

## PERSONAL NAMES IN CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM BABYLONIA (C. 750–100 BCE)

Personal names provide fascinating testimony to Babylonia's multi-ethnic society. This volume offers a practical introduction to the repertoire of personal names recorded in cuneiform texts from Babylonia in the first millennium BCE. In this period, individuals moved freely as well as involuntarily across the ancient Middle East, leaving traces of their presence in the archives of institutions and private persons in southern Mesopotamia. The multilingual nature of this name material poses challenges for students and researchers who want to access these data as part of their exploration of the social history of the region in the period. This volume offers guidelines and tools that will help readers navigate this difficult material. The title is also available Open Access on Cambridge Core.

CAROLINE WAERZEGGERS is Professor of Assyriology at Leiden University, specialising in the social and cultural history of Babylonia in the first millennium BCE. Together with Melanie M. Groß, she directs *Prosobab*, an online prosopography of Babylonia (620–330 BCE).

MELANIE M. GROß is an Assyriologist specialising in the socio-economic history of first millennium BCE Mesopotamia. Together with Caroline Waerzeggers, she directs *Prosobab*, an online prosopography of Babylonia (620–330 BCE).



PERSONAL NAMES IN  
CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM  
BABYLONIA (C. 750–100 BCE)

*An Introduction*

EDITED BY  
CAROLINE WAERZEGGERS  
*Leiden University*

MELANIE M. GROß  
*Leiden University*





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781009291088](http://www.cambridge.org/9781009291088)

DOI: [10.1017/9781009291071](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009291071)

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This work is in copyright. It is subject to statutory exceptions and to the provisions of relevant licensing agreements; with the exception of the Creative Commons version the link for which is provided below, no reproduction of any part of this work may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

An online version of this work is published at [doi.org/10.1017/9781009291071](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009291071) under a Creative Commons Open Access license CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 which permits re-use, distribution and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial purposes providing appropriate credit to the original work is given. You may not distribute derivative works without permission. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

All versions of this work may contain content reproduced under license from third parties.

Permission to reproduce this third-party content must be obtained from these third-parties directly.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI [10.1017/9781009291071](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009291071)

First published 2024

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

NAMES: Waerzeggers, Caroline, editor. | Groß, Melanie M., editor.

TITLE: Personal names in cuneiform texts from Babylonia (c. 750–100 BCE) : an introduction / edited by Caroline Waerzeggers, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, The Netherlands; Melanie M. Groß, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, The Netherlands.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2024. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023023908 (print) | LCCN 2023023909 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009291088 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781009291095 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009291071 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Names, Personal – Akkadian – Iraq – Babylonia. | Cuneiform inscriptions, Akkadian – Iraq – Babylonia. | Akkadian language – Iraq – Babylonia – Etymology – Names. | LCGFT: Essays.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC CS2353 .P47 2024 (print) | LCC CS2353 (ebook) | DDC 935/.5–dc23/eng/20230727

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023023908>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023023909>

ISBN 978-1-009-29108-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

*Greek Names**Paola Corò***Introduction to the Language and Its Background**

The Greek language belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family. It is attested from the second half of the second millennium BCE to the present day. Conventionally, it is divided into three main phases: the ancient period, from the first attestations to the end of the Roman Empire; the Byzantine period, from the end of the Roman Empire to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 CE; and the modern period, from 1453 CE to date. For our purposes only the ancient phase will be taken into consideration.

The earliest attested dialect is Mycenaean Greek, written on clay tablets using a syllabary known as 'Linear B', adapted from the syllabary (Linear A) used to express the language of Minoan Crete, which is still undeciphered. With the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation (c. 1200 BCE), the Linear B script disappeared during the so-called Greek 'Dark Age', from which writing was not preserved. Writing was re-introduced between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth centuries BCE, now using an alphabetic system derived from the Phoenician alphabet.

The new alphabetic writing was used until the Hellenistic period on a number of different writing materials (wood, marble, bronze, and lead, as well as clay, ostraca, wooden boards, parchment, and papyrus scrolls) to express different dialects of the Greek language (Ionic and Attic, Arcado-Cypriot, Pamphylian, Macedonian, the Doric group of dialects, the Aeolic group, and literary dialects; e.g., that of Homeric poetry). Following the conquests of Alexander the Great, a new supra-regional dialect – the *koiné* – evolved from Attic as the lingua franca of the empire. The ancient phase of the Greek language is conventionally said to end in the year 394 CE, at the time of the division of the Roman Empire.

All along its mature phase, the Greek alphabet includes twenty-four discrete letters. The Greek language is inflectional, like Akkadian, and includes five cases: the nominative (for the subject), the genitive (for the possessive relationship), the dative (for the indirect object, plus other

syntactic functions; e.g., instrument and cause), the accusative (for the direct object), and the vocative (for addressing people). Greek personal names are usually transliterated into Babylonian in the nominative. Although Greek names are in general rendered into Babylonian with their own Greek nominative endings, Babylonian nominative case endings may sometimes replace the equivalent (masculine or feminine) Greek ones.

## The Name Material in the Babylonian Sources

### *The Corpus*

The appearance of Greek names in the onomastic corpus from Babylonia is directly connected to the more general matter of Greek presence in Mesopotamia, which is treated in more detail in ‘Socio-Onomastics’. Suffice it to note here that with the Hellenistic period the number of Greek names attested in Babylonian sources noticeably increases, reaching a total of about 130 distinct entries. The largest portion of Greek names occurs in the legal tablets from the southern Mesopotamian city of Uruk dated to the Hellenistic period,<sup>1</sup> but Greek names are also recorded in the Astronomical Diaries, the Babylonian chronicles, and some royal inscriptions, as well as in legal and administrative documents from the cities of Babylon and Borsippa.<sup>2</sup>

The corpus includes both male and female names, the second group consisting of about ten names only. This comes as no surprise as male individuals are in general much more frequently represented in the Babylonian sources than women (see ‘Female Names’).

### *Types*

Following Ina J. Hartmann’s classification, Greek names may be divided into monothematic and dithematic names.<sup>3</sup> Monothematic names are non-compound names, consisting of one grammatical element such as an

<sup>1</sup> The estimation is based on Monerie (2014); single name entries are considered here, irrespective of the number of different individuals who may have borne the same name, and of the attested spellings for each of them.

<sup>2</sup> For a complete listing the reader is referred to the entries of each personal name in Monerie (2014); see also the index of sources in the same volume, pp. 213–21. For the Astronomical Diaries, see Sachs and Hunger (1988, 1989, and 1996) as well as Van der Spek, Finkel, Pirngruber and Stevens (forthcoming) (incl. the chronicles). Royal inscriptions referring to Greek personal names are the Antiochos Cylinder (VR 66), the Nikarchos Cylinder (YOS 1 52), and the stamped brick of Anu-uballit/Kephalon (WVDOG 51, pl. 58).

<sup>3</sup> We follow here the simplest classification of Greek names into two main groups, as suggested by Hartmann (2002). One should, however, note that according to Hartmann, Greek non-compound

adjective, a verb, a substantive, or a proper noun (with or without the addition of a suffix): this is the case with personal names such as Κεφάλων (Kephālōn, with suffix; from κεφαλή ‘head’). Dithematic names are compounds, usually made up of two complete and recognisable lexical elements, such as adjectives, verbs, substantives, and proper nouns: a typical example is the name Τιμοκράτης (Timokratēs; from τιμάω ‘to honour’ + κράτος ‘strength’).

The corpus of Greek names in cuneiform likewise consists of both non-compound/simplex and compound names. Theophoric elements are frequently used in the formation of names, both non-compound/simplex, for example, the name of the god Apollo in Ἀπολλωνίδης (Apōllonidēs) or Ἀπολλώνιος (Apōllōnios), and compound, as in the case of the divine name Artemis in Ἀρτεμίδωρος (Artemidōros). Theophoric elements used in the representation of Greek names in the cuneiform corpus include the names of the gods Athena (e.g., Ἀθηνόδωρος, Athēnodōros), Zeus (e.g., Διοφάνης, Diophanēs; Διόφαντος, Diophantos), Herakles (e.g., Ἡρακλείδης, Herakleidēs), and Poseidon (e.g., Ποσειδώνιος, Poseidōnios). A full list is presented in Table 14.1.<sup>4</sup>

Lexical items such as ‘strength’ (κράτος, *kratos*), ‘gift’ (δῶρον, *dōron*), ‘to rule’ (ἄρχω, *archō*), ‘renown’ (κλέος, *kleos*), ‘horse’ (ἵππος, *hippos*), ‘head’

Table 14.1 *Greek theophoric names*

God name	Non-compound names	Compound names
Apollo	Apōllonidēs (2); Apollōnios (5)	Apollodōros (1)
Artemis	–	Artemidōros (3)
Athena	–	Athēnodōros (1); Athēnophilos (1)
Demetra	Demetrios (3) <sup>5</sup>	
Dionysus	Dionysia (1)	
Helios	–	Heliodōros (1)
Hephaestus	Hephaistiōn (1)	
Herakles	Herakleidēs (4)	–
Heros		Herotheos (1)
Isis		Isidōros (2); Isitheos (1)
Poseidon	Poseidōnios (2)	
Zeus	–	Diophanēs (2); Diophantos (7)

names can be further sub-divided into monothematic names with or without suffixes. Furthermore, compound names are dithematic names falling into three different sub-groups: full dithematic (two elements fully recognisable), extended dithematic (two elements + suffix), and abbreviated dithematic (two elements, one of which shortened). Such a refined distinction is, however, not productive for the purposes of the present analysis.

<sup>4</sup> In Tables 14.1 and 14.2, digits between round brackets refer to the number of discrete individuals bearing the name, as recorded in Monerie (2014).

<sup>5</sup> Royal names are excluded here.

(κεφαλή, *kephalē*), ‘man’ (ἄνθρωπος, *anēr*), ‘victory’ (νίκη, *nikē*), ‘army’ (στρατός, *stratos*),<sup>6</sup> ‘god’ (θεός, *theos*), and ‘to honour’ (τιμάω, *timaō*), ‘friend’ (φίλος, *philos*), ‘lineage’ (γένος, *genos*), ‘father’ (πατήρ, *patēr*), and ‘better’ (ἄριστος, *aristos*) are productive in the corpus in the formation of names, especially (but not exclusively) compound ones, as can be seen in Table 14.2.<sup>7</sup>

Also common in the corpus are royal names, of both Argead and Seleucid rulers (as, e.g., Seleucos, Antiochos, Demetrios etc.):<sup>8</sup> there is one case where a royal name is used in the feminine, in the female name Antiochis. No restrictions apply to the use of royal names in the onomastics of ordinary people, a situation which differs from what we know from Mesopotamia in other periods (see Chapter 1, and section ‘Royal Names’ in this chapter).

Table 14.2 *Greek names according to lexical items*

<i>anēr</i>	Alexandros (5); Menandros (1); Sōsandros (1)
<i>archō</i>	Archelaos (1); Archias (1)
<i>aristos</i>	Aristeus (1); Aristoklēs (1); Aristokratēs (2); Aristōn (3)
<i>dōron</i>	Artemidōros (3); Athenodōros (1); Diodōros (2); Heliodōros (1); Isidōros (2); Menodōros; Theodōros (2)
<i>genos</i>	Antigenēs; Diogenēs (2)
<i>hippos</i>	Alexippos (1); Hipponikos; Philippos (1)
<i>kephalē</i>	Kephalōn (9)
<i>kleos</i>	Agathoklēs (1); Dioklēs (1); Patroklēs (1)
<i>kratos</i>	Aristokratēs (2); Dēmokratēs (5); Timokratēs (5)
<i>nikē</i>	Andronikos (2); Nikanōr (12); Nikarchos (1); Nikēratos (1); Nikolaos (3)
<i>patēr</i>	Antipatros (3)
<i>philos</i>	Athenophilos (1); Menophilos (1); Philinos (1); Philippos (1); Philos (1); Zenophilos (1)
<i>stratos</i>	Stratōn (5)
<i>theos</i>	Herotheos (2); Isitheos (1); Theoboulos (1); Theodōros (2); Theodosios (1); Theogenēs (1); Theomelēs (2); Timotheos (2)
<i>timaō</i>	Timokratēs (5); Timotheos (2)

<sup>6</sup> According to Julien Monerie the popularity of the name Στράτων (Stratōn) in Uruk at the end of the third century BCE might be due to a phenomenon of assonance with the common divine name Ištar, assimilated to Astarte. See Monerie (2014, 76–7) and Del Monte (1997, 41–2), both with bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> The table only covers compound names built with the elements listed here and does not pretend to include all names attested in the corpus and their components. Occurrences referring to royal names are excluded from the total considered here.

<sup>8</sup> Representing approximately 10 per cent of the individuals with a Greek name according to Monerie 2014, 75.



### Naming Practices

In Greek sources, individuals are identified by a personal name and the patronym (i.e., the father's name), which can either be expressed in the genitive or as an adjective (usually ending in  $-\text{ιδης}$ ). The use of the patronym is crucial for identification. The demotic (i.e., the name of the *dēmos* the individual belongs to) and/or the ethnicon are commonly added to the patronym when the individual is referred to in documents stemming from a place other than the one from which he originates.<sup>9</sup>

In the Hellenistic sources from Uruk, which make up the bulk of the material under consideration here, Greek names transliterated into Babylonian may occur as single names or as part of a full onomastic chain. Kings are usually identified by their first name only (see 'Royal Names' section of this chapter). Conversely, ordinary individuals are seldomly identified by their first name only. This may happen in exceptional circumstances, such as the identification of the neighbours in a property description or in the captions of seal impressions (but in this last case, full names are commonly preserved in the witness list of the same document).

Commonly, a complete onomastic chain is recorded. The following options are possible:

- a. Greek name/Greek patronym/(Greek grandfather's name)
- b. Greek name/Greek patronym/(Babylonian grandfather's name)/  
Babylonian family name
- c. Greek name/Babylonian patronym/(Babylonian grandfather's name)/  
Babylonian family name
- d. Greek name/Babylonian patronym/Babylonian grandfather's name/  
(Babylonian great-grandfather's name).

It is generally believed that type a. identifies individuals who are 'ethnically' Greek. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the ethnic identity of the individuals with Greek names, as the sources only specify it in two cases: Poseidōnios, son of Metrodōros (or Myrtolos?), is labelled 'the Greek' (in YOS 20 70:8'), while Diophanēs, son of Stratōn, grandson of Kidin-Anu, is called 'the Urukean' (in BRM 2 55:15–16).<sup>10</sup>

Acculturation is frequently invoked as the reason for the choice of a Greek name within traditional Babylonian families. Stephanie M. Langin-Hooper

<sup>9</sup> Thompson 2001, 678–9.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the son of Poseidōnios is interpreted as Metrodōros (reading the name as <sup>1</sup>*me-te-du-w-su*) in YOS 20; it is tentatively read Myrtolos (i.e., <sup>1</sup>*me-ēr-tū-lu-su*) by Monerie (2014, 152, s.v).

and Laurie E. Pearce (2014) recently demonstrated that, at least in some cases, the attribution of a Greek name to the offspring of Babylonian families may result from maternal-line papponymy naming practices; that is, a mother would preserve her own family's cultural heritage by naming one of her sons after his maternal grandfather (who, in this case, bore a Greek name).

### Spelling and Normalisation

Rendering Greek names with the Babylonian script was not an easy task. Babylonian scribes were confronted with two interconnected challenges: first, rendering a name whose spelling was designed for an alphabetic script by means of a mixed logo-syllabic system; second, adapting phonemes specific to the Greek language to the Babylonian phonetic system – for example, the vowel *o*, which does not exist in Babylonian, was usually replaced by *u*. Moreover, in the *koiné*, some of the phonemes of the Greek language (e.g., the diphthongs) were no longer pronounced as they were written.<sup>11</sup>

According to Julien Monerie,<sup>12</sup> when writing Greek names with the Babylonian script, the scribes, who always rendered them syllabically, more frequently resorted to the names' pronunciation rather than faithfully transcribing their standard written form. Furthermore, the more a name came into use, the more the scribes became familiar with it and tended to harmonise its spelling, also adapting it to Babylonian. These processes and the constraints, inherent to the differences between the two systems, explain why various spellings often occur for one and the same name.

It is thus difficult, if not impossible, to establish a full and mechanical set of conversion rules for Greek names into the Babylonian writing system. The most comprehensive and recent attempt in this regard is that by Julien Monerie (2014), to which the reader is referred for details. Suffice it here to lay out the most important correspondences generally applied to the reconstruction (see Table 14.3).

In order to identify Greek names in Babylonian writing, it also proves useful to list their most typical endings or second elements (see Table 14.4).

### Socio-Onomastics

As we have observed, the diffusion of Greek names in Babylonian is linked to the more general matter of the contacts between the Greek world and Mesopotamia, and the debate on the significance of the

<sup>11</sup> See Horrocks (2010, esp. chp 4), and also Monerie (2015, 350–4). <sup>12</sup> Monerie 2015, 350.

Table 14.3 *Conversion rules for Greek names into the Babylonian writing system*<sup>13</sup>

Babylonian	Greek	Babylonian	Greek
a/–/(e in Neo-Assyrian)/ia	α	–/intervocalic <i>m=w</i>	F ( <i>digamma</i> )
<i>b</i>	β	<i>u</i> but also <i>a/i</i>	ο
<i>g</i>	γ	<i>p</i>	π
<i>d</i>	δ	<i>r/l</i>	ρ
<i>eli</i>	ε	<i>s</i> ( <i>š</i> in Neo-Assyrian)	σ, ς (in final position)
<i>z</i>	ζ	<i>t</i>	τ
<i>a-el e-el i-el e-ʔel e-ʔa-a</i>	η	<i>i/–</i>	υ
<i>t</i>	θ	<i>p</i>	φ
<i>ilʔi-i</i>	ι	<i>k</i>	χ
<i>q</i>	κ	<i>pV-sV(?)</i>	ψ
<i>l</i>	λ	<i>u</i> but also <i>a/i</i>	ω
<i>m</i>	μ	$v_1C_1C_2/C_1vC_2-$	$C_1C_2-$
<i>n/–(before dentals)/assimilated to following</i>	ν	$v_1C_1C_3/v_1C_1v_2C_2/v_1C_1C_2v_2C_3$	$C_1C_2C_3$
$v_1 k-v_1s$	ξ	<i>h/–</i>	´ (rough breathing)

Greek presence in Babylonia in the first millennium BCE. While early contacts are already attested in the sources at the time of the Assyrian expansion to the west in the eighth century BCE, it is with the annexation of Babylonia by Cyrus in 539 BCE, and especially following Alexander III's conquest, that the Greek presence in the region becomes more than intermittent.<sup>14</sup>

Greek individuals (kings, officials, and ordinary men) as well as Babylonians bearing a Greek name begin to appear in the sources. The corpus consists primarily of masculine names; among them are royal names, used to identify the ruling kings and as part of the common onomastic repertoire. A very small percentage of the Greek onomasticon is represented by feminine names. It is in the Hellenistic period that an official of the city of Uruk is known to have received another, Greek name next to his Babylonian one, directly from the king. More and more Greek

<sup>13</sup> In Tables 14.3 and 14.4, 'C' stands for any consonant and 'v' for any vowel.

<sup>14</sup> On these topics, see, for example, Rollinger (2001) as well as Monerie (2012 and 2014), with earlier bibliography.

Table 14.4 *Typical endings and second elements of Greek names in Babylonian writing*

Babylonian rendering of name ending	Equivalent in transcription	Equivalent in Greek
<i>Cu-su</i>	-C-os	-C-ος
<i>V-su</i>	-Vs	-V-ς
<i>Cu-ú-ru</i>	-C-or	C-ωρ
<i>Cu-ú-nul/Cu-nul/Ci-nu</i>	-Con	C-ων
<i>an-dar/an-da-ri/an-dar-ri-is/and-dar-sul/an-der/a-dar</i>	-andros	-ανδρος
<i>ar-ku-sul/ar-qu-ra-sul/ar-qu-sul/ar-qu-ú-sul(C)ar-su</i>	-archos	-αρχος
<i>e-du-su</i>	-ades	-αδης
<i>du-ru-us/du-ur-sul/du-ur/du-ru<sup>?</sup>u-du-ru(?)</i>	-doros	-δωρος
<i>ig-nu-us/ig-nu-sul/ig-nu-us-sul/ig-is-su</i>	-V-gonos	-V-γονος
<i>gi-ra-tel/gu-ra-tel/uq-ra-te</i>	-krates	-κρατης
<i>uq-la-el/uq-ra-la-e</i>	-V-kles	-V-κλης
<i>ni-qé-el/ni-qé</i>	-nikes	-νικης
<i>pa-lu-sul/pa-lu-ú-[su?]</i>	-philos	-φίλος
<i>Ci-de-e/Ci-di-e</i>	-Cides/ Ceides	-ιδης/ειδης
<i>pa-tu-su</i>	-phantos	-φαντος
<i>i-sil/ip-sul/lip-sul/pi-is-sul/pi-li-sul/pi-sul/pi-is/lip-i-sil/lip-pu- us/lip-is/lip-us/lip-sul/li-pi-su</i>	-(l)ippos	-πιππος
<i>Ci-ial/Ci-sul/Ci-e-sul/Ci-si</i>	-Cios	-C-ιος

names are incorporated in the corpus of personal names in Uruk alongside traditional Babylonian ones, identifying both individuals of likely Greek origin and Babylonians.<sup>15</sup>

### *Royal Names*

Kings are usually referred to by their first name, with no onomastic chain following. Their names typically (though not exclusively) occur in the date formulas of the documents and in the payment sections of the contracts to specify the currency used to pay the price of the commodity that is the object of a transaction. Thus, for example, according to STUBM 45-RE Lâbâši, son of Anu-zêru-iddin, from the Ekur-zakir

<sup>15</sup> On double names in Hellenistic Uruk, see Bowman (1939), Doty (1988), and Boiy (2005), with bibliography. Recently also Pearce and Corò (2023).

family, buys a house and an unbuilt plot located in the Šamaš Gate district in Uruk. The document is dated to the early regnal years of Seleucos II and the formula reads ‘Uruk. Tēbēt, (day broken), year 69, Seleucos (<sup>1</sup>*se-lu-ku*), the king’. Lâbâši pays a total price of 8 shekels of silver in good-quality staters of Antiochos (*is-ta-tir-ri*.MEŠ šá <sup>1</sup>*an-ti-’i-ku-su bab-ba-nu-ú-tú*) for the property. Although the document is issued in the reign of Seleucos II, the currency used is still that of his predecessor, Antiochos II.

Partial exception to the use of the first name for kings is represented by date formulas indicating co-regencies, where the parental relationship between the reigning kings may be mentioned. An example is provided by STUBM 74-RE which, according to its date formula, was issued in year 109 ‘of Antiochos and Antiochos, his son, the kings’ (<sup>1</sup>*an-ti-’i-ku-su u* <sup>1</sup>*an-ti-’i-ku-su DUMU-šu LUGAL*.MEŠ).

Abbreviations for the king names are sometimes used, especially in the Astronomical Diaries. A list of abbreviated royal names is presented in Table 14.5.

No restriction apparently applied to the use of Greek royal names for ordinary people in the Hellenistic period. A large number of individuals in the corpus exhibit names such as Alexandros (<sup>1</sup>*a-lek*, <sup>1</sup>*a-lek-si-an-dar*, and <sup>1</sup>*a-lek-sa-an-dar*), Antiochos (<sup>1</sup>*an-ti-’i-i-ku-su*, <sup>1</sup>*an-ti-i-ku-su*, <sup>1</sup>*an-ti-’u-ku-su*, and <sup>1</sup>*an-ti-’u-uk-su*), Demetrios (<sup>1</sup>*de-e-meṭ-ri-su*, <sup>1</sup>*de-meṭ-ri*, and maybe also <sup>1</sup>*di-i-meṭ-ri:ti-ia*), Philippos (<sup>1</sup>*pi-il-pi-li-su* and <sup>1</sup>*pi-il-pi-su*), and Seleucos (<sup>1</sup>*se-lu*, <sup>1</sup>*se-lu-ku*, and <sup>1</sup>*se-lu-uk-ku*).<sup>17</sup>

Table 14.5 *Abbreviations of Greek royal names*

Akkadian rendering	Reading	Full name
<sup>1</sup> <i>a-lek-sá</i> <sup>16</sup>	Alexa	Alexandros
<sup>1</sup> <i>an</i> ; <sup>1</sup> <i>an-ti</i>	An; Anti	Antiochos
<sup>1</sup> <i>de</i>	De	Demetrios
<sup>1</sup> <i>pi</i>	Pi	Philippos
<sup>1</sup> <i>se</i>	Se	Seleucos

<sup>16</sup> Note also the exceptional use of KI.MIN (= ‘ditto’), preceded by the determinative for masculine personal names, as patronym for the king Alexander mentioned in the date formula of OECT 9 75:6’ from Kish. I thank Laurie Pearce for drawing my attention to this case.

<sup>17</sup> Only the spellings of royal names used to identify ordinary people are recorded here. For a complete list of spellings of each royal name, see Monerie, (2014 s.vv). See also the website HBTIN, s.vv: <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/hbtin/index.html>.

## Female Names

Only a few Greek female names occur in the corpus, three of which identify queens and four of which identify ordinary women.<sup>18</sup> Queen names include Laodice ‘People’s justice’ (Λαοδίκη, spelled <sup>1</sup>*lam-ú-di-qé-<sup>2</sup>a-a*, <sup>1</sup>*lu-da-qé*, <sup>1</sup>*lu-di-qé-e*, and <sup>f</sup>*la-ú-di-qé-e*),<sup>19</sup> identifying the two Seleucid queens married to Antiochos II and Antiochos III, respectively; Stratonice ‘Army’s victory’, the wife of Seleucos I and Antiochos I (Στρατονίκη, spelled <sup>1</sup>*as-ta-ar-ta-ni-iq-qú*, <sup>1</sup>*as-ta-rat-ni-qé*, and <sup>1</sup>*as-ta-rat-ni-qé-e*); and Thalassia ‘From the sea’ (Θαλασσία spelled <sup>1</sup>*ta-la-si-<sup>2</sup>a-a-<sup>3</sup>su-u*), the wife of Hyspaosines of Charax.

Among ordinary women mentioned in the corpus from Hellenistic Uruk, both Antiochis ‘Against support’ (Ἀντιοχίς spelled <sup>f</sup>*an-ti-<sup>2</sup>i-i-ki-su*), the daughter of Diophantos, and Dionysia (mng. unknown) (Διονύσια spelled <sup>f</sup>*di-ni-<sup>2</sup>i-i-si-<sup>2</sup>a*), the daughter of Herakleidēs, are likely of Greek origins and married into Babylonian families. The name Antiochis confirms the diffusion of royal names among common people, including women, and Dionysia preserves a clear theophoric name. Phanaia ‘One who brings light’ (Φάναια spelled <sup>f</sup>*pa-na-a*) is a slave who probably got her Greek name from her mistress, a certain <sup>f</sup>Šamê-ramât, also known with the Greek name Kratō ‘Strength’ (Κρατώ spelled <sup>f</sup>*ka-ra-tu-ú*), the daughter of a certain Artemidōros. It is uncertain whether <sup>f</sup>Šamê-ramât *alias* Kratō stemmed from a Greek family;<sup>20</sup> however, she probably married a Greek man whose name is tentatively reconstructed as Tatedidos (mng. uncertain).

## Double Names

Greek names may also occur in combination with a Babylonian name to identify an individual bearing two names. The typical Babylonian formula is ‘PN<sub>1</sub> whose other name is PN<sub>2</sub>’. Only about twenty double Greek/Babylonian names occur in the corpus. The use of polyonymy is not limited to Greek/Babylonian names; it also appears in names that pair Babylonian/Babylonian and Babylonian/other languages. The order of the two names is apparently irrelevant, and in many instances only one of the two was used in the documents.<sup>21</sup> In the well-known case of the high official Anu-uballit *alias*

<sup>18</sup> On women in the sources from Hellenistic Uruk, see Corò (2014; Corò 2021), with earlier bibliography.

<sup>19</sup> On the spellings of the name of Laodice, see Corò (2020).

<sup>20</sup> According to Oelsner (1992, 343) she was Greek; for a different hypothesis, see Monerie (2014, 73–4).

<sup>21</sup> We have no clear idea of what is the rationale behind the use of one or the other; see Boiy (2005). See also Sherwin-White (1983) and, recently, Monerie (2014). On the use of his Greek name by Nikolaos *alias* Rihāt-Anu, see Pearce and Corò (2023).

Nikarchos, his Greek name was apparently entrusted to him by the king, but one cannot generalise from it and the rationale behind this practice still escapes our full understanding.<sup>22</sup>

### Further Reading

As an introduction to the history of the Greek language and its dialects, the main reference is the book by Geoffrey Horrocks (2010). A classical reference for Greek grammar is by Herbert W. Smyth (1956). The most recent grammar of the Greek language in English, offering a new linguistically oriented approach, is by Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, and Mathieu de Bakker (2019). The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGNP) is an essential tool for Greek names, listing the attestations of names, showing their geographical distribution, and providing the total of attestations. It features an online version ([www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk](http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk)) and a paper version (both still incomplete as for their geographical coverage since it is an ongoing project). It is a very useful tool for our purposes, as it offers the possibility to check the original spellings of Greek names and to look for names that might not be recorded in Julien Monerie's prosopographic dictionary. The reader is referred to the publications page of the LGPN website for details on the published volumes.

The first systematic study of Greek names attested in Babylonian sources is by Wolfgang Röllig (1960). The most recent and important reference book for Greek names in Babylonian sources is the prosopographic dictionary compiled by Julien Monerie (2014), where all Greek personal names occurring in Babylonian sources are recorded. Two reviews to this volume are published so far: one by Zsolt Simon (2017), the other by Reinhard Pirngruber (2015). Also useful is the synthesis in English by Julien Monerie (2015) on the principles governing the transcription of Greek in cuneiform. Another useful tool is the name glossary on the website HBTIN 'Hellenistic Babylonia: Text, Images, and Names' (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/hbtin/index.html>) directed by Laurie Pearce. Here, the occurrences of Greek personal names attested in the corpus of texts from Hellenistic Babylonia are recorded alongside the Babylonian ones.

Other literature one might also want to consult includes:

- Clancier, P. and J. Monerie 2014. 'Les sanctuaires babyloniens à l'époque hellénistique. Évolution d'un relais de pouvoir', *Topoi* 18, 181–237.
- Heller, A. 2018. 'Review of J. Monerie 2014: D'Alexandre à Zoilos. Dictionnaire prosopographique des porteurs de nom grec dans les sources cunéiformes', *Klio* 100/2, 544–9.

<sup>22</sup> The inscription in question is the so-called Nikarchos Cylinder (YOS 1 52). According to Langin-Hooper and Pearce (2014, 195–9) it is possible that double names were used at least in some cases to preserve both the maternal and paternal onomastic heritage.

- Karali, M. 2007. 'The classification of the ancient Greek dialects' in A. F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 387–94.
- Masson, E. 2007. 'Greek and Semitic languages: early contacts' in A. F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 733–7.
- Petrounias, E. B. 2007. 'Development in pronunciation during the Hellenistic period' in A. F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 599–609.
- Pirngruber, R. 2014. 'A new Greek from Seleucid Babylonia', *Nouvelles Assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2014/35.
- Sarkisian, G. 1974. 'Greek personal names in Uruk and the Graeco-Babyloniaca problem', *Acta Antiqua* 22, 495–503.
- Sarkisian, G. 2000. 'Zu einigen Besonderheiten der Wiedergabe der griechischen Namen in Keilschrift' in J. Marzahn and H. Neumann (eds.), *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 252. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 401–6.

## References

- Boiy, T. 2005. 'Akkadian Greek double names in Hellenistic Babylonia' in W. H. van Soldt and D. Katz (eds.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the 48<sup>th</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1–4 July 2002*, *Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden* 102. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, pp. 47–60.
- Bowman, R. 1939. 'Anu-uballit-Kefalon', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 56/3, 231–43.
- Corò, P. 2014. 'Identifying women in Hellenistic Uruk: a matter of perspective?', *KASKAL* 11, 183–92.
- Corò, P. 2020. 'A new spelling for the name of Laodice in cuneiform: a matter of literacy?', *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2020/79.
- Corò, P. 2021. 'Between a queen and an ordinary woman: on Laodice and the representation of women in cuneiform sources in the Hellenistic period' in K. Droß-Krüpe and S. Fink (eds.), *Powerful Women in the Ancient World Perception and (Self)Presentation. Proceedings of the 8th Melammu Workshop, Kassel, 30 January–1 February 2019*, *Melammu Workshops and Monographs* 4. Münster: Zaphon, pp. 201–10.
- Del Monte, G. F. 1997. *Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica, Vol. 1: Testi cronografici, Studi Ellenistici* 9. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
- Doty, L. T. 1988. 'Nicharchos and Kephalon' in E. Leichty, M. deJ. Ellis, and P. Gerardi (eds.), *A Scientific Humanist. Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, *Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund* 9. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, pp. 95–118.



- van Emde Boas, E., A. Rijksbaron, L. Huitink, and M. de Bakker 2019. *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finkel, I. L., R. J. van der Spek, and R. Pirngruber forthcoming. *Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period*. Atlanta: SBL.
- Hartmann, I. J. 2002. 'What name, what parentage? The classification of Greek names and the Elean corpus', *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics* 7, 55–81.
- Horrocks, G. 2010. *A History of Greek Language and its Speakers*, 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Langin-Hooper, S. M. and L. E. Pearce 2014. 'Mammonymy, maternal-line names and cultural identification: clues from the onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 134, 185–202.
- Monerie, J. 2012. 'Les communautés grecques en Babylonie (VIIe – IIIe s. av. J.-C.)', *Pallas* 89, 345–65.
- Monerie, J. 2014. *D'Alexandre à Zoilos. Dictionnaire prosopographique des porteurs de nom grec dans les sources cuneiformes*, Oriens et Occidens 23. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Monerie, J. 2015. 'Writing Greek with weapons singularly ill-designed for the purpose: the transcription of Greek in cuneiform' in R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen (eds.), *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World. Impact, Continuities, Parallels. Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project held in Oberurgl, Austria, November 4–8, 2013*, Melammu Symposia 7. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 349–64.
- Oelsner, J. 1992. 'Griechen in Babylonien und die einheimischen Tempel in hellenistischer Zeit' in D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient Ancien, Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, pp. 341–7.
- Pearce, L. E. and P. Corò 2023. 'Constructing identities: Greek names as a marker of Hellenizing identity', *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 11/2, 72–108.
- Pirngruber, R. 2015. 'Review of J. Monerie 2014. D'Alexandre à Zoilos: Dictionnaire prosopographique des porteurs de nom grec dans les sources cunéiformes', *H-Soz-u-Kult, H-Net Reviews*, 1–2.
- Röllig, W. 1960. 'Griechische Eigennamen in Texten der babylonischen Spätzeit', *Orientalia* 29, 376–91.
- Rollinger, R. 2001. 'The ancient Greeks and the impact of the Ancient Near East: textual evidence and historical perspective' in R. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies*, Melammu Symposia 2. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, pp. 233–64.
- Sachs, A. and H. Hunger 1988, 1989, 1996. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, 3 Vols. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Sherwin-White, S. 1983. 'Aristeas Ardibelteios. Some aspects of the use of double names in Seleucid Babylonia', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50, 209–21.

- Simon, Zs. 2017. 'Review of J. Monerie 2014. *D'Alexandre à Zoilos. Dictionnaire prosopographique des porteurs de nom grec dans les sources cuneiforms*', *Ancient West and East* 16, 437–9.
- Smyth, H. W. 1956. *Greek Grammar*. Revised by G. M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, A. 2001. 'Ancient Greek personal names' in A. F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 677–92.