

NOTES ON SOME UGARITIC WORDS

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The following comments owe much to recent publications and are intended, in turn, as a stimulus to further evaluation, correction or confirmation of possible entries in the Ugaritic lexicon¹.

att, "embroidery" (?)

In an invaluable study of Ugaritic lexical terms for textiles Xella discusses both *az* and *att*². In my view, the first half of the paragraph on Hurrian *aššiani*, "embroidery" does not belong under *az* (p. 27) but under *att* (p. 30). It would then explain the enigmatic *bʿl att* which very probably means "embroiderer" (lit. "producer of/worker in embroidery"). The term *az* remains an enigma.

ilm, "statues, images"

Always in the plural, *ilm* has the meaning "statues" or "images" in two texts: KTU 1.43:23.24 and 1.112:8. These texts have been discussed in detail elsewhere³ and there can be no doubt that actual effigies were involved in the rituals⁴. It is of interest to note that the same meaning is also found in Akkadian: one of the meanings of *ilu*, "god", is "image of a deity"⁵ though, to my knowledge, the connection with Ug. *ilm* has gone unnoticed.

ušr, "penis"

Astour again reminds us that the word to be read in KTU 1.11:2 is not *ušk[h]*, "[his] testicles" but *ušr[h]*, "[his] penis"⁶. As Astour duly notes, this was first perceived by Caquot-Szzyner⁷; it was also reiterated later, supported by reference to the corresponding terms in Akkadian⁸.

grbt, "leprosy"

Two scholars, Hillers and Renfro, have independently made almost the same suggestion regarding an obscure passage in Aqhat⁹. A third scholar can also be added to the list in view of Hillers' comment: "When this understanding of the Aqht text occurred to me, years ago, I told W.F. Albright of it and he informed me that the

same idea occurred to him"¹⁰. The proposal is that KTU 1.19 III.47 should be corrected either to *t(!)md grbt il*, "Be clothed in the leprosy of El" (Hillers) or to *t(!)md grb til*, "May you always be seeking asylum as a leper" (Renfroe). Either suggestion is certainly plausible, and can be further supported by 2 Sam. 3:29 where David pronounces the following curse on Abner's murderer:

"Joab's house shall not be without someone who has a discharge or a skin disease or clings to a crutch or falls by the sword or is in need of bread"¹¹:

It is significant that in both sets the curses are invoked on a murderer, though the contents of the curses do not correspond exactly¹².

In addition it should be noted that the root *grb* is not unknown in Ugaritic since it occurs in the personal names *grb*, 4.366:13 (syllabic *ga-ri[bu/bi]*, Ugar. 5 text 51:6.9.13 [-RS 20.158, p. 139ff]), *grbn*, 4.263:6 and (*bn*) *grbn*, 4.75 VI 3; 4.101:3; 4.245 II 4; 4.371:8 and 4.412:14¹³.

hršh

The Ugaritic term *hršh* occurs twice in the texts so far discovered:

(1) KTU 4.341:19 *mit. hršh. b. tqlm*, "200 h. for 2 (silver) shekels". Stieglitz comments: "Ugaritic *hršh* was apparently a type of vessel, whose low price of 1/50 of a shekel per unit ... indicates it was probably made of clay"¹⁴.

(2) KTU 1.105:14-15 *š šrp. wšp hršh*, "a ram for holocaust and...".

Xella translates "un montone in olocausto-*šrp* e un bacino-*harušhu* placcato" arguing that *šp* denotes purity and citing as a parallel *špy.bhrš.nmm* in RIH 77/25¹⁵. It has long been recognized that Ug. *hršh* denotes a type of vessel and corresponds to *ahrušhu*¹⁶. This term is Hurrian (a loanword in both Akkadian¹⁷ and Hittite¹⁸).

However, the comparative material can now be better defined. It has been established that there are, in fact, two near-homonyms:

1) *harušhu* "(an animal)"¹⁹.

The term occurs in the Neo-Assyrian Treaty of Esarhaddon as follows:

Ditto *kī ša ha'erushe umāmu ina kippi issappakūni attunu [issātē?]kunu ahhekunu mar'ekunu mar'ātēkunu ina qātē nak(i)rikunu našbitā,*

"Ditto (= If you should sin against this *adē*-oath of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, the great prince of the succession house), just as the *h*-animal gets entangled (?) in a snare, so will you, your

[wives], your brothers, your sons (and) your daughters be seized by the hands of an enemy"²⁰.

2) *ḥaurušḥi* "earthen (ware)".

A loanword from Hurrian *ḥawuruzigi*, "earthen" (from *ḥawur*- "earth")²¹.

In view of *ḥaurušḥi* (Hurrian *ḥawuruzigi*), Ug. *ḥršḥ* in KTU 4.341:19 must denote a clay or earthenware vessel, as already suggested by Stieglitz (see above). Unfortunately, in the ritual text it is difficult to determine what *ḥršḥ* means. It could, of course, denote an animal (corresponding to *ḥarušḥu*) which would fit the context (cf. *š*, "ram" in the same line). However, it would then be hard to establish a meaning for *šp ḥršḥ*. In addition, the relationship between *ahrušḥu* and *ḥaurušḥi/ḥarušḥu* remains uncertain²².

yryt, "(textile?)"

This word occurs twice in KTU 4.411²³:

<i>yryt. dq[]</i>	164 (?) thin? textiles in all
<i>ṯṯm.l.m[]</i>	
<i>arb^c. kb d</i>	

<i>w.yryt</i>	and 68 heavy? textiles in all
<i>adrt.</i>	

ṯṯm.ṯmn.kb[d]

According to the Dietrich and Loretz, *yryt* is a PN²⁴ but another explanation is also possible. In a recently discovered neo-Assyrian text the term *variate* (written TUG *ia-ri-a-te*) is evidently a certain type of cloth²⁵. The editors cite Heb. *yer^ciah* (note the ^c*ayin*), and suggest "y. textiles (of goat-hair)" but it may be that the cognate is Ug. *yryt*. Unfortunately, the exact meaning for either word cannot be established.

nit, "axe" (?)

In the most recent discussion of this difficult word Sanmartín provides strong indications that it has Egyptian origins and means "hoe"²⁶. Further evaluation of Ug. *nit* should also take into consideration the term *nētum* which occurs in the Mari documents with the meaning "axe"²⁷. This would confirm Xella's own rendering "ascia"²⁸. It has been suggested that *nit* derives from a preformative **n-* and a word cognate with Heb. *ʾitt* though not all scholars agree²⁹. Just as probably *nit* was a *Kulturwort* for a tool with a

sharp edge; in different cultures (languages) it stood for different cutting tools.

ridn, "drinking vessel"

It has been demonstrated, recently, that in KTU 1.3 I 12 the cluster *ridn* should not be divided up into *ri dn*. It is, in fact, a single word, parallel to *bk rb*, "large jar" and denotes a drinking vessel³⁰. No cognates were suggested³¹ but it is curious that the Babylonian word *urīdum* or *uriddu*, which is not unlike Ugaritic *ridn*, may also denote a drinking vessel³² though its origin is uncertain.

Finally, the form **wld* should probably be deleted from Ugaritic grammars. In 1.14 III 48 the first cluster is to be read *ktld*, "Truly she will bear (offspring for Krt)"³³.

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- 1 This note was prepared while Visiting Research Professor in the University of Barcelona financed by the DGICYT.
 - 2 S. Ribichini-P. Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit*, Roma 1985, 27 and 30 respectively.
 - 3 TRU, 86-90; 43-48; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, Paris 1980, 113-20, esp. 113; G del Olmo Lete: *AuOr*, 2 (1984), 197-200.
 - 4 P. Xella, "I figli del re e le figlie del re". *Culto dinastico e tradizioni amorree nei rituali ugaritici*: SEL, 5 (1988= Fs.Loretz), 219-25.
 - 5 Meaning 7 in CAD I/J, 91.102-103 and AHw, 374b; cf. A. Draffkorn, *Ilāni/Elohim*: JBL, 76 (1957), 216-24. Also, D. Arnaud, *Emar* VI/3, 63:3' (p. 71) for the profession (LÚ) *wa-bil i-lla-i*, "porteur d'[dole]" and 177:24 (p. 190) for the PN I *wa-bi-il i-la-i*; cf. too 201:51 and 264:10. For Ugaritic cf. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz, *Gebrauch von Götterstatuen in der Mantik von Ugarit (KTU 1.124)*: UF, 12 (1980), 395-96.
 - 6 Astour: SEL, 5 (1988= Fs.Loretz), 20 and n. 54.
 - 7 TOu, 289 n. 1.
 - 8 W.G.E. Watson: UF, 9 (1977), 277; Or, 55 (1986), 195; MLC, 471.525.
 - 9 D.R. Hillers, *A Difficult Curse in Aqht (19 [1Aqht] 3.152-154)*, in A. Kort-S. Morschauer (eds.), *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, Winona Lake, 1985, 105-107; F. Renfroe, *Qr-Mym's Comeuppance*: UF, 18 (1986), 455-57.
 - 10 Hillers, *art. cit.*, 107, n. 13. In his turn, Renfroe refers to Gaster.
 - 11 Translation: P. Kyle-McCarter, *II Samuel* (AB 9), Garden City 1984, 104.
 - 12 The new translation of the Ugaritic passage may perhaps throw some light on the second curse in the set of three. The central curse differs from the other two: (a) it is a couplet, not a single line and (b) it cannot be understood literally. All three curses close with a wish that the offending town (i.e. its inhabitants)

should be permanently on the move, ostracised by all. This is evident for the "leprosy" curse if less so for the blindness curse (the third). The remaining curse probably refers to infertility - either lack of food (cf. 2 Sam. 3:29) or lack of progeny. Comparable is the sequence "Above, among the living, may they (the gods) uproot them, below, in the netherworld, may they cause their ghosts to thirst for water" followed by "May Sin ... clothe them with leprosy like a cloak" (BRM IV 50; cited by M.L. Barré, *The God-List in the Treaty Between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia*, Baltimore 1983, 116-17). For similar curses cf. K. Watanabe: *Acta Sumerologica*, 6 (1984), 99-119. On "lepers" as social outcasts cf. K. van den Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia*, Assen 1985, 30-31, 72-75 and 190 n. 227 for a brief bibliography.

- 13 PTU, 29, 71 and 129f.
- 14 R.R. Stieglitz: JAOS, 99 (1979), 18. For the price cf. already UT §19.1017.
- 15 TRU, 37, 41.
- 16 Cf. R.R. Stieglitz: JAOS, 99 (1979), 22 n. 29. Cf. A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier*, Helsinki 1965, II 94.
- 17 For *ahrušhu*, cf. CAD A/1, 194-95; not in AHW.
- 18 See A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitische Opfertexte mit anahī, ahrušhi und huprušhi und hurrischen Sprüchen-Teil I*: Or, 55 (1986), 105-30.
- 19 So AHW 329a; "(a piece of jewelry)" according to CAD H, 121a. Cf. AHW 1559b.
- 20 Text and translation: K. Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*: BaM, Beih. 3, 1987, 170/71: 588-90.
- 21 Draffkorn, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah*, 166; accepted by Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung...*, 203; cf. CAD H 162a.
- 22 Cf. G. Wilhelm, "Hubrušhi": RIA IV (Berlin 1972-75), 478.
- 23 PRU 5, 170 = ESS 110: Dietrich-Loretz, AOAT 13, 39-40, photo p. XII*.
- 24 Dietrich-Loretz, AOAT 13, 40.
- 25 Cf. T. Kwasman *apud* S. Dalley-J.N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser* (British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984), 53: ^{TUG}*ja-ri-a-te*, in text n° 4:10.
- 26 J. Sanmartín: AuOr, 5 (1987), 150, with previous literature. There may possibly be a connection with Late Egyptian *niwy*, Coptic *nawi*, "spear"; for these terms cf. W.A. Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-š*, Roma 1978, 56 §102.
- 27 J.-M. Durand, *À propos du nom de la hache à Mari*: MARI, 3 (1984), 279.

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- 28 TRU, 214, 375.
- 29 First proposed by Dietrich-Loretz: BO, 33 (1966), 131 and accepted by M. Liverani: DdA, 1 (1979), 63 n. 34 who refers, ultimately, to Sumerian *ninda/inda*, and by J.F. Healey: UF, 15 (1983), 50 and n. 27. Rejected by J.C. Greenfield: JCS, 21 (1967), 93 and by J. Sanmartin: AuOr, 5 (1987), 150.
- 30 Dietrich-Loretz: UF, 19 (1987), 27ff. esp. 27 n. 3. This affects D. Pardee, *Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism. A Trial Cut* ('nt I and Proverbs 2), VTS 39, Leiden 1988, with regard to rendering 2f. and analysis, 192.18f.25.36.43.47.55.57.177 n. 47, 184, 188, 191f.
- 31 Apart from a tentative reference by Dietrich-Loretz: UF, 19 (1987), 29 n. 17 to *rahta*, "kettle" (AHw 943) a loanword from Egyptian.
- 32 AHw 1429b "ein Trinkgefäß?"; ARM 7, 265 I 8; ARM 13, 22, 23, 35.
- 33 As suggested by S.D. McBride *apud* R.S. Hendel, *The Epic of the Patriarchs. The Jacob Cycle and the Narrative Traditions of Canaan and Israel* (HSM 42), Atlanta 1987, 51 n. 48. It is curious, though, that the emphatic *k* does not throw the verb to the end of the clause or sentence. It is now clear that *all* ("clothing") is a Hurrian loanword: cf. Hurr. *alali* = Hittite ^{TUG}*kušiši-*, ("a garment"), discussed without reference to Ugaritic by E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*, Mainz-Stuttgart 1988, 16-17.