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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 \textit{ia-di-ih-El} is certainly identical with the Neo-Babyl.\textit{ia-di-ih-El}; the early name \textit{ia-dah-El} contains the same element as the Neo-Babyl. Hebrew name \textit{ia-da-ah-ia-a-ma}; the early name \textit{ia-ku-ub-El} can scarcely be separated from the Neo-Babyl.\textit{a-ka-bi-El}; the early name \textit{Shu-ub-na-El} contains the same element as the Neo-Babyl. Hebrew name \textit{Shu-bu-nu-la-a-ma}; the early name \textit{ia-shu-ub-El} belongs to the same class as the Phoenician name in Ashurbanipal’s inscription, \textit{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 contrast 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 Tallquist (Assyr. Pers. Names, pp. 250-262; cf. also Neubabyl. Namensb., 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 under 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 Semites in the Westland comes from the glosses in those letters. The testimony of these Canaanitic glosses might furnish a standard 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-Babylonian. As for instance, the root banu is taken to be WS Perf. 7t, notwithstanding the fact that the root banu "to build, create" exists also in the cuneiform language and occurs in numerous Babylonian-Assyrian names, as in genuine cuneiform names we
should expect bānī (Akkadian Perfactive 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 neʾādu "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 overhanging vowel, which seems to be colorless so far as grammar is concerned. So we find for instance, a-ha-di "he has seized", instead 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-ki "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 find forms as ga-ab-bar alongside of ga-ba-ri "He has been strong", ga-da-al and ig-da-al of ʾaṯ-ṭa "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 exceptionally 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 qa-ga-an-ta-ka-la and the abbreviated names Ia-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 vowels 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 = Jahn = Jahveh, and the Phoenician deities a-du-nu/ni/na = Adonis, and Sa-mu-nu/na = Esmûn. 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?), Sham-esh(-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 inclu-
Marduk-ha-zi-ir among the WS names, or consider ha-zi-ir a ge-

due to the WS element abdu "servant", and notwithstanding the

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 ila 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-
MESHERa-hi-im-AN-MESH, AN-MESH-na-ta-nu, AN-MESH-na-nu-u-a. The
Aramaic dockets' renderings הַנַּוַּי הַנַּוַּי הַנַּוַּי, 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.13, advanced the theory that the scribes adopted this writ-
ing to indicate the idea of plurality as represented by the
Hebrew הַנַּוַּי. 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-
MESHER. May we not suppose that in such a case
the Aramaic rendering was indeed הַנַּוַּי? Now there are more bib-

clical names compounded with הַנַּוַּי as first element than with הַנַּוַּי.
And even some of the latter have variants with הַנַּוַּי. It thus
seems that הַנַּוַּי was the regular form in Hebrew names as first
element. If so, Hilprecht, BE X, Editorial Preface, may be partly
right that \( \text{AN-MESH} = \text{ili} \) was a rendering of Hebrew \( \text{\textit{\text{ish}}}, \) as first element. Now the scribes may have come more frequently in contact with Hebrews whose names had \( \text{\textit{\text{ish}}}, \) as first element than with others whose names had \( \text{\textit{\text{ish}}}, \) as second element, and having been used to the writing \( \text{AN-MESH} \) in Hebrew names, used the same writing erroneously also for the second element \( \text{\textit{\text{ish}}}. \) Thus the writing \( \text{AN-MESH} = \text{ili} = \text{Eli} \) 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 \( \text{Eli(AN-MESH)}-\text{pi-i-u-sur} \) (Str. Dar. 362, 5), and \( \text{Eli(AN-MESH)}-\text{iddin} \) (Nbkd 452, 30; Camb 146, 6. 315, 2; Dar 346, 10). But also here we have a 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 philological, 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 \( \text{Sumu-la-El} \) named his son \( \text{Za-bi-um(Za-bu-um)}, \) which may be WS or Babylon. (cf. the views of Ranke and Hilprecht, Ranke, l.c.p. 178); the latter gave his son the pure Babylonian name \( \text{Abil-Sin}; \) so did this ruler who named his son \( \text{Sin-muballit}. \) The latter, however, departed from the usage of his predecessors and gave his son the pure WS name \( \text{Hammu-rabi} \) and the same did all his successors.
right that AN-MESH = ıli was a rendering of Hebrew יִּל as first element. Now the scribes may have come more frequently in contact with Hebrews whose names had יִּל as first element than with others whose names had יִּל 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 יִּל. 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.

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Samsu-iluna, Abi-eshuh, Ammi-ditana, Ammi-zaduga 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 Ia-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-E'ilil is son of NIN-IB-erba; one Ba-rik-El (AN-MESH) 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-abu-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-lāma "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-nu-mat-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
ideograms ought to be rendered into West Semitic as Adunu-arke (arsa, ara'a)-n-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 la-ah-za-ar-ni-El, Ia-da-ar-ni-El "God will help me", Ia-ash-ma-ab-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 נָשַׁת "to ask"; but it is more probable that the proper construction is נָשַׁת "to ask of", and the prepos. נָשַׁת 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-išša, 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-šša-am, Anu-mu-sha-lim, En-lil-e-ri-ba-am, Shamash-ish-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 name 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-mi-li "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-saq-gi-i "Ja(hu) is great", A-ah-hu-wa-sk-ru "The Brother is precious", Am-mi-za-du-ga "The Ammu is righteous", Na-ah-hu-gab-ri "Nashhu is strong", etc.

d: Substantive and adjective, the latter represented by a verbal noun, as dA-a-ra-ru "Ja(hu) is lofty", A-ba-ho-zi-ir "The Father is helping", Ba'-al-ba-nu-nu "Ba'al is gracious", Ba'-al-ma-lu-ku "Ba'al is reigning", El-ra-bi-ii "The God is lofty", Nabu-sa-gi-i "Nabu 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-ru "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-ah "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'el" (but cf. A-du-nu-Ba'-li); I-zí-a-El "My Strong one is God!";

Am-mé-ia-nasír "My Ammu is protector" (WS?)

g: 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.).

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

i: 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", Bé½za-bad-du "Bel has apportioned", etc.

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

k: A noun with pronominal suffix and a verb in Perf., as A-bi-i-ka-mu (not Abi-ikāmu! "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".

l: A noun and a verb in Impf., as Ahi-ia-am-nu "The Brother will
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-ap-la-a-ma "Jahveh 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-ni-El "God will build", Ia-ab-ku-ub-El "God will reward", Ia-am-li-ik-El "God will reign", Ia-ap-ti-ih-Adda "Adad will open", Ia-ar-ah-am-El "God will be merciful", etc.

p: A verb in Impf. with a pronominal suffix representing the object and a noun, as Ia-ab-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 la,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 Imp. and noun, as Ri-ib-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", Nab-u-la-ka "Nabû is for thee", Ja-a-hu-u-la-
ki-im "Jahu is for you", Ia-hu-u-lu-nu "Jahu is for us" (cf. A-a-lu-nu); 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", Shamesh-la-di-in/di-in-ni, etc.

w: Interrogative sentences, as Man-nu-dan-na(ni)-Ia-a-ma (=Mannu-danna-ka-Imma) "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-ka, Da-di-ia, Du-du-u-a, Ga-bri-ia (?), Ga-di-i, Gar-i-

Ha-ad-di-ia, Ha-al-a-nu, etc.


ab-bar, Ha-ad-da-a, Ha-ba-ba, Ha-ba-du, 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 ensure 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 nādanu "to give" for the reproduction of the West Semitic element nātān, or that of the cuneiform idū "to know" for West Semitic iāda, 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 ḫa-ṣmmu-ra-bi and Am-mi-za-dug-ge; the former was translated kīmtu rapashtu "the family is widely extended", and the latter kīmtu kētē "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 im-
portance for the legal character of the deed than the li-
terary forms of the names which were also recorded, but
would not invalidate it if omitted (cf. Maimonides' Jad-Habe-
zekah, Nashim, 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 possi-

bility, 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 let-
ters, in the service of the princes, had been imported from
Babylonia, we might assume that their knowledge of the lan-
guage of Canaan was rather superficial, and they translitera-
ted the proper names as they sounded to them, and therefore
their transliterations might serve as a basis for the in-
vestigation 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 affermatives. 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 Babylon 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 אֲמֶרֶן is rendered in cuneiform אֲמֶרֶן, that of יְאָס פּוּ and יְאָס פּוּ is written ע-רֶס 알ימ and ע-רֶס א-ל-ימ-מ, ייֶהָנִי appears as ס-דע-מע, ס-דע-מע-נ and צִי-שו, and צִי-שו as מ-ר-א-ב and מ-ר-א-ב. 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 those names is at present premature, because we do not possess an Onomasticon 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-Israelitish 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-ilu, Zabum, April-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 hammu. Because the rulers of the Second Dynasty seemed to be non-Semitic and those of the Third Dynasty were Cassites, it was suggested that the name Hammu-ra-bi was also Cassite and was to be read Hammu-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; of BA II, p552). This list contained an explanation of those names in Semitic. Among them were found also the names of Hammu-rabi and of the tenth ruler of this dynasty Am-mi-sa-dug-ja, 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 rpašaštu "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 (Babyle-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 דִּת, "people", and further identified zaduga in the name Ammi-za-du-ga (always written thus in the contemporary records) with the Hebrew and Aramaic יִתְרֵי "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-saduqa, and further referred to the Hebrew names Ammi-ül, 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-ilu 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: "nam" in the names of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-ila compare the Hebr. names נコミュニケーション and נコミュニケーション; for the name Abi-eshuh compare the names נコミュニケーション and נコミュニケーション; the element ammi occurs frequently in Hebrew names, as we have seen; the same is true of the element ר"ע which occurs in various formations; the element samsu = Babyl. shamshu "the Sungod", in the names Samsu-iluna and Samsu-ditana may be compared with נコミュニケーション and נコミュニケーション.

In 1895 Winckler declared indeed that the whole
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 Hammur-abu, 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 (cf Hebrew Ancient Traditions pp. 268-276). 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 qadak in Rab-zi-id-ki shumu in the name Shamu-Adad (cf. the variants Samu-la-el and Samu-la-elu). 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 marē 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 Israels", 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" (1997), 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 Babylon 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. Zeitschr f. Assy X p. 342 f; 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 name of this period, found in the publication "The Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum" (1896-99), in B. Meissner's "beiträge 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 Pl., 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 fa'al frequently occurs as in Abi-marās, while in the Babylonian names the old Semitic Perfect is supplanted by
the Permanive in the form Pa'il, as in Sin-na-we-ir, in accordance with the usage in the cuneiform.

In the same year in which Ranke published his Dissertation (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 Dissertation "Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden" (1903), and furth-
ermore by K.L. Tallquist, in his "Neubabylonisches Namenbuch" (1905), who in his classification of the theophoruous 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: İlu-aha, Ili-ahi, Ahu-issan, etc; Amu-Sin, Beli-ami; Sumu-Ea, Sumu-Sin, Sumu-kenu; and also Halum. Zimmern 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 Poebel'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. Hosch-ander, 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. Assyr. XX pp. 246-392). 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 Sargonid 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 Tabletts Chaldeennes" (1903). In 1907 P. Dhorme published his investigation of the proper names of these tablets under the title "Les noms propres Babyloniens à l'époque de Sargon l'ancien et de Naram-Sin" (BA VI 68-88).

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 à 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 Telloh" (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. )

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. 169ff). 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. 613ff)

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 Canaanisms 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 those 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 "Kanaanäer und Hebräer" (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 Samariter (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 דא-ה, 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 kudurr- inscriptions, the most important chronological sources, as also all Cappadocian tablets and Boghazkêî texts, and finally miscellaneous Van- nic 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 Assy- rian 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 consist 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 Nuilles a 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 Ili-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.

1. 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 "q", the dentals "d", "t" and "ṭ", and the sibilants "s", "ṣh", and "z" and "ṣ", each in its own group, are frequently represented by identical signs. As for instance: the sign ḫi in the name ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi may represent the sounds ḫi and pi. This name was formerly read ḫam-murabi, but it is now generally recognized that this reading was wrong, and that it should be read ḫam-murapi, since it was proved from the ḫana-tablets and other sources that this name does not contain the element ḫabi but a root ṭapi (for the literature see Tallquist, Assy. Pers. Names, p. 84f). Further we could never maintain that the sign ḫa in the name ḫa-mi-za-du-ḫa represents the emphatic palatal "ḥ", if comparative philology did not convince us that this name is identical with the South Arabic name ḫa-miṣṣadēk. Nor could we assert that the same sign ḫa represents palatal ḫa in the local name ḫa-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 ḫa 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 (= $kakku$)-$ga-su-al-si-in, which is evidently to be read $Gagga-su-al-si-in$ = Kakka-shu-eli-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 Puebel, History. Texts, No. 1, p. 92); in the name of the grandson of the latter $Bi-in-ga-li-s(h)ar-ri$, and in the names $Ga-li-ilii$ 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 abound in signs for all these sounds. As far as the palatals are concerned, there 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. Bröckelmann (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.
duppi-ka, li-ba-ga for libba-ka, in the personal name Gagga
(-ga)-al-si-in for Kakka-al-si-in.

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 s corresponds to sh. 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 sha? We find in addition to sha, several other words written with sh, 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 sha must have been pronounced by the West Semites of this period. 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 s, differently from the values of these signs in later periods. The sign ish that in the Sumerian and Akkadian literature has only this value was used by the Semites of this early period for the syllable is. 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 s for sh. 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 sh 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 inscriptions 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 shakanu "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 = נבוע בּוּדְרִי-ָּסְרָ פַרְנָו  and Avel-Mar-duk = אֶבֶע-לַרְדַּק. 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 אֶבֶע-לַרְדַּק = קי-סילו-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-סֶא-אָנֵנֻ
Si-va-an-nu = סִי-וָא-אָנָנּו
Tash-ri-tu = תַשָרְיָנִי
A-ra-ah-sham-na (variant -sa-am-nu) = אָרַה-סָא-אָמְנֻ
Ki-si(var.is)-li-vu = קִי-סִי-לִי-וּ
Sha-ba-tu = שֶבַּעַט

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 Tash-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 Tas-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 Sha-ba-tu, Ni-sa-an-nu, Si-van-nu and Ki-si-li-vu leave no doubt that Hebrew sh corresponds to Babylonian sh, and Hebrew s to Babylonian s. 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 "prince" corresponds to Hebrew šār, 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 šh, 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 = תוקולת'האר
Sharru-kēnu, or
Sharru-ukīn = שאר'וקין
Ashur-ah-iddina = עשר'האדהינה
leave not the least doubt that the Assyrians pronounced the palatal k as if it were g, and the sibilant šh as if it were s. 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 certainly 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 incorrect. 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-asharidu is rendered into Hebrew as עַשְׁרִידֶן, in which the first sibilant sh correctly corresponds to Assyrian 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 Shulman-asharidu. 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 מ and ש. At one time the Hebrew text may have contained the name in full, and a later copyist may have regarded this writing as ditto-phy, and therefore omitted the last letter. But the sh 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 sh 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 pronunciation of the sibilants and rendered the name orthographically as in Assyrian with sh. 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 shalāmu and salāmu; 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-ashariānu. The Hebrew rendering of this name would thus show that Assyrian sh corresponds to Hebrew š, while Assyrian s corresponds to Hebrew š. 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 š in Assyrian proper names is concerned, we find the following Aramaic renderings:

- Nabū-shar-usur = נבּעַ-שָׁר-עָשוּר
- Nabū-shar-iddin = נבּעַ-שָׁר-עָדִין
- Nabū-shum-iddin = נבּעַ-שָׁמ-עָדִין
- Nabū-shum-iskkun = נבּעַ-שָׁמ-ישָקַק
- Sharru-nūri = סַרְרוּ-נָוִר

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 $\theta$ is rendered into Aramaic $\text{sh}$. Tallquist's opinion that this letter($\omega$) corresponds to Hebrew $\text{Sin}$ (Assyr. Pers. Names, p.XVIII), is quite impossible, as nobody would write the first element $\text{Sin}$ with $\theta$ and the second element $\text{shar}$ with $\nu$, in the name $\text{Sin-shar-usur}$, if the sibilants in these elements would have the same pronunciation. The rendering of this name corresponds exactly to the Hebrew rendering of $\text{Sulmanu-asharidu}$, in which the sibilant in the first element is rendered into $\nu$ and that of the second element into $\nu$. Thus from the Aramaic renderings we cannot but conclude that the names quoted above were by the Assyrians pronounced $\text{Shin-sar-usur}$ and $\text{Shin-aheriba}$. The same would be true of the name Shalmaneser: orthographically it was written $\text{Sulmanu-asharidu}$ but was pronounced Shulmanu-asharidu. If we now find that the name $\text{Sin-ahē-eriba}$ was also rendered into Aramaic $\text{שָׁנַלְעָרִיבָה}$, 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 $\text{נָבּוּ-עָשַיָלִם}$, where the writer rendered the name orthographically. In the same way we can explain the Aramaic rendering $\text{שָׁרְנַעְרִי}$ of the name Sharru-kenu, 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 $\text{Tāb-shār-Ishtar}$ "good is the breath of Ishtar", in the abbreviated form $\text{Shār-Ishtar}$ is rendered into Aramaic as $\text{ישנ}$, and the rendering of $\text{ṣh}$ in the second element into $\text{w}$ would seemingly show that Assyrian $\text{ṣh}$ 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 $\text{ṣḥar}$ is rendered according to the pronunciation. But we must consider that the bearer of this name was an Aramean, and the cuneiform $\text{ṣḫaru}$ "breath, wind" correspond to Aramaic $\text{גְּרִים}$, and he may have considered the name $\text{Ṣār-Ishtar}$ 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 $\text{ṣh}$ has given up its sharp pronunciation and has become identical with $\text{ṣ}$, and observes: "In Hebrew $\text{רָבָשָׁה}$ ( = Assyrian $\text{rab-ṣakēh}$ "chief officer") the $\text{w}$ may be due to a mistaken popular etymology". This explanation is rather forced. If the Hebrews had heard this title pronounced $\text{Rabsakēh}$, they would not have rendered it with $\text{w}$ but with $\text{ष}$, as they did in the Assyrian proper names. But in the Assyrian inscriptions, this military title is always written $\text{RAB-SAG}$, and nowhere $\text{Rab-ṣha-ṣk}$. Now the Semitic root $\text{ṣḥakū} "$to be high"$, is no doubt derived from the Sumerian roots $\text{SAG}, \text{SIG} "$to be high"$. But the change of sound from $\text{s}$ to $\text{ṣh}$ must be accounted for. May not the reason be because the Assyrians pronounced the Sumerian root $\text{SAG}$ with $\text{ṣh}$? Hence the Assyrians pronounced this title $\text{Rab-ṣakēh}$ 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(ṃ) 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 sibilant 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 = Abî-shalôm, Abshâlôm
Ab-di-Sam-si = Ebed-Shemesh
Ab-di-Sî-har = Ebed-Sha’har
As-du-du = Ashdôd
At-ar-su-ri = Atar-shûri
A-u-sa-bi’ = Jehôsheba’
A-u-sî’ = Hôshea
Ba’-a-sa = Ba’sha (king of Moab)
Ha-da-sa = Hadôshâ
Is-ka-al-lu-na = Askelôn
Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi = Kemôsh-nâdib (king of Ammon)
Me-na-si-e = Menasssheh (king of Judah)
Pa-la-as-tu, Pilis-tu = Peleseth “Philistae”.
Sa’al-ti-El = Shaltiel
Sa-la-ma-nu = Shalmân (king of Moab)
Sa-me-ri-na = Shemrôn “Samaria”
Sams-si-mu-ru-na = Shemesh-merôn
Sa-mu-xu = Ashmôn (Phoenician deity)
Sa-mî-bu = Sh-n-b (king of Ammon)
Sa-pa-ti-Ba-al = Shapat-Ba’al
Sa-nîli = Shafl “Saul”
Ur-sa-li-im-mu = Jerûshalîm 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 Phoenician 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 Sin, ought to be written Shi-an-nu. Yet it must be remembered that the two latter names are written by Shamaneser IV: Shi-a-na-ai and U-su-na-ta-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 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 (ܫ), which in process of time developed into the sibilant sh. A transition period
in which the aspirated dental sound changed into the spirant s must be presumed. A modern analogy may be seen in the efforts of foreigners to pronounce English sharp th, when they change it either into s or t. The Arameans indeed changed the proto-Semitic ŋ into ṅ. 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 s was changed into the dorsal-palatal spirant sh. May we look for such a transition in the Sargonic period? It might be suggested that the s in the pronominal suffixes su, si, sunu, sina represents the proto-Semitic pronominal root ŋ for which the cuneiform script did not possess an adequate sign. This would not explain the s in the verb shakānu, quoted above. But no explanation is necessary in this case, because this writing actually represents the proto-Semitic verb sakānu which is still preserved in the Arabic root ینا. The same is true of the noun sa-bil-tim "the lower" for sha-pil-tim, as the Arabic root is لین. The Shaphel-formations u-sa-am-ki-it, u-sa-zu-ki, 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 proto-Semitic sh may be seen, as this word may be connected with the Arabic root ینا. "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 relative pronoun ṣha, notwithstanding its resemblance to the
Akkadian prenominal suffix is not a Sumerian leam-word? The sign *nitū;niṣa;garu* has in both the Sumerian and Akkadian the values *sha,gar,nik/*. In Sumerian it is employed as a relative pronoun, in the reading *nig(-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 *š*, instead of *šh*, in the Sargonic inscriptions, and in the West Semitic proper names of that period, would accordingly represent partly the proto-Semitic pronominal root *š* and partly original roots with *š*. 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-ḫu 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 ʃ as ʒ , as did their ancestors the West Semites. No matter how a word was written, if it contained the West Semitic ʃ , it was pronounced in that way.

Now the name Ashur is in Syriac at least written ʃ a l ʃ . Thus Assyrian ʃ in this case philologically corresponds to Syriac-Aramaic. In this name may thus be seen the proto-Semitic aspirated dental ʃ , and it may have been pronounced by the Assyrians Athur. While we have no direct proof that sh in Ashur etymologically corresponds to Arabic ʃ , we may point out that the name of the goddess Ashera-
Ashirtu, which has been connected with the divine name Ashur (cf. Zimmern, KAT p. 351 n. 2), is found in the South Arabian Katabanic inscriptions as _NAV (see Hommel, Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen, pp. 157-206f). The Assyrian themselves, however, identified their god Ashur with An-shar (cf. Meissner-Rest, 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 shu must have had the identical pronunciation of shu. Now the same sign shu 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 .statusText and Arabic .statusText, and therefore the word asharidu may have been pronounced by the Assyrians utharidu. In that case it might be that the Assyrians pronounced the royal names under discussion:

Shulmann-atharidu = שולמנאתרידי
Tukulti-apil-E-thar-ra = תוקוליתאפילתררי
Athur-ah-iddina. = אתרע-אידינה

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. Proleg. p. 92) is highly improbable. On the contrary, *sharāru* may be a denomin

nal 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 *נִשָּׁה* 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 *נוֹשֶׁה* is derived from a root *y* of *Mediae Infirmæ*, as *נִשָּׁה* and this root would etymologically correspond to Arabic *نِصَّرُ* which in the IV. Conjugation has the meaning "to counsel, to give advice". Thus *נוֹשֶׁה* originally would mean "counsellor", synonym of *נִשָּׁה* which we doubt has the same meaning, as it is derived from *נִשָּׁה* "to counsel". If so, it is scarcely credible that the Babylonians derived an identical term for "king" from a root *Mediae Geminatæ*, though both Classes *Mediae Infirmæ* and *Mediae Geminatæ* are closely related. The writing *sharru* may be either due to the phonetic complement *ru, ri, ra* added to the ideogram *LUGAL* or to the emphasis with which this title was spoken, and linguistically the word *sharru* corresponds to Hebrew *נוֹשֶׁה* and Arabic *نصَرُ*. 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 ʘ, 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 on 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 שִׁנֵחֲרִיבָא . 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 Sinai, and we would expect the Hebrew rendering with sh שִׁנֵחֲרִיבָא . That the name of this deity was by the West Semites pronounced Sinai can be seen in the name of the desert Sinai, and Mount Sinaï, 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 Si-na-tum. Ed. Meyer (Entstehung des Judenthums, p. 77).
surmised that the name of this deity among the Babylonians was pronounced Shin as seen from the Hebrew transliteration of the Babylonian name Sin-uṣur as סִינּוּסְעָר, son of the exiled king Jehoiakim (1 Chron 3,18). In the neo-Babylonian contracts a woman's name appears written Shi-ỉ-ni-ba-na, Shi-in-ba-na' and Shi-na-ba-na. If we may see in the second part of this name the West Semitic element bansa', 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 Shin. An element Shi-im occurs also in the Cassite name Shi-im-di-shu-ga-ab (in the letter of Burna-buriash, Amarna 10,37,48), which perhaps may represent the name of the god Sin. But in Babylonia the phonetic reason for such a change of sound is not obvious, considering that Babylonian $ corresponds to Hebrew $ and Babylonian sh to Hebrew sh. Different is the case in Assyria. The name of the god Sin, in numerous names especially of the Arameans living in the district of Harran, is written Si-ỉ and Si-e. Instances are: Si-ỉ-id-ri "Sin is (my) help", Si-ỉ-ra-pa-ỉ "Sin has healed", Si-ỉ-ra-hi-i "Sin is my shepherd"; Si-e-na-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 s. 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 s as sh, they must have pronounced this divine name Shin, resp. Shi-ỉ, Shi-e. We have already referred to the Aramaic endorsement in which the names Sin-šahe-erba and Sin-šar-uṣur are rendered סִינּוּשָּׂר and סִינּוּשָּׂר וְשָׁרַע, which in-
deed proves that this divine name was pronounced שִּׁכָּן. This contention is not disproved by the other writing סִכָּנְיֹן, 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 Judaecans came in so close contact as Sennacherib, who frequently sent diplomatic notes to the Judaecans 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 אֲפֵל, two other Causative formations, שַּׂפָּה and סַפָּה. 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 מִשָּׁמַיִן "the North", מְשׁוֹק וְ= тυρ {шм-шарру "tablet-writer, scribe", מְשִׁיקוּ = mushkēnu "poor", מְשִׁיקוּ = shak-nu "governor", מְשִׁיקוּ = "quiver" were taken over from the Assyrians. These words are written orthographically with ш, 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 מַשְׁקָה = ushshū "foundation", מֵשְׁפָּיט = אָשִׁיפְל "diviner", מַשְׁפָּט = 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: Nisān, Sīvān, Tishri, Miḥron, Kislev and Shebat would have been in Hebrew Nishan, Shivan, Miḥron, Kishlev and Sebāt.

If the Assyrians employed the cuneiform signs for s in the West Semitic names containing the sharp sibilant sb 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 sb and vice versa, as can be seen in the following instances:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assyrian</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bu-shi-ru</td>
<td>Pe(r)-Usiri = Busiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-mi-im-shi</td>
<td>Che-men-su = Haôs = Heracleopolis Magna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ip-ti-kar-di-e-shu</td>
<td>Ptol-erdìis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ish-pi-ma-a-tu</td>
<td>Nspemête = Esps(m)ôtis, Aram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-ah-ti-hu-ru-an-si-mi</td>
<td>Neht-her-na-she-mu, in Aramaic rendering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi-sha-an-hu-ra</td>
<td>Pasenher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi-sha-me-il-ki</td>
<td>Psammaticus (Babyl: Pi-sa-mi-is-ki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aramaic rendering:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi-shap-tu</td>
<td>Pe(r)sed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su-si-in-ku</td>
<td>Sheshank (Bibl. Shishak)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare also Ku-u-su = Kûsh (Babyl: Ku-u-su). However there seem to be a few exceptions, as Pa-tu-ri-si = Bibl Pathrêes, Sa-a-a = Sai = Sais, and Har-si-ia-e-shu = Her-se-oëse-t = Arsiosis (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 ś (Esi, Ėsi', so also in Aramaic rendering śôn, šôn, śn), but in Assyrian with šk. The rendering of the name Sabaco, the founder of the XXVth Dynasty, as Sha-ba-ku-u = Egyptian Sh-b-k, is perhaps no exception, as Sabaco is an Ethiopian, he may have been a South Semite and thus bore a Semitic name Sabakû which may mean "the conqueror" (of Arab سباق "to run in advance, precede, conquer"). As to the rendering Sib', Sibe = bibl נב (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 Paras = 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-mish not Gar-ga-mish. Concerning the Assyrian rendering Shu-sha-an "Susa", corresponding to bibl. מִסְעָא, 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 Humban-un-da-sha with Un-da-su, Un-da-si (cf Tallquist, Assyrian Personal 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. Perhaps 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-hadastī ("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 š, it would evidently prove that Assyrian š 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 Cypres
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 Cyp-
rian-Greek sh and vice versa. Thus also in the writing of these names, the Assyrian scribes aimed to preserve their ori-
nal 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-' and A-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in. The former is most likely to be connected with Arabic "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 s. 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 seven 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-' and Atar-shamain.
and accordingly rendered them with $s$.

We may question whether the Babylonians cannot claim a more pure origin than the Assyrians, considering that the formerly insignificant Assyrian state assimilated the Hittite-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 Sargonic 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 Sarru-kēnu and Tukulti-apil-Esharra as Sargōn and Tiglath-pileser which prove that the Assyrians like the early Semites pronounced the palatal $k$ as $g$. This is also seen in the Hebrew word borrowed from the Assyrians $ןן$ = shaknu, which proves that the Assyrians pronounced this word sagnu. The same pronunciation of $k$ is responsible for the rendering Car-ga-mis for Carchemish (ךכָּכָיִּישׁ). This confirmed by the Aramaic rendering $ןַנְנַנְנַנְנ$ of the name Man-nā-ki-i-Arba-ilu "who is like Arbela?". If we would not find the same phenomenon in the Sargonic inscriptions, the Cappadocian tablets and the Amarna Letters, as we have shown, we would accept Broekelmann'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 $k$ was always etymologically rendered by $k$, except of a word like Carchemish of which the etymology was unknown.
Concerning the emphatic sibilant šādē, 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 ṣ, which therefore represented both z and ṣ. Comparative philology alone teaches whether the words written with these signs contain z or ṣ. 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 ṣ, because these signs were unnecessary duplicates for the syllables zi and zu which were already represented by the signs šitum and šūzū. 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 za, za, 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 ṣ but also for those terminating in the sibilant ṣ. These three sounds are indeed closely related, as we can adduce from the variants נָבָע, נַעַר, נָעָר, ūnē, ūne, "to rejoice", and others.

The very fact that the Semites were compelled to use special signs to denote the emphatic sibilant ṣ 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 = נַבְuur, מְרָגָל-שאָר-עָזַר, and other names with the root nasāru prove
that there was no difference in the pronunciation of s between the Hebrews and the Babylonians. The same is true of the Assyrians who in their inscriptions almost always correctly distinguished between ẓi and ẓi and zu and ẓu. In the Aramaic endorsements, Assyrian s is always rendered by Aram. š, as in Nabū-shar-usur = ובשתורג etc. West Semitic ş is therefore correctly rendered into Assyrian ş, as ㋃ = Sariptu,  sharedPreferences = Subitu, ㋄ = Ra-gum mь/nь, etc. Thus while in the West Semitic names which contain ş and su inscribed during the Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian periods, there is no difficulty in recognizing the emphatic sibilant ş, it is different in the names of the earlier periods. In the Amarna Letters, the emphatic syllables ū, ş, ẓi are frequently expressed by the non-emphatic signs zu, zi as well as by the emphatic signs su, şi, e.g. zu-ḥa-ár-ti "girl alongside of zu-ḥa-ár-ti, zu-ḥa-ru "boy" for su-ḥa-ru, zu-up-ri "mail" for su-up-ri; zi-ru-tu "high", alongside of ş-i-i-rutti zi-ih-ru "young" alongside of si-ih-rum, ra-bi-zu, ra-bi-zi "governor" for ra-bi-su, ra-bi-şi, 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 isa-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, ş, z are closely related and occasionally used promiscuously. Hence we find the same usage in the Canaanitic Glosses; as zu-u-zi-ma "horses" = 고ים; zu-ki-ni "governor" = ענוים; mahzi-ra-mu "their need" =
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 = חָזָר ; Zi-du-na alongside of Si-du-na = ציֵדּוּ נַא ; Zu-uh-ri = זֵעָרִי ; Na-zí-ba = נַהִיֶּבָא ; Zu-mú-ri alongside of Su-mú-ri = צָאָרִי . 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 š. The same is true of the Sargonic period where we find writings as u-su-zi-am-ma for u-su-si-am-ma "he brought out and", zi-ra-at for si-ra-at "reins", and even zu-nu for su-nu = šhu-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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i-ti-sum} & = \text{i-di-sum} = \text{idādishum} \ "\text{he gave him}". \\
\text{i-ti-nu} & = \text{i-di-nu} = \text{idīnu} \ "\text{which he gave}". \\
\text{a-ti-ma} & = \text{a-di-ma} = \text{adi-ma} \ "\text{as far as}". \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Be-li-sa-tu} & = \text{Beli-sa-du} = \text{Beli-shadū} \ "\text{my lord is a mountain}". \\
\text{I-min-sa-tu} & = \text{I-min-sa-du} = \text{Imın-shadū} \ "\text{Inin is a}". \\
\end{align*}
\]
Sa-tu-ni = Sa-du-ni = Shadum "our mountain" (hypecoristicon)
Is(h)-tu-tu = Ish-du-du "he pulled out" (hypecoristicon)
The same pronunciation evidently appears in the royal name
Ma-an-ish(h)-tu-su = Ma-an-ish-du-su, which in all probability contains either the noun ishdu "fundament" or the verbal form ishđan "he pulled out" (ishdu-su = ishdud-su = ishadus). That this dental-surd in the Akkadian root nadānu "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 d.

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"
jii-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 Knudtzen's El-Amar- 
na 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-se-
nant \( d \). Therefore it has been rightly suggested that the 
Hebrew word \( tamm\text{\textbar}n(\text{תאֵמָן}) \), "monster", in Arabic 
\( تَمّْمَّنُ \) corresponds to Akkadian \( dani\text{\textbar}nu \), "mighty one" (Jensen, Zeitsch. d. Ass 
syr. I, p. 174f). It is seen again in the name of the deity and 
of the month \( Tamm\text{\textbar}z \) corresponding to Sumerian \( Dumu-zi \) and 
\( Damu-zi \) (in Babyl \( Du-\text{\textbar}u-\text{\textbar}zu = Du-vu-\text{\textbar}zu = Du-mu-\text{\textbar}zu \)), in which 
also Akkadian \( d \) changed into West Semitic \( t \). It is further 
seen in the loan-word \( 
\text{\textbar}m\text{\textbar}n = Tam-ka-ru = Sumerian-Akkadian 
dam-\text{\textbar}kar "merchant". Owing to this fact the local name \( Gu-du-
a \) was by the Semites in the Sargonic period pronounced \( Gu-
tu-a \) and thus became later \( Kutu \). 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 \( ta, ti, tu \), 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 \( ad/t/t, i\text{\textbar}d/t/t, ud/t/t \), where the dis-
tinction is high impossible—the question arises how does it happen that in the closed syllables both sounds are rep-
derented 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 $d$ 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 $t$ do not represent the original dental-sonant $d$. 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 $d$ (SILIM) has the value of $s$, as in other periods. The element di-ta-na may be compared with the biblical proper names מִשְׁתָּן and מִשְׁתָּן, 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 $d$, 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 $d$ 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 אָרָך corresponds to Babylonian Ad-da-ru: מַדְדָד "gift = nadānu "to give", מַדְדָד "tribute" = mandattu = mandantu, מַדָּד "time" = adānu; מַדְדָד = Nabû-kudurri-usur.
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-isch-du-ka, e-ri-isch-

du-shu \) "thine, his wish", instead of \( e-ri-is-tu-ka, e-ri-is-
tu-shu, lu-bu-ul-du \) "garment" instead of \( lu-bu-ul-tu = lубушtu, du-ush-mi-ta-an-ni \) 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 \( i-tu-ru \) "\( ãšµµãšµ \) who returned", \( li-du-ur-ra \) for \( li-tu-u-ra \) "he may return", \( du-ur-ru \) for \( tu-ur-ru \) "return" (impt), etc.
In the Glosses,Canaanitic đ is without exception rendered by
cuneiform ṭ, as ba-ni-ti = בָּנִיּוּ 'I have built', ba-ti-ti =
'תִּיֵּוּ 'I am confident', ti-mi-tu-na-nu = תֵּיִּוּנִיּוּ 'you are
killing us', nu-ḫu-ush-tu = נֵוּעַוּשָּׁו 'copper', etc. Nor was
there any difference in the pronunciation of ṭ between the
Babylonian-Assyrians and the Hebrew-Arameans, as we learn
from the transliterations, as Tukulti-apil-E-shar-ra =
툼כֵּל אָפיּל אַ-הֶר-רַא ,Sha'-al-ti-El = שלֵאַ-אָל-טֵי-ל ,Pa-la-as-tu = פָּלַא-אָס-טּוּ
etc. This fact is by no means so obvious as it may seem. We
may call attention to the remarkable phenomenon that Hebrew-
Aramean ṭ is as a rule rendered into Greek θ and Hebrew-
Aramean š into Greek τ, and vice versa,while judging by the
Semitic names of the Greek letters,we should expect θ =
ש and τא = ט.

The emphatic dental ṭ seems to have had a pronunciation
similar to that of the dental-sonant ḫ. In the Sargonic in-
scriptions there is one word which occurs repeatedly: li-il-
num-da = li-il-ḫu-ṭa "he may snatch away". However, little
discussion is required on this point, because emphatic ṭ had
a sound like ḫ 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 ex-
press this emphatic sound peculiar to the Semitic languages
used the signs ḫa and ḫi also for the emphatic ṭa and ṭi.
They did not give an additional value ṭu to the sign ḫu, be-
cause there was a duplicate ḫu(Tunu) which they reserved for
the emphatic sound ṭu. The very fact,however,that they did
not use for this purpose the signs ta,ti,tu apparently indi-
cates that the pronunciation of ṭ was nearer the sound of ḫ.
For the same reason they used the sign  따른 for emphatic て, which in an earlier period must have had the value of と, as seen from the writing &-ga-de = Akkad. Thus the signs と and て 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 ど and と must have been used also for emphatic と and て, 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 と is identical with that of て, though this pronunciation has not the least influence on their orthography. Cf. は-て-と = ה"י תב "I am confident", instead of は-て-と, of the root balatu "to live", we find the forms は-la-と, は-la-と, は-al-と, etc., but also は-bal-と, は-ba-と, と, of は-ma-と "to hurry", we have は-mi-と, は-mi-と, は-ha-と, etc., alongside of は-mu-と, は-mi-と, と; of は-て-と "to sin", we find は-て-と, は-て-と; of は-ta-と "to redeem", we find は-ti-と, は-ti-ra, etc.; so also は-ka-と "to snatch away" is written は-ka-と; of the root は-ta "to guard" we find は-te-ir; of は-と "good" we find は-a-と, は-bu-と, etc.; of は-ta-と "to drive away" は-ta-と, は-ta-と; of は-ta-と "to approach" は-ti-と, は-ti-と, は-ti-と, etc.; of は-ta-と "report, decree", は-ta-と, は-ta-と, は-ta-と, etc.; of は-ta-と "to spin" は-ta-と, は-ta-と; of は-ta-と "clay" は-ti-と, は-ti-と alongside of は-ta-と 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 τ 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 τ Shi-ip-ti-Ba'al(330, 3, etc), which is rendered with the non-emphatic sign τi.

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 τ. The same is true of the Arameans. The Babylonian-Assyrians
likewise as a rule distinguished between these sounds, as cuneiform ֳ‬ corresponds to Hebrew-Aramaic ֳ‬. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te-bi-tum</td>
<td>יבְתָּה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-ba-tu</td>
<td>שַֽחְּבַּתָּוָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ֳ‬-e-mu</td>
<td>בִּימָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Тup-sharru</td>
<td>סַחֲרַו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shatāru</td>
<td>שַֽחְּטָרָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shatiru</td>
<td>שַֽחֲתִירָו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba-la-ti-i</td>
<td>בַּלּא-תִיּו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-etir</td>
<td>בַּלּא-תו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-etir-Shamash</td>
<td>בַּלּא-תִי-שָם-שָמָשׁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIN-IB-uballit</td>
<td>נינָ-יִיבּ-עַבְּלָלִית</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim-uballit</td>
<td>עַבְּלָלִית</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-pa-ti-Ba’al</td>
<td>סַֽהִּי-בָּאֲלָל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shit-’a’</td>
<td>שִּית-אֲו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-bi-ia</td>
<td>תַּבי-יָב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab-ilu</td>
<td>תַּבָּילְו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-tu-shu</td>
<td>חַא-תו-שְׁעו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balat-shar-usur or Balātashu-usur</td>
<td>בַּלּא-תִי-שָׂרָו-עָשָר or בַּלּא-תִי-שָׂרָו-עָשָר</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf also the names composed with tu-ri = תֶאָרִי "rock", as A-du-na-tu-ri "the lord is a rock", and others.

Concerning the dentals ֳ‬ and ֳ‬, 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, m interchanges also with the semi-vowel i. Even in Hebrew two roots at least show this interchange of m and i: n-s-b י$ and j-s-b י$; n-k-sh וש and j-k-sh וש. This interchange may also be seen in Hebrew-Aramaic n-t-n ינ and Phoenician j-t-n ינ. Finally it may be seen in the Syriac Imperfect preformative n, which in the other Semitic languages appears as semi-vowel i. In the first two instances we might perhaps ascribe the interchange to the emphatic consonants k and š. 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 i should have changed in Syriac to n. Or may we suggest that the Syriac preformative ni corresponds to cuneiform cohortative li, thus miktol = liktol "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(שַׁלְמָא הָוְאָב). In the Hammurabi period, the use of this sign for l and i appears in ni-ni = i-li and in the
royal name Sin-mu-ba-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, mi-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-dur, i-mu-ru, i-za-zu-mi, i-ik-mi, i-zi-ir; li-il-gu-da
li-mu-ud-dam, Li-sa-lum, li-zu-ša, U-li-id-i-lum, Tu-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 signs the scribes. However, it is also possible that the use of the 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 Lii represents coronal-alveolar l and i expressed by the sign I-gittu represents the vowel I, the I expressed by the sign Iaū which has the values ni, li, i represents l muille, which by palatalization was changed into the semi-vowel ĭ. As far as ĭ is concerned, there may be an explanation for the writings of ĭ with the sign Iaū in the words i-li, i-šu, i-ar-mu-ti, as in these words ĭ represents consonants( h, ŋ), 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 explanation of the different writings for \( li \). That the cohortative \( li \) is not written with the sign \( Ia\tilde{u} \) may be due to the fact that palatalization is highly impossible at the beginning of a word. May we further suggest that palatalization occurred only after \( a \), as in \( a-li, be-li(=ba\tilde{a}li), ga-li, sa-li-mi-su \), and therefore in the names \( Tu-li-da-da-nam, U-li-id-i-lum \), the syllable is expressed by the regular sign \( Lil\tilde{u} \)? Then the writing \( li \) with the sign \( Ia\tilde{u} \) 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 \( be(B\tilde{a}tu) \) for \( b\tilde{el}u \) is not an ideogram but is due to the fact that \( b\tilde{el} \) was pronounced \( b\tilde{ei} \) with palatalization. The Sumerian sign \( til \) became in Semitic \( ti \) 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 \( l \) and \( n \). But it must be admitted that this assumption would not explain the Syriac preformative \( ni \) since \( muille \) at the beginning of a word is scarcely imaginable. Besides a suggestion that the common Semitic preformative \( i \) 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 \( \emptyset \) 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, Constantinople, 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 dissensions, 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 ̕, its pronunciation must have been difficult for them, and they pronounced the Babylonian-Semitic ̕ like ̕. If this is true, we should expect that they used the signs for ̕ and ̕ indiscriminately, since in pronunciation they were not different. Therefore if there should be found the signs for the sonant ̕ in words which etymologically require the surd ̕, or vice versa, the assertion that the West Semites like the Arabs did not possess the labial-explosive surd ̕ 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 = ika-bu "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 bab 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 sh may be regarded as West Semitic. Here indeed seems to be a case where pa is etymologically required, in view of cuneiform ṣāšānu "to appease". But even this is not certain, as according to Jensen (Zeitschr. d. Assyri IV, p. 268) it corresponds to Hebrew ידו and Arabic قد "to appease", and thus in this word the sonant ב, and the name may have been pronounced Ba-s(h)aab-ilu.

But it is scarcely possible to conclude from the occurring writing i-ga-pi-u = ikabû that these West Semites pronounced the sonant ב as surd π. It would be more plausible to suggest that this sign π represents the aspirated labial-sonant ב(لاء), because in the later West Semitic period this sign is frequently used for the labial-spirant ו. And the very fact that the sign π(Gešṭanû) as spirant became ו and not φ, evidently shows that as explosive it was pronounced as sonant ב and not as surd π. Moreover, the sound ב was pronounced as sonant in the Sargonic period, if we may judge from the orthography of the Sargonic inscriptions, as in ar-ba-um "four", be-al "lord", i-bi "he called", kir-bi-su "his midst", etc.

As far as the sign ב is concerned, neither the Sumerian nor the Akkadian gave this sign the value π, which proves that it was pronounced as sonant. The West Semites, however, used this sign ב where etymological π 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 ba for etymological 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-so-
nant \( b \). However, for this period no such proof is forthcoming, neither for \( b \) nor for \( ba \). Among the names with
\( b \) on the obelisk of Manishtusu may be some in which \( b \) stands for etymological \( p \), but just in them the etymology
is doubtful; as for instance, the name \( E-bi-i-r-i-lum \) might be interpreted "Ebir is god", or as \( E-pi-r-ilum \) "God has
provided".

The Cappadocian Tablets prove that the Semites of
that region about the middle of the third millennium B.
C. wrote \( b \) for etymological \( p \). 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 \( za-ru-ba-am \) for sarāpam "pure", \( du-
ba-ga \) for duppa-\( ka \), \( dub-bi-ga \) for dup-\( pi-ka \) "thy tablet";
so also in the proper names \( Bi-la-ah-Ashir \) for Pilah-Ashir;
"fear Ashur", \( Na-ba-\( hi-e \) for Na-pa-\( hi-e \) "smith", etc.

In the Hammurabi period, we have evidence that the
West Semites did not distinguish between the labials \( b \)
and \( p \), but pronounced both of them as sonant. The Code of
Hammurabi is probably the only Akkadian document the Ba-
bylonians produced in which grammatical rules are strict-
ly observed. It may be accepted as giving correct phone-
tics. With one exception, the sign \( b \) occurs for both \( b \)
and \( pi \). 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:

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

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-tābūm(-bu-um) alongside of A-ab-ba-tābūm(-bu-um), A-pa-tābūm alongside of A-ba-tābūm "the Father is good". While in these names pa stands for etymological ba, we find the reverse in the names compounded with tāppu "companion", where ba stands for etymological pa, as in Tāb-tāb-bi-e, Shamash-tāb-ba-shu, Sin-tāb-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-
tion 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 the
of the Sumerians. If then these Semites who formerly inhabited 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 certain modifications, and we cannot expect it to be identical 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 pronunciation 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 Letters, we find numerous instances in which the sounds \( b \) and \( p \) are used indiscriminately, as may be seen in the following words: Of the root \( abal\)u "to bring", we find \( u-up-pa-la-am\); of \( ashab\)u "to dwell", \( ash-pa-ta, ash-pa-ku\); of \( bab\)u "door", \( pa-a-bi\); of \( balat\)u "to live", \( pa-la-at, pa-li-it, i-pa-al-li-it\); of \( ban\)u "to build", \( a-pa-an-ni, pa-na-i-shu, u-pa-an-ni\); of \( ban\)u "good, joyful" \( pa-nu, pa-na-a, pa-ni, pa-ni-ti\), etc; of \( bash\)u "to be", \( i-pa-ash-shi, i-pa-ash-shu-nim, etc\); of \( dab\)u to speak", \( li-id-bu-pa-ku\); of \( eshe\)ku to do", \( i-bi-ish, a-bi-esh, e-be-shu, e-bi-shu, etc\); of \( espir\)u "earth, dust", \( e-be-ru, e-bi-ri, i-bi-ri\); of \( ezob\)u "to forsake", \( u-shi-izzi-pa-shu-nu\); of \( kabash\)u "to tread", \( ka-pa-shi-ka, etc\), and \( ka-ba-shi-shu\); of \( kab\)u "to speak", \( ak-pa-\); \( libbu\) "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", ta-pa-ki; of tappū "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 pronounced 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 influence. Such a doubt would not be without some justification, 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-she, 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-ku; 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 kabū "to speak", li-ik-pa-a-ak-ku of rabū "great", ra-pa-a; of šabātu, i-sa-ap-pa-tum; of ūbānu, 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 Babylonian 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-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-ša, 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 אֶדִינָה compared with the translita-
ration of the Assyrian royal name Tukulti-apil-Esharra as אַת-לֶבֶן בִּילִי it is, we might be inclined to conclude that the labial pi was pronounced by the Babylonians bi 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-r-pa-pa-hir = נָבּוֹ-רָפָא Therefore since both the Babylonians and the Assyrians sharply distinguished between bi and p and never used them promiscuously bi and ba in West Semitic names of these periods etymologically correspond to West Semitic b, while in the earlier periods the etymology could be determined only by means of comparative philology.

As to the semi-vowel w, 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 ba and pa, bu and pu, but not between bi and pi due to the influence of the palatal-sontant i. It follows that the signs pa and ba were indispensable, while the sign pi would be regarded as duplicate of bi.
The sign \( \pi \) having been pronounced as sonant was given the value of an aspirated \( \beta i = bhi \) 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 \( \text{u-ru-us} \) is primae \( w \) (= Arabic \( \text{u-ru-us} \)), 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, Mua-wa-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 \( \text{bi} \) 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", addu "to decide", alau "to beget", asamu "to be becoming", asu "to go out", akū "to fear" aradu "to descend", ashābu "to dwell", atāru "to excel", etc.

It must be remembered again that forms with \( w \) in theNeo-
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 suluppē wa-at-ru-tim "the remaining dates (Peiser, Baby l. 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 ī, with the exception of a few instances. Therefore, in the Amarna Letters, the roots primae w as abālu, akārū, ashăbu, 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 āsū "to go out", we have the irregular form ī-wa-ši instead of īši, and of ashāru "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 āsū we have even īa-sa-at, which is evidently a Canaanism, and in the Canaanitic Gloss īa-zi-ni "he will bring me out". The same we find in the nouns ār-hu-um "month", ār-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 ī, the pi for the semi-vowel w was used in a peculiar way in the Amarna Letters. Since the radical w was changed into ī.
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 ja 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 abēlu, ju-ba-al, ju-ba-lu; of bullūtu "to keep alive", ju-ba-li-li; of kubbū "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-zī-ni, ia-ak-wu-un-ka, ia-az-ku-ur-mi, ia-pu. But the value ja of the sign ja 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 ja for the semivowels w and j, it completely lost its original value ja among the Canaanites, as in the Canaanitic Letters it does not occur once in this value. Even in words with etymological j which in the Hammurabi period are at least occasionally written with ji, 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 duppā 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 Canaanitic 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 ꞏ which etymologically corresponds to Latin ꞏ 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 emē "to be", = 𒈦, lamū "to spin", = 𒈕, lamū "to enclose", = 𒈦, namaru "to be light", = 𒈡, 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 (l.c. pp. 41-45), there is not one instance of this kind. The interchanges of \( ab \) with \( am = rmarsh \) and \( dib \) and \( dim = sanasha \) 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 \( lam\text{di} \) "to enclose", may perhaps be seen in the personal names \( La-mu-um \) and \( La-mu-sa \), occurring on the Obelisk of Manishtus, and it may have been pronounced \( lum\text{di} \).

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 \( Nu-na-wi-rum, Mu-na-wi-ir-tum, Na-wi-ru-um-ili, Na-wi-ir-mu-ur-\)
shu, we find also Shamash-li-me-ir alongside of Shamash-li-wi-ir "Shamash may shine"; further Na-am-ra-am-sha-ru-ur 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 (of Ungnad, Baby1. 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 pi = bi 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 pi 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 pi 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 pi was no longer used as aspirate.
In the Westland where the West Semitic pronunciation of p as sonant still prevailed, the sign pi 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-a-tum, a-ma-a-ti, a-ma-a-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 na-wāru "to shine", is always represented by m, as in na-ma-ra, na- mi-ir, na-mu-ur, en-nam-mu-ru, etc; tawū "to spin", is by Tushratta written te-mu-u and te-mu-tum. Noteworthy is the writing of both m and w in the root ashāru-mashāru "to send, hand over, dismiss, aāmit, to arrange", which seems to have been treated as primaries 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-ma- she-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 יִשָּׁר and Arabic يسير, 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 pi = 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 $\text{ashąru}$ are concerned, and these forms—against Knudtzon—are probably to be transliterated: $\text{ju-ja-sheru}, \text{tu-ja-sheru}, \text{u-ja-shiru}, \text{i-ja-sheru}$ etc. (cf. the Hebrew intensive forms of ישר). The forms of $\text{mashąru}$ 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 $\text{w}$ was represented by the signs containing $\text{m}$, we should expect additional evidence in the Hebrew and Aramaic transliterations of cuneiform words. We must first consider the cuneiform loan words with $\text{m}$ in Hebrew and Aramaic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuneiform</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Aramaic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{argamannu}$ &quot;purple&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Halal}{\text{im}}$</td>
<td>$\text{Sha}{\text{na}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{temu}$ &quot;edict&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Sarchem}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nishe}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{zimu}$ &quot;splendor&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Le}{\text{bim}}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nishe}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{miksu}$ &quot;tell, tax&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Mikas}$</td>
<td>$\text{Memda}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{mandattu}$ &quot;tribute&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Maddah}$</td>
<td>$\text{Memda}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{manu}$ &quot;mina&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Mund}$</td>
<td>$\text{Mahin}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{manzazu}$ &quot;threshold&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Menzhawem}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nikelaw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{manzaltu}$ &quot;the zodiac&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Ments}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nikelaw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{malahu}$ &quot;skipper&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Melah}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nikelaw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{mushkenu}$ &quot;poor&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Misken}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nikelaw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{simaniu}$ &quot;time&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Semien}$</td>
<td>$\text{Nikelaw}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{targumanni}$ &quot;interpreter&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Targem}$</td>
<td>$\text{Mikemasa}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ummanu}$ &quot;artizan&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Uman}$</td>
<td>$\text{Mikemasa}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{rab-mugi}$ &quot;high official&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Rabemu}$</td>
<td>$\text{Mikemasa}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{samitu}$ &quot;corner&quot;</td>
<td>$\text{Samit}$</td>
<td>$\text{Mikemasa}$</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-asheridu = בְּלֹא יָהַז
- Nabu-shum-iddin = נְבֻּד הָרָקְבָּי
- Nabu-shum-ishkun = נְבֻּד הָרָקְבָּי
- Nabu-usallim = נְבֻּד הָרָקְבָּי
- Mah-si-Ia-a-u = בִּבְל.
- Shi-im-ka-ia = בִּבְל.

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 = אַרְגָּמָן, zimu = זִימָע, 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 = צִימָע
- A-ra-ah-sham-na = אַרְאָה-שַם-נוּ
- Ki-si-li-mu = קִיסִילִי-נוּ.

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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amel-Marduk</td>
<td>נמרוד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amurru-iddin</td>
<td>אמה-עזד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amurru-ēṭir</td>
<td>אמי-הער</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amurru-u-paḥ-hir</td>
<td>אמי- kaps-ער</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-ēṭir-Shamash</td>
<td>בל-הער-שמש</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-shum-iddin</td>
<td>בל-שמש-עזד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellil-shum-iddin</td>
<td>אליל-שמש-עזד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-duk-a</td>
<td>מרדוק-א</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marduk-abil-iddinna</td>
<td>מרדוק-עבל-עזד-נאנה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushezib</td>
<td>מושזיב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushezib-El</td>
<td>מושזיב-איל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-hi-im-El</td>
<td>ראה-וים-איל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rima</td>
<td>רימה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēmu-shukun</td>
<td>רמוא-שוקון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>שמסח</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash-bēl-usur</td>
<td>שמסח-ברל-עשור</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu-mu-ut-ku-na-ia</td>
<td>שומ-עוט-קור-ניא</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Amurr = אממ was pronounced Awurr or Ḫuru; Shamash = שמש became Shawash. On the other hand, the m preserved its original pronunciation as m in Rēmuš 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, Araḫšawna for Araḫšanma, Awurru for Amurru, awil for amil, But in Rahim-El, and in Kīma and Kōmu-shukan, since rēmu = ra'mu =r-h-m, the radical m was not pronounced as an aspirated sound. However, the Greek transliterations of Dam-ki-na = Δαυήγ and of Tīram = Ταυήγ 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-ah-sham-na = אָרָאֲהַשָּֽמָנָּה. Notwithstanding this writing found in the syllabares, the Babylonian pronunciation of this name must have been similar to that of the Hebrew: Maraḥ-shawna = Waraḥ-shamma "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 Maraḥ-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 גַלְגַלְגָלִים. But such a distortion of אֲרָעָסָמָה 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 אֶבְרָכַף, 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 = "artist". May we perhaps suggest that also targumanu was pronounced with doubling of the m and therefore = מַעַרְכָּן? But there is no reason why ṭāwūn = מַעַרְכָּן should not have been pronounced tāwnu.

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 \( \text{Ia-am-na-ai} = 
\text{Iawna} = "\text{Ionian}" \) and \( \text{Ar-ma-da} \) alongside of \( \text{Ar-u-a-da} = \text{Iawnai} \), 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 \( \text{Ia-} = \text{argamanu} \) \( \text{Iawna} = \text{zimu}, \text{Iawnai} = \text{simanu} \), and Hebrew-Aramaic \( \text{Ur-} = \text{samitu} \) 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 \text{Dagesh} and \text{Raphē} or \text{Kushshaia} and \text{Rukacha}. 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 \text{Dagesh lene}, without aspiration. Nor may it have been aspirated in the middle of a word when it was pronounced as \text{Dagesh forte}. Accordingly no aspiration would take place in the intensive forms of \( \text{lamū} = \text{mū} \) etc. It may be due to this fact that the names of Jerusalem and of the Moabitic deity Kemōsh 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 \( \text{Daghsh} \) \text{forte} seems to indicate that neither in the Assyrian pronunciation of this name, notwithstanding the writing \text{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 = חירון and Ia(A-A)-ra-am-mu = ארחם.

We may further suggest that no aspiration took place after a closed syllable as Sulmaa = סולמא. The r in Ar-ma-da may have had as in Aramaic the function of a laryngal and thus perhaps pronounced with Hepteh Pathah; Ar'wada. The m in temu, Remu and Remu-shukun was not aspirated, because these words are by origin kata formations: ta'm and 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 Rahmelm.

If so, then the labial m regarding Dagesh and Raphē 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.

(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: . , Ⱛ, Ⱝ, ⰲ, ⰳ, and ⰲ. 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 laryngal sounds, and thus the Semites were unable to express them in writing. The Sumerians, however, possessed at least a certain sound $g$ which must have been pronounced well towards the palate and the pronunciation of which must have been somewhat similar to that of the Semitic laryngal $\text{Gain} (\hat{\varepsilon})$. The signs containing this sound, the Semites gave the value of their own laryngal $\bar{h} = \hat{\varepsilon}$. That these signs were by the Sumerians pronounced with $g$ is evident from the fact that the sign $\overline{\text{Ge}}$ 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 $\text{ag}$ = mahâmu "to beat, break, wound"; $\text{hul}$ "to do violence" is no doubt of the same root as $\text{gul}$ "to destroy"; $\text{gun}$ "totality, collection, much" is of the same root as $\text{hen}$ "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 $\hat{a}, \hat{i}, \hat{u}$. 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 Sumeri-
an signs as Semitic consonants to which if necessary was
given the vocalization of the Semitic primitive vowels, $i$, $u$. This was especially done in the signs containing $g$
$= \text{Gain}$ which they modified into $h$, as $\text{ab}, \text{ib}, \text{uh}$; $\text{bar}, \text{bir}, \text{bur}$
$\text{lal}, \text{lih}, \text{lub}$; $\text{shah}, \text{shih}, \text{shuh}$. This was certainly not done by
the Sumerians who did not use the identical sign for $\text{ab}$, $\text{ib}, \text{ub}; \text{ag}, \text{ig}, \text{ug}; \text{ad}, \text{id}, \text{ud}, \text{al}, \text{il}, \text{ul}, \text{am}, \text{im}, \text{um}$, etc. etc. In some
cases it was unnecessary to give the same sign the three-
fold vocalization, as for inst. the sign $\text{mah}$ has the values
only of $\text{mah}, \text{mih}$, because the value $\text{mah}$ had been expressed by
another sign; so also $\text{sah}, \text{sik}$, while $\text{suh}$ is represented by
another sign, etc. But this system was not carried through
consistently, and may have been done by $\text{Sema}$ 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 contain-
ing the spirant-sonant-velar $g = \zeta$ the Semites used for the
representation of their own sharp laryngal $h = \zeta$. 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 Se-
mites still retained the pronunciation of all the laryn-
gals, we would not be able to recognize this fact from the
script, and it would appear as if these laryngals, with the
exception of $h = \zeta$, had already disappeared under the in-
fluence 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 e, 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, 'ābūru "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 effected by this pronunciation, as ebēru "to croos", for original abēru, edēshu "to be new", for adāshu, 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 enclos 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 ū, ē, ē and very seldom in those with ū, as in ērsitu for ērsatu, ēnsu "weak", for ēnsu, and those with ū, as ēru "to be pregnant", for ēru, 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. 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. Rankle, 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" יבּ for irba
ish-ma "he heard" for ishmi
ish-ti-ni-ish "as one" (ground-form ashtan)
be-al "the lord" for bel
i-be-al "he subjected" for ibel

With exception of ishtini-ish which shows already the transition from a to e(i), these guttural roots still preserved 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( באל, באל, באל). 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
But also on this point as on the other linguistic peculiarities of the Sargonic royal inscriptions, the material is too scant 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 $al = el(i)$ 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 Ca-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-ni, Be-li-satu, etc, which shows the regular change of $a$ to $e$. Further alongside of the guttural root $ami = ammi$ for $immi(emi)$, in Hebrew $ anni "people", Arabic $`א "brother of the father", properly "relation", as found in Be-li-a-mi (=anni), and A-ma-Sin, and perhaps also in Urta(GIR)-a-mu, we find the regular form $i-mi = immi(emi)$ in I-mi-El and I-mi-Sin. The name I-mi-El may be identified with the early Hebrew name $י-נ (Numb 13, 12)$. But in view of the pure Hebrew $al = י$ and $immi$, may we suggest that its value be is due to the pronunciation of be with palatalization: bel = bei = be? The
same is certainly true of its values mit from mitu, mut from mutu, pit from pitu. 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-ili. 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-ah,-A-li-um-mi (Reisner 159, III, 6.218, Rev. 7). The element ali corresponding to Arabic مـلاـ "the exalted, illustrious", and Hebrew מִלְכָּי "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 ę 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-Ha-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 Is-da-ah-Ha-lum "the exalted one knows". We may also compare the other names in which the laryngeal is rendered by h as in the following:

Is-da-hel = יֶדֶר "the God (El) knows"
Is-di-hat-tum = יֶדֶר hypocoristicon
Is-di-ih-el = יֶדֶר "the God (El) knows"
Is-di-hu-um = יֶדֶר hypocoristicon
Is-ah-ba-ar-el יֶדֶר "the God crossed over" (?) Is-ah-wi-el יֶדֶר "the God pronounced" (?) Is-ah-za-ar-el יֶדֶר "the God helps"
Is-ah-zi-rum יֶדֶר hypocoristicon Is-ar-ah-am-el יֶדֶר "The God will be merciful"
Is-ar-ah-mu יֶדֶר "" ""
Is-shu-ha-tum יֶדֶר fem. hypocoristicon
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 laryngal sound ḫ (כ). The Akkadians in pronouncing these names may frequently have omitted the laryngal 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 ḫ and not the breathing-sign ʾa,ʾi,ʾu 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 laryngal sign ʾāḫ,ḫā,ʾḫā, which was considered the gemized form of the breathing-sign. But while the laryngal sounds ʾa, ʾe, ʾe, ʾe, were correctly pronounced and rendered with ḫ, it is not beyond doubt whether the same is true of the pronunciation of ḫ, nor can we assert with any degree of probability that the pronunciation of Aleph Hamzatum was still correctly pronounced. Its laryngal pronunciation may have been so weak that it could not be rendered with ḫ.

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 laryngal 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 Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ah-ni</td>
<td>&quot;I replied&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלַעַל (h = v = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ar-ri</td>
<td>&quot;mountain&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ia-a-bi</td>
<td>&quot;enemy&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ia-ma</td>
<td>&quot;alive&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-mu-du</td>
<td>&quot;desirable&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-pa-ru</td>
<td>&quot;earth&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-zi-ri</td>
<td>&quot;he kept back&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-zi-lu</td>
<td>&quot;plundered&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-an-pu</td>
<td>&quot;wickedness&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi-ih-be</td>
<td>&quot;he concealed&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi-ma</td>
<td>&quot;eyes&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu-ul-lu</td>
<td>&quot;yoke&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu-mi-tu</td>
<td>&quot;wall&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih-mu-pu</td>
<td>&quot;they acted wickedly&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji-ih-na-nu-ni</td>
<td>&quot;they had mercy&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-ka-hu</td>
<td>&quot;they have taken&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la-ki-hu</td>
<td>&quot;they are taken&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ah-zi-ra-mu</td>
<td>&quot;their need&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ha-ai-al</td>
<td>&quot;faithless&quot;(?)</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri-hi-is</td>
<td>&quot;smash&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru-hi</td>
<td>&quot;shepherd&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-ah</td>
<td>&quot;brilliant&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha-ah-ri</td>
<td>&quot;gate&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu-lu-un-tu</td>
<td>&quot;sending&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = n = 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-ah-ta-mu</td>
<td>&quot;under them&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = =)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-ra-ha-aš</td>
<td>&quot;thou shalt smash&quot;</td>
<td>תָּלִיל (h = y = ?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
zu-uh-ru  "back"  =  רקיע  (h = ʕ = ʕ)
zu-ru-uh  "arm"  =  כרוע  (h = ʕ = ʕ)

These instances seem to indicate that the laryngeal pronunciation of all the laryngeal 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-a-bi "enemy", Aleph is not expressed by a guttural in the Canaanitic glosses: a-ba-da-at "she is lost", ah-ru-un-u = חֹרֵנָה "after him", a-na-ja "ship", a-mu-ki = חזק "I", and the Canaanism a-si-ru "prisoner". He is not expressed by a guttural in al-lu-u = 是否 "is it not?" and in zu-ri = יער alongside of zu-uh-ru "back". Heth is not expressed by a guttural in ba-ti-ti = Después "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 = אֶל "they have beaten", in ma-un-nu, if = יֹעֵל "dwelling" and she-ti, if = הער "hour". But there is no instance in which ' Ain = , 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 following survey:
Ba'lu-mi-hi-ir  "Ba'al gives light" (?) = Ba'lu-מי-הָיָה  (h = ʕ = ʕ)
Bi-hu-ra; Pa-hu-ra  =  בִּהֲוָּרָה; פָּהֲוָּרָה  (h = ʕ = ʕ)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eli-ra-bi-ih</td>
<td>&quot;The God(El) is exalted&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-bi-ri</td>
<td>&quot;the Hebrews&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-lu-un-ri</td>
<td>(cf. Bible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-mu-ni-ri</td>
<td>&quot;Ammu is (my)light&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har-ri</td>
<td>(the land of the Aryans or Horites?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-sha-bu</td>
<td>(cf. Bible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-ja-ni</td>
<td>(cf. Bible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-za-ti</td>
<td>&quot;city of Gaza&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-zu-ra</td>
<td>&quot;city of Hazor&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-ni-a-na-bi</td>
<td>&quot;city of Hazor&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-na-tu-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-ah-ti-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-ah-zi-ba-da</td>
<td>&quot;Adad helps&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ji-ih-en-ha-mu</td>
<td>&quot;the Ammu will&quot; answer&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(for the variants see List of Pers. Names)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ia-pa-ah-Adda</td>
<td>&quot;Adad shines&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-ap-ti-ih-Adda</td>
<td>&quot;Adad opens&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki-na-ah-ni</td>
<td>&quot;Canaan&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-ah-zi-ib-ti</td>
<td>&quot;a quarry&quot; (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-ah-ri-ma</td>
<td>&quot;mesopotamia&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-ut-Ba-ah-lum</td>
<td>&quot;man of Ba'al&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pu-Ba-ah-la</td>
<td>&quot;mouth of Ba'al&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-ah-ma-nu-ma</td>
<td>&quot;merciful&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This name is abbreviated from a name as יְהוֹעֵד)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ru-hi-iz-zi</td>
<td>&quot;city of Rōsh&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-ar-ha</td>
<td>&quot;city of Sar'a&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-am-hu-na</td>
<td>&quot;city of Simeon&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-an-ha-ar</td>
<td>&quot;land of Shumer&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-ah-nu-ka</td>
<td>&quot;city of Ta'anach&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu-bi-hi</td>
<td>&quot;city of Tebah&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zu-uh-ri</td>
<td>&quot;city of Soar&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But just as in the literary language so also in the proper names we have exceptions in which the laryngeal sound is not expressed by a laryngeal sign, as can be seen in the following survey, which contains also the variants of some of the preceding names:

Ab-di-Ash-ta-ti "Servant of Astarte", = אבּדוֹ-אשתארת
Ak-ka "city of Akko" = עַקּ
Am-mu-ni-ra "Ammu is light" = עָמְמוֹ-ני־רָאָה
Am-ki "district of Emek" = עַמִּק
A-na-ta pers. name = עַנִּטְאָה
A-ra-ru "city of Aroer" = עַרְּא־רָעָה
Ash-ta-ar-ti "city of Ashtoreth" = עַשְׁתּוֹרֵת
Az-za-ti "city of Gaza" = עַזְזַא־טָאָה
Ba-lu "the god Ba'al" = בַּעַל
Ba-lu-mi-i-ir "Ba'al gives light" = בַּעַל־מִי־ירָאָה
Ia-pa-Adda "Adad shines" = עַדָּד־הָדָּד
Ir-ka-ta "city of Arke" = עִירְּקְּהָא
Na-ri-ma "Mesopotamia" = נָרִי־מָא
Pa-u-ra pers. name = פָּא־וֹ־רָה
She-e-ri "land of Seir" = סיר

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, 143, 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 laryngal sound is not even expressed by the
breathing-sign which very frequently occurs in these let-
ters evidently indicates that those scribes did no longer
pronounce the laryngals by closing and opening of the la-rynx but as a vowel. Even the laryngal in Azzati = "Gaza",
corresponding to Arabic ٣٥ was pronounced as a vowel by
some scribes. Thus both the literary language and the pro-
per names lead to the same conclusion that in some locali-
ties, no doubt under non-Semitic influence, the laryngals
lost their original pronunciation, while in others, where
the Semitic population was predominant, the primitive pro-
nunciation of the laryngals was preserved. But one fact is
certain that in the localities where the West Semitic lan-
guage survived in its purity, the laryngal sound was ren-
dered exactly as among the West Semites in Babylonia in the
Hammurabi period.

In the Assyrian period, the population of Mesopo-
tamia 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 $h$:

- "Servant of the Sun-god" = לברד ייפון ($h = z$)
- "Servant of the Moon-god" = לברד שיירוה ($h = n = x$)
- "My Father brings into life" = עלי יהודה ($h = m = v$)
- "A(th)tar is the Ammu" = לפלנה עמש ($h = n = x$)
- "Ba'al is the gracious one" = כלל-תומך ($h = m = x$)
- "He has loved(abbrev)" = ח Caucus ($h = m = x$)
- "The new one(abbrev?)" = זרשוע ($h = m = x$)
- "The God is powerful" = תכל-תומך ($h = m = ?$)
- "The High one is (my)wall" = Kosten ש人寿 ($h = n = y$)
- "The desiring one(abbrev)" = קלפי ($h = m = x$)
- "One of Hamath" = זקילנה ($h = m = ?$)
- "The Rewarder(abbrev)" = נקב ($h = m = x$)
- "The God has seen" = קדשא ($h = m = ?$)
- "Strong(my strength) is Jahu" = קדשא ($h = m = x$)
- "One of Gaza" = קלפי ($h = m = y$)
- "One of Ormi" = זקילנה ($h = m = ?$)
- "He awakens"? (gives light?) = ידע (슭י) ($h = m = ?$)
- "Jahu has seized" = ידוע ($h = m = y$)
- "My refuge is Jahu" = ופרט ($h = m = y$)
- "The Comforter(abbrev)" = קוזח ($h = m = x$)
- "Jahu gives light" (or = why?) = תולידתי ($h = m = x$)
- "He has opened(abbrev)" = יהוד ($h = m = x$)
- "The Merciful(abbrev)" = יהוד ($h = m = x$)
- "He extended(abbrev)" = יהוד (יהוד) ($h = m = x$)
- "Sin is my shepherd" = דרי בה (חוב) ($h = m = ?$)
- "the Shuhite" = שומיה ($h = m = ?$)

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" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"The servant(abbrev)" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Servant of the Goddess" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"My father is Ba'el" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Adad has healed" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Ammu is exalted" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Jahu is the Seven" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Help!(abbrev)" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"obscure abbrev." = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"He has known" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"He awakens?(gives light?) = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Mountain goat" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"He shines" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Help(abbrev)" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"The Moabite" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"N. has heard me" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"Shepherd(abbrev)" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"I have asked God" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่
"The Sa'malite" = ะสะสะแพร่ แสะสะแพร่

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" = יְהוּ (a = ū = ١)
"Servant of the Mighty" = ( יְבֹז (a = ū = ١)
"Adad has healed" = ( יְנֶדֶד-רְפָאִים (a = ū = ١)
"City of Akko" = יְכֹּל (a = ū = ١)
"Ammu has teased(?)" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"Ammon" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"Hamath" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"city of Ekron" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"city of Ascalon" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"The God has rewarded" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"Ba'al is mighty"
((My) help is Jahu" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"The God is for me"
"The servant of Ba'al" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"The God has said"
"The eye of the God"
"The God has given"
"He awakens?(gives light?) = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"The Judeaer"
"Jehu"
"He listens(abbrev)"
"My God is (my)father"
"There was light(abbr?)" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"The God has acquired"
"Asked for(loaned?)"
"Si'(=Sim)is (my)help" = יְקֻּל (a = ū = ١)
"Tō of Hamath?"

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 these 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 מִילָה = Mi-ru-um-mu for מֵילָה . The same was evidently the case in the royal name מֵילָה , rendered by Flavius Josephus 'Ioαβαλος, Ξιοβαβαλος = Βαβυλών "with him is Ba'al", as can be seen from the Assyrian rendering Tu-Ba'-lu. The same must be further true of the divine name מֵילָה , generally rendered *Eshmun*, the *v* 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-na, Sa-mu-nu. 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 יִבְּרִי = הַבְּרִי "servant of Ba'al", with which we may combine the name of the king of Ammon Bu-du-el (For the rendering of Segēl into cuneiform u = 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'aliti-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 Na-qa-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 ḫ. 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-nēhar, and Abdī-li-'a-tī = Abdēlībat (not = cuneiform litter "power"!). But these etymologies are not beyond all doubt.

Heth = รว

Regarding the pronunciation of Ḥeth, 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 ḫ, 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 Ha-am-ma-tu. But they do not date from one period. Between the writing Ha-am-ma-tu by Ashur-nasir-pal (885-860) and the writing Am-ma-tu by Sargon (727-722) a period of about 150 years intervened. In the earlier period this Hittite 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 \( n = \mathfrak{z} \) and \( n = \mathfrak{g} \). In the Amarna period, we found at least one exception ba-ti-ti 𒂗𒃤, 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.

\( '\text{Ain} = \mathfrak{e} \).

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

\( \text{Gain} ( \mathfrak{g}) \)

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 ḫa-za-ta-a-a, ḫa-zi-tu, and in the personal name ḫu-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 ḫa-za-ta-a-a, ḫa-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 ḫu-um-ri has not the usual pronunciation of this consonant is the Greek rendering Gaza. The Arabic rendering ḫu-um-ri 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 ḫu-um-ri "to be strong". As to the name Omri it is no doubt derived from Hebrew בֵּין and is etymologically connected with בֵּין "Omer (tenth part of an Ephah)", and the local name בֵּין . Hebrew בֵּין is etymologically identical with Arabic بین ; and also بین is identical with Arabic بـ "measure" and بـ "sheaf" are originally identical, and the meaning of the former is: "a measure of grain as contained in a sheaf". Seeing that بین is rendered in the LXX μόσος and Μομός , we expect for بین a pronunciation Gomri. Though the latter is actually rendered by the LXX Μομός , 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 γομας and Τουογα 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Abi-la-di-hi} & \quad \text{"My Father knows"(NP phā'īl)} = \text{אָבִי-לָדִי-הִ (אָבִי-לָדִי הִ)} \\
\text{Abi-la-hi} & \quad \text{"My god is my father"} = \text{אָבִי-לָהִ (אָבִי-לָהִ)} \\
\text{Ha-am-da} & \quad \text{"The desire(abbrev?)"} = \text{חַ-אָמֵד (חַ-אָמֵד)} \\
\text{Ha-ag-ga-a} & \quad \text{"One of the festival"} = \text{חָ-גָג (חָ-גָג)} \\
\text{Ha-al-li-li-i} & \quad \text{"Rejoice!(Impf fem?)"} = \text{חָ-לָל (חָ-לָל)} \\
\text{Ha-an-da-sha-an-ni} & \quad \text{"He has renewed me"} = \text{חָנָדָא-שָאָן-נִי (חָנָדָא-שָאָן-נִי)} \\
\text{Ha-na-na-ta-ni} & \quad \text{"Thou hast been gracious to me"(It may have been pronounced הָנָֹנְוָטְאָני)} = \text{חָנָוָטְאָני (חָנָוָטְאָני)} \\
\text{Ha-ad-ru} & \quad \text{"The splendid(place)of Aduru} = \text{חָ-דָרָו (חָ-דָרָו)} \\
\text{Ha-na'-El} & \quad \text{"The God was gracious"} = \text{חָ-נָא-אֶל (חָ-נָא-אֶל)} \\
\text{Ha-na-mi-la-a-ma} & \quad \text{"Jahveh was gracious"} = \text{חָ-נָא-מִי-לָא-א-מָ (חָ-נָא-מִי-לָא-א-מָ)} \\
\text{La-a-hu-u-la-ki-im} & \quad \text{"Jahu is for you"} = \text{כָּ-הָע-יָלָא-קִי- (כָּ-הָע-יָלָא-קִי-)} \\
\text{La-a-hu-lu-nu} & \quad \text{"Jahu is for us"} = \text{כָּ-הָע-יָלָא-ךְּ (כָּ-הָע-יָלָא-ךְּ)} \\
\text{La-hu-u-na-ta-nu} & \quad \text{"Jahu has given"} = \text{כָּ-הָע-יָלָא-נָ (כָּ-הָע-יָלָא-נָ)} \\
\text{La-a-pi-hi} & \quad \text{"He is shining(abbr?)"} = \text{כָּ-פִּי- (כָּ-פִּי-)} \\
\text{Ni-na-sha-hi-mu} & \quad \text{"The comforter"(abbr?)} = \text{כָּ-נ-ש-מ (כָּ-נ-ש-מ)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nabû-ka-bi</td>
<td>&quot;Nabû has rewarded&quot;</td>
<td>Nabû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabû-ra-bi-i</td>
<td>&quot;Nabû is my shepherd&quot;</td>
<td>Nabû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-ta-ah</td>
<td>&quot;He has opened&quot; (abbrev)</td>
<td>Pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku-su-ia-ha-bi</td>
<td>&quot;Qôs has given&quot;</td>
<td>Ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-bi-im-El</td>
<td>&quot;The God has been merciful&quot;</td>
<td>Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-ma-ab-u-mu</td>
<td>&quot;The hearer (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>Sha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the laryngal sounds in these names are expressed by the signs containing נ, 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 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 א or מ, as Ha-an-na-mi- = מזכֵר, Hi'-du-rि- = נזרני. 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>ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai-du-ra-pa'</td>
<td>&quot;Aâdâd has healed&quot;</td>
<td>Ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-ma'</td>
<td>&quot;The Ammu (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>An</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amurr-sha-ma-</td>
<td>&quot;Amurrû has heard&quot;</td>
<td>Am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-na'-El</td>
<td>&quot;The God has created&quot;</td>
<td>Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-sha'-Ia-a-ma</td>
<td>&quot;Jahveh helps&quot;</td>
<td>Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia-ra'</td>
<td>&quot;Help (abbrev)&quot;</td>
<td>Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabû-ka-ba'</td>
<td>&quot;Nabû has rewarded&quot;</td>
<td>Nabû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabû-sha-ra'</td>
<td>&quot;Nabû has set free&quot;</td>
<td>Nabû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku-su-ia-ad-a'</td>
<td>&quot;Qôs has known&quot;</td>
<td>Ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-bi-El</td>
<td>&quot;Widespread is the God&quot;</td>
<td>Ra</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 sel-
dom, and not frequently at the end of a word. It seems in-
deed that the breathing sign has somewhat lost its origi-
nal force, and therefore does not often represent the lar-
ryngal sound. It is mostly used to denote the Aramaic ar-
ticle *א* (corresponding to Hebrew *י* ) of Aramaic words in
the emphatic state, as *Abda‘*, *Karha‘*, etc., and quiescent Ḥē 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>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab-da-a</td>
<td>&quot;the servant&quot; <em>(abbrev) = אָבָדָא</em></td>
<td>אָבָדָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-ba-nā</td>
<td>&quot;Bel has created&quot;</td>
<td>בֵּלֶבָנָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da-da-a</td>
<td>&quot;Adadā <em>(abbrev) = אָדָדָא</em></td>
<td>אָדָדָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-da-la-a</td>
<td>&quot;The God has saved&quot;</td>
<td>אֵלֶדָלָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-la-a</td>
<td>&quot;The high one*(abbrev) = אֵלֶהֶלֶא*</td>
<td>אֵלֶהֶלֶא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru-ha-a</td>
<td>&quot;Rest*(abbrev) = אֵלֶהֶלֶא*</td>
<td>אֵלֶהֶלֶא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-ab-ba-a</td>
<td>&quot;Warrior*(abbrev) = אָבָבָא&quot;</td>
<td>אָבָבָא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za-ba-da-a</td>
<td>&quot;He portioned*(abbrev) = אָבָבָא&quot;</td>
<td>אָבָבָא</td>
</tr>
</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 re-
fer to the Aleph and Ḥē quiescent, which should not pro-
perly 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 Ḥē, as strong radical, and ‘Ain
is concerned. Among the Assyrian names we found only in
isolated cases the rendering of Ḥē 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 Jahv with \( \text{la}(a)\text{hu}(u) \), as found in the names \( \text{la}-\text{a}-\text{hu}-\text{u}-\text{la}-\text{ki}-\text{im} \), \( \text{la}-\text{a}-\text{hu}-\text{lu}-\text{nu} \), \( \text{la}-\text{ku}-\text{u}-\text{na}-\text{ta}-\text{mu} \), nor in the rendering of the root \( \text{sh} \) "to give", as found in the names \( \text{B}	ext{ēl(Ba'al)}-\text{ia-a-hab} \) and \( \text{ku}-\text{u}-\text{su}-\text{ia-a-ha-bi} \). Among the Assyrian names we found these two words, but they are always rendered \( \text{ia}(a)\text{u} \) and \( \text{ia-a-bi} \). That these different pronunciations of the Divine Name actually existed among the Hebrews we know from the biblical renderings \( \text{y} \) and \( \text{y} \) in the personal names \( \text{Joahsh} \) and \( \text{Joash} \), \( \text{Joahaz} \) and \( \text{Joahaz} \), \( \text{Joja} \) and \( \text{Joja} \), etc. The writing \( \text{ia-a-bi} \) has its analogy in Syriac \( \text{y} \) in which the \( \text{He} \) is quiescent and throws back its vowel to the preceding radical. The same \( \text{He} \) quiescent we must see in the Divine Name \( \text{Jahveh} \), which as second element in Hebrew names the Babylonian scribes rendered \( \text{ia-a-ma} = \text{Jahwe} \) and not \( \text{ia-ah-ma} \). 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 Jahveh 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 \( \text{ia-a-bi} \). Then it would perhaps be more correct to suggest that the Judeans and the Edomites who were closely associated with them pronounced the \( \text{He} \) and perhaps also other laryngals stronger than the pea-
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-hi, Bēl-ia-a-da-ah, Ia-da-ah-Ia-a-ma, etc., and in Shama-hu-u-mu = סְמַּהֶוֹנִים (son of Ia-di-ih-Ia-a-ma). The writing is-za' is only found in Ku-su-ia-da- '(an Edomite name!), and the writing shā-ma- ' in Shama- 'El, but of Shama-u = שַּמַּא. It is scarcely a coincidence that one of the bearers of the name Ia-a-da-hu-Nabū happens to be the son of Nabū-ka-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 Na- mana is the son of Minahimu; Na-na-ni-' is the son of Iadiku-El. But the material at our disposal is not large enough to investigate the pronunciation of the laryngals genealogically. Concerning the pronunciation of Ga'm(כ), 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 Ga'm 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 of the Consonants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<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>
<tr>
<td>𐤋</td>
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</tbody>
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*= vowel-sign; = guttural-sign h; = 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 El. 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'âl(cf under The Laryngals)

A-a-ab-bu "Ja(hu) is father" = biblical יְהֹוָּו (of Ia-ab, Ia-ab-ba-a) JADD 742, R.70.
A-a-am-me "Ja(hu) is the Ammu" = יֹהוֹ (of Am-mi-Ia, A-mi-Ia, Am-mi-ba-il, etc) JADD 296, R.3.
A-a-ha-li "Ja(hu) is the Ĥâlu" = יֹהוֹ (of Ia-ha-a-lu, Ia-lu, Ia-ha-lu, Ia-ha-lum) JADD 5, VIII,10.
A-a-ila-a-"Ja(hu) is God" = biblical יְהוָּו HABL 287,5.
A-a-lu-nu "Ja(hu) is for us" = יֹהוֹ (of Ia-a-hu-lu-nu) Sargon, Annals, 281
A-a-me-tu-nu "Ja(hu) is our man"(of Ahi-meti, El-me-ti and Metunu) JADD 69,6.
A-a-na-ta-a "Ja(hu) has planted"(?) Evidently pers. name, though n.loc: "village of A." JADD 4, III, 18
A-a-mi'-ri "Ja(hu) is (my) light" (of Na-ha-ra-A-ua, Ha-mu-mi-ri and bibl יְהוָּו )JADD 29,5.
A-a-ni-e, perhaps "He answers", = יְהוָּו (of bibl יְהוָּו) ?, but see A-a-sal-e.
A-a-ra-mu, var. A-a-ram-me "Ja(hu) is lofty" = יְהוָּו (of Adad-rammu, Ahi-ramu, etc) I R Senn II, 54; KB II, 91.
A-ari-im-mu, an Aramised form om of the preceding name with Parp. pass. in Sam. Sargon, Annals, 281.

A-as-um-mu, perhaps "Ja(hu) has placed" (cf. Ia-sa-am, bibl. (םבככ), perhaps see also Ia-su-mu) Sarg. Ann. 255.

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

A-sal-e "Ja(hu) is my protection" ( =Aa-silli?, but see A-ni-e JADD 391 R. 21. III R. 48, 41c.

A-tu-ri "Ja(hu) is (my) re-rec (cf. bibl. (םבככ) and Ad-ni-tu-ri, Si-tumturi, etc.) JADD 184, 3.

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


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

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

A-ah-hu-wa-ak-ru "The Brother is precious" (orig. West Sem.: A-hu(-um)-wa-kar) VS V1, VII, 4, 16.


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

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


Ibid. R. 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-ir "My Father is helping" (cf., perhaps better "restraining") T-D-1, 28.
A-ba-IL, see under A-ba-El

A-ba-ka-me "The Father has arisen" (cf Abi-kāmu, Abi-kāmu, etc. and bibl. אביה ויאביה etc) JADD 275 R.6

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

A-ba-ra-na "The Father is lofty" (cf bibl. אביה ויאביה etc and Abi-rāme, Abi-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-A-gu-u-ni "The father is Agūni, see under A-ba-gu-u, Aba-tāsum, see A-ab-ba-tāsum CT IV 25, 13

A-bi-ka "My Father lives" (? , cf Adūni-iha and bibl. אביה ויאביה etc) Amarna 69, 25, 29

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

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

A-ba- (see A-ba-a) BE VIII, 158, 9, 10, etc


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

A-ba-li =Abda-ili "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" (the connection of the name of the parents of the Amarna tablets is uncertain T-D 62, 17. 2.4 46)

A-bi-A-ra-aš "Servant of the Moon god" (cf Ph) CT II, 15.


"Servant of Astarte" (cf Ab-du-Ish-ta-ra, Phoenician
Asl̄ra (APN, p. 3) is 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. בֵל) JADD 210, L.E.

**Ab-di-El** "Servant of God" (cf. Ḥa-ab-di-El and bibl. names אֵל and Saf. בֹּל בֵּית) CT VIII, 50, 9.

**Ab-di-Hi-mu-mu** "Servant of the Sungod" (Himunu = בִּיר "sun-pillar" is an equivalent of Ba'âl as solar deity, cf. the divine name בֵּית and Pun. n.pr. בֵּית and perhaps bibl. n.pr. loc. בֵּית JADD 210, L.E.2

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

**Ab-di-Li-ti** "Servant of the goddess" (=Abē-El̄̄nut or -Elit and cf. Ph. n.pr. loc. אֵלַּת "Goddess is Isis" and Pal. n.pr. אֵלַּת "יְחֵי תַּא") JADD 151, I. 575, I, 33.

**Ab-di-Li-me(mu)** "Servant of the gods" (=Abē-Elīm and cf. Ph. n.pr. ?) JADD 1040, 5: Ab-dī-Mil-ki. Cf Amarna Nitah-Lugal = Abdi-Miliki, 123, 37, 203, 3?.

"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.

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

**Ab-di-El** "Servant of God" (cf. Ḥa-ab-di-El and bibl. names אֵל and Saf. בֹּל בֵּית) CT VIII, 50, 9.

**Ab-di-Hi-mu-mu** "Servant of the Sungod" (Himunu = בִּיר "sun-pillar" is an equivalent of Ba'âl as solar deity, cf. the divine name בֵּית and Pun. n.pr. בֵּית and perhaps bibl. n.pr. loc. בֵּית JADD 210, L.E.2

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

**Ab-di-Li-ti** "Servant of the goddess" (=Abē-El̄̄nut or -Elit and cf. Ph. n.pr. loc. אֵלַּת "Goddess is Isis" and Pal. n.pr. אֵלַּת "יְחֵי תַּא") JADD 151, I. 575, I, 33.

**Ab-di-Li-me(mu)** "Servant of the gods" (=Abē-Elīm and cf. Ph. n.pr. ?) JADD 1040, 5: Ab-dī-Mil-ki. Cf Amarna Nitah-Lugal = Abdi-Miliki, 123, 37, 203, 3?.
Ab-di-Mi-il-ku-ut-ti (variants Ab-di-Mi-il-ku-u-te, Ab-di-Mi-il-ku-ut-ti, Ab-di-Me-il-ku-ut-ti, Ab-di-Mi-il-ku-ut-ti) "Servant of the godhead (or cult) of Melech" (= ליבר-מלכות, which can scarcely mean "Servant of the kingdom", and phonetically can neither correspond to Ph. n.pr.m. לבר-מלקות "Servant of Melqart", nor to לבר-מלכות "Servant of Malkat", as Zimmerm, KAT 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, 1, 35, 4, 10.

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

Ab-di-Sam-si "Servant of the Sungod" (cf. Ph. n.pr. אבר-סם = Greek Σαμάς') JADD I, 3.

Ab-di-Si-har "Servant of the Moongod" (cf. Sin.n.pr.m. אבר-סימ = Tallquist, APN compares Pun. אבר סם, but Sihar resembles more Targ=דרלי) JADD 254, R.4

Ab-di-Sur (?) "Servant of the Rock" (cf. Hebrew אבר כב as epithet of God and bibl.n.pr. אבר כב) 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. Shar-ru- ma = bibl שָרֹן; the deity of this district may have had the same name) Ta'annek 4, R.6.

Abdi-Tir-shi "Servant of Tirsh" (perhaps אבר ירש "wine", thus = Dionysos, and cf. מים = Dagan with דגן "grain", as god of grain, see Jensen, Kosmologie, pp.449-56; Canaan is called מים (Dt, 33, 28) Amarna 228, 3.

Abdi-urash "Servant of the Sungod" (Urash = Heres or Horos = Shemesh; but of Pun.n.pr. אבר אורים) Amarna 170, 36.

Ab-di-Ish-ta-ra "Servant of Ishtar (cf. Abdi-Ashtati) CT II, 32, 9
Ab-du-nu(u-ni) "Servant of..." (abbrev with hypocoristic ending -u
cf. bibl. ידוע and cuneif. A-lu-nu, Na-ra-nu-um, Na-tu-nu-
um, etc., see Ranke, EN 25ff) JADD 311, 7, R. 3. 429, 29, etc.
168, 24.
A-bi-A-ra-ah "Father is the Moongod" cf. Abi-Eraah and Palm. n.pr
אָבַי אָראֹה "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. אָבַי אָסָה) Ungn. 16, 38
A-bi-ba(-')al "The father is Ba'al"(cf. Ph. אָבַי בָּאָל and Pun. אָבַי בָּאָל)
Ashurb: A, II, 120, 130; B, II, 79, 86; Amm. II, 82, 90, etc.
A-bi-d-a-a-nu "The Father has judged"(cf. Bibl. n.pr. אָבַי דָּאָה, Talm
בָּאָל) JADD 73, R. 4. 74, R. 3.
A-bi-El "The father is God"(cf. Bibl. אָבַי אלא) Saf. בָּאָל
CT II, 25, 30
A-bi-E-ra-ah "Father is the Moongod"(cf Abi-Arah) CT VI, 28, 29.
A-bi-e-shu-uh "The Father has helped"(cf. South-Arab. אָבַי אֶשֶע
and bibl. n.pr. אָבַי אֶשֶע, Talm בָּאָל, אָבַי אֶשֶע) CT VIII, 27, 28, 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
A-bi-He-r(,)li "The Father is a warrior"(?, cf. A-bi-ki-El, Ha-il-El,
Lu-,'il, Si'-Ha-il, Sab. אָבַי הָהָיָה and bibl. אָבַי הָהָיָה) JADD, 215, 3.
A-bi-Ha-ri(-ru), see under Abi-Har. JADB 3, VI, 8, VIII, 4.
A-bi-ki-El, see under Abi-Ha'li T-D. 238, 10.
A-bi-la-ah-ia "The Father brings into life", or "The Father lives
(cf. the cuneiform names compounded with bullu" to bring
into life", but cf. also La-hi-Milki, A-du-ni-ik-e, Ph.nn.
אָבַי הָהָיָה, אָבַי הָהָיָה, אָבַי הָהָיָה, and bibl. אָבַי הָהָיָה) JADD 255.
A-bi-ia-dai- "The Father knows" (א-יבאיאדאיו "The Father is known") and cf. bibl. ה"ןיהי and Palm יב-יושי.

HABL 280,16.

Abi-ia-di-hi, see preceding name. BE VIII,17,11.

Abi-ia-kar "The Father is precious" (cf. Abum-wakar, Abu-akar, Hali-wakar, etc.) HABL 774, R.1.11

Abi-ia-shu-ka "The Father has helped" (see Abi-eshuh) MAP, 97, 27.

Abi-ia-ta-ar "The Father excels" (cf bibl. הינתי and א-י-ת-ל-ר-ם) Lindal 583,8.

Abi-ila-aa "Father is (my) God" (א-יביאלאא א-יבאא-א "Father is Yahu") HABL 550,4, etc.

Abi-ka-mu "My(?) Father has arisen" (Abi(-i)-ka-mu, cf. A-bi-ka-me, Abi-ka-mu, but also Abi-ia-ka-2-mu) JADD 246, R.13.

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

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

Abi-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.

Abi-Mil-ki "Father is Melech" (cf bibl. ימי) Amarna 146, 2, etc.

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

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


Abi-ra-hu-u, see preceding name. BE X.

Abi-sa-ri-e "The Father is generous" (= Arab "א-יבא-סייהו and cf. יב-יהי, Lidzt 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.

Abi-tabum(-bu-um), see A-ab-bal-ba-tabum Meek, HBL, 20, 14.

Ab-sha-a, an obscure abbreviation (cf. bibl. and Palm) JADD 420, 5.

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

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

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


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

Adad-ba-rak-ka "Adad has blessed" (cf. Ba-bal-rak-ki, El-bal-rak-ku)


Adad-bi'-di perhaps "Adad is about me" (cf. Aram. and Iu-ru-bi'-di var. I-li-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. and Aram and bib. and see Abdi-di-Iidi) 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 Mil-Milkom" (? or read Adad-Milki-ia

"Adad is my Melech"; cf. t. the divine name Milkom 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 Nabd 201

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


Adad-ra-ha-mu "Have mercy, O Adad!" (=Ham, Imp) Str Nahch 118, 9

Adad-ra-ha-a-u "Adad is his sheep-shepherd" (cf. Ad-ad-ri-ha-i and Ad-

ra-a-ha-a-u) JADD 742, 28, 28.
Adad-ra-hi-mu "Adad has been merciful" (or "is merciful"); cf. Adad-ra-hamu) JADD 268, R.3.

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

Adad-sa-gab "Adad is strong" (cf Nabū-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-
mi-i, Sa-mi-ni?) JADD 231, R.9.

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

Adad-ta-kal perhaps "Adad, thou prevailest" (cf Aram. ḫर fetal
VS I, 38, 21. (but cf. Adad-tak-lak JADD 263, R.9)

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

Adad-za-ka-a perhaps for Adad-za-ka-ā "Adad has justified", and
of Arab ُل "Old Aram ḫר?) JADD 741, 23.

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

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

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

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

Ad-du-ra-ˈpa-"Adad has healed" (cf Adad-rapa-') Str Nbd 578, 6.

'-'-Ad-ii-ku-Nabū = Ia-di-ku-Nabū, see Abi-iadi' BE VIII 151, 20.

A-di-'-El = Iadi'-El, see Abi-iadi' Str Nbd 70, 1.7.13.

Ad-ma-nu = Hebrew יי" "ruddy" (?) HABL 520, 4.

Ad-na-a-u (cf bibl mm.prr. נ3 יוט , יוט יוט) JADD 742, 31, etc.

Ad-ra-ha-ˈa-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-ma (king of Arka) "The Lord (Adonis) ...(abbreviated, cf. the following names) Amarna 75, 25, 140, 10.
A-du-ma-iz(-i-zi) "Adonis is strong" (cf. Phoen ֶַָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָָּ

Ahi-ia-am-nu "The Brother counts, ordains" (cf. Ahi-mânu, Si'-manâni bibl. תַּשָּׁמִין and Aram תַּשָּׁמִין') 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 Jahveh" (? , cf. Ahi-Ia-a-ma) Tarannek 2, 2.

Ahi-Ia-a-ma, see preceding name and cf. Iadîn-Iama, etc. and bibl. תַּשָּׁמִין) BE IX, 45, 2.

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

A-hi-ia-ka-a-mu "My Brother has arisen" (or = Ahi-iakôm "the Brother will arise", cf. also Ahi-ka-ma) JADD 785, R. 5.

Ahi-ia-kar "The Brother is precious" (cf. Ahi-ia-kar and JADD 251, R. 3.463, 1, R. 1.

Ahi-Ia-nu "The brother is JAbu" (cf. Ahi-Ia-a-ma) JADD 176, 4.
Ahi-a-ia-am-li-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-d a "Brother is
Ja(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, Pa-di-
El, Pa-di-i, and bibl. בָּרָא, נָגָר )JADD App.1, IX,
10.

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

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

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

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

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

Ahi-Mil-ki "The Brother is the Melekh"(cf Abi-Milki, and bibl.
כָּה יִזְכֵּר and Pun. בָּרָא, נָגָר)Ashurb:A, II, 123, III, 2; Ann II, 92

Ahi-ma-ad-bi "The Brother is generous"(cf Ahi-na-dib, bibl. בָּרָא, נָגָר

Ahi-ra-mu "The Brother is exalted"(cf Ahi-rama and bibl
כָּה יִזְכֵּר and נָגָר ) 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 βράσιμον "JADD 661, 20.

Ahi-ta-a-bu "The Brother is good"(cf A-ah-ta-tabum and bibl
כָּה יִזְכֵּר, Aram. בָּרָא, נָגָר )Amarna 8, 14, 16., etc.
"Brother is the Dew" (cf. bibl. אִישׁ רֹעֲשִׁים)

Ahu-ila perhaps = Ahu-ilā "The Brother is God" (cf. Ahu-ila-a-a)

Strassm 61, 25, etc.

Ahu-la perhaps = Ahu-ilā, 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. אִשָּׁתָא ;this name is the fem. counterpart to the masculine name Ahi-Milki; "Sister 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.

Aia-ab "Enemy" (cf. bibl. אִישׁ יְדֵי and Ahu-ha-ia-bi) Amarna 255, 6.


A-ka-ru "He has stirred up" (cf. bibl. אָגַּב יְדֵי) JADB 13, 9.


A-li-ki-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


A-li-wa-kar "Ali is precious" CT VIII, 37, 9 Strassm 55, 6, etc.

A-li-wa-kar-tum, same as preceding name. Strassm 55, 6, etc.

AII-a = אֵל "The God..." (abbrev., cf. following names compounded with this WS divine designation) Str. Dar. 318, 18.

Al-la-Milki (Lugal) "Allā is the Melech" JADB 9, IV, 10. 5, I, 2, II, 5.

Al-la-amu = Alla-amu "Alla is the Ammu" (cf. bibl. אִישׁ and Pun. אִשָּׁתָא ) T-D. 84, 3.

Al-la-sa-amu "Alla has placed" (cf. Aa-sammu) Keiss 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. Hiprech, 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.

d Al-te-ih-ri-niri'- "The Dawn is My light" (For Sheru = שֶׁרֶן, as divine name, cf. the Old-Babyl. names Ibni-Sherum, Nam-ram-Sherum, etc; cf. also Pun. שֶׁרְנָא. Al-Tehri = Al-Thehri does not linguistically correspond to שֶׁרֶן, but neither does d Il-Tam-mesh (= Il-Them-mesh) to שֶׁרֶן, nor Athtar to Ishtar; their pronunciation may be due to erroneous etymology; cf. Chapter III, under Sibilants)

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

Am-ia-ta-"The Ammu will help" (cf. South-Arab רפרפי) HABL 564, 4, 9.
Am-ia-te'-u "The Ammu will help him" (cf. prec. name) JADD 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-liliti and Ahi-Li'-ti) HABL 414, R. 10.


A-ma-shi-" (perhaps Egyptian = Amasis) BE X, 23. 11.

A-m-e-a-la-ba (Arab "Ammu has conquered", cf. bibl. יבנה and Sinaiite תגלה) Tiglπ II, Ann. 79.

A-m-e-Ba'la, see Amma-Ba'li.

A-m-e-i-a-nasir "My Ammu protects" CM, 3. 12.

A-m-e-'ta- (Arab) "Ammu will help" (cf. Am-ma-la-ia) HABL 260, R, 6.

A-m-ma-Ba'il "The Ammu is Ba'al" (cf. Amma-Ba'li) VS VII, 204, 25.

A-mi-di-ta-na "The Ammu is a leader"? The meaning of da-ta-na is still doubtful, though this word is found as the foreign name of a strong animal living in the mountains (cf. Ranke, PN, p. 225 f., m. 7; but it is no doubt connected with bibl. nn. prr. סא-am-su-di-ta-na Su-mu-di-ta-na, Su-mu-zi-id-ku-di-ta-na) CT VIII, 36, 24, etc.

A-mi-ha-at-na "Ammu is the protector" (cf. Sumu-ka-ad-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 see bibl. Eer van den Brink) Ashurb Rm.3,11,40.

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

Am-mi-za-du-ga "The Ammu is righteous" (cf bibl. Eer van den Brink) Moab CT VIII,21,16, etc (cf. the non-contemporaneous writings of this royal name Am-ma-za-du-ga, Am-mi-sa-dug-ga)

Ammu-ladin, see Amma-ladin.

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

Am-mu-ra-bi "The Ammu is lofty" CT II,9,17 (see Hamba'rab'abi)

Am-mu-Sa-lam "The Ammu is Peace" "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. Eer van den Brink) JADD 59,59.R.2

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

Amurrur (MAR-TU)-na-sa-pa( = na-sa-ba = Arab "to fix, plant" and cf. Ammi-Pa'li for Ammi-Ba'li, then "Amurrur has been planted"?)

For Amurrur = anyahu, see Clay BE X, p.7f JADD 741,11.

Amurrur (KUR-CAL)-na-ta-mu "Amurrur has given" HABL 963,6.5.6. Str. Nk 458 4.

Amurrur-sha-ma' "Amurrur has heard" Str. Nbch 42,5.

'-'A-na-a perhaps "He has answered" (cf. A-na'-El, A-u-i-a-a-a-a and bibl. Eer van den Brink) JADD 2,1,9.

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

A-pi-Za-ri "The Apis is Horus" (Apis as representation of Osiris = Sungod Tammuz-Adonis = Sungod Horus) VS I,11,109,7.

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


A-ka-bi-ia perhaps "Jah (hu) has rewarded" or hypocoristic ending -ia, cf. Talm חであれば) Peiser, BV, 9, 9.

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

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

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

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

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

A-ka-ku-ur-la-Na-as-hu "I will sacrifice to Nahshu" (see Al-Nashhu-Milki, and cf. bibl הַשָּׁה) JADB 20, 8.

f A-ku-ba- var. A-ku-ba-tum (abbrev.) Barton, Dar. 78, 2, II, 3, 12 etc.

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

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

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

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


Ar-na-ba-a "Hare" (cf. Syr. חָא , Arab הָּבֹּק = Hebr חָא , but Akkad annabu) JADB 1, 1, 1.

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

A-ta-a-id-ri "Ata is my help" (cf. the divine name וַיִּקְרָא, וַיִּקְרָא, וַיִּקְרָא in Aramaic names, Lidz̄b, Handb., p. 347) JADB 5, VII, 3, JADD 193, R, 3.

A-ua-ru-ra-a "Ata was grieved" (cf. Ahu-maras) CT II, 26, 3.
A-ta-su-ri  "Ata is my wall"  (cf. Ahi-su-ru) JADD I, I, I.
A-ta-wa-kar "Ata is precious" Lindl., p. 140.
A-tar-a-sa (probably hypcor. of a name compounded with the divine name Atar = Athtar = Ishtar; or A-tar-A-sa "Ja(hu) has excelled, and cf. bibl. ידיעתי ?) JADD 286, R. 4, etc.
A-tar-bi'- (di) "Atar is about me" (? , cf. Adad-bi' di) JADD II, II, 9.
A-tar-El "Atar is God" , but cf. Sab. תַּהַי , thus more probable "The God has excelled" ; see Zimmern, KAT 3 p. 435, n. 2, JADD III, p. 197
III R 16, Esarh. A, VI, 73. B, VI, 23. JADD II, II, 6, etc.
A-tar-ka-am/mu "Atar is the Ammu" (? , but in view of bibl. ידיעתי , it is more probable "The Ammu has excelled", cf. KAT 3 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 V, VII, 2.
A-tar-kā-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. וַיַּהַי ) JADD 148, 4 etc.
At-ri-El, see Adri-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-ni "Jahu creates" (cf. bibl. יִצְרוּ ) 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-ba-in-a-ni "O, Jahu, strengthen me" (hybrid ?) VS I, 100, 1.
A-u-e-din-a-ni ( = -i-din-a-ni) "Jahu gave me" (hybrid ?) VS I, 88, 25.
A-u-hu-tin = Jahu-then "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-i-ra-a "Jahu sees"(cf.bibl.ma.pr. בֹּלָלָל תְּבִיא תְּבִיא תְּבִיא תְּבִיא) JADD 741,20.
A-u-kil-la-a-ni "O,Jahu, hold me!"(hybrid?) JADD 153,3.154,3.
A-u-lu-u-a-a "Jahu is God"(cf.An-ila-a-a) VS I,86,2,etc.
A-u-ma-a-di, cf bibl. בּוֹלָל תְּבִיא תְּבִיא תְּבִיא תְּבִיא ) OLZ VIII,131.
A-u-sa-bi- "Jahu is the Seven"( =Septenary Deity,cf.bibl. יְנִינָיָא) OLZ VIII,132,30.
A-u-sa-lim perhaps = A-u-skallam "O, Jahu, restore!" (or hybrid ?),but cf.bibl. יְנִינָיָא, and notice that the bearer of the name is son of Sa-u-li = בְּשָׁנָי) VS I,93,2.
A-u-si- = bibl יְנִינָי, the last king of Israel; but the same uniform rendering corresponds to יְנִינָי, as of the former we would expect U-si'; cf. U-si- and U-si-is)III R 10,28a.
A-u-she-zib-bi ( =Bibl-Aram בְּשָׁנָיָא) "Jahu has saved" VS I,91,2.
A-za-ar-El "God has helped"(cf.bibl. בְּשָׁנָי) V R Ashurb VII,108.
A-zi-Ba-"al "strong is Ba' al"(for יָנָי as by-form of יְנִינָי "to be strong", see Heb.Dict.; cf.bibl. יְנִינָי יְנִינָי יְנִינָי יְנִינָי.
Ashurb:A,II,120.128;Amn.II,82.88;Cyl.B,II,78.84.
A-zi-El "God is strong"(cf.bibl. יְנִינָי) JADD 161,R.4,etc.
A-zi-i , abbreviated, like bibl. יְנִינָי. JADD 9,7.
A-zi-lu var.A-zi-An, see Azi-El (the var.A-zi-lu shows the pronun-
A-zir(?)-Ia-u "Jahu is helper"(cf.bibl. יְנִינָי יְנִינָי יְנִינָי יְנִינָי) 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. ) Pali. = Syr. "The strong one"
JADB 11,6
A-zu-ri perhaps = Nomen Agentis Azor["The-Helper"] (not = bibl. )
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-a-du-Ellil "Ellil(read Ba'al?) is about him(= , cf. the preceding name) BE VIII, 158, 20.
Ba-al-El "Ba'al is God" EAH 104, 5.
Ba-'al-ha-nu-mu "Ba'al is gracious" (cf. bibl. ; Ph. ; ha-nu-mu = hanōn, nom. agent.) Askurb: Ann. II, 84, 91, etc.
Ba(-)al-ia-shu-pu "Ba'al will increase or gather" (cf. Mil-ki-
a-sha-nu, Ph. ; bibl. ; ; 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 sh with cuneiform šh would be an exception) Askurb: Ann. I, 84, 91, etc.
Ba(-)al- "Ba'al is reigning" (cf. Ph. ; ; ma-lu-ku = malēk n. agent.) Askurb: Ann. I, 84, 92.
Ba-al-te-ia-a-ba-te "Ba'alat has given" (=Ph. ; ; Bel-
ia-a-hab-bi, Ia-a-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 "Jah(hu) has created" (see Bibli. ? BA-)
but the reading Ba-da-A-a as hypocor. with
hypocor. ending a-a = ia,ia,ai,ai is also possible,

Ba-da-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh has created" (see the preced. name and

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

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

Ba-di-i, see Bada' JADD 826,3.

Ba-ja-di (not Ba-wa-di? If Semitic, it may be contracted from
Bal-ia-di "Ba'al knows" cf. Bibl. ? BA-?
Amarna 328,2.

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

Ba-ka-a, abbreviated (cf. Ba-ka-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.

Ba-la-Am-me "Ba'al is the Ammu" (cf. Bala-a-mi and Bibl.

Ba-li) JADD 294,R.6.

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

Bal(BE), Bal(-li)-i-li "Ba'al is the God" (i-li perhaps to
read El, cf. Neo-Babyl. AN-MESH (= ilê) =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-i-r variants dBi-lum-me-hir, mi-hi-i-r "Ba'al
awakes" (cf. perhaps Bibl. ? BA-?) Amarna 245,44,257,3,260,2.

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

Ba-lu-um-me-е, 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-mik = Si'-bani-ka "Si' is thy creator" and Ia-ab-ni-ik-El = Iabni-ka-El? Capp.G.4,16.

Ba-na-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh has created" (cf. bibl. דע-ו-ב-נ-י-מ-א) BE X,118,1.

Ba-na-a-ma = Bana-Iama?, q.v. 91-2-4,452.

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

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

Ba-rak-ku-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh has blessed" (cf. bibl. יבּ-ו-ל-ל-ל-ל) 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-El, see Bariki-Adad BE X,7,18.


Ba-rik-ki-Ia-a-ma, if Hebrew יבּ-ו-ל-ל-ל-ל "Bless, O, Jahveh", but the verb is probably Aram., then "Blessed of Jahveh"

Ba-rik-ki-î'Al-Tam-mesh "Blessed of the Sungod" (for the Arab article אל with the divine name Tammesh = Thammesh, see under Al-Nashhu-Mil-ki; for the occasional reading Tammesh, cf. מיל-ת-א-מ-ש Str. Nach 363,4, and Abi-Il-Te-mesh Str. Nbd 638,4) BE X,123,11.

Ba-rik-î'Shamesh, see preced. 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.  binds] Amarna 161, 20, 170, 3, 28


Ba-ti-il-ka-ra "Bethel has seen" (?) Str. Nbd 1113, 1.

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

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

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

Bēl-ila-a-a, Bēl ila-a "Bēl is the God" JADD 500, R. 7, 783, 2.

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

Bēl-isa-tu-nu "Bēl will give" (cf. Samunu-ia-tun) Str Nbd 282, 4.

Bēl-na-ta-n "Bēl has given" (cf. Adad-natan) JADD 342, R. 2.

Bēl-ra-am "Bēl (or Ba’al) is exalted" (cf. Ph. בְּאָ-ל) Ta’annek 1, 18.

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

Bēt-El-a-bad-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-ab-lu = Abu Bahlu?) Ta’annek 7, 8.

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

Bi-en-e-li(NI)-ma = "Son of the gods" (?) Amarna 256, 15.

Bi-e-rī, cf. bibl. יִבְיתָּל וְיִשְׁנָה יִבְיתָּל וְיִשְׁנָה Amarna 174, 3.

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

Bi-im-ka-ka-rī "Son of my remembrance" (cf. Si’-dikir; Da-ki-

ru-um, Da-ku-ru and bibl. יִבְיתָּל וְיִשְׁנָה); against the explan. of of Bin as divine name Bir, see KAT p. 446) JADD 234, R. 11
(a) Bi'-li-ra-ka-bi "Belis the Charioteer" (= the leader of the chariots in battle, and cf. Ps. 18, 11. Habakkuk 3, 8?)
cf. the divine name אבניאה and Aram אבריאנה HABL 632, 7.

Bi-ir-Atar "Son of A(th)tar" (cf. Bir-Da-ad-da) JADD 329, 1.

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, 27.

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

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

Bin(TUR)-Hu-bi-ri "perhaps "Son of Hôber" (this noun may be connected with Arabic حبير "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" (Hunini = Hônen 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.

Bi-ra-hi = Bir-Ahi "Son of the Brother"? Capp. G. 4, 2.

Bi-ram-ama "Son of the Ammu"? (cf. Mer Am-ma-a) BEVI, 1

JADD 855, 18.

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

Bir-âa-ânu "Son of Rânu" (for Rânu as divine name see Tallq. APN, p. 255) JADB 2, VII, 1.
Bir-I a-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 Sedek" or ' = Abi-Sidki. "The Father is Sedek" (cf. Rab-Zi-id-ki and Si-id-ki-El, and bibl. nn. ppr. compounded with Sedek. For Sedek as n. div. cf. KAT sup, 473f) VS I, 38, 28.

Bu-di-Ba-al = Abod/Ba'al "The worshipper of Ba'el" (cf. Pum. מוקזרך ומסתר, ובש(Element); Abod n.agent, Ashurb. Ann. II, 83, 91, etc.

Bu-du-El Abod-El "The worshipper of the God" (see preced. name) Senn. Tayl. II, 52, etc.

Bu-li-ba-nu "Ba'al is creator" (Buli = Ph. Bül = Ba'al, cf. Ph. באל, בא', ובאל, ובש. ובש) BE XV.

Bu-lu-sak-ru perhaps "Ba'al remembers" (see preced. 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) UMS XI, No. 2, 149.

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

Bu-nu-um-s-elum "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-ama-i-la "The child is like the God" ibid. 153

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


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

Bu-zl (cf. bibl. יתנ) Capp. G. 20, 2.
Da-ia (abbrev., cf. the following names OM C,10,24, etc.
Da-ia-a, see Dada Capp.Ch.10,7. JADD 361,4, etc.
Da-ia-a-a (abbrev. with hypcor. ending -a) JADD 221,3, etc.
Da-ia-a-li "Dada is exalted" (for Ali = ili, in Akkadian
names see Chapter III, Laryngals) Reisn 139, III, 14.
Da-ia-lum = Da-ia-ilum "Dada is God" (cf. Dadi-ilu) OM A,
16,6.
Da-ia-wa-kar "Dada is precious" CT II.3,4,7.9.
Da-ia (abbrev. with hypcor. ending -ia) CT IV, 7, 26.
Da-ia, Da-a-di-i (abbrev as Da-ia) HABL 164,2. JADD 742,
R.1, etc.
Da-ia-ilu "Dadi is God" (cf. however, Tallq. APN, p.67, who
sees it as an Iranian name) Tigl. IV, Ann.152
Da-ia-su-ri "Dadi is my wall" (cf. Ata-suri) HABL 132, 7.
Da-gan-Mil-ki "Dagan is the Melech" (cf. Adad-Milki) JADD
234,1.8.15
Da-ga-an-ta-ka-la perhaps "Dagan, thou prevailst" (cf. Adad-
Da-ga-na-Mil-ki, see Dagan-Milki JADD 212, R.13.
Da-ku-ra perhaps = Da-kora, n. agent. "Remembrancer" (cf. Si-
di-ki-ri, Bi-im-di-ki-ri) HABL 853, R.4.
Da-la-a-a 31 "God has drawn out" (cf. Si'-da-la-a) HABL 280,
16,599, R.1.
Da-la-ti-mi- "Thou hast drawn me out" UMBS II, No.1, 177, 3.
Da-li-la-a "Ja(hu) has drawn out" (or hypcor?, but then
the writing -ia-a would be strange; cf. also bibl. \( \text{\textsuperscript{\textdagger}} \text{\textsuperscript{\textdagger}} \)) JADD 317,1.7.
Di-ma-a (abbrev. cf. bibl \( \text{\textsuperscript{\textdagger}} \text{\textsuperscript{\textdagger}} \)) JADD 257 R.16.
Du-du-u "Uncle" (? abbrev., cf. bibl. \( \text{\textsuperscript{\textdagger}} \text{\textsuperscript{\textdagger}} \)) JADD 642 R. E.2.
Du-du-u-a, see Dudd JADD 225, R.6.
Du-ud-du, Du-u-du , see Dudu Amarna 164,1.169,16, etc.
Du-u-is-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 Ia-an-ha-mu, Ia-an-ha-mi, Ia-an-ha-na, Ia-an-ha-me and Ji-ia(Ja-ah)-en-ha-mu, see under Ia-an-hamu. Amarna 285, 10; 266, 28.

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

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

E-la-li-wa-ku "The Moongod is precious" CT II, 15. 25.

El(AN)-a-ba-di "God has created" (cf. Abda-damu and Abda-tamu, qv. 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. Elia-Ahi) OM A, 4, 6.

El(AN)-a-ma-ru, a-ma-ra, a-ma-ra "The God has said (cf. Saf. Palm. אָמַר יְהוָה = Greek ἀμεσαναῦ and bibl. אָמַר יְהוָה ) JADD 137, 2; 508, 1. R. 2.

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

El(AN)-ba-na "The God has created" (cf. Elia-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" ( = נַח הָרוּ , cf. bibl. נַח הָרוּ ) JADB 3, V, 18.

El(AN)-ba-ru-ku "The God is the lord of the thunder-bolt" (cf. bibl. and Palm. יְהוָה ) Str. Camb. 387, 16.

El(AN)-da-la-2 "The God has drawn out" (cf. Dala-El) HABL, 251, 10.

El(AN)-gab-ra "The God is mighty" (cf. Gabri-El and bibl. גבָּר יְהוָה ) Str. Nbd 881, 2.

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

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

El(AN)-Ja-a-a "Jahu is God" (cf. ַדָּאָא and bibl. יְהוָה ) JADD 312, 1.

El(AN)-ia-da-" "The God has known" (cf. Iada-El) PSBA XV, n. 13.
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El(AN-MESH)-ia-a-di-ni "The God will judge" (cf. El-ia-di-nu
bibl. bove) UMBS II, No. 1, 84, 4.

El(AN-MESH)-ia-a-ha-bi "The God has given" UMBS No. 1, 221, 4.

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

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

Eli(NI-NI)-a-a-ba-rum perhaps = Eli-ia-barum = El-ba-ru,
q.v. MEKB, HBL, 2, 4.

El(NI-NI)-A-hi, see El-Ahi OM A, 16, 1.

El(AN)-ia-ha-ta-a-nu "The God will protect", or "My God is
protector" (then the name may be Akkadian) Str Nebh. 266, 3

El(AN)-ia-ta-a-nu (cf. Ph. j23 y and Ia-ta-na-Eli) HABL 111, 8.

Eli(NI-NI)-a-zi-i "The God is strong" (?) = El-ia-zi and cf.

bibl. bove, perhaps = Eli-azi "God is strong" MEKB, HBL, 22, 2.

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

Eli(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. Neb 483, 11.

Eli(AN)-a-ra-pa = El-ia-ra-pa-a "The God will heal" (cf.
Ia-ra-pa-a and Palm. l8 y) BE VIII, 25, 14.

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

Eli(AN-MESH)-ba-rak-ku "The God has blessed" (cf. Ba-ri-ki-
El) BE X, 119, 12.

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

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

Eli(NI-NI)-ha-zi-ri "The God is helping" (?), cf. Eli-a-zi-ri
CT II, 25, 27.

Eli(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.

Eli(NI-NI)-ia-a-bi "The God has given" (cf. El-iahabhi) 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. נָשָׁלָה and the Akkadian names Ishlup ilu, Ishānū). JADD 12,II,6.

El(NI-NI)-ish-ma(a) "The God will hear" (cf. Ishma-El) T.D., R.2.


El(AN-MESH)-li-in-dar "Truly, the God will consecrate", or "To the God I will consecrate (the child)"?, cf. El-nadari, and Palm. nn. prr. בְּרֵי הָאָדָם, מָצָא וּמָצָא. JBE X,19,4.

El(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" of Bel-Nabium-Shamash-ma-lik) Ungn.132,2.


El(AN-MESH)-na-ta-nu "The God has given" (cf. Natanu-Îâma and bibl. לִפי בֵּית הַגּוֹלָה) BE X,55,15.

El(AN-MESH)-ka-mu-u-a "The God is my possessor" (cf. El-ka-na-a and bibl. לִפי בֵּית הַגּוֹלָה) CIS 62.

El(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 וַיְהִי לָאָדָם JIS II,28) JADD 378,2.12.476,R.10.

El(AN)-Mi-li(-ku) "The God is the Melech" (cf. bibl. וַיְהִי לָאָדָם and Milki-El) III R I,1,24. Tigl. II Ann. 13.

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

El(AN)-ra-bi-ih "The God is exalted"(cf.ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-ih) Amarna 140,3.139,2(?).
El(AN)-shi-im-ki "The God is my support"(cf.Si'-shi-im-ki,Shi-im-ka-IA and bibl. ]-'l(y)" JADD 1,II,33.
E-lu-ra-i-ba,cf.preced.name and South-Arab 77l7-77l7) Ta'annek 4,9.
Ga-ba-Bēl(or Ba'al) "Bēl has been exalted"UMBS II, No.1,55,11.
Gab-ri-i (abbrev.see Gabbar) JADD 246,3.6.268,R.5
Gab-ri-ia( = Gabri,or Gabri-ia "Ja(hu) is strong"?)Str.Dar.
Ca-da-a( = abbrev.of Cadi-El) JADD 841 R.5.857488,17, II,34.
Ga-di-ia,see Gada HABL 897,2.
Gab-La-a,Ga-di-La, Ga-di-La-a "(My)fortune is Ja(hu)", or abbrev? VS I,87,24,JADD 278,5.291,R.10.
Gad-El "My fortune is the God" (cf. bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ JADB 443.1.
Gadu-u (abbrev., or = גַּד "His fortune"?) Str. Dar. 431, 23.
Gad-ia-al-ia-sma "Jahveh has been great" (cf. Ig-da-al-ia-sma and bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ ) BE X, 7, 16.
Gama-lu "He has recompensed" (abbreviated, cf. bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ or = גַּד "Camel, cf. Palm. Sin. אֲנָֽיָּ and אֲנָֽיָּ בְּכָל עַל הָעָר? ) Ta'annek, 7.
Gama-ia-sma "Jahveh has completed" (cf. Bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ FSBA XIV, p. 14.
Gani-Eli (NI-NI), see Kali-Eli.
Ga-uni = גַּד "Exaltation", abbrev. cf. bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ ? Shalm.
Gazi-lu (WS = גַּד?) JADB 350 8, 16.
Gira-a-a (abbreviated, cf. Gira- and bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ , or = Gira-
Giri-Adad "Client of Adad" (cf. fol. names) Shalm. III, 1, 35.
Giri-Ba'al "Client of Ba'al" (cf. Ph. בָּאָל JADB 775 7.
Giri-Niliki (MAN) "Client of Melech" (cf. מֵלֶּכִּי HABL 131, 7, 12.
Gir-Sar "Client of Sa' (= Si = Sin?) 416, R 10.
Gir-Sa-pu-nu "Client of Saphon" (cf. Ph. נָע JADB 832, 12.
Giru-Adad, see Giri-Adad Rm 157 (KB IV, p. 124, No. III.
Gu-li-Ba'al (IM) "(My) all is Ba'al" (cf. Can. gu-ul = ku-ul, Eli-kali and bibl. חַֽיָּ֥הוּ ? ) Ta'annek I, 3.
Gu-ra'(WS = Palm. אֶלְּכָּד = Gira-a-a?) VS VII, 204, 42.
Gur-ra-a-a = Gur'a? JADB 2, 1, 19.
Gu-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-nu, Ha-a-i-a-ni, Ha-ia-a-ni, Ha-ia-a-nu, Ha-ia-ni, abbrev.
cf. Nab. ג"ע, ג"ם = Arab. ג"ע, ג"ם, and see Ha-a-a' Shalim.

Ha-a-bi (cf. Milki(LUGAL)-ha-a-bi = Milk-jēhab "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 Assyr. Ha-a-bi is evidently WS)

Ha-ab-di-El "Servant of the God" (var. of Abd-i-El) Peek-Pinch. 12.

Ha-ab-du- (abbrev) Reisn. 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. קב"ע ) BE IX, 28, 14.

Ha-ag-ta-a = Haggata and cf. Haggā and Ph.Palm. מַמְתַּה ?) BE X, 12, 2.

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

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

Ha-al-lu-um = Halum, abbreviated?) CT VI, 26, 26. VIII 47, 20.

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

The 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-im (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 (לֶכֶד); for the literature, see Tallquist, APN, p. 84).

Ha-an-Da-da "Dada has been gracious" (cf. bibl. T TT ☀) JADB 2, 1, 3
Ha-an-da-she-an-ni "He has renewed me" (cf. the foll. names) JADD 113, 3
Ha-an-da-she-an-ni (according to Hilprecht, = יְתָנְי "He (the god) has renewed me"); but then the name is not good Hebrew, and but for the sibilant, it would correspond to Arabic (לֶכֶד) 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 Ha-Da-da) III R 7, 1, 42.
Ha-an-i (According to Weber, Anmerkungen zur Knudtzon, 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-e 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.

 plainly ("He has been gracious to me", or abbreviated, cf. bibl. ) BE IX, 24,17.

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

 Ha-an-na-ta-"Thou hast been gracious" (= הָנָּא) BE IX, 109,3.

 Ha-an-na-ta-ni-"Thou hast been gracious to me"; BE IX, 90,7.

 Ha-an-ni- (abbrev. of Ha-an-ni) JADD 39,17,755,4 VS I, 86,8.

 Ha-an-ni-ia (abbrev. or Ha-an-ni-ia and of bibl. ) BE X, 119,9.

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


 Ha-a-nu-nu, Ha-a-nu-nu-nu, Ha-nu-nu (abbrev. of bibl. ) Sarg.

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

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

 Ha-ba-du = וַאֲבָד, cf Habai-El (abbrev.) Ta'amnek 7, R . 10.

 Ha-ba-Hu-ru "Horus has hidden", cf. bibl. וַאֲבָר (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. הביל ) BE VI Pt. 2, 57, 3.

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

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


 Ha-di-du "The sharp one" (= נָדָיא ) JADD 14, 6, 357, II, 48.

 Ha-di-ia see Jaddi-ia.


 Ha-ia-ab-El "The God has condemned" (? , cf. the foll. name) UMBS VII, 49, 7.
Ha-ia-ab-ni-El "The God has condemned me"(?; it is noteworthy that the bearer of this name is the father of A-ta-ma-ra-as "Ata is grieved") CT II 26,3; VI,31,4.
Ha-ia-ab-ni-mu (abbreviated with hypocor.suffix -nu) CT VI,23,6.
Ha-ia-bu-um (abbreviated) CT VI,3,14.
Ha-ia-tum (abbrev.of Ha-a-a, Ha-a-a, Ha-a-mu) 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; = Arab ʿilām) CM 35,5.
Ha-la-a (abbreviated from a name as Ha-lu-u-Milki "Exalted is Melech") Str.Cyr.307,18.
Ha-la-la = Ha-la-ila "The Halu is the God"? CT VI 47,20.
Ha-la-ma perhaps = "To be strong"(cf. bibl. ʾān) JADB 3 VIII,1.
Ha-li-ia-tum (abbreviation of a name compounded with Halu, see foll.name) CT VIII 49,10.
Ha-li-ia-um "The Halu is Jahu"?, or abbreviated from a name compounded with Ha-lu; cf Ha-li-wa(PI)-um, which may be read Halu-ia-um (see Chapter III sub Labials); but it is noteworthy that the bearer of this name is the son of Ha-wi-um) MAP 100,7.12.
Ha-li-kum var. A-li-kum (prob. abbrev.of Saf. ʾālā) CT IV,50,5; VI 32,2,36,28.
Ha-li-lum "Friend", cf. Saf. ʾālā, or = Halu-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-ia (Or-ia?), see prec.name JADD 288 R.12.
Ha-ma-nu perhaps of the same root as Ḥalama, q.v. 261,R.4.
Ha-lu-lu. = Ḥalu-ilu?, see Halilum Str.Nbd 442,4.
Ha-lum (abbrev from a name compounded with Ḥālu) OM A.15.16.
Ha-lu-u-Mi-il-ki "The Melech is exalted" Str. Dar. 501, 12.
Ha-ma-tu-tu (= Aram. docket ובנין, GIS II, 38) JADD 129, 4.
Ha-mu-ni-ri "The Ammu is my light" (cf. Ammu-nira) Amarna 137, 15.
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 (=?מ"ן) "He has been gracious" (abbrev) BE X, 127, 5.
Ha-ma-na (=?תלמ. מ"ן, abbrev. ) BE IX, 3, 7.
Ha-ma-ni (=?bibl. מ"ן, abbrev. ) BE IX, 14, 6.
Ha-ma-ma-la-a-ma "Jahve has been gracious", = bibl בני Consort BE IX, 69, 20.
Ha-ma-ni-la-a-ma "" " "BE X, 7, 14.
Ha-ni-i, see Ha-an-i JADB 2, II, 16, etc.
Ha-ni-na-a (=?תלמ. n.pr. מ"ן, see prec. name) JADD 220, R. 12.
Ha-ni-na-la-*, identical with the prec. name, or read Ha-ni-na-la-.
"The Favor of Ja(hu)? JADD 30, 7.
Ha-ni-ni, see Haninâ Str. Camb. 385, 19.
Ha-nun, see Ha-a-nu-u-nu BE IX, 87, 16.
Ha-nu-nu, see prec. name BE X, 8, 2.
Ha-ri-im = bibl. מ"ן "Consacrator" (cf. Palm. נהכין, Nab. נהכין and Sab. נהכין) UMBS II, No. 1, 221, 9.
Ha-ri-im-ma- (= Aram. יהלנ, 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.
Ha-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,18,21.

Ha-za-a-El = bibl. בָּהַל (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) Asurb A,III R 24, VIII, 9.

Ha-za' -El (AN),-El(AN-MESH)= Aram. docket בוחנה, see Ha-za-a-El.
Str Neb 797,3. UMBS II,No.1,145,1.

Ha-za-ra-nim (abbreviated from a name compounded with Mazar
= "He has helped", with hypoc. ending -anim) MAP 38, 19.

Ha-za-ki-a-a-u, Ha-za-ki-a-u, Ha-za-ki-ia, Ha-za-ki-ia-u "Jahu"
= Hezekiah, king of Judah , = יְהוֹ "Jahu has been strong", or "is strong" (The cuneiform rendering of this name conforms neither to יְהוֹ , which can only mean "My strength is Jahu", or "Strength of Jahu", nor to יְהוֹ , "Jahu will strengthen") Senn.Kui.Lay.61,11.

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

Ha-az-zibu-tum(abbreviated, cf . Ya-ab-zi-bu-as) CT IV, 42, 12.

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

Hi-ba-ri-ia (cf perhaps bibl. יְהוֹ כֹּל ) P.Dar.57,15.

Hi-da-ta-ni (Tallq. APN, p. 88: "Thou hast renewed me") JADD 400, 2.

BE X 99,4.


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.82-3,23,135,IXb) "Grace of Bel" (cf. Pun. יְחַיְנָא = Hannibal) BE X, 43, 1.
Hi-im-ni-‘El (AN-MESH) "Grace of the God" (cf. bibl. ֶבִּיתֶנִּי Nab. ֶבִּיתֶנִּי) Str. Dar. 149, 3.

Hi-im-ni-ia (evidently abbreviated with the hypoc. ending -ia, but in view of the Hebrew name יִדְיִת (lidzb. Handb. p. 278), the reading Hinni-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-as-da-nu (abbreviated from a name compounded with רְּבָּך "to be kind", cf. bibl. ֶבְּךִית Nab.) BE X 39, 15.


Hi-ma-ri-i "Ass" (cf. Arab. ٍحمْيِنْ bibl. n. pr. ֶבִּית Nab.) 13. JADD 176, R. 3.

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

Hi-ru-um-mu = מֵחיים (king of Tyre) "The brother is lofty" (cf. Ahi-ramu) Tiglp. IV, Amn. 151 (III R 9, 51.)

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

Hu-mu-zum (perhaps connected with a root רְע "To carry", cf. bibl. רְעֵית, רְעַית, אֱוָית, unattested, and Pun. rēy) CT II, 40, 16.

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


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


f Hu-na-bi-ia (cf. Hunabati-ia)

Hu-nu-bu-um ( = Hunabum) MAP 111, 22. CT VIII 12, 22.

f Hu-nu-ub-tum (fem. form of Hunabum) Str. Warka 71, 1, 11, 16.

Hu-ru-zum (cf. bibl. ֶבִּית Sin. ֶבִּיתוּן) King, Lett.

f Hu-ra-za-tum (cf. Hurazum) Str. Warka 71, 42, etc.

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

III R, Shalm. 64, etc.
Huang: "Horus" (abbreviated, cf. bibl., see Abi-Ha-ar) JADD 763, 9, 851, IV, 3.
Huang: "Gazelle" (?= Arab. َعَرَّاف (cf. Saf. ٍعَرَّاف) HABL 687.
Huang: "Gazelle" (see Huzala) CT VIII 31, 6.
Huang: (see prec. nn.) CT IV 31, 12.
Huang: (see prec. nn.) CT VIII 20, 49.

Ia-a-a (perhaps hypoc. 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-abh and bibl. ٌلاٍب) JADB 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-ba-ru-um "He will choose" (abbreviated from a name as Iahsar-El; cf. bibl. َبَنُبَرُب, Aram. َبَنُبَرُب, Ph. َبَنُبَرُب) Amarna 328, 4.
Ia-ab-bi-ik-El "The God will build thee" (?=, cf. Si'-ba-ni-ka and Ba-na-ga = Banaka) CT IV 16, 24.
Ia-ab-su-um (cf. bibl. َهَبُذَع) CT IV 30, 10.
Ia-ab-ne = Ia-ne "Ja(hu) is my Brother"?(cf. bibl. َنَيَب, and see A-a-ne) JADD 471, 9.
Ia-ab-ba-ar-El "The God will join" (?=, or = Arabic ٌلَنَب "He will be sorrowful", cf. Saf. َلَنَب and Abi-maras, Ata-maras and Ba-ka-a-El ?) CT VIII 34, 21, II 39, 18.
Ia-ab-du-nu-un lit. "He will gladden us", but evidently abbrev. of a name as Iahdi-El; cf. bibl. َدُلِّيَنِي, َدُلِّيَنِي, َدُلِّيَنِي) CBM 1352, 26.
Ia-ab-en-ka-su, see Ia-an-ka-su Amarna 289, 45.

Ia-ah-mi-El perhaps to read Ia-ah-wi-El "The God will announce" and cf. bibl. but cf. also bibl. Hommel, Ancient Hebr. Trad.

Ia-ah-mu-dDa-gan = Iahwun-Dagan "Dagan will announce"?, cf. prec. name, VS VII 204, 2.

Ia-ah-mu-u = Iahwû "He will announce"(? , see prec. names), abbrev.


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

Ia-ah-za-ar-El "The God will help"(cf. Pun. and Hi-ha-


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

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


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

Ia-ak-ba-rum-um = "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. יארו, bibl. יארו, and perhaps also Ia-la-a- and Ia'-lu-u), PSBA 1911, p.185.

Ia'-lu-u = Arabic بعَل "He will be exalted" (? abbrev).

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

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

Ia-am-nu-um "He will count, ordain" (cf. Ahi-ia-am-nu, Ahi-ma-mu. Si'-ma-na-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. nn. prr.

Ia-am-zl-El perhaps = יארו יאמר "The God will bring" (but the reading Iawsi-El = Ia-u-si-El "The God will bring out" is not impossible, of the variants A-u-ia-mu and Am-ia-

mu, and Ia-u-zl-El, and considering that in the school exercises, these two names Ia-u-zl-El and Ia-am-zl-El occur one after another (I,III,8.9.), we may see in the latter a var. of the former), UMBS XI, No.2,120.

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 171.7.

Ia-an-ha-mu/mi/me/ma vars E-en-ha-mu (Amarna 285,10,286,28) and Ja-ah(Ji-ih)-en-ha-mu (ibid. 289,45). The latter variant leaves no doubt that Iammamu can neither correspond to ד"ע "He will be friendly", nor to ד"ע "He will com-

fort", but to ד"ע "The Ammu will answer", cf. Hana-

El, Ana'-El, Ha-mu-niri and Ammu-nira. Amarna 83,31, etc.

Ia-am-su-ru "He will preserve" (abbrev) Nblp.8,12
Ia-ap-pa-ah-Adda variants Ia-ap-pa-ah-Adda, Ia-pa-Adda
"Adad has shone forth" (cf. however, Sab.  יד "to raise, heighten" and Sab. n.pr. יד "then" "Adad has raised";
cf. also Ia-pi-hi and bibl. יד. Amarna 83, 26, 85, 29, etc.
Ia-ap-ti-ih-Adda var. Ia-ap-ti-ha-da "Adad will open" (cf. bibl.
 יד, Sab. יד מים פונ. יד, Amarna 288, 45, 335, 9.
Ia-ak-bu (?) "He will reward" (?), see Ia-ah-ku-ub-El, CT IV 30, 11
Ia-ak-su-ur-El "The God will gather", VS IX 202, 22.
 יד, bibl. פונ. יד, or "The God will be great" and cf. Akk. Lirbi-Sippar "May Sippar be great"?),
MAP 37, 5.
Ia-ar-ka-am-El "The God will be merciful" (cf. Ra-hi-im-El, A-ba-
ra-ha-am, bibl. יד יד, ) UMBS XI, No. 2, 121.
Ia-ar-ka-mu "He will be merciful" (abbrev. cf. pre-c. name) Str. W.
61, 22.
Ia-ar-ka-bu-um, lit. "He will grow large" (probably abbreviated,
 cf. bib. יד יד יד, and Akk. "The God will grow large") T-D, 12, 1.
Ia-ar-shi-El perhaps "The possession of the God", CT VIII, 38b,
15.
Ia-ash-bi-I-la = יד יד יד, "The God will be sublime" (? , but.
 cf. bibl. יד יד יד יד, Ph. יד יד יד, and Ba' al-ia-
shu-bu, Ia-shu-ub-Dagan), CT VIII 17, 4.
Ia-ash-di-ka-am-mu "The Ammu will be lofty" (of sha'du "to be
high" , but the existence of such a verb is very doubt-
ful, see Muss-Arn. Diet.), Ungnad, Babyl. Briefe 238, 58.
Ia-ash-ku-ur-El "The God will reward" (Arabic יד) Ranke BD, 1, 6
Ia-ash-ma-da-Dagan "Dag. will hear" (cf. bibl. יד יד, )
VS I, 204, 12.
Ia-ash-ma-hi-El "The God will hear me", Ranke BD 1, 17.
Ia-az-zl-iib-Dagan "Dagan will help" (cf. Ia-ah-zi-ha-da) T-D,
146, 14.
Ia-a-shu-bu "He will return" (cf. bibl. יד, ) UMBS II, No. 1, 88, 2.
Ia-a-tu-nu, "He will give" (abbrev. cf. Sa-mu-nu-ia-tu-ni) Str.Nbd, 33,5.
Ia-ba-ba-ti (abbreviation of a name compounded with jababa, with
the hypocor. ending -ati, cf. 4A-ia-baba, Adad-ia-bibi) CM 24,6.
Ia-bi-bu, Ia-a-bi-bi (abbrev. see preced. name) JADD App.1, XII,1. Npl.
15,7.
Ia-bi-Milki = Abi-Mil-ki (king of Tyre) Amarna 153,2.
Ia-bu-ut or Ia-bu-tum, see Ia-pu-ut.
Ia-bi-shum "He will put to shame"? (but cf. bibl. 33,5.) UMBS XI, No.
2,1,II,3.
Ia-bu-za-tum, see Ia-pu-sa-tum.
Ia-da-", Ia-a-da "He has known" (abbrev. cf. the foll. names) HABL 1020
Ia-da-El "The God has known" (cf. El-ia-aa-) JADD 416, R.5.
Ia-dah-El, see preced. name, CT VI 33,21.
Ia-da-ah-ha-lum "The God has known", or perhaps for Ia-dah-ilum
"The God has known", CT VI 46,26.
Ia-da-ah-ia-a-ma "Jahveh has known" (= bibl. יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה),
Ia-a-hu-d Nabû "Nabû has known", BE IX 82,4.6.
Ia-da-ar-ni-El (AN-MESH) "The God will help me" (cf. I-da-ar-ni-'
Ia-da-nu, perhaps hypocor. of a name compounded with iada = יְהֹוָה, with the hypocor. ending -nu; Tallquist, APN, p.91, compares
bibl. יְהֹוָה, but what is the meaning of the latter? JADD
360, R.
Ia-di-da-tum, perhaps a femin. name = bibl. m.pr.fem. יְהֹוָה "The
beloved one", UMBS XI, 2,1,II,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, I, II,3.
Ia-di-El "The God knows, or is known" (see Abi-iadi") and cf. bibl.
יְהֹוָה JADD 880, 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 Iad-h-El with hypocor.
ending -atum), CT VIII 44,36.
Ia-di-hu-um, see Iadihatum, Peck-Pinches 13, 20.
Ia-di-ia-El(AN-MESH), var. Ia-s-di-hu-El(AN-MESH), see Iadi-El,
BE IX 14, 5, 15, 1, 10, 15, 107, 3.
Ia-di-ia-Ia-a-ma "Jahveh knows, or, was known" (see Abi-iaadi') BE
IX, 25, 1.
Ia-di-hu-Ia-a-(ma), same as preced. 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-Ha-a-lu "Ja(hu) is the ḫalū" (cf. Asa-Hali), Str. Camb. 218, 5.
Ia-Ha-lu = Ia-Ja-a-lu,
JADD 661, 21; III R, I, II, 30, etc.
Ia-hi-Mil-ki, Ia-a-hi-Mil-ki "The Melech lives" (cf. Ph. ךל-ל, P
Ia-hi-El "The God lives" (cf. bibl. and Palm. ךל-ל and the prec.
name Ungnad 5, 27.
Ia-hi-la-tum (abbreviated from a name compounded with the root
ךל "To wait = hope for", see Ps. 130, 7, and cf. bibl. n. pr.
ךל "mountain-goat" "He waited for God") CT VI, 22, 12.
Ia-hi-ri, perhaps = bibl. ךל "He will awaken" (cf. Balu-mi-hi-ir
var. -mi-il), JADD 1101, 11; Ashurm. Ann. II, 22.
Ia-hu-di(ti?), Ia-hu-du(tu?), perhaps = ךל "He will return, come
Ia-a-hu-u-la-ki-im = ךל "Jahu is for you" (cf. I-la-la-ka)
BE IX, 28, 15.
Ia-a-hu-lu-ru = ךל "Jahu is for us" BE IX 55, 1, 14.
Ia-hu-u-na-ta-ru "Jahu has given" (= Aram. docket)
Ia-'i-ru = bibl. ךל "He will shine", or = ךל "He will awaken"?
Ia-ki-ni = bibl. ךל "He will establish" (abbrev), Shalm III, Bal.
VI, 7.
Ia-ki-in-lu-u = Iakin-El5n "The God will establish" (cf. bibl. ךל
cf. Iakin-El5n, Ph. ךל Ingen, Aram.
A, Ashurb. A, II
Ia-ku-mu "He will be true" (probably abbreviated, cf. foll. names,
Journ. Asiat. XIV p, 149.
Ia-ku-un-Adad "Adad will be true" (cf. Old-Babyl. I-kun-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" Ramke 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 hypocon.
ending -tum (cf. the preced. 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-B-ra-ah "Jawa(?) is the Moongod" CT VIII, 17, 13.
Ia-ma-ma-am perhaps = Arab. "He will be safe" (cf. = Arab.
"He has been blessed, successful" (cf. Sin. 1113/1113),
CT VIII, 37, 7.
Ia-ma-ni (king of Ashdod), probably of the same root as the preced.
name, Sargon, Ann. 220; A, III, 15, 37; Khors 95, 101.
Ia-man-i-A-a "Ja(hu) is on my right side"? JADD 7, II, 4.
Ia-man-nu- "Right-handed, Felix"?, JADD 233, R, 12, 15.
Ia-pa-Adad var. of Ia-ap-pa-hAdad, q.v., Amarna 83, 26, etc.
Ia-pa-h-Adad var. of Ia-ap-pa-h-Adad, q.v., Amarna 98, 2, 106, 19.
Ia-pa-El "The God has shone" (cf. South-Arab. 10, 19, and Iapa-Adad
VS VII, 16, 39.
Ia-pa-hi (abbreviation of a name as Iapah-Adad), Amarna 297, 3, etc.
Ia-pa-hi, see preced. name, BE VIII, 52, 4.
Ia-pu-nt or Ia-pu-tum, perhaps = Arab. "To preced", and to the
same root would belong bibl. 10, UMBS II, No. 2, 19, 8.
Ia-pu-sa-tum perhaps abbreviated from a name compounded with
"He will scatter", CT VIII 44, 3.
Ia-akar-Ahe = Iakar-Ahi "Precious is my Brother"? (cf. Waker-Ahum)
or "The precious of the brothers"? JADD 245, 3.
**La-ko-en** "Precious is the God", (cf. Elali-wakar) CT VI, 49, 23.

**La-ta-tu** "The precious one", JADD 435, R.4.

**La-ku-bi** (abbrev. of the foll. name) CT II, 31, 2.

**La-ku-ub-El** "The God will reward" (cf. Iahkub-El) CT IV, 33, 22.

**La-ra-pan** "He will heal" (abbrev. of South-Arabic Arabic pronunciation, Palm. bā-nīy, HABL 631, 1.9.

**La-ri-bAdad** "Adad will extend" (cf. bibl. תִּלּוֹנָה, T-D, 238, 37.

**La-ri-shum** = טִבְוָה? "He will possess"? (cf. bibl. תִּלְּכֹת) UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, II, 9.

**La-sa-am** "Ja(hu) has placed"? (cf. Aa-sam-mu) VS I, 64, 1.

**La-sha-ru-um** = הִיָּה "He has been righteous" (abbrev. of bibl. הָיָה יִקְרָא, and Old-Babyl. I-shar-Shamash), CT VI, 40, 15.

**La-shem-Ia-ma** = יִשְׁמַע "Jahveh will save" (not = יִשְׁמַע , "Salvation of Jahveh", as then we should expect La-sha-Iama) Str. Cyr. 307, 2.

**La-shu-um** (abbrev. of Iashub-El, Iashub-Dagan) CT IV, 16, 5, 49, 28.

**La-shu-ha-tum** = מְגַל "Salvation" (abbrev. of Saf. תִּלְּכֹת) MAP, 100, 4.

**La-su-mu** = טִבְוָה "He will place"? (cf. Ia-sa-am) HABL 502, 10.

**La-a-shu-mu**, perhaps of the same meaning as the preceding name HABL, 54: R. 7.

**La-shu-ub-Dagan** "Dagan will return" (cf. bibl. יִשְׁמַע יִשְׁמַע, and see sub Ba'al-ia-shu-pu), T-D, 109, 1.

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

**La-ta** = South-Arab. יִשְׁמַע "To help"? (abbrev) HABL 252, 7.

**La-ta-bi-El** = יִשְׁמַע "The God will be good" (cf. bibl. יִשְׁמַע יִשְׁמַע). MEEK, HBL, 6, 3.


**La-ta-ma-a** (Tallq. APN, p. 92, compares יִשְׁמַע "Orphan") JADD 741, 23.

**La-ta-ma-El** (Ph. = יִשְׁמַע "The God has given" (cf. bibl. יִשְׁמַע יִשְׁמַע). Ph. יִשְׁמַע, Pun. לֶבֶן יִשְׁמַע) JADD 621, 2.
Ia-ta-a-nu (abbrev. cf. the preceding name and El-ia-ta-a-nu) JADD 54, R.3.
Ia-ta-ri-im (abbreviation of a name as Iatar-El "The God is excellent", cf. bibl. יִתְנַה), CT VIII 38b, 12.
Ia-ta-rum, see preceding name, CT VI, 43, 28.
Ia(?)-te-e possibly = South-Arab מִי לְה "To help" (abbrev. cf. Abi-ia-te'. Am-iate') JADD 59, 6.
Ia-ti-El = נַה ה "The God will help"? (cf. South-Arab מִי לְה 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 supposing and and its meaning may be "Of Jahveh is he", thus "Adherent of Jahveh"), Shal.

III R 5, No. 6, 25 (KB I, p. 150).
Ia-u-ba-ni "Jahu is my builder" (= תַחֲוַה of d Au-bani) BET XV, 184, 7.
D ia-u-bi'-di = יִתְנַה "Jahu is about me" (see Adad-bi'adi and cf. d Au-ba'adi), Winckler's Sargon I, 33 (KB II, pp. 36, 56).
Ia-u-ha-zi = "Jahu is king of Judah (the cuneiform rendering leaves no doubt that the name is abbreviated from יִתְנַהוּ: "Jahu has seized"), Tigr. IV, B, 61 (KB II, p. 20).
Ia-u-hi-El "The God will inform", Ungnad 9, 9.
Ia-um-ri perhaps scribal error for ia-um-id-ri "Jahu is help", see A-a-u-id-ri, UMBS II No. 2, 95, 10.
Ia-u-shu = bibl. מְנוּי (perhaps Akkadian "Who is he") VS VIII, 14.
Ia-u-um-El "Jahu is God" (cf. d Au-ila-a, Au-lnu-u-a-a and bibl. יִתְנַה), CT IV 27, 3.
Ia-u-zi-El = "The God will bring out" (see Iamzi-El) UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 11, 18.
Ia-wi-d Da-gan = יִתְנַהוּ "Dagan will bring into existence"? (this name may be identical with ia-ah-mi-d Da-gan = Iahwi-Dagan "Dagan will announce", q.v.), T-D, 158, 9.
Ia-wi-El "The God will bring into existence", or = ia-ah-mi-El "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 = יְזֶדָגָן "Dagan will be strong" (cf. bibl. יְזֶדָגָן and יְזָדָגָן) T-D, 227, 32.
Ia-zi-er-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" (Ranke, 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 Id-ra-ni'-El, probably Babylonized form of Iadarni'-El "The God will help me", BE IX, 36, 12.
Id-di-ra-mu (abbrev. of a name compounded with מנו "to help", with hypocor. ending -mu), Str. Dar. 366, 17.
Id-di-ri-a-El (AN-MESH) "The God is my help" (helper?) BE IX, 85, 19.
I-di-ba'-il-a-a = bibl. יֵבָאַ" (an Arab. tribe), III R, 10, 30.
I-di-bi'-i-li/lu, see preced. name, Tigl. IV, Anm. 226, 240 B, 56.
Id-na-a-a = bibl. יֶנָא "[(cf. Ad-na-a-a)] , JADB 7, 1, 9.
Id-ra' = יֵדַו (דַו) "Help" (abbrev.), Artax. CIS II, 66.
Id-ra-mu (abbrev. with hypocor. ending -mu), JADB 1, 1, 32. 4, III, 8.
Id-ri-a-ha-a-u (Tallq. APN, p. 94: = Ad-ra-ha-ua, Adad-ra-ha-a-u = ידָאֲד וָא יִדָאֲד "Adad is his shepherd") HABL 593, R. 2, K. 4792.
Id-ri-ia "My help" (abbrev.), JADD 360, 1.
I-'Id-ru "Help" (abbrev.), HABL 458, 5.
Ig-da-al-ia-a-mu = bibl. יֵגָדָאַ-ל "Jahveh will be great", BE IX, 45, 4.
Ik-ka-lu-u var. of Ia-ki-im-lu-u, Ia-ki-im-lu (king of Arvad)
= יֵהוּ הָלָע "The God will establish" (?), Ashurb. K. 11450, 5.
Ik-ki-lu-u var. of Iakin-lu-u (king of Arvad) = יֵהוּ-לָע "The God will establish" (?), KB II, p. 170, No. 2.
Il-la-z (abbreviated from a name compounded with לילא "God") MAP 34 33. JADD 246, R.
Ila-a-a-Ka-ma-ru "The Moon is the God" (cf. Akkad. Sin-ili) HABL 250, R. 2.


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

I-la-la-ku "The God is for thee" (cf. Iahū-lakīm), CT VI, 49, 19.

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

I-la-nu-um, see Ilāni/nu and pres. name, CT II, 42, 27.

I-li-i-na-da, perhaps = Arab. ʾ To call", thus "My God has called" (cf. Laba-nāda), Ungnad 155, 54.

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

Il-Te-hi-ri-a-bi = "The Dawn is my Father" (see Al-Te-

il-ri-niri!), BE X, 99, 16. on Am. 27. III, 1. 25.

Il-Te-ih-ri-la-a = Il-Te-lh-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-bi "The Dawn has given", UMBS II, No. 1, 144, 1.

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

I-lu-ni-di (var. of Iau-bii-di) "The God is about me" (cf. Ba-a-

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

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


I-mi-El "The Ammu is God" (ṣr = ʾ With me is the God", cf. bibl. ʾ hemmūn?, OM C, 15, 6.

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


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

Is-pi-it-ti-El (? ) "The God will judge" (= ṣn-ṣemim?, cf. bibl. ʾ hemmūn?, JADD 775, 9.

Is-pu-te/ti = (? abbrev. cf. preced. name) JADD 841, 5 etc.
Is-ru-tu = מֶשֶׁר (abbrev. cf. Ispitti-El) JADD 182, 1.4.
Is-sa-a (cf. Talm. מְשֵׁר) JADD 4, III, 16.
I-shar-Har-im "The uprightness of Horus" (or = חכם "He was upright", cf. I-shar-i-li, I-shar-li-im, I-shar-Shamash, bibl.
I-shar-li-im = I-shar-ilim (see prec. name)
I-shar-Shamash "The uprightness of Shamash" (see Ishar-Harim)
Ish-bi-Irr-ra (king of Isin), perhaps "Irra is sublime" (iskbi = בשמי)
Ish-ma-El "The God will hear" (= שמעי) OM B, 2, 5.
Ish-ri-bi-ia-a-ma (cf. bibl. יְשֵׁרִי), BE X, 65, 9.
Ishtar(RI)-ia(PI)-shur Ishtar will watch" (= שמעי ?) Ta'annek I, 1, 11, 1, 10, 1, 11.
Ishtar-ia-wi "Ishtar will bring into existence", or, announce" (cf. Iawi-Dagan), VS VIII, 157, 7.
Ishtar-ta-a-zi "Ishtar will be strong" (cf. Iazi-Dagan), JADD 148.
I-ta-a-Li (cf. bibl. יֶשֶׁר לֵב); Tallq. APN, p. 108: נון + סחי תב" HABL 232.
I-ti-Ba-al "With me is Ba'al" (cf. bibl. יִתְנֶל הַיָּד) T-d 95, R. 3.
I-ti-Dagan "With me is Dagan", OM C, 16, 7.
I-zi-a-pa-ah = חֲזִי "My Strong one has shone" (WS SetValue of הָיְבָ "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 = חֲזִי "My Strong one has been upright" (cf. Iasha-rum), CT VIII, 46, 42. UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 13.
I-zi-ia-El "My Strong one is God" (cf. bibl. חֲזִי ) 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 מ"ש) 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-Su-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 סומע = sum-hu "His name") UMBS XI, No. 2, I, IX, 7.
Iz-ru-sh-Dagan "Dagan will arise" (cf. bibl. מ Borders)، Journ. As. XXXIII, 58.
Ka-bar-El = בכר - מ"ן "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, 68, 27.
Kab-rum (abbrev. of 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. Nadbi-
lama and Abi-nadib) I R, Senn. II, 53, etc.
Ka-mu-shu-shar-nur "O, Chemosh, protect the king!", Revue Arch. 1866, p. 166.
Ka-(ma?)-as-hal-ta-a(Kama = Kammsu = שוכב) ; see KAT, p. 472; Aram. א"מ. Ashurb. B, VIII, 37.
Ka-ma-su, see preced.name, JADD 471, 10.
Ki-mu-um-Ka-bi-il "Habîl is just" (cf. Habîl-kinum) CT VI, 39, 22.
Ki-ra-am-tum (cf. bibl. מBorders, Nab. = לברך ?) CT IX, 45, 3.
La-a-a-li-e = Ilah-ali-e "The God is exalted", cf. NAB. קה יִתְנָהָה; but cf. bibl. יִתְנָה "By God!", or "Unto God", Esarh.A, III, 40; B, IV, 26, etc.
La-a-te-El perhaps = יִתְנָה יִתְנָה "Truly, the God will save" (cf. Abi-iate', Am-i-ate' (?); or יִתְנָה יִתְנָה "Truly, the God has brought")
JADD 942, R. 7
La-a-di-ru-El "Truly, the God is a helper" (?), HABL 1032, I. 2, 6, etc.
La-ba-na-da "Laba has called" (see I-li-i-na-da and Ishtar-laba), Capp. G, 12, 2.
La-hi-e-El perhaps "Truly, the God lives" (see Aduna-ika) JADD 14, 4.
La'-i-ti-El = La-a-a-te-El ? q. v., 83-1, 18, 695, III, 15.
La-i-ti-El, La-iti-i-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-la-a = lu-iluhā "Truly, he is God" (abbrev.) CT VI, 26, 27.
Lu-li-i (king of Sidon) = יִתְנָה יִתְנָה = Chouhalūg Joseph Ant. IX, 14, 2.

"The God is for me" (cf. Iahu-lu-nu, la-ki-im) I R 38, II, 35.

Ma-at-ta-ni (I-)Lu-a-ma "The gift of Iahveh" (cf. Matan-Ba'ul.

bibl. יִתְנָה יִתְנָה, Pun. יִתְנָה יִתְנָה, and other cognates) BE X, 83, 14, RE.
Mah-si-La-a-u = bibl. ילעניש יִתְנָה "(My) refuge is Jahu" (cf. Ps. 91, 2) JADD 227, 30, R. 7.
Ma-li-ku-tu (abbreviated; cf. NAB. יִתְנָה יִתְנָה) 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-
danna (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-ri "Who will fear?" (= יִתְנָה יִתְנָה ?) 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-ahē "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-kî Al-la-a "Who is like Alla?(Alla = 30) JADD 310,7.

Man-nu-kî-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-kî-i-i-la-hi-i "Who is like my God" BE X,64,3.

Man-nu-kî-i-la-hi-El "Who is like my God El?"(El = "the One, True God") UMBS II,No.1,207,5.

Man-nu-ìu-ha-a = Mannu-iluha-a = Mannu-ki-iluha-a "Who is like the God?", BE X.

Mar-î-i-di "The Lord is about me"(cf.Adad-bi'di)JADD 720,4.


Mâr(TUR)-su-ri "The Lord is my wall"(cf.Ata-suri) JADD 479,5.

Mar-ti-i "My lady" (= Aram.ưn,cf.Palm.m.prf.ưn) JADD 310,4.

Mar-ti(TUR-SAL)-ra-pi-e "0, heal, my Lady!", JADD 447,1.10.


(Ma)-ta-an-Bi'-il(king of Arvad), see prec.name Tiglp.IV,B.,60.

Mat(KUR)-ila-a-a = Mut-ila-a-a "Man of my God", cf.Mu-ti-El and bibl.עִם הַשָּׁם JADD 151,R.9.574,R.5,etc.

Mat(KUR)-la-a-a = Mat-ila-a-a , JADD 271,R.2.

Mat-il-la-a-a = Mat-ila-a-a, K.241,IX,24.

Ma-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, cf.Old-Babyl.Ma-ti-ilu, and A-di-ma-ti-i-li) Tiglp.IV,Ann.60;VS I,87,5.

Ma-ti-nu-Ba'-li = Matan-Ba'alph(king of Arvad) Shalm.III,Mon.II,93

Ma-ti'-u, Ma-ti'-i(abbrev.cf.Mat'i-El) JADD 672,3,741,22.


Me-na-hi-me = bibl.חֵנָה "Comforter" JADD 98,3,R.4

Me-ni-ki-im-me = יָּני לָאִ(king of Israel), Tigl. IV, Ann. 150 (KB II, p. 30).

Me'-sa-a = יָּני לָאִ of שָּׁה "To save", cf. יָּני לָאִ (wife of U-si-"

Me-she(abbrev. cf. bibl. יָּני לָאִ (?)) JADD 97, E.1.

Me'-su, Me-i-su, see Me-sa-a, JADD 854, II, 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. יָּני לָאִ)

and יָּני לָאִ Amarna 249, 5, 6.

Mi-in-ki-im-mu(king of Samsi-muruma) = Me-na-ki-me, Semm. II, 47.

Mi-in-la-ame-en = bibl. יָּני לָאִ "Of the right hand" (= Felix, cf. Iammû), BE X, 76, 14.


Mil-ka-a-a, Mil-ka-i(a(abbrev. or = bibl. יָּני לָאִ "Melech is Ja(hu)", JADD 19, B.20, 6, 113, R.2.

Mil-ki-a-a, Mil-ki-i, see prec. names, JADD 59, 1. 14. 167, R.2.

Mil-ki-a-sha-pa = יָּני לָאִ "The Melech has gathered" (king of Byblos; cf. bibl. יָּני לָאִ), Esarh.B.V, 17; Ashurb. Rm.3, II, 37.

Mil-ki-El "The God is the Melech" (see Milkili) Amarna 287, 29.

Mil-ki-id-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-li-m, Mil-ki-lu/lum , see Mil-il-ki-li, Amarna 267, 4.

268, 3, 289, 5, 249, 16, 250, 39, etc.

Mil-ki-ra-me(-ra-mu) = bibl. יָּני לָאִ "The Melech is exalted" (cf. Ph. יָּני לָאִ) Ashurb. 85-1-18, 476. JADD 56, 1. 3, etc.

Mil-ki-i-ram-am = Milki-ramam, see prec. names, Ashurb. HABL 1007, R. 18.

Mil-ki-u-ri = יָּני לָאִ "The Melech is my light" (cf. Ph. יָּני לָאִ) Amarna 85, 53. JADD 231, 4.

Mi-na-ab-hi-im = bibl. מַניָּבְּי-ים, BE X, 127, 5, 1, 2.

Mi-na-hi-im, see prec. name, BE X, 128, LE

Mi-na-hi-mi = Aram. docket מַנָּה-י מִי JADD 245, 1, 6.

Mi-ni-hi-im-mu var. to Mi-in-hi-im-mu, KB II, p. 91, n. 25.

Mi-nu-hi-im-mu var. to Minhimmu, 79-7-8, 302; 81-2-4, 42

Mi-nu-uh-mu, Mi-nu-uh-mu vars to Minhimmu 80-7-9, 1, 3.

Mi-e-te-en-na "Gift" (abbrev), Tigr. IV, B, 66.

Mi-ti-in-ti (king of Ashdod); Me-ti-in-ti (king of Asealon) "Gift" (abbrev. cf. bibl. מִניָּבִי-ים, מִניָּבִי-ים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם Palm. מִניָּבִי-ים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם )Tigr. IV, B, 61;

EsSenn. III, 24; Esarh. B, V, 15; Ashurb. Rm. 3, II, 35.

Mi-tu-mu "Our man" (abbrev. cf. Me-tu-mu), JADD 176, R, 6.

Mu-ad-da (cf. bibl. מְעַדְדָּה LXX/שָׁדֵה, Aram. מְעַדְדָּה "The beloved one"


Mu-ad-du-um, see prec. name, CT VIII, 49, 24.

Mu-ma-El "The God exchanges" (?) JADD 320, 3.

Mu-sa-la-mu = מְבִיאִים (abbrev. cf. bibl. מְבִיאִים) JADD 182, 1.

Mu-ti-El "The man of God" (cf. Mat-i-lm-s-s), Ungnad, 1265.


Mu-tum-a-li-i-k (accord. to RPN, p. 125 = Mutu-malik "Mutu is coun-
selor"; 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.


256, 2, 5.

Na-ad-ba-mu = נַבַּה (abbrev. cf. foll. names) Str. Cyr. 226, 4, JADD

144, 50.

Na-ad-bi-la-a-u "Jahu is generous" (cf. bibl. טַבַּה יבשא, יבשא, יבשא, יבשא לַווז

אִנָּיָּו, JADD 234, R, 9.

Na-ad-bi-la-u, see prec. name, PSBA XV, p. 13.

Na-ad-bi-la = נַבַּה or abbreviated, BE IX, 82, 5.
"Na-ash-hu-a-si-li "Nashhu is my inmate" (a-a-lu = Arab. Jal = Arab. jah = Arab. lit. "Tent", but fig. "inmates of the same tent, inhabitants of the same place, family, relations": cf. bibl. הַיָּבִי, פָּרָשָׁה, סַבָּאִים, בַּר-יָהוֹ) JADD 24, R. 5

"Na-ash-hu-gab-ri "Nashhu is strong" (cf. El-gabri), JADD 12, I, II, 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 = nádin-aplu), JADD 5, I, 9.

"Na-ash-hu-ka-tar(ta-ri) "Nashhu is a rock", JADD 1, I, 14, I, 8.

"Na-ash-hu-sa-gab "Nashhu has been strong; inaccessibly high" (cf. Heb. נַשְׁה). JADD 12, II, 11.

"Na-ash-hu-sa-ma'a-ni "Nashhu has heard me", JADD 1, II, 28.

"Na-bi-um-ha-zir "Nabú is helping" (?), MAP, 100, 25.

"Nabú-am-ma-e "Nabú is the Ammu" (cf. Aa-am-me), Str. Nbd, 118, 11.

"Nabú-a-ka-ba "Nabú has rewarded" (cf. Nabú-hakabi), BE VIII, 91, 13.

"Nabú-da-la- ' "Nabú has drawn out" (cf. Dalé-El), BE IX, 70, 4.

"Nabú-ha-am-me-e "Nabú is the Ammu" (cf. Nabú-amme), Str. Nbd, 122, 14.

"Nabú-ha-ba-dí "Nabú has made" (cf. El-a-ba-di), CM 17, 8.

"Nabú-ia-ib-bi "Nabú has given" (cf. Ikabí-El), UMBS II, No. 1, 222, 4.

"Nabú-ia(a-)-li "Nabú will be exalted" (Ia'li-El), JADD 174, 4, 252, 2.

"Nabú-id-ri "Nabú is help", BE X, 67, 15.

"Nabú-ka-shir "Nabú succeeds" (?), JADD(112, R. 1, 1020, 3.

"Nabú-la-di- "Nabú is for this one" (cf. Amma-la-di-im) JADD 5, I, 8.

"Nabú-la-ka "Nabú is for thee" (cf. Ilá-la-ka), JADD 12, II, 8.

"Nabú-mat-tan-nu "Nabú is the giver" (mattanu = mattimú may be a Hiphil-formation of נָבָע, of the var. Matam-ba'al and Matam-Ba'il, which accordingly should be translated "The giver is Ba'al"?), Str. Nbd, 1020, 3.

"Nabú-ma-tan-nu "Nabú has given" (Adad-na-tam-nu) BE X, 64, 6.
Nabū-na-sa-ka "He has offered libations to Nabū" (cf. Akūr-lā-
Naskhu, El-Takri-mah: Old-Babyl. Me-ra-na-ki = Ana-Mer-
amakāš, see Ramke, PN, p.124), JADD 122 R.4/23 R.3.

Nabū-ka-na- "Nabū has acquired" (cf. El-kana), Str. Nbkā, 302,15.
Nabū-ka-ta-ri "Nabū is a rock" (cf. Nashbu-katari), Str. Nbkā, 412,3.
Nabū-ra-kī-i "Nabū is my shepherd" (cf. Adān-rahī), BE X, 109,3.
Nabū-ra-hi-ia, see prec. name, BE X, 31,2.
Nabū-ra-pa "Nabū has healed" (cf. Eli-arapa), BE X, 119,8.
Nabū-sa-gab "Nabū has been strong" (lit. inaccessibly high; cf. Nash-
hu-sagab), JADD 55, R.5.
Nabū-sa-gi-ib "Nabū is strong" (see prec. n.), HABL 847,2
Nabū-sha-ma- "Nabū has heard", Str. Cyr. 312,6.
Nabū-sha-ra- "Nabū has leossed" (cf. Shara'-El), BE X, 126,11.
Nabū-za-ba-du "Nabū has appertioned" (cf. Eli-zabādu), BE X, 119,4.
Nad(KUR)-ba-d-A-a "Ja(hu) is generous" (cf. Naḥbi-Iau; the reading
Kurban-ā-a is also possible; but cf. Nad(KUR)-bi-d-A-a), JADD
1041, R.3.
Nad(KUR)-ba-a-mu = Na-ad-ba-nu, q.v., JADD 989,3.
Nad(KUR)-ba-ni, see prec. n.), JADD 1141, 49, 51.
Nad(KUR)-ba-nu, see preceded names, JADD 742, R.34.
Na-di-ra "Vowed" (abbrev. cf. Eli-lindar, -nadari and fell. name),
BE IX, 73,3.
Na-di-ir = Na-di-ra, BE X, 123,11.
Na-ga-a = ین "He has shone" (abbrev. cf. Adad-na-gi) JADB 6, I, 13.
Na-sha-ma-nu = bibl.  ידרה or bibl. ידרה Talm. ידרה ? (abbrev.),
BE X, 107,12.
Na-ha-ra-A-n "Jahu has given light" (cf. Talm. ירוונ), JADD 266, R.4.
Na-hi-El "The God has been at rest" [?], Lindl. 591. 11.

Na-hi-ša-tābū "Nahish is good" (Nahish = "Diviner") may be an equivalent of a divine name; or Nahish = šērīn "Serpent", cf. 2 Kings, 18, 4?], BE X, 114, 15.

Na-hi-li = Nahi-ili, see Nahi-El, CT VIII, 45, 29.

Na-hi-mi-im = נַחִי מִימָים "Delight" (abbrev. cf. bibl. נַחִי מִימָם, הָעֵשֶׂנִי מִימָם), CT VI, 42, 21. MAP 37, 13.


Na-hu-um = Dagan "Dagan was pleasant" (cf. bibl. דַּגָּן, פֶּרֶה), Pun. מִי יְרֵא, or מִי יִרְאֵה, "Dagan is a comforter", cf. bibl.

Na-i-mi-im = נַחִי מִימָים "Delight" (cf. Nahimim), CT IV, 10, 22.

Na-i-nu = numer "Delight" (cf. Nahimim), CT IV, 30, 3.

Na-ki-nu-um = נַחִי נִימָם "The avenger"? CT VI, 40, 14, etc.

Na-shuk-a-ṣar "Nashuk is precious" (cf. Abu-akar) JADD 64, R. 1.

Na-shuk-da = Nashuk-ida "Nashuk has known"; the current equation DA = li'lu "mighty" is doubtful, JADD 641, R. 15.


Na-shuk-ia-ba-ba "Nashuk has rejoiced" (cf. Aa-ia-baba), JADD 6, R. 6.

Na-shuk-la-um-ri = "Nashuk has accompanied me" (= יֹלִהוּ, ?) JADB 11, I, 7.

Na-shuk-ma-ṣa=ni "Nashuk has counted, ordained me" (cf. Ahi-manu) JADB 7; I, I, III, 9.

Na-shuk-natana(-a) "Nashuk has given" (MU-A in a WS name = natana and set = nadin-aplu, cf. Nashhu-natana), JADB 13, I, 12.


Na-ta-an = bibl. יְהִי "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. יְהִי יָד "God has given", BE IX, 67, 15.

Na-ta-ni-El, see prec. name, UMBS II, No. 1, 107, 10.

Na-ta-nu-ia-a-ma = bibl. יְהִי יֶל "Jahveh has given", PSBA XV, p. 14.

Na-ti-ni-i = יְהִי יָד "Given" (abbrev?), JADD 742, 23.
Na-tu-nu = "Given"(abbrev.), JADD 186, R.7. BE IX,45,5.
Na-tu-nu-um, see preced. name, Peek-Pinches No. 13, 26.
Ni-ḥu-ru = Ni-haru, BE X, 36, 2.

Nin-gal-ia-da "Mingal(Meongoddess)has known", VAT 5384, 8.

NIN-IN-ba-na "Ninib has built", BE X, 14, 10.
(N)i-ri-Ia-u, see preced. name, HABL, 281, R. 4.
Nu-ḥa-a "Rest"(abbrev.c.f. Naḥi-El,bibl. יָהָע), BE IX, 4, 12.
Nu-ḥi-ia = Nu-ḥa-a, KB II, p. 14, 6, 7.
Nu-u-ḥi-dMil-ḥi (= Mil-ki) "Be at rest, 0 Melech"? BE IX, 47, 19.

Pa-a-ka-i-la = Arab. צ"א "God has excelled"(but see Pa-ka-ila and Pa-ka-a-El) Ungnad, 16, 36.
Pa-אlu-i(a connection with bibl. יָהָע would be possible, but it seems that this name is identical with Ba'alu-ia and hypcor.of Amur-Ba'al u), Amarna 162, 76.
Pa-ar-ga-nu(abbrev.c.f. Arab. פָּאֵר "to relieve" and Sim.m.pr. יָהָע, CT VIII, 49, 30.
Pa-da-a "He has redeemed"(abbrev.) Str. Dar. 523, 3.
Pa-da-a-ma = Pa-da-Ia-a-ma = bibl. יָהָע נו"ת "Jahveh has redeemed"?
Pa-da-ni-dE-si "Isis has redeemed me"?(but in view of the names Pa-at-dE-si and Pa-ṭan-dE-si and Aram.nn.prp. יָהָע יָהָע יָהָע the name is to be read Pa-ṭa-ni-dE-si and Egyptian) BE X, 39, 14.
Pa-di-i(abbrev.c.f. Paddu-El), VS I, 91, 21. Senn. II, 70, etc.
Pa-di-ia(abbrev.or = bibl. יָהָע?) Str. Dar. 541, 25.
Pa-du-u(Paddu-u)-El "The God is (his?)redeemer"(cf. bibl. יָהָע יָהָע?
Pun. פָּאֵר יָהָע), 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. Arab : however, this name is no doubt identical with Pa-ka-i-la and the writing pa-ka points to a root Mediae Infirmae, thus a combination with Arab. is more probable) CT IV, 33, 4.

Pa-ka-i-a (hypocor. cf. preced. name), MAP 37, 23.

Pa-la-Shamash "Shamash has been wunderfull" (cf. bibl. HAB 2, III, 21, 3.

Pat-la = 'The escaped one" (probably abbrev. cf. bibl. HAB 2, III, 21, 3.

Pat-ti-A-a = 'Jahu" (see foll. name) PSBA III, p. 138, 34.


Pa-ka-ka = 'Jahu has opened" (abbrev. cf. bibl. HAB 2, III, R 10, 28; the same name is also borne by other persons HABL 102, 4, R. 3, JADD 234, R. 8.

Par-si-i = bibl. (gentil., or abbrev?) JADD 75, R. 12.

Pa-ta-ah "He has opened" (abbrev. cf. Iaptih-Adda) BE IX, 14, 4.

Pa-ru var. Pu-ru = 'Hurriru" (cf. Pahru), Amarna 287, 45, 289, 38.

Pi-li-Ia-a-ma = "Wunder of Jahveh" ( = רמוי אנהו ), BBIX, 14, 4.

Pi-il-Iu-Ia-a-ma, see prec. name, BE X, 65, 10.

Pu-ah-ah-la var. -dIM = Ba'al "Mouth of Ba'al" (cf. bibl. HAB 2, III, 21, 3.

and pū 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-usi = "Flea" (= Arab. ُج۸۸, cf. bibl. n. pr. ۷۸۷۸۰۱, and var., Coogan, Immrination, 66). Ta'annek 3, 10.


Ka-a-El (perh. connected with Arab. ُج۸۸ "To be strong") 83-1-18, 695, III, 25.

Ka-ma-A-shur "Ashur has arisen" (cf. Abi-ka-mu; the root karna is certainly WS notwithstanding its combination with the divine name Ashur), Capp. G, 17, 14, 23, 7.


Kar-ha-a "The bald one" (cf. bibl. ۷۸۸۰۰۱, Sin. ۷۸۸۰۰۱, Moab. n. pr. I (2 theur, karna), JADD 703, 1, 815, R, III, 2, etc.

Kar-ha-, see pres. name, BE IX, 15, 19.

Kar-hi-ia (this hypocor. seems to indicate that the preced. names are abbreviations), BE IX, 70, 7.

Ka-ri-hi, see Karha, JADD 21, 6.

Ka-ri-Ishtar = "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. ۷۸۸, or abbrev.), CT VII, 47, 21.

Ka-u-su, see Ka-Sam-su (the reading Ka-u-su, as abbrev. of a name compounded with the divine name Kös is improbable, as we in an Assyrian name we would expect Ka-u-shu)

Ka-ush-gab-ri "Kös is strong" (For the name of the Edomite deity Kös in proper names, cf. bibl. ۷۸۸۰۰۱, Nab. ۷۸۸۰۰۱, Sin. ۷۸۸۰۰۱, see KAT 3 p. 472f; the bearer of this name is king of Edom),

Esarh. B, V, 14; Ashurb. 3, 11.

Ka-ush-ma-la-ka "Kös has reigned" (king of Edom) Tigl. IV, B, R, 11.

Ku-ni-Hu-ru "My possessor is Horus" (cf. Kana-El), JADD 102, LE, 3.

Ku-ni-1 (abbrev. cf. preced. name) JADB 5, II, 18.
Ku-su-ia-ha-bi "Kūs has given" (see Ḫa-ush-gabri) BE IX, 1, 1.
Ku-us-da-na- "Kūs has been near"? (cf. Aram. [tō to be near]?
but cf. Aram. נכ"this one", then "To Kūs belongs this one"

Ku-u-su-ia-da- "Kūs has known", Str. Dar. 301, 16.
Ra'-a-bi-El "The God is awful" (cf. Aram √כ to fear) BE IX, 44, 16.
Ra-a-pi'- (abbrev. of a name compounded with נב"to heal", cf.
Aram. n. pr. נב), Sarg. Amm. 269.
Ra-ab-bi-El (AN-MESH) "Great is the God" (cf. Nab. נב), BE IX, 40, 1.
Ra-ab-bi-El-ri-ah "Great is the Moongod", T-D, 158, 7.
Ra-ab-bi-ia (hypocor. with hypocor. ending -ia) T II 45, 14.
Ra-ah-ma-nu-ma = Aram. נב "The merciful one" (probaby abbrev.
Ra-a-sh = נב "Head, Chief"? (cf. Palm. נב, bibl. נב)? BEVIII, 80, 3
Ra-be-El = Rabbi-El, OM 3, 19, 7.
Rab-bi-El (AN MESH), see preced. name, UMBS II, No. 1, 185, 19, etc.
Rab(CAL)-Zi-id-ki "Great is Sedek" (cf. Bi-Zidki, Sidki-El) Amarna 170, 37.
Ra-di-mu (perhaps connected with Aram. נב"to mend", cf. Thammū.

םלוע, MVG IX, p. 18), JADD 279, R. 3.

Ra-di-mu, see preced. name, Str. Nkd. 252, 4, etc.
Ra-di-tum, see Ra-di-mu, Str. Dar. 379, 18.
Rad-ma-nu, connected with the preced. names? HABL 608, 14, R. 6.
Rah-im (abbrev. cf. bibl. נב"and see Rahmanum) BE X, 116, 7.
Rah-im-El (AN-MESH) = Aram. docket נב הנב "God is compassionate"
BE X, 89, 14.

Rah-im-nu (?)-, see Rahim, Str. Nbd 257, 3.
Rah-im-âa = נב נב "Beloved one, Friend"? (probably abbrev.), JADD, 1, II, 27.
Rah-im-El = Rahim-El, q. v., JADD 191, R. 3.
Rah-im- (abbrev. cf. preced. name, JADD 166, R. 8.
Rah-im-Milki (LUGAL) "Melech is compassionate", PSBA XXX, p. 137, 3
Rah-im-nu-Milki (LUGAL), see prec. n., JADD 741, 17.
Ra-i-ba-ni (probably hypocor. with ending -ani, cf. Elu-ra-i-ba, Elu-bi-El, SÁ, pal. ) CT IV, 8, 30.

Ra-i-bu-um, see preced. name, CT VII, 47, 7.

Ra-ma-da = Rama-Adda "Addad is exalted"? JADD 877, 3.


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. הָיְתָה, לְיִרְאָה, Palm._Return to the fountain, JADD 151, 1, 5, R. 3.

Ra-pa-ia (hypocor. or = bibl. לְיִרְאָה "Ja(hu) has healed"? JADD 422, R. 14.

Ra-pi' = Ra-a-pi', q.v., VAT 5396, 2.

Ra'-si-i = Rīšī, "Head, Chief" (cf. Palm. and see sub Ra-ash-'), JADD 851, III, 13.

Ra-su' = Ra'-si-i ? JADD 324, R. 14.

Ra'-su-nu (hypocor. with ending -nu, see preced. names) HABL 132, 9, 14.

Ra-sum-ni = bibl. מִנַּי , LXX Πατέρας, Πατέρας, king of Syria

(perhaps identical with Hebrew יְשׁוֹעַ "favor", though יְשַׁוֶּעַ corresponds to Aram. יְשַׁוֶּעַ, Tigl. IV, Ann. 83, 150, 205, 236.

Ra'-u = bibl. וּוֹ "Friend, Shepherd" (abbrev. cf. bibl. רַעְבּ, however, the etymology of this bibl. names is somewhat obscure, as according to LXX Ραββάν, Ραββαν, the root רַבְּבָן in these names ought to correspond to Aram. רַבְּבָן, JADD 38, R. 5, 39, R. 4.

Ra'-u-a-nu (hypocor. with ending -anu, see preced. name) HABL 830, 3.

Ri-bi-me-Milki (MAN) = Ribime-Milki, JADD 337, R. 11.

Ri-ib-Ad-da variants Ri-ib-Ad-di, Ri-ib-Ad-a, Ri-ib-Ad-di, 4 IM

"Contenda, O Adad!" (cf. 1a-ri-ib-Adad, bibl. יְבִיתָא, יְבִיתָא, LXX Ἰάμαντα, Ἰάμαντα, 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 יְטִי, cf. Aram. יְטִי), JADD 713, 3.
Ri-sa-a-z = Aram. ArQ., "Head, Chief" (abbrev. of Ra-sh-, Rasi),  
JADD 230, R.10.

Ri-sa = ArQ. of a name compounded with חָשָׁ, cf. Rasunnu  
JADD 153, 3.

Ri-zi-in-ni( = רזין?), KB IV, p.58.

Ru-hu-bi = bibl. n.pr.m. (abbrev. cf. הִו, שֶׁמֶה), Shalm. III, Mon. II, 95.

Ru-kib-tu (hypocor. of a name compounded with הָיְכָל "to ride", cf. 
Bil'irakabi, bibl. הבילה, Senn. Tayl. II, 62, etc.

Sa-a-ad "He has strengthened" (abbrev. of South-Arabic שֶׁמֶה,  
Jewish שֶׁמֶה, cf. Shal-ti-El, Adad-sha-al-tum)  
HABL 1028, 10.

Sa-ak-kan, Sa-ak-kan-nu = Hebrew שֶׁמֶה, "He has settled down" (abbrev. of Sa-kan-Da-da, bibl. שֶׁמֶה, JADD 174, R.10, 421, R.7.

Sa-am'-gu-nu (perhaps = Shamah'unu = bibl. שֶׁמֶה; cf. Shama'gunu  

Sa-am-ma-ku "He has sustained" (abbrev. of Samaki-El) Senn. Cyr. 379; 5
Sa-am-sa-a-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with Samsu  
שֶׁמֶה; cf. bibl. שֶׁמֶה, JADD 661, 18.

Sa-am-si-d 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  
שֶׁמֶה, cf. III Chapter sub Sibilants), 1 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-lu-na "The Sungod is our (?) God"  
(una may be compared with Ph. "God", cf. Pun.  
,  
, 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 sa'du, cf. preced. n.) Sargon, Ann. 279
Sa-gi-bi-e (abbrev. see preced. name) JADD 811, 4.
Sa-gi-bi-El "The God is inaccessibly high" (cf. Nabû-sa-gi-ib) HABL 1052, 7.
Sa-gi-bi-Milki (LUGAL) "Melech is inaccessibly high" JADD 4, IV, 4
Sa-gi-bi-i (abbrev. cf. preced. names), JADD 72, 9. R. 9, etc.
Sa-gi-bu = Sagi'ib, JADD 1, I, 5.
Sa-gi-il-bi'-ād "Sagil is about me" (cf. Adad-, Atar-, Iau-bi'di; Hilprecht, BE X, p. 62, is inclined to identify the first element with (E) Sagi'ila; however Sagil = "Possessor", may be an equivalent of a divine name) JADD 248, R. 11.
Sa-i-la-a = סָֹּלְּא "petitioned" (abbrev. cf. bibl. סָֹלְּא) JADD 675, R. 17.
Sa-i-la-tum (hypocor. of a name compounded with סָֹלְּא) CT VIII, 10, 8.
Sa-i-lu, Sa-i-ilu (AN) = Sali', JADD 155, 4. 500, R. 15.
Sa-i-ru, Sa-e-ru, Sa-a-e-ri (abbrev. of names compounded with סָֹלְּא "to reckon", cf. bibl. סָֹלְּא ?) 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, Sak-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, Sak-ka-a-an; but then Sakān would not be a WS, P. eff.) JADD 22, R. 3. 695, III 16.
Sa-ka-' (abbrev. see preced. names) JADD 332, R. 10.
Sa-kan, Sak-kan, Sa-ka-nu, Sa-kan-nu, see Sa-ak-kan, JADD 35 RE, I. 116 R. 3, 433, R. 6, 470, R. 15, etc.
Sa-kan-Da-da "Dada (= Adad) has settled down" (= תֶּדָּא, cf. bibl. תֶּדָּא) "Jahv has settled down"), JADD 877, R. 8.
Sa-la-a-El "The God has drawn out" (cf. Nab., סָֹלְּא) 82-1-18, 695, III, 24a.
Sa-la-ma-a-mu = bibl. סָֹלְּא (abbrev. cf. bibl. סָֹלְּא) JADD 742, 24.
Sa-la-ma-ku (king of Moab) see preced. name Tigrp. IV B, 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-Milkī (LUGAL) "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 preced. name), HABL 726, R. 11. JADD 742, R. 11

Sa-la-mu = Salamme, JADD 8, I, 13.

Sa-'lu (read Sa-'u-lu = обыти, or Sa-'i-lu = обыти, cf. Sa-u-li, Sa-i-la-a (? (Tallq. APN, p. 191, compares Aram. n. pr. m. обыти; but what does it mean ?), Sargon, Ann. 268.

Sa-ma-š = bibl. יהוה 'He has heard" (abbrev. cf. follow. n.) JADD 238, R. 4, 240, R. 5, etc.

Sa-ma-El "The God has heard" (cf. Nashhu-sama'ani, bibl. בראשי וondrous, Ph. בראשי), PSBA XXXIII, p. 232.

Sa-ma-hi = יהוה 'He has rejoiced" (cf. Pun. n. pr. f. יהוה and Jew. n. pr. m. יהוה?), VS I, 88, 26.

Sa-ma-ka "he has sustained" (abbrev. cf. Sa-am-ma-ku; but in Assyrian 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-ia, see Ch. III, sub Sibilants), JADD 598, R. 8.

Sa-ma-ki-El "The God has sustained" (cf. bibl. יהוה וondrous, Ph. בראשי), Str. Nebkā 138, 12.

Sa-ma-ku = Samaka, JADD 321, 5, 8.

Sa-ma-ra-š = Samu-Araḫ = Sumu-Araḫ "Sumu (his name) is the Moon-god" (Sa-mu-ra-š, Sa-mu-a-bu-um and Su-mu-a-bu-um, Sa-mu-la-El and Su-mu-la-El), MAP 37, 14.


Sa-mi-du = יירוק ? (= Samu-ida = Sumu-ida "Sumu has known"), III R 45, II, 21.
Samili-tu "Image"? (cf. Ph. f. sing. יִלָּבָט) 82-3-23, 135, v. 9.


Sam-si-a (hypocor.), JADD 316, 2.

Sam-si-El "The Sungod is God" (cf. Sam-si-i-lu) III r 1, III, 37.

Sam-si-i (hypocor.), JADD 453, R. 13.

Sam-si-ia-zi-bi "The Sungod has given" (cf. Sa-a-bi-El), JADD 1, I, 22.

Sam-si-ia-(ri), (Sam)-si-ia-ri "The Sungod is my help" (= Aram.

Sam-si-ia-a-a "The Sungod is my God" (cf. Sam-si-El, Sam-si-i-lu; or read Samsi-a A-a "My Sungod is Ja(hu)"), and cf. Samsi-Adad ?), JADD 3, V, 4. JADD 743, 11. 13.

Sa-mu-a-bi = Sumu-abim (bim) (founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon) "Sumu (= Sum-hu "his name") is father". Dinl 582, 15.

Sa-mu-ki-im = Sustain" (abbrev. cf. Samuki-El) CT VIII, 47, 22.

Sa-mu-la-El = Su-mu-la-El (the second ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon) "Truly, Sumu is God!" (cf. bibl. יִלָּבָט) CT VIII, 28, 24.

Sa-mu-na-A-ASH (Johns and Tallq., APH, p. 192, read Sa-mu-na-apal-idin "Eshmun has given a son"; but this reading is scarcely probable, as a Phoenician would have given his son either an Assyrian or a Phoenician name; therefore I am inclined to read Sa-mu-na-a-ash, cf. bibl. יִלָּבָט, and translate "Eshmun has bestowed" (?), JADD 3, I, 6.

Sa-mu-ni-ia-tu-mu "Eshmun has given" (cf. EblBa'al)-ia-a-tu-mu), JADD 160, R. 11.

Sa-mu-um (abbrev. cf. Sumu-abi, Sumu-la-El), Str. Warka 61, 28, etc.


Sa-na-mu = Sana'mu, see preced. name, JADD 122, R. 3, 123, R. 2, VS I, 96, 2.

Sa-na-mu = Sa-na-a-mu, Ungnad, Dilbat, p. 109.

Sa-ni-bu = Sani-abu = סני-הבר "The Father doubles" (gives a second son), cf. bibl. יִלָּבָט, if so, the preced. names as well belong to the same root יִלָָּבָט "to double", Tiglj. IV, B, 60, II R, 67.

Sa-ni-ni (perhaps hypocor. with the ending -ni, cf. the preced. names), HABL 231, 4.R.7.
Sa-pat-i-Ba-al = "Ba'al has judged" (cf. Pun. לברא "to call"

Ashurbi.A, III R 18, II, 121.130; Amm.II, 83.90

Sa-pi-ki/ku = Akkadian Sha-pik, Sha-pi-ku of "to pour out"?

Sa-ra-a-a = bibl. שָׁראָ" (cf. Sa-ra-a-El, Sha-ra'-El, Nabû-shara)

Palm II, 163, and see Abi-sa-ri-e) HABL 220, 2.
Sa-ra-a-El, Sa-ra-El "The God has been generous"? (cf. Arab. ﾉ "and see Abi-sa-ri-e"

or = Shara'-El(AN-MESHC "The God has loosened, set free"?; the reading Sa-ra-a-an, Sa-ra-anu would be also possible, cf. Sa-ra-a-mi; but even then, it would be a hypocor. of a name compounded with the root sarû), 53-1-18, 695, III, 15. JADD 5, 5.
Sa-ri-ia (hypocor. of a name compounded with sarû, see preced. names) Nabû 680, 12.
Sa-ri-u-ni (hypocor. of a name compounded with "to reckon"? (see under Sa-i-ru), JADD 894, 2.

Sa-u-li = bibl. "petitioned" (cf. Sa'alti-El), VS I, 93, 1.

Si'-a-a-li = Si'(= Sin) is my inmate"? (cf. Nashku-a-li; or = Si'-iali, cf. Nabû-iali, q.v.?), JADD 217, 2.5.11.
Si'-a-ka-di = "Sî' has seized" (cf. bibl. names compounded with נָשָׁ , JADB 3, VIII, 15.19.
Si'-a-ka-ba "Sî' has rewarded" (cf. Nabû-akaba), JADB I, II, 38.
Si-a-ka-bi, see preced. name, JADB 9, III, 3.
Si'-ba-ni-ak "Sî' is thy creator" (= Si'-bani-ka, cf. Ia-ab-ni-ik-El = Iabni-ka-El?), JADD 66, 2.
Si'-da-la-a "Sî' has drawn out" (cf. Nabû-dala'), JADD 185, R.16.
Si'-di-ki-ir = יִנְקֶר "Si' is remembered" (Part. pass? cf. Sab. יָנָקֵר and bibl. יִנְקֶר, see under Bin-dikiri), JADB 8, I, 20.

Si'-di-li-mi "Si' draw me out" (cf. Nashuh-dilimi), JADB 2, II, 6.

Si'-duri (BAD, probably = sūru, cf. Ahi-, A-i-, A-ta-, A-tar-, Da-di-, Mar-su-ru/ri) "Si' is my wall", JADD 229, R.8, etc.

Si'-edu (ASH-A-AN) "Si' is the only one"? (or read Si'-ash-a-an
= יִנְקֶר "Si' has healed us "?) JADD 420, R.5, 421, R.12.

Si-gaba "Si has chosen", or "Si has been exalted" (cf. Bel-ga-ba), JADD 229, 5.

Si'-gab-ba-ri "Si' is valiant" (cf. El-gabari), JADD 253, 6.

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 = יִנְקֶר "Si' is my protector" (cf. A-u-hu-tiim), JADD 231, R.10.

Si'-ia-ba-ba "Si' has rejoiced" (cf. Nashuh-isababa), JADD 5, I, 12.

Si'-id-ri "Si' is my help" (cf. Nabû-idri), JADD 1, II, 1. JADD 438, 9.

Si-i-li "Si is my god"? VS I, 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. יָנְקְר ) OLZ VI, col. 199, 16.

Si'-kit-ri, see preced. name, JADD 6, 1.

Si'-la-a-mu = יִנְקֹר "Si' is for us"? (cf. Ishtum, Isa-Isa) MVG VIII, p. III, 20.

Si'-lu-ki-di = יִנְקֹר "Si' is capturing"? (cf. Aram. יִנְקֹר ) HABL 131, 16, R.11.

Si'-ma-a-di "Si' is my refuge" (ma-a-di = Arab. "גַּמִּיקָה" = Hebrew גַּמִּיקָה, cf. A-u-ma-a-di "Jahu is my refuge", bibl. "נָמָיָה" and "נָמָיָה"), 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-na "Si' has counted, ordained me" (cf. Nashuh-manani), JADD 7, III, 6. L. E. I, 3.

Si'-ma-na "Si' has counted" (cf. Ahi-mamu, Ahi-iammu), JADD 813, 1.

Si'-ma-ta- "Si' has been generous" (cf. Arab. יִנְקֹר?), JADD 5, I, 3.
Si'-na-pi "Si' surpasses (everything?)" (cf. Arab. جَدَّتُ), JADB 1, 1, 30.
Si'-nu-ri "Si' is my light" (WS?), JADB 83, R. 5. 84, R. 2, etc.
Si'-pa-rak-ka "Si' has redeemed" (= Aram. ضَرَعَ; cf. Saf. ضَرَعَ), JADB 273, R. 10.
Si'-ka-tar "Si' is a rock" (cf. Hashnu-ka-tar), JADB 193, R. 6.
Si'-ra-hi-i "Si' is my shepherd" (cf. Ad-du-ra-hi-i), JADB 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), JADB 5, I, 4. 9, IV, 9.
Si'-shi-im-ki "Si' is (my) support" (cf. El-shi-im-ki), JADB 13, I, 12.
Si'-tu-ri "Si' is my rock" (cf. A-e-turi), JADB 5, R. 4.
Si'-za-ba-di "Si' has appertioned" (cf. El-za-bad-da), JADB 215, 1. 4.
Si-bi-it-ti-Bi'-il (Bi'-ili) "The Septenary deity is Ba'al" (i.e. Ba'al possesses the power of the supreme seven gods", cf. Au-sa-bi and bibl.ןֶבֶן הַיּוֹרָה, נֶבֶן הַיּוֹלֶדֶת), Tigli. IV, Ann. 151, B, 57.

Si-e-da-la "Si-e (= Si' = Sin) has drawn out" (cf. Si'-da-la-a), JADB 383, 3.
Si-e-ha-an = Si'-ha-an, JADB 285, 5.
Si-e-ha-zu-a "Si-e has seen" (cf. Haza-El), JADB 387, R. 4.
Si-e-ia-te "Si-e will save" (cf. Abi-ia-te'), JADB 263, 6.
Si-e-i-me = Si'-imme (cf. Adad-i-me), JADB 282, 1, 283, 7.
Si-e-ku-ki-di = Si'-lu-ki-di, Sarg. HABL 131, 16, R. 11.
Si-e-sa-ka-a = Si'-sa-ka-a, JADB 194, 1. 4.
Si-e-se-ki "Look out! O Si-els!" (sehi Impt. of saka?), JADB 184, R. 4.
Si-kia-an-mi "Care for me!" (cf. Amarna šakāru "to care for"?), JADB 117, R. 5.
Sim-ba-la(?) = -ba'ila "Sim is ruling"? CT II, 44, 35.
Sim-ha-zi-ir "Sim is helping"? (cf. Nabium-hazir), CT II, 28, 32, etc.
Sim-na-da "Sim has called" (cf. Ili-nada), T-6, 57, 5.
Sim-na-tam "Sim has given" (cf. Adad-na-ta-en), JADB 578, R. 10.
Sim-ta-ku-mu "Sim is the founder" (WS?), BB IX, 70, 6.
Su-a-li-i = "to ask", cf. bibl. JADD 867,10.

Su-da-la-e "Su has drawn out" (Su=Si=Si'=Sim cf. Si'da-la-e) JADD 284,1.

Su-hu-ram-mu = "Suhu is lefty" (the divine name Suhu may be identical with the geographical name Suhi = bibl. JADD 9,IV,4.


Su-ki-nu = קִּי "Prefect, Steward"? (abbrev. from a name compounded with this element, as in Phoenician קִי is a divine name, probably equivalent of a deity, cf. Pum. קִי "god", Ph. קִי and קִי הָרֵא לָה, K.4268, L.E.2 (Knudtz, Ass. Geb. 48)


Su-ia (hypocor. cf. following names), HABL 168,R.20.

Su-mu-a-bi "Sumu(Sum-hu "His name") is Father" (cf. Sumu-abi)

Su-mu-a-bu-um = Sumu-abu, CT IV,47,30, KB IV,p.10,16.

Su-mu-a-bi-la "Sumu is my Father", UMBS XI, No.2,1,1,26.

Su-mu-a-bi-la "Sumu is my Brother", UMBS XI, No.2,1,1,27.

(Su-mu)-a-li(NI)-ip? "Sumu is a friend" (cf. Arab. אַלִּיף) UMBS XI, No.1,1,12.

(Su-mu)-a-am-mi-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-iamatu-bala; for nidim c.f. Hebrew רֵד "to condole, shew sympathy with"; may we see the Perf. of this root in na-da, as in El-na-da?) UMBS XI, No.2,1,1,2.

(Su-mu)-a-pa-a = "Sumu has shone" (cf. Iapah-Adad) UMBS XI, No.2,1,1.

(Su-mu)-a-pa-ar "Sumu has concealed, or, pardoned" (cf. Arab. "to forget"

(Su)-mu-A-ra-ah "Sumu is the meenged" (cf. Sumu-ra-ah) UMBS XI, No.2,1,25.

Su-mu-a-tar "Sumu is eminent" (=Summu-watar; or "Sumu is A(th)tar

and cf. Abi-ma-tar = Abi-ma-Atar alongside of Abi-ma-Ishter?)

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=daians?) AJSL 29, p. 182, no. 373.

(Su-m)u-di-ni, see preceding name, UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 28.

Su-mu-di-ta-na "Sumu is leader"? (cf. Ammi-ditana) Lindl

Su-mu-E-a "Sumu is Ea", OM C. 11, 2.

Su-mu-El (king of Larsa) "Sumu is the God" (cf. bibl. 𐁙 𐁭 𐁤 𐁴) Larsa Dynastic List, Clay, Misc. Inscri. Yale Coll. p. 31

Su-mu-GIN = Sumu-kim "Sumu is righteous", OM

Su-mu-ḥa-at-mu "Sumu is protector" (cf. Ammi-hatma), MAP 10, 15.

Su-mu-ḥa-la "Sumu is the Hušu" (cf. Am-ha-lu), CT VI, 46, 28.

Su-mu-ḥam-mu "Sumu is the Ammu" (cf. Am-ḥamme) CT VI, 44, 6.

Su-mu-ia (hypoer. cf. Su-ia), CT VI, 44, 17.

(Su-mu-ia) a-ah(?) ru-um "Sumu is attached to us"? (cf. Arab. 𐁢 𐁥 𐁥 𐁤 𐁠 𐁠 𐁧 𐁩 and bibl. am. prr. 𐁣 𐁣 𐁣 𐁤 𐁤 ?) UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 28.

Su-mu-ia-μu-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, Mu-ti-Ba-alt; the latter name is found in the Amarna period as Ia-ut-Ba-ah-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 explained by identifying the element ia in the latter with Arab. Interjection 𐁣, which by erroneous etymology, followed the analogy of the preformative it and became e, in Iamut-Balum Chiera's view (l.c.p. 113f) that the lands of Jamut-bal and Mutu-bal were two different centres is quite improbable; cf. Sumu-muti-a-Ba-la), UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 19.
Su-mu-ia-si-id "Sumu will build firmly, or, establish"? (iasid may be identified either with Arab. یَبِث, Impf. یَبِث, "to raise high, build firmly", or with Hebrew יָבּא, "to found, establish"; Barth, ES, p. 54f., combines both roots; cf. Pun. יָבּא, "to build".) 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 יַד, "lance", properly, a weapon of protection, and in bibl. pr. יָכַד). 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-ilum = 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-mu-ti-a-Ba-la "Sumu is anti-ia-Ba'al" (If in ia-mu-tu-Ba-la, see Sumu-ia-mu-tu-ba-la, the element ia corresponds to the Arabic Interjection يا, then in this name mu-ti-a may stand for mutu-ia, and the Interj.is placed between the elements mutu and Ba-la); UMS XI, No. 2, 1, 35.

Su-mu-ra-ah = Sumu-Arah "Sumu is the meonged" (cf. II, 50, 6, etc.


Su-mu-ra-me-e "Sumu is exalted" (cf. Elu-ra-me), CT VI, 42, 9.

Su-mu-ra-zi-em "Sumu is favorable" (see sub Rasummu) 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. pr. יָמָּה, names of synonymous roots of יָמָּה). 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. um. UMBS XI, No. 2, 1, 1. 15.

Su-na-a-a (hypocor. of Arab. "to be sublime", and bibl., see under Su-ni-ia, JADB 329, 7.

Su-ni-ia (hypocor. of a name with Su-—Clay, Babyl. Rec. 1.

Su-ra-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with suru, cf. Ata-suri and Aram., etc.), JADB 6, VII, etc.

Su-si-i (cf. bibl. "to be sublime") JADD 342, R. 6, etc.

Su-si-ia (see preceding name), JADD 415, R. 7.

Su-su-u = Su-si-i?, JADD 320, R. 2.

Su-u-su = Su-si-i, JADD 80, 4.


Sa-la-a-El "The God has been good" (cf. Arab. "the good, just" and Ph. mn. prr. חֵלֵב-כַּלְעַמָּה, חֵלֵב-כֶּנֵי, Pun. חֵלֵב: Sa-la-a cannot be connected with Akkadian sullu "to pray, implore", though this root frequently occurs in Akkadian mn. prr.), HABL 1041, 5. JADD 221, L. R. 1.

Sa-li-a-a = Sa-la-a-a? (or = Akkad. Salli-a-a?) JADD 872, 1.

Salmu (NU-mu) hi-ni "Salmu is my grace" (cf. Himni-bel?: for Salmu as Aram. n. div. cf. סָלִּ֖מָו JADD 1101, 10.

Sa-pa-nu "He has hidden" (abbrev. cf. bibl. סַּפְּנָו, Pun. סַּפְּנָו, 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), Sem. Tayl. II, 58, 67 (R 38).

Si-id-ka-a-a (hypocor. = Sidka-a, or read Si-id-ka-A-a "Šedek is Ja(hu)" = bibl. יְהֹוָ ה? JADD 577, 2, 5.

Si-id-ki-El "Šedek is the God" (cf. Rab-Zidki, bibl. יְהֹוָ ה).
South-Arab. ֶסֶוֹהַרַתְנְיָא, Ph. יֵּרֵצָרָיָא, Aram. יִרֵצָרָיָא, and see under
Sumu-zikum), Canon A, iv, 5.

SUR d Adad "Adad is a rock" (Ph. cf. bibl. Peiser, Babylon Vertr. Nbd., II, 2.
d SUR-ma'-a-di "SUR is my refuge" (cf. Si' ma-a-di), 83-1-18, 695, XII, 25.
d SUR-na-ta-nu "SUR has given" (cf. Adad-natanu), Str. Nbd., 764, 15.
d SUR-ra-pa" "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
הַיְהָה "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, Smu-a-bi var. Su-mu-a-bi-im, Su-mu-la-El var.
Su-mu-la-El?; if so, the question would be whether shamu =
shumm should be identified with Akkadian shum "Son" or
with the WS divine equivalent sumu "His name") Str. Dar. 265, 9.
Sha-am-ma-a (hypocor. of a name compounded with the element shamu
shumm see preced. name), cf. bibl. סֵעָמַע. יִשְׁרֵעִית and
Talm. יִשְׁרֵעִית), BE X, 5, 20
Sha-am-ma" = Sha-am-ma-a, Str. Nbd., 755, 5.
Sha-ba-ta-a-a "Born on a Sabbath"? (cf. bibl. יִבְנֵה BE IX, 69, 21
Sha-ba-sha-ta-ni-" "Thou hast praised me" (cf. bibl. יַעֲשִׂית, Palm.
שֶׁבֶט), BE X, 130, 23.
Sha-bi-El "The Septenary deity is God"? (cf. bibl. יִבְיטוּ בִּי, and see Bibitti-Bi'li), Amarna 62, 26.
Sha-ku-u-hu "Forgotten"? (more probably of Aram. חֲנָנָה "to find"
cf. nab. חֲנָנָה), BE X, 52, 1.
Shal-ti-El "I have asked of God" (cf. Sa'al-ti-El and bibl.
alongside of Shu (abbrev. of bibl. and rh. Sū, Sūm, Sūmu) Str.ZA IV, p.121.

Sha-ma-" He has heard"(abbrev. of bibl. and rh. Sū, Sūm, Sūmu) JADD 223, R.9.

Sha-ma-a (hypocor. of a name compounded either with the element Sū̇mu "to hear", or with Sūmu = Sūmu, cf. foll.) KB III, L.P.172.

Sha-ma-Ada = Sha-mu-Ada = Shu-um-Ada "Son of Adad" (cf. Akkad. shumu in m. prr.), or "The name of Adad (we have invoked)"; = Shumu-Ada "Shumu is Adad"; Canaanite shumū would thus correspond to South-Arab. sumu; cf. the names under sumu, and see under Sha-am-El, Amarna 49, 2.

Sha-ma-ah-um, probably = bibl. Sū̇mu, cf. the geographical name Sha-am-hu-um = Sū̇mu, BE IX 45, 2.

Sha-ma-El "The God has heard" (cf. bibl. Sū̇mu) Str. Nbk, 36, 1.

Sha-ma-gu-um = bibl. Sū̇mu, cf. Sa-am-gu-um HABL 1275, 2, etc.


Shamash-ab-āi "The Sungod is my maker" (cf. Aba-dan, Abba-āsi, El-ā-ba-āi), CT VIII, 20, 31.


Shamash-ha-zi "The Sungod sees" (cf. Ša-za-El), CT IV, 25, 5.


Shamash-im-me "The Sungod is the Ammu" (cf. Sī-im-me), JADD 248, 1.

Shamash-la-na "The Sungod has accompanied (has been present at the birth)" (cf. Nashu-la-u-ani), Str.Cyr. 329, 7.

Shamash-na-da-ri "The Sungod has consecrated" (cf. El-nadar), BE IX, 93, 3.
Shamash-ka-me "The Sungod has arisen" (cf. Abâ-ka-me) JADB 3, III, 10.

Shamash-ka-na-a "The Sungod has acquired" (cf. El-ka-na-a) JADB 742, R. 19

Shame-ku = 'mâdâ "Sustained" (abbrev. cf. El-shimki, Si'-shimki) JADB 11, I, 3.

Shame(-mesh)-ba-rak-ku "The Sungod has blessed" (the WS Sungod is written Shamash = שיאמשו), BE IX 85, 6.

Shame(-mesh)-ga-di-i "The Sungod is my fortune" (cf. bibl. נְעָר הָעָלָה, Aram. מֵעָלָה,קַשׁ,カメル, נַעֲרָה) BE VIII 52, 3. Sham(U)-esh-ha-la "The Sungod is the Ḥālu" (cf. Su-mu-ḥa-la, and see under Ḥali-), III R 45, II, 20. (XII IV, p. 70)

Shame(-mesh)-id-ri "The Sungod is my help" (cf. Adad-idri') X 974

Shame(-mesh)-ı-l-a-a-am, see Shamash-ı-la-a-ıam, Str. Nbd 554, 4.

Shame(-mesh)-ı-lu "The Sungod is the God", Nbl ZA IV, 7, 3.

Shame(-mesh)-la-di-im "The Sungod is for this one" (cf. Nabû-la-di, Adad-la-din), BE X

Shame(-mesh)-la-di-im-ni = Shame-lad-im, BE IX, 56, 3.

Shame(-mesh)-li-im-dar "Truly, the Sungod will consecrate" (cf. Eli-li-im-dar) BE IX, 109, 2.

Shame(-mesh)-ma-ta-um "The Sungod has given", BE VIII, 151, 38.


Sham-mi-e-id-ri-ı "Heaven is my help" (Shame "Heaven" may be a literal translation of Anu = "Heaven"), Str. Nbd, 7, 3.

Sham-shu-Hâ-ad-du = Sansi-Adad "The Sungod 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.

Shæ-mu-adda = Shu-um-Ad-da, see Sha-ma-Adda, Amarna 225, 3.

Sha-mu-ı-ıa-ha-ıam (hypovor. of the preceded name, CT IX, 4, 17, 5, 28.

Sha-pi-ra-ı-ı (y) "The beautiful one"? (cf. Aram. יבש, Sîn.

King, Boundary-Stones, 114, 22.
Sha-ra-a (abbrev. cf. foll. names), Str. Cyrus 94, 15.

Sha-ra'-El (AN-MEŠ) "The God has loosened" (cf. Nabū-sha-ra-) and
Hab. JUMBS ii, no. 1, 2, 5.

Sha-ra-a-El, see prec. name, CM 25, 4.

Sha(r)IM-sI-ma-la-ka "The breath of the god has reigned"? (šāru
properly "wind, storm" denotes like Hebrew נַחַל also "breath"
(cf. ša-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 šāru in the meaning of "grace, favor", see Muss-Arnoldt,

Sha-rat-Sa-am-s(i-i) "Sharrat is my sungoddess" (Sharrat "the Queen"
may be identical with Ba'elat, consort of Ba'al and with bibl.
"the Queen of Heaven") HAB 636, 2.

Sharru-di-li-i-ni, probably to read milki-dilini "O, melech, draw me
out!" (cf. Si'-dilini, Nashuh-dilini), JADD 2, 11, 7.

Sharru-ha-a-bi, probably to read milki-ha-a-bi (the etymology is ob-
scure; may we compare Arab. ظَلّ "to be absent, hidden")
JADD 7, iii, 14.

She-im-ka (abbrev. cf. Sî-shi-im-ki, Si'-shi-im-ki), JADD 1101, I.

She-ri-by)-da-la-a "The Dawn has drawn out" (cf. Si'-da-la-a) 83-1-18,
695, XI, 16.

She(r)Bu)-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-ila-a-a, She-ir-ila-a-a "The Dawn is the God" (cf. Shamesh-ila-a-
JADD 83, R. 6; JADD 20, I, 11.

She-ir-ma-na-ni "The Dawn has counted, ordained me" (cf. Nashuh-manani
JADD 1, 14, 40.

She-im-ka-ia (hypocor. cf. Si'-shimki), HABB 193, 5.

Shi-ip-te-(Ba'lu, Shi-ip-ti-(Ba'lu(IM) "Judgment of Ba'al" (cf. Ph.
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 return, cf. foll. names) CM 36, 3.

Shu-bu-Na-ah-shu is evidently identical with bibl. Shubu-Nahshu, which accordingly is to be read שְׁבֻׁ-תִּ-נַ-הוּ, the Masoretic reading is meaningless; the same form with enclitic יִ- may be seen in the bibl. name שְׁבֻׁ-תִּ-נַ-הוּ; for other names containing the same root, see preced. name),

PSBA XV, p.15.

Shulmānu(SILIM)-im-me  "Shulman is the Ammu" (cf. Si'-imme; probably to read Sulmannu, see Chapter III, sub Sibilants; for the ws origin of this deity, see KAT 5, pp.224,474) JADD 284,3,11.

Shu-mu-Ne-di  = Shum-Adda (the nominative form Shumu does not necessarily prove the appositional conception of the two nouns, cf. e.gr. bibl. שְׁמוּ and שְׁמוּ) Amarna 97,1.

Shu-um-Ad-da  = Shum-Ad-da (the construct form Shu-um does not exclude the appositional construction of the two nouns, as Shum-Adda or Shuma-Adda could be contracted to Shum-Adda) Amarna 8,18,35.
"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 = חַוֹּי "Fox" (cf. Akkad. She-li-bu-um, and bibl. חווֹי), Str. NbdK, 365, 14.


Tu-Ba'-lu = bibl. הָאָבָה "With him is Ba'al" (king of Sidon), Senn. 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", T-D, 237, 33.

Tu-ub-is'a-ma "Jahveh is good", = bibl. יְהוָה , BE X, 116, 1.

Tu-ri-a-te'- (king of Arabia; the name may be explained as Impf Paal of the root יָסָר "to save", which frequently occurs in WS mn. prr. of Abi-iate', Am-iate'; 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. יָבִיב "to give" (abbrev.), Winckler, ZA II, pl. II, R. 7, 10.

U-a-di-i = Arab. יָבְי "Peaceful, gentle"?, JADD 3, V, 12.


Um-mi-A-ra-ah-tum "My mother is the moon goddess", CT VIII, 12, 17.

U-ku-bu (probably of akābu "To reward", Imp?) JADD 98, 2, R. 3.

U-ku-bu-tu, see preced. name, JADD 222, 3.
U-ri-Ia "My light is Ja(hu)"
JADD 59,7.

U-ri-im-me-1 "My light is my Ammu" (cf. Si'-imme), Tigl. IV, Ann. 151.

Ur-ri-la-e(?) "My light is Jahu" (cf. Uri-Ia), JADD 68, R. 6. 1.

Ur-ru-d ma-lik "Light is Malik", Rev. Semit. 1897, p. 166(I)

U-ru-Milki "Light is Melech" (king of Byblos) Senn. Tayl. II, 50.

U-si-\(\tilde{}\) (= Aram. docket \(\gamma\:\tilde{}\\gamma\:\tilde{}\\gamma\:\tilde{}\)), CIS II, 17, Stevenson, Contracts, No. 4

"Help!" (abbrev. \(\tilde{}\) of \(\tilde{}\)), JADD 229, 3.

U-si-\(\tilde{}\) = \(\gamma\:\tilde{}\\gamma\), see preceding name JADD 316, 2.

U-zi-\(\tilde{}\) = bibl. \(\gamma\:\tilde{}\\gamma\), "My strength"? (abbrev. cf. \(\gamma\:\tilde{}\\gamma\)) Sarg. VIII 43.

Uz-na-\(\tilde{}\) "The ear" (abbrev. cf. the early Babylon name Ana-Aja-uz-ni)

"My ear is turned to Aja"; cf. bibl. \(\gamma\:\tilde{}\\gamma\), JADD 893, R. 4.

Uz-na-nu (probably hypocor. of a name compounded with the element uznu (see preceding name), with hypocor. ending -nu) JADD 260, R. 8.

Wa-kar-a-bu-um "The Father is precious" (cf. Abum-wakar) CT VIII, 45, 1.

Wa-kar-a-hu-um "The Brother is precious" (cf. Abum-wakar) CT II, 15, 2.

Warad-d A-ba-a "Servant of Abä" (Abä is no doubt identical with Aram.

\(\gamma\:\tilde{}\) "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 \(^6\) p. 362); see sub A-ba-a-, and Tbl. APN, p. 250) CT VIII, 11, 10.

Warad-AI-la "Servant of Allä" (cf. Mannu-ki-d Al-la-a), Reis. Tel. 156, VI, 20.

Warad-Ap-ra "Servant of Apra" (WS ?; the deity Ap(b)-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. preceding names; or = Aram. \(\gamma\:\tilde{}\\) "He has apportioned me", abbrev. of Zabdani-El (? but cf. Zabdane) JADD 64 R. 12.

Za-ab-da-a-nu (hypocor. see preceding name, but considering that the bearer of the name is the brother of the Babylonian king Nabu-apil-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-i(abbrev. see prec.names), JADD 86,6.


Za-ba-du "He has apportioned"(abbrev. ) HABL 1123,5,12.


Za-bad-ia-a-ma "Jahveh has apportioned" = סְּפָּר, BE X,118,1.

Za-ba-nu "He has bought"(abbrev. or = zabannu, hypocor. of a name compounded with the element za-ba-a, cf. early Babyl. za-ba-a-ia, Assy. za-ba- ?) Shamshi-Adad V,:I R 31,III,60(KB I,p.182).

Za-ba-a-nu(hypocor. = zabänu, 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-El "My portion is the God" = bibl. , and see Ami-zabthi), HABL 524,2.

Za-bi-i (hypocor. = Aram. יְּבֵי , see Zabda-a) JADD 86,9.

Za-bi-i(abbrev. = Za-ab-di-i), JADD 86,R.2, etc.

Za-bi-Ishtar "My portion is Ishtar", JADD 510 R.6.

Za-bi-bi-e(queen of Arabia) "Defender" of Arab. יְּבֵי "to defend, repel? III R 9,54,Tigl p.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( probably hypocor. not = Zabid-A-a, but see foll.m. ) JADD 752,18.


Za-bi-i-ni = Aram. Part. pass. יְּבֵי "Bought"(cf. bibl. יְּבֵי, Aram. יְּבֵי, and see za-ba-nu), Str. Dar.20,8.

Za-bi-na-nu = zabina, 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.


Zabôdê? UMBS II, No. 1, 222, 3.


Za-bu-um var. of Za-bi-um, q.v., MAP 79, 12, etc.

Za-kü-ri = Hebrew "Remembered" (cf. bibl. ?) JADD 176, 2, 6.

Za-kü-ru-um, see preced. name, T-D, LG.

Za-lim-ia, perhaps better to read Sa-lim-ia (hypocor. cf. Aram. n. div.


Za-ni-ia-shir (BU) "This one may succeed!" (cf. Ph. and Aram. pron. dem.

"this one"?; for imšîr cf. Assyr. Zăr-lîshîr "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-da vapp. 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, -dIM; the writing Idâi for Addâ in these two names may be due to the influence of the vowel a 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 prec. names, CT IV, 14, 4.
Zi-im-ri-El "Zimri is the God", or "The God is my protector", see Zimri-
abum) UMBS XI, No.2,1, VII, 4.
Zi-im-ri-E-ra-sh "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-ilāni), 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.
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. Zimri-El), Krausz,
Zi-im-rī-Shamash "My protector is the Sungod", Schorr, Altbabylon. Rechts-
urkunden.
Zi-meir-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. zaītar "conqueror" (cf. bibl.
ירמיה, Esther I, 10); but the same element occurs in the WS speci-
mens; Mitanni names occurs already in the Hammurabi period (cf.
Ungnad, Urkunden aus Dilbat, BA VI, 5), and Zidra may belong to the
same elements, though the Babylon. scribes regarded it as WS; or may
we compare Arab. מ"ו אפך "Principal"?) Amarna 214, 11.
Zi-id-ri-El "Zidri is the God" (see preced. name) UMBS XI, No.2,1, VII, 6.
Zi-id-ri-ja(PI)-ra var. of Zidra-jara (cf. bibl. מ"ו אפך) Amarna 211, 3, etc.
Zi-ir-ja(PI)-sha = Sir-jasha "Sir has saved"? (the serpent deity Siru
occurs as element in early Babylon. and in Assyr. nn. ppr. (see also
KAT 3 p.504f), with which Zi-ir may well be identified; for iasha
cf. bibl. יִתְנָה ?) Ta'annek 7, 4.
Zi-ir-ta-shi(?) = Sir-tashi "O Sir, thou savest"? (see preceding name; the forms ja-sha and ta-shi may perhaps be better combined with the root ותימ "to support" (= Arab. ﰒ) in bibl.) Ta'annek 3.9.
Zi-ra-ja(PI) (perhaps hypocor. of a name compounded with Zir-, see preceding names) Ta'annek 3.4.

Zi-ta-a-m(cf. Aram. עשומ "Olive-tree") JADD 711, R.8.
Zi-ta-na (cf. bibl. n. pr. עץ "Olive-tree", see preceding name) Amarna 170, 20.
Zu-bi-Si-id-ki = סִדֶק יְהוָה "Sedek is a warrior", or = יְהוָה יְשֹׁר "The beauty of Sedek "? (for Sedek, cf. Bi-Si-id-ki, Rib-Sidki) JADD 6, R.3.
Zu-pa-El(AN-MESH) "The God keeps watch" ( = בֹּדֶק יִשְׂרָאֵל ? cf. bibl.) BE VIII 27, 3.