WEST SEMITIC NAMES IN THE ŠĒḪ ḤAMAD TEXTS

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The four Šēḫ Ḥamad texts of early Neo-Babylonian date published in this issue of SAAB present an interesting admixture of onomastic formations, viewed both synchronically and across generations. The relatively abundant purely Akkadian names are the following[1]:

Adad-aplu-iddina, Adad-milki-ēreš[2], Adad-takal, Aḫu-iddin(a), Bēl-dān, Erība-aḫḫē, Ilūtu-ūpaq, Libluṭu, Mannu-ka-aḫḫē, Mannu-kī-aḫḫē, Nabû-šarru-na'id, Nabû-šarru-uṣur, Nabû-šumu-iddina, Nabūtu, Na'id-Issar, Pān-ili-..., Sîn-na'id[3], Šamaš-iddina, Šulmānu-šangû-uṣur, Šulmānu-šumu-iddina, Ubru-Ḫarrān[4], Urad-Nabû, ...-zēru-iddina.

While it may be noticed that names built with the deity Aššur are conspicuously absent, certainly these anthroponyms are fully parallel to the ones of Neo-Assyrian context, and sometimes with hints of a more precisely local environment. Or, conversely, it may be said that they do not demonstrate traits which may be specifically and/or exclusively linked to a Babylonian context — which is understandable, given the scarce ten years which separate our texts from the fall of the Assyrian empire[5]. In particular,

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[1] The reference are to the list of names appended to Postgate's article in this issue.

[2] Two people by this name are attested; cf. Brinkman's article, fn. 34.

[3] Again, the name is attested for two distinct people.

[4] A further case of the ones indicated above. It may be noted here that alphabetic version of this name in text no. 3 ('brḥrn), represents the definitive proof of the reading of the sign SUḪUŠ as ubru in personal names of the Neo-Assyrian period, as was first suggested by Postgate, in GPA, p. 67f., and for which an indirect confirmation came from the «improper» use of the logogram to render Aramaic *bVr, «son», cf. Fales, OrAnt 16 (1977), pp. 41ff..

[5] The sole possible exception to this statement is the name Bēl-dān.

attention may be paid to the glorification of the *šangû* in one of the names, which might refer back to an earlier "layer" of higher institutions in the Khabur valley, as pointed out by Postgate (article in this series); or to Ubru-Ḫarrān and Sîn-na'id, as different indicators of the diffusion of the cult of the Moon-god centered in the Ḫarrān area; or to the presence of Adad-milki, a well attested divine figure of Assyria, showing marked synchretistic aspects between Akkadian and Aramaic[6].

On the other hand, as is to be expected on the Khabur, a fertile area of ancient Aramean settlement first and then surely the final destination of many a deportation program on the part of the Assyrian authorities, we find a large number of West Semitic anthroponyms in the same texts. What might be unexpected at the outset, however, is the breadth of the comparisons within the West Semitic linguistic horizon that such names evoke. This may be shown by the following "filecards" on almost all the available names[7]:

Adad-amar

"Adad spoke/ordered" (writing 10–*a-mar*). Despite first impressions, this is not a linguistically Akkadian name, bearing a predicative element drawn from the verb *amāru*, "to see". The overall syntactic structure (two elements, Subj.-Pred.), the characteristics of the predicative element[8], and a number of parallels in onomastics from both the NA and NB-LB periods[9], point clearly to a West Semitic verbal sentence name, formed by the deity Adad, popular in different linguistic-cultural milieus of the period[10], and the *qal* perfect, 3rd pers. sg., of the verb **'mr*, "to speak, command"[11].

Adad-idri

"Adad is my help/support" —a quite frequent name in the onomasticon of the Neo-Assyrian period, both because the element **ʿiḏr* is well attested among West

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[6] Cf. K. Deller, OrNS 34 (1965), pp. 382-383; F.M. Fales, CCENA, p. 24; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*, Jerusalem 1977 (henceforth WSB), p. 48.

[7] On the grounds of ambiguities and uncertainties of various types, I have decided not to take a critical stance on the following 5 names: Idî, Kabdî, Katnunu, Mannî, Zangari-DÙ. Note further that the "headings" of the single paragraphs below bear the names in a normalized transcription deriving from the cuneiform renderings, while the etymological reconstruction of the same names or their appearance in other linguistic/textual realities is to be found, whenever considered as necessary, within the relevant paragraphs themselves.

[8] In an Akkadian formation, the first person sg. of the preterite (*āmur*) would have been preferred, more often than not preceded by the precative *lū*.

[9] Cf. Zadok, WSB, p. 82.

[10] Cf. WSB, p. 46.

[11] Notice further the occurrence of names with the predicative element *a-mar* in first position (*a-mar-il*, etc.) with no semantic change: cf. WSB, p. 82.

Semitic (and esp. Aramaic) nominal predicatives[12], and for the abundant presence of Adad in this name horizon (see above). The two writings given in the Šēḥ Ḥamad texts (ᵈIM–*id-ri* and 10–*id-ri*) also fully reflect the orthographic variants hitherto known[13]. An Aramaic alphabetic counterpart to the name is also known from a seal discovered in Assyria, dated to the 7th century B.C. (*hdʿdr*)[14]. One of the two individuals is the son of Kul-ba-yad-il, equally endowed with a West Semitic name (see below).

Adad-rapi'

"Adad is healer"[15] (writing: 10–*ra-pi-i*'). The name is formed by the already discussed divine subject-element plus the Aramaic active participle (*qātil*), a formant of nominal sentence names which is not particularly frequent in absolute[16], but which is not lacking in the Šēḥ Ḥamad evidence[17]. Attested both with and without the *aleph*-sign, **rāpi*' is present both in NA and in NB-LB transcriptions of names[18].

Aḫu-larim

"May the brother be exalted" (writing PAP–*la-rim*). The name is a verbal sentence, formed by the theophorous element **'ḫ*, "brother", and by a predicate drawn from the root **rw/ym*, in the —decidedly Aramaic— precative form (*laqtil*)[19], with many parallels in NA cuneiform[20]. In alphabetic script, notice the name *'dnlrm* on four Hama graffiti of the 9th or 8th century[21]. In the present corpus, cf. also Dadi-larim (see below).

Aḫ(i)yâ

"My brother ..." (writing *aḫ-iá-'a*). This name would seem to be a hypocoristicon of

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[12] WSB, p. 97, gives 20 theophorous/divine elements coupled with **ʿiḏr*.

[13] *Ibid.*; just to give one example, the name of the king of Damascus in the time of Shalmaneser III, known in the Bible as *Hadad-ʿezer* is given in cuneiform inscriptions as Adad-idri, with both of the named writings (cf. APN, p. 8a).

[14] CIS II, 77; cf. M. Maraqten, *Die semitische Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim 1988, p. 77.

[15] For a recent overview of the root cf. Maraqten, *cit.*, p. 213.

[16] Cf. WSB, pp. 104, 121.

[17] See also Am(me)-yadi', and possibly also the hypocoristicon Gabbî, below.

[18] To the examples quoted by Zadok, *ibid.*, add also e.g. NA *am–ra-pi-i*', CCENA 23, 22, and NB-LB *am–ra-p[i-i/e]*, RA 25 (1928), pp. 53ff., No. 7, r.4 (Neirab).

[19] Cf. WSB, pp. 92, 95.

[20] *Ibid.*; add also e.g. *ḫa–la-rim*, CT 33, 15A, 13, from Assur (post-648 B.C.).

[21] KAI 203; see Maraqten, *cit.*, p. 116. Recent and complete edition of the graffiti, with photographs and copies, by B. Otzen, *The Aramaic Inscriptions*, in P.J.Riis-M.-L. Buhl, *Hama II 2: les objets de la période dite syro-hittite (âge du fer)*, København 1990, pp. 267-318, and esp. 275-278.

an onomastic formation with subject-element represented by the theophorous $*'h$, to which a personal pronoun of the 1st person singular is added, before an ending $*-\hat{a}$[22]. The explicit presence of $*-ia$ would seem to find parallels rather in the NB/LB rendering than in the NA ones[23]: while the ascription to West Semitic —and presumably to Aramaic— is basically due to the abbreviative ending $*-\hat{a}$, characteristic and very common in this chronological and linguistic bracket[24].

Aḫzi-Yau

This name (written ah-zi-$i\acute{a}$-a-u) has a number of characteristics which allow us to consider it linguistically and culturally Hebrew. Foremost, the root of the verbal predicative is clearly $*'hd$, "to take, grasp, take possession"; and, as is well known, the rendering of the etymological voiced interdental d in NA and in NB-LB transcriptions of names varies quite rigidly according to the linguistic affiliation of the names themselves, with $<z>$ restricted to Akkadian and Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician, etc.), as against $<d>$ for Aramaic and Arabic anthroponyms[25]. Thus, the rendering offered here, with $-zi-$, is decidedly in opposition to the (equally NA) transcription with $-di-$, as e.g. in se-e'-a-ha-di[26], and proves it to be linguistically Canaanite, as reflecting the 3rd pers. sg. of the qal perfect of $*'hd$. As for the subject-element, here in second position, it is no doubt identical to the one written ia-$\acute{u}/u$ in names attested both in NA and NB-LB texts, and identifiable with the Hebrew divine name $*Yhw$[27]. Combining the two data, we obtain a decidedly Hebrew anthroponym meaning "Yahu has taken", with precise parallels in the Biblical name $'ah\bar{a}z$-$y\hat{a}h\hat{u}$[28] and in the epigraphic Hebrew $'hzyhw$ (end of 8th-beginning 7th cent. B.C.)[29].

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[22] Due to the difference in the orthography of this name with the ones in the same corpus presenting the final element $*-yau$ (consistently realized as $-i\acute{a}$-a-u), I would rule out the presence of any explicit predicative element here.

[23] Cf. WSB, pp. 54-55.

[24] Cf. WSB, p. 149.

[25] Cf. an overview of the question in WSB, p. 243.

[26] Fales, CCENA, 3, VIII, 15, 19; cf. WSB, p. 82.

[27] Cf. R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*, Tel Aviv 1976, pp. 7ff.; id., *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Leuven 1988, p. 185. The attestation charted *ibid.* confirm the fact that the rendering $-i\acute{a}$-a-u in our texts is fully innovative, as remarked by Postgate in his article (the case involving the sign $-i\acute{a}-$ indicated in Zadok, *Jews, cit.*, p. 11 fn. 38, 99, is wrong: cf. CT 53, pl. 18).

[28] Cf. R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit.*, p. 400 and *passim*.

[29] *Ibid.*; see also the most recent and comprehensive edition in G.I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*, Cambridge 1991, 100.342: *lzqn / 'hzyhw*. The writing ah-zi- in our text should represent a case of *sandhi*.

Am-dukuru

The name is formed by the theophorous subject-element *ʿamm, "paternal uncle", plus a predicative element deriving from the root *ḏkr, "to remember, to mention". The pattern would seem to be of the qatūl or qattūl type (similarly e.g. to the onomastic element in the Chaldean toponym *Bīt-Dakkuri)[30] possibly with the intrusion of the NA phonological phenomenon of vowel harmony. That it did not represent the Canaanite qal passive participle, is assured by the rendering of *ḏ as <d> (see above)[31]: on the other hand, either an Aramaic or an Arabic linguistic reality might be present here, especially in view of the epigraphically well-attested pre-Islamic Arabian name ʿmḏkr[32].

Am-yadi' / Amme-yadi'

These two names present a small variance in writing (am(-me)–ia-di-i') and quite surely refer to the same West Semitic onomastic formation, a nominal sentence name with the subject-element *ʿamm, "paternal uncle" (cf. above) and the active participle *yādiʿ from the verb *ydʿ, "to know"[33].

Arbaya

Cf. s.v. Masaya, below.

Arrî (ar-ri-iʔ) and Aurâ (a-ú-ra-a)

Both these names might be West Semitic, as they present the common hypocoristic endings -î and -â. As for the etymologies, Aramaic or Canaanite *ʿw/yr (from original *ǵw/yr, "to rouse, to wake, to guard", should represent a sufficiently plausible hypothesis for the first name, in the light of the Hebrew anthroponym ʿerî[34]; while the second

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[30] Cf. WSB, p. 130.

[31] Cf. Maraqten, Personennamen, cit., p. 224, and passim for epigraphic attestations of names built with -dkr —some of which, however, are not the result of commonly accepted readings.

[32] Cf. G. Lankester Harding, An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions, Toronto 1971, p. 436.

[33] Cf. WSB, pp. 68, 104, to which add e.g. il–ia-di-i', Postgate-Ismail, TIM 11, 36, 6. On the other hand, this verbal form is rare in the 1st millennium West Semitic onomastic corpus, and it often seems to compete semantically with the qal perfect, so that an explanation of its vocalization in terms of phonetic shifts might not be ruled out entirely. Cf. e.g. man-nu–ia-di-i', CCENA 2, III, 15, with NB man-nu–ia-da-a', BRM 1, 26, 8.

[34] Cf. Zadok, The Pre-Hellenic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit., p. 102.

case might go back to the same root[35], or —less probably— to the Aramaic noun *^{c}awīrā, "blind" (cf. NA a-u-i-ra-a)[36]. Other possibilities, even in the sphere of Southwest Semitic, are however not to be ruled out: cf. Safaitic *'wr' or *'wr^c[37].

Baḫê

This name (ba-ḫi-e) is a hypocoristicon of the Aramaic root *bǵy, "to search, inquire, ask", equally well attested in NA and NB-LB transcriptions, e.g. in the name ba-ḫi-a-nu/ni[38]; on the other hand, the alphabetic name bḥy[n] or b'y[n], formerly presumed to be attested in the inscriptions on the altar from Tell Halaf, must now be considered nonexistent[39].

Dadi-larim

Interestingly enough, this clearly Aramaic name (writing: da-di–la$^?$-rim), compounded of the divine name *Dad(i)[40], and of the precative of *rw/ym[41] was born by the son of Aḫzi-Yau, whom we have seen above to have a Hebrew anthroponym. The known names bearing dd as subject-element in Aramaic alphabetic characters stem in the main from the Assyro-Aramaic milieu[42].

[35] Considering that <ú> often stands for intervocalic */h/ (WSB, p. 244), one might compare here the Hebrew name 'ahārôn, following the etymological suggestion by Zadok, The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit., p. 102.

[36] WSB, p. 125.

[37] Cf. Lankester Harding, An Index and Concordance, cit., p. 84: the names are resp. connected to Arab. 'uwâr, "heat, flame", or wari^c, "pious, timid".

[38] Cf. APN, p. 50a, for attestations. The discussion of the root is given by Zadok in WSB, pp. 161f., with reference to Akkadian baḫû, "weak", but is radically altered as relevant to Aramaic *bǵy in the addenda to the volume (ibid., pp. 430f.).

[39] Cf. G. Dankwarth - Ch. Müller, Zur altaramäischen "Altar"-Inschrift vom Tell Halaf, AfO 35 (1988), pp. 73-78, where the reading proposed by Friedrich in 1940 is substantially accepted (and Albright's "bḥy[n]" is rejected) after a new critical examination of photographs and of a plaster cast of the now lost "altar".

[40] Cf. WSB, p. 47, for names built with Dad(i) in NA, to which must be added the name of the post-canonical eponym written ^{l}u.u-i, and previously (M. Falkner, AfO 17 [1954-56], pp. 102f.) read Bēl-šarru-na'id, and now clear as = Dadî. For the Assur material, cf. e.g. F.M. Fales, SAAB 5 (1991), pp. 3-158 passim, and esp. texts nos. 17, 23, 49, 50; for Nineveh, cf. e.g. Parpola-Kwasman, SAA 6, 323a; and e.g. Postgate-Ismail, TIM XI, p. 63, s.v. Adad-milki-na'id. Other names compounded with Dad(i) in Parpola-Kwasman, ibid., 323a-b: notice in particular [^{l}u].u–la$^?$-rim, no. 225 (= ADD 576), r.8'.

[41] As in Aḫu-larim, above.

[42] Cf. Maraqten, Personennamen, cit., p. 76 (dd', ddy, dd^{r}lh).

Gabbî

This name (*gab-bi-i*) is a further hypocoristicon in -*î*: again (cf. Adad-amar, above) despite appearances, it should not derive from Akkadian *gabbu*, "all", but from the Aramaic root **gbh*, "to be high, exalted"[43]. Names built with a divine component and the predicate -*gab-e*, or *gab-bi-i/e*[44], would be a demonstration of this etymology[45].

Ḥalliṣu

This name also occurs in a list of witnesses, partly of West Semitic affiliation from Esarhaddon's reign (*ḫal-li-ṣi*)[46], and is certainly much the same as *ḫa-le-e-ṣi*, attested in a loan document from Nineveh (approx. 680 B.C.)[47]. The name has parallels in Hebrew alphabetic texts (*ḥlṣ*)[48] and in the Bible (*Ḥeleṣ*)[49]. Finally, it occurs on a Nimrud bronze bowl[50].

Ḥanana

The name (attested both in cuneiform and in alphabetic script, *ḫa-na-na* / *ḥnn*) is a hypocoristicon from the West Semitic root **ḥnn*, "to be gracious, to favour", with numerous parallels in cuneiform script[51] and a large number of alphabetic attestations[52].

Ḥanzaruru

Ḥanzaruru occurs occasionally in NA texts, with variant writings: at Nineveh

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[43] Cf. WSB, p. 87, for the *qal* perfect of the verb. For hypocoristics, cf. on the other hand APN, p. 6a.

[44] In NA, cf. e.g. 10–*gab-be-e*, ADD 476, r.7; *il–gab-e*, Iraq 32, p. 144, L.E. 1; *il–gab-e*, ADD 279, r. 6. For NB-LB, cf. e.g. the name of the family head of the Neirab documents, *Nusku*(ᵈPA+KU)–*gab-bi-i/ga-bé-e/gab-bé-e* (E. Dhorme, RA 25 [1928], pp. 53ff.).

[45] Notice also the reciprocally variant hypocoristica *gab-e*, *gab-bi-i* and *gab-bi-e*, in the name of the father of a witness from Nineveh (ca. 680 B.C.): references in F.M. Fales, SAAB 1 (1987), pp. 96ff., figs. 1-5; Parpola-Kwasman, SAA 6, 324a.

[46] Parpola-Kwasman, SAA 6, no. 266, r.12'.

[47] *Ibid.*, no. 80 (= ADD 792), 2. The name was previously read *ḫa-li-e*-AD, cf. APN, p. 83b.

[48] Cf. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques, I. Les Ostraca*, Paris 1977, p. 51, with refs.; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 293a.

[49] Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit.*, p. 115.

[50] R.D. Barnett, ErIs 8 (1967), pp. 1-7.

[51] Cf. WSB, pp. 118, 148: as noticed by Zadok, some of the hypocoristic endings attached to this root (in *â*, -*û*, -*î*) may even be interchangeable. To the names quoted *ibid.*, add e.g. *ḫa-na-ni*, AnSt 6, p. 158, Coloph. 9; *ḫa-na-ni-e*, ND 2089, 4; *ḫa-na-na*, GPA 90, 2, and notice also *il–ha-na-na*, *ibid.*, 52, 8'.

[52] Cf. Maraqten, *Personennamen, cit.*, pp. 81, 166f; for the Hama graffito, cf. most recently Otzen, *The Aramaic Inscriptions, cit.*, pp. 282f. Other alphabetic refs. given by Röllig in this issue, *ad* Nr. 1.

($[\underline{h}]a$-an-za-ru-ru)[53], Assur ($\underline{h}a$-za-ru-ru)[54], and Nimrud ($\underline{h}a$-an-za-ru)[55]. If the name is to be taken as representing a nominal pattern extended by reduplication of the last radical ($qatal\bar{u}l$)[56], the root might be *$\underline{h}nzr$, "swine".

Ḫazalu

A clear West Semitic formation, compounded of the perfect qal of the verb *$\underline{h}zy$, "to see"[57], and the divine element *'il, and as such fully equivalent to Aram. $\underline{h}z'l$, frequently attested on epigraphs[58] as the name of the king of Aram-Damascus[59]. The writing ($\underline{h}a$-za-lu_4) is curious, but it finds parallels in a few other West Semitic anthroponyms, and notably in that of the post-canonical eponym *Ša'īl (sa-i-lu/li, se-i-li, but also sa-i-lu_4 in the texts from Assur)[60].

Ḫazaqi-Yau

Despite the small graphemic particularities ($\underline{h}a$-za-qi–iá-a-u) shared with other Yahwistic names from Šēḫ Ḫamad, this anthroponym is of course the same as that of the famous king Hezekiah of Judah under Sennacherib, attested in NA royal inscriptions[61] as well as in the Bible ($\underline{H}izqiy$-$y\bar{a}h(\hat{u})$)[62]. The same formation (from *$\underline{h}zq$, "to be, grow firm, strong, to strengthen") is also known from Hebrew epigraphy[63].

Kul-ba-yad-ili

"All (is/comes) in/through the hands of god": with the possible exception of a fragmentary attestation in a NA census text[64], this Aramaic name had no previous

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[53] Postgate-Ismail, TIM XI, no. 36, 4.

[54] VAT 15461, 20 (unpubl.).

[55] GPA, no. 82, 8, referring to a rab dayyāli,

[56] Cf. WSB, p. 137, for this pattern, with examples.

[57] Cf. WSB, p. 86, for the root.

[58] References in Maraqten, Personennamen, p. 80.

[59] In the stela from Āfis, KAI 202, A, 8, on the ivory inlays from Arslan Tash, and on bronze bridles from Athens (for texts and literature, cf. most recently J.A. Fitzmyer - S.A. Kaufman, An Aramaic Bibliography, Part I, Baltimore-London 1992, pp. 12, 23).

[60] Cf. K. Deller - A.R. Millard, AfO 32 (1985), pp. 51f., for a study of the variant writings of this "chief cook"'s name at Assur; for Nineveh, cf. M. Falkner, AfO 17 (1954-56), p. 105.

[61] Cf. APN, p. 88a, for the different writings.

[62] Cf. Zadok, The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit., p. 28.

[63] Ophel ostrakon: cf. Lemaire, Inscriptions hebraïques I, cit., 239, 1; Davies, Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions, cit., 4, 101, with reading $\underline{h}[z]qyhw$ (or $y\underline{h}[z]qyhw$).

[64] CCENA, 2, I, 12: kul–ba–ia-di[-.

cuneiform renderings in its full form, but merely abbreviated typologies, such as *kul–ba–ia–di*[65] and *ba–a+a–di–il*[66]. On the other hand, an excellent Aramaic epigraphic parallel comes from a clay tablet of legal content from 635 B.C. in which one of the contending parties bore the name *klbyd'l*[67].

Masaya

In view of the *nisbe*-ending, the name was certainly of gentilic meaning, like *ár-ba-a+a*, "the Arab". In my opinion, the similarity should be further extended to the geographical horizon embraced by the two names: for *ma-sa-a-a* might be compared to the gentilic indication URU.*ma-as-'a-a-a*, attested in Tiglathpileser III's annals, relevant to a tribe located in the general vicinity of the north-Arabian oasis of Tēma[68].

Menasê

An active participle of the redoubled stem of the *muqattil* type from *nšy*, "to forget", this name (*me-na-se-e*) would seem to follow closely in its vocalization the Hebrew form *Menašše^h*, the name of the well-known king of Judah, for whom the cuneiform transcriptions *me-na-se-e* and *mi-in-se-e* are attested[69]. The name is also known from Hebrew epigraphy[70].

Sakaḥa

The name might derive from the West Semitic root *śky*, "to hope for", for which the *qal* perfect is known in cuneiform transcription as (-)*sa-ka-a*(-) in NA and as -*šá-ka* in NB-LB[71], followed by the predicative element (subject) *'ḫ*, "brother". A similar name occurs in the Nimrud Ostracon of the 7th century B.C. (*śk'l*)[72].

Sakû'a

The name (*sa-ku-u-a*) might derive from the same root as Sakaḥa, i.e. *śky*, "to

[65] APN, p. 117b; WSB, p. 284.

[66] APN, p. 49a; cf. WSB, p. 110, for NB-LB formations (*ba-a-di/du*-DN).

[67] Cf. most recently F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Rome 1986, no. 58; Maraqten, *Personennamen, cit.*, pp. 85, 174.

[68] Cf. Parpola, NAT, p. 242.

[69] Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit.*, p. 125; APN, p. 136a.

[70] Cf. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions, cit.*, 100.209; 100.748.

[71] WSB, p. 87.

[72] Maraqten, *Personennamen, cit.*, p. 102.

hope for", with a double hypocoristic suffix -*u* + -*a*, which is also known for exclusively Akkadian names[73].

Salanî

This name (*sa-la-ni-i*), the patronym of two brothers selling a field, Mannu-kî-aḫḫē and Baḫê, is probably Aramaic due to the hypocoristic termination -*î*, but lacks parallels in cuneiform transcriptions and alphabetic renderings. The sole etymological suggestion comes from the NB-LB name ᵈEN-*šá-la-a'*, which has been traced back to West Semitic *šlw/y*, "to rest, to be tranquil"[74], and which presumably is also behind the 5th century Elephantine name *nbwšlw*[75]. In the case of Salanî, we should have the normal NA rendering of West Semitic /*š*/ by means of <*s*>[76] —a rule which, it may be noticed, was strictly followed in the Šēḫ Ḥamad texts[77].

Same'-Yau

We have here a further anthroponym (writing: *sa-me-e'-iá-a-u*) built with the Hebrew divine name *Yhw*, and formed by a verbal clause. The verbal form is the *qal* perfect of *šmᶜ*, "to hear"; parallels may be sought in the Biblical name *Šᵉmaᶜyāh(û)*, attested in connection with all periods of Israelite history[78], as well as in Hebrew epigraphy of the age of the divided monarchy[79]. The name occurs also very frequently at Elephantine[80], from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C.

ú-[x]-bi–il

As a possibility for integration and interpretation of this name, I suggest that we might be dealing with *ú-[ḫa]-bi–il*, thus paralleling a name in an undated NB-LB document of unknown provenance[81], of obvious Arabic affiliation, with precise counterparts in pre-Islamic Arabian epigraphy (*whb'l*)[82].

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[73] Cf. WSB, p. 166.

[74] WSB, p. 87.

[75] B. Porten - A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* 2, Jerusalem 1989, B4.3, 9 (483 B.C.), B4.4, 8[, 10] (483 B.C.).

[76] Cf. WSB, p. 245, with previous literature.

[77] See all the names beginning with <*s*->, and add Menasê.

[78] Cf. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy, cit.*, p. 29, also with periodizations.

[79] Cf. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions, cit.*, 8.012: *šmᶜyw bn ᶜzr*; and a large number of cases for *šmᶜyhw, passim*.

[80] Cf. for an overview, W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten*, Wien 1978, p. 74.

[81] TCL 13, 210, quoted by R. Zadok, *Arabians in Mesopotamia*, ZDMG 131 (1981), p. 79.

[82] Cf. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance, cit.*, p. 651.

Ya-aḫḫē(yā)

We have here two names (*ia*–PAB.ME(Š), and *iá*–PAB.ME(Š)-*iá*) which may be analyzed as one and the same formation, and quite probably as an interrogative sentence name, "where are (my) brothers?"[83]. The name has many parallels in NA transcriptions[84], both with the writing *a-a-*[85] and *ia-*[86], also with *a-ia-* in NB-LB[87]: a recently published name, *ia-na*–PAP.MEŠ[88], brings us even closer to the exclusively Aramaic form of the interrogative pronoun '(*y*)*n*[89].

Zabudu

Already known in this form in NA, and bearing only slight variants in NB-LB transcriptions[90], the name has precise parallels in the Biblical name *Zābûd*[91] and in a mid-5th century name from Elephantine (*zbwd*)[92]. It is meaningful as a Canaanite passive participle of the main stem (*qatūl*) and means "bestowed"[93].

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A glance at the diachronic side of this onomastic picture may at this point be useful. Taking into account the not infrequent patronyms found in the four Šēḫ Ḫamad texts, I have divided up the hitherto mentioned names into the following three groups:

Family groups with West Semitic names:
Adad-idri, s. of Kul-ba-yad-ili

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[83] Actually, if one considers that *-ia* (at TŠḪ *-iá*) is a common NB-LB hypocoristic ending which alternates with *-i* and *-e* (cf. WSB, p. 153), the variation between the two forms might be viewed as entirely pertaining to the reign of graphemics, with no morphological differences involved.

[84] Full study by Zadok, WdO 9 (1976), pp. 50-53, and esp. 52.

[85] Cf. APN, p. 1a; add now also *a-a-ḫi*, Postgate-Ismail, TIM XI, 5, 11.

[86] Cf. APN, p. 90b.

[87] Cf. Zadok, WdO 9, p. 52, who quotes *a-ia-ḫu*.

[88] V. Donbaz, SAAB 2 (1988), 20, 1.

[89] Cf. DISO, p. 18; and see Zadok, BiOr 48 (1991), p. 31a. Whether, on the other hand, the form *'*y* should be exclusively connected to Canaanite, where it is decidedly attested, or not, is unclear in Zadok's analyses, which merely state repeatedly that *'*ayya* "is already found in Amorite and Ugaritic names" (cf. WSB, p. 104).

[90] Cf. Zadok, WSB, p. 128. Add e.g. F. Joannés, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Paris 1982, no. 17, 8.

[91] I Kings, 4, 5 (an officer of Solomon).

[92] B. Porten - A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, *cit.*, no. B 3.2, 14 (of 451 B.C.).

[93] Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy*, *cit.*, p. 111.

Am-dukuru, s. of U[ḫa?]bi-il
Am-yadi', s. of Same'-Yau
Baḫê, s. of Salanî
Dadi-larim, s. of Aḫzi-Yau
Masaya, s. of Ḫalliṣi
Sakû'a, s. of Ḫazalu

Family groups with mixed Akkadian / West Semitic names:
Adad-milki-ēreš, s. of Menasê
Adad-milki-ēreš, s. of Ḫanana
Mannu-kî-aḫḫē, s. of Salanî (and br. of Baḫê, cf. above)
Nabû-malik, s. of Aḫya'

Family groups with Akkadian names:
Libluṭu, s. of Nabû-šarru-uṣur
Ubru-Ḫarrān, s. of Ilūtu-ūpaq

As may be seen, the West Semitic "families" form more than 50% of the 13 groups taken into account[94], while mixed names of consistently Akkadian formation cover approx. 30% and 20% of the total, resp.. On the other hand, the results reached in the "filecards" above indicate that the West Semitic group is formed by a combination of Aramaic, Canaanite (and specifically Hebrew), and Southwest Semitic (presumably Arabic) names. This admixture of linguistic-cultural affiliations is to be traced in the family groups as well. We have a clear-cut *Aramaic* onomastic tradition in Adad-idri//Kul-ba-yad-ili, and presumably also in Baḫê//Salanî and Sakû'a//Ḫazalu; mixed *Aramaic-Hebrew* names in Dadi-larim//Aḫzi-Yau, and perhaps also in Am-yadi'//Same'-Yau; a possible *Aramaic-Arabic* group in Masaya//Ḫalliṣi; and finally a presumably independent *Arabic* group in Am-dukuru//U[ḫa?]bi-il.

In conclusion, the names from the Šēḫ Ḥamad texts of early Neo-Babylonian date, while representing only a limited sampler, leave us with the impression of a local environment of the late NA-early NB period in which a rich cultural humus had been brought into being, formed of a large variety of original traditions and of a number of admixtures which had presumably taken place *in loco*. Specifically in this light, the Šēḫ Ḥamad texts thus take their place alongside the Neirab tablets and stelae, the Beirut Decree and the Sefire ("Starcky") tablet, as a further, and crucial, tassel of the overall mosaic to be reconstructed of the history and culture of Syro-Mesopotamia in the post-Assyrian period.

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[94] I am not really sure what to do with a further son-father group, i.e. Sîn-na'id, s. of Muṣuraya; given the frequent attestation of people named "the Egyptian" in NA texts, my tendency would be to view it as another "Akkadian" name.