The recent important monography *Amarna Personal Names* by Richard S. Hess on the personal names from the XIVth century B.C. Amarna texts crowns a series of previous studies made by the same Author on the matter, such as *Personal Names from Amarna: Alternative Readings and Interpretations*, UF 17, 1986, pp. 157-67, *Cultural Aspects of Onomastic Distribution in the Amarna Texts*, UF 21, 1989, pp. 209-16, and *The Operation of Case Vowels in the Personal Names of the Amarna Texts*, in L. De Meyer - H. Gasche (Eds.), *Mésopotamie et Elam*, XXXVIe RAI, Gent 1991, pp. 201-10. Such works, always well documented, together with the complementary papers on the Alalah tablets and the book on the archaic Biblical anthroponymy (*Studies in the Personal Names of Genesis 1-11*, AOAT 242 [1993]), qualify Hess as one of the leading authorities on the Amarnian onomasticon. This volume will also become a point of reference for scholars working on the Semitic PNs of the previous periods.

Hess' *Amarna Personal Names* is composed of three parts:

- a catalogue of the relevant PNs (pp. 7-184), where they are listed according to the transliterations and not the transcriptions (e.g. *nftq-ma-haddu*, not Niqma-Haddu; however, in pp. 244-48, under «Cross-References», Hess gives his transcriptions of the PNs mentioned); when it is possible Hess also presents relevant PNs which derive from other sources, not only cuneiform;

- a short grammatical analysis (pp. 185-200), especially on the West-Semitic materials;

- a glossary (pp. 200-242) divided into parts devoted to West Semitic, Akkadian, Egyptian, Sanskrit, Hurrian, Anatolian (Hittite and Luwian) and Kassite.

To sum up, Hess analyses 217 PNs, and fully interprets most of them. The result shows (excluding *a-da-pa*, *ki-iš-ši*, *lugal-kē-en* and *nu-ur-dag-gal*, attested in literary texts) that 81 PNs are West-Semitic (6 are doubtful), 45 are Egyptian (1 is doubtful), 28 are 'Indo-Aryan' (2 are doubtful), 23 are Hurrian (2 are doubtful), 13 are Akkadian (3 are doubtful), 8 are Anatolian (among them there are Hittite and Luwian PNs) (1 is doubtful), and 5 are Kassite; for the other PNs the linguistic affiliation is unknown (however, many of them are fragmentary PNs).

Some remarks on several PNs and roots are given below:

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p. 31, *am-mi-is-tam-ri*: the derivation from *ṭmr, «to bear fruit» is likely, and quite universally accepted; see however M. Krebemik, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte*, Berlin 1988, pp. 64-65, for an alternative *ḍmr;

p. 54 (and 205, 237), *ba-[aš]-tum-me*: if it is a Semitic PN, the interpretation of *baštum (*b’*s) is more complicated than Hess considers;²

p. 57, *bi-e-ri*: Hess’ interpretation of this PN (a gentilic of a GN, *bi’r-, «well») seems quite doubtful to me;

p. 80 (and 81 and 164): I wonder if the PNs *ia-ma, ia’-ma-a-ia* and *ya-mi-ú-ta* derive from the DN Yammu;

p. 123, *pir-ḫi*: this PN could well be Akkadian (or more likely Semitic), but its Hurrian affiliation is even more probable: see the Old Babylonian Mari FPNs *pé-er-he-ki-ia-še* (see M.10143, courtesy of J.-M. Durand), *pé-er-ḫe-en-ki-ia-ze* (M.8472, courtesy of J.-M. Durand), *pé-er-ḫe-en-ša-ke* (ARM XIII 1), *pé-er-ḫe-en-zi* (ARM XIII 1), *pé-er-ḫe-ṣa-zu* (ARM XXV 225), *pé-er-ḫu(-un)-na* (ARM XIII 1, XXI 403);

p. 174 (and 239), *ir-NIN.URTA*: it is at least doubtful that here NIN.URTA is the «Babylonian god, son of Enlil»; the problem is the same for Emar in the XIIIth century B.C.³: who is the western god hidden behind this sumerogram?

p. 201: it is probably no longer simple enough to explain the suffix -ān(u/i/a) as «a hypochoristic suffix with a diminutive sense (von Soden 1969 § 56r)»; however, we lack any comprehensive study on these matters;

p. 234: “Ammu” is certainly not an «Amorite deity», but a term from the social lexicon;

p. 238: *Hebat* is not a «Hurrian goddess», but ḫe(l)bat, the Semitic paredre of the Aleppo Storm-God, whose name derives from Aleppo itself⁴.

The Author must be congratulated for his accomplished work, which is linguistically sound and easy to consult. However, given Hess’ sensibility toward the cultural problems furnished by the onomasticon (see his paper in UF 21 quoted above), a short discussion on an aspect that he neglects is necessary. Given the limitations of the present writer, such a discussion only focuses on the Semitic PNs.

A first point to emphasize concerns the DNs attested in these PNs. A clearly coherent group is represented by the western Storm-God and by his paredre: Haddu and his Hurrian equivalent Teṣṣub are attested in 16 and 3 PNs, Ḫebat in 4 PNs (3 of them are feminine PNs). To these 23 PNs we can add the 8 PNs with *b’l*. To «Hadda’s theological system» then we can also add the DNs Mēr (1 PN, attesting also *b’l*) and Yammu (1 PN). Accordingly this group is composed of 32 PNs: it is the most numerous and coherent group. A system «Hadda + related DNs + malkum - šarrum - damum - liʾmum - ‘ammum - kaymum» has been recognized by the present writer in a forthcoming paper as typical of the royal Syrian onomasticon from the Ebla

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⁴ See E.A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, AASOR 20, 1941, p. 41. This name of the goddess is already attested in IIIId Millennium Ebla, see more recently A. Archi, *Studies in the Pantheon of Ebla*, Or 63, 1994, pp. 249-51 («ḥatalāḥtu/»).
Remarks on the Amarna Personal Names

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age onwards (see also Fronzaroli, M.A.R.I. 8). The Amarna documentation helps to confirm that (together with other elements) such an ideology remained central in the Levant throughout the XIVth century B.C.

The second point is a semantic one. In his grammatical analysis Hess dedicates a paragraph to the «Semantic Categories» of the West-Semitic PNs (pp. 191-94). Here Hess follows J.J. Stamm and his fundamental Akkadische Namengebung, which is, however, devoted to the Akkadian onomasticon, and is dated 1939. In this approach Hess also follows C. Rasmussen, author of an important thesis on the Akkadian PNs from Old Babylonian Mari5. Hess refers all the West-Semitic Amarna PNs to Stamm’s categories in which the key-words are «thanksgiving», «request», «protection», «prayer», «trust», «endearment», etc. But the Ancients were not only «good», they also appreciated «strength» as well as «charity». The plethora of recent publications notwithstanding, it has been difficult for more advanced interpretations of Amorite Mari, and Early Syrian Ebla texts to enter regular scientifical circulation (even though French and Italian are easier to interpret than Sumerian or Akkadian). For example, a PN like Și-ip-tú-ri-ša is interpreted by Hess from *tpt, «to judge» and from *ry/ws, «to run» (pp. 144 and 212-13), but is left untranslated, since it is clearly absurd if these etymologies and interpretations are used.

However, a solution is already at hand. At Amorite Mari șapătum means «to command, to exercise authority», and šiptum means «order»6. At Early Syrian Ebla riḥsum means «help (in the battlefield)»7. The PNs with *tpt and *rbš do not clearly express «charity», but warlike pride, unless one wants to separate the referents of the terms used in the PNs from the referents of the terms used in the texts (such an approach is as diffused as it is dangerous). A PN such as Și-ip-tú-ri-ša must therefore mean something like «(thanks to) the command (of the king) the support on the battlefield (arrived)» or «(it is) the authority (of the king that gives) the support in the battlefields»8. Examples are well attested in which it is to the king or his god that homage is paid: e.g. at Ebla ir-kab-ri-zu, «The support (given by the king) triumphed on the battlefield», *rkb9, cf. ru₁₂-zi-ma-li, or bu-ar and din-pi-ār10; at Mari, ad-ru-Și-ip-ti, Ądrū-šipt, «My command [gave] the support [on the battlefield]: *dr and *tpt: the king is speaking), king of Uršum11. The absence of this central element of the onomasticon in many recent works on the PNs is a considerable handicap.

5 C. Rasmussen, A Study of Akkadian Personal Names from Mari, Ph.D. Diss., Dropsie University, 1981.
6 See D. Charpin, Cahiers du Centre Glotz II, pp. 10-12; cf. M. Stol, BiOr 29, 1972, pp. 276-77; CAD Š/l, pp. 451-52; see also I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 33 and H.B. Huffman, APNM, p. 268: «exercise authority, judge» the former, «to judge, to rule» the latter.
7 See G. Conti, MisEb 3, pp. 155-57; M. Bonechi, M.A.R.I. 8, § 3 (now also note PSD A/3, pp. 106-108, s.v. á-tah, where the equivalence with riḥsum and na² rárum, «military help», are listed).
8 The significance of the ending /-a/ must be approached in a broader context.
9 See J.-M. Durand, NABU 1993/113; M. Bonechi, M.A.R.I. 8, § 2.1.5.
10 See my paper in M.A.R.I. 8, § 3.
11 See J.-M. Durand, NABU 1988/2; cf. Tištum, Și-ip-ti and var., the Old Babylonian Mari queen; see also below.
In the North-West (i.e. in the Aleppo countryside), from Ebla onwards (but
certainly from much before), the king was appointed by Hadda (probably Dagan and
Rašap did the same in other areas of the western part of the Fertile Crescent). If we
now limit ourselves to a few Semitic roots attested in the West-Semitic Amarna PNs
we can see the PNs with *nqm, «to avenge, to give recompense, retribution»\(^12\), and
*tpf «to rule, to exercise authority»\(^13\).

In the cuneiform sources of the III\(d\) and II\(nd\) Millennium I know of the following
PNs that document *nqm:

\begin{verbatim}
am-mu-ni-iq-ma
en-gi-mu-um
i-da-ne-ki-mu and var.
ia-an?-qi-im-dingir
 a-an-ki-im-dingir
 e-en-ki-im-dingir
ia-an-ta-qf-im
ia-aq-qi-im.dIM and var.
ia-aq-qi-im-li-im and var.
ia-qi-im-du-gan
na-aq-qa-tum
na-qi-mu-um and var.
ni-iq-ma-an
 ni-iq-ma(-a)-nu-um
 ni-iq-ma-a-bi
 ni-iq-ma(-a)-du
 ni-iq-ma-a-du
 ni-iq-mi-a-du
 ni-iq-mi-ia-ad-du
 ni-iq-ma.dIM

nqmd
ni-iq-me-ia
ni-iq-mi-pa
ni-iq-me-pa
ni-iq-mi-e-pu-uh
niq-me-pa
nqmp\(^c\)
ni-iq-mi-e-tar
\end{verbatim}

(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335)
(Ur III, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Ebla, M. Krebernik, PE, pp. 199-200)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242; Amarna, Hess, APN, p. 119, king)
(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242)
(Obab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Obab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242, king)
(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242)
(Chagar Bazar, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335)

\(^12\) For the root (unattested in Akkadian) in the Semitic languages see HAL, p. 681; J.C. Biella,
DOSA, p. 317; W. Leslau, CDG, pp. 456-57 s.v. qym; W. Piard, Amarna ekêmu and Hebrew
nâqam, Maarav 3/1, 1982, pp. 5-25; Anchor Bible Dictionary 6, 1992, pp. 786-87. For the root in
the onomasticon see the literature quoted in Hess, APN, p. 209, and add M. Krebernik, PE, Berlin
1988, p. 102.

\(^13\) For the root in the Semitic languages see HAL, pp. 1497 ff.; DOSA, p. 549; for the root in the
onomasticon see the literature quoted in Hess, APN, p. 213, and add Krebernik, PE, p. 61.
Remarks on the Amarna Personal Names

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I suggest there is strong semantic unity behind these PNs, in which the grammatical subjects are the theophoric elements 'abum, 'ilum, 'ammum, Dagan, Haddu, li'mum, Nasî, yepu< / yepa< and yetar. In the onomasticon *nqm is clearly appropriated only for gods that are also kings, Haddu in the Aleppo countryside, Dagan in the Middle Euphrates ('ilum in this context very probably means Haddu or Dagan themselves); the verb conveys the notion of the saving strength of the God (and of the king), a strength that does not concede safety for the enemy. The use of naqāmum in the texts reinforces the idea of continuity between the divine king and his powerful servant, the human king. This fits well with the ideological framework established recently, especially for the Early Syrian evidence. Secondly, the PNs with 'abum, 'ammum and li'mum belong to the aforementioned «Hadda + related DNs + malkum - šarrum - damum - li'mum - 'ammum - kaymum» system. Thirdly, the onomastic elements Nasî (from *ns', «to carry», «to raise»), yepu< / yepa< (from *yp', «to shine») and yetar (from *ytr, «to be more, to be excellent, abundant») are very probably appellatives of the Storm-God (for *yp see a paper in preparation).

For the PNs with *tpt, the relevant PNs from Ebla onwards that I know are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miešapāt</td>
<td>Bibl. Hebrew, J.D. Fowler, TPNAH, p. 363; R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad-ru-ši-ip-ti</td>
<td>OBab Mari, J.-M. Durand, NABU 1988/2, Uršum king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'lmpt</td>
<td>Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'lspt, b'lyšpt</td>
<td>Ugarit, F.L. Benz, Studia Pohl 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dillM-Dl.KU5</td>
<td>Amarna, R.S. Hess, APN, p. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia-aš-pu-ti</td>
<td>Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199; D. Sivan, AOAT 214, p. 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia-aš-pu-tū</td>
<td>Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isš1-b'ī-du</td>
<td>Ebla, ARET III 322 and 468, M. Krebernik, PE, p. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš-pi-ît-ti-din[gir?]</td>
<td>WSem PN in NAss sources, R. Zadok, BASOR 230, p. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš-pu-ťu</td>
<td>WSem PN in NAss sources, R. Zadok, BASOR 230, p. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mptt</td>
<td>Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-pa-ti-ba-al</td>
<td>Phoen. PN in NAss sources, see Bonechi, SEL 14; prince of Arwad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 This FPN is problematic. According to the edition, accepted also by H.B. Huffmon, APNM, pp. 54 and 97, its reading is ni-iq-mu-uK. It may be read ni-iq-mu-lugal.
15 See W. Pitard, Maarav 3/1, 1982, pp. 5-25.
16 See the papers by P. Fronzaroli in M.A.R.I. 8, and by M. Bonechi in M.A.R.I 8 and JCS.
17 He is a cultic dancer, NE-di, see A. Catagnoti, MisEb 2, 1989, p. 196. Krebernik considers it to be a verbal form; however, I think that a nominal form /'tipū(m)/ is more probable; the PN is, accordingly, a perfect equivalent of the latter =Tipū(m).
In these PNs the connection of *tpi with Haddu / Baʿal and Yahweh is clear: the root is only appropriated for the divine kings. At a human level, the theophoric elements are *abum and *ahum. We have seen above that ad-ru-śi-ip-ti and śi-ip-ti-ri-śa document two roots, *qdr and *rḥs, meaning «to help» and «to give help on the battlefield». It is sufficient to look at the collection of PNs with *qdr gathered by E.
Lipinski in the *Mélanges A. Finet*, pp. 113-15, to see how deeply connected the notion of this «help» is with Hadda / Ba‘al and Yahweh; furthermore, these same PNs confirm that when a root is appropriated in the onomasticon for the divine king, it is automatically appropriated for the names belonging to the lexicon of the family (*‘ab-, *‘aḥ-), for the socio-political entities (*‘amm-, *mlk, *šum-) and for visible symbols of divine power (see qānum, «bétyle» according Lipinski, cit., p. 115). Accordingly, the PNs *ēlšāpāt, ad-ru-šī-ip-ṭī, b‘INTPT, 4IM-DI.KU5, špātāh(u), šī-ip-ṭī-a-ḥa-ār, šī-ip-ṭī-4IM* and var., *šī-ip-ṭū-ri-ṣa, špūh(w), tptb’l, y(aḥ) šāpāt convey the same ideology: the divine king orders, the human king obeys his lord repeating or interpreting his orders, and the order of the human king helps on the battlefield against the enemy. It is a political theology in which the ultimate aim is victory.

As a consequence, a unitary interpretation of some other Amorite PNs that embarrassed Gelb seems possible. The PNs are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-bi-ia-ḥa-ar} & \quad (\text{OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364}) \\
\text{a-bi-a-ḥa-ar} & \quad (\text{OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364}) \\
\text{a-bi-ḥa-ar} & \quad (\text{OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364}) \\
\text{ia-aa-ar} & \quad (\text{OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363}) \\
\text{ia-a-um} & \quad (\text{OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363}) \\
\text{ia-ar-aa-μ-um} & \quad (\text{OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1, p. 225}) \\
\text{ia-ar-pī-duino} & \quad (\text{OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1, p. 225, s.v. Yarbi-El}) \\
\text{ia-ḥa-ar-4IM} & \quad (\text{OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363}) \\
\text{ka-μia-ia-aa-um} & \quad (\text{OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364}) \\
\text{ṣi-ip-ṭī-a-ḥa-ar} & \quad (\text{FPN, Chagar Bazar, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363})
\end{align*}
\]

It is possible that in these PNs a root *y-ḥr is not attested, as Gelb thought (PR), but a verbal and a nominal form from the verb ʾrr meaning «to give military support, to help» (the nominal form is possibly yaʾarrum, yaḥarrum, «help, support»). This root, from which is derived the Akkadian substantive *naʾurrarum, neḥurarum, «military help», was already well attested in Early Syrian Ebla (see my paper in M.A.R.I. 8, § 3). A PN such as šī-ip-ṭī-a-ḥa-ār, given ad-ru-šī-ip-ṭī and šī-ip-ṭū-ri-ṣa, may mean «My command (gave) the support on the battlefield». A PN such as ia-ḥa-ar-4IM further shows the deep connection of this ideology of victory with Haddu. It is quite probable, then, that a PN such as ka-μia-ia-aa-um is to be interpreted as Kaymī-yāʾarrum, where another important social element is glorified, the kaymum, «family».

Coming back to ʾtpt Hess (p. 243) correctly considers the Amarna PNs with the sumerogram DI.KU5 as documenting ʾtptum. In the cuneiform sources the most ancient attestation of šapātum dates to the Old Babylonian Mari texts. It seems that in

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18. For the appartenence at Early Syrian Ebla of the stones cult to the Hadda's ideology see my paper in M.A.R.I. 8, § 4.

19. Note that Hess, APN, p. 46, follows Stamm, *op. cit.*, § 35:1, for the semantic interpretation of *‘dr in the PNs: «the meaning of the PN 'helper' may associate it with the pure endearment names».

20. The element ka-μi- in the Amorite PN is derived from K*M by I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 301. For the importance of the term kaymum at Early Babylonian Ebla see the papers by P. Fronzaroli in M.A.R.I. 8 and *Subartu IV*. 
Illrd Millennium Ebla to the common sumerogram di-kuṣ does not correspond the Semitic *tapātum, «to rule, to exercise authority», tāpitum, «governor», as at Mari, but some forms derived from *dyn, «to judge»

However, it is probable that *tpt was known at Ebla. A text, ARET III 467, reads as follows (rev. VIII:20-22): 1 ẓi-ri ǧi6 babbar siki / Sa-dab-tiš / en / ...

The edition has here a PN Ša-DIB-UR, accepted by M. Krebernik, PE, p. 285 (ša-DAB-UR). However, a PN written in this way is unattested in the published or cited texts, and the existence at Ebla of the terminative suffix /-iš/ is well known. Accordingly, and given the following «king», en, the easiest interpretation of Sa-dab-tiš is not as a PN, but as a term of the Eblaic lexicon: /tatapt-iš/, a nominal t/1 form Ia-ta23-, probably expressing a substantive (see a study in preparation).

Given the badly damaged context it is very difficult to translate the passage, but it is possible to notice the resemblance with the expression in TM.75.G.1730, ma-lu-gi-iš / en (rev. VII:12-13), mallukiš malkam «for the enthroning of the king» (see also su-daš-lik / en [rev. XVII:8-9], Sutallik malkim, «(on the occasion of) the king’s attaining to sovereignty»)

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21 See P. Fronzaroli, Un verdetto reale dagli archivi di Ebla (TM.75.G.1452), SEb 3, 1980, p. 42; A. Archi, in id. - M.G. Biga - L. Milano, Eblaite Prosopography, ARES I, 1988, pp. 263 ff., «dayyā-num», «judge». This interpretation derives from the equivalence VE 1327', di-kuṣ = ba-da-gu da-ne-um [source A2], from *bdq, «to cut off» and *dyn, «to judge». In ARET IV, p. 298, L. Milano translates the writing da-nu of ARET IV 15 obv. X:10 as «giudice (?)» (this hypothesis is not quoted in ARES I). In fact, a writing da-nu, da-nūm is well attested at Ebla: a) in the bilingual lexical list, VE 825, silim-ma = da-nu-um (source B), da-nūm (sources C and D), «healthy, strong» (*duŋ) according to P. Fronzaroli, Materiali per il lessico eblaita I, SEb 7, 1984, p. 160, and to G. Conti, MisEB 3, 1990, p. 197; from *dyu according to K. Hecker, Doppelt t-erweiterte Formen eder: der eblaitische Infinitiv, in L. Cagni (Ed.), Il bilinguismo a Ebla, Napoli 1984, p. 211 and n. 38; b) in some administrative records, where it was frequently understood as a PN (cf. also M. Krebernik, PE, pp. 158 and 162; see however A. Catagnoti, I nomi di parentela nell’onomastica di Ebla, MisEB 1, 1988, p. 232, n. 125; F. Pomponio, reviewing Krebernik’s book, AFO 35, 1988, p. 166; M. Bonechi, A propos des noms propres d’Ebla, M.A.R.I. 6, 1990, p. 228): ARET III 468 obv. II:4-9: (4+4 fabrics) / ig-du-rugiatan / a-da-bi-zii / puzur4-ra-ha-alq / en-na-NI / da-nu; ARET IV 12 rev. V:14 - VI:4: (wool) / ūdi-rugiatan / WA-da-bi-zii / en-na-NI/puzur4-ra-ha-alq / da-nu; ARET IV 15 obv. X:6-10: 2 gu-li-lum a-garş-garş kū:babbar / puzur4-qa-ma-li / wa / en-na-NI / da-nu; ARET VIII 526 rev. XI:5-17: (11+1 fabrics, 1 dib) / ir-amš, ma-li / da-nūm; MEE 2 25 rev. II:1-5: (1 fabric) / en-na-il / lu / hu-nu / da-nūm / da-bi-na-ad. It seems semantically difficult to connect the gloss of VE 825 (from *duŋ because of the sumerogram), with the da-nu, da-nūm of the administrative texts, and a derivation from *duŋ seems inappropriate. In these documents, however, the PNs a-da-bi-zii / WA-da-bi-zii, en-na-il / en-na-NI, ūdi-rugiatan / ig-du-rugiatan, ir-amš, ma-li, puzuur4-ra-ha-alq and puzuur4-qa-ma-li are not the di-kuṣ (see the list of di-kuṣ established by Archi in ARES I, pp. 263 ff.; the Henmea-īl that was da-nūm-um is a man qualified as lū ḥu-nu in MEE 2 25, and he can be distinguished from the Henmea-īl that was di-kuṣ; for the meaning of the PN ḥu-nu see VE 184, ū-zuḥ = ḥu-nu-um a-ba-lu (sources A and B), ḥu-nūm (sources C, a and Ι) and ḥa-nu (source D), ḥūnum, «impure», from *hwu, and see G. Conti, MisEB 3, 1990, p. 95). The exact meaning of da-nu, da-nūm is therefore still unclear, but a derivation from *dyu cannot be completely ruled out.

22 See now A. Catagnoti, The Suffix /-iš/ at Ebla, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica 6, Firenze 1995, pp. 155-64.
from *mlk\textsuperscript{23}. Accordingly, a tentative translation of the passage in ARET III 467 should be «for the command of the king» = «according to the command of the king».

\textsuperscript{23} See P. Fronzaroli, The Ritual Texts of Ebla, in id. (Ed.), Literature and Literary Language at Ebla, QuSem 18, 1992, p. 184. The Ebla GN $iš₁₁\text{-}ba\text{-}tum$\textsuperscript{KI} is to be interpreted as Hqbatum: it derives from *hgb, and it means «Flow», «Canal» (see M. Bonechi, MQuSem 3, § 1.1).