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Mammonymy, Maternal-Line Names, and Cultural Identification: Clues from the Onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk

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Mammonymy, Maternal-Line Names, and Cultural Identification: Clues from the Onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk

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The onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk demonstrates that, in some cases, individuals with Greek names were included in otherwise Babylonian families. Often, such Greek names have been interpreted by scholars as evidence for Hellenization. This article suggests an alternate explanation, based on evidence throughout the family trees for a series of naming practices that focus on the perpetuation of names of female relatives and transmission of preferred family names through maternal lines. Particularly important to this discussion are the practices of mammonymy, a term coined here to refer to papponymy's gendered parallel, i.e., the naming of a girl after her grandmother or other female ancestor, and the practice, previously unexamined in the Assyriological literature, of "maternal-line papponymy," the tradition of naming a son for his maternal grandfather or other male ancestor from a maternal line. Maternal-line papponymy can be observed in family trees in which the members bear only Babylonian names, as well as in family trees that include individuals with Babylonian names and individuals with Greek names. The Greek names used for boys are often those of fathers or grandfathers of women with Greek names who married into these Babylonian families. This article argues that the incorporation of Greek names into the elite Babylonian families of Hellenistic Uruk cannot be assumed to be straightforward evidence of impulses toward "Hellenization." Rather, this evidence indicates that Greek names were given to sons in such families within the context of traditional Babylonian maternal-line naming practices. This finding has important implications for scholarship's understanding of acculturation and the display of cultural identity in Hellenistic Babylonia.

Several thousand cuneiform texts document both Greek- and Babylonian-named persons in the cities of Hellenistic Babylonia and prompt investigation of cross-cultural interactions between residents of these multi-cultural communities. The Hellenistic period in Babylonia (c. 330–64 B.C.E.) is often described as a time of foreign (i.e., Greco-Macedonian) conquest and immigration into the Near East.[1] However, this was hardly first-millennium Babylonia's first encounter with incursions of alien populations or experience with foreign rule.[2] By the time of Alexander the Great's arrival, Babylonian society could be described as having

1. Green 1990: 319, Sherwin-White 1987: 9, Walbank 1981: 46.
2. Haerinck 1997: 27, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 159.

been multi-cultural, to varying degrees, for nearly half a millennium, particularly if the West Semitic onomasticon is invoked in support of this assertion.[3] The Hellenistic settlers also enriched Babylonia with an infusion of components of their material culture: Greek theatres and gymnasia were constructed in ancient cities such as Babylon, and Greek objects, such as statues, pottery, and coins, were used throughout Babylonia.[4] Babylonia was far from a completely Hellenized society, however:[5] Mesopotamian forms of material culture and architecture persisted,[6] as did the use of cuneiform documents, which are the focus of this article.

The cuneiform documentation necessarily presents a skewed and uniquely Babylonian perspective on Hellenistic Babylonian society; almost all texts of this period written in Greek or Aramaic, which might balance the written record, have been irretrievably lost. In spite of the lopsided nature of our sources, we nevertheless suggest that a nuanced and careful re-evaluation of the onomastic data preserved in the cuneiform legal texts from Hellenistic Uruk provides us with unique opportunities to identify markers of individuals' cultural identities, and thereby to access the interplay between cultural communities.[7] Our understanding of this data enables us both to identify multiple expressions of cultural hybridity and to suggest that cross-cultural interactions were renegotiated and differently enacted in a variety of social contexts.

Our re-evaluation of the evidence for cross-cultural interaction begins with our consideration of indications in the Hellenistic Uruk legal text corpus of the social and cultural roles of women and their families. Within Hellenistic Urukean society, women—both Greek women who married into Babylonian families and female scions of native lines—assumed economic roles commensurate with the status of the families into which they married.[8] They owned property and slaves; they bought and sold these holdings to family and non-family members alike. In fact, there is some evidence of women who were at least as, if not more, economically active than their husbands.[9]

3. Although much additional evidence has been published since the appearance of Ran Zadok's 1977 volume, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study*, it remains the foundational study of the composition and distribution of West Semitic personal names in the cuneiform record. To a lesser degree than peoples of West Semitic origin, Elamites and Persians appear frequently enough in the documentation that their respective onomastica have also received in-depth study (Zadok 1984, 2009, respectively, Tavernier 2007). For general observations about the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Babylonia in the first millennium, see Joannès 2009.

4. Downey 1988, Hopkins 1972, Invernizzi et al. 2007, Rossi 2011, Westh-Hansen 2011, van der Spek 2001.

5. For critiques of the concept of "Hellenization," see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, Petrie 2002, Langin-Hooper 2007.

6. Colledge 1987, Downey 1988: 7–63, van der Spek 1987.

7. To be sure, the corpus of legal texts is not the sole locus of documentation of the interactions between the native Babylonian and the Hellenic communities. The administrative, astronomical, and historical records related to the building and rebuilding of the major Babylonian temples attest to the support of the royal administration for the perpetuation of traditional native religious practices (see Boiy 2010). Although in this study we are not directly concerned with the reflections and impact of intercultural processes on material culture, it is of interest that many of the individuals involved in the temple rebuilding activities also belong to the subset of individuals whose names are considered here as indicators of an intercultural reality that is greater than mere facts would suggest.

8. The nature and scope of the economic activities of the women in the Hellenistic Uruk texts, both within their families of origin and in the families into which they married, deserve a comprehensive investigation. Here, we focus on exploring the degree to which women were fully incorporated into their new families and the means by which we may determine whether, and how, their heritage was respected and passed down to the children via maternal-line naming practices *within their family by marriage*.

9. The most prominent example is that of Antiochis, wife of Anu-uballiṭ–Kephalōn. Anu-uballiṭ–Kephalōn was governor of Uruk, as well as the *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk* ("overseer of the *ša rēši* of Uruk"), as documented in an inscription found in the temple of Anu and Antu at Uruk (van der Spek 1994: 601, 604, Doty 1988). The documentation attests to his standing in the upper echelons of Uruk social, religious, and political activity, as well as to his participation in or presence at these economic transactions: 1) as the owner of a slave who himself owned land

However, until now, little attention has been paid to the role of women in transmitting aspects of cultural and family identity in Hellenistic Babylonia. Here we suggest that clues about the contributions of women to the formation of familial and cultural identity can also be gleaned from the same Hellenistic Babylonian texts that document the economic activities of the social elite. It is important to clarify that the appearance of a woman's name in a cuneiform document may record her presence at or participation in an activity or transaction, but it does not in and of itself point to or assign her agency in the cultural-transmission process we describe. That agency is more conclusively identified and determined through analysis of the nature of the activity and the matrix in which she performs her roles.

Rather, we assert that the observed patterns of naming practices point to a process in which a particular feature—the linguistic background of personal names—contributes to the marking of a woman's identity and to that of other family members. It may be possible to discover women's agency in the patterns and processes of cultural transmission if these correlate positively with women's roles in the documented activities. For example, analysis of the transactions in which women are documented, be they principals or wives or daughters of principals, may establish women's crucial role in the formation and preservation of familial wealth. Such an investigation, however, lies well outside the scope of the present inquiry and will be explored in a future study. For the time being, we focus on the potential of onomastic evidence to reveal patterns of the transmission of culture and identity.

We have discovered that when a mother's name and the names of other members of her birth family are preserved, almost without fail they recur in the names of her male and female offspring in subsequent generations. This indicates that, in the naming of children, maternal-line names were considered important—in many cases, as important as the names from the paternal line—suggesting that the heritages of women and men were both regarded as crucial in the transmission of identity across generations.

From the evidence presented here, we conclude that Hellenistic Babylonian maternal-line naming practices gave equal prominence to the woman's identity and past, honoring both her and her familial line. This argument draws on well-established patterns in Babylonian onomastics. The location of these practices in the Babylonian cultural tradition contributes to ongoing efforts within scholarship on Hellenistic Babylonia to understand the process, nature, and degree of Babylonian-Greek cultural interaction.

We began to consider the implications of these naming patterns while re-examining the onomastic data and genealogical trees of the major Uruk families in connection with

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being sold (VS 15 12); 2) as the owner of property in the vicinity of the Lugalira temple of Uruk (BiMes 24 31); 3) as requesting an auspicium (divination by birds; McEwan 1980); 4) in two building inscriptions (Bowman 1939: 231–33, WVDOG 51 p. 108); and 5) in the qualification of his wife's name in a contract for the sale of a share in a cook's prebend (YOS 20 58) activities.

On the other hand, Anu-uballiṭ–Kephalōn's "more business-minded wife" (Doty 1988: 99) invested in temple allotments that she purchased from members of other Babylonian families: cook's prebend (YOS 20 58), temple-enterer's prebend (VS 15 7, BiMes 24 6; Wallenfels [1994: 436] suggests these may be duplicate documents). Future study of Antiochis' activities will consider her agency in the social, cultural, and economic networks in which she was active.

Wunsch (2005) sketches the evidence for the economic status and activity of women in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods and it is clear that the situation in Hellenistic Babylonia echoes that of the preceding periods. Wunsch emphasizes that, in spite of the evidence that women could participate in commercial life, those who did were the exception, as their chances "of acquiring property at all or being able to dispose of it were very limited." The legal and financial instruments that enabled women to "work around" patrilineally defined inheritance were gifts, *donatio mortis causa*, and supplements to the dowry. However, none of these transaction types, attested in the Hellenistic Uruk material as well as in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid corpora, brings evidence to bear on the clarification of the role of women in the transmission of family and cultural identity.

developing Berkeley Prosopographic Services.[10] This article is an outgrowth of our collaborative work on the onomasticon and prosopography preserved in the texts and on the seal impressions that recorded the economic activity of elite Hellenistic Babylonian society. As such, it reflects the work of two scholars in different disciplines: Assyriology (Laurie Pearce) and art history (Stephanie Langin-Hooper). The questions we pose and the approaches that we apply to the evidence are a direct result of our fruitful exchange of ideas and research methodologies. For instance, in a response to the limitations inherent in the long-standing binary categorization of objects as of either "Greek" or "Babylonian" type, Langin-Hooper's work on Hellenistic Babylonian figurines establishes an innovative theoretical framework of "entanglement" that accounts for the complexity of cultural affiliation and perception that inheres in Hellenistic texts and objects.[11]

Although this theoretical approach was developed in reference to terracotta figurines, and we have both found it productive when applied to Assyriological data as well, it would be an equally valid approach to understanding the contemporary seal impressions, in particular the admixtures of Assyro-Babylonian, Achaemenid Persian, and Hellenic motifs carved in both native and Mediterranean styles that appear almost exclusively on western-style metal seal rings.[12] The broad applicability of the "entanglement" approach to Hellenistic Babylonia reaffirms that this society was particularly marked by complex cultural exchange, which must be carefully analyzed on a case-by-case basis (rather than sweepingly characterized using terms such as "Hellenization"), utilizing tools from a variety of disciplines. The success of our collaboration, measured in part by the present article, reaffirms and reconfirms that research agendas in ancient Near Eastern studies are capable of crossing disciplinary lines and are even more fruitful when they do.

BABYLONIAN NAMING PRACTICES

Three Babylonian naming practices enable us to discern and assess patterns in cultural and familial identification. They are:

1. *Statement of Filiation*: Neo- and Late-Babylonian scribes typically identify participants at least once in each legal or administrative record by means of a three-tier expression of filiation in the form: PN (personal name), son of FN (father's name), descendant of LN (family line or clan name), a series of linked relationships often represented via the shorthand PN/FN//LN.[13] An example of a fully qualified statement of filiation that expands the standard

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10. The legal texts from Hellenistic Uruk, collected under the umbrella of the digital project Hellenistic Babylonia: Texts, Images and Names (HBTIN; http://oracc.org/hbtin), serve as the demonstrator corpus for Berkeley Prosopographic Services (BPS; http://berkeleyprosopography.org/). BPS is an open-source tool that enables corpus specialists to make probabilistic assertions on onomastic data and prosopographic evidence, to perform social network analysis, and to generate graph visualizations of the results. University of California, Berkeley IST Semantic Services architect Patrick Schmitz developed the BPS architecture, schematically represented at: https://wikihub. berkeley.edu/download/attachments/16811737/bps+architecture+diagram+copy.jpg?version= 2&modification-Date=1345760868064. Laurie Pearce is the BPS project manager and Niek Veldhuis its academic sponsor. BPS has received material support from the University of California, Berkeley's HART Initiative, and from an NEH Digital Humanities Start-up (Stage 2) Grant.

11. Langin-Hooper, "Beyond Typology: Investigating Entanglements of Difference and Exploring Object-Generated Social Interactions in the Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011.

12. Invernizzi 1994, Lindström 2003: 17, Wallenfels 1992: 145, 151.

13. Edzard 1998 and Baker 2002 provide useful overviews of Akkadian name-giving practices in the first millennium b.c.e. For a summary discussion of the formulae that express kinship relationships, see Nielsen 2011: 1–2. The details of the variant expressions utilized in each of the major early Neo-Babylonian cities appear in the rele-

three-tier formulation is evident in the identification of one of the witnesses in CM 12, 8 r. 5: *Anu-bēlšunu māru ša Ina-qibīt-Anu māri ša Kidin-Anu mār Hunzû,* i.e., *Anu-bēlšunu*, son of *Ina-qibīt-Anu*, son of *Kidin-Anu*, descendant of *Hunzû*. It is worthwhile mentioning that each filiation statement thus identifies multiple individuals—members of the individual's paternal line—who may or may not be attested elsewhere in the corpus as participants in other transactions, or at all. The multi-generational notices contained in each kinship statement facilitate reconstruction of successive generations of family trees. A consequence of the convention of providing fully qualified filiation statements for nearly all of the 8–20 participants (in roles such as buyer, seller, guarantor, neighbor, witness, and scribe[14]) in each economic and legal transaction recorded at Hellenistic Uruk is a substantial set of onomastic and prosopographic data: the 10,000+ name instances may be estimated to preserve the identity of as many as 7,000 individuals, including those who appear only in the second, third, or higher tier of filiation expressions.

2. *Papponymy*: Although papponymy is evidenced as early as the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., it remains an infrequently attested naming practice until the late first millennium and finds its fullest expression in cuneiform sources of the Hellenistic period.[15] A consequence of papponymy, in which a man was named for his grandfather (and even his great-great-grandfather), while his father potentially shared a name with the great-grandfather, is a limited repertory of names across multiple generations of a family. This is readily apparent in the onomasticon of the Nanâ-iddin family (see figure 1).[16] The effect of this convention on prosopographical research is to complicate the disambiguation of the numerous individuals who bear identical names and patronymics. At the same time, however, it facilitates both the reconstruction of extensive family trees and the identification and elucidation of family naming patterns in Hellenistic Uruk.

3. *Double names*:[17] Double names are expressed through the formula PN$_1$ *ša šumšu šanû* PN$_2$, "PN$_1$, whose other name is PN$_2$."[18] Sometimes both names are Akkadian; sometimes a

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vant sections of that book. In the Hellenistic Uruk legal texts, the filiation formula may include the generations of grandfather and great-grandfather and, on rare occasions, that of the great-great-grandfather as well. As is the case in the Neo-Babylonian documentation, lack of a family name indicates that an individual did not belong to one of the urban elite families. Nielsen's study of the significance of the onomastic practices and conventions documented in the major families of the great urban centers of the early Neo-Babylonian period provides an in-depth understanding of the role of kin-groups in the social and economic fabric of the time.

14. Slaves, rarely identified with patronym or family name, are not included in the present study. However, they are included in the collection of onomastic data from the Uruk texts, as they figure (as objects) in legal transactions and are nodes in certain social networks.

15. Zadok 1988: 15.

16. Numerous instances of papponymy occur in the Nanâ-iddin family (explored in extenso in Doty 1978). In figure 1 in the present study, solid rectangles highlight the instances of the name Tanittu-Anu across generations of the Nanâ-iddin family. In all figures that accompany this study, the following conventions apply: ovals surround names transmitted through a maternal line and rectangles surround names transmitted through a paternal line. Thanks go to Amanda Wissler for her help in the preparation of the family trees that accompany this article, which rely heavily on those in Doty 1977, 1978, 1988.

17. For the evidence for and discussions of the phenomenon, see Boiy 2005, Sherwin-White 1983, and Streck 2001. Baker (2002: 6) considers double names to be roughly equivalent to "alternative names or 'nicknames.'" However, we would understand the term "nickname" to lie closer to the rubric of hypocoristicon (a shortened form of the personal name). It is important to note that in the Hellenistic period, the use of double names was not limited to Mesopotamia and the practice is well documented in Egypt as well (Clarysse 1985, Lambertz 1911, Leclerq 1963). While a comparison of the extent and significance of the practice in these two regions of the Hellenistic world may prove productive, it lies beyond the scope of the present investigation.

18. In the absence of the formulaic statement, prosopographical evidence may establish that an individual was known by two different names. Excluded from the category of double names are those hypocoristica that simply
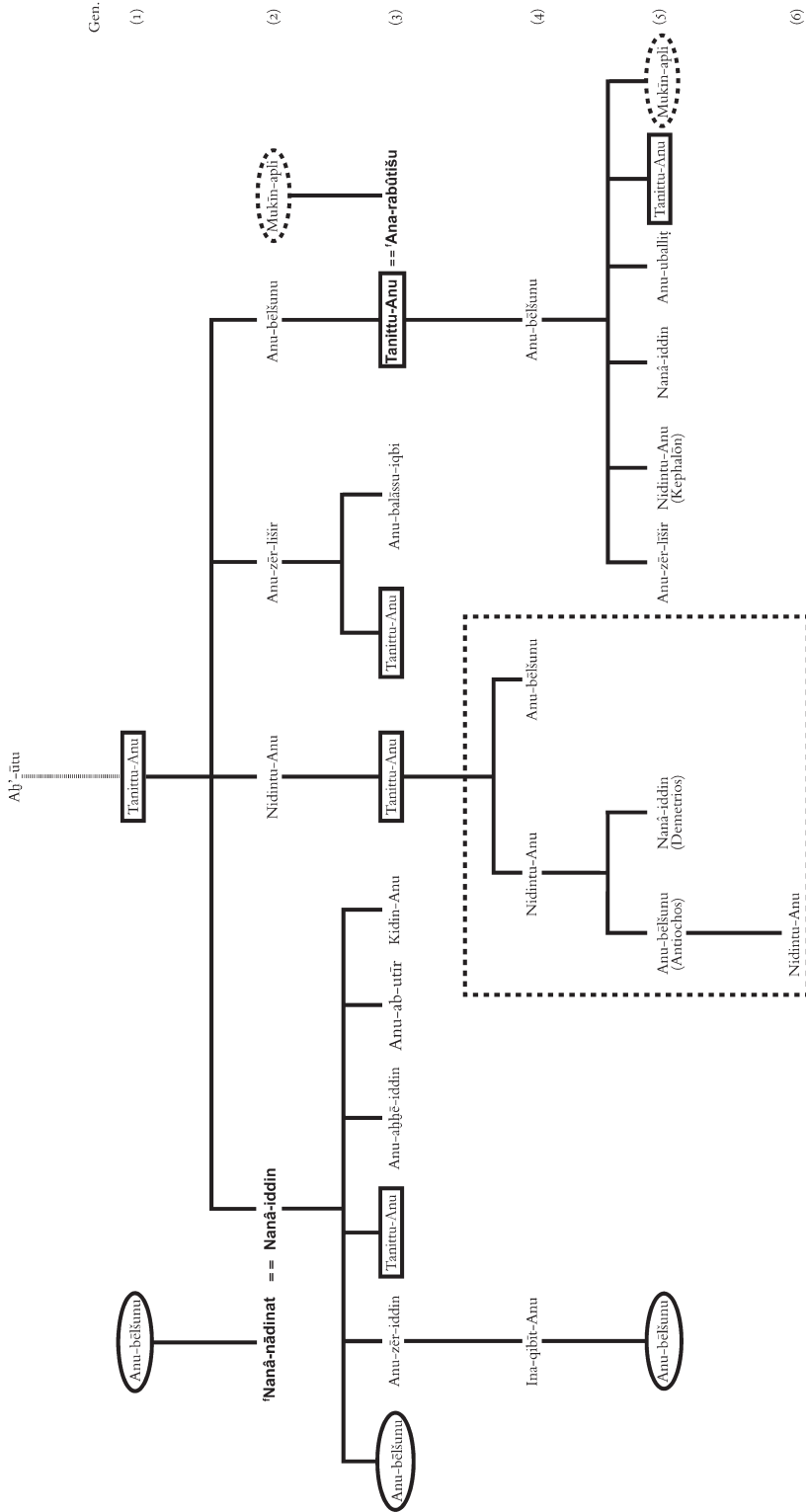
Fig. 1. Nana-iddin family tree.

Greek name is paired with an Akkadian one; and sometimes Akkadian names alternate with names in other languages, such as Aramaic.[19] Each of an individual's two names was an equally valid indicator of his/her presence in a transaction. In a single transaction *and* across the corpus, one, the other, or both names may record his/her participation. For instance, in VS 15 7 and BiMes 24 6, Anu-uballiṭ is identified by his double name in the phrase *Anu-uballiṭ ša šumšu šanû Kephalōn*, "Anu-uballiṭ whose other name is Kephalōn," whereas in BiMes 24 31 he bears only one of his two names: Kephalōn, the son of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Aḫʾūtu.[20]

In Hellenistic Babylonian texts, women also bear double names, which appear and are used in the same kind of Akkadian-Akkadian, Akkadian-Greek, or Akkadian-Other combinations used to express men's double names.[21] For instance, the Akkadian-named Šamê-rāmat was also known by the Greek name Krato,[22] while Antu-banât–Erištu-Nanâ (FB 16 2+16) had two Akkadian names.[23] These examples demonstrate that the practice of double-naming, while not particularly common for names of either gender, could be used in the naming of women as well as men.

These three onomastic practices—expressions of filiation, papponymy, and double-naming—all contribute both to our identification of women and their activities in Hellenistic Uruk, and to our understanding of the processes and methods of cultural identification. Our analysis proceeds from evidence derived both from families displaying an exclusively Babylonian (i.e., non-Greek) onomasticon as well as from families that attest to a cultural mix of Greek and Babylonian names.

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abbreviate the long, full form of most Akkadian names. Thus, the rubric "double names" excludes an individual who, for example, bears the full Akkadian name Nabû-nādin-šumi and can be identified on prosopographical grounds as the same individual who is elsewhere identified by the hypocoristicon Nādin.

19. Boiy organizes the evidence according to the linguistic background of the paired names (2005: 49–53). Two recently published Hellenistic Uruk prebend texts in the British Museum preserve additional instances of Akkadian-Akkadian double names: Illut-Anu—Anu-aḫ-iddin (HANE/M 8:279–280 = BM 109968) and Anu-ab-uṣur—Dumqi-Anu (HANE/M 8:385–387 = BM 105190). Although the evidence for pairings of names in other languages is extremely limited, other combinations are attested, as in the Aramaic-Greek double name Ḫaninah—Straton, whose father bore the Greek name Diophanēs (BIN 2 136).

20. Anu-uballiṭ is the rare example of an individual being known by three names. Ash. 1923.749:4–6 (McEwan 1980) reads *Anu-uballiṭ ša šumšu Kephalōn ša ina pī niši* [. . . *p*]*i-tú-u iqabbû*: "Anu-uballiṭ, whose other name is Kephalōn, (is) called among (lit.: in the mouth of) the people . . .-*pitū*."

21. No discussion of women's double names can ignore the famous example Naqiʾa/Zakūtu, the names by which the Neo-Assyrian queen of Sennacherib and mother of Esarhaddon was known (Melville 1999, PNA 2/II: 931–932, PNA 3/II: 1433). Although she antedates the present discussion by some three and one-half to four centuries, the West Semitic-Akkadian pairing of her two names is entirely consistent with the linguistic patterns attested in double names in the Hellenistic period. It is of interest that these Aramaic and Akkadian names are calques of each other.

22. Krato (also rendered Kratous) appears in YOS 20 62; Kua is attested in OECT 9 51:21, r. 3, r. 7–8. The use of the Akkadian Šamê-ramat as the second name of Krato, a woman whose patronymic Artemidoros likely identifies her as ethnically Greek, is noteworthy. The name Šamê-ramat, the name of the wife of Šamši-Adad V (823–11), is rendered in Greek as Semiramis, about whom no shortage of legend grew up and whose entanglements in the history of Assyria still prompt discussion (PNA 3/I 1084). The legends about Semiramis would likely have been known by the Hellenistic community at Uruk, and is an example, on the female side, of the significant choice of a royal name as one component of a double name (see below, n. 30).

23. The woman who bears the double name Linakušu—Kua is discussed below in her role in the transmission of names from both paternal and maternal lines in the Dannat-Belti family. Although Boiy (2005: 52) considers Linakušu—Kua to be an example of an Akkadian-Akkadian double name, the etymologies of both names are uncertain.

"MAMMONYMY" AND MATERNAL-LINE NAMING IN HELLENISTIC URUK

First, we consider the Dannât-Bēlti family, whose seventy-four individuals in seven generations are documented in sixty-eight records, and whose members seem to bear exclusively Babylonian names.[24] Two branches of this family, those of Dannât-Bēlti/Libluṭ//Luštammar-Adad and of Ēṭirtu/Anu-aḫḫē-iddin//Abu-ṭāb, provide evidence for the heritage and/or status of a mother's family. As seen in figure 2, the family lines demonstrate both standard papponymy (naming for male ancestors) and female papponymy: the practice of naming a *female* child for her *grandmother*.

In his 1977 dissertation L. T. Doty identified and discussed an instance of female papponymy in a Hellenistic Uruk family. Insofar as is documented, Ēṭirtu and her husband Nanâ-iddin (generation 2, in bold-face type) produced five offspring (generation 3), four male (Anu-aḫḫē-iddin, Anu-uballiṭ, Ana-rabûti-Anu, and Nidintu-Anu) and one female (Adēšu-ṭāba'). Two of the grandchildren of Ēṭirtu and Nanâ-iddin (generation 4; hexagons surround their names and that of their grandmother) also bear the name Ēṭirtu, that of their paternal *grandmother*: one is the daughter of Anu-uballiṭ, the other the daughter of Nidintu-Anu. The all-Babylonian onomasticon of this family demonstrates that female papponymy, while infrequently preserved, was certainly practiced.[25] It thus reflects an important aspect of the Babylonian construction of family identity, a feature we believe significant enough to warrant the coining of the term *mammonymy* as the gendered parallel to papponymy, i.e., the naming of a girl after her grandmother or other female ancestor.

We have also discovered that, in addition to *mammonymy*, the Uruk family trees preserve strong evidence for a practice not discussed in the Assyriological literature but which appears throughout genealogical research. The term *maternal-line papponymy* refers to the practice of naming a male child after his *maternal* grand*father*, great-grand*father*, or other maternal-line ancestors. The sequence Anu-aḫḫē-iddin—Ēṭirtu—Anu-aḫḫē-iddin (names highlighted in solid ovals in figure 2) attests to the use of maternal-line papponymy in this family. It is particularly striking that within a single nuclear family, maternal-line papponymy could be practiced alongside traditional papponymy, as for example, in the case of Anu-uballiṭ, another son of Ēṭirtu and Nanâ-iddin, who bears the name of his paternal grandfather (highlighted in solid rectangles).[26]

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24. Doty (1977: 229–30, figs. 6 and 7) lays out a complete Dannât-Bēlti family tree. We have used his diagrams as the basis for our figure 2, but for the purposes of clarity have eliminated some information extraneous to our present discussion.

25. In the Hellenistic Babylonian texts it is very rare to recover evidence of female names in multiple generations of a single family. The Dannât-Bēlti family is one of the exceptional cases where we can determine the name of both a grandmother and granddaughter (in this case, two granddaughters). That *both* granddaughters—the only two girls out of twelve known grandchildren—bear the name of their paternal grandmother indicates that this practice may indeed have been traditional.

26. The patterns of maternal- and paternal-line papponymy discussed here allude to a relationship between naming practice and birth order in Hellenistic Uruk, just as exists in many diverse cultural and historical settings. In some environments, the eldest (and especially first-born) son is likely to be given his father's name. In families populated by the likes of Henry Sr., Henry Jr., Henry III, Henry IV—where each Henry is the oldest male child of his generation—birth order positively correlates with the giving of the "family name."

In Babylonian families explicit statements of siblings' birth order appear only infrequently, in texts that document the division of estates among heirs. Through a comparison of the birth order specified in such texts with the order in which those same individuals are listed in other documents, it is clear that siblings appearing in a single text are identified from oldest to youngest (McEwan 1984: 212, Baker 2002: 9). This pattern should facilitate an assessment of the degree to which papponymy positively correlates with birth order in Hellenistic texts.

Fig. 2. Abbreviated family trees of the Dannât-Bēlti/Liblut//Luštammar-Adad and Ēṭirtu/Anu-aḫḫē-iddin//Abu-ṭāb lines.

The significance of our discovery becomes apparent as we examine another branch of the Dannât-Bēlti family tree (depicted toward the left side of figure 2) that displays maternal-line papponymy throughout. We draw attention to the fact that this practice perpetuated the names of mothers' male relatives, *regardless* of the social status of the matriline line. The presence of an ancestral name, Abu-ṭāb, identifies Ēṭirtu (generation 2) as a member of the Uruk social elite. In contrast, Ēṭirtu's great-grandson Nanâ-iddin (generation 5) marries a woman named Linakušu, whose lack of a clan name indicates her non-elite background. Linakušu and Nanâ-iddin produced at least one son, Anu-uballiṭ (generation 6). Notably, he bears his *maternal* grandfather's name, Anu-uballiṭ (both names are marked with dotted-line ovals). This is a clear example of maternal-line papponymy preserving names from a non-elite side of the family tree.[27] Lacking evidence for additional offspring, it is impossible to determine whether Linakušu and Nanâ-iddin would have equally invoked papponymy from maternal and paternal lines. However, the names of the offspring of their son Anu-uballiṭ (Anu-ab-utir, Nanâ-iddin, and Kidin-Anu in generation 7) perpetuate ancestral names from both lines: the relevant ancestors and their namesakes appear in dashed ovals and rectangles, identifying names transmitted through the female and male lines, respectively.

Both maternal- and paternal-line papponymy are evident in another branch of this family, the Dannât-Bēlti/Libluṭ//Luštammar-Adad line (see large dotted square box in figure 2). In this family line one grandson and three great-great-grandsons are named Dannât-Bēlti after the paternal ancestor. However, maternal-line papponymy is also practiced: Tanittu-Anu (generation 6) is named for his great-grandfather on his *grandmother's* side.

Although few women are documented among the 70+ individuals in this family, when we do encounter them, the names of their offspring demonstrate both mammonymy and maternal-line papponymy. We conclude that both naming practices were probably more common than scholars have previously realized. So far, we have focused on the naming practices within a culturally Babylonian family. As we turn to the Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn family, we consider the significance of naming practices in families that bestow non-Babylonian, *and specifically Greek*, names on some family members.

GREEK NAMES IN BABYLONIAN FAMILIES: THE CULTURAL MIX

The genealogical trees of several elite Urukean families include stemma populated with many Greek names. The complex cross-cultural situation of Hellenistic Babylonia thus seems to be reflected in the composition and application of the Urukean onomasticon of this period. However, the reasons for the incorporation of Greek names into Babylonian families have not been given due consideration, and have been simplistically assumed to be the product of Hellenizing motivations.[28] The understanding of maternal-line papponymy traditions established here enables us to provide a more nuanced consideration of Greek name usage in Babylonian families.

27. Similar examples exist in the Nanâ-iddin family (figure 1). Anu-bēlšunu (generation 3), son of Nanâ-iddin and Nanâ-nādinat, is named for his maternal grandfather, despite the lack of clan name (and elite status) on the maternal side of his family. Similarly, the name of non-elite Mukīn-apli (generation 2) recurs as a namesake among his daughter's grandsons (generation 5).

28. E.g., Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 149–54. This perspective has not, however, found currency in the study of the multi-cultural communities of Ptolemaic Egypt. Clarysse (1985: 64) showed that among members of the army and administration in Ptolemaic Egypt, an individual's choice to use a Greek or an Egyptian name was predicated on the cultural context perceived to be associated with a particular function: "When a function was felt to be Greek, its occupants had a tendency, whatever their origin, to use a Greek name and vice versa." From at least one scholar's point of view, the use of double names in Hellenistic Babylonia reflects "the peculiarity of the Hellenistic Age with respect to foreign names . . ." (Herman 1990: 351 n. 3).

As in the Dannât-Bēlti family, maternal-line papponymy is clearly attested within Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn's immediate family (figure 3, generation 3). But in this case, the pre-served onomastic and prosopographic data also reflect the complexities that result from intercultural marriages. The Greek name of Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn's wife, Antiochis, con-sidered together with Diophantos, the Greek name that her father bears, suggests she is eth-nically Greek. Implementing the practice of maternal-line papponymy, these parents named their one known son Diophantos, after his *maternal* grandfather (marked with dashed ovals). But this is hardly a simple expression of ethnic display, as the evidence demonstrates. Dio-phantos, son of Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn and Antiochis, appears in four texts, two of which record his second name: Anu-balāssu-iqbi, the name of his *paternal* grandfather (marked with dashed rectangles).[29] Thus it is established that, even (or especially) in multicultural families, Greek and Babylonian names could be invoked equally—in this case, to preserve the cultural identification of both members of the parental generation.

Names attested in another branch of the Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn family tree (enclosed in the circle in figure 3) demonstrate that maternal-line papponymy could also be applied exclusively, and regardless of the ethnic affiliation of mothers' and fathers' names. Antio-chos, nephew of Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn, married Antu-banât, daughter of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, of the Luštammar-Adad clan. Antiochos and Antu-banât named their son Anu-balāssu-iqbi after his maternal grandfather (both grandfather and grandson are highlighted in solid ovals in figure 3). In this case, a Babylonian maternal family name is given, seemingly privileg-ing the heritage of the mother over that of the father, whose family tree is heavily populated with individuals bearing Greek names: consider the names of the younger Anu-balāssu-iqbi's uncle (Alexandros) and his cousins (Seleukos, Agathokles, Heraklides, and Kephalōn, sons of an uncle whose name is not preserved). Thus, although this seems to be the one branch of the family demonstrating a propensity for the adoption of Macedonian/Greek names,[30] the family identity of Anu-balāssu-iqbi's mother was preferred over any (potential) goal of Hellenization.

Indeed, the appearance of Greek names in the Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn family tree has been interpreted as evidence of Hellenization.[31] However, our identification of the practice and the concurrent prominence of maternal-line papponymy together suggest that the situation must be more nuanced. Some male members of the family did indeed marry Greek-named women, who, from their lack of Akkadian clan names, appear to have been of Greek heritage. These

29. BRM 2 55:10–11: *Diophantos māru ša Kephalōn ša šumšu šanû Anu-uballiṭ māri ša Anu-balāssu-iqbi apil Aḫʾūtu*; NCTU 21: Although the names Diophantos and Anu-balāssu-iqbi appear in ll. 5′-6′, damage to the tablet precludes determining whether the mention of Anu-balāssu-iqbi records Diophantos' second name or occurs in the statement of his paternal grandfather in a standard filiation expression; BiMes 24 31 identifies Diophantos only as the son of Kephalōn; BM 114408:3–4 refers to *Anu-balāssu-iqbi ša šumšu šanû Diophantos rab rēš āli ša Uruk māri ša Kephalōn apil Aḫʾūtu*. Dr. Paola Corò kindly provided us with this reference as well as with a prepublication version of her study "By the Written Order of the *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk*: Towards an Understanding of the *bīt ritti* System in Hellenistic Uruk," originally presented in the Late Babylonian workshop at the 2007 RAI, St. Petersburg; this has now appeared as Corò 2012. Both Corò (ead., n. 22) and Monerie (forthcoming: p. 156, appendix 4 and comment on p. 51 with n. 158) include the double name Diophantos–Anu-balāssu-iqbi not included in Doty's family tree (1988: 100) or Boiy's discussion (2005: 49–51).

30. In this connection, the choice of specifically Macedonian royal names, such as Alexandros, Seleukos, Antio-chos, and Demetrios, or Antiochis (daughter of Diophantos and wife of Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalon) deserves further consideration. The most recent opinion is that of Boiy (2005: 57 n. 49), who states "adopting dynastical names by the common people was a popular way to express some kind of relationship with the foreign rulers." He rejects Sarkisian's assertion (1976: 501) that Antiochis was a member of the Seleucid dynasty because the name is rarely attested outside the royal family.

31. For previous discussions of the problem, see inter alios: Sarkisian 1976, Sherwin-White 1983, Clancier 2011.
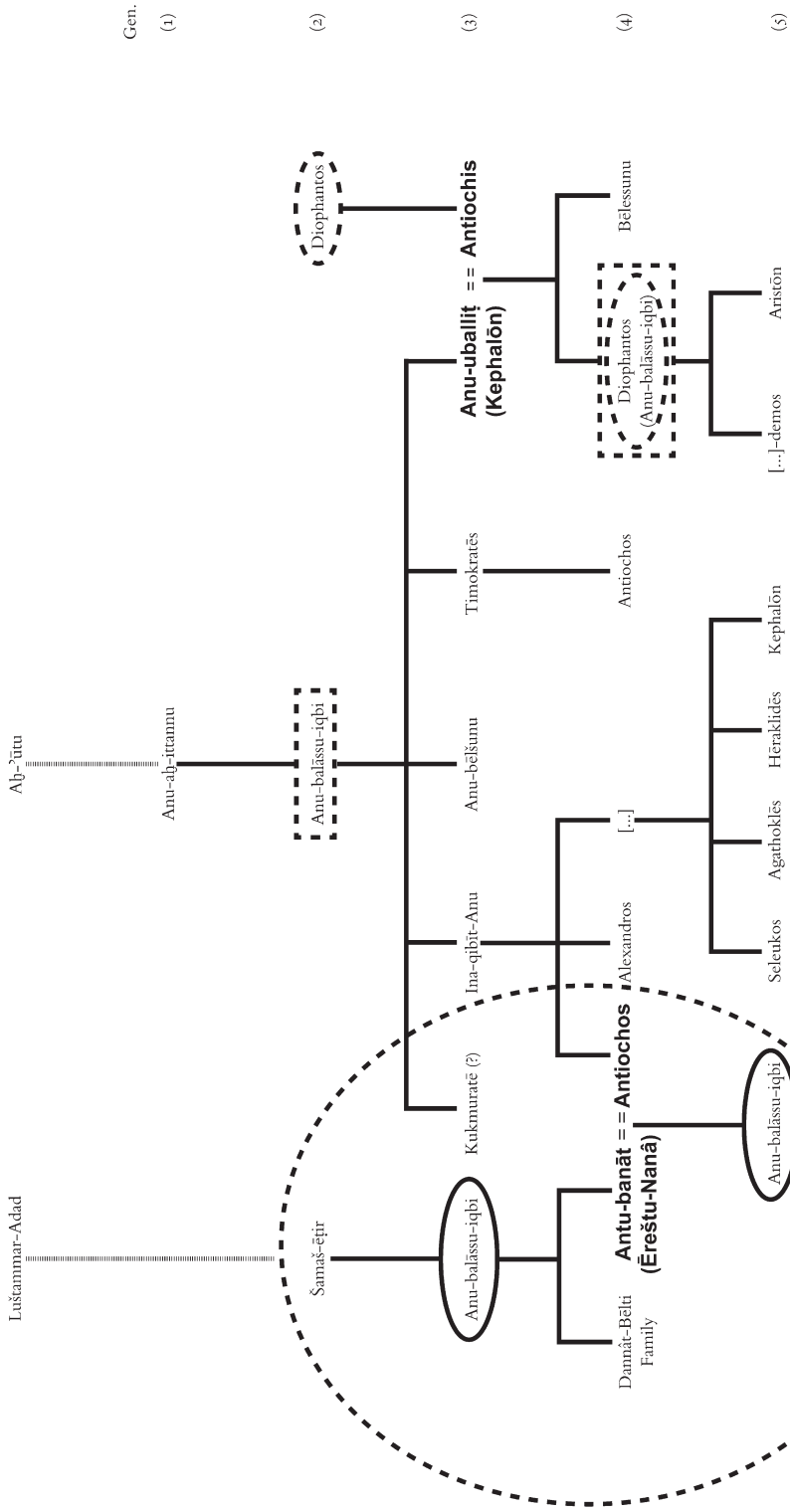
Fig. 3. Greek names in Babylonian famillies: the Kephalon family.

women, and the Greek names of their fathers, were incorporated into the Babylonian naming traditions practiced by this elite Babylonian family. However, in other cases the traditional Babylonian names of the mother's family were used in preference to Greek names. Thus, rather than viewing the appearance of Greek names within this family as an indication of the Babylonians' desire to appear Greek, perhaps we should reverse the dynamic and see it instead as evidence of the incorporation of Greeks into traditional Babylonian social structure and naming practices.

This interpretive view of the appearance of Greek names in Babylonian families could also explain the naming pattern observed in other family trees, such as that of members of Anu-bēlšunu's family, documented in YOS 20 70. Anu-bēlšunu has three sons who bear common Babylonian names (Anu-aḫ-ittannu, Anu-balāssu-iqbi, Nidintu-Anu), while one son bears the Greek name Antigenes. [32] Although the mother's name and patronymic are not known, our preceding discussion raises the possibility that Antigenes was her father's name. Such a scenario would account for this seeming discrepancy in a manner more satisfying than postulating a supposed goal of "Hellenization." [33]

The same caution against assuming a Hellenizing process must also be applied to the use of double names. [34] For instance, to return to the Anu-uballiṭ—Kephalōn family (figure 3, generation 4), Antu-banât's Babylonian "other name," Ereštu-Nanâ, clearly demonstrates that the use of double names was not always (or, possibly, ever) intended to showcase one's acculturation into Hellenized society. [35] Several features underscore this fact: 1) the paucity of double names in cuneiform documentation; [36] 2) roughly one-third of the double names present unilingual Akkadian pairings; 3) theophoric elements in double names from two linguistic or cultural traditions cross the boundaries of those environments; 4) inconsistent

32. The presence of a witness who bears a Greek name, patronym, and the ethnicon "Iamani" (i.e., Greek) indicates that the document probably recorded a transaction undertaken by members of both the Mesopotamian and Greek populations at Uruk. The witness, Peisidonios/Metrodoros, the Greek, is, to the best of our knowledge, not attested elsewhere in the cuneiform corpus. The name Peisidonios is attested as a witness to a debt-note in the Murānu archive (Jursa 2006: 195–96, Monerie, forthcoming: 127; Doty 2012 normalizes the name Poseidōnios).

33. In a forthcoming study that correlates naming patterns among the residents of the various neighborhoods known from the real estate sale documents within the Uruk legal corpus, we investigate further the possibility that use of double names could point to ad hoc instances of "Hellenizing." In BRM 2 49:14–15 (Doty 1977: 299–302), Idat-Anu, Nidintu-Anu, and Anu-uballiṭ, three sons of Dumqi-Anu/Arad-Rēš/Dumqi-Anu, serve as their father's guarantors against future claims that might arise concerning the sale of a built house and undeveloped land. In light of the fact that Anu-uballiṭ bears the Greek second name Zoros, it is of interest that Dumqi-Anu's land holdings in the Ištar Gate district are contiguous to property held by the (doubly) Greek-named Antiochos–Timokrates.

34. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 151–52. Boiy (2005: 58) cautions against drawing conclusions about the ethnic background or identity of individuals bearing double names.

35. One important possible exception is the case of Anu-uballiṭ–Nikarchos, who was famously given his Greek name by the king (YOS 1 52). This deliberate, and perhaps ceremonial, bestowal of a Greek name by the Seleucid king has been claimed by many as an example of Hellenization. We note, however, that other interpretations of this royal act are possible (as the king's motives are not specified) and that, even if Hellenization was the goal in this case, this is the only known example of the Seleucid king giving such a name. To extrapolate from what seems to be an exceptionally rare, if not unique, occurrence, and ascribe similar cultural or political motives to the bestowal of Greek names within Babylonian family contexts, seems to us to be an injudicious use of the evidence. As revealed by our research, the naming patterns within Babylonian families often follow traditional conventions, the preservation of which would seem to run contrary to the notion of adopting radical new naming practices for the purposes of any supposed social or political gain.

36. Boiy (2005) catalogued fewer than thirty double names, most of which are Akkadian-Akkadian. Clancier (2011: 760) notes that while the taking of a Greek second name increased during the Hellenistic period, "Greek names as a marker of Hellenization appear in a very specific context which must not be interpreted as a general desire of the members of Uruk's ancient nobility to adopt a Greek way of life."

use of the double name as a means of identifying a participant in a transaction; 5) the possibility that double names could be employed in order for families with only one son to follow both maternal-line and paternal-line papponymy practices (see n. 23); and, most especially, 6) the apparent failure of individuals bearing Akkadian-Greek double names to impart such names (or even unilingual Greek names) to their offspring.[37]

This choice of many Akkadian-Greek double-named individuals to give Akkadian names to their children (which runs counter to an alleged goal of Hellenization) can also be seen in the Nanâ-iddin family. Traditions of both papponymy and maternal-line papponymy may have influenced this practice. Maternal-line papponymy appears frequently in the Nanâ-iddin family tree (figure 1). This group of prominent Babylonians often named male offspring for maternal ancestors: Nanâ-iddin and his wife, Nanâ-nādinat (generation 2), named one son, Tanittu-Anu, for his paternal grandfather, and another, Anu-bēlšunu, for his maternal grandfather (highlighted in solid ovals).[38] Maternal-line papponymy continued to be implemented across further generations; the name Anu-bēlšunu reappears in generation 5, identifying the great-great-grandson of Nanâ-nādinat's father. This indicates that the Babylonian practices of giving maternal-line names to sons were not simply one-time occurrences, perhaps concessions to a wife's relatives, but rather could be deeply integrated into the fabric of a family's tradition. This can be seen in yet another branch of this family: in generation 4 Anu-bēlšunu, the only documented son of Ana-rabūtīšu and Tanittu-Anu (in bold face), bears his paternal grandfather's name, but one of his six sons, Mukīn-apli, bears the name of his *grandmother's* father (both highlighted in dashed ovals).

In addition to practicing the Babylonian tradition of maternal-line papponymy, some members of the Nanâ-iddin family also sported Akkadian-Greek double names (their names appear in the dashed box). Nidintu-Anu had two known sons, both of whom had double names. The Babylonian names of both sons have family connections: Anu-bēlšunu—Antiochos probably bears the Babylonian name of his uncle, while Nanâ-iddin—Demetrios was given the Babylonian name of the paternal family patriarch. Such a rare occurrence of two sets of Akkadian-Greek double names in one nuclear family raises the question of where these Greek names came from, and whether they constitute evidence of Hellenization.

We suggest that the name that was selected for the child of one of these double named individuals indicates that Hellenization was not the goal of this practice. Anu-bēlšunu—Antiochos (generation 5) named his only son Nidintu-Anu, in a clear case of papponymy, and did not give him a Greek second name. If Anu-bēlšunu—Antiochos were using his own Greek second name to "get ahead" in a Hellenized world, why bestow a single traditional Babylonian name on his son? Perhaps another explanation can be teased from the evidence that clearly documents maternal-line papponymy in the Nanâ-iddin family. Although the name of their mother is not known, the Greek second names of these two boys might have

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37. Pearce 2010: 304.

38. The single attestation of Nanâ-nādinat in the Hellenistic Uruk corpus appears in YOS 20 8, where she is identified as the daughter of Anu-bēlšunu in a two-tier filiation (i.e., no clan name is given). The serendipitous recovery of this piece of information makes it possible to assert that two of Nanâ-nādinat's and Nanâ-iddin's sons bore the names of a grandfather, and further supports our contention that maternal-line and paternal-line papponymy both flourished in Hellenistic Uruk. Without the documentation of the names of Nanâ-nādinat and her father, one might suggest that her son, Anu-bēlšunu, bears the name of his paternal uncle Anu-bēlšunu, brother of Nanâ-iddin.

To be sure, nephews sometimes—and we emphasize, rarely—bear the names of their uncles. At this juncture, our impression is that the Babylonian onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk suggests that family names were bestowed upon children only when the relatives for whom they were to be named were deceased. It is expected that a thorough investigation of the dates and patterns of activity by members of older generations of specific families should provide evidence sufficient to test this hypothesis.

been taken from their mother's family tree. While we cannot prove this supposition without additional textual evidence, the substantial complexity of Babylonian naming practices outlined above suggests that 1) these boys' names were given in a frequently practiced social context, and 2) postulating their Greek names as outward manifestations of these individuals' "Hellenization" oversimplifies the cultural interface between Babylonians and Greco-Macedonians at Uruk.

CONCLUSION

In view of this evidence, we assert that the onomasticon and prosopographic data contribute to an understanding of women's roles and the importance of women's identities in the elite Babylonian families of Hellenistic Uruk. As stated in our introduction, women had access to substantive roles within elite Urukean society. Hellenistic Urukean women who married into elite families participated in high-status economic transactions, just as did their husbands and male in-laws. Indeed, these women seem to have been fully incorporated into the elite families into which they married. From the available evidence, it appears that such inclusiveness was extended regardless of the wife's cultural origin: Greek women who married into Babylonian families seem to have been as active in the social and economic spheres as their Babylonian counterparts.

From the evidence for maternal-line papponymy presented in this paper, we argue that the women of Hellenistic Uruk were accorded similar importance within the family realm. When choosing names—those crucial markers of identity and personhood—for their children, Babylonian couples sought to draw upon both the mother's and the father's ancestors. In so doing, they actively imparted the mother's heritage, culture, and family history to the next generation. The social and cultural identity of a woman's family of origin was thus incorporated into the subsequent generations of her family by marriage. The evidence we have presented shows that this passing down of a woman's heritage was not limited to her own children—there are cases where her grandchildren and great-grandchildren were named for members of her birth family as well. Thus, the incorporation of a woman's heritage was not a one-time thing, but rather a deeply felt integration of a mother's family history into the fabric of her descendants' identities.

Unfortunately, we have considerably less documentation of the names of Greek women who married into Babylonian families. In choosing texts and family trees to analyze for our study—especially in choosing the particular branches of the families we did—we have focused on cases that provide enough evidence for us to be able to discern evidence of naming trends. In general, there is a lack of documentation of female participants and a particular paucity of Greek women's names in genealogical information. However, this does not mean that trends of maternal-line naming, including cross-cultural maternal-line naming, did not occur in other families; it may only be evidence of the regrettable but inevitable fact that the textual record is significantly lacking in the documentation of the women of most Hellenistic Urukean families. Indeed, when the evidence is available, indications are that when Greek women married into these Babylonian families, they and their heritages received the same treatment as did Babylonian women. The identity of a Greek woman, as well as that of her family, was conveyed to the children even when it meant bringing foreign names into otherwise traditionally named Babylonian families. Conversely, when a Greek-named man of one of these Babylonian families married a Babylonian woman, her family's Babylonian names were also passed down, without being discarded in favor of more Hellenized nomenclature.

The matrilineal naming evidence thus suggests that these Babylonian families were not necessarily trying to fit themselves into Greek culture by adopting new Hellenized identities

for their children. Rather, they were, in a way, "Babylonianizing" their Greek in-laws by preserving their names and identities through traditional Babylonian naming practices and recording them in traditional Babylonian economic documents. Regardless of the ethnicity of the name in question, it appears to have been most important to follow this naming tradition and pass on the identities and names of both the mother's family and father's family to the children and grandchildren. In many cases, this resulted in mixed or hybridized name identities, be it for a single child, siblings, or cousins in one family. This hybridization was framed within a Babylonian tradition of paternal-line and maternal-line papponymy, and recorded within a Babylonian context of the cuneiform documentation of traditional Babylonian economic transactions.

We therefore propose that in approaching this evidence for maternal-line names—as well as evidence for Hellenistic Babylonian cross-cultural interaction in general—theories of "Hellenization" need to be reconsidered. Not all evidence for cross-cultural contact and integration automatically amounts to evidence for Greek superiority and dominance. From the evidence of maternal-line papponymy practices, we argue that Greek-Babylonian cultural hybridity was also sometimes negotiated with due deference given to Babylonian cultural traditions. This is not to say that the proclivity for Babylonian-oriented onomastics was always the case in Uruk. Rather, the complexity and nuances of cross-cultural interaction events resulted in the creation of multiple kinds of hybridity, as cross-cultural interactions were renegotiated and differently enacted in a variety of social contexts—eventually creating communities, families, and people who were not just Greek or Babylonian, but somehow a little of both.

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