

Semitic and Non-Semitic Terms for Horse-Trappings in Ugaritic

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[It is important to differentiate between two aspects in comparative Semitics: the *approach* used by modern scholars to determine a meaning, and the *history* of the words within the language in question. In order to assess the contribution that comparative Semitics makes to the study of the lexicon, here a sample of Ugaritic terms in the same semantic field – gear used for leading or riding either horses or donkeys – is examined in respect of etymology. The results are set out as a table that shows whether Ugaritic itself, cognate languages or non-Semitic languages have helped to determine the meanings of the words in this semantic group. This paper has seven sections: (1) an introduction, (2) the importance of draught and riding animals in Ugarit, (3) a survey of previous studies, (4) a discussion of Ugaritic terms for horse-trappings, with and without context, (5) notes on some related terms and (6) on incorrectly identified terms and finally (7) some conclusions¹.]

Keywords: bit, blinkers, bridle, chariot, donkey, halter, harness, horse, Hittite, Hurrian, loanwords, muzzle, reins, saddle, Semitics, tether, Ugaritic, whip.

1. *Introduction*

It is important to differentiate between two aspects in comparative Semitics:

1. The approaches used by *modern* scholars to determine a meaning, including reference to Semitic cognates and to words in non-Semitic languages.
2. The words within the *ancient* language in question, which have their own history, only some of which can be recovered by modern scholars.

1. È stato proprio un piacere tenere una conferenza nella bellissima città di Torino nell'ambito del III Incontro della IACS a Villa Gualino nel ottobre del 2008, per non parlare dell'accoglienza cordiale del Professor Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti e del suo Dipartimento Universitario.

In other words, while it is legitimate for scholars to refer to late Semitic languages in order to determine a meaning², this does not mean that there was any *direct* connection between these languages. In addition, comparative studies of this kind can suggest associations or links between words in different (cognate) languages that have previously gone unnoticed. One example in this paper³ concerns the Ugaritic words *šmn* and *šmt* and their equivalents in both Akkadian and Hittite, but there are others⁴.

Here, as a test case, the set of Ugaritic terms relating to draught and riding animals is examined in order to compare the respective contributions made by Semitic and non-Semitic languages in determining their meaning⁵. Any of these terms may be

- Semitic
 - Ugaritic (inherited)
 - cognate with another Semitic language
 - a loan from another Semitic language
- Non-Semitic
- Hybrid (e.g. Semitic word + Hurrian ending)

The results will be set out as a table, with a final evaluation. According to Kogan and Militarev, “distinguishing borrowings ... is one of the two most difficult tasks in comparative Semitic linguistics”, the other being vocalic reconstruction⁶.

2. *The importance of draught and riding animals in Ugarit*

It is clear from the four hippiatric texts⁷ and other references in the tablets as well as from iconographic material⁸ that horses were very important to the Ugaritians as were chariots (Vita 2008). It is no surprise, then, that much of the vocabulary documented in Ugarit concerns equipment used in connection with horses. The following twenty-five Ugaritic terms refer to gear used for leading or riding horses or donkeys and are discussed here in alphabetical sequence⁹. Then, several related terms are discussed followed by a brief section on rejected proposals. A concluding section summarises and evaluates the data in respect of comparative Semitics with the use of tables.

2. For example, comparison between Ugaritic and Modern South Arabian by Mazzini 2003; 2004; Rendsburg 1987. On the use of Arabic for understanding Ugaritic, see Renfroe 1986; 1992.

3. I take this opportunity to thank Claire F. I. Watson for technical assistance with the actual presentation of the paper.

4. Examples are Watson 2008b; 2009.

5. In a sense, this is a continuation of my first published paper on Ugaritic (Watson 1974).

6. Kogan/Militarev 2000, p. L.

7. See Watson 2004a; 2007a, 65-75; preliminary studies are Watson 2007b, 2007c, 2008a. See also Vita 1995, 72-73.

8. Vita 1995, plates II-XIV.

9. Terms for carts, chariots and their components are not discussed here. These include *apn*, “wheel”; *l*, “yoke”; *rq*, “cart”, *lbt*, “tyre”; *mrkbt*, “chariot”; *mtrt*, “chariot with toughened wheels”; *prs*, “chariot pole”; *šst*, “baseboard (of chariot)”, *šmd*, “yoke”, *šin*, “(wheel-)rim” and *tr*, “(steering) pole”. Nor is the verb *šmd*, “to harness, yoke”. On *mdl*, “to bridle” or the like, see *mdl*, which is discussed below. It is possible that *hbq* in KTU 1.4 iv 13 means “to fasten, tie, harness”, as argued by Greenfield (1964, 527-529) following Cassuto. The text in question is: *yhbq qdš wamrr*, which Greenfield translates: “Qadesh-wa-Amrur made it [i.e. *gpn*] fast”. As he notes: “The verb *hbq* in this passage is clearly “to fasten, tie, harness” and preserves a technical nuance of *hbq*” (*ibid.* 528). However, most scholars take the verb as meaning “to clasp, embrace” (cf. Akk. *epēqu*) and translate: “Qadesh-and-Amurr clasped (her)”, where the supplied pronoun refers to Athirat (e.g. Wyatt 2002, 98).

3. Previous studies

As yet there has been no study specifically on the equipment in question¹⁰. Previous partial studies include a note on three terms relating to draught and riding animals by Good¹¹, the reference work on terms relating to textiles in the Ugaritic texts by Ribichini and Xella¹² and the review by Sanmartín¹³ and part of Vita's monograph on the army in Ugarit¹⁴. Elsewhere, I have already made suggestions for *llh*, *mdl*, *škm*, *tkyḡ*, *tq* and *ysmsmt*, which have been incorporated into this article, with some modifications¹⁵. New proposals are set out here for *amt*, *išpr*, *gpn*, *hbṭn*, *hṭm*, *hpn*, *ksn*, *mṭr*, *sk* and *šr^cm*, and some new cognates are suggested for other terms that have already been understood¹⁶. As ever, chiefly due to lack of context, many of these identifications are uncertain.

4. Terms for the equipment for draught and riding animals

The following terms for bits, bridles, halters or lead ropes, harnesses, horse-armour, muzzles, reins, saddles, whips and the like can be identified in the Ugaritic texts. Some items are more general terms for cloths, clothing or armour that also apply to equipment used for horses. First, terms in context are discussed (4a) and then isolated words (4b).

4a. Terms in context

In each of these texts the terms relating to horse trappings etc., are discussed in the sequence in which they occur.

KTU 1.3 ii 15-16

mṭm. tgrš šbm
bksl. qšth. mdnt

With a whip¹⁷ she drove out the captives
with the back of her bow, the submissive ones¹⁸

mṭ, "riding whip" (line 15).

The meaning "fusta", i.e. "riding whip"¹⁹ of *mṭ* was first proposed by Del Olmo Lete²⁰, presumably a contextual rendering of the usual meaning "rod"²¹. It cannot be excluded that Ug. *mṭ* is a different noun and derives from a verb cognate with Akk. *naṭû(m)*, "to hit, beat, whip (humans, horses)" (cf. CDA, 247;

10. For Ebla see Conti 1997.

11. Good 1984, on *hrš* (noun), *mdl* (noun and verb) and *šmd* (noun and verb). Note that *hrš* (KTU 4.145:8, etc.) does not mean "threshing sledge", as proposed by Good (1984, 77-79) but "item, exact portion", based on Akk. *ḥarṣu*, "precisely defined" (cf. DUL, 367).

12. Ribichini/Xella 1985. See the review by Durand 1990.

13. Sanmartín 1992.

14. Vita 1995, 76-83.

15. Watson 2007b.

16. Especially for *att*, *gpn*, *hpn*, *mšlt*, *rtn* and *sdn*.

17. Here the enclitic *-m* is used adverbially.

18. For the meaning of *mdnt* here see Tropper 2007.

19. I translated "fusta" (DLU, 307) as "riding crop" in DUL, 602 in order to reflect the basic meaning of "rod, staff" that Ug. *mṭ* has elsewhere (cf. Heb. *mṭh*, "rod" for beating with). Note also *ydn*, "to whip" (KTU 1.19 ii 12 || 19), as proposed by Dijkstra/De Moor 1975, 203, based on Arab. *wadana*, *waddana*, "to beat (with a stick)".

20. Del Olmo Lete 1981, 181, 576, but with no further explanation.

21. In spite of the parallelism with *ksl qšt*, it is unlikely to mean "arrow(s)" here. The colon is a play on words.

CAD N/2, 132-133)²². De Moor (1987, 6) translates the parallel expression (*bksl qšth*) “with the stave of her bow”, which is justified since Ug. *ksl* can mean “back, shoulder or side” (DUL, 461-462)²³. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian.

KTU 1.4 iv 14-15

yštn aṭrt l bmt ʿr
l ysmsmt bmt pḥl

He placed Athirat on the back of the donkey,
on the blanket(-saddle) of the back of the ass

KTU 1.19 ii 9-11

bkm tšū abh
tštnn l bmt ʿr
l ysmsmt⁽¹⁾²⁵ bmt pḥl

Thereupon²⁴ she lifted her father,
she put him on the back of the donkey,
on the blanket(-saddle) of the back of the ass

ysmsmt (f.), “blanket(-saddle)” (KTU 1.4 iv 15 and 1.19 ii 11; cf. KTU 1.17 ii 42).

The meaning of Ug. *ysmsmt* here is based on Akk. *asmātu*, “a type of horse trappings” (cf. CDA, 26; CAD A/2, 337)²⁶. However, the equivalence between the two forms, one of which seems to be reduplicative, is by no means straightforward and can only be considered a possibility. Alternatively, note that Akk. *wasāmu* D means “to adorn” (CDA, 435), so that Ug. *ysmsmt* may mean something like “adornment, trappings”²⁷. The word is confined to literary texts²⁸. ♦ Meaning from context, possibly supported by Akkadian.

KTU 1.4 iv 4-7 || 9-12 (|| KTU 1.19 ii 3-5)

mdl ʿr šmd pḥl
št gpnm dt ksp
dt yrq nqbnm
ʿbd gpn atnty

Rope up an ass, attach a donkey.
Put on harnesses that are of silver,
straps that are of gold:
prepare a harness for my she-ass.

mdl, “part of harness, reins” (KTU 1.4 iv 4, 9, also KTU 1.19 ii 3; 1.86:13).

Difficult Ug. *mdl* has been compared with Akk. *nadd/tullu* (AHw, 703), “(part of a harness)” (CAD N/2, 120-121); Akk. *nattullu*, Bog. *namtullu*, “part of a harness” (CDA, 246) or “reins”²⁹. On Ebla *na-da-lum*, Conti refers to the two leather *naddullu* in EA 22 i 21 in the context of items for chariots and horses³⁰ indicating the meaning to be part of the harness or reins. Another possibility is that *mdl* is a *mqt*-form³¹ from the verb *dl*, “to move around”, corresponding to Akk. *dālu*, “to move, roam around” (CDA, 54), and

22. The same explanation was proposed by Kogan 2000, 726, although he did not suggest the meaning “whip” for Ug. *mṭ*. For Eg. *mdw*, see now Takács 2008, 776-780.

23. For discussion of this point, but with a different conclusion, see Wyatt 2002, 74 n. 26.

24. Or “weeping”; see discussion in Wyatt 2002, 298 n. 211.

25. Emending *ysmsm* to *ysmsmt*.

26. So already Watson 1978, 398-399. See perhaps also Eg. *jsm3t*, “e. Gewand” (Hannig GHWb, 103) and Eg. *sm3w*, “cloth” (DLE II, 39).

27. It would then be the same as *ysmsmt* in KTU 1.17 ii 42 in the expression *ysmsmt ʿrš hrt*, “the loveliness of the bed of childbirth”, from the root *ysm*.

28. Akk. *asumatu*, which denotes part of a plough (CDA, 26; CAD A/2, 348), is not relevant here.

29. Watson 2007a, 51. See also Tropper KWU, 69.

30. “si vedano anche i due *naddullu* in cuoio di EA 22 i 21, in un contesto di oggetti per carri e cavalli” (Conti 1997, 31).

31. For noun formations with an *m*- prefix from geminate roots see Tropper UG, 266-268 (although *mdl* is not discussed there).

means “lead(-rope)” or the like³². Similarly, Good (1984, 80) suggests: “Its etymology is to be found by comparing Arabic *dalla* “to guide” (an animal), Aramaic *dallel* “to lead””. Good concludes that the verb, “to attach a guide rope” (KTU 1.4 iv 9; 1.19 ii 3, 8) is denominative from *mdl*, “guide rope”³³. Perhaps the best solution is my comparison with Eg. *md3m*, “schmaler Riemen” (Hannig GHWb, 377)³⁴. ♦ Meaning from context, but the derivation is unclear, though most probably from Egyptian.

gpn, “harness” (KTU 1.4 iv 7, 12; 1.19 ii 4, etc.).

Usually, Ug. *gpn* is considered to be the word for “vine”, here used metaphorically. For example, “*gpn* ... is a dual of the same word [i.e. *gpn*, “vine”], “vine-tendrils” being used as a poetic designation of the reins”³⁵. As another possibility, Tropper (2002, 133) refers to Arab. *ḡff* (II), “to put a war-harness on a horse”³⁶.

As an alternative, I propose that perhaps Ug. *gpn* is a form of Akk. *kappu(m)*, “ein Teil des Zaumzeuges?” (AHw, 444); “(part of harness)” (CDA, 147)³⁷ with an affirmative *-n*³⁸. This seems confirmed by Ug. *gp* which occurs together with *išpr*, “whip” in RS 94.2406:26-27 (see below). In any case, Ug. *gpn(m)*, a term restricted to literary texts, seems to denote a harness or bridle³⁹. ♦ Meaning from context, but no clear derivation.

nqbn, “(saddle-)strap” (KTU 1.4 iv 11; 1.19 ii 5).

The meaning of this word is based on context and etymology: “*nqbn* might be a designation of the perforated leather straps of the harness”⁴⁰. Similarly, “perforated strap” (Dijkstra-De Moor 1975, 182) from the root *nqb*, “to perforate”⁴¹. Margalit (1984, 134) comments that they are correct “[i]f by «harness straps» the authors intend the straps which bind the saddle and which are fastened round the animal’s belly to secure it in place”⁴². Note that this word only occurs in literary texts. ♦ Meaning from West Semitic.

KTU 1.4 iv 16-18

qdš. yuḥdm. šb^cr

amrr. k kbkb. l pnm

atr. bilt. ʿnt

Qudsh seized the halter

Amrur (went) ahead like a star,

behind (went) Virgin ʿAnat

32. Alternatively it may be related to Akk. *madālu*, *muddulu*, “to preserve, etc.” (derivatives *madlu* and *midlu*); see Watson 1986a; 2007a, 50-52. Greenfield (1964) instead, prefers to see Ug. *mdl* as a metathetic form of *lmd*, which in Mishnaic Hebrew and Syriac can mean “to attach, to tie, to bind”. Yet another possibility is Amharic *mādālad^l*, “pad or saddle blanket”, cited by Del Olmo Lete 2003, 207 n. 23.

33. The noun *mdl*, perhaps in the sense of “lightning” (cf. Good 1984, 81) in “take your clouds, your wind, your *mdl*, your rain” (KTU 1.5 v 7) seems to correspond to Akk. *šerretu*, “nose-rope, lead-rope, halter” in the transferred meaning of “cosmic retaining rope” (CDA, 336).

34. So already Watson 2007a, 51 n.431. See now Takács (2008, 770-771).

35. De Moor/Van Der Lugt 1974, 24a. Note also Akk. *kippatu*, one meaning of which is “tendril, twining stem” (CAD K, 397-398; CDA, 159).

36. Also possible is a connection with Hitt. *kapina-* (*gapina-*), “Faden, Zwirn” (HW², 99).

37. Or “part of the horse bit”; “side part of a horse bit” (CAD K, 185-188, meaning 3).

38. For Ug. /g/ as corresponding to Akk. /k/ see Ug. *sḡlt*, “private belongings” - Akk. *suk/gullu*, “Herde” (AHw, 1053-1054); *sugullu*, *sukullu*, *sakullu*, “herd” (CAD S, 345-346) and Ug. *sgr*, “gold (appliqué)” - Akk. *sag/kru*, “refined (gold)” (CDA, 313).

39. In addition, note Akk. *ukāpu*, “pack-saddle” (CDA, 419), Aram. *u/ikkāpā*, Arab. *u/ikāf* (cited in AHw, 1405), but probably not related. See Veenhof 1972, 6-8 and Militarev 2008, 205 §47 (17).

40. De Moor/Van Der Lugt 1974, 25a. Ultimately, as Margalit pointed out (1984, 134), this goes back to Cassuto 1938, 282.

41. For the NWS verbal root *nqb* see DNWSI, 756. Note further Akk. *naqābu*, “to penetrate (sexually)” (CDA, 240).

42. Less likely is its equivalence with Heb. *niqṗāh*, “cord” (HALOT, 722), but see Tropper 2002, 146 and KWU, 89.

šb^cr, “halter” (line 16).

Usually, *šb^cr* is translated “torch” or “(he) began to shine”, from the verb *b^cr* (I), “to burn”; Š “to illuminate” (DUL, 212). Instead, Tropper⁴³ suggests a derivation from *b^cr* (III), “to leave, etc.”⁴⁴. The (unattested) Š-form would mean “to lead (away), guide” and *šb^cr* would be a noun meaning “lead-rope, halter”⁴⁵. As Tropper argues, this would fit the immediate context, since Qudsh-and-Amrur have just been harnessing a donkey, fitting it with trappings and placing Athirat in the saddle. ♦ Meaning from context and inner-Ugaritic derivation.

KTU 1.148:19-20

<i>tn. skm</i>	two saddles(?)
<i>šb^c. mšlt.</i>	seven (horse-)blankets
<i>arb^c. hpnt.</i>	four sets of (horse-)armour
[<i>hmšm. tlt. rkb. a¹tn.</i>	[fifty-three ass-saddles

sk, “packsaddle, harness” (line 19).

The meanings “harness” and “packsaddle” (cf. DUL, 756)⁴⁶ are based on context alone. Here it is proposed that Ug. *sk* may be a form of Akk. *s/zikuḫu*, “part of the harness or equipment of a pack donkey” (CAD S, 260) or “part of the bridle” (CDA, 447), but without the Hurrian ending. However, since the meaning of the Akkadian word is very uncertain (Veenhof 1972, 8), this can only be a supposition. Some confirmation for the meaning “bridle” may come from Eg. *sk*, “leiten (?), führen (?), nach sich ziehen (?)”⁴⁷. As yet another possibility, I suggest that it is some sort of metal fastening in view of Akk. *sakku*, which may have this meaning (CAD S, 78)⁴⁸. ♦ Meaning from context, possibly supported by Akkadian.

mšlt, “(horse-)blanket” (line 19; also KTU 4.193:4; 4.337:14, 23).

This word has been compared with Akk. *šallatum*, “a heavy cloth (for chariots)” (CDA, 351) or “a cloth used in chariot equipment (CAD Š/1, 252-253)⁴⁹. It may even correspond to Arab. *šalta*, “mattress” (DMWA, 484), perhaps in the sense of a padded blanket. See also Akk. *mašlu* (pl. *mašlātu*), “hide (used for wrapping)” (CAD M/1, 380)⁵⁰, considered equivalent to *naḥlaptu*, which can mean “armour” (CAD N/1, 138, 140)⁵¹. Whether Eg. *mšj*, “lederner Teil des Streitwagens” (Wb II 154, 20) is the same word is uncertain⁵². Similarly, it is uncertain whether Hitt. ^(KUS)*šāla-*, “a leather strap”, possibly part of a harness (cf. CHD Š/1, 81-82) can help to explain Ug. *mšlt*. ♦ Meaning uncertain.

43. Tropper 1990, 83-85; reiterated in Tropper UG, 601, Tropper 2002, 153 and most recently as “Leitseil, Leitriemen (eines Reittieres)” (KWU, 117).

44. With cognates in Hebrew and Syriac; cf. Tropper 1990, 85. Alternatively, see Akk. *bāru*, *ba’āru*, “to catch” (CDA, 38; cf. CAD B, 2-4), Hamito-Semitic **ba’ar-*, “(to) catch” (Orel/Stolbova 1995, 46 §181).

45. Note that this is a literary text.

46. Del Olmo Lete 1999, 132.

47. Cf. Meeks 1978, 78.3886 (reference courtesy of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*).

48. Instead, De Moor (1970, 310 and n. 33) suggests “coat of mail” even though, as he notes, Ug. /s/ would have to correspond to Arab. /š/ in Arab. *šikkat*, “coat of mail”. See also Heb. *skk*, “to weave, plait” (HALOT, 754).

49. “Made of coarse wool or felt” - in pairs (cf. CAD Š/1, 253, discussion section).

50. Or “leather wrapper” used for textiles (CDA, 202).

51. Another possibility is Mari Akk. *šulammu*, “leather part of harness” (CDA, 383); “leather part of harness or equipment of a chariot” (CAD Š/3, 262). Note that Akk. *massiš*, “horse trappings (?)” (CDA, 200), “a textile used in harnessing” (CAD M/1, 327), seems unrelated and in any case is a Kassite loanword.

52. See Takács 2008, 613.

hpn, “horse-armour; strap” (line 19; also KTU 4.363:3,5,7, etc.; RS 94.2284:18, 28).⁵³

From context (KTU 4.463:3, 4) *hpn* is connected with horses⁵⁴. According to Tropper (UG, 148 and 300)⁵⁵ both Ug. *hlpn*, “cloak” and Ug. *hpn*, “garment” may be explained by Akk. *ḫalāpu*, “to be clad in” (see CDA, 101). Therefore, here *hpn* may correspond to Akk. *ḫallupu*, which denotes armour for soldiers or horses⁵⁶. The meaning seems to be “caparison, horse-armour”⁵⁷. However, if Ug. *hpn* is not the same as *hlpn*, then perhaps it can be explained by Mari Akk. *ḫapû*, “to wrap up” (CDA, 106; AHW, 322), Heb. *ḫāpāh*, “to cover” (HALOT, 339)⁵⁸. Alternatively, it may denote a strap in view of Hitt. ^(kuš)*ḫapputri*-, “leather part of harness” derived from Hitt. *ḫapp-*^{zi}, “to join, attach” (Kloekhorst 2008, 298). It is less likely to correspond to Akk. *ḫūpu(m)*, “rim of (chariot) wheel” (cf. CDA, 121). See below on Ug. *tryn*. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian and from context.

rkb, “saddle” (line 20).

Instead of *rkb rtn*, which makes no sense, Sanmartín⁵⁹ reads *rkb a'tn*, “donkey saddle”⁶⁰ and suggests that *rkb* corresponds to Akk. *rikbu*, “attachment” (CDA, 304)⁶¹. ♦ Meaning uncertain.

KTU 4.363:1-10⁶²

ktnt. [t]lt. ṣr[h] yt
d bnšm. yd. grbzhm

[Th]irtee[n] tunics
belonging to the labourers with their helmets

w. tn. ṣrh. hpnt
ššwm. amtm. tkyg
yd. l lhbm. []

and twelve (sets of) armour
for horses, two (wooden) harnesses, (and) reins
with their attachments.

w. tlt. l. ṣrm
hpnt. ššwm. tn
pl'dm. w. d. tt.

Also, thirteen
(sets of) armour for horses, two
(horse-)blankets and for six

53. Or “(set of) protective padding (for horses)” (DUL, 400).

54. See De Moor 1970, 311 and n. 36: “probably ‘horse-cloth’, definitely not ‘saddle-cloth’!” (on KTU 4.363:3, 7). Similarly: “por lo que muy posiblemente se trata de una gualdrapa o peto, elemento bien conocido en el Antiguo Oriente tanto para caballos como para hombres” (Vita 1995, 80).

55. See also Tropper 2002, 136, under *hpn*, “Mantel, Umhang, Satteldecke (für Pferde)” and “Satteldecken” (*ibid.* 399, 402). However, more recently he notes: “vom Lexem *hlpn* zu trennen” (Tropper KWU, 51).

56. “The word for ‘armoured’ is *ḫallupu*, though this has not always been recognised” (Postgate 2000, 97; see now CDA, 102). For references to Akk. *ḫubb/pputu*, “a garment”, etc., cf. Vita, 1995, 80 and DUL, 400.

57. See also Akk. *taḫlīpu* and *taḫlaptu*, “armour” (CAD T, 51; CDA, 394), possibly referring to a type of armoured chariot (Postgate 2000, 96-97).

58. Also perhaps Aram. *hpy* (DNWSI, 394) and Arab. *ḫafya*, “to cover” (Lane AEL 2, 776c); cf. Collini 1989, 23, 34 (table) and 38 n. 3 (but with no reference to Ugaritic). For a similar solution cf. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 39.

59. Following Virolleaud 1968, 582.

60. “eine Bezeichnung für einen Teil des Eselsgeschirrs”, more specifically, “eine Art Decke... die, auf den Rücken des Esels gelegt, als rudimentaäre Sattel diente, oder auch einen Teil des Reitzeugs, der das ‘Besteigen’ des Tiers ermöglichte”, Sanmartín 1978, 353-354; cf. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 62-63; Watson 1986b, 18.

61. “Aufsatz” (AHW, 983); “top piece (of a plough), top part, upper level” (CAD R, 344). Xella (1990, 473) translates “pièces de harnachement pour âne”. It is unlikely that it corresponds to Arab. *rikāb*, “stirrup” (DMWA, 356). Note also Aram. *rkybh*, “saddle” (DNWSI, 1076) but this word is very uncertain. De Moor (1970, 308 and 311) suggests “bale”, i.e. “bales of *rtn*”. One could explain *rtn* by Akk. *irtu*, “breast-strap (of a harness)” (CAD I/J, 188), with prothetic alef and an affirmative -n, so that *rkb rtn* would mean “attachment of a breast-strap”, but this seems very hypothetical. On Ug. *rtn* see also Akk. *retū*, “attached” (CAD R, 297).

62. For a translation see Vita 1995, 78-79.

[*mr*]kbt. w. *hrš*
[*yd. tr*]hm

[cha]riots, exactly,
[with] their [steering-poles]

hpnt, “horse-armour, horse-cloth” (lines 3, 7): see above.

amt, “part of harness” (line 4).

Rather than “of two cubits”, which seems very strange as a measure of “horse-armour”, here I suggest that *amt* may correspond to Akk. *amūdāya*, *amūdu*, “a wooden part of the harness” (CDA, 16)⁶³, although this is very uncertain⁶⁴. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian.

tkyḡ, “reins” (line 4).

As I have proposed elsewhere⁶⁵, Ug. *tkyḡ* seems to be a masc. form of Akk. *tikātu*, “reins” (CAD T, 400), with the Hurrian ending *-ḡ* (here written as *ḡ*) and probably has the same meaning⁶⁶. See also Aram. *tikā*, *tikā*, “interlinked chain, twisted rope”⁶⁷ and the Northwest Semitic (Punic and Palm.) verb *tkk*, “to bind” (DNWSI, 1214) as well as Hatra *tkh*, “girdle, belt” (as *tkt*; DNWSI, 1213-1214)⁶⁸. Previously, *tkyḡ* had been understood here as “curvature, span”, based on Arab. *kūc*, “cubit, elbow, curve” and Arab. *kawīc*, “to have a long elbow”⁶⁹. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian supported by West Semitic.

llḡ, “strap” (line 5).

Evidently, this word denotes part of a harness or horse trappings⁷⁰. As I proposed elsewhere⁷¹, it may be explained as a noun formed from (a verb cognate with) Akk. *lalū*, “to bind” (CAD L, 52; cf. CDA, 176), which only occurs in lexical texts, glossed *šamādu*, “to harness, yoke up, etc.” (CDA, 333)⁷². Here it appears to have the Hurrian ending *-ḡ(e)*⁷³. A meaning such as “attachments” or perhaps even “harness” seems feasible⁷⁴. Previously, the translation of the term *llḡ* as “rivet, metal inlay”, loosely based on

63. Also perhaps Akk. *mudāyū*, *mudū*, “a wooden object” (CDA, 214). Less probable is a connection with Eg. *mtj*, “cord” (on which cf. Takács 2008, 717-718).

64. For the interchange between /d/ and /t/ in loanwords from Akkadian in Ugaritic cf. Ug. *updt*, “share-cropping (plot)” - Akk. *upatinnu*, “a vassal”; Ug. *arkd*, “spear” - Akk. *ariku*, “spear”; Ug. *dḡ*, “lees” - Akk. *tuḥḥu*, “residue”; Ug. *ld*, “goblet” - Akk. *luddu*, *luttu*, “cup”; Ug. *snnt*, “swallow” - Akk. *sinuntu*, *sinundu*, *šinundu*, “swallow” and Ug. *tpn*, “a type of flour” - Akk. *tappinnu*, *dappinnu*, *tuppinnu*, “kind of flour”.

65. Watson 2007a, with a survey of previous proposals.

66. Note also Akk. *takkittu*, “a leather object” (CAD T, 78), Akk. *taktaku*, “part of a chariot” (CAD T, 89) and Akk. *takušu*, “part of a chariot” (CDA, 395).

67. Levy 1963 vol. 4: 641b, cited, with other cognates in HALOT, 1730. See also Del Olmo Lete/Márquez Rowe 1995, 257 n. 18, where however, a connection with birthing is tentatively suggested.

68. See also Arab. *tikka*, “waistband” (DMWA, 95). This suggests that Ug. *pṛt tkt* (KTU 1.86:4) means “tied cow”. Note also Eg. *ntt*, “cordage, tie” (DLE I, 255).

69. Del Olmo Lete 1984, 200; previously Del Olmo Lete 1979, 183.

70. See, for example, “horse equipment” (Gordon UT §19.1382).

71. Watson 2007b; cf. Watson 2007a, 229.

72. Note also Heb. *lulā’ōt*, “knots, loops” (HALOT, 530) and Eth. *malēlīt* (from *lēlaya*), “knots, loops” (cited in HALOT, 530). It is uncertain whether Eg. *rrw*, “e. Band (zur Kleidung)” (GHWb, 473) is relevant.

73. Perhaps Akk. *lilibu*, which denotes “part of horse-trappings” (CDA, 182, lexical list) may be a form of the same word with the (Hurrian?) ending *-b*.

74. An alternative meaning is “travelling cloak”, based on Akk. *lullumtum*, *lulluntu*, “(a travel and battle garment)” (CDA, 185); *lulumtu*, “(a cloak worn on campaigns)” (CAD L, 244), but this seems less likely. See the comments by Durand (1990, 660-661) on this word.

Sumero-Akk. *ḫuluḫḫu*, “enamel”, etc., had been suggested (Del Olmo Lete 1979, 183)⁷⁵. ♦ Meaning from Semitic, not Hurrian.

pld, “(horse-)blanket” (line 8; also KTU 1.148:21).

This term denotes a garment made of linen, wool or other material and in one text (KTU 4.363) it is specifically connected with horses and chariots⁷⁶. It would seem to be a general term for a textile that could also be used for horses⁷⁷. ♦ Meaning uncertain.

KTU 4.595:1-4

tš^cm. tq. kbd

l. sdnt. ššwm

Ninety bridles in all
for horses' harnesses

tṭm. tq. bd. aym

sixty bridles for PN

arb^c. tq. bd. dnn

four bridles for PN

tq, “harness or bridle” (lines 1, 3, 4).

The term is evidently related to horses⁷⁸. Instead of the generally accepted meaning “sack” (DUL, 927), I propose that the root of this noun is Ug. *yṭq*, “to tie” (cf. DUL, 996, with cognates)⁷⁹. The formation of Ug. *tq* (plural *tqt*), “lead-rope”, from this verb is not a problem⁸⁰. Note also Arab. *waṭāq*, “tie, bond, fetter, etc.” (DMWA, 1048). In addition, cf. Eg. *jškn*, “*Binde, Gurtel” (Hannig GHWb, 106)⁸¹. For the semantics, compare Akk. *riksu*, “harness, reins” (CAD R, 347) from Akk. *rakāsu*, “to tie, etc.” (CAD R, 95-96). ♦ Meaning from context, with inner-Ugaritic derivation supported by Egyptian.

sdn, “harness” (line 2).

Clearly *sdn*, which occurs in the phrase *l. sdnt. ššwm*, is connected with horses⁸². The cognate term Akk. *s/šaddin(n)u* occurs in an adoption contract, in a list of gifts, followed by “reins”⁸³, which suggests that it is associated with horses⁸⁴. “If *saddinnu* is the correct reading⁸⁵ it must have been some kind of cover for the horses” (Moran 1992, 315). Whether Ug. *sdn* can be explained by Eg. *istn*, “belt, strap” (DLE I, 48)⁸⁶ remains uncertain. Note that, as suggested by Schneider, the Egyptian word may in turn be

75. Del Olmo Lete 1984, 200; previously Del Olmo Lete 1979, 183.

76. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 59. Note that the reading on the tablet is *pddm*, usually corrected to *pldm*. However, as Vita (1995, 81) notes, this may not be a mistake but possibly a term referring to the six chariots (lines 8-9), to be explained by Akk. *pattūtu*, a term for a chariot (cf. CDA, 271; AHw, 849). See also Heb. *pēlādōt*, “coverings (of chariots)” (Nah 2:4).

77. The occurrences elsewhere are not connected with horses.

78. Specifically: “ein Teil der Pferdeausrüstung; vom Kontext her ist *tq* offenbar ein Bestandteil des Kumt, also mit hebr. *šq* und akk. *šaqqu* “grobes, härenes Geweder” zusammenzubringen” (Dietrich/Loretz 1976, 15).

79. Although this word (*tq*) is not mentioned there. Bordreuil (2007) suggests that *yṭq* in KTU 1.100 is from the unattested Ug. verb **tqy* cognate with Akk. *šaḫū*, “to be high, elevated”, in the Dp meaning and translates: “il (= le serpent) est fait dresser”.

80. Compare Ug. *šnt*, “sleep”, from the verb *yšn*, “to sleep” and Ug. *tbt*, “seat” from the verb *yṭb*, “to sit”.

81. For Eg. /k/ as corresponding to Sem. /q/, see Hoch 1994, 428-429, 432, 436.

82. Therefore Dietrich/Loretz (1976, 15) concluded: “Bei *sdn** wäre gegebenenfalls auf akk. *suddinnu* “Kumt” zu verweisen”. Sanmartín (1992, 96 n. 3) notes: “*sdn* (pl. *sdnt*) es la denominación de un producto textil usado como arnés o prenda de vestir”.

83. TÚG *za-ti-ni*.MEŠ *u* KUŠ *ašâti*, “s. and reins” (JEN 588:36); see discussion section in CAD S, 17.

84. See also Heb. *sādīn*, “garment” (HALOT, 743-744); Mankowski 2000, 109-110, but with no reference to Ugaritic.

85. I.e. *sâ-dî-[in-ni]* in EA 266:32.

86. “Bindung, Streifen, Riemen”, from *jstn*, “umschnüren, binden” (Hannig GHWb, 105) remains uncertain. My thanks to Gábor Takács for discussing this term with me.

a loan from Libyan, as in Berber *istawn*, “tout ce qui sert à se ceindre” from the verb *stw*, “ceindre, se ceindre”⁸⁷. Yet another possibility is equivalence with Akk. *s/šuttinnu*, “part of a chariot or plough” (CDA, 391; cf. CAD S, 419)⁸⁸, although this is less likely. ♦ Meaning from context, supported by Akkadian and Egyptian.

4b Terms without context

Here, ten terms relating to horses, harnessing etc. are listed and discussed, although the lack of context makes their identification very uncertain.

(1) *ušpġt* (f.), “(horse-)cloth” (KTU 1.43:4; 1.92:26; 1.148:21)

This may be a loanword from Hurrian through Akk. *us/špahḫu*, “a garment” (CDA, 428)⁸⁹. Other possible cognates may be Akk. *šap’um*, etc., “padded, thick” (CDA, 358; CAD Š/1, 487) said of hides, textiles, belts, etc. (Veenhof 1972, 185), or Akk. *šapû*, “to wrap, to fasten with laces, thongs” (CAD Š/1, 490). The only indication that this word is connected with horses is its co-occurrence with *sadinnu* (see above on *sdn*) in a text from Nuzi (see CAD S, 17), so it is possible that Ug. *ušpġt* may not relate to horses. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian via Akkadian.

(2) *išpr*, “horse-bit, muzzle” (RS 94.2406:26; RS 94.2284:5).

The word occurs in the letters, once in a broken context, in a list of items that have been “prepared” (*°dbm*) (RS 94.2406:26) and once in another list that includes *°rmlḫt*, meaning unknown, and *spm*, “bowls” (RS 94.2284:5). Support for the meanings “horse-bit” or “muzzle”, tentatively proposed here for Ug. *išpr*, comes from Akk. *išpardu*, *išperdu*, *išpar*, “horse-bit” (CDA, 134)⁹⁰. An alternative meaning is “whip”, in view of Eg. *ispr*, “whip” (Faulkner CDME, 30), Eg. *jsbr*, *jspr*, “Peitsche” (Hannig GHWb, 103)⁹¹, which seems to be a loan from Semitic⁹². ♦ Meaning from Akkadian.

(3) *att* (f.), “reins” (KTU 4.153:2-5).

The term occurs four times in succession and is equivalent to Akk. *ašātu* (*asātu*), “reins” (CDA, 27)⁹³, which may derive from Akk. *ašītu*, “metal band, strap” (CDA, 28) or *ašutu*, “leather strap” (CDA, 30). It has gone unnoticed that it may correspond to Akk. *šītu*, “reins, leash” (CAD Š/3, 143); “reins (for horse)” (CDA, 378)⁹⁴. The expression *b^{cl} att* means “makers (or producers) of reins”. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian.

87. Schneider 2004, 17.

88. See Civil 1983, 13: “it must be something on the pole or yoke, preferably on the latter”.

89. Dietrich/Loretz 1971; see further Ribichini/Xella 1985, 33-34; DUL, 118 (with further references); Wyatt 2002, 373 n. 23. For an explanation from Semitic see De Moor 1970, 311 (“neck-piece of mail”).

90. Cf. AHW, 396 and *išpar*, “muzzle” (CAD I/J, 253) in the lexical equation *iš-pa-ar* = *na-ak-tam pi-i*, where *naktamu* means “horse’s bit” (CAD N/1, 196-197; CDA, 234).

91. Cf. Eg. *j-š-b-w-:r*, “Peitsche” (Schneider 2004, 18); “whip” (Hoch 1994, 34 §28) who also refers to Akk. *paruššu*, “staff, goad” (for which see now CAD P, 211). However, see Eg. *prš*, “to stretch out (for thrashing), etc.” (Takács 2001, 483). Whether Hittite *ismer*, “rêne, bride” (Vanséveren I 90; cf. HW², 89) or Phoen. *smr*, “whip” (DNWSI, 793) come into play here is uncertain.

92. Personal communication from Gábor Takács.

93. As Durand (1990, 659) notes: “*att* ... le terme est rapproché, faute de mieux, de l’Akk. *ašātu*, «rênes»”. For the Akkadian term see Na’aman 1977. See also Watson 2007a, 80 # 2.2.02.1 (38).

94. Only in lexical texts. Note the equation *aššātum* = *šītu* (MSL 7 150, cited in CAD Š/3, 143). See also perhaps Eg. *istn*, discussed below.

(4) *ḥṭm*, “halter, muzzle” (KTU 5.22:24).

Rather than another spelling of *ḥṭt*, “wheat” (DUL, 416), I suggest that this may correspond to Sem. **ḥiṭām* “halter”⁹⁵. Alternatively, it may mean “muzzle” in view of Akk. *ḥaṭāmu*, “to muzzle” (CAD H, 152) and its derivatives *ḥiṭmu*, “muzzling” (CAD H, 210)⁹⁶ and *ḥuṭṭimmu*, “muzzle, snout”. Note also Heb. *ḥiṭm*, “to restrain oneself” (HALOT, 307). Unfortunately, there is no context to decide the matter.

♦ Meaning from Semitic.

(5) *ksn*, “saddle pad” or “reins” (KTU 4.10:5 in broken context).

In their book on textiles and clothing in the Ugaritic texts, Ribichini and Xella (1985, 42) refer to Akk. *g/k/ušānu*, “ein Ledersack” (AHw, 299; cf. CDA, 97). Hoch refers to the same Akkadian word to explain Eg. *ka=wi=ša=na* (**kušana?*), which according to him means “saddle pads”⁹⁷. This meaning is rejected by Woodhouse (2003, 281). As an alternative, I propose that Ug. *ksn* means “reins” in view of Eg. *kwšn*, “reins” (DLE II, 171)⁹⁸, but this also remains conjectural. ♦ Meaning uncertain for lack of context.

(6) *mṭr*, “saddlecloth” (KTU 4.127:8) in a list of items including *mrbd*, “bedspread” (line 7).

No meaning is given in the dictionaries⁹⁹, but it may correspond to Arab. *mīṭara*, “saddlecloth, blanket, drape”, from the root *waṭara*, “to be soft, smooth” (DMWA, 1047)¹⁰⁰. However, the identification is uncertain. Other possibilities are “teased (cloth)”, equivalent to Akk. *mašru*, “teaselled (textile)” (cf. CDA, 203; CAD M/1, 385) and “whiplash”, equivalent to Akk. *tamšā/ēru*, “leather lash of a whip” (CAD T, 146-147), “whip(-thing)” (CDA, 397). It is unlikely that it is cognate with Aram. *mšrwt*, “stirrup” (Jastrow DTT, 849). ♦ Meaning from Arabic or from Akkadian.

(7) *šmt* (f.), “fastening, rope, tether” (KTU 4.337:25).

This corresponds to Akk. *šummannu*, “rope, tethering rope” (CAD Š/3, 279-280), “halter, tether” (CDA, 384)¹⁰¹ and Ebla Akk. *šummuttum*, *šummatum*, with the same meaning¹⁰². The same word also occurs in the Emar texts¹⁰³. It has previously been unnoticed that both the Ugaritic and Akkadian terms may be equivalent to Hitt. *šum(m)anza(n)*-, “rope”¹⁰⁴ although it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing¹⁰⁵. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian and Hittite, with some support from Ugaritic.

95. Conti 1997, 55 (but with no reference to Ugaritic). See also Arab. *ḥaṭama*, “to put on a bridle or muzzle” (cited in HALOT, 307).

96. Not included either in AHw or in CDA. See also Ug. *ḥṭm*, “muzzle, nose” (KTU 1.169:14). See Orel/Stolbova 1995, 304 §1394 and Kogan/Militarev 2000, 125 No. 139.

97. See Hoch 1994, 314-315 §453. Note also Akk. *kussū*, “saddle (for a donkey)” (CAD K, 593 mng 6; CDA, 170 [OA]).

98. I.e. “part of chariot harness” (DLE II, 171).

99. See DLU, 309; DUL, 606. For the alternative meaning “chisel” see Watson 2002, 926-927.

100. Whether Akk. *nasru*, “a garment” (CAD N/2, 32; CDA, 244), is related is very uncertain.

101. “Halteseil” (AHw, 1273). In the *Fable of the Tamarisk and the Palm*, the date-palm boasts that *šummannī*, “tethering-ropes”, are made from the palm-tree (cf. Lambert 1960, 158:18).

102. As proposed by Pardee (2000, 54): “Il s’agit de cordes ou de lanières assez courtes, employées surtout pour attacher et pour conduire des animaux”, following Conti (1997, 55), although he prefers the meaning “cornaline”.

103. See Pentiuc 2001, 174, citing [*šú*]*m*-[*m*]*a-an-ni*, “reins” (*Emar* 783:19).

104. Cf. HW², 197 (“Strick”), where the Hittite word is equated with Akk. *ašlu*, “rush, rope”. It seems that Ug. *šmn*, denoting a type of tree, may correspond to Hitt. *šummanza-*, “bulrush”; for this plant cf. Stivala 2004, 46 and Kloekhorst 2008, 780-781. For a different solution for Ug. *šmn* (a type of tree), see Stieglitz 1970 and Watson 2004b, 125.

105. Eg. *šnw*, “Seil, Strick” (Hannig GHWb, 829) is most probably unrelated.

(8) *šr^cm*, “reins” (KTU 1.148:21).

Usually, this word is emended to *šrm*, “twenty”¹⁰⁶. The meaning “reins” proposed here may be correct if *šr^cm* can be explained by Akk. *šur’u*, *šūru*, *šu’ru*, “reins” (CDA, 388; CAD Š/3, 367)¹⁰⁷ and perhaps Arab. *šar^ca*, “thong, strap” (DMWA, 466)¹⁰⁸. Similarly, De Moor (1970, 308) suggested “two laces”, based on Arab. *šir^c*, *šir^cat*, “string, lace” and Akk. *šir’ānu*, “sinew”¹⁰⁹. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian supported by Arabic.

(9) *tḡpt*, “felt (horse-)blanket” (KTU 4.183 ii 10; 4.370:13; 4.609:36)¹¹⁰

This is the same as Akk. *taḥapšu*, “used as a blanket(?) for horses” (MA, Nuzi; CAD T, 40); “felt” for horses (CDA, 393), a loan from Hurrian *taḥapšu*. The full expression is *b^cl tḡpt(m)*, “maker of felt horse-blankets”¹¹¹. Alternatively, it may mean “packsaddle” (DUL, 863). ♦ Meaning from Hurrian.

(10) *tryn*, “armour (for horses)” (KTU 4.169:5, 6; cf. 4.17:15)

This is borrowed from Hurr. *šariyanni*, “leather coat”¹¹² possibly via Akk. *sar(y)am*, *siri(y)am*, *siri*, *še/iryam*, *sari(y)ānum*, *sariānu*, *šir’am*, *šir’annu*, *siriyanni*, “coat of armour” (CDA, 318)¹¹³ and means “armour, protective padding”. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian.

5. Related terms

The four items discussed in this section are obliquely associated with gear used with draught or riding animals.

(1) *hbṭn*, “halter-holder” (KTU 4.137:6; 4.163:10; 4.173:9; 4.174:6; 4.179:11).

Possibly this term, which co-occurs with *mru*, “chief groom”, may mean “one who ties (horses)”, in view of Akk. *ebētu*, “to bind” (CDA, 65)¹¹⁴ and Ebla *i-bi-tum*, “halter” (Conti 1997, 46-47)¹¹⁵. However, the initial radical may be *ḥ*/¹¹⁶, although this is uncertain because of the alloform *hubuṭtum* in Old Akkadian. Alternatively, it may mean “saddle-cloth” as proposed by Kogan (2001, 267) based on Yemeni Arabic *ḡabaṭin*, “saddle-cloth”, supported by Akk. *ebētu*, “to be tied, girt” (CAD E, 13; AHw, 183) and its derivative *nibittu*, “a girdle” (CAD N/2, 201; AHw, 774). ♦ Meaning from context, supported by Eblaite and Akkadian or from Arabic and Akkadian.

106. E.g. Del Olmo Lete 1999, 132.

107. Corresponding to Akk. *šur’u(m)*, “Teil eines Wagens” (AHw, 1287, mng 3).

108. It is uncertain whether Eg. *swr*, which may mean “reins” (DLE II, 21), is related; see Hoch 1994, 257 §361 for a different solution (“chariot equipment, probably “trapper” [the horse’s skirt]).

109. See now Akk. *še/ir’ānu*, “sinew, tendon” (CAD Š/2, 308-313) and note especially the connection with chariots in Lambert 1960, 178 r. 12 and HSS 15, 195:4 (cited in CAD Š/2, 312).

110. See also *tḡptn*, “Felt-maker” (PN: KTU 4.57:3).

111. “Hersteller von *tḡpt*-Pferdedecken” (Sanmartín 1995, 178). Cf. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 68. On felt, see Schneider-Ludorff 1998.

112. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 70. See also Hittite *šariyanni-*, “a coat of armor” (CHD Š/2, 2005, 295, Hurr. lw).

113. See Akk. *siriam*, “body armour”; (CAD S, 313-315); cf. Watson 2007a, 135 # 2.3.02 (96).

114. This verb is mentioned in DUL, 334.

115. See also Akk. *nēbettu*, “sash, girdle” (CDA, 248), from *ebētu*, “to bind”.

116. See Conti 1996, 194.

(2) The expression *ḥmr škm* (KTU 4.14:6, 12, 18) has been taken to mean “braying donkey”¹¹⁷, even though this seems somewhat tautological¹¹⁸. Instead, as a new suggestion, Ug. *škm* may be explained from Arab. *šakama*, “he bitted him; [namely, a horse or the like;], he put the bit (*šakīmatun*)”¹¹⁹ into his mouth” (Lane AEL I, 1588)¹²⁰. Modern Arabic *šakama* means “to bridle (an animal); to silence, gag, muzzle (someone)” (DMWA, 483)¹²¹. If Ug. *škm* has the same or a similar meaning¹²², then in the text in question, *ḥmr škm* may denote a donkey that is accustomed either to a bit, a bridle or a muzzle. Such a donkey would be easy to work with and therefore valuable, as shown by the following description of one: 1 *imēru* (ANŠE) *babbānū ana zibilu ša kanšu*, “1 excellent donkey, docile, for haulage work” (TCL 13 No. 165:4)¹²³. ♦ Meaning from Arabic.

(3) Note also *tdḡl*, “harness-maker” (KTU 4.183 ii 20; 4.609:21); cf. DUL, 857.

The meaning “maker of parts for a harness”, tentatively proposed by Sanmartín (1995, 184-185)¹²⁴ is based on Akk. *tutiwe*, “a fastening” (CAD T, 498)¹²⁵. See also *b^cl tdt*, “makers of *t*.” (KTU 4.609:35). Yet again, this remains conjectural. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian via Akkadian.

(4) *tnt*, “blinkers” [?] (KTU 4.203:9).

The meaning “horse-blinkers” has been suggested by Tropper¹²⁶, who cites Mari Akk. *šinuntum*, “a kind of leather or a leather object”. Some support for this proposal may come from Hurrian *šinussi*, “blinkers”, a meaning put forward for this word by Wilhelm¹²⁷. Possibly, like Hurrian *šinussi*, which occurs in Alalah Akkadian as *šinuzza* (CAD Š/3, 56), Ug. *tnt* may also derive from Hurr. *šīni*, “eye” and may have the meaning “blinkers”¹²⁸. However, the morphology is obscure and all this remains very hypothetical. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian, possibly via Akkadian¹²⁹.

117. Lit. “one who brays”, based on Akk. *šāgimu*, “braying (donkey)” (Sanmartín 1988, 271; 1990, 97). The equivalence of Akk. /g/ with Ug. /k/ is not unparalleled – see Watson 2007a, 115-116.

118. Previous suggestions based on Ug. *ḥmr* meaning “ass-load” include a variety of proposals for *škm*: “a spice” (cf. Aistleitner WUS, 304 §2605, with neither etymology nor cognates), “a certain foodstuff” (Gordon UT §2414) and “a kind of copper”, where *škm* may correspond to Akk. *šikum*, “a kind of copper” (Heltzer 1978, 28 and 48 n. 145). Less specifically, “50 homer of *šk(m)*” (cf. Tropper UG, 411). For a suggestion based on Arab. *šukm*-, “Lohn, Besoldung”, see Aartun 1985, 32-33. However, they all have to be rejected because, as Sanmartín (1988, 271) notes: “*ḥmr*, en los textos administrativos ug., significa «asno», y nunca la unidad de capacidad «carga (de asno)»”.

119 This word is glossed as “bit-mouth, or mouth-piece of a bit [miswritten as ‘pit’], i.e. the transverse piece of iron in the mouth of the horse” (Lane AEL I, 1589).

120. My thanks are due to Dr Jordi Vidal (IPOA, Barcelona/SOAS, London) for help with this reference and with others.

121. It also means “to bribe (someone)”, but this does not seem relevant here. Arab. *šakīm* means “obstinacy”, which could easily apply to a donkey, but it certainly seems tautological and unnecessary as qualifying *ḥmr*, “donkey”.

122. Here probably as a G passive participle.

123. Cited in CAD I/J, 113. In this connection, note *ql d ybl prd*, “the messenger who leads the mule” (KTU 4.337:12).

124. “Hersteller von Harnischteilen (?)”.

125. A form of Akk. *d/tudittu*, “toggle-pin” (cf. CAD T, 498; CDA, 408 and Klein 1983).

126. I.e. “ein Textilerzeugnis, evtl. Scheuklappen für Zugtiere” (Tropper KWU, 134).

127. Wilhelm 1998, based on Hurr. *šīni*, “eye”.

128. The two forms may be compared with Akk. *aštuzzu* and *aštuttu*, both denoting garments, two forms of a Hurrian loanword in Nuzi (CAD A/2, 475; CDA, 30).

129. On blinkers for horses in the ancient Near East see Wicke 1999.

6. Excluded terms and meanings

The word *šbm*, “muzzle” (KTU 1.83:8) has not been included here because, like the verb *šbm*, “to muzzle” (KTU 1.3 iii 40), it is only used in connection with a dragon¹³⁰ and its meaning is uncertain.¹³¹ Meanings for the following nine terms have been suggested that connect them with horses or donkeys, but they are incorrect¹³².

(1) *ipt*, “reins” (KTU 4.707:11), based on Akk. *appatu*, “Zügel” (AHw, 59), proposed by Dietrich and Loretz (1967, col. 536) is attractive, but Ug. *ippt* seems to be a plural form of Ug. *ipd*, “tunic” with regressive assimilation¹³³.

(2) *gpn* (see above): according to Margalit¹³⁴, Ug. *gpn* “is a term for the ‘saddle-seat’ placed on the animal’s back for purposes of riding or transport”. He argues that, etymologically, it is related to Aramaic-Syriac *kapṭā/kapnīta*, i.e. a saddle. However, Renfroe (1986, 65-68) rejects this for a number of reasons.

(3) *grbz* (KTU 4.363:2), a loan from Hurrian via Akkadian (see Watson 2007a, 127, 132), could refer to armour for horses, but in fact it only occurs with reference to people¹³⁵.

(4) *hḏg* (KTU 1.12 i 17) does not signify “lady’s saddle” (UT §19.838)¹³⁶ but seems to mean “birthing-stool” or the like, although this cannot be derived from Arab. *ḥidḡ* and *ḥidāḡah*, “women’s camel saddle”. According to Renfroe (1992, 118): “while comparison with Arabic *ḥidḡ* “saddle” in the assumed sense of “birth-stool” is perhaps possible, given the limitations of our present knowledge it is unprovable”.

(5) If *mth* means “donkey-pack” (KTU 1.3 iv 36) it would correspond to Heb. *’amtahat*, “saddle-bag (of a donkey)”, used metaphorically to denote a subterranean layer, as argued by De Moor¹³⁷. However, Ug. *mth* denotes a unit of measurement, as already proposed¹³⁸ and this is supported by Emar *ma-ta-ḥu* (i.e. /mataḥu/), with the same meaning¹³⁹.

(6) Similarly, *mtpd*, “donkey-pack” (KTU 1.3 iv 35) may be used for a layer under the earth. But the proposed match with Heb. *mišp^etayim*, “saddle-baskets” (HALOT, 652)¹⁴⁰, would require Ug. /d/ to

130. It may even mean “height” – for details see Mazzini 2003 and 2004.

131. See Renfroe 1992, 144-145. The same applies to *štm*, “to muzzle” (DUL, 852).

132. The suggestion that Ug. *drb* (only in KTU 1.123:8) is to be explained from Heb. *dorbān*, “cattle goad”, was first made by Virolleaud (1965b, 66). Instead, Marcus (1975, 94 n. 13) suggested that *drb* is a chisel, noting that chisels were used by glass-makers in Mesopotamia and “that Egyptian jewellers did all their piercing and cutting with chisels”. Stieglitz (1981, 54) had proposed the meaning “tine” or “spike”; for discussion, see Watson 2002, 925.

133. See DUL, 89 (following Ribichini/Xella 1985, 31) and Watson 2007a, 119 n. 431. It cannot be excluded that it corresponds to Akk. *ipu*, “blinkers” (CDA, 131), on which cf. Wicke 1999, 826-827.

134. Margalit (1984, 134-135), accepting and developing a proposal by J. N. Epstein cited by Greenfield 1964, 527 n. 2.

135. As Vita (1995, 80) notes: “En Ugarit, no obstante, *grbz* sólo se encuentra atestiguado para personas”.

136. Or any of the following: “Frauensänfte” (Aistleitner WUS, 100 §904); “litière” (TOu I, 338 and n. x.); “litter” (Gibson 1978, 146). The meaning “litter” is preferred by Wyatt 2002, 163.

137. De Moor 1981; 1985. See also Greenfield 1965 (my thanks to Marjo Korpel for help with this reference).

138. In DLU, 305: “una medida de longitud”. Cf. also Tropper KWU, 81-82.

139. See Pentiuc 2001, 123 (with mention of Ug. *mth*), a reference that I inserted into DUL, 599.

140. Cf. Arab. *maṭafid*, “lining”.

correspond to Heb. /t/¹⁴¹. Instead, in view of Arab. *tfd*, which refers to “one thing set upon another”, or to something “superimposed” or “layered”, Ug. *mtpd* would seem to mean “layer” (Renfroe 1992, 153-154). Alternatively, it may mean “(length of) stride”, derived from *tpd*, “to place (one’s foot) on” (Troppe KWU, 83).

(7) The word *tḡpt* (see above) was discussed by Ribichini/Xella (1985, 68), and the meaning “belt, harness, caparison” accepted. Ward (1989) considered Eg. *thbs*¹⁴², “plaited bag with a leather strap”, to be borrowed from Hurr. *taḥapšu*, “leather strap (for a bag)” and to correspond to Ug. *tḡpt* with a similar meaning. But, as noted above, Akk. (Hurr.) *taḥapšu* means “blanket”, probably made of felt.

(8) The term *tprt* (KTU 4.146:4; 4.341:10) has been explained with reference to Arab. *tafr*, “saddle-strap”, by Stieglitz¹⁴³. Instead, as I have shown elsewhere, it denotes a woman’s intimate garment¹⁴⁴.

(9) Finally, *tt* (KTU 4.205:3) does not mean “whip” as proposed by Virolleaud (1965a, 146), based on Heb. *šwṭ*, “whip”, but instead denotes either “wool”¹⁴⁵ or a “kilt”¹⁴⁶.

Although it was mentioned at the outset that gear for draught and riding animals was important at Ugarit, it is surprising that so many terms in this semantic field occur in the texts available to us. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine the specific meaning of many of these terms due to lack of context, and cognates can be ambiguous. In some cognate languages, for example Arabic, the distinction between “muzzle” and “bridle” is not clear. Similarly, Akkadian *dirratu* is a leather rope that can be used either as a “halter” or as a “whip” (CAD D, 160). If a word denotes a strap, say, then the question arises as to whether it was used for the bridle, as part of the harness or as a saddle-strap. Similarly, were the cloth items used as saddles, as blankets to keep horses warm or as protective padding for them in warfare? The table below is an attempt at identifying these items of equipment with the help of the cognates, but to some extent it is a matter of guesswork. Items with more than one meaning are entered twice.

7. Conclusions

equipment	certain	uncertain	Incorrect
armour		<i>ḥpn, tryn</i>	<i>Grbz</i>
bit		<i>išpr, škm</i>	
blanket or cloth	<i>ušpḡt, tḡpt</i>	<i>mšlt, mtr, pld</i>	
blinkers		<i>ipt, tnt</i>	
bridle	<i>tq</i>		
donkey-pack			<i>mth, mtpd</i>

141. In addition, it “misses the point that Hebrew *mišp^eṭayīm* «saddle bags» doubtless reflects the semantics of *špt* «to put on top of»” (Renfroe 1992, 112).

142. It also occurs with a final *-t(i)*, but according to Ward (1989, 73) it is “meaningless”. However, see Eg. *thbst*, “basket” (DLE II, 218). Instead, Hoch (1994, 362-363 §537) posits a derivation from Semitic *ḥbš*, “to bind”.

143. Stieglitz 1979, 19 and 22 n. 42, but rejected by Ribichini/Xella 1985, 69.

144. See Watson 2003. Similarly, Akk. *ūrātu*, “an undergarment”, is derived from *ūru*, “pudenda” (CDA, 427; cf. AHw, 1428).

145. Based on Akk. *šim/nṭu*, “plucked wool” – cf. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 67.

146. Corresponding to Aram. *šnt*, “some type of garment or dress” (DNWSI, 1175).

halter, lead-rope	<i>mdl, šb^cr</i>	<i>bṭn, ḥṭm, sk</i>	
harness	<i>amt, gpn</i>	<i>mdl, mšlt, sdn, tdḡl</i>	
muzzle	<i>škm</i>	<i>išpr, ḥṭm</i>	
reins	<i>aṭṭ, llḥ, mdl, šmt, šr^cm, tkyḡ</i>	<i>ksn</i>	<i>lpt</i>
saddle	<i>ksn</i>	<i>rkb, sk, ysmsmt</i>	<i>gpn, ḥdg</i>
strap	<i>llḥ, nqbn</i>	<i>ḥpn</i>	<i>tḡpt, ṭprt</i>
whip	<i>mṭ</i>	<i>išpr</i>	<i>Ṭṭ</i>

Table 1: Ugaritic terms for horse- and donkey-trappings

Broadly speaking, these items can be grouped into two sets: (1) equipment for controlling an animal (bit, blinkers, bridle, halter, harness, lead-rope, muzzle, reins and whip) and (2) coverings for animals (armour, blanket, cloth, saddle). Some items are indeterminate, e.g. terms for strap. These terms indicate that in ancient Ugarit, horses and donkeys were ridden as mounts as well as being used as draught animals. In terms of genre, the following terms occur in the economic texts and letters: *amt, išpr, aṭṭ, hbṭn, ḥṭm, ksn, llḥ, mṭr, sdn, škm, šmt, tdḡl, tkyḡ, ṭnt, ṭq, ṭryn*. Terms that occur in the literary and religious texts are: *ušpḡt gpn, mdl, mṭ, nqbn, rkb, sk, šr^cm, šb^cr, ysmsmt*. A few occur in both: *ḥpn, mšlt, pld* and *tḡpt*. In other words, most terms related to horse-trappings are found in the non-literary texts.

Finally, a table of these terms as with their cognates and/or non-Semitic equivalents can be set out.

Ug.	transl.	cognate with/loan from			non-Semitic loan from		
		NWS	Arabic	Akk.	Egypt.	Hittite	Hurr.
<i>amt</i>	harness			<i>amūdāya</i> <i>amūdu</i>			
<i>ušpḡt</i>	horse-cloth			[<i>uṣpaḥḥu</i> <i>ušpaḥḥu</i>]			<i>uṣpaḥḥu</i> <i>ušpaḥḥu</i>
<i>išpr</i> A	bit			<i>išpar</i>			
<i>išpr</i> B	whip			[<i>paruššu</i>]	[<i>ispr</i>]		
<i>aṭṭ</i>	reins			<i>ašātu, šitu</i>	<i>istn</i>		
<i>gpn</i>	harness	<i>gpn</i>	<i>ḡff</i>	<i>kippatu</i> <i>kappu</i>		<i>k/gapina-</i>	
<i>hbṭn</i>	halter-holder			Ebla <i>ibitum</i> <i>ebētu</i> [<i>nebetu</i>]			
<i>ḥṭm</i>	halter, muzzle	<i>ḥiṭām</i> <i>ḥṭm</i>	<i>ḥaṭama</i>	<i>ḥaṭāmu</i>			
<i>ḥpn</i>	armour strap	<i>ḥāpāh</i> <i>ḥpy</i>	<i>ḥafya</i>	<i>ḥapû</i> (<i>hallupu</i>)		<i>ḥapputri-</i> <i>ḥapp-</i>	
<i>ksn</i> A	saddle			<i>g/kušānu</i>	<i>kušana</i>		
<i>ksn</i> B	reins				<i>kwšn</i>		
<i>llḥ</i>	strap	<i>lulā'ôt</i>		<i>lalû,</i> (<i>lilibu</i>)	[<i>rrw</i>]		+ <i>-ḥ</i>

Ug.	transl.	cognate with/loan from			non-Semitic loan from		
		NWS	Arabic	Akk.	Egypt.	Hittite	Hurr.
<i>mdl</i>	reins	<i>DL</i>		<i>nadullu</i> (<i>dālu</i>)	<i>md3m</i>		
<i>mšlt</i>	cloth		[<i>šalta</i>]	<i>mašlu</i> <i>šallatum</i>		<i>šāla-</i>	
<i>mtr</i>	saddle			<i>mītara</i>			
<i>mṭ</i>	whip	<i>mṭh</i>		[<i>naṭū</i>]	<i>mdw</i>		
<i>nqbn</i>	strap	NQB		[<i>naqābu</i>]			
<i>pld</i>	blanket	<i>pld</i>		<i>palādu</i>			
<i>rkb</i>	saddle	<i>rkybh</i>		<i>rikbu</i>			
<i>sdn</i>	harness	<i>sādīn</i>		<i>saddinnu</i> <i>šaddinnu</i> <i>s/šuttinnu</i>	<i>istn</i>		
<i>sk</i>	harness			<i>s/zikuḥu</i> <i>sakku</i>	<i>sk</i>		-(<i>ḥu</i>)
<i>šb^cr</i>	halter	<i>B^cR</i>					
<i>škm</i>	muzzle, bit		<i>šakama</i>				
<i>šmt</i>	tether	<i>šmn</i>		<i>šummannu</i> <i>šummuttu</i>		<i>šummanza</i> -	
<i>šr^cm</i>	reins		<i>šar^ca</i>	<i>šur'u</i> , <i>šūru</i> , <i>šu'ru</i>	[<i>swr</i>]		
<i>tdḡl</i>	harness			<i>tutiwe</i>			+ - <i>ḡl</i>
<i>tḡpt</i>	blanket			[<i>taḥapšu</i>]			<i>taḥapšu</i>
<i>tkyḡ</i>	reins	<i>tikā'</i> <i>TKK</i> <i>tkt</i>	<i>tikka</i>	<i>tikātu</i>	[<i>ntt</i>]		+ - <i>ḡ</i>
<i>tnt</i>	blinkers			<i>šinassu</i>			<i>šī-</i>
<i>tq</i>	bridle	<i>YTO</i>	<i>waṭaqa</i> <i>'awṭaqa</i>		[<i>jškn</i>]		
<i>tryn</i>	armour	<i>sryn</i> <i>šrywn</i>		<i>sari(y)am</i>	<i>siryāna</i>	<i>šariyanni-</i>	<i>šariyanni</i>
<i>ysmsmt</i>	saddle			<i>asmātu</i>	<i>jsm3t</i>		

Table 2: Ugaritic terms for trappings: cognates and loanwords

As Table 2 shows, as many as twenty-four of these thirty terms are Semitic: *amt*, *išpr*, *att*, *gpn*, *ḥbṭn*, *ḥtm*, *ḥpn*, *ksn*, *llḥ*, *mšlt*, *mtr*, *mṭ*, *nqbn*, *pld*, *rkb*, *sdn*, *sk*, *šb^cr*, *škm*, *šr^cm*, *tdḡl*, *tkyḡ*, *tq* and *ysmsmt*. Of these, three are Semitic with a Hurrian ending (*llḥ*, *tdḡl* and *tkyḡ*). Four are Hurrian (*ušpḡt*, *šnt*, *tḡpt* and *tryn*) and may have been transmitted to Ugaritic through Akkadian. The one word (*šmt*) that has an equivalent in Hittite, possibly a loanword from Akkadian, may be a *Kulturwort* or *Wanderwort*, especially in view of Ug. *šmn*. Some terms seem to have been borrowed into Egyptian (as *išpr*, *md3m*). To express this another way, and to some extent contrary to expectations, most of these Ugaritic words for trappings and the like are Semitic and many of them are inherited.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AEL E. W. Lane, *Al-Qamūs: an Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols, London 1863-1893.
- AHw W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 vols, Wiesbaden 1965-1981.
- CAD A. L. Oppenheim, ed., *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Chicago/Glückstadt 1956-.
- CDA J. Black/A. George/N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (SANTAG 5) Wiesbaden 2000².

CDME	R. O. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> , Oxford 1962.
CHD	H. G. Güterbock/H. A. Hoffner, eds, <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago</i> , Chicago 1980-.
DLE	L. Lesko, <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , 2 vols, Providence 2002, 2004.
DLU	G. del Olmo Lete/J. Sanmartín, <i>Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica</i> . Vol. I (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 7) Sabadell (Barcelona) 1996; Vol. 2 (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 8), Sabadell (Barcelona) 2000.
DMWA	H. Wehr/J. Cowan, <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> , Wiesbaden 1971.
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer/K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols. (HdO I/21) Leiden/New York/Köln 1995.
DTT	M. Jastrow, <i>Dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the midrashic literature</i> , 2 vols, London/New York 1903 (reprint 1950).
DUL	G. del Olmo Lete/J. Sanmartín, <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> (English Version Edited and Translated by W. G. E. Watson) 2 vols (HdO I/67) Leiden/Boston 2002 ¹ , 2004 ² .
Emar	D. Arnaud, <i>Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Textes sumériens et accadiens</i> , 4 vols, Paris 1985-1987.
GHWb	R. Hannig, <i>Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v. Chr.)</i> (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 64) Mainz 1995.
HAL	L. Koehler/W. Baumgartner/J. J. Stamm, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> , 5 vols, Leiden 1967-1991.
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , 5 vols (translated by M. E. J. Richardson; ET of HAL), Leiden/New York/Köln 1994-2000.
HW ²	J. Friedrich, <i>Kurzgefaßtes Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Kurzgefaßte kritische Sammlung der Deutungen Hethitischer Wörter</i> (Indogermanische Bibliothek: Reihe 2, Wörterbücher) Heidelberg 1991 (reprint of 1952-1966 edition).
KTU	M. Dietrich/O. Loretz/J. Sanmartín, <i>The Cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places</i> (ALASP 8) Münster 1995.
KWU	J. Tropper, <i>Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen</i> (ELO 4) Wiesbaden 2008.
MSL	<i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon</i> , Rome 1937-.
TOu I	A. Caquot/M. Sznycer/A. Herdner, <i>Textes ougaritiques. Tome I. Mythes et Légendes. Introduction, traduction, commentaire</i> (LAPO 7) Paris 1974.
Wb	A. Erman/H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache</i> , 7 vols, Berlin 1926-1963.
WUS	J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache</i> (edited by O. Eissfeldt) Berlin 1963 ¹ , 1965 ² , 1967 ³ , 1974 ⁴ .