

WEST SEMITIC PERSONAL NAMES
IN THE CUNEIFORM SOURCES-I.
SOME REMARKS ON THE AMARNA PERSONAL NAMES

Marco Bonechi

The recent important monography *Amarna Personal Names* by Richard S. Hess on the personal names from the XIVth century B.C. Amarna texts¹ 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*, XXXVI^e 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. *níq-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-kè-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:

¹ Review article on R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, ASOR Diss. Series 9, Winona Lake 1993.

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

p. 54 (and 205, 237), *bá-[áš]-tum-me*: if it is a Semitic PN, the interpretation of *baštum* (**bʾš*) is more complicated than Hess considers²;

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

p. 80 (and 81 and 164): I wonder if the PNs *ia-ma*, *ia¹-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-ḫe-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-zu* (ARM XIII 1), *pé-er-ḫe-zu* (ARM XXIV 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 hypocoristic 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: *Ḫebat* is not a «Hurrian goddess», but *Ḫe(1)bat*, the Semitic parent 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 parent: Haddu and his Hurrian equivalent Teššub 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 **bʿl*. To «Hadda's theological system» then we can also add the DNs *Mêr* (1 PN, attesting also **bʿl*) 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 - ʿammum - kaymum*» has been recognized by the present writer in a forthcoming paper as typical of the royal Syrian onomasticon from the Ebla

² Cf. p. 205: «meaning unknown», p. 237, «Akkadian protective spirit; Dignity (personified)»; see also a paper of mine in preparation.

³ See D.E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*, HSS 42, Atlanta 1992, pp. 248 ff.

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

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 scientific circulation (even though French and Italian are easier to interpret than Sumerian or Akkadian). For example, a PN like *ši-ip-tú-ri-ša* is interpreted by Hess from **tpt*, «to judge» and from **ry/wš*, «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 *šapātum* means «to command, to exercise authority», and *šiptum* means «order»⁶. At Early Syrian Ebla *riḥšum* means «help (in the battlefield)»⁷. The PNs with **tpt* and **rḥš* 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 *ši-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 battlefield»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-zú*, «The support (given by the king) triumphed on the battlefield», **rkb*⁹, cf. *ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik*, or *bù-ar* and *din-pi-àr¹⁰*; at Mari, *ad-ru-ši-ip-ti*, «*adru-tipti*, («My command [gave] the support [on the battlefield]»: **ḏr* 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/1, pp. 451-52; see also I.J. Gelb, *AS* 21, p. 33 and H.B. Huffmon, *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/2, pp. 106-108, s.v. *á-taḥ*, where the equivalence with *riḥšum* and *na²raram*, «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. *Tiptum*, *ši-ip-tú* 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 **tp̄t* «to rule, to exercise authority»¹³.

In the cuneiform sources of the IIIrd and IIrd Millennium I know of the following PNs that document **nqm*:

<i>am-mu-ni-iq-ma</i>	(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335)
<i>en-gi-mu-um</i>	(Ur III, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>i-da-ne-ki-mu</i> and var.	(Ebla, M. Krebernik, PE, pp. 199-200)
<i>ia-an[?]-qí-im-dingir</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>a-an-ki-im-dingir</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>e-en-ki-im-dingir</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ia-an-ta-qí-im</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ia-aq-qí-im</i> ^d IM and var.	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334; nobleman)
<i>ia-aq-qí-im-li-im</i> and var.	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ia-qí-im</i> ^d <i>da-gan</i>	(OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1, p. 225)
<i>na-aq-qa-tum</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, T.210, courtesy of Durand)
<i>na-qí-mu-um</i> and var.	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-ma-an</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-ma(-a)-nu-um</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-ma-a-bi</i>	(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-ma(-a)-du</i>	(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-má-a-du</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-mi-a-du</i>	(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-mi-ia-ad-du</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-ma</i> ^d IM	(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242; Amarna, Hess, APN, p. 119, king)
<i>nqmd</i>	(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242)
<i>ni-iq-me-ia</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334)
<i>ni-iq-mi-pa</i>	(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 334, king)
<i>ni-iq-me-pa</i>	(Alalah, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335)
<i>ni-iq-mi-e-pu-uh</i>	(Alalah, OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335)
<i>níq-me-e-pa</i>	(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242, king)
<i>nqmp</i> ^c	(Ugarit, Huffmon, APNM, p. 242)
<i>ni-iq-mi-e-tar</i>	(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. Pitard, *Amarna ekēmu and Hebrew nāqam*, *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.

ni-iq-mi-la-na-si (FPN, OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335)
*ni-iq-mu-x*¹⁴ (OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 335).

I suggest there is strong semantic unity behind these PNs, in which the grammatical subjects are the theophoric elements *ʾabum*, *ʾilum*, *ʿammum*, *Dagan*, *Haddu*, *liʾmum*, *Našīʾ*, *yepu*^c / *yepa*^c 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 (*ʾilum* 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 enemy¹⁵. 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 evidence¹⁶. Secondly, the PNs with *ʾabum*, *ʿammum* and *liʾmum* belong to the aforementioned «Hadda + related DN + *malkum* - *šarrum* - *damum* - *liʾmum* - *ʿammum* - *kaymum*» system. Thirdly, the onomastic elements *Našīʾ* (from **nš*^c, «to carry», «to raise»), *yepu*^c / *yepa*^c (from **yp*^c, «to shine») and *yetar* (from **ytr*, «to be more, to be excellent, abundant») are very probably appellatives of the Storm-God (for **yp*^c see a paper in preparation).

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

ʾelīšāpāt (Bibl. Hebrew, J.D. Fowler, TPNAH, p. 363; R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 23)
ad-ru-ši-ip-tī (OBab Mari, J.-M. Durand, NABU 1988/2, Uršum king)
b^clmtpt (Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 200)
b^clšpt, *b^clyšpt* (Phoenician, F.L. Benz, Studia Pohl 8)
^dIM-DI.KU₅ (Amarna, R.S. Hess, APN, p. 53)
ia-aš-pu-tī (Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199; D. Sivan, AOAT 214, p. 282)
ia-aš-pu-tū (Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199)
iš₁₁-bī-du (Ebla, ARET III 322 and 468¹⁷, M. Krebernik, PE, p. 61)
iš-pi-iṭ-ṭi-din[ḡir²] (WSem PN in NAss sources, R. Zadok, BASOR 230, p. 59)
iš-pu-ṭu (WSem PN in NAss sources, R. Zadok, BASOR 230, p. 59)
mtpt (Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 200)
sa-pa-ṭi-ba-al (Phoen. PN in NAss sources, see Bonechi, SEL 14; prince of Arwad)

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*¹.

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. Catagnoli, *MisEb* 2, 1989, p. 196. Krebernik considers it to be a verbal form; however, I think that a nominal form *Piṭpit-u(m)* is more probable; the PN is, accordingly, a perfect equivalent of the latter =*Tiptu(m)*.

<i>si-pí-íṭ-ṭi-bi-ʾi-il</i>	(Phoen. PN in NAss sources, see Bonechi, SEL 14; king of Byblos)
<i>šāpāt</i>	(Bibl. Hebrew, J.D. Fowler, TPNAH, p. 363)
<i>ša-pa-ṭá-an</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ša-pí-ṭa-na</i>	(Ugarit, D. Sivan, AOAT 214, p. 282)
<i>šapaṭyāh(û)</i>	(Bibl. Hebrew, J.D. Fowler, TPNAH, p. 363; R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 29)
<i>ši-ip-ṭá-a-ḥu-um</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí-a-ḥa-ar</i>	(FPN, Chagar Bazar, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí^dIM</i>	(Alalah IV, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí^dIM</i>	(Amarna, R.S. Hess, APN, p. 143)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí⁴dIM</i>	(Amarna, R.S. Hess, APN, p. 143)
DI.KU ₅ ^d IM	(Amarna, R.S. Hess, APN, p. 143)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí-an-dá</i>	(Alalah IV, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí-ia-an-dá</i>	(Alalah IV, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ši-paṭ^dIM</i>	(Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199)
<i>ši-pè-ef^dIM</i>	(Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí-ya</i>	(Ugarit, D. Sivan, AOAT 214, p. 281)
<i>ši-ip-ṭú(-um)</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1, p. 196 s.v. <i>Šibtu(m)</i> , Mari queen)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, Ph. Talon, ARM XXIV)
<i>ši-ip-ṭi</i>	(Alalah IV, D. Sivan, AOAT 214, p. 281)
<i>ši-ip-ṭi⁴</i>	(Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199; D. Sivan, AOAT 214, p. 281)
<i>ši-ip-ṭí-im</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, P. Villard, ARM XXIII)
<i>ši-ip-ṭim</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, T.237, courtesy of Durand)
<i>ši-ip-ṭum</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1)
<i>ši-ip-ṭú-um-la-a-bi(-im)</i>	(FPN, OBab Mari, T.238 etc., courtesy of Durand)
<i>ši-ip-ṭú-ri-ša</i>	(Amarna, R.S. Hess, APN, p. 144)
<i>špt</i>	(Hebrew, R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 96; Phoen., F.L. Benz, <i>Studia Pohl</i> 8)
<i>šptb^l</i>	(Phoen., F.L. Benz, <i>Studia Pohl</i> 8)
<i>šptyh(w)</i>	(Hebrew, J.D. Fowler, TPNAH, p. 363; R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 29)
<i>ṭptb^l</i>	(Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 199, also Phoen. PN)
<i>y(ʿh)ôšāpāt</i>	(Bibl. Hebrew, J.D. Fowler, TPNAH, p. 363; R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 23)
<i>yšpt</i>	(Hebrew, R. Zadok, OLA 28, p. 133)
<i>yṭpt</i>	(Ugarit, F. Gröndhal, PTU, p. 200)

In these PNs the connection of **ṭpt* with Haddu / Baʿal and Yahweh is clear: the root is only appropriated for the divine kings. At a human level, the theophoric elements are ʾ*abum* and ʾ*aḥum*. We have seen above that *ad-ru-ši-ip-ṭí* and *ši-ip-ṭú-ri-ša* document two roots, **ḳdr* and **rḥš*, meaning «to help» and «to give help on the battlefield». It is sufficient to look at the collection of PNs with **ḳdr* gathered by E.

Lipiński in the *Mélanges A. Finet*, pp. 113-15, to see how deeply connected the notion of this «help» is with Hadda / Ba^cal 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 (*^ʿab-, *^ʿaḫ-), for the socio-political entities (*^camm-, *mlk, *šum-) and for visible symbols of divine power (see *qāmum*, «bétyle» according Lipinski, *cit.*, p. 115)¹⁸. Accordingly, the PNs ^ʿelīšāpāt, *ad-ru-ši-ip-tī*, *b^clmtpt*, ^dIM-DI.KU₅, *šapatyāh(ū)*, *ši-ip-tī-a-ḫa-ar*, *ši-ip-tī^dIM* and var., *ši-ip-tū-ri-ša*, *šptyh(w)*, *tptb^cl*, *y(ḫ)ôšāpāt* 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 victory¹⁹.

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

<i>a-bi-ia-ḫa-ar</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364)
<i>a-bi-a-ḫa-ar</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364)
<i>a-bi-ḫa-ar</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364)
<i>ia-a-ar</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ia-a-rum</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ia-ar-a-mu-um</i>	(OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1, p. 225)
<i>ia-ar-pí-dingir</i>	(OBab Mari, M. Birot, ARM XVI/1, p. 225, s.v. Yarbi-El)
<i>ia-ḫa-ar^dIM</i>	(OBab Mari, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)
<i>ka-mi-ia-a-rum</i>	(OBab, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 364)
<i>ši-ip-tī-a-ḫa-ar</i>	(FPN, Chagar Bazar, I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 363)

It is possible that in these PNs a root *y^ʿr is not attested, as Gelb thought (J^ʿR), but a verbal and a nominal form from the verb ^ʿrr meaning «to give military support, to help» (the nominal form is possibly *ya^ʿarrum*, *yaḫarrum*, «help, support»). This root, from which is derived the Akkadian substantive *na^ʿarrarum*, *neḫrarum*, «military help», was already well attested in Early Syrian Ebla (see my paper in M.A.R.I. 8, § 3). A PN such as *ši-ip-tī-a-ḫa-ar*, given *ad-ru-ši-ip-tī* and *ši-ip-tū-ri-ša*, may mean «My command (gave) the support on the battlefield». A PN such as *ia-ḫa-ar^dIM* further shows the deep connection of this ideology of victory with Haddu. It is quite probable, then, that a PN such as *ka-mi-ia-a-rum* is to be interpreted as *Kaymī-ya^ʿarrum*, where another important social element is glorified, the *kaymum*, «family»²⁰.

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

18 For the appartenance 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 *^cdr in the PNs: «the meaning of the PN 'helper' may associate it with the pure endearment names».

20 The element *ka-mi-* in the Amorite PN is derived from K^ʿM by I.J. Gelb, AS 21, p. 301. For the importance of the term *kaymum* at Early Syrian Ebla see the papers by P. Fronzaroli in M.A.R.I. 8 and *Subartu* IV.

IIIrd Millennium Ebla to the common sumerogram *di-ku₅* does not correspond the Semitic *ṭapāṭum*, «to rule, to exercise authority», *ṭāpiṭum*, «governor», as at Mari, but some forms derived from **dyn*, «to judge»²¹. However, it is probable that **ṭpṭ* was known at Ebla. A text, ARET III 467, reads as follows (rev. VIII:20-22): 1 *zi-ri gi₆ babbar siki / ša-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 known²². Accordingly, and given the following «king», *en*, the easiest interpretation of *ša-dab-tiš* is not as a PN, but as a term of the Eblaic lexicon: /*tatapṭ-iš/*, a nominal t/l form *lata23-*, 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], *šutallik malkim*, «(on the occasion of) the king's attaining to sovereignty»),

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., «*dayyānum*», «judge». This interpretation derives from the equivalence VE 1327, *di-ku₅ = ba-da-gu da-ne-u[m]* (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-núm* is well attested at Ebla: a) in the bilingual lexical list, VE 825, *silim-ma = da-nu-um* (source B), *da-núm* (sources C and D), «healthy, strong» (**dnn*) according to P. Fronzaroli, *Materiali per il lessico eblaita 1*, SEB 7, 1984, p. 160, and to G. Conti, *MisEb 3*, 1990, p. 197; from **dyn* according to K. Hecker, *Doppelt t-erweiterte Formen oder: 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, *À 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-ru₁₂ / a-da-bí-zú / puzur₄-ra-ḥa-a₆ / en-na-NI / da-nu*; ARET IV 12 rev. V:14 - VI:4: (wool) / *ḥi-du-ru₁₂ / WA-da-bí-zú / en-na-il / puzur₄-ra-ḥa-a₆ / da-nu*; ARET IV 15 obv. X:6-10: 2 *gú-li-lum a-gar₅-gar₅ kù:babbar / puzur₄-ra-ma-lik / wa / en-na-NI / da-nu*; ARET VIII 526 rev. XI:5-17: ([1+1] fabrics, 1 dib) / *ir-am₆-ma-lik / da-núm*; MEE 2 25 rev. II:1-5: (1 fabric) / *en-na-il / lú / ḥu-nu / da-núm / da-bí-na-ad^{k1}*. It seems semantically difficult to connect the gloss of VE 825 (from **dnn* because of the sumerogram), with the *da-nu*, *da-núm* of the administrative texts, and a derivation from **dnn* seems inappropriate. In these documents, however, the PNs *a-da-bí-zú / WA-da-bí-zú*, *en-na-il / en-na-NI*, *ḥi-du-ru₁₂ / ig-du-ru₁₂*, *ir-am₆-ma-lik*, *puzur₄-ra-ḥa-a₆* and *puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* are not the *di-ku₅* (see the list of *di-ku₅* established by Archi in ARES I, pp. 263 ff.; the Ḥenna-³il that was *da-nu/ -núm* is a man qualified as *lú ḥu-nu* in MEE 2 25, and he can be distinguished from the Ḥenna-³il that was *di-ku₅*; for the meaning of the PN *ḥu-nu* see VE 184, *ú-zuḥ = ḥu-nu-um a-ba-lu* (sources A and B), *ḥu-núm* (sources C, a and i) and *ḥa-nu* (source D), *ḥūnum/*, «impure», from **ḥwn*, and see G. Conti, *MisEb 3*, 1990, p. 95). The exact meaning of *da-nu*, *da-núm* is therefore still unclear, but a derivation from **dyn* 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*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».

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-ba-tum^{ki}* is to be interpreted as *Hiqbatum*: it derives from **hdb*, and it means «Flow», «Canal» (see M. Bonechi, MQuSem 3, § 1.1).