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Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato



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Enrico Marcato

Abstract

This book offers a comprehensive linguistic evaluation of the 376 personal names attested in the roughly 600 Aramaic inscriptions of Hatra, the famous Northern Mesopotamian city that flourished in the Parthian age, between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD. This study benefits from the publication of many Hatran inscriptions during recent decades, which have yielded rich onomastic data, and some fresh readings of these epigraphic sources. This work is subdivided into three main parts: an “Onomastic Catalogue”, a “Linguistic Analysis”, and a “Concordance” section. The “Catalogue” is organized as a list of entries, in which every name is transliterated, translated (whenever possible), discussed from an etymological perspective, provided with onomastic parallels, and accompanied by its attestations in the Hatran Aramaic corpus. The “Catalogue” is followed by a “Linguistic Analysis” which describes, firstly, the principal orthographic, phonological, morphological, and syntactical features of Hatran names. The linguistic discussion proper is followed by a semantic taxonomy of the names which make up the corpus and an overview of the religious significance of the theophoric names. Charts of “Concordance” end the book.

Keywords Hatra. Aramaic. Inscriptions. Onomastics. Linguistics.

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

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This book is the result of the teaching and encouragement of many people, who guided and supported me along a five-year-long path.

The initial version of this work was the core of my M.A. thesis *L'onomastica di Hatra alla luce della società e della cultura mesopotamica*, which I submitted in Oct. 2013 to Ca' Foscari University of Venice under the supervision of Prof. Lucio Milano and Dr. Eleonora Cussini. I am very grateful to them for guiding me attentively during its preparation and for encouraging with enthusiasm its subsequent development. Prof. Lucio Milano also proposed to publish it with Edizioni Ca' Foscari and gave much advice on editorial matters.

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The chance for exchanging views on Hatran inscriptions with members of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hatra* represented a major opportunity. I thank the Director, Prof. Roberta Ricciardi Venco, for her generosity in sharing information from the Mission's archive; a special thank-you to Dr. Enrico Foietta for his enthusiasm in discussing the archaeological context and his impeccable hospitality. My thankfulness goes also to Prof. Marco Moriggi, who showed a great deal of interest in my work and helped in many ways, from checking readings and literature to discussing the numbering of the inscriptions; he also most kindly shared information on unpublished graffiti, which contributed significantly to the present volume.

The analysis of Hatran names benefitted also from a study of the Aramaic inscriptions from Parthian Assur which I carried out in Mar. 2017 at the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, using the photographs of the German Archaeological Mission to Assur. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Helen Gries for facilitating my stay and for her willingness to discuss several aspects of these texts. Prof. Riccardo Contini, Dr. Paola Corò, Dr. Ermenegildo Nitta, Prof. Fabrizio A. Pennacchetti, and Prof. Dr. Wilfred H. van Soldt gave precious advice on various issues concerning Aramaic and Akkadian onomastics and suggested bibliographical resources that I would have otherwise missed. The meticulous remarks of three anonymous peer-reviewers led to significant improvements. Finally, I am grateful to Geraldina Rozzi for her help in retrieving useful literature and to Emily Zeran for her painstaking English language check, which saved me from several painful calques. Of course, all mistakes or inaccuracies remain my own.

To my family, *llwys' wlmksms wlmrqs' wrlys*, whose love and support has never failed, this book is dedicated.

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

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Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

0 Introduction

Since the first archaeological investigations at the site in the beginning of the 20th century and especially since the resumption of regular excavations in the 1950s, the city of Hatra has been recognized as one of the most opulent Mesopotamian sites of the Parthian age. Located in Northern Mesopotamia, at a relatively short distance from Nineveh, present-day Mosul, and Assur, Hatra thrived between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD, before it was besieged and conquered by the Sassanian army in AD 240-1. The multifaceted nature of Hatra as a holy city and pilgrimage destination, a trade centre, and a crucial buffer zone between the Parthians and Rome comes clear from the rich archaeological and textual evidence. This comprises monumental buildings, such as the impressive Temenos standing in the centre of the city and the fourteen Small Shrines scattered across the urban area, and inscriptions, together with finds in domestic buildings and graffiti which allow a glimpse of the private lives of the city's ancient inhabitants. The abundance of published and unpublished archaeological and epigraphic evidence allows modern researchers to carry out studies on a wide range of topics.¹

The Aramaic epigraphic corpus of Hatra consists of ca. 600 texts belonging to different categories.² Official texts such as foundation inscriptions, edicts, and dedications of statues are found together with other texts whose nature can be described as more spontaneous, a large part of which are graffiti; on the other hand, literary, ritual, administrative, and epistolary texts, which would offer linguistic samples of greater length and complexity, are lacking. The Aramaic dialect of Hatra has nonetheless gained an increasingly important place within Aramaic studies since the publication of the inscriptions that were progressively unearthed from the site and its surroundings. The fragmentation of the uniformity that characterized Official Aramaic under the Achaemenid Empire, in terms of both language and script, led to the development, from the 3rd century BC onward, of local varieties that became the official languages of smaller kingdoms. These varieties are conventionally grouped under the

¹ Cf. Dirven (2013b) and Peruzzetto, Dorna Metzger, Dirven (2013) for recent important contributions on the history, archaeology, and culture of Hatra.

² See below for bibliographical references and for the numbering of the inscriptions.

label ‘Middle Aramaic’.³ The language and script attested at Hatra, Assur, and nearby sites between the 1st and the 3rd century AD are part of this picture. Aside from their being proof of the flourishing of local kingdoms able to support chancelleries for the writing of official texts, these Aramaic varieties display for the first time some innovations that characterize the Eastern branch of Aramaic dialects (e.g. Beyer 1984, 46-7; Gzella 2011, 604-6), which is of great importance for studies of Semitics and historical linguistics. These innovations, such as the suffix /-ē/ instead of /-ayyā/ for the masculine plural determinate state of the noun, or the 3rd masculine singular imperfect prefix /l-/⁴ rather than /y-/ , are distinctive features of Eastern Aramaic also in its subsequent phase (Classical Syriac, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic). The most comprehensive description of Hatran⁵ Aramaic is offered by Beyer (1998, 121-40), while the new study of Contini and Pagano (2015) deals specifically with loanwords. More recent and concise overviews have been offered by Gzella (2011, 604-6; 2015a, 271-6). For a broader discussion cf. Beyer 1984, 77-153.

Due to the laconic nature of the available documentation in Hatran Aramaic, it was soon acknowledged that the many personal names attested in the inscriptions could constitute major evidence to detect linguistic and cultural phenomena and provide information that could not be retrieved from texts. As to the value of Hatran personal names as a source of cultural data, for example, I have shown elsewhere (Marcato 2016) that a bird’s-eye view of these names testifies to a pulsating cultural environment in which Aramaic and Arab elements interacted with Iranian, Akkadian, and Greek features.

On the linguistic side, the publication of *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra* by Sabri Abbadi in 1983 provided a reference work on this topic. This was the first thorough linguistic study of these names and focused on their orthographic, phonological, morphological, and syntactical features. In addition, etymological remarks were supported by onomastic parallels drawn mainly from Semitic corpora (Akkadian, North-Western Semitic, Ancient North- and South-Arabian, Classical Arabic), accompanied by Greek and Latin transcriptions of the same names, as well as Iranian onomastics.

However, as shown by the lists of personal names included in Beyer (1998, 2013) and Bertolino (2008), the publication of more than 200 new inscriptions in the last three decades and new readings of certain pub-

3 Cf. the remarks on this terminology in Moriggi 2012.

4 Together with /n-/ in a subsequent phase, but not at Hatra.

5 As customary in latest publications, I use “Hatran” with reference to language and script, while “Hatrene” for history and culture. Correct, where necessary, the use of “Hatrene” in Marcato 2016.

lished texts have progressively called for a fresh comprehensive analysis. The corpus of 341 inscriptions studied by Abbadī has now increased to approximately 600; moreover, many texts have been read anew, which has occasionally led to radically different interpretations of individual personal names.

The present work aims at providing an updated and easy-to-consult overview of the 376 personal names attested in Aramaic inscriptions found at Hatra. Certain other texts discovered at the site, for example, a jar fragment with the name *nbwḥny*, probably imported in the 4th or 3rd century BC from Failaka or Bahrain (Bertolino 1996a, 313; 2000, 134), a Palmyrene Aramaic stele (PAT no. 1604), three Latin inscriptions (Oates 1955), two as-of-yet unpublished ‘Egyptian’ texts, unpublished Greek graffiti (Bertolino 2013, 187 n. 1; Moriggi 2013b, 318 and n. 7), a tombstone with a Nestorian cross and a short Syriac inscription (Ricciardi Venco, Parapetti 2016, 394-5), and two 12th-century Arabic inscriptions (Andrae 1912, 164-5) are here excluded. Names are contextualized in the frame of contemporary onomastic corpora and analyzed as to their linguistic features. The analysis focuses to a large extent on Semitic onomastics (as the great majority of Iranian and Greek names attested at Hatra are well-known) and consists of: an “Onomastic Catalogue”, a “Linguistic Analysis”, and a “Concordance” section. This book does not offer a detailed assessment of the placement of these personal names within the Hatrene social and cultural environment. It is hoped, however, that the data herein presented will stimulate further studies, in the wake of recent contributions such as those on bilingualism in the late antique Near East (Taylor 2002) and on the diverse linguistic and religious situation at Dura Europos (Kaizer 2009).

The “Catalogue” makes reference primarily to the main editions of Hatran inscriptions (Vattioni 1981, 1994; Aggoula 1991; Beyer 1998, 2013). All attestations of personal names have been checked against photographs of the relevant inscriptions; in the case of missing or untraceable photographs, readings have been verified with the aid of hand-copies, predominately those included in the *editio princeps* of each text.⁶ The more recent editions of texts usually include hand-copies and, often, also good-quality photographs. In a few cases (H 1073, 1074, and the newly numbered 1125), it was not possible to retrieve satisfactorily legible photographs or hand-copies. The personal names attested in these texts (cf. especially Beyer 2013) thus have not been included in this book due to the impossibility of gaining a certain reading. Multiple attestations of the same individual in the same text are grouped together (ex. H 79:5,7). “Attestations” are separated if, in the same text, the same name refers to

6 Cf. Aggoula 1991 for bibliographical references, although these are not always complete and fully reliable (cf. the thorough review by Sima 1995-96).

different individuals. In cases of ambiguity or for the same individual in different inscriptions, see the footnotes.

Every entry presents the name's transliteration and most probable meaning(s), followed by its "Other readings" (if attested), brief etymological remarks, onomastic parallels, and attestations in the Hatran corpus. Alternative readings have been culled from the aforementioned main collections of Hatran inscriptions, which are more recent and generally more reliable than the *editiones principes* and the studies which appeared shortly after these. Reference to older literature is made only sporadically. Names are not vocalized in this work, despite Beyer's (1998, 2013) meticulous vocalization of Hatran texts, including the onomastic corpus. Firstly, the consonantal writing and the inconsistent use of *matres lectionis* frequently gives rise to ambiguous interpretations. Moreover, Beyer's reconstruction is largely based on Classical Syriac, whereas we do not have conclusive data regarding the pronunciation of Hatran Aramaic nor do we have elements that enable a precise evaluation of the connections between Syriac and Hatran, although a close relationship between the two is beyond question. For the sake of clarity and to avoid inconsistencies within this book, the orthography adopted for the transcription of theonyms follows that generally found in the scientific literature (for example, Maren or Marten instead of the grammatically more correct Māran and Mārtan, cf. Beyer 1998, 2013). However, Hatran spellings have been adopted when they are well established; in these cases, the use of a different spelling for the same theonym refers to the ancient Mesopotamian deity. One may thus observe the coexistence of Hatran Assor and Akk. Aššur; Hatran Iššar and Akk. Ištar; Hatran Nergol and Akk. Nergal; Hatran Šamš (Šmeš in Beyer 1998, 2013) and Akk. Šamaš.

Onomastic parallels are selected firstly from amongst the Middle Aramaic onomastic material: epigraphic materials from Assur and other North-Mesopotamian sites; Palmyrene and Old Syriac materials; Greek and Latin transcriptions of Semitic names in inscriptions from Palmyra, the Palmyrene, Dura Europos, Emesa, and Emesene. The majority of the Aramaic inscriptions from Assur (A 7, 9, 10, 13-15, 17-27, 29-33, 35-40, 42) have been checked against the photographs taken by the German Archaeological Mission led by W. Andrae between 1903 and 1914, currently preserved at the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin. Inscriptions that could not be collated were checked against photographs published in the main editions.

Due to the composite nature of Hatrene society, where the urban community lived side by side with (semi-)nomadic groups, Arab names are contextualized within the frame of Nabataean and Ancient North-Arabian onomastics. Among the latter, reference is made mostly to Safaitic names, due to their abundance, chronological span (1st-4th century AD), and wide geographical distribution (present-day Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi

Arabia).⁷ Painstaking reference is not made to personal names included in HIn. and already dealt with by Abbadī 1983; conversely, names analyzed in more recent works, if particularly relevant, are referred to (e.g. King 1990; Ababneh 2005; al-Manaser 2008; Rawan 2013). The transliteration of Ancient North-Arabian follows Al-Jallad 2015.

Due to geographical contiguity, cuneiform sources of the 1st millennium BC have been examined as well. Aramaic, Arab, and Iranian names were first checked against PNA (*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*), the standard repertoire of Neo-Assyrian onomastics; for Neo- and Late-Babylonian names, aside from the catalogue offered by Nielsen (2015), a selection of names is offered from amongst temple (Ebabbar and Ezida) and private archives (Egibi, Murašû, Nappāḥu), occasionally accompanied by other relevant administrative documents.

Reference to other corpora and languages (Old and Official Aramaic, other NWS languages, Ancient South-Arabian, Classical Arabic) is made only in case of significant parallels: extensive reference to these corpora can be found in Abbadī 1983; moreover, the bibliography cited for certain languages has not been recently updated (e.g. for Phoenician and Punic onomastics). For the sake of brevity, and to keep the “Catalogue” to a relatively short and reader-friendly form, for every onomastic parallel a maximum of 5 attestations are indicated.

In some cases, it was not possible to trace a convincing etymology, because the name could not be related to any root or already known name, or more than one interpretation was plausible, or even because a name could derive from a common Semitic root equally productive in several Semitic languages (Marcato 2016, 352).⁸ In these cases, these personal names have been labelled with ‘Uncertain meaning’ in the “Catalogue” and listed under “Unclassified” in the “Linguistic Analysis”.

The “Catalogue” is followed by a “Linguistic Analysis” of personal names that gives an outline of the most significant aspects concerning phonology, morphology, and syntax. This section is introduced by two charts that gather Hatran personal names on the basis of their linguistic affiliation, the first of which is a revised version of the summarizing chart published in Marcato (2016, 347). The criteria for grouping these names on a linguistic basis are again those specified in Marcato (2016, 348) and, for practicality’s sake, they are quoted at the beginning of the “Linguistic Analysis”, after the revised version of the chart.

After the linguistic analysis proper, a section on the semantic taxonomy

7 For linguistic, sociolinguistic, and broader cultural issues regarding the pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula and Levant, cf. the studies collected in Macdonald 2009.

8 The name Šadram/Šardam (*šdr̄m* or *šrdm*, H 72), which Marcato (2016, 352) adduced as a good example for names whose etymology is highly unclear, is given here the new reading *šrrmry*. Cf. 4.1. “Summarizing charts”.

of Hatran names based on the categories systematized for the first time by Noth 1928 is inserted. This overview is conceived as a tool which will hopefully enhance further studies on the topic. The whole section ends with a brief description of the religious significance of Hatran theophoric names. Bearing in mind the complexity of this topic, which deserves a full treatment founded upon all available epigraphic and iconographic evidence, this part is intended as both a systematization of and an addition to the preliminary considerations already expressed in Marcato 2016.

Concordance between the names presented here and those studied by Abbadi (1983), in the form of charts, constitute the final section.

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

1 The Numbering of Hatran Inscriptions

For general remarks on the issue of the numbering of Hatran texts, cf. Moriggi 2009, 2010a, 2013a; Moriggi (forthcoming) provides an overall study and concordance of the numbering system of Hatran Aramaic inscriptions published up to 2016. The numbering adopted here is in essence the one systematized by K. Beyer; the numbering of inscriptions H 1075-1126 follows Moriggi (forthcoming). A brief list of concordances of inscriptions which include personal names but that are referred to by various catalogue numbers in publications is offered below.

Table 1. The numbering of Hatran inscriptions

H 1-416	Beyer 1998
H 417-423	Unpublished
H 424-480	Beyer 2013
H 1001-1043	Beyer 1998
H 1044-1074	Beyer 2013
H 1075	Vattioni 1994 no. 037b
H 1076-1077	Bertolino 2013, figs. 2 and 4
H 1078-1087	Moriggi-Bucci 2016
H 1088-1124	Moriggi (forthcoming)
H 1125	al-Aswad 1997-98, 243
H 1126	Dirven 2013a, 147

Cf. Beyer (1998) also for inscriptions in Hatran script found at: A-Assur; D-Dura Europos; G-Khirbet Ġaddāla; K-Takrīt; Q-Qabr Abū Nāif; R-ʿAbrat al-Šaġira; S-Saʿdiya; T-Ṭūr ʿAbdīn; cf. Beyer (2013) for F-Kifrin; Š-Šēḥ Ḥamad.

To the inscriptions labelled A-Assur, the following ones need to be added, according to the numbering established in Moriggi (forthcoming): A 36 (Iraq Museum number: IM 119664) = Müller-Kessler (2016 no. 3); A 37 = Müller-Kessler (2016 no. 6). They were initially kept at the Assur Site Museum and later transferred to the Iraq Museum in Baghdad; no evidence regarding their findspot is available.

To the group of Northern Mesopotamian inscriptions in the North-Mesopotamian Aramaic script, the monumental text recently published by Shaked (2016) is added, which is re-numbered T 5 (Moriggi forthcoming).

Concordance of inscriptions known by various numbers which include personal names:

H 10a-f: roughly incised on the back side of the upper part of an altar found in Small Shrine 1. Cf. the entries '*khl*' and '*phw*' for remarks on the readings.

Table 2. Concordance of inscriptions H 10a-f

Safar 1951, 177	Vattioni 1981, 27	Ibrahim 1986, 207	Aggoula 1991, 9-10	Vattioni 1994, 41	Beyer 1998, 30
10	10a	10 (partial)	10 A	10a	H 10a
—	10c	—	10 C	10c	H 10b
—	10d	—	10 D	10e	H 10c
—	10b:1-2	—	10 B:1-2	10b:1-2	H 10d
—	10b:3	—	10 B:3	10b:3	H 10e
—	—	—	—	10d	H 10f

H 288a-c: incised on the four sides of an altar found in front of the South Iwan, Temenos.

Table 3. Concordance of inscriptions H 288a-c

Safar 1971, 8-10	Vattioni 1981, 92-3	Ibrahim 1986, 212	Aggoula 1991, 137-9	Vattioni 1994, 65-6	Beyer 1998, 83
288a	288a	288 c	288 I	288b	H 288a
288c	288b	288 b	288 II	288c	H 288b
288b	288c	288 a	288 III	288d	H 288c
—	—	288 d	—	288a	—

H 343a-b: previously numbered H 343. H 343a is a newly discovered short dedicatory inscription incised on the left part of the Eagle relief, in the East Gate of the city; H 343b is the already published legal inscription, below the Eagle (Moriggi forthcoming).

H 463 = H 1054 in Beyer (2002, 88).

H 1020 = no. VII in Ibrahim (1986, 199-200) = no. 018+026 in Vattioni (1994, 91).

H 1021a = no. 019 in Vattioni (1994, 91).

H 1021b = no. 20 in Vattioni (1994, 91-2) = H 1022 in Beyer (1998, 160).

H 1021c = no. 21 in Vattioni (1994, 92) = H 1023, not included in Beyer (1998) but numbered according to Beyer's progressive numeration.

H 1027 = no. IX in Ibrahim (1986, 200) = no. 028 in Vattioni (1994, 93-4) = H 461 in al-Jubouri (2010a, 142).

H 1031a-b = no. XIV in Ibrahim (1986, 202) = no. 032 in Vattioni (1994, 92) = H 462 in al-Jubouri (2010a, 142-3).

H 1034: not included in Beyer (1998) but numbered according to Beyer's progressive numeration = no. XVII in Ibrahim (1986, 203) = no. 035 in Vattioni (1994, 96). Cf. also Moriggi (2013a, 37-8).

H 1035a-e: not included in Beyer (1998) but numbered according to Beyer's progressive numeration = no. XVIII(a-e) in Ibrahim (1986, 203) = no. 036(a-d) in Vattioni (1994, 96). Cf. also Moriggi (2013a, 43).

H 1036a-c: not included in Beyer (1998) but numbered according to Beyer's progressive numeration = no. XIX(a-c) in Ibrahim (1986, 204) = no. 037(a-c) in Vattioni (1994, 97). Cf. also Moriggi (2013a, 45).

H 1058 = Bertolino (2013 fig. 3).

H 1076 = Bertolino (2013 fig. 2).

H 1077 = Bertolino (2013 fig. 4).

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

2 Onomastic Catalogue

2.1 Attestations of Personal Names

'b' 'Father'

Other readings 'b' 'Sklave' (Beyer 1998, 54 for H 109:1), see below.

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. with hypoc. or det. suffix (Abbadī 1983, 72).

Cf. NWS Abâ (^ma-ba-a; ^mab-ba-a) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 1). Attested in OA and OffA (Maraqten 1988, 65; 112), at Khirbet Ġaddāla (G 1:2, 2:2) and Hassankef-Ṭūr 'Abdīn (T 2:8), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 63; PAT nos. 0028:1, 0102:3, 0526:2, 0536:3, 0538, *etc.*; cf. Αββαϛ in Yon 2012 no. 514:1), Old Syr. (OSI no. As61:5), Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 24; Negev 1991, 9), Saf. (HIn., 8). Cf. also Αββαϛ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 14; 109); Saf., Min., Hadr. 'b (HIn., 7-8).

Attestations H 5:4,5¹ (sculptor), 5:3, 109:1 (major-domo of Barmaren), 140:4² (chief of the guards of Lord Walgaš, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 132), 176:1, 188:1, 225:1,2 (mason, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 140), 288a:5, 413a:1 (sculptor), 433:2, 439:1, 1014:2, 1036b:1,³ 1046:2.

'bgr' 'Big-bellied'

Other readings 'bgrd (al-Jubouri 2010b, 47; Beyer 2013, 39), cf. 'bygd.

Arab male name: elative 'abġar 'Large in the belly' (Lane, 153).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 63; PAT nos. 0055:6, 0274:2, 0306:2 with transcription Αβγάρου in line 2 of the Greek text, 0307:2, 0555:11,⁴ *etc.*; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 38:1; Yon 2013a nos. 97:3, 115:4, 185:1), Old Syr. (OSI nos. As51:4, As55:2, Am10:5,9, Co4:1; P1:6,8,v3,v4

1 Probably the sculptor's signature. Line 5 is numbered again 1 in Beyer 1998, 29.

2 Abbadī (1983, 1) reports the occurrence at line 3. One expects a missing line 1 'The statue of ...' (Caquot 1964, 259; Beyer 1998, 57).

3 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 45.

4 Found at Qaryatein, in the Palmyrene.

found at Dura Europos but written in Edessa and P2:ii,3,4,6,7,26 found in the vicinity of Dura Europos but written in Marcopolis, Osrhoene), Nab. also in the form **'bgrw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 24; Negev 1991, 9), Saf. (HIn., 9; WH, 547; Ababneh 2005 nos. 216a, 231, 232, 1102; al-Manaser 2008 no. 161; Rawan 2013 no. 324), Dad. (Farès-Drappeau 2005 no. D105:1), Tham. (Van den Branden 1956 no. Ph. 277 (l) 2). Cf. Αβγαρος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 14; 111-2).

Attestations H 474:2 (mason).

'bw 'Her father (is DN)'

Aram. female name. Hypoc. with apocopated 3rd f.s. pronominal suffix (Beyer 1998, 131), interpreted as a hypoc. suffix by Abbadi (1983, 72).

Attestations H 30:1, 228:1.

'by 'My father (is DN)'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name such as **'bygd** (Abbadi 1983, 73).

Cf. NWS Abî (^ma-bi-i) in NA and NB texts (PNA 1/I, 8); perhaps also in the Assur ostrakon (Maraqten 1988, 65; 113; Fales 2017, 104 translates 'my father').

Attestations H 6:1, 202i:1, 415a:3, 469:1 (major-domo of Barmaren), 1040a:2.

'bygd 'My father is Gad'

Other readings **'bygyr**/**'bygr** 'Mein Vater ist Beisasse' (Beyer 1998, 153); **'bygwd** (Bertolino 2008, 10).

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Gad, 'good fortune' and personal tutelary deity (Eissfeldt 1963; Abbadi 1983, 73; Kaizer 1997 and 1998); see below for ANA attestations of *gd*. Cf. also the form **'bygyd** (Abbadi 1983, 74).

Attested in Bab. texts as Abī-Gi'edu (^mAD-gi-e-du; Zadok 1977, 63); cf. **'bgd** on Aram. seals (Maraqten 1988, 65; 112).

Attestations H 107:1, 107:2, 245:1(2x).⁵

⁵ Always the same family. H 107 gives evidence of for the involvement of this family in building activities at the Sagil temple; the occurrences in H 245 refer to grandson and grandfather, i.e. the fourth and sixth generations of H 107.

'bygyd See **'bygd**.

Attestations H 301:1, 363:1.

'gr 'Hireling'

Aram. male name. Loanword from Akk. *agru* 'hired man, hireling' (AHw, 16; CAD A/1, 151-3; Kaufman 1974, 33), with det. suffix (al-Jubouri 2010a, 134). Considered hypoc. 'Gotteslohn' by Beyer (2013, 29).

Cf. NWS Agarū in NA (^m*a-ga-ri*; ^m*a-ga-ru*) and NB (^m*a-gi-ri*) onomastics (PNA 1/I, 55); cf. also NA Aggarāia (^m*ag-ga-ra-a-a*) and Aggāru (^m*ag-gar*; PNA 1/I, 55-6), and NB Agguru (^m*ag-gu-ru*) and Agar (^m*a-gar*; Pearce, Wunsch 2014 nos. 33:31 and 33:17 respectively; Nielsen 2015, 9). Attested in EA in the form **'gry** (Kornfeld 1978, 38; TADC nos. 3.15:39, 4.5:9; TADD nos. 18.8:1, 19.3:1); cf. Saf. and Min. **'gr** (HIn., 22; WH, 548).

Attestations H 428:3.

'd 'Adda / Father'

Other readings *bbr* 'Tiger' (Beyer 2013, 28 for H 425:2), MP noun (Sokoloff 2009, 116).

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc.: either theonym Adda, NWS form of the Storm-god's name, with suffix -' (Abbadi 1983, 74) or NWS 'd 'father' with det. suffix (DUL, 16 s.v. *ād*; Lipiński 1975, 101-2).⁶ Cf. also **'dy**.

Cf. NWS Addâ (^m*ad-da-a*) in NA onomastics (Lipiński 1975, 101 n. 6; PNA 1/I, 43-4); attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 65; PAT no. 2761:4); cf. Emesene Αδδαϰ (Nitta 1989, 287).

Attestations H 58:1, 397:1, 425:2, 1051:1, 1058:2.

'dwktb 'Addu wrote'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Addu, NWS form of the Storm-god's name (Aggoula 1990, 400-1).

Attestations H 396:1.

⁶ For Ug. names cf. Gröndahl 1967, 88; for Phoen. and Punic names cf. Benz 1972, 259-60.

'**dwnr** 'Addu is (my) light / fire'

Other readings 'dwnd/r 'Mon Seigneur est Hadad' or 'Le Seigneur est (ma) lumière' (Aggoula 1991, 77).

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Addu followed either by Akk. *nūru* or Aram. *nwr* (Abbadī 1983, 75).

Cf. Adda-nūrī/Adad-nūrī (^m10-ZALÁG; ^{md}IM-ZALÁG; ^{md}IM-*nu-ri*) in NA texts, for which PNA (1/I, 34) apparently suggests that the Akk. and the Aram. names derived independently from the same root; '**dnry** on a 7th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 66; 117). Cf. also NA Dādi-nūrī (^{mda}*di-nu-ri*; ^{mda}*di*-ZALÁG; ^mU.U-*nu-ri*; ^mU.U-ZALÁG; PNA 1/II, 364), and Aram. **ddnwry** (Lipiński 2010, 72 no. O.3646Rev:7; 178 no. O.3715Rev:7), **ddnr** (Lipiński 2010, 102 no. O.3650Rev:7; 161 no. O.3656r.e.), and **ddnry** (Lipiński 2010, 63 no. O.3655Rev:10).

Attestations H 142:2.

'**dy** 'Adda'

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc.; theonym Adda with suffix -y. Less likely, NWS 'd 'father' (DUL, 16 s.v. *ād*; Lipiński 1975, 101-2) with 1st s. pronominal suffix.⁷ Cf. also the entry '**d**' (Abbadī 1983, 75).

Attested in OffA, notably in epigraphs on NA (Lipiński 2010, 57 no. O.3713Rev:6) and NB tablets (Maraqten 1988, 66; 115); cf. Iddiya (^{mid}*di-ia*) in the Murašû archive (Donbaz, Stolper 1997 nos. 37:13, 87:3, 95:2, Obv, le.e.). Attested in a Palm. inscription found at Hatra (al-Salihi 1987, 57; PAT no. 1604:1), in an inscription on a relief between Dağyeli and Koçtepe-Ṭūr 'Abdīn (T 4c:3 = Lightfoot, Naveh 1991 no. C:3), and in Old Syr. (OSI nos. As12:2, As14:2, As15:1).

Attestations H 46:1 (sculptor), 56:3, 57:1, 216:1 (mason),⁸ 217:1 (mason), 383:1 (sculptor), 392:1, 393b:1, 405:2, 1053:1 (priest), 1057:1.

'**dltw** Uncertain meaning.

Other readings '**dlt**y or '**bl**ty, either theonym Adda or 'father' followed by the theonym Allāt (Aggoula 1991, 9-10); '**l**ty 'Höchster' (Beyer 1998, 30), Arab name; '**dlt**y (Bertolino 2008, 10).

Arab male name. Probably hypoc. of a theophoric name. Perhaps 3rd f.s.

⁷ For Ug. names cf. Gröndahl 1967, 88; for Phoen. and Punic names cf. Benz 1972, 259-60.

⁸ The same individual in H 216 and 217; the texts are identical.

perfect (IV) of Arabic *'adalla* 'He, or it, directed; directed aright; guided' (Lane, 900-2), with hypoc. suffix *-w* '(The goddess) guided'; if so, it may be connected with Saf. **dl**, **dll**, **dllt** (HIn., 241-2; WH, 574).

Otherwise, following the attestations of Tham. **'dlt** (Van den Branden 1956 no. Ph. 256 a) and Saf. **'dl** (HIn., 34), 3rd f.s. perfect (IV) of Arabic *'aḏalla* 'He (God) lowered, abased, or humbled, him' (Lane, 973) with hypoc. suffix *-w* '(The goddess) humbled'.

Abbadi (1983, 76) follows cautiously Caquot (1952, 95): relative from Arabic *dalaṭa* 'in kleinen Schritten gehen'.

Attestations H 10a:5.

'dn 'Ear'

Other readings *'zn*, for which Abbadi (1983, 76) suggests Arabic *'udn*, although in Aram. one would expect *dn*. If *'zn*, it may be otherwise Hebr. 'ear' but this seems difficult to match with names of other members of the same family (*ḥwys̄* and *nšryhb*). *'d/rn* 'Ohr/Gazelle' (Beyer 1998, 154).

Aram. or Arab male name (Beyer 1998, 154); if Aram., absolute state. Cf. in NA texts the probably NWS Idnānu (^m*id-na-a-ni*; PNA 2/I, 505), Uznā (^m*uz-na-a*); ^m*ú-su-na-a*), and Uznānu (^m*uz-na-nu*; ^mPI.2-*a-nu*; PNA 3/II, 1424-5). Cf. Saf. **'dn** (HIn., 34; WH, 550; Ababneh 2005 nos. 308, 374, 746). Interpreted as a diminutive *'Uḏain* in HIn. and WH; Ababneh 2005, 194 vocalizes *'Uḏun* 'Hearer, listener', *'Āḏin* 'who has big ears', *'Aḏīn* 'warrantor, leader'. Cf. also Tham. **'dn** (Van den Branden 1956 no. Ph. 290(1), vocalized *'iḏn*), and the Hism. diminutive **'dnt** (King 1990, 355). Aggoula (1991, 86) suggests a hypoc., 'lord'.⁹

Attestations H 174:1.

'd/rnb Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible.

'dnb (Aggoula 1991, 137-8; Vattioni 1994, 65; Bertolino 2008, 10). According to Aggoula, a theophoric name: either the nominal sentence 'Le (mon) Seigneur est Nabu', or a verbal sentence on the model of NA Adūnī-Nabû, or Iddina-Nabû 'Nabû gave (me)'. Cf. EA **'dnbw**-Iddinnabu (Kornfeld 1978, 38 s.v. **'dnnbw**; TADD no. 7.40:8; Porten 2016, 8).

⁹ Cf. for Ug. DUL, 19-20, Gröndahl 1967, 89-90; see also Phoen. and Punic theophorics in Benz 1972, 260-1.

'**rn̄b** (Abbadi 1983, 81-2; Beyer 1998, 83). Aram. 'hare' (DNWSI, 110), cf. Arabic 'arnab (*Lane*, 1164).

Attestations H 288a:4.

'**tyš** Uncertain meaning.

Arab male name. Abbadi (1983, 76) suggests an elative of Arabic *tāša* (*tyš*) 'He was, or became, light, inconstant, unsteady, irresolute, or fickle' (*Lane*, 1905); Caquot (1964, 263) refers to Saf. **tyš²t** 'frivolity, fickleness' (HIn., 390; WH, 590).

Less likely, hypoc. of '**tyšmš**' 'Šamaš a donné' (Aggoula 1991, 83), verbal sentence with the 3rd m.s. C perfect of 'ty, with a shift [t] > [t̄].

Attestations H 161a:1.

'**khl** 'Black-eyed'

Other readings *kḥw* or *nḥw* (Vattioni 1981, 27); *pḥw* (Aggoula 1991, 9-10); *nḥw* (Vattioni 1994, 41).

Arab male name. Elative '*akḥal* 'kuḥl schwarz (Auge)' (Wehr 1985, 1090) from *kaḥala* 'mit kuḥl salben, bestrieichen' (Wehr 1985, 1090), hence 'Schwarzäugiger' (Beyer 1998, 154); cf. also Syr. *khl* (Sokoloff 2009, 617) and Abbadi (1983, 77) 'sich die Augenlider mit Kuḥl (Antimon) färben'.

Attestations H 10a:2, 10b:2, 10c:2.¹⁰

'**lhyḥbw** 'The god gave'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence: the suffix -w is interpreted by Aggoula (1986, 362) as the Greek -οϛ; as plural 'die Götter gaben (den Sohn)' by Beyer (1998, 97). However, the use of the plural 'gods' is not attested in previous or contemporary onomastic corpora. The suffix may mirror a dialectal pronunciation; a comparable case may be Palm. **blyd'w** (Stark 1971, 76; PAT no. 1261:1).

¹⁰ Always the same individual. H 10a-b-c yield the following genealogy: **šmš'qb** son of '**lhšmš** son of '**khl** son of **šmšḥdyt** son of '**pḥw**. As seen above, Aggoula (1991, 9-10) reads '**pḥw** instead of '**khl**. However, the hand-copy (Safar 1951, 177; photograph not available) allows for the proposal of different readings. Further, in H 10a:2 and 10c:2 '**khl** is recognizable due to the different shape of <k>, as compared to <p>. H 10b:2 is more problematic, likely due to a mistake by the engraver. The sequence <'kph> could be interpreted as '**k{p}ḥ[l]** or '**{k}ph[w]**. Prosopographical data deduced from the other inscriptions on the same altar allow for the selection of '**k{p}ḥ[l]**. Beyer (1998, 30) does not indicate the deletion of <p> in H 10b:2.

Cf. NA Iddin-Ilū (^m*id-ni*-DINGIR; ^mASŠ-DINGIR), perhaps NWS (PNA 2/I, 504).

Attestations H 364:4 (major-domo of Marten, ‘his intendant’ referring to the major-domo *’prht*, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 131).

’lhšmš ‘The god is Šamš’

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadī 1983, 77).

Cf. Palm. **’lhš**’ (Stark 1971, 68; PAT nos. 0470:1, 0543:1 with transcription Ἐλασσᾶ at lines 1 and 2 of the Greek text, 0544:1,3, 0545:2, 0547:2,6, *etc.*; Yon 2013a nos. 45:2,3, 82:1); at Dura Europos Ἰλασσαμοσῶς (Grassi 2012, 65; 209) and again Palm. **’lhš**’ (PAT no. 1091:5).

Attestations H 10a:1, 10b:2, 10c:1,¹¹ 40:3, 141:2.

’lṭwm Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *’lṭ ws[my]* ‘(Statua di) *’lṭ e dell’in[segna]*’ (Vattioni 1981, 63); *’lṭwq* or *’lṭws* (Vattioni 1994, 53).

Male name. Abbadī (1983, 78) suggests an relative of Arabic *laṭṭama* (II) ‘He slapped much, or violently’ (Lane, 3010), with a vocalic shift [a] > [ū], or an *’aCCūC* form ‘elternlos sein’. Aggoula (1991, 77) considers it a transcription of **’ntwn**, with the shifts [n] > [l], [t] > [ṭ] and [n] > [m],¹² from *ntn* ‘to give’.

Perhaps paralleled by Nab. **’lṭmw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 35; Negev 1991, 12), for which Cantineau (1932, 63) proposed a derivation from Arabic *laṭīm* ‘orphelin de père et de mère; qui a une tache blanche sur la joue’ or *laṭīma* ‘musc; parfum’; cf. Saf. **lṭmt** (HIn., 516 also in the form **lṭm**; WH, 608; Ababneh 2005 no. 1127) likewise traced back to ‘musk’.

Attestations H 142:1.

’lkwd/r Uncertain meaning.

Male name. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible (cf. Abbadī 1983, 78-9 for various interpretations). Attested also in Old-Syr. inscriptions from Sumatar (OSI nos. As30:4, As37:2,3, As38:1).

¹¹ The same individual in H 10a-b-c.

¹² Shifts: [n] > [l] attested in Neo-Aram., [t] > [ṭ] as in **’tyš**, [n] > [m] attested in Syr.

'lkwd: interpreted by Habib (1973, 162), and subsequently by Odishu (1990, 456), as a form of **'lkbd** 'The anger of the god' with a shift [b] > [w]. Alternatively, a form derived from Arabic *lakida* 'It (dirt) clave, or stuck, to him, or it' (Lane, 2671) or Jordanian Arabic *lakada* 'einem Pferd die Sporen geben', from which Abbadi derives a possible meaning 'Heisssporn'. According to Aggoula (1991, 70), a genitive construction 'The god of the city wall', in which *kwd* would be a variant of *gwd*.¹³

'lkw: Caquot (1963, 4) takes into account Qat. **'lkr** (HIn., 69; this should probably be amended to **'lkrb**, cf. Hayajneh 1998, 303); Safar (1961, 19) identifies the Arabic article 'l in the first part of the name. Abbadi, followed by Beyer (1998, 154), proposes also an Iran. origin, but the idea is questioned by Sima (2000, 165) due to the rarity of the phoneme /l/ in contemporary Iran. sources. Perhaps the name is neither Semitic nor Iran.

Attestations H 79:5, 79:7, 79:8,¹⁴ 80:2, 80:9(2x),¹⁵ 113:1, 114:1,¹⁶ 327:1,¹⁷ 349:1, 350:2,¹⁸ 377:1, 416:3 (lord), 416:4, 427:2.

'lksdrws 'Aleksandros'

Greek male name, Ἀλέξανδρος, with assimilation [nd] > [dd] = <d>.

Cf. the numerous transcriptions of the name in LB cuneiform (Monerie 2014, 113-7); Palm. **'lkdrys** (Stark 1971, 68; PAT no. 1135:2), **'lksdrs** (Stark 1971, 68; PAT no. 0259.I:2), **'lksndrws** (Stark 1971, 68; PAT nos. 0278:3, 0286:4, 2754:1), **'lksndrs** (Stark 1971, 68; PAT no. 1412:2), **'lksndry** (Yon 2013a no. 1:1). All texts, except for PAT no. 2754 and Yon 2013a no.1, bear the transcription Ἀλέξανδρος. Nab. **'lks** and **'lks'** may be hypoc. of the same name (Negev 1991, 12); however, the attestations of **'lksy** and **'lksyw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 36; Healey 1993, 116) point at Ἀλέξιος.

Attestations H 1019:1.¹⁹

¹³ The name allegedly has parallels in Palm. onomastics. However, it does not seem to be attested in Palm.

¹⁴ The three individuals in H 79 are: grandson, grandfather, and great-great-grandfather.

¹⁵ Overall, three attestations for two different individuals: grandson (H 80:9) and grandfather (H 80:2,9).

¹⁶ The same individual in H 113 and 114.

¹⁷ The attestations in H 327 and 427 may refer to the same individual.

¹⁸ The same individual in H 349 and 350.

¹⁹ This <ṣ>, though partially broken, lacks the characteristic elongated left stroke due to the small space available and thus has a <ḥ>-like shape (Aggoula 1994b, 400).

'mb' 'Paternal grandmother'

Aram. male name. Genitive construction with aphaeresis of <'> in 'b (Stark 1971, 69; Moriggi 2013a, 43).

Cf. Akk. Ummi-abīya (MI₂, AMA-a-bi-a) in NA texts (PNA 3/II, 1386) and Palm. 'mby (Stark 1971, 69), male (PAT no. 1346A:2²⁰-B:2) and female (PAT nos. 0021:4, 0604:1, 0914:1, 1803:1, 2748:3). Cf. also Milik 1972, 324-6.

Attestations H 1035d:2.²¹

'nšb' Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Aram. *nšb* 'wind' (DNSWI, 764) with prothetic ['] (Aggoula 1991, 37); Beyer (1998, 40) translates 'Anhauch (der Gottheit ...)'.
Abbadi (1983, 79) suggests either an elative form of Arabic *našiba* 'It became caught, or entangled' (*Lane*, 2791) hence 'hängen' with Aram. det. suffix, or the plural adjective '*ansibā*' (sing. *nasīb*) from *nasaba* 'He mentioned his [i.e. another's] relationship, [lineage, or genealogy]' (*Lane*, 2786), hence 'angeheirateter Verwandter'. It may also be an elative connected with Saf. **ns²bt** (HIn., 588; WH, 615; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 48, 111; Rawan 2013 nos. 50, 115, 309; al-Manaser and Rawan connect it instead with Arabic *nušabah* 'Wolf' or *nuššāb* 'Bogenschütze', as *naššāb* 'A maker of arrows' in *Lane*, 2792); cf. also Saf. and Qat. **ns²b** (HIn., 588; WH, 615), and Saf. **hns²b** (WH, 621).

Attestations H 45:2.

'spd/r' 'Aspād / Aspār'

Iran. male name, Aspād or Aspār. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible. Both names are attested in Greek transcription, Ασπάδας and Ασπαρ (Justi 1895, 45-6). If 'spd, perhaps a hypoc. of Aspa-dāt, attested on a Parthian ostrakon at Nippur and interpreted as the union of *asp* 'horse' (MacKenzie 1971, 12) and the participle *dāta* 'given' (Schmitt 1998, 181).

Attestations H 381:1 (major-domo).

20 Reconstructed.

21 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 43.

'srybrk 'May Assor bless'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Assor (Abbadi 1983, 79-80); cf. the "Linguistic Analysis" for the Aram. imperfect prefix *y-*.²² Cf. OA and OffA theophoric names with the same structure (Maraqten 1988, 105).

Attestations H 141:2.

'srpnd' 'Oh Assor, ransom!'

Other readings *'stnr/d'* (Degen 1970, 226; Abbadi 1983, 190 remarking the difficult reading of <t>); *'stnd'* (Vattioni 1981, 77, 1994, 59); *'str'* (Ibrahim 1986, 211; 516); *'srpnd/r'* (Aggoula 1991, 108; connected with NA names such as Aššūr-ālik-pāni or Aššūr-dūr-pānija (PNA 1/I, 153-4; 180); *'smnd'* (Beyer 1998, 71; Greek Σμυδων).

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence: theonym Assor followed by the 2nd m.s. D imperative of *pdy* (G stem) 'to ransom, to redeem' (DNWSI, 902) with dissimilation [dd] > [nd]. The D stem of this verb has not been attested elsewhere so far, but the NA Akk. genitive infinitive *puddê* (*pu-ud-de-e*) 'ransoming' in the letter SAA 10 no. 89:5' (cf. also CAD/P, 7 *puddû* 'to ransom(?)') is an interesting parallel. Due to the isolated nature of the Aram. and Akk. attestations, it is not possible to state whether this form shows Akk. influence on Aram. or vice-versa, or if they portray two cognate verbs which developed independently. For *pdy* (G stem) in onomastics, cf.: Lipiński 1975, 129-31; PNA 3/I, 977-9; Abraham 2005-6, 215-6. The use in personal names of a D imperative of *pdy* or *padû/puddû* is not so far attested.

Attestations H 219:1 (temple(?) singer).

'stnq 'Āstāwanaq (?)'

Iran. male name. Abbadi (1983, 80) suggests the Iran. adjective *us-tāna-ka* 'ausgestreckt'; Schmitt (2016, 60) for the attestation of **'stwnq** in epigraphic Parthian cautiously suggests a hypoc. based on Avestan *āstauwana-*, MP *āstawān-* 'sich bekennd (zu)' (also MacKenzie 1971, 12). Cf. also the form **'tnq**. Iran. [k] is rendered with <q> also in **snṭrwq**.

Attestations H 38:3, 56:3, 113:2,²³ 114:2, 181:1, 257:1, 326:1, 342:3 (elder), 438a:2, 1014:2, 1031b:2.

22 According to Beyer (1998, 138), the prefix suggests an Arab origin for the name.

23 The same individual in H 113 and 114.

'phw Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *'phwšmš* (Abbadi 1983, 80), connected with Akk. *napāḫū* 'to rise (said of stars)' (AHw, 732-3; CAD N/1, 265-8), cf. *np[h]šwš* 'The rising of Šamaš' in a 5th century Aram. ostrakon from Larsa (Dupont-Sommer 1945-46 line 4; Maraqtan 1988, 242); *'phwšmš* 'Šamaš diffused his odour' (Odishu 1990, 474); *phz* 'Hochmütiger' (Beyer 2013, 28; 31-2; only in H 426:1 and 441:3), Arabic *'aphaz*.

Aram. or Arab. male name. The reading with final <w> seems more likely than one with final <z> as in Beyer. If Aram., it might be the hypoc. of a theophoric name: 3rd m.s. C perfect of *nph* 'to forge' (Beyer 1984, 638; DNWSI, 740), with assimilation [np] > [pp] = <p> and hypoc. suffix -w. However, the Qumran attestation listed in Beyer 1984 is in turn uncertain. This verbal stem is also not productive in Aramaic. On the other hand, Arabic *'aphaz* 'haughty' (Beyer 2013, 28; 31-2) is linguistically more likely but epigraphically less justified.

Attestations H 10a:3, 10c:3,²⁴ 390:2, 426:1, 441:3.²⁵

'prhṭ 'Afrāhāt'

Iran. male name, *Frahāt*, with prothetic ['] (Abbadi 1983, 80-1; Gignoux 1986, 86; Schmitt 1998, 179; Gignoux 2003, 37). Cf. Avestan *fraδāta* 'favorisé, accru' (Gignoux 1986, 86). Cf. *Ipradātu* (^m*ip-ra-da-a-tú*) and *Ipradāta* (^m*ip-ra-da-a-ta*) in Achaemenid Babylonia (Zadok 2009, 231-2). Attested at Assur (A 27g:1), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 72; PAT no. 0595), Old Syr. (OSI no. Cm13:1), and Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 35-6).

Attestations H 133:1, 223:1 (major-domo of Arabia), 224:1 (major-domo), 224:2 (major-domo),²⁶ 364:1 (major-domo of Arabia), 390:2, 437:1,2.

'prṭn 'Afrūdhīn'

Iran. male name, *Afrūdhīn* (Justi 1895, 6; 99 s.v. *Ferūdhīn*); *Afrātān* in Beyer (1998, 155). According to Aggoula (1990, 413) and Sima (2000, 166), transcription of Greek Πρωτιων, attested in Syriac as **'pr'wṭynws**, which in turn is interpreted as the Iran. *Afrāhātēnos* by Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien (2009, 36).

²⁴ The same individual in H 10a-c. Cf. the entry **'khl** for a discussion of the readings. Here <w> is a short slanting stroke ligated to the preceding <ḫ>, as in H 10c:3.

²⁵ Likely the same individual in H 426 and 441.

²⁶ Father and son in H 224:1-2.

Attested in two different spellings, *prwtyn* and *prtyn*, in a Sasanian JBA incantation bowl in square script but with a Mandaic *Vorlage* (Levene, Bohak 2012 lines 10,11) and linked to the toponym Hatra in both occurrences.

Attestations H 410:1 (Zaḳīqā-deified ancestor).

'ryš 'Provoker'

Arab male name. Abbadi (1983, 81) suggests Arabic *'arraša* (II) 'He made mischief; or excited disorder, disturbance, disagreement (...) between, or among, the people' (Lane, 47); probably an adjective, *CaCīC* form. Bertolino (2008, 10) considers it an Iran. name. Odishu (1990, 474) proposes 'A man possessing property and clothing'. Cf. perhaps Ariššu (^m*a-ri-iš-šú*) in Achaemenid Babylonia (Zadok 1977, 224); Nab. *'ršw* (Negev 1991, 15); Saf., Dad., Tham. *'rs²* 'spoiler, lurer, swindler' (HIn., 37; WH, 550; Ababneh 2005 nos. 761, 840; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 11, 279) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 356) and Min. (al-Said 1995, 56-7); Saf. *'rs²t* (HIn, 37; WH, 550; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 83, 128); Min. *'rys²t* (al-Said 1995, 57).

Attestations H 69:7-8.

'ršd 'The most righteous'

Other readings *ršd*, *ršk* (?) or *bšr* (Vattioni 1981, 66, 1994, 54); *bšr* 'Assur est père (ou mon père)' (Aggoula 1991, 83), but already in the earliest phases of Aramaic the theonym Aššur is consistently written <sr>, whereas <šr> is Ištar/Iššar (Fales 1986, 61-5). Aggoula's alternative hypothesis is the theophoric 'The father is King', composed with šr i.e. Akk. *šarru*.

Arab male name. Elative from *rašada* 'He took, or followed, a right way or course or direction' (Lane, 1089), hence 'Rechtgeleitet, vernünftig; Verständiger' (Abbadi 1983, 82; Beyer 1998, 61). Cf. Tham. and Hadr. *rs²d*, and Sab. *rs²dm* (HIn., 278).

Attestations H 161b:1.

'š' 'Gift (?)'

Arab male name. Likely from *'ws¹* 'to give; to grant a boon' attested in Saf. (Al-Jallad 2015, 302) with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix. Cf. also the form *'šw*. Abbadi (1983, 82) reports a pers. comm. of B. Aggoula, who connects the name with Arabic *'anisa* 'He was, or became, sociable, companionable' (Lane, 113). Cf. also Lipiński 1974 for this root in NWS onomastics.

Attested in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Lemaire 2001 nos. 8:9, 9:8, 10:8 connected with 'wš 'to give'); cf. Αυσσας at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 35; 148) and Emesa (Nitta 1989, 288); Nab. 'šw (al-Khaysheh 1986, 44 'Myrth'; Negev 1991, 15); Saf. 's¹ (HIn., 40-1; WH, 551; Ababneh 2005 nos. 77, 93, 219, 299, 331, *etc.*; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 116, 131, 133, 159, 173, 238; Rawan 2013 nos. 73, 98, 117, 164, 267, *etc.*) attested also in Dad., Tham. (HIn., 40-1) and Hism. (King 1990, 356-7); Saf., Dad., Tham., Sab., Min. 'ws¹ (HIn., 84; Ababneh 2005 nos. 76, 80, 283; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 17, 156); Saf. theophoric 's¹l (HIn., 41; WH, 551; Ababneh 2005 nos. 913, 1006; Rawan 2013 no. 108) attested also in Dad. (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2009, 95) and Hism. (King 1990, 357); Saf., Dad., Sab., Qat., Min. 'ws¹l (HIn., 84).

Attestations H 30:3, 38:3.

'šw See 'š'.

Attestations H 480:1.

'šlm 'The safest'

Arab male name. Elative from š/salima 'He was, or became, safe, or secure; (...) he made peace' (Lane, 1412-3; Abbadi 1983, 83). Cf. also the form 'šlmw.

Perhaps attested also in a Palm. inscription from Umm es-Salabikh (PAT no. 2757:2). Cf. Nab. 'šlm and 'šlmw (Negev 1991, 15); Saf., Dad., Tham., Sab., Min. 's¹lm (HIn., 45; WH, 551; Ababneh 2005 nos. 84, 92(2x), 168, 383, 411, *etc.*; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 95, 234) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 358). The causative 's¹lm 'to surrender' is attested in Saf. (Al-Jallad 2015, 342).

Attestations H 162:1 (3x),²⁷ 182:1 (2x),²⁸ 185:1 (2x),²⁹ 242:1, 243:1,³⁰ 411c-f.³¹

'šlmw See 'šlm.

Attestations H 412a:4.

27 The three attestations refer to son, father, and great-grandfather.

28 Father and son. Cf. H 185.

29 Father and son; the same two individuals as in H 182.

30 The same individual in H 242 and 243.

31 Four Hatran graffiti incised on a Palmyrene stele dedicated to Allāt (PAT no. 1604). Found at Hatra, in Small Shrine 13 dedicated to Gad (al-Salihi 1987, 57).

'št'ty See 'štt'y.

Attestations H 325:2,³² 1008:1.

'štt' Aštād'

Other readings For H 18:2 the following readings have been suggested: *bšt* (Caquot 1952, 99; Vattioni 1981, 30); *b/wštt* (Aggoula 1991, 15); *bštr*' 'Durch die Göttin' (Beyer 1998, 32). I propose *bšt[t]* 'By Aštād'.

Iran. theophoric male name. Perhaps hypoc.: theonym Aštād (Justi 1895, 47; Abbadi 1983, 84; Gignoux 1986, 50; 2003, 24). Odishu (1990, 456) proposes 'to be foolish', Gt stem of Syr. šty (Sokoloff 2009, 1548). Attested at Assur (A 4:5); its occurrence in Palm. is uncertain (Stark 1971, 71; PAT no. 0414:2).

Attestations H 18:2, 26:1, 94:1, 122:1, 123:1 (son of Lord Worōd), 215:1 (scribe), 221:2 (scribe),³³ 335:5 (mason), 439:1, 1036a:1, 1090:1.

'štt'y 'Aštād'

Iran. theophoric male name. Hypoc.: theonym Aštād with suffix -y (Abbadi 1983, 84). Cf. also the form 'št'ty (Aggoula 1991, 5).

Attestations H 5:2.³⁴

'tlw 'Noble'

Arab male name. Adjective from 'aṭala 'it was, or became, old, of ancient origin, or of long standing' (Lane, 21; Abbadi 1983, 84) with suffix -w. Caquot (1952, 101) suggests an elative. A transcription of Greek ἄταλος has been proposed by Milik (1962, 53) and more recently by Marciak-Wójcikowski (2016, 92).

32 Perhaps the same individual in H 5 and 325. The second <'> may have been added by the engraver once the name had already been written (hand-copy in al-Salihi 1975, 184). Cf. the entry 'štt'y.

33 Likely the same individual in H 215 and 221.

34 Perhaps the same individual in H 5 and 325. Cf. the entry 'št'ty.

Cf. Tham. **'t̄yl** (Harding 1952 nos. 63, 64), **'t̄l** (Van den Branden 1956 nos. Ph. 166 v 7, Ph. 207 a 2), and **'t̄lt** (Van den Branden 1956 no. Ph. 178 b 3); Sab. **'t̄l** and **'t̄lt** (HIn., 21).

Attestations H 21:1 (king of Adiabene).³⁵

'tnq See **'stnq**.

Aggoula (1991, 119-20) considers this form evidence for the assimilation of an interdental [t̄] to [t]. However, as in MA interdental phonemes are regularly reduced to dentals, this is likely an assimilation [st̄] > [tt] = <t> or a mistake of the engraver.

Attestations H 239:1.

't'qb 'Atte/Atargatis protected'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with theonym 'Atte/Atargatis, with dissimilation ['] > ['] (Abbadi 1983, 85).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 73; PAT nos. 0511:2, 0792:2, 1358:4,5, 2812:6,9, 2815 with transcription Αθηακά[βος]; Yon 2013a no. 105:3); also in the non-dissimilated form **'t'qb** (Stark 1971, 108; PAT nos. 0072:2, 0073:4, 0075:3, 0083:3, 0114:2, *etc.*; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 13:2). The latter is already attested in a 2nd century BC inscription at Teima (Degen 1974 no. 11).

Attestations H 251:1 (major-domo), 271:1.

³⁵ I follow the reading **'tlw mlk' ntw'n'sry'** by Beyer (1998, 33), adopted also in Marciak, Wójcikowski (2016). Caquot (1952, 101; no complete translation provided) **'tlw mlk' ntyn' šry'**; Aggoula (1991, 17) **'tlw mlk' ntw'n' šry' 'tlw** le roi de *'ntwn* l'assyrien'. Cf. the remarks in Sima (1995-96, 318). *ntwn'šr* is the Iran. name of the kingdom of Adiabene, whose relevant ethnonym *ntwn'šry'* 'Adiabenean' is attested also in the transcription Νατουσι(σ)αροκέρτων (Lipiński 1982, 120; Marciak, Wójcikowski 2016, 92). The identification of *ntwn'šr* with Adiabene was proposed by Milik (1962, 51) on the basis of numismatic evidence; Teixidor (1967, 1-4) proposed that the statue depicted king Izates, who lived in the first half of the 1st century BC, as witnessed by Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, and enjoyed a great deal of prestige at Hatra. Furthermore, the name Aṭīlu would be the translation of Izates, Iran. *azadalazades* 'noble' (Gignoux 1986, 51). Adiabene would have represented a model for Hatrene royal ideology and Izates' statue would have been erected by the first Hatrene king Sanaṭrūk I (Teixidor 1967, 8). The more recent evaluation of this attestation (Marciak, Wójcikowski 2016, 92-3) highlights the role of Hatra as a superregional religious centre and the importance of dedications of statues in establishing positive diplomatic relations among neighbouring kingdoms.

bby Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *bby* 'le banquier' (Aggoula 1990, 417).

Male name. Lallative form (Abbadi 1983, 86), probably common Semitic.

Attested in OA and OffA (Maraqten 1988, 71; 135), in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 7:2), and on NB bricks from Babylon (Sass, Marzahn 2010, 44; 165); cf. Bābâ (^m*ba-ba-a*), Bābāia (male ^m*ba-ba-a-a*; female ^{Mi}*ba-ba-a-a*), Bābî (^m*ba-bi-i*; PNA 1/II, 243-4), Bābû (^m*ba-bu-ú*), and Bābua (*ba-bu-a*; *bu-ba-a*) in NA texts (PNA 1/II, 246); Palm. **bbw** (al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 55:3); Βαβα at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 36; 151) together with **bbw** in a Palm. grafito (PAT no. 1102); **bb'** in the archive of Babatha from Naḥal Hever (Yadin et al. 2002 no. 7:6,8,11,12,38,40,45,47); perhaps Old Syr. **'bbwy** (OSI no. As32:2).

Attestations H 104:1 ('the dwarf'? Cf. Beyer 1998, 52).

bd/r' Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible. Cf. also the form **bd/ry**, attested on NB bricks from Babylon (Sass, Marzahn 2010, 46; 165-6).

bd' (Abbadi 1983, 86). Prepositional construction: hypoc. 'in the hand (of DN)'. Perhaps a defective writing of Palm. **byd'** (Stark 1971, 76 opts for a form of **zbyd'** with aphaeresis of <z>); PAT nos. 0279:3 with transcription Βαιδᾶ at line 3 of the Greek text, 0909:2, 1359:2, 2348Rev:1, 2512Rev).³⁶ Cf. NWS names attested in NA texts Bādāia (^m*ba-da-a*; ^m*ba-da-a-a*), Bādî (^m*ba-di-i*), Bādia (male ^m*ba-di-ia*; female ^{Mi}*ba-di-ia*), Baiadi-Il (^m*ba-a-a-di-DINGIR*; ^m*ba-a'-di-DINGIR*; ^m*ba-di-i'-DINGIR*; ^m*ba-a-a-te-DINGIR*; PNA 1/II, 249-53); Bādāia (^m*ba-da-a*) attested also in the NB archive of the Nappāḥu (Baker 2004 no. 118). Cf. theophoric **byd'l** in OffA (Maraqten 1988, 71; 136-7). The connection with Arabic *baḍḍ* 'white flower' proposed by Odishu (1990, 457) should be rejected.

br' (Abbadi 1983, 86-7; preferred by Vattioni 1994, 66 and Beyer 1998 and 2013). Either hypoc. of a theophoric name 'son of ND', or 3rd m.s. perfect (I) of Arabic *bari'a* 'He was, or became, clear, or free' (Lane, 178), hence 'innocent'. Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 78; PAT nos. 0525:1, 1503:2, 2189Rev); cf. Βαρα at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 37; 156; Gzella 2015b, 462); perhaps Nab. **br'w** (Abbadi 1983, 87; al-Khaysheh

³⁶ Perhaps cf. Βαδδαϙ attested at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 36; 153).

1986, 49; Negev 1991, 17); Saf. and Tham. **br** 'free, guiltless' (HIn., 99; WH, 558; Ababneh 2005 nos. 77, 93, 755, 761, 811).

Attestations H 34:4, 34:5 (priest),³⁷ 39:1 (priest), 190:1 (blacksmith), 288c:6, 425:3.

bd/ry See **bd/r**'.

Attestations H 406:1.

bd/ryd/r '(Little?) fellow / Little mantle'

Arab male name. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, different readings are possible.

bdyd': perhaps *badīd* 'fellow' (Lane, 162), with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix; it may also be a diminutive. Saf. **bddh** (HIn., 97; WH, 557) is connected with 'desire, power'.

bdyr': perhaps *badīr* 'Scattered, or dispersed' or 'A calumniator' (Lane, 173), with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix. Cf. Saf. **bdr** 'calumniator' (HIn., 98).

bryd': Beyer (1998, 80) interprets it as a nickname 'Der-dunkle/gesprenkelte'. However, cf. Saf. (HIn., 101; WH, 558; Ababneh 2005 no. 87), Tham. (HIn., 101), and Hism. (King 1990, 367) **brd** 'mantle': **bryd**' could be a *CuCayC* diminutive.

Attestations H 277:1.

bd/rynšw Uncertain meaning.

Male name. Perhaps an Aram. theophoric with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš. Less likely MP *brinj* 'rice; bronze, brass' (MacKenzie 1971, 19-20) due to the dubious correspondence between MP /j/ and the Aram. grapheme <š>.

Attestations H 1089:1.

bwšyr 'Little messenger'

Other readings *byšwr* (Beyer 2013, 52).

Arab male name. Diminutive of *bašīr* 'One who announces to a people [or person] an event, either good or evil' (Lane, 208), attested also in

37 The two attestations in H 34 probably refer to grandson and grandfather.

Arab onomastics (al-Jubouri 2010a, 138).
Cf. Saf., Sab., Hadr. **bs²r** (HIn., 106-7).

Attestations H 444:1.

blbrk ‘Bēl blessed’

Other readings *blbrk* as epithet of *ḥnyn* ‘blessed by Bēl’ (al-Salihi 1996b, 195).

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Bēl; Arabic verbal form according to Beyer (1998, 112).

Cf. Bēl-barakku (‘EN-*ba-rak-ku*) in the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985 no. 48:20’); attested in Palm. (PAT nos. 1536:6, 1537:7) also in the form **bwlbrk** (Stark 1971, 74; PAT nos. 1526:1,2, 1529:1, 1530:1,2, 1533:1); cf. also **b[|]brk** (PAT no. 0471:2) with transcription Βωλβαραχου at line 3 of the Greek text; Emesene Βελβαραχος (Nitta 1989, 289).

Attestations H 1037b:1.

blg’ See **blgw**

Attestations H 52:2.

blgw ‘Shining’

Other readings *blgd* (Aggoula 1991, 36-7); *qdm bl gbr* ‘(Remembered be for good) before Bēl gbr’ (Beyer 2013, 30 for H 434:4): as remarked by al-Jubouri (2010a, 136), line 4 is written in a different handwriting and thus should be separated from lines 1-3.

Arab male name. Adjective or participle from *baliġa* ‘He was, or became joyful, glad, or happy; (...) It (the dawn, or daybreak) shone, was bright, or shone brightly’ (Lane, 245) with nominative suffix according to Ab-badi (1983, 87), or perhaps hypoc. Cf. also the form **blg**’, probably a surname with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix (H 52:2).

Cf. **blg** in a Palm. inscription found at ‘Arqâ, Lebanon (PAT no. 2632:1); Saf. **blg**’ (HIn., 115), **’blg** (HIn., 15), and **bn’blgn** (WH, 560).

Attestations H 44:1, 434:4.

bl’qb ‘Bēl protected’

Aram. theophoric tribal name. Verbal sentence with theonym Bēl (Ab-badi 1983, 55).

Attested as male name in Palm. (Stark 1971, 77; PAT nos. 0283:3 with

transcription Βηλάκαβος in lines 3-4 of the Greek text, 0319:8, 0472:1, 0473:3, 0495:1, *etc.*; Abousamra 2015 no. IB:1); cf. Βηλαακαβος and Βηλακαβος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 43; 172).

Attestations H 214:1, 293:3.³⁸

bndw ‘Bandū’

Other readings *bnry* (Vattioni 1981, 97); *bnd/rw/y* (Abbadi 1983, 190).

Iran. male name, Bandū. Probably hypoc. of a theophoric name (Justi 1895, 62; Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 52) built upon *bandag* ‘servant’ (MacKenzie 1971, 17). Cf. Parthian **bndk** ‘Diener’ (Schmitt 2016, 76-7).

Attestations H 307:1.

brb ‘šmyn’ ‘Son of Ba‘alšamīn’

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with theonym Ba‘alšamīn (Abbadi 1983, 87-8).

Attested at Hassankef-Ṭūr ‘Abdīn (T 2:4); cf. Old Syr. **brb** ‘šmn (OSI nos. Am8:2,11,20, P1:8) and **brb** ‘šmyn (OSI no. P2:30);³⁹ Βαρβεσαμην and Βαρβεσουμην at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 38; 159-60).

Attestations H 291:1, 314:1.

brzl ‘El appeared’

Arab theophoric male name. Verbal sentence: 3rd m.s. perfect (I) of Arabic *baraza* ‘He, or it, appeared, or became apparent’ (Lane, 186) followed by the theonym El with aphaeresis of <’> (Abbadi 1983, 88).

Attestations H 288c:6.

³⁸ In both attestations, associated with the Bani Taymu (cf. **tymw**).

³⁹ Cf. the entry **bgr** for OSI nos. P1 and P2.

brzqyq 'Son of Zaḳīqā'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Zaḳīqā 'ghost; deified ancestor'⁴⁰ (DNWSI, 339) with det. suffix (Vattioni 1965; Abbadi 1983, 89). Cf. also the form **brzqq**, though its reading is doubtful (Moriggi 2010b, 76).

Cf. Bar-zāqê (^m*bar-za-qe-e*) in NA texts (PNA 1/II, 274); Βαρζακικη at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 39; 163).

Attestations H 24a:1.

brzqq See **brzqyq**'.

Attestations H 1068:1.

brklb 'Son of the Dog'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction in which 'dog' can be considered a theonym thanks to its association with the god Nergol; cf. H 70 and 71, where *klb*' is the god's epithet (Abbadi 1983, 64; 89; Dirven 2009, 66-7, 2013a, 152).

Attested in Old Syr. (OSI nos. As48:1, As49:5, As50:5); cf. Βαρχαλβ, Βαρχαλβας, Βαρχαλβος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 41; 169-70). Cf. the EA hypoc. **klb**' (Kornfeld 1978, 56; TADC no. 3.26:39; TADD no. 24.9:3) and **klby** (Kornfeld 1978, 56; TADA nos. 4.7:16, 4.8:15; Porten 2016, 8); Palm. **klb**' (Stark 1971, 92; PAT nos. 2216Rev:2, 2351Rev:2) and **klby** (Stark 1971, 92; PAT no. 0888:4); Nab. **klb**', **klbw** and **klbn**, with the diminutive **klybw** and **klybt** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 100; Negev 1991, 35); Saf. **klb** (HIn., 502; WH, 606; Ababneh 2005 nos. 307, 468, 474, 807, 1042; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 16, 65; Rawan 2013 no. 228), **bnklbt** (WH, 561), **bnklbn** (HIn., 121, WH, 561); well attested in various ANA dialects (HIn., 502-3).

Attestations H 145:1, 317:1, 365a:1.

brkmr 'Son of the priest'

Aram. male name. Genitive construction. Attested in Old Syr. (OSI no. As57:1; Lafli 2016 no. 3:1). See also **kmr**'.

Attestations H 1103:1.

40 Cf. the invocation to the god in H 1044a (al-Salihi 1996a, 108; Beyer 2013, 40).

brlb 'Son of the Lion'

Other readings *br lb* 'son of NP', in which *lb* 'Gehörig dem (Gott) Bēl' (Beyer 2013, 30).

Aram. theophoric male name. al-Jubouri (2010a, 136) suggests 'Son of the heart'; it may also be a mistake for **br<k>lb**'. More likely, *lb* is 'lion'. If Aram, loanword from Akk. attested in the Sayings of Ahiqar (DNWSI, 562); however, since the lion was the goddess Allāt's animal, it may be a loanword from ANA or ASA, cf. Arabic *labu* 'lion' and *labu'a* 'lioness' (Lane, 2644; Militarev, Kogan 2005, 196 also for remarks on the Ahiqar attestation).

Cf. Nab. **lb**'[y] (Cantineau 1932, 110 uncertain; al-Khraysheh 1986, 102; Negev 1991, 36); Saf. and Sab. **lb**' (HIn., 508; WH, 607; Ababneh 2005 nos. 38, 39, 96, 100); Saf., Tham., Sab. **lb**'t (HIn., 508; WH, 607; Ababneh 2005 nos. 103, 564a, 732, 855; Rawan 2013 no. 282).

Attestations H 436:1.

brnbw 'Son of Nabû'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Nabû (Abbadi 1983, 90).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 79; PAT nos. 0332:2, 0587A:2-B:2-C:1-D:2, 1144:2, 1146:2, 1960:1,2, etc.; Yon 2013a no. 43:5); cf. Old Syr. **brnbs** (OSI no. Am3:15); Βαρναβας and Βαρναβους at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 40; 165).

Attestations H 203:5, 212:1 (leather-worker, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 140-1).

brny 'Son of Nanaya'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Nanaya (Abbadi 1983, 90). Cf. also the form **brny**'.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 79; PAT nos. 0903:2, 1920:3, 2797:1) and Old Syr. (OSI nos. As3:3, As60:3, Am7:4; Laffl 2016 no. 2:3); cf. Βαρναιός and Βαρναιους at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 40; 165-6), the first also at Emesa (Nitta 1989, 289 connects it with **brnbw**).

Attestations H 408:2.

brny' See *brny*

Other readings *br/dny'* (Degen 1978, 95); *brny* (Aggoula 1991, 144).

Attestations H 294:2.

brnny 'Son of Nanaya'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Nanaya (Abbadi 1983, 90-1).

Attested at Hassankef-Tūr 'Abdīn (T 2:5,9) and perhaps at Assur (A 36b:2);⁴¹ cf. Βαρναναϊος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 40-1; 166).

Attestations H 1:1,⁴² 2:2, 106b:2 (mason), 234:1, 253:2 (tax collector, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 135), 258:3, 258:4 (sculptor), 336a:1, 465:3 (priest of Nanaya), 466:1.

brnšr' 'Son of Nešra'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Nešra 'Eagle' (Abbadi 1983, 91). Cf. also the form *brnšry*.

Attestations H 144:3 (major-domo), 289:2 (sculptor), 399:1 (sculptor).

brnšry See *brnšr'*

Attestations H 1093:1.

br'y 'Son of 'Atte/Atargatis'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym 'Atte/Atargatis (Abbadi 1983, 85).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 79; PAT no. 1407:2 with transcription of its complete form Βαπαθ[ους] at line 3 of the Greek text); cf. Palm. *br''* (Stark 1971, 79; PAT nos. 0059:1 with transcriptions Βαρεας and Βαρεα at line 1 of the Greek text, 0080:1, 0081, 0085, 0086:1,2,3,4,⁴³ *etc.*; Yon 2013a nos. 63:4, 85:3), *br't'* (Stark 1971, 79; PAT nos. 0246⁴⁴

41 This is an alternative reading suggested by Aggoula 1985a, 62. I read [...] *nn* [...].

42 The same individual in H 1, 106b, 336a.

43 The inscription consists of the same graffito, repeated four times.

44 Found at South Shields, near Hadrian's Wall.

with transcription BARATES at line 2 of the Latin text, 1668;⁴⁵ al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 39:3), **br‘th** (Stark 1971, 79; PAT nos. 0303:3, 0436:2, 0517:2, 0587A:1-B:1, 0589:4, *etc.*;⁴⁶ al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. F1:5; Yon 2013a nos. 43:4, 168:2, 170:4); Old Syr. **br‘t** (OSI nos. As9:1, As19:1, As23:2, Am1:9,13, Cm14:2,4,); at Dura Europos Βαράθας, Βαράθης, Βαράτης (Grassi 2012, 37-8; 157-8) and **br‘t** in a Palm. graffito (PAT no. 1093:1) and in Old-Syr. legal texts (OSI nos. P2:v3,⁴⁷ P3:6 found in the vicinity of Dura Europos but written in Marcopolis, Osrhoene).

Attestations H 27:5 (priest of Barmaren), 203:1 (preceptor of king Sanaṭrūk?), 240:1 (*‘br‘dry’* probably tribal name or ethnonym).⁴⁸

br‘qbw ‘Son of the Eagle’

Other readings *br‘qb* (Vattioni 1981, 53, 1994, 50); *bd‘qb* (Abbadi 1983, 193 uncertain reading); *br‘t* (Beyer 1998, 156).

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym *‘qb* ‘Eagle’, associated with Šamš at Hatra. Cf. Pennacchietti 2007, 396 for parallels with Arabic *‘uqāb* ‘eagle’ (Lane, 2102) and *‘uqqayb* ‘harrier; marsh hawk’; cf. also the entry **qbw**.

Attestations H 87:1.

brš’ See **bršw/y**.

Other readings Adjective *brš’* ‘Le bariolé’ (Aggoula 1972, 41, 1991, 90); *bdš’* ‘the prince (?)’ (Ibrahim 1986, 210); [*w*]*bs’* (Vattioni 1981, 70, 1994, 56). The plural *lhwn* ‘for them’ (H 188:2) may indicate that the graffito with which the text is associated should have depicted two individuals, *‘b* and *brš’*, but only one was drawn (hand-copy in Safar 1962, 53).

Attestations H 188:1.

45 Found at Khirbet Semrin, in the Palmyrene.

46 Cf. also PAT no. 1143:1,2 with transcription Βαράθους in line 1 of the Greek text.

47 Cf. the entry **bgr**.

48 Cf. Aggoula 1991, 120; Beyer 1998, 168.

bršw/y ‘Son of Šamš/Šalmān’

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (less likely, Šalmān). Due to the almost identical shape of <w> and <y>, the name may be **bršw** as well as **bršy**.

I consider the attestation of **bršy** in H 208:1 to be a *nisbe bršy*’ (Aggoula 1991, 103; personal name in Abbadi 1983, 11; 93). Cf. also the form **brš’**.

Attestations H 45:1.

bršmš ‘Son of Šamš’

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Šamš (Beyer 1998, 156).

Attested in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Lipiński 2010, 113 no. O.3658Obv:4), Palm. (Stark 1971, 80; PAT nos. 0257:6,⁴⁹ 0369:2, 0810:3, 1795:2), and Old Syr. (OSI nos. As4:2, As33:2, Am6:4, Bs3:6); cf. Palm. Βαρσ[α]μου (Yon 2012 no. 508:3-4); Βαρσαμας at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 41; 168); Βαρσαμοος at Emesa (Nitta 1989, 289).

Attestations H 393c:1, 432a:1, 471:1 (priest), 1095:2, 1115:1.

bšwn ‘(DN is) their Lord’

Akk. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name. Aram. transcription, with assimilation [lš] > [šš] = <š>, of Akk. Bēlšunu (^mbe-el-šu-nu; ^mbe-el-šú-nu; ^mdEN-šú-nu; ^mEN-šú-nu; ^mEN-šu-nu; EN-šú-nu), attested in NA (PNA 1/II, 331-2) and NB texts: in the Ebabbar (Bongenaar 1997, 109; 215; 273; 323; 371; 430) and Ezida (Waerzeggers 2010 no. 114:13, used also as a hypoc., cf. page 691) temple archives, in the Nappāhu (Baker 2004 nos. 50:13, 143:14, 159:11’, 160:5’, 179:19, etc.), Egibi (Wunsch 2000 nos. 10:3,5, 21:12, 32:6,9, 33:15, 44:17, etc.), and Murašû (Stolper 1985 nos. 2:24, 3:25, 11:27, 13:28’, 14:32, etc.; Donbaz, Stolper 1997 nos. 11:18, 16:26, 31:5,[14],17,le.e., 46:10,u.e., 48:13, etc.) archives; cf. also the list in Nielsen 2015, 85-7. Still attested (^mEN-šú-nu) in administrative texts from 1st century BC Babylonia (Van der Spek 1998 nos. 13Rev:37,58, 26Rev:20).

Cf. Aram. **blšn** on NB bricks (CIS II/1 no. 59; Sass, Marzahn 2010, 56; 167), in the Murašû archive (Donbaz, Stolper 1997 no. 60Rev:2’ cuneiform ^mEN-šú-nu, with Aram. **blš[n(?)]** on the reverse) and in an Aram. funerary inscription from Meydancikkale-Cilicia (Lemaire, Lozachmeur

49 Found at Qaryatein, in the Palmyrene.

1998 no. 2:2,6). Cf. the entry *mrhwn* for the Aram. equivalent of the same name.

Attestations H 464:1.

btsmy ‘Daughter of Samya’

Aram. theophoric female name. Genitive construction with the theonym Samya (Abbadi 1983, 93; Dirven 2005; cf. also Contini, Pagano 2015, 136-7).

Palm. *btšmy* (PAT no. 0034:1) is interpreted by Stark (1971, 81) as ‘daughter of Šamaš’. Emesene Βασουμοϋ is related by Nitta (1989, 289) to *brsmṯ*, attested in Palmyra but not in Hatra (see “Concordance”).

Attestations H 28:1, 36:4 (mother of the crownprince⁵⁰ ‘Abed-Samya in both occurrences).

gblw ‘Big’

Arab male name. Adjective *ğabl* ‘Big, thick, coarse, or rough’ (Lane, 375; Abbadi 1983, 93) with nominative suffix -w.

Cf. Palm. female name *gbl* (Stark 1971, 81; PAT no. 0954:1); Nab. *gblw* and *gbylw* (al-Khaysheh 1986, 51-2; Negev 1991, 18; Macdonald 1999, 274); Saf. *gbl* and *gblh* (HIn., 152; WH, 563); Sab. *gblm* and *gblt* (HIn., 152).

Attestations H 30:2.

gbrhdd ‘Hadad is mighty’

Other readings *bdhdd* (Abbadi 1983, 34; Ibrahim 1986, 210). As Hatran <ḥ> is sometimes ligated with the following grapheme, it may also be ‘Servant of Hadad’, cf. NWS Abdi-Dāda (*ᵐab-di-U-U*; *ᵐab-da-U.U*) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 5); *gbrḥdd* (Aggoula 1991, 87).

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Hadad (Beyer 1998, 63); Beyer indicates an Arab name ‘Hadad hat (die Familie) wiederhergestellt’ as more likely.

Cf., in NA onomastics, the NWS hypoc. Gabbāru (*ᵐgab-ba-ru*; *ᵐgab-ba-ri*; *ᵐga-ba-ru*; *ᵐga-ba-ri*; *ᵐga-ab-ba-ru*; *ᵐga-ab-bar*; *gab-ba-ri*; *ga-ba-ri*; PNA 1/II, 411) and Gabrî (*ᵐgab-ri-i*; *ᵐgab-ri*), and the theophoric Gabri-Il (*ᵐgab-ri-DINGIR*), which can all be connected with ‘man’ or ‘strong’ (PNA 1/II, 416-7). Attested in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 6*:7), in Saf. and Tham. (HIn., 151; Ababneh 2005 nos. 500,

⁵⁰ On the title of *pšgryb* cf. most recently Contini, Pagano 2015, 137 with previous bibliography.

503); cf. OffA **gbrd** (Maraqten 1988, 74-5; 147) on a 7th century Assyrian seal, and **gbr'l** on a 7th century Aram. docket (Röllig 2014 no. 60:14).

Attestations H 177:1.

gd' 'Gad / Fortune'

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Hypoc.; theonym Gad with suffix -' (Abbadi 1983, 94). Cf. also the entries **gdw** and **gdy**.

Attested as Gaddâ (^m*ga-da-a*; ^m*ga-da-a'*) in NA texts (PNA 1/II, 417), in an Aram. inscription from Teima (Beyer, Livingstone 1987 no. 9A:2), Palm. (Stark 1971, 81; PAT nos. 0180:2, 0327:2, 0381:2, 0455:2, 1195:2, *etc.*; Yon 2013a no. 42:1), at Dura Europos in Palm. inscriptions (PAT nos. 1068:1, 1093:4) and in an Old-Syr. legal text⁵¹ (OSI no. P3:26,27). Cf. Saf. **gd** (Ababneh 2005 nos. 102, 153, 345, 400, 443, *etc.*; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 187, 344; Rawan 2013 nos. 94, 118, 186, 192, 291), cf. al-Manaser (2008, 183) for other interpretations.

Attestations H 240:1, 246:1.

gdw 'Gad / Fortune'

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Hypoc.; theonym Gad with suffix -w (Beyer 1998, 106). Cf. also the entries **gd'** and **gdy**. Attested in Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 52; Negev 1991, 18).

Attestations H 414a:1.

gdy 'Gad / Fortune'

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Hypoc.; theonym Gad with suffix -y (Abbadi 1983, 94). Cf. also the entries **gd'** and **gdw**.

Cf. Gaddî (^m*ga-di-i-i'*) in NA texts, but it may be also a participle of *gdd* 'to cut off' (PNA 1/II, 417;⁵² Sokoloff 2009, 204), and Palm. **gdy'** (Stark 1971, 81; PAT nos. 0422:2, 0435:3, 0465:2,6, 0466:3, 0467:2, *etc.*).

Perhaps attested in EA (Segal 1983 no. 86:a.5 has **gd/ry**) and on a 5th century Aram. seal (Avigad, Sass 1997 no. 799:2).

Attestations H 107:1 (reconstructed), 107:2.⁵³

51 Cf. the entry **br'y**.

52 Here indicated as *gd'*.

53 Grandson and grandfather. The first name is inserted by Aggoula (1991, 67) on prosopographical grounds.

gdyhb ‘Gad gave’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Gad (Abbadi 1983, 95).

Attestations H 4:2-3, 13:2, 23:2, 172:1, 221:1 (major-domo), 279a:1, 396:1, 408:4, 415a:2 (major-domo),⁵⁴ 440:1, 469:1.

gwsn ‘Uncertain meaning.’

Male name. Perhaps Syr. *gawsānā* ‘fugitive, one who seeks refuge’ (Sokoloff 2009, 218) with det. suffix; the same etymology is proposed for Old-Syr. **gwsy** (OSI no. Am3:1,3,4), already attested on a NA docket (Lemaire 2001 no. 3:11).

Otherwise, Iran. Gušn, Gušniy or Gušnōy (Gignoux 1986, 91 and 2009, 78), or less probably Gauzaina (Tavernier 2007, 189-90), attested in EA as **gwzryn** (Kornfeld 1978, 103). According to De Jong (2013, 156-7) this is the Parthian title *gōsān* ‘minstrel’.

Abbadi (1983, 95) interprets it as a nominal sentence composed with the adjective *gws*, from Arabic *ǧasā* (*ǧsw*) ‘He, or it, was, or became, hard, tough, rigid, or stiff’ (Lane, 425), followed by a hypoc. form of the theonym Nabû or Nanaya. Caquot (1964, 257) refers to Tham. **gs¹n**, connected with the same Arabic verb (HIIn., 161).

Attestations H 130:1.

gzbry ‘Treasurer’

Other readings *wbdy* (Aggoula 1991, 71), an alternative form of *bd*’.

Aram. male name. Iran. loanword *gnzbry* (DNWSI, 229), attested also in NB as *ganzabaru* (AHw, 281; CAD G, 43; Harnack 1970, 547-9; Tavernier 2007, 422), with assimilation [nz] > [zz] = <z> (Abbadi 1983, 13; 95). Attested as a profession name in Parthian Assur (Contini, Pagano 2015, 132).

Attestations H 116:1.

⁵⁴ Perhaps the same individual in H 415a and 469.

grb 'Leprous'

Aram. male (nick?)name. Noun or adjective with det. or hypoc. suffix (Abadi 1983, 96). Attested as a nickname or surname in H 230:2, for which cf. the entry **mhrdt**.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 82; PAT nos. 0294:2 with transcription Γαβ[β]ᾱ at line 2 of the Greek text,⁵⁵ 0885:5); Stark proposes also 'bottle' (DNWSI, 232-3); cf. Min. **grb** (HIn., 157) and Saf. **grbn** (HIn., 157; Ababneh 2005 no. 139; Al-Jallad 2015, 315).

Attestations H 71:1, 230:2, 1080:1.

grwt 'Young lioness'

Other readings **gdwt** 'Gabe, Geschenk' (Abadi 1983, 12; 94), from Arabic *ḡadwā* with f. suffix; **gdwt** (Vattioni 1981, 45, 1994, 48); **gdwt** 'brand' (Odishu 1990, 459) from Arabic *ḡadwa*; **gryt** 'Mädchen' (Beyer 1998, 44).

Arab female name. Arabic *ḡarū/ḡirū/ḡurū* 'The whelp, or young one (...) of any beast of prey', especially of a lion (*Lane*, 415). I follow the reading by Aggoula (1991, 47-8), paralleled by the occurrence of *grt* 'young girl' in H 37:2. Cf. Bedouin Arabic *Grêw* 'Kleiner Hund' (Hess 1912, 15).

Attestations H 63:1.

grm'lt 'Allāt decided'

Arab theophoric male name. Verbal sentence: Arabic *ḡarama* (*Lane*, 412)⁵⁶ followed by the theonym Allāt. Cf. also the form **grmlt** with aphaeresis of <'>.

Cf. Palm. hypoc. **grmy** (Stark 1971, 82; PAT no. 1717:2); Old Syr. **grmw** (OSI nos. Am2:3,10,11, Cm1:2, Cm7:1); Emesene Γαρματος (Nitta 1989, 290); Nab. **grm'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 56; Negev 1991, 19), **grmw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 56-7; Negev 1991, 20), diminutive **grymw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 55; Negev 1991, 19); Saf. **grm** (HIn., 159; WH, 564; Ababneh 2005 nos. 239, 439, 452, 1119; al-Manaser 2008, 104; Rawan 2013 nos. 127, 199, 204) attested also in Dad. (Farès-Drappeau 2005 no. D61:2), Hism. (King 1990, 381-2), Tham., Sab., and Min. (HIn., 159), **grmy** (Ababneh 2005 no. 10; al-Manaser 2008, nos. 157, 158), and numerous theophoric names such as **grm'l** (HIn., 159; WH, 565; Ababneh

55 Γαββα according to Yon 2012 no. 87:2.

56 Attested also in Syr. as *grm* but the theonym Allāt points at an Arab origin.

2005 nos. 259, 260, 266, 267, 1068; al-Manaser 2008, 90, 104, 173, 184, 239, 373).

Attestations H 193:3.

grmlt See **grm'lt**.

Attestations H 288a:6.

dd' 'Paternal uncle'

Aram. theophoric male name. Theonym Dāda 'paternal uncle' with det. or hypoc. suffix. Cf. also the form **ddy**, perhaps with 1st s. pronominal suffix. Aggoula (1985b, 282) suggests 'beloved' (DUL, 262; Sokoloff 2009, 275), or a hypoc. form of the theonym Hadad with aphaeresis of <h>. Attested in NA onomastics as Dāda (^m*da-a-da*; PNA 1/II, 358) and in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Maraqten 1988, 76; 151; Lemaire 2001 no. 3:9; Lipiński 2010, 154 no. O.3716Rev:9; 161 no. O.3656Rev:9; 169 no. O.3657Obv:6); cf. perhaps Palm. **ddywn** (Stark 1971, 83; PAT no. 0053:6); Emesene Διδας (Nitta 1989, 291); Saf., Dad., Tham. **dd**, although it may be related to Arabic *dād* 'fun' (HIn., 236; WH, 573; Ababneh 2005 nos. 548, 821, 947, 1024; Rawan 2013 nos. 47, 63, 81, 103).

Attestations H 389:1.

ddy See **dd'**.

Attestations H 431:1, 1043:1.

dd/ršy Uncertain meaning.

Theophoric male name. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible.

ddšy: is interpreted by Abbadi (1983, 99) as a nominal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš '(My) paternal uncle is Šamš'; cf. the entry **dd'** and Aggoula (1991, 118) for *dd(y)* 'mon bien aimé'.

dršy: nominal sentence, 'Šamš is merciful', again by Abbadi (1983, 99). This rests upon the attestations of the Saf. theophoric **dr'l** (HIn., 238; WH, 574; Ababneh 2005 no. 489): cf. Ababneh (2005, 244) for a discussion of the different interpretations. Beyer (1998, 105) reads **dršy** also in H 413d:5, but the text is too damaged to allow for a certain reading.

Attestations H 235:2.

d/rwšmhr ‘Dōšmīhr / Rōzmihr (?)’

Iran. theophoric male name. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible (Abbadi 1983, 97-8).

dwšmhr may be *daoša-Mithra* ‘Mithra is (my) friend’ (Vattioni 1994, 50; Beyer 1998, 49-50). Cf. also the entries **mhr**’ and **mhrdt**.

As to **rwšmhr**, the parallel with *rōz-Mihr* ‘The day of Mithra’ (Justi 1895, 266; Caquot 1963, 8; Aggoula 1991, 59) is not very likely since Iran. [z] does not correspond to Aram. <š> (Abbadi 1983, 98; cf. the names listed in Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 119-20).

Attestations H 83:4.

dwšpry ‘Dōšfarre’

Other readings *rwšpry* (Aggoula 1991, 32 in H 37:2), adjective *rw*, a form of *rb* ‘grand’ that would testify to a weakening of [b], followed by *špry* ‘ma beauté’.

Iran. theophoric female name, Dōšfarre ‘Farr(ah) is (my) friend’ (Abbadi 1983, 98). The theonym Farr(ah), which first indicated the divine splendour and later ‘(good) fortune’, in the Aram. context is associated with Gad (MacKenzie 1971, 96 s.v. *xwarrah*). Aggoula (1991, 31) suggests for the occurrence in H 36:2 ‘Hadad est ma beauté’.

Cf. Palm. attestation of the theonym in the form **prn<k>** (Stark 1971, 109; PAT no. 0342:3).

Attestations H 36:2, 37:2 (royal princess in both attestations), 112:8.

dyns ‘Deinis’

Greek male name, Δεῖνις (Moriggi forthcoming).

Attestations H 1099:1.

dmgw ‘Companion’

Other readings *rmgw* in all publications except Beyer (1998, 2002, 2013).

Arab male name. Arabic *dimğ* ‘A friend, or companion’ (Lane, 912; ‘Genosse’ in Beyer 1998, 102) with nominative suffix. In H 406, 408, and 409 it is very likely a tribal name.

Attested in Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 59-60; Negev 1991, 21); cf. Tham. **dmg** (HIn., 243) and perhaps Ug. **dmgy** (Gröndahl 1967, 124).

Attestations H 406:1, 408:3,5, 409c:7, 413b:3, 413d:3, 414c:2, 1053:2.

dmywn ‘Damiōn’

Greek male name, Δαμίων (Abbadi 1983, 98). Arab name in Odishu (1990, 475).

Attestations H 228:1.

drm Uncertain meaning.

Probably Arab male name. Perhaps active participle of *darama* ‘slow-walker’, attested in Palm. as a female name, although the reading of <d> is not certain (**d²rm** in Stark 1971, 84; PAT no. 1783:2; al-Jubouri 2010a, 134). Stark interprets it as ‘slow-walker’; however, cf. Saf. **drm** ‘gentle boy’ (HIn., 239; Ababneh 2005 no. 133), whereas Hism. **drm** is connected with *dārim* ‘plump’ (King 1990, 355).

Attestations H 427:2.

hbl ‘Hubal’

Other readings **bdbl** (Vattioni 1981, 41); missing in Aggoula (1991, 40); **d/rh/šb/kl** (Vattioni 1994, 46); **rhbl** ‘Willkommen der Allāt’ (Beyer 1998, 41).

Arab theophoric male name. Theonym Hubal with hypoc. suffix -’ (Abbadi 1983, 99). Cf. the Nab. theophoric **bnhbl** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 48, found near Naples) and **brhbl** (Negev 1991, 17).

Attestations H 50:2.

hdyrt ‘The splendid one’

Aram. female name. Adjective *hdyr* ‘splendid, distinguished’ (Aggoula 1990, 412-3; Sokoloff 2009, 331). The suffix -*t* may be a defective writing of the f.s. determinate suffix due to apocope of <’> or point to the Arabicization of an Aram. name (cf. “Linguistic Analysis”).

Attestations H 410:1 (*gnyt*’, i.e. female spirit or deified ancestor).

hybšw ‘Reverent of Šamš (?)’

Other readings *hwbšw* (Vattioni 1981, 67, 1994, 54; Abbadi 1983, 99), nominal pattern *CawCaC* from Arabic *habaša* ‘to collect, gain, earn’ (Lane, 2875), with nominative suffix; *hybšr* (Abbadi 1983, 187 amended to *hwbšw*; Aggoula 1991, 79 for H 148:1); *hr/dyšw* (Aggoula (1991, 84); *hybš[...]* (Beyer 1998, 59 for H 148:1).

Arab theophoric male name. Uncertain reading: I follow Beyer (1998, 62). Probably theophoric name: genitive construction with Arabic adjective *hayyib* or active participle *hā’ib*, from *hāba* (*hyb*) ‘He revered, venerated, respected, honoured, dreaded, or feared’ (Lane, 2908-9), followed by a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš.

Attestations H 165:1.

hkyd/rd/r Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *kyq* (Vattioni 1981, 52); *hkyq* (Aggoula 1991, 59; Beyer 1998, 49-50).

Male name. Uncertain reading; **hkyd/rd/r** is the most plausible (Caquot 1963, 8). Perhaps Iran. (Abbadi 1983, 100; Bertolino 2008, 10); the final part could be the suffix *-dār* ‘to hold firmly’ (Tavernier 2007, 552).

Attestations H 83:1 (fire priest?).⁵⁷

hny ‘Safe / Pleasing’

Arab male name. Active participle of *hanu’a* ‘It came, or happened, without inconvenience, or trouble; it was pleasant, or productive of enjoyment’ (Lane, 2902; Abbadi 1983, 100).

Cf. Palm. **hn’y** (Stark 1971, 84; PAT nos. 0876:5, 1897:7); at Dura Europos *Αννατος* and *Αννος* (Grassi 2012, 25; 143-4); Nab. **hn’** (Negev 1991, 22), **hn’w** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 63; Negev 1991, 22), diminutive **hny’w** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 63; Negev 1991, 22); Saf. **hny** (HIn., 628 interpreted as a diminutive), **hn’** (HIn., 625; WH, 650; Ababneh 2005 no. 86; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 7, 28, 58, 85, 370, 388; Rawan 2013 nos. 152,

⁵⁷ The Iran. loanword *hdrpt’* is interpreted as the transcription of the title ‘fire priest’ in the *editio princeps* (Safar 1961, 25-6) and by Harnack (1970, 496-508 ‘Feuerpriester’) and Aggoula (1985a, 18 ‘maître du feu (?)’) among others. This interpretation is questioned by Greenfield (1988, 136 n. 10), who suggests alternatively ‘chiliarch’; cf. ‘Oberst’ in Beyer 1998, 174. Cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 133-4 for a full discussion, which stresses also the fact that the Hatra attestation occurs on a fire altar. Attested also as personal name, Hīrbed (Justi 1895, 130), but cf. Hazārbed in Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 79 ‘chef de mille (hommes)’).

340, 342, 344) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 477), Dad., Tham., Min. (HIn., 625), **hn't** (HIn., 625; al-Manaser 2008 no. 393) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 477-8), Tham., Qat. (HIn., 625).

Attestations H 101:1.

whby 'Gift (of DN) / (DN) gave'

Arab male name. Hypoc.; either noun *wahb* or 3rd m.s. perfect (I) of *wahaba* with hypoc. suffix -y (Beyer 1998, 99).

Cf. Uabu (^mú-a-bu) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1352); **whb'** and **whbw** in 4th century ostraka from Beersheba (Maraqten 1988, 78; 156). Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 85; PAT nos. 0044:2, 0163:2,3, 0164:1, 0191:2, 0193:2, etc.;⁵⁸ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 24:2; Yon 2013a no. 59:1) also in the form **whb'** (Stark 1971, 85; PAT nos. 0022:1, 0354:1, 0359:4, 0685:2,5, 0686:6, etc.; Yon 2013a no. 119:5); cf. Nab. **whb** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 67; Negev 1991, 24), **whb'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 67), **whbw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 68; Negev 1991, 24) and numerous theophoric names; Saf. **whb** (HIn., 651; Ababneh 2005 no. 15; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 24, 35, 39, 49, 50, etc.; Rawan 2013 nos. 149, 158, 219, 221, 322) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 483), Tham., Min., and Sab. (HIn., 651), Saf. and Min. **whbt** (HIn., 652), and numerous theophoric names.

Attestations H 381:2 (perhaps 'client' of the major-domo 'Aspād/Aspār).⁵⁹

whyb 'Little gift (?)'

Other readings *whyb'* (Aggoula 1991, 47-8; Beyer 1998, 44-5), but <w> and <y> in these inscriptions display clearly different shapes.

Arab male name. Probably diminutive from *wahaba* with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 100-1). Cf. the entry **whby** for onomastic parallels.

Attestations H 62:2, 65:4.

wylt 'She who seeks refuge'

Arab male name. F. active participle of *wa'ala* (Abbadi 1983, 101), cf. MSA *maw'il* 'Zuflucht, Asyl' (Wehr 1985, 1371).

⁵⁸ Cf. also PAT no. 1217:3 with transcription Οὐαβαίου at line 4 of the Greek text.

⁵⁹ Cf. Dirven 2008, 218.

Cf. Old Syr. **w'l** (OSI nos. As20:8, As45:1, As46:1, As47:2,3,4, Am11:4, etc.); Nab. **w'l** (Negev 1991, 23), **w'lw** (male and female, al-Khraysheh 1986, 64-5; Negev 1991, 23; also in the Babatha archive from Naḥal Hever, cf. Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989 no. 12:13), **w'ln** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 65; Negev 1991, 23), **w'lt** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 65; Negev 1991, 23); Saf. **w'l** (HIn., 632; WH, 650; al-Manaser 2008 no. 127) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 478-9), Tham., Sab., Min. (HIn., 632), **w'ln** (HIn., 633) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 479) and Sab. (HIn., 633), **w'lt** (HIn., 632, both male and female) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 479), Tham., Sab., Qat. (HIn., 632); Sab. and Hadr. **w'lm** (HIn., 632).

Attestations H 52:2.

wlgš 'Walgaš'

Iran. male name, Walgaš (Abbadi 1983, 102), known also in the transcriptions Οὐλολογέσης and Vologeses (Justi 1895, 344-6). Attested in epigraphic Parthian (Schmitt 2016, 224-5), in an Old-Syr. inscription from Dura Europos (OSI no. Bs1:1), and in Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien 2009, 136).

Attestations H 33:1, 140:3 (lord), 193:1 (king of Arabs), 285:1 (lord), 286:3 (king), 348:1 (lord), 366:2, 366:3.⁶⁰

wnwk Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *w/knwk* (Degen 1978, 89); *bnwn(?)* 'Son of the fish' (Aggoula 1991, 142-3): it could reference the Pisces constellation, cf. Aram. *nwn* (DNWSI, 722) and Akk. *nūnu* (AHw, 803-4; CAD N/2, 336-41).

Iran. male name. Abbadi (1983, 102) suggests the transcription of the Iran. Wanak (Justi 1895, 347), attested also in Achaemenid Mesopotamia (^m*ma-na-ak-ka*₄; ^m*ma-na-ka*₄; ^m*man-na-ak-ka*₄; ^m*man-na-ka*₄; Tavernier 2007, 336 'victorious'), with a shift [a] > [ū]. More likely, the suffix *-uk* could be a hypoc. (Sima 2000, 166). Beyer (1998, 158) suggests also a possible Arab derivation.

Attestations H 292:1, 1031a:1.

⁶⁰ The two attestations in H 366 refer to father and son.

wrdn 'Wardān'

Other readings *wrdnb* (Vattioni 1981, 31, 1994, 42); *wrdnb[w]* (Sima 1995-96, 318).

Iran. male name, Wardān 'rose', known also in the transcriptions Ὠρδάνης/Ὠρδώνης (Justi 1895, 351-3; Abbadi 1983, 102; Gignoux 1986, 174; Sima 2000, 166; Schmitt 2016, 227).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 85; PAT nos. 0072:2, 0073:3, 0075:2, 0184:4, 1722:1,4⁶¹); cf. Saf. **wrd** and **wrdn** (HIn., 640), which testify to the presence of this Iran. loanword in ANA onomastics and lexicon; perhaps Ουερδιανός at Emesa (Nitta 1989, 295).

Attestations H 20:1, 1035b:3,⁶² 1086:1.

wrwd 'Worōd'

Iran. male name, Worōd, known also in the transcriptions Ὠρώδης/Ὠρώδης and Orodes (Justi 1895, 133; Abbadi 1983, 103; Sima 2000, 166; cf. also Schmitt 2016, 237 for the uncertain etymology). Cf. EA **wrd** (Kornfeld 1978, 106, TADC no. 3.14:15); attested in LB texts as a Parthian royal name (^mú-ru-da-a; Zadok 2009, 319-20), in the Parthian inscriptions of Elymais (Gzella 2008, 113-6 nos. 1:1, 3:4, 6:1-2; 119-20 no. 5:1), perhaps at Assur (A 12:1?), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 85; PAT nos. 0063, 0283:1, 0284:2, 0285:1, 0286:1, *etc.*; Yon 2013a no. 77:4), in Old-Syr. legal texts from Dura Europos⁶³ (OSI nos. P2:iv,9,20,22,24,27, P3:i,6,22,v1,v6), in Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 110). At Palmyra, Οὐορώδην is attested in the Greek sections of PAT nos. 0283, 0284, 0285, 0286, *etc.*

Attestations H 60:1 (major-domo), 102:1, 123:1 (lord), 144:2 (major-domo), 210:1, 233:1,2 (lord), 261:1 (2x),⁶⁴ 262:1, 263:1 (2x),⁶⁵ 266:1 (lord), 267:1 (lord), 468:2 (major-domo of Marten), 1072:1.⁶⁶

61 Found at Khirbet Abu Duhur, in the Palmyrene.

62 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 41.

63 Cf. the entries '**bgr**' and '**br**'y.

64 Two different individuals: father and son; likely the same as in H 263.

65 Father and son; likely the same as in H 261.

66 Add the attestations of this royal name on Hatrene coins (Hartmann, Luther 2002). The alleged attestation of Lord Worōd in H 189:3, instead, is excluded due to a new reading of this inscription (Foietta, Marcato 2018).

zbg' Uncertain meaning.

Other readings **zb**^o (Aggoula 1991, 124) theophoric name 'Uzzā wanted'.

Male name. Either 'lizard' as JBA *zbwg'* (Sokoloff 2002b, 397) with det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 103), or Iran. Zābōg, perhaps a hypoc. from *zapa-tromperie*' (Gignoux 1986, 193), with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix '-'.⁶⁷

Attestations H 249:1.

zbdy 'Gift / (DN) gave'

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name; either Aram. *zbd* / Arabic *zabd* 'gift', or Aram. verb *zbd* 'to make a gift' (Abbadi 1983, 103; Sokoloff 2009, 362) with hypoc. suffix -y.

Attested in OA and OffA (Maraqten 1988, 78; 157; Röllig 2014 nos. 7:1, 12:3), on NB bricks from Babylon (Sass, Marzahn 2010, 66; 167-8), and in a papyrus from Samaria (Dušek 2007 no. 36 frg.7:2), perhaps also in the form **zbdh** (Dušek 2007 no. 19:2, uncertain reading). Cf. in NA onomastics Zabdâ (^mza-ab-da-a; ^mzab-da-a) and Zabdî (^mza-ab-di-i; ^mzab-di-i; ^mzib-di-i; PNA 3/II, 1428); Zabdiya (^mzab-di-ia) in the Egibi (Wunsch 2000 no. 132:10') and Murašû archives (Stolper 1985 nos. 79:3, 98:15, 102:18; Donbaz, Stolper 1997 nos. 84:10,r.e., 94:3, 104:13.l.e.e.). Cf. **zbd** in an ostrakon in Hatran script found at Kifrin (F 12; Moriggi *forthcoming*); Palm. **zbd** (Stark 1971, 85; PAT nos. 0416:3, 0581:2, 0837B:3), **zbd'** (Stark 1971, 85; PAT nos. 0005:5,6, 0040:2, 0042:15, 0107:2, 0108:2, etc.);⁶⁷ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. 55:2, 57:3; Yon 2013a nos. 116:2, 166:4), **zbdy** (Stark 1971, 85; PAT no. 0329; Abousamra 2015 no. IVA:2 with transcription Ζαβδαιου at IVB:2); at Dura Europos Ζαβδαιος, Ζαβδαιος, Ζαβδας, and Ζαβδους (Grassi 2012, 56-7; 191-3) together with Palm. **zbd'** (PAT no. 1100:1); Emesene Ζαβδαιος (Nitta 1989, 291); Nab. **zbd'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 72; Negev 1991, 25; Macdonald 1999, 275), **zbdw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 72; Negev 1991, 25), **zbdy** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 72; Negev 1991, 25); Saf. **zbd** (HIn., 294; WH, 579; Ababneh 2005 nos. 373, 648; al-Manaser 2008 no. 179) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 405), Tham. and Sab. (HIn., 294); Saf. and Min. **zbdy** (HIn., 294; WH, 579).

Attestations H 289a:2 (scribe), 1034:1.

67 Cf. PAT no. 0293:2 with transcription Ζάβδας at line 3 of the Greek text.

zbw/yd 'Bestowed / Given (by DN) / Little gift'

Other readings *zbyd* (Abbadi 1983, 18; 104); *zbyd'šy* 'Geschenkter des (Gottes) 'Aštar' (Beyer 1998, 69).

Aram. or Arab male name. Due to the almost identical shape of <w> and <y>, two readings are possible.

If Aram., m. passive participle of *zbd* 'to make a gift', either a Canaanite (**z**bw**d**) or an Aram. pattern (**z**by**d**); if Arabic, **z**by**d** could be a diminutive of *zabd* 'gift'.

zbw**d** is attested in EA (TADB no. 3.2:14), Palm. (Stark 1971, 86; PAT nos. 0391:3, 0442:1, tribal name in 1351:3), also in the form **z**bw**dw** (PAT no. 1447:3); cf. NWS Zabūdu (^mza-bu-du) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1430), in Achaemenid Babylonia (Stolper 1985 no. 19:3,21 for the Murašû archive; Pearce, Wunsch 2014 no. 47:7); probably Ζεβυδας at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 58; 198); Nab. **z**bw**dw** (Negev 1991, 25); Ζαβοῦδος in the Babatha archive from Naḥal Ḥever (Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989 no. 5ai:6).

As to **z**by**d**, attested also in Sab. (HIn., 295); cf. Palm. **z**by**d**' (Stark 1971, 86; PAT nos. 0021:1, 0044:2, 0172:3, 0178:2, 0192:3, *etc.*;⁶⁸ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. 14:2, 21:2, 22:2, 31:1,3, 32:4, *etc.*; Yon 2013a nos. 55:2, 65:1, 82:3, 92:2, *etc.*) and Emesene Ζεβειδος (Nitta 1989, 291).

Attestations H 209:2 (plasterer).

zby' Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. If Aram., perhaps gentilic 'from the Zab river', attested in NA onomastics as Zabāiu (^mza-ba-a-a; ^mza-ba-a-a-u; PNA 2/II, 1426-7). If Arab, hypoc. of a name built upon *zabd* 'gift' with apocope of <d> and hypoc. suffix -y'; cf. **z**by**** in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 48) and Palm. (Stark 1971, 86; PAT nos. 0292:3, 0293:3 with transcription Ζαββαιος at line 4 of the Greek text, 0416:2, 1994:1, 2743:8⁶⁹). Otherwise, adjective from *zabba* 'He (a man) had abundant and long hair; was hairy' (Lane, 1208) hence 'hairy', probably with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix. Harding (HIn., 295) connects Saf. and Sab. **z**by**** to *zabā* (*zby*) 'He bore it, carried it, took it up and carried it, conveyed it, etc'. (Lane, 1214).

Attestations H 1123:1.

68 Cf. also PAT no. 0279:2 with transcriptions Ζεβειδαν at line 1 and Ζεβειδου at line 2 of the Greek text.

69 Add perhaps PAT no. 1684B:1, from the Palmyrene.

zbydw 'Little gift'

Arab male name. Diminutive of Arabic *zabd* 'gift' with nominative suffix (Abbadi 1983, 104; cf. also Stark 1971, 86).

Attested in OffA (Maraqten 1988, 78; 158), at Qabr Abū Nāif (Q 1:3,5), and in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 73; Negev 1991, 25) also in the form **zbydt** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 73; Negev 1991, 25).

Attestations H 46:1, 106b:1, 234:1.⁷⁰

zd/rwq' See **zd/rq**'

Attestations H 408:8.

zd/rq' 'Pious / Blue'

Aram. male name. Proper name (H 4:3, 408:8) and nickname or surname (H 5:4, 232b:1). Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, two readings are possible. Cf. also the form **zd/rwq**'.

zđq': 'The pious one' from *šdq* 'correct, justifiable in conduct' (DNWSI, 963-4) with the shift [š] > [z] attested also in Palm., Syr. and Nab., and det. suffix. Cf. the Hatran attestations of *zđq* as a royal epithet (DNWSI, 963). Cf. **šdq** in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 20:2) and in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 69; TADB nos. 2.1:2, 2.2:8, 2.3:6); cf. Palm. theophoric **zđql** (Stark 1971, 86; PAT no. 2796:3) and Nab. **zđq** (Cantineau 1932, 92).

zrq': adjective 'blue' (DNWSI, 243) with det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 106), probably to be taken as 'blue-eyed'. Cf. Nab. **zrq** (Negev 1991, 27); Saf. **zrq** is interpreted as a diminutive (HIn., 297).

Attestations H 4:3, 5:4,⁷¹ 232b:1.

70 The two individuals named **zbydw** attested in H 106b and 234 belong very likely to the same family: great-grandson and great-grandfather respectively.

71 Likely the same individual in H 5 and 232b.

zdy ‘Zādōy’

Other readings Vattioni (1981, 87), Abbadi (1983, 105), and Bertolino (2008, 10) propose also *zry*, from Arabic *zarā* (*zry*) ‘He blamed, found fault with, or reproved’ (Lane, 1229).

Iran. male name. Diminutive of Āzādbeh (Justi 1895, 53; 378) according to Abbadi (1983, 105); more likely, hypoc. Zādōy ‘born’, cf. Syr. **zđwy** (Sima 2000, 166; Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 148-9), or MP Zād (Gignoux 2003, 70).

Attestations H 264:1.

zyd’lt ‘Allāt’s increase (Increase thanks to Allāt)’

Other readings [ʾ]wyd’lt (Vattioni 1981, 72; Abbadi 1983, 188; Aggoula 1991, 93 suggests also *zyd’lt*; Beyer 1998, 66).

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction: *zayd* ‘increase’ from *zāda* (*zyd*) ‘It increased, or augmented, or grew’ (Lane, 1275) and the theonym Allāt (Abbadi 1983, 105).

Cf. OffA hypoc. **zyd** at Teima (Maraqten 1988, 79; 159); Old Syr. **zydlt** (OSI no. Am8:2,6,9,10,13,15,17,19,21); Ζηδαίος and perhaps Ζοδος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 58; 59; 199; 200); Nab. **zyd** (Negev 1991, 26), **zyd’** (Negev 1991, 26; Macdonald 1999, 275), **zydw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 73-4; Negev 1991, 26; Yadin et al. 2002 nos. 1:55,62, 2:44), **zydywn** (Negev 1991, 26), and the theophoric **zyd’lb’ly** (Negev 1991, 26), **zyd’lhy** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 73; Negev 1991, 26), **zydmnwtw** (Negev 1991, 26), **zydnbw** (Negev 1991, 26), **zydqwm** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 74; Negev 1991, 26), **zydqwmw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 74); Saf. **zd** (HIn., 296; WH, 579; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 78, 390) and **zyd** (HIn., 304; WH, 580) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 405; 408), Dad., Tham., Min. (HIn., 296; 304), numerous theophoric names such as **zd’l** (HIn., 296; WH, 579) and **zyd’l** (HIn., 304; WH, 580) attested also in Dad. (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2009, 178), Sab., Qat., Min. (HIn., 304); Sab. and Min. **zydlt** (HIn., 304).

Attestations H 195:3.

zky ‘Pure / Victorious’

Aram. male name. Perhaps hypoc. of a theophoric name. Moriggi (forthcoming) notes the uncertain reading of the first two letters. The adjective *zky* is attested in Hatran inscriptions as a royal epithet ‘victorious’ (Beyer 1998, 174 ‘siegreich’); cf. the common Aram. meaning ‘pure, innocent’.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 86; PAT no. 1704:1⁷²). Cf. Zakkâ (^mza-ka-a) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1432); **zk'** in a 6th century Aram. seal (Avigad, Sass 1997 no. 792:1) and a Hebr. seal (Avigad, Sass 1997 no. 674:2); Ζαχια at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 57; 196); **zky** in Old Syr. (OSI no. As26:2) and Ezra 2:9; Nab. **zkyw** (Negev 1991, 26); Saf. and Tham. **zky** (HIn., 300).

Attestations H 1108:2.

zn' 'Zēna'

Iran. male name. From *zīn/zaena* 'weapon' (Justi 1895, 520), probably with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix (Beyer 2013, 43).

Attested at Sa'dīya (S 1:5,11; cf. also Sima 2000, 166).

Attestations H 1052:1.

zqy' 'Waterskin / Dropsical'

Aram. male name. Abbadi (1983, 106) suggests Arabic *ziqq* 'A skin for holding wine, etc'. (*Lane*, 1238), which however is already attested in Aram. as *zq* (DNWSI, 339), also as a possible loanword in Akk. (Abraham, Sokoloff 2011, 57). Beyer (1998, 159) considers it a *nisbe*, hence a possible nickname 'Der wie ein Schlauch aussehende'. Perhaps reference is made to a physical defect, cf. Syr. *zeqqāyā* 'dropsical' (CSD, 625). Cf. Palm. **zq'**, probably a surname (Stark 1971, 87; PAT no. 1133:1).

Attestations H 322:1.

hb' '(DN) loved'

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with suffix -' (Abbadi 1983, 107).

Attested in Palm. both as a male (Stark 1971, 87; PAT nos. 0044:1, 0045:1, 0751:4, 0909:3, 1331B:1, *etc.*) and female name (PAT nos. 0672:1, 0678:1, 0731:8, 0803:3, 0873:2, *etc.*; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski Yon 2012 no. 50:1); also in the form **hby** (Stark 1971, 87; PAT nos. 0053:6, 0314:4(2x), 0586:1, 0600:2, 2741:6,8;⁷³ Yon 2013a no. 11c:1); cf. Nab. **hbw** (male and female, al-Khraysheh 1986, 75; Negev 1991, 27) and **hby** (Negev 1991, 27); Saf. and Tham. **hb** (HIn., 172; WH, 567; Ababneh

72 Found at Khirbet Faruan, in the Palmyrene.

73 Found at Rijelat Umm-Kubar, Iraq.

2005 no. 194) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 384) and **ḥby** (HIn., 175; WH, 567).

Attestations H 153:1, 159:1, 169:1.

ḥbbw ‘Beloved’

Other readings Aggoula (1990, 410) suggests either the male counterpart of Palm. female **ḥbbt** (PAT no. 0759:1), or **ḥwbw** ‘Love (of DN)’.

Arab male name. M. adjective or diminutive form; with *-w* suffix (Beyer 1998, 103). For more ancient attestations, cf. the entry **ḥbyb**.

Attestations H 408:8.

ḥbw/ys ‘Captive’

Other readings **ḥbwš** (Aggoula 1991, 14).

Arab male name. Due to the strong similarity between the <w> and <y> in this inscription, two readings are possible.

ḥbws: *CaCCūC* form from *ḥabasa* ‘to imprison’ (Lane, 500) with either hypoc. or det. (in case of an Aramaization of the name) suffix (Abadi 1983, 107; Beyer 1998, 32).

ḥbys: *CaCīC* form with either hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix.

Perhaps cf. in NA onomastics Ḥabbussu (^m*ḥa-bu-su*), Ḥabsu (^m*ḥab-si*; PNA 2/I, 436-7), Ḥambussu (^m*ḥa-am-bu-su*) or the female Ḥambustu (^m*ḥa-am-bu-su*; PNA 2/I, 447), none of which, however, possess a certain etymology (cf. also Zadok 1977, 120; 133; 135); perhaps also Emesene Αββωσαμος, which Nitta (1989, 286) connects with Saf., Tham., Sab.

ḥbs ‘prisoner’ or ‘dedicated’ (HIn., 173; WH, 567; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 94, 312 also *ḥabs* ‘Tapferkeit’).

Attestations H 16b:1 (mason).

ḥbyb ‘Loved (by DN) / Beloved’

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name. Aram. passive participle or Arab adjective or diminutive (Abadi 1983, 108). Cf. also the Arab form **ḥbybw** with nominative suffix.

Cf. Palm. **ḥbyb** (Stark 1971, 87; PAT no. 0148:1) and **ḥbyby** (Stark 1971,

87; PAT nos. 0250:1 with transcription HABIBI at line 2 of the Latin text,⁷⁴ 0306:4, 0666:1, 0667:1,2, 0668A:1,2, 0870:2; al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 46:1); Αββειβας at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 14; 110-1); Nab. **ḥbybw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 75-6; Negev 1991, 27); Saf. **ḥbb** (HIn., 172; WH, 567; Ababneh 2005 nos. 15, 98, 645, 743, 960, 1004; al-Manaser 2008 n. 20s, 302; Rawan 2013 no. 212) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 384), Dad., Tham., Sab. (HIn., 172); Tham. **ḥbyb** (HIn., 175).

Attestations H 221:3 (sculptor).

ḥbybw See **ḥbyb**.

Attestations H 448:2.

ḥbr ‘Companion (of DN?)’

Aram. male name (al-Jubouri 2010a, 141), perhaps hypoc. of a theophoric name. Cf. Palm. **ḥbry** (Stark 1971, 87; PAT no. 0424:4).

Attestations H 458:1.

ḥwys̄ ‘Šamš showed’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 108).

Cf. the Aram. hypoc. Ḥawe (^mḥa-ú-e) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/I, 467).

Attestations H 168:1, 174:1.

ḥywš ‘Šamš is life’

Arab theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 108). Caquot (1964, 266) suggests a variant of **ḥwys̄**.

Αυωσαμσοϛ, attested at Dura Europos, is interpreted ‘Where is Šamaš?’ (Grassi 2012, 21; 132; cf. Gzella 2015b, 462).

Attestations H 180:1, 407:1 (priest), 412a:4, 473:2 (priest of Nanaya).

⁷⁴ Found at Rome, along the Appian Way.

ḥyy ‘Living / (DN is) life’

Other readings *ḥqy* (?) (Degen 1978, 109-10).

Aram. or Arab male name. Abbadi (1983, 109) suggests adjective or hypoc. of a name such as **ḥywš**’.

Cf. in NA onomastics NWS Ḥaia (ḥa-a-a) and Ḥaiānu (ḥa-ia-a-nu; ḥa-ia-a-ni; ḥa-ia-nu; ḥa-ia-ni; ḥa-a-a-nu; ḥa-a-a-ni; ḥa-a-nu; ḥa-a-ni; PNA 2/I, 439-40).

Attested at Assur (A 11a:2) and in Saf. (HIn., 212); cf. at Dura Europos Αειας (Grassi 2012, 19; 130-1); Nab. **ḥy**’ (Negev 1991, 28; Macdonald 1999, 276), **ḥyw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 80-1; Negev 1991, 28; Macdonald 1999, 277), **ḥyy** (Negev 1991, 28); Saf., Dad. and Tham. **ḥy** (HIn., 209; WH, 570-1; Ababneh 2005 nos. 246, 388, 580; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 174, 269, 397; Rawan 2013 nos. 201, 206) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 392). Cf. also Saf., Dad., Sab., Qat., Min., Hadr. hypoc. **ḥyw** (HIn., 211; WH, 571) and Saf., Sab., Qat. **ḥywt** (HIn., 212).

Attestations H 149:1, 193:3, 205:1,⁷⁵ 206:1, 322:1, 326:1, 331:1, 334:3, 440:2, 1024:5, 1045:3.

ḥyr’ ‘(DN is) the good’

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix. Cf. also the form **ḥyrw**, whose suffix -w may denote instead the nominative (Abbadi 1983, 109-10). Cf. perhaps EA **ḥyr** (TADC no. 3.8:4.6). Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 88; PAT nos. 0007:2,2,⁷⁶ 0099:1, 0285:3 with transcription Αιρῆ at line 4 of the Greek text, 0345:2, 0423:3, etc.; Yon 2013a no. 130:1) also in the form **ḥyry** (Stark 1971, 88; PAT no. 2221Rev:2); cf. Αερος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 19; 131); Nab. **ḥyrw** and **ḥyry** (Negev 1991, 29); Saf. and Tham. **ḥyr** and **ḥyrt** (HIn., 231); Qat. **ḥyrm** and Hadr. **ḥyry** (HIn., 231).

Attestations H 52:1.

ḥyrw See **ḥyr**’.

Attestations H 48:2 (nicknamed ‘the tall one’).

⁷⁵ The same individual in H 205 and 206.

⁷⁶ Both on the right and left side of the funerary relief.

ḥyrš' 'Šamš is the good'

Arab theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 109-10).

Cf. the entry **ḥyr'** for parallels.

Attestations H 160:1, 180:1.

ḥyš' 'Šamš is life'

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 109). Cf. also the entry **ḥywsš'**.

Attestations H 88:1.

ḥlq' '(My) portion (is DN)'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Aggoula 1990, 411). Cf. NWS Ḥalaqi (^mḥa-la-qi) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/I, 441); EA theophoric **ḥlqyh** (Kornfeld 1978, 50; TADC no. 3.3:17); **ḥlqyw** on a 6th century Aram. seal (Maraqten 1988, 81; 165) and perhaps in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 85; Negev 1991, 30; Macdonald 1999, 277-8) also in the form **ḥlqt** (Negev 1991, 30; Macdonald 1999, 278), although both readings are doubtful.

Attestations H 409c:3.

ḥn' '(DN is) the favour'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 110).

Attested on an 8th century Aram. seal (Maraqten 1988, 81; 166), at Assur (A 17a:3, 25h:1, 28a:2, 28b:4, 29k:2), and in Palm. as female name (Stark 1971, 89; PAT nos. 0854:1, 1285:1, 1830:1). Cf. in NA onomastics the NWS hypoc. Ḥinnî (^mḥi-in-ni-i) and theophoric Ḥinnî-Bêl (female ^{Mi}ḥi-in-ni-be-el), Ḥinnî-il (^mḥi-ni-DINGIR), Ḥinni-immî/immê (^mḥi-ni-im-me; PNA 2/I, 473), Il-ḥinnî (^mDINGIR-ḥi-in-ni; PNA 2/I, 515);⁷⁷ Ḥinâ (^mḥi-na-a) in Achaemenid Babylonia (Pearce, Wunsch 2014 nos. 73:14, 81:10); **ḥny** in an Aram. epigraph on a NB tablet (Maraqten 1988, 81; 166) and in papyri from Samaria (Moore Cross 2006, 78; Dušek 2007 nos. 3:10(?),

⁷⁷ As to names deriving from the root *HNN* (**ḥn'**, **ḥnyn'**, **ḥnn'**, **ḥnny**) and their attestations in NA cuneiform texts, cf. Lipiński (2010, 132-3) for the possible ambiguity among the roots 'NN, 'NY, and *HNN* in cuneiform and consonantal script.

5:8); *Αννα*, *Ανναίος*, and *Αννεός* at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 24-5; 143-4); Emesene *Αννίς* and *Ενναία* (Nitta 1989, 288; 291); Nab. **ḥn'w** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 87-8; Negev 1991, 30).

Attestations H 125:1.

ḥnyn' 'Favoured (by DN) / The little favour'

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc.: Aram. passive participle with det. suffix or Arabic diminutive with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix; Abbadi (1983, 111) opts for the Arab origin. Cf. also the forms **ḥnn'** and **ḥnny**, close to the Palm. variant.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 89; PAT nos. 0029:1, 0030:2,3, 0031:1,2, 0033:1,2, 0036:2,3, *etc.*; Yon 2013a no. 182:3), also in the forms **ḥ'n'ynw** (Stark 1971, 89; PAT no. 1403:3 with transcription Ονα[ι]ου at line 4 of the Greek text; Yon 2013a no. 143:1 reconstructed, cf. the transcription Οναίνοϛ at line 1 of the Greek text) and **ḥnyny** (Stark 1971, 89; PAT no. 1159). Cf. in NA onomastics the female Ḥaninā (^{Mi}*ḥa-ni-na-a*; PNA 2/I, 453); at Dura Europos *Ανείνας* and *Αννίς* (Grassi 2012, 24; 142-3); Emesene *Αννας* (Nitta 1989, 288); Nab. **ḥnynw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 89; Negev 1991, 31; Yadin et al. 2002 no. 3:[4],26); Sab. **ḥnynm** (HIn., 207).

Attestations H 68:2, 259:2, 389:3, 403:1 (mason), 1037b:1.

ḥnn' 'Favoured (by DN) / The merciful'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: passive participle or adjective with det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 111).

Cf. in NA onomastics Ḥanāna (^m*ḥa-na-an*; ^m*ḥa-na-nu*; ^m*ḥa-na-ni*; ^m*ḥa-na-na*), Ḥananī (^m*ḥa-na-ni-i*), Ḥananīa (^m*ḥa-na-ni-ia*), and Ḥannān (^m*ḥa-an-na-nu*; ^m*ḥa-an-na-na*; ^m*ḥa-na-a-ni*; PNA 2/I, 449-50; 453-4); Ḥananu (^m*ḥa-na-nu*) in the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985 no. 107:19, *le.e.*), Ḥannā (^m*ḥa-an-na-*'), Ḥannān (^m*ḥa-an-na-an*), and Ḥannanīa (^m*ḥa-an-na-ni-ia*) in Achaemenid Babylonia (Pearce, Wunsch 2014 nos. 51:12, 52:9, 24:11 respectively); **ḥnn** in the Samaria papyri (Maraqten 1988, 81; 166; Moore Cross 2006, 78; Dušek 2007 nos. 8:8,12, 11r:13, 22:4, 33 frg. 57R, 35 frg.1r:4); Saf. **ḥnn** (HIn., 206; WH, 570; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 84, 325, 392; Rawan 2013 nos. 21, 97, 103, 202, 253) attested also in Tham. and Sab. (HIn., 206), **ḥnn'** (HIn., 206; WH, 570), **ḥnnt** (HIn., 207; WH, 570; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 53, 112, 410) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 392).

Attestations H 258:1.

ḥnny 'Favoured (by DN) / (DN is) merciful / (DN) favoured me'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: passive participle or adjective with hypoc. suffix -y, or verbal sentence with 1st s. object pronominal suffix (Beyer 2013, 42). Cf. also the forms **ḥnyn'** and **ḥnn'**. Cf. the entry **ḥnyn'** for Palm. parallels.

Cf. Ḥananī' (^mḥa-an-na-ni-') in the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985 nos. 91:12, 98:13, 111:3',6'; Donbaz, Stolper 1997 nos. 3:15,lo.e., 4:13, 49:u.e.).

Attestations H 1048:1.

ḥnšmš 'Merciful is Šamš'

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 111-2).

Cf. NWS theophoric names in NA onomastics: Ḥana-Sē' (^mḥa-na-se-e'; ^mḥa-na-si-i; ^mḥa-na-si), Ḥanin-Aia (^mḥa-ni-na-ia; ^mḥa-ni-na-a-a; PNA 2/I, 450; 453); **ḥn'l** in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Ḥannu-Ilu in PNA 2/I, 455; Lemaire 2001 no. 1*:2; Lipiński 2010, 134 no. O.3717Rev:8; 167 no. O.3649le.e.17); Palm. **ḥnbl** (Stark 1971, 89; PAT nos. 0818:1, 0976:2, 1425:2, 1521:2, 1561:1, etc.;⁷⁸ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 58:4; Yon 2013a nos. 58:10 with transcription [E]ϋννιβηλου in line 18 of the Greek text, 117:1); Nab. **ḥn'l** and **ḥn'lw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 88; Negev 1991, 31); Saf. and Tham. **ḥn'l** (HIn., 205; WH, 570); Hism. **ḥnl** (King 1990, 392).

Attestations H 191:2, 192:1, 192:3.⁷⁹

ḥp' '(DN) rejoiced'

Other readings Abbadi (1983, 191) **ḥp[...]**.

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name; 3rd m.s. perfect (I) of *ḥafā* (*ḥfy*) 'He (...) manifested joy, or pleasure' (Lane, 604).

Attestations H 59:1.

⁷⁸ Cf. also PAT nos. 1815:2,3 with transcription Ε<νν>ιβηλου at line 2 of the Greek text, 1824:3 with transcription Ανιβηλου at lines 3-4 of the Greek text.

⁷⁹ Grandson and grandfather in H 192.

ḥp'zw ‘Uzzā rejoiced’

Arab theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym ‘Uzzā, with dissimilation [‘] > [ʿ] (Abbadi 1983, 112). Pennacchietti (1987, 111, 1988b, 45; 49) suggests a connection with Old-Syr. **ḥpsy**, whereas Caquot (1955b, 263) with Saf. **ḥfz** (HIn., 195; WH, 569; Ababneh 2005 no. 924). Cf. also the forms **ḥp'zy** and **ḥpyzy**.

Attestations H 118:1, 121:1,⁸⁰ 448:1.

ḥp'zy See **ḥp'zw**.

Attestations H 126:1.

ḥpyzy See **ḥp'zw**.

Attested also in an inscription in Hatran script found at Šēḥ Ḥamad (Š 1). Röllig (2000, 379-80) proposes *ḥabbāz* ‘baker’, paralleled by Palm. **ḥbzy** (Stark 1971, 87; PAT nos. 0547:9, 0696:3, 1216:2 with transcription Ἀβαζέου at line 2 of the Greek text). However, the author acknowledges that the shift [b] > [p], which might be evidence of a spirantization, is not attested in the Hatran corpus.

Attestations H 344:2.

ḥrys ‘Guardian / Mute’

Arab male name. Adjective deriving either from *ḥarasa* ‘He guarded, kept, preserved, or took care of, him or it’ (Lane, 546), or *ḥarisa* ‘He (a man) was dumb’ (Lane, 721-2; Abbadi 1983, 112-3).

Cf. Palm. **ḥrš'** (Stark 1971, 90; PAT nos. 0283:3 with transcription Ἀροᾶ at line 4 of the Greek text, 0483:2, 2736:4⁸¹) and **ḥršw** (Stark 1971, 90; PAT nos. 1787:1, 2633:2), which derive from Aram. *ḥrš'* ‘deaf, deaf and dumb’ (DNWSI, 409); Nab. **ḥr's** (Negev 1991, 31); Saf., Dad., Tham. **ḥrs'** (HIn., 184; WH, 568; Ababneh 2005 nos. 846, 952, 1089) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 388).

Attestations H 129:1.

80 The same individual in H 118 and 121.

81 Found at Rijelat Umm-Kubar, Iraq.

ḥryšw Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Negev (1991, 31; 160), with reference to Nab. attestations, interprets it as the profession name ‘lizard hunter’. However, Palm. attestations of **ḥršʾ** and **ḥršw** may point at a diminutive form of Aram. **ḥrš**, ‘The little deaf man’. Abbadi (1983, 113) suggests a *CaCīC* form connected with Arabic *ʾaḥraša* (IV) ‘He excited discord, dissension, disorder, strife, quarrelling, or animosity, between, or among, the people’ (Lane, 546) with nominative suffix. Cf. also the form **ḥršt**, perhaps corresponding to Saf. **ḥrs²nt** (see below) with assimilation [nt] > [tt] = <t>.

Cf. Nab. **ḥryšw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 91; Negev 1991, 31) and **ḥršw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 92; Negev 1991, 32); Saf. **ḥrs²** ‘lizard hunter’ (HIn., 184), **ḥrs²n** (Rawan 2013 no. 191), and **ḥrs²nt** (al-Manaser 2008 no. 332); Hism. **ḥrs²t** (King 1990, 388) is connected with *ḥaraša* ‘hunt lizards’, *ḥāraša* ‘fight with’, *ḥaraš* ‘rough’, *ḥuršah* ‘roughness’.

Attestations H 156:1,⁸² 183:1, 187:1, 288b:11.

ḥršt See **ḥryšw**

Attestations H 1047:2.

ṭwkrws ‘Teukros’

Greek male name, Τεῦκρος (Moriggi 2010b, 72).

Attestations H 1057:1.

ṭw’y ‘Obedient (towards DN)’

Arab male name. Hypoc.: Arabic *ṭaw* ‘obedience’ (Lane, 1891) with hypoc. suffix -y (Abbadi 1983, 113). Cf. Nab. **ṭw’y** ‘Obedient towards ’Il’ (al-Khaysheh 1986, 94; Negev 1991, 32); Saf. **ṭ** (HIn., 388) and **ṭ’y** (HIn., 388; WH, 590).

Attestations H 202:d.d (carpenter of king Sanaṭrūk), 1078:1.

⁸² Perhaps the same individual in H 156 and 187.

tt' Uncertain meaning

Male name. Aggoula (1986, 355) refers to the name of the Syrian martyr Ṭaṭa. Beyer (1998, 94) suggests the transcription of the Greek Τίτος. Ἰταῖος, attested at Dura Europos, is interpreted as a lallative (Grassi 2012, 98; 268).

Attested in Palm. as a female nickname 'Tita' (al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 48:3).

Attestations H 346:7.

ṭpsr' 'Scribe'

Akk. male name. Akk. *t/ṭupšarru* with Aram. det. suffix (Abadi 1983, 114), loanword in Aram.: *ṭpsrs* 'scribe (?)' in EA (DNWSI, 429) and *ṭpsr* 'scribe, high dignitary' in Targumic Aram. (Jastrow 1950, 548).

Attestations H 236:2, 272:3, 338:2.⁸³

ṭryd' 'Driven out (by DN)'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name; passive participle of *ṭrd* 'to drive away, chase away' (Sokoloff 2009, 548-9) with det. suffix (al-Jubouri 2010a, 137-8).

Cf. Saf. **ṭrd** (HIn., 387; WH, 590; Ababneh 2005 nos. 246, 333, 592, 1114; al-Manaser 2008 no. 219 'Lähmung; der als zweite geborene Zwillings'; Rawan 2013 nos. 85, 276 also 'Lähmung; der als zweite geborene Zwillings') and **yṭrd** (Ababneh 2005 no. 1076); at Dura Europos Ἰταροῦδαια (Grassi 2012, 98; 268).

Attestations H 441:2.

ydy'w 'Known (by DN)'

Arab. male name. Arabicized Aram. verb: hypoc. of a theophoric name with suffix *-w* (Abadi 1983, 114).

Cf. Iadī' (^m*ia-di-i'*) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/I, 486); Palm. **ydy'** (Stark 1971, 90; PAT nos. 0112:2, 0113:3, 1588:2) and theophoric names.

Attestations H 246:2.

⁸³ Always the same individual. H 338 was found at al-Maymūn, 7.5 km east of Hatra.

yhb^lh 'The god gave'

Other readings *blḥ* 'Bēl saw' in Bertolino (2013, 188).

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym *'lh*, with aphaeresis of <'> and det. suffix (Moriggi 2010b, 72-3).

Attestations H 1058:1, 1059:1, 1061:1.

yhb^rm^ryn 'Barmaren gave'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Barmaren (Abbadi 1983, 115). Attested at Assur (A 3b:3, 15c:1).

Attestations H 44:1, 79:5,7, 112:5 (probably acolyte of princess *dwš^rry*, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 131), 180:1.

yhbš^y 'Šamš gave'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 115). Cf. also the complete name **yhbš^mš**.

Attestations H 1:1 (mason),⁸⁴ 46:1 (sculptor), 106b:1, 106b:3 (2x, the second one is a mason),⁸⁵ 234:1, 336a:1 (sculptor).⁸⁶ The recurring names indicate that all these texts mention members of the same family of masons and sculptors.

yhbš^mš 'Šamš gave'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 115). Cf. also **yhbš^y** and **šmš^yhb**.

Attestations H 305:1 (mason),⁸⁷ 334:2 (mason).⁸⁸

84 The same individual in H 1 and 106b:3.

85 Grandson and grandfather; grandson in H 106b:1 and 336a, and grandfather in H 1, 106b:3.

86 The same individual in H 106b:1 and 336a.

87 See the mistake of the engraver: **yhbš{š}mš**. Cf. the hand-copy (photograph not available) in al-Salihi (1975, 177).

88 See the mistake of the engraver in the profession name: <'rkdl'> with the inversion of <d> and <k> (photograph in al-Salihi 1975, 187). These two inscriptions refer to the same individual; interestingly, both display scribal peculiarities.

yhybw 'Given (by DN)'

Arab. male name. Arabicized Aram. verb: hypoc. of a theophoric name, with nominative suffix according to Abbadi (1983, 115).

Cf. Ειαειβας, Ειβας, Ιαβας attested at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 53; 64; 187; 207).

Attestations H 242:2 (2x),⁸⁹ 243:1, ⁹⁰ 244:1, ⁹¹ 278:1 (major-domo).

ymlyk See **ymlk**

Attestations H 99:1, 303:1.

ymlk 'May (DN) be king / reign'

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 116). As in the case of **'srybrk**, the *y-* prefix imperfect may be a legacy of more ancient Aram. phases (cf. "Linguistic Analysis"), but it could also be an Arabic form (Abbadi 1983, 183; Beyer 1998, 138) as attested in Nab. (Negev 1991, 34) and Saf. (HIn., 684; WH, 626). Cf. also the form **ymlyk**.

Cf. Ug. **ymlk** (Gröndahl 1967, 59; 158); perhaps **yml'** or **ymlk** on a 4th century seal from Tello (Maraqten 1988, 83; 172); Palm. **ymlkw** (Stark 1971, 91; PAT nos. 0313:1, 0472:1 with transcription Ἰάμλιχος at line 1 of the Greek text, 0473:2 with transcription Ἰάμλιχος at line 2 of the Greek text, 0805:5, 0950:3, etc.); Emesene Ἰάμλιχος (Nitta 1989, 292); Nab. **ymlyk** (Negev 1991, 34).

Attestations H 110:2.

ymq 'Large bottle (?)'

Other readings Vattioni (1981, 60) and Abbadi (1983, 106) suggest **zmq**.

Aram. male (nick?)name. Uncertain reading, perhaps Syr. *yamqā* 'large bottle' (Beyer 1998, 160; Sokoloff 2009, 576).

Attestations H 128:1, 1106:1.

89 Two different individuals, uncle and nephew.

90 The same individual, with the ethnonym 'syly' 'the 'Ašilite' (Aggoula 1991, 121; Beyer 1998, 168) in the first attestation in H 242 and the one in H 243.

91 'The 'Ašilite', perhaps the same as above.

kbyrw ‘Great’

Arab male name. Adjective with hypoc. or nominative suffix (Abbadi 1983, 116).

Attested in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 98; Negev 1991, 34); cf. Saf. **kbr** (HIn., 493; WH, 604-5; Ababneh 2005 nos. 371, 629, 726, 807, 736, 1022, 1042) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 452) and Sab. (HIn., 493).

Attestations H 17:1, 107:2, 245:1,⁹² 302:1.

kwny Uncertain meaning.

Aram. male name. Attested in Syriac, e.g. the name of the Syriac author Theodore Bar Kōnī (cf. Kōnay in Asmussen 1989). This has also been interpreted Kēwānāy and connected with the planet Saturn (Sachau 1899, 64), cf. also Mandaic attestations of *kyw'n'yy* ‘Name of a people or tribe; or else refers to people living under the influence of Saturn’ (Drower, Macuch 1963, 212) for the same Aram. *nisbe*.

Attestations H 1117:5.

klbml ‘The Dog completed’

Other readings *d/rklbs* (Degen 1978, 77); *klbsl* (Abbadi 1983, 192); Aggoula (1991, 135-6) identifies the theonym ‘Dog’ i.e. Nergol.

Aram. male theophoric name. Verbal sentence with the theonym *klb*, i.e. Nergol’s sacred animal (Dirven 2009, 66-7, 2013a, 152). For the same theonym in Palm. hypoc. forms, cf. the entry **brklb**’.

Attestations H 287:1 (‘his steward?’ Cf. also Contini, Pagano 2015, 131).

kmr ‘Priest’

Aram. male name (Beyer 1998, 100). Cf. NWS Kumurī (^m*ku-mu-ri-i*) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/I, 637). Attested in a 7th century Aram. docket (Röllig 2014 no. 59Rev:3’), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 92; PAT nos. 0261:2, 0268:2, 0275:3, 0315:4, 0326:3, *etc.*), at Dura Europos in a Palm. inscription (PAT no. 1067:5),⁹³ Old Syriac (Lafli 2016 no. 3:1), and in Nab.

⁹² The same individual in H 107 and 245.

⁹³ Tribal name in PAT nos. 1134:2, 1352:2, 1353:2, and 1942:2,3, with transcriptions Χομαρηων/[X]ομαρηοι. The line numbers refer to the Greek section of these bilingual texts.

(Negev 1991, 36; Macdonald 1999, 279). Saf. **kmr** is connected by Harding (HIn., 505) with Arabic *kamara* ‘to cover’.

Attestations H 388:1.

knzyw ‘Treasure (?)’

Aram. or Iran. male name. Probably hypoc.: Iran. loanword in Aram. *gnz* ‘treasure’ (DNWSI, 229) with shift [g] > [k], and a probable hypoc. suffix *-yw* (Abbadi 1983, 116-7). Caquot (1952, 93) suggests a parallel with the Iran. *Kāngū* (Justi 1895, 155).

Cf. perhaps the EA personal name or official title **knzsrs**, attested in the letters of Arsames (TADA nos. 6.11:1,7, 6.12:1,4, 6.13:1,6).

Attestations H 6:1, 6:2,⁹⁴ 7:1, 8 (chief of guards), 9b:1, 9d:1. Very likely these refer to members of the same family, if not always the same individual (except for H 6).

kšy ‘Exiled (?)’

Arab male name. Abbadi’s interpretation (1983, 117), questioned by Teixidor (1987, 138), is a *CaCīC* form from Arabic *qašā* (*qšy*) ‘fern, entfernt sein’ (Wehr 1985, 1033), with dissimilation [q] > [k] and hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix.

Cf. Old Syr. **qšt** (OSI no. Am3:7), connected with Nab. diminutive **qšyw** ‘He who was exiled’ (al-Khraysheh 1986, 161-2; Negev 1991, 58); Κουσαç at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 69; 212); Saf. and Tham. **qšy** (HIn., 483; WH, 603), and **qšyt** (HIn., 483; WH, 603; Ababneh 2005 nos. 654, 810 also ‘munificent camels’). Cf. also Saf. *qšy* ‘to dedicate’ (Al-Jallad 2015, 334).

Attestations H 58:1.

krs ‘Belly’

Aram. male name (Abbadi 1983, 117-8). Cf. Akk. or NWS *Karšānu* (^m*kar-šá-a-nu*) ‘With large belly (?)’ in NA onomastics (PNA 2/I, 607). Saf., Qat., and Sab. **krs**¹ (HIn., 498) is connected with Arabic *kirs* ‘foundation, origin’ or ‘severe, wellborn’ (Ababneh 2005 no. 208). Odishu (1990, 476) proposes ‘A learned man’, Arabic loanword.

Attestations H 192:1.

94 Grandson and grandfather.

kšṭw 'Archer'

Aram. male name with a probable hypoc. suffix -w (Abbadi 1983, 118). The dissimilation [q] > [k] is attested also for Syr. *kšṭ* 'to shoot with a bow' (Sokoloff 2009, 658) and *kaššāṭā* 'archer, bowman; Sagittarius' (CSD, 229; Sokoloff 2009, 658).

Cf. Palm. **qšṭ**' (Stark 1971, 111; PAT nos. 2066Rev:3, 2084Obv:2, 2097Rev:1, 2100Rev:3, 2148Rev:2), **qšṭ**' (Stark 1971, 111; PAT no. 2809:1) and **qšty** (Stark 1971, 111; PAT no. 0333:2⁹⁵); Nab. diminutive **kšyṭw** (Negev 1991, 36; Macdonald 1999, 279-80) and **qštw** (al-Khrayshah 1986, 162-3; Negev 1991, 59); Saf. **ks'ṭ** (HIn., 500; WH, 605), loanword from Syr. (Abbadi 1983, 118).

Attestations H 242:1.

lhdd 'For / Belonging to Hadad'

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc.: dative construction with the theonym Hadad (Beyer 1998, 114).

Cf. Palm. **lšmš** (Stark 1971, 93; PAT nos. 0043:4, 0067:2, 0072:1, 0073:1, 0074:2, *etc.*; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. 2:3, 7:3, 37:3; Yon 2013a nos. 19:a,b,⁹⁶ 48:1, 52:3, 68:1, 106:1 with transcription Λισαμμαιοϋ at line 2 of the Greek text, *etc.*), **lmlk**' (Stark 1971, 93; PAT no. 0051:3), and **lrmn** (Stark 1971, 93; PAT no. 2041Obv:2).

Attestations H 1041c:2.

lwṭb 'May (DN) do good'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name. Verbal sentence: 3rd m.s. C imperfect of *yṭb* (Beyer 1998, 114; 138). Cf. also the entry **nšrlṭb**.

Attestations H 175:1.

lšgl 'For / Belonging to Šangilā'

Aram. theophoric male name. Dative construction with the theonym Šangilā (Šegal in Abbadi 1983, 119) with assimilation [ng] > [gg] = <g>. Šangilā is attested also in Palm. onomastics (**bršgl** Stark 1971, 80; PAT

95 Found in the Palmyrene.

96 Reused at Qasr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqi, Syria.

no. 2590Rev:1); cf. Maraqtan (1996, 22-6) for a synthesis of the different interpretations of the theonym.

Attestations H 22:1.

mhr 'Mithra'

Iran. theophoric male name (Justi 1895, 207-8; 503; Gignoux 1986, 123). Theonym Mithra probably with hypoc. suffix -' (Abbadi 1983, 120). Cf. also the form **myhr**'.

Cf. theophoric names in NB and LB texts (Tavernier 2007, 248-53; 541-2; Zadok 2009, 267-72); Palm. **mhr** (Stark 1971, 93; PAT no. 2730:10⁹⁷) and **mhrw** (Stark 1971, 93; PAT no. 1702:3⁹⁸); **mhr** and theophoric names in Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 99-105).

Attestations H 260:1.

mhrbndq 'Mithrabandag'

Other readings **mhr** followed by the nickname or surname **bndq** 'ball' (al-Jubouri 2010a, 140).

Iran. theophoric male name, Mithrabandag 'servant of Mithra' (Beyer 2013, 34). Cf. Justi (1895, 214 s.v. Miḫrāna.13) for the name Mirhean Mihrevandak; cf. the entry **bndw** for a hypoc.

Attestations H 453:1.

mhrdt 'Mithradāta'

Iran. theophoric male name, Mithradāta 'given by Mithra', cf. Μιτραδάτης (Justi 1895, 209-13; Gignoux 1986, 128, 2003, 50; Schmitt 2016, 131-2). Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 93; PAT nos. 1618:5,⁹⁹ 1722:3, 1726:3,¹⁰⁰ 2042Obv:4, 2413Obv) also in the form **mhrdd** (Stark 1971, 93; PAT no. 1358:7), and in Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 100).

Attestations H 230:2 (nicknamed 'the leprous'), 343a:1,¹⁰¹ 1021b:1.

97 Found at Qa'ara, Iraq.

98 Found at Ras esh-Shaar, in the Palmyrene.

99 Found in the Palmyrene.

100 PAT nos. 1722 and 1726 were found at Khirbet Abu Duhur, in the Palmyrene.

101 See the mistake made by the engraver, who wrote **m{r}hrdt**.

mṭlš ‘Mangy’

Aram. male name. Dt participle of *ṭlš* ‘(G) to be soiled, stained; (D) to pollute, defile’ (Sokoloff 2009, 535); more likely passive of D ‘to infect a sheep with mange’ (CSD, 176), with assimilation [tṭ] > [tṯ] = <t>. Abbadi (1983, 121) suggests a possible *maf^{al}/maf^{il}* form connected with Arabic *ṭals* ‘black’ (Lane, 1866); Aggoula (1991, 72) proposes ‘Don de šmš’; Odishu (1990, 463) hypoc. of ***mṭlšmš*** ‘For the sake of Šamaš’; Beyer (1998, 160) the hypoc. ‘Schutzdach’.

Attestations H 119:1.

myhr’ See ***mhr***’.

Attestations H 1121:1.

mymy Uncertain meaning.

Male name. Very likely a lallative. Beyer (1998, 91) translates ‘Dessen Name mit m beginnt’.

Cf. perhaps EA ***mmh*** (Kornfeld 1978, 120; TADA nos. 2.1:14, 2.4:2,10).

Attestations H 286:1 (perhaps priest; damaged text), 337:2.

myt ‘Gentle’

Arab male name. Adjective *mayīt* ‘Soft; (...) gentle’ (Lane, 2745), with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix (Moriggi 2013a, 41).

Attested in Palm. mostly as a tribal name (Stark 1971, 94; PAT nos. 0168:3, 0465:4, 0468:5, 1356:3 with transcription Μιθηρῶν in line 3 of the Greek text, 2801:3 with transcription MITHENON in line 2 of the Latin text and Μειθηρῶν in line 3 of the Greek text, *etc.*) and at Dura Europos in a Palm. inscription (PAT no. 1099:4); cf. Sab. ***myt*** (HIn., 576).

Attestations H 1035b:2.¹⁰²

mky ‘Who is like (DN)?’

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: interrogative nominal sentence *mn-k(-DN)*, with assimilation [nk] > [kk] = <k> and hypoc. suffix -y (Abbadi 1983, 121). Cf. also the entry ***mkmrtn***.

¹⁰² Reading by Moriggi (2013a, 41).

Attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 58; TADA no. 2.2:9; TADB no. 5.1:11; TADD no. 21.7:1,3) and Palm. (Stark 1971, 95; PAT nos. 0360:3, 0563, 0564, 0853:3, 1165:1, *etc.*). Cf. Akk. Mannu-kī (^mman-nu-ki-i; ^mman-nu-ki; ^mma-an-ki-i) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/II, 680) and in EA (Porten 2016, 9 *mnky*); Μακκαίος at Dura Europos, interpreted as a hypoc. of *mqym(w)* (Grassi 2012, 74; 216; cf. Gzella 2015b, 463); perhaps Nab. *mk'* (al-Khraysheh 1986, 106; Negev 1991, 38); Saf. *mk* (HIn., 561 but connected with *makka* 'to destroy'; WH, 613; Ababneh 2005 nos. 682, 689, 703, 961, 962).

Attestations H 146a:1, 146c:1,¹⁰³ 337:1.

mkmrtn 'Who is like Marten?'

Aram. theophoric male name. Interrogative nominal sentence *mn-k-DN*, with assimilation [nk] > [kk] = <k> and the theonym Marten (Abbadi 1983, 122). Cf. also the entry *mky*.

Attestations H 157:1, 173:1, 1055b:1.

mlw '(DN) is King'

Other readings *mly* 'Machte voll / König' (Beyer 1998, 161).

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with suffix -w. Cf. also the entry *mlk'*.

Cf. Palm. *ml* (Stark 1971, 95; PAT no. 2496Rev:2), *ml'* (Stark 1971, 95; PAT nos. 0027:1, 0028:1, 0029:1, 0039:2, 0040:1,2, *etc.*;¹⁰⁴ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. 23:1, 25:1, 30:2; Yon 2013a nos. 50:5, 51:1, 55:2, 58:9 with transcription Μαλη at line 18 of the Greek text, 71:1, *etc.*), *mly* (Stark 1971, 95; PAT nos. 0748:3, 0856:3, 2253Rev:2); Old Syr. *ml'* (OSI no. As52:2) and *mly* (OSI nos. As56:2, P1:15¹⁰⁵); Nab. *mly* (al-Khraysheh 1986, 107; Negev 1991, 39 Arabic 'long; lengthy').

Attestations H 415b:2.

103 Likely the same individual in H 146 a-c.

104 Cf. also PAT no. 0282:2 with transcription Μαλη̄ at line 3 of the Greek text.

105 Cf. the entry '*bgr*'.

mlykw ‘Ruled (by DN)’

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with suffix -w, or Arabic diminutive (Abbadi 1983, 122-3).

Cf. **mlyk** in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Maraqten 1988, 87; 178); Μαλικος and Μαλιχος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 75; 217-8) Sab. and Qat. **mlykm** (HIn., 566) and Sab. **mlykym** (HIn., 566).

Attestations H 146b:1.

mlk ‘(DN) is King’

Aram. female name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (al-Jubouri 2010b, 44). Cf. also the entry **mlw**.

Attested in OffA (Maraqten 1988, 87; 178-9); Palm. as male name (Stark 1971, 95; PAT nos. 0057:1 with transcription Μαλχη in line 2 of the Greek text, 0058:2, 0330:2,3, 0430:4, 0736, etc.) also in the form **mlkw** (PAT nos. 0019:2, 0044:1, 0045:1, 0046, 0048:1, etc.;¹⁰⁶ al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. F2:1,7, 12:4, 14:3, 15:5, 29:1, etc.; Yon 2013a nos. 6:5, 7:1, 8:1,2, 11b:2, 19:b,d,e,¹⁰⁷ etc.; Abousamra 2015 nos. IA:2-B:2-C:2, II:2, III:6, IVA:4 with transcription Μαλιχου in IVB:4-5); cf. at Dura Europos **mlkw** in Palm. inscriptions (PAT nos. 1067:4, 1081:1, 1093:3, 1094:2, 1096:2, 1097:2, 1104:1), in a Hatran-Greek bilingual **mlkyn**, with transcription Μαλχιων (D 4:1 = Bertolino 2004 BA.H2.01:1, published also as PAT no. 2831, and Μαλιχος (Grassi 2012, 75; 218); Emesene Μαλιχος, Μαλχα, and perhaps Μαλχη (Nitta 1989, 293); Nab. **mlkw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 108; Negev 1991, 39; Macdonald 1999, 280).

Attestations H 470:1.

mnyš ‘Manēč’

Other readings **mny/wš** (Abbadi 1983, 123).

Iran. male name. Likely transcription of Manēč, attested in Greek as Μουάισης (Justi 1895, 190; Abbadi 1983, 123; Beyer 1998, 161). Cf. **mnyš** in Old Syr. (OSI no. As37:2) and epigraphic Parthian (Schmitt 2016, 127 from *manah* ‘Sinn’). Abbadi (1983, 123) suggests also, in case of a reading **mnwš**, the name of the Avestan mythological hero Mānūš

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also PAT nos. 0056 with transcription Μαλχου in line 1 of the Greek text, 0267:1 with transcription Μάλιχου in line 1 of the Greek text.

¹⁰⁷ Reused at Qasr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqi, Syria.

(Justi 1895, 191), for which cf. NB and LB attestations of names built upon Mānūš- (Tavernier 2007, 239-40; 541; Zadok 2009, 264-5).

Attestations H 139:3 (treasurer of king Sanaṭrūk), 4, 1117:1, 4.

m'yrw 'The raider'

Arab male name. Active participle (II or IV) of *ḡyr* 'einen Raubüberfall machen' with nominative suffix (Abbadi 1983, 123-4). Abbadi's alternative interpretation as a passive participle (II) connected with Arabic 'a'yara (IV) 'He upbraided him with such a thing; reproached him for it; declared it to be bad, evil, abominable, or foul, and charged him with it' (Lane, 2208) is less probable, on the basis of onomastic parallels.

Attested in Nab. (Cantineau 1932, 117; al-Khaysheh 1986, 110-1; Negev 1991, 40; Macdonald 1999, 280); cf. **m'yr'** in a Palm. inscription found at Khirbet Abu Duhur, in the Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 96 normalized *Muḡīr*; PAT no. 1722:6); Μοῦροϋ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 80; 230-1) and Μοῦροῦϋ at Emesa (Nitta 1989, 294); Saf. **mḡyr** (HIn., 559; WH., 612; Ababneh 2005 no. 249; al-Manaser 2008 no. 245; Rawan 2013 no. 110) and **mḡr** (WH., 612). Cf. however Al-Jallad (2017, 124 n. 77) for the difficulties entailed by the attestations, in Saf., of both **m'yr** and **mḡyr**.

Attestations H 191:1.

m'n' See **m'nw**.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 96; PAT no. 0928:1; Yon 2013a no. 107:3 with transcription Μαννου at line 5 of the Greek text), Old Syr. (OSI nos. As29:2, As34:4, As37:2), Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 111; Negev 1991, 40).

Attestations H 12:1, 43:2, 79:13 (prince, son of king Sanaṭrūk), 201:2.

m'nw 'Ma'nu'

Arab theophoric male name. Theonym Ma'an (Abbadi 1983, 124) with hypoc. or nominative suffix -w. Cf. also the form **m'n'** with hypoc. suffix -'. Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 96; PAT nos. 0341:2,¹⁰⁸ 1249:2, 1434:3, 1630:1, 1702:4,¹⁰⁹ etc.), Old Syr. (OSI nos. As1:7, As30:3, As51:2, 6, As55:3, As62:2, 3, etc.; at Dura Europos in the legal texts P1:6 and

108 Found in the Palmyrene.

109 Found at Ras esh-Shaar, in the Palmyrene.

P2:4¹¹⁰), Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 111-2; Negev 1991, 40), Tham. (HIn., 557); cf. Μαννος and Μαννου at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 75; 221); **m'n** in Saf. (HIn., 556; WH, 612; Ababneh 2005 nos. 83, 188, 194, 238, 598, 772, 1070; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 69, 226; Rawan 2013 no. 206), Hism. (King 1990, 464), Dad., Tham., Qat., Min. (HIn., 556). ANA and ASA occurrences, however, are connected mainly with Arabic 'gift' (Ababneh 2005, 116) or 'light' (al-Manaser 2008, 130).

Attestations H 189:1,¹¹¹ 230:2, 288c:4 (lord),¹¹² 1011:2, 1012:1.

mqymšmš 'Šamš is the one who raises'

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš. The translation 'the one who raises' for the C participle of *qwm* follows the numerous attestations of the causative 'qym in Hatran inscriptions commemorating the erection of statues (Beyer 1998, 139; 183). However, since the same causative form is attested in Arabic (Lane, 2995), the name could be assigned an Arabic etymology as well (Stark 1971, xx; Abbadi 1983, 125).

Cf. Palm. hypoc. **mqymw** (Stark 1971, 96; PAT nos. 0005:2,9, 0007:1, 0040:2, 0042:14, 0057:2 with transcription Μοκμου at line 3 of the Greek text, etc.;¹¹³ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. F3:2, 11:4, 47:2, 52:1, 56:4; Yon 2013a nos. 19:3,¹¹⁴ 26:1,3, 30:1, 33:2, 42:2, etc.) attested also in Palm. inscriptions at Dura Europos (PAT nos. 1075:1, 1076:1, 1077:1, 1079:2), **mqymy** (Stark 1971, 96; PAT nos. 0593:2, 1163:2, 1175:4, 1217:2 with transcription Μοκε[ί]μαιο at lines 2-3 of the Greek text, 1712:4;¹¹⁵ Yon 2013a no. 84:2,3,4), **mqymt** (Stark 1971, 96; PAT no. 1249:1,5); Old Syr. **mqymw** (OSI nos. As16:3, As17:1, Am4:2,5,7,9,11,13; P1:30¹¹⁶) and **mqmy** (OSI nos. As51:3; P3:9¹¹⁷); Emesene Μοκειμο and Μοκμο (Nitta 1989, 294); Nab. **mqymw** (al-Khray-

110 Cf. the entry 'bgr.

111 Allegedly commander, son of Lord Worōd. Cf. Foietta, Marcato (2018) for a new discussion of this inscription.

112 Cf. Foietta, Marcato 2018 for a preliminary discussion of this attestation and its chronological implications.

113 Cf. also PAT nos. 0255:2 with transcription MOCIMUS at line 2 of the Latin text, found at Lambesi, Algeria; 0269:1 with transcription Μόκειμων in line 1 of the Greek text.

114 Reused at Qasr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqi, Syria.

115 Found at Khirbet Wadi es-Suan, in the Palmyrene.

116 Cf. the entry 'bgr.

117 Cf. the entry br'y.

sheh 1986, 113-4; Negev 1991, 41; also in the Babatha archive from Naḥal Hever, cf. Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989 no. 16:39; Yadin et al. 2002 no. 1:[2],7,14,19,35,36,53,60); Saf. **mḳym** (HIn., 560) and **mḳm** (HIn., 560; WH, 612; al-Manaser 2008 no. 390).

Attestations H 60:1, 61:1,¹¹⁸ 467:1, 468:1 (major-domo, son of a major-domo of Marten).¹¹⁹

mr' See **mry'**

Other readings **mp'** (Ibrahim 1986, 203; Moriggi 2013a, 38).

Cf. Μαρὰς in the Babatha archive from Naḥal Hever (Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989 no. 25:14,46).

Attestations H 1034:2.

mrhwn 'Their Lord (is DN)'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 125-6). Cf. also the form **mrhn**.

Same structure of Akk. Bēlšunu, of which **mrhwn** is the Aram. equivalent; cf. the entry **bšwn**. Cf. the Palm. female name **mrthwn** (Stark 1971, 97; PAT nos. 0594:1, 0873:1, 0885:1; Abousamra 2015 no. III:1).

Attestations H 43:2, 1118:1.

mrhn See **mrhwn**

Attestations H 1034:1.

mry '(DN is) my Lord'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name. Perhaps a defective spelling of **mry'**; 'Herr' in Beyer 1998, 97.

Attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 59; TADD nos. 2.12:3, 3.39:b.4, 21.7:1,3); cf. Μαρρεῖς and Μαρρεος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 76; 222); Nab. **mry'y** (Negev 1991, 41; Macdonald 1999, 280).

Attestations H 363:5.

¹¹⁸ The same individual in H 60 and 61, perhaps also H 468.

¹¹⁹ Perhaps the same as attested in H 60 and 61.

mry '(DN is) the Lord'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 126; cf. also Vattioni 1994, 96 no. 35:2). Cf. also the form ***mr***'.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 97; PAT nos. 0290:4, 1464:4, 1747:2).

Attestations H 278:2 (major-domo).

mrn 'Maren'

Other readings ***bmrn*** 'Le serviteur de Notre-Seigneur' (Aggoula 1991, 87); ***gmd/rn*** 'Eisiger / Glühender' (Beyer 1998, 64), Arab names.

Aram. theophoric male name. Theonym Maren (Abbadi 1983, 62 considers it as a proper divine name, not a personal name). Cf. also the theophoric ***mrnyhb***.

Attestations H 179:1.

mrnyhb 'Maren gave'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Maren (Abbadi 1983, 126). The alleged name ***yhbmrn*** 'Maren gave' (Abbadi 1983, 114; Beyer 1998, 67) in H 200:2 should be considered as a proper verbal sentence (Aggoula 1991, 94-5).

Attestations H 171:1, 287:1.

mrtbw 'The Lady of her father'

Aram. female name. Perhaps hypoc. of a theophoric name. Genitive construction with apocopated 3rd f.s. pronominal suffix (Abbadi 1983, 126; Beyer 1998, 131).

Cf. NWS Martâ (^m*mar-ta-a'*) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/II, 742); Palm. ***mrt***' (Stark 1971, 97; PAT nos. 0693:2, 1854:1, 1863:1) and ***mrt***y (Stark 1971, 97; PAT nos. 0032:1, 0100:1, 0300:1 with transcription Μάρθειν in line 1 of the Greek text, 0653:1, 0750:1, etc.; Yon 2013a nos. 10:2, 34:1, 167:1); Nab. ***mrt***' and ***mrt***y (al-Khaysheh 1986, 115; Negev 1991, 41).

Attestations H 31:1 (sculptress?), 34:2 (priestess of Iššarbēl).

nbwbn ‘Nabû created’

Other readings *nbwbn* (Bertolino 2008, 10).

Aram. theophoric male name of Akk. origin. Verbal sentence with the theonym Nabû (Abbadi 1983, 127).

Cf. Akk. Nabû-ibni (^{md}PA-DÛ; ^{md}PA-*ib-ni*) in NA texts (PNA 2/II, 834); also in the NB Ebabbar (Bongenaar 1997, 334) and Ezida temple archives (Waerzeggers 2010 nos. 41:15, 54:2f, 76:11, 134:28, 160:14, *etc.*), and in the Nappāḥu archive (Baker 2004 no. 93:10), cf. also Nielsen 2015, 233.

Attestations H 98:1, 211:1, 1026:1 (major-domo), 1044b:1.

nbwgbr ‘Nabû is mighty’

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Nabû (Aggoula 1985b, 283).

Attestations H 401:4, 402:1.¹²⁰

nbwdyn ‘Nabû is the judge’

Aram. theophoric male name of Akk. origin. Nominal sentence with the theonym Nabû (Abbadi 1983, 128).

Attested in NA onomastics as Nabû-dayyān (^{md}PA-DI.KUD; PNA 2/II, 819), in the Murašû archive as Nabû-dayyānu (^{md}AG-*da-a-a-nu*; ^{md}AG-DI.KU₅; Stolper 1985 nos. 27:16, 28:23, 90:2, u.e., 95:15; Donbaz, Stolper 1997 no. 5:17, u.e.). Attested also at Assur (A 1:2).

Cf. Amm. *nnyn* ‘Nanaya will judge / is judge’ (al-Qananweh 2004, 96-7).

Attestations H 279a:1, 310:1, 416:3, 446:1 (veteran, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 129), 452:1, 470:2, 1069:1.

nbwyhb ‘Nabû gave’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Nabû (Aggoula 1985b, 283).

Attested in EA (TADC no. 4.9:2.2); cf. Ναβουιαβος and Ναβουιαβος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 81; 235).

Attestations H 401:2, 1089:1.

¹²⁰ Likely the same individual.

nbwktb ‘Nabû wrote’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Nabû; nominal sentence ‘Nabû ist Schreiber’ in Beyer (1998, 103).

Attestations H 408:2.

nbwsm ‘Nabû heard’

Arab theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Nabû; note the use of Arabic *sami‘a* instead of Aram. *šm*‘ (Pennacchietti 1996, 60, 1998, 280).

Cf. Nabû-šamā’ (^dAG-šá-ma-) in NB texts (Zadok 1977, 74; 81-2); Ναβουσαμαος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 81; 236).

Attestations H 1055b:1.

ndr ‘He vowed (to DN?) / Vow (to DN?)’

Aram. male name. Very likely hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abadi 1983, 128). Cf. Nab. ***ndry*** (Negev 1991, 43); Saf. ***ndr*** (HIn., 585; Ababneh 2005 no. 166) and ***ndr’l*** (HIn., 585).

Attestations H 93:1.

nwhdr ‘Commander / Satrap’

Other readings *nwhd/r*’ (Aggoula 1991, 128), cf. Sima (1995-96, 320).

Aram. male name. Iran. loanword *nwhdr* ‘title of a military commander’ (Sokoloff 2009, 896), interpreted ‘Satrap’ by Abadi (1983, 128-9), with det. suffix. An official title according to Greenfield (1986). Cf. OSI, 47 for further references (especially Harnack 1970, 537-40); more recently Colditz (2013, 122).

Attestations H 264:1.

nwrn Uncertain meaning

Other readings *nwdn* (al-Jubouri 2010b, 47), *faw’al* form.

Arab male name. Beyer (2013, 39) connects it to Arabic *nār* ‘fire’; it may also be Aram. *nwr* with the suffix *-ān*, probably a diminutive attested also for the name ‘***qrbn***’.

Attested in Palm. (Yon 2013a no. 33:3(2x)); cf. Saf., Tham. (HIn., 585), Dad. (Farès-Drappeau 2005 no. D153), Hism. (King 1990, 471) **nrn**, connected with Saf. and Tham. **nwr** (HIn., 603; WH, 617).

Attestations H 475:1.

nyhr 'Daylight'

Other readings **nwhr** 'Shrine' (Odishu 1990, 465); **nyhd** (Beyer 1998, 161), Iran. Nihādān (Justi 1895, 229); cf. also Sima (2000, 167).

Aram. or Arab male name. Cf. Syr. *nuhrā* 'light' or Arabic *nahār* 'Day, or day-time (...) or broad daylight' (Lane, 2858) with hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 129). Official epithet 'illustrious' in Palm. (DNSWI, 720).

Cf. Palm. **nhr** (Stark 1971, 99; PAT no. 0657:1); Saf., Tham., Qat. (HIn., 601; Ababneh 2005 nos. 804, 883, 885, 1148, 1155; al-Manaser 2008 no. 76), Hism. (King 1990, 474) **nhr**.

Attestations H 139:1, 198:2 (in both cases a prince, son of king Sanaṭrūk).

nmsys 'Nemesis'

Greek male name, Νέμησις (Beyer 2013, 45).

Attestations H 1058:2.

n'wr 'Braying'

Other readings **n'wr/d'** (Degen 1970, 226).

Aram. male name. Plene spelling of Syr. *n'ārā* 'braying' (Sokoloff 2009, 928) with det. suffix. Abbadi (1983, 129) prefers the cognate Arabic *na'ara* 'He (a man, or a beast of carriage,) uttered a sound, or noise, with, or in, (...) the innermost part of his nose' (Lane, 2815), and connects the name with Nab. **n'rt** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 121; Negev 1991, 44), the interpretation of which is doubtful.

Cf. Saf. (HIn., 593) and Hism. (King 1990, 472) **n'rt**; Sab. **n'r** (HIn., 593). However, these are connected by Harding with Arabic *na'ir* 'restless'.

Attestations H 220:1.

nšr '(DN) aided / (DN is the) aid'

Arab, probably male, name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name; 'Grill' in Beyer (2013, 45). Cf. also the entry **nšrw**.

Attested in Saf. (HIn., 590; WH, 615-6; Ababneh 2005 nos. 220, 733; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 35, 66, 67), Hism. (King 1990, 472), Tham. and Sab. (HIn., 590).

Attestations H 1058:1.

nšrw '(DN is the) aid'

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with nominative or hypoc. suffix *-w* (Abbadi 1983, 130). Cf. also the entry **nšr**. Attested in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 122; Negev 1991, 44).

Cf. Palm. **nšr'** (Stark 1971, 100; PAT nos. 0763:1,3 with transcription of the complete name Νασράλλαθε in lines 1-2 of the Greek text,¹²¹ 0764:2, 0864:3, 1179:2, 1594:2), **nšry** (Stark 1971, 100; PAT nos. 0314:4, 1596:4) and **nšrlt** (Stark 1971, 100; PAT nos. 0056 with transcriptions Νασραλλαθος and Νασραλλαθου in line 1 of the Greek text, 1327:4, 2487Rev:4); cf. perhaps Νασωρ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 81; 237). For ANA and ASA attestations cf. the entry **nšr**.

Nāširu (^m*na-ši-ru*), attested in NA onomastics (PNA 2/II, 934-5), and **nšry**, on an 8th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 92; 188), derive from Akk. or NWS cognates.

Attestations H 33:1 (likely lord), 67:1 (lord, great priest of the god),¹²² 82:4 (lord), 84:1, 194:2 (lord), 196:2 (lord), 197a-g:2 (lord), 199:1 (lord), 231:3 (lord), 250:1 (lord), 272:1 (lord), 272:3,¹²³ 273:1 (lord), 274:1 (lord), 319:1, 335:3,4,¹²⁴ H 338:2,¹²⁵ 338:3 (lord, not explicit), 345:3 (lord, great patrician, great priest of Šamš),¹²⁶ 346:2 (lord), 347:3 (lord), 348:1 (lord), 351:2 (lord), 352:1 (lord, great priest), 353:3 (lord), 355:1 (lord), 356:1 (lord), 358:1 (lord), 359:1 (lord), 361:1 (patrician, great priest), 365b:1 (lord), 367:1 (lord), 368:1 (lord), 369:1 (lord), 370:1 (lord), 371:1 (lord), 375:1 (lord), 376:1 (lord), 378:1 (lord), 386:1 (lord), 1027b:1 (great patrician, great priest), 1027b:4 (lord).

121 Found at Qaryatein, in the Palmyrene.

122 For the title '*pkī*' cf. most recently Contini, Pagano 2015, 139-40 with previous bibliography.

123 The same individual in H 272:3 and 338:2.

124 Likely the same individual.

125 The same individual in H 272:3 and 338:2l. H 338 was found at al-Maymūn, 7.5 km east of Hatra.

126 Again '*pkī*', cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 139-40.

nqndrs ‘Nikandros’

Greek male name, Νικάνδρος (Moriggi forthcoming).

Attestations H 1115:1.

nšr ‘Nešra’

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc.: theonym Nešra with hypoc. suffix -’ (Abbadi 1983, 130).

Cf. Saf. and Tham. **ns’r** (HIn., 586-7; WH, 615; Ababneh 2005 no. 373; Rawan 2013 nos. 299, 302, 304) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 471). Perhaps attested already in NA onomastics as Nasrâ (^mna-as-ra-a) ‘Eagle’ (PNA 2/II, 933).

Attestations H 117:1, 232f:6.

nšrhb See **nšryhb**

Attestations H 442:1.

nšry ‘Nešra’

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc.: theonym Nešra with hypoc. suffix -y (Abbadi 1983, 130-1).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 100; PAT nos. 0431:4, 1176:2) and Nab. (Negev 1991, 45). For ANA attestations cf. the entry **nšr**’.

Attestations H 13:1, 27:1, 74:3, 76:1, 91:1, 93:1, 101:1, 146a:1, 158:1, 288a:5, 300:1, 1047:3.¹²⁷

nšryhb ‘Nešra gave’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Nešra (Abbadi 1983, 131). Cf. also the form **nšrhb**.

Attested in an inscription on a relief between Dağyeli and Koçtepe-Tür ‘Abdīn (T 4b:2 = Lightfoot, Naveh 1991 no. B:2) and in Saf. (HIn., 587).

Attestations H 4:6, 25:1, 52:2, 83:4, 88:1, 100:1 (treasurer), 116:1 (major-domo), 137:1, 139:1 (prince, grandson of king Sanaṭrūk), 164:1, 174:2, 183:1, 194:2 (lord, not explicit), 195:2 (major-domo of Maren), 200:7, 252:1, 270:1, 272:3 (lord), 274:3 (lord), 284:1-2, 299:1, 301:1, 316:1, 323:1, 338:3 (lord), 346:3 (lord), 349:1, 350:1,¹²⁸ 351:1 (lord), 352:3 (lord), 356:1 (lord), 360:1, 361:2 (lord),

127 Perhaps the initial part of a broken longer name.

128 The same individual in H 349 and 350.

362:2, 406:1, 409c:2, 413d:2, 428:1, 440:1, 447:1, 448:1, 451:1,2, 476:3 (lord), 1027b:4 (lord, not explicit), 1036b:1,¹²⁹ 1036c:1, 1044:1, 1055:1, 1056:5.

nšrlṭb ‘May Nešra do good’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence: theonym Nešra followed by the 3rd m.s. C imperfect of *yṭb* (Beyer 1998, 114; 138). Cf. also the entry *lwṭb*.

Attestations H 1041c:1.

nšr‘qb ‘Nešra protected’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Nešra (Abbadi 1983, 131).

Attestations H 23:2,5, 35:3,6.

ntwn’šr ‘Given by Iššar / Gift of Iššar’

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction: passive participle (Canaanite *CaCūC* pattern) of *ntn* and the theonym Iššar (Abbadi 1983, 131-2). Cf. Lipiński (1982, 119-20 and n. 20) for *ntwn* as a *CaCCūC* form rather than a Canaanite participle; cf. also the discussion in Marciak (2017, 311). Cf. EA hypoc. **ntwn** (Kornfeld 1978, 63; TADA nos. 4.10:5, 5.2.1; TADC nos. 3.15:50,66,103,114(2x), 4,4:1; TADD nos. 3.2:a.2, 3.17:3) attested also on an ostrakon from Beersheba (Maraqten 1988, 92; 189); **ntwnšmš** at Hassankef-Ṭūr ‘Abdīn (T 2:6); Nab. **ntn** (but perhaps a perfect tense, Negev 1991, 45) attested also in Saf., Tham., Sab., and Min. (HIn., 581; WH, 614; Ababneh 2005 no. 1043).

Attestations H 113:2, 114:2.¹³⁰

sb ‘Old man’

Aram. male (nick?)name. Syr. *sābā* (Sokoloff 2009, 959) with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 101; PAT no. 0365:4).

Attestations H 1109:1.

129 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 46.

130 The same individual.

skyr 'Little drunkard'

Other readings *skyd* 'Il a espéré en Hadad' (Aggoula 1991, 63-4).

Arab male name. Diminutive from *sakira* 'He was, or became, intoxicated, inebriated, or drunken' (Lane, 1390), Aram. *škr* (Sokoloff 2009, 1559), with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 132). Abbadi considers also a derivation from Aram. *skr* 'to stop up' (DNWSI, 786), though less probable.

Cf. Akk. (?) Šākīru (^mšá-ki-ru) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1184); Saf. and Tham. **s^tkrn** (HIn., 323; WH, 582; Ababneh 2005 nos. 78, 628, 636, 920, etc.; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 87, 146, 400; Rawan 2013 nos. 279, 343) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 413).

Attestations H 97:1.

slwk 'Seleukos'

Other readings *slwq* (Aggoula 1990, 412 and Vattioni 1994, 85 for H 410:2).

Greek male name, Σέλευκος (Abbadi 1983, 132-3). Cf. also the form **slkw**.

Attested in Old Syr. (OSI nos. As16:2, As17:2, As18:2, As19:2, As55:8); cf. Palm. **slwq**' (Stark 1971, 101; PAT nos. 0394:3, 0440:1), **slwqws** (Stark 1971, 101; PAT nos. 0280:2 with transcription Σέλευκον at lines 2-3 of the Greek text; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 60:2-3), **slwqs** (Stark 1971, 101; PAT no. 0071:1); at Dura Europos, **slwqws** in a Palm. inscription (PAT no. 1095:1).

Attestations H 5:2, 94:1 (2x),¹³¹ 110:1 (nicknamed 'the great' or 'the elder'), 111:1, 166:1,¹³² 169:1, 170:1, 410:2.

slkw 'Seleukos'

Greek male name, Σέλευκος, with metathesis of <w> and <k> (Aggoula 1990, 418).

Attestations H 415b:1.

131 Grandson and grandfather.

132 The same individual in H 166 and 170.

sm̄y ‘Samya’

Aram. theophoric female name. Theonym Samya (Abbadi 1983, 133). Cf. the complete name **btsmy**’.

Perhaps attested in Old Syr. (OSI nos. Am3:16, Cm5:2); cf. **sm̄y**’ on a 6th century Aram. ostrakon from Tell Šēḥ Ḥasan, Syria (Röllig 1990 no. 2:1) and in Palm. (Stark 1971, 101; but PAT no. 1777:5 reads **šqn**’).

Attestations H 5:1, 37:2 (princess, granddaughter of king Sanaṭrūk).

snṭrwq ‘Sanaṭrūk’

Iran. male name, Sanaṭrūk ‘he who defeats enemies’ (Abbadi 1983, 133; Justi 1895, 282-3; Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 121). The spelling with <q> is the usual Aram. rendering of this name, attested in Syr. literature also with final <g> (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 121). Cf. also the form **snṭrq**.

Attestations H 28:3,4 (king), 36:3 (king), 37:3 (king), 79:base,11,13 (king), 82:2,4 (king), 112:2, 112:3 (‘master of the hunt’, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 136),¹³³ 120:1 (king), 124:1, 139:2,4 (king), 144:5 (king), 194:1 (king), 195:1 (king), 196:1 (king of Arabs), 197a:1-g:1 (king of Arabs), 198:2 (king), 199:1 (king of Arabs), 202:d.d (king), 203:2 (king of Arabs, ‘the victorious one’), 229a:1 (king of Arabs, ‘the victorious one, the benefactor’), 231:2 (king of Arabs), 232a:1 (lord), 287:3 (king of Arabs), 333:1 (prince, not explicit), 334:1 (‘pious’), 341:1 (‘pious’), 342:2,11 (king), 367:1 (king), 368:1 (king), 369:1 (king, reconstructed), 370:1 (king), 371:1 (king, reconstructed), 373:1 (king), 375:1 (king of Arabs), 376:1 (king), 378:1 (king of Arabs), 379:1 (king), 380:1 (king), 384c:1 (king), 385:1 (king), 386:1 (king of Arabs, reconstructed), 1020c:1 (king), 1020d:1 (king, priest).

snṭrq See **snṭrwq**.

Attestations H 345:1, 347:1, 353:1 (king of Arabs in all three).

sqyr ‘Burned’

Other readings **sqyd** (Abbadi 1983, 134), cf. Saf. **s’qdt** ‘kleiner Vogel mit roten Federn’; **sqyrḥ**’ (Vattioni 1981, 65; Aggoula 1991, 82), but the blank space between <r> and <ḥ> allows to suppose that <ḥ> belongs to another, partially damaged, word.

Arab male name. Abbadi (1983, 134) suggests an adjective from **saqara** ‘The sun scorched, or burned, him’ (Lane, 1379), hence a hypoc. form of a theophoric name such as ‘Der Sonnenverbrannte’. It is more likely to be an adjective pointing at a skin defect.

Less likely are parallels with Nab. **šqrw**, connected tentatively with Ara-

133 The two attestations in H 112 refer to father and son.

bic *saqr* ‘faucon’, *šaqira* ‘être roux’, *šaqir* ‘anémone’ (Cantineau 1932, 153; Negev 1991, 66), *’ašqar* ‘red-haired’ (al-Theeb 1993, 246-7), or with Syr. *sqīrā* ‘hateful’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1039); Saf. and Tham. **s’qr** (HIn., 322 *saqr* ‘falcon’); cf. also Bedouin Arabic *Şager* ‘Falke’ (Hess 1912, 34).

Attestations H 157:1.

sr’m ‘Flat-nosed’

Other readings *qdm’hw[hy]* ‘Der an der Spitze seiner Brüder / Er geht seinen Brüdern voran / (GN) hat ihm seinen Brüdern vorangestellt’ (Vattioni 1981, 83, 1994, 62; Abbadi 1983, 47; 158, very uncertain reading; Beyer 1998, 76). Amended into *sr’m* *’hw[hy]* *’sr’m* [his] brother’.

Aram. male name. Plene spelling of Syr. *srāmā* ‘flat-nosed’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1048).

Attestations H 242:2.

stnbl ‘Sitānbāl (?)’

Iran. male name, probably Sitānbāl (Justi 1895, 512; Abbadi 1983, 134). Abbadi proposes also that the name may contain the theonym *bl* ‘Bēl’, but in this case the first part of the name would be rather enigmatic, since a verb **stn* is not attested and *štn* does not offer compatible meanings. Odishu (1990, 466) proposes ‘Bēl is a pillar (?)’ on the basis of the comparison with OffA *stwn* (‘stele’ in DNWSI, 804) and Modern Syr.

Attestations H 36:6.

’b ‘Lizard’

Other readings **’b** (Aggoula 1991, 11 for H 11:1), probably a typing error; **’g** (Aggoula 1991, 12 for H 13:2), but the second grapheme is clearly .

Aram. male name. Syr. *’abbā* ‘lizard’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1054) with det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 134-5). Abbadi suggests also a hypoc. ‘Servant (of DN)’.

Attested at Hassankef-Ṭūr ‘Abdīn (T 2:8) and in Palm. (Stark 1971, 102; PAT nos. 0379:5, 0447:2,4, 1447:3, 2375Obv:1, 2444Obv, 2482Obv:2).

Attestations H 11:1, 13:2.

'bd 'Servant (of DN)'

Other readings *gbr* 'Starker' (Beyer 2008, 37-8, 2013, 30); *'bdlbwš'* (Vattioni 1981, 36, 1994, 45); *gbrlbwš* 'Le serviteur de l'Armé, du cuirassé, du guerrier' (Aggoula 1991, 29) for H 34:5.

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 135). Attested in OA and OffA (Maraqten 1988, 93-4; 191; Lemaire 2001 no. 4:1), Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 125; Negev 1991, 46), Saf., Dad., Tham., Sab., Min. (HIn., 396-397; WH, 591; Ababneh 2005 nos. 260, 373, 419, 455, 682, *etc.*; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 17, 47, 63, 121, 123, *etc.*; Rawan 2013 nos. 52, 134, 206, 229, 232, *etc.*), and Hism. (King 1990, 427-428). Cf. NWS Abdâ (^mab-da-a; ^mab-da-a') and Abda'a (^mab-da-a'-a) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 3-4); Abdâ' (^mab-da-a') in Achaemenid Babylonia (Donbaz, Stolper 1997 no. 76:2, *le.e.* for the Murašû archive; Pearce, Wunsch 2014 nos. 75:2, 26, 80:1); **'bd'** in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Maraqten 1988, 94; 191; Lipiński 2010, 134 no. O.3717Rev:10), in a 7th century Aram. docket (Röllig 2014 no. 26:10), and in Palm. (Stark 1971, 102; PAT nos. 0027:1, 0225, 0645:7, 0843:1, 0911:1, *etc.*); ΑΒδαϙ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 14; 112-3). For this root in Aramaic and other Semitic onomastic corpora, cf. Silverman (1981).

Attestations H 34:5 (priest in charge of dressing the god's statue);¹³⁴ H 432b:1.

'bd'dn 'Servant of the Lord'

Other readings Not read by Aggoula (1991, 40); *'bdmrn* 'Sklave unseres Herren' (Beyer 1998, 41).

Aram. theophoric male name. Abbadi (1983, 135) suggests a genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Adda. However, it is more likely that the second noun is NWS 'dn 'Lord', here a theonym, without the det. suffix. Cf. also the entry **'dn**.

Cf. Phoen. and Punic **'bd'dny** (Benz 1972, 149; 369-72).

Attestations H 50:1.

'bd'lh 'Servant of the god'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym 'alāhā 'god' (Abbadi 1983, 136). Cf. also the form **'bdlh**'.

Attested at Assur (A 35:1), at Hassankef-Ṭūr 'Abdīn (T 2:7), and in Nab. (al-

¹³⁴ For *lbwšl'* as a profession name I follow Milik (1972, 373) and Healey (2009, 297). Cf. also Dijkstra 1995, 224 n. 112.

Khraysheh 1986, 127; Negev 1991, 46); cf. NWS Abdi-Ēl (^m*ab-di-DINGIR*; ^m*ab-da-li*), Abdi-Ilim (^m*ab-di-li-me*; ^m*ab-di-li-mu*; PNA 1/I, 5-6) and Akk. Urdu-Ili (^mARAD-DINGIR; ^m*ur-di-li*; PNA 3/II, 1403-4) in NA onomastics; **'bd'l** in ostraka from Beersheba (Maraqten 1988, 94; 192); Nab. **'bd'l** (Negev 1991, 46), **'bd'l** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 126), **'bd'lh** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 127; Negev 1991, 46), and **'bd'lhy** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 127; Negev 1991, 46); Saf., Tham., Sab., Qat. **'bd'l** (HIn., 397; WH, 592; Ababneh 2005 no. 946; Rawan 2013 nos. 124, 132); Saf. **'bd'lh** (HIn., 397; Ababneh 2005 no. 1032); Hism. (King 1990, 430), Tham., Sab., Min. **'bdlh** (HIn., 400).

Attestations H 151:1, 218:1 (chief musician), 272:3, 338:1.¹³⁵

'bd'sr 'Servant of Iššar'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Iššar (Abbadi 1983, 137).

Attested in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (PNA 1/I, 6; Lipiński 2010, 117 no. O.3673Obv:2); cf. Akk. Urdu-Išsar (^m*ur-du-d*15; ^mARAD-d15; ^mARAD-15; ^mARAD-dINNIN) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1404-7); cf. Abdi-Iššar (^m*ab-di-diš-šár*) in NB and LB texts (Zadok 1977, 36), also in the writing ^m*ab-du-diš-šar* (Pearce, Wunsch 2014 no. 52:23); cf. Αβδισαρης at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 15; 114-5) and ΑΒΔΙΣΣΑΡΟΥ on coins from Adiabene (De Callataÿ 1996; Marciak, Wójcikowski 2016, 80-1).

Attestations H 181:1.

'bdb'smyn 'Servant of Ba'alšamīn'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Ba'alšamīn, with assimilation [lš] > [šš] = <š> (Abbadi 1983, 138).

Attestations H 275:1.

'bdgd' 'Servant of Gad'

Other readings *'bdgdy* (Abbadi 1983, 188; 200).

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Gad and suffix -' (Aggoula 1991, 22). Cf. Saf. **'bdgd** (HIn., 398).

Attestations H 27:7, 479:4.

¹³⁵ The same individual in H 236 (cf. **'bdlh'**), 272, and 338. H 338 was found at al-Maymūn, 7.5 km east of Hatra.

'bdw 'Servant (of DN)'

Arab male name. Hypoc. with suffix *-w* (Aggoula 1986, 356).

Cf. NWS Abdû (^m*ab-du-u*; ^m*ab-du*) 'His servant' in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 8), and Arab Abdû (^m*ab-du-*) in NB (Zadok 1977, 223). Attested in EA (TADD no. 22.29:4), in an Aram. inscription from Teima (Degen 1974 no. 19:1), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 102; PAT no. 0319:6), Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 128-9; Negev 1991, 46; also in the Babatha archive from Naḥal Ḥever, cf. Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989 no. 16:39), Saf. (HIn., 401; WH, 592).

Attestations H 349:1, 350:2.¹³⁶

'bdy 'Servant (of DN)'

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. with suffix *-y* (Abbadi 1983, 139).

Cf. Abdî (^m*ab-di-i*; ^m*ab-de-e*; *ab-di*; ^m*ab-di-ia* in NB writing) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 4-5), Abdiya (^m*ab-di-ia*) in the Murašû archive (Donbaz, Stolper 1997 no. 71:10); attested in a 7th century Aram. docket (Röllig 2014 no. 16:10), in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 65; TADC no. 3.28:38; TADD nos. 8.4:9, 21.6:2), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 102; PAT nos. 0054:8, 0282:2, 0386:2, 0615A:5, 1424:3 with transcription Αβδαϛ at line 2 of the Greek text, *etc.*), Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 129-30; Negev 1991, 47), Saf., Tham., Sab., Min. (HIn., 401; WH, 592; Ababneh 2005 nos. 65, 108, 442, 531, 549, 876; al-Manaser 2008 no. 304).

Attestations H 24a:1, 24b:1.¹³⁷

'bdlh' See **'bd'lh'**.

Attestations H 86:1, 178:1, 218:1 (chief musician), 236:1,¹³⁸ 1044b:1.

'bdly 'Servant of my god'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym *'alāhā* 'god', with aphaeresis of <'> and apocope of <h> (Abbadi 1983, 137). Beyer (1998, 163) interpreted it as a theophoric name with a hypoc. form of the theonym Allāt. Cf. also the form **'wbd'ly**, possibly built upon the diminutive.

136 The same individual.

137 Identical texts; the same individual.

138 H 236, 272 (cf. **'bd'lh'**), and 338 (cf. **'bd'lh'**) testify to the same individual. H 338 was found at al-Maymūn, 7.5 km east of Hatra.

Attested in Nab. (Negev 1991, 47).

Attestations H 122:1, 124:1.

'bdmlyk See **'bdmlk**.

Attestations H 62:2, 89:1, 101:1, 103:1.¹³⁹

'bdmlk 'Servant of the King'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym *mlek* 'King' (Abbadi 1983, 140). Cf. also the form **'bdmlyk**.

Attested in Aram. epigraphs on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 8*:5),¹⁴⁰ on the Arad ostraka (Maraqten 1988, 95; 194-5), in Sab. (HIn., 400); cf. the abbreviated Aram. form **'b<dml>k**' on a 6th century, probably Phoen., seal (Israel 1992, 226-7; Maraqtén 1988, 196 "unerklärt"); Nab. **'bdmlkw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 130; Negev 1991, 47); Qat. **'bdmlkn** (HIn., 400).

Attestations H 63:1, 103:1.¹⁴¹

'bdnrgwl 'Servant of Nergol'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Nergol (Abbadi 1983, 140).

Cf. Akk. Urdu(Arad)-Nergal (^mARAD-U.GUR; ^mARAD-GIR₄.KÛ) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1412); Palm. **'bnrgl** (Stark 1971, 103; PAT nos. 0346:3, 1468:1, 1618:2,¹⁴² 1903:3); at Dura Europos Αβιδνηρ and Αβιδνηργιλος (Grassi 2012, 15-6; 119-20).

Attestations H 13:3 (fuller),¹⁴³ 294:3.

139 Father of **'bdmlk**.

140 In NA onomastics, also Phoen. Abdi-Milki (^mab-di-mil-ki; ^mab-di-mil-ku) and Abdi-Milkūti (^mab-di-mi-il-ku-ut-ti; ^mab-di-mi-il-ku-ti; ^mab-di-mil-ku-ut-ti; ^mab-di-mil-ku-u-te) are attested (PNA 1/I, 6-7). Cf. Benz 1972, 155; 344-6.

141 Son of **'bdmlyk**.

142 Found in the Palmyrene.

143 The exact meaning of the profession name *kṣr*' is debated. Cf. the discussion in DN-WSI, 533.

'bdnšr' 'Servant of Nešra'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Nešra (Abbadi 1983, 141). Cf. also the form **'bdnšr'**.

Attestations H 165:1, 167:1.

'bdnšr' See **'bdnšr'**.

Attestations H 1053:1.

'bdsy' 'Servant of Samya'

Other readings **'bsy'** (Aggoula 1991, 134).

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc. form of **'bdsmṯy'** (see below); Vattioni (1981, 91, 1994, 64), Abbadi (1983, 36), and Beyer (1998, 81) integrate **'bds<m>y'**, considering it a possible mistake of the engraver.

Attestations H 283:1 (weaver, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 141).

'bdsmṯy' 'Servant of Samya'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Samya (Abbadi 1983, 141). Cf. also the form **'bsmṯy'** with assimilation [ds] > [ss] = <s>.

Attested at Assur (A 32d:1) according to Aggoula (1985a, 58) and Beyer (1998, 24);¹⁴⁴ cf. **'bsmṯy' šlyt'** 'ruler' in the monumental inscription T 5:1,2 (Shaked 2016) and in Old Syr. (OSI no. As31:1,4); ΑΒΕΔΟΥΜΕΙΑ, ΑΒΙΔΟΗΜΙΑΣ, and ΑΒΙΔΟΗΜΙΣ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 15; 16; 115; 120).

Attestations H 15:1, 20:1, 26:1, 28:1 (crownprince, son of king Sanaṯrūk), 35:2 (wine seller), 36:3 (king), 56:1 (master of the Standard),¹⁴⁵ 65:4, 75:1, 79:2 (king), 80:10, 81:1, 104:1, 112:6, 126:1, 149:1, 195:1 (king of the Arabs), 195:3 (crownprince, son of king Sanaṯrūk), 203:3 (king), 223:6 (king), 229a:1 (king), 277:2 (king), 287:4 (crownprince, son of king Sanaṯrūk), 290:5 (king), 295:2, 306:2, 318:1, 425:2, 445:1, 454:1, 455:1, 1006:1 (master of arms, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 134), 1020b:1, 1029:1.

144 My reading is 'bd[...]; some letters follow but they are not on the same line.

145 The title *rbsmṯy* is translated 'maître de l'Enseigne' by Aggoula (1991, 44), who probably refers to Caquot (1955a, 58); the latter interprets *rbsmṯy* as the guardian of the divine standard.

'bd'gylw 'Servant of the Little Calf'

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. diminutive form of the Palm. theonym 'Aglibōl (Stark 1971, 104; Abbadi 1983, 141). For the theonym, cf. the entry 'g'. Cf. also the forms **'bd'gyly** and **'bd'gyly'**.

Attestations H 37:6, 80:1,10, 141:1, 153:1, 167:1, 286:5, 347:4, 413c:2 (gate-keeper, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 141-2), 415a:1, 415b:1, 435:2, 467:1, 1051:1.

'bd'gyly See **'bd'gylw**.

Other readings **'bd'gylw** (Abbadi 1983, 141 for H 324:1)

Attestations H 36:6, 324:1.

'bd'gyly' See **'bd'gylyw**.

Attestations H 254:1.

'bdš' 'Servant of Šamš / Šalmān'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Šamš or Šalmān in a hypoc. form (Abbadi 1983, 142). Cf. also the entries **'bdšlm'** and **'bdšmš'**.

Attestations H 27:3.

'bdšlm' 'Servant of Šalmān'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Šalmān (Abbadi 1983, 142). Cf. also the forms **'bdšlmn** and <'>**bšlm'**, with assimilation [dš] > [šš] = <š>, and the hypoc. **'bdš'**.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 103; PAT no. 2457Rev:1) also in the form **'bšlm'** (Stark 1971, 103-4; PAT no. 0554:2¹⁴⁶); cf. Old Syr. **'bšlm'** (OSI no. As7:1). **'bšlm'** is also attested in an inscription in Hatran script of uncertain provenance (A 36:4 = Müller-Kessler 2016 no. 3).

Attestations H 15:1, 16a, 25:1 (great priest), 150:1, 203:1, 430:1.

146 In the lower part of this funerary inscription.

'bdšlmn See **'bdšlm'**

Attestations H 34:4, 95:1.

'bdšm' See **'bdšmš'**

Attestations H 51:1 (priest), 1090:1.

'bdšmš' 'Servant of Šamš'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Šamš (Abbadī 1983, 143). Cf. also the form **'bdšm'** and the entry **'bdš'**. Attested in Old Syr. (OSI no. Am4:8); cf. NWS Abdi-Samsi (^m*ab-di-dsam-si*; ^m*ab-di-sa-am-si*) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 7); Palm. hypoc. **'bdšmy'** (Stark 1971, 103; PAT no. 0057:1 with transcription Αβισαμαα at line 2 of the Greek text) and **'bšmy'** (Stark 1971, 104; PAT no. 0058:2);¹⁴⁷ at Dura Europos Αβδασαμς, Αβδασυμς, Αβδισαμς, Αβδισυμς (Grassī 2012, 14; 15; 16; 113; 114; 120), perhaps Αβδισωμς (Grassī 2012, 15; 117-8); Emesene Αβδασαμς (Nitta 1989, 286); Sab. **'bds²ms²m'** (HIn., 399).

Attestations H 145:2 (priest of Nergol).

'bwš' Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Either genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš 'Servant of Šamš' (al-Jubouri 2010a, 141), or Syr. *'abbūšā* 'varicolored' (Sokoloff 2009, 1062; Beyer 2013, 34).

Attestations H 457:2-5.

'bhym' 'Servant of the good'

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with perhaps a *CaCCān* form of Arabic *ḥayr* 'Good, moral or physical' (Lane, 829); it is less likely that the suffix *-n* is a 1st p. pronominal suffix (Abbadī 1983, 143).

Cf. Saf. **'bdhr'** (HIn., 398).

Attestations H 77:1 (blacksmith).

¹⁴⁷ The same individual, notwithstanding the different spellings.

'by 'Servant'

Other readings Vattioni (1981, 54, 1994, 50) **'bd** for H 96:1; Abbadi (1983, 188) amends to **'bd**; Aggoula (1991, 63-5) reads **'bw**.

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. with assimilation [bd] > [bb] = and suffix -y (Beyer 1998, 162). However, cf. the entry **'b**' for a possible different etymology.

Attested in Saf. (HIn., 404; Ababneh 2005 no. 899).

Attestations H 96:1, 101:1.

'byd' See **'bydw**

Attestations H 248:1.

'bydw 'Little servant' (of DN)

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: diminutive with nominative suffix -w (Abbadi 1983, 144). Cf. also the form **'byd'**, with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 103; 0319:1, 0373:4, 0408:3) and Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 133-4; Negev 1991, 48); cf. Nab. **'bydt** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 134; Negev 1991, 48); Sab. **'byd** (HIn., 404); Sab. and Qat. **'bydm** (HIn., 404).

Attestations H 179:1.

'bn 'Uncertain meaning.

Arab male name. According to Abbadi (1983, 144), either adjective *'aban* 'thick' with hypoc. or det. suffix or a noun derived from *gabana* 'He cheated, deceived, overreached, or defrauded, him' (Lane, 2227) with det. suffix. Milik (1972, 391) proposes the theophoric 'Servant of Nanaaya'; Beyer (1998, 128) suggests an assimilation [dn] > [nn] = <n>. Attested in the North-Mesopotamian inscription T 5:3 (Shaked 2016); cf. **'bn** in Saf. (HIn., 403; WH, 592; Ababneh 2005 no. 980; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 147, 256, 257), Hism. (King 1990, 430), Tham., and Sab. (HIn., 403); Saf. **gbn** (HIn., 451; WH, 599) is translated 'simpleton'.

Attestations H 207:1 (mason).

'bs' Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Abbadi (1983, 145) suggests either a noun from Arabic *'abasa* 'He frowned; [looked sternly, austere, or morosely;] or contracted his face' (Lane, 1939) with Aram. det. suffix (cf. also Stark 1971, 103; Caquot 1994, 251), or the theophoric name 'Servant of Samya' (Milik 1967, 298 n. 1; cf. **'bdsmy'** and **'bsmy'**).

Attested also at Assur (A 11a:4) and in Palm. (Stark 1971, 103; PAT no. 0726:1). Palm. attestations of **'bšy'** (Stark 1971, 103; PAT nos. 1432:3, 2605Obv:2) are connected with **'bs'** 'severe, austere' by Stark; cf. Nab. diminutives **'byšw'** and **'byšt'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 134; Negev 1991, 48). Cf. Saf. **'bs'** (HIn., 402; WH, 592; Ababneh 2005 nos. 838, 845 translates 'strong' or 'lion'; al-Manaser 2008 no. 324; Rawan 2013 nos. 58, 253) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 430) and Tham. (HIn., 402); Saf. **'bs'n'** (HIn., 402).

Attestations H 13:3, 35:6, 47:2, 58:2, 96, 125:1, 133:1, 135:1, 159:1, 296:1, 300:1, 304:2, 408:4, 1044b:1.

'bsmy' See **'bdsmy'**

Attestations H 213:1, 333:1 (king), 341:1 (king), 367:1 (crownprince, son of king Sanatrūk), 368:1 (crownprince, son of king Sanatrūk), 369:1 (lieutenant? of king Sanatrūk), 373:1 (king), 374:1 (likely crownprince, son of king Sanatrūk, reconstructed), 375:1 (crownprince, son of king Sanatrūk), 1021a:2 (king).

'bš' 'Servant of Šamš'

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 146). Cf. also the form **'bšy'**. However, we must consider a possible ambiguity with **'bs'**, to which Palm. and Nab. attestations seem to point. These names may have been written by scribes who had different linguistic backgrounds, and thus employed different graphemes for sibilant phonemes.

Attested in Old Syr. (OSI no. As9:1), also in the form **'bšy'** (OSI no. Am3:8,11,12); for Palm. **'bšy'** cf. the entry **'bs'**.

Attestations H 202e:2, 409a:1.

'bšy' See **'bš'**

Attestations H 92:1, 1040a:1.

‘*bšlm*’ See ‘*bdšlm*’

Attestations H 202k:1.

‘*g*’ ‘Calf’

Arab theophoric male name. Hypoc. of Common Semitic ‘*GL* ‘calf’, in turn hypoc. of the Palm. theonym ‘*Aglibōl* (Stark 1971, 104; Abbadi 1983, 146-7).¹⁴⁸ Cf. also the names ‘*bd’gylw* and ‘*gly*’.

Well attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 104; PAT nos. 0018:3, 0029:1, 0031:2, 0047:2, 0051:2, *etc.*;¹⁴⁹ al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 32:5; Yon 2013a nos. 4:1, 39:2,¹⁵⁰ 41:2,4, 84:3, 119:3, *etc.*); at Dura Europos in a Palm. inscription (PAT no. 1113:2) and in Stark 1971, 104; the transcriptions Ογαϛ and Ογηλοϛ, interpreted ‘*Veal*’ by Grassi (2012, 84; 239-40); cf. Saf. and Tham. ‘*gl* (HIn., 408; WH, 593). Attested also in an inscription in Hatran script of uncertain provenance (A 36:5 = Müller-Kessler 2016 no. 3).

Attestations H 5:1, 5:2, 5:4 (nicknamed ‘*Pious / Blue*’),¹⁵¹ 48:2, 51:1, 90:1, 92:1,¹⁵² 93:1, 117:1, 172:1, 203:4, 232b:1 (nicknamed ‘*Pious / Blue*’),¹⁵³ 256:1, 296:1, 302:1, 321:1,¹⁵⁴ 398:1 (sculptor), 427:1, 429:1, 432a:2, 435:1, 445:2, 439:1, 479:6, 1011:1, 1024:5, 1025:1,¹⁵⁵ 1071:1 (sculptor), 1087:1.

‘*gly*’ ‘Little Calf’

Other readings ‘*gyly*’ (Vattioni 1981, 81); ‘*ggly*’ (Aggoula 1991, 114-5; Beyer 1998, 168), tribal name.

Arab theophoric male name. Hypoc. of the Palm. theonym ‘*Aglibōl* (Stark 1971, 104; Abbadi 1983, 147). Cf. ‘*gylw* in an inscription in

148 For a recent discussion with plentiful comparative evidence, cf. Tubach 2008, 412-4.

149 Cf. also PAT nos. 0266:2 with transcription of the complete theonym Ογήλου at line 1 of the Greek text, 1389:1 with transcription Ογα at line 2 of the Greek text.

150 On the right side of the relief.

151 The three attestations in H 5 refer to different individuals: smy’s father and husband, and the sculptor’s patronymic respectively. For the nickname, cf. the entry *zd/rq*’.

152 Perhaps accompanied by the ethnonym *bgšy*’ ‘from Bet Bagaš’ (Aggoula 1991, 62; Beyer 1998, 168).

153 Perhaps the same individual as in H 5:4; if so, he appears to belong to a family of masons and sculptors.

154 Likely the same individual in H 321, 429, and 432a.

155 The same individual in H 1024 and 1025, brother of the major-domo of Šahiru. Cf. the reading by Pennacchietti (1992, 199), Aggoula (1994, 406-8), and the entry ‘*qbw*’.

Hatran script of uncertain provenance (A 36:5 = Müller-Kessler 2016 no. 3).

Attestations H 232b:2 (mason), 232c:1 (mason).¹⁵⁶

‘dry ‘(DN is) my protection’

Aram. or, less likely, Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Ab-badi 1983, 147; Aggoula 1990, 414).

Attested on a 5th century Aram. seal (Maraqten 1988, 95; 196) and in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 66; TADB no. 8.4:3; TADC nos. 3.8:3A.8, 3.14:36, 4.2:6,a.4; TADD nos. 1.7:3, 3.31:3, 8.4:9); cf. Aram. hypoc. Idrî (^m*id-ri-i*), ‘Idru (^m*i-id-ru*) and Idrūnu (^m*id-ru-nu*; ^m*id-ra-u-nu*) in NA texts, together with complete theophoric names (PNA 2/I, 505-7; cf. also Zadok 1977, 115-6); EA **‘dr** (Kornfeld 1978, 66; TADA no. 2.1:11; TADB no. 8.4:15); Nab. **‘dr** and **‘drw** (Negev 1991, 49); Saf. **‘dr** (HIn., 409; WH, 593-4; Ababneh 2005 nos. 55, 170, 420, 527, 552, *etc.*; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 54, 130, 139; Rawan 2013 nos. 100, 285) attested also in Tham. and Min. (HIn., 409).

Attestations H 132:1, 279a:1 (priest), 410:2 (Zaqīqā-deified ancestor), 1020a:1.

‘drl ‘Protection of El / The protection is El’

Other readings **‘drl** (Beyer 1998, 109), but a faintly scratched final <’> is visible (Andrae 1912, 162 and Plate 54 Fig. 278); reading discussed in Aggoula (1983b, 251-2).

Aram. or, less likely, Arab theophoric male name. Either genitive construction or nominal sentence with the theonym El. The writing of the theonym, with apparent aphaeresis of <’> and suffix -’, may be due to a mistake of the scribe, who inverted <’> and <l>.

Cf. NWS Idrī-il (^m*id-ri-DINGIR*) in NA onomastics (PNA 2/I, 507; cf. also Zadok 1977, 115-6); **‘drl** in an ostrakon from Beersheba (Maraqten 1988, 95; 196); Saf. **‘drl** (HIn., 412; WH, 594; Ababneh 2005 no. 825; al-Manaser 2008 no. 392; Rawan 2013 nos. 98, 212) attested also in Dad. (HIn., 412; Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2009, 217-8 interprets it as a verbal sentence); Dad. **‘zrl** (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2009, 219) attested also in Tham. (HIn., 412).

Attestations H 1017:1.

¹⁵⁶ The same individual.

‘**wbd’ly** See ‘**bdly**.’

Other readings ‘**bd’ly** (Vattioni 1981, 33, 1994, 43; Abbadi 1983, 35; 137) though the presence of another letter between <’> and is stressed.

Attestations H 25:1.

‘**wbdw** ‘(Little) servant (of DN)’

Other readings ‘**bydw** (Degen 1970, 234); ‘**wydw** (Vattioni 1981, 29, 1994, 43).

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: diminutive with nominative or hypoc. suffix -w (Abbadi 1983, 147). Cf. also the theophoric ‘**wbd’ly**.’

Attestations H 16b:1.

‘**wd** ‘Protection (of DN)’

Other readings ‘**bd** (Vattioni 1981, 60, 1994, 52); *dwrp dhš* ‘soldat’ (Aggoula 1991, 73).

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name. Abbadi (1983, 148) proposes ‘Schutz (von GN)’ from Arabic ‘*āda* (‘**wd**) ‘He sought protection, or preservation, by him; sought, or took, refuge in him’ (Lane, 2192), whereas Beyer (1998, 56) connects it with Syr. ‘*ūdā* ‘flock of wool’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1077). Cf. also the form ‘**wdw** and the complete theophoric ‘**wydl**’.

Attested in Nab. (Negev 1991, 49); cf. perhaps the Aram. theophoric Udu-Atār (𐤎𐤅𐤃𐤀𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤓) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1372); Palm. ‘**wdw** (Stark 1971, 104; PAT no. 0326:3; perhaps Αυδοϛ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 33; 147, uncertain reading); Nab. ‘**wdw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 135-6; Negev 1991, 46); Saf. ‘**ḏ** (HIn., 411; WH, 593; Ababneh 2005 nos. 7, 286(2x), 296, 405, 465, etc.; al-Manaser 2008 no. 241; Rawan 2013 no. 94) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 432), Dad. and Tham. (HIn., 411), and ‘**wd** (HIn., 448; WH, 598; Ababneh 2005 nos. 176, 247, 370, 464, 635; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 181, 191, 296, 329, 389, 409; Rawan 2013 nos. 44, 58, 127, 335) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 441-2), Dad. and Tham. (HIn., 448).

Attestations H 127:1 (*bidaxš*).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ For the title of *bidaxš* cf. Metzger 1968, 39; Harnack 1970, 528-37; Contini, Pagano 2015, 131-2.

‘wdw See **‘wd**

Attestations H 65:7.

‘wyg ‘The little crooked’

Arab male name. Diminutive from *‘awiġa* ‘It was, or became, crooked, curved, bent, winding, wry, contorted, distorted, or uneven’ (Lane, 2187) with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 148).

Attestations H 134:1.

‘wyd’lt ‘He who seeks refuge/trusts in Allāt’

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the active participle (I) of Arabic *‘āḍa* (*‘wḍ*) ‘He sought protection, or preservation, by him; sought, or took, refuge in him’ (Lane, 2192) and the theonym Allāt (Abbadi 1983, 148-9). Cf. also the forms **‘wydlt**, **‘ydly** (integrated **‘<w>ydly** in Moriggi forthcoming) and the relevant onomastic parallels.

Attestations H 230:3, 345:6 (major-domo of Maren).

‘wyd’šr ‘He who seeks refuge/trusts in Iššar’

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the active participle (I) of Arabic *‘āḍa* (*‘wḍ*) ‘He sought protection, or preservation, by him; sought, or took, refuge in him’ (Lane, 2192) and the theonym Iššar (Abbadi 1983, 149). Cf. also the form **‘wydšr**.

Attested at Khirbet Ġaddāla (G 2:4; Pennacchietti 1988a, 142-3 ‘protetto dal dio Assur’).

Attestations H 204:2, 227:1, 1031b:2.

‘wydw ‘He who seeks refuge/trusts (in DN)’

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with nominative or hypoc. suffix -w (Abbadi 1983, 149).

Attested in Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 136; Negev 1991, 46); cf. **‘wyd** in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Maraqten 1988, 95; 196; PNA 1/I, 238; Fales 1986, 258 no. 58:2.7 prefers **‘wyr** ‘blind’); Palm. **‘wyd** (Stark 1971, 105; PAT nos. 2343Rev:2, 2770:1; Yon 2013a no. 146:1); Nab. **‘wyd** (Negev 1991, 46), **‘wyd’** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 136; Negev 1991, 46).

Attestations H 318:1.

‘wydlt See **‘wyd’lt.**

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 105; PAT nos. 0099, 1148:2, 1179:1, 1594:1, 1790A:2-B:3 with transcription Ἀουεῖδαλλάθου in line 6 of the Greek text)¹⁵⁸ and Old Syr. (OSI no. As55:3).

Attestations H 1049:1 (veteran, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 129).

‘wydšr See **‘wyd’šr.**

Attestations H 1044b:1.

‘z’ ‘Might (of DN) / ‘Uzzā’

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with det. or hypoc. suffix, or hypoc. form of the theonym ‘Uzzā (Abbadi 1983, 150). Cf. also the entries **‘zy** and **‘ztw.**

Perhaps attested in NA onomastics as Azā (^ma-za-a), although PNA (1/I, 238) favours an Iran. origin; attested in OA and OffA (Maraqten 1988, 95; 197), notably in an epigraph on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 6:2.2), in Nab. (Negev 1991, 50 theonym ‘Uzzā), and Saf. (HIn., 417; WH, 594; Ababneh 2005 no. 1033).

Attestations H 155:1.

‘zy ‘Might (of DN) / ‘Uzzā’

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with hypoc. suffix -y or hypoc. form of the theonym ‘Uzzā (Abbadi 1983, 150).

Cf. Azī (^ma-zi-i) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 239); attested on an Aram. seal (Avigad, Sass 1997 no. 1116), at Hassankef-Ṭūr ‘Abdīn (T 2:4), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 105; PAT nos. 2478Obv:1, 2479Rev:1; al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 51:3), in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 138; Negev 1991, 50), in Saf. (HIn., 419; Ababneh 2005 no. 1033), Hism. (King 1990, 433), and Min. (HIn., 419); cf. Αῤῥαος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 19; 131); Saf. **‘zhm** ‘their glory’ (HIn., 419; Ababneh 2005 no. 247; Rawan 2013 no. 127 interprets ‘z ist tapfer’ or ‘z ist ein Löwe’).

Attestations H 327:1, 427:2.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Found at Gebel ‘Antar, in the Palmyrene.

¹⁵⁹ The same individual.

‘**z**tw ‘Might (of DN)’

Arab male name. Hypoc., probably of a theophoric name with nominative or hypoc. suffix -w. Aggoula (1986, 358-9) interprets it as a theophoric name ‘The might of Atargatis’.

Cf. Saf. ‘**z**t (HIn., 417 ‘young gazelle’; al-Manaser 2008 no. 253).

Attestations H 357:1.

‘**y**dly See ‘wyd’lt

Attestations H 1069:1.

‘**y**ny ‘My eye (is DN)’

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadī 1983, 150-1).

Cf. in NA onomastics Akk. Ēnā-ṭābi (^me-na-ṭa-bi) and Ēnī-Aššūr (^me-ni-aš-šūr; ^me-na-aš-šūr), and NWS Ēnī-il (^me-ni-DINGIR; ^mIGI.2.MEŠ-DINGIR; ^ma-i-ni-DINGIR; PNA 1/II, 396-7); at Assur ‘**y**ny (A 4:7), ‘**y**nn (A 15a:2), and ‘**y**n’**l**sr (A 15f:1, 32h:1); Min. ‘**y**n and ‘**y**nl (HIn., 451); Qat. ‘**y**nw (HIn., 451).

Attestations H 269:1.

‘**k**y ‘Feverish’

Arab male name. Adjective with *nisbe* suffix -y from ‘akka ‘It (a day) was, or became, [sultry; i.e.] vehemently hot, with moisture, and without wind; He (a man) was, or became, fevered’ (Lane, 2118; Abbadī 1983, 151).

Cf. Palm. ‘**k**y (Yon 2013a no. 57:3,18 tribal name); Nab. ‘**k**yw (Negev 1991, 51); Saf. ‘**k** (HIn., 428; WH, 595; Ababneh 2005 nos. 470, 753, 784, 791; al-Manaser 2008 no. 326; Rawan 2013 nos. 64, 177) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 435) and Tham. (HIn., 428), and ‘**k**k (HIn., 429; WH, 596; Ababneh 2005 no. 171 also ‘the strong/fat man’; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 148, 254).

Attestations H 315:2.

‘**l**y ‘(DN is) exalted’

Other readings [*bd*]ly (Vattioni 1981, 66; Abbadī 1983, 35); [*bd*]ly (Beyer 1998, 61); however, both readings are not plausible due to the lack of space between the visible <’> and <|> (cf. hand-copy in Safar 1962, 47).

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Aggoula 1991, 82). Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 105; PAT no. 1287:1), Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 141-2; Negev 1991, 51), Saf. (HIn., 433; WH, 596; Ababneh 2005 nos. 24, 653, 655; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 29, 266, 351, 403, 404, 407; Rawan 2013 nos. 156, 211, 304), Hism. (King 1990, 437-8), Dad., Tham., Qat. (HIn., 433).

Attestations H 160:1.

'lt '(DN is) exalted'

Arab male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: the adjective should have referred to a female theonym (Abbadi 1983, 151). Aggoula (1991, 11) interprets it as a variant of **'lt**' (see below).

Attested in Saf. (HIn., 430 'weakness, excuse'; WH, 596; Ababneh 2005 no. 161 'highborn; sickness') and Hism. (King 1990, 436 'disease, sickness'); cf. the Nab. male name **'lyt** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 142; Negev 1991, 51), attested also in Tham. and Qat. (HIn., 433).

Attestations H 11:1.

'lt' '(DN is) exalted'

Other readings *gls*' '(Der Gott ...) handelte vor Tagesanbruch', Arab name (Beyer 1998, 157 for H 54:2). Cf. the hand-copy in Safar (1953, 247-8).

Arab female name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with Aram. det. or hypoc. suffix; as for **'lt**, it should have referred to a goddess (Abbadi 1983, 152; Aggoula 1991, 43).

Cf. Palm. female names **'lyt** (Stark 1971, 106; PAT nos. 0615D:1, 0616:1, 0771:1, 0772:1, 0861:3, *etc.*; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 53:1) and **'lyt**' (Yon 2013a no. 126:1).

Attestations H 54:2, 55:1,¹⁶⁰ 1106:2.

'nn Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Hypoc. Possibly 'N (...) answered', theophoric name with a hypoc. of the theonym Nabû or Nanaya. The verb may be also Arabic *'anna* 'It appeared before one' (Lane, 2162-3). Stark (1971, 106), followed by Beyer (2013, 32), suggests Arabic *'anān* 'cloud'.

¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the same individual.

Attested in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Maraqten 1988, 96; Lipiński 2010, 132 no. O.3702ble.e:1;¹⁶¹ 134 no. O.3717Obv:3; 144 no. O.3652Rev:9; 170 no. O.3657Rev:8) and in Palm. (PAT nos. 0055:7, 0346:4,6), also in the forms '**nyy**' (Stark 1971, 106 diminutive; PAT no. 2170Obv:2) and '**nnw**' (PAT nos. 0340A:6,7,¹⁶² 0594:2, 1463:1, 2798:1), Saf. (HIn., 445; WH, 598; Ababneh 2005 nos. 17, 143 'expostulator, protester, clouds; forerunner'), Hism. (King 1990, 441), and Dad. (Farès-Drappeau 2005 no. D117:1-2); cf. EA '**nn**' (Segal 1983 no. 50:11).

Attestations H 447:1.

'nyy' (DN) answered me'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 152). Milik (1972, 393) suggests a hypoc. form of '**bdnyy**' 'servant of Nanaya'. Cf. also the entry '**nn**'.

Attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 67; TADA nos. 3.9:6, 4.3:4,10,11, 4.7:19, 4.8:18; TADB nos. 3.1:20, 3.2:2, 3.3:7,9,10,11,12,13,14,16, 3.5:18,19, 3.7:2,3,6,12,14,15; TADC nos. 3.15:9,12,47,49,61,73,84,131; TADD nos. 2.22:2,3, 3.4:1,2, 3.17:7, 3.18:5), on an ostrakon from Arad (Maraqten 1988, 96; 200), in a Samaritan papyrus (Dušek 2007 no. 3:10; cf. also Moore Cross 2006, 83), in Palm. (PAT nos. 0340B:6,7-C:6,7, 1175:3, 1739:7; Yon 2013a nos. 19:g,¹⁶³ 71:2,3,4) although Stark (1971, 106) suggests Arabic '*anān*' 'cloud' (cf. '**nn**').

Attestations H 16b:1.

'sy' 'Rebellious'

Other readings Vattioni (1981, 43) for H 54:1 and Abbadi (1983, 40; 145) '**bny**'.

Arab male name. Adjective '*aṣī*' 'Disobedient, or rebellious' (Lane, 2069; Abbadi 1983, 153); the same root is attested at Deir Alla (Hoftijzer, van der Kooij 1976, 228).

Attested in Saf. (HIn., 423; WH, 595); cf. Nab. '**syw**' (al-Khraysheh 1986, 147; Negev 1991, 53); Sab. '**syt**' (HIn., 434).

Attestations H 53:5, 54:1.¹⁶⁴

161 It corresponds to ^mḥa-na-na in the cuneiform text. Cf. n. 77.

162 Found at al-Karasi, in the Palmyrene.

163 Reused at Qasr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqi, Syria.

164 The same individual.

‘**q**’ Uncertain meaning.

Arab male name. The context of the attestations in H 408 (regarding the building of an *iwan* by a tribal group) points to a hypoc. like Saf. ‘**q** (HIn., 426 ‘disobedient’; WH, 595; Ababneh 2005 nos. 475, 506, 1041 ‘coward; stingy’), attested also in the form ‘**qy** (al-Manaser 2008 no. 316); they may be related to Saf. ‘*wq* (D) to be imprisoned’ (Al-Jallad 2015, 305).

Attestations H 391:1, 392:1,¹⁶⁵ 408:1,4, 408:2, 408:9 (2x, ‘master of the plumb line’ and scribe).¹⁶⁶

‘**qb**’ (DN) protected / Eagle’

Other readings *nš’r qb* (Beyer 2013, 28 for H 425:3-4).

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name, or perhaps theonym ‘Eagle’ (Abbadi 1983, 153; Pennacchietti 2007).

Attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 67; TADC no. 4.3:16; TADD no. 1.1:12), Saf., Sab., Min., Hadr. (HIn., 426; WH, 595); cf. NWS Aqaba (^m*a-qa-ba*) in NA onomastics (PNA 1/I, 120) and Bedouin Arabic ‘Ögâb ‘Adler’ (Hess 1912, 40).

Attestations H 19:1, 49:3 (administrator? of Ba‘alšamîn’s temple), 186:1, 360:1, 387:1, 425:4, 428:2.

‘**qb**’ See ‘**qb**’.

Attestations H 223:3 (major-domo of Barmaren), 224:4 (major-domo of Barmaren),¹⁶⁷ 409b:1.

‘**qbw**’ (DN) protected / Eagle’

Other readings ‘*qbw*’ (Der Gott) Bōl beschützte (den Sohn)’ (Beyer 2013, 30 for H 435:2) but <|> belongs more likely to a following <|[tb]> (al-Jubouri 2010a) and the Palmyrene theonym *bw* is never attested at Hatra; ‘*qby*’ (Beyer 2013, 33 in H 450:2); ‘*hd’qbw*’ ‘Gefangener des (Gottes) Adler’ (Beyer 1998, 110 in H 1024:5), for which cf. also Pennacchietti (2007, 396).

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name, or perhaps theonym ‘Eagle’ with hypoc. or nominative suffix (Pennacchietti 2007). Cf. also the entry **br’qbw**.

165 Perhaps we face the same individual in H 391 and 392.

166 H 408 commemorates the building of an *iwan* in Small Shrine 13 and refers to at least three different individuals named ‘**q**’: the builder (lines 1, 4 and perhaps 9 with the title *mrm*s’ ‘master of the plumb line’, though this may be a fourth homonym), his grandfather (line 2), and the scribe (line 9).

167 The same individual in H 223 and 224.

Perhaps already attested as Aqūbu (^m*a-qu-bu*) in the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985 no. 23:4', 55:8, 74:le.e., 91:11; Donbaz, Stolper 1997 nos. 54:(8), 104:13,le.e.); attested in Nab. (Negev 1991, 54).

Attestations H 435:2, 450:2, 1024:5, 1025:1 (major-domo of Šaḥiru).¹⁶⁸

'qbwy '(DN) protected (?)'

Other readings *'qby/ww/y* (Aggoula 1977, 132); *'qbry* (Vattioni 1981, 100); *'qby/w* (Aggoula 1991, 151); *'qbyw* (Vattioni 1994, 67); *'qbyy* (Beyer 1998, 88). Cf. the hand-copy (photograph not available) in al-Salihi (1975, 183): the last two graphemes have different shapes.

Aram. male name. Probably hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abadi 1983, 153-4; Pennacchietti 2007, 391); the suffix may already be attested in NB Aqabuya (^m*a-qa-bu-ia*; Zadok 1977, 117-8).

Attestations H 324:1 (soldier, veteran? cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 129).

'qby '(DN) protected / Eagle'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name, or perhaps theonym 'Eagle' with hypoc. suffix -y (Pennacchietti 2007).

Cf. NB Aqabiya (^m*a-qa-bi-ia*) and Aqabuya (^m*a-qa-bu-ia*; Zadok 1977, 117-8), and Aqūbiya (^m*a-qu-bi-ia*) in the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985 no. 10:4); attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 107; PAT nos. 0922:6, 0923:5, 0977:6).

Attestations H 463:1 (great priest of Nanaya and elder), 464:1 (2x; great priest of Nanaya and his grandfather).

'qbn 'N... (DN) protected / Little Eagle'

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: verbal sentence with the hypoc. form of a theonym, or diminutive form of the theonym 'Eagle' (Abadi 1983, 154; Pennacchietti 2007).

Attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 67; TADB no. 4.2:12; TADD no. 7.56:3).

Attestations H 49:3.

'qbsmy 'Samya protected'

Other readings *'qbšmy*' (Aggoula 1991, 50).

¹⁶⁸ The same individual in H 1024 and 1025. Reading by Pennacchietti (1992, 199) and Aggoula (1994, 406-8).

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with theonym Samya (Abbadi 1983, 154).

Attestations H 69:3-6.

‘**qbšm**’ ‘Šamš protected’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 154). Following Pennacchietti (2007), it may be ‘The Eagle of Šamš’. Cf. the entries ‘**qbšmš**’ and ‘**šmšqb**’ for the complete name.

Attested at Assur (A 10:1, 27i:2, 29j:2¹⁶⁹) also in the form ‘**q[y]bšm**’ (A 6b:3).

Attestations H 27:4, 393a:1, 405:3, 456:1, 1056:6.

‘**qbšmš**’ ‘Šamš protected’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Beyer 1998, 104). As for ‘**qbšm**’, it may be ‘The Eagle of Šamš’ (Pennacchietti 2007). Cf. also the entry ‘**šmšqb**’.

Attestations H 363:4, 411b:1.

‘**qyb**’ ‘Protected (by DN) / Little Eagle’

Other readings ‘**qwb**’ (Abbadi 1983, 155).

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: either Aram. passive participle with det. or hypoc. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 155), or diminutive of the theonym ‘Eagle’ (cf. ‘**qbn**’; Pennacchietti 2007).

Attested in a Samaria papyrus (Moore Cross 2006, 83-4; Dušek 2007 no. 11v:3,4(?)), at Assur (A 33d:1) and in Palm. (Stark 1971, 107; PAT nos. 0466:1, 0753:3; Yon 2013a no. 118:4). Cf. Ακειβας and Ακιβα at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 21; 134). Stark (1971, 107) suggests a connection with ‘**qb**’ ‘heel’ (DNWSI, 881; Pennacchietti 2007, 391).

Attestations H 16a:1 (major-domo of Ba’alšamīn), 162:1, 163:1, 184:1, 185:1, 200:4, 400:1, 1007:1, 1008a:1, 1015:1, 1042:1, 1054b.c.

169 The attestation of this name in A 29j:2 is read by Aggoula 1985a, 56; my reading is ‘[...]’.

‘**qybšmš**’ ‘Protected of (by) Šamš’

Other readings ‘**qwbšmš**’ (Abbadi 1983, 45; 155).

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Šamš. Following Pennacchietti (2007), it may also be a genitive construction with the diminutive of the theonym ‘Eagle’.

Attestations H 62:2, 64:1.

‘**qrbn**’ ‘Little scorpion’

Aram. or Arab male name. Diminutive (Abbadi 1983, 156); cf. also the form ‘**qrbn**’ with det. suffix.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 107; PAT no. 0810:1; cf. also al-Hariri 2013 for the tomb of ‘Aqraban), Saf. (HIn., 427; WH, 595), Hism. (King 1990, 435), Tham. and Sab. (HIn., 427); cf. Ακαραβανης and Ακραβανης at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 21; 133; 135); Emesene Ακραβανης and Ακραβη (Nitta 1989, 287); Nab. ‘**qrb**’ (Negev 1991, 54) interpreted by Negev (1991, 161) as the constellation Scorpius; Saf. ‘**qrb**’ (HIn., 427; WH, 595; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 61, 79, 211; Rawan 2013 no. 124) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 435), Dad., Tham., and Qat. (HIn., 427).

Attestations H 102:1, 255:1, 394:1, 395:1.

‘**qrbn**’ See ‘**qrbn**’.

Attestations H 346:7.

‘šy’ Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male (nick?)name. Perhaps *nisbe* from Arabic ‘*ašā* ‘Weakness of sight: or sightlessness by night with ability to see by day: or badness of sight by night and by day’ (Lane, 2055; Abbadi 1983, 156). Cf. also ‘*ašiyy* ‘The late part of the evening’ (Lane, 2056). However, ‘šy at Hatra is also a profession name ‘plasterer’, cf. the entry **zbw/yd**.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 107 ‘evening’; PAT no. 0445:1) and Old Syr. (OSI no. As12:1); cf. Saf. ‘**s**¹’ (HIn., 419 Arabic ‘*ass* ‘night patrol’; WH, 594) attested also in Tham. (Van den Branden 1965 nos. Ph. 184 (a):2, Ph. 303 (b)), or ‘**s**²’ in Saf. (HIn., 421 Arabic ‘*ašša* ‘to be lean’ or ‘*ušš* ‘nest’; WH, 595), Hism. (King 1990, 434), and Tham. (Van den Branden 1965 nos. Ph. 284 (b), Ph. 314 (f)).

Attestations H 85:1.

'ty 'Atte/Atargatis / Proud'

Aram. or Arab male name. Either theonym 'Atte/Atargatis (al-Jubouri 2010b, 49) or Arabic 'atyy 'Proud, and immoderate, inordinate, or exorbitant' (Lane, 1951). Connected by al-Jubouri (2010b, 49) with 'Attay attested in 1 Chr 2:35 (Rechenmacher 2012, 67 refers to 'ty 'to be proud'); attested in Palm. (theonym) both as male (Stark 1971, 108; PAT nos. 0583:1, 0584:1, 1569:5,¹⁷⁰ 1639:1) and female (PAT nos. 0498:1, 0641:1, 0784:2, 0793:1, 0815:1, etc.), Saf. and Tham. (HIn., 405 'rebellious'; WH, 593). Cf. Ααθαιος/Aθθαιος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 13; 20; 106; 131-2; Gzella 2015b, 462), considered a hypoc. built upon the theonym 'Atte.

Attestations H 478:1.

plq 'Dawn'

Arab male name. Arabic *falaq* 'The daybreak, or dawn' (Lane, 2442; Abbadi 1983, 157). Cf. Saf. **flq** (HIn., 471).

Attestations H 132:1.

prhnd/r Uncertain meaning.

Male name, possibly Iran. Bertolino (2008, 10) reads **prhnd**; Beyer (1998, 106) reads **prhnr**. Perhaps a theophoric name with the theonym Farrah.

Attestations H 416:2,5.

sdyq 'Sincere'

Other readings *şdym* (Vattioni 1981, 52, 1994, 50); *şd/rym* (Abbadi 1983, 157): *şdym* adjective or diminutive from Arabic *şadama* 'He struck it, or knocked it' (Lane, 1669), *şrym* from Arabic *şarama* 'He cut it in any manner: he cut it through (...) so as to separate it' (Lane, 1683).

Arab male name, perhaps hypoc. of a theophoric name. Cf. the entry **zd/rq**' for the Hatran spelling *zđq* of *şđq* 'to be just; correct'. This is most probably an Arab spelling; cf. Σαδοκας at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 91; 252); Saf. **şđq** (HIn., 369 interpreted as diminutive, cf. the relevant compound names; WH, 640) attested also in Sab., Qat., Min., Hadr. (HIn., 369). Perhaps attested as **şdy<q>** in a 7th century Aram. docket (Röllig 2014 no. 11').

Attestations H 85:1.

170 Found at Jebel al-Merah, in the Palmyrene.

qwp 'Monkey'

Aram. male name. Syr. *qūpā* 'ape, monkey' (Sokoloff 2009, 1338) with det. suffix (Caquot 1955a, 58). Abbadi (1983, 158) proposes Arabic *qafan* 'Nacken' (Wehr 1985, 1048). Cf. also the form **qp**'.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 110; PAT nos. 0554inf:1, 2734:4, 2737).¹⁷¹

Attestations H 57:2.

qyymt See **qymt**

Attestations H 1083:1.

qymy 'Precious / Steady'

Arab female name. Arabic *qayyim* 'wertvoll, ausgezeichnet' (Wehr 1985, 1069) or *qayyām* 'beständig' (Abbadi 1983, 159) with suffix -y. Probably hypoc. of a theophoric name.

Attested in Palm. as a male name (Stark 1971, 110; PAT no. 1502:4), also in the form **qymw** (Stark 1971, 110; PAT no. 1382:1 with transcription Καίεμου in lines 3-4 of the Greek text), in Old Syr. (OSI nos. As6:2, As33:1), also in the form **qmy** (OSI no. Am8:7); cf. Nab. **qymw** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 159-60; Negev 1991, 58; Macdonald 1999, 283); Saf. **qym** 'supreme; ruler' (HIn., 492; WH, 604; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 43, 180; Rawan 2013 no. 343) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 452).

Attestations H 35:2.

qymt 'Precious / Steady'

Other readings **qwst** (*qwddt, qwrrt, qwqt*) (Vattioni 1981, 54); **qwr/dr/dt** (Abbadi 1983, 47; 159).

Arab male name. Arabic *qayyim* 'wertvoll, ausgezeichnet' (Wehr 1985, 1069) or *qayyām* 'beständig' (Abbadi 1983, 159-60) with f. ending. Probably hypoc. of a theophoric name. Cf. also the forms **qyymt** (Moriggi, Bucci 2016, 110) and **qymty** with hypoc. suffix -y; Abbadi suggests also a theophoric name with a hypoc. form of 'Atte/Atargatis'.

Attested in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 160; Negev 1991, 58); Saf. (HIn., 492 Arabic *qīma* 'perseverance'; WH, 604; Ababneh 2005 no.

¹⁷¹ PAT nos. 2734 and 2737 were found at Rijelat Umm-Kubar, Iraq.

229; al-Manaser 2008 no. 143), Hism. (King 1990, 452), and Tham. (HIn., 492).

Attestations H 97:1, 472:2 (priest of Nanaya), 474:1 (priest of Nanaya), 475:1 (priest of Nanaya).¹⁷²

qymty See **qymt**.

Attestations H 164:1 (royal slaughterer, priestly title?).

qynt ‘Songstress / Maid-servant’

Arab female (?) name. Arabic *qayna* ‘Sängerin; Zofe’ (Wehr 1985, 1077); cf. the edict H 342, concerning temple wailers (recently Kaizer 2006, 143-4) and *qynh* ‘singing’ in the title *rbqynt* ‘chief of wailers’ (H 43:3, 202c; DNWSI, 1008-9). Aggoula (1983a, 102) proposes ‘female slave’. Attested in Saf. and Min. (HIn., 492); cf. Saf. **qn** (HIn., 489; Ababneh 2005 nos. 64, 602, 645, 701, 1067; Rawan 2013 nos. 32, 146, 169, 256, 327) attested also in Dad. (HIn., 489; Farès-Drappeau 2005 no. D54:3 female name) and Tham. (HIn., 489), and **qyn** (HIn., 492 *qayn* ‘smith, artisan’; Ababneh 2005 no. 122) attested also in Sab. (HIn., 492) and Min. (al-Said 1995, 152 ‘Ausbesserung, Wiederherstellung’).

Attestations H 460:1.

qp’ See **qwp**’.

Attestations H 105:1.

qrwn’ ‘The horned one’

Aram. male name. Passive participle (Canaanite *CaCūC* pattern) with det. suffix; cf. *qrn* ‘horn’. It probably refers to a deity, since at Hatra two small horns are a rather common divine attribute (Dirven 2015). Cf. NWS Qarnāia (NA ^m*qar-na-ia*; NB ^m*qar-na-a*) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/I, 1008); Palm. **qryn** (Stark 1971, 110; PAT nos. 1671B:1,¹⁷³ 1914:3,4) and the diminutive **qrynw** (Stark 1971, 110; PAT nos. 0182:3,4, 0206:2, 1913:5, 2506Rev, 2552Rev:1); Saf. and Min. **qrn** (HIn., 480).

Attestations H 1019:2.

172 The last three attestations refer to the same individual.

173 Found at Khirbet Semrin, in the Palmyrene.

qšbrmryn ‘Barmaren decreed’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Barmaren (Beyer 1998, 110). Following Pennacchietti (1987, 112 and 1988b, 50; cf. also Kaizer 2006, 145), <qš> is a defective writing for <qšš>.

Attestations H 1026:1.

r’yt ‘Rāyt’

Other readings *dyt* ‘Atargatis est mon amour’ (Aggoula 1991, 135); *byt* *gf[...]bd/r*, a probable family name according to Bertolino (2013, 188).

Iran. male name, Rāyt, attested also in the transcription Οροίτης (Justi 1895, 234; Beyer 1998, 92 ‘schöner Knabe’). Cf. also the form **ryt**, interpreted by Abbadi (1983, 163) as an adjective from Arabic *rāṭa* (*ryt*) ‘He, or it, was, or became, slow, tardy, dilatory, late, or backward’ (Lane, 1199), and by Odishu (1990, 479) as Arabic ‘The hesitater’.

Attestations H 342:3 (major-domo), H 1058:1 (treasurer).

r’mt ‘Young she-camel / Antelope’

Arab male name, *ra’ma* ‘A she camel’s young one’ (Lane, 997) or *ri’ma* ‘white antelope’ (Lane, 998; Abbadi 1983, 160).

Attested in Hadr. (HIn., 262); cf. Saf. and Tham. **r’m** (HIn., 262; WH, 576) and Bedouin Arabic Rīmān ‘Gazelle’ (Hess 1912, 27).

Attestations H 168:1.

rby ‘My master (is DN)’

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 161). Attested in Old Syr. (OSI no. As7:1) and Saf. (HIn., 268; Ababneh 2005 nos. 83, 401); cf. Akk. theophoric Rabba-II (^m*rab-ba*-DINGIR) and Rabbi-ilu (^m*rab-bi*-DINGIR) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/I, 1027); EA **rby** (Segal 1983 no. 36:1); Palm. **rb** (Stark 1971, 111; PAT nos. 0208:10,11, 1506:5), **rbw** (Stark 1971, 111; PAT no. 2183Rev:2), **rb’l** (Stark 1971, 111; PAT nos. 0095:5, 0314:5, 0321:1, 0515:3 with transcription Παββήλου at line 3 of the Greek text, 0543:2, etc.; Yon 2013a nos. 3:2 reconstructed, cf. the transcription RABBELUM at line 2 of the Latin text and [P]αββηλο[ν] at line 2 of the Greek text, 44:2); Nab. **rb’l** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 163; Negev 1991, 59); Saf. **rbw** (al-Manaser 2008 no. 299) and **rb’l** (HIn., 263; WH,

576; Ababneh 2005 nos. 94, 743, 960; al-Manaser 2008 no. 353; Rawan 2013 no. 10) attested also in Tham., Sab., Min., Hadr. (HIn., 263).

Attestations H 295:2 (carpenter).

rbn ‘(DN is) master’

Other readings *lṭwbn* (Vattioni 1981, 65, 1994, 54); *lṭbyn* (Abbadi 1983, 25; 119 in H 155:1).

Aram. male name. Divine epithet or official title *rbn* ‘master’ (DNWSI, 1055; Abbadi 1983, 161-2). Abbadi suggests also a genitive construction with the hypoc. form of a theonym such as Nabû, Nanaya or Nešra. Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 111; PAT no. 2742:5¹⁷⁴), Saf. (HIn., 267; WH, 576; Ababneh 2005 nos. 382, 574, 877; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 66, 92, 119), Tham. and Qat. (HIn., 267).

Attestations H 146b:1, 155:1.

rbt ‘Greatness (of DN)’

Other readings Not considered as a personal name by either Abbadi (1983, 201) or Beyer (1998, 37).

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with det. suffix, cf. Syr. *rabbūtā* ‘greatness’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1426). Aggoula (1991, 26) proposes a genitive construction with the theonym ‘Atte/Atargatis, with aphaeresis of <’>.

Cf. Palm. *rbt* (Stark 1971, 111; PAT nos. 0253:2 with transcription RUBATIS at line 2 of the Latin text,¹⁷⁵ 0711:1) and *rbwty* (Stark 1971, 111; PAT no. 0729:2); Old Syr. *rbyṭ*’ (OSI no. Cs3:2; Lafli 2016 no. 1:2).

Attestations H 31:3.

rw/zḥw Uncertain meaning.

Male name. Uncertain reading.

rwḥw: (Aggoula 1991, 71) ‘wind; spirit’ with hypoc. suffix -w.

Attested in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 164-5; Negev 1991, 60; Macdonald 1999, 284-5); cf. Saf. and Tham. ***rwḥ*** (HIn., 290; WH, 579; Ababneh 2005 nos. 1028, 1069; al-Manaser 2008 no. 133).

rzḥw: Caquot (1964, 255) and Abbadi (1983, 162) consider it the Aram.

174 Found at Rijelat Umm-Kubar, Iraq.

175 Found at al-Kantara, Algeria.

transcription of the Iran. Rōzweh (Justi 1895, 266-7); this reconstruction is disputed by Weber (2005, 413), who proposes *razah-wā*.

Attestations H 117:1, 118:1, 121:1.¹⁷⁶

rḥdd ‘The spirit of Dāda’

Other readings *dhdd* (Vattioni 1981, 96); *rwhdd* ‘Hadad hat (mir) Ruhe verschafft’ (Abbadi 1983, 162), but <w> is not visible in the hand-copy (photograph not available) in al-Salihi 1975, 174; *d/rḥd/r/d/r* (Aggoula 1991, 145); *dwhdd* ‘Besitz des (Gottes) Hadad’ (Beyer 1998, 86).

Aram. theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Dāda ‘paternal uncle’.

Attested as Rûḥu-Dādi (^m*ru-ḥu-U.U*) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/I, 1053); cf. Palm. theophoric **rwhbl** (Stark 1971, 111; PAT nos. 0044:2, 0051:2, 0052:2) or Saf. and Sab. **rḥl** (HIn., 272; Ababneh 2005 no. 48).

Attestations H 298:1.

rḥmny ‘Nanaya was compassionate / (DN) had mercy of me’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Nanaya (Abbadi 1983, 163) or hypoc. of a theophoric name (Beyer 1998, 166).

Attestations H 166:1, 170:1,¹⁷⁷ 410:2.

rḥmšmš ‘Šamš was compassionate’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 163).

Attestations H 288b:10.

rymw See **rmw**

Other readings *rwmy* ‘Römer’ (Beyer 2013, 29); if so, perhaps a nickname or ethnonym.

Attestations H 431:1.

¹⁷⁶ The same individual in H 118 and 121.

¹⁷⁷ The same individual in H 166 and 170.

ryt See *r'yt*.

Attestations H 284:1.

rmw '(DN is) exalted'

Other readings *rmy* (Bertolino 2008, 10).

Aram. male name. Probably hypoc. of a theophoric name, with hypoc. suffix *-w* (Abbadi 1983, 164). Cf. also the form **rymw**. For a complete theophoric name, cf. the entry **rmšmš**.

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 112; PAT no. 1586) also in the forms **rm'** (Stark 1971, 112; PAT nos. 0613:1, 1449:1) and **rmy** (Stark 1971, 112; PAT nos. 0092:3, 0729:2, 0730:2, 0961:3, 1183:1, *etc.*; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. 17:2 female, 34:2 male; Yon 2013a nos. 11e:2, 35:1, 174:2), at Dura Europos in a Palm. inscription (PAT no. 1067:5), Nab. (Negev 1991, 60), Saf., Dad., and Hadr. (HIn., 288); cf. EA **rmy** (Kornfeld 1978, 71; TADA no. 4.4:5); Old Syr. **rm'** (OSI no. Bs1:5) and **rwm'** in an Old-Syr. inscription from Dura Europos (OSI no. Bs1:5); Nab. **rm'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 166; Negev 1991, 60) and **rmy** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 167; Negev 1991, 60); Sab. **rmy** (HIn., 288).

Attestations H 111:1, 150:1, 297:1.

rmšmš 'Šamš is exalted'

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Aggoula 1990, 399-400).

Cf. Palm. **rmš'** (Stark 1971, 112; PAT no. 2355Obv).

Attestations H 393c:1.

rp' '(DN) healed'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name (Abbadi 1983, 164).

Attested as Rapâ (^m*ra-pa-a*; ^m*ra-pa-a'*) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/I, 1032), on an 8th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 100; 213), in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Lemaire 2001 nos. 15:11, 17:6; Radner 2002 no. 54:a with cuneiform ^m*ra-pa-a'* on Obv:1; Röllig 2014 no. 36:12), in EA (TADD no. 11.16:1), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 112; PAT no. 0356:4); cf. Saf., Tham., Sab. **rf** (HIn., 283).

Attestations H 54:2, 1035b:2.

rp'zw 'Uzzā healed'

Other readings *brkp'zw* 'Der Sieger segnete', Arab name (Beyer 1998, 156).

Arab. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym 'Uzzā (Abbadi 1983, 165), with aphaeresis of <'>.

Attestations H 332:2.

rp'nyy 'The exaltation of Nanaya'

Other readings *kp'nyy* 'Stein des 'nyy' (Degen 1970, 225); 'nyy (Abbadi 1983, 44).

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction between Arabic *raf'* 'The raising, or elevating' (Lane, 1121) and the theonym Nanaya. Sima (1995-96, 319-20) and Beyer (1998, 70) suggest a verbal sentence with *rafa'a* 'He raised it; (...) he elevated it' (Lane, 1121); Aggoula (1991, 107) a theophoric with 'nn' 'cloud' (Sokoloff 2009, 1118).

Attestations H 216:1, 217:1.¹⁷⁸

rpš' 'Šamš healed'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with a hypoc. form of the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 165). Attested at Qabr Abū Nāif (Q 1:3).

Attestations H 83:3, 141:1, 239:1, 299:1, 321:1,¹⁷⁹ 427:1 (veteran, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 129), 429:2, 432a:3, 437:3, 449:2, 450:1, 1012:1, 1013:1.¹⁸⁰

rpšmš 'Šamš healed'

Aram. theophoric male and tribal name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 165).

Attestations H 107:3 (tribal name), 128:1, 213:1, 1019:2, 1039:2 (tribal name), 1045:5 (tribal name).

178 The same individual; the texts are identical.

179 The same individual is attested in H 321, 427, 429, and 432a.

180 The last two attestations refer to the same individual.

šbw ‘Young man’

Arab male name. Noun from *šabba* ‘He became a youth, or young man’ (Lane, 1492) with hypoc. or nominative suffix (Abbadi 1983, 166).

Cf. **šb’** in EA (TADD no. 24.9(x):6) and on the Beersheba ostraka (Maraqten 1988, 101; 215); Palm. **šb’** (Stark 1971, 113; PAT nos. 0273:1 with transcription Σαβᾶ at line 1 of the Greek text, 1259:2, 1787:3) and **šby** (Stark 1971, 113; PAT nos. 0184:4, 0474:1, 0475:1,2, 0477:2, 0480:2, etc.; Yon 2013a nos. 12:1, 131:1, 149:1); Σαββα at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 90; 249-50); Nab. **šby** ‘My young man’ (al-Khraysheh 1986, 169; Negev 1991, 61); Saf. **s²b** (HIn., 337; WH, 584; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 294, 295) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 417) and Tham. (HIn., 337); Saf., Dad., Min. **s²bb** (HIn., 337).

Attestations H 297:1.

šbz ‘Šābāz’

Other readings *šbw* (Vattioni 1981, 36, 1994, 45; Abbadi 1983, 50 cf. also n. 1).

Iran. male name, Šābāz ‘Königsfalke’ (Justi 1895, 274 Šahbāz/Šehbāz; Aggoula 1991, 29). Read by Beyer (2013, 55) also in H 438b:3, cf. **šb[...]** in “Incomplete Names”.

Attestations H 34:8 (sculptor).

šb ‘Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Perhaps Arabic *sab* ‘The animal of prey (...); lion’ (Lane, 1297) with Aram. det. suffix (Abbadi 1983, 166), attested in Palm. as **šb’** (Stark 1971, 113; PAT no. 2511Obv:1); cf. Nab. **šb’** and **šb’w** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 170; Negev 1991, 62), Saf. **s¹b’** (HIn., 309; WH, 580; Ababneh 2005 no. 888; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 242, 246) and perhaps **s¹b’l** (HIn., 309; WH, 580; Ababneh 2005 no. 747).

Alternatively, hypoc. form of a theophoric name ‘(DN) was satisfied’: this rests upon the connection of Palm. **šb’t** with Akk. names from Emar such as Išbi-bêlu and Išbi-Dagan, in which Aram. *šb’* (DNW-SI, 1101-2) and Akk. *šebû* (AHw, 1207; CAD/Š 2, 251-5) mean ‘to be satisfied’ (Teixidor 1991, 221; Pruzsinszky 2003, 168; 172; Cussini 2004, 265; cf. also DUL, 790). Cf. Hebr. **sb** ‘DN is my plenty’ (Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005 Arad 27:4, 38:4, Samr 2:6; Rechenmacher 2012, 117) and **šb’t** ‘Plenty’ (Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005 Jslm 9; Rechenmacher

2012, 117). Cf. Golinets (2008) for a detailed analysis of names built upon the root Š/ŠB'.

Attestations H 18:2 (painter).

šbrw Uncertain meaning.

Aram. or Arab male name. Either Syr. *šabrā* 'child' (Sokoloff 2009, 1505) with probable hypoc. suffix *-w* (al-Jubouri 2010a, 133), or Arabic *šabara* 'He measured by the span' or *šibr* 'The measure [of the width] by the span' (Lane, 1495-6) with nominative suffix (Beyer 2013, 28; 32). Cf. Nab. **šbrh** 'Daybreak' (al-Khraysheh 1986, 170; Negev 1991, 62), connected with Saf. and Dad. **s¹br** (HIn., 309; WH, 580).

Attestations H 426:1, 441:3.¹⁸¹

šwznbl 'Bēl saved'

Aram. theophoric male name of Akk. origin. Verbal sentence: 3rd m.s. G perfect of *šzb/šwzb/šyzb* 'to save' (DNWSI, 1119-20), loanword from Akk. *šūzubu*, followed by the theonym Bēl, with dissimilation [bb] > [nb] (Abbadi 1983, 167).

In NA texts, Šūzubu (^mšū-zu-bu; ^mšū-zu-bi) apparently designates individuals of Babylonian origin (PNA 3/II, 1297-8). Well attested in NB onomastics (Nielsen 2015, 381): in the temple archives of the Ebabbar at Sippar (Bongenaar 1997, 421; 458) and of the Ezida at Borsippa (Waerzeggers 2010 nos. 140:15, 216:4,5), and in the Nappāhu (Baker 2004 nos. 3:30, 4:16, 11:14, 12:[13], 14:24,29, etc.) and Murašû archives (Donbaz, Stolper 1997 nos. 32:3, 65:16, 80:17); attested also in LB texts (Weisberg 1991 nos. 27:26, 29:26 both dated to 164 BC). Cf. EA theophorics **šzb'l** (TADC no. 3.13:57) and **šzbnbw** (TADA no. 3.1:6).

Attestations H 143:1 (*bidaxš*).¹⁸²

št' 'Acacia tree'

Aram. or perhaps Hebr. male name. Al-Jubouri (2010a, 135) interprets it as a G verbal stem, whose Gt would be the names **'štt** and **'štty**. More likely *šth* 'acacia-tree' (HALOT, 1473-4; Löw 1924, 377-91; Sokoloff

¹⁸¹ The same individual.

¹⁸² For the title of *bidaxš* cf. Metzger 1968, 39; Harnack 1970, 528-37; Contini, Pagano 2015, 131-2.

2002a, 547) with det. suffix (Beyer 2013, 30). Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 114; PAT no. 0905:2); cf. **šyt'** in the Murašû archive (Maraqten 1988, 247 with cuneiform *ši-ta-*' on the same tablet).

Attestations H 433:1.

štb Uncertain meaning.

Male name. An interpretation as the Iran. Šādāb/Šātāb (Justi 1895, 269; 291; Beyer 1998, 99) is doubtful because of the very late date of the attestation of this name (Sima 2000, 167). Aggoula (1986, 368) suggests a hypoc. form of **šmštyb** or **šmšltb**. With reference to Σητταβας and Σητταβος, attested at Dura Europos, Grassi (2012, 96; 263-4) and Gzella (2015b, 463) suggest a form of **šmtb** 'The name is good' with assimilation [mṯ] > [tṯ] = <ṯ>. The latter is attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 74; TADD no. 22.9:a.1,b.2).

Attestations H 382:1 (head of cavalry, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 130).

šyl' '(DN is) asked for'

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with hypoc. suffix *-'*. Beyer (2013, 36) connects it with Arabic *sa'ala*.

Attested in Old Syr. (OSI nos. As27:1,2, As43:2, As47:7,8, As52:3); cf. perhaps **šyly** on a 5th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 102; 217); Palm. **š'yl'** (Stark 1971, 113; PAT nos. 0280:3 with transcription Σεείλα at line 3 of the Greek text, 0281:2, 0322:3, 0629:1, 1516:1; Yon 2013a no. 86:3) and perhaps **šyl** (Yon 2013a no. 178:2, uncertain reading); at Dura Europos Σείλας, Σηλαιοϛ, Σηλεοϛ, Σιλααϛ, Σιλαιοϛ, Σιλαϛ and perhaps Σιλο (Grassi 2012, 92; 96; 261-4); at Emesa Σείλαϛ (Nitta 1989, 297).

Attestations H 463:1, 464:1 (2x; father and great-grandfather of the founder of Small Shrine 14, dedicated to Nanaya).

šly 'Comforter'

Arab male name. Noun or adjective from *salā* (*sly*) 'He experienced comfort, or consolation, for the loss, or want, of him, or it' or *sallā* (II) '(He) comforted him, or consoled him, for the loss, or want, of him or it' (Lane, 1417; Abbadi 1983, 167), with hypoc. suffix *-y*. Abbadi (1983, 167) suggests also Akk. Šulâ (^mšu-*la-a*) or Šulaya (^mšu-*la-a*) 'foundling' (PNA 3/II, 1268-9).

Attested in Palm. as a female name (Yon 2013a nos. 11b:3, 11c:1), in Nab. (al-Khaysheh 1986, 174-5, also in the transcriptions Σολλαιοϛ

and Σολλεου; Negev 1991, 64; Yadin et al. 2002 no. 3:53), also in the forms **šl'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 174; Negev 1991, 64) and **šlyw** (Negev 1991, 64); cf. Σολαιαϑ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 97; 266) and Saf. **s^lly** (HIn., 327 'to forget, neglect' or *salwi* 'consoler, comforter'; WH, 583).

Attestations H 20:2.

šlm' 'Šalmān'

Other readings **šlt'** (al-Salihi 1996a, 108).

Aram. theophoric male name. Hypoc. of the theonym Šalmān (Beyer 2013, 40). Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 114; PAT nos. 0289:3, 0316:1, 0351:2, 0552:5, 0562:1,2,¹⁸³ etc.; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 5:2; Yon 2013a nos. 50:1, 105:3 with transcription Σαλμη at line 3 of the Greek text) and Nab. (Negev 1991, 64). For more parallels, cf. the entry **šlmn**.

Attestations H 1044c:1.

šlmn 'Šalmān'

Aram. theophoric male name. Theonym Šalmān (Abbadi 1983, 168). Cf. in NA onomastics, often at Dur-Katlimmu, Salāmānu (^msa-la-ma-a-nu; ^msa-la-ma-a-ni; ^msa-la-ma-nu; ^msa-lam-a-nu; ^msa-al-ma-nu; ^msa-la-ma-man; ^msa-la-mu-an-nu; ^mdI-ma-nu) together with numerous theophoric names (PNA 3/I, 1069-1080); cf. also theophoric names in Aram. script at Dur-Katlimmu (Röllig 2014, 277). Attested in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 16:3), in a Samaria papyrus (Dušek 2007 no. 13r:3), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 114; PAT nos. 1710:3,¹⁸⁴ 1945:2, 2810:2;¹⁸⁵ al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 nos. 49:1,¹⁸⁶ 60:1,2; Yon 2013a nos. 11a:1, 56:2, 112:4), Old Syr. (OSI nos. As5:3, P2:iii,¹⁸⁷), and Nab. onomastics (al-Khraysheh 1986, 176-7; Negev 1991, 64). Cf. at Dura Europos Σαλαμανηϑ, Σαλαμανοϑ, Σαλαμνοϑ, Σαλμανηϑ, and Σαλμανοϑ (Grassi 2012, 91; 92; 253; 256; 257); Emesene Σαλαμανοϑ, Σαλμανηϑ,

¹⁸³ Found in proximity to the Iraqi Euphrates.

¹⁸⁴ Found at Khirbet esh-Shteib, in the Palmyrene.

¹⁸⁵ Found in proximity to the Iraqi Euphrates.

¹⁸⁶ On the left of the *dorsalium*.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. the entry **'bgr**.

and Σαλμων (Nitta 1989, 296); Saf., Dad., Tham., Sab., Qat., Min., Hadr. **s^llmn** (HIn., 326; WH, 583; Ababneh 2005 no. 85).

Attestations H 130:1, 235:2, 315:2, 443:1.

šmw Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *šmw/y*, hypoc. with theonym Šamš (Degen 1978, 102); *šrdw* (Vattioni 1981, 98, 1994, 67); *šddw* 'Tyrann, Unterdrücker' (Abadi 1983, 50; 167).

Male name. Perhaps *šm* 'name', or hypoc. of a Jewish name such as **šmw'l** attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 115; PAT no. 0557:2 with transcription Σαμουήλος at line 1 of the Greek text), also in the hypoc. forms **šm'** (PAT no. 2715:3) and **šmy** (Stark 1971, 115 uncertain; PAT nos. 1176:2, 2821:2). EA attestations are interpreted as an Egyptian name (Kornfeld 1978, 94; TADA no. 6.2:8,21; TADB no. 8.4:13,21; TADC nos. 3.14:7, 3.25:7,8(2x), 3.26:2). Tham. **s^lmw** is connected with Arabic *samā* 'to be high, elevated', *ism* 'name', or *samû* 'highness' (HIn., 331).

Attestations H 312:1.

šm'ny '(DN) heard me'

Other readings *šm'nw* 'der Hörende' (Abadi 1983, 169), Arabic *sam'ān* with nominative suffix.

Aram. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name. Verbal sentence, with a hypoc. form of the theonym Nabû according to Abadi (1983, 169). Cf. EA theophoric names built upon this verb (Kornfeld 1978, 74); also Saf. and Sab. theophoric names (HIn., 328-9; WH, 583).

Attestations H 24b:1.

šmš 'Šamš'

Aram. theophoric male name. Theonym Šamš. Attested on an 8th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 103; 220-1), in a Palm. inscription found at Dura Europos (PAT no. 1101), and in Nab. (Negev 1991, 65); cf. the diminutive **šmyšw** in a Hatran-Greek bilingual found at Dura Europos, with transcription Σομέσου (D 4:2 = Bertolino 2004 BA.H2.01:2, published also as PAT no. 2831).

Attestations H 479:2 (sculptor).

šmšbryk See **šmšbrk**.

Attestations H 428:4.

šmšbrk ‘Šamš blessed’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 169-70). Cf. also the form **šmšbryk** (al-Jubouri 2010a, 134).

Attestations H 79:5, 79:6, H 80:2, 80:[3],¹⁸⁸ 81:1, 115:1, 115:2,¹⁸⁹ 147:1, 230:1, 230:3, 243:2 (‘the lzlite’, master), 265:1, 320:1, 336b:3 (major-domo),¹⁹⁰ 343:2 (major-domo), 1045:3.

šmšgd ‘Šamš is Fortune’

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonyms Šamš and Gad (Aggoula 1986, 358).

Attestations H 354:1.

šmšgrm ‘Šamš decided’

Aram. or Arab theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Aggoula 1990, 406).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 115; PAT nos. 0342:4, 1375:1 with transcription Σαμσιγεραμου at line 2 of the Greek text; al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 50:2; Yon 2013a no. 163:3), Old Syr. (OSI no. As2:4), and Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 179; Negev 1991, 65); cf. Saf. **s²ms¹grm** (HIn., 358; WH, 587) and Emesene Σαμσιγεραμος (Nitta 1989, 296).

Attestations H 406:1.

188 H 79 and 80 report two genealogies of the same family: in H 79 the two attestations refer to the father and the great-grandfather respectively; in H 80 to the grandfather and the great-great-grandfather.

189 The two attestations refer to grandson and grandfather.

190 The same individual in H 336b and 343.

šmšḥdyt ‘Šamš renewed / consecrated’

Other readings Pennacchietti (1987, 111, 1988b, 49) *šmšḥryt*.

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš. Abbadi (1983, 170) interprets it as a nominal sentence with *ḥdwt*, ‘Šamš ist Freunde’.

Attestations H 10a:2, H 10a:3, 10b:3, 10c:2,¹⁹¹ 94:1 (major-domo), 119:1, 344:1 (major-domo).

šmšy ‘Šamš (...) / My sun’

Aram. theophoric male name. Perhaps hypoc. (Abbadi 1983, 170), cf. Šamšî (^{md}UTU-i),¹⁹² Šamsî (^mšam-si-i) and Šamšia (^{md}UTU-ia; ^mUTU-ia; [^{md}šá]-maš-ia) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1224). It may also be ‘My sun’.

Attested in EA (Kornfeld 1978, 75; TADD no. 11.7:1), in a 5th century ostrakon from Larsa (Dupont-Sommer 1945-6 line 3), and in a Palm. inscription found at Dura Europos (Rostovtzeff, Brown, Welles 1939 no. 912:5; Stark 1971, 144); cf. Saf. *s²ms’y* (HIn., 358) and Emesene Σαμσαίος (Nitta 1989, 296).

Attestations H 223:5 (major-domo), 1041c:2.

šmšyhb ‘Šamš gave’

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 169). Cf. also the entry *yhbšmš*.

Attested at Qabr Abū Nāif (Q 1:4), Hassankef-Ṭūr ‘Abdīn (T 2:7), and in Old Syr. (OSI nos. As60:2, P1:21,v2;¹⁹³ Lafli 2016 no. 2:2); cf. Σεμσιαβος at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 95; 262).

Attestations H 152:1, 221:3 (sculptor), 232c:1, 232f:2, 237:1 (sculptor), 332:1, 363:2, 363:7 (sculptor), 399:1 (sculptor),¹⁹⁴ 387:2, 411c:1-f:1, 1036c:1.¹⁹⁵

191 The same individual in H 10a:2, 10b, and 10c.

192 It can also be read ^{md}UTU-I, normalized Šamaš-na’di or Šamaš-na’id (PNA 3/II, 1205).

193 Cf. the entry *bgr*.

194 All these attestations of a sculptor named *šmšyhb* may refer to the same individual.

195 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 46.

šmš'tyb 'Šamš is content / satisfied'

Other readings *šmš'tb* (Abbadi 1983, 53; 171); *šmš'qb* (Vattioni 1981, 35, 1994, 44).

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Beyer 1998, 36).

Attestations H 30:3.

šmšmkn 'Šamš is the one who establishes / creates'

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Aggoula 1991, 35). Cf. the numerous Akk. theophoric names composed with the D participle *mukīn* (PNA 2/II, 763-5).

Attestations H 41:2.

šmš'dry 'Šamš is my protection'

Aram. theophoric male name. Nominal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 171).

Attested as Šamaš-idri (^{md}šá-maš-id-ri; ^{md}UTU-id-ri) in NA (PNA 3/II, 1200) and NB (Zadok 1977, 41; 97) onomastics, and as **šmš'dry** on a 6th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 103; 221); cf. **šmš'zry** in an Aram. epigraph on a NA tablet (Lemaire 2001 no. 3:17); **šmš'zr** on an 8th century seal (Avigad, Sass 1997 no. 1075:1).

Attestations H 218:1 (major-domo).

šmš'qb 'Šamš protected'

Aram. theophoric male name. Verbal sentence with the theonym Šamš (Abbadi 1983, 171). Cf. Σεμισακβοϛ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 95; 262). Cf. also the entries '**qbšm**' and '**qbšmš**'.

Attestations H 10a:1, 10a:4, 10b:1, 10c:1,¹⁹⁶ 147:1, 152:1, 156:1,¹⁹⁷ 161a:1, 187:1,¹⁹⁸ 204:1, 205:2, 206:1,¹⁹⁹ 226:2, 227:2,²⁰⁰ 291:2, 403:1, 405:1 (priest), 414c:1, 424:1, 449:2, 1045:4 (2x, elder).

196 H 10a:1, 10b, and 10c testify to the same individual.

197 The same individual as in H 187.

198 The same individual as in H 156.

199 The same individual in H 205 and 206.

200 Probably the same individual in H 226 and 227.

šny 'Exalted / Magnanimous (?)'

Arab male name. Arabic *saniyy* 'High, or exalted, in rank or condition' (Lane, 1450) or *sanā* 'The light of lightning, and of fire' (Lane, 1449) as reported by al-Manaser; Ababneh suggests also 'Magnanimous, chivalrous'. Cf. Saf. **s¹ny** (HIn., 333; WH, 583; Ababneh 2005 nos. 476, 615, 1020; al-Manaser 2005 no. 313) attested also in Tham. (HIn., 333) and Hism. (King 1990, 415).

Abbadi (1983, 172), questioned by Teixidor (1987, 138), suggests Arabic *šani* from *šani'a* 'He hated him (...) vehemently' (Lane, 1603), with Aram. det. suffix; cf. **s²n** in Min. (al-Said 1995, 126) and Qat. (Hayajneh 1998, 173).

Attestations H 136:1.

š'dw 'Luck (from DN)'

Arab male name. Hypoc. with nominative suffix (Abbadi 1983, 172).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 115; PAT nos. 0221:1, 0247:2,²⁰¹ 0249 with transcription Σοαδοϛ in line 2 of the Greek text,²⁰² 0265:1, 0266:3 with transcription Σόαδοϛ in line 2 of the Greek text, *etc.*; Yon 2013a nos. 21:1 with transcription Σοαδου in line 1 of the Greek text, 22:2, 58:3 with transcription Σοαδω in line 6 of the Greek text, 160:3, 175:2), Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 181-2; Negev 1991, 66), Tham. (HIn., 320); cf. Palm. **š'd** (Stark 1971, 115; PAT nos. 0016:5,²⁰³ 0839:2, 1219:2), **š'd'** (Stark 1971, 115; PAT nos. 0729:1, 0861:1, 2743:8, 2770:3) and **š'dy** (Stark 1971, 115; PAT nos. 0035:2, 0036:1, 0037:1, 0147:2, 0527:3, *etc.*); Σαδδαϛ at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 91; 251) Nab. **š'd'** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 180; Negev 1991, 65), **š'dy** (al-Khraysheh 1986, 182; Negev 1991, 66), and numerous theophoric names (al-Khraysheh 1986, 180-1; Negev 1991, 65-6); Saf. **s¹'d** (HIn., 318; WH, 582; Ababneh 2005 nos. 243, 727, 801, 1128; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 60, 95, 117, 137, 162, *etc.*; Rawan 2013 nos. 15, 75, 76, 120, 122, *etc.*) attested also in Hism. (King 1990, 410-1), Dad., Tham., Min., and Sab. (HIn., 318), **s¹'d'** (HIn., 318) and numerous theophoric names (HIn., 318-20; WH, 582); Sab. **s¹'dy** (HIn., 320).

Attestations H 222:1.

201 Found in Rome, in the Giardino Mattei-Trastevere.

202 Found in Rome, in the Syriac Sanctuary at Porta Portese.

203 Found at El-Qarqar, Saudi Arabia.

šrdw ‘Expelled’

Other readings *šddw* ‘Tyrann, Unterdrücker’ (Abbadi 1983, 167); *šndw* (Sima 1995-96, 319); *šdq* (?) (Aggoula 1991, 147 in H 304:2) but the alleged <q> is the union of <d> and <w>.

Arab male name. Adjective *šarīd* ‘Driven away, or expelled’ (Lane, 1531) with nominative suffix, probably with an apotropaic meaning. Vattioni (1981, 70) suggests the Akk. hypoc. Ašarēdu (^m*a-šá-re-du*; ^m*šá-re-du*) ‘The foremost one’, attested in NA onomastics also in theophoric names (PNA 1/I, 139-41), in the Egibi archive as Ašarēdu (^mSAG.KAL/*a-šá-red*) and Šarīd (^m*šá-ri-d*; Wunsch 2000 nos. 217:8, 218:2,8), and in the archive of Ezida at Borsippa as Šarīdu (^m*šá-ri-du*; Waerzeggers 2010 nos. 153:21, 170:4’).

Attested in Old Syr. (OSI no. As63:2-3), but perhaps should be related to **šrdwnḥ**’ (OSI no. Bs2:3), to which the reading **šddwnḥ**’ ‘Naḥay is powerful’ has been given as well (OSI, 195-6). Cf. **s²rd** in Saf. (HIn., 346; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 59, 98; Rawan 2013 no. 67), Tham. (HIn., 346), Dad. (Sima 1999 nos. U55:2, U64:1); Saf. **s²rdt** (HIn., 346); Dad. **s²rdh** (Sima 1999 no. U89:1).

Attestations H 186:1, 304:2.

šrt ‘Cancer’

Other readings *srtl*’ (Vattioni 1981, 61); *srm/t*’ (Aggoula 1991, 74), probably due to typographical errors, since the hand-copy (Safar 1962, 39; photograph not available) shows that the first grapheme is <š>, while the third is a variant of <ṭ> (Bertolino 1995, 16-7); **šrt**’ (Vattioni 1994, 53).

Aram. male name. Abbadi (1983, 172-3) suggests Syr. *sarṭānā* ‘constellation of Cancer’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1046), attested also at Qumran (Beyer 2004, 167; 448), with det. suffix. Observe the spelling with <š> and the apocope of <n>. ‘Cancer’ is attested in Saf. as *s¹rt*[n] (Al-Jallad 2015, 343).

Attestations H 134:1.

šrrmry ‘My Lord made firm’

Other readings The reading of H 72 is very controversial. Cf. recently Dirven (2013a, 152 and nn. 66-7 for an overview of various proposals), who follows Caquot (1955b, 269): *tltt klbn n’ šdrm dy bdytyh lš’t* ‘Three dogs that I, *šdrm*, made for the La¹dy’. Due to the identical shape of <d> and <r>, Abbadi (1983, 184) proposes both readings **šdrm** and **šrdm**. **šdrm** would be perhaps paralleled by Nab. **šdrm**’ (Cantineau 1932, 149; Negev 1991, 62). Cantineau refers to **šwdrwm**’, attested at Mada’in Salih (**šwrrwm**’ in al-Khraysheh 1986, 172); perhaps attested on an 8th century

Aram., Phoen., or Amm. seal as *šdrm* or *šrrmn*, the interpretation of which is uncertain (Avigad, Sass 1997 no. 1101).

Because of the rather laborious syntax entailed by this reading, I propose *tltt klbn 'n' šrrmry 'bdyt w'št* (?) 'Three dogs; I, Šarrer-Mār(ī), have made and ...?'. The last word is rather obscure; perhaps the text continues but the missing letters cannot be seen in the available photographs.

Aram. theophoric male (?) name. Verbal sentence with 3rd m.s. D perfect of *šrr* (CSD, 595; Sokoloff 2009, 1611-2 for various meanings); the C stem of *šrr* is attested in Palm. as 'to decide, to establish, to declare' (DNWSI, 1194-5; PAT, 418). In the case of the reading *šrdmry*, one may propose a nominal sentence with Akk. Ašarēdu (cf. *šrdw*) 'Foremost is my Lord'.²⁰⁴

Attestations H 72:1.

thmrw Uncertain meaning.

Other readings *tqmd/rw* (Vattioni 1981, 98; Abbadi 1983, 176), cautiously connected with Arabic *qamar* 'Moon', or to a 3rd f.s. imperfect with suffix -w; *ts/qmrw* (Beyer 1998, 87; 167) Arabic *tasāmur* 'Conversation, or discourse, by night' (Lane, 1425) or *taqāmur* 'play, game' (Lane, 2562), with nominative suffix. Cf. *tsmr* on a 6th century seal (Maraqten 1988, 104; 222); perhaps to be related to *šmr* 'to guard' (DNWSI, 1166-7).

Male name. Very uncertain reading and interpretation. In the hand-copy (al-Salihi 1975, 187; photograph not available) the second grapheme reminds one of the variant of <h> in the script of Khirbet Ġaddāla (Bertolino 1995, 28), hence *thmd/rw*; if *thmrw*, should perhaps be connected with Arabic *hammār* 'Loquacious, garrulous, babbling' (Lane, 2900).

Attestations H 309:1.

tymw 'Servant (of DN)'

Arab tribal name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name with nominative suffix (Abbadi 1983, 173).

Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 117; PAT nos. 0067:5, 0178:2, 0326:4, 0830:2, 1165:2, etc.; al-As'ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 26:1), in an Old-Syr. legal text from Dura Europos²⁰⁵ (OSI no. P2:v,10,v1,v5), in Nab. (al-Khraysheh 1986, 187-8; Negev 1991, 68; Yadin et al. 2002 no. 1:56,63) also in the form *tym* (Negev 1991, 67). Cf. perhaps Timai (^m*ti-ma-i*) in NA onomastics (PNA 3/II, 1326); *tym* at Teima (Maraqten 1988, 103; 222); Θαμως at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 62; 203); *tm* in Saf. (HIn., 136 from *tamma* 'to com-

²⁰⁴ As kindly suggested by Prof. F.A. Pennacchietti (pers. comm., 2018-01-18).

²⁰⁵ Cf. the entry '*bgr*'.

plete, be complete'; WH, 562; Ababneh 2005 nos. 82, 83, 295, 623, 750, *etc.*; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 91, 113, 137, 140, 245, *etc.*; Rawan 2013 nos. 8, 160, 191, 209, 209a, *etc.*), Dad., Tham. (HIn., 136), and Hism. (King 1990, 374-6); Saf., Hism., Tham., Sab., Min. **tym** (HIn., 140; King 1990, 378).

Attestations H 214:1, 293:2.²⁰⁶

tymly 'Servant of Allāt'

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Allāt (Aggoula 1990, 405-6).

Attestations H 406:1.

tymlt 'Servant of Allāt'

Other readings In H 184:1 the second **tym[lt]** may be the hypoc. **tym** (Vattioni 1981, 69, 1994, 55; Abbadi 1983, 173).

Arab theophoric male name. Genitive construction with the theonym Allāt, with aphaeresis of <'> (Abbadi 1983, 173). Cf. also the form **tmlt**. Attested in Palm. (Stark 1971, 117; PAT nos. 0950:2, 0951:2, 1148:1, 1189:1, 1287:2, *etc.*), Min. and Sab. (HIn., 141); cf. Nab. **tym'lt** (Negev 1991, 68); Tham. and Hism. **tmlt** (HIn., 137; King 1990, 377); Emesene Θαιμαλλας and Ταμαλατος (Nitta 1989, 292; 297).

Attestations H 184:1 (2x? See above, "Other readings"), 414b:1.

tyrdt 'Tridāt'

Iran. theophoric male name, Tridāt 'Tir gave'; cf. Τιριδάτης (Justi 1895, 326-7; Gignoux 1986, 167; Bertolino 1996b, 145; Schmitt 1998, 183; Gignoux 2003, 63; Schmitt 2016, 215-6).

Attested in NB and LB texts as ^mti-ri-da-a-ta/tu₄ (Tavernier 2007, 325; Zadok 2009, 305-6), on a Parthian bone bow fragment found at Nineveh (Reade 1998, 76-7), in Palm. (Stark 1971, 117; PAT nos. 0959:5, 0960:3, 1777:2), Old Syr. (OSI nos. As27:4, As30:2, As31:4, As36:2, As37:6, *etc.*), and in Syr. literature (Gignoux, Jullien, Jullien 2009, 134); cf. **trdt** on a pestle with Aram. inscription found at Persepolis (Bowman 1970 no. 28:3).

Attestations H 1039:5 (general, cf. Contini, Pagano 2015, 136).

²⁰⁶ Associated with the Bani Bēl-'eqab (cf. **bl'qb**) in both attestations.

tky Uncertain meaning.

Male name. Beyer (2013, 45) suggests an Arab or Iran. origin. Saf. **tk** and **tky** are connected with Arabic *takka* ‘to overcome, to be stupid’ (HIn., 135); cf. also *tikka* ‘The band [that is inserted in the double upper border] of the drawers, or trousers’ (Lane, 310) or *taki’a* ‘He leaned, or reclined, upon a thing; supported, propped, or stayed, himself upon it’ (Lane, 2962). Cf. Gzella (2015b, 463) for the interpretation of Θακος, attested at Dura Europos (Grassi 2012, 62; 203), as the Greek transcription of either **tky** or **tqwn** (see below).

Attestations H 1058:2.

tlmw Uncertain meaning.

Male name. Beyer (1998, 98) and Bertolino (2008, 10) consider it an Arab name, connected with *talama* ‘He broke its edge (...) that of a vessel’ (Lane, 350) with nominative suffix. According to Vattioni (1994, 79), transcription of the Greek Πτολεμαῖος. Nab. **tlm** (Negev 1991, 68) and **tlmw** (al-Khaysheh 1986, 188-9; Negev 1991, 68) are connected with Πτολεμαῖος (Negev) or with Arabic *tilm* ‘corrugation, furrow’ or *talm* ‘loophole; recess’ (al-Kraysheh).

Cf. Saf. **tlm** (HIn., 136 *tilm* ‘boy, lad’) and **tlm** (HIn., 147 *talm* ‘gap, breach’; WH, 563; Ababneh 2005 nos. 200, 859 *tālim* ‘breaker’; al-Manaser 2008 no. 68 connected with *talama* ‘stumpf sein’), attested also in Tham. (HIn., 147).

Connected by Aggoula (1986, 366) with Akk. *talīmu* ‘close or beloved brother’ (Kaufman 1974, 106); if so, it would be a hypoc. form of a theophoric name such as NA Nabû-talīmu-ušur (^{md}PA-*ta-li-me*-PAB; ^{md}PA-TAM.MA-PAB; PNA 2/II, 894). Talīmu (^m*ta-li-mu*) is attested in the Egibi archive (Wunsch 2000 nos. 212:3, 214:3).

Attestations H 377:1.

tmlt See **tymlt**.

Attestations H 177:1.

tmny ‘Servant of Nanaya’

Arab theophoric tribal name. Genitive construction with a hypoc. form of the theonym Nanaya. Interpreted as ethnonym ‘Mann aus Tēmā(n)’ by Beyer (2013, 36; cf. Healey 1993, 71 for a discussion of Nab. occurrences), but the meaning ‘Servant of Nanaya’ is suggested by the context,

as the prominent tribal group of Bani Taym-Nay built a large sanctuary to this goddess (Small Shrine 14) as a devotional act.

Palm. **tymn**’ (PAT nos. 0080, 0082, 0086:1-4,²⁰⁷ 0087, 0191:2, *etc.*; al-As‘ad, Gawlikowski, Yon 2012 no. 34:2; Yon 2013a no. 174:2(2x)) is more likely ‘Servant of Nabû’ (Stark 1971, 117).

Attestations H 463:1.

tqwn ‘Order (of DN)’

Akk. male name. Hypoc. of a theophoric name: noun from *taqānu* ‘(G) To become placid, orderly, secure; (D) To calm, to secure, to put in order’ (AHw, 1323; CAD T, 197-9), Aram. *tqn* ‘to set in order’ (DNWSI, 1228). Beyer (2013, 36) connects it with Syr. *tqn* ‘to be established, stand, remain’ (Sokoloff 2009, 1662).

Cf. the NA hypoc. Tuqūnu (^mLAL-*nu*) and related theophoric names (PNA 3/II, 1334-6); also Taqūnu ‘Appropriate?’ (^mta-*qu-u-ni*) and the theophoric Taqūn-Aššūr (^mta-LAL-*aš-šur*; PNA 3/II, 1311-2), and the forms **tqn** and **tqny** in Aram. epigraphs on NA tablets (Maraqten 1988, 249).²⁰⁸ This interpretation seems preferable to that proposed by Lipiński (1975, 87), who suggests ‘My pretty’ from *taqūnu* ‘adorned’. As to Θοκαναίος, attested at Dura Europos, Grassi (2012, 64; 205) proposes a relation to Akk. *taqānu*; as seen above for **tky**, cf. Gzella (2015b, 463) for Θακοϛ (Grassi 2012, 62; 203) as a possible Greek transcription of **tqwn**.

Attestations H 464:1.

ttny ‘(Oh DN, protect) him, whom you gave!’

Akk. family (Abbadī 1983, 55) or male name. Bab. Tattannu: 2nd m.s. G perfect subjunctive of *nadānu*, with assimilation [nt] > [tt] = <t> and [dn] > [nn] = <n>, attested in NB before a vocalic suffix (CAD N/1, 45). Caquot (1955b, 267) and Beyer (1998, 45) suggest a hypoc. of a theophoric name such as Nabû-tattannu-ušur, cf. Tattenai, governor of Transeuphratene, in Ezra 6:6.

Attested in the spelling ^mta-at-tan-nu in the archive of Ebabbar at Sippar (Bongenaar 1997, 55; 112; 139; 258), in the Nappāḥu (Baker 2004 nos. 44:15, 143:12, 144:11, 220:11) and Murašû archives (Stolper 1985 nos. 3:28, 25:3’,5’,[10’]); ^mtat-tan-nu in the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985 nos. 1:2, Rev, 6:5(?), 6:3’, 11:25, 19:2,21, 19:3, *etc.*; Donbaz, Stolper

207 The inscription consists of the same graffito, repeated four times.

208 The two different spellings refer to the same individual.

1997 nos. 10:6', 13:19,u.e., 15:16, 16:20,26,r.e., 17:21,l.e.e., *etc.*); in different spellings (^m*at-ta-an-nu*; ^m*ta-at-tan-na*; ^m*ta-at-tan-nu*) in the archive of Ezida at Borsippa (Waerzeggers 2010 nos. 18:5, 89:13, 95:5, 96:2). In Seleucid Babylonia, ^m*tat-tan-nu* (McEwan 1981, 55; 62; Weisberg 1991 nos. 1:27,l.o.e., 2:7', 10:1,17, 12Obv:10,12,15,Rev:1,3, 14:26,30, *etc.*); Doty 2012 nos. 3:16,u.e., 8:23, 10Rev:2',3',u.e., 13:28, 15Rev:4', *etc.*); cf. **ttn** in Aram. epigraphs on NB tablets (Maraqten 1988, 104; 222; Stolper 1985 no. 37 bears both cuneiform ^m*tat-tan-nu* at lines 2,4,10 and Aram. **ttn**) and in Samaria papyri (Moore Cross 2006, 86; Dušek 2007 nos. 8:11, 19:6(?)).

Attestations H 66:1.

2.2 Incomplete Names

'db[...]

Other readings 'db (Caquot 1963, 10; Abbadi 1983, 3 n. 1), but Abbadi (1983, 75) remarks upon the presence of a <q> or <s> after the clearly readable , suggesting a C stem of *dbq* 'to cling, to cleave, to be contiguous' (DNWSI, 238); 'dj (Vattioni 1981, 54, 1994, 50); 'db[n]' (Aggoula 1991, 64); 'dbq' (Beyer 1998, 51); perhaps 'dn(n/q) in Bertolino (2008, 10).

Male name. Perhaps part of a theophoric name such as OffA 'dby (Röllig 2014 nos. 8:11, 12:6), or Saf. 'db'l (Ababneh 2005 no. 873 'db; al-Manaser 2008 nos. 151, 152), built upon 'addaba (II) 'He taught him the discipline of the mind' (Lane, 34).

Attestations H 98:1 (nicknamed 'the dwarf (?)).

br[...]

Probably theophoric name 'Son (of DN)'.

Attestations H 1035d:1.²⁰⁹

d[...]

Attestations H 1036c:1.²¹⁰

209 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 44.

210 Reading by Moriggi 2013a, 46.

d/rg/[...]

Attestations H 313:1.

ḥb[...]

Other readings *ḥb[y]* (Beyer 1998, 104), but perhaps *ḥb[']*.

Attestations H 411b:1.

m[...]

Attestations H 286:1.

nbw[...]

Theophoric name with the theonym Nabû.

Attestations H 340:2.

nš[r...]

Theophoric name with the theonym Nešra.

Attestations H 238:2, 308:1.

ʿb[...]

Attestations H 1126:1.²¹¹

ʿbd[...]

Other readings *ʿbdgdj* (Vattioni 1981, 31); *ʿbdw* (Beyer 1998, 33).

Attestations H 22:1.

ʿq[...]

Attestations H 1045:3.

211 The preserved section of this short inscription, on the pedestal of a statue depicting the goddess Allât accompanied by two dogs, reads *glp ʿb[...]* ‘Ab[...] sculpted’ rather than *glp ʿ* ‘Sculpted by...’ as in Dirven 2013a, 147.

'qb[...]

Perhaps part of a theophoric name '(DN) protected'.

Attestations H 235:2.

pp' [...]

Other readings Not read by Aggoula (1991, 8); *pp'* (Beyer 1998, 29), Iran. name.

Attestations H 9c:1.

qym[...]

Perhaps to be reconstructed as *qym[y]*, *qym[t]* or *qym[ty]*. Cf. the relevant entries above.

Attestations H 276:1.

šb[...]

Other readings *šb[z]* (Beyer 2013, 31).

Attestations H 438b:3.

šmš[...]

Theophoric name with the theonym Šamš.

Attestations H 330:1.

[...]'

Attestations H 357:1.

[...]šrly

Other readings *n[tnw]šr lh* (Vattioni 1981, 39); *blšrly* 'Bêl-Assur est mon dieu' (Aggoula 1991, 34), but <šr> is the theonym Iššar (cf. *ntwn šr*, *'bd šr*, *'wyd šr*), while Assor is written <sr> (cf. *'srybrk* and *'srpnd*).

Theophoric male name. The beginning is probably missing, although the photograph (Aggoula 1991 pl. 6) is not clear. If complete, perhaps a verbal sentence with the theonym Iššar '(Die Gottheit) [...]Iššar ist für

mich da' (Beyer 1998, 40).

Attestations H 40:2.

[...]**b**'

Attestations H 1046:2.

[...]**bdw**

Attestations H 409a:1.

Possibly [' **bdw** or [' **w** **bdw**.

[...]**ḥw**

Other readings [... ' **p** **ḥw** (al-Jubouri 2010b, 48).

Attestations H 476:2 (head of cavalry).²¹²

[...]**ḥmyd/r**'

Other readings *mhwn* (Vattioni 1981, 70); not read by Aggoula (1991, 90); *mhy* <*br*> *ḥmw*" (Beyer 1998, 65).

Attestations H 188:3.

[...]**y**'

Attestations H 27:3.

[...]**m**

Attestations H 448:2.

[...]**n**'

Attestations H 432a:1.

²¹² Cf. the entry *šṭb*.

[...]šyn

Other readings *r/dw ? šyn* (Vattioni 1981, 103); *mrhw/yn* (Aggoula 1981, 369 and 1991, 157); [...]*h/syn* (Vattioni 1994, 69).

Attestations H 340:3

[...]qd'

Probably the final part of a male name (Abbadi 1983, 194). Aggoula (1991, 54) parallels it with Neo-Aram. Qedā, attested in the surroundings of Mosul. If complete, cf. Syr. *qedtā* 'a band of cloth' or 'plant name' (Sokoloff 2009, 1320).

Attestations H 78:1.

[...]šr

Other readings ... *nšr* (Vattioni 1981, 39); *mkšr* 'Qui est comme Assur' (Aggoula 1991, 35-6). Cf. the entry [...]*šrly* for the theonym. Only scanty traces of letters are visible before <š> (Sima 1995-96, 318).

Attestations H 42:2.

[...]tšm'

Attestations H 1019:2.

[...]t[...]

Attestations H 307:1.

[kbyr'] '(DN) is great'

Reconstructed by Aggoula (1991, 27-8). The photograph (Aggoula 1991 Pl. V, cf. page 27 for previous bibliography), however, shows that line 3 of this inscription is extensively damaged and almost unreadable; the reconstructed form **kbyr'** is thus highly speculative. Cf. the *editio princeps* (Safar 1952, 189), whose hand-copy omits line 3, and the remarks by Sima (1995-96, 318).

Attestations H 34:3.

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

3 Linguistic Analysis

3.1 Summarizing Charts

The following summarizing tools (Table 4 and Chart 1) can help to visualize the subdivision of the 376 personal names attested in the Aramaic inscriptions of Hatra in accordance with their linguistic affiliation. They are a revised version of the chart published in Marcato (2016, 347). To the 368 personal names examined on that occasion, fresh evidence has been added, particularly, 8 Aram. names (*brkmr'*, *brnšry*, *hdyrt*, *zky'*, *kwny*, *sb'*, *šlm'*, *šrrmry*), 2 Arab names ('*ydly*, *qyymt*), 2 Iran. names (*mhrbndq*, *myhr'*), 2 Greek names (*dyns*, *nqndrs*), and 3 Unclassified names (*bd/rynšw*, *zby'*, *štb*). Conversely, a more careful evaluation has led to the deletion of 4 Aram. names (*blh'*, *gbr*, *gbr'*, *nbwhny*), 2 Iran. names (*mhr*, *štb*), 1 Greek name (*slwq*), and 2 Unclassified names (*hwšy'*, *šdrm*). These emendations led to the total of 376 names attested in the present corpus.

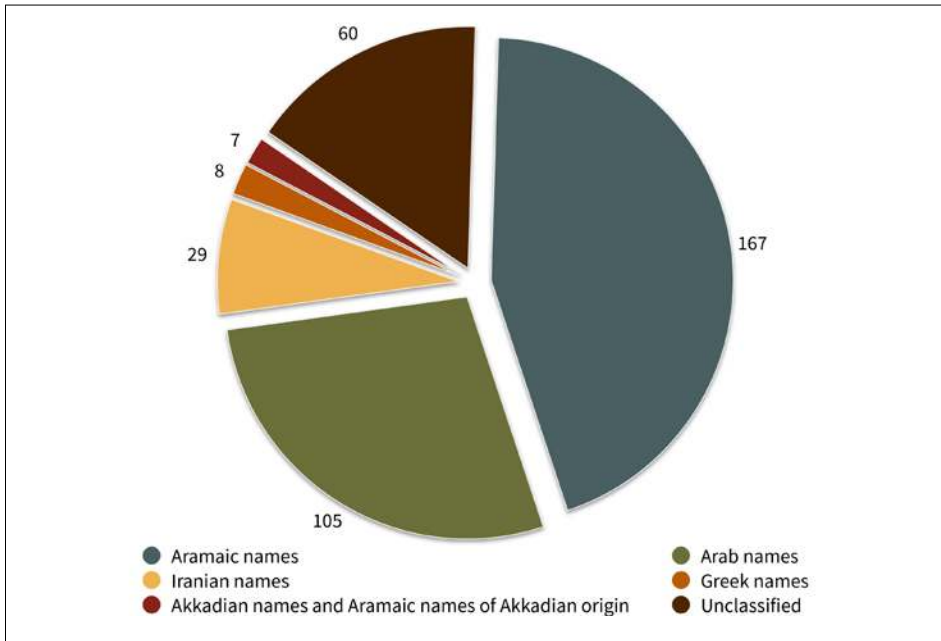
The criteria for this grouping of Hatran names are the same as stated in Marcato (2016, 348) and are here quoted in full:

- The number of attestations of a name is not considered: only the occurrence of the name in the corpus is recorded.
- Hypocoristic forms that display varying endings are considered separately, although they derive from the same word or divine name. For example, Adda ('*d*') and Adday ('*dy*') are catalogued under different entries, even though they both are hypocoristica built upon the theonym Adda.
- Names written with the use of *matres lectionis* (<'>, <w>, <y>) are catalogued under separate entries too. Sometimes, the use of the *mater lectionis* may simply point at a more accurate writing of the same name, with a more precise indication of its vocalisation. However, since the same consonantal structure can receive many different vocalisations, a *mater lectionis* may also identify a completely different name. Moreover, the frequent absence of relevant prosopographical data makes it rather difficult to establish whether a writing with or without a *mater lectionis* refers to the same individual.

Table 4. Linguistic Affiliation of Hatran Names

<p>Aramaic names (167; 44.4%)</p>	<p><i>'bw, 'by, 'gr, 'd, 'dwktb, 'dwnr, 'dy, 'dn, 'lhyhbw, 'lhšmš, 'mb, 'srybrk, 'srpnd, 't'qb, blbrk, bl'qb, brb'lšmyn, brzqyq, 'brzqq, brklb, 'brkmr, 'brlb, 'brnbw, 'brny, 'brny', 'brnny, 'brnšr, 'brnšry, 'br'y, 'br'qbw, 'brš, 'bršw/y, 'bršmš, 'btsmy, 'gbrhdd, 'gdyhb, 'gzbry, 'grb, 'dd, 'ddy, 'hdyrt, 'zd/rwq, 'zd/rq, 'zky, 'zqy, 'hbr, 'hwyš, 'h'la, 'h'n, 'hnn, 'hny, 'hšmš, 'tryd, 'yhblh, 'yhbrmryn, 'yhšy, 'yhšmš, 'ymq, 'kwny, 'klbml, 'kmr, 'krs, 'kštw, 'lhdd, 'lwṭb, 'lšgl, 'mṭlš, 'mky, 'mkmrtn, 'mlw, 'mlk, 'mqymšmš, 'mr, 'mrhwn, 'mrhn, 'mry, 'mry, 'mrn, 'mrnyhb, 'mrtbw, 'nbwgbr, 'nbwyhb, 'nbwktb, 'nдр, 'nwhdr, 'n'wr, 'nšr, 'nšrhb, 'nšry, 'nšryhb, 'nšrlṭb, 'nšr'qb, 'ntwn'šr, 'sb, 'smy, 'sr'm, 'b, 'bd'dn, 'bd'lh, 'bd'šr, 'bdbšmyn, 'bdlh, 'bdly, 'bdmlyk, 'bdmlk, 'bdnrgwl, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr, 'bdsy, 'bdsmy, 'bdš, 'bdšlm, 'bdšlmn, 'bdšm, 'bdšmš, 'bsmy, 'bš, 'bšy, 'bšlm, 'dry, 'drl, 'wbd'ly, 'nny, 'qb, 'qb, 'qbw, 'qbwy, 'qby, 'qbn, 'qbsmy, 'qbšm, 'qbšmš, 'qyb, 'qybšmš, 'qwp, 'qp, 'qrwn, 'qšbrmryn, 'rby, 'rbn, 'rbt, 'rḥdd, 'rḥmny, 'rḥmšmš, 'rymw, 'rmw, 'rmšmš, 'rp, 'rpš, 'rpšmš, 'šyl, 'šlm, 'šlmn, 'šm'ny, 'šmš, 'šmšbryk, 'šmšbrk, 'šmšgd, 'šmšḥdyt, 'šmšy, 'šmšyhb, 'šmštyb, 'šmšmkn, 'šmšdry, 'šmšqb, 'šrt, 'šrrmry</i></p>
<p>Arab names (105; 27.9%)</p>	<p><i>'bgr, 'dltw, 'tyš, 'khl, 'ryš, 'ršd, 'š, 'šw, 'šlm, 'šlmw, 'tlw, 'bd/ryd/r, 'bwšyr, 'blg, 'blgw, 'brzl, 'gblw, 'grwt, 'grm'lt, 'grmlt, 'dmgw, 'drm, 'hbl, 'hybšw, 'hny, 'whby, 'whyb, 'wylt, 'zbydw, 'zyd'lt, 'hbbw, 'hbw/y, 'ys, 'hbybw, 'hywš, 'hyr, 'hyrw, 'hyrš, 'hp, 'hp'zw, 'hp'zy, 'hpyzy, 'hryš, 'tw'y, 'ydy'w, 'yhybw, 'kbyrw, 'kšy, 'myt, 'mlykw, 'm'yrw, 'm'n, 'm'nw, 'nbwsm, 'nwrn, 'nšr, 'nšrw, 'skyr, 'sqyr, 'bdw, 'bd'gylw, 'bd'gyly, 'bd'gyly, 'bhryn, 'byd, 'bydw, 'bn, 'g, 'gly, 'wbdw, 'wd, 'wdw, 'wyg, 'wyd'lt, 'wyd'šr, 'wydw, 'wydlt, 'wydšr, 'z, 'zy, 'ztw, 'ydly, 'ky, 'lt, 'lt, 'šy, 'q, 'plq, 'šdyq, 'qyymt, 'qymy, 'qymt, 'qymty, 'qynt, 'r'mt, 'rp'zw, 'rp'nny, 'šbw, 'šly, 'šny, 'š'dw, 'šrdw, 'tymw, 'tymly, 'tymlt, 'tmlt, 'tmny</i></p>
<p>Iranian names (29; 7.7%)</p>	<p><i>'špd/r, 'stnq, 'prhṭ, 'št'ty, 'štt, 'štty, 'tnq, 'bndw, 'd/rwšmhr, 'dwšpry, 'wlgš, 'wnwk, 'wrđn, 'wrwd, 'zdy, 'zn, 'mhr, 'mhrbndq, 'mhrđt, 'myhr, 'mnyš, 'snṭrwq, 'snṭrq, 'stnbl, 'ryt, 'ryt, 'šbz, 'tyrdt</i></p>
<p>Greek names (8; 2.1%)</p>	<p><i>'lkšdrws, 'dyns, 'dmywn, 'ṭwkrws, 'nmsys, 'nqndrs, 'slwk, 'slkw</i></p>
<p>Akkadian names and Aramaic names of Akkadian origin (7; 1.9%)</p>	<p><i>bšwn, 'ṭpsr, 'nbwbn, 'nbwdyn, 'šwznbł, 'tawn, 'ttny</i></p>
<p>Unclassified (60; 16%)</p>	<p><i>'b, 'bygd, 'bygyd, 'd/rnb, 'lṭwm, 'lkwd/r, 'nšb, 'pḥw, 'bby, 'bd/r, 'bd/ry, 'bd/rynšw, 'gd, 'gdw, 'gdy, 'gwsn, 'dd/ršy, 'hkyd/rd/r, 'zbg, 'zbdy, 'zbw/yd, 'zby, 'hb, 'hbyb, 'hyy, 'hys, 'hynyn, 'hryšw, 'hršt, 'tt, 'ymlyk, 'ymlk, 'knzyw, 'mymy, 'nyhr, 'bd, 'bdgd, 'bdy, 'bwš, 'by, 'bs, 'yny, 'ly, 'nn, 'qrbn, 'qrbn, 'šy, 'ty, 'prhnd/r, 'rw/zḥw, 'šb, 'šbrw, 'šṭ, 'šṭb, 'šmw, 'šmšgrm, 'thmrw, 'tky, 'tlmw</i></p>

Chart 1. Linguistic Affiliation of Hatran Names



The principal linguistic phenomena that can be highlighted by the examination of personal names consider orthographic, phonological, morphological, and syntactical traits.

3.2 Orthographic And Phonological Features

3.2.1 Sibilants in Names of Akkadian Origin

The NA shift between <s> and <š>¹ is attested for the theonyms Assor (*'srybrk*, *'srpnd*'), Iššar (*ntwn'šr*, *'bd'šr*, *'wyd'šr*, *'wydšr*, perhaps *[...]šrly*; cf. also *'šrbl* 'Iššarbēl' in H 34, 35, 38), and Šamš (always *šmš* at Hatra, but cf. NWS onomastics in NA sources such as *'bdšmš* / Abdi-Samsi); cf. also *tpsr*', loanword from Akk. *tuṣšarru/tuṣšarru*, consistently spelled with <s> in Aram. The correspondence between Akk. <š> and Aram. <š> in *bšwn* and *šwznb* is due to historical spellings: cf. the relevant entries for attestations in older Aram. corpora.

1 On this highly debated issue cf. for example Kaufman 1974, 140-2; Fales 1986, 61-5; Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 9-10.

3.2.2 Sibilants in Arab Names

For an overview of Saf. [s¹] and [s²], cf. recently Al-Jallad (2015, 44-5, 2017, 138-9). The correspondence among Aram. and ANA sibilants is not always predictable:²

Aram. <s> = Saf. <s¹>: **ḥrys** (Arabic *ḥarasa*-Aram. *ḥrš*), **skyr'** (Arabic *sakira*-Aram. *škr*), **nbwsm'** (Arabic *sami'a*-Aram. *šm'*).³ Aside from testifying to the correspondence between Aram. <s> and ANA <s¹>, these names provide evidence for the use of Arabic (or ANA) verbs, even though in all cases an Aram. cognate with <š> is attested. This points to the Arab origin of these names and probably toward the linguistic background of the writers as well, who had knowledge of the Aram. script but whose native language was an ANA language or dialect.

Aram. <š> = Saf. <s¹>: **'š'**, **'šw**, **'šlm**, **'šlmw**, **nšr'**, **nšry**, **šly**, **šny'**, **š'dw**.⁴ The same correspondence is attested with **kštw**, Aram. loanword in Saf., and the theonyms Ba'alšamīn, Nešra, and Šalmān; Šamš in Saf. is *s²ms¹*. Cf. also **šrt'**, Saf. *s¹rṭ[n]* and Syr. *sartānā*; this spelling may likewise hint at the Arab background of the writer.

Aram. <š> = Saf. <s²>: **'tyš'**, **'ryš'**, **bwšyr**, **šbw**, **šrdw**.⁵ Since Saf. <s²> very likely expresses a lateral phoneme (Al-Jallad 2015, 45, 2017, 138), we may conclude that <š> in Hatran transcriptions of Arab names renders two distinct phonemes, which could be differentiated only once they were pronounced.

2 To the names listed below, add the uncertain (cf. the relevant entries): **gwsn'**, **sqyr**, **'šy**.

3 Uncertain: **'bs'**.

4 Uncertain: **šb'** (Aram. or Arab), **šbrw** (Aram. or Arab), **šmw** (highly uncertain).

5 Uncertain: **'nšb'** (Aram. or Arab), **ḥryšw** (Aram. or Arab), **ḥršt** (Aram. or Arab). Add **'ršd**, attested with <s²> in Tham., Sab., Hadr.

3.2.3 Laryngeals and Pharyngeals

Onomastic evidence testifies, in some cases, to the loss of pharyngeals and laryngeals. See below for the dissimilation [ʿ] > [ʔ]. The retention of the glottal stop can be observed in **rʿmt** and perhaps **brʿ**.

Aphaeresis of [ʿ]: **ʿmbʿ**, **brzl**, **grmlt**, **yhbhlhʿ**, **mrtbw**, **ʿbdlhʿ**, **ʿbdly**, **tymlt**, **ʿwydl̄t**.⁶

Apocope of [ʿ]: **mry**, **rpšʿ**, **rpšmš**.

Apocope of [h]: **ʿbw**, **mrtbw**, **ʿbdly**.

Aphaeresis of [ʿ]: **rpʿzw**.

Prothetic [ʿ]: **ʿprht**.⁷

3.2.4 Assimilation

Assimilation of [n]:

[ng] > [gg]: **lšglʿ**.

[nd] > [dd]: **ʿlkšdrws**.

[nz] > [zz]: **gzbry**.

[nk] > [kk]: **mky**, **mkmrtn**.

[np] > [pp]: **ʿpḥwʿ**

[nt] > [tt]: **ḥršt** (if it corresponds to Saf. **ḥrs²nt**), **ttny** (NB, cf. entry).

Other phenomena of assimilation:⁸

[bd] > [bb] (or apocope of <d>): **ʿbwš**, **ʿbḥyrn**, **ʿby**.

[dḥ] > [ḥḥ] (or apocope of <d>): **ʿbḥyrn**.

[dn] > [nn]: **ttny** (NB, cf. entry).⁹

[ds] > [ss]: **ʿbsmy**.¹⁰

[dš] > [šš]: **ʿbš**, **ʿbšy**, **ʿbšlm**.

[lš] > [šš]: **ʿbšwn**, **ʿbdb šmyn**.

[tṭ] > [tṭ]: **mṭlš**.

6 Add **ʿdrlʿ**, but perhaps a scribal mistake.

7 Uncertain: **ʿnšbʿ**.

8 Add perhaps [st] > [tt] = <t> in **ʿtnq**, but this may also be a scribal omission.

9 Uncertain: **ʿbn**.

10 Uncertain: **ʿbs**.

3.2.5 Dissimilation

Dissimilation of [n]:

[bb] > [nb]: **šwznbl**.

[dd] > [nd]: **'srpnd'**. The dissimilated [n] points to a geminated second radical (D imperative).

Other phenomena of dissimilation:

['] > [']: **'t'qb, ḥp'zw, ḥp'zy**; likely also for the form **ḥpyzy**.

[q] > [k] before emphatics: **kšy', kštḥ**. The name **šdyq** points instead at an Arab spelling. **ŠDQ** is attested in Aram. as an exception to the dissimilation of emphatics; however, since the usual Hatran spelling of this root is **ZDQ** (cf. the possible reading **zdaq'** of **zd/rq'**), it is preferable to compare this name with ANA and ASA **šdq**.

3.2.6 Use of *Matres Lectionis* in Hatran Semitic Onomastics

The vocalization of Hatran names is often problematic. The sole Greek-Hatran bilingual known so far (D 4, from Dura Europos) provides only two Greek transcriptions; on the other hand, Greek transcriptions of Semitic names from Palmyra and Dura Europos can be taken into account, but a perfect correspondence among dialects should not be taken for granted. To avoid repetitions, not all uses of *matres lectionis* are included in this section: for their use in transcriptions of foreign names, or to indicate the state of the noun, a hypoc. suffix, a pronominal suffix, etc. see below under the section 'Morphology'.

<'> = [ā]: **lšgl', sr'm**; also for the det. or hypoc. suffix and 3rd m.s. perfect of 3rd-weak verbs.

<w> = [o]: **'bdnrgwl, 'wbd'ly, 'wbdw, 'wyg, qwp'**.

<w> = [ō]: **zd/rwq', lwṭb, mrhwn, nwhdr'** (Iran. loanword in Aram.), **n'wr', qrwn', šwznbl**.

<w> = [u]: **bwšyr, bšwn**.

<w> = [u]?: **'lhyhbw**.

<w> = [ū]: **'bw, 'dnwr, brnbw, grwt, zbw/yd** (if **zbwd**), **ḥbw/ys'** (if **ḥbws'**), **mrtbw, nbwbn', nbwgbr, nbwdyn, nbwyhb, nbwktb, nbwsm', nwrn, ntw'nšr, 'bwš, 'wd, 'wdw, tqwn**; also for the Canaanite pas-

sive participle pattern and apocopated 3rd f.s. pronominal suffix.¹¹

<y> = [e]: *'bygyd, ḥpyzy, ḥrys, ymlyk, nyhr'*, *'bdmlyk, rymw, šmšbryk, šmšḥdyt*.¹²

<y> = [ē]: *yḥbrmryn, qšbrmryn*.

<y> = [i]: *hny, wylt*, in both cases associated with a glottal stop (Abbadi 1983, 178).

<y> = [ī]: *brb'lsmyn, brzqyq'*, *'bdb'smyn*; also 1st s. possessive and object pronominal suffix, and [ī] of Arabic *CaCīC* or *nisbe* forms.

<y> = [āy]: Aram. *nisbe* forms.

3.2.7 Transcriptions of Greek and Iranian names

Greek Names:

<κ> = <k>: *ṭwkrws, slwk, slkw*.

<κ> = <q>: *nqndrs*.

<ξ> = <k+s>: *'lkšdrws*. Palmyrene parallels usually display <k+s>, with the exception of *'lkšndry* (Yon 2013a no. 1:1).

<τ> = <ṭ>: *ṭwkrws*.

<ι> = <y>: *nmsys*.

<ο> = <w>: *'lkšdrws, ṭwkrws*.

<εῖ> = <y>: *dyns*.

<εῦ>/<εῦ̄> = <w>: *ṭwkrws, slwk*.

<ίω> = <yw>: *dmywn*.

Iran. names:

[d] = <ṭ>: *'prtn, 'štt, 'štty, 'št'ty*.¹³

[k] = <q>: *'stnq, 'tnq, mhrbndq, snṭrwq, snṭrq*.

[ā] = <'>: *r'yt*.

[ē] = <y>: *dwšpry, mnyš*.

[i] = <y>: *myhr'*.

[ī] = <y>: *tyrdt*.

[ō] = <w>: *dwšpry, wrwd, d/rwšmhr*.

11 Uncertain: *'lṭwm, 'lkwd/r*.

12 Uncertain: *mymy*.

13 Uncertain: *šṭb* ([d] or [t] if Iran. name).

[u] = <w>: *wnwk*.

[ū] = <w>: *bndw, snṯrwq*.

Uncertain: <w> in *gwsn*’ may express [u], [ō], [au]. However, this name may also not be Iran.

3.3 Morphological Features (in Semitic Names)

3.3.1 Nouns

3.3.1.1 One-Word Names

Noun Patterns

The majority of Hatran one-word names derive from triconsonantal roots; the sole biconsonantal ones are ‘b’ and perhaps ‘d’ (cf. entry). Due to the frequent impossibility of determining the exact vocalization of a name, only the less ambiguous patterns are presented here. Aram. and Arabic patterns are sometimes indistinguishable due to the presence of cognate roots; they coexist with other linguistic features such as the Canaanite passive participle *CaCūC*.

Aram. *CaCīC*: *hdyrt, ṯryd’, ydy’w, yhybw, ‘qyb’*.¹⁴

Arabic *CaCīC*: ‘*ryš, ṯlw, ḥbbw, ḥbw/ys*’ (if read *ḥbys*’), *ḥbybw, kbyrw, kšy’, myt’, sqyr, ‘wydw, ‘šy, šdyq, šny’, šrdw*.¹⁵

Aram. or Arabic *CaCīC*: *zbw/yd* (if read *zbyd*), ‘*ly*’.¹⁶

Canaanite *CaCūC*: *zbw/yd* (if read *zbwd*), *qrwn*.¹⁷

Aram. *CaCCāC*: *kšṯw, rbn*.

Arabic relative ‘*aCCaC*: ‘*bgr, kḥl, ršd, šlm, šlmw*.¹⁸

Arabic diminutive *CuCaYc*: *bd/ryd/r’* (if read *bryd’*), *bwšyr, whyb’, skyr’*,

14 Uncertain: *ḥnyn’, ḥnn’, ḥnny*. Add the genitive construction ‘*qybšmš*’.

15 Uncertain: *bd/ryd/r’, ḥrys, qymy, qymt, qymty*. Add the genitive constructions: *hybšw* (uncertain), ‘*wyd’lt, ‘wyd’šr, ‘wydlt, ‘wydšr*.

16 Uncertain: *ḥbyb*.

17 Add the genitive construction *ntwn’šr*.

18 Uncertain: ‘*ṯyš*’.

'byd', 'bydw', 'wbdw', 'wyg', šmyšw (Hatran-Greek bilingual D 4).¹⁹

Uncertain diminutives *CuCaγC*: **zbw/yd** (if read **zbyd**), **zbydw**, **hbbw**, **hbyb**, **hnyn**'. The <y> between the second and third radicals may point at a diminutive *CuCaγC*. This is attested with Arabic roots, as seen above, which allows for the suggestion that an Arab origin is more likely, also for names with doubtful derivations from Aram. or Arabic. This pattern is nonetheless attested also in Aram., though less frequently.

Aram. diminutives (-ān suffix): 'qrbn', 'qrbn'.²⁰

Aram. *nisbe*: **zqy**'.²¹

Arabic *nisbe*: 'ky'.²²

Gender, Number, and State of Nouns

For the ambiguity of suffixed -' as hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix, see below: for determinate nouns in genitive constructions and nouns in verbal sentences, cf. the relevant entry in the discussion of two-words names.

Aram. m.s. absolute: **hbr**, **hlq**, **ymq**, **rbn**.²³

Aram. m.s. determinate: 'gr', **grb**', **zd/rwq**', **zd/rq**', **zky**', **hn**', **hnyn**', **hnn**', **ṭpsr**', **ṭryd**', **kmr**', **mlk**', **mr**', **mry**', **nwhdr**', n'wr', **sb**', 'b', 'qrbn', **qwp**', **qp**', **qrwn**', **šṭ**'.²⁴

Aram. f.s. absolute: 'dn (if Aram.).

Aram. f.s. determinate: **krs**', **rbt**' (hypoc.).²⁵

19 Uncertain: **hryšw** (uncertain, cf. entry, **mlykw**). Add the genitive construction 'wbd'ly.

20 Uncertain: **nwrn**, 'qbn.

21 Uncertain: **kwny**.

22 Uncertain: 'šy, **tky**.

23 Uncertain: 'rnb, **ndr**, 'bd, 'ly.

24 Uncertain: 'd', 'nšb', **gwsn**, **zbg**', **šṭ**'.

25 Uncertain: **šṭ**'.

Arabic f.s.: *grwt*, *wylt* (participle), *ħršt*, 'ztw',²⁶ 'lt', 'lt',²⁷ *qyymt*, *qymt*, *qymty*,²⁸ *qynt*, *r'mt*.²⁹

As to the female name *hdyrt*, the presence of the (apparently Arabic) suffix *-t* attached to this Aram adjective may be due to a defective writing of the Aram. f.s. determinate suffix, i.e. an apocope of <'>, or to a phenomenon of Arabicization by means of the Arabic f.s. suffix.

Use of loanwords (nouns and verbs) in onomastics:

Akk. loanword: 'gr', *brlb*', *tpsr*', *šwznl*.

Iran. loanword: *gzbry*, *knzyw*, *nwhdr*'.

Lallatives: *bby*, *mymy*.³⁰

3.3.1.2 Two-Word Names

Noun + Possessive pronominal suffix:

1st s.: 'by, 'bygd, 'bygyd, *mry*, 'bdly, 'dry, 'yny, *rby*, *šmš'dry*, [...] 'šrly.³¹

3rd f.s. apocopated: 'bw, *mrtbw*.

3rd m.p. (Aram.): *mrhwn*, *mrhn*.

3rd m.p. (Akk.): *bšwn*.

Interrogative pronoun *mn* + noun: *mky*,³² *mkmrtn*.

Aram. genitive constructions: 'mb' (f.), *brkmr*', *mrtbw* (f.).

Arabic genitive constructions: 'bħyrn.

Aram. genitive constructions (with theonym): *brb'lšmyn*, *brzqq*', *brzqq*, *brklb*', *brlb*', *brnbw*, *brny*, *brny*', *brnny*, *brnšr*', *brnšry*, *br'y*, *br'qbw*, *brš*', *bršw/y*, *bršmš*, *btsmy*' (f.), 'bd'dn, 'bd'lh', 'bd'šr, 'bdb'šmyn, 'bdgd', 'bdlh', 'bdly, 'bdmlyk, 'bdmlk, 'bdnrgwl, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr', 'bdsy', 'bdsmly', 'bdš', 'bdšlm', 'bdšlmn, 'bdšm', 'bdšmš, 'bsmy', 'bš', 'bšy,

26 With hypoc. or nominative suffix.

27 With hypoc. suffix.

28 With hypoc. suffix.

29 Cf. Diem 1980, 355-7. Add Aram. or Arab 'yny.

30 Uncertain: *tt*'.

31 Uncertain: *šmšy*.

32 Hypoc.

'*bšlm*', '*wbdly*', '*qybšmš*',³³ '*rḥdd*'.³⁴

Arabic genitive constructions (with theonym): *zyd'lt*, '*bd'gylw*', '*bd'gyly*', '*bd'gyly*', '*wyd'lt*', '*wyd'šr*', '*wydlit*', '*wydšr*', '*ydly*', *rp'nnny*, *tymly*, *tymlt*, *tmlt*, *tmny*.³⁵

Canaanite genitive construction (*CaCūC* passive participle construct + theonym): *ntwn'šr*.

3.3.2 Prepositions

b: *bd/r'* (if read *bd'*).

k: *mky*, *mkmrtn*.

l: *lhdd*, *lšgl'*, [...]'*šrly* (incomplete, cf. entry).

3.3.3 Verbs

Aram. G perfect: '*dwktb*', '*lhyhbw*', '*t'qb*', *bl'qb*, *gdyhb*, *yhbllh'*, *yhbmrryn*, *yhbšy*, *yhbšmš*, *mrnyhb*, *nbwbn'*', *nbwyhb*, *nbwktb*, *nšrhb*, *nšryhb*, *nšr'qb*, '*nnny*', '*qbsmy*', '*qbšm*', '*qbšmš*', *rḥmny*, *rḥmšmš*, *rp'*', *rpš'*', *rpšmš*, *šwznbl*, *šm'ny*, *šmšyhb*, *šmš'qb*.

Aram. G perfect + 1st s. object pronominal suffix: '*nnny*', *šm'ny*.³⁶

Aram. G passive participle: see above, *CaCīC* pattern.

Aram. D perfect: *blbrk*, *ḥwyš'*', *klbml'*', *qšbrmrryn*, *šmšbryk*, *šmšbrk*, *šmšḥdyt*, *šrrmry*.

Aram. D imperfect: '*srybrk*'.

Aram. D imperative: '*srpnd'*'.

Aram. Dt participle: *mṭlš*.

Aram. C perfect: '*pḥw?*'

Aram. C imperfect: *lwṭb*, *nšrlṭb*.

Aram. C active participle: *mqymšmš*, *šmšmkn*.

Arabic perfect (I, m. and f.): *brzl*, *grm'lt*, *grmlt*, *ḥp'*', *ḥp'zw*, *ḥp'zy*, *ḥpyzy*, *nbwsm' p'zw*.³⁷

33 Passive participle + theonym.

34 Uncertain: '*bs'*', '*drl'*'.

35 Uncertain: *hybšw* (adjective or active participle + theonym).

36 Uncertain: *ḥnnny*, *rḥmny*.

37 Uncertain: *whby*.

Arabic active participle (I): *hny*, *wylt*.³⁸

Arabic active participle (II or IV): *m'yrw* (cf. entry).

Aram. G or Arabic (I) perfect: *hb'*, *šmšgrm*.

Aram. G or Arabic (I) imperfect: *ymlyk*, *ymlk*.

Akk. G perfect subjunctive: *ttny*.

Uncertain (Aram. or Arabic) perfect forms: *'dltw*, *zbdy*, *ndr*, *nšr*, *'qb*, *'qb'*, *'qbw*, *'qbwy*, *'qby*, *'qbn*.

Imperfect forms with a *y*- prefix are to be considered Aram. rather than Arabic (as proposed by Beyer 1998, 138). This is an OA and OffA feature still found in Palm. and Old Syr. (Healey 2009, 51), whereas the usual Hatran Aram. prefix for the 3rd m.s. imperfect is *l*- (Beyer 1998, 137-8). Its presence is probably due to the conservative character of onomastics, in which it nonetheless coexists with *l*- prefix forms (*lwtb* and *nšrltb*). Conversely, the name *ymlyk/ymk* may have an Arab origin, since it has perfect parallels in Nab. and Saf.

3.4 Syntactical Features (in Semitic Sentence-Names)

3.4.1 Nominal Sentences

Theonym + noun: *'dwnr*, *nbwqbr*, *nbwdyn*, *šmšgd*, *šmštyb*, *šmšmkn*, *šmš'dry*.³⁹

Noun + theonym: *'bygd*, *'bygyd*, *'lhšmš*, *gbrhdd*, *ḥyws'*, *ḥyrš'*, *ḥnšmš*, *mqymšmš*, *rmšmš*.⁴⁰

Interrogative nominal sentence: *mky*,⁴¹ *mkmrtn*.

38 Uncertain. *drm*, *hybšw*.

39 Uncertain: *'drl'*.

40 Uncertain: *'d/rnb* (if read *'dnb*), *dd/ršy*.

41 Hypoc.

3.4.2 Verbal Sentences

Theonym + verb: 'dwk**tb**, 'lhy**hbw**, 'sry**brk**, 'sr**pnd**', 't'qb, bl**brk**, bl'qb, **gd**yh**b**, kl**ml**', mrny**hb**, nbwb**n**', nbwy**hb**, nbwk**tb**, nbwsm', nšrh**b**, nšry**hb**, nšrl**tb**, nšr'qb, šmšbry**k**, šmšbr**k**, šmšgr**m**, šmšḥdy**t**, šmšy**hb**, šmš'qb.

Verb + theonym: brzl, gr**m**'lt, gr**mlt**, ḥwyš', ḥp'zw, ḥp'zy, ḥpyzy, yhb**lh**', yhb**rmryn**, yhbšy, yhbšmš, 'qbs**my**', 'qbš**m**', 'qbšmš, qšbr**rmryn**, rḥmšmš, rp'zw, rpš', rpšmš, šwzn**bl**, šrr**my**.⁴²

Hypoc. (verb or verb + other elements): 'pḥw?, ḥp', ymly**k**, yml**k**, lw**tb**, 'nny, rp', šm'ny; see also above, "Uncertain perfect forms".

Hatran names structured as verbal sentences are characterized by the presence of a theonym as subject, which can be rightly hypothesized also for hypoc. forms. Verbs are consistently attested in the 3rd m.s. person: their occurrence also with female theonyms is common practice in Hatran onomastics (Beyer 1998, 140).

3.5 Hypocoristic Suffixes to One- and Two-Word Names

Hypocoristica are attested for one- and two-word names. The following lists include all attestations on the basis of their suffix.

Hypoc. -': br**nšr**', brš', gd', hbl', ḥb', ḥwyš', ḥywš', ḥyrš', ḥyš', m'n', nšr', sb', 'bdš', 'bdšlm', 'bdšm', 'bš', 'bšlm', 'g', 'q', 'qb', 'qbšm', rpš', šyl', šlm'.⁴³

Hypoc. or det. -': 'b', 'š', bd/ryd/r', blg', dd', whyb', ḥbw/ys', ḥyr', kšy', myt', skyr', 'byd', 'wyg', 'lt', 'qyb'.⁴⁴

Hypoc. -w: br'qbw, bršw/y, hybšw, ydy'w, yhybw, kšṭw, mlw, 'bdw, 'wbdw, 'wydw, rw/zḥw (if read rwḥw), rymw, rmw.⁴⁵

Arabic nominative -w: 'dltw, 'šw, 'šlmw, 'tlw, blgw, gblw, dmgw, zbydw,

42 Uncertain: 'd/rnb (if read 'dnb), rḥmny.

43 Uncertain: zby', ḥnn'. Hypoc. -' is attached also to the Iran. theonyms mhr' and myhr'.

44 Uncertain: ḥnyn', nyhr', 'bn', 'bs', 'z', 'šb', 'šny'. Hypoc. or det. -' is attached also to Iran. zn'.

45 Uncertain: 'pḥw, gdw, kbryw, mlykw, m'nw, 'qbw, šbrw, šmw.

*ḥbybw, ḥyrw, m'yrw, nšrw, 'bydw, 'wdw, 'ztw, šbw, š'dw, šrdw, tymw.*⁴⁶

Hypoc. -y: *'dy, 'št'ty, 'štt̄y, bd/ry, brny, brnšry, br'y, bršw/y, gdy, dd/ršy, whby, zbdy, ḥnny, ṭw'y, yhbšy, mky, nšry, 'bdy, 'bd'gyly, 'by, 'bšy, 'zy, 'ydy, 'qby, 'ty, qymy, qymty, šly, tymly, tmny, ttny.*⁴⁷

Suffix -wy: *'qbwy.*

Suffix -y': *brny, 'bd'gyly, 'gly.*⁴⁸

Suffix -yw: *knzyw.*

The use of suffixes to create a shortened form of a personal name follows rather unpredictable criteria and a variety of hypoc. with *-', -w, -wy, -y, -y'*, and *-yw* are attested (cf. the overview in Beyer 1984, 445). Among these, it seems worthy to discuss briefly *-'* and *-w*.

Suffixed *-'* is attached to Aram. and Arab names. As to the first type, it may stand for a shortened form or a determinate state. The determination by means of a suffixed *-'*, however, may have been applied also to Arab names, implying thus that at Hatra they were adapted to the dominant linguistic situation (Abbadi 1983, 179). As remarked more recently with reference to the Saf. name *ḡtm'* attested at Dura Europos (Macdonald 2005, 120), Aramaized Saf. personal names are comparatively well attested (cf. the list in WH, 19) and frequently paralleled by names built upon the same root and displaying a prefixed article *h-* (e.g. *'bd'* and *h'bd'*). A similar situation can be observed for Hatran names, among which hypocoristica with suffixed *-'* are attested together with hypocoristica bearing the suffix *-w*, traditionally considered proof of the Arab origin of the name (e.g. *'š'* and *'šw; blg'* and *blgw*). The corpus thus displays a parallel situation to that attested for Safaitic names, which may be evidence of the coexistence of Arab hypocoristica and their Aramaized equivalents at Hatra as well. However, tracing a clear separation and determining the reasons for the development of these different Arab hypocoristica is rather complicated, since suffixed *-w* occurs also on originally Aram. forms (*ydy'w, yhybw*, perhaps *'phw*). The suffix *-w* is generally understood as an Arabic nominative case ending when it is attached to theonyms or nouns (for Nab. onomastics cf. Diem 1973, 234-7, 1981, 336-7; 342-4); conversely, when it occurs on verbal forms it is interpreted with certainty as a hypocoristic. A suffixed *-w* is attested also in Palmyrene onomastics and could be part of

46 Uncertain: *ḥbbw, ḥryšw, thmrw, tlmw.*

47 Uncertain: *ddy, rḥmny, šmšy.*

48 Uncertain: *zby'.*

a shared Arab onomastic heritage that preserved traces of case endings. We are unable to state whether the language spoken by the Arab population gravitating round Hatra maintained case endings; since personal names tend to preserve archaic features, one could also suppose that such hypocoristica with *-w* testify to a more ancient linguistic phase. In this regard, Mascitelli (2006, 236) points at some methodological shortcomings in the work of Diem (1973): firstly, the assumption that Nab. was an Arabic dialect in which case endings were not employed anymore, so that suffixes attached to personal names would have been just frozen forms; moreover, the use of a rather outdated and comparatively restricted onomastic corpus, i.e., the names listed in Cantineau 1932. Mascitelli (2006, 242 n. 162) proposes that suffixed *-w* in Nab. onomastics may depend on a euphonic shift [ā] > [ō]; a *-y* suffixed to two-word names built as genitive constructions, instead, could be a frozen genitive ending, deriving from an Arabic background and still preserved in Aram.

3.6 Semantic Taxonomy of Hatran Semitic Personal Names

3.6.1 General Remarks

The taxonomic study of Semitic personal names based on their semantic value has proved to be a highly promising source of sociolinguistic information since the publication of two classic analyses of Semitic anthroponymy, Noth (1928), which treated Jewish names, and Stamm (1939), which covered the Akkadian evidence. These reference works constituted the basis for a number of studies published in the subsequent decades, which aimed at going beyond the traditional linguistic and structural evaluation of anthroponyms and focused instead on the social and religious implications of the choice and usage of names. A comparative discussion is presented, for example, in the volume *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik* (Streck-Weninger 2002), in which nine papers discuss Sumerian, Hittite, Egyptian, Akkadian, Hebrew, Ancient South-Arabian, and Arabic personal names.

As to Akkadian names, a major overview is Edzard (1998-2001, part A. on Sumerian names and B. dedicated to Akkadian names). Amongst more recent contributions, Baker (2002) focuses on the practices of name-giving in the 1st millennium BC; Hackl (2013) analyses the factors inherent in the choice of female slave names in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid cuneiform texts, referring to Noth's (1928) and Stamm's (1939) semantic categories; Porten (2016) deals with the occurrences of Akkadian onomastics in Aramaic texts mainly from Achaemenid Egypt, comparing them with the semantics of Hebrew names.

Similar examinations of Aramaic names have been carried out on specific corpora or case-studies. Silverman (1981) analyses 'servant names'

in Aramaic and other Semitic languages; Negev (1991, 155-79), which should be consulted alongside the remarks in Macdonald (1999), attempts a socio-historical evaluation of the Nabataeans drawing upon the lexicon and semantics of their personal names; Yon (2013b) discusses anthroponyms built upon animal names in Palmyrene Aramaic and contemporary corpora from Syria and Mesopotamia.

After Noth (1928), several other important investigations were conducted on Jewish names: among the most recent ones, cf. Silverman (1985, especially 246-74 for the semantic analysis and caution as to Stamm's *Ersatznamen*, see below), Fowler (1988) on theophoric names, and for a re-examination of the whole corpus, cf. Rechenmacher (2012, 109-82).

The studies cursorily mentioned above have expanded the scheme introduced by Noth (1928) with abundant ramifications. Regarding Hatran anthroponymy, the comparatively high presence of names that cannot receive a univocal interpretation makes it advisable not to outline an excessively detailed taxonomy. Further research and the publication of new texts will surely contribute to a better definition of these issues.

The basic principles of such a semantic taxonomy can be summed up as follows, considering two-word and one-word names separately. The Hatran corpus does not testify to three-word names, typical of Akkadian anthroponymy.

From a linguistic point of view, as seen above, theophoric **two-word names** can be built as genitive constructions, nominal or verbal sentences. Semantically, the following categories have been identified:

- Confessional or credal names (*Bekennnisnamen*), which state a quality or an attribute of a deity. They are subdivided into self-confessional (*Selbstbekennnisnamen*) and general confessional names (*allgemeine Bekennnisnamen*). The first ones comprise, for example, the very common 'servant names' built upon 'bd' (Silverman 1981) and aim at asserting and strengthening the relationship between the name-bearer, and by consequence the name-giver, and the deity. Such a close relationship with a deity can be also stated by means of the possessive 'my'. General confessional names do not imply any specific relationship and attribute to the deity a quality that is perceived as paramount. Linguistically, they appear most frequently as genitive constructions and nominal sentences.
- Confidence names (*Vertrauensnamen*) highlight trust and faith in the deity by the name-bearer in a more personal tone than confessional names, encompassing a broad semantic scope (help, protection, favour, light, etc. from the deity). These names are almost invariably genitive constructions and nominal sentences as well.
- Thanksgiving names (*Danknamen*) express gratitude to the deity for an intervention of some kind and include, amongst others, a profusion of names built upon roots such as 'to give', 'to donate', 'to create'.

They are, to a large extent, sentences with a perfect form; otherwise, genitive constructions which correspond to, or can be turned into, a verbal sentence of the type mentioned above. A subgrouping of these names, intended by Stamm (1939, 278-306) as substitute names (*Ersatznamen*), greets the substitution of a deceased member of the family by means of a new-born child, or expresses a familiar relationship with the deity, probably as thanksgiving for the birth of a long-desired child (Silverman 1985, 257; Rechenmacher 2012, 141-2). Cf. Silverman's (1985, 257 n. 23) caution toward Stamm's (1965) later excessively inclusive approach with regard to this semantic subcategory.

- Petition names (*Wunschnamen*) address the deity for a prayer or request, usually expressed with an imperfect (Aramaic) or an imperative verb (Akkadian).

One-word names are often hypocoristica of theophoric names; animal, plant, profession, and constellation names, as well as designations of physical and behavioural characteristics. In certain cases, defects, endearment names, diminutives, and lallatives are attested. These names correspond to Noth's (1928, 221-32) *Profane Namen* and to Stamm's (1939, 242-57) *Zärtlichkeitsnamen* 'endearment names'. Sometimes these categories overlap: for example, the Arab names **whyb** and **zbydw** are both hypocoristica of thanksgiving names and diminutives. They are listed under "Thanksgiving names" due to the more discrete nature of this category.

Drawing upon studies on Classical Arabic anthroponyms (Wild 1982; Muth 2008), one-word Arab names, which display a substantial spectrum of semantic values, can be considered as proper names (*ism*, 'alam, *ism al-'alam*) or nicknames (*laqab*). Within such a large range, the comparatively high incidence of names referring to unpleasant characteristics should be interpreted in light of their apotropaic value against the evil eye or, more generally, against any harm that the child may incur in his life (Wild 1982, 155; 156; Muth 2008, 719).

The following schematic taxonomy is based upon the linguistic affiliation of Hatran Semitic names: Aramaic, Arab, Akkadian, and Semitic Unclassified names are taken into account. As to the last group, Aramaic or Arab names are inserted into the scheme only if their meaning (or one of their possible meanings) can be ascertained with a reasonable degree of certainty. Iranian and Greek names, together with names for which a Semitic etymology cannot be currently determined, are excluded.

3.6.2 Two-Word Names

3.6.2.1 Aramaic

Confessional names

- Self-confessional: *mrtbw*, 'bd'dn, 'bd'lh', 'bd'sr, 'bdb'smyn, 'bdlh', 'bdly, 'bdmlyk, 'bdmlk, 'bdnrgwl, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr', 'bdsy', 'bdsmy', 'bdš', 'bdšlm', 'bdšlmn, 'bdšm', 'bdšmš, 'bsmy', 'bš', 'bšy, 'bšlm', 'wbd'ly, rḥdd.
- General confessional: 'dwnr, 'lhšmš, *gbrhdd*, *ḥnšmš*, *mkmrtn*, *mqymšmš*, *nbwqbr*, *rmšmš*, *šmštyb*.

Confidence names: 'drl', *šmšgd*, *šmš'dry*.

Thanksgiving names: 'dwktb, 'lhyhbw, 'mb', 't'qb, *blbrk*, *bl'qb*, *brb'lšmyn*, *brzqyq*, *brzqq*, *brklb*, 'brkmr', *brlb*, *brnbw*, *brny*, *brny*', *brnny*, *brnšr*', *brnšry*, *br'y*, *br'qbw*, *brš*', *bršw/y*, *bršmš*, *btsmy*', *gdyhb*, *ḥwyš*', *yhblh*', *yh-brmryn*, *yhbšy*, *yhbšmš*, *klbml*', *mrnyhb*, *nbwyhb*, *nbwktb*, *nšrhb*, *nšryhb*, *nšr'qb*, *ntwn'sr*, 'qbsmy', 'qbšm', 'qbšmš, 'qybšmš, *qšbrmryn*, *rḥmny*, *rḥmšmš*, *rpš*', *rpšmš*, *šmšbryk*, *šmšbrk*, *šmšḥdyt*, *šmšyhb*, *šmšmkn*, *šmš'qb*, *šrrmry*.

Petition names: 'srybrk, 'srpnd', *nšrltb*.

3.6.2.2 Arab

Confessional names

- Self-confessional: *hybšw*, 'bd'gylw, 'bd'gyly, 'bd'gyly', 'bḥyrn, 'wyd'lt, 'wyd'sr, 'wydlt, 'wydšr, 'ydly, *tymly*, *tymlt*, *tmlt*, *tmny*.
- General confessional: *ḥywsš*, 'ḥyrš', *rp'nny*.

Thanksgiving names: *brzl*, *grm'lt*, *grmlt*, *zyd'lt*, *ḥp'zw*, *ḥp'zy*, *ḥpyzy*, *nbwsm'*, *rp'zw*.

3.6.2.3 Akkadian Names and Aramaic Names of Akkadian Origin

Confessional names

- General confessional: *nbwdyn*.

Thanksgiving names: *nbwbn*', *šwznbl*.

3.6.2.4 Unclassified

Confessional names

- Self-confessional: *'bdgd'*.

Thanksgiving names: *'bygd*, *'bygyd*, *dd/ršy?*, *šmšgrm*.

3.6.3 One-Word Names

3.6.3.1 Aramaic

Hypocoristica

- Confessional names: *hdyrt*, *zky'*, *ḥbr*, *ḥlq*, *lhdd*, *lšgl'*, *mky*, *mlw*, *mlk'*, *mr'*, *mrhwn*, *mrhn*, *mry*, *mry'*, *ndr*, *qrwn'*, *rby*, *rbn*, *rbt'*, *rymw*, *rmw*.
- Confidence names: *ḥn'*, *ḥnn'*, *ḥnny*, *'dry*.
- Thanksgiving names: *'bw*, *'by*, *tryd'*, *ydy'w*, *yhybw*, *'nny*, *'qbwy?*, *rp'*, *šm'ny*.
- Petition names: *lwṭb*, *šyl'*.
- Theonyms: *'d'*, *'dy*, *dd'*, *ddy*, *mrn*, *nšr'*, *nšry*, *smy*, *šlm'*, *šlmn*, *šmš*, *šmšy*.

Animal names: *n'wr'*,⁴⁹ *'b'*, *qwp'*, *qp'*.

Profession names: *'gr'*, *qzbry*, *kmr'*, *kšṭw*, *nwhdr'*.

Constellation names: *šrt'*.

Physical characteristics: *'dn*, *grb'*, *zqy'*, *ymq*, *krs'*, *mṭlš*, *sb'*, *sr'm*.

The following one-word Aramaic names are excluded, due to the many plausible meanings they can be given: *zd/rwq'*, *zd/rq'*, *'qb*, *'qb'*, *'qbw*, *'qby*, *'qbn*, *'qyb'*. The meaning of *kwny* is unclear.

3.6.3.2 Arab

Hypocoristica

⁴⁹ 'Braying', technically not an animal name but nonetheless pertaining to this semantic sphere.

- Confessional names: *blg*, *blgw*, *wylt*, *ḥbw/ys*?, *ḥyr*, *ḥyrw*, *ṭw'y*, *mlykw*, *'bdw*, *'byd*', *'bydw*, *'wbdw*, *'wydw*, *'z*?', *'zy*?',⁵⁰ *'ztw*, *'lt*, *'lt'*, *šdyq*, *šny*', *tymw*.
- Confidence names: *'dltw*?, *ḥrys*?, *'wd*, *'wdw*, *šly*, *šrdw*.
- Thanksgiving names: *'š*', *'šw*, *hny*, *whby*, *whyb*', *zbydw*, *ḥbbw*, *ḥbybw*, *ḥp*', *nšr*, *nšrw*, *š'dw*.
- Theonyms: *hbl*', *m'n*', *m'nw*, *'g*', *'gly*'.

Animal names: *grwt*, *r'mt*.

Profession names: *qynt*.

Physical characteristics: *'bgr*, *'khl*, *gblw*, *drm*?, *kbyrw*, *sqyr*, *'wyg*', *'ky*, *šbw*.

Behavioural characteristics: *'tyš*?, *'ryš*, *'ršd*, *'šlm*, *'šlmw*, *'tlw*, *myt*', *m'yrw*, *skyr*', *'bn*?', *'šy*, *'q*'?

Pure endearment names: *qyymt*, *qymy*, *qymt*, *qymty*.

Diminutives: *bd/ryd/r*'?, *bwšyr*.

Varia: *dmgw*, *kšy*', *nwrn*, *plq*.

3.6.3.3 Akkadian Names and Aramaic Names of Akkadian Origin

Hypocoristica

- Confessional names: *bšwn*.
- Thanksgiving names: *tqwn*.
- Petition names: *ttny*.

Profession names: *ṭpsr*'.

3.6.3.4 Unclassified

Hypocoristica

- Confessional names: *knzyw*?, *'bd*, *'bdy*, *'by*, *'yny*, *'ly*.
- Confidence names: *ḥyy*, *ḥyš*', *nyhr*'.
- Thanksgiving names: *'b*', *zbdy*, *zbw/yd*, *ḥb*', *ḥbyb*, *ḥnyn*'.
- Petition names: *ymlyk*, *ymlk*.
- Theonyms: *gd*', *gdw*, *gdly*, *'ty*.

50 'z' and 'zy' may also be the theonym 'Uzzā.

Animal names: 'qrbn, 'qrbn'.

Plant names: šṭ'.

Lallatives: bby, mymy.

The following Unclassified names can be linked to several languages (not only Semitic) and thus have many different semantic connotations: 'd/rnb, bd/r', bd/ry, zby', ḥryšw, ḥršt, 'bwš, 'bs', 'nn, 'šy, šb'', šbrw, šṭb, šmw. Other Unclassified names cannot presently receive any certain etymology nor semantic scope: 'lṭwm, 'lkwd/r, 'nšb', bd/rynšw, gwsn', hkyd/rd/r, zbg', ṭṭ', prhnd/r, rw/zḥw, thmrw, tky, tlmw.

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

4 Religious Significance of Hatran Theophoric Names

The discussion of Hatran theophoric names in view of their importance for the reconstruction of the Hatrene religious landscape can contribute to a comprehensive (re-)evaluation of its pantheon and religious system.¹ As already remarked (Marcato 2016), Hatran personal names supply a remarkable wealth of information on the cultural milieu of Hatra and its internal dynamics, such as the re-elaboration of traditional features and the assimilation of foreign elements.

First of all, it may be useful to survey the abundant theonyms displayed by Hatran onomastics:

Table 5. Theonyms in Hatran theophoric names

Theonym	Form	Names
'dn-Lord	'dn	'bd'dn
'lh-god	(')lh (')l(h)	'lhyhbw, yhblh', 'bd'lh', 'bdlh' 'bdly, 'wbd'ly
Adda	'd' 'dy	'd' 'dy
Addu	'dw	'dwkbt, 'dwnr
Allāt	'lt ly lt	grm'lt, zyd'lt, 'wyd'lt 'ydly, tymly grmlt, 'wydlt, tymlt, tmlt
Assor	'sr	'srybrk, 'srpnd'
Aštād	št()'t	'št'ty, štt', štty
'Atte/Atargatis	't 'y	't'qb br'y

1 The literature on specific case-studies in Hatrene religion is steadily increasing, but a complete evaluation remains a desideratum. A major comprehensive study, to be entitled *Les cultes de Hatra*, has been announced by B. Aggoula on several occasions since the 1980s but has never appeared. In the following discussion, reference will be made to seminal studies and the most recent outcomes of research in this field.

Theonym	Form	Names
'gl-Calf	'g'	'g'
	'gylw	'bd'gylw
	'gyly	'bd'gyly, 'bd'gyly'
	'gly'	'gly'
'qb-Eagle	'qb	br'qbw, 'qbw
'Uzzā	'zw	ḥp'zw, rp'zw
	(')zy	ḥp'zy, ḥpyzy
	'z	'z', 'zy
Ba'alšamīn	b'šmyn	brb'šmyn
	bšmyn	'bdbšmyn
Barmaren	brmryn	yhbrmryn, qšbrmryn
Bēl	bl	blbrk, bl'qb, šwznbl
Dāda	dd	dd', ddy, rḥdd
El	(')l	brzl
	l'?	'drl'?
Farrah	pry	dwšpry
Gad	gd	'bygd, gd', gdw, gdy, gdyhb, 'bdgd'
	gyd	'bygyd
Hadad	hdd	gbrhdd, lhdd
Hubal	hbl	'hbl'
Iššar	šr	ntwn'šr, 'bd'šr, 'wyd'šr, [...]šrly
	šr	'wydšr
klb-Dog	klb	brklb', klbml'
lb-Lion	lb	brlb'
Ma'an	m'n	m'n', m'nw
mr-Lord	mr	šrrmry
Maren	mrn	mrn, mrnyhb
Marten	mrtn	mkmrtn
Mithra	mhr	d/rwšmhr, mhr', mhrbndq, mhrdt
	myhr	myhr'
mlk-King	mlyk	'bdmlyk
	mlk	'bdmlk
mrt-Lady	mrt	mrtbw
Nabû	nbw	brnbw, nbwbn', nbwgr, nbwdyn, nbwyhb, nbwktb, nbwsm'
Nanaya	ny	brny, tmny
	ny'	brny'
	nny	brnny, rp'nny
Nergol	nrgwl	'bdnrgwl
Nešra	nšr(')	brnšr', nšr', nšrhb, nšry, nšryhb, nšrltḥ, nšr'qb, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr'
	nšry	brnšry
Samya	sy'	'bdsy'
	smy(')	btsmy', smy, 'bdsmy', 'bsmy', 'qbsmy'
Šalmān	šlm'	'bdšlm', 'bšlm', šlm'
	šlmn	'bdšlmn, šlmn

Theonym	Form	Names
Šamš	š'	<i>brš', ḥwyš', ḥywš', ḥyrš', ḥyš', 'bdš'?, 'bš', rpš'</i>
	šw	<i>hybšw</i>
	šy	<i>dd/ršy, yhbšy, 'bšy</i>
	šw/y	<i>bršw/y</i>
	šm'	<i>'bdšm', 'qbšm'</i>
	šmš	<i>'lhšmš, bršmš, ḥnšmš, yhbšmš, mqymšmš, 'bdšmš, 'qbšmš, 'qybšmš, rḥmšmš, rmšmš, rpšmš, šmš, šmšbryk, šmšbrk, šmšgd, šmšgrm, šmšḥdyt, šmšy, šmšyhb, šmštyb, šmšmkn, šmšdry, šmš'qb</i>
Šangilā	šgl'	<i>lšgl'</i>
Tīr	tyr	<i>tyrdt</i>
Zaqīqā	zqyq'	<i>brzqyq'</i>
	zqq	<i>brzqq</i>

The presence of theonyms originating from different cultural milieus is self-evident: Aramaic or North-Western Semitic ('*dn*-Lord, Adda, Addu, 'Atte/Atargatis, Ba'alšamīn, Dāda, El, Gad), Akkadian (Assor, Bēl, Hadad, Iššar, Nabū, Nanaya, Nergol, Šalmān, Šamš, Zaqīqā), Iranian (Aštād, Farrah, Mithra, Tīr), Arab (Allāt, 'gl-Calf, 'Uzzā, Hubal, *lb*-Lion, Ma'an), in addition to Hatrene specific deities ('*qb*-Eagle, Barmaren, *klb*-Dog, Maren, Marten, Nešra, Samya), and common nouns that in these cases designate divine entities ('*lh*-god, *mlk*-King, *mrt*-Lady). The rather enigmatic Šangilā (Maraqten 1996, 22-6) is attested as well.

One of the most striking features of this corpus of theophoric names is the level of interaction between theonyms and onomastic components (nouns, verbs) from different cultural and linguistic contexts. The case of Arab names is particularly illustrative and has already been discussed (Marcato 2016, 349-50): only a few points will be resumed here. Arab theophoric names may display: an Arab theonym with an ANA or Arabic noun (e.g. '*wyd*'*lt*, *tymlt* and related forms); a generally Semitic theonym with an ANA or Arabic noun (*ḥywš'*, *ḥyrš'*) or verb ('*wyd*'*šr*); more specific cases are the unions of a Mesopotamian theonym with an ANA or Arabic noun (*rp'nn*y, *tmny*) or verb (*nbwsm'*, *šmšgrm*). This fact points unmistakably at the complexity and depth of interplay between the urban community and the Arab component of the population. Personal names show that the Arab presence at Hatra, due to a number of semi-nomadic groups gravitating around the city, was substantial and played a fundamental role in the shaping of Hatrene cultural physiognomy. Conversely, such an interchange between different cultural contexts is not attested for Iranian names: both complete theophoric names and hypocoristica remain purely Iranian; Iranian vocabulary, on the other hand, does not seem to have been a resource for the creation of original onomastic formations.

Several deities are attested not only in personal names but also in inscrip-tional and archaeological finds.

The Triad of Hatra, composed of Maren ‘Our Lord’, Marten ‘Our Lady’, and Barmaren ‘The Son of Our Lords’, is perhaps attested not as much as one would expect. Much more numerous are the occurrences of the chief of the pantheon hiding behind Maren, i.e., the Sun-god Šamš. As can be inferred from the “Semantic Taxonomy”, theophoric names with Šamš belong to different onomastic categories and illustrate an ample range of qualities attributed to the god. Despite its association with both Aramaic and Arab vocabulary, the orthography of the theonym is invariably <šmš>, which demonstrates its Mesopotamian background.² In addition, his epithet Bēl, which points to his prominent role, is attested in onomastics as well. Occupying the peak of the pantheon, Šamš-Maren is accompanied by his two manifestations in the shape of the Eagle god: Nešra and the recently identified ‘*qb*’ (Pennacchietti 2007).

Another characteristically Hatrene deity, Samya, the divinized standard (Dirven 2005), appears in theophoric names. Self-confessional names such as ‘*bdsmy*’ and related forms testify to the fact that the divine standard was conceived as a god on his own, as well as being a representative of certain other gods of the pantheon. Another god who is well represented in onomastics, and to whom Small Shrine 13 was dedicated, is Gad; usually considered ‘good fortune’ or the tutelary deity of an individual or a family. Small Shrine 13 displays a significant amount of attestations of ‘the Gad of *dmgw*’.

Ancient Mesopotamian deities are well represented and display an admixture of traditional and innovative traits. As to Nabû, for example, the name *nbwktb* gives evidence of his connection with the art of writing, as witnessed also by his qualification ‘Nabû the scribe of Maren’ in H 389. The association with the verb *ktb* is attested also for Addu in ‘*dwktb*, an unprecedented name (Marcato 2016, 351-2).

The lord of the netherworld, Nergol (in the Hatran spelling with a *mater lectionis* <w>), is known in onomastics only through ‘*bdnrgwl*, which is not, however, informative as to his characterization. His sacred animal and manifestation, *klb*-Dog (Dirven 2009; 2013a, 150-2), is attested in onomastics as ‘*brklb*’ and ‘*klbml*’. The first name is a clear hint at the perception of deities and divine attributes by the inhabitants of Hatra: as already shown (Marcato 2016, 352-3), Bar-Kalbā’s father was a priest of Nergol and chose to give his son a name that clearly evoked the worship of this god.

Personal names composed with the theonym Nanaya may display an ANA or Arabic nominal component, as seen above (*rp’nny*, *tmny*). The name *tmny*, moreover, is an eloquent declaration of devotion to this god-

2 For the Arab Sun-god one would expect <šms>. It must be acknowledged that some hypocoristica may hide the Arab theonym. Cf. for example *hybšw*, which displays also an ANA or Arabic adjective or active participle.

ness by the tribal group who bore it. The Bani Taym-Nay built the goddess' sanctuary (Small Shrine 14) in AD 100 or 101 (H 463 and 464), thus providing the city with a large religious building and fostering the integration of the Arab community into the urban population.

The case of the theonym Zaḳīqā, a spirit of the netherworld and of dreams (Zgoll 2006, 299-307 for the Mesopotamian Zaḳīqu), is even more peculiar. Whereas onomastic attestations of Zaḳīqā at Hatra are not very informative and present a phenomenon of generic devotion, much more important is the attribution of the theonym Zaḳīqā to two personal names, 'prtn and 'dry, in H 410. These anthroponyms, an Iranian and an Aramaic name respectively, were most probably borne by members of a single family, or tribal group, who were deified after their death by their descendants and worshipped in Small Shrine 13, where the inscription was found. They prove how common anthroponyms could be turned into proper theonyms through the cult of ancestors who bore them.

The Arab goddess *par excellence* Allāt, who had her temple in the Temenos, was also a favourite in onomastics. She is accompanied exclusively by ANA or Arabic roots; see also the discussion of *brlb'* for the possibility that this name refers to the cult of the goddess by means of her animal, the lion, employing an ANA or ASA loanword into Aramaic. Her popularity in Hatra may have been enhanced by her being the goddess Marten, the female member of the Triad, according to Dirven's (2013a, 152-3) hypothesis. It should be stated, however, that the scarce attestations of Marten and our incomplete conception of her call for fresh data and further research.

Not all the deities who appear in theophoric names are attested as members of the pantheon of Hatra in inscriptions and iconographic evidence. The West-Semitic El, for example, is never attested as a theonym in Hatran inscriptions, nor do we know of any depictions of him. The same applies to Iranian Aštād, Farrah, Mithra, and Tīr: a cult of Mithra at Hatra had been posited due to the alleged Mithraic character of some samples of Hatrene religious architecture and iconography before this idea was convincingly rejected by Drijvers (1978) in a seminal article.

As to other deities, Akkadian and Arab, the situation is different. On the one hand, for some of them, no evidence regarding their cult at Hatra has emerged so far, but it can be shown that they belonged to a shared and multifaceted Northern Mesopotamian religious horizon.

For example, the god Assor, formerly Aššur, is attested at Hatra only in personal names, but it is well known that his cult, together with that of his spouse Serua (formerly Šerū'a) thrived at Assur, just 50 km away. Here, in the Parthian period, the divine couple was worshipped in a large Temenos. New sanctuaries were built, among which was the iwan temple of Assor and Serua just above the Neo-Assyrian house of the god; even the ziggurat was restored (Haider 2008, 193-201; Livingstone 2009 on the access to the sanctuary). Of course, this is not enough to state that individuals bearing

theophoric names with Assor at Hatra came from the city of Assur, but it is highly likely that they originated from within Northern Mesopotamia. In the case of the previously unattested *'srpnd'* 'Oh Assor, ransom!' we observe a name that makes use of a verb commonly employed in onomastics (*pdy*) and which fits very well into traditional Akkadian petition names (see above) with an imperative verb.³ It is a fresh onomastic formation, but one with a solid background.

Iššar (Ištar) is another Mesopotamian deity of immense popularity, who has, however, not been traced as of yet in the epigraphic evidence from Hatra. The combination of this theonym with a NWS (*ntwn šr*) and Arab root (*'wyd šr*, *'wydšr*) attests to her popularity in various areas. As seen above (3.2.1.), the orthography <šr> points to this goddess; the cult of *'šrbī* 'Iššarbēl' is witnessed by H 34, 35, and 38, all from Small Shrine 5, which may have been dedicated to her. Iššarbēl may be the ancient Ištar of Arbela, but this identification is highly problematic (Lipiński 1982; Greisiger 2008).

The Storm-god, Mesopotamian Hadad and North-Western Semitic Adda or Addu, provides a different type of example. No epigraphic attestations of his theonym are presently known, but two depictions may exist. Two *marmar* statuettes from Small Shrine 8 depict an enthroned Storm-god flanked by two bulls (Safar, Mustafa 1974, 286 Figg. 280-1); in the first one, which is headless, the god holds lightning bolts. Safar and Mustafa suggest that both statuettes may portray Ba'alšamīn but remark also that bulls are animals characteristic of Mesopotamian Hadad, and thus perhaps these images should be identified with this god.

Yet another situation is that presented by the theonym Šalmān. The persona of this god is quite enigmatic, and even in Middle- and Neo-Assyrian texts he seems to appear only seldomly outside of theophoric names. It is known that his cult was particularly popular in Dūr Katlimmu (PNA 3/I, 1071-80; Radner 2006-8). The paucity of his attestations notwithstanding, his presence several centuries after the fall of the Neo-Assyrian empire is an indicator of how deeply-rooted these names and their religious values were in this geographical area.

Similar remarks can be applied to Arab deities in Arab names, generally well known in the Nabataean (Healey 2001, Alpass 2013) and pre-Islamic Arabian pantheon, and by consequence in ANA onomastics (e.g. Farès-Drappeau 2005, 79-88). These attestations give further evidence of the wide circulation of Arab theonyms: their presence across the entire Roman and Parthian Near East was deeply rooted, as testified, in particular, by the onomastics of the royal house of Edessa (Tubach 2014).

3 Cf. Livingstone (2009, 154-5) for a possible "aura of familiarity between worshipper and deity" attested in Aramaic personal names from Assur, which may imply a weakening of the former unapproachability of Aššur in imperial times.

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

Enrico Marcato

5 Concordance

5.1 Entries in Abbadi (1983), *Namensliste* and *Lexikon*

Table 6. Concordance between Abbadi (1983), *Namensliste* and *Lexikon* and the present book

Abbadi (1983), <i>Namensliste</i> and <i>Lexikon</i>	Here
'b'	'b'
'bw	'bw
'by	'by
'bygd	'bygd
'bygyd	'bygyd
'd'	'd'
'db'q'	Cf. 'db[...] "Incomplete Names"
'dwnr	'dwnr
'dy	'dy
'dltw	'dltw
'zn	'dn
'tyš	'tyš
'yyl'	Ethnonym 'the Izlrite' (H 243:2), not included
'khl	'khl
'lhšmš	'lhšmš
'lṭwm	'lṭwm
'lkwd/r	'lkwd/r
'nšb'	'nšb'
'srybrk	'srybrk
'stnq	'stnq
[s]tnq (only <i>Lexikon</i> for H 239:1)	'tnq
'pḥwšmš	'pḥw
'prḥṭ	'prḥṭ
'ryš	'ryš
'rnb	'd/rnb
'ršd	'ršd
'š'	'š'
'šl'	'šlm
'šlm	'šlm
'štt	'štt
'štty	'štty
'tlw	'tlw

Abbadī (1983), Namensliste and Lexikon	Here
<i>ʿqb</i>	<i>ʿqb</i>
<i>bby</i>	<i>bby</i>
<i>bd/rʿ</i>	<i>bd/rʿ</i>
<i>blgw</i>	<i>blgw</i>
<i>brbʿlšmyn</i>	<i>brbʿlšmyn</i>
<i>brzl</i>	<i>brzl</i>
<i>brzqyqʿ</i>	<i>brzqyqʿ</i>
<i>brklbʿ</i>	<i>brklbʿ</i>
<i>brnbw</i>	<i>brnbw</i>
<i>brnyʿ</i>	<i>brnyʿ</i>
<i>brnny</i>	<i>brnny</i>
<i>brnšrʿ</i>	<i>brnšrʿ</i>
<i>brsmʿyʿ</i>	Not a PN: <i>bd smyʿ</i> ‘thanks to Samya’ (H 200:1)
<i>brʿy</i>	<i>brʿy</i>
<i>bršw</i>	<i>bršw/y</i>
<i>bršy</i>	<i>bršw/y</i>
<i>btsmʿyʿ</i>	<i>btsmʿyʿ</i>
<i>gblw</i>	<i>gblw</i>
<i>gdʿ</i>	<i>gdʿ</i>
<i>gdwt</i>	<i>grwt</i>
<i>gdy</i>	<i>gdy</i>
<i>gdyhb</i>	<i>gdyhb</i>
<i>gwsnʿ</i>	<i>gwsnʿ</i>
<i>gzbry</i>	<i>gzbry</i>
<i>grbʿ</i>	<i>grbʿ</i>
<i>grmʿlt</i>	<i>grmʿlt</i>
<i>grmlt</i>	<i>grmlt</i>
<i>d/rbḥʿ</i>	Priestly title <i>dbḥʿ</i> ‘slaughterer priest’ (H 47:2)
<i>d/rwšmhr</i>	<i>d/rwšmhr</i>
<i>dwšpry</i>	<i>dwšpry</i>
<i>dmywn</i>	<i>dmywn</i>
<i>dršy</i>	<i>dd/ršy</i>
<i>hblʿ</i>	<i>hblʿ</i>
<i>hwbšw</i>	<i>hwbšw</i>
<i>hkydr</i>	<i>hkyd/rd/r</i>
<i>hny</i>	<i>hny</i>
<i>whybʿ</i>	<i>whybʿ</i>
<i>wylt</i>	<i>wylt</i>
<i>wlgš</i>	<i>wlgš</i>
<i>wnwk</i>	<i>wnwk</i>
<i>wrdn</i>	<i>wrdn</i>
<i>wrwd</i>	<i>wrwd</i>
<i>zbgʿ</i>	<i>zbgʿ</i>
<i>zbdy</i>	<i>zbdy</i>

Abbadì (1983), Namensliste and Lexikon	Here
<i>zbyd</i>	<i>zbyd</i>
<i>zbydw</i>	<i>zbydw</i>
<i>zd/ry</i>	<i>zdy</i>
<i>zyd'tt</i>	<i>zyd'tt</i>
<i>zmq</i>	<i>ymq</i>
<i>zqy'</i>	<i>zqy'</i>
<i>zrq'</i>	<i>zd/rq'</i>
<i>hb'</i>	<i>hb'</i>
<i>hbws'</i>	<i>hbw/ys'</i>
<i>hbyb</i>	<i>hbyb</i>
<i>hwyš'</i>	<i>hwyš'</i>
<i>hywš'</i>	<i>hywš'</i>
<i>hyy</i>	<i>hyy</i>
<i>hyr'</i>	<i>hyr'</i>
<i>hyrw</i>	<i>hyrw</i>
<i>hyrš'</i>	<i>hyrš'</i>
<i>hyš'</i>	<i>hyš'</i>
<i>hn'</i>	<i>hn'</i>
<i>hnyn'</i>	<i>hnyn'</i>
<i>hnn'</i>	<i>hnn'</i>
<i>hnšmš</i>	<i>hnšmš</i>
<i>hp'zw</i>	<i>hp'zw</i>
<i>hrys</i>	<i>hrys</i>
<i>hryšw</i>	<i>hryšw</i>
<i>tw'y</i>	<i>tw'y</i>
<i>tpsr'</i>	<i>tpsr'</i>
<i>ydy'w</i>	<i>ydy'w</i>
<i>yhbmrn</i>	Verbal sentence 'Maren gave' (H 200:2)
<i>yhbrmryn</i>	<i>yhbrmryn</i>
<i>yhbšy</i>	<i>yhbšy</i>
<i>yhbšmš</i>	<i>yhbšmš</i>
<i>yhybw</i>	<i>yhybw</i>
<i>ymlyk</i>	<i>ymlyk</i>
<i>ymlk</i>	<i>ymlk</i>
<i>kbyrw</i>	<i>kbyrw</i>
<i>knzyw</i>	<i>knzyw</i>
<i>ksy'</i>	<i>ksy'</i>
<i>krs'</i>	<i>krs'</i>
<i>kštw</i>	<i>kštw</i>
<i>lwṭb</i>	<i>lwṭb</i>
<i>lṭbyn</i>	<i>rbn</i>
<i>lšgl'</i>	<i>lšgl'</i>
<i>mhr'</i>	<i>mhr'</i>
<i>mhrdt</i>	<i>mhrdt</i>

Abbadī (1983), Namensliste and Lexikon	Here
<i>mʔtłš</i>	<i>mʔtłš</i>
<i>mky</i>	<i>mky</i>
<i>mkmrtn</i>	<i>mkmrtn</i>
<i>mlykw</i>	<i>mlykw</i>
<i>mny/wš</i>	<i>mnyš</i>
<i>mʿyrw</i>	<i>mʿyrw</i>
<i>mʿnʿ</i>	<i>mʿnʿ</i>
<i>mʿnw</i>	<i>mʿnw</i>
<i>mqymšmš</i>	<i>mqymšmš</i>
<i>mrhwn</i>	<i>mrhwn</i>
<i>mryʿ</i>	<i>mryʿ</i>
<i>mrnyhb</i>	<i>mrnyhb</i>
<i>mrtbw</i>	<i>mrtbw</i>
<i>nbwbnʿ</i>	<i>nbwbnʿ</i>
<i>nbwdyn</i>	<i>nbwdyn</i>
<i>ndr</i>	<i>ndr</i>
<i>nwhdrʿ</i>	<i>nwhdrʿ</i>
<i>nw/yhrʿ</i>	<i>nyhrʿ</i>
<i>nʿwrʿ</i>	<i>nʿwrʿ</i>
<i>nšrw</i>	<i>nšrw</i>
<i>nšrʿ</i>	<i>nšrʿ</i>
<i>nšry</i>	<i>nšry</i>
<i>nšryhb</i>	<i>nšryhb</i>
<i>nšrʿqb</i>	<i>nšrʿqb</i>
<i>ntwn šr</i>	<i>ntwn šr</i>
<i>skyrʿ</i>	<i>skyrʿ</i>
<i>slwk</i>	<i>slwk</i>
<i>smy</i>	<i>smy</i>
<i>snṯrwq</i>	<i>snṯrwq</i>
<i>sqyr/d</i>	<i>sqyr</i>
<i>stnbl</i>	<i>stnbl</i>
<i>ʿbʿ</i>	<i>ʿbʿ</i>
<i>ʿbd</i>	<i>ʿby</i>
<i>ʿbdʿdn</i>	<i>ʿbdʿdn</i>
<i>ʿbdʿlhʿ</i>	<i>ʿbdʿlhʿ</i>
<i>ʿbdʿly</i>	<i>ʿbdly</i>
<i>ʿbdʿšr</i>	<i>ʿbdʿšr</i>
<i>ʿbdb šmyn</i>	<i>ʿbdb šmyn</i>
<i>ʿbdgdy</i>	<i>ʿbdgdʿ</i> ; cf. also <i>ʿbd[...]</i> for H 22
<i>ʿbdhdd</i>	<i>gbrhdd</i>
<i>ʿbdy</i>	<i>ʿbdy</i>
<i>ʿbdlhʿ</i>	<i>ʿbdlhʿ</i>
<i>ʿbdly</i>	<i>ʿbdly</i>
<i>[ʿbd]ly</i> (only <i>Lexikon</i> for H 160:1)	<i>ʿly</i>

Abbadi (1983), Namensliste and Lexikon	Here
'bdmlyk	'bdmlyk
'bdmlk	'bdmlk
'bdnrgwl	'bdnrgwl
'bdnšr	'bdnšr
'bdnšr'	'bdnšr'
'bdsm'y	'bdsm'y
'bd'gylw	'bd'gylw
'bd'gyl'y	'bd'gyl'y
'bdš'	'bdš'
'bdšlm'	'bdšlm'
'bdšm'	'bdšm'
'bdšmš	'bdšmš
'bhyrn	'bhyrn
'byd'	'byd'
'bydw	'bydw
'bn'	'bn'
'bny	'sy
'bs'	'bs'
'bsmy'	'bsmy'
'bš'	'bš'
'bšy	'bšy
'g'	'g'
'gly'	'gly'
'dry	'dry
'wbdw	'wbdw
'wd	'wd
'wdw	'wdw
'wyg'	'wyg'
'wyd'lt	'wyd'lt
'wyd'šr	'wyd'šr
'wydw	'wydw
'z'	'z'
'zy	'zy
'yny	'yny
'ky	'ky
'lt	'lt
'lt'	'lt'
'nny	'nny (cf. also <i>rp</i> 'nny for H 216, 217)
'šy	'šy
'qb	'qb
'qb'	'qb'
'qbw'y	'qbw'y
'qbn	'qbn
'qbsmy'	'qbsmy'

Abbadi (1983), Namensliste and Lexikon	Here
‘qbšm’	‘qbšm’
‘qwb’	‘qyb’
‘qwbšmš	‘qybšmš
‘qyb’	‘qyb’
‘qrbn	‘qrbn
šy	šy
šy’	Profession name ‘plasterer’ (H 212:3)
plq	plq
šd/rym	šdyq
qdm’hw[hy]	sr’m
qwp’	qwp’
qwr/dr/dt	qymt
qymy	qymy
qymty	qymty
qp’	qp’
r’mt	r’mt
r/dbḥ’	Priestly title <i>dbḥ’</i> ‘slaughterer priest’ (H 47:2)
rby	rby
rbn	rbn
rwhdd	rḥdd
rzḥw	rw/zḥw
rḥmny	rḥmny
rḥmšmš	rḥmšmš
ryt	ryt
rmw	rmw
rp’	rp’
rp’zw	rp’zw
rpš’	rpš’
rpšmš	rpšmš
šbw	šbw; cf. also <i>šbz</i> for H 34
šb”	šb”
šddw	šmw and šrdw
šwznbl	šwznbl
šly	šly
šlm’	Salutation formula (H 18:2)
šlmn	šlmn
šm’nw	šm’ny
šmšbrk	šmšbrk
šmšḥdyt	šmšḥdyt
šmšy	šmšy
šmšyhb	šmšyhb
šmšlṭb	šmšṭyb
šmš’dry	šmš’dry
šmš’qb	šmš’qb

Abbadi (1983), <i>Namensliste and Lexikon</i>	Here
šny'	šny'
š'dw	š'dw
šrt'	šrt'
tym	tymlt
tymlt	tymlt
tmlt	tmlt
tqmd/rw	thmrw

5.2 Entries in Abbadi (1983), *Unvollständige Namen and Frühere Lesungen als Personennamen*

Table 7. Concordance between Abbadi (1983), *Unvollständige Namen* and the present book

Abbadi (1983), <i>Unvollständige Namen</i>	Here
'stnr/d'	'srpnd'
bd/r/y[...]	Not a PN
[...]bnd/rw/y[...]	<i>bndw</i>
d/rd/ry'	Likely tribal name or ethnonym <i>brdry'</i> (H 240:1)
d/r'/g[...]	<i>d/rg'/[...]</i> "Incomplete Names"
[...]dtnt	Not a PN, very uncertain reading
w/yḥ[...]	<i>ḥyy</i>
ḥp[...]	<i>ḥp'</i>
klbsl'	<i>klbml'</i>
mhwn	[...]ḥmyd/r' "Incomplete Names"
my[...]	<i>mymy</i>
mym[...]	<i>mymy</i>
mys'	<i>m[...]</i> "Incomplete Names"
nbw[...]	<i>nbw[...]</i> "Incomplete Names"
nš[...]	<i>nš[r...]</i> "Incomplete Names"
[...]nšr'	<i>nšr'</i>
'bd'qb	<i>br'qbw</i>
'bdš[...]	<i>'bdšlm'</i>
'qb[...]	<i>'qb[...]</i> "Incomplete Names"
qym[...]	<i>qym[...]</i> "Incomplete Names"
[...]qr/d'	[...]qd' "Incomplete Names"
r/db[...]	Unreadable (H 38:1)
šd/rd/rm	<i>šrrmry</i>
šmš	<i>šmš[...]</i>
šmš[...]	<i>šmš'qb</i> in H 10a

Table 8. Concordance between Abbadi (1983), *Frühere Lesungen als Personennamen* and the present book

Abbadi (1983), <i>Frühere Lesungen als Personennamen</i>	Here
'bšp'	Not a PN
blg'	blg' (surname)
bšlm'	PN: 'bšlm' cf. <>bšlm' in H 202k
ghgn	Not a PN
d/r'/g[...]	PN: d/rg/[...] "Incomplete Names"
dtnt	Cf. [...]dtnt (<i>Unvollständige Namen</i>), not a PN
hny	Not a PN
zdaq	Not a PN
hyy	PN: hyy
hmd'	Profession name hmr' 'wine seller' (H 35:2)
hḫp'z	PN: hḫp'
hḫp'zy	PN: hḫp'
yhbšlm'	PN: 'bšlm' cf. <>bšlm' in H 202k
kpy'	Not a PN
mnrn	Not a PN
mr'	Not a PN
mrynw	Not a PN
mrk'dy	Not a PN
nš'	Not a PN
ntwn šry'	Not a PN
'bdgd'	PN: 'bdgd'
'byd	Not a PN
'bs'	PN: 'bs'; H 300 instead of H 322:2 (Abbadi 1983, 200)
'd'	PN: 'bdgd'
'ybšlm'	PN: 'bšlm' cf. <>bšlm' in H 202k
qšyš'	Not a PN
rbt'	PN: rbt'
rmw	PN: rmw

5.3 Entries in Abbadi (1983), *Familien- Und Stammesnamen*

Table 9. Concordance between Abbadi (1983), *Familien- und Stammesnamen* and the present book

Abbadi (1983), <i>Familien- und Stammesnamen</i>	Here
<i>byt ttny</i>	<i>ttny</i>
<i>bny 'qlt'</i>	Not a tribal name
<i>bny bl'qb</i>	<i>bl'qb</i>
<i>bny rpšmš</i>	<i>rpšmš</i>
<i>bny tymw</i>	<i>tymw</i>
<i>'bygyd</i>	<i>'bygyd</i>
<i>bt 'qb'</i>	Not a tribal name, 'Temple of the Eagle'
<i>bt 'qyb'</i>	' <i>qyb</i> '; <i>bt</i> is not visible
<i>klyly'</i>	Perhaps profession name?
<i>'šyly'</i>	Likely geographical name

5.4 Concordance Between Complete Hatran Names and Abbadi (1983), All Sections

Table 10. Concordance between the complete names listed in the present book and Abbadi (1983)

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>'b'</i>	<i>'b'</i>
<i>'bgr</i>	—
<i>'bw</i>	<i>'bw</i>
<i>'by</i>	<i>'by</i>
<i>'bygd</i>	<i>'bygd</i>
<i>'bygyd</i>	<i>'bygyd</i>
<i>'gr'</i>	—
<i>'d'</i>	<i>'d'</i>
<i>'dwkbt</i>	—
<i>'dwnr</i>	<i>'dwnr</i>
<i>'dy</i>	<i>'dy</i>
<i>'dltw</i>	<i>'dltw</i>
<i>'dn</i>	<i>'zn</i>
<i>'d/rnb</i>	<i>'rnb</i>
<i>'tyš</i>	<i>'tyš</i>
<i>'khl</i>	<i>'khl</i>
<i>'lhyhbw</i>	—
<i>'lhšmš</i>	<i>'lhšmš</i>
<i>'lṭwm</i>	<i>'lṭwm</i>
<i>'lkwd/r</i>	<i>'lkwd/r</i>

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>ʾlkšdrws</i>	—
<i>ʾmbʾ</i>	—
<i>ʾnšbʾ</i>	<i>ʾnšbʾ</i>
<i>ʾspd/r</i>	—
<i>ʾsrybrk</i>	<i>ʾsrybrk</i>
<i>ʾsrpndʾ</i>	<i>ʾstnr/dʾ</i> (<i>Unvollständige Namen</i>)
<i>ʾstnq</i>	<i>ʾstnq</i>
<i>ʾpḥw</i>	<i>ʾpḥwšmš</i>
<i>ʾprḥṭ</i>	<i>ʾprḥṭ</i>
<i>ʾprtṇ</i>	—
<i>ʾryš</i>	<i>ʾryš</i>
<i>ʾršd</i>	<i>ʾršd</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>
<i>šw</i>	—
<i>šlm</i>	<i>šlʾ</i> and <i>šlm</i>
<i>šlmw</i>	—
<i>štʾty</i>	—
<i>štt</i>	<i>štt</i>
<i>štty</i>	<i>štty</i>
<i>ʾtlw</i>	<i>ʾtlw</i>
<i>ʾtnq</i>	<i>ʾ[s]tnq</i> (only in <i>Namensliste</i>)
<i>ʾtqb</i>	<i>ʾtqb</i>
<i>bby</i>	<i>bby</i>
<i>bd/rʾ</i>	<i>bd/rʾ</i>
<i>bd/ry</i>	—
<i>bd/ryd/rʾ</i>	—
<i>bd/rynšw</i>	—
<i>bwšyr</i>	—
<i>blbrk</i>	—
<i>blgʾ</i>	Surname (<i>Frühere Lesungen</i>)
<i>blgw</i>	<i>blgw</i>
<i>blʾqb</i>	<i>blʾqb</i> (<i>Familien- und Stammesnamen</i>)
<i>bndw</i>	<i>bnd/rw/y</i> (<i>Unvollständige Namen</i>)
<i>brbʾlšmyn</i>	<i>brbʾlšmyn</i>
<i>brzl</i>	<i>brzl</i>
<i>brzayqʾ</i>	<i>brzayqʾ</i>
<i>brzqq</i>	—
<i>brklbʾ</i>	<i>brklbʾ</i>
<i>brkmrʾ</i>	—
<i>brlbʾ</i>	—
<i>brnbw</i>	<i>brnbw</i>
<i>Brny</i>	—
<i>brnyʾ</i>	<i>brnyʾ</i>
<i>brnny</i>	<i>brnny</i>

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>brnšr'</i>	<i>brnšr'</i>
<i>brnšry</i>	—
<i>br'y</i>	<i>br'y</i>
<i>br'qbw</i>	<i>'bd'qb</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>brš'</i>	—
<i>bršw/y</i>	<i>bršw</i> and <i>bršy</i>
<i>bršmš</i>	—
<i>bšwn</i>	—
<i>btsmy'</i>	<i>btsmy'</i>
<i>gblw</i>	<i>gblw</i>
<i>gbrhdd</i>	—
<i>gd'</i>	<i>gd'</i>
<i>gdw</i>	—
<i>gdy</i>	<i>gdy</i>
<i>gdyhb</i>	<i>gdyhb</i>
<i>gwsn'</i>	<i>gwsn'</i>
<i>gzbry</i>	<i>gzbry</i>
<i>grb'</i>	<i>grb'</i>
<i>grwt</i>	<i>gdwt</i>
<i>grm'lt</i>	<i>grm'lt</i>
<i>grmlt</i>	<i>grmlt</i>
<i>dd'</i>	—
<i>ddy</i>	—
<i>dd/ršy</i>	<i>ddšy</i> and <i>dršy</i>
<i>d/rwšmhr</i>	<i>d/rwšmhr</i>
<i>dwšpry</i>	<i>dwšpry</i>
<i>dyns</i>	—
<i>dmgw</i>	—
<i>dmywn</i>	<i>dmywn</i>
<i>drm</i>	—
<i>hbl'</i>	<i>hbl'</i>
<i>hdyrt</i>	—
<i>hybšw</i>	<i>hwbšw</i>
<i>hkyd/rd/r</i>	<i>hkydr</i>
<i>hny</i>	<i>hny</i>
<i>whby</i>	—
<i>whyb'</i>	<i>whyb'</i>
<i>wylt</i>	<i>wylt</i>
<i>wlgš</i>	<i>wlgš</i>
<i>wnwk</i>	<i>wnwk</i>
<i>wrdn</i>	<i>wrdn</i>
<i>wrwd</i>	<i>wrwd</i>
<i>zbg'</i>	<i>zbg'</i>
<i>zbdy</i>	<i>zbdy</i>

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>zbw/yd</i>	<i>zbyd</i>
<i>zby'</i>	—
<i>zbydw</i>	<i>zbydw</i>
<i>zd/rwq'</i>	—
<i>zd/rq'</i>	<i>zrq'</i>
<i>zdy</i>	<i>zd/ry</i>
<i>zyd'lt</i>	<i>zyd'lt</i>
<i>zky'</i>	—
<i>zn'</i>	—
<i>zqy'</i>	<i>zqy'</i>
<i>ḥb'</i>	<i>ḥb'</i>
<i>ḥbbw</i>	—
<i>ḥbw/ys'</i>	<i>ḥbws'</i>
<i>ḥbyb</i>	<i>ḥbyb</i>
<i>ḥbybw</i>	—
<i>ḥbr</i>	—
<i>ḥwys'</i>	<i>ḥwys'</i>
<i>hyws'</i>	<i>hyws'</i>
<i>hyy</i>	<i>hyy</i>
<i>hyr'</i>	<i>hyr'</i>
<i>hyrw</i>	<i>hyrw</i>
<i>hyrs'</i>	<i>hyrs'</i>
<i>hyš'</i>	<i>hyš'</i>
<i>ḥlq</i>	—
<i>ḥn'</i>	<i>ḥn'</i>
<i>ḥnyn'</i>	<i>ḥnyn'</i>
<i>ḥnn'</i>	<i>ḥnn'</i>
<i>ḥnny</i>	—
<i>ḥnšmš</i>	<i>ḥnšmš</i>
<i>ḥp'</i>	<i>ḥp'</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>ḥp'zw</i>	<i>ḥp'zw</i>
<i>ḥp'zy</i>	—
<i>ḥpyzy</i>	—
<i>ḥrys</i>	<i>ḥrys</i>
<i>ḥryšw</i>	<i>ḥryšw</i>
<i>ḥršt</i>	—
<i>ṭwkrws</i>	—
<i>ṭw'y</i>	<i>ṭw'y</i>
<i>ṭṭ'</i>	—
<i>ṭpsr'</i>	<i>ṭpsr'</i>
<i>ṭryd'</i>	—
<i>ydy'w</i>	<i>ydy'w</i>
<i>yhbh'</i>	—
<i>yhbrmryn</i>	<i>yhbrmryn</i>

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>yhbšy</i>	<i>yhbšy</i>
<i>yhbšmš</i>	<i>yhbšmš</i>
<i>yhybw</i>	<i>yhybw</i>
<i>ymlyk</i>	<i>ymlyk</i>
<i>ymlk</i>	<i>ymlk</i>
<i>ymq</i>	<i>zmq</i>
<i>kbyrw</i>	<i>kbyrw</i>
<i>kwny</i>	—
<i>klbml'</i>	<i>klbsl'</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>kmr'</i>	—
<i>knzyw</i>	<i>knzyw</i>
<i>kšy'</i>	<i>kšy'</i>
<i>krs'</i>	<i>krs'</i>
<i>kštw</i>	<i>kštw</i>
<i>lhdd</i>	—
<i>lwṭb</i>	<i>lwṭb</i>
<i>lšgl'</i>	<i>lšgl'</i>
<i>mhr'</i>	<i>mhr'</i>
<i>mhrbndq</i>	—
<i>mhrdt</i>	<i>mhrdt</i>
<i>mṭlš</i>	<i>mṭlš</i>
<i>myhr'</i>	—
<i>mymy</i>	<i>my[...] and mym[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>myt'</i>	—
<i>mky</i>	<i>mky</i>
<i>mkmrtn</i>	<i>mkmrtn</i>
<i>mlw</i>	—
<i>mlykw</i>	<i>mlykw</i>
<i>mlk'</i>	—
<i>mnyš</i>	<i>mny/wš</i>
<i>m'yrw</i>	<i>m'yrw</i>
<i>m'n'</i>	<i>m'n'</i>
<i>m'nw</i>	<i>m'nw</i>
<i>mqymšmš</i>	<i>mqymšmš</i>
<i>mr'</i>	—
<i>mrhwn</i>	<i>mrhwn</i>
<i>mrhn</i>	—
<i>mry</i>	—
<i>mry'</i>	<i>mry'</i>
<i>mrn</i>	Divine name in Abbadi 1983, 62
<i>mrnyhb</i>	<i>mrnyhb</i>
<i>mrtbw</i>	<i>mrtbw</i>
<i>nbwbn'</i>	<i>nbwbn'</i>
<i>nbwgbr</i>	—

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>nbwdyn</i>	<i>nbwdyn</i>
<i>nbwyhb</i>	—
<i>nbwktb</i>	—
<i>nbwsm'</i>	—
<i>ndr</i>	<i>ndr</i>
<i>nwhdr'</i>	<i>nwhdr'</i>
<i>nwrn</i>	—
<i>nyhr'</i>	<i>nw/yhr'</i>
<i>nmsys</i>	—
<i>n'wr'</i>	<i>n'wr'</i>
<i>nṣr</i>	—
<i>nṣrw</i>	<i>nṣrw</i>
<i>nqndrs</i>	—
<i>nšr'</i>	<i>nšr'</i>
<i>nšrhb</i>	—
<i>nšry</i>	<i>nšry</i>
<i>nšryhb</i>	<i>nšryhb</i>
<i>nšrlṭb</i>	—
<i>nšr'qb</i>	<i>nšr'qb</i>
<i>ntwn šr</i>	<i>ntwn šr</i>
<i>sb'</i>	—
<i>skyr'</i>	<i>skyr'</i>
<i>slwk</i>	<i>slwk</i>
<i>slkw</i>	—
<i>smy</i>	<i>smy</i>
<i>snṭrwq</i>	<i>snṭrwq</i>
<i>snṭrq</i>	—
<i>sqyr</i>	<i>sqyr/d</i>
<i>sr'm</i>	<i>qdm'hw[hy]</i>
<i>stnbl</i>	<i>stnbl</i>
<i>'b'</i>	<i>'b'</i>
<i>'bd</i>	—
<i>'bd'dn</i>	<i>'bd'dn</i>
<i>'bd'lh'</i>	<i>'bd'lh'</i>
<i>'bd'šr</i>	<i>'bd'šr</i>
<i>'bdb šmyn</i>	<i>'bdb šmyn</i>
<i>'bdgd'</i>	<i>'bdgdy</i>
<i>'bdw</i>	—
<i>'bdy</i>	<i>'bdy</i>
<i>'bdlh'</i>	<i>'bdlh'</i>
<i>'bdly</i>	<i>'bdly</i>
<i>'bdmlyk</i>	<i>'bdmlyk</i>
<i>'bdmlk</i>	<i>'bdmlk</i>
<i>'bdnrgwl</i>	<i>'bdnrgwl</i>

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
'bdnšr	'bdnšr
'bdnšr'	'bdnšr'
'bdsy'	'bdsmy'
'bdsmy'	'bdsmy'
'bd'gylw	'bd'gylw
'bd'gyly	—
'bd'gyly'	'bd'gyly'
'bdš'	'bdš'
'bdšlm'	'bdšlm'
'bdšlmn	Divine name (<i>Verbesserte Lesungen</i>)
'bdšm'	'bdšm'
'bdšmš	'bdšmš
'bwš	—
'bhyrn	'bhyrn
'by	'bd
'byd'	'byd'
'bydw	'bydw
'bn'	'bn'
'bs'	'bs'
'bsmy'	'bsmy'
'bš'	'bš'
'bšy	'bšy
'bšlm'	bšlm' (<i>Frühere Lesungen</i>)
'g'	'g'
'gly'	'gly'
'dry	'dry
'drl'	—
'wbd'ly	—
'wbdw	'wbdw
'wd	'wd
'wdw	'wdw
'wyg'	'wyg'
'wyd'lt	'wyd'lt
'wyd'šr	'wyd'šr
'wydw	'wydw
'wydlt	—
'wydšr	—
'z'	'z'
'zy	'zy
'ztw	—
'ydly	—
'yny	'yny
'ky	'ky
'ly	['bd]ly (<i>Lexikon for H 160:1</i>)

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
'lt	'lt
'lt'	'lt'
'nn	—
'nny	'nny
'šy	'bny
'q'	—
'qb	'qb
'qb'	'qb'
'qbw	—
'qbwy	'qbwy
'qby	—
'qbn	—
'qbsmy'	'qbsmy'
'qbšm'	'qbšm'
'qbšmš	—
'qyb'	'qwb' and 'qyb'
'qybšmš	'qwbšmš
'qrbn	'qrbn
'qrbn'	—
šy	šy
'ty	—
plq	plq
prhnd/r	—
šdyq	šd/rym
qwp'	qwp'
qyymt	—
qymy	qymy
qymt	—
qymty	qymty
qynt	—
qp'	qp'
qrwn'	—
qšbrmryn	—
r'yt	—
r'mt	r'mt
rby	rby
rbn	rbn and lṭbyn
rbt'	Not a PN (<i>Frühere Lesungen</i>)
rw/zḥw	rzḥw
rḥdd	rwhdd
rḥmny	rḥmny
rḥmšmš	rḥmšmš
rymw	—
ryt	ryt

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>rmw</i>	<i>rmw</i>
<i>rmšmš</i>	—
<i>rp'</i>	<i>rp'</i>
<i>rp'zw</i>	<i>rp'zw</i>
<i>rp'ny</i>	—
<i>rpš'</i>	<i>rpš'</i>
<i>rpšmš</i>	<i>rpšmš</i>
<i>šbw</i>	<i>šbw</i>
<i>šbz</i>	Attestation suggested at page 50 n. 1
<i>šb''</i>	<i>šb''</i>
<i>šbrw</i>	—
<i>šwznbl</i>	<i>šwznbl</i>
<i>št'</i>	—
<i>štb</i>	—
<i>šyl'</i>	—
<i>šly</i>	<i>šly</i>
<i>šlm'</i>	—
<i>šlmn</i>	<i>šlmn</i>
<i>šmw</i>	<i>šddw</i>
<i>šm'ny</i>	<i>šm'nw</i>
<i>šmš</i>	—
<i>šmšbryk</i>	—
<i>šmšbrk</i>	<i>šmšbrk</i>
<i>šmšgd</i>	—
<i>šmšgrm</i>	—
<i>šmšḥdyt</i>	<i>šmšḥdyt</i>
<i>šmšy</i>	<i>šmšy</i>
<i>šmšyhb</i>	<i>šmšyhb</i>
<i>šmštyb</i>	<i>šmšltb</i>
<i>šmšmkn</i>	—
<i>šmš'dry</i>	<i>šmš'dry</i>
<i>šmš'qb</i>	<i>šmš'qb</i>
<i>šny'</i>	<i>šny'</i>
<i>š'dw</i>	<i>š'dw</i>
<i>šrdw</i>	<i>šddw</i>
<i>šrt'</i>	<i>šrt'</i>
<i>šrrmy</i>	<i>šd/rd/rm</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>thmrw</i>	<i>tqmd/rw</i>
<i>tymw</i>	<i>tymw</i> (Familien- und Stammesnamen)
<i>tymly</i>	—
<i>tymlt</i>	<i>tymlt</i> and <i>tym</i>
<i>tyrdt</i>	—
<i>tky</i>	—
<i>tlmw</i>	—

Here	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>tmlt</i>	<i>tmlt</i>
<i>tmny</i>	—
<i>tqwn</i>	—
<i>ttny</i>	<i>ttny</i> (Familien- und Stammesnamen)

5.5 Concordance Between Incomplete Hatran Names and Abbadi (1983), All Sections

Table 11. Concordance between the incomplete names listed in the present book and all names in Abbadi (1983)

Here “Incomplete names”	Abbadi (1983), all sections
<i>'db[...]</i>	<i>'db' q'</i>
<i>br[...]</i>	—
<i>d[...]</i>	—
<i>d/rg/[...]</i>	<i>d/r'/g[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen and Frühere Lesungen)
<i>hb[...]</i>	—
<i>m[...]</i>	<i>my[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>nbw[...]</i>	<i>nbw[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>nš[r...]</i>	<i>nš[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>'b[...]</i>	—
<i>'bd[...]</i>	<i>'bdgdy</i>
<i>'q[...]</i>	—
<i>'qb[...]</i>	<i>'qb[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>pp''[...]</i>	—
<i>qym[...]</i>	<i>qym[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>šb[...]</i>	—
<i>šmš[...]</i>	<i>šmš[...]</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>[...]'</i>	—
<i>[...]šrly</i>	—
<i>[...]b'</i>	—
<i>[...]hw</i>	—
<i>[...]hmyd/r'</i>	<i>mhwn</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>[...]y'</i>	—
<i>[...]m</i>	—
<i>[...]n'</i>	—
<i>[...]šyn</i>	—
<i>[...]qd'</i>	<i>[...]qr/d'</i> (Unvollständige Namen)
<i>[...]šr</i>	—
<i>[...]tšm'</i>	—
<i>[...]t[...]</i>	—
<i>[kbyr']</i>	—

List of Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations

Grammatical Abbreviations

det. Determinate
f. Feminine
f.s. Feminine singular
hypoc. Hypocoristic
m. Masculine
m.p. Masculine plural
m.s. Masculine singular
p. Plural
s. Singular
Since reference is made to both
Aram. and Arab names, I choose
the neutral paradigm *CCC* in-
stead of *qtl* and *fl*.

MSA Modern Standard Arabic
NA Neo-Assyrian
Nab. Nabataean
NB Neo-Babylonian
NWS North-Western Semitic
OA Old Aramaic
OffA Official Aramaic
Palm. Palmyrene
Phoen. Phoenician
Qat. Qatabanic
Sab. Sabaic
Saf. Safaitic
Syr. Syriac
Tham. Thamudic
Ug. Ugaritic

Languages and Scripts

Akk. Akkadian
Amm. Ammonite
ANA Ancient North-Arabian
Aram. Aramaic
ASA Ancient South-Arabian
Bab. Babylonian
Dad. Dadanitic
EA Egyptian Aramaic
Hadr. Hadramitic
Hebr. Hebrew
Hism. Hismaic
Iran. Iranian
JBA Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
LB Late-Babylonian
MA Middle Aramaic
Min. Minaic
MP Middle Persian

Transliteration Conventions

[x] missing letter(s)
‘x’ partially damaged letter(s)
<x> integration
{x} deletion

Other Abbreviations

Obv Obverse
Rev Reverse
r.e. Right edge
le.e. Left edge
u.e. Upper edge
lo.e. Lower edge

Bibliographical abbreviations

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Hatra, the famous Northern Mesopotamian 'city of the Sun-god' that thrived between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD, is a remarkable source of information on Parthian Mesopotamia. This book offers a fresh linguistic evaluation of the 376 personal names attested in the Aramaic inscriptions found at Hatra: the onomastic data culled from these texts contribute significantly to the reconstruction of the linguistic and cultural horizon of this spectacular site.



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