Some Kassite and Iranian names from Mesopotamia – If the theophorous element of OB ^dKa-da-aš-na-ṣi-ir (A.K. Mohammed, Studies on unpublished cuneiform texts from the Diyala region – Tall Ḥaddād, M.A. Thesis, Baghdad 1985, 518, 3.14; s. of Rīm-Adad, Mê-Turran on the Diyala), viz. Kadaš, is related to the Kassite theophorous element Kadašman it may favour a segmentation kadaš + man (cf. Th.G. Pinches, JRAS 1917, p. 108; Balkan, Kass. St., p. 156 f.).

NA *B/Pur-na-wzah* (C.H.W. Johns, AJSL 42, 1925/6, p. 185 : ADD 1165 = Th. Kwasman, *St. Pohl Ser. Mai.* 14, 231, 41), i.e. *B/Purna-sah* (cf. *Kass. St.*, pp. 49.222), is recorded at Nineveh sometime between 647 and 612 B.C. Does NA *Tur-ru-uk-šu-i-za-ah* (F.M. Fales, ZA 73, 1983, p. 251 : 5, 4'; found at Nineveh; perhaps from the 7th century B.C. [before 612] end in the same element (the Kassite Sun deity) as the preceding name?

The Ellipian royal name NA *Da/Ta-al-ta-a*, *Dal-ta-a* is not Iranian (see E.A. Grantovskij, *Rannjaja istorija iranskikh plemen perednej Azii*, Moscow 1970, pp. 93.309) also in view of the occurrence of a hypothetical forerunner *Ta-al-ta-aš* (I.J.M. al-'Ubayd, *Unpublished cuneiform texts of the OB period from the Diyala region*, M.A. Thesis, Baghdad 1983; Tall Muhammad [Diniktum], early MB).

The following Old Iranian names occur in NA documents which were found in Nineveh:

A-bé-eš-ta-am-ba (poss. time of Sargon; ADD 928 = TCAE p. 310, vii, 3') may render **Abi-stamba-*, cp. Avest. *st'mba-* « quarrel », Old Ind. *abhi-stambh-* « fix firmly sustain, prop ».

Pa-ar-nu-u-a (F.M. Fales, ZA 73, 1983, p. 251: 5, 6'; 7th Century B.C.?) may be related to **Farna(h)va-* (cf. I. Ghershevitch, *Studia classica et orientalia Antonio Pagliaro oblata* 2, Rome 1969, p. 219; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* [= OnP], Vienna 1973, 8.1287).

The name of \acute{U} -ma-a-di who acted as $qurb\bar{u}tu$ -official of the crown prince (ABL 600, 9; undated) might reflect *Hu- $m\bar{u}ta$ - or an -i/-ya-(pro-)patronymic thereof (cf. *Israel Oriental Studies* [= IOS] 7, 1977, p. 123: $_1$ 2.5.4; I. Ghershevitch, *St. Pagliaro* 2, p. 233, s.v. Šudumada).

NA *Su-un-ba-a-a* who acted as a *rab kiṣir* in an Arraphean troop (CTN 3, 102, ii, 12'; found at Calah, time of Sargon), is a gentilic of *Sunbu* (part of Zamua). The following two Old Iranian names are recorded in documents of the Murašû Archive (Nippur):

Pa-ra-gu-šú (M.W. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and empire, Leiden 1985, p. 188: 35, 10; f. of Ṭāb-šalammu [WSem., perhaps Jewish], 432/1 B.C.) may reflect the nominative sg. of *Paru-gu- « having much cattle » (cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen [= ASN], Wiesbaden 1975, p. 181, bottom). Is MB Pu-ra-gu-uš (F.[B.] Hrozny in E. Sellin, Taʻannek 1, Vienna 1904, p. 122: 3 r. 10'; hardly WSem. as understood by Hrozny, ibid., p. 118 ad loc.) an Indio-Aryan equivalent, viz. *Puru-gu-š? There seems to be some fluctuation in the rendition of vowels of such compounds (Kompositionsvokal, here --<a>-) as early as MB.

Gu-un-da-a-a-ni-' (f. of Lābāši), who belonged to the hatru-organization of the Arva-people (most probably Iranians), held a bow-fief in Bīt-Haššamur (on the Piqūdu Canal) and '-i-ṣi (a hitherto unattested settlement; presumably not far from the former; for an analogous case, viz. a fief of the same organization located in two nearby settlements, cf. Ios 7, p. 119: F) in 419/8 B.C. (V. Donbaz, N.A.B.U. 1989/86, 5; issued at Susa). His name is an -aini-(pro-)patronymic of *Gunda- « thick » (cf. W. Eilers, ZDMG 94, 1940, p. 205). The same (pro-)patronymic suffix is reflected in N/LB Šá-ta-a'-ni-' (PBS 2/1, 116, 7') and Na-pi-a-ni-' (BE 9, 28a, 14), both referring to members of the same organization (cf. Ios 6, 1976, p. 68 f.: 16.22; 7, 1977, p. 115 f.: 2.4.1.13 with n. 263; -aini- interchanges with -aina- [a suff. of the same function] in the latter's name). The organization (no more than 47 members are recorded including Lābāši) held fiefs in at least ten settlements in the Nippur region (cf. IOS 7, pp. 115-121).

The following Old Iranian names (partly hypothetically such) are recorded in non-literary N/LB docuemnts which were found in Kish (refs. are to OECT 10):

A-ti-'-ka (389, 10, undated letter; in a broken context) perhaps a ka-extended * $\bar{A}qiy\bar{a}$ - (« fear ») name (cf. ASN, p. 50) with -ya- > -'- (cf. BiOr 33, 1976, p. 218:1.77).

Ba-ga-ha-a-a (192, 4.7.14.seal; 461/0, 401/0 or 355/4 B.C.) reflects **Baga-xaya-* (cf. Ghershevitch, *St. Pagliaro* 2 p. 192 *ad* **Rta-xaya-*; R. Schmitt, *Beitr. z. Namenf.* NF 7, 1972, p. 73 f. [*Baga-x-aya-*]).

Du-hu-mi-iš-da-' (171, 7 : -[da-'], 8 : -*mi-iš*'<copy DU>-*da-*'; 481/0 B.C.) ends perhaps with *mizda-* 'reward' (cf. Gershevitch, TPS 1969, p. 174; OnP 8.1730).

Za-at-tu-me-e-šú (163, 3; a Magian; sometime between 521 and 485 B.C.) renders according to M.A. Dandamayev and V. Livshits (A green leaf. Papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen, Leiden 1988, pp. 457 ff.) *Zantu-vaisa-« a servant of the tribe ». However, since N/LB <š> does not render OIran /s/, the second component is more likely -v(a)iša- (cp. with Gershevitch, BSOAS 33, 1970, p. 87, Old Ind. viṣa-) in which case the denotation would be slightly modified (« a servant, attendant of the tribe »). The spelling of the first component does not rule out a normalization zāta- « born » (cf. e.g., ASN, p. 278, bottom) as N/LB <VCC> can stand for /VC/. M. Mayrhofer, who was the first to suggest an etymology (*Sata-vaisa-, Sprache 32, 1986, p. 150: 255), aptly inserted a question mark: ZA has the value sà only in literary texts in the period under discussion (for the 2nd component cf. just above).

Za-ta-e-s[u?] (181, 23; 469/8 B.C.) seems to render – if the reading of the last sign is correct –* $Z\bar{a}ta$ - (cf. the preceding name) plus either the suffix -ica-(cf. Gershevitch, St. Pagliaro 2, p. 187) or the OIran. counterpart of OInd. $\hbar O(s; ')$ a- « lord » (cf. Eilers, Abhandl. der Geistes- u. Soz. wiss. Kl. der Akad. d. Wissenschaften u. d. Literatur in Mainz, Jahrg. 1953, 2, p. 47, n. 3).

Mi-ti-ri-[...] (358, 4'; date lost) is a torso of a Miqra-name. Another such name is poss. Mi-ti-ru-a-[...]? in a document which was found at Nippur (F. Joannès, Anatolica 14, 1987, p. 124: 38, 4'; date not preserved but presumably Achaemenian). Another name from Nippur, Bu-uh- $t[a\pm a(?)]$ (BE 8, 120, 4; 474/3 B.C.), may render *Buxta- « saved, redeemed ».

Ran Zadok (29-04-90) Institute of Archaeology, Tel-Aviv University Ramat-Aviv 69978, Israel