

West Semitic material in Neo/Late-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian sources –

All the names in cuneiform are N/LB unless otherwise indicated. I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote from unpublished texts, as well as Professors P. Steinkeller and S.W. Cole who allowed me to quote *HSM* 8415 (unpubl.) which is in the possession of the Harvard Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. Professors James M. Robinson, Jon M. Asgeirsson and Tammi Schneider of the Institute of Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California, most generously allowed me to study and quote *IAC* tablets.

1. Compound anthroponyms**1.1. Verbal sentence with a perfect verb** (3rd sg. m. unless otherwise stated)

1.1.1. Subject + predicate The predicative element of *Adda*(^dIŠKUR)-*ha-a-ru* (BM 31028 = Bert. 730, 9), *Amurru*(^dKUR.GAL)-*ha-ri* (R. Sack, *Cuneiform documents from the Chaldean and Persian period* (Selinsgrove 1994 [henceforth *CDCPP*], 47, 3), DINGIR^{mes}-*ha-a-ri* (BM 74622 = Bert. 2315), and NA *Īl-a-ha-ri* (K. Deller, F.M. Fales and L. Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9, 1995, 96f. : 111, 11) derives from G-W/Y-R, i.e. « Adad/Amurru/Īl/Īlā(h) has roused himself, awaked ; guarded ».- [^dKUR.?[?]]GAL(?)-A+A-*ba-ba* (*IAC* 435) and ^d*Amurru*(KUR.GAL)-*na-ša-bu* (C.S. Knopf, *Miscellaneous Neo-Babylonian Documents* [doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1931 ; unpubl. ; henceforth Knopf, *Diss.*], 154, 10) derive from Y-B-B « to cry, weep » and N-Š-B « to place, set up » respectively (see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods : An onomastic study*, 2nd ed., Jerusalem 1978 [henceforth *WSB*], 76, 83 and 88 resp.).- *Amurru*(^dKUR.GAL)-*ta-š-bar-ra* (A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple, Sippar : its administration and its prosopography*, Leiden 1997, 136 : BM 49937, 2) probably derives from Š-B-R « to think » (D « to hope » ; Aramaic and late Biblical Hebrew ; dialectal Yemenite Arabic Š-B-R <Š-B-R « to see », cf. C. de Landberg, *Glossaire datinois*, Leiden 1923, 1942, 2, 1349, n. 1 ; 3, 2016f.). *Amurru-ta-bar-ri* and *Kostobaro* « derive from the same root (rather than from Š-B-R as was suggested by me in *UF* 28, 1996, 728 ; cf. 2.3 in fine), cf. OSyr. *Sbr̄yšw*^ʿ, *Yšw*^ʿ *sbr̄m*, *Sbr̄t*^ʿ, *Sbr̄wy*, and *Sbr̄wn*^ʿ (J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* [Beirut 1965-1968 ;

henceforth AC], 1, 46f., 196f. ; 2, 331f., 462f. ; 3, 141, n. 5 ; H.P. Hatch, *An album of dated Syriac manuscripts*, Boston 1946, 95, 180, 208f. ; I. Guidi, *ZDMG* 43, 1889, 411).- *Il-te-ri-na!-ga* (BM 26568 10), i.e. « Šahr has shined » (N-G-H) ; *Tir-za-ba-du* (R.B. Dillard, *Neo-Babylonian texts from the John Frederick Lewis collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia*, unpublished dissertation, Dropsie University, Philadelphia 1975 ; kindly given me by the author ; henceforth Dillard, Diss.), *FLP* 1604, 5) « Šahr has given ».-^dAG^e-šá-ma-[?] (*IAC* 435) « Nabê has heard ».- NA *Kul-ha-za-a-te* (*SAA* 11, 23, 12 ; 3rd sg. of Ḥ-Z-Y) is the same name as *Kul-lu-ha-za-[?]-it* (see Zadok, *BiOr* 38, 1984, 41) « I have seen all » (an equivalent of Akk. Gabbu-āmur, APN 78a, cf. Akk. (Gilgamesh) *ša nagba imuru* « who has seen everything ».-^dXXX-*ba-ra-ku* (BM 33935 = Bert. 2809, 18 and 27), i.e. « Šin has blessed » (B-R-K, *WSB*, 44, 79f.).-^dBU-*a-da-ri* (*HSM* 8415, 13) « Šahr has supported » (-D-R) ; ^dENŠADA-*ha-na-nu* (BM 64112 = Bert. 2932, 4') « Nusku has favoured » (cf. *WSB*, 88).- *A-hu-ba-na* (*CDCPP* 93, 3) is more likely a syllabic spelling of Akk. Ahu-bāni than WSem. G perf. 3rd sg. m. of the same root since G perf. 3rd sg. m. of West Semitic *verba ultimae infirmae* generally ends with -a/ in N/LB (cf. *WSB*, 86f. ; add *Am-ra-pa-a* « The Paternal Uncle has healed », see M. Jursa, *Iraq* 59,1997, 103 ad 6, 5 ; A+A-*ra-pa-[?]*, Dillard, *Diss.*, *FLP* 1519, 3, « Ayya has healed »). The only exceptions are forms of B-N-Y, viz. DINGIR^{mes-}, ^dEN-, ^dEN.LÍL-, ^dXXX-*ba-na* (*WSB* 31, 43, 69, 72). They may alternatively be Akkadian. N/LB ^dMAŠ-*ba-na/nu* (*WSB* 73) is more likely Akkadian.

1.1.2. Predicate + subject :

NA *Sa-il-ti-ìl* (A.Y. Ahmad, *al-Rāfidān* 18, 1996, 235, 281 :10, 35 ; 1st pers. sg.) is a variant of NA *Sa-[?]-al-ti-ìl*, N/LB Šál-ti-ìl (*WSB*, 84).- The predicative element of *Ku-ta-ru-ni-[?]-i-lu* (BM 49715,16) consists of *K-T-R* (JAram.« to wait upon, hope for ») and an object suffix (followed by « god/El ») and that of Šá-*am-hu-^dIŠKUR* (*CDCPP* 83, 13) is *lqatl/ < lqatal* of Š-M-^ç « to hear, listen ».

1.2. Verbal sentence with an imperfect verb

Nabû(^dAG)-*e-qí-im* (*YOS* 6, 102, 14 ; 132, 17) ends with a causative of Q-W/Y-M (with -ya- >-e-), i.e. « to raise, set up ; erect, build ».- Bur(^dAMAR)-*ad/t-tin* (*IAC* 499, 2) ends with G pf. 3rd masc. sg. of N-T-N « to give ». ¹⁴*Na-na-a-ta-hu-šà* (V. Donbaz and M.W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû texts*, Leiden 1997 [henceforth *IMT*], 93, 6, 15 ; the goddess Nanâ + 3rd fem. sg. of Ḥ-W/Y-Š). For

the relationship between *hâšu* I « to worry » (to *verba mediae a*) and the Heb. form (originally *-a-*) see W. von Soden, *UF* 1 (1969), 197. But here the form is presumably Aramaic (in view of the theophorous element) with <u> representing more likely *-u-* than *-ʿ- < -ā-*. For the hypothetical theophorous element of *Su-ú-ru-la-ri-im* (*CDCPP* 98, 7, provided that the two illegible signs which follow *-im* are not part of the name) cf. NA *Šu-ri-ram-mu* (*SAA* 11, 209, r.iv.4).- The initial component of NA *Hal-la-rim* ([M. Jursa and] K. Radner, *AfO* 43, 1995/6, 101 :2, 17') renders « divine brother » (with an aphaeresis) despite the gemination of *-l-* rather than « maternal uncle » seeing that it is prosopographically identical with *Ha-la-rim* (see Fales, *SAAB* 4, 1990, 75 ad 10), ³*h*lrm (cf. E. Lipinski, in E. Wardini [ed.], *Built on solid rock. Studies in honour of Professor Ebbe Egede Knudsen on the occasion of his 65th birthday April 11th 1997*, Oslo 1997, 190f., 7). The gemination is not phonematic (this replaces my remark in *NABU* 1998/20).

1.3. Nominal sentence

1.3.1. Subject + predicate : *ŠEŠ-li-ti-i* (*CDCPP* 97, 12), variant of *-li-ti-ia, -li-ti-²* (*WSB*, 54, 99).- *Še-rù-ad-ri* (BM 59590 ; courtesy Dr M. Jursa), variant of ^d*Še-rù-ùd-ri* (*WSB*, 42, 97).- *A-tar-si-im-ki-³* (Dillard, *Diss.*, *FLP* 1604, 15) « 'Attar is my support » (cf. *WSB* 97).- ^d*IŠKUR-ra-hi-i* (*CDCPP* 97, 10), variant of *-ra-hi, -ra-qí-i* (*WSB*, 46, 104, 262). The same predicate (« pleased, favourable ») is also extant in *Ìl-tar-ra-hi-ia* (BM 74539= Bert. 2635). ^{fd}*At-tar-ta-bat* (*IMT*, 104, 1, 6) « 'Attar is good » - The predicative element of ^d*UTU-šá-ad* (BM 63910 = Bert. 1429) is possibly *šhd* « witness » rather than *S-^c-D* « to help, support » (e.g. OB < Am. *Ia-as-ha-di-impl-du-um*, *ARMT* 27, 107,10 & 18 resp.).- *Ra-ma-ni-il* (BM 58624, 9), « Rammān is the god » ; *Šá-am-il* (BM 58891,3), var. of *Šá-am-DINGIR^{mes}* (*WSB* 9, 65 ; alternatively a genitive compound). *Ku-ur-la-A+A* (C. Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk*, Groningen 1993, 99, 21) is the same name as NA *Kur-la-A+A*, *Kur-ri-la-A+A*, *Kur-il-A+A* (*SAA* 6, 344, 10², 26 r. 2 and 170, 2 resp.) « Kur(a) is my god » with dropping of a short unstressed *-i-*.- *Nabû* (^dAG)-*ta-gi-bu* (BM 17365) « Nabû is exalted » (*Š-G-B*) ; *Ìl-taš-er-na-gi-i* (Dillard, *Diss.*, *FLP* 1582, 7) « Šahr is shining ».

1.3.2. Predicate +subject : *A-bi-i-la-a-hi-ia* (J. MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 1996, 110f. :11, 11) « My god is my brother » ; ^f*S/Šib-qí-it-DINGIR^{mes}* (cf. *S/Sib-qát-^dŠušinak*, Zadok, *BiOr.* 48, 1991, 32).- NA *Ìl-da-da* (R. Jas, *SAAS* 5, 44 :27)

« Dada is the god' » ; *Ṭāb*(DU₁₀.GA)-*da-da* (Deller, Fales and Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9, 88f. : 106, 5) « Dada is good ».- NA *Sa-gi-Issar*(XV, Ahmad, *al-Rāfīdān* 18, 279 :6) « Issar is great » (with *Genuskongruenz*) ; *Za-ki-^dAnu*(DIŠ, K. Kessler, *BaM* 15, 1984, 275, middle edge) « Anu is pure » ; alternatively *qatil + ān*?

1.4. Prepositional clause *La-ad-na-nu* (¹⁷*bit-qa šá ~*, *CDCPP* 85, 3, 14) ; l- (« to, for, of ») is followed by '*Adnān* (cf. '*dnn*', G.L. Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971 [henceforth *IC*], 410). - N/LB *Nabū-hi-im-me-e*, NA *Adad-³im-me* and related names (*WSB* 425 *ad* 58 ; 384) are of the same type as OSyr. *Mrn'mh/Yšw'^cmh* « Our Lord (or Jesus) is with him » (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 202 ; J.P. Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, Oxford 1927, 157a). Does *Bi-in-ni-³il* (*OECT* 10, 362) begin with a preposition ?

1.5. Genitive compounds

Ab-di-^dSîn(XXX, BM 63854 = Bert. 1162), « servant of Sîn ».- *Ab-di-da-³* (*IMT* 93, 5, 14), cf. '*bd³dh* (and *Zbd³dh*, I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic ostraca of the fourth century BC from Idumaea*, Jerusalem 1996, 99f., s.vv. with refs. ; '*bd³rh* in A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël*, Paris 1996, 121, 1, is probably to be read '*bd³dh*).- *Ba-ar-ba-ha-a* (Jursa, *Iraq* 59, 133, 172 : 51, 5) « Son of *Ba-ha-a* » (B-G-Y « to search, inquire, ask »), compare Palm. *Br B^c* (J. K. Stark, *Personal names in Palmyrene inscriptions*, Oxford 1971 [henceforth *PNPI*], 78b, same name as « *Baribaa* », i.e. with /g/ > /l/ as in *Zaora*, C.B. Welles et al., *The excavations at Dura Europos*, final report 5, pt. 1 : The parchments and papyri, New Haven 1959, 47, 2 and 100, xxxv, 24 ; 101, xxxv, 26 resp., cf. du Mesnil du Buisson, *MUSJ* 36, 1959, 14 ; J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, Paris 1972, 87f.) and NA (URU.ŠE) *Ba-ha-A+A* (*SAA* 6, 287, 7 ; cf. *WSB* 430f. *ad* 161f. and *B³wt³*) below, B, 1.19, 2). *Bi-im-mi-e* (*CDCPP* 71, 2), poss. « his mother's father » (substitute name like *Ahu-im-me*, cf. Zadok, *BiOr* 48, 37 ; to be separated from *Adad-³im-me* and related names, cf. 1.1.7 above) with an aphaeresis.- *Mat-tan-na-^dAnu*(DIŠ, R. Wallenfels, *Uruk. Hellenistic seal impressions in the Yale Babylonian collection. 1. Cuneiform tablets*, Mainz 1994, pl. 47 :628) « Gift of Anu ».

1.6. Three-element names : ^dIŠKUR-*ga-šá-ri-A+A-lu-³* (*IMT*, 53, 17) ; *Kul-(lu-)ki-i-DINGIR^{mes}* (*IMT*, 81, 2 ; 82, 2) « All is according to god/El ».

2. Non-compound anthroponyms

2.1. qVtl : Qar-na-a (Knopf, *Diss.* 32, 7) is the same name as Talm. *Qrn*⁷ (see Zadok, *Trumah* 1, 1987, 261).- *Šá-la-nu* (IAC 435) may be the same name as NA *Sa-li-a-nu* (cf. Zadok apud Deller, *JESHO* 30, 1987, 6, n. 18) with contraction (for non-representation of -y see Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods*, Haifa 1979, 102, n.53 ; 154 ad 102 ; Zadok, *The pre-Hellenistic Israelite anthroponymy and prosopography*, Leuven 1988 ; henceforth *PIAP* ; 84 ad *Šāpôn*).- *EglIg-la-*⁷ (Knopf, *Diss.* 15,6f., cf. *WSB*, 116 ; extant in GN < PN (*Mār*) ‘*Aglā*, AC 2, 370).- *Gi-hi-li* (Knopf, *Diss.* 116, 7) ; poss. qitl with anaptyxis due to -^ç, to G-^ç-L as NA *Gi-hi-lu* (*WSB*, 116, 246 ; cf. *Gu-hu-lum*, L. Dekiere, *Old Babylonian real estate documents from Sippar in the British Museum* [Ghent 1994 ; henceforth *OBRED*], 2/4,494, 10).- NA *Sar(a)-pi-i* (*SAA* 11,11,9) derives from Š-R-P, cf. OT *Šrp* « fiery serpent » (*PIAP*, 96 with n. 31).- *Ìl-tam-miš-šú-nu* (*IMT* 20, 5, 6 : -[šú-]) is presumably *Šamš*ⁿ. *Ba-a-da-nu* (MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 110f. :11, 1) can be compared with OB < Am. *Ba-ah-da-an/num* (*AS* 21, 568 :1003f.) on the one hand, and Thamudic and Minean *B^çdn* (*IC* 110, survives as a modern Yemenite toponym) on the other (cf. *WSB*, 97, 113).

2.2. qatal : *A-qa-ba-a* (Dillard, *Diss.*, *FLP* 1574, 16 ; with -ā) and *A-qab-bi* (BM 59590, courtesy Dr M. Jursa) derive from ‘-Q-B (cf. *WSB* 80).- *Ha-ma-da-A+A* (BM 31533 = Bert. 2573,15), can derive from Ḥ-M-D « to desire, take pleasure » (cf. *WSB*, 118), cf. OB < Am. *Ì-lí-ha-ma-a-ad* (*OBRED* 1, 41, 3, 6), GN *Ha-ma-da-nim*^{ki} (*ARMT* 27, 62, 24).- *Ha-sa-an-nu* (Jursa, *Iraq* 59, 104 : 8,1) is derived from Ḥ-S-N « to be strong, rough ». - *Ha-šá-ba/ma-A+A* (BM 74609 = Bert. 2747,14 ; + -*ayy*), is based on Ḥ-Š-B « to think, account ».-Is *Ha-na-a-tú* (*IMT* 37, 14) based on ‘-N-Y « to answer, respond » ?

2.3. qatíl : *A-qí-ba-nu* (BM 58788, 3) consists of ‘-Q-B and -ān.- NA *Li-qi-su* (Deller, Fales and Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9, 96f. : 111, 15) is the same name as NA *La-qi-si* (cf. *WSB* 126, 335) with vowel harmony.- *Na-ši-bi-a* (Knopf, *Diss.* 153, 4 ; N-Š-B + -iy, cf. above, 1.1.1.1), *Pa-li-tu* (Kessler, *Uruk : Urkunden aus Privathäusern. Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs. I : Die Archive der Söhne des Bel-ušallim, des Nabû-ušallim und des Bêl-supê-muhur*, Mainz 1991, 93, 11 ; N/LB ; for the NA occurrence see Zadok *WSB*, 127,335).- *Qa-ti-ri-*⁷ (Dillard, *Diss.*, *FLP* 1604, 14 ; with -ī) is probably related to *qtr*

« rock »(cf. *Qa-ti-ra*², *WSB*, 124).- *Ia-a-di-im*, *Ia-di*²-*im* (*IMT* 17, 1, 13, 14, r.) consists of Y-D-^ς « to know » and -*im* (cf. *PIAP*, 158f.). *Il-ta-bi-ru* (*CT* 51, 63, 5', 6') may derive from Š-B-R (cf. above, 1.1.1.1).

2.4. qitūl(< qatūl) : For *Ni-qu-blpu* (*OECT* 10, 286, 6'), cf. NA *Nu-qú-pa* (*Jas*, *SAAS* 5, 44 :27 ; cf. OSyr. *nqwp*³ « following, follower, adherent » with NA vowel harmony ; this applies to many - if not all - the NA forms listed below s.v. *qitūl*). Alternatively they may derive from N-Q-B « to pierce, scrutinize » (cf. Arab. *naqīb* « leader, chief », and Palm. *Nqb*³, *PNPI* 100b).

2.5. qutāl : ^f*Gu-balma-a*² (BM 63976, 6 ; to G-B-^ς/H « to be high »). Šu-PA-dl^f*tanu* (BM 15478, cf. 15442) consists of Š-P-Ṭ « to judge, litigate ; govern » and -*ān*.

2.6. qattāl : *Had*^{ad}-*da-na-a-nu* (*Vs* 5, 95,25 ; +*ān*) is probably based on ^c-D-N « to prosper, give abundance ».

2.7. qattūl : *Ag-gu-ba-a* (*IMT* 40,7 ; to ^ς-G-B « to have inordinate affection, lust ; love » ; + *ā*) ; *Qa-ad-du-šú* (*IMT* 107, 4 ; to Q-D-Š « to be sacred, holy »).

2.8. quttāl : *Uk-ka-am-mu* (MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 110f. :11, 3) « black ».

2.9. quttūl : Šul-lu-^ftu¹ (MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 107 :7, 1), derives from Š-L-Ṭ « to be master of, prevail, rule ».

2.10. qīl (the first two names were kindly brought to my attention by T. Boiy) : *Si*²-*a-tu*[₄] (*CT* 49, 107 + BM 32170), compare OT *Sy*^o/*lh* (see Zadok, *JQR* 71, 1981, 111 :5), Palm. *Sy*^ς*t* (and *Sy*^ς(*w*)*n*², *PNPI* 101b), with /*ś*/ > /*s*/ which occurred after the early Achaemenid period.- *Ni-la-a* (*CT* 49, 107+), cf. Saf. *Nl*, *Nyl* (*IC* 599, 605 ; *Nln* is recorded only once), Arab. *Nā*³*ūl*, Sab. *dNylm* (*IC* 259), cf. also *ZDMG* 131 (1981), 75 ad 27.- NA *Qim/Qi-ma-A+A* (Deller, Fales and Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9, 26f. : 70, 5 ; 90f. :107, 8 ; + *-ayy*) is based on Q-W/Y-M.

2.11. qūl : *Nu-ri-u-a* (Knopf, *Diss.* 142, 13 ; + *-ū*²*a*) is based on *nwr* « light ». The suffix -*u(y)a* ~ -*oluy*, which is very common in Middle Iranian, may be a genuine Semitic suffix not only because it is recorded long before the Achaemenid period, but also since it is attached to a West Semitic base in « Akboeo » from southern Syria (cf. Zadok in A. Kasher and A. Oppenheimer [eds.], *Dor le-dor. From the end of biblical times up to the redaction of the Talmud : Studies in honor of Joshua Efron*, Jerusalem 1995, xix : 2.2.2.2), where there was hardly any Iranian influence. On the other hand, -*wy* of *Brykwy* (*AC* 3, 69) is presumably a Middle Iranian suffix attached to an Aramaic base, since it refers to a person from Šahrzūr in Kurdistan .- *Ṭu-pa-a* (*BIN* 2, 136, cf. « Toufaio », Zadok, *ZDMG* 131, 84, n. 577).

2.12. qayl? *Mi²-a-ši* (CDCPP 86, 5, 17), *Mi-ia-a-ši* (BIN 1, 177,17, s. of *Ši-ia-qi-in*(?), prob. Uruk, 602/3 B.C.), cf. NA *Mi-il'-su*, *Mi-IA-i-su* (PIAP, 145, 258, 433 ad 255ff. ; H.-M. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu Berufsgruppen des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Uruk*, Berlin 1979, 66). For the patronym cf. MHeb. *Yšwq* (and « Iasiko », see Zadok, *Trumah* 1, 1987, 288 ; not Aram., but the reading of the last sign is doubtful) and *šyqns* « miser » (Israelite/Phoenician/TransJordanian?). *Mi-e-šú* (MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 110f. :11, 4 ; 528/7 B.C.) may be either a homonym or OIran. **Maiša-* « sheep ».

2.13. qalqal : NA *Ša-al¹-sa-la-a* (Deller, Fales and Jakob-Rost, SAAB 9, 78 : 98, 13, cf. OB *Sà-al-sà-lum*, J.-M. Durand, MARI 8, 1997, 616, n. 241) may derive from Š-L-L, cf. JAram. *šlšlt* (pl. *šlšln*, « chains », J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic inscriptions*, Leiden 1995, 1155, s.v.).

Ran Zadok (31-05-98)