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Author
Seymour, Timothy P.

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Notes and Documents

Personal Names and Name Giving in the Ancient Near East

Timothy P. Seymour

To the uninitiated, the study of personal names may seem a limited subject and of little use for communicating insights about long-dead civilizations. There is more to names than one might suspect, however. Personal names are not only labels by which individuals are distinguished, they also convey meaning and information about peoples on a variety of levels.[1] Couched usually in the language of the dominant ethnic group of a particular region, personal names consist of short, succinct statements expressing a rich variety of a community's everyday life. By looking at terms used by the ancients, as well as the sentiments the terms express, it is possible to learn something of a group's psychological and religious attitudes, and by observing changes and preferences in name types over time, slow alterations of attitudes can be seen, which may indicate changing social and political structures.

The number of personal names known to us from the cuneiform

Timothy P. Seymour received his B.A. in history from California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. He completed his M.A. in Ancient Near Eastern history at the University of California, Los Angeles.

documents of the ancient Near East is staggering (certainly in the hundreds of thousands), and new names are being added to the list with each archaeological excavation. These abundant data from all periods of ancient Near Eastern history already have inspired a number of studies. One of the most noteworthy has been reconstruction of the Amorite language through the linguistic analysis of Amorite personal names appearing in Sumerian and Akkadian texts. A similar study is now underway to clarify the language (or dialect) of the ancient Eblaites through an analysis of personal names from the royal archives.

Of interest here, however, is not linguistics but anthropology. Quite apart from a name's *form* is a name's *function*. Function is the aspect of a name's origin and meaning which is intimately related to the culture in which it occurs. Since personal names once were attached to actual historical individuals of all social strata, it is possible to gain insight into an individual's life in relation to a larger cultural whole. This study approaches this goal through a survey of naming practices in the ancient Near East, with comparative examples from ancient as well as modern traditions. The role of theophoric names as expressions of individual religious attitudes, especially the notion of personal gods as the divinity occurring in personal names, also is critically examined.

To the ancients, names came to represent far more than mere labels for people and things. Early on, the human impulse to attach names to every aspect of existence led to a peculiar identification of the thing being named and the abstract name itself. By an association similarly found in other religious formulations— particularly magical and ominological—many ancient peoples saw in names an illusory order or structure unknown in the natural world they were describing. Most importantly, the identification of name and object resulted in a characteristically religious confusion of causality so that names often took on a greater measure of reality than the things they originally stood for.

The myths of various cultures in the ancient Near East clearly reflect this belief in a name's power to establish a thing's essence or being and thereby to order a previously unordered universe. For example, in the following preface to a Sumerian myth man comes into existence by the fixing of his name:

> After heaven had been moved away from earth,
> After earth had been separated from heaven,
> After the name of man had been fixed,
> After An had carried off heaven....[2]

In both the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* and the Hebrew Genesis the universe is similarly created out of a nameless chaos or void and subsequently set in order with the giving of names.[3]

Likewise, in the Sumerian "Dispute between Cattle and Grain," the lack of a name meant nonexistence:

> After on the mountain of Heaven and Earth,
> An had caused the Anunnaki to be born,
> Because the name Ashnan [a grain goddess]
>   had not been born, not been fashioned,
> Because Utt [   ] had not been fashioned
> ....
>
> Because the name of Ashnan, the wise, and Lahar
> The Anunnaki, the great gods, did not know,
> ....
>
> The grain of the pure living creatures did not exist.[4]

Among other instances of a name's link to a phenomenon's essence is an example which is usually not invoked in such discussions, but which is a perfect illustration both of the naming phenomenon and of a common Mesopotamian character trait. This is a uniquely Mesopotamian concept of the *me*. Put briefly, the *me* was a discrete, named, and fixed divine ordinance which established the normal behavior of all manner of things and conditions—both concrete and abstract—which were important to Mesopotamian society. *Me*'s were in some respects like natural laws that governed both nature and society. Sexual intercourse, the royal scepter, the destruction of cities, godship, kingship, and the troubled heart are but a few of these named phenomena.[5] Like the establishment of a name at creation or the giving of a personal name at birth, the *me*'s brought diverse and often anxiety-producing things and conditions into the realm of the known. It was a basic intellectual trait of the Mesopotamians to attempt to apprehend the world around them through such unsystematic collections of diverse-named phenomena.

Linked to this identity of name and essence is a human tendency to equate one's name with the soul. The ancient Egyptians, for example, thought man consisted of a spiritual body, a double, a heart, a shadow, a halo, a form, a soul, and a name combined as one.[6] To the ancient Hebrews, the name (*shem*) was characteristic both of the soul and the individual personality. As a result, the soul of an unborn, and thus unnamed, child was thought to be covered

in darkness. Similar notions also occur in Hindu and Buddhist traditions.[7]

Mesopotamians believed the "soul" to be a semi-mortal spirit whose primary existence was earthly. Thus, the name was peculiarly linked to a man's fate during life. Reflecting a strong undercurrent of determinism evident in Near Eastern traditions, the choice of a "good name"—that is, one which would elicit beneficial forces on behalf of the name bearer—became a desired goal in name giving throughout the region. A common Semitic naming practice today is to give children the names of particularly holy or renowned religious personalities. The late Israelite practice of naming a child after its grandfather is probably linked to the belief that since the grandfather (and his name) was successful in rearing a family, the name was lucky or blessed.[8] Although rare, some Sumerian names seem to fall into this category.[9]

Although in Mesopotamia the notion of the good or lucky name goes back at least to Sumerian times, the precise mechanism for choosing such a name remains obscure. It is likely that the name giver drew the name from a culturally acceptable pool of names which from experience had proved to be lucky or at least not harmful. Naming practices were probably informal; personal taste and special circumstances may have influenced the choice.[10] Since the traditions involved were common knowledge, they did not, so far as we know, find their way into the writings. This may leave us forever in the dark as to the actual determination of choice.

That a person's fate, be it good or evil, was intimately bound up with his name is attested widely in the ancient world. When a king was successful in battle, his commemorative inscriptions often attributed the victory to the gods calling out his name for the great deed. Similarly, a ruler's power and legitimacy were established by the pronunciation of his name by the gods:

> When An and Enlil had called Lipit-Ishtar,
>   Lipit-Ishtar, the wise shepherd,
> Who's name had been pronounced by NUNAMMIR.
> To the princeship of the land in order to
>   establish justice....[11]

On the other hand, the annihilation of one's name and posterity represented the ultimate misfortune. In ancient Israel, like Egypt and Babylon, the loss of one's name threatened complete ostracism. Isaiah records:

> For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts,
> and cut off from Babylon the name and the remnant, and
> son and nephew, saith the Lord.[12]

As with the selection of a personal name, when and by whom the name of a person was given is also obscure. For instance, male Jewish children often were named on the eighth day after birth and after circumcison. According to the Bible (Luke 2:21), Jesus is supposed to have been named on this day. Females seem to have been named with some regularity on the third day after birth. In Old Testament times children may have been named on the day commemorating Abraham's change of name. Modern Moslem naming practices, on the other hand, are often rather informal. For example, the Shiites of Iran have been known to name a child long before birth in order that a beneficial name might protect it from disease or miscarriage. In pre-Islamic Iran parents often waited and observed the child for some time after birth in order to give it a name descriptive of its appearance or behavior.[13] This practice also took place occasionally in Mesopotamia.

Unlike the ancient Hebrew tradition in which the mother did the naming, the general impression is that the father did the naming among both the Sumerians and Akkadians. This is suggested in one Sumerian text, which states "the father who has engendered him has given his name."[14] In a Hurrian myth from Boghazköy, the god Appush sets his newborn son on his knees and bestows upon him a "sweet" name which prefigures the happy destiny the child will enjoy in the story. Similarly, in the Hittite myth of Ullikumish the father of the newborn god has the infant placed upon his knees by a midwife before bestowing the name. In most, if not all, Hittite myths the child is named shortly after birth. It is interesting to note that in some stories the naming was followed by the writing of an invisible fate on the child's forehead. This may represent a specifically Indo-European (Hittite) version of the notion that one's fate is bound up with one's name.

Although we have no assurance that name giving in myths reflects similar practices in real life, the kinds of names given in the myths do suggest a correlation with actual events. In the Ullikumish myth, Kumarbis names his child after events immediately at birth. Ullikumish is named "One-Who-Springs-Forth" which simply describes his springing forth at birth.[15]

Besides being common among the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, personal names reflecting concrete situations at birth are very common in ancient Mesopotamia from Sumerian times

forward. Examples are the Sumerian MÍ.ÀM ("It-is-a-Girl") and
A.A.MU.DAH ("The-Father-Rushed-Toward-the-People [to announce
the birth of the child]"). An example from the Old Testament is the
name Jacob meaning "He-Seizes-by-the-Heel," suggesting the manner
of birth.[16]

Another common Semitic practice was to name a child after the
day of its birth, particularly when that day coincided with a feast
day. Akkadian examples include Mār-Isini ("Son-of-the-Festival")
Mār-ūm-20^{KAM} ("Son-of-the-Twentieth-Month-Day [a festival day]"),
and Ishaggum-rēshashu ("The-Festival-Jubilee-Threatens").[17]

Yet another class of names given at birth clearly reflects the harsh
fact of premature mortality in the ancient world. Many names speak
of the child as if it were replacing some deceased relative. These
"substitution names" are common in Egyptian, Ugaritic, Israelite,
and Babylonian personal names. A few Hebrew examples include
Ahiqām ("My-Brother-is-Risen-Again"), Jāshobʿam ("The-Uncle-
Has-Come-Back"), Jāshib'ab ("He [Jahweh]-Has-Brought-Back-the-
Father"), Meshallēmjā(hu), ("Jahweh-Gave-a-Substitute"). It should
be noted that the above Hebrew examples are all post-exilic and may
represent Mesopotamian influences. A typically Mesopotamian name
of this type always refers to a "replacement" for the deceased, unlike
the Hebrew tendency in the earlier periods to speak of the relative as
"living again."[18]

Akkadian names such as Meranum ("Young-Whelp"), Nuhura
("One-With-a-Peculiar-Nose"), Gagadanum ("Large-Head"), Ga-at-
num ("Thin"), or Zukukum ("Deaf") may have been given shortly
after birth or more likely somewhat later.[19] Similar to the Iranian
practice cited earlier, the Mesopotamians often acquired connotative
"nicknames" based on physical peculiarities. In modern, particularly
rural, Arab communities similar nicknames, which are often rather
insulting to the bearer, have been shown to serve a valuable social
function by both distinguishing people whose surnames are identical
and by subjugating the individual to the social group through a
kind of polite ridicule.[20] In other cultures, genuine "insult names"
are very common among children. In Hindu communities, for
example, it is not uncommon to find numerous children named
"dung-heap" or "rubbish-pile." The reason for such distasteful
names lies in the Hindu belief that such titles will cause the children
to be overlooked or avoided by malevolent spirits.[21]

Mesopotamian descriptive names, however, do not seem to include
this practice even though a similar belief in evil spirits who preyed
on infants was widespread in the ancient Near East. It should be
noted, of course, that such names were largely informal and would

not likely find their way into the cuneiform documents.

The above discussion leads us to the practice of name changes and multiple names generally. The changing of a person's name during life was a very common practice throughout virtually all of the ancient world. Significantly, with the possible exception of the descriptive names mentioned above, the change of name occurred as the result of some important change in the person's status in society or before the gods. In anthropological terms, such name changes might be looked upon as a linguistic reflection of a rite of passage. Although these name changes appear to have been largely informal as well as optional, they clearly served to distinguish the old person from the new or to accent the new life into which the person was entering.[22]

An example similar to western practice is one in which a princess of Mari, upon her marriage to the son of the Ur III king Ur-Nammu, changed her name to "She-Loves-Ur."[23] Other female name changes can be seen among the *nadītu*-priestesses of Old Babylonian Sippar. Judging by the high percentage of *nadītu* names which refer to the divinities in whose service these women were employed, the entering *nadītus* often took names appropriate to their new role in life.[24]

In the realm of mythology, the Babylonian myth of Atrahasīs contains an episode in which the birth goddess, Mami, is exalted and given a new name following the successful creation of the first human beings:

> They ran together and kissed her feet [saying],
> "Formerly we used to call you Mami,
> Now let your name be Bēlēt-Kālā-Ilī (Mistress-of-All-
>   the-Gods)."[25]

Perhaps the most familiar examples of name changes at a point of transition come from the Old Testament. When Yahweh fulfilled his promise to make Abram the father of many nations, he marked the event by changing the patriarch's name:

> Neither shall thy name anymore be called Abram,
> but thy name shall be Abraham, for a father
> of many nations I have made thee.[26]

Similarly Jacob is honored after his wrestling match with the angel of the Lord:

And He said thy name no more shall be called
Jacob, but Israel for as a prince hast thou
power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.[27]

Among many other examples is an interesting episode in the book
of 2 Kings, wherein the great king Nebuchadnezzar changes the
name Eliakim to Jehoiakim and the name of Mattaniah to Sedekiah.
These name changes can be seen as symbolic of the transition these
men underwent from independent rulers to vassals of the Babylonian
king. A similar notion is observed in Isaiah in which it is declared
that at the climax of history, Yahweh will call Israel by a new name,
and ignominy and misery will be cast off (with the old name).[28]

In politics, there are instances where name changes accompanied
transitions and others where they did not. The legendary Sargon of
Agade (Sharrum-kin) bears a name which means "The-King-is-
Legitimate." Since Sargon is known to have been a usurper of the
throne of Kish, his change of name would appear to be prompted by
a desire to legitimize his new status while leaving behind his
humbler origins with his original, and unfortunately unknown,
given name. Conversely, there were other Mesopotamian rulers
whose names do not indicate they were taken at the time of
succession. Indeed, in the cases where the names of succeeding sons
are known, it is clear that no name change occurred when they
reached the throne.

Possible exceptions to this may be the Assyrian kings Tiglath-
Pileser, Ashurbanipal, and Esarhaddon. It is known that when
Tiglath-Pileser took the throne of Babylon in 728 b.c., he also took a
new name, "Pulu," by which he was known in that city. Similarly,
when Ashurbanipal took the Babylonian throne in 648 b.c., it was
under the name "Kandalanu."[29] Perhaps, unlike the normal
succession of an established dynasty's heirs, the imposition of a
foreign dynasty upon the Babylonian throne may have represented a
break in political continuity significant enough to require the new
king to have a special name in dealing with his new role and
subjects. In the case of Esarhaddon we do know that he also was
called Ashur-Ilani-Mukin-Palia. This may have been the name he
bore as crown prince which was subsequently abandoned early in
his reign.[30]

Some name changes of a political nature are easier than others to
understand. Government officials often took names which exalted
the monarch upon whom they depended, yet which were changeable
when a new king came to power. This is suggested in the Ur III
period by the almost total lack of names mentioning Ur-Nammu,

the founder of the dynasty, who seems to have been supplanted by Shulgi in the years following his succession. Such names as "Shulgi-is-My-Father," "Shulgi-is-My-Hero," or "Shulgi-is-the-One-Who-Gives-Me-Life" were very popular throughout Shulgi's long reign. Other Akkadian examples of such names (Sargonic and Ur III) are: LUGAL-balih ("The-King-is-Feared"), Ili-sharru ("The-King-is-My-God"), and LUGAL-dari ("The-King-is-Eternal").[31]

Another type of name changing sometimes took place when the name bearer found himself in dire extremity. In cultures around the world the perceived link between a person's name and his fate led to the practice of changing a person's name in order to remove illness or misfortune. In early Judaism rabbis often recommended giving a secret new name to persons in danger of dying. Natives of Borneo would change the name of a sufferer repeatedly until his disease had abated. Among the Lapps a sick child's baptismal name is changed, and the child is rebaptised. In North America the Kwappa Indian who fell ill "threw off" his old name (along with the illness) and a new name was provided by the chief.[32]

In the Mesopotamian setting a few types of names suggest indirectly that a like practice may have been operative. Akkadian names such as Ati-matum ("Until-When?"), Māt-ili ("When-My-God?"), or mina-Arni ("What-is-My-Sin?") suggest a name taken during some misfortune.[33] The names Hammu-rapi ("Hammu-is-the-Healer"), Ilum-asūm ("God-is-a-Physician"), or Shamash-shullimanni ("Shamash-Make-Me-Healthy") may represent similar entreaties by persons facing illnesses or other calamities. Ili-ishmeni, ("My-God-has-Heard-Me") or Ishme-adad ("Adad-Has-Heard") may be names given following a successful recovery. In the last cases, the names might equally be expressions of the parents' answered wish for a child. In addition, it should be noted that if the Mesopotamians were changing names in this way, the efficacy of the practice depended primarily on the change itself and therefore may only rarely, if ever, be reflected in the new name chosen.

As the above discussion shows, the religious feeling expressed in personal names is often uncertain. What *did* a theophoric name mean to the person who bore it, and why was it chosen? These names came in enormous varieties and praised or entreated various divinities using a rich repertoire of terms. Pious-sounding names such as Naram-Enlil ("Beloved-of-Enlil"), Ili-zili ("My-God-is-My-Protection"), Giba-DINGIR ("Trust-God"), Iti-DINGIR.DINGIR ("Give-to-the-Gods!"), and DINGIR-zeluli ("The-God-is-My-Shade") are only a few of the known forms. It is clear that the form and meaning of these names derive from the religious metaphors then

common in the region. In addition, the imagery and terminology of these names seems to have changed concomitantly with certain changes and trends in Mesopotamian religious thought.[34] This is precisely what one would expect if such names were inspired by the religion of the time. Whether the religious sentiments expressed in the name represents the name giver's or name bearer's actual feelings, however, or were simply standardized forms, is not easy to ascertain. Is there a way to determine if the gods or goddesses mentioned in personal names indicated a special reverence for this deity by the name bearer or the family? The evidence again is conflicting.

In the case of the *nadītu*-priestesses cited earlier, it is certain that they often changed their names to reflect their devotion to one particular god. Studies indicate as well that the rise in importance of certain cult centers, such as that of the goddess Annunitum at Sippar, coincided with a marked increase in personal names referring to this deity.[35] But there is ample evidence to the contrary. Newly-appointed temple personnel did not always take new names mentioning the appropriate deity, and often their names mentioned different gods altogether. In the case of the Ninurta temple staff at Sippar, none of the *nadītu*-priestesses bore a name referring to Ninurta. They bore instead common secular names such as Bēltanu ("Mistress"), Damiqtum ("She-is-Beautiful"), or Lamassani ("Our-Angel").[36]

The question of personal piety reflected in personal names is further questioned by studies comparing theophoric names of people belonging to the same family. Among Sippar families, comparisons of children's names to their mothers, fathers, aunts, and uncles only rarely reveal a common theophoric link between them. In the case of ninety families consisting of three or more children, in only thirteen instances does one god (usually Shamash or Sin) occur in the names of all the offspring. Interestingly, even in these families, the divine element in the children's names is usually not the same as that in the father's name.[37] Thus, if there was any common deity worshipped in Sippar households, it was only very rarely reflected in personal names.

One possible source of insight into the relationship of personal names to individual faith has been suggested by studies of the "servant clause" appearing in many cylinder seal inscriptions. Such inscriptions often give the owner's name, his or her father's name, as well as a statement declaring the owner to be the "slave" (*ardu*) of a particular god. In the case of the seals of the *nadītu*-priestesses of Sippar, there seems to be a high degree of correlation between the

god in the servant clause and the owner's specific cultic affiliation. Among the *nadītus* there is occasional disagreement between the servant clause and the divine element occurring in the owner's name. This, however, is almost never found to agree in seal inscriptions of the general public.[38]

Significantly, the divinities popular in personal names are different from the divinities popular in the servant clause. Whereas in the personal names Shamash or Sîn tend to predominate (reflecting the fact that Sippar was a cult center of these gods), in the servant clause such lesser gods as Amurru or Nabium are far more common. Given the tendency of personal, intercessor gods to be lower in the divine hierarchy than the great gods among whom they interceded, it has been suggested that these divinities of the servant clause are the elusive "personal gods" of the ancient Mesopotamians.[39]

The implications of a possible link between name selection and personal faith, if true, are rather interesting in shedding light on the complex nature of Mesopotamian religion. The *nadītu* names may show a higher degree of correlation with a particular god because of the priestesses' uncommon cloistered relationship with their gods. Since these women apparently had a very close familial relationship with the god they served, the especially strong sense of belonging to the god may have inspired the atypically cult-oriented names they often bore and explain their willingness to abandon one name for another.

That even some of the *nadītus* as well as other temple officials did *not* honor in their names the deity they served, suggests that such elements in personal names may often have nothing to do with religious preferences, but may have been chosen for reasons altogether different. In fact there is some evidence from old Babylonian Sippar names that one criterion was simply to choose a name which nobody at the time was using.[40] In line with the desire for a name which enlisted beneficial forces, theophoric names may have been chosen without much concern for the particular god involved. Perhaps a name with beneficial links to the divine might contain a divine name toward which the name bearer had no special relationship other than the overall relationship of a lowly human to the pantheon in general.

The preceding survey of names and naming practices in the ancient Near East has been long on questions and admittedly short on answers. The study of the function and setting of personal names in the cultures of this region has only recently begun. Few of the personal name compilations from various sites have been examined in this way. And, since certain regions and time periods have not

been studied or are poorly documented, my conclusions (as with the Sippar data) may reflect peculiarly local conditions.

Nevertheless, many aspects of names and naming practices in Mesopotamia were shared by other cultures in the region, and similar customs can be traced among diverse traditions around the world. Such similarities suggest that the practices we have been examining, like religion generally, contain conscious or unconscious reflections of a cross-cultural psychology. By shedding light on both the similarities and differences we may begin to glimpse with greater clarity the flesh-and-blood human beings of the ancient world whose names and legacies are ours.

NOTES

[1] W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Names as Verbal Icons," in *Names* 22 (1974), 104-106.

[2] S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, (Chicago, 1963), 200.

[3] Alexander Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, (Chicago, 1973), 18; Genesis 2:19-20. All biblical citations are from the King James Version.

[4] Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 220.

[5] Ibid., 116.

[6] R. P. Masani, *Folk Culture Reflected in Names*, (Bombay, 1966), 15, 16.

[7] Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life Culture*, (London, 1954), 245; Masani, *Folk Culture*, 36-37; Henri Limet, *L'Anthrophymie Sumerienne dans les documents de la 3ᵉ dynastie d'Ur*, (Paris, 1968), 29.

[8] Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life Culture*, 252.

[9] Limet, *L'Anthrophymie Sumerienne*, 54. This accounts for a certain monotony in names in both Arab and traditional Jewish communities.

[10] Ibid., 47.

[11] Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 336.

[12] Isaiah 14:22.

[13] Masani, *Folk Culture*, 27, 22-23; Luke 2:21.

[14] Limet, *L'Anthrophymie Sumerienne*, 22-32.

[15] H. A. Hoffner, "Birth and Namegiving in Hittite Texts," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27 (1968), 199, 201-202.

[16] Limet, *L'Anthrophymie Sumerienne*, 29; Genesis 25:26.

[17] Johann Jacob Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, (Leipzig, 1939), 20.

[18] Johann Jacob Stamm, "Hebraische Ersatznamen," *Studies In Honor of Benno Lansberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 25, 1965* (Chicago, 1965), 413-415, 420, 424.

[19] Examples are from I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary, no. 3, (Chicago, 1957), 182, 200, 226, 227, 238.

[20] R. T. Antoun, "On the Significance of Names in an Arab Village," *Ethnology*, 7 (1968), 165-167.

[21] Masani, *Folk Culture*, 36-42.

[22] Limet, *L'Anthrophymie Sumerienne*, 29-30.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Rivkah Harris, "The Naditu Woman," in *Studies Presented to A. Leo*

Oppenheim, (Chicago, 1964), 126-128. Interestingly, the recurrence of such names as Amat-Shamash ("Servant-Girl-of-Shamash"), or Aja-Belet-Matim ("Aja-is-the-Mistress-of-the-Land"), suggests that among the new names which the priestesses took for themselves, the above two were especially popular or stylish. This is indicated by the unusually frequent occurrence of the names in certain periods.

[25] W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *ATRAHASIS: The Babylonian Legend of the Flood* (London, 1969), 61.

[26] Genesis 17:5.

[27] Genesis 32:28.

[28] Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life Culture*, 253; 2 Kings 23:34, 24:17; Isaiah 62:2, 65:15.

[29] Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, (New York, 1980), 286, 308.

[30] Sami Said Ahmed, *Southern Mesopotamia at the Time of Ashurbanipal*, (Paris, 1968), 126n.

[31] Limet, *L'Anthrophymie Sumerienne*, 173-176; Gelb, *Glossary*, 287.

[32] Masani, *Folk Culture*, 78.

[33] Gelb, *Glossary*, 178-187.

[34] Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, 176, 189.

[35] Harris, "The Naditu Woman," 104.

[36] Ibid., 102-105, 127.

[37] Ibid., 127, 103.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 103-107.

[40] Ibid., 102.