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 conclusions.]

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.
In other words, while it is legitimate for scholars to refer to late Semitic languages in order to determine a meaning\(^2\), 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 paper\(^3\) concerns the Ugaritic words \(\text{šmn} \) and \(\text{šmt} \) and their equivalents in both Akkadian and Hittite, but there are others\(^4\).

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 meaning\(^5\). 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 reconstruction\(^6\).

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

It is clear from the four hippiatric texts\(^7\) and other references in the tablets as well as from iconographic material\(^8\) 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 Ugaritic 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 sequence\(^9\). 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.

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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).
8. Vita 1995, plates II-XIV.
9. Terms for carts, chariots and their components are not discussed here. These include \(\text{apn}\), “wheel”; \(\text{l} \), “yoke”; \(\text{rq} \), “cart”; \(\text{lt} \), “tyre”; \(\text{mrkb} \), “chariot”; \(\text{mtr} \), “chariot with toughened wheels”; \(\text{prs} \), “chariot pole”; \(\text{št} \), “baseboard (of chariot)”; \(\text{smd} \), “yoke”; \(\text{šin} \), “(wheel-)rim” and \(\text{tr} \), “(steering) pole”. Nor is the verb \(\text{smd} \), “to harness, yoke”. On \(\text{mdl} \), “to bridle” or the like, see \(\text{mdl} \), which is discussed below. It is possible that \(\text{hbq} \) 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: \(\text{yhbq qds wamrr} \), which Greenfield translates: “Qadesh-wa-Ammur made it [i.e gpn] fast”. As he notes: “The verb \(\text{hbq} \) in this passage is clearly “to fasten, tie, harness” and preserves a technical nuance of \(\text{hbq} \)” (ibid. 528). However, most scholars take the verb as meaning “to clasp, embrace” (cf. Akk. \(\text{epēqu} \)) and translate: “Qadesh-and-Ammur 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 question. Previous partial studies include a note on three terms relating to draught and riding animals by Good, the reference work on terms relating to textiles in the Ugaritic texts by Ribichini and Xella and the review by Sanmartín and part of Vita's monograph on the army in Ugarit. Elsewhere, I have already made suggestions for ḥrd, mdīl, škm, ṭyk and yṣmn, which have been incorporated into this article, with some modifications. New proposals are set out here for ḥmr, ḫmr, ḥbr, ḥtn, ḫtn, ḫns, mtr, sk and ṣr. And some new cognates are suggested for other terms that have already been understood. 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

mtm. ṭgr šbm
bksl. qšt. mdt

With a whip she drove out the captives
with the back of her bow, the submissive ones

mṭ, “riding whip” (line 15).

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

10. For Ebla see Conti 1997.
11. Good 1984, on ḥry (noun), mdīl (noun and verb) and ṣmd (noun and verb). Note that ḥry (KTU 4.145:8, etc.) does not mean “threshing sledge”, as proposed by Good (1984, 77-79) but “item, exact portion”, based on Akk. ḫarṣu, “precisely defined” (cf. DUL, 367).
17. Here the enclitic -m is used adverbially.
18. For the meaning of mdt here see Tropper 2007.
19. 1 translated “fusta” (DUL, 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)”.
21. In spite of the parallelism with ḫs qšt, it is unlikely to mean “arrow(s)” here. The bicolon is a play on words.
CAD N/2, 132-133)\textsuperscript{22}. De Moor (1987, 6) translates the parallel expression \textit{(bksl q̱ūth)} “with the stave of her bow”, which is justified since Ug. \textit{ksl} can mean “back, shoulder or side” (DUL, 461-462)\textsuperscript{23}. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
KTU 1.4 iv 14-15 & He placed Athirat on the back of the donkey,  \\
yšn ətr  l bmt ʿr & on the blanket(-saddle) of the back of the ass  \\
l  ysmṣmt bmt ṣḥl &  \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
KTU 1.19 ii 9-11 & Thereupon\textsuperscript{24} she lifted her father,  \\
bk  tšu abh & she put him on the back of the donkey,  \\
tšnn  l bmt ʿr & on the blanket(-saddle) of the back of the ass  \\
l  ysmṣmt\textsuperscript{25} bmt ṣḥl &  \\
\end{tabular}

The meaning of Ug. \textit{ysmsmt} here is based on Akk. \textit{asmatu}, “a type of horse trappings” (cf. CDA, 26; CAD A/2, 337)\textsuperscript{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. \textit{wasšamu} D means “to adorn” (CDA, 435), so that Ug. \textit{ysmsmt} may mean something like “adornment, trappings”\textsuperscript{27}. The word is confined to literary texts\textsuperscript{28}. ♦ Meaning from context, possibly supported by Akkadian.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
KTU 1.4 iv 4-7 \| 9-12 (\| KTU 1.19 ii 3-5) &  \\
mdl ʿr ṣmd ṣḥl & Rope up an ass, attach a donkey.  \\
št gpnm d t ksp & Put on harnesses that are of silver,  \\
dt yrq nqbnm & straps that are of gold:  \\
ʿbd gpn atnty & prepare a harness for my she-ass.  \\
\end{tabular}

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

Difficult Ug. \textit{mdl} has been compared with Akk. \textit{nadd/tullu} (AHw, 703), “(part of a harness)” (CAD N/2, 120-121); Akk. \textit{nattullu}, Bog. \textit{namtullu}, “part of a harness” (CDA, 246) or “reins”\textsuperscript{29}. On Ebla \textit{na-da-lum}, Conti refers to the two leather \textit{naddullu} in EA 22 i 21 in the context of items for chariots and horses\textsuperscript{30} indicating the meaning to be part of the harness or reins. Another possibility is that \textit{mdl} is a mqt\textit{l}-form\textsuperscript{31} from the verb \textit{dl}, “to move around”, corresponding to Akk. \textit{dālu}, “to move, roam around” (CDA, 54), and

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

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

\textsuperscript{24}. Or “weeping”\textsuperscript{21}; see discussion in Wyatt 2002, 298 n. 211.

\textsuperscript{25}. Emending \textit{ysmsmt} to \textit{ysmsmṣ}.

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

\textsuperscript{27}. It would then be the same as \textit{ysmsmt} in KTU 1.17 ii 42 in the expression \textit{ysmsmt} ʿrš hṛt, “the loveliness of the bed of childbirth”, from the root \textit{ysm}.

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

\textsuperscript{29}. Watson 2007a, 51. See also Tropper KWU, 69.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{31}. For noun formations with an \textit{m}- prefix from geminate roots see Tropper UG, 266-268 (although \textit{mdl} is not discussed there).
means "lead-(rope)" or the like. Similarly, Good (1984, 80) suggests: "Its etymology is to be found by comparing Arabic dalla "to guide" (an animal), Aramaic dalal "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". Perhaps the best solution is my comparison with Eg. md3m, "schmaler Riemen" (Hannig GHWb, 377). ♦ 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, "gpmn ... is a dual of the same word [i.e. gpn, "vine"], "vine-tendrils" being used as a poetic designation of the reins. As another possibility, Tropper (2002, 133) refers to Arab. gff (II), "to put a war-harness on a horse".

As an alternative, I propose that perhaps Ug. gpn is a form of Akk. kappu(m), "ein Teil des Zaulmeuges?" (AHw, 444); "(part of harness)" (CDA, 147) with an affirmative -n. This seems confirmed by Ug. gp which occurs together with ispr, "whip" in RS 94.2406:26-27 (see below). In any case, Ug. gpm(m), a term restricted to literary texts, seems to denote a harness or bridle. ♦ 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: "nqbnm might be a designation of the perforated leather straps of the harness". Similarly, "perforated strap" (Dijkstra-De Moor 1975, 182) from the root nqb, "to perforate". 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". Note that this word only occurs in literary texts. ♦ Meaning from West Semitic.

32. Alternately it may be related to Akk. madîlu, madîlu, "to preserve, etc." (derivatives madîlu and midîlu); see Watson 1986a; 2007a, 50-52. Greenfield (1964) instead, prefers to see Ug. mld 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 mädâlad', "pad or saddle blanket", cited by Del Olmo Lete 2003, 207 n. 23.

33. The noun mld, perhaps in the sense of "lightning" (cf. Good 1984, 81) in "take your clouds, your wind, your mld, your rain" (KTU 1.5 v 7) seems to correspond to Akk. serru(2), "noose-rope, lead-rope, halter" in the transferred meaning of "cosmic retaining rope" (CDA, 336).


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

36. Also possible is a connection with Hitt. kapina- (gapina-), "Faden, Zwirn" (HW, 99).

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

38. For Ug. g / as corresponding to Akk. k / see Ug xgl, "private belongings" - Akk. suk/gullu, "Herde" (AHw, 1053-1054); sugullu, sakullu, sakaliku, "herd" (CAD S, 345-346) and Ug. xgr, "gold (appliqué)" - Akk. sag/kur, "refined (gold)" (CDA, 313).


41. For the NWS verbal root nqβ see DNWSI, 756. Note further Akk. naqâba, "to penetrate (sexually)" (CDA), 40.

42. Less likely is its equivalence with Heb. nippâh, "cord" (HALOT, 722), but see Tropper 2002, 146 and KWU, 89.
šb'r, "halter" (line 16).

Usually, šb'r is translated "torch" or "(he) began to shine", from the verb b'r (I), "to burn"; Š "to illuminate" (DUL, 212). Instead, Tropper\(^{43}\) suggests a derivation from b'r (III), "to leave, etc."\(^{44}\). The (unattested) Š-form would mean "to lead (away), guide" and šb'r would be a noun meaning "lead-rope, halter"\(^{45}\). As Tropper argues, this would fit the immediate context, since Quds-and-Amur 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tn.</th>
<th>skm</th>
<th>Šb'. mšlt.</th>
<th>four sets of (horse-armor)</th>
<th>fifty-three ass-saddles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ark'.</td>
<td>ḫpnt.</td>
<td>[          ]</td>
<td>[          ]</td>
<td>[          ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫmšm. ṭlt. rkb. a'tn.</td>
<td>[          ]</td>
<td>[          ]</td>
<td>fifty-three ass-saddles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)\(^9\). 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)\(^{10}\), considered equivalent to nahlaptu, which can mean “armour” (CAD N/1, 138, 140)\(^{5}2\). Whether Eg mšj, “lederner Teil des Streitwagens” (Wb II 154, 20) is the same word is uncertain\(^{52}\). As yet another possibility, I suggest that it is some sort of metal fastening in view of Akk. šallatum, “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.
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. škk, “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. šulumu, “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.

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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 horses. 54 According to Tropper (UG, 148 and 300) 55 both Ug. hpn, “cloak” and Ug. hpn, “garment” may be explained by Akk. halāpu, “to be clad in” (see CDA, 101). Therefore, here hpn may correspond to Akk. hallupu, which denotes armour for soldiers or horses 56. The meaning seems to be “caparison, horse-armour” 57. However, if Ug. hpn is not the same as hpn, then perhaps it can be explained by Mari Akk. ḫapū, “to wrap up” (CDA, 106; AHw, 322), Heb. hāḏāḥ, “to cover” (HALOT, 339). Alternatively, it may denote a strap in view of Hitt. ḫalāpu-, “leather part of harness” derived from Hitt. ḫapp’tu-, “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. ṛyn.
♦ Meaning from Akkadian and from context.

rkb, “saddle” (line 20).
Instead of rkb ṛtn, which makes no sense, Sanmartín 59 reads rkb ṛtn, “donkey saddle” 60 and suggests that rkb corresponds to Akk. ṭikbu, “attachment” (CDA, 304) 61. ♦ Meaning uncertain.

KTU 4.363:1-1062

knt. [][Hx] ššr h vt
    [Th]irtee[n] tunics .....  
   d bnšm. yd. grbzhm
   belonging to the labourers with their helmets

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w. ūn. ššr. hpn

ššwm. amtm. ḫtyg
   and twelve (sets of) armour
   yd. l ḫšhm. [ ]
   with their attachments.

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w. ūln. l. ššm

hpn. ššwm. ūn
   (sets of) armour for horses, two
pl. dm. w. d. ūn
   (horse-)blankets and for six

53. Or “(set of) protective padding (for horses)” (DUL, 400).
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 hpn zu trennen” (Tropper KWU, 51).
56. “The word for “armoured” is hallupu, though this has not always been recognised” (Postgate 2000, 97; see now CDA, 102). For references to Akk. ḫubhpuppitu, “a garment”, etc., cf. Vita, 1995, 80 and DUL, 400.
57. See also Akk. tahlīpu and tahlāpu, “armour” (CAD T, 51; CDA, 394), possibly referring to a type of armoured chariot (Postgate 2000, 96-97).
58. Also perhaps Aram ḫpy (DNWSI, 394) and Arab. ḫajīya, “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.
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. ṛkīb, “stirrup” (DMWA, 356). Note also Aram. ṛkybh, “saddle” (DNWSI, 1076) but this word is very uncertain. De Moor (1970, 308 and 311) suggests “bale”, i.e. “bales of ṛtn”. One could explain ṛtn by Akk. ḫītu, “breast-strap (of a harness)” (CAD U, 188), with prothetic alef and an affermative -n, so that ṛkb ṛtn would mean “attachment of a breast-strap”, but this seems very hypothetical. On Ug. ṛtn see also Akk. ṭitī, “attached” (CAD R, 297).
62. For a translation see Vita 1995, 78-79.
The text is a scholarly discussion on Akkadian terms related to horse harnessing. The author, Wilfred G. E. Watson, explores the meanings and etymologies of various Akkadian terms, such as "hpnt," "amt," "tkyğ," "llḫ," "lilūtu," and others, and provides etymological notes and translations. The text includes references to other scholarly works and is presented in a typical format for a historical or linguistic study.
Sumero-Akk. ḫuluḫḫu, “enamel”, etc., had been suggested (Del Olmo Lete 1979, 183). 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 chariots. It would seem to be a general term for a textile that could also be used for horses. Meaning uncertain.

KTU 4.595:1-4

| tš.tq. kbd  | Ninety bridles in all |
| l. sdnt. ššwm | for horses’ harnesses |

| ttm. tq. bd. aym | sixty bridles for PN |
| arlb. tgt. bd. dnn | four bridles for PN |

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

The term is evidently related to horses. Instead of the generally accepted meaning “sack” (DUL, 927), I propose that the root of this noun is Ugar. *ytq*, “to tie” (cf. DUL, 996, with cognates). The formation of Ugar. *ytq* (plural *ytq*), “lead-rope”, from this verb is not a problem. Note also Arab. *watāq*, “tie, bond, fetter, etc.” (DMWA, 1048). In addition, cf. Eg. *jškn*, “*Binde, Gurtel*” (Hannig GHWb, 106). For the semantics, compare Akk. *riksu*, “harness, reins” (CAD R, 347) from Akk. *rakāsu*, “to tie, etc.” (CAD R, 95-96). Meaning 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 pldm, 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. *patītu*, a term for a chariot (cf. CDA, 271; AHw, 849). See also Heb. *pālōt*, “coverings (of chariots)” (Nah 2:4).
77. The occurrences elsewhere are not connected with horses.
79. Although this word (*ytq*) is not mentioned there. Bordreuil (2007) suggests that *ytq* in KTU 1.100 is from the unattested Ugar. verb *tyqt* cognate with Akk. *šaqqu*, “to be high, elevated”, in the Dp meaning and translates: “il (= le serpent) est fait dresser”.
80. Compare Ugar. *šint*, “sleep”, from the verb *šin*, “to sleep” and Ugar. *šit*, “seat” from the verb *šib*, “to sit”.
82. Therefore Dietrich/Loretz (1976, 15) concluded: “Bei *sdh* wäre gegebenenfalls auf akk. *suddinnu* “Kumt” zu verweisen”. Sammartin (1992, 96 n. 3) notes: “*sdh* (pl. *sdnt*) es la denominación de un producto textil usado como arnés o prenda de vestir”.
83. TÜG za-an.NAMES u KUS akātu, “s. and reins” (JEN 588:36); see discussion section in CAD S, 17.
84. See also Heb. *šaḏn*, “garment” (HALOT, 743-744); Mankowski 2000, 109-110, but with no reference to Ugaritic.
86. “Bindung, Streifen, Riemen”, from *jštn*, “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*, “toute ce qui sert à se ceindre” from the verb *stw*, “ceindre, se ceindre”87. Yet another possibility is equivalence with Akk. *šuṭṭinu*, “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) *ušpigt* (f.), “(horse-)cloth” (KTU 1.43:4; 1.92:26; 1.148:21)

This may be a loanword from Hurrian through Akk. *us/šaphhu*, “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. *šapâ*, “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. *ušpigt* 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” (ʿdbm) (RS 94.2406:26) and once in another list that includes *ʾrmlḥt*, 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. *išpr*, “whip” (Faulkner CDME, 30), Eg. *jsbr, šjspr*, “Peitsche” (Hannig GHWb, 103)91, which seems to be a loan from Semitic92. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian via 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 *ašitu*, “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 *bīl att* means “makers (or producers) of reins”. ♦ Meaning from Akkadian.

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 *ıspar*, “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-i-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. *prs*, “to stretch out (for thrashing), etc.” (Takács 2001, 483). Whether Hittite *ismer*, “rēne, bride” (Vanséveren I 90; cf. HW2, 89) or Phoen. *smr*, “whip” (DNWSI, 793) come into play here is uncertain.
92. Personal communication of Gábor Takács.
93. As Durand (1990, 659) notes: “*att* ... le terme est rapproché, faute de mieux, de l’Akk. *ašātu, orēneso*”. 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. *ıstn*, discussed below.

Aula Orientalis 29 (2011) 155-176 (ISSN: 0212-5730)
(4) ḫṭm, “halter, muzzle” (KTU 5.22:24).

Rather than another spelling of ḫṭ, “wheat” (DUL, 416), I suggest that this may correspond to Sem. *ḥṭām “halter”95. Alternatively, it may mean “muzzle” in view of Akk. ḥatāmu, “to muzzle” (CAD ḫ, 152) and its derivatives ḫṭmu, “muzzling” (CAD ḫ, 210)96 and ḫṭṭimu, “muzzle, snout”. Note also Heb. ḫṭm, “to restrain onself” (HALOT, 307). Unfortunately, there is no context to decide the matter.

♦ Meaning from Semitic.

(5) ḳsn, “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/šānu, “a Ledersack” (AHw, 299; cf. CDA, 97). Hoch refers to the same Akkadian word to explain Eg. ka=wi=sā-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. ḳsn means “reins” in view of Eg. kwšn, “reins” (DLEII, 171)98, but this also remains conjectural. ♦ Meaning uncertain for lack of context.

(6) mtr, “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. miğara, “saddlecloth, blanket, drape”, from the root watara, “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. mšwrṯ, “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. šummutum, 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. ḥatama, “to put on a bridle or muzzle” (cited in HALOT, 307).
96. Not included either in AHw or in CDA. See also Ug. ḫṭm, “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 mn 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 Fableṣ of ṣheṣ the ṣtamirks and ṣheṣ the Palm, the date-palm boasts that šummanni, “tethering-rope”, 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”.
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. šumzanana, “bulrush”; for this plant cf. Stivalia 2004, 46 and Kloekhorst 2008, 780-781. For a different solution for Ug. šm (a type of tree), see Stieglitz 1970 and Watson 2004b, 125.
105. Eg. šnv, “Seil, Strick” (Hannig GHWb, 829) is most probably unrelated.
(8) šr’m, “reins” (KTU 1.148:21).

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

(9) tğıpt, “felt (horse-)blanket” (KTU 4.183 ii 10; 4.370:13; 4.609:36)\(^{110}\)

This is the same as Akk. təhəpsu, “used as a blanket(?) for horses” (MA, Nuizi; CAD T, 40); “felt” for horses (CDA, 393), a loan from Hurrian taḫapšu. The full expression is b’l tğıpt(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 Hur. šariyanni, “leather coat”\(^{112}\) possibly via Akk. sar(y)am, sir(y)am, siri, šešir(y)am, šari(y)ānum, šariānu, šir’am, šir’amnu, širiyanni, “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.


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 e\(^{116}\), although this is uncertain because of the alloform ḫubuṭṭum in Old Akkadian. Alternatively, it may mean “saddle-cloth” as proposed by Kogan (2001, 267) based on Yemeni Arabic gabatīn, “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.

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107. Corresponding to Akk. šur’um, “Teil eines Wagens” (AHw, 1287, mnng 3).
108. It is uncertain whether Eg. sver, 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. šeširānu, “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 tğipt, “Felt-maker” (PN; KTU 4.57:3).
112. Ribichini/Xella 1985, 70. See also Hittite šariyanni, “a coat of armor” (CHD Š/2, 2005, 295, Hurr. lw).
113. See Akk. širiam, “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”.
The expression ḥmr škm (KTU 4.14:6, 12, 18) has been taken to mean “braying donkey”\(^\text{117}\), even though this seems somewhat tautological\(^\text{118}\). 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 (šakimatun)\(^\text{119}\) into his mouth” (Lane AEL I, 1588)\(^\text{120}\). Modern Arabic šakama means “to bridle (an animal); to silence, gag, muzzle (someone)” (DMWA, 483)\(^\text{121}\). If Ug. škm has the same or a similar meaning\(^\text{122}\), 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) babbānûṣ ana zibilu ša kanšu, “1 excellent donkey, docile, for haulage work” (TCL 13 No. 165:4)\(^\text{123}\).

Note also tdgī, “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)\(^\text{124}\) is based on Akk. tutiwe, “a fastening” (CAD T, 498)\(^\text{125}\). See also b’l tdt, “makers of t.” (KTU 4.609:35). Yet again, this remains conjectural. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian via Akkadian.

(3) Note also tdgī, “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)\(^\text{124}\) is based on Akk. tutiwe, “a fastening” (CAD T, 498)\(^\text{125}\). See also b’l 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 Tropper\(^\text{126}\), 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 Wilhelm\(^\text{127}\). Possibly, like Hurrian šinussi, which occurs in Alalāḫ Akkadian as šinuzza (CAD S/3, 56), Ug. tnt may also derive from Hurr. šint, “eye” and may have the meaning “blinkers”\(^\text{128}\). However, the morphology is obscure and all this remains very hypothetical. ♦ Meaning from Hurrian, possibly via Akkadian\(^\text{129}\).


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 škm” (cf. Tropper Ug, 411). For a suggestion based on Arab. šakm-, “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/I, 113. In this connection, note qal d ybl prd, “the messenger who leads the mule” (KTU 4.337:12).

124. “Hersteller von Harnischen (??)”.


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


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


aula Orientalis 29 (2011) 155-176 (ISSN: 0212-5730) 167
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. iptt 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 kaptā/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) ḫdg (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. ḥidg and ḥidāqh, “women’s camel saddle”. According to Renfroe (1992, 118): “While comparison with Arabic ḥidg "saddle" in the assumed sense of "birth-stool" is perhaps possible, given the limitations of our present knowledge it is unprovable”.

(5) If mṭḥ means “donkey-pack” (KTU 1.3 iv 36) it would correspond to Heb. 'amtaḥat, “saddle-bag (of a donkey)”, used metaphorically to denote a subterranean layer, as argued by De Moor137. However, Ug. mṭḥ 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, mṭpd, “donkey-pack” (KTU 1.3 iv 35) may be used for a layer under the earth. But the proposed match with Heb. miṣp/tayûm, “saddle-baskets” (HALOT, 652)140, would require Ug. /d/ to

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130. It may even mean “height” – for details see Mazzini 2003 and 2004.
131. See Renfroe 1992, 144-145. The same applies to šm, “to muzzle” (DUL, 852).
132. The suggestion that Ug. ḏrb (only in KTU 1.123:8) is to be explained from Heb. ḏrbēn, “cattle goad”, was first made by Virolleaud (1965b, 66). Instead, Marcus (1975, 94 n. 13) suggested that ḏrb 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. īpu, “blinders” (CDA, 131), on which cf. Wicke 1999, 826-827.
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 Marjoo Korpel for help with this reference).
138. In DLU, 305: “una medida de longitud”. Cf. also Tropper KWU, 81-82.
139. See Pentiuco 2001, 123 (with mention of Ug. mṭḥ), a reference that I inserted into DUL, 599.
140. Cf. Arab. majafil, “lining”.

Aula Orientalis 29 (2011) 155-176 (ISSN: 0212-5730)
correspond to Heb. itu141. Instead, in view of Arab. tfūd, which refers to “one thing set upon another”, or to something “superimposed” or “layered”, Ug. mipd would seem to mean “layer” (Renfroe 1992, 153-154). Alternatively, it may mean “(length of) stride”, derived from ipd, “to place (one’s foot) on” (Tropper KWU, 83).

(7) The word tīgpt (see above) was discussed by Ribichini/Xella (1985, 68), and the meaning “belt, harness, caparison” accepted. Ward (1989) considered Eg. thbs142, “plaited bag with a leather strap”, to be borrowed from Hurr. tahapšu, “leather strap (for a bag)” and to correspond to Ug. tīgpt with a similar meaning. But, as noted above, Akk. (Hurr.) tahapšu means “blanket”, probably made of felt.

(8) The term yprt (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, ṭ (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

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<td>Grbz</td>
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<td>bit</td>
<td>ṭspr, škm</td>
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<td>mšlt, mṯr, pld</td>
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<td>bridle</td>
<td>ṭq</td>
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<td>donkey-pack</td>
<td>mṯ, mḏp</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

141. In addition, it “misses the point that Hebrew mišp’tayım «saddle bags» doubtless reflects the semantics of √ṣpt «to put on top of»” (Renfroe 1992, 112).

142. It also occurs with a final -u(i), but according to Ward (1989, 73) it is “meaningless”. However, see Eg. ṭḥbst, “basket” (DLE II, 218). Instead, Hoch (1994, 362-363 §357) posits a derivation from Semitic ḥḥš, “to bind”.


144. See Watson 2003. Similarly, Akk. īrahšu, “an undergarment”, is derived from īru, “pudenda” (CAD, 427; cf. AHw, 1428).


146. Corresponding to Aram. šnṯ, “some type of garment or dress” (DNWSI, 1175).
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, att, hbṭn, ḫṭm, ksn, llḥ, ṭmr, sdn, ṣm, ṣmt, tdgūl, ṭkūg, ṭnt, ṭq, ṭryn*. Terms that occur in the literary and religious texts are: *ušpḡt gpn, ṭmr, mṭ, sdn, ṣmšlt, ṣtn, ṭmr, ṭq, ṭryn*. A few occur in both: *ḥpn, ṭmr, pld* and *išpr*. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ug.</th>
<th>transl.</th>
<th>cognate with/loan from</th>
<th>non-Semitic loan from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>amt</em></td>
<td>harness</td>
<td>[amūdāy]</td>
<td>amūdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ušpḡt</em></td>
<td>horse- cloth</td>
<td>[uspahhu]</td>
<td>uspahhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>išpr A</em></td>
<td>bit</td>
<td>išpar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>išpr B</em></td>
<td>whip</td>
<td>[paruššu]</td>
<td>[išpr]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>att</em></td>
<td>reins</td>
<td>asātu, šitu</td>
<td>istn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gpn</em></td>
<td>harness</td>
<td>gpn</td>
<td>ţff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hbṭn</em></td>
<td>halter- holder</td>
<td>[ebītum]</td>
<td>ebētu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥṭm</em></td>
<td>halter, muzzle</td>
<td>ḫṭāma</td>
<td>ḫṭāmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥpn</em></td>
<td>armour strap</td>
<td>ḫāpû</td>
<td>ḫāpû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ksn A</em></td>
<td>saddle</td>
<td>g/kušānu</td>
<td>kušana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ksn B</em></td>
<td>reins</td>
<td>kwšn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>llḥ</em></td>
<td>strap</td>
<td>lulāʾot</td>
<td>lulā, (lilibu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aula Orientalis 29 (2011) 155-176 (ISSN: 0212-5730)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>transl.</th>
<th>cognate with/loan from</th>
<th>non-Semitic loan from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mdl</td>
<td>reins</td>
<td>D.L.</td>
<td>nadullu (dālu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mšlt</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>[šalta]</td>
<td>maššu šallatum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṭr</td>
<td>saddle</td>
<td></td>
<td>mīṭara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṭ</td>
<td>whip</td>
<td>mṭh</td>
<td>[naṭū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqbn</td>
<td>strap</td>
<td>NQB</td>
<td>[naqābu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pld</td>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>pld</td>
<td>palādu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rkb</td>
<td>saddle</td>
<td>rkybh</td>
<td>rikbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sdn</td>
<td>harness</td>
<td>sādin</td>
<td>saddīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>harness</td>
<td>s/zikuḫu</td>
<td>sakku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šb’r</td>
<td>halter</td>
<td>šb’r</td>
<td>šakama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>škm</td>
<td>muzzle, bit</td>
<td>šakama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šmt</td>
<td>tether</td>
<td>šmn</td>
<td>šummannu šummuttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šr’m</td>
<td>reins</td>
<td>šar’a</td>
<td>šur’u, šāru, šu’ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tdġl</td>
<td>harness</td>
<td>tutiwe</td>
<td>+ -gable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tŋpt</td>
<td>blanket</td>
<td></td>
<td>[taḥapšu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tkg</td>
<td>reins</td>
<td>tikā’</td>
<td>tikātu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭŋt</td>
<td>blinkers</td>
<td>Šinsassu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭq</td>
<td>bridle</td>
<td>yṭq</td>
<td>waṭqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭryn</td>
<td>armour</td>
<td>sryn</td>
<td>sari(y)am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ysmsmt</td>
<td>saddle</td>
<td>asmātu</td>
<td>jsmṣṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, ʾıšpr, ʾatt, gpn, ḫbṭn, ḫm, ḫpn, ḫn, ḫlḥ, mšlt, mṭr, mṭ, nqbn, pld, rkb, sdn, sk, šb’r, škm, šr’m, tdġl, tkg, ṭq and ysmsmt. Of these, three are Semitic with a Hurrian ending (llḥ, tdġl and tkg). Four are Hurrian (ušpṭ, šnt, tŋpt and ṭryn) 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 ʾıšpr, 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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**Na'aman 1977**

**Orel/Stolbova 1995**

**Pardee 2000**

**Pentiuc 2001**

**Postgate 2000**
SEMITIC AND NON-SEMITIC TERMS FOR HORSE-TRAPPINGS IN UGARITIC


ABBREVIATIONS USED


Aula Orientalis 29 (2011) 155-176 (ISSN: 0212-5730) 175


MSL  *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*, Rome 1937-.

