

Ran Zadok

Issues Pertaining to the Israelite-Judeans in Pre-Islamic Mesopotamia and the Land of Israel as well as Their Encounters with Iranians

Preamble

The main issue which will be discussed here is the presence of Iranians in the Fertile Crescent and their lengthy encounter with Israelites and Judeans from the Sargonid period in Assyria to as late as the end of the Sasanian period in Babylonia (a period of almost 1400 years). This encounter took place also in Achaemenid Palestine. The Judean-Persian interaction in Achaemenid Babylonia must have had a theological impact on Judaism in this formative and critical age. One has to look for plausible scenarios and loci of Judeo-Iranian encounters. Much later, in Sasanian Babylonia, Jewish practitioner-scribes left a sizable corpus of incantation bowls; many of their clients bore Iranian names, an indication of an intensive interaction between both groups. I hope that this treatise of mine, especially the detailed classification and analysis of the onomasticon of the JBA and to some extent other Aramaic incantation bowls is a worthy tribute to the eminent Iranianist, my teacher Prof. Shaul Shaked. This onomasticon has never been subjected to a systematic study, although many names were individually interpreted.

A The pre-Hellenistic periods

1 The Neo-Assyrian period

The earliest encounter of Israelites with inhabitants of the Iranian Plateau was during their deportation to the “cities of Media”, which are identified with the Assyrian satrapies of Media, namely Harhar, Kishesi(m) and Parsua. However, concrete information about Israelites in Media is lacking: the attempt of Galil

Note: Symbols: ° follows a letter with an uncertain reading. ↑↓ = see above and below respectively. I should like to thank Professors M. Morgenstern and M. Moriggi for sending me the book of Faraj 2010 which is not available in Israel.

Ran Zadok, Tel Aviv University, Israel

(2009) to locate two Israelite exiles in the town of Sagbat (in Kišesim) sometime between 732 and 727 BCE was refuted by me.¹ Moreover, Radner² observes that the settlement of the deportees in Media probably did not predate 713 BCE,³ very probably not before 716 BCE.

Non-Indo-Iranian groups and individuals from the Iranian Plateau, viz. Kassites, Harharians and Elamites, were deported to Assyria⁴ as well as Medes who bore Iranian names. The following 23 individuals who were either explicitly Medes or bore Iranian names lived in Upper Mesopotamia between c. 810 and 618 BCE:⁵

1. *Ur-ru-da* (perhaps OIran. **Hu-rauda-* “of beautiful appearance”) was a dependent head of a family who was granted to an eunuch by Adad-nerarī III (810–783 BCE).⁶

2. *Ú-ar-gi* (OIran. **Hu-arga-*)⁷ was perhaps a military official. He is mentioned in a damaged letter concerning hostilities (probably from the time of Tiglath-pileser III). The arena and his domicile are not specified.⁸

3–4. *Bar-zi-i* (OIran. **Brziya-*)⁹ refers to witnesses from Calah (738 BCE) and Imgur-Ilil (734 BCE). *Mādāyu* (*Mad-A+A*, gentilic > PN) “Mede” was borne by at least four (maximum six) individuals (provided the reading of the polyvalent sign KUR is in all occurrences *mad*).¹⁰

5. Witnesses from Calah, 738 BCE (listed together with *Bar-zi-i*);

6. Lent silver and copper (with a field as pledge) and also acted as a witness (his title is not preserved), Calah, 717–710 BCE.

7. Recipient of a royal letter (found in Calah), in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II. He is presumably identical with his namesake who was a royal intimate (*ša-qurbūti*) and an official recorded in a list of offerings from the same time.

1 See Zadok, “Israelites and Judeans,” 164.

2 Zadok, “Onomastics as a Historical Source,” 106–111.

3 For information about exiles there cf. Zehnder, *Umgang mit Fremden*, 186, 194, 217, 224, 226, 246, 263–264 (Israelites are not mentioned).

4 See Zadok, “Onomastics as a Historical Source,” 481–482.

5 I do not include here *Mar-tú-* (PNA 2: 742b) since, in my opinion, the spelling with - *tú-* is incompatible with the Iranian etymology **Marta-* suggested by Schmitt (*Iranische Personennamen*, 109:89). It can be read *Mar-lih-*, in which case it would be an Aramaic name (cf. *Mar-li-hi-ia*/*Ma-ri-li-hi*, PNA 2: 740–741).

6 See PNA 3: 1418a. *Ú-ma-nu*, who is recorded in Gozan in the same reign bore a name which – on the face of it – is explicable in Elamite or Iranian terms (see PNA 3: 1378), but this is uncertain.

7 See Zadok “Review of Hinz 1975,” 214b and Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 163:148.

8 See PNA 3:1354–1355.

9 See Zadok, “Five Iranian Names,” 388b and Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 67:40.

10 See PNA 2: 673–674 (cf. Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 105–106: 85).

8. *Ku-ta-ki* (OIran. **Kutaka-*),¹¹ had a house in Assur in 724 BCE.¹²

9. *Pa-ra-’u* (OIran. **Paruva-*¹³), official from the town of Birtu, 717 BCE.¹⁴ BCE;

10. *A-bé-eš-ta-am-ba* (OIran. **Abi-štamba-*),¹⁵ military official, Dūr-Šarru-kēn, sometime between 714 and 705 BCE,¹⁶

11. *Mādāyu* (*Mad-A+A*), slave, purchased by the manageress of the royal har-em of the central city, Nineveh, reign of Sennacherib.

12. *’Si’-ti-ir-ka-a-nu/Si-t[’i-ir-ka-a-nu]*, Aram. Š[’t]rkn (OIran. **Čiθrakāna-*),¹⁷ slave purchased by a royal official in Nineveh, 684 BCE;¹⁸

13. *Par-ta-a-ma* (OIran. **Fratama-*),¹⁹ recipient of quantity of wine, Nineveh, 683 BCE.²⁰

14. *Ú-ri-ia-a* (OIran. **Varya-* “the desirable”; alternatively Israelie-Judean) refers to a dependent individual from Dadiualla who was pledged with his family by the governor of Talmusu in 681 BCE.²¹

15. *Ú-na-ma-a* (OIran. **Hu-nāma-* “having a good name, reputation”, cf. RAE *Ú-na-ma*)²² acted as a witness for the Egyptian Tapnahte (Assur, 646* BCE).²³

16. *Pa-ar-nu-u-a* (OIran. **Farnahvā*, nom. of **Farnah-vant-*),²⁴ a dependent person from an unknown settlement, time of Assurbanipal.²⁵

17. *Sa-am-bu-uk* (OIran. **Sambu-ka-*),²⁶ a dependent person from an unknown settlement, time of Assurbanipal.²⁷

11 See Zadok, “Two Old Iranian Anthroponyms,” 96, 128 with n. 23 and Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 105:83.

12 See PNA 2: 644b.

13 See Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 120:102.

14 PNA 3: 988b.

15 See Zadok, “Kassite and Iranian Names,” and Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 39–40:2.

16 See PNA 1: 14b.

17 See Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 140–141:124 (cf. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 130:437).

18 See PNA 3: 1152b.

19 See Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 123–124:107 with lit.

20 See PNA 3: 990b.

21 See PNA 3: 1414b.

22 See Gershevitch, “Amber at Persepolis,” 242 (followed by Mayrhofer *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 8.1742).

23 See PNA 3: 1386b.

24 See Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 122–123:106.

25 PNA 3: 989b.

26 See Zadok “Review of Hinz 1975,” 215 with n. 7, cf. Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 132–133:116.

27 See PNA 3: 1082b.

18. *Bar-zi-i* s. of Sili (West Sem.), opponent in a lawsuit, Assur, 633 BCE.²⁸

19. *Pa-ra-an-ša-ka* (OIran. **Far(a)n-saka-* < **Farnah-saka-*),²⁹ witness in a lawsuit, Assur, 618* BCE.³⁰

20. *Bar-zi-ia-[a]* (OIran. **Brziya-*),³¹ military official from Buramma, undated (Sargonid).³²

21. An isolated occurrence of an Iranian: *Ba-ga-a-nu*, i.e. an *-āna-*(pro-)patronymic of *Baga-* “god”³³ (cf. *Bgn*, below) from **Pap(a)hu* (^{kur}*Pa-pa-ha-A+A*), who acted as the sixteenth witness (out of twenty) together with another individual from the same place bearing the Akkadian-Aramaic name *Man-nu-ki-Adad* (X) in a deed from VII 644 BCE (eponymy of *Nabû-šarra-ušur*) belonging to the documentation group of *Harrānāyu*. The deed is very probably from *Ma'allānāte*. First recorded are seven witnesses from there, followed by four witnesses with filiations and one with a title (8th, 9th, 11th, 12th and 10th respectively), one from *Gozan* (13th), two without filiation and provenience (14th, 15th), the *Pap(a)hean* pair (16th, 17th), one with filiation (19th) and two without (18th, 20th). All the witnesses whose provenance is indicated are without filiations, since a single identifier was sufficient. Yet it should be pointed out that three of the seven witnesses from *Ma'allānāte* in the northern Jazira bear titles. They and *Bēl-šarra-ušur* (judging from his basilophoric name) belonged to the palatial sector (the 1st and 2nd to the queen and the 3rd to the crown prince). The deed is about a pledge of an agricultural domain of *Nūrānu* on behalf of *Harrānāyu*. The domain was situated in *Kapar* (URU.ŠE)-*Kuzbi-šarri*. It consisted of a field, a vegetable garden and a structure defined as *bīt-ri/tal-pi-ti*. The domain was adjacent to:

The fields of (a) *Qar-ha-a* and (b) *Kur-ri-il-la-A+A* (both messengers of the countryside), (c) a meadow (*se-hi*, cf. MA *sa-hi* and SB *sah-hu* in a NA inscription) of the settlement of *Kak-mis/š*, (d) a watercourse, (f) the threshing flour of the village (presumably that of *Kapar-Kuzbi-šarri*), (g) half of an unoccupied structure (*bīt-ri/tal-pi-ti*), (h) half of a cistern of water which is situated behind the *bīt-ri/tal-pi-ti*, (i) half of a cistern of water which is emptied into a wadi, and (j) half of a vegetable garden (^{gis}KIRI₆ ša ^uSAR). The segments g-j are halves of the original areas and installations due to the fact that *Nūrānu*'s domain was the outcome of partition of the original estate with his unnamed brothers (perhaps the abutters

28 See PNA 1: 274.

29 See Zadok, “Iranians in Cuneiform,” 139 and Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 119–120:101.

30 See PNA 3: 988b.

31 See Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen*, 67–68:41 with lit.

32 See PNA 1: 274b.

33 Cf. PNA 1: 250–251, s. v. *Bagānu* (“meaning unknown”).

a and b above). **Papahu* is perhaps a settlement near Ma'allānāte.³⁴ Another possibility, if one relies on the Iranian origin of *Ba-ga-a-nu*'s name, is to consider **Papahu* not as his actual domicile, but his ultimate origin, in which case **Papahu*, which is otherwise not recorded in NA, is a late form of **Paphu*, which is the base of MA (*Māt*-)*Paphi* (invariably with the Akkadian *nisbe*, aptly lemmatized as **Paphû*). Moreover, the MB form of this originally Hurrian geographical designation is *papahhu* "east", cf. Hittite *Pa-pa-ah-hi*, *Pa-pa-an-hi*³⁵ and with the Akkadian *nisbe* *pa-ba-ah-hu-û* (gen. *pa-ba-ah-hi-im*).³⁶ "mountain dweller" in OB Mari. The name goes back to Hurr. *pabanhi* "mountainous, Easterner".³⁷ In Mari it refers to mountaineers of ʿŪr-ʿAbdīn.³⁸ The land of *Paphi* is to be sought SW of Lake Van.³⁹ In this case *Ba-ga-a-nu* might have originated from the Iranians (the NW group, viz. Medes and the ancestors of the Kurds) who migrated to the Armenian Plateau during the 1st half of the 1st millennium BCE and eventually replaced the indigenous Hurrian population. At least three Israelite-Judeans are recorded in the documentation from Ma'allānāte. *Ytyhw* acted as a witness at Qaštu in 700 BCE (archive of Handī).⁴⁰ *A-za-ri-iā-u*⁴¹ and *Barak* (BARAG)-*ia/iā-u*,⁴² are recorded in the documentation from Ma'allānāte (in 665 and 644 BCE respectively), but there is no evidence that they interacted with Iranians. The latter is mentioned in the same deed as *Hu-ba-na-nu* who acted as a witness in a deed from X.665 BCE (one of the parties is from Ma'allānāte).⁴³ There is a slight possibility that *Hu-ba-na-nu*'s name is based on the Elamite theonym *Humban*. However, this was two decades before the hostilities between Assyria and Elam resulted in deportations of Elamites to upper Mesopotamia, which weakens the case for considering him an Elamite.

22. The Iranian *Ma-du-ki/ku* (< OIran. **Madu-ka*-, *ka*-hypocoristicon to *madu*- "honey, sweet drink; wine")⁴⁴ is recorded as a sealer of a tablet and as a witness in Dūr-Katlimmu in 667–654 BCE (archive of Šulmu-šarri).⁴⁵

34 See Bagg, *Rép. géogr.* 7/2–2: 474, s. v. **Pappaha* (his lemmatization with *-pp-* is not justified) of unknown linguistic affiliation (op. cit.: lxxxvii).

35 Bagg, *Rép. géogr.* 6: 101, s. v. *Papanhi*.

36 CAD P: 101a, s. v.

37 Cf. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar*, 295–297, s. v. *paba*.

38 See Kupper, *Lettres royales*, 156, n. c; cf. Durand, "Review of Arnaud," 186.

39 See Nashef, *Rép. géogr.* 5: 190–191, s. v. *Māt-Paphi*.

40 See PNA 2: 496b, s. v. *Yatyahu*, cf. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions*, 37–39.

41 Homès-Fredericq, Garelli *et al.*, *Ma'allānāte*, 17, 4 (eponymy of Nabû-šarra-ušur).

42 Homès-Fredericq, Garelli *et al.*, *Ma'allānāte*, 16, 7.

43 Homès-Fredericq, Garelli *et al.*, *Ma'allānāte*, 16a, 9 = 16b, 11 (3rd and 2nd witness respectively).

44 See Zadok, "Two Old Iranian."

45 See PNA 2/2: 674b, where the name is not interpreted.

23. Another witness with an Iranian name occurring in the same archive is *Ku-re-e-nu* (631 BCE)⁴⁶ < OIran. *-aina*-hypocoristicon of **Kura-*, to **kura-* “seed, clan” (cf. Parth. *Kwryn*).⁴⁷ A generation later, descendants of Israelite-Judean exiles dwelt on the lower Habur, notably in Dūr-Katlimmu, at the end of the 7th century BCE.⁴⁸ Iranian and Elamite deportees also dwelt there. The Elamites possessed a field in Magdalu in 603–600 BCE,⁴⁹ but so far there is no evidence of any contact between them and the Israelite-Judeans who are recorded in the same archive.

2 Babylonia: The Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods

Shortly later, King Jehoiachin, his entourage and other prominent Judean exiles are recorded together with other rulers and prominent figures from the conquered Levant in the royal archive from the Southern Fortress of Babylon during the 1st quarter of the 6th century BCE. Medes, Persians and Elamites sojourned in Babylon at that time according to the same archive,⁵⁰ but there is no evidence that the Levantine exiles interacted with Irano-Elamites.

Iranian names among Judeans in Achaemenid Babylonia are rare. Only two individuals from Nippur and its region bore Iranian given names. Their paternal names are Semitic (one is Yahwistic):⁵¹

Ú-dar/da-ar-na-’ (OIran. **Vidṛna*-⁵²) s. of Ra-hi-mi-il (DINGIR^{meš}) from Nippur, 17.I.432–4.XII.425 BCE,⁵³ was the only one in his family who bore an Iranian name. His three brothers and his son bore Yahwistic and Aramaic names (one member had an Akkadian name).⁵⁴ Ba-ge-e-šú (OIran. **Baga-aiša*- “God-seeking” or a hypocoristicon *Bag(a)iča*-⁵⁵ s. of Ha-na-ni-’-ia-a-ma, gs. of the alphabet scribe Aplâ and master of Gu-uk-ka-’ (OIran. **Gau-ka*-, a hypocoristicon based on “bull, beef”),⁵⁶ is recorded in Bīt-Murānu, 4.VII.417 BCE.⁵⁷

⁴⁶ See PNA 2/1: 640b, where the name is not interpreted.

⁴⁷ < OIran. **Kur-ina*- according to Schmitt, *Personennamen in Parthischen*, 119–120:252 (Parth. *-<y>* can alternatively render *-ēn* < *-aina*-).

⁴⁸ See Zadok, “Israelites and Judeans,” 169:68–72.

⁴⁹ Radner, *neuassyrischen Texten*, 39, 40.

⁵⁰ Cf. Zadok “People from Countries.”

⁵¹ Cf. Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, 33–34.

⁵² Cf. Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 314–315:580 with lit.

⁵³ Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents*, 9, 69, 1.7.8.10.12.1.e. (= Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora*, 38:74); owner of a cylinder seal (Bregstein *Seal Use*, 362).

⁵⁴ Cf. Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia*, 196–200:5.3.3, esp. 197: fig. 10.

⁵⁵ See Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 141: 187a–b.

⁵⁶ See Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 204:271 with lit.

⁵⁷ Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora*, 44:149, cf. Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia*, 186, 201.

Filiations consisting of an Iranian given name and a West Semitic paternal name are common among West Semites in Babylonia. The inverted filiation, i.e. West Semitic given name and an Iranian paternal name is very rare: Was Ṭāb-šā-lam<-ma>-mu son of *Pa-ra-gu-šú* (1st w.,⁵⁸ OIran. **Paru-gu*-)⁵⁹ born in a mixed marriage?

No Judean filiations with Iranian names are recorded in the rural archives from Yahūdu and its vicinity. The main locus of the Judeans' encounter with proto-Zoroastrianism must have been in Babylon which served as one of the Achaemenid winter capitals. The contact between the elite of the Judean exiles, especially its priests and literati, and the Achaemenid court and officialdom very probably started in the early Achaemenid period. Compare the relationship of Ezra with King Artaxerxes. The presence of magian priests (*lúma-gu-šá-A+A*) in central Babylonia was also significant. They are recorded in archives from Borsippa and other cities. An anonymous magian priest received 0;1 kor, more than the other recipients. The document⁶⁰ belongs to the archive of the Borsippian priest Ardīya s. of Šulā desc. of Iliya and is dated to the early Achaemenid period: the archive owner is recorded between 7.XI.4 Nabonidus = 551 and -.29 Darius I = 493/2 BCE. An anonymous magian priest, who was in charge of a group of workmen (together with a scribe), is recorded in a letter from Uruk which does not contain a date, but is datable to the early Achaemenid period.⁶¹ Another unnamed magian priest is recorded in Abanu in southeastern Babylonia (where a royal palace was located) at the beginning of the Achaemenid period. He was in charge of the house of the flour millers.⁶² Both documents belong to the archive of the Eanna temple of Uruk which was obliged to supply services to the royal sector. Rations consisting of 86 kors of dates were to be distributed among unspecified number of *gardu*-workmen, magian priests (*lúma-gu-še-e^{meš}*) and palace servants (*mārē ekalli*) of *bīt harē* by the alphabet scribe Bēl-ētir s. of Nabû-ahhē-bullit according to a promissory note from Babylon, 7.V.26 Darius I = 496 BCE.⁶³ The debtor, Bēl-rēmāni s. of Mušebši-Marduk, was obliged to pay within three days. At least two of the five witnesses, viz. Adad-šarra-ušur s. of Kalbā and Nabû-zēra-

58 Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora*, 38:73.

59 Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 282:425.

60 BM 103669 (see Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, 166–167 with lit., and Zadok, "Occupations and Status Categories," xxxiv).

61 Keiser, *Letters and Contracts*, 1, 40 (see Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, 166).

62 YOS 3, 66, 5 ff. See Tolini, "repas du Grand Roi," 252 with n. 65 where most of the documentation about Magian priests in Babylonia is discussed.

63 Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, 138/139 = Jursa, *Bēl-rēmāni*, 168 and pl. 25:BM 42383.

(see Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, 166 and Jursa, *Bēl-rēmāni*, 168–169).

iddina s. of Šin-šarra-ušur (1st and 4th), are linked to the palatial sector. Nabû-kušuršu, s. of Ribatu, guaranteed against claims concerning the barley and any other property belonging to Bêl-aḥa-ittannu, s. of Lâbâši, raised by the magian priest (^{lu}*ma-gu-šú*) *A-ti-'ú-pa-ra-*', [Babylon?], archive unknown, 12.[x].14 Art. I/II/III = 457/6, 397/6 or 351/0 BCE.⁶⁴ The name of the magian priest perhaps originates from OIran. *Aθī-hu-pā-ra “well-protected from fear” (with -ra-extension).⁶⁵

The problem of reconstructing a reliable and fairly comprehensive prosopographical sample of the Judeans in pre-Hellenistic Babylonia was tackled by me in a monograph on this subject from 2002, where I was able to isolate 161 individuals from Babylonia who can be considered Judeans with various degrees of plausibility. Fortunately, their number now is more than double thanks to the new material from Yahudu and other settlements which were linked to this Judean colony (almost 100 additional documents including more than 190 additional individuals). Moreover, the additional material is much more statistically compact as it has an impressive density of attestations. This material is subjected to a thorough socio-economic analysis in a recent monograph of Alstola (2020). However, the task of reaching a definitive statistical pool of the Judean exiles is still a desideratum. In order to reach a reliable statistical pool, it is imperative to compare the enlarged and updated material from Babylonia to that from Judah, the country of origin of the exiles before the deportations, namely the long 7th century (700–586) BCE.

It should be pointed out that no Yahwistic names are recorded in the scanty epigraphic material from Israel and Judah which is datable before 800 BCE (just ten individuals with preserved given names, and partially with paternal names, altogether 14 anthroponyms).

The earliest extra-biblical mention of *Yhw* is his temple in Nebo which is recorded in the Mesha inscription (c. 830 BCE). It can be envisaged that the cult of *Yhw* was transmitted to Nebo in the inheritance of Reuben, traditionally the senior tribe of the Israelite proto-history, who settled northwest of Moab, via the highway (“royal way” *drk hmlk*) which connected northern Hijaz, viz. Midian, the Hisma – and Edom with Moab and the adjacent Reubenite territory.⁶⁶ Another way which linked Edom and the north was a westbound one, namely from Eilath to Gaza via Kuntillit ‘Ajrūd (ancient Teman), in northeastern Sinai, but still within the orbit of Edom which has become a vassal of Judah while the latter was practically subordinate to the Northern Kingdom. The *Yhw* cult spread to Israelite

⁶⁴ Hackl, *Materialien*, 1: 240–241:39, 8.

⁶⁵ Cautiously suggested by Tavernier *apud* Hackl, *Materialien*, 1: 241.

⁶⁶ See Noth, “Der Wallfahrtsweg,” cf. Fleming, *Yahweh before Israel*, but see also Becking. “Review of Fleming.”

territory from Edom and Sinai primarily via both Transjordan and the Negev. No wonder that the earliest Yahwistic names are recorded in Kuntillat 'Ajrūd, which was a cultic centre of the local *Yhw* (*Yhw Teman*), where the itinerant merchants of this commercial station worshipped also the *Yhw* of Samaria in c. 800 BCE. The percentage of Yahwistic anthroponyms steadily increased towards the end of the 1st temple period; of the 163 individuals from Israel and Judah before 700 BCE – 71 out of 164, that is, 43.29 % – bear Yahwistic names,⁶⁷ but during the long 7th century in Judah the percentage became higher: it reached 47.22 % (221 out of 468 individuals). This sample of material which was found mostly *in situ* updates that which was presented by Tigay 36 years ago. In view of the archaeological find, it may be concluded that the pre-exilic Yahwism was practically monolatric and not devoid of idolatrous traits, but I am not going to elaborate on this issue. Since I concentrate on extra-biblical evidence, it should be mentioned that also the religion of the Elephantine Jews, who reached Egypt sometime in the long 7th century, is not a strictly exclusive Yahwism. The relatively rich documentation on the Judean exiles in Babylonia is exclusively socio-economic and does not contain any information about their religious practices. It is not without interest that the Judean Bēl-šarra-ušur has become the official name of the palatial functionary Yahu-šarra-ušur in pre-Achaemenid Babylonia. This may hint at an identification of *Yhw* with *Bēl* = *Ba'al*. If this is not just an *interpretatio Babylonica*, then it is again an argument against an exclusive Yahwism. In short, there is no extra-biblical evidence that Yahwism evolved to strict monotheism before the Achaemenid period.

Here I shall avoid a discriminate aggregate of an Israelite-Judean prosopographical sample, but aim at a statistical comparison between the percentage of the Yahwistic names in the prosopographical pool from Judah of the long 7th century BCE and that of the Neo- and Late-Babylonian pool between 572 and 477 BCE: 140 out of 190 individuals = 73.68 % from Yahūdu and its environs bore Yahwistic names. This must be an excessive percentage, due to the fact that the main criterion for defining Judeans in Babylonia is the occurrence of the theophorous element *Yhw*. No doubt that many crypto-Judeans, probably no less than additional seventy or so, are recorded in the documentation from the Judean colony and its region, but one simply cannot isolate them from the bulk of the pertinent documentation, as they bear common West Semitic and Akkadian an-

67 See Zadok, "Israelites and Judeans," 172 with one modification: to the list of the 70 Yahwistic names (42.94 %) add *Bnyw* in an inked inscription on a jar, 9th–beginning of 8th century BCE from Abel Beth Maacah (Yahalom-Mack *et al.*, "The Iron Age IIA"). Barkay ("Group of Stamped Handles," 122) draws attention that there are fewer Yahwistic names in the 8th century BCE (c. 22 % among the Judean royal officials shortly before 700 BCE).

thrononyms. I mean that by adding the 70–80 crypto-Judeans from the Yahūdu documentation, wherever it lacks evidence to the contrary,⁶⁸ we shall obtain the same percentage as in Judah at the time of the deportation. Yahūdu “Judah”, being named after the country or its capital Jerusalem, was a Judean colony, but this does not mean that it was inhabited exclusively by Judeans. They surely were the overwhelming majority there, but one explicit Tyrian is recorded there in 517 BCE together with another two individuals who were perhaps Phoenicians as well.⁶⁹ They might have settled in Yahūdu one generation after the Judeans, presumably after the conquest of rebellious Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar II. The Judean settlement was also inhabited by several Arameans and other people indigenous to Babylonia. This is demonstrated by a marriage contract⁷⁰ concluded by two parties belonging to the non-urban component of the indigenous Babylonian society who resided in Yahūdu in -XII.5 Cyrus = 533 BCE. The bride’s family was not only of a low social status, but also poor.⁷¹ The contract was concluded between the groom Nabû-bān-ahī son of Kīnā and ʿf-D/ṭib?-bi-’ daughter of Da-na-a, the mother of the bridegroom Nanā-kānat. It was issued in the presence of Mu-šā-la-am, the bridegroom’s brother thereby indicating his consent⁷² in the absence of her father (who is not mentioned at all: both siblings are mentioned without paternal names). No less than seven out of the eight witnesses to the contract were Judeans,⁷³ very probably neighbours and colleagues of the parties. This is understandable as the settlement had a Judean majority. It stands to reason that when the colony was founded, the authorities settled there at least one or several indigenous families along with the Judean deportees, who formed the majority in order to instruct the deportees who came from rain-fed Judah the basics of the Babylonian irrigation agriculture notably the cultivation of date palms.

Regarding the scenarios and loci of the presumed encounters between Judeans and Iranians, in the first place Persians and Medes, which took place during the Achaemenid period (538–331 BCE), the material is much more limited, scattered and entirely indirect. The basic assumption is that such encounters were limited to the elites of both ethnic groups, namely the Judeans and the Iranians and the main locus must have been Babylon, which served as one of the Achaemenid capitals and was the destination of high-ranking Judean exiles as is proven by the earlier documentation about Jehoiachin and his entourage. At the begin-

68 Like the parties to the marriage contract mentioned below.

69 CUSAS 28, no. 15.

70 Edited with an extensive commentary by Abraham, “West Semitic and Judean Brides.”

71 See Abraham, “West Semitic and Judean Brides,” 202.

72 The exceptional non-inclusion of the brother in the operative section was noticed by Abraham “West Semitic and Judean Brides,” 202a.

73 Abraham “Inheritance Division.”

ning of the Achaemenid rule in Babylonia, descendants of Jehoiakin and of the prominent priesthood of the ruined Jerusalem temple resided in Babylon. Direct evidence, namely documentation of Akkadian and other Aramaic indigenous sources for the presence of Judeans in Babylon is very limited. Demographically, most Judeans were settled in the countryside. No more than five Judeans are so far recorded in the capital of Babylon,⁷⁴ but this scanty evidence is due to hazards of documentation: palatial archives from Achaemenid Babylon are not recorded and very few foreigners are mentioned in the archive of the main temple of Babylon, Esaggila. Besides, Judeans from the province came to Babylon in 506 BCE in order to settle their affairs: such was the case of Ahiqam's five sons from Yahūdu who divided their inherited business shares according to a deed drafted in Babylon and witnessed by nine individuals, of whom at least four were Judeans. They might have been brought by the parties from Yahūdu or were resident in Babylon (Babylon, 7.VII.16 Darius I = 506 BCE).⁷⁵ It is very likely that Judeans who were of a certain standing, like the functionaries of the Achaemenid palatial sector in Babylonia, especially those residing or frequenting the capital of Babylon, had intensive interaction with the Persian authorities. No less than 74 individuals with Iranian names or of Iranian extraction, predominantly Persians and Medes, resided or were active in Babylon.⁷⁶ Some of them intermarried with Babylonians. Several Judeans from Babylonia bore Iranian names. Such names were borne also by at least two of the 19 urban clans of Achaemenid Jerusalem, namely Bigway and Zatu (cf. perhaps Elam). They might have hailed from Teispid or early Achaemenid Babylonia. Their name-giving is compatible with the initial enthusiastic expectations of the descendants of the Judean exiles from Cyrus as well as their gratitude for the fulfillment of his promise to restore the temple of Jerusalem. The fact that the restoration was in all probability demographically relatively insignificant did not basically affect their positive attitude, because all

74 1. Né-ri-ia-a-ma s. of Bēl-zēra-ibni, guarantor, was presumably associated with the Egibi firm (Egibi archive), 9.XI.510 BCE (Strassmaier, *Inschriften*, 310, 4), 2. ^aIa-hu-ú-iddina(MU), place not preserved (possibly Babylon), --.509/8 BCE, second witness (in a broken context, Stigers, "Neo- and Late Babylonian Documents," 49:44, 19), 3. [mxx(x)] s. of Za-kar-ri?-ia?-ma' ^use-pir-r[i] (alphabet scribe) of? ^m?R]a?-man-na, Babylon, 3.X.507 BCE (BM 26553, 7f., receipt belonging to the archive of the Borsippian clan of Iliya), 4. Ga-da-la-a-ma s. of Banna-Ea, Babylon, 24.VI.486 BCE (see Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia*, 223–224), and 5. Ra-hi-im s. of Ba-na-ia-a-ma; Babylon, 8.II.432 BCE, witness (PBS 2/1,5,12.1.e. [impressed with his stamp seal, Bregstein, *Seal Use*, 91). See Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia*, 223–226.

75 Abraham, "Inheritance Division" = CUSAS 28, 45.

76 Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 2, 7, 11, 12, 36, 39, 42, 57, 75, 79, 91, 104, 137, 152, 161, 171, 178, 198, 199, 201, 206, 208, 209, 211, 214, 221, 253, 256, 257, 261, 265, 288, 291, 314, 315, 329, 343, 350, 351, 360, 369, 379, 382, 383, 387–389, 400, 415, 417, 430, 437, 448, 451, 473, 480, 487, 524, 528, 539, 542, 559, 564, 565, 575, 589, 614, 615, 621, 623, 627, 631, 639, 653.

the restrictions were within the general policy of the Teispids and Achaemenids towards the conquered population. They did not apply a special policy towards the Judeans (see van der Spek 1982).

About 650 Iranians and bearers of Iranian names are recorded in Achaemenid Babylonia, a very important satrapy of the empire. On the other hand very few Iranians are recorded in Achaemenid Palestine. The governor of the sub-satrapy of Judah in 408 BCE, *Bgwhy* (OIran. **Baga-vahya*-), is homonymous with one of the two Judean clans bearing Iranian names. *'wstn* (OIran. **Ava-stāna*-)⁷⁷ is mentioned in a petition of the notables of the Elephantinian Jews on 25 November 407 BCE.⁷⁸ He is listed after the high priest of Jerusalem and before the nobles of Judea. Therefore it stands to reason that he was a very high official in Judah, presumably a Judean with a Persian name like *Bgwhy*.⁷⁹ The Aramaic papyri from the end of the Achaemenid period, which were found in Wādi Dāli contain taxation terms which are recorded in Babylonia, namely *hlk'* = Akkad. *ilku* "corvee" (> "tax"), and *qšt* (Akkad. *qaštu*) "bow-fief".⁸⁰ The occurrence of these terms as well as the fact that the Iranian *Wh(w)dt* officiated as judge in the capital of Samaria, may indicate that the taxation terminology and the implementation of the Achaemenid jurisdiction in Samaria and by extension in the rest of Transuephratene including Judah, were not much different than in Babylonia, the more so since Transuephratene and Babylonia were one satrapy during the early Achaemenid period. At first glance it seems overbold to draw such a conclusion from isolated references, but one has to bear in mind that unlike the abundant cuneiform evidence from Achaemenid Babylonia, the pertinent documentation from Transuephratene, predominantly in the Aramaic alphabet, was almost entirely recorded on perishable materials.

The encounter between Judeans and Persians impacted early Judaism, but not the Samaritan variety of Yahwistic monotheism: the Pharisees believed in afterlife, a development attributed to Zoroastrian influence, while this fundamental belief did not penetrate the Samaritan religion before the late Roman period. When it did, it was under the influence of the varieties and derivatives of late Judaism, long after the disappearance of the Sadduceans who did not believe in afterlife. It should be remembered that the Samaritans lacked this exilic experience. We may conclude that the sheer presence and political-administrative dominance of the Persians in Palestine did not impact Yahwism, but the initial and decisive impetus was the Teispid conquest of Babylonia followed by the Achaeme-

⁷⁷ See Tavernier, *Iranica*, 128:4.2.216.

⁷⁸ TAD A.4.7 = A.4.8, 18.

⁷⁹ See Porten, *Archives*, 289–290.

⁸⁰ Not "community" as argued by Lipiński ("Review of Dušek," 232).

nid consolidation of control there which was regarded as salvation after a period of crisis by the Judean elite in Babylon. This was amply expressed in such theological terms by the 2nd and 3rd Isaiah. The latter contains the earliest unmistakable formulation of Yhw as the sole deity. Such influence is discernible in Deutero-Isaiah, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah and in the Qumran “library”, especially from the 1st century BCE to 2nd century CE. century CE.⁸¹

3 Judah

Likewise, very few Jews in Judah bore Iranian names.⁸² Only one individual, namely *Wny*’ (< **Vanyah*- “victorious”)⁸³ is recorded in the Post-exilic Judah. The name of Another individual, *’wzy* is either OIran. **Uzya*-⁸⁴ or Semitic.⁸⁵ However, doubt is cast on the textual transmission of this short name.⁸⁶ Ššy (also Ez. 10, 40) may derive from OPers. *Čiçiya-/ *Čiçaya-/⁸⁷ but the name is too short and there may be other alternatives regarding its origin.

Hšbdnh is not Iranian,⁸⁸ but a corrupted form of *Hšbnh* < *Hšbnyh*/*Hšbnyh*.⁸⁹ *Mgbyš* is certainly not Iranian,⁹⁰ but apparently Semitic.⁹¹

Two names are recorded in the additions to the Priestly Source (P) of the Pentateuch. Their bearers are attributed to the period of wandering in the Sinai desert, but they must be fictitious as the P source is post-exilic:

Prnk < OIran. **Farnaka*-,⁹² *Wpsy* is – if it is the outcome of a graphical metathesis of **Wpys* – presumably OIran. **Vi-paisa*-.⁹³

The rich genealogical lists of the Book of Chronicles contain three Iranian names, but two of them may alternatively be Semitic. The only one which is un-

⁸¹ See Shaked, “Iranian Influences,” 313–314, 324.

⁸² For Iranian and Iranians in Palestine see in general Schmitt 2017.

⁸³ Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 46–47:32 with previous lit.

⁸⁴ Baumgartner *et al.* *Hebräisches und Aramäisches*, 20, cf. Zadok, “Die nichthebräischen Namen,” 396; for an alternative Iranian etymology see Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 29:4.

⁸⁵ See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 141–142.

⁸⁶ See Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*, 120 *ad* Neh. 3, 25.

⁸⁷ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 63–64:63.

⁸⁸ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 52:41.

⁸⁹ Cf. Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 759:183:72.

⁹⁰ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 54:45 with previous lit.

⁹¹ See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 124.

⁹² See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 176, cf. Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 60–61:58.

⁹³ See Zadok 1985: 396 and 1988: 176 (followed by Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 47–48:33).

ambiguously Iranian is *Tyry'* (OIran. **Tīriya*-).⁹⁴ Regarding *ḥštry* (OIran. **Xšaθr-iyā*-),⁹⁵ it may be that the original form was **šhwry* (>**ḥšwry* with metathesis), a gentilic of his ancestor *ḥšwr*.⁹⁶ *Ššn*, which may render OPers. **Čiçina*-⁹⁷ (one would expect **ššyn* as in later, Aramaic sources), may alternatively be Semitic (“byssus-like”).⁹⁸ *Ssmy* is certainly not Iranian.⁹⁹ *Ztm* in the Chronicler’s Levitic genealogies is very probably Semitic.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the source of inspiration of the invention of individuals with Iranian names in the Chronicler’s imaginary settlement history was the presence of Iranians in southern Palestine in his time, viz. the Achaemenid period (cf. below, 5).

The Census List in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah originates not long before Nehemiah as determined by the occurrence of the Iranian name *Bgwy* (there are more Iranian names in the list) if the headline is an integral part of the list or at least originated not much later than it. A very late date is unacceptable especially since several members of this list recur in relatively early sources.

One has to bear in mind that emigration from Babylonia to another satrapy was against the interests of the rulers. Perhaps the fact that both Babylonia and Judah belonged to the same satrapy well into the late Achaemenid period facilitated such waves of migrations. The pool of returnees probably did not include Judean villagers, who were settled in Babylonian rural areas, since they mostly belonged to the sector of dependent workmen and thus did not enjoy freedom of movement. As is observed by Bloch, the Judean *šušānus* (members of a class of dependent workmen) from Yahūdu in central Babylonia were required, probably by a decision of the satrap Uštanu, the satrap of Babylonia and Transeuphratene, to send the horses under their care to Achaemenid military units stationed west of the Euphrates, under Uštanu’s command, and perhaps also to join those units when going out for military service. In this way, the Judean *šušānus* at Yahūdu were classified as being “of Across-the-River” (Transeuphratene) and fell under a direct authority of Uštanu, but although they could have served in the satrapy which includes Judah, in all probability they were not allowed to leave their bow-fiefs in Yahūdu and settle in Judah.

The returnees were basically descendants of the temple personnel, namely priests, Levites, oblates, and certain professionals who functioned at the temple,

⁹⁴ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 66–67:67.

⁹⁵ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 30–31:6.

⁹⁶ See Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 467 with previous lit.

⁹⁷ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 64–65:64.

⁹⁸ See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 138, 159.

⁹⁹ See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 58:52 with previous lit.

¹⁰⁰ The Iranian derivation suggested with all due reserve by Hutter (*Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 50:38) is unlikely.

as well as profane members of the elite who resided primarily if not exclusively in the capital of Babylon. They formed urbanite clans.

The numbers of members of each clan in post-exilic Judah are not typological and hence seem reliable, but the lower options should be preferred. The impressive figures presumably result from summing up the numbers of each wave, a process lasting for about 140 years (538 – c. 400 BCE). The list of 19 clans is not complete, for there were additional urban kin groups, e.g. the perfumers, goldsmiths and whisperers-magicians who are mentioned in other lists. Thus one obtains over 20 clans. These are basically urban clans, the clans of the free citizens of Jerusalem and Judah. They are analogous to the system of clans which is well-documented in the Babylonian temple cities at that time, and later in Palmyra. *Bgwy* (2056), *ylm* (1254) and *Ztw*' (845) are among the large profane urban clans. Both *Bgwy* and *Ztw*' bear Iranian names and *ylm* is homonymous with the land of Elam in southwestern Iran. Two Judeans are recorded at the Elamite capital of Susa which served as the imperial capital in the later winter: they acted as witnesses and were linked to the palatial sector, viz. ^dIa-hu-ū-šarra-ušur (494 BCE) and Šá-ab-ba-ta-A+A s. of Nabû-šarra-bullit (492 BCE).¹⁰¹ However, they are recorded in a Babylonian archive and it cannot be ascertained whether they resided in Susa. The same applies to Ta₅-ga-bi-ia-a-ma (26.X.522 BCE)¹⁰² who had to deliver an ass to a Sipparean in Humadēšu in Persis. This implies journey, in which case he might have been a businessman. He is recorded in the archive of the Sipparean Iššar-tarībi (s. of Bunene-ibni) and acted as his agent.¹⁰³

Ten out of these 19 clans are mentioned in the list of people who joined Ezra. This list includes *Bgwy* and *ylm* (each with 70 members), but not *Ztw*'. The heads of all the three clans were among the signatories of the pact (*'amana*^h, Neh. 10, 15, 17). Members of *Ztw*' clan married alien wives (Ez. 11, 27).

Lipschits (2022) is of the opinion that no more than 300 families (c. 1500 people) inhabited Jerusalem(-village), i.e. in the Ophel and adjacent areas between 538 and c. 150 BCE. I would suggest that to this minimal estimate one may add few families who might have dwelt in or near unexcavated sections of the Ophel and adjacent areas, as well as in certain spaces of the Temple Mount outside the precincts of the small early post-exilic temple. They certainly consisted of the temple personnel in its broadest sense: it is explicitly stated that the temple oblates (*ntynym*) resided in the Ophel. Basically they lived on donations of Judeans from Judah and outside Judah as well as on support from the Achaemenid government (presumably from the governor of the Transeuphratene satrapy).

¹⁰¹ Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora*, 46–47.

¹⁰² Weszeli "Eseleien," 472–473:2, 17; cf. Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora*, 31:38.

¹⁰³ See Pirngruber "Minor Archives," 177 ad 7, rev. 17.

This must be relativized: prior to Nehemiah's governorship the clerus did not always receive its rations and therefore had to seek employment in agriculture in the surroundings of Jerusalem. It is reported about "the priests, people of the round district" (*hkhnym 'nšy hkkrr*).¹⁰⁴ This refers to the surroundings of Jerusalem in view of the mention of "the sons of the musicians from the *kkrr sbybwt Yrwšlm*" (in which case *sbybwt Yrwšlm* "the surroundings of Jerusalem" is a gloss explaining *kkrr*), followed by *ḥšry Nṭwpty*, *Byt hglgl* as well as the fields of Geba and Azmawet plus explicatory statement: "while the musicians built *ḥšrym* (enclosures > hamlets) in the surroundings of Jerusalem".¹⁰⁵

All these locales were within a day walk from the Temple Mount.

The profane clans were basically urban, but after immigrating to Judah it can be envisaged that most of their members had to seek subsistence on their agricultural domains in the Judean countryside, namely in Benjamin, the Shephelah, Bet hak-kerem paradesios, and perhaps in Engedi which was – at least in the Hellenistic-Roman age – also a royal estate.

The list of Wall Builders has several indications of local builders of the wall, who did not belong to the clerus of the temple.¹⁰⁶ Profane people (excluding administrators) who participated in the building of the wall were members of the clans of Senaah,¹⁰⁷ Harim, Pahath-Moab, Parosh and Zabbay¹⁰⁸ as well as at least three others whose clan is not indicated, but it is reported that they resided opposite the wall (*ngd bytw/bytm*): Jedaiah s. of Harumaph, Azaryah s. of Maaseiah gs. of Ananyah (provided he was not a Levite), Benjamin and Hashub.¹⁰⁹ It is not stated that Palal s. of Uzay and Hanun s. of Zalaph¹¹⁰ resided there.

Nehemiah¹¹¹ was identical¹¹² with *hTršt*¹¹³ which is his Iranian alias (<'tršt < *Atr-šiyāta-), later misunderstood as a title.¹¹⁴ Nehemiah's position in the Achae-

¹⁰⁴ Neh. 3, 22 (see Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*, 120 *ad loc.*).

¹⁰⁵ Neh. 12, 28–29.

¹⁰⁶ Zadok s. of Baanah and Hananiah s. of Shelemiah (Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 775–776:186:13, 39), who were perhaps a priest and a Levite respectively are excluded here. Joiadah s. of Psh (Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 775:186:14) is also not included here as his paternal name is homonymous with a Nethinim clan.

¹⁰⁷ Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 756:183:42.

¹⁰⁸ Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 775:186:23, 24, 31, 36.

¹⁰⁹ Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 775:186:21, 32–34.

¹¹⁰ Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 775–776:186:35, 40.

¹¹¹ See Zadok, *Prosopography of the Israelites*, 380–393:086.

¹¹² According to Neh. 10, 2.

¹¹³ Ez. 2, 63; Neh. 7, 65, 70.

¹¹⁴ According to Benveniste *Titres et noms propres*, 120; cf. Bogolyubov, "Arameyskie Transkripcii," and Greenfield "Tršt" (rejected by Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 69–70:70).

menid court was just that of a royal cupbearer (Heb. *mšqh hmlk*, Aram. *šqh < šqy* /**šaqy*/) and not the chief royal cupbearer (Aram. *rb šqh*). His audience with the king took place in the presence of the queen (*šgl < Akkad. ša-ekalli*, not a concubine as inaccurately rendered in LXX). This implies that the eunuch Nehemiah was her protégé. The news about the destruction of the wall of Jerusalem was reported to Nehemiah by Hanani and other Judeans who came to Susa in the month of Kislev. This indeed falls within period of the king's residence in the winter capital of Susa. It stands to reason that Nehemiah, like the rest of the personnel of the peripatetic royal court and harem, sojourned in Babylon and Ecbatana as well. He came as Artaxerxes' emissary to Judah, but was looked upon by the neighbouring rulers as a little more than an emissary of the court, like other prominent foreigners with a similar upbringing and contacts. Nehemiah expressed his wish to visit the city of his fathers' graves: the Jewish courtier from Susa must have been aware of the popular and spectacular cult of the graves practiced in Elam.

Generally the Achaemenids buried the members of the ruling family in graves hewn in rock, a practice which was abandoned only in post-Achaemenid Iran. It is clear that Nehemiah who became the governor of the sub-satrapy of Judah, reported directly to the supreme authority, i.e. the Achaemenid king and not only to his satrap. The nomination of a governor of local extraction is not exceptional in the late Achaemenid period. More generally, the nomination of a non-Persian (and non-Mede) as a (sub-)satrap is not altogether rare. For instance, Belesys, the satrap of Babylonia in the late-Achaemenid period was a Babylonian and Caria had also an indigenous satrap (Mausolus). A case in point of a satrap who employed his relative is Gubaru of Babylonia: his son Nabūgu was active in the Babylonian administration during his father's lifetime. Having no sons, Nehemiah might have employed his brother Hanani. The latter may be the same person as the homonymous individual who bore the title *šr hbyrh* (Akkad. *rab birti*, OIran. **dizapati*-).

4 Samaria

Several individuals bore Iranian names in Achaemenid Samaria:¹¹⁵

The Iranian *Wh(w)dt* (< OIran. **Vahu-dāta*- "Given by the good one"¹¹⁶ or OPers. "Well-born"¹¹⁷) acted as a judge in late Achaemenid Samaria which was

¹¹⁵ Cf. Zadok, "Issues of the deportations," 132.

¹¹⁶ See Dušek, *manuscripts Araméens*, 148 ad 2, 10.

¹¹⁷ Tavernier, *Iranica*, 342:4. 2. 1835, cf. Lipiński, "Review of Dušek," 229.

the capital of a sub-satrapy. He is listed alone among the witnesses. Iranian judges are common in Babylonia since Darius I's reign, but unlike Babylonia where these judges were often part of a collegium, all the three occurrences from Samaria are of the same judge alone. The occurrence of an Iranian judge in Samaria strengthens the case of interpreting *dyny*,¹¹⁸ which was misunderstood as an ethnonym (cf. LXX Διναῖοι), as Aram. "the judges." It may be that it is just a hazard of documentation, that a judge or even a collegium of judges is not recorded in Achaemenid Judah. A high official bearing the very common Iranian name *Mtrdt* who was based in Samaria, is listed first (or second if *bšlm* is an anthroponym rather than an appellative) in a list of royal officials from there (Ez. 4, 4, 7). It is stated that he acted in the time of Artaxerxes (probably I or rather Xerxes),¹¹⁹ but his title is not specified. If the order of the list is significant, then he must have been very prominent.

Bgbrt (OIran. **Baga-brta*),¹²⁰ an enslaved person, is mentioned in a papyrus of people from the city of Samaria (probably sometime in the reign of Artaxerxes III 359–338 BCE) which was found in Wādi Dāli.¹²¹ The small corpus of names on coins from Samaria (4th century BCE) has another two Old Iranian names, viz. *Wny* (**Vanya*- "victorious")¹²² and probably *Mnpt*.¹²³ The latter ends in *-pāta*- "protected", possibly by *Manah*- "(good) thought", for the name-type cf. Middle Persian *Mān-dād* "Created by the (good) thought".¹²⁴ They are predated by *Mtrdt* and *Štrbwzny* (**Čiθra-baujana*),¹²⁵ both in Ezra). The latter was contemporary with Ttny (< Tattannu) the satrap of Transeuphratene during the reign of Darius I. Additional individuals with Iranian names are *Mtr'* (< OIran. **Miθra*- < **Miθraya*-, early Achaemenid) who is recorded in the Samaritan village of Qaddūm.¹²⁶ and *Mzdgy* < **Mazdā-gaya*,¹²⁷ who is mentioned in an ostrakon from the early 4th century BCE found in Yoqneam¹²⁸ very close to the northern border of the territory inhabited by Samaritans.

118 Ez. 4, 9.

119 See Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia*, 33–37 with previous lit.

120 See Butz *apud* Cross "Personal Names," 76–77.

121 Dušek *manuscripts Araméens*, 10, 2: Bgbrt, 4: B• gbr• [t], 8: B[gbrt], 9.

122 Attested also in Elephantine (see Tavernier, *Iranica*, 338: 4. 2. 1799).

123 Not "Memphite" as rendered by Lipiński ("Review of Dušek," 239, cf. 235, 238).

124 Gignoux *Noms propres sassanides*, 115:560, cf. Zimmer "Zur sprachlichen," 149 *ad* 560.

125 See Hutter, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel*, 66:66 with previous lit.

126 See Zadok, "On the Prosopography," 664.

127 A *dvandva* compound "Mazda and Gaya" (two theonyms, see Shaked *apud* Naveh, "Published and Unpublished," 116b: 5, 1 = *Studies in West Semitic*, 127 with n. 34). He is listed after 'qbyh (Judeo-Samar.) and 'sytnw (Phoen.).

128 See Zadok "Prosopography of Samaria," 783:5 and 5, 95.

5 Philistia and the Negev

There is good reason for thinking that people from western Media were deported to Philistia, notably to Tall jammi around 716 BCE.¹²⁹

The ostraca:

Ostrakon 1: 8 filiations +[x], in which case it would be a decury (at least one generation after the deportation, i.e. not earlier than the 1st half of the 7th century BCE). *Wnnt* is explicable in Iranian terms. Most of the paternal names end in -š and are inexplicable in Semitic terms. They may belong to the pre-Iranian substrate of Western Media.

Hrš s. of *K°š* (or *Yhw*[...]) ([x]q)
Wnnt (s. of)¹³⁰ *'dnš* (or *'mnh*/*'gnh*)
šlm (s. of) *'nš*
B'šm' (s. of) *šgš* (II q)
Rkh (*Hkr* s. of) *šm's*
B'l' (s. of) *H°mš*
Ntn (s. of) *Ppš* (*Nnš*)
Ṭy° (s. of) *šL* [...]
 Remainder broken away

Ostrakon 2: PNN + measures: [x]+ 6 +[x]
 [...]h° (s. of) *Klytbš*
 [...] (s. of) *Qsryh* (*Qlgryh*)
 [...]y° (s. of) *Bršyh* (*šbršyh*)
 ([...])/[...]rwš.

It was pointed out¹³¹ that no less than five out of the given names are Semitic (1, lines 3, 4, 6–8), i.e. adapted to the local vernacular. This also strongly suggests that the sequence PN₁ PN₂ in lines 2–8 is short for PN₁ (*bn*) PN₂.

Other names from Tall jammi are *Bmlk* (inscribed jar < *'bmlk* with aphaeresis which is common in Phoenician) and *Ddymš* s. of *'lyqm* (seal, possibly Philistine, 8th–7th century BCE), both names are West Semitic.¹³²

¹²⁹ See Naveh “Writing and Scripts,” and Na’aman and Zadok, “Sargon II’s Deportations”; in brackets are the alternative readings of the names by Misgav, “Ostraca from Tell Jemmeh,” 1031.

¹³⁰ The format PN₁ (s. of) PN₂ has many parallels in the Northwest Semitic epigraphy. The fact that only given names are Semitic strengthens the case that these are filiations and not different individuals.

¹³¹ By Na’aman and Zadok, “Sargon II’s Deportations,” 37.

¹³² Cf. Avigad and Sass *Corpus of West Semitic*, 493b, s. v. with lit.

Aramaic ostraca:¹³³ *Ntn*, 4th century BCE (1033b:1948), *Štbr* (wine),¹³⁴ 5th century BCE (1033b:1949) < Old Iranian *Š(iy)āti-bara- “Bringing felicity”¹³⁵ *Zbydy*, his vineyard and wine (1034–1036:1960: *Zby[dy?]*, 1962), *Mʾyn* (apparently Arab. *Muʾin*, Achaemenid period, 1036:1961), *Hnn?*, *Bʾlnbw* s. of *Ntn?*, millet (five *qbn*, 1036–1037:1950). Except for the Iranian and Arabian name, all the other anthroponyms are explicable in Aramaic terms.

Dtyn < (OIran. **Dātaina*-¹³⁶) is recorded in an ostrakon from Ashkelon from the 5th century BCE, as well as *Bgz[wšt?]* (< **Baga-zušta*-?) from Tall il-farʿa,¹³⁷ very close to the southern border of Philistia. *Bgn* (< **Bagāna*-) is recorded in Tel Beer-sheba in the 4th century BCE.¹³⁸ It cannot be proven that **spʿyʿ* from Achaemenid Arad,¹³⁹ whose name is either Semitic (based on ʾ-S-P “to gather” with hypocoristic -īy¹⁴⁰) or Iranian (-iya-[pro-]patronymic of **Aspa*- “horse”¹⁴¹), is a Judean.

6 Elephantine

At most three bearers of Iranian names in Elephantine might have been Jews:

ʾ*rwrt* (OIran. **Arva-raθa*- “Having a fast chariot”)¹⁴² s. of Yhntn, 6th = penultimate witness in a deed of the Judean Hoshea s. of Hodawyah, 17 Feb. 483 BCE,¹⁴³ as well as *Symk* (OIran. **Syāmaka*-)¹⁴⁴ s. of Mešullam and Ḥwry s. of *Wnh* (OIran. **Vana*- “victorious”),¹⁴⁵ both contributors to the Yhw temple in Elephantine, 1 June 400 BCE.¹⁴⁶ *Bgprn* (OIran. **Baga-farnah*-)¹⁴⁷ s. of *Wšhy* (OIran. **Vača-x-aya*-)¹⁴⁸ and

133 Misgav, “Ostraca from Tell Jemmeh.” (pp. and nos. in brackets).

134 Misgav, “Ostraca from Tell Jemmeh,” 1033b:1949 (concerning wine).

135 See Schmitt, “Zu Weiterungen.”

136 Differently Cross, “Inscriptions in Phoenician,” 357 (contemplating a less likely Semitic origin).

137 Naveh, “Published and Unpublished,” 116b = *Studies in West Semitic*, 122 ad 5.

138 See Naveh, “Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Beer-sheva,” 186 ad 33, 4, 43, 4 and 46, 1; cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 136: 4.2.269.

139 See Lemaire, “Review of Aharoni,” 447 ad Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 23, 1.

140 See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 97.

141 See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 176.

142 See Tavernier, *Iranica*: 114:4.2.116.

143 TAD D 4.4, 21; cf. Porten, *Archives*, 26 and 144, n. 121.

144 See Tavernier, *Iranica*: 316:4. 2. 1619 with lit.

145 See Tavernier, *Iranica*: 336:4. 2. 1788.

146 TAD C 3.15, 27, 43; cf. Porten, *Archives*, 321:26, 322:37.

147 See Tavernier, *Iranica*: 333:4.2.252 with lit.

148 See Tavernier, *Iranica*: 333:4. 2. 1767.

Wšḥy s. of Zrmr (OIran. *Zara-hmāra- “determined, resolute”),¹⁴⁹ who also contributed to the Yhw temple there,¹⁵⁰ have a purely Iranian three-tier genealogy (their filiations are juxtaposed)¹⁵¹ and hence may not be originally Jews.

B Sasanian Babylonia

Introduction

A sizable corpus of Iranian names (mostly explicable in Middle Persian terms) is recorded among the clients (beneficiaries) and adversaries of the Magic bowls. Numerous magic bowls were written in sites throughout Babylonia in three Aramaic dialects (each with its own script). Most of the bowls (over 60 %) were written in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA), about a quarter in Mandaic and 13 % in Old Syriac.¹⁵² It stands to reason that the scribes who wrote the JBA bowls were Jews. Unfortunately, the scribes of all the three categories of the bowls remain anonymous. The clients and adversaries bore a mixture of Semitic (overwhelmingly Aramaic) and Iranian (mostly Middle Persian) names. Few of these customers bear double names, e.g. the female *M’dwkt ’h’ty* (Persian and Aramaic) in a Mandaic bowl.¹⁵³ The findspots of incantation bowls written in JBA can be used as evidence for the presence and the geographical distribution of Jews in Babylonia in addition to the explicit pertinent sources (in the first place the Babylonian Talmud¹⁵⁴ as well as inscriptions from the Dura Europus synagogue) only to a limited extent, since most of the bowls originate from illicit excavations. Few bowls originate, e.g., from Coche,¹⁵⁵ Sippar, Amran, Borsippa, Nippur, Uruk,¹⁵⁶ and possibly Tall Assafa near the Yousifiyyah intake.¹⁵⁷ Many individuals from the corpus of the JBA bowls are included in a section of the prosopography of the

149 See Tavernier, *Iranica*: 369:4. 2. 2044.

150 Cf. Porten, *Archives*, 326:130–131.

151 TAD vol. III, 234:3.15, 136–137.

152 This is a preliminary estimate (see Morony, “Magic and Society,” 87, cf. Ford and Abudraham, “Syriac and Mandaic,” 75–76 with n. 3).

153 Morgenstern and Schlütter, “Mandaic Amulet,” 118, 120, rev. 3.

154 Very few Iranian names in the Babylonian Talmud refer to Jews, e.g. *Drw* < **Drva*- “firm” and *Pp*’ < **Pāpa*- “protector” or “father”. Less likely *Srw* < “cypress” (see Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 245, n. 1).

155 Franco, “Five Aramaic.”

156 See Zadok, “On the Arameans,” 63.

157 See Hunter, “Two Incantation Bowls,” 114 *ad* IM 60494.

Eastern Diaspora from 330 BCE to 650 CE which is compiled by Ilan (2011). However, the lemmatization as well as the linguistic classification and terminology used by her are often inaccurate. Her lack of acquaintance with basic morphological terminology results in wrong definitions of name-components. For example, *B'b-* of *~nwš*, *kanar* of *~ Kešwād*¹⁵⁸ are not “prefixes” and *-D'd* (*/dād/* < *dāta*, not “*Dad/Dat*”) of *Yzy*¹⁵⁹ is not a “suffix”, *recte* “Vorderglied” and “Hinterglied” (English fore- and hind-component). There is inadequate analysis or lack of parsing of name-components, e.g. *Mhwy*¹⁶⁰/*M'hwy*¹⁶¹ where only the base *Māh-* is identified, but not the suffix.

What is presented in the appendix below is not a prosopography, which will hopefully be compiled by J. N. Ford, one of the leading researchers of the magic bowls, but a linguistic classification. In what follows I will concentrate on the morphology and semantics of the names (almost entirely of clients and adversaries)¹⁶² with some remarks on the few identifiable Jews among the customers who unlike the practitioners-scribes were mostly non-Jews. There is some reason to suspect, that not all the names of the customers are real ones, e.g., *Byl* s. of *Nny*,¹⁶³ a filiation which consists of two theonyms. For instance, *'wsr'* may be fictitious name.¹⁶⁴

Names of Jews are a minority; here there are some examples.¹⁶⁵

Yhw dh s. of *'ḥt*¹⁶⁶ who is mentioned together with *Rbyqw* (< *Rb Y'qwb*), *Šmw'l*, *Ywsy* and *Khn'* (the remaining individuals bore Aramaic names with the exception of one with an Iranian and another with an atypical anthroponym), *Yhw dy* m. of *'ḥwdymmw*,¹⁶⁷ *Rb Mry*, *Ḥnyn'* s. of *Rb Ytm'*,¹⁶⁸ *Rbdymy*, *Rb Dym'*,¹⁶⁹ and *Ḥyšqyl*¹⁷⁰ (< *Yḥzq'l*). However, *Yhw dh* s. of Nanay is not necessarily a case of

158 Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 185b.

159 Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 184, s. v. *Yazēdād*.

160 Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 190.

161 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 159.

162 All the Aramaic names in this section are JBA unless otherwise indicated, and the Iranian names and lexemes are Middle Persian unless otherwise stated.

163 Geller, “Four Aramaic,” 57–59: D.

164 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 83.

165 For a thorough discussion of Jewish clients and adversaries in the incantation bowls see Shaked, “Rabbis in Incantation Bowls” and Herman “Jewish Identity”; cf. Zadok, “On the Arameans,” 62–64.

166 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124.

167 Faraj, *Coppe magiche*, 106:10, 5.

168 Segal, *Catalogue*, 024A, 1 and 044A, 7, 10 respectively.

169 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 26, 29.

170 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 102, 4. 10.

a Jew with a pagan matronym,¹⁷¹ seeing that *n'n* is an appellative meaning “mother” in JBA (cf. 14). On the whole, most names deriving from the Hebrew Bible can refer to either Jews or Christians,¹⁷² cf., e.g., *Ywhn'n* s. of *'kw'rwy* and *Ywh'n'n* husband of *Mrym*,¹⁷³ clients of Mandaic incantations.¹⁷⁴ The clients mentioned in Isbell 1975, 23–24 may be Jewish or Christian in view of the fact that one of their children is named Abraham.

C Some Conclusions

So far there is no extra-biblical evidence for the presence of Israelites in Media. Iranian presence in Assyria proper recorded from 810 to 618 BCE. Most of the twenty-three individuals with Iranian names (or the gentilic “Median”) lived in the urban centres of Assyria proper (Calah, Nineveh and Assur). Some are recorded in the Jazirah. Some Israelite-Judeans dwelled in the same places as the Iranians, but there is no evidence for a cultural or religious encounter. Later on, in the first third of the sixth century BCE, prominent Judeans and some Medes are recorded in an archive from the Southern Fortress of Babylon, but there is no evidence for any encounters. The situation changed radically during the Achaemenid period, when Babylon as one of the Achaemenid capitals became the arena of a Judeo-Iranian interaction.

In Sasanian Babylonia, the symbiosis of Semitic and Iranian cultures is reflected by several double names (17.2) and many mixed filiations. Most of the incantation bowls from Babylonia were written by Jewish practitioner-scribes, but among the clients and adversaries Jews (as far as they can be identified as such) are a small minority. The phonology of the Middle Persian names which are recored in Aramaic scripts is still fluid, e.g. names with final voiceless consonants or voiceless uvular stops (e.g., *'dq*, *P'bq*, 17.3.1.7) vs the majority which has already undergone the shift from voiceless to voiced (e.g., the names with *-dd*, 17.2.1); *<q>* is still exceptionally preserved in medial position (cf. *Yzdnqyrd*, 17.2.1). Since the texts are not dated, the phenomenon may not be only indicative of a later date, but also of a dialectal variety, cf., e.g., *Mhdṭ* vs *Mhdd*, *Bdṭ* < *Baga-dāta* (17.2.1). There are typically Zoroastrian theophorous elements, notably of holy

171 As argued by Herman, “Jewish Identity,” 137, n. 29.

172 See Shaked, “Rabbis in Incantation Bowls,” 100.

173 Segal, *Catalogue*, 097M, 12, 13 and 099M, 12 respectively.

174 For Christians see also Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 243.

fires¹⁷⁵ as well as basilophoric¹⁷⁶ and calendar names.¹⁷⁷ Regarding semantics, children named after instruments (“hammer”).¹⁷⁸ *Yzy’* is recorded as a client; his co-client is named *Nybryzy’*, which apparently ends in the same component.¹⁷⁹ There is ample evidence of Iranian-Semitic linguistic interference. No less than seven names are either Aramaic or Iranian (↓1.2.1.1.6, 1.2.1.3.4, 1.2.8.2, 1.2.9.1, 1.2.9.2, 1.3.1.4, a, d’).

Alphabetic lists of names and appellatives which are discussed above

Anthroponyms

In Aramaic scripts

<i>’bmlk</i> A.5	<i>Byl</i> B.0	<i>P’bq</i> C	<i>Wnh</i> A.6
<i>’dq</i> C	<i>Ḥnn?</i> A.5	<i>Pp’</i> B, 0	<i>Wny</i> A.4
<i>’ḥt</i> B.0	<i>M’dwkt</i> ‘h’ty’ B, 0	<i>Rb Dym’</i> B.0	<i>Wšhy</i> A.6
<i>’ḥwdymmw</i> B.0	<i>M’ḥwy</i> B.0	<i>Rbdymy</i> B.0	[x]q A.5
<i>’kw’rwy’</i> B.0	<i>M’yn</i> A.5	<i>Rb Mry</i> B.0	<i>Yhwdh</i> B.0
<i>’rwrt</i> A.6	<i>Mhdd</i> C	<i>Rb Y’qwb)</i> B.0	<i>Yhwdy</i> B.0
<i>’sp’y°</i> A.5	<i>Mhdṭ</i> C	<i>Rbyqw</i> B.0	<i>Yhzaq’l</i> B.0
<i>’wsr’</i> B.0	<i>Mhwy</i> B.0	<i>Rb Ytm’</i> B.0	<i>Ytyhw</i> A.1
<i>’wstn</i> A.2	<i>Mnpt</i> A.4	<i>Srw</i> B, 0	<i>Ywhn’n</i> B.0
<i>B’lnbw</i> A.5	<i>Mrym</i> B.0	<i>Symk</i> A.6	<i>Ywh’n’n</i> B.0
<i>Bdṭ</i> C	<i>Mtr’</i> A.4	<i>Šmw’l</i> B.0	<i>Ywsy</i> B.0
<i>Bgbrt</i> A.4	<i>Mtrdt</i> A.4	<i>Štbr</i> A.5	<i>Yzy’</i> C
<i>Bgn</i> A.1, 21, A.5	<i>Mzdgdy</i> A.4 A.4	<i>Štrbwzny</i> A.4	<i>Zby[dy?]</i> A.5
<i>Bgprn</i> A.6	<i>Nny</i> B.0	<i>Š[t]rkn</i> A.1, 12	
<i>Bgwhy</i> A.2	<i>Ntn</i> A.5	<i>Ttny</i> A.4	
<i>Bgz[wšt?] A.5</i>	<i>Nybryzy’</i> C	<i>Wh(w)dt</i> A.4	

175 See Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 135:8.1.1; 138–139:8.2.

176 See Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 137:8.1.5.

177 See Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 140–142:8.4.

178 Cf. Lurje, *Personal Names*, 161 *ad* 369.

179 Moriggi, “Two New Incantation Bowls,” 45–52, 57:1, 3, 11 and 8 respectively.

In Cuneiform (NB/LB unmarked)

- A-bé-eš-ta-am-ba* (NA) A.1, 10
Adad-šarra-ušur (s. of Kalbâ) A.2
Ahiqam A.2
Ardiya (s. of Šulâ desc. of Iliya) A.2
A-ti-'û-pa-ra-' A.2
A-za-ri-ia-u A.1
Ba-ga-a-nu (NA) A.1, 21
Ba-ge-e-šû A.2
Ba-na-ia-a-ma → *Ra-hi-im*
Banna-Ea → *Ga-da-la-a-ma*
Barak-ia/iá-u (NA) A.1
Bar-zi-i (NA) A.1, 3, 4, 11, 18
Bar-zi-ia-[a] (NA) A.1, 20
Bēl-aḫa-ittannu (s. of Lâbâši) A.2
Bēl-ēṭir (s. of Nabû-ahhē-bullit) A.2
Bēl-rēmāni (s. of Mušebši-Marduk) A.2
Bēl-zēra-ibni → *Né-ri-ia-a-ma*
Bunene-ibni → *Iššar-taribi*
Da-na-a → 'fD/ṭib?-bi-' daughter of *Da-na-a*
A.2
Ga-da-la-a-ma (s. of *Banna-Ea*) A.2
Gu-uk-ka-' A.2
Ha-na-ni-'-ia-a-ma A.2
Hanani A.3
Handi A.1
Harrānāyu A.1
Hu-ba-na-nu (NA) A.1
^a*Ia-hu-ū-iddina* A.2
^a*Ia-hu-ū-šarra-ušur* A.3
Iliya → *Ardiya*
Iššar-taribi (s. of *Bunene-ibni*) A.3
Kalbâ → *Adad-šarra-ušur*
Kinâ → *Nabû-bān-ahi*
Ku-re-e-nu (NA) A.1, 23
Kur-ri-il-la-A+A (NA) A.1
Ku-ta-ki (NA) A.1, 8
Lâbâši → *Bēl-aḫa-ittannu*

Mad-A+A (NA) A.1, 5–7, 11

Mādāyu A.1, 5–7, 11
Ma-du-ki/ku (NA) A.1, 22
Man-nu-kī-Adad A.1, 21

Ma-ri-li-hi (NA) A.1
Mar-lih-' (NA) A.1
Mar-li-hi-ia (NA) A.1
Mar-tú-' (NA) A.1
Mu-šá-la-am A.2
Mušebši-Marduk → *Bēl-rēmāni*
Nabû-ahhē-bullit → *Bēl-ēṭir*
Nabû-bān-ahi (s. of *Kinâ*) A.2
Nabūgu A.3
Nabû-kušuršu (s. of *Rībatu*) A.2
Nabû-šarra-bullit → *Šá-ab-ba-ta-A+A*
Nabû-zēra-iddina (s. of *Sîn-šarra-ušur*) A.2
Nanâ-kānat A.2
Né-ri-ia-a-ma (s. of *Bēl-zēra-ibni*) A.2
Nūrānu A.1
Pa-ar-nu-u-a (NA) A.1, 16
Pa-ra-'-u (NA) A.1, 9
Pa-ra-an-ša-ka (NA) A.1, 19
Pa-ra-gu-šû A.2
Par-ta-a-ma (NA) A.1, 13
Qar-ha-a (NA) A.1
Ra-hi-im (s. of *Ba-na-ia-a-ma*) A.2
Ra-hi-mi-il A.2
Rībatu → *Nabû-kušuršu*
Sa-am-bu-uk (NA) A.1, 17
Sili (NA) A.1, 18
Sîn-šarra-ušur → *Nabû-zēra-iddina*
'Si'-ti-ir-ka-a-nu/Si-t[i-ir-ka-a-nu] (NA) A.1, 12
Šá-ab-ba-ta-A+A (s. of *Nabû-šarra-bullit*) A.3
Šulâ → *Ardiya*
Ta₅-ga-bi-ia-a-ma A.3
Tattannu A.4
Ṭāb-šá-lam<<-ma>>-mu A.2
Ū-ar-gi (NA) A.1, 2
Ū-dar/da-ar-na-' A.2
Ū-ma-nu (NA) A.1
Ū-na-ma-a (NA) A.1, 15
Ū-ri-ia-a (NA) A.1, 14
Ū-ru-da (NA) A.1, 1
[xx(x)] (s. of *Za-kar-'ri?'-ia?-ma'*) A.2
Yahu-šarra-ušur A.2
Za-kar-'ri?'-ia?-ma' → *[xx(x)]*

Arabic*Muʿīn* A.5**Biblical Hebrew**

<i>ḥštry</i> A.3	<i>Ḥšbdnh</i> A.3	<i>Prnk</i> A.3	<i>Wnyʾ</i> A.3
<i>ʾšḥwr</i> A.3	<i>Ḥšbnh</i> A.3	<i>Ssmý</i> A.3	<i>Wpsy</i> A.3
<i>ʾylm</i> A.3	<i>Ḥšbnyh/Ḥšbnyh</i> A.3	<i>Ššn</i> A.3	<i>Ztm</i> A.3
<i>Bgwy</i> A.3	<i>hTrštʾ</i> A.3	<i>Ššy</i> A.3	<i>Ztwʾ</i> A.3
<i>Bnyw</i> A.2	<i>Mgbyš</i> A.3	<i>Tyryʾ</i> A.3	

Middle Iranian*Kwryn* (Parthian) A.1, 22*Mān-dād* (Middle Persian) A.4**Philistian**

<i>ʾdnš</i> A.5	<i>Bršyh</i> A.	<i>Nnš</i> A.5	<i>Šlm</i> A.5
<i>ʾgnh</i> A.5	<i>Ddymš</i> A.5	<i>Ntn</i> A.5	<i>Šl</i> [...] A.5
<i>ʾlyqm</i> A.5	<i>Dtyn</i> A.5	<i>Ppš</i> A.5	<i>Šmʾš</i> A.5
<i>ʾmnh</i> A.5	<i>Hkr</i> A.5	<i>Qlgryh</i> A.5	<i>ʿTy°</i> A.5
<i>ʾnš</i> A.5	<i>Hrš</i> A.5	<i>Qsryh</i> A.5	<i>Wnnt</i> A.5
<i>Bʾlʾ</i> A.5	<i>Ḥʾmš</i> A.5	<i>Rkh</i> A.5	<i>Yhw</i> [...] A.5
<i>Bʾlšmʾ</i> A.5	<i>Klytbš</i> A.5	<i>Šbršyh</i> A.5	
<i>Bmlk</i> A.5	<i>Kʾš</i> A.5	<i>Šgš</i> A.5	

Reconstructed Old Iranian

<i>*Abi-štamba-</i> A.1, 10	<i>*Čiθrakāna-</i> A.1, 12	<i>*Miθraya-</i> A.4
<i>*Arva-raθa-</i> A.6	<i>*Dātaina-</i> A.5	<i>*Pāpa-</i> B, 0
<i>*Aspa-</i> , <i>-iya-</i> (pro-)patronymic of A.5	<i>*Dṛva-</i> B, 0	<i>*Paru-gu-</i> A.2
<i>*Aṭṛ-šiyāta-</i> A.3	<i>*Far(a)n-saka-</i> A.1, 19	<i>*Paruva-</i> A.1, 9
<i>*Aθi-hu-pā-ra-</i> A.2	<i>*Farnah-saka-</i> A.1, 19	<i>*Sambu-ka-</i> A.1, 17
<i>*Ava-stāna-</i> A.2	<i>*Farnahvā</i> A.1, 16	<i>*Syāmaka-</i> A.6
<i>*Baga-</i> , <i>-āna-</i> (pro-)patronymic of A.1, 21	<i>*Farnaka-</i> A.3	<i>*Š(iy)āti-bara-</i> A.5
<i>*Baga-farnah-</i> A.6	<i>*Farnah-vant-</i> A.1, 16	<i>*Tiriya-</i> A.3
<i>*Baga-bṛta-</i> A.4	<i>*Fratama-</i> A.1, 13	<i>*Uzya-</i> A.3
<i>Baga-dāta-</i> C	<i>*Gau-ka-</i> A.2	<i>*Vača-x-aya-</i> A.6
<i>*Baga-aiša-</i> A.2	<i>*Hu-arga-</i> A.1, 2	<i>*Vahu-dāta-</i> A.4
<i>*Bag(a)iča-</i> A.2	<i>*Hu-nāma-</i> A.1, 15	<i>*Vana-</i> A.6 *
<i>*Baga-farnah-</i> A.6	<i>*Kura-</i> , <i>-aina-</i> hypocoristicon of A.1, 22	<i>Vanya-</i> A.4
<i>*Bagāna-</i> A.5	<i>*Kutaka-</i> A.1, 8	<i>*Vanyah-</i> A.3
<i>*Baga-vahya-</i> A.2	<i>*Madu-ka-</i> A.1, 22	<i>*Varya-</i> A.1, 14
<i>*Baga-zušta-?</i> A.5	<i>*Marta-</i> A.1	<i>*Vi-paisa-</i> A.3
<i>*Brziya-</i> A.1, 3, 4, 20	<i>*Mazdā-gaya-</i> A.4	<i>*Xšaθr-iya-</i> A.3
<i>*Čiθra-baujāna-</i> A.4	<i>*Miθra-</i> A.4	

Reconstructed Old Persian**Čiçiya-/*Čiçaya-* A.3**Čiçina-* A.3**Other reconstructed names****ḥšwry* A.3**Pap(a)hu* A.1, 21**Ššyn* A.3**šḥwry* A.3**Paphu* A.1**Wpys* – A.3**Royal Achaemenia Elamite***Ú-na-ma* A.1, 15**Toponyms and ethnonyms**

Abanu A.2

kkṛ sbybwt Yrwšlm A.3

Tall il-far'a A.5

Bīt-Murānu A.2

Ma'allānāte A.1

Tall jammi A.5

Byt ḥglgl A.3

(Māt-)Paphi A.1

Teman A.2

Dūr-Katlimmu A.1, 22

Pa-pa-ah-hi A.1

Uruk A.2

Elamites A.1

Pa-pa-an-hi A.1

Yahūdu A.2

ḥšry Nṭwpty A.3*^{kur}Pa-pa-ha-A+A* A.1, 21*Yhw* temple in Nebo A.2

Kak-miš/š A.1

Paphi A.1

Kapar-Kuzbi-šarri A.1

Qaštu A.1

Theonyms*Humban* (Elam.) A.1*Yhw Teman* A.2*Yhw* of Samaria A.2**Appellatives (Aramaic unmarked)****dizapati-* (OIran.) A.3*mšqh hmlk* (BHeb.) A.3*rb šqh* A.3*dyny'* A.4*n'n'* B.0*ša-ekalli* (Akkad.) A.3*^{lú}ma-gu-ša-A+A* (LB) A.2*pa-ba-ah-hu-ú* (OB Mari) A.1*šgl* (BHeb.) A.3*^{lú}ma-gu-še-^{e^{mes}}* (LB) A.2*pabanhi* (Hurr.) A.1*šqh* A.3*^{lú}ma-gu-šú* (LB) A.2*papahhu* (Hurr.) A.1*šušānus* A.3*mārē ekalli* (Akkad.) A.2*pa-ba-ah-hi-im* (OB Mari) A.1*šr hbyrh* (BHeb.) A.3*bīt hare* (Akkad.) A.2*rab birti* (Akkad.) A.3**Subjects**

Basilophoric names C

gardu-workmen A.2*interpretatio Babyloniaca* A.2

calendar names C

Holy fires as theophorous

magian priests A.2

Christians B.0

elements C

palace servants A.2

decury A.5

identification of *Yhw* with

Eanna temple archive A.2

Bēl = *Ba'al* A.2

Appendix

1 Aramaic names

1.1 Compound names

1.1.1 Verbal sentence

a. With a perfect verb: *Gdbhr* (of *br* ~, OSyr.)¹⁸⁰ “Gadd has chosen”.¹⁸¹ Mand. *Ywk'b'r*¹⁸²/*Ywkb'r*¹⁸³/*Ywkbr*¹⁸⁴ (an angel with the epithet *zyw'* “splendour, brilliance”¹⁸⁵ and *kwšṭ'* “honesty, truth, justice”¹⁸⁶) “Y(h)w has dominated, overwhelmed” (G of K-B-R as in Mand.).¹⁸⁷ *Mrymr*¹⁸⁸ “(My) lord has said, commanded; thought”.¹⁸⁹ Mand. *Aaštar-bna*¹⁹⁰ “‘Aštar has built, fashioned” (B-N-Y, Common Aram.) and *Nhryb'n'* (fem.)¹⁹¹ “The (divine) River has built, created”. *Qnyh*¹⁹² occurs in the same text as *Šrwyh* which strengthens the case that it is a Yahwistic name rather than “reed; idol”.

b. With an imperfect verb: *Kynyhyy*¹⁹³ “The just one will live” (K-W/Y-N and Ḥ-W/Y-Y),¹⁹⁴ and perhaps *Bylyhwy*¹⁹⁵ “Bēl will show, demonstrate” (Ḥ-W/Y-Y, JBA, OSyr., Mand.).

180 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 22, 3.

181 See Harviainen, “Aramaic Incantation Bowl,” 15 *ad* 3.

182 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 22, 14, 104.

183 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 260 *ad* 104M, 17.

184 Cf. Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 87 with references.

185 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 331–334: E. The same epithet is borne by *Ywsmyr* (/Yusmir/, see Ford, “Another Look,” 245–246 *ad* 083M, 17).

186 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 265 *ad* 106M, 10'.

187 Cf. without Tetragramatization Mand. *Kb'r zyw'* (Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 22, 63).

188 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 186 with the unacceptable lemmatization *Marmares*.

189 See Nöldeke, “Names,” 3283, cf. Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 248:1.1.2.1.

190 Gorea, “Trois nouvelles,” 72–78, 90–1, rev. 2–3.

191 Abudraham, “Ancient Mandaic Palimpsest,” 2–7, iii, 17, v, 5–6; *Nhrybn'* (i, 8).

192 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 185–186.

193 Harviainen, “Aramaic Incantation Bowl,” 2, 10, 12 (*bis*). *Kylyhyy* (9) is a secondary form.

194 Differently Shaked, “Rabbis,” 114, n. 70.

195 Isbell, *Corpus*, 65, 1.

1.1.2 Nominal sentence

Hydmḥdyn (/Ḥayy-d-mḥadd(i)yān/) “The living being (epithet > theophorous element)¹⁹⁶ who is the joybringer”.¹⁹⁷ Mand. *Sʿbry* ʿlyšw “His hope is in Jesus”.¹⁹⁸ *Hywtyh* (/Ḥayyūt-yah/) “Life is Yah”.¹⁹⁹

1.1.3 Nominal Juxtaposition

*Ddgy*ʿ (OSyr.)²⁰⁰ consists of *Dd* “darling” (elsewhere recorded also as a theophorous element) and *gdy*ʿ “kid”.²⁰¹ *Mrb*ʿ (referring in all probability to a Christian),²⁰² Mand. *Mʿrʿb*ʿ (/Mār-ʿAbā/)²⁰³ “Mr. ʿAbā” is recorded in Old Syriac as well.²⁰⁴ Mand. *Mār-sapin*²⁰⁵ “Mr. S.”, whose 2nd component derives from S-P-N “to respect, mind” (JBA, JPA, Targ.), probably a passive participle meaning “respected, worthy”. Mand. *Mʿrʿd*²⁰⁶ may be of the same type (/Mār-ʿAd(d)ā/, i.e. “Mr. Ad(d) ā”) provided it is not based on a *qatal*-formation of M-R-D. *Mrzwtr*ʿ denotes “Mr. Little”.²⁰⁷ *Rb Mʿry* “Rabbi M.” is recorded as an anthroponym.²⁰⁸ ʿ(y)mʿ *Slm*ʿ is aptly compared with ʿymʿ *Šlwm*.²⁰⁹ The 2nd component of fem. *Hʿw* *Sym*ʿt (Mand.) denotes “treasure”.²¹⁰

1.1.4 Prepositional clause

*Mnmlk*ʿ (fem.) “From the King”.²¹¹

196 Cf. Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 67 and *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 181.

197 The editor (Hunter, “Two Incantation Bowls,” 111 *ad* 1, 9, 14) renders it as “Life for gladness”, but the last component is a D active participle, not an abstract noun. As for the semantics, the association between “alive, vivid” and “spirited, animated, joyful” is a common phenomenon.

198 See Pognon *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 103 *ad* 4 and cf. Nöldeke, “Review,” 145.

199 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 73b *ad* 034A, 2.

200 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 30, 5 (*Ddgy*ʿ), 14, 22.

201 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 148 *ad* 118ES, 5, 13: 271.

202 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 321–324 and pl. 10:A, 4.

203 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 23, 14.

204 For this name type (< title + PN) see Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 249:1.2.2.2, C.

205 Morgenstern, “Mandaic Magic Bowls,” 161: M45 (digest only).

206 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 23, 4.

207 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 80 *ad* 039A, 3.

208 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 024A, 1, 4.

209 By Gordon 1934b: 471 *ad* 467 and pl. 22, 1, 2.

210 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 264 *ad* DC 14, 183.

211 See Gordon, “Two Aramaic,” 235 *ad* I, 1.

1.1.5 Genitive compounds

a. Theophorous names, a'. With passive participle: *Brykyhbyh* “Blessed by Yhw”,²¹² Mand. *Brikihbh*,²¹³ *Bryk mry* / *Bryk mryh*²¹⁴ “Blessed by the lord”, and presumably *Brkyšmšy* “Blessed by my sun”.²¹⁵

b'. With *bd* “servant” and *mt* “maid”: *bd'yšw*²¹⁶ / *bdyšw*²¹⁷ (< *Abd-Īšō*) “Servant of Jesus” (Christian); Mand. *bdrhm'n*²¹⁸ (< *Abd-rahmān*) “Servant of *Rahmān*” (‘merciful’, cf. *rhm'n* as an epithet of Yhw in Jewish Aramaic) from Cutha. Aramaic pagan names are *Mšmš* and *Mnbw* mean “Maid of (< *mt* with aphaeresis and assimilation) of *šmš* (Sun-god) / *Nbw*”.²¹⁹ The latter is also recorded without aphaeresis (*mnbw*).²²⁰ Mand. *mš'myš* is a variant of *Mšmš* without aphaeresis.²²¹ With epithets as theophorous elements: *Mmlyk* (fem.)²²² < **mt-mlyk* and *Mmry* < **mt-mry*, i.e. “Maid of *Mlyk*” (‘[divine] king’, spelled plene with <y> for /a/) and “of (the) Lord” (cf. OSyr. *Mmlk*)²²³ respectively. Mand. *m't-str* > *mst'r* originates from Amat-Ištar with < ' > for / ' / “Maid of Ištar”.²²⁴

c'. With *br* “son”: *Br'yd*²²⁵ “son of a feast day” (OSyr., Targ.), i.e. born on a feast, commemorating the time of birth. *Brhw('y)* “Son of law” (Targ. det. *hwyw* / *h*).²²⁶ *Br hyy*²²⁷ (Mand.) “Son of life” (his matronym *nwš'y* means “immortal” in Middle Persian); *Bršbt* / *Bršbth*²²⁸ and *Bršpt*²²⁹ “Sabbath’s son” (OSyr. *Bršpt* and *Bršbt* refer to the same individual)²³⁰ as well as the homonymous name *Bršb*.²³¹

212 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 97 ad SD 27, 11 with lit. (especially Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 210–211 ad 26, 4). Differently Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 164–165 ad 6, 5.

213 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 41.

214 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 127–129:7, 1, 5 and 11 respectively.

215 Cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 21.

216 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 220 ad 116, 4.

217 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 56:MS 1927/50, 4 (unpubl.).

218 Segal, *Catalogue*, 078M, 8, cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 34, n. 9.

219 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 8b (cf. Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* [2013], 100); cf. Morgenstern and Abudraham, “A Mandaean Lamella,” 231 ad 158.

220 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 209.

221 See Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 112 ad 24, 10.

222 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 12, 4.

223 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 102, n. 380 ad 3034, 4.

224 See Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 112 ad 25, 10.

225 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 171–172.

226 Differently Segal, *Catalogue*, 73 ad 034A, 1, 3.

227 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 22, 72, 105.

228 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls* 3026, 4, 8 and 3023, 4, 5, 3064, 2 respectively; cf. 72, n. 244 where more “calendar names” are discussed.

229 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 183 ad 10, 7.

230 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 24, 7, 11 and 13 respectively.

231 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 350–351:IM 11113.

Interestingly, Talm. *Br-šbty* is described as a distinctive non-Jewish name.²³² *Brgll* “Son of G.”²³³ (G-L-L “to exalt”, CPA, SA). Perhaps *Bršwty*²³⁴ is also of this type. *Bršybby* apparently means “Son of the neighbouring”.²³⁵ Mand. *Brb’by*,²³⁶ “Son of B’by” (cf. *B’b’y* 14), *Brm’m’y*²³⁷ “Son of M’m’y” and *Br’h’y* “Son of ‘h’y”²³⁸ (cf. 11.2.7.1). For *Br Gdbħr* see 11.1.1. *Br’m* (Mand.)²³⁹ “Son of the paternal uncle”. *Brb’mh* was interpreted as “Son of his paternal uncle”²⁴⁰ which leaves the -b- unaccounted for. Cf. Talm. *Br Qydry* (a distinctive non-Jewish name),²⁴¹ whose 2nd component may derive from Q-D-R “to be dark” (Aram.) or be an archaic gentilic “Qedarite’s son”. *Brshdy* (OSyr. *Br shd’*)²⁴² “Martyrs’ son” is a Christian name.²⁴³

d’. With *bt* “daughter”: *Btgd’*²⁴⁴ “Daughter of Fortune”,²⁴⁵ *Bthy*²⁴⁶ “Daughter of life”; *Btqnh*²⁴⁷ “Daughter of *Qnh*” (*qatal*-formation of Q-N-Y “create, purchase”); *Btlylyt*²⁴⁸ “Daughter of Lilith”; *Btn’ny*²⁴⁹ “d. of Nanay” (a goddess). *Btšbty* (with assimilation *Bšbty* (*/Baš-šabbatay/*)),²⁵⁰ *Btšpty*²⁵¹ “*šabbatay*’s daughter”, cf. Mand. *Pt špt(’)*²⁵² “Sabbath’s daughter”. Mand. *B’t sy*,²⁵³ denotes “The Physician’s daughter”; *Bt gyl’*²⁵⁴ “Daughter of the (same) age”; *Bt’nb’* (*/Bat-’nbā/*, OSyr.) “daughter of the fruit”.²⁵⁵ *Btšyty* interchanges with *Btšytn*²⁵⁶ (< *Btšytn*, lit. “Daughter of

232 BT Gittin 11a, cf. Kiperwasser and Shapira, “Encounters,” 300.

233 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 186 ad 15, 3.

234 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 172a. For the type *br* + PN/appellative cf. Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 250:1.4, C.

235 Differently Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 186 ad 2.

236 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, 19.

237 Segal, *Catalogue*, 103M, 2.

238 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 127 ad 096M, 45.

239 Jursa, “Eine Mandäische,” 146, 3, cf. Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 82.

240 By Segal, *Catalogue*, 66 ad 024A, 6.

241 BT Gittin 11a, cf. Kiperwasser and Shapira, “Encounters,” 300.

242 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 13, 9–10.

243 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 100.

244 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 58a, 3, 5.

245 Cf. the male’s name *Bryg[d’]* (*/Bar-giddā/*) “Son of Fortune”, which is extant in a Parthian inscription from Dura-Europos (the 2nd component with *qall* > *qill*, not **Bar-gad-ā* as normalized by Schmitt, *Personennamen* 79:136).

246 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 105, 4; 106, 4.

247 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 40.

248 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 24.

249 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 44, 4 [ny], 9 (n • y •).

250 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 40.

251 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 17, 4, 7.

252 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 1, 5, 8.

253 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 3, 6, 9.

254 See Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 123 ad 036A, 3.

255 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 148 ad 117ES, 10.

256 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 041A, 15, 19 and 1, 18 respectively.

sixty”, presumably “A lady of sixty years”²⁵⁷). Christian names²⁵⁸ are *Btšhdy*²⁵⁹ (OSyr. *Btshdʿ*)²⁶⁰ “Martyrs’ daughter” as well as *Bthdšbh*,²⁶¹ *Bthpšb*,²⁶² (< *Bthdšb*) “daughter of Sunday”.

e’. With ‘b “father”: *ʿbwsmk*²⁶³ (/Abū-samkā/) looks hybrid (Arameo-Arabic): it apparently consists of *ʿbw* “father of” (Arab.) and *smk* “support” (Aram.), a *kunya*.

f’. Other: Mand. *Dʿdmnd*²⁶⁴ may denote “Beloved of Manda”. Alternatively “Given by Manda”, a hybrid (MPers.-Aram.) name like *Dād-Išō* “Given by Jesus”.²⁶⁵ *Manda* < *Mandaʿ* denotes “knowledge, γνῶσις”; *Manda d-hiia* is the outstanding saviour spirit of the Mandaic religion; *ʿlyšbh* “Praise of my god”.²⁶⁶

b. Substitute names: *ʿbʿbʿy*²⁶⁷ “My father’s father”; *ʿhdbwy* “His father’s brother”²⁶⁸ *ʿhdbʿy*,²⁶⁹ possibly “My father’s brother”, *ʿbmy* “My mother’s father” (same meaning as *ʿbdymy*²⁷⁰/ʿbwd(y)my²⁷¹ and with aphaeresis *Bwdymy*²⁷² and *Bydy-my*²⁷³), *ʿymʿ dymh*²⁷⁴/ʿymh dʿymh²⁷⁵ “Her mother’s mother”²⁷⁶; *ʿym(y)dʿbw*²⁷⁷/ʿym-ydbw²⁷⁸/ʿymdbw²⁷⁹ /ʿ(y)mʿtbw²⁸⁰/ʿymʿtbw²⁸¹ (Εμμεδαβος²⁸²), OSyr. *ymʿdʿbwhy*²⁸³/

257 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 65 ad 024A, 5.

258 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 100.

259 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 98, 7, 14, 17.

260 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 6, 12, 14.

261 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 321–324 and pl. 10:A, 4.

262 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 99, 2, 5, 19, 22.

263 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 13, 3, 7.

264 Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 109–111:24, 4, 8, 11, 15.

265 Cf. Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 63–64.

266 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 95 ad SD 27, 4.

267 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, B7, 1.

268 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237 (erroneously listed as an Arabic name by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 257).

269 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237–238.

270 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124 (see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 236, n. 56).

271 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 345, index, s. v. with references.

272 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls* 3058, 8.

273 Gordon, “Magic Bowls,” 238:ii, 4.

274 Harviainen, “Aramaic Incantation Bowl,” 5, 8.

275 Geller, “More magic spells,” 331–335:B, 8 f., 23, cf. Shaked, “Rabbis,” 115.

276 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237.

277 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 55, 75.

278 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237, n. 59.

279 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 63 (see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237, n. 60).

280 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 25. For the spelling of the subordinating particle with *ʿ* instead of *d* see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 229.

281 Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 238.

282 Jarry, “Inscriptions arabes,” 208:153.

283 Not Iranian as suggested by Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Gold Amulet,” 336 ad 334–336, 2.

Mand. *ʿmadabu* “Her father’s mother”,²⁸⁴ *ʿmdbn* “The father’s mother”,²⁸⁵ *ʿhwdymw* (*si vera lectio*)²⁸⁶ “His mother’s brother”; *ʿhtʿdʿb(w)h*²⁸⁷/*ʿhtʿdʿbh*²⁸⁸ (with aphaeresis)/*ʿhtbw*²⁸⁹/*ʿhtʿbwh*,²⁹⁰ *ʿhtʿbw*,²⁹¹ *ʿhʿdbh*,²⁹² *Ḥtdbw*²⁹³ (with aphaeresis), Mand. *ʿhttbw*²⁹⁴ (with aphaeresis Mand. *Ḥʿttʿbw*)²⁹⁵ “Her father’s sister”, *ʿhtby*²⁹⁶ “My father’s sister”, Mand. *Ahtaṭṭhun* “Our father’s sister”.²⁹⁷ *ʿhtym*/Mand. *Ahat ʿma* “(Her) mother’s sister”,²⁹⁸ *ʿh>thdmh*²⁹⁹/*ʿhtʿtym*/*h*³⁰⁰ “Her mother’s sister” (with aphaeresis Mand. *Ḥʿtym*³⁰¹ and with assimilation of *t* to the following dental Mand. *Ḥʿtym*³⁰²), and *ʿhtmy*³⁰³ “My mother’s sister”, Mand. *ʿhʿtʿm* “The mother’s sister”.³⁰⁴ Mand. *ʿhtʿtbwn*³⁰⁵ “Our father’s sister” (all substitute names).³⁰⁶ *Brʿhw*³⁰⁷ “His brother’s son”, *Br(ʿ)ym*³⁰⁸ (OSyr. *Brym*)³⁰⁹ “the mother’s son” and

284 Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237 with n. 60.

285 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237, n. 59.

286 Faraj, *Coppe magiche*, 10, 5.

287 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 220, index, s.v. with references (see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237).

288 Wohlstein, “Über einige aramäische,” 9, 30–34:[VA] 2414, 5 = *ʿhtʿdʿbwh*, 9.

289 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237.

290 For the spelling of the subordinating particle with *ṭ* instead of *d* see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 229 and cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 *ad* SD 27, 7.

291 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237, n. 58 *ad* Segal, *Catalogue*, 61: 019A, 2.

292 With assimilation of *t* to the following *d* (cf. Wohlstein, “Über einige aramäische,” 9, 29–30 *ad* [VA] 2426, 2).

293 Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237, n. 57.

294 Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 238.

295 See Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 92–93 *ad* 3, 15.

296 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 349:IM 9726.

297 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 239 with n. 68.

298 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 237 with n. 61.

299 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 108.

300 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 97 *ad* SD 27, 11. For the spelling of the subordinating particle with *ṭ* instead of *d* see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 229, 238.

301 See Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 93.

302 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 5, 2, 21. For the spelling of the subordinating particle with *ṭ* instead of *d* see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 229, 238.

303 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 29. For the spelling of the subordinating particle with *ṭ* instead of *d* see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 229.

304 See Nöldeke, “Review,” 143 *ad* Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, 12.

305 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 9, 22, 25. For the spelling of the subordinating particle with *ṭ* instead of *d* see Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 229.

306 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 250:1.4, E.

307 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 157.

308 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 73 (cf. Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 182 *ad* 10, 5).

309 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 24, 4, 8.

probably *ʿhʿt rbtʿ* (fem.)³¹⁰ “the big sister” (presumably referring to the firstborn sister). It is noteworthy that *ʿhdbwy* was son of *ʿhṭbw*.³¹¹ *Brdwd*³¹² may denote “cousin” (Hebraism in JPA and Targ.), or it contained a dialectal form of *dd* “paternal uncle” (OSyr., Palm., Nab., cf. QA *br ddy* “My uncle’s son”). Mand. *Ptpʿpʿ* (< *Bat-Pāpā*) “daughter of the father”.³¹³

1.2 Simplex names

1.2.1 *qVtl*

ʿrhʿ (fem., + – *ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1) “traveller, guest” (JBA, OSyr., JPA, Targ.).³¹⁴

1.2.1.1 *qatl*

1.2.1.1.1 With stable consonants

*Kspy*³¹⁵ (+ – *āy*, ↓1.3.1.4) and Mand. *Kspwnt*³¹⁶ (fem., + – *ōn-tā*, ↓1.3.3.2.12) are based on *ksp* “silver”.

1.2.1.1.2 With resonant consonants

*C*₁ = resonant: *Mškʿy*³¹⁷ (+ – *āy*, ↓1.3.1.4) may be based on M-Š-K “to pull, draw out, attract”.³¹⁸ *Rqdʿtʿ*³¹⁹ (+ – *ā-tā*, ↓1.3.3.2.2) is based on R-Q-D “to dance” (Aram.).

*C*_{1, 2} = resonants: *Mlky*³²⁰ and *Mlkwnʿy*³²¹ are based on *mlk* “king” (cf. *Mlkwn[y]*). The former ends in –*āy* (↓1.3.1.4) and the latter is based on *mlkwn* “kinglet, chieftain” (det. *Mlkwn*³²² (with diminutive –*ōn*) and –*āy* (↓1.3.2.4), which

310 Pogon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 26.

311 Wohlstein “Über einige aramäische,” 8, 328–340:[VA] 2422, 2, 27–28, 31–32, 40–41.

312 Moriggi, “Two New,” 45–52, 57:1, 11.

313 See Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Lead Roll,” 482 *ad* A, 5, B, 4.

314 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 222 *ad* 30, 1.

315 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 93, 94.

316 See Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 134 *ad* 088M, 5.

317 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 193a (with a wrong lemmatization). Such wrong lemmatizations are also Mihrdan (193–194), *Sāpōr* (201, *recte* < *Šāh-puhr*), *Aštād-Maha-Dūxt* (210–211, *recte* *Aštād-Mah-duxt*, 210–211).

318 Cf. Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 252:A.2.

319 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 11, 51.

320 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 324–326 and pl. 11:B, 2.

321 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 190–191.

322 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 120, n. 451 *ad* 3042, 10–11.

is adjectival (kinglet/chieftain-like"). However, *Mlkwn'y* is an emendation as the text has *Mlbwn'y*. The name may be alternatively be based on **mlb*, cf. OSyr. *mlb'* "perfume" (a loanword), in which case it is not originally of the *qatl*-formation.

C_{1,3} = resonant: *Nṭrwy*³²³ (+ *-ōy*, ¶1.3.1.6) is based on N-Ṭ-R "to guard".³²⁴

C₂ = resonant: *Brkyt'* consists of B-R-K "to bless"³²⁵ and *-ay-t-ā* (¶1.3.3.2.19). *Krkwy* (/Karkōy/ (> /KraKōy/ in view of 'krkwy³²⁶), with *k* > *q* due to /r/ *Qrqwy*,³²⁷ fem.) is based on Aram. *krk* "town" (like MPers. *šahrestān*)³²⁸ thereby denoting "urban". *Šrkh*³²⁹ (+ *-ā*, ¶1.3.1.1), may denote "remnant" (OSyr., CPA, Targ.). *Ṭrḏy* (fem.) may consist of Ṭ-R-D "to drive out; confine" (Common Aram., cf. Neo-Babylonian < Aram. *Ṭa-ra-da-ni*³³⁰) and *-īy* or *-āy* (¶1.3.3.1.3).

C_{2,3} = resonants: The female's name *Qrnnyt'* is based on *qrn* "horn" and ends with adjectival *-ān* plus fem. *-īt-ā* (¶1.3.3.2.20) thereby denoting "horned".³³¹ *Šlm'* (fem.,³³² + *-ā*, ¶1.3.3.1.1) is based on Š-L-M "to be whole, complete, perfect" (Common Aram.).

C₃ = resonant: *Bgrn* cannot render Iran. *Bagarat*,³³³ but may consist of B-G-R and adjectival *-ān* (¶1.3.1.7), thereby meaning "mature" (cf. *bgyr*). *Kpn(')y*³³⁴ (+ *-āy*, ¶1.3.1.4) is apparently based on *kpn* "hunger,"³³⁵ i.e. "related to hunger" (perhaps an *Ereignisname*), provided that it is not an Iranian name.³³⁶ *Spr'y*³³⁷ (> *Spr'*,³³⁸ + *-āy* and *-ā* respectively, ¶1.3.1.1, 1.3.1.4) is based on *spr* "document,

323 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 24, 11.

324 Cf. Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 183 ad 11,

325 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 36 ad VA 2423, 5, 11 who transcribes the suffix as *-īta*.

326 Gordon, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 131:10, 3.

327 Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls," 324–326 and pl. 11:B, 3.

328 See Shaked, "Peace Be upon You," 214.

329 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 202a (with a wrong lemmatization).

330 Cf. Zadok "People from Countries," 123.

331 Cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 ad SD 27, 8.

332 Schwab "Les coupes magiques," 331–334: I.

333 Despite Ilan, *Lexicon*, 170b.

334 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls* 3016, 1.

335 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 166 ad 10, 1 and Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 53 ad VA 2434, 4 render *Kpny* and *Kpn'y* "the hungry one" which is not far off the mark; "hungry" in Aramaic is *kpyyn*.

336 As cautiously suggested by Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 159 ad Q(bn)y (4, 7).

337 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 63, 2, 4.

338 This shift is apparently extant also in Mand. *B(')šnyr'y* (fem., unexpl., cf. Ford, "Another Look," 241 ad 078M, 10 and 244 ad 083M, 8–9) > *Bšnyr'* (cf. Müller-Kessler, "Die Zauberschalen-sammlung," 130 ad Segal, *Catalogue*, 077M, 8). Is it based on MPers. *bašn* "top, peak; stature; mane" (with a Parthian cognate, cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 162–163: 4.1.3.5, 2, i)? It is apparently the 1st component of MPers. *bšnbyd* (/bašnbed/) "pagan priest". Cf. Parth. *Bšnyn* (with

letter, book”.³³⁹ *Šgly* (fem.,³⁴⁰ + *-āy* or *-īy*, ¶1.3.3.1.), Mand. *Šgl’* (fem.,³⁴¹ + *-ā*, ¶1.3.3.1.), cf. BArām. and Hatran *šglh* (det. *šglt’*), whose feminine marker is secondary in view of late BHeb. *šgl* < Akkad. *ša-ekalli* “queen” > “consort” in non-royal milieu as is the case here.

1.2.1.1.3 With (proto-)gutturals

*’bd’*³⁴² may either originally be *’bd’* “servant”³⁴³ (+ *-ā*, ¶1.3.1.1) or based on MPers. *abd* “wonderful”. *Shdwy*³⁴⁴ and OSyr. *Shd’*³⁴⁵ are based on *shd* “martyr” plus *-ōy* and *-ā* respectively (¶1.3.1.1, 1.3.1.6).

1.2.1.1.4 With resonants and (proto-)gutturals

Nhlt (fem., + *-at*, ¶1.3.3.1.2)³⁴⁶ “inheritance”.

1.2.1.1.5 With *y*- and a resonant

*Ytm’*³⁴⁷ “orphan” (+ *-ā*, ¶1.3.1.1).

1.2.1.1.6 With other unstable consonants

a. *qat’*: *Mṛ*, *Mry*, *Mry’* (+ *-īy* and *-yā*, ¶1.3.1.3, 1.3.1.5) “master, lord”³⁴⁸ and its feminine counterpart *M’rt* (*Mārat*,³⁴⁹ “lady”, *qat’* > *qāt*) and in the (originally) determinate state *Mrt’*.³⁵⁰ *M’r’y*³⁵¹ (+ *-āy*, ¶1.3.1.4) and *M’rwy*³⁵² (+ *-ōy*, ¶1.3.1.6) are also

-in; a Semitic derivation, which is cautiously considered by Schmitt, *Personennamen* 82:146, is unlikely despite of the possibility that his son bears a Semitic name; mixed filiations are not rare).

³³⁹ Cf. Fain *et al.*, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 294 *ad* S-445, 1.

³⁴⁰ Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 115–116: Aaron F, 1.

³⁴¹ Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 88–93:3, 15.

³⁴² Ilan, *Lexicon*, 163.

³⁴³ See Segal, *Catalogue*, 64 *ad* 023A, 2, 10.

³⁴⁴ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 87, 6.

³⁴⁵ Moriggi, *Corpus*, 13, 10.

³⁴⁶ Segal, *Catalogue*, 024A, 7.

³⁴⁷ Segal, *Catalogue*, 044A, 7, 10.

³⁴⁸ See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 36 *ad* VA 2423, 3; *Mry* is recorded in Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 69, 1; 79, 2 and *Mry’* in Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 123–124:5, 5, 11, 13.

³⁴⁹ Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 96.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 158 *ad* 8, 5.

³⁵¹ Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 273–276 and pls. 2–3 on 283, 6.

³⁵² Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 7, 1; not Iranian as erroneously claimed by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 192–193.

based on *mr'* "lord".³⁵³ *Mrt'y* (+ *-āy*, ¶1.3.3.1.4) is the same woman as *Mrt'*³⁵⁴ which like *Mrt'y*³⁵⁵ is based on *mrt* "lady". Likewise, Mand. *Mr't'y*³⁵⁶ is based on *Mr't* "lady".

b. *qaty*: *Dky*³⁵⁷ (+ *-ā*, ¶1.3.1.1) "pure, clean"; *Zkwt* (if this is the original form) derives from Z-K-Y (+ *-ūt*, ¶1.3.1.10) thereby denoting "merit, benefit".³⁵⁸ It is with elision of *-y* like Mand. *Z'kwy*³⁵⁹ which probably means "innocent". *Rby*³⁶⁰ means "young girl" (det. *rbyt'*,³⁶¹ JBA, Mand., JPA, SA, Targ., OSyr.³⁶²).

c. *qawy*: *Rwy*³⁶³ (+ *-ā*, ¶1.3.1.1) may denote "saturated" (to R-W/Y-Y, common Aram.). *N'w'* (fem.) may originate from *nw'y* "beauty" (Targ., hapax), provided it is not a Hebraism.³⁶⁴ Alternatively Iranian (¶7.3.1).

d. *qa'y*: *Gyyt* (fem., + *-at*, ¶1.3.3.1.2)³⁶⁵ may be the feminine equivalent of *g'y* "proud, sumptuous; pleasant, splendid" (OSyr., QA, Targ.). *G'ylt*³⁶⁶ > *Gylt* (fem.,³⁶⁷ + *-ūt*, ¶1.3.3.1.6) means "magnificence, splendour, pride" (to G-'Y, JBA, Mand., OSyr., Targ.). *Gwynny* (fem.)³⁶⁸ may be based on **ga'y-ōn* > *g'wn*, originally "proud; high" > JBA *g'wn* "head of an Academy" and the OT hapax *g'ywnym* pl. of **g'ywn*.³⁶⁹

353 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 97:279a.

354 Franco, "Five Aramaic," 242 and fig. 3 on 241:C₁₀-118, 13; 242–245 and fig. 4; 245–249 and fig. 5:C₁₁-3, 2;

355 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 024, 6.

356 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 25, 16.

357 Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 134 and pls. 16–17:2, 10.

358 See McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 8 ad 4 who calls attention to the spelling *Zkwš* and *Zhwt* in the same text.

359 Gordon, "Two Magic Bowls," 309–310, 6.

360 Not */Rabbē/* as normalized by J. N. Epstein *apud* Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls," 334 ad B, 2.

361 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 247b.

362 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 24, 11, 14.

363 Moriggi, "Two New," 45–52, 57:1, 11.

364 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 84b ad 041A, 12.

365 Isbell, *Corpus*, 62, 4 (*bis*). Ilan (*Lexicon*, 219) erroneously lists it together with *Gylt* with a wrong lemmatization and an unfounded comparison with an Iranian compound name.

366 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 043A, 2, 3.

367 Geller, "Eight Incantation Bowls," 106–107:Aaron A, 3.

368 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 56, 3, 5, 9.

369 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 156 ad 8, 1, with other attempts at an interpretation.

1.2.1.2 *qitl*

1.2.1.2.1 With stable consonants

*Zypty*³⁷⁰ (+ - *āy*, ↓1.3.1.4) is based on *zpt* “pitch”.

1.2.1.2.2 With resonant consonants

*Nybryt*³⁷¹ (+ -*īt-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.3) apparently derives from N-B-R, cf. OSyr. *nbr*’ “claw” > “a device for fastening clothing”. *Tyql*³⁷² (Θεκλα, fem., with -*ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1) derives from T-Q-L (< *ṭ-Q-L*) “to weigh, balance”.

1.2.1.2.3 With (proto-)gutturals

Hylypy (fem.)³⁷³ is based on Ḥ-L-P (see ↓1.2.12.2.1, + -*āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4). *Hysdy*³⁷⁴ consists of *ḥsd* “devotion, devout love, grace”³⁷⁵ and -*āy* (↓1.3.1.4).

qi’l > *qayl*: Mand. *R’m’y* (fem., + -*āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4)³⁷⁶ is based on *r’m* “buffalo, aurochs” (JBA, OSyr., SA, QA, Targ.), “unicorn” (OSyr.). Mand. *Gyrby* (fem., + - *āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4) “northerner”.³⁷⁷

1.2.1.2.4 With unstable consonants

a. *qity*: *Hylywn* (> *Hylywn*³⁷⁸, fem., + -*ōn*, ↓1.3.3.1.9) may be based on Ḥ-L-Y “to be sweet, pleasant” (common Aram.).

b. *qi’y*: *Gwt*³⁷⁹ denotes “pride” (Mand., BAram., QA, Targ.); it derives from G-’-Y with elision of -y (+ -*ūt*, ↓1.3.3.1.6).³⁸⁰

370 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 42, 55.

371 Segal, *Catalogue*, 035A, 3.

372 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 20, 2, 5.

373 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 26.

374 Isbell, *Corpus*, 64, 3.

375 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 263:2.1.1.2.

376 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 264 *ad* 106M, 6.

377 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 135 *ad* 103M, 6.

378 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 222.

379 Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 115–116: Aaron F, 1.

380 For a futile attempt at an Iranian etymology cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 177b.

1.2.1.3 *qutl*

1.2.1.3.1 With stable consonants

*Pwšky*³⁸¹ “handbreadth” (Aram., plus adjectival *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4).

1.2.1.3.2 With resonant consonants

*Dwkry*³⁸² “masculine” (cf. OSyr. *dkry*, *qetl* < *qutl* + *-āy*, ↓1.3.1.4), *Kwpry* (fem., + *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4)³⁸³ is based on *kwpr* “henna” (JBA, OSyr.). *Šwrš’*,³⁸⁴ *Šršw(m)*³⁸⁵ and *Šršy*³⁸⁶/*Šršyy*³⁸⁷ (fem.) are based on *šrš* “root” > “radical, original, offspring”³⁸⁸ (+ *-ō* < *-ōm* ~ adjectival *-ōn* and *-āy* respectively, ↓1.3.1.4, 1.3.1.9).

1.2.1.3.3 With resonants and (proto-)gutturals

Mand. *Hwlpwn’* (fem., plus *-ōn-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.10)³⁸⁹ is based on Ḥ-L-P (see ↓1.2.12.2.1).

1.2.1.3.4 > *qitl*

Dwps’y (fem.) < *Dwbs’y* consists of Aram. *dwbš* “honey”³⁹⁰ (with attenuation *u* > *i* *Dypšy*, male)³⁹¹ and *-āy* (↓1.3.3.1.4). *Dybs’t’* (fem., a demonic authority)³⁹² has the same base with *-at-ā* (↓1.3.3.2.2). *Symkwy* (fem., + *-ōy*, ↓1.3.3.1.5) is perhaps based on *swmk* “thickness” (extant in JBA, Mand., Targ. *swmk’*), i.e. “thick” (with attenuation *u* > *i*); alternatively Iranian (↓7.3.2.13). *Byrl’* (defective *BrI’*)³⁹³ “beryl, crystal-like” (JBA, Targ. *bwrl’*, OSyr. *brwl’*, *blwr’*). It is an Iranian (< Pali < Old Indian *verluriya*) loanword in Aramaic.³⁹⁴

381 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 199b.

382 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 218a.

383 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 38.

384 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 45b ad 004A, 4.

385 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 201–202 (with a wrong lemmatization).

386 It cannot render *Srōšay* as claimed by Faraj, “Remarks,” 92 ad 90–95, 1.

387 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 251b.

388 Cf. Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 69 and Mand. *šyrš’* “tribe” (cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 269 ad 107M).

389 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 272 ad 112M, 6.

390 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 48 with n. 144.

391 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 324–326 and pl. 11:B, 2.

392 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 26, 4.

393 Gordon 1934b: 467 and pl. 22, 1, 2.

394 See Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 128–129.

1.2.1.3.5 *quty*

*Bws*³⁹⁵ and *Bws(ʿ)y*³⁹⁶ perhaps derive from B-S-Y “to despise, neglect” (JBA, Mand., OSyr., CPA), cf. *bwsy*’ “willful negligence” (JBA, JPA, Targ.), in which case the names may be apotropaic.

1.2.2 *qVtVI*

Ktšytwn (fem.)³⁹⁷ is apparently based on K-T-Š “crush; be excited” (cf. *Χθουσιων/ Ktwšyn*³⁹⁸), in this case and in view of the combination of the adjectival suffixes -*īt-ōn* (↓1.3.3.2.8) it possibly has the meaning “smitten (with skin disease)”.³⁹⁹

1.2.2.1 *qatal*

Dhbʿy (based on *dhb* “gold”) denotes “goldsmith”.⁴⁰⁰ *Nṭr* and *Nṭrty* (fem., + -*t-īy*, ↓1.3.3.2.5) are based on N-Ṭ-R “to guard, protect”.⁴⁰¹ If *Mṭry*’ is based on *mṭr* “rain” (extant in the Semitic onomastica), then it apparently ends with -*īy-ā* (↓1.3.2.1, an Iranian derivation is less likely).⁴⁰² *Ḥpʿy*⁴⁰³ may derive from Ḥ-P-Y “to cover, hide” (common Aram.).

1.2.2.2 *qutul*

For *Bwlwq*⁴⁰⁴ (+ -*ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) compare OSyr. *bwlq(ʿ)* (*quttāl*) “noteworthy appearance”.

1.2.3 *qātil*

*Khn*⁴⁰⁵ (+ -*ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) “priest”. *Ywyt*’,⁴⁰⁶ *Ywytʿy* (fem., + -*t-āy*, ↓1.3.3.2.4) may have the same base as *Yʿyt*’ “beautiful, handsome, fitting”.⁴⁰⁷

395 Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 233:MS 2053/252, 5 (unpubl.).

396 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 173–174.

397 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 230a.

398 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 269:2.1.5.3.

399 Cf. Morgenstern and Abudraham, “A Mandaean Lamella,” 233 ad 204.

400 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 198 ad 19, 4.

401 Cf. Faraj and Moriggi, “Two New,” 77–80:IM 62265, 2, 6; Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 ad SD 37, 7.

402 Cautiously suggested by Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 183 ad 10, 7.

403 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 187, n. 613 ad Faraj, *Coppe magiche*, 6, 4.

404 Ilan *Lexicon*, 171b.

405 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124.

406 Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 111–112: Aaron C, 2.

407 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 266: 2.1.3; Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 204 ad 13, 1.

1.2.4 *qatV:l*

1.2.4.1 *qatāl*

*Dbʿrh*⁴⁰⁸ may consist of D-B-R “to lead” and *-ā* (↓1.3.1.1). Mand. *Kzʿbyʿt*⁴⁰⁹ (+ fem. *-y-āt*, ↓1.3.3.2.13) is apparently based on K-Z-B, which is the Canaanite-Hebrew cognate of common Aram. K-D-B “to lie” whose *qatāl*-formation denotes “lie, fiction” (Official Aram., JBA, Mand., SA, QA, Targ.), a form with *z-* is extant only in JPA *kzbn* “deceiver” which may be a Hebraism. Perhaps it is an apotropaic name.

1.2.4.2 *qatīl*

1.2.4.2.1 With resonant consonants

Brykh (fem., + *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1)⁴¹⁰ “blessed”; *Gnybʿ*⁴¹¹ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) denotes either “tail” (JArām.),⁴¹² or “unclean” (OSyr., Mand.) or “stolen” (OSyr., Targ.); *Grybtʿ* (fem., + *-t-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.1) “scabby”,⁴¹³ *Ktymʿ*⁴¹⁴ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) “stained” (Targ. *ktym*); *Mlykʿ* (fem.,⁴¹⁵ + *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1), presumably for *mlykh* “promised” (OSyr.). *Qrystyʿ* (fem.) ends with a feminine suffix (*-yā*) preceded by the feminine marker *-t* (↓1.3.3.2.6). It may be based on Q-R-S “to become dry” (OSyr., JBA, Targ.), thereby meaning “the dry/hard one”.⁴¹⁶ *Zbynʿ*⁴¹⁷ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1), *Zbyntʿ* (fem., + *-t-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.1) “sold”.⁴¹⁸

1.2.4.2.2 With (proto-)gutturals or *h-*

*ʿqybʿ*⁴¹⁹ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) derives from ʿQ-B “to seek, look for; fulfill”. *Hdytʿ*⁴²⁰ (fem.) may be based on H-D-S “to contemplate, ponder” (OSyr., + *-t-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.1).

408 Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells* 123–124: 14, 2.

409 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 11, 4, 51.

410 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 60.

411 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 1, 9, 10 (*bis*).

412 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 267:2.1.5.2.

413 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 124 *ad* 2, 3.

414 Schwab, L. (quoted by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 278a, index, s. v.).

415 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 29, 7. [ex Segal 118ES; cf. Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 268:2.1.5.2]

416 Cf. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 5 *ad* A, 3.

417 Segal, *Catalogue*, 023A, 2, 11.

418 See Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 329 *ad* D, 6;

419 Hunter, “Two Incantation Bowls,” 111:1, 9.

420 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 221–222.

1.2.4.2.3 With resonants and (proto-)gutturals

*Rhym*⁴²¹ (+ -ā, 1.3.1.1) “beloved, loving” (to R-Ḥ-M, Common Aram.); alternatively to *qattil* (1.2.6.1.1). (Šylt⁴²²/Šylt’/Šlt⁴²³ + -t-ā, 1.3.3.2.1)/Šylt’y (fem.),⁴²⁴ Šylty⁴²⁵ (+ -t-āy, 1.3.3.2.4) Šyly,⁴²⁶ Š’y⁴²⁷ (if defective for *Šyly, + -īy, 1.3.1.5), OSyr. Šyl’y⁴²⁸ (+ -āy, 1.3.1.4), Mand. Šyl⁴²⁹/Šl⁴³⁰ and Šylwy’ (fem., + -t-ā, 1.3.3.2.1)⁴³¹ “borrowed, requested”⁴³² (to Š’-L, partially with contraction of /’/); fem. ‘wyrty (> ‘wyrty,⁴³³ + -t-īy, 1.3.3.2.5) “one-eyed female” (Aram.);⁴³⁴ wr’/h (fem., if it is defective for wyr’) may be the masculine equivalent thereof.⁴³⁵ Hlyp’y (fem.,⁴³⁶ + -āy, 1.3.3.1.4) is based on Ḥ-L-P (see 1.2.12.2.1).’pyl⁴³⁷ (+ -ā, 1.3.1.1) derives from ’P-L “to become dark” (SA), cf. ‘pl “late appearing” and MHeb. ‘pylh (fem. adj.) “dark”.

1.2.4.3 qatūl

Mand. Hlwp⁴³⁸ (+ -ā, 1.3.1.1) is based on Ḥ-L-P (see 1.2.12.2.1). Nqwb’t’ (fem., + -t-ā, 1.3.3.2.1) is based on N-Q-B “to perforate”.⁴³⁹ Mand. Q’ywm (fem.),⁴⁴⁰ Qywm⁴⁴¹ (+ -ā, 1.3.1.1), fem. Qywm’t’ (JBA, OSyr.; > Qyymt’/Qymt’⁴⁴²)/Mand. Q’ywm’t’⁴⁴³ (+ -t-ā, 1.3.3.2.1) “enduring, permanent”⁴⁴⁴ (Mand., OSyr., Palm., JPA, SA, CPA).

421 Isbell 1978, 8.

422 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 69.

423 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 55, 75.

424 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 132, 3.

425 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 024A, 6.

426 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 177 *ad* 12, 11.

427 Isbell, “Two New,” 20–23:N-IV, 3.

428 Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Gold Amulet,” 334–337, 2.

429 Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85: 2, 6, 57, 65.

430 Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 82:MS 2054/81, 11 (unpubl.).

431 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 121 *ad* 092M, 13 and 095M, 1; Šlīlī (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 301a) is Aramaic Šyly.

432 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 268:2.1.5.2.

433 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 211.

434 See Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 122 *ad* 4, 2. For the form and the fem. suff. -ty see M. Morgenstern in Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 48–49.

435 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 114 with n. 441 *ad* 3041+3070x, 2, 7.

436 See Ford, “Another Look,” 269 *ad* 107M, 3’.

437 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 117–119 and pl. 1 on 132:1, 2.

438 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 219 *ad* 29, 8.

439 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 *ad* SD 27, 8.

440 See Ford, “Another Look,” 260 *ad* 103M, 14.

441 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 10, 2.

442 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 228.

443 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 272 *ad* 112M, 8.

444 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 149 *ad* 120Sy, 3.

1.2.4.4 qitūl

Qywmṭ ‘patroness’ (OSyr.); *Ḥdwy* is not Iranian,⁴⁴⁵ but derives from Ḥ-D-Y “re-joyce”; *Tylwl*⁴⁴⁶ (fem., + -ā, ↓1.3.3.1.1) “fortress” (Old Aram., JPA *tlwl*).

1.2.4.5 qutīl

Mand. *Hwmyṃy*⁴⁴⁷ (fem., + -yā, ↓1.3.3.1.7) is apparently based on Ḥ-M-M “to be warm”.

1.2.5 qV:tV:l**1.2.5.1 qātūl**

Ṣḥwr (*Rb* ~) “merchant” (JPA) or “beggar” (OSyr.).

1.2.5.2 qītāl

*ylw*⁴⁴⁸ (fem.), det. *ylwt* (+ -t-ā, ↓1.3.3.2.1) “aid” (OSyr.).

1.2.6 qVttVl**qittal**

Mand. *Ṣpʿr* (fem.) “bird” (common Aram.).

1.2.6.1 qVttV:l**1.2.6.1.1 qattīl**

Smynt (fem.)⁴⁴⁹ denotes “pomace” (OSyr. < Akkad.). *Ṣḥyn*⁴⁵⁰ “hot” (OSyr., JPA), presumably “hot(-tempered)”, OSyr.); *Ṣpyr*⁴⁵¹ “beautiful, good”; *Ṣlym* (OSyr., + -ā, ↓1.3.1.1, probably Christian)⁴⁵² “perfect; allied, at peace with” (Mand., CPA, Targ.; Ṣ-L-M is common Aram.). *Rḥym* may belong here (“lovable, pleasant”, OSyr.) or to *qatīl* (↑1.2.4.2.2).

⁴⁴⁵ As erroneously implied by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 187.

⁴⁴⁶ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 254b.

⁴⁴⁷ See Segal, *Catalogue*, 135 ad 103M, 15.

⁴⁴⁸ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 65, 8.

⁴⁴⁹ Bhayro *et al.* *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 24.

⁴⁵⁰ Isbell, *Corpus*, 61, 3.

⁴⁵¹ Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 277:Ashmolean 1931.177.

⁴⁵² See Ford [and Abudraham] “Syriac and Mandaic,” 92 ad 4, 4.

1.2.6.1.2 *qittāl*

*ʾh*⁴⁵³ “supreme, high, exalted” (common Aram., + *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) derives from ‘L-Y with *-y* > *-ʾ*.

1.2.6.1.3 *quttāl*

*Dwbr*⁴⁵⁴ “behaviour; (divine) governance” (OSyr., SA, to D-B-R “to lead, drive”); Mand. *Swm*(*ʿ*)*q*⁴⁵⁵ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) “red”. Mand. *Dwm**y* (fem.)⁴⁵⁶ may denote “likening” (*dwmy*(*ʿ*), OSyr.).

1.2.6.1.4 *quttāl* > *qittāl*

*ʾwkm*y (> *ʾwkmw*, *ʾykwmmh/y*⁴⁵⁷) is based on *ʾwkm* “black” (+ *-ā*, *-īy*, *-ō*, ↓1.3.1.1, 1.3.1.2, 1.3.1.5).

1.2.6.2 *qrtwl* (with dissimilatory *-r-*)

Perhaps *Grdwšt*ʾ (fem.,⁴⁵⁸ + *-t-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.1) if it derives from G-R-D-Š “to gnaw, erode, be broken, wounded” (JBA, OSyr.).

1.2.7 *qVl*

1.2.7.1 *qal*

*ʾb*⁴⁵⁹ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1), *ʾb**y* (with *a* > *i* *ʾyb*ʾ, *ʾyb**y*,⁴⁶⁰ + *-ā*, *-āy*, and *-ōy*, ↓1.3.1.1, 1.3.1.4, 1.3.1.6), *ʾbyy*⁴⁶¹ (+ *-āy*, ↓1.3.1.4), *ʾbwy*,⁴⁶² and *ʾbwy*ʾ (Mand., fem.)⁴⁶³ *ʾhwy*⁴⁶⁴ (+ *-ōy*, ↓1.3.1.6), *ʾhy*⁴⁶⁵ (with *a* > *i* *ʾhyh*,⁴⁶⁶ + *-īy*, ↓1.3.1.4), Mand. *ʾhy*⁴⁶⁷ (with aphaeresis

453 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 344–345; Fitzwilliam, 12.

454 Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 86–90 and pls. 2–4:H, 1.

455 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 25.

456 Segal, *Catalogue*, 087M, 7.

457 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 166 (with a wrong lemmatization).

458 Segal, *Catalogue*, 44b ad 002A, 2 cautiously suggests an Iranian etymology which is phonologically incompatible.

459 Wohlstein, “Über einige aramäische,” 9, 12–27:[VA] 2416, 3, 18.

460 Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 90–92 and pl.6:J, 5.

461 See Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 219–220 ad Gorea, “Trois nouvelles,” 85–89 and 92–93:3, 3.

462 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 108, 2.

463 Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 109–111:24, 4, 13, 15.

464 See Fain et al., “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 290 ad S-443, 1.

465 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 58, 3, 5.

466 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 40, 4.

467 Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Lead Roll,” 489, rev. 3ʾ. With an epithet *rb*ʾ “bigger, older” in Mand. *ʾhyrb*ʾ (Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 88–93:3, 15).

H'y,⁴⁶⁸ cf. Geonic *H'y*, + *-āy*, ↓1.3.1.4), are based on 'b "father"⁴⁶⁹ and 'h "brother" respectively. OSyr. *H'wn*' > *Hwn*'⁴⁷⁰ is based on 'h with aphaeresis (with diminutive *-ōn-ā* thereby meaning "little brother", ↓1.3.2.3). It is noteworthy that females bore the names 'bh,⁴⁷¹ 'by'⁴⁷² and (Mand.) 'by'.⁴⁷³ 'ht,⁴⁷⁴ 'ht',⁴⁷⁵ 'h't'⁴⁷⁶ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1), 'h'ty'⁴⁷⁷ (+ *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4), are based on 'h't "sister" ('ht'⁴⁷⁸/Mand. 'h't'⁴⁷⁹ without suffix is also recorded as an anthroponym), Mand. 'h'ty'⁴⁸⁰ (+ *-yā*, ↓1.3.3.1.7). *H'twy* (*/Hātōy/*) and *Hātōnāy* (OSyr., fem.) have the same base⁴⁸¹ with aphaeresis. The latter ends with a suffix combination (*-ōn-āy*, ↓1.3.3.2.11). Her daughter's name, 'Aḥātāy, has the same base⁴⁸² without aphaeresis (+ *- āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4). 'htwnty'⁴⁸³ (+ *- ōn-t-āy*, ↓1.3.3.2.14), has the same base, but *Hty*⁴⁸⁴/*Ht'y*⁴⁸⁵ (+ *- āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4) is with aphaeresis. Has *Hwty*⁴⁸⁶ (+ *āy* or *-īy*, ↓1.3.3.1.3) the same base with aphaeresis and *ā* > *ō* (as in Canaanite)? Regarding 'bw,⁴⁸⁷ it cannot be excluded, that it originates from abstract nouns, viz. 'bwt "defense, advocacy" (OSyr., QA < Akkad. *abbūtu*). The distinctive non-Jewish name *Bty*⁴⁸⁸ may be based on *bt* < *brt* "daughter". Perhaps Šbwn,⁴⁸⁹ which may denote "splinter" (Mand.), belongs here as well. OSyr. *nty* (fem.)⁴⁹⁰ may be based on the name of the goddess Anat, cf. also the Mandaic numen 'nt *hy*'.

468 Abudraham, "Three Mandaic," 61, 62, 93–94:1, 2.

469 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 19, n. 40 *ad* 3005, 5, 3019, 4.

470 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 23, 10, 12 and 2 respectively.

471 Faraj, "Remarks," 90–95, 1.

472 Gordon, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 350–351:IM 11113.

473 Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 95=100 and pl. 10:M, 3.

474 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 8, 7.

475 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 63, 5.

476 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 21, 4, 9, 13, 16, 23.

477 Cf. Morgenstern and Schlütter, "A Mandaic Amulet," 122 *ad* rev. 3, 17.

478 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 8, 7.

479 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 19, 2, 21; 27, 3, 4, 16.

480 Morgenstern and Schlütter, "A Mandaic Amulet," 118, 120, rev. 3.

481 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 143 *ad* 6, 3.

482 For both names see Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 177, n. 591 *ad* 3056, 3, 3066, 3.

483 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 177, n. 591 *ad* Segal, *Catalogue*, 020A, 4.

484 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 36, 2, 3.

485 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 101, 14, 17.

486 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124.

487 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 40, 3, 4 (*bis*).

488 BT Gittin 11a, cf. Kiperwasser and Shapira, "Encounters," 300.

489 Isbell, *Corpus*, 63, 2.

490 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 2, 11.

1.2.7.2 *qul*

Šwmwny (fem.), which ends in *-ōn-ty* (‡1.3.3.2.10), is apparently based on *šm* “name”.⁴⁹¹

1.2.8 With diphthongs

1.2.8.1 *qawl*

Ḥwrn,⁴⁹² which consists of Ḥ-W/Y-R and adjectival *-ān* (‡1.3.1.7) may denote “whitish, grey”, like OSyr. *ḥwrny* with a combination of suffixes (*-ān-āy*). The latter may alternatively denote “love incited” (JBA *ḥwrn’h*, to Ḥ-R-R).⁴⁹³ *Nwpy*,⁴⁹⁴ may either render OSyr. *nwpy*’ (+ *-yā*, ‡1.3.1.3) “the boundless” or based on N-W/Y-P (Sab. “to bestow”), cf. Sab. *Nwfm* (3 ×), *Nwfn* (3 ×, also Hadrami, 1 ×)⁴⁹⁵ and *-(ā)yā*. Perhaps *’wny* (defective *’ny*) and *’wn*’ (both fem.)⁴⁹⁶ are based on *’wn* “power, natural urge” (Official Aram.; the Biblical Hebrew cognate *’wn* “vigour” is onomastically productive).⁴⁹⁷

1.2.8.2 *qayl*

Byt,⁴⁹⁸ “house, clan”; *Ḥyl* (fem.)⁴⁹⁹ “power, strength; preciousness, wealth, abundance” (Aram.), cf. BHeb. *’št hyl* “woman of valour”. *’ynh*⁵⁰⁰ and *’ynwy*⁵⁰¹ are perhaps originally *’ynh* and *’ynwy*, in which case they are based on *’yn* “eye”; cf. *’yn*,⁵⁰² i.e. consisting of *’yn* “eye” and *-ā* (‡1.3.1.1) or *-ōy* (‡1.3.1.6). Alternatively, the forms based on *’yn* may originate from Persian “mirror”.⁵⁰³ *Qyny* (alias⁵⁰⁴) may be based on *qyn*(’) “crossbeam” (OSyr., + *-āy*, ‡1.3.1.4).

⁴⁹¹ Differently Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 95 ad SD 27, 5.

⁴⁹² Ilan, *Lexicon*, 232.

⁴⁹³ Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Beiträge zum Babylonisch,” 231 ad 443a.

⁴⁹⁴ Oelsner “Review,” 39–41, i, 2.

⁴⁹⁵ Harding, *Index and Concordance*, 604.

⁴⁹⁶ For references see Ilan, *Lexicon*, 243–244.

⁴⁹⁷ See Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 144.

⁴⁹⁸ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 214 (with a wrong lemmatization).

⁴⁹⁹ Isbell, *Corpus*, 70, 3.

⁵⁰⁰ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 211.

⁵⁰¹ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 40, 3, 4 (*bis*).

⁵⁰² See Segal, *Catalogue*, 60 ad 019A, 1. For the /’/ in JBA see Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 37–38 and M. Morgenstern in Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 40.

⁵⁰³ See Shaked, “Rabbis,” 108.

⁵⁰⁴ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 227–228.

1.2.9 qV:l

1.2.9.1 qāl

Ḥlyy consists of *ḥl* “maternal uncle”⁵⁰⁵ and *-āy* (↓1.3.1.4). *Ṭbʾ* (fem.)⁵⁰⁶ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1) “good”. Mand. *Dʾrʾ* (fem.)⁵⁰⁷ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1) may denote “age, generation; rank” (common Aram.).

< *qaʾl*: *Rʾšn* (fem.) may denote “chief, ruler” (OSyr. and Targ., *ryšn*, *rʾšn*)⁵⁰⁸ (+ *-ān*, ↓1.3.3.8); alternatively Middle Persian (↓7.1).

1.2.9.2 qīl

Gystʾ (fem.)⁵⁰⁹ perhaps denotes “sister-in-law”, the hypothetical female counterpart (+ *-t-ā*, ↓1.3.3.2.1) of *gysʾ* “brother-in-law” (JBA; OSyr. (ʾ)*gysʾ*, JPA *ʾgys*), in which case it would be a substitute name. *Sysnwyy* (male⁵¹⁰ and female⁵¹¹) is perhaps based on *sysn* (OSyr., name of an unidentified bird, + *-ōy*, ↓1.3.1.6). Regarding *Sysʾ* (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) and *Sysyn*⁵¹² (+ *-īn*, ↓1.3.1.8), the former is based on *sys* “tuft” (JBA, Targ. with an Old Syriac cognate), “coil of threads” (OSyr., MHeb.) and the latter (“chamomile”) is an Akkadian loanword in JBA like *sysyn* “fruited branch of a date-palm”⁵¹³. *Zywn* (fem.)⁵¹⁴ (+ *-ān*, ↓1.3.3.1.8) “splendid” (Mand., OSyr., where it is also a designation of a Manichean sacral being) is based on *zyw* “splendour” (< Akkad. *zīmu*). *Zyywy* (fem.)⁵¹⁵ has the same base (+ *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4). However, both names are alternatively explicable in Persian terms (↓7.3.1.1, b, aʾ, 7.3.1.4). *Gīlāy* (fem.,⁵¹⁶ + *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4) may be based on either *gyl* “age” (Aram.) or MPers. *gil* “clay”. The female’s name *Nyry*⁵¹⁷ (+ *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4) may also be Hebrew unless it is based on the star’s name *nyr* (OSyr.).

505 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 60 with n. 258 *ad* 3016, 1.

506 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 33b, 15.

507 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 264 *ad* 106M, 6.

508 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 219 *ad* 29, 5.

509 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 64, 8.

510 Moriggi, “Two New,” 52–56, 58:2, 5.

511 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1.

512 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 202–203 (with a wrong lemmatization).

513 See Schwartz “Sasm,” 255, cf. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 129:435.

514 Moriggi, “Two New,” 45 and 57:1, 11.

515 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 342–344:BM 91776, 5, 7.

516 MS 2053/220 (unpubl., quoted by Shaked, “Rabbis,” 105 with n. 26).

517 Moriggi, “Two New,” 45–52, 57:1, 8.

1.2.9.3 *qūl*

*Gwr*⁵¹⁸ (+ *-ā*, ¶1.3.1.1), *Gwry*/*h*⁵¹⁹ (+ *-yā*, ¶1.3.1.3), and *Gwryt*' (fem., + *-īt-ā*, ¶1.3.3.2.3) are based on *gwr* (cf. Palm. ~) "young lion".⁵²⁰ *Gwryy* (+ *-āy*, ¶1.3.1.4) is either Semitic (to *gwr* "whelp") or Iranian (*gōr* "onager, wild ass").⁵²¹ The same applies to *Gwrwy*⁵²² (+ *-ōy*, ¶1.3.1.6). *Gwsy*⁵²³ (+ *-āy*, ¶1.3.1.4, cf. NB/LB *Gu-sa-A+A*);⁵²⁴ *Kwpyt*(')y (fem.) apparently consists of *kwpyt*' (OSyr.) and *-āy* (¶1.3.3.1.4) thereby denoting "water-pitcher-like".⁵²⁵ Mand. *Nwnt*'(y)⁵²⁶ (fem., + *-ā* or *-āy*, ¶1.3.3.1.1, 1.3.3.1.4) is perhaps based on *nwn* "fish" (common Aram.). OSyr. *Zwty*⁵²⁷ (+ *-āy*, ¶1.3.1.4) denotes "the younger (one)". *Pwrty* (fem.), which is possibly based on *pwrt* "portion, small amount" (JBA, Mand., Hatran, Targ.), apparently ends with the fem. suff. *-āy* or *-īy* (¶1.3.3.1.3) in which case it may denote "fractured, minute".⁵²⁸

1.2.10 *qVll*

1.2.10.1 *qall*

1.2.10.1.1 With stable consonants

The base of *Gdn*',⁵²⁹ viz. *gd* "fortune", is followed by adjectival *-ān* plus *-ā* (¶1.3.2.2) thereby denoting "fortunate". *Gdy*,⁵³⁰ Mand. *Gd'y* (2 ×)⁵³¹ and OSyr. *gdy* have the same base (with *-āy*, ¶1.3.1.4) and meaning. The variant *Gwd'y* in the same text (1 ×)⁵³² may be compared to the variant *gyd*' (JBA, Targ.) "fortune; coriander". *Kdy*⁵³³

518 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 220.

519 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 113, 1, 10.

520 See Stark *Personal Names*, 81b.

521 See Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells* 116 *ad* 15, 3.

522 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 208 *ad* 25, 1.

523 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 220b.

524 Cf. Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 63, 164.

525 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 122 *ad* 2, 1; 12, 11.

526 See Müller-Kessler, "Die Zauberschälensammlung," 139b *ad* Segal, *Catalogue*, 090M, 3.

527 Ford [and Abudraham] "Syriac and Mandaic," 96–98:6, 10, 12, 13.

528 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 47a *ad* 005A, 2.

529 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 100, 4, 7, 8.

530 Differently Segal, *Catalogue*, 91 *ad* 048A, 7 (to *gdy* "kid").

531 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschälentexte*, 2A, 6, 11.

532 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschälentexte*, 2A, 5.

533 Not identical with the Iranian name *Kwd*(')y (/Xwadāy/) "lord" (see Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 175 *ad* 8, ii, 4, iii, 5) despite Ilan, *Lexicon*, 188a.

is apparently based on *kd* with adjectival *-āy* (↓1.3.1.4), i.e. “pot-like”, cf. *Kdh*⁵³⁴ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1). *Klt* “bride”.⁵³⁵

1.2.10.1.2 With resonant consonants

*R'bh*⁵³⁶ and *Rby*⁵³⁷ are based on *rb* “master” plus *-ā* (↓1.3.1.1) and *-yā* (↓1.3.1.3) respectively.

1.2.10.1.3 With (proto-)gutturals

Mand. 'zy' (/Azia/, fem.)⁵³⁸ may originate from 'zy' which is based on 'z “strong” (to 'Z-Z, + *-yā*, ↓1.3.3.1.7). *Hy*⁵³⁹ consists of *hy* “living” (*qall* > *qill*) and *-ā* (↓1.3.1.1). *Hyyn* has the same base⁵⁴⁰ with hypocoristic *-ān* (↓1.3.1.7).

1.2.10.1.4 With unstable consonants

'd' and 'dy' (the latter refers to male and female) are based on *Addu*⁵⁴¹ (the storm god worshipped by the Arameans). They end in hypocoristic *-ā* and *-āy* respectively (↓1.3.1.1, 1.3.3.1.4).

1.2.10.2 qill

'm'⁵⁴²/mh⁵⁴³ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1) “mother”, 'ym'⁵⁴⁴ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1), 'ym'y (fem.)⁵⁴⁵/ 'ymy⁵⁴⁶/ 'ymyy⁵⁴⁷ (+ *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4), Mand. 'my'⁵⁴⁸ (+ *-yā*, ↓1.3.3.1.7), 'm'y and with aph-aeresis M'y⁵⁴⁹ are based on the same lexeme (+ *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.4). *Šdh* (in Jewish

534 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 281: 2.1.10.4.1.

535 See Montgomery (and A. T. Clay *apud* Montgomery) *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 191 ad 17, 7.

536 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 73.

537 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124.

538 Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 98–99:3 = Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 31, 35 (VA 2435).

539 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 57, 4 (*bis*).

540 Cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 ad SD 27, 9.

541 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 68, n. 232.

542 Faraj, “Remarks,” 90–95, 9.

543 Isbell, *Corpus*, 64, 4.

544 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 19, 2, 7, 13; 2022, 79, 1–2, 8.

545 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 24.

546 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 50, 1, 8, 9; 51, 1, 6, 7; 52, 2, 9, 10; 53, 6, 7; 54, 7.

547 Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 114: Aaron E, 9.

548 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, 19.

549 See Ford, “Another Look,” 259 ad 103M, 9.

script)/*Ṣdn* (in Proto-Syriac script)⁵⁵⁰ is presumably based on Ṣ-D-D.⁵⁵¹ *Ryby* (*Rb* ~)⁵⁵² may consist of R-B-Y or R-B-B “to grow” and *-āy* (↓1.3.1.3).

1.2.10.3 *qull*

*ʾwlh*⁵⁵³ (+ *-ā*, ↓1.3.1.1) may be a plene spelling of a form deriving from Ġ-L-L “to enter”.⁵⁵⁴ *Hwb*,⁵⁵⁵ OSyr. *Hwb(ʾ)y* (both fem.)⁵⁵⁶ are based on *ḥwb* “love” (+ *-ā*, *-āy*, ↓1.3.3.1.1, 1.3.3.1.4).

1.2.11 *qlql*

ṣwṣlʾ (fem., + *-ā*, ↓1.3.3.1.1),⁵⁵⁷ cf. JBA and OSyr. *ṣwṣlʾ* “small dove” (perhaps “ring-dove”), fem. *ṣwṣyltʾ*, cf. JBA and OSyr. *ṣylṣwlʾ* “a bird that catches fish”. *Kkr* (< **Krkr*), *Kkry* (fem.)⁵⁵⁸ (+ *-āy* or *-īy*, 1.3.3.1.3) denotes either “talent; loaf” or “honeycomb” in view of OSyr. and Targ. *kkrytʾ*.⁵⁵⁹

1.2.12 With preformatives

1.2.12.1 ʾ-

1.2.12.1.1 *aqtVI*

*ʾbrqʾ*⁵⁶⁰ is based on B-R-Q and ends in *-ā* (↓1.3.1.1). *ʾgblth*⁵⁶¹ apparently derives from G-B-L “to knead, form, fabricate” (JBA, Mand., OSyr., JPA, CPA, SA) plus *-t-ā* (↓1.3.2.8), cf. Jaram. *Gbylh*.⁵⁶² *ʾgZR* (with the title *rb*, a demonic authority)⁵⁶³ derives from G-Z-R “to shear, cut off fruit, be circumcised; decree” (JBA, OSyr., Mand., JPA), cf. Mand. *agzara* “being cut-off, exile, banishment”. *ʾnbyh* (fem.) is not a

550 For the scripts see Naveh, “Some New Jewish,” 236. Both spellings refer to the same lady.

551 Cf. Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 282:2.1.10.4.2.

552 Segal, *Catalogue*, 024A, 6, cf. Shaked, “Rabbis,” 107.

553 Isbell, “Two New,” 20–23:N-IV, 3.

554 Cf. Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite*, 151.

555 Martinez Borobio “A Magical Bowl,” 324–325, 335, 9.

556 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 98, 5 (*Ḥ[w]b[ʾy]*), 14, 17 (both *Hwb*y).

557 Müller-Kessler, “Syrische Zauberschalen,” 119–121 = Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 3.

558 JNF 247, 2 (unpubl., quoted by Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 48a).

559 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 47–48 ad 3012, 2.

560 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 2, 4.

561 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 165b.

562 See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 267:2.1.5.2.

563 See Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 151 ad 26, 3.

straightforward Yahwistic name,⁵⁶⁴ but perhaps derives from N-B-Y “to prophesy” (JBA, OSyr, Mand., like *Nby*^{oo}), (*si vera lectio*, fem.).⁵⁶⁵

1.2.12.1.2 *aqtul*

Mand. *Amkur*⁵⁶⁶ perhaps derives from M-K-R “to acquire property; to betroth” (Official Aram., OSyr, Mand.; C “to give in marriage”, OSyr.).

1.2.12.2 *m-*

1.2.12.2.1 *maqtal*

Mhlp' (male, + -ā, ↓1.3.1.1), *Mhlp't*⁵⁶⁷/*Mhlp'th*,⁵⁶⁸ (female, + -t-ā, ↓1.3.3.2.1), as well as *Mhlp'n'* (+ -ān-ā, ↓1.3.2.2) are based on a *maqtal*-formation of Ḥ-L-P (< Ḥ-L-P) “to be changed, substitute one thing for another”, thereby denoting “substitute”.⁵⁶⁹ *Mšršyh*⁵⁷⁰ (+ -yā, ↓1.3.1.3) and its feminine counterpart *Mšršyt*⁵⁷¹ (+ -īt-ā, ↓1.3.3.2.3) as well as *Mšrštn*⁵⁷² (with an adjectival suffix -t-ān, ↓1.3.2.8) derive from Š-R-Š (↑1.2.1.3.2). Mand. *Mnd'y* (fem., + -āy, ↓1.3.3.1.4) is based on *mnd'* (< *mnd*'), cf. *mnd'* *dhyy'*, the supreme saviour spirit of the Mandeans.⁵⁷³

1.2.12.2.2 *mqtl*

*Msnq'*⁵⁷⁴ (+ -ā-, ↓1.3.1.1) is an active participle of S-N-Q C: “to compel, force to require” (OSyr.), cf. perhaps JBA *msnqy* (an adjective of an unclear meaning according to CAL).

⁵⁶⁴ As wrongly implied by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 208a.

⁵⁶⁵ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 21, 6, 10.

⁵⁶⁶ Gorea, “Trois nouvelles,” 72–78, 90–91:1, rev, 2–3.

⁵⁶⁷ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 62, 4, 5 and 16, 4; 17, 2, 4, 7 respectively.

⁵⁶⁸ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 66, 1.

⁵⁶⁹ See Fain *et al.*, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 287 *ad* S-442, 2: *Mhlp'n'*; cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 11.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 198 *ad* 19, 3.

⁵⁷¹ Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 40, 79, 120, 124 and 111, 140 respectively; Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 114: Aaron E, 9.

⁵⁷² Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 024A, 6.

⁵⁷³ See Segal, *Catalogue*, 136a *ad* 103M, 15.

⁵⁷⁴ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 20, 2.

1.2.12.2.3 *mVqīl*

Mqym “constant” (OSyr.) or “He who causes to arise” (Arab.).⁵⁷⁵

1.2.12.3 *t-*

1.2.12.3.1 *tyqtl*

Mand. *Tyrmy*⁵⁷⁶ (fem., +*-ā*, †1.3.3.1.1), cf. *trmy* “foundation” (from R-M-Y C “to install, set up”, OSyr.).

1.3 Suffixed names

1.3.1 Non-combined

1.3.1.1 *-ā* (<-’/-h>)⁵⁷⁷

a. With -’: *’b’* (†1.2.7.1), *’bd’* (†1.2.1.1), *’brq’* (†1.2.12.1.1), *’d’* (†1.2.10.1.4), *’pyl’* (†1.2.4.2), *’yb’* (†1.2.7.1), *’qyb’*, *Gnyb’* (†1.2.4.2), *Byrl’* (†1.2.1.3), *Byt’* (†1.2.8.2), *Bwlwq’* (†1.2.2.2), *Dky’* (†1.2.1.1), *Gwr’* (†1.2.9.3), *Hlwp’* (†1.2.4.3), *Hyy’* (†1.2.10.1), *Khn’* (†1.2.3), *Ktym’* (†1.2.4.2), *Mhlp’* (†1.2.12.2.1), *Msnq’* (†1.2.12.2.2), *Qywm’* (†1.2.4.3), *R’bh* (†1.2.10.1), *Shd’* (†1.2.1.1), *Shwr’* (†1.2.5.1), *Spr’* (†1.2.1.1), *Sys’* (†1.2.9.2), *Šlm’* (†1.2.1.1), *’yn’* (†1.2.8.2), *Mhlp’* (†1.2.12.2.1), *Rwy’* (†1.2.1.1), *Šlym’* (†1.2.6.1.1), *Šwrs’* (†1.2.1.3), *Zbyn’* (†1.2.4.2).

b. With -h: *’h’* (†1.2.6.1.2), *’ykwmh* (†1.2.6.1.4), *’ynh* (†1.2.8.2), *’wlh* (†1.2.10.3), *Db’rh* (†1.2.4.1), *Kdh* (†1.2.10.1), *Šrkh* (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.1.2 *-ō*

’wkmw (†1.2.6.1.4).

1.3.1.3. *-yā*

Mry’ (†1.2.1.1), *Mšršršyh* (†1.2.12.2.1); *Azia* (Mand., †1.2.10.1) and possibly *Nwpy’* (†1.2.8.1).

1.3.1.4 *-āy*

a. Adjectival: a’. With -’y: *’b’y* (with *a- > i-* *’yb’y*, †1.2.7.1), *Dypšy* (†1.2.1.3), *M’r’y* (†1.2.1.1), *Dhb’y* (†1.2.2.1), *Mšk’y* (†1.2.1.1); *Nhyl’y*,⁵⁷⁸ OSyr. *Šyl’y* (†1.2.4.2) and Mand.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. Segal, *Catalogue*, 86a ad 044A, 13 who refers to Stark 1971: 96b.

⁵⁷⁶ Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 24, 8.

⁵⁷⁷ For this graphemic interchange in JBA incantation bowls see Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 30.

⁵⁷⁸ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 195a (see Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 268).

‘h’y (†1.2.7.1). -āy is abbreviated to -ā in *Kpn(‘)y*, *Spr’y* (> *Spr’*, †1.2.1.1) and *Hwb(‘)y* (OSyr., †1.2.10.3).

b’. With -yy: *Gwryy* (†1.2.9.3).

c’. With -y: ‘hy (with *a* > *i* - ‘hy, †1.2.7.1), *Dwkry* (*qetl* < *qutl*, †1.2.1.3), *Kdy* (†1.2.10.1.1), *Kspy* (†1.2.1.1), *Pwšky* (†1.2.1.3.1), *Qyny* (†1.2.8.2), *Ryby* (†1.2.10.2), *Zypty* (†1.2.1.2), *Zyywy* (†1.2.9.2); OSyr. *Zwty* (†1.2.9.3).

d’. Gentilics: *Prs*’⁵⁷⁹ may originate from **Prs’y* “Persian” (gentilic), cf. *Nwkr*’⁵⁸⁰ which is presumably short for *Nwkr’y*’ below. *Nypr*’ is defective for **Nypr’y*, cf. Mand. *Niprai* “Nippurean.”⁵⁸¹ *Mbwg*’⁵⁸² is short for the gentilic *Mbwg(‘)y*, a common anthroponym of Arameophone pagans referring to Hierapolis, where the main temple of Dea Syria was located. Mand. *Gwk’y*’ (of the double name G. ‘dwr yzd’n, MPers. /*Ādur-yazdān*/)⁵⁸³ may be a gentilic of *Gwk*’, the forerunner of Arab. *Jūhā* (Geonic *Gwky*) referring to a region in eastern Babylonia.⁵⁸⁴ Alternatively it may be a hypocoristicon based on **Gaw* “ox, bull, cow” with the combined suffix -*ak-āy-a* (†7.3.2.14). Cf. Mand. (*Pīr*) *Nwkr’y*’⁵⁸⁵ (gentilic masc. -*āy-ā*).

b. Hypocoristic: a’. With -y’: Gd’y (†1.2.10.1).

b’. With -yy: *Gdy* (†1.2.10.1), *Hlyy* (†1.2.9.1).

c’. With -y: *Hysdy* (†1.2.1.2) may be a hypocoristicon of a compound like *Hsdyh*, seeing that the adjective of *hṣd* (JBA *hṣdn* “gracious”) ends in -*ān*. Besides, adjectives of the same root are extant (*hṣy/wd*).

1.3.1.5 -īy

Mry (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.1.6 -ōy (adjectival)⁵⁸⁶

ynwy (†1.2.8.2), *bwyy*, *hwyy* (†1.2.7.1), *M’rwy*, *N’rwy*, *Shdwy* (†1.2.1.1). *Sysnwy* (male and female, †1.2.9.2).

579 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 121, 3.

580 Faraj, “Aramaico orientale,” 272–273:IM 2929, 3.

581 See Müller-Kessler, “The Story of Bguzan-Lilit,” 197 and Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 14, n. 14 ad 3003, 2, 9 and 3021, 3.

582 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 189b.

583 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 11, 50.

584 For this region see Gil “The Rādhānite Merchants,” 317–319.

585 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 22, 9–10 and *passim* in this incantation.

586 A vocalization -*u/ūy* relies on the New Persian rendering, but the Arabic script has no sign for *ō*. [cf. Akboes]. The suffix is thought to be due to Iranian linguistic interference (see Fain *et al.*, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 290). However, It is recorded also in a transcription of an Aramaic name from Syria (Ακβοεος, cf. Zadok “Post-Biblical,” xix:2.2.2.2) and possibly in NB A-š/ *za-al-lu-ia*. (CT 56, 87, rev. ii, 28, based on ‘-Z-L “to go”), NA *Ha-an-nu-ia* (based on Ḥ-N-N “to

1.3.1.7 -ān

a. Adjectival: *Bgrn* (†1.2.1.1), *Hwrn* (†1.2.8.1).

b. Hypocoristic: *Hyyn* (1.2.10.1). It becomes -ā in the female's name *Šdh/n* (†1.2.10.2).

1.3.1.8 -īn

Sysyn (†1.2.9.2).

1.3.1.9 -ōm

Šršw(m), (†1.2.1.3).

1.3.1.10 -ū(t)

Zkwt (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.2 Combined suffixes**1.3.2.1 -īy-ā**

Possibly *Mtry'* (†1.2.2.1).

1.3.2.2 -ān-ā

Gdn' (†1.2.10.1), *Mhlpn'* (†1.2.12.2.1).

1.3.2.3 -ōn-ā

'*bwn'* (†1.2.7.1), *Hwn'* > *Hwn'* (both diminutive, †1.2.7.1); *Mlkwn'* (†1.2.1.1.2). The distinctive non-Jewish name *Nqym-'wn'*,⁵⁸⁷ the accuracy of its transmission is not beyond doubt, may be based on the onomastically productive root N-Q-M "to avenge" (Aram., Heb., Arab., Eth.).

1.3.2.4 -ōn-āy

Gwynny and *Mlkwn'y/Mlkwn[y]* (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.2.5 -āy-ā

Mand. '*my'* (†1.2.10.2).

be merciful", see [G. Van Buylaere and] R. Zadok, PNA 2: 455a, s. v.), and NA *Ig-ru-ia* (based on ʿ-G-R "to hire", see [K. Kessler and] R. Zadok, PNA 2: 508b, s. v.), all explicable in Aramaic terms.

587 BT Gittin 11a, cf. Kipperwasser and Shapira 2014: 300.

1.3.2.6 -ōy-ā

Mand. Šylwy' (†1.2.4.2) and Z'kwy' (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.2.7 -t-ā

'gblth (†1.2.12.1.1).

1.3.2.8 -t-ān-ā

An adjectival suffix: Mšrštn' (†1.2.12.2.1).

1.3.3 Feminine suffixes**1.3.3.1 Non-combined****1.3.3.1.1 -ā**

a. With -': '(y)m' (†1.2.10.2), 'rḥ' (†1.2.1), 'wn' (†1.2.8.1), D'r' (†1.2.9.1), Ḥwb' (†1.2.10.3), Mlyk' (†1.2.4.2), Šwšl' (†1.2.11), Šgl' (†1.2.1.1), Šlm' (†1.2.1 1); Tylwl' (†1.2.4.4), Tyql' (†1.2.1.2), Ṭb',

b. With -h: 'mh (†1.2.10.2), Brykh (†1.2.4.2), Šdh/n (†1.2.10.2).

1.3.3.1.2 -at

Gyyt (†1.2.1.1), Nḥlt (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.3.1.3 -āy or -īy

Ḥwty (†1.2.7.1), Ḥylpy (†1.2.1.2), Kkry (†1.2.11), Šgly (†1.2.1.1), Ṭrdy (†1.2.1.1), Pwrty (†1.2.9.3).

1.3.3.1.4 -āy

a. Hypocoristic: 'dy (†1.2.10.1.4).

b. Adjectival: a'. With -y: 'ym'y (†1.2.10.2), Dwpsšy < Dwbsšy (†1.2.1.3), Kwpyt('y) (†1.2.9.3), Nwnt'y (†1.2.9.3); 'Aḥātāy (OSyr., †1.2.7.1), Ḥt'y (†1.2.7.1), Mand. Mr't'y/Mrt'y (†1.2.1.1), Mnd'y (†1.2.12.2.1) and possibly Nyry (†1.2.9.2).

b'. With -yy: 'ymyy (†1.2.10.2).

c'. With -y: 'ymy (†1.2.10.2), Gyrby (Mand., †1.2.1.2), Ḥty (†1.2.7.1), Kwpry (†1.2.1.3).

1.3.3.1.5 -ōy

Krkwy/krkwy, Qrqwy (†1.2.1.1), Ḥtwy (†1.2.7.1), Symkwy (†1.2.1.3.4); Sysnwy (male and female, †1.2.9.2); Dydwy (†4).

1.3.3.1.6 -ūt (suffix of abstract nouns)

*G(ʿ)ywt*⁵⁸⁸ (†1.2.1.1)/*Gwt* (†1.2.1.2),

1.3.3.1.7 -yā

Mand. *ʿhʿtyʿ* (†1.2.7.1), *Dwdyʿ* (†1.2.7.1) and Mand. *ʿmyʿ* (†1.2.10.2), *ʿzyʿ* (†1.2.10.1), and *Hwmymyʿ* (†1.2.4.5).

1.3.3.1.8 -ān

Rʿšn (†1.2.9.1) and *Zywn* (†1.2.9.2); both are alternatively Middle Persian (†7.1, 7.3.1.4).

1.3.3.1.9 -ōn

Hylywn (> *Hylywn*, †1.2.1.2), presumably a diminutive.

1.3.3.1.10 -ū(t)

Attached to *ʿb* in *ʿbw* (†1.2.7.1) and to *ʿyl* in *ʿylw* (†1.2.5.2, both females).

1.3.3.2 Combined**1.3.3.2.1 -t-ā (-tʿ)**

Grdwštʿ (†1.2.6.2), *Grybtʿ* (†1.2.4.2), *Mḥlptʿ* (also *Mḥlpth*, †1.2.12.2.1), *Nqwbṭʿ* (†1.2.4.3), *Qywmṭʿ* (> *Qyymtʿ*/*Qymtʿ*, OSyr., †1.2.4.3); *Šʿyltʿ*/*Šʿyltʿ*/*Šʿltʿ* (†1.2.4.2), *Nrtʿ*⁵⁸⁹ apparently ends in the same suffix. Mand. *Mrtʿ* (†1.2.1.1). *Hdyštʿ* (†1.2.4.2.2).

Hybrid: *Kʷwrht*⁵⁹⁰ (/Xwarrahtā/) is based on MPers. *xwarrah* “fortune, glory, splendour, happy shine”, thereby being a hypocoristic.

1.3.3.2.2 -at-ā (-tʿ)

Dybšʿtʿ (†1.2.1.3), Mand. *Rqdʿtʿ* (†1.2.1.1).

1.3.3.2.3 -īt-ā

Gwrytʿ (†1.2.9.3), *Mšršytʿ* (†1.2.12.2.1); is *Mrwšytʿ*⁵⁹¹ based on JPA *mrwš* (perhaps “vessel”)? *Nybrytʿ* (†1.2.1.2.2); *ʿqrytʿ*⁵⁹² presumably mean “accidental, incidental” (JBA).

⁵⁸⁸ Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 043A, 2, 3.

⁵⁸⁹ Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 97 ad SD 27, 10 (unexpl.).

⁵⁹⁰ Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013),

⁵⁹¹ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 238b.

⁵⁹² Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 31, 8.

1.3.3.2.4 -t-āy

Šylt'y (†1.2.4.2). Ywyt', Ywyt'y is based on an adjective (†1.2.4.2), in which case the suffix would be hypocoristic. This suffix is attached to Iranian forms in the female names 'nwšt'y (also 'nwšt',⁵⁹³ to anōš), Bzwrgwn't'y (Mand.) whose initial component is MPers. *vuzurg* > *buzurg* "big, great"⁵⁹⁴ as well as Mand. *Kwšynt'y* (/Xwašintāy/),⁵⁹⁵ based on an -in-hypocoristic of MPers. *xwaš*) and *Gwšn'st'y*⁵⁹⁶ (/Gušn-aš-tāy/), a two-stem hypocoristicon ("Zweistämmiger Kosenamen") being based on the compound *Gwšnsp*.⁵⁹⁷ Less transparent is *Bwpt'y*,⁵⁹⁸ which is apparently based on a lallative form or on MPers. *būf* "owl"; cf. †1.1.5, a, f'. This linguistic interference is extant also in Iranian loanwords in Aramaic: the Aramaic feminine marker is attached also to Persian appellatives, e.g., *ptkrt'* "(female) idol" (JBA, OSyr. vs masc. *ptkr'* etc.).⁵⁹⁹ 'wšpyzknt' (JBA) "landlady", the feminine counterpart of 'špyzkn(') "host, innkeeper" (JBA, OSyr., Hatran). Another example may be the female name *Mrqwnt'*⁶⁰⁰ which may be the feminine counterpart of the Grecized Latin name *Mrqywn* (with elision of -y-). *Mrqywn* is recorded as a client in an Old Syriac magic bowl.⁶⁰¹

1.3.3.2.5 -ty (-t-īy or -t-āy)

It appears sporadically alongside the regular fem. sg. emphatic state -t'/h⁶⁰²) in *Nṛty* (†1.2.2.1), *Mṛty* (†1.2.1.1.6) and *Šylty* (†1.2.4.2).

1.3.3.2.6 -t-yā

Qrysty' (†1.2.4.2).

1.3.3.2.7 -at-āy

Bys't'y.⁶⁰³

593 Cf. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 52 ad E, 4.

594 Cf. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 16–17 ad C, 3.

595 MS 2054/52, 13 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham and Morgenstern, "Mandaic Incantation(s)," 754).

596 Abudraham, "Three Mandaic," 83–85:2, 8, 60.

597 For a possible occurrence of this name type in Middle Iranian, viz. Bactrian, see Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 10.

598 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 63, 5.

599 Cf. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 243.

600 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 107, 3.

601 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 45, 3a, 4a.

602 See Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 142–143.

603 Abudraham, "Three Mandaic," 60–82, 93–94:1, 7.

1.3.3.2.8 -īt-ōn

Ktšytwn (†1.2.2).

1.3.3.2.9 -ōn-ā

Hwlpwn' (†1.2.1.3.3).

1.3.3.2.10 -ōn-īy

Šwmwny (†1.2.9.3).

1.3.3.2.11 -ōn-āy

Ḥātōnāy (OSyr., †1.2.7.1).

1.3.3.2.12 -ūt-ā

Mrwt' “control, subjugation” (JPA, Targ.).

1.3.3.2.13 -ōn-t-ā

Kspwnt' (Mand., †1.2.1.1).

1.3.3.2.14 -y-āt

Mand. *Kz'by't* (†1.2.4.1).

1.3.3.2.15 -ōn-t-āy

'ḥtwnty (†1.2.7.1).

1.3.3.2.16 - āy-ā

*B'b'y'*⁶⁰⁴ (14, with *b* > *v* OSyr. *B'w'y*).⁶⁰⁵

1.3.3.2.17 -ōy-ā

bwy' (†1.2.7.1).

604 Segal, *Catalogue*, 103M, 8.

605 See Harviainen, “Aramaic Incantation Bowl,” 14–15 *ad* 2.

1.3.3.2.18 -t-ōy

Possibly Mand. *Kwštwy*⁶⁰⁶ (/Xwaštōy/).

1.3.3.2.19 -t-ōy-a

Mand. *Bhrtwy*⁶⁰⁷ is apparently based on MPers. *bahr* “lot, share” (47.3.2.9).

1.3.3.2.20 -āy-t-ā (gentilic)

*Bblyt*⁶⁰⁸ “Babylonian”, *Brkyt* (11.2.1.1), *Nwkryyt*⁶⁰⁹/*Nwkryt* “stranger” (11.2.1.3),⁶¹⁰ and apparently in Mand. *ʿwgʿyt*.⁶¹¹

1.3.3.2.21 -ān-īt-ā

Qrnnyt (11.2.1.1).

1.3.4 Two-stem hypocoristicon

If *Yyny*⁶¹² originates from *Ynʿy* (with *ya-* > *yi-*) it may be a two-stem hypocoristicon (*y-n-*).⁶¹³

2 Originally Hebrew-Canaanite

*ʿdwn*⁶¹⁴ “master, guardian” (SA, Targ., Nabatean referring to Jews).

3 Arabian and Arabic

ʿdyb “polite, honest, learned”⁶¹⁵ (cf. LB *A-di-ba-*’ and Saf. *ʿdb* [2 ×]).⁶¹⁶ *Prd Bwryhmn* perhaps originates from *Farīd* and *Abū raḥmān*⁶¹⁷ (*kunya*) with aphaeresis. *ʿwm*

⁶⁰⁶ Segal, *Catalogue*, 096M, 46.

⁶⁰⁷ Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 112–114:26, 4 (<*w*>), 8.

⁶⁰⁸ See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 14, n. 14.

⁶⁰⁹ Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 121, 2.

⁶¹⁰ Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 57.

⁶¹¹ Segal, *Catalogue*, 103M, 7.

⁶¹² See McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 8 ad B, 2.

⁶¹³ See Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 308:3.2.

⁶¹⁴ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 164a (wrongly listed s. v. Ādhur, 1).

⁶¹⁵ Cf. Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 6.

⁶¹⁶ See Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 232 and Harding, *Index and Concordance*, 31.

⁶¹⁷ Segal, *Catalogue*, 78 ad 037A, 7 suggested [A]bu [Abd]raḥmān which is unnecessary.

ʾlhwbʾb (fem.) d. of *Rwmnʾ*.⁶¹⁸ The latter is based on Arab. *rummān* “pommegranate”. *Phd*⁶¹⁹ may denote “the tribe, clan” (Palm. *phd* < Arab. *fāḥid*). *ʾynqdw*⁶²⁰ (apparently with wawation) perhaps derives from N-Q-D, cf. Saf. *Nqd* (2 ×) and Arab. *Nuqayd*.⁶²¹ *Kwmys*⁶²² may be a *qutayl*-diminutive of *Kmš* (Saf., 5 ×, Arab. *kamš* “quick, alert”).⁶²³ Mand. ʾwlʾymʾ (fem.) can be of the same pattern thereby meaning “clever little girl”.⁶²⁴ ʾbwsmkʾ (*Abū-samkā*) looks hybrid: it apparently consists of ʾbw “father of” (Arab.) and smkʾ “support” (Aram.), i.e. a *kunya*. *Ḥbyby* “beloved, darling”⁶²⁵ (*qatīl*-formation of *Ḥ-B-B* plus -īy).

4 Atypical names

Names with repetitive (mostly reduplicative) syllables look atypical,⁶²⁶ but many of them are based on lallative forms which denote informal kinship terms:

Bʾby,⁶²⁷ *Bʾbʾy*,⁶²⁸ *Bʾbw*,⁶³⁰ *P(ʾ)pʾy*⁶³¹ “dad”. *Bptwy* (fem.) may have the same base (with *b* > *b̄* > *f*).⁶³² with the feminine marker (+ -ōy, 11.3.3.2.17). A derivation from *bāft* “woven” (NPerš.)⁶³³ is less likely seeing that its MPers. forerunner is begins with *w-*. *Mʾmh*⁶³⁴/*Mʾmy*/*M(ʾ)mʾ/M(ʾ)my*⁶³⁵/*Mʾmʾy*⁶³⁶ (*M.* wife of

618 For the reading and transcription see Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 134–136:98–99 (correct *Ilān*, *Lexicon*, 211b, s. v. *Aysalhubab*).

619 *Ilān*, *Lexicon*, 196.

620 Isbell, *Corpus*, 61, 2.

621 Harding, *Index and Concordance*, 597.

622 It is not related to the Pontic Iranian name in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 165b, top, which is quoted by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 191 ad 17, 2. Semitic without further specification according to D. Shapira *apud* *Ilān*, *Lexicon*, 231a.

623 Harding, *Index and Concordance*, 505.

624 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 136 ad 103M, 13.

625 See Naveh, “Some New Jewish,” 236.

626 They are recorded in Middle Iranian onomastica such as the Bactrian one (see Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 10).

627 See McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 4 ad A, 3, 4.

628 Morgenstern and Schlütter, “A Mandaic Amulet,” 118, 120, 47; cf. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 38:40. Extant in Mand. *Bʾbʾydwkt* (17.2.1, i).

629 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 64 ad 023A, 2 f.

630 Wohlstein, “Über einige aramäische,” 9, 34–41: [VA] 2417, 15.

631 *Ilān*, *Lexicon*, 196–199.

632 See Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells* 124 ad 18, 4. For this shift see Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 42 with n. 109 (who does not include this case in his selective list of examples).

633 As implied by *Ilān* (2011: 212) who erroneously renders the suffix as “well”.

634 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 56, 2, 8.

635 *Ilān*, *Lexicon*, 236–238.

636 Segal, *Catalogue*, 208b, s. v. with references.

Bršwm' was in all probability Christian) "mum". *D'd'*⁶³⁷/*D'dh*,⁶³⁸ *Ddy*⁶³⁹/*D'dy'* (all fem.)⁶⁴⁰ may be based on *dd* "beloved" (OSyr., Palm., Nab.); alternatively, the forms with -(')y may denote "mother" or "grandmother" (JBA *d'dy*). *Yy'* refers to both a male and a female.⁶⁴¹ As a male's name it means "brother" (Mand. *iaia*) while Mand. *dadia* denotes "older brother". Noteworthy filiations are *D'dy* s. of *Dydw*,⁶⁴² *Ddy* d. of *Dwdy*⁶⁴³ and Mand. *D'dwy'* s. of *D'dy'*.⁶⁴⁴ *Q'qy* (fem.) apparently ends in -î < -îy and *Q'q'y* (fem.) in -āy, the transcriptions *Kākūī* and *Kākōē*⁶⁴⁵ are incorrect; cf. Mand. *Q'q'y*⁶⁴⁶/*Q'q'y'*⁶⁴⁷ (fem.). These forms may be based on an Iranian dialectal endearing term for "uncle" or possibly on OSyr. *qq'* "pelican",⁶⁴⁸ cf. *Q'qh* (fem.).⁶⁴⁹ Mand. *Qwq'y*,⁶⁵⁰ *Qwqy*⁶⁵¹ may denote a species of bird in view of JBA *qwqy*, *qwq'h* (onomatopoeic). *L'y/L'lw* (fem.)⁶⁵² may be based on a forerunner of NPers. *lāl* "ruby"⁶⁵³ or "tulip" (cf. *Lāleh*),⁶⁵⁴ *L'lh*⁶⁵⁵ and *Lyly*⁶⁵⁶ are with a reduplicated syllable. *N'nh*,⁶⁵⁷ *N'n'*, *Nn'y*⁶⁵⁸ and *N'n'y* (fem.)⁶⁵⁹ denote "mother" in JBA and OSyr. *nānā*,⁶⁶⁰ *Nny* and *Nnyh*⁶⁶¹ may be based on the same lexeme.

637 Isbell, *Corpus*, 4, 2.

638 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 175 ad 12, 11.

639 Faraj, "Aramaico orientale," 272–273:IM 2929, 4.

640 Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 95–100 and pls. 10–13:M, 2nd panel.

641 Cook "An Aramaic Incantation," 79–80, 4; Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 108.

642 Ford, "Phonetic Spellings," 243, n. 80.

643 Faraj, "Remarks," 90–94, 15.

644 Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 95–100 and pls. 10–13:M, 2nd panel.

645 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 185a, 228–229.

646 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 28, 5.

647 Segal, *Catalogue*, 098M, 8.

648 For the Old Syriac derivation of *Q'qy* see Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 206 ad 24, 3.

649 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 108, 1, 2.

650 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 26, 3, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26.

651 Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 95–100 and pls. 10–13:M, 3.

652 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 233.

653 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 53.

654 Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 182b.

655 Isbell, *Corpus*, 65, 2.

656 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 233.

657 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 96.

658 Segal, *Catalogue*, 103M, 9.

659 Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 95–100 and pls. 10–13:M, 4, 11.

660 See Sokoloff *Dictionary*, 688a.

661 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 242.

Other onomatopoeic names are *T't*,⁶⁶² (Mand., fem.), *Tyty*,⁶⁶³ *T'ṭ*,⁶⁶⁴ *Ṭwṭy*,⁶⁶⁵ *Ṭṭy*,⁶⁶⁶ *Ṭṭy*,⁶⁶⁷ *T'ṭy* (both Mand.),⁶⁶⁸ *Ṭ'wṭ*,⁶⁶⁹ as well as *Dwd'y*,⁶⁷⁰ *Dwd'y*,⁶⁷¹ *Dwdy*,⁶⁷² *Dwdw*,⁶⁷³ *Dwd*,⁶⁷⁴ *Dwdy*,⁶⁷⁵ and *Dydw* (all fem.).⁶⁷⁶ OSyr. *Dwt'y* (fem.)⁶⁷⁷ may be the same name as *Dwdy* with dissimilation. *ydy* (fem.),⁶⁷⁸ *Gwy*,⁶⁷⁹ and *Gy*,⁶⁸⁰ *Gyy(y)*,⁶⁸¹ (fem.) have only one stable consonant each. The base of *Y'y* (fem. and masc.),⁶⁸² *yy*,⁶⁸³ *yy'*, *yw'/ywy/yyn(')*,⁶⁸⁴ *Ywy/yw'y*,⁶⁸⁵ (all fem.) is devoid of stable consonants; cf. *yhy*.⁶⁸⁶

Non-suffixed names arranged by prosody

Ca-Ca: *D'd* /*D'dh*, *L'lh*, *M'mh*/*M(')m'*, *N'n*/*N'nh*; *P(')p'*, *Q'qh*, *T't*, *Ṭṭ*, *Y(')y'*, *Y'y'*;

Ci-Ci: *Lyly*, *Tyty*;

Cu-Cu: *Dwdw*.

⁶⁶² Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 39, 9.

⁶⁶³ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 16, 4, 9.

⁶⁶⁴ Isbell, *Corpus*, 70, 1.

⁶⁶⁵ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 19, 2, 7.

⁶⁶⁶ Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124.

⁶⁶⁷ Abudraham, "Three Mandaic," 89–93:3, 15.

⁶⁶⁸ Segal, *Catalogue*, 103M, 9.

⁶⁶⁹ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 254a.

⁶⁷⁰ Geller, "More magic spells," 331–335:B, 8, 23.

⁶⁷¹ Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 100–103 and pl. 14:N, 3.

⁶⁷² Gorea, "Trois nouvelles," 85–89 and 92–93:3, 3.

⁶⁷³ Isbell, *Corpus*, 63, 2.

⁶⁷⁴ Gordon, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 127–129:7, 11.

⁶⁷⁵ Gordon, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 127–129:7, 2.

⁶⁷⁶ Franco, "Five Aramaic," 236–240 and fig. 1 on 235:C₁₀-116, 2, 5, 8; 242–245 and fig. 4; 245–249 and fig. 5:C₁₁-3, 2.

⁶⁷⁷ Moriggi, *Corpus*, 41, 3, 13.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Fain *et al.*, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 302 with n. 32 *ad* S-448, 2.

⁶⁷⁹ Isbel 1975, 4, 1, 5, 9.

⁶⁸⁰ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 69, 1.

⁶⁸¹ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 76, 7; 105, 4; 106, 3.

⁶⁸² Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 108.

⁶⁸³ Cf. Faraj and Moriggi, "Two New," 75–76 *ad* IM 71180, 2.

⁶⁸⁴ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 345, index, s.vv. with references.

⁶⁸⁵ Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 88, 1, 3.

⁶⁸⁶ Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 18, 1.

Arranged by suffixes

-ā: *Dwd'*, *Gy'*, *Ṭwṭ'*;

-ō: *B'bw*, *L'lw*;

-āy, a. With -y: *'yyw'y*, *B'b'y*, *Dwd'y*, *Dwt'y*, *M'm'y*, *N('n'y*, *P('p'y*, *Q'q'y*, *Qwq'y*, *Ṭṭ'y*, *Ṭwṭ'y*, *Ywy'y*;

b. With -yy: *Dwdyy*, *Gyy(y)*, *Yw'y'y*;

-āy or -īy: *'ydy*, *'yhy*, *B'b'y*, *D('dy*, *Dwdy*, *Gwy*, *L'ly*, *M('my*, *Nny*, *Q'qy*, *Qwqy*, *Ṭṭy*;

-ōy: *B'bw'y*, *Dydw'y*;

-yā: *D'dy'*, *Dwdy'*, *Nnyh*, *Ṭṭy'*;

-āy-ā: *Dwd'y'*, *Q'q'y'*;

-ōy-ā: *D'dwy'*.

5 Semitic or Iranian names

B'n'y (fem.)⁶⁸⁷ is either Semitic (to B-N-Y “to build”) or Iranian (hypocoristic of a compound with **bānu-* “light, splendour”, cf. MPers. *Bānag*⁶⁸⁸). The same applies to *Dwdy* and most of the names listed s. v. *Daδī*.⁶⁸⁹

6 Originally Iranian, but borrowed in Aramaic

Mand. *Šrwl'/Šrwlh'*⁶⁹⁰ apparently renders Mand. *šaruala* “trouser” (< *šrbl*, an Iranian loanword, MPers. with metathesis *šalwar*), for the semantics cf. the Arabic anthroponym *Quṭṭān* “mantle”). Mand. *'trwg'* (fem.)⁶⁹¹ “*citrus medica*”⁶⁹² may be (like many phytonyms) a cultural word, a *Wanderwort*. *Mgyt'* (fem.)⁶⁹³ is apparently based on **mg.* which ultimately may originate from *mgwš* (> *'mgwš*) > MPers. *moy* “Magian priest”.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁷ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 213–214.

⁶⁸⁸ Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 54:183; for more comparanda cf., e.g., Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 45:71; Schmitt, *Personennamen* 53:61, 140:303 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 144–158.

⁶⁸⁹ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 215–217.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 134 ad 088M and 089M.

⁶⁹¹ Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 17.

⁶⁹² Cf. Nöldeke, “Review,” 144; Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 105.

⁶⁹³ Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 25, 9.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 201–202.

7 Iranian

Some individuals bore more than one name,⁶⁹⁵ e.g. *M'hdwkt* (MPers., 47.2.1, i) alias 'h'ty' (Aram., 11.3.3.1.7).⁶⁹⁶

7.1 Simplex names

Several such names are inherited from Old Iranian:

'rw < OIran. *Arva- "swift, brave";⁶⁹⁷ 'ry'⁶⁹⁸ < OIran. *Ariya- "Aryan, Iranian"⁶⁹⁹ (both may originate from compound names with these components). 'tš'⁷⁰⁰ < MPers. *Ātaxš* "fire". Mand. *Šyryn* (fem.)⁷⁰¹ renders MPers. *šīrēn* "sweet". 'brs'm (a scribe according to an inscription from the synagogue of Dura Europos)⁷⁰² – with the normalization /*Abursām*/ it is at least homophonous with the Middle Persian appellative "balm, balsam".⁷⁰³ 'ysprm (< /*Sparham*/, fem.) "basil";⁷⁰⁴ 'ysmyn "jasmine"⁷⁰⁵ > 'smyn > 'Smy'n⁷⁰⁶ (fem., with *ya* – > *a*– > *ø*–); 'Škr'⁷⁰⁷ (/Šakar/, fem.) "sugar" (for the semantics cf. the Aramaic female names meaning "honey", 11.2.1.3.4). 'bn'⁷⁰⁸ (/Ābān/) is plural of *āb* "water" and the name of the 10th day of the Mazdean calendar.⁷⁰⁹ 'spnz'⁷¹⁰ can render MPers. *aspinj* "hospitality". It is related to 'špyz' which is compared to OSyr. 'špz', JBA 'wšpyz' "lodging"⁷¹¹ with a

695 All the names and appellatives in this section are Middle Persian unless otherwise indicated.

696 For this phenomenon in Middle Persian see Zimmer, "Zur sprachlichen," 145–146:9.2.

697 It cannot render Ἀρύνις as claimed by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 209. Cf., e.g. NA *A-ru-a* (Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen in der neuassyrischen*, 50:20) and the initial component of Sogd. 'rwmyw, 'rwprmy'n (Lurje, *Personal Names*, 103:143, 144).

698 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 14, 5, 6.

699 Cf., e.g., Schmitt *Die Iranischen und Iranier-Namen*, 42; 2009: 47:15.

700 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 63, 5.

701 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 29, 9, 41, 46.

702 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 163a.

703 See Schmitt, *Personennamen* 41–42:31 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 95–96:42 with previous lit.; cf. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 114, s. v. 'pwrs'm'.

704 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 62 ad 020A, 4.

705 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 117 ad 12, 11.

706 Wohlstein, "Über einige aramäische," 9, 34–41: [VA] 2417, 16, 20.

707 JNF 291 (unpubl., quoted by Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* [2022], 209).

708 Gordon, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 121:4, 1 (cf. Shaked *apud* Greenfield and Naveh 1985a: 106).

709 See Gignoux *et al.* 2009: 29:1.

710 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 7, 4.

711 By Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 221–222 ad 30, 1 (cf. Sogd. *Sp'nc* /*Səpanj*/ "inn", Lurje, *Personal Names*, 348:1088).

distant assimilation $s > š^{712}$ due to the presence of /j/. $ʔšpyz$, was the son of $ʔrh$ “guest”, in which case both members of the filiation while deriving from two unrelated languages belong to the same semantic field. Therefore one may suspect that the actual name and matronym of the client with this filiation were disguised under an invented combination. $Rʔšn$ (fem.) may render MPers. $rōšn$ “light; bright” (alternatively Aram., 11.2.9.1). OSyr. $Kwrh^{713}$ (fem.) renders $Xwarrah < *Xvarnah$. $Kwdʔ$ ($Xwadāy$) denotes “lord”.⁷¹⁴ $Dʔnyš$ may be compared to the New Persian anthroponym $Dāniš$ “knowledge” ($<$ MPers. $dānišn$).⁷¹⁵ For $Sʔm$ (of the double name Mand. $\sim Ywhʔn$)⁷¹⁶ cf. Av. $Sāma$,⁷¹⁷ MPers. and NPers. $Sām$ “black”,⁷¹⁸ as well as Sogd. $Sʔm$ and Bact. $\Sigma\alpha\mu$.⁷¹⁹ $Kwsty$ (fem.)⁷²⁰ may render MPers. $xwastih$ “confession, belief, faith”. $Bʔmy$ (fem.)⁷²¹ goes back to OIran. $*Bāmyā$, Av. $bāmyā$ “bright, radiant, glittering”, cf. the males’ names RAE $Ba-mi-ia < *Bāmya$ ⁷²² and MPers. $Bām$;⁷²³ alternatively with adjectivizing $-ay$ ($Bāmay$ “related to brilliance”, “brilliant”).⁷²⁴ Theonyms used as an anthroponyms are $Hwrmyz$ ⁷²⁵ (also Mand.)⁷²⁶/OSyr. $Ḥwrmyz$ ⁷²⁷ and $ʔštd <$ Av. $Arštat$ “(Goddess of) rectitude.”⁷²⁸ A traditional name is, e.g., $ʔpydwn$ ⁷²⁹ ($<$ MPers. $/Frēdōn/$ ⁷³⁰ $<$ Av. $Θraētaona$).

⁷¹² See Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 118–119.

⁷¹³ Müller-Kessler “Review,” 271 ad 35.

⁷¹⁴ See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 175 ad 8, ii, 4, iii, 5; cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 186:1024.

⁷¹⁵ $Dāniš$ is recorded as an anthroponym in New Persian. Hunter (“Two Mandaic,” 612 ad 609 and pl. 25 after 619:18N19, segment 3, 27) compares a New Persian compound name beginning with $Dāniš$, viz. $Dānišwer$ (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 77 where all the three anthroponyms are registered as well as $Dānišmend <$ MPers. $dānišnōmand$ “knowing”, cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 191, n. 617 who compare also NPers. $Dānūyeh$).

⁷¹⁶ Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 264 ad DC 14, 183.

⁷¹⁷ Cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 124 ad 823.

⁷¹⁸ See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 156:823.

⁷¹⁹ See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 341, 1061; Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 123:409.

⁷²⁰ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 221b with a wrong lemmatization ($Gusti$) and interpretation.

⁷²¹ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 213b.

⁷²² See Hinz *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 62, s.v.; alternatively an $-iya$ -hypocoristic to $*bāma$ - (or $bāma$ -containing compounds) according to Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 8.248.

⁷²³ See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 54:181.

⁷²⁴ See Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214.

⁷²⁵ Segal, *Catalogue*, 023A, 3, 11.

⁷²⁶ Segal, *Catalogue*, 083M, 7.

⁷²⁷ Moriggi, *Corpus*, 13, 9 (*bis*).

⁷²⁸ See Segal, *Catalogue*, 67 ad 026A, 2–3 (cf. Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 218; differently Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 103).

⁷²⁹ Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschälentexte*, 11d, 2, 11.

⁷³⁰ Cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 229–230:406 with lit.

7.2 Compound names

They generally consist of two components. An individual bearing three names (or a tripartite compound?) is Mand. 'zy'zd'n kw'st B'nd'd.⁷³¹

7.2.1 Determinative compound names

a. With -dād “was given”:⁷³² The 1st component of the name (Yzydd,⁷³³ Yzyd'd,⁷³⁴ OSyr. Yzydd'd⁷³⁵ > 'zd'd, cf. the simplex Yzyd⁷³⁶) is a plene spelling rendering the Middle Persian outcome of OIran. *Yazata-dāta- “Given by the gods”.⁷³⁷ It is also extant in Hwrmzdd⁷³⁸ and Zwrwndd⁷³⁹ (MPers. Zurvān-dād)⁷⁴⁰ “Given by Ahura-Mazdah” and “Given by Zurvān”, Byzdd (/Bay-yaz(a)d-dād/)⁷⁴¹ “Given by the god Bay (< Baga-)”,⁷⁴² Bdṭ (< Baga-dāta-⁷⁴³), Mhdṭ⁷⁴⁴/Mhdd,⁷⁴⁵ OSyr. M'hḏṭ⁷⁴⁶ < MPers. Māh-dād “Given by the Moon-god”⁷⁴⁷ and Yzyd Mhdṭ (/Yazad-Māh-dāt/) “Given by the deity Moon”.⁷⁴⁸ Bhmndd (/Bahmān-dād/) “Given by Bahmān”. Prwkdd (/Farroxdād/),⁷⁴⁹ OSyr. Prwkd'd⁷⁵⁰ means “Given by the fortunate, happy (one)”.⁷⁵¹

731 Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 118–121:154, 3, 12.

732 See Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 128 with n. 93 and Schmitt, *Personennamen* 9; cf. MPers. and NPers. Xudāidādḥ (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 177a, the Judeo-Persian equivalent of Heb. Yhwntn).

733 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 46.

734 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 27, 7, 10.

735 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 36, 2, cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 150 ad 7, 3.

736 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 157–158 (cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls* 3062, 2).

737 For MPers. yazd < yazad < OIran. yazata- see Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 200 and Gignoux, Julien, and Julien, *Noms propres*, 147.

738 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 272–273 and 281, pl. 1:10, 2.

739 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 95, n. 360 ad 18 = HS 3032, 1, 2.

740 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 196:1091 (also Parth., Schmitt, *Personennamen* 251:618).

741 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 17 ad 66, 1.

742 See Shaked in Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 8a, 17b ad 70a, 8; 95, 4, 8, 13; 110, 5.

743 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 212b.

744 Isbell, *Corpus*, 67, 6.

745 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 55 ad 013A, 3.

746 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 12, 3, 5, 10.

747 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 111:529 (borrowed in Sogdian, Lurje, *Personal Names*, 233, 646, cf. Parth. Mhdṭ, Mhdtk, Schmitt, *Personennamen*, 124–125:267–268).

748 See Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells*, 133 ad 23, 5.

749 Cf. Gordon, “An Aramaic Exorcism,” 328 ad D, 5 who aptly refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 96a, s. v. Farux“dādḥ; Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 22: 9, 1.

750 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 28, 6, 7, 11.

751 For the semantics see Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 136:8.1.3. Not “created by F.” as understood by Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 84:358.

*Mhyndd*⁷⁵² (apparently to *Māhin*-⁷⁵³) begins with *Māh* “Moon-god” (for the suffix of the 1st component compare that of MPers. *Gušnēn-dād*⁷⁵⁴). *’bndd*⁷⁵⁵ is perhaps a calendar name, presumably “Given by the 8th month” or “Given by the 10th day”. *Gwšnz(d)’d* “Given by *Gušnasp*” (short for *Ādur-Gušnasp*, a numen in Zoroastrianism).⁷⁵⁶ *Bwzmnnd*⁷⁵⁷ – a numen *Bwzmn* is not recorded. It apparently consists of MPers. *bōz* “redemption” and *-man*. The latter is a rare suffix (or final component).⁷⁵⁸ Mand. *’smnd’r*⁷⁵⁹ ends in *-d’r*, which for semantic reasons cannot be the comparative suffix. Perhaps it is a scribal error for and *’smnd’d* “Given by Heaven”. *Dd’pry*⁷⁶⁰ apparently consists of *dād* “law, justice” and *’pry* (< *āfrīn* “praise, blessing”?) or it denotes “Friend of the law”.

b. With *-dōst* “beloved”: *Pdrdst* > *Pddws*, Mand. *Pidardōst* (both fem.)⁷⁶¹ denote “Beloved by her father”.⁷⁶² *Srdwst* (fem.) apparently consists of *sar* “head”⁷⁶³ and *-dōst*, MPers. “friend, beloved”, perhaps “Chief friend”,⁷⁶⁴ cf. MPers. *Xwadāy-dōst*⁷⁶⁵ on the one hand and the New Persian female name *Sarjihān* “Chief of the world”⁷⁶⁶ on the other. Mand. *B’wydws*⁷⁶⁷ apparently consists of *B’wy* and *dws* < *dwst*.

c. With *pryd* (< *āfrīd* < OIran. **ā-frīta-*) “blessed; created”: *Yzdnpryd* (fem., / *Yazdān-āfrīd*/) “Blessed/Created by the gods”,⁷⁶⁸ *’nwš(’)pryt* (< *Anōš-āfrīd*/) “Bless-

752 Gordon, “Two Aramaic,” 233–236 and pls. 1–5 on 238–242:i, 2.

753 Cf. Parth. *Mhyn* (Schmitt, *Personennamen* 125–126:270, cf. also 271).

754 See Gignoux *Noms propres sassanides*, 94:419, 421.

755 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 163b.

756 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 131, n. 462 ad 3046+3069, 2, 5, 6, 7 (see Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 10).

757 The name is wrongly lemmatized and interpreted by Ilan (*Lexicon*, 14, 173b).

758 See Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 188:4.1.3.47.11 (the only registered example is *istaw-man*).

759 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 39, 7.

760 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 043A, 2, 16.

761 Morgenstern, “Mandaic Magic Bowls,” 162: unnumbered A (digest only). *Pddws* (fem., Shaked 2022, 82, 12, 17, 18,) may originally be the same name.

762 See Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 66 ad 82, 12, 17, 18, 20.

763 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 250a.

764 It does not originate from *Zarathustra* as suggested by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 163 ad 9, 4.

765 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 186:1026, cf. the Bactrian and Sogdian semantic comparanda discussed by Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 144:501.

766 See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 288b.

767 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 135 ad 098M, 8, 10, 11.

768 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 with n. 121 ad SD 27, 10.

ed/Created by the immortal, eternal”;⁷⁶⁹ and *š’h’pryd*⁷⁷⁰/*š’h’pryd*⁷⁷¹/*š’h’pryd*⁷⁷² (fem., /*šāh-āfrīd*/) “Blessed/Created by the king”.⁷⁷³ It is the initial component (with aphaeresis) of Mand. *Prydrmys*⁷⁷⁴ (< *Āfrīd-Hormizd*/).

d. With < OIran. *hu-⁷⁷⁵ *K(w)srw* (/Xusrō/ or /Xusrāw/),⁷⁷⁶ Mand. *Ksrw*⁷⁷⁷ < MPers. *Husrav* < OIran. **Hu-sravah-* “of good reputation, renown”.⁷⁷⁸

e. Other: The 2nd component of *Mhmd* (fem.)⁷⁷⁹ may go back to OIran. **mata-*, i.e. “Thought (> ‘planned’) by the Moon-god”. *Sēbuxt*,⁷⁸⁰ Mand. *Dšh’rbwkt*⁷⁸¹ (/Čahārbuxt/) “Saved, delivered by the three/four”,⁷⁸² cf. *Yazdānbuxt* “Saved, delivered by the gods”⁷⁸³ and *Yazdānxvast* “Desired by the gods”;⁷⁸⁴ *Yzdn* (/Yazdān/),⁷⁸⁵ which is a *pluralis maiestatis* (presumably referring to the main god Ahura-Mazdah)⁷⁸⁶ is extant, e.g., in *Yzdnqyrd* (/Yazdān-qerd/ > *Yazdān-gerd*)⁷⁸⁷ “Made by the gods”.⁷⁸⁸ *Ddb[y]h*⁷⁸⁹/*D’dbh*⁷⁹⁰/*Ddbh*⁷⁹¹ (/Dād-beh/ < ~-veh)⁷⁹² and Mand. *Z’dbh*⁷⁹³ (/Zād-beh/) “Born better” have an Old Iranian precursor, viz. **Zāta-vahya-*⁷⁹⁴ and its Old Persian counterpart. *Mhpyrwz*⁷⁹⁵ whose 2nd component (MPers. *pērōz*)

769 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 157 ad 015A, 2 quoting Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 42:101, 48:140, 126:628, 139:704 (cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 208b: “Created immortally”).

770 Segal, *Catalogue*, 077M, 8.

771 Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 241 ad 078M, 11.

772 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 132b ad 084M, 3.

773 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 104 ad 077M, 8.

774 Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Gold Amulet,” a, 5, 61, 67; b,3, 27–28.

775 Cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 133–134:7.5.

776 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 224–225, index, s.vv. with references. See Schmitt, *Personnennamen*, 112:232 with previous lit.

777 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 27, 2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17.

778 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 100:465.

779 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 236a.

780 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 202a.

781 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 135 ad 096M, 37–39.

782 See Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214, cf. Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 61:142.

783 For the names consisting of number+buxt see Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 123 ad 833, 874a.

784 See Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214.

785 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 46.

786 See Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 119 with n. 45.

787 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 219, 305, top, s. v.

788 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 192:1065.

789 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 3, 2; cf. perhaps NPers. *Dādbūyeh* (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 75).

790 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 3, 6; 5, 5, 10.

791 Isbell, *Corpus*, 4, 1, 12.

792 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 119:581 (cf. 211 for other names ending in -veh).

793 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 8, 15, 23, 26, 46, 52; 12, 7, 12, 22.

794 Cf. Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 327:637.

795 Isbell, *Corpus*, 58, 8 (*M<h>pyrwz*, 3, 11, *Mhp<y>rwz*, 2).

means “victorious” (< OIran. **Pary-aujah*- “Having strength all around”, i.e. a *bahuvrīhi*).⁷⁹⁶ The name with an inverted order (**Pyrwzmh*, like *Pērōz-Ohrmazd*) would mean “Victorious Moon-god” or “Victorious through the Moon-God”,⁷⁹⁷ in which case this compound can be regarded as a determinative one. *Kyrbg’rzn* (fem.)⁷⁹⁸ consists of *kirbag* “virtue, good deed” and *arzān* “valuable, worthy”, i.e. “Worthy for her virtue”.

f. *Zād* < **zāta*- “born”: *Ztzd*⁷⁹⁹ apparently ends in -**zāta*- “born” which is used as a (pro-)patronymic, in this case of it is attached to *Zt* < **Zāta*-, the whole compound is with dissimilation of dentals. This name-type is extant, e.g., in *Zrmzd* (/Zarm-zād/),⁸⁰⁰ OSyr. *Prwkz’d*, Mand. *Pr(w)kz’d* (/Farrox-zād/)⁸⁰¹ and *Šyrd*⁸⁰² (/Šēr-zād/) “lion’s son” (< “born to a lion”).⁸⁰³ However, the former may be a variant of Mand. *Prwk’z’d*.⁸⁰⁴ Another compound with *Prwk* is *Zd’n Prwk* (= OSyr. ~, Mand. *Z’d’nprwk*,⁸⁰⁵ i.e. /Zādān-Farrox/),⁸⁰⁶ cf. *Zydyn Šbwr*.⁸⁰⁷ Is Mand. *B’z’d’n*⁸⁰⁸ a defective spelling of **B’yz’d’n*, i.e. consisting of *Bāy* “god” and *zādān*? Its gender cannot be determined since the name-bearer is a member of a group of children who are subsumed as “sons and daughters”. Mand. *Z’d’n’hwg*⁸⁰⁹ apparently begins with *zādān*. Does *Zyzt’q*⁸¹⁰ end with a forerunner of -*zādāg*?

g. *pūr* < *puhr* “son”: *Bwrzpwry* (/Burz-pūri/)⁸¹¹ is based on *Burz-pūr* (< **Burz-puhr*) “son of the exalted (one)” > OSyr. *Bwšphry*.⁸¹² -*puhr’q*’ of Mand.

⁷⁹⁶ See Schmitt, *Personennamen* 158–159:351 in fine.

⁷⁹⁷ Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 148:765. Segal, *Catalogue*, 48b ad 006A, 34 renders *Mhpyrwz* as “Victorious through the Moon-God”, but this requires an inverted order.

⁷⁹⁸ Ford, “Phonetic Spellings,” 238, n. 66 (unpubl.).

⁷⁹⁹ Moriggi, *Corpus*, 15, 17, 30.

⁸⁰⁰ Gordon, “Two Aramaic,” 233–236 and pls. 1–5 on 238–242:I, 2.

⁸⁰¹ Moriggi, *Corpus*, 48, 1, 4 and Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 33, 3, 22, 25, 26, 27.

⁸⁰² McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaic*, E, 4.

⁸⁰³ See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 131:406.

⁸⁰⁴ See Abu Samra “A New Mandaic,” 59 ad 13, exterior 1.

⁸⁰⁵ Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85:2, 61.

⁸⁰⁶ See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 148:462ab. *Z’d’nprwk* is recorded twice in a bowl published by Hyvernand. The variant *Zdynprwk* occurs only once there, but it may be a misreading since the only published photograph is not clear (see Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 331, n. 1).

⁸⁰⁷ Compared by Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 331–334 and pls. 14, 15, F, 1.

⁸⁰⁸ Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85:2, 9, 61.

⁸⁰⁹ Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 134: 087M, 7 (*bis*), cf. Müller-Kessler, “The Story of Bguzan-Lilit,” 191 (unpubl.). It is read *Z’rn’hwg* by Ford (2002a: 250 ad loc.) but <*d*> and <*r*> are indistinguishable in Mandaic.

⁸¹⁰ Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 354–355 (Malmö).

⁸¹¹ Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 95.

⁸¹² Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 4.

*Gwspwħr'q'*⁸¹³ seems to be based on *-puhr* “son” (*-puhrak*⁸¹⁴), like *-duxtag* (of MPers. *Ohrmazd*-, *Panāh*-, *Šābuhr-duxtag*)⁸¹⁵ which is based on *dux* “daughter”.

h. *Āzād* “free-born, noble”

Mand. *Zadbḥ* is the outcome of MPers. *Āzād-beh* with aphaeresis.⁸¹⁶ *Āzād* is the 2nd component of *'mwł'zd* (fem.),⁸¹⁷ whose initial component denotes “immortal”⁸¹⁸ (cf. the names with *anōš*, ↓7.2.4, b). Mand. *Dwkt'z'd* (*/Duxt-āzād/*) and *Xwš'z'd* (*/Xwaš -āzād /*⁸¹⁹) where it is attached to *dux* “daughter”⁸²⁰ and *xwaš* “pleasant, sweet, nice”. *Mwšk'zd* (*/Muškāzād/*,⁸²¹ fem., to *mušk* “musk”). It is the 1st component of *'z'dw'r* (fem.) if the reading is correct.⁸²² *Ṭšyħr'zd* (*/Čihr-āzād/*) means “of noble extraction”.⁸²³

i. Female names with *dux* (> *dux* > *du*) “daughter”

The full form is spelled *dwkt* and *d'kt*. The rare spelling *-dwkty* is extant only in Old Syriac. Compounds with this component in initial position always begin with *dwkt*-, while *-dwk* is the commonest form in final position (*-dwg* is a hapax); *-du* is almost exclusively recorded in Mandaic; *-ag* < *-ak* is attached only to *dwkt*.

a'. As a final component

a". Attached to theonyms and numina: *Myrdwk* (*/Mi(h)r-dux/*, to *Mihr* < *Miθra*-),⁸²⁴

Ršndwk denotes “*Rašn*’s daughter”⁸²⁵ *'b'ndwkt* (Mand.)⁸²⁶ (*/Ābānduxt/*)⁸²⁷ > *'bndwk*, *b'ndwk*,⁸²⁸ Mand. *Abandu* (*/Ābāndu/*)⁸²⁹ “Daughter of Waters” as a numen.

⁸¹³ Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 344–345: Fitzwilliam, 10, 12.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 132 ad 777.

⁸¹⁵ Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 140:711, 145:745, 162:859.

⁸¹⁶ See Nöldeke, “Review,” 144 as well as Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 200, n. 630 ad 3025, 2, 8 (The form with and without aphaeresis is extant in Middle Persian, see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 53: “edle Gute”).

⁸¹⁷ Isbell, *Corpus*, 4, 6.

⁸¹⁸ Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 208a who compares NPers. *Āmuleh* (fem.) “immortal” (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 15a).

⁸¹⁹ Abudraham and Morgenstern, “Mandaic Incantation(s),” 754: SD 63, 4.

⁸²⁰ Inversion of **Āzād-dux* meaning “noble, free daughter” (cf. Segal, *Catalogue*, 135 ad 105M, 5 and Sogd. *'z'd dwxt*, Lurje, *Personal Names*, 77:40).

⁸²¹ Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 88.

⁸²² Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1.

⁸²³ See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 186 ad 15, 2 who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 163a.

⁸²⁴ See Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 10 ad 3, 4 and “Rabbis,” 115–116, n. 74.

⁸²⁵ Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 246–247.

⁸²⁶ Müller-Kessler, “The Story of Bguzan-Lilit,” 187, 195, 30–31.

⁸²⁷ Cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1a.

⁸²⁸ Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 5, 1.

⁸²⁹ Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 97.

Ādur-. 'drdwk (>'drdwg⁸³⁰), Mand. 'drdwkt >'drdw (*Ādur*-du(xt/)) "Daughter of the (holy) Fire",⁸³¹ *Y'zd'ndwkt*⁸³² > *'yždndwk*⁸³³ > *'zāndwk* (also with '-'),⁸³⁴ Mand. *Y'zd'ndwk* (*Yazdān-dux*)⁸³⁵ > *Yzd'ndw* (*Yazdān-du*)⁸³⁶ "Daughter of the gods". *Mh'dwk*/*M(h)dwk*⁸³⁷/*Mhdwk*⁸³⁸ (*Māh-dux*/), Mand. *M'dwkt*⁸³⁹ (< */Māh-duxt/*)/*Mad-uk*,⁸⁴⁰ "Daughter of the Moon-god". *Mḥzydwk* (*/Māh-yazad-dux*)⁸⁴¹ has the same denotation. *Xwardux* "Daughter of the Sun-god".⁸⁴² *Kwršd* (*/Xwar-xšēd/* > */Xwar-šēd/*)⁸⁴³ MPers. "Sun" (< "brilliant Sun"), a divine epithet, is extant in *Kwrkšydwk* (*/Xwar-xšēd-dux/*) > *Kw[r]šdwk*⁸⁴⁴ (*/Xwar-šēd-dux/*, same text and person).⁸⁴⁵ *Gwšnzdwk* (< */Gušnasp-dux/*),⁸⁴⁶ *Gwšnzdwkt* (> *Gwšndwkt*) > Mand. *Gwšnzdw* (*/Gušnaz-du*)⁸⁴⁷ "Gušnasp's daughter",⁸⁴⁸ *Bhmn* (of *~dwk*,⁸⁴⁹ *~duxt*⁸⁵⁰) "Daughter of < **Vahu-manah*-. *Hwrmyzdwk*,⁸⁵¹ (*/Hormizd-dux/*) > *Hwrmsdwk*,⁸⁵² cf. OSyr.

830 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 133:IMJ 69.20.265, 24 (unpubl.).

831 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 3046+3069, 2–3, 5; Müller-Kessler, "A Mandaic Gold Amulet," 84, 4–5 and MS 2054/105, 3–4 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham and Morgenstern, "Mandaic Incantation(s)," 754)

832 Schøyen 2054/99, 10 (unpubl., quoted by Morgenstern and Schlütter, 2018: 123 *ad rev.* 20).

833 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 150 *ad* 7, 4 who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 146b.

834 Cf. Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 182 *ad* 10.

835 Ford, "Another Look," 250 *ad* 087M, 5.

836 MS 2054/76, 47 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham and Morgenstern, "Mandaic Incantation(s)," 754).

837 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 234–235.

838 Cook "An Aramaic Incantation," 79–80, 1, 4.

839 See Morgenstern and Schlütter, "A Mandaic Amulet," 122 *ad* 118, 120, *rev.* 3.

840 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 3021, 2, 8 (see Shaked in Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* [2022], 8a).

841 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 157–158 *ad* 4, 7.

842 Cf. Shaked, "Rabbis," 108:MS 2053/222 (unpubl.).

843 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 105.

844 See Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 219 *ad* 118, 1.

845 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 76, 3, 7.

846 See Shaked, "Form and Purpose," 10 *ad* 3, 4.

847 MS 2054/72, 3–4 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham and Morgenstern, "Mandaic Incantation(s)," 754).

848 Müller-Kessler and Kwasman "A Unique Talmudic," 160–162, 1, 2 and E.

849 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 13, 4, 10, 12 (also *Bhmydwk*, Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 117 with <y> for /ə/).

850 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 212–213.

851 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 14, 1; Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 348 with references.

852 Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic," 93–95 and pls. 8–9:i, 10.

*Hwrmyzdwkty*⁸⁵³ and Arm. < MPers. *Orm(i)zduxt*⁸⁵⁴ “Daughter of Ahura-Mazdah”. *Myzdwk* renders either **Mizd-uk* (17.3.1.10) or /*Mizd-dux*/, i.e. either “Daughter of *Mizd*” (MPers. “reward”) or “Daughter of Mazdah”. MPers. *Srōš* < Av. *Sraoša*- (god of obedience) is the initial component of *Šrwšdwk*⁸⁵⁵ (< /*Srōš-dux*/ with *s* > *š* distant assimilation) “*Sraoša*’s daughter”. *Zwrwndwk* (/Zurvān-*dux*/) “Zurvān’s daughter”;⁸⁵⁶ *Bhrndwk* (< /*Bahrām-dux*/), Mand. *Bḥrndw/Wḥrndw*⁸⁵⁷ “Bahrām’s daughter”;⁸⁵⁸ *’drbhrm*⁸⁵⁹ (< MPers. /*Ādur-wahrām*/) is named after the holy fire of a deity or a homonymous king.⁸⁶⁰ *’smndwk*⁸⁶¹ (var. *’ysmndwk*), OSyr. *’smndwkt*⁸⁶² (/Asmān-*duxt*/) is “Daughter of Heaven” (as a numen).⁸⁶³ *Dyndwk* (with assimilation *Dydwk*),⁸⁶⁴ Mand. ~⁸⁶⁵ (> *Dndwk*⁸⁶⁶/Mand. *D’ndwk*,⁸⁶⁷ cf. OSyr. *Dnd’kt*⁸⁶⁸ means “Daughter of *daēna*- (religion)”. The spelling *d’kt*⁸⁶⁹ is recorded in OSyr. *Prd’kt*⁸⁷⁰ (/Farr-*duxt*/ < /Farrāh-*duxt*/) “Xvarnah’s daughter”; *Mḥgwšnzd’kt*⁸⁷¹ “Daughter of Māh-Gušnasp”.

b. Attached to royal names: *D’rydwk* (/Dārāy-*dux*/) “daughter of Darius”⁸⁷² (defective *Drydwk*),⁸⁷³ *Šb(w)rdwk*⁸⁷⁴ (< /*Šābuhr-dux*/) > Mand. *Š’bwrđw* (*Šābur-du*),⁸⁷⁵ *Nrsydwk* (/Narsay-*dux*/) “d. of Narseh”, cf. Mand. *Nrs’ydwkt*⁸⁷⁶ (/Narsay-

853 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 41, 13.

854 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 290–291:587 where also Middle Persian and Parthian extended forms (with -*duxtag*) are discussed.

855 Puškin (Museum) 370 (unpubl.) quoted by J. N. Ford *apud* Faraj, “Remarks,” 92 with n. 13.

856 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 96 ad 3032, 1–2, 2–3, 3.

857 See Abudraham, “Ancient Mandaic Palimpsest,” 9 ad 2–4, i, 7.

858 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 55 ad 013A, 6, cf. Fain *et al.*, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 301–302 ad S-448, 2 who refer to Gignoux, *Noms propres* (Supp.), 65:342.

859 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls* 3042, 10.

860 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 39:80.

861 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 175 ad 12, 1.

862 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 3, 2, 6, 9; 5, 5, 10.

863 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 21.

864 Cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 75.

865 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 16, 15.

866 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1 and 66, 83.

867 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 14, 1.

868 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 4.

869 On the spelling *d’kt* for /*duxt*/ see Müller-Kessler, “Syrische Zauberschalen,” 120 ad 2.

870 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 1, 11.

871 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 3, 11.

872 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 59 ad 017A, 3.

873 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 77, 1.

874 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 33, n. 85.

875 MS 2054/104, 7–8 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham and Morgenstern, “Mandaic Incantation(s),” 754).

876 McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, E, 3, 14, 18.

*dux*t/ > *Nʾrsyd[wk]*⁸⁷⁷) < MPers. *Narseh-dux*.⁸⁷⁸ *Narseh* (*Nʾrsy*) and *Šābuhr* are names of Sasanian kings;⁸⁷⁹ cf. Mand. *Ksrydwk*⁸⁸⁰ “daughter of Xusro”; *Šhd’kt*⁸⁸¹ (< /*Šāh-dux*/) “King’s daughter”.

c”. Attached to other anthroponyms: *Brndwk* (/Barān-dux/) “daughter of Barān”.⁸⁸² The latter is recorded as a male’s name (*Br’n*).⁸⁸³ It is an -ān (pro-) patronymic of **Bara-* (to a compound with *bar-* “to bear”).⁸⁸⁴ The initial component of *Mhndwk* (/Māhēn-dux⁸⁸⁵/Mand. *Mhyndwkt*⁸⁸⁶ ends in -ēn (< -aina-)⁸⁸⁷ like those of *Bwrzyndwk* (/Burzēn-dux/),⁸⁸⁸ cf. MPers. *Burzēnmihr*, the 3rd major Fire of Sasanian Iran) and *Šhryndwk* (/Šahrēn-dux/).⁸⁸⁹ They are based on *Māh* “Moon-god”, *Burz* (the god of agriculture) and *šahr* “land, country; city”. *Sysyndwk*⁸⁹⁰ is based on an anthroponym. OSyr. *Pnhqdwk* (/Panāhak-dux/) “daughter of Panāhak”. The latter is based on *panāh* “protector; refuge” plus -k < OIran. -ka-.⁸⁹¹ *Prtdwk* (/Frād-dux/)⁸⁹² and Mand. *B’b’ydwkt*⁸⁹³ begin with *Frāda* and *Bābāy*⁸⁹⁴ respectively and *Gwlnwk*⁸⁹⁵ (/Gulān-dux/) with an -ān (pro-) patronymic of **Gul* (MPers. *gul* “rose”); *N(y)wndwk*⁸⁹⁶ (OSyr. *Nywndwkt*⁸⁹⁷) (/Nēwān-dux/) “Daughter of Nēwān”. The latter is an -ān (pro-) patronymic of MPers. *nēw* “good, brave,

877 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 41, 2, 7.

878 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 134:679.

879 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 134:678, s. v. *Narseh*; *Nʾrsy* is recorded in Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 48, 3, 8; 61, 3 (*bis*).

880 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 14, 1; 16, 15, 18.

881 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 2, 4.

882 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 88.

883 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, M163, 8.

884 OSyr. *Brny*, which is lemmatized as *Barān* by Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 52:96a, is in fact an Aramaic two-stem hypocoristicon, viz. *br* + *n* < *Nbw* (cf. Zadok, “Zur Struktur,” 255:F.1).

885 See Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214.

886 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 4, 7.

887 Therefore the alternative transcription *Māhān*~ is less likely.

888 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 77:SD 2, 3 (unpubl.).

889 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 5.

890 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 40c, 3.

891 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 183 *ad* 11; Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 112:332.

892 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 156 *ad* 4, 6.

893 Segal, *Catalogue*, 112M, 8.

894 For related names cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 52–54:141 f.

895 Morgenstern and Ford 2020: 53, n. 166:DS 31, 12–13 (unpubl.).

896 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 242–243.

897 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 41, 6, 11.

virtuous”.⁸⁹⁸ Alternatively “Daughter of good, brave, virtuous ones”; cf. Sogd. < MIran. *Nyw’nz’dg* /*Nēwān-zādāg*/ “Son of good, brave, virtuous ones”.⁸⁹⁹ OSyr. *Ršnyndwk*⁹⁰⁰ is attached to an anthroponym which consists of *Ršn* and the suffix *-ēn*.⁹⁰¹ *R(y)šyndwk* may be a scribal error for *Ršywndwk* (/Rašewan-dux/),⁹⁰² < *Ršwndwkt*.⁹⁰³

d’’. Attached to toponyms: *Mrwdwk*⁹⁰⁴ may render **Marv-dux(t)*, lit. “daughter of Marv” (< *Margu-*), “Margianite” (for the pattern GN + *dux*t, cf. *Armin-*, *Ērān-dux*t).⁹⁰⁵

e’’. Attached to appellatives: *Šhdwk*⁹⁰⁶/Mand. *Š’hdwk*⁹⁰⁷ “King’s daughter”; *’zrmydwk*⁹⁰⁸ < MPers. /*Azarmīg-dux*t/. The latter is recorded in Mand. *Azarmidukt* together with the shortest form *Azarmidu*⁹⁰⁹ “Honoured, respected daughter”.⁹¹⁰ *Br’zdwk*⁹¹¹/*Brzdwk* (/Varāz-dux/, to *warāz* “boar”).⁹¹² The initial component of *Nwdwk* renders either MPers. *nēw-* “good, brave” or *now-* “new”.⁹¹³ Mand. *Kwšdwk* (/Xwaš-dux/) denotes “Daughter of the happy, pleasant one”.⁹¹⁴ *Nygyrdwk*⁹¹⁵ possibly denotes “The daughter of the picture, image” (MPers. *nigār*). The initial component (*Qwdq’*) of *Qwdq’dwk* “Q.’s daughter”, cannot render *Kurūx-ān*,⁹¹⁶ but may go back to OIran. **Kauta-ka-* > MPers. *kōdak* “young, small; child,

898 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 55 ad 013A, 3 and Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 10 (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 228–229).

899 See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 287:857.

900 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 25, 2; 27, 2, 3, 4 (bis).

901 Cf. Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells* 119 ad 16, 2 and 121–122:17, 4.

902 Cf., e.g., Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 15, 2; 29, 4 (*Ršwdwk* in 29, 2 is with assimilation if not a scribal error); 30, 9, 11, 12; 37, 8; 47, 4.

903 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 72, 5 ([*Ršwn*]*dwkt* in line 1; the name of the same individual is elsewhere spelled without *-t*).

904 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 238b.

905 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 48:138; 79:334; cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 142 ad 138, 334.

906 Isbell, *Corpus*, 61, 2 (not *Šāhān-Dūxt* as erroneously lemmatized by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 249a).

907 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 18a, 3; 18b, 8; 18c, 5, 14.

908 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 212a.

909 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 17 with n. 31: JNF 40, 5, 10 and 14, 16 respectively.

910 See Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 118–119 ad 167; cf. Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 46:75, Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 78:4 and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 54a.

911 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 36, n. 105:VA 2180, 7–8.

912 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 157 ad 4, 7; cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 125 ad 940.

913 This is implied by Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 194 ad 109, 2.

914 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 127 ad 095M, 45.

915 Segal, *Catalogue*, 048A, 8.

916 As erroneously stated by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 231b, s. v. *Kurūxān-Dūxt*.

youngster”.⁹¹⁷ *Mydwt*,⁹¹⁸ OSyr. *M’ydwkt*⁹¹⁹/Mand. *Myhdwt*⁹²⁰ (/Māy-duxt/), means perhaps “The female’s daughter”, cf. Parth. *Myk* (/Māyak/),⁹²¹ which is based on OIran. **māy* “woman”.⁹²²

b’. As an initial component: *Dwktbyh* (/Duxt-beh/)⁹²³ (> *Dwktby*),⁹²⁴ OSyr. *Dwkt’yb*,⁹²⁵ consists of *duxt* “daughter” and *beh* (< *veh*⁹²⁶ < OIran. **vahyah*-) “better”. On the face of it, Mand. *Dwkt’nwbh*⁹²⁷ has *duxt* and *beh* as an initial and final components respectively, but this leaves <’nw> unaccounted for. The female’s name *Dwktnšh*, Mand. *Duktanša* (/Duxtān-šāh/)⁹²⁸ lacks gender congruency. It is rendered (rather *ad sensum*) “König(in) der Mädchen”.⁹²⁹ On the face of it, it is a juxtaposition, cf. Arm. < MIran. *Šahanduxt*.⁹³⁰ Or is it a corruption of *Dwkt’nwš* (Mand.)⁹³¹ < MPers. *Duxt-anōš*⁹³²? Mand. *Dwktnprwk* (fem.) has the same 1st component which is followed by *farrox*⁹³³ “happy, fortunate”.

7.2.2 Possessive compounds (*bahuvrihi*)⁹³⁴

a. With (Ādur-)Gušnasp (one of the Sasanid sacred fires): *Gwšnsp* (/Gušn-asp/)⁹³⁵ > *Gwšnš*⁹³⁶ originates from OIran. **Vr̥šna-aspa*- “Having male/strong horses”.⁹³⁷ It is contained in *rgwšnsp*⁹³⁸ (perhaps < /**Arg-Gušnasp*/ “valuable G.”) and juxta-

917 See Zadok 2002: 36 and Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen in der neuassyrischen*, 105:83.

918 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 38a, 4, 14.

919 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 7, 2, 6, 10, 11.

920 See Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 135a *ad* 095M, 2.

921 Schmitt, *Personennamen* 142:307.

922 Bailey “Armeno-indoiranica,” 95, 111–112; 1979: 110b.

923 Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 22, 28:8, 1:

924 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 72, 2, 6.

925 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 10, 10.

926 was apparently pronounced [w] in JBA according to Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 42 with n. 104.

927 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 134b *ad* 088M, 4.

928 Cf. Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 166.

929 Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 86b (one would expect *bāmbišn* “queen” instead of *šāh*).

930 Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 275:539.

931 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 20, 2 (<’>), 8 (<’>), 10, 14, 20, 22; 26, 31 (see Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 100 *ad* 95–100 and pls. 11–13:M, 15, 17).

932 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 78:326.

933 Cf. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 16 *ad* C, 2.

934 Including cases of inverted *bahuvrihi* (cf. Thordarson, *Ossetic Grammatical Studies*, 94–104).

935 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 57 *ad* 015A, 1; for the Old Syriac occurrence cf. Moriggi, *Corpus*, 24, 14.

936 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 342–344:BM 91776, 1.

937 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 91–92:408 (cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 366–367:806).

938 Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 93–95 and pls. 8–9:L, 4, 10, 12.

posed with *Mihr* in Mand. *Myr' Gwšn'sp*; the same text has *Br'n Gwšnsp*⁹³⁹ (> *Br'ngwšnsnz*⁹⁴⁰ > *Br'gwšnsnz*⁹⁴¹). Other juxtapositions are *Bhrm Gwšnsp*,⁹⁴² *b'ngwšmys* (< *Ābān-Gušnasp*)⁹⁴³ and *Mh'dwr Gwšnsp* (OSyr.)⁹⁴⁴ (MPers. *Māh-Ādur-Gušnašp*)⁹⁴⁵ > Mand. *Māh-Ādur-Gušnaš*⁹⁴⁶ and the three-tier name Mand. *M'bhr'ngwšns*⁹⁴⁷ (< **Māh-Bahrān-Gušnasp*).

b. With *xwarrah* (< Av. *Xvarnah*-) “Fortune, glory, splendour, happy shine”:⁹⁴⁸

'dynkwryh (*/Ādīn-xwarrih/*)⁹⁴⁹ whose 2nd component is based on *xwarrah*, begins with *'dyn*, presumably < OIran. **Āt-ina*,⁹⁵⁰ which is extant also in *'dyngwšns*⁹⁵¹/*'dyngwšns*⁹⁵² (< *Ādīn-Gušnasp*). Mand. *'ran kurh* (*/Ērān-xwarrah/*) denotes “Fortune, glory, splendour of Iran”.⁹⁵³ and Mand. *Bwrz-kwrh* (*/Burz-xwarrah/*) (fem.)⁹⁵⁴ means “The exalted *xvarnah*”, a compound name consisting of *burz* and a numen, like MPers. *Burz-ātaxš* and *Burz-Ādur-Gušnašp*⁹⁵⁵ as well as *burz* + DN.⁹⁵⁶

c. Other: *Gwlšr* (< */Gul-šahr/*) “city, land of roses”⁹⁵⁷ > Arm. *Gulšar*.⁹⁵⁸

939 See Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Gold Amulet,” 341 *ad* 337–341, 2–4, 26–27.

940 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 145.

941 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 117.

942 Gordon, “Two Magic Bowls,” 306–309, 5, cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschalenammlung,” 99 *ad* 068A, 5.

943 See Shaked *apud* Greenfield and Naveh 1985: 106; cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 240 *ad* 079M, 3.

944 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 22, 3.

945 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 109:517.

946 [Ford and] Abudraham “Syriac and Mandaic,” 103–105: 8, 13, 17.

947 MS 2087/05 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham, “Ancient Mandaic Palimpsest,” 9 *ad* 7–8).

948 For the originally Avestan form and the originally Median equivalent *farr* (< **farnah*-) see Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 131–132. For the probable classification of compounds cf. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 9 *ad* Bact. -ϕapo.

949 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 11, 9, 12, 14, 17, 18.

950 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 43 with n. 123 *ad* 3010, 3 (cf. Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 31:12).

951 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1.

952 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 44 with n. 130 (also Mand.).

953 See P. Lurje *apud* Fain *et al.*, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 306 *ad* S-449, 3.

954 Morgenstern “Five Mandaic,” 112–114:26, 8.

955 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 61:229, 62:235.

956 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 62:234, 64:244; Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 28:75.

957 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 53:SD 22AL, 6 (unpubl.) who refer to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 120a.

958 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 165–166:226.

Mand. *Mhrbn*⁹⁵⁹ renders MPers. *Mihr-bān* < OIran. **Miθra-bānu-* “Having Mithra’s splendour”⁹⁶⁰, cf. Parth. *Mtrybn*⁹⁶¹ and Lat. *Meribanes*.⁹⁶² Mand. *Y’z’dp’n’h*⁹⁶³ (*/Yazad-panāh/* > */Yazd-panāh/*) means “Having the protection of god”.⁹⁶⁴ Mand. *M’pn*⁹⁶⁵ presumably originates from */Māh-panāh/* “Having the protection of the Moon-god”. Its gender cannot be determined since the name-bearer is a member of a group of children who are subsumed as “sons and daughters”. The same component with inverted order is extant in *Pn’hwrmyz*⁹⁶⁶ (< */Panāh-Hormiz/*).⁹⁶⁷ If it is not a mere juxtaposition, it may mean originally “Having the protection of Ahura-Mazdah”. OSyr. *Mḥbwd*⁹⁶⁸ < MPers. *Māh-būd* means “Having the awareness of the Moon-god”.⁹⁶⁹ *Zrnkš* (*/Zarīn-kaš/*, fem.) denotes “Having golden armpit”.⁹⁷⁰ *Nwrd*⁹⁷¹ may originate from OIran. **Nava-vrḏā-* “New rose” (or “New growth”), cf. Arm. *Nuard* (fem.); an alternative derivation, viz. a survival of OIran. **Naiba-vrḏā* “Good, beautiful rose”⁹⁷² (or rather “Of beautiful growth”) ⁹⁷³ cannot be excluded, but in this case one would expect a spelling <nywrd> seeing that the Middle Persian outcome of OIran. **naiba-* is *nēw*. *Kykwš* (*/Kay-xwaš/*) and her father-in-law *Dynkwš* (*/Dēn-xwaš/*)⁹⁷⁴ share a common 2nd component, viz. *xwaš* “pleasant, sweet, nice”, which is attached to *kay* (< OIran. **kavi-*), the eponym of the legendary dynasty of the Kayanids, and to *dēn* “religion”⁹⁷⁵ (“Having a pleasant religion”). Cf. Arm. *Xošnam* (also *Namxoš*) < early

959 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, 12 and 17.

960 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 127:636.

961 Schmitt, *Personennamen* 140:303 with comparanda,

962 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 278a, index, s.v. *Mhrbn* who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 208, s.v. *Mitnāpān*, 3.

963 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, 4.

964 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 145–146:455a–g.

965 Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85:2, 8, 60.

966 Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 106–107:Aaron A, 3.

967 The graphemes <h> and <ḥ> are identical in the script of the JBA incantation bowls (see Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 34–35).

968 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 22, 3.

969 Cf. Harviainen, “Aramaic Incantation Bowl,” 15 ad 3 who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 185.

970 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 205 ad 24, 5 (bis) who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 382b.

971 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 21, 6, 10.

972 Both alternatives are considered for the name in the Armenian collateral tradition by Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 272:532.

973 Extant in LB *Né-ba-’-mar-du-’* (see Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 275:393).

974 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 63, 6, 7.

975 For the semantics of this term cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 130:6.7.

NPers. *Xōšnām* “Having a pleasant name”.⁹⁷⁶ The same component is extant in OSyr. *Bwrzkwš*⁹⁷⁷ (*/Burz-xwaš/*). *Gwnkwš* (*/Gōn-xwaš/*,⁹⁷⁸ fem.) may denote “(Having a) nice colour”. OSyr. *Prw<k>rw*⁹⁷⁹ (*/Farrox-rōy/*) > *Prwkyrw*⁹⁸⁰ denotes “Fortunate by (= thanks to) his appearance”.⁹⁸¹

7.2.3 “Verbale Rektion” compounds

E.g., *Gwndsp* (> *Gwnds*, *Gwnd’s*, *’wnd’s*)⁹⁸² < OIran. **Vinda-aspa-* “who finds the horses”.

7.2.4 With other frequent components

Some compound names are of the *Karmadhāraya* type, e.g., *Māh-anōš*, *Xwarrah/Farr* (below, b) and *Prwk-Kwsrw*,⁹⁸³ Mand. *Prwksr(’)w*,⁹⁸⁴ “Happy, fortunate Xusro”⁹⁸⁵ (with assimilation of -x to the following x in Mandaic). *Byhr’m* (of *Yhy’* ~)⁹⁸⁶ may render */Beh-rām/* “*Rām* (< OIran. DN **Rāman-* “rest, peace, tranquility”) is good” or “Good *Rām*”. The type *veh* (> *beh*) + numen (cf., e.g. Mand. *B(y)h(’)dwr/Pyh’dwr*⁹⁸⁷ < MPers. *Weh-Ādur*⁹⁸⁸) is common in the Middle Persian onomasticon.⁹⁸⁹ Mand. *Byhksr*⁹⁹⁰ is of the same type as MPers. *Wēh-Šābuhr*,⁹⁹¹ i.e. “Sage Xusro”.

a. With *friy* “friend, dear”:⁹⁹² *’nwšpry*⁹⁹³ “Friend of the immortal”, *Mhpriy*⁹⁹⁴ “Friend of the Moon-god”, and *Šdnpry* “Friend of *Šādān*”.⁹⁹⁵ The latter is an -*ān*

976 For the latter see Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 202:327.

977 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 11, 8, 9.

978 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 143, 148.

979 This emendation is implied by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 15, n.1.

980 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, 26.

981 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 279b, index, s. v. who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 96b, s. v. **Farruxrū*.

982 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 346, index, s.vv. with references.

983 Isbell, *Corpus*, 61, 2, 5.

984 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 20, 2, 8, 10.

985 See F. C. Andreas *apud* Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 100, n. 1.

986 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 41f, 34, 62, 65.

987 See Abudraham, “Ancient Mandaic Palimpsest,” 11 *ad* vii, 9; cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 265 *ad* 106M, 6: *Pyh’dwr*’.

988 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 177:967.

989 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 177–180:967, 981, 983, 985, 986.

990 Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 112–114:26, 4, 8.

991 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 181:990.

992 Cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 148 *ad* 383.

993 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 12, 2, 11, 18.

994 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 043A, 3.

995 Cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 95 *ad* SD 27, 7.

(pro-)patronymic of *šād* “The happy (one)”. *Gwšnšppry*⁹⁹⁶ “Friend of *Gušnasp*”. *M’d’r* (/mādar/) ‘*pry* (fem.) “love of (her) mother”, if the 2nd component is MPers. *friy*,⁹⁹⁷ cf. MPers. *Friy-Ohrmazd* (same name as fem. ‘*ypr*’ *Hwrmyz*);⁹⁹⁸ *Prybrd* (/Friya-bard/).⁹⁹⁹

b. With *anōš* “immortal”

OSyr. *M’h’nw[š]*¹⁰⁰⁰ (Mand. *Mh(‘)nwš*)¹⁰⁰¹ renders MPers. *Māh-anōš* “The immortal Moon-god”.¹⁰⁰² *B(‘)bnwš*¹⁰⁰³/Mand. *B’b(‘)nwš/Bb’nwš*¹⁰⁰⁴ (/Bāb-anōš/ son of *Mh’nwš*) literally denotes “immortal father” (short for his paternal name *Māh-anōš*) and Mand. *M’d’nwš* (/Mād-anōš/, fem.)¹⁰⁰⁵ may denote “The immortal mother” in view of Mand. *Z’d’nwš* (/Zād-anōš/) “born to *Anōš*” whose mother was indeed named *’nwš*.¹⁰⁰⁶ The unexplained compound names *’rznš*¹⁰⁰⁷ and *Mt’nyš* (both fem.)¹⁰⁰⁸ may be read *’rznwš* and *Mt’nwš* respectively seeing that the graphemes <w> and <y> are indistinguishable in the script of the JBA incantation bowls.¹⁰⁰⁹ The former begins with MPers. *arz* “worth, value”. The second component of both names, viz. -(‘)*nwš*, may render -*anōš*. The 1st component of the latter (<*mt*>) may be a defective spelling of /mād/ “mother” (cf. Mand. *M’d’nwš* just above). *Bhr’nwš* (/Bahr-anōš/, fem.) “Whose lot is immortality”.¹⁰¹⁰ *N’m’nš*¹⁰¹¹ may be a defective spelling of /Nām-anōš/ “Whose name, reputation is immortal, eternal”. Mand. *Kw’r’nwš* (/Xwarrah-anōš/¹⁰¹²) “Immortal *Xvarnah*”, cf. OSyr. *Prnwš* < MPers. *Farr-anōš* < *Farrah-anōš*¹⁰¹³ with the same meaning.

996 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 23, 5; 37, 2; 59, 5, 7.

997 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 146–148 *ad* 3, 1, where an alternative interpretation is also considered but it implies that the last component is the result of omission of a final consonant (-n).

998 See Goodblatt 1976.

999 See Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells* 130 *ad* 21, 3.

1000 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 19, 2.

1001 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 370, index, s. v. with references.

1002 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 110:524.

1003 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 162 *ad* 9, 4.

1004 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 368, index, s. v. with references.

1005 Cf. Müller-Kessler 2001–2002: 136 *ad* 099M, 14.

1006 See the filiation in Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 8, 14–15, 24–25, 26–27, 53–55; 12, 37, 39. *’z’d’nwš* in 8, 46–47 is an error caused by the appearance of *’z’d’y* at the beginning of the following line.

1007 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 321–324 and pl. 10: A. 1.

1008 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 29, 5.

1009 See Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 35.

1010 See M. Macuch *apud* Müller-Kessler 1994: 7–8. The other two alternatives, viz. “Immortal spring” (*bahār* < *wahār*) or “pleasant, sweet spring” considered by Macuch seem less likely.

1011 Isbell, “Two New,” 16–18: De Menil, i, 12; iii, 1; iv, 3.

1012 Cf. Nöldeke, “Review,” 144 *ad* Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites*, B.

1013 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 69–70:176.

7.2.5 Originally professional designations and titles¹⁰¹⁴

Zwn'wr < **zyn'wr*¹⁰¹⁵ (/Zēnawar/) < OIran. **zaina-bara*- “weapon bearer”. *'dwrbyṭ* (> *'dwrbyṭ* > *'dwbyṭ*,¹⁰¹⁶ < MPers. *Ādur-bed* < OIran. **ātr-pati*- “chief of fire”¹⁰¹⁷ and *Gwlbyṭ*¹⁰¹⁸ < MPers. *Gul-bed* < OIran. **vṛda-pati*- “chief of florists” (Parth. *Wrdpt* /*Vardbed*/,¹⁰¹⁹ Arm. < Iran. *Vardapet*).¹⁰²⁰

7.2.6 Originally toponyms

Mand. fem. *Kwr'sn*¹⁰²¹ (/Xwar-āsān/) “sunrise” (> “east”).¹⁰²²

7.2.7 Other compound names

The Moon-god (*Māh*) is the initial component of *Mhyzyd*¹⁰²³ “*Māh* is god”. Mand. *Mzd'n'sp's*¹⁰²⁴ begins with an *ān*-(pro-)patronymic of *Mazdah*, and ends with MPers. *spās* “service, gratitude”.¹⁰²⁵ *Kwdbwd* (/Xwad-būd/),¹⁰²⁶ “self-awareness”, *Zn bwd* (/Zan-būd/, fem.)¹⁰²⁷ “Becoming a wife”. *M'bwndr* “The Moon-god is firm”¹⁰²⁸ (cf. NPers. *bundar*). *Hrmsdr* perhaps originates from **Hormazd-dyār*.¹⁰²⁹ Alternatively it may be a two stem hypocoristicon < **Hormazd-d-ar*.¹⁰³⁰ *'rtsryh* is considered a form of Artaxerxes by Montgomery¹⁰³¹ who quoted *Ἀρτασηριος*¹⁰³² – unde-

1014 Occupational terms and titles are recorded as anthroponyms also in Bactrian (see Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 10).

1015 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 206b with reference to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 386a, but with an inaccurate lemmatization.

1016 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 138 ad 3047, 1.

1017 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 32:39.

1018 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 136.

1019 Schmitt, *Personennamen* 228:551.

1020 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 352–353:774; cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 129 ad 398.

1021 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 15, 18.

1022 Cf. NPers. *Xurāsān* which was borne by males (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 178b).

1023 Cf. Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 209.

1024 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 20, 3.

1025 Cf. F. C. Andreas apud Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 100, n. 5.

1026 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 93, 94.

1027 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 103.

1028 Müller-Kessler 1994: 8 renders *bwndr* as “Beschützer” referring to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 72–73, s. v. *Bundār* who renders it as “reicher Mann”.

1029 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 201 ad 20, 2 who refers to MPers. *Ōrmaz(d)yār* (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 10a).

1030 For the pattern cf., e.g., MPers. *Ādur-dār* < **Ādur-d-ara* (Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 33:48).

1031 1913: 191 ad 17, 7.

1032 Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 35, s. v. *Artaxšaθrā*.

niably a form based on *ʾrtšyr* < **Rta-xš-ira*,¹⁰³³ cf. Arm. *Artašir*.¹⁰³⁴ On the face of it, the additional -y- resembles the additional -t- of the Greek form. However, it should be borne in mind that the bowl was inscribed by a Jewish practitioner-scribe. Did he intentionally add -yh to the originally royal name, thereby “Tetragrammatizing” it?¹⁰³⁵ The practice of Tetragrammatization of anthroponyms was not alien to Jewish scribes.¹⁰³⁶ This tendency is analogous to adding the Aramaic word *ʾl* (<-yl>) “god” to angels with Iranian names, e.g. Mand. *Šḥṭyl*¹⁰³⁷ to MPers. *saxt* “strong, hard”. Unexplained (or partially explained) compounds are, e.g., *M’h’y ’z’yḏ*,¹⁰³⁸ whose initial component is based on *Māh* “Moon-god”. It seems that his matronym, *M’k’š*,¹⁰³⁹ begins with the same theophorous element. *Hdrbdw*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Its initial component may be compared to the base of MPers. *Hadarān*, the 1st component of a chain, and what follows to MPers. *Bādug* (with omission of -g),¹⁰⁴¹ but both are unexplained. *ʾšrh’y* and *ʾšrqwm* (both females) are hitherto unexplained.¹⁰⁴² The former is recorded twice in Hebrew epigraphy, but on unprovenanced artefacts whose authenticity is dubious.¹⁰⁴³

7.2.8 Compound divine names and divine epithets used as anthroponyms

*ʾyspndrmyd*¹⁰⁴⁴ (> *ʾyspndrmyd*, fem.)¹⁰⁴⁵ < MPers. *Spandarmad*¹⁰⁴⁶ < Av. *Spəntā Ārmaiti* “Holy devotion” is a divine name used as an anthroponym. Similarly, *Kwrkšyd*¹⁰⁴⁷/Mand. *K[u]rkšid*¹⁰⁴⁸ (*/Xwar-xšēd/*) > *Kwršd* (*/Xwar-šēd/*),¹⁰⁴⁹ i.e. MPers.

1033 See Schmitt 1979 [1980] and Huyse 1999: 12–13.

1034 Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 126–127:119 with lit.

1035 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 168b.

1036 Cf. Zadok 2018a: 434:0952.

1037 Cf. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 366, index, s.v. (with variants).

1038 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 135, n. 20 *ad* Hunter, “Two Incantation Bowls,” 117:2, 13.

1039 Hunter, “Two Incantation Bowls,” 117: 2, 3, 17.

1040 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 25, 2.

1041 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 95:425 and 54:179 respectively.

1042 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 95, SD 27, 7 and 97, SD 27, 11.

1043 Avigad 1986: 84–85:126 (the name of the 2nd individual is damaged). *ʾmṭwr*, *ʾyswr/ʾysr* *ʾtywn*, *Mkst*, and *ʾš* do not match the Iranian etymologies (despite Ilan, *Lexicon*, 169–170, 181–182, 207b, 240b, s.vv.).

1044 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls* 3046+3069, 2, 5, 6, 7.

1045 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 26, 4.

1046 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 159:843; 2003: 59:305.

1047 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 342–344:BM 91776, 1.

1048 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 41.

1049 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 105. The spelling -xšēd is historical according to Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 219b.

“Sun” (< “brilliant Sun”)¹⁰⁵⁰ is a divine epithet used as an anthroponym (> Sogd. PN *Xwrxšyδ*).¹⁰⁵¹ *Bhmn* is also recorded as an anthroponym.¹⁰⁵²

7.2.9 Juxtaposition (mechanical contraction, *Schein-dvandva*)¹⁰⁵³

a. Anthroponyms formed by combination of two divine names (both fem.): *Hwrmyzd'nhyh* (*/Hormizd-Anāhīh/*),¹⁰⁵⁴ i.e. Ahura-Mazdah and Anahita, *M'n'hyd*,¹⁰⁵⁵ i.e. “Māh and Anahita”, *Myhrnhyd*,¹⁰⁵⁶ i.e. “Mithra and Anahita”, as well as OSyr. *'zdn'nyt*¹⁰⁵⁷ (“the gods” and Anahita), *Myḥrḥwrmzyd*¹⁰⁵⁸ (*/Myr'ḥrmyz*¹⁰⁵⁹), i.e. Mithra and Ahura-Mazdah and *M'dwr* which consists of *Māh* “Moon-god” and *Ādur* “Holy fire”.¹⁰⁶⁰ They can perhaps be interpreted as exocentric compounds meaning “dedicated/belonging to DN₁ and DN₂”.¹⁰⁶¹ A hybrid name consisting of two theonyms is *'štr' Nhyd* (alias-name of a client)¹⁰⁶² “The goddess (Palm., Hatr.) Anahita”.

b. Anthroponyms formed by combination of a theonym and a personal name: *'štd* (*/Aštād/*) ²*Mh'd<y>>wk*¹⁰⁶³ (*/Māh-dux/*); MPers. *Mihr-Šābuhr*¹⁰⁶⁴/*Mand. Mršbwr*¹⁰⁶⁵ consists of *Mihr* > *Mr* and *Šābuhr* (royal name, a plene spelling of the RN is *Š'bwr*¹⁰⁶⁶). *M'kwsrw* (*/Māxusrō/*)¹⁰⁶⁷ is of the same type, viz. *Māh* and a royal name (his matronym also contains *Māh*). The same divine name is juxtaposed with another anthroponym in *M'brzyn*, viz. */Mā(h)-burzin/*,¹⁰⁶⁸ and perhaps in

1050 Cf. Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 127 *ad* 1039.

1051 See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 444:1449.

1052 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 69, 1.

1053 For this category see Schmitt 1995.

1054 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 103.

1055 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 278: (Ashmolean) 1931.473, 10, 13.

1056 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 349, s. v. with references.

1057 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 18, 4.

1058 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 6, 1, 3, 7, 11.

1059 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 45, 3b.

1060 See Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Gold Amulet,” 84–85 *ad* 5, 16, 30.

1061 See Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 9 regarding the Bactrian analogous combinations.

1062 Gordon, “Two Magic Bowls,” 306–309, 5, cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 130 *ad* 068A.

1063 Isbell, *Corpus*, 66, 1f.

1064 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 130:656.

1065 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 10, 3.

1066 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 356–357:Ex 4283, 43 (cf. *Š'b'wr*, 2).

1067 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 73, 1, 5, 9.

1068 Misundersood by McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 5 *ad* A, 2. For interpretation (also with the defective spelling *Mhbwrzn*) see Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 94:266.

Mhgw'n (/Māh-gāwān /)¹⁰⁶⁹ whose 2nd component may be an -ān-(pro-)patronymic of *Gāw “ox, bull, cow”.¹⁰⁷⁰ Juxtaposition of an anthroponym and a theonym, i.e. with an inverted order is *Sysyn 'n'hyd*¹⁰⁷¹ (/Sisin-Anāhīd/, fem.) > Mand. *Sysyn'yd*.¹⁰⁷²

7.3 Suffixed names

It is explicitly stated that the same individual had both a compound name and a hypocoristicon thereof, viz. *Myrdbwk* and *Myrd'*.¹⁰⁷³ The former apparently ends with -*bux* < *buxt* “saved” (for the omission of -*t* cf. the numerous occurrences of -*dux* < -*duxt* above). It is apparently juxtaposed to /*merd*-, a variant of *mard* “man” (like the base of Mand. < MPers. *Merdānōy*, ↓7.3.1.2, a, b'). *Myrd'* ends with -<'> = -/ā/ which is a very common hypocoristic suffix in Aramaic, thereby being another example of Iranian-Aramaic linguistic interference.

7.3.1 Non-combined suffixes

Skt' (mentioned together with *Sktš*, *Sktwš* and *Sktt* which apparently have the same base¹⁰⁷⁴) from Susa is perhaps based on MPers. *saxt* “strong, hard”¹⁰⁷⁵ like Sogd. (< MPers.) *Sxtwy* (/Saxtōy/).¹⁰⁷⁶ It apparently ends with a non-combined suffix. *Gyrw*¹⁰⁷⁷ may originate from **Gyrwy*. It is perhaps based on **gar*, cf. MPers. *garān* “heavy, serious” > NPers. *girān*. *N'w'* (fem.) may be based on *naw-* “new”, which is extant in MPers. *nawrūz*, Arm. *Nawasard* < OIran. **Nava-sarda-* (cf. Choresm. *N'wsrdyk*)¹⁰⁷⁸ and Sogd. *n'w*;¹⁰⁷⁹ Alternatively Aramaic (†1.2.1.1.6).

1069 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1.

1070 Cf. MPers. *Gōzan* (Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 90:396), Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 209, 227, as well as, Perhaps, Parth. *Gwdt*, *Gwdtyt*, *Gwk* (Schmitt, *Personennamen* 97–98:190–192).

1071 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 41e, 4, 34, 40.

1072 See Abudraham 2023: 16–17 *ad* 3.

1073 Yamauchi, “Aramaic Magic Bowls,” 514–518: B, 3, 10, 14.

1074 S. A. Kaufman *apud* Isbell, “Two New,” 15 cautiously suggests that all these forms refer to the same individual.

1075 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 201a.

1076 See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 359:1127.

1077 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 533, n. 166:SD 40A, 2 (unpubl.).

1078 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 267–268:518–520.

1079 See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 265:765.

7.3.1.1 **-āy** (<-’y, yy, y>)¹⁰⁸⁰**a Males**

a’. Adjectives: For *Rsy*¹⁰⁸¹ cf. perhaps NPers. *Rasā* “skillful, capable, clever”.¹⁰⁸²

b’. Hypocoristic:¹⁰⁸³ *’rdy*¹⁰⁸⁴ is based on the theophorous element *Arda* < **Rta*-. For *M’h’y* see ↑7.2.7.

With *-āy* > *-ā* (presumably due to the Aramaic-speaking milieu, the more so since *-ā* is the most frequent suffix of Aramaic names): *’sp*¹⁰⁸⁵ perhaps originates from *’sp* with *s* > *š* (cf. with the same consonantal cluster *’špndwy*, ↓7.3.1.2, b, b’), in which case it would be based on MPers. *asp* “horse”.¹⁰⁸⁶

b Females

a’. Adjectival: *Gwn’y* (/Gōnāy/),¹⁰⁸⁷ and *Bwsty* (/Bōstāy/) are based on MPers. *gōn* “colour, complexion” and *bōstān* “garden”¹⁰⁸⁸ respectively (the latter with omission of *-n*). Another such form with omission of *-n* is *’smyy* (/Asmāy/) which is based on *asmān* “Heaven”.¹⁰⁸⁹ It may be a hypocoristicon of compounds like MPers. *Asm-bād*.¹⁰⁹⁰ *Myryy* is based on *Mīhr*.¹⁰⁹¹ Mand. *’špynd’rmyd’y* is based on the theonym *Spəntā-Ārmaiti*.¹⁰⁹² *Prwrđ’y*¹⁰⁹³/*Prwrđy*¹⁰⁹⁴ (/Fravardāy/) is based on MPers. *fraward* (*frawahr*) “Man’s immortal soul, guardian angel during his lifetime”. On the face of it, *Byryy* and *Byrwy*, which end in *-āy* and *-ōy* respectively, are perhaps based on a late form of *wīr* “male, man” (cf. *Wīrōy*¹⁰⁹⁵), but this is semantically unlikely for females’ names. Perhaps they are based on a late form

1080 See Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 29–31; cf., e.g., Manichean Parth. *žīwāy* “alive” (Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary*, 200, 388a); cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary*, 364:315 and the related suffix *-aya*- (Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 20–21 with lit.).

1081 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 109, 2.

1082 Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 259a.

1083 Cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 308:639 *in fine*.

1084 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 98, 5, 7, 12, 14, 17.

1085 Martinez Borobio “A Magical Bowl,” 324–325, 335, 9.

1086 Cf., e.g., LB *As-pa-*’ (see Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 119: 106).

1087 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 146.

1088 See Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 10 *ad* 3, 4.

1089 See Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 90.

1090 See Gignoux, *Noms propres* (Supp.), 24:40.

1091 Differently Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 96 *ad* SD 27, 9.

1092 See Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 71.

1093 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 121 *ad* 092M.

1094 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 96.

1095 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 148:168, 365:802 and Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 183:1008; Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 55:112.

of the Akkadian theonym *Bel*.¹⁰⁹⁶ *Dwst'y* > *Dwst'*¹⁰⁹⁷ is based on *dōst* “friend”.¹⁰⁹⁸ Is Mand. *Kwm'y*¹⁰⁹⁹ based on the outcome of MPers. *xwamn* “dream”? *Rw'y* (4 ×)¹¹⁰⁰ (/Rawāy/, cf. Mand. *Ruāi*¹¹⁰¹) may be the same name as NPers. *Rawāi*¹¹⁰² if the variant *R'w'y* (1 ×)¹¹⁰³ is merely orthographic. *Sm'y* is the same female as *Sm'* and *Smw*;¹¹⁰⁴ cf. Mand. *S'm'y*.¹¹⁰⁵ These forms are probably based on *sām* < OIran. **sāma-* “black” (cf. Av. *Sāma-*);¹¹⁰⁶ alternatively to Aramaic *smy*’ “blind” (with elision of -y-).¹¹⁰⁷ *Zyywy* may be based on MPers. *zīw*, cf. Parth. *žīwāy* “alive, lively”; alternatively Aramaic (11.2.9.2).

b'. Hypocoristic: *Dwkt'y*¹¹⁰⁸/*Dwkt'y*¹¹⁰⁹ (/Duxtāy/) is based on *duxt* “daughter”. It may originate from a compound name with *duxt* (17.2.1, i). *Gwšny*¹¹¹⁰ (also OSyr.)¹¹¹¹/Mand. *Gwšn'y*¹¹¹² is a hypocoristic of *Gwšnsp*. *Myry*,¹¹¹³ is based on *Mihr*, provided that it is not an abbreviation of Heb. *Mrym*. 'wdy (/Awdāy/),¹¹¹⁴ *Bwrz'y* (/Burzāy/)¹¹¹⁵ and Mand. *Kwš'y*¹¹¹⁶ (/Xwašāy/) are also hypocoristica as they are based on the Middle Persian adjectives *awd* < *abd* “wonderful”, *burz* “exalted” and *xwaš* “pleasant, sweet, nice” respectively. *Nywy* (/Nēwāy/)¹¹¹⁷ is attached to *nēw* “good”. 'nwš'y denotes “immortal” or “sweet, pleas-

1096 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 58:207 and Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 90.

1097 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 127–129:7, 2 and 7 respectively.

1098 Cf. MPers. *Dōstag* (Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 77:320).

1099 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 33, 3, 22, 25, 26, 27.

1100 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 38, 3, 17, 40; 38a, 5.

1101 See Morgenstern and Ford 2020: 191, n. 618 *ad* 3011, 3–4, 17, 40–42 who refer to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 260.

1102 Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 260a.

1103 Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 38, 4.

1104 Franco, “Five Aramaic,” 236–240 and fig. 1 on 235:C₁₀-116, 2, 5, 8; 242 and fig. 3 on 241:C₁₀-119, 13; 242–245 and fig. 4; 245–249 and fig. 5: C₁₁-113, 2.

1105 Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85:2, 7.

1106 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 156:823.

1107 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 118–119 *ad* 1, 7 and 13, 2.

1108 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1.

1109 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 35, 7, 10.

1110 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 96.

1111 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 14, 13; 28, 4, 6, 7, 11.

1112 Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 95–100 and pls. 10–13:M, 3.

1113 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 36, 3.

1114 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 90–94:VA 2417, 11.

1115 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 66, 83.

1116 McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, D, 3, 11, 18.

1117 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 100, 143, 148, 169.

ant”¹¹¹⁸ (Mand. ~,¹¹¹⁹ cf. without a suffix ’nwš,¹¹²⁰ which is also used as nickname.¹¹²¹ It is also extant in Mandaic.¹¹²² P’ly may originate from Pāhrāy,¹¹²³ which is based on pāhr < OIran. *pāθra- “guard, defence” (with *r* > *l*). Hence it can be a hypocoristicon of Middle Persian compound names with pāhr.¹¹²⁴

7.3.1.2 -ōy¹¹²⁵ (<-wy, <-why> is recorded once in Mandaic)

a. Males, a’. Adjectival: D’štwy¹¹²⁶ (/Daštōy/) and Dynwy (OSyr.,¹¹²⁷ /Dēnōy/) are based on dašt “plain” and dēn “religion”. N’mwy¹¹²⁸ renders MPers. Nāmōy which is based on nām “name, reputation”.¹¹²⁹ Šyrwy is based on either šēr “lion”¹¹³⁰ or šīr “milk” (“milk-like” > “sweet”¹¹³¹). Z’rwy (OSyr.,¹¹³² /Zārōy/) is possibly based on zār “field”.¹¹³³ OSyr. Ṭšyhrw(h)y (/Čīhrōy/) is based on the Middle Persian outcome of OIran. *čīθra- “seed, lineage, origin” or “visible form, appearance, face”.¹¹³⁴ Š’bwy¹¹³⁵/Mand. Š’bwy¹¹³⁶ is based on šab “night” (var. Š’bh,¹¹³⁷ cf. MPers. Šabānag “nocturnal”.¹¹³⁸

1118 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 148–149 ad 3, 2.

1119 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 4, 7.

1120 Gordon, “Two Aramaic,” 233–236 and pls. 1–5 on 238–242:I, 2.

1121 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 11, 9, 17.

1122 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 368, index, s. v. with references.

1123 See Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 175 ad 8, ii, 5, iii, 6.

1124 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 143:734–736 and for hypothetical Old Iranian forerunners and their Middle Iranian outcome Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 297–300:608, 613.

1125 Thoroughly discussed by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 4–11 where many such names are explained (cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 19–20:5.8). See Bailey “Armeno-indoiranica,” 90–94 and Benveniste 1966: 45–48. Cf. the reverse indexes of Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 218, 2003: 77b, Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 179–180 as well as, e.g., Sogd. Sxtwy (< /Saxtōy/, < MPers., to saxt “strong”, see Lurje, *Personal Names*, 359:1127).

1126 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 63, 6.

1127 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 4, 2, 5, 9, 11; 7, 12; 43, 23.

1128 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 195, s. v. Nāmēō (inaccurate lemmatization).

1129 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 133:673.

1130 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 79 ad 038A, 3 (not “good lion” as understood by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 202).

1131 See Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214.

1132 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 9, 3,

1133 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 151:471 (cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 192:295).

1134 See Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 139a ad 120Sy, 2.

1135 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 56.

1136 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 344–345, 41.

1137 Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 344–345, 8.

1138 See Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214.

b'. Hypocoristic: The suffix *-ōy* is hypocoristic when it is attached to theophorous elements and numina:

**rdwy*¹¹³⁹ (to **Rta*); *Pnwy* (*/Pānōy/* > Arab. < NPers. *Fannuyeh*)¹¹⁴⁰ is based on *pān* “protector, guard” (a theophorous element < epithet of MPers. *Pān-dād* “Given by the guard, protector”).¹¹⁴¹ *Mirdanuia* (Mand.) renders *Merdānōy* < *Mardānōy*,¹¹⁴² which may be based on either MPers. *mardān* “men” or (seeing that bases with a plural form are very rare) on a form which originates from OIran. **martan-* (extant in Av. *marətan-*) “mortal, man”. Is Mand. **p'rwyt*¹¹⁴³ based on a fore-runner of MPers. *abar* “higher”?

b. Females, a'. Adjectival: *Symwy*¹¹⁴⁴ (*/Sēmōy/*) is based on (*a*)*sēm* “silver”, thereby meaning “silvern”, cf. OSyr. *Symy* < MPers. *Sēmiy*.¹¹⁴⁵ *Q'mwy/Qmwy* is based on MPers. *kām* < OIran. **kāma-* “will, desire”.¹¹⁴⁶ Mand. <*Maduih*> (*/Mādōy/*),¹¹⁴⁷ OSyr. *M'dwyy* and *Bhrwy*¹¹⁴⁸ are based on *mād* “wine”¹¹⁴⁹ and *bahār* “spring”.¹¹⁵⁰ The latter is recorded as an anthroponym (Mand. *Bh'r*).¹¹⁵¹ *Dwktwy*¹¹⁵² is based on *duxt-* “daughter” and Mand. *Nazuia* (*/Nāzōy/*)¹¹⁵³ on MPers. *nāz* “grace, charm; pleasure, delight”.¹¹⁵⁴ *Šhrwy*¹¹⁵⁵ and *Škrwy* (*/Šakarōy/*)¹¹⁵⁶ are based on *šahr* (< OIran. **xšaθra-* “region” > “town”) and *šakar* “sugar” respectively. *Kwmbwy* (*/Xumbōy/*) “pitcher-like” (to *xumb*)¹¹⁵⁷ apparently refers to a physical trait like obesity. Since this is a female name, a denotation “fragrant” is attractive, but the appellative *xwmbwy* with this meaning is recorded in Parthian, not in

1139 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 168.

1140 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 177 ad 12, 11, cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 21.

1141 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 51b ad 009A, 11 who refers to Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 145:749.

1142 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 260, n. 633 ad 3025, 4.

1143 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 15, 8.

1144 Myhrman 1909.

1145 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 123:376; cf. Arm. < Mİran. *Seme/ik* (Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 321:679).

1146 See Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 329 ad D, 6, 14, 15 and 11 respectively (not “good desire” as rendered by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 229b).

1147 Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 197 ad HS 3021, 3.

1148 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 6, 12, 14.

1149 Not “good wine” as rendered by Ilan 2011: 233–234.

1150 “Related to spring time” (see Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214).

1151 See McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 52 ad E, 4.

1152 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 34, 1–2, 5–6, 8, 10, 12.

1153 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 41.

1154 Cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 265–266:510, 512, 513.

1155 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 147–148:120: *Šāhrōy* (recte *Šāhrōy*).

1156 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 85, 14, 17; 97, 2.

1157 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 138:433 ad Moriggi, *Corpus*, 7, 3, 7, 10.

Middle Persian. *M(w)škwy* is based on MPers. *mušk* “musk”;¹¹⁵⁸ female names deriving from perfumes are a universal phenomenon. *’brwy*¹¹⁵⁹ may be based on **’br* < OIran. **abra-* “dark colour” (cf. RAE *Ap-pīr-mar-ša* < OIran. **Abra-varsa-* “Having dark-coloured hair”¹¹⁶⁰). *Ḥz’rwy* is based on *hazār* “thousand”.¹¹⁶¹

*Gylwy*¹¹⁶² may be based on MPers. *gil* “clay”, in which case it would be a plene spelling like Arab. (< NPers.) *Jilūyeh*.¹¹⁶³ *Dynrwy* (/Dēnārōy/, OSyr.)¹¹⁶⁴ is based on *dēnār* “(gold) dinar”¹¹⁶⁵ (< Latin).

b’. Hypocoristic, a. Based on Adjectives: *Bwrzwy* (/Burzōy/)¹¹⁶⁶ is based on MPers. *burz* “high, lofty, exalted”,¹¹⁶⁷ *Swrwy*¹¹⁶⁸ on MPers. *sūr* < OIran. **sūra-* “strong” and *Zyqwy* may be based on *zīk*, Gk. Ζηκ, which refers to a Persian (> Arm. *Zik*) and means “lively, vivid”.¹¹⁶⁹ *Prkwy* (/Farroxōy/)¹¹⁷⁰ is based on *farrox* “fortunate, happy”. *Prwk* (/Farrox/) “fortunate, blessed, happy” by itself is also recorded as an anthroponym.¹¹⁷¹ *’šwy*¹¹⁷² perhaps goes back to MPers. *ašō* < Av. *ašava-* “righteous”. The suffix of *Hyndwy* “Indian”¹¹⁷³ is synonymous with MPers. *Hindūg*, whose base originates from Old Persian *Hindu-*, an *-u* stem. *Hndw* is also recorded as a female’s name.¹¹⁷⁴ *Hyndw* and *Hyndwyt’* (the latter with the feminine gentile suffix) are recorded as anthroponyms in Mandaic.¹¹⁷⁵

β. Based on theophorous elements: *Mzdw’y*¹¹⁷⁶ is based on the Middle Iranian descendant of *Mazdah*. *’yšpndwy* is based on the Middle Iranian outcome of

1158 See Ilan, *Lexicon*, 241a (cf. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 204).

1159 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 207a.

1160 See Gershevitch 1969: 179, cf. Tavernier 2007: 101:4.2.19.

1161 See Ilan, *Lexicon*, 222a.

1162 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 2, 3.

1163 Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 115b, cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 17, 22, top.

1164 Müller-Kessler 2004: 271 ad 35.

1165 Cf. Lecoq 1993: 130 ad 313.

1166 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 62.

1167 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 79 ad 038A, 3, cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 365:802.

1168 Faraj and Moriggi, “Two New,” 77–80:IM 62265, 2, 6 (to compounds like, e.g., Av. *Sūrō.yazata-*, Mayrhofer 1977: 79).

1169 For the Middle Iranian and Armenian documentation see Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 194–195:302 with lit.

1170 Shaked et al 2013, 36, 3.

1171 Cf., e.g., Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 350, s. v.

1172 Geller, “Eight Incantation Bowls,” 115 and pl. 10:Aaron F. 1.

1173 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 222–223.

1174 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 205 ad 24, 1.

1175 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 25, 16 and 23, 3, 9, 12, 13 respectively.

1176 See Gordon 1934b: 471 ad 467 and pl. 22, 1, 2; cf. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 54 with n. 214.

OIran. **Spanta-* (Av. *Spəntā*-[*Ārmaiti*-]) “Holy devotion”¹¹⁷⁷ (with an additional initial vowel in order to avoid the consonant cluster *sp-* and *s > š*). It is a hypocoristic of either the compound theonym *ʾyspndrmyd* (†7.2.8) or a compound anthroponym with **Spanta*.¹¹⁷⁸ *Ršnwy* is based on the theophorous element (“mythological” is inaccurate) *Rašn* < Av. *Rašnu*¹¹⁷⁹ (god of justice; or the 18th day as a calendar name), and probably *ʾdrwy*¹¹⁸⁰ (to *ādur* “fire”).

y. Deriving from compound anthroponyms: *Nrswy*¹¹⁸¹ is based on the common anthroponym *Narseh* (also a royal name). *Gwšny*, *Gwšnwy*¹¹⁸² are hypocoristica of *Gwšnsp* (†7.2.2, a).

δ. Unexplained bases: The base of *Šišōy* and *Šyšyn* (*/Šišēn/*),¹¹⁸³ *Šyšy*¹¹⁸⁴ (also Mand.¹¹⁸⁵) derives perhaps from OPers. *Čiç-* < *Čiθr-* (cf. *ad Ššy* and *Šyšn*, †A, 3).¹¹⁸⁶

c. Referring to both males and females: *ʾsmwy* (*/Asmōy/*, fem.¹¹⁸⁷ and male¹¹⁸⁸) is based on *asmān* “Heaven”. *Mʾhwy*¹¹⁸⁹/*Mhwy*¹¹⁹⁰ (to *Māh*), *Myhrwy*¹¹⁹¹ (to *Miθra*).¹¹⁹² *Zdwy*¹¹⁹³ (cf. Mand. *Zʾdwy*)¹¹⁹⁴ is based on MPers. *zād* (< OIran. **zāta-*) “born”¹¹⁹⁵ (a passive participle). *Grygwy*¹¹⁹⁶ is perhaps based on **garig* “mountainous” (to MPers. *gar* “mountain”).

1177 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 193 ad 18, 2, 10.

1178 Cf., e.g. the Middle Persian names listed in Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 159:843–845, Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 123–124:379, Parth. *Spndtk* (Schmitt, *Personennamen* 193:445 with Bactrian and Sogdian comparanda) and the Armenian < Middle Iranian anthroponyms listed by Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 329–330: 707–709.

1179 See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 158 ad 8, 4.

1180 Shaked et al 2022, 73, 2, 6.

1181 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 73, 2, 5.

1182 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 96 and 111, 140 respectively.

1183 Cf. Shaked, “Peace Be upon You,” 214 and for the latter Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 219–220 ad 29, 8.

1184 Isbell, *Corpus*, 61, 2.

1185 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 3, 10.

1186 For more names whose base is the same cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 21.

1187 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 13.

1188 Wolfe 1, 5 (unpubl., quoted by Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 53, n. 165).

1189 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 150.

1190 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 190 with references.

1191 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 194a; Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 1.

1192 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 130:652.

1193 Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 92–93 and pl. 7:K, 1, 5.

1194 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 23, 9, 12, 14.

1195 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 59, n. 197 ad 3016, 1.5 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 189:287.

1196 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 15.

7.3.1.3 -āt (> MPers. *-ād* < OIran. *-āta-*)¹¹⁹⁷

It is spelled with < ṭ > in *Myhrṭ*,¹¹⁹⁸ OSyr *Myhrṭ*,¹¹⁹⁹ Mand. *Mihraṭ*,¹²⁰⁰ (MPers. *Mihrād* < OIran. **Miθrāta-*;¹²⁰¹ *Myhl'd* is a later form thereof¹²⁰²), and *B'nd'd* (†7.2, MPers. *Windād*¹²⁰³), cf. *Mzdht* (not a customer)¹²⁰⁴ which is based on *Mazdah*.

7.3.1.4 -ān (< OIran. *-āna-* (pro-)patronymic)¹²⁰⁵

M'h'n (Mand.)¹²⁰⁶ < MPers. *Māhān* is based on *Māh*.¹²⁰⁷ *Pryn* (/Fryān/)¹²⁰⁸ is based on **friya-* “dear, friend”, cf. the Avestan family name *Friiāna-*, Pontic Iran. Φλιανοϝ, RAE < OIran. **Fryāna-*¹²⁰⁹ and the Manichean Parthian appellative *fry'n* “friend, beloved”. *Wrtn*¹²¹⁰ < OIran. **Vartana-* “chariot” (cf. Parth. *Wrtn*¹²¹¹). *Zd'n*¹²¹² and fem. *Zdn*¹²¹³ are based on *zād* “born” and Mand. *Prwk'n*¹²¹⁴ (/Farroxān/ < MPers. **zāw* > Sogd. *Frwx'n*¹²¹⁶) on *farrox* “fortunate”. *Zywn* may be based on MPers. *zīw* “alive” (alternatively Aram., †1.2.9.2). Cf. *Mzd'n* of Mand. *Mzd'n'sp's* (†7.2.7), *Br'n* of *Br'ndwk*, *Gwln* of *Gwln'dwk* and *N(y)wn* of *N(y)wndwk* (†7.2.1, i).

1197 Cf. the examples in Schmitt, *Personennamen* 61:84 *in fine* and in Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 19:5.7.

1198 Cf. Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 33 with n. 84 *ad* 3008, 2, 5.

1199 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 17, 1, 7 (*Myhr<ṭ>*).

1200 Morgenstern and Abudraham, “A Mandaean Lamella,” 220, 176.

1201 See Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, 124:615.

1202 Differently Shaked, “Rabbis,” 116, n. 74.

1203 Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, 182:998.

1204 Cf. Shaked, “Rabbis,” 113:1.2, 8.

1205 Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 162:312 as well as Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 11 (-avo) and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 17–19:5.5.

1206 Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 114–115:139, 10, 13, 14.

1207 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 110:522.

1208 Moriggi, “Two New,” 52–56, 58:2, 5.

1209 See Tavernier, *Iranica*, 184:612, Lurje, *Personal Names*, 304:927 with lit.; cf. Schmitt, *Personennamen* 171: 384.

1210 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 204b, s. v. *Wardān*.

1211 See Schmitt, *Personennamen*, 230:560. Differently Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 137:429 who are of the opinion that it is based on **varta/i* “valor”.

1212 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 331–334: E and F.

1213 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 123..

1214 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 18a, 2; 18b, 8; 18c, 4, 8, 13.

1215 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 83:354.

1216 See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 145:309.

7.3.1.5 *-in* (< OIran. *-ina-*, hypocoristic¹²¹⁷)

Bwrzyn (fem., *bwrz* /*burz*/ “lofty”¹²¹⁸ + *-in* like in *Wrzyn* (fem.¹²¹⁹ < MPers. *Wärzin*. The latter may be based on *warz-* “to work, act, practice”.¹²²⁰ Perhaps *’myn* (fem., OSyr.)¹²²¹ goes back to OIran. **Am-ina-*, which is based on **Ama-* “strong”.¹²²² *Gwš̄nyn* (of *’dyn* ~) is a presumably a misreading of *Gwš̄nš̄*,¹²²³ *’dyn* < OIran. **Āt-ina-* (†7.2.2, b).

7.3.1.6 *-ēn* (< OIran. *-aina-*)

a. “**Stoffadjektiv**”: *Zryn* (/Zarrēn/) “golden”.¹²²⁴

b. **Hypocoristic**:¹²²⁵ *-dwk(t)* is attached to *Burzēn-*, *Māhēn-*, *Rašnēn-* and *Šāh-rēn-* (†7.2.1, i).

7.3.1.7 *-ak* > *-ag* <(’)*g/q*> (< OIran. *-(a)ka-*)¹²²⁶

a. **Adjectives**: Mand. *Ṭšmag* (/Čašmag/)¹²²⁷ “renowned” (MPers.).¹²²⁸ *’dq* (*Adaces*)¹²²⁹ < OIran. **Ādaka-* which is based on the Old Iranian equivalent of Av. *ā-dā-* “reward”.¹²³⁰ *Drktq* (/Draxtaq/)¹²³¹ is based on *draxt* “tree”. *P’bq*¹²³² (/Pābak/ < /Pāpak/) is based on **pāpa-* “father, dad”.¹²³³ *Z’rq*¹²³⁴ may be a plene

1217 Cf., e.g., Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 22:5.1.1

1218 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 214–215.

1219 Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 255b.

1220 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 359:786.

1221 Moriggi, *Corpus*, 13, 10.

1222 A Semitic derivation, e.g. “constant, trustworthy” (Mand., OSyr.) is incompatible with a female’s name.

1223 See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 44, n. 130 ad Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 350:IM 9736.

1224 Cf. Hunter 1996: 228–229 and fig. 2, 2 who quotes Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 382.

1225 Cf., e.g., the long list in Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 13–15.

1226 See Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 31–33, cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 155–158: 295–300 and Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 11 as well as the long list in Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 15–17:5.3.

1227 Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 31.

1228 See W. Sundermann apud Zimmer, “Zur sprachlichen,” 120 ad 266.

1229 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 143 ad 6, 3 who refers to Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 2b and Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 33 (the variant Δάκης is probably secondary).

1230 See Zadok 1976b: 247, n. 4 = Zadok, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu*, 73:5 (cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 102:4.2.28 and Lurje, *Personal Names*, 66:5).

1231 Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 24, 10; 46, 4.

1232 Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 122 ad 2, 1.

1233 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 141–142:723; Schmitt, *Personennamen* 146–147:320 with previous lit.

1234 Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls,” 328–331 and pl. 13:D, 6, 11.

spelling for /Zarak/ or /Zarrak/ > *Zarag* (to either *zari-* “yellow” or *zar* < **zarant-* “old”) ¹²³⁵ or *Zarrag* (based on *zarr* “gold”). ¹²³⁶

b. Hypocoristic, a'. Based on nouns: *Nb'zk* (fem.) ¹²³⁷ is based on the hypothetical Middle Iranian descendant of OIran. **Navāza-* “boatman, skipper” (Av. *navāza-*), cf. the Armenian loanword *navaz* on the one hand and Νάβαζος ¹²³⁸ in a Pontic Iranian milieu on the other; ¹²³⁹ OSyr. *Pnhq* (of /*Panāhak-dux*/, ↑7.2.1, i).

b'. Based on adjectives: *Bwrzq* is based on *burz* “high, lofty, exalted” ¹²⁴⁰ and *Burzidag* on a participle meaning “exalted, honoured”. ¹²⁴¹ Mand. 'nws'g ¹²⁴² is based on *anōš* “immortal” or “sweet, pleasant” (cf. ↑7.2.4, b). *Przq* ¹²⁴³ is defective for **Prwzq* (/Pērōzag/) which is based on *Pērōz* “victorious”. ¹²⁴⁴

7.3.1.8 -āk > -āg

Mand. *Ruzag* (fem.) < MPers. *Rōzāg* “lightning” ¹²⁴⁵ and *Hwnyq* which may render the forerunner of MPers. *Huniyāg* ¹²⁴⁶ “delightful” ¹²⁴⁷ (alternatively to ↑7.3.1.9).

7.3.1.9 īk > -īg (< OIran. -ika-, adjectival) ¹²⁴⁸

Kwryg ¹²⁴⁹ is based on *Xvar* “Sun” ¹²⁵⁰ (cf. the following name). *Hwnyq* may be same name as Parth. *Hwnyk* (/Xwanik/), whose base may originate from OIran. **xvan-* “sun”. ¹²⁵¹ In this case it would be homonymous with the preceding name (alternatively to ↑7.3.1.8). *Kwsyg* (fem.) ¹²⁵² is apparently based on *Xvās* of unclear

¹²³⁵ Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 194: 1076.

¹²³⁶ Gignoux, *Noms propres* (Supp.), 70:381.

¹²³⁷ Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 28, 2.

¹²³⁸ Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 218b.

¹²³⁹ The latter is compared by Ilan, *Lexicon*, 241b.

¹²⁴⁰ Shaked et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 83, 2.

¹²⁴¹ See Gignoux, *Noms propres* (Supp.), 28:72.

¹²⁴² Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 22, 14, 105.

¹²⁴³ Ilan, *Lexicon*, 199.

¹²⁴⁴ Cf. Ilan, *Lexicon*, 199 with 245.

¹²⁴⁵ See C. Ciancaglini apud Fain et al., “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 306 ad S-449, 2.

¹²⁴⁶ See Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 185 with n. 609.

¹²⁴⁷ See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 100:461.

¹²⁴⁸ Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 160:306; 174–175:344 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 20–21:5.10 with lit.

¹²⁴⁹ Bhayro et al., *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 60.

¹²⁵⁰ Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 187:1033.

¹²⁵¹ See Schmitt, *Personennamen* 109:223 (cf. 108–109:221).

¹²⁵² Yamauchi, “Aramaic Magic Bowls,” 514:B, 3.

etymology.¹²⁵³ *Dwdyq*¹²⁵⁴ and *Phyg*¹²⁵⁵ have the same bases as *Dwdy* and *P'bq* (†4, 7.3.1.7).

7.3.1.10 *-uk* < *-uka*-¹²⁵⁶

*'rdwk*¹²⁵⁷ may begin with *Arda* < **Rta*-, provided that this female's name is not a defective spelling of a compound with *-dwk* "daughter". *Kwrwq* ° ¹²⁵⁸ (*Xwaruk*) < OIran. **Xvaruka*-, i.e. based on *Xvar*- "Sun(-god)". *Myzdwk* < **Mizd-ukā*- may be based on MPers. *mizd* "reward"¹²⁵⁹ (alternatively a compound with *-dux*, †7.2.1, i). A compound name with *-uk* may be Mand. *Z'dn'hwg* (†7.2.1, f).

7.3.1.11 *-ōn*

*Zdwn*¹²⁶⁰ is based on *zād* "born".

7.3.1.12 *-ya* (< *-y'* >)

Apparently a feminine hypocoristic suffix if the base of *Myryh*¹²⁶¹ (referring to a female) originates from *Myhr. Bty'* (fem.)¹²⁶² is perhaps derived from *bty* "a kind of jar" < OIran. **bāta*-.¹²⁶³

1253 Cf. Schmitt, *Personennamen* 111:229 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 204:335 *ad* Arm. < Iran. **Xostik*.

1254 Quoted from an unpublished document by Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 82b *ad* 4–5.

1255 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 120, 124.

1256 Cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 24–25:5.17 with lit.

1257 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 119, 3, 4.

1258 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2013), 38, 4.

1259 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 95a *ad* 056A, 6.

1260 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 150.

1261 Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 90, 2.

1262 Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 52 *ad* VA 2434, 3, 5 (unexpl.).

1263 Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 125–126, s.v. *btyt'*.

7.3.2 Combined suffixes

7.3.2.1 **-ak-ān** > -ag-ān (pro-)patronymic¹²⁶⁴

Myhrqn (to *Myhr*¹²⁶⁵), cf. Parth. *Mtrkn*;¹²⁶⁶ *Nwkwrgn*/*Nykrygn*¹²⁶⁷/*Nykwrgn*¹²⁶⁸ (> Arm. *Nixorakan*)¹²⁶⁹ is based on a forerunner of NPers. *Naxvār* > OSyr. *Naxvār*; Arab. *nixwār* “prince”, Arm. *Nixor*.¹²⁷⁰

7.3.2.2 **-ak-āy** (hypocoristic)

Mand. *Mḥrqy*¹²⁷¹ (to *Mīhr*, cf. MPers. *Mīhrag*,¹²⁷² and Parth. *Mtrk* /*Mīhrak*/¹²⁷³) and Mand. *Kwš'q'y* (/Xwašakāy/, fem.,¹²⁷⁴ to *xwaš*, ↑7.2.2, c, cf. MPers. *Xwašag*¹²⁷⁵) and possibly Mand. *Qys'gy*.¹²⁷⁶ The latter is based on MPers. *kēš* “dogma, faith”¹²⁷⁷ with an adjectival -ag < -ak plus hypocoristic -āy.

7.3.2.3 **-an-āy**

Bwrzny is based on *burz* “high, elevated”,¹²⁷⁸ in which case the suffixes are hypocoristic.

1264 Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 158–159:302–303, Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Personal Names*, 11 (-y/kavo) and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 17:5.4.

1265 See Shaked *et al.*, *Aramaic Bowl Spells* (2022), 209 *ad* 114, 8; cf. Schmitt, *Personennamen* 134:289 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 250:459.

1266 See Schmitt, *Personennamen* 139:302m–o.

1267 Cf. Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 75.

1268 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 94.

1269 Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 270:527. Cf. the Old Syriac title *nkwrgn* (Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 215).

1270 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 270:526.

1271 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 17, 4 (<y>), 17; 20, 28.

1272 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 126:629.

1273 See Schmitt, *Personennamen* 134: 289 with comparanda.

1274 Abudraham and Morgenstern, “Mandaic Incantation(s),” 746, i, 4, 750–752, iii, 27–28, 42–43, iv, 13–14, 37–38.

1275 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 189:1043, cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 201–202:326.

1276 McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, E, 4.

1277 Presumably contained in Arm. < Iran. *Kiškēn* according to Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 217:371.

1278 See Shaked, “Form and Purpose,” 10 *ad* 3, 12.

7.3.2.4 -īn-īk

Kuriniq (/Xvarīnik/, Mand., fem.)¹²⁷⁹ is based on *Xwar* “Sun”, cf. MPers. *Xwarīn* (hypocoristic).¹²⁸⁰

7.3.2.5 -īg-āy

Zwryg’y (/Zōrīg-āy/) is based on MPers. *zōrīg* “powerful, strong”,¹²⁸¹ cf. *Zōrag*.¹²⁸²

7.3.2.6 -īk-ān

*Kmykn*¹²⁸³ is apparently based on *kām* “will, desire”.

7.3.2.7 -in-āy (hypocoristic)

*Rdyny*¹²⁸⁴ is perhaps based on *Rād* “generous, liberal”.¹²⁸⁵

7.3.2.8 -it-āy

Zwyty may be based on *zīw “alive, lively”,¹²⁸⁶ cf. Arm. < Iran. *Zuit’ay*.¹²⁸⁷ It is possibly hypocoristic.

7.3.2.9 -iz-ag (< ič-ak-, diminutive)

Mand. <<w>>B’hr’z’g¹²⁸⁸ (fem., based on MPers. *bahr* “portion, share, lot”), Mand. *Kw(’)*šyz’g¹²⁸⁹/*Kwšyz’g*¹²⁹⁰/*Kw’s’z’g*¹²⁹¹ is based on *xwaš* “pleasant, sweet, nice”; cf. MPers. *Bārīzag*.¹²⁹²

1279 Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 87.

1280 Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 187:1034, s. v. *Xvarin* <Hwln(y)>, presumably a defective spelling of *Hwlyn.

1281 Cf. Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 208 ad 13, 8.

1282 Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien, *Noms propres*, 151:474ab.

1283 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 124 ad 036A, 2–3.

1284 Ilan, *Lexicon*, 199–200.

1285 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 151: 787 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 308–309:642.

1286 Not Aramaic as understood by Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 124 ad 2, 3.

1287 See Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 198:313 (cf. 197–198:312).

1288 Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 114–117:139, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 21.

1289 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 17, 4, 17, 20.

1290 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 20, 2, 3, 5, 11.

1291 Cf. Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 135, n. 20 ad Hunter 1997–1998.

1292 See Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 55:188.

7.3.2.10 *-i-ag*

Apparently attached to *xwaš* “pleasant, sweet, nice” in *Kwšy’g*.¹²⁹³

7.3.2.11 *-ōy-a*

(<wy’/h>, cf. Arab. <early NPers. <-wyh> with a secondary vocalization¹²⁹⁴). The suffix is recorded only in Mandaic; it seems to be closely related to *-ōy*.

a. Males, a’. Adjectival: *Pprwyh*¹²⁹⁵ > Arab. *Babruye*, which is probably based on MPers. *babr* “tiger”.¹²⁹⁶ *Šhrwy*.¹²⁹⁷ is based on MPers. *šahr* “kingdom, city”. *Mwškw*¹²⁹⁸ is based on either *mušk* “musk” or belongs to 7.3.2.15.

b’. Hypocoristic: *Bwktwy’* (of a name containing *buxt* “saved, delivered”¹²⁹⁹) and *Bynd’dwy*.¹³⁰⁰ which is based on a late form of the passive participle *windād* “found, obtained, gained”,¹³⁰¹ and *Z’dwy*.¹³⁰² (7.3.1.2). *Dz’wnwy*.¹³⁰³ is perhaps based on MPers. *juwān* > NPers. *jawān* “young” with -’- which was added in order to indicate a pronunciation of late Middle Persian resembling that of New Persian. *Ršnwyh*¹³⁰⁴ and *Yzdwyh*¹³⁰⁵ are based on *Rašn* and *yazd* < *yazata*- (cf. *Yaz-dōy*¹³⁰⁶) respectively.

b. Females, a’. Adjectival: For *Gyl’wy*.¹³⁰⁷ cf. *Gylwy* (7.3.1.2). *Myšwy’*(fem.) is based on MPers. *mēš* “sheep, ewe”.¹³⁰⁸ *Y’qwndwy’* is based on MPers. *yākand*

1293 Isbell, *Corpus*, 61, 2. Cf. the New Persian etymology suggested by F. C. Andreas *apud* Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 100, n. 3.

1294 Thoroughly discussed by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 4–9, 11–29 where numerous such names are explained.

1295 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 12 and 17.

1296 According to Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 279b, index, s. v., who refers to Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, 10.

1297 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 123 ad 093M, 13.

1298 Cf. Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 82 with n. 108.

1299 Cf. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean*, 33 ad D, 3, 11.

1300 Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic,” 95–100 and pls. 10–13:M, 3.

1301 Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 182:998; hypocoristic of compound names with *windād* (cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 85:370, 114:551; 182:999–1001; cf. also Schmitt, *Personennamen* 225:543 and Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 366:804).

1302 Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 23, 9, 12, 14.

1303 Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 38, 9.

1304 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 12, 17 and 30.

1305 Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 12.

1306 See Gignoux, Jullien and Jullien 2009: 145:454a–b and cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 277b, index, s. v.

1307 See Ford, “Another Look,” 260 ad 104M, 12, 14.

1308 See Segal, *Catalogue*, 103 ad 076M, 8. For the reading cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 239 ad 076M, 5 and 241 ad 080M, 2. It has a variant *Myšwy’* (see Ford, “Another Look,” 243 ad 081M, 18).

(**yākund*) “ruby”¹³⁰⁹ *Šyštwyh*¹³¹⁰ perhaps originates from OIran. **čisti-* (Av. *čistay-*) “knowledge, insight; doctrine” with assimilation.

b’. **Hypocoristic:** *’prydwy*’/*Apriduia* (*Āfrīdōy*)¹³¹¹ is based on MPers. *āfrīd* “blessed; created” (†7.2.1, c) and *Dwktwyh*¹³¹² and *Dwstwy*¹³¹³ are based on *duxt* and *dōst* (†7.3.1.1, b, a’) respectively.

7.3.2.12 -*ēn-ā*

Perhaps Mand. *W’dmynh*¹³¹⁴ if it is based on MPers. *Wādām* “almond”¹³¹⁵ and followed by *-ēn* (< OIran. “*Stoffadjektiv*” *-aina-*),¹³¹⁶ i.e. “made, prepared from almonds”, in which case the final suffix would be due to Mandaic linguistic interference.

7.3.2.13 -*ak-ōy*

Symkwy may be based on MPers. *sēm* “silver”,¹³¹⁷ alternatively Semitic (†1.2.1.3.4). Regarding *Šrqwy*, an identification with NPers. *Šēr-kōh* “lion of the mountain”¹³¹⁸ is incompatible with its orthography and gender. Cf. perhaps Sogd. *Šyr’k(k)*, i.e. /*Širak*/ which is based on *šir* “good” (with Parthian and possibly Scythian comparanda).¹³¹⁹

7.3.2.14 -*ak-āy-a*

Gwk’yy’ (Mand., cf. Parth. *Gwk*)¹³²⁰; alternatively a gentilic (†1.3.1.4, a, d’).

7.3.2.15 -*k-ōy-a*

Mand. *Mwškw’y*’ (to **mūš* “mouse”,¹³²¹ alternatively to †7.3.2.11).

¹³⁰⁹ See Segal, *Catalogue*, 124 ad 094M, 1.

¹³¹⁰ Müller-Kessler, “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 137b ad 105M, 11, 12, 13.

¹³¹¹ Bhayro *et al.*, *Aramaic Magic Bowls*, 41.

¹³¹² Jursa, “Eine Mandäische,” 146, 3.

¹³¹³ Cf. Ford, “Another Look,” 270 ad 109M, 28.

¹³¹⁴ Cf. Müller-Kessler “Die Zauberschälensammlung,” 136 ad 101M, 9.

¹³¹⁵ Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 169:914.

¹³¹⁶ Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Grammatik*, 167:4.1.3.18, C.

¹³¹⁷ See Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 222 ad 30, 2 who refers to Σεῖμεικος from Tanais (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 294a); for comparanda cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 321:679 and Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords*, 218.

¹³¹⁸ Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 296a.

¹³¹⁹ See Lurje, *Personal Names*, 376–377:1191.

¹³²⁰ See Schmitt, *Personennamen*, 98:192.

¹³²¹ Cf. Parth. *Mwšk* (/Mušk/), see Schmitt, *Personennamen* 142:306, cf. Martirosyan, *Iranian Personal Names*, 261: 497).

7.3.2.16 *-ak-ōy-a*

Mand. *Xwašakōya*¹³²² is based on *xwaš* (17,2,2, c). Mand. *Myškw*¹³²³ is based on MPers. *mēš* “sheep, ewe”.

7.4 Two-stem hypocoristicon

*ʾrdbyštwyh*¹³²⁴ – its base originates from MPers. *Ard-vahišt* (with contraction of the 2nd component) < OIran. **Ṛtā-vahišta-* “Best through Arta”.¹³²⁵

7.5 Compound names with suffixal extensions

-ak: *Mʾbwrzʾq* (Mand., fem.)¹³²⁶ is based on *Māh-burz* (MPers.) “exalted by the Moon-god.”¹³²⁷

-in: *Spdrmy*n (ʾyspdrmy, fem.) > *Smdrmy*n¹³²⁸ (with assimilation) is based on **spāda-* and **arma-*, thereby meaning “The arm of the army”.¹³²⁹ Mand. *Pqʾ mzndʾ* (fem.),¹³³⁰ consists of two adjectives, viz. MPers. *pāk* “clean, pure, holy” and a continuant of Av. *mazant-* “great, spacious; enormous, comprehensive” (cf. *Ma-zend*).¹³³¹ Both components end with *-ā*. The compound apparently denotes “Pure M.”. *-ōy* is perhaps attached to Mand. *Kwzʾhrwy*¹³³² whose initial component perhaps originates from OIran. **Hu-vazar-* “Having good force, might”.

¹³²² MS 2087/37–38 (unpubl., quoted by Abudraham and Morgenstern, “Mandaic Incantation(s),” 754).

¹³²³ Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85:2, 7, 58.

¹³²⁴ Abudraham, “Three Mandaic,” 83–85:2, 9.

¹³²⁵ Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 48: 136.

¹³²⁶ Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 114–115:139, 10, 13, 14.

¹³²⁷ Cf. Gignoux, *Noms propres*, 110: 527.

¹³²⁸ Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 3012, 2.

¹³²⁹ Therefore the secondary form *Smdrmy*n cannot be compared (as is cautiously suggested by Morgenstern and Ford, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, 47 *ad loc.*) with Σμερδομένης in Herodotus, which renders OPers. **Br̥di-manah-/maniš* (see Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen*, 336–337:304 with lit.). For compound names with **spāda-* cf., e.g., Schmitt, *Personennamen* 192–193:442 and Lurje, *Personal Names*, 347–348:1086–1087.

¹³³⁰ Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic,” 112–114:26, 8.

¹³³¹ Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 201b.

¹³³² Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 15 [= Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 29], 9), *Kwzʾhrw* (Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 15, 17), *Kzʾhrw* (Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 15, 25), *Kwzʾhrwy* (Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, 3 [= Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 3], 11).

Bibliography

- Abraham, Kathleen, "West Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Sources from the Sixth Century BCE: New Evidence from a Marriage Contract from Āl-Yahudu," *Afo* 51 (2005–2006): 198–219.
- Abraham, Kathleen, "An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period," pages 206–221 in Lubetski, M. (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 8. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.
- Abudraham, Ohad, "Three Mandaic Incantation Bowls from the Yosef Matisyahu Collection," *Lešonenu* 77 (2014): 59–98.
- Abudraham, Ohad, "An Ancient Mandaic Palimpsest Amulet: An Examination of Three Magic Lamellae from the Schøyen Collection," *ErIs* 34 (2021): 1–12.
- Abudraham, Ohad, "A New Reading of a Mandaic Incantation Bowl in the Miami University Art Museum," pages 13–29 in Breuer, Y., Fassberg, S. and Stadel, Ch. (eds.), *David Talshir Memorial Volume*, Mḥqr̥m bLšwn 20. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2023.
- Abudraham, Ohad and Morgenstern, Matthew, "Mandaic Incantation(s) on Lead Scrolls from the Schøyen Collection," *JAOS* 137 (2017): 737–765.
- Abu Samra, Gaby, "A New Mandaic Magical Bowl," pages 55–69 in Voigt, R. (ed.), «Durch dein Wort jegliches Ding!»/«Through Thy Word All Things Were Made!». *Zum Gedenken an Rudolph Macuch (1919–1993)*. 2. *Mandäistische und samaritanistische Tagung/2. International Conference of Mandaic and Samaritan Studies*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.
- Aharoni, Yohanan, et al., *Arad Inscriptions*. Jerusalem: IES, 1981.
- Alstola, Tero, *Judeans in Babylonia: A Study of the Deportees in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE*. CHANE 109. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Avigad, Nahman, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah*. Jerusalem: IES, 1986.
- Avigad, Nahman and Sass, Benjaim, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*. Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Jerusalem: IES, 1997.
- Bagg, Ariel M., *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit*, (= Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 6, 7). Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007, 2020.
- Bailey, Harold W., "Armeno-indoiranica," *TPS* 55.1 (1956): 88–126.
- Bailey, Harold W., *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Baker, Heather D., and Parpola, Simo (eds.), *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 2. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000–2001.
- Barkay, Gabriel, "A Group of Stamped Handles from Judah," *ErIs* 23 (1992): 113–128 (in Hebrew).
- Baumgartner, Walter, Stamm, Johann J., and Hartmann, Benedikt, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1967–1995.
- Becking, Bob, "Review of Fleming 2021," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 79 (2022.): 160–162.
- Benveniste, Émile, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*. Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iranienne de l'Université de Paris, 1. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966.
- Bhayro, Siam, Ford, James N., Levene, Dan, and -Paz Saar, Ortal, *Aramaic Magic Bowls in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin: Descriptive List and Edition of Selected Texts*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 7. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Bloch, Yigal, "Judeans in Sippar and Susa during the First Century of the Babylonian Exile: Assimilation and Perseverance under Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Rule," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern History* 1 (2014): 119–172.
- Bloch, Yigal, "From Horse Trainers to Dependent Workers: The Šušānu Class in the Late Babylonian Period, with a Special Focus on Āl-Yāhudu Tablets," *KASKAL* 14 (2017): 91–118.
- Bogolyubov, Mikhail N., "Arameyskie Transkripcii Iranskix Ličnix Imen v Elamskix Dokumentax iz Krepostnoy Sten'i Persepol'ya," *Philologia Orientalis* (Tbilisi) 4 (1976): 210–214.

- Bregstein, Linda, *Seal Use in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murašû Archive*, doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993.
- Ciancaglini, Claudia A., *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*, Beiträge zur Iranistik 28. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Cook, Edward M., "An Aramaic Incantation Bowl from Khafaje," *BASOR* 285 (1992): 79–81.
- Cross, Frank M., "Personal Names in the Samaria Papyri," *BASOR* 344 (2006): 75–90.
- Cross, Frank M., "Inscriptions in Phoenician and Other Scripts," pages 333–365 in Stager, L.E., Schloen, J.D. and Master, D.M. (eds.), *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985–2006)*. Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon 1. Harvard Semitic Museum Publications. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008.
- Dandamayev, Muhammad A., *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*. Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6. Costa Mesa: Mazda. Publishers, 1992.
- Durand, J.-M., "Review of : Arnaud, D. 1986. *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata*. Emar 6: Textes sumériens et accadiens, 1–3." *RA* 83 (1989): 163–191.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, D., *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Corpus Fontium Manichaecorum 3.1. Turnhout, 2004.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, D., *Grammatik des Westmitteliranischen (Parthisch und Mittelpersisch)*. Grammatica Iranica 1. Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 73. Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 850, Wien: ÖAW, 2014.
- Dušek, Jan, *Les manuscrits Araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C.* CHANE 30. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Fain, Tatyana, Ford, James N., and Lyavdansky, Alexey, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg," pages 283–311 in Kogan L. et al. (eds.), *Babel und Bibel 9: Proceedings of the 6th Biennial Meeting of the International Association for Comparative Semitics and Other Studies*. Bibel und Babel 9. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 2016.
- Faraj, Ali H., "Aramaico orientale e coppe magiche mesopotamiche: riflessioni e definizioni," *Mesopotamia* 42 (2007): 269–275.
- Faraj, Ali H., *Coppe magiche dall'antico Iraq*. Milano: Lampi Di Stampa, 2010.
- Faraj, Ali H., "Remarks on a New Aramaic Incantation Bowl IM 77781," *JSS* 68 (2023): 90–95.
- Faraj, Ali H. and Moriggi, Marco, "Two Incantation Bowls from the Iraq Museum (Baghdad)," *OrNS* 74 (2005): 71–82.
- Fleming, Daniel E., *Yahweh before Israel: Glimpses of History in a Divine Name*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Ford, James N., "Review of Segal 2000," *JSAI* 26 (2002): 237–272.
- Ford, James N., "Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation BM 91715," *JANES* 29 (2002): 31–47.
- Ford, James N., "Phonetic Spellings of the Subordinating Particle *d(y)* in the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Magic Bowls," *Aramaic Studies* 10 (2012): 215–247.
- Ford, James N., and Abudraham, Ohad, "Syriac and Mandaic Incantation Bowls," pages 75–111 in Regev, D. and Hizmi, H. (eds.), *Finds Gone Astray: ADCA Confiscated Items*. Publications of the Antiquities Department of the Civil Administration. Jerusalem: ADCA, 2018.
- Franco, Fulvio, Five Aramaic Incantation Bowls from Tel Baruda (Coche). *Mesopotamia* 13–14 (1978–1979): 233–249.
- Galil, Gershon, Israelite Exiles in Media: A New Look at ND 2443+. *Vetus Testamentum* 59 (2009): 71–79.
- Geller, Mark J., "Two Incantation Bowls Inscribed in Syriac and Aramaic," *BSOAS* 39 (1976): 422–427.
- Geller, Mark J., "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," pages 47–60 in Rendsburg, G. et al. (eds.), *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*. New York: Ktav, 1980.

- Geller, Mark J., "Eight Incantation Bowls," *OLP* 17 (1986): 101–116.
- Geller, Mark J., "More Magic Spells and Formulae," *BSOAS* 60 (1997): 327–335.
- Gershevitch, Ilya, "Amber at Persepolis," pages 167–251 in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, 2. Roma: Tip. Eredi Dott. G. Bardi, 1969.
- Gignoux, Philippe, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique*. IPNB 2/3. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl., Sonderpublikation des Instituts für Iranistik. Wien: ÖAW, 1986.
- Gignoux, Philippe, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique. Supplément (1986–2001)*. IPNB 2/3. ÖAW Phil-hist. Kl., Sonderpublikation des Instituts für Iranistik. Wien: ÖAW, 2003.
- Gignoux, Philippe, Jullien, Christelle, and Jullien, Florence, *Noms propres syriaques d'origine iranienne*. IPNB 7/5. Iranische Onomastik 5. SÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 789. Wien: ÖAW, 2009.
- Gil, Moshe, "The Rādhānite Merchants and the Land of Rādhān," *JESHO* 17 (1974): 299–328.
- Goodblatt, David, "ypr' hwrmyz Mother of King Shapur and 'pr' hwrmyz Mother of Khusro: A Note on the Name 'ypr'/pr' hwrmyz," *JAOS* 96 (1976): 135–136.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museum," *ArOr* 6 (1934): 319–334 and pls. 10–15.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "An Aramaic Exorcism," *ArOr* 6 (1934): 466–474 and pls. 22–25.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls," *ArOr* 9 (1937): 84–106.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," *OrNS* 10 (1941): 116–141; 272–284; 339–360.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "Two Magic Bowls in Teheran," *OrNS* 20 (1951): 306–315.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "Two Aramaic Incantations," pages 231–244 in Tuttle, G.A. (ed.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays in Honor of William S. LaSor*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.
- Gordon, Cyrus H., "Magic Bowls in the Moriah Collection," *OrNS* 53 (1984): 220–239.
- Gorea, Maria, "Trois nouvelles coupes magiques araméennes," *Semitica* 51 (2003): 73–93.
- Greenfield, Jonas C., "Tršt," pages 8: 946 in *Encyclopædia Biblica* Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1982 (in Hebrew).
- Greenfield, Jonas C. and Naveh, Joseph "A Mandaic Lead Amulet with Four Incantations," *Erls* 18 (1985): 97–107.
- Hackl, Johannes, *Materialien zur Urkundenlehre und Archivkunde der spätzeitlichen Texte aus Nordbabylonien 1, 2*. Dissertation, University of Vienna. Vienna, 2013.
- Harding, G. Lankester, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*. Near and Middle East Series 9. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Harviainen, Tapani, "A Syriac Incantation Bowl in the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki: A Specimen of Eastern Aramaic 'koine'," *StOr* 51/1 (1978).
- Harviainen, Tapani, "An Aramaic Incantation Bowl from Borsippa: Another specimen of Eastern Aramaic 'koine'," *StOr* 51/14 (1981): 1–15.
- Herman, Geoffrey, "Jewish Identity in Babylonia in the Period of the Incantation Bowls," pages 131–152 in Rivlin-Katz, D., Hacham, N., Herman, G. and Sagiv, L. (eds), *A Question of Identity: Social, Political and Historical Aspects of Identity Dynamics in Jewish and Other Contexts*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019.
- Hilprecht, Hermann V. and Clay, Albert T., *Business Documents of the Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I. (464–424 B.C.)*. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania 9. Philadelphia, 1898.
- Hinz, Walther, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. Göttinger Orientforschungen, 3/3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.
- Homès-Fredericq, Denyse, Garelli, Paul, et al. *Ma'allānāte, archives d'un centre provincial de l'empire assyrien*. Akkadica Supplementum 13. Greater Mesopotamia Studies 2. Brussels: Centre Assyriologique Georges Dossin, 2018.

- Hunter, Erica C. D., "Two Mandaic Incantation Bowls from Nippur," *BaM* 25 (1994): 605–618 and pl. 25 after 619.
- Hunter, Erica C. D., "Incantation Bowls: A Mesopotamian Phenomenon?," *OrNS* 65 (1996): 220–233.
- Hunter, Erica C. D., "Two Incantation Bowls from the Collection of the Iraq Museum," *Sumer* 49 (1997–1998): 107–126.
- Hutter, Manfred, *Iranische Personennamen in der hebräischen Bibel. Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, 7, Iranische Namen in semitischen Nebenüberlieferungen, Fasz. 2. Iranische Onomastik 14. SbÖAW, Phil-hist. Kl. 860. Wien: ÖAW, 2015.
- Huyse, Philip, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (SKZ)*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 3/1/1. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1999.
- Ilan, Tal, (with the collaboration of K. Hünefeldt) *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part 4: The Eastern Diaspora 330 BCE–650 CE*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 141. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Isbell, Charles D., *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls*. SBL Dissertation Series 17. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975.
- Isbell, Charles D., "Two New Aramaic Incantation Bowls," *BASOR* 223 (1976): 15–23.
- Jarry, Jacques, "Inscriptions arabes, syriaques et grecques du massif du Belus en Syrie du Nord," *Annales Islamologiques* 7 (1967): 139–220.
- Jursa, Michael, "Eine Mandäische Zauberschale in Schweizer Privatbesitz," *AfO* 48–49 (2001–2002): 146.
- Justi, Ferdinand, *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg: N. G. Elwert (repr. Hildesheim 1963), 1895.
- Juusola, Hannu, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts*. StOr 86. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 1999.
- Keiser, Clarence E., *Letters and Contracts from Erech, Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917.
- Kiperwasser, Reuven and Shapira, Dan, "Encounters between Iranian Myth and Rabbinic Mythmakers in the Babylonian Talmud," pages 285–304 in Gabbay, U. and Secunda, Sh. (eds.), *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians and Babylonians in Antiquity*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 160. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Kupper, Jean-Robert, *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*. Archives Royales de Mari 28. Paris: Études et Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1998.
- Lecoq, Pierre. "Review of Gignoux 1986," *StIr* 22 (1993): 127–133.
- Lemaire, André, "Review of Aharoni 1981," *OrNS* 52 (1983): 444–447.
- Levene, Dan, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 2. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Lidzbarski, Mark, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, 1, 1900–1902. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1902.
- Lipiński, Edward, "Review of Dušek 2007," *Palamedes* 3 (2008): 227–246.
- Lipiński Edward, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* 3: Ma'lānā. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 200. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010.
- Lipschits, Oded, "Those who live in these ruins in the land of Israel' (Ez. 33:24): Some Thoughts on Living in the Shadow of Ruins in Persian-period Judah." pages 279–304 in *Yahwism under the Achaemenid Empire*, Prof. Shaul Shaked in memoriam. Gad Barnea and Reinhard Kratz, eds. (BZAW; Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming 2024).
- Lurje, Pavel B. 2010. *Personal Names in Sogdian Texts*. IPNB 2/8. Iranische Onomastik 8. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 808. Vienna.
- Martinez Borobio, E., "A Magical Bowl in Judaeo-Aramaic," *Isimu* 6 (2003): 323–336.

- Martirosyan, Hrach, *Iranian Personal Names in Armenian Collateral Tradition*. IPNB 5/3. Iranische Onomastik 17. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 912. Wien: ÖAW, 2021.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namensgut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 286. Wien: ÖAW, 1973.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred, *Die avestischen Namen*, IPNB 1/1. ÖAW Phil-hist. Kl., Sonderpublikation der iranischen Kommission. Wien: ÖAW, 1977.
- McCullough, William S., *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Near and Middle East Series 5. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- Misgav, Haggai, "Ostraca from Tell Jemmeh," pages 1031–1037 in Ben-Shlomo, D. and Van Beek, G. (eds.), *The Smithsonian Institute Excavation at Tell Jemmeh, Israel, 1970–1990*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 50. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2014.
- Montgomery, James A., *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*. PBS 3. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913.
- Moriggi, Marco, "Two New Incantation Bowls from Rome (Italy)," *Aramaic Studies* 3 (2005): 43–58.
- Moriggi, Marco, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls: Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 3. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Morgenstern, Matthew, "Mandaic Magic Bowls in the Moussaieff Collection: A Preliminary Survey," pages 157–170 in Lubetski, M. and E. (eds.), *New Inscriptions and Seals Relating to the Biblical World*. SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies 19. Atlanta: SBL, 2012.
- Morgenstern, Matthew, "Five Mandaic Magic Bowls from the Moussaieff Collection," *ErIs* 34 (2021): 106–122.
- Morgenstern, Matthew, and Abudraham, Ohad, "A Mandaean Lamella and Its Parallels: BM 132957+ BM 132947+ BM 132954," pages 202–240 in Moriggi, M. and Bhayro, S. (eds.), *Studies in the Syriac Magical Traditions*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 9. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Morgenstern, Matthew, and Ford, James N., *Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections, 1: The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 8. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Morgenstern, Matthew, and Schlütter, Maleen, "A Mandaic Amulet on Lead – MS 2087/1." *ErIs* 32 (2016): 115–134 (in Hebrew).
- Morony, Michael G., "Magic and Society in Late Sasanian Iran," pages 83–107 in Noegel, S., Walker, J. and Wheeler, B. (eds.), *Prayer, Magic and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "Eine Mandäische Zauberschale im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte zu Berlin," *OrNS* 63 (1994): 5–9.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "The Story of Bguzan-Lilit, Daughter of Zanay-Lilit," *JAOS* 116 (1996): 185–195.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "A Mandaic Gold Amulet in the British Museum," *BASOR* 311 (1998): 83–88.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "Die Zauberschälensammlung des British Museum," *AfO* 48–49 (2001–2002): 115–145.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, *Die Zauberschälentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen*. Texte und Materialien der Hilprecht Collection, 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "Syrische Zauberschalen – Korrekturen und Nachträge," *WO* 36 (2006): 116–130.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "Review of Moriggi, M. 2004," *La Lingua delle coppe magiche siriane*. Quaderni di Semitistica 21. Florence. *WO* 36 (2006): 265–272.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "A Mandaic Lead Roll in the Collections of the Kelsey Museum, Michigan" *Fighting Evil Entities of Death*, *ARAM* 22 (2010): 477–493.

- Müller-Kessler, Christa, "Beiträge zum Babylonisch-Talmudisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuch," *OrNS* 80 (2011): 214–251.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, and Kwasman, Theodore, "A Unique Talmudic Aramaic Incantation Bowl," *JAOS* 120 (2000): 159–165.
- Myhrman, David W., "An Aramaic Incantation Text," pages 342–351 in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909.
- Na'aman, Nadav and Zadok, Ran, "Sargon II's Deportations to Israel and Philistia (716–708 B.C.)," *JCS* 40 (1988): 36–46.
- Nashef, Khaled, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittellassyrischen Zeit*, (= Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 5). Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982.
- Naveh, Joseph, "The Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Beer-sheva (Seasons 1971–1976)," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 182–198.
- Naveh, Joseph, "Published and Unpublished Aramaic Ostraca," *'Atiqot* 17 (1985): 114–121 = Naveh 2009: 117–131.
- Naveh, Joseph, "Writing and Scripts in Seventh-Century B. C. E. Palestine: The New Evidence from Tell Jemmeh," *IEJ* 35 (1985): 11–15.
- Naveh, Joseph, "Some New Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Amulets," *JSAI* 26 (2002): 231–236.
- Naveh, Joseph, *Studies in West Semitic Epigraphy: Selected Papers*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2009.
- Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993.
- Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 3rd ed. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1998.
- Nöldeke, Theodor, *Persische Studien* 1–2. SbÖAW Phil.-hist. Kl. 116/1/8, 126/12. Wien: ÖAW, 1888, 1892.
- Nöldeke, Theodor, "Review of Pognon 1898," *WZKM* 12 (1898): 141–147; 353–361.
- Nöldeke, Theodor, "Names," pages 3271–3331 in Cheyne, T.K. and Black, J.S. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible* 3. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902.
- Noth, Martin, "Der Wallfahrtsweg zum Sinai (Nu 33)," *Palästinajahrbuch* 36 (1940): 5–28 (reprinted in Noth 1971: 55–74).
- Noth, Martin, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde. 1: Archäologische, exegetische und topographische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Israels*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971.
- Oelsner, Joachim, "Review of Naveh and Shaked 1985," *OLZ* 84 (1989): 38–41.
- Pirngruber, Reinhard, "Minor Archives from First-Millennium BCE Babylonia: The Archive of Iššar-taribi from Sippar," *JCS* 72 (2020): 165–198.
- Pognon, Henri, "Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandaïte," *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique du Paris* 8 (1892): 193–234.
- Pognon, Henri, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1898.
- Porten, Bezalel, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Porten, Bezalel and Yardeni, Ada, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English*, 1: Letters; 3: Literature, Accounts, Lists; 4: Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986, 1993, 1999.
- Radner, Karen, *Die neuassyrischen Texten von Dūr-Katlimmu*. Berichte der Ausgrabungen aus Tell Šeh Ḥamad 6, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2002.
- Radner, Karen, "The 'Lost Tribes of Israel' in the Context of the Resettlement Programme of the Assyrian Empire," pages 101–123 in Hasegawa, Sh., Levin, Ch. and Radner, K. (eds.) *The Last Days of the Kingdom of Israel*. BZAW 511. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019.

- Radner, Karen and Parpola, Simo (eds.), *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 1. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–1999.
- Richter, Thomas, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.
- Rudolph, Wilhelm, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra*. HAT 1/20. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, “Artaxerxes, Ardašir und Verwandte,” *Incontri Linguistici* 5 (1979 [1980]): 61–72.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, “Iranische Namen,” pages 678–690 in *Namenforschung. Ein Internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, 1. Teilband. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, “Zu Weiterungen rund um den Namen iran. *Š(iy)ātibara,” *Archiv für Bulgarische Philologie* 3 (1999): 169–172.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, *Die Iranischen und Iranier-Namen in den Schriften Xenophons (Iranica Graeca Vetustiora 2)*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik 29. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 692. Wien: ÖAW, 2002.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, *Iranische Personennamen in der neuassyrischen Nebenüberlieferung*. IPNB 7/1A. Iranische Onomastik 6. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 792. Wien: ÖAW, 2009.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr.* IPNB 5/5A. Iranische Onomastik 9. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 823. Wien: ÖAW, 2011.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, *Personennamen in Parthischen Epigraphischen Quellen*. IPNB 2/5. Iranische Onomastik 15. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 881. Wien: ÖAW, 2016.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, “Die Rolle des Altpersischen im achaimenidischen Palästina,” pages 321–342 in Hübner, U. and Niehr, H. (eds.), *Sprachen in Palästina im 2. Und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* ADPV 43. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.
- Schwab, Moïse, “Les coupes magiques et l’hydromancie dans l’antiquité orientale,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 12 (1890): 292–342.
- Schwartz, Martin, “Sasm, Sesen, St. Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharangēs, and ... ‘Semanglof,’” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996 [1998]): 253–257.
- Segal, Judah B., *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, 2000.
- Shaked, Shaul, “Iranian Influences on Judaism First Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.,” pages 308–324, 441–442 in Davies, W.D. and Finkelstein, L. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2024, 1984.
- Shaked, Shaul, “‘Peace Be upon You, Exalted Angels’: On Hekhalot, Liturgy and Incantation Bowls,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995): 197–219.
- Shaked, Shaul, “Jesus in the Magic Bowl: Apropos Dan Levene’s ‘... and by the Names of Jesus ...,’” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 6 (1999): 309–319.
- Shaked, Shaul, “Form and Purpose in Aramaic Spells: Some Jewish Themes (The Poetic of Magic Spells),” pages 1–30 in Shaul Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity. Conference Proceedings of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University of London*. IJS Studies in Judaica 4. Leiden: Brill 1–30, 2005.
- Shaked, Shaul, “Rabbis in Incantation Bowls,” pages 97–119 in Geller, M.J. (ed.), *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Shaked, Shaul, et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls* 1. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 1. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 20. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Shaked, Shaul, et al., *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls* 2. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 10. Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 41. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas, *Bactrian Personal Names*. IPNB 2/7. Iranische Onomastik 7. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 806. Wien: ÖAW, 2010.
- Smith, Mark S., *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities of Ancient Israel*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990.

- Sokoloff, M., *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. 2nd revised and expanded ed. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2020.
- Spek, Robartus J. van der, "Did Cyrus the Great Introduce a New Policy Towards Subdued Nations? Cyrus in Assyrian Perspective," *Persica* 10 (1982): 278–283.
- Stamm, Johann J., "Hebräische Frauennamen," pages 301–339 in B. Hartmann *et al.* (eds.), *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*. Supplement to Vetus Testamentum 16. Leiden: Brill, 1967.
- Stamm, Johann J., *Beiträge zur Hebräischen und Altorientalischen Namenkunde*. Jenni, E. and Klopfenstein, M.A., eds. OBO 30. Freiburg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 1980.
- Stark, Jürgen K. *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Stigers, Harold G., "Neo- and Late Babylonian Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection," *JCS* 28 (1976): 3–59.
- Strassmaier, Johann N., *Inscripfen von Darius, König von Babylon*. Leipzig, 1892.
- Tavernier, Jan, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Thordarson, Fridrik, *Ossetic Grammatical Studies*. Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 48. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 788. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture B/131. Wien: ÖAW, 2009.
- Tigay, Jeffrey H., *You Shall Have no Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions*. HSS 12. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Tolini, Gauthier, "Les repas du Grand Roi en Babylonie: Cambyse et le palais d'Abanu," pages 237–254 in Faivre, X., Lion, B. and Michel, C. (eds.), *Et il y eut un esprit dans l'homme. Jean Bottéro et la Mésopotamie*. Travaux de la Maison René-Ginovès. Paris: De Boccard, 2009.
- Ungnad, Arthur, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1907.
- Waerzeggers, Caroline, "Locating Contact in the Babylonian Exile: Some Reflections on Tracing Judean-Babylonian Encounters in Cuneiform Texts," pages 131–146 in Gabbay, U. and Secunda, Sh. (eds.), *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians and Babylonians in Antiquity*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 160. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Weszele, Michaela, "Eseleien," *WZKM* 86 (1996): 461–478.
- Wohlstein, Josef, "Über einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefäßen des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin," *ZA* 8 (1893): 313–340; 9 (1894): 11–41.
- Yahalom-Mack, Naama, Panitz-Cohen, Nava, Rollston, Christopher A. *et al.*, "The Iron Age IIA 'Benyaw Inscription' on a Jar from Tel Abel Beth Maacah," *PEQ* 155: 68–90, 2021.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M., "Aramaic Magic Bowls," *JAOS* 85 (1965): 511–523.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M., *Mandaic Incantation Texts*. AOS 49. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967.
- Zadok, Ran, "Review of Hinz 1975," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 33 (1976): 213–219.
- Zadok, Ran, "On Five Iranian Names in the Old Testament," *VT* 26 (1976): 246–247.
- Zadok, Ran, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study*. Jerusalem : Wanaarta, 1978.
- Zadok, Ran, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods according to Babylonian Sources*. Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel. Monograph Series 3. Haifa, 1979.
- Zadok, Ran, "Die nichthebräischen Namen der Israeliten vor dem hellenistischen Zeitalter," *UF* 17 (1985): 387–398.
- Zadok, Ran, "Zur Struktur der nachbiblischen jüdischen Personennamen semitischen Ursprungs," *Trumah* (Jahrbuch der Hochschule für jüdische Studien, Heidelberg) 1 (1987): 243–343.

- Zadok, Ran, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 28. Leuven: Peeters, 1988.
- Zadok, Ran, "Some Kassite and Iranian Names from Mesopotamia," NABU 1990/72.
- Zadok, Ran, "On the Post-Biblical Jewish Onomasticon and Its Background," pages v–xxviii in Kasher, A. and Oppenheimer, A. (eds.), *Dor le-Dor. From the End of the Biblical Times up to the Redaction of the Talmud*. Studies in Honor of Joshua Efron. Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1995.
- Zadok, Ran, "Some Iranians in Cuneiform Documents," NABU 1997/149.
- Zadok, Ran, "A Prosopography of Samaria and Edom/Idumea," *Ugarit Forschungen* 30 (1998): 781–828.
- Zadok, Ran, "On the Prosopography and Onomastics of Syria-Palestine and Adjacent Regions," *Ugarit Forschungen* 32 (2000), 599–674.
- Zadok, Ran, *The Earliest Diaspora: Israelites and Judeans in Pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia*. Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute, 151. Tel Aviv: Diaspora Research Institute, 2002.
- Zadok, Ran, "Two Old Iranian Anthroponyms," NABU 2002/45.
- Zadok, Ran, "Israelites, Judeans and Iranians in Mesopotamia and Adjacent Regions," pages 2: 98–127 in Ellens, J.H., Ellens, D., Knierim, R.P. and Kalimi, I. (eds.), *God's Word for Our World. Theological and Cultural Studies in Honor of Simon John De Vries*. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Zadok, Ran, *Iranische Personennamen in der neu- und spätbabylonischen Nebenüberlieferung*. IPNB 7/1B. Iranische Onomastik 4. SbÖAW Phil-hist. Kl. 777. Wien: ÖAW, 2009.
- Zadok, Ran, "Occupations and Status Categories (Classes) in Borsippa," pages xxxi–lxiii in Shahar, Y., Oppenheimer, A. and Mustigman, R. (eds.), *Israel and the Diaspora in the Time of the Second Temple and the Mishna. Ariele Kasher Memorial Volume*. Teudah 25. Tel Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 2012.
- Zadok, Ran, "Israelites and Judeans in the Neo-Assyrian Documentation (732–602 BCE): An Overview of the Sources and a Socio-Historical Assessment," *BASOR* 374 (2015): 159–189.
- Zadok, Ran, *A Prosopography of the Israelites in Old Testament Traditions: A Contextualized Handbook*. Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 2018.
- Zadok, Ran, "People from Countries West and North of Babylonia in Babylon during the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar," *HeBAI* 7 (2018): 112–129.
- Zadok, Ran, "Onomastics as a Historical Source: How to Use and to Deal with It," pages 399–488 in Lanfranchi, G.B., Mattila, R. and Rollinger, R. (eds.), *Writing Neo-Assyrian History: Sources, Problems and Approaches. Proceedings of the International Meeting, University of Helsinki, September 22nd–25th, 2014*. Publications of the Foundation for Finish Assyriological Research 24. State Archives of Assyria Studies 29. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2019.
- Zadok, Ran, "On the Arameans and the Indigenous Population in Babylonia from the Period of the Neo-Babylonian Empire down to the End of the Sasanian Empire," pages 34–68 in Maeir, A., Berlejung, A., Eshel, E. and Oshima, T. (eds.), *New Perspectives on Aramaic Epigraphy in Mesopotamia, Qumran, Egypt and Idumea. Proceedings of the Joint RIAB Minerva Center and the Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center of Jewish History Conference Held on March 1–3, 2017 in Ramat-Gan/ Jerusalem and a RIAB Minerva Center Workshop Held on 4: May 18, 2018 in Leipzig*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 40. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.
- Zadok, Ran, "Issues of the Deportations of the Israelites-Judeans and Their Aftermath," *HeBAI* 11 (2022): 113–147.
- Zehnder, Markus, P., *Umgang mit Fremden in Israel und Assyrien. Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie des "Fremden" in Licht antiker Quellen*. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament. NF 8 (= 168). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005.
- Zimmer, Stefan, "Zur sprachlichen Deutung sasanidischer Personennamen," *AoF* 18 (1991): 109–150.

