

Ugaritic Onomastics (6)

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[The sixth instalment of comments on Ugaritic personal names, with particular concern for possible meanings, includes several new entries as well as corrections to entries in previous studies. Some recent work has been taken into account but as yet many new names have not been published.]

The most significant publications on names since the last instalment¹ are the contribution on Ugaritic personal names to the *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*² by Richard Hess³ and Yoshiyuki Muchiki's *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic*.⁴ Meindert Dijkstra discusses a considerable number of names in his study of KTU 4.412+ ii 8-34.⁵ Indirectly, Daniel Arnaud's study of the dialect of Alalakh⁶ includes discussion of many Ugaritic personal names.⁷ In addition, the second volume of *DLU* has now appeared.⁸ Some recently discovered texts remain unpublished, however.⁹ Here, as far as is possible, all recent and new discussions of Ugaritic personal names are listed,¹⁰ with some additional proposals.¹¹

1. "Ugaritic Onomastics (5)", *AuOr* 14, 1996, 93-106. Note also "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; here these are referred to as UgOnom.1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

2. W. G. E. Watson - N. Wyatt, eds., *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Leiden 1999.

3. R. Hess, "Personal Names and Prosopography", in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 499-515.

4. Y. Muchiki, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic*, Atlanta GA 1999, here abbreviated to Muchiki, *Loanwords*.

5. M. Dijkstra, "The List of *qdsm* in KTU 4.412+ ii 8ff.", *AuOr* 17-18, 1999-2000, 81-89. Note his prosopographical study, *ibid*, 84-86.

6. D. Arnaud, "Le dialecte d'Alalah: un examen préliminaire", *AuOr* 16, 1998, 143-186.

7. There is also considerable material in M. Bonechi, "Lexique et idéologie royale à l'époque proto-syrienne", *MARI* 8, 477-535.

8. G. del Olmo Lete - J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* vol. II, Sabadell (Barcelona) 2000. Additional PNN, not included in vol. I, are listed on pp. 555-559.

9. Cf. P. Bordreuil - D. Pardee, "Catalogue raisonné des textes ougaritiques de la Maison d'Ourtenou", *AuOr* 17-18, 1999-2000, 23-38. New names they list include: *abny*, *aglttb*, *urtb*, *urtn*, *hdmrt*, *zilt*, *rpn* and *ty*.

10. The new names discussed in D. Arnaud, "Prolégomènes à la rédaction d'une histoire d'Ougarit II: Les bordereaux de rois divinisés", *SMEA* 41, 1998, pp. 153-173, include *Ammuḥaraši*, *Amquna*, *Ugarana*, *Rapana*, *Lim-il-lugal*, *Mab/pi* and *mph*.

11. My thanks to Nick Wyatt, who discussed some of these entries with me and helped with the diacritics, and to Juan-Pablo Vita, who helped with references.

+*agr* (KTU 4.243:33; also 4.753:22; cf. UgOnom.1, 114) may be Hurrian in view of *ag=iri*, "the one who has brought"¹² and the Ug. PN *agršn* (KTU 4.760:2), perhaps *agr* + *šn*, where *šn* = "brother" (Hurr.).

+ *aḫḡl* (cf. UgOnom.1, 114; DLU, 18b): to the discussion add now Wilhelm's remarks on the Hurr. PN *Eḫli-Ad(a)u*.¹³

aky (cf. DLU, 22a) is Eg. *iky* as shown by Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 66) with a discussion of other proposals.¹⁴ The same may also apply to the PN *akyn* (for references cf. DLU, 555).

a¹my (KTU 2.76:3) corresponds perhaps to *am-ma-ia* (RS 88.2158:31'), as proposed by Lackenbacher,¹⁵ and possibly he was an intermediary between the Egyptian court and Ugarit.¹⁶

apt, "Serpent(?)" (KTU 4.141 ii 17; 4.377:11): cf. Hurr. *ap-še*, "serpent", as has been noted elsewhere.¹⁷

+*aršm* (cf. UgOnom.1, 115; DLU, 52): see also the PN *ar-ra-šu* in a recently published tablet.¹⁸

iladn, "Ilu is lord(?)", is a new PN.¹⁹

ildn, "Ilu is judge" (DLU, 26; KTU 4.775 = RIH 78/19:6)²⁰ is probably Semitic, but cf. Hurr. *ild-* (Laroche GLH, 120) and besides the Semitic PN *dnil*, cf. *Ili-dan*.²¹

is, "Deaf(?)" (KTU 4.12:7; 4.123:8; 4.412 ii 16; cf. DLU, 54a),²² if it corresponds to Hurr. *is/iš* "deaf"²³ However, this proposal is very tentative.²⁴

it, "(The god) exists (?)" (KTU 4.616:11; cf. DLU, 60): cf. perhaps the Heb. PN *išyhw*.²⁵

12. E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I. Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus attuša*, Wiesbaden 1996, p. 453.

13. G. Wilhelm, "Zu den hurritischen Namen der Kültepe-Tafel kt k/k 4", *SCCNH* 8, 335-343 (339-342).

14. Cf. perhaps Eg. *iky*, "quarryman" (Faulkner, CDME, 32).

15. S. Lackenbacher, "À nouveau RS 88.2158", *NABU* 1999/53. The reading in KTU 2.76 may also be *nmy*, cf. P. Bordreuil, "Quatre documents en cunéiformes alphabétiques mal connus ou inédits", *Semitica* 32, 1982, 5-14 (10-11) for discussion.

16. Lackenbacher, *NABU* 1999/53.

17. W. G. E. Watson, "Reciprocal Loanwords in Ugaritic and Hurrian", *NABU* 1999/54. It is possible that Ug. *btm*, Heb. *ptm* and Eg. *btm* are related. See Takács, *EDE* II, 349-350.

18. A. Tsukimoto, "From Lullû to Ebla. An Old Babylonian Document Concerning a Shipment of Horses", in B. Pongratz-Leisten - H. Kühne - P. Xella, eds., *Ana šadê Labnâni lû allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig*, Kevelaer - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997, pp. 407-412 (408, line 8).

19. A. Lemaire, "La tablette ougaritique alphabétique UF 29, 826 remplacée dans son contexte", *UF* 30, 1998, 461-465: line 4.

20. Cf. P. Bordreuil - A. Caquot, "Les textes cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1978 à Ras Ibn Hani", *Syria* 57, 1980, 343-373 (364).

21. Owen, "Syrians in Sumerian Sources from the Ur III Period", 126. See n. 37.

22. Correct (KTU) 4.412:16 to 4.412 ii 16 in DLU, 54b.

23. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*, 357.

24. It is also likely that it means "to come", Hamito-Semitic *'is*; cf. V. E. Orel - O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction*, Leiden 1995, § 59.

25. P. Bordreuil - F. Israel - D. Pardee, "Deux ostraca paléo-hébreux de la collection Sh. Moussaïeff", *Semitica* 46, 1996, 51-76.

ulmk (KTU 4.307:16; 4.725:6[?]; DLU, 28): cf. the MA PN *ḫUlamgi*.²⁶

umḫ (KTU 4.35 i 6 and *umḫy* (KTU 4.692:11; cf. DLU, 35a; PTU, 308.373), both perhaps “Suckling”, if explained by Eg. *Imḫ*., “to suck, drink”,²⁷ although this would entail Ug. *ḫ* = Eg. *ḫ*. The same explanation may apply to EA *ummaḫnu*.²⁸

unpt, “The brother came” (KTU 4.696:3; DLU, 40b), is a Hurr. name.²⁹

bgrt (DLU, 556b) remains unexplained. See perhaps **bogur*-, “bird”,³⁰ although this suggestion is very dubious.

brq, “With shining eyes” (references in DLU, 116b) as proposed by Arnaud.³¹

gbln (cf. UgOnom.4, 215): cf. the Alal. PNN *ga-bu-li* and *ga-bu-ul-e* cited by Arnaud and glossed “création” or “créé”.³²

+*glgl* (cf. UgOnom.4, 221): other possibilities are “hunger” (Akk. *galgaltu*, CAD G, 14) and “a (medicinal) plant” (Akk. *galgaltu*, CAD G, 14b).³³

d̄m, “(Son of the god) Damu” (KTU 3.7:8), corresponding to the Mari PN *Bi-in-Da-mu*.³⁴ The name of the god also occurs in Phoenician names (*d̄mḫn*, *d̄mlk* [= *d̄m-mlk*]³⁵ and *d̄mṣlh*).³⁶

ḫy (DLU, 186) corresponds to the Mari PN *ʿa-um*.³⁷

ḫry, either “Horus” (PTU, 136) or “White” (Gordon, UT § 19.892).³⁸

ḫrr (KTU 4.214:11) may be a PN – “libre” or “liberté” according to Arnaud³⁹ – or a TN.⁴⁰

26. R. Jas, “Two Middle-Assyrian Lists of Personal Names from the Sabi Ayyad”, *Akkadica* 67, 1990, 33-39 (36-39).

27. P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, Leuven 1997, pp. 78-79.

28. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 164, comments: “The language of this PN is unknown”.

29. As explained by Wilhelm, *SCCNH* 8, 335-339.

30. Orel - Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic*, § 301.

31. Cf. D. Arnaud, “Prolégomènes à la rédaction d’une histoire d’Ougarit I. Ougarit avant Suppilulium I^{er}”, *SMEA* 39, 1997, 151-161 (153, n. 17).

32. Arnaud, *AuOr* 16, 1998, 163.

33. Or possibly “thunder”, Orel - Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic*, § 886.

34. M. Birot, *ARM XVI/1*, Paris 1979, p. 80.

35. With a “shared consonant”.

36. E. Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l’univers phénicien et punique*, Leuven 1995, p. 191. Cf. also G. Garbini, “Evoluzione fonetica nel Fenicio”, *RSF* 24, 1996, 3-5.

37. See E. Arcari, “Remarks on AnOr 7,99 and Parallel Texts”, *Or* 53, 1984, 442-443; D. I. Owen, “Syrians in Sumerian Sources from the Ur III Period”, in Chavalas - Hayes, eds., *New Horizons*, 107-175 (123-124).

38. See Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 66 and DLU, 182; also F. D’Agostino, “Il termine ‘ḫa-ri’ nella documentazione di Ebla antropónimo o professione: (note di lessicografia eblaita)”, *RSO* 70 (1996) 15-21: NWS “ḫrr essere libero -> (essere) nobile” cf. *DNWSI*, 401-402.

39. Arnaud *AuOr* 16, 1998, 167.

40. W. H. Van Soldt, “Studies in the Topography of Ugarit (4). Town sizes and districts”, *UF* 31, 1999, 749-776 (771).

↖ *hdl* (DLU, 190a) and *hzli* (DLU, 203b-204a): cf. Hurr. *hezalli*, “companion, colleague”.⁴¹

hlln (DLU, 192a); cf. perhaps Ass. *hulālu*, “chalcedony” (?).⁴²

hpn, “Tadpole(?)” (KTU 4.609:17; DLU, 196a) cf. Heb. *hpn̄y* which may be a loan from Eg. *hfn(r)*, “Tadpole” (Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 211, with no reference to the Ug. name).

yšb, “He who erects (his father’s mortuary stela after his death)”⁴³ (KTU 1.15 ii 25; v 21; 1.16 i 52; vi 25.27.39).

kbl, “Bound” (KTU 4.232:40), Alalakh *kabuli*, as explained by Arnaud.⁴⁴

kbr, “Fat” (UgOnom.5, 100), a meaning confirmed independently by Arnaud.⁴⁵

+*kky* (UgOnom.1, 120) may be Eg. *kki*, Hitt. *kikki*, or Nuzi *kak(k)*; the name *kky* also occurs in Aram. (Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 90).

klyn (DLU, 217a) is not Semitic – and therefore unrelated to Heb. *kilyōn* – but according to Layton,⁴⁶ it is a Hurr. name, i.e. *kl⁴⁷* with the *-yn* ending.

+*kmn*, “Blind” (UgOnom.3, 216) or more probably Eg. *k(3)mn* (UgOnom.5, 100) and cf. also Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 90) on Aram. *kmn*.⁴⁸

+*krr*, “(Born in the month of) *krr*” (UgOnom.4, 223): the month name has been discussed recently by Stieglitz.⁴⁹ Alternatively, cf. Harari *kirīra*, “wart”.⁵⁰ Yet another possibility is “frog”, Eg. *ḳrr*;⁵¹ cf. Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 30) on the Phoen. PN *ḅdkrr*. See also Akk.(< WSem.?) *karriru*, meaning “thief” (CAD K, 221).

41. I. Röseler, “Hurritologische Miscellen”, *SCCNH* 10, 393-395.

42. F. M. Fales - J. N. Postgate, eds, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I. Palace and Temple Administration* (Helsinki 1992) 212.

43. E. L. Greenstein, “Kirta”, in S. B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta GA 1997) 9-48 (44 n. 65). For a different proposal cf. W. G. E. Watson, “The PN *Yšb* in the Keret Legend”, *UF* 11, 1979, 807-810.

44. Arnaud, *AuOr* 16, 1998, 163.

45. Arnaud, *AuOr* 16 (1998) 169: “très épais”, Alal. PNN *ku-ub-bu-rum* and *ku-bu-ri*; see already F. Zeeb, “Studien zu den altbabylonischen Texten aus Alala (III)”, *UF* 25, 1993, 461-472 (468).

46. S. C. Layton, “Leaves from an Onomastician’s Notebook”, *ZAW* 108, 1996, 608-620 (615-620).

47. Perhaps explained by Hurr. *kel-*, “to be high” - cf. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*, 240.

48. With no reference to the Ug. PN.

49. Cf. R. R. Stieglitz, “The Phoenician-Punic Menology”, in M. Lubetski - C. Gottlieb - S. Keller, eds, *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World. A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*, Sheffield 1998, pp. 211-221 (215). See also Arnaud, *AuOr* 16, 1998, 165.

50. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley / Los Angeles 1963, p. 94.

51. See also Aram *qr’*, Tigrinya *q^wer’a* and Arab. *qurra*, “frog”, mentioned in E. Lipiński, “‘Lion’ and ‘Lioness’” in Northwest Semitic”, in Y. Avishur - R. Deutsch, eds., *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies In Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1999, pp. 213-220 (220).

ktry, "He who encloses me" (KTU 4.638:6), corresponding to the Alal. PN *ka-ti-ri*, "celui qui m'entoure".⁵²

nmry is probably not Egyptian (Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 277) as it may have a Semitic etymology (*mrr*, "to bless strengthen").⁵³ "*nmry* was taken by Virolleaud as an alphabetic spelling of Nimmuria, the prenomen of Amenhotep III. Is it not more likely that we have here a nisbe form of the same word *nmrt*?"⁵⁴ However, see now DLU, 325b.

+*npr*, "Beauty" (references in DLU, 327a and UgOnom.1, 249) is an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 28).

nqmd (DLU, 330): the loss of intervocalic *-h-* (*nqmd* < *nqmhd*) has been discussed by Tropper (UG, 160).⁵⁵

nrn (references in DLU, 331): the syllabic spellings *ne-ra-nu* (PRU 6 79:15) and *ni-ra-nu* (Ug 5 58:6, etc.) may reflect the vocalization *n r* or *n r*, corresponding to Alal. *ni-e-ru*, "joy".⁵⁶

sgr, "Silence" (DLU, 399b), Eg. *sgr* with the same meaning (Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 98).

+*sln*, "Good"⁵⁷ rather than "Old" (UgOnom.1, 122).

+*snb*, "Healthy" (KTU 4.311:3), Eg. *snb*, with the same meaning,⁵⁸ as explained by Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 277); it was left unexplained in PTU, 313. In UgOnom.1, 122, I had suggested "Foundling", on the basis of Akk. *sinbu*, "abandoned child", but Muchiki's solution is preferable.

snt, "Daughter" (KTU 3.4:10), Eg. *s3.t*, as explained by Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 277). It was left unexplained in PTU, 56.313.

°bdpdr, "Servant of Pdr" (UgOnom.1, 127; DLU, 70): cf. the Alal. PN *ab-dá-pi-di-ra*, discussed by Arnaud.⁵⁹

°mrpi, "The uncle/clan is at peace" (KTU 1.161:31; 2.39:2; 4.707:22; 5.22:21; cf. 1.113:20; DLU, 81), as explained by Naccache.⁶⁰

52. Arnaud, *AuOr* 16, 1998, 162.

53. I. Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", in Watson - Wyatt, eds, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 603-733 (678), following A. F. Rainey, "The Ugaritic Texts in Ugaritica 5", *JAOS* 94, 1974, 184-194 (188).

54. Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", 678, following Rainey, *JAOS* 94, 1974, 188.

55. See, previously, M. Noth, "Die Herrschicht von Ugarit im 15./14. Jahrhundert v.Chr.", *ZDPV* 65, 1942, 144-164, esp. "Anhang. Anmerkungen zum Königsname *nqmd*", *ibid.* 161-164.

56. See discussion in Arnaud, *AuOr* 16, 1998, 154 (although he makes no reference to Ug.).

57. V. Haas - G. Wilhelm, "Zum hurritischen Lexikon I", *Or* 41, 1972, 5-10 (7-8); Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*, 342; D. Kinlaw, *A study of Personal Names in the Akkadian Texts from Ugarit* (Diss. Brandeis) Ann Arbor MI 1967, p. 101.

58. In fact, Eg. *snb* corresponds to Sem. *slm* (with metathesis).

59. Arnaud, *AuOr* 16, 1998, 166-167.

60. A. F. H. Naccache, "Ammurafi' et ses cousins", in M. Yon - M. Sznycer - P. Bordreuil, eds, *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin-1^{er} juillet 1993* (Paris 1995) 263-268

^c*nil*, "El is beautiful", to be analysed as Eg. ^c*n*, "beautiful" + Ug. *il*, a hybrid name (Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 219).

^c*psn*, "Belonging to the boundary(-stone)"(?) (KTU 4.170:6; DLU, 85) as explained by Van Soldt: "on the basis of the syllabic spelling ^P*up-sa-nu* (RS 16.145: 24, PRU 3, 169) has to be read ^c*upsānu*, that is ^c*ups* + *ānu*".⁶¹

^c*trum*, "Attar is (my) mother" (cf. DLU, 94; UgOnom.5, 103): The PN also occurs in an Aramaic text in Demotic script as ^c*-t-r-m* = ^c*tr-(')m(y)*, "Attar my mother" or ^c*tr-(')m*, "Attar mother" and has been compared to Akk. *Ištar-ummi*, and an Eg. (Hyksos) PN ^s*-t-r-'u-m* by Steiner.⁶²

gtr (KTU 4.754:16) may be explained by Ug. *gtr*, "to intercede" (DLU, 160 and the references given there) or by Jibbali *getter* (from *grr*) "to deceive oneself".⁶³

gw, "Brother" (KTU 4.700:5; 4.695:6); cf. *gw*, "brother" in Mehri, Harsūsi and Jibbāli.⁶⁴

pdrn (DLU, 344): see above on ^c*bdpdr*.

pwn, "He who belongs to the existing one" (KTU 4.70:8),⁶⁵ an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 278).

+*pmn*, "He who belongs to Min" (KTU 4.63 i 29; 4.170:8; 4.232:27) was explained as an Egyptian name by Noth⁶⁶ as mentioned already in UgOnom.2, 247; see now also Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 279), who gives a similar explanation for *pnmn* (KTU 4.131:7; 4.281:23).

pni, "He who belongs to the town" (KTU 4.350:8),⁶⁷ an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 278).

ppn, "He who belongs to the Mouse" (KTU 4.39:6),⁶⁸ an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 279). However, a Hurrian meaning cannot be excluded; cf. Hurr. *pabani*, "mountain" (Laroche GLH, 190-191).

pqr (KTU 4.147:2; 4.224:7; 4.286:6) if not a PN,⁶⁹ may mean something like "freedman".⁷⁰

61. W. van Soldt, "Amarna *upsu* = Ugaritic ^c*ps*, "boundary (stone)", *NABU* 1997/90. See also J. Tropper, "Beiträge zur ugaritischen Lexikographie", *UF* 29, 1997, 661-668 (667-668).

62. R. C. Steiner, "The Scorpion Spell Text from Wadi Ḥammamat: Another Aramaic Text in Demotic Script", *JNES* 60, 2001, 259-267 (261).

63. T. M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon*, Oxford 1981, p. 87.

64. T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-list*, London 1987, 145; Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon*, 90; T. M. Johnstone, *Harsūsi Lexicon*, London 1977, p. 47.

65. Also KTU 4.97:7; cf. DLU, 359.

66. M. Noth, "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen", *ZDPV* 65, 1942, 9-67 (38, n.1: "es handelt sich vermutlich um eine mit der Endung - *ānu* gebildete Kurzform eines Namens wie *pmjtm*").

67. For the syllabic spelling cf. DLU, 351a.

68. For the syllabic spelling cf. DLU, 352b.

69. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz - J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XI)", *UF* 6, 1974, 19-38 (35). Also DLU, 353a.

+*prḥ*, "Knowledgeable one" (KTU 4.88:2; 4.134:7; 5.22:19), corresponding to Eg. *p(3)-(n)-rḥ(.t)* (Muchiki *Loanwords*, 279); the alternative meaning he proposes is "sprout" (see already UgOnom.4, 227) which is Hamito-Semitic.⁷¹ Note that Ug. *rḥ*, "knowledge", may be a loanword from Egyptian⁷², which would strengthen Muchiki's first proposal.⁷³ The form *prḥn* (KTU 2.77:19), not mentioned by Muchiki, was also explained as Semitic (UgOnom.4, 227),⁷⁴ but it too may be Egyptian.

ptm, "He who belongs to Atum" (KTU 4.153:6; 5.11:22), an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 279), although it assumes elision of an *aleph* and this name is not actually attested in Egyptian. The name may be Hurrian⁷⁵.

šdqn, "Just One(?)" (cf. UgOnom.4, 229; DLU, 414-415) on RS 1.050, a cylinder seal.⁷⁶ Saadé comments "Pierre Bordreuil a noté qu'il s'agit d'un anthroponyme peu fréquent de la racine ŠDQ évoquant justice".⁷⁷

šmrt (KTU 4.75 vi 5; PTU, 189; DLU, 419): cf. Akk. *šamāru*, "to strive for (something)", etc. (CAD Š, 92-93); NĀ *šummirātu(m)*, "desires" (CDA, 341) - hence perhaps "son of (my) desires" or the like.

ridn, "One who walks gracefully" or "Shining brilliantly" (KTU 1.3 i 12; 1.41:36), as explained by Astour.⁷⁸ However, not all scholars accept this as a PN.⁷⁹

rdmn, "Radamān" (KTU 1.3 i 2): according to Astour,⁸⁰ this name is to be read *rdmn* and not **prdmn*,⁸¹ and is equivalent to Greek Rhadamanthys. It means something like "Prolonged" (root *rdm*), i.e. someone with an extended lifespan.

rwy, "He of the lion" (KTU 4.69 iii 4; 4.103:9), an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 280); note that *arw*, "lion", also occurs in Ugaritic (DLU, 53b)⁸² and corresponds to Hurr. *eari*, "lion".⁸³

70. As demonstrated by J. Tropper - J.-P. Vita, "Untersuchungen zu ugaritischen Wirtschaftstexten", *UF* 30, 1998, 679-696 (680-681).

71. According to DLU, 354b, there are two different PNN.

72. W. G. E. Watson, "El's Erudition", *AuO* 19, 2001, 138-142.

73. However, cf. Eg. *rḥyt*, "subjects (of king), common folk, mankind" (CDME, 152), "men" (Orel - Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic*, § 2106, with Chadic cognates).

74. The name may even be Hurrian; cf. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 124.

75. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Hurritisch *fa/ent- in ugaritischen Personennamen", *UF* 1, 1969, 211-213 (213); cf. DLU, 358.

76. I.e. C. F. A. Schaeffer-Forrer, *Corpus des Cylindres* II, 70.77, fig. 27, no. 143.

77. G. Saadé, "Le port d'Ougarit, in M. Yon - M. Szyner P. Bordreuil, eds, *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin-1^{er} juillet 1993*, Paris 1995, 211-225 (215).

78. M. C. Astour, "RDMN / RHADAMANTHYS and the Motif of Selective Immortality", in M. Dietrich, - I. Kottsieper, eds, "Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf". *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, Münster 1998, pp. 55-89 (57-58); he refers to Arab. *ra'ida*, "to walk with a graceful, slightly swaying gait" or "brilliantly shining" (*ibid.* 58, n. 23).

79. See the survey in N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilmilku and his Colleagues*, Sheffield 1998, p. 70, n. 4. Note also DLU, 380a.

80. Astour, "RDMN / RHADAMANTHYS" (see note 75). However, cf. DLU, 354a.

81. See, e.g. Pardee CS I 249, n. 68; DLU, 354a (DN).

82. For its occurrence in other languages, including Mycenaean Greek see Lipiński, "'Lion' and 'Lioness' in Northwest Semitic", 213-214.

+*rt*, "Strong one" (KTU 4.69 iii 19), an Egyptian name according to Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 280); alternatively, it may be Semitic, meaning "Fruitful" (UgOnom.1, 125).

trmn, "(Son of) the spring" (KTU 4.612:6), Hurr. *tarmanni*.⁸⁴

+*tt*, "Statue", Egyptian *t(w)t* - Muchiki (*Loanwords*, 156).⁸⁵ The same explanation may apply to *ttn* (cf. DLU, 477). Hess (*Amarna Personal Names*, 162-164) had already put forward this explanation, but without a gloss.

+*lln*, "Frail" (cf. UgOnom.3, 220; and DLU, 491 for references), perhaps, in view of Jibbāli *etlél*, "to cause (animals) to become weak", *metilél*, "weak (person, young animal)"⁸⁶ and Mehri *tal* (root *tl*), "weakly goat".⁸⁷

83. For Hurr. *e-a-ri* cf. Röseler, *SCCNH* 10, 396-400, with reference to Hebrew (J. Miller, *apud* Röseler, *ibid.*, 400 n. 32) but not to Ugaritic.

84. Cf. W. G. E. Watson, "Reciprocal Loanwords in Ugaritic and Hurrian", *NABU* 1999/54. See already S. Ribichini - P. Xella, "Problemi di onomastica ugaritica. Il caso dei teofori", *SEL* 8, 1991, 149-170 (169, n. 91).

85. See UgOnom.1, 249; UgOnom.4, 229; DLU, 476.

86. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon*, 284. The same meaning may apply to Ug. *llt* in KTU 1.107:18.

87. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-list*, 417. Similarly, in Harsūsi; cf. Johnstone, *Harsūsi Lexicon*, 132.