

Ugaritic Onomastics (7)

Wilfred G. E. Watson – Newcastle upon Tyne

[The seventh instalment of suggested meanings for Ugaritic personal names also includes reference to recent work on onomastics.]

Recent work on onomastics that can be mentioned here since the previous instalment¹ includes a study of Mari names with the preformatives *me-* and *mu-* by A. Millet,² a study of the *-(i)lum* ending in Amorite and Akkadian names by K. de Graef,³ a study of Neo-Babylonian names by M. P. Streck,⁴ and a complete study of the personal names from Emar by R. Pruzsinszky.⁵ One point that emerges from the last book is that abbreviations were common,⁶ though whether this was also the case in Ugaritic personal names remains uncertain. Names with the element Dagan are also comprehensively listed by L. Feliu in his study of Dagan.⁷ In addition, the *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* has now been published in an English translation,⁸ and of course it incorporates all the Ugaritic personal names, including the new personal names that have been published in RSOu 14,⁹ e.g. *itgh*, *kšy*, *nggn*, *nkly*, *tblm*¹⁰ and *tnabn*.¹¹

1. "Ugaritic Onomastics (6)", *AuOr* 20, 2002, 231-238. Two misprints crept into the printed version: p. 231: "Newcastle upon Tyme" for "Newcastle upon Tyne"; p. 231 n. 9: delete the second *urtb*.

2. A. Millet Albà, "Les noms propres avec préformative en *me-* et *mu-* des archives de Mari", *AuOr* 17-19, 1999-2000, 205-214.

3. K. de Graef, "In *cauda divinum* *-(i)lum* dans quelques noms amorrites et accadiens", *RA* 93, 1999, 119-139.

4. M. P. Streck, "Das onomasticon der Beamten am neubabylonischer Ebabbar-Tempel in Sippar", *ZA* 91, 2001, 110-119.

5. R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar* (SCCNH 13; Bethesda 2003), here abbreviated to PTE. Note that the bibliographical entry for A. Millet Albà, "Les noms propres avec préformative en *me-* et *mu-* des archives de Mari", *AuOr* 17-19, 1999-2000, 205-214 is incorrectly listed under ALBÀ (p. 273 sic!).

6. E.g. R. Pruzsinszky PTE, 254.

7. L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria*, Leiden, 2003.

8. G. del Olmo Lete - J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (English Version Edited and Translated by W. G. E. Watson) 2 vols. Leiden, 2002¹, 2003².

9. M. Yon - D. Arnaud, eds, *Études ougaritiques. I. Travaux 1985-1996*, RSOu 14; Paris, 2001.

10. Unless it denotes a profession, i.e. a smith. See E. Neu, "»Baumeister« und »Zimmermann« in der Textüberlieferung aus Hattuša", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43, 1993, 59-62 (62) and M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Hurritisch-ugaritisch-hebräisch *tbl* "Schmied"", *UF* 22, 1990, 87-88.

11. RSOu 14 (note 9), pp. 357, 360, 377, 354-355 and 359 respectively.

Meanings can be proposed for many of the following personal names in Ugaritic, although as ever such proposals can only be tentative due to the lack of context and in many cases, of syllabic spellings.

agr, “Hireling, Labourer” (4.243:33; 4.753:22; UgOnom.1, 114; DUL, 27); see now also the Emar PN *agra*, “Mietling, Lohnarbeiter” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 74 and n. 28).

alb (4.700:4) may be Hurrian (cf. DUL, 53 for references) and note the Emar PN *albanu*, which is of uncertain origin (Pruzsinszky PTE, 269).

ill, “Precious Stone (?)” (4.214 ii 8; DUL, 56) an Anatolian name according to Grøndahl PTU, 273. However, cf. the Emar Akkadian PN *illalu*, “ein Edelstein” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 83 and n. 132). Alternatively, see the Anatolian Emar name *ilulu/a* of unknown meaning (Pruzsinszky PTE, 259).

ulpm, “A plant” (4.412 iii 2; cf. DUL, 63). This meaning is an option since Akk. *ullupu*, “eine Pflanze” (AHw, 1410; cf. CDA, 421) occurs in lexical texts found in Ugarit (MSL 10, 111, 115). It may also explain *ulb* (4.281:13; 4.628:2) and *ulby* (4.309:2).

irn, “Of equal value (?)” (4.281:16), may be Hurrian, as is the Emar PN *irna* according to Pruzsinszky (PTE, 242) but without reference to the Ugaritic name. For a different solution see UgOnom.1, 116 (cf. DUL, 104).

urn, “Puppy” (1.42:43; 4.90:5) as in Akk. *urānu*, “puppy” (CDA, 425), probably a variant of *mūrānu* with the same meaning.

+ *is*, “Jaw” (?) (4.12:7; 4.123:8; 4.412 ii 16; cf. DUL, 113): instead of “Deaf” (see UgOnom.6, 232) perhaps the name is to be explained by Akk. *isu(m)*, *issu*, “Kinnbacken, Kiefer” (AHw, 389; cf. CDA, 132).

ayl, “Deer” (4.617:14; DUL, 134) also occurs in Emar as *ayyalu* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 75, with additional bibliography in n. 41).

lby, “Zizyphus-tree (?)” (4.277:6; cf. UgOnom.1, 123; DUL, 158), possibly corresponding to OSA *l̄b*, “Zizyphus-tree”.¹²

l̄r, “Redflower (?)” (4.15:5; 4.635:19), possibly Akk. *illūru(m)*, *ellūru*, “(meist rote) Anemone” (AHw, 373), “(a flower)” (CDA, 127), reflected in the Akk. PNN *illūrānu*, *illūratum* (cf. CAD I/J, 87-88).

bb, “Child” or “(the god) *Bāba*” (4.63 iv 9; UgOnom.3, 214; UgOnom.4, 220; DUL, 213). Pruzsinszky (PTE, 156 n. 56) comments: “Der Name wird aufgrund des in Emar belegten zusammengesetzten PN *Bābu-lā'i* ... mit dem GN gleichgesetzt... Der GN ist stets ohne Gottesdeterminativ geschrieben”, and although this may apply to the Ugaritic PN, “Eine mögliche Zuordnung zu den Lallnamen muß allerdings in Betracht gezogen werden”.¹³

12. See A. Sima, *Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften. Eine lexikalische und realienkundliche Untersuchung*, Wiesbaden, 2000, 187-188.

13. See also R. Pruzsinszky PTE, 78 and 267.

bbru, “Bird” (4.393:11), possibly Akk. *bibrû*, “ein hahnähnlicher Vogel” (AHw, 125; cf. CDA, 44), a loan from Sumerian.

dmtn, “Tower” (4.50:11; DUL, 275); cf. the Emar PN *dimetti*, “Türme” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 79 and n. 86, but with no reference to Ugaritic).

dq, “Tiny” (4.63 iii 14; DUL, 278); cf. the Emar PNN *daqqu*, *duqqu* (also *duqqānu*) “Der Winzige” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 79, 80). Unfortunately no syllabic spellings of the name occur in the texts from Ras Shamra.

dqn, “Beard” or “Tiny” (4.33:37, etc.; cf. DUL, 278). Although the first meaning seems assured by Ug. *dqn*, “beard, chin” (DUL, 278; cf. PTU, 125), the meaning “Tiny” cannot be excluded in view of the previous entry. See Pruzsinszky PTE, 159, n. 111 on the Emar PN *daqanu*.

dr (4.354:8; UgOnom.1, 118) may correspond to Hurr. *zirira*,¹⁴ although its meaning remains unknown.

gbrn, “Strong One” (4.141 ii 19; 4.309:17; 4.730:6; DUL, 293), possibly, although the syllabic spelling *gu-ub-ru-na* (PRU 6, 118:6') does not match the Emar PN *gabarnu*, “Starker” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 159 and n. 114).

gg (4.17:19; 4.102:2; 4.678:5): to the possibilities listed elsewhere¹⁵ add Anatolian *gugu*, “a species of waterbird”, mentioned by Pruzsinszky (PTE, 259) in respect of the Emar PN *gugu*.¹⁶

gmm, “Cut (?)” (4.55:10; cf. Grøndahl PTU, 128); cf. Akk. *gamāmu*, “abschneiden” (AHw, 276; cf. CDA, 88), possibly a reference to the cutting of the umbilical cord.

gzry (DUL, 315) may correspond to the Nuzi PN *ku-uz-za-ri-ya*.¹⁷

gnbn (4.393:2), if Semitic (cf. DUL, 323) may be explained either by Ug. *gnb*, “grape” (DUL, 323) or by Akk. *hanābu*, “to flourish, sprout” or the like (cf. CDA, 105), hence perhaps “Offspring”.

hrsn, “Groats (?)” (4.711:6), in view of Akk. *arsānu*, “(a kind of groats)” (CAD A/2, 306-307; cf. CDA, 25).¹⁸ An explanation from Heb. *hrs*, “to destroy” seems less likely.

hbsn (4.307:15); cf. perhaps *hubūsum*, “(a weapon)” (CDA, 118). No other explanation is available.

14. I. J. Gelb - P. M. Purves - A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, Chicago, 1943, 155a; see M. P. Maidman, “JEN 790-798: The Text Editions”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, Vol. 12. *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/3*, Bethesda, 2002, 41-79 (53).

15. UgOnom.1, 117; UgOnom.3, 215; UgOnom.4, 221.

16. With a reference to G. Neumann, *Untersuchungen zum Weiterleben hethitischen und luwischen Sprachgutes in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1961, 69.

17. For which see M. P. Maidman, “A Unique Tehip-tilla Family Document from the British Museum”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Vol. 7. *Edith Porada Memorial Volume*, Bethesda, 1995, 57-63 (62).

18. On *arsānum*, “barley groats” cf. J. N. Postgate, “Processing of Cereals in the Cuneiform Record”, *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 1, 1984, 103-110 (108).

hri and *hri* may be Semitic (cf. UgOnom.4, 222) but cf. the Hurr. PN *h̄é-er-re-e-a/ h̄é-er-ri-ia*.¹⁹

hryšn, “Gold” (see DUL, 407) corresponds to the Phoen. PN *hryš*, which occurs on an eighth century BCE seal.²⁰

ki/hdn (4.715:8) is very difficult; see perhaps either Akk. *kādu*, “to be distressed” (CDA, 141) or *kīdānu*, “away from home” (CDA, 156). For the second meaning cf. the Emar PN *kīdānu*, “Außenseiter, Fremder” (Pruzsinszky PTE, 85 and n. 160).

kli, “Intact” (3.8:3; cf. DUL, 438), corresponding to the Hurrian name *kela’e* from Emar (Pruzsinszky PTE, 243 and n. 181).

kl̄tb (4.103:46; 4.357:27; 4.616:12; 4.638:7; cf. DUL, 441): note the spelling *ké-él-te-šup* from Nuzi.²¹

kpyn (4.759:3) may perhaps be Hurrian; cf. the Nuzi PN *ki-bi-ia*.²²

ktr, “Speaker” (4.141 ii 7) and similarly, perhaps *ktry* (4.638:6): instead of previous proposals (UgOnom. 4, 224; UgOnom.6, 235) see Pruzsinszky PTE, 242 on the Hurrian name from Emar *katiri*, “Sprecher”, from Hurr. *kat-* [*kad-*], “to speak”, though the Ugaritic name is not mentioned there.

ktt, “Short (?)” (4.382:28), Akk. *katātu*, “to be low or short” (CAD K, 304); however the meaning given in AHW, 465 is “vibrieren” (cf. Arab. *ktt*), “to quiver, vibrate” (CDA, 153).²³ Alternatively, see Eg. *ktt*, “der Kleine, Junge”.²⁴

lzy, “Persistent, Determined” (4.75 iii 6) is possible in view of Akk. *lezū*, “persistent” (CDA, 181).

+*mnn* (see UgOnom. 4, 224-225; DUL, 564), which also occurs in Emar, is briefly discussed by Pruzsinszky (PTE, 270), but no meaning can be assigned.

mšt (4.170:5) may be a form of *mtt*, “damsel” (cf. DUL, 606), in which case the name *bn mšt* would mean “Son of a damsel” (?).

nbq (4.93 iii 3) remains unexplained; cf. perhaps Akk. *nab/p k/qum*, “herbeibringen” (AHw, 695; cf. CAD N/1, 8-9), hence “One ushered in(to the world)”, if passive. At best this can only be a guess.

19. EN 10/3, 176:2, 14, 15, 18, 36; EN 10/3, 178: 9’, in J. Fincke, “Appendix to EN 10/3”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, Vol. 12. *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/3*, Bethesda, 2002, 305-307.

20. W. E. Aufrecht, “A Phoenician Seal”, in Z. Zevit - S. Gitin - M. Sokoloff, eds, *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Winona Lake IN, 1995, 385-387.

21. JEN 790:2.11.12 etc.; cf. M.P. Maidman, “A Unique Tehip-tilla Family Document from the British Museum”, 42.

22. EN 10/3, 175 obv. 1, 6, 10, 13, rev. 27; in J. Fincke, “Appendix to EN 10/3”, 305-306

23. Whether there is any connection with Eg. *kkt*, “zittern, beben” (R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.) Die Sprache der Pharaonen*, Mainz, 1995, 890) remains uncertain.

24. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 890.

nbzn, “Bleater (?)” (4.613:9; cf. UgOnom.3, 217; DUL, 619); Akk. *nabāzu*, “to bleat” (CAD N/1, 24; CDA, 228) with reference to goats. See the unexplained Emar PN *nabuzu* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 270).

ndk, meaning unknown (1.79:4; DUL, 621); see the unexplained Emar PN *nudigu* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 270).

nlbn, “Brick-Mould (?)” (4.115:12) may be the meaning, corresponding to Akk. *nalbanu* with the same meaning (CAD N/1, 199; CDA, 234); the verb *lbn*, “to make bricks” is attested in Ugaritic (DUL, 490) but of course *nlbn* could be a derivative of *lbn*, “to be white”.

npršn, “Like a Flyer (?)” (4.340:18), Akk. *naprušu*, “to fly” (CAD N/1, 314-315; CDA, 239).²⁵

nqtn, “Shepherd” (4.309:26), is a variant spelling of *nqd* with that meaning.²⁶

prs (4.715:6) may be Semitic (cf. UgOnom.1, 124) or possibly Hurrian; cf. the Nuzi PN *pu-ra-a-sa*.²⁷

prsg, “Turban (?)” (4.727:21); cf. Akk. *parsīgu(m)*, *paršīgu(m)*, *parsikkum*, “headdress, turban” (CDA, 267), a loanword from Sumerian.

prt, “Freeman” (4.739:7; cf. DUL, 683-684) is a Hurrian name, i.e. *pīr=adi*, corresponding to the Emar PN *pirati* (cf. Pruzsinszky PTE, 238 and n. 130) and not Semitic (as proposed in UgOnom.4, 227). Similarly *prtn* (4.122:19, etc; cf. DUL, 684).

qrr, “Frog” (4.214 i 20) and *qrrn* (3.7:2; 4.214:1; DUL, 711), Eg. *qrr*, “Frosch” or possibly “Schlange”.²⁸

rny (4.769:19; UgOnom.2, 248) may derive from *rn*, “to rejoice” but cf. also Eg. *rny*, “Jungstier”.²⁹

srp, meaning unknown (4.238:6); cf. the unexplained Emar PN *saripa* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 270).

tlb (4.375:16), like *tlbr* (4.83:2) and *tlby* (4.118:4; 4.161:2, 3), may be Hurrian (cf. PTU, 265; DUL, 869-70) but if the name is Semitic, cf. perhaps the Akk. (?) tree name *dulbu*, “plane tree” (CDA, 61).

tqn (4.277:11; UgOnom.1, 126; DUL, 875): the syllabic spelling *táq-qa-na* (PRU 3, 32:2) may rule out any connection with the Emar PNN *tuqani* and *tuqnu* (discussed in Pruzsinszky PTE, 99 and n. 313).

tral (4.370:10): cf. perhaps Nuzi Akk. (Hurr.) *taruallimu*, “ein Holzggst.” (AHw, 1336; cf. CDA, 401).

trmn, “Spring (of water)” (4.612:6): cf. also Hurrian names from Nuzi with the element *tarm=*.³⁰

25. J. Fincke, “Beiträge zum Lexikon des Hurritischen von Nuzi”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Vol. 7. *Edith Porada Memorial Volume*, Bethesda, 1995, 5-21. Unless Hurrian, i.e. *nupur* (see Pruzsinszky PTE, 245) + *šn* (“brother”).

26. J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, Münster, 2000, 98.

27. JEN 798:44, 48; cf. Maidman, “JEN 790-798: The Text Editions”, 72.

28. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 863.

29. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 470.

30. J. Fincke, “Beiträge zum Lexikon des Hurritischen von Nuzi”, 20-21.

ttn, “Giving” (4.35 ii 21; 4.63 ii 16; 4.69 iii 3; 4.245 i 10; DUL, 883) if it corresponds to Ug. *ttn* with the same meaning as explained by Tropper.³¹

try (1.142:2): cf. perhaps Akk. *ṭūru*, *ṭurû*, *ṭīru*, “Opoanax” (AHw, 1397).

ttm (4.572:11; 4.658:11): cf. perhaps Akk. *šatammu*, “administrator” (CDA, 363); “accountant, clerk, etc.” (CAD Š/2, 185-192).

wrt (4.369:18): cf. the unexplained Hurr. PNN *wa-ar-te-e-a*³² and *wu-ur-ru-ut-ta*³³ from Nuzi.

yṭpr (4.357:21) may derive from **ṭpr*, possibly cognate with Akk. *šapāru*, “to send (a message), etc.” (CDA, 357); however, it occurs in a broken context (cf. DUL, 996).

zbr (4.93 ii 11) is explained by Grøndahl (PTU, 183) as “Haufe, Schar, Gruppe”, with reference to the root *šbr*, Arab. *ḍbr*. Alternatively, cf. Akk. *šabru*, “One who winks” (CDA, 331).

zmn (4.617 [ii] 24; DUL, 1004): see the unexplained Emar PN *šummānu* (Pruzsinszky PTE, 270); however, in the Ug. PN the syllabic spellings reflect an initial ZI-.³⁴

zzn (4.63 ii 32; 4.108:2): a range of meanings is possible (cf. Grøndahl PTU, 190, 291) as indicated by Akk. *šišnu*, “fish larvae” (CDA, 339), *ziznu*, “small (of fish)” (CDA, 449), *zizānu*, “cricket” (CDA, 449).

The following Ugaritic PNN have not been discussed by anyone and remain unexplained: *ibkkḏ*, *idly*, *adnn*, *uḥl*, *ulbtyn*, *uldy*, *alṭy*, *argd*, *arkšt*, *armgr*,³⁵ *isg*, *ass*, *uss*, *cmdl*, *cnnn*, *cptb*, *cptn*, *c^sn*, *c^tl[]*, *cyy*, *blšš*, *bmmt*, *bšmn*, *btlyn*, *byy*, *dby*, *dmyn*, *dnty*, *dršy*, *gg^{ct}*, *gssn*, *gṭn*, *gṭy*, *ḡdḡd*, *ḡdr*, *ḡrpd*, *ḡrt*, *hayn*, *hbm*, *ḡḡmn*, *kdml*, *klt*, *krwt*, *myn*, *ndrg*, *nggn*, *ngzḥn*, *nkn*, *nkt*, *npin*, *pdu*, *pkdy*, *plḡn*, *pndn*, *psš*, *p^t*, *qb^{cl}*, *ri^cbd*, *sbd*,³⁶ *smyy*, *sst*, *sy*, *šmy*, *šḡyn*, *šškrḡy*, *tby*, *tghb*, *tlgn*, *trhy*, *tḡmi*, *tḡt*, *t^mnr*, *t^myr*, *t^tph*, *tyl*, *wql*, *yky*, *ymz*, *yny*, *yzg* and *zq*.

31. J. Tropper, “Das unerkannte Verbalsubstantiv *ttn* «Geben» im Hebräischen und Ugaritischen”, *ZAH* 14, 2001, 200-205.

32. J. Fincke, “Beiträge zum Lexikon des Hurritischen von Nuzi”, 10.

33. G. G. W. Müller, “Die Bachmannschen Rechtsurkunden aus Arrapa”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, Vol. 12. *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/3*, Bethesda, 2002, 81-89 (87, lines 28 and 35).

34. See J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, Atlanta GA, 1987, 226.

35. Possibly these three PNN begin with Hurr. *ar-*, “to give”.

36. Possibly to be explained by Akk. *sapādu*, “to mourn”.