

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

VOLUME 2, PART I: H-K

Using the Electronic Data Base of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project
and with the Collaboration of Numerous Colleagues

edited by
HEATHER D. BAKER

THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT

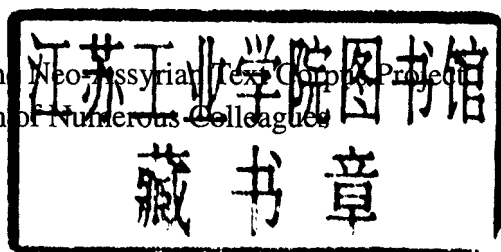
2000



THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

VOLUME 1, PART I: A

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edited by
KAREN RADNER

THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT
1998

FOREWORD

The *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* is a major scientific undertaking which could not have been initiated without the long-term financial support provided by the University of Helsinki. The successful completion of the first volume owes everything to the enthusiasm, competence and tireless efficiency of the editor-in-charge, Karen Radner. Her 26th birthday, on which the volume goes to press, is hence celebrated with a feeling of particular affection by the whole SAA project. At the same time, we also wish to extend our most sincere thanks to all the numerous colleagues and institutions who contributed to the volume in a way or another, quite especially to Dr. Veysel Donbaz, Curator of the tablet collection of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Prof. Gernot Wilhelm, Chairman of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Prof. Johannes Renger, Director of the Assur Project of the DOG, and the Trustees of the British Museum, who graciously permitted the use of unpublished onomastic material from Assur and Nineveh, as well as to Profs. Hartmut Kühne, Wolfgang Röllig, Paul Garelli, Edward Lipiński, Frederick Mario Fales, Guy Bunnens, Karl Hecker and Dr. Stephanie Dalley, who made the new text finds from Assur, Dur-Katlimmu, Ma'allanate, and Til-Barsip available to us. Without this supplementary material the PNA would have remained a torso, and I am sure the whole scientific community shares our gratitude for the spirit of cooperation that made its inclusion possible.

Helsinki, May 1998

Simo Parpola

INTRODUCTION

Numerous languages are represented in the Neo-Assyrian onomastic material. While the majority of the names are Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian), names in other Semitic languages represent the other large part of the onomasticon: the Northwest Semitic names, i.e., Aramaic, Phœnician, Moabite and Hebrew, dominate but there are also a number of Arabic names. Surprisingly, many Egyptian names are attested in Assyria proper, especially in the 7th century material from Assur. Some of the earliest attestations for Iranian names are found in the Neo-Assyrian Sources. Hurrian, Urartian, Anatolian and Elamite names are also known, as well as a number of Greek names.

Onomastic material is not only an important source for linguistics. Names also shed light on many aspects of the cultural history of the people that use them. The study of the principles underlying naming practices proves a veritable goldmine of information on religion, folklore, ideology and mentality. The distribution of names in time and space offers substantial data on the ethnic composition of Assyria, which is one of the earliest examples of an integrated empire of many different peoples.

1. The scope of *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*

Gathering all data available on persons and personal names found in texts from the Neo-Assyrian period, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (PNA) is meant to be a research tool that makes this enormous volume of information accessible both to Assyriologists and scholars in neighbouring fields. It is supposed to serve both as a "Who Was Who in the Neo-Assyrian Empire," providing the reader with all known data about any individual, and as a name book in the conventional sense, offering etymologies for the attested names. PNA certainly also offers interesting, entertaining and at times surprising reading to all those who enjoy browsing dictionaries and lexica.

PNA makes use of all written sources which contain personal names currently available for the Neo-Assyrian period: legal and administrative texts, treaties, letters, reports, monumental inscriptions, seal inscriptions and inscriptions on other objects, as well as colophons of literary and scholarly texts.

In these sources, the impressive number of ca. eight thousand different names, in at least ten different languages, is attested. Close to thirty thousand individuals are known from the written sources of the Neo-Assyrian Period. The earliest text material included stems from the reign of Assurnasirpal (883-859 BC) in whose time the first known text in Neo-Assyrian language and script was written.¹ The latest material included are sale documents from the provincial capital Dur-Katlimmu in modern Syria, dated to the 5th year of the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (602 BC), but still written in Neo-Assyrian.² In general, any name that occurs in a Neo-Assyrian source as just defined is included even if it does not belong to the Neo-Assyrian period.

1. a. The catalogue: volumes 1-3

To cover the enormous number of more than eight thousand personal names attested at present,³ *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* will be published in three volumes, each of which will consist of two fascicles. A full bibliography will be given at the end of each volume, i.e., with the second fascicle of a volume. The present fascicle contains all names starting with the letter A. The second fascicle will be devoted to the names starting with the letters B, D, E and G.

The catalogue of names presents the entries of feminine and masculine names together in alphabetical order. The heading presents the name in its Assyrian realization, with the vowel lengths indicated.⁴

The etymological section contains the English translation of the name, the language classification and information on which gender the name is attested for. All the known spellings in the studied text material are listed,⁵ whenever necessary supplemented by spellings in other texts and/or languages. The etymological section is concluded with references to earlier literature and if necessary, a concise analysis of the name's etymology, as well as occasional cross references to similar names.

The biographical section lists the different individuals bearing the name. The order sequence used combines chronological and topographical criteria. It is only logical to start with the earliest attested person. Whenever possible, the person was linked to the reign of an Assyrian king. In all other cases, rough dates have been attempted, usually dating the individual to the 8th or 7th century BC. When even this could not be done with justification, the individual was filed at the very end of the sequence. The topographical principle employed may need some clarification: the order is Nineveh, Kalhu (Nimrud), Assur, followed by all other cities. If there are several individuals attested in the same city in the reign of one king, they are listed together, even

¹ This is the document with which Assurnasirpal appointed an official to supervise the transfer of the Assyrian capital from Assur to Kalhu, first published by K. Deller - A. R. Millard, "Die Bestallungsurkunde des Nergal-apil-kumuja von Kalhu," *BaM* 24 (1993) 217-242 (= SAA 12 82-84).

² Published jointly by J. A. Brinkman, F. M. Fales, H. Kühne, J. N. Postgate and W. Röllig in *SAAB* 7/2 (1993).

³ In addition to the complete names, all names of which the first elements are preserved are used unless the preserved element is an extremely well attested one like, e.g., *Aššūr* or *ahu* "brother."

⁴ In the entry itself, however, names are used without denoting the long vowels.

⁵ Note that the spellings of names used as elements in toponyms are not included in this section unless they are the only reference attested for that name.

if there is another individual from another town that would, judging from the absolute dates, deserve to be filed between them.

Each individual gets his or her own paragraph. The heading contains the most important data: title or profession, close family affiliations, place of origin and dating to the reign of an Assyrian king, e. g. "Potter, son of Nabû-mušeši, from Assur (reign of Assurbanipal)." The information given as the place of origin may deserve some justification. It is rather uncontroversial to describe a man as "from Kalhu" if the source itself describes him as such, i. e. *Kalḫāiu* or *issu (libbi) Kalḫu*. Whenever this is the case, it is stated in the discussion. However, such specifications are usually only made if a person is active somewhere abroad. Therefore it is necessary to infer the place of origin in most cases: if an individual is attested in texts from Assur, it has generally been supposed that he is "from" that town unless there is good reason to think otherwise, even though critics might point out that it would have been better to state that a person is "attested in" a given toponym.

The heading is followed by the presentation of the evidence, giving the name and everything else that might be noteworthy in its exact spelling and quoting the publication or museum number of the attestation⁶ including its absolute date or else the information "not dated" or "date lost." The biographical section for each individual is concluded with bibliographical quotations whenever appropriate. It is important to note that it is the editor's principle to be cautious when identifying individuals with each other. Only when it seems to be proven or at least highly likely that several attestations point to the same person have they been filed under one individual's paragraph. Rather than overcombining individuals, possible identifications have been suggested at the end of a paragraph. The main reason for this approach is that, whereas it is rather simple to combine the evidence of two individuals that have been kept apart in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, it may be more complicated to disentangle the attestations for two or more individuals that have been interpreted as referring to just one person. The editor is aware of this rather minimalistic approach and takes full responsibility for it. Each entry is signed with the name of the author.

It must be stressed that although the editor generally devoted great care to give the work a uniform character, the scholars who provided the entries for the most important kings, i. e. Adad-nerari III, Assurbanipal, Assurnasirpal and Esarhaddon in this volume, have been free to choose the format they deemed best for their work, and their decisions have been respected.

1. b. The indices: volume 4

To allow the exhaustive use of all the material, it is planned to provide PNA with a separate volume of indices. This part of the work, to be published after

⁶ The abbreviations used are generally those universally accepted in the discipline of Assyriology and may be found in the dictionaries AHW (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* [Darmstadt 1965-1981]) and CAD (*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* [Glückstadt 1956-]), in R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 2 (Berlin 1975) xi-xxxii and in the annual so-called Register of the journal *Archiv für Orientforschung*. The most notable exception is that the Japanese journal *Aṭ-Rāfidān* is quoted as Rfdn for the sake of brevity. Note that A is the siglum of the Assur texts in the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri as well as of tablets in the collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; unless otherwise indicated, A numbers refer to Istanbul.

All texts that have been published to date in the State Archives of Assyria series are cited by their SAA publication. This practice will continue as additional texts are published in SAA.

the completion of the name catalogue, will contain primarily indices of all name elements, Akkadian and foreign, but also an index of all professions and titles and of all the geographical data mentioned in the book.

2. Earlier research on Neo-Assyrian onomastics

The earliest and up to now most comprehensive effort to study the name material of the Neo-Assyrian texts originated in Helsinki. It is the work of Knut Tallqvist, "Assyrian Personal Names," completed in 1914, but only published in 1918, delayed because of the First World War.⁷ Tallqvist made use of all the texts published up to then as well as a number of unpublished texts in the British Museum. As it was, most of the known Neo-Assyrian texts came from Nineveh or were at least thought to do so.⁸

It has been my pleasure to use Tallqvist's own copies of ADD, ADB and ABL when preparing the present volume, the very books Tallqvist used to compile and check his work as is witnessed by the numerous pencil marks that mark every name he indexed for his study.

Except for the occasional contribution, it was only in the mid-seventies that Neo-Assyrian onomastics again attracted scholars: Edward Lipiński, Frederick Mario Fales and especially Ran Zadok devoted a great number of publications to the study of the West-Semitic name material attested in the Neo-Assyrian texts.⁹ Most notable is Zadok's monograph "West Semites in Mesopotamia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study" (Jerusalem 1977)¹⁰ which, despite its title, is devoted in large measure to the study of the Neo-Assyrian sources. It is a fortunate pleasure to find these three scholars among the collaborators of PNA. The other subject in Neo-Assyrian onomastics to raise considerable interest was the Egyptian names, especially the group of names attested in a document from Assur.¹¹

⁷ Tallqvist's work is most often referred to as having been published in 1914. However, this is not correct. The misapprehension is usually due to the fact that the frontispice of the book reads "Helsingfors 1914." However, the title page reads "Helsingfors 1918." Since this title page seems to have been removed in many library copies when the book – being a paperback originally – was rebound as a hardcover, many colleagues today suppose the book was published in 1914. Even the 1966 reprint of Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim, gives the incorrect information: "Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Helsingfors 1914."

⁸ The most notable case of texts not coming from Nineveh are the contracts published in VS 1, often dubbed the "Kannu" Texts" due to the – still unidentified – city where a group of men buy a number of slaves. However, the texts do not come from Kannu', but from Assur, the home town of the purchasers, see K. Radner, *AoF* 24 (1997) 115.

⁹ See the bibliography to be published at the end of the second fascicle or, for the time being, the website <http://www.helsinki.fi/~radner/biblio.html>.

¹⁰ In 1978, an edition was published which was basically identical with the original work but had an appendix with 17 pages of corrections and additions in the end. For PNA, this later edition has been used although the book is quoted as Zadok (1977a).

¹¹ Copenhagen 8612 = CTNMC 68 = FNALD 18, for studies see R. Zadok, "On Some Egyptians in First-Millennium Mesopotamia," *Göttinger Miszellen* 26 (1977) 63-68 and J. Zeidler, "Einige neue keilschriftliche Entsprechungen ägyptischer Personennamen. Zu weiteren Namen in Jacobsen, CTNMC Nr. 68," *WdO* 25 (1994) 36-56.

3. Subjects worth studying

Otherwise, however, the name material attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources has not gained the broad interest it would deserve. Especially the Akkadian name material is but little studied. Of course J. J. Stamm's fundamental study, "Die akkadische Namengebung" (Leipzig 1939), can be used with much profit also in regard of the names attested in the Neo-Assyrian period. However, his focus clearly lies on the Babylonian names and there rather on the earlier periods. Nevertheless, the Akkadian onomasticon of the Neo-Assyrian period should offer many attractions to the scholar. One of the most interesting problems would be the interference of Assyrian and Babylonian names which have been used side by side, even or especially in the Assyrian homelands. The tradition of the Akkadian names would also deserve some work: while a number of names have clearly Middle-Assyrian forerunners, others seem to have been adopted from Middle-Babylonian.¹² A stepchild of research is the – in comparison to the large attested number of masculine names – much more rarely attested feminine names.¹³ The relation between feminine and masculine names should also be a fruitful subject for a study: whereas many names could apparently be used by both genders, some names are clearly employed exclusively for women or men. The question whether certain names were reserved for eunuchs also remains to be settled. It is hoped that *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* will help to provoke and strengthen the interest in such subjects.

Of the foreign names, many are yet unidentified. It is to be hoped and expected that further research will succeed in establishing etymologies for all these names that have to remain unexplained for now.

It is worthwhile noting that the Assyrians themselves took an interest in the study of onomastics. Several long lists of specimen names are known to us. The names are usually arranged according to logical principles, e.g., according to certain elements of the name or according to name types.¹⁴

4. The organization and working structure of *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*

The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire is part of the State Archives of Assyria Project directed by Simo Parpola since 1986. It uses the Project's electronic database, the Corpus of Neo-Assyrian Texts (CNA). PNA was

¹² For this reason it seemed worthwhile to include references to Middle-Assyrian and Middle-Babylonian onomastic studies, i.e., C. Saporetti, *Onomastica Medio-Assira*. Studia Pohl 6 (Roma 1970), H. Freydank - C. Saporetti, *Nuove attestazioni dell'onomastica medio-assira*. Incunabula Graeca 74 (Roma 1979) and M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*. Imgula 1 (Münster 1996).

¹³ But note the contribution by F. M. Fales, "A List of Assyrian and West Semitic Women's Names," *Iraq* 41 (1979) 55-73.

¹⁴ Many of these texts have been published in the appendices to C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* 2 (Cambridge 1901) App. 1-3, 5-9 (App. 4 = ADD 848!). Other important examples are the list 2R 64 and possibly also K 8434, published by F. M. Fales, *Iraq* 41 (1979) 55-73.

organized and managed by the editor, developing a concept of Simo Parpola's, who never failed to give his full support wherever needed.

While the material for the entries was provided centrally from Helsinki,¹⁵ the entries of this fascicle were written by a group of about sixty Assyriologists from all over the world. The authors received the references for the individual names and, in the case that a name was attested in an unpublished text, the transliteration of this text as contained in CNA, usually in the form of electronic files in ASCII format and only in exceptional cases printed. The extraction of the relevant material from CNA for the first two fascicles was performed by Kaisa Åkerman, aided by Paolo Gentili and Juri Ahlfors, using programs facilitating the process developed by Robert M. Whiting and Simo Parpola. After the authors submitted their contributions as ASCII files,¹⁶ the entries were edited and incorporated into the manuscript. It has been the editor's aim to create a somewhat uniform pattern of the information provided in all entries, more or less following the general principles of journalism: Who?, Where?, When?, What?, whenever possible also Why? and How? The references as quoted in the manuscript were checked by Kalle Fabritius, who was at a later point joined by Kaisa Åkerman, against the publication or, in the case of unpublished texts, against CNA. The conversion of the edited ASCII files into a camera-ready manuscript was done using programs specifically designed for that purpose by Robert M. Whiting. The manuscript was proofread by Tina Breckwoldt, Steven W. Cole and especially Robert M. Whiting. The contributors received two sets of proofs.

Since many of the names attested in the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon are of foreign origin, a panel of specialists was asked to supervise the etymologies of the Non-Akkadian name material. Rüdiger Schmitt identified and analyzed the Iranian names. Raija Mattila worked with the Egyptian name material.¹⁷ A different solution was chosen for the largest group of foreign names in the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon, the West-Semitic names. Since those have been subject to much earlier research most of the etymologies were provided by the authors themselves or else by the editor who, together with Tina Breckwoldt who worked with the Project in December 1997, systematically indexed the etymological literature. Ran Zadok who had already earlier provided an index to his major work regarding the subject took the time to come to Helsinki for a week in January 1998 when most of the manuscript had been completed and checked the West Semitic etymologies thoroughly. It is a pleasant task to thank all these scholars for their close and fruitful cooperation.

¹⁵ See below on the nature and provenance of the material. Exceptionally among the contributors, J. A. Brinkman, in his own contributions and those of his students (S. M. Luppert-Barnard and D. A. Nevez), has added additional information on the Babylonian, Urartian, and later sources from his own files, for which we are grateful.

¹⁶ In order to avoid tiresome conversion between Macintosh and PC format and the different word processor systems, simple ASCII text files that can be created and used on both Macintosh and PC computers were employed. Many thanks are due to all collaborators for willingly accepting this – in many cases – unfamiliar praxis.

¹⁷ Her 1983 Helsinki master's thesis "Egyptiläiset henkilönnimet I vuosituhannen eKr. nuolenpääasia-kirjoissa ja -kirjeissä" is devoted to the study of Egyptian names in NA and NB transliteration.

5. The sources of *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*

All Neo-Assyrian textual sources¹⁸ available in the Corpus of Neo-Assyrian Texts (CNA) have been used to collect the name material on which the present volume is based. To our knowledge, all Neo-Assyrian texts published up to now are incorporated in CNA which also contains the Neo-Babylonian part of the Nineveh archives and the contemporary Aramaic texts. Creating and maintaining CNA has been a long-term enterprise and one of the central goals of the State Archives of Assyria Project since its initiation in 1985.¹⁹ By 1996, CNA had been fully lemmatized²⁰ by Simo Parpola. Due to this tremendous effort, all references for any given lemma or name can now be extracted from CNA, thus forming the excellent and necessary basis for *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*.

In addition to the material contained in CNA, it was decided to include also the name material from the inscriptions²¹ and colophons of the Neo-Assyrian period as well as the contemporary Aramaic documents. In order to provide the authors with these references, the relevant publications were indexed in spring 1997 by a joint effort of Helsinki students, Kaisa Åkerman, Pirjo Lapinkivi and Mikko Luukko, and Paolo Gentili, then a Visiting Scholar at Helsinki University. It is a pleasure to thank all these individuals for their efficient and cheerful approach to this strenuous last-minute task. However, in contrast to the Neo-Assyrian texts *stricto sensu* included in CNA, the completeness of this material cannot be guaranteed, although certainly most of it has been utilized.

Thanks to the help and generosity of many colleagues, it was also possible to utilize unpublished material from numerous sites. The Assur Committee of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, headed by J. Renger, gave permission to use text material from Assur now housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, and V. Donbaz allowed us to use his transliterations of those texts which are kept in the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri. S. M. Dalley and J. N. Postgate allowed us to use the unpublished or not fully published texts from Kalhu. S. M. Dalley also gave us access to the texts from Til-Barsip before her edition in *Abr-Nahrain* 34 (1996-97) 66-99 appeared. P. Garelli and E. Lipiński provided us with transliterations of the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Aramaic texts from Ma'allanate which had been purchased by the Musees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles. W. Röllig and H. Kühne gave permission to use the Neo-Assyrian texts from Dur-Katlimmu. A. Fuchs let us use his collated edition of Sargon II's annals of the year 711, to be published as a volume in the SAAS series. K. Hecker allowed us to use his copies of the Assur texts from the Munich expedition of 1990 as well as of a Neo-Assyrian text found in Egriköy in the vicinity of Kayseri in Turkey. R.

¹⁸ A map indicating the findspots for Neo-Assyrian texts can be found in K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*. SAAS 7 (Helsinki 1997) 8.

¹⁹ On CNA see S. Parpola, "The CNA Project, 1986: The Director's Report," SAAB 1 (1987) v-viii, esp. vi and the Project's web page at <http://www.helsinki.fi/science/saa/cna.html>.

²⁰ I.e., combinations of signs were attributed to the individual lemmata they represent in order to allow the effective manipulation of the data.

²¹ The Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions do not use the Neo-Assyrian dialect, but Standard Babylonian, and hence are beyond the scope of CNA.

Zadok provided us with transliterations of two recently found texts from Tel Hadid in Israel and T. Kwasman shared some of his findings in the British Museum with us. After RIMA 2 and 3 had already been indexed by us, the RIM Project provided an index to RIMA 1-3 and RIMB 2. The Aramaic Dictionary Project provided an index of names in the Old Aramaic sources. To all these persons and institutions who shared their texts and information with the SAA Project and thus with the readers of PNA, we express our heartfelt gratitude and applaud their generosity in the cause of research.

5. a. Texts with eponym dates

Whenever a text of the Neo-Assyrian period mentions a date, it can be dated absolutely. This fact, not at all the rule for Ancient Near Eastern sources,²² is owed to the existence of a number of texts which list the sequence of the eponymous officials who lent their names to the years between 910 and 649.²³ Unfortunately, no such list is known for the years between 648 until the end of the empire. The reconstruction of this sequence has long been a desideratum²⁴ and, although there are undoubtedly corrections to be made, the following order (based on a provisional order by S. Parpola²⁵) has been used for PNA:

The post-canonical eponyms of Assurbanipal's reign:

- 648* Belšunu of Hindanu (648)
- 647* Nabû-nadin-ahi of Kar-Šalmaneser (634)²⁶
- 646* Nabû-šar-ahhešu of Samaria (646)
- 645* Šamaš-da''inanni of Babylon (636A)
- 644* Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch (645)
- 643* Aššur-šarru-ušur of Maraš (643)
- 642* Nabû-da''inanni of Que (647)
- 641* Aššur-garu'a-nere, chief cupbearer (635)
- 640* Šarru-metu-uballiṭ, governor of Mazamua (637)
- 639* Mušallim-Aššur of Alihi (642)
- 638* Aššur-gimilli-tere, great treasurer, chief fuller (641)
- 637* Zababa-eriba (640)
- 636* Sin-šarru-ušur of Hindanu (639)
- 635* Bel-lu-dari (638)
- 634* Bulluṭu, chief singer (632)
- 633* Upaqa-ana-Arbail (631)

²² The latest work trying to solve the many difficulties of dating texts from the second millennium BC is H. Gasche, J. A. Armstrong, S. W. Cole and V. G. Gurzadyan, *Dating the Fall of Babylon. A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology*. MHE Ser. II Memoirs IV (Ghent 1998).

²³ On the Neo-Assyrian Eponym Lists and Chronicles see A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC*. SAAS 2 (Helsinki 1994) 1-62.

²⁴ See R. M. Whiting in A. Millard, op. cit. 72-78.

²⁵ This order was established on the 26th of March 1997. The dates given by M. Falkner, "Die Eponymen der spätassyrischen Zeit," *Afo* 17 (1954-56) 100-120 are given in parentheses. There are also a number of unassigned eponyms (e.g., Pada, Sin-kenu-idi, Nur-šalam-šarpi, etc.). These are always cited in full in the various articles.

²⁶ Note that the unassigned eponym Adad-nadin-ahi occurs only once in a text from Nineveh and is probably identical with Nabû-nadin-ahi.

- 632* ʾab-šil-Sin (662)
- 631* Adad-remanni (630)
- 630* Šalmu-šarri-iqbi of Commagene, commander-in-chief (623)

The eponyms of Aššur-etel-ilani's reign:

- 629* Nabû-šarru-ušur, palace scribe ("later") (626)
- 628* after Nabû-šarru-ušur (625)
- 627* Marduk-šarru-ušur of Que (636B)
- 626** Marduk-remanni of Kalizi (644A)
- 625** Sin-šumu-ibni (hapax Nineveh)

The eponyms of Sin-šarru-iškun's reign:

- 626* Iqbi-ilani (615)
- 625* Sin-šarru-ušur, palace scribe (622)
- 624* Kanunaiu of Dur-Šarrukin
- 623* Aššur-matu-taqin of (U)pummu (624)
- 622* Daddī, (great) treasurer (620)
- 621* Bel-iqbi of Tušhan/Bit-Zamani (616)
- 620* Sa'ilu, chief cook (618)
- 619* Mannu-ki-ahhe of Simyra (hapax Nineveh) (627A)
- 618* Nabû-sakip of Lahiru (628)
- 617* Aššur-remanni, chief eunuch of crown prince (621)
- 616* Bel-ahu-ušur, palace overseer (619)
- 615* Sin-alik-pani, chamberlain (615)
- 614* Pašī
- 613* Nabû-tapputi-alik, chief eunuch (617)
- 612* Šamaš-šarru-ibni, commander-in-chief (613)

The eponyms after the fall of Nineveh in 612:

- 611* Nabû-mar-šarri-ušur, commander-in-chief (612)
- 610* Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief judge
- 609* Gargamisaiu

Post-canonical eponyms in alphabetical order:

- 631* Adad-remanni (630)
- 641* Aššur-garu'a-nere, chief cupbearer (635)
- 638* Aššur-gimilli-tere, chief fuller, great treasurer (641)
- 623* Aššur-matu-taqin of (U)pummu (624)
- 617* Aššur-remanni, chief eunuch of crown prince (621)
- 643* Aššur-šarru-ušur of Maraš (643)
- 616* Bel-ahu-ušur, palace overseer (619)
- 621* Bel-iqbi of Tušhan/Bit-Zamani (616)
- 635* Bel-lu-dari (638)
- 648* Belšunu of Hindanu (648)
- 634* Bulluṭu, chief singer (632)

- 622* Daddî, (great) treasurer (620)
- 609* Gargamisaïu
- 626* Iqbi-ilani (615)
- 624* Kanunaiu of Dur-Šarrukin
- 619* Mannu-ki-ahhe of Simyra (hapax Nineveh) (627A)
- 626* Marduk-remanni of Kalizi (644A)
- 627* Marduk-šarru-ušur of Que (636B)
- 639* Mušallim-Aššur of Alihi (642)
- 642* Nabû-da''inanni of Que (647)
- 611* Nabû-mar-šarri-ušur, commander-in-chief (612)
- 647* Nabû-nadin-ahi of Kar-Šalmaneser (634)
- 618* Nabû-sakip of Lahiru (628)
- 646* Nabû-šar-ahhešu of Samaria (646)
- 644* Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch (645)
- 629* Nabû-šarru-ušur, palace scribe ("later") (626)
- 628* (after) Nabû-šarru-ušur, palace scribe (625)
- 610* Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief judge
- 613* Nabû-tapputi-alik, chief eunuch (617)
- 614* Paši
- 620* Sa'ilu, chief cook (618)
- 636* Sin-šarru-ušur of Hindanu (639)
- 625* Sin-šarru-ušur, palace scribe (622)
- 625* Sin-šumu-ibni (hapax Nineveh)
- 615* Sin-alik-pani, chamberlain (615)
- 630* Šalmu-šarri-iqbi of Commagene, commander-in-chief (623)
- 612* Šamaš-šarru-ibni, commander-in-chief (613)
- 645* Šamaš-da''inanni of Babylon (636A)
- 640* Šarru-metu-uballiṣ, governor of Mazamua (637)
- 632* Ṭab-šil-Sin (662)
- 633* Upaqa-ana-Arbail (631)
- 637* Zababa-eriba (640)

5. b. Texts without dating

Unfortunately, not all texts of the Neo-Assyrian period are dated. Whereas legal documents have to have a date in order to be valid,²⁷ there is no obligation and indeed often no need to date other texts such as letters, scholarly reports and administrative texts, even though some of them are at times. Nevertheless, many of these texts can be dated approximately because of circumstantial evidence. Others, however, cannot be dated at all. In the following, the reasoning behind the datings of some of the most important groups of undated texts are explained.

The different parts of the royal correspondence from Nineveh, written in Neo-Assyrian, can be attributed to certain phases of the reigns of Sargon II, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal²⁸ respectively with a high level of confidence

²⁷ K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*. SAAS 7 (Helsinki 1997) 20.

²⁸ S. Parpola, "Assyrian Royal Inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian Letters," in F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis*. *Oriens Antiqui*

as the result of years-long research, especially by Simo Parpola.²⁹ The Neo-Babylonian share of this correspondence is unfortunately less well studied, but many letters have been dated, at least provisionally, by Manfred Dietrich.³⁰ The so-called Harran Census is attributed to the reign of Sargon II on the basis of the arguments formulated by S. Parpola.³¹ The Horse Lists from Kalhu can be dated to the reign of Sargon II.³² For the dating of the administrative texts from Nineveh, unfortunately a very mixed lot of texts of various purpose and origin, the reader is referred to the remarks by J. N. Postgate and F. M. Fales.³³

5. c. The reigns of the kings of Assyria:

The following list³⁴ gives the dates of the reigns used in the headings of the sections describing the different individuals in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Note that the designation "after reign of Assurbanipal" is used to refer to the reigns of Aššur-etel-ilani and Sin-šarru-iškun unless a person can be attributed to the reign of either of these kings because of a criterion other than an eponym date. The period after the fall of Nineveh is referred to as "post-612."

Adad-nerari II	911-891	
Tukulti-Inurta II	890-884	
Assurnasirpal II	883-859	(Aššūr-nāšir-apli)
Shalmaneser III	858-824	(Salmānu-ašarēd)
Šamši-Adad V	823-811	
Adad-nerari III	810-783	
Shalmaneser IV	782-773	(Salmānu-ašarēd)
Aššur-dan III	772-755	
Aššur-nerari V	754-745	
Tiglath-pileser III	744-727	(Tukulti-apil-Ešarra)
Shalmaneser V	726-722	(Salmānu-ašarēd)
Sargon II	721-705	(Šarru-ukīn)
Sennacherib	704-681	(Sīn-aḥḥē-erība)
Esarhaddon	680-669	(Aššūr-aḥu-iddina)
Assurbanipal	668-630	(Aššūr-bāni-apli)

Collectio 17 (Roma 1981) 118-121. This important contribution highlights the background of the letter archives kept in Nineveh and elsewhere and offers interesting proposals on why the correspondence of certain kings, especially Sennacherib and Shalmaneser V, is virtually unknown to us and why only certain periods and/or areas of interest are covered by the letters attested for the other kings.

²⁹ See S. Parpola, *ibid.*, 126f in general and S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Part II: Commentary and Appendices*. AOAT 5/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981) xii-xiv on the dating of the letters of scholars.

³⁰ See especially M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648)*. AOAT 7 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970).

³¹ S. Parpola, "A Note on the Neo-Assyrian Census Lists," ZA 64 (1974) 96-114.

³² CTN 3 85, 98-118, see S. M. Dalley - J. N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*. CTN 3 (Oxford 1986) 18f.

³³ F. M. Fales - J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*. SAA 7 (Helsinki 1992) and *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*. SAA 11 (Helsinki 1995).

³⁴ Adapted from J. A. Brinkman, "Appendix: Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," in A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia. Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (1977, revised ed. completed by E. Reiner) 346.

6. Guidelines of the transcription system (by S. Parpola)

The heading of a name entry (**lemma**) provides a normalized transcription of the name in its Assyrian realization. The qualification "normalized" means that the lemma is an abstraction not necessarily corresponding to all actually attested forms of the name (see below for details). While it seeks to approximate the theoretical phonemic shape of the name, it must not be mistaken for an accurate phonetic transcription. Its basic function is simply to provide a standard spelling that helps bind together variant name forms and facilitates a systematic analysis of the corpus.

"In its Assyrian realization" means that all names, including the foreign ones, are treated like the Assyrian ones and transcribed accordingly. For example, the Hebrew name Hosea, realized as ^mú-si-a, ^mú-se-e' and ^mú-si-i in NA cuneiform, is lemmatized as *Ūsēa'*, even though it was certainly pronounced *Hōšēa'* in Hebrew, as indicated by the contemporary alphabetic spelling *hwš'*. The correlation *Ūsēa' = Hōšēa'* shows that NA /s/ corresponds to Hebr. /š/ and that Hebr. /o/ and /' / (two phonemes missing in Neo-Assyrian) were rendered in Neo-Assyrian by /u/ and /' / respectively. These and other similar phonetic correlations hold for all Neo-Assyrian renderings of Semitic names (for a full list of the attested correlations see section 6. b. below). The phoneme /h/ did not exist in the phonological system of Neo-Assyrian and was accordingly normally left unexpressed in writing.

With the help of the phonetic correlations derived from the spellings of West-Semitic names, it is relatively easy to establish the approximate pronunciation of all names occurring in Neo-Assyrian sources from the Assyrian spelling, even when the underlying language is not known. Establishing the *exact* pronunciation, however, is usually possible only if the underlying language is sufficiently well known and if the name itself is actually attested in that language. This is not the case in the vast majority of non-Semitic (Uratian, Hurrian, Šubrian, Luwian, Elamite, and even Egyptian and Iranian) names, and even when a name is likely to be Semitic, its exact analysis or linguistic affinity often remains obscure or problematic. It is at times impossible to tell from the spelling, for example, whether a particular name is Assyrian, Babylonian, Aramaic, Phoenician, Hebrew, Edomite, Moabite, Arabic, or Assyrianized West Semitic, even if the name itself can be completely understood and translated. The exact phonetic realization of the name would in all cases be slightly different.

For these reasons it was deemed best to give the lemma consistently in Assyrian transcription rather than in "accurate" phonetic transcription (in those relatively few cases where it would have been possible). The latter solution would have resulted in many inconsistencies and *ad hoc* solutions and would have caused much confusion in making it more difficult to match the actual attestations of the names (given in transliteration) with the headings. Innumerable cross-references would have been needed to indicate, for example, that names beginning with <s> and <u> would have to be looked up under š, s, o, h, or ' , as the case of Hosea (*Ūsēa'*) just discussed illustrates. The advantages gained would have been slight and of questionable value in

transferring an illusion of phonetic accuracy to a distant past where no absolute certainty of the correctness of the reconstructions can be obtained.

The following general principles and conventions have been followed in normalizing the names:

- Names consisting of more than one element are broken into their components and treated as nominal or verbal phrases, the constituent elements being separated with hyphens. Enclitics (like Akkadian *-ma*) including pronominal suffixes are not treated as separate elements.
- In transcribing the name elements, syllabic spellings have been used as a guide wherever possible. In choosing between two or more alternative syllabic spellings, grammatically correct forms have been preferred to clear phonetic variants in Akkadian names. For West-Semitic names see section 6. b. below.
- In certain common Semitic, predominantly logographically written name elements (*ab-* "father," *aḥ-* "brother," *il-* "god"), an artificial distinction has been made between West Semitic and Akkadian items in rendering the former systematically as *abi*, *aḥi* and *il* and the latter as *abu*, *aḥu* and *ilu*. This convention does not imply that the relevant elements were necessarily so realized (readings *ab*, *abā*, *abī*, *bī*; *aḥ*, *aḥā*, *aḥī*, *ḥā*, *ḥī*, *il* and *ilī* are also possible in both WSem. and Akk. names) but simply serves to bring order to the chaos of variants and to make finding the appropriate entries easier. For the same reasons, the logographically written name of the Semitic weather god has been systemically rendered as *Adda* in WSem. and as *Adad* in Akk. names, even though it is clear that the name was varyingly realized as *Hadad*, *Haddu*, *Haddā* and even *Hadd* in West Semitic and *Adad* and *Addu* in Akkadian. For other particulars regarding the transcription of logographic elements see sections 6. a. and 6. d. below.
- Vowel and consonant length has been consistently indicated insofar as it can be deduced from the spellings or otherwise determined. The circumflex indicates *regularly* expressed vowel length (usually long vowels resulting from vowel contraction or long stressed final vowels), the macron more irregularly expressed vowel length.
- The vowel graphemes <u> and <ú>, also used in NA script to express the semi-vowel [w], are transcribed as *w* whenever their consonantal character is made clear by etymological or morphological considerations. By contrast, the grapheme <i>, which especially in the combination <i+a> was also frequently used for writing the semivowel [y], is consistently transcribed as *i* (except when used as a glide after *i*, in which case it is transcribed as *j*), because it cannot always be unambiguously decided whether the sequence <i+a> actually stands for [ya] or [iya].
- The plural sign MEŠ is usually taken in its basic function and transcribed accordingly. In a few cases, however, it is evident that it is a rebus for the first person singular possessive suffix (homophonic with the plural morpheme *-ī*) and has been transcribed accordingly (see e.g. the entries *Aḥi-lēšir* and *Aḥi-damqu*). This interpretation is also possible in several other names involving the elements *aḥu* "brother" and *ilu* "god" but cannot be proved for certain. In such cases, the plural reading (*aḥhē*

“brothers”) has been adopted in the transcription, but the possibility of a rebus (*aḫi* “my brother”) has been indicated in the analysis of the name.

6. a. Akkadian elements

Logographic elements are basically transcribed according to the rules of NA phonology and morphology. In a few Babylonian names not attested in Assyria, however, the rules of Babylonian grammar are followed. In contrast to W. von Soden, *GAG*, genitive singular and ventive morphemes are normalized as *-i* and *-ni* respectively, except when followed by enclitics, in which case they are normalized as *-ē* and *-nē*.

6. b. West-Semitic elements

The following phonetic correlations apply to the rendering of non-Assyrian phonemes in Neo-Assyrian transcriptions of West-Semitic names:

WSem.	NA	WSem.	NA
/e/	= <a> or <e/i>	/d/	= <d> or <z>
/o/	= <u>	/q/	= <q>
		/h/	= <θ> or <h>
/w/	= <u> or <m>	/ḥ/	= <h>
/y/	= <i>	/ʕ/	= <θ>, <ʕ>, <q> or <h>
		/ġ/	= <q> or <h>
		/s/	= <š>
		/ś/	= <s> or <lt>
		/š/	= <s>
		/t/	= <t> or <š>

Names and name elements ending in a closed stressed syllable or a consonant cluster (features intolerable in Neo-Assyrian) regularly receive a paragogic vowel or the Neo-Assyrian nominative suffix (*-u*), e.g. *barak* ~ *barakka* or *barakku* “has blessed,” *rām* ~ *rāma* or *rāmu* “is exalted,” *abd* ~ *abdi* or *abdu* “servant,” *milk* ~ *milki* “king.” All names and name elements are subject to standard Neo-Assyrian phonetic processes such as aphaeresis, crasis, progressive and regressive assimilation, secondary voicing or devoicing, shortening of final vowels, anaptyxis, syllable and quantity metathesis (*dimri* ~ *dimir*, *milkūtu* ~ *milkuttu*), lengthening of stressed short vowels, and so on. In transcribing the individual name elements, forms displaying Assyrian phonetic changes have not been artificially reconverted into West-Semitic ones, since they often carry significant phonological information, cf. e.g. the form *barakka* implying original *barāk* with stress on the ultima.

6. c. The divine elements Aššūr, Illil, Inūrta, Issār, Mullissu and Aia

These frequently occurring divine names are traditionally rendered in Assyriological literature as Aššūr (with a short *u*), Enlil, Ninurta, Ištar, Ninlil and Ea – renderings that are also used in this work in the translations of the names. In the transcriptions, however, forms closer to the actual pronunciation of the