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Thy Name is Deer, Animal names in Semitic onomastics and name-giving traditions : evidence from Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic
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3 Animal Names in Akkadian

3.1 The onomastic evidence

Animal names in the Akk. onomasticon occur in three forms: one-word names, suffixed and shortened names, and theophoric names. The table below exhibits these onomastic elements in view of their cognates in the onomastica of the other Sem. languages. The rightmost column gives the corresponding paragraph number in the appendix (App.):

No	Element	meaning	Eb.	Amor.	Ug.	Heb.	Aram.	Pho.	Ar.	App.
1	<i>agālu</i>	kind of equid								48
2	<i>agargarû</i> < Sum.	fish							*	137
3	<i>akbaru</i>	jerboa			*	*	*	*	*	79
4	<i>alluttu</i> < Sum.	crab								137
5	<i>alpu</i>	bull		*		*				54
6	<i>arna-</i> <i>bu/annabu</i>	hare		*	*		*		*	86
7	<i>arrabu</i>	dormouse							*	82
8	<i>arwīu/arwû</i>	gazelle (buck), mountain goat		*					*	29
9	<i>asu</i> < Sum.	bear	*							21
10	<i>as/šqūdu</i>	a rodent, hamster (?)	*	*						83
11	<i>ayyāšu</i>	weasel			*					91
12	<i>ayyalu</i>	deer	*	*	*	*			*	30
13	<i>azaru</i>	lynx								13
14	<i>baqqu</i>	gnat	*	*					*	127

15	<i>barbaru</i>	wolf								19
16	<i>bibbu</i>	wild sheep	*							31
17	<i>būru</i>	calf								61
18	<i>dabû</i>	bear		*	*		*		*	20
19	<i>daššu</i>	buck			*					38
20	<i>di(q)diqqu</i>	a small bird								109
21	<i>ē/āribu</i>	crow, raven				*	*		*	104
22	<i>ḥaḥḥūru</i>	crow, raven								105
23	<i>ḥu/am(a)ṣīru</i>	large mouse			*					83
24	<i>ḥarrīru</i>	vole								83
25	<i>ḥulû</i>	shrew			*					83
26	<i>ḥurāpu</i>	young sheep	*		*				*	66
27	<i>ḥuzālu</i>	gazelle	*	*	*				*	33
28	<i>ḥuzīru</i>	pig		*	*	*			*	77
29	<i>imē/āru</i>	donkey		*		*			*	42
30	<i>immeru</i>	sheep	*	*	*	*				62
31	<i>enzu</i>	goat		*					*	64
32	<i>iṣṣūru</i>	bird							*	106
33	<i>ka(l)labūnu</i>	locust								126
34	<i>kalbu</i>	dog	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	14
35	<i>kalūmu</i>	lamb							*	128
36	<i>kalmatu</i>	louse	*							75
37	<i>ku/albābu</i>	ant								121
38	<i>kūdanu</i>	mule		*	*				*	43
39	<i>kudurrānu</i>	wren, sandgrouse			*	*			*	115

40	<i>kulīlu</i>	dragonfly	*							135
41	<i>kupītu</i>	marsh bird								103
42	<i>kuppû</i> < Sum.	eel			*					137
43	<i>kurkû</i>	goose			*					101
44	<i>kurkurru</i>	(kind of) bird (uncertain)								117
45	<i>kurkuzānu</i>	piglet								78
46	<i>kuzāzu</i>	biting insect	*							135
47	<i>labbu</i>	lion		*	*			*	*	4
48	<i>lakānu</i>	sheep			*					75
49	<i>lalû/laliu</i>	small animal	*		*					69
50	<i>lulīmu</i>	stag, red deer								38
51	<i>mūru</i>	young bull, foal	*						*	44
52	<i>mūrānu</i>	whelp			*					27
53	<i>murašû</i>	wildcat								13
54	<i>nāḥīru</i>	dolphin				*				137
55	<i>namālu</i>	ant			*			*	*	121
56	<i>nēšu</i>	lion	*						*	6
57	<i>niqūdu</i>	marsh bird				*				103
58	<i>nūbtu</i>	bee								122
59	<i>nūnu</i>	fish				*			*	137
60	<i>pagû</i>	ape								84
61	<i>paspasu</i>	duck								103
62	<i>pē/arūrūtu</i>	mouse							*	81
63	<i>perša'u</i>	flea	*	*	*	*		*	*	124

64	<i>puḥādu</i>	lamb								75
65	<i>pušḥu</i>	a rodent								83
66	<i>raqqu</i>	turtle								120
67	<i>rīmu</i>	wild bull	*						*	35
68	<i>sāsu</i>	moth	*					*		129
69	<i>sīsû</i>	horse		*	*	*	*			47
70	<i>summatu</i>	dove	*	?					*	111
71	<i>šāšīru, šaršaru</i>	cricket	*	*					*	123
72	<i>šerru, šēru</i>	snake			?					118
73	<i>šurārû</i>	lizard								119
74	<i>šelepûtu</i>	turtle								120
75	<i>šaḥû</i>	pig								78
76	<i>šēlebu</i>	fox	*	*	*	*	*		*	16
77	<i>šikkû</i>	mongoose								25
78	<i>šīlangītu</i>	fish								137
79	<i>šinūnūtu, sinuntu</i>	swallow			*				*	110
80	<i>šu(t)tinnu</i>	bat								92
81	<i>šūru</i>	bull	*				*		*	60
82	<i>šurānu</i>	(domestic) cat								13
83	<i>turāḥu</i>	ibex				?				38
84	<i>u/iqūpu</i> < Sanskrit	ape					*			84
85	<i>zību</i>	jackal (WS), or vulture (Akk.)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	18

86	<i>zīzānu</i>	cricket or cicada			*	*					123
87	<i>zun/mbu</i>	fly		*	*					*	125
88	<i>zuqīqīpu</i>	scorpion									131

According to this table, animal names in Akk. can be classified into three groups:

- (1) ES elements (No. 1, 2, 4, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 36-37, 40-42, 44-46, 48, 50, 52, 59-61, 64, 75, 80, 88), some of which are Sum. loanwords (2, 4, 9, 42, 78),
- (2) Common Sem. elements which have cognates in the onomastica of the other languages (the majority),
- (3) Common Sem. elements which are not reflected in the onomastica of the other languages (No. 16, 58, 74, 82).

The table below, the same list, shows the survival of these names in periods and their distribution according to gender:

No	Element	Meaning	OAkk/ UR III		OA		OB		MA		MB		NA		N/ LB	
			m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1	<i>agālu</i>	kind of equid	*				*				*					
2	<i>agargarû</i>	fish														*
3	<i>akbaru</i>	jerboa					*		*		*		*			
4	<i>alluttu</i>	crab														
5	<i>alpu</i>	bull					*		?							
6	<i>arna- bu/annabu</i>	hare	*				*	*	*		*		*			
7	<i>arrabu</i>	dormouse					*				*		*	*	*	*
8	<i>arwiu/arwû</i>	gazelle (buck), mountain goat	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*			
9	<i>asu</i>	bear			*		*	*	*							
10	<i>as/šqūdu</i>	a rodent, ham-	*		*		*	*					*			

		ster (?)															
11	<i>ayyāṣu</i>	weasel					*										
12	<i>ayyalu</i>	deer					*		*	*	*					*	
13	<i>azaru</i>	lynx					*						*				
14	<i>baqqu</i>	gnat			*		*	*								*	
15	<i>barbaru</i>	wolf	*		*		*				*		*		*	*	
16	<i>bibbu</i>	wild sheep	*				*									*	
17	<i>būru</i>	calf	*		*		*	*	*		*		*				*
18	<i>dabû</i>	bear						*			*						
19	<i>daššu</i>	buck	*														
20	<i>di(q)diqqu</i>	a small bird					*									*	
21	<i>ē/āribu</i>	crow, raven											*				
22	<i>ḥaḥḥūru</i>	crow, raven											*			*	
23	<i>ḥu/am(a)ṣīru</i>	large mouse	*				*	*								*	*
24	<i>ḥarriru</i>	vole					*		*				*				
25	<i>ḥulû</i>	shrew	*								*		*		*	*	
26	<i>ḥurāpu</i>	young sheep					*									*	
27	<i>ḥuzālu</i>	gazelle			*		*	*			*		*		*	*	
28	<i>ḥuzīru</i>	pig	*				*		*	*	*		*		*	*	
29	<i>imē/āru</i>	donkey	*				*		*				*				
30	<i>immeru</i>	sheep	*		*		*				*		*		*	*	*
31	<i>enzu</i>	goat					*	*								*	
32	<i>iṣṣūru</i>	bird					*		*							*	*
33	<i>ka(l)labūnu</i>	locust															*
34	<i>kalbu</i>	dog	*				*	*			*		*		*	*	*
35	<i>kalūmu</i>	lamb	*	*													

36	<i>kalmatu</i>	louse			*		*	*	*		*		*		*
37	<i>ku/albābu</i>	ant					*								*
38	<i>kūdanu</i>	mule	*		*				*						
39	<i>kudurrānu</i>	wren, sandgrouse									*	*	*		*
40	<i>kulīlu</i>	dragonfly						*							
41	<i>kupītu</i>	marsh bird													*
42	<i>kuppû</i>	eel									*			*	*
43	<i>kurkû</i>	goose			*								*		
44	<i>kurkurru</i>	(kind of) bird (uncertain)			*		*								
45	<i>kurkuzānu</i>	piglet			*		*		*						
46	<i>kuzāzu</i>	biting insect			*										
47	<i>labbu</i>	lion	*	*			*				*				
48	<i>lakānu</i>	sheep			*		*								
49	<i>lalû/laliu</i>	small animal					*	*							
50	<i>lulīmu</i>	red deer, stag	*												
51	<i>mūru</i>	young bull, foal	*	*	*		*							*	
52	<i>mūrānu</i>	whelp	*		*		*	*	*		*			*	*
53	<i>murašû</i>	wildcat										*		*	*
54	<i>nāhiru</i>	dolphin										*			
55	<i>namālu</i>	ant					*								
56	<i>nēšu</i>	lion										*		*	
57	<i>niqūdu</i>	marsh bird					*								*
58	<i>nūbtu</i>	bee													*
59	<i>nūnu</i>	fish										*			

60	<i>pagû</i>	ape	*	*							*					
61	<i>paspasu</i>	duck	*					*	*							
62	<i>pē/arūrūtu</i>	mouse				*		*			*					
63	<i>perša'u</i>	flea	*				*								*	
64	<i>puḥādu</i>	lamb	*													
65	<i>pušḥu</i>	a rodent										*	*			
66	<i>raqqu</i>	turtle										*	*			
67	<i>rīmu</i>	wild bull	*				*		*		*		*			
68	<i>sāsu</i>	moth	*		*	*	*					*		*		
69	<i>sīsû</i>	horse			*							*		*		
70	<i>summatu</i>	dove		*				*								*
71	<i>šāšīru, šaršaru</i>	cricket	*		*		*					*		*	*	*
72	<i>šerru, šēru</i>	snake										?				
73	<i>šurārû</i>	lizard	*				*									
74	<i>šelep̄pūtu</i>	turtle		*			*				*				*	*
75	<i>šaḥû</i>	pig		*												*
76	<i>šēlebu</i>	fox	*		*		*		*		*		*		*	
77	<i>šikkû</i>	mongoose					*	*			*				*	*
78	<i>šīlangītu</i>	fish														*
79	<i>šinūnūtu, sinuntu</i>	swallow		*	*		*	*								*
80	<i>šu(t)tinnu</i>	bat									*					
81	<i>šūru</i>	bull	*						*		*					
82	<i>šurānu</i>	(domestic) cat	*			*									*	
83	<i>turāḥu</i>	ibex	*				*									
84	<i>u/iqūpu</i>	ape										*	*	*	*	*

85	<i>zību</i>	jackal, vulture												*	
86	<i>zīzānu</i>	cricket, or cicada	*				*							*	
87	<i>zun/mbu</i>	fly										*		*	
88	<i>zuqīqīpu</i>	scorpion	*												

A comparative analysis of these data yields the following observations:

- In general, animal names are found more among males than among females. This, however, cannot be taken as a real indicator of distribution, since there have always been more data on male documentation.
- The OB period shows the highest number of animal names (49 masc. and 18 fem.), presumably because of the excavated archives from different areas (Mari, Sippar, Larsa, Isin, Terqa, etc.).
- Some names seem to be limited to Babylonia, its neighborhood, and the southern part of Mesopotamia in all periods (No. 16, 18, 23, 31, 57, 60, 74-75).

3.2 Suffixes and endearment forms

3.2.1 *-ān*

A hypocoristic-diminutive suffix (Stamm 1939: 114, fn. 2; von Soden 1969: §56r) which occurs in a few examples: *Immerēnum* < **Immerānum* “Little sheep” (OB, §62), *Arrabāna* (f) “Little she-dormouse” (NB, §82), *Baqqānu* (m + f) “Little gnat” (OB, §127), *Barbarānu* “Little wolf” (NB, §19), *Būrānu* “Little calf” (OB, §61), and *Kalūmānu* “Little lamb” (OB, §75). In the other examples this suffix is a part of the animal name itself not the proper name: *Kūdanu* “Mule” (§43), *Kudurrānu* “Wren; Sandgrouse” (§115), *Kurkuzānu* “Piglet” (§78), *Lakānu* “Sheep” (§75), *Mūrānu* “Puppy” (§27), and *Šurānu* “Cat” (§13). Remarkably, whereas this suffix occurs in both masc. and fem. names in Akk., it is restricted to masc. names in the other Sem. languages: Amor. (↓4.1.2.1), Heb. (↓4.2.2.1) and Ar. (↓5.2.1).

3.2.2 *-āya/iya*

A hypocoristic suffix which is also well-attested in NWS (Amor., Ug., and Can-Aram.). In comparison to the other suffixes in the Akk. onomasticon, *-āya/iya* is the most common one in animal names: *Akpariya* “Little jerboa” (MA, §79), *Barbariya* “Little wolf” (OAkk., OA, §19), *Dabiya* “Little bear” (OB, §20), *Iššūriya* “Little bird” (OB/MA, §106), *Kūdanāya*

“Little mule” (MA, §43), *Kurkāya* “Little goose” (OA, §101), *Laliya* “Little kid/small animal” (OB, §69), *Mūrāniya* “Little whelp” (MA, §27), *Pagāya* “Little ape” (OAkk., §84), *Šaššarāya* “Little cricket” (OB, §123), *Šēlebiya* “Little fox” (OAkk./OB, §16), and *Sisiya* “Little horse” (OA/NB, §47). In the following names, this suffix might represent the shortened form of *animal-of-DN* type:⁹² *Alpūya* < *Alpu-DN* “Ox” (MA, §54), *Bibbiya*, *Bibbūya* < *Bibb-DN* “Wild sheep” (OAkk., §31), *Būriya* < *Būr-DN* “Calf” (OB) and its fem. form *Būrāya* (NB, §61), *Immeriya* < *Immer-DN* “Sheep” (OB/NB, §62), *Kalbāya* < *Kalab-DN* “Dog” (NB, §14), and *Kalūmiya* (OB) and *Kulūmāya* (OA) < *Kalūm-DN* “Lamb” (§75). Given these examples, it appears that: (1) this suffix is more observed in earlier times than Stamm (1939: 113) had thought, and (2) except for *Būrāya* (f), all the other names are masc., which is also the case with *-iya* in Amor. (↓4.1.2.3) and *-ay* in Heb. (↓4.2.2.2).

3.2.3 *-Vt(um)/Ct(um)*

Beside its function as a fem. marker, this suffix serves as a hypocoristic or diminutive ending in masc. names (Stamm 1939: 113; von Soden 1969 §56s, §60a). The available examples indicate that it appears in all periods: *Arwītum*, *Arbitum* (OAkk./OB, §29), *Annabatūm* < *Arnabatūm* (OB, §82), *Arrabtum* (family name) (NB, §82), *Barbartum* (OB, §19), *Ḥuzīrtu* (MA, §77), *Immertum* (OB, §62), *Kalūndu* < *Kalūmtu* (MB, §75), *Kuppūtu* (NB, §137), *Sāsatum* (OAkk, §126), and *Šinūnūtum/Šinānūtum* (OA/OB, §110). In general, this suffix is more found in animal names than in the other types.⁹³

3.2.4 Possessive pronouns

Except for *Murašūnu* “Their wildcat” (NB, §13), all the other names have the possessive pronoun suffix 1st sg.: *Ḥuluttī* (f) “My little shrew” (NA, §83), *Ḥuzīrī* (m + f) “My pig” (MA, §77), *Kalamatī* (f) “My louse” (OAkk., §128), *Nūnī* “My fish” (NA, §137), *Pušḫī* “My *pušḫu*-rodent/My ratty” (NA, §83), and *Šaḫitī* (f) “My sow” (OAkk., §78). The fact that all these examples refer to harmless and small animals allows us to classify them as affective names (see also ↓3.4.1).

3.3 Animal names in theophoric names

As indicated above (2.1.3), the majority of Akk. names are theophoric, which reflects a highly religious society. Animal terms are amply found in three types of theophoric names

⁹² On this type, see ↓3.3.

⁹³ Cf. the examples from Mari in Rasmussen (1981: 187ff), where this suffix is found only in two masc. names.

as: (1) DNs, (2) epithets, and (3) construct nouns (animal-of-DN). In the following subsections, I will deal with these types in view of the literary and archeological evidence.

3.3.1 Lion (*labbu*, §4)

The lion was associated with divinity and kingship in ancient Near Eastern traditions. Depending on the context, some features of the animal are highlighted and others are pushed into the background. The motif of a female deity accompanied with lions can be traced back in the Neolithic age (Keel 1994: 158). Sumerian and Akkadian monarchs speak of themselves either as lions or fight them face-to-face. In the NA royal narration and iconography the king hunts for the animal. Presentations of deities riding lions as mounts are frequently found in iconography. Still, it is the warlike goddess Ištar (and her NWS parallels) whose association with the lion remains of special significance.⁹⁴

In Akk., the masc. form *labbu* is a poetic word, contrary to the ordinary term *nēšu*, the occurrence of which in PNs is uncertain (§6). The fem. form *labbatu/lābatu* appears only as an epithet of Ištar: *labatu Išdar* (CAD L 24-25).⁹⁵ In theophoric names, except for ^fŠī-*labbat*, comparable to DN written ^dŠī-*labbat*, all the other examples contain the Amor. form *Labba/labba*.⁹⁶

(1) As a predicate: *Šarru-labba* “DN (or the like) is a lion”, ^fŠī-*labba* “She [Ištar] is a lioness”, *Ištar-labba* “Ištar is a lioness” (OAKk.).

(2) As a subject: *Amur-Labba* “See, o Labba”, *Itbe-Labba* “Labba has come up”, *Labba-nada* “Labba is praised” (OAKk.), *Iddin-Labba* “Labba has given”, *Labba-ilum* “Labba is the god”, *Labba-kāšid* “Labba is victorious” (MB).

(3) In some names *la-ba* can be either a predicate or a subject: *Bēli-la-ba* “My lord is a lion” or “Labba is my lord”, *Ilšu-la-ba* “His god is a lion” or “Labba is his god”, *Ilšu-abu-la-ba* “His god, the father, is Labba/is a lion.”

⁹⁴ On the leonine metaphor in Mesopotamia, see Watanabe (2002), and for a wider image about its symbolism in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East, see Strawn (2005).

⁹⁵ Interestingly, both terms are found in an OB hymn to Ištar (Lenzi 2011: 282-83):

(³¹) *šu-pu-ú-tu₄ la-ab-bat₄ d₄gi-gi mu-kan-ni-šat DINGIR-MEŠ sab-su-ti. (51) d₄ir-ni-ni(one sign erased)-i-tu₄ la-ab-bu na-ad-ru lib-ba-ki li-nu-ḥa* “Resplendent one, lioness of the Igigi, making submissive the angry gods. Irninitu! The aggressive lion, let your heart (= fem.) be at rest with respect to me”. Irninitu is an exceptional hapax legomenon for Ištar (Lenzi 2011: 259), and the expression *labbu nadru* appears in the plural form in another phrase: *labbī nadrūti* “the aggressive lions” (CAD L 24ff).

⁹⁶ Cf. 4.1.3.1.1.

3.3.2 Dog (*kalbu*, §14)

In addition to its use as a one-word name, the element *kalb-* appears in the common Sem. type *Kalb-DN* “Dog/Hound-of-DN”. Our onomastic data show that this type goes back as early as the OAk. period. According to some scholars, the term *kalb-* here may be understood in a figurative sense as “servant”, since it semantically corresponds to Akk. *ward-* and (N)WS *‘abd-*, which are also found in “Servant-of-DN” type (Thomas 1960: 425-26; Gaspa 2008: 126).⁹⁷ Nevertheless, some names can be approached from a different angle, like *Kalbu-Isin* “Dog of (the goddess of) Isin” (i.e., Gula) (NB) and its semantic parallel *Mūrānu-Gula* “Puppy of Gula” (NB). As is known, Gula, the healing goddess with her principal temple in Isin, was typically depicted as accompanied by her animal, the dog, most probably because dog saliva was thought to have healing power (Fuhr 1977: 143-144; Böck 2014: 38ff). Skeletons of thirty-three dogs from different ages were excavated in the complex of the Gula temple in Isin.⁹⁸ Several texts highlight the divine status of Gula’s dog, e.g., in the oath phrase *kalbum ša Gula* and the incantation: “If he touches the dog of Gula he is clean (again)” (quoted in CAD K 71). The term ‘dog’ in these examples might refer to a figurine as well as a living animal. One of the tasks of Gula’s dogs is to counter the destructive demon *Lamaštu* (whose principal victims were unborn and newly born babies) and her agents, one of which was the black ‘rabid’ dog (Böck 2014: 40-41 with the bibliography therein). An incantation reads “But we, we are not just a(ny) dog. (We are) the Dogs-of-Gula, (poised) to fly your face, tear your back to pieces, and lacerate your ankles” (Farber 2007: 640-41).

In view of this information, names like *Kalbu-Isin* and *Mūrānu-Gula* can be interpreted in two ways:

(1) (Nick)names/titles of physicians or servants at Gula’s temple. In the same context, it may not be a coincidence that one of Šamsī-Addu I’s physicians bore the name *Mērānum* “Puppy” (ARM 16/1 153), which can be figuratively understood as “Healer”.

(2) Thanksgiving names: the name-giver did a prayer and/or dedicated a clay dog to the goddess. Expressing his/her gratitude towards her, (s)he named the child after her animal (i.e., a substitute name). This explanation is reasonable in view of the prayer “for Gula I made and dedicated (this) dog of clay” (quoted in CAD K 71) and can help us to understand the MA name *Uqâ-mūrānī* “I waited for my puppy” (§27).

⁹⁷ The term *kalbu* also denotes “vassal of a king” in OA (Balkan 1957: 6, 30).

⁹⁸ The analysis showed the following distribution of age: one stillbirth, fifteen puppies, four young dogs of up to one year, four dogs between 1 ¼ to 1 ½ years, and nine adult animals (Boessneck 1977: 101).

These two hypotheses might hold for *Kalab-Bau/Kalab-Baba* (OB) and *Kalbi-Bau* (NB), too, for Bau (or Baba), the principal goddess of the Lagash area, was also a goddess of healing⁹⁹ and thus associated with a dog.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, OB *Kalbu-išar* “The dog is reliable” seems to belong to the same semantic field.

In addition, there are two interesting compound names with the element *kalbu*: *Ša-pî-kalbi* (m + f) “He/She (who was rescued from) the mouth of a dog” and *Ina-pî-kalbi-irîh* “He remained in the mouth of a dog”, both seem to indicate orphanhood (i.e., the child was found in the street).¹⁰¹

3.3.3 Bovine

In Mesopotamian literature, the use of bovine appellatives was a usual way to designate goddesses. Ninsun, the name of Gilgameš’s mother, means “Lady wild cow”. Mullis-su/Ištar, for instance, appears in NA texts as “wild cow”. Significantly, the animal appellatives by which the goddess addresses the Assyrian king as her own son in NA prophetic texts make use of the “calf” terminology “as for you, have no fear, my calf” (Parpola 1997 7, r. 11).¹⁰²

3.3.3.1 General term for the bull (*šūru*, §60)

The general term *šūru* occurs as a divine epithet in three Eb. theophoric names: *Šu-ra-Damu* “Damu is a bull”, *Šu-ra-Qawm*, and *Šur-ra-Karru*. Likewise, the term is associated with divinity in Akk.: *Ilī-šūr* “My god is a bull” (OAkk.), *Šūr-Sîn* “DN is a bull” (OAkk.), *Šūr-abī* “My father is a bull”, and *Šūr-Adad* “DN is a bull” (MA).

3.3.3.2 Wild bull (*rīmu*, §35)

The wild bull played a fundamental role in the ideology of the Neolithic period, as is reflected in the bucrania of aurochs which were collected in deposits or hung on the walls of houses in many sites in Syria (Cauvin 1994: 166–168). Based on this symbolism, deities were depicted with bull’s horns.¹⁰³ The image of the wild bull (*rīmu*) in Mesopotamian

⁹⁹ Cf. the NB name *Ba’u-asītu* “Bau is a doctor” (CT 55 65 rev. 10). I am indebted to Prof. Stol for providing me with a reference to this name.

¹⁰⁰ See for the discussion of Bau/Baba, Falkenstein (1966: 63-67).

¹⁰¹ The semantics of such names becomes apparent through two ‘literary’ legal phrases related to orphanhood: *ina pî kalbi ikimšu* “he rescued him from the mouth of a dog” and *ina pî āribi ušaddi* “he let (him) fall down from the mouth of a raven” (Landsberger 1937: 44, Tf.3, III: 34-37).

¹⁰² For a comparative study on the symbolism of the bull in the ancient Near East, see Rice (1998).

¹⁰³ Horns were also used as offering to the god of storm in Eb. “20 shekels of silver (157 g) for the circular covering of the horns of 2 bulls, offering of the king (for) Hadda of Aleppo.” (MEE 12, 36, quoted in Archi 2013: 218).

literature is rich enough that the word was used as an epithet of gods, heroes, kings, and temples (CAD R 361ff; Watanabe 2002: 57-75).

As for theophoric names, while there is a consensus that *rīmu* denotes “wild bull” in the three-element names, i.e. *Adad/Ea/Ninurta/Sîn/Šamaš-rīm-ilī* “DN is the wild bull of gods” (fem. *Aya-rīmti-ilātim*, *Ištar-rīmti-ilī*) (all OB), *Sîn-rīm-Urim* “DN is the wild bull of Ur”, (OB), and *Aššur-rīm-nišēšu* “DN is the wild bull of his people” (MA) (Stamm 1939: 226; CAD R 361; AHW 986; Bowes 1987: 1167-68), there has been much debate on whether the two-element names *Rīm-DN* (Oakk., OB), *Rīmuš* (Oakk.), and *DN-ri-mi* (Oakk.) are formed with the noun *rīmu* “wild bull”, “gift”, or the verb *rēmu* “to take pity, to have/show mercy”: (1) Gelb (MAD 3 231) and Macrae (NPN 313) give “to love, have mercy” (imperative) for all; (2) CAD R 361-2 has “wild bull” for all, where the sense “gift” is attested only in the fem. form *rīmūtu* (ibid. 264); (3) AHW 986 suggests “gift (of god)” (<*rīmu* II) for *Rīm-DN* and *Rīmuš*; and (4) Stamm (1939: 259) gives either “wild bull” or “gift” assuming that the term is perhaps confined to royal names (ibid. 85).¹⁰⁴ In view of the semantic of three-element names and the fem. form *rīmūtu*, I will adopt the translation suggested by CAD. As for the one-word names, i.e., *Ṛīmtum*, *Rīmum*, *Rīmu*, *Rīmiya*, they are mostly abbreviated forms or hypoc. (CAD R 362a).

3.3.3.3 Calf (*būru* = Sum. AMAR, §61)

This element appears in two types of names:

- As a DN, e.g., *Būr-nāšir* “The (divine) calf is the protective one”, *Būr-šar* “The (divine) calf is the king” (OMA I 187); *Būru-abu-ušur* “O [divine] calf protect the father”, *Būru-ibnī* “The [divine] calf has created”, and *Būru-iqīša* “The [divine] calf has granted”, etc. The intended god in these examples might be any of the major ones, such as (1) Marduk, one of his several designations being Sum. ^dAMAR-UTU “Bull-calf of the sun/storm” (Lenzi 2011: 291), and who is also compared to a cow with a calf in the hymn *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* I (19-20): “He hastens to treat his beloved kindly, and like a cow with a calf, he is ever attentive.” (Lenzi 2011: 291, 499), (2) Adad: “the fierce calf (symbol) of Adad” (CAD B 342), or (3) Šamaš: “king (Šamaš), calf (born) of the holy mother cow (CAD B 340).

- The construct state: *Būr-DN* type “Calf of DN”,¹⁰⁵ which is found in Eb. *Būr-Kaym* and *Būr-i* (hypocoristicon), but much more in Akk. *Būr-Adad/Ištar/Dagan/Šamaš/Sîn* and so

¹⁰⁴ For more information on this issue, see the discussion in §3.6.1.

¹⁰⁵ This type may have been influenced by its Sum. parallel *AMAR-DN*, e.g., “Calf of Ašnan”, “Calf of Hendursag”, “Calf of Nin-kilim”, and so on, in addition to names indicating localities: “Calf of the New Temple”, “Palace-Calf”, “Calf of Girid”, and “Calf of Kuara” (Foxvog 2011: 75).

on. In general, this type may parallel *Inbu-DN*, lit. “Fruit of DN”, and metaphorically “Offspring/Son of DN”, both being widely found in Akk. (Stamm 1939: 261; Gaspa 2008: 150-52).

3.3.4 Wild ungulates

Three names of wild ungulates are used as divine epithets, mainly in PNs from the earlier periods (OAkk. and OB):

(1) *bibbu* “wild sheep” (§31): according to Gelb (MAD 3 93), this term is attested in several names, e.g., *Bibbi-il*, *Ea-bibbi*, *Bēlu(m)-bibbi*, all meaning “DN is my wild sheep”, *Nārum-bibbi* “The (divine) river is my wild sheep”, and *Il-bibbi* “God is my wild sheep” (OAkk.).¹⁰⁶

(2) *turāḫu* “ibex” (§38): *Meme-turāḫ* “DN is ibex” (OAkk.).

(3) *lulīmu* “stag, red deer” (§38): *Ilīma-lūlim* “My god is truly (the) red deer” and *Ilum-lūlim* “The god is the red deer” (OB).

3.3.5 Small cattle

Names of small cattle are only used in the construct state *animal-of-DN*: *Kalūm-īlim* “Lamb of god” (OB, §75),¹⁰⁷ *Immer-īli* “Sheep of god”, *Immeruša* “Her sheep”, the hypoc. *Immeriya* (OB, §62), and *Inzi-Aia* “Goat of DN” (NA, §64).¹⁰⁸ This type of names can be interpreted as an expression of attachment (i.e., a trust name), like the names in which the god is often described as the shepherd of mankind (Stamm 1939: 261). It might also express joy over the birth (Gaspa 2008: 152ff) or thanks to the deity through designing the child as a sacrificial animal.

3.3.6 Equids

Equids played an important role in the economic and religious life of the ancient Near Eastern societies. Beside their function in transportation and agriculture, donkeys,¹⁰⁹ for example, were ritually sacrificed while concluding agreements.¹¹⁰ The term *imēru* occurs

¹⁰⁶ The reading of these names, however, is not accepted in CAD B 217ff.

¹⁰⁷ The lamb is considered *ellu* ‘ritually pure’ sacrifice in ritual texts (Wilson 1994: 78). Note also the diviner’s prayer known as ‘The Lamb’ “[I cal]l to you Šamaš, I beseech you to cleanse me. In the lamb I offer, place the truth (....) on the right of this lamb, on the left of this lamb, place the truth (Foster 1996: 153).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Sum. “Goat of (the god) Ašgi” (Foxvog 2011: 74).

¹⁰⁹ On equids and their domestication in ancient Mesopotamia, see Zarins (2014).

¹¹⁰ Lafont 2001: 263ff.

as a one-word name (§42); its attestation in theophoric names is uncertain.¹¹¹ As for *mūru* “foal”, we have NA *Mu-ri-ia/Mūr-Aia* “Foal of DN”, which, if not a hypoc., would parallel Amor. *Mūru-DN* (↓4.1.3.6) and, probably, Eb. *Muhr-išu* “His foal” (the god?) (§44). These names could belong to the same context of *Immer/Kalūm-DN* mentioned above (3.3.5) or indicate youth and vivaciousness.

3.4 Animal names: reasons for their use

This topic has been but superficially dealt with in Assyriology. In this section, I will elaborate on it by addressing the following theories and practices: the nickname theory, affective names, omen names, the astral theory, and naming and royal ideology.

3.4.1 Nicknames, affective names or omen-names?

In his fundamental study of Akk. name-giving, Stamm (1939: 11) treats animal names as nicknames. He points out that this category in Akk. lists is confined largely to small animals. The endings *-ya*, *-ātum*, and *-ūtum* often found in them suggest tenderness (pet names) with a humorous nuance (ibid. 11, 253). His remark that terms denoting lion (*nēšu*) and raptors are never used (ibid. 254-55) seems correct, for the two *nēšu*-names (NA, NB) are highly uncertain (§6). Similarly, *ka-su-su* (UM 2, 2 120), which is cited as a PN “(hunting) falcon” (AHw 454b), is interpreted differently as PBS 2/2 120 (the same text), and CAD K 257a does not see a PN in it.¹¹² Stamm’s explanation of animal names as expressions of tenderness was adopted by other scholars (NPN 292; Rasmussen 1981: 471).

In his recent comprehensive study on profane names in the NA anthroponymy, Gaspa (2008) paid more attention to animal names. Semantically, his evaluation is based on animal similes in the NA royal inscriptions and other texts, in which people (the Assyrian king, his troops, and his enemies) are compared with animals. Like Stamm, however, he does not establish any criterion for distinguishing nicknames from given names. In his view, some animal (by)names can be taken as honorific ones, since they refer to animals usually meant to be an expression of positive human qualities (e.g., lion, wolf, and the wild bull). The fox mostly indicate cunning. The lynx (*Azaru*) and wild cat (*Murašû*) might probably express the idea of a furtive and nocturnal person. Names of wild goats and ibex

¹¹¹ According to Prof. Stol, ANŠE-*išg-tár* “Donkey of Ištar” (Abdi and Breckman 2007 19: 55, no. 19: 5) is a misreading of GİR-(= *šēp*)-Ištar “Foot of Ištar”. He also suggests that *Imarum*, *Emarum* in §42 could mean “The man from Emar”, “Emarite”. If all this is true, “donkey” is not attested in Akk. names.

¹¹² This information concerning *ka-su-su* was mentioned to me by Prof. Stol.

indicate agility and the ability of coping with enemies and difficult situations. *Arādu*, wild ass, refers to a frightened person, while names referring to lambs and kids can be understood as synonyms of innocence, docility, and submissiveness. The same holds for pig, which refers to docility. Anthroponyms concerning the dog convey the idea of meekness and servilism (Gaspa 2008: 142-145). As for affective names, Gaspa adopts a view which is similar to Stamm's but with a little modification. He classifies them into three categories: (1) the ones denoting animal offspring, especially 'lambs' and 'calves', which are a longstanding popular expression of innocence, vitality, and nature's bloom, (2) little animals, particularly rodents (e.g., *Akbaru*, *Arrabu*, *Asqūdu*, *Ḥarriru*) without ruling out the possible connection with their use as refined meat, and (3) names characterized by diminutive forms and the use of possessive suffixes, e.g., *Puṣḥi* "My *puṣḥu*-rodent/My ratty" (Gaspa 2008: 148-49).

Thus, the common points between Stamm and Gaspa are the following:

- (1) They see animal names as nicknames in general, but without giving any explanation.
- (2) They exclude the concept of *omen est nomen*.
- (3) They do not pay attention to the probable association between animal names and magic.

Based on the literary and onomastic evidence, these points will be discussed in the following two subsections.

3.4.1.1 Given names or (humorous) nicknames?

Presumably, one can distinguish a given name from a nickname only when there is a sufficient repertoire, i.e., data on several persons, males and females, with both. These data should contain information on the birth (or official) name, the semantics of the nickname in terms of honor/mocking, and preferably information on the ancestors' names of the given person from the paternal and/or maternal line in order to know if (s)he was called after one of them. When such data are not available, any assumption that animal names (in general or even some of them) are nicknames is merely a projection of our modern conception on a different society.

If a name is quite frequent in a certain area/period (or generally), it should rather be taken as a given name, e.g., OB Sippar: *Ḥuzālu* "Gazelle" (probably a metaphor for agility) is very frequent (IPNOBS 99), its fem. form *Ḥuzālatu*, 12 times (ibid. 99), *Šēlebu* "Fox" (a

metaphor for cunning),¹¹³ frequent (ibid. 325-26), *Arwû* “Gazelle-buck”, relatively frequent (ibid. 43), and *Arnabatu* (f) “Hare” (affective name), 6 times (ibid. 42). There is no reason to see such examples as nicknames, given that nicknames are more unique than given names and somehow related to specific attributes.

If we turn to double-names (↑2.1.5.3), the distinction becomes quite difficult. Our onomastic data yield only few examples of animal names:

OB *Iddin-Lagamal* = *Šēlebum* “Fox” (Stol 1991: 210),

OB *Nārām-Adad* = *Immerum* “Lamb” (Charpin 1980: 343),

NB *Nergal-ušēzib* = *Puršû* “Flea” (Wunsch 2000: 12),

NB *Marduk-šumu-iddin* = *Murānu* “Puppy” (Waerzeggers 2014: 64).

From a modern point of view, the first idea which comes to mind is that the given name in these examples is the theophoric one. Yet it is also possible that some individuals were given animal names or the like at birth, but they tried to change them later, i.e., if they entered a new phase of life or, simply, because they did not like them.¹¹⁴ The latter method would not always work in small communities, where people know each other very well. The person in question in this case would become known through both names, mostly until death. The nickname theory becomes less convincing when we consider the distribution of animal names in family (↓3.5) and society (↓3.6). To avoid generalization, however, it is safer to say that due to its metaphoric use, this type of names fits in both categories: given names and nicknames.

3.4.1.2 Omen names?

The practice of using omen names (especially those of animals) is known in several societies, e.g., the Arab World, India, and the Mbeere people of Kenya (↓5.4.2.1). The importance of omens in Akk. literature is well-documented in two major series *Šumma Izbu* (de Zorzi 2011, 2011a) and *Šumma Ālu* (Freedman 1998, 2006), both showing a significant role of animals. However, since this type of literature provides no direct information on name-giving, the hypothesis elaborated in this section remains speculative.

Some animals and insects were seen as good/bad omens almost in all situations. Let us examine the case of *sāsu* “moth” below in *Šumma Ālu*:

¹¹³ On the fox and cunning, see CAD Š/2 268b.

¹¹⁴ Some examples from CAr. support this hypothesis (↓5.6.1).

If moths are seen in a man's house, the owner of that house will become important (Freedman 1998 38: 1).

If there are moths becoming numerous in a man's abandoned house, that house will be inhabited; its inhabitant will be happy (Freedman 1998 38: 10).

If moths become numerous in a man's house, the house will have enough food; it will be happy (Freedman 1998 38: 11).

Hence the frequency of the name *Sāsu* in all periods (§129) might be related to the symbolism of the moth, i.e., there was a belief that it (and consequently its name) brings wealth/good to the family. It is also possible that the birth of some individuals called *Sāsu* was accompanied by the presence of this insect.

On the other hand, the negative connotation of some animals seems to have resulted from (or led to) an association with demons (MAŠKIM = *rābišum*):

If an animal demon (MAŠKIM AZ.ZA.LU.LU) is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed (Freedman 1998 19: 4).

This image is understandable in a world which was thought to be inhabited by all sorts of demons (Farber 1995):

If an evil demon (MAŠKIM ḪUL) is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed (Freedman 1998 19: 2).

If a divine demon (MAŠKIM DINGIR) is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed (Freedman 1998 19: 3).

Whatever the animal demon is, one would expect its name to be avoided in utterance as well as anthroponyms. As observed in a variety of cultures, the utterance of a name might lead to the appearance of the thing named.¹¹⁵ In view of this, the absence of a term like *nimru* "leopard" from the Akk. onomasticon (§10) is possibly due to the fact that it is also a designation of demon (CDA 253).

An examination of animal names in view of animal categories suggests that the people of ancient Mesopotamia tended to avoid names of venomous animals. For example, *Zuqaqīpu* "Scorpion" is found only once for an OAkk. ruler (↓3.4.2; cf. the frequent WS parallel 'aqrab sub §131) and *Še-ra-a-nu/Ši-ra-a-nu* "Snake-like" is dubious (cf. the frequent terms for snake in WS sub §118). These animals were considered not only dangerous but also devils and incantations against them as well as the feral dog were common in the Sum.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Frazer (1911: 397) and Smal-Stocki (1950: 490).

and Akk. tradition in all periods.¹¹⁶ Some of these incantations go back as early as sources from Fara and Ebla (e.g., Cunningham 1996). Below is an OB example against the snake:

I seized the mouth of all snakes, even the *kuršindu* snake,
The snake that cannot be conjured, the *aš(š)unugallu* snake, the *burubalû* snake,
The (*šan*)*apšaḥuru* snake, of speckled eyes,
The eel snake, the hissing snake, (even) the hisser, the snake at the window
It entered the hole, went out by the drainpipe,
It smote the sleeping gazelle, betook itself to the (?) the withered oak (IM 51328: in Finkel 1999).

As for rodents' names, their occurrence in several Sem. languages indicates that they belong to a common naming tradition. Stamm's hypothesis on the affective aspect of their use seems likely if we suppose that they were given in relation to physical similarities (smallness, colour of skin and such), but without ruling out other possibilities, such as a magical association. The dormouse or jerboa (*arrabu*), for example, had a kind of magical power, since it was used against *zikurudû* (a pernicious magic practice): "you take that dormouse, put it into the skin of a mouse, put it into a grave, and make a sacrifice to the dead" (CAD Z 117; A/2 302).¹¹⁷ Whether being given names or nicknames, rodents' names appear to have had a positive value in general.

3.4.2 The astral theory: names of animals or astral bodies?

The Sumerian King List reads:

After the flood had swept over, when kingship had come down from heaven, kingship (was) at Kiš. At Kiš, Gišru was king; he reigned 1,200 years; Kullasina-bēl reigned 900 (?) years' [Nan-GI(Š)-lišma reigned 1,200 (years); En-dara-ana reigned 420 years, 3 months, (and) 3 ½ days]; Bāb[um] reigned 300 years;] Pū'an[um] reigned 840 (?) years; Kalibum reigned 900 years; Kalūmum reigned 840 years; Zuqāqip reigned 900 years; Atab reigned 600 years; Mašda, son of Atab, reigned 840 years; Arwi'um, son of Mašda, reigned 720 years; Etana the shepherd, the one who went up to heaven, who put the countries in order, was king; he reigned 1,500 years; Balih, son of Etana, reigned 400 years (Glassner 2004: 121).

¹¹⁶ Similar incantations against scorpions and snakes are known in the Islamic tradition (Ibn Qayyim 1998 4: 165-170).

¹¹⁷ For more information on *arrabu* in magic, see Thomsen (1987: 40-44).

The majority of these post-diluvian rulers who preceded the famous Etana have Akk. names (the underlined ones), four of them refer to animals: *Kalibum* “Dog” or “Rabid”, *Kalūmum* “Lamb”, *Zuqāqip* “Scorpion”, and *Arwi’um* “Gazelle”, whose Sum. father’s name *Mašda* (= Akk. *Šabītum*) gives the same meaning. This unit of ‘animal-kings’, as Jacobsen (1939: 152) terms it, was probably inserted by the author of the King List before an originally independent tradition which began with Etana, who precedes a series of rulers with names of a different type. Hallo (1963: 52), on the other hand, links two of them (*Kalibum* and *Zuqāqip*) as well as some of the names of the anti-diluvian kings (*Lulim/Ayyalu*, *Dumuzi*, *Sipa-zi-an-na*) to constellations. Frayne (2008: 50-51) goes further by applying this idea to most of the twelve kings. This hypothesis would be valid if the other two animal names, *Kalūmum* and *Arwi’um* were used for constellations, which is not the case (cf. the table below). Moreover, although Frayne links the sign KIŠ to animals “aurochs, deer, or donkey”, he does not pay attention to the possible symbolic association between its name and the ‘animal-kings’ themselves. Given this information, Poebel’s hypothesis (PBS 4/1: 111) that the king Zuqāqip was perhaps figured in a legend in which he was changed into a scorpion by an angry deity seems attractive and can help us to decode the other names. As indicated above (3.4.1.2), the scorpion, the snake, and the feral dog were seen as devilish animals in ancient Mesopotamia. Neither *Zuqāqip* (§131) nor *Kalibum* (§14, to be distinguished from *Kalbum*) are found afterwards, unlike the case of *Arwi’um* (§29) and *Kalūmum* (§75), which were popular in all periods. Therefore, it is likely that the succession of a dangerous animal by a beautiful and peaceful one (dog/lamb, scorpion/gazelle) in the Sumerian King List symbolizes the replacement of an unjust reign by a just one, which was invented to introduce Etana, whose name probably means “Ascender of Heaven”. As is known from the myth concerning this king, after becoming desperate to have a child, he went up to the sky by the help of an eagle in order to find the plant of birth (Dalley 2000: 189-200). Although the rest of the text is missing, the Sumerian King List tells that he was succeeded by his son Baliḥ or Waliḥ. In view of this analysis, the Sum. tradition might imply the following idea: the kingship which came down from heaven at Kiš witnessed a state of instability and had been spoiled by some unjust animal-kings until the rise of Etana, who established a fixed and just dynasty.

In order to examine the probability of the astral theory outside the Sumerian King List and the interpretations concerning it, I will classify Akk. astral names into two groups according to their relation to anthroponyms: (1) the ones referring to animals, (2) the others (miscellaneous names). If names from both groups are found as anthroponyms, this

certainly means that the people of ancient Mesopotamia intentionally named their children after astral bodies.

Group (1) astral names derive from animal names:

Name/Meaning	Constellation	CAD/vol.	PN (attestation in App.)
<i>alluttu</i> “crab”	Cancer	A/1 360	§137 (very rare)
<i>āribu</i> “raven”	Corvus	A/2 266	§104 (very rare)
<i>barbaru</i> “wolf”	Triangulum	B 108	§19
<i>bibbu</i> “wild sheep”	unspecified planets or comets	B 218	§31 (very rare)
<i>e/inzu</i> “goat”	Lyra	E 180	§64 (very rare)
<i>ḥabaṣīrānu</i> “like-a-mouse”	Centaurus	Ḫ 8	§83
<i>kalbu</i> “dog”	Hercules	K 68	§14
<i>nēšu</i> “lion”	Leo	N/2 193	§6 (very rare)
<i>nimru</i> “leopard”	A constellation comprising Cygnus	N/2 235	No
<i>nūnu/nūn šamē</i> “fish (of the sky)”	Pisces Austrinus, also another star or constellation	N/2 234	§137 (very rare)
<i>suḥurmāšu</i> “(mythical) goat-fish”	Capricorn	S 351	No
<i>šēlebu</i> “fox”	the star Gamma in Ursa Major	Š/2 270	§16
<i>šinūnūutu</i> “swallow, swallow fish ”	star(s) in Pisces and Pegasus	Š/3 56	§110
<i>tūltu</i> “worm”	unspecified constellation	T 466	No
<i>zuqaqīpu</i> “scorpion”	Scorpius	Z 165	§131 (very rare)

The table shows that the majority of astral names occur as anthroponyms, but this does not necessarily indicate an association between both, for none of the names from group (2) below is found as such:

Group (2) astral names which are not related to animals: *agru* “Aries” (CAD A/1 151), *epinnu* “Triangulum Boreale” (CAD E 235), *gamlu* “Auriga” (CAD G 35), *ikû* “Pegasus” (CAD I 69), *kalitu* “Puppis” (CAD K 76), *kaiamānu* “Saturn” (CAD K 36), *nīru* “Yoke constellation, roughly equivalent to Bootes” (CAD N/2 264), *pāšittu* “Beta Andromedae” (CAD P 256), *ših̄tu* “Mercury” (CAD Š/2 416), and *zibānītum/zibānû* “Scales constellation; precursor of Libra” (CAD Z 99/100).

This comparison leads us to the following conclusion: the use of animal names as astral names and anthroponyms somehow belongs to the same pragmatic field (i.e., metaphors) but this does in no way imply that the latter are based on the former.

3.4.3 Names of domestic animals and royal ideology

Names like *Immeru* “Sheep” (§62), *Kalūmu* “Lamb” (§75), *Būru* “Calf” (§61), *Ḫuzīru* “Pig” (§77), and *Kurkuzānu* “Piglet” (§78) are quite frequent in our data. In dealing with such names, Gaspa (2008: 148) suggests: “common profane names like those referring to domestic animals, as donkeys and sheep, may have been simply intended to express features usually attributed to these animals on account of their use in everyday life and work, like physical resistance, industriousness, and prolificness”. Yet we can go a step further by approaching these names through what we can call ‘the onomastic interaction with royal ideology’. As is known, the concept of the King-as-Shepherd occupies an essential place in ancient Mesopotamian literature and seems to have influenced other cultures. The oldest reference to it is from the OAkk. period, where king Lugalzaggesi of Uruk (2340-2316) speaks of himself as being “born for shepherding” (Zaccagnini 1994: 271). The metaphor appeared some three hundred years later, where Šu-Sîn, king of Ur (2037-2029) declares himself to be “the king whom the god Enlil, in his heart, has elected to be the shepherd of the country and of the four corners of the world”. Similarly, the OB Ḫammurapi announces that Enlil and Marduk granted to him the shepherding of the dark-haired people (Zaccagnini 1994: 271). The origin and archetype of this metaphor belongs to the divine sphere, e.g., Dumuzi/Tammuz is the shepherd-god. But since “the king is the mirror of a

god” according to the proverb (Lambert 1960: 28), he was entitled to shepherd the people/the flock.¹¹⁸

Based on this analysis, I would suggest that the frequency of PNs referring to herd/domestic animals reflects a kind of onomastic response to the representation of the people of ancient Mesopotamia in royal ideology as obedient flock/cattle.

3.5 Animal names within the family

As indicated above (2.1.4), naming within the family is reflected by three practices: (1) systematic naming, (2) harmonic names, and (3) naming after a family member. This section examines the applicability of the latter two practices to animal names.

3.5.1 Harmonic names

This naming method is not only observed in theophoric names (↑2.1.4.1) but also in animal names. A review of onomastic lists from different periods yields the following examples:

No.	Period	Name	Meaning	Reference
1	OA	<i>Ašqūdu s. Bāziya</i>	Hamster/Falcon (?)	OAPN 15
2	OB	<i>Būr-Sîn s. Būr-Enlil</i>	Calf-of-DN/Calf-of-DN	IPNOBS 68
3		<i>Ḫuzālu s. Kalūmu</i>	Gazelle/Lamb	IPNOBS 99
4		<i>Ḫuzālu s. Imēru</i>	Gazelle/Donkey	Tammuz 1993 47: 4
5	MB	<i>Kakkīšu br. Mūrānu</i>	Weasel/Puppy	PKTN 17
6		<i>Kudurrānu s. Ḫuzālu</i>	Wren/Gazelle	PKTN 17
7	NA	<i>Ququ’u’a s. Šēlebu</i>	Pelican/Fox	PNA 1018
8	NB	<i>Ḫabašīru s. Kalbā</i>	Large mouse/Dog	YOS 7 149: 7, 12
9		<i>Ḫaḫḫūru s. Šellebi</i>	Raven/Fox	SAA 18 5

¹¹⁸ More literature on the image of the king as a shepherd (*rē’û*) can be found in CAD R 310. For the frequent *DN-rē’û* type “DN is the shepherd” and similar names, see Bowes (1987: 1160-62).

10		<i>Kalbā s. Bāziya</i>	Dog/Falcon	Dougherty 1923: index of PNs
11		<i>Aqūbu s. Bāziya</i>	Ape/Falcon	BM 42349: 10
12		<i>Murašû s. Šellebi</i>	Wild cat/Fox	VAS 4 146
13		<i>Šēlebi s. Iqūpu</i>	Fox/Ape	Spar and von Dassow 2000 119: 7
14		<i>Šellebi s. Mūrānu</i>	Fox/Puppy	MacEwan 1984 179: 1
15		<i>Šikkûa s. Mūrānu</i>	Mongoose/Puppy	NBC 8341: 10
16		<i>Iššūru s. Mūrānu</i>	Bird/Puppy	BM 79055: 20

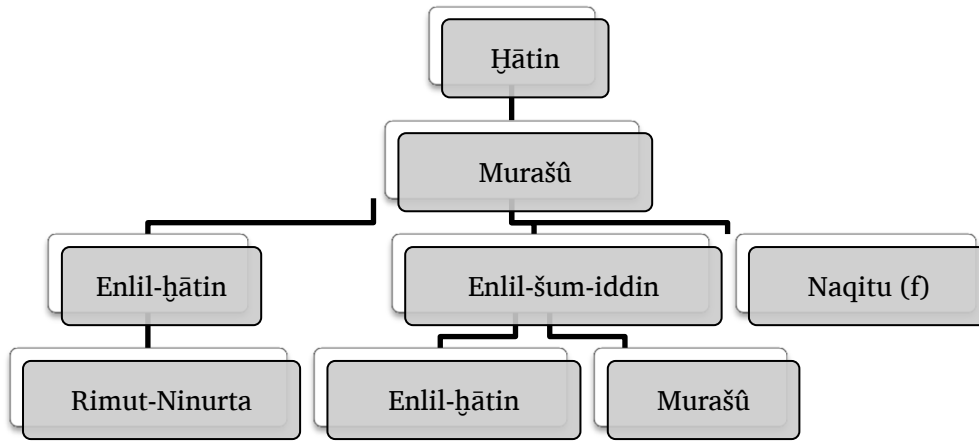
Dealing with these names, one should keep in mind that:

- (1) These pairs are relatively few in comparison to the high number of individuals bearing animal names.
- (2) Some of these names might have been given spontaneously (i.e., as fashion names) without any association with the patronyms.

In his analysis of two of these names (No. 6, 8), Gaspa (2008: 180-182) hypothesizes that they are nicknames and that the onomastic relation “Raven/Pelican-Fox” expressed common behavioral traits known to everybody that time. This, however, seems unlikely in view of the other three Foxes (No. 12-14) whose fathers/sons bore different animal names. On the contrary, such names appear to refute the ‘nicknames theory’ (↑3.4.1). Of all these examples, No. 5 is the most significant one, as it indicates that something was going on in the mind of the name-giver; the two animals could have had a special symbolism for the him or his family, or even in his area.

3.5.2 Naming after a family member: papponymy

An interesting example about the influence of this custom on the survival and popularity of animal names is the stemma of the *Murašû* family “Wild cat” (Stolper 1976: 192). According to the diagram below, *Enlil-šum-iddin*, the second son, named one of his sons after his grandfather (*Enlil-ḫātin*) and another one after his father (*Murašû*):



The frequency of the name *Murašû* in the NB period (§13) can be attributed to the reputation of the family, whose members, bankers and brokers, were engaged in several financial activities in southern and central Babylonia for a period of 50 years starting from the end of the 5th c. BCE (Stolper 1985).

3.6 Animal names in society

As mentioned above (2.1.5), naming in Akk. reflected the social stratum and/or cultic position of the bearer. To which extent did this affect the use of animal names? The following subsections will address this question.

3.6.1 Animal names as royal names

Beside the four post-diluvian rulers (§3.4.2), there are few examples of historical kings with animal names: *Rīmuš* “His wild bull” (OAKk.), *Rīm-Sîn* “Wild bull of Sîn” (the last king of Larsa Dynasty), *Immerum* “Sheep” (early OB Sippar), and *Būr-Sîn* “Calf of Sîn” (first dynasty of Isin). Although there is an individual called *Rīmu* (MA), *Rīmuš* itself is not found in any onomastic list (§35), which means that it was of restricted use. A similar interpretation could be suggested for *Immerum* in the OB period, since the corpus of Sippar shows that except for the king, there is only one individual with this name (a witness in CT 8 26b: 21, de Boer 2014: fn. 371). As for the kings *Būr-Sîn* and *Rīm-Sîn*, their names appear as theophoric elements in PNs. For instance, an official in the kingdom of Isin bore the name *Būr-Sîn-ilī* “(King) Bur-Sîn is my god” and he named his son *Ilum-bāšti* “My/The god is my happiness”, where the element “god” seems to refer to the same king (Stol 1991: 205). Yet these two examples do not mean that names of *Būr-DN* and *Rīm-DN* types were confined to kings, for we find them among several individuals from outside the royal

circle: *Būr-Adad/Enki/Mama/Aya/Ištar/Nūnu/Ningal/Šamaš* (Bowes 1987: 862-3; IPNOBS 67-8) and *Rīm-Adad/Ištar/Ninurta/Nūnu/ili* (Bowes 1987: 1167-8; IPNOBS 250-51).

3.6.2 Free and slave population

In order to examine animal names in their relation to status, I will deal with onomastic samples that cover different periods and contain sufficient information on the person in question: free or slave and his/her social stratum and profession/position.

3.6.2.1 The UR III period

The onomastic data from the UR III period evidence some high status individuals with Akk. animal names:

Name/meaning	Status	Reference
<i>Ašqudum</i> “Hamster”	<i>šakkanakkum</i> -ruler	Kienast 1994 32
<i>Kūdanum</i> “Mule”	<i>sukkallu</i> “minister, ruler of a district”	Sigrist 1984 600: 2
<i>Šēlebum</i> “Fox”	(1) ENSI “governor” (2) <i>sukkallu</i>	Sigrist 1990 44: 3; 76: 1
<i>Šeleppūtum</i> (f) “Turtle”	Daughter of the king Amar-Suen	Frayne 1997: 267

Another sample from the same period, the Garšana corpus suggests that Akk. animal names were more popular among commoners and people from the lower social class. The brick haulers mentioned in the table below, mainly women, were hired as seasonal workers for a wage of 3 liters of barley per day (Heimpel 2009: 351-65):

<i>Arwatum</i> (f) “Gazelle”	<i>Pagūtum</i> (f) “Monkey”
<i>Kalamatī</i> (f) “My louse”	<i>Pērūrūtum</i> (f) “Mouse”
<i>Kukkuzānum</i> “Piglet”	<i>Šaḫītī</i> (f) “My sow”
<i>Mūrtum</i> (f) “Foal”	

This table suggests that animal names were much more common among females than among males. The two names with the possessive suffix *-ī*, *Kalamatī* (f) and *Šaḫītī* mostly imply affection (↑3.2.4).

3.6.2.2 The Old Babylonian period

The onomastic data from Sippar show that animal names were generally used by the free population, e.g., *Akbarum* “Mouse; Jerboa”, *Arrabum* “Dormouse”, *Arwûm/Arwîtum* “Gazelle-buck”, *Bûr-DN* “Calf of DN”, *Ħuzālum/Ħuzālatum* “Gazelle”, *Kalûmum/Kalûmtum* “Lamb”, *Kurkuzānum* “Piglet”, and *Šēlebum* “Fox” (listed alphabetically in IPNOBS). Interestingly, *Immerum* “Sheep” is attested for a king (↑3.6.1) and *Annabu*, ^f*An-na(-a)-bu* “Hare” (<*Arnabu*) for a princess (DUMU LUGAL) (VAS 7 84-5; and her seal in Pientka 1998: 311-12). Animal names are rare for slave girls, but there is a *Dabîtum* “She-bear”, a *Hamašîrum* and *Humašîrum* “Large mouse”, and a *Ħuzālatum* “Gazelle”; the latter is a popular free name (Harris 1977: 50). Among male slaves we have only one *Kalûmum* “Lamb” (BE 6/1 58, mentioned in Vandorpe 2010: 29).

3.6.2.3 The Neo-Assyrian period

According to the NA prosopography, animal names are found among all social strata:

Name	Meaning and origin	Status	PNA
<i>Akbarâ</i> (f)	Jerboa [Akk or (N)WS]	slave woman	94
<i>Akbaru</i>	Idem	(1) king, (2) slave	94
<i>Akbûru</i>	Idem [Can-Heb.]	slave owner	94
<i>Anaqātu</i> (f)	She-camel (?) [Ar.] or the Egyptian vulture (?) [(N)WS] ¹¹⁹	dependant woman	110
<i>Arādu</i>	Wild ass [Can-Heb.]	landowner	124
<i>Arbîtu</i> (f)	Gazelle [Akk.]	woman belonging to the palace	128
<i>Āribu</i>	Raven [Akk.]	slave	131
<i>Arnabâ</i>	Hare [plus the Aram. ending?]	gardener	132
<i>Arnû</i> (f)	Wild goat [(N)WS]	dependant woman	132
<i>Arrabu</i>	Dormouse [Akk.]	(1) military official, (2) exor-	132

¹¹⁹ See the discussion sub App. §94.

		cist	
<i>Ašqūdu</i>	Hamster [Akk.]	(1) physician of the royal court , (2) oil-presser, (3) scribe, (4) recipient of estate	137
<i>Barbarānu</i>	Little wolf [Akk.]	royal bodyguard	269
<i>Bassūnâ</i>	Kitten [Ar. or Aram.]	dependant farmer	277
<i>Gadyā</i>	Goat [(N)WS]	military official	418
<i>Gindibu'</i>	Locust [Ar.]	Arab ruler	424
<i>Gugî</i>	Spider [NWS]	dependant individual	427
<i>Gūrâ</i>	Whelp [NWS]	dependant individual	432
<i>Gurrāiu</i>	Idem	staff member of the governor's household	431
<i>Ḥaḥḥuru</i>	Raven [Akk.]	individual from Babylon	439
<i>Ḥarriru</i>	Digger [Akk.]	priest	462
<i>Ḥazāla</i>	Gazelle [(N)WS form vs. Akk. <i>ḥuzālu</i>]	military official	469
<i>Ḥazālâ (f)</i>	Idem	slave woman	469
<i>Ḥimārî</i>	Donkey [(N)WS]	(1) military official, (2) three individuals from Nineveh and Aššur	472
<i>Ḥuluttî (f)</i>	Little mouse [Akk.]	woman probably from Babylon	477
<i>Ḥuniṣâ</i>	Piglet [(N)WS]	bronze smith	479
<i>Ḥurāpu</i>	Spring lamb [Akk. or (N)WS]	(1) prince (2) tanner	480
<i>Ḥuzālu</i>	Gazelle [Akk.]	(1) prelate, (2) messenger, (3) landowner	484
<i>Ḥuzîrî</i>	My pig [Akk.]	(1) military official, (2) dependant individual, (3) merchant	484

<i>Igilu</i>	< Calf of DN [(N)WS]	(1) worker from Guzana, (2) farmer, (3) individual from Guzana	507
<i>Iglā</i>	Calf	chariot fighter	507
<i>Iglānu</i>	Little calf	village manager	508
<i>Iglî</i>	His calf	(1) official responsible for building activities, (2) horse-trader, (3) dependent person, (4) slave	508
<i>Imāri</i>	Donkey [Akk.]	royal bodyguard	538
<i>Immerānu</i>	Lamb [Akk. or (N)WS]	individual from Aššur	539
<i>Inzi-Aia</i> (f)	She-goat of DN (or with the hypoc. -aya) [Akk.]	woman from Aššur	559
<i>Kalbi-Aia</i>	Dog of DN (or hypoc. -aya)	king's personal guard, (2) son of the Egyptian Pirsaniše from Kalhu	598
<i>Kalbi-Ukû</i>	Dog of DN	(1) state official, (2) individual from Ma'allanate	598
<i>Kalbu</i>	Dog	(1) military official, (2) team commander, (3) architect, (4) scholar, and (5) seven individuals from different towns	598
<i>Kapîru</i>	Young lion [Can-Heb.]	(1) horse trainer, (2) individual from Guzana	605
<i>Kurukku</i>	Gander [Akk.]	individual from Nineveh	642
<i>Labā'u</i>	Lion [(N)WS form vs. Akk <i>lab(b)</i>]	dependant farmer	649
<i>Lubâma</i>	Idem	slave	649
<i>Murašû</i>	Wild cat [Akk.]	(1) charioteer, (2) third man of the governor of Lahiru	770

<i>Mūr-Aia</i>	Foal of DN (or hypoc. -iya) [Akk.]	individual from Aššur	770
<i>Nabūzā</i>	Centipede (?) [Aram.]	merchant	905
<i>Nāhiru</i>	Dolphin (?) [Akk.]	military official	922
<i>Nasrā</i>	Vulture [CS]	temple servant	933
<i>Nēšu</i>	Lion [Akk. or Elamite]	commander in the Elamite army	959
<i>Nūnī</i>	Fish [Akk.]	bow-maker	967
<i>Pušḫu</i> (m + f)	a rodent (rat?) [Akk.]	(1) carpenter, (2) woman from Klahu	1000
<i>Quqī</i>	Pelican [(N)WS]	prophet	1018
<i>Quqū</i>	Idem	(1) head porter, (2) scribe	1018
<i>Quqū'a</i>	Idem	(1) horse trainer, (2) outrider, (3) scribe, (4) baker	1018
<i>Raqqītu</i> (f)	Turtle [Akk. or NWS]	Entry in a list of women or of feminine PN	1033
<i>Raqqu</i>	Idem	two dependant individuals	1033
<i>Sapūnu</i>	Hyrax [Can-Heb.]	military official	1091
<i>Sarpī</i>	Snake [Can-Heb.]	individual stationed in the town Tupḫa	1092
<i>Sāsu</i>	Moth [Akk.]	dependant individual	1095
<i>Simsimānu</i>	Ant [NWS]	dependant individual	1112
<i>Še-ra-a-nu, Ši-ra-a-nu</i>	“Snake-like” or “He of the Steppe” [Akk.]	(1) landowner, (2) bearded courtier	1069
<i>Šū'alī</i>	Fox [Can-Heb.]	foreign governor	1153
<i>Šūrānu</i>	Cat [Akk.]	(1) cavalryman (2) dependant individuals	1159
<i>Ta'alā/ Ta'lā</i>	Fox [Aram.]	(1) two farmers, (2) gardener	SAA 11 203 r.

			i, 13
<i>Uqūputu</i> (f)	Ape [Akk.]	slave woman	SAA 6 45: 3

The table suggests that animal names were more popular among commoners and individuals connected to the palace. They are also more frequently found among males than among females, which, however, cannot be taken as an indicator because the NA documents in general provide us with less onomastic data about the latter. Remarkably, there are three individuals with cultic positions: *Ḫarriru* (priest), *Quqî* (prophet), and *Nasrâ* (temple servant). Regardless of their ethnic background, presumably they were not obliged to adopt conservative or traditional names matching their status.

3.6.2.4 The Neo-Babylonian period

In the NB period naming practices are another indicator of the social status of the individual. Members of the elite bore a given name, a father's name, and a clan or family name. *Širkus*, dependants whose limited freedom was a result of their social subordination to an institutional temple household, were identified by a given name and father's name only, and they did not have a family name. Slaves, meanwhile, went by their given name plus 'slave of so-and-so (name of their owner)' (Kleber 2011: 105).

The table below exhibits the distribution of animal names in the three social groups: free people, slaves, and *širku*'s:

Name	Meaning	Status/occupation/social group (according to the genealogy)	Reference
<i>Alluttu</i> (f)	Crab	1 <i>širku</i>	Cousin and Watai 2016: 12
<i>Arḫaya</i> (f)	Heifer (hypoc.)	1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 12
<i>Arrabu</i>	Dormouse	free men (appearing as witnesses)	Joannès 1989: index of PNs
		1 farmer (commoner)	YOS 19 75: 19, 23
		1 carpenter (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 19 173: 2
		1 sackmaker (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 19 111: 12

		1 stock-breeder (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 7 163: 1, 9, 12
		1 slave	YOS 7 203: 7
		1 clothes mender, 1 leather worker, 1 bronze smith (all <i>širku</i> 's)	Bongenaar 1997: 317, 411
<i>Arrabatu</i> (f)	She-dormouse	2 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Bazītu</i> (f)	Exotoc animal/Meerkat/Falcon	5 free women, 5 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Ḥabašīru</i>	Mouse	several free men (some are debtors or witnesses)	Wunsch 2000: index of PNs
		1 slave owner	Baker 2004 183: 5
		1 overseer (<i>širku</i>), 1 bronze smith (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 374
		1 scribe (free man)	Bongenaar 1997 96; Baker 2004 88: 18
<i>Ḥabašīru/Ḥabašīrtu</i> (f)	She-mouse	1 free woman, 7 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Ḥuzālu</i>	Gazelle	1 baker (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 190
<i>Immertu</i> (f)	Ewe	2 free women, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>I/uqūpu</i>	Ape	1 provincial governor	Bongenaar 1997: 9
		several free men (some act as witnesses)	MacEwan 1984: 12: 13, 171: 15; Wunsch 2000: index of PNs
		1 sackmaker (<i>širku?</i>), 1 bronze smith (<i>širku?</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 328, 374
<i>U/Eqūpatu</i> (f)	She-ape	1 free woman, 2 <i>širku</i> 's	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11

<i>Iṣṣurtu</i> (f)	She-bird	1 free woman	UET 4 174: 2, 183: 1
<i>Kalabuttu</i> (f)	Locust	3 free women, 1 slave	Graziani 1986 9: 1, 4; Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Kalbā</i>	Dog (hypoc. <i>Kalab-DN</i> (cf. Stamm 1939: 12, fn. 2))	1 fisher (<i>širku</i>)	Kümmel 1979 = TCL 13, 163: 10, 15
		1 herdsman (<i>širku</i>)	Kümmel 1979 64, 93
		1 scribe (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 51
		1 weaver (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 328
		1 oil-presser (free man?)	Bongenaar 1997: 274
		1 boatman (free man?)	Bongenaar 1997: 289
		1 goldsmith (free man?)	Bongenaar 1997: 388
		1 slave	Wunsch 2003 15: 8
<i>Kalbatu</i> (f)	She-dog	1 free woman, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Kulbibu</i>	Ant	1 free man	Wunsch 2000 32: 18
		1 cook (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 19 156: 5
		1 prison chief	YOS 19 157: 3
<i>Mūrānu</i>	Puppy	several free men (some are witnesses)	Baker 2004 index of PNs
		1 scribe (free man)	YOS 19 1: 45
		1 oil-presser (free man), 1 chief brewer (<i>širku</i>), 1 leather worker (<i>širku</i>),	Bongenaar 1997: 219, 286, 413
<i>Mūrānatu</i> (f)	She-puppy	2 free women, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Murašû</i>	Wild cat	the founder of a financier	Murašu Archives

		family, banker	
		several free men	Baker 2004: index of PNs; Joannès 1989: index of PNs
		1 slave	Joannès 1989 230: 55
<i>Murašitu</i> (f)	She-wild-cat	2 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Sasa</i> (f)	Moth		Cousin and Watai 2016: 12
<i>Sinūnu</i> (f)	Swallow	3 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Summatu</i> (f)	Dove	1 free woman, 1 <i>širku</i>	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šāširu</i>	Cricket	1 free man	Baker 2004 261: 8
		1 cook (<i>širku</i>), 1 carpenter (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 189, 405
		1 slave	Wunsch 2003 159: 5
<i>Šāširu</i> (f)	Idem	1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šaḥītu</i> (f)	Sow	1 free woman, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šelepḫūtu</i> (f)	Turtle	4 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šellebi</i>	Fox	prebendery of Išhara	Baker 2004, p. 24-25
		brewer of Šamaš (?)	Bongenaar 1997: 226
		several free man (some are witnesses)	Baker 2004: index of PNs; MacEwan 1984; index of PNs

		1 slave	YOS 21 31: 12
<i>Šikkû</i>	Mongoose	free men	Spar and von Dassow 2000 126: 2; Dar. 287: 16
<i>Šikkû/Šikkutu</i> (f)	She-mongoose	1 free woman, 1 <i>širku</i> , 16 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11

In his study of name-giving of slave women in the NB period, Hackl (2013: 142) concluded that the distinction between free and slave names among female slaves does exist, but not regarding animal names. Yet some difference can be observed. The table shows that animal names are much more attested among slave women (50 vs. 19 free women). Of the 17 women called “She-mongoose” (*Šikkû/Šikkutu*), i.e., the most popular name, 16 are slaves. This also applies to *Ḫabašīru/ Ḫabaširtu* “She-mouse”, the third most numerous (7 slaves vs. 1 free woman). The second-ranked name, *Bazītu*, is apparently unrelated to the social group of the bearer, as it is found for both slave and free women. *Šelep̄p̄tu* “Turtle” seems to be confined to slaves¹²⁰ (Cousin and Watai 2016: 10). The situation is different among men, however. Animal names are more attested for free men and *širku*’s than for slaves. While names like *Ḫabašīru* “Mouse”, *I/uqūpu* “Ape”, *Mūrānu* “Puppy”, *Murašū* “Wild cat”, and *Šellebi* “Fox” are relatively popular among free men (elite), *Arrabu* “Dor-mouse” and *Kalbā* “Dog” (hypoc.) are more found among *širku*’s. Given the figurative meaning of *Kalbā* “Servant”, one can classify it as ‘status-related name’ which was received in early infancy (if the bearers were dedicated to a temple household since their birth) or when they entered a new service.

To sum up this section, an examination of animal names in relation to status and gender yields the following remarks:

- 1 Animal names were generally avoided by royal dynasties.
- 2 Gender did not play a significant role in naming after animals.
- 3 Animal names are found in all social strata; their distribution among free people, commoners, *širku*’s (NB), and slaves differs from one period to another: (1) UR III: found among the elite (men) as well as commoners (women); (2) OB Sippar: much more among free people (men and women) than among slaves; (3) NA: more among commoners and law-class people than among the elite; (4) NB: more

¹²⁰ Cf. the princess with the same name in ↑3.6.2.1.

among slave women than among free women (few *širku*'s) and relatively as popular among free men as among *širku*'s (few slaves).

- 4 Based on previously mentioned remark, one can say that animal names were not traditionally among the typical slave names.
- 5 There was no strict religious attitude against the use of these names, as they are attested for individuals with cultic positions (OB and NA data) and workers connected to temple households (NB data).

