Dum₂, Lugal-ḫur-sağ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 60 o. i 2
lugal-ḫur-sağ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. iii 2
lugal-i-MU (α) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178, 180 n. 1101
lugal-i-MU engar ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. v 15
lugal-i-bi, (α) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178 w. n. 1072, 214 n. 1368
lugal-i₂-bi₂ CS Girsu RTC 79 o. 2
lugal-i₂-kuş₂ (α²¹) ‘the lugal takes counsel’ 3.1.2, p. 107
lugal-i₂-kuş₂ ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu BIN 8 383 o. i 2
lugal-i₂-kuş₂ ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu CST 1 r. ii 2
lugal-i₂-kuş₂ ED IIIb Girsu CT 50 30 r. ii 6
lugal-i₂-kuş₂ (SAĜ) ED IIIb Girsu OIP 14 57 r. ii 3
lugal-i₂-nun (²⁵) ‘the lugal (is) excellent oil’ 3.1.7.8, p. 169–170, 210
lugal-i₂-nun dub-sar ED IIIa Šuruppag M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27–49 1 r. i 9
lugal-i₂-nun sipa anšē ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 16 r. i 2
lugal-i₂-nun ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. v 13
lugal-i₂-nun nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukāg. lugal 4 Girsu AWAS 120 r. iv 13
lugal-i₂-nun ED IIIb Girsu BIN 8 382 o. i 3’
lugal-i₂-nun nitaḥ ED IIIb Girsu DCS 5 r. iii 9’
lugal-i₂-nun nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukāg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 r. iv 1
lugal-i₂-nun ri-muṣen ED IIIb Girsu DP supl. 555 o. ii 4’
lugal-i₂-nun nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukāg. lugal 6 Girsu HSS 3 18 r. ii 6
lugal-i₂-nun ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9201 o. i 6
lugal-i₂-nun ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9208 r. (?) i 4
lugal-i₂-nun gab₂-ra ED IIIb/Ukāg. ensi, 1 Girsu MVN 3 2 r. iv 2
lugal-i₂-nun ED IIIb/Ukāg. ensi₂ l(+</x?) Girsu Nik 1 9 r. ii 9
lugal-i₂-nun ri-muṣen ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu Nik 1 86 o. i 2
lugal-i₂-nun gab₂-ra ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 11 r. ii 13
lugal-i₂-nun ED IIIb Lagaš BiMes 3 12 o. ii’ 1
lugal-i₂-nun dub-sar MS-CS Adab OIP 14 114 o. 5
lugal-i₂-nun MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. i 9’
lugal-I-da  

the lugal in/of the river’  3.1.8, p. 178 w. n. 1073
lugal-I-da  f.  
[En-il[x²]]  ED IIIb  Girsu  Nik 1  102  o. i 2

lugal-I-ê-gû  

the lugal is my river’  3.1.3.1, p. 110 n. 582
lugal-I-ê-gû  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  69  o. i 4

lugal-I-ê-gû  

the lugal is my river’  3.1.3.1, p. 109–110
lugal-I-ê-gû  ED IIIb  Nippur  OSP 1  143  o. i 4
lugal-I-ê-gû  s. Lugal-eznum, nu-kirîš  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  6  o. i 7

lugal-I-mâh  

the lugal makes the river magnificent (?)’  3.1.5.3, p. 132, 184
lugal-I-mâh  lu₂  e₂-nam  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5  Girsu  DP 1/2  136  o. iv 5
lugal-I-mâh  lu₂  e₂-nam  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5  Girsu  Nik 1  3  o. iv 1

lugal-I-sî  

the lugal is just right for the river’  3.1.3.1, p. 117–118, 254 n. 1492
lugal-I-sî  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  102  o. ii 2

lugal-ib-x-GAN  

unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 178 w. n. 1074
lugal-ib-x-GAN  ?  ED I-II  Ur  UET 2  297  o. i 5’

lugal-ig-gal  

the lugal is a great door’  3.1.3.3, p. 116, 251 n. 1477
lugal-ig-gal  lu₂  lûga₂([Bi×Ni₂])  ED IIIb/X Y 5  Girsu  Nik 1  94  o. i 2
lugal-ig-gal  ED IIIb/Enz. 3  Girsu  VS 25  61  r. ii 3
lugal-ig-gal  aman(MUN₄,ŠAR)  ED IIIb/Enz. 3  Girsu  VS 25  61  r. ii 2
lugal-ig-gal  CS  Girsu  RTC  111  r. 1
lugal-ig-[gal]  CS  Girsu  RTC  125  r. i 6

lugal-igi  

unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-igi  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2  Girsu  DP 1/2  120  r. iii 9
lugal-igi  Ur-Sul, Lugal-igi’, ar₃-du₂-ni i₃-tuš  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4  Girsu  DP 1/2  138  o. v 5
lugal-igi  šu-ku₂, Su₁₁-lum-ma  ED IIIb/X Y 3  Girsu  DP 2/2  335  o. ii 2
lugal-igi  simug, lu₂  Giš-ša₃, simug  ED IIIb  Umma-Zabala  M. Powell,  HUCA 49 (1978),  p. 1–58  18  r. i 5
lugal-igi  MS-CS  Adab?  BIN 8  242  o. 7
lugal-igi  CS  Adab  SIA  772  o. 5’
lugal-igi  MS  Adab  TCABI  116  o. 4
lugal-igi  sipa u₃, MS  Adab  TCABI  117  r. 3
lugal-igi  CS  Nippur  OSP 2  13  o. 9
lugal-igi  OAK  Ur  M. Civil,  AulaOr 6 (1988), 105 (U 4395, translit. only)  o. 5
lugal-igi₃-[x]  CS  Umma  MVN 15  379  o. 5’
lugal-igi-[x]₄-se₂₇  ?  MS-CS  Ur  UET 2 suppl.  48  o. ii 9

lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su  

the lugal is one known by the eye of heaven’  3.1.6.2, p. 142, 185
lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su  šu-kuₐ, a du₁₀-ga  ED IIIb Ukg. lugal 6  Girsu  DP 1/2  135  r. i 5
lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su  s. Lugal-al-saₖ, ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1  Girsu  HSS  40  r. iii 17
lugal-igi-An-na-ke₄-su(šu)-su  gala-maḥ  Gir₂-su⁴, s. Lugal-al-saₖ  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1  Girsu  VS 25  70  r. iii 16

lugal-igi-bi  

unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 178
lugal-igi-bi  ED IIIb  Girsu  DP 2/2  321  r. i 5

lugal-igi-hu₄₇  

the lugal (is) angry-looking’  3.1.7.2, p. 162, 258 n. 1522
lugal₃-igi-hu₄₇  ED IIIb  Girsu  RTC  76  r. i 1
lugal-igi-hu₄₇  ?  CS-LS?  Girsu  RTC  254  o. ii 17
lugal-igi-hu₄₇  ši₄₇(LAGAB×DIŠ,DIŠ)  CS  Girsu  SCT  1  o. ii 2
lugal-igi-hu₄₇  CS  Girsu  STTI  20  o. 6
lugal-igi-hu₄₇  CS  Umma  MVN 15  378  o. 6
lugal-igi-ḫuš šabra CS Umma USP 61 o. 3

**lugal-igi-il** (a1) ‘the lugal raises (his) eyes’ 3.1.8, p. 178 w. n. 1076

lugal-igi-il2 Na-ri-ri, lu₂ Lugal-igi-il₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 23 o. ii 3

lugal-igi-il₂ ED IIIb ‘Nippur TMH 5 103 r. 1

**lugal-igi-kalam (LAK729)-ma** (a1) ‘the lugal is the eye of the land’ 3.1.1.6, p. 102

lugal-igi-kalam-ma ED IIIb Girsu NFT, p. 180 (bottom) o. v 2

**lugal-igi-ni** (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178

lugal-igi-ni ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 46 r. i 11

**lugal-igi-nim-še₃** (a2) ‘the lugal (goes) to the highland’ 3.1.3.3, p. 116 w. n. 629

lugal-igi-nim-še₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 o. v 3

lugal-igi-nim-še₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 7 r. ii 11

lugal-igi-nim-še₃ ED IIIb Zabala BIN 8 75 o. 2

**lugal-igi-nim-še₃₉₀⁶** (a1) ‘the lugal (goes) to the highland’ 3.1.3.3, p. 116 w. n. 629

lugal-igi-nim-še₃₉₀⁶ ED IIIb/Il₂ ensi₂ Zabala TCVBI 1-19 o. 3

**lugal-igi-sa₆** (a1) ‘the lugal (is) friendly-looking’ 3.1.7.2, p. 162, 258 n. 1522

lugal-igi-sa₆ CS Girsu ITT 5 9281 r. 6

**lugal-igi-tab** (a2) ‘the lugal is one who seals off (the land)’ 3.1.3.3, p. 116, 251 n. 1477

lugal-igi-tab ED IIIb/X ensi₂? 3 Girsu BIN 8 349 o. v 1

lugal-igi-tab ED IIIb/Y 6 Girsu DP 2/1 153 o. ii 2

lugal-igi-tab šu-i ED IIIb/Dudu saqa Girsu W. W. Hallo, OrNS 42 (1973), p. 228–238 r. i 4

lugal-igi-tab muḥaldim, maškim-bi ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 1 Girsu M. W. G. Schileico, RA 11 (1914), p. 61 r. i 1

lugal-igi-tab šabra CS Girsu STTI 148 r. i’ 10’

lugal-igi-tab nar CS Adab CUSAS 13 76 o. 5

lugal-igi-tab CS Adab SI4 745 o. 2

lugal-igi-x (x like ġ₆₃ or š²₉₀⁶) ED IIIa-b Unknown L’uomo 4 o. i 6

**lugal-ildum₃** (a2) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb/ES Adab CUSAS 11 98 o. iv 2’

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 54 o. i 4

lugal-ildum₃ Lugal-ildum₃ Lugal-ḫur-saġ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 60 o. i 2

lugal-ildum₃ Lugal-ildum₃ Gisš-ša₃ lu₂-šim ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 62 o. ii 1

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 62 o. ii 1

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 80 o. v 14

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 90 o. i 6

lugal-ildum₃ (NAGAR.MUNU₄) Ur-saġ, lugal-asha₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 114 r. (1) i 10

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 o. iii 1

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 o. iv 4

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 r. iii 7

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 12 o. ii 6

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 270 o. ii 2

lugal-ildum₃ nagar-gal ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. i 10’

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. iii 3’

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lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, *Fs Kramer*, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. iii 11'


'lugal'-ildum₃ ED IIIb/X Y 8 Umma-Zabala M. Powell, *HUCA* 49 (1978), p. 1–58 5 o. i 2


lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. i 4

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. i 11


lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. iii 10

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. iii 15


lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. v 15

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 7 o. i 1

lugal-ildum₃ lu₂-eš₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 7 o. i 4


lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. viii 14

lugal-ildum₃ ED IIIb Zabala BIN 8 74 o. 4

lugal-ildum₃ um-mi-a ED IIIb/11 ensi₂ Zabala *TCVBI* 1-1 r. i 2

lugal-ildum₃ ES Umma or Zabala *TCVBI* 1-50 o. 5

lugal-ildum₃ ES-MS Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 25 o. ii 4

lugal-ildumₑ (a2) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178

lugal-ildumₑ guruš, ir₃ dub-sar-ne ES-MS Umma *CHÉU* 54 o. ii 7

lugal-ildumₑ sbara MS-CS Umma BIN 8 287 o. 2

lugal-im (a5) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178–179

lugal-im DUN-a ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 161 o. 2

lugal-im ugula-'ni₃ ES-MS Umma BIN 8 314 o. 7

lugal-im CS Adab SIA 890 o. 5 A 890

lugal-im CS Girsu *STTI* 115 r. 2

lugal-im f. E₂-zî MS-CS Isin? MVN 3 81 r. 16

lugal-im-nun-ne₃ (a1) ‘the lugal ... the border (of the) field’ 3.1.5.3, p. 133

lugal-im-nun-ne₂ MS Unknown F. Vukosavović, *JAC* 23 (2008), p. 37–54 5 o. i 4

lugal-im-ru (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179 w. n. 1078

'lugal-im-ru³ ED IIIa-b Marada? *AAICAB* 1/1 (Ashm 1924-467) o. ii 1

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lugal-im-ru-a (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179 w. n. 1079
lugal-im-ru-a azlag5 ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 66 o. 2
lugal-im-SILA4 (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-im-SILA3 f. I-r-pa-e3 CS Umma USP 45 r. i 4
lugal-inim (identical with lugal-inim-gi-na sagi), p. 131 n. 471
lugal-inim sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5? Girsu VS 14 183 o. ii 4
lugal-inim (identical with lugal-inim-gi-na sipa maš), p. 131 n. 471
lugal-inim sipa maš ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu DP 1/2 104 o. ii 4
lugal-inim (identical with lugal-inim-ma-ni, GIN₃.TUKU), p. 93 n. 474
lugal-inim GIN₃.HUB₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 r. i 11
lugal-inim GIN₃.H[UB₃] ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 44 o. ii 1
lugal-inim GIN₃.TUKU ED IIIb Nippur PBS 9 64 o. ii 5
lugal-inim-du₄₀ (a2) ‘the lugal … a good utterance’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93 n. 475
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀ ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 108 o. 2
lugal-inim-du₁₀ CS-LS? Girsu RTC 192 o. 3
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀ CS-LS? Girsu RTC 193 o. 3
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀-ga (a3) ‘the lugal … a good utterance’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀-ga ED IIIb-ES Adab TCABI 15 o. iii 5
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀-ga ED IIIb-ES Adab TCABI 15 r. i 4
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀-ga ED IIIb-ES Adab TCABI 15 r. i 6
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀-ga ur₃ ED IIIb-ES Nippur TMH 5 5 o. 4
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀.ki (a1) (compare the previous two writings) 3.1.1.4, p. 93 n. 475
lugal-inim-du₁₀₀.ki ugula (?) ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 6 o. ii 4
lugal-inim-e (identical with lugal-inim-e-giš-tuku), p. 139 w. n. 777
lugal-inim-e MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 44 o. ii 1
lugal-inim-e MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 44 o. ii 8
lugal-inim-e-giš-tuku (a1) ‘the lugal is one who pays attention to words’ 3.1.6.1, p. 139
lugal-inim-e-giš-tuku MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 45 o. ii 14
lugal-inim-[m]-giš-tuku MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 48 o. ii 12
lu[gal]-[inim]-e-[giš]-tuku MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 49 o. ii 10
lugal-inim-gi-na (a12) ‘the lugal of permanent word’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93
lugal-inim-gi-na umbisaḫ ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 r. i 7
lugal-inim-gi-na sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁,1 Girsu AWAS 119 o. vi 9
lugal-inim-gi-na sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu AWAS 120 o. vii 4
lugal-inim-gi-na sagi ED IIIb/[Ukg. lugal 3] Girsu AWAS 121 o. vii 8
lu[gal]-[inim-gi]-na sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu AWAS 123 o. v 14
lugal-inim-ra₂-[na] s[agi] ED IIIb Girsu DCS 4 o. vi 8
lugal-inim-gi-na sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 o. vii 12
lugal-inim-gi-na lu₂ e₂-gal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 o. vi 5
lugal-inim-gi-na ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 2/1 177 r. ii 4
lugal-inim-gi-na sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁,1 Girsu HSS 3 16 o. vi 5
lugal-inim-gi-na ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu HSS 3 28 r. i 1
lugal-inim-gi-na sagi ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁,1 Girsu MVN 3 2 o. vii 7
lugal-inim-gi-na lu₂ E₂-me-lam₃-su₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. vii 10
lugal-inim-gi-na sipa maš ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁,1(+X?) Girsu Nik 1 9 r. i 7
lugal-inim-gi-na sipa maš ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu Nik 1 239 o. i 5

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lugal-imim-gi-na ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu VS 27 13 o. iv 9
lugal-imim-gi-na ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 130 o. ii 3
lugal-imim-gi-na Maš-pa₂-da ki ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. ii 5'
lugal-imim-gi-na ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 33 r. i 2
lugal-imim-gi-na ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 142 o. ii 8
lugal-imim-gi-na ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 270 o. ii 4
lugal-imim-gi-na dumu ensi₂₃ maškim-bi ES Adab CUSAS 11 340 o. 3
lugal-imim-gi-na dam-gar₃ MS-CS Isin? MAD 4 150 r. 6
lugal-imim-g[i-na] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. ii 1
lugal-imim-gi-na nagar MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 63 o. i 4
lugal-[imim]-gi-'na³ [da]lm-gar₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 66 o. 8
lugal-imim-gi-na dam-gar₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 67 r. 1
[lugal]-imim-g[i-na] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 95 r. i 7
lugal-imim-g[i]-na MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 o. iii 2
lugal-imim-gi-na f. [x] MS-CS Unknown BIN 8 293 r. ii 1
lugal-imim-gi-na na-gada CS-LS Girsu DAS 274 o. iii 7
lugal-imim-gi-na na-gada CS-LS Girsu DAS 274 o. iii 8

lugal-imim-ga₂-ka-bi (a¹) ‘the lugal is one who states my case’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93
lugal-imim-ga₂-ka-bi ED IIIa Šuruppak M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27–49 l. r. iii 5
lugal-imim-ga₂-la (a²) uncertain mng. 3.1.1.4, p. 94, 251 n. 1476
lugal-imim-ga₂-la ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 10 o. v 2

lugal-imim-kalag (a²²/v¹) ‘lugal of the strong word’ 3.1.1.4, p. 94 n. 481
lugal-imim-kalag engar ED IIIa Šuruppak TSŞ 1 o. vii 8
lugal-imim-kalag engar ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 7 o. vi 1
lugal-imim-kalag ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 26 o. i 3
lugal-imim-kalag ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 41 o. v 12’
lugal-imim-kalag ugula ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 41 o. vii 4’
lugal-imim-kalag engar, ensi₂ ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 71 o. v 7
lugal-imim-kalag Ec₂UD-nu-di, ugula ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 71 r. iv 1
lugal-imim-kalag ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 107 o. vi 7
lugal-imim-kalag ? ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 113 o. ii 1’
⁰lugal-imim-kalag ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 25 o. i 1
lugal-imim-kalag ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 142 o. iv 1
lugal-imim-kalag ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 201 r. i 1

lugal-imim-kalag-ga (a¹) ‘lugal of the strong word’ 3.1.1.4, p. 94, 188
lugal-imim-kalag-ga MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 63 o. i 5
⁰lugal-imim-ma-ni (v¹) ‘the word of the lugal (is …)’ (identical with lugal-imim, GIN₂HUB₂, GIN₂TUκU), p. 93 n. 474
⁰lugal-imim-ma-ni GIN₂TUκU ED IIIb Lagaš BiMes 3 14 r. i 3
lugal-imim-ma-se₂-ga (a²) ‘the lugal is one instructed (by/of DN)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144–145, 245, 258
lugal-imim-ma-se₂-ga ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 45 r. iii 8’
lugal-[in]im-ma-se₂-ga ED IIIb Zabala (?) BIN 8 46 o. iv 3
lugal-imim-se₂-ga (a¹) ‘the lugal is one instructed (by/of DN)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 145
lugal-imim-se₂-ga dub-sar ES-MS Ur UET 2 suppl. 16 r. ii 1’
lugal-inim-še₃⁽ᵃ⁾ ‘lord, (lend your ear) to (my) word’ 3.1.6.1, p. 139, 182 n. 1116
lugal-inim-še₃ simug ES-MS Isin MAD 4 153 o. ii 10
lugal-inim-še₃⁽ᵇ⁾ f. [L]u₃-na-nam simug MS Isin? MAD 4 170 4
lugal-inim-še₃ simug CS Unknown (prob. Isin) MAD 4 71 r. 6

lugal-inim-TAR⁽ᵃ⁾ ‘the lugal is one who decides matters’ 3.1.3.3, p. 118
lugal-inim-TAR MS-CS Unknown L. J. Delaporte, ZA 18 (1904), p. 245–256 6 r. 5

lugal-inim-zi (identical with lugal-inim-zi-da, nu-kiri₈)
lugal-inim-zi (zi-KA-lugal) nu-kiri₈ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSŠ 444 r. iii 2

lugal-inim-zi (identical with lugal-inim-zi-da, ma₉-gal-gal)
lugal-inim-zi (lugal-zi-KA) ma₉ gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 668 o. ii 5’

lugal-inim-zi⁽ᵃ⁾ ‘the lugal (of) permanent word’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93 n. 474
lugal-inim-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 29 r. ii 6

lugal-inim-zi-da⁽²ⁿ⁻¹⁾ ‘the word (of the) lugal is reliable’ 3.1.1.4, p. 93, 94 n. 480
lugal-inim-zi-da (KA-zi-lugal-da), sa₂₄-sug₈ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSŠ 147 o. iii 4
lu[gal]-¹-inim⁽³⁾-zi-da (lu[gal]-¹-KA⁽³⁾-da-zi) ma₉ gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSŠ 165 o. ⁵’

lugal-inim-zi-da (lugal-ka-zi-da) nu-kiri₈ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSŠ 244 o. i 2
lugal-inim-zi-da umbiṣaq (Jestin: E₃) ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 27+TSŠ 327+NTSŠ 294 r. iii 2
lugal-inim-[zi⁽⁷⁾-daᵐ⁾ ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 1 o. i 7
lugal-inim-zi-da (zi-da-KA-lugal) lu₅ ma₂₁ gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 1 o. iv 7
lugal-inim-zi-da (KA-da-zi-lugal) ma₉ gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 9+127 o. i 5
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 15 o. ii.’ ⁷¹
lugal-inim-zi-da umbiṣaq Ur₆⁴-Sud₂ ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 46 r. ii 4
lugal-inim-zi-da umbiṣaq dum mu-sar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 79+80 r. ii 1
lugal-inim-zi-da (zi-[K[A]-lugal-da) gal-nilgi₈ ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 101 o. iii 7
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 113 o. ii 6
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 181 o. iv 14

[lu][gal]-[inim]-zi-[d[a]] ([lu][gal]-zi-[KA]-d[a]) engar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 261 o. iii 1’
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 456 o. ii 1
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 619 o. ii 1
lugal-inim-zi-da niġir-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 4 o. ii 8
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 5 o. iii 7
lugal-inim-zi-da niġir-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 6 o. iii 1
lugal-inim-zi-da niġir-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 7 o. i 2’
lugal-inim-zi-da lu₂ ma₂¹ gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 11 o. i 2
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 12 o. i 2
lugal-inim-zi-da niġir-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 15 r. ii 2
lugal-inim-zi-da ma₂¹ gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 18 o. vi 9
lugal-inim-zi-da nu-kiri₈ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 25 r. i 5
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 34 r. iii 1
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag? CT 50 2 r. ii 3
lugal-inim-zi-da [L]u₅ gi-di ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 65 o. ii 2
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 65 r. v 4
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 67 r. iii 10
lugal-inim-[zi⁽⁵⁾]-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 68 o. viii 2’
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 69 o. vii 11
lugal-inim-zi-da Adab⁶ᵇ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 70 o. ii 4
lugal-inim-zi-da munu₂[PAP,PAP] ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 71 r. vi 11
lugal-inim-zi-da Lu₂-lum-ma, Lugal-da-zî-ka, gal-nigiatan ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 72 r. i 11
lugal-inim-zi-da (ka-zī-lugal-da) Adab₁⁵ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 72 r. i 3
lugal-inim-zi-da Lum-ma, gal-nigiatan, lugal-zî-ka-da engar ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 77 r. e. 11
lugal-inim-zi-da (lugal-zî-ka-da) engar ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 77 r. e. 6
lugal-inim-zi-da Ur₃-Sud₃, (Lugal-ka-zî-da) engar, lu₂ ma₂, gal-gal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 78 r. ii 4
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 100 o. i 8
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 105 o. i 1
lugal-inim-zi-da (lugal-ka-zî-da) gal-nigiatan ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 121 o. i 3
lugal-inim-zi-da (ka-zî-da-lugal) nu-kiri₆, ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 124 r. ii 12
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9228 o. vi 2
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIb Zabala(?) BIN 8 45 o. ii 2
lugal-inim-zi-da ED IIIb Zabala(?) BIN 8 45 o. iii 5
lugal-inim-zi (a²⁴) the lugal is wise (with regards to) word’ 3.1.2, p. 106
lugal-inim'-zi ad-[ur]₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag? G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, p. 1107–1133 4 (translit. only) r. i 8
lugal-inim-zu AN-nu-me, Lugal-inim-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 1 o. viii 7
lugal-inim'-zu AN-nu-me, Lugal-inim'-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 8 o. iii 4
lugal-inim-zu umbisag PAPIM ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 46 r. i 16
lugal-inim-zu AN-nu-me, Lugal-inim-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 53 o. iv 9
lugal-inim-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 3 o. ii 7
lugal-inim-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 100 o. viii 12
lugal-inim-zu AN-nu-me, Lugal-inim-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 105 r. i 7
lugal-inim-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 119 r. iii 3
lugal-inim-zu Ka₃-a, Lugal-inim-zu ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. v 11
lugal-inim-zu ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. i 5
lugal-inim-zu ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. iv 5
lugal-inir-nun (a²¹) ‘the lugal is excellent smell’ (compare lugal-iₙ-nun) 3.1.7.8, p. 170
lugal-inir-nun nitah ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 114 r. v 9
lugal-inir-nun ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 115 r. iv 16
[lugal]-inir-nun ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu TSₐ 16 r. iii 11
lugal-iti (a²) ‘the lugal is reborn each) month’ 3.1.7.10, p. 159, 172 n. 1004
lugal-iti[^] f. Šēš-š[a₉] CS Girsu STTI 164 o. ii 4
lugal-iti[^] Lugal-iti[^]x₄, dumu Ur-mes, ir₄₁ Lugal-iti[^] CS Umma USP 50 o. 3
lugal-iti-da (a³⁵) ‘the lugal is reborn each) month’ 3.1.7.10, p. 50 n. 232, 158 n. 915, 159, 172, 215, 231, 235, 253 n. 1489, 259
lugal-iti-da ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 52 o. ii 6
lugal-iti-da ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 155 o. i 5
lugal-iti-da ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. v 12
lugal-iti-da ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 25 ‘ii’ 7
lugal-iti[^]da ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 92 o. 2
lugal-iti-da ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 155 o. i’ 3
lugal-iti-da[^] s. ‘Ur₃-Dumu[^]zi’ ED IIIb Unknown TIM 9 98 o. 12
lugal-iti-da ES Adab CUSAS 11 272 o. ii 1
lugal-iti-da ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 o. iii 6
lugal-iti[^]da ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. vii 9
lugal-iti-da ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 131 o. i 5
lugal-iti-da ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 131 r. iii 1

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lugal-iti-da Al-lu-lu-ka ES-MS Umma Nik 2 33 o. 6
[lugal-iti]-da MS Adab TCABI 80 o. 6’
lugal-iti’s-da su-si-kam MS Adab TCABI 124 r. 4
lugal-iti-da CS Adab CUSAS 13 2 r. 4
lugal-iti-da sipa CS Adab CUSAS 13 12 o. 7
lugal-iti-da pisaḫ-dub CS Adab CUSAS 13 24 r. 8’
lugal-iti-da CS Adab CUSAS 13 32 o. 4
lugal-iti-da dub-sar MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 43 o. 4
lugal-iti-da CS Adab CUSAS 13 78 r. ii 6’
lugal-iti-da CS Adab CUSAS 13 86 r. i 9
lugal-iti-da CS Adab CUSAS 13 91 r. 10’
lugal-iti-da sukkal MS-CS Adab OIP 14 144 o. 2
lugal-iti’s-da’ dumu URU.KI MS-CS Adab OIP 14 167 o. 7
lugal-iti-da CS Adab SIA 652 r. 5
lugal-iti-da lu₂ gub-ba CS Adab SIA 667 o. 10
lugal-iti-da CS Adab SIA 677 o. 5
lugal-iti-da ‘muḫaldim² CS Adab SIA 690+876 o. 3’
lugal-iti-da f. Ur-mes MS-CS Adab SIA 705 r. i 11
lu[gal]-iti-da sukkal CS Adab SIA 712 r. 3
lugal-iti-da CS Adab SIA 713 r. 2
lugal-iti-da CS Adab SIA 725 o. 5
lugal-iti-da CS Adab SIA 772 o. 2’
lugal-iti-da dub-sar CS Adab SIA 972 o. 5
lugal-iti-da CS Adab TCABI 228 o. 2
lugal-iti-da su-si-kam CS Adab TCABI 231 r. 7
lugal-iti-da su-si CS Adab TCABI 232 r. 5
lugal-iti-da CS Adab TCABI 234 o. 3
lugal-iti-da dub-sar CS Adab TCABI 242 o. 4
lugal-iti-da CS/Škē Girsu CT 50 51 o. 7
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu CT 50 85 r. i 9
lugal-iti-da [I]u₂³ [x-x] CS Girsu CT 50 106 o. ii 4
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu CT 50 163 o. 2
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu CT 50 182 o. 4
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu CT 50 184 r. 7’
‘lugal-iti-da³ s. En-TAR CS Girsu (?) CUSAS 13 214 r. 2’
lugal-iti-da engar ki-dur₃₄, dab₂-ba-me CS Girsu DPA 33 (PUL 38) o. 2
lugal-iti-da Diḫir-da-da/sū Lugal-iti-da, ḣuruṣ CS Girsu DPA 43 (PUL 47) o. 4
lugal-iti-da ḣuruṣ, dumu gi₂ CS Girsu ITT 1 1182 o. 5
lugal-iti-da baẖar₂, zah₂₂, in Lag[as₃₂], u-sa-[bu] CS Girsu ITT 1 1256 o. 5’
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu ITT 1 1364 o. 3
lugal-iti-da gur[us] CS Girsu ITT 1 1365 o. 5
lugal-iti-da ma₂-laḥ₃ CS Girsu ITT 1 1436 o. 4
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4455 r. 2
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu ITT 5 9270 r. 4’
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu ITT 5 9270 r. 8’
lugal-iti’s-da CS Girsu ITT 5 9317 o. 4
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu ? MVN 3 34 o. 5
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu RTC 103 o. 5
lugal-iti-da CS Girsu RTC 139 r. 6
lugal-iti-da s. Ur₃RTC CS Girsu RTC 142 o. ii 7
lugal-iti-da [I]u₂, Unug² CS Girsu RTC 248 o. 3
lugal-iti-[da]  CS Girsu  STTI  16 r. 5
lugal-iti-da  CS Girsu  STTI  31 o. i’ 4’
lugal-iti-da  CS Girsu  STTI  72 o. 4’
lugal-iti-da  CS Girsu  STTI  103 r. 5’
lugal-iti-da  CS Girsu  STTI  160 r. 2
lugal-iti-da  [s. (?)]  CS Girsu  STTI  180 o. i’ 5
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Isin?  MAD 4  150 o. 4
lugal-iti-da  Lugal-iti-da, Be₄-li-li  MS-CS  Isin?  MAD 4  155 r. 6
lugal-iti-[da]  dub-sar  MS-CS  Kiš  MAD 5  31 o. 2’
lugal-iti-da  ?  MS-CS  Mesag  BIN 8  137 o. 2
lugal-iti-da  sipa  eme₄  CS Mesag  BIN 8  142 o. 10
lugal-iti-da  b. Ur-mes, ’aman⁽⁴⁾[(MUNU₄₄),s[AR]]  MS-CS  Mesag  BIN 8  148 o. i 9
lugal-iti-da  aman(MUNU₄₄SAR)  CS Mesag  BIN 8  152 o. iii 7
lugal-iti-da  CS Mesag  BIN 8  216 o. 4
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Mesag  BIN 8  226 r. 2
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Mesag  BIN 8  230 o. 3
lugal-iti-da  s.’Az’  MS-CS  Mesag  BIN 8  243 o. 10
lugal-iti-da  [am]an[(MUNU₄₄SAR)]  MS-CS  Mesag  BIN 8  245 o. i 6
lugal-iti-da  saq-apin  CS Mesag  M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55  16 o. ii 9
lugal-iti-da  s. Az  MS-CS  Mesag  MesCiv 4  45 o. 19
lugal-iti-da  šandar⁽⁴⁾En-lil-la₂  MS-CS  Nippur  OIC 22  1 o. 2
lugal-iti-da  šandar  MS-CS  Nippur  OIC 22  2 o. 7
lugal-iti-da  CS Nippur  OIP 129 pl. 193 no. 3 o. 9
lugal-iti-da⁽¹⁾  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  68 o. 16
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  69 r. 10
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  70 r. i 3’
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  71 o. 2
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  71 o. 4
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  80 o. iii 1’
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  84 o. ii 10
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  84 r. iii 5
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  85 r. 3
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  93 o. i 4’
lugal-iti-da⁽²⁾  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  94 o. i 10
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  95 o. ii 10
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  96 o. ii 5
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  96 o. iii 4’
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  96 r. i 4’
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  97 r. i 6’
lugal-iti-da  E-TUM-AL?  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  148 o. 3
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  180 o. 2
lugal-iti-da  f. Geme₂⁽⁴⁾En-lil₂  CS/NS.  Nippur  PBS 9  15+110 o. ii 9
lugal-iti-da  [si]pa  maš₂  CS/NS.  Nippur  PBS 9  25 o. 9
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  PBS 9  28+34 r. i’ 7’
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  PBS 9  28+34 r. ii’ 3’
lugal-iti-da  MS-CS  Nippur  PBS 9  43 o. i 6’
lugal-iti-da  CS Nippur  PBS 9  77 o. ii 14’
lugal-iti’da  CS/NS.  Nippur  TMH 5  7+184+201a r. i 8’
lugal-iti-da  s. Nitaḥ-tur  CS/NS.  Nippur  TMH 5  7+184+201a r. ii 3’
lugal-iti’da  CS/NS.  Nippur  TMH 5  29 o. ii 9
lugal-iti-da  s. Sipa⁽⁴⁾En-lil₁₁-le  MS-CS  Nippur  TMH 5  63 o. ii 1
lugal-iti-da  kuš⁽⁴⁾Sara,  MS-CS  Umma  BIN 8  329 o. 4
lugal-itida kuš, ud₃ CS Umma BIN 8 335 o. 7
lugal-itida MS-CS Umma CST 21 o. ii 9
lugal-itida MS-CS Umma CST 21 r. ii 9'
lugal-itida maškim MS-CS Umma or Girsu ? CT 50 76 r. 1
lugal-itida šitim, be-lu bu-dim, in Ummaₘ CS Umma CT 50 188 o. ii 7
'lugal-itida' CS Umma ? CUSAS 13 201 r. 3
lugal-itida ugula, nu-banda₃, Nin₃ [x] gu₄ CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 244 o. 10
lugal-itida s. [D]a-da CS Umma USP 45 o. i 13
lugal-itida s. Ur-lu₃ CS Umma USP 45 r. i 7
lugal-itida f. Ur-Niğin CS Umma USP 46 o. 15
lugal-itida s. I-mi CS Umma USP 47 o. 6
lugal-itida [s.] Al-lu₂ CS Umma USP 47 o. i 16
lugal-itida s. Lugal-en₃-tar-su₄ CS Umma USP 47 r. i 18
lugal-itida f. Za₂-mu CS Umma USP 71 o. 5
lugal-itida f. Lugal-an-ne₂ CS Umma USP 71 o. 7
lugal-itida sagi-mah, Adabₚ CS-LS Unknown EGA 605
lugal-itida dam-gar₃ CS Unknown B. R. Foster, JCS 35 (1983), p. 147–175 18 r. 2
lugal-itida CS Unknown MAD 5 106 o. 4
lugal-itida dub-sar CS Unknown MAD 5 108 o. 6
lugal-itida sipa CS Unknown MAD 5 108 r. 2
lugal-itida nu-eš₃ MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 52 r. 6
lugal-itida ni-is-[ku] MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 53 o. 3
lugal-itida h. Nin-ME MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 21 o. 2
lugal-itida MS-CS Unknown OIP 47 pl. 5 no. 30 1
lugal-itida-tu (a₁) ‘the lugal is (re)born each month’ 3.1.7.10, p. 49 n. 230, 50 n. 232, 172
lugal-itida-tu s. GANₚ,ₚ Ba₃-u₂ & Urₚ Nin-MAR.KI, b. En-ne₂-a-na-ak ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu
Nik 1 19 o. ii 6
lugal-itida-[zal]ₚ-le (a₁) ‘the lugal [brightens?] the month’ 3.1.7.10, p. 172
lugal-itida-[zal]ₚ-le¹ lu₃ ildum₂ ES-MSUmma Nik 2 15 o. i 9
lugal-ka (a²-25) abbreviation 3.1.8 (see also lugal-inim, lugal-šudₚ(ka)), p. 139, 179, 186
w. n. 1172, 215 n. 1387, 235
lugal-ka f. Ur-PA, sukkan ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 77 o. ii 7
lugal-ka ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 81 r. ii 4
lugal-ka tug₂-du₄ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. iii 4
lugal-ka tug₂-du₄(-ra) ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 243 o. i 3
lugal-ka s. Ki-gub ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu DP suppl. 593 o. v 3
lugal-ka ED IIIb Girsu VS 25 38 o. i 3
lugal-ka ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu VS 25 42 o. ii 3
lugal-ka sukkan ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 105 r. i 1
lugal-ka (PN ?) ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 48 o. 1
lugal-ka (PN ?) ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 48 o. 3
lugal-ka sipa ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 62 o. i 8
lugal-ka ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 78 o. i 5
lugal-ka ED IIIb/Luzag, ensi, X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. iv 10
lugal-ka lu₂-eš₂-gid₁ ED IIIb/Luzag, ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. v 19
lugal-ka 'sipa' ED IIIb/Luzag, ensi₃ 7 Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 o. iii 1
lugal-ka ugula nu-banda₃(-am₄) ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 108 o. i 5
lugal-ka sagi ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 120 o. i 2’
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 100 (translit. only) o. 4
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 102 (translit. only) o. 4
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 103 (translit. only) r. 1
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 104 (translit. only) o. 4
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 108 (translit. only) r. 1
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 120 (translit. only) r. 1
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 121 (translit. only) o. 2
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 123 (translit. only) o. 4
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 124 o. 3
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 125 (translit. only) o. 5
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 133 (translit. only) o. 5
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 135 (translit. only) o. 5
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MAD 4 148 (translit. only) o. 7
lugal-ka sağ-apin-na lugal CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 236 r. i 3
lugal-ka³^1 CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 237 o. 6
lugal-ka MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 14 o. 2
lugal-ka eš₂(du₃)-gid₂ CS Umma Nik 2 76 o. i 8
lugal-ka? MS-CS Umma? TCVC 726 o. ii 12
lugal-ka f. AMAR-si & ka-diğer-ra MS-CS Umma? TCVC 731 o. ii 15’
lugal-ka eš₂-gid₂ CS Umma USP 22 o. i 6
lugal-ka CS Umma USP 24 3
lugal-ka f. Sağ-lu₂-[⟨⟩] CS Umma USP 45 o. ii 8
lugal-ka f. Al-lu₂ CS Umma USP 47 o. i 9
'lugal-ka³ MS-CS Umma USP 69 o. 4
lugal-[ka] CS Umma USP 72 o. 3
lugal-ka lugal-ka³‘u₃¹ Ur-zu CS Unknown CUSAS 13 2 r. 12
lugal-ka aga₃-us₂ lugal CS Unknown W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, Gs
Diakonoff, 225–231 8 r. 2’
lugal-ka sipa MS-CS Unknown B. R. Foster, JCS 35 (1983), p. 147–175 4 r. 1
lugal-ka OAkk Unknown MAD 4 25 (translit. only) o. 10
lugal-ka CS Unknown MAD 4 36 o. 2
lugal-ka OAkk Unknown MAD 4 154 (translit. only) o. i 12
lugal-ka CS Unknown (Girsu ?) MVN 2 298 o. ii 4
lugal-ka CS Unknown (Girsu ?) MVN 2 298 o. ii 5
lugal-ka MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 92 o. 3
lugal-ka³(di à²) (perhaps) ‘the lugal (is like) Ištaran’ 3.1.6.2, p. 146, 166 n. 959
lugal-ka³·di MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. ii 17
lugal-ka³·gan-ki (a¹) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179, 187
'lugal-ka³·gan-ki² ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala BIN 8 77 o. 4
lugal-[k]a·gan-ki ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. iv 11
3 o. iii 3
30–55 6 o. iii 17
lugal-ka³·ni-nu-šuba₂ (a¹) ‘is the word (?) of the lugal not pure (?)’ 3.1.1.4, p. 92 n. 470, 94
lugal-ka³·ni-nu-šuba₂ nižir šila ED IIIa Şušuppag FTUM 96 r. i 1
lugal-ka³·ni₃₂-u (a²¹) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-ka³·ni₃₂-u ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. v 3
lugal-ka³·ni₃₂-u ğuruš, ir₃ dub-sar-ne ES-MS Umma CHĒU 54 o. ii 6
lugal-ka³·si₃-u₂-LUM (a¹) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-KA-SI-U₂-LUM    ED IIIb    Zabala    BIN 8    76    o. ii 1
lugal-KA-U₂⁷ (a1) unk. mng.    3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-KA-U₂⁷    ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂⁷    Umma-Zabala    M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55    7    o. v 12'
lugal-KA×dîš⁷    MS-CS    Adab    CUSAS 13    8    o. 6
lugal-KA-[{}x]-¹{x}-¹[{}x]    ED IIIb    Ur    UET 2    suppl.    40    o. 2
lugal-KA-¹{x}-¹[{}x]    ES    Adab    TCABI    26    edge
lugal-kadra (a1) ‘the lugal (presents) a gift (offering)’    3.1.6.3, p. 147, 256 n. 1506
lugal-kadra    CS    Umma    W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, Gs Diakonoff, 225–231    4    o. 9
lugal-kalag-ga (a2) ‘the lugal is strong’    3.1.7.3, p. 163
lugal-kalag-ga    usandu(MUšEN.DU₃)    ED IIIb-ES    Adab    CUSAS 11    86    o. ii 2
lugal-kalag-ga    ED IIIb-ES    Adab    CUSAS 11    98    o. ii 3
lugal-kalag-ga    ugula    ES    Adab    TCABI    61    o. i 6
lugal-KALAM(LAK729) (a3) (compare lugal-ug₃₃)    3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 530, 253 n. 1484
lugal-KALAM-[{}x]    s. Ak-[d,x]⁷    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    39    o. i 4'
lugal-KALAM    ²⁴Nin-šubur-an-dul₅¹(SAG), ir₅₁ lugal-KALAM    tug₂-du₈    MS-CS    Umma
lugal-KALAM    s. (?)    [Ur-⁴d]²Giš³-bar    MS-CS    Umma    TCVC    728    o. i 2
lugal-KALAM(LAK729):ma:dul₃ (a1) ‘the lugal covers the land’    3.1.1.6, p. 102
lugal-kalam:ma:dul₃    ED IIIb    Girsu    NFT, p. 180 (bottom)    o. i 2
lugal-kalam:¹{ma}:dul₃    ED IIIb    Girsu    ITT 5    9228    o. iv 7
lugal-kar (a26) ‘the lugal ... the harbour’    3.1.5.3, p. 136 n. 760
lugal-¹kar¹    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    24    o. iv 3
lugal-kar    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    29    r. i 3
lugal-kar    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    29    r. i 6
lugal-kar    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    33    o. i 5'
lugal-¹kar¹    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    33    o. ii 2'
lugal-kar nu-band₃₃    ED IIIb    Nippur    OSP 1    35    ii 1'
lugal-kar    s. Ur-¹škuru₃    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    1    o. i 3
lugal-kar    s. Lugal-uru-da, lu₃, Šuruppak²¹    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    8    o. i 5
lugal-kar    KAL.EDIN    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    11    o. iii 7
lugal-kar    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    58    r. i 1
lugal-kar    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    159    o. i 15'
lugal-kar¹    lu₃₃, us₃₃    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    164    o. ii 7
lugal-kar    ED IIIb    Nippur    TMH 5    168    o. iii 4
lugal-kar    ES-MS    Nippur    PBS 9    49    o. 2
lugal-kar    ES-MS    Nippur    TMH 5    180    o. i 2'
lugal-kar    CS    Girsu    DPA    22 (PUL 40)    r. 2
lugal-kar    f. U₂₃(LAK729)-IL₂    MS-CS    Nippur    OSP 2    69    o. 6
lugal-kar    f. U₂₃(LAK729)-IL₂    MS-CS    Nippur    OSP 2    69    o. 10
lugal-kar    MS-CS    Nippur    OSP 2    80    o. i 2
lugal-kar¹    MS-CS    Nippur    OSP 2    95    o. iii 6
lugal-kar    CS/Skš₂-Y 2    Nippur    OSP 2    100    r. iii 6'
lugal-¹kar¹    f. U₂₃(¹L₃)    MS-CS    Nippur    OSP 2    129    o. ii 9'
lugal-kar    MS-CS    Nippur    OSP 2    180    r. 2

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lugal-k[ar] (TE) (31) ‘the lugal … the harbour’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136 n. 760
lugal-k[ar] (TE) f. Uşg-Il₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 70 o. ii 6
lugal-k[ar] (TE) f. Uşg-Il₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 70 o. ii 8
lugal-kar-e (31) ‘the lugal … the harbour’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136 n. 760
lugal-kar-eš (31) ‘the lugal is just right for the harbour’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136, 153
lugal-kar-eši f. Gala, lu₂ ma₂-gur₂-ka CS Umma MAD 4 51 o. 2
lugal-kar-re (31) ‘the lugal … the harbour’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136 n. 760
lugal-kar-reš gur₂ CS Giršu DPA 45 (PUL 22) o. 2
lugal-kar-re₂ (31) ‘the lugal … the harbour’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136 n. 760
lugal-kar-re₂ CS Adab? TCABI 262 o. 3*
lugal-kar-si (31) ‘the lugal is just right for the harbour’ 3.1.5.3, p. 136 n. 760
lugal-kar-si ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. vii 13
lugal-kar-si ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 63 o. i 4
lugal-kar-si ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 r. i 7
lugal-kar-si f. Ur-PA, u₂-ḫub₂ ES-MS Unknown MVN 3 85 o. 3
lugal-kara₃-gal-gal (61) ‘the lugal enlarges the grain heap(s)’ 3.1.5.3, p. 134 w. n. 744
lugal-kara₃-gal-gal ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. iii 10
lugal-kas₃ (31) (see the following) 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-kas₃ CS Isin CUSAS 13 163 r. i 4
lugal-kas₄-e (34) ‘the lugal runs (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-kas₄-e nu-band₃a₂ ma₂-gid₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 78 r. ii 10
lugal-kas₄-eši s. Ur-d[a] CS Giršu ITT 1 1404 r. 1
lugal-kas₅-e MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 146 o. 4’
lugal-kas₅-eši s. Şeš-šeš CS Unknown EGA 913 pl. 29 fig. 350
lugal-kas[š] (31) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-kas[š] f. [x-x] MS-CS Umma? TCYC 729 o. 3’
lugal-Keš₃ (31) ‘the lugal (went to) Keš’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 887, 247
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Giršu AWAS 68 r. ii 4’
l[u]gal-[Keš₃] išu₃ šuku dab₃₂-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Giršu AWAS 124 o. iv 16
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Giršu AWAS 124 o. v 5’
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Giršu AWAS 124 r. iii 6
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 116 o. vii 10
lugal-Keš₃ išu₃ šuku dab₃₂-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 116 o. v 18
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 116 r. i 3
lugal-Keš₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 117 o. iii 8
lugal-Keš₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 117 o. v 18
lugal-Keš₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 117 o. vi 4
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Giršu DP 1/2 117 r. i 6
lugal-Keš₃ išu₃ šuku dab₃₂-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4(+x?) Giršu Nik 1 16 o. v 1
lugal-Keš₃ dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4(+x?) Giršu Nik 1 16 o. v 11
lugal-Keš₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4(+x?) Giršu Nik 1 16 r. iii 3
lugal-Keš₃ saš-apin Gēme₂-tar-sir-sir-ka ED IIIb/X Y 4 Giršu VS 14 39 o. ii 4
lugal-Keš₃ MS-CS Adab OIP 14 124 o. 2
lugal-Keš₃ CS Adab SIA 800+1011 o. 4
lugal-ki (316) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-ki ED IIIa Giršu PBS 9 2 o. iv 5
lugal-ki ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 60 o. i 8
lugal-ki ED IIIb/X Y 6 Girsu Nik 1 178 o. i 2
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 o. ii 13
lugal-'ki³ dub-sar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 104 o. ii 2
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III* Y* (W 2/7) o. ii 14
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. i 2
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. i 10
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. ii 15
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. iii 8
lugal-'ki³ sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 6 o. v 5
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi, 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 7 o. iv 14
lugal-ki ġuruš, lu₂ gi sa₂ₙ-sa₂₀a ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 11 o. i 3
lugal-ki ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 12 r. 3
lugal-ki sağa ED IIIb Zarbal Aba M. Powell, HUCA 49 (1978), p. 1–58 7 o. iii 4
lugal-ki ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 o. ii 6
lugal-ki ma₂-lah₂ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 19 o. iii 11
lugal-ki³ ma₂-lah₂-bi ES-MS Umma Nik 2 19 r. i 10
lugal-ki MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 81 r. 2
lugal-ki MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 82 o. 4
lugal-ki MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 104 o. ii 4’

lugal-ki-ağa₂ (a=5) ‘the lugal is beloved’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170
lugal-ki-ağa₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 102 o. iii 3
lugal-ki-ağa₂ ED IIIb-ES Nippur TMH 5 94 o. 3
lugal-ki-ağa₂ MS Adab TCABI 78 o. 2’
lugal-ki-ağa₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 r. i 2
lugal-ki-ağa₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 99 r. iii 3’
lugal-ki-ağa₂ CS/Škš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 r. i 9’
lugal-ki-ağa₂ lu₂ Kal₂-bum, šištim CS Unknown CUSAS 13 200 o. 9

lugal-ki-gal (a=2) uncertain mng. 3.1.6.4, p. 156 n. 902
lugal-ki-gal AN-nu-[me'] ED IIIa Šuruppak 7ŠŠ 93 o. iii 7
lu[gal]-ki-gal ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 78 o. i 13’
lugal-'ki-gal³? ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. vi 7

lugal-ki-gal-gal-la (a) uncertain mng. 3.1.6.4, p. 156 n. 902
lugal-ki-gal-gal-la ED IIIa Šuruppak 7ŠŠ 158 o. vi 10

lugal-ki-gal-la (a=12) uncertain mng. 3.1.6.4, p. 104 n. 554, 156
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIa Adab TCABI 1 o. iii 3
lugal-ki-gal-la isib³Nin-ĝir-su ED IIIa Girsu PBS 9 2 r. ii 1
lugal-ki-gal-la AN-nu-me ED IIIa Šuruppak NTŠŠ 569 o. iii’ 13
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIa Šuruppak 7ŠŠ 9+127 o. iv 4
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIa Šuruppak 7ŠŠ 467 o. i 5
lugal-ki-gal-la Ni-Ni-[x] ED IIIa Šuruppak 7ŠŠ 873 o. ii’ 5’
lugal-ki-gal-la AN-nu-me ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 25 o. i 11
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 47 o. i 1
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 78 r. i 11
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIa-b Unknown L'uomo 5 o. ii' 3
lugal-ki-gal-la lu₂-₃u₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 77 r. i 1
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DP 2/1 191 o. iii 4
lugal-ki-gal-la lu₃ ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 53 o. i 3
lugal-ki-gal-la s. E₂-da-hu₃₇, lu₃ Šuruppak ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 8 o. ii 2
lugal-ki-gal-la Lugal-ki-gal-la, Lugal-ni₃₇ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. i 2
lugal-ki-gal-la Lugal-a₂-zi-da, i₂₇ Lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 50 o. i 2
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 68 o. iv 4
lugal-ki-gal-la ED IIIb Umma (?) CUSAS 11 45 o. iii 2
lugal-ki-gal-la ES/Šk. Nippur TMH 5 181 o. 5
lugal-ki-gal-la CS/NS-Ššk. Nippur OSP 2 79 o. 8
lugal-ki-gal-la MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 93 o. i 10'
lugal-ki-gal-la MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 99 r. ii 5'
lugal-[ki-gal-la] f. Dal-[la] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 118 o. 7
lugal-ki-gal-la f. Dal-la MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 162 r. 4
lugal-ki-gal-la CS Nippur PBS 9 77 o. ii 12'
lugal-ki₁-[gal-la] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. iii 5'
lugal-ki-gal-la [s. G]ala CS Umma USP 46 o. 7

**lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₃₉-du₃** (a1) ‘the lugal is the one best suited for the place (where) he serves’
3.1.6.4, p. 156
lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₃₉-du₃ (en Unug₃₉-ga, Lugal Urimu₃₉-ma) ED IIIb/Lukin. X Nippur BE 1/2 86 3 etc.
lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₃₉-du₃ (en Unug₃₉-ga, Lugal Urimu₃₉-ma) ED IIIb/Lukin. X Nippur BE 1/2 86 15 etc.
lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₃₉-du₃ f. Lugal-kisal:si (lugal Unug₃₉-ga, Lugal Urimu₃₉-ma) ED IIIb/Lukin. X Nippur BE 1/2 86 (b) 2'
lugal-ki-ni (a1) uncertain mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-ki-ni ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. v 6

**lugal-ki-ni-du₃₉-du₃** (a1) (compare lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₃₉-du₃) 3.1.6.4, p. 156
lugal-ki-ni-du₃₉-du₃ a-di-gir₂-šu₉₀, dub-sar-maḥ, Lugal-ki-ni-du₃₉-du₃; im-DU₂, ma₃-s₂-še₃ da i₃₃-na-ri
ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 68 r. ii 3
lugal-ki-ni-du₇₉-du₃ ens₂i Unug₂₉-ga ED IIIb/Ent. X Bad-Tibira CIRPL Ent. 53 (translit.
only) ii 7

**lugal-ki-ni-gi₃₄** (a²₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-ki-ni-gi₃₄ ED IIIb/Luzag₄ ensi₂i Umma-Zabala BIN 8 116 o. i 5
lugal-ki-ni-gi₃₄ lu₂₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂i] X Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer,
pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. i 13'
lugal-ki-ni-gi₃₄ gi₃₉-š₃₃₄ dumu AN-ki₂₉₁-du₅₁₃, lu₂ Lugal-ki-ni-gi₃₄ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala
M. Powell, HUCA 49 (1978), p. 1–58 18 r. ii 7
lugal-ki-ni-gi₃₄ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala BIN 8 234 o. i 8

**lugal-ki-ni-še₃₉-du₃₉-du₃** (a¹) (compare lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₃₉-du₃) 3.1.6.4, p. 156
lugal-ki-ni-še₃₉-du₃₉-du₃ ens₂i Unug₂₉-ga ED IIIb/Ent. X/Lukin. X Bad-Tibira CIRPL
Ent. 45 ii 7

[lugal]-ki₁-[x-x₃]-še₃₉-du₃₉-du₃ lugal Kes₃₉-a ED IIIb/Lukin. X Ur UET 1 3+J. S.
Cooper, Iraq 46 (1984), pl. Vb 1'

**lugal-ki-nu-gi₃₄** (a²⁵) ‘the lugal (in) the place of no return (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-ki-nu-gi₃₄ ga₂₃ nu₂₃:gi₃₄lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 17 r. i 2

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lugal-ki-šiš-Pa²-x³ (a1)  unk. mng.  3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-ki-šiš-Pa²-x³ ED I-II Šuruppag (?) F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 6 (1907), p. 143–146
(AO 2753)  r. i 4

lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ (a26) ‘the lugal is one who makes the dwelling place pleasant’  3.1.8, p. 125
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ simug ED IIIa Šuruppag H. Steible & F. Yıldız, FS Limet, 149–159
(S 1006)  o. ii 4
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ dam-gar₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 205  o. ii 8
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 238  o. ii 2
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀³ dub-sar ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 258  o. ii 3
lugal-ki-tuš₁-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 276  o. (?) ii 4’
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Lugal-dum[u-zı] ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 444  o. ii 5
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Ur₃-Šu₃₃-N₃₃₃-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 569  o. iv’ 1
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ umbisag ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 27+TS 327+NTSS 294  r. iii 5
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 62  o. vi 3’
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ dub-sar ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 1  r. iii 9
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ KUN.KUN ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 104  o. ii 7’
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ašgab ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 106  o. ii 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 113  o. ii 2
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Ni₃₃₃₃-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 688  r. ii 4
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ dam-gar₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 794  o. iv 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag TS 842  r. ii 2’
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 3  r. ii 5
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 5  r. iii 9
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Ni₃₃₃₃-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 6  r. ii 6
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 6  r. v 2
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ E₃-ZU#ZU-SAR ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 7  o. vii 1’
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Lugal-dumu-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 9  o. iv 5
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Ni₃₃₃₃-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 9  o. v 4
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Lugal-dumu-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 13  o. iv 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 16  o. iv 6
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Ur₃₃₃₃-E₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 18  r. i 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ašgab ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 25  o. iii 9
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ A-RU ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 25  r. v 4
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 26  o. i 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 42  o. i 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ Ni₃₃₃₃-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 52  o. i 2
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 53  r. v 12
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 65  r. iv 8
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 66  o. v 8
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 67  o. iv 11
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 68  o. iii 15
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 69  o. ii 14
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ munu₃(PAP.PAP) ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 71  r. vi 9
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 77  r. v 15
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 84  r. i 1
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 86  r. i 2
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 125  r. i 7
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 125  r. ii 1
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 143  o. i 3
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 143  r. i 5
lugal-ki-tuš-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 149  o. i 4
lugal-šīkiri₃ (a2) ‘the lugal … the garden’ 3.1.5.3, p. 133
lugal-šīkiri₃ (PN?) CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 172 r. ii 16
lugal-šīkiri₃ usan₃-du₃ CS/Škš Y 5 Umma CT 50 61 r. 10
lugal-šīkiri₃ s. Ba-al-ni, šeš-U MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 30 o. i 14
lugal-šīkiri₃ [nu’]-banda₃ CS Umma MVN 15 379 r. 1
lugal-kiri₂ (a1) ‘the lugal … the garden’ 3.1.5.3, p. 133
lugal-kiri₂-e f. Pu₂-ta MS-CS Umma? TCVC 730 o. ii 6
lugal-kisal (a2) (compare lugal-kisal-si) 3.1.6.4, p. 157
lugal-kisal MS-CS Umma BIN 8 316 r. 6
lugal-kisal f. Me-sag₂ CS Girsu MVN 3 113 r. iii 16’
lugal-kisal-a-gub (a1) ‘the lugal stands in the courtyard’ 3.1.6.4, p. 157
lugal-kisal-a-gub gab₂-kas₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3(+X?) Girsu HSS 3 12 o. iv 8
lugal-kisal×pap (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-kisal×pap CS Unknown CUSAS 13 188 o. 2
lugal-kisal-si (a2) ‘the lugal is just right for the courtyard’ 3.1.6.4, p. 157, 237
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 34 r. ii 3
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 39 r. i 2’
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 46 o. xii 7
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 59 o. vi’ 12’
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 117 (o.) vii’ 4’
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 122 r. i 4’
lugal-kisal-si (um-mi-a) ED IIIa Abū šalābīḫ IAS 298 r. i 2’
lugal-kisal-si ED IIIa Kiš AAIcAB 1/1 (Ashm 1924-16) o. ii 5
lugal-kisal-si gala ED IIIa šuruppag? MesCiv 4 1 o. v 6
lugal-kisal-si f. E₃-u₂-u₂ ED IIIb Adab TCABI 11 o. iii 3
lugal-kisal-si umbisāq ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 20 r. iv 2
lugal-kisal-si umbisāq ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 21 r. vii’ 2’
lugal-kisal-si s. Ar₃-du₃ ED IIIb Ešnuna OIP 58, p. 291 12 2
lugal-kisal-si lugal Unu₃ ED IIIb/Lukis. X Nippur TMH 5 140 o. i 3
lugal-kisal-si ED IIIb/Lukis. X Ur UET 1 3 6’
lugal-kisal-si lugal Unu₃-ga, lugal Urim₃-ma-k(c₄) ED IIIb/Lukis. X Uruk? H. Neumann, AoF 8 (1981), p. 75–82 3
lugal-kisal-si lugal-ki-gub-ni-du₅-du₅, lugal Unu₃-ga, lugal Urim₃-ma-ke₄ ED IIIb BE 1/2 Nippur 86 (b) 5’
lugal-kisal-si f. Mc-girim, (A.BU.ḪA.DU)-ta ED IIIb Uruk BRM 4 45 3
lugal-kisal-si lugal Unu₃ ED IIIb Uruk F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 20 (1923), p. 3–5 5
lugal-kisal-pap (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-kisal-pap CS Unknown CUSAS 13 188 o. i 2
lugal-kisal-ta (a1) ‘the lugal is a friend’ 3.1.7.8, p. 171, 237
lugal-kisal-ta f. Ur₄-Iṛḫan(MUš), dumu.dumu A-na₃-de₃ ED/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 A xiii 8
lugal-kisal-ta f. Ur₄-Iṛḫan(MUš), dumu.dumu A-na₃-de₃ ED/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 B xvi 11
lugal-kisal-ta f. Ur₄-Iṛḫan(MUš), dumu.dumu A-na₃-de₃ ED/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 C xxiii 30
lugal-kisal-ta f. Ur₄-Iṛḫan(MUš), dumu.dumu A-na₃-de₃ ED/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 D x’ 13
lugal-kisal-ta CS Girsu ITT 1 1101 o. 4
lugal-kisal-ta MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 78 r. 4’
lugal-ku-li CS Umma USP 20 0.6

**lugal-ku₃** (a2) uncertain mng. 3.1.8, p. 179 w. n. 1087
lugal-ku₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 93 r. ii 5'
lugal-ku₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. iii 5
'lugal-ku₃ si[mug₂] CS Adab OIP 14 78 r. i 1'
lugal-ku₃ s[mug₂] CS Adab OIP 14 106 r. 4
'lugal-ku₃ si[mug₂] CS Adab SIA 675 r. 9

**lugal-ku₄-zu** (a3) ‘the lugal is wise’ 3.1.2, p. 106, 179 n. 1087
lugal-ku₄-zu sipa anše ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 85 o. ii 1
lugal-ku₄-zu lu₃ eme CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 172 r. i 9
lugal-ku₄-zu i₂-du₄ CS-LS Girsu DAS 343 o. 3
lugal-ku₄-zu CS Girsu ITT 2/2 5758 o. 1
lugal-ku₄-zu CS Girsu RTC ’127 o. iv 9’

**lugal-kun** (a3) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 179
lugal-kun¹ CS Adab CUSAS 13 62 r. 13
lugal-kun s. i₂-lu₂ CS Adab SIA 713 r. 7
lugal-kun i₃-erē-diĝir₄ Nin-šubur CS Nippur? BIN 8 177 r. 8
lugal-kun CS Unknown (Girsu?) MVN 2 298 o. ii 3

**lugal-kun₄(TUR.SE₃)** (a3) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 117 n. 635, 179–180
lugal-kun₄ ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. v 4
lugal-kun₄ ED IIIb/ES Umma ? SAKF 1 r. 3
lugal-kun₄ uguša CS Nagar P. Michalowski, apud G. Emberling & H. McDonald, *Iraq* 65 (2003), p. 56–60 82 o. i 8'
lugal-kun₄ MS-CS Umma MAD 4 57 (translit. only) o. 4
lugal-kun₄ uguša CS MS-CS Umma MAD 4 62 (translit. only) o. 3
lugal-kun₄ uguša CS Umma Nik 2 72 r. 5
lugal-kun₄ OAkk Unknown MAD 4 154 (translit. only) o. i 2

**lugal-kun₄(TUR.SE₃)-ne₃** (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180 w. n. 1088
lugal-kun₄-ne₃ gala CS Adab CUSAS 13 108 r. 3

**lugal-kur (identical with lugal-kur-dub, lu₃ Inim-du₄),** p. 180 n. 1089
lugal-kur lu₃ Inim-du₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. ii 7

**lugal-kur** (a2)’ the lugal (is like?) a mountain’ 3.1.8, p. 180
lugal-kur engar ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP 1/2 132 o. v 5
lugal-kur lu₃-ē₂-gid₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu DP 1/2 133 r. ii 8
lugal-kur engar ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 14 173 o. iv 13
lugal-kur ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 4 o. ii 2
lugal-kur ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu Nik 1 32 o. iii 1
lu[gal]-kur Er₂-sar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 50 o. i 6
lugal-kur ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₇ Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 o. iii 7
lugal-kur ġurūš, ir₃ dub-sar-ne ES-MS Umma CHÈU 54 o. i 7
lugal-kur ES-MS Umma Nik 2 18 o. 3
lugal-kur engar, še-kin₃-ku₃ CS Girsu SCT 1 o. ii 9
lugal-kur sipa MS-CS Umma MAD 4 159 (translit. only) o. 6
lugal-kur sipa MS-CS Umma MAD 4 159 (translit. only) r. 3
lugal-kur MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 15 r. 3
lugal-kur ku₃ CS Umma USP 56 o. 6
lugal-kur MS Unknown F. Vukosavović, *JAC* 23 (2008), p. 37–54 5 o. ii 4
lugal-kur MS-CS Unknown DCS 43 r. 8

**lugal-kur-da-ku₄** (a1) ‘the lugal is one who concerns himself with the land’ 3.1.4.3, p. 126
lugal-kur-da-kuš₂ ED IIIb/Eig. niensi₂ Adab OIP 14 49 r. ii’ 6’

**lugal-kur-dub₂** *(a2)* ‘the lugal is one who shatters the mountains’ 3.1.3.3, p. 115 w. n. 624,

180 n. 1089, 182 n. 1128, 186, 249 n. 1467, 251 n. 1477

lugal-kur-dub₂ ED IIIa Girsu PBS 9 2 o. iv 6

lugal-kur-dub₂ f. Lugal-u₃-ma ED IIIb/Enz. or En. II Girsu ? DP 1/1 31 iv 1

lugal-kur-dub₂ *(b)* ? ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu CTNMC 1 r. ii 7

lugal-kur-dub₂ lu₂ Inim-du₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 o. i 12

lugal-kur-dub₂ saqi ED IIIb/Enz. Y 2 Girsu ITT 5 9237 r. i 1

lugal-kur-dub₂ h. Dun-dun ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu Nīk 1 53 r. iii 11

lugal-kur-dub₂ s. Šeš-kur-ra-AS⁷ ED IIIb/Dudu saja Girsu W. W. Hallo, *OrNS* 42

(1973), p. 228–238 r. i 5

lugal-kur-dub₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. ii 14’

**lugal-kur-ra** *(a2)* ‘the lugal in/over the land/mountains’ 3.1.1.6, p. 103

lugal-kur-ra ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 95 o. ii 7

l’lugal-kur-ra¹ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 97 o. ii 1

lugal-kur-ra ES Adab *TCABI* 60 o. i 2

lugal-kur-[ra] CS Adab CUSAS 13 121 obv 3’

lugal-kur-ra f. Ur-d₂-šiš-bar-e₃, lu₂-d₄-Nanse & Ur-bar₂ CS Girsu CT 50 98 o. ii 6

o**lugal-kur-ra-a₂-bad** *(a1)* ‘the lugal stretches (his) arm over the land’ 3.1.1.6, p. 102, 248 n.

1462

o**lugal-kur-ra-a₂-bad** ED IIIa Šuruppag *SF* 63 r. iii 5

**lugal-kur-si** *(a1)* ‘the lugal is just right for the land (?)’ 3.1.1.6, p. 103

lugal-kur-si h. *Bar₂₃*-su₃ ED IIIa-b Unknown YOS 1 6 3

**lugal-kuš₂** *(a1)* (probable abbreviation of lugal-mu-da-kuš₂) 3.1.4.1, p. 124 n. 679


**lugal-la₂** *(a2)* ‘one of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85–86, 101 n. 539, 175 n. 1023, 251 n. 1476

lugal-la₂ sukkal ED IIIa Adab *TCABI* 1 o. iii 1

lugal-la₂ ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 67 o. ii 6

lugal-la₂ f. Lugal-sipa ED IIIb Isin BIN 8 34 o. ii 1

lugal-la₂ s. Ne-sa₂ ES-MS Isin MVN 3 52 o. ii 5

lugal-la₂ MS-CS Adab ? BIN 8 242 o. 5

lugal-la₂ f. [Ur]-PA MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 6 r. 4

lugal-la₂ [Ur]-šul-bi MS-CS Isin BIN 8 172 o. 11

lugal-la₂ Ur-sul CS Isin MAD 4 151 r. 4

lugal-la₂ s. Ur-abzu MS-CS Isin ? BIN 8 158 r. i 6

lugal-la₂ s. Ur-gu, ss. (?) Pu₂-ta MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 186 o. 10

l’lugal-la₂ KUM-tuš-šes₂ MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 103 o. 9

**lugal-Lagaš(LA.BUR,ŠIR)** *(a1)* ‘the lugal … Lagaš’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 883

lugal-Lagaš(LA.BUR,ŠIR) ED I-II Ur UET 2 205B o. i 2

**lugal-Lagaš²(SIR.BUR)** *(a1)* ‘the lugal … Lagaš’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 883

lugal-Lagaš(SIR.BUR) (ugula) CS Girsu CT 50 96 o. 3

**lugal-Lagaš³** *(a2)* ‘the lugal … Lagaš’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 883

lugal-Lagaš³ simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *AWAS* 120 r. i 6

lugal-Lagaš³ simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu *AWAS* 122 r. ii 4

lugal-Lagaš³ [šu-k₃, a šeš] ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu BIN 8 370 o. iv 1

lugal-Lagaš³ simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 114 r. i 13

lugal-Lagaš³ simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 115 r. ii 1

lugal-Lagaš³ šu-k₃ ab-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. iv 9

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lugal-Lagas ki šu-ku₆ a dum-a ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 2/1 177 r. iv 2
lugal-Lagas ki šu-ku₆ a šeš ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DP 2/1 191 r. i 1
lugal-Lagas ki simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 17 r. ii 5
lugal-Lagas ki simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu HSS 3 18 o. ix 1'
lugal-Lagas ki simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 14 r. i 3
lugal-Lagas ki simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 15 r. ii 4
lugal-[L]agas ki [simug] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu TSA 16 o. ix 7'
lugal-Lagas ki šu-ku₆ a du₄-ga ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 47 o. iii 3
lugal-lal₃ (a≥2°) ‘the lugal is (sweet as) honey (or syrup)’ 3.1.7.8. p. 169, 210, 229
lugal-lal₃ ED I-II Ur UET 2 89 r. i 3'
lugal-lal₃ ED I-II Ur UET 2 224 o. ii 2
lugal-lal₃ ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 3 o. i 1'
lugal-lal₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 o. vii 18
lugal-lal₃ ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 o. ii’ 5
lugal-lama (a1) ‘the lugal is a Lama-spirit’ 3.1.3.1, p. 109
lugal-lama dub-sar MS Unknown EGA 583 1
lugal-lama-zí-da (1) ‘the lugal is a reliable Lama-spirit’ 3.1.3.1, p. 109
p. 101–117 522 o. ii 1
lugal-lama₄(KAL) (a1) ‘the lugal is a Lama-spirit’ 3.1.3.1, p. 109
lugal-lama₄ Girsu [x (x)] e₃ HA CS/Škā B. R. Foster, JANES 12 (1980), p. 29–42 1
lugal-lirum (a1) ‘the lugal is an athlete/wrestler’ 3.1.7.3, p. 163
lugal-lirum gala ED IIIa Šuruppag? MesCiv 4 1 r. ii 1
lugal-lu (a≥3) (phonetic for lugal-lu₃, or ‘the lugal makes (things) thrive’) 3.1.1.6 or 3.1.5.3,
p. 86 n. 422, 101, 102 n. 540
lugal-lu ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 8 o. iii 3
lugal-lu ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 105 o. i 2
lugal-lu ED IIIb-ES Adab TCAΒI 64 o. i 5'
lugal-lu ED IIIb Adab ? BIN 8 242 o. 6
lugal-lu nu-banda₄ MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 10 o. 3
lugal-lu dumu šiṭi-m-gal CS Adab CUSAS 13 109 r. 4
lugal-lu lu₃ šabra e₃ MS-CS Adab MVN 3 23 r. 2
lugal-lu-dadag(UD,UD) (a) ‘the lugal is one who exonerates man’ 3.1.3.1, p. 110, 251 n.
1476
lugal-lu-dadag s. Lugal-mu-kuš₂  ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3  67 o. i 6
’lugal₁-[lu-dadag]‘ s. [Lugal]-’mu’-[kuš₂]  ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3  67 o. iii 6

lugal-lu-du₁₀ (a) ‘the lugal is one who does good for man’ 3.1.1.6, p. 101
’ilugal-lu-du₁₀’ nar’t  ED IIIb Adab MVN 3  28 r. ii 3

lugal-lu-lu (a) ‘the lugal is one who makes (things) thrive’ 3.1.5.3, p. 102, 134, 229
lugal-lu-lu  ED I-II Ur UET 2  338 o. ii 2

lugal-lu₁₀ (a) abbreviation 3.1.1.6, p. 101
lugal-lu₁₀’³  ED IIIa Šuruppag FTUM 41 o. ii 25
lugal-lu₂  ED IIIa Šuruppag RTC 15 r. i 4
lugal-lu₃ h. E₂-ul-le  ED IIIb/Lug. ensi₂ Girsu DP 1/2 127 o. v 7
lugal-lu₄  ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1  128 o. i 4’
lugal-lu₅ ? ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1  128 r. ii 3’
lugal-lu₆ h. Girī₂-ni ED IIIb Nippur PBS 15 6 3
lugal-lu₇  ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  11 r. i 9
lugal-lu₈  ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  11 r. iii 6
lugal-lu₉  ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  22 o. 2
lugal-lu₁₀ f. Lugal-sa₂  ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  69 o. ii 4
lugal-lu₁₁  ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  199 o. 3
lugal-lu₁₂  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8  82 o. iii 17
lugal-lu₁₃  ’Gu₂’ ,KI Lugal-[]₃ ugula ’x’-[{(x’}]  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ 7 Umma-Zabala
BIN 8  86 o. i 15
lugal-lu₁₄  ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14  87 o. i 5
o. v 13
lugal-lu₁₆  ES Adab CUSAS 11  273 o. 2
lugal-lu₁₇  ES-MS Nippur OSP 1  136 o. i 4
lugal-lu₁₈  ES-MS Umma Nik 2  44 r. 2
lugal-lu₁₉  MS-CS Adab OIP 14  176 o. i 11
lugal-lu₂₀  CS-LS? Adab OIP 14  198 o. ii 11
lugal-lu₂₁ jisib ’Inana, lu₂ Nina’ CS Girsu RTC  120 o. 3
lugal-lu₂₂  CS Girsu STTI  164 o. i 6
lugal-lu₂₃ f. U₁₂-dā, Bar-ra-an & E₂-kī, ir₂ ’Nin-MAR.KI-me CS Girsu ITT 2/1 2892 o. 4
lugal-lu₂₄ s. Ne-saḡ MS-CS Isin BIN 8  155 o. 8
lugal-lu₂₅  MS-CS Mesag BIN 8  281 r. 10
lugal-lu₂₆  MS-CS Nippur OIP 97  12 r. 3
lugal-lu₂₇  MS-CS Nippur OSP 2  84 o. ii 2
lu[gal]-lu₂₈  MS-CS Nippur OSP 2  104 o. i’ 1’
lugal-lu₂₉ f. Du₂₁-ga-ni CS/NS. Nippur PBS 9  25 r. 5
lugal-lu₃₀  CS Unknown MAD 5  106 r. 8
lugal-[lu₂₃] CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9  5 r. 5’

lugal-lu-dadag(UD,UD) (a) ‘the lugal is one who exonerates man’ 3.1.3.1, p. 110, 251 n.
1476
lugal-lu-dadag ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  24 r. i 3
lugal-lu-dadag ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  56 o. ii 5
lugal-lu-dadag ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  139 o. 2
lugal-’lu₂’-dadag ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5  167 o. ii 3
lugal-[lu₂₁-dadag ES Nippur OSP 1  31 o. ii 2’
lugal-lu₁₀ (a) ‘the lugal is one who does good for man’ 3.1.1.6, p. 101
lugal-lu₆-du₁₀ nitah, il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu AWAS 123 o. v 6
lugal-lu₆-du₁₀ il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 o. vii 2
lugal-lu₆-du₁₀ [ugu]la e₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 134 o. i 6
lugal-lu₆-du₁₀ ugula ḫ₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 246 o. i 2
lugal-lu₆-du₁₀ s. Ad-da MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. i 9
lugal-lu₆-gi-na (a2) ‘the lugal is a righteous man’ 3.1.7.9, p. 171
lugal-lu₆-gi-na EM S-MS Umma Nik 2 14 o. iii 10
lugal-lu₆-LAK₅₄₅-ne-saḡ (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180
lugal-lu₆-LAK₅₄₅-ne-saḡ umbašaḡ ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 r. i 11
lugal-lu₆-mi (a1) ‘man of the lugal’ or abbreviation 3.1.1.1, p. 83 n. 401
lugal-lu₆-mi lu₂ lu₂a₂tu₂(B×NIG₂) ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 2 Girsu BIN 8 347 o. i 3
lugal-lu₆-mi ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 2 Girsu VS 25 83 r. i 4
lugal-lu₆-sa₆-ga (a1) ‘the lugal is one who is kind to man’ 3.1.4.1, p. 123
lugal-lu₆-sa₆-ga ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 98 o. i 2
lugal-lu₆-sa₆-ga ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 104 o. i 5
lugal-lu₆-saḡ (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180
lugal-lu₆-saḡ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala BIN 8 92 o. 2
lugal-lu₆-ŠE₂-r₆-g₁₀ (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180
lugal-lu₆-ŠE₂-r₆-g₁₀ ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu DP 2/2 284 o. i 3
lugal-lu₆-ti-ti (a2) ‘the lugal is one who quickens man’ 3.1.4.1, p. 123, 134 n. 744, 253 n. 1490, 254 n. 1493
lugal-lu₆-ti-ti lu₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. iii 2
lugal-lu₆-ti-ti ūruš₃, lu₂ gi₃ sa₆-g₁₀ sa₆ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 11 o. ii 4
lugal-lu₆-ti-ti ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 12 r. 1
lugal-lu₆-udu₆ (LAK₇₃₀)-du₁₀ (a1) ‘the lugal is someone who makes the country good’ 3.1.6, p. 100
lu[gal]-lu₆-udu₆-du₁₀ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 14 r. ii 5
lugal-lu₆-zi (a1) ‘the lugal is a reliable man’ 3.1.7.9, p. 171
lugal-lu₆-zi lu₆-ḏi ED IIIb Girsu CT 50 29 r. ii 1
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ (.2) ‘the lugal (is) pur’ 3.1.6.3, p. 152
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ nitah CS Girsu DPA 46 (PUL 25) o. 6
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ MS-CS Ur UET 2 suppl. 48 o. i 6
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ (a2) ‘the lugal is one who is kind to man’ 3.1.4.1, p. 123
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ (a8) ED IIIb Girsu S. Langdon, Babylonica 4 (1911), 246–247 (Edin 09-405, 345) 14 r. 2
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ ū-i ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu RTC 60 o. ii 4
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ ED IIIb Isin TIM 9 100 r. 11’
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ ED IIIb Lagaš BiMes 3 15 r. iii 1’
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 35 o. i 9
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ f. Ur²-En-ki Adab ES TCABI 49 o. i 3
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 28 o. 7
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 272 r. 2
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. i 3’
lugal-lu₆-lu₆ MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 71 o. 2
lugal-lu₆ (a2) ‘the lugal … the ship’ 3.1.5.3, p. 102, 135 n. 757, 153, 180

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lugal-ma₂ CS Girsu CT 50 122 r. 3
lugal-ma₂ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4444 o. 4
lugal-ma₂ h. Na-na MS-CS Susa MDP 14 19 o. 6
lugal-ma₂ CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 264 r. 2
lugal-ma₂ s. Da-da CS-LS Ur EGA 1695 1
lugal-ma₂ CS Unknown (Girsu’) MVN 2 298 r. i 14

lugal-ma₂-gur₈-e (a1) ‘the lugal is (just right for) the cargo ship (?)’ 3.1.5.3, p. 135 n. 757, 153
lugal-ma₂-gur₈-e CS Adab SIA 846 r. 1

lugal-ma₂-tab-ba (a1) ‘the lugal … a two-pronged boat’ 3.1.8, p. 180 w. n. 1091
lugal-ma₂-tab-ba lu₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. v 14

lugal-maḥ (a1/7) ‘the lugal is the greatest/sublime’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
⁰lugal-maḥ ED IIIa Kiš MesCiv 14, pl. 23, 3: H+Y r.(?) ii’ 1
lu:gal-maḥ sagi ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 94 o. i 2

lugal-maḥ₂ (a2) ‘the lugal is the greatest/sublime’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168 w. n. 973
lugal-maḥ₂ ED IIIb Lagaš area CT 7, pl. 4 (BM 90905, prev. 12033) 3
lugal-maḥ₂ CS Adab SIA 972 o. 4
lugal-maḥ₂ MS Adab TCABI 175 o. 5
lugal-maḥ₂ MS Adab TCABI 179 o. 3
lugal-maḥ₂ CS Isin? MAD 4 169 o. 3
lugal-maḥ₂ CS Isin? MAD 4 169 o. 12
lugal-maḥ₂ šandandā ⁰En-lil-la₂ MS-CS Nippur OIC 22 1 o. 4
lugal-maḥ₂ šandand MS-CS Nippur OIC 22 2 r. 2
lugal-maḥ₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 90 o. i 2’
lugal-maḥ₂ f. E₂-sa₆-ga MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. i 6

lugal-mas-su (a3) ‘the lugal is a leader’ 3.1.1.6, p. 60, 103
lugal-mas-su ED IIIb Girsu AWEL, p. 548 3 (Riftin 3) o. ii 3
lugal-mas-su aga₂-us₂ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 2 Girsu BIN 8 347 o. ii 1
lugal-mas-su ‘engar’ ki-‘gub¹ ED IIIb/Lug. [x] Girsu BIN 8 387 o. iii 1
lugal-mas-su engar ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP 1/2 87 o. ii 5
lugal-mas-su lu₁ Ur-saḡ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 o. i 6
lugal-mas-su saḡ-apin ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu DP 2/1 239 r. i 5
lugal-mas-su aga₂-us₂ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ X Girsu DP 2/1 195 o. iii’ 3’
lugal-mas-su lu₁₂Ba-u₂ ED IIIb Girsu DP suppl. 568 o. i 2
lugal-mas-su ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 587 r. i 8
lugal-mas-su engar ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 587 r. iii 1
lugal-mas-su aga₂-us₂ ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 616 o. i 4
lugal-mas-su engar ki-gub, e Uru₂i₂ ki-kam ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP suppl. 623 o. v 6
lugal-mas-su engar ki-gub ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 646 o. i 3
lugal-mas-su ED IIIb Girsu HSS 3 38 o. ii 2
lugal-mas-su ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu Nik 1 32 o. i 7
lugal-mas-su ugula ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu Nik 1 173 o. ii 1
lugal-mas-su engar ki-gub ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu Nik 1 173 o. iii 4
lugal-mas-su ugula ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu Nik 1 186 o. ii 2
lugal-mas-su ED IIIb/X Y 2 Girsu VS 14 7 o. ii 3
lugal-mas-su MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 95 r. ii 4’
lugal-mas-su maškim MS-CS Umma CT 50 60 r. 10

lugal-mas-su₂ (a6) ‘the lugal is a leader’ 3.1.1.6, p. 103, 185

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lugal-maš-su₂ engar ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu Nik 1 181 o. iii 2
lugal-maš-su₂ dub-sar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 102 o. i 4
lugal-maš-su₂ nu-band₃-₃-₃-₃ ni ES-MS Umma Nik 2 10 r. 3
lugal-maš-su₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 65 o. 4
lugal-m[a]s-su₂? CS Gasur HSS 10 169 o. 8
lugal-maš-su₂ lu₂ di-da Ur-lugal MS-CS BIN 8 Isin? 153 o. 2
lugal-maš-su₂ (A₃, KAL) (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180
lugal-maš-su₂ ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. vii 12
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lugal-na-nam (2) ‘a lugal (he is) indeed’ 3.1.7.1. p. 161
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lugal-na-du₁₀ (3) ‘the lugal (on/of) the good bed’ 3.1.6.3. p. 150 n. 855
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³lugal-na₄-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppak FTUM 22 o. ii 1
lugal-[n]₄-adu₁₀ -ga ED IIIa Šuruppak FTUM 23 o. i 3
lugal-na₄-du₁₀ -ga s. Ur₄-En-lil₂, gal₄-la-gal ED IIIa Šuruppak M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27–49 4 r. iv 4

lugal-nagar (3) ‘the lugal (is) a carpenter’ 3.1.8. p. 180
lugal-nagar (lugal aša₃ ?) ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 114 r. (!) i 9

lugal-nagar-zī (4) ‘the lugal (is) a reliable carpenter’ 3.1.8. p. 180
lugal-nagar-zī MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 42 o. 4
lugal-nagar-zī MS-CS Umma MAD 4 48 (translit. only) o. 12
lugal-nagar-zī MS-CS Umma MAD 4 57 (translit. only) r. 1
lugal-nagar-zī ugula MS-CS Umma MAD 4 142 o. 5
lugal-nagar-zī (ugula) MS-CS Umma MAD 4 167 (translit. only) o. 5
lugal-nagar₄-zī (a) f. [x-x(-x)] MS-CS Umma? TCVC 730 o. ii 1
lugal-NA[GAR-(x)] ED IIIb-ES Umma B. R. Foster, Fs Westenholz, 127–137 6 o. ii 2

lugal-nam (3) abbreviation 3.1.8. p. 180
lugal-nam ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu DP 2/2 453 o. i 2
lugal-nam ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu VS 25 22 o. i 3
lugal-nam CS Girsu STTI 20 o. 5
lugal-nam nar CS Girsu CT 50 168 o. 7
lugal-nam f. Lu₂-zah₃ (PN?) & Šeš-šeš CS Girsu RTC 96 o. i 10
lugal-nam CS Adab CUSAS 13 2 r. 6
lugal-nam CS Adab CUSAS 13 2 r. 11
lugal-nam CS Adab TCABI 212 r. 1
³lugal-nam CS Adab TCABI 231 r. 2
lugal-nam CS Adab SIA 658 o. 11

lugal-nam-dag (5) ‘the lugal (removes?) sin’ 3.1.6.1. p. 110, 140
lugal-nam-dag s. Ur-temen, dumu Nibrā₄-me CS Girsu ITT 1 1100 o. 7

lugal-nam-DUB? (6) unknown. mng. 3.1.8. p. 180
lugal-nam-DUB⁵ CS Adab SIA 1209 o. ii 10

lugal[nam-gu₃] (identical with lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃, gab₂-kas₄), p. 117 n. 637
[lugal]nam-gu₃ gab₂-kas₄ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP 1/2 124 o. i 1

lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ (4) ‘the lugal is one who eradicates oppression’ 3.1.3.3, p. 110, 117
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ gab₂-kas₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu Amherst 2 o. i 1
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ ulu₂-di ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu BIN 8 366 o. ii 5
lugal^nam₂-gu₃-su₃ ¹gab₂-ka₃,¹ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu BIN 8 391 o. ii 3
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ ĝuruš, lu₂-ur-rum, ³Ba-u₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135
o. vii 8
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ sipa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. v 6
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ ašrig ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP 1/1 59 o. v 15
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ (sipa) ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 5 Girsu DP 1/2 94 o. iii 2
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ ulu₂-di ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP 1/2 95 o. iii 3
7 r. i 4
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ lu₂ e₂-nam ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 14 r. i 5
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ sago ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu VS 14 79 o. ii 7
lugal-nam-gu₃-su₃ sago ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 25 34 o. iii 3
lugal-nam-mu-šub-be₂ (a1) ‘may the lugal not abandon me/you’ 3.1.4.1, p. 124
lugal-nam-mu-šub-be₂ dub-sar, lu₂-ga[n₂-gi₂-da] ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ Girsu OIP 104
23 o. xi 3
lugal-nam-mu-šub-e (a1) ‘may the lugal not abandon me/you’ 3.1.4.1, p. 124
lugal-nam-mu-šub-ce¹ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 24 o. iii 2
⁰lugal-nam-nir (¹) ‘the lugal … authority’ 3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 527, 255 n. 1500
⁰lugal-nam-nir ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 25 o. ii 3
lugal-nam-nir-šum₂ (a1/²¹) ‘the lugal is granted authority’ 3.1.1.6, p. 100, 255 n. 1500, 258
lugal-nam-nir-šum₂ lugal Kiš ED IIIa Girsu L. Heuzey, RA 3 (1894), p. 52–54 (AO 2675) 1
⁰lugal-nam-nir-šum₂ ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 25 o. ii 4
lugal-nam-tar-re₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who determines fates’ 3.1.1.7, p. 104
lugal-nam-tar-re₂ CS/Škš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 r. i 15’
lugal-nam-zi-tar (a1) ‘the lugal is one whose fate is reliably determined’ 3.1.7.1, p. 160 n.
918
lugal-nam-zi-tar MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 136 o. 3
lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra (a1) ‘the lugal is one (whose) fate is reliably determined’ 3.1.7.1, p.
104, 160
lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra [U]r³-i₃-da, lu₂ Lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 120
o. 4’
lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 134 o. 5
lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 149 o. 2
lugal-nam-zi-tar-ra MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 154 o. 8
lugal-nam-zi (a1) ‘the lugal knows all’ 3.1.2, p. 105
lugal-nam-zi šuruppag AN-nu-mê ED IIIa WF 124 o. iii 12
lugal-nam₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is a prince (?)’ 3.1.1.1, p. 86
lugal-nam₂ s. Lugal-AB ES Ur UET 1 269 1
lugal⁻⁴Nanna-ra-tum₂ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who befits Nanna’ 3.1.6.2, p. 143, 251 n. 1478,
258
lugal⁻⁴Nanna-ra-tum₂ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 12 Low. Edge
lugal⁻⁴Nanše-mu-tu (a1) ‘the lugal is one born by Nanše’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144, 251 n. 1478, 258
lugal⁻⁴Nanše-mu-tu niṭaḥ, i₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu AWAS 123 o. v 5
lugal⁻⁴Nanše-mu-tu niṭaḥ, i₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 o. vii 1
lugal⁻⁴Ne-nu-si (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180
lugal⁻⁴Ne-nu-si uguš-ni ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 70 o. ii 2

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lugal-ne-nu-um\(^{(a1)}\) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180, 215
lugal-ne-nu-um engar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. i 4

lugal-ne-te-na\(^{(a1)}\) ‘a lord unto himself’ 3.1.7.1, p. 161
lugal-ne-te-na\(^{1}\) CS Umma AAS 204 o. 1’

lugal-nemur\(^{(PIRIG.TUR)}\)\(^{(a2)}\) ‘the lugal is (like) a leopard’ 3.1.7.6, p. 165, 207, 241
lugal-nemur\(_{1}\) Ni\(_{3}\)-lu\(_{2}\)-nu-tum\(_{2}\)-da, e-da-se\(_{12}\), simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu AWAS 122 r. ii 6
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb Girsu BIN 8 378 o. ii 1
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) Ni\(_{3}\)-lu\(_{2}\)-nu-tum\(_{2}\), simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 114 r. i 12
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) Ni\(_{3}\)-lu\(_{2}\)-nu\(^{1}\)-tum\(_{2}\), simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 115 r. ii 1
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu HSS 3 18 o. ix 3’
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) Ni\(_{3}\)-lu\(_{2}\)-nu-tum\(_{2}\), simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 17 r. ii 5
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb/Enz. ensi\(_{3}\) 3 Girsu ITT 5 9231 o. i 3
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) Ni\(_{3}\)-lu\(_{2}\)-[nu-tum\(_{2}\)], simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu Nik 1 2 r. i 2’
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) f. Ur-šu ED IIIb/Enz. ensi\(_{3}\) X Girsu RTC 17 o. iii 9
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) saja ED IIIb/Enz. ensi\(_{3}\) X Girsu RTC 57 r. i 3
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) Ni\(_{3}\)\([-]\)lu\(_{2}\)-nu-tum\(_{2}\), simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 14 r. i 2
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) Ni\(_{3}\)-[lu\(_{2}\)-nu-tum\(_{2}\)], simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 15 r. ii 3
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) [simug] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu TSA 16 o. ix 9’
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) saja, E\(_{2}\)-babbar, ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu VS 14 45 o. ii 1
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) saja E\(_{2}\)-babbar, ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu VS 14 125 o. i 3
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu VS 27 88 r. ii 3
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) (PIRIG.TUR)\(^{(a2)}\) sim[ug] ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. vi 1’
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 62 o. i 2
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 14 o. i 5’
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi\(_{7}\) Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 o. iii 10
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi\(_{7}\) Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 o. iv 6
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) ES Unknown BIN 8 36 o. i 2
lugal-nemur\(_{3}\) sipa MS Adab TUR 117 o. 3

lugal-nesag\(^{(a2)}\) ‘the lugal is (just right for) the firstling offerings (or the sacristy?)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 148 n. 831
lugal-nesag ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 49 o. i 1’
lugal-nesag ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 138 r. 3
lugal-nesag ED IIIb/ES Umma-Zabala BIN 8 92 r. 1
lugal-nesag MS-CS Umma BIN 8 317 o. 3
lugal-nesag MS-CS Umma BIN 8 321 o. 3
lugal-nesag MS-CS Umma BIN 8 334 o. 3
lugal-nesag šeš Me-sag, šabra MS-CS Umma BIN 8 337 o. 2
lugal-nesag MS-CS Umma BIN 8 339 o. 5
lugal-nesag nu-banda\(_{3}\) CS/Skš Y 7 Umma CT 50 66 r. 13

lugal-nesag\(^{(a2)}\) ‘the lugal is (just right for) the firstling offerings (or the sacristy?)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 134, 148
lugal-nesag CS Umma AAS 11 o. 2
lugal-nesag MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 28 r. i 9
lugal-nesag-šabra CS Umma W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, Gs Diakonoff, 225–231 4 r. 4
lugal-nesağ-e 'nu-banda₃ gu₄ du₃' CS Umma MVN 15 378 o. 9
lugal-nesağ-[e'] s. Ur-es₂-sa₂ CS Umma USP 46 o. 2
lugal-nesağ-e ²s. Ur-u₂-b. Lugalu₂gay₂-e CS Umma USP 47 o. ii 10
lugal-nesağ-e šabra MS-CS Umma USP 53 o. 5
lugal-[nesağ-e'] šabra MS-CS Umma USP 55 r. i 1
lugal-nesağ-e CS Unknown D. Snell & C. Lager, YOS 18 4 o. 2

lugal-NI-du₈ (a₁) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180 w. n. 1100
lugal-NI-du₈ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 35 r. i 12'

lugal-NI-du₈ (a₁) 'his king(ish) is good’ 3.1.1.1, p. 83
lugal-NI-du₈ s. Ur-₃Ba-u₂ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 30 o. i 5
lugal-NI-i-MU (a₁) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 178 n. 1071, 180
lugal-NI-i-MU ED IIIa-b 'Unknown L'uomo 3 o. i 5

lugal-NI-KA (a₁) (perhaps lugal-du₈(-ga)-ni: 'what the lugal says (?)') 3.1.1.4, p. 92 n. 469, 94
lugal-NI-KA ED I-II Ur UET 2 298 o. 5
lugal-NI-[x₇] lu₂-u₁₃ Ma₃-r₃x₇i ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 236 o. ii 1'
lugal-[NI]²-[x₇] CS Nippur PBS 9 36 o. iii' 3'

³lugal-ni₂-bi-ak (₁) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180, 207 n. 1312
³lugal-ni₂-bi-ak LS-UR III Unknown M. E. Cohen, Fs Hallo, p. 79–86 (YBC 2124)
iv 11
lugal-NI-[D[u₇] (a₁) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 180f. w. n. 1102
³lugal-[NI]-[D[u₇]') ED I-II Ur UET 2 28 o. ii 3
lugal-ni₂-te-na (a₁)' a lord unto himself’ 3.1.7.1, p. 161
lugal-ni₂-te-na ugula CS Umma Nik 2 69 o. 5

lugal-ni₂-a₂-zu-nu-ak (a₁) 'the lugal is not one to commit a violent act’ 3.1.3.3, p. 117
lugal-ni₂-a₂-zu-nu-ak lu₂-u₇-rum ᵃBa-u₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 r. i 4
lugal-ni₂-a₂-zu-nu-ak ad-kup₃₃ lu₂-u₇-rum ᵃBa-u₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3
r. iii' 3'

lugal-ni₂₃-ba₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ (a₁) 'the lugal is one who makes joyous (things on) the bedspreads'
            3.1.6.3, p. 150
lu₃₃[gal]-ni₃₃-ba₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 116 o. 2
lu₃₃[gal]-ni₃₃-ba₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ [aš]gab ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. i 3
lugal-ni₃₃-ba₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 o. ii 6
lugal-ni₃₃-ba₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. viii 3
lugal-ni₃₃-ba₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ dam-gar₃ CS Umma MAD 4 51 r. 3'

lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ (a₁) 'the lugal is one who makes joyous (things on) the bedspreads'
            3.1.6.3, p. 150–151
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 o. iii 4
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIa-b Unknown L'uomo 7 o. i 2
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 95 o. i 6
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 200 r. ii 1
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ s. Ur₃-₃ap₂ ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 105 o. ii 4
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 105 r. i 3
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ sa₃₃a ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. ii 20
lugal-[ni₃₃]-bar₃₃-du₃₃ dam-gar₃(-ke₄) ED IIIb Nippur BE 1/2 96 3'
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 50 o. 3
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 71 o. 4
lugal-ni₃₃-bar₃₃-du₃₃ s. Zur-zur ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 101 o. i 4
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 122 o. i 3'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIb Nippur OSP 1 132 o. 4  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 4 o. ii 4  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. i 5  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 67 o. ii 7  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 67 o. iv 7  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 83 o. 4  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 101 o. (!) ii 2'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ Lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀, Ad-da-tur, bi-da ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159  
r. i 11  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 167 o. iii 1  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ma₂-la₄ ES Adab CUSAS 11 306 o. ii 6  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ES Adab TCABI 61 r. i 8'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 r. ii 7  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ sa₁₂-su₄₂₃-bc₉ ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 147 o. iii 1  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ku₃-dim₃ ES Unknown MVN 3 88 o. 6  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ Ur-dešara₄(LAGAB₃×SIG₃₆₇₉₈₉), x-la kalag-ga, Lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀  
ildo₃₃(NIG.NAGAR)-k₃ₑ₉ MS Adab M. G. Biga, Fs Klein, p. 29–38 i 9  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ugula MS Adab TCABI 77 o. 3  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS Adab TCABI 189 o. i 1  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ 'tₓ¹ CS Adab CUSAS 13 152 r. 7  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ s. Ur-mes MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 r. i 5  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ h. Nin-maš-e, f. (?) [Du₁₁₃₃]-ga-ni MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 57 r. 2  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 72 o. 1  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ f. Lugal-aḡir-gi MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 92 o. 5  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀? MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. ii 4  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 118 r. 8'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 120 r. 8'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 125 r. 6  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ maškim-bi₃₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 134 o. 6  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ sukkal₁₋₃-da MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 136 r. 6'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 136 r. 14'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 139 r. 3'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ gal-SAR MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 140 r. 8  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ [sukkal₁₋₃-da MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 141 o. 9  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 141 r. 2  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ašgab MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 149 r. 10  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 153 r. 6  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 154 r. 8  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 155 r. 5'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 156 r. 4'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 157 o. 7  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 158 r. 1'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 159 r. 7'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 160 r. 5  
[lugal¹]-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀³ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 164 r. 1'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 165 r. 2'  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 167 edge  
[lugal¹]-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ki [Lugal¹]-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀, banšur du₁₀₂₀,ga-ta MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 170 o. 1  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ šeš šabra, maškim₃(-bi) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 175 r. 2  
lugal-ni₃-barₐ₄-du₁₀ ku₃-dim₃ CS/NS. Nippur PBS 9 25 r. 5
lugal-ni₃-da-sa₃ (a1) ‘what can compare with the lugal?’ 3.1.7.7, p. 167
lugal-ni₃-da-sa₃ ED IIIb/I₃ ensi₂ Zabala *TCVBI* 1-1 r. i 2

lugal-ni₃-gur₄ (a8) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ni₃-gur₄ h. KA-TAR ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu *DP* 1/2 128 o. iii 5
lugal-ni₃-gur₄ h. KA-TAR ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *DP* 1/2 129 o. iii 4
lugal-ni₃-gur₄ ḫ. KA-TAR ED IIb Ukg. UN₃gal Girsu VS 27 33 o. iv 2

lugal-ni₃-ga₂ (a1) (abbreviation of the following) 3.1.1.1, p. 84 n. 407
lugal-ni₃-ga₃ šu-šu₆ ED IIIb Girsu *DP* suppl. 555 r. i 2

lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni (a5) ‘the lugal … something of his’ 3.1.1.1, p. 84 n. 407
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni sīpa, gab₂-ra ED IIIb/X Y 2 Girsu *RTC* 41 o. ii 1
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni šu-ku₆ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 120 o. i 2
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni Ur-šul, lu₅ Lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni, ..., ar₃-du₅ e₂ša₃-ga ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2
Girsu Nik 1 230 o. i 6
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni ɠala¹ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 13 o. iii 1
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni CS Girsu CT 50 107 r. 2
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni f. ṣEn-lil₂-la₂ MS-CS Unknown BIN 8 221 r. 2

lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni-še₃ (a1) ‘the lugal … toward something of his’ 3.1.1.1, p. 83, 189
lugal-ni₃-ga₃-ni-še₃ engar CS Umma *USP* 46 r. 2’

lugal-ni₃-kalag-ga (a1) ‘the lugal is strong’ 3.1.7.3, p. 163, 170 n. 992
lugal-ni₃-kalag-ga MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 264 o. 3

lugal-ni₃-lu₃-lu (a1) ‘the lugal is one who makes things thrive’ 3.1.5.3, p. 134, 254 n. 1492
lugal-ni₃-lu₃-lu ED IIIb/En. 1 ensi₂ Girsu OIP 104 23 u.e. x 34

*ługalu₃-lu₃-lu₃-a* (a1) ‘the lugal is one who makes things thrive’ 3.1.5.3, p. 134, 237, 254 n. 1492

*ługalu₃-lu₃-lu₃-a* CS Mugdan MAD 5 91 o. 2

lugal-ni₃-ni (a2) ‘the lugal … something of his’ 3.1.1.1, p. 84 n. 407, 147
lugal-ni₃-ni ED IIIa Šuruppag *FTUM* 30 o. i 4
lugal-ni₃-ni nu-banda₅-ni ES-MS Umma Nik 2 13 o. 5

lugal-ni₃-ni-še₃ (a2) ‘the lugal … toward something of his’ 3.1.1.1, p. 84 n. 407
lugal-ni₃-ni-še₃ ED IIIb/ES Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 89 o. 2
lugal-ni₃-ni-še₃ ED IIIb/I₂ ensi₂ Zabala *TCVBI* 1-1 r. i 4
lugal-ni₃-ni-še₃ [ugu₂-ni] MS-CS Umma? *TCVC* 728 o. ii 16

lugal-ni₃-nidba₂-c (a1) ‘the lugal (is just right for) the nidba-offerings (?)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 147 n. 828
lugal-ni₃-nidba₂-c MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 51 o. 8

lugal-ni₃-nu-da-me (a1) ‘the lugal … nothing is beside (him)’ 3.1.7.7, p. 167–168
lugal-ni₃-nu-da-me ED IIIa Šuruppag *RTC* 13 o. v 3
lugal-ni₃-nu-da-me ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 35 o. v 2

lugal-ni₃-sa₃-ga (a4) ‘the lugal is something favourable’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170, 187
lugal-ni₃-sa₃-ga s. *En₃-nil₂-da₅, lu₅ tir* ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 109 o. ii 4
lu₃[gal]-ni₃-sa₃-ga CS/NS. Nippur TMH 5 7+184+201a r. ii 14
lugal-ni₃-sa₃-ga f. lu₂-gu₃-ak CS Umma *USP* 47 o. ii 8
lugal-ni₃-sa₃-ga nar MS-CS Unknown BIN 8 179 r. 1

lugal-ni₃-su (a1) ‘the lugal knows (every)thing’ 3.1.2, p. 105 n. 558
lugal-ni₃-su CS Unknown (Girsu?) *MVN* 2 298 r. i 12

lugal-ni₃-TA (a2) ‘belonging of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 84
r. iv 4
r. v 20
lugal-ni₂-[U₇]-TA ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. iv 21
lugal-ni₂-UTA dam-gar₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 45 r. i 5
lugal-ni₂-UTA dam-gar₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 48 o. ii 19
lugal-ni₂-UTA h. Ama-na-nam CS Umma (?) MAD 4 37 r. 2
lugal-ni₂-UTA MS-CS Umma MAD 4 162 (translit. only) o. 2
lugal-ni₂-UES2-276 (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ni₂-UES2-276 ED I-II Ur UET 2 350 o. ii’ 3’
lugal-ni₂-zu (a=20) ‘the lugal knows (every)thing’ 3.1.2, p. 104, 105–106, 236
lugal-ni₂-zu bahr₃(BAR-LAK746) ED IIIa Šuruppak M. Lambert, Gs Ung, p. 27–49
3 o. v 1
lugal-ni₂-zu ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 186 r. i 6
lugal-ni₂-zu Lugal-ni₂-zu, Ur₂-ni-bi₃₃-da ED IIIb Isin BIN 8 29 o. 1
lugal-ni₂-‘zu’ s. Igi-bar, b. E₂-da-lu ED IIIb-ES Isin (?) BIN 8 170 o. 11
lugal-ni₂-zu (b. E₂-da-lu) ED IIIb-ES Isin (?) BIN 8 170 r. 12
lugal-ni₂-zu (b. E₂-da-lu) ED IIIb-ES Isin (?) BIN 8 170 r. 5
lugal-ni₂-zu s. Ur-li ED IIIb Isin TIM 9 96 o. i 2'
lugal-[ni₂-zu] ? ED IIIb Isin TIM 9 96 o. ii 2'
lugal-ni₂-zu ED IIIb Isin TIM 9 96 o. ii 8'
lugal-ni₂-zu (s.) Ur-li-ke₃ ED IIIb Isin TIM 9 100 r. 9'
lugal-ni₂-zu ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 39 o. i 3'
lugal-ni₂-zu ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 109 o. i 11
lugal-ni₂-zu Lugal-ki-gal-la, Lugal-ni₂-zu ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. i 3
lugal-ni₂-zu s. Ur-ur, b. Gir₁-ni ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 r. ii 8
lugal-ni₂-zu (s. Ur-ur) ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 118 o. 5
lugal-ni₂-zu s. Ur-ur-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 118 r. 7
lugal-ni₂-zu maškim-bi ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. vi 14'
lugal-ni₂-zu lu₃ Zi-mu ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 171 o. 1
lugal-ni₂-zu ED IIIb-ES Unknown (Adab ?) BIN 8 27 o. ii 4
lugal-ni₂-zu ES Adab CUSAS 11 281 r. 1
lugal-ni₂-zu ? ensi₂-gal, ..., ĝuruš, ir₃ dub-sar-ne ES-MS Umma CHÉU 54 o. i 11
lugal-ni₂-zu ES-MS Umma Nik 2 63 r. 5’
lugal-ni₂₃-zu engar CS Adab CUSAS 13 21 r. 8
lugal-ni₂-zu CS Adab SIA 868 o. 3
lugal-ni₂-zu CS Girsu STTI 104 o. 5’
lugal-ni₂-zu lu₂ ki Ma-ri₂-ka CS Girsu ITT 1 1241 r. 1
lugal-ni₂-zu dam-gar₃ CS Girsu ITT 1 1370 o. 3
lugal-ni₂-zu CS Girsu ITT 1 1448 o. ii 18
lugal-ni₂-zu f. Lugal-ezem CS Girsu RTC 81 o. 5
lugal-ni₂-zu f. Lu₂̃-Nin-ĝir-su CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. ii 14
lugal-ni₂-zu MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 155 o. 5
lugal-ni₂-zu MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 155 o. 9
lugal-ni₂-zu MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 150 r. 2
lugal-ni₂-zu f. Ka-ku₃ CS MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 150 r. 2
lugal-ni₂-zu f. Ka-ku₃, ff. Ur-niĝin₃(UĐ,E₂) CS Isin ? MAD 4 169 r. 7
lugal-ni₂-zu f. Ur₂-ra-ni MS-CS Isin ? MVN 3 81 edge 2
lugal-ni₂-zu MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 127 o. 4
lugal-ni₂-zu dam-gar₃ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 216 o. 1
lugal-ni₂-zu MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 55 o. 12

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lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  61 o. i 5
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  62 o. ii 10
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  63 o. ii 9
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  73 r. 5
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  84 o. i 7
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  96 o. i 14
lugal-[ni₃]-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  96 o. ii 1
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  98 o. iii 2
lu{gal}-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  98 r. ii 12
lugal-ni₂-zu  CS/Škā Y 2 Nippur  OSP 2  100 r. ii 6'
lugal-ni₂-zu  CS/Škā Y 2 Nippur  OSP 2  100 r. iii 12'
lugal-ni₂-zu  s. Ur-{e}Hendur-sag {e} MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  128 r. ii 6
lugal-ni₂-zu  Guruš-min  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  136 r. 2'
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Nippur  OSP 2  142 r. 10’
lugal-[ni₃]-zu ? ens[i₃] [Ni]ppur[ki]  CS/NS. (OB) Nippur  A. Poebel., PBS 5  36 o. (?)
v’ 10’
lugal-ni₂-zu  CS/NS. Nippur  PBS 9  15+110 o. i 8
lugal-ni₂-zu  CS Nippur  PBS 9  36 o. ii’ 5’
lugal-ni₂-zu  (BA) ens[i₂] Nibrū̄ki, saqā 4En-nilil 3  CS/NS. Nippur  PBS 15  82 1
lugal-‘ni₃’-zu  CS/NS. Nippur  TMH 5  7+184+201a r. i 7’
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS Umma  CST  9 o. 10
lugal-ni₂-zu  saq-apin-na  CS/Škā Y 7 Umma  CT 50  67 o. 5
lugal-ni₂-zu  šitim, be-lu bu-din, in Umma[k]  CS  Umma  CT 50  188 r. i 8
lugal-‘ni₃’-zu  CS-CS Umma ?  TCVC  727 o. i 9
lugal-ni₂-zu  CS-CS Umma ?  TCVC  728 o. iii 4
lugal-ni₂-zu  s. ’E₂,-zi  MS-CS  Umma ?  TCVC  730 r. i 5
[lugal-ni₃]-‘zu’ ? saq-‘apin’ MS-CS  Umma ?  TCVC  733 o. i’ 6
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS  Umma-Zabala ?  R. D. Freedman, The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis  51 r. 1
lugal-[ni₃]-zu  MS-CS  Umma-Zabala ?  R. D. Freedman, The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis  52 r. 1
lugal-ni₂-zu  E₂-sa-al-zak  MS-CS  Unknown  MesCiv 4  65 o. 2
lugal-ni₂-zu  KUM-tuššēk 3  MS-CS  Unknown  MVN 3  103 o. 6
lugal-ni₂-zu  MS-CS  Unknown  BIN 8  222 o. 3
lugal-ni₂-zu  CS  Unknown  BIN 8  261 r. 1
lugal-Nibrū̄ki  (a2) ‘the lugal … Nippur’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 884
lugal-Nibrū̄ki  ED IIIa  Šuruppag  TSŠ 627 r. i’ 1’
lugal-Nibrū̄ki  dam-gar₂  ED IIIb-ES  Nippur ?  BIN 8  166 r. 7
lugal-nidba₂  (a1) ‘the lugal (is just right for) the nidba-offerings (?)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 147
lugal-nidba₂  ES-MS  Nippur  OSP 1  23 o. iii 2’
lugal-nidba₂-e  (a1) ‘the lugal (is just right for) the nidba-offerings (?)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 147 n. 828, 256
lugal-nidba₂-e  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  48 o. i 4
lugal-nidba₂-e  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  52 o. 5
l[lugal-‘ni₃]-[nidba₂]-e  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  53 r. (?) 1’
lugal-nidba₂-e  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  54 o. 5
lugal-nidba₂-e  MS-CS  Nippur  OSP 2  63 r. ii 3
lugal-NiG₂  (a=12) abbreviation of a number of possible readings 3.1.8, p. 106, 181
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 102 o. i 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 102 o. ii 5
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ a-\(\text{zu}_4\) ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. iii 12
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. v 11
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ sip[a] ED IIIb Girsu CT 50 29 r. i 3
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ sipa ED IIIb Girsu OIP 14 57 r. ii 1
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ Lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ Ama-barar₂-ge₂\(\text{i}_3\)-\(\text{du}_8\) ED IIIb Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 62 o. i 1
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ sipa ED IIIb/Luzag. Y 7 Umma-Zabala M. Powell, \textit{HUCA} 49 (1978), p. 1–58 1 o. ii 1
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala M. Powell, \textit{HUCA} 49 (1978), p. 1–58 15 o. i 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ s. E-\(\text{F}_{1}\)-\(\text{x}₃\)-\(\text{x}_2\), b. \(\text{Giš-ša}_3\), lu₂ aga₂ ma₂-gal ED IIIb Umma-Zabala M. Powell, \textit{HUCA} 49 (1978), p. 1–58 8 o. ii 1
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ED IIIb Zabala M. Powell, \textit{HUCA} 49 (1978), p. 1–58 8 o. i 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ES-MS Unknown \textit{RIA} 42 o. i 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ f. Nin-me CS Adab CUSAS 13 53 o. 2
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ dam-gar₃ CS Adab CUSAS 13 78 r. i 9
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ nagar CS Adab CUSAS 13 108 o. 14
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ MS-CS Adab OIP 14 156 o. 2
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ CS Adab \textit{SIA} 674 o. 7 A 674
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ CS Adab \textit{TCABI} 208 r. 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ka-gur₇ CS Girsu CT 50 187 o. 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ ka-gur₇ CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 172 r. ii 13
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂³ ku₃-dim₂ CS Girsu \textit{RTC} 95 o. 4’
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ CS Girsu \textit{RTC} 134 r. i 11’
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂³ MS-CS Isin BIN 8 156 o. 3
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ MS-CS Umma BIN 8 300 r. 3
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ MS-CS Umma BIN 8 313 o. 2
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ MS-CS Umma BIN 8 316 o. 7
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ f. \(\text{Ad}^{\text{L}}\)-da, sur₃-re-ka-ke₄\(\text{e}^{\text{L}}\)-\(\text{la}_2\) MS-CS Umma \textit{CST} 11 o. 3
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ CS Umma Nik 2 84 r. 6
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ s. \(\text{Giš-ša}_3\) CS Umma Nik 2 84 r. 5
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ h. \(\text{En-er}_2\)-\(\text{U}[\text{tu}_3]\) MS-CS Unknown \textit{DCS} 43 r. 1
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ O\(\text{A}^{\text{K}}\)k Unknown MAD 4 26 (translit. only) o. 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂ O\(\text{A}^{\text{K}}\)k Unknown MAD 4 154 (translit. only) o. i 9
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂\(\text{[x]}\) ED I-II Ur UET 2 355 o. 2
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂\(\text{[x]}\) ED IIIb-ES Umma B. R. Foster, \textit{Fs Westenholz}, 127–137 6 o. i 4
lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂\(\text{[x(x)]}\) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 86 o. i 11’
[lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂\(\text{[x]}\)] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 95 o. iii 1
\(\text{f}^{\text{L}}\)lugal-\(\text{NI}G\)₂\(\text{r-x-x}'\) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. ii 8

\textbf{lugal-niḡir (LAK154)} \textsuperscript{6} ‘the lugal is a herald’ 3.1.7.9, p. 88, 171, 188
lugal-niḡir lu₂ sar ED IIIb Adab \textit{TCABI} 7 o. i 4
lugal-niḡir ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 73 o. 2
lugal-niḡir ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 170 o. i 5
lugal-niḡir ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 111 r. i 1
lugal-niḡir \(\text{f}^{\text{L}}\)-\(\text{PA}\) Lugal-niḡir ES-MS Isin BIN 8 154 left edge
lugal-niḡir s. Š₃-dur₂-\(\text{ba}\) ES-MS Unknown MVN 3 98 r. i 5
lugal-niḡir \(\text{s}^{\text{L}}\)-\(\text{Ba-ra-an}'\), ġuruš CS Girsu \textit{DPA} 43 (PUL 47) o. 7
lugal-niḡir f. Zi CS Girsu \textit{STTI} 151 o. iii’ 1’

\textbf{lugal-nim-du} \textsuperscript{11} ‘the lugal goes (to) the highland’ 3.1.3.3, p. 116 w. n. 629
lugal-nim-du saḡ-saḡ₉ ED IIIa Girsu PBS 9 2 o. iii 8
lugal-nim-du saḡ-saḡ₉ ED IIIa Girsu PBS 9 2 o. v 11
lugal-nir

lugal-nir e-me-a [x] ED IIIb/En.1 ensi 4 Lagaš BiMes 3 10 r. i 2
lugal-nir si pA Adab TCABI 236 o. 3
lugal-nir MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 o. ii 9

lugal-nir-gal

lugal-nir-gal ED IIIa Abū Šalābīh LAS 330 o. ii 2
lugal-nir-gal ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 201 o. iv 6
lugal-nir-gal[x]-[a] Lugal-nir-gal2, E₂-zi, Ur-E₂-maḫ ED IIIb Adab Eig. ḃensi2 OIP
lugal-nir-gal N nr. i 2
lugal-nir-gal ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 59 o. ii 2
lugal-nir-gal maškim ED IIIb Isin? BIN 8 17 o. ii 4
lugal-nir-gal f. Lu₂-ref₃-da, Lu₂ Im-lik₃ ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 53 o. ii 4
lugal-nir-gal₁-sipa ED IIIb Zabala M. Powell, HUCA 49 (1978), p. 1–58 23 o. i 1
lugal-nir-gal₁ si pA Adab₃-ke₄ MS Adab TCABI 65 o. 6
lugal-nir-gal₁ MS-CS Adab OIP 14 168 r. (i) 5
lugal-nir-gal₁ (ugula) CS Giršu CT 50 105 r. 2
lugal-nir-gal₁ ugula CS Giršu RTC 127 r. v 11
lugal-nir-gal₁ CS Giršu RTC 139 r. 7
lugal-nir-gal₁ f. [x]₄ Gu₂-la₃-ta MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 74 r. 3
lugal-nir-gal₁ MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 28+34 r. i 6
lugal-nir-gal₂ s. Ni₃-[En]-ii₄-le MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 30 o. ii 22

lugal-nitäh-zi

lugal-nitäh-zi umbiṣaḫ ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 r. i 10
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 40 r. ii 2
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 139 o. ii 3
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 162 o. ii 5
lugal-nitäh-zi Lu₂ sar ED IIIb Adab TCABI 7 o. i 1
lugal-nitäh-zi simuq ED IIIb/Enz. ensi 4 Giršu DP 1/2 92 r. i 1
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb Nippur OSP 2 127 o. i 2
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 164 o. ii 3
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 276 o. ii 3
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–
lugal-nitäh-zi ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi 2 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–
lugal-nitäh-zi ES Isin or Nippur MVN 3 45 r. iii 1
lugal-nitäh-zi Umma U₃-mu-NI#NI, Lu₂ Lugal-nitäh-zi dam-gar₃-gal Zabala₆ Ki ES-MS
lugal-nitäh-zi En-šU₃-gal₂, Lu₂ Lugal-nitäh-zi dam-gar₃-gal (Zabala₆ Ki) ES-MS Umma
lugal-nitäh-zi CS Adab CUSAS 13 32 o. 10
lugal-nitäh-zi Be-l₃-gu₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 114 o. 4
lugal-nitäh-zi MS-CS Adab MVN 3 62 o. 2
lugal-nitäh-zi CS Giršu MVN 3 51 o. 5
lugal-nitäh-zi CS Isin CUSAS 13 163 o. ii 2

lugal-nitäh-zi

lugal-nitäh-zi ES Adab CUSAS 11 329 o. 4
lugal-nitäh-zi utul MS Adab TCABI 68 o. 8
lug[gal]-nitäh-zi MS-CS Umma? TCVC 729 r. 12
lugal-nu-du₄-ga (a²c³) ‘was it not spoken by the lugal?’ 3.1.1.4, p. 94
lugal-nu-du₄-ga ES Adab CUSAS 11 333 o. 3
lugal-nu-du₄-ga MS Adab TCABI 113 o. 4
lugal-nu-du₄-ga s. [x]-e CS Umma USP 47 o. i 2
lugal-nu-du₄-ga MS-CS Unknown L’uomo 15 r. 9
lugal-nu-du₄-ga b. Lugal-GU₂ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 2 o. 14
lugal-nu-du₄-ga (b. Lugal-GU₂) CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 4 o. 15

lugal-nu-ki-sa₆(3³) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181 w. n. 1103
lugal-nu-ki-sa₆ ED IIIa Abū Šalābīḫ IAS 298 o. iii 15
lugal-nu-ki-sa₆ ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 63 o. vi 4!
lugal-nu-ki-sa₆ ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 o. iii’ 10

lugal-nu-šili₃g(LAK650) (a³c³) ‘the lugal is untiring’ 3.1.7.3, p. 163
lugal-nu-šili₃g ED IIIa Abū Šalābīḫ IAS 298 o. iii 14
lugal-nu-šili₃g ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 r. iii 10
lugal-nu-šili₃g ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 63 o. vi 3
lugal-nu-šili₃g ED IIIa Unknown F. Vukosavović, JAC 23 (2008), p. 37–54 2 o. ii 1
lugal-nu-šili₃g’(LAK648+st₄) ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 o. iii’ 9
lugal-nu-šili₃g ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 1 r. iv 3
lugal-nu-šili₃g ED IIIb Adab MVN 3 90 o. iii 3

lugal-numun-z₃i (a²c³) ‘the lugal is a, or loves the) reliable offspring’ 3.1.7.1, p. 160, 251 n. 1476
lugal-numun₃i-z₃i ED IIIa-b Adab TCABI 3 r. i 2
lugal-numun-z₃i ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 6 o. i 2
lugal-numun-z₃i ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 211 o. i 9
lugal-numun-z₃i ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 211 r. i 7
lugal-numun-z₃i ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 211 r. ii 1
lugal-numun-z₃i ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 67 o. ii 7
lugal-numun-z₃i s. Ur-e₂-maḥ ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. iii 3
lugal-numun-z₃i s. Ur-e₂-maḥ ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. ii 22
lugal-numun-z₃i dub-sar ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. xi 9
lugal-numun-z₃i [dub-sar²] ED IIIb/Urz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 r. iv 25
lugal-numun-z₃i dub-sar ES Adab TCABI 32 o. ii 6

lugal-nun-du (a¹) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-nun-du sagi ED IIIa Šuruppag M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27–49 4 r. i 4
lugal-nun-p₃a (1) ‘the lugal is one chosen by the noble one (?)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 145
lugal-nun-p₃a ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 o. iv 16

lugal-p₃a-du (a¹) (probable defective writing of the following) 3.1.7.10, p. 174 n. 1017
lugal-p₃a-du ED IIIb Marada? AICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1924–468) o. ii 4

lugal-p₃aₑ (a²c₁₄) ‘the lugal is shining/splendid’ 3.1.7.10, p. 173–174
lugal-p₃aₑ ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 4 o. i 1
lugal-p₃aₑ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 66 o. v 2
lugal-p₃aₑ ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 149 r. ii 6
lugal-p₃aₑ umbisaḫ ED IIIa Unknown RIAA 44 r. i 9
lugal-p₃aₑ s[pa ša₃h₂] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu AWAS 69 o. i 5
lugal-p₃aₑ sipa ša₃h₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu AWAS 70 r. iii’ 1’
lugal-[pa]-e₃ [si]pa šah₃, ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *AWAS* 118 r. i 5
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu *AWAS* 123 r. vi 5
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu BIN 8 344 r. vi 3
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu BIN 8 345 r. v 7
lugal-pa-e₃ i₄-du₃ ED IIIb/Enzi₂ 2 Girsu BIN 8 347 r. iv 5
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa u[š[i]]-ka ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu BIN 8 372 o. iii 7
lugal-pa-e₃ (baḥar) ED IIIb/X Y 2 Girsu BIN 8 380 o. iii 1
lugal-[pa]-e₃ [si]pa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu BIN 8 391 r. iv 12
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu CT 50 34 r. viii 9
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu CTNMC 3 r. iii 4
lugal-pa-e₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu Jacobsen CTNMC 4 r. vi 14
lugal-[pa]-e₃ [si]pa šah₃, ED IIIb Girsu *DCS* 2 r. vi 3’
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb Girsu *DCS* 3 r. vii 5
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Lug. [ensi₁] 3 Girsu *DCS* 6 r. i 3
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu *DCS* 7 r. iii 5’
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu *DCS* 8 r. iii 1
lugal-pa-e₃, engar ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu DP 1/2 87 o. iii 2
lugal-pa-e₃, ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 1/2 130 o. v 7
lugal-pa-e₃, engar, ba-ūš₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 138 o. i 1
lugal-pa-e₃, s. Ur-dam, lu₉, lūga ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu DP suppl. 625 o. ii 3
lugal-pa-e₃ baḥar₂-bi ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu DP suppl. 637 r. i 1
lugal-pa-e₃ lu₉, Ba-u₂ ED IIIb Girsu DP suppl. 568 o. i 1
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. Y X Girsu MVN 3 4 o. iv 3
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu MVN 3 7 o. iv 1’
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa šah₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu Nik 1 1 r. v 13
lugal-pa-e₃, sīpa [šah₁] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu Nik 1 13 r. i 8
lugal-pa-e₃ A₂-kal-le, Lugal-pa-e₃ ED IIIb Umma MVN 3 106 o. i 5
lugal-pa-e₃ (diš.liš.du) ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 51 o. 2
lugal-pa-e₃, ED IIIb/Luzag. (?) 7 Umma-Zabala BIN 8 55 o. ii 6
lugal-pa-e₃, nu-banda₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 58 o. 2
lugal-[pa]-e₃ [v] ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 64 o. i 3
lugal-pa-e₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₁ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 o. iii 14
lugal-pa-e₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 111 o. i 5
lugal-pa-e₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 111 o. i 6
V* (W 2/7) o. iv 11’
lugal-pa-e₃ ḫakals₃ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 14 o. iii 1
lugal-pa-e₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 81 r. 1
lugal-pa-e₃ CS Umma *AAS* 12 o. 4
lugal-pa-e₃ MS-CS Umma BIN 8 305 o. 2
lugal-pa-e₃ CS/Škš Y 6 Umma CT 50 65 o. 2
lugal-pa-e₃ šitim, be-ľu bu-dim, in Umma ki CS Umma CT 50 188 r. i 10
lugal-pa-e₃ CS Umma USP 71 o. 1
lugal-pa₃* (a1/41) ‘the lugal is one chosen (by DN)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 145 n. 817, 229, 246
lugal-pa₃ uğken-gal ED I-II Ur UET 2 68b o. ii 4
lugal-pa₃ ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 25 r. i 3
lugal-paᵪ-da (a2) ‘the lugal is one chosen (by DN)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 145 n. 817
lugal-paᵪ-da f. Ad-da ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu DP suppl. 593 o. iii 7
lugal-paᵪ-da f. Lum-ma-[x] CS Umma USP 47 o. ii 3
lugal-pa₄·zu \(^{(a2)}\) ‘the lugal knows the uncle’  3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-pa₄·zu  ED I-II  Ur  UET 2  297  o. i 2’
lugal-pa₄·zu  ED I-II  Ur  UET 2  366  o. ii’ 6

lugal-palil \(^{(a2/1)}\) ‘the lugal is a vanguard’  3.1.3.1, p. 108
lavugal-palil  ED IIIa  Kiš  MesCiv 14, pl. 23, 3: H+Y  r. (?)(?) ii’ 2
lugal-palil  ED IIIb  Adab  TCABI  12  o. i 2
lugal-palil  lu₃, saqa₃·ma₃  CS  Adab  CUSAS 13  70  r. 1

lugal-piri₄ \(^{(a2/8/1)}\) ‘the lugal is (like) a lion’  3.1.7.6, p. 165, 207, 241
lavugal-piri₄  ED IIIa  Śuruppag  SF  28  o. i 8
lavugal-piri₄  ED IIIa  Śuruppag  SF  29  o. i 8
lugal-piri₄  ED IIIa  Śuruppag  TSŠ  903  r. ii 2
lugal-piri₄  ED IIIb·ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  186  o. v 7
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Lug. X  Girsu  BIN 8  365  r. i 2
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Ukg.  Girsu  2  DP 2/1  171  r. v 17
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb  Girsu  DP 2/1  172  o. ii 3
lugal-piri₄  b., Lugal-ša₃·la₅·tuku, Saḥ-ḥab₃·ba, Aja₂·lu₃·šil₃·la, šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Ukg.
lugal 3  Girsu  DP 2/1  177  r. i 7
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Lug. 1  Girsu  DP 2/1  191  r. iii 2
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, e₂·saqa·ka, šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Lug. 3  Girsu  DP 2/2  279  r. i 3
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂  Girsu  DP 2/2  283  o. iii 5
lugal-piri₄  i₂·du₄, nam·dumu  ED IIIb/Ukg.  Girsu 3  Girsu  Nik I  63  r. i 8
lugal-piri₄  i₂·du₄, nam·dumu  ED IIIb/Ukg.  Girsu 3  Kir  272  o. ii 5
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/X Y  4  Girsu  RTC 31  o. i 5
lugal-piri₄  šu-ku₄, e₂·saqa·ka, šu-ku₄, ab·ba  ED IIIb/Lug. 2  Girsu  RTC 35  r. i 2
lugal-piri₄  lu₄, dun·a, Ne-saṣ·ga₃  ED IIIb/X Y  5  Girsu  VS 27  55  o. i 3
lugal-piri₄  Ur-saṣ Lugal-p[iri₄]  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₇  Umma-Zabala  M. deJ. Ellis, 
JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55  6 o. iv 16
lugal-piri₄  Ur-saṣ Lugal-piri₄  ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₇  Umma-Zabala  M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 
31 (1979), p. 30–55  6 o. v 6
lugal-piri₄¹  Ur-saṣ [...] Lugal-piri₄³  ED IIIb  Zabala  BIN 8  75  o. 5
lugal-piri₄  mu-kiri₄²·Aš₂·gi₄·pa·e₄  ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  278  o. 2
126–127  o. 2
lugal-piri₄  s. Ur-en  CS  Girsu  MVN 3  113  o. i 1
lugal-piri₄  s. Ur-en  CS  Girsu  STTI  25  r. 4’
lugal-ra \(^{(a2/14)}\) ‘... to the lugal’  3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ra  ED IIIb·ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  186  o. v 10
lugal-ra  ED IIIb·ES  Adab  CUSAS 11  228  o. ii 8
lugal-ra  ED IIIb  Adab  OIP 14  77  r. 2
lugal-ra  h. GAN-ki  ED IIIb/Ukg.  Girsu 2  DP 1/2  128  o. ii 7
lugal-ra  h. GAN-ki  ED IIIb/Ukg.  Girsu 3  DP 1/2  129  o. ii 7
lugal-ra  s. U₃·da  ED IIIb  Girsu  DP suppl.  555  r. i 4
lugal-ra  b. Lugal-ušur₃  ED IIIb/X Y  5  Girsu  DP suppl.  593  o. ii 1
lugal-ra  s. U₃·da  ED IIIb/X Y  5  Girsu  Nik 1  101  o. i 2
lugal-ra  ED IIIb/Ukg.  Girsu 4  TŠA  47  o. iv 2
lugal-ra  ED IIIb/Uru-KA Un:gal  Girsu  VS 27  33  o. iii 2
lugal-ra  f. Lugal-ša₄·nu·kiri₆  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  6  o. ii 3
lugal-ra  AB₂·GAL  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  16  o. 4
lugal-ra  b. Ur-šu₃  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  17  o. i 5
lugal-ra  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  41  r. ii 2
lugal-ra³  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  46  o. iii 6
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 53 o. i 2
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 53 o. i 7
lugal-ra ugula ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 60 o. 2
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 67 r. i 1
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. i 14
lugal-ra maškim-bi ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. v 6
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 167 o. iii 6
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 34 o. i 1
lugal-ra ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 39 r. ii' 5
lugal-ra simug ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. i 7
lugal-ra ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 18 r. 3
lugal-ra ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala BIN 8 92 r. 3
lugal-ra ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. ii' 3
lugal-ra ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. v 34
lugal-ra ugula sa-ți-ne ES-MS Umma Nik 2 49 o. 5
lugal-ra CS Adab CUSAS 13 90 o. 10
lugal-ra CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 51 r. 1
lugal-ra CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 51 r. 4
lugal-ra CS Girsu DPA 12 (PUL 13) o. 3
lugal-ra CS Girsu DPA 14 (PUL 21) r. 10
lugal-ra CS Girsu DPA 23 (PUL 41) o. 5
lugal-ra CS Girsu DPA 48 (PUL 42) o. 3
lugal-ra CS Girsu DPA 49 (PUL 43) o. 3
lugal-ra nu-kiriš? CS Girsu ITT 1 1374 o. ii 6
lugal-ra-[a] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 93 r. i 11
lugal-ra MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 99 o. ii 6
lugal-ra-[a] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 121 o. 5
lugal-ra-dum nu-siki CS Nippur PBS 9 79 o. ii 4
lugal-ra Eb-um, lu Lugal-ra MS-CS Umma BIN 8 331 o. 6
lugal-ra MS-CS Umma? TCVC 725 r. i 6
lugal-ra MS-CS Unknown DCS 43 r. 9
lugal-ra in Ġirš-su'ki CS Unknown MAD 5 111 o. 2
lugal-ra-diri? (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ra-diri? ED IIIa Šuruppak WF 37 o. ii 1
lugal-ra-mu-giš (a2) ‘… answered the lugal’ 3.1.8, p. 177 n. 1051, 181 w. n. 1106
lugal-ra-mugīš ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu DP suppl. 593 o. v 7
lugal-ra-mugīš ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu DP suppl. 593 r. i 2
lugal-ra-mugīš ED IIIb Girsu DP suppl. 594 r. ii 2
lugal-ra-mugīš aga₂-us₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu Nik 1 17 o. ii 1
lugal-ra-mugīš ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 36 o. ii 3
lugal-ra-mugīš ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 41 r. i 5
lugal-ra-mugīš MS-CS Umma MAD 4 149 (translit. only) o. 6
lugal-ra-siš? (a1) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ra-siš? [lšu₂, Ur²-[x-(x')]] ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 48 o. ii 5
lugal-ra-tum? (a1) perhaps ‘(he is) fit for a king!’ 3.1.6.2, p. 143, 161
lugal-ra-tum₂ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 53 o. ii 6
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lugal-ra-ru¹ ED IIIa Kiš MesCiv 14, pl. 23, 3: H+Y r.(?) i’ 3
lugal-ra-ru ED IIIa Šuruppak SF 29 o. ii 9

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lugal-sa-par₂(41) ‘the lugal … the throw net’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113
lugal-sa-par₃ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 121 r. iii 2’
lugal-sa-par₄(41) ‘the lugal … the throw net’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113f. n. 611
lugal-sa-par₁ ED IIIa Kiš AAICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1928-431) o. i 2
lugal-sa-par₄ ED IIIa Kiš AAICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1928-431) r. ii 3
lugal-sa-šuš-gal(42) ‘the lugal … the throw net’ 3.1.3.3, p. 114, 185
lugal-sa-šuš-gal ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu BIN 8 362 o. ii 1
lugal-sa-šuš-gal (lu₂, e₂-nam) ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 r. i 3
lugal-sa-šuš-gal lu₂ e₂-nam ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. vi 19
lugal-sa-šuš-gal šeš kuš₇ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 116 o. i 3
lugal-sa-šuš-gal s. Lugal-uri ED IIIb/(Lug.) 1 Girsu Nik 1 160 o. i 2
lugal-sa-šuš-gal ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 161 o. i 4
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lugal-sa₆ CS Girsu DPA 35 (PUL 48) o. 7
lugal-sa₆ CS Girsu RTC 96 o. i 12
lugal-sa₆ maškim MS-CS Nippur OIC 22 1 r. 4
lugal-sa₆ ḫ₆dur-šar-l₇ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 178 r. 5
lugal-sa₆ dub-sar MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 179 o. 4
lugal-sa₆ s. Me₆-sag₂ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. ii 16
lugal-sa₆ MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 71 r. 5
lugal-sa₆ MS Unknown MAD 4 70 r. 1
lugal-sa₆ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 4 r. 9
lugal-sa₆-ga(46) ‘the lugal is favourable’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170, 189
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lugal-sa₆-ga ED IIIb/Eig. ni₃ensi₂ Adab OIP 14 49 o. iv 5
lugal-sa₆-ga gudu₉ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 2 Girsu BIN 8 347 r. i 8
lugal-sa₆-ga Ur₄-Nin-šir₂-su ED IIIb Girsu CT 50 29 o. ii 1
lugal-sa₆-ga Ur₄-Nin-šir₂-su ED IIIb Girsu CT 50 30 o. ii’ 9
lugal-sa₆-ga sipa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. v 20
lugal-sa₆-ga ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu DP suppl. 519 o. iii 3
lugal-sa₆-ga sipa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP suppl. 590 o. iv 10
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lugal-sa₆-ga sipa ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu Nik 1 195 r. i 3
lugal-sa₆-ga Ur-ni₃-g₂ ED IIIb Girsu OIP 14 57 o. ii 4
lugal-sa₆-ga ? (sipa) ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu A. Deimel, OrSP 20, p. 28 (translit. only) o. ii 3
lugal-sa₆-ga (sipa) ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu RTC 27 r. i 4
lugal-sa₆-ga ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 26 r. i’ 3
lugal-sa₆-ga ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 203 o. 4
lugal-sa₆-ga ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 203 r. 2
lugal-sa₆-ga ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 4 r. v 2
lugal-sa₆(S₈₅,S₅₇)-par₄(41) ‘the lugal … the throw net’ 3.1.3.3, p. 113f. n. 611
lugal-sa, (šu₂, SA)-par₄ lu₃ Unug⁵, e-ra ED IIIb Umma-Zabala?  L ’uomo 6 o. i 4
lugal-ts-ag₈ (a¹) ‘the lugal is one who vanquishes (evil portents?)’ 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ts-ag₈  MS Adab TCABI 95 o. 5
lugal-ts-ag₇ CS Adab CUSAS 13 47 r. 3’
lugal-ts-ag₇ CS Adab CUSAS 13 48 o. 4
lugal-sa-
₈ (a²) ‘the lugal is exalted’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
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lugal-sa-
 ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 100 o. i 5
lugal-sa-
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 ED IIIb-ES Nippur BIN 8 169 o. 4
lugal-sa-
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lugal-sa-
 ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. v 6’
lugal-sa-
 Lugal-sa-
 ṭu₂ ṭi₂ ḫi Lugal-ṭ-kA₃-ke₄ ES-MS Umma USP 7 r. 5
lugal-sa-
 MS Adab TCABI 148 o. 2
lugal-sa-
 CS Adab CUSAS 13 21 o. 4’
lugal-sa-
 f. Ur-niG₃ CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. ii 2
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 MS-CS Umma MAD 4 49 (translit. only) o. 4
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-bi-sé₃,h₉ (a¹) ‘the lugal takes precedence’ 3.1.7.7, p. 169, 182 n. 1116
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-du₁₀ ED IIIa Šuruppag L. Legrain, RA 32 (1935), p. 126 1 o. iii 2–3
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-kalAM(LAK729) (a¹) ‘the lugal is exalted in the land’ 3.1.1.6, p. 100, 248 n. 1468
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-kalAM(LAK729) ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 63 r. iv 13
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-rib (a²) ‘the lugal is preeminent’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
lugal-sa-
-rib aga₂-us₃, sāga ED IIIb/Enz. 17 Girsu BIN 8 352 r. i 5
lugal-sa-
-rib s. Amar-šuba₉, dub-sar ED IIIb/Enz. or En. II Girsu? DP 1/1 31 iv 13
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lugal-si OAKk Unknown MAD 4 25 (translit. only) o. 7
lugal-si-L (a²) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 175 n. 1027, 181
lugal-si-ED I-II Ur UET 2 224 o. i 1
lugal-si-ED I-II Ur UET 2 224 r. i 3
lugal-si-Du₆-e (a²) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-si-Du₆-e CS Girsu STTI 83 r. i 5’
lugal-si-gar (a³) ‘the lugal (is?) a door bolt’ 3.1.3.3, p. 91 n. 466, 116, 251 n. 1477
lugal-si-gar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. iii 10
lugal-si-gar (MIN)-gar šu-ku₄, ab-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 47 o. i 4
lugal-si-gar f. E₂-zi MS-CS Adab SIA 705 r. i 7
lugal-si-gar sīpa MS Adab TCABI 117 o. 4
lugal-si-gar b. Ga[la] CS Umma AAS 1 o. i 7
lugal-si-gar CS Umma AAS 1 o. ii 13
lugal-si-[g]ar nu-banda₃ ni MS-CS Umma? TCVC 725 r. i 5’
lugal-si-NE-e (a²) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-si-NE-[e] s. g[IR₃-x-x] MS-CS Umma TCVC 731 o. ii 19’
lugal-si-ne-e  CS  Umma  W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, *Gs Diakonoff*, 225–231  o. i 14

lugal-si-sa₂ (a₁₀)  ‘the lugal is just’  3.1.3.3, p. 118, 241
lugal-si-sa₂  ED IIIa  Šuruppag  TŠŠ  568  o. ii 2
lugal-si-sa₂  ED IIIa-b  Unknown  *L’uomo*  3  o. ii 5
lugal-si-sa₂  umbiša₃  ED IIIb  Ebla  ARET  5  21  r. vi 1’
lugal-si-sa₂  lu₂  ama  sur₃  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  6  Girsu  *DP 1/2*  135  r. v 6
lugal-si-sa₂  lu₂  dub-šen  urudu  ED IIIb/Lug.  2  Girsu  *VS 14*  180  o. iii 5
lugal-si-sa₂  šu⁻i  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH  5  136  o. i 2
lugal-si-sa₂  sagi-maḥ  ES-MS  Umma  Nik  2  14  o. iii 12
lugal-si-sa₂  nu-banda₃-bi  ES-MS  Umma  Nik  2  19  r. i 11
lugal-si-sa₂  lu₂  uz-ga  MS  Adab  *TCABI*  184  o. 5
lugal-*ši*₁-sa₂  [x]₁⁻*ši*₁  geme, Lugal-si-sa₂  CS  Girsu  *ITT 5*  6867  r. 4 (?)
lugal-si-sa₂  MS-CS  Umma  ?  *TCVC*  727  o. i 10
lugal-si-sa₂  MS  Unknown  *L’uomo*  14  o. i 4

lugal-si-u₄-a (a₁)  ‘the lugal in the high heavens (?)’  3.1.7.10, p. 172
lugal-si-u₄-a  MS-CS  Adab  OIP  14  115  o. 5

lugal-sila(TAR)-si (a₁)  ‘the lugal is just right for the road’  3.1.5.2, p. 130, 182 n. 1121
lugal-sila-si  lugal  Kiš  ED IIIb  Uruk  CT  3, pl. 1 (BM 12155)  4

lugal-sipa (a₂₈)  ‘the lugal is a shepherd’  3.1.3.3, p. 102 n. 540, 111, 151 n. 867, 253
lugal-sipa  nitaḥ  ED IIIb/Ukg.  ensi₂  1  Girsu  *AWAS*  119  o. v 3
lugal-sipa  nitaḥ  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  4  Girsu  *AWAS*  120  o. vi 3
lugal-sipa  nitaḥ  ED IIIb/[Ukg. lugal 3]  Girsu  *AWAS*  121  o. vi 3’
lugal-sipa  nitaḥ  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  6  Girsu  *AWAS*  122  o. vi 14
lugal-sipa  l*i₃*⁻šu⁻i₂  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  ?  Girsu  *AWAS*  123  o. iv 10
lugal-sipa  ED IIIb  Girsu  *DCS*  4  o. v 5
lugal-sipa  lu₂  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  2  Girsu  *DP 1/2*  113  o. vi 5
lugal-sipa  (ugula)  lu₂  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  5  Girsu  *DP 1/2*  114  o. vi 9
lugal-sipa  sagi  ED IIIb/Lug.  6  Girsu  *DP 2/1*  157  o. i 4
lugal-sipa  nitaḥ  ED IIIb/Ukg.  ensi₂  1  Girsu  MVN  3  2  o. v 13
lugal-sipa  s.  Lugal-la₂  ED IIIb  Isin  BIN  8  34  o. i 6
lugal-sipa  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH  5  11  o. iii 2
lugal-sipa  lu₂-imin-ku₂-ga-ni, lu₂  Lugal-sipa  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH  5  23  o. iii 3
lugal-sipa  CS  Girsu  CT  50  169  o. i 15
lugal-sipa  CS  Girsu  *STTI*  57  o. 2
lugal-sipa  CS  Girsu  *STTI*  151  o. iii 11’
lugal-sipa  f. U₉₃ (LAK729)-i₄₂, ¹*nagar³  CS/NS.  Nippur  TMH  5  7+184+201a  r. ii 12’
lugal-sipa  s.  [x-x]  MS-CS  Umma  ?  *TCVC*  737  o. (?) 8’
lugal-sipa  f.  Ur-Ešara₁,  CS  Umma  *USP*  47  r. ii 1

lugal-su₃-ağa₂ (a₁)  ‘the lugal is brilliant’  3.1.7.10, p. 174
lugal-su₃-ağa₂  du-ba-[sar  ES-MS  Unknown  *EGA*  406  (pl. 9 fig. 90)

lugal-su₃-šê₃ (a₁)  probable defective writing of lugal-u₄-su₃-šê₃  3.1.7.7, p. 168 n. 976
lugal-su₃-šê₃  ED IIIa  Adab  CUSAS  11  3  r. i 3

lugal-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub (a₁)  ‘the lugal stands in the Date(-field)’  3.1.5.3, p. 133
lugal-su₁₁-lum-ma-gub  šu-ku₄₄-a  du₁₀-ga  ED IIIb/Ukg.  lugal  2  Girsu  *VS 27*  13  r. ii 6

lugal-*wa*₂PA.SIKIL-nam-tar (a₂₁)  uncertain mng.  3.1.1.7, p. 103, 229, 246 n. 1450
lugal-*wa*₂PA.SIKIL-nam-tar  ED I-II  Ur  *UET*  2  93  o. i 10
lugal-šu-PA.SIKIL-nam-tar ED I-II Ur UET 2 101 o. 2
lugal-šu-PA.SIKIL-nam-tar ED I-II Ur UET 2 101 o. 6
lugal-šu-PA.SIKIL-nam-tar ED I-II Ur UET 2 170 o. iii 1
lugal-šu-PA.SIKIL-nam-tar ED I-II Ur UET 2 224 o. i 4
lugal-šu-PA.SIKIL-nam-tar ED I-II Ur UET 2 224 r. i 5

*lugal-šu-PA*(MAŠ).SIKIL-nam-tar (3) uncertain mng. 3.1.1.7, p. 103

lugal-šu-PA.(MAŠ).SIKIL-nam-tar ED IIIa Šuruppak? SF 53 o. ii 2

lugal-ŠUD₃-de₃ (a1) ‘Sud … the lugal’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144, 248 n. 1463
lugal-ŠUD₃-de₃ CS Adab SIA 1209 o. ii 9

lugal-ŠUD₃-ki-ağ₃ (a1) ‘Sud loves the lugal’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144, 248 n. 1463
lugal-ŠUD₃-ki-ağ₃ ED IIIa Šuruppak RTC 15 r. ii 4

lugal-šukkal [ra₃] (a1) ‘the lugal is lofty’ 3.1.7.7, p. 169 w. n. 984
lugal-šukkal [ra₃] MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 53 o. 4

lugal-sulûhu,(SIG₃,BU) (a) ‘the lugal wears a sulûhu-robe (?)’ 3.1.1.3, p. 91, 230
lugal-sulûhu CS Girsu ITT 1 1449 r. 11

lugal-sur₃(ERIM) (identical with lugal-sur₃(-re₃)-ki-ağ₃, sukkal), p. 181
lugal-sur₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1? Girsu AWAS 123 o. v 18
lugal-sur₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 113 o. viii 3

lugal-sur₃(ERIM) (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-sur₃ ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. iv 17
lugal-sur₃ MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 9 o. 5

lugal-sur₃(ERIM)-ki-ağ₃ (identical with lugal-sur₃(-re₃-ki-ağ₃, sukkal), p. 181 n. 1111
lugal-sur₃-ki-ağ₃ [sukkal] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu AWAS 121 o. vii 14

lugal-sur₃(ERIM)-ra-sa₃ (a) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-sur₃-ra-sa₃ ED IIIb/X Y 2 Girsu Nik 1 114 o. ii 2

lugal-sur₃(ERIM)-re₃-ki-ağ₃ (a1) ‘the lugal is one who loves the (work) troops (?)’ 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu AWAS 120 o. vii 10
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu AWAS 122 o. viii 5

lugal-sur₃-re₃-[ki]-ağ₃ [sukkal] ED IIIb Girsu DCS 5 o. vii 3

lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 114 o. vii 16
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ [sukkal] ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ Girsu DP 2/1 227 o. v 6
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu HSS 3 15 o. vi 5
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu HSS 3 18 o. vi 2
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu HSS 3 16 o. vi 8
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu MVN 3 2 o. vii 13
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb Girsu MVN 3 26 o. iii’ 2
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu Nik 1 2 o. vii 9
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1(±X?) Girsu Nik 1 9 o. vi 10
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 14 o. vii 10
lugal-sur₃-re₃-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu TSA 15 o. vii 7
lugal-sur₃-re₂-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu TSA 16 o. vii 2
lugal-sur₃-re₂-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu TSA 17 o. vii 7
lugal-sur₃-re₂-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 11 o. vii 8
lugal-sur₃-re₂-ki-ağ₃ sukkal ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 71 o. vii 10

lugal-ša₃ (a=27) abbreviation 3.1.8, p. 122 n. 656, 181 w. n. 1112, 236
lugal-ša₃ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 40 o. i’ 1
lugal-ša₃ nu-band₃ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 42 o. i 4
lugal-ša₃ nu-band₃ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 57 o. i 1

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lugal-ša₄ engar ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. ii 4'
lugal-ša₄ b. [x]-ra ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 210 r. 1
lugal-ša₄ gadu₃-abzu ED IIIb/Luzag. (?) Y 7 Zabala BIN 8 61 o. i 2
lugal-ša₄ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 88 o. 2
lugal-ša₄ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 88 o. 4
lugal-ša₄ ugula nu-band₃₃ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 108 o. i 5
      19 o. i 5
      22 o. i 6
      6 o. i 13
lugal-ša₄ ES Adab CUSAS 11 257 o. ii 1
lugal-ša₄ ES Adab CUSAS 11 271 o. 1
lugal-ša₄ (dam-gar₃ ?) ES Adab *TCABI* 32 r. ii 3
lugal-ša₄ ugula ES-MS Adab *TCABI* 64 o. iv 1
lugal-ša₄ Ur-DIM saš Lugal-ša₄ ES-MS Umma Nik 2 16 o. 2
lugal-ša₄ b. Ur-kal MS Adab *TCABI* 166 o. 3
lugal-ša₄ šu₂-gal₁₃-la₂-u₃₄ CS Adab CUSAS 13 57 r. 2
lugal-ša₄ CS Adab CUSAS 13 76 o. 2
lugal-ša₄ CS Adab CUSAS 13 79 r. 2
lugal-ša₄ CS Adab *TCABI* 239 r. 5
lugal-ša₄ f. "Nanna-²-MU" CS Girsu ITT 1 1350 o. 2
lugal-ša₄ šu₂-gal₁₃-la₂-u₃₄ CS Girsu ITT 1 1427 o. 7
lugal-ša₄ CS Girsu ITT 1 1441 o. 4'
lugal-ša₄ f. u₂-da CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. ii 12
lugal-ša₄ MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 80 r. 6
lugal-ša₄ MS-CS Lagaš BiMes 3 24 r. 4
lugal-ša₄ šabra MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 131 r. ii 7
lugal-ša₄ MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 342 o. 6
lugal-ša₄⁻ša₄ ? MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 56 o. ii 3
lugal-ša₄ f. Ur₂-ni, ku₃-dim₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 58 o. 6
lugal-ša₄ f. Da-da, ku₃-dim₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 140 o. 7
lugal-ša₄ f. D[a₂-da₂] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 168 o. 5'
lugal-ša₄⁻ša₄ ? CS/NS. Nippur TMH 5 7+184+201a o. iii 8
lugal-ša₄ b. ugula E₃-sikil, g₃-apin CS/NS. Nippur TMH 5 7+184+201a r. ii 7'
lugal-ša₄ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. ii 12'
lugal-ša₄⁻ša₄⁻ša₄ [ugula⁻ša₄⁻ša₄] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. ii 19'
lugal-ša₄ f. Da-da MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 120 r. 1
lugal-ša₄ CS ? Susa MDP 14 20 o. 2'
lugal-ša₄⁻ša₄⁻ša₄ MS-CS Umma BIN 8 298 o. 2
lugal-ša₄ si₃a CS Umma BIN 8 335 r. 1
lugal-ša₄ s. CA-kul₃ CS Umma USP 47 r. i 14
lugal-ša₄ b. Lugal-lam₃-zi CS Unknown BIN 8 213 o. 5
lugal-ša₄ MS-CS Unknown BIN 8 241 o. 5
      231 12 o. 3
lugal-ša₄ ? MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 56 edge i 2
lugal-ša₄-an-zu (a₃) uncertain mng.  3.1.5.1, p. 128 n. 703, 129
lugal-ša₄-an-zu ED IIIa Šuruppag *RTC* 15 r. ii 1
lugal-ša₄⁻AN[-…] lu₂ ti[r] ED IIIb Adab *TCABI* 13 o. ii 5
lugal-ša₂-ENGUR (a) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ša₂-ENGUR ensi₂ BUR₁-sîr-[LA₃⁻?] ED IIIa Girsu Mesilim X L. Heuzey, RA 3 (1894), p. 55–58 (AO 2675) 7

lugal-ša₂-ga (a) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 122 n. 659, 181 w. n. 1114
lugal-ša₂-ga e₂-du₄ Lugal-ša₂-ga OAkK Unknown MAD 4 140 (translit. only) o. 5

°lugal-ša₂-ge-ib₂-tu (c) ‘the lugal was born in the heart (of DN?)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144
°lugal-ša₂-ge-ib₂-tu LS-Ur III Unknown M. E. Cohen, Fs Hallo, p. 79–86 (YBC 2124) iii 3

lugal-ša₂-gid₁ (a)⁸¹ ‘the lugal is considerate’ (in non–Nippur cases, perhaps, to be read lugal-ša₂-su₁₃) 3.1.4.1, p. 118, 121f. w. n. 655
lugal-ša₂-gid₁(MUNU₃) ar₃-du₂ ED IIIa Larsa? AICAB I/1 (Ashm 1924-455) o. i 1
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iii 2
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iv 4
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ nagar ED IIIa Šuruppak (“gekauft”) WF 33 o. iv 2
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 15 o. iv 6
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIb Marada? AICAB I/1 (Ashm 1924-468) r. i 2
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 38 o. i 4
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 81 o. ii 2
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ ED IIIb Umma T. Ozaki, JAC 23 (2008), p. 55–64 2 o. iii 7
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ x₃-GU? ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 103 o. ii 2
lugal-ša₂-gid₁ MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. iii 8

°lugal-ša₃-GAₓₓₓ-x₁ (c) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 181
°lugal-ša₃-GAₓₓₓ-x₁ ED IIIa Abū Ṣalāḫuḫ LASH 330 o. i 3

lugal-ša₂-kuš₂ (a) ‘the lugal is sensible’ 3.1.2, p. 106
lugal-ša₂-kuš₂ ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 1 r. iv 2

lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku (a)¹³ ‘the lugal has compassion’ 3.1.4.1, p. 118, 122, 181 n. 1112
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku šu-ku₄ ab-ba ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu Amherst 1 o. iv 5
[lugal]-ša₂-la₄-tuku dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu AWAS 120 o. viii 14
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu AWAS 122 o. ix 14
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku uгуla, šu-ku₄, ab-ba ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu CTNMC 2 o. ii 3
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku (угула) šu-ku₄, ab-ba ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu CTNMC 2 r. i 4
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku muḥaldim ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DCS 8 o. iv 7
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku lu₃-e₄-gid₂⁴ Nin-šir₂-su ED IIIb/Lug. 3 Girsu DP 1/1 59 o. ix 13
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku dub-sar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 114 o. ix 7
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku b. Ur-pu₂-sag ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 r. i 3
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku s. En-kisal-si ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 r. iv 13
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku s. Šubur, ad⁻¹-kup₄⁴ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 r. v 3
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku šu-ku₄, ab-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 1/2 130 r. iv 6
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku bir₃-su₂-h₂-ba ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. iii 16
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. iii 6
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku sipa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. vi 3
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku lu₃ Inim-ma-ni-zī, lu₃ e₂-nam ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 o. vii 1
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 2/1 177 o. iv 1
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku uгуla, b. Lugal-piriḫ, Ságḥab₂-ba & Aja₂-lu₂-līl-la ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu DP 2/1 177 r. i 5
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku šu-ku₄, e₂-mi₃ ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu DP 2/2 278 o. ii 1
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP suppl. 590 r. iii 7
lugal-ša₂-la₄-tuku ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9230 o. iii’ 1’
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku nar-gal  ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 3 Girsu  ITT 5  9231  r. i 1
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku  ED IIIb  Girsu  MVN 3  26  o. iv 7'
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku ad-kup₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu  Nίk 1  3  r. iii 7'
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku ma₃-la₄₃  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu  Nίk 1  3  r. iv 11
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku mu₃-haldim  ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu  VS 14  72  r. iii 1
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku šu-ku₃₃₃, ab-ba  ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu  VS 14  20  o. i 4
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku mu₃-haldim  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu  VS 25  70  r. iv 6
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu  VS 27  13  o. vi 1
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku lu₃ Dam-di₃-gu₃₃₃, ru₃-lugal  ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu  VS 27  13  o. vii 7
lugal-ša₃-la₂₃-tuku gala  ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu  VS 27  78  o. ii 6
lugal-ša₃-pa₃ (a₂) ‘the lugal is one chosen in the heart (of DN)’  3.1.6.2, p. 145, 248 n. 1463
lugal-ša₃-pa₃ ED IIIa  šuruppag  WF  35  r. ii 3
lugal-ša₃-pa₃₃₃ s. E₂-me-nam-nun-ka  ED IIIb  Girsu  En. I ensi₂  OIP 104  22  r. ii 36
lugal-ša₃-pa₃-da (a₂) ‘the lugal is one chosen in the heart (of DN)’  3.1.6.2, p. 145, 245, 258
lugal-ša₃-pa₃-da ED IIIa-b  Ur  UE 2  pl. 197 no. 63 1
lugal-ša₃-pa₃-da s. E₂-ib’-zi-me, b. Lugal-u₃₃₃ma  ED IIIb/En. I ensi₄ 4 Laga₃  BiMes 3
  10  o. iii 3’
lugal-ša₃-su₃ (a₃) ‘the lugal is full of compassion’  3.1.4.1, p. 121f. n. 655, 122, 181 n. 1114,
  253 n. 1490
lugal-ša₃-su₃ Girsu  h. Nin-bur, lu₃-e₃₃₃-gid₃  ED IIIb/X Y 6  RTC  44  r. i 6
lugal-ša₃-su₃ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala  MVN 3  3  r. ii 6
lugal-ša₃-su₃ ES  Ur  UE 2  pl. 212 no. 311 1
lugal-ša₃-uru (a₁) ‘the lugal in the midst of the city’  3.1.8, p. 181
lugal-ša₃-uru nu₃-banda₉₃ Nippur₃, nu₃-banda₉₃-u₃₃₃ CS/NS. (OB) Nippur  C. Wilcke, ZA 87
  (1997), p. 11–32 (HS 1954+)  o. vi 3’
lugal-ša₃(-)za₃-[x] (a₁) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 181f. w. n. 1115
lugal-ša₃(-)za₃-[x] CS  Adab  SIA  692  r. 5’
lugal-ša₃-zu (a₁) ‘the lugal is a midwife (?)’  3.1.5.1, p. 128
lugal-ša₃-zu CS  Nippur  PBS 9  36  o. ii‘ 4’
lugal-ša₃-zu[(x)]  ED IIIb  Nippur  TMH 5  41  r. i 3’
lugal-ša₃-zu[(x)] CS  Adab  TCABI  244  o. 4
lugal-ša₃-zu[(x)] (a₁) ‘the lugal (answered? grasped?)’  Šarur’  3.1.3.3, p. 112, 258 n. 1522, 259
lugal-ša₃-zu[(x)] nita₃h, šuru₃u  CS  Girsu  DPA  45 (PUL 22)  r. 8
lugal-še (a₂) ‘the lugal … grain (?)’  3.1.5.3, p. 133
lugal-še (ugula) MS-CS Umma  MAD 4  66 (translit. only)  o. 9
lugal-še ugula MS-CS Umma  MAD 4  66 (translit. only)  r. 3
lugal-še (ugula) MS-CS Umma  MAD 4  167 (translit. only)  o. 5
lugal-še MS-CS Umma  MesCiv 4  13  o. 11
lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Girsu  ITT 5  9201  o. i 5
lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Girsu  ITT 5  9208  r. (?) ii 4
lugal-še-[x] (a₂) ‘the lugal of grain (and) flax’  3.1.5.3, p. 50 n. 232, 133, 254 n. 1491,
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lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Nippur  OSP 1  138  o. ii 5
lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Nippur  OSP 1  23  o. iii 15’
lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Girsu  ITT 5  9208  r. (?) ii 4
lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Nippur  OSP 1  138  o. ii 5
lugal-še-[x] ED IIIb  Nippur  OSP 1  23  o. iii 15’
lugal-še-[x] CS  Adab  SIA  1209  o. ii 8
lugal-še-[x] (a₁) unkn. mng.  3.1.8, p. 139, 181–182
lugal-šE₃-sağ ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 1 o. iv 3
lugal-šÈ₃-sağ ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 1 r. ii 4'

lugal-šembali (a²/²) ‘the lugal is ointment’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170
⁰lugal-šembali ağırig ED IIIa Abû Šalâbîh IAS 61 o. vii 6
⁰lugal-šembali uṣ šakir ED IIIa Abû Šalâbîh IAS 61 o. vii 17
⁰lugal-šembali, ağırig ED IIIa Abû Šalâbîh IAS 74 o. vi 2'
⁰lugal-šembali l[u₃ ...] ED IIIa Abû Šalâbîh IAS 74 o. vii 4'
lugal-šembali Lugal-šembali, Ur-ur, maškim ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSŠ 296 o. ii 1
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lugal-šembali ᵃGibil, ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 9+127 o. iv 7
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lugal-šembali ᵃGibil, ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 15 o. v 1
lugal-šembali ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 57 o. i 2
lugal-šembali ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 60 o. i 1
⁰lugal-šembali ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 59 o. ii 1
⁰lugal-šembali ağırig ED IIIb Ebla A. Archi, StEb 4 (1981), p. 177–204 o. viii 8

lugal-šembali, (DUG×IGI) (a¹) ‘the lugal is ointment’ 3.1.7.8, p. 170 n. 989
lugal-šembali ᵃNin-PA ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 794 o. ii 5'
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lugal-šer₂-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 536 r. i i 3
lugal-šer₂-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 65 o. vi 2
lugal-šer₂-zi (a²/²) ‘the lugal is resplendent’ 3.1.7.10, p. 174, 183 n. 1135, 255 n. 1500
⁰lug-al-šer₂-zi ED IIIa Abû Šalâbîh IAS 330 o. i 2
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lugal-šeš (a⁵) ‘the lugal (is) a brother’ 3.1.1.2, p. 87
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lugal-šeš² f. Šu-²na³ CS Girsu STTI 164 r. i 2'
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lugal-šitta (a²) ‘the lugal … prayer’ 3.1.6.1, p. 140
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lugal-šita-ğu (a¹) ‘the lugal … my prayer’ 3.1.6.1, p. 140
lugal-[ši]ta-ğu ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 120 o. iii 3’

lugal-šita-uru (a¹) ‘the lugal … the prayer of the city’ 3.1.6.1, p. 140
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lugal-šu-du₄ (a1/71) ‘the lugal is perfect’ 3.1.7.7, p. 169
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⁰lugal₁-šu-du₄ [šitim] ED IIIa Abū Šalābiḥ IAS 73 (o.) ii 1’
⁰lugal-šu-du₄ [šitim] ED IIIa Abū Šalābiḥ IAS 74 o. i 4
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⁰[lu]gal-š[u-du₄] [ši]tim ED IIIb Ebla A. Archi, StEb 4 (1981), p. 177–204 (translit. only) o. iii 7

lugal-šu-du₄-a (a1) ‘the lugal is perfect’ 3.1.7.7, p. 169
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lugal-šu-luh₄₃ An-na (a1) ‘the lugal (is one befitting for) the holy handwashing rites of An’
3.1.6.3, p. 150, 233
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lugal-šu-luh₄₃ An-na dub-sar, máškim-bi ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 44 r. i 4

lugal-šu-mah (a2/8) ‘the lugal (is) forceful’ 3.1.7.3, p. 163
lugal-šu-maḥ nagar ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu AWAS 122 r. ii 14
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lugal-šu-maḥ f. Šubur ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 41 o. i 8
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lugal-šu-maḥ simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 r. ii 3’
lugal-šu-maḥ simug ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu Nik 1 32 r. i 9
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lugal-šu-sikil (a2) ‘the lugal is the pure hand (of DN)’ 3.1.6.3, p. 150
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lugal-šud, (identical with lugal-šud₃-[ba-ša₄] dub-sar-maḥ), p. 139 n. 772
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lugal-šud₃ CS Nippur TMH 5 186+202 o. i 2’
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lugal-šud₃-de₃ dub-sar maḥ₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu DP 1/2 133 r. i 7
lugal-šud₃-de₃ dub-sar maḥ₃ ED IIIb/Ens. ensi₃ 3 Girsu DP 1/1 42 o. ii 11

lugal-šud₃-de₃ (a=7) ‘the lugal (stands by) for prayer’ 3.1.6.1, p. 139
lugal-šud₃-(ša₃₉×š₉₃)-de₃ ED IIIa Girsu PBS 9 2 bottom
lugal-šud₃-de₃ (nam-dumu) ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP suppl. 590 o. v 1
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lugal-šud₃-de₃-[ba-šₐ₄ₙ₉₃] (a¹) ‘the lugal stands by for prayer’ 3.1.6.1, p. 138–139
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lugal-šud₃-du₁₀ (a²) ‘the lugal (of) a good prayer’ 3.1.6.1, p. 139 n. 774, 251 n. 1477
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lugal-šud₃-du₁₀-ga (a²) ‘the lugal of a good prayer’ 3.1.6.1, p. 139
lugal-šud₃-du₁₀-ga ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu BIN 8 362 o. iii 10
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lugal-šud₃-[ka]-du₁₀-ga en ED IIIb/Lug. Y X Girsu E. Sollberger, Genava 26 (1948), p. 48–72 7 r. i 1
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lugal-šud₃-gi₃₉₉₃-tuku (a¹) ‘the lugal is one who hears prayers’ 3.1.6.1, p. 139
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lugal-teumen ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu BIN 8 359 o. v 3”
lugal-teumen ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 116 o. i 5
lugal-teumen šu₂₄ ED IIIb/Lug. Girsu *DP* 1/2 127 o. v 3
lugal-teemen ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *TSA* 18 o. vi 2
lugal-teemen-na ¹⁵ ‘the lugal … in/of the foundations’ 3.1.6.4, p. 156 n. 900
lugal-teemen-na [l]’u₄ Inim-du₄-ga ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal X Girsu *Amherst* 3 2
lugal-teš, ²² ‘the lugal … well-being’ 3.1.7.8, p. 85, 171, 175 n. 1028
lugal-teš₂ MS-CS Adab OIP 14 173 r. 4
lu[gal]-teš₂ muḥaldim MS Adab *TCABI* 184 o. 8
lugal-teš₂ muḥaldim? CS Adab *TCABI* 257 o. 7
lugal-teš₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 r. ii 7
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu ¹³ ‘the lugal is my (source of) well-being’ 3.1.7.8, p. 171
lu[gal]-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 89 o. i 3
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 126 o. i 3
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 252 o. i 5
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ ED IIIb Adab OIP 14 74 o. ii 8
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ lu₂ a-[um₂₃] ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu *AWAS* 119 o. vii 3’
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ lu₂ a-kum₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *AWAS* 120 o. viii 11
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ lu₂ Ur-ki, gab₂-kas₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *AWAS* 120 r. iv 1
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ lu₂ a-kum₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *AWAS* 121 r. i 1
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu *AWAS* 121 r. v 1
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ lu₂ a-kum₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu *AWAS* 122 o. ix 11
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ [lu₂ a-kum₂] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1’ Girsu *AWAS* 123 frag. g 1’
lugal-teš₂-₄Gu₁₀ lu₂ igi-niḫin₂ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 3 Girsu *DP* 1/2 110 o. iii 5
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu *DP* 1/2 113 r. iii 11
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu *DP* 1/2 113 r. iii 12
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ nitaḥ ED IIIb/X ensi₂ 3 Girsu *DP* 2/1 176 o. iv 4
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀, e. E-ta-[e₄u] ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu *DP* suppl. 519 o. ii 2
   o. iii 4
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ lu₂ a-kum₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 17 o. viii 10
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ gab₂-kas₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 17 r. iv 14
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ gab₂-kas₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu HSS 3 17 r. iv 15
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9202 r. ii 7
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9215 r. 4
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Girsu MesCiv 4 8 o. iii 1
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ lu₂ a-kum₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₁ 1 Girsu MVN 3 2 o. viii 5
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ lu₂ a-kum₃ ED IIIb Girsu MVN 3 26 o. iv’ 4’
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Girsu MVN 3 26 r. iii 5’
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ sipa anšesurₕ-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu Nik 1 18 o. ii 4
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ sipa anšesurₕ-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu Nik 1 18 o. ii 5
   o. vii 6
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu *TS* 14 o. viii 11
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ lu₂ bappiₘₐ ED IIIb/X Y 3 Lagaš V. E. Crawford, *JCS* 29 (1977), 189–222 (4H-T38/4H 90) r. iv’ 3’
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 51 o. 3
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 66 o. i 4
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 4 r. i 4
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 79 o. i 6
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 100 o. 2
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH NF 1–2, suppl. 12 r. i 2
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ A.KA.ĐU₃ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala ? BIN 8 98 o. i 3
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ gišu₂, lu₂, gi sa₁₀ sa₁₀ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 11 o. i 6
 lu₂ ga-teš₂-ĝu₁₀³ ES Nippur OSP 1 31 r. ii 1
 lu₂ ga-teš₂-ĝu₁₀³ ES Nippur OSP 1 31 r. ii 1
 lu₂ ga-teš₂-ĝu₁₀³ ES Nippur OSP 1 31 r. ii 1
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ CS Adab *SIA* 933 r. 1 A 933
 lugal-teš₂-ĝu₁₀ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 177 o. 3

**lugal-ti** *(a)* unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182
 lugal-ti CS-LS Girsu *RTC* 254 o. i 6
 lugal-ti dam-[gar₃] LS-Lagaš II Girsu *RTC* 221 r. iv 5’
 lugal-ti dam-gar₃ LS-Lagaš II Girsu *RTC* 222 r. iii 19

**lugal-ti-da** *(a)* (phonetic writing of lugal-iti-da) 3.1.7.10, p. 172 n. 1004
 lugal-ti-da šu-ku₃ ES Umma B. R. Foster, *Fs Westenholz*, 127–137 4 o. 1

**lugal-ti-ma-nu** *(a)* ‘the lugal lies down in the sanctuary’ 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 915, 172 n. 1004
 lugal-ti-ma-nu₂ tug₂-du₈ ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 26 o. i 4

**lugal-Ti-ra-aš₂-šē₃** *(a)* ‘the lugal … by/toward the Tiraš-sanctuary’ 3.1.6.4, p. 155 n. 889
 lugal-Ti-ra-aš₂-šē₃ CS Girsu *SITI* 91 o. 2
 lugal-Ti-ra-aš₂-šē₃ CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 50 o. 3
 lugal-Ti-ra-aš₂-šē₃ CS Girsu CT 50 106 r. i 15

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lugal-ti-u₂-da-kuš₂ (a1) perhaps ‘the lugal is one who concerns himself with the living and the dead’ 3.1.4.4, p. 126, 188
lugal-ti-u₂-da-kuš₂ sipa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. v 4
lugal-tigi₆(BALAعني) (identical with lugal-tigi₈-mete šu-ku₆ ab-ba), p. 148 n. 835, 185
lugal-tigi₇ šu-ku₇ ab-ba ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu DP 2/1 191 r. iv 2
lugal-tigi₆(BALAعني)-mete(TE=ME) (a1) ‘the Harp is befitting the lugal’ 3.1.6.3, p. 148, 185
lugal-tigi₈-mete šu-ku₈ ab-ba ED IIIb/Lug. 2 Girsu DP 2/2 278 o. iv 4
lugal-tigi₆(BALAعني)-ni-du₁₀ (a1) ‘the Harp of the lugal is pleasant-sounding’ 3.1.6.3, p. 148, 185
lugal-tigi₈-ni-du₁₀ šu-ku₈ ab-ba ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 2 Girsu DP 2/2 283 r. i 3
lugal-tir (a2) ‘the lugal … the forest’ 3.1.8, p. 182. n. 1123
lugal-tir ED IIIb-ES Umma B. R. Foster, Fs Westenholz, 127–137 6 o. i 4
lugal-tir MS-CS Umma MAD 4 45 (translit. only) o. 8
lugal-tir-a-DU (a1) ‘the lugal stands (?) in the woods’ 3.1.8, p. 182
lugal-tir-a-DU lu₂ igi-niš₂ ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₃ 3 Girsu DP 1/2 110 o. iii 2
lugal-d₄Tu (a1) ‘the lugal … (the goddess) Tu’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144
lugal-d₄Tu ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. iv 15
lu:gil-tu² (a1) ‘the lugal is one born (by DN?)’ 3.1.6.2, p. 144 n. 812
lu:gil-tu² ES Nippur OSP 1 31 o. iii 4’
lugal-tug₆ (a1) (abbreviation of the following) 3.1.1.3, p. 91 n. 465
lu[gal]-tug₂ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 80 o. i 3
lugal-tug₆-mah₄ (a2) ‘the lugal is (one wearing) a splendid robe’ 3.1.1.3, p. 91, 230
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 8 o. 5
lugal-tug₆-mah CS Adab CUSAS 13 32 o. 12
lugal-tug₆-mah CS Adab CUSAS 13 45 o. 5
lugal-tug₆-mah CS Adab CUSAS 13 66 o. 7
lugal-tug₆-mah CS Adab CUSAS 13 96 r. 1
lugal-tug₆-mah ? CS Adab CUSAS 13 153 o. 6
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Adab OIP 14 79 o. 4
lugal-tug₆-mah CS Adab OIP 14 82 r. 2
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Adab OIP 14 130 r. 2
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Adab OIP 14 140 r. 2
lugal-tug₆-mah lu₂ Nibru² ki CS Adab SLA 1010 o. 2’
lugal-tug₆-mah ? CS Adab SLA 982 o. 2
lugal-tug₆-mah s. Zaq₂-mu CS Girsu CT 50 98 o. i 5
lugal-tug₆-mah Palil šandan MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 78 o. 9
lugal-tug₆-mah ugula-ni MS-CS Isin ? MAD 4 158 o. 5’
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 68 o. 3
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 70 o. i 3
[lugal]-tug₆,mah¹ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 r. i 1
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 126 o. i 1’
lugal-tug₆-mah MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 139 o. 6
lugal-tug₆-mah (maškim) MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 141 o. 4
lugal-tug₆-mah f. Nin-a-zu MS-CS Nippur TMH 5.39 o. iii 14’
lugal-TUR-x (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182 w. n. 1124
lugal-TUR-x¹ ED IIIb-ES Ur UE 2 pl. 191 U. 13888 1
lugal-u₂ (identical with lugal-u₂-[tak₁] ma₂-GIN₃), p. 182 w. n. 1125
lugal-u₂ ma₂-GIN₂ ED IIIb/Lug. ‘2+x¹ Girsu VS 14 156 o. iii 4

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 lugal-u₄ (a₂) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182
lugal-u₄ s. Lugal-ḫi-li CS Umma USP 46 o. 22
lugal-u₄ CS Unknown (Girsu ?) MVN 2 298 o. ii 12
lugal-u₄-dag-dag (a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182
lugal-u₄-dag-dag Adab (a₁) ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 103 o. 1
lugal-u₄-tak₄ (a₂) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182 w. n. 1125
lugal-u₄-tak₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 r. ii 1
lugal-u₄-{[tak]} ma₂-GIN₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu RTC 61 r. iv 13
lugal-u₄-ma (a₁) 1 ‘the lugal is victorious’ 3.1.7.4, p. 164, 238
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIa Šuruppag M. Lambert, Gs Unger, p. 27-49 4 r. i 2
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIa Šuruppag? MVN 10 86 o. iv 6
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIa Šuruppag > Nippur TMH 5 75 o. v 1
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 35 o. ii 4
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. vi 15
lugal-u₄-ma bahar ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 93 o. ii 2
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb/Enz. 17 Girsu BIN 8 352 r. ii 8
lugal-u₄-ma s. Lugal-kur-dub₂ ED IIIb/Enz. or En. II Girsu? DP 1/1 31 iii 21
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal Girsu? DP 1/1 32 iv 16
lugal-u₄-ma s. Lugal-šu, b. Ur-en-ĝe₂-dam ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal Girsu? DP 1/1 32 iv 25
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 3 Girsu DP 1/2 110 o. iv 1
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 4 Girsu DP 1/2 111 o. i 7
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9235 o. i 2
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 313 o. ii 3
lugal-u₄-ma s. Aja₂-abzu-si, b. Nín-ša₂-la₂-tuku & Ur-Ti-ra-aš₂ ED IIIb/Dudu sağa Girsu
W. W. Hallo, OrNS 42 (1973), p. 228–238 o. iv 6(!)
lugal-u₄-ma h. Ušur₂-ama-ĝu₂₂₂₀ UN;gal ED IIIb Girsu VS 14 106 o. i 7
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb/Urhz. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. vii 11
lugal-u₄-ma s. [...] ED IIIb? Lagaš BiMes 3 9 i 1
lugal-u₄-ma s. E₂-ib₂-zi, b. Lugal-ša₂-pa₂-da ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ 4 Lagaš BiMes 3 10 o. iii 4
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 62 o. ii 4
lugal-u₄-ma? ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V*(W 2/7) o. iv 12
lugal-u₄-ma sagi ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 23 o. i 1
lugal-u₄-ma ED IIIb Unknown MVN 3 91 o. 3
lugal-u₄-ma ES-MS Unknown MVN 3 85 r. 1
lugal-u₄-ma (a₁) 1 ‘the lugal is victorious’ 3.1.7.4, p. 164 n. 947
lugal-u₄-ma₂ ED IIIb Zabala (?) BIN 8 46 o. iii 1
lugal-u₄-an (a₁) 1 ‘the lugal is the light (of the) skies’ 3.1.7.10, p. 172 n. 1009
lugal-u₄-an ED-CS Mesag BIN 8 255 o. 6
lugal-u₄-an-[{(x)}] i₂-du₄ MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 28+34 o. ii 10
lugal-u₄-an-na (a₁) 1 ‘the lugal is the light of the skies’ 3.1.7.10, p. 172
lugal-u₄-an-na ED-CS Mesag BIN 8 237 o. 7
lugal-u₄-de₃ (a₂) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182 w. n. 1126
lugal-u₄-de₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 102 obv, i 1
lugal-u₄-de₃ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. v 15
lugal-u₄-de₃ ED IIIb Girsu DP 1/1 57 o. iii 13
lugal-u₄-de₃ ED IIIb Girsu DP 1/1 57 o. v 13
lugal-₃₂·de₃ ED IIIb Girsu DP 1/1 57 r. ii 2
lugal-₃₂-su₄·(še₃²) (¹⁎) ‘the lugal is (the greatest for) far off days’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168 n. 975
lugal-₄₁-su₃₃·[še₃²] CS Adab CUSAS 13 61 o. 2
lugal-₄₁-su₃₁·še₃ (²⁎) ‘the lugal is (the greatest) for far off days’ 3.1.7.7, p. 168
lugal-₄₁-su₃₁·še₃ ED IIIa Šurrupag FTUM 40 o. i 2
lugal-₄₁-su₃₁·še₃ [um²]-mi-[a²] ED IIIa Šurrupag FTUM 55 o. i 2
lugal-₄₁-su₃₁·še₃ dub-sar ED IIIa Šurrupag RTC 14 o. v 1
lugal-₄₁-su₃₁·še₃ f. Mes-e₂-zì-da ED IIIb Adab OIP 14 73 o. ii 2
⁹lugal-₄₁-su₃₁·še₃ ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 67 o. ii 3
lugal-₄₁-su₄₂(GU·GU)-gi₄ (¹⁎) uncertain mng. 3.1.7.10, p. 173, 229, 246 n. 1450
lugal-₄₁-su₄₂(GU·GU)-gi₄ ED I-II Ur UET 2’ 41 o. i 3’
lugal-₄₁ (²⁎) (perhaps) ‘the lugal is (like) Utu’ 3.1.6.2, p. 62 n. 310, 146, 166 n. 959, 237, 253 n. 1487
lugal-ud? ED IIIa Kiš AAICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1928-428) o. ii 2
lugal-ud s. Utu-mu-ku₂₂ ED IIIa Šurrupag? MVN 10 82 o. v 4
lugal-ud s. Utu-mu-ku₂₂ ED IIIa Šurrupag? MVN 10 83 o. iv 5
lugal-ud kin-nir ED IIIa Šurrupag WF 5 r. iv 1
lugal-ud kin-nir ED IIIa Šurrupag WF 6 r. iii 1
l'[lugal-ud]¹ kin-'nir¹ ED IIIa Šurrupag WF 15 r. v 3
lugal-ud ED IIIa Šurrupag WF 22 o. viii 11
lugal-'UD'¹? ED IIIa Šurrupag WF 41 o. iii 2
lugal-ud lugal ED IIIb Kiš EK 1 pl. 6 no. 1
⁹lugal-ud ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 59 o. ii 5
lugal-ud f. Ur-[x] ED IIIb Girsu DP suppl. 555 o. iii 6
lugal-ud lugal ED IIIb Mari MAM 1 pl. 54 no. 413
lugal-ud ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 132 o. i 2
lugal-ud ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 r. i 2
lugal-UEET2-300-si (¹⁎) uncertain mng. 3.1.3.1, p. 108 n. 570
lugal-UEET2-300-si ED I-II Ur UET 2 9 o. i 1
lugal-u₂₃-e (identical with lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆, s. ⁴Inana-ur-sa₂₃)
lugal-u₂₃-e s. ⁴Inana-ur-sa₂₃ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 171 o. 3
lugal-u₂₃-e (²⁎) (abbreviation of *lugal-u₂₃-e-du₁₀) 3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 531
lugal-u₂₃-e šu₂₃-₃₂, maškım-bi ES-MS Isin BIN 8 154 r. i 7
lugal-u₂₃-e CS-LS Uruk H. Neumann, AoF 15 (1988), 209–210 o. i 1
¹lugal-u₂₃-e¹ f. [(x)] E₂ ([(x)], ṣa?)¹ ‘the lugal is (like) Utu’ 3.1.1.6, p. 100–101, 188
lugal-u₂₃-(LAK730)-u₂₃-(LAK729)-ge₂₆ (²⁎) (abbreviation of the following) 3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 531
lugal-u₂₃-(LAK729)-ge₂₆, s. ⁴Inana-ur-sa₂₃ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 1 r. i 3
lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆ ES-MS Adab TCABI 64 r. iii 4
lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆ CS Girsu RTC 120 r. 5
lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆ s. ³Ur₁-akkil₁(AB.KID.KID) MS-CS Isin? MAD 4 78 r. 7
lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 45 r. i 9
lugal-u₂₃-(LAK729)-ge₂₆ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 48 r. i 4
lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆ šu-ku₃ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 2 r. 9
lugal-u₂₃-ge₂₆ šu-ku₃ CS Unknown Mesopotamia 9 3 r. 6’
lugal-u₂₃-(LAK729)-ge₂₆-du₁₀ (¹⁎) ‘the lugal is one who does good for the people’ 3.1.1.6, p. 100–101, 188
lugal-u₂₃·du₁₀ ED IIIb/Lug. 4 Girsu VS 25 26 o. i 3
lugal-uğken-ne₂ “the lugal (is just right for) the council (?)” 3.1.1.5, p. 94–95
lugal-uğken-ne₂ ED IIIb Umma-Zabala CUSAS 14 272 o. i 2
lugal-uğken-ne₂ CS Girsu CT 50 85 o. ii 18
lugal-uğken-ne₂ a-zu CS/Škš Girsu CT 50 172 r. i 7
lugal-uğken-ne₂ Umma ki CS Girsu ITT 1 1241 r. 3

lugal-uğu₁(LAK730)-du₁₀ “the lugal is one who does good for the people” 3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 3, 186, 187
lugal-uğu₂-du₁₀ ED Illa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. ii 1

lugal-ul-gal “the lugal is a great thornbush” 3.1.3.1, p. 108
lugul-ul₄-gal ED I-II Ur UET 2 70 o. iii 2
lugul-ul₃-gal ED I-II Ur UET 2 104 o. i 3
lugul-ul₂-gal ED I-II Ur UET 2 128 o. ii 1
lugul-[ul₁]-gal ? ED I-II Ur UET 2 145 o. ii 1
lugul-ul₁-gal ED I-II Ur UET 2 185 o. ii 4
lugul-ul₀-gal ED IIIb Girsu 12 r. ii 1
lugul-ul₀-gal ED IIIb Girsu 10 o. i 1
lugul-ul₀-gal ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 74 o. i 2
lugul-ul₀-gal ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 138 o. 6
lugul-ul₀-gal ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 r. ii 6
lugul-ul₀-gal ES Nippur OSP 1 31 r. ii 2
lugul-ul₀-gal CS Adab CUSAS 13 56 o. ii 7

lugal-ur-sag “the lugal is a hero/warrior” 3.1.7.4, p. 164, 229, 238
lugul-ur-sag ED I-II Ur UET 2 5 o. ii 2
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIa Abū Sahlābīh IAS 462 o. ii 2
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIa Girsu Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iii 4
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iv 6
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 4 o. ii 4
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 67 o. i 2
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIb/Ur. lugal Isin M. Lambert, RA 73 (1979), p. 5–6 o. ii 21
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIb Marada ? AACAB 1/1 (Ashm 1924-468) r. i 3
lugul-ur-sag s. Lugul-apin-du₁₀ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. i 6
lugul-ur-sag GAN₃₂u₁₃-OSPI₁-X₁₃-ba ki ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 21 o. ii 6
lugul-ur-[s]ag ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 41 r. ii 2
lugul-ur-sag ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 121 r. iii 4
lugul-ur-sag ? ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 12 o. 4
lugul-ur-sag lu₂ Umma ki CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4455 o. 5
lugul-ur-sag CS Unknown (Girsu ?) MVN 2 298 o. ii 20

lugul-ur-ra- ni “the lugal … his (her?) lap” 3.1.7.2, p. 162, 189
lugul-ur-ra-ni ki Lugal-ur-ra-ni-ta LS-Lagaš II? Girsu RTC 221 r. iii 14

lugul-uri₃ “the lugal … the standard” 3.1.6.3, p. 151
lugal-uri₃ ED I-II Ur UET 2 128 r. i 3
lugal-uri₄ [šēš] lu₂ ED IIIa Šuruppak? G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, p. 1107–1133 5 (translit. only) o. iii 9
lugal-uri₅ s. Lugal-geštu₂-su₂₀ ED IIIa Šuruppak? MVN 10 82 o. v 1
lugul-uri₆ s. Lugal-geštu₂-su₂₀ ED IIIa Šuruppak? MVN 10 83 o. iii 10
lugul-uri₇ ED IIIa-b Nippur A. Goetze, JCS 23 (1970), p. 46 (7N-299) 1!
lugul-uri₈ ED IIIb Girsu NFT, p. 180 (bottom) o. iii 1
lugul-uri₉ saq-apin ED IIIb Girsu VS 27 29 o. i 1
lugal-uri₃, dub-sar ED IIIb Nippur A. Goetze, *JCS* 23 (1970), p. 54 (7N-238) 3
lugal-uri₃ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 24 o. iii 5
lugal-uri₃ ED IIIb-ES Nippur OSP 1 55 o. i 7
lugal-uri₃ lu Ur₃-ni, nu-kiri₃ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 6 o. i 4
lugal-uri₃ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 38 o. i 9
lugal-uri₃ ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 r. iv 8
lu₃-ur₃ ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 129 o. i 6
lugal-uri₃ CS Adab SIA 640 o. i 14
lugal-ur₃⁴ CS Adab SIA 806 r. 1
lugal-lugal₃⁷⁷ CS Girsu ITT 1 1288 o. 6
lugal-uri₃ ma₂-la₃h₃ CS Mesag BIN 8 152 o. iii 7
lugal-uri₃ ma₂-la₃h₃ ½, ġuruš CS Mesag M. deJ. Ellis, *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 30–55 16 o. iii 5
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 82 o. 8
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 89 o. 8
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. i 10
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 96 o. ii 6
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 98 r. ii 11
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 107 r. 5
lugal-uri₃ sagi MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 129 o. ii 3’
lugal-uri₃ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 174 o. 6
lugal-uri₃ f. Ur₃²-E[n-x] CS/Škš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 o. iv 4
lugal-uri₃ CS/Škš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 o. iv 5
lugal-uri₃ f. E₂-ta MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. ii 15
lugal-uri₃a da (a₁) ‘the lugal … by the standard’ 3.1.6.3, p. 151
lugal-uri₃a da s. U₃₃-mu-NI.NI ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 85 r. 1
lugal-Urim₂ ki-e (a₁) ‘the lugal … Ur’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 886
lu₃-gal-Urim ki-e CS Adab CUSAS 13 61 o. 5
lugal-Urim₂ ki-e CS Adab TCABI 227 o. 3
lugal-Urim₃ (Ab.Uri₃₃) ki (a₁) ‘the lugal … Ur’ 3.1.6.4, p. 154 n. 886, 185
lugal-Urim₃ (Ab.Uri₃₃) ki CS Unknown MAD 4 36 r. 6
lugal-uru (a₂)⁹ unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182
lugal-uru ED I-II Ur UET 2 112 o. vi’ 11
lugal-uru ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 139 o. i 2
lugal-uru ūm-e₃ₕ₃ ne₃ₕ₃-ka’ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 1 Girsu *Amherst* 2 o. ii 6
lugal-uru A₂₃ ne₂₃-kur-ra’ ED IIIb/Enz. or En. II Girsu ? *DP* 1/1 31 iv 6
lugal-uru ED IIIb/Enz. ensi₂ 3 Girsu *DP* 1/2 110 o. iii 8
lugal-uru ED IIIb/Enz. ensi 4 Girsu *DP* 1/2 111 o. i 5
lugal-uru ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9233 o. ii 1
lugal-uru f. Lugal-sa-šu₃ₕ₃-gal ED IIIb/X Y 1 Girsu Nik 1 160 o. i 3
lugal-uru ‘dub₃’-sar, lu₃ₕ₃ ki inim-[ma-bi] ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 318 ii’ 4’
lugal-uru ED IIIb Girsu TSA 44 o. i 3
lugal-uru utul MS Adab TCABI 68 o. 1
lugal-uru MS Adab TCABI 169 r. 1
lugal-uru ku₃ₕ₃-dim₂ CS Adab CUSAS 13 78 r. i 1
lugal-uru CS Girsu ITT 1 1404 o. 4
lugal-uru ġu₃ₕ₃ CS Mesag BIN 8 152 o. iv 5
lugal-uru MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 276 o. ii 3
lugal-uru MS-CS Mesag E. Salgues, *Fs Westenholz*, 253–272 (RBC 2631) r. ii 5
lugal-uru 'sipa' anš[e] MS-CS Mesag MesCiv 4 33 o. 15

**lugal-uru-da** (a3) 'the lugal (is one who concerns himself) with the city’ 3.1.4.2, p. 125
lugal-uru-da ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 38 o. iii 2
lugal-uru-da ku₂₃dim₂ ED IIIb Nippur OSP 1 46 o. ii 13
lugal-uru-da f. Lugal-kar, lu₄ Şuruppagš ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 8 o. ii 1
lugal-uru-da CS-LS? Girsu RTC 216 o. 3
lugal-uru-da CS-LS? Girsu RTC 254 r. i 2
lugal-uru-da-[a] Girsu RTC 2 r. i 1

**lugal-uru-na** (a3) 'the lugal … in/of his city’ 3.1.1.5, p. 96, 110 n. 587
lugal-uru-na ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 101 o. i 2
lugal-uru-na ED IIIb Adab MVN 3 90 o. iii 1
lugal-uru-na ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 68 r. i 8
lugal-uru-na f. 'E₃ur₂ MS Isin? MAD 4 170 3

**lugal-uru-na-nu₃** (a3) 'the lugal lies down in his city’ 3.1.1.5, p. 62, 96
lugal-uru-na-nu₂ ED IIIb Ur UET 2 suppl. 14 r. i 4

**lugal-uru-si** (a2) 'the lugal is just right for the city’ 3.1.5.2, p. 130, 229
lugal-uru-si ED I-II Ur UET 2 112 o. iv' 1''
lugal-uru-si x x NE, 'Im₃-li₃-i₃, ki [x KIŠ.NI]TAH, Ki-[en]-gi k[i-i]ri, Lugal-uru-si CS/NS.
(UB) Ur UET 1 276 r. i 5

**lugal-URUDU-da** (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 112, 182 w. n. 1128
lugal-URUDU-da ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MVN 3 3 o. vi 13

**lugal-UŞ(ARAD)** (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182f. n. 1129
lugal-UŞ ED IIIa Şuruppag WF 125 r. i 6

**lugal-UŞ** (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182f. n. 1129
lugal-UŞ s. Ur-lu₃, muhal[dim'] ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 150 o. i 2
lugal-UŞ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 162 o. ii 2
lugal-UŞ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 239 o. i 1
lugal-UŞ ED IIIb-ES Adab MVN 3 28 r. iii 12
lugal-UŞ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 46 o. ii 7
lugal-UŞ ad-kup₄ ED IIIb-ES Umma-Zabala? BIN 8 257 o. 2

**lugal-UŞ-su₂₀** (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182
lugal-UŞ-su₂₀ dub-sar aşa₃ ED IIIa Şuruppag? G. Visicatico & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, p. 1107–1133 3 r. ii 1
lugal-UŞ-su₂₀ ED IIIa Şuruppag L. Milano, STEL 3 (1986), p. 3–12 o. iii 7
lu₄[gal]-UŞ-su₂₀ ED IIIa Şuruppag WF 37 o. iv 6
lugal-UŞ-su₂₀ ED IIIa Şuruppag WF 40 o. i 3
lugal-UŞ-su₂₀ ED IIIa Şuruppag WF 40 r. i 2

**lugal-UŞ-su₄(MUŞ)** (a2) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 182f. n. 1130, 189
lugal-UŞ-su₄ ED IIIa Adab? BIN 8 15 o. i 4
lugal-UŞ-su₄ ED IIIa Şuruppag? G. Visicatico & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, p. 1107–1133 3 o. v 4
lugal-UŞ-su₄ sipa gu₄ tur-tur ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 3 Girsu AWAS 118 o. v 2
lugal-UŞ-su₄ sipa amar ru-ga-[ka] ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 99 o. ii 6
lugal-UŞ-su₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu DP 1/2 136 r. iii 4
lugal-UŞ-su₄ sipa gu₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 Girsu DP 2/1 171 o. iii 16
lugal-UŞ-su₄ sipa gu₄ tur-tur ED IIIb Girsu MVN 3 8 o. v 1’
lugal-UŞ-su₄ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. iv 11

400
lugal-uš-su₄ sipa gu₄ tur-tur ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu Nik 1 68 o. ii 6
lugal-uš-su₄ f. Ad-da-tur, nu-kiri₄ ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 6 r. i 2
lugal-uš-su₄ ES Adab CUSAS 11 306 o. i 6
lugal-uš-su₄ h. Šu-bar ES Adab CUSAS 11 306 o. ii 1
lugal-ušum-an (ᵃ¹) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
lugal-ušum-an ED IIIa Šuruppag CUSAS 11 341 o. iii’ 3
lugal-ušumgal (ᵃ⁻⁷) ‘the lugal is a fierce beast (?)’ 3.1.7.6, p. 166
lugal-ušumgal ¹giš-ru² ED IIIa Kiš AAICAB 1/1 (Ashm 1928-429) o. ii 2’
lugal-ušumgal ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. iii 5
lugal-ušumgal ED IIIa Nippur TMH 5 54 o. v 1
lugal-ušumgal bāḥ[a]r ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MN 3 3 o. ii 9’
lugal-ušumgal bāḥar ED IIIb Umma-Zabala MN 3 3 o. iii 1
lugal-ušumgal CS Adab CUSAS 13 132 o. 4
lugal-ušumgal [e]nsi₂ CS Girsu STTI 155 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu ITT 1 1040 o. 2’
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu ITT 1 1058 o. 6
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu ITT 1 1062 r. 3
lugal-ušumgal [ensi]₂ CS Girsu ITT 1 1070 r. 2
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu ITT 1 1080 r. 6’
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu ITT 1 1088 o. 2
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ Lagaški CS Girsu ITT 1 1225 r. 5
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu ITT 1 1291 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ Lagaški CS Girsu ITT 1 1471 o. 4
lugal-ušumgal (ensi₂) CS Girsu ITT 1 1474 r. 5
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4516 r. 1
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ Lagaški CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4543 r. 2
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4578 o. 4
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu ITT 2/2 5758 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu ITT 5 6682 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu ITT 5 9303 r. 1
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 77 r. 1
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 78 r. 4
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu RTC 79 o. 3
lugal-ʳušumgal’ ensi₂ Lagaški CS Girsu RTC 80 o. 7
lugal-ušumgal ensi₂ CS Girsu RTC 81 o. 5
lugal-ušumgal Lagaški CS Girsu RTC 117 o. 2
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 119 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 121 r. 2
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 136 r. iii 8’
lugal-ušumgal CS/Škš Girsu RTC 161 o. 1
lugal-ušumgal ‘ensi₁’ Lagaški CS/Škš Girsu RTC 162 Seal: ii 1
‘lugal’-ušumgal CS/NS. Girsu RTC 165 Seal: ii 2
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 170 1
‘lugal’-ušumgal CS Girsu RTC 179 Seal: 3
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu STTI 1 r. 1
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu STTI 2 r. 3’
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu STTI 3 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal CS Girsu STTI 64 o. 3
lugal-ušumgal (ensi, Lagaški) MS-CS Mesag BIN 8 214 r. 2
[lugal]-ušum[gal] nitaḥ MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 23 r. 2’ 344
lugal-ušumgal ugula CS Umma CT 50 188 o. i 14
lugal-ušur₃(LAL₂+LAGAB)\(^{(a)\,(c)\,(d)}\) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
lugal-ušur₃ b. Lugal-ra ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu DP suppl. 593 o. i 10
lugal-"ušur₃"? MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 38 o. 4
lugal-ušur₃ s. Nin-ḫa₂ CS Girsu CT 50 87 o. 1
lugal-ušur₃ lu₃ Ur-da CS Girsu CT 50 106 o. i 7'
lugal-ušur₃ CS-LS? Girsu RTC 254 r. ii 20
lugal-ušur₃ CS Girsu STTI 105 o. 7'
lugal-ušur₃ s. Da-da CS Umma USP 47 o. ii 15
lugal-ušur₃ MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 63 r. 2

lugal-ušur₃-MU\(^{(a)\,(c)\,(d)}\) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
lugal-ušur₃-MU ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 11 o. i 4
lugal-ušur₃-MU ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. i 16'
lugal-ušur₃-MU ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 159 o. iv 10'
lugal-ušur₃-MU ES Adab TCABI 61 o. iii 8
lugal-ušur₃-MU ES-MS Umma Nik 2 67 o. i 3
lugal-ušur₃-MU CS Adab CUSAS 13 153 o. 7
lugal-ušur₃-MU CS Adab TCABI 225 o. 3

lugal-ušur₃-nu₃ (identical with lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃, nu₃-kiri₃)\(^{,}\) p. 183 n. 1131
lugal-ušur₃-nu₃ nu₃-kiri₃ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu DP 2/1 157 o. iv 8

lugal-ušur₃-ra\(^{(a)\,(c)\,(d)}\) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
lugal-ušur₃-ra šagan-keš₂ ED IIIb Girsu J. Bauer, AoN 1 (1976) 1 (translit. only) r. ii 1
lugal-ušur₃-ra aga₃-us₂ sağa ED IIIb/Enz. 17 Girsu BIN 8 352 r. i 9
lugal-ušur₃-ra u₂-DU udu ED IIIb Girsu CT 50 30 r. i 5
lugal-ušur₃-ra f. Ni₃-šu₃-tum₂ ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 2 Girsu DP 1/2 120 o. iii 2
lugal-ušur₃-ra h. Munus-sa₄-ga, saḫ-apin ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 3 Girsu DP 1/2 129 r. ii 7
lugal-ušur₃-ra ama sur₃-kam ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. ii 17
lugal-ušur₃-ra ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. vi 8
lugal-ušur₃-ra šu-ku₄, a₃-du₄-ga ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 r. ii 2
lugal-ušur₃-ra sipa ED IIIb/X Y 4 Girsu DP suppl. 587 o. i 6
lugal-ušur₃-ra apin-us₂ ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 4 Girsu DP suppl. 590 o. iii 10
lugal-ušur₃-ra ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 8 o. i 8
lugal-ušur₃-ra ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 3 Girsu HSS 3 9 o. i 8
lugal-ušur₃-ra i₃-du₄₃Ba-𝑢₂ ED IIIb Girsu Nik 1 102 o. i 4
lugal-ušur₃-ra šagan-keš₂ ED IIIb Girsu OIP 14 65 o. i i 1
lugal-ušur₃-ra nú₃r ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu RTC 75 o. i 4
lugal-ušur₃-ra ED IIIb/Lug. 1 Girsu RTC 75 o. iv 3
lugal-ušur₃-ra šu-ku₄, a₃-du₄-ga ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 4 Girsu TSA 47 o. iii 8

lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃\(^{(a)\,(c)\,(d)}\) unk. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 3 Girsu AWAS 68 o. i 8
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ lu₃ dili ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 3 Girsu AWAS 118 o. i 8
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ a-da-ba ED IIIb/Ukg.ensi₂ 1 Girsu AWAS 119 r. ii 11'
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ šu-ku₄, ab-ba ED IIIb/X Y 5 Girsu CTNM 2 o. i 3
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 4 Girsu DP 1/2 138 o. i 8
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ s. Ak-si₄ ED IIIb/X Y 3 Girsu DP 2/2 351 o. i 3
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ a-da-ba ED IIIb/Ukg.ensi₂ 1 Girsu MVN 3 2 r. v 6
lugal-"ušur₃"(IIIb)\(^{(a)\,(c)\,(d)}\)-ra-nu₃ ED IIIb/Ukg.ugal 5 Girsu Nik 1 3 o. viii 14
lugal-ušur₃-ra-nu₃ a-da-ba, nar ED IIIb/Ukg.ensi₂ 1(+X?) Girsu Nik 1 9 r. iii 3
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur, ra-\textit{nu}, nu-kiri, | ED IIIb/X Y 5 | Girsu | RTC 39 o. ii 7 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{ra}-\textit{nu}, a-da-[ba] | ED IIIb/Lug. 6 | Girsu | VS 25 11 r. iii 17 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{ra}-\textit{nu}, a-da-ba | ED IIIb/Lug. 6 | Girsu | VS 25 71 r. iv 4 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur, ra-\textit{nu}, (lu\textsubscript{3}) [Ur]-\textsuperscript{\textit{rd}ši\textit{š}-\textit{šer},-\textit{da} | ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 2 | Girsu | VS 27 13 o. i 4 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{tal}+\textit{lagab}** (a\textsuperscript{3}) unkn. mng. 3.1.8. p. 183

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur, \textit{ed} IIIb | Uruk | M. W. Green, ZA 72 (1982), p. 163–177 16 o. ii 4
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{\textit{ca}} | CS | Adab | SIA 646 o. ii 2 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur, [\textit{simu}]\textsuperscript{7} | CS | Adab | SIA 951 o. 4 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}}** (a\textsuperscript{2\textsuperscript{5}}) unkn. mng. 3.1.8. p. 183

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb | Adab | CUSAS 11 50 o. ii 5 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb-ES | Adab | CUSAS 11 95 o. i 4 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb-ES | Adab | CUSAS 11 98 o. ii 5 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb-ES | Adab | CUSAS 11 100 o. i 4 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, s. Ur.-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}}\textit{s}-\textit{šer},-\textit{da sukkal} | ED IIIb-ES | Adab | CUSAS 11 103 o. i 1 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb-ES | Adab | CUSAS 11 115 o. i 3 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb-ES | Adab | CUSAS 11 200 o. i 7 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ir} \textit{n}_{1} Ur.-\textsuperscript{\textit{d}ši\textit{š}-\textit{šer},\textit{g} \textit{i} | ED IIIb Nippur | TMH 5 20 r. 1 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{h. Za}_{\textit{mu}} | ED IIIb | Nippur | TMH 5 132 o. ii 2 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb Nippur | TMH 5 | 132 r. i 3 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ed} IIIb Umma-Zabala | BIN 8 | 67 o. ii 11 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{es} Adab | CUSAS 11 | 257 o. ii 4 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{es} Adab | CUSAS 11 | 281 o. 2 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{mu}, \textit{ms}-\textit{cs} | Unknown | BIN 8 | 293 r. ii 7 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{\textit{tal}+\textit{ku}}** (a\textsuperscript{1}) unkn. mng. 3.1.8. p. 183

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{tu}šur,\textit{\textit{tal}+\textit{ku}}, \textit{cs}-\textit{ls} | Girsu | RTC 254 r. ii 2 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu** (a\textsuperscript{1}) the lugal is (like) Utu’ 3.1.6.2, p. 146, 166 n. 959

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu | MS-CS | Isin? | MVN 3 81 o. 4 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu,\textit{\textit{gin},-\textit{e}_{3}}** (a\textsuperscript{2\textsuperscript{1}}) ‘the lugal goes forth like Utu’ 3.1.7.10, p. 146, 166 n. 959, 173, 211 n. 1347

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu,\textit{\textit{gin},-\textit{e}_{3}} (\textit{ud}+[\textit{du}]) | ED IIIb | Umma-Zabala | CUSAS 14 140 r. 1 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu,\textit{\textit{gin},-\textit{e}_{3}} | ED IIIb | Umma-Zabala | CUSAS 14 140 r. 3 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu,\textit{\textit{gin},-\textit{e}_{3}} | ED IIIb | Umma-Zabala | CUSAS 14 162 o. i 4 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu,\textit{\textit{gin},-\textit{e}_{3}} | ED IIIb | Umma-Zabala | CUSAS 14 280 r. i 3 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{du}tu,\textit{\textit{gin},-\textit{e}_{3}} | ED IIIb/X Y 28 | Umma-Zabala | \textit{SKIF} 3 o. iii 5 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{uzug},(\textit{an},\textit{zag})-\textit{še}_{3}}** (a\textsuperscript{4}) ‘the lugal … \textit{towards} the cella’ 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 915, 183 n. 1137

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{uzug},\textit{še}_{3} nar-gal | ED IIIa Šuruppag | CUSAS 11 343 o. iii 3’ |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{uzug},\textit{še}_{3} | ED IIIa Nippur | TMH 5 54 o. iii 3 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{uzug},\textit{še}_{3} | ED IIIa-b | Ur | UE 3 512 1 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{uzug},\textit{še}_{3} gala | ED IIIa-b | Unknown | K. Volk, Or\textit{NSh} 57 (1988), p. 206 o. 1 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{za}-me** (a\textsuperscript{2\textsuperscript{1}}) ‘you are (a) lord!’ 3.1.7.1, p. 161

| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{za}-me | CS | Girsu | RTC 125 o. ii 5 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{za}-me | CS | Girsu | RTC 126 r. i 8 |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{za}-me | CS | Girsu | \textit{STTI} 124 o. 2’ |
| lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{za}-me | CS | Girsu | \textit{STTI} 163 o. 4 |

**lugal-\textsuperscript{\textit{za}}** (a\textsuperscript{1}) (abbreviation of the following) 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 915

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lugal-za₃ du-du, lu₂ Lugal-za₃ ugula ES-MS Umma F. Thureau-Dangin, R4 8 (1911), p. 158 o. 2

**lugal-za₃-ge** (a1) (abbreviation of the following) 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 915
lugal-za₃-ge f. Ur₃-Nin-ma-da MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 r. i 5

**lugal-za₃-ge-si** (a2) ‘the lugal is just right for the sanctuary’ 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 915
lugal-za₃-ge-si Mes-ki-gal-la, e[nšt]₃, fAdab₁³, Lugal-za₃-ge-si lugal ED IIIb/Meskigala ens₁₂ X/Luzag. lugal Abad 8 26 r. ii 6
lugal-za₃-ge-si ens₁₂ Umma₃ ED IIIb/Luzag. X e₁₁-KI RIME 1.12.7.1 i 3
lugal-za₃-ge-si ens₁₂ Umma₃ ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal/Luzag. X Girsu CIRPL Ukg. 16 r. iii 11
lugal-za₃-ge-si lugal Unug₃-ga, lugal kalam-ma ED IIIb/Luzag. X Nippur BE 1/2 87 i 3
lugal-za₃-ge-si (lugal Unug₃-ga, lugal kalam-ma) ED IIIb/Luzag. X Nippur BE 1/2 87 i 38
lugal-za₃-ge-si lugal Unug₃-ga, lugal kalam-ma ED IIIb/Luzag. X Nippur BE 1/2 87 iii 3
lugal-za₃-ge-si (lugal) ED IIIb/Luzag. Y 1? Nippur TMH 5 82 o. 7
lugal-za₃-ge-si ens₁₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ens₁₂ X Umma-Zabala BIN 8 82 r. iii 5
lugal-za₃-ge-si ens₁₂ ED IIIb/Luzag. ens₁₂ 7 Umma-Zabala BIN 8 86 r. i 5
lugal-za₃-ge-si ens₁₂ ŠSuruppak₂⁶ CS Unknown MAD 4 168 o. 6

**lugal-za₃-si** (a1) ‘the lugal is just right for the sanctuary’ 3.1.6.4, p. 158 n. 915

**lugal-zí** (a2⁷) ‘the lugal is reliable (?)’ or an abbreviation 3.1.8, p. 183 w. n. 1132
lugal-zí ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 117 o. ii 5
lugal-zí ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 252 o. ii 5
lugal-zí ED IIIb/Luzag. ens₁₂ 7 Umma-Zabala M. deJ. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), p. 30–55 7 o. iii 4
lugal-zí ES Adab CUSAS 11 329 o. 2
lugal-zí ES Adab TCABI 25 o. i 4
lugal-zí ES Adab TCABI 32 o. i 8
lugal-zí CS Adab CUSAS 13 138 r. 1
lugal-zí CS Adab CUSAS 13 151 o. ii 13
lugal-zí CS Adab CUSAS 13 155 o. 3
lugal-zí MS-CS Adab? MesCiv 4 60 r. 6
lugal-zí CS Adab SIA 685+734 o. 6
lugal-zí CS Girsu DPA 31 (PUL 23) r. 2
lugal-zí f. NiGin₁₃ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4514 r. 3’
lugal-zí CS Girsu STTI 20 r. 3’
lugal-zí CS Girsu STTI 151 r. i’ 8’
lugal-zí ir₁₄ [x] CS Girsu STTI 168 o. ii 5’
lugal-zí [s] (?) Ur₅-Iškur CS Girsu STTI 180 r. i 2
lugal-zí [p]alil-b[i] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 49 r. i 7’
lugal-zí [p]alil-b[i] MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 49 r. ii 7
lugal-zí f. Gala MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 64 r. 4
lugal-zí f. Ašš₂₃-tar₂-dan, dub-sar CS-LS Unknown EGA 593 (translit. only) 3
lugal-zí f. Amar-su₄ MS-CS Unknown L. J. Delaporte, ZA 18 (1904), p. 245–256 3 r. 4

**lugal-zí-de₃** (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
lugal₂₃-zí-de₃? f. [E₂-me-nam-nun] ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ Girsu OIP 104 22 o. ii 2

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lugal-zi-kalam (LAK729)\(^{(a1)}\) ‘the lugal is the life of the land’ 3.1.5.4, p. 137
lugal-zi-kalam umbisa̱g, dub mu-sar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŚ 46 r. ii 5
lugal-zi-kalam ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŚ 605 o. i 2
lugal-[zi]-kalam ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŚ 605 o. iii 1

lugal-zi-ša₂-ğal\(^{(a2)}\) ‘the lugal is one who establishes life’ 3.1.5.4, p.136–137, 236
lugal-zi-ša₂-ğal\(^{(a2)}\) nu-kiri₆ ED IIIa Šuruppag? MVN 10 82 r. i 3
lugal-zi-ša₂-ğal\(^{(a2)}\) nu-kiri₆ ED IIIa Šuruppag? MVN 10 83 o. v 4

lugal-...
lugal-\(^{x²}\)-ni-si? ED I-II Ur UET 2 312 o. ? 1
lugal-x-si-x? ED I-II Ur UET 2 28 o. i 6
lugal-x-ti ED I-II Ur UET 2 161 o. ii 1
'lugal\(^{(a)}\)-[x-x]? ED I-II Ur UET 2 139 o. 1’
lugal-[x] ED I-II Ur UET 2 361 r. 2’
\(^{o}\)lugal-\(^{x³}\) ED IIIa Abū Ẓalābihiš IAS 462 o. i 5
\(^{o}\)lugal-\(^{x³}\) ED IIIa Abū Ẓalābihiš IAS 330 o. iii 4
lugal-\(^{x³}\)-du₆ ugula ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 6 o. ii 2
lu[gal]-[x-x]? ED IIIa Adab CUSAS 11 6 o. i 3
lugal-x-(x-?) ED IIIa-b Girsu RTC 5 r. i 4
lugal-x-da-ku₅ Ed IIIa Šuruppag RTC 15 r. i 6
'lugal\(^{(a)}\)-x₆-[x₅] dam-gar₅ \(^{I₄}\)u₃₅ a₅₈₅₅ ED IIIa Šuruppag? G. Visicato & A. Westenholz, Gs Cagni, p. 1107–1133 4 (translit. only) r. ii 1
'lugal-x-si? ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŚ 135 o. i 3
lugal-[x-(x)]-zi ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŚ 60 o. iii 5
lugal-\(^{x}\) ED IIIa Šuruppag CUSAS 11 368 r. i 3
lugal-[x-[x]] ED IIIa Šuruppag CUSAS 11 341 o. i’ 9
lugal-\(^{x³}\)-[x-] an-nu-me ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŚ 14 o. v 5
lugal-x PN? 'Ur-Dumu-zi, ugula, Lugal-\(^{x³}\) ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 78 o. ii 5’
lugal-\(^{x³}\)-[x₃] E₃-sahar-ta, šu-ku₆ ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 444 obv v 1
lugal-[x-[x]]-zi \(^{o}\)giR₃ \(^{-}\)me ED IIIa Šuruppag (“gekauft”) WF 138 o. ii 4
lugal-\(^{x}\) ED IIIa Umma-Zabala CUSAS 11 348 o. ii 3
lugal-x₂-\(^{f₄-x}\) GAG.TAR ED IIIa-b Unknown L’uomo 3 r. i 7
'lugal-\(^{x³}\)-G₃ ED IIIb Adab MVN 3 28 r. iii 11
lugal-[x-[x]-]hul₂ ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 98 o. i 3’
lugal-[x-[x]]-lum-[x] ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 32 o. i 5
lugal-[x-[x]-]ni ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 115 o. i 2
lugal-[x]-šu ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 50 o. iv 5
lugal-CUSAS 11-X₄-\(^{f₉-x}\) ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 101 o. ii 2
lugal-\(^{x³}\)-[x₂] ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 8 r. i 4
lugal-[x] ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 29 o. ii 2
lugal-[x] ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 42 r. ii 3
lugal-[x] ED IIIb Adab CUSAS 11 58 o. i 2
lugal-[x] ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 82 o. ii 3
lugal-[x-[x]-] ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 o. i 10
lugal-[x] ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 186 r. i 14
\(^{o}\)lu[gal]-[x-(x)] ED IIIb Ebla MEE 3 59 o. ii 7
lugal-\(^{x³}\) ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9201 o. i 4
lugal-\(^{x³}\) ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9208 r. (?) i 1
lugal-\(^{x³}\)-ni-[x] ED IIIb/En. I ensi₂ Girsu OIP 104 22 r. iv 45
'lugal\(^{(a)}\)-[x-x] sipa ED IIIb Girsu DP suppl. 594 r. ii 2
lugal-[x-x] ED IIIb Girsu ITT 5 9202 r. i 5
lugal-[(x)]-\(^{x³}\) ED IIIb Girsu RTC 18 ii 6

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[lu]gal-[x] ED IIIb-ES Unknown *L’uomo* 8 o. iii 8’
'lugal'-[x]-šīr.Tī1 šašqa Isin'ki-ke₂ ES Adab *TCABI* 41 o. i 5
'lugal'-[x] ES Adab CUSAS 13 2 r. 6
'lugal-[x(x)] b. Igi-šu₂[?] ES Adab *TCABI* 61 o. iii 4
'lugal'-[x(x)] ES Adab *TCABI* 61 o. iii 10
'lugal-[x(x)] ES-MS Adab *TCABI* 64 r. iii 6
'lugal-[x] f. (?) A-ba-[šEn-lil₂] ES-MS Isin? MAD 4 152 o. ii 5
'lugal-[x] ES-MS Isin? MAD 4 152 o. ii 9
'lugal-[x(x)] ES Isin? *TCYBI* 1-55 edge
'lugal'-[x(x)] ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. iii 1’
'lugal-[x] ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 23 o. vi 5
'lu'-[x]-[x] ES Nippur OSP 1 31 o. iii 5’
'lu'-[x]-[x] ES Nippur OSP 1 31 r. i 2
'lugal-[x(x)] ES Sippar? OIP 104 41 o. ix 3’
'lugal-[x] ES-MS Umma Nik 2 14 o. i 9’
'lugal-[x(x)] f. Ur-šig₂ ES Unknown *EGA* 230 pl. 17 fig. 293
'lugal'-[x]-x₁-e CS Adab CUSAS 13 137 r. 1
'lugal-x-gi CS Adab *SIA* 677 o. 11
'lugal-x-KAR CS Adab *SIA* 685+734 o. 18
'lugal-x-x CS Adab CUSAS 13 62 o. 11
'lugal-[x(x)] CS Adab CUSAS 13 152 r. 2
'lugal-[x(x)] CS Adab CUSAS 13 66 o. 10
'lugal-[x(x)] MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 3 r. 6’
'lugal-[x] aga₂-us₂ MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 38 o. 6
'lugal-[x] CS Adab CUSAS 13 12 r. 5
'l[ugal-[x] CS Adab CUSAS 13 124 r. 3’
'lugal-x CS Adab CUSAS 13 108 o. 11
'lugal-x₁ CS Adab CUSAS 13 62 r. 11
'lugal-x₁ CS Adab CUSAS 13 69 o. 6
'lugal-[x] CS Adab OIP 14 78 o. iii’ 8
'lugal-[x] CS Adab OIP 14 78 o. iii’ 13
'lugal-[x] ni-is-ku MS-CS Adab OIP 14 138 o. 2
'lugal-[x] sipa anše CS Adab *SIA* 639 o. ii 3
'lugal-[x] CS Adab *SIA* 640 o. ii 1
'lugal-[x(x)] CS Adab *SIA* 640 r. i 1
'lugal-x₁ CS Adab *SIA* 640 r. i 2
'lugal-x₁-[x] s. Da-d[a?] MS-CS Adab *SIA* 705 o. ii 1
'lugal-[x(x)] f. Ur-PA MS-CS Adab *SIA* 705 r. i 12
'lugal-[x(x)] MS Adab *TCABI* 190 o. 3*'
'lugal-x₁ MS-CS Adab *TCABI* 196 o. ii 7
'lugal-[x] MS-CS Adab *TCABI* 196 o. ii 8
'l[ugal-x₁-[x] CS Adab *TCABI* 202 o. 5
'l[ugal-x₁-x] CS Adab *TCABI* 202 r. 3
'l[ugal]-[x]-[x] lu₂. Kin-tu₂[?] CS Adab *TCABI* 213 r. 3
'l[ugal]-[x(x)] CS Adab *TCABI* 249 o. 4
'l[ugal]-[x] MS Adab [SHA] 113 r. iii 25’
'l[ugal]-[x]-šu₂ CS Girsu ITT 2/1 3150 r. 10’
'l[ugal]-[x]-šu₂ CS Girsu *STTI* 105 o. 3’
'l[ugal]-[x] dub-tsar₁ CS Girsu *RTC* 177 Seal: 1
'l[ugal]-x₃ CS Girsu? DCS 45 r. 1
'l[ugal]-x₁-([x]) CS Girsu ITT 1 1040 o. 4’
'lugal-[x] CS Girsu ITT 1 1089 o. 1’
lugal-x-x-x lugal-CS Nippur PBS 9 42 o. i 6
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur PBS 9 42 o. i 13
lugal-[x-x] CS Nippur PBS 9 50 o. 7
lugal-[x-x] CS Nippur PBS 9 77 o. iii 4
lugal-[x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. iii 8
lugal-[x-x] lugal-[bi] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. iii 9
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 o. iii 14
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. ii 4
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. ii 6
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 29 r. ii 16
lugal-[x-x] s. Lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. ii 6
lugal-[x-x] f. Lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. ii 7
lugal-[x] lugal-[bi] CS Nippur TMH 5 186+202 o. ii 15
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 191 o. 14
lugal-[x]-da CS Sippar? CT 44 48 r. 8
lugal-x³KA, GUR, MS-CS Susa MDP 14 19 r. 7
lugal-[x] CS? Susa MDP 14 20 r. 2
lugal-[x] CS? Susa MDP 14 20 r. 4
lugal-x³ MS-CS Susa MDP 14 42 r. i’ 3
lugal-x-mu-x MS-CS Umma USP 40 o. 4
lugal-x-na MS-CS/Škē Y 2 Umma CT 50 53 o. 7
lugal-x³-N[E] CS Umma T. Donald, MCS 9 (1964) 238 o. ii 2
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Umma BIN 8 323 r. 3
lugal-x³ šitım, be-lu bu-dim, in Umma³ CS Umma CT 50 188 r. i 6
lugal-[x] šitım, be-lu bu-dim, in Umma³ CS Umma CT 50 188 r. i 17
lugal-[x] šitım, be-lu bu-dim, in Umma³ CS Umma CT 50 188 r. i 18
lugal-x³-[x] CS Umma MAD 4 32 r. 3
lugal-[x]-[x] (uguša) MS-CS Umma MAD 4 167 (transl. only) r. 3
lugal-[x] Ur³Nin-x³-[x], lu₂ Lugal-[x] MS-CS Umma MesCiv 4 30 r. i 5
lugal-[x-x] CS Umma Nik 2 76 o. ii 7
lugal-x³-[x] ES-MS Umma? SAKF 1 r. 1
lugal-[x] ens[i₂-gal] MS-CS Umma? TCVC 726 o. iii 10
lugal-x³-[x] s. MIR-[x] MS-CS Umma? TCVC 729 r. 4
lugal-[x] f. Ur-en-[x] MS-CS Umma? TCVC 729 r. 9
lugal-[x-x] CS Umma USP 22 o. ii 1
lugal-[x-x] CS Umma USP 22 o. ii 3
lugal-[x-x] CS Umma USP 45 o. ii 20
lugal-x³-[x] f. Ur-[x] CS Umma USP 45 r. i 4
lugal-[x-x] f. Ur³-Dumu-[zi³] CS Umma USP 45 r. i 24
lugal-x³-s MS-Res, it₁₁ Lugal-‘iti⁴ CS Umma USP 50 o. 1
lugal-x-La/RA-ni CS Ur UE 2 pl. 206 no. 201 1
lugal-x-x CS Ur UE 2 pl. 205 no. 181 2
lugal-[x-x] MS-CS Ur UET 2 suppl. 32 o. 6
lugal-x³-[x] MS-CS Ur UET 2 suppl. 48 o. ii 3
lugal-x³-[x] f. Ur²[Dumu-[zi³] CS Umma USP 48 o. ii 4
lugal-x³ मह CG Unknown CUSAS 13 181 o. 5
lugal-x³ (n[UN²]) MS-CS Unknown MesCiv 4 68 o. 6
lugal-[x] [li]bir(-me) CS Unknown CUSAS 13 179 r. 3
lugal-[x] Ur-zu, it₁₁ Lugal-[x], šitım(-me) CS Unknown CUSAS 13 200 o. 2
lugal-[x] it₁₁ KA-[x], šitım(-me) CS Unknown CUSAS 13 200 o. 3
lugal-[x] MS-CS Unknown CT 50 77 r. 1’
lugal-[x(-x)] CS Unknown W. Sommerfeld, K. Markina & N. Roudik, *Gs Diakonoff*, 225–231 8 r. 6’
lugal-[x(-x)] s. DU-DU MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 64 o. ii 3’
lugal-[x(-x)] f. Ur.2[Nin]-gir₂-su MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 64 o. ii 6’
lugal-[x(-x)] s. DU-[x] MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 64 o. ii 9’
lugal-[x(-x)] s. Lugal-[x(-x)] MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 64 r. i 8
lugal-[x(-x)] f. Lugal-[x(-x)] MS-CS Unknown MVN 3 64 r. i 9
lugal-[x(-x)] CS Unknown T. Ozaki, SANTAG 7 4 o. 11
lugal-[x(-x)] ugal-[x(-x)] CS Unknown T. Ozaki, SANTAG 7 4 r. 7
lugal-[x] CS Unknown T. Ozaki, SANTAG 7 62 o. ii 12

**maš-lugal** (a3s31) ‘goat(‘s kid) of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p.84, 229, 247 n. 1453
maš-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 53 o. ii 6
maš-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 28 o. ii 4
maš-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 29 o. i 13
maš-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppag SF 62 o. ii 2’
maš-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppag TSŠ 467 o. i 3
maš-lugal 4Ad-DU ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 74 r. ii 9
maš-lugal ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 100 o. iii 8
maš-lugal s. Lugal-ezēm ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 o. iii 6

nam-lugal-ni (a31) (abbreviation of the following) 3.1.1.1, p. 83
nam-lugal-ni MS Adab TCABI 78 r. 5

**nam-lugal-ni-du (a32)** ‘his kingship is good’ 3.1.1.1, p. 83
nam-[lugal-ni-du10] ED IIIb Girsu ? BIN 8 12 r. ii 3
nam-lugal-ni-du10 ED IIIb/En. I ensi₃ Lagaš BiMes 3 10 r. iii 3

*Nanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da (a32)* ‘Nanše is the mother of Lugalanda’ 3.1.6.2, p. 87 n. 436, 141 n. 788
Nanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da muḫaldim ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu DP 2/1 157 o. i 8
Nanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da muḫaldim ED IIIb/Lug. 5 Girsu RTC 53 o. i 7
Nanše-ama-Lugal-AN-da muḫaldim ED IIIb/Lug. 5(+1?) Girsu VS 25 14 o. i 8

**nu-gal** (a33) (phonetic for lugal) 3.1.8, p. 183 w. n. 1133, 237
nu-gal f. Ip-ul-II₃, dub-sar, lu₂-gan₂-gid₂-da ES/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 C xiv’ 8
nu-gal f. Ip-ul-II₃, ff. I-da-II₃, ĝurūš, Mar₂-da₃, abba₂,abba₂ gan₂ ES/Man. Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 C xvii’ 29
nu-gal (PN?) MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 11 o. 3
nu-gal ? CS Gasur HSS 10 158 r. i 5
nu-gal ša-at Nu-gal MS-CS Mesag E. Salgues, *Fs Westenholz*, 253–272 (RBC 2631) o. ii 7

**nu-gal-AŠ₂-DA (a31)** unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183

*nu-gal-en-nam-gal-ga* (a31) (phonetic for lugal-inim-kalag) 3.1.1.4, p. 94 n. 481
*nu-gal-en-nam-gal-ga* ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. i 1

*nu-gal-hi-gal* (a31) (phonetic for lugal-ḫe₂-ĝal₂) 3.1.5.3, p. 134

*nu-gal-ḫi-gal* ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. i 2

*nu-gal-ḫi-zi* (a31) (phonetic for lugal-šer₂-zi (ḫi=šar₂) ? Compare lugal-ḫi-zi) 3.1.8, p. 183 w. n. 1135

*nu-gal-ḫi-zi* ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. ii 3

*nu-gal-me-’a₂-ma* (a31) (phonetic for lugal-men₂-am/lugal-me-am) 3.1.1.3, p. 88 n. 445
"nu-gal-me'-a₃,ma ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. ii 1
"nu-gal-me-ga-šu-u₃ *(1) (phonetic for lugal-mu-da-kuš) 3.1.4.1, p. 124
"nu-gal-me-ga-šu-u₃ ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. i 5

"nu-gal-mu-da-kaš₂ *(a₁) (phonetic for lugal-mu-da-kuš) 3.1.4.1, p. 124, 187
nu-gal-mu-da-kaš₂ nar tur Ma-ri₃ ki ED IIIb Ebla ARET 1 7 r. i 24

"nu-gal-nam-URU *(1) (phonetic for lugal-nam-nir) 3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 527
"nu-gal-nam-URU ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. i 3

"nu-gal-nam-URU-šu-ma *(1) (phonetic for lugal-nam-nir-šum₂,ma) 3.1.1.6, p. 100 n. 527
"nu-gal-nam-URU-šu-ma ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. i 4

"nu-gal-Ni-zī *(a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183 w. n. 1136
nu-gal-Ni-zī nar tur Ma-ri₃ ki ED IIIb Ebla ARET 1 7 r. i 20
(translit. only) o. x 16bis

"nu-gal-pa₃-da *(1) (phonetic for lugal-pa₃-da) 3.1.6.2, p. 145 n. 817
"nu-gal-pa₃-da ED IIIb Ebla ARET 5 24 r. ii 2

"nu-gal-zī-ga *(a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183 w. n. 1137
nu-gal-zī-ga nar tur Ma-ri₃ ki ED IIIb Ebla ARET 1 7 r. i 6
(translit. only) o. x 16bis

UD-lugal-le (PN?) *(a₁) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
UD-lugal-le ES-MS Ur UET 2 suppl. 3 o. i’ 1’

Umma,(HₓDš)ki-lugal *(a₁) ‘Umma is lord’ 3.1.1.5, p. 95
Umma₂ ki-lugal ED IIIb Umma-Zabala BIN 8 111 o. ii 1
Umma₂ ki-lugal apin-u[s₂] Ur ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. i 17’

Umma,(HₓDš)ki-lugal-ğu₁₀ *(a₁) ‘Umma is my lord’ 3.1.1.5, p. 95, 259
Umma₂-lugal-ğu₁₀ ED IIIb/Luzag. ensi₂ [x] Umma-Zabala J. A. Brinkman, Fs Kramer, pl. III*-V* (W 2/7) o. ii 12’

ur-lugal *(a₁⁵) ‘man of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 63, 71, 81, 85, 86, 127 n. 695, 175 n. 1028, 229, 261
ur-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 6 o. i 2
ur-lugal ED I-II Ur UET 2 41 o. i 2’
ur-lugal ? ED I-II Ur UET 2 81a o. ii 3
u[r]₁²-lugal¹ ED I-II Ur UET 2 266 o. i
ur-lugal sa₆-nar₆ engar ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 77 l.e. 14
ur-lugal ša₆ ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 6 o. i 3
ur-lugal ku₆ ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 6 o. i 5
ur-lugal ša₆ ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 211 o. i 4
ur-lugal ku₆ ED IIIb Adab BIN 8 211 o. i 7
ur-lugal s. KA-TAR ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal Girsu? DP 1/1 32 v 23
ur-lugal ku₆, ED IIIb Isin BIN 8 37 o. i 2
ur-lugal ED IIIb-ES Isin BIN 8 39 r. ii 3
ur-lugal ED IIIb-ES Isin BIN 8 39 r. ii 7
ur-lugal sipa anše-k(e₅) ED IIIb Isin BIN 8 173 o. 7
ur-lugal ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 13 o. iv 11
ur-lugal ED IIIb-ES Isin MVN 3 105 o. ii 4
ur-lugal ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 4 o. ii 2
[u]r-lugal? ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 31 o. i 3
[u]r-lugal? ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 31 o. iii 9
ur-lugal ? ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 56 o. iii 1
ur-lugal ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 167 o. ii 4
ur-lugal h. Ar₃ (FPN?), niğir ED IIIb Unknown BIN 8 28 o. ii 1
ur-lugal ES Nippur OSP 1 31 o. ii 3'
ur-lugal ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 120 o. i’ 1
[ur³]-ugal ? maškim-bi ES-MS Umma CHÉU 53 o. 6
ur-lugal ad-kup₄ MS-CS Adab CUSAS 13 13 r. 1
ur-lugal CS Adab CUSAS 13 65 r. 4'
ur-lugal CS Adab SIA 685+734 o. 21
ur-lugal CS Girsu DPA 40 (PUL 30) r. 5
ur-lugal s. Lugal-h[eq₂] CS Girsu MVN 3 113 o. iii 13
ur-lugal Ur-Anšar₃, Lugal-mas-su₂, lű, di-da Ur-lugal-me MS-CS Isin? BIN 8 153 o. 6
ur-lugal MS-CS Isin BIN 8 155 o. 1
ur-lugal¹ MS-CS Isin BIN 8 157 o. 1
ur-lugal CS/NS. Isin BIN 8 164 o. 1
ur-lugal CS/NS. Isin BIN 8 164 r. 11
ur-lugal CS Nippur? BIN 8 177 r. 5
ur-lugal MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 95 r. ii 1”
[ur²]-ugal⁶¹ s. Lugal-[x] CS/Škš Y 2 Nippur OSP 2 100 r. i 1
ur-lugal s. Inim-ma-ni-zi MS-CS Nippur TMH 5 52 o. ii 10
ur-lugal CS/NS. Unknown BIN 8 162 o. 3
ur-lugal nar MS-CS Unknown BIN 8 253 o. 4
³ur-lugal LS-Ur III Unknown M. E. Cohen, Fs Hallo, p. 79–86 (YBC 2124) iv 13
ur-⁴Lugal‘-ba-gara₃ ? (a¹) ‘man of Lugalbagara (?)’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420
ur-⁴Lugal’-ba-gara₃ ? ED IIIa-b Isin (?) OIP 104 14 r. ii 1
ur-⁴Lugal-ban₃-da (a²) ‘man of Lugalbanda’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420
ur-⁴Lugal-ban₃-da bir₃ su₃₃-ḫa ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. i 10
ur-⁴Lugal-ban₃-da Šeš-tur, ugula-bi ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal 6 Girsu DP 1/2 135 o. vi 6
ur-⁴Lugal-ban₃-da CS Adab SIA 879 o. 3
ur-⁴Lugal-du (a¹) ‘man of Lugaldu’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420, 86 n. 424
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 526 o. iv 1
ur-⁴Lugal-du (a²) ‘man of Lugaldu’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420, 86 n. 424
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag? CT 50 20 o. i 3’
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag FTUM 92 o. i 1’
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 147 o. iv 11
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag NTSS 234 r. i 4
ur-⁴Lugal-du [sagi²] ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 8 o. iii 13
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 65+ o. iii 7
ur-⁴Lugal-du AN-nu-me ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 102 o. iii 3
ur-⁴Lugal-du Pa-bil₃-ga [(engar’)] ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 130 r. i 4’
ur-⁴Lugal-du Pa-bil₃-ga engar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 130 r. iv 13’
ur-⁴Lugal-du ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 158 o. iv 11
ur-⁴Lugal-du Pa-bil₁-ga engar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 237 o. iv 5
ur-⁴Lugal-du engar ġuruš ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 522 o. i 7
ur-Lugal-DU? ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 45 o. vi 8
ur-Lugal-DU AN-nu-me ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 53 o. ii 2
ur-Lugal-DU ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 77 o. iii 12
ur-Lugal-DU*: engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. ii 8''
ur-Lugal-DU* engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. iii 15
ur-Lugal-DU* engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. iv 12
ur-Lugal-DU* engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. v 4
ur-Lugal-DU* engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. v 7
ur-Lugal-DU* engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. v 11
ur-Lugal-DU* engar ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 78 o. v 16
ur-Lugal-DU ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 87 o. iii 7
ur-Lugal-DU* [engar] ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 87 r. iii 1
ur-Lugal-DU AN-nu-me ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 124 o. v 4
ur-Lugal-DU ED IIIa Šuruppag *WF* 129 o. ii 5

ur-Lugal-edan (a1) ‘man of Lugaleden’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420, 97
ur-Lugal-edan CS-LS? Girsu *RTC* 243 o. 5

ur-Lugal-edan (a1) ‘man of Lugaleden’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420, 97
ur-Lugal-edan CS Umma Nik 2 84 r. 4

ur-Lugal-edan-na (a1) ‘man of Lugaleden’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85 n. 420, 97
ur-Lugal-edan-na (lu₂) Gemes₂²Ba-u₂-ka, igi-nu-du₄₃, dumu URU.AZ₄₃-ka ED IIIb/Ukg. lugal
4 Girsu *DP* 2/2 339 o. ii 1

ur-lugal-la₂ (a1) ‘man of the lugal’ 3.1.1.1, p. 85
ur-lugal-la₂ CS/NS. Nippur TMH 5 7+184+201a r. i 4’

ur-Lugal-ra (a1) ‘man of Lugaleden’ 3.1.1.1, p. 86
ur-Lugal-ra f. Ur₃ic-Ser-da ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 1 o. i 2

dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da (a1) ‘Utu is the vanguard of Lugaleden’ 3.1.6.2, p. 54, 108, 141 n. 788
dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu *AWAS* 119 o. iii 15
dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ, [il₂] ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu *DP* 2/1 228 o. iii 13
dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ, il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu HSS 3 15 o. iii 13

dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ, il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1.6 Girsu HSS 3 16 o. iii 12

dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu MVN 3 2 o. iv 8

dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ, il₂ ED IIIb/Ukg. ensi₂ 1 Girsu Nik 1 9 o. iii 15

105 o. iii 16

dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 11 o. iii 12

dųUtu-palil-Lugal-an-da nitaḥ, il₂ ED IIIb/Lug. 6 Girsu VS 25 71 o. iii 15

za-lugal (a1) unkn. mng. 3.1.8, p. 183
za-lugal¹ ašgab CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4508 r. 4’
[x]-lu[gal] (PN?) ED IIIb-ES Adab CUSAS 11 208 o. ii 7
¹x-lugal ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 83 r. ii 6
¹x-lugal MS-CS Nippur OSP 2 102 r. iii’ 11’
[x-(x)]-lu[gal]’ MS-CS Kiš MAD 5 48 r. l’ Kish 1930-559c
[x]-lugal (PN?) MS-CS Susa MDP 14 33 r. ii 3’

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2. List of šarrum-names

Entries in the lists of attestations are provided with a heading in bold script. The heading provides the writing encountered in the previous chapters. A raised parenthesis signals the number of bearers (given as (a#)), and/or discrete entries in scholastic lists of PNN (given as (a#)). The translation suggested in discussions is then followed by the section or subheading under which the name was treated, followed by page references, including cross references.

Underneath the bold heading, the writing of the name, filiations (if any), date (with ruler and regnal year if known), provenience, publication data, column and line number follow. Attestations are organized according to date and provenience.

Entries are divided into the discrete time periods ED IIIa, ED IIIa-b, ED IIIb, and ES. Later Sargonic references are not further subdivided due to difficulties in assigning a precise date to texts belonging to the second half of the Sargonic period. A few later attestations are also included due in part to the same reasons, or if they form part of an earlier tradition, as in the case of a few scholastic texts. Hence, some references to texts dated to CS-LS, LS-Lagāš II, or LS-Ur III are also listed. Names taken from OB copies of older original inscriptions are marked as (OB) following the date of the original inscription. All names culled from transliterations only are so marked.

Multiple attestations of a name from the same period and place are organized alphabetically after publication. Each and every instance of šarrum-names in CS Girsu texts have not been entered in the list. See the introductory notes to the list of lugal-names.

Museum or excavation nos. are given under certain circumstances. Either the texts are not sequentially numbered (e.g. AAICAB), or the numbering of the illustrations follows a different sequence than the treatment of the texts in the monograph (DPA). In other cases, a plate may contain a number of figures, and museum numbers are then indicated to tell them apart.

Abbreviations used in notes on filiations are given in Technical Abbreviations.

*AN-
šar* (a1)  ‘Ilum/the god is king’  3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1332

*AN-
šar*  MS-CS  Tutub  MAD 1  219 (translit. only)  r. 12

*AN-
šar*  s. dSu’en-LUM  CS  Tutub  MAD 1  232 o. ii 13

*bi-in-
ka₃-li₁-lugal-re₂* (a1)  ‘offspring of all šarrums’  3.2.7.1, p. 206, 259

*bi-in-
ka₃-li₁-lugal-re₂*  s. dNa-ra-am-dEN:UZ diğir A-ka₃-de₃ ki  A-bi₁-
šar, dub-sar, ir₁₁-su₂  CS/NS.


*bi-in-
ka₃-li₁-lugal-re₂*  [Ir₃]⁻²⁷-e⁽¹⁾-u[m], [₃]u  Bi⁻²⁷-in-
ka₃-li₁-sar₃-re₂  CS/NS.  Tutub  MAD 1  225 r. 3’

*bi-in-
ka₃-li₁-lugal-re₂*  CS  Tutub  MAD 1  238 o. 6’

*bi-in-

*bi-ka₅-li₂-lugal-re₂* (a1)  ‘offspring of all šarrums’  3.2.7.1, p. 206 n. 1308

*bi-ka₅-li₂-lugal-re₂*  İb-[x-x], ir₁₁  Bi-ka₅-li₂-lugal-re₂  CS  Girsu  RTC  94 o. 2’

*bi⁻²⁷-
ka₅-li₂-sar-re₂* (a1)  ‘offspring of all šarrums’  3.2.7.1, p. 206 n. 1308

*bi⁻²⁷-
ka₅-li₂-sar-re₂*  CS  Girsu  CT  50  146 o. 9
E₂-a-šar (a2) ‘Ea is king’ 3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1334
E₂-a-šar ugula CS-LS Kiš MAD 5 45 o. ii 12
E₂-a-šar s. Ti₂-wi-ra, ss. [x x] nagar, guruš, irst En-ki CS Kiš MAD 5 56 o. iii 5
E₃-a-šar (a1) ‘Ea is king’ 3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1334
E₃-a-šar ED IIIb Nippur TMH 5 38 r. i 5
en-bu-lugal (a1) uncertain mng. 3.2.8, p. 212–213
en-bu-lugal ra”-x-a CS Gasur HSS 10 34 o. ii 1
qvEn-Zu-šar (a1) ‘Su’en is king’ 3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1336
qvEn-Zu-šar MS-CS Tutub MAD 1 219 (translit. only) r. 7
qvEn-Zu-šar CS Tutub MAD 1 233 r. i 7
qvEn-Zu-šar MS-CS Tutub MAD 1 234 r. 6
qvEn-Zu-šar f. Ma-kaš-ka₂ CS Tutub MAD 1 254 o. i 7’
gal-zu-[šar]-ru-ši-[in] (a1) ‘their šarrum is a wise one (?)’ 3.2.2, p. 195
gal-zu-[šar]-ru-ši-[in] maškim [lu]gal CS Mugdan BIN 8 144 o. ii 9
i-ba-lugal (a1) ‘the šarrum drew near (?)’ 3.2.8, p. 213
i-ba-lugal Ur*-Keš₃ ki₁, šu I-ba-lugal MS-CS Unknown B. R. Foster, JCS 35 (1983), P. 147–175 16 r. 4
i-li₂-šar-ru (a2) ‘a šarrum emerged (?)’ 3.2.8, p. 213
Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 A xii 11
Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 B xvii 9
Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 C xxi’ 8
Unknown (MO) OIP 104 40 D ix’ 10
i-li₂-šar-ru CS Girsu CT 50 126 r. 3’
i-mi-sar-ru (a1) ‘the šarrum protected’ 3.2.3.1, p. 197
i-mi-sar-ru šu AN-AB ES-MS Sippar CTMMA 1 7 r. i 5
i-mi-[šar²]-ru’] f. ’E₂-aš-[x-x] CS Sippar CT 50 74 o. 2’
i-pu₂-šar (a2) unkn. mng. 3.2.8, p. 213
i-pu₂-šar ED IIIa Šuruppag TSS 750 o. 2
i-pu₂-šar dub-sar maḫ ED IIIb Mari MAM 3 8 1
i-šar-šar-ri₂ (a1) ‘the šarrum is just’ 3.2.7.9, p. 211, 239 n. 1428
i-šar-šar-ri₂ CS Girsu RTC 127 r. iv 3
i-šum-šar (a1) ‘Ilum/the god is king’ 3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1332
i-šum-šar f. A-šu-du₁₀ ES Sippar? OIP 104 41 o. iii 20’
ib-ni-lugal (a2) ‘the šarrum created’ 3.2.5.1, p. 20f. n. 70, 201
ib-ni-lugal s. Ḫu-[x-x] CS Girsu ITT 2/1 4578 o. 7
ib-ni-lugal MS-CS Umma? BIN 8 151 o. 2
ib-ni-lugal CS Umma MVN 3 110 o. 3
ib-ni-lugal dub-sar CS Unknown R. M. Boehmer, Fs Moortgat, p. 42–56 31 4
il-lu₂-šar (a1) ‘a šarrum indeed is the god’ 3.2.7.6, p. 209
il-lu₂-šar ED IIIa Šuruppag WF 122 o. i 2
qvM₂-šar (a1) ‘Adad is king’ 3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1335
qvM₂-šar CS-LS Kiš MAD 5 21 o. 4
qvM₂-šar f. [Ku²]-ru-ur-sag CS-LS Kiš MAD 5 36 o. 2
iš-šup₂-šar (a1) ‘the šarrum saved’ 3.2.3.1, p. 197
iš-tup-šar ugal Ma-r₂ki ED IIIb Mari>Ebla | ARET 13 4 o. v 3

lugal-a-ba. ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is a father’ 3.2.1.2, p. 192
lugal-a-ba₄  Ma-r₂ki ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 2 12 o. iv 13
lugal-a-ba₄ ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 7 89 o. i 2
lugal-a-ba₄ Ma-r₂ki ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 8 3 o. x 14

lugal-da-di, ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is my favourite/the favourite (of DN)’ 3.2.6.2, p. 204
lugal-da-di₃ MS-CS Ešnuna MAD 1 72 (translit. only) r. 4’
[lugal₃]-da-di₄? MS-CS Ešnuna MAD 1 103 (translit. only) o. i’ 1’

lugal-gi ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is dependable’ 3.2.7.9, p. 211 n. 1344
lugal-gi URU.IM.KI, u₃ Lugal-gi MS-CS Unknown | B. R. Foster, JCS 35 (1983), p. 147–175 4 o. 4

lugal-gi-pa-e₃ ⁴(a)¹ ‘Šarrukēn is famous (?)’ 3.2.7.9, p. 211 n. 1344
¹lugal⁴-gi-pa-e₃ dub-sar MS-CS Unknown | B. R. Foster, JCS 35 (1983), p. 147–175 4 o. 9

⁷lugal-ka-šer,(NIR) ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is one who compensates (?)’ 3.2.8, p. 212
⁷lugal-ka-šer,(NIR) šagina ED IIIb Ebla | A. Archi,СтEb 4 (1981), p. 177–204 (translit. only) o. i 5

⁷lugal-ka-šer,(NIR) ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is one who compensates (?)’ 3.2.8, p. 212
⁷lu[gal]-kaš-šer,(NIR) [Ša][gi][a][∥][k][i][š][ni][št] ED IIIa Ābu Šalābīh IAS 62 o. i 10

lugal-na-iš ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is a lion (?)’ 3.2.7.3, p. 207, 241
lugal-na-iš s. EN Ma-nu-wa-ad⁴i ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 3 93 (translit. only) o. ii 4’
lugal-na-iš ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 3 295 (translit. only) o. ii 2
lugal-na-iš ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 3 421 (translit. only) o. iv 3
lugal-na-iš ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 3 562 o. viii (?) 3’
lugal-na-iš ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 3 595+631 (translit. only) o. v (?) 2’

lugal-nu-ru ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is light (?)’ 3.2.7.10, p. 211
lugal-nu-ru ES-MS Ur | UET 2 suppl. 30 o. 2

lugal-OS₁-P₁-X₅ ⁴(a)² unkn. mng. 3.2.8, p. 213
lugal-OS₁-P₁-X₅ dumu nitaḥ ES-MS Nippur OSP 1 47 o. iii 8

lugal-pa₃-lu₃ ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is awe-inspiring’ 3.2.7.3, p. 207 n. 1312
lu[gal]-pa₃-lu₃ CS Girsu | ITT 5 9259 r. 1

Ma-ma-ša-ra-at ⁴(a)¹ ‘Mama is queen’ 3.2.7.6, p. 210 n. 1337
Ma-ma-ša-ra-at MS-CS Ešnuna MAD 1 53 (translit. only) r. i’ 4’
Ma-ma-ša-ra-at MS-CS Ešnuna MAD 1 163+165 o. i 33

ši-la-lugal ⁴(a)¹ ‘the šarrum is shade’ 3.2.3.1, p. 197
ši-la-lugal lu₃ kar Ma-r₂ki ED IIIb Ebla | A. Archi, MARI 4 (1985), p. 63–83 73
(translit. only) o. iii 17bis & iv 6bis

šar-a-ba₄ ⁴(a)² (defective writing of the following) 3.2.1.2, p. 192 n. 1243
šar-a-ba₄ lu₃ kar Ma-r₂ki ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 8 5 o. ix 20

šar-a-ba₄ ⁴(a)²¹ ‘the šarrum is a father’ 3.2.1.2, p. 192
šar-a-ba₄ ED IIIb Ebla | MEE 3 59 o. iii 8
šar-a-ba₄ ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 9 64 o. i 3 (translit. only)
šar-a-ba₄ ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 9 68 o. iii 13 (translit. only)
šar-a-ba₄ ED IIIb Ebla | ARET 9 106 o. ii 4 (translit. only)

šar-a-Ti-Gu-Bi-ši-in ⁴(a)² unkn. mng. 3.2.8, p. 213 w. n. 1364
šar-a-Ti-Gu-Bi-ši-in Ilum-dan, ši Šu-l₃-li₃-šu, sa₃-sug₃, i₃₄ Ilum-ba-ni, dam-gar₃, i₃₄ Šar-a-Ti-Gu-Bi-ši-in LS MAD 5 22 r. 1 Kiš

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\end{itemize}
\textit{u-bi-in-lugal-re₂} s. BAL-E₂-a, Ir₁₁-da-ni₃ ki, dumu.dumu A-ka₃-de₃ ki ES/Man. Unknown
\begin{itemize}
\item (MO) OIP 104 \hspace{1em} 40 A xv 11
\end{itemize}
\textit{u-bi-in-lugal-re₂} s. Ur-ur, ši sukkal-gal-li, dumu.dumu A-ka₃-de₃ ki ES/Man. Unknown
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\end{itemize}
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\end{itemize}
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\end{itemize}
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\end{itemize}
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\end{itemize}

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\end{itemize}
Indices

1. Sumerian names

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