86) Yamu-iziri the summoner of Yahūdu and Aramaic linguistic interference — The earliest occurrence of the Judean "colony" is with a gentilic, viz. *Ālu (URU) šá Yahūdāyi* (*^{lú}Ia-a-hu-du-A+A*) from 20.I.33 Nebuchadnezzar II = 572 BCE, i.e. 25 years after the first deportation from Judah and 14 years after the second. The only other occurrence of the gentilic, viz. *$^{uru. lú}$Ia-<<da>>-hu-du-A+A* (without *šá*), is from 7.IX.38 Nebuchadnezzar II = 567 BCE (WUNSCH forthcoming, 1, 13). Hence it is arguable that *Ālu ša Yahūdāyi* predates the much more common form *Yahūdu* (*^{uru}Ia-a-hu-du* with variants, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 312b with refs.). The interchange between the plain toponym and its gentilic is analogous to *Nērebu* which is recorded along with *Ālu šá Nērebāyi* (in Babylonia), i.e. "the settlement, colony of the people from Nerab" in northern Syria (ZADOK 1985, 18, 238 with refs). I consider *URU* as a mere determinative and therefore prefer to transcribe the toponym in question as *Yahūdu* rather than *Āl-Yahūdu*, also in view of contemporaneous and later analogies, such as *Pārsa-* which in Old Persian refers to both the city of Persepolis and the land of Persis, as well as Arab. *Šām* (Syria) for Damascus and *Maṣr* (Egypt) for Cairo where the capital receives the name of the country without any modification.

PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 84 was issued at Ālu-ša-Našar, but the dates will be delivered in Yahūdu. Therefore one may infer that the settlements were close to each other. There are more indications for their proximity:

PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 83 from Bīt-Našar is a receipt for payment of duties to the summoner (or "recruitment officer", JURSA 2010, 652) of Yahūdu. Ālu-ša-Našar was situated near a royal road (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 69), namely a highway, which facilitated the communication with urban centres. From the fact that Kalbâ son of the eponym-founder *Na-áš-šar* is recorded on 18.IV.5 Nabonidus = 551 BCE (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 8, 14), one may conclude that *Ālu-ša-Našar/Bīt-Našar* ("*Našar*'s place, settlement") was established just a generation earlier, when the deportations of the Judeans took place.

It is clear that the Achaemenid authorities used existing communal and familial bonds when it came to recruitment of workmen for projects of the state. Summoners collected taxes of the Judean community via proxies, who were Judeans like these functionaries. A much later noteworthy analogy comes to mind: the Armenian *gzir* "(village) clerk" served as village summoner, counted harvests and measured plots. *Ia-mu-ˀiˀ-zi-ri*, the summoner (*dēkû*) of Yahūdu (*^{ˀuruˀ}Ia-a-ˀhu-diˀ*), is mentioned in a deed from Bīt-Našar dated to 27.IX.1 Cyrus = 538 BCE (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 83). At least one of his proxies, Šá-lam-ia-a-ma son of Ab-[di-ia]- ˀa-huˀ ("Yhw's servant", see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 33b), was a Judean.

This summoner is identical with *Ia-a-hu-ú-e-dir* son of Ṭāb(^{7}DU$_{10}$.GA)-šá-lam-ma who acted in the same capacity via his proxy Bi-li-ia-a-ma (*Bˀlyh*) son of Ia-di-a-ma (*Ydˤyh*) five years later according to a receipt from Kēš (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 12, 6f. from 5.XII.5 Cyrus = 533 BCE; the filiation is without rendering of /ˤ/). Both the summoner and his proxy were Judeans in view of their Yahwistic names. A year later (5.VI.7 Cyrus = 532 BCE) one encounters a second summoner, namely Ab-da-ia-hu-ú son of ^{2}Ba-rak-ka-ia-ma (JOANNES & LEMAIRE 1999, 27, 34:fig. 2, 1f.). Was he the father of

the proxy of the former summoner Iamu-iziri? The second summoner recurs as the 1st witness (out of three) without title 14 years later (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 33 from [uru]iá-hu-ˈduˋ, 19.VI.4 Darius I = 518 BCE): Ab-di- [d]iá-hu-ú son of Ba-ra-ki- [d]iá-a-ma. He is followed by the Judeans Hu-ú-mar-ra (< *Yhw ʾmr /*Yahw-ʾamàr/* "Yhw has said", with omission of the first syllable of the 1st and 2nd component, i.e. a double aphaeresis) son of Za-kar- [d]iá-a-ma and Šá-ˈlamˋ- [d]iá-a-ma son of Ag-gu-ru. The spelling of the theophorous element *Yhw* as the final component, viz. - [d]*iá-a-ma*, is consistent in this deed. The 1st witness to a transaction, who is recorded in a deed from Yahūdu (date: 19.IV.24 Darius I = 498 BCE), is [d]*Iá-a-hu-ú-a-za-ri* son of Ṭāb ([t7]DU₁₀.GA)-šá-lam-mu (JOANNES & LEMAIRE 1999, 18, 33:fig. 1, 16f., see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 87a). Was he identical with the summoner *Ia-a-hu-ú-e-dir* from 533 BCE (i.e. 35 years earlier) in view of the two cases of [d]*Ia-a-hu-ú-i-zi-ri* = [d]*Iá-a-hu-ú-a-za-ri*/[d]*I-hu-ú-a-za-ra* (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 297, index, s.vv.)? [1]

     Ia-a-hu-ú-e-dir is the same name as *A-hu-ú-id-ri* (son of Pa-da-ia-a-ma, WUNSCH forthcoming, 5, 11). The latter form is with *ya-* > *a-* (cf. ZADOK 1978, 93, 214, 256). The initial component of Ia-mu-i-zi-ri, i.e. <*Ia-mu-*>, renders *Yhw*. This spelling resembles the plene one <*Ia-a-mu-*> for the same theophorous element of *Ia-a-mu-a-qa-bi* (with an Aramaic predicative element, G perf. 3rd pers. sg. m. of ʿ-Q-B, i.e. "Yhw has protected", hardly a nominal form as understood by PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 90b) and *Ia-a-mu-ha-a-ʾ* (WUNSCH forthcoming, 29, 12), i.e. /*Yahw-ḥayy/* "Yhw is living" (with PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 90b). *Ia-mu-šú* (son of Ha-ri-im, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 23, 7) is not a Yahwistic anthroponym. It is not the same name as *Ia-hu-ú-šu-ú* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 45, 4, as cautiously suggested by HOROWITZ *et al.* 2015, 67 *ad* PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 23, 7), but derives from M-W/Y-Š "to feel" (G imperf. 3rd pers. sg. m., for an alternative interpretation see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 91a). Regarding the predicative element, that of Ia-mu-ˈiˋ-zi-ri *(- ˈiˋ-zi-ri)* renders Hebrew *ʿzr,* whereas *-e-dir* (of Ia-a-hu-ú-) stands for the Aramaic equivalent *ʿdr* (both forms originate from Proto-Semitic * *ʿdr* "support"). [2] They are recorded in deeds which were written by different scribes. The interchange between Hebrew and Aramaic forms is also extant in *A-za-ri-i-qa-am(A-za-ri-qa-am-ma/mu)/I-zi-ri-qa-am* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 264a, 275-276 with refs., see 42a, 61-62, Heb.) ~ *A-di-ri-ia-qa-[am?]* (son of Ha-ri-im, JOANNES & LEMAIRE 1999, 27, 34:2, 7, Aram., referring to a different individual than those spelled with *z*; the interpretation of PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 35a is less likely). The Hebrew-Canaanite name *I-šu-bu-ṣi-di-ku* (< **Yašūb-ṣidq*, see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 91 *ad* 15, 8, with *ya-* > *i-* and anaptyxis) is with dissimilation of emphatics, a phenomenon which is attested in Aramaic. Thus the names of Judeans are with Aramaic linguistic interference as early as the third generation of their presence in Babylonia.

    1 [d]*I-hu-ú-a-za-ra* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 30, 5, 8: -ˈ ra ˋ = [d]*I-hu-ú-i-zi-ri*, 16, 4, 9, 15, 19) is mentioned in a deed which was issued in [uru]*I-ˈhuˋ-du*, like Ab-du-[d]*i-hu-ú* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36, 3, 13: -ˈhuˋ-; < Ab-du-[d]*ia-hu-ú*) and [d]*I-huˋ-ú-li-ia* (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 90a *ad* 44, 19; < **Yhw-ly*). The scribe Iddina-Bēl son of Kalbâ descendant of Dābibī, who wrote these three deeds, always spelled the place of issue as [uru]*I-hu-du*, i.e. *Yahūdu* with *ya-* > *i-* (cf. ZADOK 1978, 257). The only exception (without the shift) is [d]*Ia-a-hu-ú-a-za-ra* in PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36, 12. The same shift is extant in ˈAb-duˋ-[d]ˈ*i-hu*ˋ-*[ú]* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 11, 9) and the predicative element of [fl]*I-pa*-[d]ˈˋia*ˋ-hu-ú* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 91a *ad* 8, 9), which are recorded in deeds written by other scribes. The various spellings of -[(d)]*ia-(a-)hu-ú* as final component are listed in PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 25 (for Ab-da/di/du-~, cf. PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 257a, s.v. Abdi-Yāhû with refs., cf. also Aramaic *ʿbdy?[...]*, 41, 3, 18). These spellings do not match -*ia-a-hu* and -*ia-ah-hu* of the toponym [uru]É [m]AD-*ia-a-hu* = [m]AD-*ia-ah-hu* in the Murašû archive (CLAY 1912, 51, 7 and 13, 5 respectively from VI.1-VII.2 Darius II = 423-422 BCE, also ˈuruˋˈ ˋÉ [m]AD-*a-hu,* STOLPER 1985, 36, 6 from 40 Art. I = 425/4 BCE), where the lack of -*ú* causes a difficulty (-*a-hu-* can be compared with the first component of *A-hu-ú*-id-ri above), but semantically a segmentation *Bīt-*Abi-ahi* (ZADOK 1985, 78, s.v., cf. xvii:4.5.1, where I did not attempt an

interpretation) does not yield a suitable denotation. Therefore it seems that *AD-ia-a-hu/AD-ia-ah-hu* renders ʾbyh (spelled *AD-ia-a-ma* in CLAY 1912, 185, 2; 218, 3, 12, r. from the same archive). Arumeans (an Iranian group) held bow-properties there, but since Iranians were settled in the Nippur region only in the Achaemenid period it is possible in view of the "eponym" that the settlement was founded earlier by Judeans.

2 See ABRAHAM 2007, 215 *ad* 3; regarding the rendering of Hebrew ʿzr, the insertion of –ZI- in *[I]a-hu-ú-iz-zi-ri* (same person as *Ia-hu-ú-a-za-ra*, see ABRAHAM 2007, 215) is presumably in order to assure that the sign *IZ* (*is/ṣ/z*) renders only /z/. The same applies to *Ia-hu-ú-uz-zi-ri* (WUNSCH forthcoming, 13, 4, 9, referring to a different individual), where the 2nd component was assimilated to the first one (*-uz- <-iz-*).

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