Onomastic, Prosopographic and Lexical Notes[1]

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I discuss below Canaanite-Hebrew morphology of names (No. 1), the proso-
pography of Israelite-Judean exiles (No. 2), an ethnonym (No. 3), an appel-
lative (No. 4) and a Palestinian toponym (an ancient survival, No. 5).

1.   Points of structural analysis of Canaanite-Hebrew names

1.1   Compound names

Yô⁽⁾ēd is *qātil* of *W-ᶜ-D* (cf. *ad* OLA 28, 106; for an alternative interpre-
tation *ibid.* 24). *'Aḫbān* may be the same name as NA < WSem. *HI-AD-nu* (ZADOK,
BiOr 48, 1991, 32; with an aphaeresis; cf. for the second component *-a-bi-nu*
of NA GN *Nu-ur-a-bi-nu*, AOAT 6, 270?). LXX Γοδολιας = MT *Gĕdalyāh* is pro-
bably secondary in view of the much older transcription LB *Ga-da-al/lu-ia-
a-ma* which - like the hypothetical forerunner of MT - reflects *qatal* (see
KUTSCHER, Isa, p. 118; pace MURTONEN, 110, 234: 393). Due to the absence of
cuneiform documentation, the original formation of *Ṣĕpanyāh*/Σοφονιας (cf.
MURTONEN, 187) cannot be verified. *Malkiyyāh* and *Malkî'ēl* begin with *milk-*
in view of LXX (MURTONEN, 282f.: 979ff.), in which case they are nominal
sentences, but the N/LB transcriptions reflect only a verbal sentence with
a perfect verb (cp. OB < Am. *Ma-la-ku-il*, OLA 28, 71f., n. 8). MT *Malkiyyāh*
to N/LB *Ma-la-ki-ia-a-ma* is like MT *Ḥizqiyyāh* to NA *Ha-za-qi-a-u* (etc.).
The latter does not start with a *qutl* formation (pace MURTONEN, 149:586f.).
On the face of it, NA *Pal-liṭ-ia-u* (same person as *Pal(a)-ṭi/ṭí-ia/iá-u*) re-
sembles LXX Φελλετια (MURTONEN, 184), but *-LIT-* is a *CUC* sign which is in-

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different to vowel quality. The interchange *a/e* in Αμασια/Αμεσσια is origi-
al according to MURTONEN, 88, 216: 176. *Ha-ta-a-ma* may ultimately go back to
ᶜᴬtāyāh (cp. *ᶜtyhw*, N. AVIGAD, ErIs 20, 1989, 92f.:7; the hypothetical
Ḥ-T-Y is thereby eliminated). *ᶜᴬśî'ēl* and *Ḥăzî'ēl* may alternatively be sen-
tence names with a perfect verb with -⟨y⟩- = -/i/- due to the following
theophorous element (< -*'il*). *Pil'iyyāh* may be a genitive compound name
("Yhw's wonder, marvel") in view of Ps. 89, 6. For *B-R-K* cf. MURTONEN, 107:
365, but neither the cuneiform nor the Greek transcriptions reduplicate the
second radical. No less than 7 names consist of *yqtl* + DN (*ja-r-p-i-l-u,
ja-k-m-s-ᶜ-(-m-)mú,ja-s-ᶜ-r₂-k-n-a, ja-n-s-m-h-d-d-u, ja-n-k-a-'i-lu,
ja-tin-h-d-d-u* and *já-m-n-ᶜ-u-mú*) and possibly one example of DN + *yqtl*
(*ᶜm-mú-já-k-n*) in the Egyptian documentation concerning Canaan in the se-
cond millennium B.C. (Bez., 46f., 50, 52f., 54, 57, 59f.), but only one as-
sured case of a name which is *qtl* + DN (*'á-s-p-h-d-d-u*) and one such case of DN
+ *qtl* (*'ab-i-r-f-a*). Many pre-Hellenistic Palestinian toponyms consist of *yqtl*
+ DN, but no such toponym contains a perfect verb (cf. W. BORÉE, Die alten
Ortsnamen Palästinas, Hildesheim 1968, 100f. [and poss. *Taᶜǎnak, Tābór*]).
Yizlî'āh may originate from **Y'zlyh/'* (to *'-Z-L*). *Yaᶜǎzî'ēl* is with a *hiriq
compaginis* due to the -'*l* (/**'il*/); there is no need to derive it from *ᶜ-Z-Y*.
Ywšwyh is possibly originally a dittography (<*Ywšyyh*) with *w/y* graphic in-
terchange of *Ywšyh*. *Ywzn* < **Yaw-'azan* is equally possible in view of NA
la-ú-ha-zi < *Yhw'ḥz*. *Rě'ûbēn* (a pattern of broken pl. acc. to MURTONEN, 191:
1465) is a compound only according to the Biblical homiletic explanation
(cf. OLA 28, 110). Likewise, *haṣ-Ṣělelpônî* is not a compound, but probably
*hṢlpwny with dittography in which case it would be a nisbe of the Hebrew-
Canaanite equivalent of Ug. *Ṣlpn* (see OLA 28, 96, 381, bottom), the more so
since LXX has once Ασελαφωνι. *Rěmalyāhú* is more likely with three elements.
The unexplained hapax *Pětû'ēl* is only tentatively classified as a nominal
sentence name, subject (ending in -*ū*) + predicate; its initial component
has no exact parallels. *Kil'āb* is possibly secondary (< *Klb*?). *Yhwḥl* may
denote "Yhw is (my) maternal uncle" (cp. with an inverted order *Ḥlyw, Hu-
ul-ia-a-ma*, OLA 28,51). F. B. KNUTSON (AnOr[51] [RS parallels 3], 488:26) com-
pares the final component of *'Ăbîṭal* with the Ugaritic DN *Ṭly/Ṭá-la-ia* al-
so NA *Ahi-ṭal-li* (WSB[B], 55,98) refers to a female. *Mᶜṣ* derives from *W/Y-ᶜ-Ṣ*
(< *W/Y-ᶜ-Ẓ*, see M. MULZER, BN 49, 1989, 17ff.) of which *ᶜ-W/Y-Ṣ* is a by-
form. The evidence for *'dnᶜm* is doubtful (see A. J. POULTER and G. I. DAVIES

VT 40, 1990, 237f.). Re *'lᶜwzy*, one would expect – *mᶜwzy* for 'my refuge';
cp. Jer. 16,19 where *mᶜzy* is associated with *ᶜzy* 'my strenght'? *Ytny'l* (LXX
Ιεθνουηλ) is alternatively imperf. of *N-T-N* with a *hiriq compaginis* (plene)
before *-'l (/*'il/)*. For *Hwdyh* cp. *Hdyhw* (AVIGAD, ErIs 20, 94:11). *'Ăbiyyām*
is possibly the same name as *'ab-i-ja-m-m-u* (Eg. rendering, Bez., 46). For
ᶜmnyh cp. *ᶜmnyhw* (AVIGAD, ErIs 20, 90:1). For *Ṭblyhw* see L. KÖHLER W. BAUM-
GARTNER , Lex., s.v. *'Îtāmār* is rendered Ιαυαμαρος by Josephus. The theopho-
rous element *Tmr* is apparently extant in OB *Qi-iš-ti-ᵈta-ma-ru* (ARMT, 25, 255
s.v. *Qišti-DN*). At least *Bn ᶜnt* (AVIGAD, ErIs 20, 95:16; DK) was very pro-
bably an Israelite. *Bšlm* (PE; < *Bn Slm*) was possibly a Samarian. Doubt is
cast on the interpretation of *Baᶜănā(ʰ)* in view of Nab. *Bᶜnw* (cf. T. NÖL-
DEKE ap. J. CANTINEAU, Le nabatéen 2, Paris 1932, 73b). Is *Binᶜā* the same
name as *bi-n-ᶜá* (Eg. transcr., Bez., 354, ii, 5)? *Baᶜăśēyāh* may go back to
Maᶜăśēyāh (MURTONEN, 71:16; 72:19; 105f.:346). *'Ăḥûmay* may be the same name
as *'ḥ(y)m'* (see MURTONEN, 79, 210:85).

1.2   Non-compound names

Names of animals and plants may be hypocoristic at least in the cases of
Ḥgb and *Tmr* which are recorded as theophorous elements. *'Āraḥ* is regarded
a *qutl* formation by MURTONEN (93, 220:215). The Ez.-Neh. occurrences (not
1Ch. 7,39) should be regarded the earliest. MB *Ur-hi-ia* (see A. DRAFFKORN,
Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah, Diss., Philadelphia 1959, 61) and Eg. *'U-r-
ḫi-ja*   (Bez., 35, iii, 6) can be Hurrian. *Qutl* in Origines' Secunda is with-
out an anaptyxis (cf. E. BRØNNO, Studien über hebräische Morphologie und
Vokalismus..., Leipzig 1943, pass.; *id.*, ZDMG 100, 1950, 564; G. JANSSENS,
Studies in Hebrew historical linguistics based on Origen's Secunda, Leuven
1982,77ff., 136ff.). The observation of M. LAMBERT (REJ 33, 1896, 18ff.),
viz. that *qatl* is especially used for concretes applies to the onomastic ma-
terial as well (over 80%). But his conclusion (*ibid.*) that *qitl* and less
strictly *qutl* are used especially for abstracts is not supported by the ono-
mastic material where most names (*qitl*: c. 70%, *qutl*: at least 80%) denote
concretes. For *Ṣalmôn* and *'Armōnî* cp. Ur III (< Am.) *Ṣa-al-ma-nu-um* and
Ar-ma-nu-um (D. OWEN, JCS 33, 1981, 256f) resp. Is *Bilgay/Bilgāʰ* related to
Sarg. and Ur III *Bala-ga, Ba-la-an-gi* (GELB, MAD 3, 95 with refs)? Does
Tirᶜātîm derive from Aram. *T-R-ᶜ* 'breach, break' (cf. M. SOKOLOFF, in G. B.

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SARFATTI *et al.* [eds], Studies in Hebrew and Semitic languages, Ramat-Gan 1980 [Heb.], 171f.: 15)? *Miryām* derives from *M-R-'* according to MURTONEN (157:1023, 'fatling'). For *ʿAkrān* cp. with *-Um ʿ-k-r-m* (Eg. transcr., Bez. 46). The initial vowel of some *'hl*-names is rendered as *a-* in several traditions (MURTONEN, 208:59-61). Many *yqtl* forms are isolated predicates (cf. MURTONEN *ad* 128f.: 2136). *Spl* (AVIGAD, ErIs 20, 94:13) 'lowly' may be *qatil*. MURTONEN (184, 318:1348) regards *Pāsēᵃh* a *qattil* formation (this applies at least to the appellative). *Tólāᵉ* is alternatively *taqtal* of *W/Y-L-ᵉ* (GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, Grammar, 232:84r). For *Děbôrāʰ* (< *qutul(1)*?) see MURTONEN, 114, 239:454; Syr. *debburā* is with a secondary gemination (see C. BROCKEL-MANN, Syrische Grammatik, Leipzig 1965, 71: 136; cf. 41:69, n. 1). *ʿĀdîn* may originally be a strengthening of a *qatil* form (intransitive in meaning, GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, Grammar, 231:84 1). Cp. *A-di-ni* = MT *ʿEden* and *Ḥārē/îp*. The same may apply to *Yěšîšay* (*yāšîs* synonym of *zāqēn*) in view of *ṣaʿîr*. Like the other adjectives listed in OLA 28, 108:211232, 1 (cp. also *Běrîᵉāʰ* and *Dělilāʰ*; *Śěgûb* is the only *qatīl* in view of LXX, MURTONEN, 194, 528:1527), they may denote duration of a state. J. BLAU (proc. Isr. Acad. sc. 6/2, 1982, 11) derives *Běrîᵉāʰ* from Arab. *B-R-ᵉ*. MURTONEN (107:363) favours NOTH's 'eminence' and states: "(the alternative one [interpretation] from a Middle Babylonian hapax legomenon little convincing)". The Lebanese GN *Ḥamūl* is not an original *qatūl* as its *-ūl* goes back to the suffix *-ūn* (cf. J. T. MILIK, Dédicaces faites par des dieux ..., Paris 1972, 425). The first syllable of *Yěhûdāʰ* is not originally *yu-* (pace MURTONEN, 131, 259:708) in view of *la-a-hu-du*. The same applies to *Yěʿûš* and *Zěbûlûn* (despite MURTONEN, 135, 244, 264:524, 771). LB *Si-il-li-mu* (etc.: a Jew) can be harmonized with LXX Συλλημ, Σελλημ(ει). - λλειμ. This may prove that *qittil* was productive in Judahite Hebrew. Therefore, there is no need to regard *quttul* as the original form (pace MURTONEN, 196, 331f.: 1567, 1570). The *Sallûm* in this case is late (only Ch.) and due to adaptation to the much more common *qattūl* pattern. The NA form *Hal-li-ṣi* is -like LXX- with gemination of the second radical. NA also has *Hi-'li'-ṣi* (StPohl Ser. Mai. 14, 113, 22'; *qittil*) and *Ha-le-e-ṣi* (*ibid.* 67, 2 <*qatel*? <*qatil*). *Ṣippôr* 'bird; sparrow' is classified as *quttul* with an old secondary gemination by MURTONEN (187, 318:1407). Yet, the form *ṣi-ib-ba-ru,* which is recorded in MB Ugarit (where *ā* > *ō* did not occur), is hesitantly listed by von SODEN (AHw, 1097a) s.v. *ṣibāru* 'sparrow?', possibly originally a *qittāl* formation. GRÖNDAHL (PTU, 190) suggest 'he-goat' for the

vocalized names from Ugarit, but this denotation is of different formation in Hebrew (*qatīl*) and Syriac (*qatl*). For names with *h-* cp. F. M. CROSS, in A. KORT and S. MORSCHAUSER [eds], Biblical studies presented to Samuel Iwry, Winona Lake 1985, 41f. who vocalizes /Hawšiʕʕ]-yahu/ (cf. D. PARDEE, JNES 49, 1990, 89); note *Hôtîr* (to *W/Y-T-R*). *Maḥat* occurs only in Ch. as an 'invented' name in artificial genealogies (<*Ḥmt* < *ʼḥmt* < *ʼḥmwt*) whereas *Mḥtwʼx* is read now *Mḥtwš* (PORTEN, orally; unexpl.). For *Maḥiāh* and related names (alternatively to *maqtil*, cf. MURTONEN, 151, 280:953 and M. GÖRG, ZA 76, 1986, 308 ad MB GN *Mah-la* from Kāmid al-Lōz). A derivation from *M-Ḥ-L* 'annul, remit, forgive, renounce' (MHeb. and JAram.; Syr. 'debilis factus est'), in which case the names would belong to *qatl*, cannot be excluded. *Maḥlôn* is originally *maqtil*. *Maqāl* > *māqôl* is originally *maqal*. *N-Ḥ-N* seems to be almost exclusively Canaanite (Heb., Phoen.; in JAram. and Chr. Syro-Pal. it may originate from Heb.). *Nākôn* is a passive participle. *Toqĕhat (lectio difficilior)* and *Timnî* are *taqtal* whereas *Tiqwāh* and *Tirṣāh* may originally be *tiqtil* (cp. OB Am. *Ti-iz-ra-ah^{ki}*, RGTC 3, 238, prob. to *Ḏ-R-Ḥ*). For *Taʼ/ḥrēᵃᵉ* cf. MURTONEN, 200:1634. *Tî/ûlôn* may derive from *W/Y-L-Y* (MURTONEN, 201, 338:1643), in which case it would be *taqtil*. For a derivation from a root with *t-* see W. L. MORAN, OrNs 26, 1957, 344. *Yaḥat* seems to be the Chronicler's invention (cf. *Maḥat*). MURTONEN (215:155) regards *ʼĒlôn* as *qal*, but *ʼal/ʼil* are interchangeable (cf. WSB, 30, 253), Re *Nōʕāh*, H. BAUER (OLZ 33, 1930, 589) interprets *N-W/Y-ʕ* as 'rule'. LXX Γαυνι (cf. MURTONEN, 111:403) seems to strengthen the case for *Gûnî* < *G'wny*. A derivation from *Ḥ-W/Y-Ṭ* seems to be possible only for *Ḥûšay* (LXX Χουσει, i. e. with /h/-). *Purāh* may originally be - in view of LXX Φαρα - *pr'* *(qutl)* 'wild ass", cp. with *-ām/n* Bibl. *Pir'ām* and Epigr. Heb. *Pr'n* (of GN *Gt-* , A. LEMAIRE, Inscriptions hébraïques 1, Paris 1977, 31:14, 2; identification with modern *Farʕūn* [not "Farʼūn", 58] uncertain). *Ḥubbayyā* is to be read *Ḥubayyā* according to A. AL-HILOU (Topographische Namen des syro-palästinischen Raumes..., Diss., Berlin 1986, 132f.) who derives it from either *Ḥ-W/Y-B* or *H-B-'*. An early occurrence of *-ā* is *Bny'* (mid. 11th cent., transition from Old Can. script to 'linear Phoen.', see F. M. CROSS, The II. international congress on Biblical archaeology, Jerusalem 1990, 133). *-āh* certainly goes back to *-āt* in *ʼAyyāh*, *Pûʼāh*, *Rinnāh*, *Tiqwāh* and *Yônāh*, but not necessarily in *Zimmāh* if it is related to Proto-Can. *Zm'* (B. SASS, The genesis of the alphabet and its development in the second millennium B. C., Wiesbaden 1988,

2. More on Israelite and Judean exiles

To the 32 named Israelites and/or Judeans mentioned in NA sources (cf. OLA 28, 302-304) one can add the witness *Mìl-la-mì-ni* (CTN 3, 41, 16; poss. from Napīsīn). The document was found at Calah (Fort Shalmaneser, S 10) and is dated after 648 B.C. (eponym: Bēl-aha-uṣur). This is a transcription of *My'mn* which is the same name as MT *M(n)ymn* and LB *Mi-in-ia-(a-)me/mi-(i-)ni/en* (JBCA, 22, 58f.). It is not an Egyptian name as understood by S. M. DALLEY and J. N. POSTGATE (CTN 3, 96 ad loc.; 274, n. 48). The reading of the first sign is clear on the copy.

The royal merchant or commercial agent ([^{lú}*DAM.GJÀR šá LUGAL*) *Ahi(ŠEŠ)-ia-a-ma* (son of *A-ri-tu*)[2] acted as the first witness in the document BM 65149 (duplicate: BM 68921) from Sippar. The document is dated to 11.II.5 (ruler's name lost; perhaps 460/59 B.C. acc. to M. ROTH, AOAT 222, 95 *ad loc.*). The third witness was *Ardi(ÌR)-^{d}Gu-la* son of *Šá-am-hu(?)-a-ma* (prob. *Šmᵉyhw*) who bore the same title (^{lú}*DAM.GJÀR šá LUGAL*). The principals of the above-mentioned document (a marriage agreement) were apparently non-Jews.

The percentage of the Jews among the general population of Nippur during the 5th century B.C. presumably did not exceed 2.2. The Jews were no more than 7,2% of the bearers of West Semitic names there. The percentage of Jewish functionaries among their colleagues at Nippur was 3.2 - 5.5. There were almost no Jewish high officials there. It is interesting that at least one third (if not 53%) of the interpreter-scribes in 5th-century Nippur were Jews[3]. The reasons cannot be directly ascertained from the sources. It should be remembered that the forefathers of the Nippur Jews were deported from Judah which - if one is entitled to judge from the rich epigraphic find - was a literate society, to Babylonia where literacy was common only among the Akkadian scribes. Moreover, the Akkadian scribes in Chaldean, Achaemenian and Hellenistic Babylonia have become something like a caste. It is concei-

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2 To *'-R-Y* 'gather' or related to *'ry(h)* 'lion'?
3 An additional interpreter-scribe and chancellor (*bēl-ṭēmi*) was the Jew *Ga-da-la-a-ma* (with *-y-* > *-∅-* as in *Pa-da-a-ma* and *Qa-na-'-a-ma*, cf. JBCA, 8, as well as *Ha-ta-a-ma*, cf. above, 1). *Ga-da-la-a-ma* (Babylon, 486 B.C.) was son of *Ba-an-na-^{d}Ea(BE*, see M. W. STOLPER, JNES 48, 1989, 287).

vable that the Jews possessed skills as (Aramaic) interpreter-scribes since
the percentage of literate men (in Aramaic script) among them – as we may
assume – was higher than that of the general population of Achaemenian Baby-
lonia. The reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah which were introduced in the same
period, might have had serious implications on the advancement of learning
among the Jewish masses not only in Judah, but also in Babylonia seeing that
Ezra originated from Babylon and Nehemiah from Susa.

3. Temaḥ

This name (LXX Ooμoι, Ooμε(ε)ι), which refers to a clan of the *nĕtînîm*
(Ez. 2,53 = Neh. 7,55), may originate from Eg. *Ṯmḥw* (later *Tmḥw*[4]; latest
occurrence time of Darius I), i.e. 'Libyan'. Thus, no less than four out of
forty-five clans of the *nĕtînîm* refer directly to non-Israelite groups; the
other three are *Mĕʿûnîm*, *Nĕpîšîm* and *Qērōs*. The last one is originally the
form on which the gentilic *Qrsy* 'Carian'[5] is based.

4. bᶜly

A wooden seal found in Upper Egypt (poss. Elephantine) bears the Aramaic
inscription *Ḥwšᵉ* member (< 'master', *bᵉly*) of a unit (*dgl*, E. SACHAU, Ara-
mäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephan-
tine, Leipzig 1911, 71:12). According to the form, *bᵉly* is the Canaanite
construct plural of *bᵉl* 'master'. This plural form was also used in a sin-
gular sense as early as the latter half of the second millennium B.C.: a
multilingual vocabulary from Ugarit it has *ba-a-lu-ma*[6]. Here *bᵉly* is in all

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4   For the geographical background see J. OSING, LÄ 3, 1024. For *ṯ* > *t* see
    A. H. GARDINER, Egyptian Grammar, 3rd ed., London 1957, 27; G. FECHT,
    Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Glückstadt 1960, 141:270.

5   Phoen. *hkrs(ym)* (on *k/q* see Y. GARFINKEL, JNES 47, 1988, 27ff.; he con-
    siders them as originating from Cyprus, cf. 32f.). N/LB *Kar-sa-a-a* (AGTC
    8, 198 with refs.; once *Ka-ar-*). Did *k* shift to its emphatic counterpart
    under the influence of *r* (cf. *t* > *ṭ* [emphatic dental]? Cf. JQR 71, 1981,
    110ff.

6   Ugaritica 5, 130, iii, 14; see A. F. RAINEY, Leš. 34, 1970, 182; D. SIVAN,
    AOAT 214, 109, 2.1.3; 208, s. v. Also as a personal name (see W. L. MO-
    RAN, Les lettres d'El-Amarna, Paris 1987, p. 577 ad 162, 76).

probability referring to a Jew rather than a Phoenician or Transjordanian
(Ammonite, Moabite or Edomite): the Jewish community of Elephantine is re-
corded between 495 and 399 B.C. From a Phoenician one would expect to use
the Phoenician script on his own seal. The text is not necessarily Hebrew
as all the Jewish documentation from Elephantine is Aramaic. The same applies
to the Jewish seals from Achaemenian Palestine. $B^c ly$ here may be an Aramaic
majestic plural[7].

5. az-Zīb

This form goes back to $^*Ẓzīb$ < Talm. $Gzyb$ (< Bibl. $^\prime kzyb$)[8].

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7 Cf. P. LEANDER, Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen, Göte-
   borg 1928, 92, 45j; B. PORTEN, OrNS 57, 1988, 34 and S. A. KAUFMAN, *ibid.*
   54 *in fine.*

8 For $Ẓz$- > z- cp. the Lebanese toponym $Zīri$ < $Ẓzīre$ < $Gazīra$ (S. WILD,
   Libanesische Ortsnamen (BTS 9), Beirut 1973, 175).