

West Semitic names in Neo-Assyrian sources –**1. Anthroponymy****1.1. Compound names****1.1.1. Verbal sentence with a perfect verb** (3rd sg. m.)

Subject + predicate : *Adda(X)-ra-qa-mu* (VAT 9864, 13 ; unpubl., courtesy of Dr. Karen Radner, i.e. « Adda has thundered » (*R-G-M*, cf. J.C. Greenfield, *IEJ* 26, 1976, 196f. ad Rammān « the thunderer »). For <q> instead of the more common <h> for /g/ cf. the case of *Qyrh* discussed by F. M. Fales, *Annali della facoltà di lingue e letterature straniere di Ca' Foscari* 19, 3 (1980), 7ff. (also on NA <q>, possibly rendering a secondary /g/ < /d/ in *Ra-qi-a-nu* which is more frequently spelled with *-hi-*). -The predicative element of *Adda(X)-sa-la-a* (*SAA* 11, 209, r. ii, 6) derives from Š-L-W/Y « be tranquil » (R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Mesopotamia in the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods : an onomastic study*, Jerusalem 1978 [henceforth WSB], 87).

Predicate + subject : The first component of *Ha-ru-Dādi* (U.U, A.Y. Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 1996, 243, 283 : 14, 20) derives from G-W/Y-R « rouse oneself, awake, guard ».

1.1.2. Verbal sentence with a precative verb (3rd sg. m.)

Hal- of Hal-la-rim ([M. Jursa and] K. Radner, *Afo* 43, 1995/6, 101 : 2, 17') renders *Hāl* « maternal uncle » in view of the repetition of *-l-* rather than « divine brother » with an aphaeresis. It is followed by *R-W/Y-M* « be exalted ».

1.1.3. Verbal sentence with an imperative verb (2nd sg. m.)

Adda(X)-ku-na (*SAA* 11, 176, 8) ends in qal of *K-W/Y-N* « be firm, right, correct ».

1.1.4. Sentence with an active participle (sg. m.)

Pa-di-Bēl(*EN*, *SAA* 11, 113,12) derives from P-D-Y « ransom ».

1.1.5. Nominal sentence

Subject + predicate : *Sa-gi-i-il-nūr*(ZÁLAG) and *Se-er-nūr*(ZÁLAG ; [Jursa and] Radner *Afo* 43, 101 : 2, 18'f.) denotes « Sagi/Šahr is (my) light ».- The second component of *Adda(X)-hu-ut-ni* (see Fales, *CCENA* 40, 69) hardly derives from a cognate of Arab. 'atana « be hard, severe », seeing that the constant spelling with NA <h> and LXX g of Goqni and Goqonihl for OT 'my ('l) suggest an original /g/. Tham. *Gṯn'l* (G. Lancaster Harding, *An index and concordance*

of ancient Arabian names and inscriptions, Toronto 1971 [henceforth IC], 452, 1x) cannot be the equivalent of OT *‘my’l* (cf. R. Zadok, *The pre-Hellenistic Israelite anthroponymy and prosopography*, Leuven 1988 [henceforth PIAP], 54, 56 with n. 16 ; 93) due to the *ṭ*. It is doubtful whether *Byl’lšny* and Am. *Be-lí-Uš(ús)-ni* (cf. PIAP, 54, 56 with n. 16 ; 93) belong here. The former’s second component is explicable in Canaanite terms and the latter may end with the hypothetical Amorite equivalent of Ug. *ušn* « gift ». *Ìl-ú-dūrī* may mean « his god? (*lhw) is a fortress » ; *Ìl-da-da* (both in Jas, SAAS 5, 44. : 27).

Predicate + subject The predicative element of *Ha-ia-Adda* (X, K. Deller and V. Donbaz, *BaM* 18, 1987, 223, 3) derives from *Ḥ-W/Y-Y* « live ».- *Sa-gi-Issar(XV)*, may denote « Issar is exalted » (*Š-G-’*, differently Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 223 ad 5, 26).

1.1.6. Genitive Compounds

ḤA-mat-a-se-en : Ahmad (*al-Rāfidān* 17, 228 ad 7, 4) cautiously suggests that -*A-se-en* is a foreign goddess. Would it not be simpler to regard it as a NA form of *Sîn* (for NA *a-* cf. Zadok, NABU 1997/20 and for -*ē-* in this DN *WSB*, 43f. ; cf. NA *Še-’* in the same archive, Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 241, 283 : 13, 22) ? In this case the name would be homonymous with that of the female *’mstyn* « maid of *Sîn* » from Edessa (cf. *Trumah* 1, 1987, 256).-*Bar-ri-ku-Dādi* (*U.U*, Deller and Donbaz, *BaM* 18, 223, 22) « blessed by *Dādi* ».

1.1.7. Three-element names

Kul-ba-ia-di-il (*SAA* 11, 174b, s. v.) is coined after Akk. *Gabbu-ina-qāte-ili* (*Stamm, Namengebung*, 231 ; cf. NA *Gabbu-qāte-ili*, *StPohl Ser. Mai.* 14, 101).

1.2. Non-compound names

1.2.1. qVtl : *Ha-ú-e* (*SAA* 11, 125, r. 7) derives from either *Ḥ-W/Y-Y* « live » or *‘-W/Y-Y* « bend, twist ».- *Sa-al-ma-nu* (Ahmad, *al-Rafidān* 17, 235 : 10, 32) consists of *Š-L-M* « be well » and -*ān*.- *Sar(a)-pi-i* (*SAA* 11, 11, 9 ; with -*ī*) derives from *Š-R-P*, cf. OT *Šrp* « fiery serpent » (*PIAP* 96 with n. 31).- Is *ḤBi-’-ru!*?-*a* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 218, 278 : 4, 5 ; + -*u-a*) based on *b’r* « well » (*qi’l*) like several Bibl. Hebrew names ?- *Sa-ni-A+A* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 240 : 12, 14) may consist of *Š-N-’* « be, become high in rank, exalted » or « shine » (cf. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods*, Haifa 1979, 22 with lit.) and -*ayy*.- *A-du-ú-a-nu* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 245, 283 : 15, 2) can

be compared with Lihyanic *ʿdwn*, Arab. *ʿAdwān* (IC, 410).- *Šuk!-na-A+A* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfīdān* 17, 229 : 8, 28 ; with *-ayy*) is based on *Š-K-N* « settle down, dwell ; deposit », cf. *Šik-na-nu* (R. Zadok, *Sources for the history of the Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods with an appendix on West Semitic names in 1st-millennium Mesopotamia [henceforth Sources]*, Jerusalem 1980, 14). - *Su-ra-si* < WSem. *šrš* (F. M. Fales and L. Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 5, 1991, 31, 6, env. 7 ; *qutl* > *qutal*, cf. RS GN *Šurašu*, F. Gröndahl, *StPohl* 1, 74 : §121 ; 196, s.v. *Šrš*).

1.2.2. qatal

A-ga-ri (B. Parker, *Iraq* 25 1963, 100 and pl. 36 : 140, 7, env. 1) derives from *ʿ-G-R* « pay, hire » (cf. 1.2.7 below) *Ba-za-za-a-nu* (*SAA* 11, 27, 5 ; with *-ān*) is apparently based on *B-Z-Z* « spoil, plunder ».- [*N*]*a-ta-na-A+A* (W. von Soden, *Wo* 25, 1994, 135 ad *SAA* 5, 117, 21) consists of *N-T-N* « give » and *-ayy*.- Does *Sa-IA-ma* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfīdān* 17, 241, 283 : 13, 6) derive from *Š-W/Y-M* « set, establish » ?

1.2.3. qatil

If *Ka-tel/ti-7-si* (Fales and Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 5, 108 : 51 r. 36) is Semitic, it may be compared with KtwšywḤn, *Ktwš(y)n/Cqousiwn* (N. Lewis, Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield, *The documents from the Bar-Kokhba period in the Cave of Letters*, Jerusalem 1989, 18, 68 ; 19, 28 ; 20, 41 ; 22, 32). It may derive from *K-T-Š* « break in pieces ; strive, contend » (see Zadok, *Trumah* 1, 1987, 269) ; alternatively to *qātil*.

1.2.4. qatul

A-blpu-ru (*SAA* 11, 125, 7), cf. OB < Am. *A-bi-rum* (L. Dekiere, *Old Babylonian real estate documents*, 2, Ghent 1994, 311, 6) and *Hi-ib-rum-ma-lik* (*ARMT* 27, 80, 7) if it derives from *ʿ-B-R* « pass ».- *Ha-ru-ri-i* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfīdān* 17, 241, 283 : 13, 24), cf. perhaps *Ha-ru-ra-nu* (*WSB*, 129, cf. 126 ad *Ha-ri-ri* ; to *H-R-R* « be, become free, set free »).- *Pa-qul/qud-du* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfīdān* 17, 226, 279 : 6, 28 ; Jas, *SAAS* 5, 30 : 15) derives from *P-Q-D* « appoint, command ».- *Sa-blpu-ru* (Deller and Fadhil, *BaM* 24, 1993, 264f., 20) may be the forerunner of Syr. *šbwr*ʹ « youthful, boyish, inexperienced ».

1.2.5. qutāl

Ú-ba-a-di (*SAA* 11, 23, 4) may derive from *ʿ-B-D* « do, make » (Aram.) ; « work, serve » (Can.- Heb.).

1.2.6. qutūl

The following names may alternatively be original *qitūl* forms with NA vowel harmony : *Bu-lu-se-e* (Parker, *Iraq* 25, 96 and pl. 22 : *BT* 123, 24, to *B-L-Š* « inquire »). *Hu-tu-ni* (Parker, *Iraq* 25, 93 and pl. 22 : *BT* 114, 3) may derive from *G-T-N* (cf. 1.1.5 above).

1.2.7. qattāl

Ag-ga-ra-A+A (Parker, *Iraq* 25, 92 and pl. 21 : *BT* 108, 11 ; poss. the same person as *A-ga-ri* above, 1.2.2).

1.2.8. qattūl

Ha-an-tu-tu (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 229, 280 : 8, 4, cf. Fales, *OA* 16, 1977, 50 : 48 ; with a dissimilatory *-n-*) may derive from *H-T-T* « dig », compare Syr. *ḥṭwṭ* ' « furrow », *ḥṭyṭ* ' « sharp, pointed ».

1.2.9. qal

Ha-re-e (*SAA* 11, 154, 11) may be related to *Ha-ri-ia* (Sources, 20, §214).

1.2.10. qil

^f*Bi-it-tu-u* (*SAA* 11, 154, 8) possibly consists of < *bint-* « daughter » and *-ū*.

1.2.11. qawl

Ra-u-a (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 240, 282 : 12, 21) may derive from *R-W/Y-Y* « be saturated » if it is not Egyptian.

1.2.12. qayl ?

Ze-da-a-nu (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 215, 278 : 3, 25) may be the same name as Arab. *Zaydān*.

1.2.13. -qall

^f*Am-me-²* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 212, 277 : 2, 7, with *-ē*) is based on **amm* « paternal uncle » (fem. « paternal aunt »).- *Ha-an-nu!-ia* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 235, 281 : 10, 33) consists of **ḥann* « grace » and *-u-ya-*.- *Za-am-ma-a-ni* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 218, 278 : 4, 2) may be homonymous with the eponym of *Bīt-Zamāni*.

1.2.14. qull

Du-ub-ba-A+A (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 226, 280 : 7, 2) consists of **dubb* « bear » and *-ayy*. ^f*Kul-la-A+A* (*SAA* 11, 154, 6 ; with *-ayy*, cf. N/LB *Ku-la-a-²*, BM 74539 = Bertin Pl. 2635 ; quoted with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum) is based on *K-L-L* « be complete, perfect ».

1.2.15. yaqtil

I[a]-zi-nu (SAA 11, 133, ii, 11) may derive from ³-Z-N « listen » with contraction like *Y(ʿ)zn* and OT *Y(ʿ)znyhw* > *Yznyh* (PIAP, 39, 133).

1.2.16. With four radicals

Qar-qi-pa (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 243, 283 : 14, 19) can be compared with *Qrqp̄n* (J. K. Stark, *Personal names in Palmyrene inscriptions*, Oxford 1971, 111a, to Aram. *qrqp* « skull, head »).

1.3. Hypocoristica with two elements

Man-nu-ka-A+A, *Man-nu-ki-i* (Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 17, 232, 281 : 9, 22 and 241, 283 : 13, 20 resp.), cf. Aram. *Mnky* (W. Kornfeld, *SOAW* 333, 58).

2. Toponymy

Ha-ar-bi-na (SAA 11, 223, 6) may denote « poplars » (Aram. ; with omission of unstressed short-*a*-?). Cf. BHeb. *ʿrbym* ‘*id.*’

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