

WEST SEMITIC NAMES IN THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE DIFFUSION AND SOCIAL RELEVANCE

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INTRODUCTION

In 1978, upon the occasion of a *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* on «Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn», two separate contributions, by P. Garelli and H. Tadmor, were devoted to the Arameans in the Neo-Assyrian empire¹. Both of these studies – which surprisingly enough overlapped only to a small extent despite their limited common topic – consisted of bird's-eye views on the presence of the Aramaic linguistic and cultural component within the Assyrian empire. Specifically, albeit to different degrees, both studies made use of onomastics to demonstrate the penetration of Arameans within all levels of Assyrian society. This was done by means of selections of onomastic material from various archives of the NA period made quite at random – names from the 8th and from the 7th century, from Nimrud/Kalhu as well as from Nineveh, from older compilations as well as from newly published texts.

In any case, selective procedures apart, the overall historical framework which ensued from both studies was by and large comparable, and altogether functional for setting «onto paper» what had previously constituted a series of separate insights on the part of the interested specialists: that Assyria was the first of the Near Eastern empires to show a true Aramaic «layer». Both Garelli and Tadmor evoked a broad presence of Arameans in the territories of the Assyrian empire, and especially in Mesopotamia²; and, as evidence for this trend, not only the personal names, but also the progressive use of alphabetic script, and also the (suggested) influence of specific Aramaic cultural traditions on Assyria were brought forth. In brief, then, the authors proposed as a common outline that the Arameans «gradually transformed the cultural face of the Empire»³ so as to make it in fact definable as «un empire assyro-araméen»⁴.

¹ P. Garelli, *Importance et rôle des Araméens dans l'administration de l'empire assyrien*, in H.-J. Nissen–J. Renger (Hrsgg.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, pp. 437-47; H. Tadmor, *The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact*, in *ibid.*, pp. 449-70.

² Cf. e.g. Tadmor, *cit.*, p. 450: «One finds 'Westerners' in various sectors of Assyrian society and though precise statements cannot be made for lack of prosopographical – statistical studies, it may not be an overstatement to say that they had penetrated even into the high-ranking officialdom as provincial governors and *limmu*-holders».

³ Tadmor, *cit.*, p. 459.

⁴ Garelli, *cit.*, p. 444.

In the intervening years since that felicitous Rencontre, a number of developments – the impact of which is probably rather cumulative than individual – have marked the field of «Assyro-aramaica». Although R. Zadok's seminal work on West Semitic onomastics in the NB/LB periods (with many a reference to Neo-Assyrian) was already (although just) out in 1978⁵, its impact was actually felt in the course of the next few years, also in connection with a series of collateral contributions on non-Semitic onomastic components of the same corpus⁶. At the same time, other scholars had analyzed this or that aspect of the NA name-corpus, also in correlation with the contemporary alphabetic attestations⁷.

As for the general image of «Assyro-aramaica», various different aspects have been dealt with in the past few years. On one hand, the publication of a new bilingual inscription on a statue from Syria⁸ has provided important new data on the origins of the linguistic/cultural symbiotic process between Akkadian and Aramaic – notably as regards the correlations of lexicon⁹ and stylistics¹⁰. Further, the official nature of the inscription – drawn up by a local potentate self-styled as *mlk* in Aramaic but as *šaknu* in Akkadian – has opened up interesting new problems of historical context¹¹.

⁵ R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*, Jerusalem 1977, 1978² (henceforth=WSB).

⁶ R. Zadok, *Phoenicians, Philistines, and Moabites in Mesopotamia*: BASOR, 230 (1978), pp. 57-65; id., *On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia*: Tel Aviv, 6 (1979), pp. 164-81; id., *Arabians in Mesopotamia During the Late-Assyrian Chaldean, Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods Chiefly According to the Cuneiform Sources*: ZDMG, 131 (1981), pp. 42-84; id., *A Tentative Structural Analysis of Elamite Hypocoristica*: Beiträge zur Namenforschung, 18 (1983), pp. 93-120; etc.

⁷ Cf. e.g. F.M. Fales, *A List of Assyrian and West Semitic Women's Names*: Iraq, 41 (1979), pp. 55-73; id., *L'enigmatico QYRH*: Annali di Ca' Foscari, 19/3 (1981), pp. 7-14; id., *Assiro e aramaico: filologia e interferenza linguistica*: Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese, 25 (1984), pp. 21-30; E. Lipinski, *La correspondance des sibilantes dans les textes araméens et les textes cunéiformes néo-assyriens*, in P. Fronzaroli (Ed.), *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica*, Firenze 1978, pp. 201-10; id., *Les Phéniciens à Ninive au temps des Sargonides: Ahoubasti, portier en chef*, in ACFP 1, I, pp. 125-34; id., *Aramaic-Akkadian Archives from the Gozan-Harran Area*, in J. Amitai (Ed.), *Biblical Archaeology Today*, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 340-48. For onomastics in Aramaic alphabetic script, cf. at present M. Maraqtien, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim 1988, with previous bibliography.

⁸ A. Abou Assaf-P. Bordreuil-A.R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekheriye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne*, Paris 1982.

⁹ Cf. e.g. J.C. Greenfield-A. Shaffer, Qlqlt', tubkinnu, *Refuse Tips and Treasure Trove*: AnSt, 33 (1983), pp. 123-29; id., *Notes on the Akkadian-Aramaic Bilingual Statue from Tell Fekheriye*: Iraq, 45 (1983), pp. 109-16.

¹⁰ F.M. Fales, *Le double bilinguisme de la statue de Tell Fekheriye*: Syria, 40 (1983), pp. 233-50.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. M. Liverani, *The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur / Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigm*: SAAB, 2 (1988), pp. 81-98.

On the other hand, in 1986 we personally republished the Aramaic inscriptions on clay tablets of this period¹² – limited¹³ but crucial testimonials to the process of Aramaization in the Assyrian empire – thus providing a necessary updating to the *editio princeps* by L. Delaporte¹⁴ and the error-riddled compilation by F. Vattioni¹⁵. The very tight correlation between the Aramaic and the Assyrian portions of these texts, that had escaped previous commentators, was productive for the elucidation of the documents¹⁶ and for the building up of a common «horizon» of technical terms and mutual linguistic interferences¹⁷.

Finally, a number of contributions – blending together philological and historical aspects – have addressed the problem of the Assyrian *adē* and the Aramaic *ʾdy*, which Tadmor had openly classified as an Aramaic institution borrowed by the Assyrians in the second quarter of the 8th century B.C.¹⁸. Tadmor himself and quite a few others have subsequently come back to this institutional theme and the texts – both Assyrian and Aramaic – which elucidate it, with a variety of results¹⁹. It is indisputable that the

¹² F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Roma 1986 (henceforth = AECT).

¹³ In the main, these inscriptions are 1-2 line summaries engraved on the free margins of cuneiform documents of legal content, giving the bare essentials of the relevant juridical transaction.

¹⁴ L. Delaporte, *Épigraphes araméennes*, Paris 1912.

¹⁵ F. Vattioni, *Epigrafia aramaica: Augustinianum*, 10 (1970), pp. 433-52; *ibid.*, 11 (1971), pp. 18-190; *OrNS*, 48 (1979), pp. 140-45.

¹⁶ This edition has now been included in the new and courageous editorial venture of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL) currently being prepared by S.A. Kaufman, D.R. Hillers, and J.A. Fitzmyer. Unfortunately, however, a review-article of the book by Kaufman himself (*Assyro-aramaica*: JAOS, 109 [1989], pp. 97-102) offers suggestions on reading and interpretation which, not being based on a recollection of the text, represent in a certain number of cases a step backward in the process of elucidation of this material. Overall, the following suggestions of Kaufman's seem sound: nos. 5, 31, 53 (l. 5). On the other hand, the following ones are risky, i.e. exceedingly conjectural: nos. 13 (where eleven missing characters are «confidently» restored), 15 (where *nbdry* is made to become *knwny*!). Finally, the following ones are erroneous and/or misleading as concerns either Neo-Assyrian philology or Aramaic epigraphy: nos. 28 (unjustified interpretation of *qdm byt* as SAG.MEŠ!), 30 (restorations, which take in no account copies of the texts from CIS to Delaporte to Stevenson, well before ours!), 38 («armchair» comparison of our copy with Millard's); 45 (new interpretation, which according to K. himself, «makes little sense»!), 50 (a glance at the [ugly] photo on pl. XVI, no. 6 suffices to see the -y).

¹⁷ AECT deals with the Neo-Assyrian «half» of Delaporte's edition, integrating the 1912 corpus with numerous exemplars published since that time. For the Neo- and Late-Babylonian epigraphs, a full edition of Delaporte's and later materials (including unpublished pieces) is now in a final stage of preparation by Eleonora Cussini (publication foreseen for 1992).

¹⁸ Tadmor, *cit.*, p. 457.

¹⁹ Cf. in general A. Lemaire–J.M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Genève-Paris 1984; K. Watanabe, *Die adē-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*, Berlin 1987, pp. 6-25, with previous bibl.; S. Parpola, in S. Parpola–K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (=SAA II), Helsinki 1988, pp. xv-xxv; H. Tadmor, *Alleanza e dipendenza nell'antica Mesopotamia e in Israele: terminologia e prassi*, in L. Canfora–M. Liverani–C. Zaccagnini (a cura di), *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma ideologia funzione*, Roma 1990, pp. 17-36; J.A. Brinkman, *Political Covenants, Treaties, and Loyalty Oaths*

discussion on *adê-ʿdy*, in itself far from being over, has led to a series of collateral reflections and points of view on the internal and external relations and policies of the Assyrian empire.

Thus, «Assyro-aramaica» has decidedly spread its roots in ancient Near Eastern studies, with an ever-growing range of contributions, especially philological but not exclusively so²⁰. But the intervening years since Garelli and Tadmor's evaluation of Aramaic personal names within Assyrian society have also been marked by an extraordinary flourishing of text-editions of NA material. While up-to-date editions available in 1978 were still quite limited, today a series of critical editions (*State Archives of Assyria*, directed by Simo Parpola) is rapidly filling up gaps in our knowledge of the documentary corpus of Neo-Assyrian²¹, flanking a number of equally significant periodical or sporadic publications²².

* * *

The time thus seems ripe to cast a new glance at the issue of the presence and attestation of Arameans within the Assyrian empire: and the occasion allows us to go back to Aramaic (and more in general West Semitic) onomastics, although in a non-random, and less impressionistic, vein. Our attempt in this contribution will be to examine a number of different samplers from archives or corpora of the NA period from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. in their onomastic components, *both of West Semitic affiliation and not*. In other words, we will attempt a quantitative evaluation of these samplers, so as to give a general picture of the relative diffusion of West Semitic names within the total number of onomastic attestations. But there is also a further side to this approach: since the «situational» setting of these archives is that of administration or law, the focus of the samplers will almost automatically fall on people visualized in **groups**, determined either by reasons of kinship, or by professional comradeship, or by mere local contiguity.

Thus the attempt will include evaluating the diffusion of West Semitic personal names within groups of parentage or of contemporaries, as they appear in the selected samplers from different chronological phases of the Assyrian empire. The

in *Babylonia and between Assyrian and Babylonia*, in *ibid.*, pp. 81-111; M. Liverani, *Terminologia e ideologia del patto nelle iscrizioni reali assire*, in *ibid.*, pp. 113-47; F.M. Fales, *Istituzioni a confronto tra mondo occidentale e Assiria nel I millennio a.C.: il trattato di Sefire*, in *ibid.*, pp. 149-73.

20 Cf. further, e.g., J.C. Greenfield, *Ana urduti kabasu = kbs l'bd*: StOr, 55 (1984), pp. 259-63; A.R. Millard, *Assyrians and Arameans: Iraq*, 45 (1983), pp. 105-108.

21 At the time of writing, vols. I-V of the series *State Archives of Assyria* (=SAA), comprising official correspondence, treaties, political-religious texts, and political-literary material, have been published.

22 As for other regular publications in the field, cf. the journal *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* (Padua), linked to the SAA project, and the series of text-editions in volume form *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* (London), henceforth CTN. Notice also F.M. Fales, *Cento lettere neo-assire*, Venezia 1983; K. Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung*, *cit.*, and T. Kwasman, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, Roma 1988 (=henceforth NALK).

question that will be posed as concerns these people and these groups is the following: what overall picture may be obtained as concerns the *numerical and social importance of the West Semitic onomastic component in the overall population of the Assyrian empire*? Agreeing to the fact that the West Semitic (and specifically Aramaic) onomastic element was represented in this general time and place, just *how* well was it represented? And were there variations in name-giving habits in the course of time which affected the diffusion of these onomastics? Were there particular niches, both geographical and social, where West Semitic names seem more frequently attested, and others in which they seem to be rare?

SAMPLERS OF PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

(a) THE ARMY OF SARGON

Let us start out this inquiry by examining a recently published corpus, the administrative texts stemming from the so-called «Fort Shalmaneser» building of Nimrud²³. We would choose in particular TFS 99, the main list of army personnel of the age of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) in which a number of «team-commanders» (*rab urāte*) are listed, in 13 sections²⁴ representing separate units, next to their higher officials²⁵; altogether, 184 names are given.

In this quite respectable sampler, the West Semitic element is relatively well represented: even *not* taking into account quite a few uncertain cases, our tally came to 41 names, i.e. 22.3% of the total²⁶. More in detail, it may be useful to note that two units are indicated in this text as being of a specific provenience, i.e. a «Chaldean» group²⁷ and a «Samaritan» group²⁸, while others are undefined as such. Now, both the Chaldean and the Samaritan group show – as expected – a marked presence of West Semitic onomastics: we find *Ahi-di-ki-ri*, *Nur-ia-pa-a*, and *A-a-tu-ri* in the Chaldean

²³ S. Dalley–J.N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser* (=CTN III), London 1984 (henceforth=TFS).

²⁴ Classified A to N by Dalley and Postgate; section I, however, is formed by only one (unclear) word.

²⁵ Discussion on the title GAL.GAL^{MEŠ} is provided in TFS, p. 171.

²⁶ The list is the following (roots marked only in problematical cases, else cf. Zadok, WSB): *Pa-qi-hi*, d.NU-*im-me*, *Ši-ia-u* (Y/WŠY imperative + theoph./hypocor. element), *Gu-u-a* (*G>Y/H), *A-tar-šu-ki*, *AD-di-ki-ri*, *Sa-al-[i-DI]NGIR*, *Mah-di-e*, *la-ta-ra*, *Ha-šá-na*, *U-im-me*, *Ka-pár-ra*, *A-tar-ba-a-di*, *Ši-id-qa-a-a*, DINGIR-*da-la-a*, *PAP-di-ki-ri*, *ZALAG-ia-pa-a*, d.A-*a-tu-ri*, *Ib-ba-da-la-a*, *Da-la-PAP*, *Ia-u-ga-a*, *PAP-id-ri*, *Ab-di-mil-ku*, *Na-ar-me-na-a* (cf. Zadok: BiOr, 42, p. 567), *Gab-bi-e*, *Sa-ma?-a*, *PAP-id-ri* II, *Ba-hi-e*, *PAP-i-ú*, *Ba-ri-ki*, *PAP-la-ra-me*, *U-hat-ti*, *Gab-ba-ru*, *A-tar-ra-hi-il*, *Mil-ki-ia-ta-a*, *Sa-al-ti-DINGIR* II, *A-ba-a*, d.A<-a>-*ra-mu*, *Hi-da-ta-a-nu*, *Ha-bu-su*, *Ba-hi-i*. Notice, by the way, that the presumed *Bal-nam-he*, Rev. III, 8, should be read *Pal-hul-še!-zib!*

²⁷ TFS 99: II, 12-15. The origin of this group in Sargon's army is discussed in TFS, p. 177, *ad D*.

²⁸ TFS 99: II, 16-23. On the Samaritan group, cf. most recently I. Eph'al, «*The Samaritan(s)*» in the *Assyrian Sources*, in *Festschrift H. Tadmor*, Jerusalem 1991, pp. 36-45.

unit (3 out of 7), and *Ib-ba-da-la-a*, *Da-la-ahi*, *Ia-u-ga-a*, *Ahi-id-ri*, *Ab-di-mil-ku*, *Na-ar-me-na-a*²⁹, *Gab-bi-e*, *Sa-ma ?-a*, *Ahi-id-ri II*, *Ba-hi-e*, and *Ahi-i-ú*, in the Samarian unit (11 out of 13)³⁰. However, it is a further unit, attached to one Kakku-šarru-ušur, which is particularly impressive, since – apart from a man called *Kal-bu*, of undetermined Semitic affiliation – all its components bear West Semitic names (8 out of 9)³¹. In other groups, West Semitic presences decrease sharply, to the point of total absence in favor of the typical Assyrian component (e.g. section K, Rev. III 13-16; section N, *ibid.*, 23-25).

Thus, in brief, this Nimrud sampler would seem to indicate that Sargon's army (a) had at least one-fifth of its components bearing West Semitic names, and that (b) it was divided into professional sectors or units which at times were marked by common linguistic-cultural origins or references. In other such groups or units, a process of admixture, in which the West Semitic onomastic element was a relative rarity in a mass of purely Assyrian formations, seems to have been underway.

(b) ESARHADDON'S MILITARY PERSONNEL

As a second sampler of professional groups in the Neo-Assyrian period, let us take up a further text of administrative character: ADD 857, the largest list of military personnel of Esarhaddon's time, relevant to people attached to the households of the queen mother and the crown prince³². The document, which has a few broken lines, bears 114 names of middle-rank military. Quite a few of these names are also

²⁹ For an interpretation of this name as «servant of *Mny*», cf. Zadok: BiOr, 42, p. 567; but notice the variant in TFS 108: III, 40, *ar-me[-na-a]*, which would imply that the *n*- was prosthetic.

³⁰ Most recent discussion of these names by Eph'al, *cit.*, pp. 41-42. One may be in agreement with this author when he states that in this group «only a few of the names can be considered Israelite» (p. 42). Notice, however, the following conclusion: «it seems preferable to associate most of the above-mentioned 'Samaritans' with the foreigners who were transferred to the province of Samirina ... , rather than with the Israelites exiles in Assyria» (*ibid.*). In a subsequent footnote (*ibid.*, fn. 38), a scruple prompts the author to state that «for the sake of balance and completeness we should note that ... the northern, Israelite onomasticon (of which only a relatively small portion has survived) is not replete with Yahwistic names». The conclusions are nonetheless still categorical: «It is certain, however, that Aramaic and Akkadian names such as *Ahu-idri*, *Atamru*, *Bahê*, *Bel-duri*, *Gabbê* and *Narmenâ* were not included in the Israelite onomasticon». Eph'al's slightly circular reasoning fails to take into account the very concrete possibility that people may take on second names or entirely new names to adapt to new linguistic and societal settings – as e.g. many immigrants from Europe do in modern-day Israel. And moreover, since Sargon claims to have taken 27,290 people captive at Samaria and states that he added them to his army (cf. B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1979, p. 52, for references and discussion), one wonders where *else* would they have ended up, if not in the «Samaritan» contingent listed here!

³¹ TFS 99: II, 7-11, section C (the group reappears in TFS 108: III, 7-11; notice there *Kal-bi-i* for *Kal-bu*). Cf. also section M (rev. III, 17-22) for a fair-sized West Semitic presence.

³² Cf. for the moment, LAS II, 459, where a date ca. 670 B.C. is suggested. The text will be included in the forthcoming critical edition of Ninevite administrative texts by F.M. Fales and J.N. Postgate (SAA 7/1, Helsinki 1991).

attested in other administrative schedules of the age, thus clarifying the fact that this was regular palace personnel³³.

In this particular case, the result of an inquiry into the personal names of a professional group is interestingly clear-cut. West Semitic names are *quite scarce* in this Esarhaddon list, not reaching even 20 examples, with an overall percentage of 16.7%³⁴. We have counted the following, which – as may be seen – comprise even a few doubtful cases: *Ab-di-li-mu* LU₂.[x x x] (i, 44)³⁵; *Ha-nu-nu* LU₂.GAL *ki-šir* GAL SAG (ii, 10); *Gu-lu-su* LU₂.GAR-*nu I-tu-’u* (ii, 11); *Se-[e’?-qa ?-m]u* LU₂.*qur-but(u)* (ii, 22); *Ha-am-[x]x-su* LU₂.EN GIŠ.GIGIR (ii, 23); *A-da!-a* LU₂ *ša* GIR₃.ii (ii, 26); *Sa-lam-a-nu* L[U₂.GAL] *ki-šir* AMA.MAN (ii, 31); *Ga-<da!>-a’* L[U₂].*qur-but(u)* (ii, 34); *Da-ni-i* L[U₂].A.BA (ii, 40); *Ha-di-du* LU₂.*qur-but(u)* (ii, 48); *Bu-lu-zak-ru* LU₂.SAG (ii, 49); *Ar-ba-a.a* LU₂.EN.NAM (ii, 50); *Ahi-<a!>-[qar x x x x]* (r. i, 17); *A-ta-[x x]* LU₂.I₃.DU₈ (r. i, 22); [*Se*]-*e’!-da-la-a* LU₂..: (= i.e. GIŠ.GIGIR DU₈.MEŠ) (r. i, 26)³⁶; *Bir-ia-ma-a* LU₂.DIB.PA.MEŠ AMA.MAN (r. ii, 5); *Il-ta-da-a.a*³⁷ LU₂.DIB.PA.MEŠ AMA.MAN (r. ii, 9); *Ub-bu-ku* LU₂.. DUMU.<MAN> (r. ii, 11); *Mar-di-i* LU₂.. [x] (r. ii, 12). The rest – with only a couple of exceptions³⁸ – shows «classic» Assyrian onomastic formations from Mušeziḫ-Aššur to Nabû-duru-ušur to Mannu-ki-ahhe to Šulmu-Bel-lašme; etc.³⁹.

This list, therefore, cannot be used to confirm the findings of the previous set of data⁴⁰: it is in fact in decided contrast with the Sargon evidence from Nimrud, both statistically and from the point of view of the social integration of different onomastic habits. Not only should we reckon with the marked decrease of West Semitic attestations that this text shows on the previous sampler; but we should also note that in the Nimrud list it was possible to envisage some sort of inner grouping among the Westerners and an active intermingling between them and the people bearing Assyrian names, while here Phoenician and Aramean names seem to be floating around in a void, not unlike the few Anatolians or Egyptians.

Is this noticeable difference of scenarios due to a specific factor? And if so, to a contextual or to a social factor? As said above, ADD 857 shows a number of names in

33 Actually, the extant lines are 142, but 28 lines are too broken to yield the relevant names.

34 The percentage was calculated on the 114 complete lines (cf. above).

35 On this name, cf. Zadok: BASOR, 230 (1978), p. 58, ad 3.

36 Presumably the same person as a witness in ADD 420/421 (=NALK 248/249): cf. already F.M. Fales: OA, 16 (1977), p. 51, no. 93.

37 For this name, cf. WSB, 378a («*D/Ṭayy is a goddess»[?]); but we think it should be understood as *Šaday, «man of the open country, steppe», on the basis of the cuneiform renderings in -*lt*- for West Semitic Š/Ṣ which we clarified in OrNS, 47 (1978), pp. 91-98.

38 Notice *Pi-la-an-za-zu* in i, 24; *Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i* in ii, 39 – both with a distinctly Anatolian flavor.

39 Cf. resp. i, 20; i, 46; ii, 35; ii, 37.

40 Pace Tadmor, (cit., p. 451), who, after quoting the practice of deportation – and specifically the inclusion of the Samaritans in the *kišir šarrūti* of Sargon (cf. fn. [30], above) – stated: «No wonder, therefore, that bearers of West Semitic names are mentioned not infrequently as officers in the Assyrian army», with explicit quote of some the names of ADD 857 (p. 462²⁶).

parallel with other inventories of palace personnel⁴¹, while a few of the names also occur in contemporary letters in connection with royal activity⁴²: so there can be no ground to suppose that a non-representative context was involved here. In the light of the fact that this was actually an official list of Esarhaddon's court personnel, then, the probability that a social, or socio-cultural, cause lay behind the scarcity of the West Semitic onomastic component in the text, should be taken into account.

In order to make the picture clearer, further samplers will be at this point taken up for consideration. From the legal texts discovered in the royal capital Nineveh (essentially of the 7th century B.C.), a series of deeds has been recently re-edited with an eye to inner subdivisions in «archives»⁴³. From this corpus, it is possible to draw a wide variety of names, moreover falling in different types of groupings. We have specifically chosen two distinct samplers: the first sampler – in itself twofold – concerns groups formed by «neighbors and friends», i.e. people who are associated on a local basis or on the basis of acquaintance; while the second refers to people linked by ties of kinship.

SAMPLERS OF «NEIGHBORS AND FRIENDS»

The «neighbors and friends» groups are, of course, characterized in common *per differentiam* as regards groups united by blood ties: here it was society, and not kinship, which associated the people involved, in different degrees of chance/necessity. Going into further depth into the matter, we should take into account the fact that the legal documents examined in these samplers all derive from the Nineveh archives, where the relevant transactions or judicial issues were in the main discussed. It follows that the specimens of groups of «neighbors» – i.e. people listed in the texts as associated on a local basis with the seller or his property⁴⁴ – allow us to cast a glance prevalently at the names of people within local communities outside of the Assyrian capital. On the other hand, the specimens of groups of «friends» – witnesses, debtors/creditors, etc. – show us rather the onomastics of people who also may have

41 Esp. ADD 840, 860, etc. The reader is referred to the introduction of Fales–Postgate, SAA 7/1.

42 Cf. LAS II, p. 459.

43 NALK, *cit.*, *passim*, which will be quoted as the most recent edition (but with concordances to the edition of Johns, ADD in brackets). Notice, however, that the edition of 427 legal texts given in NALK is bound to be superseded in the near future (end of 1991) by a volume of the SAA series, still by Kwasman (with S. Parpola), giving *all* the legal documents from the Nineveh finds, complete with a crucial onomastic index, lacking in NALK itself. Some corrections to readings and interpretations of the NALK edition were already given by us in SAAB IV/2 (1990), *passim*; a few others are added here.

44 The group of «neighbors» thus essentially comprises two categories of people: witnesses on the seller's side, from «back home»; or owners of plots bordering on the property being sold.

originated in various parts of the Empire, but who came together in Nineveh (in the main, for professional reasons) and formed mutual affiliations there⁴⁵.

In this light, it is clear that a single text-sampler cannot be brought forth to give a statistical picture of the situation, as in the previous two instances: as is obvious, no solitary list of townsmen or of witnesses in court can hope to represent reliably the wide gamut of possible personal affiliations and interconnections in 8th-7th century Nineveh. Rather, the *entire complex* of deeds falling into «archives» (cf. above) will constitute the text-base, from which specific statistical and socio-cultural observations will be derived, through a selection of significant quotes in the following pages.

(a) GROUPS BASED ON COMMON INHABITATION

Starting out with an investigation into «neighborhoods», it is not surprising to find a few local settings in which the West Semitic and the Assyrian element are fully interactive, as in the by now «classical» image painted by Garelli and Tadmor. Thus, e.g. in NALK 37 (=ADD 425), 1' ff. the following people, of mixed Assyrian and West Semitic onomastics, are all owners of neighboring plots to the ones being sold: Mannu-ki-Arbil; Ahi-*qa-mu*⁴⁶; Sîn-eṭir; A-*ba-ti*; A-*gi-nu*⁴⁷; Lubaš-ana-ili; Ab-*dī-hi-mu-nu*⁴⁸; Mannî; Kakkî; Ma-*ad-ki-ri*⁴⁹; A-*du-ru*⁵⁰; Nanî. The location is unknown (but a *hazānu*, «mayor» of the town is among the witnesses). The date is lost, but is ca. 660 B.C. on prosopographical grounds⁵¹.

A more limited West Semitic presence is shown by the case of NALK 256 (=ADD 470): here we have a list of ten people of the village Dannayyu, responsible for selling the village itself to the royal *mukil appāti*, Remanni-Adad⁵²: 8 are Assyrian names (Ninurta-ilayu, Adad-uballiṣ, Nabû-remanni, Iṣtar-ilayu, Mannu-ki-Arbil, Zeru-ukin, Adad-bel-uṣur, Asgudi⁵³), and 2 have West Semitic names (*Hi-ri-ahi*, *Mil-ki-id-ri*⁵⁴). The date is 663 B.C. On smaller scale, but rather similar is the setting of NALK 46 (=ADD 625), 1-4: here the village of Bahayyu is sold by four owners:

45 As stated by Kwasman, «The professions of the archive-holders demonstrate that the legal documents belong to officials connected to the royal family as well as to the military and administrative sectors of the palace» (NALK, p. xxiv).

46 *Ḥ + *QWM qal pf.: cf. WSB, p. 342b.

47 Cf. WSB, p. 311, for an etymological suggestion.

48 Of Phoenician type: *^cBD + *ḤMN (see e.g. Benz, *Names*, pp. 312-13, where this name is quoted).

49 Etymological suggestions in WSB, p. 139.

50 *^cDR: cf. WSB, p. 127.

51 Some of the witnesses names are identical to individuals of the Remanni-Adad archive (cf. the next footnote).

52 For this individual, active in the 660s, see F.M. Fales: SAAB, 1 (1987), pp. 93-114.

53 This name refers to a specific rodent: cf. CAD A/II, 340a.

54 For *Hi-ri-ahi*, cf. *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 19/3 (1981), pp. 7-14.

Nergal-ilaya, the governor of Lahiru; Siî-šarru-ušur, his deputy; Murasû, and *Za-bi-nu*⁵⁵. The date is 670 B.C.

As is to be expected, we find variations in onomastic «neighborhoods» which seem to depend by and large on the geographical setting, perhaps with social implications thrown in as well. Take, e.g. a text where no West Semitic names are present: **NALK 119** (=ADD 446), a deed of sale of a vineyard in the town of Irbu'ayu. In this rural setting, the local inhabitants are mentioned as neighboring parties and as witnesses, together with 10 people of the neighboring town of Hubaba. Alongside a variety of Assyrian names, a local (presumably Anatolian) onomastic component is present, thus giving us a clue as to the possible localization of the town⁵⁶. Equally expected is the opposite role of urban contexts in determining total admixtures among communities: a truly «cosmopolitan» setting is that of **NALK 333** (=ADD 324), where the sellers are Assyrian (Šarru-lu-dari) and Aramean (*A-tar-su-ru*, and the lady *A-mat-d.Su-u'-la*⁵⁷ – who was the wife of a military, Bel-duri), while the buyer is an Egyptian with an Assyrian name (Šilli-Aššur, by profession «Egyptian scribe»), and the witnesses had decidedly Egyptian names (Šusanqu, Harmaša, Rasu'; etc.)⁵⁸.

Summing up this type of material, West Semitic names are attested in almost all local contexts, but consistently on a minority basis. Specifically, it is very rare to find a list of «neighbors» of some extension (i.e. more than 2-3 names) in which the West Semitic element is the *sole* onomastic component: on the other hand, a few cases of the opposite phenomenon, i.e. the total absence of Aramaic or Canaanite names on a specific site, may be summoned. Take, e.g., the list of 7 witnesses of the village Ša-šillaya in **NALK 202** (=ADD 385): 21' ff.: Nabû-remanni, Eṭeri, Šulluma, Nabû-iddina, Ammeni-ili, Šumu-iddina, Ibašši-ili, who should be flanked by Nabû-šapik-zeri, Bel-ukin, Abi-ṭabi, owners of plots adjacent to the one being sold by Nabû-šapik-zeri himself to Bel-ibašši-duri. On the other hand, and surprisingly enough in this context, the last-mentioned individual, being a royal scribe, had a colleague witnessing for him who was an «Aramean (alphabetic) scribe of the Crown Prince», by name Nur-e-a (l. 26)⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ *ZBN passive participle (cf. WSB, p. 122, for discussion).

⁵⁶ Cf. the names Ulkâ, Kubaba-ilaya, Gugî, Sinainni, Kimama, Handapî, Hunzudî. On the Anatolian component in NA onomastics, cf. A. Goetze: JCS, 16 (1962), p. 57; Fales, CCENA, p. 23. On the goddess Kubaba in particular, cf. WSB, p. 273, where this text is also mentioned. In particular, for Sinainni, cf. Zadok: *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 14 (1979), p. 298.

⁵⁷ The divine name here is a (Syrian?) variant of Šala, denomination of the goddess usually coupled with (H)adad: cf. the Aramaic epigraphic rendering *swl* in the statue of Tell Fekheriye: cf. A. Abou Assaf–P. Bordreuil–A.R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekheriye*, cit., pp. 82-83.

⁵⁸ R. Zadok (BASOR, 230 [1978], p. 61) suggests that another witness here, *Ši-id-qa-a*, was a Philistine; but the adscription rests only on the comparison with the name of the king of Ashkelon during Sennacherib's reign, the name itself being openly Semitic.

⁵⁹ Probably a Babylonian: cf. NALK, p. 240. The text has no extant date.

(b) GROUPS BASED ON MUTUAL ACQUAINTANCE

In individual cases of «acquaintances», the West Semitic component seems as well attested as the Assyrian one: e.g. in **NALK 94** (=ADD 17), *passim*, the text presents a complete admixture between West Semitic and Assyrian onomastics. The text is a contract: Dummuqâ lends silver to a large – and onomastically mixed – company: Balasu, Šillâ, *Ad-gi-ili*⁶⁰, Nabû-šezib, *Zab-di-il*⁶¹, *Ia-a-qè-e*⁶². The witnesses are Barruqu, Ahu-ereš, Šulmu-šarri, *Ad-di-id-ri*⁶³, Mannu-ki-Arbil. The date is 688 B.C. And even a «mixed bag» of associates and local cliques such as is shown by **NALK 117** (=ADD 500) – a text bearing witness lists, with many groups divided by provenience – is more or less in accordance with this framework. Notice: Šulmu-Bel, Su'a, from Kalhu; Nabû'a, Mannu-ki-Nusku, from Nineveh; and West Semitic names of witnesses such as *A-zi-il*⁶⁴ and *Sa-i-il*⁶⁵.

But do these individual cases of «acquaintances» mirror the true proportion of onomastic habits in 8th-7th century Assyria? Or should we rather trust the decided prevalence of Assyrian names, such as we find it in the larger archives of deeds – those collections of legal texts of the major Nineveh entrepreneurs (such as Bahianu, Ninuayyu, Remanni-Adad, Kakkullanu), which chance has transmitted down to us? Let us, for example, take the archive of *Ba-hi-a-ni/nu* (active ca. 700-690 B.C.), **NALK 49-68**: in many of these 19 texts, this businessman of the Assyrian capital is depicted lending barley or metals. Now, his debtors' names are – as may be seen – almost exclusively Assyrian, i.e., in (archival) order of appearance: Šamaš-ahu-ušur; *Ga-ru-šur*; Bel-lešir; Kabti-ilani; Nabû'a; Ahi-[x x]; three people named Nabû-nuru-nammir, La-tubaššanni-ili, and Šabtanu; *As-ta-qu-um-me*; Lamašši-ili; *Ga-bi-i*; four people named Siš-šarru-ušur, Nergal-ašared, Remutti-ili, and Dayyan-Kurba'il; eight people (plus a few more whose names are lost) named *Ga-lu[l]*, Ubru-ahhe, Šamaš-našir, Eriba-ilani, Ahuni, Qurdi-Ištar, Kubaba-ahu-iddin, Kubaba-ilaya⁶⁶.

Or take **NALK 127** (=ADD 414) and the related texts of the large archive of Kakkullanu, *rab kišir* of the late years of the Assyrian empire⁶⁷. Kakkullanu, an enterprising owner of land and people, is accompanied to «court» by a regular group of cronies, usually professional associates of his. Their names are basically Assyrian (Laqipu, Kišir-Aššur, Unzirhu-Aššur, Balasî, Aššur-killanni, Nabû-tariš, Ubru-Nabû);

⁶⁰ Cf. WSB, pp. 48, 102, with *Adgi as a Suhean form of the divine name Adad.

⁶¹ Not Ud-di-DINGIR (NALK, p. 109)!

⁶² Cf. WSB, p. 59.

⁶³ *HDD + *^cDR.

⁶⁴ *^cZ + *^cL: cf. WSB, p. 20.

⁶⁵ *^cS^cL, passive participle: cf. WSB, p. 124. Other Assyrian and possibly West Semitic names of fragmentary provenience are given in the text.

⁶⁶ Resp. NALK 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 68.

⁶⁷ On this deed and its historical context, cf. F.M. Fales, *Il villaggio assiro Bit Abu-ila'a: Dialoghi di archeologia*, 3 (1981), pp. 66-84 (English translation in C. Zaccagnini [Ed.], *Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East*, Budapest 1989, pp. 169-200). Specifically, on Kakkullanu's associates, cf. the chart given *ibid.*, Table V.

only the names of Hirišayyu, and of *I-di-i*, a merchant, are outside of the onomastic mainstream⁶⁸.

In both cases, then – in the case of «neighbors» as well as in that of «acquaintances» – the West Semitic onomastic component is indisputably present: but the *Namengebung* of Assyrian linguistic-cultural affiliation – and basically the onomastics which pay homage to the Assyrian *régime* – appear to have been statistically overwhelming. The impression is that – especially in the 7th century – in all parts of the empire, both in town and country, Assyrian deities, ideological concepts, and linguistic forms, were being fitted to names: Arameans, Egyptians, Anatolians, and Urartians, all fell to a greater or smaller extent prey to this «Assyrianization» of names.

SAMPLERS OF FAMILY GROUPS

But this is still by no means the complete picture: if on one hand a distinct trend toward acculturation to Assyrian models may in fact be detected, we do, on the other hand, possess a vast and – one would say – stable West Semitic onomastic corpus for this age, as against the all-pervasive Babylonization of names which was to take place in Southern Mesopotamia during Chaldean and Achaemenian rule. This durable and firmly rooted West Semitic onomastic component in Assyria is particularly discernible within family groups, and we shall – as a last sampler – examine families in the traces they leave on the very same legal texts from Nineveh that we have analyzed and quoted above.

For the sake of clarity, a preliminary threefold division has been effected on the assembled evidence. Foremost, we will provide a list of families which retain West Semitic names from one generation to the next; then, kinship groups in which a shift in the linguistic-cultural affiliation of the names occurred (i.e. mixed West Semitic/Akkadian names). And finally, in order to make a wider comparative check on the family onomastics of the NA period, a series of significant cases of totally Assyrian names has been also brought forth. Remarks on the three categories and of their respective significance for our onomastic study will be provided after the presentation of the three samplers, which cover more than 40 texts (and approx. 140 names) altogether.

(a) FAMILY GROUPS WITH EXCLUSIVELY WEST SEMITIC ONOMASTICS

- In deeds of sale of people:

⁶⁸ The rendering *I-di-i* alternates with *A-di-i* for the same person (cf. APN, s.v.): so in both cases a hypocoristic deriving from the divine name (H)adad might be postulated (cf. WSB, p. 47).

NALK 2 (=ADD 245), 3-6: the woman *Ia-qar-ahhe*⁶⁹ and her daughter, plus the woman *A-bi-ia-ah-ia*⁷⁰ previously belonging to *Mi-na-hi-mi*⁷¹, are sold to the «Chatelaine» Abi-rami, sister of the Queen Mother. — NALK 12 (=ADD 317), 1-3: the woman *Da-li-ya-a*⁷² sells her daughter, *A-na-at-da-la-ti*⁷³ to the «Chatelaine» of Nineveh Central City⁷⁴: 687 B.C. — NALK 215 (=ADD 250), 3: [*Il-la-ha/ah*]-*az-zi*⁷⁵, son of the woman *A-ha-ti-ṭa-bat*⁷⁶ is sold by Hudayyu son of Muṣurayyu: post-648 B.C. — NALK 222 (=ADD 249), 1-2: Sale of Marduk-*hu-ut-nu*⁷⁷ and his brother *A-di-ī*: no date. — NALK 248 (=ADD 420), 4'-6': sale of *Qar-ha-a*⁷⁸, farmer, *E-ni-il*⁷⁹, one weaned child, *Ab-šā-a*⁸⁰ his brother, and the woman *Pa-pa-a*⁸¹ their mother: 666 B.C. — NALK 251 (=ADD 237), 3: *Di-na-na*⁸² and the woman *Ga-bi-a*⁸³, his wife, are sold: 665 B.C.⁸⁴ — NALK 301 (=ADD 231), 3-4: *Ha-am-nu-nu*, his wife, his mother, and two brothers, named *Ad-da-a* and *Ili-su-ri*, with two unnamed sisters, a total of seven, are bought by Se'-ma'di: 681 B.C. — NALK 302 (=ADD 229), 3-6: *U-se-e*⁸⁵, two wives, — the women *Me-e'-sa-a*⁸⁶ and *Ba-di-a*, the males (=brothers?) *Se-gab-a*⁸⁷ and Bel-Harran-taklak⁸⁸, and two weaned sons are bought by Se'-ma'di: 680 B.C.

69 *YQR perfect + *ʾH or ʾHY.

70 *ʾB(Y) + *HYY imperfect.

71 MNHM. The name appears in the form *mnḥm* in the Aramaic epigraph written on the side of the text (cf. F.M. Fales, AECT, p. 183, no. 20).

72 *DLY + hypocoristic ending.

73 *ʿNT + *DLY perfect.

74 Cf. ADD 950:2, for this office.

75 *ʾL + *HZY imperfect with L-: the name is reconstructed on the basis of the Aramaic epigraph 'llhzy (Fales, AECT, pp. 188-89). Thus NALK's [1. DINGIR-*ha*]-*az-zi* is wrong.

76 *ʾHT + TWB: cf. AECT, p. 189.

77 Written 1.d.ASARI-LU₂-HI-*hu-ut-nu*: on -*hu-ut-nu* cf. discussion in Fales, AECT, pp. 191-92 (<*ʿTN).

78 *QRH + hypocoristic element: cf. WSB, pp. 114, 152.

79 *ʿYN + *ʾL: cf. WSB, p. 30.

80 *ʿBŠ: cf. WSB, p. 220.

81 This is a lallative, noteworthy only for the ending -ā, frequent in West Semitic onomastics.

82 *DYN(?): cf. WSB, p. 329.

83 *GBH.

84 Notice that the seller also bears a West Semitic name, *Se-na-tan*.

85 The name appears in the accompanying Aramaic epigraph as *Hwš'*: cf. AECT, p. 143; and see WSB, p. 244.

86 The etymology of this name is given in WSB, p. 145: but it doesn't seem totally convincing.

87 Name compounded with the divine name *Se'* (for *Sin*) and the root *GBH (cf. above).

88 We have decided to retain this family among the ones bearing exclusively West Semitic onomastics, since this name is truly a borderline case as regards scribal practices and religious beliefs: while the name appears Assyrian in form (stative of **takālu*, 1st person sg.), it must be noted that not only Bel-Harran (=the Moon-god *Sin*) is known as BʿL ḤRN in Aramaic (cf. e.g.

- In deeds of other types:

NALK 137 (=ADD 151), 1-2: silver is loaned by Kakkullanu to *Ra-pa-a*⁸⁹, son of *Ab-di-li-me*⁹⁰, cultic singer from the city Šiddi-asika. — **NALK 144 (=ADD 215)**, 22: *Ha-su-si-i*⁹¹ son of *Zib-di-i*⁹² is witness to a deed involving parties with West Semitic onomastics⁹³. — **NALK 341 (=ADD 321)**, 3' ff.: *A-tar-qa-mu*, the scribe, shall hand over his daughter, *KUR.A-di-im-ri*⁹⁴ in lieu of blood money for a murder⁹⁵. — **NALK 423 (=ADD 1156)**, 22: *Adad-im-me* son of *Nur-Se-e'* is witness to a sale between people with almost exclusively West Semitic names.

(b) FAMILY GROUPS WITH MIXED WEST SEMITIC-ASSYRIAN ONOMASTICS⁹⁶

- In deeds of sale of people:

NALK 50 (=ADD 176+), 4-6: Mannu-ki-Arbil, son of *Ahi-ia-u*⁹⁷ is sold by *Za-ku-ri*⁹⁸ and *Kin-nat-ili*⁹⁹: 700 B.C. — **NALK 111 (=ADD 1194)**, 1-4: two brothers-in-law, Nabû-ušalli, brother of *Ha-za-il*¹⁰⁰, and the woman Rišat-abiša, widow of *Ha-za-il*, sell the slave *Mar-su-ri*¹⁰¹ to Ili-našir: 680 B.C. — **NALK 125 (=ADD 318)**, 1-5: a slave is sold in common by Nabû-ahu-ušur and Ahuni, sons of *Na-ar-gi-i*, as well as by *Ahi-nuri*¹⁰² son of *Se-i-li*¹⁰³: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 149 (=ADD 310)**, 3-5: a

KAI 218), but the root *TKL exists also for West Semitic onomastics (see WSB, p. 82, with previous lit.).

89 *RPY + hypocoristic ending.

90 *cBD + *ilim (Phoenician: cf. Benz, *Names*, p. 267; WSB, p. 279). For Phoenician singers, cf. e.g. NWL, p. 77.

91 Perhaps from a root *ḤŠŠ, «to reap, mow» (Arabic, Hebrew), with hypocoristic ending.

92 *ZBD + hypocoristic ending (probably variant of *Zab-di-i*, cf. WSB, p. 117).

93 The seller is called *Se-e'-za-ba-di* (*Sin + *ZBD perfect); his female slave being sold is called *Abi-ha-i'-li* (*B[Y] + *HYL); the buyer is a woman named *La-te-e'-[x x x]* (*YT^c imperfect with L-).

94 For the predicative element, cf. WSB, p. 341.

95 The interpretation given by Kwasman, NALK, p. 393, of this text is totally wrong: Šamaš-kenu-ušur is not the son of Atar-qamu, but of the murdered Samaku!

96 Of course, also other ethno-linguistic groups presented admixtures with the Akkadian element in the onomastics of the age: note e.g. the half-Egyptian, half-Assyrian family of NALK 214 (=ADD 307). The buyer is also endowed with an Egyptian name.

97 *Ḥ + theophoric or hypocoristic element.

98 *DKR participle.

99 NALK: *Du-kur-DINGIR*, which is doubtful, in view of the ensuing coincidence of roots with the previous name.

100 *ḤZY perfect + *L.

101 *MR' + *ŠWR(Y).

102 *Ḥ(Y) + NWR(Y), possibly Aramaic or Akkadian.

103 *Š'L (cf. WSB, p. 182).

family of people being sold comprises Nergal-dan, his wife (?) Ištar-[x], and her daughter *Mar-ti-i*¹⁰⁴. — **NALK 260** (=ADD 471), 9'-11': two families of serfs are sold with their agricultural village in the province of Arpad, in Syria: *Ia-ahi*, an unnamed son, the woman *U-a-r[i x x]*, his wife¹⁰⁵; the farmer *Ka-mu-su*¹⁰⁶, his son *Hu-ru-bi-sa![-a]* and the woman *Lu-balṭat*, his wife – the latter bearing an Assyrian name, as may be seen.

- In deeds of other types:

NALK 69 (=ADD 619), 15-16: a house and 11 people are given by Bel-na'id to his daughter *Ba-al-te-ia-a-ba-te*¹⁰⁷ as gift: post-canonical. — **NALK 126** (=ADD 621), 1-2: a field is sold by Remanna-Bel, son of *Ia-ta-na-e-li*¹⁰⁸: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 138** (=ADD 23), 3-4: a loan of silver is made to *Na-ar-gi-i*, son of Šamaš-na'id: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 195** (=ADD 1241), 1-2: seal of Šangû-Ištar son of *Ha-an-da-ri-ši*¹⁰⁹. Among witnesses, we find (l. 23) Dadî (U.U-i)¹¹⁰ son of Bel-remanni. — **NALK 220** (+ ADD 182), 1: Ezbutu son of *Mu-sa-la-mu*¹¹¹ are the sellers of a slave: no date. — **NALK 336** (=ADD 78): 5-7. The charioteer Šamaš-abu'a, having taken a loan, pledges his wife Belet-KUR.A, his daughter *Abi-ra-hi-i*¹¹², his son Sukkayyu. No date.

(c) FAMILY GROUPS WITH EXCLUSIVELY ASSYRIAN ONOMASTICS

- In deeds of sale of people:

NALK 29 (=ADD 201), 1-3: the man Zunbu sells his son Nergal-eṭir to Aplaya: 694 B.C. — **NALK 98** (=ADD 314), 1-3: the man Šil-Aššur sells his son Nergal-ahu-ušur to Riba-ili: date lost. — **NALK 113** (=ADD 265), 2': among slaves sold, Šamaš-eriba and his wife Bussuku: no date. — **NALK 124** (=ADD 711), 1-8: the woman Gula-rišat is sold by Mutakkil-Marduk and Aššur-mušallim, her two brothers; and by

104 Aramaic *MRT' «Lady» + hypocoristic ending. Actually the status of the first woman as wife of Nergal-dan is doubtful, since the daughter is said to be hers only (*ma-ār-a-š[a]*, l. 4). The translation in NALK (p. 183) «Marti and her daughter» is wrong, since the next line states clearly that a total of three persons is involved.

105 Notice the toponym *Ma-ri-bat ū-a-ri*, CCENA I 1 23.

106 Cf. WSB, p. 341, for the root, which is however quite rarely attested.

107 *B' L + *YHB perfect.

108 *YTN + *Y L(Y): the verb is Phoenician (cf. DISO, p. 113; and see Zadok: BASOR, 230 [1978], p. 58). Notice, among the witnesses for Remanna-Bel, *Gi-ra-a-a* and *Pa-di-i*, both plausibly Phoenician as well (cf. Benz, *Names*, resp. pp. 298-99, 389).

109 The name seems to be a hybrid: cf. similar cases, WSB, pp. 370a, 399b.

110 For the reading of U.U as **dad*, cf. Pedersen, ALA, p. 88. The element may be considered either Akkadian or Aramaic.

111 *ŠLM D passive participle (cf. WSB, pp. 140, 305). The name of the father should, on the other hand, be Akkadian, as a derivation from *ezbu*, «abandoned child».

112 *Y B + *R' Y. Cf. WSB, p. 53, for this name.

her two sons, Aššur-nadin-ahi and Ubru-Aššur: all four are described as «sons» of Tartiba-Ištar, the ironsmith. Post-648 B.C. — **NALK 401 (=ADD 86)**, 1'-2': the woman Ahat-abiša, daughter of Ubru-Aššur, is sold to *Za-ab-di-i*. Date: 652 B.C. — **NALK 402 (=ADD 208)**, 3-4: Mannu-ki-Arbil sells his sister Bi-li(1)lutu. Date: 668 B.C.

- In deeds of other types:

NALK 127 (=ADD 414), 1-2: a field is sold by Lulabbir-šarrussu, son of Marduk-šarru-ušur: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 128 (=ADD 623)**, 1-3: a field is leased by Šamaš-balliṭanni and Urad-Ištar, sons of Abi-eriba: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 136 (=ADD 207)**, 1-2: a female slave is sold by Bel-ahhešu, son of Šamaš-abu'a: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 141 (=ADD 89)**, 3-4: loan to Qata-Aššur-ašbat son of Ištar-na'id and Susu son of Lu-šakin: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 199a (=ADD 88)**, 2-3: seal of Aššur-reš-iši, son of Silim-Aššur: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 204 (=ADD 1167)**, 34-35: among witnesses, Nabû-našir son of Bel-lu-balaṭ; Kalbu son of Abu-amur¹¹³: 699 B.C. — **NALK 233 (=ADD 16)**, 3-4: Dadî son of Nergal-našir is recipient of a loan of silver: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 235 (=ADD 266)**, 1-4: Idate-Bel-allaka, Adad-šarru-ušur and Šarrumukin, sons of Aššur-šallim-ahhe, are the sellers of a family of serfs: 671 B.C. — **NALK 259 (=ADD 362)**, 1-2: Adad-našir, son of Nabû-našir, scribe of the house of Aššur-le'i, sells a vineyard to Remanni-Adad (cf. above): 660 B.C. — **NALK 273 (=ADD 270)**, 1-3: Da'inanni-Nergal, Zilî, KURtalayy¹¹⁴, Aššur-šallim-ahhe, all sons of Gabbu-ilani-ereš, sell a group of female household slaves. No date. — **NALK 352b (=ADD 81)**, 3-4: Kulu'-Ištar son of Dan-Kurba'il takes a sum of silver on loan: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 413 (=ADD 67)**, 43-5: Ubru-ahhešu son of Urad-Ištar is given in pledge against a loan: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 424 (=ADD 640)**, 1-8: dedication of a man to the god Ninurta. Dur-maki-Ištar, son of the woman Raimtu, sister of Bel-na'id and of Nabû-na'id, is dedicated to the god by all the above-mentioned plus Urad-Ištar son of Bel-na'id, and Šumma-ussezib son of Kanunayu. Date: post-648 B.C. — **NALK 426 (=ADD 642)**, 1-3: Urad-Ištar and Aššur-matka-da'in, sons of Ištar-šumu-iddina, sell a man. Date: post-648 B.C.

CONCLUSIONS

The family onomastics presented above as a final sampler will at the same time allow us to open up the conclusive section of our present inquiry. As stated above, our aim was to ascertain, at a somewhat closer look than had hitherto been cast at the material, the actual substance of West Semitic *Namengebung* within the Assyrian empire of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., and the breadth of its diffusion in this context. On this count, our results may be summarized as follows:

¹¹³ AD-u-IGI, not to be interpreted AD-u-lim (NALK, p. 242).

¹¹⁴ The reading of this name is doubtful.

- West Semitic is undisputably attested as the second most important linguistic-cultural component of names in the Assyrian empire, totally overshadowing other minority components such as Egyptian, Luvian, Elamite, Urartian;

- West Semitic is present in virtually all contexts, from the western to the eastern sectors, in town and country, and in all types of communities, from professional units [1a-b] to local/accidental associations [2a-b] to the family [3a-b];

- on the other hand, however, we will have trouble finding contexts in which the West Semitic onomastic component is the only one attested. While it is statistically significant, as said above, the Aramaic, Canaanite, and (to a smaller extent) Arabic *Nomegeving* is virtually never exclusive; quite to the contrary, it is open to many onomastic admixtures with the Assyrian element, as may be seen viewing in particular the family case studies assembled above [3b].

At a further level of results, it was our aim to gain a general picture of the social relevance of the West Semitic linguistic-cultural component in the onomastics of the Neo-Assyrian age. The older framework on this subject was that of a generalized presence of especially Aramaic names in all levels of Neo-Assyrian society, from the agricultural serf to the top-rank official acting as year-eponym¹¹⁵. Now, also on the basis of the conclusions reached above, we would suggest that this image should be somewhat modified, as follows:

- within the medium-to-high levels of Assyrian society, the West Semitic name could have enjoyed a peak of presence and of social significance during the reign of Sargon, in the wake of the annexation of large parts of Syria and of widespread deportations (cf. [1a]). Subsequently – we surmise – its importance could have waned to some extent, if we are to set store by the large proportion of Assyrian names of the military at Esarhaddon's court [1b], and by the general weakening of West Semitic attestations in a bird's-eye view of 7th century society, such as is provided by the «neighbors and friends» categories [2a-b];

- on the other hand, fresh arrivals of deportees – often put to work as *glebae adscripti* in the countryside, and as such subjected to sale with the land – kept the «input» of the West Semitic onomastic component quite high, as proven by family groups of «sold» people [3a]. But the plentiful mixed names [3b] show that a certain «Assyrianization» was at work in these lower social levels as well: and if we split up the attestations of this subgroup along «generational» lines (fathers vs. sons), it will be evident that the direction of change is unilaterally toward Assyrian. Thus it cannot be too surprising to find equally a large number of families of subordinate people bearing exclusively Assyrian names [3c].

* * *

115 Cf. fn. (2), above.

In conclusion, we think that the present investigation has in no way lessened the overall importance of West Semitic onomastics in the Neo-Assyrian period – but we hope to have induced some caution in the use of this documentation of linguistic and cultural value. West Semitic names in Assyria may act in our opinion as a fundamental clue to what was taking place beneath the surface in 8th-7th century Mesopotamia, i.e. a blend between the values of traditional Sumero-Akkadian cultural elaboration and newer issues and themes of ultimate Western origin. This blend or symbiosis is marked by a number of concurrent elements – from the Aramaic alphabetic epigraphs on clay tablets to the plentiful traces of Akkadian lexical influences on Aramaic and vice versa to the actual transfer or shared development of institutional structures – some of which will be discernible only through documentation of later periods¹¹⁶. But an «Assyro-Aramaic symbiosis» in this age is, however, sufficiently evident *per se*, not to require an inflated picture of the spread of West Semitic onomastics in the Empire. Let us recall that Adad-šumu-ušur, the court intellectual who made most freely use of Aramaisms, had a very «conservative» personal name¹¹⁷. At the final count, we feel that if a partial «Aramaization» of Assyrian culture may be said to take place in this time, at the same time we must reckon with the opposite phenomenon occurring in *Namengebung* to some extent, i.e. a clearly discernible «Assyrianization». Or, to state it differently: it is conceivable that, hidden beneath unassuming Assyrian names, lay the bulk of conscious /unconscious contributors to the constitution of cultural links between Assyrian and Aramaic in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

¹¹⁶ In addition to the articles by Tadmor and Garelli already quoted, cf. our *Accadico e aramaico: livelli dell'interferenza linguistica*: VO, 3 (1980), pp. 243-67, on this point.

¹¹⁷ Adad-šumu-ušur's style has been analyzed by K. Deller, AOAT 1, pp. 51 ff.

WEST SEMITIC NAMES DISCUSSED IN THE PRESENT ARTICLE:

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| A-ba-ti 107 | Ha-su-si-i 112 |
| A-bi-ia-ah-ia 111 | Ha-za-il 112 |
| A-da!-a 105 | Hi-ri-ahi 107 |
| A-di-i 111 | Hu-ru-bi-sa![-a] 113 |
| A-du-ru 107 | I-di-i 110 |
| A-gi-nu 107 | Ia-a-qè-e 109 |
| A-ha-ti-ja-bat 111 | Ia-ahi 113 |
| A-mat-d.Su-u'-la 108 | Ia-qar-ahhe 111 |
| A-na-at-da-la-ti 111 | Ia-ta-na-e-li 113 |
| A-ta-[x x] 105 | Il-la-ha/ah]-az-zi 111 |
| A-tar-qa-mu 112 | Il-ta-da-a.a 105 |
| A-tar-su-ru 108 | Ili-su-ri 111 |
| A-zi-il 109 | Ka-mu-su 113 |
| Ab-šá-a 111 | KUR.A-di-im-ri 112 |
| Ab-di-hi-mu-nu 107 | Ma-ad-ki-ri 107 |
| Ab-di-li-me 112 | Mar-di-i 105 |
| Ab-di-li-mu 105 | Mar-su-ri 112 |
| Abi-ra-hi-i 113 | Mar-ti-i 113 |
| Ad-da-a 111 | Marduk-hu-ut-nu 111 |
| Ad-di-id-ri 109 | Me-e'-sa-a 111 |
| Ad-gi-ili 109 | Mi-na-hi-mi 111 |
| Adad-im-me 112 | Mil-ki-id-ri 107 |
| Ahi-i<a!>-[qar 105 | Mu-sa-la-mu 113 |
| Ahi-ia-u 112 | Na-ar-gi-i 112 |
| Ahi-nuri 112 | Nur-e-a 108 |
| Ahi-qa-mu 107 | Nur-Se-e' 112 |
| Ar-ba-a-a 105 | Pa-pa-a 111 |
| As-ta-qu-um-me 109 | Qar-ha-a 111 |
| Ba-al-te-ia-a-ba-te 113 | Ra-pa-a 112 |
| Ba-di-a 111 | Sa-i-il 109 |
| Ba-hi-a-ni/nu 109 | Sa-lam-a-nu 105 |
| Bir-ia-ma-a 105 | Se-[e'/?-qa?-m]u 105 |
| Bu-lu-zak-ru 105 | Se-gab-a 111 |
| Da-li-ya-a 111 | Se-i-li 112 |
| Da-ni-i 105 | Se]-e'-da-la-a 105 |
| Di-na-na 111 | U-a-r[i x x] 113 |
| E-ni-il 111 | U-se-e' 111 |
| Ga-<da!>-a' 105 | Ub-bu-ku 105 |
| Ga-bi-a 111 | Za-ab-di-i 114 |
| Ga-lu[l] 109 | Za-bi-nu 108 |
| Ga-ru-su 109 | Za-ku-ri 112 |
| Gu-lu-su 105 | Zab-di-il 109 |
| Ha-am-[x]x-su 105 | Zib-di-i 112 |
| Ha-am-nu-nu 111 | |
| Ha-an-da-ri-ši 113 | |
| Ha-di-du 105 | |
| Ha-nu-nu 105 | |