

Some non-Semitic names in Akkadian sources —

A. Anthroponyms

1. LB ^a*Ba-ga-4-par/pir-da-tú*, ^a*Ba-ga-4-par/pir-da-a-tú* (Nippur, 3.IX.441/0 B.C.; M.W. Stolper, JAOS 114, 1994, 622a: *UM* 29-13-729, 6 and 8 resp.) < Old Iranian (= OIran.) **Baga-fradāta*- “created, brought forward/forth, promoted by (the) god” (cf. R. Schmitt, in Tischler, J. (ed.), *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck 1982, 382; *idem*, *Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasien*, Vienna 1982, 26f. :26). LB <par> renders OIran. */*fra-* / as in *Par-ta-am-mu* (*Dar.* 379, 3), *Pa-ar-ta-am-mu* (*Dar.* 410, 2) for OIran. **Fratama*- “*Primus*” (see W. Eilers, ZA 51, 1955, 230).

2. NA *Ha-la-šu-ri* (Kwasman, *StPohl* SerMai. 14, 107, 9) is probably non-Semitic. For *Hala/u* see Balkan, *Kass. St.*, 106 (cf. M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*, Münster 1996 [= PKTN], 267a) and for *šuri* Balkan, *Kass. St.*, 182f.

3. NA [*S*]*a-am-bi* (SAA 11, 164 r. 5) is Hurrian (cf. NPN, 250b).

4. NA *Se-na-in-ni* was etymologized by me (BNF NF 14, 1979, 298 :25) as an Old Iranian name. However, I cannot rule out a possible alternative that it may be based on Hurro-Urartian. *šen-* “brother” if it is a broken spelling for the NA outcome of a name like *Še-en-na-ni* (NPN 255b). For the Assyrian rendering of the sibilant in question cf. MA *Se-e-ni* (king of *Da-IA-e-ni*, Grayson, RIMA 2, 21 : Tigl. I A.0.87.1, v, 22; see M. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri*, Rome 1967, 51f.; for the location cf. H.F. Russell, AnSt 34, 1984, 199, map). The anthroponym *Ku-ú-a-i-ni* is also explicable in Old Iranian terms (see Zadok, BNF NF 14, 1979, 297 :15), but it looks like a homonym of the NA toponym ^u[*K*]*u-a-ia-in* (TCL 3, 281, time of Sargon II) referring to a settlement of Aiadi in the periphery of Urartu, where Iranian anthroponymy and toponymy are rare. However, in this case the suspected Hurro-Urartian alternative source of the anthroponym in question is not discernible.

5. LB *Šá-ta-ba/ma-ag/k(?) -su* (487/6 B. C. ; *Vs* 3, 159, 3) is now etymologized as **Šyāti-baxša-* or **Šyāti-vaxša-* by J. Tavernier (NABU 1999/87, retaining my etymology of the first component in *IOS* 7, 1977, 95, n. 39). Tavernier discusses the problem of the rendering of the sibilant of the last syllable, which is exceptional. I would like to add two additional remarks at this point :

(1) LB <-*SU*> is hardly a scribal error for <-*ŠU*> as the latter sign is very rare at the end of LB vocables and proper names, where the scribes employed the shorter sign -*šú* ;

(2) The interchange *st/št* (e.g. in *A-ba-as-ta-nu/Ab-ba-eš-ta-nu*) is a special case (see Eilers, *Beamtennamen*, 39, 98ff. ; cf. Zadok, *IOS* 6, 1976, 65 : 1) and cannot be compared with the hypothetical interchange *š/s* after an original */*x/*, which is encountered here. A comparable phenomenon is extant, albeit rarely, much later in middle eastern Iranian : Sogdian has the anthroponym 'wxs'k. N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and other Iranian inscriptions of the Upper Indus*, 2 (= *CI*, 2/3, London 1992), 47, derives this name from *bwxs-* "to be saved", if 'wxs'k has *xs* < **xš* as in *xsrđ*, 'xsyn'kk (comparing **buxša-* of OPers. *Bagabuxša-*, Elam. *Bukša*, etc. and stating on p. 79 that Sogd. 'xsyn'kk originates from OIran. **axšaina(-ka-)* "greenish, bluish"). It seems advisable not to discuss here Parthian *Bwxs* from Nisa (cf. R. Schmitt, in J. Wiesehöfer, ed., *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse. Beiträge des internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin, 27.-30. Juni 1996*. *Historia Einzelschriften* 122, Stuttgart 1998, 193, 1, 10).

6. NA *Ta-an-da-A+A* (R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Fuchs*. Wiesbaden 1996, 180, 33), N/LB *Ta-an-da* (Babylon, Egibi archive, 497/6 B.C., BM 33112 = Bertin 2587 ; I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr C.B.F. Walker for permission to quote from this unpublished BM tablet and to consult the Bertin copy) may be based on a form related to *Tamda*, cf. *Tamda-Sah* (Hölscher, PKTN, 217a), NPN 262b, s.v. *tant* (not necessarily Hurrian, cf. Balkan, *Kass. St.* 83f. ; md and nd/t are interchangeable) and add *Ta-an-ta-A+A*, *Ta-an-ta-ku*, *Ta-an-du-ku-un-ni*, *Ta-an-du-ku-ni-du* and *Ta-an-ta-ú-a* (E. Cassin and J.-J. Glassner, AAN 139). The last but one name ends with a

form, which may be compared with Kass. *Kunudi/u*, *Kunindu*, *Kunundi* (Balkan, *Kass. St.* 65). The bearer of the last name was the father of *Ša-qa-ra-a* (perhaps Kass., cf. NPN 250a, Balkan, *Kass. St.* 78, s.v. *šagar*).

B. Toponyms

1. NA ^{ur}*An-za-li-a* of Aiadi (TCL 3, 281) in the periphery of Urartu may be based on *anzal/anšal*, which is recorded in Hurrian anthroponymy, e.g. OB *An-ša-al-ew-ri* from Tikunani (M. Salvini, *The Habiru prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*. Documenta Asiana. Collana di Studi sull'Anatolia e l'Asia Anteriore antica diretta da Mirjo Salvini, 3 [volume editor Neda Parmegiani], Rome 1996 [= Salvini, *Prism*], 20; vi, 23, cf. T. Richter, *SCCNH* 9, 1998, 130). The suffix *-ya* is common in Hurro-Urartian names (cf. NPN 219a).

2. MA ^{kur}*Pa-i-te-ri*, a kingdom in Nairi (Grayson, *RIMA* 2, 21: Tigl. I A.0.87.1, iv, 77), perhaps on the upper Euphrates (cf. Nashef, *RGTC* 5, 213 with lit.), is homonymous with the late OB anthroponym *Ba-it-te-er* from Tikunani (Salvini, *Prism*, iv, 56).

3. The location of the mountain ^{kur}*Se/Si-lu-na*, somewhere east of Assyria proper (Grayson, *RIMA* 3, 213: Adad-nārārī III A.0.104.8, 5, NA) is unknown. It is the first locale in a passage enumerating the conquered countries in the Iranian Plateau. It is followed by Namri, which is the westernmost country, the easternmost countries being Media and Gizilbunda. *Se/Si-lu-na* was presumably within the geographical horizon of the Hurrians (at least those residing east of the middle Tigris) in view of the anthroponym *Ar-se/šé-lu-ni* from MB Nuzi (NPN, 31b [x 2], 249a).

4. NA ^{ur}*Ša-ru-um* (OIP 2, 36, iii, 76; var. ^{ur}*Ša-ar-ma*, 64, 13; ^{ur}*Ša-ri-im*) is mentioned in the course of Sennacherib's fifth campaign against seven settlements situated on Mt. Ni-pur (generalized as people of *Tuh/murra*, *Tu-hur/mur-ra-A+A* in OIP 2, 71, 38 <A>, 77, 22, 86, 16; ^{ur}*Tu-hur/mur-ri* in OIP 2, 35, iii, 75, 64, 12: *-ra*; see E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, Vienna 1997, 13). This toponym may be restored in an inscription of Aššur-dan II: ^{ur}*Ša-ra-[am?]* (Grayson, *RIMA* 2, 133: Aššur-dan II A.0.98.1, 33; conquered from Kundibhalē of Katmuhhi). The other settlements on Mt. Nipur are ^{ur}*E-za(a)-ma* (cf. perhaps D.R. Frayne, *The Early*

Dynastic list of geographical names, New Haven 1992, 48), ^𐎲Kib/p-šu, *Ki-ib/p-ša* (OIP 2, 36, iii, 76 and 64, 14 resp., cf. with *-unV* ^𐎲Ki-ib/p-šu-na of Qumeni, a Hurrian-speaking region), ^𐎲Hal-gid-da, ^𐎲Qu-u/ú-a, and ^𐎲Qa-na (OIP 2, 36, iii, 76f. ; 64, 13ff.), with a word play on the last name: “like the eagle’s nest” (*qin-ni*, gen. sg. of *qinnu* ~ *qannu*). Seven settlements is a stereotypic (“typological”) number, like the seven settlements on the foot of Mt Ubianda in the periphery of Urartu, the seven mountains situated between Sumbi and Mannea on the way to Surikaš (TCL 3, 270ff. and 28f. resp.) and the 12 walled cities of Zikirtu (actually 13 are mentioned by name, cf. M. De Odorico, *The use of numbers and quantifications in the Assyrian royal inscriptions*, Helsinki 1995, 53 with n. 38) with 84 unnamed villages in their vicinity (i.e. 12x7, TCL 3, 88f.). All the three series of the stereotypic numbers are included in the account of the eighth campaign (Letter to Aššur) of Sargon II, Sennacherib’s father. The seven settlements on Mt. Nipur (Cudi Dag^v) were on the border of Katmuhhi. The latter region (west/northwest of Cizre) included Mt. Nipur, as well as Šahuppa and Šerešše (see J.N. Postgate, *RIA* 5, 487f.). ^𐎲Qu-da-A+A (gentilic like ^𐎲Uš-ha-A+A and ^𐎲Mu-ma-A+A, all on the slopes of Mt. Nipur, G.B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola, *SAA* 5, 78, 5) is homonymous with ^𐎲Qu-da (H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, 76: Ann. 5, 5), which is to be sought more to the west (like Katmuhhi in a basically Hurrian-speaking region).

5. MA ^𐎲Ú-i-ra-am, a region of Nairi (Grayson, *RIMA* 2, 21: Togl. I A.0.87.1, iv, 78), cf. the late OB anthroponym *Ú-i-ra-am* from Tikunani (Salvini, *Prism*, 68, v, 35).

6. MA ^𐎲Ú-zu-la, a region of Nairi (Grayson, *RIMA* 2, 21: Togl. I A.0.87.1, iv, 73), cf. the OB anthroponym *‘Ú-zu-li/Ú-zu-ul-’li*¹ (J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 8, 1997, 604 with n. 81).

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