

The Lexical Aspect of Ugaritic Toponyms

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[Here most of the toponyms occurring in the alphabetic Ugaritic texts are listed, together with their meanings, where feasible, although very many of these remain conjectural.]

I. Introductory

“Toponymy... is part of linguistics because toponyms, like all proper names, are words or word components pertaining to the lexical fund of a language”.¹ The lexical elements in Ugaritic place names have been studied only sporadically and the principal works on this topic are by Astour² and van Soldt.³ Here, Ugaritic toponyms are listed in alphabetical sequence⁴ with their meanings (where identifiable), followed where necessary by a brief discussion. Gentilics have not been included. Some entries may have two or more possible meanings and other entries seem to be variants (e.g. *ull* is an alloform of *all*). The meanings of several names, such as Beirut, Carchemish and even Ugarit itself are difficult to determine

1. M. C. Astour, “Toponymy of Ebla and Ethnohistory of Northern Syria: A Preliminary Survey”, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 545-555 (545).

2. M. C. Astour, “Toponyms in the Hurrian Alphabetic Tablet RS 24.285”, *UF* 2 (1970) 1-6; “North Syrian Toponyms Derived from Plant Names”, in G. Rendsburg *et al.*, eds, *The Bible Word. Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (New York 1980) 3-8; “La frontière et les districts du royaume d’Ugarit (Éléments de topographie historique régionale)”, *UF* 13 (1981) 1-12; “Toponymic Parallels between the Nuzi Area and Northern Syria”, in M. A. Morrison - D. I. Owen, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman* (Winona Lake IN 1981) 11-26; “Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transjordan”, in D. I. Owen - M. A. Morrison, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians Vol. 2. General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 9/1* (Winona Lake IN 1987) 3-68; “Place Names”, in RSP II, 249-369 (here abbreviated to RSP II).

3. W. H. van Soldt, “The topography and the geographical horizon of the city-state of Ugarit”, in G. J. Brooke - A. H. W. Curtis - J. F. Healey, eds, *Ugarit and the Bible* (Münster 1994) 363-382; “Studies in the toponymy of Ugarit (I). The spelling of Ugaritic toponyms”, *UF* 28 (1996) 485-486; “Studies in the toponymy of Ugarit (2). The borders of Ugarit”, *UF* 29 (1997) 683-703; “*PRU* 6, no. 78 (RS 19.41): towns in the land of Siyannu or in the land of Ugarit?”, in M. Dietrich - I. Kottsieper, eds, «*Und Moses schrieb dieses Lied auf*»..... (Münster 1998) 777-784; “Studies in the toponymy of Ugarit (3). Groups of towns and their locations”, *UF* 30 (1998) 703-744; “Studies in the Topography of Ugarit (4). Town sizes and districts”, *UF* 31 (1999) 749-776.

4. As generally accepted in Ugaritic studies. This is for convenience and does not deny validity to the sequence adopted in DLU.

and certain foreign names (e.g. *kptr*) may not have a meaning in Ugaritic.⁵ They are included for completeness. While some of these words occur in the lexicon (e.g. *gt*), others do not (e.g. *šb*⁶),⁶ hence their importance.⁷ Since much of the necessary information (text references, syllabic spellings and bibliography) is already available - in Pardee's detailed study⁸ and in DLU - this material is not repeated.⁹ Very many syllabic spellings are also provided in the studies by van Soldt,¹⁰ and again these will not be repeated here.¹¹ Some additional bibliography is provided.¹²

2. The toponyms and their meanings

ablm «Meadows» rather than “mourners” (Astour, RSP II, 254-255).

agm «Swamp», or else “lake, troubled pool” (Sivan, GAGI, 196).¹³

addd «Ashdod», meaning unknown (Astour, RSP II, 255-258).

ayly «Place of the Deer, Stag», as indicated by the spelling HUR.SAG *i-ga-ri DÀRA* (PRU 4, 51 obv. 4', cited in DLU, 65a; cf. Astour, RSP II, 258).¹⁴

all restored in KTU 4.308:16' (*al*[I]) and in 4.355:42 ([]*ll*);¹⁵ cf. *ull*.¹⁶

alty «Cyprus», meaning unknown (Astour, RSP II, 259-260).¹⁷

amdy, normalized as /ʔAmmedā(yu)/ or /ʔAmmidā(yu)/,¹⁸ though no meaning can be suggested.¹⁹

amn «Firm»,²⁰ as *gr amn* (DLU, 159), “the mountain of the Amanna”.²¹

5. The names *alt*, *imr*, *dld*, *ybl*, *nrb*, *ntrbn*, *šrt*, *nub*, *tydr* in KTU 1.131 are not discussed here; cf. Astour, *UF* 2 (1970) 1-6; M. Dietrich - W. Mayer, “Sprache und Kultur der Hurriter in Ugarit”, in M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, eds, *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band 1. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt* (Münster 1995) 7-42.

6. As J. W. Wesseliuss, “Two Notes on Ugaritic Toponyms”, *UF* 15 (1983) 315, comments: “Thus we can add *šb*^c “hyena” to the Ugaritic lexicon without this word appearing even once in the available texts”.

7. On toponymy in Semitic generally cf. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Leuven 1997), 570-574 (§§67.8-67.19).

8. I.e. the section “Geographical Names and Gentilicia” in D. Pardee, “Ugaritic Proper Nouns”, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 390-513 (480-497).

9. However, some reference is made to the longer entries in Pardee's study.

10. Van Soldt, *UF* 18 (1996) 653-692.

11. Note the abbreviation Sivan, GAGI for D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th C.B.C. from Canaan and Syria* (Kevelaer - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984). For names in the form *gt* ... see DLU, 152b-153a and Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 485a. Some of these names are discussed here.

12. Some reference is also provided here to Y. Muchiki, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic* (Atlanta GA 1999) - cited as Muchiki, *Loanwords* - which reached me after I had submitted my article, as did J. Belmonte Marín, “Observaciones sobre algunos topónimos recogidos en *STU* y *DLU*”, *AuOr* 17-18 (1999-2000) 13-22. On *gbl*, *np* and *q^c* see M. Dijkstra, “The Weather-God on Two Mountains”, *UF* 23 (1991) 127-140 (128-129).

13. Following Virolleaud, *Syria* 21 (1940) 141.

14. See also van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 658.

15. So van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 658.

16. Note that *aln* “oak”, Astour, RSP II, 258-259, is probably not a toponym (DLU, 28b).

17. For more detail cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 481b-482a. Also cf. K. Reiter - R. Plöchl, *NABU* 1993/86.

18. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 659, on the basis of syllabic spellings.

19. See perhaps Akk. *amuz(z)innu*, the name of a plant or drug (AHw, 47a, 1543a; CAD A/2, 99b-100a) also attested at Mari, cf. F. Joannès, “La culture matérielle à Mari (V): Les parfums”, *MARI* 7 (1993) 251-270 (269).

amr «Lookout»; cf. Ebla *A-mar*^{K1}, *Am-ar*^{K1}, *A-ma-rí-im*^{K1},²² or simply “Amurru”.²³

anan «(A deity?)» (4.643:8) cf. PTU, 217-218 and *ann* (DLU, 39b).

aġt «Meadows», cf. Aram. ʔḥw, “grass, vegetation” (DNWSI, 35) or else it is a form of Ug. *ah*, “shore” (DLU, 17);²⁴ cf. Akk. *aḫātu*, “bank, shore” (CAD A/1, 173).

ap «Hill, Cape», lit., “nose” (Astour, RSP II, 261).²⁵

apsny «Ledge» or the like, derived from *aps*, “edge, top” (cf. Astour, RSP II, 261). It is less likely to be explained by Akk. *apsû*, “temple basin”.²⁶

ar «Storehouse», in view of the syllabic spelling *a-ru* etc.²⁷ and Akk. *arû*, “granary, storehouse” (CAD A/2, 313a). Cf. *ary* below.

arwd «Desirable Place», a Semitic name; cf. Arab. *rāda* IV, “to wish, desire, strive (toward a place)” (Astour, RSP II, 262) unless the root is “to wander restlessly, roam” (Sivan, GAGI, 198).

ardln «(A plant or stone)» (KTU 1.64:25.29-30.33; 7.42:4; not listed in DLU). Astour compares the place name Hitt. *irzili/irzēli* and refers to Akk. *arzallu* which denotes a plant, a stone, an implement and a piece of jewellery²⁸ (cf. CAD A/2, 324-325).

ary (variant: *hry*); cf. *ar* and Phoen. *ary*, “to amass” (DNWSI, 107).

arn «Gift, Tribute (?)», if a Hurrian term (root *ar-* “to give”),²⁹ but see next entry.

army «Coffer (?)» if Semitic (Astour, RSP II, 263; Sivan, GAGI, 197) or else a form of the previous entry.

arr «Outlet (?)»: AT *a-ru-ri-e*^{K1} 30 suggests Akk. *arūru*, “outlet of a canal” (CAD A/2, 324a).

aršh «Tigris», Hurr. *arasših*.³¹

art «City (?)» = URU *a-ru-tu*, cf. perhaps Hurr. *arte*, “town” (GLH, 54).³²

atlg «Stronghold (?)», if explained by Hurr. *atal-*, “strong” (GLH, 35).³³

20. M. C. Astour, “Some Recent Works on Ancient Syria and the Sea People”, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 447-459 (451).

21. P. Bordreuil, “Arrou, ġourou et Şapanou: circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du Royaume d'Ougarit”, *Syr* 61 (1984) 1-10 (2).

22. Astour, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 550. According to P. Fronzaroli, “Un verdetto reale dagli Archivi di Ebla (TM 75.G.1452)”, *SEb* 3 (1980) 33-52 (43.48, quoted by Pardee, *Afo* 36/37 [1989/90] 482a) it means “steppe”.

23. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, “Amurru, Yaman und die ägäischen Inseln nach den ugaritischen Texten”, *IOS* 18 (1998) 335-363.

24. For its location cf. P. Bordreuil, “À propos de la topographie économique de l'Ougarit: jardins du midi et pâturages du Nord”, *Syr* 66 (1989) 263-274 (272).

25. Astour, “Toponymic Parallels”, 6.10.

26. Astour, “Toponymic Parallels”, 14 no. 9.

27. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 660; cf. *ubusātu*, “manger” (*AHw*, 1400b).

28. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 3.

29. For Hurr. *arana* cf. A. Skaist, “A Hurrian Term at Emar”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelms, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians. Vol. 9 General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/2* (Bethesda MD 1998) 169-171. Also possible are Hurr. *ari*, “a cultic object” + the postpositive article *-ni*. Astour, “Semites and Hurrians”, 22-23, esp. 23, n. 136, and less probably Arinna, name of the Hittite sun-goddess.

30. R. S. Hess, “Ugaritic Place Names”, in Watson - Wyatt 1999, 515-528 (518, 525); on the Ug. name cf. van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 661 and n.59.

31. M. C. Astour, “Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms”, *JNES* 27 (1968) 13-36 (23).

32. Astour, “Semites and Hurrians”, 48. Cf. Akk. *arunū* which denotes a mountain (CAD A/2, 324).

ilštm^c «The (place of) the ʾl of Listening, Attention», “i.e., ‘(seat of) the oracle-deity’” (Astour RSP II, 264-265).³⁴

imr «Emar», meaning “wall”.³⁵

inbb «God (of the) Mountain», i.e. Hurr. *en + paba*.³⁶

irab remains unexplained, but cf. the Syrian toponym *Irʾib-Da*.³⁷

irbn perhaps to be analysed as Hurr. *irb + -n*.³⁸

irbš «Rest», in *gt irbš* (DLU, 48a).

iry variant of *ary*.³⁹

ittqb «Knoll (?)» (KTU 1.105 22; DLU, 63); cf. Akk. *aqubbītu*, *asqumbittu*, *isqubbītu*, *ašqubbītu*, *išqubbītu*, “hump” (CAD A/2, 339b-340a).⁴⁰

ubs/s «Manger, Feeding-trough» (Sivan, GAGI, 201), syll. *u-bu-sú/sí*.⁴¹

ubr^c «Place of Ascent (?)» (cf. Astour, RSP II, 266).

ugrt «Ugarit», is probably connected with *ugaru*, “field”.⁴²

udm «Red (?)» (cf. Astour, RSP II, 267-269).

uhnp, spelled *uhnappu*: cf. perhaps Akk. *uḫinu*, “bunch of unripe dates”.⁴³

ull, meaning unknown, is a byform of *all*,⁴⁴ but cf. AT *ul-la*.⁴⁵

ulm «Vestibule, Front» if Semitic (Astour, RSP II, 268-269), though a Hurrian etymology cannot be discounted.⁴⁶

33. See also G. Wilhelm, “Zu den hurritischen Namen der Kültepe-Tafel kt k/k 4”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* Vol. 8. *Richard F. S. Starr Memorial Volume* (Bethesda MD 1996) 335-343 (336). According to Astour, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 553-555, the suffix *-ig* is Semitic, not pre-Semitic.

34. For the survival of place names constructed with *il* in modern Lebanon cf. A. F. H. Naccache, “El’s Abode in the Land”, in N. Wyatt - W. G. E. Watson - J. B. Lloyd, eds, *Ugarit, religion and culture. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, religion and culture Edinburgh, July 1994* (Münster 1996) 249-272 (259).

35. Astour, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 451; Sivan, GAGI, 199.

36. See DLU, 38b and Pardee, *AJO* 36/37 (1989/90) 482a for other proposals; note also “flute, pipe”, Astour *JNES* 27 (1968) 20.

37. D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l’âge du Bronze récent* (Barcelona 1991) text 96:16 (pp. 150, 155). Note also the personal names *Irʾibu*, *Irʾib-baʿal*, *Irʾib-Dagan* and *Irʾib-ilu* (*ibid.*, 179-180).

38. So S. Ribichini - P. Xella, “Su alcuni antroponomi da Ugarit”, *RISF* 15 (1987) 7-13, where they note (*ibid.* 10-11) that the meaning of *irb-* is unknown. Hurr. *erbi-*, “dog”, does not seem relevant here.

39. P. Bordreuil, “Nouvelles restitutions de toponymes de l’Ougarit”, *UF* 20 (1988) 9-18 (15).

40. Cf. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz - J. Sanmartín, “Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie XIII”, *UF* 7 (1975) 157-169 (157).

41. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 656. To the references in DLU, 7a add *ubs* (KTU 4.693:49; 4.783:2.4).

42. W. F. Albright, “The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization”, in G. E. Wright, ed., *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (London 1961) 328ff; Astour, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 450; (a loanword from Sum. *a - gār* - cf. Astour, *JAOS* 108 [1988] 552); Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 572 (“Fields, plain”). Note also perhaps *ugrtym* “Ugarit of the sea” - which is not listed either in DLU or by van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) - in KTU 2.81 = RIH 78/3+30 (cf. Astour, *Syr* [1989] 269 n.19). For the vocalization of “Ugarit” cf. J. Tropper, “Aktuelle Probleme der ugaritischen Grammatik”, *UF* 29 (1997) 668-674 (670) and the comments by van Soldt, *UF* 31 (1999) 775.

43. Astour, “Toponymic Parallels”, 19.

44. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 658, explains this as due to assimilation (vowel harmony?). Cf. Astour, “Toponymic Parallels”, 19.

45. Hess, “Ugaritic Place Names”, 525.

uḡr (DLU, 15a) may be a mistake for *l ḡr*, "to the mountain".⁴⁷

uškṇ «Settlement (?)», root *škṇ*, "to dwell".⁴⁸

bir «Well» (com. Sem.),⁴⁹ but possibly not identical with *bʾrt*.⁵⁰

birt «Beirut» (cf. *bir*).

bbt «At the Gate (?)»: Astour⁵¹ compares *Babīte*, from Akk. *bābu*, "gate".

bnr «Dates (?)»; cf. *mrrt tḡll bnr*.

bšmy «Sandy place (?)», if to be explained by Akk. *baššu*, "sand" (CAD B, 134b-135), *bāšu*, "Sand" (AHw, 110b).⁵²

bšr «Inaccessible Place» (cf. HALOT, 149a) or "Observation post" if connected with Ug. *bšr*, "to watch, spy".⁵³

bq^c «Valley» (cf. DLU, 114); see next entry.

bq^ct «Valley, Fertile Plain» (as in KAI 222B 10; cf. DNWSI, 187); cf. Heb. *bq^ch*, "valley-plain" (HALOT, 150b; Sivan, GAGI, 209).

gbl «Byblos» i.e. «Mountain». ⁵⁴

gb^ct: see next entry.⁵⁵

gb^cly «Site of Baal», syll. *gi-ba^c-li-yi*, etc. (DLU, 143a) The reading ^u*ašar-ba^cala/i* (cited in DLU) suggests *g, "place"⁵⁶ + *b^cl*, "Baal", but this etymology may be popular. Cf. HALOT, 175 for other proposals.

gwl «Circuit (?)». ⁵⁷

glb in *glb špn*: see next entry.

glbty «Naked Barley» perhaps.⁵⁸

glltky «Inner Circle» (Astour, RSP II, 273).⁵⁹

46. Cf. W. G. E. Watson, "A personal name in Ugaritic Akkadian", *NABU* 1998/17.

47. N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilmilku and his Colleagues* (Sheffield 1998) 82 n. 58. It is unlikely to be explained by Eg. *i^cr*, "to go up, raise up, ascend".

48. A new occurrence of this toponym is given in A. Lemaire, "La tablette Ougaritique alphabétique UF 29, 826 replacée dans son contexte", *UF* 30 (1998) 461-466 (461.463-464).

49. See also Lemaire, *UF* 30 (1998) 461ff.

50. Cf. van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 663 n.69; Astour, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 550 and Sivan, GAGI, 211.

51. Astour, *JNES* 27 (1968) 20. For a different analysis cf. D. Freilich, *JSS* 31 (1986) 119-130.

52. For other cognates cf. V. E. Orel - O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden 1995) 79 (§321).

53. W. G. E. Watson, "The Falcon Episode in the Aqhat Tale", *JNSL* 5 (1977) 69-75 (71.73); cf. DLU, 18a; DNWSI, 186 and Sivan, GAGI, 213.

54. Astour, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 451-452; RSP II, 272. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 571.

55. Lemaire, *UF* 30 (1998) 461ff.

56. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, "The Monoconsonantal Lexical Series in Semitic", *AuOr* 16 (1998) 37-75 (45, under *g "territory").

57. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta GA 1987) 116, with discussion and cognates; cf. perhaps *kwl*, "wolf, etc.", in Orel - Stolbova, *Dictionary*, 331 (§1521).

58. Astour, "North Syrian Toponyms", 3.

59. See van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 665; "PRU 6 no. 78 (RS 19.41)", 780.

gn^c(y) «Garden of freshly gathered fruit», i.e. *gn + n^c* (Astour, RSP II, 274).

gpn «Trees» or «Vineyard»: the spelling *gup-na* suggests the first meaning.⁶⁰

grgmš «Carchemish» (DLU, 150b-151a),⁶¹ perhaps «Harbour of the god Kamish».⁶²

ddm «Settlement», Akk. *dadmû*, i.e. Aleppo;⁶³ cf. next entry.

ddmš: see previous entry.⁶⁴

dmt «Tower»⁶⁵ or perhaps «Stop, station» (Sivan, GAGI, 215).

dmt qdš «Sacred Tower» (DLU, 134).

dprnm «Junipers» in *gt dprnm*⁶⁶ and *zl dprnm* «Shadow of the Junipers» (DLU, 135b).

hdr^cy: the entry in DLU, 164a provides extensive references, notably to Ebla *be-el id-ri*. Heb. אֲדָרְעִי (for אֲדָרְעִי, cf. HALOT, 17a) may suggest the meaning «arm (?)».

hzp = URU *iz-pul-pt*⁶⁷ is unexplained.

hlm «(a plant ?)», cf. Akk. *alamû*, a plant (AHw, 35a; CAD A/1, 333b).

hmry «Muddy».⁶⁸ See *tbq*.

hry to be read *iry* (= *ary*); see above.⁶⁹

zbl «Prince» (KTU 4.213:13). Cf. *qrzbl*.

zl (KTU 4.244:13): see under *dprnm*.

zlyy, also the spelling of the gentilic.⁷⁰

zrm (DLU, 552b) remains unexplained

hbsš, syllabically *habišše*, remains unexplained.

hwt «Land» (cf. DLU, 185).

hkpt «Memphis», of Egyptian derivation (DLU, 175a).⁷¹

60. «While *gapnu* in NB refers exclusively to fruit tree, *gapnu* is used ... for tree in general» (CAD G, 45a, discussion section, where it is considered a loanword). However in AHw (298b) there is a separate entry *gupnu*, «Baum(stamm)». For other possibilities cf. Kühne, *UF* 6 (1974) 164-165.

61. For syllabic spellings cf. J. Sanmartín, ««Weichere» KVK-Werte im RS.-Syllabar», *NABU* 1994/50.

62. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 574, although, as he notes, this may be folk etymology. On *gr* as an element in place names cf. M. Bernal, «Black from the Oases», in G. D. Young *et al.*, eds, *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday* (Bethesda MD 1997) 145-168 (147).

63. M. Bonechi, «On the Name of the Aleppo Kingdom at Ugarit», *NABU* 1998/80. He argues that *dadmum* in OB Mari letters is the equivalent of *mātum*, the name of the kingdom of Aleppo in the West; hence *ddmy* in KTU 1.40 «may refer to the inhabitants of the Aleppo countryside».

64. Astour, «Semites and Hurrians», 49-450 argues that *ddmš* derives from the divine name *dadmū* with the affirmative *-iš/-išu*, but see previous note.

65. Astour, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 451.

66. Cf. Astour, «North Syrian Toponyms», 3; cf. Sivan, GAGI, 214; Kühne, *UF* 6 (1974) 163.

67. See J. Tropper - J.-P. Vita, «Epigraphische Bemerkungen zu ausgewählten ugaritischen Wirtschaftstexten», *UF* 29 (1997) 677-681 (679 and n. 3).

68. Del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, 542 and 575. Cf. DLU, 167a.

69. Bordreuil, *UF* 20 (1988) 15.

70. See van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 667.

71. See Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 297.

hl «Fortress, Tower, etc.» (DLU, 175) or “Low ground”.⁷²

hryt «Freedom», Arab. *ḥurriyat*, “freedom”. Astour compares the Babylonian city name *Durāru*, “Freedom”, and also refers to Mari *Ḥu-ur-ri-ia*^{K1} (ARM VIII 10:19)⁷³ and Alalakh *Ḥu-ri-ia*^{K1} (AT 201:15).⁷⁴

hrr occurs in KTU 4.365:33 and has the syllabic spelling *ḥu-ra-ri*.⁷⁵

hbr occurs only in the *Krt*; previous proposals have been rejected by Del Olmo Lete.⁷⁶

hbt «Country»:⁷⁷ see *hpty*.⁷⁸

hlb «Hill»: “*ḥalbu* means ‘forest’ in Akkadian, ‘hill’ in Ugaritic, and the city of Aleppo is still dominated by its lofty natural citadel hill, conspicuous in the flat plain”.⁷⁹ The names *hlb*, *hlby*, *h̄lb* ^c*prm*, *h̄lb gngnt*, *h̄lb krd*, *h̄lb rpš* and *h̄lb spn* (DLU, 191) have been discussed as a group.⁸⁰

hldy as gt hldy:⁸¹ the syllabic spelling *ḥu-ul-da*⁸² (DLU, 191) seems to rule out Hurr. *ḥilda*(?)*e*, “high”.⁸³

hly is probably not a GN;⁸⁴ cf. *hl* and *gl* (DLU, 193a).

hmrn «Cult Installation», cf. Hurr. *ḥamri*, “cult installation” (DLU, 193).

hmrn:⁸⁵ cf. *hmrn*.

hpty «Shore (?)»:⁸⁶ cf. *hbt*.⁸⁷

hryb^c «Lair of a Hyena» (Astour, RSP II, 289).⁸⁸

ht «Hatti».

72. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta GA 1987) 164.

73. As do M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, “Die Bannung von Schlangengift (KTU 1.100 und KTU 1.107:7b-13a.19b-20)” *UF* 12 (1980) 153-170 (161).

74. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 20 and n. 40.

75. See van Soldt, *UF* 31 (1999) 771; he comments “I have no suggestion for the meaning of this name”. A possibility is “embankment” or the like in view of OSA *hrr*, “to rake up earth” (for an embankment), *hrrm*, “banking up” (of earth); cf. Biella, *DOSA*, 190-191. However, this is only a guess.

76. Del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, 550.

77. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 123.

78. Discussion in van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 670 and n. 126.

79. M. C. Astour, “Some Recent Works on Ancient Syria and the Sea People”, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 447-459 (450). Cf. Sivan, *GAGI*, 226. On *h̄lb* in KTU 4.728 see J. Tropper - J.-P. Vita, “Der Wettergott von Ḥalab in Ugarit (KTU 4.728)”, *AoF* 26 (1999) 310-313.

80. P. Bordreuil, “Sources et forêts: à propos de la géographie physique et humaine de l’ougarit”, in *Des Sumériens aux Romains d’Orient. La perception géographique du monde* (Paris 1997) 59-66. See previously Pardee, *AJO* 36/37 (1989/90) 485b.

81. Considered a toponym by van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 669, n. 120.

82. E. Lipiński, “Aḥat-Milki, reine d’Ugarit, et la guerre du Mukiš”, *OLP* 12 (1981) 79-115 (110 and n. 148).

83. Cf. B. André-Salvini - M. Salvini, “Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue sumérien-akkadien-hourrite de Ras Shamra”, in D. I. Owen - G. Wilhelm, eds, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 9. *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/2*, (Bethesda MD 1998) 3-40 (12).

84. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 669.

85. KTU 4.683:30, even though Astour, RSP II, 284 proposes the reading *zmrn*.

86. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 129.

87. Note that the PN *h̄rb̄glm* (KTU 4.625:19) derives from the syllabic place-name ^{VRG}*ḥar-ba-ḥu-li-bé* (DLU, 197; van Soldt, *UF* 29 [1997] 691).

88. Also Astour, *UF* 13 (1981) 7 and n. 37; Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 671, n.134.

tbq «Muddy Place (?)» (KTU 9.421): cf. Mehri *eṭūḳ*, *eṭōḳ*, “to fall in the mud, get oneself dusty, muddy, dirty”.⁸⁹

zrn is unexplained (KTU 4.68:9; 4.95:6; 4.113:8'; 4.308:2'; 4.610 ii 37; 4.629:13; 4.686:6' and perhaps 4.553:1').⁹⁰

ykn^cm remains unexplained (see DLU, 525b-526a).

yman «Ionia» (cf. DLU, 528b),

yny «Winey (?)» in view of the spelling with (Sum.) *geštin*.⁹¹

y^cby «Wide, Spacious» (KTU 4.100:8).⁹²

y^cny is unexplained.⁹³

y^crt «Wood, Forest» (Astour, RSP II, 290-291); cf. Punic *y^cr*, “forest, parkland” (DNWSI, 464).

ypr remains unexplained.⁹⁴

yrgb, only in the colophon to the Baal Cycle (KTU 1.6 vi 58), remains unexplained.⁹⁵

ytml remains unexplained (cf. DLU, 537b-538a).

kdkdy remains unexplained.

knkty «Of a (mountain plant)» cf. Akk. *kamkadu*; *kam/kadu*, “eine in Felsspalten wachsende Pflanze” (AHw, 432; cf. CAD K, 123-124); also a town in Alalakh (*Kam-kà-ti-ia*).⁹⁶

knkny «Libation-pipe» or less probably “My shelter” (cf. DLU, 220b).⁹⁷

knrt has been discussed elsewhere.⁹⁸

ks «Kasius», perhaps “throne”.⁹⁹

kptr «Crete». ¹⁰⁰

kt «Kition (?)». ¹⁰¹

ktn «Kushan», ¹⁰² cf. HALOT, 467b.

89. T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexikon and English-Mehri Word-list* (London 1987) 405. Other alternatives are “to cover” and “to gather”; cf. Sivan, GAGI, 280.

90. As listed by van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 672.

91. See Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 488a and van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 672-673.

92. Virolleaud, *Syr* 21 (1940) 144, Arab. *w^cb*; cf. Pardee, *AfO* 26/27 (1989/90) 488a.

93. The meaning “ostrich”, Heb. *עֲנָב*, (*HALOT*, 421a) is very unlikely. Cf. DLU, 517a.

94. Cf. Pardee, *AfO* 26/27 (1989/90) 488b; DLU, 516a.

95. See Pardee, *AfO* 26/27 (1989/90) 488b.

96. Cf. van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 674.

97. According to M. C. Astour, “The Nether World and Its Denizens at Ugarit”, in B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia. Papers read at the XXVF Rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Copenhagen 1980) 227-238 (229), the name denotes a large clay jar which could be used as a coffin and so has “a funerary conotation”. See also F. Poljakov, “Miscellanea Hellenosemitica 2. The Jar and the Underworld”, *UF* 14 (1982) 309-310.

98. W. G. E. Watson - N. Wyatt, “Tomb and threnody: last rites for Aqhat”, *NABU* (in the press).

99. G. del Olmo Lete - J. Sanmartín, “ks (kásios/Casius) = Ḫazzi = ḫš”, *AuOr* 13 (1995) 259-261.

100. See Pardee, *AfO* 26/27 (1989/90) 488b-489a.

101. W. G. E. Watson, “Comments on the Phoenician Tariff Inscriptions from Kition”, *WO* 28 (1997) 89-95 (90).

102. M. Dijkstra, “The Myth of Astarte, the huntress (KTU 1.92). New fragments”, *UF* 26 (1994) 113-126 (120).

- ktgłm* «(Place of the) Bowmakers», derived from Hurr. *g/kašti* (from Akk. *qaštu*), “bow”.¹⁰³
- lbnm* «White» (Astour, RSP II, 298).
- lbn* «White Mountain» (DLU, 241b-242a).¹⁰⁴
- lrgt* «Fearless (?)», i.e. Arab. *Rağat*, “fear”, with the negative *l*,¹⁰⁵ or else “fragrant”; cf. Ebla *La-ru₁₂-ga-tù^{K1}*, variant *A-ru-ga-tù^{K1}*.¹⁰⁶
- maḥdmiḥd* «Maḥadu», probably meaning “harbour”.¹⁰⁷
- midḥ*¹⁰⁸: see under *snr*.
- mgdly* «Tower» (Astour, RSP II, 298-299).¹⁰⁹
- mgšḥ* «Mukiš» (KTU 2.33:10; cf. 4.769:60) is Hurrian.¹¹⁰
- mdḥ* is unexplained (KTU 4.783:7).
- mhbḥ*: for possible meanings cf. DLU, 267a.
- mḥdy* (DLU, 269a) cf. under *maḥd*.
- mḥnm* «(Two) Camps (?)» may be a place name in KTU 1.83:4.¹¹¹
- mḥr* «Market», since “price is less likely as a place name” (Astour, RSP II, 300).
- mld* «Offspring» (Astour, RSP II, 300-301).¹¹²
- mlk* «Mulukku»,¹¹³ possibly explained by *mlk*, “king”.
- mlkym* «Milku of the Sea» (KTU 9.458 = RIH 83/2:29).¹¹⁴
- mnt* «Share, Lot» (Astour, RSP II, 301); cf. DNWSI, 657.
- m^cqb* «Hill (?)».¹¹⁵
- m^cr* «Glade, Clearing (?)»; cf. Heb. מַעְרָה with these meanings (HALOT, 615b).¹¹⁶
- m^crby* «West (?)».¹¹⁷ Note also *gt m^crb* and *gt m^crby*.

103. See J. Sanmartín, “Das Handwerk in Ugarit”, *SEL* 12 (1995) 169-190 (180-81). Though listed as a PN in DLU, 232, the general consensus is that it is a TN: Sanmartín, *ibid.*, 181; del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *AuOr* 13 (1995) 260; van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 674.

104. Note *tubanu*, “pistachio-tree, sweet almond”, Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 5.

105. Astour, *JNES* 27 (1968) 20.

106. Astour, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 551 and n. 42. O. Loretz, “Eblaitisch *Larugatu* = ugaritisch *lrgt*. Traditionen der *Yrḥ*-Verehrung in Ugarit”, *UF* 30 (1998) 489-496.

107. See Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 490b. It is, of course, Minet el-Beida. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 75, glosses as “The harbor (scil. of Ugarit)” and shows that the spellings with *-a-* and *-i-* refer to the same town.

108. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 675.

109. See also R. Zadok, “On the Late-Assyrian Texts from Dūr-Katlimmu and the Significance of the NA Documentation for Ethno-linguistic Classification”, *NABU* 1995/3 (no. 9).

110. See the references in Cunchillos, *TO* II, 329, n. 13.

111. W. T. Pitard, “The Binding of Yamm: A New Edition of the Ugaritic Text *KTU* 1.83”, *JNES* 57 (1998) 261-280 (275).

112. But cf. AT *ma-al-la-ti*, Hess, “Ugaritic Place Names”, 525.

113. Lemaire, *UF* 30 (1998) 461ff.

114. Cf. Bordreuil, *Syr* 66 (1989) 265-269; cf. also *ugrym*.

115. Virolleaud, *Syr* 21 (1940) 145, cited by Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 491b.

116. A new occurrence in Lemaire, *UF* 30 (1998) 461ff.

117. Cf. Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 491b.

mḡrt «Cave» (Astour, RSP II, 301-302); cf. DNWSI, 672.¹¹⁸

mšbt «Memorial» (Astour, RSP II, 302); cf. Phoen./Punic *mšbh*, “stele, image” (DNWSI, 676-677).

mšd «Fortress» (DLU, 297)

mšrm «Egypt».¹¹⁹

mr «Mari».

mrāt «Fruitful» (lit. “fat”) (Astour, RSP II, 303); cf. *šmn* below.

mril is unexplained, but contains the element *il*, “Ilu” or “god”.¹²⁰

mrrt «Date-palm» only in *mrrt tḡll bnr* “Date-palm which produces dates”.¹²¹ Note syllabic Ugaritic ^{um}*mi-ra-ar* and ^{um}*me-ra-ar*,¹²² and cf. *nḫl* below.

nb/pk «Well, Spring» in *gt nb/pk*.¹²³

nbkm «Two Springs» or «Springs» as explained by Kühne.¹²⁴

ngḫt «Plain(?)» (KTU 4.643:18), cf. Mehri *gḫi*, “flat desert, desert plain”.¹²⁵

ndb «(Place of) Offering»: the syllabic spelling (*ni-da-bi*)¹²⁶ suggests Akk. *nindabû* (also *nidabû*, etc.), “cereal offering, food offering” (CAD N/2, 236-238; cf. AHW, 790b).

nḫl «Date-palm», cf. Arab. *naḫl*, “date-palms”, OSA *nḫl*, “palm-grove”; cf. *mrrt* above and *tmr* below. Alternatively, cf. Ebla *naḫal*^{K1}, “brook”,¹²⁷ Heb. נַחַל “river valley, wadi” (HALOT, 687b) hence perhaps “wadi, ravine”.¹²⁸

nḫry «Riverine», com. Sem. *nḫr*, “river”.¹²⁹

mmu «Medicinal Plant».¹³⁰

ngt «Nuḫašše» (cf. Cunchillos, *TO* II, 408, n.188).¹³¹

np «Memphis», Eg. *Mn-nfr*.¹³²

nptt «Place of Plenty (?)», cf. Akk. *napšu*, “abundant, plentiful” (CAD N/I, 318).

118. Alternatively, cf. Mehri *mḡrt*, ‘frankincense tree’ (Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon*, 262).

119. Cf. HALOT, 625 (etymologically boundary, district).

120. Cf. van Soldt *UF* 28 (1996) 678, n. 200.

121. W. G. E. Watson, “Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon (3)”, *UF* 30 (1998) 751-760 (752). However, according to Astour, *JAOS* 108(1988) 550, *mr* means “bitter lettuce”.

122. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 678.

123. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 151; van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 679.

124. C. Kühne, “Mit Glossenkeilen markierte fremde Wörter in akkadischen Ugarittexten”, *UF* 7 (1975) 253-260; following Gordon, *UT* 19.1597, he translates (*ibid.*, 260) “Zwei Quellen / Zweibrunn” or “Quellengrund”, as a collective. Cf. DLU, 317a.

125. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon*, 118.

126. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 679.

127. Astour, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 550.

128. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 152. Cf. DLU, 323a.

129. The name *n[ḡ]* “Niya”, may perhaps be read in KTU 2.36+:18 (Cunchillos, *TO* II, 408, n. 190) but KTU² propose *n[ḡt]*.

130. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 5.

131. See Pardee, *AfO* 29/30 (1983/84) 328, n. 70 for independent identification by Astour and Liverani.

132. See R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz 1997²) 1345a; HALOT, 617b.708; Muchiki, *Loanwords*, 45.161.231; Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 89, n. 81. According to Dijkstra, *UF* 23 (1991) 128, it may denote Carmel “or some other projecting cape”.

nšū is unexplained (DLU, 335a).

šdmy remains unexplained.

syn «Claytown» perhaps, in view of Hamito-Semitic *sin*, “earth, clay”.¹³³

sdlšld (DLU, 403a) remains unexplained.

slh «Watered Fields», the spellings *sil-ḥu/sil-ḥi* and *sil-ḥa-na*¹³⁴ evoking Mari *sil-ḥan*^{K1}, “Cultures arrosées”, and *Salluhân*^{K1}, “La très arrosée”, located in North Syria.¹³⁵ Cf. also Akk. *salḥu*, a topographical term (CAD S, 98).

smwn remains unexplained (see DLU, 404b).

snr appears as BH שניר, Ass. *Saniru* (HALOT, 1340b-1341a). Note also *snr miḥd*, “Sinaru Harbour”.¹³⁶

sgy «(Tree?)» also in *gt sgy* (DLU, 400a): cf. perhaps Akk. *siḥu* which denotes a resinous tree (CAD S, 241b-242a).

šdn «Lush Place»¹³⁷ rather than “Plain” (cf. HALOT, 792b).

šky «Mooring Post». ¹³⁸

šmq «Stronghold (?)» in *gt šmq*.¹³⁹

šnmk(y) «Source of the Mky» (DLU, 83a).¹⁴⁰

šnqpat «Source of the Qpat» (DLU, 83a).¹⁴¹

šrgz «(Wal)nut»: ¹⁴² Pardee concludes that although various forms of the word for “nut” exist in different languages none of them has *šr* as the initial consonants; also, that these words are relatively late. Furthermore, there is no archaeological record of nuts near Ras Shamra. Accordingly, “l’identification de *šrgz* come «noix» doit rester incertaine”.¹⁴³ However, from an examination of the contexts in which Ug. *šrgz* occurs, Dietrich - Loretz conclude that it is a (wal)nut tree.¹⁴⁴

šrm «Granary (?)» cf. Arab. *šarama*, “to store up, pile up” (cf. HALOT, 886). See next entry.

šrmt «Granary (?)», Heb. ערמה, “granary, heap (of fruit)” (HALOT, 887a).¹⁴⁵

šr šr «Tamarisk». ¹⁴⁶

133. Orel - Stolbova, *Etymological Dictionary*, 475 (§2249).

134. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 680.

135. M. Bonechi, “Salluhân^{K1}, Silhân^{K1}”, *NABU* 1994/96.

136. Following Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 681.

137. Also, A. Millard, “Eden, Bit Adini and Beth Eden”, *ErIs* 24 (1993) 174*-177*.

138. Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 110-112. D. Pardee, “Ugaritic”, *AfO* 31 (1984) 213-230 (222) considers it to be a gentilic.

139. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 160-161.

140. P. Bordreuil, “Sources et forêts: à propos de la géographie physique et humaine de l’ougarit”, in A. Sérandour, ed., *Des Sumériens aux Romains d’Orient. La perception géographique du monde* (Paris 1996) 59-66 (61).

141. Bordreuil, “Sources et forêts”, 61. Cf. Lemaire, *UF* 30 (1998) 461ff.

142. Syllabic spelling *A-ra-gi-zi* (RS 34.131:22 = RSO 7 No.4), a place name noted by M. Astour, “La topographie du royaume d’Ougarit”, in M. Yon - M. Sznycer - P. Bordreuil, eds, *Le pays d’Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin-1^{er} juillet 1993* (Paris 1995) 55-71 (66).

143. D. Pardee, *Les textes hippatriques* (Paris 1985) 55.

144. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, “Ug. *bsql šrgz* und he. *b šqlmw* (II Reg 4,42), ‘gwz’”, *UF* 18 (1986) 115-120.

145. AT *ar-ma-(at)-te*; cf. Hess, “Ugaritic Place Names”, 525. According to P. Fronzaroli, “West Semitic Toponymy in Northern Syria in the Third Millennium B.C.”, *JSS* 22 (1977) 145-166 (148), it may mean “steep height”.

ḫrt «Athtart», a city named after a goddess (cf. Astour, RSP II, 313-314).

ḡbl «Byblos», etymology obscure (Astour, RSP II, 314-315).¹⁴⁷

ḡbr «Dust(y Place) (?)» (KTU 1.40:4): cf. Arab. *ḡubār*, “dust”. Or else “Meeting-(place)”, cf. Mehri *ḡbr*, “to meet”.

ḡll «Produce» or the like, if Semitic.¹⁴⁸ Otherwise it may possibly be explained by Urartian *ḫaluli*, “wine”; cf. Nuzi-Hurrian *ḫalulu*, “(a fruit)”.¹⁴⁹

ḡn, URU *ḫa-ni*, homonymous with Bab. *Ḫanu* (AHw, 321),¹⁵⁰ but meaning unknown.

ḡr «Mountain» (DLU, 159b under *ḡr* IV);¹⁵¹ cf. also compound names with *ḡr* (under *amn*, *trḡzz*, *trmg*).

pd «Corner», i.e. *piʔtu* (Sivan, GAGI, 258).¹⁵²

phn «Cape (?)»; cf. Hurr. *paḫi* “head” (GLH, 192-193) if this is the Hurrian equivalent of *riš* (see below). Alternatively, “field”, Eg. *ph3*.¹⁵³ However, the meaning remains uncertain.

šdyn «Sidon» (DLU, 415a).

š^c «Bowl, Basin» (Sivan, GAGI, 268),¹⁵⁴ a word also occurring in KTU 1.15 iv 24.

š^cq «(Place of) Thunder (?)», spelled *ša-²-qu* etc.,¹⁵⁵ cf. Arab. *ša^caq*, “thunder”.¹⁵⁶

špn «North». ¹⁵⁷

šr «Rock, Mountain» (cf. DNWSI, 974),¹⁵⁸ i.e. Tyre.

qdš «Holy» or simply “Qadesh”.¹⁵⁹

qmy «Parched (Land) (?)»; cf. Akk. *qamû*, adj. “parched” (CAD Q, 76a).¹⁶⁰ See next entry.

qmnz «Construction», from the root *qwm*, “to stand up”.¹⁶¹

146. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 2; Sivan, GAGI, 204; *ḫr* (KTU 4.68:24) is uncertain; cf. van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 682.

147. URU *u-be-li*; cf. van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 682.

148. See my “Comments on *DLU* vol. I”, *AuOr* 19 (2001), and also J. Pasquali, “Hullum a Ebla e Mari”, *NABU* 1995/59, where Sem. *ḡll*, “yoke, etc.” is discussed.

149. M. Salvini, “Ein Beitrag zur hurritisch-urartäischen Morphologie”, *Or* 59 (1990) 243-250 (246, n. 12).

150. Cf. DLU, 158b; van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 683.

151. On *ḡr* in KTU 4.380:22; 4.635:39; 4.693:57 and 4.777:13 (= rev. 2) cf. van Soldt, *UF* 31 (1999) 767-770.

152. Syllabically *pi²edu*: Sivan, GAGI, 258; van Soldt *UF* 28 (1996) 683; see DLU, 343b. If *pd* is a toponym it would mean “village”.

153. Cf. Orel - Stolbova, *Etymological Dictionary* 414 (§1927). Note also *phw*, “marshes, hinterland” (Wilson, *Lexikon*, 360; cf. Faulkner, CDME, 92).

154. Syllabic spellings: van Soldt *UF* 28 (1996) 683; cf. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 170.

155. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 683.

156. See also J.-M. Durand, “*šāhum*, *šaʔāqum* = «crier»”, *NABU* 1995/48.

157. N. Wyatt, “The significance of ŠPN in West Semitic thought: a contribution to the history of a mythological motif”, in Dietrich - Loretz, *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient*, 213-237. See also van Soldt, *UF* 31 (1999) 770.

158. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 571.

159. See Pardee, *A/O* 29/30 (1983/84) 328, n. 70; *A/O* 36/37 (1989/90) 495a. Note that the reading *qt* «Qadi» in KTU 2.36+:17 is explicitly rejected by D. Pardee, “The Letter of Puduḫepa: The Text”, *A/O* 29/30 (1983/84) 321-329 (328, n. 69). See also Cunchillos, *TO* II, 407, n. 186 (end).

160. Astour, RSP II, 326, considers the root to be “to rise, to last”.

161. Sivan, GAGI, 260, following Astour, RSP II, 327, who analyses the toponym as Sem. *qamānu* + Hurr. *zi*.

qms: meaning uncertain (cf. DLU, 368).

q^cl «Summit» if a place name, or simply “summit”.¹⁶²

qr «Wall» and by extension «Walled city» (Astour, RSP II, 325), or simply “Town” (cf. Moab. *qr*, “town”, DNWSI, 1025).

qr mym «Waterswell».¹⁶³

qrzbl «City of the Prince, Royal Town»¹⁶⁴; cf. *zbl*.

qrt «Town» (com. Sem.; cf. DNWSI, 1037)¹⁶⁵; cf. *Qa-ra-tu* in PRU 6, 78:1.26.¹⁶⁶

riš «Cape, Promontory».¹⁶⁷

rkby «Crest» (Astour, RSP II, 330).

rqd «High-lying Land» or the like, cf. Mehri *mərḳáydl mərḳōd*, “rough patch up the mountain”,¹⁶⁸ or less likely, “(City of) dance (?)” (cf. Sivan, GAGI, 265), com. Sem. *rqd*, e.g. Akk. *raqādu*.

šiy may denote a desert; for the various proposals (“waste land”, “murderous god”, “desolation”) cf. DLU, 427a.¹⁶⁹

šbn «Reed Thicket (?)»; cf. *šūbu*, the Assyrian form of Babylonian *šubbatu/šuppatu*, “rush, reed thicket” (CSD Š/3, 187a, 326). Alternatively, cf. perhaps Akk. *šuppu*, a topographical term (*ibid.*, 326).

šhlmmt «Shore of Death (?)».¹⁷⁰

šhq «Levelled (?)»; cf. perhaps Akk. *šēqu*, “to measure level” (CSD Š/2, 308; AHW, 1215b).¹⁷¹

šlmy «Peace, Well-being» (Astour, RSP II, 330-331);¹⁷² cf. Palm. *šlmy*, “agreement” (DNWSI, 1153). Similary, perhaps, *šlmym*.

šlrby «(Place of the) Medlar», i.e. Akk. *šalluru* + Hurr. suffix *-bal-bi*.¹⁷³

šmgy, normalised as /Šammegāl/, cf. *šmgy*.

šmn and *šmny* «Fat» i.e. fertile (place) or simply “Oil”.¹⁷⁴

162. Cf. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 89, n. 79.

163. So Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 307; see *ibid.* 307, n. 249.

164. L. Shedletsky - B. Levine, “The *mšr* of the Sons and Daughters of Ugarit”, *RB* 106 (1999) 321-344 (332). Alternatively, “Source of the leader”, Dietrich - Loretz - Sanmartín, *UF* 7 (1975) 153-154.

165. “The general meaning of the word is “town,” “dwelling,” “village,” but the lists of the collective obligations of the Ugaritic villages show that there was also a village with this name”, Heltzer, *Rural Community*, 17, n. 51.

166. Van Soldt, “PRU 6 no. 78 (RS 19.41)”, 784.

167. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 685 n.261; Astour, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 550; cf. DNWSI, 1042-1044; J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts* (Princeton NJ 1994) #285. Note also the river name *rhbn* «Wide Place» (Astour RSP II, 329-330); on its location cf. M. Yon, *La cité d’Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Paris 1997) 19.

168. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon*, 325.

169. See also Hamito-Semitic **sew-* / **ew-* “(to) be dry” in Orel - Stolbova, *Dictionary* 469 (§2224), where Eg. *šw* “dry” is quoted (see Faulkner, CDME, 263).

170. See the discussion in Wyatt, RTU, 124 n.48.

171. Sivan, GAGI, 273: “to pound, pulverize”. For a new occurrence cf. Lemaire, *UF* 30 (1998) 461ff.

172. Cf. M. C. Astour, “Some Recent Works on Ancient Syria and the Sea People”, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 447-459 (451). Also the references in DLU, 440a.

173. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 6; *JAOS* 108 (1988) 554 and nn.74-75; “possibly ... the plum” (CSD Š/1, 253b-254).

174. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 6.

šmngy, normalised as /Šamniḡā/¹⁷⁵, a form of the preceding name “with the Hurrian suffix *-ga* which often occurs in names of mountains”.¹⁷⁶

š^crt «Wool, Fleece» (Astour, RSP II, 331-332)¹⁷⁷ or else “Barley (field) or scrub country”.¹⁷⁸

šql «Marsh (?)»; cf. Akk. *šuqlu*, “marsh(?), a marsh plant(?)” (CSD Š/3, 334), though the syllabic spellings suggest *šuqalu*.¹⁷⁹

šryn «Sirion» (KTU 1.4 vi 19.21), Heb. שִׁרְיָן (HALOT, 1357).¹⁸⁰

šrš «Foundation» if Semitic (cf. Sivan, GAGI, 276),¹⁸¹ or “Throne(-city)” if Hurrian,¹⁸² though the spellings (*šu-ra-šu*, etc.) seem to obviate the second possibility.

tbq: see under *tbq*, above.¹⁸³

tkm: various explanations in DLU, 467b.

tkn is unexplained.¹⁸⁴ Cf. HALOT, 1734-1735.

tlmš «Great», explained by Hurr. *talmi*.¹⁸⁵

tmrm «Date-palm(s)» (cf. *tmr*, DNWSI, 1222); cf. *mrrt* and *nhl* above.¹⁸⁶

tph «Apple- or Apricot-tree» (cf. Astour, RSP II, 336).

trb: the unexplained element *tarbi* / *tarwe* occurs in several names.¹⁸⁷

trzy «Hardwood-tree», cognates Heb. תְּרִיז, a hard tree; Aram. *t^eraz*, a hardwood tree, perhaps stone oak; Arab. *taraza*, “to be hard”.¹⁸⁸

trgzz (as *gr trgzz* : DLU, 159a, 474a) is unexplained.¹⁸⁹

ttl «Tuttul», a town on the Euphrates.¹⁹⁰

t in KTU 2.33.¹⁹¹

175. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 687-688.

176. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 6. See further DLU, 445a.

177. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 183.

178. Hoch, *Semitic Words*, #358.

179. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 688.

180. Cf. Aram. *šry* “to reside” (DNWSI, 1192) cf. also *šurunu* “level country(?)” according to Astour, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 451.

181. Cf. Akk. *šuršū*, “root, base, foundation” (CSD Š/2, 363-364).

182. Cf. M. C. Astour, “Some New Divine Names from Ugarit”, *JAOS* 86 (1966) 277-284 (281, n. 45); Astour 1987, 33-34 “Hurrian, from the root *šerše*, of unknown meaning” (34); also 55-56. In fact, *šerše* means “Thron, Thronstadt”: V. Haas - I. Wegner, “Stern, Tag und Segen(?) im Hurrilischen”, *SCCNH* 8, 285-290 (287, n.12).

183. It is uncertain whether *tbr* (“Tabor”) is to be read in KTU 1.142:3; see discussion in G. del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion according to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (Bethesda MD 1999) 348, n. 53. In KTU 4.363:4, *tkyḡ* is not a toponym but probably a Hurrian word; cf. J.-P. Vita, *El ejército de Ugarit* (Madrid 1995) 81.

184. Cf. P. Bordreuil, “À propos de la topographie économique de l’Ougarit: jardins du midi et pâturages du Nord”, *Syr* 66 (1989) 263-274 (269) and Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 187. Cf. perhaps Arab. *takiya*, “hospice, home, asylum”.

185. Astour, “Semites and Hurrians”, 30 n.203.

186. Note that Hurr. *temari* means “canal”; cf. André-Salvini - Salvini, “Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue”, 19.

187. Astour, “Toponymic Parallels”, 19.

188. Cf. Astour, “North Syrian Toponyms”, 7; HALOT, 1792a.

189. Mehri *rgz*, “to interrupt in an unwelcome manner, to become soft” (Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon*, 320) is not very illuminating.

190. Cf. syllabic *tu-tu* (van Soldt, *UF* 28 [1996] 689) and Akk. *tutu*, “mulberry tree” (*AHW*, 1374b). See also G. Dossin, “Le site de Tuttul-sur-Balīḡ”, *RA* 68 (1974) 34, n.1.

tbil «May El Return (?)».¹⁹² Cf. *ilštm*^c, above.

tbq: meaning unknown,¹⁹³ cf. Akk. *šibqu*, which denotes “an architectural feature” (CSD Š/2, 381b).¹⁹⁴

ty(n)dr «River of (Mount) Ndr (?)».¹⁹⁵

tlhny «Table» (Astour, RSP II, 337) i.e. a flat-topped hill.

tlrby: cf. *šlrby*.¹⁹⁶

tmr(y) «Rich Yield» (Astour, RSP II, 337-338; Sivan, GAGI, 281).

tnq remains unexplained.¹⁹⁷

tpn «Badger», cf. Heb. יַבְשׁ “rock badger” (HALOT, 1633b).

trmg as *gr trmg* (DLU, 159a, 506b), is unexplained.

trmn «Cypress» as *gt trmn*: cf. Akk. *šurmēnu*, “cypress” (CSD Š/3, 349-353).¹⁹⁸

3. Concluding remarks

Not unexpectedly, many of the names have explanations which are dubious or only mere possibilities. Much is sheer guesswork. It is curious that many of the names beginning with *y* and *s* (or *š*) defy analysis. Also, we do not know which were pre-Semitic or whether some have been re-interpreted as Semitic. Even so, such lexical material cannot be ignored. In general the proposals mentioned are very tentative and further study is necessary, although in many cases uncertainty will remain.¹⁹⁹

191. See Cunchillos TOu 2, 235.

192. Van Soldt, “PRU 6 no. 78 (RS 19.41)”, 780.

193. Van Soldt, *UF* 28 (1996) 689: either a place name or a personal name.

194. Note also Akk. *šibqū*, “plan, stratagem” (CSD Š/2, 381b-382a).

195. Cunchillos, *TO* II, 289, n. 9, where other proposals are set out.

196. It is possible that *tnk* in KTU 1.22 i 17 is not a place name; cf. W. G. E. Watson, “Wonderful Wine (KTU 1.22 i 17-20)”, *UF* 31 (1999) 777-784, esp. 779.

197. Cf. Akk. *šanakku*, “possibly a geographic name” (CSD Š/1, 366a).

198. Following Xella (reference in Pardee, *AfO* 36/37 [1989/90] 496b).

199. Some geographical names remain unpublished, e.g. the list of towns in KTU 9.417.