

Ugaritic Onomastics (3)

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[The notes provided here continue previous studies on the same topic and take account of recent work on personal names. First come comments on individual personal names, then examples of names with *bt*, “daughter (of)” are listed. Some possible examples of names with feminine verb forms are also discussed. Remarks follow on the names in KTU 4.277].

Since the two earlier contributions¹ there have been several monographs and articles on personal names² and those available have been consulted. As before, names discussed previously will be marked with an asterisk.

1. See my articles in *AuOr* 8 (1990) 113-127 and 243-250. These will be referred to as UgOnom.1 and 2 respectively. Note that fratronymics, on which I made some comments in UgOnom.1, 127, had already been discussed by Gordon, UT §8.70. The following are additional abbreviations: PHIAP: R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Leuven 1988; PIH: S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*, Hildesheim 1983; references are to page numbers.

2. S. C. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible*, Atlanta, Georgia 1990. J. Naveh, “Nameless People”, *IEJ* 40 (1990) 108-123 refutes A. Alt’s thesis in “Menschen ohne Namen”, *Archiv Orientalní* 18 (1950) 9-24, that Ugaritic PNN of the type “son of X”, with omission of patronymic, were significant (“The assumption of Alt that ‘son of X’ in the name-lists from Ugarit denotes the official name of somebody who inherited a military or other position in the kingdom of Ugarit is contradicted by the fact that many names, including the form ‘son of X’, are actually *nicknames*”, *ibid.* 121-122). M. Szyner, “Les anthroponymes d’Ougarit et la problème de la continuité de l’onomastique ouest-sémitique de Syrie (évaluations préliminaires)”, scheduled to appear in *Mari, Ebla, Ugarit: rapports, problèmes, perspectives* [Conference by Ecole Française de Rome and Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria Rome 26-28 April 1984; see *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies* 32 (1984) 14] remains unpublished. K. P. Jackson, “Ammonite Personal Names in the Context of the West Semitic Onomasticon” in C. L. Meyers and M. O’Connor, eds. *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays...Freedman...*, Winona Lake 1983, 508-521 (with many references to Ug. PNN) and M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1988, have only recently been available to me. Note also Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 22 (1990) 63 and de Moor, *ibid.*, 239-240.244, on *mt* in PNN. Unfortunately, *Onomata. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Onomastics* (= *SEL* 8 [1991]) is not yet available.

(1) Comments on selected names

aḥmn (4.296 6; RIH 83/5 5; cf. PTU, 422) also *aḥ,mn* (4.31 10) and *iḥmn* (4.282 4) may all comprise the elements *aḥ*, "brother" and *mn*, "to provide with food" (Akk. *mānu*, CAD M/1, 228a; also Arab. and JAram); cf. PHIAP 24 and 26, n.55.

atn (1.6 vi 55; [1.17 vi edge 2]) – the name has now been established as comprising *atn* alone; the following *prln* denotes a profession – "diviner".³

igy (4.344 17; PTU, 224): perhaps Talmudic Heb. *'gh*, "thorn(-bush)" may be cognate (see PHIAP, 100, with no reference to Ug.).

ilb'l, "Baal is god" (4.141 i 4; 4.340 6; 4.377 7; 4.410 10; 4.609 3; 4.754 14; RIH 78/19 17; [4.75 v 12; 4.261 21; 4.583 2]; PTU, 17.95; UT §8.62). Cf. Cypro-Minoan *i-li-pa-li*.⁴

ittl (4.556 2; 5.9 1) corresponds to *iš-te-lu* in RS «1957.3»: 6.⁵ It may mean "woman" (Hurr. *att* + *l* – so PTU, 221.223 where *attl* [4.307 20] is quoted) or may be explained by the Kulturwort *eštalû*, "singer" (CAD E, 377b-378a); *aštalû(m)*, *eštalû*, "eine Art 'Musiker'" (AHw, 85a).

bb, "Baby" (4.63 iv 9; PTU, 117); cf. Akk. *bābu*, "child, baby" (CAD B, 27a) and the Hatra PN *bby* with the same meaning (discussed, with bibliography, in PIH, 86).

bdn, "Mountain-goat" (4.46 8; 4.63 iv 12; 4.247 33; 4.343 1; 4.609 30.34; 4.617 30; 4.631 7; 4.728 6; PTU, 118), *ba-du-ni* PRU 4 229(RS18.54 A) 11' – Arab. *badan*, with the same meaning.⁶

bhl, "Entreaty", i.e. "(son of my) entreaty" (4.240 4 *bn* ...) – Akk. *bālu*, Arab. *ibtahala* (Ethiop. *behla*, "to say").⁷

bšy (1.142 1;⁸ 4.754 17); the name also occurs in Aram. and Hebrew. If not "Byssus"⁹ then perhaps it is to be explained by the late Aram. root *bšy*, "to search, examine".¹⁰

bqš (4.75 iv 13) may be explained by Akk. *baqašu*, "to become enlarged(?), protruding(?)" (CAD B, 99b; cf. AHw, 104b) and especially *buqušu*, "(describing a characteristic bodily trait, occ. only as a personal name)" (CAD B, 325a; cf. AHw, 139a) as well as *baqašu*, also a PN (CAD B, 323a; AHw, 139a).¹¹

btr (4.335 2) and *btry* (4.122 20; 4.681 4) have been explained by com. Sem. BTR, "to cut" – PTU, 121¹² – of which Ug. *btr*, denoting a profession (veterinary surgeon?),¹³ may be a by-form.

3. W. van Soldt, "'*Am prln*, *'Atta/enu the Diviner", *UF* 21 (1989) 365-368. On *am* as a PN in Punic cf. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 4 (1986) 94.

4. E. Masson, "Les premiers noms sémitiques à Chypre", *Sem* 39 (1990) 41-42 (p.42); cf. Bordreuil-Caquot, *Syria* 57 (1980) 364-365.

5. Text: M. C. Astour, "A Letter and Two Economic Texts" in L. R. Fisher, ed., *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, Rome 1971, 23-29, pp. 26-27; photo, plate V.

6. PHIAP, 97. Alternatively, it is Hurr. – cf. Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 1 (1969) 212 and in addition the Hurr. PN *Putan* – for which cf. Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 367.

7. For these cognates cf. AHw, 101a; and on Sem. *BHL cf. Conti, *MisEb* 3, 95; Bonechi, *MisEb* 2, 136.

8. For the reading see Pardee, *LTPM* 96, n. 82 (KTU 1.142 reads *byy*).

9. Ribichini – Xella, *Tessili*, 18 where this PN and *bšmn* (KTU 4.183 ii 29; 4.364 13 and 4.658 21) are cited. See now Xella, *UF* 22 (1990) 470.

10. Maraqten, *Personennamen*, 142; contrast Zadok, *UF* 17 (1985) 389: "(zer)spalten, durchbrechen, suchen".

11. See already PTU, 29.120 and for a recent discussion of this root I. J. Gelb – B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 7), Stuttgart 1990, 88 and 279. See also PHIAP, 64 and 96.

12. However, see Dietrich-Loretz, *UF* 1 (1969) 212 (< Hurr. **falet*-).

13. On Ug. *btr* see L. R. Mack-Fisher, "From Ugarit to Gades: Mediterranean Veterinary Medicine", *Maarav* 5-6 (1990) 207-220. On BTR cf. Conti, *MisEb* 3, 151.

gbln, "Plump" (4.63 iii 14; PTU, 126) – cf. Hatra PN *gblw*, "fat" (PIH, 93).

**gg*, for which no meaning could be assigned (UgOnom. 1, 117), may correspond to Heb. *Gôg* which in turn has been connected with Babylonian *'Gu-gu-û-a* and Syr. *gûga*-, "spider", explained as a "lallative" name or considered the equivalent of Babylonian *'Ga-ga-ay*, *Gi-gi-ia* and *'Gi-gi-i-tu* (see PHIAP, 144 for details and references).¹⁴

**gdl* (see UgOnom. 1, 117) may simply mean "Mature, fully grown".¹⁵

**gdn*: to the references already given (UgOnom. 1, 117) add KTU 4.710: 2.¹⁶

gdrn (4.63 i 43; [4.617 19]; PTU, 127), if not the same as Ug. *gdrt*, "fence, wall",¹⁷ may derive from a place-name as suggested in PHIAP, 107 in view of the spelling DUMU *gu-da-ra-na* PRU 3 202(RS16.257+) iii 33.35.¹⁸ See also *Gu-ud-dalir-[a(na)]* Ugar 5 6 9.¹⁹

**grb* and *grbn*: to my previous discussion²⁰ add the Hatra PN *grb'* which also means "leprous" (PIH 96.).

dbb means "Fly" (4.611 i 7[bn...]; 4.727 17'[bt ...]), syllabically, DUMU *da-bu-bi* PRU 6 70 2 and RS22.02 r.8', as proposed by van Soldt²¹ and is not connected with Akk. *dabābu*, "to speak" (PTU, 122).²²

ddy (4.245 ii 3[bn ...]) – see below under *ššy*.

hdd (4.80 2[... ar]) corresponds to *ha-da-ad-di* (Ugar 5 28:12) as read by Rainey.²³

hdmr, "The king is brilliant" (4.643 25; [4.190 2; 4.748 15]; to the spellings mentioned by Gröndahl (PTU, 232-233.249) can be added the Emar PN *Hi-iš-mi-LUGAL-ma*.²⁴

hyrn (4.75 iii 1; 4.75 iv 11; etc.), written *h-i(?) -ja-ra-nu* PRU 3 199(RS16.257+) i 20; *hi-ja-ra-na* Ug 5 12 42, could mean (a) "Chosen" – cf. Akk. *hiaru*, "to choose" (CAD H, 119-120; AHw, 342b-343a),²⁵ (b) "(One born in the month) Hiyaru"²⁶ or (c) much less probably may be explained by Hurr. *heyari* (plur. *heyarunna*), "all" (GLH, 101). See, generally, PTU, 21.30.138; UT §19.960 and Sivan, GAGI, 229.

hlan (4.222 20; 4.350 2; 4.413 4; 715 5; [4.391 17; 4.526 2]); also *hli* (4.282 6) and *hluy* (4.75 v 13)²⁷ – a possible cognate is Old Akkad. *hlu*, "be bright, happy".²⁸ Syllabic spellings are *ha-li-ha-na* PRU 3 139 (RS16.131) 20 and *ha-la-a(?) -na* PRU 3 201 (RS16.257+) iii 15.

14. On *ggy* see Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín, *UF* 6 (1974) 23.

15. As suggested in a different context by Sanmartín, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 91 ("bien crecido").

16. The text has been edited by P. Bordreuil, "Cunéiformes alphabétiques non canoniques. I) La tablette alphabétique senestroverse RS 22.03", *Syria* 58 (1981) 301-311. From examination of the tablet he has shown that what was considered the obverse is really the reverse.

17. 1.19 i 13; cf. UT §19.564; Margalit, UPA, 353, etc.

18. Note also the Phoen. place-name ?? *gdr*, Neiman, *JNES* 24 (1965) 115, n.12.

19. As read by Berger, *UF* 1 (1969) 122.

20. *SEL* 6 (1989) 48 – see there for references. Add PHIAP, 101 ("scabby").

21. W. H. van Soldt, "The Ugaritic Word for 'Fly'", *UF* 21 (1989) 369-373, esp. 372.

22. Sivan, GAGI, 214 (cf. 171) suggests the PN to be pass. part. G of *dbb*, "to move gently, glide, glide over".

23. Rainey, *IOS* 5 (1975) 25.

24. Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 158: rev. 11'; cf. Tsukimoto's comment, *ibid.*, p. 160 and Huehnergard, *UVST*, 224.

25. So already Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 304-305. For the root cf. Conti, *MisEb* 3, 184. Also, Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín, *UF* 6 (1974) 29.

26. The month-name also occurs in texts from Nuzi, Alalakh and Emar; cf. Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 171.

27. Cf. *halua*, NPN, 212. See PTU, 29.138.230, Sivan, GAGI, 224.226 (under *hly*!) and Xella, *UF* 22 (1980) 470-471.

28. For this verb see W. von Soden, "Weinen und Freude über Geldgeschäfte in Kanis", *WO* 17 (1986) 17-18.

ḥswn, “Thyme” (4.44 26; 4.232 32; PTU, 30.141) – a meaning fully documented by Sanmartín elsewhere.²⁹

ḥršn (4.222 13; 4.715 17) – although “Mountain” is the accepted meaning, or perhaps “(Son of the sacred) Mountain” (so PTU, 30.140) the alternative “lame” (cf. Akk. *ḥaršu*, “lame” CAD H, 116a; cf. AHw, 328b) cannot be excluded.

ybnl (4.141 i 8; 4.148 3; 4.160 2; [4.84 5]) – besides the spellings with DINGIR³⁰ note *ia-ab-ni-lí* (Ugar 5 43:2) if Rainey’s restorations of the second two syllables are correct.³¹

ynṭm (4.75 v 16) perhaps “He is stupid” if Heb. *ṭmy* (N in Job 18:3) is cognate.

kkbn (4.734 2) may mean “Star-like” (cf. Ug. *kkb*, *kbkb*, Akk. *kakkabu*, “star”) or “Shaped like a k.-vessel” (Akk. *kukkub/pu*, CAD K, 499; AHw, 500b).³²

kmn (4.377 3; 4.704 2; [4.445 3]) may correspond to Aram. *kmn*, explained as Egyptian (*k3 + mn* = “The *k3* is enduring”) by Porten.³³

kph, “Bald” (4.387 18);³⁴ cf. Heb. *gibbeah* and Akk. *gubbuḫū*, (CAD G, 117f., AHw, 295a, also as a PN, with the same meaning).

**kpln* (UgOnom. 1,120) may be explained by Hurr. *kepli*, “hunter”.³⁵

krzn (4.102 1; 4.391 11; 4.616 6; [4.357 28]; PTU, 311); cf. Ug. *krsn*, Akk. *kursinnu*, “fetlock; leather sack”; Hurrian *kurzi* (GLH, 156) or Aram. *krz*, “to proclaim publicly”.³⁶

krmt (4.687 1; 4.692 2.4) – in Ugar. 5 12:5(?) 29(?) 30.33.34(? = MIN) 36.37(? = MIN.MIN) 38.39(? = MIN) 40(? = MIN) *kuruntu* designates a stone which Nougayrol translated “pierre-de-pain” (cf. CAD K, 579b).³⁷

krs, “Belly” (4.631 13) – cf. Hatra PN *krš*, explained from Syr. *karsa*, “Belly” (PIH 117f.).³⁸

kt, “Flask(-shaped?)” (4.116 22[bn...] 4.635 58[bn...]; [4.754 1]) = *ki-šu* PRU 3 195(RS15.09) A 21. The meaning “flask” is well established in Ugaritic.³⁹

ktl, “Strong one” (4.309 9; PTU, 311); *ktly* (4.55 10; 4.611 5; PTU, 311) – cf. Hurr. *kašl-* “to be strong”.⁴⁰

lbn, “Flat-featured” (4.412 iii 6; 4.609 3; 4.642 2; 4.623 23; 4.727 11) *l[a-a]b(?) -nu* PRU 3

29. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 93-94.

30. PRU 3 52(RS15.85) 4; 33(RS16.129) 18; PRU 6 107:1.12; cf. PTU, 41.64.96; Sivan, GAGI, 212; UF 18 (1987) 310; Huehnergard, UVST, 237.

31. Rainey *IOS* 5 (1975) 27; see copy, Ugar 5, p.393.

32. See Huehnergard, UVST, 54f.136 for discussion (with no reference to the PN).

33. Porten, *Or* 57 (1988) 80 (no ref. to Ug.); however, cf. *ki-me-nu* PRU 6 104 2. Yet another possibility is “cumin” for which cf. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 98.

34. For this text cf. M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit*, Wiesbaden 1982, 41.117.

35. Salvini, *HuH*, 171 n. 23.

36. Cited by Maraqten, *Personennamen*, to explain the PN *krzy*; he also cites nA *Kur-za-a* (see *ibid.* for references).

37. However, under *kuruntu*, AHw, 1569b refers to *kuruppu* (a type of basket). Alternatively, see *kurmittu*, “butterfly” (CAD K, 564a; AHw, 511a).

38. Less likely cognates are Akk. *karāsu*, “to tie” (AHw, 447b; CAD K, 209b), *kirissu*, “hair clasp” (AHw, 484a [“etwa ‘Schminkspachtel’?”]; CAD K, 407) and *kurussu* “strap” (AHw, 514a; CAD K, 581f.).

39. References in Sanmartín, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 94, n. 35; note, in addition, *AuOr* 5 (1987) 310, n.11 and 311, n.21.

40. Wegner, *HuH*, 153 (no elaboration).

201(RS16.257+) iii 12; *l[a(?)]-ab-nu* ibid 199(RS16.257+) i 14"; also *lbny* (4.103 15) – *la-ab-na-a* PRU 3 126(RS16.162) 6; *la-ab-na* ibid. line 13; and *lbnn* (4.65 4). All these appear to be forms of *lbn*, "white" (PTU, 26f.154; Sivan, GaGl 240) but could equally be the equivalent of Akk. *labnu*, "flat, shallow" used to describe a face or nose (CAD L, 34a).

**Isn* (4.83 11; PTU, 311) is difficult (UgOnom. 1, 120) but cf. *lusānu* (CAD L, 256b) or *lusan* (AHw, 565a. 1572b) which denotes a musical instrument (or part of one).

lrn (4.298 3) perhaps to be connected with Akk. *lurān*, a person with a thin or falsetto voice (AHw, 565a; CAD L, 256b).

lth (4.611 14[bn...]) and *lth* (5.22 20; PTU, 155.306), *la-te-ḥu* in PRU 3 196(RS15.42+) i 22, both denote a dry measure;⁴¹ the connection with Akk. *litiktu* and Heb. *ltk* has been explained in detail elsewhere.⁴²

mdhl (4.371 20; PTU, 311) – if the root is not Ug. *dhl*, "to fear" (KTU 2.30: 21; cf. UT §19.655), cf. Arab. *madḥul*, "sickly, abnormal".

mhrn (4.727 8) and *ilmhr* (4.63 i 9; 4.631 18; RIH 78/19 10; [4.194 11]; PTU, 95.156) are both derivatives of *mhr* which has been discussed recently.⁴³

niršn, "Longed for" (4.422 2[... bn]; PTU, 312) Sem. 'RŠ "to wish, request".⁴⁴

nbzn, m.u. (4.631 9; PTU, 312) – cf. [N]*abzu* from Chagar Bazar.⁴⁵ Other alternatives are Akk. *nibzu*, "tablet" (CAD N/2, 206, derived from Aram.) and N of Heb. *bzh*, "Despicable".

nwgn, m.u. (3.4 3[bn ...]) – cf. *nawuggum*, m.u. (GLH, 108) and the PN *Na-wu-uk-ku* from Chagar Bazar.⁴⁶

n'r, "Lad" (3.7 16; PTU, 50.164) – to the West Semitic cognates add now Akk. **na'ru* with the same meaning, as proposed by Farber recently.⁴⁷

nqly "(Born in the month) Nql" (4.15 4; 4.69 vi 26; 4.761 9; [4.633 8])⁴⁸ – cf. *ni-qa-la-a* PRU 3 202(RS16.257+ iii) 42 (PTU, 30.168). The name also turns up at Emar as *Niqala*.⁴⁹ It is possible that in view of Qatabanian *NQL* (as *hnql*), "to excavate, dig out",⁵⁰ *nql* may refer to digging, an apt name for a month in the agricultural calendar.⁵¹

sgr (4.69 vi 12; PTU, 255f.) and *sgryn* (4.101 4; 4.384 1; PTU, 205.256), *sù-ug-ri-ja-n[u]* PRU 3 199(RS16.257+) i 8", may in fact be Egyptian (see PHIAP 176).⁵²

41. Dietrich-Loretz, KA, 190 and n. 152. See also Heltzer, *UF* 21 (1989) 196-197.

42. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 94.

43. J. Zorn, "Lú.PA-MA-HA-A in EA 162:74 and the role of the *mhr* in Egypt and Ugarit", *JNES* 50 (1991) 129-138. See also Huehnergard, *UVST*, 250, n. 159; Huehnergard, *AkkUg*, 348.410; Bordreuil-Caquot, *Syria* 57 (1990) 364-365.

44. Cf. N forms of Akk. *erēšu* (CAD E, 285b; AHw, 240a).

45. Loretz, *AOAT* 1, 248.

46. Loretz, *AOAT* 1, 248.

47. W. Farber, *Schlaf. Kindchen. schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale*, Winona Lake 1989, 55-56.

48. Cf. Van Soldt, *UF* 21 (1989) 370.

49. In *RPAE* 144,34; 183,20'; 364,2 etc. see Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 165 (with reference also to Ug.).

50. S. D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian*, Rome 1989, 111; he refers to Sabaean *nql*, "to quarry stone(?)".

51. For a different explanation cf. Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 6 (1974) 29, and CAD N/2, 214a, references I owe to Johannes C. de Moor.

52. Silverman, *AOAT* 217, 159f.

**sny* (UgOnom. 1, 122) perhaps "Bramble" (Syr. *sanya*; cf. PHIAP, 78 and 86, n. 110) although Gröndahl (PTU, 313) compares Arab. *sanā*; "to gleam, shine" (Wehr-Cowan, DMWA, 434).

**srd*: to the possibilities discussed previously (UgOnom. 1, 122) add Syr. *srad*, "to be frightened" (for which cf. PHIAP, 74).

**bdb'l*, "Servant of Ba'lu" (4.75 iii 13; 4.110 21; 4.183 ii 18; 4.222 18; 4.750 4; [4.75 ii 7; 4.742 4; 4.766 5] PTU, 105.11; Kinlaw, 8; cf. Benz, PNPI, 371). See, too, Cypro-Minoan *a-pu-tu-pa-lo*.⁵³

**ky*, "Sultry" (4.63 iii 37; PTU, 26.108) – cf. Hatra PN *ky* as explained in PIH 151.

**msn* may be a PN in 4.370 2 as Sivan suggests;⁵⁴ cf. *ms* (4.335 3[bn ...]; PTU, 109) "to carry".⁵⁵

**sy*, "Rebel" (4.367 6; [cf. 4.98 25])⁵⁶ if cognate with the Hatra PN *sy* (on which cf. PIH 153).

**glm* (4.33 13; 4.51 1; 4.55 24; 214 ii 9; 232 i 23; 4.309 2; 4.609 13; [4.625 19]; PTU, 141.214) corresponds to *hal-la-ma-na* PRU 3 55(RS15.92) 4.⁵⁷

**šlpn* (UgOnom. 1, 124): possibly "Caper plant" as in Hebrew (see PHIAP, 96) or "Small(-nosed)" (ibid. 88).

**šnr* (4.15 10; 4.35 ii 16; 4.281 30; 4.370 45; 4.749 2; PTU, 189; [RIH 77/2A+ 35]) – *š-na-a-r*[i] PRU 3 38(RS16.354) 3; *si-na-r*[u] PRU 6 72 5'; DUMU-*š-na-[r]*a PRU 86 6.7. Note, too, *šnrn* (4.103 8[bn ...]; PTU, 189), *š-na-ra-na* PRU 3 47(RS16.150) 13; PRU 6 71 B ii 3'. A significant addition to onomastics is the Punic name *hšnr*⁵⁸ but the meaning of the second element remains unknown.⁵⁹

**spr* (4.170 7; 4.296 8; 4.332 18; PTU, 28.190); cf. *šu-pa-ru* PRU 6 99 23 (cited in PTU, 190) and the PN *si-pa-ri* from Enkomi.⁶⁰

**srtn* my own explanation⁶¹ has now been confirmed independently (PHIAP 74 and 85, n. 23).⁶²

**srym* (4.122 6[bn ...]; PTU, 190) if not *sr* + *ym* or *sry* + *m* (so Gröndahl) then perhaps cf. Arab. *šaruma*, "to be sharp", *šarm*, "to cut off" and Syr. *šarama*, "to rip out", cited to explain the PN *sr(?)ym* from Hatra (PIH 157 – the PN may be *šdym*).

**qwhn*, m.u. (4.754 8); cf. Hurr. *kuwaḥi*, "bonnet, hairstyle" (GLH 157).

**qnum* (4.371 1[... bn[.] ilrš]) perhaps to be explained by Phoen. *qnmy*, Late Punic *qn'm*; Syr. *qnum(a)* etc.⁶³ unless it is a form of *iqnu*, "lapis lazuli".⁶⁴

53. Masson, *Sem* 39 (1990) 42.

54. Sivan, *UF* 22 (1990) 315 and n.28; however, cf. *UT* §19.1872.

55. See *UT* §19.1872; Benz, PNPI, 379-380. For a different explanation ("be powerful") cf. M. Heltzer, "Phoenician Theophoric Names with the Root 'ms'", *Studia Phoenicia IV, Religio Phoenicia*, Namur 1986, 239-247, reiterated in *AuOr* 7 (1989) 196.

56. Syllabic spelling: DUMU-*ū-zi-ja-ya* PRU 3 196(RS15.424) ii 6'; cf. Sivan, GAGI, 208.

57. See UgOnom. 2 under *hlm* and Layton, *ZAW* 102 (1990) 80-94.

58. R. González Villaseca – M. J. Fuentes Estañol, "Nueva marca púnica hallada en Ibiza", *SEL* 7 (1990) 123-127.

59. Cf. Astour, *CRRA* 18, 17-18; Benz, PNPI, 400; Bordreuil-Caquot, *Syria* 56 (1979) 311; Dietrich-Loretz, *BO* 23 (1976) 132; Huehnergard, *UVST*, 228; Sivan, GAGI, 269; *UT* §19.2177.

60. Masson, *Sem* 39 (1990) 42.

61. In *AuOr* 8 (1990) 124 and 248.

62. Correct *srt* to *sr̄t* in UgOnom. 1, 124.

63. See R. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, Missoula, Montana 1978, 290 for these cognates.

64. On which see now van Soldt, *UF* 22 (1990) 342-343.

**qrdm* (UgOnom. 1, 125): the word has also been discussed by Fronzaroli and Wyatt.⁶⁵

ray (4.705 5)⁶⁶: cf. Aram. PN *r'yh* (PHIAP, 187).

riš "Slave" (3.2 7; [4.141 i 2([b]n ...)] is possible since Akk. *rešu* has this meaning (AHw, 975b-976a).⁶⁷

**rpty* (UgOnom. 1, 125) may be a form of *rpi*, "to heal" according to Maraqtēn, *Personennamen*, 213 who cites nA *Ri-pi-te*; for the omission of alef in Ug. PNN cf. PTU, 16-17 (§§19-20).

**šim* (UgOnom. 1, 125): cf. *šaima* (NPN, 249; IE "peace, security").

šbn (4.141 ii 18; 4.185 8; PTU, 313):⁶⁸ cf. Hatra *šbw*, "young man" (PIH, 166).

šm'n (4.609 5; 5.617 32; PTU, 194) – *ša-mu-ú-na* Ugar. 5 12 29; cf. *šāmeānu*, "hearsay witness" (CAD Š/1, 311b) and in general PHIAP, 76.⁶⁹

ššy (4.313 7; [4.314 1]; PTU, 250)⁷⁰ if not Hurrian (cf. *šašuija*, NPN, 252) may be explained by Arab. *šaiya*, "headgear" (Wehr-Cowan, MDWA, 493), Akk. *šiššūm*, "taciturn" or *šišūm*, "with diseased eyes" (AHw, 1250b). Alternatively, it may be a "lallative" name, as suggested in PHIAP, 137 for Heb. *šašay* (cf. UT §19.2494; and Aram. *ššy*).⁷¹

**tdgr* (UgOnom. 2, 250) – may not be a PN according to Sanmartín.⁷²

tkwn, m.u. (4.103 53; [4.556 4]; PTU, 314) possibly equivalent to *ta-ku-an* PRU 4 183(RS17.319) 18 and *ta-gu-a-nu* PRU 6 80 6.

tly (4.4 7) – although an incomplete name, the syllabic spellings *tu-la-ya* PRU 3 34(RS16.114) r.13'; *tu-[la]-ya* PRU 3 152(RS16.202) 4; *tu-la-[y]a* PRU 3 153(RS16.202) 9; *tu-la-ya(?)* PRU 4 203(RS18.20+) r.12'; *tu-la-[y]a* 106(RS17.137) r.7'; may be relevant and would exclude Hitt. *taliya*, "council" (PTU, 296).

tḡtyn (4.57:9 (b)n ...) – cf. *tu-ḡé-ša-an-ni-?* PRU 4 203(RS18.20+) r.9'.⁷³ There is no clear equivalent, but cf. *tuhšiwe*, "leather-coloured wool" (AHw, 1367a).⁷⁴

ttyn (4.631 4) – *ti-še-ja* PRU 33(RS16.114) 2'; *te-še-ja* PRU 4 (RS18.02) 6.9; *te-ši(?)-[a?]-nu* PRU 6 50 23. See Hurr. *tiša-*, "heart" (GLH, 266f) and the Aram. PN *Tšy*.⁷⁵

tbln (4.322 7[bn ...]): aside from *šabbilu/šambilu*, the name of a plant (CAD Š/1, 10a), cf. Ebla *iš-ba-lum* which according to Fronzaroli should be normalised /iṭbālum/ from an archaic root *ṭbl⁷⁶ Another meaning is "Turn back to us" (*tb + ln*) as proposed in PTU, 43.61.153.162.200.⁷⁷

65. Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 3, 138; Wyatt, *UF* 22 (1990) 459-466.

66. Cf. Ribichini – Xella, *Tessili*, 17.

67. See UgOnom. 2, under *rišn*.

68. Perhaps equivalent to *šu-bu-j[a]* PRU 6 72 18'; cf. Huehnergard, *UVST*, 89-90.

69. Further: Astour, *CRRA* 18, 17; Huehnergard, *UVST*, 251; Puech, *RB* 93 (1986) 175ff.; Sivan, *UF* 21 (1989) 362.

70. See also *šš* (4.658 19[bn ...]), which may be Hurr. in view of *šaš* NPN, 252 and Hurr. *šuši*, m.u., GLH, 245. Note, too, Akk. *šāšū*, "licorice" (AHw, 1290a).

71. References: Degen, *NESE* 3 (1978) 18-19; E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I*, Leuven 1975, 188-189.

72. *AuOr* 5 (1987) 151-152.

73. Explained as Anatolian in PTU, 295; see there for details.

74. Also, *taḡaše-*, "(un vase)", GLH, 251 and *Tuhūši*, "(divinité "antique")", GLH, 270.

75. According to J. C. L. Gibson, *A Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 2, Oxford 1975, 132, an Egyptian name.

76. Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 3 148-150.

77. See also *jtbl* 4,450 3.

tk, "Distant" (4.45 2); *tkn* (4.16 13; [4.506 4]) PTU, 205.255) -if to be explained by Hurr. *šukku*, "distant" (GLH, 241f.).

tl̥t, "Bow-and-arrow case" (4.63 5; 4.96 11; PTU, 427); cf. *šaltu* with the same meaning (CAD Š/1, 271-272),⁷⁸ borrowed from Aram. and Heb. (See AHw, 1151a for references).

tl̥ln (4.63 i 16; 4.711 2; PTU, 198) – cf. *šulilanni*, "etwa 'Menschheit'" (AHw, 1267a).⁷⁹

**tl̥th*, "Arrow";⁸⁰ in addition it should be noted that the correction to *tl̥ty*! proposed by Gordon (UT §19.2688) now seems unnecessary. Ug. *h̥z* "arrow" is not used as a PN.

tny (4.339 14) and *tnyn* (4.141 ii 16; PTU, 199.251.254) – cf. Emar PN *še-ni-na* discussed by Tsukimoto with reference to Ug.⁸¹

Is it coincidence that the names *bn.n̥š* and [*b*]n.*šr* are in successive lines in 4.112 ii 1-2? As Sanmartín has established, the meaning of *n̥š* is "wild bird" and of *šr*, "domestic fowl" and in 4.14 5.11 they are contrasted.⁸² Can it be that 4.112 is an exercise tablet?⁸³

(2) *bt* in Ugaritic Names

The use of *bt* is very rare in Ugaritic personal names. The following occurrences have been identified.⁸⁴ *ilšmr bt ubnyn* (1.80:1-2);⁸⁵ *bt abm* (4.75 vi 2); *bt h̥zli* (4.75 iii 6);⁸⁶ cf. *hu-zi-la-a* PRU 3 201(RS16.257+) ii 48 or *ha-zi-lu* PRU 6 86:10; *bt. špš* 6.24:2 "daughter of the 'Sun' (= the [Hittite] king)" with reference to *Tbšr*.⁸⁷ For *bt dbb* (4.727 17') see above under *dbb*. Note also DUMU.SAL-*ra-ab-i* PRU 3 61 (RS16.156) 4.[12].14⁸⁸ and DUMU.SAL *šf-id-qī*⁸⁹ PRU 3 159f.(RS16.261+) 5.[18].23.⁹⁰

(3) Names with t-preformative verbs

Gröndahl comments that "*tbšr* ist die bis jetzt einzige feminine Verbal form, die in ugaritischen Namen belegt ist" (PTU, 59)⁹¹ but two others have since come to light. They are *tuzn*, "She gave ear" (4.727 12;

78. Alternatively, *šaltu*, "available, disposable, uncommitted, on hand" (CAD Š/1, 270-271a) or even "authoritative" (ibid. 271); cf. AHw, 1151a for both these meanings.

79. PTU, 198 suggests the root meaning "plündern".

80. UgOnom.1, 126; two corrections: *šiltāhu* and AHw 1236b-1237a. It is significant that von Soden adds "u.H." in his entry.

81. Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 168; the name occurs in Text E, rev. 2 (ibid. 164).

82. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 96-97.

83. For detailed references cf. TEO 1, 75.

84. On Ug. feminine names see, provisionally, PTU, 55-56.

85. Cf. Xella, *TRU* I, 20.

86. PTU, 55; "Tochter der Gazelle"(??); cf. ibid. 17.28.140.

87. W. H. van Soldt, "Tbšr, Queen of Ugarit?", *UF* 21 (1989) 389-391: "Since *tbšr* (line 1 of our label) is called a *kl̥t*, "bride", in line 2, the word *bt* can only be explained as **bittu*, "daughter"" (ibid. p. 389). However, see note 91.

88. PTU, 55; also 12.31.119.180.

89. PTU, 55; also 31.119.187.

90. Incorrect are: *bt šy* (PTU, 55) in 4.393 9 (line begins with *šy*); also *bt sgld* (4.98 13) correct to *bn!* (so KTU), but cf. *bn sgld* in 3.9 21; 4.309 3 and *sgld* in 4.678 7; cf. PTU, 205.252f.260 and Huehnergard, *AkkUg*, 357f.360.

91. See note 87, above. However, M. Dijkstra, "On the Identity of the Hittite Princess Mentioned in Label KTU 6.24 (RS17.72)", *UF* 22 (1990) 97-101 suggests that *tbšr* is not a PN but a noun which means either "examination" or "expropriation".

PTU, 258), with the (unnamed) goddess as subject and *līdn* (3.8 1; [4.84 8]; PTU, 262.265) in view of PRU 6 99 22 *tal-du-na* most probably "She gave birth".⁹² Others, such as *līšn* (4.311 13; [4.512 2]; PTU, 314) and *tmnn* (4.734 + 7.163 + 7.168⁹³ 12) remain problematic.

(4) A text with non-standard spellings (KTU 4.277)⁹⁴

1 *bnš.kld.*
2 *kbln.'bdyrġ.ilgt*
3 *ġyrn.ybnn qrwn*
4 *ypltn.'bdnt*
5 *klby.ahrtp*

6 *ilyn.'lby.šdkn*
7 *gmrt.īlmyn*
8 *'bdnt*
9 *bdy.ħrš arkd*
10 *blššlmd*
11 *ħttn.tqn*
12 *ydd.idtn*
13 *šgr.ilgdn*
(erasure: *qrwn*)

As has been noted, the orthography is strange but reasonably transparent; comments on some of the names follow: (line) 2 *'bdyrġ* for *'bdyrġ*, "Servant/Slave/Worshipper of the Moon-god".⁹⁵ *ilgt* for **ilgd* (cf. *ilgdn* in 13) (PTU 131).⁹⁶ 3 *ġyrn* for *ħyrn* (discussed above), (so UT §5.32; cf. PTU, 21 §30). *qrwn* stands for *krwn* (PTU, 268.279).⁹⁷ 4 *ypltn* for *ypltn* (so UT §5.31; dissimilation of *ṭ* due to the *l* – so PTU, 23, §42). *'bdnt* (also in 8) for *'bdnt* (so UT §5.25). 5 *ahrtp* is, of course, a variant of *ahršp* (4.370 7)(PTU, 20),⁹⁸ with *h* for *ḥ* and *t* for *š*. 6 *'lby* cf. *'lpy* (4.205 20; 4.225 12; 4.617 22) which Gröndahl (PTU, 309) explains by Arab. *'alafa*, "to feed (animals)".⁹⁹ *šdkn* for *šdqn* (see UT §19.2146).¹⁰⁰ 13 *šgr* for *šhr* (so UT §5.32; cf. UT §19.1749 and §19.1787). It is accepted that Ugaritic personal names can be written in various ways (cf. PTU, 7-8.268), but conspicuous here is the concentration of so many aberrant spellings in one text.¹⁰¹

92. With energetic *n* on which cf. E. Verreet, *Modi ugaritici* (Leuven 1988) 79-98 and the comments of Voigt, *UF* 22 (1990) 411-412.

93. Cf. TEO 1, 308.

94. RS17.141 = PRU 2 45; photo PRU 2, pl. XI; for these details see TEO 1, 131. For the PN in line 3 cf. J.-C. Courtois, "Yabninu et le Palais Sud d'Ougarit", *Syria* 67 (1990) 103-142.

95. UT §§ 5.1 and 5.32.

96. I.e., *il* + *gd* "luck, fortune". J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew*, Sheffield 1988, 105 rejects this explanation since *d > t* is not attested elsewhere in Ugaritic. However, as already noted, the text in question presents several unusual spellings.

97. Also 1.127 11 (for which cf. Xella, TRU 1, 181-182); 4.13 36[*bn* ...]. Cf. Rainey, *IOS* 3 (1973) The PN *krwn* is very common (cf. PTU, 279.397).

98. Spelled ŠEŠ- *MAŠ.MAŠ in PRU 6 51 r.4'. See PTU, 20.23.91.181; Astour, CRRA 18, 22 and n. 152. The name is not discussed by Gordon in UT §5.

99. Note *ul-hu-pi* PRU 3 194(RS11.787) 11. For different explanations cf. Huehnergard, UVST, 250 and UgOnom.1, 123.

100. Note that the PN *tqn* (cf. UgOnom. 1, 126) may be explained by Akk. *ti(q)qû*, "etwa 'blitzend (v Augen)'" (AHw, 1361a).

101. Gröndahl remarks that this text "eine ganz Anzahl lautlicher "Besonderheiten" enthält" (PTU, 20, n. 27).

Abbreviations (see also note 1).

AkkUg = J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, Atlanta, Georgia 1989.

HuH = V. Haas, ed., *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, Konstanz 1989.

DMWA = H. Wehr – J.M. Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1966.

Artículos - Recensión

Los textos avésticos antiguos

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[Review-article of the second and third volumes of the edition, translation and commentary of the *gathas* by J. Kellens-E. Pirart. *Les textes vieil-avestiques. Volume II. Répertoires grammaticaux et lexique* (Wiesbaden 1990), *Volume III. Commentaire* (Wiesbaden 1991)]. It contains a brief description of some of the points where I do not agree with the authors; these do not intend to criticise the authors but simply arise from the nature of the topic. In the commentary to the second volume I provide some different possibilities for the etymological interpretation, I discuss some of the meaning provided by the glossary which affect the interpretation of the gathic religion and finally I point out some different grammatical parsings. About the third volume I provide some observations about the text criticism and I discuss some aspects of the translation, the morphological and the syntactical analysis done by the authors].

Con la aparición de estos dos volúmenes queda concluida una obra monumental de K.-P., la edición y comentario de los textos en avéstico antiguo (av.a.), iniciada con la aparición del volumen I (introducción, texto y traducción) en 1988. Una empresa aventurada a la que se ha entregado recientemente, además de K.-P., S. Insler (*The Gathas of Zarathustra*, Acta Iranica 8, 1975); casi simultáneamente con el volumen III ha aparecido también la versión inglesa revisada de las *gathas* de H. Humbach, con la colaboración esta vez de J. Elfenbein y Prods O. Skjærvø (*The Gathas of Zarathushtra*, Heidelberg, 1991). La atención prestada a estos textos es como se ve intensa, pero la dificultad y diversidad de problemas que encontramos en ellos justifican el continuado trabajo sobre ellos. De ahí que la decisión de los autores de acometer semejante tarea no pueda ser más que alabada.

El volumen II se divide en dos partes claramente diferenciadas. La primera (pp. 3-193) la componen los "répertoires grammaticaux", que ofrecen el estudio actual más completo que conozco de la sintaxis del av.a. Para la morfología se remite a la gramática de Beekes (*A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan*, Leiden, 1988). Ofrece este apartado un instrumento de trabajo de primera clase. La única objeción que se le puede hacer, aparte de cuestiones de detalle, es un uso demasiado estricto de los resultados en él obtenidos, que se muestra con toda claridad en el vol. III. Lo reducido del corpus del av.a. debería imponer un cierto relativismo a los resultados de un estudio de su sintaxis. Por otro lado, la sintaxis ofrece, frente a la fonética y la morfología, el mayor campo de acción a la libertad del hablante. Creo que el autor de los textos del av.a. hizo un uso consciente de esta libertad que la sintaxis le ofrece, de manera que un estudio "estadístico" de la sintaxis no puede considerarse como un argumento definitivo, aunque sí que haya que tenerlo, por supuesto, en cuenta. Esta primera parte del volumen II se divide en cuatro apartados:

I. Sintaxis de los casos (pp. 3-51): se analiza de forma exhaustiva la función de los casos instrumental, dativo, ablativo genitivo, locativo y vocativo. No entiendo por qué se ha dejado fuera el estudio de