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Hebrew and Aramaic Words in the Cuneiform Records

Abstract
The purpose of the present study is to furnish such a collection of the West Semitic proper names for the investigation of the pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic in an early period. In the introductory chapters the writer discusses the question whether the cuneiform scribes were careful to reproduce in the cuneiform renderings the exact pronunciation of the West Semitic names, and whether any of the cuneiform documents should not be included within the scope of that investigation; he further presents the history of West Semitic research in the last three decades, from Pognon to the present date, and discusses the opinions of the scholars who dealt with this problem; he finally investigates the cuneiform renderings of the West Semitic consonants in the Sargonic, Hammurabi, Amarna, Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian periods. Concerning the vowels, the writer could not arrive at positive conclusions, and therefore preferred not to enter into an investigation of that problem. This view, however, is not shared by his teacher Doctor Hoschander, who believes that negative results are scientifically as important as positive results, and therefore will deal with this problem personally in an appendix to this work.

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HEBREW AND ARAMAIC WORDS IN THE CUNEIFORM RECORDS

BY

DOCTOR JOHN MEIGHAN

PART I.
Introduction.

Our knowledge of the pronunciation of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages largely depends upon tradition, though especially for that of Hebrew we possess an invaluable source of information in the Greek transliterations of the biblical proper names in LXX. But much earlier sources, the investigation of which may re-affirm or refute the traditional pronunciation, we have in the cuneiform renderings of Hebrew and Aramaic proper names. Heinr. Zimmern (Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament, 3d edition, Berlin, 1902, p. 653) has already called attention to the importance of the Hebrew names in the cuneiform literature for the knowledge of the pronunciation of Hebrew in the various periods. A collection of the whole material under consideration would greatly facilitate such an examination, which would undoubtedly shed a flood of light on the solution of that problem. But no attempt in that direction has been made as yet, and we have to ransack the whole Babylonian Assyrian literature, or the various Onomastica of Babylonian-Assyrian proper names, for information on that subject. This material cannot be separated from the Canaanitic proper names and glosses of the Amarna period. But Zimmern's observation especially refers to the Hebrew names in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian documents. This is somewhat incorrect. Though the Hebrews and Aramaeans appear on the scene at a comparatively late date in history, philologically we can hardly draw a hard and fast line between their proper names and those of the Western Semites who during the second half of the third millennium invaded the Euphrates Valley and established themselves as the ruling class of these regions for several centuries. It is even contended, as we
shall further see (Chapt. II, the West Semitic Theory), that the home of those West Semitic invaders was Canaan and that their language was almost identical with that of the Hebrews. A few instances will sufficiently demonstrate the close connection or identity of the West Semitic names of that early period with those of the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. The early WS name **Ia-di-ih-El** is certainly identical with the Neo-Babyl. **Ia-di-ih-El**; the early name **Ia-dah-El** contains the same element as the Neo-Babyl. Hebrew name **Ia-da-ah-ia-a-ma**; the early name **Ia-ku-ub-El** can scarcely be separated from the Neo-Babyl. **A-ka-bi-El**; the early name **Shu-ub-na-El** contains the same element as the Neo-Babyl. Hebrew name **Shu-bu-nu-la-a-ma**; the early name **Ia-shu-ub-El** belongs to the same class as the Phoenician name, in Ashurbanipal's inscription, **Ba-al-ia-shu-bu**, etc. etc. (see List of Personal Names, and of. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, pp. 24-38). But similar names bearing West Semitic characteristics appear already in the first quarter of the third millennium, under the reign of Sargon of Akkad and his successors. If unity of race should be denied to the men who bore these similar names during these various periods, unity of speech at least must be granted to them. As should be expected, there are some modifications in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods that did not exist in the third millennium, but the unmistakable features of the West Semitic type are plainly visible whether one examines a West Semitic name written in the Persian period or that of the period of Sargon. Although the West Semitic names cover a period of about 2400 years, beginning with the reign of Sargon of Akkad and reaching into the days of Darius II, yet in this long period there is an unbroken unity of speech which,
while it shows development, yet remains essentially unchanged from the earliest to the latest date. The cumulative proof of this important fact would have disappeared entirely, had it not been for the preservation of these names in the cuneiform records. Thus the investigation of Hebrew proper names in the cuneiform literature carries us back to the first quarter of the third millennium.

The term "West-Semitic" as designation of the Hebrew-Aramaic names in the cuneiform literature is adopted in contra-distinction to the "East-Semitic", i.e. genuine Babylonian-Assyrian names, and does not exclude the "South-Semitic", i.e. Arabian names found in the same branch of literature. As a matter of fact, there is a close resemblance between the Hebrew and South-Arabic names, and in the cuneiform transliterations of the West Semitic names, we cannot always distinguish with absolute certainty between the former and the latter. To this resemblance is due the controversy concerning the origin of the West Semitic dynasty of Babylon, whether Arabic or Canaanitic, as we shall further deal with this problem (see Chap. II, West Semitic Theory). Therefore, a collection of the material under consideration, in order to be complete, ought to include all the West Semitic proper names found in the cuneiform inscriptions from the period of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2800 B.C.) down toward the end of the Persian period.

The purpose of the present study is to furnish such a collection of the West Semitic proper for the investigation of the pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic in an early period. In the introductory chapters, the writer discusses the question whether the cuneiform scribes were careful to reproduce in the
cuneiform renderings the exact pronunciation of the West Semitic names, and whether any of the cuneiform documents should not be included within the scope of that investigation; he further presents the history of West Semitic research in the last three decades, from Pognon to the present date, and discusses the opinions of the scholars who dealt with this problem; he finally investigates the cuneiform renderings of the West Semitic consonants in the Sargonic, Hammurabi, Amarna, Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian periods. Concerning the vowels, the writer could not arrive at positive conclusions, and therefore preferred not to enter into an investigation of that problem. This view, however, is not shared by his teacher Doctor Hoschander, who believes that negative results are scientifically as important as positive results, and therefore will deal with this problem personally in an appendix to this work.

In addition to the personal names, the geographical names, which by their own testimony are West Semitic, have been added in a separate list. Many of these local names are from the Amarna Letters, thus from a period shortly before Israel entered Canaan, and since almost all these names are recorded in the OT, they are of special importance for the vocalization of Hebrew, as they afford an excellent means of comparing their vocalization in cuneiform with that of the Masoretes. Linguistically, however, they are of less importance, as the origin of many of these names has been lost in antiquity, and therefore their meaning is somewhat obscure. Many of these local names occur also in the Assyrian Historical Inscriptions, centuries after the Amarna Letters, and we can thus compare both writings and find out whether they remained unchanged during a space of about seven centuries.
A third list contains the names of the deities and the
divine equivalents with which the personal names are compounded.
This list is lexically of less importance, as similar lists have
already been given by Ranke (Early Pers. Names, pp. 197-219), and
pp. 221-290). However, in a collection of West Semitic material
for the investigation of the pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic,
these elements must not be omitted, as for the purpose un-
der consideration they are of the same importance as the other
West Semitic roots.

For the same phonetical purpose is also added a fourth
list containing the Canaanitic glosses in the Amarna Letters,
as the most direct evidence regarding the language of the Se-
mites in the Westland comes from the glosses in those letters.
The testimony of these Canaanitic glosses might furnish a stand-
ard for judging the material not only of the Amarna but also of
earlier periods. If the verdict should be that the language that
appears in the early West Semitic names is the same as that of
these glosses, there would be little dispute as to the original
home of the bearers of those names and the language they spoke.

These lists are supplemented by a glossary in which the
West Semitic elements are arranged according to their roots. But
this does not mean to imply that these roots are foreign to the
cuneiform language. There are numerous common Semitic roots,
which however due to their form are recognized as non-Babylon-
ian. As for instance, the root *bana* is taken to be WS Perf. șar, notwithstanding the fact that the root banū "to build, create"
exists also in the cuneiform language and occurs in numerous
Babylonian-Assyrian names, as in genuine cuneiform names we
should expect bani (Akkadian Permansive corresponding to WS Perf.
The same holds true of numerous other roots which merely due to
their form are recognized as West Semitic. For the same reason,
e.g., the writer sees in na-da a WS Perf. and not a Perm. of the
Akkadian root na'ādu "to be exalted" (against Tallquist, APN, p.
295). Ranke, in his dissertation "Die Personenn. i. d. Urk. d. Hammurabi-Dynastie" has already pointed out the special characteristics of the early WS names, and his exposition holds good of the
WS names of later periods (see Chapt. II, West Semitic Theory).

However, the West Semitic names of the Assyrian and
Neo-Babylonian periods show as a rule a certain characteristic
which is almost unknown in the earlier periods. The verbal
forms, with a few exceptions, are regularly written with an over-
hanging vowel, which seems to be colorless so far as grammar is
concerned. So we find for instance, a-ha-di "he has seized", in-
stead of a-ha-ad or a-had; a-ka-ba "He has rewarded", i.o. a-ka-
ab or a-kab; ba-ra-ka "He has blessed", i.o. ba-ra-ak or ba-rak;
ia-ba-bi "He has rejoiced", i.o. ia-ba-ab or ia-bab; ia-a-ha-bi
"He has given", i.o. ia-a-ha-ab or ia-a-hab; na-ta-nu/ni/na "He
has given", i.o. na-ta-an or na-tan; sa-ma-kì "He has sustained",
i.o. sa-ma-ak; pa-ka-ha "He has opened", i.o. pa-ka-ah, etc. etc.
Now there are some exceptions, as we occasionally found as ga-
ab-bar alongside of ga-ba-ri "He has been strong", ga-da-al and
ig-da-al of "to be great", ia-di-in alongside of ia-di-nu
"he will judge" li-in-dar "He will dedicate" alongside of na-da-
ri "He has dedicated", na-tan alongside of na-ta-nu. But from
the instances quoted—and there are several more of the same
kind—will be seen that this writing occurs almost exception-
ally in the cases where the closing radical belongs to one of
the liquids, and there may be a phonetic reason for the occasional omission of the overhanging vowel (cf. Chapt. III, Phonetics).

The same overhanging vowel we find almost generally in all the West Semitic nominal forms of the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, as ba-ru-ku, ga-ab-ra, zab-di, ha-a-nu-u-nu, etc. The latter phenomenon could easily be explained as case endings.

But in view of the fact that the verbal forms show the same phenomenon, there must be some phonetic reason for such a peculiar writing that explains both the verbal and nominal forms, and we cannot explain each phenomenon differently. As far as the nominal forms are concerned, their writing with overhanging vowel is as a rule found also in the Amarna period, but rather seldom in the early WS names. Regarding the verbal forms, with the exception of ta-ka-la in the name Da-ga-an-ta-ka-la and the abbreviated names Ja-pa-hi and Za-ka-ra (WS?), we do not find the overhanging vowel in the Amarna period. That such a vowel was not used for verbal forms by the scribes of the Amarna period we learn from the Amarna Canaanitic glosses. So we find a-ba-da-at "it perished", ia-ak-wu-un-ka "it belongs to thee", ia-az-ku-ur "He may remember", ju-ka-bi-id "he honors", ma-ha-al "he is faithless"(?), li-is-ki-in "he may take care", nu-pu-ul "fall down!", ish-ta-ha-hi-in, ish-ti-ha-hi-in "I bowed down". On the other hand, the nominal forms, with exception of ma-lik "counselor" and sa-du-uk "just", are as in the proper names written with overhanging vowels, as a-si-ru "prisoner", ha-mu-du "beautiful", mi-ma "water", sha-ab-ri "gate", etc.

The question now arises whether it is merely incidental that the West Semites in Babylonia where they were the ruling class and no doubt had scribes of their own people who...
spoke the West Semitic idiom, and the West Semitic scribes in their own homeland whose native tongue was Canaanitic wrote the verbal forms without overhanging vowel, while the scribes of both Babylonia and Assyria to whom the West Semitic idiom was presumably unknown should have regularly written the WS verbal forms in such a peculiar manner? May we not suggest that the latter scribes used the overhanging vowel in the verbal forms in order to give the exact pronunciation of the proper names, as otherwise the identity of the bearers of the names would not have been known, among the Babylonians and Assyrians to whom the West Semitic idiom was unknown, while in the Westland and among the West Semites in ancient Babylonia, this means of identification was unnecessary, as they could pronounce each WS name correctly no matter how it was written? If this is true of the overhanging vowel in the verbal forms, the same phenomenon in the nominal forms may serve a similar purpose. This is the view of Doctor Hoschander who intends to make this overhanging vowel in the WS verbal and nominal forms the starting point for his investigation of the Hebrew vowels in the cuneiform renderings of Hebrew proper names, which as already mentioned will be added as appendix to this study. However, notwithstanding the fact that the overhanging as a rule appears in the WS names among the Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians, we cannot look upon this phenomenon as a criterion of a WS name, as the same phenomenon is also found in numerous non-Semitic names in the cuneiform renderings, which serves the same purpose to preserve the exact pronunciation of these foreign names among the Babylonians and Assyrians (cf. the non-Semitic names by Tallquist, APN). This leads us to the question,
whether apart from linguistic considerations referred to above we may properly speak of West Semitic criteria? The answer will be in the negative. There are certain features which are characteristic of WS names. But we could neither maintain that due to these features the name must be considered WS, nor would the absence of these features stamp the name as genuine Akkadian. The WS theophorous names, for instance, are as a rule compounded with the names of WS deities as Adad, Sin in the specifically WS form Si', or Si-e, Shamash in the specifically WS form Shamesh(or Shemesh), Nashhu, Nashuh, and A-u = A-u, dA-u = Jahm = Jahveh, and the Phoenician deities a-du-nu/ni/na = Adonis, and Sa-mu-nu/na = Esmün. But the presence of these elements in the proper names does not stamp the latter as WS, if it is not warranted by philological considerations. As a matter of fact, the names of the deities quoted occur also in genuine Akkadian names. As far as the name of Adad is concerned, this god, though by origin WS, had entered the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon in a very early period, and his name is found as element in numerous Babylonian-Assyrian names. As to the others, cf. Si'-nadin-aplu(or -ash-a ?), Shamesh(-mesh)-ta-ta-bu, Na-ash-hu-nadin-aplu(or -ash-a?), Na-shuh-nadin-aplu(MU-A), Na-shuh-nasir(-ir), dA-u-dan-in-a-ni, dA-u-e-ballit-a-ni, dA-u-kil-la-a-ni, A-du-nu-mat-usur, A-du-nu-nadin-aplu(or -ash-a?), Sa-mu-na-apla-iddin(or -a-ash?). Regarding these names, we may reasonably maintain that their bearers were West Semites. On the other hand, the name Sha-mash-im-me is WS, notwithstanding the fact that the name of this god among the West Semites was pronounced Shamesh(Or Shemesh ?). The same is true of Shamash-ka-me). The name of Marduk does not occur in WS names. But if philological considerations compel us to see in the element ha-zi-ir a WS element = "helper", in the names
Na-bi-um-ha-zi-ir, Shamash-ha-zi-ir, Sin-ha-zi-ir, we must also in-clude Marduk-ha-zi-ir among the WS names, or consider ha-zi-ir a ge-nuine Akkadian element. The same is true of the name Marduk-hu-ut-nu in comparison with Si'hu-ut-ni, A-u-hu-tin; either all three are WS or Akkadian. So is the name Ab-da/du-Ashur West Semitic due to the WS element abdu "servant", and notwithstanding the second Assyrian element Ashur.

Another characteristic element in the WS names of the Neo-babylonian period is the rendering of WS El with AN-MESH, i.e., ilu "God" with plural-sign, which in the cuneiform language is to be read ilé or ilani. But this current rendering is in the proper names impossible, as this element AN-MESH is preceded or followed by a verbal or nominal form in singular, as Ha-za-'AN-MESH, Ra-hi-im-AN-MESH, AN-MESH-na-ta-nu, AN-MESH-ka-nu-u-a. The Aramaic dockets' renderings ְִֽעַרְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּנְבַּn. The Aramaic dockets' renderings ְִֽעַרְבַּנְבַּנְבַּn, ְִֽעַרְבַּנְבַּn, leave no doubt that AN-MESH as second element is to be pronounced El.

The reason for this peculiar writing is not apparent. Clay, BE X, p.15, advanced the theory that the scribes adopted this writing to indicate the idea of plurality as represented by the Hebrew יָדֵי אֱלֹהִים. But why should Babylonian scribes be interested in Hebrew religious beliefs? Or was this writing intended as protest against the Hebrew conception of monotheism as implied in El? But unfortunately we have no Aramaic rendering of AN-MESH as first element. May we not suppose that in such a case the Aramaic rendering was indeed יָדֵי אֱלֹהִים? Now there are more bib-li cal names compounded with יָדֵי אֱלֹהִים as first element than with יָדֵי אֱלֹהִים. And even some of the latter have variants with יָדֵי אֱלֹהִים. It thus seems that יָדֵי אֱלֹהִים was the regular form in Hebrew names as first element. If so, Hilprecht, BE X, Editorial Preface, may be partly
right that AN-MESH = ıli was a rendering of Hebrew יִי as first element. Now the scribes may have come more frequently in con-
tact with Hebrews whose names had יִי as first element than with others whose names had יִי as second element, and having been used
to the writing AN-MESH in Hebrew names, used the same writing
erroneously also for the second element יִי. Thus the writing
AN-MESH = ıli= Eli is a special characteristic of Hebrew and
Aramaic names in the Neo-Babylonian period. But this can neither
be taken as a criterion of a Hebrew or Aramaic name, since the
same writing is also found in genuine Babylonian names, as in
Eli(AN-MESH)-pi-i-u-sur (Str. Dar. 362, 5), and Eli(AN-MESH)-iddin
(Nbkd 452, 30; Camb 146, 6.315, 2; Dar 346, 10). But also here we have
good reason for the assumption that the bearers of these names
were West Semites, in all probability Hebrews.

However, our interest in the WS names is purely philolo-
gical, and we are not interested in the fact that the bearers
are West Semites, if they bear Akkadian names. Therefore, family
relationships are not quoted in the list of personal names as
in those of Ranke and Tallquist and others. However, the question
arises, if we should doubt whether a name is WS or not, may not
such a doubt be solved by referring to family relationship?
By no means! We have a classic example in the royal names of
the First Babylonian Dynasty: The West Semitic ruler Sumu-la-
El named his son Za-bi-um (Za-bu-um), which may be WS or Babyl.
(cf. the views of Ranke and Hilprecht, Ranke, l.o.p. 178); the lat-
ter gave his son the pure Babylonian name Abil-Sin; so did this
ruler who named his son Sin-muballit. The latter, however, de-
parted from the usage of his predecessors and gave his son the
pure WS name Hammu-rabi and the same did all his successors
right that AN-MESH = ili was a rendering of Hebrew 'b as first element. Now the scribes may have come more frequently in contact with Hebrews whose names had 'b as first element than with others whose names had 'b as second element, and having been used to the writing AN-MESH in Hebrew names, used the same writing erroneously also for the second element 'b. Thus the writing AN-MESH = ili= Eli is a special characteristic of Hebrew and Aramaic names in the Neo-Babylonian period. But this can neither be taken as a criterion of a Hebrew or Aramaic name, since the same writing is also found in genuine Babylonian names, as in Eli(AN-MESH)-pi-i-u-sur (Str. Dar. 362, 5), and Eli(AN-MESH)-iddin (Nbkd 452, 30; Camb 146, 6, 315, 2; Dar 346, 10). But also here we have good reason for the assumption that the bearers of these names were West Semites, in all probability Hebrews.

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Samsu-iluna, Abi-eshuh, Ammi-ditana, Ammi-zadugia and Samsu-ditana. The same we find among other West Semites of this period. A man Ja-ku-ub-El is the father of Ja-da-ah-El and Shu-ub-na-El, thus father and sons bear WS names; but there are other bearers (or the same?) of that name fathers of Nur-Shamash and Sin-eribam. Another WS I-zi-za-ri-e is father of Shamash-nasir, on the other hand, a man Libit-Ishtar has two sons of whom one bears the Baby name Nabi-ili-shu and the other the WS name Is-ah-ba-ar-El, etc.

As to the West Semitic names among the Assyrians we cannot say anything definite, as only in very rare cases the relationship can be ascertained (cf. Tallquist's APN). It is different in the Neo-Babylonian period. Here we find, for instance, two bearers of the WS name Ab-da- of whom one is son of A-num-etir, and the other son of Ap-la-a; one A-ka-bi-El(AN-MESH) is son of Ah-iddina; one Ba-rik-Eilil is son of Nin-ib-erba; one Ba-rik-El(AN-MESI) is father of Bel-etir and Za-ab-di-ia; one Ba-ri-ki-Shamesh is father of Nin-ib-etir; Bel-ba-rak-ki is brother of Marduk-etir; Ha-ma-da- is son of Sin-nadin; one Ha-na-na- is the son of Ardi-Gula; one Ha-na-ni- is son of Bel-it-tan-nu and the other of Nin-ib-muballit; the father of the Hebrew Ha-na-ni-Ia-a-MA bears the Persian name U-da-ar-na- (= Hydarnes), and is son of Ra-bi-im-El(AN-MESH), brother of Za-ab-di-ia and uncle of Bel-it-tan-nu; one Ia-da-ar-ni- El is father of Bel-etir; Eli-za-ba-du is son of Ap-la-a; Mi-in-ia-mi-i-ni is son of Bel-ahu-ugur; Na-na-a-nadin is father of Ig-da-al-Ia-a-MA; one Shamesh li-in-dar is son of Bel-ah-iddina, etc., etc. (cf. BE IX). Thus it is evident that relationship has no bearing upon the question whether a name should be considered WS or Akkadian. Regarding the Hebrew names, it is well known that other causes than religious
prejudice, racial hatred and outbreaking persecution compelled the Jew to adopt a local and even a pagan name. It was not only expedient, many a time it was necessary for the Jew to adopt a local name in order to obtain employment, or to gain access to the alien world in which he lived. The bearer of the name Manā-nadin "Manā gives" was certainly not a worshipper of Manā (= Ishtar), as in that case he would not have named his son Ig-dal-lāme "Jahveh is great". But from the instances quoted it is seen that the Jews were not the only foreigners who adopted Babylonian names, as other West Semites who were pagans did exactly the same. Thus it seems that the prejudice against bearers of foreign names was not limited to the Jews. The fact, however, that in the Persian period, numerous Jews who bore pagan names gave their sons Hebrew names is historically of importance, as it shows that under the Persian rule the Jew could freely and openly worship his God, and there was no need to conceal his identity under a pagan name.

However, while aside from philological considerations, we have no criteria for West Semitic names, there are on the other hand criteria which unmistakably demonstrate that a name is not WS. Any name containing three elements, two nouns and a verb, of which one is subject, one object, and one predicate, is certainly not WS. Therefore a name A-du-mu-māt-usur "O Adonis, protect the country!", notwithstanding compounded with the name of the WS god Adonis is not WS; so also A-u-ah-iddin(PAP-ASH) "Jahu has given a brother", Na-shuh-nadin-aplu "Nashuh is the giver of a son". These names are written ideographically, and their transliterations are merely conventional. Considering that these names are compounded with WS deities, one might suggest that these
ideo~rams ought to be rendered into West Semitic as Adunu-ar\textsuperscript{a} (ar\textsuperscript{a}, ara'a)-n\textsuperscript{a} gor, A-u-ah-natan, and Nashuh-ia'ab-bir. Per se this might be true, but there are other points to be considered which would render such a conception extremely improbable, as we shall further see (cf. Chapter I). Now apart from other considerations, the very fact that a name contains these three elements proves that it is not a genuine WS name. The latter may also contain subject, object and predicate, but the object would always be represented by a personal pronoun, as Ia-ah-za-ar-ni-El, Ia-da-ar-ni-El "God will help me", Ia-ash-ma-ah-ni-El "God will hear me", Na-ash-hu-sa-ma'-a-ni "Nashhu has heard me", Na-shuh-ma-na-ni "Nashuh has counted me", Na-shuh-la-u-a-ni "Nashuh has accompanied me", Si'-di-li-ni "O Moongod, draw me out!", etc. Further, a name containing predicate and object, the latter represented by a noun may be safely assumed as not being WS, notwithstanding the names Sa'-alti-El, Shal-ti-El "I have asked God", SUR-sha-al-ti "I have asked SUR", Adad-shal-tum "I have asked(?) Adad", in which the divine names El, SUR, Adad seem to be governed by the transitive verbal forms of "to ask"; but it is more probable that the proper construction is "to ask of", and the prepos. is in the proper names omitted (cf. 1 Samuel 1, 17, 20, 27). In the WS consisting of predicate and object, the latter is always represented by a personal pronoun, as Ha-an-da-sa-ni "He has renewed me", Ha-an-na-ta-ni-" "Thou hast favored me", Sha-ba-ah-ta-ni-" "Thou hast praised me", Da-la-ti-ni-" "Thou hast drawn me out". These names belong to the class of abbreviated formations, in which the divine names are omitted. For the formation of cuneiform names see Ranke's dissertation, Personennamen.
Thus it is seen that WS names do not show the same variety of forms as Akkadian names. The question which of the two formations is more original requires a careful investigation, and I am not prepared to answer it offhand. Notwithstanding the simplicity of WS formations compared with the Akkadians, it is questionable whether we may look upon the former as primitive type of Semitic nomenclature. A name Adad-na-ta-nu "Adad has given" implies an object, which we have to supplement mentally, while the Akkadian name Adad-apla-i-din-nam "Adad has given a son" is complete and does not need any mental supplement. There are numerous Akkadian names which likewise require a mental supplement, as Adad-i-din-nam, Adad-kišša, etc. But names of this kind are abbreviations of complete names. If so, the same may be true of WS names. Or shall we consider the latter primitive type and the former secondary formations? However, it is noteworthy that in the List of Early Akkadian names, published by Chiera (UMBS XI No. 2, pp. 125-147), there is not one single instance in which the object is represented by a noun, among the more than 1200 specimens, though many of them are compounded with a transitive verb as predicate which requires the mental supplement of an object; cf. Anu-i-din-nam, Anu-i-kišša-am, Anu-mu-ša-lim, En-lil-e-ri-ba-am, Shamash-īsh-mu, etc. etc. However, it is questionable whether the evidence of this list in favor of the originality of WS names may be accepted as final, as this list evidently records the Akkadian names current during the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty, and their formation may be due to West Semitic influence. A survey of the early Akkadian names of that period (cf. Ranke, EBPN) shows indeed very few names in which the object is represented by a noun, while in Babylonian and Assyrian names of other periods, this formation is common.
In the West Semitic proper names we find following formations:


b: Two nouns in apposition, as Su-mu-a-bu-um "Sumu is the Father", Am-mi-di-ta-na "The Ammu is the leader", Adad-mil-ki "Adad is the Melech", A-tar-su-ru "A(th)tar is a wall", El-ka-tar "God is a rock", etc.

c: Two nouns in relation of substantive and adjective, as A-a-sag-gi-i "Ja(hu) is great", A-ah-hu-wa-ak-ru "The Brother is precious", Am-mi-za-du-qa "The Ammu is righteous", Na-ash-hu-gab-ri "Nashhu is strong", etc.

d: Substantive and adjective, the latter represented by a verbal noun, as dA-a-ra-mu "Ja(hu) is lofty", A-ba-ha-zir "The Father is helping", Ba'-al-ha-nu-nu "Ba'al is gracious", Ba'-al-ma-lu-ku "Ba'al is reigning", El-ra-bi-ih "The God is lofty", Nab-zi-zi-zi "Nabû is strong", etc.

e: Two nouns in apposition, the latter with pronominal suffix, as Sa-am-su-i-lu-na "The Sungod is our god", A-me-tu-nu "Ja(hu) is our man", Adad-ra-ha-a-u "Adad is his shepherd", Eli-ka-nu-u-a "God is my possessor", Adad-id-ri-' "Adad is my help", A-u-ma-a-di "Jahu is my refuge", etc.

f: Two nouns in apposition, the former with a pronominal suffix; to this class may belong the names compounded with abi, ahi, eli as first element, as A-bi-Ba'-al "My father is Ba'al", A-bi-A-ra-a-h "My father is the Moongod", A-hi-na-ad-bi "My Brother is generous", Eli-Ma-lik "My god is Malik"; but these
names could just as well be read without pronominal suffix; further it is doubtful whether A-du-ni-Ba-al belongs to this class and accordingly should be rendered "My lord is Ba'al" (but cf. A-du-nu-Ba'-li); I-zi-ia-El "My Strong one is God!"; Am-me-ia-nasiir "My Ammu is protector" (WS?)

Two nouns connected by the particle of emphasis la, as Su-mu-la-El (li-El) "Truly, Sumu is God!"; or with the conjunctive ka-ma, as Bu-nu-ka-ma-i-la "The child is like a god"; or with the particle of emphasis ma, as A-bi-ma-Atar(sic!) "Truly my father is A(th)tar" (cf. bibl).

Two nouns in apposition, the latter represented by a compounded proper name, as I-zi-Su-mu-a-bu-um "My Strong one is Sumu-abum", Su-mu-Zi-id-ku-di-ta-na "Sumu is Sídku-ditana" (the latter is probably a proper name, and its meaning seems to be "Ședek is leader"), Su-mu-Ia-mu-tu-Ba-la, Su-mu-Mu-ti-a-Ba-la "Sumu is Iamut-Ba'al".

A noun and a verb, the latter represented by a Perf., as A-bi-a-sa-ad "My Father has established", Adad-ba-rak-ka "Adad has blessed", Adad-ra-pa' "Adad has healed", Bel-za-bad-du "Bel has apportioned", etc.

A noun and a verb in Perf. with a pronominal suffix representing the object, as Adad-sa-na-ni "Adad has doubled me", Nash-hu-sa-ma'-a-ni "Nashhu has heard me", Si'-ma-na-ni "Si' has counted me", etc.

A noun with pronominal suffix and a verb in Perf., as A-bi-ikamu (not Abi-ikâmu!) "My Father has arisen", Ahi-i-pa-da "MY Brother has redeemed", Ahi-i-ka-mu "My Brother has arisen", Ahi-i-ra-mu (Perf. or Part.?) "My Brother has been (?) lofty".

A noun and a verb in Impf., as Ahi-ia-am-nu "The Brother will
(XVIII)

count", A-u ia a ni "Jahu will answer", El ia a-di ni "God will judge", etc.

m: A verb in Perf. with a noun, as A-dar-ri-El "God has helped", A-mar-El "God has said", A-na'-El "God has answered", Ba-na'-El "God has built", Ga-da-al-la-a-ma "Jahveh has been great", Ga-mar-la-a-ma "Jahveh has completed", Ia-da-ah-la-a-ma "Jahvel has known", etc.

n: A verb in Perf. with a pronominal suffix representing the object and a noun, as Ha ia ah ni El "God has found me guilty".

o: A verb in Impf. with a noun as Ia-ab-El "God will build", Ia ah ku ub El "God will reward", Ia am-El "God will reign", Ia-ap-El "Adad will open", Ia-ar ha-am-El "God will be merciful", etc.

p: A verb in Impf. with a pronominal suffix representing the object and a noun, as Ia ah za ar ni El "God will help me", Ia ash ma ah ni El "God will hear me", Ia da ar ni El "God will help me".

q: A noun and a verb in Impf. with ma li as particle of emphasis, as Adad-li-in dar "Truly, Adad will consecrate!", Eli-li-in-dar "God will consecrate!" Mil ki la ri im (= la iarim ?) "Truly, Melech will be exalted", etc.

r: A noun and a verb in Impf., as Adad-ra ha mu "Be merciful, O Adad!", Si'-se-ki "Look, O Moongod!"(?)

s: A noun and verb in Impf with pronominal suffix representing the object, as Si'-di-li ni "O Moongod, draw me out!"

t: A verb in Impf and noun, as Ri-i-b-Ad-da "Contend(for us), O Adad!" "Ri-pa-El "Heal, O God!", Nu-u-hi-Mil-hi "Be appeased, O Melech!"(?)

u: A noun with preposition and pronominal suffix, as I-la-la-ka, "God is for thee", Nabu-la-ka "Nabu is for thee", Ja-a-hu-uu-la-
ki-im "Jahu is for you", ia-hu-u-lu-mu "Jahu is for us" (cf. a-lu-mu); a-u-ba-(')a-di "Jahu is about me" (i.e. protecting me from all sides), i-lu-u-bi-'-di "God is about me", etc.

v: A noun, preposition and demonstrative pronoun, as Nabu-la-di is for this one", am-ma-la-di-in "Ammu is for this one", sha-mesh-la-di-in/di-in-ni, etc.

w: Interrogative sentences, as Man-nu-dan-na(ni)-la-a-ma (=Mannu-danna-ka-Iama "Who is strong like Jahweh?", Man-nu-ia-di-
"Who will know?" (or "Who is known?"?), Man-nu-ia-a-ri "Who will fear?" (?), Man-nu-ka-a-bi "Who is like the father?", Man-nu-ka-ahe "Who is like the brothers?", Man-nu-ka-da "Who is like this one?", Man-nu-ki-i-i-la-hi-i "Who is like my God?", Man-nu-ki-i-la-hi-El "Who is like my God El?" (or "Who is the god who is like my God?"), etc.

x: Abbreviations consisting of one element with hypocoristic suffixes, as Ab-du-nu, A-bu-nu, A-mi-i-a, Am-ma-nu, A-ka-bi-ia (?)
Ba-ri-ki-a, Da-di-ia, Du-du-u-a, Gab-ri-ia (?), Ga-di-i-, Ga-ri-a Ha-ad-di-ia, Ha-al-a-nu, etc., etc.


z: Names consisting of one element without having been abbreviated, but the existence of names of this kind is not certain; of Ga-na-bu "Thief", Ha-ag-ga-a, Ha-ag-ta-a "Born at the time of the festival" (?), Hi-ma-ri-i "Ass" (?), Hu-ru-zum "Golden" (?), Hu-za-la-a "Gazelle" (?), but cf. also Ar-na-ba-a, Ar-na-ba-tum "Hare", Ta-la-"Fox", etc.
Regarding the abbreviations, there is a bewildering variety of formations, the real meaning of which is mostly obscure, and there is no need of entering into an investigation of this subject, as Ranke (EBPN, pp. 9-24) has already dealt with it thoroughly and demonstrated that many of the hypocoristic formations of Akkadian names are by origin West Semitic. This may be due to the fact that the West Semitic invaders who adopted Babylonian names still spoke their own idiom, and when they shortened the names, they added hypocoristic endings of their own WS language.

In quoting the names given in the Lists of proper names no attempt has been made to give every occurrence of a name. In most cases such reference is given where the copied text of the cuneiform is clearest. For the purpose in mind one reference may be all that is required, unless variations are to be noted. Where the same name occurs in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, both references are of course necessary. So also when the same name occurs in the Old-Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian periods.
I.

The Cuneiform Scribes.

THE investigation of the present subject presupposes that the scribes who recorded the West Semitic names took special care to reproduce in the cuneiform script their exact pronunciation. Without such a presumption, the conclusions drawn from the cuneiform transliterations would be exceedingly doubtful. But who knows whether the cuneiform scribes were well acquainted with the other Semitic idioms and thus well qualified to reproduce exactly any West Semitic name in the cuneiform script. This may or may not have been the case, and there is even the possibility that occasionally the scribes were West Semitic natives. But we have not the least proof for such a contention. The Assyrian royal inscriptions contain a large number of West Semitic names. Should this material be included within the scope of our investigation? We have no basis for the presumption that the scribes who composed the royal inscriptions were ever in personal touch with the West Semites whose names they recorded. On the contrary, we might assume that the compilers of these inscriptions copied these names from the diplomatic documents, written perhaps in Aramaic. Therefore if the scribes read these names in West Semitic documents, written in a script without a written vowel system, the cuneiform transliterations may be wrong altogether. We might likewise question the reliability of the transliterations of West Semitic names found in the epistolary literature, especially those in the let-
ters of Hammurabi and his successors. Then too we might doubt whether the West Semitic names recorded on the Obelisk of Manishtusu are of any value for our purpose.

While, however, the doubt concerning the exact reproduction of West Semitic names in the documents just referred to, is not unfounded, the problem is different regarding the transliterations of West Semitic names in business and legal documents. In order to be legally incontestable, these documents had to be exact in even the minutest details. The recorders of these deeds had to be especially particular in recording the proper names in order to secure the persons whose names were recorded in these transactions. If any one of the persons involved in such a transaction bore a foreign name, the scribe was not permitted to record it arbitrarily, but had to reproduce it according to its pronunciation. We may rest assured that the bearer of this name had to pronounce it syllable by syllable, in the presence of the scribe before it was recorded. Unless such precautions were taken, the identity of the foreigners could not be established, and the document would have been illegal. Babylonian-Assyrian personal names were for the most part written ideographically, here and there with a phonetic complement added, to insure correct reading. There was little fear of not being able to identify the bearer of such a name, because the reading of the ideograms used was well known. The case was different with a West Semitic or any other foreign name. Such were written not with ideograms, but were laboriously spelled out syllable by syllable. Though the scribe might have been certain of the meaning of the West Semitic name which he re-
corded, and knew exactly the cuneiform equivalent of each of its elements, he was not permitted to use for the writing of these West Semitic words the ideograms of the cuneiform equivalents. As for instance, the scribe could not use the ideogram of cuneiform nādānu "to give" for the reproduction of the West Semitic element nātān, or that of the cuneiform idu "to know" for West Semitic iada, though both the cuneiform and the West Semitic elements have exactly the same meaning, as the recorder of deeds might not be able to establish the identity of the bearers of these names. From this point of view we need not entertain any doubt whether the West Semitic names in the legal and business documents are exactly recorded as they were pronounced by their bearers.

Have we any proof for the assumption that the cuneiform scribes had a fair knowledge of the idioms and religious conceptions of the West Semites? We may perhaps point to the cuneiform translations of the West Semitic names Ha-am-mu-ra-bi and Am-mi-za-dug-ga; the former was translated kimtu rapashtu "the family is widely extended", and the latter kimtu kettu "the family is righteous" (V R 44.22.23). Though these translations are by no means exact and prove that the translators were completely ignorant of the religious significance of these names, they show at least that some of the cuneiform scribes were not indifferent toward the West Semitic names in the cuneiform literature and tried to grasp their meaning. But these translations date from a later period, as it seems, when the Assyrian-Babylonians were not in close contact with their West Semitic relations, and
therefore were not interested in their proper names. It was different in an earlier period when the Euphrates Valley was invaded by West Semites to such an extent that they became the ruling people of the country. Under such conditions, the cuneiform scribes could not but acquainting themselves with the West Semitic idioms in order to be able to exactly reproduce the West Semitic names in the legal and business documents. The recent publication of School Texts from Nippur by Edward Chiera show indeed that the Babylonian scribes of that period made a special study of foreign names, and in the Schools of the Scribes West Semitic names of approved type were written for practice. We may assume that after the passing of the West Semitic Hammurabi Dynasty and the gradual disappearance of the West Semitic names, being of no practical interest anymore, the study of the West Semitic idioms was no more included in the curriculum of the Babylonian Schools.

Different was the condition in both Assyria and Babylonia from the middle of the 8th century B.C. and perhaps much earlier. At the time of Abraham, about 2000 B.C., we find the Aramaeans in Harran. Gradually in the course of time, they spread themselves farther and farther toward the North and East of Mesopotamia. They first appear in the Assyrian Historical Inscriptions about the end of the 13th century, when they came into contact with Assyria. The defeats which they suffered at the hands of the latter did not retard their expansion. They increased in power during the decline of the Assyrian empire from the 11th to the 9th centuries, between the reigns of Tiglathpileser I and Ashurnasirpal II.
In the 8th and 7th centuries, they crowded these countries to such an extent that Aramaic became the vernacular of the people. Under such circumstances, the cuneiform language was relegated, as it seems, to the position formerly held by the Sumerian language: Its use was restricted to legal and business transactions, and it may have superseded Sumerian in the liturgies. That the Aramaic language was the language spoken in daily life may be proved by the Aramaic Endorsements on the Babylonian contract tablets. The same conditions existed in Assyria during the 7th century, and most likely already in the 8th century, and perhaps earlier, since Aramaic Endorsements are found also on Assyrian contract tablets. We indeed find that the officers of Hezekiah asked the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib to address them in Aramaic (2 Kings, 18, 26). Being the language of the great Assyrian empire, Aramaic became the medium of international intercourse, the language of diplomacy, and thus held the same position that cuneiform occupied during the second millennium B.C. and probably earlier. Therefore the officers of Hezekiah understood Aramaic. From which we may reasonably argue that the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes may have been better acquainted with Aramaic than with the cuneiform language. Hence they did not encounter any great difficulty in the exact reproduction of Aramaic names. But if these scribes knew Aramaic, were they as a rule also acquainted with the other West Semitic idioms? The fact that the Rab-shakeh addressed the Judaeans in Hebrew, is no proof that this language was generally understood by the scribes. He may have used an Israelitish or Judaean interpreter.
It might seem that a scribe well acquainted with the West Semitic idioms is better fitted for the exact reproduction of West Semitic names in the cuneiform script than one who has no knowledge of these dialects. This is indeed true so far as the literary form of the names is concerned. But the literary language of a people is very seldom identical with the living tongue. If deductions from modern analogies are permissible, we may point for instance to New-Arabic. This modern idiom is for the most part identical with the classic Arabic, and the main difference between them consists in the pronunciation. One who knows Arabic and hears an Arabic name will likely reproduce it in another script according to its proper form and will be careful to write it according to its morphology and syntax. Such a transliteration, however, will not help us to learn its modern pronunciation. The latter we may learn only from one who has not the least knowledge of Arabic and consequently renders the name into another script exactly as it sounds to him. Therefore we may doubt whether we are justified in drawing conclusions concerning our investigations from the Aramaic names found in the Assyrian and Babylonian legal and business documents belonging to a period in which the Aramaic language was generally understood. We must then contend that the scribe had to reproduce the Aramaic name according to its pronunciation by its bearer and was not permitted to substitute for it the correct grammatical form.

But have we any evidence for such a procedure? We may perhaps see such an evidence in the Jewish Deed of Divorce, in which even the corrupted names of the persons concerned
have to be recorded; and the latter are indeed of more importance for the legal character of the deed than the literary forms of the names which were also recorded, but would not invalidate it if omitted (cf. Maimonides' Jad-Hābe-zakah, Nashīm, section Gerushin III, 13, 14). The name of this deed of divorce is "Get", identical with cuneiform gittu, and thus a Babylonian loan-word, and this together with the fact that this document is written in pure Aramaic may point to its Babylonian origin; and therefore the manner of recording proper names was a survival of the Babylonian method of writing important documents. However, this would be merely a suggestion and not proof. And in exhausting every possibility, we might still contend that the Aramaic names of the late Assyrian and Babylonian documents are of more value for the Aramaic vocabulary than for the pronunciation of Aramaic in those periods.

From this standpoint we might extend our inquiry into the value of the West Semitic names found in Amarna Letters sent by the princes of Palestine to their overlords the kings of Egypt. If the scribes of these letters, in the service of the princes, had been imported from Babylonia, we might assume that their knowledge of the language of Canaan was rather superficial, and they transliterated the proper names as they sounded to them, and therefore their transliterations might serve as a basis for the investigation of the Canaanite pronunciation. However, it is noteworthy, that the cuneiform language employed in those Letters, though Babylonian, differs in many respects from that in use in Babylonia during the Cassite Dynasty, and
also entirely different from that in use elsewhere. At a glance it is evident that the language employed was not the native tongue of the scribes. They use, e.g., Babylonian verbal forms with Canaanite preformatives and affirmatives. They also employ Canaanite glosses to make certain the meaning of Babylonian words which were unfamiliar to the authorities of Egypt. This language may truly be designated as Canaanitic-Babylonian. This being the case, we may question whether the names in these letters are represented according to their pronunciation in the living tongue, and not rather an artificial and cumbersome attempt on the part of the scribes to reproduce them in accordance with the grammatical formation of their hybrid Canaanitic-Babylonian speech.

We questioned, whether we could draw a scientific conclusion from the West Semitic names recorded in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, because these records were made by scribes who presumably had no knowledge of West Semitic, nor did they write down these West Semitic names in the presence of their bearers. The Amarna scribes, however, were Canaanites and knew how to reproduce West Semitic names, and we may be certain that the West Semitic names in the Amarna Letters were correctly transliterated. The only doubt we have to entertain concerning them would be, whether the rendering was done according to the vernacular pronunciation.

The doubts concerning the scientific value of the West Semitic names found on the Monuments and in the Epistolary literature would be well founded, if we did not have material of the same kind in the legal and business documents. It shows that there exists no difference in the rules
which governed the reproduction of West Semitic names whether the records were made by royal scribe or by petty city official. The method of transliterating these West Semitic names is the same whether the document was historical, legal, business or epistolary. The principle of sound was the underlying basis for recording each and every West Semitic name. The same rules which govern the reproduction of West Semitic in documents of legal character, in which exactitude is a primal requisite, appear also in documents of non legal character. It necessarily follows that the whole material of West Semitic proper names in the cuneiform literature is of scientific value and we may safely base our conclusions upon them. The reliability of the transliterations of these names in the legal documents cannot be questioned, and, since these transliterations are identical with those in other documents in which accuracy is not a legal requirement, the question raised whether these West Semitic names were recorded according to their pronunciation must be answered in affirmative.

There is indeed not the least difference between the transliterations of the West Semitic names in the contracts of the Hammurabi-period and those in the letters of Hammurabi and his successors. The same is true of the Assyrian period. The records of the West Semitic names on the Monuments agree with the records in the business documents of this period. Hence we must assume that the Babylonian-Assyrian scribes, whether they recognized the meaning of the West Semitic names or not, were careful to preserve the identity of the names they recorded, and there was no
better way of doing this than by giving in their transliterations the exact pronunciation of every name. The scribes who were entrusted with the composition of the Royal Inscriptions on the Monuments and the writing of the kings' letters were men high in their profession who had a long legal career and by training and habit were careful to preserve the identity of the names they recorded. If they did copy the foreign names from documents written in a West Semitic script, we may rest assured that they consulted learned natives before they rendered such foreign names into cuneiform. Besides, we need not doubt that the Assyrian kings were accompanied on their campaigns by their scribes who heard the names of the foreigners recorded in the royal inscriptions, pronounced by the natives, and therefore were able to reproduce them accurately. But these conclusions would be merely hypothetical, and the material found on the Monuments would be of suggestive rather than scientific value, if we should find that the transliterations of the West Semitic names in the historical writings differed essentially from those in the legal and business documents. The scribes of the Amarna Letters, like those of the Euphrates Valley, were trained to write any name as it was pronounced by the bearer.

As to the West Semitic names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu, some of them are identical with those in the legal documents in the Hammurabi-period. Moreover, the inscription on this Stele is a legal document. It records the purchase of estates by the king from various persons. On these estates widely dispersed throughout Shumer and Akkad, Manishtusu settled the nobles of Akkad. This Manishtusu did, as it
seems, because Akkad apparently had been destroyed under his predecessor Urumush in the civil war which broke out toward the end of Sargon's reign (see especially A. Poebel 'Historical Texts, University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section, vol. IV, No. 1, p. 237f). Now there is no other explanation for the rise of Sargon's empire than the assumption that it was due to a wave of West Semitic immigration, and with the assistance of the immigrants, the Semites of North Babylonia were able to overpower the Sumerians of South Babylonia. The new immigrants were settled in Akkad which was most likely founded by Sargon. This new capital was evidently preferred by Sargon to the ancient capital Kish. Sargon in all his inscriptions styled himself "King of Akkad...king of Kish". There was evidently a rivalry between the old nobility of Kish and the new nobility of Akkad. Under Sargon's immediate (?) successor Urumush, Akkad seems to have disappeared altogether, and the latter styles himself only "King of Kish". So did Manishtusu. But the latter desired to recompense the nobility of Akkad for the loss of their city and settled them on the estates he purchased. Being a legal document, the names on this Obelisk were faithfully copied from the documents of purchase. There none of the West Semitic names found in the cuneiform literature must be left out of consideration in the investigation of our subject.
II

The West Semitic Theory.

A reference to Ges-Buhl Hebrew Lexicon will show many identifications of Hebrew personal and local names with their cuneiform transliterations. Evidently those identifications were made because of the general resemblance between the cuneiform transliterations and the Hebrew writing of such names. It was natural that this work of identification should proceed in its own way and not wait for a minute investigation into the phonetic rules which guided the cuneiform scribe as he recorded these Hebrew names. Were the scribes who made the cuneiform transliterations of these Hebrew names guided by definite rules which governed their writing of these Hebrew names in cuneiform? Is it possible to discover these rules and by their help determine whether the material here presented is of scientific value? Is this material such that it will yield us the pronunciation of pre-exilic Hebrew? For instance, the name of the city יִירָכְרֶא is rendered in cuneiform Am-kar-ru-na, that of יִאָפסְיֵי Ia-ap-pu and Ia-a-pu, יִירָסוֹלֵל is written U-ru-sa-lim and Ur-sa-li-im-mu; יִינְדַס appears as Si-du-nu, Si-du-un-ni and Zi-tu-nu, and יִינְדַס as Mu'-a-ba and Ma'-a-ba. Do these transliterations represent the Hebrew pronunciation of pre-exilic times, and does the writing of the Masoretes reflect the pronunciation of a later period? To answer such questions, we must direct our investigation to the consonants and vowels, and ask whether the cuneiform system of consonant and vowels is identical with that of the Hebrew. Since, however, the language of the cuneiform inscriptions has long
ceased to be a living tongue, the results obtained are not always beyond doubt.

Remnants of the cuneiform language are preserved in loan-words which the Hebrews and other peoples borrowed from the Babylonians. The Hebrew transliterations of Babylonian-Assyrian proper names also preserve the cuneiform values of the consonants for us.

More difficult is the problem of the cuneiform vowels. The traditional pronunciation of the vowels in the Hebrew transliterations of Babylonian-Assyrian proper names is often misleading. More trustworthy is the traditional reading of the loan-words, especially of those continually in use, such as the names of the months, the vowels of which, as a whole, correspond to those of the cuneiform prototypes. We are thus dependent on tradition for the pronunciation of the cuneiform vowel system, but the traditional evidence of the loan-words is of true scientific value. If then we have a firm basis on which we may stand in the period when frequent intercourse between the Assyrians and the Hebrew people produced certain loan-words and yielded scores of proper names in transliteration, we may fairly conclude that we have a definite starting point where we may recognize the relationship between the consonants and vowels of the Hebrew and the cuneiform. From the examination of the consonants and vowels we may proceed to examine the Hebrew verbal and nominal forms in the cuneiform renderings and thus discover whether the vowels of the cuneiform system correspond to those of the Hebrew. We may then proceed to the transliterations of Hebrew words in the Amarna letters.
Hebrew is not the only language that would profit by such an investigation. The cuneiform inscriptions contain an immense number of Aramaic personal names. The pronunciation of Aramaic like that of Hebrew is traditional. An investigation of the cuneiform transliterations of the Aramaic names will show how trustworthy this tradition is. Moreover, the Hebrew names could not be thoroughly examined without taking into consideration the Aramaic. The cuneiform rendering of verbal and nominal forms in both the Hebrew and Aramaic names are frequently almost identical and only by a close examination we are able to distinguish them. Aramaic is actually of great help for the subject under consideration. The Aramaic endorsements on the Assyrian and Babylonians contract tablets frequently shed light upon the values of the cuneiform consonants as they sounded to the Aramaeans, and the system of consonants of the Aramaeans and of the Hebrews are essentially alike, though etymologically they do not always correspond.

The cuneiform inscriptions contain still other Semitic names which at a glance appear to be neither genuine Babylonian nor Hebrew nor Aramaic, though closely resembling the two latter. Linguistically these names belong to the South Semitic group of languages. Indeed we occasionally find the name of an Arabic deity is used for one element in such names. A thorough investigation of these names is at present premature, because we do not possess an Onomastics of the Arabic names of this period. Many of these Arabic names are known to us, however, and for the inquiry under consideration are of comparative and suggestive value.
While there are Hebrew names in cuneiform transliterations of the Amarna, Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian periods; and Aramaic and kindred Semitic names of the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, such Hebrew and Aramaic names do not represent the whole material that would have to be investigated in the study of this subject. There are a great many names in the records of the First Dynasty of Babylon which show a striking similarity to those Hebrew and Aramaic names recorded in the Amarna, Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. H. Winckler (Geschichte Israels) indeed contended that the First Dynasty of Babylon was of Canaanitic origin, because eight of the names of the eleven rulers of this dynasty bear the true Canaanitic stamp. Since, however, a large number of names of the same type occur in the legal and business documents of that period, they must be of the same origin. This would be quite natural, as we cannot imagine a foreign Canaanitic dynasty on the throne of Babylonia without assuming that this land came under the rule of a Canaanitic population either by conquest or by gradual immigration. There is very little room for the contention that the language of Canaan at this period differed essentially from that in use at the Amarna period which was no doubt the pre-Israelitic Hebrew. A similar opinion was expressed by Sayce who said: "There were therefore Hebrews—or at least a Hebrew-speaking population—living in Babylonia at the period in which the Old Testament assigns the life of Abraham". If this be true, the investigation of Hebrew names would be enlarged to cover a period of about 18 hundred years (2200-400). But for a better understanding of this question
which in the last twenty years has opened new fields of investigation and effected a complete change in our conception of the conditions of ancient Babylonia, we shall outline as briefly as possible the history of this investigation from its incipient stage of development to the present date.

When the Babylonian List of Kings was first published (in the Records of the Past), the names of the rulers of the First Dynasty aroused the special interest of Assyriologists. It was clearly seen that the names of eight at least of these kings differed somewhat from genuine Babylonian names. The names of the first five rulers, Sumu-abum, Sumu-la-ulu, Zabum, Aplil-Sin and Sin-muballit, were easily recognized as Semitic. More doubtful was the name of the 6th ruler Hammu-rabi. The second element of this name rabi seemed to be good Babylonian for "great". Obscure, however, was the first element ḫammu. Because the rulers of the Second Dynasty seemed to be non-Semites and those of the Third Dynasty were Cassites, it was suggested that the name ḫam-mu-ra-bi was also Cassite and was to be read ḫammu-ragash. This suggestion was supported by the discovery of a list of names of Babylonian rulers, the majority of which were of Sumerian and Cassite origin (V R 44; cf BA II, p552). This list contained an explanation of these names in Semitic. Among them were found also the names of ḫammu-rabi and of the tenth ruler of this dynasty Am-mi-sa-dug-ga, which were explained as kimtu-rapashtu "the family is widely extended", and kimtu-kettu "the family is righteous". Thus to the explanation of the cuneiform scribes, these two names were not of Babylonian origin. It was believed that these
scribes considered these names as Cassite. This suggestion led to the conclusion that either all the members of the First Dynasty, notwithstanding the Semitic names of most of them, were Cassites, or that neither Hammu-ragash nor Ammi-sadugga could have been the sons of their predecessors. Sayce, however, as late as 1888 suggested that Sin-muballit, the father of Hammu-ragash, married a foreign woman, and therefore his son bore a Cassite name (note to the List of the Babylonian Kings, Records of the Past), but advanced no suggestion for the foreign name Ammi-sadugga. Hommel regarded the whole First Dynasty as Semitic and saw in the second element of the name Hammu-ragash a Sumerian equivalent of Babylonian-Semitic rasashtu "widely extended", but suggested that the reading Hammu-rabi was just as possible (Geschichte Babyl-Assyr I p. 407). Tiele considered the whole First Babylonian Dynasty as good Babylonian and does not refer to the foreign names of its members (Babyl-Assyr Geschichte).

The correction of these erroneous views is due to the French Assyriologist Pognon (J.A. Ser VII, vol XI p. 543) who first pointed out the right way to the solution of this problem, and rightly explained the elements hammu and ammi in the names under discussion as equivalents of Hebrew י.join, "people", and further identified zaduga in the name Ammi-za-du-ga (always written thus in the contemporary records) with the Hebrew and Aramaic א"וע "to be just, righteous". From this he argued that the First Dynasty of Babylon must have been of Arabic or Aramaic origin. But no notice was taken of this suggestion by the authors of Babyl-Assyr histories.
In the year 1890, Sayce (Record of the Past, Sept 1890) pointed out that a name identical with Ammi-sadugga occurred in a well-known South Arabic inscription in the form Ammi-saduka, and further referred to the Hebrew names Ammi-ël, Ammi-nadab, Balaam and Jeroboam and to Arabic and other Semitic names compounded with the element ammu, and arrived at the conclusion that certain kings of this dynasty, from Hammu-rabi onward belonged to tribes of Arabic origin. This conclusion was erroneous, because we know that the second ruler of this dynasty Sumu-la-ila was the ancestor of Hammu-rabi, and therefore either the whole dynasty must have been of Arabic origin or none of them.

Shortly afterwards, documents of the period under discussion were discovered which showed that two rulers of this dynasty, Hammu-rabi and Ammi-ditana, styled themselves "king of Amurru (Westland)". This discovery raised the question whether the names of these rulers were not of Canaanite origin. It was obvious that the elements composing these names, or at least most of them, find their parallels in Hebrew names:

for the element sumu, corresponding to Babylonian shum "name" in the names of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-ila compare the Hebr. names סומע and סומע אב; for the name Abi-eehu compare the names אֶבֶּהַ and אֶבֶּהַ; the element ammi occurs frequently in Hebrew names, as we have seen; the same is true of the element שָׁם which occurs in various formations; the element Samsu = Babyl. shamshu "the Sungod", in the names Samsu-iluna and Samsu-ditana may be compared with שָׁם וַעֲמִית.
First Dynasty of Babylon must have been West Semitic or rather Canaanitic, notwithstanding the fact, that the names of the fourth and fifth rulers, Apil-Sin and Sin-muballit are good Babylonian names (Geschichte vol. I, p. 130). In the same year, Sayce modified his former views and declared that the names Hammu-rabi, Ammi-zaduga etc. were not only South Arabic but also Hebrew, and that the First Dynasty belonged to a people who were at once Hebrew and Southern Arabs (Proc Soc Bibl Research XVIII). Hommel, however, independent of Winckler and simultaneously with the latter's "Geschichte Israel's" contended that this Dynasty was of Arabic origin. His evidence for this contention is based upon the fact that the elements of the names of these rulers are frequently found in South Arabic names. Since, however, the same elements occur also in Hebrew names, he goes still further and maintains that the latter are also of South Arabic origin and that the Hebrews in the desert, before their entrance into Canaan, spoke a South Arabic dialect (of Hebrew Ancient Traditions pp. 258-276). The latter point, however, is not very convincing, because we find similar elements in names of the Amarna period, as ammu in the name Ammu-niri, the element ḍadat in Rab-zi-id-ki, shumu in the name Shamu-Adad (cf. the variants Sumu-la-er and Sumu-la-er). Nevertheless it seems reasonable to assume that the Semitic inhabitants of Canaan and the Arabs were in an early period closely related. Arab tribes may have entered Canaan in an early period and thence moved gradually toward the East. It may of course have been that this Semitic migration was from the opposite direction, and that Arabic nomads first entered Babylonia.
from the Eastern fringe of the Arabian desert and moving gradually northward throughout Babylonia spread themselves thence toward the West over Syria and Palestine. However, this question whether the early Semites, whose homeland was no doubt Arabia, entered first Canaan or first the Euphrates Valley has no bearing upon the present subject. There is good evidence that the Semitic invaders who entered Babylonia toward the end of the third millennium B.C. and imposed their rule over this country came from the Westland. We know that the Babylonians designated them as mare Amurru "children of the Westland" (Cuneiform Texts II, 3). Now in Babylonia, the West is called Amurru because this region was largely inhabited by the Amorites. A. Clay has given an explanation of the etymology of the word Amurru, i.e. "the land of the going in of the sun" (of Amurru p. 107). It seems, however, that the Amorites did not style themselves "the Westerners" on account of dwelling in a land lying to the West of Babylonia, because we know that the Egyptians also called this land Amarra (Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, vol. III, p. 71), though the Egyptians lived farther West than the Amorites and from an Egyptian point of view these Amorites were really "the Easterners". Thus we possess Babylonian testimony that foreign Semites of the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty hailed from the land of the Amorites, which would substantiate what Winckler said in his "Geschichte Israel's", namely that the First Babylonian Dynasty was West Semitic or Rather Canaanitic.

Two years later Hommel published his well known book "the Ancient Hebrew Traditions" (1897), in which he reiterated
his views, but drew too sweeping conclusions from them. This book made a deep impression upon the scholarly world, and it was generally admitted that the First Dynasty of Babylonia owed its rise to a wave of West Semitic immigration into Babylonia. Historically this view was of high importance. While formerly the problem was how far the civilization of Palestine was influenced by that of the Euphrates Valley, now the question was bound to rise how far the Babylonian culture and religion were influenced and modified by the West Semitic immigrants or conquerors.

The only scholar who absolutely refused to accept this view was the noted Assyriologist Peter Jensen who in numerous spirited contributions to various periodicals still held fast to the old opinion that the First Babylonian Dynasty was genuine and considered the West Semitic immigration fictitious. Besides his main argument that the father and grandfather of Hammurabi, Sin-muballit and Apil-Sin, bear good Babylonian names, he especially pointed to the names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu, a number of which are identical with those of the Hammurabi-Dynasty which Hommel, Winckler and others hold to be West Semitic (cf. Zeitshr f. Assyr X p. 342f; Gott. Gel Anz 1900 p. 979 etc).

The study of the West Semitic names of the Hammurabi period was still further advanced by H. Ranke who, on the suggestion of his teacher Hommel, investigated the personal names of this period, found in the publication "The Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum" (1896-99), in B. Meissner's "beitrage zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht" (1893), in Strassmaier's "Altbabyl. Vertr. aus Warka" (1882)
and others. In his Dissertation, "Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabi-Dynastie" (1902), he dealt also with the West Semitic names. The material at his disposal was much larger than that which Hommel made the basis of his theory. Yet on the main points Ranke found the contentions of Hommel borne out. He pointed out the differences between the genuine Babylonian names and those of the West Semites. With Hommel he compared names like Imlik-Sin and Iamlik-Sin of which the former is Babylonian and the latter West Semitic. A further difference is seen in the form of the pronominal suffix 1st P.Fl., which in Babylonian is ni, as in I-lu-ni "our god", while in West Semitic names it is na, as in Samsu-iluna "the Sun is our god". Another difference consists in the selection of equivalents for the proper names of the deities, in the personal names. In the names of the Babylonians we find frequently the equivalents ili "my god", beli "my lord", belti "my lady". But these expressions are rather colorless and general. The West Semites, however, in order to express the intimate relation between the deity and man, designated the former as abu "father", abu "brother", hammu "uncle (brother of his father)", halu "uncle (brother of his mother)", and used these designations as equivalents for the proper names of the deities in the formation of names. Another peculiar equivalent is sumu = sum-hu "his name", as the name of the deity was too holy to be pronounced on all occasions. Finally, Ranke found that in the West Semitic names the common Semitic Perfect of the form pa'al frequently occurs as in Abi-maras, while in the Babylonian names the old Semitic Perfect is supplanted by
the Permansive in the form *Pa'îl*, as in *Sin-na-we-îr*, in accordance with the usage in the cuneiform.

In the same year in which Ranke published his Dissertations (1902), Eberhard Schrader's well-known work "Die Keilinschriften und Das Alte Testament" was revised by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler—if revision be called a re-edition, in which nothing remained of the former work but the title. The tendency of this work was to demonstrate the intimate relationship between the religion of Israel and that of Babylonia from a very early period. While Winckler who wrote the historical part, reiterated his former view that the Hammurabi-Dynasty was of Canaanitic origin and made it the starting point of his presentation of the history of Israel, Zimmern, in the second part which deals with the religious conceptions of the Babylonians and their influence upon those of Israel and other West Semites, devoted a chapter "Religion und Sprache" to the investigation and discussion of the West Semitic proper names. The latter were actually the foundation for the extravagant ideas expressed in this work and were supposed to substantiate the claim that the Hebrew religious conceptions originated in Babylonia. And we may say that the appearance of this book inaugurated the new school of thought called "Pan-Babylonianism", which denied the claim of the Higher Critics that the influence of the Babylonian religious ideas upon those of Israel dates only from the exilic period.

A further contribution to the investigation of West Semitic names was made by Samuel Daiches in his Dissertations "Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden" (1903), and furth-
ermore by K.L. Tallquist, in his "Neubabylonisches Namenbuch" (1905), who in his classification of the theophorous names included numerous Old-Babylonian names, besides Assyrian names taken from the documents published by C.H.W. Johns, in his work "Assyrian Deeds and Documents" (1898–1901), and in his "Assyrian Doomsdaybook" (1901). Among the former many are West Semitic, and of the latter a great number are Aramaic. In his glossary, Tallquist indicates the West Semitic names by an asterisk and frequently identifies the West Semitic names with biblical and other Semitic names, though these identifications are not always beyond doubt. Of special importance in his classification are the names of the deities a number of which are West Semitic.

In the meantime, Ranke as "Harrison Research Fellow in Semitics" at the University of Pennsylvania, where a great number of documents of the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty were at his disposal, continued the investigation of the proper names of this period and published his results in the book "Early Babylonian Personal Names" from the published tablets of the so-called Hammurabi-Dynasty (Babylonian Expedition, Series D., 1905). It is a very valuable work and highly suggestive. Of special interest for our subject are his discussions of the formation of West Semitic names and his list of elements contained in the proper names.

Jensen's opposition to the Winckler-Hommel theories concerning the West Semitic names of the First Babylonian Dynasty, instead of refuting them, added another problem that must be investigated. Jensen was perfectly right in pointing out that the same elements which Hommel characterized as
specifically West Semitic, namely *ahu, ammu, sumu, halum,* occur already on the Obelisk of Manishtusu in the names: *Ilu-aha, Ili-ahi, Ahu-ishn, etc; Ammu-Sin, Beli-ami; Sumu-Ea, Sumu-Sin, Sumu-kenu,* and also *Halum.* Zimmermann acknowledged the reason of this argument, but correctly rejoined that these names merely demonstrate that even in the days of Manishtusu — long before the rise of the First Babylonian Dynasty — there had been a wave of West Semitic immigration into Babylonia (see KAT 3 p. 480f). If this is true we shall have to contend that the royal dynasty of Manishtusu was of West Semitic origin, because the bearer of the West Semitic name *Ali-Ahu* was the son of the king's brother, as it scarcely seems probable that Babylonian natives adopted West Semitic names. If the ruling dynasty was of West Semitic origin, we may surely expect a great number of West Semitic names, on the Obelisk in addition to those quoted above. A close examination will verify this expectation. But since the predecessor of Manishtusu was Uru-mush who most probably succeeded Sargon of Akkad, the founder of the Akkadian empire and it is even held by scholars that Manishtusu was the son of Urumush who was the son of Sargon, the evidence from the West Semitic names would show that the Akkadian empire was founded by West Semites. We have already observed in the preceding chapter that a West Semitic invasion or immigration would explain the overthrow of the Sumerians and the rise of the Semites, for which no other explanation has yet been forthcoming. Moreover, since the Westland was under the rule of Sargon who in his inscriptions claimed to have extended his rule from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean
— the same claim put forth by his successors Uru-mush and Naram-Sin (Inscriptions of Kings of Agade, in Poesel's Hist. Texts, pp.173-216)— the inter-relation between the Westland and Babylonia would date from 2800 B.C.

Zimmern's suggestion that the Obelisk of Manishtusu contained West Semitic names remained long unheeded. At first there were attempts to prove the contrary. J. Hoschander, under the influence of his teacher Jensen, saw in them genuine Babylonian names and interpreted them as such in his Dissertation "Die Personennamen auf dem Obelisk des Manishtusu" (1907), of which a part was published (Zeitschr. f. Assyri. XX pp.246-302). He was not the only one who failed to see the truth. Ranke in his comparisons of these names with those of the Hammurabi-period looked upon them as good Babylonian. However, in his "Babylonian Legal and Business Documents" (1906), he admits that West Semitic names occur on the Obelisk. Moreover, no historian hitherto pointed to the evidence of these names for the West Semitic influence on the rise of the Sargonic empire. R.W. Rogers in his "History of Babylonia and Assyria" (1915), does not attribute the rise of the Akkadian empire to a West Semitic immigration. L.W. King in his "History of Sumer and Akkad" (1910) suggested indeed this reason, but has no reference to the names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu, which if rightly investigated would have substantiated this suggestion. The same is true of C.H.W. Johns' "Ancient Babylonia" (1913) which states: "We may with good reason ascribe its rise to the energy imparted by the influx of a warlike Semitic population." But there is no reference to the West Semitic names on the Obelisk.
Numerous names, in form and content almost identical with the West Semitic names on the Obelisk, appear in the contract tablets of the Sargonic period. These tablets were excavated at Telloh, the site of the Sumerian city Lagash in South Babylonia, and were published by Thureau-Dangin in his work "Recueil de Tablettts Chaldeennes" (1903). In 1907 P. Dhorme published his investigation of the proper names of these tablets under the title "Les noms propres Babyloniens a l'epoque de Sargon l'ancien et de Naram-Sin" (BA VI 63-88).

It is rather strange that some of these names should bear West Semitic characteristics, considering that these tablets come from Lagash, the ancient stronghold of the Sumerians. Probably this explains why the West Semitic names are not so numerous in these documents from Telloh as they are on the Obelisk. The names on the latter come from all parts of Babylonia. Another article by the same writer appeared in ZA XXII pp. 284-316, entitled "Les plus anciens noms de personnes a Lagash". An investigation of these names from a West Semitic point of view has not yet been attempted and remains still a desideratum. Thus the area of our investigation covers a period of about 2400 years (2800-400).

It was not to be expected that with the passing of Sargon's empire West Semitic names should suddenly disappear from Babylonia. Rather since the West Semitic invaders were gradually assimilated to the Babylonians, we should expect lingering traces of such names. Such names occur in the documents of the period of the Ur dynasty, published by G. Reisner in his "Tempelurkunden aus Tellah" (1901), and in the Hoffman Collection published by H. Radau in his "Early
Babylonian History" (1900). The names of this period have been investigated by E. Huber in his book "Die Personennamen in den Keilinschriften aus der Zeit der Könige von Ur und Nisin" (1907).

In connection with the discussion of the Sargonic proper names, we must investigate the names on the Cappadocian tablets for traces of West Semitic names. These tablets were published by W. Golenischeff in 1891. Friedr. Delitzsch in the year 1893 gave the results of his study of them in his "Beiträge zur Entzifferung und Erklärung der Kappadokischen Keilinschriften." He found that their characteristics are partly Assyrian and partly Babylonian; and this fact evidently proves that these tablets are neither Assyrian nor Babylonian. Delitzsch further pointed out that in some respects they resembled the inscriptions of the First Babylonian Dynasty, but doubted whether this resemblance would justify assigning them to that period; he finally concluded that for the present it was impossible to decide to which period they belonged. Jensen, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the place of their discovery was no proof that the tablets were written there, and suggested that they were Assyrian tablets which had been carried off from Assyria to the place where they were found (ZA IX pp. 301).

A number of these tablets have been transliterated and translated by F. E. Peiser in the "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek" IV pp. 50-56. Peiser thought that these tablets belong to an early Assyrian period, about 1300. He pointed out that in these contracts personal names occur compounded with the divine name Ashur (always written A-shir). Therefore they must have been written at a time when it was possible for
Assyrians to approach Cappadocia, and this could not have occurred earlier than the reigns of Shalmaneser I. and his immediate predecessor. Further, the style of the script, the language, the dating by Eponyms, and the names of the months point to this date. Finally, there occur names compounded with \(Ja = Ja(u)\), and therefore these tablets must have been written at a time when Cappadocia was inhabited by a Canaanitic-Phoenician population. Concerning the latter argument, which is strange altogether, Peiser was clearly mistaken. The element \(ia\) in these names is not a divine name, but a hypocoristic ending. Hemmel, however, contended that these tablets show both by the personal names which occur in them and by their script and style such striking resemblance to the contract tablets of the Hammurabi-period that it is impossible to assign them to any other date (Ancient Hebrew Traditions pp. 141f). A similar opinion was expressed by Ranke (Early Babyl. Pers. Names pp. 39ff). In comparing the names of the Hammurabi-period with those of the Cappadocian tablets he says: "On the basis of this remarkable similarity of the Cappadocian tablets with those of the Hammurabi dynasty, Dr. Hemmel's conclusion that the former go back to the early Babylonian time appear to be highly probable". This opinion was endorsed by Hilprecht who said: "As early as 1885 I had reached the conclusion that the paleographic evidence offered by nearly 100 tablets which I had gathered in connection with several trips through Western Asia, points to the second half of the third millennium as the time when these tablets were written (cf ibid. p. 40 n.). Sayce, in dealing with the Cappadocian tablets, arrives at the conclusion that the cole-
nists of Cappadocia were Assyrians, even though the colony may have been founded when Assyria was still a Babylonian province (Archaeology of the Cuneif. Inscript. 1908 pp. 169f). This problem was definitely solved by Thureau-Dangin who published a Cappadocian tablet with a seal-cylinder of Ibi-Sin, the king of Ur (Revue D'Assyr. VIII, 1911 p. 144). This proved that some of these tablets belonged to the Ur-period (about 2400 B.C.). (See also Ed. Meyer, Gesch. d. Altert. I p. 613f).

Jastrow in discussing this problem observes:

Through these seals furnishing names of rulers of the Ur dynasty and of early patesis of Ashur we are enabled to say definitely that these Cappadocian documents found at various places of the extensive district, revert to a period as high as about 2400 B.C. and come down to about 1900, though a definite limit at the other end had not yet been determined" (Civilization of Babyl. and Assyr. p. 169ff). He goes on to say that the proper names in these documents are unmistakably Assyrian, and suggests that Assyrian garrisons were placed there to maintain some measure of control over the land; and that around these garrisons owing allegiance to the rulers of Sumer and Akkad, settlements of Assyrians and perhaps also of Babylonians grew and maintained commercial relationship with their native land.

However, it seems quite improbable that Assyrian garrisons were placed in Cappadocia by any king of the Ur dynasty, the rise of which was evidently due to a reaction of the Sumerians against the Semites. We must then assume that the Cappadocian colonies consisted of Semitic penal settlements of Assyrians who were transplanted hither by the Sumerian
Ur dynasty. But it is more probable that the placing of garrisons antedates the establishment of the Ur dynasty. It is noteworthy that the only contract tablets of the Ur period written in Semitic are the Cappadocian tablets. Sumerian is the language of the contract tablets of this period. This seems to indicate that the relationship of the Cappadocian colonies with the native land was rather loose, though it cannot be doubted that they owed allegiance to the kings of Sumer and Akkad. The orthography is in many points similar to that of the Sargonic inscriptions, and some of the personal names resemble those on the Obelisk of Manishtusu. Thus it seems probable that the Semites located there in Cappadocia were placed there in the Sargonic period, and if the Sargonic empire owes its establishment to a West Semitic invasion, it is not improbable that among these colonists were also West Semites. The evidence of the Assyrian proper names would only prove that the colonists who were settled in Cappadocia belonged to the same tribe which colonized Assyria, most likely in the same period.

The study of the West Semitic names was further advanced by an investigation of the language, Canaanitic glosses and proper names of the Amarna Letters. These letters which have been transliterated and translated by Winckler in the year 1889 (K.B., vol. V.), have been re-edited and thoroughly revised by J.A. Knudtzon (Vorderas. Bibl., 1907). The second part of this work, containing Comments and Register by O. Weber and E. Eberlein, appeared in 1915. On the basis of Knudtzon's work, Franz Böhl investigated the language
of these letters in his book "Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe" (1909). Of special interest for our purpose are the Canaan-isms in these letters, because they show how the West Semites rendered their own language into cuneiform. Even the Babylonian language of these letters is of importance for the interpretation of West Semitic names, since these letters frequently show Babylonian forms with Hebrew preformatives and afformatives. It involves the question whether the names with Hebrew preformatives or afformatives are genuine West Semitic, since they might be hybrid formations. Ranke (EBPN p. 14) considers the hypocoristic ending a-tum as specifically West Semitic. Ungnad, however, points out numerous Babylonian names with the same ending a-tum, and therefore concludes that this termination is common Semitic (BA VI, p. 78ff). Yet this does not prove that this formation is not specifically West Semitic, since Babylonian roots with a-tum might be considered hybrid formations. The native tongue of the Amarna scribes was Hebrew, and therefore they attached by mistake Hebrew formations to Babylonian roots. The same might be true of the native Babylonian scribes in the Euphrates Valley who, before the Akkadian language reached the Babylonian stage still spoke a West Semitic dialect, and quite naturally added the West Semitic termination a-tum to Akkadian names. The personal names in the Amarna Letters are of the greatest importance, because they enable us to identify with absolute certainty similar names in other inscriptions as West Semitic. The Canaanitic glosses in these letters are not only philologically but also historically of high importance. The fact that the Amarna scribes added
Hebrew glosses to the rare cuneiform words which appear in their letters leaves no room for doubt that in this period, when Israel sojourned in Egypt, the Egyptian officials understood Hebrew better than the cuneiform language.

The West Semitic names in the cuneiform inscriptions are not only of philological significance, but also involve the problem concerning the origin of the Babylonian culture and religion. It is generally assumed that the Babylonian culture developed in Babylonia and thence was carried into the Westland. But we find West Semitic personal names already in the pre-Sargonic period which leaves no doubt that the West Semites in a very early period invaded the Euphrates Valley. The problem is: did the culture and the religious conceptions known as Babylonian develop in the Westland, and after maturing there were they carried by these West Semitic invaders into Babylonia? This opinion was advanced by A.T. Clay in his widely known work "Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites" (1909). Clay contended that the culture and religious ideas of the Semitic Babylonians point to a long development in the Westland before they were carried into Babylonia. Clay's theory is based on the Babylonian religious conceptions, in which he finds an overwhelming West or rather North Semitic influence, which goes back to a prehistoric immigration into the Euphrates Valley. His contention would have been more convincing if he had pointed to the existence of numerous West Semitic names in Babylonia at a time when the Babylonian culture and religion were still in process of development.

"F. Bohl in his book "Kanaanaeer und Hebraeer" (1911)
investigated the ethnographical problem of the various inhabitants of the Westland in connection with the Table of Nations (Genesis X), and gives many interesting hints for the interpretation and identification of biblical and other West Semitic proper names. Johannes Hehn in his book "Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee" (1913) discusses the question of the dependence of the Hebrew religious conceptions on those of Babylonia, and further treats the religions of all Semitic peoples of Western Asia. The conclusions he reaches are chiefly based upon the evidence found in personal names, so that his book affords much help in the study of West Semitic names.

In the discussion of the literature dealing with the proper names of the Amarna period, we must not omit to refer to Clay's Onomasticon "The Personal Names of the Cassite Period" (1912), which includes also the personal names of the Amarna Letters. The only West Semitic names of this period are found among these letters. No West Semitic names appear in the literature of the Euphrates Valley at this time. In the first millennium, however, partly due to the invasion of Aramaean tribes, and partly due to the deportations of West Semites by the Assyrian kings, West Semitic names reappear in the records of the Euphrates Valley. Clay in his "Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C." (Babylonian Records in the Library of J.P. Morgan, 1912) points out numerous West Semitic names in that period.

From the ninth century to the fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.), the field of our investigation is not Babylonia but Assyria where the captives carried off from the Western
countries were settled. Besides the large number of West Semitic names which occur in the historical records of the Assyrian kings, many are found in the Assyrian contract tablets. C.H.W. Johns has treated the names in these contracts in his "Assyrian Deeds and Documents" (1899-1901). Of especial importance are the names found in his "Assyrian Doomsdaybook" (1899), most of which are West Semitic. The district of Harran whence the tablets came, appears to have been almost exclusively inhabited by Aramaeans and other West Semites. Other names of the same type are found in the Assyrian contracts of Kanna, published by Sina Schiffer in his Dissertation "Keilinschriftliche Spuren der in der zweiten Hälfte des achten Jahrhunderte von den Assyriern nach Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier (10 Stamme, 1907). Schiffer argues that the bearers of many of these names were Israelites, and considers Kanna an exclusively Israelitish autonomous community, with a sanctuary of Jahveh, written đA-u, the divine name which frequently occurs in the personal names and also in the oath formula.

The Assyrian names were published by Knut E. Tallquist in his book "Assyrian Personal Names" (1914). The nucleus of this work is a collection of names by Johns of Cambridge which he placed at the disposal of the author. In this work are included all names mentioned in Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia", except such names as are to be found in his "Neubabylonisches Namenbuch"; thus a number of personal names from Old Babylonian texts have been introduced, as also the names in the Babylonian version of the great Behistun Inscription. He has furthermore completely
excerpted Harper's "Assyrian and Babylonian Letters", the Amarna Letters according to Knudtzon's transcribed edition, the inscriptions of the Babylonian kings beginning with the Third Dynasty, especially all kudurru-inscriptions, the most important chronological sources, as also all Cappadocian tablets and Boghazkoi texts, and finally miscellaneous Van- nici inscriptions scattered in different publications. The bulk of the c.5500 names given in List I consist of purely Assyrian names, but the contingent of non-Assyrian (resp. non- Babylonian), West Semitic, and non-Semitic names is very large, which is partly due to the above mentioned choice of sources, partly to the fact that the numerous inscriptions of the Assyrian kings contain more foreign than Assyrian names. The foreign names and name-elements are indicated by asterisks before the name or name-element. The first part of this work consists of a List of Personal Names, the second part of a List of Elements, contained in the Personal Names, as names of gods, equivalents of the deity, countries and cities, and other elements, nominal and verbal forms. It further contains additions, and names of words quoted in West Semitic and Greek writing. In the introduction, the author deals also briefly with the manner of rendering West Semitic sounds in cuneiform characters, making a few observations founded on the materials of his work, concerning the correspondence of the West Semitic and Assyrian sibilants and laryngals. This companion volume to his "Neubabylonisches Namenbuch" is a work of high importance. It is to be regretted that, owing to the conditions of the Great War, it was not accessible to me when I collected and
investigated the West Semitic names. However, I intend to make extensive use of this work in the preparation of this Thesis for publication.

The downfall of the Assyrian empire shifts our field of investigation back again to Babylonia. Here under the Neo-Babylonian rulers, in the business documents published by Strassmaier and others we find hundreds of West Semitic names. As already referred to, the names of this period have been collected and published by K. L. Tallquist in his work "Neubabylonisches Namenbuch" (1905). It is noteworthy, however, that notwithstanding the multitude of Judaeans in this locality at this time, Hebrew names are rather scarce. They make their appearance in large numbers in the contracts of the Persian period. It is especially at Nippur that we meet with an extraordinary large number of Hebrew names in the contracts edited by Hilprecht but deciphered by Clay in the well known Babylonian Expedition Series of the University of Pennsylvania. Both Hilprecht and Clay, in their introductions and lists of personal names greatly contributed to the elucidation of West Semitic names. The Hebrew names in these contracts are of special interest, since not a few of them are identical with biblical names, and thus shed light upon the pronunciation of the Hebrew language at that period. Compared with the Nippur tablets, Hebrew names in contracts of other Babylonian localities are rather rare. But in the present state of excavation, we are not justified in drawing the conclusion that the Jews at Nippur were more numerous than in other Babylonian cities, or that they were more prominent.
in business than their fellow countrymen in other parts of Babylonia. That we have many Hebrew names in Nippur, may be merely due to the fact that the archives of the business-firm of Murashu-Sens were discovered, while archives of the same kind in other localities may be still hidden under the ruins or lost altogether.

It was but recently that we became acquainted with a remarkable fact, that the Babylonian scribes themselves, about the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, made a special study of the writing of the West Semitic names in order to be able to render these foreign elements into cuneiform. Among the collection of Nippur tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Edw. Chiera found several tablets which he published in vol. IX of the "Univers. Museum Babyl. Section" in two parts under the title "Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur (No. 1. A Syllabary of Personal Names; No. 2. Lists of Akkadian Personal Names, 1916). These lists consists for the most part of school exercises, but also of model texts. As far as Sumerian and Akkadian names are concerned, school exercises of the same kind have been known for many years. A number have been published by Johns in his "Deeds and Documents", and to which Bezold in Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets" had already referred to. Other documents of the same class have been found in Telloh and are catalogued in the "Inventaire des Tablettes de Telloh, vol. I., II., III., IV". Other tablets very closely related to those of Chiera have been published by Scheil under the title "Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar" (1912).

The first part of Chiera's work, though of high im-
portance for the study of Babylonian names, has no direct bearing upon our subject. There are indeed a few West Semitic names, but we have no proof that the Babylonian scribes considered them non-Babylonian. But of special interest is the second part of Chiera's publication. There are several fragments of a large tablet containing a long list of West Semitic personal names which apparently belong to the model texts, and which in its complete form must have contained a nearly complete list of all West Semitic names in use in Babylonia about the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty.

Besides this one, a column of the Akkadian list contains also West Semitic names. These lists leave no doubt that the Babylonian scribes classified these names as non-Babylonian and distinguished them from the native names. However, the classification of the Babylonian scribes need not be accepted as infallible, and is in many instances incorrect. It is especially the case in the names compounded with the elements Abu and Ali which are classified as Akkadian. Of course these elements had been in use in Babylonia for hundreds of years and had become naturalized, so that the Babylonian scribes looked upon them as good Babylonian. Further there is no good reason why I-li-ba-ash-ti should be West Semitic and Ilu-ba-ash-ti, A-hu-ba-ash-ti and A-li-ba-ash-ti. The same is true of I-li-ma-lik-i (W.S.) and Abi-ma-lik-e (Akk.).
III. West Semitic Phonetics.

I. The Consonants.

The investigation of this subject is chiefly based upon comparative philology. Without its help we could not confidently assert that a consonant under consideration is represented by a certain cuneiform sign. It is known that the labials "b" and "p", the palatals "g", "k" and "\( \tilde{k} \)", the dentals "d", "t" and "\( \tilde{t} \)" and the sibilants "s", "sh", and "\( \tilde{z} \)" and "\( \tilde{s} \)" each in its own group, are frequently represented by identical signs. As for instance: the sign \( \text{bi} \) in the name \( \text{Ba-am-mu-ra-bi} \) may represent the sounds \( \text{bi} \) and \( \text{pi} \). This name was formerly read \( \text{Hammurabi} \), but it is now generally recognized that this reading was wrong, and that it should be read \( \text{Hammurapi} \), since it was proved from the \( \text{Hama-tablets} \) and other sources that this name does not contain the element \( \text{rabi} \) but a root \( \text{rapi}' \) (for the literature see Tallquist, Assyriology, Pers. Names, p. 84ff). Further we could never maintain that the sign \( \text{ga} \) in the name \( \text{Am-mi-za-du-ga} \) represents the emphatic palatal "\( \tilde{k} \)" if comparative philology did not convince us that this name is identical with the South Arabic name \( \text{Am-mi-sad\( \tilde{d} \)k} \). Nor could we assert that the same sign \( \text{ga} \) represents palatal \( \text{ka} \) in the local name \( \text{A-ga-de} \), if we did not know that this city is identical with the city Akkad mentioned in the Bible. The same is true also in reference to the meaning \( \text{ra} \) of the cuneiform inscriptions. Many words in them would be obscure without the help of comparative philology. If this comparative method is of scientific value for the understanding of the cuneiform inscriptions, and on the results obtained from this comparative method conclusions
are based which have far-reaching results in philology, history and theology, we surely may rely upon the same method to determine the character of the consonants under discussion. By this means we may eventually arrive at the true meaning of these names. However, this comparative method teaches not only the meaning of these West Semitic names, but also proves that the West Semites pronounced numerous consonants differently from the native Babylonians. We may start with the investigation of the Palatals.

(a) The Palatals.

We have referred to the cuneiform sign ga in the names Ammi-zaduga and Agade. This sign in the later Babylonian-Assyrian literature is hardly ever used for the non-emphatic syllable ka. Yet this use in the period of West Semitic immigration, during the reign of Sargon and his successors, is found not only in proper names, but also in the literary language. On the Obelisk of Manishtusu we find the personal names Ga-la-ab-E-a = Ka-la-ab-E-a "the servant of Ea", TUKUL (= kakkuk) ga-su-al-si-in, which is evidently to be read Gag- ga-su-al-si-in = Kakka-shu-ei-shin "his weapon upon them (the countries he hurled)". The word ga-li = ka-li appears in some of the names of this period, as in the royal name S(h)ar- ga-li-s(h)r-ri "the king of the All is my king" (formerly read Shar-gani-sharri, but this reading is wrong in view of the writing of this name Shar-ka-li-e-sharri, see Poebel, Histor. Texts, No. 1, p. 92); in the name of the grandson of the latter Bi-in-ga-li-s(h)r-ri, and in the names Ga-li-in and Ili-ga- li. The name of Sargon written S(h)arru-GI but also S(h)arru- ki-in (see ibid.) is therefore to be read S(h)arru-gIn for
West Semitic names, as in Su-mu-a-bu-um, Su-mu-El, Su-mu-la-El, Su-mu-di-ta-na, Sa-am-su-i-lu-na, Sa-am-su-di-ta-na and others. While, however, in the former period, this phenomenon is regularly found in the literary language, as we have seen in the instances quoted above from the royal Inscriptions of the Kings of Agade, and is also seen in the Obelisk of Manishtusu where the suffixes shu, shI, shunu, shin are without exception written su, si, sunu, sin, in the latter period it is no longer found in the literary language.

If the Semites in this early period used the signs ga, gi, gu for the palatals ka, ki, ku, and the sibilant s for etymological sh, the conclusion appears almost unavoidable that this usage reflects their pronunciation of these sounds. It cannot be due to the influence of the Sumerian language that uses both the palatals g and k and the sibilants s and sh, and the non-Semitic values of the cuneiform signs apparently indicate that the Sumerian language abounded in signs for all these sounds. As far as the palatals are concerned, there is seems to be no other way out of this dilemma but to conclude that the West Semitic pronunciation of the palatal k in the Sargonic period was identical with that of g, and therefore both sounds were rendered in the script with the identical sign. Brockelmann ('Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen, 1908, p. 153), in dealing with a similar phenomenon in the Assyrian period, is inclined to ascribe the change of this sound to the influence of the neighboring liquid. But in the Sargonic period and in the Cappadocian tablets we have the same change of sound not in the neighborhood of a liquid, as in id-gi-e for id-ki-e, dub-bi-ga.

More difficult is the problem of the sibilants. From the examples quoted above, and from many others that show the same phenomenon, we incline to the assumption that the West Semites of that period had the primitive system of sibilants in which ɣ corresponds to ʃ̩. But if so, how can we explain the writing of the genitive relative which in these inscriptions and in many personal names of this period occurs so frequently, and is always written ʃ̩? We find in addition to ʃ̩, several other words written with ʃ̩ as a-sha-ri-su "its place", sha-ad "mountain", Shu-me-ri-im "of Shumer". Nevertheless, the evidence in favor of such a conclusion is so great that it forces us to contend that even the sign ʃ̩ must have been pronounced by the West Semites of this period ʃ̩. Concerning this particular sign, this contention would be merely hypothetical, did we not have evidence concerning other sibilant signs that they were pronounced in the Sargonic period with ʒ, differently from the values of these signs in later periods. The sign ʃ̩ that in the Sumerian and Akkadian literature has only this value was used by the Semites of this early period for the syllable ʃ̩. It is seen in the word ga-ti-ish-su which no doubt stands for ga-ti-is-su "in his hand" (see Peobel, l.c.p.213 n.5). Hence the writings mah-ri-ish "before him" (cf. mah-ri-su), li-ish-bir "he may break", etc. are no exception to the general rule of ʒ for ʃ̩. It would further explain the personal names on the Obelisk of Manish-tusu compounded with the elements ish-tup, ish-lul, ish-ma, and ish-tu-tu. It would be strange that just these words with ish
should be exceptions to the use of $s$ for $sh$ in this period. Hence there too the sign $ish$ has the value of $is$. Even the royal name $Ma-an-ish-tu-su$ is to be read $Ma-an-is-tu-su$. The same is true of the sign $ush$ which the Semites of this period gave the value of $us$, as seen in the word $u-ru-ush$ "he led him", which undoubtedly stands for $u-ru-us$. The same value we will have to assume for $ush$ in the royal name $Uru-mu-ush = Uru-mu-us$, in the name $Su-ru-ush-Gin" offshoot of the Righteous", in which the first element corresponds to $shurush$, and which stands for $Su-ru-us-Gin$; and probably also in the names $I-li-sa-tush = Ili-satus$, and $Du-da-tush = Du-da-tus$. Therefore the same may hold good regarding the sign $sha$ for $sa$.

As to the writing $Shu-me-ri-im$ with $sh$, quoted above, we must consider that the name Shumer, whatever its derivation may be, is a Sumerian loan-word, and words of this kind are not subject to Semitic phonetic rules.

With the passing of the Sargonic period, the use of $g$ for $k$ and the writing of $s$ for $sh$ seem to have disappeared. Unfortunately we possess no Semitic inscriptions in Babylonia proper of the period intervening between the downfall of the Sargonic empire and the second wave of West Semitic immigration, which produced the First Dynasty of Babylon and gave rise to other West Semitic principalities in Larsa, Kish and Sippar—except some fragments of kings of Gutium provided that they belonged to this period. Yet in the period of the second West Semitic immigration, neither of these phenomena penetrated into the literary language. In the inscription of this period, the signs with $g$ are not used for etymological $k$ nor the signs with $s$ for etymological $sh$. In the per-
sonal names, however, although we do not find $g$ for $k$, the signs with $s$ are still used for those with $sh$, but not so frequently as in the Sargonic period. But the very fact that we find this change of sound exclusively in the West Semitic names of the Hammurabi period leaves no room for doubt that this usage is exclusively West Semitic, and we are justified in contending that the inscriptions of the Sargonic period were written by West Semites.

Thus the pronunciation of the palatal $k$ of the West Semites in the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon differed from their pronunciation of it in the Sargonic period. Traces of the latter pronunciation in the Westland appear in the Amarna letters, in which there occur the forms: $il-li-gu$ $il-li-ku$ "they went"; $i-il-la-gu-u$ for $i-il-la-ku-u$ "they will go"; $al-ga$ for $al-ka$ "go!"; $ta-sha-ga-an$ for $ta-sha-ka-an$, $i-sha-ga-an$ for $i-sha-ka-an$, verbal forms of $shakānu$ "to make"; $mi-il-ga-shu$ for $mi-il-ka-shu$ "his advice"; $gu-ul-lib-bi$ for $ku-ul-lib-bi$ "whole-hearted"; $ib-te-gu-u$ for $ib-te-ku-u$, verbal form of $baku$ "to weep", and others. The change of sound in most of them except the last instance may be due to the influence of the neighboring liquid. But these writings may also be explained as orthographical errors. But then it seems reasonable to say that the scribes of the Amarna Letters never would have committed errors of this kind, if in their own West Semitic idiom they had sharply distinguished between the palatals $g$ and $k$.

In the Neo-Babylonian period, both phenomena under discussion have entirely disappeared. That the pronunciation of Babylonian $k$ was in that period identical with that of the
Hebrews, we learn from the Hebrew transliterations of the royal names Nabû-kudurri-usur = נבון-קדררי-עשур and Avel-Mar-duk = אובל-מרדוק. We find also that both the Babylonians and the Hebrews used the same palatal k in writing the name of Cyrus. It is also seen in the loan-word גנוז = Ки-си-ли-ו. Further there is no room for doubt that the pronunciation of both sibilants s and sh was the same among the Hebrews and Babylonians. This is proved from the use of the sibilants in the Hebrew names of which the originals are seen in the Babylonian forms:

Ni-sa-an-nu = נִי-סָא-אָנָן
taš-ri-tu = תָּשָּׁרְיָת
taš-ri-tu

A-ra-ah-sham-na (variant -sa-am-nu) = עָרַה-שָּׁמָן
Ki-si( var. is) -li-vu = Ки-си
Shab-ba-tu = שבּו
taš-ri-tu

There is good reason for accepting the Hebrew tradition that the names of the months were taken over from the Babylonians during the exilic period. But as far as the name taš-ri-tu is concerned, there is no absolute proof that both the Babylonian and the Hebrew sibilant were the same, as the name of this month can also be read taš-ri-tu. The same holds true of the name A-ra-ah-sham-na, as we have the variant A-ra-ah-sa-am-nu. But the sibilants in the name Shab-ba-tu, Ni-sa-an-nu, taš-ri-tu and Ki-si-li-vu leave no doubt that Hebrew sh corresponds to Babylonian š, and Hebrew s to Babylonian š. That the sibilants were pronounced alike by the Babylonians and the Hebrews in this period may be further proved by the Hebrew transliteration of Babylonian personal names, as:
Even in the last two names in which etymologically Babylonian șar "prince" corresponds to Hebrew sār, the sibilant is sh in accordance with the Babylonian pronunciation of these names. At the present time, the question is not whether Babylonian sh etymologically corresponds to Hebrew sh, which is by no means always the case, but the question is, whether the Babylonians pronounced the sibilant sh in the same manner in which the Hebrews pronounced this sound.

In Assyria, the pronunciation of the sibilants differed from that of Babylonia. The Assyrians were even more exact than the Babylonians in writing the palatals and sibilants. So exact were they that they even used the special signs for the emphatic palatals which the Babylonians hardly ever did. But it appears that their accuracy in writing did not reflect their pronunciation. The Hebrew transliterations of the Assyrian royal names

Tukulti-apil-E-shar-ra =  תוקלי-אpillar
Sharru-kēnu, or Sharru-ukīn =  שאריקין
Ashur-ah-iddina =  אشور-אידינה

leave not the least doubt that the Assyrians pronounced the palatal k as if it were k, and the sibilant sh as if it were sh. The Hebrews wrote these names as they heard them pronounced. When they heard the name Ashur-ah-iddina, they transliterated it  אשור-אידינה. Though the Hebrews may not
have known the meaning of the element E-shar-ra, they cer-

tainly knew the name Ashur, which they rendered correctly with

sh, yet they could not recognize it in the name Ashur-ah-id-
dina, because the sibilant in it sounded to them like s. The

Traditional pronunciation of this name is certainly incor-
rect. But there can be no doubt that the consonants of this

name have come down to us correctly.

However, there is another biblical name the evidence of

which is against our contention that the Hebrews heard the

Assyrians pronounce the sibilant sh as s. The royal name

Shulmanu-asheridu is rendered into Hebrew as

שעלמנוע-אשרידוע, in which the first sibilant sh correctly corresponds to As-
syrian sh. We might say that we cannot base any assertion

upon a name which had not been handed down correctly, since

the Hebrew rendering does not represent the Assyrian name

Shulmanu-asheridu. But this would be begging the question.

The error in the transmission of this name is slight, and may

be due to the similarity of the letters ש and פ. At one
time the Hebrew text may have contained the name in full, and

a later copyist may have regarded this writing as dittogra-
phy, and therefore omitted the last letter. But the ш in the

Hebrew form of this name cannot be due to a scribal error, and

a reasonable conclusion would be that in this case at least

Assyrian ш was pronounced exactly as in Hebrew. We might

further suggest that in this case, the Hebrew writer may have

known cuneiform and therefore disregarded the Assyrian pro-
nunciation of the sibilants and rendered the name orthogra-
phically as in Assyrian with ш. But then he could not have

rendered the second element of this name asharidu with s.
However, who may tell whether the conventional reading shul-mamu in this name is correct? The first element of this name is written in three different ways: either with the ideogram SILIM which has the values of both roots salamum and salamu; this ideogram is occasionally followed by the phonetic complements ma-a-nu; or it is written phonetically shul-ma-a-nu, which can be read sul-ma-a-nu. Thus the name may have been Sulmanu-asharidu. The Hebrew rendering of this name would thus show that Assyrian sh corresponds to Hebrew s, while Assyrian s corresponds to Hebrew sh. But before proceeding to offer any explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, we must consider the Aramaic renderings of Assyrian names found in the Aramaic endorsements of Assyrian contracts and elsewhere.

As far as sh in Assyrian proper names is concerned, we find following Aramaic renderings:

Nabū-shar-usur = נבוסרהкс
Nabū-shar-iddin = נבוסרהוד
Nabū-shum-iddin = נבוסרהוד
Nabū-shum-ishkun = נבוסרהוק
Sharru-nūri = שראשי

In these names Assyrian sh is rendered into Aramaic s. This rendering is thus in agreement with that of the Hebrews, and considering that those who wrote these names were either Assyrians or Aramaeans living in Assyria, we cannot but conclude that this rendering of the sibilants reflects the Assyrian pronunciation of the sibilant sh.

As far as s in Assyrian proper names is concerned, we find the following Aramaic renderings:
In these two names the Assyrian sibilant ș is rendered into Aramaic ܫ. Tallquist’s opinion that this letter(ש) corresponds to Hebrew ס (Assyr. Pers. Names, p.XVIII), is quite impossible, as nobody would write the first element Sin with ș and the second element șar with ש, in the name Sin-shar-ûsur, if the sibilants in these elements would have the same pronunciation. The rendering of this name corresponds exactly to the Hebrew rendering of Sulmanu-asharidu, in which the sibilant in the first element is rendered into ׇ and that of the second element into ש. Thus from the Aramaic renderings we cannot but conclude that the names quoted above were by the Assyrians pronounced Shin-sar-usur and Shin-ahe’ériba. The same would be true of the name Shalmaneser: orthographically it was written Sulmanu-asharidu but was pronounced Shulmanu-asaridu. If we now find that the name Sin-ahe’ériba was also rendered into Aramaic.Sin-heriba, it would merely prove that the writer of this name ignored the vernacular pronunciation of this name and rendered the sibilant in accordance with the historical orthography. The same is true of the Hebrew rendering of this royal name, which no doubt has been copied from the diplomatic documents in which the name was written orthographically. Further, the same would be true of the name Nabû-ushallim = Aramaic ܢ ܒ ܐ ܫ ܐ ܠ ܐ ܠ ܡ, where the writer rendered the name orthographically. In the same way we can explain the Aramaic rendering סנreibung of the name Sharru-kēnu, in which both the pronunciations of the palatals and sibilant was disregarded and the name is rendered correctly. However, there is
still one name that would be inexplicable according to this conception. The name "Tab-shar-Ishtar" "good is the breath of Ishtar", in the abbreviated form Shär-Ishtar is rendered into Aramaic as בabela, and the rendering of sh in the second element into ṣ would seemingly show that Assyrian ṣh preserved the same sound in the pronunciation; and here we cannot contend that the writer intended to record the name in accordance with the historical orthography, since the sibilant in the first element shar is rendered according to the pronunciation. But we must consider that the bearer of this name was an Aramean, and the cuneiform ša(u) "breath, wind" correspond to Aramaic בabela, and he may have considered the name Sār-Ishtar good Aramaic, and therefore rendered it correctly, both according to the orthography and his own pronunciation.

Delitzsch (Assyrian Grammar, p. 108f) contends that in Assyrian the sibilant ṣh has given up its sharp pronunciation and has become identical with š, and observes: "In Hebrew מ' ( = Assyrian rab šakaḥ "chief officer") the ב may be due to a mistaken popular etymology. This explanation is rather forced. If the Hebrews had heard this title pronounced Rabšakeh, they would not have rendered it with ב but with ב, as they did in the Assyrian proper names. But in the Assyrian inscriptions, this military title is always written RAB-SAG, and nowhere Rab-sha-ak. Now the Semitic root šakā "to be high", is no doubt derived from the Sumerian roots SAG, SIG "to be high". But the change of sound from š to ṣh must be accounted for. May not the reason be because the Assyrians pronounced the Sumerian root SAG with ṣh? Hence the Assyrians pronounced this title Rab-shakeh and the Heb-
rews rendered it correctly according to its pronunciation.

We thus contend that the pronunciation of Assyrian s sounded to the Hebrews like that of their own sh and that of Assyrian sh like that of their own s. As far as the change of sound is concerned, there is nothing strange about it, since in both etymology and pronunciation, Arabic s corresponds to Hebrew sh, and Arabic sh to Hebrew s. However, in Assyrian, the same correspondence would be merely in the pronunciation, and not in etymology. The question now arises whether there is any analogy for such a phenomenon that the pronunciation of the sibilants s and sh should be contrary to their orthography? If a reference to a present day analogy is permissible, we have indeed an identical case in the pronunciation of the Hebrew sibilants among the Lithuanian Jews. They actually pronounce s like sh and sh like s. Even the Spirant th(щ) which among the Eastern European Jews lost all dental character and became a sibilant, is pronounced by these Jews like sh. But this pronunciation does not affect in the least the orthography, and in writing Hebrew they never use one sib- lant for the other, but strictly adhere to the historical orthography.

In the writing of their own language and their own names, the Assyrians were not influenced by their own pronunciation, and used the sibilants like the Babylonians, though they pronounced them differently. In the writing of West Semitic names, however, they rendered them according to their own pronunciation. Since they pronounced s like sh, they consistently wrote West Semitic names containing sh by s. If they had used for this rendering their own orthography, the
identity of these names would not have been obvious to the Assyrian readers. We may compare following instances:

A-bi-sa-la-mu = Abi-shalūm, Abshālūm
Ab-di-Sam-si = Ebed-Shemesh
Ab-di-Si-har = Ebed-Shaḥar
As-du-du = Ashdōd
At-ar-su-ri = Atar-shūri
A-u-si-bi' = Jehōsheba'
A-u-si' = Hōshea
Ba'-a-sa = Ba'asha (king of Moab)
Ba-da-sa-a = Hadāshā
Is-ka-al-lu-na = Ashkelōn
Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi = Kemōsh-nādib (king of Ammon)
Me-na-si-e = Menasseh (king of Judah)
Pa-la-as-tu, Pi-lis-tu = Pelesheth "Philistaea"
Sa'al-ti-El = Shaltiel
Sa-la-ma-nu = Shalmān (king of Moab)
Sa-mē-ri-na = Shemrōn "Samaria"
Sams-si-mu-ru-na = Shemesh-merōn
Sa-mu-nu = Ashmōn (Phoenician deity)
Sa-ni-bu = Sh-n-b (king of Ammon)
Sa-paṭi-Be-al = Shapat-Ba'al
Sa-n-li = Shalli "Saul"
Ur-sa-li-im-mu = Jerūshalām etc.

On the other hand, having pronounced the sibilant sh in their own language like s, when the Assyrians had to render West Semitic names containing s, they naturally wrote it with sh to preserve the identity of these names, as seen in the following instances:
The different writings of Damascus as Di-ma-ash-ki and Di-mas-ka may be due to the fact that the former writing occurs in the inscription of Adad-nirari IV, before this city became a part of the Assyrian empire, while the latter writing dates from a later period; therefore in the orthography it is treated as an Assyrian city. But a few exceptions may be noted.

The Pheenician city U-shu-u, if identical with Usha mentioned in the Talmud ought to be written U-su-u. Si-an-nu, if identical with Biblical SinI, ought to be written Shi-an-nu. Yet it must be remembered that the two latter names are written by Shamasner IV: Shi-a-na-ai and U-sa-na-ai, i.e. "the people of Shianna and Usa".

If we did not have the Assyrian transliterations of the West Semitic names, the Hebrew transliterations of the Assyrian royal names alone would not warrant the conclusion that the Assyrians pronounced the sibilant s as sh and vice versa. The phenomenon in these Hebrew transliterations could be explained in another way. It has been assumed that the prenominal suffixes shu, shi, shunu, shina, etc., originated in a proto-Semitic prenominal root š (ש), which in process of time developed into the sibilant sh. A transition period
in which the aspirated dental sound changed into the spirant 
***must be presumed. A modern analogy may be seen in the ef-
forts of foreigners to pronounce English sharp th, when they
change it either into s or t. The Arameans indeed changed the
pro-Semitic ))? into n. The Babylonians, under the influence
of the Sumerians who did not possess this sound, may have
changed it into s. But in the attempt to give it the correct
pronunciation, the coronal-alveolar spirant was changed into
the dorsal-palatal spirant sh. May we look for such a trans-
formation in the Sargonic period? It might be suggested that the
s in the pronominal suffixes su, si, sumu, sina represents the
pro-Semitic pronominal root n for which the cuneiform
script did not possess an adequate sign. This would not ex-
plain the s in the verb shakunu, quoted above. But no expla-
nation is necessary in this case, because this writing actu-
ally represents the pro-Semitic verb sakunu which is still
preserved in the Arabic root ٍٍ. The same is true of
the noun sa-bil-tim "the lower" for sha-pil-tim, as the Ara-
bic root is ٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍ. The Shaphel-formations u-sa-am-ki-it,
u-sa-za-ku-mi, u-su-zi etc., with s instead of sh, may also be
original, as the s of this formation is still preserved in
the Arabic X. Conjugation and in Ethiopic VII. Conjugation.
On the other hand, in the writing sha-ad "mountain" a pro-
Semitic sh may be seen, as this word may be connected with
the Arabic root ٍٍٍٍٍٍٍ. "to be high"
The only seeming exception would be the unvarying
writing of the genitive particle sha with sh, for which there
would not be any explanation. But who knows whether the re-
lative pronoun sha, notwithstanding its resemblance to the
Akkadian prenominal suffixes, is not a Sumerian loan-word? The sign nitū;inda;garu has in both the Sumerian and Akkadian the values sha,gar,nik/g. In Sumerian it is employed as a relative pronoun, in the reading nīg(-ga) = mimma "anything", relating to inanimate objects. Now does it not seem a remarkable coincidence that sha should be an Akkadian relative pronoun, and that the sign of the Sumerian relative pronoun should have the value of sha? Would it not be more reasonable to suggest that originally both the Sumerians and Akkadians used the identical sign for their relative pronoun but while the Sumerians pronounced it nīg, the Akkadians for some reason, perhaps on account of its resemblance to the proto-Semitic pronominal root, preferred to express it with the value sha? To be sure, in the early inscriptions, the Semites hardly ever used for the writing of the relative pronoun the sign nitū. But this may be due to the polyphony of this sign, and therefore they used for it that sign that has the sole syllabic value sha. Instances of this kind are frequently found in Sumerian, where signs are used for words, not because they have the ideographic values of these words, but on account of having the identical syllabic values as the original ideograms. It could not be otherwise, since Sumerian, originally purely ideographic, had already passed into the syllabic stage in a very early period.

Thus the words with s, instead of sh, in the Sargonic inscriptions, and in the West Semitic proper names of that period, would accordingly represent partly the proto-Semitic pronominal root $ and partly original roots with s. The same would hold good of the West Semitic names of the First
Dynasty of Babylon. The bearers of this names undoubtedly spoke a West Semitic dialect. The disappearance of these names in the Euphrates Valley may be taken as a sure indication that this dialect ceased to be spoken when the West Semitic immigrants were completely assimilated with the native Babylonians.

The West Semitic immigration was not restricted to Babylonia proper. From the Babylonian Chronicle we know that Ilu-shu-MA, the first Assyrian king, who was the son of Shalim-ahum, king-priest (Pa-te-si) of Assyria, was at war with Sumu-abum, the founder of the First Babylonian Dynasty. It evidently shows that at the time of the West Semitic immigration into Babylonia, Assyria was already a powerful state. This immigration evidently was the immediate cause of the war between Sumu-abum and Ilu-shuma. The second element ahum in the name Shalim-ahum is no doubt an equivalent of a divine name which is a West Semitic characteristic. Both names Shalim-ahum and Ilu-shuma are not known from contemporary records but from the Babylonian Chronicle, and we may one day find that their names are written Salim-ahum and Ilu-suma, which are West Semitic (of Salim-a-hu and Sumu-ilu). While in Babylonia proper no West Semitic name is found after the passing of the Hammurabi Dynasty, an Assyrian king who bore the West Semitic name Sa'am-si-Adad lived about 1700 B.C. The founding of the Assyrian Semitic state dates in all probability from the Sargonic period, as we have already suggested in the former chapter. With the downfall of the Sargonic empire and the rise of the Sumerian kingdom of Ur, the small Assyrian principality could not maintain itself, and came un-
der the rule of the Hittite-Mitanni, who seems to have appointed the Patesis of Assyria. This would account for the Mitanni names of these rulers. We may assume that with the rise of the Semites in Babylonia, their brethren in Assyria, probably with the assistance of the latter, made themselves independent of the Mitanni, and Assyria was under the rule of Semitic Patesis. The invasion of Babylonia by the West Semites, was not without influence upon the Assyrian state which enabled it to extend its power, and Assyria proclaimed itself a kingdom, while Sumu-abum claimed suzerainty over this former Babylonian province. And this claim brought on the war between the latter and Ilu-shuma. From the letters of Hammurabi we know that Assyria was a Babylonian province (cf King's Letter and Inscriptions of Hammurabi III, p. 3ff). It is thus evident that Sumu-abum was victorious in this war, Babylonia, having been the seat of learning, the Assyrian scribes were no doubt instructed in Grammar and Orthography in the Babylonian schools. This, however, did not prevent them from preserving their own pronunciation, and they may have still pronounced the spirant 𝗧 , as did their ancestors the West Semites. No matter how a word was written, if it contained the West Semitic 𝗧 , it was pronounced in that way.

Now the name Ashur is in Syriac at least written ܐܫܘܪ. Thus Assyrian ܝ in this case philologically corresponds to Syriac-Aramaic ܐ. In this name may thus be seen the proto-Semitic aspirated dental ُ , and it may have been pronounced by the Assyrians Ἄθουρ. While we have no direct proof that ܫ in Ashur etymologically corresponds to Arabic ُ , we may point out that the name of the goddess Asherah-
Ashirtu, which has been connected with the divine name Ashur (cf. Zimmern, KAT p. 351 n. 2), is found in the South Arabian Katabanenic inscriptions as شر (see Hommel, Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen, pp. 157-206). The Assyrian themselves, however, identified their god Ashur with An-shar (cf. Meissner-Rost, Bauinschriften Sanherib's p. 95 and Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 275), and to maintain this claim, the name of this god is frequently written An-shar, i.e. "the god of the totality". Hence the sign šar must have had the identical pronunciation of shur.

Now the same sign šar appears in the name E-shar-ra, i.e. "the house of Shar", a divine designation, which according to the Assyrian claim, was closely connected with the god Ashur. Thus it is not likely that it differed in pronunciation, and may just as well have been pronounced E-thar-ra.

The word asharidu "the first one", is composed of the words ashar "place" and edu "one", literally "the place of one". The word asharu corresponds etymologically to Syriac-Aramaic ܐܫܪ and Arabic ًاشر, and therefore the word asharidu may have been pronounced by the Assyrians asharidu. In that case it might be that the Assyrians pronounced the royal names under discussion:

Shulmann-asharidu = שַׁלוֹמִי-אַשַּׁרְיָדִו
Tukulti-apil-E-thar-ra = תְּכֻלִּי-אֶ-תָּרָו
Athur-ab-iddina. = אָתָר-אֶבֶּדִינָה

But the Hebrews who did not know the aspirated dental th mistook this sound for the sibilant s and therefore rendered it in that way.

However, it would be difficult to explain in that way the Hebrew transliteration of the name Sargon. Unfortunately
the etymology of the Babylonian word *sharru* is still unknown. Its derivation from *sharāru* "to shine" (Del. Preleg. p. 92) is highly improbable. On the contrary, *sharāru* may be a denominational verb derived from *sharru*. It is noteworthy that the *sh* in this word does not correspond to Hebrew *sh*. We cannot assume with Zimmer (KAT p. 650) that Hebrew *נש* is a loan-word borrowed from the Babylonians, as in that case the Hebrew pronunciation of this word would be identical with that of the Babylonians. It was certainly not taken from the Assyrians. We must then contend that this word went into Hebrew at an early period when the Babylonians themselves pronounced this word *sarru*. As a matter of fact this word can be etymologically explained better in Hebrew than in Babylonian. We must remember that the Hebrew word נש is derived from a root *y* Mediae Infirmae, as נש and this root would etymologically correspond to Arabic *تخا* which in the IV. Conjugation, has the meaning "to counsel, to give advice". Thus נש originally would mean "counsellor", synonym of נ׳ which no doubt has the same meaning, as it is derived from נ׳ "to counsel". If so, it is scarcely credible that the Babylonians derived an identical term for "king" from a root Mediae Geminatae, though both Classes Mediae Infirmae and Mediae Geminatae are closely related. The writing *sharru* may be either due to the phonetic complement *ru, ri, ra* added to the ideogram LUGAL = *שarer* or to the emphasis with which this title was spoken, and linguistically the word *sharru* corresponds to Hebrew נש and Arabic *تخا*. The *sh* in this word can only be accounted for by identifying it with the Arabic word, which is no doubt proto-Semitic. Thus the Hebrew rendering Sargon cannot be explain-
ed in that way.

However, whether the Assyrians have or have not preserved the proto-Semitic aspirated dental sound ʕ, we are not forced to ascribe the Hebrew renderings of the Assyrian proper names to that reason, because, as we have seen, the Assyrian transliterations of the West Semitic names leave no room for doubt that the Assyrians used for the writing of West Semitic names containing sh the cuneiform signs with s, and for West Semitic s they wrote the cuneiform signs with sh; which was due to the fact that the Assyrian scribes aimed to preserve the correct pronunciation of these West Semitic names. This fact proves as well, and more forcibly that the Assyrians actually preserved the ancient pronunciation of the early Semites concerning the sibilants s and sh, as it is found in the Sargonic inscriptions, though in their script they conformed to the standard orthography of the Babylonians.

The only name that might throw some doubt on this conclusion is the Hebrew transliteration of the royal name Sin-shē-eriba as שיןשֶהִיבָא. If the name of the lunar deity which formed the first element of this royal name was written Sin, its Assyrian pronunciation, in accordance with our contention, must have been Shin, and we would expect the Hebrew rendering with sh שִינְוִיבָא. That the name of this deity was by the West Semites pronounced Sin can be seen in the name of the desert Sin, and Mount Sinai, probably closely connected with the name of the West Semitic deity Sin. The same is true of the Hammurabi period, as can be seen from the hypocoristic name Sin-na-tum. Ed. Meyer (Entstehung des Judentums, p. 77),
surmised that the name of this deity among the Babylonians was pronounced Sin as seen from the Hebrew transliteration of the Babylonian name Sim-šur as שִׁמְשּׁוֹר, son of the exiled king Jehoiakim (1 Chron 3,18). In the neo-Babylonian contracts a woman's name appears written Ši-i-ni-ba-ña, Ši-in-ba-ña- and Ši-na-ba-ña. If we may see in the second part of this name the West Semitic element Šàna', then the first part of this name would represent the divine name Sin, and it would confirm Ed. Meyer's suggestion that in the Neo-Babylonian period this name was pronounced Šin. An element Ši-im occurs also in the Cassite name Ši-im-di-shu-ga-šab (in the letter of Burna-buriash, Amarna 10,37,48), which perhaps may represent the name of the god Šin. But in Babylonia the phonetic reason for such a change of sound is not obvious, considering that Babylonian Š corresponds to Hebrew š and Babylonian Šh to Hebrew šh. Different is the case in Assyria. The name of the god Šin, in numerous names especially of the Arameans living in the district of Harran, is written Si'- and Si-e. Instances are: Si'-id-ri "Sin is (my) help", Si'-ra-pa-' "Sin has healed", Si'-ra-hi-i "Sin is my shepherd"; Si-e-ša-an "Sin has been merciful", Si-e-da-la "Sin has saved" etc.etc. This writing clearly proves that the name Sin was written with š. On the Cappadocian tablets, the name Sin seems to occur in the writing Su-in, as in the names Amel-Su-in, En-na-Su-in and Gimil-Su-in. If the Assyrians pronounced orthographic š as sh, they must have pronounced this divine name Šin, resp. Shi-', Shi-e. We have already referred to the Aramaic endorsement in which the names Sin-sha-erba and Sin-shar-šur are rendered צין והרבא and צין והשר, which in-
Deed proves that this divine name was pronounced Sin. This contention is not disproved by the other writing שינ', as it merely shows that some scribes ignored the vernacular pronunciation and rendered the name orthographically with s.

Now there was no other Assyrian king with whom the Judaeans came in so close contact as Sennacherib, who frequently sent diplomatic notes to the Judaeans demanding their subjection (see Isaiah 37:14; 2 Kings 19, 14: "And Hezekiah received the letter"), and therefore the Hebrews were able to render this name orthographically.

The difference in the pronunciation of the sibilants between the Babylonians and Assyrians is of importance not only for the identification of West Semitic names in the cuneiform literature, but also for the identification of Babylon-Assyrian loan-words borrowed by the Hebrews and Aramaeans. As for instance, the Aramaic language possesses besides its Causative formation_ALLOCATE, two other Causative formations, SHAPHEL and SAPHEL. The former must have been borrowed from the Babylonians and the latter from the Assyrians.

There are other numerous loan-words containing sibilants, and the latter prove distinctly the place of their origin. The words אֶשׁתָּנוּ = ishtânu "the North", שְׁפַרְוֶ = šparru "tablet-writer, scribe", מִשְׁקֶנְוֶ = mushkânu "poor", שָׁקֵנְוֶ = šakénû "governor", מִשְׁקָפְתַּ = mishkap'tu "quiver" were taken over from the Assyrians. These words are written orthographically with s, which was pronounced by the Assyrians as s, and therefore they appear in Hebrew and Aramaic with the same sibilants.

On the other hand, the words אָשׁוּשׁ = ushshâhu "foundation", אֶשְׁפִּ = eshipu "diviner", אֶשְׁפָּ = ishpatu "quiver",...
Accordingly the names of the months must have been borrowed from the Babylonians, as Hebrew tradition indeed asserts, and not from the Assyrians, and the eighth or seventh centuries B.C. If they had been taken from the Assyrians, the names: Nisân, Sîvan, Tishrí, Kislev and Shebat would have been in Hebrew Nishan, Shivan, Neshan, Kishlev and Shebat.

If the Assyrians employed the cuneiform signs for s in the West Semitic names containing the sharp sibilant š and vice versa, did they do the same in the transliterations of non-Semitic names, in order to preserve their exact pronunciation? As far as the transliterations of Egyptian names are concerned we indeed find that the same rule applies to them, as also these names containing s are rendered with šh and vice versa, as can be seen in the following instances:
Assyrian
Bu-shi-ru
Hi-mi-im-shi
Ip-ti-šar-di-e-shu
Ish-pi-ma-a-tu
Na-šah-ti-hu-ru-an-si-ni
Pi-sha-an-šu-ra
Pi-sha-me-il-ki
Pi-shap-tu-ši
Su-si-in-šu

Egyptian
Re(r)-Usiri = Busiris
Che-mer-si = Haōs = Heracleopolis Magna
Ptah-šēdis
Nšpemēša = Espm(a)ōtis, Aram. rendering 𒄂𒅇𒅔𒅜𒅗
Neš-her-na-šē-mu, in Aramaic rendering ܢܬܘܚܲܐš
Pasenher
Psammeticus (Babyl: Pi-sa-mis-ki
Aramaic rendering: 𐣆šš̄
Re(r)šepa
Sheshānḫ (Bibl. Shishak) 𒅔šš

Compare also Ku-šu = Kūš (Babyl: Ku-šu). However there seem to be a few exceptions, as Pa-tu-ri-si = Bibl. Pa-thrēs, Sa-a-a = Sai = Sais, and Har-si-ia-e-shu = Her-šē-šēt = Arsiēsis (Horus son of Isis), where we should expect the writing Har-shi-ia-e-shu. Especially noteworthy is the writing of the Egyptian divine name Isis, which in Babylonian is rendered with š (Esi, Esi', so also in Aramaic rendering ššš, but in Assyrian with šk. The rendering of the name Sabace, the founder of the XXVth Dynasty, as Sha-ba-ku-u = Egyptian Sh-b-k, is perhaps no exception, as Sabace is an Ethiopian, he may have been a South Semite and thus bore a Semitic name Sabakū which may mean "the conqueror" (cf Arab سباك "to run in advance, precede, conquer"). As to the rendering Sib', Sibe = bibl ניב (2 Kings 17, 4), I do not know its Egyptian equivalent (For these names and their identifications see

As to the non-Semitic nations to the North or East of Assyria, their languages are unknown. There is at least one name Mu-us-ki corresponding to biblical Meshech which may suggest that also the other foreign names containing s were pronounced by the Assyrians with sh. The only exception would be Par-su-a, if identical with Pars = Persia. Ed. Meyer however denies this identification (Gesch. d. Alt. p.). Besides, there is no proof that this name was not pronounced Parshua by the Assyrians. The biblical transliteration is no evidence against this, since the Hebrews became acquainted with this name in Babylonia. The name of the Hittite city Karchemish was pronounced by the Assyrians as by the Hebrews with sh, and therefore the name has to be rendered Gar-ga-mis not Gar-ga-mish. Concerning the Assyrian rendering Shu-sha-an "Susa", corresponding to bibl. Shushan, it is well possible that the Assyrians pronounced this name Su-sa-an. We find that the Assyrian orthography in the rendering of the sibilant in Elamitic names is inconsistent; as for instance: the of Umanaldash is written Um-man-al-da-su, Um-man-al-da-si, Um-man-al-da-shu, Um-ma-hal-da-a-shu etc; cf also Hamban-unda-sha with Un-da-su, Un-da-si (cf Tallquist, Assy. Pers. Names)

We must further consider that the city of Susa was known to the Assyrian-Babylonians from the earliest period, and the Assyrian scribes had to transliterate this name in accordance with the ancient orthography with sh.

There are several geographical and personal names of the island of Cyprus (Iatnana), which contain sibilants:
They are mentioned by Esar-hadden (see KB II, p. 148f) and Ashur-bani-pal (ibid, p. 240):

A(Ad)-me-su(zu) king of Ta-me-su
Bu-su-su king of (Nu-ri-e)
Da-ma-su king of (Ku-ri-i)
Da-mu-u-si king of Kar-ti-ha-da-as-ti
E-ki-ish-tu-ra king of (E-di'-al(li)
E-ri-e-su king of Si-il-lu
Ki-i-su king of Si-il-lu-u-a
(Pi-la-a-gu-ra) king of Ki-it-ru-si
U-na-sa-gu-su king of (Li-di-ir)

From the pages of history we know that most of the Cyprian cities were inhabited by Greeks, during the Persian period. But the date of their invasion of Cyprus is unknown. Per se we might assume that it took place after the conquest of Sidon by Esar-hadden. However, in view of proper names occurring in these lists, which are evidently Greek, as Pi-la-a-gu-ra = Philagoras, U-na-sa-gu-u = Onasages, Ki-it-ru-si = Kythros, Ekishtura = Akester, E-di'-al = Idalion, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Greeks lived on this island already in an early period, perhaps before its conquest by the Phoenicians, and that all the names in these lists, except Karti-hadasti ("New City") are Greek. But the Greek language if we may judge by the Greek script, did not possess the sharp sibilant sh, and if Greek s is rendered by Assyrian s, it would evidently prove that Assyrian s corresponds to Greek s and had not the pronunciation of sh. But if the Greek inhabitants of this island did not possess the sharp sibilant sh, how can we explain the writing of the name E-ki-ish-tu-ra
in which the Greek sibilant is exceptionally rendered by Assyrian sh. In the rendering of the name Karti-
badasti we find that the Assyrian scribes were carefully to render West Semitic sh by s, and therefore it does not seem likely that the rendering of the sibilants in the other names was done in a haphazard way. It is more probable that Cypriot having been for centuries under the rule of the Phoenicians, the pronunciation of the Cyprian Greeks was affected by that of the Semites, so that s in these names corresponds to Cyprian-Greek sh and vice versa. Thus also in the writing of these names, the Assyrian scribes aimed to preserve their original pronunciation.

Finally we must not omit to discuss some Arabic names found in the Assyrian historical inscriptions to see whether here also Arabic sh is rendered by Assyrian s. There are only a few names: Ha-bi-su, Ki-i-su, Ma-an-sa-ku and Sa-da-te-in (cf KB II pp. 146f. 222). However, the etymology of these names is unknown, and they may have contained originally either of the two sibilants. Of more importance are two Nabataean names: I-sa-am-me-1 and A-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in. The former is most likely to be connected with Arabic אומ "to hear," though the form is quite strange; while the meaning of the latter is "Atar (=Athtar) of heaven." Thus it would seem that Arabic s was rendered by Assyrian 1. However, we must consider that later about the 4th century B.C., the Nabataeans were completely Aramaised. This Aramaic influence may go back to the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. The Assyrian scribes may have learned these names from Aramaic diplomatic notes in which these names were written I-sha-am-me-1 and A-tar-shamain.
and accordingly rendered them with ง.

We may question whether the Babylonians cannot claim a more pure origin than the Assyrians, considering that the formerly insignificant Assyrian state assimilated the Hit-tite-Mitanni who were evidently more numerous in that region than the Semites. But linguistically, there can be no doubt that the pronunciation of the Assyrians was more in agreement with that of the early Semites, in the Sargonid period, than the pronunciations of the Babylonians. This is true not only of the pronunciation of the sibilants, as we have seen, but also of that of the palatals. We have already referred to the biblical transliterations of the royal names Sharru-kenu and Tukulti-apil-Esharre as Sargon and Tiglath-pileser which prove that the Assyrians like the early Semites pronounced the palatal ڭ as ง. This is also seen in the Hebrew word borrowed from the Assyrians งณ = shaknu, which proves that the Assyrians pronounced this word sagnu. The same pronunciation of ڭ is responsible for the rendering คาระ-มิส for คาร์เชมิส (Karēšim). This confirmed by the Aramaic rendering งาน-เนาะ-กี-อาห์-ิลู of the name Man-nā-ki-i-Arha-ilu "who is like Arbela?". If we would not find the same phenomenon in the Sargonid inscriptions, the Cappadocian tablets and the Amarna Letters, as we have shown, we would accept Broeckelmann’s explanation that this change of sound is due to the influence of the neighbouring liquid (Grundriss der Vergl. Gram. p. 153). But also in this case as in that of the sibilants, the Assyrian pronunciation had no influence upon the orthography, in which ڭ was always etymologically rendered by ڭ, except of a word like Carchemis of which the etymology was unknown.
Concerning the emphatic sibilant šāḏē, the correct pronunciation of this sound was preserved by the West Semites as well as by the Babylonians and Assyrians. The use of this emphatic sibilant in the early Babylonian period differed from that of the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. Sumerian did not possess this emphatic sound. In order to express this peculiarly Semitic sound, the Semites had to make use of the signs for z, which therefore represented both z and s. Comparative philology alone teaches whether the words written with these signs contain z or š. The same is true of both West Semitic and Akkadian. In a later period, however, the Akkadians reserved special signs Ši and Šu for the emphatic š, because these signs were unnecessary duplicates for the syllables zi and zu which were already represented by the signs Zītūm and Zūzū. But they had no duplicates for the sign for za, nor for the signs denoting az, iz, uz. Therefore, they were forced to use these four signs also for the emphatic sounds ša, ša, is, us, as did their ancestors in the early Babylonian period. As far as the last three signs are concerned, they serve not only for the syllables terminating in z and š but also for those terminating in the sibilant š. These three sounds are indeed closely related, as we can adduce from the variants ʾrēya, ʾrēya, ṣēṣa, "to rejoice," and others.

The very fact that the Semites were compelled to use special signs to denote the emphatic sibilant š proves that in spite of the Sumerian influence, the correct pronunciation of this sound was never lost. The Hebrew transliterations of the names Nabū-kudurri-usur = נבוכיםידעריעסר, Nergal-shar-usur = נרגל-שָׁר-יעסר, and other names with the root Ṣāṣar prove
that there was no difference in the pronunciation of š between the Hebrews and the Babylonians. The same is true of the Assyrians who in their inscriptions almost always correctly distinguished between zi and ș and zu and șu. In the Aramaic endorsements, Assyrian š is always rendered by Aram. s, as in Nabû-shar-usur = סְנ־שֶׁר־עַשְׁרָו etc. West Semitic š is therefore correctly rendered into Assyrian ş, as סֵרַעַר = Sariptu, סָבְעָיו = Subitu, סֵרַע = Ra-shu
mu/ni, etc. Thus while in the West Semitic names which contain ši and šu inscribed during the Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian periods, there is no difficulty in recognizing the emphatic sibilant š, it is different in the names of the earlier periods. In the Amarna Letters, the emphatic syllables su și are frequently expressed by the non-emphatic signs zu, zi as well as by the emphatic signs su, si, e.g. zu-ha-ar-ti "girl alongside of su-ha-ar-ti, zu-ha-ru "boy" for su-ha-ru, zu-up-ri "mail" for su-up-ri; zi-ru-tu "high", alongside of si-i-ru-uti, zi-ih-ru "young" alongside of si-ih-rum, ra-bi-zu, ra-bi-zi "governor" for ra-bi-šu, ra-bi-si, etc. etc. Furthermore, the signs za, zu, zi are even used for the sibilant š, a phenomenon which scarcely ever occurs in the cuneiform writings of the Babylonian-Assyrians; e.g. i-za-har "he will turn" for i-sa-har, uz-zi-ih-he-ir "he caused to turn", for us-si-ih-he-ir; zu-lu-um-me-e "alliance" for su-lu-um-me-e, etc. This usage may be especially Canaanitic, as we have seen that in Hebrew the three sounds š, s, z are closely related and occasionally used promiscuously. Hence we find the same usage in the Canaanitic Gloses; as zu-u-zi-ma "horses" = זָעִי־זי־מַע כְּנָעָן ; zu-ki-ni "governor" = זָעִי־כָּנָעָן ; mahzi-ra-mu "their need" = מַהּ־רָא־מַע כְּנָעָן ;
The usage of the non-emphatical signs zu for the emphatic syllables ši, šu is found also in the writing of the proper names of this period, as Ha-zu-ra = šnur; Zi-du-na alongside of Sî-du-na = šunu-nu; Zu-uh-ri = šnur; Na-zi-ba = šnu-nu; Zu-mu-ri alongside of Šu-mu-ri = šnu-nu. Owing to this usage, the identifications of these geographical names rest chiefly on the authority of comparative philology, as per se each of these signs may represent either z or s or even s. The same is true of the Sargonic period where we find writings as u-su-zî-am-ma for u-su-si-am-ma "he brought out and", zi-ra-at for sî-ra-at "reins", and even zu-nu for su-nu = shu-nu "them". But notwithstanding this usage we shall have to assume that the West Semites and the early Babylonian Semites clearly distinguished in their pronunciation between z and s.

(c) The Dentals.

In the Sargonic period, the West Semites pronounced the dental-senant d as dental-surd t. This is proved from the following instances:

i-ti-sum = i-di-sum = iddishshum "he gave him".
i-ti-nu = i-di-nu = iddinu "which he gave"
a-ti-ma = a-di-ma = adi-ma "as far as"

Also in the personal names of this period this phenomenon may be seen:

Be-li-sa-tu = Beli-sa-du = Beli-shadû "my lord is a mountain"
I-min-sa-tu = I-min-sa-du = Imin-shadû "Imin is a ""
sa-tu-mi = Sa-du-mi = Shaddî "our mountain" (hypecoristic)
is(h)-tu-tu = Ish-du-du "he pulled out" (hypecoristic)

The same pronunciation evidently appears in the royal name
Ma-an-is(h)-tu-su = Ma-an-ish-du-su, which in all probability contains either the noun ishdu "fundament" or the verbal form ishâdu "he pulled out" (ishdu-su = ishâdu-su = ishâussu). That this dental-surd in the Akkadian root nadânu "to give" is a West Semitic peculiarity is proved by the fact that it is found in the corresponding Hebrew-Aramaic n-t-n and Phoen. j-t-n. Thus this peculiar writing of the Akkadian root is due to the pronunciation of the West Semitic scribes of the Sargonic inscriptions. Even in a later period among the West Semites this interchange is found in other roots which have in Akkadian the dental-sonant ɗ.

This interchange of sound is also found in the Amarna Letters, as can be seen from the following instances:
ta-an-ni-ish alongside of da-an-ni-ish: "strongly"
ta-an-na alongside of da-an-na: "strong"
ti-in alongside of di-in: "judge" (Impt)
ta-ri-ish alongside of da-ri-ish: "lastingly"
ti-ma-te = di-ma-te: "tears"
tu-ul-la alongside of du-ul-la: "work"
i-te alongside of i-de: "he knows"
ji-i-te alongside of ji-i-de: "he will know"
ti-i-te alongside of ti-i-de: "thee wilt know"
ju-la-mi-ta alongside of ju-la-mi-da: "he will teach"
ja-ti-na = ja-di-na: "he will give"
a-na-ti-ma = a-na-di-ma: "I shall lie down"
ma-'-ta alongside of ma-'-da: "many", etc. etc.
(For these forms cf. Ebeling’s Glossar in Knudtzon’s El-Amarna Tafeln, 2nd part, 1915). Now there is no doubt that the \( t \) instead of \( d \) in these cuneiform words is a scribal error. But the very fact that the Canaanite scribes committed errors of this kind suggests that in their own Canaanitic language they frequently substituted the dental-surd \( t \) for the dental-segment \( d \). Therefore it has been rightly suggested that the Hebrew word \( \text{תָּנָנ} \) (ם), “monster”, in Arabic نُبَيَّة corresponds to Akkadian \( \text{ Данину} \), “mighty one” (Jensen, Zeitsch. d. Assyr. I, p. 174f). It is seen again in the name of the deity and of the month \( \text{Tammûz} \) corresponding to Sumerian \( 
abla \mu 
abla \text{zi} \) and \( 
abla \mu 
abla \text{zi} \) (in Babylon \( \text{Dū-'u-zu} = \text{Dū-vu-zu} = \text{Du-mu-uzu} \)), in which also Akkadian \( d \) changed into West Semitic \( t \). It is further seen in the loan-word \( \text{Tam-ka-rū} = \text{Sumerian-Akkadian dam-ka-rar} \) “merchant”. Owing to this fact the local name \( \text{Gu-du-a} \) was by the Semites in the Sargonic period pronounced \( \text{Gu-tu-a} \) and thus became later \( \text{Kutu} \). It may finally shed light on the reading of numerous cuneiform signs. Seeing that the cuneiform script has for the \( d \) sounds the open syllables \( da, \) \( di,du \) and for the \( t \) sounds \( ta,ti,ta, \) which as a rule are never used promiscuously, so that the script clearly distinguished between these sounds—except in the syllables consisting of a vowel and consonant, as \( ad/t/t, id/t/t, ud/t/t \), where the distinction is nigh impossible—the question arises how does it happen that in the closed syllables both sounds are represented by identical signs? Cf. the signs \( d/tin,d/tas,\) \( d/tah,d/tish,d/tup,d/tul,d/tuk,d/tum,d/tim,d/tur \) and others. We may suggest that this usage is due to the early Semites who pronounced both sounds \( d \) and \( t \) alike as dental-surd.
But if this pronunciation of א was peculiar to the early Semites in the Sargonic period and to the inhabitants of the Westland, we should expect to find traces of such a phenomenon in the proper names of the Hammurabi period. The West Semitic names of this period will have to be investigated to determine whether such names as contain the dental-surd א do not represent the original dental-sonant א. The element di-ta-na in the royal names Ammi-di-ta-na, Samsu-di-ta-na, Sumu-di-ta-na, may perhaps be read as formerly sa-ta-na ≠ sa-da-na ≠ sha-da-na "our mountain", notwithstanding the fact that no instance of this period is known, in which di (SILIM) has the value of sa, as in other periods. The element di-ta-na may be compared with the biblical proper names א and נ , but the etymology is still unknown, the present current interpretation "mighty" is rather doubtful. However, if no traces of such a pronunciation should be found, it may be due to the fact that the scribes of the Hammurabi period were better schooled than those of the Sargonic and the Amarna periods, and they rendered the names in accordance with the proper pronunciation of א, and left out of consideration the general mispronunciation of the dental-sonant.

In the Neo-Babylonian period, however, there was no difference in the pronunciation of א between the Hebrews and the Babylonians. Evidence of this is seen in the loan-words which the Hebrews borrowed from the Babylonians and from the Hebrew transliterations of Babylonian names. The name of the month א corresponds to Babylonian Ad-da-ru: א "gift = nadānu "to give", א "tribute" = mandattu = mandantu, א "time" = adanu; נבּ-קְדָרִי-עַסְר. א
Concerning the pronunciation of the dental-surd t, there can scarcely be any doubt that in all periods it was pronounced correctly. It would be wrong to conclude from the Sargonic writings ti-am-dam a-li-dam u sa-bil-dam "the upper and the lower sea", instead of ti-am-tam a-li-tam u sa-bil-tam, ar-ra-dam li-mu-ud-dam "an evil curse" instead of ar-ra-tam li-mu-ut-tam, that t was pronounced like d. These writings are due to the fact that having pronounced d as t, the scribes naturally used the d signs also for etymological t. The same reason we suggest for the same phenomenon in the Amarna Letters where also not infrequently the special signs for d are used instead of the special signs for t. Of ad-du-ia, ad-du-ki, ad-du-shu instead of at-tu-ia, at-tu-ki, at-tu-shu possessive pronoun, "mine, thine, his", e-ri-ish-du-ka, e-ri-ish-du-shu "thine, his wish", instead of e-ri-is-tu-ka, e-ri-is-tu-shu, lu-bu-ul-du "garment" instead of lu-bu-ul-tu = lubbush tu, du-ush-mi-ta-an-ni for tu-ush-mi-ta-an-ni "thou let kill me", sa-ar-ru-du for sa-ar-ru-tu "enemies", sa-ab-du-nim for sa-ab-tu-nim "they have caught", da-sha-ag-ga-an for ta-sha-ak-ka-an "thou makest", sha-al-ma-a-da for sha-al-ma-a-ta "thou art well", shu-kud-du for shu-kut-tu "treasure", i-du-ru for i-tu-ru "whom who returned", li-du-u-ra for li-tu-u-ra "he may return", du-ur-ru for tu-ur-ru "return" (impt), etc.
In the Glosses, Canaanitic  is without exception rendered by cuneiform  as  "I have built",  "I am confident",  "you are killing us",  "copper", etc. Nor was there any difference in the pronunciation of  between the Babylonian-Assyrians and the Hebrew-Arameans, as we learn from the transliterations, as  ,  ,  , etc. This fact is by no means so obvious as it may seem. We may call attention to the remarkable phenomenon that Hebrew-Aramean  is as a rule rendered into Greek  and Hebrew-Aramean  into Greek , and vice versa, while judging by the Semitic names of the Greek letters, we should expect  and  .

The emphatic dental  seems to have had a pronunciation similar to that of the dental-sonant . In the Sargonic inscriptions there is one word which occurs repeatedly:  "he may snatch away". However, little discussion is required on this point, because emphatic  had a sound like  not only in the West Semitic idiom but also in the early cuneiform. This emphatic sound did not exist in Sumerian, therefore the Semitic immigrants in order to express this emphatic sound peculiar to the Semitic languages used the signs  and  also for the emphatic  and . They did not give an additional value to the sign , because there was a duplicate  which they reserved for the emphatic sound . The very fact, however, that they did not use for this purpose the signs , apparently indicates that the pronunciation of  was nearer the sound of .
For the same reason they used the sign 𒂊 for emphatic 𒈗, which in an earlier period must have had the value of 𒈗, as seen from the writing 𒀀𒂊𒊏𒂊𒄉𒀀𒀀 = Akkad. Thus the signs 𒈗 and 𒈗 reserved especially for the emphatic dental give no help in the early Babylonian period, because they were not yet in use. Therefore in this period the signs 𒈗 and 𒈗 must have been used also for emphatic 𒈗 and 𒈗, and the etymology of words written in that way can be determined only by means of comparative philology.

Concerning the pronunciation of the emphatic dental in the Amarna period, if we may judge from the orthography of the Amarna scribes, we cannot but conclude that the emphatic pronunciation of this sound was not strictly observed. The same is true of the present Jews, especially of those of Europe whose pronunciation of ṱ is identical with that of t, though this pronunciation has not the least influence on their orthography. Cf. ܒܲܐ-ܛܝ-ܛܝ ܒܟܒܪܝ "I am confident", instead of ܒܟܒܪܐ-ܛܝ-ܛܝ, of the root ܒܠܲܠܐ-ܛܝ "to live", we find the forms ܒܠܲܠܐ-ܛܝ, ܒܠܲܠܐ-ܛܝ-ܛܝ, ܒܐܠܲܠܬܐ, etc., but also ܒܠܒܐ-ܠܕܘ-legates; of ܚܡܬܐ "to hurry", we have ܚܡܝ-ܛܝ, ܚܡܝ-ܛܝ-ܛܝ, ܚܒܫܡܝ-ܛܝ, etc., alongside of ܚܡܡܕܘ-ܠܚܡܡܕܘ-ܠ, etc.; of ܗܒܐ-ܠܕܘ "to sin", we find ܗܒܐ-ܠܕܘ, ܗܒܐ-ܛܝ; of ܒܛܐ-ܠ "to redeem", we find ܝܒܛ-ܛܝ-ܪܐ, ܝܒܛ-ܛܝ-ܪܐ, etc.; also ܠܒܬܐ-ܛܝ-ܛܝ "to snatch away" is written ܠܒܬܐ-ܛܝ-ܛܝ; of the root ܒܬܐ-ܠ "to guard" we find ܒܬܐ-ܝ-ܛܐ-ܐ; of ܕܒܐ-ܠ "good" we find ܕܒܐ-ܠ-ܒܝ-ܠ-ܒܝ-ܠ, etc.; of ܡܬܘ-ܠ "to drive away" ܡܬܘ-ܠ-ܐ-ܠ, etc.; of ܛܒܘ "to approach" ܛܒܘ-ܠ-ܒܝ-ܠ, etc.; of ܛܒܘ "to report, decree", ܛܒܘ-ܠ-ܒܝ-ܠ, etc.; of ܛܒܘ "to spin" ܛܒܘ-ܠ-ܒܝ-ܠ, etc.; of ܛܒܘ "clay" ܛܒܘ-ܠ-ܒܝ-ܠ, etc. alongside of ܒܠ-ܠ and others. These writings
are of course irregular and exceptions, and as a rule the emphatic dental is rendered correctly as in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, and we must consider them as orthographic misspellings. But here also applies the suggestion made above that the Canaanitic scribes would never have committed errors of this kind in their cuneiform letters, if in their own idiom they had strictly distinguished between the pronunciation of the emphatic and non-emphatic dentals. It may be due to the Hittite-Aryan influence which did not possess this emphatic sound, just as the non-emphatic pronunciation of among the present Jews is due to the influence of the Aryan nations whose languages they speak. Not a few instances of this kind and other peculiar writings occur indeed especially in the letters of the Hittite-Aryan Tushratta king of Mitanni, and in those of the king of Alashia who evidently was a non-Semitic. Therefore, it is well possible that the careless pronunciation of the emphatic dental in the Westland was due to non-Semitic influence. The evidence from proper names of this period is inconclusive, there being only one single name containing etymological Shi-ip-ti-Ba'al(330,3, etc), which is rendered with the non-emphatic sign ti.

But if the Hittite-Aryans influenced the pronunciation of the people of Canaan, this influence did not extend to the Israelites. This of course would go against the grain of those scholars who see in the Israelites aborigines of Canaan (cf e.g. Stade's Biblische Theologie des AT I, 1905, 58). Comparative philology leaves no doubt that the Israelites strictly distinguished between emphatic and non-emphatic t. The same is true of the Arameans. The Babylonian-Assyrians
likewise as a rule distinguished between these sounds, as cuneiform \( \dagger \) corresponds to Hebrew-Aramaic \( \ddagger \). This is proved from the loan-words borrowed from the Assyrian-Babylonians and from the transliterations in Hebrew and Aramaic of Assyrian-Babylonian names, as can be seen from the following instances:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te-bi-tum} & \quad = \quad \text{בִּיתָן} \\
\text{Sha-ba-tu} & \quad = \quad \text{שָׁבָתָה} \\
\text{te-e-mu} & \quad = \quad \text{תֵּימָה} \\
\text{tup-sharru} & \quad = \quad \text{סָחַרַת} \\
\text{shatru} & \quad = \quad \text{שַׁתַּר} \\
\text{shātiru} & \quad = \quad \text{שָׁתִירת} \\
\text{Ba-la-ti-i} & \quad = \quad \text{בלתית} \\
\text{Bēl-etir} & \quad = \quad \text{_btnאש} \\
\text{Bēl-etir-Shamash} & \quad = \quad \text{בְּלֵיתר-שָׁמָשׁ} \\
\text{NIN-IB-uballit} & \quad = \quad \text{נִינָבָלִית} \\
\text{Sim-uballit} & \quad = \quad \text{סִּימָבָלִית} \\
\text{Sa-pa-ti-Ba'al} & \quad = \quad \text{סָפוּבָלַז} \\
\text{Shi-ta'-} & \quad = \quad \text{שִּׁיתָה} \\
\text{Ta-bi-ia} & \quad = \quad \text{תָּבִייא} \\
\text{Tab-ilu} & \quad = \quad \text{תַּבִּילוּ} \\
\text{Ha-tu-shu} & \quad = \quad \text{חַטְּשׁוּ} \\
\text{Balat-shar-usur or} & \quad = \quad \text{בַלַּטְשׁוּרָוָו} \\
\text{Balātāshu-usur} & \quad = \quad \text{בַלָּטְשׁוּרָוָו}
\end{align*}
\]

Cf also the names composed with \( tu-ri = \text{"rock"} \), as \( A-	ext{du-ma-tu-ri} \) "the lord is a rock", and others.

Concerning the dentals \( \overline{\text{l}} \) and \( \overline{n} \), their pronunciation may have been the same among the Akkadians as among the West Semites. These two sounds though classified among the den-
tals, form with r and m a special class as Liquids, which occasionally interchange with one another. But in some of the closely related Semitic idioms, n interchanges also with the semi-vowel i. Even in Hebrew two roots at least show this interchange of n and i: n-s-b הָבָה and j-s-b יָבָה; n-k-sh ושֶׁ and j-k-sh ושֶׁ. This interchange may also be seen in Hebrew-Aramaic n-t-n תָּנָה and Phoenician j-t-n תָּנָה. Finally it may be seen in the Syriac Imperfect preformative n, which in the other Semitic languages appears as semi-vowel j. In the first two instances we might perhaps ascribe the interchange to the emphatic consonants k and s. In the second instance, it is possible that the change from n to j was due to the law of dissimilation. But there is no explanation why the common Semitic preformative j should have changed in Syriac to n. Or may we suggest that the Syriac preformative ni corresponds to cuneiform cohortative li, thus niktûl = liktûl "he shall kill"? But there must be some phonetic reason for the change of li to ni. If then n takes the place of the semi-vowel i, they must be phonetically connected. It may perhaps shed light on the fact that the sign Iau has the syllabic values ni, li, i. It is possible that in an early Babylonian period there was an interchange between n, l and the semi-vowel i.

In the Sargonic inscriptions, the sign Iau is used for all three syllables; frequently of course for ni, but also for li and i; cf. a-ni = a-li, be-ni = be-li, ga-ni = ga-li, ni-ni = i-li, sa-ni-mi-su = sa-li-mi-su; ni-lu = i-lu, Ni-ar-mu-ti = I-ar-mu-ti(= יָרָמְעֶת). In the Hammurabian period, the use of this sign for l and i appears in ni-ni = i-li and in the
royal name Sin-mu-ta-li-it, in which the syllable li is rendered by the sign Iaū. In the Amarna Letters, li in be-li is occasionally expressed by this sign, but in no other words, as it seems. In the later periods, ni-mi = i-li alone survived, which, however, was regarded as an ideogram by the scribes who rendered it into ili in their syllabaries and in be-li.

The instances quoted above from the Sargonic period were persistently written with the sign Iaū, but there are other words which were just as persistently written with the proper signs for li and i, as appears from the following: I-da-il, i-du, i-mu-ru, i-za-zu-ni, i-ik-mi, i-zi-ir; li-il-ga-da-li-mu-ud-dam, Li-sa-lum, li-za-ka, U-li-id-i-lum, Lu-li-da-da-nam, etc. It seems somewhat strange that the preformative i is never rendered by the sign Iaū, except in the doubtful word ni-bu-la if = i-bu-la, nor is the cohortative li expressed by this sign. We might of course say that the use of these signs was merely accidental being due to the whim of the scribes. However, it is also possible that the use of the signs is in accordance with the pronunciation of li and i in the words under consideration. It might be suggested that while li expressed by the sign Līlū represents coronal-alveolar l̂ and i expressed by the sign I-gittū represents the vowel подобел, the i expressed by the sign Iaū which has the values ni, li, i represents 1 muille, which by palatalization was changed into the semi-vowel Ż. As far as ő is concerned, there may be an explanation for the writings of ő with the sign Iaū in the words i-li, i-lu, i-ar-mu-ti, as in these words ő represents consonants(̂, ̆), while as preformative it merely represents a vowel(long or short) and thus is expressed by the
regular sign for the vowel i. More difficult is the explana-
tion of the different writings for li. That the cohortative
li is not written with the sign Iaū may be due to the fact
that palatalization is nigh impossible at the beginning of a
word. May we further suggest that palatalization occurred
only after a, as in a-li, be-li (= balāši), ga-li, sa-li-mi-su,
and therefore in the names Tu-li-da-da-nam, U-li-id-i-lum
li the syllable is expressed by the regular sign Lilū? Then
the writing li with the sign Iaū in i-li would be irregular
unless the preceding vowel i effects the palatalization of
the following l by way of assimilation.

As far as Sumerian is concerned, A. Poebel (Babylonian
Business and Legal Documents, p. 3) and H. Ranke (Personal Names
p. 12) and also H. Radau (Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts, No. 4, 5)
have shown various instances for the palatalization of l in
this language. St. Langdon, in his Sumerian Grammar, p. 37ff,
deals at length with this phonetic change in Sumerian. But
this linguistic feature was not peculiar to the Sumerians.
It is also found in the Semitic idioms (cf. Brockelmann, Vergl.
Gramm. part 1, 206f). If so, the sign be (Battu) for bēlu is not
an ideogram but is due to the fact that bēl was pronounced
bēi with palatalization. The Sumerian sign til became in Se-
mitic ti by way of palatalization, and many other Semitic
values of cuneiform signs could be explained in the same way.

For the palatalization of n among the West Semites we have
in the writing of the name of the lunar god Sin, which in the
Aramaic names of Harran is almost exclusively written Si-i-
or Si-e. Ranke (loc) points out that the same palatalization
appears in the early Babylonian name Si-ia-tum and Zi-ia-tum
for Si-na-tum. Thus it seems probable that the Semites had two different sounds for ı and n. But it must be admitted that this assumption would not explain the Syriac preformative ni since n muille at the beginning of a word is scarcely imaginable. Besides a suggestion that the common Semitic preformative j is due to the palatalization of n which however was preserved in the Syriac idiom would be beyond all consideration.

(d) The Labials.

The starting point of this investigation is the question whether the West Semites clearly distinguished the pronunciation of the labial-surd p and that of the labial-sonant b? Arabic, which is supposed to have preserved the Semitic sounds in their purity and primitive state and to which we primarily look for ascertaining the original roots of Semitic words, does not possess the explosive-surd p. Though the Arabic sound q etymologically corresponds to common Semitic p, its pronunciation in historical times was always as spirant-surd ph. The Arabic writers felt the lack of this sound p in their language in the transliteration of foreign names containing this sound, and frequently substituted for it the labial-sonant b, as e.g. in the names of Tripolis, Constanti-nopolis, Paris. Ethiopic had almost the same system of sounds as Arabic, and in it was likewise felt the need of explosive-surd p. Consequently there were added to it certain letters for the sound p, which however were only used in the transliteration of foreign names and non-Semitic words.

The West Semites who first entered Babylonia spoke
a dialect, that was more akin to the South Semitic than to the other groups of Semitic languages, as we have already shown in the discussion of the Sibilants. These West Semites did not enter Babylonia as individuals, but in tribes. It stands to reason that the entrance of these tribes into Babylonian territory could only take place under exceptional circumstances. Either when the country was torn by disensions, when the city states were at war with one another, and the frontiers were left unguarded, and thus it fell an easy prey to the foreigners who came in uninvited and imposed their own rule on the aborigines. Or they came invited by one or several of the warring states to enter their service against their adversaries. It is not unlikely that occasionally Semitic tribes were fighting one another in the service of their masters. But their loyalty was questionable and of short duration. As soon as they felt themselves strong enough they threw over the native governments, and chose rulers of their own people, as usually happens when the existence of a government rests on the points of foreign arms. Events like those described seem to have occurred in the period preceding the rise of the Sargonic empire.

The establishment of the mighty empire of the Sumerian ruler Lugal-zag-qi-si, who was first Patesi of Umma and afterwards king of Erech, and who in his inscription claimed to have extended his rule from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, would be quite inexplicable, if not due to the part that the West Semites played in this event. Not long before the period of this ruler, we find his state Umma completely crushed by the rival state Lagash and vassal of the
latter. We can well imagine that under the energetic rule of Lugal-zag-gi-si Umma regained its independence, since the suzerain state Lagash was ruled by Uru-ka-gi-na who cared more for righting the oppressed and curbing the grasping prerogatives of the officialdom and priesthood than for the extension of his rule. Owing to the legislation enacted by this king, Lagash was divided within itself, and Lugal-zag-gi-si was able to conquer and sack this city, and Umma became the foremost state in South Babylonia. But this will not account for the extension of his empire from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. This in all probability can be due only to the fact that Lugal-zag-gi-si took into his service Semitic tribes roaming closely to the borders of Babylonia, and his success may be ascribed to the hardy sons of the desert who fought his battles.

This would explain why this Sumerian ruler should have written a Semitic inscription on his statue in Nippur, which in style and language is identical with the inscriptions of Sargon and his successors. It was especially done as a compliment to his Semitic allies who should be able to read in their own language whom this statue represents. But the empire of Lugal-zag-gi-si lasted only 25 years. This short duration of his rule is due to the fact that it did not rest upon the power of his own people but upon that of the foreign Semites, who were not willing to serve a Sumerian, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough to choose a king from their own people, and Sargon of Akkad was at least a Semite, if not a West Semite.
At first the West Semites used their own dialect for colloquial purposes, while for official transactions, they employed Sumerian and Akkadian, as seen in the bi-lingual royal inscriptions at Nippur. The adoption of the Babylonian Semitic idiom, as spoken by the Semites who had been already in Babylonia long ago before the Sargonic period, by the West Semites, would mean the modification of it in certain particulars. If the West Semites did not have in their own idiom the explosive -surd $p$, its pronunciation must have been difficult for them, and they pronounced the Babylonian-Semitic $p$ like $b$. If this is true, we should expect that they used the signs for $p$ and $b$ indiscriminately, since in pronunciation they were not different. Therefore if there should be found the signs for the sonant $b$ in words which etymologically require the surd $p$, or vice versa, the assertion that the West Semites like the Arabs did not possess the labial-explosive surd $p$ would be substantiated.

There is no definite evidence of this in the earliest period. In the Sargonic royal inscriptions, there occurs twice the unique writing $i$-ga-$pi$-$u$ for $i$-ka-$bi$-$u$ = ikabu "who says". The word $pa$-$shish$ "the anointed" (?) also occurs, but the syllable $pa$ is expressed by the sign $Pappu$ that has in Semitic the values $hab$ and $pap$, and the word may have been pronounced $ba$-$sis$. In the more than 500 names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu, a large number of which are Sumerian-Babylonian, the sign $pi$ is not once found. In a solitary instance, the sign $pa$ occurs in the name $Pa$-$sha$-$ah$-$ilu$. The form $pashah$ looks like a true
West Semitic Perfect, and the name notwithstanding the sibilant $\text{sh}$ may be regarded as West Semitic. Here indeed seems to be a case where $\text{pa}$ is etymologically required, in view of cuneiform $\text{pash}ah\nu$ "to appease". But even this is not certain, as according to Jensen (Zeitschr. d. Assyr. IV, p. 268) it corresponds to Hebrew יָשֹּׁו and Arabic $\text{is}$ "to appease", and thus in this word the sonant $\text{b}$, and the name may have been pronounced $\text{Ba-s(h)a-ah-ulu}$. But it is scarcely possible to conclude from the occurring writing $\text{i-ga-pi-u} = \text{i-ikabu}$ that these West Semites pronounced the sonant $\text{b}$ as surd $\text{p}$. It would be more plausible to suggest that this sign $\text{pi}$ represents the aspirated labial-sonant $\text{b}h(\text{v})$, because in the later West Semitic period this sign is frequently used for the labial-spirant $\text{w}$. And the very fact that the sign $\text{pi}$ (Geshtanu) as spirant became $\text{wi}$ and not $\text{phi}$, evidently shows that as explosive it was pronounced as sonant $\text{bi}$ and not as surd $\text{pi}$. Moreover, the sound $\text{b}$ was pronounced as sonant in the Sargonic period, if we may judge from the orthography of the Sargonic inscriptions, as in $\text{ar-ba-un} "\text{four}, \text{be-al} "\text{lord}, \text{i-bi} "\text{he called}, \text{kir-bi-su} "\text{his midst}, etc.

As far as the sign $\text{bi}$ is concerned, neither the Sumerian nor the Akkadian gave this sign the value $\text{pi}$, which proves that it was pronounced as sonant. The West Semites, however, used this sign $\text{bi}$ where etymological $\text{pi}$ is required. And if we find such a writing we may safely see in an obsolete archaism of a West Semitic period. But may we assume that the West Semites used also the sign $\text{ba}$ for etymological $\text{pa}$? If that could be proved, it might
be said with certainty that the West Semites of the Sargonic period, like the Arabs, possessed only the labial-sonorant \( \text{b} \). However, for this period no such proof is forthcoming, neither for \( \text{bi} \) nor for \( \text{ba} \). Among the names with \( \text{bi} \) on the obelisk of Manishtusu may be some in which \( \text{bi} \) stands for etymological \( \text{pi} \), but just in them the etymology is doubtful; as for instance, the name \( \text{E-bi-ir-i-lum} \) might be interpreted "Ebir is god", or as \( \text{Epir-ilum} \) "God has provided".

The Cappadocian Tablets prove that the Semites of that region about the middle of the third millennium B.C. wrote \( \text{b} \) for etymological \( \text{p} \). According to the suggestion advanced in the preceding chapter, the Semitic colonies in Cappadocia were established in the Sargonic period, and thus we may see in these writings traces of West Semitic influence. There occur \( \text{za-ru-ba-am} \) for \( \text{sarūpam} \) "pure", \( \text{du-ba-ga} \) for \( \text{duppa-ka} \), \( \text{dub-bi-ga} \) for \( \text{dup-pi-ka} \) "thy tablet"; so also in the proper names \( \text{Bi-la-aḥ-Ashir} \) for \( \text{Pilah-Ashir} \), "fear Ashur", \( \text{Na-ba-ḥi-e} \) for \( \text{Na-pa-ḥi-e} \) "smith", etc.

In the Hammurabi period, we have evidence that the West Semites did not distinguish between the labials \( \text{b} \) and \( \text{p} \), but pronounced both of them as sonant. The Code of Hammurabi is probably the only Akkadian document the Babylonians produced in which grammatical rules are strictly observed. It may be accepted as giving correct phonetics. With one exception, the sign \( \text{bi} \) occurs for both \( \text{bi} \) and \( \text{pi} \). Though this document is pure Babylonian and not West Semitic, nevertheless what was said above about the Sargonic period is true of the Hammurabi Code, namely that
the Akkadian language which the West Semites adopted was already tinged with their own West Semitic dialect, and this coloring could not be kept out altogether from the documents of this period. The scribes of this period used the sign bi for pi, because both these labials were pronounced alike as sonants. Also the letters of Hammurabi and his successors show the same phenomenon, as can be seen from the following instances:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e-bi-ri} & = \text{e-pi-ri} \quad "earth" \\
\text{e-bi-ish-tum} & = \text{e-pi-ish-tum} \quad "work" \\
\text{bi-i} & = \text{pi-i} \quad "mouth" \\
\text{bi-ha-tum} & = \text{Pi-ha-tum} \quad "district" \\
\text{bi-ki-id} & = \text{pi-ki-id} \quad "inspect!" \\
\text{dub-bi} & = \text{dup-pi} \quad "tablet" \\
\text{za-bi-in} & = \text{za-pi-in} \quad "swept away" \\
\text{za-ka-bi-im} & = \text{zaka-pi-im} \quad "to set up" \\
\text{hi-bi} & = \text{hi-pi} \quad "break!" \\
\text{ni-ib-bi-esh} & = \text{ni-ip-pi-esh} \quad "we will do" \\
\text{ibi-bi-tu-u} & = \text{ip-pi-tu-u} \quad "they were opened" \\
\text{sha-bi-ik} & = \text{sha-pi-ik} \quad "heaping up" \\
\text{sha-bi-ir} & = \text{sha-pi-ir} \quad "ruler" , etc. etc.
\end{align*}
\]

However, the sign pi occurs here and there in these roots written by the same scribes who more frequently used the sign bi. Considering that the West Semites of this period were the rulers of Babylonia and represented the aristocracy, we may safely assume that their pronunciation of Akkadian was not without influence upon that of the natives. Therefore even in the letters written by natives is found the use of bi for pi.
If then the Akkadians in the period of West Semitic domination pronounced $bi$ and $pi$ alike as sonants, is the same also true concerning the syllables $bu$ and $pu$ and $ba$ and $pa$? Regarding $bu$ and $pu$, the evidence is doubtful, because in the later periods the same sign is used for both. On the other hand, the signs $ba$ and $pa$ were not used indiscriminately. The same is exactly true of both the Code and the Letters. There is not a single instance, where $ba$ is used for $pa$. If then the latter were distinguished in pronunciation, there is no reason why they should not have distinguished between $bu$ and $pu$, although expressed by the same sign. If so, why should they not have distinguished likewise between $bi$ and $pi$? Or may we ascribe the sonant pronunciation of $pi$ to the influence of the vowel $i$ in this syllable which is homogeneous with the palatal-sonant semi-vowel $j$?

However, the literary language alone cannot decide this point. In the personal names of this period the sign $bi$ is frequently written for the syllable $pi$, as for instance $Sin-bi-la-ah$ alongside of $Sin-pi-la-ah$, etc. But more striking is the interchange between the signs $ba$ and $pa$, as we find $A$-$ap$-$pa$-$tābum(-bu$-$um)$ alongside of $A$-$ab$-$ba$-$tābum(-bu$-$um)$,$A$-$pa$-$tābum$ alongside of $A$-$ba$-$tābum"the Father is good". While in these names $pa$ stands for etymological $ba$, we find the reverse in the names compounded with $tāb$ "companion", where $ba$ stands for etymological $pa$, as in $Tāb$-$tab$-$bi$-$e$,$Shamash$-$tab$-$ba$-$shu$,$Sin$-$tab$-$ba$-$wi$-$di$-$im$ etc.; so also $Ba$-$ka$-$a$ alongside of $Pa$-$ka$-$a$. These names seem to afford sufficient evidence for the asser-
tian that the West Semites of this period did not clearly distinguish between the \( b \) and \( p \) sounds, but pronounced both of them as sonants. Nevertheless we do not find \( ba \) for \( pa \) in the contemporary literature. A likely solution of the problem seems to be that the West Semites on their entrance into Babylonia did not possess the surd \( p \), and in adopting the Akkadian language pronounced both \( b \) and \( p \) as sonants. But as the process of assimilation took place, the interaction of the Akkadian idiom upon their native tongue taught these West Semites to distinguish between \( ba \) and \( pa \) and \( bu \) and \( pu \). However, they still retained the sonant pronunciation of the syllable \( pi \) because of its palatal-sonant vowel \( i \). While in the proper names here and there the former pronunciation is retained, as it came down from an earlier period, as proper names as a rule are preservers of obsolete roots and forms.

However, there are good reasons historical as well as philological for the assumption that the West Semites who entered Babylonia in the second half of the third millennium B.C. were by no means primitive sons of the desert but had sojourned for a long period in Canaan before they invaded the Euphrates Valley. It is even probable that the first settlement of Semites in these regions was due to Sargon of Akkad who established there military colonies in order to keep these countries inhabited by a non-Semitic Canaanite-Hamitic population in subjection. This would explain the reason for the invasion of Babylonia by the Canaanitic West Semites, as they claimed the inheritance of their ancestors that was at that period under the sway of...
of the Sumerians. If then these Semites who formerly in-
habited the Westland pronounced \( b \) and \( p \) as sonants, we
would expect traces of such a pronunciation among the
Semites who were left behind in the Westland. For this
purpose we must go down to the Amarna period. Considering
however, that the Semites in Canaan were more exposed to
non-Semitic influence, of the Hittites and Egyptians, than
other Semites, their pronunciation must have undergone cer-
tain modifications, and we cannot expect it to be identi-
cal with that of the West Semites who invaded Babylonia in
an earlier period. Moreover, we must always keep in mind the
possibility that some peculiar feature in their pronuncia-
tion may be due to non-Semitic influence, and not jump to
the conclusion that it is a West Semitic phenomenon.

In investigating the orthography of the Amarna Let-
ters, we find numerous instances in which the sounds \( b \) and
\( p \) are used indiscriminately, as may be seen in the follow-
ing words: Of the root \( abalu \) "to bring", we find \( u-up-pa-
la-an \); of \( ashabu \) "to dwell", \( ash-pa-ta, ash-pa-ku \); of \( babu 
\) "door", \( pa-a-bi \); of \( balatu \) "to live", \( pa-la-at, pa-li-it, i-pa-
all-li-it \); of \( banu \) "to build", \( a-pa-an-ni, pa-na-i-shu, u-pa-
an-ni \); of \( banu \) "good, joyful" \( pa-nu, pa-na-a, pa-ni, pa-ni-ti, 
etc.; of \( bashu \) "to be", \( i-pa-ash-shi, i-pa-ash-shu-nim, etc.; of 
dababu to speak", \( li-id-bu-pa-ku \); of \( eshku to do", \( i-bi-
ish, a-bi-esh, e-be-shu, e-bi-shu, etc.; of \( epiru \) "earth, dust", 
e-be-ru, e-bi-ri, i-bi-ri; of \( eshebu \) "to forsake", \( u-shi-iz-
zi-pa-shu-nu \); of \( kabasu \) "to tread", \( ka-pa-shi-ka, etc., and 
ka-ba-shi-shu \); of \( kabu \) "to speak", \( ak-pa-a, libbu \) "heart" is
written with phonetic complement \( pa \); of \( pu \) "mouth", \( bi-i, 

bi-i-ka, bi-i-ki, etc; of šabātu "to seize", sa-pa-at; of 
shapāku "to pour out", sha-bi-ik-ta; of shapāru "to send", 
sha-bi-ir, shi-bi-ir-ti-shu; of tabāku "to pour out", tapi-
ka; of tapā "companion", tab-bi-ia, etc; ūppu "tablet" 
is written with the phonetic complements bi and ba; of 
pashāshu "to anoint", bi-ish-sha-ash; shin piri "ivory" 
shin bi-ri; and of petū "to open" we have i-bi-ti.

On the basis of this accumulative evidence we are 
justifying in concluding that the Semites in the Westland 
did not distinguish between the sounds b and p but pro-
nounced them alike, and in view of the fact that the surd 
p is not a primitive Semitic sound, it is almost certain 
that both were pronounced as sonants and not as surds.
But we might still doubt whether this pronunciation is a 
West Semitic phenomenon and not due to non-Semitic influ-
ence. Such a doubt would not be without some justifica-
tion, seeing that similar writings occur in the letters of 
the Hittite-Aryan Tushratta king of Mitanni, as can be 
seen in the following instances: Of abalu we have u-up-
pa-lu; of abu "father", a-pa; of bashū, i-pa-ash-shē, etc; of 
bābu, pa-a-ab; of banū, pa-ni-i-tum, pa-na-a-tim; of dabābu 
id-bu-pa, li-id-bu-pa-ak-kū; of epiru, e-be-ru, etc; of ere 
bu "to enter", shu-ri-pa; of kabātu "to honor", u-ka-ap-pa-
ta-ni, u-kap-pa-az-zu; of kābu "to speak", li-ik-pa-a-ak-kū 
of ūbū "great", ra-pa-a; of sabātu, i-ša-ap-pa-tum; of 
ubānu, u-pa-a-nu, and others.

It must be admitted that the occurrence of the 
same phenomenon in the letters of Tushratta and in those 
of the Canaanitic scribes is scarcely a coincidence. And
if we had only the evidence of the Amarna period, we would see in this phonetic phenomenon non-Semitic influence. But we have found the same phenomenon in the Cappadocian Tablets and in the Hammurabi period. If then the same phenomenon occurs in the cuneiform literature in three different periods and localities it cannot but be due to a common origin. As to the letters of Tushratta, we may rest assured that their writers were neither Assyrians nor did they acquire their knowledge of cuneiform at the Babylonian seats of learning, in view of their orthography and style. This Hittite-Mitanni king was by race closely related to the Hittite-Aryan princes of Canaan and no doubt was with them on friendly terms. His numerous letters to the kings of Egypt show that he was in close connection with the Westland. The cuneiform scribes he employed for his diplomatic correspondence may have acquired their knowledge at one of the courts of the Canaanitic princes or in Egypt, and their teachers were Semitic natives of Canaan; and since the latter in their pronunciation did not distinguish between b and p, it is natural that the pupils should have committed the same errors in their orthography. But no Canaanism is found in their letters, as they took only a course in cuneiform and not in the Canaanitic language. While the Canaanitic natives often mixed up Canaanitic forms with cuneiform words. The same explanation applies to the other phenomena in the writings of the labials and dentals found in the Canaanitic letters as well as in those of Tushratta.

As far as Babylonia proper is concerned, we have no
evidence of West Semitic influence in the pronunciation of the labials on the Akkadian language from the Hammurabi period to the neo-Babylonian period. For almost 1500 years the sign bi is not found for the syllable pi in the cuneiform literature. The royal name Marduk-sha-bi-ik-ze-ri-im occurs, but the use of bi for pi in this name is an archaism. The sign pi appears always in words like dup-pi, e-pi-ru, e-pi-shu, pi-i, pi-ri-ih-shu, pi-lik-shu, sha-pi-ku, etc. Concerning the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus, we must not be misled to see in them contemporary records and drawing conclusions from them regarding the pronunciation of the labials in the Neo-Babylonian period, as these inscriptions are imitations of those of Sargon and Hammurabi. The script, language and grammar are purely artificial, and its orthography does not reflect the pronunciation of the living tongue of this period. The pronunciation current in the sixth century B.C. is found in the legal and business documents of this period. Here does not occur one single instance, as far as we can see, in which the sign bi should be used for etymological pi. The sign pi is used in words like dup-pi, i-pi-en-ni, ki-i-pi, pi-i, si-ra-pi, pi-hat, pi-te-ku, pi-i-tu, etc. It is also consistently written in the personal names, as E-ti-il-pi, Pi-ku-du, Sap-pi-e-a, She-pi-ta-a.

The same is true of the Assyrians who never used the sign bi for pi in their inscriptions. However, in view of the Hebrew transliteration of the royal name Marduk-apil-idinna as מרדוק אبيل אדין compared with the translita-
ration of the Assyrian royal name Tukulti-apil-Esharra as Երեւատաբու Երեւատաբու, we might be inclined to conclude that the labial πι was pronounced by the Babylonians differently from the pronunciation of the Assyrians. This may be true as far as the word aplu "son" is concerned, which in Babylonian may have had the pronunciation ablu. But as a rule, this sound was pronounced by the Babylonians and Assyrians alike, as we learn from the Aramaic endorsements, Amurr-ų-₃₅-₇-hir = יִרְהָר וּבִּית נֹבֶּךְ, Nabu-rapa'- = נֹבֶּךְ וּבִּית Therefore since both the Babylonians and the Assyrians sharply distinguished between ב and p and never used them promiscuously, ב and ב in West Semitic names of these periods etymologically correspond to West Semitic ב, while in the earlier periods the etymology could be determined only by means of comparative philology.

As to the semi-vowel מ, Sumerian evidently did not possess this sound. The Semites therefore were unable to express this sound by means of the system of writing that they adopted from the Sumerians. So they had either to leave this sound unrepresented or to use a sign which expressed a similar if not identical sound. Such a sign would be selected because it was a superfluous duplicate and had been formerly used in writing sounds of a similar organic character. We have suggested above that the West Semites in the Hammurabi period soon learned to distinguish between the labial sounds ב and pa, but not between ב and πι due to the influence of the palatal sonant i. It follows that the signs pa and ב were indispensable, while the sign πι would be regarded as duplicate of ב.
The sign pi having been pronounced as sonant was given the value of an aspirated bi = bhi the pronunciation of which was almost identical with that of the semi-vowel w. And since it was the only sign that could be spared for this purpose, it was treated as an indefinite semi-vowel that could be read wa, wi, wu. (But Dr. Hoschander is inclined to suggest that any Sumerian sign that the Semites modified for the accommodation of their own idiom was treated as a Semitic letter and accordingly could be pronounced with the three primitive Semitic vowels a, i, u, see below under The Laryngals). This semi-vowel is found in the name of a king U-zi-wa-ta-ar "The excellent one went out", who ruled in a pre-Sargonic period. It also occurs in the local name A-wa-an, an ancient almost pre-historic principality of Babylonia. These writings however date from a period when the sign pi for the semi-vowel w was already in use, and we may assume that in a still earlier period, the same vowel in these names was pronounced but not expressed in writing.

Seeing that the name A-wa-an occurs already in the Sargonic royal inscriptions, there can be no doubt that already in this early period the Semites used that sign for the expression of the semi-vowel w. But we have seen that in the same inscriptions the sign pi occurs in word i-ga-pi-u = ikabu "who will say", in which pi appears to have had the value of an aspirated labial-sonant bhi, and thus its use also for w in A-wa-an seems to be a further development and a first attempt at the rendering of this sound. Unfortunately a root primae w does not occur in the literary language
this period, in which it could be expressed by \( w \) and remains unexpressed. In the word \( u \)-\( ru \)-\( us \) "he led him away", though \( arsu \) is prime \( w \) (= Arabic \( ' \)), the form \( i \)-\( wa \)-\( ru \)-\( us \) would not be Akkadian, as in this case as in \( u \)-\( li \)-\( id \) and \( tu \)-\( li \)-\( id \) the preformative \( i \) is assimilated with the first radical and becomes \( u \).

But there is no doubt on this point in the Hammurabi period. The writing of this semi-vowel is very frequently found in both the personal names and the literary language, as in \( A \)-\( bu \)-\( um \)-\( wa \)-\( kar \), \( A \)-\( hu \)-\( wa \)-\( kar \), \( A \)-\( wi \)-\( il \)-\( Na \)-\( bi \)-\( um \), \( A \)-\( wi \)-\( il \)-\( Sin \), etc; \( I \)-\( li \)-\( we \)-\( di \)-\( ma \), \( Mu \)-\( na \)-\( wi \)-\( rum \), \( Mu \)-\( na \)-\( wi \)-\( ir \)-\( tum \), \( Na \)-\( wa \)-\( ar \)-\( shu \)-\( lu \)-\( mur \), \( Sin \)-\( li \)-\( wi \)-\( ir \), etc. etc. So also in the text we find the \( w \) expressed with the sign \( pi \), as in \( u \)-\( wa \)-\( e \)-\( ru \)-\( shu \)-\( nu \)-\( ti \) "as I have sent them", \( wa \)-\( ar \)-\( du \)-\( ki \)-\( ma \) "thy servants", \( wa \)-\( ar \)-\( hu \)-\( um \) "the month", \( wa \)-\( ar \)-\( ki \)-\( shi \)-\( na \) "behind them", \( wa \)-\( ar \)-\( ga \)-\( am \)-\( ma \) "green", \( wa \)-\( shi \)-\( ib \) "he dwells" \( u \)-\( wa \)-\( shar \)-\( ka \) "he will dismiss thee", \( wa \)-\( at \)-\( ra \)-\( am \) "the surplus", etc. etc. It occurs especially in the Code of Hammurabi where the \( w \) as root, if possible, is expressed by \( pi \).

After the passing of the Hammurabi Dynasty, West Semitic traces also in this respect disappeared in the Babylonian inscriptions. From the latter we may well conclude that the sounds \( bi \) and \( pi \) were sharply distinguished in the pronunciation. No longer is the sign \( pi \) used to represent the semi-vowel \( w \). It was not represented in roots like \( abalu \), "to bring", \( adu \) "to decide", \( alalu \) "to beget", \( asamu \) "to be becoming", \( asu \) "to go out", \( akhu \) "to fear" \( aradu \) "to descend", \( ashabu \) "to dwell", \( ataru \) "to excel", etc. It must be remembered again that forms with \( w \) in the Neo-
Babylonian royal inscriptions must be left out of consideration, as they represent an artificial archaism, and do not represent the orthography current in that period. So also the exceptional writing suluppe wa-at-ru-tim "the remaining dates (Peiser, Babyl. Vertr. No 84,7), must be considered an archaism, as the scribe tried to imitate expressions of the early Babylonian period. Nor is the sign pi used for the semi-vowel w in the Assyrian documents.

The disappearance of the semi-vowel w in the roots primae w was not peculiar to the Akkadian language. In the North Semitic idioms a similar process took place, in which the roots primae w went over into primae j, with the exception of a few instances. Therefore, in the Amarna Letters, the roots primae w as abālu, akāru, ashābu, atāru nowhere occur in a Canaanitic form, in which the radical w is represented by the sign pi. However, there are a few exceptions, as of asū "to go out", we have the irregular form i-wa-ṣi instead of ḥiṣi, and of ashānu "to send away" we find very frequently intensive forms u-wa-shi-ir, tu-wa-shi-ir alongside of forms ush-shi-ir, tu-shi-ra, etc.

Of asū we have even ia-sa-at, which is evidently a Canaanism, and in the Canaanitic Gloss ia-zi-ni "he will bring me out". The same we find in the nouns ar-hu-um "month", ar-ku-u "behind", and others, that the w as first radical had already in this period almost completely disappeared from the language of Canaan.

Owing to this change of primae w into primae j, the pi for the semi-vowel w was used in a peculiar way in the Amarna Letters. Since the radical w was changed into j,
the sign by which this sound was expressed was affected by this change and underwent an identical transformation that it was used also for the expression of the sounds ja, ji, ju. These values of the sign ji occur only in the Amarna Letters and nowhere else. They were especially used for the cuneiform preformatives, which the Canaanitic scribes affected by their own idiom pronounced with j, as of alāku "to go", ji-la-ku, ji-la-ku-na; of amāru "to see" ji-mur; of dānu "to judge", ji-di-en; of edēlu "to bolt", ji-du-ul; of kashādu "to arrive", ji-ik-shu-da; of abālu, ju-ba-al, ju-ba-lu; of bullūtu "to keep alive", ju-ba-li-ili; of kubbu "to speak", ju-ka-bu, etc. etc. Some of the preformatives which are read ji may have been pronounced ja, as ja-di-en. But the value ja was evidently used very seldom. It is due to the fact that cuneiform possesses a sign ja which might also be used for the syllable ja, though the former has more the character of a vowel than of a consonant. This sign is indeed used for the syllable ja, as in ia-sa-at, ia-ak-bu, ia-zi-ni, ia-ak-wu-un-ka, ia-az-ku-ur-mi, ia-pu. But the value ja of the sign pi still occurs in the Canaanitic Glosses a-na-ja "boat", and ja-ki-il-li-ni "he held me in low esteem".

Owing to this use of the sign pi for the semi-vowels w and j, it completely lost its original value pi among the Canaanites, as in the Canaanitic Letters it does not occur once in this value. Even in words with etymological p which in the Hammurabi period are at least occasionally written with pi, exceptions of this kind do not occur in the letters of the Canaanitic scribes. We find
this value twice in the letters of Tushratta, in pi-su-ti "white ones" and in duppu with the phonetic complement pi. It is also found in the frequently occurring Egyptian military term pi-da-ti, by which the scribes tried to express a non-Semitic sound. But in Semitic words the sign pi was exclusively preserved for the semi-vowels w and j. Where etymological pi is required, the Canaanite scribes always express it by the sign bi.

But the semi-vowel w was not a sound peculiar to the West Semitic idioms. The Akkadian language possessed also the same sound. In the Hammurabi period, due to the fact that the vowels bi and pi were pronounced as sonants, the sign pi was an unnecessary duplicate and could be used for the expression of the semi-vowel w. But after the disappearance of the West Semitic influence on the Akkadian language, the vowels bi and pi were strictly distinguished. If then the sign pi ceased to be an unnecessary duplicate, and being required for the expression of the vowel pi, how could the Akkadian language express the semi-vowel w?

This semi-vowel was expressed by the signs of m, as ma, mi, me, mu, etc. This sound under certain conditions must have been pronounced like the obsolete Greek Digamma F which etymologically corresponds to Latin F and must have sounded similarly. This Babylonian pronunciation of m is evident from the fact that there are numerous roots in the Akkadian language in which the radical m corresponds to the common Semitic semi-vowel w, as emu "to be", = יקל, tamu "to spin", = סוה, lamu "to enclose", = ༡, namaru "to be light", = מ, etc.
While the etymology of the instances quoted leaves no room for doubt that during the last two millennia B.C. the signs of $m$ were also used to represent the semi-vowel $w$, the question arises whether the same use existed already in the third millennium. As far as Sumerian is concerned, there is no evidence that in this language $m$ was ever pronounced as $w$. Langdon (Sumerian Grammar, p. 40, n. 1) declares that signs containing $m$ frequently represent $w$. But as far as I can see, no proof is forthcoming for such an assumption. If that would be true, we would expect interchanges of $ma$ with $a, mi$ with $i, mu$, with $u$, $mar$ with $ar, mir$ with $ir$, etc. But among all the interchanges quoted there (I. c. pp. 41-45), there is not one instance of this kind. The interchanges of $ab$ with $am = rImu$ and $dib$ and $dim = sanzku$ are no proof for $m = w$, as cases like those occur frequently especially in Semitic (cf. Wright, Comparative Grammar, p. 64ff). Nor is there any evidence from the Sargonic royal inscriptions, as there does not occur one word which contains etymological $w$ and being expressed with $m$ or with a vowel. But the root $lamu$ "to enclose", may perhaps be seen in the personal names $la-mu-um$ and $la-mu-sa$, occurring on the Obelisk of Manishtusu, and it may have been pronounced $lawu$.

The semi-vowel $w$ occurs very frequently in the age of Hammurabi, where as a rule it is expressed by the sign $pi = wa, wi, wu$. It is especially the case in the Code. However, there occur a few exceptions. While $w$ in the root $namaru$ "to shine" is written with $pi$ in the names $Mu-na-wi-rum, Mu-na-wi-ir-tum, Na-wi-ru-um-ili, Na-wi-ir-mu-ur-
shu, we find also Shamash-li-me-ir alongside of Shamash-li-wi-ir "Shamash may shine"; further Na-am-ra-am-sha-rur and Na-am-ra-am-She-rum "The morning star is shining" and perhaps a few others. Also the word a-wa-tu "word, command, affair", is occasionally, though seldom, written a-ma-tu (cf. Ungnad, Babyl. Briefe, No. 125, 30; 127, 10; 228, 30). These instances leave no doubt that in certain roots m had the pronunciation of w.

Yet the rare occurrence of the use of m for w is not without any reason. The West Semites who pronounced p as sonant were justified in using the unnecessary duplicate p̄ = b̄i for the aspirated labial-sonant w. But those Akkadians who did not submit to the West Semitic influence in the pronunciation of their own idiom strictly distinguished between the sounds p and b. In their own pronunciation, if p̄ should become aspirated, linguistically it ought to represent the labial-surd phi (= German v). Therefore, some pedantic purists among the Akkadian scribes may have felt linguistic scruples to express the sonant w with a sign which correctly ought to represent the surd of this sound, and preferred to express it by the aspirated sound of the labial-sonant m. But they could not prevail, as long as the West Semitic pronunciation of Akkadian was in vogue. Consequently with the disappearance of the West Semitic pronunciation, the sounds p and b were again distinguished, and aspirated p̄ could no longer represent the sonant w, m became regularly the representative of this sound. And since the surd phi did not exist in the Akkadian language, the sign p̄ was no longer used as aspirate.
In the Westland where the West Semitic pronunciation of $p$ as sonant still prevailed, the sign $p$ was properly used for the aspirated labial-sonant $w$, as we have seen. But also here exceptions are not wanting. The word amātu is in the letters of the Babylonian kings to Amenophis regularly written $a$-ma-tum, $a$-ma-ta; in the letters of Tushratta, $a$-ma-tum, $a$-ma-tum, $a$-ma-ti, $a$-ma-ti, but also once $a$-wa-ti; in the letters of Amenophis, always $a$-wa-tu, $a$-wa-te, $a$-wa-ti; while in the Canaanitic letters we find frequently $a$-wa-tu and $a$-ma-tu. So also amēlu "man" occurs by Tushratta in the writing $a$-mi-lu-tum alongside of $a$-wi-lu-tum. On the other hand, the radical $w$ in nāwāru "to shine", is always represented by $m$, as in $n$-ma-ra, $n$-mi-ir, $n$-mu-ur, $e$n-nam-mu-ru, etc; tawū "to spin", is by Tushratta written $t$e-mu-u and $t$e-mu-tum. Noteworthy is the writing of both $m$ and $w$ in the root ashāru-mashāru "to send, hand over, dismiss, ūmahit, to arrange", which seems to have been treated as primae $w$; cf. ju-wa-shi-ru, tu-wa-shi-ru, $u$-wa-shi-ir and $i$-wa-shi-ir, etc; $u$-ma-she-ir, $u$-mashe-ra, tu-ma-she-ir, $u$-mash-sher, etc. Both ashāru and mashāru occur frequently else in the cuneiform literature. The former is no doubt etymologically connected with Hebrew יָשָׁר and Arabic ینسِر, but the etymology of the latter is unknown. But for the fact that the root mashāru is found in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, I would advance the daring suggestion, that having changed the sign $p = w$ into $j$, the signs containing $m = w$ were treated by the Amarna scribes in the same way and used for the presentation of $j$, and the forms quoted above should be read $u$-ja-shi-ru, tu-ja-shi-ru, $u$-ja-shi-ir, etc.
However, this suggestion may be partly true, as far as the forms belonging to the root ashāru are concerned, and those forms---against Knudtzon---are probably to be transliterated: ju-ja-shē-ru, tu-ja-shi-ru, u-ja-shi-ir, i-ja-shi-ru etc (of the Hebrew intensive forms of יָשָר). The forms of mashāru whatever the pronunciation of the first radical may be, cannot be identified with the latter.

Seeing that the etymology of many cuneiform roots proves without doubt that the semi-vowel w was represented by the signs containing m, we should expect additional evidence in the Hebrew and Aramaic transliterations of cuneiform words. We must first consider the cuneiform loan words with m in Hebrew and Aramaic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuneiform</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Aramaic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>argamanu</td>
<td>&quot;purple&quot;</td>
<td>סַלְכָּן</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temu</td>
<td>&quot;edict&quot;</td>
<td>סְרַעְמ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zimu</td>
<td>&quot;splendor&quot;</td>
<td>מִקְס</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miksuz</td>
<td>&quot;toll, tax&quot;</td>
<td>מְכָס</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manzattu</td>
<td>&quot;tribute&quot;</td>
<td>מַנְדוּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manīu</td>
<td>&quot;mina&quot;</td>
<td>מַנְו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manzazu</td>
<td>&quot;threshold&quot;</td>
<td>מַנְזָז</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manzaltu</td>
<td>&quot;the zodiac&quot;</td>
<td>מַנְזַל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malahu</td>
<td>&quot;skipper&quot;</td>
<td>מַלַו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mushkenu</td>
<td>&quot;poor&quot;</td>
<td>מִשֶּכֶנ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simanu</td>
<td>&quot;time&quot;</td>
<td>סִימָן</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>targumānu</td>
<td>&quot;interpreter&quot;</td>
<td>תָּרָגוֹמ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ummanu</td>
<td>&quot;artizan&quot;</td>
<td>עֶמַּנְו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rab-mugi</td>
<td>&quot;high official&quot;</td>
<td>רב-מָגִי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samitu</td>
<td>&quot;corner&quot;</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These instances show that occasionally cuneiform m was pronounced as w. We must further consider the Hebrew and Aramaic renderings of Assyrian proper names:

- Sulmanu-asharidu = מַלְאַכְתִּים
- Nabu-shum-iddin = מַבְוֵה נְבַע עַזְזָן
- Nabû-shum-ishkun = מַבְוֵה נְבַע-ישְׁקָן
- Nabû-usallim = מַבְוֵה עַזְזָן
- Mah-si-Ia-a-ú = בְּרֵכַת
- Shi-im-ka-ia = בְּרֵכַת

These instances evidently show that etymological m was pronounced by the Assyrians as m. But we have no evidence that etymological w represented by m had among the Assyrians the pronunciation of w. As to loan-words like argamanu = מַרְגָּמָן, zimu = מִזָּה, etc., there is no proof that they had been borrowed from the Assyrians. The same is true of the names of the Jewish months borrowed from the cuneiform, in which cuneiform m is rendered by Hebrew w:

- Si-ma-nu = מִזָּה
- A-ra-ah-sham-na = מְרָה-שַׁמְנָה
- Ki-si-li-mu = מְרָה-לִגְו

We have already seen that the rendering of the sibilants in these names precludes the assumption that they had been taken over from the Assyrians (cf. under The Sibilants).

The names of the months quoted above which had been borrowed from the Babylonians in the exilic period are sufficient evidence that the Akkadians in the Neo-Babylonian period occasionally pronounced m as w. If that is true, we should expect to find the same phenomenon in the Hebrew and Aramaic renderings of Babylonian proper names:
The evidence from these names is rather perplexing. It seems that the Babylonians in the pronunciation of *m* as *w* disregarded the etymology altogether. With the exception of the last name, which may not be Semitic, the word *shumu* seem to have been pronounced *shuw*. *Amurru* = נוּר became *Shawash*. On the other hand, the *m* preserved its original pronunciation as *m* in *remuš* and *ra-hi-im*. This must have some reason, and could not have been arbitrary. Judging from the cases under consideration, I am inclined to assume that the aspirated pronunciation of *m* was due to the neighborhood of a sibilant or liquid. It would offer some...
explanation why the Babylonians should have pronounced shuw for shum, Shawash for Shamash, Siwan for Siman, Kislew for Kislem, A-ra-hshawna for A-ra-hshamna, Awurrū for Amurru, awil for amil. But in Rahim-El, and in Šima and Šomu-shukun, since rēmu = ra'mu = ṭ-h-m, the radical m was not pronounced as an aspirated sound. However, the Greek transliterations of Dam-ki-na = Δαυικα and of Ti̇ṁmat = Ταυιματ clearly prove that the aspirated pronunciation of m among the Babylonians was not due to the neighborhood of sibilants and liquids.

Though we did not succeed in solving this problem, our investigation shows two outstanding facts: 1. We have seen that the Babylonian pronunciation of m as aspirated w is not due to the etymology of the words under consideration. 2. From the renderings of the loan-words and proper names we may with all safety conclude that m at the beginning of a word had never an aspirated pronunciation. Of special interest in connection with both these conclusions is the Hebrew transliteration of the name A-ra-aḥ-sham-na = אַרַע-אָח-שָם-נָא. Notwithstanding this writing found in the syllabares, the Babylonian pronunciation of this name must have been similar to that of the Hebrew: Marah-shawna = Warah-shamna "the eighth month". We see then that the first radical was pronounced as m, though etymologically it represented w, while the labial in shamma had the pronunciation of w, though it was an etymological m. It is true that this word does not occur in the Bible, and the rendering of its sibilant is incorrect, as according to the Babylonian Syllabar, we would expect Marah-sawna. The error could be
explained by the assumption that the Jews knew the meaning of this name and pronounced the second part of it with sh like Hebrew נַחֲשָׁן. But such a distortion of Arah-samma would be quite impossible, if the name in this form had not been bodily taken over from the Babylonians. As a matter of fact, the name in exactly the same form but properly with s instead of sh, is found in the Aramaic endorsements, (of Clay, Aramaic Endorsements on the Documents of Murashu Sons, in Harper's Memorial Volume I, p. 301)

However, there is the name of the fourth month which the Hebrews rendered into תָּוָצָע, and according to the explanation suggested above, it ought to be rendered into Tawuz. But we must bear in mind that the name Tammuz was known to the Hebrews long before they came in contact with the Babylonians toward the end of the seventh century B.C. (see Ezekiel 8:14). There is good reason for the assumption that Tammuz = Adonis was the god of the Phoenicians already in the third millennium B.C. But if this name as that of the month should have been taken over in the exilic period, we may still account for the non-aspirated pronunciation of m in this name. If we may judge from the Hebrew rendering, the Babylonians must have pronounced this D(T)ammuzi, and the doubling of this labial prevented its pronunciation as aspirated w. If so, we might also account for ummānu = יָמָנָע "artist". May we perhaps suggest that also targumānu was pronounced with doubling of the m and therefore = יָמָנָע? But there is no reason why ṭémānu = יָמָנ . should not have been pronounced ṭēnu.

But though the Hebrew and Aramaic renderings of
Assyrian proper names do not prove the aspirated pronunciation of \( m \) among the Assyrians, this fact is shown by the Assyrian renderings of \( \text{Ia-am-na-ai} = \text{Iawnai} = \text{"Ionian"} \) and \( \text{Ar-ma-da} \) alongside of \( \text{Ar-u-a-da} = \text{"Ioni in"} \), the name of a Phoenician city. Thus on this point there was no difference between the Assyrians and the Babylonians, and we cannot assert that the Aramaic loan-words \( \text{argammanu} = \text{simunu} \), and Hebrew-Aramaic \( \text{samitu} \) have been borrowed from the Babylonians.

Thus it seems that the labial \( m \) among the Babylonians and Assyrians had the same twofold pronunciation as the other labials \( b \) and \( p \) among the Hebrews and Arameans. Also the former had Dagesh and Raphē or Kushshaia and Ru-kacha. But while the rules governing the pronunciation of \( b \) and \( p \) in those North Semitic languages are known, these rules partly only apply to the pronunciation of \( m \) in the cuneiform language. At the beginning of a word, it was always pronounced as Dagesh lene, without aspiration. Nor may it have been aspirated in the middle of a word when it was pronounced as Dagesh forte. Accordingly no aspiration would take place in the intensive forms of \( \text{lam} = \text{full} \) etc. It may be due to this fact that the names of Jerusalem and of the Moabitic deity Kemosh were written by the Assyrian scribes \( \text{Ur-sa-li-im-mu} \) and \( \text{Kam-mu-su} \). The Hebrew rendering of the name of Damascus as \( \text{Dimash-ki} \) with Dagesh forte seems to indicate that neither in the Assyrian pronunciation of this name, notwithstanding the writing Dimash-ki, the labial was aspirated. The name of Samaria written \( \text{Sa-me-ri-na} \) may have had an aspirated \( m \). Cf. also the
personal names Hi-ru-um-mu \( \overset{\text{תיכו}}{\Rightarrow} \) and Ia(A-A)-ra-am-mu \( \overset{\text{קידמ}}{\Rightarrow} \). We may further suggest that no aspiration took place after a closed syllable as Sulmanu \( \overset{\text{שלהמ}}{\Rightarrow} \). The \( r \) in Ar-\( m\)-\( da \) may have had as in Aramaic the function of a laryngal and thus perhaps pronounced with \( \text{Ha'teph Pathah: } \text{Ar}' \text{wada} \). The \( m \) in \( \text{temu} \), \( \text{Remu} \) and \( \text{Remu-shukun} \) was not aspirated, because these words are by origin \( \text{kâl} \) formations: \( \text{ta}' \text{m} \) and \( \text{rahm} \). In the name Ra-\( hi \)-im-\( El \), the Aleph of El is a West Semitic consonant, and in the pronunciation it may have been assimilated with the preceding \( m \), and the name sounded as 
\( \text{Rahimmel} \). If so, then the labial \( m \) regarding Dagesh and Raphé was governed by the identical rules as \( b \) and \( p \) in Hebrew and Aramaic. But the material at our disposal is still too scanty to judge with finality on this point.

\( \text{(e) The Laryngals.} \)

While the Sumerian script and language did not radically change the character of the Semitic sounds already discussed, and while the Semites were able to express themselves more or less accurately through the Sumerian signs, it was altogether different with the guttural sounds. The laryngal system of the early Semites was identical with that of the Arabs: \( i \), \( s \), \( z \), \( z \), \( e \), and \( \dot{\varepsilon} \). On their arrival at the Euphrates Valley, the Semitic immigrants came in contact and under the influence of the native Sumerians whose language was devoid of these laryngal sounds altogether, if we may judge from the Sumerian script, which did not develop signs for these sounds. If the influence of the natives upon the immigrants had been strong or had lasted for a considerable period, the West Semites would
have completely lost the pronunciation of their laryngals. But the influence of the Sumerians, however, did not reach that far, nor did it last very long, so that the Semites still retained the pronunciation of their laryngals at the time when they adopted the cuneiform script to make their own Semitic records.

Now the Sumerian script, as we said, had no signs for the laryngeal sounds, and thus the Semites were unable to express them in writing. The Sumerians, however, possessed at least a certain sound $\tilde{g}$ which must have been pronounced well towards the palate and the pronunciation of which must have been somewhat similar to that of the Semitic laryngeal $\text{Gain}$ ( $\tilde{\xi}$ ). The signs containing this sound, the Semites gave the value of their own laryngeal $\text{d} = \tilde{\xi}$. That these signs were by the Sumerians pronounced with $\tilde{g}$ is evident from the fact that the sign $\text{Kia}$ pronounced by the Semites $\text{ha}$ interchanges with the sign $\text{ga}$ as preformative of the precative in Sumerian; further we have $\text{ba}$ and $\text{gaz} = \text{mahgu}$ "to beat, break, wound"; $\text{hul} "\text{to do violence}" is no doubt of the same root as $\text{gal} "\text{to destroy}" ; \text{gun} "\text{totality, collection, much}" is of the same root as $\text{ben} "\text{abundance}"$, etc. It is the opinion of Dr. Hoschander that we have a criterium to determine whether the values of the signs are of Sumerian or Semitic origin. His theory is as follows: "The Semites as known did not possess any written vowels. Each consonant according to the form could be read with the primitive Semitic vowels $\text{a, i, u}$. When the Semites adopted the Sumerian script for expressing their own idiom, and were forced to modify some of the Sumerian signs for the accommodation of
their own sounds for which they could not find an adequate expression in the existing system, they treated the Sumerian signs as Semitic consonants to which if necessary was given the vocalization of the Semitic primitive vowels, $a$, $i$, $u$. This was especially done in the signs containing $g = Gain$ which they modified into $l$, as $ah$, $ih$, $ub$; $bar$, $bir$, $bur$ $lah$, $lih$, $lub$; $shah$, $shih$, $shuh$. This was certainly not done by the Sumerians who did not use the identical sign for $ab$, $ib$, $ub$; $ag$, $ig$, $ug$; $ad$, $id$, $ud$, $al$, $il$, $ul$, $am$, $im$, $um$, etc. etc. In some cases it was unnecessary to give the same sign the three-fold vocalization, as for inst. the sign $mah$ has the values only of $mah$, $mih$, because the value $muh$ had been expressed by another sign; so also $sah$, $sikh$, while $sub$ is represented by another sign, etc. But this system was not carried through consistently, and may have been done by Sumerian Semitic scribes who had only a superficial knowledge of the Sumerian script, and was given up as soon as they had a deeper insight into the Sumerian script and language. Thus the signs containing the spirant-sonant-velar $g = \acute{c}$ the Semites used for the representation of their own sharp laryngal $h = \acute{z}$. The other five laryngals could not be adequately represented in the script and were merely expressed by vowels. If we had Semitic records of the earliest period, when these Semites still retained the pronunciation of all the laryngals, we would not be able to recognize this fact from the script, and it would appear as if these laryngals, with the exception of $h = \acute{z}$, had already disappeared under the influence of the Sumerians.

However, the influence of the Sumerian language
upon those early Semites was not without its effect. Although the Semites still endeavored to retain their own pronunciation, they gradually lost the ability of pronouncing the laryngals correctly. Their attempts to reproduce the laryngals had a remarkable effect on their language. The laryngal sound which they tried to reproduce by closing and opening of the larynx, never reached the larynx, but remained suspended in the middle of the throat as a sound, and they merely succeeded in changing the primitive vowel a in the guttural roots into the vowel e. Thus the root 'alū "to go up" was changed into elū, 'abūru "produce", became ebūru, 'azzu "strong" became ezzu, etc. And in many instances due to vowel harmony, even the primitive vowel a of the second radical was affected by this pronunciation, as ebēru "to croos", for original abūru, edēshu "to be new", for adashu, etc. This change of the vowel a into e is frequently a sure indication of a root with a laryngal in the cuneiform language. Still there are numerous roots in which the original vocalization is preserved, as abāru "to enclose", anānu "to oppose", etc, but these may be secondary formations of a later period and an artificial attempt of scribes to restore the original vowels of the guttural roots.

The fact, however, that this change of vowels is as a rule found in roots with the strong laryngals ṣ, ḫ, ṭ and very seldom in those with ū, as in ersītu for ārātu, ensū "weak", for ānshū, and those with ṭ, as ārū "to be pregnant", for ārū, seems to indicate that no serious attempt was made by the Semites to retain the laryngal pronunciation of these two sounds, and therefore the roots retained
their primitive vowels a. However, against this assumption that the Semites were unable to produce the laryngal sounds, we seemingly have a strong evidence in the cuneiform sign Umunnu for the laryngals 'a, 'i, 'u. But we must bear in mind that this sign did not exist in an early period. And even in the Hammurabi period, we find only the sign for ah, ih, uh, which may or may not have been used also for 'a, 'i, 'u (cf. Ranke, Personal Names, p. 36, n.1, against Delitzsch, Ass. Lesest. 4, p. 131, No. 229).

Starting from the earliest period of which we have Semitic records, we have in the Sargonic royal inscriptions several guttural roots:

a-li-dam "the upper", for elitam
al-su-nu "upon them for el(i)-sunu
a-bar-ti "the other side" for ebirti
ar-ba-um "four" γνωμ for irba
ish-ma "he heard" for ishmi
ish-ti-ni-ish "as one" (ground-form ashtān)
be-al "the lord" for bēl
i-be-al "he subjected" for ibēl

With exception of ish-tini-ish which shows already the transition from a to e(i), these guttural roots still preserve their original vowels and do not show the effect of the laryngal in changing a into e. Of special interest are the words al,beal and ibeal, which nowhere occur in the cuneiform language, and are almost identical with the Hebrew words of the same meaning(ם, שד, שד). Here as in ar-ba-um and a-bar-ti, which also later though very seldom occur, we have the ground-forms of these Akkadian words with
e(i). But also on this point as on the other linguistic peculiarities of the Sargonic royal inscriptions, the material is too scanty to pass a final judgment whether this pronunciation was generally current in that period, without considering the personal names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu. The form al = e(li) occurs in the names Ishtar-al-su, Sin-al-su "Ishtar, Sin (watches) over him", and Gagga(-ga)-su-al-si-in "his weapon upon them"; the form alū = elū, in A-li-A-hu "exalted is the Brother", and Ga-zu-a-lum = Kat-su-a-lum "his hand is exalted". But there are several names compounded with be-li, as Be-li-a-mi, Be-li-ba-mi, Be-li-satu, etc., which shows the regular change of a to e. Further alongside of the guttural root ami = ammi for immi(emmi), = Hebrew יָּֽהַ "people", Arabic  Presenter "brother of the father", properly "relation", as found in Be-li-a-mi( יָּֽהַ), and A-ma-Sin, and perhaps also in Urра(GUI)-a-mu, we find the regular form i-mi = immi(emmi) in I-mi-El and I-mi-Sin. The name I-mi-El may be identified with the early Hebrew name יָּֽהַ (Numb 13, 12). But in view of the pure Hebrew al-y, i-mi may after all correspond to Hebrew יָּֽהַ "with me", and the meaning of these names would be "With me is El", and "With me is Sin". Thus the words a-mi and i-mi would not be quite identical, for the only evidence for the change of a to e in this period rests upon the writing be-li. But are we so sure that the sign Bāṭtu had the value of be in that early period? It certainly has not this value in Sumerian. Seeing however that this sign is an ideogram for bel, may we not suggest that its value be is due to the pronunciation of bel with palatalization: bel = bei = be? The
same is certainly true of its values mit from mītu, mut from mūtu, pit from pītū. Thus several of the values of Battu are of Semitic origin, and we have good reason to assume the same origin for its value be. If then this sign is ideogr. for belu, in the early period it served as ideogram for ba'alu or more correctly ba-a-lu. Then in the names quoted above we have that ideogram for ba-a-lu with phonetic complement li, and these names are to be rendered Bali(-li)-a-mi, Bali(-li)-ba-ni, Bali(-li)-sa-tu. As a matter of fact, the ideogr. Battu, without phonetic complement, occurs in another name on the Obelisk, which is to be rendered Bali-il-li. The same reading we suggest for be-al, in which we see the ideogr. of ba'al with phonetic complement al, and i-be-al, in which the scribe intended to use as syllable bal the ideographic value balu of Battu, and to make certain the correct reading, added the phonetic complement al.

Accordingly there is no evidence from the proper names on the Obelisk that in that period the a in the guttural roots had already changed to e, while other names unmistakably show the original vowels in their guttural roots. The evidence from the latter corroborates the evidence from the Sargonic royal inscriptions, in which the guttural roots appear with their original vowels, with the exception of ish-ti-ni-lish. And it is even possible that the adverbial ending ish in this word affected the preceding vowels by retrogressive assimilation, as it is the case in Sumerian, where the tendency is to reduce all the vowels of a word to the same sound (cf. Langdon, Sumerian Grammar, p. 46). We may then state with all probability that in the Sargonic
period, the Semitic idiom was on this point identical with that of the West Semites that the laryngal roots still preserved their original vowels, which had not yet been changed into e. This fact, as we have seen, proves that in that period, the laryngals were still correctly pronounced, but this pronunciation could not be expressed in the cuneiform script.

In the period intervening between the Sargonic and Hammurabi dynasties, especially under the rule of the dynasty of Ur, when there appeared to have been a Sumerian revival, the Semitic pronunciation of their own idiom was considerably affected by that of the Sumerians, and the Semites began to lose the ability to pronounce the laryngals correctly. To this period we may ascribe the change of a to e in the laryngal roots. Nevertheless there were a few names which had become, as it were, stereotyped, and therefore were not affected by the current pronunciation. Such names are A-li-ahu, A-li-um-mi (Reisner 159, III, 6.218, Rev. 7). The element ali corresponding to Arabic مالي "the exalted, illustrious", and Hebrew מנו "the sublime", actually became a synonym of ilu, and like the latter, notwithstanding being by origin of masculine gender was used also as predicate for feminine deities, as A-li-a-ha-ti "ali is my Sister" (cf. Chiera, Lists of Personal Names, No. 2, p. 109). Owing to the current pronunciation, the original meaning of this element was not known any longer, though it was known by tradition that it was a divine appellation, and was used as a synonym of ilu, in numerous personal names.

Therefore in the Semitic literature of the period
of Hammurabi, the laryngeal roots appear with ū instead of a. The same change appears in all the Babylonian personal names. On the other hand, the West Semitic names of this period preserved not only the original vowel a, but in many cases, the laryngeal sound is further denoted by the laryngeal sound ū, as can be seen in the following comparisons:

Ab-di-el alongside of Ha-ab-di-el
A-bi-il-ki-nu-um Ha-bi-il-ki-nu-um
A-li-kum Ha-li-kum
Am-mu-ra-bi Ha-am-mu-ra-bi
A-za-ru-um Ha-za-ra-nim
El-a-zi-ri El-ha-zi-ri

Also the element a-li discussed above appeared in correct form at this period as ha-li, which was treated as divine name, as in KA-sha-Ḥa-li (cf. KA-sha-Ishtar, KA-sha-el, etc), and as ha-la, as in Su-mu-ha-la "his name is exalted". It perhaps occurs also in the name Ia-da-ah-Ḥa-lum "the exalted one knows". We may also compare the other names in which the laryngeal is rendered by h as in the following:

Ia-da-h-el = _buckets ḫu ḫu "the God(EL) knows"
Ia-di-ha-tum= _buckets ḫu "hypocoristicon"
Ia-di-ih-el = _buckets ḫu "the God(El) knows"
Ia-di-hu-um = _buckets ḫu "hypocoristicon"
Ia-ah-ba-ar-el יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה "the God crossed over" (?)
Ia-ah-wi-el יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה "the God pronounced" (?)
Ia-ah-za-ar-el יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה "the God helps"
Ia-ah-zi-rum יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה "hypocoristicon"
Ia-ar-ḥa-am-el יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה "The God will be merciful"
Ia-ar-ḥa-mu יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה "" ""
Ia-shu-ḥa-tum יִּבְכָּה יִּבְכָּה fem. hypocoristicon
I - ab-hu-ru-um = יבוחל hypocoristic con
Ia-ar-ha-bu-um = יראב hypocoristic con
Ia-hi-el = יהייאנ the God lives(exists)
Ia-hi-la-tum = יקיש (?)
Ia-u-hi-el = יוחישה "the God brings into life"

In these names the preformative Ia testifies for their West Semitic origin, and this further proved by the rendering of the laryngals with h. Many other names show the same phenomenon, as in the following:

A-ba-ra-ha-am = אבר חר "the Father is merciful.
A-bi-ia-shu-ha- = אביישור my Father will help"
A-bi-e-shu-uh = " " " " " "
A-bi-ha-ר = אבייר (?) "My Father is awake" (?)
Ha-ia-ab-ni-el = בהיאբניאנ the God found me guilty
Ha-ia-ab-ni- = בהיאבננ hypocoristic con
El-na-hi-im-mi = אלניהימין "the God is lovely towards me"
Na-hi-mi = נהיים hypocoristic con(cf Na-i-mu)
Na-ah-li-lum = נאולמל (?) "the God is leading" (?)
Na-hi-li = נהייל hypocoristic con(?)
Na-hu-um-Da-gan = נאוגנ-גור hypocoristic con(cf A-na-mim)
Ha-ni-nu-um = נהנום
Hu-ni-ni = חלינ (?) "friend"(or = Hali-ilum?)
Ha-li-lum = חليلמ (?) (or ?)
Ha-az-zi-bu-tum = חציבית hypocoristic con
Ha-ta-lum = ח탈מ (?) (or ?)

These instances quoted at random leave no doubt that
the West Semites of the Hammurabi period pronounced the laryngals correctly, and this pronunciation was expressed in the script with the signs containing the Akkadian laryngeal sound ִ (= ַ). The Akkadians in pronouncing these names may frequently have omitted the laryngeal sound, and therefore we find variants in which this sound is not recorded. That the scribes used for the expression of this sound the signs with Akkadian ִ and not the breathing-sign 'א, 'י, 'ע is a sure indication that this sign had not been in use in that period. Its invention belongs to a post-Hammurabi time, and was formed by shortening the laryngeal sign א,ה,ב, which was considered the geminated form of the breathing-sign. But while the laryngeal sounds כ, כ., כ., were correctly pronounced and rendered with ִ, it is not beyond doubt whether the same is true of the pronunciation of כ, nor can we assert with any degree of probability that the pronunciation of Aleph Hamzatum was still correctly pronounced. Its laryngeal pronunciation may have been so weak that it could not be rendered with ִ.

The West Semites of that period having come, as we have seen, from Canaan, we must go down to the Amarna period to see whether the same pronunciation of the laryngeal sound still survived in their homeland, as their Semitic relations who were left behind in these regions had been for centuries exposed to non-Semitic influence, and their pronunciation of the gutturals might have undergone a certain modification. To ascertain this point we must first turn to the cuneiform letters of the Amarna scribes to see, whether their literary cuneiform language was affected by their own
pronunciation of the laryngals, and how these sounds were expressed in the Canaanitic forms and glosses frequently found in their letters. The latter fact can be seen in the following survey:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canaanitic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ah-ni</td>
<td>&quot;I replied&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ㅏ = ٤)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ar-ri</td>
<td>&quot;mountain&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۴)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ia-abi</td>
<td>&quot;enemy&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۱)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ia-ma</td>
<td>&quot;alive&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۲)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-mu-du</td>
<td>&quot;desirable&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-pa-ru</td>
<td>&quot;earth&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-zi-ri</td>
<td>&quot;he kept back&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-zi-lu</td>
<td>&quot;plundered&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-an-pu</td>
<td>&quot;wickedness&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi-ih-be</td>
<td>&quot;he concealed&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi-na</td>
<td>&quot;eyes&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu-ul-lu</td>
<td>&quot;yoke&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu-mi-tu</td>
<td>&quot;wall&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih-mu-pu</td>
<td>&quot;they acted wickedly&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji-ih-na-mu-ni</td>
<td>&quot;they had mercy&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-ka-hu</td>
<td>&quot;they have taken&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-ki-hu</td>
<td>&quot;they are taken&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ah-zi-ra-mu</td>
<td>&quot;their need&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-al</td>
<td>&quot;faithless&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri-hi-is</td>
<td>&quot;smash&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-hi</td>
<td>&quot;shepherd&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-ah</td>
<td>&quot;brilliant&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha-ah-ri</td>
<td>&quot;gate&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu-lu-uh-tu</td>
<td>&quot;sending&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-ah-ta-mu</td>
<td>&quot;under them&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ہ = ۷)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-ra-ha-as</td>
<td>&quot;thou shalt smash&quot;</td>
<td>(h = ی = ۷)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These instances seem to indicate that the laryngal pronunciation of all the laryngal sounds was not deteriorated in the homeland of the West Semites under non-Semitic influence. But also here we must not pronounce a final judgment before surveying the whole material. Exceptions where the laryngals were not expressed by $h$ are not lacking. With the exception of $ha-ia-abi$ "enemy", Aleph is not expressed by a guttural in the Canaanitic glosses: $a-ba-da-at$ "she is lost", $ah-ru-un-u$ = יריונוג "after him", $a-na-ja$ "ship", $a-nu-ki$ = יוליעי "I", and the Canaanism $a-si-ru$ "prisoner". He is not expressed by a guttural in $al-lu-u$ = ירל "is it not?" and in $zu-ri$ = יקיר alongside of $zu-uh-ru$ "back". Heth is not expressed by a guttural in $ba-ti-ti$ = בסתקי "I feel secure". Nor is $Ain$ = expressed by a guttural in the gloss $a-pa-ru$ alongside of $ha-pa-ru$ "earth", in $ig-gi-u$ = יקירי "they have beaten", in $ma-un-nu$, if = ירעי "dwelling" and $she-ti$, if = יקום "hour". But there is no instance in which $Ain$ = י is not expressed by a guttural. These few exceptions seem to indicate that the pronunciation of the laryngals was not in all localities alike, and we would not be wrong in seeing in the omission of the guttural signs in these instances a non-Semitic influence.

We must now look to the evidence of the proper names before drawing conclusions on this point. For this purpose we present the following survey:

$Ba'lu-mi-hi-ir$ "Ba'el gives light" (?) を יברוק (h =  returnUrl)

$Bi-hu-ra; Pa-hu-ra$ = נברוקי (h = y = returnUrl)
Eli-ra-bi-ih {"The God(El) is exalted" = (h = y = E)
Ha-bi-ri "the Hebrews" = (h = y = E)
Ha-lu-un-ni (cf. Bib. נוד) = (h = m = ?)
Ha-mu-ni-ri "Ammu is (my)light" = (h = y = E)
Har-ri (the land of the Aryans or Horites?) = (h = m = ?)
Ha-sha-bu (cf. Bib. יבש) = (h = m = Z)
Ha-ja-ni (cf. Bib. וי) = (h = y = ?)
Ha-za-ti "city of Gaza" = (h = y = E)
Ha-zu-ra "city of Hazor" = (h = y = E)
Hi-ni-a-na-bi = (h = y = E)
Hi-na-tu-na = (h = m = Z)
Ia-ah-ti-ri = (h = y = E)
Ia-ah-zi-ba-da "Adad helps" = (h = y = E)
Ji-ih-en-ha-mu "the Ammu will" answer" = (h = y = E)

(for the variants see List of Pers. Names)

Ia-pa-ah-Adda "Adad shines" = (h = y = E)
Ia-ap-ti-ih-Adda "Adad opens" = (h = m = Z)
Ki-na-ah-ri "Canaan" = (h = y = E)
Ma-ah-zi-ib-ti "a quarry" (?) = (h = m = ?)
Na-ah-ri-ma "mesopotamia" = (h = y = E)
Mu-ut-Ba-ah-lun "man of Ba'al" = (h = y = E)
Pu-Ba-ah-la "mouth of Ba'al" = (h = y = E)
Ra-ah-ma-nu-nu-ma "merciful" = (h = m = Z)
(RThis name is abbreviated from a name as) (h = m = Z)

Ru-hi-iz-zi "city of Rōēs" = (h = y = ?)
Sa-ar-ha "city of Sar'a = (h = y = E)
Sha-am-hu-na "city of Simeon" = (h = y = E)
Sha-an-ha-ar "land of Shumer" = (h = y = ?)
Ta-ah-nu-ka "city of Ta'ananach" = (h = y = ?)
Tu-bi-hi "city of Tebah" = (h = y = E)
Zu-uh-ri "city of Soar" = (h = y = E)
But just as in the literary language so also in the proper names we have exceptions in which the laryngal sound is not expressed by a laryngal sign, as can be seen in the following survey, which contains also the variants of some of the preceding names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab-di-Ash-ta-ti</td>
<td>&quot;Servant of Astarte&quot;</td>
<td>ראבד אסתרה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ak-ka</td>
<td>&quot;city of Akko&quot;</td>
<td>לעופו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am-mu-ni-ra</td>
<td>&quot;Ammu is light&quot;</td>
<td>לאימור</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am-ki</td>
<td>&quot;district of Emek&quot;</td>
<td>לארמג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-na-ta</td>
<td>pers. name</td>
<td>לנוות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-ra-ru</td>
<td>&quot;city of Aroer&quot;</td>
<td>לארויר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash-ta-ar-ti</td>
<td>&quot;city of Ashtoreth&quot;</td>
<td>לארטיר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Az-za-ti</td>
<td>&quot;city of Gaza&quot;</td>
<td>לאזר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba-lu</td>
<td>&quot;the god Ba'al&quot;</td>
<td>בחאל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba-lu-mi-i-ir</td>
<td>&quot;Ba'al gives light&quot;</td>
<td>בצלאל-อายุו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-pa-Adda</td>
<td>&quot;Adad shines&quot;</td>
<td>נברא-אדד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir-ka-ta</td>
<td>&quot;city of Arke&quot;</td>
<td>לארק</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-ri-ma</td>
<td>&quot;Mesopotamia&quot;</td>
<td>נברתמי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-u-ra</td>
<td>pers. name</td>
<td>רא פארו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She-e-ri</td>
<td>&quot;land of Seir&quot;</td>
<td>רא פארו</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, it is worth mentioning that of both the literary language and the proper names no variants are found in one and the same letter. Therefore, it is well possible that each individual scribe wrote the names and the Canaanitic words according to their own pronunciation. As for instance, in the letters of Rib-Adda, Nos 137, 138 we find the name Am-mu-ni-ri, in Nos 136, 141, 142, Am-mu-ni-ra; but we need not assume that all the letters of Rib-Adda had been written by the same scribe. It would be different, if we found va-
riants in the same letter, and we could then maintain that in this matter we have merely a difference of writing not of pronunciation. The fact that in some Canaanitic words and names the laryngeal sound is not even expressed by the breathing-sign which very frequently occurs in these letters evidently indicates that those scribes did no longer pronounce the laryngals by closing and opening of the larynx but as a vowel. Even the laryngeal in Azzati ="Gaza", corresponding to Arabic  محمود was pronounced as a vowel by some scribes. Thus both the literary language and the proper names lead to the same conclusion that in some localities, no doubt under non-Semitic influence, the laryngals lost their original pronunciation, while in others, where the Semitic population was predominant, the primitive pronunciation of the laryngals was preserved. But one fact is certain that in the localities where the West Semitic language survived in its purity, the laryngeal sound was rendered exactly as among the West Semites in Babylonia in the Hammurabi period.

In the Assyrian period, the population of Mesopotamia was somewhat similar to that of the Hammurabi period. The country was almost crowded with Semites, though they were not the ruling class as in the former period. But some of them, as we have seen, the Arameans having been the most numerous population in this region, imposed their own idiom on the Assyrian people, which became the vernacular of the Assyrian empire. Due to this fact, the Assyrian scribes had a good knowledge of Aramaic and we may rest assured that they tried to render the Aramaic sounds into cuneiform as
accurately as possible. Though the Aramaic sounds etymologically do not always correspond to those of Hebrew, the pronunciation of both are alike. The following survey contains the West Semitic names in which the laryngeal sounds are expressed by k:

- "Servant of the Sungod" = לֹא שִׁמֵּש (k = ז)
- "Servant of the Moongod" = לֹא שִׁמְמֵר (k = נ = ש)
- "My Father brings into life" = אֶל-מְיִית (k = נ = י)
- "A(th)tar is the Ammu" = לֹא-טָן עָם (k = נ = י)
- "Ba'al is the gracious one" = בַּעַל-תֹּן (k = נ = י)
- "He has loved(abbrev)" = תָּבֹב (k = נ = י)
- "The new one(abbrev?)" = תָּבֹש (k = נ = י)
- "The God is powerful" = מְנַעֵל-יָו (k = נ = ?)
- "The High one is (my)wall" = כִּלְיֵשׁוֹר (k = נ = ב)
- "The desiring one(abbrev)" = מְנַעֵל (k = נ = ב)
- "One of Hamath" = מְנַעֵל (k = נ = ב)
- "The Rewarder(abbrev)" = מְנַעֵל (k = נ = ב)
- "The God has seen" = מְנַעֵל (k = נ = ב)
- "Strong(my strength)is Jahu" = מְנַעֵל (k = נ = ב)
- "One of Gaza" = לֹא-מָלֵא (k = ב = מ)
- "One of Oren" = לֹא-מָלֵא (k = ב = מ)
- "He awakens"?(gives light?) = לֹא-מָלֵא (k = ב = מ)
- "Jahu has seized" = לֹא-מָלֵא (k = ב = מ)
- "My refuge is Jahu" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "The Comforter(abbrev)" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "Jahu gives light"(or = Light?) = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "He has opened(abbrev)" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "The Merciful(abbrev)" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "He extended(abbrev)" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "Sin is my shepherd" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)
- "the Shuhite" = מְהֵר (k = ב = מ)

Many of these roots written with a laryngeal sign occur of-
ten in other combinations, but one instant of each root is sufficient to show how these laryngals were rendered by the Assyrian scribes. But this was not the only way by which the laryngal sounds were expressed, as seen in the following survey, and here also is presented only one instance of each root which occurs in various combinations:

"Jahu is (my) light" =  yüzde (ח etc.)
"The servant (abbrev)" = раб (א)
"Servant of the Goddess" = לברד-אלהת (ח etc.)
"My father is Ba' al" = אב-gב (ח etc.)
"Adad has healed" = הנדד-בר (ח etc.)
"Ammu is exalted" =-plugin (ח etc.)
"Jahu is the Seven" = בחמשה (ח etc.)
"Help! (abbrev)" = בורשא (ח etc.)
"He has known" = יד (ח etc.)
"He awakens? (gives light?) = יב (י etc.)
"Mountain goat" = גול (ג etc.)
"He shines" = מוהיב (ג etc.)
"Help (abbrev)" = מוהיב (ג etc.)
"The Moabite" = מואב (ג etc.)
"Shepherd (abbrev)" = לועה (ל etc.)
"I have asked God" = תבושת (ד etc.)
"The Sa'malite" = כשaltimore (ד etc.)

However, before entering into a discussion on the pronunciation of the laryngal sounds in the Assyrian period, we have to consider the cases in which the laryngals are not even rendered by the breathing-sign '، but by a vowel which is
are given in the following survey:

"Jahu has known" = יְהוּדִי (a = 6, y = 7)
"Servant of the Mighty" = נְבֵד רוֹז (a = 6, y = 7)
"Adad has healed" = נְדַד רוֹפֵא (a = 8, y = 3)
"City of Akko" = אָקָה (a = 7, y = 3)
"Ammu has teased(?)" = אָמָה (a = 7, y = 3)
"Ammon" = אַמּוֹן (a = 7, y = 3)
"Hamath" = חָמָה (a = 7, y = 3)
"city of Ekron" = אַקְרָן (a = 7, y = 3)
"city of Askalon" = עַקְלָון (a = 7, y = 3)
"The God has rewarded" = יַעַבֵּר (a = 7, y = 3)
"Ba'el is mighty" = בָּאֶל (a = 7, y = 3)
"(My) help is Jahu" = יַעַבֵּר (a = 7, y = 3)
"The God is for me" = בָּאֶל (a = 7, y = 3)
"The servant of Ba'al" = בָּאֶל (a = 7, y = 3)
"The God has said" = בָּאֶל (a = 7, y = 3)
"The eye of the God" = בָּאֶל (a = 7, y = 3)
"The God has given" = בָּאֶל (a = 7, y = 3)
"He awakens?(gives light?) = (יִוְיָר (יִוְיָש)) (i = 4, y = 0, r = 4)
"The Judeaer" = יִוְיָו (u = 17, y = 9)
"Jehu" = יְהוּ (u = 17, y = 9)
"He listens(abbrev)" = יִוְיָו (a = 6, y = 7)
"My God is (my)father" = יִוְיָו (i = 4, y = 0, f = 6)
"There was light(abbr?) = (גֵּרָה (גֵּרָה) (a = 6, y = 7)
"The God has acquired" = גֵּרָה (a = 6, y = 7)
"Asked for(loamed?)" = בָּאֶל (u = 17, y = 9)
"Si'(=Sim)is (my)help" = בָּאֶל (i = 4, y = 0, h = 0)
"Tu-u-1 = Tōd of Hamath?" = (לִמּוּד (u = 17, y = 9)

We have seen that already in the Amarna periods, the pronunciation of the laryngals was not in all localities alike, and we
have attributed the disappearance of the Semitic pronunciation of these sounds to non-Semitic influence. The Syrians under Greek and Roman influence pronounced Aleph and occasionally 'Aim as vowels. The same is exactly true of the European Jews living among Aryans. It is scarcely to be expected that those West Semites who had lost the ability to pronounce the laryngals correctly should have recovered the correct pronunciation in a subsequent period. If we did not have any evidence from the Assyrian transliterations of West Semitic proper names, the Phoenician names are sufficient evidence against such an assumption. That Aleph had lost its Hamza pronunciation among the Phoenicians and was pronounced as vowel is seen from the fact that in an open short syllable it was dropped altogether as in הירס = Hi-ru-um-mu for הירס . The same was evidently the case in the royal name נָחַרְבַּרְבַּרְבַּר , rendered by Flavius Josephus 'Iωβαλα:ος, Eιωβαλα:ος = הָבָלִי "with him is Ba'el", as can be seen from the Assyrian rendering Tu-Ba-'-lu. The same must be further true of the divine name גְּשִׁי , generally rendered Eshmun, the of which however may represent the article and may have been pronounced Ashamon ("the Heavenly =Greek Uranios?"), and this article was occasionally dropped, as we learn from the Assyrian rendering Sa-mu-ma, Sa-mu-mu. But also 'Aim in some Phoenician localities and among other West Semites seem to have lost its guttural pronunciation, as the Phoenician royal name Bu-di-Ba-al evidently is identical with Punic יְבָרִיב = יְבָרִיב "servant of Ba'el", with which we may combine the name of the king of Ammon Bu-du-el (For the rendering of Segel into cuneiform א = rounded ｏ, see under Vowels).
The Assyrian transliterations of West Semitic proper names lead to the same conclusion that the pronunciation of the laryngals among the West Semites was not uniform. The different writing of the same root in various names is either due to a difference in pronunciation of the bearers of the names or to a vacillation in the pronunciation, what is especially the case in variants of names of the same persons or in those of local names.

The evidence from the names in the preceding surveys shows the following pronunciation of the laryngals:

**Aleph**

Aleph in the beginning of a word, as *Anlaut*, was never pronounced with *Hamza*, as then we would occasionally find it written with the breathing sign '।'. While this pronunciation in isolated cases was preserved in the middle and in the end, in the *Inlaut* and *Auslaut*, which is then rendered with the breathing sign. It is well possible that this *Hamza* is somewhat connected with the accent, as in *Abda‘, Adad-rapa‘, Ma‘ab, Sa‘alti-El, Sam‘al*. But this pronunciation is never rendered by a sign containing a laryngal.

**He**

For *He* we have no evidence that it was rendered with a laryngal sign at the beginning or at the end of a root. But in the middle it certainly occurs in the name *Abdi-Si-har*, which is not to be combined — with Tallquist — with "Servant of the Morning-star", but with "servant of the Moongod". It may also occur in the name *Na-ha-ra-Au*, in view of the fact that *A-u* = *Jahu* frequently occurs in those West Semitic names. This would
show that this sound occasionally sounded to the Assyrian scribes like h. But that this pronunciation was not general is seen from the writings of the Divine Name Jahu and of the local name Jahudah, which are never rendered Jahu and Jahuda, but Ia-u, Ia-a-u and Ia-u-da. The pronunciation of the laryngal in these names must have been almost nil, since they never occur with the breathing sign. But the breathing sign representing this sound may be seen in the names A-a-ni-'a-ri = A-a-n-char, and Abdil-'a-ti = Abd-eli-bat (not = cuneiform lita "power"). But these etymologies are not beyond all doubt.

Heth = ꜙ

Regarding the pronunciation of Heth, it may be stated with all certainty that no matter whether at the beginning, the middle or end of a word, its pronunciation sounded to the Assyrian scribes like their own laryngal h, and therefore this sound was rendered with the laryngal sign. It is true the name of the city of Hamath occurs in the writings Amma-tu and Ham-ma-tu. But they do not date from one period. Between the writing Ha-am-matu by Ashur-nasir-pal (885-860) and the writing Am-matu by Sargon (727-722) a period of about 150 years intervened. In the earlier period this Hitite city was generally pronounced Hammatu, in the later period, generally Ammatu. But besides this case which has a chronological explanation, there is not one single instance in which this sound is rendered by the breathing sign or a vowel. But for the Greek renderings in the LXX, we might assert on the basis of the Assyrian renderings of the West Semitic names that neither the Hebrews nor the
Arameans in the Assyrian period distinguished between the sounds \( n = \varepsilon \) and \( n = \acute{\varepsilon} \). In the Amarna period, we found at least one exception \( \text{ba-ti-ti} \), which even as scribal error, due to the influence of cuneiform, would show the difference between weak and strong Heth, but no trace of such a distinction in a West Semitic root is found in the Assyrian period.

\[ '\text{Ain} = \varepsilon. \]

Concerning the pronunciation of 'Ain, we may state that, as a rule, at the beginning of a word its laryngeal pronunciation was almost negligible, as the Assyrian scribes regularly rendered it by a vowel. But there are exceptions; we have the name \( \text{Ha-ak-ku-bu} \) alongside of the more frequently occurring names of the same root \( \text{A-ka-ba}, \text{A-ka-bi-el}, \text{Si'-a-ka-ba}; \text{Ha-la-su-ri} \), provided that the etymology given above is correct, and \( \text{ha-la} \) is not = Arabic \( \text{Ji} \), "the Uncle (equivalent of a divine name)", which seems to occur in \( \text{Ha-ali-el} \); and \( \text{A-tar-ka-am-mu} \) "A(th)tar is the Ammu". It is also once expressed by the breathing sign in the name \( \text{l-Id-ru} \) "Help". But in the middle and end of a word, this sound is frequently expressed by both the breathing sign as well as by a vowel. In the middle it is also occasionally expressed by a laryngeal sign as in \( \text{Si'-ra-hi-i} \) "Si' (=SIN) is my shepherd", and probably also in \( \text{ia-hi-ri} = \text{Ia-hi-ri} \) "He awakens" (of the variants \( \text{ia-hi-ri}, \text{Ia'-i-ru} \) and \( \text{Ia-i-ru} \))

\[ \text{Gain} (\acute{\varepsilon}) \]

Gain that actually does not exist in Hebrew and Aramaic and its existence in these languages in an early period
rests on the basis of comparative philology, occurs in the local name Ha-za-ta-a-a, Ha-zi-tu, and in the personal name Ru-um-ri = Omri. If we may draw conclusions from these two instances, its pronunciation must have sounded to the Assyrian scribes like their own laryngal h, and therefore they rendered it with the laryngal sign. Since we do not find variants A-za-ta-a-a, A-zi-tu and Um-ri or U-um-ri we are justified in assuming that the laryngal sounds in these names were very strong, but the Assyrian renderings would not prove that the laryngal sounds in these names differed in timbre from that of 'Ain. Our only authority that the 'Ain in the local name ḫayān has not the usual pronunciation of this consonant is the Greek rendering Gaza. The Arabic rendering ḫayān is no proof, as it was an attempt to render Greek Gaza into Arabic. However, the very fact that this rendering is given in the LXX shows the traditional pronunciation of this name among the Jews, and thus the name cannot be derived from ḫayān "to be strong". As to the name Omri, it is no doubt derived from Hebrew ḥayān and is etymologically connected with "Omer (tenth part of an Ephah)", and the local name ḫayān. Hebrew ḥayān is etymologically identical with Arabic ḥayān; and also ḥayān is identical with Arabic ḥayān "measure" and ḥayān "sheaf" are originally identical, and the meaning of the former is: "a measure of grain as contained in a sheaf". Seeing that ḥayān is rendered in the LXX ḥaywos and ḥaywos, we expect for ḥayān a pronunciation Gomri. Though the latter is actually rendered by the LXX ḥaywos, its pronunciation may have been lost, while
the Omer was still used as a measure at the time when the Greek translations of the Old Testament were made, and the same is true of the proverbial 'Amorah, and therefore their pronunciation as ḣooma and ṭōmōzā survived.

The condition in the Neo-Babylonian period was similar to that of Assyria. Here also we find a numerous conglomerate of West Semites most of whom were Arameans and Hebrews, as evident from the business documents of this period. In order to ascertain the pronunciation of the laryngals in this period, we shall present the various renderings of the West Semitic proper names in three surveys, the first of which contains the names in which the laryngeal sounds are rendered by laryngeal signs:

Abi-la-di-hi "My Father knows" (NP pāh'īl) = אבֶלֶדוי (h = א = ḥ)
Abi-la-ḥi-י "My god is my father" = אֶבֶלֶה (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-am-da-י "The desire(abbrev?)" = אָמָדָה (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-ag-ga-a-י "One of the festival" = אָגָגֶא (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-al-li-li-י "Rejoice!(Impt fem?)" = אָלָלִל (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-an-da-sha-an-ni "He has renewed me" = אָנדָשָה (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-na-na-ta-ni-י "Thou hast been gracious to me" (?It may have been pronounced Hamōtani) = הָמָה (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-ad-ru "The splendid(place)of Aduru = אדָדָר (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-na'-El "The God was gracious" = נָאֵל (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-na-mi-la-a-ma "Jahveh was gracious" = נָמָל (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-a-hu-la-la-ki-im "Jahu is for you" = יָהוּלָל (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-a-hu-lu-nu "Jahu is for us" = יָהוּלָל (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-hu-na-ta-nu "Jahu has given" = יָהוּלָל (h = א = ḥ)
Ha-a-pi-hi "He is shining(abbr?)" = יָהוּלָל (h = א = ḥ)
Ai-na-ah-ki-mu "The comforter"(abbr?) = יָהוּלָל (h = א = ḥ)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nabū-ha-ka-bi</td>
<td>&quot;Nabū has rewarded&quot;</td>
<td>נבּוֹ הַקָּבֵי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabū-ra-ha-eli</td>
<td>&quot;Nabū is my shepherd&quot;</td>
<td>נבּוֹ רָהַהְלוּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-ta-ah</td>
<td>&quot;He has opened&quot; (abbrev)</td>
<td>פָּתָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku-su-iz-a-ha-bi</td>
<td>&quot;Qōs has given&quot;</td>
<td>קוֹסָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-bi-im-El</td>
<td>&quot;The God has been merciful&quot;</td>
<td>רָבִי-יִמֵּה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-ama-ar-u-mu</td>
<td>&quot;The hearer (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>שַׁחָּמָא</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the laryngal sounds in these names are expressed by the signs containing ה, the following survey presents the names in which the laryngal sounds are expressed by the breathing sign. But it must be remembered that in the Neo-Babylonian documents, the breathing sign does not always denote a laryngal sound, as it also occurs occasionally and where a laryngal sound is not expected, as in Ia-da-ar-ni-El, Ha-an-na-ta-ni-'. The same we learn from the Aramaic Endorsements, which occasionally do not render the breathing sign with Aleph or Ḥē, as Ha-an-na-mi-' = חַדְנָה . But as a rule the breathing sign expresses the laryngal sound, as seen in the following names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab-da'</td>
<td>&quot;The servant (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>אֵבָּד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai-āu-ra-pa'</td>
<td>&quot;Adad has healed&quot;</td>
<td>אֵיוּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am-μa'</td>
<td>&quot;The Ammu (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>אֵמָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amurru-sha-ma- '</td>
<td>&quot;Amurru has heard&quot;</td>
<td>אַמּורוּ-שָׁמָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-na-'El</td>
<td>&quot;The God has created&quot;</td>
<td>יָאָנָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-shē-'Ia-a-ma</td>
<td>&quot;Jahveh helps&quot;</td>
<td>יָאָשֶׁה-יָא-אמָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ii-ra'</td>
<td>&quot;Help (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>יִירָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabū-a-ka-ba- '</td>
<td>&quot;Nabū has rewarded&quot;</td>
<td>נָבֹו-אַקָּבָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabū-sha-ra- '</td>
<td>&quot;Nabū has set free&quot;</td>
<td>נָבֹו-שַׁחָּר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku-su-iz-a-da-'</td>
<td>&quot;Qōs has known&quot;</td>
<td>קוֹס-יֵזָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-bi-El</td>
<td>&quot;Widespread is the God&quot;</td>
<td>רָבִי-בֵי</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But there is no instance in which at the beginning of a word, in the Amlaut, the laryngal sound is expressed by the breathing sign. In the middle of a word it occurs very seldom, and not frequently at the end of a word. It seems indeed that the breathing sign has somewhat lost its original force, and therefore does not often represent the laryngal sound. It is mostly used to denote the Aramaic article א(corresponding to Hebrew ו) of Aramaic words in the emphatic state, as Abda', Karha' etc., and quiescent ה and Aleph of the Tertiae Infirmae. But these two latter are also expressed by vowels, as in the following names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab-da-a</td>
<td>&quot;the servant&quot;</td>
<td>אבָּדַא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-ba-na</td>
<td>&quot;Bel has created&quot;</td>
<td>בֶלַבְּנָא</td>
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<tr>
<td>Da-da-a</td>
<td>אדָדַא(abbrev)</td>
<td>דָדַא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-da-la-a</td>
<td>&quot;The God has saved&quot;</td>
<td>אלָדָלָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-la-a</td>
<td>&quot;The high one(abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>הָלָא</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ru-ha-a</td>
<td>&quot;Rest(abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>רֹוָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-ab-ba-a</td>
<td>&quot;Warrior(abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>סָאָבָבָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za-ba-da-a</td>
<td>&quot;He portioned(abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>זָבָדָא</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of these names we are justified in concluding that the pronunciation of the laryngal sounds was among the West Semites of Babylonia stronger than that of the Assyrian West Semites. This of course does not refer to the Aleph and ה quiescences, which should not properly be termed laryngals, the pronunciation of which was by both in Babylonia and Assyria alike. But it is true as far as the pronunciation of ה, as strong radical, and 'Ain is concerned. Among the Assyrian names we found only in isolated cases the rendering of ה with the laryngal ה.
while among the West Semitic names of Babylonia this rendering seems to be regular. In some words the etymology might perhaps not be beyond any doubt. But this is certainly not the case in the rendering of the Divine Name Jahu with \( \text{Ja}(a)\mu(n) \), as found in the names \( \text{Ja-}a-\mu-\text{u-la-ki-im} \), \( \text{Ja-}a-\mu-\text{u-}n \), \( \text{Ja-}a-\mu-\text{u-na-ta-}n \), nor in the rendering of the root לְמָ""to give", as found in the names בֶּל(בְּאָ)ל-ia'a-
hab and קִ-u-su-ia-a-la-bi. Among the Assyrian names we found these two words, but they are always rendered \( \text{Ja}(a)u \) and ia-a-bi. That these different pronunciations of the Divine Name actually existed among the Hebrews we know from the biblical renderings גְּה ו and יִב in the personal names גְּהָשׁ and גְּהָש, גְּהָנָה and גְּהָנָה, גְּהָדָא, and גְּהָדָא, etc. The writing ia-a-bi has its analogy in Syriac גְּהָדָא in which the \( \He \) is quiescent and throws back its vowel to the preceding radical. The same \( \He \) quiescent we must see in the Divine Name Yahveh, which as second element in Hebrew names the Babylonian scribes rendered ia-a-ma = Jahweh and not ia-ah-ma. If we had only the difference in the writing of the Divine Name, we might see in it a remarkable coincidence that the Judeans who were exiled to Babylonia preserved not only the religion of Yahveh but also the correct pronunciation of His Name, while the Israelites exiled to Assyria neglected both His religion and the correct pronunciation of His Name. But we have also the difference in the rendering of ia-a-bi. Then it would perhaps be more correct to suggest that the Judeans and the Edomites who were closely associated with them pronounced the \( \He \) and perhaps also other laryngals stronger than the peo-
people of North Israel and perhaps also some other West Semites, as the Phoenicians, as seen above.

Regarding the pronunciation of 'Ain, among the Assyrian names we have not one single instance where at the end of a word, in the Auslaut, it is rendered by h, while this rendering is frequently found in the West Semitic names of Babylonia, as in Abi-ia-di-bi, Bēl-ia-a-da-ah, Ia-da-ah-Ia-a-ma, etc., and in Shāma-hu-u-nu = אֵינָהוֹן (son of Ia-di-ih-Ia-a-ma). The writing is-da' is only found in Ku-nu-su-ia-da'- (an Edomite name!), and the writing shā-ma- in Shāma-ʾ-El, but of Shā-mu-n = אֵינָהוֹן. It is scarcely a coincidence that one of the bearers of the name Ia-a-da-hu-Nabû happens to be the son of Nabû-ha-ka-bi, as it shows that both father and son pronounced the 'Ain correctly, as in the case of Iadih-Iama and Shamhunu. So also a certain Ha-na-na is the son of Minahimmu; Ha-na-ni-ʾ is the son of Iadihu-El. But the material at our disposal is not large enough to investigate the pronunciation of the laryngals genealogically. Concerning the pronunciation of Gaın(ח), there does not seem to be a root with this laryngals among the West Semitic names of Babylonia. Considering, however, that the pronunciation of 'Ain in the latter was stronger than in those of Assyria, it is a foregone conclusion that Gaın had the same strong pronunciation in Babylonia as among the West Semites of Assyria, and we may expect to find this sound rendered with h.

The results of our investigations are presented in the following Table of Consonants, showing the cuneiform renderings of the West Semitic sounds in the Sargonic, Hammurabi, Amarna, Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian periods.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Aram-Syr.</th>
<th>Arab.</th>
<th>Sargonic</th>
<th>Hammur.</th>
<th>Amarna</th>
<th>Assyrian</th>
<th>Neo-Babylonian</th>
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</tbody>
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* = vowel-sign;  = guttural-sign;  = breathing-sign.
IV. List of Personal Names.

(Note: The ideograms Dingir, Dingir-Mesh = ilu, ili are rendered in these West Semitic names with El, occasionally Eli. This may not always have been the actual pronunciation. In some names the pronunciation may have been ili, or even Alaha. But the common pronunciation was El and also Eli. The latter rendering we use also for the pseudo-ideogram NI-NI = ili. BE-li, BE in the Sargonic period is rendered Balî= Ba'al (cf under The Laryngals)

A-a-ab-bu "Ja(hu) is father" = biblical יִבְיָי (cf Ia-abi, Ia-ab-ba-a) JADD 742, R.70.
A-a-am-me "Ja(hu) is the Ammu" = יִבְיָי (cf Am-mi-Ia, A-mi-Ia, Am-mi-ba-il, etc) JADD 296, R.3.
A-a-ka-li "Ja(hu) is the ḫālu" (cf Ia-ha-a-lu, Ia-ha-lu, Ia-ha-lum) JADD 5, VIII, 10.
A-a-il-a-at "Ja(hu) is God" = biblical יִבְיָי HABL 287, 5.
A-a-lu-nu "Ja(hu) is for us" = יִבְיָי (cf Ia-a-hu-lu-nu) Sargon, Annals, 281
A-a-me-tu-nu "Ja(hu) is our man" (cf Ahi-meti, El-me-ti and Metunu) JADD 69, 6.
A-a-na-tu-a "Ja(hu) has planted" (?) Evidently pers. name, though n.loc: "village of A." JADD 4, III, 18
A-a-ni'-ri "Ja(hu) is (my) light" (cf Na-ha-ra-A-ṇ, Ha-mu-ni-ri and bibl יִבְיָי) JADD 29, 5.
A-a-ni-e, perhaps "He answers", = יִבְיָי (of bibl יִבְיָי ?), but see A-a-sal-e.
A-a-ra-mu, var. opolitan Adad-rammu, Ahi-ramu, etc)
A-ari-im-mu, an Aramised form of the preceding name with Part. pass. be SamSargon, Annals, 281.

A-asam-mu, perhaps "Ja(hu) hu has placed" (cf. Isa-am, bibli., perhaps also Isa-su-mu) Sargon, Annals, 255.

A-sag-gi-ia "Ja(hu) is great at" (cf. Sag-ia and Sag-gi-ia)
HABL 214,4.

A-sal-e "Ja(hu) is my protection" (? =As-silli?, but see A-an-i-e JADD 322, 391 R.21.III R.48,61c.

A-tu-ri "Ja(hu) is (my) re-erock" (cf bibli. for Gilgamesh and Adu-ni-tu-ri, Sis-tumuri, etc) JADD 186,3.

A-u-id-ri "Ja(hu) is (my) help" (cf A-u-ia-ri, El-ia-ri; Ad-ia-El, etc and bibl. JADD 741,14.

A-ab-ba "The Father..." (abbreviation, cf A-ab-ba-tabum)
CT II, 41, 8

A-ab-ba-a, see preceding name CT VIII, 9, 8

A-ab-ba-tabum(-bu-um) "The Father is good" (originally West Semitic) C.T. IV, 50, 21 El

A-ab-ba-um-wa-ak-ru "The Brother is precious" (originally West Sem.; cf A-hu(-um)-wa-kar) VS VII, 4, 16

A-ap-pa-a "The Father..." (abbreviation, cf A-ab-ba-a and A-ap-pa-tabum) C.T. IV, 30, 4, etc., etc.

A-ap-pa-tabum, see under A-ab-ba-tabum CT VIII, 31, 22, 20, 25

A-ba-d(D)a-di "The Father is the Dadu", or "The father is Dada (=Adad, cf. Bi-Dadi, Giri-Dadi) Reis 152, III, 1, etc

A-ba-gu-um (probably abbreviation, cf A-ba-gu-um-mi) JADD 179, R.4
ibid R.2, 2.

A-ba-El "The father is God" (? (cf also A-ba-a-El, JADD 197, R.2, and A-ba-il, ibid 448, 48, 2) ibid. 425, 13.

A-ba-ha-zi-ia "My Father is helpeing" (? , perhaps better "restraining", T-D 1, 28.)
A-ba-Il, see under A-ba-El

A-ba-ka-me "The Father has arisem" (cf Abi-kāmu, Ahi-kāmu, etc., and bibl. ʿābīʾāʾ, etc.) JADD 275 R.6

A-ba-ra-ha-am "The Father has loved". Lutz, II Yale Orien. Ser., 15, 13 (Lutz connects this name with that of Abraham, ibid. p. 6f)

A-ba-ra-na "The Father is lofty" (cf bibl. ʿābīʾāʾ, etc. and Abi-rāme, Ahi-rāmu, etc.) VS VII, 92, 6.13

A-ba-a, see under A-ab-ba-a JADD 752, 6.

A-ba-a-a, see under A-ab-ba-a JADD 742, R.16

A-ba- ʿA-gu-u-ni "The father is Agūni, see under A-ba-gu-u.

A-ba-tābum, see A-ab-ba-tābum CT IV 25, 13

A-bi-ka "My Father lives" (? cf Aāni-ina and bibl. ʿābīʾāʾ, ʿābīʾāʾ) Amarna 69, 25, 29

A-bu-ta-bu, see A-abba-tābum BE XV 200, IV, 15.

A-ba-a "Servant of..." (abbrev., cf Ab-a-ba-) JADD 210 R.17 etc. JADB 3, IV, 15, etc.

A-ba- (see A-ba-a) BE VIII, 158, 9.10, etc


A-ba-da-nu (see under the preceding name) BE XV 27, 17.

A-ba-li =Abda-iliki "The servant of God"? (see Tallquist, APN, p. 3) JADD 28, R.2. (cf Ab-da-El ibid. 523, R.2)

A-ba-tābu(-bu) "Abda is good" (for connection of this name with tomb at Amarna T-D 62, 17.

Ab-di-A-ra-ab "Servant of the Moongod" (cf Ph ) CT II, 15.


"Servant of Astarte" (cf Ab-du-Ish-ta-ra, Phoenician
Tallquist's translation "Servant of Ashera" (APN, p. 3) is also correct, as there was a close connection between Ishtar and Ashera, see Zimmer, KAT 3, p. 420ff).


Ab-di-Bēl "Servant of Bēl" (cf. Ph. באל ) JADD 210, L. E.

Ab-di-El "Servant of God" (cf. Ha-ab-di-El and bibl. names מַעַל, מַעַל and Saf. מַעַל ) CT VIII, 50, 8

Ab-di-Hi-mu-mu "Servant of the Sungod" (Himunu = לֹא "sun-pilar" is an equivalent of Ba'āl as solar deity, cf. the divine name לֹא and Pum. pr  לֹא and perhaps bibl. n. pr. loc. לֹא ) JADD 210, L. E. 2

Ab-di-Ia-ri "Servant of the Helper" (?; the abstract noun אָדַר "help" may have been used for the concrete אָדַר or אָדַר "the Helper", as equivalent of a deity cf. this usage of Heb. אָדַר ) JADD 17, R. 2.

Ab-di-Li'-ti "Servant of the goddess" (=Abā-El'hit or -Elit and cf. Ph. n. pr. loc. אֵל הַבָּא "Goddess is Isis" and Pal. n. pr. m. אֵל הַבָּא = "Goddess is Isis"? Tallquist, APN, p. 292 connects it with לֵית "strength"; but this word is Akkadian, and Abdi-Li'ti is a Phoen.) I R Semn II, 49.

Ab-di-Li-me(mu) "Servant of the gods" (=Abā-Elim and cf. Ph. n. pr. m. שְׁנֵבְר) JADD 151, 1, 157, 1, 33.

Ab-di-Mil-ki "Servant of Melech" (= Molech, cf. Ph. מֶלֶךְ and bibl. n. pr. מַעַל ) UMBS II, 1, 266 (JADD 1040, 5: Abdi-Mil-ki. Cf Amarna Nitah-Lugal = Abdi-Miliki, 123, 37, 203, 3 ?).
Ab-di-Mi-il-ku-ut-ti (variants Ab-di-Mil-ku-u-te, Ab-di-Mil-ku-ut-ti, Ab-di-Me-il-ku-ut-ti, Ab-di-Mi-il-ku-ti)

"Servant of the godhead (or cult) of Melech" (לַבַּדְוִי מֵלֵךְ), which can scarcely mean "Servant of the kingdom", and phonetically can neither correspond to Ph. n. pr. m. לַבַּדְוִי מֵלֵק "Servant of Melqart", nor to לַבַּדְוִי מֵלֵק "Servant of Malkat", as Zimmerm, KAM p. 472, suggests) I R 45, A. I, 51. B, II, 27. C. II, 4, etc.

Ab-di-Ra-sh var. of Abdi-Arah. CT VIII, I, 3. 5. 4. 10.

Abdi(-i)-Ra-ma "Servant of the High one" Amarna 123, 36.

Ab-di-Sam-si "Servant of the Sun god" (cf. Ph. n. pr. מִילֵק = Greek Φοίνικας ) JADD I, 3.

Ab-di-Si-har "Servant of the Moon god" (cf. Sin. n. pr. מִילֵק; R. Tallquist, APN compares Pun. מִילֵק, but Sihar resembles more Targ. מִילֵק) JADD 254, R. 4

Ab-di-Sur (?) "Servant of the Rock" (cf. Hebrew מִילֵק as epithet of God and bibl. n. pr. מִילֵק ) JADD 386, R. 7

Abdi-Shar-ru-ma "Servant of the King" (perhaps better Abdi-Sar-ru-ma; Sar-ru = Melech ?) Ta'annek 7, 3.

Abdi-Shar-ru-ma (?) "Servant of Sharōn" (cf. n. pr. loc. שָׁרֹן = bibl. מִילֵק; the deity of this district may have had the same name) Ta'annek 4, R. 6.

Abdi-Tir-shi "Servant of Tirsh" (perhaps = מִילֵק "wine", thus = Dionysos, and cf. מִילֵק = Dagan with מִילֵק "grain", as god of grain; see Jensen, Kosmologie, pp. 449-56; Canaan is called מִילֵק (Dt. 33, 28) Amarna 223, 3.

Abdi-Utrash "Servant of the Sungod" (Urash = Heres or כָּרָשָׁה = Shemesh; but of Pun. n. pr. מִילֵק) Amarna 170, 36.

Ab-du-mu(u-ni) "Servant of..." (abbrev. with hypocoristic ending in

A-lu-mu, Na-ra-mu-um, Na-tu-mu-um, etc., see Hanke, EN 25ff) JADD 311, 7, R.3.429, 29, etc.
A-bi-A-ra-ah "Father is the Moongod" (cf. Abi-Era and Palm n.pr

"The Moongod is Ba'al") CT IV, 50, 21.
A-bi-a-sa-ad "The Father has established" (cf. Abi-a-sa-ad, Pun. n.pr. and Palm. 25.16, 16)
A-bi-ba(-')-al "The father is Ba'al" (cf. Ph. bi'-ba-yan and Pun. bi'-yan)
Ashurb: A, II, 120, 130; B, II, 79, 86; Amm. II, 82, 90, etc.
A-bi-da-a-nu "The Father has judged" (cf. Bibl, n.pr. 25.16, 16, Talm

JADD 73, R.4.74, R.3.
A-bi-El "The father is God" (cf. Bibl. bi'-El, Saf. bi'-El)
CT II, 25, 30
A-bi-E-ra-ah "Father is the Moongod" (cf. Abi-Arak) CT VI, 28, 29.
A-bi-e-shu-uk "The Father has helped" (cf. South-Arab. bi'-shu and
bibl. n.pr. bi'-shu) CT VIII, 27, 23, etc.
A-bi-Ha-ar "Father is Horus" (cf. Abi-Hari/ru, Api-Hari, Ha-ri-ma-

li-ki, and Ha-ra(Ha-ri, Har)-sharru(or maliku?), but also
Si'-Ha-ri!) CT VIII, 27, 28.
A-bi-ja'-li "The Father is a warrior" (? , cf. Abi-ki-el, Ha-El,
Lu-ka'-il, Si'-ka-ill, Saf. ka'-ish and bibl. bi'-ka?) JADD, 215, 3.
Abi-Ha-ri(-ru), see under Abi-Har. JADD 3, VI, 8, VIII, 4.
A-bi-ki-el, see under Abi-ka-li T-D.238, 10.
A-bi-la-a-ha "The Father brings into life", or "The Father lives
(c.f. the cuneiform names compounded with bullitu "to bring
into life", but cf. also Ia-hi-Milki, A-du-ni-ik-a, Ph. n.r.

JADD 255, 255.4.
A-bi-i-a-di-i-' "The Father knows" (= נִדְרֶה נָא הָאָדָם "The Father is known" and cf. bibl. דָּוִדְוִי and Palm ב-וֹ לְהוֹ) HABL 280,16.

A-bi-i-a-di-bi, see preceding name. BE VIII,17,11.

A-bi-i-a-ka "The Father is precious" (cf. Abu-m-wakar, Abu-a-kar, Hali-wakar, etc) HABL 774,R.1,11

A-bi-i-a-shu-ka "The Father has helped" (see Abi-esshuh) MAP,97,27.

A-bi-i-a-ta-ar "The Father excels" (cf bibl. יִתְחַל פָּרֹת, יִתְחַל פָּרֹת) La-ta-rum) Lindl 583,8.

A-bi-i-la-a-a "Father is (my) God" (= נִדְרֶה נָא הָאָדָם, cf. Abi-El) = Abi-א"א א"א "Father is Jahan"?) HABL 550,4, etc.

A-bi-i-ka-mu "My (?) Father has arisen" (Abi(-i)-ka-mu, cf. A-ba-ka-me, Abi-ka-mu, but also Abi-i-a-ka-ka-mu) JADD 246, R.13.

A-bi-i-sir "The Father was righteous" (isir = eshir, Babylonized form; cf. I-shar-Shamash, Ia-sha.ru-um) T-D 169, III,1.

A-bi-ma-ra-as "The Father was grieved" (cf. A-ta-ma-ra-as and Li-bi-bi-ili-li-im-ra-as) CT VIII,41,17, etc.

A-bi-ma-Tar perhaps "Truly, the Father is A(th)tar" (=Abi-ma-Atar, cf. Abi-ma-Ishtar, perhaps to read Abi-ma-Atar, as Arabic Athtar is a male deity) T-D,73,31.

A-bi-Mil-ki "Father is Melech" (cf bibl. יִתְחַל פָּרֹת) Amarna 146,2, etc.

A-bi-ma-di-ib "The Father is generous" (cf bibl. יִתְחַל פָּרֹת, יִתְחַל פָּרֹת) and Na-ad-bi-Ia-a-u, Na-ad-bi-Ia and Kam-mu-su na-ad-bi) Strassm Neboch 266,3.

A-bi-ka-mu "The Father has arisen" (cf. Abi-i-ka-mu) JADD 845, II, R.3


A-bi-ra-hu-u, see preceding name. BE X.

A-bi-sa-ri-e "The Father is generous" (= Arab סֵפָרֹת and cf. סֵפָרֹת) Lidzb p.331) king of Larsa.
Abi-ra-me(-mu) "The father is as exalted" (cf. Aba-rama) JADD 194, R.7.

Abi-ra-mi, see preceding name J. JADD 70, R.6.

A-bi-tahum(-bu-um), see A-ab-bal-tahum Meek, HBL, 20, 14.

Ab-sha-a, an obscure abbreviation (cf. bibl. Ab-hu-r, and Palm)

JADD 420, 5.

A-bu-a-kar "The Father is precious" (cf. Abi-iskar) T-D 119, 17.

A-bu-Da-d, see Aba-Dadi. CT VII VI, 7, 33.

A-bu-lu, perhaps "The Father is God" (=Abu-ilu?) JADD 5, I, 22.


A-bu-um-wa-kar "The Father is precious" (cf. Abi-iskar) CT VIII, 46, 42.

Adad-ba-rak-ka "Adad has blessed" (cf. Bbl-ba-rak-ki, El-ba-rak-ku

Shamash-ba-ra-ku, and bib. biblical. ד"כ ליל יבש והב and Phoen

JADD 292, R.5.

Adad-bi'-di, perhaps "Adad is as about me" (cf. Aram. י"ע ת and

and l-a-u-bi'-di var. I-bi-lu-u-bi'-di, Mar-bi'-di, but also

Sa-gi-il-bi'-di) JADD 62, 6 VII, 6.

Adad-id-ri- "Adad is (my?) help" (cf. Aram י"ע ת and Aram and bib.

and see Abdi-bi-I'ari) Strassm Dar, 532, 3.

Adad-Mil-ki "Adad is the Melech" (cf. Da-ga-na-Mil-ki and Mil-ki-

Adad) JADD 86, R.15.

Adad-Mil-ki-mu "Adad is the MilMilkôm" "(? or read Adad-Milki-ia

"Adad is my Melech"; cf. to the divine name Milkôm and see Ges-

Buhl's HWB a.v.) BE VIII, 11, 80, 5.

Adad-na-ta-an(-ta-nu) "Adad has given" JADD 209, R.14. Str Nahd 201

Adad-ra-am-mu "Adad is exalted" (cf. Aba-rama) BE X 126, 14.

Adad-ra-ba-a "Adad is great" (cf. E-lu-ra-i-ba) JADD 268, R.3.

Adad-ra-ha-mu "Have mercy, 0 Adad!" (= 3ham, Imp) Str Ncbch 118, 9

Adad-ra-ha-a-u "Adad is his sheep" (cf. Ad-uru-ra-hi-i and Ad-

ra-a-ha-u) JADD 742, 28, 28.
Adad-ra-hi-mu "Adad has been merciful" (or "is merciful"; cf. Adad-rahamu) JADD 263, R.3.

Adad-ra-pa'(-a) "Adad has healed" (cf. Ad-du-ra-pa'-, Nabû-ra-pa-)
JADD 46, R.E.2.325 R.E.3.

Adad-sa-gab "Adad is strong" (cf. Nabû-sa-gab) JADD 746, 14.

Adad-sa-ka(a) perhaps "Adad has seen" (cf. Si'-sa-ka-a, Si-e-se-ki,)
JADD 899, III, 5.

Adad-sa-na-ni not "Adad has hated me" (cf. Sa-na-a-nu, Sa-na-an, Sa-ni-i, Sa-ni-ni?) JADD 231, R.9.

Adad-ta-ka-a perhaps = Adad-takā "Adad, thou protectest" (connected with Arab ܐܒܐ "to protect, preserved"?) JADD 231, R.7.

Adad-ta-kal perhaps "Adad, thou prevailest" (cf. Aram. ܒܕܐ " )

Adad-ta-ku-um-mu "Adad, thou wilt arise" (cf. Abi-kamu) Str Nbd 764, 16.


A-dar-ri-El "God has helped" (cf. Ia-da-ar-ni-"-El and bibl. ܒܕܐ "BE X 91, 7.

Ad-ša-ša-ni "Adad has judged" (cf. El-ia-di-mu) Amarna 294, 3.

Ad-ši-id-ri "Addu is (my)help" (cf. Adad-idri) JADD 17, R.2.

Ad-du-mu perhaps = Adad-ša-mu "Addu is the Ammu" (the bearer of the name is a Phoenician; but cf. Palm אשתא WAF III, p.177f.

Ad-du-ru-pa-"Adad has healed" (cf. Adad-ropa) Str Nbd 578, 6.

'Ad-di-šu-Nabû = Ia-di-šu-Nabû, see Abi-šiadi' BE VIII 151, 20.

A-di'-El = Ia-di'-El, see Abi-šiadi' Str Nbd 70, 1, 7. 13.

Ad-ma-mu = Hebrew אַשָּׁדַי "ruddy" (?) HABL 520, 4.

Ad-na-a-u (cf. bibl. nn. prr. נד ע, פנ ע) JADD 742, 31, etc.

Ad-ra-ha-a-u = Adad-ra-ha-a-u, q.v. HABL 775, 7. 18.

Ad-ra-ku-u "Adad is a shepherd" BE X, 99, 2.
A-du-me-e, cf. Ad-du-mu ? (or Ad-ma-mu, then = "ים?"
BE X, 66, 13.
A-du-na (king of Arka) "The Lord (Adonis)... (abbreviated, cf. the
following names) Amarna 75, 25, 140, 10.
A-du-na-iz (-i-zi) "Adonis is strong" (cf. Phoen ḫyry, bibl.
A-phry, ḫyry) JADD 3, 3, 26, 1, 4.
A-du-ni-Ba'-al "Adonis (or "the Lord") is Ba'al" (cf. A-du-nu-
Ba'-li, Ph. ḫyry, Pun. bry, Ashurb A, II, 121, 130, etc.
A-du-ni-iz-a "Adonis lives" (see Ab-i-ahia) JADD 148, 3.
A-du-ni-tu-ri "Adonis is (my) rock" (cf. As-turi) JADD 240, 5.
A-du-nu-Ba'-li, see Aduni-Ba'al) Salm III: Monol II, 94.
A-du-nu-mat-usur (a hybrid name) "O Adonis, protect the country!"
JADD 513, R. 5.
A-du-nu-nadin-aplu (a hybrid name?) "Adonis gives a son" (perhaps
to read A-du-nu-iatana (-a), and of El-ia-za-a-mu, Ia-ta-
Ad-ra-ia (abbreviated from a name like the following Ad-ri-El,
with hypocor ending -ia) JADD 360, 9.
Ad-ri-El "(My) help is God" (cf. bibl יִהְיֶה יִהְיֶה) JADD 53, 5.
Ak-bur perhaps = bibl. יִבְלֵא "Mouse" JABL 331, 8. JADD 202, 3.
Ah-bu-a-ia-bi "The brother is my enemy" (? , cf. bibl יִבְלֵא ?
CT VI 262, 1. (cf. Ranke, PN, p. 221)
A-ha-ab-bu (Ahab, king of Israel) "The brother of the father" (?
of the following names) Salm III: Monol II, 91.
Ah-a-bu-u (see A-ha-ab-bu) BE X 93, 4.
Ah-abi-ia, (see Ahabbu) Strassm Dar 447, 4.
(HABL 197, R. 27, daughter of Sargon) Str Dar 576, 2
A-hi-ba-as-tu "The Brother is abundance" JADD 64, R. 11 etc

Ahi-ia-am-nu "The Brother counts, ordains" (cf Ahi-mannu, Si'-manmi bibl. תמר and Aram שִׁמְרָא) JADD 625, 12.

Ahi-ia-ba-ba "The Brother has rejoiced" (cf Aa-ia-ba-ba, Adad-ia-bibi, Si'-ia-ba-ba etc) Ashurn. Annals I, 76, 81, 93, etc

Ahi-ia-di', see Abi-ia-di' HABL 1311, 5.

Ahi-ia-mi "The Brother is Jehovah" (? cf. Ahi-ia-a-ma) Ta'annek 2, 2

Ahi-ia-a-ma, see preceding name and cf. Iadhi-ia-ma, etc, and bibl. יִדְּחָה בֵּית ל. BE IX, 45, 2.

Ahi-ia-pa' "The Brother has shone forth" (cf. Iapah-Addu, Iapahi, and Iapa-El-Dilbat) CM 17, 4.

Ahi-ia-ka-a-mu "My Brother has arisen" (or = Ahi-ia-kōm "the Brother will arise", cf. also Abi-kame) JADD 755, R.5.

Ahi-ia-kar "The Brother is precious" (cf. Ahi-ia-kar and JADD 251, R.3.468, 1, R.1.

Ahi-ia-ni "The brother is JAbu" (cf. Ahi-ia-a-ma) JADD 176, 4.
Ahi-a-ia-am-lik "My Brother is king" (Ia-am-li-ik-El, Ba-al-ma-lu-ka, Ka-ush-ma-la-ka) VS IX, 51, 16.

Ahi-a-sa-ad "The Brother has founded" (cf. Abi-asad) CT VIII, 4, 50.

Ahi-ila-a-a "The Brother is God" (or read: Ahi-a-a "Brother is Ya(hu), and cf. Ahi-Ia-u?) JADD 364, R. 9.

Ahi-Im-me-e "The Brother is the Ammu" (cf Ba-la-Im-me, Si'-Im-me, JADD 742, 30, etc (cf var. AhI-me-e, ibid. 427, 3, 899, I, 25.

Ahi(-i)-pa-da "My Brother has redeemed" (cf. Adad-pa-da-a, Pad-El, Pa-di-i, and bibl. חיתות, חיתות JADD App. I. IX, 10.

Ahi(-i)-ka-mu "My Brother has arisen" (see AbI-kamu and cf. bibl. חיתות) JADD 251, R. 3.

Ahi(i)-ra-mu "My Brother is exalted" (cf Aba-rama) JADD 234, R. 7.

Ahi-Li'-ti(-te) "The Brother is the Godhead" (= Abi-Elihit, see Abdi-Li'-ti) JADD 181, 3, 199, 2, 741, 38.

Ahi-ma-mu "The Brother has counted, ordained" (cf Ahi-iammu and bibl. חיתות) JADD 329, R. 10.

Ahi-me-ti var. Ahi-mi-ti "The Brother is a Man" (cf Aa-metunu, and bibl. חיתות) Sarg: Annals 218; Khors 94.

Ahi-Mil-ki "The Brother is the Melesh" (cf Abi-Milki, and bibl. חיתות and Pun. חיתות Ashurb: A, II, 123, III, 2; Ann II, 92

Ahi-ama-d-bi "The Brother is generous" (cf Abi-na-dib, bibl. חיתות and Phoen. חיתות JADD 242 R. 9.

Ahi-ra-mu "The Brother is exalted" (cf. Aba-rama and bibl. חיתות and חיתות) JADD 27 R. 2 etc.

Ahi-Sam-si "The Brother is the Sungod" JADD 195, 1.

Ahi-su-ru "The Brother is a wall" (cf. Ata-suru, Atar-suru, Dadi-suru and Palm "Greek βασιλεύει "1) JADD 661, 20.

Ahi-ta-a-bu "The Brother is good" (cf A-ab-ba-tabum and bibl. חיתות, Aram. חיתות) Amarna 8, 14, 16, etc.
Ahi-Ta-li(Tal-li) "Brother is the Dew" (cf. bibl. אַלְפִי JADD 223,6.447
A-hu-la-a-a perhaps = Ahu-ila "The Brother is God" (cf. Ahi-ila-a-a
Strassm 51,25, etc.
A-hu-la perhaps = Ahu-ila, see preceding name BE IX,3a,11.
A-hu-lu, see Ahu-la-a-a Cappad. E,2,16.
A-hu-um-wa-kar, see Ahi-ia-kar CT VIII,36,3, etc.
A-hu-ut-Mil-ki "Sister of Melech" (cf. Phoen. מְלָכָה ; this name is
the fem. counterpart to the masculine name Ahi-Milki: "Sis-
ter of Melech" means the same as "Brother is Melech"; but
the very fact that the latter term was not used as fem.
as well, indicates that in the popular etymology, the name
was interpreted as "Brother of Melech", which is of course
impossible, as seen from the analogy of Ahi-Milki) JADD 894.
A-ka-ru "He has stirred up" (? , cf. bibl. אֱלֵי ) JADB 13,9.
A-la-hi-im perhaps = Ali-ahim, see Ali-ahu Capp.G.16,2,3, etc.
A-li-a-ha-ti "Ali (the High one) is my sister" Poebel, BE 5,3.
A-li-a-hu "Ali is the Brother" (for Ali in pure Akkadian names
see Chapter III, Phonetics, Laryngals p. ) OM A,19,25 etc.
Ch.4,14.
A-li-wa-kar "Ali is precious" CT VIII,37,9 Strassm 53,1, etc.
A-li-wa-kar-tum, same as preceding name. Strassm 53,6, etc.
Al-la-a = אַלָּא "The God..." (abbrev. cf. following names compoun-
ded with this WS divine designation) Str.Dar.318,18.
Al-la-Milki(Lugal) "Allā is the Melech" JADB 9,IV,10,5,1,2,II,5.
Al-la-am = Al-la-amnu "Alla is the Ammu" (cf. bibl. אַלֲמַנָּה and Pun.
^ל^ו^נ^ו ) T-D.84,3.
Al-la-sa-mu "Alla has placed" (? , cf. Aa-sammu) Reiss 145,6.
Al-Na-ash-hu-Mil(-ki) Al-Nashhu is the Melech" (al here and in the following names is probably the Arabic article, cf. Hiprecht, BE X, p.XIII) JADB 2, I, 10 (Nashhu WS form of Akkadian Nusku, cf. ibid, p.12f; Hommel, Grundriss, p.87, and frequently occurs, without article, in the names Na-
ash-hu-a-a-li, -gabri, -idri, katar, -sagab, -sama' -anni; also in the form Na-shuh in the names Na-shuh-a-kar, 
dilinu, -dimri, -iababa, manani, -natana, etc)

Al-Si'-Mil-ki "Al-Si' (= Sim) is the Melech" (see preceding name; for the palatalization of n in Sim, see Chapter III, under Dentals) JADB 1, I, 26.

Al-te-ih-ri-niri-" "The Dawn is My light" (For Sheru = Ⱛⲃⲁⲧⲓ, as divine name, cf. the Old-Babyl. names Ibni-Sherum, Nam-
ram-Sherum, etc; cf. also Pun. Ⱛⲃⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ. Al-Tehebri = Al-
Thehri does not linguistically correspond to Ⱛⲃⲧⲁⲩ, but neither does Ⱛⲧⲧⲧⲧ-ⲓⲏⲣ-ⲓⲃ ( = Il-Them-mesh) to Ⱛⲧⲧⲧⲧ-ⲫⲧⲧⲧⲧ-ⲫⲧⲧ-ⲫⲧⲧ-ⲫⲧⲧ-ⲫⲧⲧ-ⲫⲧ, nor Athtar to Ishtar; their pronunciation may be due to erroneous etymology; cf. Chapter III, under Sibilants)

A-ma-Sin "The Ammu is the Moongod" (cf. Si'-imme) OM A, 5, 3.
A-man-A-a "Faithful is JA(hu)" (?but more probable A-man-il-a-
a-a "Ammon is my God") JADB 13, II, 3.
A-mar-El "The God has said" (cf. El-a-ma-ra, bibl. תֵּחַ אֹ מִיָּה יָּוִי) HABL 179, 2, 329, 2.

Am-ia-ta-" "The Ammu will help" (cf South-Arab ⰼⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧ ⰼⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧ ⰼⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧⲧ) HABL 564, 4, 9.
Am-ia-te-"u "The Ammu will help him" (cf prec. name) JADB 229, R.5
A-mi-i-a "My Ammu" (abbrev) UMBS IX No. 2, 1, IX, 4.
A-mi-Li'-ti "(My) Ammu is the godhead" (cf. Abdi'iliti and Ahi-Li'-
ti) HABL 414, R.10.
Am-ma-Ba'-li, variants Am-me-Ba'-la, Am-me-Ba'-li and Am-mi-
Pa'-li "Ammu is the Ba'al" (cf. Am-mi-Ba-il, Balimmi, etc.; for Pa'li = Ba'lli see Chapter III, under Labials)
III R 5, Ashurn R. 36. Annals, II, 12, 37, 47, 118, 119, etc. 22.
Am-ma-la-din var. Am-mu-la-di-in perhaps "The Ammu may be for
this one" (cf. Nabu-la-di, Nabulaka, I-la-la-ka, and
Aktur-la-Nashhu'a combination with damu is scarcely
Am-ma-mu "Ammu..." (abbrev. with hypocor ending -mu) JADD 860, III
Am-ma-shi' (perhaps Egyptian = Amasis) BE X, 23, 11.
Am-me-a-la-ba (Arab "Ammu has conquered"?, cf. bibl. ידב and
Sinaitic ידב) Tigr. II, Ann. 79.
Amme-Ba'la, see Amma-Ba'li.
Am-me-ia-nasir "My Ammu protects" CM, 3, 12.
Am-me'-ta- (Arab) "Ammu will help" (? , cf. Am-ia-ta-) HABL 260, R.
6.
Am-mi-Bail "The Ammu is Ba'al" (cf. Amma-Ba'li) VS VII, 204, 25.
Am-mi-di-ta-na "The Ammu is a leader" (? The meaning of di-ta-na
is still doubtful, though this word is found as the fo-
reign name of a strong animal living in the mountains
(cf. Ranke, PN, p. 225, m. 7; but it is no doubt connected
with bibl. nn. prr. ידב ידב ; cf Sa-am-su-di-ta-na
Su-mu-di-ta-na, Su-mu-zi-id-ku-di-ta-na) CT VII, 36, 24, etc.
Am-mi-ha-at-na "Ammu is the protector" (cf. Sumu-ha-at-nu.) OLZ
IX, 1906, col. 632.
Am-mi-ia, see A-mi-i-a CT VIII, 7.2, etc.

Am-mi-na-ad-bi "The Ammu is generous" (cf. Abi-nadab and bibl.

Ammi-Pa'li, see Amma-Ba'li

Am-mi-za-du-ga "The Ammu is righteous" (cf. bibl.

Ammu-ladin, see Amma-ladin.

Am-mu-ni-ra var. Ha-mu-ni-ri "The Ammu is (my) light" (cf. bibl. Amarna 136, 29, 137, 15, etc.

Am-mu-ra-bi "The Ammu is lofty" CT II, 9, 17 (see Hammurabi)

Am-mu-Sa-lam "The Ammu is Peace". Salam = Shalom seems to be a divine name or an equivalent for a divine name, as so seen from Sim. Ph. and bibl. and thus may correspond to Assyrian Shulmanu. HABL 338, 12.

Am-ra-mu "The Ammu is exalted" (cf. bibl. 59, R. 2

Am-ra-pi' "The Ammu is lofty" (cf. Ammu-rabi) JADD 741, 21, 22.

Amurr(MAR-TU)-na-sa-pa( = na-sa-ba = Arab "to fix,fix,plant"

Amurr(KUR-CAL)-na-ta-nu "Amurr has given" HABL 963, 65, 6. Str. Nk 459

'-'A-na-a perhaps "He has answered" (cf. A-na-'El, A-u-ia-ia-a-mi and bibl.

A-na'-El "The God has answered" (cf. preceding name) BE X, X, 128, 20.

A-pi-Na-ri "The Apis is Horus" (Apis as representation of Osiris = Sungod Tammuz-Adonis = Sungod Horus) VS I, II, 109, 7.

Ap-ra-il "Apra is God" (?) OM D, 4, 4.
A-ka-ba "He has rewarded" (abbrev. of Akabi-El, and the following names) JADD 448, R. 20


A-ka-bi-ia perhaps "Ja(hu) has rewarded" or hypocor. with the hypocoristic ending -ia, cf. Talm בִּקְרַי ה'. Peiser, BV, 9, 9.

A-ka-bi-Ia-ma "Jahveh has rewarded" (Ia-ma = Ia-a-ma) PSBA XV, p. 15.

A-ka-bu-ia, see Akabi-ia see ibid.

Ak-bi-Ia-a-ma "The reward of Jahveh" UMBS II, No. 1, 27, 5.

A-kab-bi-El, see Akabi-El BE IX, 109, 1.

A-ku-bu (abbrev., cf. bibl הָיָה) Str. Camb. 84, 10.

Ak-tu-ur-la-Na-aksh-hu "I will sacrifice to Nashhu" (see Al-Nashhu-Milki, and cf. bibl הָיָה.) JADB 20, 8.

A-ku-ba' var. A-ku-ba-tum (abbrev.) Barton, Dar. 7, 8, 2, II, 3, 12 etc.

A-ku-bu (Akkubu, q. v.) BE VIII, 158, 36.

A-ra-an-hu "He has wandered" (abbrev., cf. bibl הָיָה) Str. Dar. 346, 9.

A-ra-hu , see preceding name. Str. Dar. 346, 10.

A-ra-hu-u, see Arahhu Dar. Beh. III R. 40, 88, 94.


Ar-na-ba-a "Hare" (cf. Syr. [५, ५, ५], Arab [५, ५, ५] = Hebr הַיָּרָה , but Akkad annabu) JADB 1, I, 1.

Ar-na-ba-tum, fem. form of the preceding name. CT VIII, 43, 22, etc.

A-ta-a-id-ri "Atâ is my help" (cf. the divine name יָּהָּ יָּהָּ יָּהָּ in Aramaic names, Lidzb. Handb., p. 347) JADB 5, VIII, 3, JADD 193 R, 3.

A-ta-ma-ra-as' "Ata was grieved" (cf. Abi-maras) CT II, 26, 3.
A-ta-su-ri "Ata is my wall" (cf. Ahi-su-ru) JADD I,1,1.
A-ta-wa-kar "Ata is precious" Lindl, p.140.
A-tar-a-a (probably hypocor. of a name compounded with the divine name Atar = Atkar = Ishtar; or A-tar-A-a "Ja(hu) has excelled, and cf. bibl. אָתָרָו?) JADD 288,R.4, etc.
A-tar-bi'-(di) "Atar is about me" (cf. Adad-bi'di) JADB II,II,9.
A-tar-El "Atar is God"?, but cf. Sab. אַטָרָו, thus more probable "The God has excelled"; see Zimmern, KAT² p.435, n.2, JADD III, p.197
III R 16, Esarh. A, VI, 73-B, VI, 23. JADD 118, R.6, etc.
A-tar-ka-am/mu "Atar is the Ammu" (?but in view of bibl. אַטָרָו, it is more probable "The Ammu has excelled", cf. KAT³ p.483, Hommel, Aufs. u. Abh., p.155) JADD 198,3.
A-tar-id-ri "Atar is my help" (cf. A-ta-id-ri) JADD 5,VII,2.
A-tar-ka-mu "Atar has arisen" (cf. Abi-kāmu) JADD 321,3.
A-tar-ri-id-ri, see Atar-idri Str. Camb. 145,12.
A-tar-su-ri(-su-ru) "Atar is (my) wall" (cf. Palm. אַטָרָו) JADD 148,4, etc.
A-tar-El, see Adī-El.
A-ta'-id-ri = Ata-idri, q.v. JADD 742,19.
A-u-ba'-di "Jahu is about me" (cf. Adad-bi'-di) JADD 22,3.
A-u-ba-a-di, see the preceding name. Pe 350,2.
A-u-ba-ri "Jahu creates" (cf. bibl. וַיִּבְרֵא) JADD 55, R.2.
A-u-bēl-ilē "Jahu is the lord of the gods" (WS, and to read Au-ba'al-elim ?; but it may be a hybrid name) VS I, 88, 29.
A-u-dan-in-a-ni "O, Jahu, strengthen me" (hybrid ?) VS I, 100,1.
A-u-din-a-ni ( = -i-din-a-ni) "Jahu gave me" (hybrid ?) VS I, 88, 25.
A-u-hu-tin = Jahu-thathen "Jahu is the protector" VS I, 89, 30.
A-u-iddin (read: A-u-natana?) "Jahu has given" JADD 143,1. VS I,93,25
A-u-id-ri "Jahu is (my) help" (cf. A-a-u-idri) JADD 17, L.E.3, etc.
A-u-ila-a-a "Jahu is God" (cf. Eli-la-a-u, and bibl. יִלָּלי JADD 69, R.4.
A-u-i-ra-a "Jahu sees" (cf. bibl. ma.prr. יֵלֶל JADD 741,20.
A-u-kil-la-a-mi "O, Jahu, hold me!" (hybrid?) JADD 153,3,154,3.
A-u-lu-u-a-a = יַלַל "Jahu is God" (cf. An-ila-a-a) VS I,86,2, etc.
A-u-ma-a-di, cf bibl. יֵלֶל, יְלַל OLZ VIII,131.
A-u-sa-bi-" Jahu is the Seven" (= Septenary Deity, cf. bibl. יֶלֶל OLZ VIII,132,30.
A-u-sa-lim perhaps = A-u-shallam "O, Jahu, restore!" (or hybrid ?, but cf. bibl. יֵלֶל, and notice that the bearer of the name is son of Sa-u-li = יִלָּל) VS I,93,2.
A-u-si-" = bibl. יֵלֶל, the last king of Israel; but the suneiform rendering corresponds to יֵלֶל, as of the former we would expect U-si'; cf. U-si- and U-si-la) III R 10,28a.
A-u-she-zib-bi (= Bibl-Aram יֵלֶל) "Jahu has saved" VS I,91,2.
A-za-ar-El "God has helped" (cf. bibl. יֵלֶל) V R Ashurb VII,108.
A-za-na-a-a perhaps "Ja(hu) has hearkened" (cf. bibl. יֵלֶל JADD 606, R.4.
A-zi-Ba'-al "strong is Ba'el" (for יֶלֶל as by-form of יֵלֶל "to be strong", see Heb. Dict.; cf. bibl. יֵלֶל.
Ashurb: A, II, 120, 123; Amm. II, 82, 88; Cyl. B, II, 78, 84.
A-zi-El "God is strong" (cf. bibl. יֵלֶל) JADD 161, R.4, etc.
A-zi-i abbreviated, like bibl. יֵלֶל. JADD 9, 7.
A-zi-lu var. A-zi-AN, see Azi-El (the var. A-zi-lu shows the pronun-
ciation Azilu = יֵלֶל ) Ashurb: Amm. I, 89, II, 30, 38, 45.
A-zir (?) - Ia-u "Jahu is helper" (cf. bibl. יֵלֶל) JADD 993, R. III, 3.
A-zi-ru/ri/ra "Helper" (abbrev) Amarna 107, 26, 114, 16, 149, 25, etc.
A-zi-zu, abbreviated (cf. bibl. ερύς Ἡλεάμεν = Syr. Ἡλαμέν = "The strong one"
JADD 11,6
Az-ri-Ia-a-u "(My) help is Jahu" (king of Ia-u-di, in North-Syria, cf.
A-zu-ri perhaps -Nomen Agentis Azor "The Helper" (not = bibl. דַּיָּו)
Sargon: Annals 215; Khors. 90.

Ba-a-a-di-El "The God is about me" (cf. A-u-ba'di, ba-a-di and
Adad-bi'āi) JADD 880, II, 16.

Ba-a-du-Ellil "Ellil (read Ba'al?) is about him (= בָּאָל בָּאָל, cf.
the preceding name) BE VIII, 158, 20.

Ba'-al variants Ba'-li, Ba'-lu, Ba-a-lu (king of Tyre, abbrev.)

Ba-al El "Ba'al is God" EAH 104, 5.

Ba'-al-ha-ru-nu "Ba'al is gracious" (cf. bibl. מַעַּשְׂנַהְּוּ, Ph. מַעַּשְׂנַהְּוּ; ha-nu-nu = hanōn, nom. agent.) Ashurb: Ann. II, 84, 91, etc.

Ba-(-')al-ia-shu-pu "Ba'al will increase or gather" (cf. Mil-ki-
a-sha-pa, Ph. מִלְּשָׁהְוּ, bibl. מִילְּשָׁהְוּ, מִילְּשָׁהְוּ; but the
reading -ia-shu-bu "He will return" would be well possible
as this root frequently occurs in West Semitic names; but
then the rendering of WS šh with cuneiform šh would be an
exception) Ashurb: Ann. I, 84, 91, etc.

Ba-(-')al "Ba'al is reigning" (cf. Ph. מַעַּשְׂנַהְּוּ; ma-lu-ku = malēk n.

Ba-al-te-ia-a-ba-te "Ba'alat has given" (= Ph. מַעַּשְׂנַהְּוּ; cf. Bel-
ia-a-hab-bi, Ia-z-hab-bi-El, I-la-ia-a-bi, etc.) JADD 619, 16.


Ba-da-a, see Bada' HABL 855, 5, 392, 2.
Ba-da-A-a perhaps "Jahveh has created" (= Arab ١٩٠٠, cf. Ba-da-Ia-a-ma; but the reading Ba-da-a-a-as hypocor. with hypocor. ending a-a = ia.ia.ai.א.י. is also possible, cf.Bada', Bada-a) HABL 962, R.4.

Ba-da-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh has created" (see the preceding name and cf. bibl. יְהֹוָה?) UMBS II, No.1, 222, 11.

Ba-di-El "God is creator" (see Bada-A-a) Str. Noh 432, 10, etc.

*Ba-di-a, see Bada' JADD 229, 4.*

*Ba-di-i, see Bada' JADD 825, 3.*

*Ba-ja-di (not Ba-va-di)? If Semitic, it may be contracted from* Bal-ia-di "Ba'al knows" cf. bibl. יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה Amarna 328, 2.

*Ba-i-lu, abbreviated (cf. Ammi-ba-li) III R 15, IV, 22.*

Ba-ka-a, abbreviated (cf. Baka-a-El) MAP, 64, 1.2.

Ba-ka-a-El "God has wept" (?) JADD, App.3, Col. III, 24.

Ba-la-hu perhaps = Bala-Ahu "Ba'al is Brother" Str. Dar. 154, 14.

Ba-la-Im-me "Ba'al is the Ammu" (cf. Bala-a-mi and bibl. יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה) JADD 294, R.6.

Bal(-li)-A-mi, see preceding name MO C, 15, 2.

Bal(BEl), Bal(-li)-i-li "Ba'al is the God" (i-li perhaps to read El, cf. Neo-Babyl. AN-MESH (= ile) = El, as seen from the Aram Endorsements) MO A, 11, 16.

Bal(-li)-sa-tu "Ba'al is a mountain" MO C, 17, 9.

Ba?-li-Ia-a-ma "The Lord is Jahveh" BE X, 118, 5.

Ba-lu-mi-ir variants בala(IM)-me-hir, -mi-hi-ir "Ba'al awakes" (cf. perhaps bibl. יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה) Amarna 245, 44, 257, 3, 260, 2.

Ba'-lu-mum-El "Ba'al is the God" (cf. Bala-ili) VS VIII, 14.

Ba-lu-um-me-e, of the same meaning as Bala-Imme and Bala-Ami, notwithstanding its identity with Pa-a-lu-u-ma Amarna 8, 18, 162, 76.
Ba-na-Di'-u "Di'u has created" BE X,72,5.

Ba-na-ga = Ba-na-ka "He has created thee", and cf. Si'-ba-ni-ka = Si'-bani-ka "Si' is thy creator" and Ia-ab-ni-ik-El = Iabni-ka-El? Capp.C.4,16.

Ba-na-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh has created" (cf. bibl. דמוי וב"א, דא-ע-ב-נ-י) BE X,118,1.

Ba-na-a-ma = Bana-Iama?, q.v. 81-2-4,452.

Ba-na'-El "God has created" BE IX,25,1.

Ba-rak-ki-Shamesh "The Sun god has blessed" UMBS II,No.1,10,2.

Ba-rak-ku-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh has blessed" (cf bibl. וַיַּכֶּבֶל and 6:5) UMBS II,No.1,52,13.

Ba-ri-ki, abbrev. of the following names BE X,86,3.

Ba-ri-ki-a, abbrev. BE X,103,5.


Ba-ri-ki-El, Ba-rik-El, see prec. name BE IX 73,4,95,2.

Ba-rik-ki, see Ba-ri-ki Be X,7,14.

Ba-rik-ki-Bel, see Bariki-Adad BE X,7,18.


Ba-rik-ki-Ia-a-ma , if Hebrew יִכֶּבֶל "Bless, O, Jahveh", but the verb is probably Aram., then "Blessed of Jahveh" יִכֶּבֶל BE X,16,2.

Ba-ri-ki- Al-Tam-mesh "Blessed of the Sun god" (for the Arab article آل with the divine name Tammesh = Thammesh, see under Al-Nashhu-Mil-ki; for the occasional reading Tamash, cf. ^ ל-ת-מ-ם... Str.Nebh 363,4, and Abi Il-Te-mesh Str.Nbd 638,4) BE X,123,11.

Ba-rik-Shamesh, see preceed. name Be IX,82,5.


JADD 174,R.11.213,R.2.421,R.6,etc.
Ba-ru-ka-a, see preced. name CT IV, 39, 1.

Bat-ti-El probably to read Be-ti-El, abbreviated, cf. the following names and bibl. אָבְרָהֲם Amarna 161, 20, 170, 3, 28

Ba'-ti-El-i-di-"Bethel knows" Str. Ngl 28, 36.

Ba-ti-il-ha-ra "Bethel has seen" (?) Str. Nbd 1115, 1.

Ba-ti-il-she-zib "Bethel has saved" (cf. bibl יִשְׂרָאֵל הָעָנִי) Str Dar. 372, 17.

Bēl-ba-rak-ki "Bel has blessed" (cf. Ba-rik-ki-Bēl) BE IX, 32a, 3.

Bēl-da-na "Bel has judged" UMBS II, No. 1, 18, 11.

Bēl-il-a-sa, d. Bēl-il-a-sa "Bel is the God" JADD 500, R. 7, 783, 2.

Bēl-Ia-u "The lord is Jahu" (cf. Ba-li-Iama) PSBA XV, p. 13.

Bēl-is-a-tu-mu "Bel will give" (cf. Samumu-is-tum) Str Nbd 282, 4.

Bēl-na-tan "Bel has given" (cf. Ada-ad-natan) JADD 342, R. 2.

Bēl-ra-am "Bel(or Ba'al) is exalted" (cf. Ph. מְלַיַּי) Ta'annek 1, 18.

Bēl-za-bad-āu Bēl has apportioned" (cf. El-za-ba-ad-ā) BE X, 132, 1.

Bēt-El-a-dar-ri "Bethel has helped" BE X, 122, 4.

Bēt-El-da-la-"Bethel has drawn out" (cf. Si'-dala') UMBS II, No. 1, 222, 11.

Bi-Ba'al (d. IM) = Abi-Ba'al "The Father is Ba'al" (?; cf. Abi-Ba'al and Bu-Ba-ah-lu = Abu-Bahlu?) Ta'annek 7, 8.

Bi-e-lu-ka-lu-sa "Bel is the rescuer" (cf. Ph. יִשְׂרָאֵל and bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל) CIS II, 31.


Bi-eri, cf. bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל, יִשְׂרָאֵל הָעָנִי Amarna 174, 3.

Bi-hu-ra = Abi-Hura = Api-Hura, and cf. Api-Ha-ri, then "The Aapis is Horus"?, cf. Pa-hu-ra Amarna 117, 61, etc.

Bi-im-di-ki-ri "Son of my remembrance" (?; cf. Si'-dikir; Da-ki-ru-um, Da-ku-ru and bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל); against the expl. of of Bin as divine name Bir, see KAT p. 446) JADD 234, R. 11
Bi'-li-ra-ka-bi "Baali is the Charioteer" (= the leader of the chariots in battle, and cf. Ps. 18, 11. Habakkuk 3, 8)? cf. the divine name יְבָאֵל and Aram בְּאַל HABL 632, 7.


Bin(TUR)-A-ma-a-ia (in view of the numerous Hittite-Aryan names ending in -ia, in the Amarna Letters, the reading Tur-a-ma-a-ia is more probable and the name may be non-Semitic) Amarna 62, 42, 45.

Bin(TUR)-A-ma "Son of Anu"?, perhaps better Tur-a-na, q.v. Amarna 170, 37.

Bin(TUR)-A-zi-mi "Son of the Strong one(s)". Az(z)u may be an equivalent for a divine name, cf Abāi-Abīzī and the names compounded with azi, i-zi Amarna 120, 32.

Bin(TUR)-E-zi-e "Son of the Strong one" (Ebeling, in Knudtz. Amarna, 2nd part, p. 1559, compares this name with the preceding name) Ta'annek 3, 3.

Bin(TUR)-Hu-bi-ri "perhaps "Son of Hēber" (this noun may be connected with Arabic  "to know, well informed", and thus might be an equivalent for a divine name: "The Omniscient") Ta'annek 3, 8.

Bin(TUR)-Hu-ni-ni "Son of the Gracious one" (Hu-ni-ni = Hōnen may be an equivalent for a divine name) Ta'annek 7, 7

Bi-na-am-me-El "By the favor of God" (Na-hi-mi-im) T-D 73, 51

Bi-na-Am-mi "Son of the Ammu" (cf. Bir-Atar) T-D 238, 46.


Bir-Da-ad-da "Son of Adad" . Ashurb: Amn. VIII, 2, IX, 2, etc.

Bir-Ha-a-mu "Son of Hāmu" (for Hāmu as divine name see Tallq. APN, p. 255) JADB 2, VII, 1.
Bir-ia-ma-a "Son of Jahveh"? (perhaps to read Bir-ia-ma-za which may be identical with Bi-ri-ia-ma-za, Amarna 7,75, evidently a Hittite-Mittanni name) JADD 857, IV, 8.

Bir-dSha-mash "Son of the Sungod" JADD 148, R.E.1

Bi-Si-id-ki = Bin-Sidki "Son of Sedeck" or 'Abi-Sidki "The Father is Sedeck" (cf. Rab-Zi-id-ki and Si-id-ki-El, and bibl. nn. prr. compounded with Sedeck. For Sedeck as n. div. cf. KAT 3, 473f) VS I, 36, 28.

Bu-di-Ba-al = Abōd-Ba'al "The worshipper of Ba'al" (cf. Pum. and Ph. מגד והיינר; מגד והיינר n. agent, Ashurb. Ann. II, 83, 91, etc.

Bu-du-El Abōd-El "The worshipper of the God" (see preceding name) Sem. Tayl. II, 52, etc.

Bu-li-ba-nu "Ba'al is creator" (Buli = Ph. Būl = Ba'al, cf. Ph. עֲבֵד, עֲבִיד, עֲבֵד, עֲבִיד) BE XV.

Bu-lu-zak-ru perhaps "Ba'al remembers" (see preceding name) JADD 857, II, 49.


Bu-nu-la-ra "Truly, see a child" (?; this and the following names are school exercises of West Semitic names, in which occur combinations which are rather strange and may never have been in use) UBMS XI, No. 2, 149.

Bu-nu-ma-a-hu-um "The child is truly the brother" ibid. 150.

Bu-nu-um-e-lum "The child is a god" (of god?) ibid. 151.

Bu-nu-ka-la-i-la "Child of the exalted god" (, ) ibid. 152.

Bu-nu-ka-ma-i-la "The child is like the God" ibid. 153

Bu-nu-um, abbrev with ending-um ibid. 154.

Bu-A-ma-te "Offspring of Amat" (cf. bibl. ) III R 7, 1, 54, 11.

Bu-si-El JADD 153, R. 2, 154, 10.

Bu-zī (cf. bibl. יְזָ) Capp. G. 20, 2.
Da-da (abbrev., cf. the following names OM C, 10, 24, etc.
Da-da-a, see Da-da Capp. Ch. 10, 7 JADD 361, 4, etc.
Da-da-a-a (abbrev. with hypocor. ending -a-a JADD 221, 3, etc.
Da-da-a-li "Dada is exalted" (for Ali = ili, in Akkadian names see Chapter III, Laryngals) Reisn. 139, III. 14.
Da-da-lum = Da-da-ilum "Dada is God" (cf. Dadi-ilu) OM A, 16, 6.
Da-da-wa-kar "Dada is precious" CT II, 3, 4, 7, 9.
Da-di-ia (abbrev. with hypocor. ending -ia) CT IV, 7, 26.
Da-di-i, Da-a-di-i (abbrev as Da-di-ia) HABL 184, 2 JADD 742, R. 1, etc.
Da-di-i-lu "Dadi is God" (cf. however, Tallq. APN, p. 67, who sees in it an Iranian name) Tigl. IV, Ann. 152
Da-di-su-ri "Dadi is my wall" (cf. Ata-suri) HABL 132, 7.
Da-ga-na-Mil-ki, see Dagan-Milki JADD 212, R. 13.
Da-ku-ra perhaps = Dakora, m. agent. "Remembrancer" (cf. Si'-di-ki-ri, Bi-im-di-ki-ri) HABL 653, R. 4.
Da-la-a-el "God has drawn out" (cf. Si'-da-la-a) HABL 280, 15, 599, R. 1.
Da-la-ti-ni- "Thee hast drawn me out" UMBS II, No. 1, 177, 3.
Da-li-la-a "Jah(u) has drawn out" (or hypocor., but then the writing -ia-a would be strange; cf. also bibl. tti tti JADD 317, 1, 7.
Di-za-a (abbrev. cf. bibl tti) JADD 257 R. 16.
Du-du-u "Uncle" (? abbrev., cf. bibl tti) JADD 642 R. E. 2.
Du-du-u-a, see Dudu JADD 225, R. 6.
Du-ud-du, Du-u-du, see Dudu Amarna 164, 1, 169, 16, etc.
Du-ia-a-a-hab-he perhaps "This one has given" (but Du-u may be the name of a deity) BE X, 119, 17.
E-en-ha-mu variants la-an-ha-mu, la-an-ha-mi, la-an-ha-ma, la-an-ha-me and Jia-Ja-en-ha-mu, see under Ia-an-hamu. Amarna 285, 10; 266, 28.

E-hi-ia perhaps = Ahi-Ia = יומיה ) JADD 59, 4.

E-la-li ( = Arabic نَبَح name of the new moon and of the god of the new moon; the name is abbreviated) CT VIII, 50, 24.

E-la-li-wa-kur "The Moon god is precious" CT II, 15, 25.

El(AN)-a-ba-di "God has created" (cf. Abda-damu and dAbda-tämu, q.q.v. Tallq. APN, p. 96 reads Ilu-aba-DI = Ilu-aba-shallim "O God, keep the father safe") JADD 1, 1.

El(AN)-a-ha "The God is the Brother" (cf. Eli-Ahi) OM A, 4, 8.

El(AN)-a-mar, -a-ma-ra, -a-mar-ra "The God has said" (cf. Saf.

Palm. אֶתָּהּ) JADD 137, 2, 508, 1, R. 2.

El(AN)-a-ka-bi "The God has rewarded" (cf. Akabi-El) JADD 9, III, 44.

El(AN)-ba-na "The God has created" (cf. Eli-bana) OM C, 14, 28.

El(AN)-ba-na-a, see prec. name. JADD, App. 3, II, 32.

El(AN)-ba-ru perhaps "The God is his creator" (= יאפרה ייו, מ"ק

bibl. ) JADD 3, V, 18.

El(AN)-ba-ru-ku "The God is the lord of the thunder-bolt"

(cf. bibl. and Palm. יִבָּר) Str. Camb. 387, 16.

El(AN)-da-la-a "The God has drawn out" (cf. Da-la-El) HABL, 251, 10.

El(AN)-gab-ra "The God is mighty" (cf. Gabri-El and bibl.

בָּר) Str. Nbd 881, 3.

El(AN)-gab-ri, see prec. name JADD 5, I, 8. Str. Nbd 892, 16.

El(AN)-ha-na-mu "The God has been gracious" Str. Nbd 17, 16.

El(AN)-Ia-a-u "Jahu is God" (cf. dAu-ila-a-a and bibl.

בָּר) JADD 312, 1.

El(AN)-ia-da-" "The God has known" (cf. Ia-ia-El) PSBA XV, p.

13.
El(AN-MESH)-ia-a-di-ni "The God will judge" (cf. El-ia-di-nu)

El(AN-MESH)-ia-a-ha-bi "The God has given" UMBS II, No. 1, 84, 4.

El(AN)-ia-di-nu, see El-ia-di-ni JADD 361, R.12.

El(AN-MESH)-a-di-nu = El-ia-di-nu, q.v. Evetts Nrgl. 66, 7.

El(NI-NI)-a-a-barum perhaps = El-ia-barum = El-ba-ru.

El(NI-NI)-a-zi-ri "The God is strong" (El-ia-zi and cf. bibl. papyrs, perhaps = El-ia-zi "God is strong" Meek, HBL, 2, 4.

El(NI-NI)-a-zi-ri "The God is helping" (El-ia-zi-ri) CT VIII, 18, 5.

El(AN)-a-ni-ri = El-ia-ni-ri "My God is my light" (or read Ila(-a)-ni-ri or Elu-a-ni-ri?) Str. Nbâ 483, 11.


El(AN-MESH)-ba-na-, see El-ba-na BE X, 98, 2.


El(AN-MESH)-ga-bar "The God has been strong" (cf. El-gabra) BE X, 92, 5.

El(AN-MESH)-ha-da-ri "The God has helped" (?) BE X, 90, 3.

El(NI-NI)-ha-zi-ri "The God is helping" (El-ia-zi-ri) CT II, 25, 27.

El(AN-MESH)-hi-sa-an-ni "O, God, have mercy upon me" (but for the writing of the divine name, the name could be Akkadian) UMBS II, No. 1, 162, 13.

El(NI-NI)-ia-a-bi "The God has given" (cf. El-iahabi) X, 2564.
El(AN)-id-ri "The God is (my) help" (cf. Id-di-ri-ia-El) JADB 21,1,8.

El(AN)-MESH-id-ri-, see prec. name BE IX,45,32.

El(AN)-im-me "The God is the Ammu" (cf. I-mi-El) JADD 162,5.

El(AN)-is-la-ka perhaps "The God has drawn thee out" (cf. Aram. and the Akkadian names Ishlup ilu, Ishâdû).

Eli(NI-NI)-ish-ma(a) "The God will hear" (cf. Ishma-El) T-D.

Eli(AN)-ka-li(ga-mi): "The God is (my) all" (cf. Kali-El and bibl. ֶבֶּטֶּניֶּתֶּ, נְבֶּטֶּנֶּהֲלָא)

Eli(AN-MESH)-li-in-dar "Truly, the God will consecrate", or "To the God I will consecrate (the child)? (cf. Eli-nadari, and Palm. nn. prr. יִנָּדָר, יִנָּדָר) BE X.19,4.

Eli(NI-NI)-Ma-lik "God is Malik" (perhaps Akkadian, as the divine name Malik occurs often in old-Babylonian names, and not WS either, if malik = "counsellor" cf.

Bel-, Nabium-, Shamash-ma-lik) Ugnn.133,2.


Eli(AN-MESH)-na-ta-nu "The God has given" (cf. Natunu-Îlama and bibl. (לִּתָּא תֹּתִי) BE X.55,15.

Eli(AN-MESH)-ka-nu-u-a "The God is my possessor" (cf. El-ka-na-a and bibl. לִּתָּא תֹּתִי) CIS 62.

Eli(AN-MESH)-za-ba-du "The God has apportioned" (cf. Zabdi-El) BE IX,45,32.

El(AN)-ma-lak "The God has shown himself as king" (Aram. docket יִנָּדָר CIS II,28) JADD 378,2.12.476, R.10.

El(AN)-Mil-ki(-ku) "The God is the Melekh" (cf. bibl. מִלְּקִי and Milki-El) III R 1,1,24. Tiglpy.II Ann. 13.

El(AN)-na-gi "The God is my light" JADB 7,1,20.


El(AN)-ra-bi-ih "The God is exalted" (cf. Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ih) Amarna 140,3.189,2(?)

El(AN)-shi-im-ki "The God is my support" (cf. Si'-shi-im-ki, Shi-im-ka-ia and bibl. 7r1v3f) JADD 1,II,33.


E-lu-ra(-bi) "The God is great" (E-lu = 7r1f, cf. LIdzb. Handb. p.216 sub 7r1f) Ta'anmek 12.3.

E-lu-ra-i-ba, cf. preced. name and South-Arab 7r1f) Ta'anmek 4,9.

E-lu-ra-ma "The God is exalted" (cf. Aba-rama) Ta'anmek 7, R.3.


Ga-ba-Bōl (or Ba'al) "Bōl has been exalted" UMBS II, No.1,65,II.


Gab-ri-El "The God is strong" (cf. El-gabri) JADD 5,1,1.

Gab-ri-i (abbrev. see Gabbar) JADD 248,3.6.268, R.5

Gab-ri-ia (= Gabri, or Gabri-ia "Ja(hu) is strong"?) Str. Dar.

Ga-da-a(=) (abbrev. of Gadi-El) JADD 841 R.5.857,482,12.

Ga-di-i- , see Gada HABL 897,2.

Ga-di-a, Ga-di-ia, Ga-di-ia-a "(My)fortune is Ja(hu)", or abbrev. VS I,87,24, JADD 275,5.291, R.10.
Ga-di-El "My fortune is the God" (cf. bibl. יִרָאִים) JADD 443,1.
Ga-du-u (abbrev. or יִרָאִים "His fortune") Str. Dar. 431,23.
Ga-da-al-La-a-ma "Jahveh has been great" (cf. Iq-da-al-La-a-ma and bibl. יִרָאִים) BE X,7,16.
Ga-ma-lu "He has recompensed" (abbreviated, cf. bibl. יִרָאִים or יִרָאִים "Camel, cf. Palm. Sin. נָבְרָה and נָבְרָה תָּנִינא") Ta'annek 7.
Ga-mar-La-a-ma "Jahveh has completed" (cf. Bibl. יִרָאִים) ESBA XIV, p.14.
Ga-ni-Eli (NI-NI), see Kali-Eli.
Ga'-u-ni = יִרָאִים "Exaltation", abbrev. cf. bibl. יִרָאִים (?) Shalm.
Ga-zî-lu (WS = יִרָאִים?) JADD 350 8,16.
Gî-ra-a-a (abbreviated, cf. Gî-ra-? and bibl. יִרָאִים, or = Gir-
Gî-rî-Adad "Client of Adad" (cf. foll. names) Shalm. III,1,35.
Gî-rî-Ba'al "Client of Ba'al" (cf. Ph. יִרְבַּע) JADD 775,7.
Gî-rî-Milki (MAN) "Client of Melesh" (cf. יִרְבַּע) HABL 131,7,12.
Gîr-Sa' = "Client of Sa' (= Si' = Sin ?) 416, R.10.
Gîr-Sa-pu-mu "Client of Saphon" (cf. Ph. אֶפֶן) JADD 832,12.
Gîr-Adad, see Giri-Adad Rm 157(KB IV, p.124, No. III.
Gû-li-Be'al(IM) "(My) all is Ba'al" (? , cf. Can. gu-ul = ku-ul, Eli-kali and bibl. יִרָאִים?) Ta'annek I,3.
Gû-ri (WS = Palm. סכין = שֶׁת = Gîra-a-a?) VS VII, 204,42.
Gû-ra-a-a = Gura' JADB 2,1,19.
Gû-un-gu-nu-um (King of Larsa) This name is included among the ws names in the Nippur School exercises, UMBS IX, No.2,129, but the meaning is obscure. I R 2,VI,1,9a.
Ha-a-a-1 = Aram. אַ א , abbrev. cf. Hebr. Palm. אַ א סינ ., Ph. אַ א א , Pompeian אַ א א , Pun. אַ א א , BE XIV 12, 28.

Ha-a variants Ha-a-i, Ha-a-na, Ha-a-la, Ha-a-ri, Ha-a-i, see prec. name, but according to Ranke, Keilschriftliches Material zur Altegyptischen Vokalisation. Berlin, 1910, p. 9, an Egyptian name. Amarna 11, 19, R. 12, 14, 66, 4, 101, 2, 112, 42, 166, 14, 255, 8, 289, 31, etc.


Ha-a-bi (cf. Milki (LUGAL)-ha-a-bi = Milk-jahab "Melech gives") JADD 437, 1. Amarna 149, 37 (While the Amarna name may be Egyptian, according to Ranke, Material, p. 22, and may be identical with Ha-ib, the Assyrian Ha-a-bi is evidently WS)

Ha-ab-di-El "Servant of the God" (var. of Abdi-El) Peek-Pinch. 13, 18.

Ha-ab-du (abbrev.) Reins. 157, V, 16.

Ha-ab-du-um (abbrev.) CT IV, 16, 20.

Ha-ad-da-a (abbreviated from a name compounded with the divine name Hadad = Adad, as in Rib-Ha-ad-da, Sum-Ha-di) Str. Dar. 499, 20.

Ha-ad-di-ia, see Hadda BE X, 76, 3.

Ha-ag-ga-a perhaps "Of the festival" (born at the time of a festival; or abbrev.? cf. bibl. 897 BE IX, 28, 14.


Ha-a-li-El "The Halu is the God" (cf. Aa-Hali) X. 931.

Ha-al-a-nu (abbrev. of the preceding name) Cm 20, 3.


Ha-am-ba-ku (of יְַּנֶ א "to embrace") JADD 207, R. 17.

Ha-am-mi-ra-am, see Ha-am-mu-ra-bi. (This strange writing of this royal name is most likely a scribal error, if not an erroneous transcription, and may be due to the fact that in the Old-Babylonian cursive-writing, the signs am and bi resemble one another.) CT II, 28, 17.

Ha-am-mu-ra-bi (passim), Ha-am-mu-ra-bi (Str. Warka 28, 16, 36), Ha-am-mu-um-ra-bi (Str. W. 31, 23, 39, 22, 36), Ha-mu-ra-bi (MAP 49, 20. L.E. CT VIII 35, 20), Am-mu-ra-bi (CT II, 9, 17), Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ihr (PSBA XXIX (1907), p. 184) "The Ammu is lofty" (The latter writing of this name leaves no doubt that rabi = rapi (cf. Chapter III, Phonetics sub Labials) is to be identified with Arabic ṭī; for the literature, see Tallquist, APN, p. 84).

Ha-an-Da-da "Dada has been gracious" (cf. bibl. YTr(?)) JADB 2, 1, 3
Ha-an-da-san-i "He has renewed me" (cf. the foll. names) JADB 113, 3
Ha-an-da-sha-an-ni (according to Hilprecht, = מְדַי "He (the god has renewed me"; but then the name is not good Hebrew, and but for the sibilant, it would correspond to Arabic مЃї ) BE IX, 23, 10.

Ha-an-da-shu-an-na "He has renewed us" (? , the suffix anna is certainly neither Hebrew nor Akkadian but Arabic, cf. the prec. name) BE X 125, 20.

Ha-an-da-shu-nu "He has renewed us" (cf. preced. names) BE X
Ha-an-da-shu (abbreviated, cf. preced. names) BE X.
Ha-a-ni (abbreviated from a name like Han-Dada) III R 7, 1, 42.

Ha-an-i (According to Weber, Anmerkungen zur Knaûtzon, El-Amarna Tafeln, p. 1099, this name is identical with Ha-an-ia, Amarna 47, 23, 26, 301, 12; Ha-an-ni, 162, 56, 63; Ha-ni, 227, 16 Ha-ni-n 21, 25; he sees in it an Egyptian name, but admit that for the present no interpretation is possible.)
But this name, though borne by an Egyptian high official, could just as well be West Semitic like the preceding name whose bearer is a native of Sama'al Amarna 161, 11, 17 etc.

Ha-an-na-ni- 'He has been gracious to me', or abbreviated, cf. bibl. יִנְנִי ) BE IX, 24, 17.

Ha-an-na-na (abbreviated, cf. the preceding name) HABEL 287, 4.

Ha-an-na-ta- 'Thou hast been gracious' (= יִנְנָה ) BE X, 109, 3.

Ha-an-na-ta-ni- 'Thou hast been gracious to me'; BE IX, 30, 7.


Ha-an-ni-ia (abbrev. or Ha-an-ni-Ia and cf. bibl. יִנְנִי] BE X, 119, 9.

Ha-an-ta-sha-nu, see Handashanu


Ha-an-nu-nu, Ha-an-nu-nu, Ha-nu-nu (abbrev., cf. bibl. יִנְנִי ) Sarg.

Cyl. 19 ( I R 36 ); TiglP IV, B, R. 12 ( II R 67. JADD 586, R. 8, etc.

Ha-ba-ba 'He has loved' (abbreviated, cf. bibl. יִנְנָה, Sab. יִנְנָה ) JADD 438, 12.


Ha-ba-Hu-ru "Horus has hidden", cf. bibl. יִנְנִי (cf. Isaiah 49, 2)

JADD 329, 8.

Ha-ba-ia (abbreviated, cf. the preceding name) Amarna 316, 15.

Ha-bil-A-hi 'Habil is the Brother' (Habil is no doubt n. div.

and may perhaps be connected with bibl. יִנְנָה ) BE VI Pt. 2, 57, 3.

Ha-ab-bil-El 'Habil is the God' (cf. prec. name) BE XV.

Ha-bi-il-ki-nu 'Habil is just' (cf. Kinum·Habil) CT IV, 25, 24.


Ha-di-du/di 'The sharp one' (= יִנְנַה ?) JADD 14, 6, 557, II, 48.

Ha-di-ia, see Jaddi·ia.


Ha·i-ia-ab-El 'The God has condemned' (? , cf. the foll. name) UMBS VII, 49, 7.
"The God has condemned me"(?) it is noteworthy that the bearer of this name is the father of A-葷-a-ra-as "Ata is grieved") CT II 26,3;VI,31,4.

Ha-ia-ab-ni-El (abbreviated with hypocor. suffix -nu) CT VI,23,6.
Ha-ia-bu-um (abbreviated) CT VI,3,14.
Ha-ia-tum (abbreviated) CT VIII 4,29.
Ha-il-El "The God is strong"(cf.Si'-ha-il) HABL 524,2.

Ha'-la-a (abbrev, see prec. name; = Arâb. ฏ) CM 35,5)

Ha-l-a-a (abbreviated from a name as Ha-lu-u-Milki "Exalted is Melech") Str.Cyr.307,18.

Ha-la-la =Hala-ila "The Halu is the God"? CT VI 47,20.

Ha-la-la perhaps = "To be strong"(cf.bibl. בָּל) JADB 3 VIII,1.

Ha-li-ia-tum (abbreviation of a name compounded with Halu, see foll. name) CT VIII 49,10.

Ha-li-la-um "The Halu is Jahu"? or abbreviated from a name compounded with Ha-lu;cf.Ha-li-wa(PI)-um, which may be read Hali-ja-um (see Chapter III sub Labials); but it is noteworthy that the bearer of this name is the son of la-wi-um) MAP 100,7.12.


Ha-li-lum "Friend", cf.Saf. יֵלֶם, or = Hali-ilum "The Halu is the God"? CT VI 38,16, etc.

Ha-li-li see prec. name BE XV 120,6.

Ha-li-wa-kar "The Halu is precious" VS IX,34,12.


Ha-li-la (Or-IA?), see prec. name JADD 288 R.12.

Ha-la-manu perhaps of the same root as Halama, q.v. 261,R.4.

Ha-lu-lu. = Halu-ilu?, see Halilum Str.Nbd 442,4.
Ha-lum (abbrev from a name compounded with Hālu) OM A.15.16.
Ha-lu-u-Mi-il-ki "The Melech is exalted" Str. Dar. 501,12.
Ha-ma-du-ānu "The Ammu is a darling" (?), but cf. Ha-ma-tu-tu VS I, 88,30.
Ha-ma-ni (abbreviated, cf. הַמָּךְ APO) HABL 542, R. 6. IV R 53, No.
Ha-ma-tu-tu (= Aram. docket וּמָכָּת, GIS II, 38) JADD 129,4.
Ha-mu-ni-ri "The Ammu is my light" (cf. Ammu-nira) Amarna 137,16.
Ha-mu-ra-bi, see Ha-am-mu-ra-bi.
Ha-mu-u (abbrev) JADB 13, I, 4.
Ha-ma'-El (AN-MESH) "God has answered" (cf. Ana'-El).
Ha-ma-an-na (= חָמָן) "He has been gracious" (abbrev) BE X, 127,5.
Ha-ma-an-ni'i (= Talm. חָמָני, abbrev.) BE X 118, 30.
Ha-ma-na' (= Talm. חָמָנִי, abbrev.) BE IX 3, 7.
Ha-ma-ni'i (= bibl. חָמָנִי, abbrev.) BE IX, 14, 6.
Ha-ma-ni-ia-a-a-ma "Jahveh has been gracious", = bibl חָמָניִיָא אָא שָׁמַי הָאָא שָׁמַי BE IX 69, 20.
Ha-ni-i, see Ha-an-i JADB 2, II, 16, etc.
Ha-ma-na-a-a (= Talm. n. pr. m. חָמָנָא אָא אָא, see prec. name) JADD 220, R. 12.
Ha-ma-na-ia, identical with the prec. name, or read: Ha-ma-na-ia "The Favor of Ja(hu)"? JADD 30, 7.
Ha-ni-mi, see Haminā Str. Camb. 385, 19.
Ha-mun, see Ha-a-mu-u-nu BE IX, 87, 16.
Ha-mu-nu, see prec. name BE X, 8, 2.
Ha-ri-im = bibl. חָרַי יִמְי "Consecrated" (cf. Palm. חָרַי יִמְי, Nab. חָרַי יִמְי and Sab. חָרַי יִמְי) UMBS II, No. 1, 221, 9.
Ha-ri-im-ma- = Aram. חָרַי מְי הָאָא שָׁמַי, see prec. name BE X, 119, 12.
Ha-ri-ma-a, see prec. name JADB 3, VI, 4.
Ha-ri-ma-li-ki "Horus is (my)king" T-D 190,6.

Ha-ra-Milki(MAN) "Horus is the Melekh" JADD 64,R.9.

Har-Milki(MAN) " " " JADD 387 R.6

Ha-ri-Milki(L(UGAL) " " " JADD 356,2.

Ha-ta-bi perhaps for Aha-tabi "The Brother is good" OM C,16,21.

Ha-za-a-El = bibl. $\text{Horus}\text{ is}\text{ the}\text{ King}$ (king of Syria) "The God has seen"

Shalm.III,III R,5,VI,etc.

Ha-za-a-El (the bearer of this name being an Arabian, the reading of this name may be Ha-za-a-an) Ashurb A,III R 24, VIII,9.

Ha-za'-El(AN),-El(AN-MESH)= Aram. docket $\text{Horus}$, see Ha-za-a-El.

Str Nbd 797,3. UMBS II,No.1,145,1.

Ha-za-ra-nim (abbreviated from a name compounded with Hazar

= נ Royale "He has helped", with hypoc. ending -anim)MAP 38, 19.

Ha-za-ki-a-u, Ha-za-ki-a-u, Ha-za-ki-ia, Ha-za-ki-ia-u "Zatu

= Hezekiah, king of Judah, = $\text{Jahu}\text{ has}\text{ been}\text{ strong}$", or "is strong"(The cuneiform rendering of this name conforms neither to $\text{Jahu}\text{ has}\text{ been}\text{ strong}$, which can only mean" "My

strength is Jahu", or "Strength of Jahu", nor to $\text{Jahu}\text{ will}\text{ strengthen}$") Senn.Kui.Lay.61,11.

King III,66;Kui.1,30;Tay.III,29,11,71;KB,II,p.92,nn.15.


Ha-zi-ru-um(abbreviated,cf Eli-ha-zi-ri) MAP 12,13.

Hi-ba-ri-as(cf perhaps bibl. $\text{or}\text{ Jahu}$) P.Dar.57,15.

Hi-da-ta-ni(Tallq.APN ,p.38: "Thou hast renewed me")JADD 400,2.


Hi-en-ti-El vars Hi-im-ti-El, Hi-am-ti-El (Tallq.APN,p.88: "MY

ardour is the god") Ashur.Ann.III,30,46.KB I,pp.100-2.

Hi-in-na-nu (abbrev. with hypoc. ending -anu) BE XIX 151,6.

Hi-in-ni'-Bel(Old-Babyl. Hi-in-ni-Be-el Bu.83-3,23,135,IXb)

"Grace of Bel"(cf.Pun. יִבְעָרָן = Hannibal) BE X,43,1.
Hi-im-ni-'El (AN-MESH) "Grace of the God" (cf. bibl. ʼםיִּים נָב.) Str. Dar. 149, 3.

Hi-im-ni-ia, hi-im-ni-ia (evidently abbreviated with the hypoc. ending -ia, but in view of the Hebrew name יִּיֵּנָן (lidzb. Handb. p. 278), the reading Ḥinni-ia "Grace of Ja(hu)" is not improbable) BE IX 86, 19. Str. Cyr. 287, 11.

Hi-im-nu-ni- (abbrev. cf. prec. names) BE X 64, 3.

Hi-is-da-nu (abbreviated from a name compounded with יִּי "to be kind", cf. bibl. יִּיֵּנָן) BE X 39, 15.


Hi-nu-nu (= Ha-nu-nu, q. v.) CM 21, 3.

Hi-ru-um-mu = יִּיֵּנָן = מִלְחָה (king of Tyre) "The brother is lofty" (cf. Aḥi-ramu) Tiglp. IV, Ann. 151 (III R 9, 51.)

Hu-mu-rum (ru-um) (perhaps connected with bibl. יִּיֵּנָן) MAP 106, 4.

Hu-mu-zum (perhaps connected with a root יִּי "To carry", cf. bibl. יִּיֵּנָן , יִּיֵּנָן, יִּיֵּנָן, and Pun. יִּיֵּנָן יִּיֵּנָן יִּיֵּנָן) CT II, 40, 16.

Hu-ni-ni (= Ha-ni-ni, q. v.) UMBS XI No. 1, 190.


f Ha-na-ba-ti-ia "My offspring" (probably hypoc.) CT VIII 49, 3, etc.


f Ha-na-bi-ia (cf. Hunabatia)

f Hun-um-ri = Hunabum MAP 111, 22. CT VIII 12, 22.

f Nu-um-ri (fem. form of Hunabum) Str. Warka 71, 1, 11, 16.

Hu-ru-zum (cf. bibl. יִּיֵּנָן, יִּיֵּנָן) King, Lett.

f Hu-ra-zu-tum (cf. Humazum) Str. Warka 71, 42, etc.

Hu-um-ri, Hun-um-ri-ia, Hum-ri-ia (= יִּיֵּנָן Omri king of Israel; for etymology see Chapter III sub Laryngals; cf. Humurum)

III R, Shalm. 64, etc.
Hu-u-ru = "Horus" (abbreviated, cf. bibl. see Abi-Ha-
JADD 763,9.851; IV, 3.

Hu-za-la-um (see Huzala) CT VIII 31,6.

Hu-za-la-tum (see prec. nn.) CT IV 31,12.

Ia-a-a (perhaps hypoe. of a name compounded with Ia = Jahu) JADD 75, P, 13.

Ia-ab-ba-a perhaps "Ja(hu) is father" (cf. A-a-ab-hu, Ia-ab and
bibl. יא א"א) JADD 7, III, 12.

Ia-ab, see prec. name VS I, 85, 1, 8.

Ia-ab bi-El "The God has given" (cf. Eli-ia-a-bi) X. 5627.

Ia-ab-ha-ru-un "He will choose" (abbreviated from a name as
Iabhar-El; cf. bibl. יביהרימל, Aram. יביהרמל) PSBA 33, No. 29, 28.

Ia-ab-hu-ru-un, see preced. name UMBS IX, No. 1, 90.

Ia-ab-ni-El "The God will build" (cf. bibl. nn. loc. יביהרימל, nn. prr. יביהרימל, Ph. יביהרימל) Amarna 328, 4.

Ia-ab-ni-ik-El "The God will build thee" (? , cf. Si'-ba-ni-ka and
Ba-na-ga = Banaka) CT IV 16, 24.

Ia-ab-su-u (cf. bibl. יביהרימל) CT IV 30, 10.

Ia-ah = Ia-a-hi "Ja(hu) is my Brother" (? , cf. bibl. יא א"ה and see
A-a-a-hi) JADD 471, 9.

Ia-ah-ba-ar-El "The God will join" (? , or = Arabic "He
will be sorrowful", cf. Saf. יביהרימל and Abi-maras, Ata-maras
and Ba-ka-a-El ?) CT VIII 34, 21. II 39, 18.

Ia-ah-du-nu-un "He will gladden us", but evidently abbrev.
of a name as Iahti-El, cf. bibl. יביהרימל יתנירנירמ יביהרימל
CBM 1352, 26.

JA-ab-en-ha-mu, see Ja-an-ha-mu Amarna 289, 45.

Ia-ah-mi-El perhaps to read Ia-ah-wi-El "The God will announce" and cf. bibl. הַנְחָלָה, but cf. also bibl. הַנָּחָלָה.

Hommel, Ancient Hebr. Trad.

Ia-ah-mu-Da-gan = Iahwu-Dagan "Dagan will announce", cf. prec. name, VS VII 204,2.

Ia-ah-mu-u = Iahwu "He will announce" (cf. see prec. names, abbrev.

Ia-ah-wi-El "The God will announce" (cf. Iahmi-El) CT VII, 20,3.

Ia-ah-za-ar "He will help" (abbrev. cf. the foll. names and bibl. הַנְחָלָה) PSBA XXXIII p.193.


Ia-ah-za-ar-ni-El "The God will help me" Rame BD 10,6.

Ia-ah-zi-ba-da = Iahzib-Adda "Adad will help" (the Hiphil of בַּדַּא may have the same meaning as the Shaphel of the same root in cuneiform; Tallq. APN, p.91, compares bibl. הַנְחָלָה, but this would leave ba-da unexplained, which is scarcely a divine name), Amarna 275,1,276,4.


Ia-ah-zi-ir-li "He will help me" (or = Ia-ah-zi-ir-il! "My god will help", and cf. I-shar-li-im = Ishar-ilim ?) PSBA XXXIII, p.193.

Ia-ah-zi-rum = Ia-ah-za-ar, q.v. MAP 101,21.

Ia-ak-ba-ru-um = בְּאָרָבָא "He will be of an advanced age" (a prediction or a blessing that the child shall live long?, or abbreviated from a name Jakbar-El = Jukabir-El "He will honor the God?") Lindl 12,22.

Ia'-li-El "The God will be exalted" (cf. the element 'ali in WS names, Nab. ֹלֵי ה, bibl. לֹוי, and perhaps also Ia-la-la'- and Ia'-lu-u), PSBA 1911, p. 185.

Ia'-lu-u = Arabic گًل "He will be exalted" (? abbrev). cf. Siml. ֹלֵי י. God will reign. Esarh.A, 111. III, 20; C, III, 8.

Ia-am-li-ik-El "The God will reign" (or "possess", cf. Saf. ָלִיק תֹּלֵי) MAP 37, 17.

Ia-am-ma-t "Ja(hu) is the Ammu" (cf. A-mi-Ia and A-a-am-me), BE IX, 72, 3.

Ia-am-nu-um "He will count, ordain" (cf. Abi-ia-am-nu, Abi-ma-ma-nu. Si'-ma-ma-ni, thus abbreviated), Lindl 602, 23.

Ia-am-ru-us-El "The God will be grieved (cf. Abi-maras and see under Iahbar-El) Ungnad, 133, 1.

Ia-am-si-El "The God will carry" (cf. Ps. 68, 19, and bibl. mn. prr. וֹלֵי, וֹלֵי, Ph.בֹּלֵי, Pun.בֹּלֵי, UMBS XI, No. 2, 120.

Ia-am-si-El perhaps = בֹּלֵי י. "The God will bring" (but the reading Iawsi-El = Ia-u-si-El "The God will bring out" is not impossible, cf. the variants A-u-ia-mu and Am-ia-mu, and Ia-u-si-El, and considering that in the school exercises, these two names Ia-u-si-El and Ia-am-si-El occur one after another (I, III, 8, 9), we may see in the latter a var. of the former), UMBS XI, No. 2, 112.

Ia-am-si-d Shamash "The Sungod will bring (out), cf. the preceding name) Ungnad, Babyl. Briefe, 175, 3.

Ia-am-zu-Malik "Malik will bring (out), cf. Iamzi-El) VS VII 171.

Ia-an-ka-mu/mi/me/ma vars E-en-ka-mu (Amarna 285, 10, 286, 28) and Ja-ah(Ji-ih)-en-ka-mu (ibid. 289, 45). The latter variant leaves no doubt that Amhamu can neither correspond to יָה י. "He will be friendly", nor to יָה י. "He will comfort", but to יָה י. "The Ammu will answer", cf. Ana'-El, Ana'-El, Ha-mu-niri and Ammu-nira. Amarna 83, 31, etc.

Ia-an-su-ru "He will preserve" (abbrev) Nbl. 8, 12
**Ia-ap-pa-až-Adda variants Ia-pa-až-Adda, Ia-pa-Adda**

"Adad has shone forth" (cf. however, Sab. 𒆠 "to raise, heighten" and Sab.n.pr. 𒆠, then "Adad has raised"; cf.also Ia-pi-bi and bibl. 𒆠. Amarna 83, 26, 85, 29, etc.

**Ia-ap-ti-ih-Adda var. Ia-ap-ti-ha-da "Adad will open"** (cf. bibl. 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠, Ph. 𒆠 Pun.

**Ia-ak-bu (?) "He will reward" (?)**, see Ia-ša-ku-ub-El, CT IV 30, 11.

**Ia-ša-su-ur-El "The God will gather"**, VS IX 202, 22.

**Ia-ar-bi-El "The God will heal" (?)**, cf. El-šarapa and Palm.

**Ia-ar-ha-am-El "The God will be merciful"** (cf. Ra-hi-im-El, A-ba-ra-ha-am, bibl. 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠 ) UMBS XI, No. 2, 121.

**Ia-ar-ha-mu "He will be merciful"** (abbrev. cf. prex.name) Str. W. 61, 22.

**Ia-ar-ha-bu-um, lit. "He will grow large"** (probably abbreviated, cf. bibl. 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠 ) T-D, 12, 1.

**Ia-ar-shi-El perhaps "The possession of the God"**, CT VIII, 38b, 15.

**Ia-ša-bi-š-la "The God will be sublime" (?)**, but.

**cf. bibl. 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠 , Ph. 𒆠 , and Ba'al-ia-shu-bu, Ia-shu-ub-Dagan**, CT VIII 17, 4.

**Ia-ša-di-ha-am-mu "The Ammu will be lofty"** (cf. ša-ḫu "to be high"?), but the existence of such a verb is very doubtful, see Muse-Arm.Diet.), Ungnad, Babyl. Briefe 238, 58.

**Ia-ša-ku-ur-El "The God will reward"** (Arabic ܒܝܫܬܐ) Ranke BD 1, 6.

**Ia-ša-ma-da-gan "Dag. will hear"** (cf. bibl. 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠 ) VS I, 204, 12.

**Ia-ša-ma-ši-El "The God will hear me"**, Ranke BD 1, 17.


**Ia-ša-bi-š-la "He will return"** (cf. bibl. 𒆠 𒆠 𒆠 ) UMBS II, No. 1, 85, 2.
Ia-tu-mu, "He will give" (abbrev. cf. Sa-mu-nu-ia-tu-mu) Str. Nbd. 33.5.
Ia-ba-ba-ti (abbreviation of a name compounded with ihaba, with
Ia-bi-bu, Ia-a-bi-bi (abbrev. see preced. name) JADD App. I, XII, I. Npl. 15,7.
Ia-bi-Milki = Abi-Milki (king of Tyre) Amarna 153,2.
Ia-bi-ut or Ia-bu-tum, see Ia-pu-ut.
Ia-bi-shum "He will put to shame"? (but cf. bibl. šir) UMBS XI, No. 2,1,11.8.
Ia-bu-za-tum, see Ia-pu-sa-tum.
Ia-da-, Ia-a-da "He has known" (abbrev. cf. the foll. names) HABL 1020 R.10. JADD 249, R.8.
Ia-da-El "The God has known" (cf. El-ia-ad-) JADD 416, R.5.
Ia-dah-El, see preced. name, CT VI 33,21.
Ia-da-ah-ha-lum "The Halu has known", or perhaps for Ia-dah-ilum
"The God has known", CT VI 46,26.
Ia-da-ah-ia-ama "Jahveh has known" (= bibl. ʾyahu),
Ia-a-a-ha-Nabi "Nabi has known", BE IX 82, 4, 6.
Ia-da-mu, perhaps hypocor. of a name compounded with iada = ʾyahu,
with the hypocor. ending -mu; Tallquist, APN, p. 91, compares
bibl. ʾyahu, but what is the meaning of the latter? JADD 360, R.
Ia-di-da-tum, perhaps a femin. name = bibl. m. pr. fem. ʾyahu, "The
beloved one", UMBS XI, 2,1,11,4.
Ia-di- (abbreviation of a name as Ia-di-El, q.v.) HABL 1109 R.8.
Ia-di-du-um "The beloved one" (cf. Ia-di-da-tum), UMBS XI 2,1,11,3.
Ia-di-El "The God knows, or is known" (see Abi-iadi' and cf. bibl.
ʾyahu) JADD 380, I, 13.
Ia-di-ha-bu-um "The Father knows, or is known" (cf. Abi-iadi') UMBS VIII No. 1 91.27
Ia-di-ha-tum (abbreviation of a name as Iadih-El with hypocor.
ending -atum ), CT VIII 44,36.
Ia-di-hu-um, see Iadihatum, Peck-Pinches 13, 20.
Ia-di-ih-El (AN-MESH), var. Ia-di-hu-El (AN-MESH), see Iadi-El, BE IX 14, 5, 15, 1, 10, 15, 107, 3.
Ia-di-ih-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh knows, or, was known" (see Abi-isái') BE IX, 25, 1
Ia-di-hu-Ia-a-(ma), same as preceding name, UMBS II, No. 1, 121, 2.
Ia-di-u = Iadihum, CT VIII 10, 7.
Ia-a-hab-bi-El (AN-MESH) "The God has given" (cf. Ellil-iahabi)
Ia-He-a-lu "Jahu is the Halu" (cf. As-Hali), Str. Camb. 218, 5.
Ia-He-lu = Ia-He-a-lu, JADD 661, 21; III R, 1, II, 30, etc.
Ia-ki-El "The God lives" (cf. bibl. and Palm. הָלָּל הָלָּל and the preceding name Unqnad 5, 27.
Ia-ki-la-tum (abbreviated from a name compounded with the root הָלָּל הָלָּל "To wait = hope for", see Ps. 130, 7, and cf. bibl. n. pr.
= ַָּלָּל "mountain goat", "He waited for God") CT VI, 22, 12.
Ia-ki-rí, perhaps = bibl. הָלָּל הָלָּל "He will awaken" (cf. Balu-mi-ki-ir var. -mi-ir), JADD 1101, 11; Ashurn. Amm. II, 22.
Ia-hu-di(tí?), Ia-hu-du(tú?), perhaps = ַָּלָּל "He will return, come again", JADD 117, 4, 165, R, 7.
Ia-a-hu-u-la-ki-im = יָּהָּל הָּל הָּל "Jahu is for you" (cf. I-la-la-ka) BE IX, 28, 15
Ia-a-hu-lu-nu = יָּהָּל הָּל הָּל "Jahu is for us" BE IX 55, 1, 14.
Ia-hu-u-na-ta-nu "Jahu has given" (= Aram. docket ) BE IX, 25
Ia- 'i-ru = bibl. הָלָּל הָּל "He will shine", or = יָּהָּל הָּל "He will awaken"?
Ia-ki-ní = bibl. הָלָּל הָּל "He will establish" (abbrev), Shalm III, Bal. VI, 7.
Ia-ku-ru "He will be true" (probably abbreviated, cf. foll. names, Journ. Asiat. XIV p. 149.)
Ia-ku-un-d Adad "Adad will be true" (cf. Old-Babyl. I-ku-un-pi-Adad
 "True was the mouth of Adad") Jour. As. XIV p. 149.
Ia-ku-un-A-li "The Exalted one will be true" Ranke BD, 67, 9.
Ia-ku-un-Am-mu "The Ammu will be true" T-D 238, 42.
Ia-ku-tum perhaps = Iakun-tum, abbreviation with the hypocor.
ending -tum (cf. the preceding names) Meek, HBL, 27, 16.
Ia-la-a-perhaps = Arab "He will love" (abbrev?) JADD 912, 6.
Ia-li-Wa-ak-rum "The Precious one is exalted" (cf. Ali-wakrum and

Ia-li-El) CT VIII, 5, 22.
Ia-ma-E-ra-sh "Jawa(?) is the Moorish", CT VIII, 17, 13.
Ia-ma-ma-am perhaps = Arab. "He will be safe" (cf. = 'Arab.)

Ia-nu-ku "He has been blessed, successful" (cf. Sin. ימוי),

CT VIII, 37, 7.
Ia-ma-ni (king of Ashdod), probably of the same root as the preceding
Ia-man-i-A-a "Ja(hu) is on my right side)? JADD 7, II, 4.
Ia-man-nu-u "Right-handed, Felix", JADD 233, R. 12, 15.
Ia-nu-ku = Aram. סלק "Suckling, Child"? Sarg. Ann. 267. JADD 286,

Ia-pa-d Adad var. of Ia-ep-pa-ah+d Adad, q.v., Amarna 83, 26, etc.
Ia-pa-ah-d Adad var. of Ia-ep-pa-ah+d Adad, q.v., Amarna 98, 2, 106, 19.
Ia-pa-El "The God has shone" (cf. South-Arab. 61. 76 80) and Iapa-Adad
VS VII, 16, 39.
Ia-pa-hi (abbreviation of a name as Iapah-Adad), Amarna 297, 3, etc.
Ia-pa-pa-hi, see preceding name, BE VIII, 52, 4.
Ia-pu-d Adad "Brother" (cf. Iapah-Adad). The same root would belong bibl. ירניב, UMBS II, No. 2, 19, 8.
Ia-pu-ah-tum perhaps abbreviated from a name compounded with ושת

"He will scatter", CT VIII 44, 3.
Ia-kar-Ahi = Iakar-Ahi "Precious is my Brother"? (cf. Nakar-Ahum)

or "The precious of the Brothers"? JADD 245, 3.
Ia-kar-El "Precious is the God", (cf. Elali-wakar) CT VI, 49, 23.


Ia-ku-bi (abbrev. cf. the full name) CT II, 31, 2.

Ia-ku-ub-El "The God will reward" (cf. Lakhub-El) CT IV, 33, 22.

Ia-ra-pa-a "He will heal" (abbrev. cf. South-Arabic, Arabic, Palm. 157, 5, 49), HABL 631, 1, 9.

Ia-ri-ib-Adad "Adad will extend" (cf. bibl. 151, 4, 7), T-D, 238, 37.

Ia-ri-shum = "He will possess" (cf. bibl. 151, 4, 7) UMSB XI, No. 2, 1, II, 9.

Ia-sa-am "Jahveh has placed" (cf. Aa-sam-mu) VS I, 84, 1.

Ia-sha-ru-um = "He has been righteous" (abbrev. cf. bibl. 151, 4, 7), and Old-Babyl. I-shar-Shamash, CT VI, 40, 15.

Ia-she'-Isa-ma = יִשְׁמָר = יִשָּׁמֵר "Jahveh will save" (not = יִשָּׁמֵר).

"Salvation of Jahveh", as then we should expect Ia-sha'-Iama) Str. Cyr. 307, 2.


Ia-shu-ha-tum = יִשֵּׁחו "Salvation" (abbrev. cf. Saf. 151, 4, 7) MAP, 100, 4.

Ia-su-mu = יִשָּׁמ = "He will place" (cf. Ia-sa-am) HABL 502, 10.

Ia-a-shu-mu, perhaps of the same meaning as the prece. name HABL, 54, R. 7.

Ia-shu-ub-Dagan "Dagan will return" (cf. bibl. 151, 4, 7, and see sub Ba'al-ia-shu-pu), T-D, 109, 1.

Ia-shu-ub-El "The God will return" (see preceding name) CT II, 23, 15.

Ia-ta' = South-Arab. יְחַ "To help" (abbrev) HABL 252, 7.

Ia-ta-bi-El = יְחַ-בֵּית "The God will be good" (cf. bibl. 151, 4, 7). MEEK, HBL, 6, 3.

Ia-ta-da-tum, probably of יְחַ "peg", figuratively "support" (cf. Tham. יְחַ, בֶּן-יְחַ) KB IV, p. 12, 1, 14.

Ia-ta-ma-a (Tallq. APN, p. 92, compares יְחַ "Orphah") JADD 741, 23.

Ia-ta-ma-El (Ph. יְחַ "The God has given" (cf. bibl. 151, 4, 7). Ph. יְחַ, Pun. 151, 4, 7, 24, 1). JADD 621, 2.
Ia-ta-a-mu (abbrev. cf. the preceding name and El-ia-ta-a-mu) JADD 54, R.3.
Ia-ta-ri-im (abbreviation of a name as Iatar-El "The God is ex-
celling", cf. bibl. יִמְּנָה, CT VIII 38a,12.
Ia-ta-rum, see preceding name., CT VI,43,28.
Ia(?)-te-e perhaps = South-Arab یَا "To help" (abbrev. cf.
Ahi-ia-te', Am-iate') JADD 59,6.
Ia-ti-El = ה-ג"כ "The God will help" (cf. South-Arab יהו and see the preceding name), CT II 42,19.
Ia-u-a = bibl. Jehu king of Israel (the etymology is not quite
clear; the name may be composed of יִמְּנָה and הָיִנָה and its mean-
ing may be "Of Jahveh is he", thus "Adherent of Jahveh") Shalm.

III R 5, No.6,25 (KB I, p.150.
Ia-u-ba-ni "Jahu is my builder" (= יִגְּבֹה, cf. Au-bani) BET XV,184,7.
\[\text{Ia-u-bi-`-di} = \text{יאוֹבְּדָי}, \text{"Jahu is about me" (see Adad-bi'di and cf.}
\[\text{Au-ba'idi}, \text{Winckler's Sargon I, 33 (KB II, pp.36,36.)}
\[\text{Ia-u-ha-zi} = \text{יאוֹהָנָי}, \text{king of Judah (the cuneiform rendering}
\text{leaves no doubt that the name יִגְּבֹה is abbreviated from}
\text{ךִּי יִגְּבֹה, "Jahu has seized"}, Tigrp IV,B,61 (KB II, p.20).
\[\text{Ia-u-hi-El "The God will inform", Ungnad 9,9.}
\[\text{Ia-um-ri perhaps scribal error for Ia-um-id-ri "Jahu is help",}
\text{see A-a-u-id-ri, UMBS II No.2,95,10.}
\[\text{Ia-u-shu = bibl. שֵׁמֶּה, possibly Akkadian "Who is he". VS VIII, 14,}
\[\text{Ia-u-um-El "Jahu is God" (cf. Au-ila-a, Au-lu-u-a-a and bibl.)}
\text{CT IV 27,3.}
\[\text{Ia-u-zi-El = ה-ג"כ "The God will bring out" (see Iamzi-El) UMBS}
\text{XI, No.2,1,III,18.}
\[\text{Ia-wi-d Da-gan = יִגְּבֹה, "Dagan will bring into existence"? (this}
\text{name may be identical with Ia-ah-mi-d Da-gan = Iahwi-Dagan}
\text{"Dagan will announce", q.v.), T-D, 158,9.}
\[\text{Ia-wi-El "The God will bring into existence", or = Ia-ah-mi-El}
\text{"The God will announce", q.v., CT VIII 34,4.}
Ia-wi-um (abbrev. cf. the preced. names), CT VIII, 44, 8, etc.

Ia-zi-Da-gan = לֹא הָיָה "Dagan will be strong" (cf. bibl. וֹא לְעָנָי = יִשְׂרָאֵל) T-D, 227, 32.

Ia-zi-E-ra-ah "The Moongod will be strong" (see prec. n.) T-D, 146, 16.

Ia-zi-ni (abbrev. with hypocor. ending -ni, cf. preced. names) JADD 325, R. 12.

I-da-El "The God has known" (Hanke, PN, p. 212 sees in ida a divine name, comparing it with I-da-na-id "Ida is exalted") OM A, 11, 10.

I-da-ri-mu-El (AN-MESH) var. of Ia-da-ar-ni'-El and I'd-ra-ni'-El, probably Babylonized form of Idaarmi'-El "The God will help me", BE IX, 36, 12.

I-di-ra-mu (abbrev. of a name compounded with הָיָה "to help", with hypocor. ending -anu), Str. Dar. 366, 17.

I-di-ri-ia-El (AN-MESH) "The God is my help" (helper?), BE IX, 85, 19.

I-di-ba'-il-a-a = bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל (an Arab. tribe), III R, 10, 30.

I-di-bi'-il-li/lu, see preced. name, Tigl. IV, Amn. 226. 240. B, 56.

I-di-na-a-a = bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל (c.f. Ad-na-a-a), JADB 7, 1, 9.


I-di-ra-mu (abbrev. with hypocor. ending -anu), JADD 1, I, 32, 4, III, 8.

I-di-ri-a-ha-a-u (Tallq. APN, p. 94: = Ad-ra-a-ha-u, Addo-ra-ha-a-u = נֶאֶד "Addo is his shepherd") HABL 593, R. 2, K. 4792.

I-da-ri-ia "My help" (abbrev.), JADD 360, 1.


I-di-ru "Help" (abbrev.), HABL 458, 5.

Ig-da-al-Ia-a-mu = bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל "Jahweh will be great", BE IX, 45, 4.

Ig-ka-lu-u var. of Ia-ki-im-lu-u, Ia-ki-im-lu (king of Arvad) = יִשְׂרָאֵל "The God will establish" (?), Ashurb. K. 11450, 5.


I-ka-lu-u var. of Iakin-lu-u (king of Arvad) = יִשְׂרָאֵל "The God will establish", KB II, p. 170, No. 2.

I-la-a (abbreviated from a name compounded with לילא "God") MAP 34 35, JADD 246, R.

I-la-a-ri/nu (abbrev. of a name compounded with ilâ with hypocor. ending -âni/nu) Ashurn. Amm. III, 105; Kurka. R.42.

I-la-i-a-bî = יָםָא-יָםַא "My God is my Father", JADB 5, II, 19.

I-la-la-ku "The God is for thee" (cf. Iahâ-a-lakim), CT VI, 49, 19.

I-la-nu-u-a (abbrev. of a name compounded with Ph. גֵּד "God"?), BE XV, 260, R. 2.

I-la-î-nâ-da, perhaps = Arab. יָדָא "To call", thus "My God has called" (cf. Lâba-nâda), Ungnad 155, 54.

I-li-Mil-ku "My God is Melech" (see Eli-Milki), Amarna 286, 36.

dIl-Te-hi-ri-â-bî = יַנָּה-יַנָּה "The Dawn is my Father" (see Al-Te-


Il-Te-ih-ri-la-a-a = il-Te-ih-ri ila-a-a "The Dawn is the God" UMBS II, 1

Il-Te-ih-ri-na-ak-ki-’ perhaps "O Dawn, acquit!" (leave unpunished the sin committed against thee), UMBS II, 1.


Il-Te-ri-ia-a-ha-bi "The Dawn has given", UMBS II, No.1, 144, 1.

Il-Te-ri-ha-nâ-na "The Dawn has been gracious", Str. Cyr. 177, 2.

I-lu-u-bi’-di (var. of Iau-bi’di) "The God is about me" (cf. Ba-a-

â-di-El) Sargon: Ann. 23; Cyl. 25 (KB II, p.42)

I-ma-mi-El, perhaps = Imma-mi-El "Our (?) Ammu is God" (cf. Add-

I-mi-El "The Ammu is God" (or = יִתְנָה "With me is the God", cf. bibl. יִתְנָה), OM C, 15, 6.

I-mi-Sim "The Ammu is Sin" (but see preced. name) OM A, 6, 14.


Ir-ra-na-da, perhaps "Irna has called" (cf. I-li-i-na-da) VS VII, 105.

Is-pi-îtâ-El (or) "The God will judge" (= יִתְנָה "With me is the God", cf. bibl.

Josh. 13, 1, 2, 3, 5) JADD 775, 9.

Is-pu-te/ti = *(abbrev. cf. preced. name) JADD 841, 5 etc.
Is-pu-tu = תַּשִּׁי (abbrev. cf. Ispitti-El) JADD 162, 1.4.
Isa-a (cf. Talm. ) JADD 4, III, 16.
I-shar-Hari-im "The uprightness of Horus" (or = היו "He was upright"?, cf. I-shar-i-li, I-shar-li-im, I-shar-Shamash, ibbl.

I-shar-li-im (NI-NI) "The uprightness of the God" (see prec. name) BE III, 1.
I-shar-li-im = I-shar-ilim (see prec. name)
I-shar-Shamash "The uprightness of Shamash" (see I-shar-Harim) VS VIII, 14, 40.

Ish-bi-Irr-ra (king of Isin), perhaps "Irra is sublime" (iskbi = יִשְׁבּוּ)
cf. Iashbi-ila), UMBS IV, No. 1, p. 94, etc.
Ishma-El "The God will hear" (אֶל יָשָׁמ אֲל) OM B, 2, 5.
Ishtar(RI)-ia(PI)-shur Ishtar will watch" (אִשְׁתֶר) Ta'annek I, 1.II, I.V, I.VI, I.
Ishtar-ia-wi "Ishtar will bring into existence", or, announce" (cf.
Iawi-Dagan), VS VIII, 157, 7.

Ish-ri-bi-La-aa"Ishtar will be strong" (cf. Iazi-Dagan), JADD 148.
I-zi-Ba-al "With me is Ba'al" (cf. bibl. ) T-ד 95, R. 3.
I-zi-Dagan "With me is Dagan", OM C, 16, 7.

I-zi-a-aa weights "My Strong one has shone" (WS izi of אַבּו תי כָּשׁ ו, a by-form of מָא "To be strong", evidently corresponds to Akkadian izzu and is used as adj. and frequently also as an equivalent of a divine name), UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 11.
I-zi-a-shar = יַשְׂרֵי "My Strong one has been upright" (cf. Iasharum), CT VIII, 46, 42. UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 13.
I-zi-ia-El "My Strong one is God" (cf. bibl. ) UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 16.
I-zi-ia-zi "My Strong one will be strong" (cf. Iazi-Dagan) CT VIII, 4, 4.
I-zi-i-lu-ma "My Strong one is the God", VS VIII 99,5.

I-zi-ilum = Izi-ilum, see preced. name, OM D, 9, 14.

I-zi-Na-bu-u, perhaps "My Strong one is Nabû", UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 14, etc.

I-zi-ka-tar(ka-ta-ar) "My Strong one is a rock" (cf. bibl. names compounded with 中国制造) UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 7, CT VIII 43, 6.

I-zi-ka-tar-i "My Strong one is my rock", UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 8.

I-zi-Sa-mu-a-bu-um(Su-mu-a-bu-um) "My Strong one is the king Sumu-abum"? (but see the follow. name) CT IV, 47, 30, VIII, 28, 7.

I-zi-su-mu-um: "The Strong one is his name"? (cf. the names compounded with sumu = sum-hu "His name") UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 7.

I-zi-(iz-)za-ri-e = כַּעַרְשׁ - "My Strong one is intercessor"? (cf. Izi-dari-e), UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 9, CT II, 24, 4, 6.

Iz-ra-sh-Dagan "Dagan will arise" (cf. bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל, יִשְׂרָאֵל), Journ. As. XXXIII, 58.

Ka-zi-su-na-as-bi(king of Moab) "Chemosh is generous".

Ka-bar-El = כַּבָּר - "The God has been great" (cf. Kabri-El), JADD 167, R. 5, 742, 23, etc.

Kab-ri-El "The God is great" (see preced. name), VS I, 33, 27.

Kab-rum (abbrev. cf. preced. names), BE XIV

Ka-li(Ga-ni)-Eli(NI-NI) "My all is (my) God" (cf. Eli-kali) OM, A, 14, 24.

Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi "Chemosh is generous" (king of Moab; cf. Na-di-bi-

Iama and Abi-nadib) I R, Senn. II, 53, etc.

Ka-mu-sha-shar-nur "O, Chemosh, protect the king!", Revue Arch. 1866, p. 166.

Ka-(ma?)-as-ha-la-a(Kamas = Kammusu = גָּמָאשׁ; see KAT, p. 472;ן אָשָׁר.


Ka-ma-su, see preced. name, JADD 471, 10.

Ki-mu-um-Ka-bi-il "Habur is just" (cf. Habur-kimur) CT VI, 39, 22.

Ki-ra-am-tum(cf. bibl. יִשְׂרָאֵל, יִשְׂרָאֵל ?) CT IX, 45, 3.
La-a-a-li-e = Ila-alie "The God is exalted", cf. Nab. ב-ב יי; but cf. bibl. ב-ב יי "By God!", or "Unto God", Esarh.A,III,40; B,IV,26, etc.

La-a-te-El perhaps = ב-ף יי "Truly, the God will save" (cf. Abi-iate', Am-iate'?) or ב-ף יי "Truly, the God has brought") JADD 942,R.7

La-a-di-ru-El "Truly, the God is a helper" (?), HABL 1032,1.2.6, etc.

La-ba-na-da "Laban has called" (see I-li-i-na-da and Ishtar-laba), Capp.C,12,2.

La-hi-e-El perhaps "Truly, the God lives" (see Aduna-ikhu) JADD 14,4.


La-i-ti-El, La-it-ti-El, see preceding name, JADD 572,R.4. JADD 2,R.VII,2.


Lu-ha'-il "May he be strong"? (or = Ilu-ha'il, cf. Ha'il-El?) HABL 527,1.

Lu-lu-ha-a = lu-iluhā "Truly, he is God"? (abbrev.) CT VI,26,27.

Lu-li-i (king of Sidon) = לילוי = Khovhalq Joseph, Ant. IX, 14, 2

"The God is for me" (cf. Iahu-lu-mu, la-ki-im) I R 38, II, 35.

Lu-na-a-Na-ash-hu "Truly, Nashhu will answer" (cf. Iau-immi) JADD 1, II,30.


Ma-at-ta-ni(-')la-a-ma "The gift of Jahveh" (cf. Matan-Ba'al).

bibl. פִּ迕ְנַת מַעַנְת הָעַל, Pun. פִּ迕ְנַת מַעַנְת הָעַל, BE IX, 83,14, RE

Mah-si-la-a-u = bibl. פִּ迕ְנַת מַעַנְת הָעַל "(My) refuge is Jehovah" (cf. Ps. 91,2, JADD 30, R.7.

Ma-li-tu (abbreviated; cf. Nab. פִּ迕ְנַת מַעַנְת הָעַל = יפִנְנַת מַעַנְת הָעַל) JADD 233,R.14.


Ma-na-ni "He has counted, ordained me" (abbrev. cf. Ahi-iammu) JADD 209,R.11.

Man-nu-dan-na(mi)-la-a-ma "Who is strong like Jahveh?" (= Mannu-

Man-ta(na(mi)-ki-Iama), UMBS II, No. 60, 13, 148, 1.

Man-nu-ia-di- "Who will know?" (abbrev.?) JADD 2, III, 15.

Man-nu-ia-a-ri "Who will fear?" ( מ-ב ?) JADD 880, I, 15.

Man-nu-ka-a-bi "Who is like the Father?" (the prepos. ka instead of ki in this and the foll. names characterises them as WS)

Man-nu-ka-ahō "Who is like the Brothers?", JADD 363,R.9.
Man-nu-ka-da "Who is like this one?", JADD 425, R.15.
Man-nu-ka-milki(sharri?) "Who is like the Melesh?", JADD 5, II, 10.
Man-nu-ki-Alla-a "Who is like Alla?" (Alla = לארשי ) JADD 310, 7.
Man-nu-ki-ia-da Who is like one who knows?" (?; Tallq. APN, p. 126
reads Mannu-ki-ia-li'(DA) "Who is like Ya(?)mighty?") JADD 742, 32.
Man-nu-ki-i-i-la-hi-i "Who is like my God" BE X, 64, 3.
Man-nu-ki-i-la-hi-El "Who is like my God El" (El = "the One, True
God"?) UMBS II, No. 1, 207, 5.
Man-nu-lu-ja-a = Mannu-iluha-a = Mannu-ki-iluha-a "Who is like
the God", BE X.
Mar-ti-i-di "The Lord is about me" (cf. Adad-bi'â) JADD 720, 4.
Mar-ti-i-di "The Lord has known" (cf. zi-im-ri-idâ, zi-im-ri-da;
Tallq. APN, p. 134: "My lord is Idât(Adad)", JADD 742, R.35.
Mär(TUR)-su-ri "The Lord is my wall" (cf. Ata-suri) JADD 479, 5.
Mar-ti-i "My lady" (= Aram. אִשָּׁה ; cf. Palm. m.pr.f. אִשָּׁה ) JADD 310, 4.
Marti(TUR-SAL)-ra-pi-e "0, heal, my Lady!", JADD 447, 1.10.
= Man-uu-Ba'-al(king of Arvad) = Pun. לנור "The gift of Ba'al",
(Ma)-ta-an-Bi'-il(king of Arvad), see prec. name Tiglp. IV, B., 60.
= Mut-ila-a-a "Man of my God", cf. Mu-ti-El and
bibl. דֵּמוֹן? JADD 151, R.9, 574, R.5, etc.
Mat(KUR)-ila-a-a = Mut-ila-a-a "Man of my God", cf. Mu-ti-El and
bibl. דֵּמוֹן? JADD 151, R.9, 574, R.5, etc.
Mat(KUR)-ila-a-a = Mat-ila-a-a, JADD 271, R.2.
Mat-il-ila-a-a = Mat-ila-a-a, K.241, IX, 24.
Mat-ti'-El, of the same meaning as the preced. names? (Tallq. APN, p.
135, translates "When, 0 god"; then the name would not be WS,
Mati-nu-Ba'-li = Matan-Ba'al(king of Arvad) Shalhm. III, Mon. II, 93
Ma-ti'-u, Ma-ti'-i(abbrev. cf. Mati'-El) JADD 672, 3, 741, 22.
Me-is-sa-a = כְּפָצַר "Refuge" (abbrev. cf. Ma-shi-Iau), JADD 126, 7.
Me-nu-ki-me = bibl. דְּבִּית "Comforter" JADD 98, 3, R.4
Me-na-si-e = bibl. יְהוָֽה (king of Judah) "He who causes to forget", cf. Gen.41,51, Esarh.B.V,13(KB II, p.148)
Me-ni-ki-im-me = יְהוָֽה (king of Israel), Tigl.VI,Ann.150(KB II, p.36)
Me'-sa-a = יְהוָֽה of "Te-save", cf. יְהוָֽה (wife of U-si-)
Me-sha(abbrev.cf.bibl. יְהוָֽה ) JADD 97,E.l.
Me'-su,Me-i-su, see Me-sa-a , JADD 854,11.989,9.
Mi-il-ki(Mil-ki)-Adad "Adad is the Melech", VS I,102,18. JADD 104
Mi-il(AN)-ki-li = Mil-ki-ili "My God is the Melech"(cf.bibl. יְהוָֽה)
and יְהוָֽה ), Amarna 249,5,6.
Mi-in-ki-im-mu(king of Samsi-seruma) = Me-na-ki-me, Semn.II,47.
Mi-in-la-me-en =bibl. יְהוָֽה "Of the right hand" (= Felix, cf.
Iamannū), BE X,76,14.
Mil-ka-a-a,Mil-ka-ia(abbrev.or = bibl. יְהוָֽה "Melech is Ja(hu)",
JADD 19,B.20,6,113,R.2.
Mil-ki-a-2,Mil-ki-ia, see prec.names, JADD 59,1.14.167,R.2.
Mil-ki-a-sha-pa = יְהוָֽה "The Melech has gathered"(king of
Byblos;cf.bibl. יְהוָֽה ), Esarh.B.V,17;Ashurb.Rm.3,II,31.
Mil-ki-El "The God is the Melech"(see Milkili)Amarna 287,29.
Mil-ki-ia-ri "The Melech is my help" JADD 470,7.507,R.3.
Mil-ki-i (abbrev.) JADD 245,R. 9.
Mil-ki-la-ri-im "The Melech is truly exalted", Sm.55,XI,12.
Mil-ki-li,Mil-ki-lum,Mil-ki-lum, see Mi-il-ki-li, Amarna 267,4,
268,3.289,5.249,16.250,39,etc.
Mil-ki-ra-me(-ra-mu) = bibl. יְהוָֽה "The Melech is exalted"(cf.
Ph. יְהוָֽה ) Ashurb.83-1-18,476.JADD 56,1.3,etc.
Mil-ki-i-ram-am = Milki-reman, see prec.names, Ashurb.HABL 1007,R.
18.
Mil-ki-u-ri יְהוָֽה "The Melech is my light"(cf.Ph. יְהוָֽה )
Amarna 83,53. JADD 234,4.

Mi-na-ab-hi-im = bibl. מִנְאָבִי-ים, BE X, 127, 5, 16.

Mi-na-hi-im, see prec. name, BE X, 128, LE

Mi-na-hi-mi = Aram. docket מִנְאָה-י-ים JADD 245, 1, 6.

Mi-ni-hi-im-mu var. to Mi-in-hi-im-mu, KB II, p. 91, n. 35.

Mi-nu-hi-im-mu var. to Minimmu, 79-7-8, 302; 81-2-4, 42

Mi-nu-uk-mi-mu, Mi-nu-uk-mu var. to Minimmu 80-7-9, 1, 3.

Mi-e-te-en-na "Gift" (abbrev), Tigl. IV, B, 66.

Mi-ti-in-ti (king of Ashdod); Me-ti-in-ti (king of Asealon) "Gift" (abbrev. cf. bibl. מְתִי-וֹנִי Palm. מְתִי-וֹנִי) Tigl. IV, B, 61;

BeSenn. III, 24; Esarh. B, V, 15; Ashurb. Rm. 3, II, 35.

Mi-tu-mu "Our man" (abbrev. cf. Me-tu-mu), JADD 176, R. 8.

Mu-ad-da (cf. bibl. מִזְאָד, LXX Μαδᾶ, Aram. מזד "The beloved one"

Mu-adu-num, see prec. name, CT VIII, 49, 24.

Mu-mar-El "The God exchanges" (?) JADD 320, 3.

Mu-sa-la-mu = (abbrev. cf. bibl. מְסָלָה JADD 182, 1.

Mu-ti-El "The man of God" (cf. Mahi-imalu-sa), Ungnad, 126, 3.


Mu-tum-a-li-ik (accord. to RPN, p. 125 = Mutu-malik "Mutu is coun-
seller"; however, the translation "The man of Malik" is more probable), CT VIII 35, 3.

Mu-tu-me-el = Mutu-ma-El "Truly, a man of God" CT VIII, 31, 25.

Mu-tum-El, see preced. name CT IV 35, 27, etc.

Mu-ut-Ba-ah-l(um) var. Mu-ut-dIM "The man of Ba'al" Amarna 255, 3.

Na-ad-ba-ru = (abbrev. cf. foll. names) Str. Cyr. 226, 4 JADD 1141, 50.

Na-ad-bi-ia-a-u "Jahu is generous" (cf. bibl. יְהוּדָאָה, בִּיא, בֵּית-יָוָה JADD 234, R. 9.

Na-ad-bi-ia-u, see prec. name, PSBA XV, p. 13.

Na-ad-bi-ia = יֵבְרֹד or abbreviated, BE IX, 82, 5.
Na-ash-hu-a-s-a-li "Nashhu is my inmate" (a-a-lu = Arab. lit. "Tent", but fig. "inmates of the same tent, inhabitants of the same place, family, relations"; cf. bibl. Ph., Sab. מַטִּמְעָה, בְּרֵי-רֵי JADD 24, R.5

Na-ash-hu-gab-ri "Nashhu is strong" (cf. El-gabri), JADD 12, III.2.

Na-ash-hu-id-ri "Nashhu is my help", JADD I, II, 2.

Na-ash-hu-natana(-a) "Nashhu has given" (ASH-A = natana in a WS name, not = nadin-aplu), JADD 5, I, 9.

Na-ash-hu-ka-tar(ta-ri) "Nashhu is a rock", JADD 1, I, 14.2, I, 8.

Na-ash-hu-sa-gab "Nashhu has been strong, inaccessibly high" (cf. Hebr. "גָּבָה"), JADD 12, II, 11.

Na-ash-hu-sa-ma-'a-ni "Nashhu has heard me", JADD 1, II, 28.

Na-bi-um-ha-zir "Nabû is helping" (?), MAP, 100, 25.

Nabû-am-me-e "Nabû is the Ammu" (cf. Aa-am-me), Str. Nbkd, 118, 11.

Nabû-ka-ba "Nabû has rewarded" (cf. Nabû-hakab), BE VIII, 91, 13.

Nabû-da-la- "Nabû has drawn out" (cf. Dalê-El), BE IX, 70, 4.

Nabû-ha-am-me-e "Nabû is the Ammu" (cf. Nabû-amme), Str. Nbkd, 122, 14.

Nabû-ka-ba-di "Nabû has made" (cf. El-a-ba-di), GM, 17, 8.

Nabû-ia-a-ha-bi "Nabû has given" (cf. Ikababi-El), UMBS II, No. 1, 222, 4

Nabû-ia(-a)-li "Nabû will be exalted" (Ia'li-El), JADD 174, 4, 252, 2.

Nabû-id-ri "Nabû is help", BE X, 67, 15.

Nabû-ka-shir "Nabû succeeds" (?), JADD (112, R.1. 1/1, 1029, 3.

Nabû-la-di- "Nabû is for this one" (cf. Amma-la-di-im), JADD 5, I, 8.

Nabû-la-ka "Nabû is for thee" (cf. Ila-la-ka), JADD 12, II, 8.

Nabû-ma-at-tan-mu "Nabû is the giver" (mattanu = mattimu may be a Hiphil-formation of מַטִּמְעָה, cf. the var. Matam->Ba'al and Mattimu-Ba'li, which accordingly should be translated "The giver is Ba'al"?), Str. Nbkd, 1020, 3.

Nabû-ma-tan-mu "Nabû has given" (Adad-na-ta-mu) BE X, 64, 6.
Nabū-na-sa-ka "He has offered libations to Nabū" (cf. Akkū-nā-baš, Old Babylonian). See also Nebī-ma-baši, JADD 122, p. 23, R. 3.


Nabū-ka-na" "Nabū has acquired" (cf. El-ka-na), Str. Nbkā, 502, 15.

Nabū-ka-ta-ri "Nabū is a rock" (cf. Nashīm-natari), Str. Nbkā, 512, 3.

Nabū-ra-ni-i "Nabū is my shepherd" (cf. Adān-rahī), BE X, 109, 3.

Nabū-ra-hi-i-ga, see prec. name, BE X, 31, 2.

Nabū-ra-pa "Nabū has healed" (cf. El-ārāpa), BE X, 119, 8.

Nabū-sa-gāb "Nabū has been strong" (lit. imensely high; cf. Nashīm-sagāb), JADD 55, R. 5.

Nabū-sa-gi-īb "Nabū is strong" (see prec. n.), HABL 847, 2.

Nabū-sha-ma" "Nabū has heard", Str. Cyr. 312, 6.

Nabū-sha-ru" "Nabū has released" (cf. Šarā'-El), BE X, 126, 11.


Na(kur)-ba-dā-a "Ja(hn) is generous" (cf. Nābī-lāu; the reading Kurban-ā-a is also possible; but cf. Na(kur)-ba-dā-a), JADD 1021, R. 3.

Na(kur)-ba-ā-mu = Na-ad-ā-mu, q.v., JADD 989, 3.

Na(kur)-ba-ā, see prec. n., JADD 1141, 49, 51.

Na(kur)-ba-ānu, see prec. names, JADD 742, R. 34.

Na(kur)-ba-dā-a = Na-ad-ā-a, PSBA XXX, p. III, 6.

Na-di-ra "Vowed" (abbrev. cf. Eli-līrā, -nadārī and fell. name), BE IX, 73, 3.


Na-di-ir = Na-di-ra, BE X, 123, 11.

Na-ga-a = "He has shone" (abbrev. cf. Adad-ma-ği), JADD 6, 1, 13.

Na-ā-ma-ru = bibl. or bibl. Talm. (abbrev.), BE X, 107, 12.

Na-ak-ā-A-ā "Jahu has given light" (cf. Talm. JADD 266, R. 4.
Na-hi-El "The God has been at rest", Lindl. 591, 11.
Na-hi-ish-tâbu "Nahish is good" (Nahish = "Diviner") may be an equivalent of a divine name; or Nahish = ןחש "Serpent", cf. 2 Kings, 18, 4?, BE X, 114, 15.
Na-hi-li = Nahi-ili, see Nah-i-El, CT VIII, 45, 29.
Na-hi-mi-im = י"ש "Delight" (abbrev. cf. bibl. npm ימש "נש")
Na-hu-um-Dagan "Dagan was pleasant" (cf. bibl. דגן, פה. דגון).
Pun. מַעַשׂ יִשְׂרָאֵל; or = מַעַשׂ יִשְׂרָאֵל "Dagan is a comforter", cf. bibl.
Na-i-mi = י"ש "Delight"? (cf. Nahimim), CT IV, 30, 3.
Na-ki-nu-um = יי"ש "The avenger"? CT VI, 40, 14, etc.
Na-shuh-â-ir "Nashuh is precious" (cf. Abu-akar) JADD 54, R. 1
Na-shuh-da-Nashuh-î-âa "Nashuh has known" (the current equation DA = ל"ע "mighty" is doubtful), JADD 641, R. 15.
Na-shuh-ia-ba-ba "Nashuh has rejoiced" (cf. Aa-iababa), JADD 56, R. 6
Na-shuh-la-u-â-mi "Nashuh has accompanied me" (= ?י"ש, JADB 11, I, 7.
Na-shuh-ma-na-â-mi "Nashuh has counted, ordained me" (cf. Aki-manu)
JADB 7; I, 1. III, 9
Na-shuh-natana(-a) "Nashuh has given" (MU-A in a WS name = natana and not = nadin-aplu, cf. Nashhu-natana), JADB 13, I, 12.
Na-ta-an = bibl. יי"ש "He has given" (abbrev. Str. Dar. 501, 10.
Na-ta-an, Na-ta-nu, Na-ta-nu, see prec. name, HABL 282, 17. 422, 5. 829, 20, etc.
Na-ta-El = bibl. יי"ש "God has given", BME IX, 67, 15.
Na-ta-ni-El, see prec. name, UMBS II, N. 1, 107, 10.
Na-ta-nu-ia-â-ma = bibl. יי"ש "Jahveh has given", PSBA XV, p. 14.
Na-ti-ni-i = יי"ש "Given" (abbrev?), JADD 742, 23.
Na-tu-nu = נֹתֶנוּ "Given" (abbrev.), JADD 186, R. 7. BE IX, 45, 5.
Na-tu-nu-um, see preced. name, Peek-Pinches No. 13, 26.

Ni-har-A-u = נִחָרָא "Jahu has given light" (cf. Nahara-Au), JADD 851, IV, 4.


Ni-šu-ru = Niharu, BE X, 36, 2.

Nin-gal-ia-da "Mingal (Moongoddess) has known", VAT 5384, 6.

NIN-E-ša-na "Ninib has built", BE X, 14, 10.

Ni-ri-La-a-ma = bibl. הָרָא "My light is Jahveh", Str. Dar. 310, 4.

(N)i-ri-La-u, see preced. name, HABL, 231, R. 4.

Nu-ša-a "Rest" (abbrev. cf. Napi-El, bibl. נַפְיָא), BE IX, 4, 12.

Nu-ši-ia = Nu-ša-a, KB II, p. 14, 6, 7.

Nu-šu-ši (Mil-ki) "Be at rest, O Melech"? BE IX, 47, 19.

Pa-ša-i-la = Arab. פֶּשֶׁל "God has excelled" (but see Pa-ša-ila and Pa-ša-a-El) Ungnad, 16, 36.

Pa-ša-ši-a (a connection with bibl. פֶּשֶׁל would be possible, but it seems that this name is identical with Ba'alu-ia and hypcor. of Amur-Ba'alu), Amarna 162, 76.

Pa-ar-ga-nun (abbrev. cf. Arab. פֶּשֶׁל "to relieve" and Simn pr. פֶּשֶׁל), CT VIII, 49, 30.

Pa-da-a "He has redeemed" (abbrev.) Str. Dar. 523, 3.

Pa-da-a-ma = Pa-da-La-a-ma = bibl. פֵּאָה "Jahveh has redeemed"?

Pa-da-ši-dE-si "Isis has redeemed me"? (but in view of the names Pa-at-dE-si and Pa-šan-dE-si and Aram. nn. prr. פֵּאָה the name is to be read Pa-ša-ši-dE-si and Egyptian) BE X, 39, 14.


Pa-di-ši (abbrev. or = bibl. פֵּאָה) Str. Dar. 541, 25.

Pa-du-u (Pad-du-u)-El "The God is (his?) redeemer" (cf. bibl. פֵּאָה), JADD 1110, I, 5, 83-1-18, 695, III, 27.


Pa-ka-i-la (E. Littman by Ranke, PN p. 135, suggests Arab. "God gladdens", and compares Thamud. however, this name is no doubt identical with Pa-ka-i-la and the writing pa-a-ka points to a root Mediae Infirmae, thus a combination with Arab. is more probable) CT IV, 33, 4.

Pa-ka-ia (hypocor. cf. preced. name), MAP 37, 23.

Pa-la "Shamash "Shamash has been wunderful" (cf. bibl. HABL 104, 7, 314, 3, etc.

Sa-f. CT II, 9, 2; MAP 80, 1.

Pa-la-sa (abbrev. of a name compounded with pala) CT II, 30, 11.

Pa-la-tum (abbrev. cf. preced. name) MAP 106, 3, etc.

Pa-li-la (abbrev. or = bibl. יַּעַשְׁנָה) CT II, 21, 3.

Pa-li-tu = "The escaped one" (probably abbrev. of bibl. יַּעַשְׁנָה, cf. bibl. יַּעַשְׁנָה, JADD 743, R. 2, JADB 2, II, 16.


Pa-li-ti-A-a = יַּעַשְׁנָה "Refuge of Ja(hu)" (see foll. n.) PSBA III, p. 138, 34.

Pa-li-ti-Ia-u = bibl. יַּעַשְׁנָה "Refuge of Jahu", HABL 633, R. 4, 27.

Pa-ka-ha = וְהָב (king of Israel) "He has opened" (abbrev. of bibl.

"Jahu has opened "), Tigl. IV, III R 10, 28; the same name is also borne by other persons HABL 102, 4, R. 8, JADD 234, R. 8.

Par-si-i = bibl. יַּעַשְׁנָה (gentil. or abbrev?), JADD 75, R. 12.

Pa-ta-ah "He has opened" (abbrev. of Iaptih-Adda) BE IX, 14, 4.


Pi-li-Ia-a-ma "Wunder of Jahveh" ( יִּמְּלֵךְ הָב, BBIX, 14, 4.

Pi-il-lu-la-a-ma, see prec. name, BE X, 65, 10.

Pu-Ba-ah-la var. -IM = Ba'al "Mouth of Ba'al" (cf. bibl. יִּמְּלֵךְ הָב, and pu in numerous Akkadian names), Amarna 104, 7, 314, 3, etc.

Pu-di-Ba'al, see Bu-di-Ba'al

Pu-du-El, Bu-du-El.
Pu-hu-ru var. of Pa-ku-ru, q.v. Amarna 57, 6, 10
Pu-ra-gu-ush = ṣaṣraḥ "Flea" (= Arab. ṣaṣraḥ; cf. bibl. n. pr. ṣṣaṣraẖ, Ta'annek 3, 10.


Ka-a-El (perhaps connected with Arab. ṣāṣraẖ "To be strong") 83, 1-18, 695, III, 25.

Ka-ma-A-shur "Ashur has arisen" (cf. Abi-ka-mu; the root kāma is certainly WS notwithstanding its combination with the divine name Ashur), Capp. G, 17, 14, 23, 7.


Kar-ka-a "The bald one"? (cf. bibl. קָרָה, רִנָּה, Sin. הַרְחִית, Moab. n. pr. loc. חַרְחִית), JADD 703, 1, 815, R. III, 2, etc.

Kar-ka-i, see pres. name, BE IX, 15, 19.

Kar-ki-ia (this hypocor. seems to indicate that the preceding names are abbreviations), BE IX, 70, 7.

Ka-ri-hi, see Karha, JADD 21, 6.

Ka-ri-Ishtar = ṣaṣraḥ יִשְׂחַר "Summoned by Ishtar"? (WS?), JADD 709, 3.

Ka-Sam-su "The Sungod has been strong"? (cf. Ka-a-El), JADD 427, 7.

Ka-ta-ru-um "Rock" (cf. bibl. n. pr. ṣṣaṣraẖ, or abbrev), CT VIII, 47, 21.

Ka-u-su, see Ka-Sam-su (the reading Ka-u-su as abbrev. of a name compounded with the divine name Kōs is improbable, as we in an Assyrian name we would expect Ka-u-shu)

Ka-us-ha-ga-b-ri "Kōs is strong" (For the name of the Edomite deity Kōs in proper names, cf. bibl. יְסָרִי, יְסָרוּ, Sin. יִסָרִי, see Kat 3 p. 472 f; the bearer of this name is king of Edom), Esarh. B, V, 14; Ashurb. 3, 11.

Ka-us-ha-ma-la-ka "Kōs has reigned" (king of Edom) Tigl. IV, B, R, 32.

Ku-ni-Hu-ru "My possessor is Horus" (cf. Kana-El), JADD 102, LE, 3.

Ku-ni-i (abbrev. cf. preced. name) JADB 5, II, 18.
Ku-su-ia-aha-bi "Kūs has given" (see Ku-ush-gabri) BE IX, 1, 1.
Ku-us-da-na-1 "Kūs has been near"? (cf. Arab. ḥabū "to be near"?
but cf. Aram. Ḫbū "this one", then "To Kūs belongs this one"

Ku-su-ia-da-1 "Kūs has known", Str. Dar. 301, 16.
Ra'-a-bi-El "The God is awful" (cf. Arab ḥabū "to fear") BE IX, 44, 16.

Ra-ā-pī'- (abbrev. of a name compounded with Ḫbū "to heal", cf.
Aram. n. pr. Ḫbū), Sarg. Amm. 269.
Ra-ab-bi-El (AN-MESH) "Great is the God" (cf. Nab. Ḫbū), BE IX, 40, 1.
Ra-ab-bi-E-ra-ah "Great is the Moongod", T-D, 158, 7.

Ra-ab-bi-ia (hypocor. with hypocor. ending -ia) T II 45, 14.

Ra-sha-ma-nu-mu = Aram. Ḫbū "The merciful one" (probably abbrev. of Rahim-El, Adad-rahimu), Amarna 284, 9.

Ra-ash-ī = Ḫbū "Head, Chief"? (cf. Palm. Ḫbū, bibl. Ḫbū? ) BEVIII, 60, 3
Ra-be-El = Rabbi-El, OM III, 19, 7.

Rab-bi-El (AN MESH), see preced. name, UMBS II, No. 1, 185, 19, etc.

Rab(CAL)-zi-id-ki "Great is Sedeq" (cf. Bi-Zidki, Sidki-El) Amarna 170, 37.

Ra-di-mu (perhaps connected with Arab. Ḫbū "to mend", cf. Thamūd.

Ra-di-mu, see preced. name, Str. Nka. 252, 4, etc.

Ra-di-mu-tum, see Ra-di-mu, Str. Dar. 379, 18.

Ra-ma-mu, connected with the preced. names? HABL 608, 14. R. 6.

Ra-hi-im (abbrev. cf. bibl. מְרֵא and see Rahmanum) BE X, 116, 7.

Ra-hi-im-El (AN-MESH) = Aram. docket Ḫbū "God is compassionate"
BE X, 89, 14.

Ra-hi-ma(?)-1, see Rahim, Str. Nbd 257, 3.

Ra-hi-ma-a = Ḫbū "Beloved one, Friend"? (probably abbrev.), JADD, I, II, 27.

Ra-hi-me-El = Rahim-El, q.v., JADD 191, R. 3.

Ra-hi-me-i (abbrev. cf. preced. name, JADD 166, R. 8.

Ra-hi-me-Milki (LUGAL) "Melech is compassionate", PSBA XXX, p. 137, 3
Ra-hi-mu-Milki (LUGAL), see prec. name, JADD 741, 17.
Ra-i-ba-ni (probably hypocor. with ending -ani, cf. Elu-ra-i-ba,
Ra'-bi-El, SA, pslm.) CT IV, 8, 30.

Ra-i-bu-un, see preced. name, CT VIII, 47, 7.

Ra-ma-da = Rama-Adda "Addad is exalted"? JADD 877, 3.

Ra-ma-El "The God is exalted" (cf. Elu-rama, Rama-El, Sin),
83-1-18, 695, III, 14.

Ra-ma-ia-tum (hypocor. cf. preced. names, CT VIII, 12, 6, 7.

Ra-man-ra-ba "Raman is great" (cf. Adda-ra-ba-a), JADD 68, LE, 3.

Ra-me-El = Rama-El, HABL 140, 15.

Ra-pa-a "He has healed" (abbrev. cf. bibl. יָבָע לְפִי, Palm. יַבָּע לְפִי וּ-בָּר, JADD 151, 1, 5, R. 3

Ra-pa-ia (hypocor. or = bibl. יַבָּע לְפִי "Ja(hu) has healed"? JADD 422, R. 14.

Ra-pi' = Ra-a-pi', q.v., VAT 5396, 2.

Ra-si-i = "Head, Chief" (cf. Palm. and see sub
Ra-ash"), JADD 851, III, 13.

Ra-su' = Ra'-si-i? JADD 334, R. 14.

Ra'-stu-mu (hypocor. with ending -mu, see preced. name), HABL 132, 8, 14

Ra-sum-mu/mi = bibl. יַבָּע לְפִי, LXX ἡμῖν, יַבָּע לְפִי, king of Syria
(perhaps identical with Hebrew יַבָּע לְפִי "favor", though יַבָּע לְפִי corresponds to Aram. יַבָּע לְפִי, TiglP. IV, Ann. 83, 150, 205, 236.

Ra'-u = bibl. יָבָע "Friend, Shepherd" (abbrev. cf. bibl. יָבָע לְפִי; how-
ever, the etymology of this bibl. names is somewhat obscure,
as according to LXX רַעַע, רַעַע, the root יָבָע in
these names ought to correspond to Aram. רַעש JADD 38, R. 5.

Ra'-u-a-mu (hypocor. with ending -amu, see preced. name) HABL 830, 3.

Ra-hi-me-Milki (MAN) = Rahime-Milki, JADD 337, R. 11.

Ra-ib-Ad-da variants Ra-ib-Ad-di, Ri-ib-Ha-ad-da, Ri-ib-Id-di, 6 IM
"Contend, O Adad!" (cf. lA-ri-ib-Adad, bibl. יִרְאֶה לָע תֹּאֶרֶשֶׁת, לָע תֹּאֶרֶשֶׁת), Amarna 73, 2, 68, 1, 64, 3, 26, 1, 130, 3, 142, 2, etc.

Ri-pa-El "Heal, O God!" (Impt ?), CM 98, 9.

Ri-pi-te (abbrev. of a name compounded with יָבָע ?, cf. Aram. יָבָע לְפִי),
JADD 773, 3.
Ri-zi-in-ni ( = ינ?י?), KB IV, p. 58.
Ru-hu-bi = bibl. n. pr. m. בּ (abbrev. cf. בּ, cf. Shalm. III, Mon. II, 95).*

Sa-a-ad "He has strengthened" (abbrev. cf. South-Arabic לַעַד, Jewish לַעַד, cf. Shalm. III, Mon. II, 95). JADD 175, 1.4. R.1
Sa'i-al-ti-El = יא"ל "I have asked of God" (or = יא"ל "The request of God"; cf. Shal-El, Adad-sha-al-tum).
Sa-ah-du = נוּד "Present"?, HABL 1028, 10.
Sa-ak-kan, Sa-ak-kan-nu = Hebrew יָצָק "He has settled down" (abbrev. cf. Sa-kan-Da-da, bibl. יָצָק) JADD 174, R. 10. 421, R. 7.
Sa-am-ma-ku "He has sustained" (abbrev. cf. Samak-El) Str. Cyr. 379; 5
Sa-am-sa-a-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with Samsu יא"ל), cf. bibl. יא"ל JADD 661, 18.
Sa-am-si-Adad "My Sungod is Adad" (an early king of Assyria; the other kings of Assyria who bore the same name were written Shamshi-Adad; but the WS writing of this name does not prove the WS origin of this ruler, as the Assyrians pronounced sh = s, cf. III Chapter sub Sibilants), I R 6, No. 1.
Sa-am-si-i-lu "The Sungod is God" (cf. Sam-si-El, Sam-si-ila-a-a), Ranke BD 48, 11.
Sa-am-su-di-ta-na "The Sungod is leader"? (see Ammi-ditana), CT VI, 23, 19, etc.
Sa-am-su-i-lu-na var. Sa-am-su-i-lu-na "The Sungod is our (?) God"

(illum may be compared with Ph. יָה "God", cf. Pun. יָה, יָה נָב God") CT VI, 3. 15. 4, 26, etc.
Sa'-du-ti-El "My (?) strength is the God" (see under Sa-a-ad)

63-1-18, 695, III, 29.
Sa-du-nu (hypocor. of a name compounded with $s\ddot{a}d\ddot{u}$; cf. preced. n.?) Sargen, Ann. 279
Sa-gab, Sa-gab-bu, Sa-ga-bi (abbrev. cf. bibl. $s\dddot{a}b$, $s\ddot{a}b$; Aram.

and $\text{Adad-}, \text{Nabu-}, \text{Habu-sagab}$ JADD 332, R. 6. II R 69, No.

Sa-gi-bi-e (abbrev. see preced. name), JADD 811, 4.
Sa-gi-bi-El "The God is inaccessibly high" (cf. $\text{Nabu-sa-gi-ib}$) HABL 1052, 7.
Sa-gi-bi-Miliki (LUGAL) "Melekh is inaccessibly high", JADD 4, IV, 4
Sa-gi-bi-i (abbrev. cf. preced. names), JADD 72, 9. R. 9, etc.
Sa-gi-bu = $s\dddot{a}bi$, JADD 1, I, 5.
Sa-gi-il-bi'-ai "Sagil is about me" (cf. Adad-, Atar-, Iau-bi'di;
Hilprecht, BE X, p. 62, is inclined to identify the first element with (E)$s\dddot{a}gil$; however $s\dddot{a}gil$ = "Possessor", may be an equivalent of a divine name) JADD 248, R. 11.

Sa-i-la-a = $s\dddot{a}la$ "petitioned" (abbrev. cf. bibl. $s\dddot{a}la$) JADD 675, R. 17
Sa-i-la-tum (hypocor. of a name compounded with $s\dddot{a}la$; CT VIII, 10, 8.
Sa'-i-li, Sa-i-li = $s\dddot{a}la$, JADD 155, 3, 744, 4.
Sa-i-lu, Sa-i-ilu (AN) = $s\dddot{a}la$, JADD 155, 4, 500, R. 15.
Sa-i-ru, Sa-e-ru, Sa-a-e-ri (abbrev. of names compounded with $s\dddot{a}la$; "to reckon", cf. bibl. $s\dddot{a}la$?) HABL 222, 6, R. 15. JADD 185, 15

Sa-i-ru-um, see preced. names, Del. en Pers. X, 98, 9.

Sa-ka-a-El, Sa-ka-a-El "The God has seen" (cf. Adad-sa-ka-a, Si-
sa-ka-a; Tallqv. APN, p. 190, reads Sa-ka-a-an, Sa-ka-a-an;
but then $s\dddot{a}kan$ would not be a WS-P. Perf.) JADD 22, R. 3, 695, III
16
Sa-ka'-a (abbrev. see preced. names) JADD 332, R. 10.

Sa-kan, Sa-kan, Sa-ka-nu, Sa-kan-nu, see Sa-ak-kan, JADD 35 RE, 1.116
R. 8. 433, R. 6. 470, R. 15, etc.
Sa-kan-Da-da "Dada (= Adad) has settled down" (= $s\dddot{a}kan$- $s\dddot{a}k$, cf. bibl.
s$s\ddot{a}k$ "Jahhu has settled down"), JADD 877, R. 8.


Sa-la-a-El "The God has drawn out" (cf. Nab. $\ddot{a}\dddot{w}$) 82-1-18, 695, III,
Sa-la-ma-a-nu = bibl. $\dddot{a}\dddot{w}$ (abbrev. cf. bibl. $\dddot{a}\dddot{w}$) JADD 742, 24.
Sa-la-ma-mu (king of Moab) see preceded name Tigl.V 4,60; for other persons bearing the same name, see HABL 140,3;775,3;777,3.

Sa-lam-a-mu = Salamānu JADD 857,II,31.

Sa-la-ma-Milki (EUGAL) "Melech has been at peace"? (the meaning of salam in WS names is doubtful; if = Akkadian salāmu, then the name is to be translated "Melech has been graciously inclined"), JADD 598,R.6.

Sa-lam-me (abbrev. see preceded name), HABL 728,R.11;JADD 742,R.11

Sa-la-mu = Salamme, JADB 84,1,13.

Sa'-lu (read Sa'-u-lu = סַלַע, or Sa'-i-lu = סַלִּע, cf. Sa-u-li, Sa-i-la-n? (Tallq.APN, p.191, compares Aram.n.pr.m. סלע; but what does it mean?), Sargon,Ann.268.

Sa-ma'-i = bibl. סָמָי "He has heard" (abbrev. cf. follow. n.) JADD 238, R.4,240,R.5, etc.

Sa-ma-El "The God has heard" (cf. Nashhu-sam'a-ni, bibl. סָמַה יָה), PSBA XXXIII,p.232.

Sa-ma-hi = סָמָה "He has rejoiced"? (cf. Pun.n.pr.f. סמא and Jew.n.pr.m. סמא?) VS I,98,26.

Sa-ma-ka "he has sustained" (abbrev. cf. Sa-am-ma-ku; but in Assyriai WS names we should expect Sha-ma-ka, cf. El-shi-im-ki, Shi-im-ki, Sha-me-ku, She-im-ka, Shi-im-ka-i, see Ch.III, sub Sibilants), JADD 598,R.8.

Sa-ma-ki-El "The God has sustained" (cf. bibl. סָמַה יָה, סָמַה יָה, Str.Nkdr 138,12.

Sa-ma-ku = Samaka, JADD 321,5,8.

Sa-ma-ra-sh = Samu-Araḫ = Sumu-Araḫ "Sumu (his name) is the Moon-god" (Sa-mu-ra-sh, Sa-mu-a-bu-um and Su-mu-a-bu-um, Sa-mu-la-El and Su-mu-la-El), MAP 37,14.

Sa-me(-') = Aram. סָמֵה "Heard" (abbrev. cf. Talm. סָמֵה; סָמֵה, JADD 51, R.1,275,R.10;Sargon,Ann.269.

Sa-mi-du = סָמִי "he has? (= Samu-ida = Sumu-ida "Sumu has known"), III R 45,II,21.
Sam-si-el "The Sungod is God" (cf. Sam-si-EEl, JADB 1, I, 22.

Sam-si-ia-a-bi "The Sungod has given" (cf. Ia-ia-bi-El), JADB 1, I, 22.

Sam-si-ia-(ri), (Sam)-si-ia-ri "The Sungod is my help" (= Aram.

Sam-si-il-a-a "The Sungod is my God" (cf. Sam-si-El, Sa-am-si-i-

Sa-mu-a-bi = Sumu-abim (sum) (founder of the First Dynasty of

Sa-mu-na-A-ASH (Johns and Tallq., APH, p. 192, read Sa-mu-na-a-pal-id-

din "Eshmun has given a son"; but this reading is scarcely

Sa-mu-na-ia-tu-nu = Eshmun has given" (cf. Ebel-al-ia-ia-tu-nu),

Sa-mu-na-an = Sanam (hypocor. with ending -an, cf. Adad-Sanani), JADB 62,

Sa-ni-bu = Sanibu = "The Father doubles" (gives a second

Sa-ni-i (abbreviation of the preceding names), HABL 529, R.14, JADD 455, R.4.
Sa-ni-ia (hypocor. of Sa-ni-bu, Adad-samani), HABL 590, 5, R.6.
Sa-pa-ti-Ba-al = "Ba'al has judged" (cf. Pun. בָּא'ל), HABL 231, 4, R.7.

The precoming Sa-ni-i (hypocor. of the preceding names, HABL 529, R.14, JADD 455, R.4.
Sa-ni-ia (hypocor. of Sa-ni-bu, Adad-samani), HABL 590, 5, R.6.
Sa-pa-ti-Ba-al = "Ba'al has judged" (cf. Pun. בָּא'ל), HABL 231, 4, R.7.

Ashurbā, A, III R 18, II, 121.130; Ann. II, 83.90

Sa-pi-ki/ku = Akkadian Sha-pik, Sha-pi-ku of שָׁהַ קָו "to pour out"?

(abbreviation of Akkad. Adad, Marduk, Nabū-sha-pik-zer) HABL 222, 1, R.16, JADD 523, 1, etc.

Sa-ra-a-a = bibl. של "(cf. Sa-ra-a-El, Sha-ra'-El, Nabu-shara)

Palm. ר"פ, and see Abi-sa-ri-e) HABL 220, 2.

Sa-ra-a-El, Sa-ra-El "The God has been generous"? (cf. Arab. ⲁⲧⲧ),
or = Shara'-El (AN-MESH) "The God has loosened, set free"?

the reading Sa-ra-a-an, Sa-ra-anu would be also possible, cf. Sa-ra-a-ni; but even then, it would be a hypocor. of a name compounded with the root sar-u, 83-1-18, 695, III, 15, JADD 6, R.5.

Sa-ri-ia (hypocor. of a name compounded with sar-u, see preceding names) Nbr 680, 12.

Sa-ri-u-ni (hypocor. of a name compounded with sar-u "to reckon"? (see under Sa-i-ru), JADD 894, 2.

Sa-u-li = bibl. מָאשׁ "petitioned" (cf. Sa-alti-El), VS I, 93, 1.

Si'-a-a-li = מָה"Si' (= Sin) is my inmate"? (cf. Nashku-a-li; or = Si'-ia-li, cf. Nabu-ia-li, q.v.), JADD 217, 2, 5, 11.

Si'-a-ka-di = מָא"Si' has seized" (cf. bibl. names compounded with מָא), JADD 3, VIII, 15, 19.

Si-a-ka-ba "Si' has rewarded" (cf. Nabu-akaba), JADD 1, II, 38.

Si-a-ka-bi, see preceding name, JADD 9, III, 3.

Si'-ba-nik "Si' is thy creator" (= Si'-bani-ka, cf. Is-ab-ni-ik-El = Isabni-ka-El?), JADD 66, 2.

Si'-da-la-e "Si' has drawn out" (cf. Nabu-dala), JADD 185, R.16.
Si'-di-ki-ir = "Si' is remembered" (Part. pass? cf. Sab. and bibl. ס"כ; see under Bin-dikiri), JADD 8, I, 20.

Si'-di-li-mi "Si' draw me out" (cf. Nashuh-dilimi), JADD 2, II, 6.

Si'-du'i (BAD, probably = sūru, cf. Ahi-, A-i-, A-ta-, A-tar-, Da-di-, Mar-su-ru/ri) "Si' is my wall", JADD 249, R. 8, etc.

Si'-edu (ASH-A-AN) "Si' is the only one"? (or read Si'-ash-a-an = יִהְיֶה "Si' has healed us"?) JADD 420, R. 5, 421, R. 12.

Si-gab-a "Si has chosen", or "Si has been exalted" (cf. El-gab-a), JADD 229, 5.

Si'-gab-ba-ri "Si' is valiant" (cf. El-gabari), JADD 253, 8.

Si'-ha-an "Si' has been gracious" (cf. Ha-an-Dada), JADD 278, R. 9.

Si'-ha-ri "Si' is Horus"? (was there also a lunar deity Horus?) JADD 420, R. 2, 421, R. 9.

Si'-hu-ut-mi = יִהְיֶה "Si' is my protector" (cf. A-u-hu-tim), JADD 231, R. 10.

Si'-ia-ba-ba "Si' has rejoiced" (cf. Nashuh-ia-baba), JADD 5, I, 12.

Si'-id-ri "Si' is my help" (cf. Nabū-idri), JADD 1, II, 1. JADD 438. 9.

Si-i-li "Si is my god"? VS 1, 86, 3. JADD 318, 3.

Si'-im-me "Si' is the Ammu" (cf. Adad-imme), JADD 126, 1. 5.

Si'-kit (?)-ra "Si' is an ally" (WS? cf. Ph. נִקְטָה OLZ VI, col. 199, 16.

Si'-kit-ri, see preced. name, JADD 6, 1.

Si'-la-a-mu = יִהְיֶה "Si' is for us"? (cf. lahu-lunu, Ilu-laka) MVG VIII, p. III, 20.

Si'-lu-ki-di = יִהְיֶה "Si' is capturing"? (cf. Aram. רֱלָל-לט יִהְיֶה ?) HABL 151, 16, R. 11.

Si'-ma-a-di "Si' is my refuge" (ma-a-di = Arab. סְמַאָד = Hebrew סְמַאָד, cf. A-u-ma-a-di "Jahu is my refuge", bibl. סְמַאָד, cf. Ahi-ma-a-di "Jahu is my refuge", bibl. סְמַאָד, cf. Ahi-ma-a-di "Jahu is my refuge", bibl. סְמַאָד) JADD 229, 9.

Si'-ma'-di, see preced. name, JADD 231, 7, 276, 6.

Si'- (ma)h-di = Si'-ma-a-di, JADD 6, I, 3.

Si'-ma-ma-ni "Si' has counted, ordained me" (cf. Nashuh-manani), JADD 7, III, 6. 1. E. I, 3.

Si'-ma-na "Si' has counted" (cf. Ahi-ma-na, Ahi-i-ammu), JADD 813, 1.

Si'-ma-ta- "Si' has been generous" (cf. Arab. "Si' has been generous") JADD 5, I, 3.
Si'-na-pi "Si' surpasses (everything?)" (cf. Arab. سَيْيَ), JADB 1,1.30.
Si'-nu-ri "Si' is my light" (WS?), JADD 83, R.5. 84, R.2, etc.
Si'-pa-rak-ka "Si' has redeemed" (= Aram.  יצא; cf. Saf. ייצא), JADD 273, R.10.
Si'-ka-tar "Si' is a rock" (cf. Hashnu-ka-tar), JADD 193, R.6.
Si'-ra-hi-i "Si' is my shepherd" (cf. Ad-ru-ra-hi-i), JADD 960, III. 9.
Si'-ra-pa- "Si' has healed" (cf. Adad-rapa'), HABL 916, R.1.
Si'-sa-ka-a "Si' has seen" (cf. Adad-sa-ka-a), JADD 5, I, 4.9, IV, 9.
Si'-shi-im-ki "Si' is (my) support" (cf. El-shi-im-ki), JADD 13, I, 12.
Si'-tu-ri "Si' is my rock" (cf. A-a-turi), JADD 5, R.4.
Si'-za-ba-di "Si' has apportioned" (cf. El-za-bad-da), JADD 215, R.4.
Si-bi-it-ti-Bi'-il (Bi'-il) "The Septenary deity is Ba'al" (i.e. Ba'al possesses the power of the supreme seven gods), cf. Au-sa-bi and bibl. נגמרא, נגמרא, Tiglp. IV, Ann. 151, B, 57.
Si-e-da-la "Si-e (= Si' = Sin) has drawn out" (cf. Si'-da-la-a), JADD 383, 3.
Si-e-ha-an = Si'-ha-an, JADD 285, 5.
Si-e-ha-za-a "Si-e has seen" (cf. Haza-El), JADD 387, R.4.
Si-e-is-te "Si-e will save" (cf. Abi-is-te'), JADD 283, 6.
Si-e-i-me = Si'-ime (cf. Adad-i-me), JADD 282, 1. 283, 7.
Si-e-lu-ki-di = Si'-lu-ki-di, SARG. HABL 131, 16, R.11.
Si-e-sa-ka-a = Si'-sa-ka-a, JADD 194, 1.4.
Si-e-se-ki "Look out, O Si-e!" (seki Impt. of sake?) JADD 194, R.4.
Si-kia-an-mi "Care for me!" (cf. Amarna sakaru "to care for"?), JADD 117, R.5.
Sim-ba-la (?) = -ba'ilə "Sim is ruling"? CT II, 44, 35.
Sim-ha-zi-ir "Sim is helping"? (cf. Habium-hazir), CT II, 28, 32, etc.
Sim-ma-da "Sim has called" (cf. Ili-mada), T-6, 57, 5.
Sim-ma-tam "Sim has given" (cf. Adad-ma-tam), JADD 578, R.10.
Sim-ta-ku-mu "Sim is the founder" (WS?), BB IX, 70, 6.
Su-a-li-i = "to ask", cf. bibl. ? see su-a-li-i (of Sa'alti'al and Sa'ilé) JADD 867,10.

Su-da-la-a = "Su has drawn out" (Su= Si= Si= Sim? cf. Si'da-la-a) JADD 234,1.

Su-hu-ram-mu = "Suhu is leprous" (the divine name Suhu may be identical with the geographical name Suhî = bibl. HAD 9, IV, 4.)


Su-ki-nu = "Prefect, Steward"? (abbrev. from a name compounded with this element, as in Phoenician is a divine name, probably equivalent of a deity, cf. Ph. , and , K.4268, L.E.2 K.4268, L.E.2 (Knudtz. Ass. Geb. 48)


Su-ma-a (hypercor. cf. following names), HABL 166, R.20.

Su-mu-a-bi = "Sumu(Sum-hu "His name") is Father" (cf. Sumu-abu)

Su-mu-a-bu-um(bi-im) = Sumu-abî, CT IV, 47, 30, KB IV, p.10, 16.

Su-mu-a-bi-i-a = "Sumu is my Father", UMBS XI, No.2, 1, 1, 26.

Su-mu-a-bi-i-a = "Sumu is my Brother", UMBS XI, No.2, 1, 1, 27.

(Su-mu)a-li(NI)-ip? = "Sumu is a friend" (cf. Arab. אֱלֹהִי) UMBS XI, No.1, 1, 12.

(Su-mu)u-am-ni-di-im = "Sumu is the Ammu of comfort"? (am-nidim is no doubt a composite term, cf. in the same series of specimens, Sumu-zidku-ditana, Sumu-amatu-bala; for nidim Hebrew תְּנִי "to condole, shew sympathy with"; may we see the Perf. of this root in in-da, as in El-na-da ?) UMBS XI, No.2, 1, 2

(Su-mu)a-pa-ah = "Sumu has shone" (cf. Ipadh-Adad) UMBS XI, No.2, 1, 4.

(Su-mu)a-pa-ar = "Sumu has concealed, or, pardoned" (cf. Arab. إِنْكر bibl. nn. prr. , ?) UMBS XI, No.2, 1, 1, 5.

(Su-mu)A-ra-ah = "Sumu is the meonged" (cf. Sumu-ra-ah) UMBS XI, No.2, 1, 25.

Su-mu-a-tar = "Sumu is eminent" (= Sumu-watar; or "Sumu is A(th)tar and cf. Abi-ma-tar = Abi-ma-Atar alongside of Abi-ma-Ish tar?

UMBS XI, CT IV, 9, 18.
Su-mu-dagan "Sumu is Dagan", CT XXXIII, 24, 97115, 3.
Su-mu-di-na "Sumu is judgment" (dina = daiana?) AJSL 29, p. 182, no. 373.
(Su-m)u-di-ni, see preceding name, UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 1, 28.
Su-mu-di-ta-na "Sumu is leader" (cf. Ammi-ditamin) Lindl
Su-mu-E-a "Sumu is Ea", OM C, 11, 2.
Su-mu-El (king of Larsa) "Sumu is the God" (cf. bibl).
Larsa Dynastic List, Clay, Misc. Inscr. Yale Coll. p. 31
Su-mu-GIN = Sumu-kim "Sumu is righteous", OM
Su-mu-ha-at-mu "Sumu is protector" (cf. Ammi-hatma), MAP 10, 15.
Su-mu-ha-la "Sumu is the Haalu" (cf. A-a-ha-lu), CT VI, 46, 28.
Su-mu-ham-mu "Sumu is the Ammu" (cf. Aa-amme), CT VI, 44, 6.
Su-mu-ia (hypoecr. cf. Su-ma-a), CT VI, 44, 17.
(Su-mu-i)a-ah(?)-ru-um "Sumu is attached (to us)"? (cf. Arab.
and bibl. ann. prr. 'y? , չ ? ) UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 1, 23.
Su-mu-ia-mu-tu-Ba-la "Sumu is Iamut-Ba'al" (Iamut-Ba'al is no
doubt identical with the name of the Elamite district
Jamut-Bal, written variously Ia-mu-ut-Ba-lum, Ia-mu-ut-Ba-
ki, E-mu-ut-Ba-lumki, Muti-Ba-alki; the latter name is
found in the Amarna period as Mu-ut-Ba-a-lum "Man of
Ba'al"; the name being WS, we must assume that this land
was conquered and inhabited by West Semites, and that also
in this case, as frequently, the name of the country and of
the deity worshipped there are identical; the identity of
the names Muti-Ba-al and Ia-mu-ut-Ba-lum could be explain-
ed by identifying the element ia in the latter with Arab.
Interjection א" which by erroneous etymology, followed the
analogy of the Preformative ia and became מ in Emun-Balum
Chiera's view (l.c. p. 113f) that the lands of Jamut-bal and
Mutu-bal were two different centres is quite improbable;
Of. Sumu-muti-a-Ba-la) UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 1, 19.
Su-mu-ia-si-id "Sumu will build firmly, or, establish"? (iassid may be identified either with Arab. جَلَّ, Impf. جَلَّتْ: "to raise high, build firmly", or with Hebrew יְדֵי, "to found, establish"; Barth, ES, p. 54f., combines both roots; cf. Pun. יִדְקֹ, Ps. 101:17.) * UMS XI, No.2,1,1,17.

Su-mu-i-la "Sumu is the God" (cf. Sumu-El), UMS XI, No.2,1,1,9.

Su-mu-ki(?)-id-mu-um "Sumu is protection"? (kidnum = Akkad. kidnum; the same root may be seen in Hebrew יִדְקֹ כ "lance", properly, a weapon of protection, and in bibl. n. pr. יִדְקֹ, cf. UMS XI, No.2,1,1,36.

Su-mu-la-El "Truly, Sumu is the God" (cf. Sumu-la-El), CT IV, 9,13, etc.

Su-mu-la-lum = Sumu-la-ilum, see prec. n., UMS XI, No.2,1,1,16.

Su-mu-li-el = Sumu-la-El, CT VI, 49, 18; UMS XI, No.2,1,1,10.


Su-mu-mi-ta-Ba-la "Sumu is anti-ia-Ba'al" (If in ia-mu-ta-Bar-la the element im corresponds to the Arabic interjection involuntary, then in this name mu-ti-a may stand for mutu-ia, and the Interj. is placed between the elements mutu and Baalu), UMS XI, No.2,1,1,35.

Su-mu-ra-ah = Sumu-Arah "Sumu is the moosed", CT II, 50, 6, etc.


Su-mu-ra-me-e "Sumu is exalted" (cf. Elu-ra-me), CT VI, 42, 9.

Su-mu-ra-zi-e-im "Sumu is favorable" (see sub Rasaumu) UMS XI, No.2,1,1,21.

Su-mu-Sin "Sumu is Sin" (cf. Sumu-Arah), OM C, 15, 29.

Su-mu-ta-mar perhaps = Sumu-tamar "Sumu has hidden" (cf. bibl. m. names of synonymous roots of שה): UMS XI, No.2,1,1,33.

Su-mu-u-a (hypocor. cf. prec. names) UMS XI, No.2,1,1,32.
Su-mu-Zi-id-kum "Sumu is Šedek" (WS solar deity, personification of justice; cf. Si-id-ki-El), UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 1, 14.

Su-mu-Zi-id-ku-di-ta-na "Sumu is Šedek-ditana (i.e. "Šedek is the leader")?"; cf. Su-mu-di-ta-na, and see prec. n.; UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 1, 15.

Su-na-a-a (hypocor. cf. Arab. šănā "To be sublime", and bibl. šānān)? JADD 329, 7.

Su-ni-ia (hypocor. of a name with Šu-Clay, Babyl. Rec. 1.)

Su-ra-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with Šuru, cf. Ata-suri and Aram. Šurūhā), JADB 6, VII, etc.

Su-si-i (cf. bibl. šanīn ?) JADD 342, R. 6, etc.

Su-si-ia (see preced. name), JADD 415, R. 7.

Su-su-u = Su-si-i, JADD 320, R. 2.

Su-u-su = Su-si-1, JADD 80, 4.

Sa-la-a-a (hypocor. cf. foll. name), HABL 762, 6. Sarg. Amm. 1002.

Sa-la-a-El "The God has been good"? (cf. Arab. šāla-elmūnī "to be good, just" and Ph. mn. prr. šalā-yāšūmūnī, šalā-yāmūnī, Pun. šalā-ūmūnī; sa-la-a cannot be connected with Akkadian sullū "to pray, implore"), though this root frequently occurs in Akkadian mn. prr.), HABL 1041, 5. JADD 221, L. E. 1.

Sa-li-a-a = Sa-la-a-a ? (or = Akkad. Salli-a-a?) JADD 372, 1.

d Salmu (NU-mu)-hi-ni "Salmu is my grace"? (cf. Himmi-bel?) for Salmu as Aram. n. div. cf. Šalām (ūmūnī) JADD 1101, 10.

Sa-pa-mu "He has hidden" (abbrev. cf. bibl. šapāmūnī, Pun. šapūnymūnī), and see under Summ-ta-mar), JADD 161, 2.

Si-id-ka-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with the element sidku, as Sidki-El; king of Ashkelon) Semn. Tayl. II, 58, 67 (IR 38).

Si-id-ka-a-a (hypocor. = Sidka-a, or read Si-id-ka-At-a "Šedek is Ja(hu) = bibl. šedi-kiššu ?) JADD 577, 4, 5.

Si-id-ki-El "Šedek is the God" (cf. Rab-Zidki, bibl. šeze-kiššu).
South-Arab. §ן-רנ רד, Ph. יפ-ף-ף, Aram. יפ-ף-ף, and see under
Sumu-zidkum, Canaan A, iv, 5.

SUR d Adad "Adad is a rock" (cf. bibl. Peiser, Babyl. Vertr. Nb’d. 2, 2)
d SUR-a-pa-1 = SUR-ra-pa-1, q.v., Str. Nb’d. 67, 5.
d SUR-me'-a-di "SUR is my refuge" (cf. Si’-ma-a-di) 83-1-18, 695, xii,
d SUR-na-ta-mu "SUR has given" (cf. Adad-natumu), Str. Nb’d. 764, 15.
d SUR-ra-pa-1 "SUR has healed" (cf. Adad-rapa’), Dar. CT IV, 43, 25.
Su-u-ra-a-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with the element sur
"rock", as SUR-Adad), BE X, 33, 6.

Sha-am-El (An-Mesh) "There(?) is God: (cf. the prophetic name
§ nécessaire "Jahveh is there"? (or = Shamu-El = Shumu-El,
cf. Sha-ma-Adda alongside of Sha-mu-Adda, Shu-um-Ad-da and
Shum-Ad-da, Sa-mu-a-bi var. Su-mu-a-bi-im, Sa-mu-la-El var.
Su-mu-la-El? ; if so, the question would be whether shamu =
shumm should be identified with Akkadian shumu "Son" or
with the WS divine equivalent sumu "His name") Str. Dar. 265, 9.
Shu-am-ma-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with the element shamu
shumm; see preced. name), cf. bibl. סיזל , Ph. m. pr. of Shulamm
d Shal: Talma- ינוי, BE X, 5, 20
Sha-am-ma-1 = Sha-am-ma-a, Str. Nb’d. 755, 5.

Sha-ba-ta-a-a "Born on a Sabbath"? (cf. bibl. בָּשָׂת ינוי )BE IX, 69, 21
Sha-ba-sha-ta-ni-1 "Thou hast praised me" (cf. bibl. יָזָעָה, Palm.
שָׂבַע פָּזָע) BE X, 130, 23.

Sha-bi-El "The Septenary deity is God" (cf. bibl. יָפָתְבוּק, and see Bibitti-Bi’li), Amarna 62, 26.
Shu-kau-nu-hu "Forgotten"? (more probably of Aram. יָפָתְבוּק "to find"
cf. nub, BE X, 52, 1.

Shal-ti-El "I have asked of God" (cf. Sa’al-ti-El and bibl.
Sha-ma-"He has heard"( abbrev. cf. bibl. and rh. JADD 223 , R. 9.
Sha-ma-a (hypocor. of a name compounded either with the element
"to hear", or with shamu = shumu, cf. foll. a.) KB III, 1 , p. 172.
Sha-ma-Adda = Sha-mu-Adda = Shu-um-Ad-da "Son of Adad" (cf. Akkad. shumu in m. prr. ), or "The name of Adad (we have invoked)" ,
= Shumu-Adda " Shumu is Adad"; Canmanitic shumu would thus correspond to South-Arab. sumu; cf. the names under sumu, and see under Sha-am-El), Amarna 49 , 2.
Sha-ma-a-ru-mu, probably = bibl. of the geographical name Sha-am-hu-ur = (JADD 45, 2.
Sha-ma'-El "The God has heard" (cf. bibl. Str. Nbk.86, 1.
Sha-ma'-gu-mu = bibl. of Sa-am'-gu-mu) HABL 1275 , 2,
\textsuperscript{d}Sha-ma-sa-li "The Sungod is my inmate" (cf. Nashhu-a-a-li, Si'-a-a-li), JADD 288, 1.
Shamash-ab-di "The Sungod is my maker" (cf. Abd-a-dana, Abd-a-tabu, El-a-ba-di), CT VIII,20, 31.
Shamash-ba-ra-ku "The Sungod has blessed" (cf. Ba-rak-ki-Shamesh), UMBS II,no.1,221, 9.
Shamash-ha-zi "The Sungod sees" (cf. Taza-El), CT IV,25, 5.
\textsuperscript{d}Sha-ma-l-a-a-da, \textsuperscript{d}Sha-ma-sa-a-a, \textsuperscript{d}Sha-ma-sa-a-a, " The Sungod is The God", Str. Nbd, 550, 11; III R 1, II, 45; JADD 178, R. 2.
\textsuperscript{d}Sha-ma-sa-im-me "The Sungod is the Ammu" (cf. Si'-im-me), JADD 248, 1.
Shamash-la-ma "The Sungod has accompanied (has been present at the birth)" , cf. Nashhu-la-u-a-ni), Str. Cyr.329, 7.
Shamash-na-da-ri "The Sungod has consecrated" (cf. El-nadari) BE IX, 93, 3.
Shamash-ka-me "The Sun god has arisen" (cf. Aba-ka-me) JADB 3, III, 10.

Shamash-ka-na-a "The Sun god has acquired" (cf. El-ka-na-a) JADB 742 R. 19

Sham-me-ku "Sustained" (abbrev. cf. El-shimki, Si'-shimki) JADB II, 1, 2.

Shamesh(-mesh)-ba-rak-ku "The Sun god has blessed" (the WS Sun god is written Shamesh = שמש; a literal translation of Anu = "Heaven") BE IX 85, 6.

Shamesh(-mesh)-ga-di-i "The Sun god is my fortune" (cf. bibl. ב İnternet. Aram. ינש משả, Nab. ינש משא, Palm. ינש המשא) BE VIII 52, 3.

Sham(U)-esh-ha-la "The Sun god is the Ḥalu" (cf. Sun-ma-ha-la, and see under Ḥali-), III R 45, II, 20. (KB IV, p. 70)

Shamesh(-mesh)-id-ri "The Sun god is my help" (cf. Adad-idri') X 974

Shamesh(-mesh)-i-la-a-a, see Shamash-i-la-a-a, Str. Nbd 554, 4.

Shamesh(-mesh)-i-lu "The Sun god is the God", ḫabl ZA IV, 7, 3.

Shamesh(-mesh)-la-di-im "The Sun god is for this one" (cf. Nabû-la-di, Adad-la-din), BE X

Shamesh(-mesh)-la-din-mi = Shamesh-la-di-im, BE IX, 56, 3.

Shamesh(-mesh)-li-im-dar "Truly, the Sun god will consecrate" (cf. E-li-li-im-dar) BE IX, 109, 2.

Shamesh(-mesh)-na-ta-mu "The Sun god has given", BE VIII, 151, 38.

Shamesh(-mesh)-nu-ri-" "The Sun god is my light", UMBS II, No. 1, 112.

Shamesh(-mesh)-ra-hi-" "The Sun god is my shepherd" (cf. Nabû-ra-hi-i) UMBS II, No. 1, 214, 13.

Sham-mi-e-id-ri-" "Heaven is my help" (shame "Heaven" may be a literal translation of Anu = "Heaven"), Str. Nbkd. 7, 3.

Sham-shu-Ha-ad-du = Sansi-Adad "The Sun god is Adad" (the WS Adad = Ba'al was not only the god of the storm phenomena but also a solar deity, cf. Kat. p. 449, nn. 4, 6.) Str. Cyr. 37, 2.

Sham-mu-Adda = Shu-um-Ad-da, see Sham-mu-Adda, Amarna 225, 3.

Sham-mu-u-a (hypovor. cf. the preced. name, CT IX, 4, 1. 17. 5. 28.

fSham-pi-ra-a-"(?) "The beautiful one"? (cf. Aram. שעיר, Sim. יונק, King, Boundary-Stones, 114, 22.)
Sha-ra-a (abbrev. of foll. names), Str. Cyrus 94,15.

Sha-ra'-El (AN-MESH) "The God has loosened" (cf. Nabû-sha-ra-')
  and aqab.  JUMBS II, No.1,2,5.

Sha-ra-a-El, see prec. name, CM 25,4.

Sha(r)i-El (MKS.I:4) 132,6-7,15. The god has loosened of itai-sha-ra-a'.

Sha-ra-a-Ra, see prec. name, CM 25,4.

Sha-ra-tI-Ma-la-ka "The breath of the God has reigned"? (shāru
  properly "Wind,storm" denotes like Hebrew הנרי also "Breath"
  (cf. sha-a-ru balāti-ia, Amarna 141,2, etc.), and the name may
  mean that the omens were favorable at the birth of the child;
  for shāru in the meaning of "grace,favor", see Muns-Arnoldt,
  Dict. p.1106f, JADD 532,R.4.

Sharr-at-Sa-am-s(i-i) "Sharrat is my Suogoddess" (Sharrat "the Queen"
  may be identical with Ba'alat , consort of Ba'al and with bibli.
  "the Queen of Heaven"), HABII 636,2.

Sharru-di-li-i-ni, probably to read Milki-dilini "0,melech,draw me
  out!" (cf. Si'-dilini, nāshuh-dilini), JADB 2,11,7.

Sharru-ha-a-bi, probably to read Milki-ha-a-bi (the etymology is ob-
  scure; may we compare Arab. "to be absent,hidden"?)
  JADB 7,iii,14.

She-im-ka (abbrev. of Si'-shi-im-ki, Si'-shi-im-ki), JADD 1101,1.

Shēr(ŠU)-da-la-a "The Dawn has drawn out" (cf. Si'-da-la-a) 83-1,18.
  695, XI,16.

Shēr(ŠU)-id-ri, She-ir-id-ri "The Dawn is my help" (cf. Si'-id-ri),
  83-1,18, 695, XI,15; JADD 391,2,19.

Shēr-il-a-a, She-ir-il-a-a-a "The Dawn is the God" (cf. Shamesh-il-a-a-
  JADD 83,R.6; JADD 20,1,11.

She-ir-ma-na-ni "The Dawn has counted, ordained me" (cf. Nashuh-manani
  JADD 1,11,40.

Shi-im-ka-ia (hypocor. of Si'-shimki) HABL 193,5.

Shi-ip-te-Ša'lu, Shi-ip-ti-Ša'lu (IM) "Judgment of Sa'āl" (cf. Ph.
  bibl. 2, Amarna 330,3,331,4.

Shi-li-im-mu = Hebrew "he has restored, repaid" (cf. bibl.
  BE 11,28,14.

Shu-ba-a-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with the element בושל "to
  return, cf. foll. names) CM 36,3.
Shu-bu-Na-ah-shu "Turn back, O Nahshu!" (cf. Iashub-Asag, Iashub-El.

bibl. ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ, ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ רֵשָׁבֵעַ, and see Lidzb. Endp. p.
291; ws ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ לְאָכַד taru "turn back (to show favor)" = "to be mer-
ciful"; but the element shu-bu in this name may not be Semitic,
as the same element occurs in Hittite-Mitanni nn.prr., see Tallq.

Shu-bu-nu-la-a-ma "Turn back, I pray, O Jahveh!" = ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ יַשָׁבֵעַ רֵשָׁבֵעַ (this name
is evidently identical with bibl. ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ יַשָׁבֵעַ רֵשָׁבֵעַ, which accordingly is
to be read ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ יַשָׁבֵעַ רֵשָׁבֵעַ; the Masoretic reading is meaningless; the
same form with enclitic יַשָׁבֵעַ may be seen in the bibl. name יַשָׁבֵעַ;
for other names containing the same root, see preced. name).

PSBA XV, p. 15.

Shulmanu(SILIM)-im-me "Shulman is the Ammu" (cf. Si'-imme; probably
to read Sulmanu, see Chapter III, sub Sibilants; for the ws origin
of this deity, see KAT, pp. 224, 474) JADD 284, 3, 11.

Shum-Ad-da "Son of Adad", or "(By" the name of Adad", or "Shumu is
Adad" (see sha-ma-Adda, Sha-mu-Adda and Sha-am-El) Amarna 224, 3.

Shu-mu-Ha-di = Shum-Adda (the nominative form shumu does not necessa-
rrily prove the appositional conception of the two nouns, cf. e. gr.
bibl. ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ and ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ רֵשָׁבֵעַ) Amarna 97, 1.

Shu-ub-na-El = ֶבֵשָׁבֵעַ יַשָׁבֵעַ רֵשָׁבֵעַ "Turn back, I pray, O God!" (the name is cer-
tainly not South-Semitic, as then we would expect Sub-na-, and
therefore the element -na can only represent Hebrew enclitic
particle יַשָׁבֵעַ; cf. also sub Shubu-Nahshu and Shubunu-Iama) CT IV, 33.

Shu-um-Ad-da, see Shum-Ad-da (the construct form shu-um does not ex-
clude the appositional construction of the two nouns, as Shum-
Adda or Shuma-Adda could be contracted to Shum-Adda) Amarna 8, 18.

35.
Ta-ak-ku-bi  "She will reward" (abbrev. of a name as Ishtar-takubi)
"Ishtar will reward", cf. Ia-ku-ub-El, Ranke, BD, 59, 4.
Ta-la'- perhaps = ܠܘ ܐܙܢ  "Fox" (cf. Akkad. She-li-bu-um, and
bibl. ܠܘ ܐܙܢ ), Str. NBkD, 365, 14.
Ta-ri-ga-da'- "Tari is (my)fortune", cf. Shamesh-ga-di-i?), BE VIII, 80, 2.
Tu-Ba'-lu = bibl. ܠܘ ܐ_point  "With him is Ba'al" (king of Sidon), Semm. Tayl. II, 44.46 (KB II, pp. 90.118).
Tu-ri-i "My rock" (abbrev. cf. following names), JADD 194, 3. 1005 R.E.1.
Tu-ri-Ba-al-tu "My rock is Ba'alat" (cf. Aduna-tu-ri, Si'-turi), JADD 54, R. 1.
Tu-ri-Da-gan "My rock is Dagan", TD, 237. 33.
Tu-ub-ia-a-ma "Jahveh is good" = bibl. ܠܘ ܐ_point , BE X, 116, 1.

U-a-te'- "king of Arabia; the name may be explained as Impf. Pael of
the root γב, "to save", which frequently occurs in WS mn. prr.
of. Abi-iate', Am-iata'; the var. Ia-u-ta-' probably belongs to
the same root, but the form is not clear; for another view, see
Tallq., APN, p. 238), Ashurb. Ann. VII, 123. VIII, 58. IX, 45, 53. 32, etc.
U-a-bu = Arab. ܒܢ  "to give" (abbrev.), Winckler, ZA II, pl. II, R. 7. 10.
U-a-di-i = Arab. ܒܢ  "Peaceful, gentle"?, JADD 3, V, 12.
U-a-za-ru = Arab. Impf. Pael pass. ܢ ܐܬ of ܐܬ "to blame"? JADD 660,
III, 19.
U-ma-a-di, perhaps Interj. ܝ with ܡܐ-ܕ Impf. "Refuge",
which occurs in Au-ma-a-di, Si'-ma-adi, Sur-ma-a-di), JADD 674, 4.
Um-mi-A-ra-ah-tum "My mother is the moon goddess", CT VIII, 12, 17.
U-ku-bu-tu, see preced. name, JADD 222, 3.
U-ri-Ia "My light is Jahu" JADD 59, 7.

U-ri-im-me-i "My light is my Ammu" (cf. Si'-imme) Tigl. IV, Amn. 151.

Ur-ri-la-? "My light is Jahu" (cf. Uri-Ia) JADD 68, R. E. 1.

U-ru-da-lik "Light is Malik" Rev. Semit. 1897, p. 166(1)

U-ru-Milki "Light is Melech" (king of Byblos) Senn. Tayl. II, 50.

U-si-? (= Aram. docket יǎם, CIS II, 17, Stevenson, Contracts, No. 4)

"Help!" (abbrev. cf. A-n-si-) JADD 229, 3.

U-si- = יǎם, see preced. name JADD 316, 2.

U-zi- = bibl. יא, "My strength"? (abbrev. cf. יא, יא) Sarg. VIII 43.

Uz-na- "The ear" (abbrev. cf. the early Babylonian name Ana-Aja-us-ni)

"My ear is turned to Aja"; cf. bibl. יא JADD 893, R. 4.

Uz-na-nu (probably hypocor. of a name compounded with the element uznu (see preced. name), with hypocor. ending -anu) JADD 260, R. 8.

Wa-ka-r-s-bu-unm "The Father is precious" (cf. Ahum-wakar) CT VIII, 45, 1.

Wa-ka-r-s-hu-unm "The Brother is precious" (cf. Ahum-wakar) CT II, 15, 2.

Warad-A-ba-a "Servant of Abā" (Abā is no doubt identical with Aram. אב) "The Father", and the divine determinative clearly proves that it is meant as an epithet of a deity, probably the Moongod, the supreme deity of the primitive Semites (see also KAT p. 362); see sub A-ba-a, and Tallq. APN, p. 250 CT VIII, 11, 10.

Warad-Al-la "Servant of Allā" (cf. Manmu-ki-d-Al-la-a), Reis. Tel. 164, VI, 20.

Warad-Ap-ra "Servant of Apра" (WS ?; the deity Apa(s)-ra occurs only on the Obel. of Manishtusu in this name and Ap-ra-il) OM, C, 15, 3.


Za-ab-da-a-ni (probably hypocor., cf. preced. names; or = Aram. זב "He has apportioned me", abbrev. of Zab-dani-El ? (but cf. Zabdanu) JADD 64, R. 12.

Za-ab-da-a-nu (hypocor. see preced. name; but considering that the bearer of the name is the brother of the Babylonian Nabu-apli-iddin, is
is doubtful whether the name is WS, unless this king was of Aramaean origin), Ashurn. Ann. III, 20 (KB I, p. 98).

Za-ab-di-ia, Za-ab-di-la "My portion is Ja(hu)" (or hypocor. = Za-abda-a), BE VIII, 99. 12. 112. 16.

Za-ab-di-i (abbrev. see prec. names), JADD 86, 6.

Za-ar-hi-kI "The rising of the God" (cf. South-Arab., bibl., and Izrah-Dagan) JADD 911, 7.

Za-ba-du "He has apportioned" (abbrev.) HABL 1123, 5. 12.


Za-bad-ia-a-ma "Jahveh has apportioned" = גיהר , BE X, 118, 1.

Za-ba-nu "He has bought" (abbrev. or = zabānu, hypocor. of a name compounded with the element za-ba-a, cf. early Babyylon. za-ba-a-ia, Assyrian za-ba-a-ia?) Shamshi-Adad V, : I R 31, III, 60 (KB I, p. 182).

Za-ba-a-nu (hypocor. = zabānu, see prec. name ?) JADD 922, 7.

Za-ba-a-nu, Za-ba-nu, see Za-ab-da-a-nu, JADD 1141, 54. VS I, 100, 11, etc.

Za-bi-di-El "My portion is the God" = bibl., גיהר , and see Ami-zabti) HABL 524, 2.

Za-bi-di-i (hypocor. = Aramaic גיהר , see Zabda-a) JADD 86, 9.

Za-bi-di-i (abbrev. = Za-ab-di-i), JADD 86, R. 2, etc.

Za-bi-di-Ishtar "My portion is Ishtar", JADD 510 R. 6.

Za-bi-bi-e (queen of Arabia) "Defender" of Arab. גיהר "to defend, repel?"

III R 9, 54, Tigl. IV, Ann. 154 (KB II, p. 30).

Za-bi-bu-Am "Defender is the Ammu" (see prec. name), T-D LC.

Za-bi-da-a = Aramaic גיהר "Apportioned" (abbrev. ?), Str. Nbd, 17. 3.

Za-bi-da-a (probably hypocor. not = Zabid-A-a, but see foll. m.) JADD 752, 18.


Za-bi-i-ni = Aramaic Part. pass. יבג "Bought" (cf. bibl. יבג , Aramaic יבג and see za-ba-nu), Str. Dar, 20, 8.

Za-bi-na-ni = zabīnā, see prec. name, JADD 41, 1.

Za-bi-ni, Za-bi-nu = Za-bi-i-ni, HABL 628, 15. JADD 25, 1. 6, etc.
Za-bi-um (third king of the First Dynasty of Babylon) "warrior" (abbrev. cf. Zabium-Abi, Zabium-ili; though the bearer of the name is a WS, the same element is also found in Akkadian, thus the name is not necessarily WS). CT II, 50, 26, etc.


Za-bu-mu (of Aram. "to buy", probably N.Agent. cf. Zabunu) CT II, 50, 26, etc.

Za-bu-um var. of Za-bi-um, q.v., MAP 79, 12, etc.

Za-ku-ri = Hebrew "Remembered" (cf. bibl. זכרNu?) JADD 176, 2, 6.

Za-ku-ru-um, see preced. name, T-D, LC.


Za-ni-ia-shir (BU) "This one may succeed!"? (cf. Ph. and Aram. pron. dem. "this one"; for inshir cf. Assyr. Ze-r-lishir "may the seed prosper"), Ta'annek 7, R, 11.

Zi-im-ra-tum (hypocor. of a name compounded with the element zimri, cf. following names) VS VII, 3, 27, 112, 2.

Zi-im-ri-a-bu-um "Zimri is the Father", or "The Father is my Protector" (Zimri = Dimri = Arab. "semper auxilium ferens", Freytag, Lexicon), is either an epithet of a deity, or predicate of album "the Father" (cf. South-Arab. הַלָּאָדוֹנְי bibl. הַלָּאָדוֹנְי, 5, 17, 1, Fun.: kanke, Early babyl. Pers. names, p. 219, sees in zimri an equivalent of a deity), UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, VII, 5.

Zi-im-ri-da var. Zi-im-ri-di, Zi-im-ri-Id-di = Zimri-Adda/i "My protector is Adad" (cf. Ri-ib-Id-di var. of Rib-Ad-da/di, -Ha-ad-da, -IM; the writing Idi for Addi in these two names may be due to the influence of the vowel i in the first elements; for Zimri, see preced. name) Amarna 83, 26, 144, 4, 329, 5, etc.

Zi-im-ri-e-id-da = Zimri-da, see preced. names, CT IV, 18, 4.
Zi-im-ri-El "Zimri is the God", or "The God is my protector", see Zimri-
album) UMBS XI, No.2,1,VII,4.
Zi-im-ri-E-ra-ah "My protector is the Moongod", CT VIII,8,11.
Zi-im-ri-ha-am-mi-... "Zimri is the Ammu" (cf. Assyr. Nabū-ha-am-
me-ilani, II R 64a,48; but if so, the element ha-am-me in this name
would be WS, cf. Nabū-ha-am-me-e; cf. also foll. n.) UMBS XI, No.2,1,VII,3.
Zi-im-ri-ha-am-mu "Zimri is the Ammu" (see prec. name; cf. Tallq. Neub.
Namenb. p.304: Zi-im-ri-ha-am-mu = הֶלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּלֶּл
Zi-im-ri-ha-na-ta "O Zimri, thou hast been compassionate"; CT IV, 1a, 16.
Zi-im-ri-li-im = Zimri-ilim "Zimri is my God" (cf. Zi-im-ri-El), Krausz,
"Gottern i.d. Babyl. Seals cyl.", p.33, n.3.
Zi-im-ri-Shamash "My protector is the Sungod", Schorr, Altbabyl. Rechts-
urkunden,
Zi-me-ir-Shamash "The Sungod is protector", ibid.
Zi-id-ra-ja(PI)-ra "Zidra will see"? (the etymology of the divine
name Zidra/ri is quite obscure; as far as it occurs in the
Amarna period is concerned, we might see in it a Hittite-Aryan
element, and perhaps compare Pers. zaitar "conqueror" (cf. bibl.
Esther I, 10); but the same element occurs in the WS speci-
mens; Mitanni names occurs already in the Hammurabian period (cf.
Ungnad, Urkunden aus Dilbat, BA VI, 5), and Zidra may belong to the
same elements, though the Babylonian scribes regarded it as WS; or may
we compare Arab. JẢ "Principal"? Amarna 214, 11.
Zi-id-ri-El "Zidri is the God" (see prec. name; UMBS XI, No.2,1,VII,6.
Zi-id-ri-ja(PI)-ra var. of Zidra-jara (cf. bibl. יִשְׁלַּח) Amarna 211,3, etc.
Zi-ir-ja(PI)-sha = Sir-jasha "Sir has saved"? (the serpent deity Siru
occurs as element in early Babylonian and in Assyr. nn.prr. (see also
KATp. 504f), with which Zi-ir may well be identified; for iasha
cf. bibl. יִשְׁלַּח?) Ta'annek 7,4.
Zi-ir-ta-shi(?) = Sîr-ta-shi "O Sîr, thou savest"? (see preced. name; the forms ja-sha and ta-shi may perhaps be better combined with the root 日报记者 "to support" (= Arab. 降雨) in bibl. 降雨, Ta'annek 3.9.

Zi-ra-ja(PI) (perhaps hypocor. of a name compounded with Zîr-, see preceding names) Ta'annek 3.4.

Heaven?


Zi-ta-a-m (cf. Aram. ית "Olive-tree"?) JADD 711, R. 8.

Zi-ta-na (cf. bibl. n. pr. ית "Olive-tree"?; see preced. name) Amarna 170. 20.

Zu-bi-Si-id-ki = םידכ "Sedek is a warrior", or = ידכ "The beauty of Sedek"? (for Sedek, cf. Bi-Si-id-ki, Rab-Sidki) JADD 6, R. 3.
