"HAMMURABI-IS-MY-GOD!"
BASILOPHORIC PERSONAL NAMES AND ROYAL IDEOLOGY DURING THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Rients de Boer

Basilophoric[1] personal names are names that contain the name of a king as an element. Examples are "Hammurabi is my god", "Samsī-Addu is my trust", or "Išbi-Erra is the life of the country". This contribution studies the occurrence of basilophoric personal names during the Old Babylonian (OB) period (about 2003-1595 BCE) from a social and political perspective.

1. *Introduction and definition of the subject matter*

In ancient Mesopotamia, between about 2500 and 1595 BCE, the name of the king was frequently used as an element in names. Most examples are found in personal names (the topic of this paper), but also names of towns (*Išīm-Šulgi*: "Šulgi has decreed"), canals (*Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuḫuš-nišī*: "Samsu-iluna is the source of wellbeing for the people"), walls (*Išbi-Erra-rîm-Enlil*: "Išbi-Erra is the beloved of Enlil"), and ex-voto objects carried royal names as an element.[2] Basilophoric personal names seem to occur almost exclusively in Sumerian and Akkadian.[3]

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[1] The term is derived from the Greek word for king, βασιλεύς, I prefer this term to another one, "kyriophoric" names" (pertaining to a lord or master, from Greek κύριος), used by other scholars. The reason is that in my opinion, kyriophoric names include those composed with Akkadian *bēlum* "lord" (e.g. *Bēlī-iddinam* "my lord gave me"), where the "lord" *can* refer to a king, but just as likely to another "lord" like a patron or slave owner. Admittedly, the category basilophoric names should then also include names composed with Sumerian LUGAL or Akkadian *šarrum* "king". However, in this contribution, I reserve the word "basilophoric" for names carrying the *actual throne name of a king* as an element.

[2] Edzard 1998a and Edzard 1998b.

[3] Michalowski 1987, 56 n. 54 points to a unique Hurrian basilophoric name, Šulgi-atal, even though the name of the king, Šulgi, is originally Sumerian. Some basilophoric names can contain the Amorite name of a king (e.g.

In OB anthroponymics, the basilophoric personal names are an integral part of a larger corpus of personal names that are called *Beamtennamen*, specific names carried by courtiers and officials.[4] Charpin sometimes prefers to use the term *noms auliques* "aulic names",[5] that is to say, names pertaining to the royal court. It is therefore possible to draw a sharper distinction between aulic names borne by people who are part of the king's inner circle and the *Beamtennamen* carried by lower-level officials who were not members of the court. The aulic names and *Beamtennamen* are in turn also part of an even larger corpus of names that we can designate as "professional names", names that are borne by specific groups of people like priests,[6] slaves,[7] etc. Presumably, some of these people adopted or were assigned a new name when entering their new vocation.[8]

A full study of all OB professional names is beyond the scope of this contribution and even covering the many *Beamtennamen* is not feasible in just one article. This is why I limit myself here to basilophoric names, even though other *Beamtennamen* will be taken into account when necessary. Another reason for this limitation is the fact that basilophoric names are easily identified in the cuneiform record because they contain the name of a king as an element. Non-basilophoric *Beamtennamen* are not always so readily identified.

As a rule, most *Beamtennamen* refer to the king.[9] He is either referred to explicitly, as is the case with basilophoric names and names containing the word "king(ship)", or he is referenced implicitly through the pronoun -*šu* or A.NI "his" in names such as *Līrik-palûšu*[10] "May his reign be long"; *Marduk-māssu-ibni*[11] "Marduk created his land"; or Namlugala-ni-idu "His kingship is good".[12] The *Beamtenname* can also refer to the king in another way, e.g. *Mukanni šum* "He who makes (the enemy) submit". However, we cannot always identify an implicit *Beamtenname* as such. This is mostly due to the context in which we find a name. For certain high officials, like for example the Babylonian chief barber (UGULA ŠU.I) *Balāssu-līrik*[13] "May his (i.e. the king's) life be long", we *know* that he carries a *Beamtenname* referring to the king because he has an official title and because he is associated with other courtiers.[14] For other possible *Beamtennamen* the identification is not as easy. For

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Hammurabi), as an element, but there are no basilophoric names known to the author that are completely Amorite, e.g. containing Amorite verbal forms and the like.

[4] Even so, some basilophoric names were carried by people who were not in the service of the king. They must have carried such names to express a special devotion to the monarch. A good example is the woman *Hammurabi-šamšī* "Hammurabi is my sun" (for reference see list below), who herself does not appear to have had any connection to the crown.

[5] The term is derived from the Latin word *aula* "hall" and *aulicus* "courtier" derived from it. Charpin has in particular been interested in the phenomenon, see Charpin 1987; 2004, 261-263; 2012, 100-101; 2013, 75-76; 2017, 245-246; and Charpin 2018, 132.

[6] Janssen 1992, 47-48.

[7] Harris 1977; Stol 1991, 209-210.

[8] Radner 2005, 28-32.

[9] Examples of *Beamtennamen* not referring to the king are the names of two harem guards at Mari: *Kittum-lizziz* "Let there be order!" and *Eli-ilī-bilšināti* "Pay more attention to them (i.e. the women) than to the gods!" (Ziegler 1999, 114 and Durand 1984, 127 n. 2). Another example from the kingdom of Babylon is Lu-sukkalmaḫa "Man of the great chancellor" (lú-sukkal-maḫ-a šà-tam erin₂ lugal-la, *CUSAS* 8 58: 2 (Sd.10/II/23).

[10] *li-ri-ik*-BAL-*šu*, *CUSAS* 8 4: 3, 4 (Aṣ 11/IV/13).

[11] ᵈAMAR.UTU-*ma-as-sú-ib-n*[*i*], *CUSAS* 15 1: 5 (= *YOS* 15 52) (Si.).

[12] nam-lugal-a-ni-ì-du₁₀ dub-sar, *VAS* 22 44: 3, 10 (Sd.18/XI/12).

[13] *ba-la-sú-li-ri-ik* UGULA ŠU.I, *CUSAS* 8 39:12 (Ae.20(?) III/5)

[14] Note also the two Larsa officials *Ina-šēpīšu-šulmu* "At his (i.e. the king's) feet is health" and *Ina-šēpīšu-balāṭu* "At his feet is life" in *TIM* 5 68: 10-12 (RS. 52).

example, the many names containing the element *bēlī* "my lord" (e.g. *Bēlī-nāṣir* "My lord is one who protects"; *Bēlum-kīma-abīya* "The lord is like my father"; *Bēlī-līter* "Let my lord be surpassing"),[15] it *could* refer to the king, but it can also denote a slave's master or the head of a large household. The same goes for the pronoun -*šu* or ANI "his" in personal names. The identification of these names depends on their context. Finally, there is a category of *Beamtennamen* that is even harder to pinpoint: in the late OB kingdom it appears that many high officials purposefully bore names containing the deity Marduk or Nabium, like *Marduk-mušallim* "Marduk is one that makes well" or *Nabium-mālik* "Nabium is an advisor", etc.[16] Unless we have a title or context we cannot identify such names as *Beamtennamen*.

The above considerations have prompted a limitation towards basilophoric personal names, even though we must be aware that they are part of the larger whole of *Beamtennamen* and cannot always be studied on their own. Nevertheless, the basilophoric names do hold their own place in the Mesopotamian naming traditions. This contribution aims to provide answers to the following questions:

    1) How widespread were these names used?
    2) Which individuals bore these names?
    3) Which categories of names can we identify?
    4) What was the function of these names?
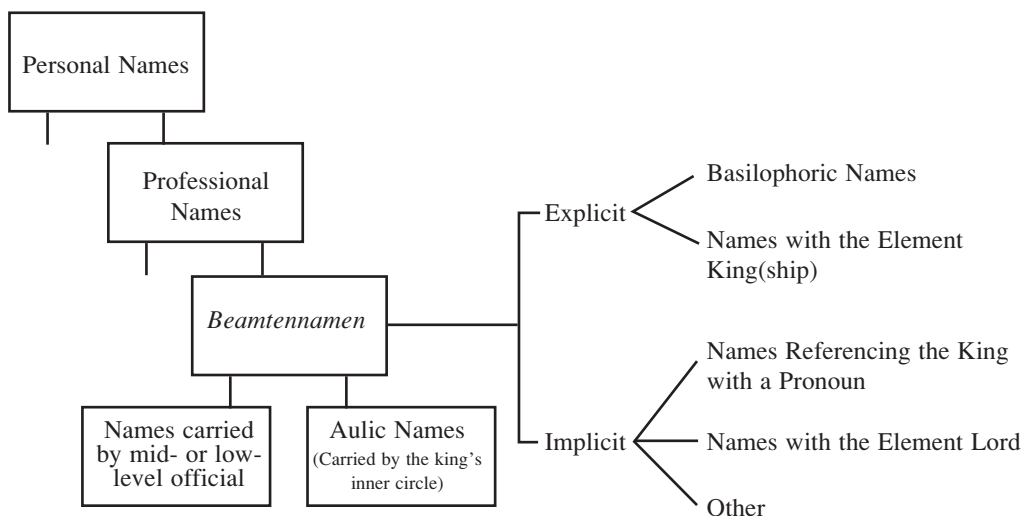   5) What do they tell us about OB royal ideology?

Fig. 1. The semantic categories concerning *Beamtennamen* used in this study.

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[15] *be-lí-na-ṣi-ir*, Ojeil 54: 21' (from Isin); *be-lum-ki-ma-a-bi-ia*, *OBTR* 215: 4 (from Qaṭṭarâ); *be-lí-li-ter*, *PIHANS* 117 27:3' (from Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna).

[16] Many examples can be found in Stol 2002, 753-756.

2. *Basilophoric naming traditions prior to the Old Babylonian period*

2.1 Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian Periods (about 2500-2111 BCE)

A thorough study of the king and kingship in Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian personal names was undertaken by Andersson 2012. His focus is on names composed with the elements LUGAL (Sumerian) and *śarrum* (Akkadian) "king". From his study it becomes clear that these names can be seen as a manifestation of royal ideology.[17] Examples of basilophoric names studied by Andersson stem from Early Dynastic Lagash with names such as Urukagi-na-Enlile-isu "Enlil knows (king) Urukagina" (variations exist with Ningirsu and Nanše) and Enanatum-sipa-zi "(King) Enanatum is a righteous shepherd".[18] Interesting is an observation by Selz 2008, 22, that in Early Dynastic Lagash, basilophoric-like names were also construed with titles of royal women. From the Old Akkadian period, Andersson cites *Narām-Sîn-ilī* "Narām-Sîn is my god" and *Šarru-kīn-ilī* "Sargon is my god".

2.2 Ur III Period

Basilophoric names, both in Sumerian and Akkadian, abound during the Ur III period (about 2110-2003 BCE). They were carried by lower and middle echelon officials as well as more powerful dignitaries and members of the royal family.[19] The tradition of basilophoric names seems to start during the reign of Šulgi (about 2092-2045 BCE) where they are attested from his 24th year onwards, just a few years after his deification that started in his 21st year.[20] This is probably no coincidence. Most Ur III officials must have adopted their basilophoric name when they assumed office.[21] Notable attestations are that of Šulgi's wife *Šulgi-simtī*, "Šulgi is appropriate to me",[22] and a group of musicians from a Šulgi temple that all have names containing Šulgi as an element.[23]

Schneider (1949) was the first to study the phenomenon, but his work is largely outdated due to the many new references published since then. Limet (1968) devoted a whole chapter to *la personne royale* in his book on Sumerian personal names and he stresses the fact that "the king" can justly be called a theme in Sumerian anthroponymics.[24] After Limet's study, no other comprehensive work was undertaken on the Sumerian Ur III basilophoric names.

The Akkadian Ur III basilophoric names were studied in detail by Hilgert (2002b). The largest group of names have their parallel in theophoric names,[25] resulting from the Ur III royal deification and assigning a range of divine attributes to the king. On the other hand,

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[17] Andersson 2012, 263-264.
[18] Andersson 2012, 53-57; see also Selz 1991, 39 n. 72; Selz 1993, 398-399 (remarks on *AWAS* 42): "Höflingsnamen".
[19] Michalowski 1987, 55; Hilgert 2002b, 41.
[20] Hilgert 2002a, 488, an overview of the deification of Šulgi can be found in Sallaberger 2012.
[21] As is claimed by Michalowski 1987, 55 and Schneider 1949, 356. For the later Ur III period there is even a case where an official changed his name from *Lā-maḫār* to *Šu-Suen-lā-maḫār* "Šu-Suen is without opposition", see Sallaberger 1993 vol.1, 222 n.1057 and vol.2, 128-133 (table 75).
[22] First attested in his 28th year, see Hilgert 2012; on this well-known queen, see Weiershäuser 2008, 31-105.
[23] The text is *CT* 7 13 (Šulgi 47), cf. Gelb 1975, 53. Interesting is the case of the cultic singer (GALA) Dada, whose two children bear Akkadian names composed with those of two different Ur III kings: *Ḫidût-Amar-Suen* "The joy of Amar-Suen" and *Šu-Suen-migir-Ištar* "Šu-Suen is the favorite of Ištar" (Gelb 1975, 66).
[24] Limet 1968, 165.
[25] A theophoric personal name contains the name of a deity, for example: *Adad-bānî* "(The god) Adad is my creator", this can be contrasted with the similar basilophoric name *Šulgi-bānî* "(King) Šulgi is my creator".

Hilgert also identified a group of "unique" basilophoric names that do not have any parallel amongst contemporary theophoric names. What is more, these names almost exclusively contain the name of king Šu-Suen (about 2035-2027 BCE). They could be an anthroponymic innovation in concert with other Šu-Suen reforms aiming to take the cult of royal deification to a higher level.[26]

When studying the content of the names, Hilgert identified three main themes, namely the connection between (1) the ruler and the divine realm, (2) the ruler and his people, and (3) the ruler and his authority. The vocabulary used in the names finds its parallel in both the Ur III and later attested Akkadian royal epithets (cf. Seux 1967). Hilgert concludes that the Akkadian Ur III basilophoric names provide a unique addition to the plentiful Sumerian-language sources to reconstruct the Ur III royal ideology.[27]

3. *Basilophoric names in the Old Babylonian period*

3.1 Major publications on basilophoric personal names

The first serious study into (Old) Babylonian personal names is by Ranke (1905), who listed a few basilophoric names but did not comment on them. A few decades later, Feigin (1935) published a text from Isin providing two new basilophoric names with the element Hammurabi. He divided the basilophoric names into three categories: (1) names that are prayers to the king, (2) names glorifying the king, and (3) names deifying the king. Just a few years later Stamm published his seminal *Akkadische Namengebung* in 1939, in which he advocated the term *Beamtenname* and divided these into prayer-names (*Bitten*), statement-names (*Aussage*), and praise-names (*Preis*). As "speaker" of the name he assumed the individual carrying the name.[28]

A groundbreaking study into the OB *Beamtennamen* was published by Durand in 1984; due to the richness of the Mari archives, Durand was able to give numerous examples of *Beamtennamen*. He argued that all of these names refer to the god-king, not the god of the king. Other names should also be explained as *Beamtennamen* as they often contain a pronominal suffix referencing the king, or praising his martial qualities.[29] Stol published an important article in 1991 on OB personal names, in which basilophoric names are discussed only briefly. He posited the idea that names like *Hammurabi-ilī*, "Hammurabi is my god", indicate that the king is this person's personal god.[30] Stol also made pertinent remarks about the *lamassum* "protective deity" of the king occuring in names like *Rīm-Sîn-Šamaš-lamassašu* "Rīm-Sîn, Šamaš is his protective deity".[31]

3.2 General considerations on the Old Babylonian basilophoric names

The basilophoric names in the OB period are not as numerous as in the Ur III period but we can say much more about them because they are attested over a 400-year period and in a

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[26] Hilgert 2002b, 66-70.
[27] Hilgert 2002b, 41-42 and 73.
[28] Stamm 1939, 315-317 and 117-118.
[29] Durand 1984, 130-132.
[30] Stol 1991, 205-206.
[31] Stol 1991, 209; see also Charpin 2017, 245-246.

number of different kingdoms. I have tried to identify all basilophoric names in the approximately 33,000 currently published OB letters and economic and administrative texts.[32] Other text genres, such as royal inscriptions, literature, omen texts, lexical lists etc., have been included as well if they contain basilophoric names. The reader will find a list of names and their references as an appendix at the end of this article.

The largest groups of basilophoric names are limited to only three kingdoms: Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. Smaller groups are attested for Samsī-Addu's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, Mari, Elam, and Ešnunna. For all these groups the data is unequally distributed due to the "chance of discovery". First, I will discuss the specific situations of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon and after this, consider the other kingdoms.

3.3 Basilophoric names in the kingdom of Isin

Right after the fall of the Ur III kingdom in 2003 BCE, Isin was the strongest player in a complicated political situation in southern Mesopotamia. The Isin kings (about 2019-1793 BCE) presented themselves as the legitimate Ur III successors[33] and they adopted numerous features from the Ur III royal ideology:[34] they called themselves "king of Ur", deified themselves, incorporated themselves into the Sumerian king list, had Ur III-inspired Sumerian hymns composed for them, daughters of Isin kings were installed as high priestesses, etc.[35] The adoption of the Ur III tradition of basilophoric names can be interpreted as another part of emulation and adoption of Ur III royal ideology.

Our main source for Isin basilophoric names is the Isin Craft Archive, but other Isin text groups have also yielded data such as the Dada archive and the remnants of king Enlil-bānî's palace administration (Wilcke 1994). The Isin Craft Archive contains about one thousand texts,[36] that document the administration of a workshop that produced a range of products for the state apparatus. The archive spans a period of time of more than thirty years and is dated between Išbi-Erra 4 and Šu-ilīšu 3 (about 2015-1983 BCE).

The texts are rich in basilophoric names containing Isin's first king Išbi-Erra[37] but there are no names containing his successor Šu-ilīšu.[38] The earliest Išbi-Erra basilophoric name is from his twelfth regnal year,[39] showing that the tradition must have been introduced at a time when the Ur III kingdom was still in existence. It also shows that the Isin officials had adopted these basilophoric names during or when entering into Išbi-Erra's service. Other *Beamtennamen* can also be found in the Isin Craft Archive,[40] such as *Libūr-bēlī* "May my lord be durable", Lugal-isa "The king is good", and *Šarrum-bānî* "The king is my creator".

Curiously, the Isin Craft Archive also contains basilophoric names composed with the Ur III kings Šulgi, Amar-Suen, and Šu-Suen. There are two ways to explain this phenomenon:

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[32] As of September 2018, source: www.archibab.fr.

[33] Charpin 2004, 60-75; De Boer 2014a, 157-189.

[34] On Ur III royal ideology, see Sallaberger 1999, 178-181; Michalowski 2004; and Panitschek 2008, 311-525.

[35] Charpin 2004, 61-62 with earlier literature.

[36] Van De Mieroop 1986 and 1987.

[37] A recent study of Išbi-Erra and the sources for his reign is Michalowski 2011a, 182-185.

[38] This is probably due to the fact that we only have some sixty texts from the reign of Šu-ilīšu (Van De Mieroop 1987, 22). It also shows that officials were not in a hurry to change their basilophoric names from Išbi-Erra to Šu-ilīšu: a number of Išbi-Erra names are still attested under Šu-ilīšu.

[39] *Išbi-Erra-bānî* GUD.GAZ, *BIN* 10 102: 2 (IE. 12/X).

[40] See the indices of *BIN* 9 and *BIN* 10 for references.

firstly, these people still carried the basilophoric name that was given to them during the reign of these respective Ur III kings. However, in that case, some of them must have been of advanced age at the end of Išbi-Erra's reign. Another way to interpret these names is that these deified Ur III kings were still seen as bona fide, accepted "deities" under Išbi-Erra's rule. The carriers of these names must have received or adopted them to underline their loyalty or devotion to these deified kings. This would also explain the names composed with the Old Akkadian king Sargon that we see in the Ur III period,[41] as well as the same Sargon and Ur III kings in OB Isin and Larsa.[42] Similar sentiments for adopting basilophoric names composed with the names of (long) deceased kings can be found in Ancient Egypt.[43]

What can we say about the hierarchical position of the officials with Išbi-Erra basilophoric names? Perhaps the most prominent person is prince *Išbi-Erra-narām-Kakka*.[44] Ten men were RÁ.GABA "messengers",[45] one of them, Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama, occurs forty-two times and he is sometimes identified as MAŠKIM "administrative official"[46] or UGULA "foreman". Three officials were ŠU.I "barbers",[47] two officials were SAGI "cupbearers",[48] *Išbi-Erra-bānî* was a GUD.GAZ "butcher", *Išbi-Erra-šam-balāṭim* was a NAR "musician", *Išbi-Erra-ḫasīs* was a KISAL.LUḪ "courtyard sweeper", and *Išbi-Erra-migir-Enlil* was a MUḪALDIM "cook". Generally speaking, the men carrying Išbi-Erra basilophoric names seem to be low or mid-level officials. We cannot be certain about the exact hierarchy within the Isin administrative apparatus, however, we do not encounter any really high officials, like a SUKKAL.MAḪ "chancellor"[49] or GÁ.DUB.BA "financial controller"[50] with basilophoric names. The fact that a prince

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[41] Examples can be found in Hilgert 2002a, 143.

[42] For OB Larsa: *Dan-Sargon*, *YOS* 8 127: 4 (RS.31/iti 4 ki 3); *Ša-Sargon*, Arnaud 1976, 59 no. 67 (L.74.156) vᵒ i: 40 (RS.13); Lu-Amar-Suen, Pinches 1917, plate IX, seal "a" with no.17: 16 (cf. Stol 1991, 197).

[43] Geisen 2017 wrote a preliminary study on Egyptian Old to Middle Kingdom (c. 2700-1650 BCE) basilophoric names. The most important points can be summarised as follows: some Egyptians adopted basilophoric names to underline an exclusive loyalty or devotion to a certain pharaoh. In the Old Kingdom, the person carrying the basilophoric name often lived during the rule of the pharaoh included in his name. There were many officials with basilophoric names that were connected to the cult of a deceased pharaoh. After the Old Kingdom, the picture is slightly different: names of long deceased Old Kingdom pharaohs might occur in basilophoric names. These deceased pharaohs were seen as divine beings. Some might even have become a kind of "local saint", due to the proximity of that pharaoh's tomb to a settlement.

[44] He is called DUMU LUGAL "son of the king". Other princes in the Isin Craft Archive are Ada (*BIN* 9 152: 10; 284: 4), Nūr-Dagan (*ASJ* 8, p.341 (SET 291): 20), princess (DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL) Libūr-nīrum (*BIN* 9 438: 21), and crown prince Šu-ilišu (*ASJ* 16, p. 205: 9), see also Van De Mieroop 1987, 108-110.

[45] On this official, see Stol 2012. These men were *Ea-tillat-Išbi-Erra*, Išbi-Erra-en.en, *Išbi-Erra-ilī*, *Išbi-Erra-li-si-in*, *Išbi-Erra-mālik*, *Išbi-Erra-muballiṭ*, *Išbi-Erra-narām-Enlil*, *Išbi-Erra-waqar*, Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama, and *Puzur-Išbi-Erra*.

[46] There is not yet a comprehensive study on the MAŠKIM official in the OB period. In the Isin Craft Archive, the title MAŠKIM is often carried in combination with other titles such as SAGI "cupbearer" or ŠU.I "barber", see Van De Mieroop 1987, 97-98. Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama was an important official in the royal workshop acting as a controlling/conveying official for transactions (GÌR, Van De Mieroop 1987, 93-94) as well as receiving and distributing items.

[47] *Enlil-zānin-Išbi-Erra*, *Išbi-Erra-ilī*, and *Išbi-Erra-migir-Enlil*. See Pecha 2011 on this official in the late OB period.

[48] *Išbi-Erra-Damu-nāṣiršu* and *Ištar-ṣulūl-Išbi-Erra*.

[49] Interestingly, the SUKKAL.MAḪ is often mentioned in the Isin Craft Archive, but apparently always without his personal name. A number of people are identified as SUKKAL (e.g. Ku-Ningal, Šu-Kakka, Šu-Mama, Šu-Ninmug, Šu-Kinuna, Puzur-Enlil), and below their name we often read SUKKAL.MAḪ MAŠKIM (e.g. *BIN* 9 363: 6-7), it is uncertain what this exactly means.

[50] The Isin Craft Archive holds no indications of a GÁ.DUB.BA (*šandabakkum*), who nevertheless must have held a very high position at the Isin court. In later times, the GÁ.DUB.BA LUGAL Ur-Šulpae held a prominent position at

carried a basilophoric name is all the more surprising, but programmatic names for royal children (especially women) were no exception.[51]

Given the fact that Išbi-Erra and the other Isin kings adopted the Ur III royal ideology, it is instructive to compare the Išbi-Erra basilophoric names with the Ur III examples studied by Hilgert (2002b). Just like Hilgert, we can identify a number of names that are modeled on theophoric names, presumably inspired by the king's deification; these are: *Etel-Išbi-Erra*, *Ilšu-Išbi-Erra*, *Išbi-Erra-bānî*, *Išbi-Erra-dan*, *Išbi-Erra-dunnī*, *Išbi-Erra-ḫasīs*, *Išbi-Erra-ilī*, *Išbi-Erra-lā-maḫār*, *Išbi-Erra-māgir*, *Išbi-Erra-mālik*, *Išbi-Erra-muballiṭ*, *Išbi-Erra-nādā*, *Išbi-Erra-waqar*,[52] and *Puzur-Išbi-Erra*.

When we consider the other, "unique" basilophoric names and compare them with the Ur III occurrences,[53] we can see that more than half of them found their inspiration from the Ur III basilophoric names:

Išbi-Erra-nūr-mātīšu	*Šu-Suen-nūr-mātīšu*
Išbi-Erra-inib-Anim	*Šu-Suen-inib-Ištar*
Išbi-Erra-migir-Enlil	*Šu-Suen-migir-Enlil*
	Šu-Suen-migir-Ištar
Išbi-Erra-narām-Enlil	*Amar-Suen-narām-Enlil*
Išbi-Erra-narām-Sîn	*Šu-Suen-narām-Enlil*
Išbi-Erra-narām-Kakka	*Šu-Suen-narām-Mama* (*Nisaba* 15/2 418: 3)
	Šu-Suen-narām-Ištaran (*Nisaba* 15/2 654: r.4')
	Šu-Suen-narām-Ištar (*Nisaba* 15/2 887: 41)
Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama	-Šulgi-zi-kalama (*Amherst* 32: 4)
	-Amar-Suen-zi-kalama (*RA* 19, p.39 no.IX: 15)
	-Šu-Suen-zi-kalama (*UTI* 5 3495 iii: 12)
Išbi-Erra-išar-rā[māš]	*Šu-Suen-išar-rāmāš* (*Nisaba* 15/2 720: 2)
Išbi-Erra-ili-mātīšu	Sumerian versions of this name occur, for example:
	-Šulgi-dingir-kalama (*AUCT* 1 368: 6)
	-Amar-Suen-dingir-kalama (*UET* 9 1374: 3')

Fig. 2. Išbi-Erra basilophoric names and their Ur III antecedents.

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the Isin court, see Charpin 2018, 132-133. A similar title occurs on a seal impression found on a group of unpublished early OB Isin texts kept at Yale (YBC 4904, 4906, and 4909).

[51] For example, a daughter of Išbi-Erra, Libūr-nīrum "May the yoke (i.e. dominion of the king) be durable" was married to the son of an Elamite SUKKAL (Van De Mieroop 1987, 108-109). The daughter of another Isin king, Iddin-Dagan (1976-1956 BCE), was called Mātum-niātum "The country is ours", she was married to a king of Anšan (Owen 1971). The Ur III kings also married princesses with programmatic names to foreign rulers, see Weiershäuser 2008, 260-264.

[52] The name type NN-*waqar* "NN is precious" occurs only with *abum* "father", *aḫum* "brother", *aplum* "heir", *ḫālum* "maternal uncle", Dada (meaning uncertain, perhaps "daddy"), Elali (meaning uncertain, a deity or personal name), or *ilum* (personal) god. The only clear example known to me with a named deity is Lulum-waqar (from Marad, see Durand *HEO* 18 207: 3'). All the elements in NN-waqar names seem to be in the family sphere, perhaps further proof that the deified king could be considered as a personal and/or family god, as in the names *Ilšu-Išbi-Erra* "His god is Išbi-Erra", *Išbi-Erra-ilī* "Išbi-Erra is my god", and *Išbi-Erra-bānî* "Išbi-Erra is my creator".

[53] See Hilgert 2002b, 43-68 for the references, Ur III basilophoric names that have been published since then are also taken into account.

Nevertheless, for a few Išbi-Erra basilophoric names no Ur III antecedent has been found (yet): *Ea-tillat-Išbi-Erra*, *Enlil-zānin-Išbi-Erra*, *Ištar-ṣulūl-Išbi-Erra*, *Išbi-Erra-Damu-nāṣiršu*, and *Išbi-Erra-šam-balāṭim*. These names do not seem to follow the Ur III basilophoric naming patterns as established by Hilgert (2002b, 67). The reason is that the deity (Ea, Enlil, Ištar, Damu) is at the head or in the middle of the name, which is not (yet) attested for Ur III basilophoric names where the deity (if occurring in the name) is always at the end. *Išbi-Erra-šam-balāṭim* "Išbi-Erra is the plant of life" is a unique name in the basilophoric corpus, even though the theme of (providing) life is seen in Sumerian basilophoric names such as Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama "Išbi-Erra is the life of the country" and in the elaborate Ur III name Amar-Suen-Ašnangen-zi-šagal-kalama "Amar-Suen provides life to the country like Ašnan".[54] In addition, a number of attested Akkadian Ur III basilophoric names were not adopted for Išbi-Erra names: *Šu-Suen-išar-padānšu*[55], *Šu-Suen-lipit-Ea*, *Šu-Suen-takil-ana-Suen*, *Šu-Suen-wussum-in-šarrī*, *Šu-Suen-ipallaḫ-Enlil*, *Šu-Suen-iṭīb-šināt*, and *Šu-Suen-lilabbir-ḫaṭṭam*.

The majority of these "unique" Isin basilophoric names are composed with the name of a deity who favours the king. We see the main Mesopotamian divine triad Enki/Ea, Enlil, and Anum, as well as Sîn and Ištar, and the minor deities Damu and Kakka.[56] The significance of these names seems to be that even though the king was deified, he still had to rely on divine support like everybody else.[57]

Išbi-Erra's basilophoric names are also a source for his royal ideology, the other main sources being incidental information from the Isin Craft Archive,[58] his year names,[59] royal inscriptions,[60] and poems supposedly composed during his rule.[61] By now it is clear that Išbi-Erra and/or his court poets tried to combine the Ur III royal ideology with new elements, as evidenced by the innovative narrative poetry from Išbi-Erra B. This is all the more interesting given the fact that Išbi-Erra's roots were in Mari.[62]

The problem with Išbi-Erra, as with the Ur III kings for Hilgert, is that we are studying Akkadian basilophoric names, whereas most other material on his royal ideology is written in Sumerian. In the Sumerian poems we can read that Išbi-Erra is a cultivator to whom Enlil has given strength,[63] a hero, righteous shepherd, son and strong heir of Enlil,[64] wreaking

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[54] ᵈa-mar-ᵈe-n.zu-ᵈaš-nan.gen₇-zi-šà-gál-kalam-ma, *YOS* 15 114: 8.

[55] In a text published after Hilgert 2002b: *AAICAB* 1/4, Bod. S 574: 13.

[56] Damu was considered a son of Isin's city goddess Nin-Isina (Richter 1999, 179-180), Kakka is an obscure male and/or female deity: Edzard 1977, 288 and Durand 2008, 648.

[57] A similar argument was made by Geisen 2017, 230 for Ancient Egyptian basilophoric names.

[58] Frayne 1982.

[59] Van De Mieroop 1987, 120-130.

[60] Frayne 1990, 6-14.

[61] These texts are known only from later copies. An overview is in Michalowski 2005, for the specific primary publications: Išbi-Erra A: Sjöberg 1993; Išbi-Erra B: Van Dijk 1978; Išbi-Erra C: Hallo 1966; Išbi-Erra D: Römer 1965, 77-82; Išbi-Erra E: Riesman 1976; Išbi-Erra F: Michalowski 2005, 208-209; Išbi-Erra G: Michalowski 2005, 206-207; Išbi-Erra H: Michalowski 2005, 201 n.3. The transliterations in the footnotes below are from these authors.

[62] Michalowski 2005, 204-205.

[63] IE B: iii: 34'-35', [ᵈi]š-bi-èr-ra-mu engar ᵈen-líl-le, [x] x á-maḫ mu-na-an-sum.

[64] IE G: 4', [ᵈiš-b]i-èr-ra šul dumu ᵈen-líl-l[á]; IE G: 13', ibila kalag-ga ᵈen-líl-lá; IE C: 17, šul sipa-zi dumu ᵈnu-nam-nir-re (= Enlil); IE A: i 3', ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra ˹x˺ dumu ᵈen-líl-lá.

havoc on Enlil's protesting enemies and proclaiming the š u - l u ḫ rites of Sumer.[65] He rises like the morning sun,[66] is the beloved spouse of Inanna/Ištar,[67] and the ceaseless provider of Eanna.[68] He is also the Beloved of Anum,[69] selected by Anum and Enlil from Mari to be king of the land.[70] Moreover, Išbi-Erra performs the duties of kingship for Nisaba,[71] and was called to heroism, strength, and shepherdship of the people by her at the temple of Enlil.[72] Ninurta is his bailiff,[73] he was the beloved of Nin-Isina's heart,[74] resettles the scattered people,[75] and was king and shepherd of the people.[76] In the only extant Sumerian royal inscription Išbi-Erra, "the strong king, king of his land", built a lyre for "his lord" Enlil called "Išbi-Erra trusts in the god Enlil".[77] The titles l u g a l k a l a g - g a "strong king" and l u g a l m a - d a - n a "king of his land" occur often in servant seal impressions, sometimes with the title l u g a l a n - u b - d a - l i m m u₂ - b a "king of the four quarters" and the message k i - á g ᵈe n - l í l ù ᵈn i n - i n - s i - n a "beloved of Enlil and Nin-Isina", once Išbi-Erra is also d i n g i r - k a l a m - m a - n a "god of his land". The Akkadian servant seals call Išbi-Erra *dannum* "strong" and *bēl mātīšu* "lord of his land".[78]

By combining the information from the basilophoric names with the above sources we can reconstruct the following elements of Išbi-Erra's royal ideology:

1) Enlil, the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon, is mentioned in the poems more than any other deity, perhaps due to the fact that Nippur, the site of Enlil's main sanctuary, was in Išbi-Erra's hands from an early date onwards.[79] Išbi-Erra was also explicitly the "beloved of Enlil and Nin-Isina" in the servant seal impressions and Enlil is referenced in three basilophoric names.

2) The other two gods of the main Mesopotamian divine triad at the time, Enki/Ea and Anum, are also referenced in the basilophoric names. Noteworthy is that Enki/Ea is not mentioned in the Sumerian poems revolving around Išbi-Erra.

3) In the Sumerian poems, the goddess Inanna/Ištar is the spouse of Išbi-Erra and he is favoured by her, as is reflected in only one basilophoric name: *Ištar-ṣulūl-Išbi-Erra*.

4) Other important deities are not referenced in the extant basilophoric names, most importantly, Nin-Isina, Isin's main city goddess, and the martial deity Ninurta.

5) An important feature is the relation between Išbi-Erra and his people and country. In the Sumerian hymns and servant seal impressions he is the king and shepherd of his people and

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[65] IE A: i 4'-5', e r i n₂ - g á l ᵈe n - l í l - l á n u - š e - g a š u - g a r g i₄ - g i₄ ! - d è, š u - l u ḫ - k ù - k ù - g a - k i - e n - g i - r a - k e₄ d a l l a m a ḫ - è - d è.

[66] IE G: 6', ˹u₄ z i˺ ᵈu t u - g i n è - d è.

[67] IE G: 7', ᵈi n a n n a n i t a l a m ; IE G: 20', ᵈi n a n n a n i t a l a m k i - á g - g á - n i - i r.

[68] IE C: 20, ᵈi š - b i - è r - r a s a g - ú s m ù š n u - t ú m - m u é - ˹a n - n a˺.

[69] IE A: 3', k i - á g a n - n a - k e₄.

[70] IE G: 11', ᵈi š - b i - è r - r a l u g a l k a l a m - m a - š è m á - r i ᵏⁱ - t a m u - u [n - s u ḫ - e š].

[71] IE E: 76, á - á g - g á n a m - l u g a l m u - e - g á - g á.

[72] IE E: 104-105, [é ?] ᵈe n - l í l - l á - t a ᵈi š - b i - ᵈè r - r a, [n a m] - u r - s a g n a m - k a l a g - g a n a m - s i p a - ù g - š á r - r a - k e₄ [m i ? - n i ? - i n ? - p à ?].

[73] IE G: 19', ᵈn i n - u r t a m a š k i m k a l a g . g a . n i.

[74] IE D: 18, ᵈi š - b i - è r - < r a > k i - á g š à - z a - r a.

[75] IE G: 8', ˹z a g˺ a n - k i s i g n i m s á g d ù g - g a k i - t u š - ˹b a˺ g i - n é - [d è].

[76] IE C: 26, ù g - e ᵈi š - b i - è r - r a ˹l u g a l s i p a˺ - b i - m e - e n ; IE A: i 23', [. . . s i p a] - z i - ù g - š á r - r a.

[77] Frayne 1990, 6-7 (E4.1.1): ᵈi š - b i - è r - r a - ᵈe n - l í l - d a - n i r - g a l.

[78] For the text on these seal impressions, see Frayne 1990, 7-14 (*RIME* 4 1.2001-2013).

[79] Before IE.4, when the last Ur III king Ibbi-Suen was still in power, see Michalowski 2011a, 184.

the lord or god of his land. This is reflected in the basilophoric names *Išbi-Erra-ili-mātīšu*, *Išbi-Erra-nūr-mātīšu*,[80] and Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama.

6) The main deity of Ur, Nanna/Sîn, is almost absent in Išbi-Erra's royal ideology, only referenced through the basilophoric name *Išbi-Erra-narām-Sîn*. This is all the more surprising because the Isin kings (except Išbi-Erra) styled themselves initially as "king of Ur". This is undoubtedly connected to the fact that Išbi-Erra obtained the control over Ur from the Elamite/Šimaški confederation only in his 15th year.

7) The god Erra, present in Išbi-Erra's name, does not seem to play any role in the extant sources for Išbi-Erra's royal ideology. By the same token, the main Middle Euphrates deities, Dagan and Adad (because Išbi-Erra was purportedly from Mari) are also absent.

The most conspicuous part of Ur III royal ideology that Išbi-Erra copied was the deification of his royal persona.[81] This probably explains the many basilophoric names where Išbi-Erra is "my god", "my creator", etc., names based on existing theophoric models. Išbi-Erra also adopted other stock phrases from Ur III royal ideology like "strong king" and "king of the four quarters". Išbi-Erra basilophoric names also plagiarised the "unique" Akkadian basilophoric names that came into vogue under the Ur III king Šu-Suen, where the king is favoured by certain deities. On the other hand, there were also innovations under Išbi-Erra's rule such as the experiments with new forms of royal hymns (Išbi-Erra B), a stronger emphasis on the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon Enlil, and new types of basilophoric names.

Apart from Išbi-Erra, we have basilophoric names for four other Isin kings: Iddin-Dagan (1976-1956 BCE), Lipit-Ištar (1936-1926 BCE), Būr-Sîn (1897-1876 BCE), and Enlil-bānî (1862-1839 BCE). Except for the name *Iddin-Dagan-narām-Ištar*, all of these basilophoric names follow patterns based on existing theophoric models. Unfortunately, we do not have any examples from the latter Isin kings. This is no doubt the result of the "chance of discovery", but given the fact that all Isin kings were deified, we can assume that basilophoric names were an integral part of the Isin royal ideology until the end of the Isin royal dynasty when it was finally conquered by Larsa under Rīm-Sîn in 1794 BCE.

3.4 Basilophoric names in the kingdom of Larsa

The basilophoric naming traditions in the kingdom of Larsa are best explained by studying them together with Larsa's political history. The kings of Larsa (about 1941-1763 BCE)[82] started their more than a century long struggle with Isin for southern Mesopotamian dominance with the advent of Gungunum (1932-1906 BCE). The early Larsa kings had clear Amorite roots, which is reflected in their Amorite names and the title *rabiān amurrim* "Chief of the Amorites". Perhaps this meant that they initially did not copy the Ur III royal ideology as thoroughly as their Isin counterparts. Most importantly, the Larsa kings were not systematically deified like their Isin counterparts, and this could very well explain the lack of

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[80] This name perhaps underlines the king's solar aspects, well known from Šulgi's hymns and later OB royal ideology, see Charpin 2013.

[81] Other aspects of the Ur III royal ideology copied by the Isin kings like their entries in the Sumerian King List, the adoption of the title "King of Ur", plagiarism of Ur III hymns, etc. cannot be proven for Išbi-Erra yet.

[82] The "reign" of Zabâya (about 1941-1933 BCE) was taken as the tentative start of Larsa's independence due to the fact that royal inscriptions were first written in his name, see Charpin 2004, 68-70 and Fitzgerald 2002, 35-37.

basilophoric names for the majority of Larsa kings. Nevertheless, some aspects of Ur III king-ship were adopted from Gungunum onwards such as the title "king of Ur" and the installation of princesses as high priestess.[83]

The reign of Sumu-El (1894-1866 BCE) was a turning point for Larsa's kingdom. It was a turning point for the better, because of the initial territorial expansions and for the worse because of the aggressive counter-campaigns of Isin's Erra-imittī and the subsequent domes-tic crises.[84] The reign of Sumu-El also sees the first attested Larsa basilophoric name: *Itūr-Sumu-El* "Sumu-El has returned".[85] The name of the king does not carry the divine determi-native here, but Sumu-El was nonetheless the first Larsa ruler to be deified.[86] There are multiple indications that Sumu-El even aspired to follow in the footsteps of the Ur III kings through his royal titles and special attention towards Ur. These efforts amounted to little because of the crises in Sumu-El's last years and the fact that his successors distanced them-selves from him.[87]

The next five Larsa kings constituted a new line of rulers, they did not have Amorite names, nor mentioned any Amorite connections, and they abandoned Sumu-El's aspirations to be seen as heirs of Ur III kingship. Royal deification was continued under Nūr-Adad (1865-1850 BCE); however, for his immediate successors (Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-irībam, and Sîn-iqīšam), we cannot be certain about this practice because their names are already written with the divine determinative of Sîn (ᵈEN.ZU).[88] There are no basilophoric names known for these rulers.[89]

In 1834 BCE a new dynasty deposed the ephemeral Ṣilli-Adad (1835 BCE) and Kudur-ma-buk and his three sons Warad-Sîn (king from 1834-1823 BCE), Sîn-muballiṭ (viceroy in Maš-kan-šāpir) and Rīm-Sîn (king from 1822-1763 BCE) would rule Larsa's kingdom for some seventy years.[90] Neither Kudur-mabuk nor Warad-Sîn was deified during their lifetime and there are no known basilophoric names composed with their personal names. This would change radically under Rīm-Sîn.

Rīm-Sîn was a successful king who conquered the neighbouring kingdoms of Uruk in 1803 BCE and Isin in 1794 BCE, reuniting southern Mesopotamia under his rule. However, he was eventually defeated by Hammurabi of Babylon in 1763 BCE. Much has been written about Rīm-Sîn, his reign, and his administrative reforms,[91] but there are two closely connected issues that are of interest for this study: Rīm-Sîn's sudden deification and the large number of basilophoric names containing "Rīm-Sîn".

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[83] When Gungunum took control of Ur, he did not depose Enannatuma, the daughter of Isin's king Išme-Dagan, out of respect for her office as highpriestess of Nanna/Sîn, cf. Charpin 2004, 71-72.

[84] The exact ramifications of Erra-imittī's campaigns need to be studied again when all of the correspondence of Sumu-El with his military personnel will be published (for now, see Chambon 2015 and George 2018). On the reign of Sumu-El, see Charpin 2004, 76-78 and Fitzgerald 2002, 55-77.

[85] See the list below, the occurrences all come from Kisurra and might refer to one and the same person. Note also the obscure *Sumu-El-bābīya*ˀ in the Amorite name list (a school text) from *PBS* 11/2 1i: 11'.

[86] Mostly attested through his royal inscriptions, see Frayne 1990, 130-137.

[87] Fitzgerald 2002, 71-75.

[88] Fitzgerald 2002, 78-82.

[89] However, names with the word "king" as an element do occur, for example: L u g a l - d i k u d /*Šarrum-dayyān* "The king is a judge", *YOS* 5 111: 13 (Sîn-iddinam 1).

[90] The backgrounds of this dynasty are still cloudy, but Amorite connections were again underlined (at least by Kudur-mabuk), see Charpin 2004, 116-117.

[91] Van De Mieroop 1993; Fitgerald 2002, 138-148; Charpin 2004, 119-127 and 317-324; and Pientka-Hinz 2007.

Charpin put the deification of Rīm-Sîn in his twentieth regnal year (1804 BCE) when he regained control of Nippur.[92] It seems that basilophoric names were introduced around the same time as Rīm-Sîn's deification.[93] The earliest known dated occurrences of names mentioning Rīm-Sîn are from his twenty-third year.[94] This is not to say that names referring to the (unnamed) king did not exist before this,[95] but the deification seemed to include a basilophoric naming reform: suddenly a sizeable group of Larsa officials were obliged, or felt obliged, to adopt basilophoric names honouring Rīm-Sîn.[96] It is then no surprise that *almost* all of the attested basilophoric names carried the divine determinative before the name of Rīm-Sîn.[97] If such a basilophoric naming reform did indeed take place, we can only guess at its implementation: who decided on the appropriate names? Which officials changed their name? Did these name changes occur around the same time?

The number of basilophoric names attested for Rīm-Sîn is almost as high as those for Išbi-Erra, they are highly original and more varied than those of Išbi-Erra discussed above, which were for a large part plagiarised theophoric or Ur III basilophoric names. Whereas the Išbi-Erra basilophoric names stem from a single large state-related archive, the situation for Larsa is different: most references to Rīm-Sîn names are isolated[98] and only a few come from small text groups. This makes it impossible to establish whether all of these names were also actually carried by government officials. In addition, it hampers our ability to say something about the hierarchical position of the officials carrying basilophoric names. In any case, the most important person bearing a basilophoric name was *Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu*, one of the wives of Rīm-Sîn. She must have received this name when she entered into wedlock.[99]

A number of men with Rīm-Sîn basilophoric names often occur together in a text group from Maškan-šāpir dated to RS. 31: *Rīm-Sîn-atpalam*, *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu*, (Rīm-Sîn)-kurgal-amaḫani, *Rīm-Sîn-rappašunu*, and *Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni*.[100] They are involved in providing rations to large groups of workmen and they are mentioned in letters from Rīm-Sîn himself, his brother Sîn-muballiṭ, and others. None of the men carry clear titles, but the highest official was *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu*, who received letters from the king.[101] Also, *Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni* was important enough to receive royal mail.[102] *Rīm-Sîn-atpalam* appears to have been responsible for the king's troops in Maškan-šāpir.[103]

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[92] Charpin 1986, 300 n.3 and Charpin 2004, 120.

[93] Already remarked by Pientka-Hinz 2007, 370.

[94] See the appendix below for *Rīm-Sîn-Sîn-tillassu* and *Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni*.

[95] Eg. *Šarrum-gāmil* "The king is favorable" (RS.17?), Leemans 1954 no.21: 2; and *Palâšu-līrik* "May his reign be long" (RS. 6), *YOS* 8 47: 26.

[96] Names referencing the king still occur after this, e.g. *Šarrum-muštāl* "The king is one who considers", *YOS* 8 147: 2 (RS. 37) and Lugal-mansum "The king has given me to me", *UET* 5 212: 17 (RS.43).

[97] See the appendix below. The exceptions (both from letters) are Rīm-Sîn-Enḫalmaḫ(?) and Rīm-Sîn-nādā.

[98] For example: *Ana-Rīm-Sîn-taklāku* is the neighbour of a house being reallocated; Rīm-Sîn-kiag-Enlila and Rīm-Sîn-Ninurta-adaḫani occur in a large land register; *Rīm-Sîn-nīšu* is a litigant in a legal claim, etc.

[99] In the votive inscription of *Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu* (Frayne 1990, 302-303), we also encounter her and Rīm-Sîn's daughter, who carries the programmatic name *Lirīš-gamlum* "May the throwing stick (of the king) rejoice".

[100] Studied by Veldhuis 2008 and Clevenstine 2015.

[101] Veldhuis 2008, nos. 2, 3, and 4.

[102] Veldhuis 2008, no. 4, written by the king to *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu* explicitly states that he also wrote to *Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni*.

[103] Veldhuis 2008, 50.

The image that emerges is that people from all levels of Larsa's government could potentially carry a basilophoric name. Due to the many isolated references, it can also be concluded that people not directly connected to the crown bore basilophoric names.

As I did for the Išbi-Erra names, I will separate those that are modeled on existing theophoric names, presumably inspired by the king's deification, from the "unique" basilophoric names. To the first category belong *Ana-Rīm-Sîn-taklāku*, *Rīm-Sîn-atpalam*, *Rīm-Sîn-ilī*, *Rīm-Sîn-līdiš*, *Rīm-Sîn-liwwir*, *Rīm-Sîn-muballiṭ*, *Rīm-Sîn-mudammiq*, *Rīm-Sîn-nādā*, *Rīm-Sîn-nīšu*, *Rīm-Sîn-qarrād*, and *Rīm-Sîn-tayyār*. At least two of these theophoric name types are only associated with certain gods, *Rīm-Sîn-liwwir* "May Rīm-Sîn shine" is encountered almost exclusively with the light bringing gods Šamaš and Sîn. *Rīm-Sîn-līdiš* "May Rīm-Sîn be renewed" (like the waxing moon) only with Sîn. This indicates that specific divine domains were attributed to Rīm-Sîn.

The second category of "unique" basilophoric names contains most names: Rīm-Sîn-Enlil-kurgalani, *Rīm-Sîn-Enlil-tukultašu*, Rīm-Sîn-kiag-Enlila, (Rīm-Sîn-)kurgal-amaḫani, Rīm-Sîn-šega-Enlil, Rīm-Sîn-namsipa-idu, *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu*, Rīm-Sîn-Ninurta-adaḫani, *Rīm-Sîn-Ninurta-uballissu*, *Rīm-Sîn-rappašunu*, Rīm-Sîn-tabba-isa, *Rīm-Sîn-Sîn-tillassu*, *Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu*, *Rīm-Sîn-Šamaš-lamassašu*, and *Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni*. A few of the above names have their antecedents in the previous Isin or Ur III basilophoric tradition like Rīm-Sîn-kiag-Enlila,[104] *Rīm-Sîn-Sîn-tillassu*,[105] Rīm-Sîn-Ninurta-adaḫani,[106] and *Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni*.[107] The other names seem to be innovations in the basilophoric naming tradition. In Akkadian we can note the names *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu* and *Rīm-Sîn-Šamaš-lamassašu*, where the city gods of the kingdom's northern and southern capital, Maškan-šāpir and Larsa, are presented as Rīm-Sîn's personal protective deities.[108] Also worthy of note is *Rīm-Sîn-rappašunu* "Rīm-Sîn is their neck-stock", underscoring the king's martial abilities.

As with the "unique" Išbi-Erra basilophoric names, those of Rīm-Sîn are almost all composed with the name of a deity. Striking are the five names referencing Enlil, either directly, or through his epithet KUR.GAL "large mountain"; perhaps these were inspired by Rīm-Sîn's recapture of Nippur, the same event that might have paved the way for his deification. Furthermore, we can note that most major city gods of Rīm-Sîn's kingdom are represented in the names: Enlil (Nippur), Utu/Šamaš (Larsa), Nergal (Maškan-šāpir), Nanna/Sîn (Ur), and Ninurta (Girsu/Lagaš region and Nippur). However, major deities like Anum, Inanna/Ištar (Uruk), and Enki/Ea (Eridu) are absent in the current attestations. The wife of the storm god Iškur/Adad (Karkar), Šala, is referenced in one name.

It is clear that Rīm-Sîn's royal ideology was modified with his deification and the introduction of basilophoric names. However, a study of Rīm-Sîn's royal ideology before and after his

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[104] Šu-Suen-kiag-Enlil "Šu-Suen is the beloved of Enlil", (*Torino* 2 468 ii: 4').

[105] Not exactly the same, but nonetheless very similar is *Ea-tillat-Išbi-Erra* "Ea is the help of Išbi-Erra".

[106] Not exactly the same, but nonetheless very similar (also because of the later equation of Ningirsu with Ninurta) is Ningirsu-adaḫ-Šulgi "Ningirsu is the helper of Šulgi", (*Amherst* 54: 4).

[107] A similar Sumerian version of this name is attested: Šulgi-Utumu "Šulgi is my sun", (*BPOA* 6 746: 2'). Together with names such as *Rīm-Sîn-liwwir*, this name underlines the solar aspect of OB kingship, see Charpin 2013.

[108] Charpin 2017, 245-246.

deification in the light of his basilophoric names (what was done for Išbi-Erra above) is beyond the scope of this article. Instead, some observations are provided:

1) Enlil's epithet "the great mountain" (KUR.GAL), also encountered in Rīm-Sîn basilophoric names, is first attested in *RIME* 4 E.2.14.11. This is perhaps the first royal inscription after the recapture of Nippur, Rīm-Sîn (not yet deified in the text) also uses here for the first time the title "shepherd who bears tribute for Nippur".

2) A strong focus on Enlil was also observed for Išbi-Erra's royal ideology above. There was probably a connection between OB deified kingship, Enlil, and the possession of Nippur.

3) All Rīm-Sîn basilophoric names have the king's name as first element,[109] and this is probably deliberate because the Isin and Ur III basilophoric names were not as strict in this respect. However, the Babylonian basilophoric names also put the king's name first.

4) Some typical Ur III titles like "king of the four quarters" were not employed by Rīm-Sîn in his royal inscriptions. Despite his deification and conquest of Isin, Rīm-Sîn apparently did not want to emulate or follow in the footsteps of the Ur III kings.

5) The Rīm-Sîn basilophoric names do not explicitly mention the relationship between the king and his country, something that was a theme for both Babylonian and Išbi-Erra basilophoric names (e.g. *Išbi-Erra-nūr-mātīšu* "Išbi-Erra is the light of this country").

6) In a few cases, most notably in the elaborate "unique" basilophoric names, the element Rīm-Sîn could be omitted from the name.[110] The clearest example is, of course, *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu* a.k.a. *Nergal-lamassašu*, but we see the same for Rīm-Sîn-namsipa-idu (name on the seal impression) a.k.a. Namsipa-idu (name written on the tablet), and possibly for Kurgal-amaḫani, whose "full name" Rīm-Sîn-kurgal-amaḫani has not yet been attested.[111] This flexibility probably also allowed Kurgal-amaḫani to keep his name in the letter *YOS* 15 28 that was sent by Hammurabi of Babylon.

7) Not surprisingly, Rīm-Sîn basilophoric names disappear after Hammurabi's annexation of the kingdom of Larsa in 1763 BCE. We know that Hammurabi initially kept parts of Rīm-Sîn's administrative apparatus intact,[112] but I know of no examples yet where officials with Rīm-Sîn basilophoric names changed their name when entering Hammurabi's service.

8) Finally, divine kingship at Larsa resurfaced shortly during the ephemeral reign of "rebel king" Rīm-Sîn II (about 1741-1739 BCE) when he sought independence from the Babylonian king Samsu-iluna, but there are no basilophoric names known for this Rīm-Sîn II.

3.5 Basilophoric names in the kingdom of Babylon

The basilophoric naming tradition for the OB kingdom differs markedly from those of Isin and Larsa. Contrary to Isin and Larsa, basilophoric names are attested for almost all Babylonian kings (1880-1595 BCE).[113]

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[109] Except *Ana-Rīm-Sîn-taklāku*.

[110] This would make little sense for the names based on a theophoric model, unless a name like *Rīm-Sîn-liwwir* was shortened to a hypochoristicon such as Liwwirum.

[111] Perhaps we should also add the name Enlil-namtilani "Enlil is his life" to this list, see Limet 1989, 110-111 no.13: 2 (Rs. 51/VIII).

[112] The best example is Lu-Ninurta (addressee in *YOS* 15 21, sent by Rīm-Sîn), who was transferred by Hammurabi to the capital Babylon from where he sent letters to Babylonian officials working in Larsa.

[113] The exceptions being Sîn-muballiṭ (1812-1793 BCE) and Samsu-ditāna (1625-1595 BCE). The first study of Babylonian basilophoric names is Klengel 1976.

None of the Babylonian kings were deified during their lifetime, that is to say, they did not carry the divine determinative in front of their names.[114] Nevertheless, names where the king is referenced as "my/our god" (e.g. "Hammurabi is my god"), do indicate that the Babylonian king could be regarded as more than a mere mortal. There is little to no evidence in other sources of the Babylonian royal ideology to say anything more about this "quasi-divine status", that also appears to have existed at Mari.[115] A pertinent remark was made by Charpin (2013, 76): *The question of divine kingship was often wrongly stated by scholars using absolute categories: was the king considered a god or not? [...] Everything is dependent on context: it is the same for the divine nature of the king.* Hammurabi himself declares in a royal inscription that he put his name in the mouths of the people so that they would proclaim it daily "as that of a god" (*kīma ilim*).[116]

In the late OB period (Ad. 29, about 1654 BCE) we encounter a man called Sabium-šēmi "Sabium is one who listens", almost two centuries after king Sabium (1844-1831 BCE) had lived; what is more, in this case, the king's name *does* carry the divine determinative. However, a scribal error seems likely, because Sabium-šēmi stands in a well-established tradition of people having basilophoric names containing a long-deceased king,[117] e.g. *Sabium-abī* (Aṣ.1), *Sabium-šēmi* (Aṣ.9), *Apil-Sîn-muštāl* (Si.4), *Hammurabi-ilī* (Ae.22), *Hammurabi-lū-dāri* (Ae.), and *Hammurabi-šēmi* (Sd.6-16). In none of the cases do we see that the name of the deceased king is deified.

This "deceased king basilophoric tradition" also makes us consider whether this *Sabium-šēmi* and others were government officials. For the kingdoms of Isin and Larsa I have established that most people carrying basilophoric names were in the service of the king who was referenced in their name, or his immediate successor. What can we say about the people carrying these unusual basilophoric names? For the following men we can demonstrate a connection to the crown: *Sabium-šēmi* rents out a boat on behalf of princess Elmešum and he is defined as her "guard",[118] *Hammurabi-lū-dāri* was a high official present at Dūr-Abī-ešuḫ, who carries the titles SAGI "cupbearer" and GAL.UKKEN.NA "chief of the assembly". This establishes that basilophoric names with deceased kings as an element were an accepted practice for Babylonian officials. Adopting a Hammurabi basilophoric name is understandable among later generations given his impact, but one can only wonder why Sabium or Apil-Sîn were chosen; apparently these kings still lingered in collective memory for some special reason unknown to us.[119]

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[114] Note however: ᵈḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL.E (*BE* 6/2 10: 4); ᵈḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL (*SAOC* 44 22: 8); MU ᵈḫa-am-mu-ra-b[i LUGAL.E] A.GAL.GAL.LA ÈŠ.NUN.NAⁱ MU.UN.GUL (*TIM* 4 37: 21-23); SIPA ZI ᵈḫa-am-mu-[ra-bi] (Ni 4225: 7, Hammurabi praise poem C), ᵈḫa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL INIM ᵈEN.LÍL.LÁ.TA BÀD MÁ.RÍⁱ MU-UN-GUL-LA (Sigrist 1977, 170) and ᵈam-mu-ra-bi LUGAL IZKIM.TI AN ᵈEN.LÍL.TA (YBC 4362, unpublished, *Yale Catalogue* 4, p. 33). All of these occurrences come from the former kingdom of Larsa where the scribes still had the habit to write the name of the king with the divine determinative.

[115] Durand 1991, 63 n.145. There is not yet a comprehensive study on the royal ideology of the (Babylonian) OB kings, see Charpin 2004, 232-316.

[116] Frayne 1990, 336 (*RIME* 4 E.4.3.6.2) l. 75-81; see also Seux 1980-1981, 171.

[117] See also the remarks made above sub Isin on basilophoric names composed with Ur III kings in the early Old Babylonian period.

[118] *CT* 45 58: 1-4 (Aṣ.9/X/1).

[119] Alternatively, these kings could have been known from an OB royal chronicle. A Neo-Babylonian copy of a chronicle mentioning Sabium and Apil-Sîn is known, see Leichty and Walker 2004, 207. However, Sabium is not portrayed positively in this chronicle.

For the Babylonian kingdom we have more textual sources than for Larsa or Isin and therefore also a better understanding about the members of its administrative apparatus. Stol (2002) studied the entourage of the OB kings,[120] and from his work and the current study on basilophoric names, we can conclude that, typically, high Babylonian officials, did not have basilophoric names but usually carried "regular" names that we cannot qualify clearly as a *Beamtenname*.[121] The highest positions that we observe for people with basilophoric names are GAL.UKKEN.NA "chief of the assembly" and SAGI "cupbearer", mid-level officials.[122] Nonetheless, sometimes, high officials did carry a *Beamtenname*:

-*Ṭāb-eli-mātim* "He is good for the country" was a high official under Hammurabi.[123]
-*Ḫadānšu-likšud* "May he achieve his goal" was SUKKAL "minister" under Samsu-iluna.[124]
-*Balāssu-līrik* "May his life be long" was UGULA ŠU.I "chief of the barbers" under Abī-ešuḫ.[125]
-*Marduk-lamassašu* "Marduk is his protective deity" was SUKKAL "minister" under Abī-ešuḫ.[126]
-*Bēlī-ašarēd* "My lord is preeminent" was ŠÀ.TAM ERIN₂ LUGAL.LA "controller of the troops of the kings" under Samsu-ditāna.[127]
-Lu-sukkalmaha "Man of the vizier" was ŠÀ.TAM ERIN₂ LUGAL.LA "controller of the troops of the kings" under Samsu-ditāna.[128]
-*Liṭīb-libbašu* "May his heart be pleased" was ŠU.I LUGAL "royal barber" under Ammi-ditāna.[129]

There is also the highly interesting case of *Hammurabi-ṣulūlī* "Hammurabi is my shelter", who was ENSI₂ "city ruler" of Ešnunna. We can assume that he was an ephemeral military governor of Ešnunna between the reigns of Ṣilli-Sîn and Ilūni.

The Babylonian basilophoric names were composed mostly based on existing theophoric models: *Sumu-la-El-nādā*, *Sumu-la-El-dūrī*, *Sabium-abī*, *Sabium/Hammurabi-bānî*, *Sabium-gāmil*, *Sabium/Apil-Sîn/Hammurabi/Abī-ešuḫ-ilī*, *Sabium/Samsu-iluna-qarrād*, *Sabium/Hammurabi/Abī-ešuḫ-šēmi*, *Sabium/Apil-Sîn/Samsu-iluna/Abī-ešuḫ-muštāl*, *Hammurabi-ašarēd*, *Hammurabi-ḫāzir*, *Hammurabi-muballiṭ*, *Hammurabi-rīm-ilī*, *Hammurabi-ṣulūlī*, *Hammurabi-šamšī*, *Hammurabi-ša-takālim*, *Samsu-iluna-kāšid*, *Samsu-iluna/Abī-ešuḫ-kīma-ilim*, *Samsu-iluna-šarrum*, and *Abī-ešuḫ-līdiš*. These names underline some kind of (divine) aspect attributed to the king. When we survey the "unique" basilophoric names, we see that there is not much originality:

1) *Hammurabi/Abī-ešuḫ-lū-dāri* "May Hammurabi/Abī-ešuḫ be forever" is a name that is not encountered with a deity as the main element. Instead, we do find *abī* "my father", *šī* "she", *šarrum* "the king", and *bēlī* "my lord" as other elements. It makes no sense for a Mesopotamian to wish that a god should live forever because the gods already lived eternally. Similarly, *Sumu-la-El-libluṭ* "May Sumu-la-El live" expresses a wish for the king to live.[130]

[120] See also Charpin 2018.
[121] The same is true for other kingdoms in the Old Babylonian period.
[122] See previous paragraph, i.e. *Hammurabi-lū-dāri*, but also *Samsu-iluna-kāšid* and *Abi-ešuh-šamši-nišî*.
[123] His title is uncertain, see Charpin 1988, 141.
[124] *BDHP* 28: 24 (Si.8?/VII/8).
[125] *CUSAS* 8 39: 12 (Ae.o+1/III/5).
[126] *CUSAS* 8 39: 13 (Ae.o+1/III/5). There appear to have been three different SUKKAL's with the same name, cf. Stol 2002, 756.
[127] *CUSAS* 8 53: 15 (Sd.13/XI/25).
[128] E.g. *CUSAS* 8 58: 2 (Sd.10/II/23).
[129] Fadhil 2014.
[130] Interestingly, the small tablet on which we find this name is dated to Rīm-Sîn 1, some twenty-three years after Sumu-la-El's death. The possibly basilophoric name *Sabium-gāmil* (written: *sa-bu-um-ga-mi-il*) is found on

These names indicate that the king was considered mortal in some basilophoric names, contrary to names like "Hammurabi is my god".

2) *Samsu-iluna-nūr-mātim* "Samsu-iluna is the light of the country" has its antecedents in Ur III and Isin traditions (see above).

3) *Abī-ešuḫ-šamši-nišī* "Abī-ešuḫ is the sun of the people" is the only original basilophoric name for Babylon. Like *Hammurabi-šamšī* and *Samsu-iluna-nūr-mātim*, this name expresses the solar aspects of the king (Charpin 2013).

4) *Ammī-ditāna/Ammī-ṣaduqa-ilūni* "Ammī-ditāna/Ammī-ṣaduqa is our god" does not find, curiously enough, a parallel in theophoric names. These names are however patterned on DN/RN-ilī "DN/RN is my god". It is worthwhile to note that in *VAS* 22 68, *Ammī-ditāna-ilūni* is the father of *Ammī-ṣaduqa-ilūni*! These are also two of the latest attested OB basilophoric names (the text dates from Sd.16ˀ), and the only ones composed with kings Ammī-ditāna and Ammī-ṣaduqa. The basilophoric naming tradition seems far from disappearing under the last OB kings, despite the fact that we do not yet have any examples with Samsu-ditāna.

5) For Išbi-Erra of Isin and Rīm-Sîn of Larsa we found a number of original names where a specific deity would favour or love the king. Surprisingly, we find no such names for the Babylonian kings, unless one counts the generic *Hammurabi-rîm-ilī* "Hammurabi is the beloved of the gods". In the Babylonian royal inscriptions, we find many examples of the gods bestowing favours on the kings but somehow this was not expressed in the Babylonian basilophoric naming tradition.

To conclude, it is difficult to fathom the rationale underpinning the Babylonian basilophoric naming tradition. For Isin and Larsa we found that divine kingship and the basilophoric naming tradition were intimately connected. By contrast, the Babylonian kings were not deified, nevertheless, they were portrayed as possessing divine qualities *and* being mortal. Almost all names are based on theophoric models without the originality found in the Isin and Larsa traditions. The basilophoric names were carried by low to mid-level officials and it was accepted practice to use the names of long-dead kings in those names.

3.6 Basilophoric names in other kingdoms during the Old Babylonian period

There are a handful of other kingdoms where a basilophoric naming tradition is attested. This is no doubt partly due to the (relative) paucity of sources for some major kingdoms in the OB period, most notably Elam,[131] Yamhad, Qaṭna, and Ešnunna. Nevertheless, it might very well be that a basilophoric naming tradition did not exist in a number of kingdoms. In any case, we can safely assume that *Beamtennamen* were used in most, if not all, of the larger kingdoms in the Middle East during the OB period.[132]

YOS 5 115 and 116, both from Larsa and dated to a Larsa king (Warad-Sîn 11). This man may have been a visitor from Babylon. Perhaps the element "Sabium" means something else in this name as well as in the name *Abum-kīma-Sabûm* "The father is like Sabûm" (*a-bu-um-ki-ma-sà-bu-um*, *MHET* II/1 7: 27, dated by Immerum of Sippar), some thirty years before Sabûm ruled.

[131] There is one (uncertain) isolated reference to a basilophoric name from Elam: Idadu-nawir, a Šimaški king.

[132] We can give the following examples of kingdoms without an attested basilophoric naming tradition, that did use *Beamtennamen*:

-Yamhad: *Ṭāb-balāṭī* "My life is good", the *šukal ubārī* "minister of foreigners", Durand 2002, 94-95.

-Uruk: *Ina-palêšu* "During his reign" (e.g. *BaM* 27 p. 388 no. 245: 3) and *Šarrum-kīma-ilim* "The king is like a god" (a RÁ.GABA "messenger" during the reign of Rīm-Anum, *Nisaba* 4 II.81: 8).

If one considers kingdoms where names composed with *bēlī* "my lord" were found as well, we can also mention:

One kingdom for which we would expect a basilophoric naming tradition is Ešnunna. This kingdom established its independence from the Ur III empire under Šu-ilīya somewhere after 2026 BCE and he might have reigned until about 2011 BCE.[133] Like his contemporaries on the throne, Šu-ilīya not only copied the trappings of Ur III kingship through divine kingship but also by adopting the Ur III basilophoric naming tradition. Three administrative tablets found at Ešnunna mention no less than ten different basilophoric names with Šu-ilīya.[134] A few of these follow existing Ur III examples: Šu-ilīya-ḫamati,[135] *Šu-ilīya-dan*,[136] and *Šu-ilīya-šadûni*.[137] Most striking are however the four names where Šu-ilīya receives two qualifications, the first one is always *išar* "he is just", but the second element varies (see the appendix below). The meaning of this innovation is not clear, but given the fact that these four names occur together with four other basilophoric Šu-ilīya names on one tablet (TA 1931-T203) is telling. These people appear to be the personnel of a temple dedicated to the deified king Šu-ilīya, a cult that was even continued by Šu-ilīya's non-deified successor Nūr-aḫum.[138] Royal deification in early OB Ešnunna, however, seems to start and end (temporarily) with Šu-ilīya, and with it, also the basilophoric naming tradition. Whiting (1977, 175) writes that none of the names of other Ešnunna rulers were used as such in the many unpublished early OB Ešnunna texts kept at the Oriental Institute in Chicago.

The American excavations of Ešnunna barely yielded any texts from the reign of the king who made Ešnunna truly great (*murappiš Ešnunna*), Ipiq-Adad II (perhaps 1859-1840 BCE?). The chronological problems surrounding this monarch's rule are mindboggling,[139] however, the most important thing is that, after Šu-ilīya, he was the first ruler of Ešnunna to carry the title *šarrum* "king" and *šar kiššatim* "king of the universe",[140] in addition to deifying himself. Ipiq-Adad II's sons and successors Narām-Sîn and Dadūša were likewise deified, contrary to the other Ešnunna kings Dannum-taḫāz, Iqīš-Tišpak, and Ibal-pī-El II. As stated earlier, divine kingship is often accompanied by a basilophoric naming tradition, and we would therefore expect basilophoric names with these kings, but none of the available sources from the Ešnunna kingdom contains any attestation. Yet, there is at least one interesting *Beamtenname* from the reigns of these Ešnunna kings: *Inêr-ayyābīšu* "He kills his enemies".[141]

Samsī-Addu's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia (about 1833-1776 BCE) was located to the northwest of Ešnunna and controlled at its zenith most of northern Mesopotamia. The life and conquests of Samsī-Addu are complicated to reconstruct,[142] but for our purposes, the most important thing is that a basilophoric naming tradition existed at his court. Unfortunately, only two different names are attested: *Samsī-Addu-ilī* "Samsī-Addu is my god" and

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-Qaṭṭarâ: *Bēlī-lamassī* "My lord is my protective deity", *OBTR* 210: 7.

-Šeḫna: *Bēlī-līter* "May my lord be surpassing", *PIHANS* 117 27: 3'.

[133] Charpin 2004, 64-65 and Reichel 2008, 141.

[134] Whiting 1977, 175 cites the examples; now with Reichel 2008, 142 n. 27.

[135] This type of name is also found in the Ur III period, e.g. Šu-Suen-ḫamati, *AUCT* 2 378: 4.

[136] Hilgert 2002b, 45.

[137] This name also has Ur III antecedents, e.g. *Šulgi-šadûni*, *Nisaba* 15/2 766: 10.

[138] Reichel 2008, 142-143.

[139] There might even have been an Ipiq-Adad III, see Guichard 2014; De Boer 2014a, 228-235; De Boer 2014b; Nahm 2017; Nahm 2018a; Nahm 2018b.

[140] E.g. Frayne 1990, 547 (*RIME* 4 E4.5.14.4): d*i-pi-iq*-dIM, LUGAL KIŠ-*im*, DUMU *i-ba-al-pi-el*.

[141] From Nērebtum: *OBTIV* 139: 14, *OBTIV* 229: 7, and *UCP* 10/1 57: 19.

[142] Charpin 2004, 147-191; Ziegler and Charpin 2003, 75-168; Ziegler 2008; Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012, 94; and Patrier 2015.

Samsī-Addu-tukultī "Samsī-Addu is my trust"; the names were apparently carried by men throughout Samsī-Addu's realm in Ašnakkum, Mari, and the capital Šubat-Enlil.

However, Samsī-Addu did not deify himself. What was then the idea behind these basilophoric names? To answer this question, we need to consider Samsī-Addu's royal ideology,[143] which is mostly known through his royal titles. It developed over the course of his conquests adopting elements of Old Assyrian and southern Mesopotamian traditions. His roots were ideologically put in the ancient capital Akkad and as such he was "king of Akkad".[144] Also, Samsī-Addu proclaimed himself later on in his life as "king of the universe".[145] Was Samsī-Addu inspired by Ešnunna's Ipiq-Adad II for this highly acclaimed title? Or did it follow from his reverence towards the Old Akkadian kings? An important deity to Samsī-Addu was Enlil, he was the *šakin Enlil* "appointee of Enlil"[146] and he changed the name of his capital from Šeḫna into Šubat-Enlil "The abode of Enlil". As we saw for Isin and Larsa above, Enlil was closely connected to the idea of universal rule, divine kingship, and with this the basilophoric naming tradition. Samsī-Addu's royal ideology aspired to universal rule and Enlil was presented as his deity of preference. Perhaps the question should be: why was Samsī-Addu not deified during his lifetime?

The kingdom of Mari under Yaḫdun-Līm and Zimrī-Līm (respectively, about 1810-1794 BCE and 1775-1762 BCE) has similarly yielded only two basilophoric names: *Yaḫdun-Līm-ilī* "Yaḫdun-Līm is my god" and *Zimrī-Līm-šadûni* "Zimrī-Līm is our mountain". We cannot discount this low number to the "chance of discovery". The Mari archives contain relatively few texts from Yaḫdun-Līm's reign, so there might have been more basilophoric names, but for the reign of Zimrī-Līm, we are informed about almost all Mari officials. As Durand (1984) has shown, many Mari officials carried *Beamtennamen*, but the basilophoric names are perhaps best explained as anomalies. Prerequisites for a basilophoric naming tradition, i.e. divine kingship, a special connection to Enlil, and aspirations to universal rule were not a topic in Mari royal ideology. Nevertheless, through Ešnunna it borrowed from the southern Mesopotamian royal traditions. The best example for this influence can be found in the Mari royal inscriptions and the introduction of year names.[147]

4. *Concluding remarks on basilophoric names and royal ideology in the Old Babylonian period*

This article started by discussing Išbi-Erra, the Isin king originating in Mari, and ended with Zimrī-Līm of Mari, coming full circle in our survey of basilophoric names in the OB period. Let us go back to the questions posed in the beginning.

4.1 *How widespread were these names used?*

Whereas *Beamtennamen* (names carried specifically by officials) were probably carried by officials from all major and minor OB kingdoms, we can surmise, based on the currently

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[143] Charpin 1984b, 52; and Ziegler 2008, 634. The royal inscriptions of Samsī-Addu are collected in Grayson 1987, 47-76.
[144] Ziegler 2008, 632.
[145] Ziegler 2008, 634; Charpin 1984b, 52.
[146] This title is always mentioned before other epithets with deities such as *iššiak Aššur* and *narām Dagan*.
[147] Charpin 2012, 130-133.

available evidence, that basilophoric names were restricted to Isin, Larsa, Babylon, early OB Ešnunna, Mari, and the kingdom of Samsī-Addu. In the last three kingdoms, the basilophoric naming tradition seems to have been marginal, leaving Isin, Larsa, and Babylon as our main sources. Despite the fact that basilophoric names are already attested in Early Dynastic times, they were only adopted *en masse* by Ur III officials after Šulgi's deification. From that moment on, basilophoric names were an integral part of Ur III royal ideology. This was copied almost wholesale by Išbi-Erra of Isin. From this moment on, Ur III royal ideology was the blueprint for other OB royal ideologies and the spread of the basilophoric naming tradition can be seen as the degree of penetration of Ur III royal ideology among kingdoms in the OB period. Consequently, it is not surprising that it is mostly restricted to the former core of the Ur III empire in southern Mesopotamia.

4.2 Which individuals bore these names?

Typically, these names were carried by low to mid-level officials. However, high-level officials and even members of the royal family could also carry basilophoric names. In addition, there is some evidence that people without direct ties to the ruler could carry such names out of piety or a special devotion to him. This even resulted in the adoption of names of long-deceased kings in basilophoric names.

4.3 Which categories of names can be identified?

This study has refrained from classifying basilophoric names based on theme. This has been done before by Feigin, Stamm, and Hilgert (see above) and does little to contribute to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Instead, the excellent idea of Hilgert 2002b was followed to distinguish between "theophoric-inspired" basilophoric names (e.g. *Ea/Hammurabi-bānî* "The god Ea/Hammurabi is my creator") and "unique" basilophoric names that were not based on existing name types. The "theophoric-inspired" names communicate that the king had certain divine attributes due to the divine nature of his kingship. It was not the actual individual king who was divine, but his office of kingship, and from this, the king could appropriate certain aspects of divinity.

The "unique" basilophoric names often communicate that a certain deity favoured the king (e.g. Rīm-Sîn-kiag-Enlila "Rim-Sîn is the beloved of Enlil"). This illustrates that the king, despite being deified, still had to rely on other gods in order to be a successful monarch. Similarly, it demonstrates that the deified king was not at the same level as the main gods such as Enlil, Anum, or Ea in the divine hierarchy. His exact position in this hierarchy was probably more comparable with those of the lower gods.

Furthermore, the "unique" basilophoric names often show a special connection between the (deified) ruler and Enlil. This is not surprising because Enlil was the head of the OB pantheon. Nevertheless, a ruler's first allegiance was often to the god of his capital city. In this respect, it is no coincidence that Rīm-Sîn's deification and the start of the most elaborate OB basilophoric naming tradition began with Rīm-Sîn's conquest of Enlil's city, Nippur. Claims to universal kingship (e.g. *šar kiššatim*) by certain kings often went hand in hand with special attention to the universal leader himself, Enlil.

4.4 What was the function of these names?

At a basic level, basilophoric names, like the much more widespread *Beamtennamen*, aggrandised and honoured the king. Every name was in fact a small prayer blessing the king. On a deeper level we see that basilophoric naming traditions were strongly tied to the divine kingship that was part and parcel of Ur III royal ideology.

The modern Western binary notion that something or someone is either completely profane *or* divine has hampered the study of divine kingship. We must accept that in ancient Mesopotamia there were many levels and degrees of divinity.[148] We can think of a scale with "completely divine" on one side and "completely profane" on the other, on which the deified kingship of the Isin kings, the deified Rīm-Sîn of Larsa, and the partly divine Babylonian kingship, occupied different positions.

The whole concept of divine kingship also raises the question of what the divine determinative (d) implied in the OB period,[149] because we do not know *exactly* what it meant when the name of a king carried this determinative. Therefore, it is noteworthy that divine kingship and basilophoric naming traditions did not survive into the Middle Babylonian period.[150] In any case, for the OB period, basilophoric names can be regarded as a divine-kingship inspired ideological step up the ladder from the *Beamtennamen*.

4.5 What do they tell us about Old Babylonian royal ideology?

The Ur III royal ideology was the only model of kingship available to the patchwork of Mesopotamian states when the Ur III empire started to implode around 2020 BCE. Most of its ideology was adopted by these early successor states, with divine kingship being the most obvious aspect, copied by at least Isin, Malgium, Ešnunna, and Dêr. Now we can state that a basilophoric naming tradition also belonged to this package because it is attested for Isin and Ešnunna as early as ca. 2010 BCE. This does not mean that the Ur III royal ideology was copied everywhere as faithfully as it was by Isin. Shortly thereafter, we see alternative forms of kingship, for example in Assur, where the king was only the viceroy of the "real king", divine Assur. In fact, every kingdom in this period had its own royal ideology, that changed and developed depending on ethnic affiliation (like the Amorite component in early Larsa kingship), conquests (Samsī-Addu), or preferences of the ruler (Rīm-Sîn). This is why we cannot simply speak about "one" royal ideology in the OB period, the political instability and parcelization of power endemic to this period renders any such undertaking futile. Nevertheless, the ideas about kingship developed under Ur III kings Šulgi and Šu-Suen would have their influence over all southern Mesopotamian kingdoms during the OB period. At least for the major southern kingdoms Isin, Larsa, and Babylon, we can claim that Ur III royal ideology was one of the underpinning factors.

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[148] Brisch 2008, 8 and Selz 2008. Also pertinent is the following remark by Marchesi 2006, 68 n.322: "A personal name like *Sar-ru*-GI-*ì-lí* 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."

[149] Selz 2008, 15 gives an overview of its usage in the Early Dynastic period.

[150] Paulus 2014, 80, especially note 153. The Kassite kings did profess a strong adherence to Enlil, in what ways Kassite royal ideology differed markedly from the Ur III royal ideology is a question that remains to be answered.

APPENDIX: a catalogue of basilophoric names from the Old Babylonian period

Kingdom of Isin		
Name/Meaning	Writing	References and dates[151]
Puzur-Šulgi/Shelter of Šulgi	*pù-zur*$_8$-^{د}šUL.[GI][152]	*BIN* 10 53: 4 (IE.?/VIII)
Tarām-Šulgi/She loves Šulgi	*tá-ra-am*-^{د}šUL.GI	*BIN* 9 259: 6 (IE.13/IX); *BIN* 9 387: 5 (IE.12/VIII); *BIN* 9 497: 2, 5 (IE.15/II/10); *BIN* 9 358: 1 (IE.13/X/13)
Šulgi-ilī/Šulgi is my god	^{د}šUL.GI-*ì-lí*	*BIN* 9 327: 8 (IE.15/VII)
Šulgi-gištuk/Šulgi listens	^{د}šul-gi-giš-tuk	Sigrist 1984: 195 (Nippur)
Amar-Suen-mālik/Amar-Suen is a counselor	^{د}AMAR-^{د}EN.ZU-*ma-lik*	*UET* 5 690: 15
Dan-Amar-Suen/ Amar-Suen is strong	*dan*-^{د}AMAR-^{د}EN.[ZU]	*BIN* 9 492: 37 (IE.10/?/15); *BIN* 10 237: 26 (IE.10/V/6); *BIN* 10 238: 16 (IE.10/V/30)
Lu-Amar-Suen/Man of Amar-Suen	lú-^{د}amar-^{د}en.zu ŠÀ.TAM	*BIN* 9 246: 9 (IE.28/IX/11); *BIN* 9 254: 5 (IE.28/IV/2); *BIN* 9 265: 6 (IE.28/IX); *BIN* 9 395: 21 (IE.26/VIII/15); *BIN* 9 399: 4 (IE.26/III/26); *BIN* 9 523: 4 (IE.26/II/12)
	lú-^{د}amar-^{د}en.zu	ur-^{د}šul-pa-è, dub-sar lugal, dumu lú-^{د}amar-,^{د}en-zu, gá-dub-ba lugal, seal on Ojeil 32 and LO.1254 (Charpin 2018) (Enlil-bānî/Zambiya)
Mannum-kî-Amar-Suen/ Who is like Amar-Suen?	*ma-nu-um-ki*-^{د}AMAR-^{د}EN.ZU	*UET* 5 690: 22
Šu-Suen-abī/Šu-Suen is my father	^{د}*šu*-^{د}EN.ZU!-*a-bí* Ì.DU$_8$	*BIN* 9 346: 7 (IE.19/II/10); *BIN* 10 127: 12 (IE.19/I/23)
Ea-tillat-Išbi-Erra/Ea is the help of Išbi-Erra	*é-a*-ILLAT-^{د}*iš-bi-èr-ra* RÁ.GABA	AAICAB 1/1 pl.79 (Ashm.1932-280): 12
Enlil-zānin-Išbi-Erra/ Enlil is the provider of Išbi-Erra	^{د}EN.LÍL-*za-ni-in*-^{د}*iš-bi-èr-ra* ŠU.I	*AuOr* 7 p.148 1: 9 (IE.17/II/16) *SANTAG* 7 81: 13 (IE.26/I/27)
Enlil-[x]-ʼxʼ-Išbi-Erra[153]/ Enlil...Išbi-Erra	^{د}EN.ʼLÍLʼ-[x]-ʼxʼ-*iš-bi-èr*-[*ra*] SAGI	*BIN* 10 110 seal J: ^{د}*iš-bi-èr-ra*, lugal kalag-ga, lugal ma-da-na, ki-ág ^{د}en-líl, ù ^{د}ni[n]-in-si-[na], ^{د}en-ʼlílʼ-[x]-ʼxʼ-*iš-bi-èr*-[*ra*], sagi, ir$_{11}$-zu (IE.13/VIII)
Etel-Išbi-Erra/Išbi-Erra is preeminent	*e-te-il*-^{د}*iš-bi-èr-ra*	*BIN* 10 139: 8 (IE.22/IX)
	i-te-èl-^{د}*iš-bi-èr-ra*	*JCS* 20: 40 no.5: 15 (IE. 33/VII)

[151] The propositions by Van De Mieroop 1987, 120-130 are followed here for the year names of Išbi-Erra and Šu-Ilīšu.

[152] One Puzur-Šulgi is mentioned as "messenger of Išbi-Erra" in a text from Ur from the reign of Ibbi-Sîn (*UET* 3 1421: 5, Michalowski 2011a, 182).

[153] Frayne 1990, 8 read Enlil-[...]um-Išbi-Erra, the text on which the seal is impressed has the name ^{د}EN.LÍL-*ma-la-ak-šu* (*BIN* 10 110: 5, also in *BIN* 9 240: 9; 304: 4), which could be a shortened version of Enlil-mallāk-Išbi-Erra "Enlil is the *adviser*? of Išbi-Erra".

Ilšu-Išbi-Erra/His god is Išbi-Erra	DINGIR-*šu*-^d*iš-bi-èr-ra*	*JCS* 20 p. 40 no.5: 13 (IE. 33/VII)
Išbi-Erra-bānî/Išbi-Erra is my creator	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-ba-ni* GUD.GAZ	*BIN* 9 300: 11(IE.14/XII); *BIN* 10 102: 2 (IE.12/X)
Išbi-Erra-Damu-nāṣiršu/ Išbi-Erra, Damu is his keeper	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra*-^dDA. MU-*na-ṣi-ir-šu* SAGI	*BIN* 9 360: 4 (IE.15/IV/6)
Išbi-Erra-dan/Išbi-Erra is strong	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-dan*	*BIN* 9 381: 12 (ŠI.3/V/5); *BIN* 10 252: 38 (IE.13/VIII); *BIN* 10 253: 25 (IE.13/ IX); *BIN* 10 271: 19 (IE.16/X/7)
Išbi-Erra-dunnī/Išbi-Erra is my fortress (?)[154]	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra*-BAD₃-*ni*	*BIN* 9 520: 7 (ŠI.3/V)
Išbi-Erra-EN.EN/Išbi-Erra is the master of the master(s)?[155]	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra*-e n . e n RÁ.GABA	*BIN* 9 199: 6 (IE.33/I/24); *BIN* 9 529: 3 (IE.33/II); *BIN* 9 530: 3 (IE.33/I/6); *BIN* 10 78: 6 (-/-/VIII); *JAOS* 98 p. 256 no.14: 13
Išbi-Erra-ḫasīs/Išbi-Erra is wise	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-ḫa-sí-is* KISAL.LUH	*BIN* 9 439: 16 (IE.21/X/25)
Išbi-Erra-ilī/Išbi-Erra is my god	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-ì-lí* attested with the titles RÁ.GABA and ŠU.I	*BIN* 9 333: 7 (IE.13/VIII); *BIN* 9 434: 17 (IE.19/X/24); *BIN* 9 437: 13 (-/-/7); *BIN* 9 439: 10 (IE.21/X/25)
Išbi-Erra-ili-mātīšu/Išbi-Erra is the god of his country	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-ì-lí-ma-ti-šu*	*BIN* 9 417: 3 (IE.24/II/21); *BIN* 10 77: 3 (IE.27/X); *BIN* 10 139: 6 (IE.22/IX); *BIN* 10 155: 13 (IE.25/III)
Išbi-Erra-inib-Anim/Išbi-Erra is the fruit of Anum	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-i-ni-ib*-AN-*ni-im*	*SLB* 5 9: 10 (IE.16/I/26); *SLB* 5 4: 4 (IE.13/ III/19); *BIN* 9 134: 2 (-/I/16);*BIN* 9 136: 2 (IE.16/I/18); *BIN* 9 194: 8 (IE.16/I/14); *BIN* 9 197: 9 (IE.16/I/24[+x]); *BIN* 9 259: 7 (IE.13/IX); *BIN* 9 262: 12 (IE.16/VI); *BIN* 9 355: 4 (IE.13/III/20); *BIN* 9 358: 3 (IE.13/X/13); *BIN* 9 466: 3 (-/I/12)
Išbi-Erra-išar-rā[māš][156]/ Išbi-Erra is just, love him	^d*iš*-[*bi-èr-ra*]-*i-šar-r*[*a-ma-aš*]	IB 352 iii: 6' (Wilcke 1985: 303) -
Išbi-Erra-lā-maḫār/Išbi-Erra is without opposition	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-la-ma-ḫa-ar*	*BIN* 9 328: 16 (ŠI.2/IX/10); *BIN* 9 444: 5 (ŠI.3/III/1) *JAOS* 98: 256 no.14 : 7
Išbi-Erra-la-AB-NI[157]/ Išbi-Erra...	^d*iš-bi*-[*èr-ra*]-*la*-AB NI [...]	*BIN* 10 58: 8 -
Išbi-Erra-li-si-in[158]/May Išbi-Erra ...	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra*-/*li-si-in* RA₂.GABA	*BIN* 9 151: 8 (IE.32/XI)
Išbi-Erra-māgir/Išbi-Erra is one who consents	^d*iš-bi-èr-ra-ma-gir*	IB 352 i: 5 (Wilcke 1985: 303)

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[154] On the reading BÀD = *dunnum*, Langlois 2014.

[155] Van De Mieroop *BIN* 10 p. 18 reads "Išbi-Erra-bēl-bēlī".

[156] This name is emended on the basis of *Šu-ilīya-išar-rāmāš* (see below sub-Ešnunna) and *Šu-Suen-išar-rāmāš*, *Nisaba* 15/2 720: 2.

[157] Reference uncertain.

[158] I do not know how to interpret *li-si-in* in this name.

Išbi-Erra-mālik/Išbi-Erra is a counsellor	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-ma-lik RA₂.GABA	*BIN* 9 108: 3, seal D: ᵈiš-bi-/èr-ra, dingir-kalam-ma-/na, lugal kalag-ga, lugal ma-/da-na, ᵈiš-bi,-èr-ra-ma-lik (IE.24/X); *BIN* 9 109: 4, same seal as on *BIN* 9 108 (IE.23/VI); *BIN* 9 111: 4, same seal as on *BIN* 9 108 (IE.28/I); *BIN* 9 507: 4, seal Q: ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra, lugal kalag-g[a], lugal ma-da-[na], ᵈiš-bi-èr-r[a-ma-lik] (IE.20/III)
Išbi-Erra-migir-Enlil/Išbi-Erra is the favourite of Enlil	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-/mi-gir-ᵈEN.LÍL attested with the titles ŠU.I and MUHALDIM	*BIN* 9 151: 4 (IE.32/XI); *BIN* 9 339: 11 (IE.33/III/6)
Išbi-Erra-muballiṭ/Išbi-Erra is one who makes alive	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-mu-ba-lí-iṭ RÁ.GABA	*BIN* 9 296: 3 (IE.16/V/5); *ASJ* 5: 56 no.6: 3 (IE.16/XI/19)
Išbi-Erra-nādā/Praise Išbi-Erra	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-na-da	*BIN* 9 398: 12 (IE.19/VI.27); *BIN* 10 45: 6 (IE.33/IX/30); *BIN* 10 48: 9 (IE.33/X)
Išbi-Erra-narām-Enlil/ Išbi-Erra is the beloved of Enlil	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-na-ra-am-ᵈEN.LÍL RÁ.GABA	*BIN* 9 458: 2 (IE. 14/II/12)
Išbi-Erra-narām-Sîn/Išbi-Erra is the beloved of Sîn	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-na-ra-am-ᵈEN.ZU	*BIN* 10 48: 7 (IE.33/X)
Išbi-Erra-narām-Kakka/ Išbi-Erra is the beloved of Kakka	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-na-ra-am-kà-kà DUMU LUGAL	*BIN* 9 432: 16 (IE.19/II/30)
Išbi-Erra-nūr-mātīšu/Išbi-Erra is the light of his country	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-nu-úr-ma-ti-šu	*BIN* 9 151: 11 (IE.32/XI); *BIN* 9 342: 8 (-/X); *BIN* 9 417: 12 (IE.24/II/21); *BIN* 9 518: 6 (IE.22?/XII/20); *BIN* 10 33: 9 (IE/23/IX); *BIN* 10 136: 5 (IE.22/III/11); *BIN* 10 139: 4 (IE.22/IX); *BIN* 10 140: 7, 17 (IE.22/IX); *BIN* 10 141: 6 (IE.22/X); *BIN* 10 145: 3 (IE.22/XII)
Išbi-Erra-šam-balāṭim/ Išbi-Erra is the plant of life	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-ša-am-ba-la-ṭì-im NAR	*BIN* 9 415: 15 (IE.24/III/16)
Išbi-Erra-waqar/Išbi-Erra is precious	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-wa-qar RÁ.GABA	*BIN* 9 380: 10 (ŠI.3/V/13); *JAOS* 98: 256 no.12: 10 (ŠI.3/V/13)

Išbi-Erra-zi-kalama/ Išbi-Erra is the life of the country	ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra-zi-kalam-ma attested with the titles RÁ.GABA, MAŠKIM, and UGULA	*SLB* 5 16: 8 (IE.32/XI/2); *BIN* 9 37: 27 (IE.33/XII); *ASJ* 16: 204 no.1: 5 (IE.15/VIII/20); *ASJ* 8: 341 (SET 291): 25 (IE.33/III/15); *AuOr* 7: 148 1: 6 (IE.17/II/16); *ASJ* 5: 57 no.8: 14 (IE.22/I/28); Groneberg 1994: 247: 20 (ŠI.1/VI/1); *JAOS* 98: 254 no.7: 19 (-/-/5); *JAOS* 98: 255 no.10: 1' (ŠI.2/I/16); *JAOS* 98: 256 no.12: 11 (ŠI.3/V/13); *BIN* 9 326: 21 (IE.16/IV); *BIN* 9 343: 9 (IE.18/III/4); *BIN* 9 348: 9 (IE.18/VI/27); *BIN* 9 356: 4 (IE.19/I/8); *BIN* 9 357: 6 (IE.19/I/8); *BIN* 9 366: 11 (ŠI.3/IV/16); *BIN* 9 367: 4 (IE.33/V/30); *BIN* 9 368: 14' (ŠI.2/III/23); *BIN* 9 379: 8 (ŠI.3/I/10); *BIN* 9 380: 11 (ŠI.3/V/13); *BIN* 9 381: 13 (ŠI.3/V/5); *BIN* 9 382: 5; *BIN* 9 388: 19 ŠI.3/I/22); *BIN* 9 392: 5 (IE.33/XII/30); *BIN* 9 405: 8 (ŠI.2/II/14); *BIN* 9 415: 7 (IE.24/III/16); *BIN* 9 416: 9 (ŠI.1/IV/3); *BIN* 9 418: 4 (ŠI.1/IX/18); *BIN* 9 419: 7 (ŠI.3/I/13); *BIN* 9 423: 11 (ŠI.3/IV/18); *BIN* 9 430: 30; *BIN* 9 432: 18 (IE.19/II/30); *BIN* 9 436: 10 (?/VI/28); *BIN* 9 439: 12 (IE.21/X/25); *BIN* 9 443: 6 (IE.19/II); *BIN* 9 444: 9 (ŠI.3/III/1); *BIN* 9 452: 15 (ŠI.1/X); *BIN* 9 458: 6 (IE. 14/II/12); *BIN* 9 500: 7 (IE.25/I); *BIN* 10 58: 13; *BIN* 10 118: 4 IE.14/XI); *BIN* 10 134: 4 IE.22/II/10[+x])
Ištar-ṣulūl-Išbi-Erra/Ištar is the shelter of Išbi-Erra	iš-tár-AN.DÙL-ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra SAGI	*BIN* 9 412: 3 (IE.21/XI/6); *BIN* 9 520: 9 (ŠI.3/V); *BIN* 10 151: 7 (IE.23/VII/16)
Puzur-Išbi-Erra Shelter of Išbi-Erra	pù-zur₈-ᵈiš-bi-èr-ra RÁ.GABA	*BIN* 9 451: 16 (IE.22/II/13)
No names attested with Šu-ilīšu		
Iddin-Dagan-waqar/ Iddin-Dagan is precious	ᵈi-din-ᵈda-gan-wa!-qar	*UET* 1 108: 4 servant seal in the name of Lipit-Ištar. Reading by Edzard 1957: 61 n.282
Iddin-Dagan-narām-Ištar/ Iddin-Dagan is the beloved of Ištar	ᵈi-din-ᵈda-gan-na-ra-am-iš₈-tár	*TIM* 9 101: 4:5 (ID.H/IX)
Iddin-Dagan-nawir/ Iddin-Dagan is bright	ᵈi-din-ᵈda-gan-na-wi-ir	*TIM* 9 101: 7:8 (ID.H/IX)
No names attested with Išme-Dagan		
Lipit-Ištar-bēlum[159]/Lipit-Ištar is the lord	li-pí-it-iš₈-tár-be-lum	*SVJAD* 62: 7 (RS.54/VIII/1)
No names attested with Ur-Ninurta		
Būr-Sîn-ilī/Būr-Sîn is my god	ᵈbur-ᵈEN.ZU-ì-lí	*BIN* 7 59: 11 (Lipit-Enlil 4/IV/10); *BIN* 7 60: 12, 17 (Lipit-Enlil 4/IV/10); *BIN* 7 215: seal (Enlil-bānī c)

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[159] Reference uncertain.

No names attested with Lipit-Enlil and Erra-imitti		
Enlil-bānî-nādā/Praise Enlil-bānî	ᵈEN.LÍL-*ba-ni-na-da*	IB 1293 iii: 11 (Wilcke 1994: 306); IB 1304 r: 12' (Wilcke 1994: 312)
Enlil-bānî-tayyār/Enlil-bānî is relenting	ᵈEN.LÍL-*ba-ni*-[*t*]*a-a-ar*	IB 1304 r :13' (Wilcke 1994: 312)
Enlil-bānî-tukultī/Enlil-bānî is my trust	ᵈEN.LÍL-*ba-ni-tu-kúl-ti*	IB 1294 ii: 26 (Wilcke 1994: 308); IB 1304: 3' (Wilcke 1994: 311)
Enlil-bānî-x-[...]	ʳᵈEN.LÍL-*ba-ni*-x'-[...]	IB 1294 iv: 32 (Wilcke 1994: 309; IB 1306 r.i: 15' (Wilcke 1994: 313); IB 1715: 8 (Krebernik 1992: 118) (Eb.f/XII/8)

Kingdom of Larsa		
Name/Meaning	Writing	References/Date
Itūr-Sumu-El/Sumu-El has returned (All attestations are from Kisurra, probably referring to the same person)	*i-túr-su-me-el*	*FAOS* 2 43: 5; *FAOS* 2 79B: 15; *FAOS* 2 72 (seal); *FAOS* 2 81A: 13; *FAOS* 2 192: 6; *Santag* 9 209: 5'
	i-túr-su-me-al	*FAOS* 2 78, seal: *be-la-nu-um*, DUMU *i-túr-su-me-al*
No names attested for other Larsa kings except Sumu-El and Rīm-Sîn		
Ana-Rīm-Sîn-taklāku/I trust in Rīm-Sîn	*a-na*-ᵈ*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-*ták-la-ku*	*RA* 85 (1991) (= BM 14003): 4, 12 (RS.49/VI/12)
Rīm-Sîn-atpalam/Rīm-Sîn reciprocate to me	ᵈ*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-*at-pa-lam*	*SVJAD* 115: 4 (RS.31/IX/15); Clevenstine 2015: 5 (RS.31/VI/2²); *TCL* 10 79: 20 (RS.31); Veldhuis 2008 no.5: 18, 21; Veldhuis 2008 no.6: 12; Veldhuis 2008 no.7: 8
Rīm-Sîn-Enhalmah(?)/"Rīm-Sîn...."	*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-en-hal-mah	*AbB* 1 76: 3
Rīm-Sîn-Enlil-kurga-lani/Rīm-Sîn, Enlil is his large mountain	ᵈ*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-ᵈen-líl-kur-gal-a-ni	*AbB* 8 14: 4; cf. Charpin 1983-1984: 104-105; *TIM* 1 26: 4 (RS.); MS 2776/14: 9, 11 (unpublished)
	~ᵈen.líl-kur-gal-a-ni	Rīm-Sîn A: 21, Brisch 2007: 180-183
Rīm-Sîn-Enlil-tukultāšu/Rīm-Sîn, Enlil is his trust	ᵈ*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-ᵈEN.LÍL-*tu-kúl-ta-šu*	*Yale Catalogue* 4: 192, YBC 10223; *YOS* 15 21: 14; Freedman 1975 no. 199: 3 (p. 155)
Rīm-Sîn-ilī/Rīm-Sîn is my god	ᵈ*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-*ì-lí*	*YOS* 8 118: 16 (RS.39/XI); *TLB* 1 50: 6; *TLB* 1 48: 9; *TLB* 1 47: 17
Rīm-Sîn-kiag-Enlila Rīm-Sîn is the beloved of Enlil	ᵈ*ri-im*-ᵈEN.ZU-ki-ág-ᵈen-líl-lá	*OECT* 15 1 obv: 45, rev: 3
(Rīm-Sîn)-kurgal-amahani[160] (Rīm-Sîn), the large mountain is his great power	(Rīm-Sîn-)kur-gal-á-mah-a-(a)-ni	Veldhuis 2008 no.1: 3; *TCL* 10 63: 7 (RS.24/VIII); *TCL* 10 80: 4 (RS.31/iti 10-kam ki 6/26); *YOS* 15 28: 6

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[160] Even though the texts do not give the element "Rīm-Sîn" for this name, it seems very probably to me that this name is in fact a basilophoric name. Similarly, *Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu* is mostly encountered as *Nergal-lamassašu*.

Rīm-Sîn-kurgal[azu]¹⁶¹/ Rīm-Sîn is your great mountain (?)	ʳᵈri²-im-ʳᵈEN. ZU²-kur-gal- [a-zu²]	Rīm-Sîn A: 21, Brisch 2007: 180
Rīm-Sîn-līdiš/May Rīm-Sîn be renewed	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU-li-di-iš	MS 2776/9: 4 (unpublished)
Rīm-Sîn-liwwir/May Rīm-Sîn shine	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU-li-wi-ir	*YOS* 8 64: 10 (RS.59/XII/8); *YOS* 8 109: case 12 (RS.59/IV/1); *YOS* 8 162: 11 (RS.59/ VII); *YOS* 8 163: 10 (RS.59/VII); *YOS* 8 164: 9 (RS.59/X/11); *YOS* 8 165 seal: ᵈri-i[m]-ᵈEN.ZU-li-wi-ir, ÌR ᵈ[EN?].ZU, ù ᵈIM(?) (RS.59/XI)
Rīm-Sîn-šega-Enlil/ Rīm-Sîn is the compliant one of Enlil	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-še-ga-ᵈen.líl	*YOS* 8 173: 5, 15, seal: ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-še-ga-/ᵈen-líl, DUMU ᵈIM-AN.DÙL-lí, ÌR ᵈIM ᵈša-la (RS.31/III)
Rīm-Sîn-muballiṭ/Rīm-Sîn is one who makes alive	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-mu-ba-lí-iṭ	AO 5478: 10 (Thureau-Dangin 1911: 82) (RS. 25/V/29); *TCL* 10 63: 6 (RS.24/VIII)
Rīm-Sîn-mudammiq/Rīm-Sîn is one who makes good	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-mu-da-mi-iq	*SVJAD* 120: 5 (RS.58/VI/30), *Yale Catalogue* 4: 136, YBC 7065
Rīm-Sîn-nādā/Praise Rīm-Sîn	ˡri-im-ᵈEN.ZU-na-da	*AbB* 5 232: 19, 30
Rīm-Sîn-namsipa- idu¹⁶²/Rīm-Sîn, his shepherd-ship is good	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-nam-sipa-ì- dùg	*Boyer Contribution* (*CHJ*) HE 104: 6, seal: ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU-nam-sipa-ì-dùg, DUMU i-bi-ᵈIM, ÌR ᵈEN.KI, ù ᵈIM. (RS.31/?/5)
Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu; a.k.a. Nergal-lamassašu/ Rīm-Sîn, Nergal is his protective deity	ᵈNÈ.IRI₁₁. GAL-la-ma-sà-šu	*SVJAD* 114: 4 (RS.31/VI/30); *SVJAD* 115: 3 (RS.31/IX/15); *SVJAD* 116: 4 (RS.31/IX); Clevenstine 2015: 4 (RS.31/VI/2²); HMA 9-1859: 10 (Marchant 1990: 169-171) (RS.31/iti 10-kam ki 15); Veldhuis 2008 no.1: 1; *TCL* 10 79: 18 (RS.31); *TIM* 5 71 v: 4 (RS.31/XII/4)
	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU- ᵈNÈ. IRI₁₁.GAL-la-ma-sà-šu	Veldhuis 2008 no.2: 1; Veldhuis 2008 no.3: 1; Veldhuis 2008 no.4: 1; Veldhuis 2008 no.5: 1
Rīm-Sîn-Ninurta- adaḫani/Rīm-Sîn, Ninurta is his helper	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-ᵈnin-urta-á- dah-a-ni	*OECT* 15 1 rev: 10; *OECT* 15 5 rev: 19
Rīm-Sîn-Ninurta-uballissu/ Rīm-Sîn, Ninurta keeps him well	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU-ᵈNIN. URTA-ú-ba-li-iṭ-šu	*YOS* 15 23: 3; *AbB* 14 111: 3
Rīm-Sîn-nīšu/We have Rīm-Sîn	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU-ni-šu	*YOS* 8 66: 5 (case: 5) (RS.[x]/III)
Rīm-Sîn-qarrād/Rīm-Sîn is a hero	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-qáˡ(qar)-ar-du	*AbB* 14 175: 4
	ᵈri-im-ᵈEN. ZU-qá-ra-ad	NBC 5313: 3 (cf. *AbB* 14: 163 n. 175a); *Yale Catalogue* 4: 146, YBC 7655

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¹⁶¹ Perhaps this name should better be read as Rīm-Sîn-kurgal-amaḫani.

¹⁶² In the text (line 6) he is called simply Namsipa-idu. A transliteration of the seal impression is also found in Durand *HEO* 18, p. 75.

Rīm-Sîn-rappašunu/Rīm-Sîn is their neck-stock	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-ra-(ap)-pa-šu-nu	*SVJAD* 114: 3 (RS.31/VI/30); *SVJAD* 115: 2 (RS.31/IX/15); *SVJAD* 116: 4 (RS.31/IX); Clevenstine 2015: 3 (RS.31/VI/2?); *TCL* 10 79: 16 (RS.31); Arnaud 1983: 287 no.1: 5; CBS 7110: 17; *TMH* 10 173: 4 (RS./II-2/5)
Rīm-Sîn-Sîn-tabba-isa/ Rīm-Sîn, Sîn is a good companion	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-^{d}en-zu-tab-ba-ì-sa$_6$/mah	MS 2776/14: 10 (unpublished)
Rīm-Sîn-Sîn-tillassu/Rīm-Sîn, Sîn is his help	^{d}ri-im-^{r}^{d}EN.ZU,-^{d}EN.ZU-ILLAT-sú	Arnaud 1983: 272: 5 (RS.23/IV)
Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu/ Rīm-Sîn, Šala is his pride (*wife of Rīm-Sîn*)	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-^{d}ša-la-ba-aš-ta-šu	*YOS* 9 31: 13-14, *RIME* 4 E4.2.14.23
Rīm-Sîn-Šamaš-lamassašu/ Rīm-Sîn, Šamaš is his protective deity	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-^{d}UTU-la-ma-sà-šu	*UET* 5 445: seal, [ṣi-l]i-^{d}[UTU], DUMU ^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-^{d}UTU-la-ma-sà-šu, ÌR ^{d}UTU
Rīm-Sîn-šamšīni/Rīm-Sîn is our sun	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-^{d}UTU-ši-ni	Allegheny 25: 6 (Owen 2012: 450-453) (RS.23/VII/14); Veldhuis 2008 no.4: 5, 8; MS 2776/14: 9, 20 (unpublished); *AbB* 9 273: 4; *YOS* 15 21: 18
Rīm-Sîn-tayyār/Rīm-Sîn is relenting	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-ta-a$^!$-ar	*OECT* 15 266: 20 (RS.57/I/23)
Rīm-Sîn-x-x-šu[163]/Rīm-Sîn…	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-x-x-šu	PUL 310: 5 (Limet 1989, 110-111) (RS.51/VIII)
Rīm-Sîn-x x x x x-ù.tu/ Rīm-Sîn...	^{d}[r]i-im-^{d}EN.ZU-ḪU KI AN ME A/KÙ BI/GA-ù-tu	*AbB* 5 191: 3
Rīm-Sîn-mu[dammiq/balliṭ/ šallim]/Rīm-Sîn...	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-m[u-da-mi-iq?)]	*OECT* 15 1 obv: 31
Rīm-Sîn-x[...?]/Rīm-Sîn...	^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-x	Arnaud 1976: 74 (no.167, L.74.154), seal: ^{d}EN.ZU-i-qí-ša-am, DUMU ^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-x, ÌR x x (Ha.42?)

[163] Limet 1989, 110-111 read ^{d}ri-im-^{d}EN.ZU-tub-qú-šu.

Kingdom of Babylon		
Name/Meaning	Writing	References/Date
Itūr-Sumu-abum[164]/ Sumu-abum has returned	*i-ˈtúrˈ-su-mu-a-bu-/ um*	*CUSAS* 36 49: 3 (early OB)
Sumu-la-El-nādā/Praise Sumu-la-El	*su-mu-la*-DINGIR-*na-da*	*AbB* 13 151 :2
Sumu-la-El-dūrī/Sumu-la-El is my fortress	*su-mu-le-el-du-ri*	*OBTIV* 281:3 (school exercise)
Sumu-la-El-libluṭ/May Sumu-la-El live	*su-mu-la*-DINGIR-*li-ib-lu-uṭ*	*CUSAS* 14 79: 3 (RS. 1/I/1)
Sabûm-abī/Sabûm is my father	*sà-bu-um-a-bi* RÁ.GABA	*TJDB* p.76 MAH 16.287: 15 (As.1); *MHET* II/2 253: 7' (Ha.33/VIII); *MHET* II/5 717: 15' (Ha.); *VAS* 8 21 LeE:1, also attested in Di.2177, cf. Tanret 2010, 37, gatekeeper of the Sippar cloister; *CT* 8 39a: 26 (Sm.8); *TCL* 1 77: 20 (Ha.1/VII/11)
Sabium-bānî/Sabium is my creator	*sà-bi-um-ˈbaˈ-ni*	*OLA* 21 26 (case) (Ha.29)
Sabûm-gāmil[165]/Sabûm is one who is favorable	*sa-bu-um-ga-mil*	*YOS* 5 115: 10 (WS. 11/V); *YOS* 5 116: 10 (WS. 11/V)
Sabium-ilī/Sabium is my god	*sà-bu-um-ì-lí*	*CT* 33 45b: 11; *CT* 47 21: 25 (Ha.2); *CT* 47 42a, seal 4: *sà-bu-um-ì-l*[*í*], DUMU[…], ÌR […], cf Teissier 1998: 142 no.128 (Ha.32/ XIIb/9); *MHET* II/2 132: 28 (Ha.); *sà-bi-um-ì-*[*lí*], ì.DU₈, ÌR É.BABBAR, seal on *MHET* II/2 158, cf. Teissier 1998: 127 no.32 (Ha.10); Von der Osten 1957 no.267 seal: ᵈ*na-bi-um*, LUGAL.A.NI.IR, *sà-bi-um-ì-lí*, IN.NA. AN.BA
	sà-bi-ˈumˈ-DINGIR	*CT* 45 92 r: 4
Sabium-kīma-ilī/ Sabium is like my god	*sàˈ-bi-um-ki-ma-ì-lí*	*TLB* 1 23: 20
Sabium-šēmi/Sabium is one who listens	*sà-bi-um-še-mi*	*CT* 45 58: 3, seal in Colbow 2002, 134 (no.259.1): [*s*]*a-ˈbiˈ-um-še-mi,* DUMU *e-*[…], ÌR ᵈNIN.[…] (Aṣ 9/X/1)
	ᵈ*sà-bi-um-še-mi*	*YOS* 13 296: 10 (Ad.29/-/13)
Sabium-muštāl/Sabium is one who considers	*sà-bi-um-mu-uš-ta-al*	*YOS* 14 147: 24, Seal: DUMU [...]-*ì-lí.* (AS.3/XII/26)

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[164] George 2018 read: *i-bi-su-mu-a-bu-um*, after consultation of the photo on CDLI (https://cdli.ucla.edu /dl/photo/P252482.jpg), I prefer to read ˈtúrˈ instead of /bi/. In De Boer 2018, 54 the "supposed" Sumu-abum basilophoric names are discussed. This was before the publication of *CUSAS* 36, it is uncertain how we should interpret Itūr-Sumu-abum, it could be a basilophoric name, but we could also interpret it as a regular name with the element /sumu-abum/: "The descendent of the father has returned".

[165] Reference uncertain.

Apil-Sîn-ilī/Apil-Sîn is my god	a-pil-ᵈEN.ZU-DINGIR	AbB 12 93: 5'
Apil-Sîn-muštāl/Apil-Sîn is one who considers	a-pil-ᵈEN.ZU-mu-uš-ta-al	BBVOT 1 22: 26 (Si.4/IX/29)
No names attested with Sîn-muballiṭ		
Hammurabi-ašarēd?/ Hammurabi is prominent	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-SAG.[KAL?]	CT 45 32: 22 (Si.2/II/11)
Hammurabi-bānî/Hammurabi is my creator	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ba-ni RÁ.GABA	AbB 2 34: 5 (Ha.); JCS 7 p.51 i: 1
Hammurabi-ḫāzir/ Hammurabi is a protector	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ḫa-zi-ir	AbB 1 44: 3
Hammurabi-ilī/Hammurabi is my god	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ì-lí	YOS 13 19: 7' (Ae.q/IV/1); YOS 12 463: 17 (Si.25/I/26); AbB 11 156: 3, Seal: ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ì-[lí],DUMU i-ri-ba-am-ᵈ[x x], ÌR ḫa-am-mu-r[a-bi]. Same seal on CBS 8040, mentioned in PBS 14 p. 241 no.328 (Ha.?)
	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-DINGIR	Scheil Sippar 146 (p.123)
Hammurabi-lū-dāri/ May Hammurabi be forever	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-lu-da-ri attested with the titles GAL.UKKEN.NA, SAGI, and RÁ.GABA	CUSAS 29 27: 13 (Ae./V/6); CUSAS 29 7: 4, Seal: ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-lu-da-ri, DUMU nu-úr-ᵈ[...], ÌR NIN.SI₄.AN.NA (Ae.o+1/I/16); CUSAS 29 14: 4, 17, Same seal as on CUSAS 29 7 (Ae.o+1/VII/17); Tell Sifr 71: 9, seal: ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-lu-da-ri, DUMU ma-lik-ᵈIM, ÌR ᵈIM (Si.5/VIb/15); CUSAS 29 15: 18 (Ae.o+1/VII/-); CUSAS 29 16: 13, 24 (Ae.o+1/VIII/10); CUSAS 29 20: 18; CUSAS 29 6: 5, 16 (Ae.o+1/XI/6); YOS 15 42: 6 (Si.)
Hammurabi-muballiṭ/ Hammurabi is someone who makes alive	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-mu-ba-lí-iṭ	AbB 13 16: 4; AbB 13 38: 4
Hammurabi-rappašunu/ Hammurabi is their neck-stock	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pa-šu-nu	JAOS 55 Lane 1: 21-22 (Si.12/XI/15); seal on AUCT 4 36: be-lí-ᵈIM, DUMU ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pu-šu-nu, ÌR ᵈIM (Si.1/X/15)
Hammurabi-rîm-ilī/ Hammurabi is the beloved of the gods	ᴵḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ri-im-[ì-lí]	JAOS 55 Lane 1:8 (Si.12/XI/15)
Hammurabi-ṣulūlī/ Hammurabi is my shelter	ḫa-am-[mu]-ra-bi-AN.DÙL ENSI₂, ÁŠ.NUN.NAᵏⁱ	AuOr 25, p. 40-41 (Ha./Si.?)
Hammurabi-šamšī Hammurabi is my sun (female name)	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ᵈU-TU-ši	CT 8 22c: 3, 5 (Ha.35/X/21)
Hammurabi-ša-takālim/ Hammurabi is one to trust	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ša-ta-ka-lim	YOS 12 192: 3, 5 (Si.6/X/12); YOS 12 206: 4, 9, 15 (Si.6/XII/26); YOS 12 552: 31 (Si.?/XII/2)

Hammurabi-šēmi/ Hammurabi is one who listens	ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-še-mi	*TLOB* 36: 5-7 (Sd.15/XII/22); AO 4651: 26 (Charpin & Durand 1981, *RA* 75) (Sd.16/IX/24); *VAS* 22 38: 16 (Sd.6/I/8); *PSBA* 39 pl. 12 no.24: 8 (Sd.16)
Samsu-iluna-kāšid/ Samsu-iluna is one who conquers	sa-am-su-i-lu-na-ka-ši-id GAL.UKKEN.NA	*CUSAS* 29 1 : 13, Seal: *sa-am-su-i-lu-na-ka-ši-id* (Ae.s/IV/1); *CUSAS* 29 9: 9 (Ae.bb/IV/3); *CUSAS* 29 17: 13, Seal: *sa-am-ˊsuˊ-[i-lu-na-ka-ši-id*], DUMU *ra-*[...], ÌR *a-bi-*[*e-šu-uḫ*] (Ae.bb/X/6); *CUSAS* 29 27: 12 (Ae./V/6); *CUSAS* 29 40: r.20', Seal: *sa-am-su-i-lu-na-ka-ši-id* (Ae.m/VII/10)
Samsu-iluna-kīma-ilim Samsu-iluna is like a god	sa-am-sú-i-lu-na-ki-ma-DINGIR	MAH 16331: 4' (*JCS* 5 83c) (Ae.k/ˊxxˊ/22); *CT* 48 101: 6 (Ad.32/XII/7); *CUSAS* 36 107: 4
Samsu-iluna-muštāl/ Samsu-iluna is one who considers	sa-am-su-ˊi-luˊ-na-mu-uš-ta-al	*CUSAS* 29 8: 5 (Ae.o+1/III/5)
Samsu-iluna-nūr-mātim/ Samsu-iluna is the light of the country	s[a-a]m-[s]u-i-lu-na-nu-ú[r-ma-tim]	*AbB* 2 72: 1 (Ae.)
Samsu-iluna-qarrād/ Samsu-iluna is a hero	sa-am-sú-i-lu-na-qar-ra-ad	*CT* 45 48: 5 (Ad.14/III/30); *Sweet Letters* 10: 6
Samsu-iluna-šarrum/ Samsu-iluna is king	sa-am-su-i-lu-na-šar-ru	ABIM 3: 4 (Al-Zeebari 1964)
Abī-ešuḫ-ilī/Abī-ešuḫ is my god	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-ì-lí	*VAS* 22 29: 35 (Ad.19/II/5)
Abī-ešuḫ-kīma-ilim/Abī-ešuḫ is like a god	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-ki-ma-DINGIR	*VAS* 22 12: 33-34 (case); 34 (tablet) (Ad.18/V/22)
Abī-ešuḫ-līdiš/May Abī-ešuḫ be renewed	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-li-di-iš	*CT* 45 55: 11
Abī-ešuḫ-lū-dāri/May Abī-ešuḫ be forever	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-lu-da-ri	*TCL* 1 163: 7 (Aṣ 8/IV/20)
Abī-ešuḫ-muštāl/Abī-ešuḫ is someone who considers	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-mu-uš-ta-al	*VAS* 22 12: 14-15 (case); 17-18 (tablet) (Ad.18/V/22) *VAS* 22 29: 16, 19, 26 (Ad.19/II/5)
Abī-ešuḫ-šamši-nīši/Abī-ešuḫ is the sun of the people	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-ᵈUTU-ni-ši SAGI	*CUSAS* 29 6: 6, 17 (Ae.o+1/XI/6); *CUSAS* 29 15: 19 (Ae.o+1/VII/-); *CUSAS* 29 16: 14, 25 (Ae.o+1/VIII/10)
Abī-ešuḫ-šēmi/Abī-ešuḫ is one who listens	a-bi-e-šu-uḫ-še-mi	*VAS* 22 29: 41 (Ad.19/II/5)
Ammī-ditāna-ilūni/ Ammī-ditāna is our god	am-mi-di-ta-na-i-lu-ni	*VAS* 22 27: 4 (Sd); *VAS* 22 68: 9(Sd.16ˀ/VIb/12)
Ammī-ṣaduqa-ilūni/ Ammī-ṣaduqa is our god	am-mi-ṣa-du-qá-i-lu-ni	*AbB* 6 29: 1', 2', 6', 18'; *VAS* 22 27: 3 (Sd.); *VAS* 22 68: 5, 8 (Sd.16ˀ/VIb/12)
No names attested with Samsu-ditāna		

Other Kingdoms		
Name/Meaning	Writing	References/Date
Samsī-Addu's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia		
Samsī-Addu[166]-ilī Samsī-Addu is my god	*sa-am-se-*^dIM-*ì-lí*	*OBTCB* 73: 23 (Aḫiyaya/X/3); *OBTCB* 78: 30 (-/II); *OBTCB* 79: 25 (Addu-bani/I); *OBTCB* 91: 23; *OBTCB* 93: 23
Samsī-Addu-tukultī/ Samsī-Addu is my trust	^dUTU-*ši-*^dIM-*tu-kúl-ti*	Charpin 1984a: 96, no. 91: 3 (Ikupiya/XII/6); *OBTCB* 87: 11 (Ikupiya/VII/3); cupbearer in Chagar Bazar, mentioned in 25 texts, always the same person cf. Lacambre and Millet Albà 2008, 236 (dated to Aḫiyaya-Nimer-Sîn)
	sa-am-se-^dIM-*tu-kúl-ti* LU₂.TUR *a-se-em*	*ARM* 4 65: 14 (= *LAPO* 16 170)
Kingdom of Mari under Yaḫdun-Līm and Zimrī-Līm		
Yaḫdun-Līm-ilī/Yaḫdun-Līm is my god	*ia-aḫ-du-li-im-ì-lí*, LU₂ *a-lu-zi-in-[ni]m*	Durand 1984, 132 n. 24 (5961, 7451 vii ; 14021 vii); M.11238: 15 (ZL.7/II); M.10655: 13 (*ARM* 32: 380-381 (ZL.11/I)
Zimrī-Līm-šadûni/Zimrī-Līm is our mountain	*zi-im-ri-li-im-*KUR-*ni*	*ARM* 22 42: r.3
Elam		
Idadu-nawir/Idadu is bright	*i-da-du-na-wi-ir*	*MDP* 10: 35 no. 21: 4 (king of Šimaški around time of Išbi-Erra[167])
Ešnunna[168]		
Šu-ilīya-ḫamati/May Šu-ilīya live	^d*šu-ì-lí-*ḪA.MA.TI	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T107
Šu-ilīya-bala-šaga/Šu-ilīya, (his) reign is good	^d*šu-ì-lí-a-*BALA-SA₆.GA	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-išar-luballiṭ/Šu-ilīya is just, let me make alive	^d*šu-ì-lí-a-i-šar-lu-ba-lí-iṭ*	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-išar-rāmāš/Šu-ilīya is just, love him	^d*šu-ì-lí-a-i-šar-ra-ma-aš*	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-išar-kî-Šamaš/ Šu-ilīya is just, he is like Šamaš	^d*šu-ì-lí-a-i-šar-ki-*^dUTU	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-išar-kīn/Šu-ilīya is just, he is legitimate	^d*šu-ì-lí-a-i-šar-ki-in*	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-šadûni/Šu-ilīya is our mountain	^d*šu-ì-lí-a-*SA.TU-*ni*	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203

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[166] The name Samsī-Addu was pronounced as Samsêddu (ī+a = ê), even though the syllabic writings do not usually reflect this.

[167] Michalowski 2011b.

[168] Whiting 1977, 175 wrote that none of the names of other Ešnunna rulers were used in basilophoric names.

Šu-ilīya-šar-gul-li-si-in[169]/ Šu-ilīya-...	ᵈšu-ì-lí-a-šar-gul-li-si-i[n]	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-dan/Šu-ilīya is strong	ᵈšu-ì-lí-a-dan	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T203
Šu-ilīya-nūr-ummānim/ Šu-ilīya is the light of the army	ᵈšu-ì-lí-a-nu-úr-um-ma-ni-im	Whiting 1977, 175 TA 1931-T120

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[169] I do not know how to interpret *li-si-in* in this name.

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