
This note deals mainly with the origin of the settlers who were brought to Samaria by the "king of Assyria" according to 2 Kgs. 17:24–31. It is our main purpose here to support G. R. Driver's argument\(^1\) that these settlers did not come from Syria, as alleged by some scholars.\(^2\) We may corroborate this view by evidence drawn from both Biblical and cuneiform sources.

First we shall consider the Biblical sources. Let us examine the arrangement of the political units in 2 Kgs. 18:33–19:13 (with a somewhat abridged duplicate in Isa. 36:12–37:13). The Biblical account consists of two parts: Rabshakeh's address (2 Kgs. 18:19–35; Isa. 36:12–20)\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) Hertz-Israel 5 (1958), 18–20.

\(^{2}\) E. Sachau, ZA 12 (1897), 48f; J. A. Montgomery, Kings, edited by H. S. Gehman, ICC (Edinburgh, 1951), 472.

\(^{3}\) On Rabshakeh see H. Tadmor, Encyclopedia Miqr\(^{a}\)\(^{\text{r}}\)\(^{\text{ trustworthy notes.}}\)
and the letters which were sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah (2 Kgs. 19:10-13; Isa. 37:10-13). Each part contains a list of political units. The list in Rabshakeh’s address (2 Kgs. 18:34, cf. Isa. 36:19) is shorter than that of the letters (2 Kgs. 19:12-13; Isa. 37:12-13).

Rabshakeh’s address mentions events which presumably happened during the lifetime of the people to whom it was directed. The letters, on the other hand, mention both contemporary events and events which had happened many years earlier. This difference probably stems from the following fact: the address was in essence propaganda directed to the common people whose memory is notoriously short, whereas the letters were sent to a ruler.

The address mentions the gods of five places: Hamath, Arpad, Sepharvaim, Hena and Iwah (these last two places are omitted in Isa. 37:13). The letters mention the gods of four places: Gozan, Harran, Rezeph and Telassar (the place in which the sons of Eden were found). The submission of these places by the Assyrians had taken place several generations before the letters were sent. Thereafter, the letters mention the kings of another six places: Hamath, Arpad, Lair, Sepharvaim, Hena and Iwah (note that Sepharvaim is not mentioned immediately after Hamath and Arpad, but after Lair). It is quite clear that the list of kings in the letters is almost identical with that of the address. The only difference is the omission of Lair in the address, possibly because it was thought to be an appellative (‘of the town’) and not a proper name.

(a) Lair

Lair was identified by Driver with L ’r of Aršam’s letters and Laḥiru (Laḥiru). Laḥiru is to be sought in north-eastern Babylonia. Lair (Lāʾr), like many toponyms in tribal areas, may originally have been a personal name, causative precative third person sing. m. of ‘-W-R. Now it is known that Laḥiru became an Assyrian province. An Assyrian province was usually congruent with the former political unit, and West Semitic chiefs (nasikātu) are mentioned in Laḥiru a long time after it became an Assyrian province.

4 2 Kgs. 18:34. Lucian and an Old Latin version add here “where are the gods of the land of Samaria?”, but this is regarded by some commentators as a late interpolation.
6 Ibid.
7 Laḥiru was identified with Biblical Lair by A. Sarsowsky, ZAW 32 (1912), 146.
8 See Brinkman, PKB, 178, n. 1093 with previous literature.
9 Cf. the causative imperf. indicative 3rd person sing. m. NA laḥirri as a personal name (ADD 674 + 1101:11) and as a tribal name (AKA, 302, ii:22). This name may be short for DN + laḥārī, cf. NA il-ša-ḥirri (Tell Halaf 116:11, see Ungnad, 66, ad loc.). The NB personal name Iḥiru (M. Dietrich, AOAT 7, n. 3 45f.) may be the same as laḥiru with yaʾ. On the precative in the Old Aramaic onomasticon see W. von Soden, Studies Landsberger, 103f., n. 2. Also the toponym La-qūqē (cf. the nisba La-a-)qā-ia, La-qa-a-a, Parpola. AOAT 6, 224, NA; J. R. Kupper, Les Nomades, 120 with n. 3) may be a precative, possibly qal 3rd person sing. m. of Y-Q-Y ‘to guard’. La-qē is also recorded as a personal name (ABL 520:15, NB); it is not connected with the OB fem. name Ila-kī-tum ‘weak’; see Stamm, Namengebung, 267 with n. 2. La-qūqē bears the same relationship to the personal name Ia-a-qē (ADD 17:5, NA; cf. Tallqvist, APN, 287b; Ryckmans, NPSS 1, 81) as does Laḥiru to laḥiru.
10 ABL 280. They are mentioned together with the sheikhs of Nu-gu-āʾ.
(b) Sepharvaim

Sepharvaim is mentioned in the letters between two places which were located in eastern Babylonia, namely Lair in the North-east and Awa in the South-east. From the above discussion of Lair and from the discussion of Awa below, it follows that Sepharvaim, which is mentioned in 2 Kgs. 17:24; 18:34; 19:13 and Isa. 36:19; 37:13, is a different place from Sibraim (Ezek. 47:16).11

Sepharvaim was identified by Driver with Sippar,12 whereas Sibraim was located on the border between the territories of Hamath and Damascus. But Sepharvaim (Sprwyym), the original form of which is probably Sprym,13 was like Avva, included in the geographical horizon of Nippur. It is probably identical with URUSi-pí-ra-‘i-ni14 which is mentioned in a document of the Muruš Archive from Nippur. Si-pí-ra-‘i-ni represents *Spryn, the Aramaic counterpart of Sprym,15 Si-pí-ra-‘i-ni is mentioned together with URUHa-š-ba-a, a settlement which was situated on the Sin-mākır Canal. This canal probably flowed west of the Tigris.16 According to J. M. Grintz,17 Spryym may be identical with Šā-par-ri-e, a settlement in the Chaldean territory of Bit Awukānī which is mentioned in the Annals of Sennacherib.18 Bit Awukānī stretched east of Erech, and south and south-east of Nippur,19 it also included Larak. It stands to reason that NA Ša-par-ri-e is identical with LB Si-pí-ra-‘i-ni. An interchange -ayn:è is not recorded elsewhere; nonetheless, it is not impossible, as the interchanges (1) -ayn:èn and (2) -in:è are, however, recorded: (1) NB Ša-ma-ra-‘i-n which renders Šmryn (Siimrayin< *Samrayn)21 and NA Samen-na,22 which like the NB form refers to Biblical Šömron, cf. also

11 Montgomery (cf. n. 2 above) identifies Sepharvaim with Sibraim.
12 Erets-Israel 5 (1958), 18f.
13 Spryym is probably a scriptio plena for *Sprym. See E. Y. Kutscher, The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQ1 sa a) (Leiden, 1974), 112f., n. 26. Note that Sprwyym is translated as Spr in a marginal note of Neophyti to Gen. 10:30 (A. D(ez Macho, Neophyti 1: Genesis [Madrid-Barcelona, 1968], 57, cf. 56, n. 2 ad loc. In the main text Spr is translated Spry.
14 PBS 2/1, 117f.
15 On the suffix -ayn see J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen (Leipzig, 1894), 319, n. 5. For the spelling cf. Ša-ma-ra-‘i-n below. Since in toponyms this suffix is not necessarily that of the dual, the identification of Spryym with the two parts which formed the city of Sippar (made by Driver, loc cit.) is hardly tenable.
16 This is stated here as a result of a thorough study of the geography of the Nippur region in the second third of the first millennium B. C. E. which is included in my dissertation, Nippur in the Achaemenian Period: Geographical and Ethnical Aspects (Jerusalem, 1974).
17 MTbU 2 Miqra (Tel Aviv, 1972), 83 with n. 4.
18 OIP 2, 53-45.
19 See M. Dietrich, AOAT 7, 4. Bit Ū-ka-na is mentioned also in the document PBS 2/1, 71 (line 5) which was issued in Nippur in 421/20 B. C. E. This document lists canals and areas which were located in the surroundings of Nippur.
20 CT 34, 47, i:28.
21 See Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), 39f.
22 See the spellings listed in Parpola, AOAT 6, 302f.
which refers to Biblical Qarnayim (Aram. *Qarnayn); (2) NB Ḥar-ḥi-ne and NA Ḥa-ar-ḥi-na, as As for the sibilant, NA š in Ṣa-par-ri-e renders WSem. îsl. Both Ṣa-par-ri-e and Si-přa'-ni, while compared with *Siprayn, show anaptyxis of the internal cluster -pr. The latter form shows also reduction of a to i in a closed syllable.

There remains a difficulty. In connection with all these places their kings (mêlākîm) are mentioned; on the other hand, we are not informed by other sources of the existence of kings except for Arpad and Hamath. This difficulty does not however rule out the identifications advanced above. For one cannot eliminate this difficulty by assuming that Sepharvaim refers to two different places (Sippar and Sibraim). Moreover, we can prove that there was no king of Sippar, as this city belonged throughout the post-Cassite period to the kingdom of Babylonia and enjoyed restricted autonomy only. Likewise, the definition of Sibraim as a border-point makes it plausible that it belonged either to Hamath or to Damascus (see above). As for the identification of Sepharvaim with Si-přa'-ni, we may still enjoy the benefit of the doubt, since Si-přa'-ni, which was situated in a tribal area, might have served as a seat of a nasiku (sheikh, a chief of a West Semitic tribe or clan). There is no need to expect accurate terminology in letters that were sent as propaganda. Moreover, these letters involved remote regions, of which the addressee knew little. Sennacherib might simply have meant to impress Hezekiah by referring to the rulers of Lahiru, Sepharvaim and other remote places as mêlākîm. This alleged mention would be in accordance with the main part of both the letters and Rabshakeh’s address; both the letters and the address mention remote regions, some of whose inhabitants had been brought to Samaria about twenty years before the letters and the address referred to them. It is likely that the addressees, the Judeans and their king, had some commercial or even cultic connections with these settlers, who resided on the Judean border in the province of Samaria. The Assyrians probably mentioned these regions in order to strengthen the impression and the effect of Assyrian might on their addressees.

Another difficulty is caused by the names of the deities worshipped by the people of Sepharvaim. 'Adarmelek and 'Anammelek are, according to their names, typical Aramean deities. They were worshipped not only in northern Syria, but also in the Nippur region. Driver identified the former deity with Adad-milki, which occurs as a theophoric element in some names in NA transcription (mainly from Harran and Gozan). This deity has been discussed by K. Deller and M. Weinfeld. The theophoric element occurs once in a LB document, in the name Adad(m)-mil-kî-iddîna. The document (BE 8, 80) was found at

23 Ibid., 284.
24 BE 8, 23:9.
25 Parpola, AOAT 6, 150.
26 Ibid., 356f.
27 For anaptyxis in NA see Ylvisaker, Grammatik, 15f., §8. Cf. the NB/LB spellings Ša-bar-ri(-i-im-)ni/nu for Šārīn(u) (Tallqvist, NBN, 294f.) and ta-ša-li-ša-an-nu (BE 10, 124:6) for taššānu.
29 Or,NS 34 (1965), 382f.
30 UF 4 (1972), 144f.
Nippur and was issued at Ālu ša mḪa-an-di-di. The settlement was named after a certain Aramean, Ija-an-di-di. Ija-an-di-di may contain the theophoric element 'An(u).31 'An(u) is probably found in the DN 'Anammelek.32

(c) Hamath

Hamath may be identical with URU A-ma-ti, which is mentioned together with URU A-ma-tu (=Avva).33 Note that URU A-ma-tu is mentioned together with URU ša-ú-a-ē (=*Awwē), which was situated in Bit Dakkūrī.34 The former was possibly connected with the Amatu tribe and may be identical with the settlement A-ma-tu, which is mentioned later in a document from NB Erech.35

These settlements were probably connected with Hamath. There is a probable connection between these settlements in western Babylonia and their namesakes in eastern Babylonia (Grinzt, see above, is however skeptical about such a connection). A considerable number of place names in Babylonia are the same as tribal names.36 Amatu and Hauae are not the only examples of toponyms in eastern and western Babylonia that are named after the same tribe. Thus one finds near Babylon the Piguddu Canal (which flowed from there through the Nippur region down to the outskirts of Erech). This canal was named after the Aramean tribe of Pq̇ąd, which resided east of the Tigris.37 Situated on this canal was a suburb of Babylon named after the Aramean tribe of Litamu.38 Two more settlements near Babylon,39 one settlement near Kish,40 five settlements41 and two canals42 near Nippur, two settlements43

31 On this theophoric element cf. the literature listed in Benz, PNPP, 380, e.v. 'n. The predicative element -di-di may be a qil formation which is derived from the same root as dād 'favorite' or the like (cf. Huffmon, APNMT, 181ff.).
32 See Driver, Loc. cit.
33 See ibid., 18.
34 OIP 2, 52.16.
35 An. Or. 8, 14:28.
36 On this phenomenon see Brinkman, PKB, 270ff., nn. 1738–51. The examples given below are additional to those of Brinkman. The tribal name may be in many cases secondary to the place name.
37 Ibid., 240.
38 Ibid., 270, n. 1738.
39 Gi-rā-mu (An. Or. 8, 7;3, issued in Babylon) and Na-ba-tu (e.g., VAS 3, 76:18).
40 Gi-rā-mu (RA 30 [1933], 190, B, 1; C, 1, r.(?) 2; D, 1, r. 2). The documents which mention Gi-rā-mu were found at Barguthiyat which is situated approximately 25 km. north-east of Kish. The tribe is mentioned once together with Kish, but the context is not well-preserved; see Brinkman, PKB, 276, n. 1794.
41 Gam/Ma-en-ba-a (PBS 2/1, 128, 11), Ḫa-ta-la-a (ibid., 18:5, 7; see M. Streck, MVAG 11 [1906], 23–24; probably identical with Ḫa-ta-la-a' BM 13253:3, unpubl., courtesy of Dr. M. W. Stolper), Man/Ma-di-na-a-a (e.g., BA 9, 104:5; the original form is probably Man-di-na-a-a [PBS 2/1], 22:7, 10), 'Derites' [with the determinative L], cf. Lu Man-di-na-a-a in ABL 1314, a letter which refers to Dér, i.e. with interchange between the liquids 'n', l-ba-li-e (PBS 2/1, 5:4), and Sar-a-ba-ni (BE 9, 60:3).
42 Ḫi-in-di-a (BE 8, 138:5) and Za-mi-e (PBS 2/1, 182.2).
43 Sar-a-ba-ni (e.g., TCL 12, 75:11), Za-mi-e (GCC 2, 15:2).
and one canal near Erech, and one settlement and one meadow near Sippar were named after Aramean tribes. The Arameans had probably been concentrated in the territory east of the Tigris which was largely a tribal area in the first millennium B.C.E. before some of them immigrated westward, into the regions surrounding the Babylonian temple cities and the regions surrounding the Chaldean territories. Hence, one finds in the Chaldean territory of Bit Dakkuri several settlements named after tribes. These are the above-mentioned Amatu and Ḥauae, as well as Sūqa- Maru-sī and Ḥu-da-di. The last two settlements were named after the Aramean tribes of Marusu and Ḥudadu respectively.

As for 'Ašīmā, the deity of the settlers from Hamath/Amatu, the formation of its name may be parallel to that of the Aramaic toponym 'Ašīmā (Greek Aisymas) and the Phoenician ON dia-su-mu-nu. The resemblance of the divine names 'Ašīmā and Yasumūnu may be merely morphological; resemblance in functions and characteristics cannot be demonstrated. 'Ašīmā can be analyzed as 'a- + šīm- + ā. The first component is parallel to the 'a- of 'Ašīmā, the ay- of Aisymas and the ya- of Yasumūnu. The ya- of Yasumūnu is also represented either by prothetic a/e/i- (Asmūn, Esmūn, Ismūn) or θ (Samūn). The shifts of ya- to a, e, i, ʾ and θ occur frequently in NA and NB/LB transcriptions, mainly in the renderings of the theophoric

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44 Ru'ub -bu (YOS 6, 14:3). Su-man-dar, which is recorded as a name of a region (TCL 12, 20:2, 90:3; YOS 6, 41:4), a settlement (YOS 3, 84:27), and a meadow (YOS 6, 150:3, 7) near Erech, occurs as a place name also east of Babylon, possibly in the Diyala region; see Unger, Babylon, 106f. This may be due to immigration from the Diyala region into the Erech region.

45 Gi-lu-su (Cyr. 166:8, 364:1; Nbn. 398:31 Nerg. 70:11).

46 Gi-lu-su (Cyr. 34:21, Nbn. 784:4). Both places are possibly named after the Aramean tribe Gulusu (Parpola, AOAT 6, 136, with NA Vokalharmonie).

47 This is different from the situation in the second millennium B.C.E. In the second millennium B.C.E. there were found in that area some political units which consisted of temple cities like Esnunna. The only temple city in that area in the first millennium B.C.E., Dēr, does not seem to have played any important political rôle during the first millennium B.C.E. and was probably dependent on Elam and the Aramean tribes.

48 See Brinkman, PKB, 280f.

49 Parpola, AOAT 6, 318.


52 Cf. Fales, Censimenti, 96.


54 Cf. the Greek and Latin transcriptions which are listed in Benz, PNPPI, 278f. and also by Milik, Biblica 48 (1967), 567.
element Ya/Ayay, compare NA d\textsuperscript{4}A-ba-di,\textsuperscript{55} A-ra-me,\textsuperscript{56} Ia-ra-pa-g\textsuperscript{57} and NB/LB 'A-s\textsuperscript{58}\textsuperscript{4}r\textsuperscript{59}a-m,\textsuperscript{60} I-me-ta-',\textsuperscript{60} -bad.\textsuperscript{61} As for the second component of 'Ašmā, it is parallel to Šīm- of 'Ašmā, Aysymas and Yasumūnu (=Yašumūnu). Šīm means 'name, seed, offspring'.

It is recorded in cuneiform transcriptions in various forms which can be schematized as (V)\textsuperscript{62}slsls(V)m(at),\textsuperscript{62} they are (1) S/Šam, (2) S/Šim, (3) S/Šum and (4) Šīm ('Īsm). The forms S/Šam and S/Šum are much commoner in cuneiform transcriptions than S/Šim and Šīm. S/Šam appears in no less than nine names,\textsuperscript{63} S/Šum in no less than nine examples,\textsuperscript{64} S/Šīm in no more than two possible examples,\textsuperscript{65} and Šī/šīm is not recorded in cuneiform transcrip-

\textsuperscript{55} Johns, Doomsday Book, 1, i:6.
\textsuperscript{56} Rolet of Bit Agusi (e.g., KB 1, 160, ii:12).
\textsuperscript{57} ABL 631:9.
\textsuperscript{58} GCCI 1, 202:3, same person as A-\textsuperscript{4}lab/p-\textsuperscript{4}gi-' (GCCI 2, 76:2), kindly collated on my behalf by Prof. W. W. Hallo), with dissimilatory \textsuperscript{66} h\textsuperscript{4}/p\textsuperscript{4}/t\textsuperscript{4}, as in f\textsuperscript{67}Se-il-hu-\textsuperscript{67}u-tu\textsuperscript{68}: (VAS 5, 43:8, 44:8, both documents were written by the same scribe in Babylon in 530/29 B. C. E.), probably the same name as f\textsuperscript{69}Se-il-\textsuperscript{69}u-tu\textsuperscript{69} (Dar. 379:45, Babylon, 509/8 B. C. E.), feminine of Akkadian šēlīrum (Tallqvist, NBN, 201b). Aram. šgy' means 'great, abundant, numerous' (Jean-Hofrijzer, DISO, 291, s. v. sg' III).

\textsuperscript{59} BE 8, 87:8.
\textsuperscript{60} TCL, 12, 3:3:8 (NB).
\textsuperscript{61} BIN 1, 176:11; UET 4, 140:5 (NB/LB).
\textsuperscript{62} ON Na t for WSem. /š/ see Lipinski, Studies, 106f. and cf. n. 64 below.
\textsuperscript{63} A\textsuperscript{4}wa-sa-am-mu (Lie, Sar., 44, No. 9:9), la(š)?-sa-am (VAS 1, 84:1), Sa\textsubscript{4}ma-am (KAV 131, r. 7).
\textsuperscript{64} S/Šam-mu-il (ADD 1155, r. 6, NA), Su-am\textsuperscript{4}m\textsuperscript{4}mil (ADD 860, ii:16, NA).
\textsuperscript{65} The last name possibly means 'offspring of Atūl'. Atūl was an Arabian deity (see T. Fahd, Le panteïon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'église [Beyrouth, 1968], 471f., Suam\textsuperscript{4}m\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{4}Nābū (BRM 1, 49:6, LB) shows a /š/ interchange with l-m. I. Diakonoff, Henning Memorial Volume [London, 1970], 111, n. 37), la-su-am-mu (Nbn. 361:15), la-su-am (ABL 542, r. 7; both NB), la-su-mu (ABL 502:10, NA), Su\textsuperscript{4}šu-ma-ni (GCCI 1, 320:2) and Su\textsubscript{4}šu-ma-a (BRM 1, 36:3; both NB). LB Su\textsubscript{4}šu-mu (Moore, Michigan Coll., 89:53) may not belong here, as the bearer of this name was designated as a Mede; however, the name does not yield any Iranian etymology.

The first example may be the tribal name G\textsuperscript{4}u-r\textsuperscript{4}š/šim/si-im-mu (see Dietrich, AOAT 7, 215, s. v. Gurassimmler). For the first component cf. the toponym G\textsuperscript{4}u\textsuperscript{4}ru\textsuperscript{4}=\textsuperscript{4}Addu which is mentioned in a document from Mari (ARM 7, 155:6), the Biblical toponym G\textsuperscript{4}ur\textsuperscript{4}B\textsuperscript{4}a\textsuperscript{4}al, and the NA hypochrista G\textsuperscript{4}ur\textsuperscript{4}a\textsuperscript{4}- (Tallqvist, APN, 82a) and G\textsuperscript{4}ur\textsuperscript{4}a\textsuperscript{4} (Iraq 15 [1953], 144, 156, ND 3454:2; perhaps also NA G\textsuperscript{4}ur\textsuperscript{4}ru\textsuperscript{4}=\textsuperscript{4}a\textsuperscript{4}, Tallqvist, loc. cit., belongs here). It is derived from g\textsuperscript{4}ur 'young animal'; Stark, PNPI, 81b, s. v. G\textsuperscript{4}ur with parallels; add G\textsuperscript{4}uryā, G\textsuperscript{4}uryān and G\textsuperscript{4}uryān (Dulman, Aramäisch-neuebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrash [Frankfurt, 1922] 74b), i.e. g\textsuperscript{4}ur plus the hypochristic suffixes ā, ānu and ānān respectively. The second example may be NA Š\textsuperscript{4}i\textsubscript{4}m\textsuperscript{4}nu (Tallqvist, APN, 221a).
tion. The divine name Simia or Simion can perhaps be analyzed as SīSim plus the suffixes -i + -ā and i + -ān respectively. The suffix -ā (which is the Aramaic definite article) is probably attached to SīSam in the personal name Sa-ma-ip-ānī, the divine name (d)Saīša-ma-nu-ā (see section 2 below) and, with Sīm in the personal names Il-ta-ma-sa-ma-ā, Il-ta-a-ma-ā, and Al-ta-ma-ā.

(d) Avva

A. Šanda identified Avva (2 Kgs. 17:24, identical to Ivvah) with UrA-ma-a situated on the Uqnu river according to the Annals of Sargon. As Driver has pointed out, UrA-ma-a is mentioned in the same source with UrA-ma-ṃte which was also situated on the Uqnu. UrA-ma-ṃte is possibly Hamath from which people were deported to Samaria by the Assyrians (see above, c). A document (BE 8, 28), found at Nippur and possibly belonging to the Nippurean archive of Nergal-iddina, was issued at Avva (UrA-i-a-a) in 562/61 B.C.E. Another document of the same archive (BE 8, 40 from 556/55 B.C.E.) was issued at UrAm-ma-t or UrAam-lat. Both Amatu and Amlatu are names of Aramean tribes in Mesopotamia. The Avvites were probably West Semites; Awwā ('Iwwā) is a Semitic name, as are the names of most of the settlements which were situated on the Uqnu river. All the names mentioned in the document which was issued at Avva are Semitic (Babylonian and West Semitic). The Avvites were
influenced by both the Babylonian and Elamite cultures, as were the other inhabitants of south-east Babylonia, the region which constituted the Babylonian-Elamite borderland (this borderland included Rāši, Dēr and the territory along the Uqnu). The Avvites who were settled in Samaria worshipped Elamite deities, namely, Tartaq (Dirtaq) and Nibbazz (Ibnahaza). It is possible that Avvites resided also in western Babylonia at the settlement Ḫa-ša-e which was located in the Chaldean territory Bit Dakhkūri. This territory was located South and West of Nippur and stretched down to Ereh. It was inhabited by Arameans and Arabians as well. 79 Ḫa-ša-e may render *'Awa'-, the fore-runner of the assumed eastern-Aramaic form for Heb. 'Awuwim. 80

As noted above, the Avvites worshipped Elamite deities. They, like other West Semites residing in south-eastern Babylonia, were under Elamite cultural and political influence. This is also reflected by the hybrid (Aramaic-Elamite) name Šam-Agunu 81 'offspring of Agunu'. For the predicative element Šam see above. The Elamite deity Agunu is contained in Elamite names. 82 It is also the theophoric element of the NA name Ab-du(?)_Agunu 83 which, if the reading of the sign in question is correct, may also be a hybrid name meaning 'slave of Agunu' (close in meaning to Kutur-Agunu). As was already observed by A. A. MacRae, a theophoric element may form part of any name regardless of the other component's linguistic affiliation. 84

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78 F. Hommel, OLZ 15 (1920), 118. Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients, HtDOW 3, 1, 1 (Munich, 1926), 987. His thesis is supported by W. F. Albright, JBL 71 (1952), 252, and by Driver, Erets-Israel 5 (1958) 19*, with nn. 36–38. The alternative explanation given by Montgomery (Kings, 472), namely Trtq 'Trtq 'Attar'atta and Nibbazz 'Mbzb < Mdbḥ < Mdbh, causes serious phonological difficulties.


80 Ca-e may render ḫ as in LB ad-da-e (VOS 7, 50:2) for adē (cf. CAD A61, 134) and mu-gi-na-e (UET 4, 113:6) for *muginē emukinē); von Soden, AHw. 670a, reads mu-Gil, NA 6. Tallqvist, APN, 191a, s.v. Sa-am(-')gu-nu (NA); 208b, s.v. Ša-ma(-')gu-nu (NB). Both refer to one and the same person. WSem. /'l/ is usually rendered by s in NA and by š in NB. Akkadian ɣ never renders WSem. /流感/. The latter phoneme is rendered in Akkadian either by ɣ or by ø. This rules out any connection between ŠŠama gu-nu and West Semitic Šm'wn (this connection appears as questionable already in Tallqvist, APN, 191a). The tablet A 8002 which mentions Samagunu (Piep kern, Asb., 73, ii:11) was assigned by Piep kern (ibid., 73, n. 11, cf. 91ff.) to Edition B 2, but it possibly belongs to Edition C. ND 4378C+, 1:4f. (Knodsen, Iraq 29 [1967], pl. 17, cf. 65ff.) should be restored according to A 8002.

81 Tallqvist, APN, 191a, s.v. Sa-am(-')gu-nu (NA); 208b, s.v. Ša-ma(-')gu-nu (NB). Both refer to one and the same person. WSem. /'l/ is usually rendered by s in NA and by š in NB. Akkadian ɣ never renders WSem. /流感/. The latter phoneme is rendered in Akkadian either by ɣ or by ø. This rules out any connection between ŠŠama gu-nu and West Semitic Šm'wn (this connection appears as questionable already in Tallqvist, APN, 191a). The tablet A 8002 which mentions Samagunu (Piep kern, Asb., 73, ii:11) was assigned by Piep kern (ibid., 73, n. 11, cf. 91ff.) to Edition B 2, but it possibly belongs to Edition C. ND 4378C+, 1:4f. (Knodsen, Iraq 29 [1967], pl. 17, cf. 65ff.) should be restored according to A 8002.

82 (1) Te-em-ti-agu-an, 'Agun is a lord' (MDP 22, 131:25; 157, r. 2; MDP 23, 173, r. 4; 204, r. 9.

MDP 24, 347:27; 392.9, MDP 28, 406:4). On the element tempit (te-im-tl) see H. de Genouillac, RT 27 (1905), 115; for other names with this element cf. e.g. MDP 23, 214f. (2) Kutur-Agu-an 'servant of Agun' (MDP 10, 70-2, with note). For the element kutur cf. W. Hinz, apud M. Mayrhofer, OnP, 8.845, 11.3.2.2.3.

83 ADD 179:4, collated.

84 NPN, 290. Although this 'law' was established only for names from Nuzi, it evidently applies also to some Aramaic names. Cf. e.g. the names with the theophoric element Eši (the Egyptian goddess Isis): (1) Ḫa-an-na-ta-Eši- 'PBS 2/1, 65:4, 9; from Achaemenian Nippur) 'Esī has graced', (2) Ḫa-an-dEši- 'VAS 15, 3:1, 4, 8, 11, 16; from Seleucid Ereh) 'graced by Esī'; (3) Ab-di-Eši- 'VAS 6, 227:2, Seleucid'; (4) Raḫ-an-de-Eš- 'ZA 3 [1888], 131, 144, no. 4:3; 134.146f.; no. 7:5, 2 from Arsamid Babylon). These names belong to a later Mesopotamian religious milieu. Anatolian deities are found in the West Semitic names Ab-di-Ku-ba-di (ADD 473:5, NA) and Ḫa-an/Āru-u-šu-ma-a-di; see F. M. Fales, Annali di Ca' Foscari, 13/3 (1974), 181f., NA.
Šam-Agunu was son of the chieftain of Gambulu who was the ally of Elam in its wars against Assyria in the middle of the seventh century B.C.E.\(^8\) The same name was borne later by two persons who are mentioned in NB documents from Erech.\(^8\) Both were possibly immigrants from eastern Babylonia.\(^8\) It is noteworthy that a descendant of A-muk-a-nu (a Chaldean tribe) was named Me-na-nu (ABL 1341, NB).\(^8\) Me-na-nu is, according to P. Jensen,\(^8\) a hypocoristicon of Umman-menanu (Elamite Humban-imena).\(^9\)

South-eastern Babylonia was already under Elamite influence before the first millennium B.C.E. For the Old-Babylonian period compare the hybrid (Akkado-Elamite) personal names Ku-uk-ilu-šu-ma,\(^9\) Ši-mu-ut-a-bi\(^9\) and Ši-mut-ga-mu.\(^9\) Kudur-mabuk, who bore an Elamite name and patronym (Simti-Šilbak), was probably an Amorite. He was the sheikh of the region of Yamutbāl which was inhabited mainly by Amorites.\(^9\) Yamutbāl was close to Elam and under Elamite control during the Old-Babylonian period,\(^9\) as were Rāšī and Gambulu during certain periods in the first millennium B.C.E. It is clear that Elamite political and cultural influence on the West Semites of south-eastern Babylonia existed both in the second and the first millennia B.C.E. The West Semites, who probably were originally nomads, were apt to be influenced by higher, sedentary cultures, as was the case in most areas of the Fertile Crescent during most periods.

Regarding the Neo-Assyrian period, it is interesting that at least three individuals who are explicitly designated as 'Elamites' were, judging from their names, ethnically Aramean. 'Elamite' is probably to be understood here in the political sense: (1) Gi-na-a-a,\(^9\) possibly a hypocoristicon

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85 See G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936), 187.
86 *BIN* 1, 177:25 (reign of Nebuchadnezzar II); 175:25 (the date is lost).
87 Like Di-na-a-a (e.g., *YOS* 6, 63:11, from Erech), i.e. 'the man from Dēr' (in eastern Babylonia).
88 See Dietrich, *AOAT* 7, 4, 10–12, 15; 24 with n. 2; 125, 126.
89 *WZKM* 6 (1892), 217 (cf. 221).
90 Humban-imena III was the name of an Elamite king (692–688 B.C.E.) who succeeded his brother Kutur-Nahhunti III (693–692). The origin of these two kings, as well as their relationship to their predecessors, is not known (see Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, 164f.; F. W. Konig, *AfO Beiheft* 16 [Graz, 1965], 71f.). Hinz (*The Lost World of Elam* [London, 1972], 149–51) states as facts that Kutur-Nahhunti III was the eldest son of Hallusu-Inšušinak and that Humban-imena III was the younger brother of Kutur-Nahhunti III, Hinz's statements are entirely unfounded. Note also that the tribal name Amukiinu (also Amuk, i.e. IAw(u)kOin), cf. Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 77f. is of unknown etymology; this point, combined with the occurrence of an Elamite name which may be somehow connected with the tribe, arouses, of course, considerable speculation.
91 Other names with the component *kuk-* are listed in *UET* 5, 47b. The theophoric element of this name is the Akkadian King-name ḫulṣuma. Cf., e.g., ḫammurapi-Amši (Stamm, *Namengebung*, 316). On Elamite names in OB Larsa see Leemans, *SLB* 1/2, 21, 90.
92 *AJSL* 33 (1916/17), 232; *RFH* 19:9.
93 *UET* 5, 61b, s. v.
94 The designation of Kudur-mabuk was Sum. a.d. d a E-mu-u-t-ba-la, 'father of Yamutbāl' (see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 105f., 168f.).
95 See Edzard, loc. cit.
96 *ADD* 625, r. 14.
from G-N-N 'protect', (2) A-ri-ka-;97 possibly Aram. 'arikā 'tall',98 and (3) Bur-se/si-la-a98 'son' of Se/Si-la-a'.100

(e) Hena

No identification can be proposed for Hena (Hēnā’, var. Wn’, LXX Anag). However, as it is mentioned between Sepharvaim and Avva, there is good reason for thinking that it was located in eastern Babylonia.

(f) Telassar

Telassar is mentioned in Rabshakeh's address as a place in which were found 'the sons of Eden', possibly exiles from Bit Adini. Bit Adini is a name which was applied both to an Aramean kingdom in northern Syria and to a Chaldean tribal territory in southern Babylonia (possibly identical with Bit Dakkūr or part of it). Telassar is identified with Til Aššûri, which is mentioned in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions (spelled Til A/Assur/su-ri)101 from the reign of Tiglath Pileser III down through the reign of Esarhaddon. In the reign of Tiglath Pileser III there was a temple of Marduk in Til Aššûri. This fact may indicate a Babylonian cultic influence or even a Babylonian colonization which took place in some other places in the Zagros. Til Aššûri is mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath Pileser III after Siḥazi and before Nīqū. Siḥazi is designated in the Annals as the 'fortress of the Babylonians'.102 It is also mentioned together with Śikrakki; both Til Aššûri and Śikrakki possibly belonged to Media in the reign of Tiglath Pileser III, whereas Nīqū, which had already been mentioned in the second millennium B.C.E. (and possibly even earlier), belonged to Tubliāš. The latter name designated the region which was situated along the lower Diyala. The Parnakeans, who inhabited Telassar in the reign of Esarhaddon, are mentioned together with Ellipi, a region which was later included in Media. Esarhaddon States103 that he crushed the Parnakeans (Par-na-ka-a-a), the inhabitants of Telassar who were named104 Pit(t)anu by the people of Mešihranu. It is noteworthy that

97 It appears in Tallqvist, APN, 29b, as "prob[ably] El[iamite] ", but there are no Elamite onomastic parallels to it. An Iranian etymology (*Āryaka-,-ka-: extension to *Ārya- , 'the Aryan'; cf. Mayrhofer, ONP, 8.458) is not impossible phonologically if E. A. Grantovskiy's etymology of Iran. *Varyaka- for NA U-ri-ka(-a), Ur/U-ri-ia/ak-ku (Ramnyaya Istoria Transkikh Plemeyon Peredney Azii [Moscow, 1970], 266f.) is accepted. However, in view of the context, the Iranian etymology seems less likely than the Aramaic.
98 Cf. J. Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midrashen (Berlin-Vienna, 1924), 166.
99 ABL 140:11. Bur means 'son'; the name of the same person is spelled both Bir-[Ra]-man (RLA 2, 420, n. 3, C63) and Bur-[Ra]-man (2R, 68, no. 2, ii:21).
100 Cf. Fales, Annali di Ca' Foscari, 13/3, 186, No. 30.
101 Parpola, AOAT 6, 352.
102 See I. M. Dyakonov, Istoria Midii (Moscow-Leningrad, 1956), 201, n. 4; Brinkman, PKB, 232 with no. 1468–1469.
104 Zikiršun (ibid.) is to be preferred on the variant reading zikiršu.
the Assyrians considered the Parnakeans dangerous enemies (akṣu, a word which designates in the Assyrian sources the worst enemies of Assyria, such as the Cassites, Chaldeans, Elamites, and Cimmerians). From all the above-mentioned passages it is clear that Telassar was situated east of Babylonia and not, as S. Schiffer suggested, north of the Syrian Bit Adini.105 Schiffer suggested that identification on the assumption that Meḫrānī is identical with KurMeḫrānu/Me-eḥ-riMEŠ (either ‘the land of the Scots pines [Pinus Sylvestris]’ or ‘the land of the poplars’).106 Schiffer’s suggestion should be rejected for two reasons, historical and geographical. The historical reason is that Meḫrānī/Me-eḥ-riMEŠ was already mentioned in 833 or 824 B.C.E. (the eponym year of IaOalu),107 namely in the reign of Shalmanesser III, and we are not informed that Shalmanesser III reached the Diyala region. The geographical reason is, as we saw above, that Meḫrānī was situated east of Babylonia whereas Meḫrānī/Me-eḥ-riMEŠ cannot be located there, but north or north-west of Assyria proper. This is based on the fact that the abarakku-official IaOalu was the governor of several provinces, all of which were located north and north-west of Assyria proper and some of which were already conquered by the predecessors of Shalmanesser III: Kiššu, Qumenu, Ugi, the Cedar Mountain(?), and Meḫrānī. It is more likely, therefore, to assume that there were two different regions named Meḫrānī: one near Telassar, the name of which may be non-Assyrian (perhaps Iran. *Mihrana- > *Mihrana-)108 and another north or north-west of Assyria proper, the name of which may be Assyrian (‘the land of the Scots pines’ or ‘the land of the poplars’), provided that the pseudo-logogram KurMe-eḥ-riMEŠ is not based on popular etymology.

2. Šañ(a)nūḥ(u)—A West Semitic Deity

The spellings of this divine name are NA (d)Ša-am/ma-nu-ḫaḫu and LB (d)Ša-ma-nu-ḫu (see presently). (d)Ša-am-nu-ḫu is mentioned in a NA list of deities from Assur.109 It is the theophoric element of NA (d)Ša-ma-nu-ḫa-šar-ili,110 the name of the ruler of Ša-Dikānī on the Ḥabar river in the first quarter of the ninth century B.C.E.,111 and of other NA personal names.112 This theophoric element is already recorded in the MA (or early NA) period in the personal name Sa-am-nu-ḫa-šar-èd(SAG).113 The latest occurrence of this theophoric element is in the LB personal name Lu-la-šašma-nu-ḫu (from Nippur, 425/4 B.C.E.).114

105 Die Aramäer (Paris, 1911), 70.
106 See AHw., 641b with literature.
107 E. Michel, WO 1 (1949), 262:12.
108 Cf. I. Aliyev and Dyakonov apud Aliyev, Istoria Midii (Baku, 1960), 1, 69 with n. 8.
109 Frankena, Tākulta, 110f.
110 AKA, 281, i:78.
111 See E. Unger, BASOR 130 (1953), 16:3, 17, n. 2.
112 See Tallqvist, APN, 191b.
113 See C. Saportetti, Onomastica medio-assira (Rome, 1970), 1, 389 with literature.
114 Bīt 8, 151:40, 41. The first component is also found in the following LB names: Lu-la-šašNa-bu (TCL 13, 132:15) and Lu-la-šašLu-dā (PBS 2/1, 125:4). Its meaning is not known.
Albright\textsuperscript{115} was of the opinion that Samnu\~u is a Hurrian form of the Akkadian DN Šulmanû. According to him, Samnu\~u is a contracted form of the Mitannian DN ӽš-

\textit{ma-an-mi-nu-\textsuperscript{u}}, which is based on popular etymology. However, this explanation does not eliminate serious phonological difficulties.\textsuperscript{116}

Since Sam(a)nuf\(u\) was worshipped in the Jabur region which was inhabited mostly by West Semites, the explanation of this name could be based on West Semitic onomastic material. It is assumed here that this is a compound divine name Šam(a)-nu\(u\) 'offspring of Nit\(u\)'; compare 'Smbyt\(u\)/Symbytos mentioned earlier and Apil-Adu 'offspring of Addu(Adad)', deities that were also worshipped by West Semites in northern Syria and the middle Euphrates region.\textsuperscript{117} Ap-\(u\) and ma-\(u\) can be taken according to Dir\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{i}}},\textsuperscript{1267} f., as synonyms of Bu-\(mu\).\textsuperscript{118} Nu-ug\(u\)/Ju is probably the same name as Biblical No\(h\) who was a mythological figure. M. Noth\textsuperscript{119} collected some West Semitic names from second-millennium Mesopotamia (mostly from the middle Euphrates region) which may contain the component Nh. However, only Samu-ni\(u\) can contain a theophoric element which is unambiguously derived from the root N-W-\(H\). In the other names the element in question is always written ni\(u\)im and may just as well be derived from the root N-\(H\)-M.\textsuperscript{120} An inscription of Esarhaddon mentions the Arabian deity dNu-\(a\)-\(a\)a.\textsuperscript{121} The name of this deity can be analyzed as Nu\(h\) plus the suffix -\(ay\)(a); such an analysis is only possible if this deity is not identical with the Thamudic deity N\(b\)\(y\),\textsuperscript{122} but with the deity N\(h\)\(y\), that is recorded in inscriptional Syriac.\textsuperscript{123} The attestation of Nh as a divine name in Syriac is

\begin{itemize}
\item Albright\textsuperscript{115} AfO 7 (1931/32), 165f.
\item It is difficult to see how Šul- has become Šam- and why the mi of Šamamminu\(h\) is not found in Šamnu\(u\).
\item E. Ebeling, RLA 1:120; AfO 9 (1933/34), 205; A. F. Rainey in Y. Aharoni (ed.), Beer-Sheba 1, Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–1971 Seasons (Tel Aviv, 1972), 61–69. Note that Simios was the son of Atargatis according to Diodorus Siculus, ii:4.
\item Cf. CAD A\(^2\), 173f., s. v. aplu, lex. sec. The same person is named Apla-a-a and Šuma-a-a in Prism B of Assurbanipal (see Piepkorn, Asb., 74, vii:74). Aplu is possibly found also in the NB theophoric name Apil-Samas (A.UTU)-\(u\)\(s\)ur(PAP) (BRM 1, 17:13). Clay (ibid., 26) read the name ili-aplu-\(u\)\(s\)ur 'God, protect the heir/legacy', but aplu\(tu\) is not attested after the OB period and does not appear in personal names. Besides, aplu\(tu\) is never spelled A, but DUMU.\(U\)\(S\) or phonetically (see CAD, A\(^2\), 177f.). Note that the patronym of Apil-Samas-\(u\)\(s\)ur contains the theophoric element Šama\(š\). Note also that the divine name Adgi, name of Adad in Sûhu (on the middle Euphrates) or At-\(k\)i-\(u\)(i) (in the NB name iAt-\(k\)i-\(h\)i, TCL 12, 3:3, reighn of Tiglath-Pileser III), goes back, according to Albright and Huffman (APNMT, 190f. with lit.) to Amorite î\(l\)a-at-\(k\)u-\(u\)-\(u\) 'offspring(?); cf. also At-\(k\)i\-i\(d\) Adad 'offspring(?); of Adad' (Buccellati, The Amorites, 135, s. v. Atgani\(n\) and Mus-\(u\)-\(h\)a-at-\(k\)i-\(i\)m 'man of î\(l\)atku' (in Mari, RA 65 [1971], 39, 44, A, iv:57).
\item VT 1 (1951), 254f.
\item See Huffman, APNMT, 237f. and add Mu-ta-ni-\(n\)-\(h\)-i\(m\) (RA 65 (1971), 38, 43, A, i:51).
\item Borger, Esarh., Nin. A, iv:10; Mm.. B,10.
\item Fahd, Pantheon (cf. n. 64 above), 144.
\item J. Leroy, Syria 34 (1957), 325–26; A. Maricq, J. Pirenne, and P. Devos, Syria 39 (1962), 100–3; J. B. Segal, edessa, 'The Blessed City' (Oxford, 1970), 23, n. 4. Cf. the personal names 'm\(h\)ny and 'b\(n\)by which are vocalized by Leroy (Syria 34 (1957), 319f.). N\(h\)\(b\)\(y\) but can possibly be vocalized N\(h\)\(b\)\(y\) as well, since these names and the name N\(b\)\(y\)'\(z\)\(y\) (Stark, PNPl, 99b, s. v. N\(b\)\(y\)) are not attested in vocalized Syriac texts.
\end{itemize}
open to doubt. The LB hypocoristica \textit{Nu-ba} \textsuperscript{125} and \textit{Nu-\textsuperscript{u}\textit{-ba-\textit{n}u}} \textsuperscript{126} (also as a toponym) \textsuperscript{127} could have been shortened from names with the predicative element \textit{nu(-\textit{u})hi}, such as \textit{Nu-\textsuperscript{u}\textit{-hi-d\textit{a-sar}},} \textsuperscript{128} or from Akkadian names. \textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{124} See Leroy, ibid., 325 with previous literature.
\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Be} 9, 4:12.
\textsuperscript{126} \textit{TuM} 2/3, 40a.
\textsuperscript{127} E.g., \textit{An. Or.} 8, 62:7 (kindly collated on my behalf by Dr. L. Jakob-Rost, Berlin).
\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Be} 9, 47:19. For the reading \textit{d\textit{a-sar}} see B. Batto, \textit{JSS} 16 (1971), 33f.