

Ugaritic Onomastics (5)

Wilfred G. E. Watson - Newcastle upon Tyne

[The series of studies on Ugaritic personal names continues with further discussion of new names, meanings and syllabic spellings as well as corrections to previous entries.]

As in previous studies,¹ additional spellings and meanings of Ugaritic personal names are provided here and the entries are in "traditional" alphabetic sequence. Several new names are also noted, principally from *RSO* 7,² although in general information provided by *DLU* I is not repeated here. Where necessary, corrections to earlier contributions are given (previously discussed names are marked *). The focus is principally on the *meanings* of the elements used in these personal names (as before, m.u. = "meaning unknown") but unnoticed syllabic spellings are also given.

Recently, Hess has prepared surveys on Ugaritic names.³ Also, his study of names in the Amarna letters is, of course, extremely important since it refers to Ugaritic names.⁴ Ugaritic names are also discussed in his article on non-Israelite names.⁵ In Hoch's study of Semitic words in Egyptian, Ugaritic names are cited and discussed⁶ as is also the case in Sanmartín's comparison of Eblaite and Ugaritic.⁷ Tropper discusses several Ugaritic masculine names using the final letter in the Ugaritic alphabet.⁸

1 "Ugaritic Onomastics (1)", *AuOr* 8 (1990) 113-127; "Ugaritic Onomastics (2)", *AuOr* 8 (1990) 243-250; "Ugaritic Onomastics (3)", *AuOr* 11 (1993) 213-222; "Ugaritic Onomastics (4)", *AuOr* 13 (1995) 217-229 these will be referred to as *UgOnom* 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

2 *RSO* 7 = P. Bordreuil et alii. *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville. Les textes de la 3^e campagne (1973)* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit VII), Paris 1991; the references are to page numbers. The new edition of KTU (CAT=KTU²) has also been used. *SAA* 7 = F. M. Fales - J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I. Palace and Temple Administration* (Helsinki 1992).

3 R. S. Hess, "Personal Names from Ugarit: The State of Research in Terms of Publication and Prosopography", paper read at the meeting of the British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology, Edinburgh, Dec. 8th, 1995. Also, R. S. Hess, "Recent Studies in Personal Names from Ugarit", paper read at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Nov. 19th, 1995. Also relevant is his "Place Names from Ugarit", paper read at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Nov. 25th, 1996. (My thanks to Rick Hess for this information).

4 R. S. Hess, "Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua", *CBQ* 58 (1996) 205-214. For a brief survey of some PNN in Ugaritic texts connected with Phoenicia cf. P. Xella, "Ugarit et les Phéniciens. Identité culturelle et rapports historiques", in M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, eds, *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, Münster 1995, 239-266 (esp. 257-260).

5 R. S. Hess, "Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua", *CBQ* 58 (1996) 205-214. For a brief survey of some PNN in Ugaritic texts connected with Phoenicia cf. P. Xella, "Ugarit et les Phéniciens. Identité culturelle et rapports historiques", in M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, eds, *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, Münster 1995, 239-266 (esp. 257-260).

6 J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, NJ 1994, e.g. #568 (names with *dd*), #556 (names with *dkr*).

7 J. Sanmartín, "Isoglosas morfoléxicas eblaítico-ugaríticas: la trampa lexicográfica", in P. Michalowski, P. Steinkeller, E. C. Stone and R. L. Zettler, eds., *Velles paraules. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* = *AuOr* 9 (1991) 165-217.

8 J. Tropper, "Das letzte Zeichen des ugaritischen Alphabets", *UF* 27 (1995) 505-528. See also his "Das ugaritische Konsonanteninventar", *JNSL* 20 (1994) 17-59, where various PNN are also discussed.

Indirectly, his two recent studies on enclitic *-y* and *-n* are also relevant, although they do not include personal names.⁹ Márquez Rowe lists names of Egyptians at Ugarit (in KTU 3.7).¹⁰ Useful, too is the exhaustive concordance by Cunchillos and Vita¹¹ which was consulted in the final stages of the present study.¹² Finally, Archi has provided a brief study of Ebla personal names, with some reference to Ugaritic.¹³

abr[], m.u. (4.647:7) = *a-bu-ru* (RS 34.147:7; RSO 7, 24).¹⁴

adrdn (DLU I, 11) may be explained by *adr*, "noble"¹⁵ but the second element *adn* or *d(y)n?* -remains uncertain (PTU, 16.43 etc.); cf. Hurr. PN *attara* from Tell-al-Rimah.¹⁶

**alymn* (UgOnom. 3, 214): the second element (*-man*), as in non-Israelite Heb. "hîman, is most probably West Semitic rather than Hurrian or Indo-Ayran.¹⁷

ally (2.72:13 (*bn...*)) may be explained by Ug.(-Hurrian) *all*, which denotes a type of clothing¹⁸ but could be related to the deity *alalu*. Cf. *ully* (DLU I, 28).

aln (DLU I, 29)¹⁹ may perhaps be a misspelling of *alrn* (cf. RSO 7, 115 line 15); cf. Akk. *allûru*, which denotes a fine garment (CAD A/1, 360a) and Hurrian *aluri-(na)*. However, cf. Alalakh *al-li-ni-ri*, Linear B *a-ra-na-ro*.²⁰

9 J. Tropper, "Die enklitische Partikel *-y* im Ugaritischen", *UF* 26 (1994) 473-482 and "Zur Grammatik der ugaritischen Omina", *UF* 26 (1994) 457-472, esp. 466-469. See also W. von Soden, "Präsensformen in frühkanaanäischen Personennamen", in J.-M. Durand-J. R. Kupper, eds, *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (Paris 1985) 307-310.

10 I. Márquez Rowe, "KTU 3.7 reconsidered. On the *ilku*-service in Ugarit", *AuOr* 11 (1993) 250-252. For reflexes of Ug. PNN in Linear B cf. D. R. West, *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses and Female Daemons of Oriental Origin especially in relation to the mythology of goddesses and daemons in the semitic world*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995, 29-36.

11 J.-L. Cunchillos-J.-P. Vita, *II. Concordancia de Palabras Ugaríticas en morfología desplegada* II.1 *-y*; II.2 *k-l* and II.3 *Apéndices e índices*, Madrid-Zaragoza 1995, here referred to as *CPU*.

12 For prosopography see Appendix IIIa, *Scribes arranged alphabetically*, Appendix IIIb, *Teachers arranged alphabetically*, and Appendix IIIc, *Families arranged according to ancestors* in W. H. van Soldt, "Babylonian Lexical, Religious and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit and its implications for the alphabetic literary texts", in M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, eds, *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt* (Münster 1995) 171-212 (209-212).

13 A. Archi, "IL in the Personal Names", *OLZ* 91 (1996) 133-151, esp. 148-151 ("EI at Ugarit").

14 See S. Ribichini - P. Xella, "Problemi di onomastica ugaritica: il caso dei teofori", *SEL* 8 (1991) 149-170 (156) and *DNWSI*, 7.

15 Cf. Z. Zevit, "How Do You Say 'Noble' in Phoenician, Biblical Hebrew, and in Ugaritic?", in A. S. Kaye, ed., *Semitic Studies. In honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday November 14th 1991*, Wiesbaden 1991, II, 1704-1715, though this PN is not mentioned.

16 J. M. Sasson, "Hurrian Personal Names in the Rimah Archives", *Assur* 2/2 (1979) 37-68 (41 and 51).

17 Hess, *CBQ* 58 (1996) 212-213.

18 Cf. W. G. E. Watson, "Notes on Some Ugaritic Words", *SEL* 6 (1989) 47-52 (52, n. 33); "Two Ugaritic Terms Concerning Textiles", *AuOr* 8 (1990) 138-140, esp. 139-140; M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, "Die hurro-ugaritische Textilbezeichnung *all*", *UF* 22 (1990) 49-50; and *DLU* I, 27. For another instance of Hitt. *alalu* (in KBo XXI 34 11 26-27) cf. G. M. Beckmann, *Hittite Birth Rituals* (Wiesbaden 1983) 107.

19 Cf. D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Proper Nouns", *AJO* 36/37 (1989/90) 390-513 (395).

20 Cf. West, *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses*, 30 with further references.

annmn (DLU I, 40) = *ann* (an unknown deity) + *mn* (perhaps an Egyptian element).²¹

ars/šw and *ars/šwn* (DLU I, 51) may derive from the place-name Arzawa.²²

izl (4.35 i 17 (*bn ...*)) and *izly* (4.348:4) may be the same as *aziltu* (RS 34.134:18), but this is a fem. name. See, instead, DUMU *izuli* (RS 34.169:4'); however, cf. DLU I, 66.

iytlm, "Where is (my) brother" (2.14:14 etc., cf. DLU I, 66) "corresponds exactly to the Akk. PN *alitalīmi* 'Where-Is-My-Favorite-Brother?'" according to Tsevat.²³ See below on *tlmyn*.

ilib, "God of the father(s) (?)" (4.727:13; cf. DLU I, 25) has an unexpected counterpart in Phoen. 'bd'l'b (written ABΔEΛHB) the name of a man from Ashkelon, in an inscription from Demetrias (Thessaly). Sznycer writes: "Il me paraît... sans que cela soit certain, que εληβ puisse transcrire le nom divin 'L'B *El-a/eb*, bien connu en ougaritique sous la forme 'il'ib" and for corroboration cites the Heb. name 'bd'l'b found on a 7th/6th century seal,²⁴ although he does not mention the Ugaritic PN.²⁵

ilhu (DLU I, 27): cf. Akk. PN *ha'ilu* (CAD H, 31a)²⁶ and *Aia-hâ* (SAA 7:118 r. ii 9).

ihn (DLU I, 29): cf. PN 'ln, found on a seal.²⁷

**ilt*, "Elat" (cf. *UgOnom.* 4, 219): Ribichini has shown that the goddess *ilt*, "Elat", did exist.²⁸

irbl[...] (8.30:6' *bn ...*) is an unnoticed name; cf. previously *irbl* (4.200:10; CPU, 258) - perhaps syllabically *i-ri-ib-AN Ugar.* 5 9 (RS 17.61) 9.21 and *i-ri-bi-li PRU* 3 64(RS 16.190) 5.9.11; *i-ri-bi-la PRU* 3 70(RS 16.279)4; *i-ri-ib[-ilu(?)] PRU* 3 149-150(RS 16.184) r4²⁹ (cf. PTU, 327) - i.e. the (Hurrian) element *Irip* (= *iri* + *p*)³⁰ + *ilu*, "El/god".³¹

irdyn (4.631:16; DLU I, 48), in view of the spellings *irte*, *irteia*, *irteian* (in Alalakh; cf. PTU, 226), may possibly be explained by Hurr. *irde*, "tongue".³²

21 Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, #112, p.110.

22 Tropper, *UF* 27 (1995) 522-523.

23 M. Tsevat, "Sun Mountains at Ugarit", *JNSL* 3 (1973) 71-75, 74, n.23.

24 D. Diringier, *Le iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi*, Florence 1934, 233-234 (*Sigilli*, n° 73, pl. XXI, fig. 10).

25 M. Sznycer, "Deux noms de phéniciens d'Ascalon à Démétrias (Thessalie)", *Sem* 29 (1979) 45-52 (50-52, quotation from p. 50).

26 For other views cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 394. M. C. Astour, "A North Mesopotamian Locale for the Keret Epic", *UF* 5 (1973) 29-39 concludes that *ilhu* = "**Eluhā'u*, a gentilic in -a'u from the name of a well known North Mesopotamian city which variously appears in Mari texts as *Eluhut* (thus also in Old Assyrian), *Elahut*, etc." (38).

27 P. Bordreuil-A. Lemaire, "Deux nouveaux sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques", *Journal asiatique* 265 (1977) 17-19 - cf. J. Teixidor, *Syria* 54 (1977) 261.

28 S. Ribichini, "Flebilis de fenicie", *RSF* 24 (1996) 1-35 (5-8).

29 Restored in lines 2 and 3 (reverse).

30 Sasson, *Assur* 2/2 (1979) 18.

31 On the person *Iribilu* cf. van Soldt, *SAU*, 27 and n. 221, though he does not mention the passages in Ugar. 5.

32 Cf. I. Wegner, "Die hurritischen Körperteilbezeichnungen", *ZA* 85 (1995) 116-126 (116-117).

**itn*, "House-builder" (however, cf. *UgOnom.* 4, 220 and *DLU* I, 59) if the same as Akk./ Hurrian *iti/ennu* (borrowed from Sum.) as documented by Neu.³³

ubn, "God is true" (references: *CPU*, 282); to the syllabic spellings listed in *DLU* I, 5 add *upinu* (*RSO* 7, 24).

uzr(?)y, m.u. (4.103:58 ([b]n...); cf. *DLU* I, 67) is also attested in Mari as the PN *ú-zu-ri* (*ARM* XXIV, 313:7).³⁴ As is known, Ug. *uzr* occurs in the mythological texts and has been much discussed.³⁵

umh (cf. *DLU* I, 35) corresponds to EA *um-ma-ah-nu*, on which Hess comments: "The language represented by this PN is unknown".³⁶

umy (4.96:8 (*bn* ...); *DLU* I, 37) may mean ("son of) my mother", but cf. Hitt. PN *u-ma-ya*.³⁷

ummt (4.64 v 4 (*bn* ...)): De Moor comments: "For the personal name '*ummt* no other translation is as convincing as 'My-Mother-is-Motu'. If '*um* were the subject of the element *mt*, one would expect it to have the feminine ending so that the form should have been *mtt*. Now, however, the nearest parallel is clearly the Ugaritic personal name '*ʿttrum* 'Athtaru-is-my-mother'³⁸. See also OB *ʿaš-ra-tum-um-mi*, "Ashratum is my mother".³⁹

uryy (*DLU* I, 54) - cf. Hurr. *uri*, "foot"⁴⁰ - perhaps a descriptive name of someone with unusual feet; like the PN *rgln* (*UgOnom.* 1, 125; *UgOnom.* 5, 228).

urš[] (4.447 1; 4.639:5); cf. either Hurrian *urištu*, which denotes a component of military equipment,⁴¹ or the PN *urišalli*.⁴²

33 E. Neu, "'Baumeister' und 'Zimmermann' in der Textüberlieferung von Hattuša", *IstMit* 43 (1993) 59-62.

34 F. Joannès, "Nouveaux mémoires" in J.-M. Durand-J.-K. Kupper, eds, *Miscellanea babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, 97-113 (110). Joannès adds: "J.-M. Durand me signale que le nom Uzuri est attesté par ailleurs dans la documentation de Mari" (*ibid.*, 111).

35 See, for example, A. Caquot, "Notes philologiques sur la légende ougaritique de Danel et d'Aqhat. I", *Semitica* 37 (1987) 5-16 (6-8: "ceint (de son vêtement)").

36 Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, #176, p. 164.

37 Cf. E. Laroche, "Noms et titres féminins en Asie Mineure Hittite", in J.-M. Durand-J.-K. Kupper, eds, *Miscellanea babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, 191-195 (193, with further references).

38 J. C. de Moor, "Lovable Death in the Ancient Near East", *UF* 22 (1990) 233-245 (244). Cf. M. Weippert, "Über den asiatischen Hintergrund der Göttin 'Asiti'", *Or* 44 (1965) 12-21 (16, n. 22) and F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen, "The Interpretation of Two Late Punic Amphora Stamps from Carthage", *Studia Phoenicia VI. Carthago*, Leuven 1988, 113-118 (113-114 and n. 6).

39 Discussed by R. S. Hess, "Asherah or Asherata?", *Or* 65 (1996) 209-219 (209).

40 Cf. V. Haas, "Hurritologische Miscellen", *AoF* 20 (1993) 261-268 (264-265).

41 G. Wilhelm, "*urištu* (ein Teil der Kriegerausrüstung) n.17", in D. I. Owen-G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians-7. Edith Porada Memorial Volume*, Bethesda 1995, 155.

42 H. Freydank-M. Salvini, "Zu den Hurritischen Personennamen aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta", *SMEA* 24 (1984) 33-56 (52 and 54).

urt (1.79:7; 4.617:44 (*bn ...*) *PTU*, 275; *DLU* I, 53) in view of *ú-ri-te* RS 34.124:r.2' (*RSO* 7, 68), cf. *uritannu*, "Geweberand" (*AHW*, 1431a).⁴³ See next entry.

urm, "God is true"(?) (4.115:2; 4.337:4; 4.341:15; *PTU*, 261f, 275, 286, 423, 425; *DLU* I, 53) the spellings (RS 8.213:28; RS 34.134:2.31.38; RS 34.141:2; RS 34.145:21; RS 34.153:2; RS 34.173:2) reflect *urtenu* so that *ur-tá-ni* in *PRU* 3 15(RS 12.33) r2' must be a different name.⁴⁴ It also occurs in RS 92.2005 and RS 92.2014 (incantation against sorcerers).⁴⁵

(!) *utqn* (4.7:4) might have been equivalent to *ut-tu-ki* *PRU* III 134(RS 15.137:4), Hurrian Attukki:⁴⁶ however the reading in CAT(KTU²) is *bn. nmq*.

**buš*, "Smelly/Harmful"(?) (cf. *UgOnom.* 4, 220): the spelling *bi-'-ši* (RS 34.173:18' ; *RSO* 7, 72) matches Emar *bi'šū* (cited previously; cf. Qatab. *b's* , "to harm").

brgyn(?) (4.763:8; cf. *CPU*, 502). If this corresponds to the Aram. name *brgy'*, it may in fact be Aramaic, like *brdd* in the next line.⁴⁷ However, the reading in both KTU¹ and CAT(KTU²) is [g]rgyn here.

**ggy*, "Necklace"(?) (references in *DLU* I, 145; cf. *UgOnom.* 1, 117 and *UgOnom.* 4, 221);⁴⁸ cf. *gāgu*, "necklace" (SAA 7, 210) and PN ^{Mf}*ga-g[u-x]* (SAA 7, No.169:4), also PN *gi-gi* (E.P.H.E 422 II 56).⁴⁹

gny (4.54:12) and *gnym* (4.55:13(*bn ...*); *DLU* I, 149) may be explained by Ug. *gn*, "garden"⁵⁰ but cf. the Hurrian PN ^{Mf}*ginaje*,⁵¹ although it is feminine.

43 W. Mayer, "mardatu 'Teppič'", *UF* 9 (1977) 173-189 (182, n. 53) comments: "Die Notwendigkeit, für das hurrische Wort *uritannu* die Bedeutung 'Rand' anzusetzen, ergibt sich m.E. aus den Parallelismus zu akk. *pātu* (*AHW*, 849a) und *qannātu* (pl. v. *qannu*; *AHW*, 897)".

44 However, F. Zeeb, "Reconsidering the Letters from the 'King' in the Ugarit Texts: Royal Correspondence of Carchemish?", *UF* 24 (1992) 431-446, comments: "Urtenu, the messenger of the queen of Ugarit ..., is undoubtedly identical to the Urtani mentioned in RS 12.33 (rev. l. 2'), also addressed to Taryelli. He is known to be a contemporary of her herald Tipit / Tipti-Ba'lu" (441, n. 51).

45 P. Bordreuil-D. Pardee, "L'épigraphie ougaritique: 1973-1993", in M. Yon, M. Sznycer, P. Bordreuil, eds., *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin - 1^{er} juillet 1993*, Paris 1995, 27-32 (31-32). For a dossier on Urtenu cf. D. Arnaud, "Une Lettre du roi de Tyr au roi d'Ougarit: milieux d'affaires et de culture en Syrie à la fin de l'Âge du Bronze récent", *Syria* 59 (1982) 101-107 (106). See also S. Lackenbacher, "La correspondance internationale dans les archives d'Ougarit", *RA* 89 (1995) 67-76.

46 S. Lackenbacher, "Une nouvelle attestation d'*Ištar hurri* dans un contrat trouvé à Baniyas (Syrie)", in J.-M. Durand-J. R. Kupper, eds., *Miscellanea Babylonica, Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, 153-160 (as *a-tu-ku* in line 12 of tablet; cf. p. 155 and n. 5).

47 As suggested by Bordreuil-Pardee, *RSO* 7, 165.

48 Cf. P. Bordreuil-A. Lemaire, "Deux nouveaux sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques", *Journal asiatique* 265 (1977) 17-19; cf. J. Teixidor, *Syria* 54 (1977) 261.

49 M. Bonechi, "Conscription à Larsa après la conquête babylonienne", *M.A.R.I.* 7, Paris 1993, 129-164 (131-159). E.P.H.E = École pratique des Hautes Études; the tablet is in the collection belonging to IV^e Section of the École. Note that the alleged PN *gl.b 'tē* in KTU 4.356:3 (cf. *UgOnom.* 1, 127 - note the word divider) does not exist; cf. I. Márquez Rowe, "More Evidence of the Grazing Tax in Ugarit", *UF* 27 (1996) 317-331 (319, n.4); see also *DLU* I, 145 under *gl* (III).

50 See P. Kella, "Gunu(m)⁶⁰ dans les textes d'Ebla", *NABU* 1995, 89, for a discussion of the root *gn*.

51 Freydanck - Salvini, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 53.

**grgyn* (cf. *UgOnom.* 2, 245: "pine"; *DLU* I, 151) - relevant, perhaps, are Akk. *girrigû* and *girgû* (the second form also attested in RS 88.2158)⁵². Lackenbacher comments: "l'on peut se demander s'il s'agit d'un objet fabriqué avec diverses fibres ou de deux objets différents"⁵³.

gtrn (*DLU* I, 153) - cf. *ga-aš-ra-na* from a Syrian contract⁵⁴.

d'm "(Son of the god) Damu" (3.7:8 (*bn ...*)), corresponding to Mari *Bi-in-Da-mu*⁵⁵; the god also occurs in Phoenician names (*d'mh'n'*, *d'mlk* [= *d'm-mlk*] and *d'mšlh*).⁵⁶

ddy (4.245 II 3(*bn ...*); *DLU* I, 139) cf. Assyrian *zi-zi-i* (SAA 7, 1 ii 3; 5 r. 3). Cf. also *zzn* (4.63 II 32; 4.108 2; *PTU*, 190) and *šyn* (4.609 14). It is particularly interesting that SAA 7, 5 (= ADD 857) and KTU 4.609 are both long lists of royal personnel and also that "zi-zi-i" is a "gate-guard" ([L]Ú.Ī.DU_g = *atû*) and *šyn* (KTU 4.609 14) is a *tgr* or "gate-keeper".

dmr, "Roe-deer?" (4.348:17 (*bn ...*); 4.647:1; *PTU*, 197; *DLU* I, 140) - cf. Heb. *zāmer* and perhaps Mari *zamartum* or *zamurtum*: "Il est vraisemblable que le **zamrum*, fém. *zamartum* / *zamurtum*, représentait une race de capridés, pas obligatoirement sauvages d'ailleurs".⁵⁷

**hnil*, "(O the) Grace of Ilu!" (*UgOnom.* 4, 222) or "Child of Ilu", i.e. either Semitic (cf. *hnn*) or Hurrian (cf. Hurrian *hani-* "child").⁵⁸

hdt (cf. *DLU* I, 174) - Fleming compares the vocalisation of this name (*hudaši*) with Emar *hidaši*, "new moon"; he also refers to the PN *hdt'n* / *hudsānu*⁵⁹ (see now *DLU* I, 174).

hšbn (*DLU* I, 183) cf. *hu-ša-ap-pu* RS 34.146:6.9 (*RSO* 7, 42). Grøndahl derives *hšbn* from *hšb* "to fight", with partial assimilation due to the emphatic *š* (*PTU*, 21). Cf. PNN *hu-šab* and *hu-ša-abi* (cited *CAD* H, 259b) under *hušabu*, perhaps equivalent to "chip off the old block", or cf. *huššubu* (*CAD* H, 260a; *AHW*, 361a).

hwt] (4.161:9; cf. *CPU* II.3, 2417) - if a PN, may be explained by Phoen. *hwt*, the name of a goddess;⁶⁰ however, the word is incomplete.

52 RS 88.2158 is discussed by S. Lackenbacher, in M. Yon-P. Bordreuil, eds., *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin - 1^{er} juillet 1993*, Paris 1995, 80.

53 S. Lackenbacher, "girgû dans un texte d'Ugarit", *NABU* 1996, 11.

54 Lackenbacher, "Une nouvelle attestation d'*Ištar hurri*", 153: line 1 of tablet; cf. p. 156.

55 M. Birot, *ARM* XVII/1, Paris 1979, 80.

56 E. Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Leuven 1995, 191; cf. also G. Garbini, "Evoluzione fonetica nel Fenicio". *RSF* 24 (1996) 3-5.

57 J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1995, 80.

58 V. Haas, "Ein Preis auf das Wasser in hurritischer Sprache", *ZA* 79 (1989) 261-271 (267, n.27).

59 D. E. Fleming, "New Moon Celebration Once a Year: Emar's *Hidašit* of Dagan", in K. van Lerberghe-A. Schoors, eds., *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński*, Leuven 1995, 57-64 (60 and n. 13).

60 Ribichini, *RSF* 24 (1996) 19-20. However, cf. Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, 412-414, who rejects *Hawwat* as a "théonyme" (he shows it to be an inf. piel of *hwy*).

hlln, "Winey(?)" (4.53:12; 4.335:23; *PTU*, 139; *DLU* I, 192) cf. Urartian *haluli-*, "wine", Nuzi-Hurrian *halulu*, "(a fruit)".⁶¹

**hlm* "Song(?)" (*UgOnom.* 2, 245; *DLU* I, 192) - cf. possibly Hurrian *hal-mi*, "song" (cf. Huehnergard, *UVST*, 97, with references).

hnn (*DLU* I, 194) there are no syllabic spellings in Ugaritic Akk., but cf. *hu-na-an-nu* in a contract from Syria⁶² and the Ug. PN *hnn* (*DLU* I, 179, with syllabic spellings).

**hpsry* and *hpsry* (*UgOnom.* 1, 119; cf. *DLU* I, 196), perhaps Hurrian *hapzuri*, "saliva".⁶³

**ilmyn* (*UgOnom.* 1, 119) see below under *ilmyn*.

ybsr "May (DN) observe"(?) (4.617:10): Tropper argues that the verb here is not "to bring good news" (as in *PTU*, 121) but either "to cut off" or "to waylay",⁶⁴ although I would suggest "to spy"⁶⁵ (see now *DLU* I, 118).

ydy, "May (DN) establish, plant" or "(DN) has established, planted" (4.245 i 2(...*bn*); 4.611:13(*bn* ...); *PTU*, 51.142.391) as explained by Hess with reference to EA *yi-id-ia* (EA I 320:5 etc.).⁶⁶ Cf. *ia-du-ia*⁶⁷ and *yd[y]n* (4.690:10 (...*bn*)).

ynhm, "May he be comforted/at ease" or "May (the god) have compassion" (see *CPU* II.1, 970 for references) occurs not only in syllabic spellings at Ugarit and EA⁶⁸ but also as *yanham* in Egyptian texts.⁶⁹

yplt, "(The god) delivered" (4.214 IV 4; 4.638:2; *PTU*, 173), matches *ia-ap-lu-tu₄* in a contract found in 1962 (RS 25.134:29).⁷⁰

yrgm-b'l, "Baal thunders" (1.102:26) has a counterpart in Egyptian **tarǧumu*, the name of a prince of Tyre, according to Hoch.⁷¹ Similar is *yrgm-il* (1.102:19), both much discussed.⁷²

61 M. Salvini, "Ein Beitrag zur hurritisch-urartäischen Morphologie", *Or* 59 (1990) 243-250 (246, n. 12, with references there).

62 Lackenbacher, "Une nouvelle attestation d'*Ištar hurri*", 153: line 1 of tablet; cf. 156 and n. 8, where the Mari PN *ha-nu-nu* (*ARMT* XVI, p. 102) is mentioned.

63 Wegner, *ZA* 85 (1995) 118. Whether there is any connection with obscure Akk. *hab/pša/erru* (*AHW*, 305b; *CAD* H, 17b) is uncertain.

64 Tropper, *UF* 27 (1995) 522.

65 See W. G. E. Watson, "The Falcon Episode in the Aqhat Legend", *JNSL* 5 (1977) 69-75 (71ff.).

66 Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 167-168; cf. W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore/London 1992, 385b.

67 F. Thureau-Dangin, "Un comptoir de laine pourpre à Ugarit d'après une tablette de Ras-Shamra", *Syria* 15 (1934) 137-146 (137:6).

68 Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 82-84.209.

69 Hoch, *Semitic Words*, #54 (pp. 53-54). The meanings proposed are Hoch's.

70 S. Lackenbacher, "Un contrat d'adoption en fraternité", in D. Charpin-F. Joannès, eds., *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*, Paris 1992, 341-343.

71 Details in Hoch, *Semitic Words*, #530.

72 E.g. Del Olmo Lete, *LRC*, 45-47.116-126.

**kbs* may mean "fuller, launderer" (*DLU* I, 209-210)⁷³ but cf. Hurrian(?) PN *kibusi*.⁷⁴

kbr, "Fat" (cf. *DLU* I, 209);⁷⁵ cf. AT 29:6 DUMU *Ku-ub-bu-rù* on which Zeeb comments: "Der Name des Vaters ist vielleicht mit ugar. *kbr* (*PTU*, 149) auf *kabāru* "dick sein" (*AHW* 415a) zurückzuführen".⁷⁶

kdn (*DLU* I, 211; *UgOnom.* 4, 223) - the spelling *ku-du-na* (*PRU* 6 137:3; 144:1) may be explained by Hurr. *kuduni*, "neck, throat".⁷⁷

kkln (*DLU* I, 212) and *qqln* (4.35 ii 12-15; 4.66:2; 4.155:2 (all *bn* ...); *PTU*, 268.277): to the Hitt. names cited in *PTU* add *ku-ku-la-na*, a woman's name.⁷⁸

**kkbn* (*DLU* I, 212): cf. also Hitt. *kakkapa-*, which may mean "Rebhuhn".⁷⁹ However, cf. *UgOnom.* 4, 223.

kmm "Blind person"(?) (refs.: *DLU* I, 218); cf. the Egyptian PN *kāman*, discussed by Hoch.⁸⁰

kmrn (*DLU* I, 218) cf. *kmr*[] (4.178:17) and perhaps *kmry* (4.415:5, although read *amry*[] in CAT(KTU²); cf. *DLU* I, 36) may be explained as derivations of "priest" (*PTU*, 28.150) but cf. Mari *kimura* (*ARMT* XXII, 120:1, etc.) which denotes "un habit de luxe" according to Durand,⁸¹ even though the syllabic spellings in Ugarit (if they belong to this name) go against this suggestion.

**kbln* and **kpln* (*DLU* I, 209) - the spelling DUMU-*ka-bu-li* (*PRU* 3 312[RS 15.126] 3) indicates that the equivalent to either or both these names may be the Hurrian name *'kapuli* from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta.⁸²

krb, "Clod" (*DLU* I, 223; *UgOnom.* 1, 120; *UgOnom.* 2, 247): cf. Emar *kār-ba* on an exercise tablet.⁸³

**krt* has been discussed elsewhere.⁸⁴ The name remains enigmatic, though a connection with recently identified Hurrian *keretti-*, "finger"⁸⁵ is remotely possible in view of [k]hm. *l. mtm. usb*[t], "Yes, he is only a finger-breadth removed from death" (KTU 1.15 V 16).⁸⁶ The equivalent of *krt*y (cf. *DLU* I, 224)

73 See also Tropper, *UF* 27 (1995) 519.

74 Listed in Freydank - Salvini, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 53.

75 Cf. S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*, Hildesheim 1983, 116.

76 F. Zeeb, "Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alalakh (III)", *UF* 25 (1993) 461-472 (468).

77 Wegner, *ZA* 85 (1995) 116.120-121.

78 Cf. Laroche, "Noms et titres féminins en Asie Mineure Hittite", 193.

79 Cf. J. Klinger, "Geister oder Gurken?", *NABU* 1994, 32.

80 Hoch, *Semitic Words*, #460 (p. 320); cf. #459 (319).

81 J.-M. Durand, review of Ribichini-Xella, *TTU* in *M.A.R.I.* 6 (1990) 659-664 (664).

82 Freydank-Salvini, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 41-42.53.

83 D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.4. Textes de la bibliothèque: transcriptions et traductions*, Paris 1987, 181 (text 601:10).

84 W. Watson, "The Ugaritic PN *krt*", *UF* 26 (1994) 497-500; add N. Wyatt, "A Suggested Historical Context for the Keret Story", *UF* 15 (1983) 316-318. Cf. also *DLU* I, 224 and G. N. Knoppers, "Dissonance and Disaster in the Legend of Kirta", *JAOS* 114 (1994) 572-582 (573, n. 5).

85 For this meaning of the word cf. Wegner, *ZA* 85 (1995) 119-120.

86 J. C. de Moor-K. Spronk, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (II)", *UF* 14 (1982) 173-190 (179, with a parallel from the syllabic texts from Ugarit).

may occur in EA 220:13 as *Kurtuya(?)*,⁸⁷ however there it is probably to be read *nukurtu-ya* (KÚR^{ur-tu}-ya).⁸⁸ Note also *kr[]* (KTU 6.64:1) which may be read *kr[t(y)]* according to Puech.⁸⁹ The name may occur in Linear B *ke-re-te-u* from Pylos.⁹⁰

ky (cf. *DLU* I, 232); the spelling *ku-ša-ya* (*PRU* 6 72:13') is matched by *ku-ša-ia* (AT 37:11).⁹¹

hvn (4.264:6; 4.307:7; *DLU* I, 245) in addition to the spellings of Anatolian names given by Grøndahl (*PTU*, 282) see *la-la-wiya*, from a seal.⁹²

mny ((4.69 VI 18 (*bn ...*); 4.715 16 (*bn ...*) *PTU*, 285); cf. DUMU-*ma-mi-ya*₈ (RS 34.036: r.15'; *RSO* 7.20).

mny (4.617:38; 4.635:23; *PTU*, 159); cf. EA *ma-an-ia* (EA 162:72) which, according to Hess, is an Egyptian name.⁹³ However, in KTU 4.635:23, *mny* is qualified as *addy*.

**mnn* (*UgOnom.* 4, 224-225), which is probably Anatolian, is a feminine name on the seal from Ugarit (*Ugar.* III, figs. 80, 81-83).⁹⁴

**mny* (*UgOnom.* 4, 225): texts relating to this person, who seems to have been a money-lender, (RIH 84/6=KTU 4.792; RIH 84/33=KTU 3.10 and RIH 84/4=KTU 4.791) have been discussed by Bordreuil.⁹⁵

mb'l, "Man of Ba'al" (4.75 V 21(*bn ...*); 4.130:10; 4.310:4; *PTU*, 31.117.162) - to the syllabic spelling given in *PTU*, 344, add *mu-ut-ba-'a-li*.⁹⁶

**mtn* (*UgOnom.* 4, 225): the various spellings of *mtn* in Phoenician, including Greek and Latin transcriptions, have been discussed by Szyner.⁹⁷

mt (3.7:15 (*bn ...*)) is connected with Egyptian *mš* by Márquez Rowe.⁹⁸

87 For the name (with reference to Ug.) cf. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 285.383.

88 Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 120-121.

89 E. Puech, "Origine de l'alphabet. Documents en alphabet linéaire et cunéiforme du II^e millénaire", *RB* 93 (1986) 161-213 (169); cf. CAT p. 511, n.1.

90 West, *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses*, 29, with further references.

91 F. Zeeb, "Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alalah", *UF* 23 (1991) 405-434 (424, but with no reference to Ug.).

92 Cf. Laroche, "Noms et titres féminins en Asie Mineure Hittite", 194.

93 Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, #112, p.110.

94 However, cf. *ma-ni-ni* (SAA 7, 27:2).

95 P. Bordreuil, "Les tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra et de Ras Ibn Hanî (1986-1992)", in Dietrich-Loretz, eds., *Ugarit*, 1-5.

96 Lackenbacher, "Une nouvelle attestation d'*Ištar hurri*", line 11 of tablet; cf. p. 155.

97 M. Szyner, "Deux noms de Phéniciens d'Ascalon à Démétrias (Thessalie)", *Semitica* 29 (1979) 45-52 (47-48).

98 Márquez Rowe, *AuOr* 11 (1993) 251.

nmš, "Ichneumon, mongoose" (4.63 IV 16(*bn* ...); *PTU*, 28, 167, 403) now occurs on a Hebrew seal as *nmš*: "Il s'agit probablement d'un nom de personne reprenant un nom d'animal: 'ichneumon, mangouste'".⁹⁹

nqmd, "Vengeance of Haddu" (1.4 VIII 49; 1.6 VI 57; 1.40:28; 1.84:40; 1.113:25; 1.121:9; 1.161:12.13.26; 2.19:8.9; 2.36:2; 3.1 *passim*), as explained by Dossin and Virolleaud,¹⁰⁰ corresponds to *nīq-ma*-IM in EA 49:2.¹⁰¹

nrn, m.u. (extremely frequent; cf. *CPU* II.2, 1460 for references): "*Nrn* est un anthroponyme sémitique avec l'élément verbal *nr/nwr* 'éclairer', 'briller'" (*TOug* II, 319, n. 15, with reference to *PTU*, 52, 165-166).¹⁰² The same root is very common in female names in Mari.¹⁰³ However, cf. Hurrian *niranithu*, which denotes upholstery¹⁰⁴ or wood (*CAD* N/2, 259; cf. *AHw*, 793b). Alternatively, it may be explained by Hurrian *nari(ya)* which means "five",¹⁰⁵ although the spellings *nu-ri-nu* (RS 34.169:6'; *RSO* 7, 17) and *nu-ra-nu* (RS 34.169:16', 30'; *RSO* 7, 17.18), if syllabic equivalents of *nrn*, would discount these possibilities.

sll, "Sleepless" (4.114:6; *PTU*, 65, 185, 253); although this may correspond to *silalli* (AT 145; *PTU*, 253) another possibility is that the name has a cognate in Akk. *salālum*, "to be sleepless".¹⁰⁶

ssl (4.15:6) cf. *sisalhu*, "(a qualification of sheep and oxen)" (SAA 7, 222); "(a breed of cattle or sheep)" (*CAD* S, 321, perhaps a Hurrian term).

srn "Highlander" (4.39:3; 4.63 I 42) also *šrn* (4.74 III 2; 4.225:1; 4.366:12; 4.371:22) and *zrn* (4.68:9; 4.95:6; 4.629:13), discussed by Tropper.¹⁰⁷

**bdhmn*, "Servant of Hmn" (*UgOnom.* 1, 127; cf. *DLU* I, 70; *CPU*, 1518);¹⁰⁸ *bdym*, "Servant of Yammu" (3.3:1; 4.7:7; 4.103:18.47; 4.341:3) has the equivalents *ha-ab-du-WA-mu* and *ha-ab-du-ú-mu* in the Mari texts;¹⁰⁹ *bdktr*, "Servant of Kotharu" (4.151:13; 4.175:6; 4.177:8; 4.183 II 19; 4.194:21; cf.

99 A. Lemaire, "Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique", *Semitica* 37 (1987) 47-55 (47-48). See already Pardee, *AJO* 36/37 (1989/90) 413.

100 G. Dossin, "Nqmd et Niqme-Had", *Syria* 20 (1939) 169-176; C. Virolleaud, "A Propos du nom Nqmd < Nqm-(H)d", *Syria* 21 (1940) 110-112.

101 Details in Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 119-120.209.

102 See also *ihry*, "El is my light", in J. Zsengellér, "Personal Names in the Wadi ed-Daliyet Papyri", *ZAH* 9 (1996) 182-189 (186).

103 J.-M. Durand, "*Niru* = *nārum*, lumière", *NABU* 1994, 3.

104 W. Mayer, "Beiträge zum hurro-akkadischen Lexikon II". in M. A. Morrison-D. I. Owen, eds., *Studies on 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, 247-255: "Sitz- oder Rückenpolster" (250-251).

105 G. Wilhelm, "Hurritisch *nari(ya)* 'fünf'", *SMEA* 24 (1984) 223-224.

106 W. Heimpel, "Salālum, to be sleepless", *NABU* 1995, 93.

107 Tropper, *UF* 27 (1995) 523.

108 Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, 253.

109 J.-M. Durand, "Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie", *M.A.R.I.* 7, Paris 1993, 41-61 (54, n. 57); he also refers to *Abdi-A.AB.BA* (in *Ugar.* 5, p. 58); cf. *DLU* I, 71.

CPU, 1521);¹¹⁰ *'bdrš* (DLU I, 70) is not to be connected with *İR-ti-ir-ši*;¹¹¹ *'bd.šhr* (4.98:19 (*bn ...*)) probably means "Servant of (the god) Šaḥaru".¹¹²

'zilt (RS 92.2005)¹¹³ = *a-zi-il-tù* (RS 34.134:18; RSO 7, 68), an equivalence noted by Bordreuil-Pardee.¹¹⁴ His father is *urtu* (see above).

'ttrm, "Athtar is mother" (cf. DLU I, 94): Müller compares the Sabaeen divine name *'m'ttr* which means either "A. is mother" or "Mother of A.", denoting a sun-goddess.¹¹⁵ De Moor comments: "Like Motu, 'Athtaru is a male god and obviously the designation of the deity as «Mother» is a metaphor implying nothing less than tenderness".¹¹⁶ However, cf. Xella: "il est le seul dieu à recevoir les épithètes de père et de mère (un trait révélateur d'un caractère androgyne primitif?), à moins que le NP théophore *'ttrm* ne doive plutôt être lu *'ttr<u>*".¹¹⁷

**pbtr*, "The king is a mountain", occurs twice in 4.775(=RIH 78/19), i.e., in lines 9 and 15 (only line 9 was mentioned in *UgOnom.* 4, 227).

pglu[] (4.393:8) may correspond to the spelling *pa-gi-lu* (RS 34.163:14.24; RSO 7, 83-84).¹¹⁸ Cf. *pkly*, discussed in *UgOnom.* 4, 227. Note Assyrian *pu-ug-lu* (SAA 7, 1 ii 14, 2 r.2).

**pmn* (*UgOnom.* 2, 247): cf. Phoenician *pmy* as a theophoric element, which may be explained from Egyptian.¹¹⁹

ppt (3.7:9 (*bn...*)) is related to Egyptian *pp(y)* by Márquez Rowe¹²⁰ rather than to Hurr. as did Grøndahl (*PTU*, 244).

pri, "Freeman(?)" (4.350:7 (*bn ...*); *PTU*, 174), explained by Hurr. *pir*. "to free; freeman, noble".¹²¹ The corresponding non-Israelite Heb. name may be *pīr'ām*.¹²²

110 Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, 110.

111 Contra *PTU*, 316 and Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 387b; for details cf. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 17 and Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 290.

112 Cf. DLU I, 70 and esp. Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 168 who see the deity *šhr* here, though they add "non si può escludere la presenza della dea Išhara (*išhr*), anziché di *šhr*" (168, n. 86). Alternatively, but with less likelihood, it may perhaps be explained by Hurrian *šuhari*, "he-goat", a meaning proposed by J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1995, 80.

113 To be added to the names constructed with *ilt*, "goddess" listed by Ribichini-Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 159.

114 P. Bordreuil - D. Pardee, "L'épigraphie ougaritique: 1973-1993", in M. Yon, M. Szyner, P. Bordreuil, eds. *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin - 1^{er} juillet 1993*, Paris 1995, 27-32 (31).

115 H.-P. Müller, "König Mēša' von Moab und der Gott der Geschichte", *UF* 26 (1994) 371-395 (393, n. 84).

116 De Moor, *UF* 22 (1990) 244.

117 P. Xella, "Les pouvoirs du dieu 'Attar", in N. Wyatt, W. G. E. Watson, J. B. Lloyd, eds. *Ugarit, religion and culture. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, religion and culture Edinburgh, July 1994. Essays presented in honour of Professor John C. L. Gibson*, Münster 1996, 381-404 (393).

118 Cf. Akk. *pagalu*, "ein Libationsgefäß" (*AHW*, 808) and *pagālu*, "stark sein" (*AHW*, 809a).

119 Cf. Y. Muchiki, "The Unidentified god *Pmy* in Phoenician Texts", *JSS* 36 (1991) 7-10.

120 Márquez Rowe, *AuOr* 11 (1993) 251.

121 Hess, *CBQ* 58 (1996) 209-210. He notes that the reading in CAT/KTU² is *pry*, refers to Hurr. *pī-i-ri* in *Ugar* 5 137 ii 44' (cf. *UVST*, 91-92.169) and cites equivalent PNN from Nuzi.

122 Hess, *CBQ* 58 (1996) 209-210.

**prmn*, "Servant" (*UgOnom.* 1, 124): cf. also Phoen. *prmn* (KAI 37A: 10/11) although it may not be a PN (*DNWSI*, 939).

ql[] (4.672:5) may perhaps be related to the Phoen. PN *klš* in the inscription from Cebel Ires Daği.¹²³

qrd, "Hero/Noisy" (4,159:8.9 (both [b]n...)): is a pun intended here? Evidently *qrd* means "hero" but cf. Akk. *qardu*, "one who shouts, is noisy".¹²⁴

šb'l - see under *lb'l* below.

šdy (4.51:2 ([bn]...); *šdyn* (4.46:3; 4.53:9; 4.63 IV 11; 4.83:7; 4.243:32; 4.281:6; 4.285:6; 4.332:14; 4.382:36 (...b[n]; 3.391:16; 4.424:19; 4.609:6) *PTU*, 52-53.192) may be explained by the god *šd* which occurs in RS 92.2016:11' (as *ydd wšd*) and in RIH 77/8A(KTU 1.166:12).¹²⁵

šmbnš[], "man's offspring" (?) (4.258 7): it is uncertain whether this is (a) one word (b) two words and/or even (c) a PN.¹²⁶

šrbx (4.739:6 (*bn ...*)) - cf. Hurrian *šarip-* as a name element.¹²⁷

ššy (4.313:7) corresponds to Hurrian or Anatolian *še-ša-a-a* (*NPN*, 256), non-Israelite Heb. *šešay*, according to Hess, and must be distinguished from names beginning with *šaš-*.¹²⁸

trbnn (4.369:21.22; 4.693:35; *PTU*, 314): cf. perhaps, Hurr.(-Hittite) *turubi*, which denotes some type of food-offering in the Emar texts.¹²⁹

tb', "He went away" (?) (4.763:1.3), is a new name: "Sera-t-il en rapport avec le verbe *tb'*, 's'en aller', par ex., hypocoristique pour un nom comme 'le frère s'en est allé'?" (*RSO* 7, 165).

tgn, "(plant)" (4.64 V 7 (*bn ...*); *PTU*, 258-259) if not Hurrian (cf. *taki-* "beautiful", *GLH*, 249-250),¹³⁰ then cf. *tuganu* (SAA 7, 140), a plant name (*AHw*, 1366a).

123 Cf. G. A. Long-D. Pardee, "Who Exiled Whom? Another Interpretation of the Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Daği", *AuOr* 7 (1989) 207-214 who refer to the *editio princeps* by P. G. Mosca-J. Russell, "A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Daği in Rough Cilicia", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 9 (1987) 1-28, with photographs [unavailable to me].

124 M. Civil, *JNES* 43 (1984) 294ff; accepted by Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 160, but not in CAD Q. For *qardu* (var. *qar-ra-[du]*) as the name of a child, cf. Lambert, *BWL* 86:263.

125 See, in general, A. Caquot, "Une contribution ougaritique à la préhistoire du titre divin Shadday", in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Congress Volume, Paris 1992*, Leiden 1995, 1-12.

126 See R. Zadok in M. E. Cohen et al., eds, *The tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda MD, 1993, 319; cf. Amorite *Su-mu-bi-nu-šu* (I. J. Gelb, *AS* 21, 288).

127 Freydank-Salvini, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 48 and 54.

128 Hess, *CBQ* 58 (1996) 210-211, with full discussion and references.

129 D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*, Atlanta, GA 1992, 265, n.250, with references.

130 But "hart, fest sein" in *PTU*, 258. Or cf. the divine name *tagan*, *GLH*, 249.

**tlmyn* (2.11:3; 2.12:4; 2.16:1; 4.81:7; 4.226:4; 4.352:8; 4.379:2), Hurrian or Anatolian *tal-mu-ia*, *da-al-mu*, Alalakh *tal-ma* etc., non-Israelite Heb. *talmay*, all probably to be explained by Hurr. *talmi*, "great".¹³¹ However, cf. above on *tlmyn*.

tmy (4.724:11 (*bn ...*); 4.761:8(*bn ...*); *PTU*, 51.201) *ta-me-ia* *RSO* 7, 142.¹³² The name *tmy* also occurs in Phoenician.¹³³

tmn (4.344:4; *PTU*, 52.201; *UT* § 19.2565) may have the syllabic spelling *ta-me-nu* (*RS* 34.169:5'; *RSO* 7, 17), so it is probably not Hurrian *tummi*, "four"; cf. also *tmn* (4.734:12).

**tmr* could be Semitic ("palm-tree", cf. *UgOnom.* 4, 228) but in view of *tmrtm* (4.454; 4.131:6; 4.188:11) and the corresponding syllabic spellings, it is probably Hurrian (so already *PTU*, 260.262). The connection with *tmryn*, which occurs in a list of trades and professions (4.126:20), or with the town called *tmn* (4.355:28)¹³⁴ remains unclear.

mgg, "(The god) Gaga has done" (4.760:1 = *RS* 34.122:1). This new name, which is Hurrian, comprises *m*, "to do" + *gg*, a deity (as explained in *RSO* 7, 141). The deity *gg* occurs in other PNN (cf. *PTU*, 127). On *gg*, see above.

tbl, "Ilu/god has returned (to) me" (4.12 I 6 (*bn...*); 4.229:5 (*bn...*); 4.313:2; 4.322:11 (*bn...*)) rather than "according to the pronouncement of El/the god" proposed in *PTU*, 47 (cf. 43, 61, 63, 96, 200) as Rainey has shown, using syllabic spellings.¹³⁵

tb'l (4.610:7); Puech compares Phoen. *šb'l* in a jar inscription from Athenou wih Ug. *šb'l* (4.45:5; 4.55:16; 4.80:17; 4.96:5; 4.366:6; 4.658:10; *PTU*, 191) with the comment "Si la lecture *šb'l* est assurée, il peut paraître difficile de comprendre ce nom comme l'abréviation de *šmb'l*, ne pourrait-on pas l'expliquer par la forme syncopée de *šbl* ?".¹³⁶

tbl, "Left(-handed?)" (4.110:9 (*bn ...*)), corresponding to Hurr. *šaphali*, "left" (*GLH*, 214),¹³⁷ although other derivations are possible.¹³⁸ This meaning has already been accepted for *hphln* (4.356:9) in *PTU*, 248.

tgd (4.69 vi 28 (*bn...*); 4.382:30; 4.761:11 (*bn...*); cf. *ši-ku-ti* *RS* 16.126B+ B III 46 (cf. *SAU*, 26 n. 207).

131 Full references and discussion in Hess, *CBQ* 58 (1996) 211-212.

132 So already P. Bordreuil, "Nouveaux textes économiques en cunéiformes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (34e campagne 1973)", *Semitica* 25 (1975) 19-29 (25).

133 E. Puech, "Remarques sur quelques inscriptions phéniciennes de Chypre", *Semitica* 29 (1979) 19-43 (41). The inscription, from Liveras, dates to about 600 BCE.

134 Cf. P. Bordreuil, *UF* 20 (1988) 15-16.

135 A. F. Rainey, "Observations on Ugaritic Grammar", *UF* 3 (1971) 151-172 (164). See now Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 138-139.

136 Puech, *Semitica* 29 (1979) 27.

137 See also Wegner, *ZA* 85 (1995) 124.

138 Cf. *PTU*, 61, 63, 141, 200, 257; Pardee, *Afo* 36/37 (1989/90) 421. Note especially M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, "Zur Ugaritischen Lexikographie (II)", *OLZ* 62 (1967) 533-552 (550-551).

tnn (4.427:20; 4.556:1): cf. Hurrian *šennani* (*NPN*, 255, etc.).¹³⁹

**tġtyn* (*UgOnom.* 3, 219) is perhaps derived from *dġt*, "incense", a Hittite loanword in Ugaritic.¹⁴⁰

trn, m.u.(4.12:4 (*bn*); 4.15:7; 4.83:5; 4.320 :6; 4.412 ii 14 (*bn*); 4.696:1; *PTU*, 427; cf. *PTU*, 249 < *tr*); cf. Akk. *šermu* (*širnu*), "(part of a chariot)" (*CAD* Š/2, 317a),¹⁴¹ or *šurnû*, which denotes a plant (*CAD* Š/3, 353a).

try (4.55:23 (*bn...*); 4.80:5), *tryy* (2.44:14) and *tryn* (4.432:20 (*bn...*)) may be derogatory names; cf. Akk. *šittum* (sing. form of *pl.šinātum*), "urine" and the Ug. PNN *hri* and *hyan* (*UgOnom.* 4, 222).

Of particular interest in the above listing are *ilib*, "God of the father(s)", with a Hebrew equivalent, *prmn* which also occurs in Phoenician and *ddy* which corresponds to Assyrian *zi-zi-i* both gate-keepers. With the discovery of further tablets, additional syllabic equivalents for the alphabetic personal names have been identified. This is particularly evident from *RSO* 7. Quite often a particular name can be analysed either as Semitic or Anatolian, usually Hurrian.¹⁴² It cannot be ruled out that such ambivalence was intentional in certain cases, though we are unable to determine which. It is significant, also, that in spite of the total absence of context, it has been possible to assign meanings to a considerable number of personal names, often with the aid of (possible) syllabic spellings. Although uncertain, these entries belong in glossaries and dictionaries, as has long been accepted in Ugaritic studies.¹⁴³

139 Freydank-Salvini, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 49 and 54.

140 Details in W. G. E. Watson, "Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon", *UF* 27 (1995) 533-558 (542).

141 Cf. also J. Oliva, "Seeking an identity for Diritum", *NABU* 1994, 15 for a reference to *šermum* in Mari.

142 On such name-giving in Ugarit cf. I. Singer, "Hittite Cultural Influence in the Kingdom of Amurru", in D. Charpin-F. Joannès, eds., *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*, Paris 1992, 231-234 (esp. 232).

143 This same tradition is continued in *DLU*.