The element *-hr* in Egypto-Semitic names

Meindert Dijkstra, Utrecht University

The discovery of a doorjamb mentioning the Hyksos Pharaoh Seker-Her in the Hyksos citadel at Tell el-Dab°a (Avaris), increases the number of Hyksos names containing the element *-hr* to four: Anat-Her, Ja°qub-Her, Seker-Her[1] and Yaputh-her.[2] A few foreign names from the Middle Kingdom and 2nd Intermediate Execration texts contain also the same element. Well known is *Sm3-hr(y)* (E 20),[3] but Posener suggested to restore this nomen divinum *-hr*[4] also in the name of the king of Arhabu (e11) *°prw-hr*[5] instead of *°prw-hq/t*,[6] and the incomplete name E 35. So to date about six or seven originally Semitic names containing the *nomen divinum -hr*, are attested. Remarkably, in all instances the element *-hr* is found at the end of the name.

In older scholarship the element was understood as the Egyptian transcript of Semitic El.[7] The abovementioned names would be the Egyptian version of Semitic names such as *°Abdi-'il**, *Zimri-il**; *°Anati-'il**, *Ya°qub-'il** and now the new Hyksos-name *Zakar-'il** or *Zikr-'il**. However, in Middle and New Kingdom texts also different spellings of the element *'il* occured, for instance in the 13th Dynasty Execration texts the Semitic names e26 *Mwt-i-l* 'Mutî-'il';[8] e30 *Y(a)-ma-i-lw* 'Yamma-'ilu'; *y(a)-n-ki-i-l-w* (E 9) 'Yankê-'ilu';[9] *y(a)-l-p-i-lw* (E 58) 'Yarpa-'ilu'; (E 60) *y(a)-t(?)-p-i-lw* 'Yatpa-ilu'[10] and in New Kingdom texts toponyms such as *ya=°=q=b='i₂=ra* 'Ya°qub-il'; *ya=ši₂=p*

[1] M. Bietak, Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab°a, London 1996, p.66, Fig.52.
[2] Ranke, Ägyptische Personennamen II, 268,27; Th. Schneider, Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptische Quellen des Neuen Reiches (OBO 114),Freiburg & Göttingen 1992, p.121.
[3] G. Posener, Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur les figurines d'envoûtement du moyen empire, Brussels 1940, pp.75f, No E 20, see also E 35 X-h-r-w.
[4] I include when writing -hr the variants -hrw (E 35) and -hry (E 20).
[5] ibidem, p. 75, but see the paleographic comments B.van der Walle, Annexe, p.107
[6] See K. Sethe, Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches, Berlin 1926; Y. Koenig, 'Les textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa', RdÉ 41 (1990) 101-125; Th. Schneider, 'Die semitischen und ägyptischen Namen der syrischen Sklaven des Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 Verso', UF 19 (1987) 258; R.K.Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (SAOC 54), Chigago 1993, pp.136-190; idem, 'Execration Texts (1.32)', in: W.W. Hallo, The Context of Scripture. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World, Leiden 1997, p.51
[7] E. Meyer, Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, Halle 1906, p.282; Sethe, Ächtung, passim; idem, Das Ägyptische Verbum im Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen I, Leipzig 1890, §248, H.H. Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua, Oxford 1950, pp.35ff.; R. De Vaux, Histoire ancienne d'Israel. Des origines à l'installation en Canaan, Paris 1971, p.193 n.85; however, a view already rejected by M. Burchhardt, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen, Leipzig 1910, p.II,86; Posener, Princes et Pays, pp.75f; S. Yeivin, 'YA°QOB'EL', JEA 45 (1959) 16.
[8] The transcription adopted here follows J.E. Hoch, Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, Princeton NJ, 1994, pp.488-498.
[9] The same name appears perhaps also in E 23, see Posener, Princes et Pays, p.77.
[10] Posener, Princes et Pays, pp.69,92f.; also Sethe e22, 30.

$='=r/ya=\check{s}i_2=pi=i_2=ra$ 'Yašib-il'[11] and $ya=s=-r='i_2=ra$ 'Yasr-il' and personal names beginning with $'i_3=ra=$, $'i_3=ri=$, $'i_3=ru_2=$ and ending with $='i_2=ra$, $='i_2=-r$ etc.[12] Therefore other solutions have been suggested such as an abbreviated variant of Egyptian: ^cnty $hrty$ 'Anat is satisfied',[13] but also was hr explained by Semitic $h\bar{a}r$ 'mountain' and the Semitic *nomen divinum*: $hr = hd^*$ 'Haddu/Hadad'. We would like to discuss here once more the plausibility of the different suggestions.

Posener explained hr as a *nomen divinum* different from El, because in the Execration texts in his opinion $'ilu$ was represented by $-y^{-3}-w/-i-lw$. Albright, Redford, Ward *et al.* construed the element $hr = h\bar{a}r$ 'mountain' as a divine epithet referring to the Syrian Ba^{c}al.[14] Indeed, the Semitic noun $s(w)r$ cognate to Ugaritic $\acute{g}r$ (compare also the Amarna gloss: $harri = \text{HUR.SAG}$ EA 74:20) appears sometimes as an element in personal names, for instance, proto-Sinaitic $bnsr$ 'Ben-Sur';[15] Hebrew $s\hat{u}ri'\bar{e}l$, $s\hat{u}ri$-$\check{s}adday$ and also in Amorite, Ugaritic and Phoenician names.[16] On the contrary, Semitic $h\bar{a}r$ is very rarely attested in personal names. Ward quotes only one example: Hr-B^cl and this one is even uncertain.[17] This is rather odd considering the fact that the element $-hr$ appears quite often in Egypto-Semitic names. If so, it is rather doubtful whether $-hr$ is Semitic har 'mountain', not only because of this discrepancy, but also because of the fact that the noun in its plain meaning is attested in Egyptian transcriptions of Levantine toponyms, i.e. $ha=ra$ (Urk.IV 784,77), $ha=ru_2$ and $h=r='=ra = Har'el$ (Urk IV 784, 81a-c).[18] The word $h\bar{a}r$ seems to be specifically South Canaanite/Hebrew, occurs rarely in Phoenician (KAI 14:17, CIS I, 3914:4),[19] and appears as such since the New Kingdom in toponyms referring to the Canaanite hill country.[20] Perhaps, South Canaanite $h\bar{a}r$ originated also as

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[11] M. Noth, *Aufsätze zur Biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde 2*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971, p.69; S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem - Leiden, pp.200ff.; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.27 (No 16), 56 (No 60)

[12] Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, p.27

[13] P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris. Essai sur la pénétration des Sémites en Égypte*, Paris 1941, p.81, H.P. Blok, *Acta Orientalia* 8 (1930) 183f., see W.A. Ward, Some Personal Names of the Hyksos Period Rulers and Notes on the Epigraphy of their Scarabs', *UF* 8 (1976) 358, n.37.

[14] W.F. Albright, *JBL* 54 (1935) 191, n.59; idem, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Baltimore 1946², p.184; W. Moran, *Orientalia* 26 (1957) 342; Ward, *UF* 8 (1976) 358; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton NJ, 1992, p.117.

[15] I. Biggs & M. Dijkstra, *Corpus of Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions* (AOAT 41) Neukirchen-Vluyn, No 21 (forthcoming)

[16] H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts. A Structural and Lexical Study*, Baltimore 1965, p.258; F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Studia Pohl 1), Roma 1967, p.141 (*bn ǵrn*); F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Studia Pohl 8), Roma 1972, p.402; *HAL*, 953;

[17] M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Paris 1938, no.1111; further he refers to Akkadian: *Bēl-Ṣaduni, Šamaš-Ṣaduni* etc. (Ward, *UF* 8 [1976] 359). The Phoenician name is presumably incomplete and could be restored to *[m]hrb'l bn [ ]*, see KAI 64:2, 68:3; 82, 85:6.

[18] Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.213ff.(No 294). The identification is not completely certain, for others think of a kind of tree (see S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem/Leiden 1984, p.106, but also Hoch, ibidem, p.214f.); *har'ēl* in Ezek. 43:15a is a variant reading of *hā'arî'ēl*, a name given to the hearth of the altar of burnt offering (M. Dijkstra, 'The Altar of Ezekiel: fact or fiction?', *VT* 42 (1992) 31f.). It could be a wordplay identifying the altar with Jerusalem as the *har'ēl* 'Mountain of God' (Gen 22 etc).

[19] See J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions I* (HdO I, 21) Leiden New York Köln 1995, p. 293; *hr.il* in KTU 1.4.II 36 is probably to be read as *[n](36)hr.il* (pace Gordon, UT §19.790).

[20] Noth, *ABLAK*, p.69; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, pp.106f.; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.214f.

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a dialectic variant of original Semitic $z(w)r$ like Ugaritic *ġr* (compare also the Amarna gloss EA 74:20 *ḫa-ar-ri*).[21] Mountains in the ancient Near East are often considered to be divine and may represent deities, as, for instance, in Ugaritic lists of divinities, the *ġrm w[ṯhmt]* = *ᵈḪUR.SAG.MEŠ* ù *ᵈA.MES*,[22] but this does not prove the existence of a separate deity Har.[23]

O. Rössler proposed another explanation which arose from his observation that so few instances of Semitic /d/ were found in the Execration texts. He suggested a double function of Egyptian {r} transcribing it as r_1 = Semitic /r/ or /l/ and r_2 = Semitic /d/.[24] For instance, the element *ᶜpr(w)* as *ᶜpr₂(w)* was taken to be the Semitic equivalent of *ᶜbd(w)* 'servant' and *hr* = *hr₂* to represent the Semitic deity Hadad/Haddu as in *yᶜqb-hr₂* = *yᶜqb-hd* "Haddu/Hadad beschützt".[25] Thompson, Schneider *et al.* accepted this suggestion of Rössler.[26] Though the anomalous phonetic alteration *r-d* remains unexplained, the number of about 20 names with the element *ᶜpr(w)* and their Semitic parallels is much in favour of this equation.[27] Afterwards, Rössler modified his view suggesting that not a phonetic improbable shift was involved, but a case of weakening and elision of the /r/ in final position as it happens with /t/ in Egyptian and Semitic.[28] How ever that may be, the habit of writing *ᶜpr(w)* for *ᶜbd* continued into the New Kingdom, though beside it also a 'modern' transcription with the dental originated. Ward rejected this solution as phonetically improbable. In addition, he remarked that scribes of the Middle Kingdom and 2nd Intermediate period customarily transcribed the name of the Syrian deity as *Hdd(y/w)*. [29]

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[21] For a different opinion, see Talmon, *TWAT II*, Col. 462.

[22] D. Pardee & P. Xella, 'Mountains-and-Valleys',in K.van der Toorn *et al.*, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Leiden New York Köln 1995, Cols 1134-1135

[23] See Albright, *JBL* 54 (1935) 191 n.59; Ward, *UF* 8 (1976) 358, n.37; later Albright understood Yaᶜqub-ᶜAl as the original form of *yᶜqb-hr* on the basis of the singular variant *yᶜqbᶜr* (W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, London 1968, p.50, n.10); see however, on this different name Yeivin, *JEA* 45 (1959) 17f.; Ward, *UF* 8 (1976) 359.

[24] O. Rössler, 'Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungssystem für Fremdnamen ι und seine sprachwissenschaftlichen Lehren', J. Lukas (ed.), *Neue afrikanistischeStudien* (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde 5), Hamburg 1966, pp.218-229, esp. 222f.

[25] ibidem, p.221.

[26] Th. L. Tompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives. The Quest for the Historical Abraham* (BZAW 133), Berlin New York 1974, p.48, n. 223; Schneider, *UF* 19 (1987) 258-260, idem, *Asiatische Personennamen*, pp.66f; idem, *Lexicon der Pharaonen*, 1994, p.275, see also Bietak, *Avaris*, p.65; W. Schenkel, *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft*, Darmstadt 1990, p.36; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.63-65 accepts also this solution for *ᶜpr* adducing another example of Egyptian /r/ for Semitic /d/ *ᶜa=-r=ši₂=na* 'lentils' (No 84), but does not mention -*hr*.

[27] Albright's suggestion to derive *ᶜpr* from Akkadian-Semitic *ᶜpr* = *epēru* (W.F. Albright, *JAOS* 74 (1954) 225; W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, Brooklyn 1955, p.94; Ward, *UF* 8 (1976) 259; differently however, Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p.66, n.49) was rightly rejected by Rössler and Schneider, *UF* 19 (1987) 259; idem, *Asiatische Personennamen*, p.66; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.64f.

[28] Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, p.66; Hoch assumes that phonetically the difference between the respective values of *r* and *d* may not have been great (*ibidem*, p.65)

[29] Ward, *UF* 8 (1976) 359. Frequent rendering of Hadad's name with -*hdd(y)* is already found in Posener's Execration texts beside -*hr*, for instance: E 4 *yy-t-n-h-d-d-w* (Hoch: *y(a)-t(v)n-H-d-d-w* 'Yattin-Haddu'); E 6 *'i-b-s-h-d-d-y* (Hoch *'ab-i!-H-d-dw* 'Abi-Haddu'); E 7 *y:-ṭ-p-h-d-d-w* (Hoch *'A-ṭ-p-H-d-dw* ''Asapa-Haddu'); E 16 *Ṯ-b³-w-h-d-d-y* 'Zabulu(?)-Haddi', E 19 *yy-n-ḏ-m-h-d-d-y* 'Yanḏim-Haddu' E 21 *³-w-³-h-d-d-y* 'Levi-la-Haddi', E 46 *X-h-d-d-w* (see Posener, *Princes et Pays*, pp.66, 68, 73, 75f, 86; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.493f.) and continued to be used in the New Kingdom, for instance, on a pyramidion discovered in Khay's tomb at Sakkara in 1993: *h3-dy-dy*, see J.

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Schneider however, showed convincingly how for a long time the two transcriptions of Semitic *ᶜbd* existed one beside the other, but in the late period preference was given to the spelling with original dental.[30] Theoretically, it is possible that in a similar way beside the convention to write *-hr* for Haddu* in the 2nd Intermediate another, more accurate transcription *-hdd(w/y)* was adopted which finally prevailed after the Hyksos period. The interpretation of the element *-hr* as Haddu* provides in a number of instances a good meaning, i.e. *Damar/Dimr-Haddu** 'Haddu has protected, protection of Haddu', *Yaᶜqub-Haddu** 'Haddu may protect' and *Dakar/Dikr-Haddu** 'Haddu has named (me), memory of Haddu'. In case of Anati-Her the name would mean 'Anat is Haddu' or 'Anat of Haddu'. The first interpretation is hardly probable, whereas 'Anat of Haddu' though possible for a divine name, is unusual for a personal name, unless the element 'Anat' (parallel to *dimr-/dikr-*) is taken as a noun meaning 'revelation/answer of Haddu' or something similar.[31] The interpretation of *-hr* as Haddu* is certainly preferable to that of *Har** 'mountain'.

Though I cannot reject conclusively the suggestion to take the element *-hr* as the divine name Haddu*, it may still be questioned whether the early interpretation of *-hr* as one of the Middle Bronze Egyptian transcriptions of Ilu/El was completely beyond the mark. The argument that *-hr* = *'ilu* occurs beside *-y-³-w/-i-lw* and other transcriptions is not valid anymore, because the same would be true for occasional *-hr* = Haddu* beside frequent *-hdd(w/y)* in the Posener Execration texts. However, the rendering *-hr* as *'ilu* if assuming a *'-h* alteration would be phonetically more probable than the shift /r/ < /d/. The Semitic languages provide ample evidence of the interchange of /h/ and /'/.[32] Comparative Semitic linguistics acknowledge at present that the *h-'* alteration among West and South Semitic languages and dialects reflected a chronological pattern *h* > ', of which the most telling case is that of the causative conjugation, which has preformative {h} in Hebrew, Old Aramaic and early Arabic dialects, but {'} in later Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic.[33] This does not infer however that at one time in the Semitic languages the nomen divinum El was pronounced with initial voiceless fricative /h/. The alternative writing of *'ilu* with the laryngal /h/ or the glottal stop may indicate a gradual weakening of the original glottal plosive /'/ in the second Millennium BC, which is also attested by its frequent postvocalic elision '>zero in Canaanite dialects. Initially, Egyptian scribes may have felt some difference between the quality of Semitic /'/ and its Egyptian equivalents

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van Dijk in H. Schneider *et al.*, 'The Tomb of Innua. Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavation 1993', *JEA* 79 (1993) 8; other examples, see Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, p.164, Nos 347-349

[30] Schneider, *UF* 19 (1987) 258-261; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, p. 64 thinks also of a more historic than phonetic writing in the later period.

[31] See Gese, *RAAM*, pp.160f.; P.L.Day, 'Anat', *DDD*, Cols 62f about the different etymologies of Anat's name.

[32] S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages. Phonology and Morphology*, Wiesbaden 1969, p.42; *HAL*, 225; E.L. Greenstein, 'Another Attestation of initial *h>'* in West Semitic', *JANES* 5 (1973) 157-164, esp.160f. The *'-h* alteration does not seem to be attested in Egyptian, though Greek and Coptic transcripts of words with initial /h/ seem to indicate the loss of aspiration, Lefebre, *Grammaire*, §36

[33] For the common shift *h>'* in general linguistics, see R.D. King, *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar*, New Jersey 1969, p.117, in semitic linguistics Moscati, *Comparative Grammar*, 42; G. Garbini, 'Sull 'alternanza *h-'* in semitico', *AION* 1 (1959) 47-52, idem, *Il semitico di Nord-Ovest*, Napels 1960, pp.56-57.

expressing the Semitic intervocalic glottal stop by /h/.[34] It would explain that already in the Middle Kingdom period the name of *'ēl* was spelled differently, i.e. *-h-r(-y/w)/-h-l(y/w)* beside *-y-³(-w)/-i-l(w)*.[35] In the New Kingdom a number of new conventions to transcribe *'ilu* appear, but Schneider and Hoch differ considerably on the problem which writings actually represent the *nomen divinum*.[36] In any case, the less accurate transcription *-hr* was abandoned after the Hyksos period. This development is paralleled by the abandonment of the less accurate, historic transcript of *ᶜpr = ᶜbd* in favour of *ᶜbd/t* about 1100 BC.[37]

A final piece of evidence that the element *-hr* intended to transcribe Semitic *'ilu* may occur in the singular writing *ya=p=q=ḥr* (with the Horus-bird) for normal *ya=ᶜ=q=b=h=r*.[38] It is not impossible that a hybrid Semito-Egyptian name is meant, as, for instance, found in the name *ḥr=r=bi=ša* (pLouvre 6347 A 14), the Horus-name may be a kind of ideogram for 'god', c.q. El. I would not suggest this possibility, if it didnot have an interesting parallel in the Late Egyptian, perhaps independent developed Demotic writing of the word and name *'ēl* in the Aramaic texts of pAmherst 63. In a discussion of the element *'ḥr* in this papyrus, I. Kottsieper[39] made the plausible suggestion that the writing of *'ḥr < i-ḥr* like in the preposition *r-ḥr* represented Aramaic ['el], preposition and appelative for 'god' and in a number of cases even the ancient Canaanite god El.[40] Such an unusual writing could also be result of some theological speculation creating a religious link between the monarchic deities Horus and El. If so, even seemingly hybrid names as *ya=p=q=ḥr* and *ḥr=r=bi=ša* may represent *yaqob-'el** and *'el-labiša**.

The following listing of Egypto-Semitic names with the element *-hr* and their Semitic equivalents is far from exhaustive, but it shows in my opinion sufficiently that the transcript *-hr = - 'ilu*, is as plausible as *-hr = -haddu*:

1) *Sm3-hr* (E 20) *Zimri-'il**; Ugaritic *ḏmrhd* (=Zimraddu);[41] *ḏmrbᶜl*; Mari: *Zimri-ilu(AN)/Lim/ᵈAddu(IM)/Dagan*; ancient South Arabic *ḏmr'l*;

2) *ᶜpr-hr!* (e 11) *ᶜAbdi-'il** (compare *ᶜpr='i₂(=ra)* Saqqara tomb, Wezir of

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[34] The transcription of the intervocalic glottal stop by means of /h/ has an interesting parallel in the Vulgate's transcriptions of biblical names such as Israhel, Arihel, Danihel, Ezrihel, Abdehel etc.

[35] In the Execration texts, see Wilson, *ANET*, 328f; Ritter,in: *The Context of Scripture I*, p.50ff. and Posener, *Princes et Pays*, pp.69.

[36] Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, pp.24-26; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp.27-28, see for instance Hoch's different explanation of Schneiders *ywn-n:-r- = 'ilu-* in initial position (Hoch, ibidem, pp.23ff [Nos 11, 12 and 15]).

[37] Schneider, *UF* 19 (1987) 260f.

[38] H.R. Hall, *Catalogue of the Scarabs, ...*, *in the British Museum*, London 1913, p.32, No 287 (BM 32441), but see R. Giveon, 'Yaᶜqob-har', *GM* 44 (1981) 18.

[39] I. Kottsieper, 'El - ferner oder naher Gott? Zur Bedeutung einer semitischen Gottheit in verschiedenen sozialen Kontexten im 1.Jtsd.v.Chr', in: R. Albertz & S. Otto (eds), *Religion und Gesellschaft. Studien zu ihrer Wechselbeziehung in den Kulturen des Antiken Vorderen Orients*, AOAT 248, Münster 1997, pp.25-74, esp. 'Anhang I: Zur Interpretation von *'ḥr* im Pap.Amherst 63', ibidem, pp.51-55.

[40] Ibidem, p.55 "Somit entsprach einerseits die demotische Präposition *r-ḥr* durchaus einer Schreibung für Aramäisch ['el], andererseits brachte sie aber auch theologisch die Verbindung zwischen Horus und El zum Ausdruck. Damit eignete sie sich ausgezeichnet für die Schreibung für El - zumal in der Schreibvariante *i-ḥr*, die auch noch den Aleflaut gut zur Geltung bringen konnte."

[41] PRU 3, 262; Gordon, UT §19.727.

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Anchnaton, see Ranke I, 416, 25; also TN $^c pr='i_2=-r$ pAnast VIII, 1, 7); Hebrew: $^c abdi'\bar{e}l$; Amorite: *Abdi/Ḫabdi-ilu(AN)*; Ugaritic: $^c bdil(m) = abdi\text{-}ili(\text{-}mu)$, *abdi-ilim*,[42] Phoenician: $^c bd'lm$, *Abdilius*, Arabic: $^c Abdallah$ etc. No equivalent of $^c bd(h)d = Abdi\text{-}Addu^*$ is attested in Ugarit, but *Ḫabdadu, Ḫabdu-^{d}Addu(IM)* occur in Middle Bronze Hazor and Mari.[43]

3) $^c nty\text{-}hr$ $^c Anati\text{-}il^*$, compare Ugaritic: $^c nil = {}^c nt\text{-}il$,[44] compare also names such as $^c bd^c n = {}^c bd^c nt$ and bn $^c n = bn$ $^c nt$ (also Hyksos Bn-on?); and perhaps the Middle Kingdom $^c pr\text{-}^c nw$ (E.8) beside $^c pr\text{-}^c nty$;[45]

4) *skr-hr* Seker-Her = *Zikri-il** or *Zakar-'il**, comparable to names such as Old Testament and epigraphic Hebrew *Zeker, Zikri, $Z^e karyahu$*; Nimrud Ostracon BASOR 119, 33:3 *zkr'l*; ancient South Arabic: *yₔkr'il*; epigraphic Hebrew: *'lzkr*;[46]

5) $y^c qb\text{-}hr$ $Ya^c qub\text{-}il^*$, compare also the New Kingdom toponym $ya^c=q=b= 'i_2=ra$; Amorite: *yahqub-ilu(AN)* etc.;[47]

6) *ypt-hr* $Yap\hat{u}d\text{-}il^*$ (Ranke II,268,27); compare Hebrew $'\bar{e}l\hat{i}p\bar{a}z$.[48]

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[42] Gordon, UT §19.1801; Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, pp.105, 316.

[43] W. Horowitz & A. Shaffer, 'An Administrative Tablet from Hazor. A Preliminary edition', *IEJ* 41 (1991) 21ff., esp.28.

[44] See D. Pardee, 'Ugaritic Proper Nouns', *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 417, who takes $^c n$ as abbreviation of $^c nt$, differently, Gröndahl, *Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, pp.110f.

[45] Name of a Hyksos king found on scarabs, see G.T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, Oxford 1971, p.30, no.318; D.B. Redford,'Hyksos', *ABD III*, p.343.

[46] See however, the different New Kingdom spelling: $t3\text{-}k3\text{-}rw/r\text{-}b\text{-}^c\text{-}:r$ and $t3\text{-}k3\text{-}rw\text{-}m\text{-}w_2$, Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, Nos 553-554.

[47] References Yeivin, *JEA* 45 (1959) 16-18; Giveon, *GM* 44 (1981) 17-19; D.N. Freedman, The Original Name of Jacob, *IEJ* 13 (1963) 125f; *HAL*, 403, De Vaux, *Histoire*, p.186, 192f.

[48] Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, p.120f.