

Ugaritic Onomastics (4)

W.G.E. Watson – Newcastle upon Tyne

[Once again, selected Ugaritic personal names are discussed, with the principal focus on meaning, although syllabic spellings are given if newly identified. Some recent work is taken into account.]

Recently, there has been some significant work on personal names in ancient Near Eastern texts including studies on the names from Emar¹ and the exhaustive listing by Hess of personal names from Amarna.² Also, Volume 8 of *SEL*, *Onomata*, was devoted entirely to onomastics and relevant material from it has been mentioned below.³ Pardee has listed all the alphabetic and syllabic names in the Ugaritic texts, with bibliography.⁴ In his monumental work on Ugaritic Akkadian,⁵ van Soldt discusses personal names in various categories. He provides a chart of the royal family of Ugarit (SAU, 2-3 with Fig. 1), followed by comments on several kings and queens: Aḥat-milku, Arḥalba, Ašdada, Kubaba, Niqmaddu II and III, Niqmepa⁶, Pišidqi, Puduḥepa (= *Pdg̃b*), *Thšr*, Ṭaryelli, etc. (SAU, 4-19). The scribes Yaḏīra(nu), son of Ḥuša(nu) and Yarimmu, father of Munahḥimu are also discussed (SAU, 7-8) and a list of the scribes of Ugarit is provided (SAU, 19-32)⁶ as well as lists of names according to other professions (SAU, 32-39).⁷

1. R. Zadok, "On the Onomastic Material from Emar", *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 45-61. D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze récent* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 1; Sabadell 1991), esp. 157-196. Abbreviation: TSABR. Also, R. Zadok, "Notes on the West Semitic Material from Emar", *AUON* 51 (1991) 113-137.

2. R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (ASOR Dissertation Series, 9; Winona Lake, Indiana 1993). The author was kind enough to send me a copy.

3. All the contributions are significant; of most direct relevance are S. Ribichini - P. Xella, "Problemi di onomastica ugaritica: il caso dei teofori", *SEL* 8 (1991) 149-170 and M. Salvini, "Note su alcuni nomi di persona hurriti", *ibid.*, 175-180.

4. D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Proper Nouns", *AJO* 36/37 (1989/90) 390-513. This includes all the proper nouns; personal names are listed on pp. 391-430. For a study of sibilants in names cf. L.R. Shehadeh, "Some Observations on the Sibilants in the Second Millennium B.C." in D.M. Golomb, ed., *Working With No Data*. *Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake 1987) 229-240, esp. 234-244.

5. W.H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; 1991). Here: SAU.

6. See already E. Lipiński, "Scribes d'Ugarit et de Jérusalem" in H.L.J. Vanstiphout, K. Jongeling, F. Leemhuis and G.J. Reinink, eds., *Scripta, Signa, Vocis. Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the Near East presented to J.H. Hospers by his pupils, colleagues and friends* (Groningen 1986) 143-154. His comment is worth quoting: "Il est étonnant qu'aucun des scribes connus d'Ugarit ne porte un nom comportant l'élément théophore 'Ba'al' ou 'Dagan'" (p. 150).

7. For correspondences between some PNN in Linear B and in Ugaritic see M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica. An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden 1964) 340-344.

The following entries supplement and correct my earlier studies on the topic of Ugaritic personal names.⁸ In addition there are several new names from Ras Ibn Hani.⁹

abbt, "Father of the house(?)"¹⁰ (RIH 83/12:18 (...*bn*); RIH 84/8:24 (...*bn*)); note that the similar name *abb* (so PTU, 271)¹¹ is read *dbb* in KTU 4.611 7 (*bn* ...).

**abdl* (UgOnom.1, 114; UgOnom.2, 243) cf. Hurr. *ip-ša-li*.¹²

abrpu, "My father heals" (4.96 10 (...*abr'y*); 4.214 iii 5; [4.75 vi 4 (... *bn kbd*)]); PTU, 86.180; cf. Sivan, GAGI, 264; Kinlaw, *Personal names*, 13). In addition to *a-bir-pi-i* PRU 3 167 (RS15.139) 5 (cited in PTU, 180 and 315), cf. *a-BAR-pa-a* (RS 22.20) 5 (cited by van Soldt, SAU, 483). See also Amorite *abirapi*.¹³

abrš[p], "My father is Rashpu" (4.63 i 35; 4.75 iv 6 (...*bn*) [*hrpn*]); PTU, 45.86.181; see *abiršappa*.¹⁴

aḡlyn (4.159:7; 4.696:7 [text *aḡsyn*]; PTU, 214);¹⁵ cf. *a-ḡal-ia-nu* (RS22.399+) 10.¹⁶

aky (4.170 13 (*bn* ...); KTHST 6.1 (...*bn ypthd*) PTU, 216; KA, 209) – cf. *a-ki-ia-nu* DUMU *da-bu-bi* (RS22.002) r. 8';¹⁷ also *akaya*, *akiya*, *ak(k)uya*.¹⁸

alpy (4.214 i 18; PTU, 17.27.98) cf. Hurr. *alpuya*.¹⁹

ann (4.141 II 3; 4.222 16 (*bn* ...); 4.631 13 ([*bn* ...).19 (*bn* ...); [4.382 32]) an unknown divine name, perhaps Hurr. *anani*.²⁰

annḡr (3.2 5 (*bt* ...*bn*); 4.244 15; 4.295 15 (... *yn'my*); 4.631 7; [4.84 9; 4.292 1] PTU, 206.218.249) – *a-na-ni-za-ar-ru* PRU 3 203 (RS16.257+) iv 18; *a-na-ni-LUGAL* PRU 6 138 8 and Hurr. *a-na-ni-šar-ri*.²¹

8. "Ugaritic Onomastics (1)", *AuOr* 8 (1990) 113-127 (= UgOnom.1); "Ugaritic Onomastics (2)", *AuOr* 8 (1990) 243-250 (= UgOnom.2) "Ugaritic Onomastics (3)", *AuOr* 11 (1993) 213-222 (= UgOnom.3). For other abbreviations cf. UgOnom.1 and 2. Names previously discussed are marked with an asterisk.

9. P. Bordreuil - A. Caquot, "Les textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1977 à Ibn Hani", *Syria* 56 (1979) 295-310; similarly for 1978 in *Syria* 57 (1980) 343-367. See also P. Bordreuil, "Découvertes épigraphiques récentes à Ras Ibn Hani et à Ras Shamra", *CRAIBL* 1987, 289-301. These articles will only be referred to when necessary.

10. On Ug. PNN with *bt* see UgOnom.3, 220-221.

11. Kinlaw, *Personal names*, 6.253; Albright, BANE, 355, n. 36. See Hurr. PN *ababu* occurring twice at Chagar Bazar, cf. O. Loretz, *Texte aus Chagar-Bazar und Tell Brak* (AOAT I; 1971) 244.

12. A. Draffkorn-Kilmer, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah. An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis* (unpub. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1959) 34, cited by Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 47, n. 11, *Ap-sa-l[i]*, *ibid.* 47:13 as doubtfully Hurrian.

13. W. Horowitz and A. Shaffer, "An Administrative Tablet from Hazor: A Preliminary Edition", *IEJ* 42 (1992) 21-33, 28 (on line 4').

14. Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 53: #6:1.

15. This PN is not discussed by S. Segert, "The Ugaritic Voiced Postvelar in Correspondence to the Emphatic Interdental", *UF* 20 (1988) 287-300. For other explanations cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 397.

16. Unpublished; cited by van Soldt, SAU, 441, without reference to the alphabetic spelling.

17. W. van Soldt, "The Ugaritic Word for 'Fly'", *UF* 21 (1989) 369-373 without reference to the alphabetic PN.

18. J.M. Sasson, "Hurrian and Hurrian Names in the Mari Texts", *UF* 6 (1974) 353-400, 357.

19. J.M. Sasson, "Hurrian Personal Names in the Rimah Archives", *Assur* 2/2 (1979) 37-68, 40.

20. Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 158. Cf. Cooper, RSP III, 343.

21. D.C. Snell, "The Cuneiform Tablet from el-Qitar", *AbrNah* 22 (1983-84) 159-170, 158, cited by Salvini, *SEL* 8 (1991) 174, n. 2.

anntn (4.93 iv 7 (*bn* ...); 4.339 24; 4.370 8; 4.378 3; 4.623 4 (... *bn*); [4.84 3; 4.141 ii 4; 4.417 15]; PTU, 217-218.262) – *a-na-ni-te-na* PRU 6 50 23; [*a-n*]*a*-[*a*]*n-te-nu* Ug 5 159 771 and *a-na-an-te-nu* (RS25.423) 9.²²

ary (4.53 10; 4.55 14; 4.80 16; 4.244 18)²³ – *a-ri-ya* PRU 6 144:6; *a-ri-ya*[] Ugar 5 89 3.7; Nuzi DUMU *A-ri-ya*,²⁴ also Alalakh *A-ri-ya*.²⁵

**arnbt* (UgOnom.1, 115) see also Hurr. *Arn-apu*.²⁶ Thus, although the name could be Semitic (“Hare”),²⁷ it could equally be Hurrian and the syllabic spelling is non-committal. See also *A-ru-un-na-pa*, AT 34:17.²⁸

arptr (4.33 7; PTU, 211.221.249) – cf. *a-ri-ip-šar-ri*²⁹ and Emar *ari-ip-šarri* (LUGAL).³⁰

ibln (4.35 i 18 (*bn* ...); 4.311 10 (*bn* ...); [4.545 ii 7 (*bn* ...)] – PTU, 27.87-88.301). This name has been discussed by Fronzaroli³¹ but the meaning remains uncertain. Cf. the Nuzi (?) PN *I-pa-li*.³²

ibn (4.658 13 (*bn* ...); PTU, 17.87.163); Emar PN *Ibni* (TSABR, 176).³³

ilwn (4.83 4) – *i-lu-wa* PRU 4 234 (RS17.112) [5].9.13.15 – perhaps the same as *al-lu-wa-ma* (RS25.138) 3.³⁴

ilt, “Goddess” (4.35 i 19 (*bn* ...); [4.512 3]; PTU, 98);³⁵ less likely meanings are “chaff” (Akk. *iltu*, AHw, 373b; CAD I/J, 90) and “spelt” (AHw, 1563) but “spittle” (AHw, 372-373; CAD I/J, 85) or “clan” (CAD I/J, 82) cannot be excluded in view of the Emar PN *Illatu* (TSABR, 178).³⁶

22. Cooper, RSP III, 343; SAU, 441; cf. Salvini, *SEL* 8 (1991) 175-176 on *anani-Tešub*; Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 47:3 on *A-na-an-ti* as doubtfully Hurrian.

23. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz - J. Sanmartín, “Zur ugaritischen Lexicographie (VII): lexicographische Einzelbemerkungen” *UF* 5 (1973) 79-104, 83.

24. C. Zaccagnini, “A Nuzi-type loan-contract”, *RA* 77 (1988) 72-74 (72:4); see also Ugaritic *aryn* (4.96 3 (... *ayddy*) PTU, 27.220; de Moor, *UF* 2 [1970] 200).

25. See F. Zeeb, “Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alalah”, *UF* 23 (1991) 405-434, 426 who refers to AT 39:3; 283:7 and 359:4.

26. K.-H. Deller, “Indexes to Part II: Cuneiform Texts from Arrapha, Kurruhani, and Nuzi” in M. A. Morrison - D.I. Owen, eds., *Studies in the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians: in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 29, 1981* (Winona Lake 1981) 469-496, 474.

27. So already A. Jirku, *ArOr* 37 (1969) 8; cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 396.

28. Zeeb, *UF* 23 (1991) 419 and 421.

29. Virolleaud, *GLECS* 3 (1940) 98; Gaster, *Syria* 16 (1935) 226; cited by Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 397.

30. Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 53 #6:3-4, but hardly a Hurrian-Semitic hybrid.

31. P. Fronzaroli, “West Semitic Toponymy in Northern Syria in the Third Millennium B.C.”, *JSS* 22 (1977) 145-166, 154, n. 2. He suggests that *ibln* (a name also attested in Safaitic and Qatabanian) may be related to Arabic *ibil*, “dromedary”, but according to CAD I/J, 2b, Akk. *iblu* is a loanword from Arabic, not attested in other Semitic languages.

32. Zaccagnini, *RA* 77 (1983) 72:14.

33. But according to Dietrich - Loretz, *OLZ* 62 (1967) 535, *ibn* = *ubn*.

34. S. Lackenbacher, “Trois lettres d’Ugarit” in H. Behrens, D. Loding, M.T. Roth, eds., DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A. *Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (Philadelphia 1989) 317-320. According to Lackenbacher (p. 319) the name is attested in Hittite, apparently as a man’s name. However, Jirku, *ArOr* 38 (1970) 129 equates the name with Alalakh *ü-lu-wi-ni* (cited by Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 [1989-90] 324).

35. So also Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 159; they mention *bnilt* and *bdilt*.

36. See also *Iluti* (TSABR, 178).

irgn (4.129 9; PTU, 28.100) – *ir-ri-gi(?)*-*na* PRU 4 183 (RS17.319) 18; *Irrike* NPN, 221; also *Irri-ki*³⁷ and *Ir-ri-gi*,³⁸ cf. perhaps Hurr. *irgi*-, “(a sacrificial term)” (GLH, 124).

iryn (4.35 21 (*bn* ...); 4.93 iv 16 (*bn* ...); 4.103 40 (*bn* ...); 4.229 6 (*bn* ...); [4.512 1]; PTU, 226) cf. *Iria*³⁹

iršy, “My wish” (4.338 6; [4.646 2] cf. *irš* [4.679 2 – PTU, 51.101; *irsyn* (4.69 ii 12 (*bn* ...); 4.93 iv 19 (*bn* ...); 4.340 5(*bn* ...))⁴⁰ – *ir-še-ia-na* Ugar 5 161:22; and *iršn* (4.77 17 ([*bn*] ...)) – see *niršn* (UgOnom.3, 217) and *arštb'l*, a Carthaginian name meaning “Object desired by Baal”.⁴¹

itm (4.616 9 (*bn* ...)) – *it-ta-na* PRU 3 (RS11.718) 7 – cf. Hurr. *itni*, (part of the body, GLH, 130), the Emar PN *Ittinu* (TSABR, 180) or Hurr. *itt-* “to clothe”.⁴²

uby, “Faithful” (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:17); new, but cf. *ubyn* (PTU, 372).⁴³

unpt (4.696 3; PTU, 229. 250-251) – *u-na-bi-ši* (RS22.399+) 11;⁴⁴ cf. Hurr. *Unapše*⁴⁵ and the Emar PN *Unab-šeni* (TSABR, 193).

ušy (UgOnom.2, 244): see now Hurr. *uše*.⁴⁶

buš, “Smelly” (4.223 1 (*bn* ...)); cf. the Emar PN *Bi'šu* (TSABR, 168).

**bb* (4.63 iv 9 (*bn* ...)) probably the divine name “Baba” and not “baby” (as in UgOnom.3, 214);⁴⁷ cf. *ba-ba* PRU 4 182 (RS17.299) 1; Benz, PNPI, 282-283 (*bb'*, *bby*),⁴⁸ and the Emar PN *Baba* (TSABR, 166).⁴⁹

bl (4.309 4 (*bn* ...)) not necessarily a spelling of *b'l* (PTU, 20.116) in view of Emar *Bi-li*.⁵⁰

bldn! (4.307 11; 4.320 15; UT §19.472; PTU, 20.116.123) is not a variant of *b'ldn* nor is it a personal name.⁵¹

37. Sasson, *Assur* 2/2 (1979) 7.

38. TB 6001 r. 13; I. Finkel, “Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1984”, *Iraq* 47 (1985) 187-201, 197.

39. Finkel, *Iraq* 47 (1985) 197, r. 17.

40. On *iršyn* cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 396.

41. E. Lipiński, “L'élément 'RS' dans l'anthroponymie carthaginoise” in M. Macuch, C. Müller-Kessler, B.G. Fagner, eds., *hkmwt bnth byth. Studia Semitica necnon Iranica Rudolpho Macuch Septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata* (Wiesbaden 1989) 141-148.

42. Wilhelm, *Or* 61 (1992) 130-131.

43. Or cf. Hurr. *ubi*, “barley”; Wilhelm, *Or* 61 (1992) 135.

44. Cited by Van Soldt, SAU, 441, without reference to the alphabetic name.

45. Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 371.

46. Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 50 #1.2:77; NPN, 273b; Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 371.

47. According to Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 159.

48. M. Maraqtan, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien* (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 5; Hildesheim 1988) 135; S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra* (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 1; Hildesheim 1983) 86.

49. But note the Emar PN *Bibi* (TSABR, 167).

50. S. Dalley - B. Teissier, “Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere”, *Iraq* 54 (1992) 89-111, No. 4 line 33 (p. 98).

51. According to P. Bordreuil - D. Pardee, “Textes ougaritiques oubliés et ‘Transfuges’”, *Semitica* 41/42 (1991-1992) 23-58, 46. The word *bld* means ‘land, country’.

blkn (4.638 5; PTU, 309) if not Semitic⁵² may correspond to Hurr. *Bulugan*.⁵³

bdyn (RIH 78/19:11), new;⁵⁴ cf. Emar PN *Bunazu* (TSABR, 168).

bnn (4.377 16 [4.258 10]; PTU, 119) – *bu-na-ni* PRU 6 148:5⁵⁵ and from Hazor: *Bunumanu*.⁵⁶

brq, “Lightning” (4.98 15(*bn* ...) 4.181 3; 4.262 9; 4.300 2; 4.313 9; 4.350 5 (*bn* ...); 4.724 4 (*bn* ...); [4.64 iv 4 (*bn* ...); PTU, 50.121; UT §19.524; Sivan, GAGI, 213) – of the syllabic spellings only *bu-ra-qu* Ugar 5 97 7 matches the Emar PN *Buraqu* (TSABR, 168).⁵⁷

btn (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:47) new; *be-ta-na* PRU 3 106 (RS16.206) 7; PRU 6 38 18; 83 iii 14.

gb'n, “Hunchbacked” (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:16) cf. *gb'* (4.63 II 10; PTU, 125-126.382).

**gg* (UgOnom.1, 117; UgOnom.3, 215);⁵⁸ cf. Emar PN *Gugatu* (fem. PN; TSABR, 172) and *Gaku* (TSABR, 171).

gwl, “Rejoicing” or similar meaning (4.124 9; 4.348 23; PTU, 26.131) – *gu-wa-li(?)* PRU 3 152 (RS16.201) 12; Kinlaw, *Personal names*, 54.285-286. See Punic *gwl*⁵⁹ and now *Ga-wi-la* from Emar.⁶⁰

glgl (4.339 13 (*bn ...uškny*) UT §19.577; PTU, 127)⁶¹ – either Hurr. *kelkelli* (GLH, 142) or *kulgullu* (GLH, 152), or Phoen. *glgl*, “le tourneur/porteur de statue?”.⁶²

**glyt* (UgOnom.2, 244) – the bibliography provided previously can be extended considerably.⁶³

**glln* (UgOnom.1, 117); see also the Emar PN *Galalu* (TSABR, 171).⁶⁴

**gmš* is more probably the divine name “Kemosh”⁶⁵ than a plant name (UgOnom.1, 118).

52. See Healey, *UF* 10 (1978) 86 and K.A. Kitchen, “The King List of Ugarit”, *UF* 9 (1977) 131-142, 141.

53. Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 373.

54. Bordreuil - Caquot, *Syria* 57 (1980) 365 consider this new name a variant of *bnšyn* (4.63 i 17; 4.69 iii 8; 4.214 iii 2, etc. PTU, 255); cf. *šu-ya-nu* PRU 3 195(RS15.09B) ii 2.

55. Cf. S.C. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta, Georgia 1990) 95-96.

56. Horowitz - Shaffer, *IEJ* 42 (1992) 31 (on line 7').

57. See generally Caquot, *Syria* 46 (1969) 258; Huehnergard, *UVST*, 220; Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, 146, with bibliography.

58. Additional bibliography in Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 401.

59. Cf. L. Díez Merino, “GWL-GOZO: un topónimo fenicio-castellano”, *AuOr* 1 (1983) 276-280, esp. 278-279; cf. UT §19.566: “to speak”. On *gwl* see, too, Huehnergard, *UVST*, 11, n. 116. 209.

60. Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 51 #2.2 (“doubtfully Anatolian”): 2.

61. M.H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine* (AOAT 217; 1985) 140.188.

62. P. Xella, “Matériaux pour le lexique phénicien – I”, *SEL* 9 (1992) 81-93, 89-90.

63. F. Israel, “Note di onomastica semitica 7/1: Rassegna critico-bibliografica ed epigrafica su alcune onomastiche palestinesi: Israele e Giuda, la regione filistea”, *SEL* 8 (1991) 119-140, 139 n. 233. In addition, M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 82 (1966) 329-330 (on the element -yt).

64. And *Galu[l]*; cf. F.M. Fales, “West Semitic Names in the Assyrian Empire: Diffusion and Social Relevance”, *SEL* 8 (1991) 99-117, 109.

65. Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 160 and, independently, F. Israel, “*ʾt wkm*: Les avatars de l'énigmatique dieu *tr*”, *Sem* 41/42 (1991-92) 59-62, 59 n. 1 (where he rejects my interpretation of *gmš*).

**grb* (UgOnom.3, 215): see under *grp* and *krb* (below); cf. Emar PN *Garibu* (TSABR, 172).

grp (4.63 i 23).⁶⁶ The element *grp* may be Hurrian *gurpi*-, used in personal names.⁶⁷

ddl (4.423 42; PTU, 424; UT §19.649), syllabically perhaps *da-di-lu* (RS28.052:7, unpub. cited SAU, 310, n. 16).

dwn (4.308 5 (*bn* ...); PTU, 496) – *tu-a-ni* PRU 6 90 7'.⁶⁸

ddy (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:18) new; cf. *teššuja*, NPN, 265; *tišša*, NPN, 268 (perhaps from Hurr. *tiš*-, "heart").

dtn (4.69 vi 29 (*bn* ...); 4.422 52 (*bn* ...); [4.633 6' (*bn* ...)] – PTU, 28.125)⁶⁹ – DUMU *da-ti-ni* PRU 3 202 (RS16.257+) 40 (PTU, 122: *da-di-ni*); Phoen. PN *dtn*'.⁷⁰

zql 4.617 3 (*bn* ...); PTU, 313) – *zi-iq-la-nu* PRU 6 121 2; *zikula* NPN, 277.

hby (RIH 78/19:20)⁷¹ and *hby* (4.103 22; 4.339 4 (*bn* ...); PTU, 310) – Hurr. PN *habya*;⁷² cf. *ha-ba-ya* from Hazor.⁷³

hdn (4.70 2 (*bn* ...); [4.322 10 (*bn*...); 4.498 9; PTU, 310) – *hu-ud-da-n[a]* (RS23.22+) vi 14'.⁷⁴

hnil, "O the grace of Ilu" (4.332 8; PTU, 37-38, 65.96.136).⁷⁵

hry, the name of Krt's wife (1.14 iii 39; 1.14 iv 40; 1.14 vi 24; 1.15 iii 24; 1.15 v 9; 1.15 vi 3; 1.16 vi 17.19, etc.; also in 4.281 14 (*bn* ...); (PTU, 56 cf. 136; UT §19.896); cf. Hurr. *Ḫariya*.⁷⁶

hbdn (4.75 i 3 ([*bn*] ...); PTU, 310). Although KTU reads *ybdn*, the syllabic spelling *hu-bi-da-nu* PRU 6 40 30 (cf. *hubidu*, *hupidanu*, "(eine Pflanze)", AHw, 351a; *hubidu*, "(a plant)", CAD H, 215a) may be significant.

hyan (4.33 30 (*bn* ...); 4.51 10 (*bn* ...); 4.55 8 (*bn* ...); 4.90 1(*bn* ...); PTU, 139) and *hri* (4.152 5 (*bn* ...)). Although Gordon's explanation, "Defaecator" (UT §8.58) is plausible, perhaps in view of Akk. *huri'u* and *huri'anu*, both denoting a spice (CAD H, 251), the Ug. names may mean "Spicy One" and "Spice", with the more vulgar connotation also implied.

hty (4.343 5 (*bn* ...); PTU, 276.301) – *hu-di-ya-na* PRU 3 194 (RS11.787) 3; *hu-ti-ja-na* PRU 3 148

66. Cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 402.

67. Salvini, *SEL* 8 (1991) 176-178.

68. Cf. NA *tuani*, used of a horse, AHw, 1364b.

69. Also UT #19.712, Zadok, PHIPA, 96 and the list of references in Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 403.

70. W. Röllig, "Contribución de las inscripciones fenicio-púnicas al estudio de la protohistoria de España", *AuOr* 4 (1986) 51-58, 56.

71. Bordreuil - Caquot, *Syria* 57 (1980) 346-347.

72. Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 368.

73. Cited by Horowitz - Shaffer, *IEJ* 42 (1992) 31: "Sounds of endearment of DN".

74. Unpublished; cited by van Soldt, SAU, 341, n. 185.

75. Layton, *Archaic Features*, 134-137; cf. *Hinni-El*, "O the grace of El", Horowitz-Shaffer, *IEJ* 42 (1992) 28 (on line 7').

76. Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 361; de Moor - Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 168 ("suitable, worthy). See also UgOnom.2, 246 under *hr*.

(RS16.182+) 8.11.18; DUMU-[*hu*?]-*ti-ja-na* 201 (RS16.257+) ii 42;⁷⁷ cf. DUMU *hu-ti-ya*⁷⁸ but Emar DUMU *ha-ti-i* (Emar VI/3, 119: 3).

yšn (4.98 6; 4.103:3.58; 4.425 16; 4.753 10; PTU, 29.146; Sivan, GAGI, 292)⁷⁹ – on *yšn bn b'l* as *iasinu* *dumu iškur-lana* cf. van Soldt SAU, 17). See also the Punic PN *yšn*.⁸⁰

kbln (4.55 5; 4.76 5 (*bn* ...); 4.112 iii 1 (*bn* ...); 4.272 2; 4.377 17; 4.571 7; 4.705 7; 4.707 13; [4.317 4]; PTU, 149.239) and *kbl* (4.232 ii 40 (*bn* ...); PTU, 148-149.239; Sivan, GAGI, 237) – DUMU-*ka-bu-li* PRU 3 312 (RS15.126) 3 (SAU, 120); also *kpln* (see UgOnom.1, 120). Both *kbln* and *kpln* may be Hurrian cf. *ki-ba-al-e-na* from Emar⁸¹ and NPN, 228; also *ki-pa-le-en-ni-ma*, probably a Nuzi name.⁸² See also *ghln* (UgOnom.3, 215).

kdn, “Mule”(?) 4.75 iii 3 (*bn* ...); 4.85 2; 4.354 6 (*bn* ...); 4.434 8 (*bn* ...); 4.617 23; PTU, 28.149) – [D]UMU *ku-ud-dá-na*⁸³ – may correspond to Akk. *kūdanu*, “(a type of mule)” (CAD K, 491-492).

kkbn, “Flask (-shaped)” (4.734 2) as suggested by Xella;⁸⁴ see also *kkb* (4.767 1; KA, 257 and n. 14).

kmnt (RIH 84/8:17 (*bn* ...); 83/12:11 (*bn* ...)) new; perhaps fem. form of *kmn* (cf. UgOnom.3, 216).

**krb* (UgOnom.1, 120) cf. Emar PN *karbu* (TSABR, 182),⁸⁵ cf. *grb*, *grbn* (UgOnom.3, 215) and *grp*.

kryn, “Bird-catcher” (4.110 5 (*bn* ...); PTU, 28.151.205.237; Kinlaw, *Personal names*, 71; Sivan, GAGI, 236). The spelling *kar-ia-nu* PRU 3 37 (RS15.81) 2 suggests Hurr. *kariye-*, “Vogelfänger”.⁸⁶ The name *kry* (4.371 11; 4.647 5; 4.762 6; PTU, 28.151; UT §19.1301) may be related unless it means “Carian”.⁸⁷

krr, “(Born in the month of) Krr” (4.75 i 7); PTU, 237) – *ki-ri-ri* PRU 3 34 (RS16.114) r. 4'; cf. UT §19.1313; Kinlaw, *Personal names*, 72. Cf. *qrr* (4.214 i 20 (*bn* ...); PTU, 426) and *qrrn* (3.7 2 (*bn* ...); 4.214 i 1 (*bn* ...); PTU, 177.237). Better than the OB PN *Qururum* (AHw, 930a) or *Gurrurum* “describing a characteristic bodily trait, occ. only as personal name” (CAD G, 141) is NA *qiriru*, “oil(?)” (CAD Q, 268b).⁸⁸

77. So already in *AuOr* 10 (1992) 247. Are these forms of the Hurr. verb *hud-*, “to exalt, praise”? For the verb see the references in G. Wilhelm, “Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue aus Bogazköy”, *Or* 61 (1992) 122-141, 130.

78. Zaccagnini, *RA* 77 (1983) 72:22. Also in Dalley - Teissier, *Iraq* 54 (1992) 102 (No. 5, line 9).

79. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 406.

80. M.H. Fantar, “Une inscription punique de Bulla regia”, *Sem* 38 (1990) 107-112, pls. XIX-XX (p. 111), apparently a Libyan name originally.

81. Zadok, *WO* 20/21 (1989-90) 46:27.

82. Zaccagnini, *RA* 77 (1983) 72:1. See also *Ki-pa-le-ma*, *ibid.*, 72:22. Also “*ki-pi-til-la* DUMU *ki-pa-le-en-ni* (JEN 345[=JENu 232]+JENu 1143n) obv. 1 - Mudman, *JCS* 42 (1990) 73.

83. Virolleaud, *Syria* 18 (1951) 175:21, cited in UT §19.1200. Also, *ku-du-na* PRU 6 137 3; similarly in 144 1. Cf. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 341.

84. Xella, *SEL* 9 (1992) 85-86; see there for other possible explanations.

85. Unless to be explained by Hurr. *kirib* – cf. Salvini, *SEL* 8 (1991) 180.

86. Wilhelm, *Or* 61 (1992) 131, with bibliography. However, the other spelling is *ki-ir-ia-na* PRU 3 71 (RS16.295) 4, which remains unexplained; cf. SAU, 350, n. 209.

87. Cf. Rölli, *AuOr* 4 (1986) 56-57.

88. Does this explain the second element of ‘*bdkrr*, which is a month name? For a survey cf. P. Xella, “Sul nome punico ‘*bdkrr*”, *RSF* 12 (1984) 21-30.

kt (4.141 ii 1 (*bn ...*); 4.425 5 (*bn ...*); 4.734 12; PTU, 279); cf. Emar PNN *katti*, *kitta* and *kitte* (all TSABR, 182) and *kutta* (TSABR, 183) perhaps an Anatolian name.⁸⁹

ktr, "Helper" (?) (4.141 ii 7; PTU, 28.152-153) and *ktry* (4.638 6 (*bn ...*)) – see Alalakh *katiri* (AT 37:12) which may be explained either by *kataru*, "to send for help" or *kitru*, "legate" (?).⁹⁰

ktš (RIH 84/8:22 (*bn ...*)); Heb. *kātaš*, "to pound, pound fine, bray" (BDB, 509) and Sam'alian *ktš*, "pound (someone with stones)", are unlikely meanings for a personal name. Is this a spelling of *qdš*, "Holy"?

lbiy, "Lion" (as divine epithet)⁹¹ (4.376 2; RIH 83/84+84/2:1 (*bn ...*);⁹² PTU, 51.154; Sivan, GAGI, 240; UVST, 245); *la-ab-'i-ya* PRU 6 79:3. Its Phoenician equivalent occurs on a stela from Tyre as *lb'y*.⁹³

lḥsn (4.70 9 (*bn ...*); 4.83 10; 4.244 15; PTU, 310) – *la-ḥa-sù-na* PRU 6 85 r. 9'.15' (UVST, 240); cf. Arab. *lahasa*, "eat away, devour, lick".⁹⁴

**lmn*, "Wayward" is preferable to "Evil" (see UgOnom.1, 121) – cf. Akk. *lemû*, "unwilling, disobedient" (CAD L, 125b; AHw, 547b) – the final *-n* would then be an affirmative. Alternatively, cf. *mulam[i]na[t]* "she will have a difficult time giving birth" (KAR 200 ii 7; cited CAD L, 118a).

mdd, "Beloved (of the god X)" (4.692 5 (*bn ...*); PTU, 62 and n. 290.143). Alternatively, cf. Phoen. *mdd*, (Punic PN 'mdd) which Xella has shown to denote a profession, perhaps "surveyor".⁹⁵

mzy (1.48 15 (...*bn x[]*); 4.272 1 (...*alzy*); PTU, 241)⁹⁶ – *ma-zi-i* (RS24.423:11).⁹⁷ The name may be Hurrian.⁹⁸ However, according to del Olmo Lete, *mzy* is not a PN in 1.48.⁹⁹

mld (4.114 7; 4.364 11; PTU, 26.143) remains unexplained; see, perhaps, Hurr. *malladi*, "bowl".¹⁰⁰

mltn, "Teshub has proclaimed" (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:45), perhaps also in KTU 4.260 8.¹⁰¹

mn m.u. (4.16 12; 4.35 i 5 (...*bn krmn*); 4.35 ii 13 (...*bn qqln*); 4.35 ii 16 (... *bn šnr*); 4.41 9 (...*bn gttn*); 4.64 v 9; 4.339 15; 4.609 37; 4.658 14 (*bn ...*); PTU, 159.283-284.425). The syllabic spellings *mi-ni-*

89. On the *kittim* cf. E. Lipiński, "Les Japhétites selon Gen 10,2-4 et 1 Chr 1,5-7", ZAH 3 (1990) 40-53, 52-53.

90. On the Alalakh name cf. Zeeb, UF 23 (1991) 425 and esp. n. 24.

91. Ribichini - Xella, SEL 8 (1991) 164.

92. Bordreuil, CRAIBL 1987, 289.

93. H. Sader, "Phoenician Stelae from Tyre (continued)", SEL 9 (1992) 53-79 (56 and figs. 4, 5 and 6). See there for cognates in other languages and on EA *la-ab-a-ya* see now Hess, Amarna Personal Names, 102-103.

94. The syllabic spelling excludes Akk. *luḥus/zinnu* (CAD L, 240a; AHw, 562a) the meaning of which is unknown.

95. Xella, SEL 9 (1992) 81-82. See Sivan, GAGI, 246.

96. See TOug II, 168; Pardee, Syria 65 (1988) 188-189; Huehnergard, UVST, 65.

97. Cited by van Soldt, SAU, 441 (without reference to the alphabetic name). See also Emar *Ma-zi* in Dalley-Teissier, Iraq 54 (1992) 102 (No. 5, line 11).

98. See brief discussion in Hess, Amarna Personal Names, 111.

99. G. del Olmo Lete, La religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit. Estudio textual (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 3; Sabadell, 1992) 69, n. 14.

100. See Wilhelm, Or 61 (1992) 132.

101. As noted by Bordreuil - Caquot, Syria 56 (1979) 311 and n. 5. For the meaning cf. Zadok, PHIAP, 145.147.

nu PRU 4 190 (RS17.316) r. 8'; *manina* PRU 4 182 (RS17.319) seal (Hittite hieroglyphs) and *mu-ni-nu* PRU 6 82 3; 99 20, suggest three different names.¹⁰² One may be either Hittite *manina* or Akk. *maninnu*, "necklace", (cf. Emar PN *manini*, TSABR, 184); the others are *mininu* and *muninu*. Note that there are three different persons called *mn* in KTU 4.35. See also *mnny* (RIH 84/4:1;¹⁰³ KTU 4.401(bn...)).

mnt (4.134 6; PTU, 159)¹⁰⁴ cf. (Kassite?) *minuša*, NPN, 235, which may be fem.

mrbd (RIH 83/24+84/2:3)¹⁰⁵ remains unexplained. Cf. Heb. *marbad*, "spread, coverlet".

mtn (very common: PTU, 401; also RIH 84/8:18 and 83/12:32) besides "Gift" cf. Amorite PNN *mutā-nu* and *mutanum* based on the word *mut*, "man".¹⁰⁶

ndbn (4.311 11 (b)n ...); 4.313 8 (... *bn agmn*); 4.609 16; PTU, 312) – cf. *nazapa*, NPN, 238 and (Nuzi) *nušabu*, "cushion" (CAD N/2, 354).

nṣril, "Ilu is the guardian" or "Guardian of Ilu" (4.12 16 (*bn* ...)) where *nṣr* is the older form of *nṣr*, "to guard".¹⁰⁷

nn, "(the god) Nana"¹⁰⁸ (4.52 11; PTU, 426; cf. UT §19.1654) – *na-na-a* PRU 3 (RS8.333) *passim*, corresponds to Emar PN *nana* and *nani* (TSABR, 186) but *ni-in₄-na* PRU 4 (RS18.20+) r. 7' to Emar *ninni* (TSABR, 186).

ntt! (1.40:36) this name does not exist as it is to be read *att*, "wife".¹⁰⁹

**shr* and *shrn* (UgOnom.1, 121-122). As well as "Itinerant" several other meanings are possible: cf. Akk *saḥru*, "curved? bent?" (CAD S, 66b); *suḥiru* "young of an animal" (CAD S, 349a; and PN *suḥiru* [ADD 412 r.12] cited there); *suḥḥuru*, "curved, curly (of hair)".¹¹⁰

slgyn (4.93 ii 7 (*bn*...); PTU, 253; UT §19.1756)¹¹¹ and *slgyn* (4.69 ii 6 (*bn* ...); [4.450 2]); see now *zu-ul-gi-ia-na* (RS 34.36) 11' (SAU, 357).¹¹² This may rule out Hurr. *zilikuhlu*, "witness" (GLH, 304; cf. PTU, 253).¹¹³

102. Note also *ma-na-nu* in Dalley - Teissier, *Iraq* 54 (1992) 101 (No. 5, line 1).

103. Cf. P. Bordreuil, "Variations vocaliques et notations sporadiques du genitif dans les textes alphabétiques de l'Ougarit", *SEL* 5 (1988) 25-30, 28.

104. Possibly from *nšy*, "to forget"; cf. Pardee, *Afo* 36/37 (1989-90) 411. Less likely is "trouble"; cf. Sivan, GAGI, 242.

105. Bordreuil, CRAIBL 1987, 288.

106. Cf. J.-M. Durand, "L'emploi des toponymes dans l'onomastique d'époque amorrite (I). Les noms en *Mut-*", *SEL* 8 (1991) 81-97. Also Sivan, GAGI, 250. See already PTU, 50.147.162.240.

107. S. Segert, "The Ugaritic Voiced Postvelar in Correspondence to the Emphatic Interdental", *UF* 20 (1988) 287-300, 296.

108. Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 165 identified in the compound names *mrnn* and *mtnn*, though as they note the equivalence is rather unsure. It is unlikely to be explained by Akk. *nanna*, "command".

109. Collated by Pardee, oral communication, *apud* van Soldt, SAU, 13.

110. See further Pardee, *Afo* 36/37 (1989-90) 411 and in general J. Ribera, "La expresión *shwr shwr* y su campo semántico", *AuOr* 2 (1984) 147-149.

111. Pardee, *Afo* 36/37 (1989-90) 414 refers to Gordon UT §8.60 (gentile).

112. Cf. *zihukannu*, designation of horses, foals, etc., AHw, 1528a (Hurr. lw).

113. Or else cf. Arab. *salaka*, "to follow (a road), behave, etc."

sn (4.623 9 (*bn* ...); 4.635 12 (*bn* ...); 4.723 15 (*bn* ...); Hurr. *sina*¹¹⁴ or Emar PN *Sunna* (TSABR, 189).

srn, "King" (4.39 3; 4.63 i 42 (*bn* ...); 4.263 7; PTU, 292-293.411; UT §19.1797; UVST, 245, n. 139) and *s'rn* (4.75 iii 2 (*bn* ...); 4.225 11; 4.366 12 (*bn* ...); 4.371 22 (*bn* ...); PTU, 293.411) – spelled *sú-ra-nu* PRU 3 202 (RS16.257+) iv 19; PRU 3 196 (RS15.42) ii 26 and *sú-ra-na* PRU 3 195 (RS15.09A) 9 (PTU, 34.352). The word *srn* has been re-examined recently by Garbini with particular reference to Ugaritic. He argues that *srn* comprises Indo-European Anatolian *sar-*, *ser-*, "superior" with the suffix *-en*, and means "king".¹¹⁵

st/mh (RIH 77/2A:61(*bn* ...)) is new.¹¹⁶ Cf. Akk. *sāmiḫu*, "wine-mixer" (CAD S, 116a); *summuḫu*, "to include a person among heirs" (CAD S, 108), etc.

stry (RIH 84/8:21 (...*bn*); 83/12:14 (...*bn*)) cf. *str* [] (KTU 4.86:20) remains unexplained.¹¹⁷

sbl, "Burden" (?) (4.69 i 13 (*bn* ...); [4.122 17] PTU, 29.184) – cf. *sí-ib-li-du*, *si-bi-lum*, *su-bu-lu-um*, etc.¹¹⁸

'bdmhr, "Servant of the Warrior" (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:14) new.

'bdr₂ (4.31 1); cf. Kinlaw, *Personal names*, 9-10) – ARAD^d*ir-ši* PRU 3 203 (RS16.257+) iv 8; DUMU ARAD-*ir*(?)-*šu-na* PRU 3 195 (RS15.09) A 5;¹¹⁹ Phoen. *'bd'rš*, Benz, PNPPI, 149.

'bs (6.27 1) may not be a PN as suggested by de Moor¹²⁰ if van Soldt's proposal¹²¹ that the word (and its variant *'ps*) means "borderline, boundary", is correct.

'gw (4.90 4 (*bn* ...); 4.670 3) – *a-ga-u* PRU 6 86 ii 3; cf. PRU 6 92 9' ([*a?-g*]*a-u*); *a-gu-wa* Ug 5 5 28 and *'gwn* (4.69 vi 15 (*bn* ...)) – *a-gu-a-nu* PRU 6 78 1 and *a-gu-wa(-nu)* (RS29.100) 3.11.¹²²

**'myd₂mr* and *'mt₂mr* (UgOnom.1, 123)¹²³ "My Ammu/My ancestral ghost (of the clan) protect(s)!"¹²⁴ Stol considers the name to be a corrupt form of *Ḥammi-ištamar*.¹²⁵

114. Finkel, *AnSt* 47 (1985) 196.

115. G. Garbini, "On the Origin of the Hebrew-Philistine Word *seren*", in Alan S. Kaye, ed., *Semitic Studies. In honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th 1991* (Wiesbaden 1991) I, 516-519.

116. Bordreuil - Caquot, *Syria* 56 (1979) 311.

117. Cf. *str*, "to hide" or *ztr*, on which cf. M. Tsevat, "Traces of Hittite at the Beginning of the Ugaritic Epic of Aqht", *UF* 3 (1971) 351-352, or even Akk. *sataru* "(a savory)" (CAD S, 197b-198a).

118. Cited by Horowitz - Shaffer, *IEJ* 42 (1992) 28.

119. E. Lipiński, "Éa, Kothar et El", *UF* 20 (1988) 137-143, 140: "Serviteur de l'Adroit". However, cf. L.R. Shehadeh, "Some Observations on the Sibilants in the Second Millennium B.C." in D.M. Golomb, ed., "Working With No Data". *Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake 1987) 229-240, 241.

120. De Moor, *UF* 17 (1985); cf. Pardee, *AfO* 37/38 (1989-90) 416.

121. W. van Soldt, "Labels from Ugarit", *UF* 21 (1989) 375-388, 385.

122. Cited by van Soldt, *SAU* 333, n. 161. The verb may be *'gn*, "to shut oneself in", on which cf. Zadok, *FsHalla*, 320.

123. As Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 416 notes, incorrectly cited in UgOnom.1 as *'myd₂mr*.

124. So M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Das Siegel des Königs 'Ammi-yid₂tamar", *UF* 19 (1987) 23-25, 25: "Mein Ammu/mein Ahnengeist (der Sippe) beschützt/beschütze!".

125. M. Stol, "Old Babylonian Personal Names", *SEL* 8 (1991) 191-212, 210. See already M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (Istanbul 1976) 32 n. 10. According to Stol, Ug. *'mrpi/Ammu-rapi* is also a corruption of *Ḥammu-rabi*.

gđ (4.371 6 (*bn* ...)); cf. *ḥadaḥi*, "signe omineux" (GLH, 88; Hittite?).

pbtr, "The king is a mountain" (RIH 78/19:9) new; (= *pb* + *tr*).

pkly (RIH 83/24+84/2:7 (*bn* ...)) new; cf. Hurr. *pakila*.¹²⁶

pls (4.75 iv 5 (*bn*...); 2.283 8 (*bn* ...); RIH 77/2A:11 (... *bn mtn*) and *pls* (4.617 15 (*bn* ...); PTU, 50.173). Spellings: *pīl-sú* PRU 3 128 (RS16.154) 18; Ugar 5 4 11; 5 24; *pīl-sí* PRU 3 20 (RS15.63) 9; *pīl[-]sú* PRU 3 200 (RS 16.257+) 37; PRU 3 201 (RS16.257+) 48; DUMU-*pīl-sí* PRU 3 195 (RS15.09) B ii 3. See next two entries.

plsb'l (4.366 3 (... *bn*); 6.1 1; PTU, 22.37.39.117)¹²⁷ matches the Emar PN *pilsu-Dagan* (TSABR, 187)

plsy (4.134 4; 4.214 i 19 (*bn* ...); 4.214 ii 14; 4.214 iv 9; 4.261 6; 4.262 6; 4.635 40 (... *adly*)) – *pīl-sí-ia* PRU 3 194 (RS11.839) 2; *pīl-si-ya* PRU 6 54 10; [*pīl*]-*si-ya* PRU 6 139 7; *pīl-si-ja* PRU 6 109 A 3; *pīl-su-ya* Ugar 5 12 11.¹²⁸

pll (4.103 24 ([*bn*]...).25 ([*bn*]...); 4.545 ii 4 (*bn* ...); PTU, 405) – *pu-lu-lu* PRU 4 166 (RS17.129) 4; *pu-lu-lu-na* Ug 5 160 3; is (a) Semitic – cf. Heb. *palal*¹²⁹ (b) Hittite (cf. *puliya*, cited in PTU, 288) or (c) Hurrian; cf. *pilulu* NPN, 245. However, the syllabic spellings match none of the cognates suggested.

pnṭbl (4.127 12 ([*bn* ...)) may be a PN; cf. Emar PN *pa-nu-še*.¹³⁰

prgn, "Ovid" (?) (4.115 13 (*bn* ...); cf. *parganiu*, *parganu*, "auf der Weide befindlich (Schaf)", AHw, 833; Mari *parganum* (type of ovid).¹³¹

prḥn, "Flower-like" or "Offspring" (RIH 77/1:B 8). Bordreuil-Caquot compare the PN *prḥ* (KTU 4.88 2; 4.134 7; 5.22 19; PTU, 312) and comment: "F. Gröndahl le range parmi les anthroponymes inexplicables, mais ne serait-ce un nom de la racine de l'hébreu *pérah*, 'fleur', cf. le nom de personne *parûah* en 1 Rois 4,17?".¹³² Cf. EA *pir-ḥi*, "Offspring".¹³³

pri (4.739 7; PTU, 28.175) and *prtn* (4.69 iii 9 (*bn* ...); 4.122 19; 4.611 17 (*bn* ...); 4.720 1 (*bn* ...); [4.64 iv 8 (*bn* ...); PTU, 28.175.289). There are two different syllabic spellings: *pur-ru-ti-na* PRU 3 194 (RS11.787) 8¹³⁴ and *pī-ra-te-nu* PRU 6 38 (passim), corresponding to Hurr. (?) *purutta*, NPN, 247b and non-Semitic *pirati*.¹³⁵

126. Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 366.

127. KA. 242.246; Weippert, *ZDPV* 82 (1966) 320, n. 321.

128. For the spellings cf. E. Lipiński, "Allusions historiques dans la correspondance ougaritique de Ras Shamra: Lettre de Ewri-Šarri à Pilsiya", *UF* 13 (1981) 123-126, 124. For bibliography and survey of meanings cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 418.

129. PTU, 172 and J.J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur Hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde* (Freiburg/Göttingen 1980) 187-189.

130. Zadok, *WO* 20-21 (1989-90) 53:44. See also Ug. PN *bnṭbln* (PTU, 416).

131. Durand, NABU 1988/16, 15.

132. Bordreuil-Caquot, *Syria* 56 (1979) 306.

133. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 123-124; *UF* 17 (1985) 161.

134. M.C. Astour, "The Merchant Class of Ugarit", *CRRA* 18 (Munich 1972) 11-26, 14.

135. From Emar; cited by Zadok, *WO* 20-21 (1989-90) 53:46. For Egyptian see W.A. Ward, "Remarks on Some Middle Kingdom Statuary Found at Ugarit", *UF* 11 (1979) 799-806, 805, n. 42.

qly (RIH 83/24+84/2:4) – possibly also in KTU 4.133:3 (PTU, 176) but KTU read *lly*; cf. Hurr. *kili-* or *keldi-*.¹³⁶

**riš* and *rišn* (see UgOnom.2, 248 and UgOnom.3, 219): the meaning “slave” would appear to be confirmed by the alternation of *riš* and the logogram *ir* in OB names.¹³⁷

**rgln* as noted (UgOnom.1, 125) this PN increases the meagre Ug. evidence for the word *rgl* and can be added to recent comparative studies.¹³⁸

šdy, “Country man” (4.51 2 ([*bn*] ...)); the possible meanings have been discussed by Hess¹³⁹ and his conclusion matches that of Fales in respect of the West Semitic name *il-ta-da-a* (*šaday), “man of the open country, steppe”.¹⁴⁰

šmyn (4.122 2 ([*bn*] ...)) – *šu-mi-ia-na* PRU 3 106 (RS16.206) 5;¹⁴¹ cf. Emar PN *šumianni* (TSABR, 191).

šmt m.u. (4.50 5) – if a PN it may correspond to *šu-mi-i[t-ti]* Ug. 5 20 1 and EA *šumitti*.¹⁴²

šqln (4.723 10 (*bn* ...)) – the root may be Ug. *šql*, “to proceed” but, although spelled *ql* in Ugaritic, here the meaning “Shekel” is not to be excluded; cf. Bab. *šiqlum*, “shekel” and *šiqlanum*.¹⁴³

tan (4.232 4 (*bn* ...); 4.692 3 (*bn* ...); (4.368 20; PTU, 258) may be explained by Alalakh *ta-a* (AT 32:8) and *ta-a-an*¹⁴⁴ (AT 205:31).

tiyn (4.631 18 (*bn* ...); PTU, 258; UVST, 235 n. 101) – *ta-ú-ya-na* PRU 6 29 4'; Emar PNN *tæ* and *tai* (TSABR, 191).

tbšn, “The brother is strong” (4.55 7 (*bn* ...); PTU, 266) may instead be a form of (Hurr.) *tapš-*, “to surpass, fell”.¹⁴⁵

tmr, “Palm” (4.69 i 20 (*bn* ...); 4.724 1 (*bn* ...); 4.651 3; PTU, 260; UVST, 76.185) if Semitic. However, cf. Hurr. *tamra*, “nine”.¹⁴⁶

tsn (4.141 ii 13; PTU, 314) the reading according to KTU is *sn*. However, if *tsn* is correct it may be explained by **tusinnum*, most recently discussed by Farber.¹⁴⁷

136. References in Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989-90) 420.

137. M. Stol, “Old Babylonian Personal Names”, *SEL* 8 (1991) 191-212 (193).

138. A.S. Kaye, “Etymology, Etymological Method, Phonological Evolution, and Comparative Semitics: Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic) *ṣagr* and Colloquial Syro-Palestinian Arabic *ṣəṣr* ‘Foot’ One Last Time” in Kaye ed, *FSLeslau I*, 826-849; and J. Hayes, “The Lexical Relationship between Epigraphic South Arabic and Ugaritic”, *ibid.* 609-626, esp. 615 (entry 46: foot).

139. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 139-140, with syllabic spellings and full references.

140. Fales, *SEL* 8 (1991) 105 n. 37.

141. It may occur in Ugar. 5 20:2 (“Lettre du général”) but is probably to be read *šu-mi-i[i-ti]*; cf. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 146-147. See next entry.

142. On the syllabic spellings and possible meanings see Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 146-147, with the references there.

143. References in Stol, *SEL* 8 201 and n. 103.

144. For discussion cf. Zeeb, *UF* 23 (1991) 413.

145. Cf. Salvini, *SEL* 8 (1991) 178.

146. Wilhelm, *Or* 61 (1992) 134. For syllabic spellings cf. PTU, 260 and 357 (under *tmrtn*).

147. W. Farber, “*Ḥanum kauft Gadagada: Eine altassyrische Selbstverkaufs-Urkunde*”, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 197-205; he suggests the meaning “Vorkaufsrecht” (200-201).

tran (3.7 3 (*bn* ...)); the Emar PNN *turia* and *turi* (TSABR, 192) may suggest *tur'u*, "ein Ruf" (AHw, 1373b) or Hurr. *tura'u*, a type of wool (AHw, 1373a).¹⁴⁸

**tt* (UgOnom.2, 249). According to Hess, the (syllabically spelled) name is Egyptian.¹⁴⁹ Cf. also the Emar PNN *tutte* and *tutu* (TSABR, 192) and *tu-tu-na* PRU 6 54 18, though Ug. *ttn* (4.35 ii 21 etc.) is probably not a variant of this name.

ttn (4.46 5; 4.155 11 (... *bn tyl*); 4.281 22; 4.612 5 (*bn* ...);¹⁵⁰ PTU, 264.421) could correspond to (the town name) *tašenni*, NPN, 263; *tešenu* "eine Art Büffel" (AHw, 1352a); Hurr. *teša*, "heart"; or Hurr. *tiššan*, "much, many" (cf. AHw, 1362, under *tisnu(hhu)*, "ein Metallgefäß") or even Hurr. *tišnu*, perhaps denoting a kind of cup.¹⁵¹

tndn (4.715 22) – *ši-ni-de-nu* (RS 22.223) 12 (SAU, 441 and n. 106 there).

tnk[] (4.415 4 (*bn* ...)) like the unique PN *še-en-na-ka* (AT 33:5) is evidently related to Hurr. *šen*-brother.¹⁵² See next entry.

tnqy (RIH 77/2A+14A+15+20:68) new; cf. *šenaqqa*, NPN, 255; Phoen. *šnk*, an unexplained name, Benz, PNPPI, 423 and *šum/nku(m)*, "onions" (AHw, 1272a).

It may generally be noted that whereas the givers, bearers and users of personal names could and most probably did have their own interpretations of these names, what matters in terms of the lexicon is whether any particular name includes a lexical item, especially when that item is new or rare. Syllabic spellings, comparative philology and a degree of common sense can narrow down the possibilities but in many cases we have to accept our ignorance. Also, many of the names could have two or more meanings and linguistic background determined the meaning chosen (e.g. *arnbt*, discussed above).

At the close it may be useful to give a catalogue of Ugaritic names which have equivalents in pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions.¹⁵³ The Ugaritic names are listed and Hebrew equivalents provided (in brackets) only when the spelling is different: *aby*, *bsn* (Heb. *bsy*), *bšmn* (Heb. *bšm*), *bšr*, *bqš*, *gdl*, *glgl*, *gmr*, *dkr* (Heb. *zkr*), *dqnt* (Heb. *zkn*), *hgb* (Heb. *hgb*), *hyl* (Heb. *hyl*'), *hmn* (Heb. *hmn*), *hni* (Heb. *hn*'), *hnn*, *hrp*, *ydlm* and *ydl* (Heb. *ydlyhw*), *ydnm* (Heb. *ydneyhw*), *yd'*, *ymn* (Heb. *ymnh*), *yrhm* (Heb. *yrhm*'), *ym* (Heb. *ymt* and *ymyhw*), *yil* (Heb. *yšil*), *ky* (Heb. *kšy*), *mgn*, *mnhm*, *mtn*, *nqmd* (Heb. *nqm*), *nr* (Heb. *nr*'), *nryn* (Heb. *nry*), *str* (Heb. *str*), *'nnn* (Heb. *'nnyhw*), *'rb*,¹⁵⁴ *gs* (Heb. *'sy*), *pdy*, *pshn* (Heb. *psh*), *sdqy* and *sdqn* (Heb. *sdq*), *qly* (Heb. *qlyhw*), *qrh*, *rpan* etc. (Heb. *rp*'), *šbn* (Heb. *šbn* and *šbnyhw*), *šmb'l* (Heb. *šmyh*), *šm'y*, *l'ly* and *l'ln* (Heb. *š'l*), *tpb'l* (Heb. *šptyhw*).¹⁵⁵

148. However, cf. Akk. *tarû*, *tariu*, "child-rearer" AHw, 1336b.

149. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 162-164, with discussion.

150. Cf. KTU 4.356:10 where *wdtn nhlh* is corrected to *wšd tn* etc.; contrast PTU, 125 and UVST, 231, n. 92.

151. For this last possibility cf. Zeeb, *UF* 23 (1991) 432 (on *tišnu* in AT 127:1 and 366:1).

152. Zeeb, *UF* 23 (1991) 414.416, without reference to Ugaritic.

153. Listed alphabetically by R. Lawton, "Israelite Personal Names on Pre-Exilic Hebrew Inscriptions", *Bib* 65 (1984) 330-346; see there for full references. Some dubious correspondences have not been included and not all the correspondences listed may be exact. See further F. Israel, "Note di onomastica semitica 7/1", *SEL* 8 (1991) 119-140, and "Note di onomastica semitica 7/2: Rassegna critico-bibliografica ed epigrafica su alcune onomastiche palestinesi: La transgiordania", *SEL* 9 (1992) 95-114.

154. KTU 4.214 iv 13 (*bn* ...), unless to be read *'rd*.

155. For references for the Ug. names cf. PTU and Whitaker, CUL.