

IAKOV KADOCHNIKOV

Deification of kings
in Ancient Mesopotamia

(from III to II millennium BC)



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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
Press

University of Tartu, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, School of Theology and Religious Studies

Dissertation is accepted for the commencement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Religious Studies on March 6, 2023 by the Council of the School of Theology and Religious Studies

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Commencement: May 8, 2023, 16:15, in the University Senate Hall

This study was supported by the Dora Plus program under the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund.



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ISSN 1406-2410 (print)
ISBN 978-9916-27-164-3 (print)
ISSN 2806-2639 (pdf)
ISBN 978-9916-27-165-0 (pdf)

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University of Tartu Press
www.tyk.ee

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INTRODUCTION

1. General Introduction

1.1. The general problems, aims, method and sources

Deification of rulers was a phenomenon known to various civilizations in the past. Ancient Egyptians praised their pharaohs as living gods. Some Roman emperors became *divi* and entered the company of lesser deities supporting the state after death. Japanese regarded their emperors as divine descendants of the principal Shinto deity Amaterasu until recently. Ancient Mesopotamia is not an exception.

The examples above demonstrate the broad semantical range for the word “deification.” It could be a formal equation of a king to gods or secondary divine beings, recognition of a ruler as a descendent of gods, or special post-humous honors. Therefore, the topic of this dissertation requires an additional explanation.

The object of this dissertation is the deification of rulers in Ancient Mesopotamia in their lifetime. As my analysis is based on written sources, I regard any formal equation of kings with gods in synchronous texts as a direct marker of ruler’s deification during lifetime. I concentrate exclusively on the written sources that should represent official ideological statements: the texts called royal inscriptions and poetic compositions praising kings (royal hymns). The means of the formal equation are:

- Special classifiers (cuneiform sign DINGIR).
- Direct mention of the king as a god: *royal name* (RN) is the god (of *geographical name* [GN]).
- Direct equation with other gods: RN is a *divine name* (DN).

Accordingly, the primary goal of this research is to analyze the *formal ways of representing kings as gods in synchronous royal inscriptions and hymns*. The direct markers of divinity are visible in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts of the late third and early second millennia BC. However, they are absent from earlier and later texts. Through the analysis of divinity markers, I discuss how the phenomenon of living ruler’s deification in Mesopotamia evolved, where it originated, and how it disappeared. It is my goal to study what precisely the rulers aimed to achieve or claim by deification.

The analysis of the phenomenon’s evolution would be incomplete without discussing the sacred (but not divine) status of kings and the ways of representing it in texts. Therefore, I also address in my thesis topics as 1) the divine origin of kings, 2) other unique relations (kinship or friendship) with gods, 3) marital connections between the kings and goddesses, and 4) similes (but not direct equations) with gods. These topoi reflect some sacredness of the kings but do not necessarily require the explicit deification of rulers in their lifetime. The analysis

of these indirect sacredness markers helps to discuss the evolution of living deification practice.

The royal deification in a ruler's lifetime in Mesopotamia has been a side issue in numerous articles and books but rarely appeared as the central topic. Most works discuss individual cases of royal deification, for example, the deification of Narām-Sîn or the kings of the Ur III dynasty.¹ So far, no one has attempted to discuss all known cases of Mesopotamian rulers' deification in their lifetime in general. This dissertation collects data for all kings who explicitly claimed divinity and compares the ways in which divinity markers appear. It should help to define the similarities and differences in the ideology of all Mesopotamian kings who were deified in a conspicuous way but lived in different historical circumstances.

The *central problem* that I address in this dissertation is whether the explicit deification of different Mesopotamian kings in their lifetime in the late third and early second millennia BC was constructed on the same ideological model or a set of different models.

This central problem raises a range of *additional questions*. Suppose there were different models of deification, how did they relate to one another? Was the royal deification rooted in the Mesopotamian Early Dynastic tradition, or was it an accidental revolutionary innovation? Did the deified rulers apply the same deification mechanism or each time reinvented it according to their needs? Why did the tradition of royal deification cease? Did it evolve into new forms or vanish without a trace?

There are four steps in this dissertation that help to resolve the posed questions: 1) a discussion of the related theoretical background in Ancient Mesopotamia religious studies, 2) a short review of the historical framework of the discussed periods, and 3) an analysis of the written sources. Two types of analysis are applied: *qualitative* and *quantitative*.

The *qualitative* analysis is a detailed discussion of the data found in individual texts. It includes translations, discussions of the context, and analyses of the factors that possibly influenced the usage of particular sentences or titles. The *quantitative* analysis is a statistical examination of different markers' frequency in the texts. It requires rearranging data into thematic groups that would allow counting and comparing and, at the same time, will represent meaningful "units" of the royal ideology.

The last (4th) step is a comprehensive reconstruction of the royal deification ideology's transformation based on the data acquired from the *qualitative* and *quantitative* analyses, historical facts and theoretical background.

The primary research method is *the comparative analysis* of royal inscriptions and hymns. I apply two main approaches in comparing data: qualitative and quantitative. Differences between these approaches will be explained in more

¹ The deification of Narām-Sîn was discussed, for example, by Sabine Franke (Franke 1995b, 831–841) and Vladimir Sazonov (Sazonov 2007, 325–341). Vladimir Emelianov analyzed the status of Gudea (Emelianov 2016, 63–74), and Luděk Vacín wrote on the deification of Šulgi (Vacín 2011b, 196–221). For the detailed discussion, see below.

detail later. Both the *qualitative* and *quantitative* approaches are essential and supplement each other. However, the data acquired in the *qualitative* analysis has a priority because the *quantitative* method has its limitations. Statistical *quantitative* methods can be unsatisfactory due to the disproportion in the data available for different periods and be biased by the artificial character of the categories. Ideally, the *comparative analysis* of the data (both *qualitative* and *quantitative*) would allow to find differences in the nature of royal deification in different periods, define the *models* of royal deification (if such can be found), and describe the tendencies in the development of this phenomenon over time.

Sumerian and Akkadian texts for the current research are mostly edited in electronic text databases such as *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (later on CDLI), *Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts* (later on DCCLT), *Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus* (later on ORACC), and *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (later on ETCSL); in paper editions such as the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series (Edzard 1997, Frame 1995, Frayne 1990, 1993, 1997, 2008, and Grayson 1987, 1991) and *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (George et al. 2011); or in books, for example, as *Legends of the Kings of Akkade: The Texts* (J. Westenholz 1997), and *Stele und Legende Untersuchungen zu den keilschriftlichen Erzählwerken über die Könige von Akkade* (Haul 2009). All dates in this research follow the middle chronology.

Our comprehension of ancient religious concepts (or history in general) is limited and inevitably *quasi-referential*.² The Mesopotamian religion was not static. It was a dynamic developing entity. Therefore, a scholar studying it should not only avoid anachronistic definitions but also refrain from mixing the religious beliefs of different ancient periods. Otherwise, the *quasi-referential* quality of such an analysis would become a *quadra-quasi-referential*.³ Being aware of those possible pitfalls, I am trying to understand the causes, course and consequences of the ideological changes reflected in the analyzed materials. I hope it will contribute to the academic understanding of the royal deification in Mesopotamia as a phenomenon.

² In his discussion of George Berkeley's philosophy of language, Kenneth Pearce introduced the term *quasi reference* as opposed to a *genuine reference* (Pearce 2017, 86–87). Sharing the same syntactic systems, *genuine* and *quasi references* differ semantically. The *genuine reference* labels objects, which exist extra-linguistically or independently of the sign system. The *quasi-reference* does not label physical objects, although it bears truth-value and can be meaningful in sentences containing it.

³ The notion of Vladimir Emelianov (Emelianov, personal communication, 2019).

1.2. Structure of the thesis

The structure of this dissertation reflects the practical steps needed to solve the posed problems. Framed by the introduction and conclusion, this research consists of four major parts (or chapters):

- I. Recent research history and theoretical discussion of the royal deification and related concepts.
- II. Historical overview of royal inscriptions and hymns.
- III. Discussion of royal hymns and inscriptions in the framework of the comparative analysis.
- IV. Reconstruction of the royal divinity idea's evolution.

The first part is an overview of the selected theoretical topics relating to the problem of royal deification in Mesopotamia. It covers the recent research concentrating on the academic works of the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The topics discussed are *divine* and *sacred kingship*, *sacred marriage*, *functional divinity*, and some others.

The second part is an overview of political history in Mesopotamia starting from the third and until the second millennium BC accompanied by *qualitative analysis* of the ways in which direct and indirect markers of sacredness appear in royal inscriptions and hymns of individual kings. The primary attention is on the 600 years period when kings explicitly claimed divinity using the determinative DINGIR (2350–1750 BC). The chapter consists of six sections: 1) *Introduction to the historical analysis*, 2) *Early Dynastic Period*, 3) *Sargonic Period*, 4) *Gutians and the Transitional period (Lagaš II and Uruk IV)*, 5) *Ur III Dynasty*, and 6) *Old Babylonian period (OB Isin, OB Larsa, OB Babylon)*. The second section discusses only selected rulers, while others aim to give a complete analysis of each ruler in Akkad, Ur, Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. All notes on the general character of the royal inscriptions in the framework of the *quantitative statistic-relative analysis*⁴ follow the discussions of the ED, Sargonic, Lagaš II, Uruk IV, Ur III, OB Isin, OB Larsa, and OB Babylon rulers as separate sub-sections.

The third part discusses royal hymns and royal inscriptions in their historical development. It consists of two main sub-chapters. 1) *Dynamic* analysis of royal hymns; 2) *Dynamic-absolute* analysis of royal inscriptions. The first sub-chapter discusses *direct and indirect divinity* markers and the thematic distribution of lines in royal praise poetry. The second sub-chapter provides a *dynamic-absolute* analysis of the ED, Sargonic, Lagaš II, Uruk IV, Ur III, OB Isin, OB Larsa, and OB Babylon period royal inscriptions. It traces 1) changes in the determinative

⁴ For the discussion of the *static-relative* and the *dynamic-absolute* approaches, see the section “2.2.2.4. Principles of the comparison”.

DINGIR usage, 2) balance within epithets in *binary oppositions*⁵, and 3) peculiarities in the usage of some groups of epithets (*divine nature* epithets, royal titles, and *military activity* epithets). The discussion of the determinative DINGIR usage also includes remarks on the royal inscriptions from the later periods; however, the detailed analysis of epithets in *binary oppositions* and individual epithets does not consider them. The absence of the determinative DINGIR in most royal inscriptions left by the later Babylonian and Assyrian rulers alludes that those kings did not claim divinity in a conspicuous way.

The last part, “Reconstruction of the royal divinity idea’s evolution,” presents my understanding of the evolution of the practice of explicit deification of kings in their lifetime in Mesopotamia based on the results of the analysis. First, I discuss how the Sumerian views on leadership and the nature of royal power, reflected in the available sources, might influence the first case of royal deification. Next, I discuss all models of representing a king as a divinity that can be discovered on the basis of the differences in the usage of divinity markers and other topoi in texts. Finally, I give a general description of how the royal ideology evolved after the explicit deification of kings in their lifetime disappeared as a regular practice. Based on the analyses of the collected data, this reconstruction should explain whether the phenomenon of royal deification in Mesopotamia represented a single process or several mutually unrelated ideological phenomena.

2. Principles of the comparative analysis

Comparative analysis of the royal inscriptions and royal praise poetry is the primary method I use to reconstruct the evolution of a deified ruler representation in synchronous sources. I follow two main approaches in comparing data: *qualitative* and *quantitative*.

2.1. Qualitative analysis of the texts

The *qualitative analysis* is a selective description and discussion of the analyzed texts. It mostly addresses the structure of the texts, usage of particular royal titles and their relation to the context, or any other features that may specify the nature of the royal ideology.

In most cases, the *qualitative analysis* includes translations of the original Sumerian or Akkadian text into English. Translations are based on the transliterations of the cuneiform texts in the sources mentioned above. All the translations are made from the original and may differ from those in the editions of the texts. Translations in this study aim to be as close to the original text as possible.

⁵ For the discussion of the *binary oppositions*, see the section “2.2.2.2. Division of the acquired data into epithet groups”.

The principal points of interest in the framework of the qualitative analysis are:

1. Direct markers of deification (formal equations of kings with deities).
2. Indirect markers of royal sacredness (mentions of divine origin, or any kinship with gods, allusions to gods and deities).
3. The reasons for deification.
4. Sources of royal legitimation.

However, *qualitative analysis* also may discuss other details necessary for defining the royal ideology in the given texts.

2.2. Quantitative analysis of the texts

The basic assumption on the background of the *quantitative analysis* is that most ideological messages in the royal inscriptions and hymns have some finite number of expressive means (determinatives, titles, epithets).⁶ The *quantitative analysis* is based on counting the frequency of such expressive means. I assume that the most important ideological messages would be pronounced regularly during the communication acts. Occasional statements, on the other hand, would have a low frequency. A researcher can tentatively define which ideological messages held higher and lesser importance by evaluating their frequency. Tracing changes in the frequency of the same titles in different periods might bring insights into such changes in royal ideology, which could be difficult to notice through other analytic methods.

The *quantitative analysis* ignores the possibility that some ideological messages could be considered secret and consciously avoided. Those statements, which presumably might have been avoided in texts but were allegedly known to readers (be it readers in general or a small group of well-informed people), cannot be discussed within the limits of the *quantitative analysis*.

The *quantitative analysis* characterizes large groups of texts based on the frequency of some elements in these texts. Therefore, it should reflect the overall nature of the texts more objectively compared to the *qualitative analysis*. But, at the same time, it has its limitations.

⁶ Titles, epithets, and other rhetorical devices are considered equal, same-level signals in the quantitative analysis of royal inscriptions. The quantitative analysis of royal hymns mainly operates such rhetorical devices as *topoi* (for discussion on this term, see Ferrara 1995, 81–117). The qualitative analysis of chosen parts in royal inscriptions and royal hymns often includes the author's remarks on the functionality of different elements.

2.2.1. Limitations of the quantitative analysis

The *quantitative analysis* requires grouping data into *artificial* categories. Grouping of data into categories is done according to formal indicators. However, there might be ambiguity in interpreting these indicators based on the context. Therefore, alternative interpretations remain possible. An additional problem is a disproportion in data. Some periods are well documented, and there is nothing more than a few damaged pieces of text for other periods. It makes comparative analysis based on exclusively *quantitative* data unreliable. Finally, the *quantitative analysis* might be insensitive to important ideological statements visible through the *qualitative analysis*.

As the *quantitative analysis* discusses a vast amount of data, some gross errors connected with incorrect estimations are possible. Still, double-checking the information should have minimized such mistakes and increased the reliability of the data. The validity of the data depends on the subjective interpretation of the formal indicators associated with each group. Therefore, the *quantitative analysis* is not a measurement of some objective reality; it is a form of subjective interpretation of data. Still, it allows a new approach to data and its comparison. The same researcher has performed all the calculations; therefore, systematical errors, such as, for example, inconsistent attribution of data with the same indicator, should be minimal.

Despite all its limitations, the *quantitative analysis* might give insights into some aspects of the royal ideology that otherwise would be ignored. In this dissertation, neither the results of the *qualitative* nor *quantitative* analysis alone are a sufficient basis for the comparison. Only the combination of these two approaches becomes a basis for reconstructing the deification phenomenon over time.

2.2.2. Analysis of royal inscriptions

2.2.2.1. Division of the inscriptions into groups

Currently, no commonly adopted typology of royal inscriptions exists. The most extensive digital collections of cuneiform inscriptions classify royal inscriptions only by period, material, and type of artifact.⁷ However, royal inscriptions can also be distinguished by their composition and contents. William Hallo, for example, has indicated such groups of royal inscriptions as standard, building, votive, weights, and seals (Hallo 1962, 8).

Standard inscriptions are the basic and the most archaic form of royal inscriptions, which usually contain only the name of the ruler and some of his royal titles. Therefore, the most evident purpose of such inscriptions is to mark ownership. It is especially true for the time after literacy advanced to the point where other specific types of royal inscriptions (like votive inscriptions) appeared.

⁷ See CDLI, *Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions*, and CDLI, *An Introduction to MRI*

However, in the initial period of the royal inscriptions' development, some standard inscriptions might also have served the votive function even if they formally did not indicate any deities.

Building inscriptions appear in various forms; they may be hidden foundation deposits or well-visible decorative elements. Hallo (1962) did not follow the segregation of clay nails from the rest of the royal building inscriptions proposed by Fritz Kraus (1953–55), who regarded them as a legal agreement between the king and the respective deity. Instead, Hallo proposed that all the royal inscriptions, which share the topic of temple construction, should be named building inscriptions. Hallo proposed that the primary purpose of writing such inscriptions was the desire of kings to preserve the memory of their achievements for future generations. Therefore, for Hallo, the target recipient of building inscriptions was the potential future rebuilder of the construction object (Hallo 1962, 10). On the other hand, Govert van Driel regarded that “the royal (and private) inscriptions of the earliest periods are without exception dedicatory inscriptions” (Driel 1973, 105). I will return to the question of target recipients of the royal inscriptions later.

Votive inscriptions appear on different objects but share the same structure: the name of a divine recipient, the name of a king, his titles, the object, and the devotion formula. Sometimes the structure may be widened by subordinated clauses describing the circumstances of the donation and curse formulas against anyone damaging the object. The main recipients of votive texts should be deities themselves, and the primary purpose of these inscriptions was to persuade gods to grant the life of individual kings and the community.

Two other categories are *weights* and *seals*. Seals usually bear standard inscriptions and serve to identify the seal holder. Inscriptions on the weights can vary. Some inscriptions on weights are formally votive and mention gods, while others do not.⁸ I regard both *weights* and *seals* as practical objects used by people in everyday life. Therefore, they can be perceived as texts orientated primary for humans.

Jean-Robert Kupper marked out the group of *triumphal* inscriptions based on the explicit description of military activity. Kupper proposed their orientation for the human audience (Kupper 1971, 91–106). However, Govert van Driel criticized this approach claiming that all early royal inscriptions were dedicatory, and there is no need to add *triumphal* inscriptions as a separate category (Driel 1973, 105).

Dietz O. Edzard, in his article on royal inscriptions in the sixth volume of *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, followed the classification of Hallo. However, he added two more types of royal inscriptions: *Denkmälerbeischriften*, “inscriptions on monuments,” and *Sonstiges*, “others.” The first category differs from the

⁸ Weights mentioning gods are written in name of Uru-inim-gina (RIME 1.9.9.13) and Šulgi (RIME 3/2.1.2.50-53). Weights of Ur-Ningirsu I (RIME 3/1.1.1.add7), Šū-Sîn (RIME 3/2.1.4.22), and Sîn-irībam (RIME 4.2.10.1) have no mentions of deities and cannot be regarded votive.

standard inscriptions by their function; they explain images. The second group contains all other inscriptions which do not fit in the groups mentioned above. Edzard includes here complex inscriptions containing accounts of completed projects such as military campaigns, irrigational works, reforms, or border demarcation (Edzard 1980–83, 60–63).

Neither Hallo nor Edzard did not distinguish inscriptions of the royal family members and high officials from those written in the name of a king. They discussed these texts together.

Marc Van De Mieroop, in his overview of the cuneiform writing history, generally discusses royal inscription under the label of “historiographic texts,” still separating them from chronicles and defining them as commemorative accounts of recent events (Mieroop 1999, 25). Mieroop does not refer to votive inscriptions as a separate group of royal inscriptions, while it is evident that they hardly can be regarded as historiographic texts. Hallo, for example, mentions that at least some votive inscriptions were private texts (Hallo 1962, 1). Mieroop pointed to the difference between building inscriptions and those inscriptions that formally belong to the building but primarily narrated about military campaigns (Mieroop 1999, 26).

Julia Gavrilova (2002) adapted the classification of the Sabeian royal inscription into *sacral* and *memorial* texts developed by Avraham Lundin⁹ to Old-Sumerian royal inscriptions from Lagaš. The attribution of any royal inscription to a particular type depends on the usage of formulae that define rulers’ relationships with gods. *Sacral* texts are those addressed to deities; *memorial* texts do not address deities but preserve information about important events of the king’s reign. Gavrilova specifically discussed sacral inscriptions of Uru-inim-gina; she demonstrated that the function of sacred formulae in texts was the actualization of the ritual in the text to justify the king’s status and actions. Gavrilova described sacral royal inscriptions as an imitation of ritual in the space of texts (Gavrilova 2002, 234–244).

In this dissertation, I introduce a classification of royal inscriptions that is adequate to the needs of my analysis. This classification mainly follows Hallo’s approach and reflects some aspects of Mieroop’s and Gavrilova’s classifications.

This typology has two levels: thematic and target.

The thematic typology generally follows Hallo’s typology of *standard*, *building*, *votive* inscriptions, *weight* and *seals*. Kupper’s *triumphal* inscriptions, Edzard’s *Sonstiges* group of inscriptions as well as Mieroop’s notice of confusion between building inscriptions and building-like historiographic inscriptions influenced the introduction of *military royal inscriptions*. These royal inscriptions mainly describe military activity, even if they are building inscriptions according to formal markers. Additionally, I discuss prologues and epilogues of the law codes and treaty documents as *legal royal inscriptions*. I distinguish

⁹ Lundin developed classification of texts into sacral and secular introduced by Albert Jamme (Lundin 1971, 171–182). For the Lundin’s definition of sacral formulae, see Lundin 1972, 152, 162.

inscriptions of the royal family members or high officials as a separate group because these inscriptions reflect an outsider's view of a king, which can be different from his self-representation in other royal inscriptions. There are some inscriptions too complex for any classification. These texts will be labeled as *mixed royal inscriptions*. Finally, there may be severely broken inscriptions still containing pieces of important information. These are *not classified royal inscriptions*.

The *target typology* is built upon Hallo's notion that there were different recipients of the texts. Some inscriptions were intended to report kings' deeds to gods and, through this, acquire divine benevolence (*sacral* in Gavrilova-Lundin's terminology), while other inscriptions were written to commemorate deeds of the kings for future generations (*memorial* texts).¹⁰ Distinguishing texts written for gods from those written for human beings might contribute to our understanding of the royal ideology. It is reasonable to suppose that there are social roles that a king assumes in different groups of texts. Typically, a king addressing gods stands in the subject position; he assumes the role of a pious petitioner. The introduction of the royal deification could modify this pattern of communication, but the actors remain the same: king and gods. The king addressing human beings (his contemporaries or future generations of kings) plays a different social role. He assumes a higher or, at least, equal role to the message recipient. In addition to this, the function of many royal inscriptions and the social role of kings in them cannot be easily defined (Edzard 1980–83, 63–64). In these texts, a king should simultaneously address gods and humans; there is a *role conflict*.¹¹

The *target typology* as any generalization has its flaws. It has a relative character, because one text might simultaneously address different recipients. One can imagine a line segment where a divine recipient stands in one end point, while a human recipient stands in another. A text is not necessarily placed in one of these two extremes. It can be wherever on the line and thus address both divine and human recipients. There is also a difficulty in establishing parallels between *target* and *thematic* typologies, as the relation to recipients in the inscriptions formally belonging to the same thematic type could vary in different periods. While standard inscriptions of early periods could have votive (*sacral*) functionality, in later periods most such inscriptions were probably memorial. Still,

¹⁰ As already mentioned, some scholars believe that all early royal inscriptions were votive and as such were addressing exclusively gods (Driel 1973, 105). Suppose it is true, then it is difficult to define when precisely the first *memorial* texts addressing human beings appeared. I believe that such clear distinction is often impossible. From the beginning, texts were simultaneously addressing different recipients. However, the attention to a particular recipient (divine or human) was not always equal. The fact that already ED period texts have curse formulas addressed to further generation proves that they were partly addressed to humans and not entirely to the divine beings, even if these texts are formally votive inscriptions. The differentiation between *sacral* and *memorial* texts becomes more evident later, probably in the Sargonic period. Neo-Sumerian praise poetry proves the demand for *memorial* literature as it is explicitly stated by Šulgi (Hymn Šulgi B, lines 1–2).

¹¹ On the *role theory* and the *role conflict*, see Hindin 2007, 3959–3962.

despite these flaws, there is some objective priority of recipients, which I take for the reference point in my *target typology*. I will explain my approach to dividing texts into *target* groups below.

The typology offered here consists of five possible types:

The first type is *god-orientated inscriptions*. These texts primarily address deities and have minimal or no intention of addressing the human audience. This type corresponds to votive inscriptions on the thematic level. I believe that votive inscriptions both formally and functionally have most attention to the divine recipient compared to other types of inscriptions.

The second type is *hybrid orientation inscriptions*. On the thematic level, *hybrid orientation* texts correspond to *building* and *military* inscriptions.¹² These are texts with a presumable role conflict in the representation of kings. The actual balance between appeal to gods and humans would be unique for each individual text. However, these texts are most fitted for historical narration compared to all other thematic types of inscriptions and as such are most suitable to the label *memorial* texts.

The third type is *human-orientated inscriptions*. It corresponds to standard and legal inscriptions, seals, and weights on the thematic level. As mentioned above, these texts might formally address deities and thus assume orientation for divine recipient. However, unlike all other thematic types of inscriptions, these texts were written on the objects that held highest functionality and as such were the most accessible to the wider human audience. Therefore, I understand these texts as inscriptions with maximum attention to human recipients compared to other thematic types of inscriptions (still, it does not mean that these texts were *memorial*). While the *human-orientated inscriptions* should be addressed with a certain caution in discussion of the ED period (Dreil 1973, 105), I believe this category to be adequate for the analysis of texts in all following periods.

The fourth type is the *subject-addresser* group. These texts allow the reader to look at kings from the perspective of their courtiers, which might differ from the self-portrait in royal inscriptions. These texts *a priori* grant kings the highest possible social status; therefore, they are a useful tool for looking at the application of the ideology of royal deification, at least among the highest officials. It corresponds to *inscriptions of the royal family members or high officials* on the thematic level.

Finally, there are *other texts* corresponding to *mixed* and *not classified* inscriptions.

The chart below indicates the interrelation between the two chosen typologies.

¹² Comparing data in *god-orientated* and *hybrid orientation* inscriptions could help discuss the problem of the typology of royal inscriptions. For example, it might help answer the question of whether early building inscriptions were dedicatory (Driel 1973, 99) or if there were some differences in the representation of rulers.

Target-level	Thematic level	Recipient
God-orientated inscriptions	Votive inscriptions	Mainly divine audience
Hybrid-orientation inscriptions	Building and military inscriptions	Both divine and human audience; role conflict in the depiction of kings
Human-orientated inscriptions	Standard, weights, seals, legal inscriptions	Mainly human audience
Subject-addresser inscriptions	Inscriptions of the royal family members or high officials	King himself or his contemporary subjects; deities for a little number of votive inscriptions
Other	Mixed, not classified inscriptions	–

2.2.2.2. Division of the acquired data into epithet groups

Hallo defined royal titles and epithets as “any noun or nominal phrase other than the personal name or the patronymic which identifies the ruler” (Hallo 1957, 2). Hallo claimed that no distinction between titles and epithets could be made (ibid., 129). However, he offered several criteria which can help differentiate them. The most important one is that “titles form an essential appurtenance of kingship; they are passed from one king to the next and often from one dynasty to the next, together, we may suppose, with the physical manifestation of royal power, such as crown and scepter. [...] Epithets, on the other hand, are closely linked to their individual bearers, and usually change from king to king, even within one dynasty” (ibid., 130). Therefore, titles should have higher importance for the royal ideology than epithets because they assume the role of verbal royal insignia. However, as Hallo also mentions, some epithets in his classification “assume the qualities of a title, being passed on from a king to a king and a dynasty to a dynasty, and rarely lacking even from the shortest inscriptions” (ibid., 137). It demonstrates that the royal epithets might have unique functionality¹³ and were equally important for the royal legitimacy as the titles.

This study has no strict distinction between royal titles and royal epithets. They are regarded equally important for the legitimation of kings. In the limits of the quantitative approach, the word “epithet” could also stand for titles and other rhetorical devices (formula, motif, topoi) bearing important information for the research. In the qualitative approach, the terms are used separately. As the definition of epithets I employ Edzard’s “Wendung, die nicht unmittelbar die Definition des Herrschaftsumfanges bezweckt” (Edzard 1972–75, 340).

Classification of the information acquired from the royal inscriptions should meet the two demands in this research: 1) the central topics of royal propaganda

¹³ For example, see notes on the different functionality of epithet variants in Liverani 1981, 230.

are adequately represented, and 2) these central topics serve as reliable instruments for comparative analysis. The second demand makes it difficult to use the descriptive classifications introduced by previous researchers.¹⁴ Therefore, this dissertation offers an original classification suitable for its needs. This classification is based not on the formal but on the context-thematic organization of data. The epithet groups are organized as binary oppositions to increase the instrumental value of this classification in comparative analysis. The balance between two elements in each pair will be an additional measurement. The three binary oppositions of epithet groups are selected for comparison:

1. The first binary opposition is *epithets of divine nature* and *epithets of human nature*.

Epithets of divine nature include:

- Direct markers of divinity
 - Direct reference to a king as a deity (dîĝir, *ilu*) or a divine protective spirit (d^lamma/*laḥmu*).¹⁵
 - direct identification of a king with a deity (“he is the Sun of his land”).
 - any references to the royal worship practice (mentions of temples built in a king’s favor).
 - any references to a particular procedure, employing which a king acquires the status of a god (it should have the word dîĝir/*ilu*, “god,” referring to the king or its derivatives).
- Indirect markers of sacredness
 - indirect comparison of a king with a god (through Sumerian equative case suffix gin₇, or Akkadian comparative preposition *kīma*).
 - any references to close relations with gods:
 - Parental. Might be expressed through the words *abba*, *aya/abu*, “father,” *ama/ummu*, “mother,” *dumu/māru*, “son, child,” or the verb *utud/alādu*, “to give birth.” It is also referred to, in this dissertation, as *claims for divine origin*.
 - Sibling-relation. This can be expressed through the words *šeš/aḥu*, “brother,” or *nin₉/aḥātu*, “sister.”
 - Through nourishment. Mostly by the mentions like *ga gu₇-a / šizba enēqu*, “nourished with milk/ to suckle milk” with DN.
 - Marital. Usually expressed through the word *dam/mutu*, “spouse.” It is also regarded in this dissertation as an *allusion to sacred marriage*.
 - Friendship. Through the word *guli/ibru*, “friend.”

¹⁴ See, for example, Hallo 1957, 131–149; Seux 1967, 18–27; Liverani 1981, 233–247.

¹⁵ Gebhard Selz in a private communication (2023) noted on the general similarity between Mesopotamian spirits *lamma* (and *udug*) and Roman *geniuses*. Borrowing Selz’s words, the word *genius* (from Latin *gignere*, “to beget”) originally designated a spirit who gave continuity to a family or clan over generations. Later it was the attendant spirit of a person or place.

Epithets of human nature include:

- any mentions of close relations with other human beings (parental, sibling, marital).
- any references to a king as being created by gods (sa ĝ du/*banû*).
- any mention of the personal abilities of a king as his natural human features (physical strength, endurance, cleverness).

By comparing these two groups of epithets, this research aims to define for each period in question what dominated the view on the king's nature: human or divine. However, epithets of *divine nature* do not always directly correlate with a real claim for deification; claims for a limited *sacredness* of a king or his "functional divinity" as an associate of gods are known even for rulers of the pre-Sargonic period (Selz 1992b, 258, n.5). The deification and *divine nature* (sacredness) should be taken as separated ideological messages.

2. The second binary opposition is *epithets of self-sufficient legitimacy* and *epithets of religion-based legitimacy*.

Epithets of self-sufficient legitimacy include:

- royal titles (all types are counted separately, among them lugal/*šarru*, énsi/*iššiakku*, en/*bēlu*, nun/*bēlu*, etc.), which do not point at gods as the source of power.

Epithets of religion-based legitimacy include:

- royal titles pointing at gods as the source of a king's legitimacy (royal titles combined with DN. For example, en DN, "lord/en-priest of DN").
- mentions of gods as benefactors of a king (mostly references to some royal attribute in combination with šúm/*nadānu*, "to give").
- references to royal religious activity (personal piety, temple building, votive, ritual performance, sacrifices) in the context of his political legitimization.
- mentions of a king as a priest (išib/*išippu*, gudu₄/*pašišu*, etc.)

Comparing these two groups of epithets, the author aims to demonstrate what kind of legitimacy dominated in each period: was it more charismatic legitimacy with a minimal foundation in religion¹⁶ or more traditional legitimacy with gods

¹⁶ Epithets of *self-sufficient legitimacy* do not describe the king as the only source of royal power; they omit references to deities as the supreme source of legitimacy. Accordingly, one should be careful not to overestimate this opposition pair. The ideological significance is not that kings claimed independence from the divine orders but that those kings omitted to mention deities, giving more weight to their (the kings') figures.

as the supreme source of power?¹⁷ Accordingly, it will be interesting to see how the changes in the declared legitimacy corresponded with the actual practice of royal deification in each period.

3. The third binary opposition is *military activity epithets* and *social well-being activity epithets*.

Military activity epithets include:

- an actual description of military activity (any references to the destroyed cities, seized or killed enemies, booty).
- mentions of a king being strong (*kalag/dannu*).
- any other references to royal military potency (mostly poetic descriptions by the type *gaba nu-tuku/māhira lā nadānu*, “to not give a rival,” with a DN).
- mentions of divine support in fighting (any description of a god fighting/promise to fight on the king’s side).

Social well-being activity epithets include:

- an actual description of a juridical or economic activity.
- description of wealth, justice, and peace as royal achievements.
- description of any secular building activity (city walls, canals, other buildings).

Comparing these two groups of epithets should reveal if some rulers praised their domestic or foreign policy achievements more explicitly than others. Some researchers proposed close relations (but not straightforward or automatic) between mentions of successful military activity (“universalistic ambitions”) and explicit statements of royal sacredness or divinity (Sazonov 2016, 33). In this regard, *social well-being activity* epithets could be regarded as a counterweight, intentional stress of inner affairs versus foreign. Therefore, it could be useful to trace this correlation.

2.2.2.3. General approaches to the comparison of royal inscriptions

Two approaches to evaluating the frequency of the epithets are possible. A researcher may apply either *the case-counting approach* or *the text-counting approach*.

¹⁷ There are hints of *rational-legal* legitimacy in the royal inscriptions. However, they are mostly connected with the sanction of gods and so limited that the current classification does not refer to them. Still, the respective historical chapters will mention all these examples.

The *case-counting approach* requires counting each time an epithet appears in a text. One title may appear in a text five times, while another only once, so the prevailing title has comparatively higher value in this text.

The *text-counting approach* only counts the number of texts where an epithet appears. So, this approach does not reflect how often the specific epithet may occur within one text; it only says if the epithet was used.

The current research applies the *text-counting approach* as more objective. Indeed, the *case-counting approach* may seem more accurate as one reflecting the actual prevalence of epithets in texts. However, it is not a universal analysis instrument for any group of epithets. While it is easy to count individual usages for a royal title such as Iugal, “king,” the case-counting is inadequate when dealing with long military accounts, which cannot be divided into narrative units, or such division would be too subjective. The *text-counting approach* fails to reflect the actual prevalence of the specific epithets within one text with high accuracy but is more objective in reflecting the general proportions of different epithet groups in a respective group of texts. Considering that the actual number of texts is high and new excavations constantly bring previously unknown texts into discussion, the higher accuracy of the *case-counting approach* cannot outweigh the objectivity of the *text-counting approach* in its importance for this research.

2.2.2.4. Principles of the comparison

In this dissertation, I shall present the frequency of epithets in percentages. The value may be *absolute* or *relative*.

The *absolute value* is a proportion of A) target texts (where a particular epithet appears) in B) the total number of analyzed texts (total for a period or a sub-genre group). Calculating the *absolute value*, a researcher divides A by B and multiplies the result by 100. The *absolute value* represents the actual distribution of the target epithet by a group of texts.

The *relative value* represents the relation between different epithets within a group of texts. Calculating the *relative value*, a researcher should divide A) target texts by C) the sum of all compared target texts and multiply the result by 100. *Relative value* is an abstract quantity that does not represent the actual distribution of the target epithet in a group of texts. However, it reflects the balance between different epithets.

A *static* (within one period) and a *dynamic* (period over a period) balance are two ways to evaluate an epithet’s frequency. The *relative value* approach is more representative of the *static* balance. However, the *absolute value* calculations are preferable for the comparison in *dynamics*. To achieve more accuracy, a researcher may use as the point of reference inscriptions of individual rulers instead of the text from one period.

There are three models of evaluating epithets’ frequency that should be mentioned:

- Frequency of a target epithet (or sub-genre inscriptions) in the total number of inscriptions per period (abbreviated, % of total). This kind of epithets' value evaluation is a general one.
- Frequency of a target epithet in the total number of the related sub-genre inscriptions (abbreviated, % of the text group total). This kind of evaluation is more specific compared with the previous one.
- Frequency of target inscriptions in the total number of inscriptions where a particular epithet appears (abbreviated, % by the epithet group total).

The frequency of an epithet in the framework of *dynamic-absolute* calculations should not only reflect the proportion of texts from their total but also consider how widespread a particular epithet was among different rulers. Suppose one ruler left ten inscriptions with a specific epithet in one period; in contrast, in another period, ten rulers left only one inscription with the same epithet each. The value of this epithet in these two periods (if a researcher does not consider the corresponding number of rulers) would be the same. It makes analysis inadequate because it does not reflect how unique or widespread particular epithets were in the mass of rulers. Accordingly, making the *dynamic-absolute* calculations, I also consider the percentage of the rulers who use these epithets. So, the *corrected dynamic-absolute* usage of an epithet is the sum of two proportions (the proportion of inscriptions and the proportion of kings) divided by two.

2.2.3. Analysis of royal hymns

2.2.3.1. Division of the hymns into groups

Sumerian poetic compositions praising kings are often referred to as royal hymns. However, the specific definition of these texts and their classification is still a problem. Some poems have both features of praising songs and royal inscriptions. Therefore, the boundaries between these types of texts are not always clear (Brisch 2007, 18).

In the second half of the 20th century, scholars regarded that hymns referring to gods (Type A) were performed in cultic ceremonies, and hymns referring to kings (Type B) were performed in court ceremonies (Römer 1965, 5). Claus Wilcke distinguished between hymns for gods, kings, temples, and cities according to the object of their praise (Wilcke 1972–75, 540–541). He agreed that hymns were mainly performed in either cult or court ceremonies; still, he acknowledged that some hymns (including hymns to kings) could have been written without any cultic or court context (ibid., 543–44). Alternative approaches to classification of the praising songs appeared with time; for example, Herman Vanstiphout distinguished 1) “odes to the king, or the temple, or the city;” 2) “appellation poems, i.e., poems which make an appeal to a royal or divine personage;” 3) “psalms of praise;” and 4) “prayers” (Vanstiphout 1995, 10).

William Hallo proposed that royal hymns were originally inscriptions on monumental objects (Hallo 1970, 121). Flückiger-Hawker, in her study of the literary tradition about Ur-Namma, demonstrated that some of the surviving OB copies of royal hymns are adapted versions of praising texts originally set on stelae and statues. Flückiger-Hawker proposed that OB scribes copied the texts not literally but changed the text to make it more poetic and even omitted some parts like curse formulas in the end (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 82–85).

Vanstiphout identified the royal hymn to Išme-Dagān A as the first-grade textbook for scribal schools; he argued that the text was deliberately composed as a grammatical exercise for students. Vanstiphout proposed several explanations for the choice of a royal hymn as a textbook: 1) kings were praised because they were patrons of the writing schools; 2) texts were created as textbooks for members of the royal family; 3) texts were commissioned by a king during the period of need for decent textbooks (Vanstiphout 1979, 125–126). Later researchers managed to define school curricula for scribal schools that included royal hymns, among other texts; it became clear that royal inscriptions praising some kings were used in school curriculum centuries after the death of those kings (Tinney 1999, 159–172; Robson 2001, 39–66).

Jacob Klein proposed that the first hymns praising kings were composed in the time of Gudea. These texts were on votive statues and cylinders. Later, Šulgi, who imitated the hymns of Gudea in many aspects, entrusted scribal schools with the mission of creating and transmitting his (Šulgi's) royal hymns for the later generations. Therefore, this explains why these texts appear in the OB period school curriculum (Klein 1989, 301).

Niek Veldhuis proposed that there was an educational reform under the kings of Isin in the 20th century BCE; some hymns for the kings of Isin could have been composed for educational purposes as a part of this reform. At the same time, Veldhuis stressed that the reform should have been organized by the central administration as no other establishment could perform it on that level of complicity (Veldhuis 2004, 61). According to Veldhuis, royal hymns, together with Sumerian King List, formed a part of the school curriculum, were important in “*inventing tradition*” of the Babylonian unity among educated people who had access to these texts (ibid. 77).

Nicole Brisch pointed out that the alleged connection of poetry praising kings with court ceremonies might be misleading (Brisch 2007, 18). She also stressed that as far as most of the royal praise poetry is known from the later copies from Nippur, the authenticity (i.e., whether the text was actually composed in the time of the king or later) of the poems is unclear. She continued: “one could speculate that the Sumerian royal hymns that present us with super-human images of kings were only written about kings of the past” (ibid. 30). Therefore, it raises the problem of whether royal hymns represent the ideology contemporary to the kings.

In this dissertation, I analyze royal praise poetry both *qualitatively* and *quantitatively*. The *qualitative* analysis utilizes the narratological approach; the *quantitative* analysis utilizes the statistical approach. The problem with the actual date

of the royal hymns' composition raised by Brisch does not allow me to consider the acquired data as synchronous. On the other hand, I disagree with the view that the royal hymns "that present us with super-human images of kings were only written about kings of the past" (Brisch 2007, 30). If one agrees with this statement, he should also regard all royal inscriptions with direct markers of explicit royal divinity as written posthumously. Moreover, the fact that some hymns were used for educational purposes ages after the praised rulers died does not prove that these hymns were composed after the death of the praised rulers. There should have existed some sort of government supervision over school education (Veldhuis 2004, 61). If it is true, the new hymns would probably praise living kings but not the deceased. Would not the creation of the praise poetry for Ur III or Isin kings be dangerous for their authors living in the time of Samsu-iluna? Suppose the royal hymns that refer to kings as semi-divine beings appeared in the OB Nippur scribal schools only after the death of the respective kings. Why do these hymns refer to different kings using different expressive means and not the same (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 43)? If these texts were created by a group of professional scribes who lived in the same city approximately at the same time, the texts praising kings of the past would probably share some standardized topoi of kingship. Considering all these problematic points, I still regard royal hymns as synchronous texts while performing the quantitative analysis. Additional notes on the possible date of the discussed compositions' creation are given when applying the qualitative approach. Luděk Vacín gave a good example of accepting neo-Sumerian royal hymns as primary "vehicles" for accessing the original ideology of the respective rulers "on the assumption that they are Ur III compositions faithfully transmitted throughout the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods as traditional pieces of royal literature and used by early Old Babylonian scribes as model texts for composition of hymns in praise of the Isin-Larsa kings" (Vacín 2011b, 13).

The classification of the royal praise poetry texts in this study follows that described by Clause Wilcke: hymns praising gods, kings, temples, and cities (Wilcke 1972–75, 540–541). However, the primary attention is given to the first two categories. This classification is built upon the distinction by the object of adoration (or recipient of the message). Therefore, it is similar to the target-level classification of the royal inscriptions described above (See 2.2.2.1. Division of the inscriptions into groups). Nicole Brisch has rightly criticized this approach as a modern one, not reflecting the native segregation of sub-genres within the praise poetry composition (Brisch 2007, 18). However, in the present study, this division exclusively serves the purposes of the analysis and does not pretend to be the genuine classification of the Mesopotamian scribes.

King-praising hymns are royal hymns in a strict sense. The literary catalogues have compositions referred to as *en-du lugal*, "song for the king"; however, as Nicole Brisch has demonstrated, the original criteria used for this classification are unknown (Brisch 2007, 17). In the limits of this study, *king-praising* hymns are those examples of Sumerian praise poetry that refer to historical kings; some of these texts have RN *zà-mí* "praise for RN" in the colophon section.

Deity-praising hymns address a deity, but at the same time, they mention and praise the king. These cultic hymns may belong to various genres (adab, balaġ, tigi, šir-namšub, and balbale). This dissertation discusses only those *deity-praising* hymns that refer to historical kings as supposedly contemporary rulers.

Temple-praising hymns are compositions referring to temples; usually, these texts depict kings as builders or restorers of the cultic buildings acting by the decree of gods; some of these texts have a temple name (TN) zà-mí “praise for TN” in the colophon section.

2.2.3.2. Division of the acquired data into epithet groups

Royal hymns are less numerous than royal inscriptions. Simultaneously, they are more complex due to their poetic nature. Therefore, these texts are mainly analyzed in the framework of *qualitative* analysis. The *quantitative* analysis of royal hymns utilizes a different approach to the data analysis than was used with royal inscriptions (see the next sub-chapter, “General approaches to the comparison of royal hymns”).

Esther Flückiger-Hawker analyzed texts belonging to the literary tradition of Ur-Namma. Her approach consists of the analysis of *topoi*; she defined *topoi* as “literary clichés or patterns in the form of fixed (mental) images, i.e. formulae or motifs, which belong to a specific tradition” (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 43). Flückiger-Hawker distinguished four main categories of *topoi*: 1) “divine parentage and type scenes of birth and divine nurture;” 2) “predestination;” 3) “designation and divine election from the multitudes and endowment with divine favors (wisdom, strength, etc.);” 4) “investiture with symbols of kingship” (ibid., 45–52). This approach and classification seem valid and could be used to analyze the whole corpus of surviving royal praise poetry texts; some elements of it, as will be shown later, are used in this dissertation.

Within the quantitative analysis of the royal hymns in this dissertation, I attribute each line within one text to some thematic group and statistically evaluate which thematic group has a higher frequency (value) by counting lines. Therefore, this approach requires thematic attribution of all lines and not some selective units as *topoi* in Flückiger-Hawker’s work.

The thematic classification of individual lines employed in the general quantitative approach to the analysis of royal hymns is as follows:

1. *General titles or praise of the king.* This category includes lines praising a king as a sovereign ruler. These lines mostly have the king’s royal titles or epithets that cannot be classified as claims for divinity or sacredness.
2. *Direct divinity markers.* It includes any lines explicitly describing a king as a divinity. Usually, the lines would have either the epithet diġir, “god,” or d¹lamma, “divine protective spirit.”

3. *Indirect divinity (sacredness) markers.* It includes any indirect comparison of a king with a god (through the Sumerian equative case suffix -gin₇). It also includes claims for brotherhood or friendship with gods.
4. *Divine origin.* Any claims for origin or nourishment of a king by gods.
5. *Favorable of DN.* This category includes any line mentioning a king as a recipient of the special favors of gods. It includes references to a king as granted by unique qualities or power by any deity or any plea for such grace. This category should demonstrate the dependence of a king on religious legitimation through the mentions of various deities.
6. *Reverent to DN.* It includes any references to cultic (praise, offerings, devotion of objects) activities performed by a king in favor of any deity. This category should demonstrate the importance of a king's servitude to gods in the texts created as royal praise poetry. The *reverent to DN* category differs from *favorable of DN* by the agent-patient relations; they are reversed. The *reverent to DN* category excludes any references to *temple-building activity* for the reasons discussed later.
7. *Divine communication.* This category reflects any mentions of direct communication between a king and a deity. This category should represent a king's supernatural ability to communicate with gods. However, simultaneously it has no or little explanatory power significant for the royal ideology of the same quality as *favorable of DN* or *reverent to DN* categories.
8. *Military activity.* As reflects the name, this category relates to any descriptions of military activity.
9. *Sexual allusion.* This category reflects any direct or metaphorical references to a king's spousal relationships with some deity or allusions to sacred marriage rituals.
10. *Temple-building activity* includes all passages in royal hymns narrating the construction of the temples or praising the king as a successful builder. This category could be regarded as an additional one to the *reverent to DN* category; it also demonstrates the servitude of the kings towards gods. However, as the early royal inscriptions demonstrate, the temple-building activity was originally one of the principal obligations of kings toward gods. Therefore, all mentions of *temple-building activity* are separated from general mentions of *the kings' reverence toward gods* to trace hymns' attention to this specific topic.
11. *Physical strength.* This category includes references to a king's physical strength, any specifics of his outlook, or his handsomeness. Also, it includes a description of a king as an athlete or a hunter. This category partly relates to the *military* category. However, it covers all non-military mentions of a king's physical superiority.

12. *Musician*. This category includes mention of a king as a gifted musician. It is a curious question whether references to a king as a skilled musician can be regarded as addressing potential singers by analogy with Vanstiphout's assumption for the texts mentioning the scribal skills of a king (see the next category).
13. *Wisdom*. This category includes references to a king as a wise and well-educated ruler. While the wisdom of a ruler is often a secondary topic, it could be an essential device of royal legitimation for some kings. Vanstiphout mentioned that references to a king's proficiency in scribal art might address students of scribal schools and be connected with the assumed composition of these hymns for educational purposes (Vanstiphout 1973, 124).
14. *Justice*. This category includes any depiction of a king as a just ruler, including references to him as a lawmaker and judge.
15. *Farmer*. This category includes any mentions of a king as a farmer. It is difficult to say whether these references represent a king's affinity with agriculture or his authority over land fertility. However, these references to a king as a farmer are not usual royal-praise epithets; therefore, this study discusses them as a separate category.
16. *Reading oracles*. This category includes any context of asking for an oracle and its interpretation. Therefore, it is like the *divine communication* category. The difference is that it represents not direct communication between a king and a deity but through some medium. Good omens were indirect confirmations of the divine favor; at the same time, bad omens often appear in the narratives of *Unheilsherrscher*, "calamitous ruler." Omens also often accompany the narrative of *temple-building activities*.
17. *Negative context*. Any reference to the circumstances unfortunate for a king. Some praise poetry compositions have this context; therefore, it is added here as a separate category.

In addition to the described above categories, royal praise poetic compositions could have lines unrelated to any king (for example, prolonged praise for a deity without any mentions of a king), notes, and damaged fragments.

The categories № 1, 5, and 6 are *basic*; they appear in royal hymns of all kings and do not specify the character of his praise. In contrast, the categories № 2–4, 7–16 are *specific topics*. They modify the king's praise in some unique way. The category № 17 is *additional*; it appears in a minimal number of hymns. The analysis of lines attributed as *direct* and *indirect divinity markers, claims of divine origin, and allusions of sacred marriage* is most important for my dissertation.

This classification has its limitations as based on the modern perception of ideological messages and does not represent any ideological categories as they were perceived by ancients. However, it will hopefully become a helpful instrument in the thematic analysis of hymns line by line. The importance of different

categories for the general quantitative analysis of royal praise compositions can vary. For example, one may combine groups № 12–14 into one big group of the king's personal and social characteristics. However, this gradation into smaller categories might be useful for future research.

2.2.3.3. General approaches to the comparison of royal hymns

As explained above, I chose *line-counting* approach for the analysis of the poetic compositions praising kings. The *text-counting* approach applied for the royal inscriptions¹⁸ might be inefficient because the number of surviving royal hymns is significantly smaller than that of royal inscriptions. At the same time, royal hymns have a more complex structure than most royal inscriptions; phrase repetitions, richness of epithets, and spacious descriptions are common. Accordingly, the *case-counting* approach might also be inefficient. Therefore, a *line-counting* approach seems the most appropriate tool for the royal hymns' analysis.

The process of attributing some *epithet category* from those mentioned above to each line is subjective and mostly reflects the researcher's understanding of the texts. When a few different characteristics appear in one line, the dominant one (that has a broader description or relates to the context in previous or following lines) or the more specific one¹⁹ has a priority.

As far as each line may be of only one category, the *line-counting* approach is not so accurate and objective as the *case-counting* approach. On the other hand, the majority of hymns were probably composed to be performed orally, and listeners hardly had a chance to count epithets. The most important was the general impression of the text, which was probably unique for each listener, but still shared some similarities based on the time spent expressing certain ideas. The *line-counting* approach aims to count this "volume" of text spent for each topic; therefore, it will hopefully become a useful measurement tool.

2.2.3.4. Principles of the comparison

The *line-counting* approach allows only one classifier for a line. It differs from the *text-counting* approach presuming that one text may have many different epithets. It makes hymns' analysis different from the analysis of royal inscriptions. The *relative* value analysis of royal hymns is useless; epithets in royal hymns can be discussed only in the framework of the *absolute* value analysis. Most quantitative notes on the royal praise poetry are given in the *dynamic analysis* framework and precede the *dynamic-absolute* calculations for royal inscriptions in the third "analytical" chapter.

¹⁸ For the discussion, see the section "2.2.2.3 General approaches to the comparison of royal inscriptions."

¹⁹ When a general and a specific epithet, for example, that praising a king's wisdom, appear in one line, the preference is given to the specific epithet.

2.2.4. Explanation to the usage of the charts in the text

The *quantitative* part of the research relates to calculations, and the best method to adequately present them in the text is in chart format. There are three main types of charts.

The most basic tables are in the appendices. Appendix 1 presents general data for royal inscriptions (without separating them into texts' groups). The charts have a similar structure. The upper line has names of individual rulers (or cities for the ED period); the left-side column represents a list of the epithets. All epithets are sorted according to the classification described above (divine nature; human nature; self-sufficient legitimacy; religion-based legitimacy; military activity; social-wellbeing activity). The charts' values represent the number of texts where a particular title appears. All further *dynamic-absolute* or *static-relative* calculations are performed based on these numbers. It is impossible to provide sufficient details on the precise location of different epithets in the analyzed texts and stay within the acceptable size limits for a dissertation. Therefore, detailed data (including separate tables for each type of texts [*god-orientated*; *hybrid orientation*; *human-orientated*; *subject-addresser*; *other inscriptions*]) will be uploaded in the form of excel tables on the internet data-cloud service and made accessible to interested readers.²⁰

Appendix 2 consists of charts describing royal hymns. Most hymns are grouped as *deity-praising* or *king-praising* compositions (with some rare exceptions discussed separately); charts in all sections follow the same structure. Each chart represents royal hymns left by a particular ruler. However, the charts are also grouped by periods, like the royal inscriptions. For each ruler, there is one table and separate circular charts with the total data for all combined hymns, data for *deity-praising* hymns, and data for *king-praising* hymns. The table provides data on the frequency of lines assigned to the topics listed above. The columns present data both for the actual number of lines and their percentage from the total. Circular charts under the tables graphically demonstrate the proportions of different topics.

Discussion of the most periods (ED, Sargonic, Lagaš II, Uruk IV, Ur III, OB Isin, OB Larsa, and OB Babylon) in the second “historical” part contains sub-chapters with *static-relative* analysis of the royal inscriptions and hymns. Comments for each period share the same structure. A short introduction describes the material: the total number of royal inscriptions for the period, the number of inscriptions for each text group (*god-orientated*, *hybrid orientation*, *human-orientated*, *subject-addresser* inscriptions), other characteristics of texts (the percent of inscriptions with DINGIR, cases of indefinable DINGIR usage). General analysis (without grouping accordingly to the type of texts) follows the introduction. It has *comparative circle charts*, which represent the *relative* frequency (not the actual percent of text with these epithets) of each type of

²⁰ Google Drive (cloud storage). “Kadochnikov tables.” Accessed April 9, 2023. https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1rzs5OePMmJoUCtnexPi7Kytb_rBgwkgF?usp=sharing

epithet in the royal inscriptions. Three *comparative bar charts* represent the relations in epithets' opposition pairs; numbers inside the bars are the real quantity of texts where the respective epithets appear. A detailed discussion for each type of text follows the general analysis. The charts used in the analysis by type of inscription are the same as in the general analysis. One general conclusion follows; it provides notions on differences in the usage of epithets (if such are found) in different texts' groups and tries to explain these differences. There are no charts related to royal hymns in the second chapter.

Finally, the third "analytical" part of the thesis also has graphics. There are two charts for the royal hymns; both have a similar structure. Each line represents data on a particular ruler. Columns in the first chart represent the usage of the 1) *direct* and 2) *indirect divinity markers*, 3) claims for *divine origin* and 4) *sacred marriage allusions*. In the second table, the columns represent some specific topics related to kings (military activities, temple-building activity, physical strength of the king, musical abilities of the king, king's wisdom, king's justice, appearance of the king as a farmer and oracle reading activity) instead of divinity markers. Royal inscriptions are discussed in the framework of the *dynamic-absolute* analysis. There are three types of multi-column tables representing 1) data for all types of texts by periods, 2) data for all types of texts by individual kings, and 3) differences in the distribution of data by types of texts in the same periods. The higher column in the chart is – the higher the related epithet frequency. The charts representing data for periods show a *corrected frequency*,²¹ while charts with data for individual kings demonstrate *actual frequency*. Additional explanations to the charts are given almost in all instances.

²¹ For the discussion, see the section "2.2.2.4 Principles of the comparison."

PART I.

Recent research history and theoretical discussion of the royal deification and related concepts

I.1. Henri Frankfort

This overview of the recent research history starts with *Kingship and the Gods* by Henri Frankfort (1948). Frankfort was not the first to discuss the explicit deification of rulers in Mesopotamia and related questions. However, the complete overview of the previous research history cannot be addressed here to remain within acceptable volume limits.²²

Concerning the explicit deification of kings, Frankfort wrote that “a few texts establish beyond a doubt that occasionally a fusion of humanity and divinity took place in the person of certain Mesopotamian rulers; this was the case when a goddess had chosen a king to act as her bridegroom” (Frankfort 1948, 295). At the same time, Frankfort connected divinity with the office, not individuals (ibid., 232). Being a king required participation in rituals. The importance of festivals and rituals was significant because the community participated in cosmic events through them. In Frankfort’s words, “these festivals, for all their exuberance, possessed a degree of seriousness which it is difficult for us to imagine” (ibid., 265).

In general, Frankfort discussed kings in Mesopotamia as mediators between the divine and human worlds (Frankfort 1948, 339). However, the explicit deification was related to the office of kingship and the ritual of sacred marriage. Indeed, allusions to sacred marriage are often elements of the royal ideology of the kings of Ur and Isin. In my research, I will try to establish by statistical methods how the topos of sacred marriage and explicit claims for divinity are related in the texts from the analyzed period.

I.2. Geo Widengren: the king as a gardener

Geo Widengren followed Ivan Engnell’s research on the *sacred tree* (1943) in his work *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (1951).

The *sacred tree* was a ceremonial object in the temple grove, according to Widengren. The sacred tree symbolized and was identified with the sacred essence of kingship and the god Dumuzi. As a representative of Dumuzi, a king participated in a ritual related to the *sacred tree*, which probably preceded the *sacred marriage* rite. The king had to pour *water of life* on the *tree of life* and

²² I will just name some researchers who should be mentioned: James Frazer, Hugo Winckler, Alfred Jeremias, Franz Xaver Kugler, Morris Jastrow, Christliebe Jeremias, Anton Deimel, Anna Schneider, René Labat, Ivan Engnell, Cyril Gadd, Anton Moortgat, Thorkild Jacobsen, Igor Diakonoff and Aleksander Tyumenev. If this dissertation once can be published as a research monograph, these names will be discussed in detail.

thus supported the land's fertility. The king was anointed with the oil from the tree, which granted him titles *gudug/pašīšu*, “anointed” *with the oil from the sacred tree*; *išib/ramku*, “exorcist priest and magician” *who carries out libations over the sacred tree*; and *azu/asû*²³ “diviner” *who use the water of life and magic rod* (ibid., 59–60).

According to Widengren, the king partook in sacredness only as a gardener in paradise (a temple grove) but was not deified personally. Additionally, Widengren stressed the imagery of the tree as a shadow giving protection to the people (ibid., 58).

I have found references to a king as a tree exclusively in poetic compositions praising Ur-Namma, Šulgi, and Išme-Dagān. The first two kings refer to the topos relatively often, while it is less frequent in the texts praising Išme-Dagān. Šulgi used the tree imagery in the context of the land's protection and fertility. Ur-Namma and Išme-Dagān have it exclusively in the context of the land's protection. Therefore, I believe Widengren's explanation can be applied only to Šulgi but not to other kings. Ur-Namma and Šulgi shared some other unique features absent in the texts relating to other kings, as I will discuss later. They both claimed the title *lamma*, “protective spirit,” synonymous with the protecting tree's imagery. I believe that references to a tree might stand in royal hymns of Ur-Namma and Šulgi for the title *lamma*. However, this connotation was probably lost later. Direct references to a king as a tree are absent from most texts written in the OB period (except for Išme-Dagān), just like the title *lamma*. However, references to a king as the protective shade appear in the hymns praising Iddin-Dagān, Išme-Dagān, Lipit-Ištar, Ur-Ninurta, Enlil-bāni, and Samsu-iluna. As York mentioned, the sacred tree motif might have been replaced later with the motif of lion club (York 1972–75, 273). I think kings of the OB period mainly used the imagery of protective shade as a traditional military epithet without any cultic connotations. The motif appears again in the latter half of the second millennium and the first millennium BC; however, its iconography became different from the third millennium examples (ibid. 275–280).

I.3. Sacred marriage and status of royal women

The possible connection between living royal deification and *sacred marriage* rite was noticed already by Henry Frankfort (1948, 296–297). The Sumerian *divine marriage* songs directly state this connection; in the text Dumuzi-Inanna P (ETCSL 4.8.16, Seg. A, lines 22–23), Inanna says: *ùĝ šár-re-da i-bí-ĝu*₁₀ *mu-ma-al* ^d*dumu-zid nam-diĝir kalam-ma-šè mu-pàd*, “I looked at numerous people, I chose Dumuzi for the godship over the land.”

²³ For the objections against the interpretation of *azu* “the one who knows the water,” see the entry “*asû* A,” CAD A2, 347.

There is no established consensus concerning the actual performance of the sacred marriage rite.²⁴ In recent Assyriological studies, different opinions are represented.

Thorkild Jacobsen suggested that the sacred marriage ritual included sexual intercourse between the king and *entu*-priestess (1970, 387–388, n. 80). William Hallo claimed that “the (or at least a) purpose of the rite [sacred marriage] was to produce a royal heir and to establish his divine descent” (Hallo 1987, 48). On the other hand, the hypothesis of the actual intercourse was not supported by Fritz Kraus (1953–55, 58–61) and Henri Frankfort (1948, 296). They stressed that we do not know how the goddess was represented during the festival.

Within this dissertation, I assume that the topos of sacred marriage reflected in royal inscriptions and hymns relates to some actual ritual. Therefore, I do not agree with a view that sacred marriage rite “was not cultically performed at all” (Vacín 2011b, 204). I assume that the *sacred marriage* rite was an actual ceremony of royal legitimation (determination of fate, approval by royal ancestor) during the Ur III and Isin periods.²⁵ The poetic compositions Šulgi X, Iddin-Dagan A, and the song Dumuzi-Inana D1 are sufficient and reliable sources for the reconstruction of the rite. Moreover, there are indirect pieces of evidence supporting the actual (symbolic) performance of the sacred marriage rite, such as similar rites in other cultures known from comparative anthropology (e.g., a similar still-practiced Japanese rite [Lapinkivi 2004, 244]) and administrative texts referring to cultic beds used in the rituals of the divine marriage of deities (Stol 2016, 648–649).

The question of the actual sexual intercourse during the rite is of secondary importance in this dissertation. However, it seems possible that at least some kings claiming divine origin referred to having been born from the *sacred marriage rite*. The symbolic representation of the rite was also possible, but in my view, it hardly can be regarded a mere libation rite as was proposed by Kathleen McCaffrey (2013, 227–245).²⁶

²⁴ For a summary of the discussions about the *sacred marriage* rite’s purpose and performance, see Lapinkivi 2004, 1–15.

²⁵ See, for example, hypothesis of the sacred marriage rite as an instrument of a new king’s approval by his deceased ancestors (Fritz 2003, 326–327).

²⁶ See, McCaffrey’s reconstruction of the Warka Vase as having two ritual processions, one for the spring and one for the autumn *akitu* (McCaffrey 2013, 237). The drawings accompanying McCaffrey’s explanations (ibid., 237) are misleading as they break one composition into two independent narratives. If one consults the reconstruction of the vase given by Zainab Bahrani (2002, 17), the weak points of McCaffrey’s hypothesis become discernible. It is hard to imagine that three figures (1. the naked bearer of offerings, who is identical to the figures in the lower register, 2. a lost figure usually reconstructed as a ruler, 3. the ruler’s attendant) closely following one another in one direction and clearly facing the female figure as the receiver of the offering would represent two different processions as McCaffrey (2013) proposes. Why would the group described by McCaffrey as the autumn *akitu* procession directly follow the naked figure if they have different points of destination? McCaffrey’s explanations of why one ruler figure is naked, and another is clothed are not convincing;

References to the status of a goddess's spouse are important means of royal legitimation in the analyzed royal inscriptions and in royal hymns. The disappearance of the *sacred marriage* topos from the poetic compositions praising the kings of Larsa was accompanied by the disappearance of any *direct divinity markers*.

One of the arguments against *sacred marriage* as an actual rite involving female persons was the assumed inability of women to have “such social and religious importance to be able to play the role of a goddess” (Vacín 2011b, 204). Indeed, only kings in Ancient Mesopotamia explicitly claimed divinity by using DINGIR before their names in royal inscriptions. However, there is enough evidence that royal women could also assume a certain degree of sacredness.

Kazuya Maekawa believed that a ruler and his wife in pre-Sargonic Lagaš played the roles of Bau and Ningirsu in the local rite of divine marriage (Maekawa 1996, 172). Gebhard Selz established a correlation between Lugal-anda's wife, Baranamtara, and pa₄-pa₄ appearing in the *list of offerings to Nanše* (Selz 1995, 272).²⁷ Pa₄-pa₄ appears in personal names like pa₄-pa₄-diĝir-ĝu₁₀, “[Baranamtara] is my personal god(dess),” ^dnin-MAR.KI-ama-pa₄-pa₄, “the goddess Ninmar is the mother of [Baranamtara],” or ^dinana-men-zi-pa₄-pa₄, “the goddess Inanna is the true crown of [Baranamtara],” which explicitly pronounce divine origin and some sacred qualities of Lugal-anda's wife (Selz 1995, 273).

Jerrold Cooper demonstrated that Gudea and his wife also played the roles of Bau and Ningirsu during the divine marriage of gods in Ĝirsu (Cooper 1993b, 81–96). Sallaberger wrote “Das Thema der Hochzeit der Götter bei einem jährlichen Fest zeigt im Fall des Bawu-Festes von Girsu auch eine irdische Parallele in der im Festesjahr einmaligen(!) Verehrung des 'Lokalheros' Gudea zusammen mit seiner Gemahlin, entsprechend ließen sich auf einer weiteren Stufe der amtierende Ensi und seine Gemahlin (insbesondere als nin-digir Bawus) gegenüberstellen” (Sallaberger 1999, 155). He also pointed out that queens in the Ur III period Uruk played an important role in the Uruk festival má-an-an, which signifies a special association of queen with Inanna (ibid., 185).

Frauke Weiershäuser wrote, “Erst gemeinsam bildeten König und Königin das Königspaar und konnten damit alle Aufgaben, die an das Königtum gestellt

moreover, these two figures were most probably of different size (Suter 2017, 345). Gebhard Selz (2020) gives a more convincing explanation of the scene and its meaning. The offering scene represents the whole circle of economic life in Uruk, where water at the bottom supplies fields and enables animal husbandry; this allows people to feed the gods, which is their primary duty. Selz describes the scene in the upper register as a presentation of offerings by a ruler-priest (en) to a goddess or priestess (Selz 2020, 212). The “two ring posts with streamers” designate the entrance to the storage room of a temple. Selz mentioned a possible connection with a much later literary text Dumuzid-Inana T (ETCSL 4.08.20) or “Meeting at the Storehouse.” Suppose this association is valid (however, the text was written a millennium later), the scene may be an offering of presents that precedes the intercourse between Inanna and Dumuzi in the text.

²⁷ The text is from Louvre (RTC 47). See “CDLI, P221444.” The ‘title’ pa₄-pa₄ appear in obv. col. 1, line 6; col. 3, line 3; and rev. col. 2, line 7; col. 3, line 4.

wurden, ausführen” (Weiershäuser 2008, 183). In other words, not only a king but also his queen was equally affected by the sacred nature of *nam-lugal* “kingship.” According to Weiershäuser, statues of Ur III queens were erected in the lifetime of the respective queens; statues were cultic objects and received offerings (Weiershäuser 2008, 160, 183). The same is attested for the queens of pre-Sargonic Lagaš (Selz 1992a, 254).

Based on all presented evidence, I assume that females could achieve enough religious prominence to participate in the ritual if it was performed as an actual intercourse of the king and queen or priestess.

I.4. Me, *namtar* and *melammu*

Sumerian ME 𒄠 or Akkadian *paršu* is a concept of divine powers controlling all aspects of the world and life. However, it lacks a commonly accepted definition even today.²⁸

For example, Giorgio Castellino compared ME with Plato’s ideas (Castellino 1959, 30). On the other hand, Gertrud Farber described the divine powers ME as concrete attributes or insignia, but not abstract concepts (1987–90, 610). Similar definition of ME as “a two-dimensional symbol or image [...] representing underlying abstract concept” was given by Jacob Klein (1997b, 211–215).

According to Farber, the text *Inana and Enki* (ETCSL 1.3.1) demonstrates that originally it was Enki who managed ME. However, later Enlil assumed control over ME together with the position of the chief god of the pantheon (Hruša 2015, 35–38).

Vladimir Emelianov analyzed all the references to ME in the Sumerian texts starting from the Early Dynastic periods and finishing with the Old Babylonian period. He described ME as a *will to the existence, a potential of one thing’s self-expression, a transformation from an amorphous state to a state of designed appearance* (Emelianov 2009, 158). According to Emelianov, ME belongs exclusively to gods or their temples, ordinary people cannot possess it.

The kingship (*nam-lugal*) appears in the lists of ME. According to Emelianov, a king was an instrument of ME’s actualization; he can implement ME but cannot possess or rule over it (Emelianov 2009, 158). The process of explicit deification can relate to the category of ME. Selz demonstrated that some deified objects and concepts were the essences of ME. Therefore, explicit deification was a process of creating ME. These ME related to the deified physical objects and simultaneously to the ideal model of these objects. The deification transformed the material world into the ideal in some sense (Selz 2012, 18–19).

Another sacred essence was *NAM.TAR* 𒀭𒄠𒀭 in Sumerian or Akkadian *šīmtu*, which denoted the idea of *fate determination*. The first sign *NAM* 𒀭

²⁸ For the detailed overview of the discussion, see in Emelianov 2009, 50–59.

means “fate”²⁹, and the second sign TAR 𒀭 “to decide”. Following Akkadian *šimta šāmu*, NAM.TAR can mean *to decree a fate* or *the act of deciding* (Rochberg 2010, 20–21, n.5). Dietz Edzard gave an original explanation of NAM.TAR as „eine feste, verbindliche Zusage machen” (Edzard 2004, 601). Therefore, he proposed that the term connotes no idea of a predeterminate fate.

According to Wim van Binsbergen and Frans Wiggermann (1999), there was some opposition between ME and NAM.TAR. ME originally associated with Enki and Eridu, they were “eternal rules of tradition according to which the world was supposed to be organized.” Control over ME granted Enki the supreme position in the pantheon. In the second half of the third millennium BC, Enlil acquired the leading position. Enlil actualized his authority through NAM.TAR, which were *governmental decisions*. ME represented a holistic world of magic. The “community between human and non-human aspects of nature” was its characteristic feature. On the contrary, NAM.TAR represented a world of *distance* between gods and humans, the *absolute difference* between them, and *total submission* (Binsbergen, Wiggermann 1999, 18–21).³⁰

Leo Oppenheim described kings in Assyria as priests and kings whereas in Babylonia as mainly secular rulers who were allowed to the temple only once a year. Oppenheim regarded the kingship both in Babylonia and Assyria as a sacred institution. However, he deliberately avoided discussing the nature of Sumerian kingship because he found the relationship between kings and priests ill-defined (Oppenheim 1977, 98–99). According to Oppenheim, special royal clothes (*kusītu*) and divine luminosity *melammu* were among elements that added to the sacred status of kings in later Assyria (ibid., 98).

Krebernik described *melammu*, “Glühende ME,” as an attribute of gods and kings (Krebernik 1993–97, 35). Elena Cassin has demonstrated that the tradition of ascribing to kings some luminosity can be traced to the second or even third millennium BCE (Cassin 1968, 68–69); she also demonstrated that the word *melammu* could also be used in descriptions of ordinary people as a synonym of good health (ibid., 80). Vladimir Emelianov described *melammu* as royal “charisma” (Emelianov 2009, 162). He added to Krebernik’s definition that the source of *melammu* could also be cities, temples, divine weapons, and celestial bodies (Emelianov 2009, 165–172). Emelianov also pointed to a connection between me-lám and hi-li “sexual attractiveness.”

The divine powers ME, decisions NAM.TAR and luminosity *melammu* appear in some royal inscriptions and hymns in connection with kings. There is also the attribution of á mah, “great strength,” which is related to Šulgi’s deification as Luděk Vacín has demonstrated (Vacín 2011b, 148–149). Within my qualitative

²⁹ Interesting that the archaic sign form is a depiction of a bird, probably a swallow 𒀭.

³⁰ In this context interesting that *namtaru* became one of *Sebettu* evil demons and associated with the god Nergal; also, Namtar is the name for Nergal’s vizier (Hrůša 2015, 29). Such demonization of Enlil’s divine powers may relate to the Old Babylonian popularity of *Marduk* and his father *Ea*, and accordingly some reconceptualization of Enlil.

analysis of royal inscriptions and hymns I discuss all references to these essences that possibly relate to the explicit deification of kings.

I.5. Functional deification: Gebhard Selz

Piotr Michalowski stated the problem of incompatibility between the human nature of a king and his new status acquired through explicit deification (Michalowski 2012, 41). Gebhard Selz attempted to resolve this problem. He declined the rigid binary logic that makes two worlds mutually impenetrable.

Selz's taxonomy of "deification" in the Mesopotamian religious system yields a better understanding of this concept. Selz believes that the propensity to add new items to the divine sphere, "to deify" the world around, is an essential feature of Mesopotamian religiosity. Selz has identified five main types of deification (Selz 2014–16b, 545–548):

1. *Deification of objects and concepts.* The deification of objects was a marker of their social significance and probably related to the category of ME. Already the god lists from Fāra and Abū Šalābīḥ testify numerous deified household items, professions, or other concepts.
2. *Deification of statues.* People apprehended statues as real gods. The elevation of cult objects into divine beings was possible through special rituals like the well-attested *ritual of mouth opening*. Statues were regarded as created both in heaven by gods and on earth by humans. Those two worlds mirrored each other, and the deified cultic objects connected them. Even statues of deceased rulers (who never claimed divinity in their lifetime) were deified and regarded as cult objects; it related to the cult of ancestors. However, statues of living kings and queens also could get offerings and thus be divine.
3. *Deification of ancestors.* Selz uses the word *Vergöttlichung* (Selz 2014–16b, 546); however, the deceased ancestors did not become gods, but semi-divine beings or ghosts (GIDIM). The ancestors' spirits lived in the Underworld's darkness, eating dust and scraps. The quality of posthumous existence depended on the number of male children who supplied the dead with funerary offerings. Those who did not receive the offerings became evil, wandering spirits and could harm living people. The still-born children were the exception. Starting from the first millennium BC, the Underworld was believed to be inhabited by monsters and demons (Black, Green 1992, 27–28). This phenomenon is closely related to the deification of kings' statues.
4. *Lifetime deification of the kings.* Selz calls it *a real theological revolution* (Selz 2014–16b, 547). A possible motivation for the lifetime royal deification could have been a desire for eternal life associated with gods.
5. *Deification of toponyms.* Mountains, rivers, and cities were sometimes regarded as divine. Perhaps it was an echo of some old nomadic traditions.

Recently, Gebhard Selz added another category, “*deification by roles of embodiment*.” He explained that *the divine nature is often strictly connected to (specific) cultic/ritual functions. Deification in this respect is not necessarily a stable fact but rather a dynamic process and can therefore be realized in many presumed forms* (Selz, personal communication, 2022). Therefore, it could relate to the sacred status of queens in ED Lagaš.

Gebhard Selz claimed that despite the great importance of classification and listing for Mesopotamian culture, “Mesopotamian classification shows fuzzy boundaries between classes” (Selz 2012, 14). Selz elaborated his thought through the “prototype theory.” A “prototype” is the best, fullest representation of a mental construct, which becomes a reference for future classification (ibid., 13, n. 1). However, every other component added to the classification does not necessarily have all the features represented in the prototype. Therefore, it is possible to deify such different things as statues and rivers. They have some essential typical features of the divine prototype. However, they are not identical to the prototype, which could be, for example, an astral representation of the goddess Inanna (ibid., 16).

Selz argued that an object could simultaneously relate to different prototypes. Furthermore, an object belonging to several prototypes “may form a new prototype” (Selz 2012, 16). In other words, a deified ruler was not exclusively divine or human; he belonged to both prototypes.

Selz pointed out heroism and the idea of protection as an example of typical features that bring about a relation between kings and the divine prototypes. Selz proposed that usage of the determinative DINGIR might hint at the king’s *lamma* (a deified idea of protection). Then, the name with DINGIR should be understood as ^dlamma-(royal name)-ak. It doesn’t point to the king as an individuum but only to “*a special, deified aspect ascribed to the king*,” his *heroic* function (Selz 1997, 181–183).

Selz also wrote that deified offices “do not simply reflect an intentional and wilful process of sanctification invented for securing the ruling elite’s position or to stabilize the structure of society” (ibid., 18).

This dissertation agrees with Selz in the points that:

- 1) Deification should relate to ritual functions that establish a “prototypical relation” between a king and the prototype for the class of divine beings.
- 2) Ritual represents ME; therefore, the deification of kings can be explained as possession of ME.
- 3) There is no rigid boundary between classes; the deification of kings does not necessarily create an ontological problem.
- 4) There is some gradation of objects within one class. Hierarchy reflects the degree of resemblance to the prototype.

However, this dissertation also addresses other questions as:

- 1) How different is the imagery of kings explicitly claiming divinity and those who don't?
- 2) Why some texts describe the transition of kings from the human category into the divine (the *Bassetki inscription*), if the king still belonged to both prototypes?
- 3) Were the typical features that equated kings with the divine prototype identical in all periods for all kings who were deified in a conspicuous way?
- 4) Why kings stopped to claim divinity and what it means for their relation to the divine prototype?

This study aims to collect statistical data representing correlations between explicit claims for divine status and the most important topoi of royal ideology in royal inscriptions and hymns that can help to understand better the evolution of the royal deification phenomenon.

I.6. Deification of Narām-Sîn

Narām-Sîn's deification is a topic discussed by many researchers.

Walter Farber (1983) offered a new discussion of Narām-Sîn's *Bassetki inscription*. He paid particular attention to the king's position as a deity in the city of Akkad and stressed the importance of *Bassetki inscription* as the text explaining the mechanism and reasoning behind Narām-Sîn's deification (Farber W, 1983, 67–68).³¹ Walter Farber compared Narām-Sîn's status after deification with that of other *Städtgötter* (ibid., 68). Indeed, the text seems to imply this explanation. I will propose that Narām-Sîn not only became the city god of Agade but also could partially replace Ilaba in this function.³²

However, Farber did not address the question of the gods who “owned” the city before Narām-Sîn.

Burkhart Kienast proposed that the epithet *mut* ^dINANNA in Narām-Sîn's inscriptions does not mean the “spouse of Inanna” but a “warrior of Inanna” (Kienast 1990, 202). Therefore, he rejected the epithet as a reference to the sacred marriage between the king and the goddess. This translation was not commonly accepted, and many researchers still stress the role of Narām-Sîn as Ištar's divine consort (Michalowski 2012, 34; Foster 2016, 141). This dissertation also under-

³¹ Farber also notes that the same observation was made earlier by Feder F. Reschids (1976), who wrote an article in Arabic (Farber W, 1983, 72).

³² I follow Krebernik in my understanding that Ilaba was “the city god of Agade” (Krebernik 2016–18, 392, 396). Still, there are no direct references to Ilaba as a “master of Agade” in the surviving royal inscriptions. Moreover, if Ilaba held the status of city god, he probably was inferior in that position to Ištar-Anunītum (ibid., 396).

stands the title *mut*^dINANNA as a “spouse of Ištar.” However, I will try to determine how important was this topos in the explicit deification of Narām-Sîn.

In his contribution to the topic, Mario Liverani discussed the problems of using later literary sources to reconstruct historical realities (Liverani 1993, 51–67). Still, he recognized that the “critical and anti-celebrative data” representing the reactions of elites in old Sumerian cities were not necessarily fabricated (ibid., 59).

Sabina Franke meticulously observed the royal titles of Akkadian kings and described how they differ from the previous tradition (Franke 1995a). Discussing the *Bassetki inscription*, Franke explained that even though it was the citizens of Agade who initiated the process of royal deification, it can be understood as a part of Narām-Sîn’s master plan. Franke did not explain her understanding of the *unkennu*, “assembly,” mentioned in the text (Franke 1995a, 177–179). Reinhard Bernbeck expressed the same opinion when describing Naram-Sin as “a shrewd manipulator of religious and political aspects of power, someone who enveloped the political elites into a state of projecting their own phantasms of power onto this king” (Bernbeck 2012, 165). As I will argue below, I believe that the image of Narām-Sîn as a despotic ruler in this context might be exaggerated whereas the actual role of his courtiers underrated. The similar idea, however in the discussion of the visual art, was pronounced by Irene Winter: “Whether kings are designated/understood retrospectively to have been born gods [...], or elevated to divine status upon installation [...], they must, on the one hand, create or have created around themselves an ideological system that will sustain such status; and they must, on the other hand, be accepted as divine by at least some of those over whom they reign” (Winter 2012, 87). Some Franke’s statements require adjustments. Franke wrote, “In den Inschriften in denen Šarkališarrī den Titel *šar akkade*^{KI} verwendet, fehlt das Gottesdeterminativ” (ibid., 200). However, both the title and the determinative appear in the inscriptions RIME 2.1.5.2 (lines 4–5), RIME 2.1.5.4 (Sumerian version, lines 8–9), and RIME 2.1.5.2010 (lines 2–3). Franke briefly commented on the title DUMU *dādi*^d*enlil*, “beloved son of Enlil,” but did not explain whether it bestowed to Šar-kali-šarrī any additional status or sacredness (ibid., 199–200). However, the title DUMU *dādi*^d*enlil* was an important ideological statement that equated Šar-kali-šarrī with the god Ninurta (Sazonov 2016, 52–57).

Aage Westenholz proposed that already Sargon had a divine status (A. Westenholz 1999, 40). According to Westenholz, the determinative DINGIR in royal inscriptions of later Sargonic kings was not a mere graphic element but was pronounced as *ilu*, “god/ divine” (ibid., 47). Westenholz wrote, “Naramsin was henceforth ‘Akkade’s god’, at least to his officials” (ibid., 54). Westenholz also criticized Michalowski for his exclusive stress on “propagandistic” (manipulative) accent in the analysis of royal inscriptions and Sumerian King List (ibid., 27–28).

Walther Sallaberger described the nature of kingship in the Sargonic and Ur III periods as somewhat ambiguous. He regarded the sacredness of kings as a natural result of the sacredness of kingship. He wrote “Ein König wird mit seinem Regierungsantritt zum Gott, nicht die jeweilige Person, sondern das Amt ist also

göttlich” (Sallaberger 2002, 94). However, Sallaberger was cautious about explaining Narām-Sîn’s deification in terms of *sacred kingship*. Addressing the *Bassetki inscription*, Sallaberger agreed that the determinative DINGIR might be a tool for chronological ordering of Narām-Sîn’s royal inscription (Sallaberger, Schrakamp 2015, 109). Therefore, he agreed that the divine status of Narām-Sîn could not be merely equated with his position as the king.

Piotr Michalowski stressed that kingship in Mesopotamia was always sacred and described Narām-Sîn as a full-fledged “god on earth” (Michalowski 2012, 35). Michalowski stressed that “Naram-Sin was not made the god of the whole territory, but of his city Agade” (ibid., 34). On the other hand, Luděk Vacín claimed that Narām-Sîn tried to “*shield religiously*” his newly created state and thus claimed divinity over the whole state and not just the capital city (Vacín 2011b, 193).³³ I will stand on the position that Narām-Sîn claimed divinity only over his capital city.

Irene Winter (2012) discussed the stele of Narām-Sîn dedicated to his victory over the people of Lullubi. Winter pointed out that Narām-Sîn was depicted on the stele with a one-layer horned tiara³⁴ and not with a multilayer tiara usual for the great gods. Therefore, it may indicate his status of lower (or semi-) deity (Winter 2012, 76). Narām-Sîn is the only king of Mesopotamia who was deified in his lifetime and wore the horned crown. However, two statues with horned crown presumably stood also in the palace of Zimri-Lim, which depicted the governor of Mari of the late Ur III period, Puzur-Eštar (Gates 1984, 85–86). This dissertation will not provide any comprehensive analysis of these iconographic sources.

Vladimir Sazonov distinguished three elements in royal ideology which he regarded as interrelated; 1) claim for divine origin; 2) universalistic ambition; and 3) explicit claim for divinity (Sazonov 2016, 32). Sazonov proposed that universalistic ambition was the ultimate reason for explicit deification of Narām-Sîn. While universalistic ambitions certainly relate to the development of royal praise, the formal reason for the deification of Narām-Sîn in the *Bassetki inscription* is the protection of the city of Agade. It is important to distinguish between

³³ In the next paragraph, Vacín changes his view and writes: “the deified king avoided direct confrontation with this patron goddess of the capital whom he seems to have replaced. His prominent status of a deity is eloquently reflected in his title *diġir a-ga-dē^{KI}*, ‘god of Akkad’, [...]. However, it is not clear whether this title meant the replacement of Ištar by the god-king as the local divine patron, or whether it was intended to show that the king was the ‘god of the realm of Akkad’, i.e. the ‘guardian spirit’ of the land” (Vacín 2011b, 193).

³⁴ According to Gebhard Selz, the horned crown was a symbol of the *vigor of life and reproduction* (Selz 2012, 16). The horned crown was first attested in the Early Dynastic II period; therefore, it originated most probably in the Sumerian religious beliefs. The shape of the crown might have been taken from the wild bulls, written with the cuneiform sign AM. This sign visually resembles a bull’s head with two horns. The word *am*, “wild bull,” appears as an epithet of the god Dumuzi at least in three Sumerian hymns praising his marriage with Inanna (Dumuzi-Inanna J [line 3]; Dumuzi-Inanna W [line 41]; Dumuzi-Inanna C1 [seg. D, line 23]). Therefore, one can speculate that Narām-Sîn’s horned crown hints his role as Inanna’s partner.

protective and expansive military activities. The protective function of kings was a projection of the city-god's protective function which developed in the ED period or earlier. Sazonov made numerous other important observations. He pointed out that the personal name *ilī-Rīmuš*, “my god is Rīmuš” might indicate a special status of the king (Sazonov 2007, 229–330). Sazonov stressed the importance of Šar-kali-šarri's position as a son of Enlil (the equal level with the god Ninurta), expressed with the epithet *mār dādi Ellil* “beloved son of the god Enlil” (Sazonov 2016, 52–57). Fink and Sazonov pointed out that the Middle Assyrian ruler Tukulti-Ninurta also claimed to be an adopted son of Enlil and the god's earthly incarnation (Fink and Sazonov 2019, 242–243).

In general, most scholars view the deification of Narām-Sîn as unique; as not fitting into the pattern of *sacred kingship*. Benjamin Foster wrote, “*the Akkadian king, as a god, acquired a cosmic role as creator, nurturer, and guardian of his subjects, as well as replacing the sun-god as guardian of oaths*” (Foster 2016, 140). Based on my quantitative analysis of texts, I will propose that explicitly deified Narām-Sîn became the city god of Agade and might have replaced Ilaba in this function.

1.7. Gudea and his status

Gudea did not explicitly claim divinity in his royal inscriptions. However, some parts of his famous cylinders can be interpreted as indications of some special status.

Adam Falkenstein and Wolfram von Soden proposed that line *énsi-ke₄ diĝir uru-na-ke₄ rá-zu im-ma-bé* (Cylinder B, col. 1, line 15) contains the title *diĝir-uru-na-ke₄*, “god of his city,” that designates Gudea (1953, 166). Falkenstein also explained Gudea's claim that he had no father and mother in Cylinder A (3: 6–8) as an indication for the ruler's origin from *nin-diĝir* priestess (Falkenstein 1957–71, 676). Falkenstein believed that Ur-Baba and Gudea reigned over a vast kingdom dominating Southern Mesopotamia and controlling Ur and Larsa (Falkenstein 1966, 42–44). Later researchers criticized this idea (Suter 2000, 27–28).

Dietz Edzard also explained the title *diĝir-uru-na-ke₄* as describing Gudea (Edzard 1997, 89). Edzard mentioned offerings made for deified Gudea and seals dedicated to Gudea, with the determinative DINGIR preceding his name. However, Edzard described Gudea as deified only posthumously, citing Sallaberger's notion that the difference between the “actual” deification in one's lifetime and ancestor worship is difficult to define (Edzard 1997, 26).

Thorkild Jacobsen offered an alternative explanation of the line discussed above and translated it as “prayers the ruler was saying unto the god of his city” (Jacobsen 1987, 426). Unfortunately, Jacobsen's commentaries to his translations have not been published and the manuscript containing them is lost (Suter 2000, 78, n. 47). Most translators understand the line as a direct reference to Gudea's divinity, see e.g., Römer (2010, 67). However, there is no consensus view regarding the correct interpretation of the line (Suter 2015, 513).

Jacob Klein demonstrated that the literary heritage of Gudea influenced Šulgi (Klein 1989, 301). Regarding the common features in descriptions of kings as sacred beings, Klein noticed that 1) both Gudea and Šulgi are born in a temple (ibid., 293); 2) divine mothers of both Gudea and Šulgi are compared to ^{giš}ul₄-gal, “great *ul*-tree” (ibid., 292); 3) Gudea and Šulgi are the only rulers claiming to undertake a trip in magur boat, which Klein described as a prerogative of gods in Sumerian literature (ibid., 294, n. 32). Klein also stressed that Gudea deliberately prepared his diorite statue as a cult object for his posthumous deification. In other words, even if Gudea did not claim explicit divinity in his lifetime, he still consciously promoted his posthumous association with deities (ibid., 296). Klein proposed that Gudea, and not Šulgi, was the first ruler who “commissioned his poets to celebrate his feats and virtues in royal hymns, and also ordered his hymns to be sung regularly in the temple cult, both in his lifetime and after his demise” (ibid., 299). These hymns had the function of “immortalizing his [Gudea’s] name and fame” (ibid., 301).

Walther Sallaberger (1993) discussed the annual *mouth-opening* rite of the statues of Gudea during Ur III times. Sallaberger noticed that the rite coincided with the festival of Gudea’s personal god Ningišzida and proposed a connection between the two events (Sallaberger 1993, 281–282). Sallaberger also mentioned that Ningišzida was a Dumuzi-like figure, a god of vegetation and the underworld; his festival was a lament for the god’s leaving his temple (ibid., 282–283).

According to Gebhard Selz, statues of rulers could be deified and serve as cultic objects even in the lifetime of the respective rulers and members of a royal family (Selz 1997, 203, n. 236). Selz even proposed that references to kings with the determinative DINGIR in their contemporary documents might signify not their personal deification but that of their statues (ibid., 182). The mouth-opening rite was only an element in a complex process of statue deification, which included 1) name-giving, 2) mouth-opening, 3) providing for an appropriate cult place, and 4) caring and feeding of the statues as new gods (ibid., 179). According to Selz, the statues of Gudea were regarded as capable for communication already after their consecration in his lifetime (ibid., 200, n. 202). One can regard this as an explicit demonstration of Gudea’s sacredness. Still, it is unclear then why there are many inscriptions with the DINGIR sign from the Ur III or Isin periods and no such contemporary inscriptions mentioning Gudea.

Claudia Suter’s dissertation discusses the representation of Gudea in texts and in images. The main message that Gudea conveyed in texts and images was that he was a successful temple builder (Suter 2000, 293). Gudea was an attentive and pious temple builder who mainly communicated with the great gods through his personal god Ningišzida, whom he introduced in the Lagaš pantheon (ibid., 286–287). Suter’s opinion on the sacred features of Gudea changed from her early to more recent writings. In her dissertation, Suter (2000) seldom discussed the sacred features of Gudea. However, in later publications, she stressed that the temple-building activity placed Gudea “beyond humans and close to gods” (Suter 2015, 505). Her translation of the line discussed above (Cyl. B, col. 1, line 15) in her dissertation followed Jacobsen’s translation “the ruler was going to say a plea

to his city-god” (Suter 2000, 95, n. 124). She did not change it in later publications but added, “I would not exclude an intentional ambiguity that would have allowed for an allusion to Gudea’s divinity” (Suter 2015, 513). Suter’s understanding of the cultic functions of Gudea’s statues also changed. In her dissertation, Suter mentioned that in the Ur III time, Gudea was praised equally with the deified kings of the Ur III dynasty, which probably reflected the dynasty’s origin from a noble family in Girsu (Suter 2000, 61). Suter did not discuss the divinity of statues during the ruler’s lifetime or the *mouth-opening* ritual. However, she also wrote, “text may simply imply that Gudea wished this statue to be attended after his death” (Suter 2000, 60). She explained statues as memorial objects and was skeptical regarding their cultic function. Later, she expressed a different position, saying, “one would assume that the statues received offerings from the moment they were consecrated. However, this cannot be proven” (Suter 2012, 65). Suter wrote about “Gudea’s endeavor to integrate himself into the cultic calendar” while discussing his statues and offerings to them (Suter 2015, 511).

Horst Steible (2001) demonstrated that Gudea employed the same model of royal legitimation, which was used 200 years before him by E-anatum. This model of legitimation was related to the title *ensi*; according to this model, a pair of local city gods, the nominal owners of the capital city, acknowledge the ruler as *ensi* (Steible 2001, 79–81).

Discussion of Gudea’s personal god, Ninĝišzida, might shed some light on Gudea’s sacred status. Ninĝišzida was a Dumuzi-like figure connected with vegetation. As his name suggests, he had relationship to a *tree of righteousness* or was a “*lord of the true (reliable) tree*” (Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 368). This notion calls to mind the equation between Dumuzi and the *sacred tree* made by Geo Widengren (1951). Widengren noticed that Gudea holds a vessel with water in some statues in a way identical to Enki and argued that the ruler was believed to have control over the *water of life* (Widengren 1951, 24–25). Ninĝišzida’s name and Gudea’s images in some libation scenes (Suter 2000, 195–196) can suggest that Ninĝišzida had a symbolic connection with the plant in these libation scenes. Wiggermann notes that Ninĝišzida was venerated in conjunction with Gudea in the Ur III time (1998–2001a, 368–372). Wiggermann also argued that “reliability” was encoded within Ninĝišzida’s name (element *zid*) and noted that because of that, he was a god of justice who supplied documents with *níg-zid*, “reliability.” He connects Ninĝišzida’s function as a judge to his chthonic nature (Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 371–372). On the other hand, Krebernik does not mention Ninĝišzida among the gods associated with reliability and judicial functions (Krebernik 2006–08, 354–361). One can note a parallel between Ninĝišzida, Dumuzi, and the title *sipa zid*, “reliable [rightful] shepherd,” which acquired remarkable popularity in the time of Gudea (Halla 1957, 147–148); all they share the components *zi/zid*, “reliable, right,” or “life”.

Gebhard Selz argued for “*ein Teilidentität zwischen Gudea und seinem Familiengotte*” (Selz 2006, 92). In other words, he proposed that Ninĝišzida was an *eṭemmu* part of Gudea as the composite human being. Like any other human being, Gudea consisted of blood, clay, and *eṭemmu*. For Selz (2004), *eṭemmu* was

an integral divine part of both human and divine beings and not just a spirit of a deceased person. Selz based his understanding of *eṭemmu* on several protective deities (*ištaru*, *ilu*, *lamassu*, *šēdu*, ^d*lamma*, ^d*Udug*), which, according to Selz, constituted a trans-individual divine part of the person's family. According to Selz, people in the third millennium BCE Mesopotamia believed that they possessed no individual but only collective *eṭemmu* (Selz 2004, 40–44). Interestingly, Statue B of Gudea describes the ruler as *saĝ zid unken-na pa è-a* ^d*Nin-ĝiš-zid-da diĝir-ra-na-ke*₄, “chosen as the rightful head of the assembly by Ninĝišzida, his god” (col. iii, lines 3–5). If one assumes that *unken* “assembly” relates to Lagaš, then it is problematic that the text mentions Ninĝišzida and not the city god Ninĝirsu.³⁵ One can speculate that *unken* here relates to some family group under Ninĝišzida's protection.

Luděk Vacín (2011a) also discussed the connection between Gudea and his personal god Ninĝišzida. According to Vacín, enforcement of Ninĝišzida's cult in Lagaš under Gudea signifies his attempts to establish and legitimate a new dynasty of rulers different from the dynasty of his stepfather, Ur-Baba (Vacín 2011a, 271). This explanation has one problem that should be addressed.

Vacín wrote: “the new ruler [Gudea] did not adopt Ninagal, by then already a member of the local pantheon with her own temple, as his personal deity, even though she was the personal goddess of his close relative and predecessor on the throne. [...] This seems to indicate that Gudea decided to break with the legacy of his father-in-law in this respect. In other words, he obviously did not wish to be just a member of the House of Urbaba but wanted to establish the House of Gudea” (ibid., 271). Therefore, Vacín implies that a new ruler (if he was not a son of the previous one) ideally had to associate himself with the family of his predecessor by adopting his personal god, but Gudea broke this ideal pattern. Following this logic, Vacín seems to imply that the political authority was transmitted in Lagaš hereditarily (or through adoption) within the group of male relatives. Otherwise, if it is not implied, the explicit adoption of Ninĝišzida as the personal god of Gudea loses its political importance as a proclamation of a new dynasty proposed by Vacín. I cannot agree with this explanation of political importance behind Ninĝišzida's position as Gudea's personal god. The relative importance of filial connections in the royal inscriptions of Ur-Nanše and his descendants seems exceptional when compared with the data from other ED cities and the Sargonic period. Later, the kings of the Ur III dynasty also did not explicitly record their pedigrees from previous kings, which means that this practice was not a requirement (Sallaberger 1999, 182). In Lambert's words, “the most striking thing about the Sumerians in this connection is the lack of evidence that belonging to a particular family qualified a man for rulership. Son often

³⁵ However, one can contradict that in the following lines (col. iii, lines 6–9) *u*₄ ^d*nin-ĝir-su-ke*₄ *iri-ni-šè igi zid im-ši-bar-ra gù-dé-a sipa zid-šè kalam-ma ba-ni-pàd-da-a*, “then Ninĝirsu looked rightly at his city and choose Gudea as the rightful shepherd of the land,” Ninĝirsu is somewhat above the city level and grants to Gudea shepherdship over his land (*kalam*).

succeeded father, but this seems to have reflected more a trait of human nature than to have been the result of a theory of kingship” (W. Lambert 1974, 427). Selz has demonstrated that a different power transmission model through maternal line possibly existed (Selz 2006, 91). Therefore, Gudea could be another example of acquiring power through marriage, a practice probably preceding the development of the father-son hereditary mechanism. In other words, the fact that Gudea did not adopt the personal god of his father-in-law after becoming a new ruler does not necessarily mean that Gudea did so deliberately to establish a new dynasty in opposition to his predecessor.

Luděk Vacín also claimed that the texts “indicate the inseparability of the two [Ninġišzida and Gudea] bordering on their virtual identification” (Vacín 2011a, 271). This statement is very close to the opinion of Selz mentioned above (Selz 2006, 92). In the light of this approach, one can propose a new reevaluation of the title *diġir numun-zid-zid-da-ke₄*, “a god of most rightful progeny” (Cyl. B, col. xiii, line 9). Vacín followed a well-established explanation of this title as a reference to Ninġišzida. First, this explanation was offered by Falkenstein (1966, 102); and later by Jacobsen (1987, 436) and Wiggermann (1997, 40). Wiggermann explained the attribution of the title to Ninġišzida by his role as Gudea’s personal god (Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 370); and his *numun-zid-zid-da-ke₄*, “most rightful progeny”. As another argument for this correlation, Wiggermann added the similar title of Ninsumun, *ama gan numun-zid-da*, “mother, birth giver of the reliable seed” (Cyl. B, col. xxiii, line 19). However, the title *diġir numun-zid-zid-da-ke₄* does not refer to any god’s name. Therefore, its association with Ninsumun is purely hypothetical. The first translators of Gudea Cylinders, such as François Thureau-Dangin (1905, 189), Ira Price (1927, 51), and early Adam Falkenstein (Falkenstein, von Soden 1953, 176), did not explain the title. Some later researchers also did not identify the title with Ninġišzida; for example, Richard Averbeck (1987, 315), Dietz Edzard (1997, 95), or Claudia Suter (2000, 98). The absence of a direct reference to Ninġišzida or other god is strange, especially when other lines do mention Ninġirsu and Nanše. I believe there is parallelism in lines 6–10 and 11–17 (Cyl. B, col. xiii). The first passage mentions Ninġirsu-Nanše and *diġir numun-zid-zid-da-ke₄*, whereas the second one refers to Nanše-Ninġirsu-Gudea. Therefore, one can propose that line 9 hints at Gudea. Still, there is a place for “intentional ambiguity” (Suter 2015, 513), which allows the images of Gudea to merge with the images of deities.

Claudia Suter proposed that there is an identity diffusion not only between Gudea and his personal god Ninġišzida but also with Ninġirsu. She wrote, “the boundaries between ruler and gods can be blurred by crediting the same deed to all of them” (Suter 2015, 507). Suter described the episode in Cyl. A, col. xxx, lines 1–5 as follows: “this statement may have been intended not only to bolster the chain of authority and, with it, the legitimacy of Gudea’s temple construction but also to assimilate ruler and gods” (ibid., 508). Suter pointed out three main patterns of Gudea’s disguise among gods: 1) introduction to the divine community through his divine parents (ibid., 506); 2) indications of the status of Bau’s companion (ibid., 509–510); 3) comparison with raising sun (ibid., 512).

Therefore, Suter proposed that Gudea applied different strategies in claiming sacredness and not only did so through his association with Ningišzida (ibid., 507). Gebhard Selz noted that it is important to distinguish 1) association between Gudea and Ningišzida based on their close personal relation and 2) association between Gudea and Ningirsu (and Nanše) strictly connected to the office occupied by Gudea (Selz, personal communication, 2023).

This identification of a ruler with gods was unlikely an innovation of Gudea. The king E-anatum might have used the name LUM-ma in addition to his throne name. An inscription found on two boundary stones (RIME 1.9.3.5, Frayne 2008, 146–149) that says (col. v lines 11–14) é-an-na-túm mu ú-rum-m[a]-ni mu GÌR.GÌR-ni L[U]M-ma-a “his personal name is E-anatum and his battle/*tidnum* name is LUM-ma” supports this view.³⁶ Gebhard Selz proposed that the name LUM-ma has two dimensions – first as a title of the god Ningirsu, and second as a name representing E-anatum as a “funktionsgebundenen Göttlichkeit” (Selz 2014a, 215). Vladimir Sazonov proposed an association of the last Sargonic king, Šar-kali-šarrī, with Ninurta based on the epithet *mār dādi Ellil* “beloved son of the god Enlil” (Sazonov 2016, 52–57).

Vladimir Emelianov proposed that Gudea and his father-in-law Ur-Bau both were children of the *sacred marriage* and that this solidarity allowed Gudea to marry Ur-Bau’s daughter and become a new ruler (Emelianov 2016, 65, 74). Emelianov rejected the synchronicity of Gudea with the first kings of the Ur III dynasty. Instead, Emelianov argued that Gudea lived simultaneously with the Gutian lord Yarlagan and paid him tribute. It explains the absence of military topoi in the texts of Gudea (Emelianov 2016, 74). Emelianov explained parts of the statue Gudea F (col. iii, line 12 – col. iv, line 13) as referring to magical activities of Gudea for controlling nature’s fertility (Emelianov 2016, 67). However, not all translators agree with this interpretation. For example, Edzard regards Gatumdug and not Gudea as the actor in this line (Edzard 1997, 48).

³⁶ The certain meaning of mu GÌR.GÌR-ni is unknown. One of the first proposed interpretations equated GÌR.GÌR with *tidnum* (Poebel 1914, 166, n. 2). *Tidnum* or *Ditānum* was a name of an Amorite tribe later known as *Suteans*. The Akkadian word *ditānum* also designates aurochs. Amar Annus demonstrated that the mythologem of *ditānum* as bison-men might have influenced later idea of Titans, divine beings in Greek mythology (Annus 1999, 19–20). Jacobsen understood LUM-ma as a *battle-name*; he based his interpretation on the equation between GÌR.GÌR and *hummušu* “wrestler” in the lexical list Nabnītu. Jacobsen understood *hummušu* as *to bruise* (Jacobsen 1957, 131–132 n. 90). For *hummušu* as a *wrestler*, see CAD H, 235. For the equation GÌR.GÌR – *hummušu*, see DCCLT, CT 19, pl. 30, K 04580 + pl. 42, K 14079 (CDLI P365410), rev. col. ii’, line 6’. For an additional discussion, see Marchesi 2006, 8, n. 20. As the name LUM-ma also appeared in several god lists, Jacobsen guessed that E-anatum might have been deified under the name LUM-ma (Jacobsen 1939, 98–99, n. 168). On the other hand, Frayne argued that the hypothesis of E-anatum’s deification is groundless, as far as the name LUM-ma appeared already in the god-list from Fāra, which precedes the reign of E-anatum (Frayne 2008, 125). Gianni Marchesi claimed that the whole idea of E-annatum’s two names is misleading and should be reconsidered (Marchesi 2006, 125). Instead, he proposed that LUM-ma should be translated “the lusty one” and stands as an epithet of Ningirsu (ibid., 113–114).

Emelianov makes the conclusions that Gudea was deified in his lifetime based on 1) Gudea's ability to control fertility, 2) Gudea's divine origin, 3) Gudea's successful construction of Ningirsu's temple, 4) special treatment of Gudea's statues with the mouth-opening ritual,³⁷ 5) Gudea's title *diĝir-uru-na-ke4*, 6) Gudea's relation to Enki's cult, and 7) the status of Ningirsu's prophet (Emelianov 2016, 74). Indeed, the status of Gudea is certainly above human. However, the ruler never explicitly claimed divinity by using the determinative DINGIR in front of his name. Therefore, his case should be regarded differently from that of the kings of the Sargonic, Ur III, and Isin periods.

Suter concluded her overview of Gudea: "Although he never explicitly claimed deification, he alluded to a certain degree of divinity in perhaps more sophisticated ways than the self-deified kings before and after him" (Suter 2015, 523). It is difficult not to agree with her words. This dissertation aims to statistically determine which ideological elements in his royal inscriptions and hymns matter the most. It is important to compare data from Gudea inscriptions with texts of other Lagaš II dynasty rulers (Gudea is not unique in his claims for divine origin) and with the kings from other periods. Systematized data can help to reveal additional correlations that might have been overlooked in previous research. Comparing the statistical data, I will try to answer whether Gudea and the rulers of his time followed ancient models of the Early Dynastic period, used any ideological elements of the Akkadian period, or introduced new concepts.

I.8. Deification of the kings in the Ur III and Isin periods

Claus Wilcke (1974) systemized possible vehicles of rulers to manifest their divinity: 1) using the DINGIR determinative, 2) building temples for the kings, 3) festivals and months named after kings, 4) introducing priests for maintaining the cult of a deified ruler, and 5) the cult of royal statues except those for the posthumous praise. Wilcke described the claims for divine origin and posthumous deification of kings before the Ur III dynasty as a step in the preparation for the explicit deification of the Ur III kings (Wilcke 1974, 179–180). Still, he did not attempt to explain the reasons for the deification of Šulgi.

Piotr Michalowski described kingship in the Ur III (and Sargonic) period as "charismatic," which originates in Max Weber's classifications of authority (Michalowski 1991, 45–46, 54). While the nature of royal kingship was originally sacred, the new political reality required the explicit deification of kings to stabilize the delicate political situation within the unified territories of previously

³⁷ Recently Emelianov changed his opinion regarding references to the mouth-opening ritual in the texts of Gudea. Now Emelianov prefers Edzard's reading *du₁₁-gaba* instead of *ka-du₈*, "mouth opening," in statue Gudea R (col. iv, line 4). Emelianov explains that it is an erroneous writing of *u₄-du₁₁ ga-ba*, "designated day" and proposes that sculptors wrote inscriptions by hearing; they were not necessarily native Sumerian speakers. It could explain errors and the change of *ga-ba* into *gaba*. (Emelianov, personal communication, 2023).

independent city-states (Michalowski 1991, 53–56). Michalowski discussed the explicit deification as a tool to indoctrinate the lower and middle classes of bureaucrats. He stated that the idea of royal divinity was one of “a common stock of ideas and attitudes which bound them [bureaucrats] together as a class and in many ways separated them from their original backgrounds” (Michalowski 1991, 52). Therefore, Michalowski did not regard explicit deification as affecting any broader range of social groups. According to Michalowski, explicit royal divinity also played an essential role in the appropriation of temple estates. This process was initiated by Sargon, who introduced his daughter as the priestess in Ur (ibid., 54). The divine kingship ended when “divine Kindattu defeated Ur’s last ruler, divine Ibbi-Sin” and “kingship reverted to its familiar nature, and the monarchs of Mesopotamia were safe to be sacred once more” (Michalowski 2012, 40, 42). Therefore, Michalowski did not regard rulers of the Isin dynasty as actually deified. My analysis of the *direct divinity markers* contradicts this view. As I will demonstrate, at least the first kings of Isin (Išbi-Erra’s dynasty) did explicitly claim divinity following the model of Ur III kings both in their royal inscriptions and hymns.

Irene Winter (1991) analyzed the seals of high royal officials from the Ur III period. She argued that “the very appearance of the seated king on seals in a position formerly reserved for gods” and at the same time “the kings received the divine determinative before their names, suggests a non-random correlation” (Winter 1991, 76). She continued that such imagery was an effective tool to ensure the political dominance of Ur III kings and their officials in previously independent states, which reflects administrative reforms carried out by Šulgi (ibid., 76–78). Therefore, Winter also connected the deification of the king with a need to ensure the authority of his subjects in the subjugated territory. However, she avoids any discussion of the religious function behind the deification. If one discusses royal deification in terms of the sacred kingship hypothesis, the fact that “individuals changed seals with the advent of a new ruler, or with a political shift” (ibid., 73) seems to support the importance of each ruler individually and not as just another holder of the royal office.

Walther Sallaberger argued that all kings after Šulgi, who explicitly claimed divinity were praised as office holders and not as individuals because they got the divine status as soon as they ascended to the throne (Sallaberger 1999, 154). However, Sallaberger did not explain how Šulgi, deified only in the 21st year of his reign, fit the concept of sacred kingship (ibid., 152). Sallaberger stressed that introducing any new title in royal texts signifies an essential change in royal ideology and the self-representation of kings (ibid., 179). However, Sallaberger did not explain why some kings started to claim divinity and how they differed from other kings who were not deified but also should be affected by the sacred nature of kingship. Sallaberger clearly distinguished Šulgi from his descendants by the amount and quality of his achievements. Still, Sallaberger noted that the number of sanctuaries consecrated to divine Šū-Sîn is a unique testimony to the king’s cult among subjects (ibid., 171).

Clemens Reichel (2012) discussed the only archeologically identified temple to a king of Ur, the temple of Šū-Sîn in Ešnunna. It is important evidence of the actual cult of a deified king during his lifetime. However, Reichel was mostly interested in the fate of this structure after the fall of the Ur III dynasty. According to Reichel, this temple was abandoned when Ur lost control over the city. Later Šuiliya, the ruler of Ešnunna, also claimed divine status and established his cult in the abandoned temple; Reichel supposes that it was his way to stress the legitimacy of Šuiliya's reign in the city (Reichel 2012, 142–143).

Luděk Vacín demonstrated that Šulgi built his claims for divinity based on the ideology introduced already by his father, Ur-Namma. According to Vacín, Ur-Namma, in addition to claims for the image of the ideal king expressed through the topoi of *legitimation* and *kingship* (Vacín 2011b, 178–187), claimed 1) family ties with Ninsumun and Gilgameš; 2) a unique role as the provisioner of Nippur, and 3) approval by Nanna, the first-born son of Enlil (ibid., 194–195). However, Vacín wrote, “there can be little doubt that the king's person became divine after deification because if not, why the divine determinative before Šulgi's name?” (ibid., 201). By analogy, it is natural to assume that any king using direct divinity markers in his synchronous texts was personally deified. As already mentioned, Vacín's comments on the á mah “great strength” and its connection with Šulgi's deification are especially important (ibid., 148–149).

Vacín followed Michalowski in his assertion that the deification of Šulgi created a great religious problem because it destroyed Šulgi's status as the mediator between divine and mundane worlds (ibid., 200). Vacín wrote, “Šulgi's deification entailed a split of nature” (ibid., 201). At the same time, Vacín described the ability to transmit divine blessing to the whole of Sumer as the main ideological novelty of Šulgi's deification. He wrote, “such an alteration of the concept of kingship made Šulgi the only person in Babylonia capable of channelling the blessings to the whole land as opposed to the many city-rulers transmitting them to the populace of their city-states before” (ibid., 189). Therefore, it seems like explicit deification was not a real obstacle in mediating between the divine and human realms. This dissertation will try to avoid strict binary opposition between the categories of divine and human following Selz's notions (Selz 2012, 25).

This dissertation applies statistical approach to the analysis of data. Tracking the dynamics in the use of different markers of divinity might contribute to the discussion of Šulgi's deification. This study will provide the most extensive inventory of divinity markers in royal inscriptions and hymns, which can correct previous errors. For example, Vacín stated that “the only attestations of explicit statements concerning Šulgi's divinity outside the hymns are inscriptions on a cylinder seal (RIME 3/2 1.2.2038) and a steatite plate (RIME 3/2 1.2.2046) dedicated for the king's life. Šulgi is called the ‘god of his Land’ in them” (ibid., 148, n. 436). This statement is incorrect as Vacín did not mention at least three more texts RIME 3/2 1.2.33 (line 2), RIME 3/2 1.2.58 (line 4), and RIME 3/2 1.2.83 (line 2).

Alessandro Di Ludovico proposed a symbolic meaning of *death* behind the deification of Šulgi. Therefore, Di Ludovico rigidly regarded the divine and mundane qualities as incompatible. The king aimed to become a symbol of the newly unified kingdom and its everlasting political power. However, Šulgi was a mortal being, but became an ideological pillar of his state, its society and state hierarchy. According to Di Ludovico, a deified king completely lost his previous identity as a mortal human (Di Ludovico 2014, 488). This approach of Di Ludovico, however, disregards the importance of Gilgameš and his double nature as simultaneously divine and human for the royal ideology of Ur III kings.

Audrey Pitts (2015) addressed the question of the explicit royal deification in the Ur III period and its perception by the general public. She based her study on the analysis of administrative documents together with some other types of inscriptions. Pitts demonstrated that just as in the case of other deities, cult statues of deified kings were at the center of the cult in the lifetime of the respective kings (Pitts 2015, 283). The treatment of the deified kings' statues was equal to that of the statues of other gods. Pitts claimed that statues of deified kings in the temples of other deities were not votive objects but actual cultic statues which required offerings, clothing, and entertainment (ibid., 283–285). Pitts concluded that “when Šulgi decided to deify himself, he determined it most efficacious to utilize the existing template, which had the benefit of familiarity and could be ‘read’ without any ambiguity by even the illiterate: a statue serviced by cultic personnel and receiving offerings in a temple could represent only a god” (ibid., 288). Pitts also demonstrated that the royal name was adopted in the onomasticon not of the upper layers of society, but by all kinds of people “from cultic personnel to craftsmen to kitchen workers to herdsmen to weavers” and even foreigners. She regards it as proof that the deified king was accepted as a genuine god (ibid., 289). This study does not analyze data from administrative texts; therefore, the conclusions of Audrey Pitts might be interesting material for comparison with the results of the analysis presented in this dissertation.

I.9. Šulgi's ascension to heaven

One administrative text³⁸ refers to u₄ d^šul-gi an-na ba-a-èd-da-a, “the day when Šulgi ascended to heaven.” This phrase could be just a euphemism to inform about the king's death (Yoshikawa 1987, 320), or it could transmit a belief that Šulgi joined other gods in heaven after his death (Wilcke 1988, 252–254).

Piotr Steinkeller noticed that Išbi-Erra also ascended to heaven and turned into a star, according to another administrative document.³⁹ Steinkeller proposed that

³⁸ The text is from the Birmingham Museum collection (BCT 1, 132). See “CDLI, P105234,” obv., line 5.

³⁹ The text is from the Nies Babylonian Collection (BIN 10, 190). See “CDLI, P236734,” obv., line 12.

all kings of the Ur III dynasty after Šulgi, as well as all explicitly deified kings of Isin, were believed to ascend to heaven after their death (Steinkeller 1992, 3). Later, Steinkeller proposed that Egyptian religious practices might have influenced the Mesopotamian idea of a king going to the sky after his death; the soul of a deceased divine king continued to exist simultaneously as a dead spirit and star (Steinkeller 2013b, 470, 475). According to Steinkeller, the ascension can relate to the cult of Inanna and the transition of Venus through the sky. Inanna, who managed to resurrect from the Netherworld according to literary tradition, helped the spirit of the deceased king to ascend to heaven by her heavenly boat, *má-an-na* (Steinkeller 2013b, 470–474).

Luděk Vacín did not know about the evidence for Išbi-Erra's ascension to heaven while writing his dissertation and discussed the case of Šulgi as unique. According to Vacín, “accession [ascension] of the god-king to heaven could have been meant to show that although mortal, he was nevertheless indeed a special being because he joined the ranks of heaven, thus avoiding the unhappy fate of others in the netherworld” (Vacín 2011b, 176). Therefore, Vacín did not assume any special ritual importance behind this mention. Still, as Selz demonstrated, references to offerings accompany both mentions of Šulgi's and Išbi-Erra's ascension, which hints at some ritual connected with the ascension (Selz 2014b, 60).

Gebhard Selz established a connection between the sky, the phrase *dub-mul-an-kug*₁₁ (elliptically *mul-an*), “heavenly writing,” and the “divine powers” (Selz 2014b, 56, 65). Selz proposed that stars in the sky represented *me* inscribed on the heavenly tablet. Accordingly, “‘becoming a star’ might designate the process of inscribing a king's name into the (eternal) Heavenly Tablet” (ibid., 53). The divine powers *me* represent “the cosmological constituents of the world order”; therefore, deified kings “became part of the divine cosmic world order” after death (ibid., 59, 65). In other words, a deified king transforms into the divine power *me* after death and, thus, deserves his own praise and internal fame both separately from the cult of divine *nam-lugal*, “kingship,” and the cult of deceased ancestors. Otherwise, a deified king should somehow merge with the divine *nam-lugal* essence after death. Additional explanations of the divine powers *me* may be required to better understand this hypothesis.

I.10. Discussion of later periods

The explicit deification of kings was a significant element of royal ideology in Isin. But only a few kings of Larsa and Babylon used the determinative DINGIR in front of their names; none did it regularly. There is no clear answer whether an actual belief or ritual practices supported the explicit deification of the Old Babylonian kings.

Dominique Charpin, for example, wrote about the deification of Old Babylonian kings, “Il ne s'agit que d'une survivance du troisieme millenaire, limitee a l'ancien pays de Sumer et aux regions qui lui furent soumises” (Charpin 2004,

238). Carlo Zaccagnini argued that royal epithets that suggest divinity, such as 𒂍𒀭𒂍𒀭's *il šarrī* "god of the kings," could only be metaphors of superiority, but not a particular religious statement (Zaccagnini 1994, 269–270). Still, it seems complicated to discuss, for example, the whole Isin dynasty as a coherent unity. I will discuss each ruler individually and try to demonstrate how different was royal ideology in Isin, Larsa, and Babylon based on the analysis of divinity markers and other topoi.

Most researchers agree that even after the Old Babylonian period, kings had features that related them to deities, even though they rarely claimed explicit deification. However, researchers paid attention to different aspects of royal ideology. Some stressed the importance of royal images *šalam šarri*, which received offerings as statues of divine beings in the first millennium BC (CAD S, 81–82). Others stressed control of Neo-Assyrian rulers over secret knowledge of rulership (*Herrschaftswissen*) granted by gods as a significant element in their royal ideology. Behind these features stands a more general understanding of the royal office (kingship) as a sacred entity that shares sacred qualities with the office holder.

Beate Pongratz-Leisten argued that the sacredness of kings in the Neo-Assyrian period was based on their control of *Herrschaftswissen*, secret knowledge connected with ruler's responsibilities (Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 319). This belief was manifested in the *Enmeduranki* text, which Lambert dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar I of the second Isin dynasty (W. Lambert 1967, 126–127). According to the text, the antediluvian king Enmeduranki of Sippar was taught oil and liver divination along with some other essential rites by gods Šamaš and Adad. He transmitted this knowledge to the people in Nippur, Babylon, and Sippar. Knowing these divination practices and rites became the basis of Enmeduranki's legitimacy as the king. A king, as an heir of Enmeduranki, had to control the activity of a small group of scholars, *ummânū*, who shared the secret knowledge with the king. These *ummânū* should report any change in the texts branded as secret knowledge to the king. According to Pongratz-Leisten, access to this secret knowledge (especially divination practices) served for social differentiation, social status labeling, and royal authority legitimation. Pongratz-Leisten wrote "*Herrschaftswissen bildet damit ein organizationsspezifisches Element des Herrschaftssystems in Mesopotamien und trägt in seiner speziellen Form der Kommunikation mit den Göttern zur Sakralisierung und Immunsierung des Königtums bei*" (ibid., 291, 319). One can understand control over *Herrschaftswissen* as a form of control over ME, "divine powers." Pongratz-Leisten did not discuss *sacred kingship* as some independent divine essence; therefore, one can understand that for her, the sacredness of kings in the Neo-Assyrian period primarily resulted from the control and monopolization of divination practices.

Following Pongratz-Leisten's discussion, one should agree that not only the king but also scholars *ummânū* were regarded sacred in the Neo-Assyrian period. Amar Annus gives another example of ascribing sacredness to people other than kings in the Neo-Assyrian period. Annus demonstrated that priests performing

Marduk-Ea incantations assume “a double identity of human and deity during the healing ritual” (Annus 2022, 20). The same might be true for the Old Babylonian period as demonstrated by Andreas Johandi (2019, 212). In other words, sacredness of kings, even if connected with divine kingship, was not unique.

Steven Holloway discussed royal images *šalam šarri*. He described them as objects with two purposes: 1) to represent the king as the praying servant before the great gods, and 2) to receive sacrifices and worship of the king’s subjects. According to Holloway, such images were an essential tool of political propaganda in foreign lands. Assyrian kings often placed their divine images in subjugated territories and thus warned local inhabitants about the dangers of anti-Assyrian actions (Holloway 2002, 178–193). Still, Holloway warned that “we exceed our evidence grievously by extrapolating that every royal image installed in a city gate or thoroughfare or palace was designated to receive sacrificial honors” (ibid., 193). On this basis of scarce evidence, he rejected Albert Olmstead’s view, who thought that “the whole organization [of the Neo-Assyrian empire] centered around the worship of Ashur, the deified state, and of the reigning king, prototype of the later cult of Rome and Augustus” (Olmstead 1918, 758).

According to Peter Machinist (2011), Tukulti-Ninurta I influenced later Assyrian and Babylonian royal ideology by introducing (or refreshing) elements connecting a king with the divine realm. Machinist mentioned 1) birth and nutrition by gods, 2) references to divine radiance *melammu*, 3) understanding of a king as a *šillu*, “image,” of gods and “protection” of humanity, 4) usage of *šalam šarri* as deified cultic objects (Machinist 2011, 413–424). Machinist does not agree that these features are “empty, rhetorical, dead clichés” because the long history of usage of these clichés can, contrary, confirm the great importance of these topoi for royal legitimization. In this regard, the current study can offer statistical data on the frequency (which indirectly reflects “importance”) of the topoi in royal inscriptions; hopefully, it can help one or another mentioned view mentioned. Machinist seems to support the sacredness of Neo-Assyrian kings that bordered with deification.

Irene Winter regarded that visual representation of royal sacredness in Neo-Assyrian art correlate more with the sacred aspect of kingship (as an office), rather than individual divinity of rulers. Particularly interesting are Winter’s notions of the Nigerian and Japanese examples of renouncing divinity by the king. Winter argued that both appearance and abandonment of the explicit deification practice should be understood through the prism of changing social and religious environment. In particular, she noted that the divine kingship may not satisfy cultural requirements in the “religious systems that do not brook multiple authority and/or political systems that no longer allow for absolute power organized over complexly organized sub-systems” (Winter 2012, 87).

Mario Liverani argued that renunciation of divinity was a conscious religious reform of Ḫammu-rāpi; it led the practice of explicit royal deification to disappear. Liverani wrote, “the king now left the divine sphere to return to the human sphere as a benevolent and just shepherd.” He proposed that legitimization through genealogical connections with ancestors replaced legitimization through

explicit connection with the divine realm. As evident from Liverani's explanation, this change reflects the Amorite worldview and the importance of kin relationships within Amorite society (Liverani 2014, 250). Therefore, one can conclude that the later sacredness of kings in the Neo-Assyrian period could be essentially different compared with the sacredness of kings in the third or early second millennium BC.

Most researchers agree that kings in the periods following the Old Babylonian did not claim divinity explicitly in any regular way. Therefore, this dissertation does not provide a detailed historical overview or static-relative analysis of the text from these periods. On the other hand, those kings had a certain sacred status. The relation of this status to the explicit deification of rulers in the early periods is obscure. Therefore, I shortly discuss the usage of divinity markers in the royal inscriptions written after the first Babylonian dynasty in the framework of the dynamic-absolute analysis of the texts. It can help to identify whether the idea of the special sacredness of the kings was transmitted through periods with minimal changes or whether occasional kings who explicitly claimed divinity and Neo-Assyrian rulers who seemed to clearly state their sacredness reinvented and filled it with new meanings.

PART II.

Historical overview of royal inscriptions and hymns

II. 1. Introduction to the historical analysis

This chapter does not deal with a detailed overview of the region's political history in the third and second millennia BC. Such a detailed overview is unnecessary because many political histories have already been written.⁴⁰ The main task here is to observe changes in the royal ideology (as seen in royal inscriptions and hymns) in connection with general trends of political history. Therefore, the historical overview starts with the Early Dynastic period because the earlier periods provide no relevant textual data for discussing the topics of royal sacredness and the deification of kings.

II. 2. Early Dynastic period⁴¹

II. 2.1. Early Dynastic I and II periods

Several early *kudurru*-type objects combine images and texts and can be tentatively dated to the ED I-II periods. The most famous are the stone *Figure aux Plumes* tablet from Ġirsu,⁴² the *Blau monument* (presumably from Urum),⁴³ and the *Ušumgal stele* (presumably from Umma).⁴⁴ These three objects have visual representations of figures that cannot be confidently defined. Those figures might represent local communities' leaders (human) or deities. Recently, Claudia Suter convincingly argued for the identification of all these figures as human rulers (Suter 2014, 561–564). She even proposed that “we would have in the *Figure aux Plumes* the first attestation of the well-known ideology that the Mesopotamian king is a representative of his state's divine patron” (ibid., 562–563). As regards

⁴⁰ See the general description in English in the first three volumes of Cambridge Ancient History or similar multi-volume works in other languages. Regarding the Early History of Mesopotamia, see Jacobsen 1957, Hallo and Simpson 1971, Westenholz and Sallaberger 1999, and many others.

⁴¹ The term “Early Dynastic period” with its division into three stages was accepted in the 1930s based on archeological data from the Diyala region (Evans 2007, 599). However, there is still no consensus on the chronology. We can roughly designate Early Dynastic I as a time between 3000–2750 BC, Early Dynastic II – between 2750–2600 BC. Early Dynastic III is a period from 2600 till 2350 BC with two stages: Early Dynastic IIIa (2600–2500 BC) and Early Dynastic IIIb (2600–2500 BC). See a short overview in Frayne 2008, 3–5.

⁴² The text is from the Louvre Museum collection (OIP 104, 018). See CDLI, P220632.

⁴³ The text is from the British Museum collection (OIP 104, 010). See CDLI, P005995.

⁴⁴ The text is from the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection (OIP 104, 012). See CDLI, P220620.

the feathered headgear, Suter believes it to be the royal crown “that underlined the ruler’s role as provider” (ibid., 562). Still, Suter’s view is not commonly accepted; many scholars see images of divinities in the figures on the early *kudurrus*.⁴⁵ Regarding the feathers in the headgear, Camille Lecompte recently noted that feathers in the figure’s headdress might have a connection with the feathers of Anzu (Lecompte 2020, 435). If Lecompte is correct, the figure in the feathered headgear could be either Ningirsu or his human representative with a remarkable resemblance to the god. Anzu is a symbolic reference to Ningirsu’s mythical history.

Piotr Steinkeller recently published an *archaic “prisoner plaque” from Kiš*,⁴⁶ which enumerates various geographical names, numbers of war prisoners acquired, and plantations where these prisoners were assigned to work. Steinkeller, based on this text, argues for the correctness of his hypothesis that the powerful state of Kiš was a large territorial state with universalistic ambitions that threatened the independence of southern city-states in the pre-Sargonic period (Steinkeller 2013a, 145–151). Still, it did not convince Aage Westenholz, who regards Kiš’s dominance over Southern Mesopotamia in the third millennium BC as unsubstantiated (A. Westenholz 2020, 698). The text does not name the ruler responsible for the bringing of the captives to Kiš; it might appear in the now missing beginning of the text. However, it mentions a certain Mes-nun dumu-lugal, probably as the owner of the plantation to which a group of prisoners was assigned. Steinkeller proposed that the royal prince in question could be identical with the king of Kiš Mes-nun from the Ur III version of the Sumerian King List (Steinkeller 2013a, 139). Still, Lecompte proposed that it is not a title but a personal name (Lecompte 2020, 440).

The name Me-barag-si appears with the title lugal, “king,” on two alabaster vessels (RIME 1.7.22.1 and 2). One inscription has the title lugal [k]iś, “king of Kiš.” Edzard identified him with king Enmebaragesi from the SKL (Edzard 1959, 10). Piotr Michalowski later argued that king Enmebaragesi never existed; the name was a fictional construct created in the Ur III times and used by the Ur kings to claim kinship with Gilgamesh (Michalowski 2003, 205).⁴⁷ Still, the ED period royal inscriptions of Me-barag-si are authentic. Michalowski curiously interpreted the name as išib-barag-e-si, “priest who permeates the throne dais” (ibid., 201). Suppose the interpretation is accurate; the name might allude to the priestly functions of the name-bearer. If so, one can guess whether the priestly title išib or the secular title lugal was of primary importance for Me-barag-si.

A lapis lazuli bead from Ġiśa with a votive inscription for Inanna bears the name Aka, followed by the title lugal, “king” (RIME 1.12.2). Cooper proposed

⁴⁵ For additional biography and overview of the discussion, see Lecompte 2020, 435, n. 65.

⁴⁶ The text is from private collection (RIME 1.15.add037.01). See CDLI, P453401.

⁴⁷ Gianni Marchesi proposed that the initial en was a title and the name Enmebaragesi is just a misinterpretation of the original writing of the name with title (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 98).

that this Aka could be a son of Me-barag-si from Kiš (Cooper 1986, 92).⁴⁸ The *Gilgameš and Aga* epic (ETCSL 1.8.1.1) described a confrontation between Uruk in the south and Kiš, governed by Aka, a hegemonic political center in the north. However, some scholars, for example Marchesi, find this identification ungrounded (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 100, n. 28).

Neither data from images on early kudurrus nor the first royal inscriptions can be useful in the following quantitative analysis for the discussion of the royal ideology. The data they present is too obscure and limited. Still, the discussed objects demonstrate the ambiguity of the earliest pieces of evidence and the possible relation of the divine with the ruler's authority.

II. 2.2. Early Dynastic IIIa period

Fāra and *Abū Šalābīḥ* archives of the Early Dynastic IIIa period (2600–2500 BC) include the first known literary texts: incantations, myths, hymns, and “wisdom” texts. Robert Biggs called this period “*the first great flowering of Sumerian literature and the culmination of the archaic Sumerian tradition of scholarship*” (Biggs 1974, 28).

Literary texts from *Fāra* and *Abū Šalābīḥ* can give some indirect information on the nature of royal power. For example, the text *Lugalbanda and Ninsumun* from *Abū Šalābīḥ*⁴⁹ narrates the story of marriage between a young man Lugal-banda, the future ruler in Uruk, and goddess Ninsumun, who is also called *lamma* “protective spirit.” This text could be the most ancient literary mention of the marriage between a ruler and a goddess. Still, it is not evident if this text intentionally introduces the topos of *sacred marriage* as a functional element in legitimation of the future king, or if the topos of *sacred marriage* had no such importance.

In this respect, the interpretation of the text given by Jan Lisman seems especially interesting. Lisman reinterpreted the final lines of the text differently from Jacobsen. Jacobsen thought that Lugal-banda's deceased mother rose in the form of spirit, and Ninsumun addressed her to win her favor (Jacobsen 1989, 85–86). Lisman convincingly argued that it was the goddess Inanna who appeared in the text. She welcomed Lugal-banda to confirm his marriage with Ninsumun and addressed Inanna as his mother-in-law with the words, “let me be your son.” However, Lisman proposed that the reference to Inanna did not create direct parent-child relations between the goddess and Lugal-banda; the goddess represented the divine community (Lisman 2019, 87). If one agrees with Lisman's reading, then Inanna is not the maiden-goddess but functionally the mother-

⁴⁸ Akka, the son of Enmebaragesi, is a hero of two literary Sumerian texts known from the OB period. See ETCSL, *History of the Tummal*, *Gilgameš and Aga*.

⁴⁹ AbS-T 171. Published by Robert Biggs as text №327, see Biggs 1974, plates 146–147. For transliteration, see CDLI P010263.

goddess who welcomes Lugal-banda into her divine family. In this relation, one can remember Fritz's discussion of Inanna Dumuzi H (ETCSL 4.8.8. Sed. B, lines 2–12), where Inanna's mother Ningal is the primary authority to whom Dumuzi should address the marriage proposal. Fritz proposed that such a situation, when the marriage agreement was the responsibility of the female members of the family (mothers of the bride and groom) and any council with male family members was unnecessary, could reflect some archaic social norms preceding that of the late third millennium BC (Fritz 2003, 310). One can speculate that, in this text, Inanna represents the role of a mother and not some abstract god. Moreover, Inanna has the power to deliberately welcome Lugal-banda into the family of gods without any advice from other deities. Even though these are mere speculations, the text confirms that the idea of a human being introduced into the divine society through marriage with a goddess was in use as early as *Abū Ṣalābīḥ* texts. At the same time, Lugal-banda does not perform Dumuzi's role; his *sacred marriage* is independent of the Dumuzi-Inanna tradition. The role of Ninsumun as *lamma* "protective spirit" is also curious. It is unclear whether the text implies that Lugal-banda acquired divine protection of his *lamma* through marriage or not.

II. 2.2.1. Mesilim

King Mesilim is one of the few early Mesopotamian rulers whose royal inscriptions survived. Alternative reading of his name could be Mē-śalim (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 101). He could be an Elamite from Awan (Fink, Sazonov 2019, 233). Mesilim is mainly famous as a mediator of the Lagaš-Umma border conflict in the later royal inscriptions from Lagaš.⁵⁰

Only three royal inscriptions of Mesilim are known (RIME 1.8.1. 1–3). Mesilim claimed to be *dumu ki-âg^d nin-hur-saĝ*, "the beloved son of Nin-hursag," in the text RIME 1.8.1.3 (lines 3–4). Therefore, the text indicates a claim for divine origin as a part of royal legitimation as early as the early ED IIIa period.

The origin of known inscriptions of Mesilim is limited to Ġirsu and Adab; however, the king holds the title *lugal kiš* "king of Kiš." It led to the hypothesis that Mesilim was an overlord of northern origin and executed his power as far as Lagaš. However, the SKL does not mention Mesilim. Therefore, there is a disagreement among researchers about whether he resided in Kiš or not⁵¹. In connection with the claim for divine origin, it seems interesting whether the king was a hegemon or a local ruler. Could it be that claims for divine origin first appeared as a part of the universalistic ambitions? Or could it relate to the alleged Elamite origin of the king proposed by Sazonov and Fink (Fink, Sazonov 2019, 233)? The evidence is currently insufficient for the final conclusion.

⁵⁰ See texts RIM1.9.3.2 (col.i, line 6; col.iv, 16), 3 (col.ii', 6), RIME 1.9.5.1 (col.i, 8; col.iii, 7), in Frayne 2008, 141–143, 195–196.

⁵¹ For the arguments supporting this thesis, see Maeda 1981, 9; for the arguments against, see Archi 1981, 227–230.

II. 2.2.2 Rulers of the Ur I Dynasty: Royal Cemetery in Ur

Archeological evidence from Ur is unusual. Leonard Woolley discovered 16 tombs standing out from the mass of approximately 2000 ordinary graves found in the *Royal Cemetery of Ur*. Seals with royal titles from the tombs supported his suggestion that those were royal tombs (Woolley 1934, 34–38). Their precise dating as of the ED IIIa or ED IIIb period is a point of disagreement among specialists until today (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 61). In each tomb, there are from 4 up to 70 skeletons.

The famous lapis lazuli seal with the inscription *pù-AD nin* “Pû-Abi, queen” (RIME 1.13.3. 3) was also found on the woman’s body in the burial chamber PG 800. It is not impossible that the queen (or princess) Pû-abi was a priestess of Nanna (Diakonoff 1990, 316). However, in his article on Pû-abi in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Piotr Michalowski cited the hypotheses that Pû-Abi was a priestess of Nanna or that she was a spouse of Mes-kalam-dug as deviant from the consensus understanding (Michalowski 2006–08, 106).

Woolley proposed they were attendants of diseased kings or queens and willingly committed suicide. However, this understanding was recently disproved by the computer tomography analyses of some attendants’ skulls performed by Aubrey Baadsgaard, Janet Monge, and Richard L. Zettler. The analysis demonstrated that the attendants did not commit “peaceful” suicide but were sacrificed. Bodies of attendants were probably displayed during lengthy public disposal, as the signs of elaborate body preparation demonstrate. According to the reconstruction, the displayed bodies served as installation of funerary feasting. The cylinder seals, inlays from the sound boxes of lyres, and the well-known Royal Standard of Ur have images of some feast events. Designers of the tombs probably collected those artifacts because of their symbolic importance; therefore, the artifacts probably did not belong to the deceased (Baadsgaard, Monge, Zettler 2012, 144–153). The most evident reason behind the Ur royal tombs phenomenon is the desire to elevate the prestige of the royal power. Marchetti discussed the tombs in the context of the growing influence of the ruling class and its separation from others (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 205–206, 215).

Anne Porter, following research done by the team of Aubrey Baadsgaard, proposed an original explanation of sacrifices and ritual feasting. According to Porter, the primary purpose of the feast and sacrifices was not to demonstrate the power or social status of the ruler but to communicate with the gods. Porter argued that by sacrificing some members, the community (and its ruler) established kin relationships with gods, just as animal sacrifices served to establish and confirm kinship between people (Porter 2013, 195–199). This explanation proposes that kin relations were not a prerogative of a ruler but of the whole community. In other words, rulers did not acquire any special status through such rituals, which would raise them above subjects. However, this hypothesis may contradict the evidence that Mesopotamian rulers in the Early Dynastic period represented gods (Suter 2014, 561–564); a ruler’s monopolization of relations with the divine world was demonstrated by the example of Mesilim’s claims for divine origin.

In connection with the alleged supremacy of Kiš over Southern Mesopotamia, particular status may have applied to Ur. This city was not mentioned in Fāra and Abū Šalābīḥ texts among other southern cities (Jacobsen's *Kengir League*) and could be the only city to avoid the assumed Kishite dominance.⁵² Still, the fact of Kiš dominance over southern states is not proven (A. Westenholz 2020, 698).

II. 2.2.2.1. Ur-Pabilsaĝ

According to Marchesi, Ur-Pabilsaĝ was one of the first rulers in the ED IIIa period Ur (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 101 n. 37).⁵³ The king was not mentioned in the SKL.

One royal inscription on the stone vase from the Ur cemetery attributed to this ruler has survived (RIME 1.13.2. 1, Frayne 2008, 380–382). The text gives no hints about Ur-Pabilsaĝ's divinity. The only title he bears is lugal "king."

II. 2.2.2.2. Mes-KALAM-du

Douglas Frayne argued that the royal dynasty of Ur itself started with Mes-KALAM-du (Frayne 2008, 387–388). Alternative reading of the name could be Mes-ùĝ-dùĝ; Marchesi proposed the meaning behind the name was "*the mes is pleasing to the people*," where mes should refer to Nanna and should represent the "*idea of manliness and strength*" (Marchesi 2004, 190–193). The king was not mentioned in the SKL.

Frayne attributed two surviving royal inscriptions to this king (RIME 1.13.3. 1–2, Frayne 2008, 385–387). Additionally, one more text was ascribed to an alleged later king of Ur with the same name (RIME 1.13.7. 1, Frayne 2008, 401–402). Neither of these texts has any mentions of the king's divinity. The title lugal "king" is the only one appearing in the texts. Edzard noticed that the title lugal kiš^{K1}, "king of Kiš," in one inscription (RIME 1.13.5. 1) of his son, Mes-ane-pada, also relates to Mes-KALAM-du (Edzard 1993–97, 82).

II. 2.2.2.3. A-KALAM-du

A-KALAM-du was probably a son of Mes-KALAM-du. An alternative reading of his name is Áya-ùĝ-dùĝ (Marchesi 2004, 180). He was not mentioned in the SKL.

One seal of his wife mentioning the name A-KALAM-du and his title lugal uri₅ "king of Ur" is surviving (RIME 1.13.4. 1). The seal has no hints for the king's divinity.

⁵² The name of Nanna temple in Ur, é-kišī-nu-ĝál (House where Kiš is not present), suggests it (George 1993, 114).

⁵³ However, Frayne proposed later dates (Frayne 2008, 381).

II. 2.2.2.4. Mes-Ane-pada

Mes-Ane-pada was a son of Mes-KALAM-du. The SKL praises him as the first king in Ur (ETCSL 2.1.1, lines 134–136). According to the list, he ruled for eighty years.

The king's two royal inscriptions are known (RIME 1.13.5. 1–2). The texts do not have any references to the king's divinity. However, Mes-Ane-pada holds the title *dam nu-gig*, “spouse of the *nugig*-priestess.” Annette Zgoll demonstrated that *nu-gig* is an appellative of the goddess Inanna (Zgoll 1997, 194). Reference to *nu-gig* should designate a deity because there are no examples of a king mentioning his human spouse among his royal titles. Gianni Marchesi proposed that the title may hint at the position of the king as *en*-priest of Inanna in Uruk. This idea is supported by the title *lugal kiš^{KI}*, “king of Kiš,” which can relate to the control over Uruk (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 124–125, n. 252).

II. 2.2.2.5. A-Ane-pada

An alternative reading of the name is *Áya-an-né-pàd-da* (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 123). The SKL does not mention the king A-Ane-pada. However, six royal inscriptions, the highest number for the Ur I dynasty kings, confirm his existence (RIME 1.13.6. 1–6). The king referred to himself as the son of Mes-Ane-pada.

Royal inscriptions of A-Ane-Pada have no mentions of the king's divinity, divine origin, or any allusions to the sacred marriage type connection with goddess Inanna.

II. 2.2.2.6. Mes-kiaĝ-nun

According to the SKL, Mes-kiaĝ-nun was a son of Mes-Ane-pada and ruled for 30 years (ETCSL 2.1.1, lines 137–140). Gianni Marchesi reads the name Meskiaĝnun as Mesnune'kiaĝ and argued that the king ruled as early as the ED IIIa period (Marchesi 2004, 168 n. 97).

Only one royal inscription attributed to Mes-kiaĝ-nun has survived (RIME 1.13.8. 1). No references to divinity can be found there. The only royal title he has is *lugal* “king.”

II. 2.2.2.7. Elili

Before the kingship left to Awan, as the SKL narrates, there were two more kings in Ur: Elulu and Balulu. Nothing is known about the latter. The former, Elulu, was equated with the king Elili, who has left one royal inscription (RIME 1.13.9. 1). The text has no mentions of the king's divinity; the only royal title is *lugal uriš^{KI}*, “king of Ur.”

II. 2.3. Early Dynastic IIIb period

The number of royal inscriptions from the ED IIIb period is significantly higher than previous ones. Accordingly, markers of the rulers' sacredness are also more numerous.

Presumably, city-states of Southern Mesopotamia were politically equal. They numbered about 30 independent cities (Postgate 1992, 34–35). However, the discussion of this period will inevitably be anchored to the numerous written sources surviving from Lagaš. Material from other places is more modest. One should remember that they do not necessarily represent the royal ideology of all city-states in the region.

Trying to understand the concurrent political dynamics of the ED IIIb period, Cooper proposed the division of powers into three groups: black-headed (Akkadian and Sumerian speakers from the major cities), citizens of Lagaš, and Amorites (Cooper 1999, 64). Indeed, the later Sumerian poem *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Nether World* (ETCSL 1.8.1.4, lines 20–28) distinguished the citizens of Sumer and Akkad (black-headed) from the citizens of Ĝirsu (state of Lagaš), and the people of Martu (Amorites). According to Cooper, Lagaš accumulated significant power and exercised authority over the east of Mesopotamia in the ED IIIb period. Southwestern cities of Ur and Uruk formed a union with the northern city of Umma to oppose Lagaš ambitions, and it naturally resulted in the final isolation of Lagaš (Cooper 1983, 9), reflected in its omission in the SKL. This opposition of Lagaš to the *black-headed* people is also interesting because it contradicts the data from Fāra and Abū Šalābīḥ texts, where Lagaš is affiliated with other Sumerian cities. The essential antagonism between Lagaš and other city-states is probably an invention of the later Ur III or Old Babylonian traditions but not the reality of the ED period.

Selz saw the Lagaš-Umma border conflict as a conflict between Mesopotamian north and south (Selz 2002, 119–121). A reflection of the same paradigmatic conflict could be the mentions of Mari, Awan, and Hamazi⁵⁴ in the Sumerian King List. Their appearance in the SKL may reflect some foreign control over the Southern Sumerian cities (Postgate 1992, 28).

The ED IIIb period and especially its late phase, the Proto-Imperial period, witnessed a growing elaboration of the kings' images in art. Pictorial art was a useful tool of propaganda and, by the end of the period, was regulated by kings (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 205–206, 217). In this connection, the images of naked divine heroes, often called *laḫmu* that are also depicted on royal seals, are especially interesting. Marchetti proposed that this type of image could be a metaphoric sign of the semi-divine qualities of rulers (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 207).

⁵⁴ The city of Mari located at the Middle Euphrates (modern Tell Ḥarīrī); the precise location of Awan and Hamazi is unknown. The former probably situated not far from Susa, the latter somewhere in the Zagros Mountains between Diyala River and the Upper Zab (Frayne 2008, 37–47, 293)

II. 2.3.1. Lagaš

Most surviving royal inscriptions from the ED IIIb period came from Lagaš. They are the best evidence for the royal ideology of the time. However, political development was not necessarily synchronous. The reality could be that in the time of transition to a hereditary royal system in one city-state, the political power in another city remained in the hands of temple officials.

During the ED IIIa period, Lagaš could have been under the authority of Kiš or some other regional power, as was demonstrated by the surviving inscription of Mesilim. There is no information on its rulers of that time, with the only exception being énsi, “ruler,” Lugal-ša-ENGUR,⁵⁵ mentioned by Mesilim (RIME 1.8.1. 1, lines 7–9).

II. 2.3.1.1. Ur-Nanše

Ur-Nanše (about 2520 BC) was the first ruler of Lagaš in the ED IIIb period and the earliest known ruler of the city with the title lugal “king.” Originally, he was from the city of Niĝin (Selz 1995, 298). Ur-Nanše started a new dynasty and united three major cities of the region (Ĝirsu, Lagaš, and Niĝin) into the great Lagaš kingdom.⁵⁶ He employed a new cultic and religious method of legitimation to approve the unification. Significant was the role of Nanše, the titular deity of Niĝin, as the source of the kingship. It is also evident from the king’s name, which means “a servant (otherwise a dog) of Nanše.” Extensive temple-building activity around his kingdom was another essential feature of this king’s rule. Selz noted that a statue of Ur-Nanše, together with statues of various deities, received offerings during a religious procession from Ĝirsu to Niĝin in the month of Nanše. However, Ur-Nanše did not receive funerary offerings together with other deceased nobles of his city (Selz 2014–16a, 432–433). It indicates that after his death, the king (or his *gi di m*) was praised on a different level from other humans, and this praise was not just a part of ancestor worship. Ambitions of Ur-Nanše and his descendants can partly explain the isolation of Lagaš by other Mesopotamian cities, known from later sources. Ur-Nanše had a military confrontation with Ur and Umma (Frayne 2008, 69–93).

Thirty-five royal inscriptions of Ur-Nanše are analyzed. Royal inscriptions of Ur-Nanše differ from those of his descendants by the primary usage of the royal title lugal “king.” Gebhard Selz noted that this fact *may display a literary shift away from deity- to human-centered inscriptions and, therefore, also a change from the divine to a worldly audience* (Selz, personal communication, 2022). Often references to the father of Ur-Nanše, Gunidu from Gursar, are also unusual

⁵⁵ For an alternative reading of the name Lugalšagdagal, see Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 122, n. 220.

⁵⁶ Ĝirsu is modern Tello; its protective deities were Ningirsu and Bau. Lagaš is modern Al-Hibā; its protective deities were Ĝatumdug and Inanna. Niĝin or modern Zūrghūl was under the divine protection of Nanše and Nin-DAR.

because they do not provide any legitimation of the royal status; Gunidu has no royal titles.

Nanše seems the central deity for the support of the king's legitimation; texts name the king *lú inim-sig*₁₀ *ḏnanše* “a man actualizing Nanše's desires” or “a man of Nanše's desire” (RIME 1.9.1. 9, col. v, lines 5–6). Ur-Nanše did never refer to Enlil; other deities are mentioned mainly in the context of temple construction or consecrating statues. Also, the personal god of Ur-Nanše and his successors, Šul-utul, helps the king in constructing Ningirsu's temple (RIME 1.9.1. 32, col. iv, lines 1–4).

One text (RIME 1.9.1.17, col. iii, lines 3–6) narrates that Ur-Nanše chose for goddess Nanše a husband through an oracle; this reference has no clear explanation until now. It means that a certain Ur-Nimin was chosen for a *sacred marriage* type rite. If the position of Nanše's spouse was similar to the position of Inanna's spouse in later Ur III and Isin periods, then such rites presumably granted divine favor and political authority. But, then, it is strange that the king did not perform this role by himself. It could be that Ur-Nanše could not legally grant himself this title (the title was granted only by means of the oracle), or he intentionally avoided it (he tried to decrease the importance of sacred marriages in the royal legitimation). Otherwise, the title had no legitimation power.

Recently, Gebhard Selz proposed an original hypothetical solution according to which Ur-nimin may relate to Ur-Nanše. There is an equation *niĝin*₆ = *ni-mi-en* (rev. col. i, line 8) in the *Ur III period fragment of OB Nippur Ea list*.⁵⁷ The name of Ur-Nanše is written UR.AN.NIGIN₆; therefore, the name Ur-Nimin or UR.40 (= NIMIN) can be a scribal pun (for whatever reason) on UR.AN.NIGIN₆ but without the divine classifier and read *ur-niĝin* (Selz, personal communication, 2022). If Selz is correct, Ur-Nanše could claim the priestly office of Nanše's spouse. While it is unclear why the king's name would be hinted at in such a complicated way in the royal inscription, there are other examples when royalties were mentioned indirectly, like, for example, designation of Baranam-tara as *pa₄-pa₄* appearing in the list of offerings to Nanše (Selz 1995, 272).

II. 2.3.1.2. A-Kurgal

An alternative reading of the name *Áya-kur-gal* (Marchesi 2004, 194, n. 235). A-kurgal ruled for a short period. It was probably due to a confrontation with Umma. The king's name can relate to the idea of divine origin or indicate a protective deity of the ruler. One of its possible interpretations is “father is a Great Mountain” (di Vito 1993, 85).⁵⁸ Accordingly, the name might indicate some relationship between the king and the god Enlil. Be it divine origin or protection,

⁵⁷ The text is from the University of Pennsylvania Collection (PBS 12, 55); see CDLI P227671.

⁵⁸ However, this interpretation is not commonly accepted. For example, Selz states that this reading does not agree with the norms of Sumerian Onomasticon (Selz 2010, 188, n. 5).

connection with Enlil seems unusual because his father Ur-Nanše almost never mentioned Enlil in his royal inscriptions.

A-kurgal has left only three royal inscriptions. They have no hints of the king's sacred status. As Walter Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp noticed, A-kurgal was called lugal "king" in E-anatum's *Stele of Vultures* but never used the title in his own royal inscriptions (Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 68).

II. 2.3.1.3. E-anatum

The grandson of Ur-Nanše, E-anatum (about 2450–2425 BC), innovated the genre of royal inscriptions; he introduced lengthy historical reasoning for his actions in his texts. The most famous royal inscription of the king, *the Stele of the Vultures* (RIME 1.9.3. 1), declares (col. iv 20–23) that the name E-anatum is a short form from é-an-na ^dinanna ṛib-gal¹-ka-ka a-túm "into the E-anna of the goddess Inanna of the Great Oval, I [Inanna] brought him." E-anatum was victorious in a confrontation with Umma (ruled by a certain Enakale) over the field Gu'edena; he explained his military activities exclusively as a restoration of the just order once established by legendary Mesilim. However, some researchers suspect that E-anatum occupied a portion of traditionally Umma's territories (Cooper 1983, 28). E-anatum also defeated the northern territories of Kiš, Akšak, Mari, Elam, and Subartu. In the South, he fought against Ur and Uruk, and at some point, probably dominated over a big part of Southern Mesopotamia. This allowed him to adopt the title *king of Kiš* (Frayne 2008, 125).

In addition to the royal name E-anatum, the king might have an additional name LUM-ma. This suggestion is due to the inscription found on two boundary stones (RIME 1.9.3.5, Frayne 2008, 146–149) that say (col. v, lines 11–14): é-an-na-túm mu ú-rum-m[a]-ni mu GÌR.GÌR-ni L[U]M-ma-a "his personal name is E-anatum and his battle/tidnum name is LUM-ma." The meaning of mu GÌR.GÌR-ni is uncertain. One of the first proposed interpretations equated GÌR.GÌR with *tidnum* (Poebel 1914, 166, n. 2). *Tidnum* or *Ditānum* was a name of an Amorite tribe later known as *Suteans*. The Akkadian word *ditānum* also designates aurochs. Amar Annus demonstrated that the mythologem of *ditānum* as bison-men might have influenced later idea of Titans, divine beings in Greek mythology (Annus 1999, 19–20). Jacobsen understood LUM-ma as a *battle-name*; he based his interpretation on the equation between GÌR.GÌR and *ḫummušu*, "wrestler," in the lexical list Nabnītu H.⁵⁹ As the name LUM-ma also appeared in several god lists, Jacobsen guessed that E-anatum might have been deified under the name LUM-ma (Jacobsen 1939, 98–99, n. 168). Selz proposed that the name LUM-ma can have two dimensions as a title of the god Ningirsu, and as a name representing the ruler as a "funktionsgebundenen Göttlichkeit

⁵⁹ Jacobsen understood *ḫummušu* as *to bruise* (Jacobsen 1957, 131–132 n. 90). For *ḫummušu* as *wrestler*, see CAD H, 235. For the equation GÌR.GÌR – *ḫummušu*, see DCCLT, CT 19, pl. 30, K 04580 + pl. 42, K 14079 (CDLI P365410), rev. col. ii', line 6'. For an additional discussion, see Marchesi 2006, 8, n. 20.

(functional divinity)” (Selz 2014a, 215). On the other hand, Frayne argued that the hypothesis of E-anatum’s deification is groundless, as far as the name LUM-ma appeared already in the god-list from Fāra, which precedes the reign of E-anatum (Frayne 2008, 125). Gianni Marchesi claimed that the whole idea of E-annatum’s two names is misleading and should be reconsidered (Marchesi 2006, 125).

E-anatum has left eighteen royal inscriptions. There are no titles directly praising him as a deity, however, some topoi clearly demonstrate his sacred status. *The Stele of the Vultures* (RIME 1.9.3.1, Frayne 2008, 128–140) explains E-anatum’s birth as follows:

1. God Ninĝirsu is angered with the actions of Umma’s leader who violates Ninĝirsu’s property (col. iii, line 23 – col. iv, line 3).
2. Ninĝirsu complains to Enlil (col. iv, lines 4–8).
3. Ninĝirsu implements E-anatum’s semen in a womb (col. iv, lines 9–12).
[some steps are lost due to the text’s damage]
4. Inanna grant E-anatum his name. The name assumes that E-anatum was allowed to enter the goddess’s shrine in Lagaš (col. iv, lines 18–23). As far as the introduction to the shrine follows the king’s conception and the king’s nourishment, it can hint at E-anatum’s birth within Inanna’s temple. In other words, E-anatum could be a child of a *sacred marriage* type ritual. However, Inanna is never mentioned as the king’s mother later.
5. Inanna puts E-anatum on the knee of Ninhursag (col. iv, lines 24–26). In connection with the previous and the next steps, this action of Inanna reminds giving of a child to the foster mother.
6. Ninhursag nourishes E-anatum with her milk (col. iv, lines 27–29). Interestingly, later E-anatum refers to Ninhursag as ama-ĝu₁₀ “my mother” in the same text (col. xviii, lines 8–9).
7. Ninĝirsu is happy with E-anatum and grants him the kingship over Lagaš (col. v, lines 13–17).

After receiving the royal insignia, E-anatum accomplishes Ninĝirsu’s desire to punish Ĝiša.

8. E-anatum proclaims Umma the enemy (col. v, line 32– col. vi, line 7).
9. The text provides an epic description of the battle; it includes a reference to E-anatum’s battle wound (col. ix, lines 2–5).
10. E-anatum’s victory is confirmed (col. xi, lines 12–15).

This scheme demonstrates that Ninhursag predestines the royal status of E-anatum. The main mission of E-anatum as a ruler is to defeat the enemy that angered his

god. E-anatum's claims for divine origin are functional; they stress the concentration of power in the king's hands and his ability to fight.

Describing E-anatum's relations with gods, one can conclude that Ningirsu engendered the king, Ninhursag nourished him; the king called Ninhursag his mother. Ningirsu granted to E-anatum *nam-lugal* "kingship" over Lagaš (RIME 1.9.3.1, col. v, lines 13–17) and the scepter (RIME 1.9.3.10, col. iii, lines 6–8). Inanna participated in the king's creation; she introduced him into her shrine, named him, and put on the knee of Ninhursag. The king referred to other deities and their respective cities to support his status as a legitimate ruler,⁶⁰ but the only two deities that grant him real authority were Ningirsu and Inanna.

One passage from *the Stele of the Vultures* is of particular interest. A list of E-anatum's epithets, establishing his relations with different gods, reads *guli ki-âg* ^dLugal-URUxKÁR *dam ki-âg* ^dInanna-ka-ke₄ (rev. col. vi, lines 6–9). Both epithets might relate to E-anatum "beloved friend of Lugal-URUxKÁR, beloved spouse of Inanna." Otherwise, the first epithet relates to E-anatum while the second epithet to Lugal-URUxKÁR "beloved friend of Lugal-URUxKÁR, who is a beloved spouse of Inanna." The name Lugal-URUxKÁR has an alternative reading Lugal-URUxGANA₂ *-tenû*; he was a Dumuzi-like figure. Selz described him as a spouse of Inanna (Selz 1995, 168). Another argument against the former understanding of the line is that no other ruler from ED Lagaš ever claimed marital status with Inanna. However, in the framework of this research, the former interpretation is not completely abandoned. The text could be deliberately opaque in describing E-anatum and Lugal-URUxKÁR. It follows Michael Fritz's understanding of the *sacred marriage* as a rite of acknowledging the new king in the eyes of his royal ancestors. Lugal-URUxKÁR is a local variant of Ama-ušum-gal (Dumuzi) and represents E-anatum's royal ancestors (Fritz 2003, 328). References to the king's ancestors and the epithet *dam ki-âg* ^dInanna-ka-ke₄ together could hint at the king's participation in the *sacred marriage* rite. If this is correct, both epithets would refer to E-anatum. The alleged status of Inanna's spouse may correlate with reference to Inanna's bestowing upon E-anatum *nam-lugal*, "kingship," over *Kiš* together with the *nam-énsi* "rulership" over *Lagaš* because of her love for him (RIME 1.9.3.5, col. v, line 23– col. vi, line 5).

In addition to the royal inscriptions, there is a poetic composition, *an adab to Bau for Luma* (Luma A), surviving only in the OB copy. Willem Römer demonstrated that the composition itself was most probably late (Römer 2001, 30–31., n 33).

There is no agreement on the identity of Lumma. Initially, Samuel Kramer saw in king Lumma a reference to king E-anatum (Kramer 1954, 172); later, interpretations of Lumma as Ningirsu or some later king named Lumma has

⁶⁰ E-anatum also referred to Utu, Šul-MUŠxPA, Ningirsu, Enlil, Enki, Nanše, Dumuzi-abzu, Hendursag and Lugal-URUxKÁR as his benefactors. All these deities related to three main cities of the state Lagaš, and, as Selz demonstrated, each of those three centers of Lagaš state was also related to one of the three major cultic centers of Mesopotamia: Nippur, Uruk, and Eridu (Selz 1995, 294–295).

appeared. Gianni Marchesi analyzed attestation of Lumma in ED texts and argued for the identification of Lumma in *Luma A* with Ningîrsu (Marchesi 2006, 119–120). Marchesi’s view is convincing.

However, if one believes Lumma to stand for E-anatum (Selz 2014a, 212–215), one should remember that the text could be *on purpose* opaque in the representation of the king. The text describes marital relationships between Lumma and Bau; Lumma may simultaneously refer to Ningîrsu and a human king as his representative. If one follows this explanation, the text may hint at the sacredness of the king in his ritual representation of Ningîrsu as a spousal partner of Bau. Otherwise, one will not find much on the question of the king’s possible divinity. Most of the text praises Bau (50% of the whole text). The parts relevant to the king may be sorted only into two categories: *Favorable of DN* (53,8% of relevant part) and *Reverent to DN* (46,2% of relevant part). The hymn lacks any specific characteristics of the king; the only information available is that Bau gave the king a name and made him rejoice. The hymn describes the king’s ability to understand Bau’s words. The only royal title in the text is lugal “king”; which appears in 12 different lines.

II. 2.3.1.4. En-anatum I

En-anatum I was a younger brother of E-anatum. His reign was short but lasted at least for four years. Ur-lumma, a ruler of Umma, broke previously established boundaries and attacked Lagaš. En-anatum probably died on the battlefield, trying to defeat Ur-lumma (Cooper 1983, 29–30).

En-anatum I has left twenty royal inscriptions. His royal ideology had a few essential differences from that of his brother. En-anatum never pretended to be directly engendered by Ningîrsu. One can say that intimacy in the relation of the king and Ningîrsu has changed. Ningîrsu’s importance as a creator of the king decreased; instead, he rose to the supreme master position.⁶¹

However, En-anatum I claimed to be *dumu tu-da* ^dLugal-URUxKAR^{ki}-ka, “son born of Lugal-URUxKAR”.⁶² Lugal-URUxKAR also replaced Ningîrsu as the bestower of *nam-lugal* “kingship” upon E-anatum.⁶³ This notion is interesting because of the connection that Lugal-URUxKAR has with Inanna (Selz 1995, 168). It can be understood through the prism of Fritz’s hypothesis of

⁶¹ En-anatum I used such titles as *énsi-gal-dnin-ĝír-su-ka* “chief executive for the god Ningîrsu” in the texts RIME 1.9.4.2 (col.ii, lines 1–2), 8 (col.i, 6–7), 15 (col.i, 12–13), Frayne 2008, 171–188. The part *énsi-gal* is traditional for the royal inscriptions from Mari. Ningîrsu was also a “king, who loves En-anatum” (RIME 1.9.4.3 [col.ii, 4–5], *ibid.*, 174) and a god, who “granted En-anatum strength” and “put all the foreign lands under En-anatum’s control” (RIME 1.9.4.11 [col.ii, lines 4–6], *ibid.*, 183).

⁶² See texts RIME 1.9.4.2 (col.iii, lines 7–8), 5 (col.i, 12– col.ii, 1), 8 (col.i, 8–9), 9 (col.ii, 4–5), 15 (col.i, 14–15), 17 (col.i, 6–7), Frayne 2008, 171–189

⁶³ See texts RIME 1.9.4.8 (col.ii, line 8– col.iii, line 1), 9 (col.ii, 13– col.iii, 4), Frayne 2008, 179–181

identification Lugal-URUxKAR with the royal ancestor (Fritz 2003, 328), then En-anatum I claims righteous lineage, and Inanna implicitly plays the role of the mother goddess.

En-anatum I highlighted his affiliation with the goddess Inanna as a builder of her temple in Lagaš (Frayne 2008, 169). However, he never claimed marital status with the goddess and never mentioned her as a source of his royal authority.

Like his brother, En-anatum I claimed to be nourished with milk by the goddess Ninhursag.⁶⁴ As Selz has demonstrated, this topos often appears in description of military activities and probably becomes a religious basis explaining the king's military mightiness (Selz 1995, 253).

II. 2.3.1.5. En-metena

The successor of En-anatum I was his third son En-metena. He reigned for more than 19 years (by extreme estimations up to 40 years).⁶⁵ He managed to significantly broaden the territory of Lagaš. En-metena finished the confrontation initiated by his father and chased Ur-lumma up to the city of Umma. Probably soon after that En-metena confronted and defeated the next ruler of Umma, Il. According to Cooper, after the victory over Umma, En-metena extended his authority to the borders of Uruk, which was under the powerful king Lugal-kigine-dudu. Uruk stopped his advances, and two kings established a “brotherhood” pact (Cooper 1983, 31–32). Bauer explained the situation differently. He proposed that En-metena got control over Uruk, Larsa, and Pa-tibira and gave freedom from obligatory works to their citizens. It became the foundation for their pact (Bauer 1998, 471).

Tyumenev argued that En-metena still did not possess full royal authority. According to Tyumenev, the transition from the temple economy towards the royal palace economy was not finished in En-metena's lifetime, and temple elites were powerful rivals of the ruler. Tyumenev supported his interpretation by the traces of Ningirsu's priests' great influence, especially that of a saĝa-priest Dudu (Tyumenev 1956, 138–139). Saĝa-priests were powerful enough to construct defensive walls of their will and probably held personal or temple military forces (Maekawa 1973–74, 137–138). Now, researchers mostly regard saĝa not as a purely priestly office but as an administrative position.⁶⁶ Maurice Lambert proposed that Dudu was a member of the royal family (M. Lambert 1972, 17, n. 4).

⁶⁴ See the text RIME 1.9.4.2 (col.i, lines 8–9), Frayne 2008, 171.

⁶⁵ The 40 years-long rule was proposed by Gianni Marchesi (Marchesi, Marchetti 2011, 125, note 261).

⁶⁶ Englund connected the archaic sign SANGA  with a depiction of counting board; accordingly, he translated the title as “exchequer” (Englund 1998, 74, 141). Another meaning of this sign is ŠID (Akk. *minûtu*) “to count.” SANGA was not a priest official as early scholars believed; instead, he was a member of the administrative staff and somehow connected with the scribes DUB.SAR (Visicato 2000, 3).

However, it was not necessarily so, according to Steinkeller. It could be that Dudu exercised such a volume of power that he was almost equal to En-metena politically, even though acknowledge own subordinate position. It could be that the basis of Dudu's power was the acquired control over the temple of Ningirsu, the most economically developed institution of the state (Steinkeller 2019, 124–125). Despite all the king's successes, his reign also marked the beginning of Lagaš's steadily weakening, which would eventually lead to the defeat at the hands of Lugalzagesi (Bauer 1998, 473).

En-metena has left thirty-two royal inscriptions. In these texts, he claimed origin from the god Lugal-URU×KAR, like his father (RIME 1.9.5. 5b, col. iii, lines 7– iii 1). He also claims to be *dumu tu-da*, “son born by,” Ĝatumdug (RIME 1.9.5. 22, lines 9–10). The text mentioning Ĝatumdug as the ruler's mother has lacuna, so it is unknown if it also mentions Lugal-URU×KAR or not. However, the text mentioning origin from Lugal-URU×KAR usually do not mention Ĝatumdug in any role. Therefore, it cannot be proven that two claims for origin from these two gods can be related.

Like E-anatum and En-anatum I, En-metena also claimed to be nourished by Ninhursag,⁶⁷ which can be explained as a demonstration of the natural military superiority of the ruler over his enemies (Selz 1995, 253). However, En-metena did not refer to Lugal-URU×KAR or Ningirsu as the bestowers of his royal authority. The only directly mentioned source of royal legitimacy in En-metena's royal inscriptions is Nanše (RIME 1.9.5.23, lines 13–16; Frayne 2008, 227), which reminds royal inscriptions of Ur-Nanše. Additionally, two texts refer to the god Enlil as a bestower of En-metena's royal insignia.⁶⁸ Especially interesting is one passage in the text RIME 1.9.5.18, col. i., lines 4''–8'' (Frayne 2008, 222) that says [*ĝidru*]-mah nam-tar-ra ^den-líl-le nibru^{ki}-ta en-TE.ME-na-ra mu-na-an-šúm-ma “the great scepter for deciding the fate, the god Enlil from Nippur to En-metena gave.” This epithet probably reflects some acknowledgment of En-metena as a king (or a local overlord) by the Nippur priesthood. However, even mentioning Nippur and Enlil, ancient scribes used neither the title *lugal*, “king,” nor *nam-lugal*, “kingship.” Therefore, one can propose that En-metena regarded the title *énsi*, “ruler,” as the highest one. Otherwise, En-metena might avoid the title *lugal*, “king,” because of Dudu's influence. En-metena was the first Lagaš king to directly mention Enlil as a source of his authority.

⁶⁷ See text RIME 1.9.5.17 (col.i, lines 7'–8'), 26(col., i, line 8– col. ii, line 1), Frayne 2008, 222, 230.

⁶⁸ En-anatum I had not used the title “granted scepter by DN,” and E-anatum used it only with the name of Ningirsu (RIME 1.9.3.10 (col. iii, lines 6–8), Frayne 2008, 159). En-metena, for the first time in Lagaš, used it in connection with Enlil. See the texts RIME 1.9.5. 1 (col. v, lines 22–23), 18 (col. I, lines 4''–8''), Frayne 2008, 198, 222.

II. 2.3.1.6. En-anatum II

En-anatum II was a son and heir of En-metena. He reigned for a short time, probably about five years. Then, in his fifth regnal year, Elamite forces invaded Lagaš. The king likely deceased in the battle (Cooper 1983, 331).

There is only one royal inscription attributed to En-anatum II; therefore, it is difficult to evaluate his royal ideology's features. The text is silent on the king's relations with gods; it mentions neither divine origin nor nourishment, marriage, or friendship with any deity. Unfortunately, the text has no references to the royal authority sources either. Fink and Sazonov argued that any change in previously established tradition is unlikely (Fink, Sazonov 2019, 236).

II. 2.3.1.7. En-entarzi

After En-anatum II's death, the royal line of Ur-Nanše's descendants stopped. Some saĝa-priest of Ninĝirsu, En-entarzi, ascended the throne. He likely was a son of Dudu, the previous saĝa-priest in Lagaš. Toshiko Kobayashi demonstrated through the analysis of the memorial service for ancestors from the later periods that En-entarzi was regarded as the founder of a new dynasty, the same position as Ur-Nanše and Uru-inim-gina. According to Kobayashi, in the first year of his reign, En-entarzi constructed his ki-a-naĝ, "libation place," where he and his relatives received offerings (Kobayashi 1985, 13, 17). Selz mentioned that these places were usually for worshiping deceased rulers and nobles; however, they also appeared in documents mentioning offerings for gods, which can be connected with the later posthumous deification of these rulers (Selz 1995, 155–156). En-entarzi reigned for six years (Cooper 1983, 331).

En-entarzi did not leave royal inscriptions; there is only one inscription on a votive statuette of his daughter. In administrative texts, En-entarzi had no title lugal "king" and was always referred to as énsi "ruler."⁶⁹ In this sense, his royal titles followed the pattern of the previous royal family. Still, there is no data on the relation of the ruler to the gods.

II. 2.3.1.8. Lugal-Anda

Lugal-Anda, a son of En-entarzi, ruled for seven years. Some researchers argue that Lugal-Anda was an unpopular ruler who called the citizens' rage upon his head. Led by Uru-inim-gina, citizens of Lagaš displaced Lugal-Anda from the throne and killed him (Tyumenev 1956, 140). Gebhard Selz convincingly demonstrated that the transition of power from Lugal-Anda to Uru-inim-gina was peaceful. Probably, Lugal-Anda was already old enough to die naturally. Furthermore, the ancestral cult of previous rulers had not ceased, supporting the idea of peaceful power transfer. However, as Selz comments, the reason for depriving Lugal-Anda's son Ur-sila-sír-sír-ra of the throne is unknown (Selz 1993, 92).

⁶⁹ See Kobayashi 1985, 25, with examples on p. 17.

There are three surviving royal inscriptions of Lugal-Anda analyzed in this dissertation.

As was discussed above (I.2.10), Gebhard Selz demonstrated that Baranamtara, the wife of Lugal-Anda, might have a status equating her with Bau (Selz 1995, 272–273). Therefore, the royal couple could have been human representatives of Bau and Ningirsu in rites and thus partook in their sacredness. Still, at the same time, Lugal-Anda claimed divine origin from the goddess Bau (RIME 1.9.8. 2, col. i', 6'–7'). The divine origin from Bau, spouse of Ningirsu, might have imply the divine origin from Ningirsu himself. Vladimir Emelianov also mentioned the relationship of Lugal-Anda and his family to the goddess Bau. He wrote, “when either Baranamtara or her female relative gave births, those occasions were seen as births of grandchildren to goddess Bau, in both ritual and economic terms” (Emelianov 2017, 292). Considering the possible representation of this divine couple by the royal couple, one should assume that Lugal-Anda could simultaneously be a son and a human representative performing the role of Ningirsu in rituals.

The occupation of Lugal-Anda's ancestors as Ningirsu's saĝa-priests can explain his claim for divine origin from Bau and not from Ninhursaĝ, Ĝatumdug or Lugal-URU×KAR (as did the rulers of Ur-Nanše's dynasty). Lugal-Anda might have more intimate relations with the Ĝirsu deities than the rulers of Ur-Nanše's dynasty who likely originated from Niĝin.

On the other hand, the change of the divine mother from Ninhursaĝ to Bau might imply one important difference in the ideology of Lugal-Anda compared with that of E-anatum. Lugal-Anda never mentioned Ninhursaĝ as a mother or a wet nurse. As Selz has demonstrated, the topos of nourishment with the right milk of Ninhursaĝ was an important element in depicting a warrior king (Selz 1995, 221, 254). Moreover, as a goddess from above the local Lagaš pantheon and as a spouse of Enlil, the father of Ningirsu, Ninhursaĝ created for the king very specific relationships with Enlil and Ningirsu. In other words, it seems that E-anatum claimed a higher position in relation to the divine hierarchy (adopted son of Enlil, brother of Ningirsu) than Lugal-Anda (only son of Ningirsu). Still, one cannot make a clear differentiation because, at the same time, E-anatum claimed to be engendered by Ningirsu. At least, one should say that absence of reference to Ninhursaĝ in Lugal-Anda's ideology cuts his connection with Enlil and with the image of a great warrior employed by previous rulers. The main source of the royal authority for Lugal-Anda was Ningirsu; it is evident from the passage ĝidru-mah šúm-ma ^dnin-gír-su-ka, “granted the great scepter by Ningirsu” (RIME 1.9.8. 2, col. i', lines 4'–5'). Like En-entarzi, Lugal-Anda never used the title lugal, “king.”

II. 2.3.1.9. Uru-inim-gina

Uru-inim-gina (otherwise, Uru-KA-gina) was the next ruler. He probably achieved this position through marriage with Sasa, a relative of Lugal-Anda (Schrakamp 2014–16a, 494). The fact that not Ur-sila-sír-sír-ra, the son of Lugal-

Anda, but Uru-inim-gina inherited the throne could indicate that rulership was not hereditary in that period in Lagaš; it was transmitted by other means, probably through marriage (Selz 2006, 91). Kobayashi has called Uru-inim-gina a founder of the new dynasty based on his analysis of documents mentioning *ki-a-naĝ*, “libation place” (Kobayashi 1985, 13).

Uru-inim-gina started his reign in Lagaš as *énsi* “ruler,” but in the second year he changed his title to *lugal* “king” and restarted the count of regnal years (Bauer 1998, 477–478). He reigned in Lagaš for about eight years but was defeated by Lugal-zage-si. Uru-inim-gina lost the central and southern parts of the state but managed to keep control over Ĝirsu and continued to reign there at least until his eleventh regnal year. During that period, he used only the title *king of Ĝirsu* (*ibid.*, 478–493).

The second year of Uru-inim-gina was not only the time when the ruler changed his title. He also started his reforms, which made him famous. Uru-inim-gina proclaimed the reform to correct the injustice made in previous times. The central event of his reforms was the restoration of the land units appropriated by the royal family to the ownership of gods.⁷⁰

Deimel’s hypothesis of the “Temple State” (1931) significantly affected the academic understanding of Uru-inim-gina’s reforms. According to it, all lands from ancient times that belonged to the gods and temples were the centers of political authority. In the light of this theory, the reforms of Uru-inim-gina can be understood as a form of granting temples their former political significance that had been lost in the time of Uru-inim-gina’s predecessors. Currently, this theory is regarded as obsolete (Schrakamp 2014–16a, 496). Tyumenev explained that by granting the royal family’s lands to the gods, Uru-inim-gina strengthened personal control over the royal and temple estates, formally as a manager (Tyumenev 1956, 141–142). According to Kazuya Maekawa, Ur-Nanše’s dynasty based its kingship ideology on the kin relations with gods. It allowed En-entarzi and Lugal-Anda to develop a new understanding of the royal family as naturally in charge of the divine property. Uru-inim-gina officially proclaimed rule in the name of the gods (Maekawa 1973–74, 139). Uru-inim-gina’s reforms helped to restrain the private sector development and ensured the ruler’s control over the economy (Schrakamp 2014–16a, 496).

There are thirteen surviving royal inscriptions of Uru-inim-gina. The source of the king’s authority was Ningirsu. However, Uru-inim-gina did not claim divine origin or nourishment in contrast to all previous rulers. Uru-inim-gina never claimed any kin relations with gods. His basis of legitimation was the election of the ruler from numerous candidates. It is evident from the passage in RIME 1.9.9. 1 (col. vii, line 29– col. viii, line 6), that says *u^d nin-ĝir-su ur-*

⁷⁰ Uru-inim-gina restored the god Ningirsu as a proprietor over the ruler’s estate and fields (RIME 1.9.9.1[*col.ix*, lines 7– 11], 2 [*col.v*, 1’–5’], Frayne 2008, 262–268), the goddess Baba over the queen’s estate and fields (RIME 1.9.9.1 [*col.ix*, 12–16], 2 [*col.v*, 6’–10’], *ibid.*, 262–268), and the god Šulšagana as a proprietor of the royal children’s estate (RIME 1.9.9.1 [*col.ix*, 17–21], 2 [*col.vi*, 1’–4’], *ibid.*, 262–268).

saĝ^d en-líl-lá-ke₄ uru-inim-gi-na-ra nam-lugal lagaš^{KI} e-na-šúm-ma-a šà lú šaru-ta šu-ni e-ma-ta-dab₅-ba-a, “when Ningirsu, the hero of Enlil, gave the kingship over Lagaš to Uru-inim-gina, from the great multitude of people he grasped his hand.” According to the text of *Uru-inim-gina’s reforms*, the commitment of the king was not in the military aggression against neighbor states but domestic reforms (RIME 1.9.9. 1, col. viii). The description of the reforms directly follows the formulae of the king’s election.

II. 2.3.2. Some non-Lagaš ED IIIb rulers and Proto-Imperial period⁷¹

In the framework of this research, royal inscriptions of ED Mari, ED Adab, ED E’Edin, and ED Nippur are essential for the comparative analysis. However, even though the detailed overview of each known ruler might help the general understanding of ideological trends, it will not add much to the question of the origin of royal deification practice. Mostly kings from other cities made no hints of their sacred status. Therefore, to stay close to the topic, a detailed historical overview of the above-mentioned cities is omitted here.

A discussion of royal inscriptions from Uruk and Ġiša/Umma may have more relevance as some of these cities’ rulers claimed unique relations with gods.

II. 2.3.2.1. Ġiša/Umma

The state of Umma, just like Lagaš, consisted of a few settlements. The three main towns were Umma itself (modern Jokha), Ġiša (Umm-al-Aqarib), and Zabala (Tell Ibzekh). The chief deities in Ġiša were the god Šara and his spouse goddess Nin-Ura. Ama-ušum-gal (local name for Dumuzi) was a chief deity of Umma. (Frayne 2009, 61–64). The city goddess of Zabala was Inanna (Molina 2016–18, 170).

The oldest surviving royal inscriptions from Umma region have minimal information about rulers. One can mention:

- 1) votive statuettes mentioning Pa-bilga (otherwise, Enlilpabilgagi) with the title lugal “king” of *Umma* (RIME 1.12.1.1);
- 2) the already mentioned bead of Aka, lugal “king” of *Ġiša* (RIME 1.12.2.1);
- 3) stone statuette fragments with the name E-abzu and the title *king of Ġiša* (RIME 1.12.3.1);

⁷¹ The term “proto-imperial period” was proposed by Gianni Marchesi (2015, 140, 143). He designated by it the last few decades of the ED IIIb period, the time of En-šakuš-ana, Lugal-zage-si, and the first years of Sargon. Here this term used to describe the situation mainly in Uruk before Sargon. Still, even though the term “proto-imperial” appears here, *imperial* could be a misleading definition. Vladimir Jakobson distinguished between big, centralized states as ones that reach only the borders of its ethnocultural region, and empires as much broader establishments at once occupying several different ethnocultural regions (Jakobson 1988, 11–12).

- 4) lapis lazuli and silver tablets with building inscriptions of Ur-LUM-ma, son of En-akale, where both father and son bear the title lugal “king” of *Umma* (RIME 1.12.4.1–2);
- 5) the tablet of Il, lugal “king” of *Umma* and a grandson of En-akale, commemorating temple construction (RIME 1.12.5.1).

Ĝiša-Kidu married Barairnun, a daughter of Ur-LUM-ma, and so ascended the throne. One can speculate that Lagaš and Umma had similar principles of transmitting royal authority, which allowed spouses of royal princesses to power. Two surviving inscriptions refer to Ĝiša-Kidu (RIME 1.12.6. 1–2). One of them is a votive inscription of his wife Barairnun addressed to the god Šara, where the queen describes her affiliation with previous kings in great detail. Moreover, the text demonstrates that Barairnun had the right to build shrines for gods in her name (RIME 1.12.6. 1). Another text is the first surviving long royal inscription from Umma (RIME 1.12.6. 2). The text narrates a demarcation of the Šara’s boundary. Particularly interesting are two lines (col. i, lines 11–12), en zag-kéš ^dnin-ur₄-ke₄ ama šag₄-kúš ^den-ki-ka-ke₄, “en-priest attached to the side of Ninur, (who is) a mother advised by Enki.”⁷² If the lines are understood correctly, there are two statements supporting Ĝiša-Kidu’s authority. The first one is the status of en-priest of Ninur, spouse of Šara. It reminds us of Ĝiša-Kidu’s accession to the throne through the marriage with Barairnun, who probably associated with Ninur in the same way Baranamtara in Lagaš associated with Bau. The second is the alleged hint for divine origin, which, if understood correctly, demonstrates that the royal ideology in Umma was very similar to that in Lagaš; as was discussed above, rulers of Lagaš also claimed origin from their city-goddess Bau. There is another mention of the king’s origin (col. i, line 8); however, the line is damaged, so the name of the parent (as well as his affiliation with human beings or deities) is unknown. Ĝiša-Kidu claimed (col. i, line 17) to be lugal mu pād ^dinanna-ke₄ “king chosen by Inanna,” which is the only explicit mention of his authority’s source. The text explains military activity as the primary mission of the king. It is evident from lines 9–10 (col. i): nir-ĝál saĝ huš ki-en-gi-ke₄ gaba-gál nu-gi₄ kur-kur-ra-ke₄ “authoritative, a furious head of Sumer, without a rival in the countries.” Ĝiša-Kidu also proclaimed himself (col. i, lines 13–14) as guli ki-áĝ ^dištaran-ke₄, “beloved friend of Ištaran.” Among other royal titles in the text, one can mention lugal “king” of *Umma*, sipa “shepherd,” en “lord,” and énsi “ruler.”

⁷² Note, however, that Steinkeller translates the second line as a separate epithet of the king “counseled by Enki (as by his own) mother” (Steinkeller 2011, 6).

II. 2.3.2.2. Uruk

Sargon probably destroyed Uruk, so almost no information from the city survived (Frayne 2008, 410).

One of the most ancient survived royal inscriptions from Uruk refers to Lugal-SILA-si.⁷³ In this text, the only title of the king is lugal “king” *of Kiš*. The text has no mentions of the king’s divinity.

Lugal-kiĝine-dudu, another ancient ruler of Uruk and a contemporary of Enmetena, has left seven royal inscriptions.⁷⁴ These texts have curious evidence of Inanna’s and Enlil’s equal importance for the legitimacy of Uruk kings. Both gods can be independent sources of royal authority; moreover, they appear in almost identical contexts. So, the text RIME 1.14.14. 1, lines 4–8 (Frayne 2008, 414) says u₄ ^den-líl gù zi e-na-dé-a nam-en nam-lugal-da e-na-da-tab-ba-a “the day Enlil truly addressed him, he combined for him rulership with kingship.” However, the text RIME 1.14.14. 2, lines 5–9 (Frayne 2008, 415) say: u₄ ^dinanna-ke₄ lugal-ki-ĝen-né-du₇-du₇-šè nam-en nam-lugal-da e-na-da-tab-ba-a “the day Inanna for Lugal-kiĝine-dudu combined rulership with kingship.”

Lugal-KISAL-si, a son of Lugal-kiĝine-dudu, has left four inscriptions.⁷⁵ These texts praise Lugal-KISAL-si with the titles lugal “king” *of Uruk* and lugal “king” *of Ur*. However, there are no references to special divine favor comparable to that found in his father’s inscriptions.

Ur-zage, another king of Uruk, has left only one inscription.⁷⁶ In the text, Ur-zage has titles lugal “king” *of Uruk* and lugal “king” *of Kiš*. However, there are no mentions of the king’s divinity or special divine favors.

The king of Uruk En-šakuš-ana has left five royal inscriptions.⁷⁷ He was not of a royal origin and lived probably one or two generations before Sargon (Maeda 1981, 6–7). En-šakuš-ana’s inscriptions describe how he besieged Kiš. He never actually used the title lugal “king” *of Kiš* but had introduced new ones, such as en ki-en-gi “lord of Sumer” and lugal kalam-ma “king of the land.” Maeda claimed that those new titles indicated a shift in the role of lugal “king” as a ruler over a city-state to the position of a regional overlord (Maeda 1981, 7). His texts preserved neither references to divine origin nor other expressions legitimatizing the royal authority.

⁷³ RIME 1.14.13.1, Frayne 2008, 411.

⁷⁴ RIME 1.14.14.1–2, 3a–3b, 4–6, Frayne 2008, 413–419.

⁷⁵ RIME 1.14.15.1–4, Frayne 2008, 421–425.

⁷⁶ RIME 1.14.16.1, Frayne 2008, 427–428.

⁷⁷ RIME 1.14.17.1–4, add5 Frayne 2008, 429–432 and CDLI corpus.

II. 2.3.2.3. Lugal-zage-si

Lugal-zage-si (around 2340–2316 BC) was a son of certain U'u, a high priest of the goddess Nisaba and ruler of Umma. U'u himself could have originated from Ereš, the center of Nisaba's cult (Molina 2014–16b, 523). He inherited both titles from his father and ruled in Umma. However, at one point, Lugal-zage-si also ascended the throne in Uruk. He had authority over a vast territorial state, including Umma, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, and Adab. Lugal-zage-si also successfully fought against Uru-inim-gina of Lagaš.

In total, three royal inscriptions of the king survived. One text (RIME 1.12.7.1) dates to Lugal-zage-si's rule in Umma. Two other inscriptions (RIME 1.14.20.1–2) were written already after the adoption of the title *lugal unu^{KI}-ga* “king of Uruk.”

The first royal inscription refers to Lugal-zage-si's father, U'u. Both share the same titles *énsi umma^{KI}* “ruler of Umma” and *lú-mah^dnisaba-ka* “*lumah*-priest of Nisaba.” The text has no special mentions of the king's divine origin, election by gods, or empowerment with royal insignia or royal authority.

Two royal inscriptions written after the adoption of the title *king of Uruk* are different. The change of the royal title from the *ruler of Umma* to the *king of Uruk* could reflect an actual change of royal residence. Its adoption could be similar in terms of prestige to the claim of *nam-lugal kiš^{KI}* “kingship of Kiš” by E-annatum (RIME 1.9.3.5, col. vi, line 4) or other Sumerian kings.

Lugal-zage-si used the title *lugal kalam-ma*, “king of the Land,” reflecting his position as the regional overlord. He received this title from the Enlil's priests in Nippur. The inscription RIME 1.14.20.1, commemorating the event, appears on a great number of stone bowls from Nippur, which might have symbolized fifty *ensis* allied with Lugal-zage-si. According to Westenholz, these bowls were created for the coronation ceremony in Nippur (A. Westenholz 1987–90, 156). Still, Westenholz assumed this coronation was a rite of inauguration for the leader of the *Kengir* league; however, the existence of the league is not a proven fact.

This inscription (RIME 1.14.20.1) narrates the king's divine origin in three steps:

1. *dumu tu-da^dnisaba* “son born by Nisaba” in col. i, lines 26–27.
2. *ga zi gu₇-a^dnin-hur-saĝ* “feed by the true milk of Ninhursag” in col. i, lines 28–29.
3. *saĝ á è-a^dningirim* “a person brought up by Ningirim” in col. i, lines 31–32.

Lugal-zage-si did not claim divine origin from male deities, only from female. It differs from the ideology of E-anatum who claimed to be engendered by Ningirsu. Still, the upbringing of the king introduces him directly into the divine world. Priest offices were an additional tool of legitimation for Lugal-zage-si. He continued to use the title *lú-mah^dnisaba-ka* “*lumah*-priest of Nisaba” and even added another religious title *išib an-na* “exorcist priest of An.”

Numerous titles describing the special connections of Lugal-zage-si with the great gods (An, Enlil, Enki, Utu, Nanna, Inanna) precede the description of the king's birth and upbringing (col. i, lines 13–25). These titles include *igi zi bar-ra an* “truly looked at by An,” *énsi-gal d'en-líl* “governor of Enlil,” *ĝeštug₂ šúm-ma d'en-ki* “given wisdom by Enki,” *mu pà-da d'utu* “named by Utu” and *šagina d'utu sukkal-mah* “general of Utu,” *sukkal mah d'Sîn* “grand vizier of Sîn” and *ú-a d'inanna* “supplier of Inanna.” As these epithets precede the description of the king's birth, one can speculate that the king had received all the divine favors even before his birth.

Still, Lugal-zage-si directly mentions only two sources of his royal authority. One source (col. i, lines 36–41) is Enlil, as the text says: *u₄ d'en-líl lugal kur-kur-ra-ke₄ lugal-zà-ge-si nam-lugal kalam-ma e-na-šúm-ma* “the day Enlil, king of the lands, has given to Lugal-zage-si the kingship over the land.” The text does not refer to any reasons for granting royal authority. The structure of the text presents the empowerment with the royal authority as a direct result of Lugal-zage-si's divine origin. Another source of Lugal-zage-si's royal authority is the recognition by the subjected cities (col. ii, lines 21–25): *bára-bára ki-en-gi énsi kur-kur-ra ki unu^{KI}-ge me nam-nun-šè mu-na-tar-e-ne* “daises (e.g. rulers) of Sumer and the rulers of the foreign land appointed him to the princely function (*me* of princeliness) in Uruk.” A list of cities approving Uruk and Lugal-zage-si follows this passage; the cities are Uruk (col. ii, lines 26–29), Ur (col. ii, lines 30–32), Larsa (col. ii, lines 33–37), Umma (col. ii, lines 38–42), Zabala (col. ii, lines 43–45), and Ki'ana (col. ii, line 46– col. iii, line 2).

II. 2.4. *Static-Relative analysis of the ED period royal texts*

Rulers of the ED I/II periods had left a moderate number of royal inscriptions; about 98% of the inscriptions of the pre-Sargonic period relate to the ED III period. Therefore, the current analysis can be representative only for the period after 2550 BC. The total number of discussed royal inscriptions is 212. These inscriptions were created in the names of 54 different kings.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 40 inscriptions (19% of total);
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 89 inscriptions (42% of total);
- 3) *human-orientated* – 34 inscriptions (16% of total);
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 36 inscriptions (17 %).

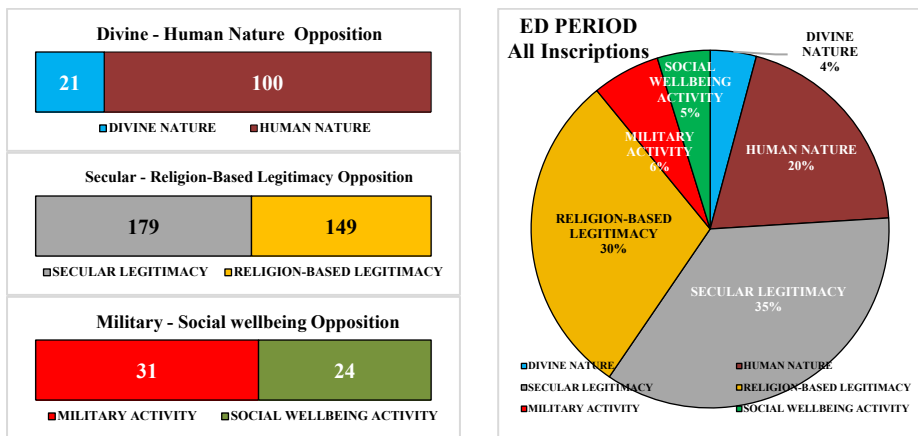
Additionally, the following detailed analysis does not discuss 13 royal inscriptions⁷⁸ that do not fit any of the target types of inscriptions. These texts are counted only in the general analysis by all royal inscriptions.

⁷⁸ RIME 1.8.3.2; RIME 1.14.14.5; RIME 1.14.20.1, 2; RIME 1.9.1.6b; RIME 1.9.3. 12, 13, 18, 19, add22; RIME 1.9.4. add21; RIME 1.9.5. 3, add32.

The attribution of the literary text *adab to Bau for Luma* is uncertain; moreover, it does not add much to the understanding of ED period royal ideology compared to the royal inscriptions. Therefore, the following analysis of does not count this hymn.

The current analysis starts with discussing the inscriptions in their total, subsequently it is followed by a detailed analysis and comparison of the different inscription groups.

II. 2.4.1. All royal inscriptions



The graphics given above indicate that ED period royal inscriptions had the accent on different legitimacy epithets.

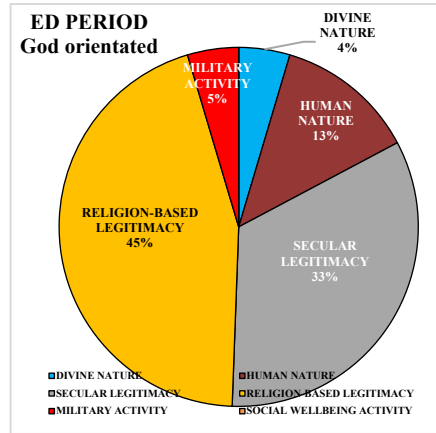
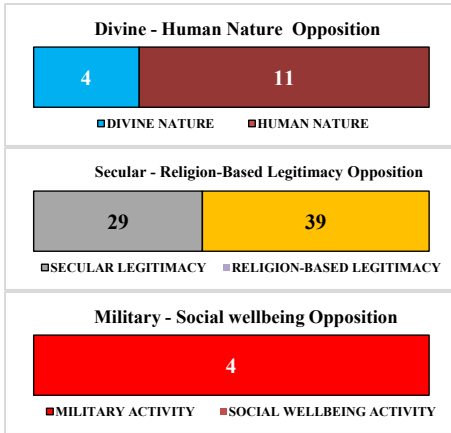
A significant part of the royal inscriptions (100 inscriptions, 47% of total) accentuates the human nature of the ruler. In the *divine-human nature* opposition pair, the epithets of human nature outnumber divine origin epithets about five times.

The *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets have acquired almost the same attention in the royal inscriptions; *secular legitimacy* epithets enjoy a slight preponderance.

References to *military* and *social-wellbeing activities* are relatively rare (30 inscriptions – 14% of total and 24 inscriptions – 11% of the total, respectively). *Military activity* epithets only slightly outnumber *social-wellbeing activity* epithets.

Royal titles include such as lugal “king”, énsi “ruler,” en “lord,” sipa “shepherd,” nun “prince,” nir-ĝál “authoritative,” sukkal “vizier.” The titles lugal and énsi are dominant (98 inscriptions – 46% of total and 85 inscriptions – 40% of the total, respectively). The title lugal has a little wider usage than énsi (proportionally, the difference is 5,5:4,5). The rest of the titles have a minimal application (not more than 2% of all texts).

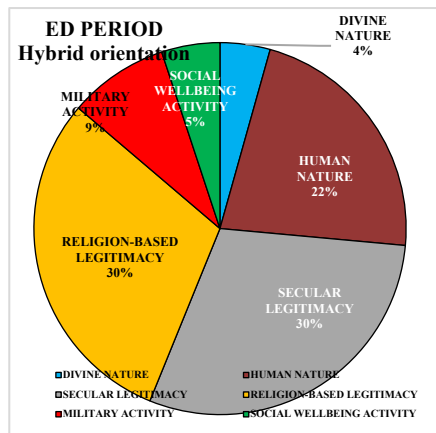
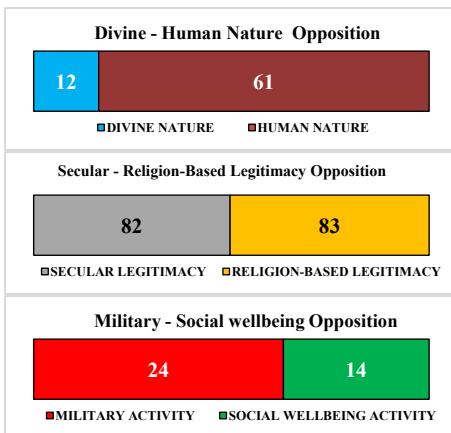
II. 2.4.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



ED *god-orientated royal inscriptions* have several specific features. The most significant differences are the absence of *social-wellbeing activity* epithets and the preponderance of *religion-based legitimacy epithets* over the *secular legitimacy epithets* (proportion is 6:4 respectively). At the same time proportion between divine nature and human-nature epithets is still 1:4.

In this group of texts are only three types of royal titles: lugal “king”, énsi “ruler,” and en “lord.” The titles lugal and énsi appear in the same number of royal inscriptions (15 inscriptions – 37,5% of the god-orientated inscriptions).

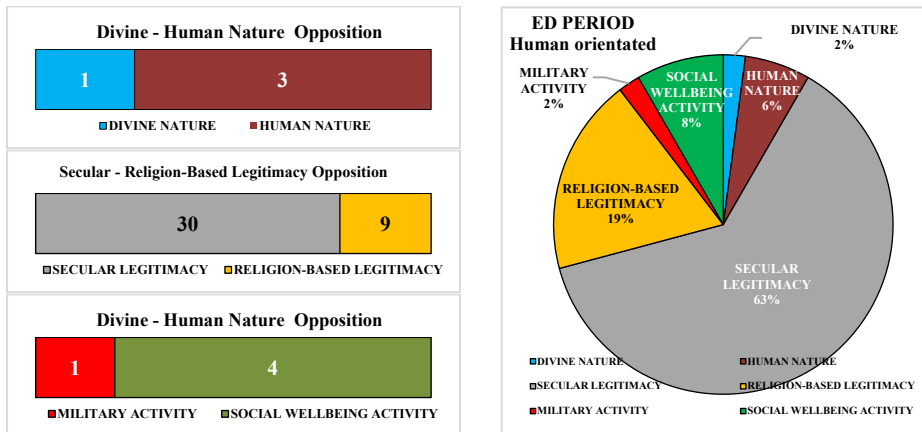
II. 2.4.3. Hybrid-orientation royal inscriptions



Royal inscriptions that simultaneously addressed deities and human beings used *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy epithets* almost obligatorily. The proportion of *secular legitimacy epithets* is higher compared to god orientated inscriptions. Other characteristics are like those discussed above for all royal inscriptions of the ED period.

Royal titles are lugal “king”, énsi “ruler,” en “lord,” sipa “shepherd,” and nir-ġál “authoritative.” The title lugal has almost the same frequency as énsi (respectively, 43 inscriptions – 48% of the *hybrid-orientation inscriptions* and 40 inscriptions – 45% of the *hybrid-orientation inscriptions*).

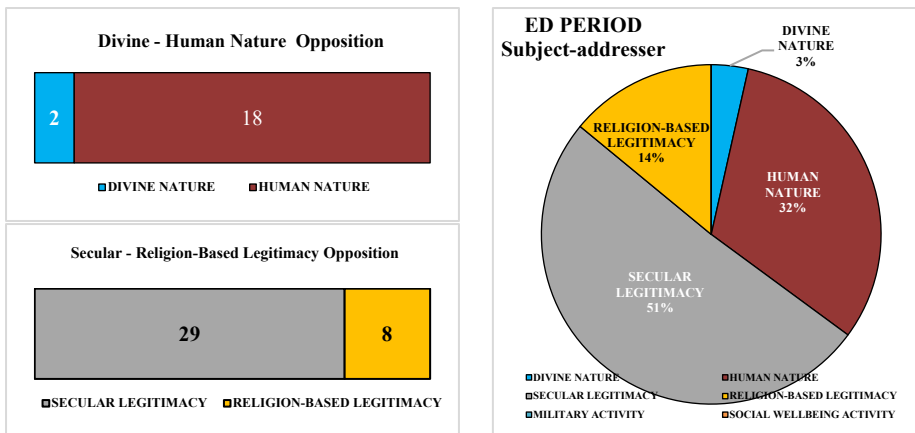
II. 2.4.4. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



ED *human-orientated* royal inscriptions demonstrate even higher proportion of *secular legitimacy epithets* over *religion-based legitimacy epithets* compared with the data from the groups of texts discussed above. Also, *social-wellbeing activity* epithets acquire higher importance than military epithets; still, this data may be biased as number of texts mentioning these epithets is small.

The title lugal has two times higher frequency compared to énsi (respectively, 21 inscriptions – 62% of the *human-orientated inscriptions* and 10 inscriptions – 29% of the *human-orientated inscriptions*).

II. 2.4.5. Subject-addresser inscriptions



Subject-addresser inscriptions lack any mentions of military or social-wellbeing activity epithets. The balance between divine-nature and human-nature epithets is the same as in other types of ED royal inscriptions. The *secular legitimacy epithets* (same as in the *human-orientated* royal inscriptions) significantly outnumber *religion-based* ones (proportionally, 4:1).

ED *subject-addresser* inscriptions have only two types of royal titles: lugal “king” and énsi “ruler.” The title lugal appears in a slightly wider number of inscriptions than énsi (respectively, 16 inscriptions – 44% of *subject-addresser* inscriptions and 14 inscriptions – 39% of *subject-addresser* inscriptions).

II. 2.5. Conclusions

Markers of a king’s sacredness in the ED texts are limited to claims of divine origin and nourishment. These claims seem relatively marginal; only seven kings out of fifty-four discussed (Me-silim, E-anatum, En-anatum I, En-metena, Lugal-Anda, Ġiša-kidu, and Lugal-zage-si) hinted for it in their royal inscriptions. Only one text can be understood as a claim for the spousal status with the goddess Inanna. However, the context seems to be oblique on purpose. Otherwise, there are no explicit claims for the status of a goddess’s spouse.

The fact that the first claim for divine origin appeared in the text of Me-silim can demonstrate that the topos was originally alien to Southern Babylonia. However, comparative data is too small to make any conclusions. For an extended period, among other South Mesopotamian rulers, only those of Lagaš claimed origin from gods. Later, the only two rulers who claimed divine origin outside Lagaš were from Umma. As the principal military rivals of Lagaš, they could have adopted some ideological statements of the enemy.

The qualitative analysis also supports the idea that the *divine origin* claims were functional. Most clear statements of regional dominance appear in the royal

inscriptions of E-anatum, En-metena, and Lugal-zage-si; these kings claimed divine origin and nourishment. In addition to their supposed function as a marker of the king's military abilities, claims for *divine origin* might allow kings to manage temple property. Such a conclusion can be made based on the reasoning of Uru-inim-gina's reforms. At the same time, divine origin claims might serve as an additional legitimation instrument for the kings originating from priests' families (Lugal-Anda and Lugal-zage-si).

It is safe to say that ED period royal inscriptions highlight the *human nature* of the king. The same proportion between *human-nature* and *divine-nature* epithets (4:1 respectively) is visible in all types of inscriptions.

Based on the frequency of epithets in different groups of inscriptions, one can conclude that *secular legitimacy* epithets were dominant while addressing humans, *religion-based legitimacy* epithets while addressing gods. The qualitative analysis demonstrates a particular similarity between *god-orientated* and *hybrid-orientation* inscriptions. Still, *building* inscriptions (including those with military narratives) stressed the secular basis of royal legitimation more than *god-orientated* inscriptions. In my view, it supports the idea that these texts were initially addressed not only to gods but also to humans. Moreover, returning to Driel's statement that all early royal inscriptions were dedicatory (Driel 1973, 105), the fact that *social-wellbeing* activity epithets are absent in *god-orientated* inscriptions but present in *hybrid orientation* and *human-orientated* texts also supports the mentioned idea, justifies the proposed target classification of inscriptions for the ED period and proves their thematic heterogeneity.

Military activity epithets seem to have higher importance in texts addressed to deities. *Social-wellbeing activity* epithets concentrate in *hybrid-orientation* and *human-orientated* royal inscriptions.

The most frequent royal titles are lugal "king" and énsi "ruler." From the general perspective, the title lugal was more often in texts addressed to humans, while énsi had frequency equal to lugal in the texts addressing gods. Still, it is essential to mention different traditions of titles' usage in different cities: while Lagashite rulers preferred énsi, kings in other cities usually used the title lugal. Therefore, the mentioned difference in usage could be biased. Taking the data in general, the usage of lugal was more frequent than énsi. *Hybrid-orientation* texts have the most variety of titles.

II. 3. The Sargonic period

II. 3.1. Sargon

The new epoch in the history of Mesopotamia starts with Sargon of Akkad (2334–2279 BC). Sargon was the first ruler in Mesopotamia, who gathered previously independent cities of Southern Mesopotamia and turned them into a *qualitatively new form of a territorial state* (Cooper 1993a, 14). E-anatum of Lagaš and Lugal-zage-si of Uruk also managed to build big territorial states; however, they did not interfere with the internal policy of the subjugated cities. Sargon appointed his

officials as legitimate rulers there. Sargon's military success was due to the new tactics: stress on the mobile groups of archers against less agile heavy infantry of the pre-Sargonic times (Diakonoff 2009, 58–59). Presumably, Sargon established (or significantly developed) the new capital Agade, which gave its name to Northern Mesopotamia in later periods. Sargon made his daughter, princess En-ĥedu-ana, the en-priestess of the god Nanna in Ur. Thus, he could control one of the most important temples in Southern Mesopotamia. Sargon was the first king to use Akkadian as a language of royal inscriptions. Only this fact is a solid reason to call him an innovator of the previous royal ideology rooted in Sumerian culture and language (Diakonoff 2009, 59).

Twenty-three royal inscriptions of Sargon are analyzed in this study. Eight of them are subject addresser texts.⁷⁹ Only two analyzed royal inscriptions are original (RIME 2.1.1. 4 and 10).⁸⁰ Thirteen other inscriptions appear only in Old Babylonian copies.⁸¹ Within this dissertation, they are regarded as authentic.

There are no markers of the king's sacredness in his royal inscriptions. The royal inscriptions give two sources of Sargon's royal authority: Enlil and Dagan. Enlil as a direct source of royal authority appears in three texts. The texts RIME 2.1.1.1 (lines 73–78) and 2 (lines 77–81) say: *tiāmtam šaplītam u elītam Ellil iddinušum* “Enlil gave him the Lower and the Upper seas”; the text RIME 2.1.1.15 (lines 73–78) says *inu Ellil ḥaṭṭam iddiššum* “when Enlil gave him the scepter.” Dagan as a source of royal authority over Northern Mesopotamia appears in the texts RIME 2.1.1.11 (lines 17–26) and 12 (lines 6'–15'): *Šarru-kēn šarrum in Tuttuli ana Dagan uškēn ikrub mātam alītam iddiššum* “Sargon, the king, bowed down and prayed to Dagan in Tuttul, he gave Upper Land to him.”

In addition to Enlil and Dagan, gods An and Inanna (or Ištar) also had great importance for Sargon's ideology, even though texts do not mention them as direct sources of royal authority. Thus, the opening part of three royal inscriptions (RIME 2.1.1. 1, 2, and 6) has *maškim* ^dinanna “bailiff of Inanna,” *gudu₄ an* “anointing priest of An,” *énsi gal* ^den-líl “governor of Enlil”⁸² as a standard set of royal titles. The central pathos of Sargon's inscriptions was in the unification of Sumer and freeing the north from the south's dominance. The cities of Ur and Uruk are the most mentioned enemies in Sargon's royal inscriptions even though not the only ones.⁸³ At the same time, Sargon never named the city of Kiš

⁷⁹ RIME 2.1.1. 16, 17, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, add2006, and add2007.

⁸⁰ Two more inscriptions (RIME 2.0.0.1002 and 1003) might belong to Sargon. However, they are omitted in this study due to the too fragmentary nature and uncertain attribution.

⁸¹ RIME 2.1.1. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

⁸² Interestingly, the title *énsi gal* ^den-líl appear only in the Sumerian variant of the text RIME 2.1.1.1 (line 10). In the Akkadian variant of the same text, there is *énsi* ^den-líl without GAL.

⁸³ Uruk and Ur appear as enemy cities in many texts of Sargon. See, for example RIME 2.1.1.1 (lines 12–43), 2 (lines 12–46), 3 (lines 9–14, 27–31), 4 (lines 6–10), 5 (lines 3–5), and others.

as his enemy. He used the title *lugal kiš* “king of the world/Kiš” together with the title *lugal agade*^{KI} “king of Agade.” Even more, in the Sumerian version of RIME 2.1.1.1 (lines 91–93), Sargon says that he *kiš*^{KI} *ki-bé bí-gi*₄ “restored the city of Kiš.” Most enemies of Sargon have the title *énsi*.⁸⁴

The most significant political achievement of Sargon was his victory over Lugal-zage-si. The text RIME 2.1.1.1 (Akk. version, lines 28–31) narrates that after the victory over Lugal-zage-si, Sargon *in sigarim ana bāb Ellil urûš* “led him in neck-stock to the gate of Enlil.” This episode is unique, as far as the only opponent of Sargon, who lost his status in this manner, was Lugal-zage-si. Sargon claimed the title *lugal kalam-ma* “king of the Land,” which also appeared in the texts of Lugal-zage-si. Therefore, it was proposed that this title and the associated status were at the center of the conflict (Frayne 1993, 7). As Lugal-zage-si got the title from Enlil (RIME 1.14.20.1, col. i, lines 36–41), the described triumphal procession of Sargon to Nippur, to the center of Enlil’s cult, was a kind of Lugal-zage-si’s symbolic dethronement. It also became a precedent when a ruler with claims to divine origin (Lugal-zage-si) lost authority by the will of the supreme god Enlil (A. Westenholz 1999, 36). On the other hand, the topos of bringing enemies in fetters before Enlil is not unique to the context of victory against *lugal kalam-ma*. For example, Narām-Sîn used the same topos narrating about his victory over rebellious kings (RIME 2.1.4. 8, [col. v, lines 2–6] and 28 [lines 28–33]), who never mentioned as *lugal kalam-ma*. Therefore, the direct correlation between bringing Lugal-zage-si in fetters before Enlil and acquiring the title *lugal kalam-ma* should probably be avoided.⁸⁵ It was an important episode, but just one from other military successes of Sargon mentioned in his texts.

Aage Westenholz proposed that the charisma of Sargon was so strong that because of him, the Akkadian word *šarrum*, “king,” acquired the meaning of “god” in the Akkadian onomastics (A. Westenholz 1999, 40). However, as Andersson demonstrated through the analysis of Akkadian onomasticon, “there is no reason to doubt that many, if not most, names including the appellative *šarrum* do in fact refer to the human ruler” (Andersson 2012, 76). Already in the time of Maništūšu, some citizens of Agade had the name *šar-ru-gi-i-lí* “Sargon is my god.” Therefore, the king functioned as a kind of personal god of these persons. Di Vito discussing the name, stressed, “the language used to designate a personal god, as well as the very concept, was marked by a certain amount of fluidity even in ancient times, and it probably was so from the beginning.” He argued that such names designate an idea of protection like that associated with Christian saints today (di Vito 1993, 273).

⁸⁴ For the titles, see text RIME 2.1.1.1 (lines 1–11 in both Sumerian and Akkadian versions), Frayne 1993, 10. For *énsi* “ruler” as enemies, see RIME 2.1.1.2 (line 16), Frayne 1993, 13.

⁸⁵ Sabina Franke expressed the same idea. However, she just wrote „Sargon trägt diesen Title [lugal kalam-ma] nach der Eroberung Sumers, aber noch nicht nach dem Sieg über Lugal-zagesi und dessen Gefangennahme“ (Franke 1995a, 95).

II. 3.2. Rīmuš

Rīmuš (c. 2278–2270 BC) was a son of Sargon. Modern estimations give from nine and up to fifteen years to his reign (Frayne 1993, 40). The king witnessed a large-scale rebellion, which was the central event of his reign. He severely punished his opponents, leaving them no opportunity to revolt again soon (A. Westenholz 1999, 41–42). In addition to Mesopotamia, Rīmuš also led military campaigns in the Gulf region and Elam. The king’s name is a combination of the noun *rīmu* “wild bull” with an abbreviated pronominal suffix *šu* “his.”⁸⁶ It can be understood as “[the king is] his [Ilaba or Ištar’s] bull” (Sommerfeld 2006–08, 372). Therefore, the name itself may hint at the king’s physical and military strength. According to later Babylonian omens, Rīmuš died by the hands of courtiers who assassinated him with their seals (Koch-Westenholz 2000, 394). Except for this mention in omens, Rīmuš does not occur in later literary tradition.

Rīmuš has left twenty-one royal inscriptions. One of them is a subject-addresser text (RIME 2.1.2. 2001). Ten inscriptions are known only from Ur III or OB copies (RIME 2.1.2. 1–9, 18). The rest ten inscriptions appear in a different number of original exemplars (RIME 2.1.2. 10–17, 19, 20).

These texts have no markers of Rīmuš’s sacredness. The only source of Rīmuš’s royal authority is Enlil. At the same time, the royal authority directly relates to military performance. The text RIME 2.1.2.4 (lines 1–10) narrates *Rīmuš šar Kiši surramma*⁸⁷ *šarrūtam Ellil iddinušum tāḫaz*⁸⁸ *Šumerim ad mādīš šalāšišu išār* “Rīmuš, king of Kiš; Enlil gave him the kingship; in battle with Sumer he totally won three times (either: ... immediately after Enlil gave him the kingship, he won three battles with Sumer).” Royal inscriptions attest to the only royal title of Rīmuš – *lugal kiš*. It is not clear whether it related to the city of Kiš or stood for *šar kiššati* “king of the universe.” Rīmuš inserted a curious phrase in some royal inscriptions (for example, RIME 2.1.2.6, lines 82–83) where he swears that inscriptions’ content is *la surrātīm lu kīnīšma* “not lies but the truth.” It proves that the danger of critical reception was fully recognized already at the time of Rīmuš.

One Old-Akkadian administrative text from Ġirsu⁸⁹ testifies the personal name *ilī-Rīmuš*, “my god is Rīmuš.” As Vladimir Sazonov noted, that might hint

⁸⁶ See, Gelb 1961, 144.

⁸⁷ The text has *sū-ra-ma*. Usually it is understood as *surri*, “surely, certainly” (CAD S, 410). For example, Frayne translates it “indeed” (Frayne 1993, 47). An alternative can be that *sū-ra-ma* relates to the infinitive *šurrū*, “to begin, beginning” and should be understood as a conjunction “after” (Sommerfeld 2006–08, 372).

⁸⁸ The sign  (REC169) can be read as a combination of  (KAS)  (ŠUDUL). See, for example, Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 46. Still, there is no commonly accepted Akkadian reading for this logogram. The present reading as *tāḫazu* follows CAD T, 47–48.

⁸⁹ The text is from Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul Collection (ITT 1, 1096). See, CDLI P213567.

at some sacredness of the king (Sazonov 2007, 229–330). This name is similar to the mentioned above names *šar-ru-gi-ì-lí* “Sargon is my god” or *pa₄-pa₄-diĝir-ĝu₁₀*, “[Baranamtara] is my personal god(dess).”

II. 3.3. Maništūšu

According to the SKL, Maništūšu (c. 2269–2255 BC) was an elder brother of Rīmuš (ETCSL 2.1.1, lines 274–275). He reigned up to fifteen years. However, it is unknown if this order of the two brothers’ reign is correct and why Rīmuš, the younger brother, first appeared on the throne (A. Westenholz 1999, 41). Maništūšu is mainly known for land purchases and military campaigns against Elam and Oman (ibid., 46).

Maništūšu has left thirteen royal inscriptions. Three are *subject-addresser* texts (RIME 2.1.3. 2001–2003). Out of the ten remaining inscriptions, only one has not survived in the original exemplar (RIME 2.1.3.2).

No hint of Maništūšu’s sacredness is evident from the royal inscriptions. One can say that neither Rīmuš nor Maništūšu attempted to change royal ideology as it was inherited from Sargon. Like in Rīmuš’s case, the only source of Maništūšu’s royal authority is Enlil. The text RIME 2.1.3.2 (lines 5–12) narrates *Ellil ušarbišu šumšu ibbi u ḥaṭṭam šarrūtīm iddiššum* “Enlil magnified him, called his name and the scepter of kingship gave to him.” His only royal title was *lugal kiš*.

One *subject-addresser* text (cylindric seal RIME 2.1.3.2003) has the determinative DINGIR in front of Maništūšu’s name. This single usage of the determinative DINGIR in the subject-addresser text is challenging to interpret. It could have been a marginal form of the king’s praising practiced by a limited group of attendants. Rainer Boehmer proposed that the seal is of late Ur III origin based on the specific writing of the king’s name characteristic for later periods (Boehmer 1965, 73, n. 18). Steinkeller believes in the Late Akkadian date for the seal (Steinkeller 1987–90, 335). Considering particular markers of royal sacredness attested in the ED IIb and Akkadian onomasticon, it would not be surprising to see the determinative DINGIR in *subject-addresser* inscription in the king’s lifetime or right after his death.

II. 3.4. Narām-Sîn

Narām-Sîn (2254–2218 BC), was a grandson of Sargon and a son of Maništūšu. According to the Sumerian Kings List, he reigned for about 56 years (ETCSL 2.1.1, lines 278–280). There is no commonly accepted chronology of the king’s reign. According to the reconstruction proposed by Frayne, Narām-Sîn started his reign with a series of regional military conflicts: against Talmus, Magan, and other territories. A large-scale military rebellion of the central Sumerian cities (or a series of such rebellions) broke out some time after these first campaigns. The leaders of the rebellion were the cities of Kiš, Uruk, and Nippur. Narām-Sîn

defeated the rebels, and as a reward, the citizens of Agade requested main deities in the central Sumerian cities to grant him the status of deity. As a result, Narām-Sîn acquired a personal temple in Agade and became a protective deity of his city. After that, the deified Narām-Sîn successfully continued his military activities in the western Syria and the eastern mountains of Zagros (Frayne 1993, 84–87).

The following table summarizes the characteristics of the analyzed texts.

	All Inscriptions		Royal Inscriptions ⁹⁰		Subject Addresser texts ⁹¹	
	Total	DINGIR	Total	DINGIR	Total	DINGIR
Combined	77	32 (41,5%)	46	16 (35%)	31	16 (52%)
Original ⁹²	55	27 (49%)	25	12 (48%)	30	15 (50%)
Later copy ⁹³	22	5 (23%)	21	4 (19%)	1	1 (100%)

Two considerations should be mentioned resulting from this table. First, the disproportion of texts with DINGIR among inscriptions known from original exemplars (49% of total original inscriptions have DINGIR) and those transmitted in later copies (only 23% of texts known from copies have DINGIR) raises a question whether ancient copyist had trustfully transmitted original usage of the determinative with the royal name. Second, *subject-addresser* texts generally seem to stress royal divinity more frequently. However, if one compares only data from original texts, there is almost no difference in the distribution of texts with DINGIR between the royal inscriptions and *subject-addresser* texts.

Royal inscriptions with DINGIR in front of the king's name and without it demonstrate different ways of royal legitimation. Narām-Sîn limitedly claimed sacredness already in texts without DINGIR; the most interesting example is his claim to be *mut Ištar-Anunītim* “spouse of the goddess Ištar-Anunītum” in the text RIME 2.1.4.1 (col. iii, lines 8’–9’). Three texts without DINGIR in front of the king's name⁹⁴ called Enlil the father of Narām-Sîn. As demonstrated above, the concept of divine origin is well documented for the ED III period and could not be Narām-Sîn's innovation. There are also indications that the idea of being a deity's spouse also originated in the ED period. Except for these notions, one can say that before the deification, Narām-Sîn followed the ideology of Sargon. The text RIME 2.1.4.3 (lines 12–17) describes Narām-Sîn as *mūtawī Ištar-Anunītim pašīšu Anim iššakku Ellili* “one speaking with Ištar-Anunītum, anointing priest of An and governor of Enlil”; these titles closely resemble those of Sargon

⁹⁰ RIME 2.1.4. 1–6, 8, 10–13, 15–17, 22–31, 35–50, add59, 1001–1004, ETB 2/02a.

⁹¹ RIME 2.1.4. 9, 18, 20, 33, 51, 52, 53, 54, 2001–2016, 2018, 2020–2025.

⁹² RIME 2.1.4. 4, 8–10, 13, 15–18, 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33, 35–45, 51–55, add59, 2001–2016, 2018, 2020–2025, ETB 2/02a.

⁹³ RIME 2.1.4. 1–3, 5–6, 11–12, 20, 23, 25–26, 29–30, 46–50, 1001–1004.

⁹⁴ RIME 2.1.4.8 (v 4–5), 23(18–19), 50(iii 4–5).

in the texts RIME 2.1.1.1, 2, and 6. According to the surviving data, only Enlil was the direct bestower of the royal insignia. The text RIME 2.1.4.3 (lines 92–99) narrates *Ellil dīššu iddinuma u šerrat nišī qātiššu iddinu* “Enlil gave his judgment, and the nose-rope of the people gave into his hand.” Narām-Sîn also mentioned how he brought the captured leaders of the revolt against him in chains before Enlil;⁹⁵ it resembles the confrontation of Sargon and Lugal-zage-si. Many texts (for example, RIME 2.1.4.3, lines 3–4) mention Narām-Sîn being *in šipri Ištarī* “in Ištar’s service.” Anunītum is often a grantor of Narām-Sîn’s military success.⁹⁶

The *Bassetki inscription* (RIME 2.1.4.10) is a “transitory” text. It narrates the deification of the king, but, at the same time, there is no DINGIR in front of his name. The text describes both the reason and the process of Narām-Sîn’s deification. It says that (lines 20–23) *al šī in pušqim išdī ālišu ukīn* “because he secured the foundations of his city in distress” the citizens of his city asked (lines 25–51) gods Inanna from Eanna (in Uruk), Enlil from Nippur, Dagan from Tuttul, Ninhursag from Keš, Ea from Eridu, Sîn from Ur, Šamaš from Sippar, and Nergal from Kutha to make Narām-Sîn *iliš ālišunu Akkadi* “as the god of their city Agade.” It is important that the *Bassetki inscription* is the only royal inscription that has an expression like the title *il Akkadi* “god of Agade.” This title has a significant frequency in the *subject-addresser* texts (appears in 9 *subject-addresser* texts out of 31 surviving [29%]).⁹⁷ However, it is absent in other royal inscriptions, excluding *the text from Bassetki*. This reservation to use the title in proper royal inscriptions, together with the clear popularity of this title among subjects, suggests specific importance of the royal deification for a particular group of courtiers, such importance that even exceeded official propaganda.

While it is certain that the royal deification of Narām-Sîn was accepted or even organized by the king, it seems dubious that the political elites were simply victims of his tyrannical will, as was suggested by Franke (Franke 1995a, 177–179) and Bernbeck (Bernbeck 2012, 165). The *Bassetki inscription* describes the assembly of the citizens of Agade as initiators of the king’s deification. It is unclear what the word *unkennu* in the *Bassetki inscription* exactly denotes. It could be some large assembly of all free adult male members of the community (Liverani 2011–13, 69), or it can designate a circle of high officials of Narām-Sîn. The same ambiguity is in the royal inscription of Sargon RIME 2.1.1.1 and 2, which describe as Sargon promoted *dumu-dumu a-ga-dè^{KI}* “children of Agade” as governors in the conquered regions. Probably, it designated some members of upper-class military families and not just average people living in the city. If one supposes that *unkennu* and *dumu-dumu a-ga-dè^{KI}* were of the same social standing, their commitment to Narām-Sîn’s deification would not

⁹⁵ RIME 2.1.4.8(12’–16’), 9(16–18), 13(14–18), 28(2–33).

⁹⁶ For example, RIME 2.1.4.6 (69’–77’, 124’–133’, 226’).

⁹⁷ See texts RIME 2.1.4. 53, 2003, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2018, 2020, 2023. The text RIME 2.1.4.53 is a seal of Ukīn-Ulmaš, a son of the king, the rest are inscriptions of subordinates. Frayne 1993, 158–180.

seem absurd. It is well known that Sargonic kings were generous with their Akkadian elites; they purchased plots of land and “extended the lands under direct control of the ruling family and its followers, at the expense of the local landed gentries of the old cities” (A. Westenholz 1999, 46). Akkadian elites directly depended on the king’s success; they built their capital at the expense of the old elites in other cities, who most probably stood behind the Great Revolt. Therefore, the deification of Narām-Sîn was an instrument for those Akkadian elites to further suppress the old elites of conquered cities and justify their enrichment as acquired from the divine king. They hardly were victims of Narām-Sîn’s tyrannic nature. Even before Narām-Sîn, Sargonic kings occasionally were praised as divine beings in subject-addresser inscriptions. It could signify that a particular group of Akkadian elites had the idea of royal deification even before the Great Revolt.

The royal inscriptions with DINGIR in front of Narām-Sîn’s name never refer to Ištar-Annunītum and Ilaba (however, Narām-Sîn still mentioned Inanna from Uruk and Inanna from Zabala).⁹⁸ These inscriptions are silent about the king’s family relations with other gods; the only exception is a *subject-addresser* text RIME 2.1.4.2002 that mentions the king as *ru’u* “friend” of the god ^dNIN.KIŠ.UNU, who stands for Nergal (Wiggermann 1998–2001, 215, 217). Absence of Ištar-Annunītum and Ilaba in the texts written after the deification indicates that Narām-Sîn might have substituted them in the function of the city-deities. Theoretically, he also could have substituted (and merged with) Ilaba and so became Ištar-Annunītum’s spouse. However, claims for marital status with the goddess are known from the texts supposedly composed before the king’s deification but not after it. The inscriptions with DINGIR do not mention Enlil as the source of royal authority; however, they mention the god Dagan as the bestower of Narām-Sîn’s authority over the people of Ebla, Armānum, and Ulišim (see RIME 2.1.4.26, lines 46–50 and 88–92). Interestingly, after the deification, Narām-Sîn did not change his theophoric name, which contains the name of the god Sîn; his name connected him to another deity. One can speculate that Narām-Sîn did not attempt to make himself a deity equal to great gods. Otherwise, he would have introduced a new divine name. It can be argued that the royal practice of name changing is not attested in that period; however, the same is true about the explicit deification of kings before Narām-Sîn.

Based on the data from the *Bassetki inscription* and *subject-addresser* texts, it seems that Narām-Sîn became only the god of his capital (*il Akkadi*), but not the whole subjugated territory. Narām-Sîn never claimed the title *dîgir kalam-ma*, “god of the land,” which was later used by the Ur III kings. At the same time, the title *dîgir a-ga-dè^{KI}* “god of Agade” is parallel to the title *lugal a-ga-dè^{KI}* “king of Agade.” Both these titles have an explicit geographical association with the capital city. In my view, some texts make a contrast between Agade and *the four quarters of the world*. It is true that Narām-Sîn introduced the title *šar kibrāt*

⁹⁸ For Ilaba’s position as the city god in Agade, see Krebernik 2016–18, 392, 396.

arba'im, “king of the four quarters of the world,” in royal inscriptions; therefore, it is logical to assume that the title designated the limits of Narām-Sîn’s military ambition. But it is also true that in the texts mentioning the great revolt, *kibrāt arba'im* is a designation of the enemy. One can speculate that Narām-Sîn introduced the title *šar kibrāt arba'im* before the rebellion. However, after the great revolt (and his deification as the city god of Agade) Narām-Sîn started to stress his local (city) identity instead of the universalistic one because of his negative experience during the revolt.

Narām-Sîn never used the titles *lugal kiš* or *lugal kalam-ma* in his inscriptions; however, he maintained the usage of *šar Akkadi*. Instead of these old titles, Narām-Sîn introduced the new epithet *šar kibrāt arba'im* “king of the four quarters of the world.”⁹⁹ He also actively used the epithet *dannum* “mighty.” Narām-Sîn introduced these titles before the victory over the rebels and formal deification; this fact indicates Narām-Sîn’s initiative to change the royal ideology.

II. 3.5. Šar-kali-šarrī

Šar-kali-šarrī (2217–2193 BC), a son of Narām-Sîn, became the last king of the Sargonic dynasty. According to the SKL, he reigned for twenty-five years. During his reign, Šar-kali-šarrī completed constructing of different temples, started by Narām-Sîn (Steinkeller 2011, 12–13). For example, two kings have identical royal inscriptions relating to a temple of Inanna in Zabala (RIME 2.1.4.29 and RIME 2.1.5.5). The king fought against coalitions of rebelling Sumerian cities, against Amorites, Elamites, and Gutians. The invasion of Gutians was probably partly motivated by climate change (the 4.2 kiloyear aridification event), which also limited the agricultural income of the Akkadian kingdom (Weiss 2017, 117). The crises led to the change of political balance. Šar-kali-šarrī was the last Akkadian king who controlled most of Southern Babylon at least in his first regnal years (Frayne 1993, 186).

Šar-kali-šarrī has left twenty-five royal inscriptions; eight of them have DINGIR (32%). Fifteen texts are *subject-addresser*; four of them with DINGIR (27%).¹⁰⁰ Out of ten royal inscriptions, four texts have DINGIR (40%).¹⁰¹ However, the picture is different when analyzing original texts and later copies separately. Seven royal inscriptions survive in original exercises (only one text

⁹⁹ For example, see the texts RIME 2.1.4. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11–13, 18, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 33, 35–38, 41–43, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 1003, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2011, 2016. The texts RIME 2.1.4.2002, 2005, 2006, 2011, 2016 are inscriptions on votive objects or seals of the king’s subordinates (Frayne 1993, 88–175).

¹⁰⁰ Subject addresser texts: RIME 2.1.5.2001–2015. Texts with DINGIR: RIME 2.1.5.2001, 2010, 2012, 2015.

¹⁰¹ Inscriptions: RIME 2.1.5. 1–10. The texts with DINGIR: RIME 2.1.5. 2, 4, 6, 10.

has DINGIR – 14%),¹⁰² while three are known only in later copies (all three are with DINGIR – 100%).¹⁰³ One can notice that original texts are much more moderate in praising the king as divine than later copies. The frequency of the divine determinative with Šar-kali-šarrī's name in the *subject-addresser* inscriptions is twice smaller compared with those of his father. It may indicate that courtiers restrained themselves from praising their king as a deity.

The absence of the determinative DINGIR in most texts may hint that the king lost his divine status sometime after his first regnal year (Sazonov 2007, 333–334). Otherwise, one should propose that this status was either functional (mentioned only in particular situations) or not obligatory (decorative). If the status of Šar-kali-šarrī as a deity was revised, sources have not preserved any information about rituals that must have accompanied this event. Piotr Michalowski argued that the number of original texts with the determinative is insufficient to prove Šar-kali-šarrī himself aspired to divinity (Michalowski 2012, 35). However, since the total number of surviving original texts is also small, Michalowski's argument seems weak. Still, a particular decrease in the frequency of the determinative DINGIR usage compared with his father's texts is evident. The title *il māti URI.KI*, “god of the *land of Akkadians* (= Warûm),”¹⁰⁴ and the position of Enlil's son discussed later are significant arguments for the actual attempt of Šar-kali-šarrī to claim divinity.

There is no explanation for Šar-kali-šarrī's divinity in his royal inscriptions like that in the *Bassetki inscription*. His divinity is an inherited status. If one agrees with the interpretation of Narām-Sîn's deification as functional deification in the role of Ilaba, then the deification of Šar-kali-šarrī should be understood as the transmission of Ilaba's divine function to Šar-kali-šarrī. This view can be supported by evidence from the text RIME 2.1.5.6 (col. i, 4 – col. ii, 5) which narrates *Šar-kali-šarrī 'mār dā'dišu [...]* [*māhris Ellili*] *abi'su' ana Nippuri elakam al'su izzaz* “Šar-kali-šarrī, the beloved son, [...] came before Enlil his father to Nippur and stands *before him*.” The epithet *mār dādi Ellil* “beloved son of the god Enlil” puts Šar-kali-šarrī on the same level as the god Ninurta (or Ilaba), who also was a beloved son of Enlil (Sazonov 2016, 51). This passage hints at a journey that Šar-kali-šarrī made to Nippur to get Enlil's approval. It resembles some Sumerian hymns mentioning gods traveling to Nippur for Enlil's blessing.¹⁰⁵ It could be that Šar-kali-šarrī legitimated his divinity in this way.

¹⁰² Original inscriptions: RIME 2.1.5. 1, 2, 3, 5(CUSAS 17, text 11), 7, 8, 9. Texts with DINGIR: RIME 2.1.5. 2.

¹⁰³ Inscriptions known from later copies only: RIME 2.1.5. 4, 6, 10.

¹⁰⁴ For Warûm, see Schrakamp 2014-16b, 645-647. It was Westenholz who proposed to translate the title as “god of Warûm,” where Warûm designates not only the city of Agade but the whole region north of the Diyala and along the Tigris (A. Westenholz 1999, 33).

¹⁰⁵ For example, *Nanna-Suen's journey to Nibru* (ETCSL 1.5.1) or *Enki's journey to Nibru* (ETCSL 1.1.4). The journey was not always to Nippur, but its aim was always to grant the traveling god with a god fate or divine powers ME. See *Ninurta's journey to Eridug* (ETCSL 4.27.2).

Some researchers have explained the journey to Nippur as a coronation ceremony (Frayne 1993, 184).

On the other hand, the *subject-addresser* votive inscription RIME 2.1.5.2012 has the title *il māti* URI.KI, “god of the *land of Akkadians*”. Therefore, Šar-kali-šarrī presumably pretended to be a god of a higher position than his father, who was only a deity of his capital city. If Šar-kali-šarrī inherited the association with Ilaba from his father, why would he claim for himself more divine authority? At this moment, no definite answer can be proposed. It either reflects the universalistic ambitions of the king (also expressed in his name Šar-kali-šarrī, „king of all kings”) or his attempt to make his own divine status a binder material for all subjected territories (the same as the divinity of Ur III kings would later be).

The only source of Šar-kali-šarrī’s royal authority was Enlil. It is proved by the bilingual text RIME 2.1.5.4. The text is damaged; however, the line 16 has the verb *in-na-an-šúm* “he gave to him” that, according to the context, should relate to Enlil. The royal inscriptions of Šar-kali-šarrī often mention the god Enlil as one controlling the king’s actions; the text RIME 2.1.5.1 (lines 1–2) says: *Ellil ukāllim* “Enlil instructed (him).” Šar-kali-šarrī claimed to bring his enemies before Enlil in chains (RIME 2.1.5.5, lines 31–34) like Sargon and Narām-Sîn. The standard title of the king in royal inscriptions is *šar Akkadi* “king of Agade.” Šar-kali-šarrī never used titles *énsi*, *maškim*, *šagina*, *gudu*₄, or *pašeš*. It seems that he changed the title *iššakku Ellili* “governor of Enlil” with *šar būlāti Ellil* “king of Enlil’s subjects.”¹⁰⁶ Another unique title of Šar-kali-šarrī is *šāqû Ellili* “cupbearer of Enlil,”¹⁰⁷ a very high courtier position (Sallaberger 1999, 186–187). It reminds of Sargon’s literary image as a cupbearer of Ur-Zababa.

II. 3.6. Static-Relative analysis of the Sargonic period royal texts

The five Sargonic kings have left 159 royal inscriptions. There are no surviving royal hymns attributed to the Sargonic period.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 34 inscriptions (19% of total); 6 with DINGIR (17% of group).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 41 inscriptions (26% of total); 5 with DINGIR (12% of group).

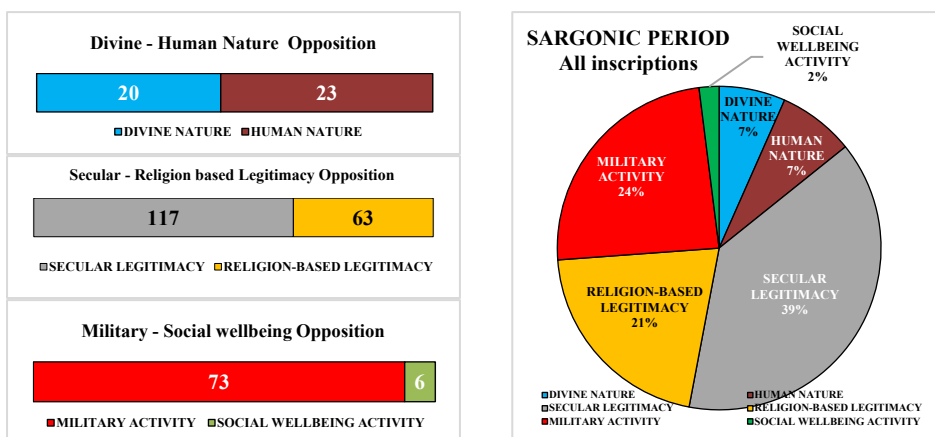
¹⁰⁶ For example, see texts RIME 2.1.5.2 (lines 7–8), 4 (10–12), 10 (3–5), 2001 (2–4), Frayne 1993, 188–198

¹⁰⁷ See text RIME 2.1.5.4 (lines 6–7), Frayne 1993, 191. The text is probably a Neo-Babylonian copy. For the akkadian *šāqû* (steward, cupbearer), see CAD Š2, 28–30. It is written here by the logogram SAGI or SILA₃.ŠU.DU₈ , where SILA₃ is a *vessel*, and ŠU DU₈ is a verb *to hold*. SAGI can be an early loan from Akkadian *šāqû* (Huber Vuillet 2019, 79).

- 3) *human-orientated* – 18 inscriptions (11% of total); 7 with DINGIR (63% of group).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 58 inscriptions (17%); 21 with DINGIR (36% of group).

This data is an average for five kings, three of whom have not used the determinative DINGIR. Still, it demonstrates that texts with DINGIR were mainly addressing human beings, not gods. Additionally, eight texts¹⁰⁸ cannot be included in any of these target categories and will be counted exclusively in the general analysis by all royal inscriptions.

II. 3.6.1. All royal inscriptions



In general, the highest importance in the Sargonic royal inscriptions lies on the *secular legitimacy* epithets (117 inscriptions – 72% of the total) and *military activity* epithets (73 inscriptions – 46% of the total.) The third most significant group of epithets is religion-based legitimacy epithets (63 inscriptions – 39% of the total.)

The analysis of the royal inscriptions without segregation into inscriptions' groups shows approximate balance in the mentions of *divine-nature* and *human-nature* epithets. None of the epithet types show a clear predominance; both are relatively rare – 20–23 inscriptions, about 14% of the total inscriptions for the period.

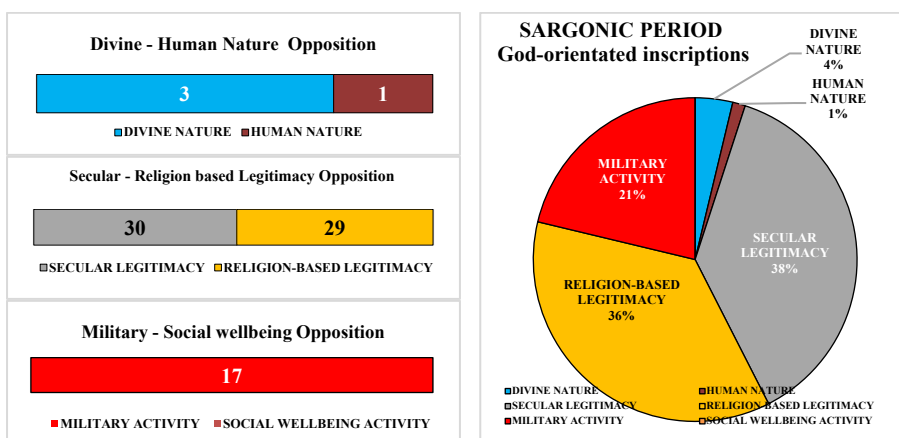
Secular legitimacy epithets are more numerous than *religion-based* legitimacy ones. The proportion is about 1,8:1 respectively.

¹⁰⁸ RIME 2.1.2. 19; RIME 2.1.3. 2; RIME 2.1.4. 39, 40, 45, 46, 47, 1002.

Mentions of the *military activity* significantly (12 times) outnumber mentions of *social-wellbeing* activity.

The royal title lugal “king” is the most frequently used one (116 inscriptions – 73% of the total). Royal inscriptions also attest to such titles as énsi-gal “chief executive,” massu/*muttarrû* “leader,” maškim “bailiff,” and *šāpiru* “overseer.”¹⁰⁹ All these titles have a minimum frequency in the texts (about 2% of the total).

II. 3.6.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



Compared with the described above characteristics of the Sargonic royal inscriptions in general (III. 4.3.1), the *god-orientated* royal inscriptions demonstrate some unique features.

Any mentions of the king’s nature, be it the *divine* or *human* nature, are minimal (combined about 12% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions). However, mentions of the king’s *divine nature* are three times more frequent than the mentions of *human nature*. *Divine-nature* epithets claim only family relations with gods, not the divine features of the king himself.

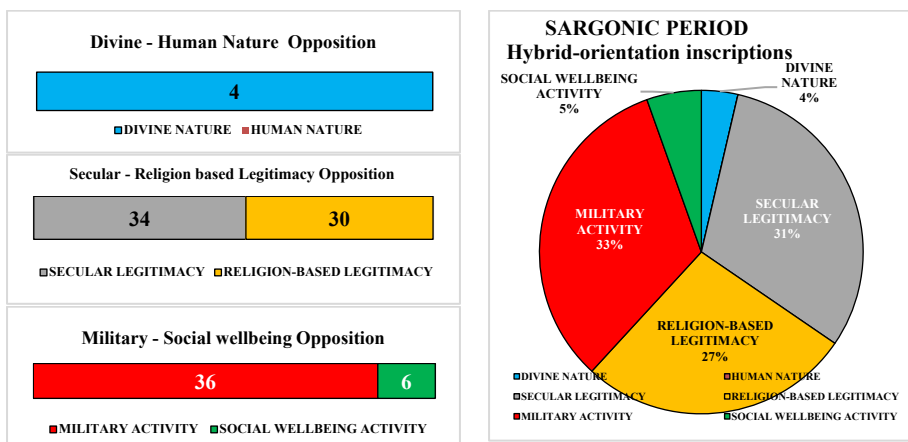
The frequency of references to *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* is almost equal (respectively, 30 inscriptions – 88% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions and 29 inscriptions – 85% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions).

No *social wellbeing* activity epithets are found in the *god-orientated* texts; mentions of *military activity* are relatively frequent (17 inscriptions – 50% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions). Most of the *military activity* epithets are factual descriptions of military actions (15 inscriptions – 44% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions), and not some general epithets of strength (5 inscriptions – 14% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions).

¹⁰⁹ The precise definition of the title *šāpiru* can be found in CAD Š/1, 453–458.

The royal title *lugal* has the highest frequency of usage in the god-orientated royal inscriptions (30 inscriptions – 88% of the *god-orientated* inscriptions); other titles such as *énsi-gal* and *maškim* appear only once (3 % of the *god-orientated* inscriptions).

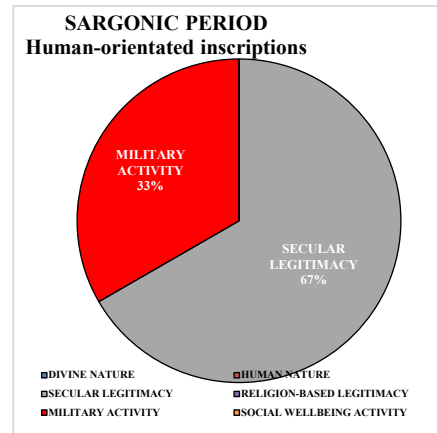
II. 3.6.3. Hybrid-orientation royal inscriptions



No *hybrid-orientation* royal inscription has any *human nature* epithets attributed to Sargonic kings. Only *divine nature* epithets are attested (four inscriptions – 10% of the group). One text (*Bassetki inscription*) is analyzed as *hybrid-orientation* inscription. It has unique statements of royal divinity: topos of *introducing the king into divine status in reward for his military achievements through petitioning great gods* and topos of *constructing a temple for the king*. Otherwise, there is no direct claims of divinity in the *hybrid-orientation* texts. Similar to the *god-orientated* inscriptions, *secular* and *religion-based* legitimacy inscriptions are balanced. *Military activity* epithets have even higher frequency than legitimacy epithets.

The most frequently used royal title is *lugal* (33 inscriptions – 80% of the *hybrid-orientation* inscriptions). Such titles as *énsi-gal*, *massu*, *maškim*, and *šāpiru* are rare (the maximum number of inscriptions for one title is three inscriptions – 5% of the *human-orientated* inscriptions).

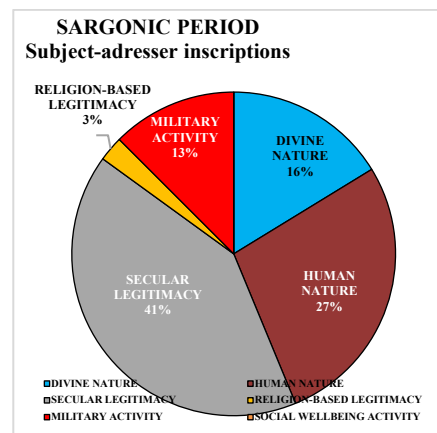
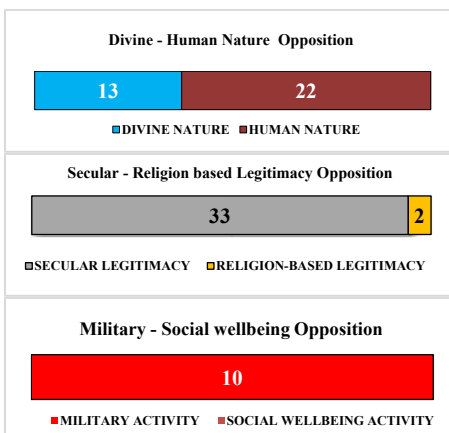
II. 3.6.4. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



Human-orientated royal inscriptions have very limited epithet variety. They either stress secular legitimacy epithets (88% of the *human-orientated* inscriptions) or praise military activity of the kings (44% of the *human-orientated* inscriptions).

The only royal title is lugal (16 inscriptions – 88% of the *human-orientated* inscriptions).

II. 3.6.5. Subject-addresser inscriptions



Human nature epithets have a higher frequency (22 inscriptions – 38% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions) than *divine-nature* epithets (13 inscriptions – 22% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions). However, these estimations are to be interpreted carefully. The nature of *subject-addresser* inscriptions often requires identification of the relationship between the subject and his kings. There are

many inscriptions of royal family members: children or wives. Any indications of ancestors of the king in the Sargonic period are sporadic. Therefore, one should not overestimate the importance of the references to the *human nature* in this group of texts. A significant difference from other types of royal inscriptions is that 12 *subject-addresser* inscriptions (20% of the group) directly refer to a king as a deity through royal epithets like *il Akkadi* “god of Agade.” One text (1,7% of the group) mentions family relations between the king and gods. There are almost no *religion-based* legitimacy epithets (2 inscriptions – 3% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions) in this group of inscriptions. Instead, the absolute majority of the legitimacy pronouncing epithets are *secular* (33 inscriptions – 57% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions). Ten texts have references to *military activities* (17% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions). The factual descriptions of military actions are less frequent (2 inscriptions – 3% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions).

The royal title *lugal* is the only one in the *subject-addresser* group of inscriptions (33 inscriptions – 57% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions).

II. 3.7. Conclusions

The Sargonic period witnessed the first attempt to formally acknowledge partial or complete divinity claims through the determinative DINGIR preceding royal names. However, only two kings of the dynasty, *Narām-Sîn* and *Šar-kali-šarri*, were deified in a conspicuous way.

In my view, the first Sargonic kings copied the Sumerian royal ideology of the ED period. Therefore, their royal inscriptions have no direct markers of these kings’ sacredness. On the other hand, these kings could possess some sacredness, as evident from the surviving onomasticon examples (names *šar-ru-gi-i-lí* “Sargon is my god,” *ilī-Rīmuš*, “my god is Rīmuš”) or the usage of the determinative DINGIR on a cylindric seal (RIME 2.1.3.2003) in front of *Maništušu*’s name. While the seal legend might have been written in later periods, there is no reason to think that the mentioned names are necessarily late. Moreover, these names probably follow the Sumerian pattern of royal praise witnessed in ED Lagaš (compare the name *pa₄-pa₄-diĝir-ĝu₁₀*, “[Baranamtara] is my personal god[dess]” which is contemporary to queen Baranamtara).

Data from *Narām-Sîn*’s inscriptions suggest that the highest percent of DINGIR usage was in the *subject-addresser* texts. It may hint that a group of high courtiers (the same people who added DINGIR to the name of *Maništušu* in the seal) were a locomotive behind his deification. Then, the description of the royal deification as a process initiated by *unkennu*, “assembly,” of Agade given in the *Bassetki* inscription should be understood literally. These people should have associated their own prosperity with the king’s well-being, and his deification probably allowed them to acquire a superior status compared to other Sumerian elites.

On the other hand, the argument of the determinative DINGIR higher frequency in the *subject-addresser* texts can be challenged if one compares data surviving exclusively in original texts without data from later copies. The frequency of the determinative in the texts is approximately the same. Still, I find the hypothesis mentioned above valid because I regard later copies as a correct and trustful representation of original texts.

Narām-Sîn probably modeled his position after his family god Ilaba. The disappearance of Ištar-Anunītum and Ilaba from the texts explicitly stating the divine status of the king may hint that deified Narām-Sîn either merged with Ilaba or replaced Ilaba and Ištar-Anunītum in the function of the city-god. The title *mut Ištar-Anunītum* (RIME 2.1.4.1) may indicate that Narām-Sîn even before his formal deification could have been identified with Ilaba. However, there is only one piece of evidence, so it is impossible to determine whether Narām-Sîn actually participated in the sacred marriage ritual as Ištar-Anunītum's spouse (and a double of Ilaba) before his formal deification. The fact that other Sargonic kings had not claimed spousal relations with any goddess supports the view that this was unlikely (or if Narām-Sîn participated in the rite, it was a marginal practice for Sargonic kings). The only reason for the king's deification according to the *Bassetki* inscription was his ability to protect his city. This agrees very well with the enormous importance of the military activity epithets in the royal inscriptions of Sargonic kings compared with the texts of ED rulers. It seems essential that divinity was a reward for the king's protective activities; therefore, the divine status was not strongly related to the king's universalistic ambitions (offensive military activity).

Šar-kali-šarrī probably acquired his divine status right after his accession to the throne. There are no surviving texts explaining his deification similar to the *Bassetki* inscription. The fact that Šar-kali-šarrī claimed divine origin as the first-born son of Enlil supports the idea that he identified himself with the prototype of a young warrior god (Ninġirsu, Ninurta, or Ilaba in the case of Agade). Šar-kali-šarrī mentioned a journey to his father Enlil in Nippur (RIME 2.1.5.6) that might have served both as coronation ceremony and a ceremony legitimating the king's divinity. The title *il māti* URI.KI, "god of the *land of Akkadians*," support the view that Šar-kali-šarrī's divine responsibility was wider than that of his father. Šar-kali-šarrī claimed his divine authority over Northern Mesopotamia, while Narām-Sîn was only a god of his city Agade. It is likely that Šar-kali-šarrī had to denounce his divinity due to external circumstances. If one agrees that Šar-kali-šarrī was also deified as a protector of his city, the inability to perform this protection was enough to avoid any mentions of his divinity. The *subject-addresser* texts of Šar-kali-šarrī have significantly lower frequency of the DINGIR inscriptions as compared to Narām-Sîn. I believe it can indicate reluctance of the subjects to praise the king as a deity which might have affected the final denouncement of the status.

II. 4. Gutians and the Transitional period

II. 4.1. Gutians

The tribes of Gutians, probably from the Zagros mountains, gained political dominance in Mesopotamia close to the end of Šar-kali-šarri's reign. The SKL mentions 21 Gutian rulers; each had a short reign. Royal inscriptions of only three Gutian kings (Erridu-pizir, Lā-'arāb, Si'um) have survived, five texts in total. These texts show Gutians' ambition to replace Sargonic kings. No Gutian king ever claimed divinity (through the determinative DINGIR) or origin from gods. Gutians left almost no influence in the local culture; their ethnic origin or language features are unknown. Therefore, a detailed analysis of those inscriptions and rulers is omitted here. The temporal extent of the Gutian dominance is still under dispute; however, it falls within the century between Šar-kali-šarri and Ur-Namma of Ur (2193–2112 BC).

II. 4.2. Lagaš II Dynasty

Compared to other Mesopotamian cities at this period, relatively many royal inscriptions survived in Lagaš. Most of the Sumerian cities had to pay tribute to the Gutians. Lagaš was not an exception, even though it enjoyed some independence and stability. Usually, the city's rulers of that period are grouped as the Lagaš II dynasty. The group consisted of twelve rulers; the consensus concerning the order of their reigns has not been achieved yet (Michalowski 2013, 177). Royal inscriptions of only eight rulers have survived. Additionally, texts of one Sargonic governor who achieved the city's independence after Šar-kali-šarri's death are analyzed.

II. 4.2.1. Puzur-Mama

Only two royal inscriptions are known of Puzur-Mama. One of them is a subject-addresser text (RIME 2.12.5.2001). In the only royal inscription Puzur-Mama used various topoi that associate mainly with the royal ideology of Lagaš I dynasty (RIME 2.12.5. 1).

In his only royal inscription, Puzur-Mama claimed the title *lugal lagaš*^{KI} “king of Lagaš” (col. iii, lines 6'–8'). The title designated Puzur-Mama not only as an independent ruler after the collapse of the Akkadian state but also as the founder of a new dynasty in Lagaš. Puzur-Mama claimed goddess Ninšubur to be *ama tu-da-ni* “mother who gave him birth” (col. iii, lines 2'–3'). Selz demonstrated that this goddess was of relatively minor importance in Lagaš until the days of Uru-inim-gina; she was his personal god (Selz 1995, 264–266). Therefore, claims for divine maternity of Ninšubur probably aimed to establish a connection with the last independent ruler of the city. Puzur-Mama also claimed to be *dumu tu-da* ^d*ĝatumdug* “son born by Ĝatumdug” (col. ii, lines 11'–12') and *ga zi*

gu₇-a ^dnin-hur-saĝ “feed the true milk by Ninhursaĝ” (col. ii, lines 7’–8’); another title was mu ðùĝ sa₄-a ^dinanna “called a good name by Inanna.” (col. ii, lines 9’–10’). These epithets strongly resemble the epithets of E-anatum in RIME 1.9.3.1, especially the chosenness by goddess Inanna, divine origin, and nourishment by Ninhursaĝ. Puzur-Mama’s text is damaged; therefore, no direct mention of military activity has survived. Still, it gives the name of Kutik-Inšušinak of Elam in the beginning, which resembles the way E-anatum mentioned his enemies from Umma. Puzur-Mama also claimed special divine favor from the gods Enlil (called by name), Ningirsu (granted strength), and Enki (granted wisdom).¹¹⁰ However, no direct mentions of empowering the king with the royal authority or royal insignia have survived. By analogy with E-anatum, it should be the god Ningirsu who granted royal power. Puzur-Mama claimed sacredness at the same level as the great rulers of ED Lagaš but he never demonstrated it as explicitly as late Sargonic kings did. Interestingly, the *List of the rulers of Lagaš* (ETCSL 2.1.2) called Puzur-Mama (line 183) dub-sar ^dnin-ki “scribe of the goddess Ninki.” Ninki was a chthonic deity also known as Ereškigal (Selz 1995, 255). Ninki and Ninšubur, divine mother of Puzur-Mama, are very similar divine figures – both are chthonic goddesses, whose names can be translated “lady of the earth/ground” (ibid., 255, 264–266), and who can represent different aspects of the same deity.

II. 4.2.2. Ur- Ningirsu I

Eight royal inscriptions refer to Ur-Ningirsu I; five of them are subject-addresser texts. Attribution of some inscriptions to Ur-Ningirsu I and not to Ur-Ningirsu II is only tentative. The ruler never used any explicit markers of sacredness; inscriptions also do not specify the source of Ur-Ningirsu I’s authority. Ur-Ningirsu I used only the title énsi “ruler.” It is in accordance with the royal ideology of the Lagaš I dynasty.

II. 4.2.3. Pirig-me

Pirig-me, son of Ur-Ningirsu I, has left one royal inscription (RIME 3/1.1.2. 1). In this text, he claimed to be dumu tu-da “son born by” Ninsumun (lines 14–15). It hints at some connection with Uruk and the mythical tradition of divine Gilgameš, who also was a son of Ninsumun. Pirig-me also mentions special divine favor by the gods Nanše (chosen) and Ningirsu (called). His only royal title was énsi “ruler.”

¹¹⁰ RIME 2.12.5.1, col. ii, lines 1’–6’.

II. 4.2.4. Ur-Bau

Ur-Bau became the next ruler of Lagaš. His origin is unknown. The *list of the rulers of Lagaš* called him dub-sar ur-^d[nin-ĝir-su-ka] “scribe of Ur-Ninĝirsu” (ETCSL 2.1.2, line 196).

Ur-Bau had four daughters. Three became wives of the following rulers Gudea, Nammahani, and Ur-GAR (Rudik 2014–16, 410). It is an important aspect of the proposed archaic tradition of power transmission through marriage (Selz 2006, 91). Ur-Bau appointed another daughter Enanepada as the high priestess in the temple of Nanna in Ur. This act is a marker of Lagashite significance in the region’s politics because only the most powerful ruler of the region was traditionally able to appoint new high priests.

Ur-Bau has left thirteen royal inscriptions; four of them are subject-addresser texts. Ur-Bau often claimed to be dumu tu-da “son born by” Nin-á-gal.¹¹¹ Emelianov equated nin-á-gal with nin-é-gal and argued that Ur-Bau was regarded as an offspring of sacred marriage and a son of Inanna (Emelianov 2016, 65). It is an interesting interpretation and could explain the strange fact that the masculine deity Nin-á-gal is one who gave birth to Ur-Bau. However, the equation of nin-á-gal with nin-é-gal might be problematic because all six mentioned inscriptions always mention nin-á-gal. Nin-á-gal and nin-é-gal are two different deities with different characteristics;¹¹² however, as an argument supporting Emelianov’s position one can mention that nin-á-gal is well-documented only from the Ur III period (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001a, 325).

The text RIME 3/1.1.6.5 describes Ur-Bau as lú inim-ma sig₁₀-ga ^dinanna-ke₄ árad ki-áĝ ^dlugal-URUxGÁNA ki-áĝ ^ddumu-zi-abzu-ka-ke₄ “actualizing the words of Inanna, beloved slave of lugal-URUxGÁNA,¹¹³ beloved of Dumuzi-Abzu.” It probably relates to his responsibilities in the preparation of divine marriage ceremonies. Additionally, some texts mention special favors of the gods Nanše (chosen), Ninĝirsu (granted strength), Bau (called), Enki (granted wisdom). Still, royal inscriptions of Ur-Bau do not describe the empowerment of the ruler with royal authority or insignia.

II. 4.2.5. Gudea

Many surviving written materials make Gudea (2143–2123 BC) the most known ruler of the Lagaš II Dynasty. Gudea was married to Nin-alla, a daughter of Ur-Bau. Gudea declined the existence of his human parents in his Cylinder A (col. III, lines 6–7). Based on this information, some scholars propose that Gudea was

¹¹¹ The claim appeared at least in six royal inscriptions, see RIME 3/1.1.6. 1 (lines 7–8), 2 (lines 6–7), 4 (col. i, lines 7–8), 5 (col. i, lines 7–8), 6 (col. i, lines 7–8), 8 (lines 6–7).

¹¹² For nin-á-gal, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik, 1998–2001a, 325–326. For nin-é-gal, see Behrens and Klein 1998–2001, 342–347.

¹¹³ Lugal-URUxGÁNA can be identified as Inanna’s partner Ama-ušum-gal (Selz 1995, 163).

a child born to the nin-diĝir priestess of Ġatumdug (Falkenstein 1957–1971, 676). During Gudea's reign, Lagaš had conflicts with Elam and Anšan. Still, the major event of his reign was the construction of the Ningirsu's temple in Lagaš. It was immortalized in *the Cylinders A and B*. Gudea was the first ruler to praise his building activities in hymns; it was his method of communicating with gods and establishing harmonious life filled with social justice (Edzard 1997, 26–28). Precise extent of Gudea's reign is not clear; usually, it is assumed that Gudea either lived before Ur-Nammu under Gutians (Emelianov 2016, 74) or was contemporaneous with the first Ur III kings (Steinkeller 1988, 51). This dissertation assumes that Gudea lived before Ur-Namma (maybe his last year overlapped with the first year of Ur-Namma); it follows the latest discussion by Sallaberger and Schrakamp (2015, 122).

Gudea has left one hundred twenty-nine royal inscriptions.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 42 inscriptions (33% of total).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 62 inscriptions (48% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 3 inscriptions (2% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 13 inscriptions (10 % of total).

Additionally, nine texts (7% of total) cannot be subsumed under any of these target text categories and will only be counted for analysis according to the total number of inscriptions.¹¹⁴ All inscriptions are known from original exemplars; some texts (building inscriptions) have numerous exemplars exceeding thousand items (for example, RIME 3/1.1.7. 37). The Old Babylonian inscription CUSAS 17, 22 establishes synchronicity between Gudea and Šulgi. Wilcke believes the text to be a copy of an original royal inscription of Gudea (Wilcke 2011, 29). However, the fact that it is the only text of Gudea (and Lagaš II dynasty) surviving in a copy together with its stressed connection of the king with Ekur and Enlil that never appears in numerous original royal inscriptions indicates that the text may be a later composition. Therefore, following Marchesi (Wilcke 2011, 29, n. 1) and Suter (Suter 2012, 59), I assume this text to be a product of Old Babylonian writing schools and do not analyze it here. The present dissertation analyzes Gudea's famous cylinders as royal hymns.¹¹⁵

Royal inscriptions have no direct markers of Gudea's divinity. However, they have indirect markers of his sacredness. Four texts mention the divine origin of the ruler from the goddess Ġatumdug;¹¹⁶ curiously, three of these texts are *god-orientated* and one has *hybrid orientation*. Therefore, main addressers of these claims for divinity were probably not other human beings, but gods.

¹¹⁴ RIME 3/1.1.7. 15, 53, 60, 65, 80, 86, 87. Also, Gudea StAA and St L.

¹¹⁵ It appears among other royal inscriptions in Edzard 1997, 68–106. However, Edzard classifies the text as *Gudea's temple hymn* (ibid., 68).

¹¹⁶ See RIME 3/1.1.7 StB, col. ii, 16–17; StD, col. i, 17–18; StF, col. i, 12– col. ii, 1; and RIME 3/1.1.7. 13, rev, 1'.

The true bestowers of Gudea's royal authority and royal insignia are Ningirsu, the city god of Lagaš, and Igalim, a son of Ningirsu. Statue B (lines 45–50) narrates: u₄ ^dnin-ĝir-su-ke₄ iri-ni-šè igi zi im-ši-bar-ra ġù-dé-a sipa zi-šè kalam-ma ba-ni-pà-da šà lú šaru-ta šu-ni ba-ta-dab₅-ba-a “the day Ningirsu truly looked at his city and chose Gudea as a true shepherd of the land, from the great mass of people he took his hand.” This passage closely resembles the inscription of Uru-inim-gina in RIME 1.9.9.1. It indicates that the king was chosen by oracle from many candidates. The Statue D (lines 55–56) mentions Gudea as ġidru šúm-ma ^dnin-ĝir-su-ka-ra “given scepter by Ningirsu.” The Statues B (lines 38–49) and D (lines 19–20) describe Gudea as nam-nir-ġál ġidru mah šúm-ma ^dig-alim-ka-ke₄ “given the authority and the great scepter by Igalim.”

Rulers of Lagaš before Gudea had never mentioned the children of Ningirsu as the bestowers of their authority. It is unclear why Gudea needed to mention Igalim in this function. By doing so, he added distance to his relationship with Ningirsu. Other deities (Nanše, Nindara, Šulšagana, Inanna, Enlil, Bau) also granted Gudea various favors but not the royal authority or royal insignia.

Based on the absences of the direct markers of Gudea's divinity, many researchers reject the idea that Gudea held the divine status during his lifetime (Sazonov 2016, 35). After his death, Gudea was deified with the determinative DINGIR before his name in later votive inscriptions and seals (Edzard 1997, 26). Still, it is evident that inscriptions of Gudea have numerous *sophisticated allusions* to the king's *degrees of divinity* which allow his identification with Ningirsu and Ningišzida (Suter 2015, 507, 523). Disagreement among researchers concerning interpretation of specific lines (especially in Gudea's cylinders) could result from the intentional ambiguity of these texts (ibid., 513).

In this dissertation, two compositions are analyzed as royal hymns referring to Gudea. One text is a *deity-praising* hymn *A tigi to Bau for Gudea* (Gudea A), another composition is the zà-mí temple hymn narrating *the building of Ningirsu's temple* (Gudea, cylinders A and B). Both hymns do not use the determinative DINGIR in front of the ruler's name. However, *Cylinder B* seems to represent Gudea ambiguously. Therefore, Gudea can be identified with Ningirsu and Ningišzida in some contexts. There are two contexts which can be understood as a direct reference to Gudea with the title diġir “god.” Still, there is no agreement on the precise understanding of those lines.

The first context (Cyl. B, col. i, 15) says énsi-ke₄ diġir iri-na-ke₄ rá-zu im-ma-bé “the ruler, god of his city, says the supplication.” This translation follows understanding of Falkenstein, von Soden (Falkenstein, von Soden 1953, 166), and Edzard (1997, 89). The prayer is addressed to Anunna gods who wonder about the newly built temple; the prayer helped Gudea to achieve the support of his guardian deities, so they accompanied him to Ningirsu (col. ii 6–11). Support of Anunna-gods helps the successful handover of the construction site to the god Ningirsu (col. iii 3–4). However, Jacobsen translated the line “*prayers the ruler was saying unto the god of his city*” (Jacobsen 1987, 426). As Suter noted, ambiguity of the line could be intentional (Suter 2015, 513).

The second context (Cyl. B, col. xii, 26 – col. xiii, 17) is more complex.

xii.26 an kug-ge zid-dè-éš mu-ĝar	xii.26 Shining An rightly placed it,
xiii.1 ^d en-líl-e saĝ-ba gur bí-gùn	xiii.1 Enlil <i>decorated arcs</i> (?), ¹¹⁷
xiii.2 ^d nin-hur-saĝ-ke ₄ igi zi ba-ši-bar	xiii.2 Ninĥursag had looked at it with an eye of life,
xiii.3 ^d en-ki lugal eridu ^{KI} -ke ₄ temen-bi mu-sig ₉	xiii.3 Enki, king of Eridu, its foundation stone has placed.
xiii.4 en zid šag ₄ zalag-zalag-ga-ke ₄	xiii.4 the rightful lord of the purest heart,
xiii.5 ^d suen-e me-bi an ki-a im-mi- diri-ga-àm	xiii.5 Suen has made its ME (= properties) equate the heaven and earth.
xiii.6 ^d nin-ĝír-su-ke ₄ èš numun i-a šag ₄ -ge ba-ni-pàd	xiii.6 Ninĝirsu had chosen it in heart as a sanctuary giving the seed,
xiii.7 ama ^d nanše šeg ₁₂ ki lagaš ^{KI} -ka	xiii.7 Mother Nanše for the brick of Lagaš's land
xiii.8 mí zi ba-ni-in-dug ₄	xiii.8 she proclaimed the true care for it.
xiii.9 diĝir numun zid-zid-da-ke ₄	xiii.9 The god of the truest seed
xiii.10 é mu-dù mu-bi pa bí-è	xiii.10 has built the House and caused its name to appear.
xiii.11 aĝrig kal-ga ^d nanše-ke ₄	xiii.11 The mighty steward of Nanše,
xiii.12 sipa gú-tuku ^d nin-ĝír-su-ka-ke ₄	xiii.12 the copious shepherd of Ninĝirsu,
xiii.13 gal mu-zu gal ì-ga-túm-mu	xiii.13 one of great wisdom and able to realize things.
xiii.14 é-e lú é dù-a-ke ₄	xiii.14 For the House, the man who built it,
xiii.15 gù-dé-a énsi	xiii.15 Gudea, ruler
xiii.16 lagaš ^{KI} -ke ₄	xiii.16 of Lagaš,
xiii.17 saĝ im-rig ₇ -ge	xiii.17 is giving presents.

The title diĝir numun zid-zid-da-ke₄ “the god of [with] the truest seed [origin]” (xiii, 9) has no name of a deity to which it should refer. It is strange because all other lines have names of the respective gods. Adam Falkenstein proposed that the title stands for Ninĝišzida (Falkenstein 1966, 102). Later, Jacobsen (1987, 436) and Wiggermann (1997, 40) agreed with this explanation. Wiggermann explained the attribution of the title to Ninĝišzida with his role as Gudea's personal god (Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 370); i.e., numun-zid-zid-

¹¹⁷ This translation follows comments given by Gebhard Selz in a private communication (2023). Selz proposed reading gùn, „make colorful,” instead of dar. Based on the possible alternations between gur and gur₈, „to bend,” Selz proposed that gur stands for some architectural term like “arc.” Then, the idea in the line is that Enlil decorated or colored some architectural element of the temple.

da-ke₄, “most rightful progeny,” stands for Gudea and Ningišzida is his god. As an additional argument for this correlation, Wiggermann mentions the similar title of Ninsumun, ama gan numun-zid-da, “mother, birth giver of the reliable seed” (Cyl. B, col. xxiii, line 19). First translators of the Cylinders, such as François Thureau-Dangin (1905, 189), Ira Price (1927, 51), and even Adam Falkenstein (Falkenstein, von Soden 1953, 176), did not explain this title. Some later researchers also did not identify the title with Ningišzida; for example, Richard Averbeck (1987, 315), Dietz Edzard (1997, 95), or Claudia Suter (2000, 98). In my opinion, this title refers to Gudea himself. This view can be supported by parallelism in lines 6–10 and lines 11–17 (Cyl. B, col. xiii). The first group of lines mentions Ningirsu-Nanše and diĝir numun-zid-zid-da-ke₄, while the second group mentions Nanše-Ningirsu-Gudea. Therefore, diĝir numun-zid-zid-da-ke₄ might be equated with Gudea. However, if it is correct, this divinity marker should not be understood as proof of Gudea’s individual divinity, but of his assimilation with his personal god Ningišzida. The title can relate to Ningišzida, as proposed by Falkenstein. However, the absence of this deity’s name makes it *ambiguous*, and this ambiguity is likely intentional.

The title diĝir iri-na-ke₄ has a functional connection with Ningirsu; the title diĝir numun zid-zid-da-ke₄ appears in the context of the successful accomplishment of the temple construction. Therefore, all discussed references to Gudea with the title diĝir appear exclusively in the context of the temple building. There are no examples hinting at Gudea’s divinity in the contexts relating to his military activities (which was the primary reason for the explicit deification of Narām-Sîn).

In addition to these two alleged references to Gudea as diĝir, “god,” the ruler (or his statue) also appears introduced to Ningirsu’s temple as his servants after a list of smaller divinities (Cyl. B, xiv, 25 – xvi, 2). This passage clearly describes the ruler’s responsibilities as Ningirsu’s servant. Therefore, in Gudea’s case, his sacred status was connected more with his obligation rather than privileges. The text compares Gudea with Utu (Cyl. B, xviii, 12) and a bull (Cyl. B, xviii, 17). There is also a parallel in the description of the deeds of Gudea (Cyl. B, xviii, 14) and those of Enlil (Cyl. B, xiii, 1);¹¹⁸ however, there is no formal comparison between them. The formal comparison of Gudea with Utu, in my view, has no intention or persuasive power to depict the ruler as a divine being.

One line (Cyl. B, col. xxiii, 16) possibly refers to brotherhood between Gudea and Gilgameš: ^dgilgameš₂-da mú-a, “grown-up together with divine Gilgameš.” Moreover, the text also referred to Ninsumun as Gudea’s mother. Such an allusion to Gilgameš will later become a characteristic element of some Ur III kings’ ideology; however, it did not appear previously in the royal inscriptions of Sargonic or Early Dynastic kings. Gilgameš symbolized the unity of mortal and divine natures in one character. Therefore, the ambiguity of the two usages of the

¹¹⁸ The actor in Cyl. B, xviii, line 14 is presumably Gudea. He performs the same action saĝ-ĝá-ni-a gur im-mi-gùn “decorated arcs at its [the temple’s] top (?)” as Enlil did in Cyl. B, xiii, 1.

title *dîĝir*, “god,” mentioned above can be understood through comparison with the semi-divine *Gilgameš*.

Vladimir Emelianov argued that Gudea proclaimed himself a city-deity during his lifetime (Emelianov 2016, 65). Emelianov pointed to the fact that Gudea’s statue went through the ceremony of *mouth-opening*, which is specific for images of gods (Emelianov 2016, 67). Still, even though all mentioned facts are good indications of Gudea’s divine status during his lifetime, his name never appeared in contemporary texts with the determinative *DINGIR*. Therefore, Gudea acquired a high degree of sacredness, rather than a deification in person during his lifetime like *Narām-Sîn*.

Gudea (both in royal inscriptions and in royal hymns) never mentioned himself as *lugal* “king” and used only the title *énsi* “ruler.” Gudea’s statues mentioned *Igalim* and *Ninĝirsu* as the bestowers of the ruler’s authority and royal insignia. The Cylinder B quotes among its last lines these words of *Ninĝirsu*:

xxiv.6 [<i>énsi zid</i>] <i>é-e nam [dùg] tar-ra-me</i>	xxiv.6 [the true ruler], determined a good fate by the temple.
xxiv.7 [<i>gù</i>]- <i>dé-a [dumu] ^dnin-ĝiš-zid-da-ka</i>	xxiv.7 [Gu]dea [son] of <i>Ninĝišzida</i> ,
xxiv.8 [<i>nam</i>]- <i>tìl [ha]-mu-ra-sud</i>	xxiv.8 (your) life [will be] long.

As the result of the temple construction, *Ninĝirsu* granted Gudea long life; he also acknowledged his status as the ruler. However, the Cylinders never directly mention the granting of the authority or insignia to Gudea by the other deities.

II. 4.2.6. Ur-Ninĝirsu II

Ur-Ninĝirsu II was a son of Gudea. He has left ten royal inscriptions. Five texts are god-orientated (RIME 3/1.1.8. 1, 5–7), two texts are hybrid-orientation (RIME 3/1.1.8. 2, 3), two texts are human-orientated (RIME 3/1.1.8. 9, 10), one is *subject-addresser* (RIME 3/1.1.8.8). One text is too broken and would not be analyzed (RIME 3/1.1.8.4).

Ur-Ninĝirsu II often mentions Gudea as his father.¹¹⁹ There are no markers of the ruler’s divinity or sacredness in these texts. Except for mentioning the god *Ninĝišzida* as a personal god of Ur-Ninĝirsu II,¹²⁰ these texts have no specific mentions of divine favor for the ruler. Royal inscriptions are silent about the source of Ur-Ninĝirsu II’s royal authority. Like his father, Ur-Ninĝirsu II used the title *énsi* “ruler” exclusively.

¹¹⁹ See the texts RIME 3/1.1.8. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10.

¹²⁰ See the texts RIME 3/1.1.8. 6, 8.

II. 4.2.7. Ur-GAR

Ur-GAR, like Gudea and Nammahani, married one of Ur-Bau's daughters. He has left three royal inscriptions; all of them are subject-addresser texts. These texts have no markers of royal sacredness or any references to special divine favor for this ruler.

II. 4.2.8. Ur-Mama

This ruler probably succeeded Ur-ayabba, who left no royal inscriptions. At the same time, Ur-ayabba was a contemporary of Ur-Namma (Molina 2014–16a, 421). Only one *subject-addresser* text has remained from the time of Ur-Mama. This text has no markers of royal sacredness or references to special divine favor for this ruler.

II. 4.2.9. Nammahani

There is confusion regarding the ruler named Nammahani and his period of reign. Ur-Namma mentioned some Namhani of Lagaš in one of his inscriptions (RIME 3/2.1.1.20, col. i, 75–78); it is unclear if Ur-Namma appointed him to the position or, to the contrary, overthrew him (Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 120, n. 418). This Namhani is not necessarily the same person as ruler Nammahani from the seventeen surviving royal inscriptions from Lagaš (Edzard 1997, 194–207). Still another Nammahani is known as a ruler of Umma, making a rigorous study of this king's reign complicated (Neumann 1998–2001, 135). This study accounts for only fourteen most preserved royal inscriptions; eleven are subject-addresser texts. These texts have no markers of the ruler's sacredness. The only reference to gods is Nammahani's title of *aĝrig kalag* "mighty steward" of *Bau* (RIME 3/1.1.12.1, line 9).

II. 4.3. Uruk IV–V dynasties: the end of Gutian dominance

The Sumerian King List does not mention the rulers of Lagaš. The reason was probably a severe rivalry between members of the Ur III dynasty (who possibly arranged the first version of the SKL) and influential rulers of Lagaš (Espak 2016, 77). Two groups of Uruk kings frame the mention of Gutian dominance. They are usually referred to as the Uruk IV and Uruk V dynasties. However, the rulers of Uruk, like other Sumerian cities, were not independent and had to pay tribute to the Gutians. In comparison with Lagaš, almost no royal inscriptions from Uruk kings survived. Only four kings (Ur-Niĝin, Ur-gigira, Kuda, Utu-hegal) have left some texts.

II. 4.3.1. Ur-Niĝin

According to the SKL, Ur-Niĝin was the first king to rule in Uruk after the fall of Agade. He appears only in one subject-addresser text (RIME 2.13.1.1) left by his son Ur-gigira. There are no hints of the king's divinity in the text. He holds the title lugal unu^{K1}-ga-ka-ke₄ "king of Uruk."

II. 4.3.2. Ur-Gigira

Ur-gigira was a son Ur-Niĝin. Like his father, Ur-gigira has royal titles only in one *subject-addresser* text (RIME 2.13.2.2001). The only titles of Ur-gigira are lugal unu^{K1}-ga "king of Uruk" and nita kalag "strong man." The text has no markers of the ruler's sacredness. As a prince, Ur-gigira has left an inscription RIME 2.13.1.1, where he holds the title šagina ^ddumu-zi-da, "general of Dumuzi." In this text, Ur-gigira is mentioned together with his mother.

II. 4.3.3. Kuda

According to Frayne's interpretation, the only text attributed to king Kuda (RIME 2.13.3.1) was created when he was still a prince. The only title of Kuda in the text is saĝa ^dinanna, "sanga-priest of Inanna." Examples of Ur-gigira and Kuda make it possible that princes of Uruk IV Dynasty were responsible for cultic activities connected with Dumuzi and Inanna, probably for their *divine marriage*.

II. 4.3.4. Utu-hegal

Utu-hegal ruled for about seven years; he is the only ruler associated with the Uruk V dynasty. The most significant deeds of his reign were the victory over Gutians and the adjudication of a boundary dispute between Ur and Lagaš in the latter's favor (Michalowski 2013, 182). Frayne noticed that by doing this, Utu-hegal played a role analogous to Me-silim, the legendary king of Kiš (Frayne 1993, 281). Utu-hegal probably showed some favor towards Lagaš. An illustration of this might be his mention of Ningirsu, the city-god of Lagaš, as ^dnin-ĝír-su ur-saĝ-kalag-ga ^den-líl-lá-ka "Ningirsu, mighty hero of Enlil" in RIME 2.13.6.2 (lines 2–4) and 3 (lines 1–3). Despite the victory over Gutians, Utu-hegal could not secure his political dominance. According to the SKL, Uruk had lost nam-lugal, "kingship," in a battle; nam-lugal passed to the Ur III dynasty. Later historical omen describes Utu-hegal's death as an accident. He was observing a dam, and a mound of earth collapsed on him (Streck 2014–16, 522–523).

In the framework of the quantitative approach, only seven texts are analyzed. Three texts are *hybrid-orientation* royal inscriptions (RIME 2.13.5.1–3). One text is a human-orientated royal inscription (RIME 2.13.5.6). The text RIME 2.13.5.5 has survived only in OB copy; this text is damaged and cannot fit any text categories. Two texts are *subject-addresser* inscriptions (RIME 2.13.5. 2001,

2002). These texts have no markers of the king's sacredness or divinity. However, Utu-hegal often used the title *lugal an-ub-da-limmu₅-ba-ke₄* "king of the four quarters of the world,"¹²¹ which reflects his universalistic ambition of being a successor to Sargonic kings as the overlord of the region.

The text RIME 2.13.6.4 (Frayne 1993, 283–293) is attested only in three OB copies. The text most probably is not an authentic royal inscription. Some scholars attribute it to literary-historical compositions. Still, Frayne believes it could have been inscribed on a statue in Nippur (Frayne 1993, 284). Within this study, the text RIME 2.13.6.4 is analyzed only qualitatively. I do not include data from this text in the quantitative analysis because, in my opinion, this text is not an authentic royal inscription. This text describes Utu-hegal's victory over Gutians. If one regards the text as an original royal inscription, it could be evidence of the changing royal ideology. The text has the following structure:

1. Gutians are described as the enemy of Sumer and Enlil; they stole kingship (lines 1–14);
2. Enlil commands Utu-hegal to destroy Gutians (lines 15–23);
3. Utu-hegal prays for Inanna's support (lines 24–32);
4. Description of the enemy (lines 33–45);
5. Utu-hegal aims to confront the enemy (lines 46–50);
6. Utu-hegal encourages the citizens from the temple of Iškur (lines 51–67);
7. Citizens and the warriors are ready for the confrontation (lines 68–71);
8. Utu-hegal makes offerings (set something up/ copulated?)¹²² in Nagsu (lines 72–73);
9. Utu-hegal makes offerings (?) in Bara-Ilittape (lines 75–76);
10. Utu-hegal captures Gutian envoys Ur-Ninazu and Nabi-Enlil (lines 77–82);
11. Utu-hegal makes offerings (?) in Karkar (lines 83–85);
12. Utu-hegal prays for Iškur's support (lines 86–89);
13. Utu-hegal prays for Utu's support (lines 90–97);
14. Utu-hegal is victorious in the battle (lines 98–102);
15. Gutian king Tirigan flees to Dabrum (lines 103–108);
16. People of Dabrum captures Tirigan (lines 109–120);

¹²¹ See RIME 2.13.6.1 (lines 4–5), 2 (lines 5–6), 3 (lines 4–5), 4 (line 20), in Frayne 1993, 281–285.

¹²² Frayne translates *ĝeš dù* as "set up" (1993, 286). CDLI translates it as "make offerings". See ePSD, for *ĝeš dù* as "copulate."

17. Utu-hegal presents Tirigan before Utu (lines 121–123);
18. Offerings (?) for the victory (lines 124–127);
19. Utu-hegal returned kingship to Enlil (lines 128–129).

In this scheme, especially interesting is point number 17. If the inscription indeed is contemporary with Utu-hegal and not a later composition, then it is surprising that he presents the defeated enemy before Utu and not before Enlil. Note that Enlil and not Utu gave Utu-hegal this mission in the beginning of the composition. This attention to Utu probably stresses the unjust character of the Gutian dominance. Still, Enlil remains the holder of *nam-lugal ki-en-gi-ra* “kingship over Sumer.” The role of Utu-hegal is to return *nam-lugal*, “kingship” of Sumer to Enlil (lines 29–31 and 128–129), which was stolen and brought away into the mountains by Gutians (lines 4–6). The whole narrative resembles the later Akkadian *Epic of Anzu*, where Anzu steals from Enlil the tables of fate, another attribute of the supreme divine authority.¹²³ In such a paradigm, Utu-hegal plays the role of Ninurta and destroys the enemy of Enlil. The text RIME 2.13.6.4 has curious features resembling narratives about Ninurta’s heroic deeds. The line 128 mentions *má-gíd* “boat” right before the returning *nam-lugal* “kingship.” Amar Annus demonstrated that boats or chariots often appear (they are also important cultic vehicles during New Year celebrations) in the narratives about Ninurta’s return to Nippur after his victory over the enemy (Annus 2001, xvi). If this comparison is valid, one can argue that OB scribes fashioned their heroic narrative about Utu-hegal after mythical stories about gods.

II. 4.4. *Static-Relative analysis of the Transitional period texts*

One hundred ninety-one royal inscriptions from 13 rulers appear in this research under the title *Gutian period*. Nine Lagaš II rulers have left 181 inscriptions; four kings of the Uruk IV dynasty have left ten inscriptions.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 51 inscriptions (27% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 77 inscriptions (40% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 8 inscriptions (4% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 43 inscriptions (22 %).

Additionally, 12 inscriptions (6%) do not fit any text category. Indirect markers of royal sacredness (claims of divine origin or nourishment) are found only in 12 texts of 4 Lagaš rulers.¹²⁴ No direct markers of royal deification are found.

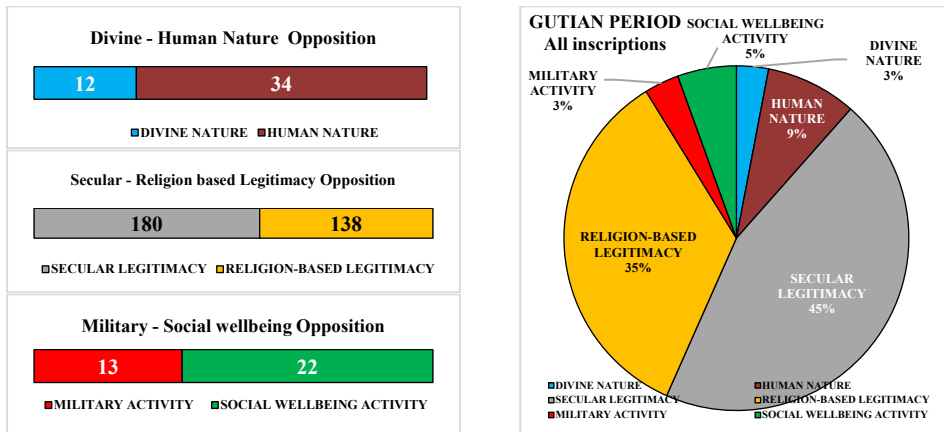
¹²³ For the text, see ORACC, CAMS project. The ORACC edition is based on the edition by Annus (2001).

¹²⁴ Puzur-Mama: RIME 2.12.5. 1; Pirig-me: RIME 3/1.1.2. 1; Ur-Bau: RIME 3/1.1.6. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8; Gudea: RIME 3/1.1.7. StB, StD, StF, 13.

The significant quantitative disproportion between Lagaš II and Uruk IV inscriptions makes the following overview most characteristic of the Lagaš II court writing tradition. Any significant differences are addressed separately. The proportion of *human-orientated* inscriptions is too small; at present, analysis of this group can only be tentative.

In addition to royal inscriptions, Lagaš II rulers also left two royal praise poetry compositions (*A tigi to Bau for Gudea* [Gudea A] and *the building of Ningirsu's temple* [Gudea, cylinders A and B]). They are discussed in a separate section.

II. 4.4.1. All royal inscriptions



Secular legitimacy (180 inscriptions – 94% of the total) and *religion-based legitimacy* (138 inscriptions – 72% of the total) epithets are the most frequent. There is a relatively significant percentage of *human nature* epithets (34 inscriptions – 18% of the total). Other epithets have minimal frequency (range 12–22 inscriptions – 6–11% of the total.)

Human nature epithets (34 inscriptions – 18% of the total) are almost three times more common than *divine nature* epithets (12 inscriptions – 6% of the total.) This proportion is characteristic of Lagaš, while in the inscriptions from Uruk, any epithets of *divine nature* are absent.

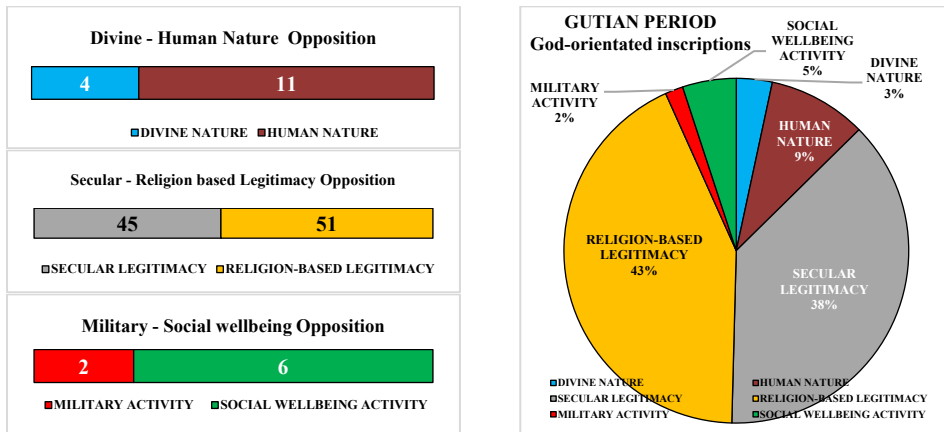
Secular legitimacy epithets outnumber *religion-based legitimacy* with a proportion of about 1,3:1, respectively. This picture applies to Lagaš inscriptions only. In the texts from Uruk, *secular legitimacy* epithets are almost twice more frequent than *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (respectively, 1,8:1.)

Mentions of the *social-wellbeing* activity (22 inscriptions – 11%) outnumber epithets of *military activity* (13 inscriptions – 7%) roughly two times. However, this proportion does not apply from the general perspective. The inscriptions from Lagaš seldom attest *military activity* epithets (proportion *military - social-wellbeing activity* epithets is 1:5,5). On the other hand, Uruk's inscriptions have no

social-wellbeing activity epithets, only *military* (9 inscriptions – 90% of Uruk IV total).

The main royal title in Lagaš was *énsi* “ruler”; the titles *lugal* “king,” *sipa* “shepherd,” *nir-gál* “authoritative” were rare. The only royal title in Uruk was *lugal*. Due to the unequal quantity of texts from Lagaš and Uruk, the title *énsi* appears 17 times more frequently than *lugal*. However, it cannot serve as a basis for any further speculations on the nature of overall Mesopotamian royal writing practices. Rulers of the Lagaš II dynasty followed the Early Dynastic titulary that was standard and specific to their city.

II. 4.4.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



The following analysis of the *god-orientated* inscriptions represents the writing tradition of Lagaš. This is due to the disproportion of texts: fifty inscriptions are from Lagaš and only one from Uruk. Furthermore, the only text from Uruk lacks any epithets except for the *religion-based legitimacy* (reverence of the king towards gods and their favor, and a mention of the king in priestly function).

Human nature epithets (11 inscriptions – 22% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions) dominate in the *divine-human nature* opposition pair. Most of these mentions are not just references to human relatives but personal characteristics (mental or physical) of the king.¹²⁵ *Divine nature* epithets are rare (4 inscriptions – 8% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions). There is no direct equation of the king with gods, only family connections with deities.

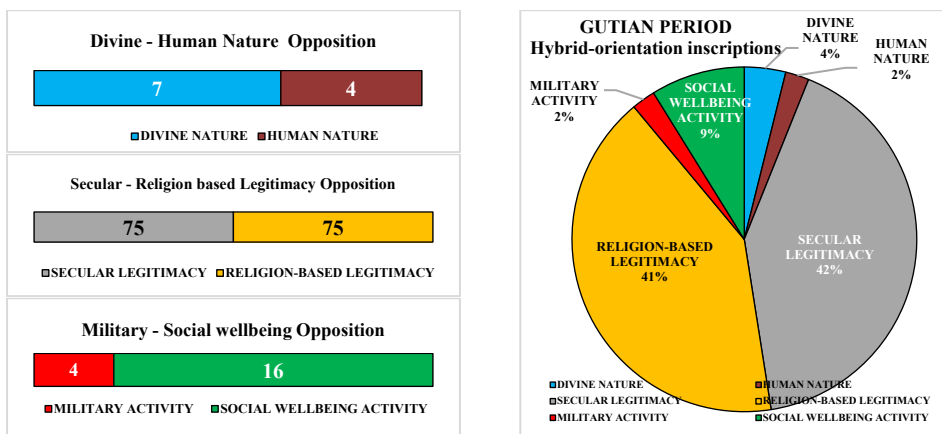
In the inscriptions from Lagaš II, *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (50 inscriptions – 100% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions) slightly outnumber epithets of *secular legitimacy* (45 inscriptions – 90% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions).

¹²⁵ Mentions of relatives appear in 4 texts – 8% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions; personal characteristics appear in 7 texts – 14% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions.

Social-wellbeing activity (6 inscriptions – 12% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions) epithets are three times more frequent than *military activity* epithets (2 inscriptions – 4% of the Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions).

Lagaš II *god-orientated* inscriptions mainly employ the royal title *énsi* “ruler”; the titles *sipa* “shepherd” and *nir-ĝál* “authoritative” appear in a tiny number of contexts. There are no royal titles in the inscription from Uruk.

II. 4.4.3. Hybrid orientation royal inscriptions



There are seventy-four *hybrid orientation* inscriptions from Lagaš and only three from Uruk. Therefore, the following analysis is primarily characteristic of Lagaš.

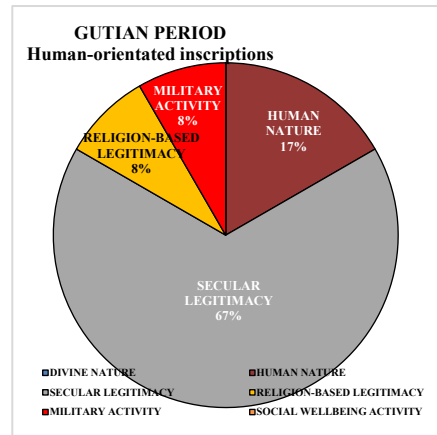
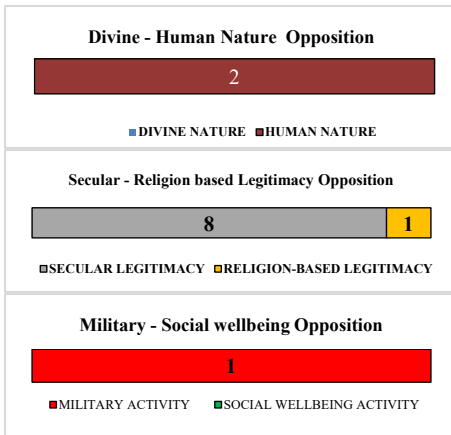
Divine-nature epithets outnumber *human-nature* epithets almost in proportion 2:1. These *divine nature* epithets are exclusively references to divine origin. Comparing with data from the *god-orientated* inscriptions, one can propose that the increased frequency of the *divine nature* epithets reflects partial orientation for the human addressee. In the surviving texts from Uruk, there are no *divine-* or *human-nature* epithets.

Secular legitimacy and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets appear in an equal number of texts (75 inscriptions – 97% of the group).

In general, *military activity* vs. *social-wellbeing activity* epithets opposition pair is five times more frequent than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets. However, a separate analysis of cities demonstrates that it is a misleading view. Sixteen inscriptions from Lagaš have *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (22% of the Lagaš II *hybrid orientation* inscriptions) and only one *military* (1,3%). At the same time, inscriptions from Uruk have only *military activity* epithets (33,3% of the Uruk IV *hybrid orientation* inscriptions).

Rulers of Lagaš, in their *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions, used the royal title *énsi* (72 inscriptions – 97% of the Lagaš II *hybrid orientation* inscriptions) exclusively, while the kings of Uruk only the title *lugal* (3 inscriptions – 100% of the Uruk IV *hybrid orientation* inscriptions).

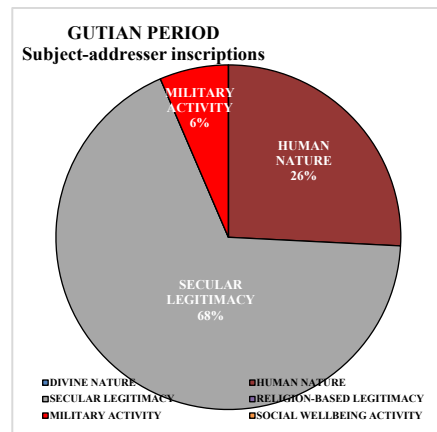
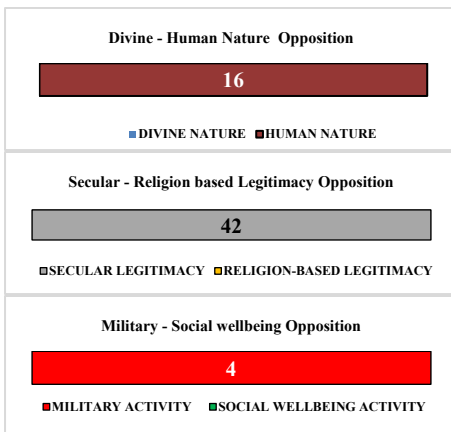
II. 4.4.3. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



There are only eight surviving *human-orientated* inscriptions analyzed for this period. Seven are from Lagaš, and one is from Uruk. Therefore, any conclusions are preliminary and should be supported by the data from the inscriptions found in future.

There are no epithets of divine nature, only those of human nature (2 inscriptions – 25% of the *human orientated* inscriptions). *Secular-legitimacy* epithets are ubiquitous (100% of inscriptions), while *religion-based legitimacy* epithets are optional (12,5% of inscriptions). *Military* epithets are also optional (12,5% inscriptions); *social-wellbeing* epithets are not found.

II. 4.4.4. Subject-addresser inscriptions



There are thirty-nine subject-addresser texts from Lagaš and four from Uruk. Therefore, the following analysis is mostly representative of Lagaš.

Discussion in epithet opposition pairs is impossible. Only the epithets of *human nature*, *secular legitimacy*, and *military activity* are found. *Military activity* epithets are characteristic only of the texts from Uruk.

In general, *secular legitimacy* epithets are the most frequent (42 inscriptions – 97% of the subject-addresser inscriptions). *Human nature* epithets appear in 16 inscriptions (30% of the *subject-addresser* inscriptions). This picture is accurate for the inscriptions from Lagaš.

Due to the small number of known texts from Uruk, the proportions are different. For example, *human nature* epithets appear in two texts (50%), while *secular legitimacy* and *military activity* epithets are known from all four inscriptions (100%).

The royal title *énsi* appears in 38 inscriptions from Lagaš (99% of the Lagaš II *subject-addresser* inscriptions). Kings of Uruk used only the title *lugal* (100% of their texts).

II. 4.5. Royal Hymns

Two poetic compositions referring to kings surviving from the Transitional period are analyzed: *A tigi to Bau for Gudea* (Gudea A) and *the building of Ningirsu's temple* (Gudea, cylinders A and B). The first text is a *deity-praising* hymn, while the second can be regarded as a *temple* hymn.

There is a relatively small percentage of *general titles* (6,5% of the relevant data) and a much higher percentage of *divine favor to the king* (31,7% of the related data). The most important for the ancient scribes was to show that the king was a reverent servant of gods (32,8%). Both hymns are attributed to Gudea. Like the royal inscriptions, poetic compositions do not mention the king's military achievements. However, the description of temple-building activity naturally has a high frequency (15,1%). Another important topic in the royal hymns of Gudea is the king's ability to correctly interpret divine oracles (6,4%); it might relate to Gudea's status as the "prophet" proposed by Emelianov (2016, 64–65). Descriptions of the king as "just" (3,6% of the relevant data) and "wise" (1,6% of the relevant data) ruler are relatively less frequent. The frequency of the divine origin topos is similar – 1,2%. Direct and indirect markers of the ruler's sacredness are rare (0,3% and 0,4%, respectively).

II. 4.6 Conclusions

Royal inscriptions of the Lagaš II and Uruk IV dynasties are heterogeneous; still, they represent a similar view of the ruler. The king was not explicitly deified in person. The determinative DINGIR never appears before the royal names, neither in inscriptions nor hymns. Rulers of Lagaš have indirect markers of their sacred

status (claims for divine origin and nourishment); however, these claims were not unusual, but also not obligatory (four rulers of Lagaš out of nine; 6,3% of the texts' total). Kings of Uruk never used indirect markers of divinity. One can notice that rulers of Lagaš claimed divine origin both in the texts orientated to gods (7,8% of the group) and the text with mixed orientation (9% of the group). Based on the analysis of oppositional pairs, one can propose that indirect markers of sacredness were used slightly more often in texts partially orientated for the human addressee.

Poetic compositions referring to Gudea presumably have direct references to the ruler as a deity. The two examples were discussed in detail above (II.4.2.5). The context of one mention (Cyl. B, col. i, 15) equates Gudea with Ningirsu. Another context is more complex (Cyl. B, col. xiii, 9); it intentionally describes some deity as the main constructor of Ningirsu's temple. The title *dîgir* could refer to Ningišzida, Gudea, or both. If the second context refers to Gudea, then his sacredness relates to the successful completion of the temple construction.

Moreover, the cylinders have a part where Gudea (or his statue) is introduced to overlook and provide for the new temple. There are no direct mentions of the king's divinity, but he finishes a long line of other minor deities introduced alongside Gudea to administrate the temple.¹²⁶ Therefore, the sacred status of Gudea seems to have a direct causal connection with his temple building activity.

Vladimir Emelianov proposed that Gudea could have born of *sacred marriage* (Emelianov 2016, 74). It is difficult to confirm this hypothesis from the available data. Statistically, Ur-Bau has more *indirect sacredness markers* in royal inscriptions (6 inscriptions out of 13 – 46% of surviving texts) than Gudea (4 out of 129 – 3% of surviving texts). The lack of the determinative DINGIR with Gudea's name and the absence of direct divinity markers in royal inscriptions indicates that he never explicitly claimed a divine status in his lifetime, at least to a degree like Narām-Sîn.

The number of sources from Uruk is limited, which makes comparison difficult. Based on the proportions of secular- and religion-based epithets in god-orientated and hybrid orientation inscriptions, one can point to a reluctance to praise rulers as independent authorities; some support by divine authority is a permanent characteristic of these texts. The number of human-orientated texts is too small to make conclusions.

The Old Babylonian text RIME 2.13.6.4 is likely not an original inscription of Utu-hegal. Still, the text depicts the king in the function of Ninurta. It might reflect some later development of Utu-hegal's image as a semi-divine hero who defeated Gutians.

¹²⁶ For the introduction of smaller gods: ETCSL, *Building of Ningirsu's temple. Gudea, cylinders A and B*, B6.11– B12.25. For the introduction of Gudea: *ibid.*, B13.8– B16.2.

II. 5. Ur III Dynasty

II. 5.1. Ur-Namma

Ur-Namma¹²⁷ (2112–2095 BC) was the founder of a new dynasty in Ur that again united Southern Mesopotamia. According to Claus Wilcke, Ur-Namma served as *šaġina* “a military governor” of *Ur* under Utu-hegal and was his brother (Wilcke 1974, 192–194, n. 67). However, this family connection is not commonly accepted (Sallaberger 2014–16, 424). Ur-Namma achieved big regional influence that allowed him to dictate his will to Lagaš; he had appointed rulers in this city as testified in his inscriptions (RIME 3/2.1.1. 20, lines 75–78).

Ur-Namma gradually incorporated new territories into his kingdom. He organized large-scale irrigational projects that helped to increase the land’s productivity; he reestablished trade with Magan and made Ur play in it a central role. Ur-Namma systematized measures and weights and promulgated a law code. Ur-Namma built temples and probably was the king who introduced its zikkurat shape (Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 425–429). According to Vacín, Ur-Namma promoted a new understanding of the moon-god Nanna, the god of Ur, as the firstborn son of Enlil. This birthright served as a pretext for the domination of Ur over other cities in Mesopotamia (Vacín 2011b, 28–29). According to Frayne, Ur-Namma traveled to Nippur and went through a specific coronation ceremony, which granted him a hegemony over southern Mesopotamia (Frayne 1997, 12–14). However, the only mention of this event in the hymn *Ur-Namma C* might not relate to a coronation, but to the first-fruit offerings rite (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 206, with n. 6). Unfortunately for him, Ur-Namma perished on a battlefield, fighting against Gutians.

This dissertation analyzes fifty-three royal inscriptions attributed to Ur-Namma. With three exceptions (RIME 3/2.1.1. 1, 29, 52), these inscriptions are known (at least fragmentarily) from original exemplars.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 9 inscriptions (17% of total).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 32 inscriptions (60% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 3 inscriptions (6% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 4 inscriptions (7,5 % of total).

Additionally, four inscriptions (7,5% of total) cannot be included in any of the target text categories and will be counted exclusively in the analysis by all royal inscriptions.

In the text RIME 3/2.1.1.1, the determinative DINGIR precedes Ur-Namma’s name (Frayne 1997, 21). However, as far as this inscription is known only from an OB period copy, it is unclear whether the determinative was in the original

¹²⁷ This reading is conventional; another possible reading is Ur-Nammu (see Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 8–9).

inscription. The only indirect marker of the king's sacredness appearing in the royal inscriptions is a claim for the divine origin from the goddess Ninsumun (RIME 3/2.1.1.20, lines 37–38), who was also believed to be the mother of Gilgameš.

The royal inscription most broadly touching royal ideology in Ur-Nammu's time is his *Law Code* (RIME 3/2.1.1.20). The text narrates:

31. u ₄ an-né	31. The day An
32. ^d en-líl-le	32. and Enlil
33. ^d nanna-ar	33. to Nanna
34. nam-lugal uri ₅ ^{KI} -ma	34. the kingship over Ur
35. mu-na-šúm-mu-uš-a-ba	35. gave,
36. u ₄ ba ur- ^d namma	36. then, to Ur-Namma,
37. dumu tu-da	37. the son born by
38. ^d nin-sún-ka	38. Ninsumun,
39. emedu ₂	39. house-born slave
40. ki-ág-ĝá-ni-ir	40. beloved of her,
41. níĝ-si-sá-ni-šè	41. concerning his justice,
42. níĝ-gi-na-ni-šè	42. concerning his truth,
43. ʾá?ʾ [...]ʾba?ʾ- ʾág?ʾ	43. <i>line is broken</i>
44. nam-lugal	44. kingship
45. uri ₅ ^{KI} -ma	45. over Ur
46. hu-mu-na-šúm	46. [Nanna] gave him indeed.

The passage starts with An and Enlil granting authority to Nanna. Only after that Ur-Namma's investiture follows. Therefore, Nanna is the medium who allows Ur-Namma to become king and the immediate source of his authority. There are two explicitly stated reasons for the choice of Ur-Namma as the king. First, Ur-Namma claimed divine origin from Ninsumun. Second, kingship was granted to Ur-Namma in order to actualize his adherence to níĝ-si-sá “justice” and níĝ-gi-na “truth.” Therefore, the purpose of the gods' choice of Ur-Namma as the king is to bring order to the country through his just qualities. Ur-Namma mainly used the titles lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma “king of Ur,”¹²⁸ en unu^{KI}-ga “lord of Uruk,”¹²⁹ and lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄ “king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad.”¹³⁰

¹²⁸ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.1. 2–16, 18–20, 23–29, 31–40, 43–52, 54, 2001 (Frayne 1997, 24–89).

¹²⁹ See the text RIME 3/2.1.1. 12 (line 7), Frayne 1997, 35

¹³⁰ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.1. 12–14, 16–20, 23–29, 31–40, 43–47, 54 (Frayne 1997, 24–88).

In addition to royal inscriptions, eight poetic compositions referring to Ur-Namma survive.¹³¹ One text (Ur-Namma A) is a lament for the deceased king and cannot be a contemporary composition; therefore, it will not be counted in the quantitative analysis. It is not clear if other surviving poetic compositions were composed during Ur-Namma's lifetime or should be dated to the time after his death.¹³² Four hymns are *king-praising* (Ur-Namma C, D, H, I), and three are *deity-praising* (Ur-Namma B, EF, G).

Usage of the determinative DINGIR before the name of the king is irregular. Both variants with and without the determinative appear in three hymns (Ur-Namma B, E, G). Ur-Namma has the determinative DINGIR with all mentions of his name in Ur-Namma F (recension of Ur-Namma EF) and a recension of Ur-Namma D (a version of unknown provenance).

Ur-Namma A narrates (line 136) *ur-dnamma barag gal kur-ra-ke₄ mu-ni-ib-tuš-ù-ne* "Ur-Namma sat on the great throne of the Neitherworld" and (lines 142–144) *ur-dnamma ki-bi-še [...]* *šeš ki áĝ-ĝá-ni d^rgilgameš₃-[da]* *e-ne di kur-ra i-^rkud¹-dè ka-aš kur-ra ^ri-bar¹-re* "Ur-Namma ... with his beloved brother Gilgameš, he will issue judgements of the Netherworld and make the decisions of the Netherworld." These passages prove that Ur-Namma was believed to achieve a divine status in the afterlife; however, they are silent on the lifetime status of the king.

The only other hymn which directly mentions the king as a divine being is Ur-Namma C (line 31): *ur-dnamma lugal urim₅^{K1}-ma d^rlamma iri-ĝá-me-en* "I am Ur-Namma, king of Ur, lamma-protective spirit of my city." Assuming that this hymn was indeed composed during Ur-Namma's rule and not later, the king had some limited or functional divinity. Flückiger-Hawker considered it possible that the hymn was composed at the beginning of Ur-Namma's reign and commemorated the reconstruction of Nanna's temple in Ur (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 39). She understood this reference to the king to be connected to his judicial activities (ibid., 205). The hymn A that was composed after the king's death explicitly called Ur-Namma the judge of the Underworld. However, for the hymn C, this status is not necessarily the case. The status of *lamma* can also relate to possessing *á*, "strength," granted by Ningublaga and the military might of Ur-Namma described in the directly preceding lines 29–30. There may be no specific relations between judicial functions and the status of *lamma*. In my view, this status results from Ur-Namma's ownership of all the various qualities given by great gods (lines 20–29).

The fact that the second reference to Ur-Namma as *lamma* in this hymn has no judicial context supports the idea that it does not necessarily relate to judicial

¹³¹ Following Flückiger-Hawker, I analyze texts with siglas E and F as two recensions of the same hymn (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 18).

¹³² Flückiger-Hawker argues that the most compositions should be from the Ur III period. She avers that some texts might be composed in the lifetime of Ur-Namma (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 17).

functions. Line 50 reads ur-^dnamma-me-en ma-da ki-en-gi ki-^ruri¹ ^dlamma mu-un-da-an-tuku, “I am Ur-Namma, the land of Sumer and Akkad have the lamma-protective spirit in me.” The content follows to the king’s divine origin described before, especially from his birth from Ninsumun (lines 43–49). This context has no direct relation to the king’s military abilities.

In both cases (lines 31 and 50), the title lamma follows long descriptions of divine favor. Ur-Namma simultaneously had the position of a protective spirit in his city of Ur and of the whole country. In both contexts, the word lamma itself has the determinative DINGIR, while the king’s name in this text does not. Ur-Namma is functionally connected to divine beings. The reason for this is the great favor of gods and divine origin from Ninsumun. At the same time, because of his status as lamma, Ur-Namma is suitable for protecting his country and promoting justice.

The same hymn also mentions Ur-Namma as a participant of the *sacred marriage* rite (lines 73–74): $\hat{g}i_6$ -par₄-ra ^r_{túg}¹ gada nam-mi-lá $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ -nú gi-rin-na ki-nú dùg-ba mu-nú “in $\hat{g}$ ipar-cloister I am clad in fabric, on the carnelian bed of the fine bedchamber I lie down.” Flückiger-Hawker described it as “cultic function as en-priest (in the $\hat{g}$ ipar of Uruk)” (1999, 205). The following line 75 directly equates Ur-Namma to “divine Enkimdu of his people.”

Enkimdu is an opponent of Dumuzi and a potential partner of Inanna in *Dumuzi and Enkimdu* (ETCSL 4.8.33). Therefore, the king’s equation with Enkimdu can mean that the king served only as an attendant of the actual groom Dumuzi.¹³³ Such understanding, in my view, is unlikely because the text directly mentions Ur-Namma lying on the bed. However, if correct, then the whole scene can be understood as a divine marriage between Dumuzi and Inanna. Ur-Namma was equated with the divine Enkimdu and assumed the same function as Gudea had in the divine marriage of Bau and Ningirsu. This cultic activity resulted in “agricultural abundance,” described in the following lines (76–80). Therefore, Ur-Namma’s functional divinity in this context relates to the role of Inanna’s spouse or the divine marriage promoter.

The *divine marriage* of gods and its proper performance was an important source of the king’s authority in hymns. *Ur-Namma B* describes how Ur-Namma constructed Enlil’s temple (lines 20–30) and organized a feast and divine marriage between Enlil and Ninlil (lines 32–35). As a reward for Ur-Namma’s service, Enlil and Ninlil (lines 36–38): $\hat{g}i$ zid mu-un- $\check{s}i$ -in-bar-re-eš sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ra kur gal-e sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ra nam gal u₄sù-rá-šè mu-ni-in-tar sa $\hat{g}$ $\hat{g}i\check{g}$ -ga-na á mi-ni-in-mah “they truly looked at the shepherd Ur-Namma, Kur-Gal (= Enlil) determined for the shepherd Ur-Namma great fate for long days, among the black-headed people he made his power great.” Therefore, the organization of the rite provided the king with the divine blessings necessary for renewing the legitimacy of his rule.

¹³³ For the role of Enkimdu as an attendant at Dumuzi’s wedding, see Sefati 1998, 117.

At least four hymns mention family ties between the king and other deities (Ur-Namma A, C, EF, I). The best overview of the king's main ideological statements is found in the final lines of Ur-Namma C (111–114): šu dug₄-ga-e^d nanna-a-me-en šeš^d gilgameš₂ gu-la-me-en [dumu] ʾtud¹-da^d nin-sumun₂-ka-me-en numun nam-en-na-me-en [an]-ta nam-lugal ma-ra-èd [sipa] ur-^dnamma-me-en “I am touched by Nanna, I am the eldest of Gilgameš brothers,¹³⁴ I am the son born from Ninsumun, I am the seed of lordship, from heaven the kingship has descended, I am shepherd Ur-Namma.” Luděk Vacín connected claims to kin relationships with Gilgameš and Ninsumun with the supposed ideology of power continuity from Uruk (Vacín 2011b, 28–29). However, Sallaberger has recently noted that continuity from Uruk is not necessarily a condition for adopting such claims (2014–16, 424).

A version from Urim of the text Ur-Namma D gives a curious notion that Enlil granted Ur-Namma with (line 19) éš-giri₁₇ zi-ĝál “nose-rope of living creatures.” Later Ur III kings rarely mentioned attributes of authority over zi-ĝál “living beings”; however, this image probably acquired higher importance in the royal hymns under the kings of Isin.

II. 5.2. Šulgi

Šulgi (2094–2047 BC) was a son of Ur-Namma. His 48 years long reign can be divided into two eras: the initial period was mainly for administrative and building activities, and the second for numerous military campaigns.¹³⁵ Šulgi claimed the divine status not right after accession to the throne but between these two periods. According to Luděk Vacín, the year-name of Šulgi's 23rd regnal year could relate to the king's deification. The year name mu^d šul-gi lugal-e á-mah^d en-líl šúm-ma-ni “a year when divine Šulgi, the king, was bestowed a great power by Enlil.” Vacín proposes that this formula indicates some war sanction given to the king by the Nippur clergy,¹³⁶ which coincided with Šulgi's deification (Vacín 2011b, 86). However, in my opinion, it is unlikely that it relates to the deification because already two previous year names have the determinative DINGIR before Šulgi's name.

¹³⁴ The translation “eldest of Gilgameš brothers” follows Flückiger-Hawker (1999, 218). Selz proposed the meaning: “I am the heir to the throne of Gilgameš,” assuming that the “elder brother” here implies patrilinear succession (Selz 2022, private communication). In Akkadian, the related word *šešgallu* designated a priestly office (see CAD Š2, 336).

¹³⁵ Though years 28–30 and 36–43 of Šulgi's reign were apparently two peaceful interludes between military campaigns, see Vacín 2011b, 86–100.

¹³⁶ In the hymn Ur-Namma B, Enlil granted Ur-Namma á, “power” (line 38), as a reward for his successful reconstruction of Ekur. In this context, á relates to the control over black-headed (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 194). It is curious because Ur-Namma might have participated in a similar ceremony proposed by Vacín for Šulgi. However, it is not á-mah “great power” as in the year name of Šulgi.

Sallaberger posited deification between the 10th and 20th regnal year of Šulgi (1999, 152). This time frame would explain the determinative DINGIR in RIME 3/2.1.2.15, tentatively dated to the 12th regnal year of Šulgi (Frayne 1997, 91). Michalowski attributed the time of Šulgi's deification to his 21st regnal year because it is when year names first mention the king with the determinative DINGIR (Michalowski 2012, 36).

Evidence of Šulgi's deification outside the corpus of royal inscriptions and hymns includes mention in administrative texts of regular offerings before king's statue already in his lifetime. Some temples in Ġirsu, Umma, Puzriš-Dagan, Gu'aba, and Ki'an were dedicated to the king. There was a month named after a festival in Šulgi's honor (Vacín 2011b, 218–220). Name of the deified king became part of his subjects' personal names. For example, according to Andersson, the first documented mention of a name ^dŠul-gi-zi-ġu₁₀ "divine Šulgi is my life" dates to the 25th regnal year of the king (Andersson 2012, 56).

Šulgi has left one hundred twenty-four royal inscriptions. Twenty-one of them (17% of total) survive only in later copies.¹³⁷

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 14 inscriptions (11% of total). 9 DINGIR texts (82% of the group).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 36 inscriptions (29% of total). 10 DINGIR texts (28% of the group).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 15 inscriptions (12% of total). 13 DINGIR texts (87% of the group).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 57 inscriptions (46 % of total). 46 DINGIR texts (81% of the group).

Additionally, two inscriptions (1,5% of total) cannot be included in any of the text categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions. As was mentioned above, CUSAS 17, 22 is not analyzed within this dissertation because it is probably not an authentic royal inscription.

Eighty inscriptions in total have the determinative DINGIR in front Šulgi's name (65% of the total). Five texts describe the king with the title *diġir kalam-ma* "god of the land" or its Akkadian equivalent *il mātišu*.¹³⁸ It demonstrates that Šulgi claimed divine authority not only over his capital city, but over the whole state (like Šar-kali-šarrī). Divine origin is an essential element of Šulgi's ideology; however, most such mentions appear in hymns rather than royal inscriptions. In inscriptions, Šulgi mentioned only Ningal (RIME 3/2.1.2.58) and Geštinanna (RIME 3/2.1.2.62). Frayne edited the praise composition Šulgi V as a royal inscription RIME 3/2.1.2.54. This text (line 34) also describes Enlil as *aya en-líl*, "father."

¹³⁷ RIME 3/2.1.2. 24–26, 35–38, 54, 81, 84, 2043, 2049–2053, 2055–2059.

¹³⁸ RIME 3/2.1.2. 33 (line 2), 58 (4), 83 (2), 2038 (5), 2046 (3').

There is an extremely small number of the king's empowerment formulae (expressed usually by the Sumerian verb *šúm* "to give"). Royal inscriptions of Šulgi are mostly silent on the source of his royal authority. There seems to be no mention of Šulgi's empowerment with *nam-lugal* "kingship", *nam-en* "lordship", *nam-énsi* "rulership", *nam-nun* "princeliness" in the royal inscriptions. The only two mentions relate to gods Enlil and Nindara. So, the text RIME 3/2.1.2.25 mentions (col. i, lines 9–13): *inu Ellil šerrat nišê qātissu iddinu* "when Enlil gave into his hand the nose-rope of the people." It resembles the notion of Enlil granting Ur-Namma with "nose-rope of living creatures" in Ur-Namma D (line 19). However, the text RIME 3/2.1.2.25 should be regarded with caution, as it is probably a Neo-Babylonian copy. The other text (RIME 3/2.1.2.2031) is a subject-addresser inscription which says (lines 16–17): *á šúm-ma nin-dar-a* "given strength by Nindara." It uses the same idea of *á* "physical strength" discussed by Vacín in connection to Enlil and Šulgi's deification about his 23th regnal year. It is evident that the choice of Nindara as a bestower of such favor results from the provenance of the tablet; the text mentions Ĝirsu (line 44) and other GN of the Lagaš region.¹³⁹ The same title appeared in the statue B of Gudea (lines 32–33).

In general, Šulgi used the same titles as his father Ur-Namma, *lugal uri₅ki-ma* "king of Ur,"¹⁴⁰ and *lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄* "king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad."¹⁴¹ In the royal inscriptions written in Akkadian, the title *šar kibrāt arba'im* "king of the four quarters of the world" replaced *lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄*;¹⁴² however, in some Sumerian royal inscriptions, the title *lugal anub-da-limmu₂-ba* "king of the four quarters of the world" also appeared.¹⁴³

Twenty-five royal hymns attributed to king Šulgi are quantitatively analyzed in this dissertation: fifteen of them are *king-praising* (Šulgi A, B, C, D, E, F, L, O, P, W, X, Y, Z, AA, and Šulgi 2.4.2.b), and ten are *deity-praising* (Šulgi G, H, Q, R, S, T, U, V, BB, CC).¹⁴⁴

Jacob Klein noted that the most popular hymns, Šulgi A and B, survive in numerous exemplars (each more than 70 copies) and have more "modernized" features, naturally resulting from their great diffusion. Less popular hymns (Šulgi D, X, O and P) have archaic Ur III period characteristics; Klein claimed that they

¹³⁹ Nindara (Nindar) was probably a spouse of Nanše. He has features of the warrior god (Selz 1995, 215–217).

¹⁴⁰ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.2. 1–25, 27–34, 38–45, 47–53, 55–62, 65–69, 72, 75, 77, 81–83, 85, 88, 89, 94, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2020–1023, 2028–2032, 2034–2036, 2038, 2039, 2041, 2042, 2044–2046, 2049, 2050, 2052, 2055, 2056, 2058, 2059, in Frayne 1997, 111–234.

¹⁴¹ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.2. 1–8, 11–22, 24, 28, 30–32, 34, 38, 39, 45, 48, 49, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 72, 85, 88, 2001, 2012, 2022, 2023, 2031, 2041, 2055–2059, in Frayne 1997, 111–234.

¹⁴² See the texts RIME 3/2.1.2. 23, 25, 27, 28, 33, 65 (Frayne 1997, 132–166).

¹⁴³ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.2. 42, 47, 50–53, 57, 58, 69, 75, 81–83, 89, 94, 2004, 2008, 2020, 2029, 2032, 2034, 2038, 2044, 2046, 2049, 2050, 2052 (Frayne 1997, 148–232).

¹⁴⁴ Texts Šulgi N, K and M are not analyzed.

“were transmitted by a more or less accurate written tradition.” The orthography of Šulgi C, E, F is mixed (Klein 2000, 135, n. 2). Šulgi A is the only hymn with a known Ur III period exemplar.¹⁴⁵ Other hymns are known exclusively from the Old Babylonian copies.

Because of the inconsistency in the usage of the determinative DINGIR in different copies of the same hymn, it cannot be a firm sign of the king’s divine status during the respective hymn’s original composition. Other direct and indirect markers of royal sacredness and divinity are much more valuable. Therefore, the following qualitative overview of the royal hymns includes only praise compositions with such markers.

The hymn Šulgi A is known in more than 70 copies with considerable divergencies (Delnero 2006, 1858–1908). In most surviving exemplars, the king’s name is written with the sign DINGIR.¹⁴⁶ It narrates about one-day round journey from Nippur to Ur and back, which Šulgi completed. Usually, it is compared with the seventh regnal year name of Šulgi mentioning a round trip from Ur to Nippur.¹⁴⁷ It is unclear why the hymn depicts Šulgi residing permanently in Nippur, and not in his capital Ur. One can speculate that the journey described in the hymn was not performed by the king but by his deified emblem. This emblem could be stored permanently in Nippur. Therefore, the journey might have been a ritual procession or marathon. In the opening lines, the king has three markers of sacredness: he is 1) *diĝir kur-kur-ra*, “god of foreign lands” (line 6), 2) child of Ninsumun (line 7), and 3) *hi-li pàd-da^dinanna*, “chosen for his attractiveness by Inanna” (line 15).¹⁴⁸ These markers are the premises of the king’s supernatural feat; divine status should refer to the physical strength and endurance of the king. The fact that the storm prevented Šulgi from returning to the sacred city of Nippur might point to a symbolic confrontation between deified Šulgi and a test of divine qualities against hostile divine powers. At least, the storm is unlikely to be a mere literary addition making the narrative more poetic. After his safe return to Nippur, Šulgi celebrated a feast with his “brother and companion,” Utu (lines 79–80). The hymn also mentions that Inanna, Šulgi’s spouse, also celebrated with them (line 82); note that Ninegala, visited by Šulgi in Ur (lines 57–59), is also a form of Inanna. This reference to Utu, together with another one (line 75), makes a strong impression that Šulgi and Utu are companions in this travel. Therefore, the whole narrative can refer to celestial bodies. Note, there is a parallel of Inanna and Utu celebrating evening after all stars return to their unity in Inanna D, the hymn that also mentions Ninegala (ETCSL 4.7.4,

¹⁴⁵ Text № 82 in Kramer 1944 (SLTNi).

¹⁴⁶ For example, line 26 of the composite text has survived at least in 17 exemplars. 5 exemplars are broken, so it is unclear whether determinative is used. 10 exemplars have DINGIR, 2 exemplars do not have it (Delnero 2006, 1875–1876).

¹⁴⁷ For an additional discussion of this contradiction in destination of travels, see Klein 1981b, 180–181.

¹⁴⁸ Klein translates “voluptuously chosen” (1981b, 189).

lines 118–125). If one agrees with this celestial interpretation, then the storm acquires a new significance. The storm can obscure the star of Šulgi (his *melam*, “shining,” or divine quality) but it did not. Klein proposed that the hymn was composed after the death of Šulgi during the reign of his successor (Klein 1981b, 181). At that time, Šulgi probably was already praised as a star. One exemplar of the hymn differs from all others and mentions Lugalbanda as Šulgi’s divine parent.¹⁴⁹

The hymn Šulgi B also has numerous exemplars. The hymn represents an ideal image of the king as “a rare combination of sage, soldier, sportsman, diviner, diplomat, patron of learning and happy provider of all good things for his land and people” (Kramer 1967, 372). In addition to the usage of DINGIR with Šulgi’s name in most exemplars, there are six different markers of the king’s sacredness. The first marker is the direct mention of the king as *diĝir nam-ĝuruš* “god of manliness” (line 81). It directly follows the refrain (lines 77–80) and opens a part describing Šulgi as a skillful hunter (lines 81–112). Therefore, the divine status of the king relates here to his physical qualities. The second marker is three references to Ninsumun as the divine mother of Šulgi. The first reference is found among the general titles of the king opening the hymn (line 7). The second reference is at the end of the hunting scene when the king makes games to praise his divine mother (lines 110–113). The last reference appears in the section praising the king as a skillful musician (lines 154–189). Šulgi entertains his divine mother in his palace (line 184). This can theoretically be a reference to the real mother of the king, identified here as Ninsumun. The third marker is the reference to Utu as a “brother and companion” of Šulgi. Utu appears in this quality once in a military context (line 40) and once in the context of moving forward in a race (lines 123–127), similar to that in Šulgi A. The fourth marker is an allusion to Nintur in describing Šulgi as a skillful omen-reader (line 132). It might be a mere simile but note that allusions to Nintur appear in two other hymns as well (Šulgi C and E). The fifth marker is an allusion to Ištaran in describing the king’s judicial qualities (line 264). Vacín proposed that this simile equates Šulgi with the city god of the subjugated foreign city of Der. Vacín explains that Šulgi could be afraid of equating himself with the local sun deity Utu; also, the equation with Ištaran might serve as humiliation of the subjugated enemy (Vacín 2011b, 159). On the other hand, the judicial function of Ištaran was well known already in ED Lagaš; Enmetena mentions how Mesilim measured the border between Lagaš and Umma at the command of Ištaran (RIME 1.9.5.1, col. i, lines 9–12). Ningirsu was compared to Ištaran in the function of a judge (Cyl. A, col. x, lines 24–27).¹⁵⁰ Therefore, this equation with Ištaran in Šulgi’s hymns does not necessarily correlate with his campaign against Dēr. In my opinion, it is a genuine comparison to the deity of justice or an indication of functional divinity. The last marker is

¹⁴⁹ Text UET 6/1, 78 (col. iii, line 22). See Klein 1981b, 170, n. 265.

¹⁵⁰ The comparison of Ningirsu with Ištaran is a proof of the latter’s high status, at least in Lagaš. Therefore, the comparison with Ištaran might be equally honorable as with Utu.

curious. Lines 195–197 narrate mu-ĝu₁₀ ud ul-lé-a-aš šir-re hé-em-dùg-ge šir zu-ĝu₁₀-gin₇ inim zu-ĝu₁₀-gin₇ níĝ saĝ gi₄-a mul-an-bi-me-en, “let this song praise my name until distant days. As I am learned in songs and words, I am the heavenly star of steadfastness [blocked things].”¹⁵¹ Again, Šulgi is a celestial body and as a star, he deserves eternal praise. Note that the travel described in Šulgi A (if one agrees with its celestial interpretation) is also made for the eternal praise of the king, not for the control of the constructed roads or some other purpose (Šulgi A, lines 36–41). If this explanation is correct, this hymn also should have been composed after the king’s death. Then, it praises an ideal image of the king, both as a living divinity and as a star after death.

The hymn Šulgi C was much less popular compared to A and B. It survived in a three times smaller number of exemplars. Klein noted its similarity with the hymn B because both depict an ideal image of the king (Klein 1981a, 15). There is no determinative DINGIR before the king’s name; however, there are six markers of the king’s sacred status. The first marker is Šulgi’s divine origin. In the first lines of the text (seg. A, lines 4–5), Šulgi is called a zid ^{gud}ninda₂, “the true seed of the breeding bull,” and lugal ab₂-šilam-e tud-da, “the king born by the cow.” These epithets should refer to Ninsumun (the lady of wild cows) and her spouse Lugalbanda. In line 94 (seg. B), Ninsumun appears as the king’s mother. Klein proposed that she enjoys a musical performance of her son Šulgi (Klein 1981a, 16, n. 63). The second marker is Šulgi’s sibling relation with Geštinanna; this divine sister of the king listens to Šulgi’s musical performance together with Ninsumun (seg. B, line 93). The third marker is Šulgi’s comparison with Gilgameš and reference to their sibling relationships, which first appears in a judicial context (seg. A, line 106). Because of this context, I believe that in this text Šulgi is compared to Gilgameš because the latter is a model of the perfect judge and not because of their heroic similarity. It should be rooted in Gilgameš’s role as a judge in the Underworld. Another reference to their brotherhood appears in an unknown context (seg. C, 10). The fourth marker is an allusion to Utu (seg. A, line 25), which context is not related to the judicial functions of the sun god. It follows the narrative about the king’s origin (lines 21–24). The verb èd 𒂗𒍪, “ascend,” describes Šulgi’s origin in the human form (line 21), while the verb è 𒂗𒍪, “ascend,” describes Šulgi’s rise over the city with a strong connotation of a celestial body (line 25). The second context may relate to the king’s investiture with royal authority or his death (as an opposition to the king’s birth in the human form). Both èd and è are semantically and graphically close, which increases the celestial imagery even in the narrative of the king’s birth (line 21), not only in the line explicitly comparing Šulgi with Utu (line 25). The fifth marker is a simile with Nintur (seg. A, line 97) in the context of Šulgi’s general literacy. Like Šulgi B, the allusion to Nintur explains Šulgi’s superb ability to read omens. The last marker is a simile with Ištaran, which most probably relates to the king’s judicial

¹⁵¹ “Blocked things” may relate to the secret knowledge manifested in stars (Selz, personal communication, 2023).

function (seg. A, line 104). Most markers are similar to those found in Šulgi B; however, this hymn does not directly call the king diĝir, “god.”

The hymn Šulgi D has survived in eight manuscripts. Wilcke proposed that the missing end of this hymn can be found in Šulgi X (1974, 181–182). Klein supported this possibility but preferred not to view them as one text until more evidence will be found (Klein 1981b, 56–57). Following Klein, I discuss these two texts separately.¹⁵² Šulgi has no determinative DINGIR in the manuscripts of this hymn; however, even some deities don’t have it in this text (Klein 1981b, 113, n. for lines 299–303). There are four markers of the king’s sacredness in the hymn. The first marker is a reference to the king as suh-gir₁₁ nam-diĝir-ra túm-túm, “one suitable for the diadem of divinity” (line 10). The headgear suh-gir₁₁ is a symbol of en-ship (Falkenstein 1959, 96–97). This title might connect divinity with the status and responsibilities of an en-priest. It is also an attribute of gods in literary texts. In line 332 of *Enki and the world order* (ETCSL 1.1.3), suh-gir₁₁ is an attribute of Enkidu; it is an attribute of Inanna in line 3 of *Inana B* (ETCSL 4.7.2). *Nanna E* (ETCSL 4.13.5) describes Nanna’s appearance in line 48 as gada mah keše₂ saĝ il si mul suh₁₀-gir₁₁ nam-men-na “wrapped majestic cloth carried (on?) the head, with a shining horn, diadem of the kingship.” Close position of suh₁₀-gir₁₁, “diadem,” and si mul, “shining horn,” might remind of the *horned crown*. The second marker is Šulgi’s divine origin. Like Šulgi C, the first reference is an allegory of the king as “a young bull born in a cattle pen of abundance” (line 3). The second reference to Ninsumun as Šulgi’s divine mother appears as an element in an enumeration of gods partaking in the creation and bestowal of the king with various skills (line 41). The third marker is a reference to Nintur as a wet nurse of the king in the same list of gods (line 43). Considering that in the hymns B and C, Nintur associates with omen-reading, it is difficult to decide whether this reference supported the king’s claim for superb military abilities, as the references to Ninhursag¹⁵³ in Lagaš tradition (Selz 1995, 221, 254). The fourth marker is a reference to Gilgameš as a brother and companion appearing in a military context (line 292). There are two less evident hints of the king’s sacredness. Line 7 describes Šulgi: sun₄ za-gìn gaba kug-ga u₆ di, “a lapis-lazuli beard, a holy breast – marvelous to behold.”¹⁵⁴ The mention of za-gìn, “lapis-lazuli,” already associates with celestial objects (Selz 2014b, 54–55). As Klein comments, gaba kug-ga u₆ di, “a holy breast – marvelous to behold,” is an epithet of Inanna’s spouse (Klein 1981b, 90, n. for line 7). Vacín discussed this hymn together with Šulgi X; he described it as a coronational hymn of Šulgi written after the victory over Gutians and commemorating the triple coronation of the king in the first year of his reign (Vacín 2011b, 141). This interpretation seems quite plausible; however, it raises a

¹⁵² See also n. 200 in Klein 1981b, 124.

¹⁵³ Nintur and Ninhursag were regarded as identical by the time of Gudea. Still, regional variants are possible (Cavigneaux and Krebern timer 1998–2001b, 507–508).

¹⁵⁴ This translation follows Klein 1981b, 72–73.

question of the first sacredness marker's interpretation. Was this marker added later during Šulgi's deification? Vacín proposed that coronation hymns were reworked for this event (*ibid.*, 143); it is a plausible hypothesis even though difficult to prove.

The hymn Šulgi E has fourteen exemplars. The hymn explains why Šulgi ordered his scholars to compose this hymn and what types of hymns praised different achievements and qualities of the king. In my opinion, divinity markers are too modest and scarce in this hymn; it might indicate that the hymn was composed before the explicit deification. On the other hand, if one supposes that this hymn depicts already explicitly deified Šulgi, then the fact that hymns should be sung before Enlil and Ninlil can support the idea of dependence between the royal divinity and Enlil. If a deified king in his function of *diĝir kalam*, "god of the land," represented (and was identified with) Enlil, then it explains the need to perform hymns in Nippur. Šulgi E has only two indirect markers of the king's sacredness. The first marker is an equation with Nintur in the context of describing Šulgi's erudition (line 16). Another marker is his sibling relationships¹⁵⁵ with Geštinanna (line 21), who orders the composition of hymns. Vacín proposed that mention of Šulgi's coronation in Eridu (line 9) hints at the identification of the king with Dumuzi and serves as "the second step of Šulgi's elevation to the divine realm" (Vacín 2011b, 215). Even counting this as a marker of sacredness, in my view, this hymn is too modest and has no explicit mention of Šulgi's divinity.

The hymn Šulgi F has survived in eight exercise texts. The hymn might have been used during the coronation ritual in Ur (Klein 1981a, 25). It describes *nisaĝ*-offerings and ceremonial travel of Nanna to Nippur. Nanna acquired in Nippur Enlil's approval for Šulgi; after that, Nanna returned to Ur and bestowed acquired powers on the king. Lämmerhirt proposed that Enlil also confirmed Šulgi's status as a city god of Ur (2012, 14). However, the relatively modest character of the sacredness markers makes this interpretation unlikely. In the known exemplars of the hymn, Šulgi's name has no determinative DINGIR. There are five markers hinting at the sacred status of the king. The first marker is the claim for the divine origin from Ninsumun. Reference to Ninsumun is a central part of the refrain repeating in lines 4–5, 18–19, and 28–29. Reference to the divine origin appears in line 94 in the context of granting to the king *á-ĝál kalam-ma-ka*, "the strength over the Land." In line 56 (seg. e), Šulgi has both titles, "son born by Ninsumun" and *ušumgal*, "dragon." Most probably, these epithets appear in a prolonged self-praise of the king as a strong warrior; however, the context is broken, so some other interpretation is also possible. The second marker of Šulgi's sacredness is his nourishment with the true milk by an unnamed goddess (line 66; seg. c, line 38). Lämmerhirt proposed that the first context relates to Ninsumun while the second to Ningal (Lämmerhirt 2012, 80, 88). The third marker is an allusion to Ištar in a judicial context (lines 25–26). The fourth

¹⁵⁵ Understanding of *nin-ĝu₁₀* as "my sister" and not "my lady" follows Klein 1990, 74.

marker is an allusion to Utu in a military context (seg. e, line 38). The fifth marker is reference to the divine powers me; Šulgi's military victory allows Nanna travel to Nippur and ask Enlil to grant returning of me in Ur (line 69). Later Šulgi claims control over me hé-ĝál-la, "me of abundance" (seg. e, line 9). Therefore, Šulgi gets control of both divine powers ensuring economic prosperity of his land (me hé-ĝál-la) and overwhelming military power (á-ĝál kalam-ma-ka). One more context (seg. d, lines 2–3) may hint at sacredness of the king, but it is difficult to define. The context says that a seed reached the soil through munus zi absin₃ kug-ga túm-ma, "the true woman suitable for the pure furrow." This or another munus zi, "the true woman," appears in the nourishment context discussed above (seg. c, line 38). According to Lämmerhirt, both these references describe Ningal (2012, 88). If the seed stands for Šulgi, then the whole context can be a hint for divine origin.

The hymn Šulgi G was allegedly composed for the coronational ceremony in Nippur. Klein stressed that the divine status of kings and their function as en-priests responsible for offerings were likely connected (Klein 1997a, 552). Šulgi's name is without the determinative DINGIR but the hymn directly states his divine status as ^dlamma kalam-ma, "lamma-protective spirit of the land" (line 23). This title appears as words of Enlil addressed to the king. Therefore, Enlil likely gives Šulgi this status.

The reason for this benevolence is the circumstances of Šulgi's birth orchestrated by Nanna and Enlil. It is certain that these two gods are responsible for the creation of Šulgi as described in lines 16–19. However, a possible reference to en-priestess in line 18 has become a point of disagreement between the researchers.¹⁵⁶ Kramer understood en in line 18 as an epithet of Enlil. According to Kramer, Enlil "proceeds to engender Šulgi in the mother's womb." The mother should be one mentioned in line 16; in Kramer's view, it was Ninlil (Kramer 1974, 94). Sallaberger translated the line as: "Der Herr ließ in dem, was ihm als Mutterleib vorhanden war, den rechten Mann geboren werden." Sallaberger rejected understanding of en in this line as a priestess but did not comment on the mother in line 16 (Sallaberger 1997, 155, n. 36). Vacín also adopted the point of view that en stands for Enlil; he did not comment on the nature of mother mentioned in line 16 (Vacín 2010, 91–93). My understanding of these lines is closer to the one given by Jacob Klein (Klein 1997a, 552–553). I believe en in line 18 relates to a human woman giving birth to Šulgi. I view lines 16–19 as a chiasmus, where Nanna's desire to create Šulgi occupies the central position. The chiasmus could be recognized by the usage of similar prefixes in verbal chains. In the context of referring to Enlil (A), the prefix is bi-; in the context of the mother (B), the prefix is mi-ni-; and in the context referring to Nanna (C), it is ba-ni-. The structure of chiasmus is A-B-C-B-A.

¹⁵⁶ For the overview of three main hypothesis, see Klein 1997a, 553, n. 9.

A (line 16): a-a-ni ^den-líl inim-ma **bí**-sig₁₀
Translation: (Nanna) commissioned his father Enlil,

B (line 16): ama di-da **mi-ni**-in-de₆
Translation: (Nanna) brought/approached the birth-giving mother.

C (line 17): é-dùg-ga ^dnanna dumu nun-né níĝ al **ba-ni**-dug₄
Translation: In Eduga, the princely son Nanna desired this thing (the birth of Šulgi).

B (line 18): en-né [a] šag₄-tur-šè ĝál-la-na lú zid **mi-ni**-ù-tu
Translation: En-priestess with the semen in the womb gave birth to a right man.

A (line 19): ^den-líl sipa á kalag-ga-ke₄ mes-e pa **bí**-è
Translation: Enlil, shepherd of the mighty power, caused the hero to appear.

This chiasmus structure, if interpreted correctly, indicates that the agent of the line 18 is not Enlil, but the mother of the king. Note that there are different verbs describing Šulgi's creation in lines 18 and 19. The verb *utud* is usually translated "to give birth, to bear a child." This verb is mostly used for the designation of birth giving, even though in some cases it can be translated "to create" and relates to a creation/engendering by a male.¹⁵⁷ In line 19 referring to Enlil, there is not *utud*, but *pa è*, "cause to appear." I think that the usage of different verbs indicates the procreation by two actors: female and male. If the agent in both lines 18–19 is Enlil, it would be sufficient to use the same verb. Klein has proposed that the hymn describes the procreation of Šulgi in Ekur by Ur-Namma and his first wife, the queen (Klein 1997a, 553, n. 9). It seems possible that *en* and Enlil in lines 18–19 stand for the queen and king performing functions of the great gods in a ritual of the heir procurement. Still, one should remember the alternative interpretation of this passage because it is impossible now to prove which hypothesis is correct. I agree with Vacín that "open deification rhetoric" could be unacceptable at Nippur (Vacín 2011b, 145). However, in my view, the title ^dlamma kalam-ma, granted to the king by Enlil, (line 23) explicitly equates Šulgi to a divine being.

The hymn Šulgi H is known in one exemplar, Ni 2275.¹⁵⁸ Recently, Peterson identified small new fragments (Peterson 2011, 169–170). Ni 2275 may represent a collective tablet with two separate hymns (Klein 1981b, 40, n. 73). There is only one marker of king's sacredness, a reference to divine origin from Ninsumun (obv. II, line 6). The context is bestowing various blessings on the king by different deities.

¹⁵⁷ There is an ongoing research on the usage of this verb. See, for example, Farber 2015. Note, that Farber translates this line (Šulgi G, line 18) as "The en-priestess gave birth to the right man from his <semen> placed in the womb" (G. Farber 2015, 154).

¹⁵⁸ See text № 4 in Langdon 1914, 9–13.

The hymn Šulgi O has seven exemplars. Cale Johnson proposed that the text describes Šulgi addressing the statue of Gilgameš with a prolong praise. The unique feature of Šulgi O is that Šulgi and Gilgameš are in a “horizontal” relationship of brotherhood and not in the vertical genealogical relationships (Johnson 2021, 241). Relationships between Šulgi and Gilgameš follow the prototype of the relationships between king and his personal god, illustrated in the Sumerian literature by the story of Lugalbanda and Anzu. According to Cale Johnson, the relationship of friendship between the king and his god “provides a warrant or authorization for a hybrid, partial or perspectival form of deification” (ibid., 243). I find Johnson’s interpretation highly convincing. In other words, Šulgi O, on the level of “political theology,” should make the reader believe that Šulgi and Gilgameš share the same identity (Šulgi is a double of Gilgameš) and thus legitimate Šulgi’s royal position and his sacred status. The event takes place in gipar of Ur, the sanctuary of nam-hi-li, “charm,” and me zid nam-en-na, “the true me of en-priesthood” (line 13). It also confirms the shared identity between Šulgi and Gilgameš. In the known exemplars, Šulgi’s name usually has no divine determinative.¹⁵⁹ The hymn often mentions brotherhood and companionship between Šulgi and Gilgameš (lines 50, 86, 139; seg. d, line 6). The only other formal marker of Šulgi’s sacredness in the text is a reference to Ninsumun as Šulgi’s mother (line 29). The broken line 134 says ‘šul’ [...] diġir a-nun-ke₄-ne which might describe Šulgi as a “god among Anunna gods.” However, context may be different; Klein understood this line as emphasizing “Šulgi’s piety in worshipping gods” (Klein 1976, 292, n. to lines 109–137).

The hymn Šulgi P is presumably associated with the king’s coronation in Uruk. Šulgi P resembles Šulgi F. In both hymns, a deity representing Šulgi’s interests (Nanna and Ninsumun, respectively) interrogates a higher authority (Enlil and An, respectively) to grant Šulgi some blessings and to approve him as a legitimate ruler. Šulgi’s name has no determinative DINGIR in the surviving exemplars. References to Ninsumun and Lugalbanda as divine parents of Šulgi (seg. c, lines 22–23, 38) is an important marker of the king’s sacredness. However, Šulgi P also explains that the king was chosen by the goddess Ninsumun (lines 12–14): kalam níġ-daġal-ba igi mu-ni-il saġ giġ u₈-gin₇ lu-a-ba šul-gi gú-saġ[?]-ba ma-ni-in[?]-[...] ‘sipa’ zid-bi hé-àm “I raised eyes to the vast land, among black-headed abundant like sheep, Šulgi, of this entirety I..., let be a true shepherd.” Other markers are a reference to nourishment by Ninsumun (seg. c, lines 16, 24–25) and an allusion to Utu in the context of Šulgi’s appearance among his people (seg. c, lines 60). One can argue that this allusion to Utu is like one in Šulgi C (seg. A, line 25). In this context, Utu is not a model of a judge or warrior god; he represents a celestial body rising above the people. Šulgi appeared in Sumer as a candidate for power, as a star rising above people like the sun (Utu). Kreberník noted that the reference to Geštinanna as king’s sister (seg. c, line 43) and her relation to Uraš and An as their daughter (seg. c, line 50–51)

¹⁵⁹ It appears only once in line 138 (see Klein 1976, 282).

automatically make Šulgi a son of these two gods (Krebernik 2014–16, 403). Indeed, the potential for Šulgi's relations with various gods was high; however, he never explicitly claimed descentance from An and Uraš. This is significant because Šū-Sîn did, as will be discussed later.

The hymn Šulgi Q is an adab to Utu. It is known from one exemplar, Šulgi's name has no determinative DINGIR. The only marker of the king's sacredness is two references to his divine origin from Ninsumun in lines 20 and 43.

The hymn Šulgi V is a dedication inscription on a statue commemorating Šulgi's travel from Nippur to Ur. The text mirrors the narrative in Šulgi A and advocates for its literal understanding. In the only surviving exemplar, Šulgi's name is written with the sign DINGIR. There are two other markers: 1) Enlil is addressed as aya, "father," in line 34; 2) a statue of Šulgi commemorating his running feat with the phrase comparing him to "shining star." This second passage is especially interesting considering the metaphorical understanding of the journey as a movement of celestial bodies.

The fragment Šulgi W is almost unintelligible. Still, it mentions Lugalbanda as a divine parent of Šulgi (lines 16–17).

The hymn Šulgi X, as mentioned above, might be a missing end of Šulgi D. It has four exemplars. Klein summarized the narrative as four successive episodes narrating how Šulgi acquired blessings from different gods: 1) Inanna in Uruk, 2) Utu in Larsa, 3) Ninazu in EN.DÍM.GIG, and 4) Nanna in Ur (Klein 1981b, 124–129). The first episode is the longest (70 lines). It includes description of the sacred marriage ritual which precedes Inanna's blessing. Inanna's blessing includes her promise to support the king in battles. The goddess Inanna seems to be an important source of royal authority. Šulgi X explains the direction of Šulgi's journey to Uruk as me nam-nun-šè "towards/for principles (=ME) of lordship" (line 2). Inanna rewards the king with (lines 40–41) na-áĝ-sipa kur-kur-ra "shepherdship over the foreign lands" for his performance in the rite and acknowledges him as "suitable" for kingship and attributes connected to it.

In addition to already mentioned participation in the sacred marriage rite (lines 36–41; 69–70), there are five more markers of Šulgi's sacredness. The first one is Šulgi's divine origin from Ninsumuna appearing in the context of Inanna's blessing (line 47). The second marker is Ninazu's comparison of Šulgi with Utu made in a military context (line 118). The third marker is comparison with Nergal (line 119) also articulated by Ninazu in military context. The fourth marker is an allusion to the god Ezinu (line 138) made by Nanna in a context of Šulgi's eternal fame. Ezinu is a god of barley and naturally should associate with fertility; however, this context has no evident relation to fertility. The fifth marker is a hint that Šulgi controls or maintains divine powers ME; Nanna says (line 137): iti u₄-sakar me šu du₇-du₇-ĝá na-ba-an-kúš-ù-dè-e "every month during the crescent moon – to perfect the divine powers ME for me – may you not become tired."

The hymn Šulgi Z survives in two copies and have one additional exemplar where Šū-Sîn replaced Šulgi (Klein 1981b, 43, n. 84). The text is damaged and represents only broken pieces of separate sentences. Šulgi Z is a love poem

describing relationships between Inanna and the king. The text is full of allusions to the sacred marriage rite. However, there are no other markers of Šulgi's sacredness.

To conclude this overview, one can note that the usage of the title *diĝir* "god" differs in royal inscriptions and royal hymns. All mentions in royal inscriptions are *diĝir kalam-ma* "god of the land," which title never appears in Šulgi's hymns. However, the title *ḫamma kalam-ma* "lamma, protective spirit of the land" is used (Šulgi G, 23). Note that Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma C, 31) was only *ḫamma iri-ĝá* "lamma, protective spirit of my city." Also, Šulgi used the title *diĝir* "god" in new combinations discussed above.

Šulgi's claim for the descentance from Ninsumun is the most frequent marker of his sacredness and one of the most important elements of his royal ideology. Still, references to the king's birth from Ninsumun often separate the heavenly mother Ninsumun and the earthly mother who gave him birth physically, as in the discussed passage from the hymn Šulgi B (lines 184–186). More broadly, it was not only an origin but an "adoption" of the king into the divine family that provided him sibling connections with various deities. The importance of the brotherhood between Gilgameš and the king was rooted in Gilgameš's double nature as a man and a god, which status was also claimed by Šulgi and his descendants. Ur III kings likely saw Gilgameš as a model for their deification. Michalowski even proposed a "heroic paradigm" of deification. According to his hypothesis, royal deification was propagated mostly by numerous allusions to the great heroes of the past: Gilgameš, Lugalbanda, and Enmerkar, especially in Šulgi's praise poetry (Michalowski 1988, 21).

The divine origin was not the only reason for granting Šulgi royal authority despite its great importance. Enlil and Inanna's favors primarily associate with the king's ability to subjugate foreign lands. It is also one of the sources of Šulgi's divinity, as the title *diĝir kur-kur-ra* suggests. Praise of the king's physical qualities, which reached a highest point in his title *diĝir nam-ĝuruš*, is closely related to his military abilities.

The hymn Šulgi B (lines 24–26) says: *a-la-ĝá ḫen-líl-le gù zid ma-ni-in-dé nam-si-sá-ĝu₁₀-uš ĝidru ma-an-šúm-mu-uš gú kur-kur-ra-ka ĝiri₃ ba-da-gub* "Enlil rightly talked to me *to my joy*, for my righteousness he gave me the scepter; so that I put my foot on the neck of the foreign lands." The idea of *nam-si-sá* "righteousness" relates to the ability of the king prove his sense of justice on the battlefield when protecting his city against rebels.

Military activity (offensive or protective) is not the only element of Šulgi's ideology. He was the ideal king because of his civil qualities, such as reading and writing, speaking foreign languages, correctly interpreting oracles, and playing musical instruments. Šulgi probably did not categorize his qualities as either military or civil; intelligence and military strength were synonymous with power. So, he described his wisdom as weapons in the hymn Šulgi B (lines 230–233): *inim-ta ḡiš^{is} tukul-gin₇ iri lah₅-me-en nam-kug-zu-ĝu₁₀ gam-gam-da-bi-gin₇ nam-kalag-ga saĝ-izi [bar₇]-a-gin₇* "by words like by weapons I destroy a city; my wisdom *makes it bow* like the power of burning torch."

Šulgi recognized his human nature and the inevitability of death. The hymn Šulgi B reflects it with the phrase (lines 281–282) a-na ab-tuku ur₅-re íb-hul a-ba nam-tíl an-na ba-e-è “everything possessed will be destroyed; whoever alive has gone to heaven?” Therefore, Šulgi ordered the composition of his hymns. The opening lines of the hymn B: mu-ni níĝ-ul-šè u₄ sù-rá-ka pa è ak-dè “his name for the distant times from old days he made to appear” prove that Šulgi intentionally ordered his royal hymns to be composed as a tool to preserve his name and thus acquire immortality in people’s memory.

II. 5.3. Amar-Sîn

Amar-Sîn (2046–2038 BC) was a son of Šulgi and Tarām-Uram. He became the next king after Šulgi and reigned for 8 or 9 years. Amar-Sîn organized a few military campaigns (against Šašrum and Šuruthum). However, his reign’s main activities were constructing Enki’s *E-abzu temple* in Eridu and *Amar-Sîn canal* on the Euphrates. Amar-Sîn paid great attention to the god Enlil in his royal inscriptions; his texts often use the two epithets nibru^{KL}-a ^den-líl-le mu-pà-da “called by Enlil in Nippur,” and saĝ ús é-^den-líl-ka “attendant of Enlil’s temple.”¹⁶⁰ According to Frayne, the coronation in Nippur became an essential element in Amar-Sîn’s legitimization (Frayne 1997, 236). About the sixth year of his reign, Amar-Sîn introduced a month named after him in the local calendar of Umma; he also likely had a temple built to glorify him in Ĝirsu (Sallaberger 1999, 166). According to the Old Babylonian omen tradition, Amar-Sîn died due to a heavy foot infection (Frayne 1997, 244).

Amar-Sîn has left twenty-six royal inscriptions. Twenty-two royal inscriptions (85%) have the determinative DINGIR in front of the king’s name:

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 1 inscription (4% of total). No DINGIR texts.
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 12 inscriptions (46% of total). 11 DINGIR texts (92% of the group).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 5 inscriptions (19% of total). 4 DINGIR texts (80% of the group).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 8 inscriptions (31 % of total). 7 DINGIR texts (87,5% of the group).

The number of surviving *god-orientated inscriptions* is too small to make any conclusions concerning the distribution of DINGIR in texts. In all other groups of texts, the percentage of the DINGIR inscriptions is approximately equal and always exceeds 80%. It means that appeal for divine status was standard for these texts.

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, RIME 3/2.1.3.1 (lines 2–6).

Amar-Sîn has the title *diĝir zid* ^dutu kalam-ma-na “the true god, sun of the land” in RIME 3/2.1.3. 16 (lines 10–11) and *diĝir zid* kalam-ma-na “the true god of land” in RIME 3/2.1.3. 17 (line 10). In contrast to his predecessors, Amar-Sîn directly claimed (RIME 3/2.1.3. 17, line 18) the position of *dumu ki-âĝ* ^dnanna-ke₄ “beloved son of Nanna.” Divine origin from Nanna might have been implied in Šulgi’s hymns previously, but it never was expressed so directly. The text RIME 3/2.1.3.13 (line 3) proclaimed *d*inanna nin mē dam ki-âĝ-âĝ-ni-ir “Inanna, the lady of battle, is his beloved spouse.” Royal inscriptions of Amar-Sîn do not describe his empowerment with royal authority or insignia. Amar-Sîn used the title *lugal uri*₅ ^{KI}-ma “king of Ur” and *lugal an-ub-da-lim mu₂-ba* “king of the four quarters of the world.”¹⁶¹

There are no surviving royal hymns in honor of Amar-Sîn. The only Sumerian literary text relating to the king is *Amar-Suena and Enki’s temple* (ETCSL 2.4.3.1). This text survives on two tablets, which have no overlapping text. Therefore, it is not clear whether they belong to the same composition. These passages were discussed initially as hymns Amar-Suen A and B (Zólyomi 2000, 56–58). In this dissertation, I follow the ETCSL edition and discuss the two texts together. The text negatively describes the king and cannot be a composition ordered by the royal court of Amar-Sîn. Most probably, it was composed after the king’s death. Still, the text is mentioned here because the determinative DINGIR precedes Amar-Sîn’s name in both surviving tablets. According to the text, Amar-Sîn failed to build a temple for the god Enki, probably due to his inability to interpret ominous signs and make a proper plan. Line 10 narrates that Amar-Sîn could **not** *perfect* me nam-lugal-la-na “ME of kingship.” As a result, the gods did **not** decide a favorable fate for him. In its stress on temple building activity, the text resembles the *cylinders of Gudea*. This composition also resembles the *Cursing of Agade*, where Narām-Sîn could not obtain a good omen from the gods in a similar way.

Mesopotamian kings depicted negatively in diachronous literary texts are often mentioned as *Unheilsherrscher*, “a calamitous ruler.” The reason for the literary tradition to regard some kings as “ill-fated” is unknown¹⁶². Allegedly, it was a convenient way to explain the upcoming fall of the dynasty in a historical retrospective (Brisch 2011, 716). However, in the case of Amar-Sîn, the situation is more complicated, as far as the next ruler Šū-Sîn also avoided mentioning Amar-Sîn and even excluded him from the list of posthumously praised kings (Sallaberger 1999, 167).

¹⁶¹ For both titles, see the texts RIME 3/2.1.3. 1–3, 5–18, 21, 22, 2001, 2003, 2006–2008 (Frayne 1997, 247–283).

¹⁶² Sebastian Fink addressed the problem of literary texts representing negative characteristics of kings (“counter-texts” in Fink’s terminology) and how these texts oppose the plausible image depicted in royal inscriptions. For his discussion, see Fink 2018, 155–160.

II. 5.4. Šū-Sîn

Šū-Sîn was a son of Amar-Sîn and Abī-simtī; however, there is an alternative view assuming that he was a brother of Amar-Sîn and a son of Šulgi (Sallaberger 2011–13, 362). He reigned for about nine years (2037–2029 BC). The king is famous for his campaigns against Simānum, Tidnum, Iam’adi’um, Zabšali, and Simaški. He also built a wall against Amorite raids.

Šū-Sîn established new standards of the royal praise. He instituted a few new festivals praising him and named a month in the calendar after these festivals. However, the king probably stopped festivals in honor of Amar-Sîn (Brisch 2006, 164). In contrast to his predecessors, who built temples across the whole state, Šū-Sîn concentrated his building activity around Ur and Umma. He rarely mentioned building temples for other deities (Sallaberger 1999, 171). At the same time, many new temples dedicated to the divine Šū-Sîn appeared in the country. Šū-Sîn established the service of *nin-diĝir* priestess¹⁶³ for the deified ruler’s worship. The only two references to *nin-diĝir* priestesses of deified rulers in the Ur III administrative texts came from the time of Šū-Sîn. One text¹⁶⁴ mentions a woman named Enum-Eštar in the position of *nin-diĝir* ^dŠulgi. This case probably illustrates the cult of a deceased ruler, not a living one. It is unknown whether Šulgi, Amar-Sîn, or Šū-Sîn had established this position. Another text refers to a woman Šāt-Šū-Sîn as *nin-diĝir* ^dŠū-Sîn.¹⁶⁵ This case indicates the *nin-diĝir* priestess’s attendance to the cult of a deified king during his lifetime, an innovation of Šū-Sîn. However, the exact obligations of these priestesses are unknown (Brisch 2006, 165). The only other known office of priests connected with the cult of living divine king was *guda*₄ priest.¹⁶⁶ In the Old Babylonian period, the position of *guda*₄ priests was lower than that of *nin-diĝir*. It is difficult to say whether the situation was similar in the Ur III period or not. Assuming that it was similar, one can suggest that Šū-Sîn elevated his cultic status by introducing the *nin-diĝir* office. Brisch proposed that such priestesses became chief administrators in the state centers of the king’s cultic worship (Brisch 2006, 168).

Šū-Sîn has left forty-five royal inscriptions; forty-one texts (91%) have the determinative DINGIR in front of Šū-Sîn’s name.

¹⁶³ According to Piotr Steinkeller, the original function of *nin-diĝir* priests was a general service to gods. *Nin-diĝir* priests were attested both for male and female deities. Changes had occurred after the time of Sargon of Agade: *nin-diĝir* priestesses of male deities became their consorts, while priests of female deities saved their position as servants (Steinkeller 1999, 129).

¹⁶⁴ The text is from the collection of the University of Liège, Belgium (RA 49, 86 02; Limet 1955). See “CDLI P127827.” Rev., line 5.

¹⁶⁵ The text is from the collection of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (KM 89100; Brisch 2006). See “CDLI P234888.”

¹⁶⁶ The functions of a *guda*₄ priest probably included lustration rituals and supply of food (non-blood offerings) for gods (Sallaberger, Vulliet 2003–2005, 630).

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 5 inscriptions (11% of total). 5 DINGIR texts (100% of the group).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 11 inscriptions (24% of total). 10 DINGIR texts (91% of the group).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 3 inscriptions (7% of total). 3 DINGIR texts (100% of the group).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 23 inscriptions (51 % of total). 21 DINGIR texts (91% of the group).

Three additional texts (7% of the total) cannot be categorized; two have the determinative DINGIR (66% of the group). Out of forty-five texts, eight of the most voluminous royal inscriptions are known exclusively from OB copies (RIME 3/2.1.4. 1–6, 8–9). However, there are no discrepancies in the use of the determinative DINGIR in original texts and copies.

At least four texts directly call the king by the title *dîĝir* “god.” However, these mentions show some decrease in Šū-Sîn’s royal authority compared with the royal inscriptions of Šulgi. Šū-Sîn never used the title *dîĝir kalam-ma* “god of the land” in his royal inscriptions (but did in his hymns). The text RIME 3/2.1.4.1 narrates that Šū-Sîn built a new city and mentions (col. iv, lines 44–46) *iri^{KI}-ba d^{su}-suen dîĝir-bi-im* “of this city Šū-Sîn is the god.” The other three mentions are from subject-addresser inscriptions (RIME 3/2.1.4.11, 12, 15) and designate these subjects’ piety towards the king; the mentions are either *dîĝir ki-âĝ-ĝá-a-ni* “his beloved god” or *dîĝir-a-ni-ir* “his god.”

There are four other markers of the king’s sacredness in royal inscriptions. The first marker is a claim for the divine origin from Šara in RIME 3/2.1.4.16 (line 5) and 17 (line 5). Because both texts are building inscriptions commemorating a construction of Šara’s temple in Umma, the divine origin from Šara is not a constant feature of the king’s ideology. Šū-Sîn did not mention Ninsumun or Lugal-banda in his royal inscriptions as parents. The second marker is two mentions of Šū-Sîn as a spouse of Inanna in RIME 3/2.1.4.1 (col. i, line 39) and 20 (line 2). The first text is a long self-praise inscription probably written on the king’s statue (known only in the OB copy). The second text is a building inscription commemorating the construction of Annunītum’s temple in Ur. The third marker is numerous references to the construction of Šū-Sîn’s shrines in RIME 3/2.1.4.11 (lines 14–15), 12 (lines 17–18), 13 (lines 28–29), 14 (lines 13–14), and 15 (lines 15–16). All these references appear in subject-addresser texts and commemorate the reverence of Šū-Sîn’s servants. The last marker is a comparison of Šū-Sîn with Anzu in a military context in RIME 3/2.1.4.3 (col. iv, lines 8–10).

The only bestower of Šū-Sîn’s royal authority and insignia is Enlil. For example, Šū-Sîn’s empowerment with various attributes of power in the text RIME 3/2.1.4.3 (lines 17–23) starts with *u₄ d^{en}-líl-le nam-ti zi-sù-gál aga men ĝidru u₄ sù-rá ĝis^{is} gu-za nam-lugal suhuš gi-na* “the day god Enlil

(gave him) the long life, crown, tiara, scepter for the distant days, the throne of kingship with firm foundation.” Later, the text enlists other attributes, including (lines 27–30) á an-kár á mè á nam-ur-saĝ-ĝá ní me-lám-bi “the strength of *ankar*-weapon, the strength of battle, the strength of heroism with the fearsome *melam*-shining.” The long list ends with the formula (lines 48’–50’) ^dš_u-^dsuen lugal šà kug-ge pàd-da-ni-ir mu-na-an-šúm-ma-a “to Šū-Sîn king chosen in pure heart he gave it.” The text RIME 3/2.1.4.4 (lines 7’–31’) narrates that Ninlil (line 31’) al im-ma-an-dug₄ “desires” her husband Enlil to grant the same set of royal attributes to Šū-Sîn. It seems important that Enlil grants not me “divine powers” but á “strengths”. When mentioning á “powers,” Šū-Sîn probably followed the ideology introduced by Šulgi. So, in the text RIME 3/2.1.4.3 (lines 170’–171’), Šū-Sîn uses the same title á mah šúm-ma ^den-lil-lá-ke₄ “given the great strength by Enlil” that might relate to Šulgi’s deification. The king mainly used the titles lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma “king of Ur”¹⁶⁷ and lugal an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba “king of the four quarters of the world.”¹⁶⁸ Once in the inscription of his subordinate, he received the title lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄ “king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad.”¹⁶⁹ Other royal titles of Šū-Sîn include sipa “shepherd,” išib “*išib*-priest” of *An*, and gudu₄ “*gudu*-priest” of *Enlil and Ninlil*.¹⁷⁰

Seven poetic compositions referring to Šū-Sîn are analyzed within this dissertation. It is evident that more hymns praising Šū-Sîn existed from the ancient literary catalogues. However, these texts are not yet found.¹⁷¹ Only four royal hymns having markers of the king’s sacredness are discussed here in detail.

The hymn Šu-Suen A is known from only one OB exemplar. The text mentions 1) the king, 2) his mother Abī-simtī, 3) his nin, “queen,” and lukur priestess, Kubātum, and 4) an anonymous singer. I find the arguments proposed by Sefati valid and assume that this hymn was sung by a single unnamed singer (Sefati 1998, 349). However, there is also an alternative interpretation of the text as describing an interaction between different characters.¹⁷² The hymn probably narrates Šū-Sîn’s birth and might hint at the sacred marriage rite between the king and goddess Bau, as proposed by Sefati (*ibid.*, 349). The choice of Bau seems

¹⁶⁷ See the texts RIME 2/3.1.4. 1, 3–24, 26, 29, 32, 33, 2001, 2002, 2004–2007, 2010, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2018 (Frayne 1997, 296–358).

¹⁶⁸ See the texts RIME 2/3.1.4. 1, 3–23, 26, 32, 33, 2001, 2002, 2004–2007, 2010, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2018 (Frayne 1997, 296–358).

¹⁶⁹ See the text RIME 2/3.1.4. 33 (line 5), in Frayne 1997, 342

¹⁷⁰ For sipa, see RIME 2/3.1.4. 3 (lines 12–13, col.vii, line 25), 9 (11–12), 21 (10–11), 2016 (12’), in Frayne 1997, 302–358; for išib, see RIME 2/3.1.4. 17 (line 7), 2016 (3’), *ibid.*, 328, 357; for GUDU₄, see RIME 2/3.1.4. 17 (lines 8–10), 2016 (4’–7’), *ibid.*, 328, 357

¹⁷¹ For example, Šu-Suen I is a hymn to the king known only from the OB catalog of literary texts in Louvre AO 5393 (ETCSL 0.2.2). Only the first line of the hymn is known today.

¹⁷² Sefati gave detailed overview of various interpretations proposed for this hymn (Sefati 1998, 346–350).

unusual for the Ur III kings and resembles the ED Lagaš tradition. In addition to the proposed indications of the sacred marriage, the only other marker of king's sacredness is the reference to him as *diĝir kalam-ma* "god of the land" (line 27). This reference is made in connection with the hints for the sacred marriage rite.

The hymn Šu-Suen B is known from two OB exemplars. Alster proposed that the reference to Šū-Sîn in the hymn is a mere metaphor and it is an example of secular love lyric (Alster 1985, 135). Sefati understood this hymn as a monologue of Šū-Sîn's lover; the lover might act as a representative of the goddess Inanna because the hymn's genre is a *balbale to Inanna*. Sefati interpreted the concluding lines as an invitation to sexual intercourse (Sefati 1998, 355, 358–359). The recently published second exemplar of the hymn from Kiš has even more complex conclusion presumably describing a sexual intercourse (Reid, Wagen-sonner 2017, 260–262). In addition to the hints of the sexual union (sacred marriage), there are two markers of the king's sacredness, both done in the context of sexual allusions. The singer praises Šū-Sîn (line 24) as *ù-mu-un diĝir-ĝu₁₀*¹⁷³ "the lord, my god"; the same line praises Šū-Sîn as *ù-mu-un d^lamma-ĝu₁₀* "the lord, my protective spirit." These titles are used as synonyms.

The hymn Šu-Suen C is known from two OB exemplars, its genre is a *balbale to Inanna*. This hymn is also a love song like hymns A and B. However, in contrast to the two discussed texts, Šu-Suen C praises the king as a farmer and provider of his land (line 20). It might relate to the function of the sacred marriage rite as a rite of granting fertility. Description of the king as *kug^{na4} za-gìn-na ù-mu-un*, "of silver and lapis-lazuli, the lord," can hint to the king's statue. Sefati regards metaphors with precious objects and gems as standard epithets in love poetry (Sefati 1998, 92–93). However, the examples that he brings from Inanna-Dumuzi songs could also relate to the statues of the respective gods and be chanted during the divine marriage rite. The only marker of the king's sacredness is a reference to Šū-Sîn as Inanna's brother (line 9).

The hymn Šu-Suen F is damaged, but most probably refers to Nanna as the bestower of *ĝidru u₄ sù-rá* "scepter for the distant days" and military authority over foreign lands (lines 54–60). Nanna is called "father" in line 15, but it is not necessarily a claim for divine origin.

Kramer characterized the hymn ETCSL 2.4.4.a (one of two texts on the tablet BM 100042) as written primarily to praise Šū-Sîn as a god. Kramer described the hymns as four *kurugu* stanzas with a summary; each stanza praises Šū-Sîn differently (Kramer 1989, 303). I distinguish two direct markers of Šū-Sîn's divinity in this text. In line 1, the king is *diĝir nam-he* "god of abundance." This title might relate to the king's responsibilities as the provider of gods with food; otherwise, it might also designate the king as one having power over the fertility of the land. In line 41, Šū-Sîn is *ur¹-[saĝ] nam-diĝir-šè tud¹-da* "the hero

¹⁷³ In the exemplar from Kiš, there is an Emesal equivalent *dim -'me'-er-ĝu₁₀* (Reid, Wagen-sonner 2017, 259).

born for the divinity.” This epithet relates to the king’s military or physical qualities. There are also indirect markers of the king’s sacredness. Šū-Sîn is depicted as a son of Ninsumun in line 33; this claim was standard for Šulgi. At the same time, at the beginning of the hymn (lines 4–5), the king is *dumu ur-saĝ an-na* “son-hero of An” and *ᵀuraš tud-da* “(one) born by Uraš.” These claims for the divine origin from the sky (An) and earth (Uraš) are new to the Ur III hymnal tradition.¹⁷⁴ They put Šū-Sîn on the same level as other divine children of An and Uraš: Bau, Enki, Ištaran, Nisaba, and others (Krebernik 2014–16, 402). The hymn hints at the sacred marriage rite in lines 35–37. Šū-Sîn manipulates divine powers ME in line 18. In line 2, the king is described as *lú ᵀnanna di zu-gin* “expert in justice like Nanna.” Similes with Utu also appear a few times; for example, lines 24–25 describe Šū-Sîn as *ᵀutu-gin hé-du-ni hé-me-en ᵀnin-[líl] èš mah-a-kam en sig-ga ᵀen-ki nam tar-re a-a ᵀĝectug* [daĝal]-la-kam, “like Utu, you are the fitting ornament of Ninlil of the great shrine, and of beautiful lord Enki, one deciding fates, the father of wisdom.” The hymn ETCSL 2.4.4.a referred to Šū-Sîn as *á mah šúm-ma* “given great strength” by Enlil (lines 8, 38).

One can notice a significant change in the usage of the divine descentance topos in royal hymns. Almost obligatory reference to Ninsumun as a divine mother in Šulgi hymns gave place to rare and context-conditioned references to various gods in hymns of Šū-Sîn. At the same time, most of the king’s direct mentions as a deity appear in the sexual intercourse context, not in relation to the military or physical superiority of the king. Sexual intercourse is naturally connected with the idea of fertility.

II. 5.5. Ibbi-Sîn

Ibbi-Sîn was the last king of the Ur III dynasty, who reigned for 24 years (2028–2004 BC). However, the loss of control over Nippur about the 11th regnal year marked the real end of the Ur III sovereignty over Southern Mesopotamia. Even earlier, in the 3rd year of Ibbi-Sîn’s reign, some provinces stopped to date their documents with the king’s regnal years. One after another local governors became reluctant to supply the king’s cult (Sollberger 1976–80, 1–4). One of the reasons behind the political crises was most probably climate. Walter Sallaberger has demonstrated how a displacement of Tigris to the east caused decrease of harvest in the region of Ĝirsu. Grain shortage caused a crisis in cattle administration, high inflation, and general imbalance in the economy (Sallaberger 1999, 175–177).

Claus Wilcke distinguished three stages of the political collapse in the state. In the first phase, around the ninth regnal year, Ibbi-Sîn sent his official Išbi-Erra

¹⁷⁴ Krebernik proposed that Šulgi also implicitly claimed his origin from An and Uraš in Šulgi P (Krebernik 2014–16, 403). However, Šulgi never did it explicitly in contrast to Šū-Sîn.

to Isin to buy grain and deliver it to Ur. However, Išbi-Erra disobeyed to his lord's orders and became an independent ruler of Isin. The second phase occurred around the nineteenth regnal year of Ibbi-Sîn. Puzur-Šulgi, governor of Ibbi-Sîn in Kazallu, reported on the military achievements of Išbi-Erra, who significantly enlarged his territories. The third phase began with the invasion of Gutians and Elamites to Ur and the death of Ibbi-Sîn in Anšan (Wilcke 1970, 54–69).

Ibbi-Sîn has left nineteen royal inscriptions. The determinative DINGIR precedes the king's name in seventeen texts (89% of the total).

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 4 inscriptions (21% of total). 4 DINGIR texts (100% of the group).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 1 inscriptions (5% of total). 1 DINGIR texts (100% of the group).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 0 inscriptions.
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 14 inscriptions (74 % of total). 12 DINGIR texts (86% of the group).

It might be a coincidence, but the only group of texts where the determinative DINGIR appears in less than 100% of the texts consists of *subject-addresser* inscriptions. It might relate to the fact that Ibbi-Sîn lost his power because of the lack of authority over the subjects.

Ibbi-Sîn used sacredness markers differently from other Ur III kings. He exclusively used direct markers of divinity; more precisely the title *dîgir kalam-ma* “god of the land.” Moreover, proportionally he used these markers more frequently than other Ur III kings. Direct markers of Ibbi-Sîn's divinity appear in eight texts (RIME 3/2.1.5. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 2007, 2016, UET 3/242); which makes 42% of his known royal inscriptions. For comparison, Šū-Sîn had direct sacredness markers only in 8% of his royal inscriptions. On the other hand, this unusually high frequency of the direct divinity markers was balanced by the absence of any references to the king's sacredness (except the determinative DINGIR). Changes in the usage of the divine origin topos are noted above already for the royal inscriptions and hymns of Šū-Sîn. Ibbi-Sîn has no such references at all. Also, there are no formulae of the king's empowerment with royal authority or insignia. The only mention of a deity in the context related to divine favor occurs in the text RIME 3/2.1.5.1 (line 6–10): *nam-gal ki-âg^d suen-na-da uri^{KI} dagal-e-dè sa im-ma-ši-gar* “with the great love of Suen he plotted to widen Ur.” Ibbi-Sîn never referred to Enlil in his royal inscriptions as the direct source of his royal authority; however, he used (RIME 3/2.1.5.3, line 21) the title *nun á mah* “prince with great strength.” Previously, *á mah* was a royal attribute granted by Enlil. Ibbi-Sîn also claimed direct possession of the divine ME (RIME 3/2.1.5.3, line 6): *nir-ĝál me níĝ-nam-ma* “authoritative over all kinds of ME.” The most frequently used royal titles of Ibbi-Sîn are *lugal uri^{KI}-ma* “king

of Ur”¹⁷⁵ and lugal an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba “king of the four quarters of the world.”¹⁷⁶

Five poetic texts refer to Ibbi-Sîn. None of them has divinity or sacredness markers. However, compared with the royal hymns of the previous Ur III rulers, the hymns of Ibbi-Sîn show much greater attention to divine powers *me* and Nanna as the bestower of royal authority. Four out of five known hymns of Ibbi-Sîn narrate about Nanna and mention *me* (Ibbi-Suen A, C, D, E). The last hymn (Ibbi-Suen B) narrates about gods Lugal-irra and Meslamta-ea and mentions *me*. Nanna is the most common bestower of royal authority in Ibbi-Sîn’s royal hymns but not the only one. The hymn Ibbi-Suen C refers to An, Enlil, Enki and Ninkī, Nanna, Utu and other gods as the king’s benefactors. An granted (line 43) the king aga zid “the true crown,” me u₄ sù-rá “*Me* of the distant days,” and ġidru nam-lugal-la “scepter of the kingship.” Enlil granted (line 44) to the king nam-en “en-priestship” and (line 45) nam-ur-saġ ba-tud pa è àm-mi-ni-mah “created heroism which shines magnificently.” The hymn describes the king (lines 54–56) as ⁴i-bí-30 á mah kalag-ga nam-ur-saġ-ġá nam-šul-la zag dib kur-re ġiri₃ saga₁₁ di eš-bar-e kíġ-ġá ùġ-e ġalga’ šúm-mu “Ibbi-Sîn, a strong one with great power, one who surpasses in heroism and youthfulness, one who speaks the destruction of foreign lands, one who makes decisions, and one who gives people instructions.”

II. 5.6. *Static-Relative* analysis of the Ur III period texts

Five kings representing the Ur III dynasty have left the total number of 267 royal inscriptions. The inscriptions with determinative DINGIR in front of the royal name constitute 60% of the total (161 inscriptions).

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 33 inscriptions (12% of total), from which 18 are texts with the DINGIR sign (54% of the group).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 93 inscriptions (35% of total). 32 DINGIR texts (34% of the group).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 26 inscriptions (10% of total). 20 DINGIR texts (77% of the group).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 106 inscriptions (40% of total). 86 DINGIR texts (81% of the group).

Additionally, 9 inscriptions (3%) do not fit any text category. Five of them have DINGIR sign with the king’s name. Direct markers of royal divinity are found in

¹⁷⁵ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.5. 1(line 4), 2(9), 3(9), 4(7), 5(6), 7(4), 8(3), 2002(3), 2003(3), 2005(7), 2006(3), 2007(4), 2012(3), 2013(3) (Frayne 1997, 369–389).

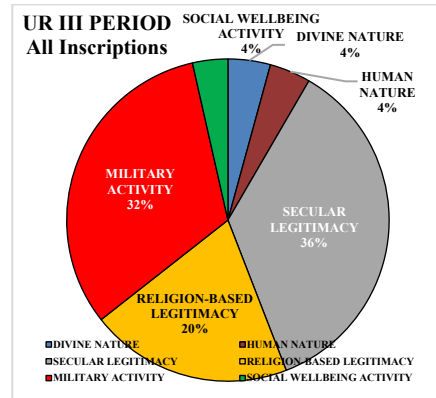
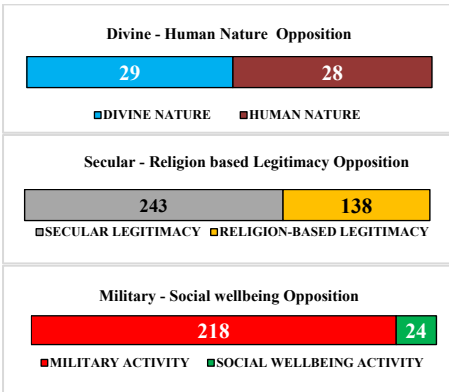
¹⁷⁶ See the texts RIME 3/2.1.5. 1(line 5), 2(10), 3(10), 4(8), 5(7), 7(5), 8(4), 2002(4), 2003(4), 2005(8), 2006(4), 2007(5), 2012(4), 2013(4) (Frayne 1997, 369–389).

19 texts (7 % of total) of 4 Ur III kings. Indirect markers (claims of divine origin or nourishment) are found in 16 (6% of total) texts of 4 kings.

The total number of quantitatively analyzed Ur III period royal praise poetry compositions is 45 texts. They are known for four kings. Two poetic compositions discussed qualitatively cannot be analyzed within the statistic approach as far as they are certainly post-humous texts. These compositions are *The death of Ur-Namma* (ETCSL 2.4.1.1) and *Amar-Suena and Enki's temple* (ETCSL 2.4.3.1). Some other texts are also missing from the analysis. For example, the hymn Šu-Suen I (ETCSL 2.4.4.9) is known only by its first line; therefore, I do not analyze it here.

	Number of poetic compositions: 45	Deity-praising (Type A): 24	King-praising (Type B): 21
Ur-Namma	8 compositions	4 compositions	4 compositions
Šulgi	25 compositions	9 compositions	16 compositions
Šū-Sîn	7 compositions	6 compositions	1 composition
Ibbi-Sîn	5 compositions	5 compositions	—

II. 5.6.1. All royal inscriptions



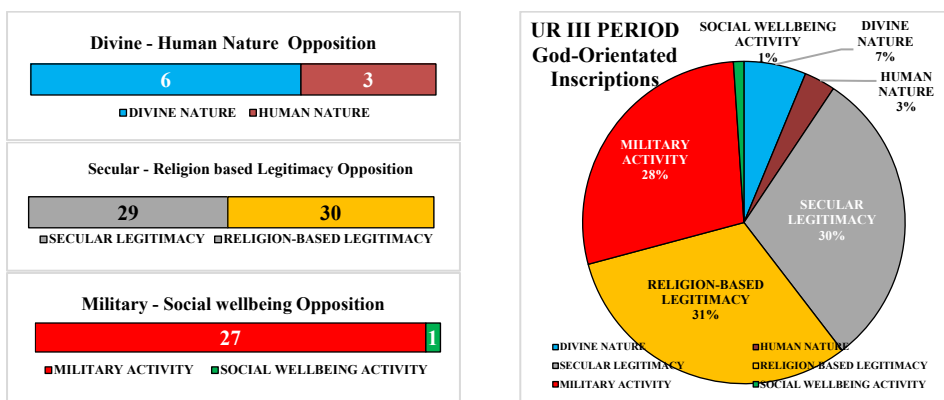
Divine and *human nature* epithets are balanced (respectively, 29 inscriptions [11% of the total] and 28 inscriptions [10%]). Only a little disproportion in the distribution of the inscriptions with DINGIR for texts mentioning *divine* (25 inscriptions [15% of the DINGIR total]) and *human nature* (20 inscriptions [12%]) of the kings can be found. *Divine nature* epithets are represented more with *direct markers* of royal divinity (19 inscriptions [65% of the epithet group total]) than *indirect markers*, such as claims for divine origin, brotherhood, etc. (16 inscriptions [55%]). In my view, it proves an intent behind these titles to introduce real cult around deified kings and not just praise them in an unusual way.

Secular legitimacy epithets (243 inscriptions [91% of the total]) appear in texts twice more frequently than *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (138 inscriptions [52%]). Among the inscriptions with *secular legitimacy* epithets, two-thirds (147 inscriptions [91% of the DINGIR total]) have DINGIR before the royal name. Among the texts with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets – only about half (69 inscriptions [43%]).

Mentions of *military activities* (218 inscriptions [82% of the total]) are nine times more frequent than of the *social wellbeing* (24 inscriptions [7%]). 135 inscriptions out of 218 with *military activity* epithets have DINGIR in front of the royal name (84% of the DINGIR total). At the same time, out of 24 inscriptions with *social wellbeing* epithets, only 6 have DINGIR (4% of the DINGIR total). Arguably, divine status related more to military functions than social responsibilities of the kings.

The most frequently used royal title is lugal “king” (243 inscriptions [91% of the total]). In most texts with the title lugal, the determinative DINGIR is in front of the royal name (147 inscriptions [91% of the DINGIR total]). The usage of the other royal titles, such as en “lord,” sipa “shepherd,” nun “prince,” and nir-ġál “authoritative” was minimal (the most usage had the title sipa – 6 inscriptions [2% of the total]).

II. 5.6.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



The frequency of *divine nature* epithets (6 inscriptions [18% of the text group total]) is twice higher than *human nature* epithets (3 inscriptions [9%]). Five inscriptions with *divine nature* epithets out of six have DINGIR before the royal name (28% of the DINGIR text group total). Direct claims of divinity are dominant (5 inscriptions – 83% of epithet-text group total),¹⁷⁷ references to

¹⁷⁷ Here and after, “epithet-text total” stands for the total number of the reference to a particular epithet group within a particular text group. In this particular case, it stands for the total number of the *divine nature* epithets (epithet group) within *god-orientated* royal inscriptions (text group).

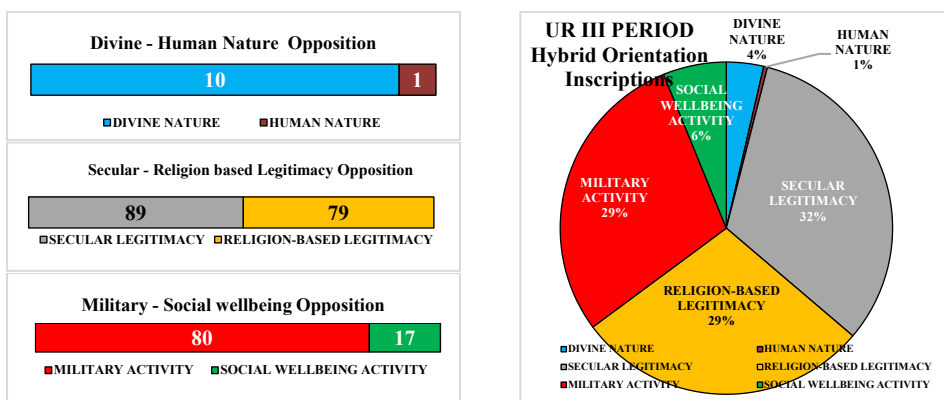
family connections with gods are less frequent (2 inscriptions – 33% of epithet-text total). Two inscriptions out of three referring to *the human nature* of the king have DINGIR (11% of the DINGIR text group total). Statistically, it looks as Ur III kings were eager to represent themselves as divine beings in texts addressed to deities. However, this picture is caused by an unusually high percentage of direct markers of divinity in the *god-orientated* texts of Ibbi-Sin. This is not the case for other Ur III kings. In fact, out of five Ur III kings, only two used divine nature epithets in these texts. For comparison, there were four kings who used *divine nature* epithets in *hybrid orientation* texts.

The frequency of *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets is balanced (respectively, 29 inscriptions [88% of the text group total] and 30 inscriptions [90%]). Seventeen inscriptions with *secular legitimacy* epithets (94% of the DINGIR text group total) and sixteen with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (88%) have DINGIR in front of the royal name.

Only one *god-orientated* inscription has *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (3% of the text group total). This text does not have DINGIR before the royal name. *Military activity* epithets are highly frequent (27 inscriptions [82%]). Most of them have DINGIR (15 inscriptions [83% of the DINGIR text group total]). Most *military activity* epithets are general praise of the king's power (27 inscriptions [100% of the epithet-text group total]). Actual descriptions of military actions are rare (2 inscriptions [7% of the epithet-text group total]).

The most frequently used royal title is lugal “king” (29 inscriptions [88% of the text group total]). Seventeen texts with lugal also have DINGIR before the royal name (94% of the DINGIR text group total). Such titles as en, sipa, nun, and nir-ĝál are almost invisible in the *god-orientated* texts (each appears only in one text – 3% of the text group total).

II. 5.6.3. Hybrid orientation royal inscriptions



The frequency of *divine nature* epithets (10 inscriptions [11% of the text group total]) is ten times higher than *human nature* epithets (1 inscription [1%]). All texts

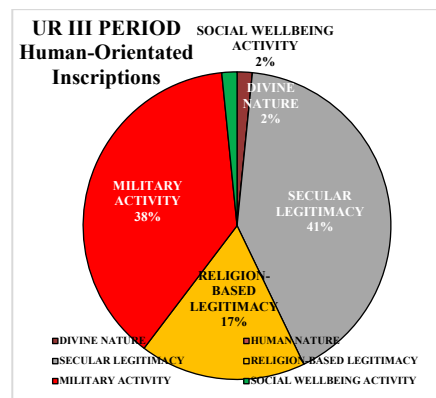
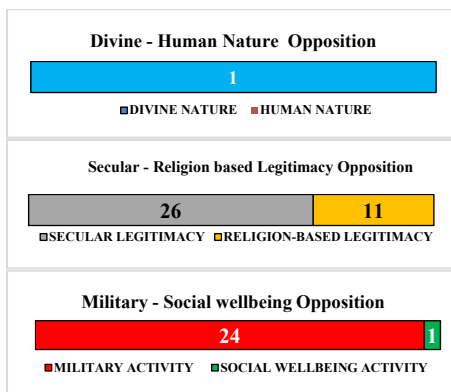
with *divine nature* epithets use DINGIR (10 inscriptions [31% of the DINGIR text group total]). The only text with *human nature* epithets also has DINGIR (3%). *Indirect markers* of sacredness appear in a larger number of texts (8 texts [8%]) than *direct markers* (5 texts [5%]).

The frequency of *secular legitimacy* epithets (89 inscriptions [96% of the text group total]) is higher than that of *religion-based legitimacy* (79 inscriptions [85%]). It is the most serious imbalance between two epithet groups in *hybrid orientation* texts compared with all previous periods discussed above. It might signify a change in the attitude to the divine recognition in connection with building activities. One can speculate it designates that temple building activity was slowly losing its importance as the central requirement for the divine approval. 32 inscriptions with *secular legitimacy* epithets (100% of the DINGIR text group total) and 31 with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (96%) have DINGIR in front of the royal name.

Military activity epithets (80 inscriptions – 86% of the text group total) are more than four times more frequent compared to *social wellbeing activity* epithets (17 inscriptions [18%]). 31 inscriptions with *military activity* epithets (96% of the DINGIR text group total) have DINGIR in front of the royal name. Only four inscriptions out of 17 with *social wellbeing activity* epithets [8%] have DINGIR. General praise of the king's military power is much more frequent (77 inscriptions [96% of epithet-text group total]) than a description of actual military actions (11 inscriptions [14%]). This demonstrates that military activity was connected with divinity of the kings in more evident way than any references to social responsibilities.

The most frequently used royal title is lugal “king” (89 inscriptions [96% of the text group total]). 32 inscriptions with lugal also have DINGIR (100% of the DINGIR text group inscriptions). The usage of titles as en and sipa is scarce (two and three inscriptions, respectively – 2% of the text group total).

II. 5.6.4. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



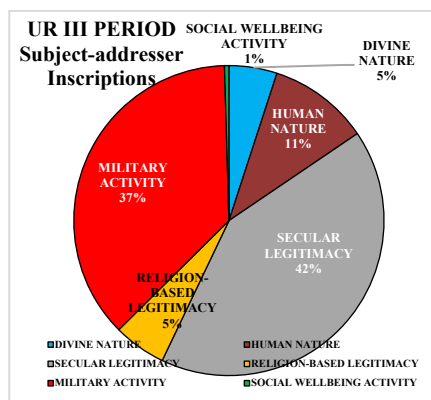
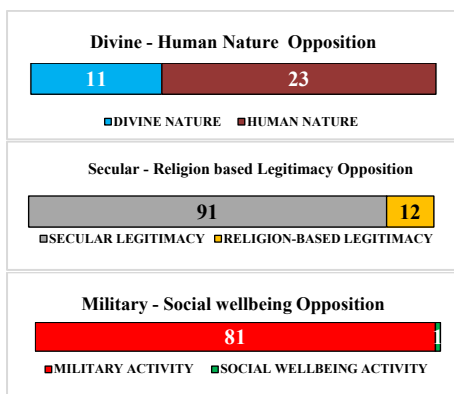
Among human-orientated inscriptions are no texts with human nature epithets. Only one text has *divine nature* epithets (4% of the text group total). The text has no DINGIR. The only reference to the divine nature is an indirect marker of the king's sacredness.

The frequency of *secular legitimacy* epithets (26 inscriptions [100% of the text group total]) is higher than that of *religion-based legitimacy* (11 inscriptions [42%]). 20 inscriptions with *secular legitimacy* epithets (100% of the DINGIR text group total) and 8 with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (40%) have DINGIR in front of the royal name. It demonstrates relatively small importance of the divine approval in utilitarian texts addressed to subjects and independence of the royal divinity from the divine benevolence topos.

Only one text has *social wellbeing activity* epithets (4% of the text group total). The text has no DINGIR. *Military activity* epithets are frequent (24 inscriptions [92%]). 19 inscriptions with *military activity* epithets (95% of the DINGIR text group total) have DINGIR. No texts describe actual military actions.

The only used royal title is lugal “king” (26 inscriptions [100% text group total]). 20 inscriptions with lugal also have DINGIR before the royal name (100% of the DINGIR text group total).

II. 5.6.5. Subject-addresser inscriptions



Human nature epithets (23 inscriptions [22% of the text group total]) are more frequent than *divine nature* epithets (11 inscriptions [10%]). Two-thirds of texts with *human nature* epithets (16 inscriptions [19% of the DINGIR text group total]) and almost all with *divine nature* epithets (9 inscriptions [10%]) have DINGIR. Direct markers of the royal divinity appear in 9 inscriptions (82% of epithet-text group total) while indirect markers appear in 5 inscriptions (45%).

Ninety-one *subject-addresser* texts have *secular legitimacy* epithets (86% of the text group total), 74 of them (86% of the DINGIR text group total) have DINGIR. However, the legitimacy approved by divine authorities is a rare topic in the subject-addresser texts. There is only 12 texts with the *religion-based*

legitimacy epithets (11% of the text group total); 11 have DINGIR (13% of the DINGIR text group total).

Only one inscription with *social wellbeing activity* epithets (1% of the text group total) belongs to the *subject-addresser* inscriptions group. This inscription also has DINGIR (1% of the DINGIR text group total). The inscriptions with *military activity* epithets are numerous (81 inscriptions [76% of the text group total]); most of them have DINGIR (67 inscriptions [77% of the DINGIR text group total]). All *military activity* epithets are general praise of the king's military power exclusively, with no actual description of military actions.

The royal title *lugal*, "king," appears in 91 inscriptions (86% of the text group total); 74 have DINGIR (86% of the DINGIR text group total). The title *sipa* appears in two texts (2% of the text group total); one of them is written with DINGIR (1% of the DINGIR text group total).

II. 5.7. Royal Hymns

Textual markers of sacredness are more reliable in transmitting the original nature of the poetic compositions than the determinative DINGIR. It is not clear whether the determinative was vocalized; most probably, it was only a graphic sign. Non-vocalized graphical elements can be removed or inserted into the text more easily compared to textual elements. If one assumes royal hymns were composed in the lifetime of the respective kings or soon after it, analysis of textual markers is a better tool for discussing royal ideology.

Only three kings have textual markers of sacredness in the hymns.

	Direct markers	Indirect markers
Ur-Namma (8 compositions)	1 composition (12,5%)	4 compositions (50%)
Šulgi (25 compositions)	4 compositions (16%)	15 compositions (60%)
Šū-Sîn (7 compositions)	3 compositions (42%)	4 compositions (57%)
Ibbi-Sîn (5 compositions)	–	–

The royal hymns of Ur-Namma and Šulgi differ from the hymns of Šū-Sîn and Ibbi-Sîn. They have more (or an equal number of) *king-praising* hymns than *deity-praising*. Direct markers of the first two kings' divinity tend to appear in *king-praising* hymns. However, out of three compositions directly mentioning Šū-Sîn as a divine being, only one is *king-praising*. The two *deity-praising* hymns of Šū-Sîn (A and B) with direct markers of his divinity have a high frequency of sexual allusions (average for two texts, 60% lines).

The following part employs data from the thematic analysis of poetic compositions by lines and discusses each king individually.

Divine origin is a universal topos for demonstrating Ur-Namma's sacred status in his royal hymns. It appears in *deity-* and *king-praising* compositions (2,2% for type A and 2,7% for type B). Direct and indirect markers of divinity

are found exclusively in *king-praising* compositions (1,3% and 2%, respectively). Allusions to *sacred marriage* appear only in *king-praising* compositions (1,3%). Most lines in both *deity-* and *king-praising* compositions of Ur-Namma call him *favorable of DN* (37% for type A; 24% for type B). The second and third most important topoi are *military activity* (9% for type A; 7% for type B) and *temple building* (8% for type A; 9% for type B). It is important that *temple building* (9,3%) is a more frequent topos than *military activity* (6,7%) in *king-praising* compositions of Ur-Namma. Only in poetic compositions mentioning Gudea and Ur-Namma such a balance between the two topoi is possible. In later royal praise poetry, the importance of *temple building* as a topos declined. Other topoi are relatively insignificant.

Deity-praising hymns refer to the *divine origin* of Šulgi more frequently (3,4%) than *king-praising* (2,1%). However, the difference is insignificant and can be due to the disproportion of the compared data.¹⁷⁸ Direct and indirect markers of divinity appear in both types of hymns. On average, indirect markers are seven times more frequent (1,8%) than direct markers (0,2%). In *deity-praising* compositions, the main accent is on the *favor of gods* (39,3%) and *reverence to them* (15,7%). At the same time, in *king-praising* texts, the most important topoi are *military activity* of the king (21%) and *favor of gods* (16,7%). Lines with *military activity* tend to appear in the type B hymns (21%) twice more often than in type A (10,1%). This imbalance is even more evident when comparing the diffusion of sexual allusions lines (5,1% for type B and 1,1% for type A). This data shows that *military* and *sexual allusions* lines were most important for the court praise of the king. At the same time, type A hymns rarely mention these topoi and stress the favor of gods to Šulgi. The topoi of the king's *justice* and *physical strength* appear only in *king-praising* hymns. In contrast to Ur-Namma, Šulgi rarely mentioned temple building in *king-praising* hymns (1,2%).

Poetic compositions praising Šū-Sîn have a higher frequency of indirect markers of divinity (4,1%) than the topos of *divine origin* (2%). It is important because *divine origin* is the most frequent marker of sacredness in the compositions praising Ur-Namma and Šulgi. Curiously, even direct markers of divinity (2,7%) are more numerous than references to the *divine origin* (2%) in texts of Šū-Sîn. The decreased frequency of *divine origin* references may hint that the topos lost its central position for the legitimation of the king as a god in poetic compositions. Direct and indirect markers of royal divinity have a higher frequency (5% and 12,5%) in *king-praising* texts than in *deity-praising* compositions (1,9% and 0,9%). The most important topoi for the type A hymns are sacred marriage allusions (36%) and favor of gods (31%). For *king-praising* hymns, the most frequent topoi are *favor of gods* (25%) and indirect markers of divinity (12,5%).

¹⁷⁸ There are 15 king-praising hymns (1469 lines) and only 10 deity praising hymns (178 lines) known for Šulgi.

All royal hymns of Ibī-Suen are *deity-praising*. The central topos of these hymns is *favor of gods* (77%). One line mentioning divine powers and favor of An can be regarded as an indirect marker of the king's sacredness (1,6%). Otherwise, there are no references to the *divine origin* or direct markers of the king's divinity. There are no other specific topics: no allusions to sacred marriage, descriptions of military or temple building activities, or physical qualities.

II. 5.8. Conclusions

Divine origin was a central element for demonstrating the sacred status of Ur-Namma in his royal inscriptions and hymns. While there were no other direct or indirect markers of divinity in Ur-Namma's royal inscriptions, they appear in the hymns. Hymn C twice names Ur-Namma ^dlamma protective spirit. In my view, it reflects the functional divinity of Ur-Namma, which resulted from the king's *divine origin*. Ur-Namma claimed not only the *divine origin* but also sibling relationships with other gods. It was not an invention; claims for sibling relationships with gods are already known from the ED period inscriptions.¹⁷⁹ However, these claims became especially important for Ur-Namma and even more so for his son Šulgi. In his hymn C, Ur-Namma stated brotherhood with Gilgameš. Still, this ideology was limited to praise poetry of Ur-Namma; royal inscriptions do not reflect it.

Šulgi restored the formal cult for living kings as gods. However, neither royal inscriptions nor hymns directly explain the cause of the deification and how it was achieved. Deification took place in the second decade of Šulgi's rule; therefore, it was not simply connected with the idea of kingship. The best theoretical explanation is that Šulgi claimed divinity after victory over Gutium and after revenge for his father's death. Vacín proposed that the Nippur clergy might have granted Šulgi his divine status with some sanction for military campaigns (Vacín 2011b, 86). Indeed, in hymn G, Šulgi's title ^dlamma, "protective spirit" (line 23), is a part of the name granted by Enlil. On the other hand, there is no direct relation between Šulgi's title *dîĝir* and Enlil in other hymns. Qualitative analysis of the title *dîĝir* in Šulgi's royal hymns demonstrates the most coherent relationship between the idea of the king's divinity and his *military* and *physical* qualities. Still, it also could relate to the responsibilities of *en*-priest, as hinted in hymn D. Some markers of divinity in praise poetry of Šulgi (hymns A, B, C) might be interpreted as a description of celestial bodies rather than a human being. The quantitative analysis proves that Šulgi made the topos of *divine origin* the central element in his claims for divinity in royal hymns. However, it was not an important topos in royal inscriptions. Šulgi likely followed the example of his father, Ur-Namma. The topos of brotherhood with Gilgameš allowed Šulgi to construct an image of a divine hero temporarily locked in a human world, destined to die,

¹⁷⁹ For example, in the text of Enmetena RIME 1.9.5.20, lines 10–11.

but due to his divine origin and heroic deeds worthy of a divine status. In my view, inscriptions and hymns of Šulgi reflect his divinity from different sides. In royal inscriptions, Šulgi is deified by the matter of fact; most direct markers come from the *subject-addresser* texts. In one inscription (RIME 3/2.1.2.58), the title *dîĝir* follows a claim for the divine origin from Ningal, the city goddess of Ur. The royal inscriptions never mention divine origin of Šulgi from Ninsumun and do not prove any relation between Šulgi's divinity and Enlil. On the other hand, hymns mostly refer to Šulgi's divinity through his divine origin from Ninsumun and his personal qualities that make him unique among other kings. There is no explicit reference to Enlil as the grantor of divinity as well. Therefore, it is not clear from royal hymns if the divinity was granted by Enlil during some ceremony. If there was any ceremony in Nippur, it should have granted Šulgi the function of *dîlamma kalam-ma*, "protective spirit of the land," as the hymn G narrates. However, it was not necessarily the ceremony of formal deification. It could be that acknowledgment in Nippur enhanced an already existing local tradition of the king's divinity. In general, Šulgi's divinity seems just another element in his image as an ideal form of existence. I cannot find any evidence that the divinity of Šulgi is based exclusively on his function as a king or priest. There is also no direct evidence that Šulgi's divinity results from his victory over Gutium. Hymns mostly depict Šulgi's divinity as an innate quality naturally belonging to him as an individuum and resulting from his divine origin from Ninsumun. Some hymns (hymn G) do not mention Ninsumun but still hint at the unique origin of Šulgi, specially sanctioned by gods.

Šulgi's descendants inherited his status; all of them were divine right from the moment they ascended the throne. For example, most of the surviving royal inscriptions of Amar-Sîn have DINGIR; at least two texts directly name Amar-Sîn *dîĝir*, "god." There is no evidence of any ceremony of the king's deification. The fact that Amar-Sîn claimed divine origin from Nanna distinguishes him from Ur-Namma and Šulgi. It could be that Nanna in Amar-Sîn's pedigree stands for his human father Šulgi. Deified Šulgi could be associated with Nanna if one acknowledges him (Šulgi) as the city deity of Ur (function of Nanna). Amar-Sîn also got possession of ME through the marriage with Inanna. The king paid great attention to Enlil and often referred to him in royal inscriptions. Unfortunately, no royal poetry compositions praising Amar-Sîn have survived; the only poetical text is an example of literature depicting the ruler as "Unheilsherrscher" and cannot serve as a source for this research.

Šū-Sîn did not depend on the topos of divine origin as much as Ur-Namma and Šulgi. Quantitative analysis of royal hymns proves that Šū-Sîn did not stress his divine origin from Ninsumun and Lugalbanda. Even more, he was the first king who openly praised his earthly mother and concubine in royal hymns. The only *king-praising* hymn of Šū-Sîn depicts the king as a son of Ninsumun; however, it also pictures him as a son of the sky (An) and earth (Uraš). The idea of divine descentance from An and Uraš might originate from the ideology of Šulgi (Krebernik 2014–16, 403). Divine origin from An and Uraš placed Šū-Sîn on the same level with Bau, Enki, and Ištar; on the other hand, introduction of

these deities (personified sky and earth) might have reflected some changes in religious ideas resulting from the intensified contacts with Amorites. The decrease in references to the divine origin from Ninsumun might reflect some change in the attitude towards the brotherhood with Gilgameš. In other words, analysis indicates that Šū-Sîn preferred comparison and equation with great gods and not with semi-divine and semi-human kings of the past. Šū-Sîn further developed the idea of the king's empowerment with á mah "great strength" by Enlil, which became one of the central topoi in his royal inscriptions. Enlil is the only source of royal authority in Šū-Sîn's inscriptions. At the same time, some of Šū-Sîn's royal hymns are examples of love poetry that depict the king as a partner of different goddesses. It might hint at the great importance of the sacred marriage rite in the king's legitimation. However, in the only *king-praising* hymn, the topos of divine marriage or love with a goddess is significantly less frequent than in *deity-praising* hymns.

Data for Ibbi-Sîn's reign is not so voluminous compared to other kings. Political crises came fast. Probably because of the crisis and gradual loss of Ur's control over Mesopotamia Ibbi-Sîn never referred to á mah "great strength" in connection with Enlil. Analysis shows that Nanna became a more important source of royal authority than Enlil. Royal inscriptions have only direct markers of Ibbi-Sîn's divinity. Most of the markers are in *god-orientated* and *subject-addresser* inscriptions. The high frequency of the direct markers of divinity in Ibbi-Sîn's *god-orientated* texts is unusual. Other kings mostly have *direct markers* of divinity in hybrid orientated texts. One can speculate that Ibbi-Sîn in his votive inscriptions attempted to remind gods of his divine status and receive their favor by doing it. On the other hand, five surviving *deity-praising* hymns referring to Ibbi-Sîn have neither direct nor indirect markers of his divinity. There are no mentions of his divine origin. Sources are also silent on the Ibbi-Sîn's participation in the *sacred marriage* rite. There are no *king-praising* hymns among surviving poetic compositions.

II. 6. Old Babylonian period

II. 6.1. General description of the OB period

Within this dissertation, I use the term *Old Babylonian* period to distinguish four centuries after the fall of the Ur III period and till the death of the last king of the first dynasty of Babylon, Samsu-ditāna. However, as Charpin has demonstrated, it is a misleading term for several reasons. He offered to use the Amorite period instead (Charpin 2004, 38). The time between the fall of the Ur III kingdom and 1763 can be referred to as the Isin-Larsa period or *Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Edzard 1957). I chose the term Old Babylonian period conditionally because of its widespread usage in academic literature. Jeremy Black and Anthony Green wrote that the practice of royal deification ended with the last king of Babylon, Samsu-ditāna, in 1595 BC (Black and Green 1992, 62). As the following analysis

demonstrates, the approach to explicit royal deification significantly changed during this period. Kings of Isin continued the tradition of self-deification (even though each ruler did it differently); the determinative DINGIR often appeared in inscriptions. Kings of Larsa used the DINGIR determinative much less than kings of Isin, while kings of Babylon (with few exceptions) mostly avoided it. Still, these rulers might express their sacred status through other markers.

Isin, Larsa, and Babylon, the three most potent political centers, are at the center of the analysis. Still, these kingdoms were not the only ones. Uruk, Ešnunna, and Mari dynasties were also influential in this period. As Charpin stressed by preferring the term Amorite period, the people of this ethnic origin played an important role. Amorite tribes mixed with the local sedentary population of Southern Mesopotamia. New sovereigns who replaced Ur III kings were often of Amorite origin. One of the factors that influenced the migration of Amorites to southern Mesopotamia could be climate change. The migration of Amorites and the internal political processes led to the Ur III kingdom's collapse (Charpin 2004, 58).

The city of Isin controlled most of the former Ur III kingdom territory until approximately 1950 BC. It dominated over Nippur, Ur, Larsa, Uruk, Ešnunna, and Kiš. Kings of Isin positioned themselves as lawful heirs of the divine Ur III kings. However, they did not manage to extend the borders of their kingdom to that of Ur III times. In the second half of the 20th century BC, the city of Larsa became a powerful political rival of Isin. Already in 1923 BC, kings of Larsa contested Isin's dominance over Ur, the former political center of Mesopotamia (Kozyreva 2016, 232–233). Kings of Isin probably made Nippur their religious center and favored the god Ninurta. At the same time, the kings of Larsa praised the god Nanna and its cultic center in Ur. Both gods were regarded as the first-born sons of Enlil, so one can explain the confrontation of Isin and Larsa as a struggle between divine brothers (Annus 2002, 20). The sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon, Ḫammu-rāpi, defeated Larsa and, for the third time in Mesopotamian history, united Babylonia under a single rule. He had reorganized the religious system and introduced a new pantheon, where the god Marduk replaced Enlil as the main deity. Babylon became a religious center of Babylonia in place of Nippur. The first-born son of Marduk, the god Nabû, replaced Ninurta. Sumerian tradition still was respected, but old cultic centers were gradually declining, whereas Babylon remained economically stable and prosperous (Annus 2002, 33). However, the political success of the Babylonian kings was not permanent, and they soon met a new enemy, Kassites, who brought about “Dark Ages” in Babylonia.

II. 6.2. The first dynasty of Isin

In total, 15 kings are members of the first dynasty of Isin. These kings had positioned themselves as legal successors of Ur III kings. Despite their declared origin from the New Sumerian dynasty, the Old Babylonian period rulers were mainly Amorites.

II. 6.2.1.1. Išbi-Erra

The founder of the Isin dynasty, Išbi-Erra (2017–1985 BC), was one of the higher officials at the court of Ibbi-Sîn. He gained independence as a ruler of Isin about 2020 BC. His origin is unknown. Piotr Michalowski proposed that Išbi-Erra had some relation to the royal family of Ur. According to Michalowski, Išbi-Erra came from the royal family of Mari (Michalowski 2004, 231–234). Some scholars have proposed the Amorite origin of Išbi-Erra, which cannot be verified (Boer 2014, 27).

Išbi-Erra presented himself as a rightful heir of the Ur III dynasty. He imitated the policy of Ur kings in economic administration and royal ideology. By 2012 BC Išbi-Erra accumulated most of the former Ur III territories and conquered the city of Nippur. This city was the religious capital of the Isin kingdom; Ninurta played an important role in the legitimation of Isin kings (Annus 2002, 20). Around 2004 BC Išbi-Erra defeated Kindattu, the king of Šimaški who finished the Ur III state. After this victory Išbi-Erra became the master of Ur. Išbi-Erra maintained friendly relationships with local Amorites, regularly provided them with gifts, and enjoyed their military support (Kozyreva 2016, 233–237).

According to Piotr Steinkeller, deceased Išbi-Erra enjoyed a funeral ceremony similar to Ur III kings. The ceremony granted him ascension to heaven and turned him into a star (Steinkeller 2013b, 463–464). Piotr Michalowski holds a different view on the deification of Isin rulers. According to him, despite the formal representation of the Ur III practices, the kings of Isin only declared divinity but never had real cults behind these claims (Michalowski 2012, 40).

Despite a considerable reign of 33 years, only one royal inscription and 13 subject-addresser texts are known for Išbi-Erra.¹⁸⁰

The only royal inscription is a contemporary copy of a *god-orientated* text. The king has DINGIR in the text but no other markers of divinity.

The determinative DINGIR preceded the king's name in nine *subject-addresser* texts (absent in four).¹⁸¹ In RIME 4.1.1.2009 (line 2), Išbi-Erra has the title *diĝir kalam-ma-na* “god of his nation”; it is the only marker directly pointing at Išbi-Erra's divine status in subject-addresser texts. Interestingly, Išbi-Erra's royal titles were never associated with any specific geographical names in his or his subjects' inscriptions. There are no references to Isin, Ur, or other cities. In the royal inscriptions, Išbi-Erra used the title *lugal ma-da-na* “king of his land”¹⁸² without specification. However, the Akkadian variation of the same title was *bēl mātišu* and not *šar mātišu*.¹⁸³ In the inscriptions of subjects, Išbi-Erra sometimes has the title *lugal an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba* “king of the four quarters

¹⁸⁰ Texts RIME 4.1.1.1, 2001–2013, in Frayne 1990, 6–14.

¹⁸¹ Texts RIME 4.1.1.2001 (line 3), 2002 (1), 2004 (1), 2011 (1), in Frayne 1990, 7–13.

¹⁸² See the text RIME 4.1.1. 1(line 6), 2003 (3), 2007 (3), 2008 (3), 2009(4), 2011(3), 2012(3), 2012 (2), in Frayne 1990, 7–13.

¹⁸³ See the text RIME 4.1.1. 2002 (line 3), 2004 (3), in Frayne 1990, 8–9.

of the world.”¹⁸⁴ Some texts also mention the special favor of gods Enlil and Ninisina.¹⁸⁵

Eight royal hymns attributed to king Išbi-Erra are quantitatively analyzed in this study: four are *king-praising* (Išbi-Erra A, B, G, H), and four are *deity-praising* (Išbi-Erra C, D, E, F). Some of these hymns are known only in fragments. The qualitative analysis covers only three hymns with indirect markers of Išbi-Erra’s divinity (hymns A, C, and G).

The hymn Išbi-Erra A has survived in three exemplars, and one additional text that has a part of the text missed in other exemplars (Sjöberg 1993, 212). Michalowski noted that Išbi-Erra A and B significantly differ from other poetic compositions praising kings because they preserve unique historical details and “attempt not only to glorify the ruler but also to legitimate his reign in a novel manner” (Michalowski 2005, 201–202). Išbi-Erra has the determinative DINGIR in the known exemplars of the hymn. However, there are no direct markers of divinity. There are three indirect markers of sacredness. 1) The hymn repeatedly calls Išbi-Erra as “son of Enlil” (A i 2; A i 18; A i 21). 2) The king can control or possess divine powers me (A i 11’). 3) The hymn compares Išbi-Erra with Girra and Iškur describing his military merits (A iv 10’, 14’). Išbi-Erra A also mentions that Enlil “brought Išbi-Erra from mountains” (A i 10’). This line simultaneously stresses special favor of Enlil towards Išbi-Erra and the king’s foreign origin. In addition to this unusual description of the king’s origin, Išbi-Erra never claimed divine birth by a Mesopotamian goddess as was usual for many Ur III kings. Enlil is the only source of the king’s legitimation; Enlil brings him from mountains to bestow upon him á, “strength” (A iv 18). Note that Išbi-Erra B also demonstrates the continuity between the royal ideology of Ur III kings to Išbi-Erra in relation to á, “strength.” It says (seg. E, lines 11–12) [d]iš-bi-èr-ra-ĝu₁₀ engar d^den-líl-le [...] á mah mu-na-an-šúm, “to my Išbi-Erra, the farmer, Enlil [...] granted the great strength.” Išbi-Erra used the idea of empowerment with á mah, “great strength,” by Enlil as one of the sources for his legitimation; it could be that his divinity also was partly based on it.

The hymn Išbi-Erra C is a *tigi* for Nanaia. All known exemplars have DINGIR before the king’s name. There are two indirect markers of Išbi-Erra’s sacredness. First, there are two references to him as a son of Enlil (lines 20 and 38). Also, the king can control or possess divine powers me (line 21). The hymn describes Išbi-Erra and Nanaia as a pair (lines 32–33) ùĝ-e d^diš-bi-èr-ra lugal sipa-bi-me-en d^dna-na-a inim dug₄ [an-na-ta nin] kur-kur-ra za-e-me-en “Išbi-Erra, the king, is the shepherd of the people; Nanaia, by the word of An, you are the queen of foreign lands.” Following lines (40–41) mention ki-nú “bedchamber” and describe the king as [d]iš-bi-èr-ra šul hi-li-a pād-da “Išbi-Erra, the young one, chosen for his attractiveness.” These lines hint at the spousal relationships between Nanaia and Išbi-Erra. I regard this as a reference to the

¹⁸⁴ See the texts, RIME 4.1.1. 2005 (line 3), 2006(3), in Frayne 1990, 10.

¹⁸⁵ Text RIME 4.1.1.2003 (lines 4–5), 2006 (4–5), in Frayne 1990, 8–10.

king's ritual responsibilities in the *sacred marriage* rite; still, some scholars would acknowledge it only as a literary topos.

The hymn Išbi-Erra G is known only in one manuscript. It could be a missing part of other known hymns A, B, or H; however, there is not enough data to prove it (Michalowski 2005, 202). The only exemplar has the determinative DINGIR in front of Išbi-Erra's name. There are three indirect markers of the king's divinity. The first marker is the son-father relationship between Išbi-Erra and Enlil (lines 4' and 13').¹⁸⁶ The second marker is spousal relationships with Inanna (lines 7' and 20'). The third marker is a comparison with Utu (line 6'). This hymn directly mentions Mari as the hometown of Išbi-Erra (line 11'). There is also a reference to the empowerment with á mah "great strength" by Enlil (line 12'), like in Išbi-Erra B.

II. 6.2.1.2. Šū-ilīšu

Šū-ilīšu (1984–1975 BC) was a son of Išbi-Erra. He reigned for about ten years. In general, he followed his father's politics. He claimed the divine status and avoided association with Isin. As a successor of the Ur III tradition, Šū-ilīšu paid great attention to the cult of the moon-god Nanna. He returned his statue from Anšan to Ur. Šū-ilīšu probably tried to establish friendly relations with eastern territories (Potts 2016, 140–141).

Only seven royal inscriptions are attested to Šū-ilīšu. The determinative DINGIR stands in front of the king's name in all seven inscriptions.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 2 inscriptions (28% of total).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – 1 inscription (15% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 1 inscription (15% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 3 inscriptions (42 % of total).

One *god-orientated* text directly praises Šū-ilīšu as diĝir kalam-ma-na, "god of his nation" (RIME 4.1.2.2, line 9). However, there are no other markers of the king's divinity. There are no direct references to gods as the source of Šū-ilīšu's royal authority or insignia. However, there are mentions of special favor of gods Enlil, An, Nanna, Inanna, and Ninisin by the type Šū-ilīšu ki-áĝ DN "beloved of DN."¹⁸⁷ Šū-ilīšu mainly used the royal tiles lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma "king of Ur,"¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ The second reference in line 13' may refer not to Išbi-Erra but Ninurta. However, association with the king is preferable because lines 11'–12' narrate about the king.

¹⁸⁷ See the texts RIME 4.1.2. 2, 3, 4 (Frayne 1990, 17–19).

¹⁸⁸ See the texts RIME 4.1.2.2001 (line 3), 2002 (3), ib (Frayne 1990, 20).

lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄ “king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad,”¹⁸⁹ or lugal ma-da-na “king of his land.”¹⁹⁰

Within this dissertation, I analyze two *deity-praising* royal hymns of Šū-ilīšu. The determinative DINGIR stands before the king’s name in the known exemplars. In contrast to the royal inscriptions, there are no direct markers of Šū-ilīšu’s divinity in hymns. Šu-ilišu A is the only poetic composition with some indirect markers of the king’s sacredness. 1) The hymn describes Šu-ilišu as ^dnin-líl-le tud-da “given birth by Ninlil” (line 58); this equates the king with a son of Enlil and with Nergal praised in the hymn. 2) The hymn compares Šu-ilišu with Utu (line 30): sipa gen₆-ne šul zid ^dutu-gin₇ di si sá kud-kud, “true shepherd, who like the rightful young man Utu makes righteous verdicts.” 3) Line 31 describes Šū-ilīšu as one able to control and possess divine powers me: ^dšu-ì-lí-šu nun me ul pa è ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne “Šū-ilīšu, prince making to appear ME of the distant days of Anunna gods.”

II. 6.2.1.3. Iddin-Dagān

The next ruler of Isin was Iddin-Dagān (1974–1956 BC), son of Šū-ilīšu. He reigned for 21 years. In his first regnal year, a king of Anšan married Iddin-Dagān’s daughter, Matum-niatum. During Iddin-Dagān’s reign, the city of Isin probably lost control over Nippur (Frayne 1983, 744).

Only four royal inscriptions of Iddin-Dagān survived. Three texts are *god-orientated* inscriptions (75% of total), one is a *subject-addresser* text (25% of total). DINGIR precedes the king’s name in all texts. However, there are no other (direct or indirect) markers of Iddin-Dagān’s divinity. There is only a hint for the possession of divine powers me by the king in RIME 4.1.3.2. Lines 11–18 narrate that Nanna é-kur-ta me mah íb-ta-an-è “from Ekur the great ME brought” and sipa zid ki-âg-âgá-ni-ir šu-né im-ma-an-šúm “gave to his beloved shepherd, into his hands.” Thus, Iddin-Dagān receives ME of Nippur through Nanna’s help. Inscriptions depict gods Enki, Nanna, Ningal, and Dagan as benefactors of the king, but these mentions do not relate to royal authority or insignia.¹⁹¹ Iddin-Dagān was the first king to adopt the title lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin”;¹⁹² however, he also used the title lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma “king of Ur.”¹⁹³ Other Iddin-Dagān’s titles are lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad,” sipa “shepherd,” and massu “leader, expert.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ See the text RIME 4.1.2.3 (line 3), in Frayne 1990, 19.

¹⁹⁰ See the texts RIME 4.1.2.1 (line 7), 2 (11), 4 (3), in Frayne 1990, 15–19

¹⁹¹ See the texts RIME 4.1.3. 2, 3, in Frayne 1990, 23–25.

¹⁹² Text RIME 4.1.3.1 (5) in Frayne 1990, 22.

¹⁹³ Text RIME 4.1.3.2 (20) in Frayne 1990, 24.

¹⁹⁴ For lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄, see RIME 4.1.3.1 (6), 2 (21), in Frayne 1990, 22–24; for SIPA, see RIME 4.1.3.2 (17), in *ibid.*, 24; for massu, see RIME 4.1.3.2 (15), in *ibid.*, 23.

Four royal hymns refer to Iddin-Dagān. Three of them are *deity-praising* (Iddin-Dagan A, C, D), and one is a *king-praising* (Iddin-Dagan B). The king's name has DINGIR in the known exemplars. Only two hymns have any additional markers of royal divinity (Iddin-Dagan A and B).

Iddin-Dagan A is a praise poem to Ninsiana. The text explicitly describes participation of Iddin-Dagan in the *sacred marriage* rite (lines 177–202). There is a direct marker of the king's divinity in connection with the rite (lines 171–172): ^dnin-é-gal-la-ra barag mu-na-an-ri lugal diġir-àm šag₄-bi-a mu-un-da-an-til “for Ninegal dais he set, the king dwelled there as a god with her.” The hymn also compares Iddin-Dagan with Utu (line 202) and Amaušum-galana (lines 211, 214). The hymn directly refers to the king as a spouse of Inanna (line 199). All these markers relate to Iddin-Dagan's role in the *sacred marriage* rite. Michalowski argued that Iddin-Dagan had divine status only during the rite, while in all other situations he was perceived as an ordinary human being (Michalowski 2012, 41). The hymn Iddin-Dagan A describes the empowerment of the king (lines 2–3) with aga zid “true crown” and nam-sipa kalam-ma “shepherdship over the land” by An. God Enlil granted the king (line 7) ús-saġ ki-en-gi “cosmic bond of Sumer.” Line 46 says inim sag₉-ga an ^den-líl-lá-ta ^di-din-^dda-gan á nun hé-mu-e-te-ġál “by the good word of An and Enlil Iddin-Dagān may he have strengths of lordship.” Thus, it is not only Enlil but also An who grant á “strengths” and other royal insignia.

The hymn Iddin-Dagan B demonstrates that the sacred status of Iddin-Dagan was not limited to his performance during the *sacred marriage* rite. This hymn avoids any mentions of sacred marriage, but at the same time it has some indirect markers of Iddin-Dagan's sacredness. 1) Line 18 praises the king as dumu tud-da ^dda-gan-na “son given birth by Dagan.” Note that the same text also refers to the earthly father of Iddin-Dagān, Šū-ilīšu (line 71) with the determinative DINGIR and the title lugal kalam-ma “king of the land.” 2) The hymn compares Iddin-Dagan with Utu in line 22. 3) Hymn B also states that Iddin-Dagān has supernatural power over life and health granted to him by Enlil (lines 36–38): dug₄-ga ^den-líl-lá-ta igi bar-ra-zu lú mu-un-til-le ka ba-zu lú mu-un-silim-e, “by the word of Enlil, your gaze gives life to a man, your words give health to a man.” In my view, these markers hint at the divinity of Iddin-Dagan and have no relation to the *sacred marriage*.

II. 6.2.1.4. Išme-Dagān

Išme-Dagān (1955–1937 BC) was the successor of Iddin-Dagān. He reigned for about 20 years. One of his reign's main events was the regaining of Nippur, its restoration, and releasing its people from various obligations. The city was of great religious importance for Isin kings (Annus 2002, 20). Mario Liverani connected Išme-Dagān's activity in Nippur with the *Cursing of Agade's* composition. According to Liverani, a particular priest community within Nippur using this text aimed to guide Išme-Dagān, the king in charge of the restoration works, towards the traditional and desirable organization of the temple. Such propaganda

against Agade was possible in the times of Išme-Dagān also because of Isin's hostile relations with Kiš, which were naturally associated with Akkad and its imperialistic ambitions (Liverani 1993, 59). Steve Tinney described *Nippur Lament* as a literary composition representing the correct model of royal behavior towards Nippur. The text praises Išme-Dagān and was probably performed in the king's presence during some ritual occasion (Tinney 1996, 81–85). During the restoration of Nippur, Išme-Dagān emulated the actions of Šulgi and erected a “running statue” of himself next to the statue of Šulgi (Hallo 1996, 80). As Klein has demonstrated, Išme-Dagān was a great admirer of Šulgi; it resulted in the new flourishing of the Sumerian literary tradition under the king. Išme-Dagān has left a great number of royal hymns, some of them closely resemble hymns of Šulgi (Klein 1990, 67). Išme-Dagān established his daughter Enanatuma as a high-priestess of Nanna in Ur.

Išme-Dagān has left seventeen royal inscriptions. The determinative DINGIR stands in front of the king's name in all seventeen inscriptions.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 5 inscriptions (30% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 3 inscriptions (18% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 2 inscriptions (11% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 5 inscriptions (30 % of total).

Additionally, two inscriptions (11% of total) cannot be included in any of the text categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions.

The *hybrid orientation* royal inscription CUSAS 17/38 is a unique text for two reasons. It is the only Akkadian royal inscription of Išme-Dagān known so far and it is the only royal inscription with *direct markers* of the king's divinity. It calls Išme-Dagan *ili māt Wari'im*, “god of the land of Wari'um” (lines 15–16). Also, it calls the king *Šamaš Isin*, “the sun god of Isin” (line 13), *talīm Enlil*, “brother of Enlil” (lines 18–19), and a spouse of Ištar (lines 11–12). Sumerian royal inscriptions also have some indirect markers but never demonstrate the king's divinity as explicitly as CUSAS 17/38. In general, the most frequent sacredness marker is the spouse relationship with Ištar (6 inscriptions).¹⁹⁵ Two Sumerian inscriptions have claims for divine origin from Enlil (RIME 4.1.4.8, line 22)¹⁹⁶ and Dagan (RIME 4.1.4.6, col. v, line 8'). Amar Annus characterized these claims as the markers of the equal rank of Ninurta and Nanna (Annus 2002, 18).

¹⁹⁵ RIME 4.1.4.1 (lines 10–11); 2 (11–12); 9 (ii' 6'); 11 (10); 12 (14); CUSAS 17/38 (11–12).

¹⁹⁶ RIME 4.1.4.8 is also listed as royal praise poetry text Išme-Dagan S (ETCSL 2.5.4.19); similarly, in the framework of this research, it is also analyzed as royal inscription and hymn, in both categories.

The same sequence of titles in five different royal inscriptions¹⁹⁷ of Išme-Dagān will be regarded a *standard set*. It includes:

1. ú-a nibru^{KI} “provider of Nippur”;
2. saĝ-ús uri^{5KI}-ma “attendant of Ur”;
3. u₄-da gub eridu^{KI}-ga “daily being assigned with a task in Eridu”;
4. en unu^{KI}-ga “*en* of Uruk”;
5. lugal i-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin”;
6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of Sumer and Akkad”;
7. dam ki áĝ^dinanna “beloved spouse of Inanna.”

These epithets name the main centers of Išme-Dagān’s kingdom that granted his royal authority (Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Uruk, Isin). The goddess Inanna stands as an additional authority. If one assumes that en unu^{KI}-ga (a priest position in Uruk) relates to Inanna, then the additional reference to the goddess seems unnecessary. Therefore, en unu^{KI}-ga can relate here to An. Nevertheless, Inanna is the only deity mentioned by name in the standard set of Išme-Dagān’s epithets without her cult city. It distinguishes her as especially important source of authority. Still, note that some inscriptions have variations in this set of epithets.¹⁹⁸

The total number of known royal hymns and various poetic fragments referring to Išme-Dagān exceeds thirty compositions. However, some of these texts cannot be used in the analysis due to their fragmentary character or difficulties with interpretation. Within this dissertation, I use only twenty-three royal hymns in the quantitative analysis: twenty-one are *deity-praising* (Išme-Dagan B, C, D, E, H, I, J, K, M, O, P, R, Q, S, U, W, X, AB, Išme-Dagan 2.5.4.29, Išme-Dagan 2.5.4.a, Išme-Dagan 2.5.4.b) and two are *king-praising* (Išme-Dagan A+V, AA).

An important feature of these hymns is that there are no direct markers of the king’s divinity. Indirect markers of divinity appear only in fourteen compositions (Išme-Dagan A+V, B, C, D, E, H, I, K, M, Q, S, U, AB, ETCSL 2.5.4.a).

¹⁹⁷ See, RIME 4.1.4.1 (lines 2–11), 2 (2–12), 11 (2–11), 12 (6–15), 15 (18’–20’).

¹⁹⁸ Some texts omit some titles, while others add new ones. For example, there is an epithet lugal kala-ga “mighty king,” inserted into the sequence in the text RIME 4.1.4.2 (line 8). The same epithet possibly appears in the texts RIME 4.1.4.6 (col. vii 4’) and RIME 4.1.4.2001 (5), while in the text RIME 4.1.4.5 (line 2) nita kala-ga “mighty man” is attested. The text RIME 4.1.4.5 (line 4), has the title lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄ “king of the four quarters”; RIME 4.1.4.2001 (line 6) is the only text mentioning Išme-Dagān as lugal uri^{5KI}-ma “king of Ur.”

The most frequent indirect marker of Išme-Dagān's sacredness is his claim to be *dumu* ^den-líl-lá, "a son of Enlil," which appears in eleven royal hymns.¹⁹⁹ This claim usually follows the king's name as an epithet and does not depend on the context. Tinney also regarded it as the *predominant expression of the central point of Išme-Dagān's ideology: his relations with the gods and city of Nippur* (Tinney 1996, 63). In my qualitative analysis, I address seven hymns that have some other additional indirect markers of the king's sacredness (Išme-Dagan A+V, C, D, H, I, K, AB).

The hymn Išme-Dagān A+V has survived in about sixteen exemplars.²⁰⁰ In the known copies, the king's name has DINGIR before it. The hymn A+V is the most abundant in indirect markers of the king's sacredness from all Išme-Dagān's hymns.

1. father-son relationship with Dagan (Seg. A, lines 41, 117, 287);
2. father-son relationship with Enlil (Seg. A, lines 175, 257);
3. line 176 (Seg. A) is broken, but there is a possible claim for the divine origin from Ninlil;²⁰¹
4. Nintur assists at the king's birth (Seg. A, line 44);
5. *mussa* "male relative by marriage"-relation with Ningal (Seg. A, line 351);
6. spouse relationship with Inanna (Seg. A, line 105);
7. comparison of Išme-Dagān with Utu in juridical context (Seg. A, line 226).

The text starts with the praise of Enlil and continues with the king's election by him. The hymn describes in detail the empowerment of Išme-Dagān with royal authority and insignia. In line 43 (Seg. A), the hymn narrates a *ša*g₄-ga ru-a-ĝá mu ðùg ha-ma-ni-in-sa₄, "when my seed was directed inside, he [Enlil] pronounced for me a good name." Thus, Išme-Dagān was chosen by Enlil already in embryo. Nintur, who was present at the king's birth, granted him (Seg. A, line 45) *nam-en* "en-priesthood"; Enlil also provided the king (Seg. A, lines 47–49) with *nam-sipa ki-en-gi-ra* "shepherdship over Sumer" and many *lamma*-protective spirits. Later, the text narrates (Seg. A, line 55) ùĝ-ĝá ^rhu¹-[mu]-ni-in-suh-en kalam hé-ni-in-pàd-[en] "[Enlil] extracted me from my people and chose me for the land." A list of deities granting various attributes to Išme-Dagān follows the king's election:

¹⁹⁹ Išme-Dagān A+V (Seg. A, lines 175, 257), B (29, 32, 64), C (9), D (Seg. B, 19), E (Seg. D, 6, 7), H (28), M (Ver. A, Seg. B, 27; 31), Q (Seg. B, 21), S (20, 28), U (5, 14), 2.5.4.a (Seg. C, 10).

²⁰⁰ For the list of exemplars, see Ludwig 1990, 2–3.

²⁰¹ To support this interpretation of the broken line, the previous line (Seg. A, 175) refers to the king's father-son relation with Enlil. Moreover, the topos of divine origin from Ninlil appears in other Išme-Dagān hymns. See hymn C (lines 8–9).

1. Enlil grants sig igi-nim-ma nam-en-bi “*en*-ship over the lower and lands” (Seg. A, line 57);
2. An grants šibir “shepherd’s scepter” and ešgiri₂ “nose-rope” (Seg. A, line 60);
3. Uraš dūb kug-ga-ni-a mí zid ha-ma-ni-dug₄ “on her pure knee the true loving care told him” (Seg. A, line 61);
4. Ninlil grants barag mah u₄ sù-rá-ka “the great dais of the distant days” (Seg. A, line 63);
5. Enki grants aga₃ zid mah “the true great crown” and níĝ a-na mu sa₄-a “ability to name things” and probably connected with sages *apkallu* ĝeš₂tu₂g₂ 7-a “the knowledge of seven” (Seg. A, lines 69–71);
6. Suen grants ĝi^šgu-za lugal-la me ʾur₄¹ “the royal throne collecting ME,” barag nam-en-na “dais of *en*-ship,” and aga dalla “shining crown” (Seg. A, lines 72–75);
7. Nusku grants ĝidru nam-lugal-la “scepter of kingship” (Seg. A, line 77);
8. Ninurta (Seg. A, lines 81–89) secures favorable words of Enlil and Ninlil. He also grants the king á mah “great strength” and makes Išme-Dagān’s nam-lugal-la “kingship” and nam-en-na “*en*-ship” majestic. The text also names Ninurta the king’s á-tah “helper”;
9. Utu grants (Seg. A, lines 90–99) Išme-Dagān níĝ-si-sá “righteousness” and makes him a good judge;
10. Inanna chooses the king (Seg. A, lines 100–111) as her nitalam₂ ki áĝ “beloved spouse”. She also nam-en nam-lugal-da tab-e-a-ĝá “*en*-ship with kingship doubled for me”;
11. All gods decide Išme-Dagān’s fate (Seg. A, lines 112–116);
12. The king is chosen by Enlil (Seg. A, lines 118–119): ^den-líl lugal kur-kur-ra-ke₄ u₄ dūg-dūg-ga-ni-šè máš-e hé-em-mi-in-pád-dè-en “Enlil, king of the foreign lands, on the best day, by the extispicy chose me.”

Enlil is the primary source of the king’s authority; the text mentions him more often than other gods. Later, the text narrates as Išme-Dagān established justice over his kingdom by the word of Enlil (Seg. A, lines 133–137). Line 138 is particularly curious: é-kur-ra me-bi hu-mu-un-ur₄-ur₄ “for Ekur I collected its ME.” Išme-Dagān claimed the ability to control the divine powers ME. In this hymn, ME were probably not abstract divine powers controlled by gods, but rituals performed in temples. The main function of the king was the protection of the land; it is clear from the passage in lines 236–242 (Seg. A):

236. ^d iš-me- ^d da-gan an-šè tud-da šag ₄ -ge pàd-da	236. Išme-Dagān, born for An, chosen by heart
237. a-a-gin ₇ dūg ama-gin ₇ dib-ba- me-en	237. is good as a father, as a mother (?) <i>passing</i> .
238. bàd mah zi-šag ₄ -ġál kalam-ma- me-en	238. I am a great wall, encouragement (life-giver) of the land;
239. ^{ġi} š-meš ₃ mah úr gur-ra pa mul daġal-la-me-en	239. I am a great thick-rooted tree, my branches are radiating widely.
240. an-dùl ki-en-gi-ra ġissu dūg- ga-me-en	240. I am shade for Sumer, a good protection.
241. ki saġ SUKUD-rá šu nu-tèġ- ġe ₂₆ -me-en	241. I am an elevated place, to where a hand cannot reach.
242. á-tah erin ₂ -na-me-en ġi tab kalam-ma-me-en	242. I am a helper of the troops, looking after the land.

The hymn Išme-Dagān C is a short fragment of a composition praising Nippur and Ekur. This fragment is interesting because of the lines 8–9 describing Išme-Dagān as a ru-a kur gal-la ù-tud-da ^dnin-líl-lá, “engendered by the Great Mountain [Enlil], born by Ninlil.” Together with Išme-Dagān A+V (Seg. A, line 176), only these two hymns refer to Ninlil as a divine mother of the king.

Išme-Dagān D is a fragment of a hymn praising Enki. The hymn mentions few times Enki as “father” (Seg. B, lines 10, 15, 29), however, it is not necessarily a claim for father-son relationship between the god and Išme-Dagān. The hymn refers to Išme-Dagān as a son of Enlil and mentions Išme-Dagān’s melam, “radiance” (Seg. B, lines 19–20).

Išme-Dagān H is a hymn praising Enlil. In line 18, it says ^diš-me-^dda-gan ġiš-hur me zid-bi si ha-ra-ab-sá-sá-e, “let Išme-Dagān put in order the plan and its true divine powers ME.” Control over the divine powers ME, in my view, hints at the king’s sacred status. The hymn also refers to Išme-Dagān as a son of Enlil (line 28).

The hymn Išme-Dagān I narrates the construction of a chariot to Enlil. The only marker of the king’s sacredness in the hymn is his spousal relationship with Inanna (lines 92–93). Klein has demonstrated parallels between this hymn and Šulgi R (Klein 1990, 68–72). The two hymns have different endings: Išme-Dagān I ends with Enlil’s promise to give Inanna to the king as his wife and allow them to live happily. According to Klein, it hints at Išme-Dagān’s role in the sacred marriage rite (ibid. 71, n. 22). Šulgi R has no such motif. To my understanding, the favor granted by gods results not only from the creation of some object (a temple or a chariot) to gods but also from the king’s role as an organizer of the *divine marriage*. The *divine marriage* of gods brings a successful conclusion to all the deeds a king can do to please gods. For example, the hymn Išme-Dagan B narrates how the king organizes a *divine marriage* of Enki and Damgalnuna; as a reward, Enki grants abundance (line 29). Similarly, the hymn Išme-Dagan I narrates how the king organizes a marriage of Enlil and Ninlil; as a reward for

the perfect organization of the feast, Enlil promises Inanna as a spouse to the king (lines 90–93). Therefore, *divine marriage* becomes a key to *sacred marriage* in this hymn. At the same time, it should be stressed that Inanna depends on Enlil's will in choosing her marital partners in this hymn. As will be shown later, some hymns, on the contrary, praise Inanna as independent in her choice.

The hymn Išme-Dagān K is a praise song to Inanna. This hymn also refers to the king as Inanna's spouse (lines 36–37), which is the only marker of Išme-Dagān's sacredness in it. Like Išme-Dagān I, this hymn also depicts Inanna as dependent on her parents, Enlil and Ninlil, in the choice of her partner.

Išme-Dagān AB is another hymn to Inanna. The only marker of the king's sacredness in this composition is his status of Inanna's spouse (line 120). However, this hymn depicts the relationships between the king and the goddess in a new way compared to Išme-Dagān I and K. Inanna is not only independent in her choice of partner,²⁰² but she can also become angry with her spouse and deprive him of her favors. As the hymn narrates, Inanna's anger results in the loss of a child by Išme-Dagān's wife (lines 80, 84); the reestablished favor of the goddess granted the king with a male heir (lines 112–113). I find that the following comment of Ludwig and Metcalf is correct: "while the poem seems highly (and perhaps deliberately) oblique on these points, it does give some support to the view that the successful union between the king and Inanna was seen on a mythological level to create or legitimise the royal offspring" (Ludwig, Metcalf 2017, 3). The character of the *sacred marriage* ritual is oblique. However, in my view, the connection with Inanna was not only on the mythological level but might have originated in an actual ritual practiced in previous periods (or even by the kings of Isin) to engender a legitimate heir. The point already discussed that not only the king, but also the queen associated with local gods in ED Lagaš supports this view.

Klein has a detailed discussion about the resemblance between royal hymns of Išme-Dagān and Šulgi (Klein 1990, 65–79). However, some features make royal hymns of Išme-Dagān and Šulgi very different:

1. Išme-Dagān did not use titles *dîĝir* or *dîlamma*; he did not claim divinity as openly as Šulgi.
2. Išme-Dagān did not refer to Ninsumun or Lugal-banda as divine parents; there is also no mentions of Gilgameš in his hymns.

The status of Enlil's son was higher than being a son of Ninsumun. However, the hymns of Išme-Dagān lack the vibrancy natural to Šulgi's hymns in the depictions of divine descentance. It also correlates with the absence of any direct markers of the king's divinity in Išme-Dagān's hymns. The hymns of Šulgi praised the king as if indeed born by Ninsumun, and the hymns of Išme-Dagān just

²⁰² At least there is no direct dependence between Inanna and Enlil. Some other hymns also depict Inanna independent in her choice of marital partner. For example, Išme-Dagan A+V (Seg. A, lines 100–111).

formally acknowledged his noble origin. Any reference to Enlil as the king's father in Išme-Dagān's hymns could be just an indication of birth as a legitimate heir of the previous king. Similarly, the dependence between Enlil and Inanna in hymns Išme-Dagān I and K hints that the latter was primarily responsible for the appearance of a legitimate heir.

II. 6.2.1.5. Lipit-Ištar

King Lipit-Ištar (1936–1926 BC) reigned for 11 years and was the last descendant of Išbi-Erra on the throne of Isin. He explicitly stressed his status as a literate; according to Charpin, only three kings in Mesopotamian history (Šulgi of Ur, Lipit-Ištar of Isin, and Aššur-bāni-apli of Assyria) did the same on such a level (Charpin 2010, 8–12). Lipit-Ištar is mainly famous for his Law Code,²⁰³ the second known after the Code of Ur-Namma. Also, he constructed so-called é-nì-si-sá, “house of Justice” in Isin, which was likely associated with the promulgation of the new Law Code (Frayne 1990, 52). The reign of Lipit-Ištar became the start of Isin's misfortunes. Lipit-Ištar was the last ruler of Isin to control Uruk. Probably during his reign, that city was conquered by troops of Larsa or Kish (Frayne 1990, 439). Late in Lipit-Ištar's reign, a king of Larsa Gungunum managed to acquire Ur (Halla 1959, 57).

There are fourteen royal inscriptions attested to Lipit-Ištar. Lipit-Ištar, like all his predecessors, clearly stressed his divine status; the determinative DINGIR appears in all found texts.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 1 inscription (7% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 6 inscriptions (43% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 2 inscriptions (14% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 5 inscriptions (36% of total).

No direct markers of Lipit-Ištar's divinity appear in his royal inscriptions. Four texts (28% of total) have indirect markers of sacredness. The only *god-orientated* inscription refers to Ninlil as “a mother who gave birth to me [Lipit-Ištar]” (RIME 4.1.5.8, line 4). One *hybrid orientation* (RIME 4.1.5.3, line 28) and one *human-orientated* text (RIME 4.1.5.add10, lines 85, 435') refer to son-father relationships between Enlil and Lipit-Ištar. One *subject-addresser* text mentions the spousal relationships between the king and Inanna (RIME 4.1.5.7, line 9).

Seven royal inscriptions²⁰⁴ share the same *standard set* of Lipit-Ištar's titles:

²⁰³ For the composite text, see RIME 4.1.5. add 10, “Laws of Lipit-Ištar” (CDLI P464355).

²⁰⁴ RIME 4.1.5.1(1–16), 2(1–16), 3(1–19, 30–34), 4(1–16), 5(1–16), 6(1–13, 24–26), add10 (40–51). Still, there might be some other titles in texts, like, for example, lugal uri^{KI}-ma “king of Ur” (RIME 4.1.5. 2001[3], 2003[3]) and lugal ma-da “king of the land” (RIME 4.1.5. 2002[3]).

1. sipa sun₅-na nibru^{KI}, “humble shepherd of Nippur”;
2. engar zi uri₅^{KI}-ma, “true farmer of Ur”;
3. muš nu-túm-mu eridu^{KI}-ga, “one not stopping *working* for Eridu”;
4. en me-te unu^{KI}-ga, “*en* appropriate for Uruk”;
5. lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na, “king of Isin”;
6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄, “king of Sumer and Akkad”;²⁰⁵
7. šà-ge DU-a-^dinanna, “favorite of the goddess Inanna”;
8. nì-si-sá ki-en-gi-ki-uri-a i-ni-in-gar-ra-a, “one who established the justice in Sumer and Akkad.”²⁰⁶

Lipit-Ištar’s titles resemble those of Išme-Dagān but do not repeat them literally. This demonstrates Lipit-Ištar’s desire to innovate royal titles and, at the same time, save traditional links with the largest Mesopotamian cities; changes in the titles might also relate to Isin’s loss of territories.

There are nine hymns attributed to Lipit-Ištar.²⁰⁷ However, three texts cannot be used in the quantitative analysis due to their poor condition or uncertain attribution. Within this dissertation, I analyze six royal hymns of Lipit-Ištar: four of them are *deity-praising* (Lipit-Ištar C, D, E, H), and two are *king-praising* (Lipit-Ištar A, B). DINGIR usually precedes the king’s name. One hymn has a direct marker of divinity (Lipit-Ištar A). Indirect markers appear in five hymns (Lipit-Ištar A, B, C, D, H).

Lipit-Ištar A is a king-praising hymn of 108 lines, which survives in approximately thirty exemplars and fragments.²⁰⁸ The hymn is interesting because of a long passage praising Lipit-Ištar’s physical strength (lines 3–16). Most probable, this passage was created under the influence of Šulgi’s hymns. Such passages are rare in the royal hymns of other kings. In line 20, the king has a title diġir nam-lú-ùlu, “god of humanity”; it is the only direct marker of divinity in Lipit-Ištar’s hymns. In my view, the title stresses Lipit-Ištar’s role as a representative of the humanity before gods and as the guardian of humanity (people of Sumer and Akkad). Still, the context (lines 19–21) alludes to military qualities of the king by references like saġ-kal kur-kur-ra, “foremost of the foreign lands,” and ibil kala-ga, “mighty heir.” The hymn refers to Lipit-Ištar as a son of Enlil at least six times (lines 2; 25; 47; 79; 97; 107). The king appears as a spouse of Inanna twice (lines 37, 99). The hymn explicitly refers to the sacred marriage with Inanna in lines 102–103. Lipit-Ištar A (line 49) mentions the king as á mah šúm-ma

²⁰⁵ The epithet is attested also in RIME 4.1.5.7 (8), 8 (6).

²⁰⁶ This phrase can be expressed in slightly different manner but ends the sequence in all cases.

²⁰⁷ For the list of hymns with further information, see Sigrist 1987–90, 29.

²⁰⁸ For the list of exemplars, see Römer 1965, 67, n.240, or, ETCSL 2.5.5.1.

^den-líl-lá, “given the great strength by Enlil.” Note that the last Isin king, who claimed to be granted á mah, “great strength,” by Enlil before Lipit-Ištar was Išbi-Erra. Išme-Dagān claimed to have acquired the same attribute from Ninurta.

Lipit-Ištar B is another *king-praising* composition. Vanstiphout proposed that this hymn was primarily composed as a beginner’s text for Edubba (Vanstiphout 1978, 51). The most interesting are the lines 3–4: ^dutu-gin₇ du še-er-zid kalam-ma nam-nun-šè mah me gal-la u₅, “proceeding like Utu, the radiance of the land, great in the princeliness, (one) riding the divine powers ME.” Two indirect markers of sacredness appear in these lines: 1) the king is compared with Utu, and 2) he controls divine powers ME. The most frequent marker is the son-father relationship with Enlil (lines 10, 25, 57, 62). The hymn also refers to the king as a spouse of Inanna (line 16). The hymn narrates how Nisaba gave to the king (lines 23–24): gi-diš-nindan éš-gana₂ za-gìn ^{gis}as₄-lum le-um igi-ġál, “*gidišnindan*-measuring rod, lapis-lazuri measuring line, *ashum*-measuring rod, writing board of wisdom.” These attributes allow the king (line 26) to provide níġ-zid, “righteousness,” and nig-gen₆-na, “truth,” for the land. Išme-Dagan appears in line 53 as the earthly father of Lipit-Ištar and has the DINGIR sign before his name.

The only indirect markers of the king’s sacredness in the hymn Lipit-Ištar C praising An, are references to Enlil as the king’s father (lines 27, 39, 54, 58) and a mention of Enki as the grantor of me nam-nun-na-ka, “the divine powers ME of princeliness” (line 46).

Lipit-Ištar D praising Ninurta twice indicates the son-father relationships between the king and Enlil (lines 25, 39). It is the only marker of the king’s sacredness.

Lipit-Ištar H praising Inanna has two indirect markers of the king’s sacredness. It indicates the king as Enlil’s father (line 6) and Inanna’s spouse (line 1).

Lipit-Ištar E has no markers of sacredness. However, it has a curious passage (line 21): zi-ġál-e ama a-a ugu-bi-gin₇ igi-bi hé-en-ši-ġál-le-eš, “let living beings direct their eyes on him [Lipit-Ištar] like on the mother and father who gave birth to them.” This line demonstrates Lipit-Ištar’s authority over zi-ġál, “living beings,” and describes him as a parent of his subjects.

II. 6.2.1.6. Ur-Ninurta

The rivalry with Larsa led to a political crisis and caused the fall of Išbi-Erra’s dynasty. The next ruler, Ur-Ninurta (1925–1896 BC), was not a son of Lipit-Ištar. Madeleine Fitzgerald proposed that between Ur-Ninurta and a later ruler of Larsa, Nūr-Adad, existed an “ideological or even familial link”. Both rulers similarly claimed to be sons of the god Iškur (Fitzgerald 2002, 82). Ur-Ninurta reigned in Isin for 28 years. He fought against Larsa and even temporarily regained control over Nippur. According to Charpin, Ur-Ninurta died on the battlefield fighting against Abī-sarē of Larsa (Charpin 2004, 74). This defeat drastically changed the political balance in Mesopotamia. Isin yielded its dominant position in the region to Larsa (Fitzgerald 2002, 64).

Only two royal inscriptions are attested for Ur-Ninurta; one is *god-orientated* and one is *human-orientated*. Ur-Ninurta has DINGIR in front of his name only in the *human-orientated* inscription (RIME 4.1.6.1, line 1). However, the *god-orientated* inscription (RIME 4.1.6.2, col. ii, line 16') is known only in a copy, so the original inscription might have used the determinative. The *human-orientated* text refers to the king as a spouse of Inanna (RIME 4.1.6.1, lines 12–13). There are no other markers of the king's divinity in his royal inscriptions. The standard titles of the king (RIME 4.1.6.1, lines 2–13) are:

1. sipa níĝ-nam íl nibru^{KI} “shepherd who offers everything for Nippur.”
2. nagada uri^{KI}-ma “herdsman of Ur.”
3. išib šu sikil eridu^{KI}-ga “priest with clean hand for Eridu.”
4. en še ga unu^{KI}-ga “favorite *en*-priest of Uruk.”
5. lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin.”
6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of Sumer and Akkad.”
7. dam igi-íl-la ^dinanna “spouse looked at by Inanna.”

According to the royal inscriptions, the god Enlil chose Ur-Ninurta for kingship; RIME 4.1.6.2 (col. ii, lines 18'–21') narrates: ^den-líl lugal-kur-kur-[ra-ke₄] ùĝ dagal šár-ra-d[a] igi mi-ni-in-í[1] zid-dè-eš bí-[in-pàd] “Enlil, king of the foreign lands, looked on the broad, numerous people and truly chose him.” Ur-Ninurta did not claim divine origin in his royal inscriptions.

Within the quantitative analysis, I address six *deity-praising* hymns referring to Ur-Ninurta and one wisdom composition *the Instructions of Ur-Ninurta*. Ur-Ninurta F surviving only in one exemplar has no determinative DINGIR in front of the king's name. There is also no DINGIR in *the Instructions of Ur-Ninurta*. In the manuscripts of other hymns, the determinative usually precedes Ur-Ninurta's name. The markers of sacredness appear in four compositions (Ur-Ninurta A, B, E, and F).

Ur-Ninurta A is a hymn praising Inanna. There are only indirect markers of the king's sacredness. The hymn compares Ur-Ninurta with Utu (lines 28 and 35), Nanna (line 86), and Erra (line 60). Ur-Ninurta is a spouse of Inanna (line 72) and can possess and control divine powers ME (lines 60, 73, and 80). According to the hymn, goddess Inanna is a deity equivalent in her powers to An and Enlil, and her divine powers ME can frighten gods (line 5–6). Inanna wants to provide justice for the black-headed people (line 8) and, therefore, she chooses Ur-Ninurta (line 10) nam-sipa zi-ĝál-la-šè “for the shepherdship over the living.” Inanna is independent in her choice. As the line 72 clarifies, she chooses not just a shepherd but her nitalam “spouse.” Inanna introduces the king in front of An and Enlil (lines 11–15) and convinces them to grant Ur-Ninurta all required royal authority (lines 17–26). The gods do so (lines 30–66). As a result, Inanna grants me níĝ-nam-ma, “divine powers ME of everything” to the king (line 73).

Ur-Ninurta B is a hymn praising Enki. It describes Ur-Ninurta as (line 39) *me-te nam-diĝir-ra* “appropriate of divinity,” which is the only direct divinity marker in Ur-Ninurta’s hymns.

Ur-Ninurta E is a hymn to An. It mentions Ur-Ninurta as a son of An (line 28) and a spouse of Inanna (line 39). This hymn stresses that An is the only god who holds the great ME (line 46): *AŠ diĝir-re-ne me gal-gal-la i-me-en* “the one among gods with the greatest ME.” An is a source of the king’s authority and *á gal*, “great strength” (line 33).

Ur-Ninurta F is a hymn praising Iškur. As mentioned above, there is no DINGIR sign before the king’s name in the only manuscript of this hymn. However, the hymn praises Ur-Ninurta as a son of An (Seg. B., line 9), which is an indirect marker of the king’s sacredness.

II. 6.2.1.7. Būr-Sîn

Būr-Sîn (1895–1874 BC) succeeded Ur-Ninurta on the throne as his son. He reigned for about 21 years. Būr-Sîn tried to revive the bygone fame of Isin. Two years before death, he even managed to take back the city of Ur. However, it was a brief military success (Charpin 2004, 77).

Būr-Sîn has left nine royal inscriptions.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 1 inscription (11% of total); 1 with DINGIR (100% of group).
- 2) *hybrid-orientation* – no inscriptions.
- 3) *human-orientated* – 1 inscription (11% of total); 1 with DINGIR (100% of group).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 7 inscriptions (78 %); 5 with DINGIR (71% of group).

For the first time since Išbi-Erra, *subject-addresser* texts of an Isin king miss DINGIR sign with his name. In my view, it reflects some changes in the perception of the king by his courtiers which occurred after the fall of Išbi-Erra’s dynasty. The number of Isin aristocracy who formally accepted and supported the idea of the king’s divinity was decreasing. One *human-orientated* inscription praises Būr-Sîn as a spouse of Inanna (RIME 4.1.7.1, line 10). There are no other markers of the king’s sacredness in his royal inscriptions. The standard titles of Būr-Sîn (RIME 4.1.7.1, lines 2–10) are as follows:

1. *sipa šà nibru*^{KI} *dùg-dùg* “shepherd who makes Nippur’s heart very good.”
2. *engar kala-ga úri*^{KI} *-ma* “mighty farmer of Ur.”
3. *ĝiš-hur eridu*^{KI} *-ga ki-bé gi*₄ “one who restores the designs of Eridu.”
4. *en me-a túm-ma unu*^{KI} *-ga* “*en* fit for the *mes*, for Uruk.”
5. *lugal i-si-in*^{KI} *-na* “king of Isin.”

6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of Sumer and Akkad.”
7. dam me-te úr kug ^dinanna “spouse suitable for the pure lap of the goddess Inanna.”

The epithet lugal kala-ga “mighty king” is attested in RIME 4.1.7.2 (4), 2001 (6), 2002 (2), 2005 (2).

Three *deity-praising* royal hymns of Būr-Sîn have survived. Būr-Sîn has DINGIR in front of his name in all the known manuscripts of these hymns. However, two texts are damaged and have little significant data on the royal ideology of the king. *A hymn to Sud* (Būr-Sîn C²⁰⁹) is of particular interest because according to the text it was the goddess Sud who “has granted the mandate to govern the ‘teeming people’ in all her ‘settled lands’” (Metcalf 2019, 10–11). The only marker of the king’s sacredness is a comparison of the king with Utu in Būr-Sîn B (seg. B, line 7). The context is that Enlil promises to Būr-Sîn life as long-lasting as that of Utu. One can speculate that it is a promise of posthumous elevation of the king as a celestial body; however, there is not enough evidence to support this idea.

II. 6.2.1.8. Lipit-Enlil

The next king was the son of Būr-Sîn, Lipit-Enlil (1873–1869 BC). He reigned only for five years. After two years of being in power, he ceded control over Ur to Larsa (Charpin 2004, 77). About the same time, Lipit-Enlil lost control over Nippur (Sallaberger 1997, 157, n. 46). William Hallo proposed that the first king of Uruk, Sîn-kāšid, was the son of Lipit-Enlil, king of Isin (Hallo 1991, 379–380).²¹⁰

Neither Lipit-Enlil’s royal inscriptions nor his royal hymns are known today. As Brisch noted, this absence of inscriptions is an additional indicator of a natural disaster in Southern Mesopotamia synchronous to the reign of Sūmû-El in Larsa (Brisch 2007, 41). Lipit-Enlil’s year names demonstrate that he was deified. In all known year names, Lipit-Enlil’s name has the determinative DINGIR²¹¹ before it.

II. 6.2.1.9. Erra-imittī

The next king of Isin was Erra-imittī (1868–1861 BC). He reigned for about eight years. Erra-imittī managed to subjugate Nippur and Kīsurra (Charpin 2004, 103). According to Rients de Boer, Erra-imittī attacked Kazallu around 1864 BC in

²⁰⁹ Following the numeration in Wagensonner 2022, 213.

²¹⁰ Hallo based his argumentation on Sîn-kāšid’s epithet ŠAGINA BÀD.KI “military governor of Dūrum.” This epithet is attested in the text RIME 4.4.1.13 (line 7), Frayne 1990, 460. The city of Dūrum itself was a traditional place of authority for the royal princes of the Ur III dynasty and later of the first dynasty of Isin. Additionally, Sîn-kāšid constructed in Uruk a temple of Nin-Isina, the major deity in Isin, see text RIME 4.4.1.11 in Frayne 1990, 457.

²¹¹ See CDLI, Year names/ Lipit-Enlil.

coalition with pan-tribal Amorite chief Sūmû-abum and the first king of Babylon Sumu-la-El.²¹² However, Sūmû-abum might have betrayed Erra-imittī later and brouth about his death (Boer 2018, 63–66). Later Mesopotamian chronicles provide a legend about Erra-imittī's death. According to it, Erra-imittī made his gardener Enlil-bāni a temporary substitute king but died during the same time when eating hot soup (Grayson 2000, 45–49).

From the time of Erra-imittī, only one subject-addresser text has survived (RIME 4.1.9.2001). As far as the king's name starts with theonym Erra, it is impossible to prove if the determinative DINGIR before his name in this text was a sign of the king's deification or not. There are no other markers of the king's sacredness. No royal hymns of Erra-imittī have survived.

II. 6.2.1.10. Enlil-bāni

The next king, Enlil-bāni (1860–1836 BC), ruled for 24 years. His relations with Erra-imittī are unknown. William Hallo proposed that the story about a substitute king from the late chronicles may insinuate a change in royal dynasties (Hallo 1990, 189). The rule of Enlil-bāni was fortunate. There is no evidence of major military conflicts during his reign. Enlil-bāni restored the walls of Isin and built there a royal palace. Enlil-bāni controlled Nippur until the nineteenth regnal year; he actively engaged in different activities there. Charpin argued that Enlil-bāni adored the deeds of Išme-Dagān and modelled his image as a ruler after Išme-Dagān (Charpin 2004, 103–104).

Enlil-bāni has left twelve royal inscriptions. The determinative DINGIR before the king's name is not necessarily a sign of his deification, as far as Enlil-bāni's name starts with the theonym Enlil.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 1 inscription (8% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 7 inscriptions (58% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 2 inscriptions (17% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – no inscriptions.

Additionally, two inscriptions (17% of total) cannot be included in any text categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions. In one of these two texts, there is a comparison of a king with the sun god of his people (RIME 4.1.10.1001, col. ii, lines 13–14). However, the name of the king in the text is absent, so the attribution is not certain. Other markers of the king's sacredness include claims for divine origin of the king from goddess Ninibgal (RIME 4.1.10.5, line 5) and spousal relationships with Inanna (RIME 4.1.10.1 [12–13], 2[7–8], 3[7–8], 4[14–15], 5[17–18], 9[8–9]). Proportionally, Enlil-bāni has left more references to marriage with the goddess (50% of Enlilbāni's known inscriptions) than any other king of Isin (the second would be

²¹² For the discussion of Sūmû-abum and Sumu-la-EL, see the sections II. 6.4.1.1 and 2.

Išme-Dagān with about 30% of known inscriptions). The *standard titles* of Enlil-bāni are as follows:

1. sipa níĝ-nam šár-ra nibru^{KI} “shepherd perfecting everything for Nippur.”
2. engar še-mah-uri⁵^{KI}-ma “farmer who makes grain great for Ur.”
3. me eridu^{KI}-ga kug-kug-ge “one who purifies the *mes* of Eridu.”
4. en še-ga unu^{KI}-ga “favorite EN of Uruk.”
5. lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin.”
6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke⁴ “king of Sumer and Akkad.”
7. dam šà-ge pà-da ^dinanna “spouse chosen by the hearth of the goddess Inanna.”

However, as William Hallo noted, the royal titles during Enlil-bāni’s reign changed significantly²¹³. At some point, Enlil-bāni stopped using the epithets connected with southern Mesopotamian cities, such as Ur, Uruk, and Eridu; thus, he finally acknowledged the permanent loss of those territories. According to Hallo, the focus of royal ideology shifted from South Sumerian deities to North Babylonian gods (Hallo 1959, 57–58).

Only one poetic composition refers to Enlil-bāni; it is a *king-praising* hymn (Enlil-bāni A). The text has no direct markers of Enlil-bāni’s divinity. However, it has at least four indirect markers of the king’s sacredness. 1) The text compares Enlil-bāni with Utu and states that the king was born for his royal duties (lines

²¹³ In RIME 4.1.10.4 (lines 4–15), 5 (7–18), the epithet “favorite EN of Uruk” is changed to en ki-ág-unu^{KI}-ga “EN beloved of Uruk,” the epithet “mighty king” is also added in the sequence. The sequence is abridged in the texts RIME 4.1.10.2 (lines 2–10), 3 (2–10). These texts refer only to Nippur and have no epithets connected with Ur, Eridu, or Uruk. At the end of the sequence is the epithet ki-ág ^den-líl ù ^dnin-in-si-na-ka-ke⁴ “beloved of Enlil and Ninisina.” In the text RIME 4.1.10.6 (lines 5–9) and probably RIME 4.1.10.8 (4–7), the sequence is “mighty king”, “king of Isin”, “king of the land of Sumer and Akkad”, “beloved of the god Enlil and the goddess Ninisina.” In RIME 4.1.10.11 (lines 12–14), the last component is replaced with ki-ág ^den-líl ù ^dnin-líl “beloved of Enlil and Ninlil.” In the text RIME 4.1.10.7 (lines 4–5), there are only epithets “mighty king” and the “king of Isin”. In the text RIME 4.1.10.9 (2–12), the sequence of epithets starts with “shepherd perfecting everything for Nippur” and “farmer who makes grain great for Ur”, the following epithet is en me-te unu^{KI}-[g]a eridu^{KI}-ga “*en* suitable for Uruk and Eridu.” The sequence is finished with the epithet “spouse chosen by the hearth of the goddess Inanna”; it is also referring to the king as one, who níĝ-si-sá ki-en-gi ki-uri i-ni-in-gar-ra “established justice in the land of Sumer and Akkad.” The attribution of RIME 4.1.10.1001 to Enlil-bāni is not certain. The text narrates establishing the justice in Nippur and Isin by the order of Enlil; it is abundant in unstandardized descriptions of the king, so here only the most important will be observed. Enlil an-ub-<da> lím-mu-ba gaba-ri na-an-tuk-tuk-un “give no rivals to the king in four quarters” in col. ii, lines 8–10. Enlil called the king ^dutu-bí hé-me-en “their [*black-headed people*] sun god” in col. ii, lines 13–14. Enlil is one who zà kur-ra-šè mi-ni-mah-en “to the farthest reach of the foreign land made *Enlil-bāni* great” in col. iv. 5–6.

6–8): ^dutu-gin₇ u₄ kur-kur-ra-ke₄ nam-nun-šè tu-ud “like Utu, the son of foreign lands, he is born for princeliness.” 2) The text describes Enlil-bāni as a *dumu mah*, “great son” of Enki (line 19). 3) Enlil-bāni is called *dam kug* ^dinanna-ka, “the pure spouse of Inanna,” in line 34. Later, the text refers to the sacred marriage ritual between Inanna and the king in lines 155–158. 4) Line 9 describes Enlil-bāni as *me šár gú è* “covered with numerous ME.” Two chief sources of the royal authority are the gods An and Enlil (lines 4–5): *šu dug₄ ga an-na* ^den-líl-le íl-la “created by An, elevated by Enlil.” Various gods grant the king their favor so he can properly function in his duties. Particularly interesting is the passage in lines 37–40, that describes Nisaba as ^dnisaba nin ^dnanibgal₂-e bur-šu-um ušbarbar ^den-líl-lá “Nisaba, the queen Nanibgal, dowager, mother-in-law of Enlil.” The word *buršuma* might be translated as “an old woman,” a “dowager,” and a “matriarch.” According to the ETCSL database, this word appears only twice in the Sumerian royal hymns praising the king. The other attestation can be found in Iddin-Dagan A, where the word appears in the description of goddesses who serve Inanna. The uniqueness of this word, in combination with the epithet *ušbarbar* ^den-líl-lá, makes Nisaba’s image in this passage particularly colorful.

II. 6.2.1.11. Zambā

After Enlil-bāni’s death, Zambā ascended the throne, he reigned only three years (1836–1833 BC). He restored the wall of Isin and named it ^dza-am-bi-ia na-ra-am eš₄-tár “Zambā is the beloved of the goddess Ištar” (RIME 4.1.11.1, lines 20–21). He allied with forces from Uruk, Kazallu, and Elam to fight against Larsa, but was defeated and killed (Charpin 2004, 107).

Zambā has left two royal inscriptions. Exemplars of both texts have DINGIR before the king’s name. The only other sacredness marker in his royal inscriptions is his status as Inanna’s spouse (RIME 4.1.11.1, lines 12–13). Zambā’s standard royal titles are as follows (RIME 4.1.11.1, lines 2–15):

1. *sipa ní-tuku nibru*^{KI} “shepherd fearful before Nippur.”
2. *engar gu-mah túm še-mah túm èš-dur-an-ki-šè* “farmer who brings great flax and great grain for the shrine Duranki.”
3. *ú-a zi* “true provider.”
4. *kisal é-gal-mah-a níĝ nam-he gur-gur* “who carries to the courtyard of the Egalmah things in abundance.”
5. *lugal ì-si-in*^{KI}-na “king of Isin.”
6. *lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄* “king of Sumer and Akkad.”
7. *dam igi íl-la* ^dinanna “spouse looked at by Inanna.”
8. *ki-áĝ* ^den-líl ù ^dnin-isin₂-na-ka-ke₄ “beloved of the god Enlil and the goddess Ninisina.”

Titles of Zambīa do not mention Ur, Uruk, and Eridu in comparison with the standard titles of his predecessors on the throne of Isin. It reflects the loss of authority by Isin over these traditional Sumerian centers. No royal hymns of Zambīa have survived.

II. 6.2.1.12. Īter-pīša

Īter-pīša (1833–1831 BC), the next ruler of Isin, probably was not related to Zambīa. He reigned, according to the SKL, for four years. The king has left neither royal inscriptions nor royal hymns. However, according to the year names, he was deified; the determinative DINGIR precedes Īter-pīša’s name in all known year names.²¹⁴ He likely controlled Nippur.

II. 6.2.1.13. Ur-dukuga

The next king Ur-dukuga (1830–1828 BC), according to SKL, also reigned for four years. His connections with the previous kings are unknown.

Ur-dukuga has left three royal inscriptions. Two texts are of hybrid orientation, and one cannot be classified. The usage of the DINGIR is irregular. In the text RIME 4.1.13.1 (line 4), the king’s name is written with the determinative DINGIR, while the sign is absent in the text RIME 4.1.13.2 (line 1). Part with the name is broken in the text RIME 4.1.13.3 (line 4), but Frayne restores it without the determinative (Frayne 1990, 94–96). However, the determinative DINGIR appears before the king’s name in year names.²¹⁵ The only marker of the king’s sacredness is reference to his spousal relationship with Inanna. The inventory of standard titles is as follows (RIME 4.1.13.1, lines 5–20):

1. sipa níĝ-nam tùm nibru^{KI} “shepherd who brings everything for Nippur”;
2. engar-mah-an-^den-líl-lá “great farmer of An and Enlil”;
3. ú-a é-kur-ra “provider of Ekur”;
4. hé-gál du₈-du₈ é-šu-me-ša₄ é-gal-mah-a “one piling up the abundance for Ešumeša and Egalmah”;
5. sá-du₁₁ èš-ta ba-ba-a diĝir-re-e-ne-er in-ne-éb-gur-ra “one who expropriated the regular offerings from the sanctuaries and returned to the gods”;
6. lugal kala-ga “mighty king”;
7. lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin”;
8. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of Sumer and Akkad”;
9. dam igi zid bar-ra ^dinanna-ke₄ “spouse truly looked upon by Inanna”;

No royal hymns of Ur-dukuga are found yet.

²¹⁴ CDLI, *Year names/ Īter-pīša*

²¹⁵ CDLI, *Year names/ Ur-dukuga*

II. 6.2.1.14. Sîn-māgir

The name of the next ruler was Sîn-māgir (1827–1817 BC). Most likely, he had not inherited the kingship from his predecessor. Sîn-māgir ruled Isin for 11 years. He fortified the city of Dunnum, northeast of Nippur (Frayne 1990, 97).

Sîn-māgir has left six royal inscriptions. One text is *hybrid orientation*, one is *human-orientated*, four are *subject-addresser* texts. The king's name starts with the theonym Sîn, so the usage of DINGIR cannot be regarded as a proof of the king's deification. The only other indirect marker of the king's sacredness is his spousal relationships with Inanna. The standard sequence of epithets (RIME 4.1.14.1, lines 2–17) is as follows:

1. sipa “shepherd.”
2. ú-a é-an-^den-líl-lá “provider for the temples of the gods An and Enlil.”
3. níĝ-nam du₈-du₈ é-gal-mah-a “who piles up everything for the Egalmah.”
4. engar sá-du₁₁ šúm-šúm-ma diĝir ùĝ dù-a-bi-šè “farmer who gives regular offerings for the gods of all the people.”
5. šà húl-húl éren-a-na “making the hearts of his men rejoice.”
6. mu-pà-da-^dinanna “called by Nanna.”
7. še-ga ^dnin-in-si-na “favorite of Ninisin.”
8. nam-lugal an-da-ak-da-ni-šè uru-na mu-un-suh-a “for performing kingship with the god An in his city was crowned.”
9. lugal kala-ga “mighty king.”
10. lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin.”
11. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of Sumer and Akkad.”²¹⁶
12. dam šà ki-áĝ-^dinanna ki-nú gi-rin-na túm-ma “spouse beloved of the heart of the goddess Inanna suitable for the flowery bed.”

No royal hymns of Sîn-māgir are found yet.

II. 6.2.1.15. Damiq-ilīšu

The last king of Isin was Damiq-ilīšu (1816–1794 BC). According to the SKL, he was a son of Sîn-māgir and reigned for 23 years. During his third or fourth regnal year, Damiq-ilīšu managed to take Nippur from Larsa and govern it until the twenty-first year (Fitzgerald 2002, 139, 162–163). Finally, Damiq-ilīšu lost Larsa to Rīm-Sîn I. Later Ḫammu-rāpi made Isin a part of his kingdom. However,

²¹⁶ Epithets “mighty king”, “king of Isin” and “king of the land of Sumer and Akkad” are also attested in RIME 4.1.14.2 (6–8).

his successor Samsu-iluna severely damaged Isin in 1739 BC; the population abandoned the city after 1720 BC due to the collapse of the irrigation system (Kozyreva 2016, 233, n.1).

The king has left five royal inscriptions. Three texts are *hybrid orientation*, one is *human-orientated*, and one is *subject-addresser* text. The usage of DINGIR in front of his name was irregular. The determinative is absent in the only *human-orientated* royal inscription (RIME 4.1.15.4, line 1). All other royal inscriptions and year names have DINGIR with the king's name.²¹⁷ There are no direct or indirect markers of the king's sacredness. There are no references to the spousal relationships with gods in the surviving royal inscriptions of Damiq-ilīšu. The sequence of standard epithets is as follows (RIME 4.1.15.1, lines 2–16).²¹⁸

1. saĝ-ús nibru^{KI} “attendant of Nippur.”
2. sipa “shepherd.”
3. še-ga an-na “favorite of An.”
4. ^den-líl-da ĝeš tuku “one who is listening to the god Enlil.”
5. nun šà ki-ág ^dnin-in-si-na “prince beloved of the heart of the goddess Ninisina.”
6. engar níĝ-túm-túm guru₇ gú gur-gur-re “farmer who brought products in granaries to heap up.”
7. ú-a zid èš é-gal-mah-a “true provider of the shrine Egalmah.”
8. lugal kala-ga “strong king.”
9. lugal ì-si-in^{KI}-na “king of Isin.”
10. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ “king of Sumer and Akkad.”²¹⁹
11. me-te-nam-en-na ^dinanna-ra túm-ma “suitable for the En-ship befitting Inanna.”

The king has left no royal hymns.

II. 6.2.2. Static-Relative analysis of the OB Isin texts

I analyze 96 royal inscriptions by 13 kings to define the characteristics of the Isin Dynasty. Three kings have names beginning with a theonymic component. Accordingly, it is unclear if DINGIR in front of their name was to mark divinity

²¹⁷ CDLI, *Year names/ Damiq-ilīšu*.

²¹⁸ In the texts RIME 4.1.15.2 (lines 6–18) and RIME 4.1.15.3 (lines 5–17), the sequence is the same; the only exception is the omission of the first element “attendant of Nippur.”

²¹⁹ Epithets “mighty king,” “king of Isin,” and “king of the land of Sumer and Akkad” are also attested in RIME 4.1.14.2 (lines 6–8).

of kings or just an obligatory marker before the theonym part. Considering that royal inscriptions of the rest of the ten kings of the dynasty usually have DINGIR in front of the royal names, I believe that these three kings were also deified. However, I count their inscriptions separately to present data more accurately (these texts will be abbreviated DINGIR+). 67 royal inscriptions employ the determinative DINGIR to mark the king's divine status (70% of the total). Additionally, there are 19 DINGIR+ royal inscriptions (28%). Combined, it makes 89,5 % of the total number of inscriptions for this period. On the other hand, ten inscriptions do not have DINGIR before the king's name (10,5% of the total). The royal inscriptions from OB Isin have the highest rate of inscriptions with DINGIR among inscriptions of all other analyzed periods.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 15 inscriptions (16% of total). 13 DINGIR texts (87% of the group). 1 DINGIR+ text (6%).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 25 inscriptions (26% of total). 16 DINGIR texts (64% of the group). 8 DINGIR+ texts (32%).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 11 inscriptions (11% of total). 7 DINGIR texts (64% of the group). 3 DINGIR+ texts (27%).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 40 inscriptions (42% of total). 29 DINGIR texts (72,5% of the group). 5 DINGIR+ texts (12,5%).

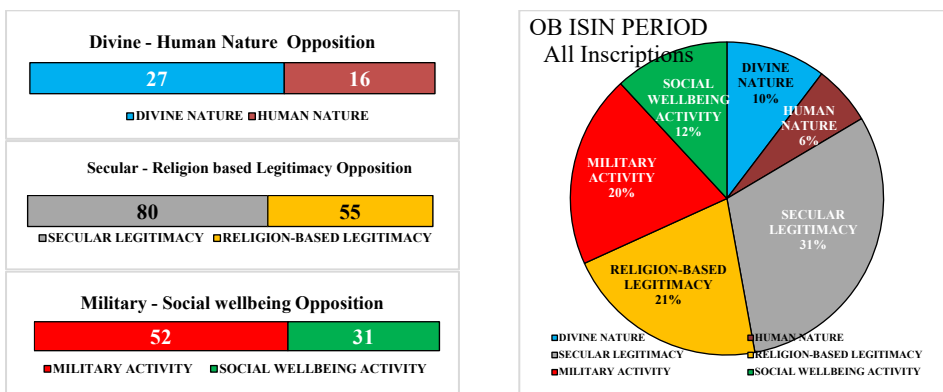
Additionally, 5 inscriptions²²⁰ (5%) do not fit any target text category. These texts will be analyzed only in the general analysis by all royal inscriptions. Two of them have DINGIR with the king's name; two others are DINGIR+.

The total number of quantitatively analyzed OB Isin period royal praise poetry compositions is 54 texts. They are known for eight kings. One composition out of them (Ur-Ninurta G) is a piece of wisdom literature and will not be grouped neither as a *king* or *deity-praising* hymn. Some surviving poetic compositions are missing from the analysis due to their obscure character or uncertain attribution.

	Number of poetic compositions: 54	Deity-praising (Type A): 43	King-praising (Type B): 10
Išbi-Erra	8 compositions	4 compositions	4 compositions
Šū-ilīšu	2 compositions	2 compositions	–
Iddin-Dagān	4 compositions	3 compositions	1 composition
Išme-Dagān	23 compositions	21 compositions	2 compositions
Lipit-Ištar	6 compositions	4 compositions	2 compositions
Ur-Ninurta	7 compositions	6 compositions	–
Būr-Sîn	3 compositions	3 compositions	–
Enlil-bāni	1 composition	–	1 composition

²²⁰ RIME 4.1.4. 9, 10; RIME 4.1.10. 8, 1001; RIME 4.1.13. 2.

II. 6.2.2.1. All royal inscriptions



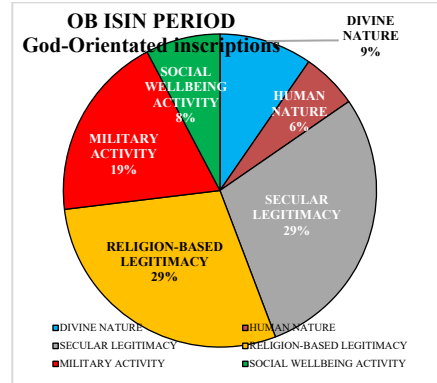
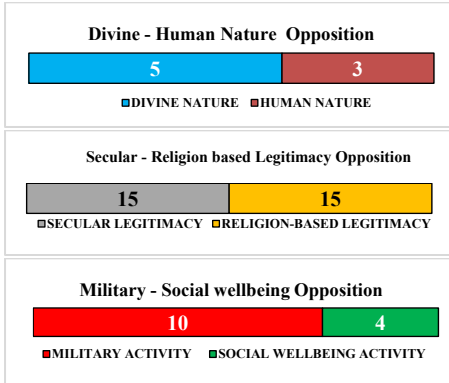
Divine nature epithets (27 inscriptions [27% of the total]) are twice more frequent than *human nature* epithets (16 inscriptions [17%]). Only one inscription with *divine nature* epithets has no determinative DINGIR (4% of the epithet group total). Direct markers of royal divinity are found in 3 texts (3% of total; 3 kings). Indirect markers (comparisons with gods, claims of divine origin, spousal status with gods) are found in 25 (26% of total; 8 kings).

Secular legitimacy epithets (80 inscriptions [83% of the total]) are more frequent than *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (55 inscriptions [57%]). The number of inscriptions with *secular legitimacy* epithets without DINGIR (6 inscriptions [7,6% of the epithet group total]) is twice higher than that of inscriptions with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets without DINGIR (3 inscriptions [5,5% of the epithet group total]).

The proportion between *military activity* and *social-wellbeing activity* epithets is close to 2:1. 52 inscriptions have *military activity* epithets (55% of the total). Among them, 3 texts are without DINGIR (6% of the epithet group total). Actual descriptions of military actions are minimal (4 inscriptions [8% of the epithet group total]). Most *military activity* epithets are general praise of the king's strength (51 inscriptions [98%]). Out of 31 inscriptions with *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (34% of the total), only 1 inscription is without DINGIR (2% of the epithet group total).

The royal title lugal "king" has the highest frequency (73 inscriptions [76% of the total]). Only one text with the title lugal "king" does not have DINGIR (1,4% of the title usage). The titles sipa "shepherd" (28 inscriptions [29% of the total]) and engar "farmer" (20 inscriptions [21%]) have a relatively high frequency. The titles as nun "prince" (4 inscriptions [4%]), en "lord" (3 inscriptions [3%]), massu/*muttarrû* "leader" (1 inscription [1%]), and nagada/*nāqidu* "herdsman" (1 inscription [1%]) have a small frequency.

II. 6.2.2.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



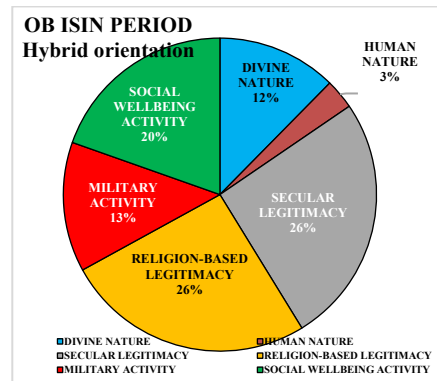
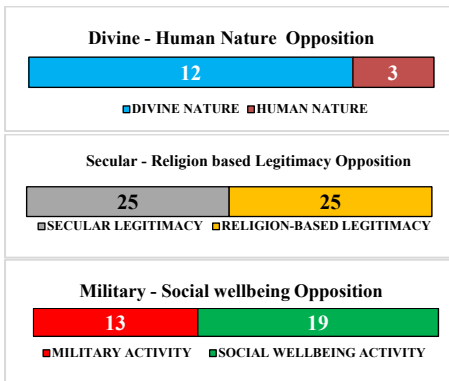
Divine nature epithets (5 inscriptions [33% of the text group total]) are more frequent than *human nature* epithets (3 inscriptions [20%]). All texts have DINGIR. One text have a direct marker of divinity (1 inscription [20% of epithet text group total]); indirect markers of sacredness are more frequent (4 inscriptions [80%]).

Secular legitimacy epithets and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets appear in all *god-orientated* inscriptions (15 inscriptions [100% of the text group total]). Among them, only one inscription has no DINGIR (7%).

Military activity epithets are twice more frequent (10 inscriptions [66% of the text group total]) than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (4 inscriptions [27%]). In both cases, there are no inscriptions without DINGIR. Actual descriptions of military actions are minimal (2 inscriptions [20% of epithet text group total]), the general praise of military strength is more often among the *military activity* epithets (10 inscriptions [100%]).

The royal title lugal “king” appears in thirteen texts (87% of the text group total). The frequency of the titles en “lord,” massu “leader,” and sipa “shepherd” are lower (the maximum is three inscriptions – 20% of the text group total).

II. 6.2.2.3. Hybrid orientation royal inscriptions



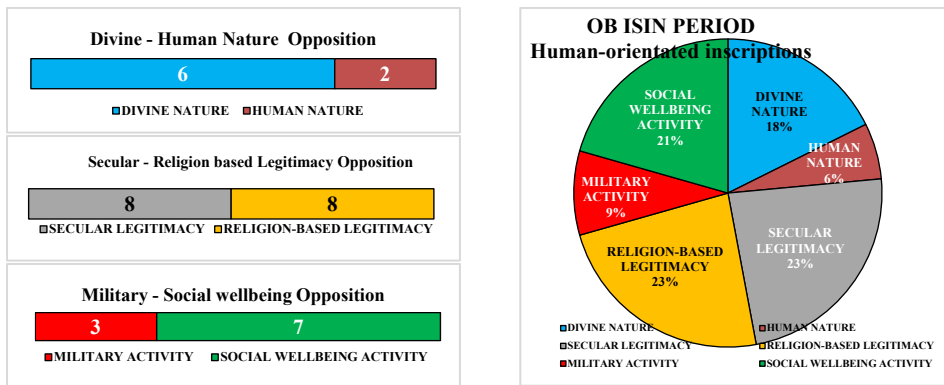
Divine nature epithets (12 inscriptions [48% of the text group total]) are four times more frequent than *human nature* epithets (3 inscriptions [12%]). Only one inscription with *divine nature* epithets does not have DINGIR (4%). Direct markers of divinity appear in one text (8% of epithet text group total).

Secular legitimacy and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets are in balance and appear in all analyzed *hybrid orientation* texts (100% of the text group total). In both cases, one text is without DINGIR (3%).

Social-wellbeing activity epithets are more frequent (19 inscriptions [76% of the text group total]) than *military activity* epithets (13 inscriptions [52%]). Among them are no texts without DINGIR before the royal name.

Almost all *hybrid orientation* inscriptions employ the royal title lugal “king.” It appears in 23 texts (92% of the text group total). Titles sipa “shepherd” (18 texts [72%]) and engar “farmer” (15 texts [60%]) also have a high frequency. The title nun “prince” has a low frequency (3 texts [12%]).

II. 6.2.2.3. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



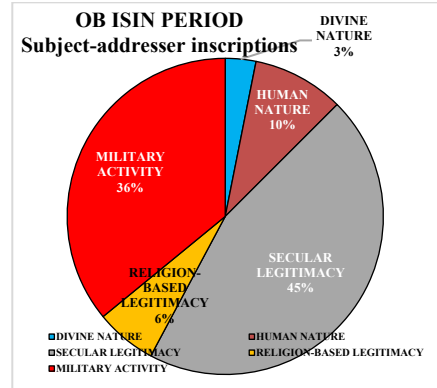
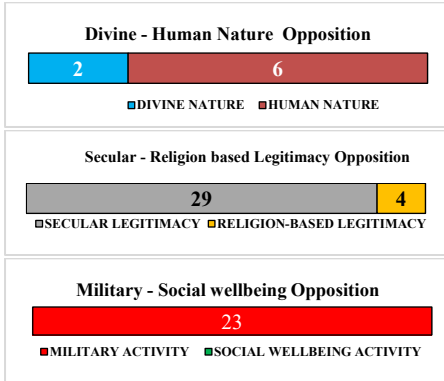
The frequency of *divine nature epithets* is three times higher (6 inscriptions [54% of the text group total]) than of *human nature* epithets (2 texts [18%]). All texts have DINGIR. There are no direct markers of royal divinity in *human-orientated* inscriptions.

Secular legitimacy and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets have the same frequency (8 text [73% of the text group total]). In both cases, there are no texts without DINGIR.

Social-wellbeing activity epithets are two times more frequent (7 texts [64% of the text group total]) than *military activity* epithets (3 texts [27%]). One text with *social-wellbeing activity* epithets has no DINGIR (14% of epithet text group total). Among the texts with military activity epithets, there are no texts without DINGIR and no direct descriptions of military actions.

The royal title lugal “king” appears in 8 texts (73% of the text group total). Titles sipa “shepherd” (5 texts [45%]) and engar “farmer” (4 texts [36%]) have relatively high frequency. The frequency of titles nun “prince” and nagada/nāqidu “herdsman” is low (1 text [9%]).

II. 6.2.2.4. Subject-addresser inscriptions



Human nature epithets are three times (6 inscriptions [15% of the text group total]) more frequent than *divine nature* epithets (2 texts [5%]). In both cases, there are no texts without DINGIR. One subject-addresser text has direct marker of royal divinity. Another refers to spousal ties between the king and Inanna.

29 texts have *secular legitimacy* epithets (72% of the text group total). Out of them, three texts do not have DINGIR before the royal name (10% of epithet text group total). *Religion-based legitimacy* epithets appear only in 4 texts (10% of the text group total); all texts are with DINGIR.

No *social-wellbeing activity* epithets are found in the *subject-addresser* inscriptions. There are 23 texts with military activity epithets (57% of the text group total). Three texts have no DINGIR (13% of epithet text group total). *Military activity* epithets do not include any direct descriptions of battles, only general praise of military strength.

The most widely used royal title is lugal “king” (27 texts [67% of the text group total]). Only one *subject-addresser* text with lugal has no DINGIR in front of the king’s name (5% of epithet text group total). The usage of such titles as en, nun, and sipa is much more moderate (the maximum: 2 inscriptions [5 % of the text group total]).

II. 6.2.3. Royal hymns

All eight kings who have poetry compositions praising them appear in these hymns either with direct or indirect markers of divinity²²¹.

²²¹ The statistical analysis might be biased. For most of the kings, the number of survived hymns is about three to six texts. However, Išme-Dagān has left 23, while Enlil-bāni only one. In addition to the disproportion of the data, another problem is the bad condition of the texts. The hymns of the kings Būr-Sîn, for example, are less informative than the hymns of Lipit-Ištar.

	Direct markers	Indirect markers
Išbi-Erra (8 compositions)	–	3 compositions (37%)
Šū-ilīšu (2 compositions)	–	1 composition (50%)
Iddin-Dagān (4 compositions)	1 composition (25%)	2 compositions (50%)
Išme-Dagān (23 compositions)	–	14 compositions (61%)
Lipit-Ištar (6 compositions)	1 composition (16%)	5 compositions (83%)
Ur-Ninurta (7 compositions)	1 composition (14%)	3 compositions (43%)
Būr-Sîn (3 compositions)	–	1 composition (33%)
Enlil-bāni (1 composition)	–	1 composition (100%)

Only Iddin-Dagān, Lipit-Ištar, and Ur-Ninurta have direct markers of divinity in the poetic compositions. Surprisingly, data from poetic composition and royal inscriptions contradict each other. None of 4 kings having direct markers of divinity in royal inscriptions (Išbi-Erra, Šū-ilīšu, Išme-Dagān, Enlil-bāni²²²) have these markers in hymns. On the other hand, Iddin-Dagān does not have even indirect markers of sacredness in his royal inscriptions; at the same time, one hymn directly names him a god. The fact that out of 23 surviving poetic compositions praising Išme-Dagān none has direct markers of his divinity is also surprising. It can be partly connected with the fact that most of the surviving hymns of OB Isin kings are *deity-praising* (Type A) and not *king-praising* (Type B).²²²

The following part employs data from the thematic analysis of poetic compositions by lines.

Royal hymns of Išbi-Erra have about 10% of lines with *indirect markers* of the king's sacredness. This proportion is similar both for *deity* and *king-praising* hymns. The most significant special topic is *military activity* (21,4% of the related data). Most of these mentions are concentrated in *king-praising* hymns (26%), and not *deity-praising* (4%). The second most important special topic are allusions to the *sacred marriage* ritual (3,4% of the related data). These allusions are more frequent in *deity-praising* hymns (8%) and not *king-praising* (2%).

Only a few lines related to Šū-ilīšu (15 lines) has survived; there are no *king-praising* hymns. This data should be regarded with caution because the reference material is too small. Analysis demonstrates high frequency of *indirect divinity markers* (20% of the related data). Šū-ilīšu is one of two OB Isin kings who claimed divine origin in hymns (7%; another king is Išme-Dagān). Similar with the hymns of Išbi-Erra, the most frequent special topic in compositions praising Šū-ilīšu is *military activity* (20% of the related data).

Iddin-Dagān's royal hymns have a smaller proportion of *indirect markers* of divinity (5% of the related data) compared with hymns of Išbi-Erra (10%) and Šū-ilīšu (20%). This small proportion is the same both in *deity* and *king-praising*

²²² Proportion between two types of hymns in the Ur III collection is rather equal. For the OB Isin collection, type A hymns are four times more numerous than type B.

hymns of Iddin-Dagān. I believe it reflects some change in the royal ideology which made comparison of a king with a deity less important for the royal ideology because most kings after Iddin-Dagān also have smaller proportion of *indirect divinity markers* compared to the first two kings.²²³ On the other hand, Iddin-Dagān has a *direct marker* of his divinity in hymns (0,7%). Therefore, this change was not a rejection of the deification practice but rather a change in the attention paid to the idea of royal deification. As the qualitative analysis demonstrated, the only *direct divinity marker* in hymns praising Iddin-Dagān has relation to the *sacred marriage* rite (Iddin-Dagan A, line 171–172). The topos of *sacred marriage* has much more importance in Iddin-Dagān's hymns (12,1%) compared to the compositions praising the two of his predecessors (3,4% for Išbi-Erra; 0% for Šū-ilīšu). In fact, the topos of *sacred marriage* rite has almost the same frequency as the topos of *military activity* (12,8%). In my view, this allows to qualitatively distinguish hymns praising Iddin-Dagān from the hymns of his predecessors. It is interesting, that both topoi of *sacred marriage* and *military activity* are frequent in *deity-praising* hymns (respectively, 27% and 20%) but not in *king-praising* (0% and 6,5%). *King-praising* hymns in addition to *military activity* topos also praise the king's *wisdom* (4%).

Poetic compositions praising Išme-Dagān have 4,5% of lines with *indirect divinity markers*. The frequency of these markers is higher in *deity-praising* hymns (7,7%) than in *king-praising* (2,3%). There are also lines referring to the king's *divine origin*. Similarly with *indirect divinity markers*, they are more frequent in *deity-praising* hymns (0,9%) than in *king-praising* (0,3%). This data suggests that the image of the king as a divinity was more important for ritual occasions rather than for court celebrations or scribal exercises. The topos of *military activity* is less frequent in Išme-Dagān's hymns (5,7%) compared with the hymns of his predecessors. Sacred marriage allusions are approximately of the same frequency (4,3%) in the hymns of Išbi-Erra (3,4%). The qualitative analysis demonstrated that Išme-Dagān's praise in his hymns follows the model of Šulgi's hymns. However, the hymns of Šulgi and Išme-Dagān are different in the distribution of topics. In Šulgi hymns, references to *military activities* amount to 19,9%, while in the hymns of Išme-Dagān it is only 5,7%. One can speculate that Išme-Dagān deliberately avoided putting *military activity* in the center of his ideology. *King-praising* hymns of Išme-Dagān differ from *deity-praising* hymns by numerous references to the king's "cultural" qualities. References to his *musical abilities* take 5,2% in *king-praising* hymns (3,1% of all hymns). The topos of a *just ruler* – 5,2% (3,1%). The topos of a *wise king* – 4,1% (2,4%). Therefore, the combined frequency of the king's "cultural" qualities (14,5% of *king-praising* hymns [8,6% of all hymns]) is 1,5–3 times higher than that of *military activity* epithets (6,7% [5,7%]). Among all analyzed hymns of OB Isin kings, only hymns

²²³ The only exception is Lipit-Ištar. Usage of the divinity markers in his hymns is discussed later in this section.

of Išme-Dagān have lines depicting circumstances *negative* for the king (4,3% of *deity-praising* hyns [1,7% of all hymns]).

Lipit-Ištar's royal hymns differ from the hymns of Išme-Dagān in the usage of divinity markers. There is one direct marker of divinity in his king-praising hymn (0,6% of *king-praising* hymns [0,4% of all hymns]). *Indirect markers* are almost as frequent (9,2%) as in the hymns of Išbi-Erra (10,3%). *Indirect markers* are twice more frequent in deity-praising hymns of Lipit-Ištar (14,1%) than in king-praising (7,3%). It probably reflects higher importance of the royal divinity in religious rituals rather than in court celebrations or scribal exercises. Lipit-Ištar's royal hymns are similar with the hymns of Išme-Dagān in the usage of these topoi. They also have decreased frequency of *military activity* topos (8,3%) and increased references to the king's "cultural" qualities (combined, 11,8%). Similar with the hymns of Išme-Dagān, most of these references to the king's "cultural" qualities appear in *king-praising* hymns (combined, 15,1%).

As the qualitative analysis has demonstrated, the hymns of both Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar employ the image of *ruling over* *zi-ġál-la* "the living beings."²²⁴ It seems important as far as the idea of *ruling over* *zi-ġál* "living" appeared previously only in one royal hymn written by Ur-Namma. It is an open question how exactly Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar differentiated the ruling over *zi-ġál* "living" from the ruling over *saġ ġíg* "black-headed," or over *ki-en-ġi ki-uri* "Sumer and Akkad." It might designate a shift resonating with the increase of the "cultural" epithets of the kings.

Based on the described characteristics, I suggest three tentative patterns of the topics' distribution in the royal hymns of Išbi-Erra's dynasty kings (Išbi-Erra, Šū-ilīšu, Iddin-Dagān, Išme-Dagān, Lipit-Ištar):

1. Pattern of Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilīšu – dominance of *military activity* epithets.
2. Pattern of Iddin-Dagān – increased importance of *sacred marriage* allusions.
3. Pattern of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar – decreased frequency of *military activity* epithets and increased frequency of *justice/wisdom* epithets.

With the change of the ruling dynasty, royal hymns also transformed. Hymns of Ur-Ninurta are closer to the hymns of Išbi-Erra than to the hymns of Išme-Dagān or Lipit-Ištar in the topoi distribution. However, in contrast to the hymns of Išbi-Erra, poetic compositions praising Ur-Ninurta have a lower frequency of *indirect divinity markers* (5,1%). Ur-Ninurta has *one direct divinity marker* in *deity-praising* hymns (0,7% of *deity-praising* hymns [0,6% of all hymns]). Like the hymns of Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilīšu, the topos of *military activity* is the most frequent

²²⁴ Hymns of Išme-Dagān refer to *nam-nun zi-ġál-la* "lordship over the living" (Išme-Dagan Q, Seg.B, lines 20 and 24); they also describe Išme-Dagān as *e-[ne-da] 'zi'-ġál-la im-mi-in-'lu'-[a]* "he is by whom the living multiply" (Išme-Dagan S, line5). Lipit-Ištar E says (line 21): *zi-ġál-e ama a-a ugu-bi-ġin7 igi-bi hé-en-ši-ġál-le-eš* "the living like on the mother and father that gave birth to them let direct their eyes on him [Lipit-Ištar]."

among special topics (14,7%). References to *sacred marriage* are much less frequent (5,1%). There are also some references to the kings' sense of justice (1,3%), physical qualities (1,3%), and wisdom (1,3%).

Poetic compositions praising Būr-Sîn have 5% of indirect divinity markers. Hymns do not mention neither *military activity* nor *sacred marriage*. The only special topic appearing in the texts is the topos of the king's justice (5%).

Enlil-Bāni has left only one *king-praising* hymn. *Indirect divinity markers* have the lowest frequency among the hymns of all OB Isin kings (1,8%). The topos of *military activities* and references to *justice* are frequent (18,3% and 14%, respectively). It is interesting in comparison with the pattern of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar's royal hymns. It looks as in the hymns of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar, the higher frequency of the "cultural" titles was accompanied by the decrease in frequency of the *military activity* topos. In the hymn of Enlil-Bāni, both topoi have almost equal importance. Allusions to the *sacred marriage* and references to the king's *wisdom* are rare (3% of the relevant data each). The same applies to the descriptions of the king's *physical qualities* (1,2% of the relevant data).

II. 6.2.4. Conclusions for OB Isin

Usage of the determinative DINGIR in front of the kings' names in royal inscriptions, together with *direct* and *indirect divinity markers* both in inscriptions and poetic compositions, supports the view that Isin rulers in the OB period were deified.

As the choice of titles demonstrates, Išbi-Erra inherited the Ur III kings' royal writing tradition and ideology. The later kings of Isin also followed it. *Direct markers* of divinity appear both in inscriptions and hymns of seven kings (Išbi-Erra, Šū-ilīšu, Iddin-Dagān, Išme-Dagān, Lipit-Ištar, Ur-Ninurta, Enlil-bāni[?]). *Indirect markers* of divinity appear in the texts of almost all kings who left inscriptions (except Erra-imitti and Damiq-ilīšu).

On the other hand, some features (especially in poetic compositions) hint at degradation of the deification practice. For example, the kings of Isin formally claimed *divine origin* from male deities such as Enlil, Dagan, and An. However, there are almost no references to female deities as the king's divine parent in their inscriptions or hymns. The topos of *divine nourishing* of the kings is also almost absent from the texts. Compared with the claims for *divine origin* found in Šulgi's hymns which describe birth-giving by a goddess as a physical act, references to *divine origin* in the inscriptions and hymns of Isin kings lack persuasiveness.

Reference to Inanna as a divine spouse of the king remained an important *indirect marker* of the royal sacredness in the royal inscriptions and hymns. Almost all kings who left inscriptions claimed it (except Šū-ilīšu, Iddin-Dagān, Erra-imitti and Damiq-ilīšu). In Steve Tinney's words, "rituals involving royal figures and Inanna/Dumuzi had an element of constancy, with only minor revisions being made to fit the ceremony to a given king" (Tinney 1996, 69).

Royal hymns of Išme-Dagān, Lipit-Ištar, and later kings show higher importance of *justice* and *wisdom* as royal qualities. According to the surviving data,

righteousness was an essential element in royal legitimation already in the times of Gudea and Šulgi, most probably even earlier. Still, it is not clear whether the king's *righteousness* might have supported claims for divine status. Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar used the old imagery of Šulgi as a wise and just ruler. According to the statistical analysis, it even acquired higher frequency than the topos of *military activities* in the royal hymns of these kings.

All royal inscriptions (*god-*, *hybrid-* and *human-orientated*) praise *divine nature* more than *human nature*. Royal inscriptions are mostly silent about *human nature* of the kings. Due to their nature, *subject-addresser* inscriptions have more references to the king's family members. *Divine nature* epithets among this type of inscriptions are extremely low in number.

All royal inscriptions refer to *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets with almost equal frequency. On the other hand, the *subject-addresser* texts rarely have epithets of *religion-based legitimacy*. References to gods as a source of royal authority were more a part of traditional official propaganda than some vital idea valued among subjects.

The topos of *military activity* is more frequent than *social-wellbeing activity* in *god-orientated* and *subject-addresser* texts. There are almost no actual descriptions of military actions. General military praise was probably needed for claiming divine blessing. On the other hand, in *hybrid-* and *human-orientated* texts, *social-wellbeing activity epithets* are more frequent. This fact demonstrates, that for legitimation among subjects, military ability of a king was of secondary importance in OB Isin. However, it was of primary importance in legitimation before gods.

The standard sets of royal titles demonstrate the importance of Nippur, Uruk, Ur, and Eridu for royal legitimation. However, political instability made later Isin kings abandon these references. Instead of cities, those kings started to mention gods or more abstract titles. Therefore, the royal ideology of the early Isin kings and later ones differed significantly; the first ones connected their power with authority over territories and the later kings with abstract qualities or deities.

II. 6.3. The dynasty of Larsa

In 1915 the American Assyriologist Albert T. Clay published the Larsa King List (Clay 1915, 30–44). It is an essential document for the reconstruction of Larsa's political history in the Old Babylonian period. The list has allowed modern scholars to reconstruct a sequence of reign for 16 known rulers of the city. First kings had Amorite names, but in the last decades of independent Larsa, the city was under the control of brothers Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn. They probably had Elamite origin (Kozyreva 2016, 321).

II. 6.3.1.1–3. Nablānum, Iemṣium, Sāmium

The Larsa King List refers to Nablānum (2025–2005 BC),²²⁵ Iemṣium (2004–1977 BC), and Sāmium (1976–1942 BC) as the first three rulers of the city. Most probably, the list describes as the first kings of Larsa some influential Amorite chiefs, who were not necessarily acknowledged as kings in Larsa by their contemporaries (Charpin 2004, 69). For example, Boer proposed that Nablānum was an official under Ur III kings and served as a leader of the Amorite bodyguards under Šulgi and Šū-Sîn (Boer 2014, 161). Iemṣium could not be an independent king of Larsa because during his alleged reign, as demonstrated by some administrative texts, Isin authorities exercised power over Larsa (Mieroop 1992, 55). Sāmium probably had some influence as far as Lagaš (Charpin 2004, 69); still, no certain data are known about him. Fitzgerald proposed that the inclusion of prominent Amorites into the list had to demonstrate the initial Amorite character of kingship in Larsa and support the political claims of Babylonian kings to this city (Fitzgerald 2002, 25). Neither Nablānum, nor Iemṣium or Sāmium have left any royal inscriptions, hymns, or year names.

II. 6.3.1.4. Zabāia

The fourth king of Larsa was Zabāia (1941–1933 BC), a son of Sāmium. He reigned for nine years. Zabāia has left four royal inscriptions. Two texts are *human-orientated* and two are *subject-addresser* texts.²²⁶ Zabāia did not explicitly claim divinity. He has no DINGIR or other markers of sacredness in these texts. Zabāia preferred the title *rabiān* MAR.DÚ “Amorite chief” (RIME 4.2.4. 1 [2], 2[3], 3[8]). The title *lugal* appears only in a later neo-Babylonian copy of the *subject-addresser* text RIME 4.2.4.3 (line 7). According to Piotr Steinkeller, Zabāia’s titles indicate that the kingship in Larsa was founded and later tightly connected with the Emutbala Amorite tribes (Steinkeller 2004, 34–41). All candidates for kingship in Larsa (and later in Babylon) had to prove their origin from a proper lineage within Amorite tribes (Michalowski 1983, 241). As the example of Zabāia shows, the rank of Emutbala sheikh was the primary marker designating political authority, while the royal rank was only secondary.

II. 6.3.1.5. Gungunum

Another son of Sāmium, Gungunum (1932–1906 BC), was the fifth king in Larsa. He reigned for 27 years. Gungunum achieved many political successes during his lifetime. He managed to win against Anšan in Elam in his first years and acquired control over Ur about the seventh regnal year. There, he confirmed the position

²²⁵ Alternative reading of the name is *Naplānum*. For a discussion, see Edzard 1998–2001, 5.

²²⁶ *Human-orientated* inscriptions are RIME 4.2.4. 1 and 2; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.4. 3 and 2001.

of Enanatuma, a daughter of Išme-dagān of Isin, as an *en*-priestess. Later, Gungunum might have shortly controlled Nippur (Fitzgerald 2002, 39–44).

Nine royal inscriptions are known for Gungunum. Two texts are *hybrid orientation*, six are *subject-addresser* texts, one text cannot be classified.²²⁷ Gungunum was not explicitly deified. Royal inscriptions have neither DINGIR nor other sacredness markers. In contrast to his brother, Gungunum claimed leadership over Amorites neither in royal inscriptions nor in names of regnal years. Gungunum mostly used the titles lugal larsa^{KI}-ma, “king of Larsa” (RIME 4.2.5.3 [line 2], 4 [line 2]), and lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri, “king of Sumer and Akkad” (RIME 4.2.5.3 [line 3], 4 [line 3]). Enanatuma, a daughter of Išme-dagān of Isin, in her inscriptions referred to Gungunum as lugal úri^{KI}-ma, “king of Ur” (RIME 4.2.5.1 [line 7], 2 [line 11]). At the same time, Enanatuma used DINGIR with her father’s name but not with Gungunum’s name (RIME 4.2.5.1 [lines 5–11], 2 [lines 9–16]).

Gungunum has left two fragments of Sumerian royal hymns. It is unclear if these are parts of the same hymn or two different (Brisch 2007, 38). Both fragments belong to *deity-praising* compositions addressing the god Nanna. Like royal inscriptions, poetical fragments do not praise Gungunum as divine. The king has no DINGIR or other markers of divinity in these fragments. Hymns praise not Larsa, but Ur and its master Nanna. The hymn Gungunum A (Seg. B, lines 11–13) narrates: úri^{KI} iri ul kur nam-nun-na iri me gal-gal-la-za é-¹kiš¹-nu-ĝál u₄ nu-dib-bé é nu-ša-ra-ge-za gu-un-gu-nu-um šag₄-ge pàd-da-zu nam-tìl u₄ sù-rá ha-ba-ni-ib-sù-ud-dè “in Ur, ancient city, mountain of princeliness, city of the greatest ME, in Ekišnugal, where light does not pass, in your house that is not drying, for Gungunum, one chosen in your hearth, prolong the life until the distant days.” It demonstrates great ideological importance of the control over Ur for the rulers of Larsa.

II. 6.3.1.6. Abī-sarē

Abī-sarē succeeded to Gungunum and reigned for 11 years (1905–1895 BC). He was likely a legitimate heir of the previous king, even though there are no proofs of their kinship (Fitzgerald 2002, 47). Abī-sarē controlled Ur, but not Nippur. Steinkeller proposed that Isin prevented Larsa from expanding north along the Euphrates, which made Larsa look for other roads, making a hook with the Tigris (Steinkeller 2004, 30). About the ninth regnal year, Abī-sarē defeated Isin’s army, which became an essential episode of this confrontation. The king of Isin Ur-Ninurta died in this battle.

²²⁷ *Hybrid orientation* inscriptions are RIME 4.2.5. 3 and add5; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.4. 1–2, add6, 2001–2003; RIME 4.2.5. 4 is not classified.

Abī-sarē has left ten royal inscriptions. One text is *god-orientated*, two are *hybrid orientation*, and seven are *subject-addresser* texts.²²⁸ The texts have no DINGIR or other markers hinting at Abī-sarē’s sacred status. In contrast to his brother, Abī-sarē did not use the title lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri “king of Sumer and Akkad.” It is probably because he could not secure control over Nippur. Abī-sarē claimed titles lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma “king of Ur” (RIME 4.2.6.1, col. i, line 26’) and lugal larsa^{KI} “king of Larsa” (RIME 4.2.6.2, line 3). Abī-sarē also used the title *rabiān* MAR.DÚ “Amorite chief” (RIME 4.2.6.1, col. i, line 27’). All titles appear with similar frequency, but the title lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma is slightly more frequent compared with the two others. No Sumerian poetic compositions praising Abī-sarē have survived.

II. 6.3.1.7. Sūmû-El

The next ruler of Larsa was Sūmû-El (1894–1866 BC). It is unknown if he was a relative of the previous king. Sūmû-El’s name can be translated as “descendant of the gods” (Graef 2011–13, 302); therefore, it implicitly hints at his divine origin. Sūmû-El reigned for 29 years. According to the year names, about half of his reign Sūmû-El spent in military campaigns. Among many other military achievements, Sūmû-El cut off Isin’s water supply, trying to win a war against it (Frayne 1989, 23). For some period, Sūmû-El controlled Nippur. Fitzgerald proposed that at some point, Sūmû-El aimed to become a king of Ur and a legitimate heir of the Ur III dynasty rather than to remain a mere king of Larsa. Such ambitions likely emerged from Abī-sarē’s great victory over Isin (Fitzgerald 2002, 71). It could be that Sūmû-El’s preference for Ur and neglect of Larsa brought a political crisis and an end to his reign. A later literary composition, *Letter from Sîn-iddinam to the statue of Nur-adad* (Fitzgerald 2002, 83–89), narrates about a disastrous catastrophe in Larsa that allegedly occurred at the end of Sūmû-El’s reign. Still, there is a big uncertainty regarding the nature of this catastrophe and its timing (Brisch 2007, 40–41). Fitzgerald proposed that the unnamed enemy in this text was Sūmû-El himself, a king who betrayed Larsa’s interests and turned to Ur (Fitzgerald 2002, 75). Kozyreva described this situation differently. According to her understanding, some enemies cut off Larsa’s water supplies; it caused starvation, epidemics, and mutiny. As a result of such rebellion, Larsa citizens elected a new king Nūr-Adad (Kozyreva 2016, 331). Jan van Dijk, who first discussed this text, proposed that the enemy might have been Ilu-šūma of Aššur (Dijk 1965, 24–25).

Sūmû-El has left ten royal inscriptions. Two texts are of *hybrid orientation* and eight are *subject addresser* texts.²²⁹ Two *hybrid orientation* inscriptions have

²²⁸ *God-orientated* inscription is RIME 4.2.6.1; *hybrid orientation* inscriptions are RIME 4.2.6. 2 and add3; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.6. 2001–2007.

²²⁹ *Hybrid orientation* inscriptions are RIME 4.2.7. 1 and 2; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.7. add3, 2001–2007.

survived in numerous exemplars; they have DINGIR before the king's name (RIME 4.2.7. 1[line 3], 2[ine 3]). Among eight of the resting subject-addresser texts, only one text might have DINGIR with the king's name (RIME 4.2.7. 2002 [line 4]). In my view, this indicates that Sūmû-El aspired to explicitly claim divine status, however, he got little support from his subjects. As mentioned above, already Abī-sarē used the title *lugal uri^{KI}-ma* more frequently compared to other titles. Therefore, Fitzgerald's idea that Sūmû-El aimed to become a new heir of Ur III kings seems reliable. Sūmû-El had never used *lugal larsa^{KI}* in his royal inscriptions. He used only the titles *lugal uri^{KI}-ma* "king of Ur" and *lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri* "king of Sumer and Akkad"²³⁰. No Sumerian royal hymns of Sūmû-El have been found yet.

II. 6.3.1.8. Nūr-Adad

Nūr-Adad (1865–1850 BC) became the next king of Larsa. The relation of Nūr-Adad to his predecessors on the throne of Larsa is unknown. Van Dijk proposed that Nūr-Adad was a usurper of Lagashite origin who achieved royal authority during political instability in Larsa (Dijk 1965, 15). However, it could be that the political crisis in Larsa occurred not in the last years of Sūmû-El, but during Nūr-Adad's reign (Brisch 2007, 40–41); maybe there was a series of crises. Nūr-Adad was the first king of Larsa with an Akkadian and not an Amorite name. He honored the memory of Abī-sarē as his predecessor,²³¹ but he never referred to Sūmû-El. In contrast to Sūmû-El's ambition to become a king of Ur, Nūr-Adad accentuated that he was born in Larsa (RIME 4.2.8.7, lines 24–25): *[iri]^{KI} ba-tu-dè-en-na-gá nam-sipa-bi ma-an-šúm* "over the city, where I was born, (Utu) gave me shepherdship." It also seems important that Nūr-Adad never mentioned himself as *rabiān* MAR.DÚ. At least in the reflection of the surviving royal inscriptions, his royal authority was mainly based on the control over the city but not on the affiliation with a particular Amorite lineage.

Nūr-Adad reigned for about 16 years. The reign of Nūr-Adad witnessed both prosperity and serious problems. Nūr-Adad organized extensive construction works in Larsa, Ur, and Eridu. At the same time, according to Charpin, a natural catastrophe caused famine in Larsa. The only known military activity of the king was his campaign to Maškan-šapir (Charpin 2004, 101–103).

Nūr-Adad has left twenty royal inscriptions. Six texts are *hybrid orientation*, one is *human-orientated*, and thirteen are *subject-addresser* texts.²³² Most of the texts omit the determinative DINGIR with the king's name. However, there are

²³⁰ For *lugal uri^{KI}-ma*, see RIME 4.2.7. 1(5), 2(5), 2001(6), 2003 (3). For *lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri*, see RIME 4.2.7. 1(6), 2(6), 2003 (4).

²³¹ Year names k and j attest a construction of Abī-sarē's statue by Nūr-Adad. CDLI, Year names/ Nūr-Adad

²³² *Hybrid orientation* inscriptions are RIME 4.2.8. 2–7; *human-orientated* inscription is RIME 4.2.8. 1; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.8. 2001–2013.

two exceptions. One is a *hybrid orientation* inscription RIME 4.2.8.2 (line 3), and another is a *subject-addresser* text RIME 4.2.8.2007 (line 3). There are no other direct markers of the king's divinity in Nūr-Adad's royal inscriptions. The only indirect marker is a claim for the management of divine powers ME of Ebabbar in RIME 4.2.8.5 (lines 2–6): me èš é-babbar-ra kug-kug-ge, “[one] who purifies *mes* of the shrine Ebabbar.” A set of royal titles in RIME 4.2.8.1 (lines 2–18) resembles standard titles of Isin kings.²³³

1. nita kalag, “mighty man.”
2. ú-a úri^{KI}-ma, “provider of Ur.”
3. lugal larsa^{KI}, “king of Larsa.”
4. sag-èn-tar èš é-babbar-ra, “supervisor of the shrine Ebabbar.”
5. šul ^dutu šà kug-ga-ni-a zid-dè-[eš] bí-in-p[à-da], “a youth whom Utu has truly chosen in his heart.”
6. kur gú gar-gar ^dutu-ke₄, “one piling up a mountain for the god Utu.”
7. mu dùg sa₄-a ^diškur-ra-ke₄, “called a good name by the god Iškur.”
8. lú ^{giš}gu-za larsa^{KI}-ma suhuš-bi mu-un-gi-né, “the one who secured the foundation of the throne of Larsa.”
9. ùĝ ság dug-ga-bi ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a, “[the one who] returned the scattered people to their places.”

William Hallo argued that the kings of Nūr-Adad's and Kadur-Mabuk's dynasties imitated the ancient traditions of Lagaš and considered themselves as their heirs (Hallo 1973, 71). Still, the royal ideology demonstrates the great importance of Ur and Nanna as the bestower of royal authority. The role of the Ur III ideological heritage in OB Larsa was huge. Curiously, Nūr-Adad did not refer to Nippur and Enlil. It may relate to the loss of control over the city. The god Utu was a city deity in Larsa; therefore, it is not surprising that he has equal importance to Ur and Nanna in the legitimization of Nūr-Adad. No Nūr-Adad's royal hymns have survived. Nūr-Adad is mentioned in the yet unpublished hymn to Inanna (Peterson 2016, 139).²³⁴

²³³ However, there is no consistency in the usage of these titles as a standard set in other inscriptions. The text RIME 4.2.8.3 has many additional epithets, such as nesaĝ sar-re é-kiš-nu-gál-la “one hastening the first-fruit offerings of Ekišnugal” (line 13), ĝidru šúm-ma ^dnanna-ke₄ “given the scepter by the god Nanna,” (lines 18–19), šul ní tuk ù-ma-né sá-dī “the youth having fear, achieving his triumphs” (lines 24–25), and sipa níĝ-gi-na-ra “shepherd of truth” (line 52).

²³⁴ The text MS 3383 from the Schøyen Collection (CDLI P252324).

II. 6.3.1.9. Sîn-iddinam

The next ruler of Larsa was Sîn-iddinam (1849–1843 BC), a son of Nūr-Adad. He reigned seven years. His reign started as a co-regency with his father, a rare occasion for Mesopotamia (Fitzgerald 2002, 98–100). Sîn-iddinam organized many military campaigns, especially in the north: against Babylon, Malgium, and Ešnunna.²³⁵ Marcel Sigrist assumed that at the end of his reign, Sîn-iddinam captured Nippur (Sigrist 1977, 364). Probably at the end of Sîn-iddinam's reign, Larsa faced an epidemic that decreased the city's population. An old Babylonian omen²³⁶ narrates an accidental death of Sîn-iddinam under a fallen brick during his visit to the sun god's temple. It seems that in some scribal circles Sîn-iddinam was regarded *Unheilsherrscher* (Brisch 2007, 44–45).

Sîn-iddinam has left thirty royal inscriptions. As far as his name starts with the theonym Sîn, the usage of the determinative DINGIR is not an ultimate sign of the king's deification.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 3 inscriptions²³⁷ (10% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 12 inscriptions (40% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – no inscriptions.
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 14 inscriptions (47% of total).

Additionally, one inscription (3% of total) cannot be included in any of the above categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions.

There are no direct divinity markers in the royal inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam. An indirect sacredness marker appears in the *god-orientated inscriptions* RIME 4.2.9.1. It is a claim for the divine origin from Adad (lines 26–27): *ibil kala-ga šà a-a-na dūg-dūg dumu-saĝ dīškur-ke* “mighty heir that the heart of his father makes well; the first-born son of Adad.” The fact that a reference to the human father of the king (Nūr-Adad) directly follows the reference to Adad (lines 27–29) indicates a degree of their identification. Their closeness is also evident from Nūr-Adad's name: *nūr-dīŠKUR* “Light of god Adad/Iškur.” One can speculate that Sîn-iddinam was a child of the *sacred marriage* ritual begotten by Nūr-Adad, who represented Iškur. However, this assumption cannot be proved with textual sources. Also, Nūr-Adad has no determinative DINGIR in the text. Brisch explained the claim for the divine origin from Adad by the control of the king of Maškan-šapir and Karkar, a cult center of Adad (Brisch 2007, 45). A *hybrid orientation* inscription RIME 4.2.9.14 describes the king as one able

²³⁵ See year names 4, 5 a-d, 6. CDLI, Year names/ Sin-iddinam.

²³⁶ The text YBC 9832 from the Yale Babylonian Collection (CDLI P293785).

²³⁷ This dissertation analyzes the text RIME 4.2.9.15 both as a royal inscription and a hymn (Sin-iddinam E) in the quantitative analysis framework. Qualitative notes on the text are given in the discussion of royal inscriptions.

managing the divine powers ME: me ġiš-hur ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a, “one who restored the ME and plans of the Anuna gods” (lines 9–11). Based on the wrong attribution of the text RIME 4.2.9.7, it was believed that Sîn-iddinam claimed the epithet “son born in Gaeš” (line 9). However, a new manuscript of the inscription allows correction of the attribution to Sîn-irībam (George 2011, 106–107). Moreover, the text mentions not a geographical name, but the father of Sîn-irībam.²³⁸

The basic set of epithets that appear in most inscriptions is:²³⁹

1. nita kalag, “mighty man.”
2. ú-a uri₅^{KI}-ma, “provider of Ur.”
3. lugal larsa^{KI}-ma, “king of Larsa.”
4. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri, “king of Sumer and Akkad”.

RIME 4.2.9.1 (lines 21–27) refers to special connections of the king with Larsa (sipa zid lárša^{KI}-ma “the true shepherd of Larsa”), Eridu (ġiš-hur eridu^{KI}-ga ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a “one who restored the plan of Eridu”) and Lagaš (me šu du₇-du₇ lagaš^{KI} ġír-su^{KI}-ke₄ “one perfecting the ME of Lagash and Girsu”). The connection with Lagaš is especially interesting considering the proposed origin of the king’s father, Nūr-Adad, from that city (Hallo 1973, 71). Still, there are no direct mentions of Lagaš’s deities in Sîn-iddinam’s royal inscriptions.

The variety of royal titles in Sîn-iddinam royal inscriptions is big. I shortly discuss the most important epithets describing relation of the king with various deities.

Enlil rarely appears as the grantor of Sîn-iddinam’s royal authority. The only such epithet hé-àm é-kur-ra-kam, “he is the *approved*²⁴⁰ of Ekur,” appears in RIME 4.2.9.15 (line 36). Sîn-iddinam’s reverence to Nippur and Enlil is a slightly more frequent topos (RIME 4.2.9.5 [lines 2–6], 12 [lines 5–9], 15 [line 35]). Introduction of these titles should relate to the control over Nippur.

Utu and Adad are two main bestowers of the royal authority for Sîn-iddinam. For example, RIME 4.2.9.6 describes the king as šul ^dutu kur kīlib-ba-ni-[ta] iġi-zid mu-ši-i[n-bar] “a youth, at whom Utu truly looked from among all his lands” (lines 13–14), and, at the same text, u₄ bala sa₆-ga-gá ^dutu lugal-mu gá-ar ma-an-šúm-ma-a “the day Utu, my king, a good term gave to me” (lines 58–60).

²³⁸ Some confusion remains even in the latest literature. Note, for example, that Wagensonner mistakenly refers to CUSAS 17/50 and RIME 4.2.9.7 as two different inscriptions. Wagensonner 2022, 254, n. 260.

²³⁹ For this sequence, see in the inscriptions RIME 4.2.9.3 (4–7), 4(2–5), 9 (7–10).

²⁴⁰ Sumerian hé means “be so, be he”; therefore, this epithet transmits some approval by Enlil and his temple.

Adad is a personal god of Sîn-iddinam and grants him royal authority. RIME 4.2.9.15 describes the king as *bala-dùg ti u₄-sù-rá hé-gál nì-nu-til-e* ^d*īškur diġir-ra-ni sa₁₂-e-eš-e rig₇-ga* “[one] granted a good reign, a life of distant days, and abundance without end by the god Adad, his personal deity” (lines 43–44).

The text RIME 4.2.9.15 describes the king as elected for the kingship by gods: *ùġ šár-ra-né [zid-d]è-eš [mu-u]n-pàd-da* “the one from his numerous people truly chosen by DN” (lines 51–53). The topos of divine election might be needed if the king’s origin from Nūr-Adad was not enough for the effective legitimation.

I address five poetic compositions praising Sîn-iddinam in the framework of quantitative analysis.²⁴¹ Some royal hymns praise Enlil as the supreme source of royal authority. Sin-iddinam A explains it as follows:

1. Sîn-iddinam makes New Year offerings to the god Nanna in Ur (lines 5–10).
2. The god Nanna transports the offerings in Nippur to the god Enlil (lines 11–13).
3. Nanna asks Enlil and Ninlil to grant favors for Sîn-iddinam (lines 14–25).

This pattern (offerings by a king in Ur – Nanna’s travel to Nippur – blessing of the king by Enlil) is identical with the one used in Šulgi F. As Lämmerhirt also noted, the ritual travel to Nippur celebrated in the hymn was possible only in his seventh regnal year because before that Nippur was under Isin governance (Lämmerhirt 2012, 8, n. 54). The hymn Sîn-iddinam A completely reproduces the model of royal legitimation from Ur III period hymns. The hymn does not mention Utu, who is the city god of Larsa and habitually bestows the royal power to Sîn-iddinam in his royal inscriptions. Instead, it refers to Nanna, the city god of Ur, who also features in royal inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam, but less frequently than Utu. In contrast to Šulgi, who has indirect markers of divinity in his hymn F, Sîn-iddinam in the hymn A gives no hints of his sacredness.

Only the hymn Sîn-iddinam B has *indirect markers* of the king’s sacredness. The hymn could be utilized for elementary education (Peterson 2016, 164). Surviving fragments do not allow the restoration of any coherent narration. There are two *indirect markers* of the king’s sacredness in the text. The first is an allusion to Utu; however, the broken context raises some doubts about its association with Sîn-iddinam (rev. v, line 2’). The second is the parent-child relationship between the king and Adad: *dumu á-nun-gál* ^d*īškur-ra*, “mighty son of Adad” (rev. vi, lines 6’–7’). In contrast to Sîn-iddinam A, this hymn praises Utu as the primary grantor of the king’s authority (rev. v, lines 31’–35’).

²⁴¹ I do not analyze Sîn-iddinam’s letters to gods. Also, I do not analyze the unpublished collection of four hymns known as Sin-iddinam D. Peterson notes that Sîn-iddinam C is not a royal hymn, but a response of Ninisina to the plea of Sin-iddinam in one of his letters to the goddess (Peterson 2016, 167). Still, I discuss the text in the quantitative framework following Brisch. The fragmentary character of the text makes any classification difficult at present (Brisch 2007, 47).

II. 6.3.1.10. Sîn-irībam

Sîn-irībam (1842–1841 BC) became a new king and ruled for two years. He was a son of a certain Gaeš-rabi and not of Sîn-iddinam (George 2011, 106). During Sîn-irībam’s reign Larsa still controlled Nippur (Fitzgerald 2002, 117–119).

Sîn-irībam has left four royal inscriptions. One inscription has a *hybrid orientation*, one *human-orientated* and two are *subject-addresser* texts.²⁴² The determinative DINGIR before Sîn-irībam’s name cannot be regarded as proof for the deification, as his name starts with a theonym. His royal inscriptions have no *direct* or *indirect markers of the king’s divinity*. The discovered royal titles are lugal “king” of Larsa, and lugal “king” of the land of Sumer and Akkad. Sîn-irībam has left no royal hymns.

II. 6.3.1.11. Sîn-iqīšam

The next ruler was Sîn-iqīšam (1840–1836 BC), Sîn-irībam’s son. He ruled for five years. During Sîn-iqīšam’s reign, Larsa controlled Nippur and severely competed with Isin (Fitzgerald 2002, 126). Sābium, the ruler of Babylon, probably defeated Sîn-iqīšam around his third regnal year; it likely caused a temporary weakening of Larsa’s positions in Nippur. Around his fifth regnal year, Sîn-iqīšam defeated the armies of Kazallu and probably killed in the battle the king of Isin, Zambā (Fitzgerald 2002, 122–123).

Sîn-iqīšam has left five royal inscriptions. One text is *god-orientated*, two are *hybrid orientation*, and two *subject-addresser* texts.²⁴³ Sîn-iqīšam’s name starts with the theonym, so the determinative DINGIR is not a reliable proof for the king’s deification. There are no *direct* or *indirect* markers of the king’s divinity in these texts. The text RIME 4.2.11.1 has following epithets (col. ii 8–13):

1. nita kalag “mighty man.”
2. sipa šà dūg-dūg nibru^{KI}-k[e₄] “shepherd who makes Nippur’s heart well.”
3. ú-a úri^{KI}-ma “provider of Ur.”
4. lugal larsa^{KI}-ma “king of Larsa.”
5. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri “king of the land of Sumer and Akkad.”

The three main cities (Nippur, Ur, and Larsa) and their respective gods are the basis of Sîn-iqīšam’s royal legitimation. This legitimation model is similar to that found in the royal hymns of Sîn-iddinam.

²⁴² *Hybrid orientation* inscription is CUSAS 17/50 (or RIME 4.2.10. add2); *human-orientated* inscription is RIME 4.2.10. 1; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.10. 2001–2002.

²⁴³ *God-orientated* text is RIME 4.2.11. 1. Note that the text survives only in a later copy and its attribution to Sîn-iqīšam is not certain. *Hybrid orientation* inscriptions are RIME 4.2.11. 2–3; *subject-addresser* texts are RIME 4.2.11. 2001–2002.

Only one poetic composition praising Šîn-iqīšam has survived. It is a *deity-praising* hymn to Numušda, a deity of Kazallu. The text has no *direct* or *indirect* markers of the king's sacredness. The text might relate to the delivery of cult statues of Numušda, Namrat and Lugal-apiak to Kazallu mentioned in the Šîn-iqīšam 2b year name. The king destroyed the same city just a few years later (Brisch 2007, 49–50). The hymn describes the god Numušda granting the king his military support: ^dnu-muš-da nun ^dsuen-*i-qí-ša-am* kur nu-še-ga-na šu-ni-šè si-bí-ib “Numušda, fill the hand of the prince Šîn-iqīšam with the land that does not obey” (line 32).

II. 6.3.1.12. Šillī-Adad

The next ruler, Šillī-Adad (1835 BC), reigned for less than one year. He was probably a son of Nūr-Adad (Fitzgerald 2002, 123). According to the year-names Šillī-Adad 2a and 2b, the king was dismissed from his status of lugal “king.” The year name 2b says: mu *ši-lí*-^dadad nu lugal “the year when Šillī-Adad is no longer the king.” At the end of Šillī-Adad's first year, the city appeared to be in a severe crisis. Kazallu army in a union with one of the Amorite tribes attacked Larsa. Probably this event forced Šillī-Adad to leave his office (Kozyreva 2016, 340–341).

Šillī-Adad has left two royal inscriptions. Both are *hybrid orientation* texts. Šillī-Adad has no *direct* or *indirect* divinity markers in these texts; the determinative DINGIR does not precede the king's name. Šillī-Adad has title énsi úri^{KI} larsa^{KI} lagaš^{KI} ù ma-da ku-ta-al-la^{KI}-a-ke₄ “ruler of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš, and the land of Kutalla” in RIME 4.2.12.1 (lines 5–10). Šillī-Adad is the only king of Larsa who used the title énsi, “ruler.” He was also the only one who omitted the title lugal, “king.” Hallo proposed that Šillī-Adad might have deliberately changed his main royal title from lugal to énsi under the influence of north-Mesopotamian ideology or as an emulation of Lagaš tradition (Hallo 1973, 71). If so, the year-name 2b might relate to this change of titles from lugal to énsi. Otherwise, according to Fitzgerald, Šillī-Adad could not use the title lugal because he was not an independent ruler (Fitzgerald 2002, 125). However, as is evident from RIME 4.2.12.1, the sphere of Šillī-Adad's authority as énsi was huge. It included Ur, Larsa, and Lagaš. In the same text RIME 4.2.12.1, Šillī-Adad also claimed the status of ú-a nibru^{KI} “provider of Nippur” (line 4). This status usually associates with the control over Nippur and dominance in Southern Mesopotamia. Therefore, it is not clear, whether Šillī-Adad lost independence or for some other reason chose the title énsi over lugal. No royal hymns have survived for Šillī-Adad.

II. 6.3.1.13. Kudur-Mabuk

After Šillī-Adad's reign, the power in Larsa shifted to a new family. For a few decades, the most powerful person in the city was a certain Kudur-Mabuk. His name was Elamite; however, he stressed his leading position among the Amorites.

He likely had a long-lasting connection with the previous royal family in Larsa. In the times of Nūr-Adad, Kudur-Mabuk appeared in the administrative list of royal gifts' recipients in the second position after the crown prince Šillī-Adad (Fitzgerald 2002, 130). Steinkeller suggested that Kudur-Mabuk acquired power over Maškan-šapir about the end of Sîn-iddinam's reign, and later made Šillī-Adad his vassal. He managed the crisis mentioned in Šillī-Adad's regnal years and appointed his sons to reign in Larsa as his subordinates (Steinkeller 2004, 33). Two sons of Kudur-Mabuk, Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn, became kings in Larsa. Kudur-Mabuk's status is evident from the installation of his daughter Enanedu as the high-priestess in Ur. Traditionally this position was granted only to the king's daughters.

Kudur-Mabuk has left eleven inscriptions. The sign DINGIR never precedes his name.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 3 inscriptions (27% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 7 inscriptions (55% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – no inscriptions.
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 1 inscription (9% of total).

Kudur-Mabuk has no *direct* or *indirect* divinity markers in his royal inscriptions. He has the title lugal “king” only in a later copied inscription RIME 4.2.13a.1 (line 9). The two most important titles are ad-da kur mar-dú, “father of the Amorite land,” and ad-da e-mu-ut-ba-la, “father of Emutbala.”²⁴⁴ At the same time, Kudur-Mabuk often refers to Warad-Sîn as dumu-ĝu₁₀ “my son,” and lugal larsa^{kl} “king of Larsa” (for example, in RIME 4.2.13. 3, lines 27–28). Frayne proposed that Kudur-Mabuk adopted the title ad-da e-mu-ut-ba-la around the seventh regnal year of Warad-Sîn when the king of Larsa was recognized in Nippur (Frayne 1990, 202). Still, *de facto* Kudur-Mabuk was a king in the region that he controlled. It is evident from the investiture scene in RIME 4.2.13.13 (lines 39–46):

39. u ₄ an-né ^d en-líl-le	39. the day An and Enlil
40. ^d en-ki ^d nin-mah-bi	40. Enki and Ninmah
41. ^{ĝeš} ĝidru zid un ₅ lah ₄ -lah ₄ hé-du ₇	41. the true scepter fitting for bringing people
42. bala me da-rí	42. <i>under</i> the rule of eternal ME
43. me-bi nu-kúr-ru-dè	43. whose ME are unchangeable
44. dug ₄ -ga mah ^d nanna ^d utu-ta	44. by the great word of Nanna and Utu
45. nam-si-sá-a-mu-šè	45. because of my righteousness
46. ma-ni-in-šúm-mu-uš-àm	46. they gave me.

²⁴⁴ The title ad-da kur-mar-dú with his name can be found in RIME 4.2.13. 3(8), 5(6), 6(6), 7(8), 9(4), 10(6), 13(15), 30(7). The title ad-da emutbala in the texts RIME 4.2.13. 15(frag. 9. 5'), 17(i 8'), 18(9), 19(7), 20(13), 23(13), 24(11), 26(15), and RIME 4.2.13a. 2(2).

This passage demonstrates that Nanna and Utu are the supreme source of Kudur-Mabuk's authority. The formal reason for his rise to power is his *nam-si-sá* "righteousness." The same two deities granted military success to Kudur-Mabuk. For example, RIME 4.2.13. 3 narrates: *dug₄-dug₄-ga^dnanna^dutu-ta ka-zal-lu i-ni-in-dab₅-ba* "by the words of Nanna and Utu he seized Kazallu" (lines 16–17). The relationship with Enlil is also an important motif in the royal inscriptions of Kudur-Mabuk. RIME 4.2.13.10 (lines 8–9 and 13) has epithets like *igi du₈en-líl-lá* "one making audience gifts to the god Enlil," *nin-líl-da še-ga-àm* "one having agreement with the goddess Ninlil," *lú šà nibru^{KI}dùg-dùg-me-en* "one making good for Nippur." Kudur-Mabuk used traditional royal titles like *ú-a é-kur-ra* "provider of Ekur" in the text RIME 4.2.13.10 (line 11) or *sipa sun₅-na* "humble shepherd" in the text RIME 4.2.13.13 (line 36). No survived royal hymns refer to Kudur-Mabuk.

II. 6.3.1.14. Warad-Sîn

Warad-Sîn (1834–1823 BC), a son of Kudur-Mabuk, ruled in Larsa for twelve years. It is difficult to call him an independent ruler because during his reign Kudur-Mabuk was still alive and held great importance. Both Warad-Sîn and his father could claim the same events as personal achievements; for example, both claimed to have destroyed the wall of Kazallu. Warad-Sîn's reign was relatively peaceful; he had no conflicts with Isin and Babylon. Diakonoff proposed that because of Larsa's growing influence in the region, Nippur authorities praised Warad-Sîn as a deity in a similar way as Isin kings were praised (Diakonoff 1990, 27).

Warad-Sîn has left thirty-one royal inscriptions. The determinative DINGIR appears before the king's name only once in a *subject-addresser* text RIME 4.2.13. 15 (frgm 9, line 6'). The determinative also appears in the last year-names of the king and an unpublished offerings list from Ekur (Peterson 2016, 133, n. 16).

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 2 inscriptions (6,4% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 16 inscriptions (51,7% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 1 inscription (3,2% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 8 inscriptions (25,8% of total). 1 DINGIR (12,5% of the group).

Additionally, four inscriptions (12,9% of total) have uncertain attribution and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions.

There are no *direct* or *indirect divinity markers* in the analyzed texts. A *hybrid orientation* text RIME 4.2.13.21 describes the king as *šà ama-ugu-ĝu₁₀-ta kug-ge-eš ĝun-a-me-en* "inside the mother who gave me birth I was purely *anointed*" (line 44). It hints at some prerogative of Warad-Sîn; however, he did not explicitly claim a divine origin.

Two texts (RIME 4.2.13.1 and 2) are probably from the early years of Warad-Sîn's term; they share the same modest royal titulary used previously by Šillī-Adad:

2. ú-a nibru^{KI}, “provider of Nippur.”
3. énsi úri^{KI} larsa^{KI} lagaš^{KI} ù ma-da ku-ta-al-la^{KI}-a-ke₄, “ruler of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš, and the land of Kutalla.”

If Warad-Sîn, and not Kudur-Mabuk, became beneficial from Šillī-Adad's removal from power, then it is strange that Warad-Sîn did not use the title lugal “king” in all of his inscriptions.

The most extended list of Warad-Sîn's titles is in the text RIME 4.2.13. 27 (lines 7–13):

1. nun še-ga nibru^{KI}, “prince, agreeable for Nippur.”
2. ú-a uri₅^{KI}-ma, “provider of Ur.”
3. sag-èn-tar ġír-su^{KI} ki-lagaš^{KI}-a, “supervisor of Girsu and the land of Lagaš.”
4. é-babbar-da ní te-ge₂₆, “one fearing the Ebabbar.”
5. lugal larsa^{KI}-ma, “king of Larsa.”
6. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri, “king of Sumer and Akkad.”

Nanna and Inanna were the main bestowers of authority for Warad-Sîn. The text RIME 4.2.13. 27 has an appeal to Inanna to grant Warad-Sîn aš-te suhuš gi-na, “a throne with a secure foundation,” and ġidru ùġ gúr-gúr, “a scepter for people's subjugation” (lines 45–50). The text RIME 4.2.13.21 describes Nanna as having the same function as the authority bestower: nam-sipa kalam-ma-na mu-un-gar-re-en nam-si-sá-gá ġidru ma-an-šúm bala húl-la šu zid ma-ni-in-ga “[Nanna] gave me [Warad-Sîn] the shepherdship over all the land; for my righteousness, he gave me the scepter, truly bestowed upon me a happy term of reign” (lines 42–48).

Two *deity-praising* compositions referring to Warad-Sîn were recently edited.²⁴⁵ Both texts survive only fragmentarily. They are analyzed *quantitatively* but not *qualitatively* because they have no *direct* or *indirect markers* indicating Warad-Sîn's divinity. However, the only manuscript of the *adab of Ninurta* has the divine determinative DINGIR before Warad-Sîn's name which is “rare among extant renderings of this king's name” (Peterson 2016, 133).

²⁴⁵ One is an *adab of Ninurta for Warad-Sîn* (UM 29–16–79 + N 4213), edited by Peterson (2016, 127–135). Another is a *praise poem of Warad-Sîn to Nippur* (Kress 41), edited by Földi and Zólyomi (2020, 57–66).

II. 6.3.1.15. Rīm-Sîn I

Rīm-Sîn I inherited the throne after his brother Warad-Sîn. The fact that Rīm-Sîn I reigned for 60 years (1822–1763 BC) makes it likely that he became a king at a very young age. Kudur-Mabuk was alive until the 5th regnal year of Rīm-Sîn I. For the first decade of his reign, Rīm-Sîn I was mainly busy with cultic and building activities. He held control over Nippur most of that time. However, at about Rīm-Sîn's 9th regnal year, Damiq-ilīšu of Isin conquered Nippur.

According to Rīm-Sîn's year-names,²⁴⁶ the fourteenth year witnessed a radical change in the politics of Larsa. From this year until the 30th regnal year, Rīm-Sîn was mainly busy with military campaigns and irrigational works (Fitzgerald 2002, 142). In his fourteenth year, he won a war against the coalition army of Uruk, Isin, Babylon, and other cities.

Around the 20th and 21st of his regnal years, Rīm-Sîn conquered Uruk and regained control over Nippur. Starting from this time, the determinative DINGIR regularly appeared before the king's name. His name became a theophoric element in the names of some of his subordinates (Pientka-Hinz 2006–08, 370). This change was a conscious policy for the explicit deification of the king. Charpin connects this phenomenon with Nippur's return under the control of Larsa (Charpin 2004, 120, n. 517); Kozyreva later followed his argumentation (Kozyreva 2016, 347). On the other hand, Frayne connected this change in royal ideology with the acquisition of Uruk (Frayne 1990, 287). Wagensohnner also connects the deification of Rīm-Sîn with the conquest of Uruk (Wagensohnner 2022, 201–202).

In fact, the data from year names suggest that Rīm-Sîn might have been deified already from the first year of his reign. Even the first-year name *mu^dri-im-d^dsuen lugal*, “the year when divine Rīm-Sîn (became) the king,” has DINGIR with Rīm-Sîn I's name in administrative texts.²⁴⁷ Moreover, Warad-Sîn also appeared with the determinative DINGIR in some royal inscriptions and hymns. Therefore, it is unlikely that Rīm-Sîn reinforced the practice of royal deification around his 20th regnal year. However, available sources demonstrate a certain intensification in the usage of the divine ruler narrative. Indeed, this might relate to the king's military success, be it in Nippur or Uruk. Suppose the control over Nippur indeed allowed Rīm-Sîn to intensify his claims for the divine status. In that case, it is strange that Rīm-Sîn I did not claim divinity for the first nine years of his reign when he controlled Nippur as intensely as after his 20th regnal year when he regained control over Nippur. Suppose the control over Uruk allowed Rīm-Sîn to intensify his claims for the divine status. Then it should be accompanied by some higher percentage of references to either An, Inanna, or the topos of Gilgameš, associated with the city. Based on quantitative analysis of both royal inscriptions and hymns, it is not possible to find any convincing proof for this.

²⁴⁶ CDLI, Year names/ Rīm-Sîn.

²⁴⁷ For example, see texts BRM 3, 018a (CDLI, P274729), BRM 3, 018b (CDLI, P274730), JANES 21, 83 16 (CDLI, P373768), and some others.

One of Rīm-Sîn I's wives was Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu, who could have been a daughter of Sîn-māgir, king of Isin (Wagensonner 2022, 285). A *subject-addresser* text RIME 4.2.14.23, written in the name of Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu, has the title *me-te nam-lugal-šè túm-ma-me-en*, “one appropriate for kingship” (line 17), which refers not to the king but to Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu. This title hints at some association of the queen with *nam-lugal* in her own right and not only through her marriage with Rīm-Sîn I. Her affiliation with *nam-lugal* should have resulted from her origin from Sîn-māgir, a king of Isin who most probably was explicitly deified. Note, for example, that the text RIME 4.2.14.19 describes subjugated Isin as *iri nam-lugal-a* “the city of kingship” (line 18). It proves a special association of Isin with *nam-lugal* in the eyes of Larsa's officials. It can be speculated that marriage with Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu, a princess from Isin, might have stimulated Rīm-Sîn I's usage of the divine determinative with his name. It is not certain when their marriage took place, but in my view, it is possible that their marriage required from Rīm-Sîn adoption of the same divine status as Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu's father likely had.

It is unclear whether the intensification in claims for divine status related to the control over Nippur, Uruk or should be explained otherwise. In the 29th regnal year, Rīm-Sîn defeated Dunnum, one of the central cities of Isin kingdom, and in the following year he finally conquered Isin itself. All the year-names of Rīm-Sîn after his 30th regnal year mention Isin's defeat as a point of reference. The second half of Rīm-Sîn's reign is less known than the first. In the 31st regnal year of Rīm-Sîn, Ḫammu-rāpi became the king in Babylon. Seven years later, Ḫammu-rāpi conquered Isin and Uruk; it should indicate a confrontation with Larsa. However, at that time, Larsa was one of the most powerful states in Southern Mesopotamia, and Ḫammu-rāpi did not press his advantage. Rīm-Sîn continued to engage in politics; he allied with Ešnunna and Assyria. The archives of Mari witness an alliance between Babylon and Larsa against Elam. However, Rīm-Sîn probably neglected his obligations. He was reluctant to send Ḫammu-rāpi reinforcements and sheltered deserters from the Babylon army, which led to a conflict. Ḫammu-rāpi subjugated Rīm-Sîn's brother Sîn-muballiṭ in Maškan-šāpir and made Emubala tribes join his army (Heimpel 2003, 150–151). In 1763 BC, Ḫammu-rāpi conquered Larsa.

Rīm-Sîn I has left 46 royal inscriptions. 32 of them have DINGIR (69% of total).

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 1 inscription (2% of total). No DINGIR texts.
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 18 inscriptions (39% of total). 8 DINGIR texts (44% of the group total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 1 inscription (2% of total). 1 DINGIR text (100% of the group total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 25 inscriptions (54% of total). 23 DINGIR (92% of the group).

Additionally, one inscription (2% of total) cannot be included in any of the text categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions.

The only *indirect marker* of the king's sacredness is a claim for the divine origin from Ninhursag appearing in his *deity-praising* inscription CUSAS 17/51 (obv. line 13). It is possible that this reference demonstrated a special military ability of the king by analogy with the function of this epithet in Lagaš tradition (Selz 1995, 221, 254). There are two more interesting mentions of connections with gods, but it is difficult to say if they hint at any special sacredness of Rīm-Sîn I. In RIME 4.2.14.5 Nergal is called the creator of the king: ^dnergal diĝir saĝ du-ga-na, "Nergal, the god who created him" (lines 21–22). Nergal was a deity of Maškan-šāpir, the second largest center in the kingdom after Larsa. The text RIME 4.2.14.13 mentions some partnership between the king and Ninšubur: ^dnin-šubur lugal-ĝu₁₀-ra nam-ga-me-èš-ak-da-ĝu₁₀-ne, "(at time of) my establishing a colleagueship with my god Ninšubur" (lines 28–29). This reference to Ninšubur represents Rīm-Sîn as another fellow servant of Inanna; Ninšubur is known as a divine vizier of Inanna (Wiggermann 1998–2001b, 497). However, in my view, this reference cannot be interpreted as an independent pretense for divinity.

The most basic set of royal titles (RIME 4.2.14.2, lines 10–13) is as follows:

1. nun ní-tuku nibru^{KI}, "prince who has fear before Nippur."
2. ú-a uri₅^{KI}-ma, "provider of Ur."
3. lugal larsa^{KI}-ma, "king of Larsa."
4. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri, "king of Sumer and Akkad."

Like his predecessors in Larsa, Rīm-Sîn I mentioned Lagaš in his inscriptions. For example, RIME 4.2.14.6 has the title sag-èn-tar ĝir-su^{KI} ki lagaš^{KI}-a "supervisor of Ĝirsu and the land of Lagaš" (lines 16–17). A new feature is reference to Uruk, which does not appear in titles of the previous kings. Two inscriptions (RIME 4.2.14.18 [lines 24–25] and 19 [lines 14–15]) describe Rīm-Sîn I as lugal larsa^{KI}-ma unu^{KI} i-si-in^{KI} "king of Larsa, Uruk, and Isin".

References to Enlil and Inanna as grantors of legitimacy in Rīm-Sîn I's royal inscriptions are more often than references to Sîn and Šamaš. According to the text RIME 4.2.14.9 (line 27), Enlil grants Rīm-Sîn I victory over Uruk. The text RIME 4.2.14.15 (line 37) narrates ùĝ šár-ra nam-sipa-bi ^den-líl ma-[an-šúm-ma] "Enlil gave shepherdship over numerous nations." The text RIME 4.2.14.2 (lines 21–28) has an appeal to the goddess Inanna to grant Rīm-Sîn I with various favors, including nam-lugal "kingship." The text RIME 4.2.14.3 (lines 21–28) has a similar passage; the appeal induces the goddess Nanaia to ask Inanna and An to grant the king various favors. In the text RIME 4.2.14.15 (lines 55–58), gods An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninmah present to the king nam-ti u₄ sù-rá^{ra} "life of the distant days," bala hé-gál-la "happy term of reign," and ^{ĝi}gu-gu-gu-gu-gu-gi-na "throne with a firm foundation."

Rīm-Sîn I has also left nine royal hymns; all are *deity-praising* compositions. Almost all surviving manuscripts of these compositions have DINGIR in front of the king's name; the only exception is the segment B of Rīm-Sîn H. There are no direct markers of the king's divinity in these hymns. Two hymns (Rīm-Sîn F and G) have indirect markers of the king's sacredness.

Rīm-Sîn F praises Abzu in Nanna's temple Ekišnugal in Ur. This hymn can describe Rīm-Sîn's procession through the temple (Charpin 1986, 280). The hymn starts with the royal title of Rīm-Sîn lugal me nun-na, "king of the princely divine powers ME" (line 1). Therefore, the hymn describes Rīm-Sîn as the possessor of ME, divine powers which usually associate with gods and their control over the universe.

Rīm-Sîn G may also be a hymn about Rīm-Sîn's procession through Ekišnugal in Ur (Charpin 1986, 280). The hymn describes the king as ^dri-im-^dsîn lugal ùri^{KI}-ma me ʾmah¹ ki-ʾùr-ra¹ ki-bi-šu bí-in-gi, "divine Rīm-Sîn, king of Ur, who retutnes the divine powers ME of Ki'ur" (lines 20–21).

Brisch noticed some decrease in the attention to the gods Enlil, Enki and Ninurta. She wrote: "the Larsa poems composed for the worship of gods are also notable for the deities to whom they were addressed, namely in the case of Sin-iqīšam the god Numusda, and in the case of Rim-Sin the god Haya. Hymns to deities such as Enlil, Enki, or Ninurta (including prayers for the king) do not exist at all in the Larsa material, and their absence may be explained by the exclusion of the Larsa praise poetry from the Nippur curriculum" (Brisch 2007, 73). This notion is important, but in my view, frequency of references to Enlil and other great gods in poetic compositions praising Rīm-Sîn was still higher than to Haya. Only the hymn Rīm-Sîn B refers to Haya, while Enlil appears as the king's benefactor and the grantor of his royal authority in hymns Rīm-Sîn A (lines 4–9, 20), Rīm-Sîn B (lines 52–53), Rīm-Sîn D (line 6), and Rīm-Sîn G (line 11). Even if these references are short, their frequency in a high number of hymns demonstrates the importance of Enlil. As was mentioned above, royal inscriptions also refer to Enlil and Inanna more often than to other deities.

Other great gods also appear as the grantors of royal authority to the king. For example, in the hymn Rim-Sin C, the god An grants not only nam-lugal kur níĝ-daĝal-la, "kingship over vast foreign lands" (line 15), but also royal insignia as aga kug-ge, "the pure crown," ^{ĝi}gu-za nam-til-la-ka, "throne of life," ù-luh níĝ-si-sá, "sapling of righteousness," ešgiri₂ kalam ge-en-ge-e, "nose rope making the land firm," and šibir ùĝ lu-a, "shepherds staff making nations abundant" (lines 18–22).

The god Nanna appears in hymns Rim-Sin D, E, F and G, often together with Ningal. These two deities act as bestowers of nam-lugal "kingship" (Rim-Sin E, line 74; Rim-Sin G, line 27) or other royal attributes (Rim-Sin G, line 28).

Interestingly, the king never used the title *king of Ur* in his royal inscriptions; but in the royal hymns, the situation is different. There are two titles with geographical correlation in Rīm-Sîn I's hymns. They are lugal uri₅^{KI}-ma (Rim-Sin G, line 20) and lugal ki-ùr-ra (Rim-Sin G, line 29). It may signify some continuity with the royal praise poetry of Ur III period. At the same time, hymns

never mentioned Rīm-Sîn I as *king of Larsa*. The hymn Rīm-Sîn C (lines 5–6) has the only reference to Larsa, but it does not constitute a part of a royal title. It says: larsa^{KI}-ma kur SA₄ me nam-nun-na dé-a nam-sipa ki-en-gi ki-uri-šè zid-de-eš pàd-da-me-en “in Larsa, the mountain..., pouring ME of princeliness, for the shepherdship over Sumer and Akkad he was truly chosen.” According to this passage, it is not Nippur but Larsa that was connected with the idea of authority over Sumer and Akkad.

I do not analyze *poetic petitions to the king* quantitatively in the limits of this dissertation because these texts were not composed for official rituals or court ceremonies. On the contrary, royal hymns are supposed to be used on such occasions. However, I will mention one *poetic petition* to Rīm-Sîn in the framework of the qualitative analysis because it is important for the discussion of the royal deification practice. The text *Ninšatapada to Rīm-Sîn* (Brisch 2007, 246–253) has two indirect markers of the king’s divinity which differ qualitatively from the markers in royal hymns. This composition directly compares Rīm-Sîn with the sun god Šamaš as a just judge (line 6) and describes Rīm-Sîn as dumu tu-da en ^dnergal-ta šà-ta nam-gal-ta, “son born by Nergal from his heart in greatness” (line 11). In my view, *poetic petitions to the king* can be compared with *subject-addresser* texts. Both types of texts address the king and represent the point of view of the king’s subjects. Both *poetic petitions to the king* and *subject-addresser* texts referring to Rīm-Sîn use the topos of royal divinity more freely than proper royal inscriptions or hymns. Note that the percentage of texts with DINGIR in front of Rīm-Sîn’s name among the *subject-addresser* texts is much higher than among his other royal inscriptions. The same is true for divinity markers in *poetic petitions to the king* and *royal hymns*.

II. 6.3.1.16. Rīm-Sîn II

Rīm-Sîn II is a name of a Larsa citizen, likely from the royal family. During the 8th regnal year of Samsu-iluna, this person instigated a revolt against Babylon. He was an independent ruler for two years. Around the 10th regnal year of Samsu-iluna, the king of Babylon regained control over Larsa. Only four *subject-addresser* texts are known for Rīm-Sîn II. The determinative DINGIR modifies his name in all four inscriptions. However, there are no other *direct or indirect divinity markers* in these texts. No royal hymns of Rīm-Sîn II are known.

II. 6.3.2. Static-Relative analysis of the OB Larsa texts

I analyze 186 royal inscriptions from 13 kings to define characteristics of the OB Larsa royal ideology. Three kings (Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-irībam and Sîn-iqīšam) have names beginning with a theonymic component. Accordingly, it is unclear if DINGIR in front of their names was to mark the divinity of kings or just an obligatory marker before the theonym part. As most kings of Larsa do not use the determinative DINGIR, it is unlikely that these three kings claimed divine status. However, I count their inscriptions separately to accurately present data (these

texts will be abbreviated DINGIR+). 42 royal inscriptions employ the determinative DINGIR to mark the king's divine status (22,6% of the total). Additionally, there are 39 DINGIR+ royal inscriptions (20,9%). Combined, it makes 43,5 % of the total number of inscriptions for this period. On the other hand, 105 inscriptions do not have DINGIR before the king's name (56,5% of the total). The royal inscriptions from OB Larsa demonstrate a considerably smaller number of texts with DINGIR compared with texts of OB Isin or Ur III periods.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 11 inscriptions (6% of total). No DINGIR texts. 1 DINGIR+ text (9% of the group).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 70 inscriptions (38% of total). 11 DINGIR texts (16% of the group). 15 DINGIR+ texts (21%).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 6 inscriptions (3% of total). 1 DINGIR text (17% of the group). 1 DINGIR+ text (17%).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 92 inscriptions (49% of total). 29 DINGIR texts (32% of the group). 18 DINGIR+ texts (20%).

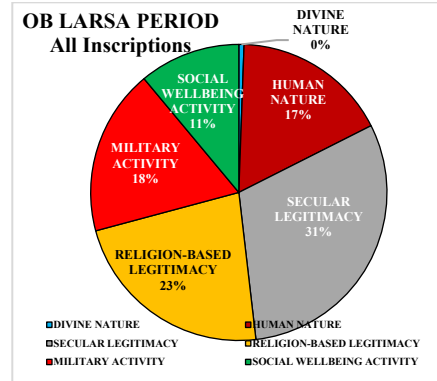
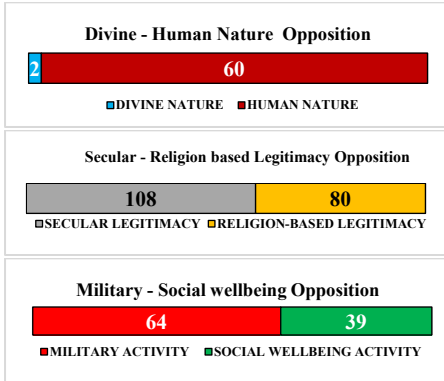
Additionally, 7 inscriptions²⁴⁸ (4%) do not fit any target text category. These texts will be counted only in the analysis by all royal inscriptions. One of them is DINGIR+ text; there are no DINGIR inscriptions.

The total number of quantitatively analyzed OB Isin period royal praise poetry compositions is 19 texts. They are known for five kings. Two compositions (Sîn-iddinam C and Rīm-Sîn A) will be grouped neither as *king-praising* nor *deity-praising* hymn. Classification of other texts is also tentative, but these two compositions cannot fit the defined categories (Brisch 2007, 47, 57–58). I do not analyze quantitatively *poetic petitions to the kings* because these texts probably were not composed for official rituals or court ceremonies. As noted by Brisch, the number of *king-praising* compositions among the hymns referring to Larsa kings is significantly smaller than for the kings of Ur III or Isin dynasties (ibid., 72–73). It also reflects a certain change in the self-representation of kings. Larsa rulers were uncomfortable praising themselves as great heroes like Ur III kings used to do.

	Number of poetic compositions: 19	Deity-praising (Type A): 14	King-praising (Type B): 3
Gungunum	2 compositions	2 compositions	-
Sîn-iddinam	5 compositions	1 composition	3 compositions
Sîn-iqīšam	1 composition	1 composition	-
Warad-Sîn	2 compositions	2 compositions	-
Rīm-Sîn I	9 compositions	8 compositions	-

²⁴⁸ RIME 4.2.5. 4; RIME 4.2.9. 8; RIME 4.2.13. 8, 17, 28, 29; RIME 4.2.14. 14.

II. 6.3.2.1. All royal inscriptions



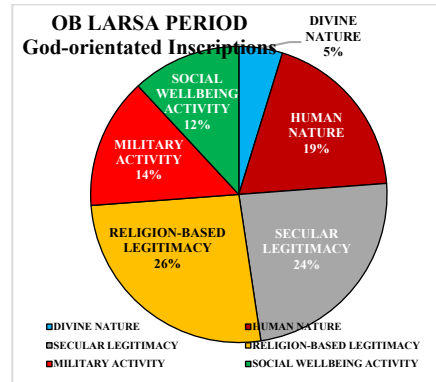
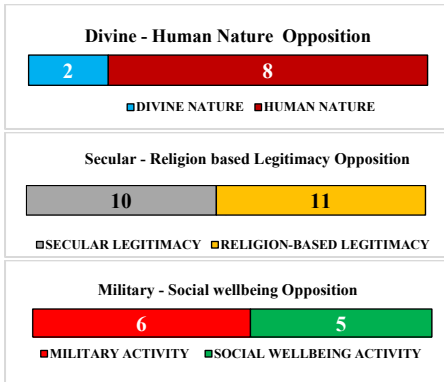
Divine nature epithets are almost absent in inscriptions from Larsa (2 inscription [1% of the total]). The only type of markers employed in these texts is a claim for divine origin. In one case it is origin from Adad (Sîn-iddinam) and in another from Ninhursag (Rīm-Sîn I). On the other hand, *human nature* epithets are numerous (60 inscriptions [32%]). Most of these epithets are references to human relatives of the king; five royal inscriptions describe creation of the king (Kudur-Mabuk and Rīm-Sîn I) by a deity (Nergal).

The proportion between texts with *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets is about 1,3:1. *Secular-based* legitimacy epithets appear in 108 inscriptions (58% of the total), while *religion-based legitimacy* epithets in 80 (44%). For both epithet groups, most texts are without the determinative DINGIR in front of the king's name. Out of 108 texts with *secular-based* legitimacy epithets, 67 inscriptions have no DINGIR (62% of the epithet group total). Out of 80 texts with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets 50 inscriptions have no DINGIR before the royal name (62%).

The *military activity* epithets appear in 64 texts (34% of the total). Actual description of military activity appears only in 19 texts (30% of the epithet group total); other texts have only general praise of the king as a powerful and skilled warrior. *Military activity* epithets are more frequent than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (39 texts [21% of the total]). Especially numerous are the references to various secular building projects (30 texts [77% of the epithet group total]).

The most frequently used royal title is lugal “king” (89 texts [48% of the total]). The second most frequent title is sipa “shepherd” (27 texts (15%). Also, the title nun “prince” has a relatively high frequency (19 texts [10%]). Some texts employ such titles as énsi “ruler,” and engar “farmer,” but their frequency in texts is low.

II. 6.3.2.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



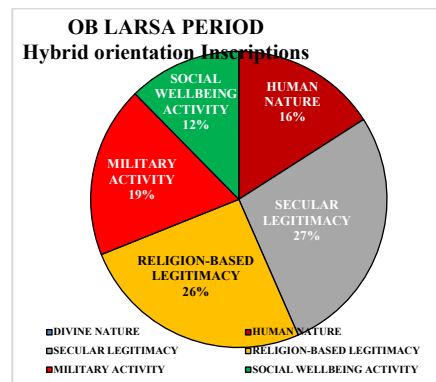
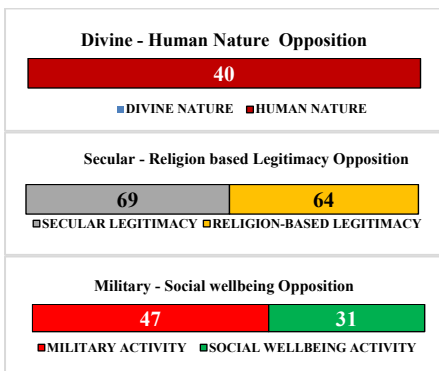
There are no *god-orientated* royal inscriptions with DINGIR modifying the royal name. However, *divine nature* epithets appear exclusively in *god-orientated* inscriptions. As mentioned above, two texts (18% of the text group total) have claims for the divine origin from Adad and Ninhursag. Still, the proportion of *human nature* epithets is higher (8 texts [73%]). Only one *god-orientated* royal inscription (12% of the text epithet group total) describe creation of the king (Rīm-Sîn I) by a deity (Nergal).

The frequency of *secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets is almost equal. The latter group is only slightly more frequent (11 texts [100% of the text group total], than *secular legitimacy* epithets group (10 texts [91%]).

The frequency of *military activity* and *social-wellbeing activity* epithets is also almost balanced. *Military activity* epithets appear in 6 texts (54% of the text group total), while *social-wellbeing activity* epithets in 5 texts (45%). Actual descriptions of a military activity appear only in two texts (33% of the text epithet group total).

The frequency of the titles lugal and sipa is the same: six inscriptions (54% of the text group total). The title nun appears in four texts (36%) and énsi appears in one inscription (9%).

II. 6.3.2.3. Hybrid orientation royal inscriptions



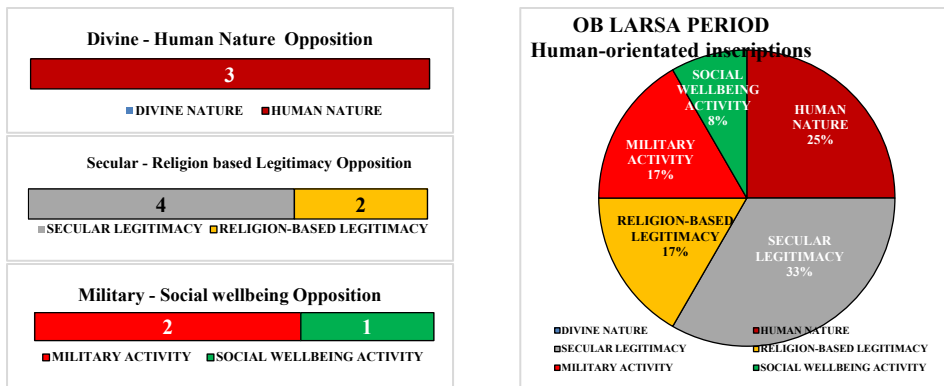
No *divine nature* epithets appear in OB Larsa *hybrid orientation* inscriptions. The *human-nature* epithets are numerous (40 inscriptions [57% of the text group total]). Among them, only one text mentions a king's creation by a deity (2% of the text epithet group total); 18 texts describe a king's personal physical qualities (45%). The dominant part of *human-orientated* epithets refers to a king's ancestry or siblings (31 inscriptions [77%]).

The *secular-* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets have almost equal frequency. Texts with *secular legitimacy* epithets (69 texts [98% of the text group total]) are slightly more frequent than those with *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (64 texts [91%]).

Texts with *military activity* epithets (47 texts [67% of the text group total]) are more frequent than texts with *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (31 texts [44%]). Only 15 texts have actual descriptions of military activities (32% of the text epithet group total). At the same time, secular building projects are reflected in 25 texts (81% of the text epithet group total).

The most frequently used royal title is lugal (57 texts – 81% of the text group total). The second most frequent title is sipa (21 texts – 30%). The royal title nun appears in 9 texts (13%). The frequency of the royal titles énsi and engar in the *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions is insignificant.

II. 6.3.2.4. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



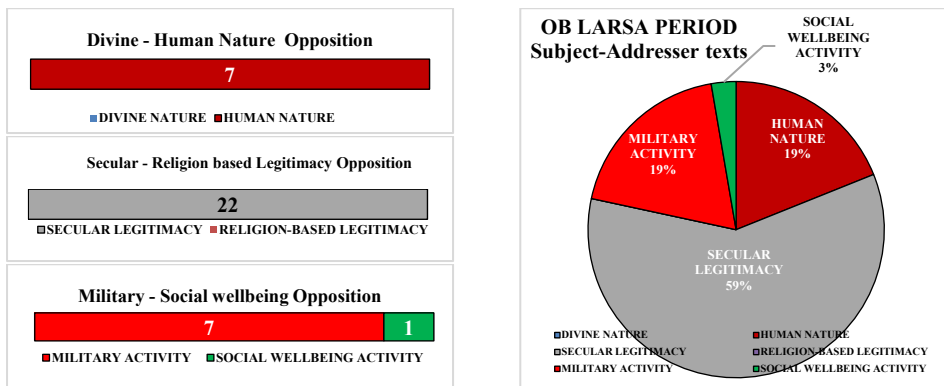
There are no *divine nature* epithets in the OB Larsa *human-orientated* inscriptions. Three inscriptions have *human-nature* epithets (50% of the text group total), which include only texts referring to some human relatives of the king.

Four texts have *secular legitimacy* epithets (66% of the text group total), and only two texts have *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (33%). Therefore, the disproportion between the two epithets groups in *human-orientated* inscriptions is higher than in *god-orientated* or *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions.

Two texts have *military activity* epithets (33% of the text group total) and only one has *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (17%). One text mentions actual military activity of the king (50% of the text epithet group total).

The frequency of the titles *lugal* and *nun* is the same (2 texts [33% of the text group total]). The title *sipa* (the second most frequent royal title in the royal inscriptions from Larsa) is absent in the *hyman-orientated* royal inscriptions.

II. 6.3.2.5. Subject-addresser inscriptions



Divine-nature and *religion-based* legitimacy epithets are absent from the *subject-addresser* OB Larsa inscriptions. The proportion of the *human nature* and *military activity* epithets is equal but surprisingly small. Epithets of both groups appear only in seven texts (8% of the text group total). The *military-activity* epithets do not include any actual descriptions of battles. 22 texts have *secular legitimacy* epithets (24%). The *social-wellbeing* epithets are found only in one text (1%).

Like in the *hyman-orientated* inscriptions, only the royal titles *lugal* and *nun* appear in the *subject-addresser* texts. The title *lugal* appear in 21 inscriptions (23% of the text group total) and *nun* in 3 texts (3%).

II. 6.3.3. Royal hymns

Direct divinity markers are absent from the analyzed poetic compositions praising OB Larsa kings. The indirect sacredness markers appear only in hymns of two kings, *Sîn-iddinam* and *Rīm-Sîn I*. It corresponds with the data from the royal inscriptions. Only these two kings have markers of sacredness in their royal inscriptions.

	Direct markers	Indirect markers
Sîn-iddinam (5 compositions)	–	1 composition (20 %)
Rīm-Sîn I (9 compositions)	–	2 compositions (22%)

The fact that only Sîn-iddinam and Rīm-Sîn I have markers of sacredness in hymns corresponds with the data from the royal inscriptions. Only these two kings have markers of sacredness in their royal inscriptions. However, these markers differ. In the royal inscriptions the kings claimed divine origin, but in the hymns they mention only control over the divine powers ME.

The following part employs data from the thematic analysis of poetic compositions by lines.

Royal hymns of Gungunum have no epithets of special topics. About 60% of relevant lines represent the king as favorable to gods. 20% of lines represent him as reverent to gods and 20% lines have general praise of the king.

The *indirect divinity markers* in the poetic compositions praising Sîn-iddinam are not frequent (2,3% of the related data). All these markers appear exclusively in *king-praising* compositions. The most frequent special topic in compositions praising Šū-ilīšu is *military activity* (7,8%). It is followed by the topos of the king's wisdom (6,3%).

Sîn-iqīšam has left only one *deity-praising* composition. Unfortunately, the relevant data is too small; therefore, the results of analysis might be unreliable. According to the analysis results, this text differs from other hymns from Larsa. It pays great attention to the king's *temple-building activity* (28,6% of the related data) and to the topic related to it about the *god's communication* with the king, with the description of god's command to build the temple (35,7). Description of the king's *military activity* is also essential (14,3%). Interestingly, the *temple-building* topic had similarly high importance only in the royal hymns of Gudea (15,1%). For other kings who have left royal hymns, this number never exceeds 8%.

Two deity-praising hymns of Warad-Sîn demonstrate a great importance of the justice topos among other special topics (33,3% of the related data). However, the relevant data is too small; therefore, the analysis results might be unreliable. One of the two hymns have the determinative DINGIR in front of the kings's name.

Rīm-Sîn I has left nine royal hymns. The frequency of the *indirect divinity markers* in these texts is not high (1,2% of the related data). Rīm-Sîn I like his brother Warad-Sîn receives the determinative DINGIR in his hymns. Moreover, the determinative appears in the manuscripts of most of his hymns. As far as relevant data is abundant, the analysis results should be reliable. In general, Rīm-Sîn I's hymns are very similar to that of Gungunum and Sîn-Iddinam. No specific pattern of king-praising can be established. Descriptions of *divine favor* have prime importance (54,6%). *General titles* of the king have 26,3% of the relevant data. *King's reverence to gods* is the third-largest topic (12,4% of the relevant data). Among the specific topics, the topos of justice is the largest but still has a low frequency (3,2%). The second would be the topos of military activities (2%) and the third one is the topos of *temple-building activity* (0,8%).

II. 6.3.4. Conclusions for OB Larsa

The texts of OB Larsa kings differ in the way they explain rulers' nature from the texts of Ur III or OB Isin rulers. Shortly, there is no evidence of any permanent ideology of royal deification. It is especially evident from the absence of *direct divinity markers* and the low frequency of *indirect markers* in royal inscriptions and hymns. It seems as if the divine status had lost its religious importance for the kings of Larsa. It also corresponds with the absence of references to the *sacred marriage* in royal inscriptions and hymns. The topos of *divine origin* appears only in a small number of royal inscriptions and is absent from royal hymns. Royal hymns use exclusive claims for the control over divine power ME as the only *indirect divinity marker*. There are no comparisons with other deities or claims for family relationships with them.

The first king of Larsa who formally claimed divinity was Sūmû-El. The determinative DINGIR modifies his name in 30% of his royal inscriptions; however, it never appears in year names. The small percentage of DINGIR texts is an argument for the absence of any established practice of Sūmû-El's deification. Especially important is that *subject-addresser* texts *en masse* omit the determinative. As mentioned above, Sūmû-El concentrated his activity around Ur, not Larsa. In this regard, introducing the determinative DINGIR with the king's name seems to be a part of this policy. However, unlike Ur III kings, Sūmû-El never claimed divine origin, marital status with a deity, or semi-divine heroic nature.

The next king, Nūr-Adad had DINGIR in 12% of his texts. It demonstrates that royal divinity was not a mainstream element of his royal ideology. Nūr-Adad never had DINGIR in his year names. According to Hallo, Nūr-Adad looked at Lagaš and its royal ideology as an example (Hallo 1973, 71). However, unlike Lagaš rulers, Nūr-Adad claimed the title lugal "king," not énsi "ruler"; he also never referred to the divine origin. One can speculate that the determinative DINGIR in some Nūr-Adad's inscriptions was an element of titulary rather than a sign of real deification.

Sîn-iddinam claimed divine descentance from Adad in his royal inscriptions and control over divine powers ME in his royal hymns. As was discussed above, the claim for divine origin may hint at an identification of the king's father, Nūr-Adad, and god Adad. One can even speculate about the engendering of Sîn-iddinam during the rite in which his human father would be identified with Adad. However, no textual proof for such assumptions exists. Moreover, even if Sîn-iddinam enjoyed divine status due to his divine origin, other kings of Larsa seldom pretended to be related to gods by birth. Therefore, even if this model for the royal divine status explanation was realized in Sîn-iddinam's time, it was abandoned later.

The two next kings of Larsa whose names begin with the theonymic component (Sîn-irībam and Sîn-iqīšam) were most likely not deified. This is because they have neither *direct* nor *indirect markers* of divinity in texts.

The king Šillī-Adad, who reigned after them, had no DINGIR in front of his name in his royal inscription. It also supports the understanding that there was no established tradition of royal deification by his time.

Kudur-Mabuk was not deified. At least in his royal inscriptions, he never has the determinative DINGIR or any markers of divinity.

Warad-Sîn has no markers of divinity in his royal inscriptions or hymns. However, he has the determinative DINGIR preceding his name in one inscription and one hymn. This indicates a non-standard practice of his deification.

Rīm-Sîn I explicitly claimed divine status. It is usually assumed that he was deified about his 20th regnal year after a victory over Uruk or Nippur. However, as was mentioned above, some administrative texts of his first regnal year already have the determinative DINGIR with the king's name. Therefore, it is not evident if he was deified or just intensified his claims for some reason. One such theoretical reason, in addition to the military successes over Uruk and Nippur, could be his marriage with Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu, a princess from Isin, who was a daughter of divine Sîn-māgir. Rīm-Sîn I claimed divine origin from Ninhursag in his inscriptions, which could signify his military strength. However, he only claimed control over divine powers ME in his royal hymns.

All groups of texts share the reluctance to mention *the divine nature* of the king. The only two examples appear in the *god-orientated* royal inscriptions. On the contrary, *human-nature* epithets are well visible in the *god-* and *human-orientated* royal inscriptions. References to royal ancestry became an essential element of royal inscriptions. Surprisingly, *subject-addresser* texts show little interest to the king's ancestry as a source of legitimacy. The frequency of any *human-nature* epithets in this group of inscriptions is low.

No *religion-based legitimacy* epithets are found in the *subject-addresser* texts, but there is almost always a balance between *secular-* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets in other groups of texts. It may be an argument for the great importance of the divine approval topos in the traditional ideology pronounced by royal inscriptions and the absence of its importance for the royal court.

There is almost always a balance between the *social-wellbeing* and *military activity* epithets in the *god-*, *hybrid-* and *human-orientated* royal inscriptions. *Military activity* epithets significantly outnumber *social-wellbeing activity* epithets only in the *subject-addresser* texts.

The frequency of the title lugal in the *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions is high (81%). However, it is surprisingly low for the *subject-addresser* inscriptions (only 23%). The title lugal has become optional as a marker of royal status, especially in the *subject-addresser* texts. The personal name of a king already marked his status in those texts. In the *god-orientated* inscriptions, the title lugal has the same frequency as the title sipa (54%), and in the *human-orientated* inscriptions, it has the same frequency as the title nun (33%). The title lugal preserves its firm positions only in *hybrid orientation* inscriptions. It can relate to the Amorite origin of Larsa kings and their estrangement from the previous Ur III – Isin royal writing tradition.

II. 6.4. The first dynasty of Babylon

In the Old Babylonian period, the city of Babylon was subsequently ruled by 11 kings. None of them ever used the determinative DINGIR with his name in the official royal inscriptions; however, royal hymns did praise at least one king with the determinative.

II. 6.4.1.1. Sūmû-abum

Sūmû-abum (about 1894–1881 BC) was an influential Amorite chief in Southern Mesopotamia. For a long time, he was regarded as the founder of the first Babylon dynasty and its first king (Frayne 1990, 323). However, the fact that Sūmû-abum and Sumu-la-El (previously regarded as Sūmû-abum's successor in Babylon) were contemporary rulers together with other evidence has convinced researchers that Sūmû-abum did not rule in Babylon (Goddeeris 2011–13a, 300–301). Rients de Boer recently proposed that Sūmû-abum was a pan-tribal Amorite military leader. Sumu-la-El and other Amorite rulers of different Mesopotamian cities were subordinated to Sūmû-abum. Boer proposed that both Sūmû-abum and the first king of Babylon Sumu-la-El allied with the king of Isin, Erra-imittī, and helped him to attack Kazallu around 1864 BC. Because of this cooperation, Erra-imittī granted Kisurra to Sūmû-abum. Sūmû-abum reigned in Kisurra for a brief period, probably less than a year. He either died or was exiled from the city. It is also possible that Sūmû-abum betrayed Erra-imittī and brought about his death. He even could become a king of Isin for a short time (Boer 2018, 55–74).

Only one *subject-addresser* text is known for Sūmû-abum. There is no determinative DINGIR in front of Sūmû-abum's name or other divinity markers. Some year names from Kisurra referred to a certain Sūmû-abum with the determinative DINGIR.²⁴⁹ Boer identified this Sūmû-abum as the chief leader of Amorites. Sūmû-abum from Kisurra might have emulated Isin royal ideology by using DINGIR in front of his name. However, as mentioned above, no other markers of divinity survive in the texts referring to Sūmû-abum. Therefore, it is unlikely that behind this emulation was any real praise of Sūmû-abum as a deity. The king has left no royal hymns.

II. 6.4.1.2. Sumu-la-El

Sumu-la-El (about 1880–1845 BC), the first king of Babylon, reigned for about 36 years. According to Anne Goddeeris, the reign of Sumu-la-El can be divided into two parts. Sumu-la-El acted alongside other Amorite rulers in northern Babylonia until his 25th regnal year. After this year, mentions of other rulers disappear from the written record. This shift coincides with some reorganization of the Babylonian cities and a cancellation of debts (Goddeeris 2011–13b, 305).

²⁴⁹ CDLI, P300011, rev. 11. For another example, see Boer 2014, 463.

Sumu-la-El enlarged the territory of Babylon. He incorporated the cities of Kiš, Kutha, Marad, Sippar, and Kazallu into his kingdom. Sumu-la-El maintained good relations with Uruk, as evident from his daughter Šallurtum's marriage with Sîn-kāšid (Boer 2014, 262–268).

Sumu-la-El has left three *subject-addresser* texts. These texts have no divinity markers or DINGIR in front of the king's name. Year names also never refer to Sumu-la-El as a deified ruler. Sumu-la-El has left no royal hymns.

II. 6.4.1.3. Sabium

Sabium (1844–1831 BC) reigned for about fourteen years. He was victorious in a confrontation with Larsa in the first half of his reign. Some documents from Nippur bear his 9th regnal year name, which hints at his control of the city at that time. Sabium destroyed the walls of Kazallu about his 11th regnal year. He also supported Uruk in its military affairs (Charpin 2004, 113–114).

Five *subject-addresser* texts of Sabium have survived. They have no DINGIR with the king's name or other divinity markers. One text has the royal title lugal “king.” Year names also never mention the king as a deity. Still one year name starts with mu ^dutu ^dmarduk sa-bu-um ù uru^{KI} zimbir “Year Šamaš, Marduk, Sabium and the city of Sippar ...”²⁵⁰ The king stands in one line with Šamaš and Marduk as equal. Also, the name Sabium appeared in some *kyriophore* names, the most interesting example is *Sabium-ilī* “Sabium is my god.”²⁵¹ The fact that Sabium has no divinity markers in the analyzed *subject-addresser* texts or year names proves that there was no standardized practice of his praise as a divinity during his lifetime. However, it is also true that on the unofficial level, there should have been some identification of the king with a deity, as the mentioned *kyriophore* name proves. Sabium has left no royal hymns.

II. 6.4.1.4. Apil-Sîn

Apil-Sîn (1830–1813 BC) was the next king in Babylon. He reigned for 18 years, however not much is known about his reign. Apil-Sîn significantly enlarged the territory of his kingdom to the area around Tigris which created a decades-long confrontation with Ešnunna. His progression was accompanied by building projects. He established a fort Dûr-Apil-Sîn not far from Sippar and restored Kâr-Šamaš on Tigris (Charpin 2004, 114–116).

No royal inscriptions or hymns have survived for this king. However, relatively many year names are extant. At least in thirteen *data formulae*, the king's name is intact (plus some variants of the same year names). Apil-Sîn never had the determinative DINGIR in his year names with one exception: mu íd-da ^da-

²⁵⁰ See year name *a*. CDLI, *Year names/ Sabium*

²⁵¹ For example, see CDLI, *P479416*, rev. 3

pil-^den.zu-hé-gál mu-un-ba-al “Year he dug the canal *Divine Apil-Sin is abundance*.”²⁵²

II. 6.4.1.5. Sîn-muballit

Sîn-muballit (1812–1793 BC) reigned for 20 years. As year names demonstrate, Sîn-muballit won a battle against Larsa about his 14th regnal year and even conquered Isin about his 17th regnal year. Sîn-muballit acted in coalition with the king of Uruk Anam as documented in royal correspondence (Charpin 2004, 121–122).

Sîn-muballit has left no royal inscriptions or hymns; however, many of his year names are extant. It is impossible to distinguish if the king claimed divine status; his name starts with the theonymic component preceded by the determinative DINGIR. There are no other divinity markers in these year names that may hint at the king’s deification.

II. 6.4.1.6. Ḫammu-rāpi

The sixth king of Babylon was Ḫammu-rāpi (1792–1750 BC). In his first regnal years, Ḫammu-rāpi allied with Assyrian king Šamši-Adad and defeated Malgium. After the death of Šamši-Adad in 1775 BC, Ḫammu-rāpi confronted Elamites invading southern Mesopotamia over the control of trading routes. Ḫammu-rāpi counted on the help of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa in this conflict. However, Rīm-Sîn was reluctant to act. Ḫammu-rāpi had to ally with Zimrī-Līm of Mari to defeat Elamites (Charpin 2004, 213–226).

In revenge for Rīm-Sîn’s reluctance to fight Elamites, Ḫammu-rāpi, with the help of troops from Mari, conquered Larsa in 1763 BC. This event demonstrated to all political opponents of Ḫammu-rāpi his strength. After this campaign, relations between Babylon and Mari worsened; Ḫammu-rāpi probably played an active role in the region of Sendjar, which was the territory of Mari’s interests. Ḫammu-rāpi defeated Ešnunna and later Mari. Thus, by the 35th regnal year, Ḫammu-rāpi united Babylonia and some parts of Assyria. At the end of his reign, Ḫammu-rāpi abdicated from the throne because of an illness (Sasson 1995, 911). It could also relate to some catastrophic natural cataclysm that likely occurred at that time (Charpin 2004, 317–335).

Ḫammu-rāpi has left forty-five royal inscriptions. The determinative DINGIR never precedes the king’s name in those texts.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 2 inscriptions (4% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 14 inscriptions (31% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 4 inscriptions (9% of total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 22 inscriptions (49% of total).

²⁵² See year name 7a. CDLI, *Year names/ Apil-Sin*

Additionally, 3 inscriptions (7%) cannot be included in any of the categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions.

Two texts have *direct divinity markers*. The text RIME 4.3.6.10 names Ḫammu-rāpi diġir kalam-ma “god of the land” (line 1). The text has survived only in a later copy. It is the beginning of a royal inscription, which could not be classified due to its fragmentary character. A similar title, *ilu šarrī* “god of the kings,” appears in the Ḫammu-rāpi’s Law Code (RIME 4.3.6.add 21, line 152). Ḫammu-rāpi clearly defines himself as a semi-divine protector using the phrase *ina lamassiya iḫḫiṣā* “they (the people of Sumer and Akkad) prospered in the view of my protective spirit” (lines 3196’–3197’), which has a close parallel in Šulgi’s title ^dlamma. The protective responsibilities of Ḫammu-rāpi were not limited to Babylon; they were as vast as the borders of his kingdom.

Three *indirect markers of sacredness* appear in the inscriptions. The first marker appears in the *Sippar cones*; it is a statement that Ḫammu-rāpi’s name will be remembered by his people like that of a god (RIME 4.3.6.2 [Sumerian and Akkadian versions²⁵³], line 77 in both versions). The second marker is a comparison between Ḫammu-rāpi and Šamaš appearing in the Law Code (RIME 4.3.6.add 21, lines 40–42, 282–287). The third marker is the epithet *talīm Zababa* “beloved brother of Zababa,” which also appears in the Law Code (lines 122–123). According to the same text, Zababa was the first-born son of Enlil (lines 3526’–3529’); therefore, the sibling-relationship with Zababa puts the king in the position of Enlil’s son. Additionally, Ḫammu-rāpi used the title *migir telītum* “beloved of the able one” (lines 184–185), where *telītum* is Ištar. It could be a hint of marital status; however, royal inscriptions have no direct references to Ḫammu-rāpi as any deity’s spouse.

The most frequent royal titles of Ḫammu-rāpi are as follows:

1. lugal kalag or *šarrum dannum* “strong king” (for example, RIME 4.3.6.8, line 2).
2. lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄ or *šar kibrāt arba’im* “king of the four quarters of the world” (for example, RIME 4.3.6.13, line 5).
3. lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri or *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi* “king of Sumer and Akkad” (for example, RIME 4.3.6.8, line 5).
4. lugal da-ga-an kur mar-tu “king of the whole land of Amorites” (for example, RIME 4.3.6.8, line 4).
5. lugal ká-diġir-ra^{KI} or *šar Babili* “king of Babylon” (for example, RIME 4.3.6.8, line 3).

²⁵³ I count Sumerian and Akkadian version of RIME 4.3.6.2 as two separate inscriptions.

In a relatively smaller number of texts, there also appear titles like *en/bēlum* “lord,” *nun/rubûm* “prince,” *nir/etellum* “authoritative,” and *sipa/re’ûm* “shepherd”²⁵⁴.

Ḫammu-rāpi never claimed the status of *lugal* “king” in Ur, Isin, or Larsa. As the winner in the confrontation with Rīm-Sîn I, Ḫammu-rāpi had all possibilities to claim these titles and continuity from the Ur III kings; however, he did not. Therefore, Ḫammu-rāpi likely did not want to legitimize himself as an heir of the neo-Sumerian tradition or Larsa kings.

Ḫammu-rāpi has the title *lugal ursaĝ* “king-hero” in some inscriptions (for example, RIME 4.3.6.4, line 3). The epithet *ursaĝ* is rare in royal inscriptions from Isin and Larsa and never appears in combination with *lugal*. It hints that personal military prowess became a more important topos in Ḫammu-rāpi’s inscriptions than it was before. Also, in some texts, the king has the title *an-ub-ta limmu₂-ba ka téš-a sig₁₀-ge* “one pacifying four quarters” (RIME 4.3.6.9, lines 7–8) or *šar muštešmi kibrāt arba’im* “the king bringing to agreement four quarters” (RIME 4.3.6.7, lines 4–5). The idea of pacifying stands in some relation to the four quarters’ uprising expressed in the texts of Narām-Sîn. Marc Van De Mieroop noticed that Ḫammu-rāpi represented himself mainly as the *šar mīšarim*, “king of justice” in his Law Code. According to Mieroop, Ḫammu-rāpi’s military strength “have been downplayed by Hammurabi, who in the Louvre stele focused on his justice” (Mieroop 2011, 306–307). From the perspective of the quantitative analysis, I will argue that *military activity* epithets appear two times more in the royal inscriptions (21 texts) than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (11 texts). Therefore, the topos of an able warrior still was more important than the image of a just king in Ḫammu-rāpi’s royal inscriptions in general.

Today Ḫammu-rāpi is mostly famous for his Law Code. The Law Code of Ḫammu-rāpi is also the text with the most concentration of both *direct* and *indirect markers* of divinity. However, at the same time, the determinative *DIŠ* stressing the human nature of the king always appears in all six mentions of Ḫammu-rāpi’s name in the Code (lines 28, 50, 3146’, 3152’, 3257’, 3332’). In my view, it indicates that Ḫammu-rāpi’s status differed from that of Ur and Isin kings, who almost always had the determinative *DINGIR* preceding their names. Ḫammu-rāpi has divinity markers but, at the same time, stresses his human nature.

According to the first part of the Law Code, gods An and Enlil granted kingship to Marduk in Babylon (lines 1–26). Ḫammu-rāpi got his authority (*šumī ibbû* “my name he called”) by Marduk and (*re’ûm nibût* “shepherd called”) by Enlil (lines 27–53). Jack Sasson proposed that Ḫammu-rāpi’s Law Code reflects a new ideology of *nam-lugal da-rí*, “the eternal kingship.” Ḫammu-rāpi introduced the epithet *numun da-rí-a nam-lugal-a* “eternal seed of kingship.”²⁵⁵ In

²⁵⁴ For *en*: see texts RIME 4.3.6. 2 Sumerian (line 13), 2 Akkadian (14–15), 3(16), 7(13), 14 Sumerian (19), 14 Akkadian (15’), 16(24), 17(22), add21(160, 3258’). For *nun*: RIME 4.3.6. 2 Sumerian (line 5), 2 Akkadian (6), 3(7), 16(11), add21(29, 191, 240), add23(4), 2004(4). For *nir*: RIME 4.3.6. add21, line 206; For *sipa*: RIME 4.3.6. 3(line 8), 7(8), 14 Sumerian (8), 14 Akkadian (1’), 16(9), 17(13), add21(51, 253, 3186’).

²⁵⁵ For *numun da-rí-a*, see RIME 4.3.6. 10(line 6), 11(23), add21(279).

contrast to the ideology of *nam-lugal* passing from one city to another, as reflected in the Sumerian King List, the ideology of Ḫammu-rāpi implied that Babylon held eternal dominance over other cities. In the Prologue to his Code, Ḫammu-rāpi stated that the great gods favored him with kingship in the primordial times and made Babylon above all other cities (Sasson 1995, 901). However, references to the king's creation as a fate-conditioned and unique event are minimal in his royal inscriptions (only two texts: RIME 4.3.6.17[line 28] and add21 [lines 80–81, 236, 3487']).

Another central element of Ḫammu-rāpi's ideology was his demonstrative reverence towards all gods and their cities, described in detail in the Prologue to the Law Code (lines 27–271). Among other cities, Ḫammu-rāpi referred to Nippur (line 56), Eridu (line 64), Babylon (line 72), Ur (line 83), Sippar (line 91), Larsa (line 99), Isin (line 117), Kutha (line 139), Dilbat (line 156), Keš (line 168), Lagaš (line 177), Maškan-šāpir (line 211), Mari (line 238), Tuttul (line 239), and Nineveh (line 268). These geographic locations function as households of respective gods; Ḫammu-rāpi's authority results from his attention to these gods and their houses. Reverence to gods was not a new ideological message; however, it acquired an unprecedented importance in the Law Code. Ḫammu-rāpi represents himself as a provider of all central temples in his state, including those in cities recently hostile to him, such as Larsa.

In my view, the main source of Ḫammu-rāpi's legitimacy was his humble service toward all deities in the country. I believe that the repeated usage of the determinative DIŠ in the Law Code demonstrates that the king did not belong to the category of divine beings. Probably, the image of a humble servant required his exclusion from the divinity ranks. If so, it is still unclear if the *direct divinity markers* reflect some limited functional divinity; otherwise, they should be just mere epithets without any relation to lifetime deification.

According to the other royal inscriptions, gods An, Enlil, Šamaš, Inanna, and Marduk granted the king royal authority. There are no rules that regulate which gods granted which insignia. For example, *eškiri/šerratu* “nose-rope” as an insignia of royal authority over *kalam/mātu* was granted by Šamaš (RIME 4.3.6.14, lines 20–28), Enlil (RIME 4.3.6.3, lines 15–19; 17, lines 20–26) and by Enlil and An together (RIME 4.3.6.7, lines 10–16). Šamaš appeared as a bestower of *nam-lugal da-rí* “everlasting kingship,” in both the Sumerian (RIME 4.3.6.2. Sumerian ver., line 9) and Akkadian versions (line 10) of *Sippar cones*. The text RIME 4.3.6.7 mentions *emūqu gašru* “mighty power” (line 42) granted to the king by Marduk; It reminds of Enlil granting to Šulgi á mah “great power.”²⁵⁶ The only context of the goddess Ištar granting Ḫammu-rāpi a royal insignia is in the text RIME 4.3.6.16: *u₄ dⁱinanna geškim sa₆-ga-ni ki-en-gi ki-uri nam-en-bi ak-dè mu-na-an-šúm-ma* “the day Inanna her favorable omen of Sumer and Akkad for doing EN-ship she gave him” (lines 21–25). In

²⁵⁶ Akkadian *emūqu* is an equivalent of Sumerian á “power” (CAD E, 157). However, the word *gašru* cannot be translated as mah “great”; it is rather gir “mighty” (CAD G, 56).

different texts, ̒ammu-rāpi claimed to be ki-áĝ “beloved” of gods Ninlil, Marduk, Inanna, Aia, and Tutu. He also called himself še-ga “agreeing” with gods An, Enlil, Šamaš, Ištar, and other gods.²⁵⁷

̒ammu-rāpi’s name appeared as a part of *kyriophore* names. For example, Jack Sasson mentioned the name *̒ammurabi-bāni* “*Hammurabi is a creator*” (Sasson 1995, 913). It reflects the high respect of his subjects towards the king. However, *subject-addresser* texts analyzed here have no divinity markers.

Six Sumerian poetic compositions praising ̒ammu-rāpi are known today. Two texts are *king-praising* compositions (Hammurabi A, C), and four hymns are *deity-praising* (Hammurabi B, D, E, F). The hymn Hammurabi B surviving only in one manuscript has the determinative DINGIR in front of ̒ammu-rāpi’s name (line 13). All other poetic compositions do not have DINGIR with the king’s name. There are no *direct divinity markers* in hymns. *Indirect markers of sacredness* appear in three texts (Hammurabi A, B and D).

Hammurabi A survives only fragmentary. In segment C (line 10), it has me lugal-¹la-ke₄ “divine powers of the king” which should refer to ̒ammu-rāpi. According to the context, the divine powers are granted to the king by Enlil. In another fragment, divine powers appear in some relation to Inanna (segment A, line 23); probably, Inanna grants the powers to the king. Unfortunately, both contexts are broken and their actual value as *indirect markers* of ̒ammu-rāpi’s sacredness is disputable. According to the remaining lines, the hymn praised the king’s military successes. The hymn mentions gods Enki and Iškur granting nam-ur-saĝ “heroism” to ̒ammu-rāpi (Seg. A, lines 16, 21).

Hammurabi B is a short fragment of a prayer to Enki. As mentioned above, the only manuscript of the hymn has DINGIR in front of the king’s name. The only other *indirect marker* of sacredness is a request for Enki to grant ̒ammu-rāpi me nam-lugal-la “divine powers of kingship” (line 5). Enki has an appellative aya “father” (line 11) in the hymn. However, the hymns never explicitly describe the king’s divine origin. Hammurabi B describes the god Lugal-Šubur as the bestower of men edin-na nam-lugal-la “tiara of kingship over the steppe” (line 1). Enki is a bestower of nam-en-na “en-ship” (lines 4 and 12). The gods Nanna and Utu, often mentioned in poetic compositions from Larsa, never appear as bestowers of royal insignia in the surviving hymns of ̒ammu-rāpi.

Hammurabi D is a prayer to Marduk. According to the hymn, An, Enlil, and Enki called ̒ammu-rāpi the king in four quarters (line 14), while Asarluhi-Marduk probably granted the kingship in Babylon (lines 5–6). The only *indirect marker* of ̒ammu-rāpi’s sacredness in the hymn is his comparison with the gods Iškur and Girra (lines 20–21).

²⁵⁷ For ki-áĝ Ninlil: RIME 4.3.6. 3 (line 8); Marduk: RIME 4.3.6. 12(line 34), 14(8–9), 17(13–14); Inanna: RIME 4.3.6. 16(lines 11–12); Aia: RIME 4.3.6. 2(line 31); Tutu: RIME 4.3.6. add21(line 146). For še-ga An: RIME 4.3.6. 4(col.i, line 7); Enlil: RIME 4.3.6. 3(7); Šamaš: RIME 4.3.6. 2(line 5), 12(33), 14(7), 16(8), 17(11–12); Ištar: RIME 4.3.6. add21 (lines 184–185, 291); other gods: RIME 4.3.6. 7 (line 41).

The hymn Hammurabi F does not have any divinity markers. However, it refers to Inanna and probably discusses her as a source of the king's authority. Unfortunately, the text is damaged; therefore, no clear ideological message can be restored.

There are no references to Nippur or Ur in the surviving hymns. Royal praise poetry of Ḫammu-rāpi, as well as his royal inscriptions, hints that he did not try to become the heir of the Ur III or Larsa tradition.

II. 6.4.1.7. Samsu-iluna

Samsu-iluna (1749–1712 BC), a son of Ḫammu-rāpi, reigned for 38 years. The first years of his reign were relatively peaceful. However, in the 8th regnal year, a rebellion of southern cities under the leadership of Rīm-Sîn II of Larsa and Rīm-Anum from Uruk occurred. Samsu-iluna could not react immediately because of the invasion of Kassites in his 9th regnal year. After the defeat of Kassites, Samsu-iluna suppressed the rebels about his 10th regnal year (Charpin 2004, 335–343). The archives of Ur, Uruk, and Larsa became silent after Samsu-iluna's 12th regnal year (1737 BC). This fact indicates a gradual decline of the old Sumerian centers. This decline might cause a migration of the southern cities' citizens and a transfer of the most important cults to Babylonia.²⁵⁸ The priesthood of Uruk likely relocated to Kiš; elites of Larsa moved to Babylon. Next decade, Samsu-iluna fought in the North and West. About 1728 BC, Samsu-iluna destroyed Ešnunna and Šubat-Enlil. The king conquered Terqa about 1723 BC (Charpin 2004, 343–360). However, an unstable economic situation brought new difficulties. About 1721 BC, Samsu-iluna lost Isin, Nippur, and Lagaba. It was Ilī-ma-AN, the first king of the Sealand Dynasty, who likely dominated the Nippur area after 1721 BC. Babylonian authorities relocated some of Isin cults with their priesthood to Sippar; religious authorities of Nippur were moved to Babylon. Samsu-iluna lost control over southern Babylonia by the end of his reign. After Samsu-iluna's death, Babylon could not regain control over the southern cities of Uruk, Isin, and Larsa and was stuck in a rivalry with the Sealand dynasty.

Samsu-iluna has left 33 royal inscriptions. Only two *subject-addresser* texts (RIME 4.3.7. 2010 and 2014) have DINGIR in front the king's name (6% of the total).

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – no inscriptions.
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 10 inscriptions (30% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 1 inscription (3% of total).

²⁵⁸ The actual proportion of people who migrated to the North and stayed in the South is still being determined. It could be that only a small group of elites, which allied with Babylon migrated to the North. Then, the “general abandonment” can be an artificial narrative while southern cities remain inhabited. See Richardson 2018, 152–154.

- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 20 inscriptions (61% of total). 2 DINGIR texts (10 % of the group).

Additionally, 2 inscriptions (7%) cannot be included in any of the categories and will not be counted in the further analysis by the types of inscriptions.

The determinative DINGIR in two *subject-addresser* texts of Samsu-iluna can be interpreted as a marker before the theophoric element, the name of the sun god. Still, usage of the determinative in these two texts is unusual because of the syllabical writing of the name and absence of the determinative in other inscriptions.

Samsu-iluna does not have any *direct divinity markers* in his inscriptions. From the formal point of view, the most interesting *indirect marker* of Samsu-iluna's sacredness is his title numun da-rí diġir-e-ne-ke₄, "eternal seed of gods" in RIME 4.3.7.7 (Sumerian ver., 12"; Akkadian ver., 64). It is an implicit claim for divine origin. However, unlike such claims by the kings following the Ur III tradition, Samsu-iluna did not name any individual deity as his divine parent. Moreover, the title numun da-rí diġir-e-ne-ke₄ is a close parallel to Ḫammu-rāpi's numun da-rí-a nam-lugal-a "eternal seed of kingship." Therefore, in my view, Samsu-iluna's title is a variant of Ḫammu-rāpi's numun da-rí-a nam-lugal-a and transmits no actual pretense for the divine status or divine origin. There are two more *indirect sacredness markers* in Samsu-iluna's inscriptions. In the text RIME 4.3.7.7 (Akkadian ver., line 131), the king is called *talīmu* "(close or beloved) brother" of gods Ištar and Zababa. Another marker is a comparison between the king's *balaṭam*, "life, health," and that of gods Šamaš and Sîn. For example, the text RIME 4.3.7.7 (Akkadian ver., 132–134) asks for the king *balaṭam ša kīma ^dSîn u ^dŠamaš dārûm* "eternal life like that of Sîn and Šamaš." A similar context is in the RIME 4.3.7.5 (Akkadian ver., 70–72): *balaṭam ša kīma ^dSîn warḫišam uteddušu* "life that like of Sîn which monthly renews itself." In the same text, (Akkadian ver., line 77), gods granted Samsu-iluna *nizmat libbiya kīma ili kašādām* "achieving the desires of my heart like a god." The bilingual text RIME 4.3.7.5 mentions the goddess Ninmah (or Nin-hursaġ²⁵⁹) as *ama/ummu* "mother." However, it describes the king's creation with the verb *dīm/banû*, "to create," and not *tu/alādu*, "to give birth." Therefore, the passage cannot be regarded as a claim for divine origin.

The most frequent titles in Samsu-iluna's royal inscriptions are (for example, RIME 4.3.7.2, lines 2–4):

1. *šarrum dannum*, "strong king."
2. *šar Babilī*, "king of Babylon."
3. *Šar kibrāt arba'im*, "king of the four quarters of the world."

²⁵⁹ Ninmah is mentioned in the Akkadian text RIME 4.3.7.5 (Akkadian ver., lines 34–35), while Ninhursaġ in the Sumerian version RIME 4.3.7.5 (Sumerian ver., lines 36–37). Frayne 1990, 381.

Most often it is Marduk who acts as a bestower of authority or other favors in Samsu-iluna's royal inscriptions. For example, the text RIME 4.3.2.5 (Akkadian version, lines 18–19) depicts how the god Marduk *naphar mātatiṁ ana rē'īm iddinam* “the entirety of the lands for shepherdship he gave [to Samsu-iluna].” The second most frequently mentioned deity is Enlil. The text RIME 4.3.2.2 (lines 5–11) describes him as a bestower of royal authority in the following expression *inu Ellil kibrāt arba'im ana bēlim iddinuṣum ṣerrassina ana qātissu umallīma* “when Enlil the four quarters gave him for rule and their nose-rope gave handed over to him.”

Same as in the royal inscriptions of other OB Babylon kings, Ištar never appears as a spouse of the king. It demonstrates that the topos of the sacred marriage lost its significance for these kings. Ištar almost always appears together with the god Zababa. As mentioned above, Samsu-iluna claimed to be their *talīmu* “(close or beloved) brother.” Ištar grants Samsu-iluna favors but not directly the royal authority.

Same as his father, Samsu-iluna never mentioned the cities Nippur, Ur, Uruk, Isin, or Larsa in the context of his royal legitimacy. Samsu-iluna called one of his enemies *lugal ki-en-gi-ra* “king of Sumer” (RIME 4.3.7. add10, lines 45–46). It demonstrates that Samsu-iluna had no intention to copy the royal ideology of the Ur III tradition. Samsu-iluna refers to the city of Kiš in some texts. The text RIME 4.3.7.7 (Akkadian version, lines 117–119) says that *Samsu-iluna dannum in emūq ummānišu al Kiši ibni*, “Samsu-iluna, the mighty, with the power of his army built the city of Kiš.” The text RIME 4.3.7.6 (lines 9–13) refers to a restoration of the zikkurat of the gods Ištar and Zababa in Kiš. Reference to these two deities together may hint that they are regarded as a married couple. In the same text (lines 5–6), Samsu-iluna has the title *lugal kiš^{kl}-a*, “king of Kiš.” Therefore, one can say that control over Kiš replaced control over the traditional Sumerian religious center (Nippur and Ur at the first hand) as the basis of Samsu-iluna's legitimation.

Samsu-iluna did not stress his juridical functions. However, he vividly described his military successes.²⁶⁰ Like his father, Samsu-iluna used the epithet *ursaĝ*, “hero” (RIME 4.3.7. 7 [Sumerian ver., line 6’; Akkadian ver., line 58]). Other royal inscriptions describe Samsu-iluna with various titles as *en* “lord,” *nun* “prince,” *sipa* “shepherd,” and *sukkal* “vizier.”²⁶¹

Eight surviving royal hymns belong to Samsu-iluna. Two are deity-praising texts (Samsu-iluna F, H); six are king-praising compositions (Samsu-iluna A, B,

²⁶⁰ See RIME 4.3.7. 1 (lines 1’–4’), 3(30–41), 7 (akk 93–98, akk 101–102); 8(7–19, 24–41), etc. Frayne 1990, 372–391.

²⁶¹ All options with *lugal* “king”: see texts RIME 4.3.7. 1, 2, 3Sum, 3Akk, 5Sum, 5Akk, 6, 7Sum, 7Akk, 8Sum, 8Akk, 2020, Frayne 1990, 372–403. For *en* “lord”: see texts RIME 4.3.7. 2, 3Sum, 3Akk, 8Sum, 8Akk, Frayne 1990, 373–391. For *nun*: RIME 4.3.7. 7Akk, Frayne 1990, 384–388. For *sipa*: see texts RIME 4.3.7. 2, 5Sum, 5Akk, 7Sum, 7Akk, 8Sum, Frayne 1990, 373–403. For *sukkal*: RIME 4.3.7. 7Sum, 7Akk, Frayne 1990, 384–388.

C, D, E, G). None of these royal hymns have the determinative DINGIR with Samsu-iluna's name.

Only one hymn, Samsu-iluna C, has a *direct divinity marker*. It says (line 24): kur ní-ba tuš-a diġir-bi [hé-me-en], “let he (Samsu-iluna) be the god of the foreign lands/mountains that are settled together.” This hymn also has three *indirect sacredness markers*. The first one is a comparison of the king with Šamaš (lines 18, 25). The context probably hints at judicial functions of the king. The second is a comparison of the king with Sîn (line 23). The context represents the king as a celestial body raising above his land and relate to the benevolence of god Enki. The third marker is the king's control over divine powers me (lines 8, 12). Similar indirect markers also appear in hymns Samsu-iluna B and F. The hymn B has comparisons of the king with Šamaš made in judicial context (lines 11 and 16). The hymn F describes the king's control over the divine powers me (segment A, line 13).

The god Enlil is one of the direct sources of Samsu-iluna's royal authority; the hymn Samsu-iluna F (line 13) describes it as follows: ^den-líl me nam-sipa-zu kalam-ma ak-ka kur ġiri-zu-uš mu-ġar “Enlil, for your performance of the *me* of shepherdship over the land, he placed foreign lands at your feet.” Hymns refer to numerous gods as bestowers of various favors. However, except Enlil, the gods who grant some significant authorities or insignia are Enki and Nanna. The hymn Samsu-iluna B (lines 9–11) narrates how Enki bestowed on Samsu-iluna ^{ġis}gu-za “throne,” ġidru “scepter,” and aga “crown.” The hymn Samsu-iluna C (lines 18–20) enumerates royal insignia of the king and prays for the god Nanna to allow Samsu-iluna lead zi-ġál “living.”

It is difficult to interpret the hymn Samsu-iluna A. There might be hints at the spousal relations between the king and goddess Ištar. The first lines probably describe the physical attractiveness of the king and the goddess's interest in him: muš-me huš ġiri gal nam-ġuruš-a igi húl-la saġ-ki zalag-ga-na im-ma-ši-in-bar nam sag₉-ga-ni-šè la-la ba-an-ši-in-ak, “red in the face, a great dagger of the manliness, with happy eyes and shining forehead she looked toward him; for his pleasure, she did *plenty/lust* for him” (lines 1–2). If this understanding is correct, then the hymn Samsu-iluna A is the only text addressing the topos of sacred marriage among the royal hymns and royal inscriptions referring to the kings of OB Babylon. Still, there are no direct references to the king and the goddess as dam, “spouse,” or nitalam, “spouse.” Ištar and Samsu-iluna take positions on the sides of the ùġ, “people,” as its guardians: ^dinanna á zid-da ba-an-da-gub gáb-bu-ne-ne-a sa-am-su-i-lu-na ba-gub, “Inanna stood on the right side, on the left of them Samsu-iluna stood” (lines 21–22). This context describes the goddess and the king as equal protectors of the people. Therefore, Samsu-iluna might be identified in this hymn with Zababa, a spouse of Ištar and a divine protector of his land.

In contrast to the royal inscriptions, hymns mention traditional Sumerian centers in the context of Samsu-iluna's royal legitimation. In the hymn Samsu-iluna F, the king has titles (Segment A, line 10) sipa kíġ[?] nibru^{K1} saġ ús é-kur-ra “shepherd beloved of Nippur, attendant at Ekur.” In the hymn Samsu-iluna G the

king has the titles lugal úri^{K1}-ma, “king of Ur,” and lugal larsa^{K1}-ma, “king of Larsa” (lines 5–6). In the hymn Samsu-iluna B, it is Babylon and not Ur called iri me^d suen-na-ka “the city of *me* of Sîn” (line 23). It may reflect transfer of temple staff and rites from old Sumerian cities to Babylonia mentioned above.

Royal hymns also praise Samsu-iluna with the titles en “lord,” nun “prince,” nir “authoritative,” sukkal “vizier,” and engar “farmer.” Two hymns refer to the king as ursaĝ “hero.”

II. 6.4.1.8. Abī-ešuh

Abī-ešuh (1711–1684 BC), a son of Samsu-iluna and the eighth king of Babylon, ruled for 28 years. He fought against Ilī-ma-AN, the king of the Sealand Dynasty. He even changed the course of Tiger to drain swamps in the South and defeat his enemy. However, his attempts were not successful.

Abī-ešuh has left nine royal inscriptions. These texts have no determinative DINGIR in front of the king’s name.

- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 1 inscription (11% of total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 1 inscription (11% of total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – no inscription.
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 7 inscriptions (77% of total).

The texts have no *direct* or *indirect markers* of the king’s divinity. Abī-ešuh also avoided references to divine origin. Instead of his father’s title numun da-rí diĝir-e-ne-ke₄, “eternal seed of gods,” Abī-ešuh used the title of Ḫammu-rāpi numun da-rí nam-lugal-la-ke₄, “the eternal seed of kingship” (RIME 4.3.8.1, Sumerian version, line 5’–6’). Abī-ešuh also used a standard of his predecessors as (RIME 4.3.8.1, Akkadian version, lines 6’–11’):

1. *šarrum dannum*, “strong king.”
2. *šar Babili*, “king of Babylon.”
3. *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi*, “king of Sumer and Akkad.”
4. *šar muštešmi kibrāt arba’im*, “the king bringing to agreement four quarters.”

Abī-ešuh did not describe military or juridical merits in his royal inscriptions.

There are three Sumerian poetic compositions praising Abī-ešuh; two of them are *deity-praising* compositions (Abi-Ešuh A, ETCSL 2.8.5.b), and one hymn is *king-praising* (Abi-Ešuh B). The surviving manuscripts of these compositions have no DINGIR in front of the king’s name. However, *the praise to Marduk* (ETCSL 2.8.5.b) has a *direct marker* of an unnamed king’s divinity, most probably Abi-Ešuh. The text says: diĝir ú gu₇-àm a silim (either: a naĝ-naĝ) X til-la u₄ sù-rá ĝiš-šub-ba-zu ĝá-ĝá “as a god, eating the food and drinking the water of health, living for the distant days, as your lot (let it be) established” (line 21). There are two more indirect markers of the king’s

sacredness in Abi-Ešuh A. The first marker is the epithet *dumu* “son” of Marduk (line 12). It is the only explicit claim for divine descent from a particular deity surviving in the collection of royal hymns and inscriptions referring to the kings of OB Babylon. Another marker is a comparison between the king and Šamaš expressed in the same line: *nam-en-bi dutu-gin₇ an ub-ta pa è ha-ba-ak-eš* “[Mardu] his [Abī-ešuh’s] en-ship made shining like Utu coming out from the corners of heavens.” In this context, Marduk is the source of Abī-ešuh’s royal authority. References to other deities as the bestowers of insignia or authority have not survived.

II. 6.4.1.9. Ammī-ditāna

The next king, Ammī-ditāna (1683–1647 BC), reigned for 37 years. According to Charpin, a significant change occurred in the relationship between the Babylonian king and his servants in which the crown granted land in exchange for their service. Instead of actual service, servants started to ransom themselves with money. It indicates a decline of royal authority because the crown could not control the land granted to the subjects and subjects did not serve the king according to their obligations (Charpin 2004, 371).

Ammī-ditāna has left 29 royal inscriptions. Two inscriptions have *hybrid orientation* (7% of the total), 27 are *subject-addresser* texts (93%). The determinative DINGIR never appears with the king’s name. Inscriptions have no direct or indirect markers of divinity. Ammī-ditāna used the standard royal titles of his predecessors (RIME 4.3.9.1, lines 2–6):

1. *lugal kalag*, “strong king.”
2. *lugal ká-diĝir-ra^{KI}*, “king of Babylon.”
3. *lugal kiš^{KI}-a*, “king of Kiš.”
4. *lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri*, “king of Sumer and Akkad.”
5. *lugal da-ga-an kur mar-tu*, “king of the whole land of Amorites.”

The divine bestowers of Ammī-ditāna’s royal authority are Enlil (RIME 4.3.9.1, col. ii, lines 1–4), and Utu with Marduk (RIME 4.3.9.2, Akkadian version, line 6’–13’). Like many his predecessors, Ammī-ditāna ignored Sumerian cities in his legitimation but mentioned Kiš. He claimed the title *lugal kiš^{KI}-a* just like Samsu-iluna. No poetic compositions praising Ammī-ditāna have survived.

II. 6.4.1.10. Ammī-šaduqa

Ammī-šaduqa (1646–1626 BC) was a king in Babylon for 21 years. Under his reign, Babylon might have regained control over Nippur (Frayne 1990, 425); however, there is no agreement on this topic (Charpin 2004, 368). According to his 8th year name, Ammī-šaduqa might have erected a statue representing him as a runner and emulating the royal image of Šulgi and Išme-Daġān (ibid., 276).

Ammī-šaduqa has left eighteen royal inscriptions. One inscription is *god-orientated*, sixteen are *subject-addresser* texts, and one cannot be classified. There is no DINGIR sign with the king's name. The inscriptions have no *direct* or *indirect divinity markers*. Only a few king's titles are known because the surviving inscriptions are damaged. Titles of the king are like those used by his predecessors: *šarrum dannum*, "strong king," and *šar Babili*, "king of Babylon" (RIME 4.3.10.1, Akkadian version, lines 4'–7'). Ammī-šaduqa has the title *rē'ûm migir telītim* "shepherd beloved of *Ištar*" (RIME 4.3.10.1, Akkadian version, lines 21'–23'), which hints at the topos of sacred marriage. However, the Sumerian version (line 22') has the word *kuš*₇ "horse-groom" corresponding to Akkadian *rē'ûm* instead of *sipa* "shepherd." Therefore, it is difficult to say that Ammī-šaduqa emulated the Ur III tradition and its imagery of the king as shepherd and his identification with Dumuzi. No royal hymns referring to the king have yet been found.

II. 6.4.1.11. Samsu-ditāna

The last king of Babylon, Samsu-ditāna (1625–1595 BC), reigned for 31 years. At the end of his reign, Samsu-ditāna was encircled by enemies: Hittites, Hurrians, and Kassites. Mursili's raid against Babylon in 1595 ended the first Babylon Dynasty and the Old Babylonian period.

Only five subject-addresser texts have survived from his time. The determinative DINGIR never precedes the king's name in these texts. There are no *direct* or *indirect divinity markers*. There are no poetic compositions praising the king.

II. 6.4.2. *Static-Relative* analysis of the OB Babylon texts

I analyze 148 royal inscriptions by 9 kings to define characteristics of the OB Babylon royal ideology. The determinative DINGIR appears only in two *subject-addresser* texts referring to Samsu-iluna (1,3% of the total). These two texts lack any epithets. Accordingly, I will not mention them separately in the further discussion.

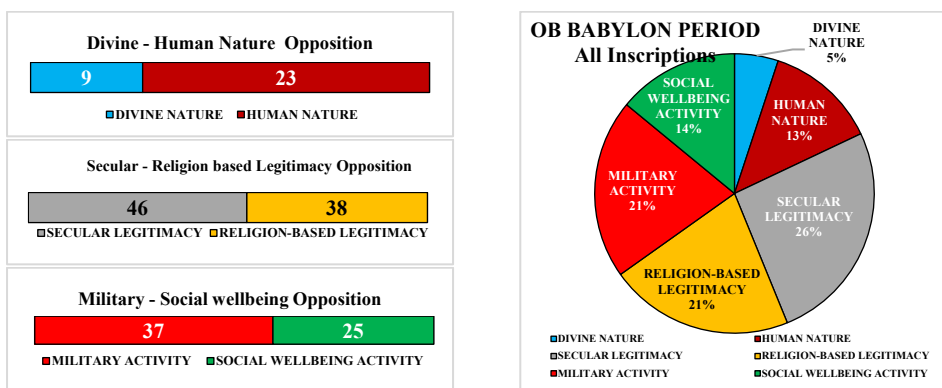
- 1) *god-orientated inscriptions* – 4 inscriptions (2,7% of the total).
- 2) *hybrid orientation* – 27 inscriptions (18,2% of the total).
- 3) *human-orientated* – 5 inscriptions (3,4% of the total).
- 4) *subject-addresser inscriptions* – 106 inscriptions (71,6% of the total).
2 DINGIR texts (1,9% of the group).

Additionally, 6 inscriptions²⁶² (4%) do not fit any target text category. These texts appear only in the analysis by all royal inscriptions.

The total number of quantitatively analyzed OB Babylon period royal praise poetry compositions is 17 texts. They are known for three kings.

	Number of poetic compositions: 17	Deity-praising (Type A): 8	King-praising (Type B): 9
Ḫammu-rāpi	6 compositions	4 compositions	2 compositions
Samsu-iluna	8 compositions	2 compositions	6 compositions
Abī-ešuh	3 compositions	2 compositions	1 composition

II. 6.4.2.1. All royal inscriptions



The three largest groups of epithets with almost similar frequency are *secular legitimacy*, *religion-based legitimacy*, and *military activity* epithets (21–26%). *Human-nature* and *social-wellbeing activity* epithets appeared in the texts with somewhat 1,5–2 times lesser frequency (13–14%). *Divine-nature* epithets are rare (5%).

The frequency of *human nature* epithets (23 texts [15% of the total]) is more than two times higher than that of *divine nature* epithets (9 texts [6% of the total]). *Direct divinity markers* appear only in two inscriptions left by Ḫammu-rāpi (22% of the epithet group). *Indirect markers* appear in 8 texts (88%). At the same time, most *indirect markers* are comparison of the kings with Šamaš and Sîn (7 texts), references to family relations with gods are noticeably less frequent (2 texts). Most *human nature* epithets appeal to the king's ancestry (15 texts [65% of the epithet group]).

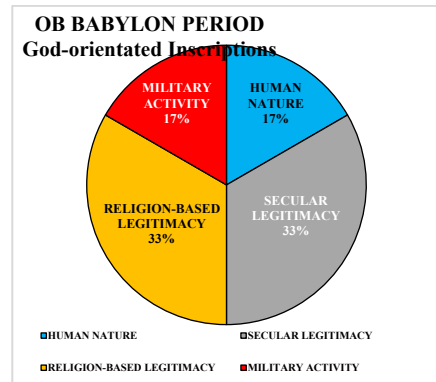
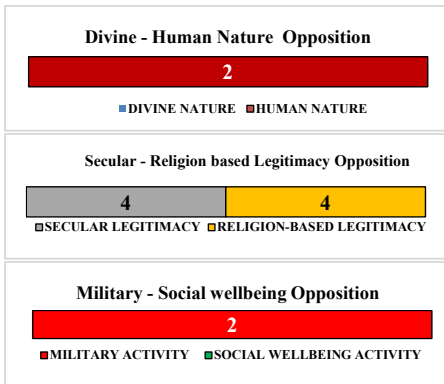
²⁶² RIME 4.3.6. 10, 19, add22; RIME 4.3.7. 1, 9; RIME 4.3.10. 2.

The proportion between *secular legitimacy* epithets (46 texts [31% of the total]) and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (38 texts [26%]) is about 1,2:1. Therefore, there is no actual preference for either *secular* or *religion-based* legitimation.

Military activity epithets (37 texts [25% of the total]) are 1,5 times more frequent than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (25 texts [17%]). *Military activity* epithets consist mostly of general praise of the king's military potential (35 texts [95% of the epithet group]). However, actual descriptions of battles also have relatively high frequency (14 texts [38%]).

The most frequent royal title is lugal "king" (44 texts [30% of the total]). The royal titles en "lord" and sipa "shepherd" share the second position: (15 texts [10%] and 14 texts [9%], respectively). The title nun "prince" is less popular (8 texts [9%]). The frequency of such titles as nir-ĝál "authoritative" and sukkal/*našparu* "vizier" is minimal: respectively, 3 texts [2%] and 2 texts [1%].

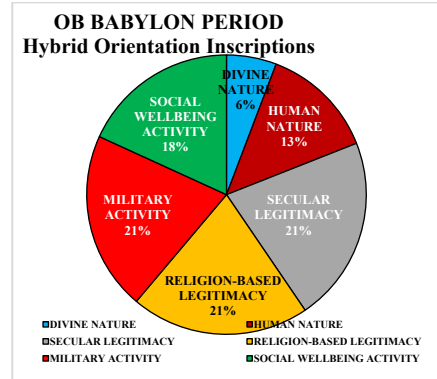
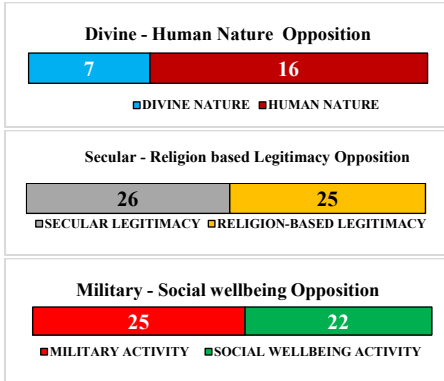
II. 6.4.2.2. God-orientated royal inscriptions



There are no *divine nature* and *social-wellbeing activity* epithets in the OB Babylon *god-orientated* inscriptions. The *human-nature* epithets appear in 2 texts (50% of the text group). All these epithets mention the king's ancestry. *Secular legitimacy* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets appear in all four *god-orientated* inscriptions. *Military activity* epithets appear in two texts (50% of the text group). Both texts have actual battle descriptions and general praise of the king's mightiness.

The royal title lugal "king" appears in three texts (75% of the text group). The titles sipa "shepherd" and nun "prince" appear in one text each (25%).

II. 6.4.2.3. Hybrid orientation royal inscriptions



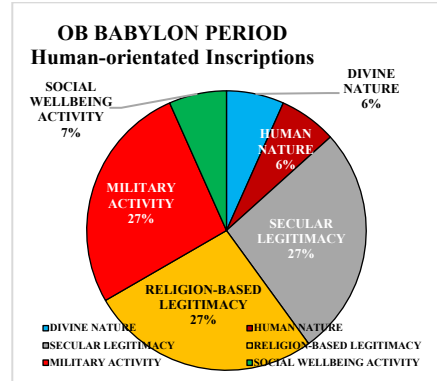
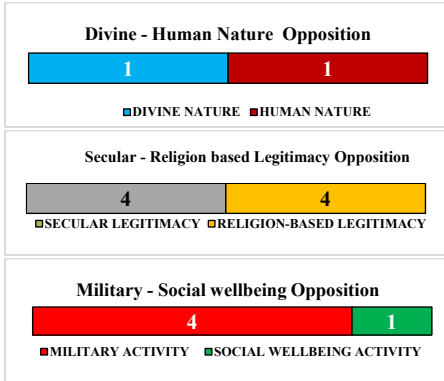
The frequency of *human nature* epithets in the *hybrid orientation* inscriptions (16 texts [59% of the text group]) is 2,3 times higher than that of *divine nature* epithets (7 texts [26%]). There are no direct divinity markers in the *hybrid orientation* inscriptions. Most indirect divinity markers hint at similarity with some deities (100% of text epithet group total). References to the *divine family relations* are less frequent (14% of text epithet group total). Most *human nature* epithets appeal to the king's ancestry (62% of text epithet group total).

Both the *secular* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets appear almost in all *hybrid orientation* inscriptions. No preference for a particular type of legitimization can be demonstrated.

Military activity epithets (25 texts [93% of the text group]) are almost equal with the *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (22 texts [81%]). *Military activity* epithets are mostly the general praise of the king's military potential (100% of text epithet group total)). However, actual descriptions of battles also have relatively high frequency (9 texts [36%]).

The most often used royal title is lugal "king" (26 texts [96% of the text group]). The royal titles en "lord" (14 texts [52%]) and sipa "shepherd" (12 texts [44%]) are less frequent. The titles nun "prince" (5 texts [19%]), nir-ĝál "authoritative" (2 texts [7%]) and sukkal/*našparu* "vizier" (2 texts [7%]) are rare.

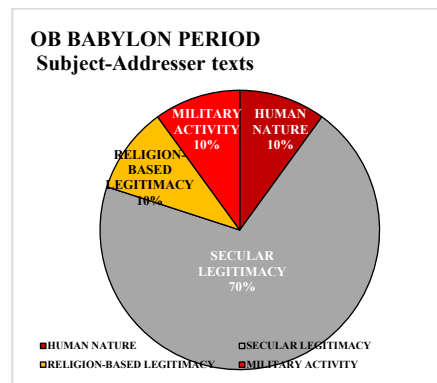
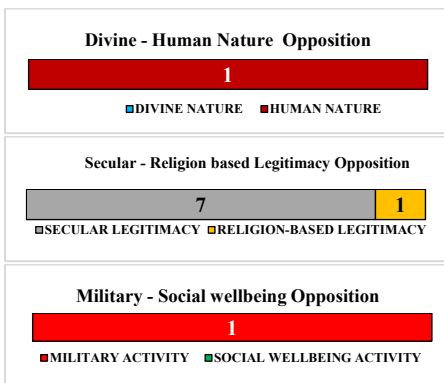
II. 6.4.2.3. Human-orientated royal inscriptions



Divine- and *human nature* epithets (1 text [20% of the text group] each) as well as *social-* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets (4 texts [80%] each) are balanced. The only text with *divine nature* epithets has both *direct* and *indirect markers of divinity*. *Military activity* epithets (4 texts [80%]) are 4 times more frequent than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets (1 text [20%]). Actual descriptions of battles appear only in one text (25% of the text epithet group total) while general military praise of the king in all four texts (100%).

The most often used royal title is lugal “king” (4 texts [20% of the text group]). Other titles as en “lord,” sipa “shepherd,” nun “prince,” nir-ĝál “authoritative” have the same minimal frequency (1 text [20%] each).

II. 6.4.2.4. Subject-addresser inscriptions



Only seven *subject-addresser* texts from 106 have any royal epithets. There are no *divine nature* and *social-wellbeing activity* epithets. *Human nature* and *military activity* epithets appear in only one text each (1% of the text group). *Secular legitimacy* appears in seven texts (7%) while *religion-based legitimacy* epithets only in one (1%).

The title lugal “king” appears in 6 texts (6%). The title nun “prince” appears in 1 text (1%).

II. 6.4.3. Royal hymns

All three kings who have poetry compositions praising them appear in these hymns either with *direct* or *indirect markers* of divinity.

	Direct markers	Indirect markers
Ḫammu-rāpi (6 compositions)	–	3 compositions (50%)
Samsu-iluna (8 compositions)	1 composition (12,5%)	3 compositions (37,5%)
Abī-ešuh (3 compositions)	1 composition [?] (33%)	1 composition (33%)

Direct divinity markers appear in one hymn of Samsu-iluna and one anonymous hymn, most probably praising Abī-ešuh. *Direct markers* are absent from the hymns of Ḫammu-rāpi. On the other hand, the frequency of *indirect sacredness markers* is the highest in the hymns of Ḫammu-rāpi. Simultaneously, only Ḫammu-rāpi has *direct divinity markers* in royal inscriptions.

The following part employs data from the thematic analysis of poetic compositions by lines.

Royal hymns of Ḫammu-rāpi have about 5,5% of related lines with *indirect markers* of the king’s sacredness. It is more than in hymns of Samsu-iluna and Abī-ešuh. The proportion of *indirect markers* is approximately the same in *deity-* and *king-praising* hymns (5–6%). *Deity-praising* hymns mainly consist of lines describing gods’ favor towards the king (77%); the only specific topic is the king’s wisdom (2%). *King-praising* hymns have equal importance of the *divine favor* (40%) and the *king’s reverence* (37%) topoi. The only specific topos refers to the king’s *military activities* (11%).

The only *direct divinity marker* appears in Samsu-iluna’s *king-praising* hymn. It takes about 0,7% of the relevant lines. *Indirect sacredness markers* are also slightly more frequent in *king-praising* (5%) hymns than in *deity-praising* (3%). The most important special topoi in the *king-praising hymns* are *military activity* (5%) and *marital relationships between the king and Ištar* (4%). For the *deity-praising hymns*, the two most frequent special topoi are *military activity* (13%) and *the king’s wisdom* (6%).

Direct and *indirect divinity markers* have a minimum frequency in Abī-ešuh’s hymns (3% each). These markers appear only in the *deity-praising* hymns. No special topoi are found in the surviving hymns praising Abī-ešuh.

II. 6.4.4. Conclusions for OB Babylon

The change of the stress from the traditional Sumerian city centers to Kiš in royal inscriptions demonstrates that Babylonian kings did not feel committed to follow the ideological framework of the Ur III tradition.

At the same time, it would be incorrect to claim that Babylonian kings ignored Southern tradition. Describing the royal poetry celebrating Samsu-iluna, Lambert noted: “the old-established Sumerian Pantheon is still going strong, and Marduk is far from heading it” (W. Lambert 2013, 258). I would say that it is true only for the poetic compositions praising Ḥammu-rāpi and Samsu-iluna, where Enlil indeed appears more often than other deities. On the other hand, the quantitative analysis of royal inscriptions demonstrates that Marduk is the most regular grantor of various benefits and royal authority in these texts. This difference probably results from the higher dependence of Sumerian poetic composition on earlier examples compared with royal inscriptions. Since some cults were relocated from southern Sumerian cities to the North, it is likely that antagonistic tendencies (stressing Sumerian heritage and avoiding it) coexisted in the Babylonian royal ideology. As Seth Richardson noted, the Babylonian kings after Samsu-iluna tried to win in the legitimacy competition against the Sealand Dynasty, introducing more elements of Sumerian culture into the official context and everyday life of elites (Richardson 2018, 145–176). It is evident that the Ur III tradition was dying out but still existed in Babylon because its kings were the last rulers who left Sumerian poetic compositions praising them.

The Babylonian kings almost stopped receiving the determinative DINGIR in their royal inscriptions. It clearly indicates their reconsideration of living king’s deification practice. However, both royal inscriptions and poetic compositions still have *direct* and *indirect divinity* markers. It is notorious that claims for *divine origin* are almost entirely absent from royal inscriptions and hymns. This demonstrates the difference from the 3rd millennium deification tradition, which started with the claims for *divine origin*. The same is true for the *sacred marriage allusions*, which also are absent from the OB Babylon text with one exception that is difficult to interpret (Samsu-iluna A).

The idea of king’s divinity was no more suitable for royal inscriptions but still played some role in poetic compositions. In my view, *direct* and *indirect divinity markers* can be explained by the dependence of the OB poetic compositions on the early Ur III and Isin examples as their models. Therefore, one can say that royal deification lost its religious or administrative significance; however, it had not disappeared as a literary topos.

The most crucial feature of the OB Babylon royal inscriptions is that most do not bear any epithets. The absence of epithets is most characteristic of the *subject-addresser* texts, but it also can be found among the *god-* and *human-*orientated royal inscriptions. In total, 100 inscriptions do not bear any epithets out of 148 discussed. This circumstance significantly influences the calculations. Still, in the current research’s framework, all the texts without epithets are taken into account because their absence is meaningful. The subjects of Babylonian kings often

referred to their kings without using any titles. Probably, the name of a king was enough to prove his legitimacy. Otherwise, existing titles should have become unnecessary for some other reason. It could be, for example, due to some shortening of the distance between the king and his subjects. It could be that the same tribal origin (for Amorite kings) made usage of Sumerian traditional titles unnecessary in the *subject-addresser* texts.

PART III.

Discussion of royal hymns and inscription in the framework of the comparative analysis

III. 1. Introduction to this section

I am quantitatively analyzing 141 Sumerian royal hymns written by 21 kings. There are two main objectives of the analysis: 1) to trace the usage of formal divinity markers and 2) to compare the usage of special topics in depicting of kings.

The royal inscriptions left by 112 kings from the ED, Sargonic, Gutian, Ur III, OB Isin, OB Larsa, and OB Babylon (1259 inscriptions) are analyzed in detail in the framework of the *dynamic-absolute* analysis.

There are three objectives of the royal inscriptions analysis: 1) to trace changes in the usage of the determinative DINGIR over the periods; 2) to trace changes in the balance within epithets' opposition pairs; 3) and to trace changes in the usage of some specific epithets (*divine nature* epithets, royal titles, and *military activity* epithets).

There are about 361 royal inscriptions written by 40 Babylonian kings and about 1781 royal inscriptions written by 53 Assyrian kings in the second and first millennium BCE. These kings, in general, avoided formal markers of divinity in their royal inscriptions; therefore, it is assumed that they were not personally deified (still, they might have a semi-divine status). I refer to the royal inscriptions of later periods only discussing the DINGIR determinative and divinity markers.

The next chapter, "Reconstruction of the royal divinity idea's evolution," will summarize the data of the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the discussed materials. It is organized in chronological order and discusses all found peculiarities representing the kings' divine or royal statuses. It starts with the discussion of those factors that influenced the origin of the royal deification idea; next, it discusses all found models of transmitting royal divinity in texts. It finishes with a discussion of circumstances that affected the decline of the lifetime royal deification practice.

III. 2. Dynamic analysis of royal hymns

III. 2.1. Markers of divinity

	Direct Markers	Indirect Markers	Claims for divine origin	Allusions to the sacred marriage
Gudea	0.3%	0.4%	1.2%	0.0%
Ur-Namma	0.7%	1.0%	2.4%	0.7%
Šulgi	0.2%	1.8%	2.2%	4.7%
Šū-Sîn	2.7%	4.1%	2.0%	27.0%
Ibbi-Suen	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Išbi-Erra	0.0%	10.3%	0.0%	3.4%
Šū-ilīšu (*)	0.0%	20.0%	6.7%	0.0%
Iddin-Dagān	0.7%	5.0%	0.0%	12.1%
Išme- Dagān	0.0%	4.5%	0.5%	4.3%
Lipit-Ištar	0.4%	9.2%	0.0%	3.5%
Ur-Ninurta	0.6%	5.1%	0.0%	5.1%
Būr-Sîn (*)	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Enlil-Bāni	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	3.0%
Gungunum (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Sîn-Iddinam	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Sîn-iqīšam (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Warad-Sîn (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Rīm-Sîn	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Hammu-rāpi	0.0%	5.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Samsu-iluna	0.6%	4.7%	0.0%	3.5%
Abī-ešuh (*)	2.9%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%

(*) – reference data is insufficient: less than 50 reference lines.

The table above demonstrates the distribution of the direct and indirect divinity markers in the Sumerian royal hymns of the discussed kings.

The table does not reflect the distribution of the determinative DINGIR in the poetic compositions because it should be regarded with caution. In some cases, the determinative can be present in one manuscript but absent in another manuscript of the same composition. Other markers like epithets and titles seem more representative of the ideology behind the texts. I discuss the determinative DINGIR in the poetic compositions only briefly and in general. Ur-Namma and Šulgi were reluctant to put the determinative DINGIR before their names; the determinative appears irregularly. For Šū-Sîn, Ibbi-Sîn, and all discussed kings of OB Isin, DINGIR was obligatory. Rīm-Sîn also has DINGIR in most hymns. On the other hand, Hammu-rāpi mostly avoided it in royal hymns.

All four types of markers represented in the table appear only in the hymns praising Ur-Namma, Šulgi, and Šū-Sîn. These seems to use all available instruments for equating the kings to gods. For other kings, there is evidence of some reluctance to use markers. The most frequent markers are *indirect* equations of kings with different gods. They appear almost in the hymns of all analyzed rulers. There is no evident correlation in the usage of the *indirect divinity markers* with any other category.

Direct divinity markers appear in the hymns of only nine kings. Data for Abī-ešuh cannot be representative because of a small number of reference lines. For the other rulers, *direct divinity markers* are surprisingly abundant in the hymns of Šū-Sîn (3–4 times more often than average). Simultaneously, Šū-Sîn has an unusually high frequency of the lines alluding to the sacred marriage rites.

Some relation between these two types of markers is evident from the fact that out of ten rulers having allusions to marriage rites in their hymns, seven also have *direct divinity markers*. Iddin-Dagān also has an unusually high frequency of the lines alluding to marriage rites. However, the proportion of the direct divinity markers in his texts is average.

The first kings of the Ur III dynasty used all available instruments to stress their divine status. Later kings of OB Isin tended to use more *indirect divinity markers*. The kings of Isin used *direct divinity markers* and claims for divine origin significantly less often than the kings of the Ur III dynasty. Still, allusions to *sacred marriage* were standard in the hymns praising them. The kings of Larsa and Babylon used the *indirect divinity markers* almost exclusively. The only two exceptions are the hymns of Samsu-iluna and Abī-ešuh. While data for Abī-ešuh is not representable, hymns praising Samsu-iluna resemble the hymns to OB Isin rulers in their distribution of the markers. He also avoided claims for *divine origin*.

III. 2.2. Development of thematic variety in hymns

	Military	Temple building	Physical strength*	Musician	Wisdom*	Justice*	Farmer*	Oracle*
Gudea	0.0%	15.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	3.6%	0.0%	6.4%
Ur-Namma	7.6%	8.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%	3.8%	0.0%
Šulgi	19.9%	1.3%	6.6%	2.6%	3.9%	2.0%	0.0%	1.8%
Šū-Sîn	4.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Ibbi-Suen	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Išbi-Erra	21.4%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Šū-ilīšu (*)	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Iddin-Dagān	12.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Išme- Dagān	5.7%	0.0%	1.9%	3.1%	2.4%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Lipit-Ištar	8.3%	0.0%	6.1%	0.0%	2.2%	9.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Ur-Ninurta	14.7%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	1.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Būr-Sîn (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Enlil-Bāni	18.3%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	3.0%	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gungunum (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Sîn-Iddinam	7.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%
Sîn-iqīšam (*)	14.3%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Warad-Sîn (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Rīm-Sîn	2.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Hammu-rāpi	4.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Samsu-iluna	6.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Abī-ešuh (*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

(*) – reference data is insufficient: thirty lines or less.

The table above represents the distribution of special topics in the analyzed poetic compositions. In the framework of the current analysis, only those topics that appear in at least 10% of the reference data and at least 1.5 times more often than other topics are statistically significant. Based on these criteria, four main patterns of topics distribution can be distinguished.

The first pattern is a dominance of the temple building activity references. The best example of this pattern is Gudea's hymns. Gudea paid very little attention to other special topics compared with the temple-building activities. A high proportion of Sîn-iqīšam's hymns also stress temple-building activities. However, his hymns have too little reference data.

The second pattern is a dominance of the military topic. Statistically, the royal hymns of Šulgi are a good example. One-fifth of these hymns praise the king's military abilities; the second most frequent topic is the king's physical qualities. The dominance of the military topic (but without mentions of physical qualities) seems to be characteristic of Išbi-Era's and Šū-ilīšu's hymns. However, the reference data for the hymns of these two kings are too small to make any conclusions.

The third pattern is the primary importance of sacred marriage allusions. Royal hymns of Šū-Sîn are the best example of this pattern. However, they are unique; in the royal hymns of other discussed kings, sacred marriage allusions never rise to the comparable level of importance.

Royal hymns of Iddin-Dagān should be regarded separately. He pays equal attention to military activities and sacred marriage allusions; in some sense, Iddin-Dagān's royal hymns follow both Šulgi's and Šū-Sîn's pattern of topic distribution.

The fourth pattern seems to be the same for several OB Isin kings: Išme-Dagān, Lipit-Ištar, and Enlil-bāni. These kings mostly praised their personal or social qualities (it combines three special topics: musical abilities, wisdom, and justice). However, these kings also paid great attention to military activities. The best example is the hymns of Išme-Dagān; in the royal inscriptions of two other kings, the proportion of the military activity topic gradually increases.

It is difficult to distinguish any patterns of the special topics' distribution in the royal hymns from OB Larsa or OB Babylon. The most frequent special topic in the hymns praising Rīm-Sîn, Hammu-rāpi, and Samsu-iluna is their military accomplishments. However, the frequency of mentions is not high (less than 10% of the reference data).

III. 3. Dynamic-absolute analysis of royal inscriptions²⁶³

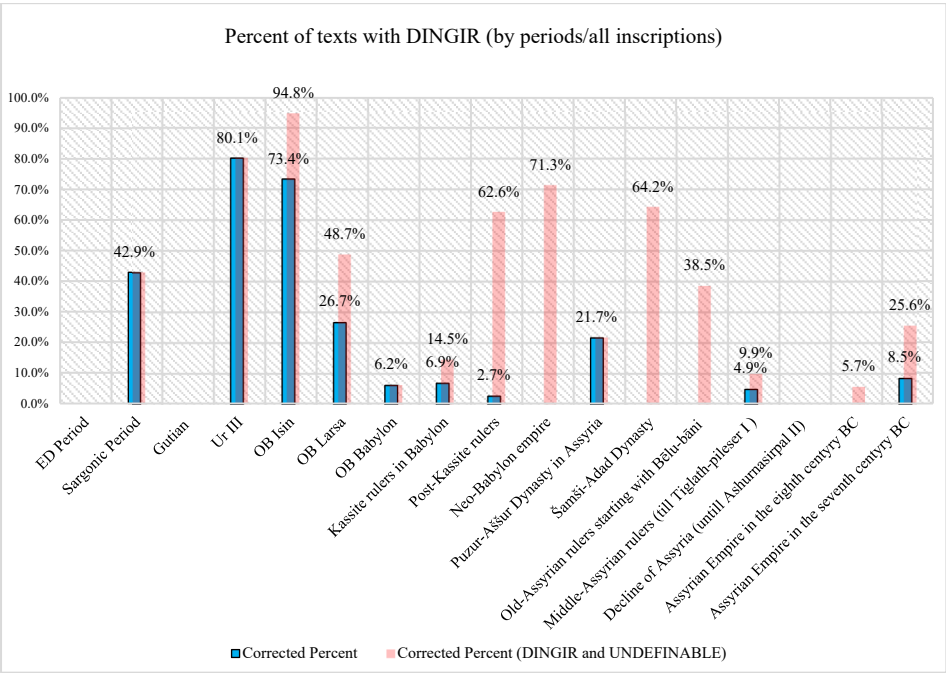
III. 3.1. Usage of the Determinative DINGIR

The first time a king's name appears with the determinative DINGIR in the royal inscriptions of the Sargonic dynasty. This usage of DINGIR lives on during the Ur III period and Early Old Babylonian period. With the destruction of Larsa, the practice disappears. There are only a few exceptional cases of putting DINGIR in front of the royal names for the post OB period. However, it became standard to write royal names with a theophoric element which require the determinative DINGIR in front of it. Consequently, it is disputable whether the king with such a name (especially for Babylonian kings) had divine status himself or not.

²⁶³ All charts employing data by periods (and not by individual rulers) have *corrected values* that consider not only the percentage of texts where a particular epithet appears but also the percentage of the kings who employ these epithets from the respective group. For more details, see the section "2.2.2.4. Principles of the comparison".

I consider that the kings did not claim divine status because of two factors. Assyrian kings introduced the determinative DIŠ and used it to stress their human nature even in cases when their names started with a theophoric element and DINGIR. Babylonian kings rarely used the determinative DINGIR; however, the determinative DINGIR almost never precedes royal names without an initial theophoric element. The charts below employ different colors to differentiate instances with indefinable usage of DINGIR (pale red) from those regarded in this study as a marker of deification (blue).

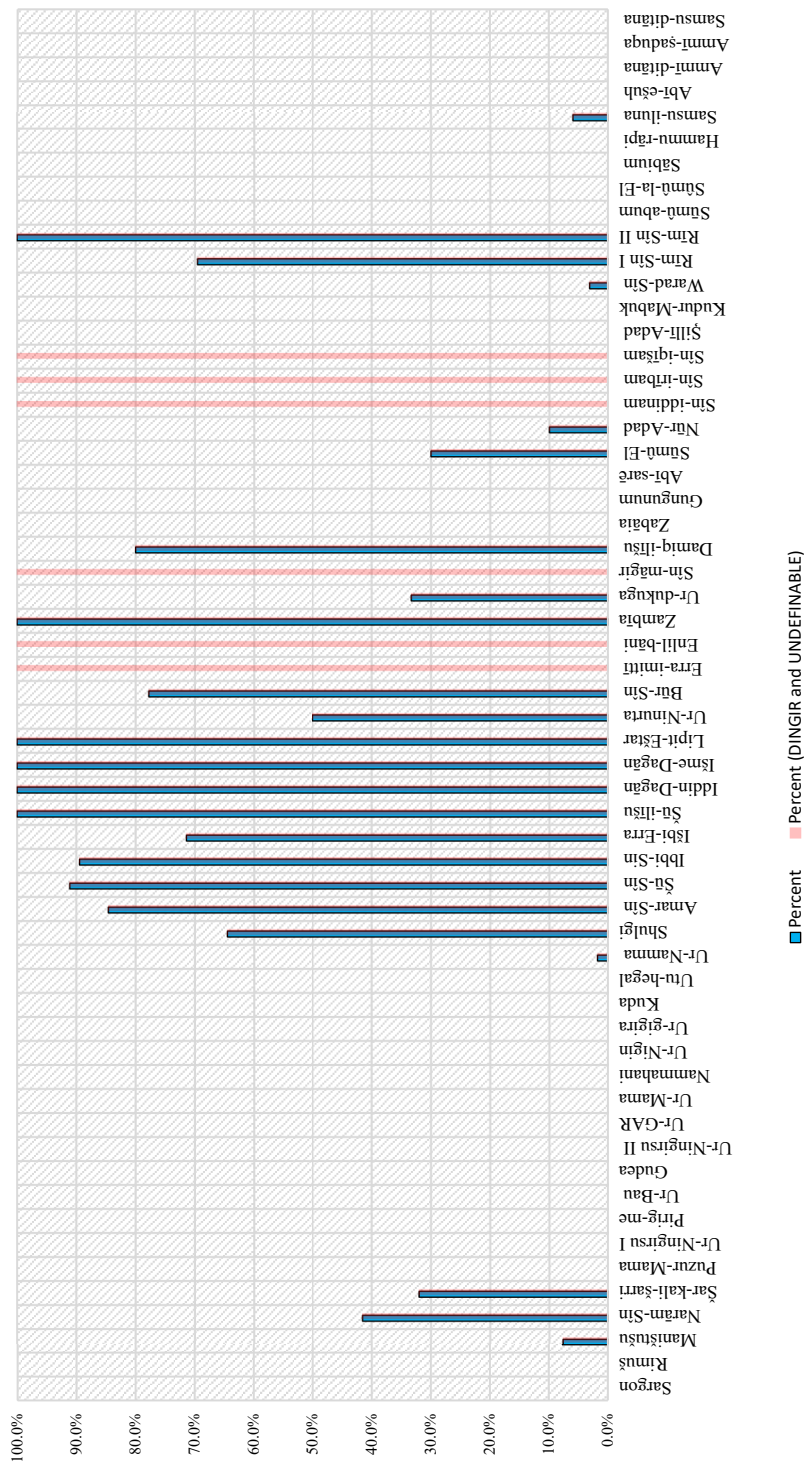
First, I will discuss royal inscriptions by periods.



Relatively small frequency of DINGIR in Sargonic texts (42,9%) is explained by the late introduction of the practice. It is evident from the table that the usage of DINGIR with royal names was a standard practice only in the UR III (80,1%) and OB Isin (73,4%) royal inscriptions. For the Isin period, usage of the determinative can be regarded obligatory (if one counts the undefinable usage of DINGIR, the frequency is as high as 94,6%). The data statistically confirms a drastical change in the usage of DINGIR in the royal inscriptions of the kings of OB Larsa, OB Babylon, and later kings. At the same time, most of Babylonian kings have names with an initial theophoric name and in contrast to Assyrian kings rarely use the determinative DIŠ. I do not regard these kings as deified in their lifetime, because they mostly lack any other divinity markers in inscriptions.

Next, I discuss usage of the determinative DINGIR by individual rulers starting from the Sargonic period and finishing with the OB Babylon dynasty.

Percent of texts with DINGIR (by kings/all inscriptions)



The proportion of texts with DINGIR in the royal inscriptions of Narām-Sîn (41,6% of the king's texts) and Šar-kali-šarri (32%) is not high compared with the data for Ur III and OB Isin rulers.

In the Ur III period royal inscriptions, the DINGIR usage peaked during Šu-Sîn's reign (91,1%). His (grand)father Šulgi had left only 64,5% of inscriptions with DINGIR. Still, Šulgi was deified only on the 20th regnal year; therefore, such disbalance is not surprising.

From Šulgi to Lipit-Ištar, the frequency of DINGIR usage in royal inscriptions is stable high. It confirms that Išbi-Erra and his descendants share the same ideological understanding of the royal figure as Ur III kings. In the inscriptions of the first Isin king, Išbi-Erra, the frequency of DINGIR inscriptions somewhat dropped (71,4%) compared with the texts of late Ur III period rulers (89,5% texts of Išbi-Sîn). However, four of his successors have DINGIR in all surviving royal inscriptions. It was a period when explicit deification of the king through the usage of the determinative DINGIR was standard.

The fall of Išbi-Erra's dynasty marks some changes in the usage of DINGIR. Starting with the new king, Ur-Ninurta, later rulers, in general, left a smaller percentage of texts with DINGIR (for example, Būr-Sîn has only 77,8%). The usage of DINGIR became irregular. Another new circumstance is a higher proportion of royal names with an initial theophoric element. Kings Erra-imitti, Enlil-bāni, and Sîn-māgir have such names. I believe that DINGIR in their texts serves not only as a marker of the theophoric element but demonstrates the divine status of the kings. It should be so because most kings (without an initial theophoric element in their names) before and after these three usually had DINGIR. According to the table above, all inscriptions of king Zambīa have the determinative DINGIR. This data should be regarded critically, as the king left only two texts. Damiq-ilīšu, the last king of Isin, has DINGIR in 80% of his texts. The tradition of putting DINGIR in front of the royal names did not die out in Isin even despite considerable political changes.

Kings of Larsa Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-irībam, and Sîn-iqīšam have names starting with an initial theophoric element preceded by DINGIR. However, these three kings hardly were deified. Most of the kings in Larsa never used the determinative DINGIR in their texts. The kings who did indisputably claim divinity through the determinative were Sūmū-El (30%), Nūr-Adad (10%), Warad- Sîn (3,2%), Rīm-Sîn I (69,6%), and Rīm-Sîn II (100%). The reference data from Rīm-Sîn II is too little (only four inscriptions) and, therefore, unreliable.

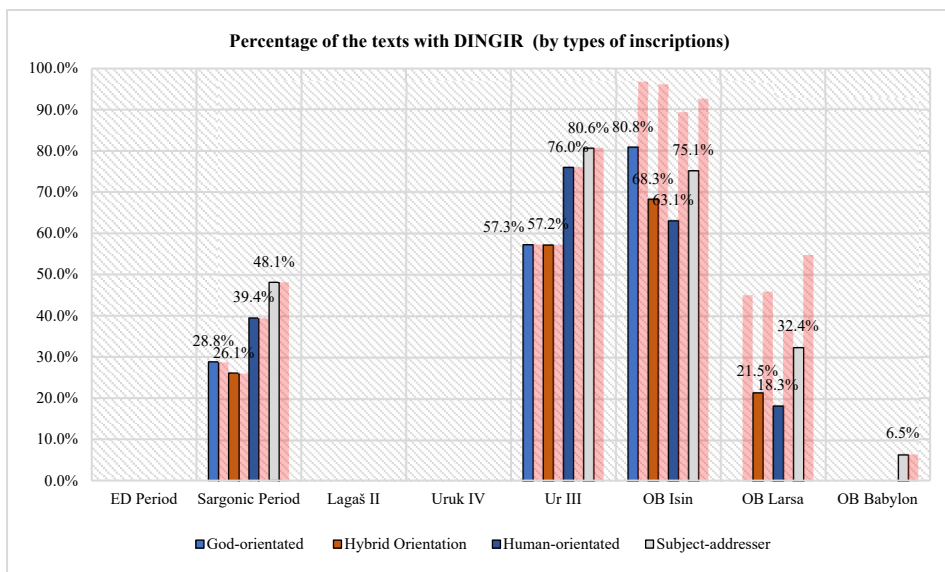
There are only a few undisputable examples of DINGIR usage in front of the royal names in the second and first millennium Mesopotamia.

Four Assyrian kings did so: Old-Assyrian kings Sargon I (100% of the texts) and Narām-Sîn (100%) of Puzur-Aššur dynasty, Middle-Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta I (3,5%), and Neo-Assyrian king Sargon II (1,9%). Three of these kings are namesakes of the great Akkadian rulers, likely regarded as divinities in later periods. Therefore, usage of DINGIR in these cases cannot be safely attributed to the personal deification of the respective Assyrian rulers. Already about 1400 BC, Assyrian scribes began to regularly put the determinative DIŠ (male; human) in

front of the royal names and thus solved the problem of names starting with theophoric elements.

In Babylonia, the determinative DIŠ did not become regular. Many Babylonian kings also had complex names with an initial theophoric element, the determinative DINGIR often precedes their names. Still, the kings whose names have no initial theophoric element (for example, Itti-Marduk-balātu or Erība-Marduk) usually have no determinative DINGIR. Therefore, Babylonian kings presumably had not claimed divinity by means of the determinative DINGIR in front of their names. There are only two exceptions: Kassite king Kurigalzu (4,2% of his royal inscriptions) and Elamite king Mar-biti-apla-ušur (100%; he has left only one text.) Both kings are foreigners; the evidence of their inscriptions is too vague to prove any lasting tradition of royal deification.

Finally, I shortly comment on the distribution of the texts with DINGIR by the inscriptions' groups.



Usage of colors is explained in the chart's key. The four colored columns represent percentage of texts with DINGIR, where the determinative points out the deified status of rulers. Additional red shadow columns show the percentage of texts with DINGIR including texts of the kings who have an initial theophoric element in their names.

In almost all periods, *subject-addresser* texts had a higher frequency of DINGIR texts compared with other groups of inscriptions. The only exception is the OB Isin period when a surprisingly high proportion of *god-orientated* texts have DINGIR.

The Sargonic and Ur III periods are similar. In both cases, *human-orientated* texts have a higher frequency than *god-* and *hybrid orientation* texts. This proportion is reversed in the OB Isin inscriptions. *God-orientated* inscriptions have unusually high proportion of DINGIR texts in the OB Isin period (80,8%). Proportion of subject-addresser texts with DINGIR decreases compared with the Ur III texts. However, it is not true for the first kings of Isin. Four successors of Išbi-Erra (Šū-ilīšu, Iddin-Dagān, Išme-Dagān, and Lipit-Ištar) enjoyed an absolute praise as divine rulers by their subjects. The idea of royal divinity probably lost its support among subjects with the change of the dynasty after Lipit-Ištar. In the text of Būr-Sîn the proportion of DINGIR texts decreased on one fourth but was still significant (71,4%). Three kings with an initial theophoric element also ruled after Būr-Sîn. In their inscriptions, frequency of the determinative DINGIR in subject-addresser texts was higher than in the Ur III period (92,5%). Data from the OB Larsa and OB Babylon periods proves that the usage of DINGIR first ceased in royal inscriptions (*god-*, *hybrid-* and *human-orientated*), while it remained in use for longer in the *subject-addresser* texts. The fact that the determinative DINGIR finally disappeared from the royal inscriptions as an element of royal praise demonstrates that it preserved the initial religious meaning, did not become an ordinary epithet, and became unsuitable for the royal ideology in the new political situation.

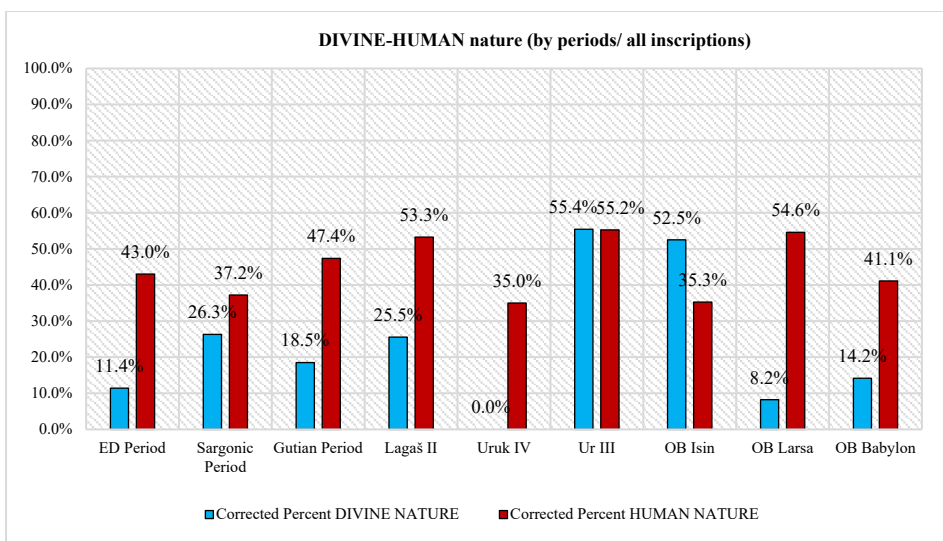
III. 3.2. Analysis by epithets' opposition pairs

The following analysis demonstrates the transformations in the balance within three analyzed opposition pairs (*divine* vs. *human nature*; *secular* vs. *religion-based legitimacy*; *military* vs. *social-wellbeing activity*). Charts with individual rulers do not include ED period kings for the space economy. The period between 2250 – 1750 BC (when the divine status of rulers was reflected in texts by the determinative DINGIR) is crucial for the current research.

III. 3.2.1. Divine vs. human nature opposition pairs

The following analysis demonstrates the transformations in the balance within the *divine-* and *human nature* opposition pair. The charts below employ blue color for *divine nature* and red color for *human nature epithets*.

The first chart demonstrates data by periods.



The general frequency of *divine nature* epithets in the Sargonic period rose more than twice (up to 26,3%) compared with the previous Early Dynastic period (11,4%). However, the frequency of *human nature* epithets decreased (from 43% to 37,2%). It corresponds to the first known case of a king's deification in his lifetime. At the same time, the frequency of the *divine nature epithets* in the inscriptions from ED Lagaš (29,4%) is higher than that in the Sargonic royal inscriptions. It proves that already rulers of Lagaš acquired a sacred status during their lifetime.

Same with the frequency of the determinative DINGIR, *divine nature* epithets are the most abundant in the inscriptions of the Ur III and OB Isin periods. In the inscriptions from Isin *divine nature* epithets are more frequent than *human nature* epithets. It is unique because in other periods the balance is usually reversed or equal as in the Ur III inscriptions.

In the OB Larsa and OB Babylon texts, *divine nature* epithets are almost invisible.

Next, I shortly discuss the data by individual rulers. The chart below does not include ED period kings for the space economy.

There are only *human nature* epithets in the texts of Sargon, which affect the average proportion by period. However, the *divine nature* epithets dominate in the royal inscriptions of Narām-Sîn (20,8% vs. 18,2%) and Šar-kali-šarri (16% vs. 12%). *Divine nature* epithets in the inscriptions of Narām-Sîn (20,8%) are more frequent than in the inscriptions of Šulgi (5,6%) and comparable with the inscriptions of Šū-Sîn (22,2%). However, they appear less often than in the inscriptions of some OB Isin kings.

Ur-Bau of the Lagaš II dynasty has a surprisingly high proportion of *divine nature* epithets (46,2%). However, it is not necessarily the influence of the Sargonic deification. Already E-anatum had a 38,9% frequency of the *divine nature* epithets. The data for Puzur-Mama and Pirig-me is unreliable because of the small number of reference inscriptions.

The *actual proportion* of texts referring to *divine nature* or *human nature* epithets in the inscriptions of the Ur III dynasty was low²⁶⁴: about 10% for the first three rulers, 15–20% for Šū-Sîn. Only Ibbi-Sîn praised his *divine nature* as frequently as in 42,1% of his texts. *Human nature* epithets are more frequent than *divine nature* epithets in the inscriptions of the first two kings of the dynasty. Only in the texts of Amar-Sîn, Šū-Sîn, and Ibbi-Sîn, the frequency of *divine nature* epithets exceeds that of *human nature* ones.

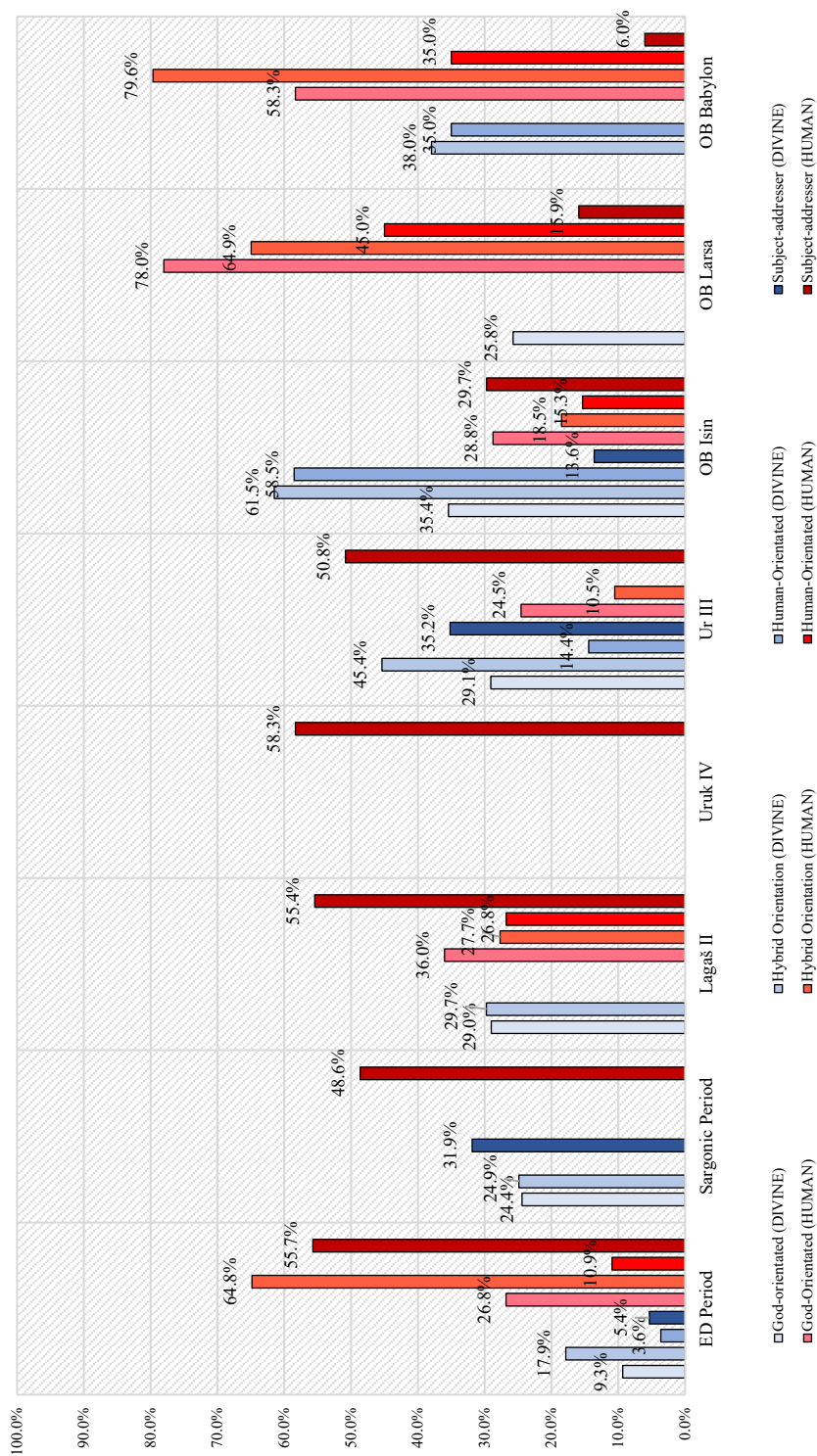
The first kings of the Isin dynasty, Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilīšu, have no *human nature* epithets at all. However, the proportion of *divine nature* is not high (7%–14%). Starting from Išme-Dagān, and down to Ur-Dukuga the average proportion of texts with *divine nature* epithets significantly increased (up to 39%). Therefore, these kings have the highest frequency of *divine nature* epithets compared with rulers from different periods and places. They have a higher frequency of *divine nature* epithets than Narām-Sîn or Šulgi. The average proportion for *human nature* epithets in the same interval was much more moderate (23,7%). However, the proportion of *divine nature* epithets is insignificant in the inscriptions of the two last Isin rulers, Sîn-māgir and Damiq-ilīšu. It probably reflects the decline of Isin's political importance.

In the OB Larsa and OB Babylon texts, *divine nature* epithets are almost invisible. The only rulers of OB Larsa and OB Babylon, who have *divine nature* epithets, are Sîn-iddinam, Rīm-Sîn I, Ḫammu-rāpi, and Samsu-iluna. However, in all these cases, *human nature* epithets have a higher frequency than *divine nature* ones.

Finally, I describe the proportion within the opposition pairs by the types of inscriptions.

²⁶⁴ 55,4% is a “corrected value” considering both the proportion of texts and the proportion of kings out of the respective reference total (for details, see the section “2.2.2.4. Principles of the comparison”). The “actual proportion” is a percent of inscriptions out of the total which is not corrected by the percent of kings who used the titles.

DIVINE - HUMAN nature origin (by type of inscriptions)



Divine-nature epithets in the ED period have the highest frequency in *hybrid orientation* texts. The frequency of *human nature* epithets is significantly higher in all types of ED period texts.

The comparison between royal inscriptions (*god-*, *hybrid-* and *human-*orientated) and the *subject-addresser* texts is the most interesting. According to the analyzed data, the *subject-addresser* texts of Sargonic kings have the highest proportion of *divine nature* epithets compared with all other groups of texts (31,9%). Therefore, royal subjects were more eager to explicitly praise the king as a deity than the kings themselves. On the contrary, the *subject-addresser* texts of OB Isin kings have the lowest proportion of *divine nature* epithets compared with all other groups of texts (13,6%). Subjects were not as willing to explicitly praise the kings as divine beings as the kings themselves. This data hints that the support of the subjects was a significant factor in introducing and abolishing the royal deification practice.

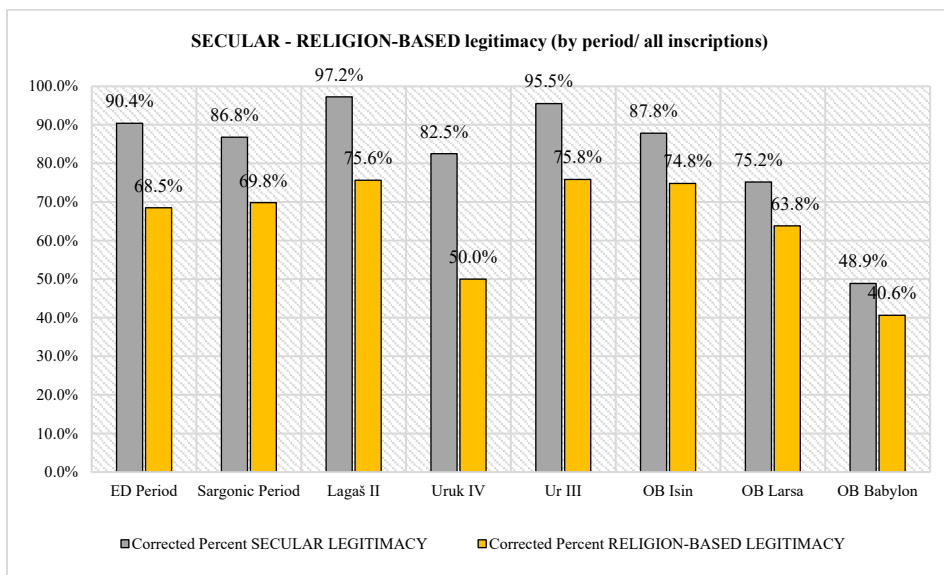
Comparing the royal inscriptions of Ur III and Isin kings with those of Sargonic kings, one notices that the growth of *divine nature* epithets' frequency mainly goes in *hybrid-* and *human-*orientated (for Isin) inscriptions. However, the frequency of *divine nature* epithets in *god-*orientated texts does not change much; it is even the only text group where the kings of Larsa allowed themselves to make claims for divine qualities. Therefore, *god-*orientated inscriptions seem to be the type of texts that have changed the less in using *divine nature* epithets.

I understand this data as follows: the initial explicit deification of the kings in the Sargonic period was possible due to the massive support of royal subjects. There was no such support and no explicit deification in the ED period; however, the ED period kings also claimed divine qualities (mainly in building or military inscriptions). Lack of support among subjects in the OB Isin period probably influenced the end of the deification practice. Claims for divine qualities for the OB Larsa kings were important only in the context of communication with gods. On the other hand, OB Babylon kings claimed *divine nature* mainly in the texts orientated for the human audience. The common point for these two groups of texts is the absence of *divine nature* epithets in *subject-addresser* texts. At the same time, the kings of Larsa and Babylon have much more claims for human nature in all types of inscriptions than was standard for previous periods. Therefore, *divine nature* epithets became difficult to notice in their texts.

III. 3.2.2. Secular vs. religion-based legitimacy opposition pairs

The following part analyzes the transformations in the balance within the *secular-* and *religion-based legitimacy* opposition pair. The charts below employ grey color for *secular legitimacy* and orange color for *religion-based legitimacy*.

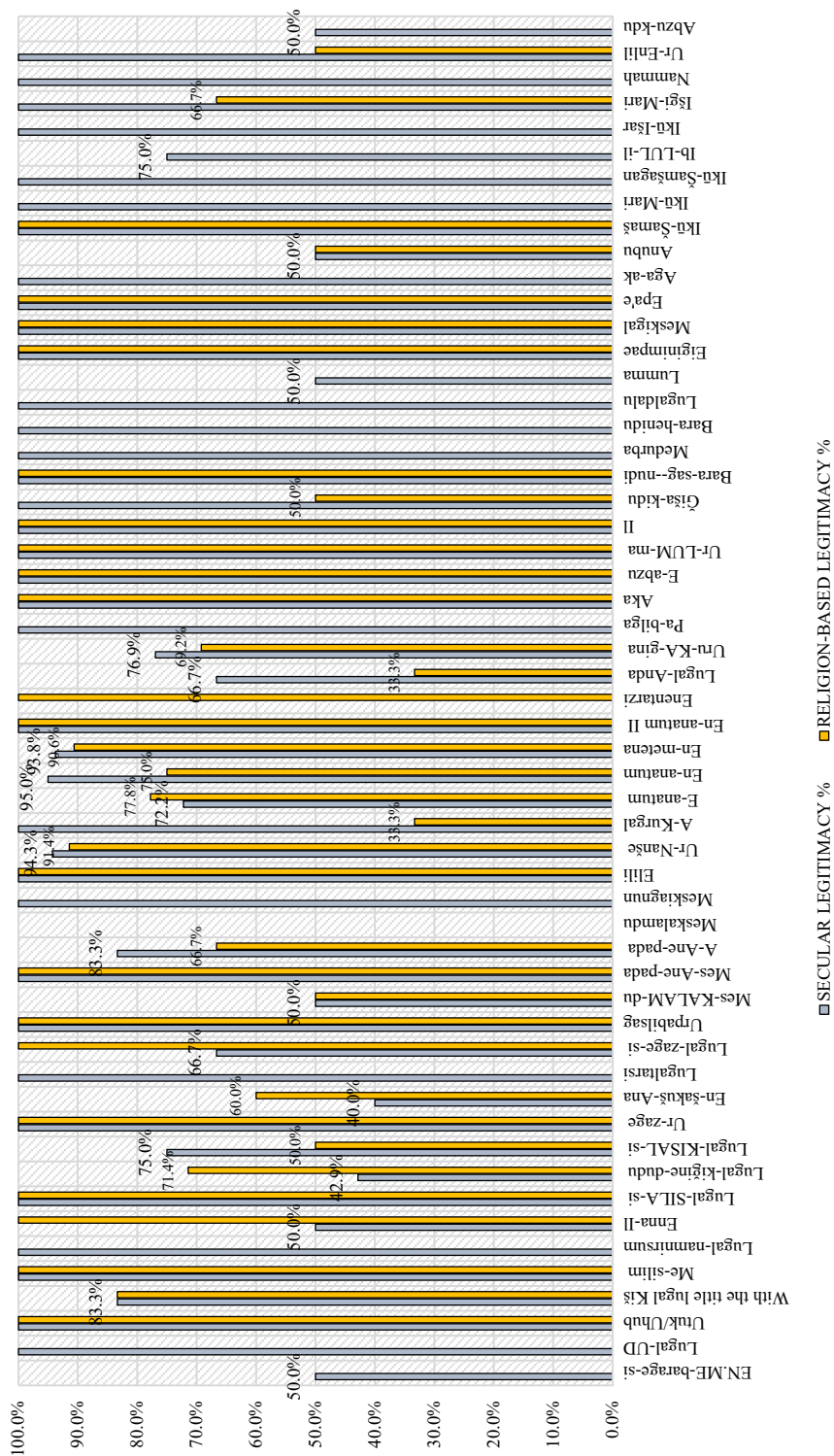
The first chart demonstrates data by periods.



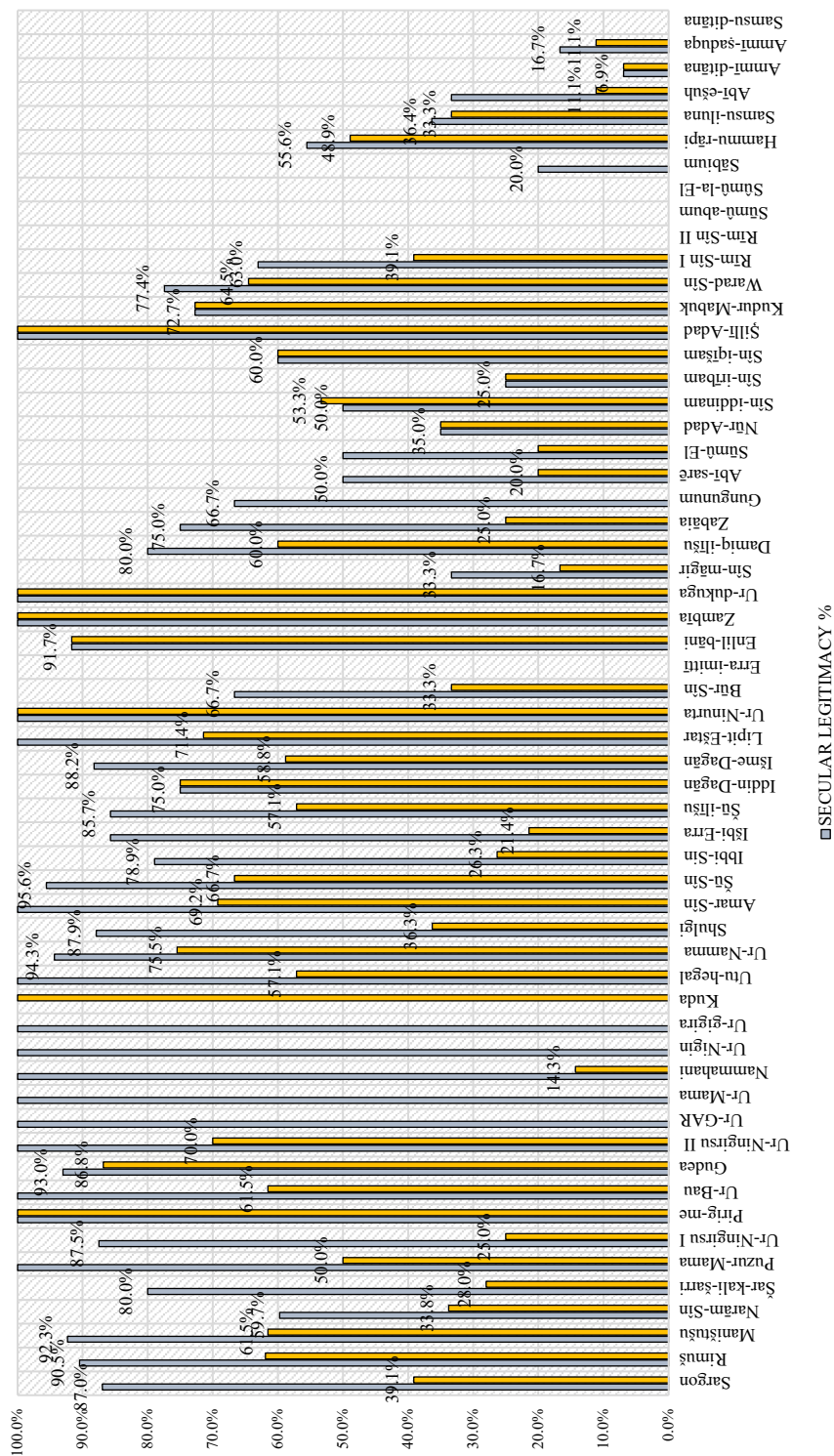
Secular legitimacy epithets always outnumber those of *religion-based legitimacy*. The only exception is ED Lagaš royal inscriptions, where *religion-based legitimacy* epithets are slightly higher in number than *secular legitimacy*. The only exception is ED Lagaš royal inscriptions (not represented in the chart), where *religion-based legitimacy* epithets are slightly higher in number (90,9%) than *secular legitimacy* (88,5%).

The following chart represents proportions between the epithets' groups for individual kings.

SECULAR-RELIGION-BASED legitimacy, part 1 (by kings/ all inscriptions)



SECULAR-RELIGION-BASED legitimacy, part 2 (by kings/ all inscriptions)

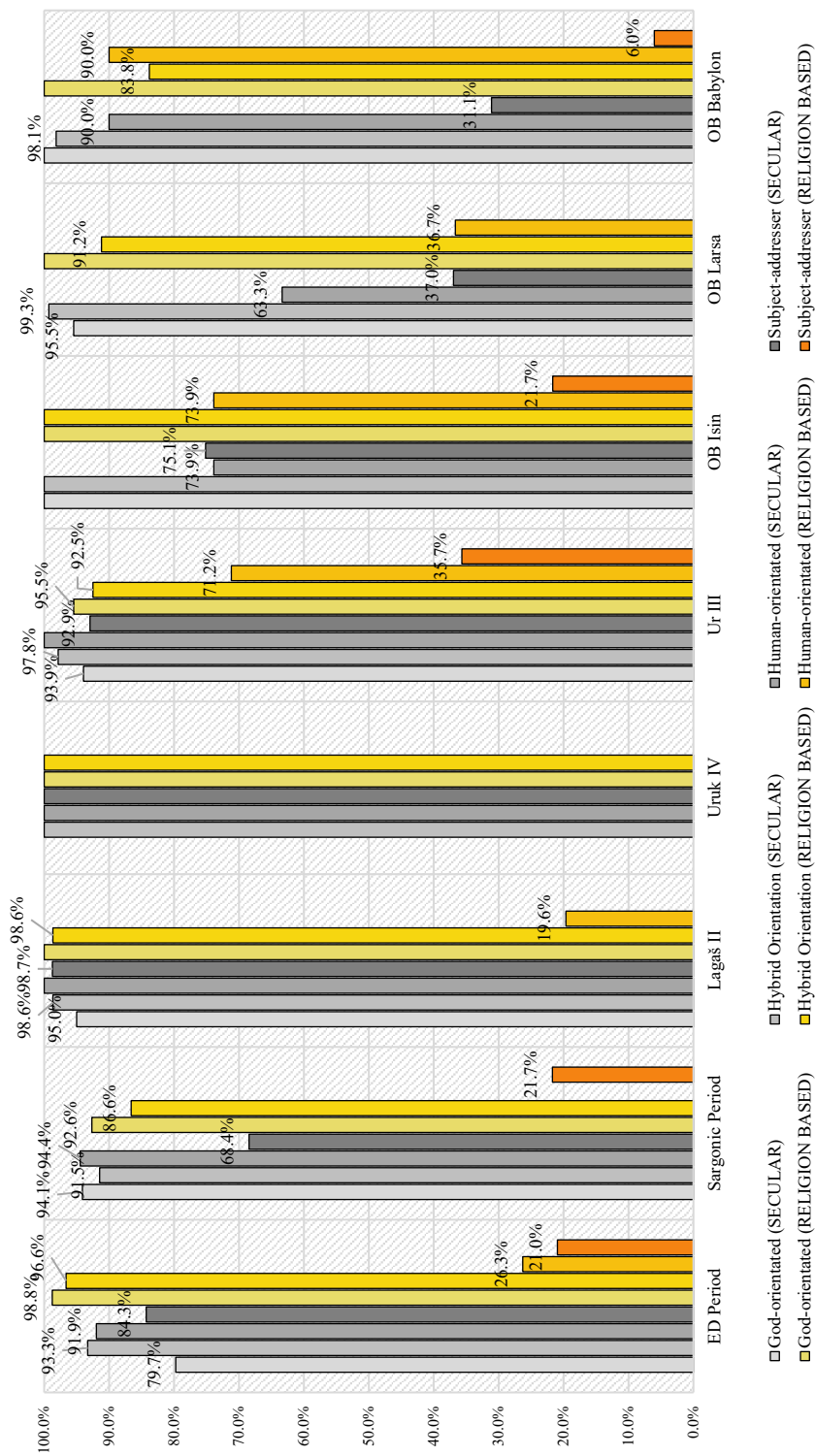


While the general trend is the dominance of *secular legitimacy*, some kings have a reversed proportion. Mostly it was ED period rulers; for example, Lugal-kiĝine-dudu (42,9% for *secular legitimacy* epithets vs. 71,4% for *religion-based legitimacy* epithets,) En-šakuš-Ana (40% vs. 60%), and E-anatum (72,2% vs. 77,8%). The royal texts of Narām-Sîn and Šar-kali-šarrī demonstrate some decrease in the frequency of *religion-based legitimacy* epithets compared with the texts of Sargon, Rīmuš, and Maništūšu (from 52,6% to 32%). However, the same can be said about the frequency of *secular legitimacy* epithets (from 89,5% to 64,1%).²⁶⁵ Most Ur III period rulers have a high frequency of both *secular* and *religion-based legitimacy* epithets. However, the frequency of *religion-based legitimacy* epithets in the texts of Šulgi (36,3%) and Ibbi-Sîn (26,3%) is smaller than the average for other three kings of the dynasty (70%). The same is true for the first ruler of the OB Isin dynasty, Išbi-Erra (21,4%). These fluctuations of the balance are not necessarily the results of deification. However, pointing out these features may prove useful to future research. The only ruler after the ED period who had a higher proportion of *religion-based legitimacy* epithets than *secular legitimacy* was Sîn-iddinam; however, the disbalance is insignificant (50% for *secular legitimacy* epithets vs. 53,3% for *religion-based legitimacy* epithets).

Finally, I describe the proportion within the opposition pair by the types of inscriptions.

²⁶⁵ These estimations are not “corrected average frequency,” but the “actual proportion,” or in other words, it is the percent of inscriptions out of the total reference number.

Secular- Religion-based legitimacy opposition (by types of inscriptions)



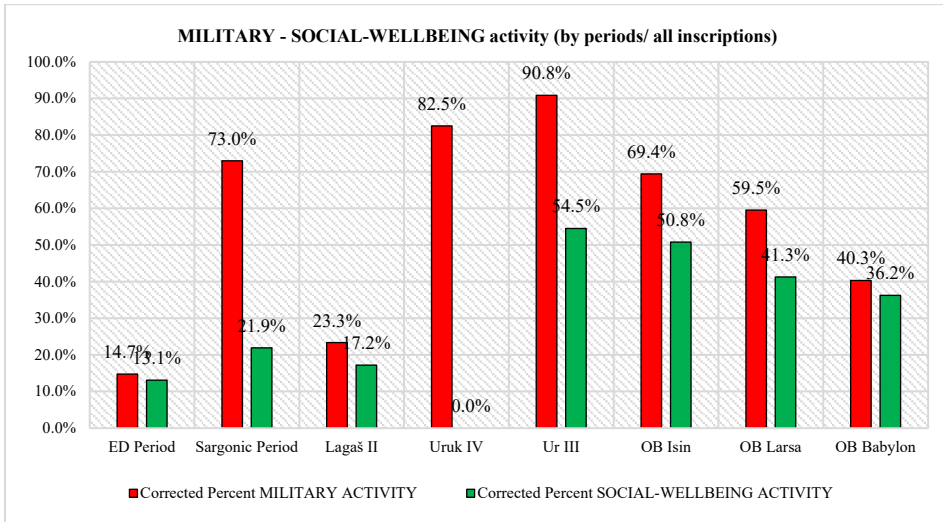
In most periods, *religion-based legitimacy* epithets have a higher frequency (or the same) than *secular legitimacy* epithets in *god-orientated* inscriptions. It is not true only for the Sargonic period *god-orientated* inscriptions.

In *hybrid orientation* texts of the ED, Sargonic, and Lagaš II periods, *religion-based legitimacy* epithets are more frequent than *secular legitimacy* epithets. However, this proportion is reversed for the Ur III, OB Isin, OB Larsa and OB Babylon *hybrid orientation* texts. It can relate to the change of orientation within the group. While building inscriptions of the 3rd millennium BCE were not only commemorative but functionally aimed to receive divine blessing, in later periods, their function as commemorative texts might gain more importance compared with the function of prayer.

Secular legitimacy epithets are more frequent than *religion-based legitimacy* epithets in *human-orientated* and *subject-addresser* texts of all periods. However, the *subject-addresser* texts of OB Larsa and OB Babylon reflect a significant drop in the frequency of *secular legitimacy* epithets compared with other periods. It may reflect some reconsideration of the traditional Sumerian royal titles by the kings of Amorite dynasties. The Ur III period *subject-addresser* texts have the highest frequency of *religion-based legitimacy* epithets compared with *subject-addresser* texts of other periods (35,7%). Such references are especially important in the *subject-addresser* texts relating to Šū-Sîn (43,5%). Subjects of Šū-Sîn regarded his reverence towards gods as a significant factor in his legitimation. There are no examples of similar attention to *religion-based legitimacy* epithets in the *subject-addresser* texts addressing other kings.

III. 3.2.3. Military vs. social-wellbeing activity opposition pairs

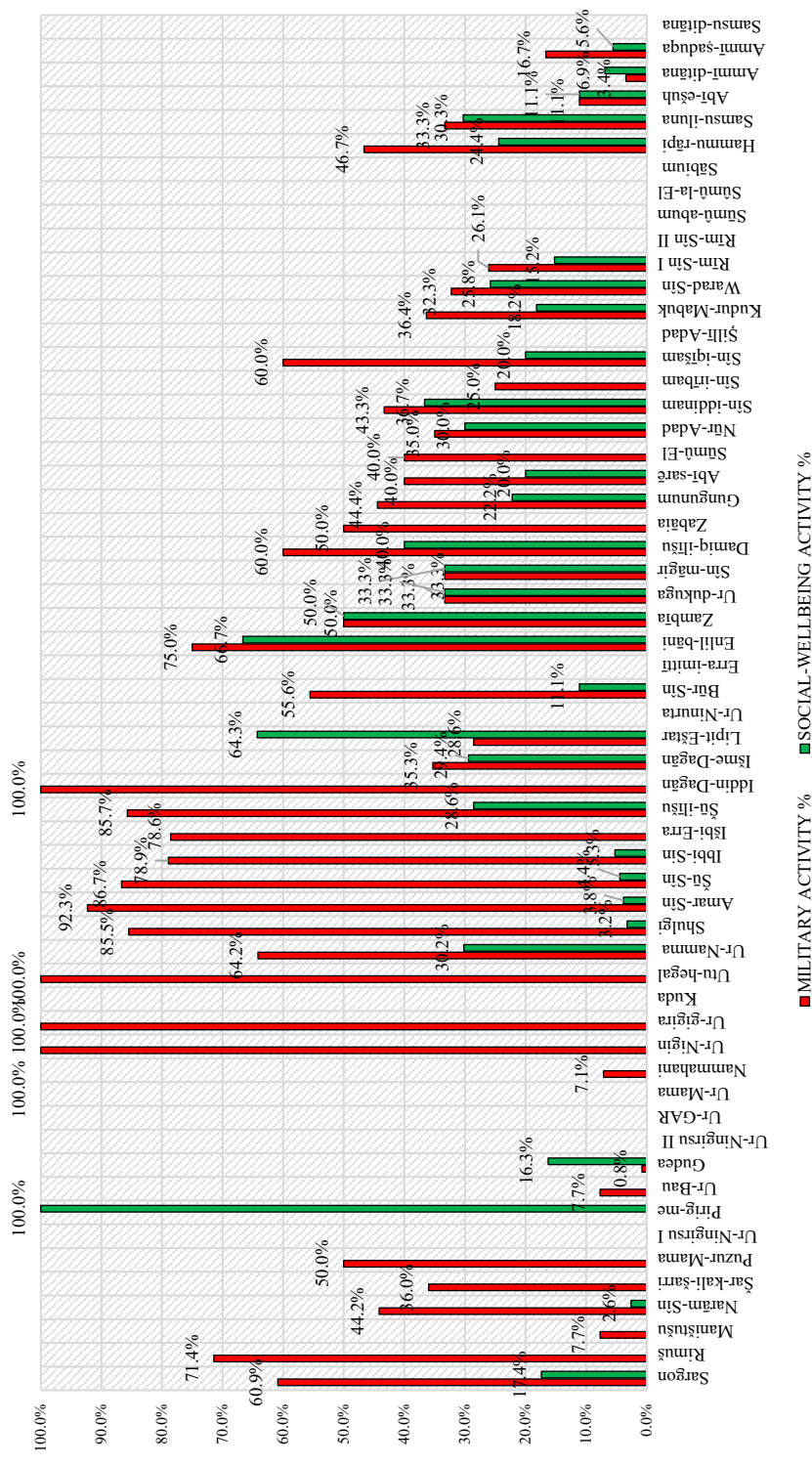
The charts below employ red color for *military activity* and green color for *social wellbeing activity* epithets.



Military activity epithets have a higher frequency than *social-wellbeing activity* epithets in general. The largest disproportion between the two types of epithets is in the Sargonic period; *military activity* epithets are three times more frequent (73% corrected frequency) than *social wellbeing activity* epithets (21,9%). It is true that kings of the Ur III dynasty have a higher corrected frequency of *military activity* epithets (90,8%) than the Sargonic kings. However, the proportion of *social-wellbeing activity* epithets also rose in the Ur III and Old Babylonian period. The disbalance between *military* and *social wellbeing activity* epithets gradually leveled. For the Ur III dynasty, the proportion was already 3:2, and not 3:1, as for the Sargonic period. These data demonstrate different concerns of the rulers of different periods and different circumstances in which they claimed divinity.

The following chart represents data for individual kings.

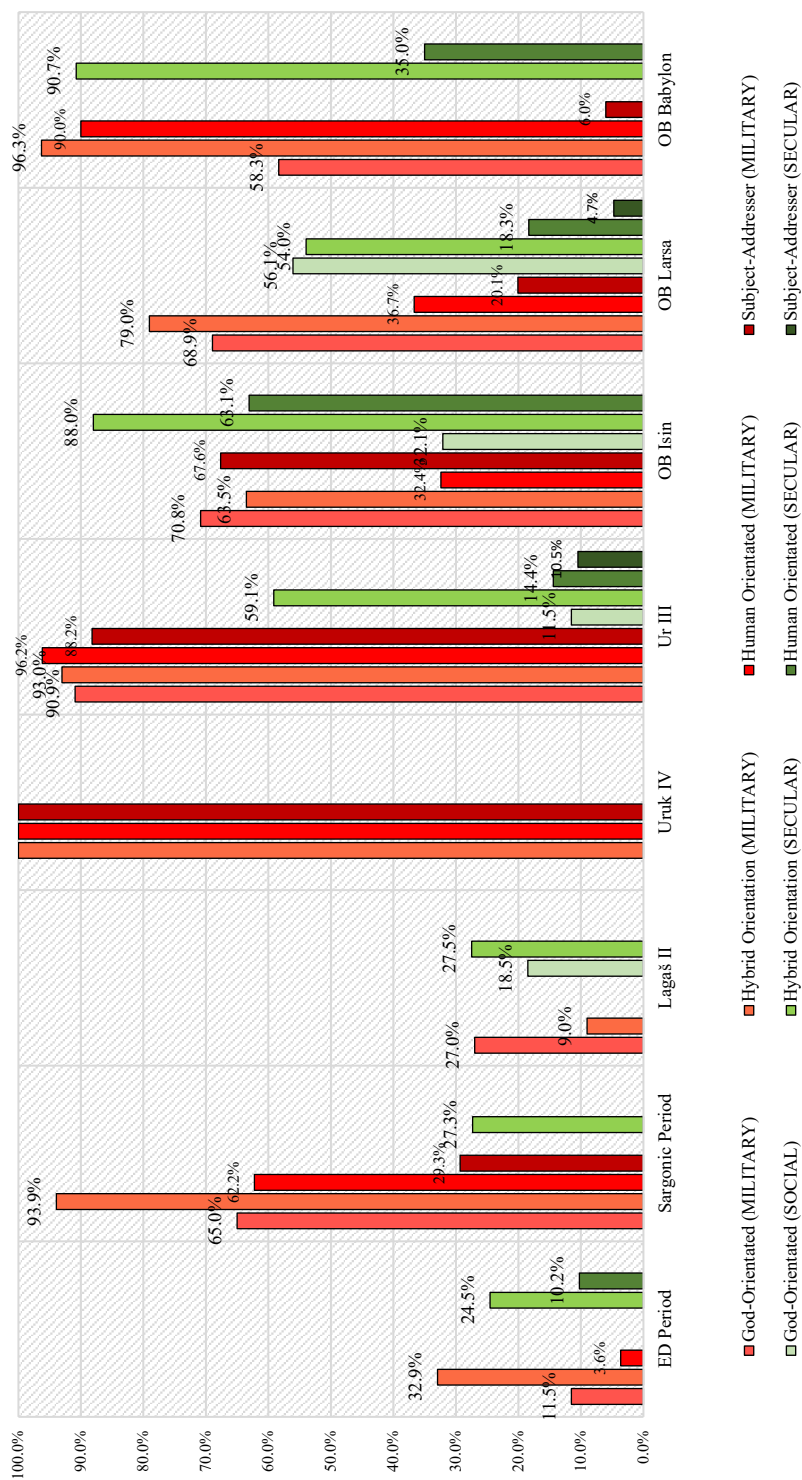
MILITARY - SOCIAL-WELLBEING activity (by kings/ all inscriptions)



On the individual level, the kings of the Sargonic and Ur III dynasties who claimed divinity tend to have a high frequency of *military activity* epithets and a minimal number of texts with *social wellbeing activity* epithets. At the same time, not deified Sargon and Ur-Namma have a higher frequency of *social wellbeing activity* epithets than others. Therefore, for the Sargonic and Ur III dynasties, the kings with a proportion of *social wellbeing activity* epithets higher than 10% of texts would not have divine status. On the other hand, a high frequency of *military activity* epithets does not imply divinity. For example, not deified Sargon and Rīmuš have a higher frequency of *military activity* epithets (respectively, 60,9% for Sargon and 71,4% for Rīmuš) than deified Narām-Sîn and Šar-kali-šarrī (respectively, 44,2% and 36%).

Only the first three rulers of OB Isin continued to use *military activity* epithets with high frequency (average for the three of them – 84%). In the royal inscriptions of the next ten kings of OB Isin, the frequency of *military activity* epithets fell to an average of 44,3%. At the same time, *social-wellbeing activity* epithets changed their frequency in the opposite direction. For the first three OB Isin kings, the average frequency was 9%, while for the following ten, it raised to 33%. No king of Larsa or Babylon had a similar proportion between *military activity* epithets and *social wellbeing activity* epithets as the deified kings of the Sargonic or Ur III dynasty. The average frequency of *military activity* epithets decreased while that of *social wellbeing activity* epithets rose.

MILITARY - SOCIAL WELLBEING ACTIVITY (by types of inscriptions)



The analysis by types of inscriptions demonstrates that *military activity* epithets have a high frequency in the *god-*, *hybrid-*, and *human-orientated* inscriptions of the Sargonic and Ur III dynasties. However, it drops (especially in *hybrid-* and *human-orientated* inscriptions) in the OB Isin and OB Larsa royal inscriptions. The similarity between the Ur III and OB Isin royal inscriptions is the high frequency of *military activity* epithets in the *subject-addresser* texts. The frequency of *military activity* epithets in *hybrid-*, and *human-orientated* OB Babylon inscriptions rises again.

The *social-wellbeing activity* epithets first reach a relatively high frequency in the *hybrid orientation* inscriptions of the Ur III period (59,1%). The *hybrid-* and *human-orientated* inscriptions from OB Isin demonstrate an unusual balance when the *social-wellbeing* epithets have a higher frequency than the *military activity* epithets. There is a surprisingly high frequency of the *social wellbeing activity* epithets in the OB Isin and OB Babylon *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions (respectively, 88% and 90,7%).

As far as the presented data suggests, the drop in the frequency of *military activity* epithets occurred in the royal inscriptions of OB Isin kings after Išme-Dagān. As will be discussed later, it is roughly synchronous to the change in the usage of the *direct and indirect divinity markers* in the royal inscriptions.

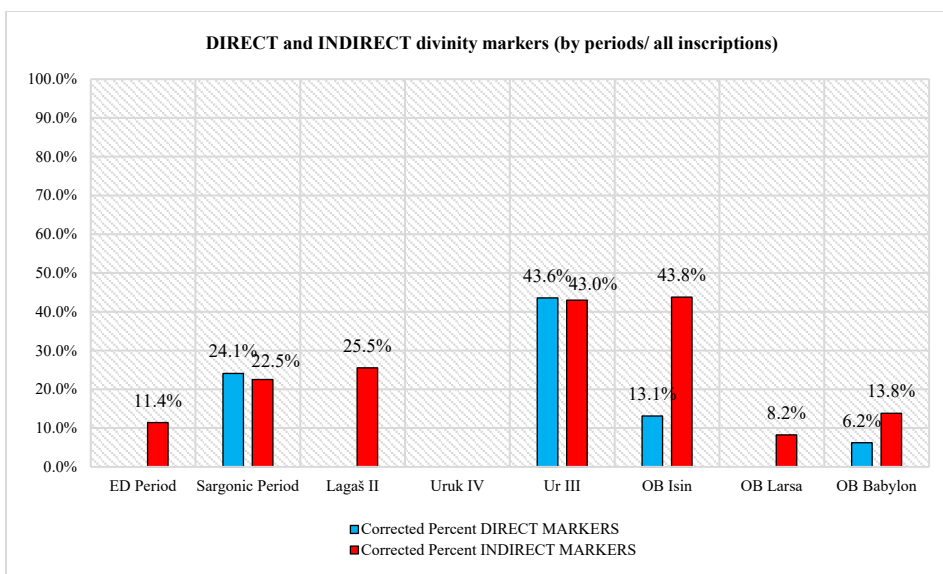
III. 3.3. Analysis of the individual epithets

The six groups of epithets discussed in the opposition pairs above represent the general ideological narratives in the description of the kings. However, each such group consists of individual epithets, that might have different ideological significance. The following section attempts to analyze the three most relevant groups of deification epithets in more detail (*divine nature*, *secular legitimacy*, *military activities*); which should give more understanding about the royal ideology of the discussed periods.

III. 3.3.1. Divine nature: *direct* and *indirect* markers of divinity

The *divine nature* epithets, in general, express the relation between the king and the divine world in one of two aspects: 1) through *direct divinity markers* 2) or through *indirect markers of sacredness*. Only the first aspect can be regarded as a sign of explicit deification.

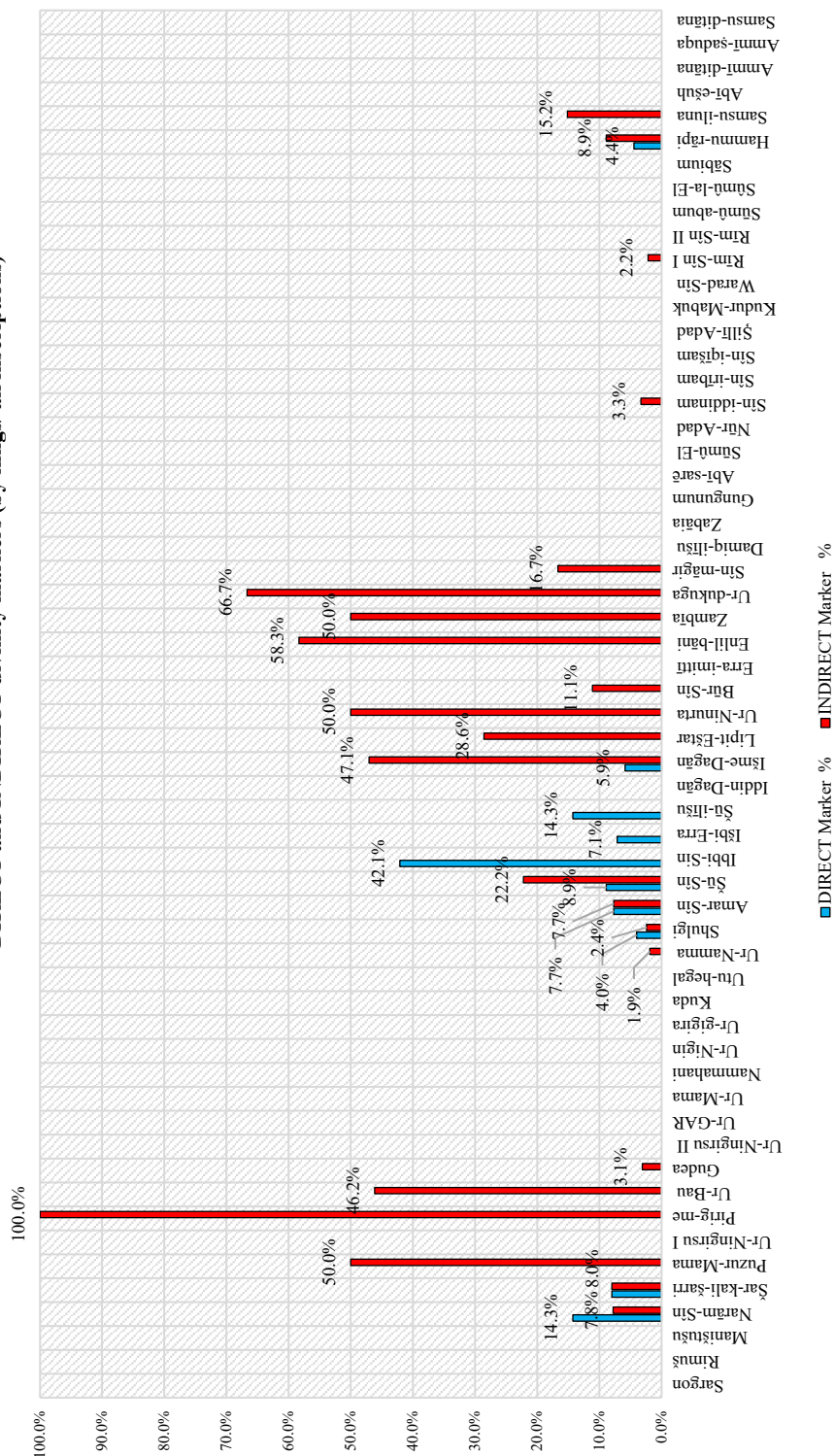
In the following charts, the blue color stands for *direct divinity markers* and the red color is for *indirect*.



Direct divinity markers have a higher frequency (corrected value) compared with *indirect markers* only in the royal inscriptions of the Sargonic and Ur III periods. The percentage of *indirect markers* in the OB Isin royal inscriptions is the same as in the Ur III texts; however, the frequency of the *direct markers* dropped significantly (from 43,6% for the Ur III texts to 13,1% for the OB Isin texts). There are no *direct markers* in the inscriptions of OB Larsa kings. *Direct markers* have a modest frequency in the OB Babylon inscriptions. This reappearance of the *direct divinity markers* in the OB Babylon royal inscriptions coincides with the second rise of the military activity epithets in the OB Babylon discussed above. Note that *indirect markers* of sacredness also drop significantly in the OB Larsa and Babylon inscriptions compared to that of OB Isin.

The following chart has data represented by individual rulers.

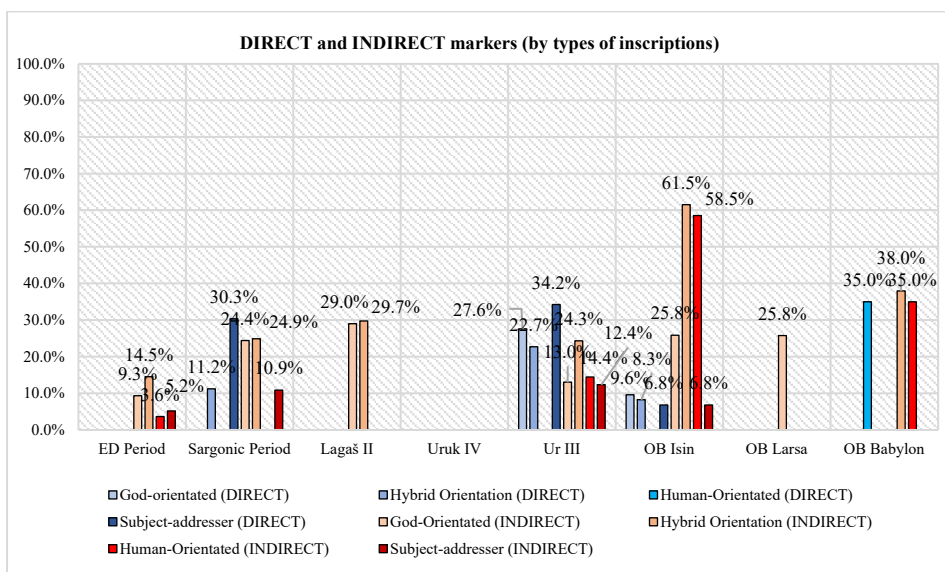
DIRECT and INDIRECT divinity markers (by kings/ all inscriptions)



There are only two kings who have more *direct divinity markers* than *indirect* (Narām-Sîn and Šulgi) and three more who have only *direct divinity markers* and no *indirect* (Ibbi-Sîn, Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilīšu).

The chart demonstrates that the frequency of the *indirect markers of sacredness* in the texts of Isin rulers from Išme-Dagān and till Sîn-māgir was significantly higher (average frequency for 9 kings is 36,5%) than the average for Ur III kings (6,8%). It is simultaneous to the decrease in the frequency of *military activity* epithets mentioned above. However, the only king among Isin rulers from Išme-Dagān until Sîn-māgir who has direct divinity markers is Išme-Dagān. In my view, this data suggests that some change in the perception of the royal divinity occurred approximately in the time of Išme-Dagān. Perception of the king as a real deity gave place to indirect allusions of the king's sacredness.

The following chart has data represented by the types of inscriptions.



Indirect divinity markers in the ED Period mostly appear in *god-* and *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions. They have a low frequency in these texts but demonstrate that kings were above the level of other human beings.

The major media of the Sargonic period, which explicitly propagated the divinity of kings was *subject addresser* texts. *Direct divinity markers* have 30,3% of the corrected frequency in these texts. *Direct markers* also appear in *hybrid orientation* texts but much less (11,2%). Kings preferred *indirect sacredness markers* in their royal inscriptions. The proportion of *indirect markers* in the Sargonic period significantly rose compared with the ED Period.

Subject-addresser texts remain the main source of *direct divinity markers* in the Ur III period (34,2%). However, the frequency of *direct markers* increased also in other types of inscriptions (*god-* and *hybrid orientation* royal inscriptions). The frequency of *indirect markers* in *god-* and *human-orientated* inscriptions

decreased compared with the Sargonic period but remained the same for *hybrid orientation* and *subject-addresser* texts. The Ur III period royal inscriptions directly proclaimed the divine status of the kings, leaving indirect allusions to gods as only secondary instruments of royal praise.

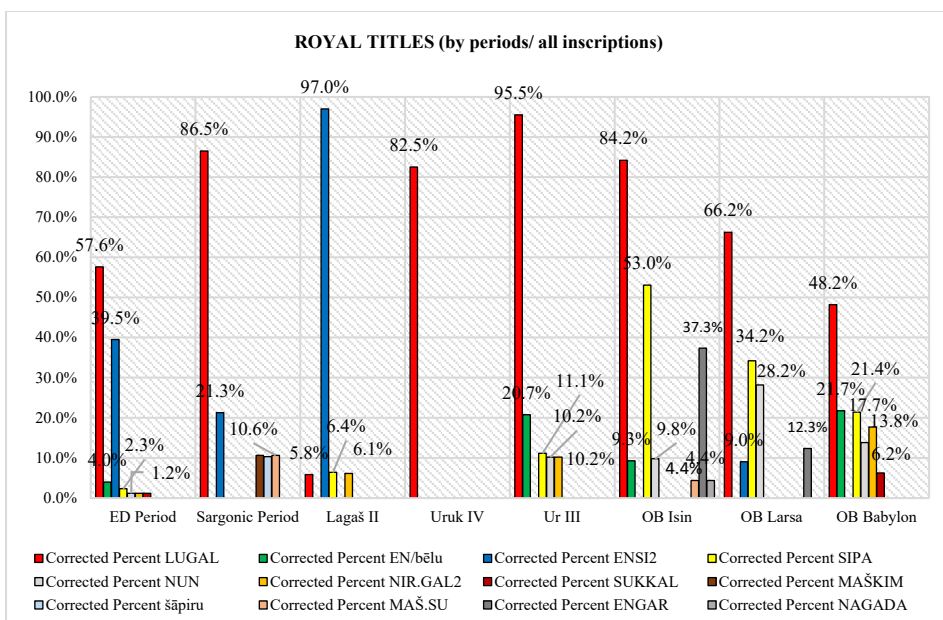
The frequency of *direct markers* dropped significantly in all types of OB Isin royal inscriptions. However, the most significant drop is among the *subject-addresser* texts (down to 6,8%). The main source of *direct divinity markers* in the OB Isin period is *god-orientated* texts (9,6%). On the contrary, the frequency of *indirect markers* of sacredness rose significantly, especially in *hybrid-* and *human-orientated* royal inscriptions. I believe these changes in the frequency of markers reflect some transformation in the perception of a king as sacred being. In contrast to Sargonic and Ur III kings, the honors paid to the kings of Isin did not imply a qualitative difference between kings and other human beings.

The only group of the OB Babylon texts that has *direct divinity markers* is *human-orientated* inscriptions.

In my opinion, the disappearance of the *direct divinity markers* from the *subject-addresser* texts in the Old Babylonian period is very important. This characteristic clearly differentiates Sargonic and Ur III royal inscriptions from those of Isin kings. It reflects the unwillingness of Isin courtiers to praise their sovereigns with divine honors. One can only speculate if the rapid increase in the frequency of *indirect markers* indicates that kings intentionally promoted their sacredness amongst their subjects trying to save their special status.

III. 3.3.2. Secular legitimacy: differences in the usage of royal titles

The following part discusses the usage of twelve different royal titles. These titles are lugal “king,” en/bēlu “lord,” énsi “ruler,” sipa “shepherd,” nun “prince,” nir-ĝál “authoritative,” sukkal/našparu “vizier,” maškim “bailiff,” šāpiru “overseer,” massu/muttarrû “leader,” engar “farmer,” nagada/nāqidu “herdsman.” The tables have chart legends explaining the correlation between the titles and the colors in the charts.

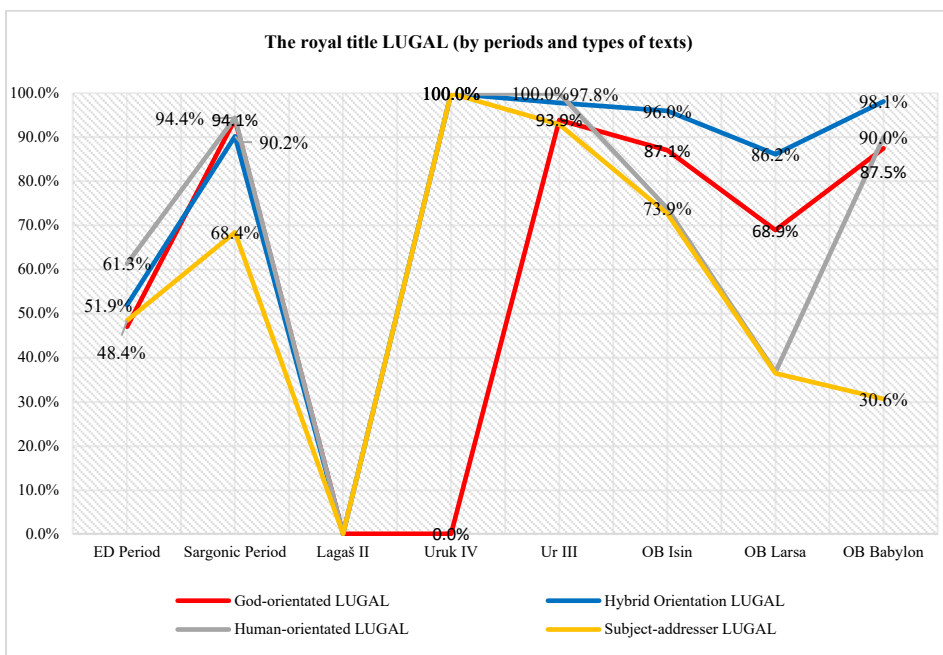


The ED period royal inscriptions prove that each city-state had unique patterns of the royal titles' usage. The title lugal "king" was the most frequent one for the rulers from Kiš, Uruk, Ur, Umma, and Mari. In Lagaš, Adab, E'din, and Nippur, the most frequent royal title was énsi "ruler." Curiously, the royal title lugal "king" also had relatively high frequency in the texts from Lagaš (34,1%) and Adab (38,1%). The royal title en "lord" has a traditional association with Uruk; however, the quantitative analysis of the texts from Uruk registered a relatively low *average corrected* frequency of the title (23,4%). In the texts from Umma, the title en "lord" also appears (12,7%). In general, the rulers of Uruk and Umma used a wider variety of royal titles than the rulers of other city-states. The case of Adab is especially interesting because Adab kings mainly used the title énsi "ruler" in the *god-orientated* royal inscriptions and lugal "king" in the *human-orientated* texts. It may hint that in Adab the title énsi was more appropriate for religious or ritual occasions while lugal was more secular. The average corrected frequency of the titles for the entire ED period is as follows: lugal "king" – 57,6%; en "lord" – 4%, énsi "ruler" – 39,5%, sipa "shepherd" – 2,3%; nun "prince," nir-ĝál "authoritative," and sukkal "vizier" – 1,2% frequency.

In the following periods, the title lugal was the most frequent one. Only during the Gutian period did the rulers of the Lagaš II and Uruk IV dynasties stick to the regional preferences, in the same way as during the ED period. In Lagaš, énsi was the most frequent royal title (97%). An interesting detail is that Lagaš II kings, in contrast to the ED Lagaš rulers, absolutely ignored the title lugal "king." Gutians might have influenced this choice of titles. The Uruk IV rulers used only lugal "king"; they never used the traditional Urukean title en "lord." The average corrected frequency of the title lugal was declining in the OB Isin, Larsa, and Babylon texts compared with the Ur III period texts.

The title *énsi* “ruler” is the second most frequent in the royal inscriptions of the Sargonic period (21,3%) but loses its importance in later periods (except for the Lagaš II inscriptions). The only two Sargonic kings who used it were Sargon (13%) and Narām-Sîn (1,3%). The frequency of *énsi* was twice higher in the *hybrid orientation inscriptions* (23,7%) compared with the *god-orientated* texts (11,5%). On the other hand, the frequency of the title *lugal* “king” was almost the same in the *god-* (94,1%), *hybrid-* (90,2%), and *human-orientated* (94,4%) royal inscriptions.

The second most frequent title for the Ur III period is *en* “lord.” It appeared in the texts from Ur III almost as frequently (20,7%) as in the ED Uruk texts (23,4%). Two kings of the Ur III period were especially eager to use this title: Ur-Namma (5,7%) and Šū-Sîn (2,2%). The *quantitative analysis by kings* hints at some decrease in the frequency of the title *lugal* in the *subject-addresser* texts of Ibbi-Sîn (down to 71,4% from 91,3% for Šū-Sîn). Later, this tendency is well visible in the OB Isin *subject-addresser* texts.



The decrease of the title *lugal* “king” frequency in the *subject-addresser* texts can be explained by the general abundance of royal titles and epithets in these texts. However, the decrease in the title *lugal* frequency in other types of inscriptions is surprising. The *average corrected* frequency of the title *lugal* “king” decreased in the OB Isin texts (84,2%) compared with the Ur III period (95,5%). It is most obvious in *human-orientated* royal inscriptions where the *average corrected* frequency of the title decreased to 73,9% compared with the Ur III period (100%). The decrease of the title *lugal* “king” coincided with some

other changes. The frequency of the title sipa “shepherd” and engar “farmer” had significantly risen; for sipa, from 11,1% in the Ur III period texts to 53% in the OB Isin texts, for engar, from 0% to 37,3%. These titles did not play such a significant role in any previous periods. The simultaneous decrease in the frequency of the title lugal “king” and increase in the frequency of other titles suggest that the kings were looking for a substitute for the title lugal “king” or some additional legitimation; it could be that the title lugal “king” was losing its significance for the contemporary audience. At the same time, as the frequency of the title lugal fluctuated in the inscriptions of different kings, it is difficult to point at any more precise trend.

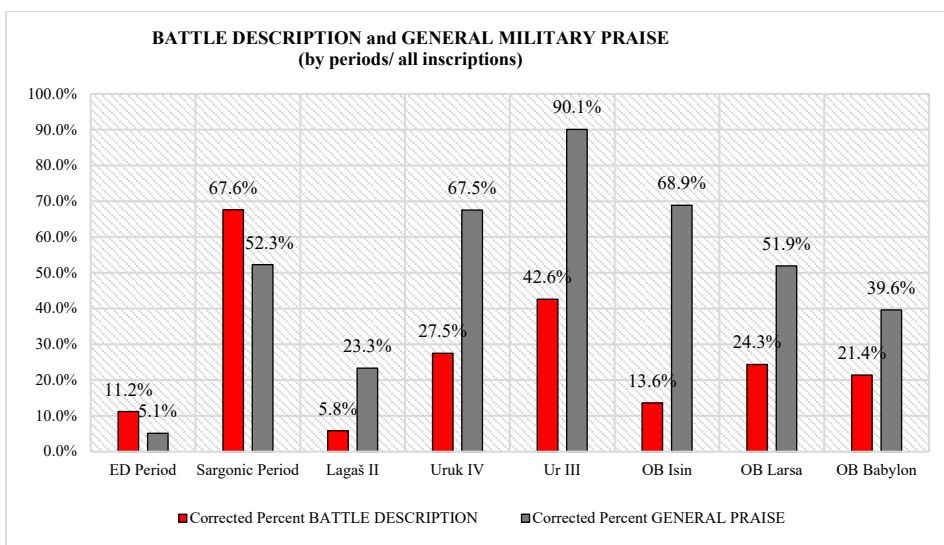
The same decrease in the usage of the title lugal “king” is visible through all groups of texts from the OB Larsa. The fact that Šillī-Adad used the title énsi “ruler” exclusively and abandoned the title lugal “king” proves that the kings of Larsa were also looking for new titles, just like the kings of Isin. The subject-addresser texts had a relatively low frequency of the title lugal “king” (36,4%). The general frequency of the title sipa “shepherd” decreased (to 34,2%), but the title acquired a surprisingly high frequency in the *god-orientated* inscriptions and equated with the title lugal “king” (68,9%). The general frequency of the title nun “prince” also increased (28,2%).

The *average corrected* frequency of the title lugal “king” for OB Babylon (48,2%) dropped even compared with OB Larsa (66,2%). However, the analysis by the types of inscriptions shows a different picture. The frequency of the title lugal increased for all types of inscriptions (compared with the data for OB Larsa) except in *subject-addresser* texts. In *god-*, *hybrid-*, and *human-orientated* inscriptions, the title lugal had a frequency of the same level as for the Ur III dynasty. At the same time, it is true that the other titles (énsi, nun, and sipa) had a significant frequency in these types of texts and can be regarded as “obligatory supporting epithets.”

III. 3.3.3 Military activities: descriptions of battles and a general praise of mightiness

Military activity epithets may belong to two types: 1) detailed description of military actions or 2) abstract praise of the king’s military potential.

The first type relates to some real (or assumed) military experience of a king and his army. The second type describes an abstract image of a king’s military potential. The best example is the epithet *kalag/dannum* “mighty,” which should reflect the king’s military ability but not any specific outcomes of his military actions. This classification ignores some other *military activity* epithets, especially those describing gods as divine supporters of kings in battles.

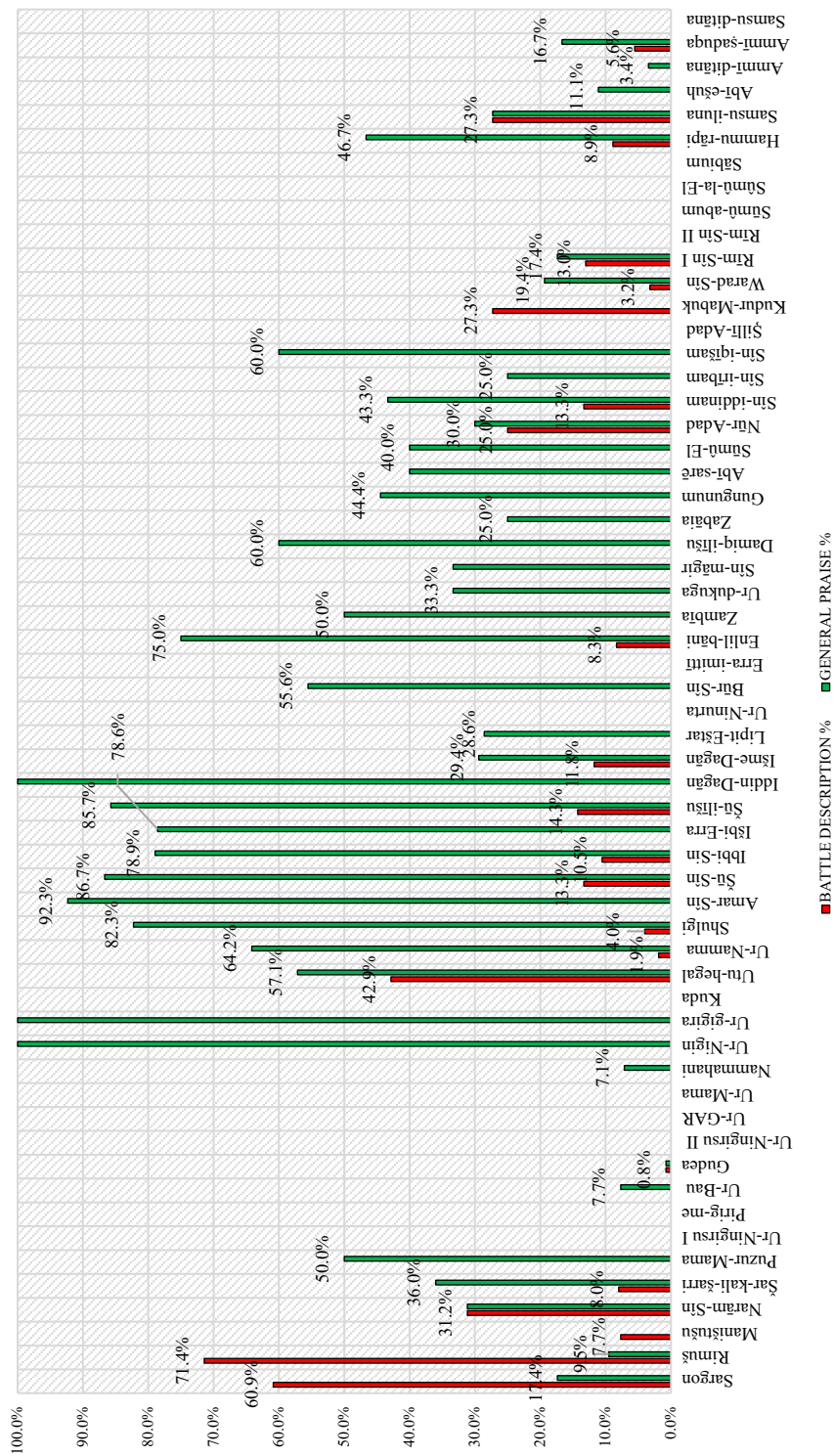


The frequency of the *battle description* epithets was higher than that of the *general military praise* in the royal inscriptions of the ED and Sargonic periods. This balance was overturned during the Gutian period and never returned to the original situation.

The *average corrected* frequency of the *battle description* epithets for the ED period is 11,2%; the same for the *general military praise* epithets – 5,1%. The *battle description* epithets were particularly frequent in ED Lagaš (30,2% for *battle description* epithets vs. 12,7% for *general praise* epithets) and among kings with the title lugal kiš “king of Kiš” (25% vs. 0%). In the ED Uruk, the proportion between was close (14% vs. 9,4%); however, there are no *battle description* epithets and only the *general military praise* in the inscriptions from ED Umma (0% vs. 12,7%). There are no military activity epithets from Kiš, Ur, Adab, E’Edin, Mari, and Nippur.

The analysis of following periods includes data for individual kings.

BATTLE DESCRIPTION and GENERAL MILITARY PRAISE (by kings/ all inscriptions)



The *average corrected* frequency of the *battle description* (67,6%) and the *general praise* (52,3%) epithets significantly rose in the Sargonic royal inscriptions. The first group still dominated over the second, like in the ED period. *Battle description* epithets were indisputably more important than *general praise* only for the first three kings of the dynasty (the proportion for Sargon was 60,9% vs. 17,4%; for Rīmuš – 71,4% vs. 9,5%; for Maništūšu – 7,7% vs. 0%). The increase of *general praise* epithets is well visible in the texts of Narām-Sîn (31,2% vs. 31,2%) and Šar-kali-šarri (7,7% vs. 36%). Therefore, this data suggests that the rise of the *general military praise* epithets' frequency coincided with the rule of Narām-Sîn, the first explicitly deified king. Narām-Sîn actively introduced the *general military praise* epithets in his texts; however, they were well balanced with *battle description* epithets. Starting with Šar-kali-šarri, the *general military praise* epithets regularly held a higher or equal frequency with the *battle description* epithets.

The frequency of the *general praise* epithets is higher than that of the *battle description* epithets in the Lagaš II and Uruk IV royal inscriptions. The *average corrected* frequency of the *general praise* (23,3%) and *battle description* epithets (5,8%) is low in the Lagaš II royal inscriptions. Uruk IV rulers employed *military activity* epithets more often. The frequency of *general praise* epithets (67,5%) was twice higher than the frequency of the *battle description* epithets (27,5%).

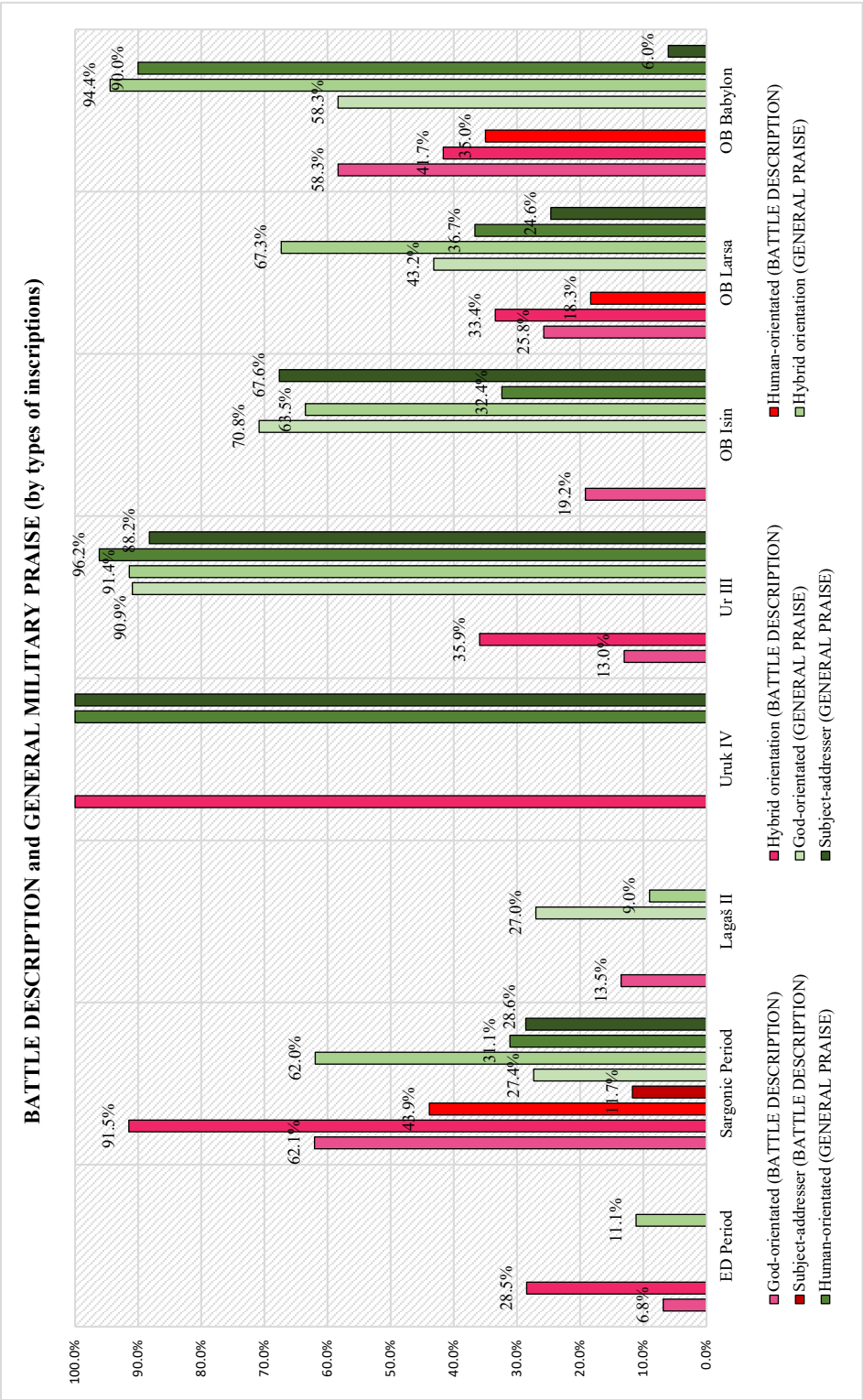
Ur III rulers referred to their actual war experience (frequency of *battle description* epithets 42,6%) less often than Sargonic kings did (67,5%). Simultaneously, Ur III kings have much more *general praise* epithets (90,1%) than Sargonic kings did (24,5%). As the chart below demonstrates, general military praise epithets became obligatory for all analyzed types of texts.

The OB Isin texts reflect a decrease in the frequency of both groups of epithets. However, the frequency of the *battle description* epithets had decreased more (from 42,6% for Ur III to 13,6% for OB Isin) than the *general praise* epithets (from 90,1% to 68,9%).

The OB Larsa royal inscriptions show a different picture. The data demonstrates a tendency for the increase of actual *battle description* epithets' importance (the frequency in the OB Larsa texts – 24,3%, in the OB Isin texts – 13,6%). On the other hand, the frequency of the *general praise* epithets has decreased (the frequency in the OB Larsa texts – 51,9%, in the OB Isin texts – 69,1%).

The trend for the increase of *battle description* epithets in comparison with the *general military praise* epithets is also visible in the OB Babylon texts. The frequency of *general praise* epithets dropped compared with the OB larsa period (39,6%). On the other hand, the frequency of *battle description* epithets has not change that much (21,4%).

The following chart has data represented by types of inscriptions.



Battle description epithets seem to be more important in the ED period both for the legitimization among subjects and for the better self-representation before gods.

The usage of the *military activity* epithets in the Sargonic period texts is unique. First, Sargonic is the only period when *battle description* epithets appear in *subject-addresser* texts. It is important, because it demonstrates the great importance of actual military deeds in the royal legitimization. It is evident from the fact that the frequency of the *battle description* epithets is higher than that of the *general military praise* epithets in all types of inscriptions except subject-addresser texts (11,7% for the *battle description* vs. 28,6% for the *general military praise*). Both the *battle description* and the *general military praise* epithets appeared in all groups of the analyzed texts. The data presented in the table confirms that military deeds might become an excuse for the royal deification, as the *Bassetki inscription* narrates.

Unlike in the Sargonic period, the kings of Ur III dynasty preferred *general military praise* epithets over *battle description* epithets. Ur-Namma, Šulgi, and Šū-Sîn used *battle description* epithets only in the *human-orientated* inscriptions. On the other side, Ibbi-Sîn never used the *battle description* epithets in his *human-orientated* inscriptions, but only in the *god-orientated* texts. It may be a coincidence or some attempt of Ibbi-Sîn to grant the divine favor in the unfavorable political situation by referring to his military activity. Unfortunately, the reference data are not enough to support any assumption. *General military praise* epithets appear in *subject-addresser* texts of Ur III kings three times more frequent (88,2%) than in the Sargonic *subject-addresser* texts (28,6%).

The OB Isin kings used the *battle description* epithets only in the *god-orientated* inscriptions (19,2%). At the same time, the frequency of the *general military praise* epithets was higher in the *god-orientated* texts (70,8%) than in the *hybrid-* or *human-orientated* inscriptions. It reminds the case of Ibbi-Sîn. It could be that the *military activity epithets* (both the *battle description* and the *general military praise* epithets) acquired some higher importance in the *god-orientated* texts as an additional instrument for granting the divine favor. The fact that the first five kings of Isin, those who ruled immediately after Ibbi-Sîn, preferred to use the *military activity epithets* in the *god-orientated* royal inscriptions (the *average* frequency for 5 kings – 68%) and not the *hybrid orientation* inscriptions (20%) indirectly supports this assumption. On the other hand, the kings after Ur-Ninurta did the opposite and mostly used the *military activity epithets* in the *hybrid orientation* inscriptions (the *average* frequency for 8 kings – 48,2%) and not the *god-orientated* inscriptions (25%). The first five kings of the Isin dynasty also enjoyed more *general military praise* epithets from their subjects (the *average corrected* frequency – 72,7%) than the later eight kings (8,5%). In my view, the pattern of military epithets distribution in the inscriptions of the first five Isin kings resembles that of Ur III kings. However, they mostly used the *battle description* epithets in reports to gods. Actual military success hardly served as a formal excuse for the royal deification because the frequency of *battle description* epithets is small. The kings of Isin after Ur-Ninurta probably

abandoned this pattern of the military epithets distribution; they rarely used these battle description epithets in reports to gods.

The increase of the *general military praise* epithets seems to result from royal deification; it is confirmed by the data from the Sargonic, Ur III, and OB Isin periods. There seem to be a similar relation for battle description epithets and legitimation of Sargonic kings. However, there is no evidence for any relation between *battle description* epithets and the deification of Ur III or OB Isin kings. The low frequency of *battle description* epithets in the Ur III and OB Isin royal inscriptions makes it unlikely that actual battle successes incited the royal deification in these two periods.

Battle description epithets are present in *god-*, *hybrid*, and *human-orientated* royal inscriptions of the OB Larsa kings. It proves their universal importance for the royal self-representation. However, the frequency of *general military praise* epithets is higher in all types of texts. The frequency of the *general military praise* epithets in the *subject-addresser* texts decreased significantly compared to the Ur III and OB Isin periods. It correlates with the trend that the frequency of these titles was decreasing also in the *subject-addresser* texts of the late OB Isin kings as mentioned above.

Data from OB Babylon is similar to that from Larsa, with one exception – the frequency of the *battle description* epithets is the same as the frequency of *general military praise* epithets (58,3%) in *god-orientated* texts. Unfortunately, the reference material is not sufficient to regard the high frequency of these epithets as a reliable reflection of some changes in the writing tradition.

PART IV.

Reconstruction of the royal divinity idea's evolution

IV. 1. Origin

The ED period rulers have no *direct divinity markers* in their royal inscriptions but share some *indirect markers limited* to claims of *divine origin* and *nourishment*, as demonstrated by the quantitative analysis. Only one text has a claim to the spousal relationships with the goddess Inanna.

The qualitative analysis supports the idea that the *divine origin* claims were functional. Claims for divine origin and nourishment probably relate to the statement of regional dominance and abstract military potential. I believe claims for divine origin relate to rightful protecting and guiding (later associated with the royal title sipa “shepherd”) and not aggressive, coercive policy against other states. By performing the function of land protector, a ruler represented the city god of his land. The similarity between human rulers and gods is evident from numerous references to city gods as lugal, “kings,” in the discussed royal inscriptions. However, in my view, the equation of rulers with gods (or even functional deification) did not relate to the offensive military activities (unjustified aggression against neighbors).

By the time of E-anatum, the concept of nam-lugal “kingship” appeared in royal inscriptions as an authority granted by the local deity (RIME 1.9.3.1, line 80’). However, I do not find any proof in the texts that nam-lugal could be regarded as a separate divine instance like “sacred kingship” in that period. In my view, the concept of kingship as a unique ME endowed by gods to their chosen rulers and affecting the sacred status of rulers was not fully developed in the ED period. Most likely, it developed later, probably during the OB Isin period.

ED period royal inscriptions never explicitly state that rulers could receive some supernatural qualities because of their royal status or because of their achievements as leaders (the case of Narām-Sîn). Claims for divine origin or special favor of gods served for the legitimation as some rulers, but not vice versa. For many rulers no such claim is attested at all. There is no doubt that those claims for supernatural qualities were introduced *post factum* to legitimate a ruler who already held authority. However, I find it important that the sacredness was formally prescribed to individual rulers (through their divine origin) but not to the concept of (sacred) kingship.

As the case of Me-silim indicates, the topos of divine origin might be originally alien to Southern Babylonia. Still, the comparative data is too small to conclude that the divine origin was borrowed from certain foreign rulers. For some period, only the rulers of Lagaš claimed the origin from gods among all other South Mesopotamian rulers. Later, the only two rulers who claimed divine origin outside Lagaš were from Umma. As the principal military rivals of Lagaš, they could have adopted some ideological statements of the enemy. Most ED

period Mesopotamian rulers lacked instruments to stress their sacred status if they had one, as the hypothesis of permanent “sacred kingship” proposes.

Following Horst Steible (2001, 84), I assume that the political authority in Mesopotamia had diverse roots. Steible distinguished: 1) military responsibilities (lugal), 2) administrative responsibilities (énsi), and 3) cultic responsibilities (en). Most likely, the position of lugal was a later invention compared to two others. I believe that by the ED period, it is already impossible to strictly distinguish spheres of responsibility for the holders of the respective titles. Their authority was not limited to one specific sphere of responsibilities. Therefore, even kings holding the title lugal had to perform some cultic responsibilities and partly belonged to the priesthood.

One way of expressing royal cultic responsibilities in the ED royal inscriptions was to allude to the sacred marriage rite. One royal inscription of Mes-Ane-pada (RIME 1.13.5. lines 1–2) mentions the title dam nu-gig, “spouse of the nugipriestess,” which likely designates the status of Inanna’s partner in the *sacred marriage* type of rite.²⁶⁶ Ur-Nanše did not claim participation in the sacred marriage; however, he claimed the authority over the choice of the deity’s partner (RIME 1.9.1.17, col. iii, lines 3–6). Therefore, Ur-Nanše controlled the fertility rites. The fact of belonging to the priesthood and controlling cult should grant some limited sacredness to rulers.

The problem of *sacred marriage* and its role in royal legitimation is complicated and cannot be solved due to the lack of data. I find the view that the rite was performed after the model of human marriage the most convincing. According to it, a king played the role of a god, and a queen (or a priestess) played the role of a goddess. As Selz demonstrated, some queens of Lagaš were identified with city goddesses and held some limited sacred status together with kings (Selz 1995, 272–273). There are also indications that some forms of authority in Mesopotamia (probably those originally associated with the title en) were transmitted not from father to son but through marriage with a daughter of the previous office holder (Selz 2006, 91). If it is correct, the *sacred marriage* ritual might serve as a formal ritual of royal legitimation for some limited period. It is supposed that kings had to participate in this ritual annually to confirm their royal status and ensure prosperous vegetation and fertility in the next calendar cycle.

At the same time, there are few references to kings as spouses of goddesses to claim that all kings played this role. Suppose the sacred marriage was necessary for confirming the royal status and approval by ancestors (Fritz 2003, 328), then explicit references to it should appear in the surviving texts more often. Moreover, as the ED period royal inscriptions testify, the position of the deity’s spouse could have been elective and was not reserved exclusively for the kings (RIME 1.9.1.17, col. iii, lines 3–6).

²⁶⁶ Annette Zgoll demonstrated that nu-gig is an appellative of the goddess Inanna (Zgoll 1997, 194).

To sum up, the further explicit deification of kings might be partly based on two possible ideological constructs appearing already in the ED period royal inscriptions. The first is the function of a king as a military protector of his land and his identification with the city god accompanied by claims for divine origin. The second is the identification of the ruler with the local deity, and the cultic responsibilities of the royal family to support fertility actualized through the ritual of sacred marriage. Statistically, there is more evidence for the dependence between the king's sacred status and his military functions than with the alleged sacred marriage ritual.

The ED period royal inscriptions might reflect two different models of royal legitimation. Both models offer some limited sacredness to a king. The oldest model is the legitimation by marriage with a previous ruler's daughter, who might represent the city goddess (corresponding to the sacred marriage rite). The other model is the legitimation of a king's son as an heir of his father and an offspring of gods (which corresponds with the military responsibilities of a ruler). It might also relate to the different legitimation patterns for the authorities with the title *en* and the title *lugal*.

On a more abstract level, there are indications of a change in social norms that made ancient Mesopotamian society more patriarchal by the ED period than it was in the 4th millennium BCE (Fritz 2003, 310). Suppose it is true, then changes in royal legitimation were inevitable. It is hardly possible that the ancient rulers recognized such long-lasting changes. They likely used all available legitimation models. However, some rulers might have intuitively avoided the model that was becoming outdated due to the change of social practices. Then it would explain the low frequency of sacred marriage allusions in the ED period royal inscriptions. On the other hand, royal inscriptions of the ED period are relatively undeveloped; therefore, lack of evidence about sacred marriage as a ruler's responsibility in that period can be attributed to the nature of the available sources. In later periods, poetic compositions described the unstable character of the relationships between the goddess Inanna and her partner (not only the Gilgameš epics but also such royal hymns as *Išme-Dagān AB*). This ambivalent image of the goddess as both a rightful companion of a king and a source of his problems might result from replacing the old legitimation model with the new one. The old source of legitimation acquired negative features because the inheritance from father to son became a principal legitimation model.

IV. 2. Narām-Sîn and Šar-kali-šarri

The first ruler, who became formally deified during his lifetime was Narām-Sîn. The primary and only reason for Narām-Sîn's deification, as royal inscriptions explain it, was the king's military success in protecting his capital against rebelled Sumerian cities. Therefore, the explicit divinity of Narām-Sîn does not relate to the idea of *sacred kingship* (*nam-lugal*). Narām-Sîn held kingship before acquiring divine status. However, Narām-Sîn acquired divinity only after successfully

performing his role as Agade's protector. In my view, it resembles the functional identification of ED rulers with the local city gods as protectors of their land visible in the ED period royal inscriptions. However, it differs in the formal, explicit acknowledgment of the king as a divine being.

Narām-Sîn's deification should have partly resulted from the special position Sargonic kings had as unifiers of Mesopotamia. Note that Narām-Sîn's enemies in the Bassetki inscription also held the title *lugal* (RIME 2.1.4.10, line 17) and thus were formally equal to Narām-Sîn. Therefore, the deification had elevated Sargonic kings over other local leaders with the title *lugal*, "king." However, the dependency between the deification and unification of Mesopotamia was not straightforward. Otherwise, the first deified king should have been Sargon.

The popular image of the ancient rulers as despots with absolutist authority allows one to explain Narām-Sîn's deification as an actualization of his private ambitions. However, the analysis of the Sargonic royal inscription supports the view that Narām-Sîn's deification was not a sudden whim of the king but an evolution of the court tradition of the royal praising.

Three arguments confirm that Narām-Sîn's deification was initiated by the court in cooperation with the king but was not an egoistic action of a despot who imposed his will on all his subordinates.

First, already Rīmuš and Maništūšu had divine honors in *subject-addresser* texts. The *kyriophore* name *ilī-Rīmuš*, "my god is Rīmuš" indicates the divine qualities of the king (Sazonov 2007, 229–330). A cylinder seal from Brussels (RIME 2.1.3.2003) has the determinative DINGIR in front of Maništūšu's name. Therefore, Sargonic courtiers limitedly praised the kings as divinities even before Narām-Sîn.

Second, the Bassetki inscription describes the process of royal deification. According to the text, the citizens of Agade initiated the deification process by addressing a group of deities from the most important cities. These citizens of Agade were probably a group of new elites who could gain political advantage in their confrontation against the old elites from their association with deified king.

If one doubts the narrative of the Bassetki inscription, there is a further argument for its veracity. The quantitative analysis of royal inscriptions proves that Akkadian courtiers were more eager to praise Narām-Sîn as a god than he allowed to himself in royal inscriptions. The proportion of both the texts with DINGIR in front of the royal name and the texts with *direct divinity markers* is the highest among *subject-addresser texts*, but not in the genuine royal inscriptions (*god-*, *hybrid-*, *human-orientated*). It is difficult to imagine that subjects would support Narām-Sîn's deification so intensely if it was just the king's ambition that led to his deification. Therefore, I regard it as an argument supporting the narrative that the citizens of Agade were the initiators of deification reflected in the Bassetki inscription.

There is an explanation for the interest of Akkadian elites in the deification of their king. Sargonic kings imposed their officials as regents in the various parts of the unified state. These new officials were outsiders in their respective regions and had to confront old elites. Therefore, these new elites needed some

legitimation that would give them, if not priority, then at least an equal status with the old elites. Old elites held authority through their relation to local gods. The elevation of Narām-Sîn to the position of a god approved by all main Sumerian deities created the desired basis of legitimacy for the new elites.

As mentioned above, Narām-Sîn's deification model is likely based on the functional identification of a ruler with the local city god as a protector of his land visible already in the ED period royal inscriptions. In the ED period, this identification was often accompanied by claims of divine origin. Narām-Sîn was the first Sargonic king who hints at his divine origin. However, he hinted at the origin from Enlil and not from local deities, as was usual for the ED rulers. References to the supreme deity as the king's parent formally equated the king with the prototype of the youth warrior god (Ninurta) and hinted at the full authority over the Mesopotamian region. I have found that all claims for divine origin in Narām-Sîn's inscriptions appear only in the texts where the king's name has no DINGIR.²⁶⁷ In my view, Narām-Sîn could first try the ED period model of functional identification with some Ninurta-like deity (probably Ilaba) but later modify it to his personal deification. Note that the title *mut Ištar-Anunītum* (RIME 2.1.4.1 col. ii, lines 8'–9') also hints at some identification of Narām-Sîn with Ilaba before his formal deification (as a double of the local city god).

I regard the deification of Narām-Sîn as an attempt to put him in the position of Agade's city god (replace Ilaba), supported (or even organized) by Akkadian elites. The strange disappearance of Ištar-Anunītum and Ilaba from the texts explicitly stating the divine status of the king indicates that divine Narām-Sîn either merged with Ilaba or replaced these two deities in the function of the city-god in Agade.²⁶⁸ The Bassetki inscription describes Narām-Sîn's deification as a full-fledged equation of the king with gods. Therefore, it is impossible to classify this deification as limited or partial. Narām-Sîn's deification was a special honor for defending his capital against rebels. Consequently, it is not just a symbol of supreme political power in the region; it is also a reward for the successful performance of his protective responsibilities (a heroic deed). It was personal deification and did not automatically affect the human status of Narām-Sîn's family members or his descendants. The *subject-addresser* texts support this understanding; one text (RIME 2.1.4.2023) distinguishes between deified Narām-Sîn and his non-deified son, prince Bin-kali-šarrī. In general, the results of the quantitative analysis show that references to the divine origin and the status of Inanna's spouse are of secondary importance in Narām-Sîn's royal inscriptions.

²⁶⁷ Unfortunately, two of these inscriptions are known only from Old-Babylonian copies (RIME 2.1.4.23, 50, Frayne 1993, 126–127, 156–157); therefore, it is not clear whether the sign DINGIR preceded the king's name in the originals or not. The only text found on original foundation tables (RIME 2.1.4.8, Frayne 1993, 109–111) has no royal name.

²⁶⁸ The status of Ilaba as a city god of Agade is not documented in the remaining sources. I follow Krebernik in regarding him the city god and not only a family god of the Sargonic dynasty (Krebernik 2016–18, 392–397).

Surviving royal inscriptions explicitly state the divinity of both Narām-Sîn and Šar-kali-šarrī with the title *diĝir*, “god.” If this status assumed equation or replacement of the local city deity, then the deified king should become the chief authority over local vegetation and fertility. Royal inscriptions do not explain how deified Narām-Sîn would fulfil this responsibility. According to the *Bassetki inscription* (lines 54-57), Narām-Sîn received not only the divine status but also a personal temple within Agade. Therefore, the responsibility to ensure vegetation and fertility of the land might be delegated to the temple staff who made offerings in front of the king’s image, just as in front of any other deity. Suppose Narām-Sîn replaced only Ilaba (but not Ištar-Anunītum) as a city god of Agade, then he could become Ištar-Anunītum’s companion and spouse and thus fulfil his responsibility to ensure land’s fertility; however, there is no clear proof of it in the surviving inscriptions. One more possibility is that Narām-Sîn assumed only the role of a minor military protector of the land (a kind of protective spirit *lamma*, but for a city), while Ilaba and Ištar-Anunītum remained the central city-gods. However, it would contradict the hints of Narām-Sîn’s divine origin from Enlil.

Šar-kali-šarrī was deified right after ascending the throne; therefore, he inherited the divine status from his father. In some sense, Šar-kali-šarrī’s deification can relate to the idea of sacred kingship (*nam-lugal*). Šar-kali-šarrī turned the private deification of his father into a hereditary honor. One can speculate that Šar-kali-šarrī was deified only functionally: not personally like an individual king, but as an earthly representative and substitute of Ilaba (or Narām-Sîn) and for only limited situations. However, it would contradict his claims of divine origin from Enlil expressed with the epithet *mār dādi Ellil*, “beloved son of the god Enlil.” In my view, Šar-kali-šarrī aimed for the status of a deity equal to Ninurta or Ilaba. Šar-kali-šarrī, in contrast to Narām-Sîn, claimed the divine authority over a larger region than just Agade. The king’s royal inscriptions praised his military accomplishments; however, no texts directly connect Šar-kali-šarrī’s divinity and military activities like the Bassetli inscription. Therefore, the divine status of Šar-kali-šarrī mainly depended on his proclaimed divine origin. It is unclear if Šar-kali-šarrī faced opposition that forced him to abandon the divine status or just used the title irregularly. As some of Šar-kali-šarrī’s royal inscriptions do not have the determinative DINGIR in front of the king’s name, the status was either revised later or was not regarded important enough to be repeated in each inscription.

IV. 3. Gudea and his ideology

Sumerian cities partly regained their independence after the decline of the Sargonic dominance. Local south Mesopotamian elites continued to manage their respective territories under Gutians. These elites were well acquainted with the Sargonic royal ideology and could use it for their own needs. However, there is little evidence demonstrating these rulers’ explicit equation with gods like that in the Sargonic period.

There are no *direct divinity markers* in the royal inscriptions of the Lagaš II or Uruk IV dynasties. Rulers of Lagaš have a 25,5% frequency of *indirect divinity markers* (corrected value), which is less than in the inscriptions of the ED Lagaš rulers (29,4%). These *indirect markers* never appear in *subject-addresser* texts. Therefore, there was no demand for the ruler's deification among Lagaš II elites like that among Sargonic courtiers. Rulers of the Uruk IV dynasty have no divinity markers. The quantitative analysis demonstrates that the position of Lagaš rulers in the Gutian period should have been like that in the ED period. Consciously or not, but South Mesopotamian rulers of that period rejected the idea of explicit personal deification as it was introduced by Narām-Sîn.

On the other hand, some intentional ambiguity in the representation of Gudea mixing his image with Ningirsu is evident in the Gudea cylinders, as Claudia Suter noted (Suter 2015, 513). I have classified two difficult sentences in Gudea cylinders as directly describing him as a deity (0,3% of lines). The cylinders also have *indirect markers* of sacredness and claims for *divine origin*. This ambiguity in Gudea's representation, together with some other arguments, allows Vladimir Emelianov to argue that Gudea proclaimed himself a city deity during his lifetime (Emelianov 2016, 65).

I believe, Gudea claimed some sacred status in connection with his performance of royal duties. However, Gudea never achieved the same status as explicitly deified Narām-Sîn. The fact that neither royal inscriptions nor exemplars of the poetic compositions have the determinative DINGIR with the king's name proves that Gudea was never deified explicitly. Therefore, despite of all the ambiguity, he hardly tried to personally replace Ningirsu as the city god of Lagaš. Still, there was some limited functional identification of Gudea and Ningirsu. Unlike that of the ED Lagaš rulers, the sacred status of Gudea related to his function as the temple constructor but not as a military protector of the land. At least, it is what one perceives from the analysis of the thematic variety in his cylinders and the qualitative analysis of the two *direct divinity markers*.

One possible explanation for the extraordinary importance of temple building in Gudea's inscription is its relation to divine powers *me*. *Me* were the basis of gods and kings' authority (Emelianov 2004, 187–188). All *me* were stored in temples. The temple construction was not just a sign of reverence towards gods; it was an activity necessary for preserving the city's *me* and, consequently, its prosperity. Therefore, the *temple-building* activity and the *military protection* of the land should be equally important for safeguarding *me*. The reasoning behind Gudea's sacredness was like that of the kings protecting their land with military operations. Gudea also protected the divine powers *me* when renewing the temple, their place of storage.

Gudea claimed brotherhood with Gilgameš and divine origin from Ninsumun. Later kings of the Ur III dynasty continued this topos of Gudea. Gudea invented this brotherhood topos as it never appears in surviving royal inscriptions from early periods. Descendance from Ninsumun, mother of Gilgameš, was probably affiliated to the topos of nourishment with the true milk of Ninhursag in ED Lagaš (Selz 1995, 253). Divine origin from Ninsumun must have indicated the ruler's

heroic qualities. However, the accounts about military activities in royal inscriptions of Gudea and other Lagaš II rulers are rare. It is unclear whether Gudea associated himself with a descent from sacred marriage in his references to Gilgameš. There are no direct references to Inanna or any other goddess as a marital partner of Gudea.

Judging by the surviving materials, Gudea's sacred status was not an innovation. *Indirect divinity markers* appear more frequently in the ED Lagaš inscriptions than in the Lagaš II texts. Unfortunately, no poetic composition like the cylinders of Gudea survives from the ED period, so it is difficult to evaluate Gudea's *direct divinity markers*. As Wilcke proposed, these markers might have appeared under the influence of Narām-Sîn's deification (Wilcke 2011, 30, n. 4). However, in other details, the cylinders of Gudea significantly differ in their description of a ruler from Sargonic royal inscriptions. The most important differences are that Gudea rejected personal deification and never claimed divinity explicitly. Gudea's sacred status was based on a limited functional identification with Ningirsu and Ningišzida; it had no reflection in the texts left by his subjects.

IV. 4. Lifetime royal deification of Šulgi

Šulgi was presumably deified long after he acquired the position of lugal, "king," in Ur. Therefore, his deification formally does not relate to the idea of sacred kingship (nam-lugal).

Both royal inscriptions and hymns of Šulgi are full of *direct* and *indirect markers of divinity* that confirm his explicit deification. It is important that Šulgi used not only the title diĝir, "god," but also lamma, "protective spirit." There are no titles lamma in the surviving royal inscriptions of Sargonic kings. However, it appears in the hymn Ur-Namma C, allegedly created at the beginning of Ur-Namma's reign (Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 39). Therefore, Šulgi associated his explicit elevation to the divine realm with the status claimed already by his father, Ur-Namma. This title is also important because it indicates the difference between the deification of Narām-Sîn and Šulgi. Sargonic kings aimed at the position of city gods (replacing Ilaba), so the title of lamma might have been insufficient for them. Šulgi, on the contrary, did not aim to replace the city gods of Ur. The title lamma indicates that Šulgi initially strived for a secondary position in the divine realm.

The royal inscriptions and hymns of Šulgi present a complex image of an ideal ruler. Most of the later kings of the Ur III and OB Isin periods emulated the ideology of Šulgi in different aspects. On the other hand, none of these kings managed (or even intended) to copy his royal ideology in its full complexity.

For the sake of the analysis, the present research discusses the royal ideology of Šulgi as a set of ideological elements. These elements are as follows:

- Šulgi is *ḫamma kalam-ma* “*ḫamma*-protective spirit of the land” (Šulgi G, 23); therefore, his main function as a deity is protective.
- Šulgi is a hero deity *diĝir nam-ĝuruš-a* “god of the maleness” (Šulgi B, 81); therefore, Šulgi’s deification is connected with the king’s heroic nature.
- Šulgi has divine pedigree. It supports his royal status; it could reflect his birth as a child of the sacred marriage ritual.
- Šulgi is a hero by the right of birth; he is a son of Ninsumun²⁶⁹ and a brother of Gilgameš (Šulgi C, Segment A 105–106).
- Šulgi’s deification follows the precedent of Gilgameš. Gilgameš had a dual divine-mortal nature; he was predestined to die as a human but became a deity in the underworld after death.
- Šulgi reflects that his death is inevitable; the royal praise in hymns is for remembrance sake – therefore, making his existence in the underworld more comfortable.
- The primary source of royal authority: Enlil and An. Šulgi received royal authority from Enlil and An with the purpose to actualize *nam-si-sá* “righteousness” in the land (Šulgi B, 24–26).
- The secondary source of royal authority: Inanna. Šulgi received royal authority and ME from Inanna. She chose the king as her marital partner (Šulgi X, 40–41, 72, 137).
- Šulgi has enough military potential to control foreign lands.
- Šulgi is athletic.
- Šulgi is a hunter.
- Šulgi is a cultured ruler. His civilian qualities are equally important as his heroic nature. See Šulgi A (lines 20–21): *nam-ur-saĝ-ĝu₁₀-gin₇* (variant: *nam-kalag-ga-ĝu₁₀-gin₇*) *ĝeštug₂-ĝá šu hu-mu-ni-du₇-àm* “equally to my heroism/strength; I have indeed perfected my intelligence.”

Undoubtedly, Šulgi did not introduce all these statements for the first time; some are known from previous periods. Šulgi’s ideology became the ideal legitimization model for the later kings, including those of the Neo-Assyrian empire.²⁷⁰ Not all these kings did claim divinity directly. However, many of them had Šulgi’s hymns and inscriptions as reference sources for their ideological statements.

²⁶⁹ For Ninsumun as the king’s mother, see the hymns Šulgi A (7), B (7, 112, 184), C (seg. A 4–5; seg. B 94), D (3, 41), O (seg. A 29; seg. E 2), P (seg. C. 22), Q (20, 43), X (47); for Lugalbanda as his father, see the hymns Šulgi A (86B), P (seg. C, 23, 38), W (16–17).

²⁷⁰ For the discussion of the parallels in the royal ideology of Šulgi and Ashurbanipal, see May 2013, 199–209.

The quantitative analysis helps to distinguish the importance of the listed statements and build some hierarchy of the ideological narratives both for Šulgi and the later kings. Also, the quantitative analysis allows to distinguish different models of royal deification that represent combinations of the ideological elements in the texts composed to glorify the deified rulers. I propose three such models:

- Heroic model.
- Family/marital model.
- Cultured-ruler model.

These models are analytical constructions built exclusively on the results of the quantitative analysis. Therefore, they simplify the complicated mixtures of ideological statements unique to each ruler. These models cannot describe the ideology of Šulgi and his successors in its full complexity but help to define some general vectors in the evolution of the royal ideology, which finally resulted in the abandoning of the living king deification practice.

IV. 4.1. Heroic model of royal legitimation

The peculiar features in the royal inscriptions and hymns of Šulgi and his father Ur-Namma indicate the legitimation model as heroic.

The most important characteristic of the model is the claim for brotherhood with Gilgameš. Direct mentions of the brotherhood are absent from the royal inscriptions but appear in the royal praise poetry. The claims of brotherhood with Gilgameš are limited to the texts praising Ur-Namma and Šulgi. There are no claims for brotherhood with Gilgameš in the royal inscriptions or hymns of the later Ur and Isin kings. As already mentioned above, Gudea also claimed brotherhood with Gilgameš. It is possible that the ideology of Gudea influenced that of the first Ur III kings (or they belong to the same root).

The title *lamma*, “protective spirit,” is the second most important feature of the heroic model. It appears not only in the hymns praising Ur-Namma and Šulgi but also in a hymn praising Šū-Sîn.²⁷¹ However, the title *lamma* is absent from the later royal praising poetry of Ur, Isin, Larsa, and Babylon kings. The analysis cannot demonstrate any direct relation between the claims for brotherhood with Gilgameš and the title *lamma*. However, both elements simultaneously disappear from royal praise poetry after Šū-Sîn.

²⁷¹ Šū-Sîn inherited many elements characteristic for the hymns of Šulgi. For example, he mentioned Ninsumun as his divine mother which indicates his sibling relationship with Gilgameš. However, he never mentioned Gilgameš as his brother explicitly. I believe his ideology was based on another model of legitimation than heroic because of the results of quantitative analysis. It is discussed in the next section.

The epithets *ursaĝ* “hero,” *šul* “youth,” and *ĝuruš* “young male” are abundant in royal poetry praising Šulgi and appear much more frequently than in the hymns of any later kings. The topic of military activity is highly important both in royal inscriptions and hymns. However, this is not a unique characteristic of the heroic model.

The quantitative analysis of the royal inscriptions also demonstrates higher importance of the physical qualities (counted among the *human-nature* epithets) for the first two kings of the Ur III dynasty than for the three following. This stress on physical qualities should relate to the image of the king as a second Gilgameš, a deified hero. In my view, the representation of a king as a hero should be regarded as an innate quality connected with the sacred status of kings, just like divine origin. The status of *ursaĝ* was not possible to achieve through any deed. For example, deified for his military achievements Narām-Sîn never claimed the epithet *ursaĝ* “hero.” On the other hand, Šar-kali-šarri, whose divine status was inherited (not earned), possessed the title *diĝir-ursaĝ* “god-hero” of *Akade* in one subject-addresser text (RIME 2.1.5.2005, lines 2–3).

The data of quantitative analysis indicates that the king’s military potential was the central contributor for the royal legitimation of Šulgi. It is not that evident for Ur-Namma, who had *temple building activity* as the main specific topos in his hymns (8,7% for *temple building* vs. 7,6% for *military activity*) despite the high frequency of his military activity epithets in royal inscriptions (64%). In general, the first kings of the Ur III dynasty rarely described their military successes in detail. In contrast to Narām-Sîn, they preferred to stress more abstract military epithets like *kalag* “mighty.”

As I suggested above two different legitimation traditions might have been employed in the ED period. One tradition was associated with the outdated social norms where authority is passed through royal women (expressed through the topos of sacred marriage). Another tradition developed in the new social climate and assumed the direct inheritance of the authority through male descendants of a king (often accompanied by claims for divine origin). Following this speculation, the heroic model of royal deification is closer to the second legitimation tradition. There are hints at sacred marriage both in royal inscriptions and hymns of Ur-Namma and Šulgi. However, according to the data of quantitative analysis, these indications are less frequent and probably of less importance in the legitimation of these kings than the topos of military activity or divine origin.

In my view, the circumstances of Narām-Sîn’s and Šulgi’s deification are different. Narām-Sîn directly associated his divine status with his military success against the rebel Sumerian cities. Šulgi clearly articulated his military potential but never saw his divinity only in this light. There is no direct evidence that Šulgi’s divinity resulted from his victory over Gutium. Moreover, the topic of military prowess was just an element of Šulgi’s ideology of the ideal king, which also included his civil qualities, such as his literacy, speaking foreign languages, correctly interpreting oracles, and playing musical instruments. Šulgi probably did not categorize his qualities as either military or civil; high level spirituality and military strength were synonymous with power. In my view, Šulgi developed

his explicit deification from the position of lamma, assumed already by his father, Ur-Namma. Therefore, Šulgi's divinity was thought to be inherited. However, Šulgi developed his divine status far beyond the limits of a protective spirit. He created a new image of an ideal ruler who is naturally divine because of his flawlessness. Šulgi did not concur with any other local divinity, as was probably the case of Narām-Sîn and Ilaba. By his claims for brotherhood with Gilgameš, recognition of the inevitable death in the human form, and possible transformation into a star after his death, Šulgi created a new form of royal praise that combined adoration of the king as a real god and recognition of his limited life on the earth.

Šulgi's deification was rooted in his equation to Gilgameš as an ideal king from the legends and not only as a strong warrior. Therefore, Šulgi's legitimacy was based on the idea of a new golden age that his rule effectively brought about to his people.

IV. 4.2. Family/marital model of royal legitimation

The *family/marital* model of royal legitimation is mainly associated with Šū-Sîn. It was also a dominant model for some of his successors among the kings of Isin.

This model has a few characteristic differences from the *heroic* model. In short, the *family/marital* model reflects the higher frequency of the *sacred marriage* topos in the royal inscriptions and hymns than in previous periods. It is accompanied by a general decline of the references to the king's military activities and divine origin from Enlil. The *family/marital* model stresses the connection between the king's divinity and his position as the goddess's spouse. This change might reflect some increase in the significance of the royal women because it should be women (queens or priestesses) who partook in the ritual together with the king.

I have found the following formal features distinguishing the *family/marital* model from the *heroic* one:

- the direct comparison between the king and Gilgameš disappeared from the royal inscriptions and hymns.
- the decreased frequency of the king's heroic characteristics in the texts. For example, Šulgi claimed the title *ursaĝ* "hero" at least 39 times in 7 different royal hymns (28% of hymns). Šū-Sîn used it only 3 times in one hymn (14% of hymns). In contrast to Šulgi, Šū-Sîn did not praise his physical qualities in royal hymns.
- the decreased frequency of *military activity* epithets. Military activity epithets in the hymns praising Šulgi have 19,9% frequency but only 4,1% in the hymns of Šū-Sîn. On the other hand, the quantitative analysis of the royal inscriptions demonstrates that Šū-Sîn used the actual *battle descriptions* more frequently (13,3%) than any other Ur III king.

- the increased frequency of the *sacred marriage* topos. Šū-Sîn claimed the spousal status with Inanna in two royal inscriptions, while the first Ur III kings never did so in their royal inscriptions. Even though Šulgi referred to marriage with Inanna in his royal hymns, his claims were relatively moderate (4,7%). In the hymns of Šū-Sîn the number of such references is significantly higher (27%).
- Šū-Sîn did not claim divine descentance from Enlil in the royal inscriptions or hymns.

At the same time, Šū-Sîn did not avoid legitimation based on the authority of male deities. It remained the standard way of royal legitimation. Introduction of the *family/marital* model of royal legitimation only changed the balance between elements of royal legitimation that can be detected by quantitative analysis. Legitimation through the *sacred marriage* suddenly gained much higher prominence than it had in the texts of the first Ur III kings.

IV. 4.3. Cultured-ruler model of the royal legitimation

The royal inscriptions and hymns of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar describe them as wise, just, and skilled in cultural activities (scribal art, musical performance, linguistic abilities). The topoi of *military activity*, *physical strength*, and *sacred marriage* are present in the texts of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar. However, their frequency cannot be accounted for with the *heroic* and *family/marital* legitimation models. Therefore, I further distinguish the *cultured-ruler* model of royal legitimation. Claims for the status of a judge and lawmaker are also counted as elements of this model. Such claims often come along with the praise of the king's wisdom.

As was mentioned above, Šulgi elaborated the image of a cultured king first (especially in Šulgi B). Therefore, Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar just followed Šulgi's example and did not introduce new ideological statements. However, they consciously chose these specific topics from the complexity of Šulgi's ideology and promoted them in the hymns and inscriptions. Therefore, it is possible to describe their royal inscriptions and hymns as using the *cultured-ruler* model of legitimation.

The essential feature distinguishing the *cultured-ruler* model from others is that combined references to the king as an intelligent person (ability to read, write, play musical instruments, general wisdom, and ability to judge) are quantitatively more frequent than mentions of the king as a warrior, a hero, or a spouse of Inanna.

It cannot be debated that any reference to a man as an intelligent person could not be a self-sufficient argument in legitimating him as a ruler or divine being. There should be some other arguments supporting legitimacy. However, these characteristics (wisdom, justness, skills in cultural activities) construct a specific image of an enlightened ruler that become an important (even central) element of

his royal legitimation. Formally, the divine source of royal authority in the texts of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar is usually a masculine deity. Therefore, the *cultured-ruler* model resembles the *heroic* model. Both models do not use the sacred marriage topos too frequently; both models construct an ideal image of a king based on his personal characteristics.

The claims of divine descent from Enlil are also an important characteristic of this model. References to Enlil as a king's father drastically increased in comparison to all previous periods. For comparison, Narām-Sîn mentioned Enlil as father 3 times in 3 royal inscriptions (3,8% of royal inscriptions); Šarkali-šarrī did it 3 times in 2 royal inscriptions (7,6% of royal inscriptions). Šulgi claimed divine origin from Enlil once in a royal inscription (0,8% of royal inscriptions) and once in royal hymns (4,7% of royal hymns). However, the two representatives of the *cultured-ruler* model, Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar, claimed origin from Enlil much more regularly (especially in hymns). Išme-Dagān claimed it 2 times in 2 different royal inscriptions (12,5% of royal inscriptions) and at least 19 times in 11 different royal hymns (47,8% of royal hymns). Lipit-Ištar referred to Enlil as his parent 5 times in 2 royal inscriptions (14,2% of royal inscriptions) and at least 17 times in 5 different hymns (83,3% of royal hymns).

The topos of royal wisdom often relates to the image of a king as a lawmaker and judge. Some texts compare the kings with Utu. Based on the qualitative analysis, I believe that the message behind such comparisons was different in the time of Šulgi and in the time of Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar (*cultured-ruler* model). References to Utu in the majority of Šulgi's texts related to the cult of Gilgameš and the heroic model of legitimation. In contrast to Šulgi, Išme-Dagān and Lipit-Ištar have never described Utu as a warrior or young hero in their royal hymns. They mainly valued Utu not as a young hero but as an ideal judge.

IV. 5. Decline of the royal deification as the religious practice

As the quantitative analysis demonstrated, the determinative DINGIR ceased from royal inscriptions as an obligatory element with the end of the Isin dynasty. However, the discussed changes in the usage of *direct* and *indirect divinity markers* suggest that already kings after Ur-Ninurta claimed divinity only formally. *Direct* and *indirect divinity markers* appear in the royal inscriptions of the post-OB period but hardly express any claims for divinity. First, these references are irregular. Second, the determinative DIŠ became an obligatory marker of the kings' human nature in the royal inscriptions of Assyria. Thus, it is impossible to explain these markers as real claims of sacredness.

Cuneiform texts do not explain why the deification of kings during their lifetime was abandoned. The following explanation is theoretical.

The topos of *sacred marriage* regularly appeared in the royal inscriptions and hymns of the Ur III and Isin kings. Later, however, it appeared exclusively in the poetic compositions praising the kings of Larsa and Babylon. The topos of *sacred marriage* never appeared in the royal inscriptions of the respective dynasties.

This change signifies some reevaluation of the topic's importance in royal ideology. This demonstrates that the topic of *sacred marriage* reflected some cultic responsibilities of the kings of Ur and Isin. This work argues that it relates to an old model of royal (or priestly) legitimation by marriage with a previous ruler's daughter. The fact that the kings of Larsa and Babylon ceased to allude to sacred marriage in their royal inscriptions demonstrates that these kings had no ritual responsibilities associated with the status of Inanna's spouse and consequently no need for this kind of legitimation.

In other words, the deification model introduced by Šulgi and inherited by the kings of Ur and Isin was tightly connected with the idea of *sacred marriage*. Different kings stressed it in different proportions, but the narrative of sacred marriage was always a feature in the royal inscriptions of these kings. Even the Amorite kings of Isin continued to use traditional Sumerian legitimation patterns as the heirs of Ur III kings. The kings of Larsa and Babylon, in contrast to the kings of Isin, openly stressed their Amorite identification. As the Amorite kings of Larsa and Babylon gained more power, they gradually abandoned the habit of writing in Sumerian and the Sumerian legitimation patterns. Increasing number of royal inscriptions were written in Akkadian and the royal hymns in Sumerian disappeared. Distancing from the position of a goddess's spouse, Amorite kings lost an important element needed for explicit deification. However, in the royal houses of Ur and Isin the divine status of rulers was inheritable from one generation to the next and influenced the perception of the royal office as a separate divine substance (*nam-lugal*). This construct survived and replaced the practice of personal deification in the ideology of OB Larsa and OB Babylon kings. Most kings of the post-OB period also held some limited sacredness due to their royal office, but they never explicitly claimed divinity. I believe it is because they had no such cultic responsibilities as the kings of Ur and Isin.

In addition to this theoretical explanation, a set of objective factors might have made royal deification in the second millennium BCE southern Mesopotamia difficult. One such factor is the accumulated historical memory. Chronicles preserved the memory of a prominent historical pattern in which large, centralized states for a long period were repeatedly supplanted by smaller independent kingdoms competing for territories and resources. This memory should have contributed to the idea of kingship as a fragile construct that can easily be revoked by the gods after having granted it. Whole dynasties of the kings once deified had lost their power by the time of Ḫammu-rāpi. Therefore, the divine status granted for innate qualities could have become not as strong an argument in both domestic and foreign affairs as it was at the time of the pioneers of Mesopotamia's unification.

Political instability partly resulted from climate change. It affected not only migration and general politics but also traditional agrarian practices. Any decrease in land fertility negatively affected the legitimacy of the ruler, as one of his traditional responsibilities was to grant fertility. Consequently, any aspirations to divine rulership under the circumstances of changing climate could be regarded

as provoking divine anger. The *Cursing of Agade* gives a literary example of a king provoking divine anger.

On the other hand, for the Amorite rulers of Larsa and Babylon the practice of explicit deification was a product of the neo-Sumerian ideology. Divine status was equal to the claim for succession from the Ur III kings. Explicit deification became outdated by the time of Ḫammu-rāpi, as Babylonian kings did not claim continuity from the Ur III dynasty. The kings of Larsa and Babylon built their identity not on the inheritance of power from Ur like the kings of Isin did but on their Amorite origin. Practically, the decline of Sumerian culture manifested itself in the disappearance of the Sumerian schools for the scribes' education é-dub-ba (Waetzoldt, Cavigneaux 2009-2011, 295). As the traditional Sumerian training curriculum had changed, scribes ceased composing Sumerian royal hymns, which were essential for kings' praise as divinities.

Ḫammu-rāpi's Law Code has many similarities with the texts from Ur and Isin. For example, Ḫammu-rāpi clearly defines himself as a semi-divine protector using the phrase *ina lamassiya iḫḫiṣā* "they (the people of Sumer and Akkad) prospered in the view of my protective spirit,"²⁷² which is a close parallel to Šulgi's title ^dlamma. On the other hand, the main difference is the determinative DIŠ in all six mentions of Ḫammu-rāpi's name in the code (RIME 4.3.6. add21, lines 28, 50, 3146', 3152', 3257', 3332'). It demonstrates that Ḫammu-rāpi did not follow the neo-Sumerian practice of deification but explicitly stated his human nature. At the same time, he was functionally equal to the divine spirit protecting his land.

Royal inscriptions ceased formally to acknowledge kings as deities. However, kings irregularly used *direct* and *indirect divinity markers*. These markers are mostly comparisons with gods like Adad or Šamaš. They have no references to *sacred marriage*. The later kings might have claimed functional equality with the divine protective spirits as Ḫammu-rāpi did. However, they never had such cultic responsibilities that would have supported their explicit deification similar to that of the kings of Ur and Isin.

Simo Parpola has proposed that in the Assyrian religion, all the gods were only images of the only universal god Aššur, and the king was his earthly presenter. However, claims for divine origin were restricted to a group of kings who assumed a special historical mission of the "savior" king who would fit the model of Marduk saving the world from Tiamat (Parpola 1997, XXI, XXXVI-XLIV). If Parpola is correct, then it is unclear how established was this belief. Was it a universally accepted royal ideology or some hidden knowledge accessible only to initiated esoterics? My observations of divinity markers in the royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings cannot prove this hypothesis of Parpola. There are no claims to explicit divine origin in the royal inscriptions of these kings. In my view, it is difficult to distinguish any specific pattern of royal praise of a "savior" king that would differ from the praise of other kings.

²⁷² See CDLI, *Laws of Hammurapi*, lines 3196'–3197'.

Natalie May demonstrated that Sargonids in first millennium BC Assyria borrowed some ideological statements in their royal inscriptions from Ur III period royal hymns (May 2013, 199–209). In my opinion, the claims of Assyrian kings for divine origin were secondary and extremely moderate compared with the divinity markers appearing in the texts of the Ur III or OB Isin periods.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The statistical observations on the nature of the royal ideology in different periods are the most significant result of this dissertation. A detailed overview of the evolution in the representation of a ruler as a divine being in the synchronous royal inscriptions and hymns, accompanied with my explanations of the discovered variables, can be found in the previous chapter. In this conclusion, I want to present my general considerations on the problem. I will distinguish four main stages representing kings as sacred or divine beings: Pre-Sargonic, Narām-Sîn's deification, Ur III – Isin, and later stage.

In the pre-Sargonic period, rulers were sacred beings. However, evidence mainly comes from Lagaš. The sacredness of rulers resulted from their identification with city gods in the function of the land protector. Rulers were not deified personally. One can call it functional deification; however, the sacred status of kings was extremely limited, as the quantitative analysis demonstrates.

Narām-Sîn's deification partly evolved from the pre-Sargonic functional identification of the king with the local deity. Narām-Sîn's explicit deification was also grounded in the performance of military functions. However, Narām-Sîn was not just equated with the local deity. He replaced him as a separate divine being. This fact probably allowed Narām-Sîn explicitly claim divinity. The quantitative and qualitative analyses' results support that Narām-Sîn's deification was mostly promoted not from above but from below (organized not only by the king but also/mostly by the Akkadian elites).

The Ur III-Isin stage had the most complicated reasoning behind the explicit deification of kings during their lifetime. Šulgi claimed divinity only in the middle of his reign, however, available sources never explained the reason for his deification. I believe that Šulgi's divinity, unlike that of Narām-Sîn, never aimed for praising Šulgi as an individuum. The deification of Šulgi was not a reward for a personal achievement (heroic deed) as in the case of Narām-Sîn. The deification of Šulgi was a formal acknowledgment of some qualities that were prescribed to Šulgi *a priori*. These qualities allowed Šulgi to claim performance of royal responsibilities, which were early limited to gods (performing these responsibilities as doubles of the respective gods, rulers of the ED period were regarded functionally sacred). Therefore, the deification of Šulgi can be classified as one evolved from functional sacredness (as it is seen in the ED period). The deference is that the divine status was made permanent (not situational as in the ED period) and explicitly acknowledged. Still, in contrast to the deification of Narām-Sîn, divinity of Šulgi was rooted in his ideal image and through it in his readiness to perform royal functions previously limited to gods (protection and ensuring land productivity). Therefore, divinity of Šulgi related to the status of *lamma* and to the performance of sacred marriage rite. To create the image of an ideal ruler who was equally proficient in every field and fitted to the performance of the mentioned royal functions, Šulgi based his self-representation on the model of the legendary king Gilgameš. Šulgi represented himself as simultaneously belonging

to the realm of humans and gods. Therefore, Šulgi acknowledged his mortality, but his afterlife fate differed from that of other humans, which literally elevated him to the sky.

All later kings of Ur and Isin followed the example of Šulgi. However, these kings were stressing the idea of an ideal ruler much less compared to Šulgi. For them, explicit divinity related to the performance of cultic responsibilities only mechanically. They did not articulate their innate ideal qualities (the key that allowed Šulgi to claim performance of the sacred royal responsibilities) anyhow as clear as Šulgi did. It is probably because the royal office itself became sacred as more and more kings inherited their divine status just by ascending the throne. Therefore, I believe the explicit deification of individual kings (still functional in nature) evolved into the idea of sacred kingship. As the quantitative analysis of royal inscriptions demonstrates, kings of Isin after Ur-Ninurta claimed divinity only formally.

After the fall of Isin, kings ceased to claim divinity explicitly. Still, indirect divinity markers confirm that later kings also had some sacred status. I think that the sacredness of the later kings mostly resulted from their formal holding the royal office (sacred kingship), unlike in the ED period (performance of specific royal responsibilities). It can be speculated that these kings were functionally identified with gods just because they hold the royal title and sit on the sacred throne. I believe that the disappearance of the explicit royal deification practice resulted from the change in the cultural landscape. Amorite kings of Larsa and Babylon did not see themselves as heirs of Ur, in contrast to the kings of Isin.

Based on the statistical data, my goal was to answer the question whether the different models of royal deification witnessed in Mesopotamia were an evolution of the same phenomenon or independent ideological constructions. How did the different models of royal deification relate to one another?

In my view, the explicit deification of kings in their lifetime served the same basic purposes in all discussed periods. It expressed the concentration of power in the hands of one king and legitimated his authority. Therefore, it can be regarded as an evolution of one phenomenon. Royal inscriptions and hymns from different periods paid unequal attention to different royal qualities. Therefore, the functional importance of royal divinity changed over time. In most general view, claims for divinity were functionally related to royal responsibility as the city's protector (for both Narām-Sîn and the Ur III-Isin tradition) and to king's cultic role as a spouse of Inanna (mostly for the Ur III-Isin tradition). Protection responsibilities were not limited to actual military activities. Broadly, protection responsibilities equated to any activity granting preservation of ME in the city; it included temple construction, providing offerings, rightful administration of the people.

Judging by the purposes of the royal deification practice, it was an evolution of one phenomenon. On the other hand, it is difficult to regard various models (explanations) of deification as a natural development of the same practices. The difference between the Sargonic model of deification (introduced by Narām-Sîn) and the Ur III-Isin model (elaborated by Šulgi) is particularly significant. Narām-

Sîn got divinity as a reward for his heroic deeds; Šulgi's divine status resulted from his self-representation as an ideal king: an ideal warrior, an ideal priest, and an intellectual. Therefore, Šulgi's divinity was simultaneously innate and functional. These two approaches (of Narām-Sîn and Šulgi) cannot be complementary; the latter cancels the former. Therefore, Šulgi's divinity was a revolutionary innovation and did not naturally evolve from Narām-Sîn's example. All cases of royal deification after Šulgi have naturally evolved from his example.

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APPENDIX

1. Tables of Royal Inscriptions: General

1.1. Early Dynastic Period

	ED Kiš	With the title LUGAL Kiš	ED Uruk	ED Ur	ED Lagaš	ED Umma	ED Adab	ED E'Edin	ED Mari	ED Nippur	Total
Inscriptions	5	6	22	14	126	9	9	1	15	5	212
Kings	3	3	7	7	9	7	7	1	7	3	54
DIVINE NATURE											
Inscriptions	0	1	1	0	18	1	0	0	0	0	21
Kings	0	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	7
God											
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relative of DN											
Inscriptions	0	1	1	0	13	1	0	0	0	0	16
Kings	0	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	7
Nourished by DN											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	9
Kings	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
HUMAN NATURE											
Inscriptions	0	1	6	6	79	2	0	0	3	3	100
Kings	0	1	3	3	8	1	0	0	3	2	21
Human relatives											
Inscriptions	0	1	6	6	79	1	0	0	3	3	99
Kings	0	1	3	3	8	1	0	0	3	2	21
Created by DN											
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kings	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
King's personal (physical) qualities											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	14	1	0	0	0	0	16
Kings	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	6
SECULAR LEGITIMACY											
Inscriptions	4	5	13	11	111	9	8	1	13	4	179
Kings	3	3	7	6	8	7	7	1	7	3	52
King (LUGAL)											
Inscriptions	3	5	11	11	44	9	3	0	13	0	99
Kings	2	3	6	6	3	7	3	0	7	0	37
Lord (EN/bēlu)											
Inscriptions	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
Kings	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Ruler (ÉNSI)											
Inscriptions	1	0	3	0	67	1	5	1	3	4	85
Kings	1	0	2	0	7	1	4	1	2	3	21

	ED Kiš	With the title LUGAL Kiš	ED Uruk	ED Ur	ED Lagaš	ED Umma	ED Adab	ED E'Edin	ED Mari	ED Nippur	Total
Shepherd (SIPA)											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Kings	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Prince (NUN)											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kings	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Authoritative (nir-ĝál)											
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kings	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Vizier (Sukkal)											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kings	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other											
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
Kings	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY											
Inscriptions	1	5	15	9	103	7	4	0	4	1	149
Kings	1	2	6	5	9	6	3	0	3	1	36
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN											
Inscriptions	0	0	3	0	60	1	0	0	3	0	67
Kings	0	0	2	0	8	1	0	0	2	0	13
Personal piety											
Inscriptions	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	5
Kings	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Reverence towards DN											
Inscriptions	1	5	15	8	95	7	4	0	2	1	138
Kings	1	2	6	5	8	6	3	0	2	1	34
Priest (type)											
Inscriptions	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Kings	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Supporter (Ú.A)											
Inscriptions	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6
Kings	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
MILITARY ACTIVITY											
Inscriptions	0	1	4	0	25	1	0	0	0	0	31
Kings	0	1	2	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	8
Any military activity											
Inscriptions	0	1	3	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	24
Kings	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6
Mighty (kalag)											
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Kings	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2

	ED Kiš	With the title LUGAL Kiš	ED Uruk	ED Ur	ED Lagaš	ED Umma	ED Adab	ED E'Edin	ED Mari	ED Nippur	Total
Mightiness and heroism											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Kings	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mentioning divine support											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	13
Kings	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
SOCIAL WELLBEING ACTIVITY											
Inscriptions	0	1	2	0	20	1	0	0	0	0	24
Kings	0	1	2	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	8
Description of economical/judicial righteousness of rulership											
Inscriptions	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	7
Kings	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
Keep land in peace and providing wealth											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Kings	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Building activities											
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	16	1	0	0	0	0	18
Kings	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	6

1.2. Sargonic Period

	Sargon	Rimuš	Maništušu	Narām-Sîn	Šar-kali-šarri	Total
Inscriptions	23	21	13	77	25	159
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	1	32	8	41
DIVINE NATURE						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	16	4	20
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	9	3	12
God						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	10	2	12
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	8	1	9
Relative of DN						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	5	2	7
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	2	3
Granted divinity by DN						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction of king's temple						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUMAN NATURE						
Inscriptions	6	0	0	14	3	23
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	6	1	7

	Sargon	Rimuš	Maništušu	Narām-Sîn	Šar-kali-šarri	Total
Human relatives						
Inscriptions	5	0	0	14	3	22
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	6	1	7
King's personal (physical) qualities						
Inscriptions	1	0	0	0	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
SECULAR LEGITIMACY						
Inscriptions	20	19	12	46	20	117
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	18	5	23
King (LUGAL)						
Inscriptions	20	19	12	45	20	116
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	18	5	23
Ruler (ÉNSI)						
Inscriptions	3	0	0	1	0	4
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leader (muttarrû)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	2	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bailiff (MAŠKIM)						
Inscriptions	2	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Overseer (šāpiru)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other						
Inscriptions	1	0	0	5	0	6
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	0	1
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY						
Inscriptions	9	13	8	26	7	63
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	5	3	8
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN						
Inscriptions	6	6	1	11	4	28
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	2	3
Reverence towards DN						
Inscriptions	8	9	7	18	7	49
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	5	3	8
Priest (type)						
Inscriptions	3	0	0	0	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
MILITARY EPITHETS						
Inscriptions	14	15	1	34	9	73
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	12	4	16
Any military activity						
Inscriptions	14	15	1	24	2	56
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	6	1	7

	Sargon	Rimuš	Maništušu	Narām-Sîn	Šar-kali-šarri	Total
Mighty (kalag)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	24	8	32
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	11	4	15
Mightiness and heroism						
Inscriptions	4	2	0	2	1	9
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mentioning divine support						
Inscriptions	1	2	0	10	1	14
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	2	0	2
SOCIAL WELLBEING ACTIVITY						
Inscriptions	4	0	0	2	0	6
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keep land in peace and providing wealth						
Inscriptions	2	0	0	2	0	4
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Building activities						
Inscriptions	2	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0

1.3. Lagaš II and Uruk IV

	Lagaš II	Puzur-Mama	Ur-Ningirsu I	Pirig-me	Ur-Bau	Gudea	Ur-Ningirsu II	Ur-GAR	Ur-Mama	Nammahani	Uruk IV	Ur-Nigin	Ur-gigra	Kuda	Utu-hegal	Total
Inscriptions	181	2	8	1	13	129	10	3	1	14	10	1	1	1	7	191
DIVINE NATURE																
Inscriptions	12	1	0	1	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
God																
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relative of DN																
Inscriptions	12	1	0	1	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Nourished by DN																
Inscriptions	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
HUMAN NATURE																
Inscriptions	32	2	2	1	3	12	8	1	0	3	2	1	0	0	1	34
Human relatives																
Inscriptions	23	1	2	1	2	5	8	1	0	3	2	1	0	0	1	25
King's personal (physical) qualities																
Inscriptions	9	1	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
SECULAR LEGITIMACY																
Inscriptions	171	2	7	1	13	120	10	3	1	14	9	1	1	0	7	180

	Lagaš II	Puzur-Mama	Ur-Ningirsu I	Pirig-me	Ur-Bau	Gudea	Ur-Ningirsu II	Ur-GAR	Ur-Mama	Nammahani	Uruk IV	Ur-Nigin	Ur-gigira	Kuda	Utu-hegal	Total
King (LUGAL)																
Inscriptions	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	1	0	7	10
Ruler (ÉNSI)																
Inscriptions	170	1	7	1	13	120	10	3	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	170
Shepherd (SIPA)																
Inscriptions	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Authoritative (nir-gál)																
Inscriptions	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Other																
Inscriptions	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY																
Inscriptions	133	1	2	1	8	112	7	0	0	2	5	0	0	1	4	138
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN																
Inscriptions	25	1	1	1	2	18	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	26
Personal piety																
Inscriptions	8	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Reverence towards DN																
Inscriptions	131	0	2	0	8	112	7	0	0	2	5	0	0	1	4	136
Priest (type)																
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
MILITARY EPITHETS																
Inscriptions	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	9	1	1	0	7	13
Any military activity																
Inscriptions	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	4
Mighty (kalag)																
Inscriptions	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	1	0	4	7
Mightiness and heroism																
Inscriptions	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mentioning divine support																
Inscriptions	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
SOCIAL WELLBEING ACTIVITY																
Inscriptions	22	0	0	1	0	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
Description of economical/judicial righteousness of rulership																
Inscriptions	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Keep land in peace and providing wealth																
Inscriptions	13	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Building activities																
Inscriptions	8	0	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8

1.4. Ur III Period

	Ur-Namma	Šulgi	Amar-Sîn	Šū-Sîn	Ibbi-Sin	Total
Inscriptions	53	124	26	45	19	267
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	80	22	41	17	161
DIVINE NATURE						
Inscriptions	1	7	3	10	8	29
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	6	3	9	7	25
God						
Inscriptions	0	5	2	4	8	19
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	5	2	3	7	17
Indirect equation to a god						
Inscriptions	0	0	2	1	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	2	1	0	3
Relative of DN						
Inscriptions	1	3	2	4	0	10
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	2	2	4	0	8
Construction of king's temple						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	5	0	5
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	4	0	4
HUMAN NATURE						
Inscriptions	3	15	2	7	1	28
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	11	1	7	1	20
Human relatives						
Inscriptions	3	14	2	7	0	26
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	10	1	7	0	18
Created by DN						
Inscriptions	0	1	0	0	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	1	0	0	0	1
King's personal (physical) qualities						
Inscriptions	0	1	0	1	1	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	1	0	1	1	3
SECULAR LEGITIMACY						
Inscriptions	50	109	26	43	15	243
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	72	22	39	13	147
King (LUGAL)						
Inscriptions	50	109	26	43	15	243
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	72	22	39	13	147
Lord (EN/bēlu)						
Inscriptions	3	0	0	1	0	4
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	0	0	1	0	2
Shepherd (SIPA)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	6	0	6
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	5	0	5

	Ur-Namma	Šulgi	Amar-Sîn	Šū-Sîn	Ibbi-Sîn	Total
Prince (NUN)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	1	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	1	1
Authoritative (nir-ĝál)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	1	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other						
Inscriptions	1	1	0	0	1	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	1	0	0	1	3
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY						
Inscriptions	40	45	18	30	5	138
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	22	15	27	5	69
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN						
Inscriptions	2	3	15	26	1	47
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	3	13	24	1	41
Personal piety						
Inscriptions	1	0	13	1	0	15
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	11	1	0	12
Reverence towards DN						
Inscriptions	39	44	17	17	4	121
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	21	14	16	4	55
Priest (type)						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	2	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	2	0	2
MILITARY EPITHETS						
Inscriptions	34	106	24	39	15	218
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	66	21	35	13	135
Any military activity						
Inscriptions	1	5	0	6	2	14
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	2	0	5	2	9
Mighty (kalag)						
Inscriptions	34	101	24	39	15	213
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	64	21	35	13	133
Mightiness and heroism						
Inscriptions	0	1	0	1	2	4
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	1	0	1	2	4
Mentioning divine support						
Inscriptions	0	0	0	3	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	0	3
SOCIAL WELLBEING						
Inscriptions	16	4	1	2	1	24
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	1	1	2	1	6

	Ur-Namma	Šulgi	Amar-Sîn	Šū-Sîn	Ibbi-Sîn	Total
Description of economical/judicial righteousness of rulership						
Inscriptions	3	0	0	0	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keep land in peace and providing wealth						
Inscriptions	6	0	0	0	1	7
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	0	0	0	1	2
Building activities						
Inscriptions	12	4	1	2	1	20
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	1	1	2	1	6

1.5. OB Isin

	Išbi-Erra	Šū-ilīšu	Iddin-Dagān	Išme-Dagān	Lipit-Eštar	Ur-Ninurta	Būr-Sîn	Erra-imitī	Enlil-bāni	Zambā	Ur-dukuga	Sîn-māgir	Damiq-ilīšu	Total
Inscriptions	14	7	4	17	14	2	9	1	12	2	3	6	5	96
Inscriptions with DINGIR	10	7	4	17	14	1	7	0	0	2	1	0	4	67
DINGIR precedes theophoric part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	0	0	6	0	19
DIVINE NATURE														
Inscriptions	1	1	0	8	4	1	1	0	7	1	2	1	0	27
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	1	0	8	4	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	18
DINGIR p. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	8
God														
Inscriptions	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indirect equation to a god														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Relative of DN														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	8	4	1	1	0	6	1	2	1	0	24
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	8	4	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	16
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	7
HUMAN NATURE														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	5	6	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	16
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	1	5	6	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	14
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Human relatives														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	8
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

	Išbi-Erra	Šu-ilīšu	Iddin-Dagān	Išme-Dagān	Lipit-Eštar	Ur-Ninurta	Būr-Sin	Erra-imitti	Enlil-bāni	Zambā	Ur-dukuga	Sin-māgir	Damiq-ilīšu	Total
Created by DN														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
King's personal qualities														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
SECULAR LEGITIMACY														
Inscriptions	12	6	3	15	14	2	6	0	11	2	3	2	4	80
Inscriptions with DINGIR	9	6	3	15	14	1	6	0	0	2	1	0	4	61
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	2	0	13
King (LUGAL)														
Inscriptions	10	6	3	14	14	1	6	0	10	2	1	2	4	73
Inscriptions with DINGIR	9	6	3	14	14	1	6	0	0	2	1	0	4	60
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	2	0	12
Lord (EN/bēlu)														
Inscriptions	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shepherd (SIPA)														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	1	9	1	1	0	7	1	3	1	3	28
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	1	1	9	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	18
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	8
Prince (NUN)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leader (muttarrû)														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmer (engar=ikkaru)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	0	4	1	2	1	3	20
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	14
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	5
Herdsmen (nagada=naqīdu)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Išbi-Erra	Šu-ilīšu	Iddin-Dagān	Išme-Dagān	Lipit-Eštar	Ur-Ninurta	Būr-Sin	Erra-imitī	Enlil-bāni	Zambā	Ur-dukuga	Sin-māgir	Damiq-ilīšu	Total
Other														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	5
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY														
Inscriptions	3	4	3	10	10	2	3	0	11	2	3	1	3	55
Inscriptions with DINGIR	3	4	3	10	10	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	3	40
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	1	0	12
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN														
Inscriptions	2	3	2	7	8	2	1	0	10	1	2	1	3	42
Inscriptions with DINGIR	2	3	2	7	8	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	29
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	1	0	11
Personal piety														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	8	8	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	3	28
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	1	8	8	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	24
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
Reverence towards DN														
Inscriptions	1	2	3	10	9	2	2	0	8	2	3	1	3	46
Inscriptions with DINGIR	1	2	3	10	9	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	3	34
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	1	0	9
Priest (type)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	6	8	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	3	23
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	6	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	19
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Supporter (Ū.A)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	13
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	11
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
MILITARY ACTIVITY														
Inscriptions	11	6	4	6	4	0	5	0	9	1	1	2	3	52
Inscriptions with DINGIR	8	6	4	6	4	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	3	38
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	2	0	11
Any military activity														
Inscriptions	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mighty (kalag)														
Inscriptions	11	6	4	5	4	0	5	0	8	1	1	2	3	50
Inscriptions with DINGIR	8	6	4	5	4	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	3	37
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	10

	Išbi-Erra	Šu-ilīšu	Iddin-Dagān	Išme-Dagān	Lipit-Eštar	Ur-Ninurta	Būr-Sin	Erra-imitī	Enlil-bāni	Zabāia	Ur-dukuga	Sin-māgir	Damiq-ilīšu	Total
Mightiness and heroism														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mentioning divine support														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
SOCIAL WELLBEING ACTIVITY														
Inscriptions	0	2	0	5	9	0	1	0	8	1	1	2	2	31
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	2	0	5	9	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	20
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	10
Description of economical/judicial righteousness of rulership														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	3	9	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	15
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
Keep land in peace and providing wealth														
Inscriptions	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	7	1	1	1	0	14
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	6
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	8
Building activities														
Inscriptions	0	1	0	3	5	0	1	0	4	1	0	2	2	19
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	1	0	3	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	12
DINGIR pr. Theoph. Part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	6

1.6. OB Larsa

	Zabāia	Gungunum	Abi-sarē	Sūmū-El	Nūr-Adad	Sin-iddinam	Sin-irībam	Sin-iqīšam	Šillīr-Adad	Kudur-Mabuk	Warad-Sin	Rīm-Sin I	Rīm-Sin II	Total
Inscriptions	4	9	10	10	20	30	4	5	2	11	31	46	4	186
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	32	4	42
DINGIR precedes theophoric part	0	0	0	0	0	30	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	39
DIVINE NATURE														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

	Zabāia	Gungunum	Abī-sarē	Sūmū-El	Nūr-Adad	Sin-iddinam	Sin-irībam	Sin-iqīšam	Šilli-Adad	Kudur-Mabuk	Warad-Sin	Rīm-Sin I	Rīm-Sin II	Total
Relative of DN														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
HUMAN NATURE														
Inscriptions	2	2	1	0	3	8	1	2	0	9	19	13	0	60
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	8
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	11
Human relatives														
Inscriptions	2	2	0	0	0	4	1	2	0	9	18	9	0	47
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	6
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
Created by DN														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	5
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
King's personal (physical) qualities														
Inscriptions	0	1	1	0	3	6	0	0	0	1	6	2	0	20
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
SECULAR LEGITIMACY														
Inscriptions	3	6	5	5	7	15	1	3	2	8	24	29	0	108
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	22
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	15	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	19
King (LUGAL)														
Inscriptions	1	6	4	5	6	14	1	3	0	1	19	29	0	89
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	22
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	14	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	18
Ruler (ÉNSI)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	5
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shepherd (SIPA)														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	2	6	0	1	0	2	6	9	0	27
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
Prince (NUN)														
Inscriptions	3	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	6	0	19
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

	Zabāia	Gungunum	Abī-sarē	Sūmū-El	Nūr-Adad	Sin-iddinam	Sin-irībam	Sin-iqīšam	Šilli-Adad	Kudur-Mabuk	Warad-Sin	Rīm-Sin I	Rīm-Sin II	Total
Farmer (engar=ikkaru)														
Inscriptions	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	8	0	0	17
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY														
Inscriptions	1	0	2	2	7	16	1	3	2	8	20	18	0	80
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	10
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	16	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	20
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	4	10	1	0	0	4	17	9	0	46
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Personal piety														
Inscriptions	0	0	1	0	5	11	0	1	0	4	7	17	0	46
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	12
Reverent towards DN														
Inscriptions	1	0	2	2	7	16	1	3	2	8	18	18	0	78
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	10
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	16	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	20
Providing (Ú.A)														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	5	15	1	3	2	0	13	14	0	53
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	15	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	19
MILITARY ACTIVITY														
Inscriptions	2	4	4	4	7	13	1	3	0	4	10	12	0	64
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	11
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	13	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	17
Any military activity														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	3	1	6	0	19
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mighty (kalag)														
Inscriptions	2	4	4	4	6	13	1	3	0	0	5	7	0	49
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	9
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	13	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	17

	Zabāia	Gungunum	Abī-sarē	Sūmû-El	Nūr-Adad	Sin-iddinam	Sin-irībam	Sin-iqīšam	Šilli-Adad	Kudur-Mabuk	Warad-Sin	Rīm-Sin I	Rīm-Sin II	Total
Mightiness and heroism														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	8
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mentioning divine support														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	3	3	6	0	21
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
SOCIAL WELL-BEING ACTIVITY														
Inscriptions	0	2	2	0	6	11	0	1	0	2	8	7	0	39
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	4
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	12
Description of economical/judicial righteousness of rulership														
Inscriptions	0	1	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	10
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Keep land in peace and providing wealth														
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	4	8	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	18
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Building activities														
Inscriptions	0	2	2	0	2	10	0	1	0	0	7	6	0	30
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	4
DINGIR p. theop. part	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11

1.7. OB Babylon

	Sūmû-abum	Sūmû-la-El	Sābium	Hammu-rāpi	Samsu-iluna	Abī-ešuh	Ammī-ditāna	Ammī-šaduqa	Samsu-ditāna	Total
Inscriptions	1	3	5	45	33	9	29	18	5	148
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
DIVINE ORIGIN										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	0	0	9
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
God										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Sûmû-abum	Sûmû-la-El	Sābium	Hammu-rāpi	Samsu-iluna	Abī-ešuh	Ammī-ditāna	Ammī-šaduqa	Samsu-ditāna	Total
Indirect equation to a god										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	7
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relative of DN										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUMAN NATURE										
Inscriptions	0	0	1	7	10	1	2	2	0	23
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Human relatives										
Inscriptions	0	0	1	6	6	1	1	1	0	16
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Created by DN										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	8
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
King's personal qualities										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	6	0	2	1	0	10
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SECULAR LEGITIMACY										
Inscriptions	0	0	1	25	12	3	2	3	0	46
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
King (LUGAL)										
Inscriptions	0	0	1	23	12	3	2	3	0	44
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord (EN/bēlu)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	9	5	0	1	0	0	15
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shepherd (SIPA)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	7	6	0	0	1	0	14
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prince (NUN)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	7	1	0	0	0	0	8
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Sūmû-abum	Sūmû-la-El	Sābium	Hammu-rāpi	Samsu-iluna	Abī-ešuh	Ammī-ditāna	Ammī-šaduqa	Samsu-ditāna	Total
Authoritative (nir-ġál)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vizier, envoy (SUKKAL/ <i>našparu</i>)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	3	4	1	0	1	0	9
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RELIGION-BASED LEGITIMACY										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	22	11	1	2	2	0	38
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beloved/ favourable/ chosen/ granted power by DN										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	17	9	0	2	2	0	30
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal piety										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Reverence towards DN										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	18	7	1	0	1	0	27
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supporter (Ú.A)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MILITARY ACTIVITY										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	21	11	1	1	3	0	37
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Any military activity										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	4	9	0	0	1	0	14
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mighty (kalag)										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	21	9	1	1	3	0	35
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mightiness and heroism										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	7	6	0	0	0	0	13
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

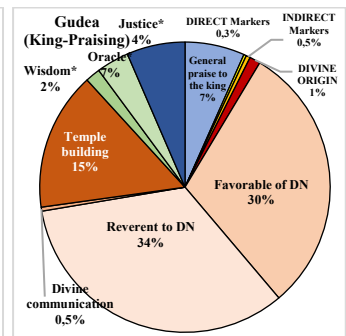
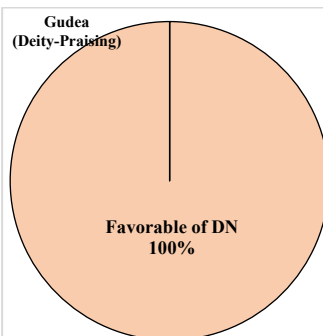
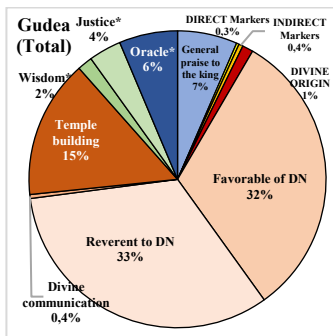
	Sūmû-abum	Sūmû-la-El	Sābium	Hammu-rāpi	Samsu-iluna	Abī-ešuh	Ammī-ditāna	Ammī-šaduqa	Samsu-ditāna	Total
Mentioning divine support										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	1	0	8
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOCIAL-WELLBEING ACTIVITY										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	11	10	1	2	1	0	25
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Description of economical/judicial righteousness of rulership										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	5
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keep land in peace and providing wealth										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	8	7	1	2	1	0	19
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Building activities										
Inscriptions	0	0	0	9	9	1	2	0	0	21
Inscriptions with DINGIR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

2. Tables of Royal Hymns

2.1. Lagaš II Dynasty

2.1.1. Gudea

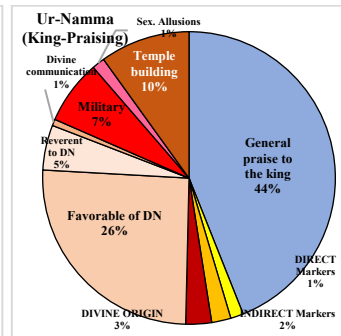
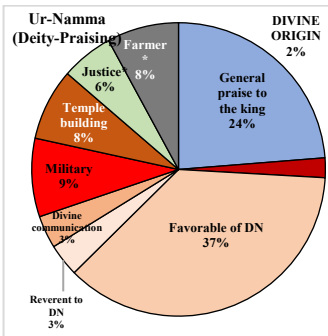
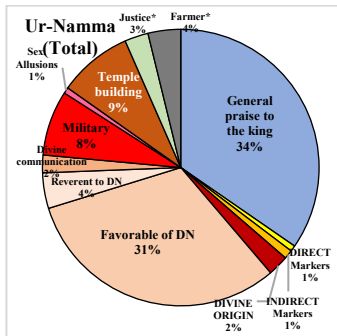
Gudea	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	1410		47		1363	
irrelevant	651	46.2%	30	63.8%	621	45.6%
notes/ unclear	83	5.9%	3	6.4%	80	5.9%
total for analysis	676	47.9%	14	29.8%	662	48.6%
General praise to the king	44	6.5%	0	0.0%	44	6.6%
DIRECT Markers	2	0.3%	0	0.0%	2	0.3%
INDIRECT Markers	3	0.4%	0	0.0%	3	0.5%
DIVINE ORIGIN	8	1.2%	0	0.0%	8	1.2%
Favorable of DN	214	31.7%	14	100.0%	200	30.2%
Reverent to DN	222	32.8%	0	0.0%	222	33.5%
Divine communication	3	0.4%	0	0.0%	3	0.5%
Military	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	102	15.1%	0	0.0%	102	15.4%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	11	1.6%	0	0.0%	11	1.7%
Justice*	24	3.6%	0	0.0%	24	3.6%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	43	6.4%	0	0.0%	43	6.5%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.2. Ur III Period

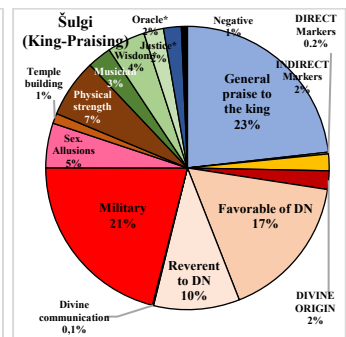
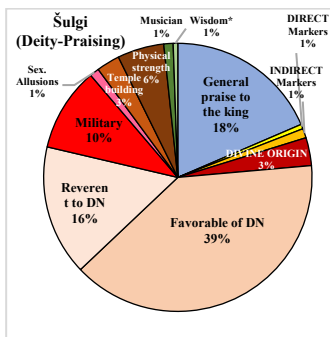
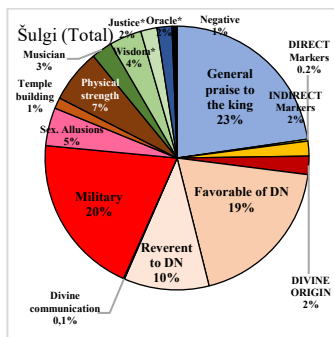
2.2.1. Ur-Namma

Ur-Namma	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	435		193		242	
irrelevant	98	22.5%	39	20.2%	59	24.4%
notes/ unclear	48	11.0%	15	7.8%	33	13.6%
total for analysis	289	66.4%	139	72.0%	150	62.0%
General praise to the king	100	34.6%	33	23.7%	62	41.3%
DIRECT Markers	2	0.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.3%
INDIRECT Markers	3	1.0%	0	0.0%	3	2.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	7	2.4%	3	2.2%	4	2.7%
Favorable of DN	91	31.5%	51	36.7%	36	24.0%
Reverent to DN	12	4.2%	5	3.6%	7	4.7%
Divine communication	6	2.1%	5	3.6%	1	0.7%
Military	22	7.6%	12	8.6%	10	6.7%
Sex. Allusions	2	0.7%	0	0.0%	2	1.3%
Temple building	25	8.7%	11	7.9%	14	9.3%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	8	2.8%	8	5.8%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	11	3.8%	11	7.9%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



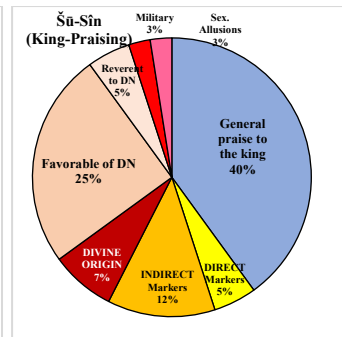
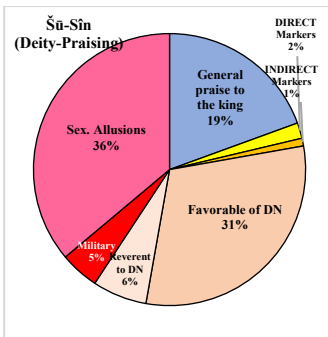
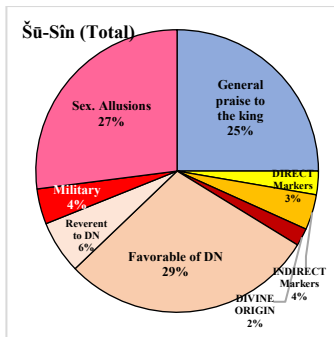
2.2.2. Šulgi

Šulgi	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	2796		501		2295	
irrelevant	550	19.7%	236	47.1%	314	13.7%
notes/ unclear	599	21.4%	87	17.4%	512	22.3%
total for analysis	1647	58.9%	178	35.5%	1469	64.0%
General praise to the king	374	22.7%	33	18.5%	341	23.2%
DIRECT Markers	4	0.2%	1	0.6%	3	0.2%
INDIRECT Markers	30	1.8%	2	1.1%	28	1.9%
DIVINE ORIGIN	37	2.2%	6	3.4%	31	2.1%
Favorable of DN	314	19.1%	70	39.3%	244	16.6%
Reverent to DN	172	10.4%	28	15.7%	144	9.8%
Divine communication	2	0.1%	0	0.0%	2	0.1%
Military	327	19.9%	18	10.1%	309	21.0%
Sex. Allusions	77	4.7%	2	1.1%	75	5.1%
Temple building	22	1.3%	5	2.8%	17	1.2%
Physical strength*	108	6.6%	10	5.6%	98	6.7%
Musician	42	2.6%	2	1.1%	40	2.7%
Wisdom*	65	3.9%	1	0.6%	64	4.4%
Justice*	33	2.0%	0	0.0%	33	2.2%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	30	1.8%	0	0.0%	30	2.0%
Negative	10	0.6%	0	0.0%	10	0.7%



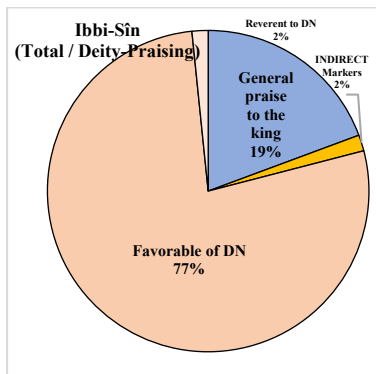
2.2.3. Šū-Sîn

Šū-Sîn	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	289		241		48	
irrelevant	79	27.3%	77	32.0%	2	4.2%
notes/ unclear	62	21.5%	56	23.2%	6	12.5%
total for analysis	148	51.2%	108	44.8%	40	83.3%
General praise to the king	37	25.0%	21	19.4%	16	40.0%
DIRECT Markers	4	2.7%	2	1.9%	2	5.0%
INDIRECT Markers	6	4.1%	1	0.9%	5	12.5%
DIVINE ORIGIN	3	2.0%	0	0.0%	3	7.5%
Favorable of DN	43	29.1%	33	30.6%	10	25.0%
Reverent to DN	9	6.1%	7	6.5%	2	5.0%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	6	4.1%	5	4.6%	1	2.5%
Sex. Allusions	40	27.0%	39	36.1%	1	2.5%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.2.4. Ibbi-Sîn

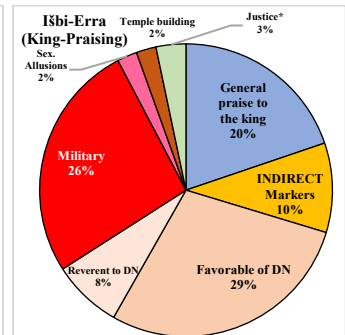
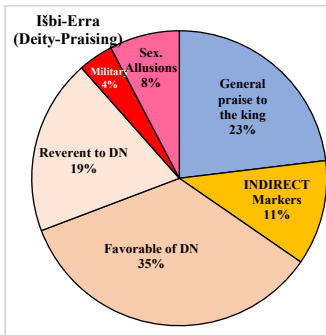
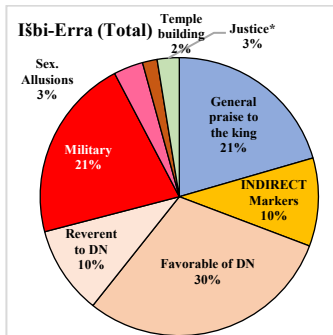
Ibbi-Sîn	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	263		263	
irrelevant	169	64.3%	169	64.3%
notes/ unclear	32	12.2%	32	12.2%
total for analysis	62	23.6%	62	23.6%
General praise to the king	12	19.4%	12	19.4%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	1	1.6%	1	1.6%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	48	77.4%	48	77.4%
Reverent to DN	1	1.6%	1	1.6%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.3. OB Isin

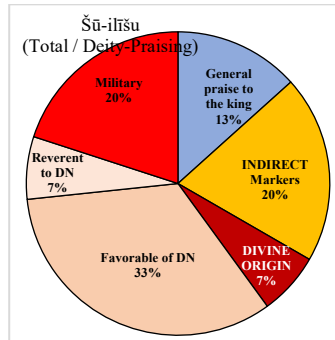
2.3.1. Išbi-Erra

Išbi-Erra	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	382		198		184	
irrelevant	201	52.6%	147	74.2%	54	29.3%
notes/ unclear	64	16.8%	25	12.6%	39	21.2%
total for analysis	117	30.6%	26	13.1%	91	49.5%
General praise to the king	24	20.5%	6	23.1%	18	19.8%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	12	10.3%	3	11.5%	9	9.9%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	35	29.9%	9	34.6%	26	28.6%
Reverent to DN	12	10.3%	5	19.2%	7	7.7%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	25	21.4%	1	3.8%	24	26.4%
Sex. Allusions	4	3.4%	2	7.7%	2	2.2%
Temple building	2	1.7%	0	0.0%	2	2.2%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	3	2.6%	0	0.0%	3	3.3%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



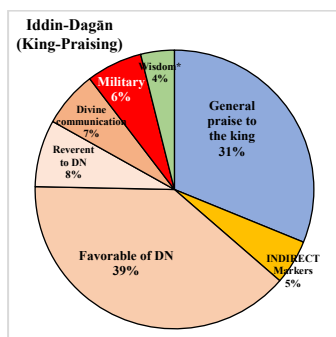
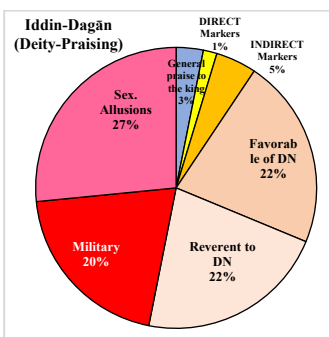
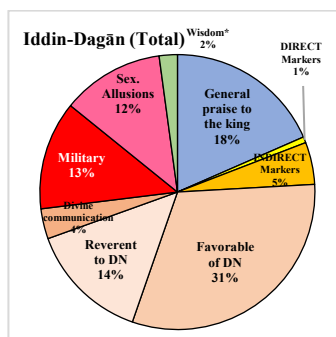
2.3.2. Šū-ilīšu

Šū-ilīšu	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	72		72	
irrelevant	45	62.5%	45	62.5%
notes/ unclear	12	16.7%	12	16.7%
total for analysis	15	20.8%	15	20.8%
General praise to the king	2	13.3%	2	13.3%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	3	20.0%	3	20.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	1	6.7%	1	6.7%
Favorable of DN	5	33.3%	5	33.3%
Reverent to DN	1	6.7%	1	6.7%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	3	20.0%	3	20.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



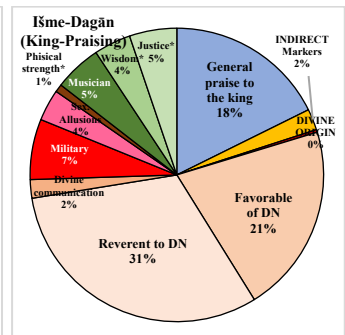
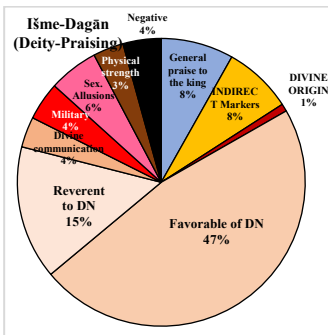
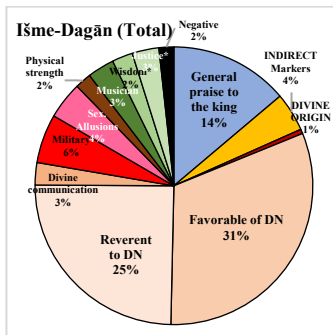
2.3.3. Iddin-Dagān

Iddin-Dagān	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	458		379		79	
irrelevant	284	62.0%	282	74.4%	2	2.5%
notes/ unclear	33	7.2%	33	8.7%	0	0.0%
total for analysis	141	30.8%	64	16.9%	77	97.5%
General praise to the king	26	18.4%	2	3.1%	24	31.2%
DIRECT Markers	1	0.7%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	7	5.0%	3	4.7%	4	5.2%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	44	31.2%	14	21.9%	30	39.0%
Reverent to DN	20	14.2%	14	21.9%	6	7.8%
Divine communication	5	3.5%	0	0.0%	5	6.5%
Military	18	12.8%	13	20.3%	5	6.5%
Sex. Allusions	17	12.1%	17	26.6%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	3	2.1%	0	0.0%	3	3.9%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



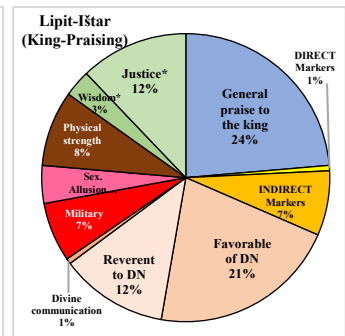
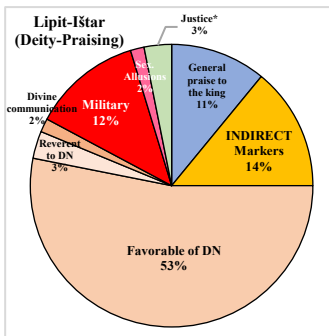
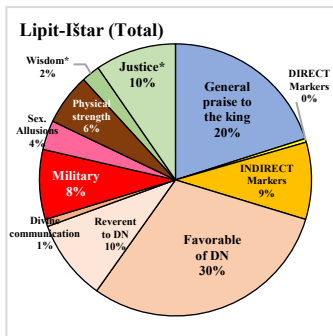
2.3.4. Išme-Dagān

Išme-Dagān	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	1682		1184		498	
irrelevant	825	49.0%	710	60.0%	115	23.1%
notes/ unclear	279	16.6%	241	20.4%	38	7.6%
total for analysis	578	34.4%	233	19.7%	345	69.3%
General praise to the king	80	13.8%	19	8.2%	61	17.7%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	26	4.5%	18	7.7%	8	2.3%
DIVINE ORIGIN	3	0.5%	2	0.9%	1	0.3%
Favorable of DN	182	31.5%	110	47.2%	72	20.9%
Reverent to DN	143	24.7%	35	15.0%	108	31.3%
Divine communication	15	2.6%	8	3.4%	7	2.0%
Military	33	5.7%	10	4.3%	23	6.7%
Sex. Allusions	25	4.3%	13	5.6%	12	3.5%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	11	1.9%	8	3.4%	3	0.9%
Musician	18	3.1%	0	0.0%	18	5.2%
Wisdom*	14	2.4%	0	0.0%	14	4.1%
Justice*	18	3.1%	0	0.0%	18	5.2%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	10	1.7%	10	4.3%	0	0.0%



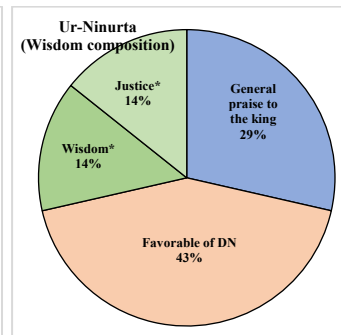
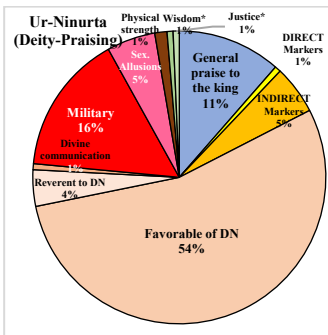
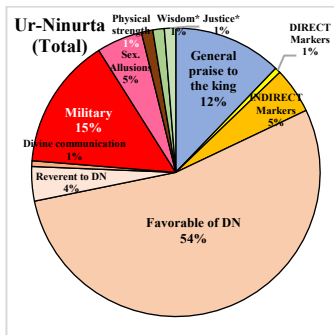
2.3.5. Lipit-Ištar

Lipit-Ištar	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	328		157		171	
irrelevant	60	18.3%	54	34.4%	6	3.5%
notes/ unclear	39	11.9%	39	24.8%	0	0.0%
total for analysis	229	69.8%	64	40.8%	165	96.5%
General praise to the king	46	20.1%	7	10.9%	39	23.6%
DIRECT Markers	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%
INDIRECT Markers	21	9.2%	9	14.1%	12	7.3%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	69	30.1%	34	53.1%	35	21.2%
Reverent to DN	22	9.6%	2	3.1%	20	12.1%
Divine communication	2	0.9%	1	1.6%	1	0.6%
Military	19	8.3%	8	12.5%	11	6.7%
Sex. Allusions	8	3.5%	1	1.6%	7	4.2%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	14	6.1%	0	0.0%	14	8.5%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	5	2.2%	0	0.0%	5	3.0%
Justice*	22	9.6%	2	3.1%	20	12.1%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



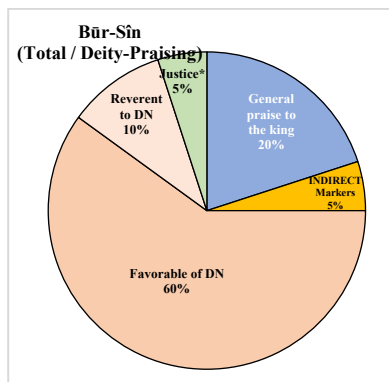
2.3.6. Ur-Ninurta

Ur-Ninurta	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (Wisdom composition)	Percentage
total lines	387		316		71	
irrelevant	183	47.3%	121	38.3%	62	87.3%
notes/ unclear	48	12.4%	46	14.6%	2	2.8%
total for analysis	156	40.3%	149	47.2%	7	9.9%
General praise to the king	19	12.2%	17	11.4%	2	28.6%
DIRECT Markers	1	0.6%	1	0.7%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	8	5.1%	8	5.4%	0	0.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	84	53.8%	81	54.4%	3	42.9%
Reverent to DN	6	3.8%	6	4.0%	0	0.0%
Divine communication	1	0.6%	1	0.7%	0	0.0%
Military	23	14.7%	23	15.4%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	8	5.1%	8	5.4%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	2	1.3%	2	1.3%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	2	1.3%	1	0.7%	1	14.3%
Justice*	2	1.3%	1	0.7%	1	14.3%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



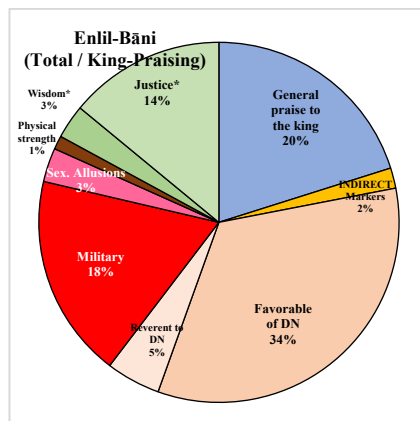
2.3.7. Būr-Sîn

Būr-Sîn	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	132		132	
irrelevant	80	60.6%	80	60.6%
notes/ unclear	32	24.2%	32	24.2%
total for analysis	20	15.2%	20	15.2%
General praise to the king	4	20.0%	4	20.0%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	1	5.0%	1	5.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	12	60.0%	12	60.0%
Reverent to DN	2	10.0%	2	10.0%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	1	5.0%	1	5.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.3.8. Enlil-Bāni

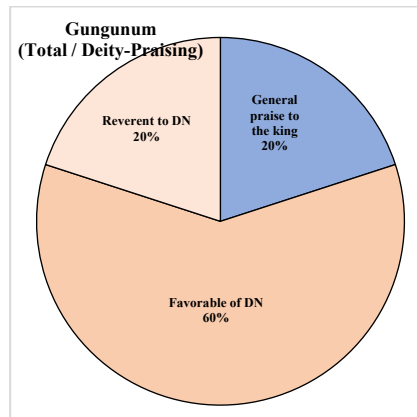
Enlil-Bāni	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	184		184	
irrelevant	13	7.1%	13	7.1%
notes/ unclear	7	3.8%	7	3.8%
total for analysis	164	89.1%	164	89.1%
General praise to the king	33	20.1%	33	20.1%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	3	1.8%	3	1.8%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	55	33.5%	55	33.5%
Reverent to DN	8	4.9%	8	4.9%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	30	18.3%	30	18.3%
Sex. Allusions	5	3.0%	5	3.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	2	1.2%	2	1.2%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	5	3.0%	5	3.0%
Justice*	23	14.0%	23	14.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.4. OB Larsa

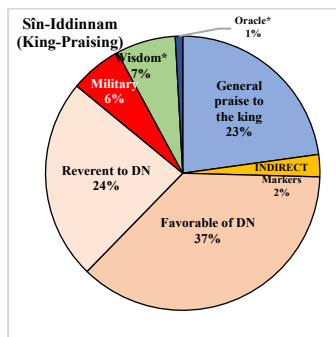
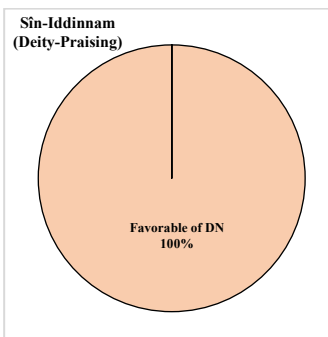
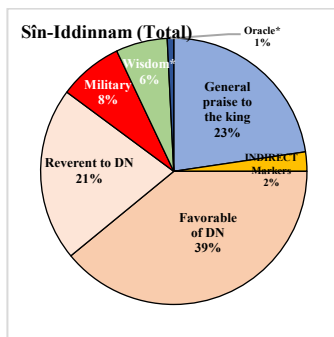
2.4.1. Gungunum

Gungunum	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	63		63	
irrelevant	29	46.0%	29	46.0%
notes/ unclear	24	38.1%	24	38.1%
total for analysis	10	15.9%	10	15.9%
General praise to the king	2	20.0%	2	20.0%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	6	60.0%	6	60.0%
Reverent to DN	2	20.0%	2	20.0%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



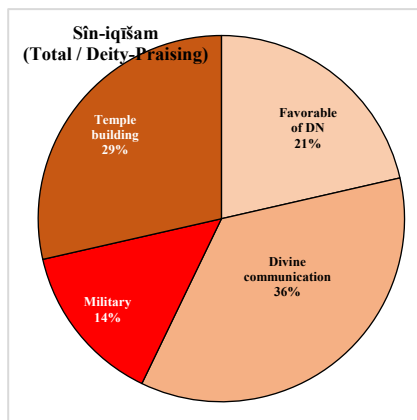
2.4.2. Sîn-iddinam

Sîn-Iddinam	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	267		22		219	
irrelevant	72	27.0%	6	27.3%	52	23.7%
notes/ unclear	67	25.1%	12	54.5%	53	24.2%
total for analysis	128	47.9%	4	18.2%	114	52.1%
General praise to the king	29	22.7%	0	0.0%	26	22.8%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	3	2.3%	0	0.0%	3	2.6%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	50	39.1%	4	100.0%	42	36.8%
Reverent to DN	27	21.1%	0	0.0%	27	23.7%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	10	7.8%	0	0.0%	7	6.1%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	8	6.3%	0	0.0%	8	7.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



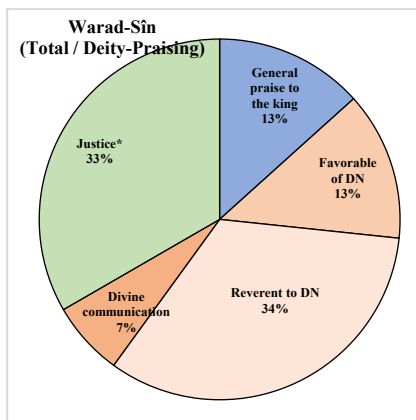
2.4.3. Sîn-iqīšam

Sîn-iqīšam	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	60		60	
irrelevant	42	70.0%	42	70.0%
notes/ unclear	4	6.7%	4	6.7%
total for analysis	14	23.3%	14	23.3%
General praise to the king	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	3	21.4%	3	21.4%
Reverent to DN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Divine communication	5	35.7%	5	35.7%
Military	2	14.3%	2	14.3%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	4	28.6%	4	28.6%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



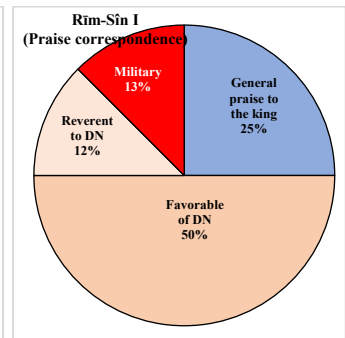
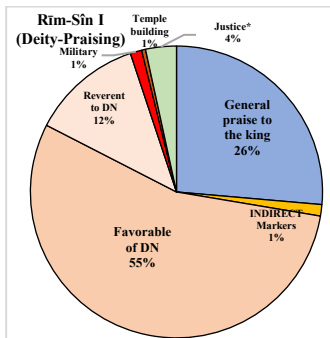
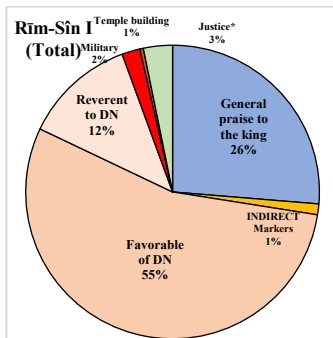
2.4.4. Warad-Sîn

Warad-Sîn	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	46		46	
irrelevant	23	50.0%	23	50.0%
notes/ unclear	8	17.4%	8	17.4%
total for analysis	15	32.6%	15	32.6%
General praise to the king	2	13.3%	2	13.3%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	2	13.3%	2	13.3%
Reverent to DN	5	33.3%	5	33.3%
Divine communication	1	6.7%	1	6.7%
Military	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	5	33.3%	5	33.3%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.4.5. Rīm-Sîn I

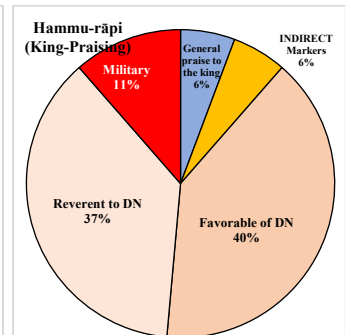
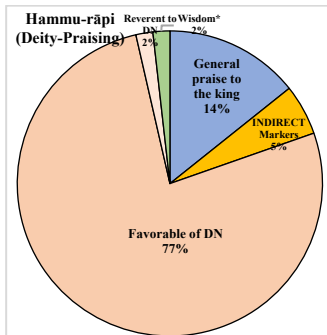
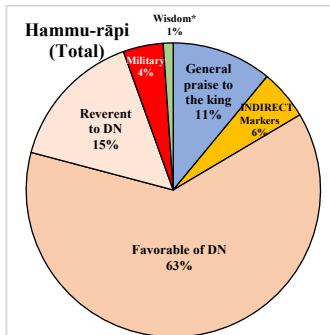
Rīm-Sîn I	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (Praise correspondence)	Percentage
total lines	380		355		25	
irrelevant	112	29.5%	105	29.5%	7	29.5%
notes/ unclear	17	4.5%	15	4.5%	2	4.5%
total for analysis	251	66.1%	235	66.1%	16	66.1%
General praise to the king	66	26.3%	62	26.3%	4	26.3%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	3	1.2%	3	1.2%	0	1.2%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	137	54.6%	129	54.6%	8	54.6%
Reverent to DN	31	12.4%	29	12.4%	2	12.4%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	5	2.0%	3	2.0%	2	2.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	1	0.4%	1	0.4%	0	0.4%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	8	3.2%	8	3.2%	0	3.2%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.5. OB Babylon

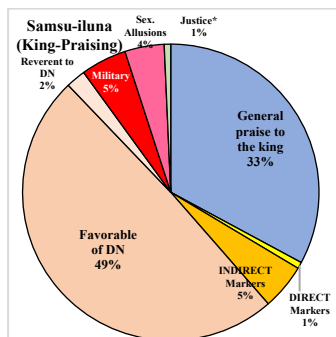
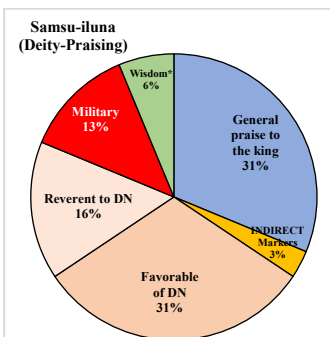
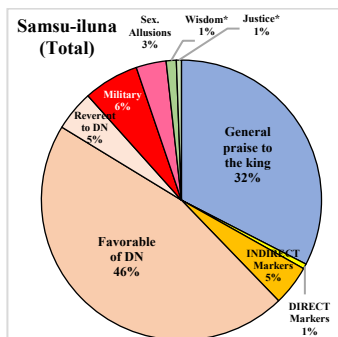
2.5.1. Ḫammu-rāpi

Ḫammu-rāpi	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	221		117		104	
irrelevant	34	15.4%	20	17.1%	14	13.5%
notes/ unclear	96	43.4%	41	35.0%	55	52.9%
total for analysis	91	41.2%	56	47.9%	35	33.7%
General praise to the king	10	11.0%	8	14.3%	2	5.7%
DIRECT Markers	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	5	5.5%	3	5.4%	2	5.7%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	57	62.6%	43	76.8%	14	40.0%
Reverent to DN	14	15.4%	1	1.8%	13	37.1%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	4	4.4%	0	0.0%	4	11.4%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	1	1.1%	1	1.8%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



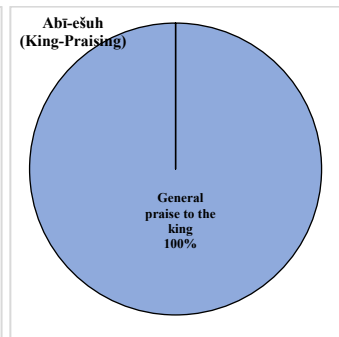
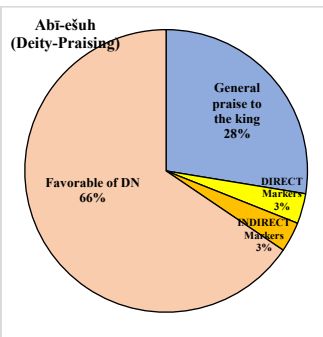
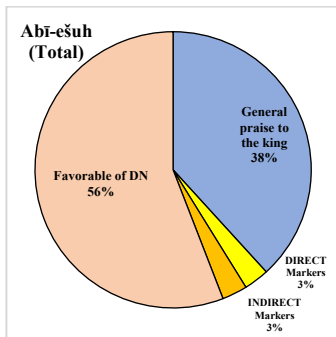
2.5.2. Samsu-iluna

Samsu-iluna	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	199		38		161	
irrelevant	10	5.0%	1	2.6%	9	5.6%
notes/ unclear	17	8.5%	5	13.2%	12	7.5%
total for analysis	172	86.4%	32	84.2%	140	87.0%
General praise to the king	56	32.6%	10	31.3%	46	32.9%
DIRECT Markers	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
INDIRECT Markers	8	4.7%	1	3.1%	7	5.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	79	45.9%	10	31.3%	69	49.3%
Reverent to DN	8	4.7%	5	15.6%	3	2.1%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	11	6.4%	4	12.5%	7	5.0%
Sex. Allusions	6	3.5%	0	0.0%	6	4.3%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	2	1.2%	2	6.3%	0	0.0%
Justice*	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



2.5.3. Abī-ešuh

Abī-ešuh	Lines (Total)	Percentage	Lines (Deity-Praising)	Percentage	Lines (King-Praising)	Percentage
total lines	79		43		36	
irrelevant	41	51.9%	11	25.6%	30	83.3%
notes/ unclear	4	5.1%	3	7.0%	1	2.8%
total for analysis	34	43.0%	29	67.4%	5	13.9%
General praise to the king	13	38.2%	8	27.6%	5	100.0%
DIRECT Markers	1	2.9%	1	3.4%	0	0.0%
INDIRECT Markers	1	2.9%	1	3.4%	0	0.0%
DIVINE ORIGIN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Favorable of DN	19	55.9%	19	65.5%	0	0.0%
Reverent to DN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Divine communication	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Military	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sex. Allusions	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Temple building	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Physical strength*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Musician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Wisdom*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Justice*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Farmer*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Oracle*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Negative	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%



SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Kuningate jumalikustamine muistses Mesopotaamias

Doktoritöö “Kuningate jumalikustamine muistses Mesopotaamias” koosneb 318 leheküljest, koos lisadega sisaldab töö 364 lehekülge. Tekst algab *Sissejuhatusega* (lk 10–34), millel on kaks alaosa: 1) *Üldine sissejuhatatus* (lk 10–14) ja 2) *Võrdleva analüüsi põhimõtted* (lk 14–34). *Üldine sissejuhatatus* määratleb teema, eesmärgid, metodoloogia, allikad ja töö struktuuri. Alaosa *Võrdleva analüüsi põhimõtted* selgitab 1) erinevate analüüsimeetodite omapärasid, mida töös kasutatakse (kvalitatiivsed ja kvantitatiivsed lähenemised); 2) kuninglike raidkirjade ja hümnide jaotust tekstirühmadesse; 3) allikates sisalduvate andmete jagamist teatud rühmadesse; 4) võrdleva analüüsi jaoks kasutatud lähenemisi selles töös. Sissejuhatust selgitab ka kõigi tekstis esinevate tabelite struktuuri.

Esimene peatükk, “Tänapäevane uurimisluug: kuningate jumalikustamise ja sarnaste mõistete teoreetiline käsitlus” (lk 35–59), annab ülevaate põhilistest teoreetilistest teemadest, mis puutuvad Mesopotaamia kuningate jumalikustamise küsimusse nende eluajal ja käsitleb vastaval teemal viimasel ajal ilmunud teaduskirjandust. Sellel peatükil on kümme alaosa. Esimesed viis käsitlevad järgmisi teemasid: 1) Henri Frankfort (lk 35), 2) Geo Widengren: kuningas kui aednik (lk 35–36), 3) Püha abielu ja kuninglike naiste staatus (lk 36–39), 4) Terminid *me*, *namtar* ja *melammu* (lk 39–41), 5) Funktsionaalne jumalikustamine: Gebhard Selz (lk 41–43). Ülejäänud viis alapeatükki arutlevad viimase aja teaduslike käsitlusi kuningate jumalikustamise kohta perioodide kaupa: 6) Narām-Sīni jumalikustamine (lk 43–46), 7) Gudea ja tema staatus (lk 46–52), 8) Kuningate jumalikustamine Ur III and Isini ajajärkudel (lk 52–55), 9) Kuningas Šulgi taevassetõus (lk 55–56), 10) Arutelu hilisemate perioodide üle (lk 56–59).

Teine peatükk “Ajalooline ülevaade kuninglikest raidkirjadest ja hümnidest” (lk 60–239), uurib muistse Mesopotaamia poliitilist ajalugu alates kolmandast kuni esimese aastatuhandeni e.m.a. kuningate jumalikustamise tavadega seoses. Peamine tähelepanu on siiski koondatud u 600–aastasele perioodile kui kuningad otseselt väitsid end olevat jumalikud kasutades sõnamäärajat DINGIR oma kuninglikes raidkirjades (2350–1750 e.m.a.). Peatükk koosneb kuuest alaosast: 1) *Sissejuhatatus ajaloolisesse analüüsi* (lk 60), 2) *Varadünastiline periood* (lk 60–88), 3) *Sargoniidide periood* (lk 88–104), 4) *Guti periood ja üleminekuajastu* (lk 105–122), 5) *Ur III dünastia* (lk 123–157), 6) *Vana-babüloonia periood* alaosadega *Isin* (lk 158–191), *Larsa* (lk 192–218), ja *Babülon* (lk 219–239). Teine osa käsitleb ainult mõningaid valitsejaid, muud osad annavad täieliku analüüsi igast valitsejast Akkadi, Uri, Isini, Larsa ja Babüloni linnades.

Kõik märkused, mis on tehtud kuninglike raidkirjade ja hümnide *kvalitatiivse analüüsi* raamistikus on esitatud vastava valitseja ajaloolise ülevaate juures. Kõik üldise iseloomuga märkused kuninglike raidkirjade kohta *kvantitatiivse statistilis-relatiivse analüüsi* raamistikus järgnevad varadünastilise, sargoniidide, Lagaš II, Uruk IV, Ur III, ning vana-Babüloonia Isini, Larsa ja Babüloni dünastiate valitsejate käsitlustele eraldi alaosades.

Kolmas peatükk “Kuninglike hümnide ja raidkirjade käsitus võrdleva analüüsi raamistikus” (lk 240–278), uurib kuninglikke hümnid ja raidkirju nende ajaloolises arengus. See koosneb kahest peamisest alaosast. 1) *Kuninglike hümnide dünaamiline analüüs* (lk 241–244), ja 2) *Kuninglike raidkirjade dünaamilis-absoluutne analüüs* (lk 244–278). Esimene alapeatükk uurib peamiselt kuninga jumalikkuse formaalsete markerite kasutust (lk 241–242) ja temaatilise varieeruvuse arengut hümnides (lk 243–244). Teine alapeatükk esitab dünaamilis-absoluutse analüüsi varadünastilise, sargoniidide, Lagaš II, Uruk IV, Ur III, ning vana-Babüloonia Isini, Larsa ja Babüloni dünastiate kuninglikest raidkirjadest. Kõigepealt uurib see sõnamääraja DINGIR (”jumal”) kasutuse muutusi (lk 244–249). Järgmisena käsitletakse epiteetide vastandpaare: *jumalik loomus* vs. *inimlik loomus* (lk 249–254), *ilmaliku* vs. *usulise põhjendusega legitiimsioonid* (255–260), ja *sõjalise tegevuse* vs. *sotsiaalse heaolu* vastandpaari (lk 261–265). Eraldi analüüs on ka mõnede epiteetiderühmade iseärasuste kohta, nt *jumaliku loomusega* seotud epiteetidid on rühmitatud ja analüüsitud kui need, mis *omistavad kuningale jumalikkust otseselt* ja sellised, mis *omistavad jumalikkust kaudselt* (lk 265–269). Üksikasjaline kirjeldus leidub ka erinevate *sekulaarse legitiimsiooniga* seotud epiteetide kasutamisest (lk 269–272). Sõjalise tegevusega seotud epiteetidid on rühmitatud ja analüüsitud kui sellised, mis otseselt kirjeldavad lahinguid ja niisugused, mis üldiselt ülistavad kuninga sõjalist võimsust (lk 272–278). Sõnamääraja DINGIR (”jumal”) kasutuse analüüs sisaldab andmeid ka hilisemate perioodide kuninglikest raidkirjadest, kuigi enamik Babüloonia ja Assüüria valitsejad seda ei kasutanud, mis viitab, et need kuningad otseselt ei väitnud end olevat jumalikud.

Neljas peatükk, “Kuninga jumalikkuse idee arengu rekonstruktsioon” (lk 279–295) on võtmetähtsusega. See uurib kuninga jumalikuna esitamise juures avastatud mustreid kronoloogilises järjekorras. Kõigepealt kirjeldab peatükk algseid sumeri vaateid valitsejatele ja kuningavõimu olemust alapeatükis *Algupära* (lk 279–281). See alapeatükk rekonstrueerib kuidas algne sumeri maailmapilt võis mõjutada kuninga jumalikustamise esimesi juhtumeid. Järgnevad alapeatükid, *Narām-Sîn ja Šar-kali-šarrī* (lk 281–284), *Gudea ja tema ideoloogia* (lk 284–286), ning *Kuningas Šulgi jumalikustamine eluajal* (lk 286–291), uurivad kõiki tekstuaalseid kuninga jumalikkuse edasiandmise mudeleid. Alapeatükk kuningas Šulgi kohta sisaldab osi nagu *Kuninga legitiimsiooni heroiline mudel* (lk 288–290), *Kuninga legitiimsiooni perekondlik ja abieluline mudel* (lk 290–291), ja *Kuninga legitiimsiooni kultuurilise valitseja mudel* (lk 291–292). Need uurivad kuninga legitiimsiooni (ja kuninga jumalikustamise) kolme mustrit, mida võib eristada Šulgi ideoloogiliste järglaste – Uri ja Isini kuningatelt – pärinevates kirjalikes allikates. Peatüki viimane osa on *Kuninga jumalikustamise kadumine usulise praktikana* (lk 292–295), mis viitab selle protsessi võimalikele põhjustele ja asjaoludele.

Viimane tekstiosa *Dissertatsiooni üldised järeldused* (lk 296–298) annab lühikese ülevaate kuningate jumalikustamise arengust ja vastab küsimustele, mis esitati *Sissejuhatuses*. Põhinedes kogutud andmete analüüsile ja kuninga jumalikustamise fenomeni arengu rekonstruktsioonile antakse vastus küsimusele kas

see oli üks terviklik protsess, mille iga staadium otseselt seostus eelmisega või mitu omavahelise seoseta ideoloogilist nähtust. Kuninga jumalikustamise praktika eesmärkide põhjal otsustades põhines jumalikustamine üheainsa fenomeni arengul. Teisest küljest on raske pidada erinevaid jumalikustamise mudeleid ehk seletusi samade praktikate loomulikuks arenguks. Erinevus Narām-Sîni poolt sisse viidud Sargoni jumalikustamise mudeli ja hiljem Šulgi poolt täiendatud mudeli vahel on eriti tähenduslik. Narām-Sîn sai jumalikuks oma tegude autasuna; Šulgi sai selle staatuse jumalate loomuliku kingitusena valmistudes oma tulevasteks sõjalisteks tegudeks; see kink oli antud lisaks teistele andidele jumalate poolt kuninga loomise käigus. Need kaks lähenemist ei saa olla üksteist täiendavad, sest teine tühistab esimese. Seetõttu ei arenenud teine esimesest loomulikult viisil välja, vaid oli revolutsiooniline uuendus. Kõik kuninga jumalikustamise juhtumid pärast Šulgit on loomulikult arenenud välja tema juhtumist. Kuninga jumalikustamine oma eluajal hakkas kaduma mitte teatava erilise põhjuse pärast, vaid loomuliku reaktsioonina muutuvatele oludele. Kuninga jumalikustamise praktikal oli ideoloogilisi kokkupuutepunkte Ur III valitsejate järgnevuse traditsiooniga ja selle tõttu oli see Sumeri kultuuri produkt. Sumeri kultuur kaotas siiski oma tähtsust vana-Babüloonia ajastu kuningate juures. Võib ka leida muid faktoreid, mis mõjutasid kuninga jumalikustamise traditsiooni kadumist. Nende üle arutatakse viienda peatüki alaosas *Kuninga jumalikustamise kadumine usulise praktikana*. Dissertatsiooni viimased osad on *Bibliograafia* (lk 299–318) ja *Lisad* tabelite kujul kvantitatiivsete analüüside tulemustega (lk 319–357).

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