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## Two Hurrian Loanwords in Ugaritic Texts

The Hurrian texts found in Ras Shamra, both in syllabic and alphabetic writing, have been, and continue to be, of great interest and help in the study of the Hurrian language.<sup>1</sup> Yet, inversely, Hurrian also contributes to the understanding of some Ugaritic texts. A clear example of this are the bilingual ritual texts in Ugaritic-Hurrian. But Hurrian terms and morphological elements also appear in the lexicon of other genres in the Ugaritic textual corpus.<sup>2</sup>

In a series of four essays and a note on non-Semitic words in the Ugaritic lexicon, Watson (1995; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2002) comments on approximately eighty words in alphabetic writing which are, or might be, of Hurrian origin; a telling figure regarding the importance of Hurrian in Ugaritic texts. In future it will undoubtedly become possible to refine and complete this list by identifying new Hurrian terms which appear in alphabetic texts. The two ensuing notes, dedicated with deep affection to Ilse Wegner (FU, Berlin), are intended as a contribution to this end.

### 1. *mḏrgl*

The term *mḏrgl* (pl. *mḏrglm*), which describes some kind of military personnel, has been found in Ugaritic administrative documents as well as in a legal text, also in the Ugaritic language.<sup>3</sup> The main proposals of morphological analysis of this term may be summed up as follows.

To some authors, *mḏrglm*, would be the Hurro-Akkadian version of the Akkadian term *maṣṣāru* (< *naṣāru*) “guard, watchman”, plus the combination of Hurrian suffixes =*o/u*=*h(e)*=*li* (graphically: *-uḥli*, *-uḥuli*) which results in *nomina actoris*<sup>4</sup> (Goetze 1947;

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Salvini (1995); André-Salvini – Salvini (2000); Watson (2004).

<sup>2</sup> In this sense, it would be interesting to recall the following opinion expressed by von Soden (1988: 310); already cited by Watson (1995: 533): „Wenn für ein ugaritisches Wort eine semitische Etymologie nicht zu finden ist, wird man mit Vorrang an eine Herleitung aus dem Hurritischen denken wegen der vielen hurritischen Wörter in den ugaritischen Texten“.

<sup>3</sup> On this military personnel and relevant textual references, see Vita (1995: 109–113); van Soldt (2003: 692–693 and 701); del Olmo-Sanmartín (2003: 529); Vidal (2005: 115–118).

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm (1992); Wegner (2000: 50).

Watson 1995: 538; del Olmo – Sanmartín 2003: 529). Therefore, it would be a Semitic term with Hurrian morphological elements.

However, other authors have suggested the possible relationship between the terms *mḏrḡl* and *mḏrn*, a type of weapon.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, such a relationship between both terms could not be established if we were to agree, along with other authors (cf. Sanmartín 1989: 342; del Olmo – Sanmartín 2003: 530), on the fact that *mḏrn* is the alphabetical version of the Akkadian *maṣṣāru* (< *maṣāru*), a type of sword, a term also found in Ugarit in the syllabic administrative text RS 19.112 (Nougayrol 1970, n° 141) in the Northwest-Semitic form *mamṣāru*.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, the morphological and etymological relationships between *mḏrn* and *maṣṣāru*, or between *mḏrn* and *mamṣāru*, that is, the phonetic equivalence between Ug. /ḏ/ and Akk. /ṣ/ would not appear to be acceptable. According to Tropper (2000: 117), indeed, “In Fremdwörtern dient /ḏ/ zur Wiedergabe von nicht-affrizierten Sibilanten, die als stimmhaft empfunden wurden, und ist in dieser Funktion – vor allem in Wörtern hurr. Ursprungs – im alph. Ug. Textkorpus häufig belegt”; but as regards Akk. /ṣ/ and Ug. /ḏ/ he points out: “Die Konsonantenentsprechung von akk. /ṣ/ und ug. /ḏ/ ist jedoch – auch via Hurr. – nicht plausibel, da akk. /ṣ/ stimmlos und wohl sicher affriziert artikuliert wurde”, expressly excluding the possibility of equivalence between Ug. *mḏrḡl* and Akk. *maṣṣāru*.

A possible solution could be found in the following proposal by Arnaud (1999: 301), who also makes a connection between the terms *mḏrḡl* and *mḏrn*: “ce qu’était le *mḏr* n’est pas identifié. Les listes sacrificielles enregistrent un divin *Ma-za-ra* (RS 92.2004 // RS 92.2009) ou *Ma<sup>1</sup>-ša-ra* (RS 94.2188). L’hésitation sur la deuxième consonne indique peut-être l’embarras du scribe pour noter en cunéiformes babyloniens le /ḏ/ originel. Serait-ce cette arme divinisée?”. Texts RS 92.2004 and RS 92.2009 were published by Arnaud (2001: 323–324, 330).<sup>7</sup> Line 26 of RS 92.2004 reads <sup>4</sup>*ma-za-ra* and Arnaud’s comment (2001: 326) on this is: “L’homophonie avec le mot hurrite *mazeri* (‘aide’) est sans doute un hasard”.

However, we believe that Arnaud may have indicated the correct solution. The Hurrian term *maziri*, whose meaning “help” is backed by, for example, the equivalences Hur. *ma-zi-ri* = Akk. *rīṣu* = Ug. *izirtu* (alph. <sup>4</sup>*drt*) “help” from the Ugarit S<sup>a</sup> vocabulary (RS 20.149; cf. Huehnergard 1987: 26–27), could indeed be found in the base of the term *mḏrḡl*.<sup>8</sup> The understanding of the morphology of *maziri* is due to Giorgieri (1999: 71–76), who has identified in this term the presence of a Hurrian root *maz-* with the meaning of “to help” plus the root extension *-ir-*, whose exact function has yet to be elucidated. Therefore, *maziri* may be a Hurrian term (*maz=ir=i*) and, on those grounds, *mḏrḡl* could be analysed as a fully Hurrian term, that is, *maz=ir(i)=u=h(e)=li*. Such an analysis could likewise be applicable to *mḏrn* (*maz=ir(i)=ni*). As a result, *mḏrḡl* and *mḏrn* would be two Hurrian terms closely related both etymologically and morphologically.

<sup>5</sup> See bibliography in Vita (1995: 111 n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also on this Vita (1995: 66–67, 111). See also Huehnergard’s comment on *mamṣāru* (1987: 148).

<sup>7</sup> Text RS 94.2188 remains unpublished.

## 2. *hlgl*

In line 18 of the Ugaritic administrative document RS 18.135 (= 4.396), the *editio princeps* (Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín 1976: 305) reads: [...] *mitm . l . ḥsgl / hlgl* “[...] 200 for *ḥsgl / hlgl*”. Of the two possible readings, only *hlgl* can be analysed morphologically.<sup>9</sup> *hlgl* can be analysed as the alphabetic version from Ugarit of the Hurrian noun *ḥilahuli*, the name of a profession found in line 14 of the Alalah VII administrative document AT 267: 10 <sup>10</sup>*ḥi-la-ḥu-li š[a KUR? M]A[R.]T[U]* “10 (*parisi* from spelt) for th *ḥilahuli* o[f A]m[u]rr[u]”.<sup>10</sup> The term *ḥilahuli*<sup>11</sup>, that Laroche (1976: 105) considered to be a “nom de métier”, was tentatively translated by Dietrich and Loretz (1966: 191) as “doorkeeper” (“Pförtner?”), on the grounds of the Hittite <sup>10</sup>*ḥilamatta*, <sup>10</sup>*ḥilamma*.<sup>12</sup> But, as Oliva suggests (1998: 596: LÚ *ḥila=ḥule* “Kanzelredner”, “Beter”), *ḥilahuli* could also be considered as a fully Hurrian word, derived from the Hurrian verb *ḥil(l)*- “to speak” (Laroche 1976: 105; Wegner 2000: 226) plus the combination of Hurrian suffixes =o/u=ḥ(e)=li (-*uḥli*, -*uḥuli*) that results in *nomina actoris* (see above sub *mḏrgl*), that is: *ḥil(l)=a=o/u=ḥ(e)=o/u=li*. The meaning of the term would be “speaker”, “orator”, “herald”. This proposal would be backed by the fact that the verb *ḥil(l)*- “to speak” is found in a polyglot vocabulary from Ugarit (cf. Thureau-Dangin 1931: 237; Laroche 1976: 105). *hlgl* “herald”, would therefore be a new example of a Hurrian term found in a Ugaritic text.

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<sup>8</sup> On the use of z-signs in syllabic texts representing the phoneme /d/, see Huehnergard (1987: 223–224) and Tropper (2000: 115, 118).

<sup>9</sup> See Cunchillos–Vita (2004: 327), whose line of argument is here updated.

<sup>10</sup> Reading of the line according to the collation by Dietrich and Loretz (1966: 191). Oliva (1998: 596) reads: LÚ *ḥi-la-ḥu-NI* [x a?-na?] É? (unsicher).

<sup>11</sup> The editor of the text, Wiseman (1959: 27), transcribed *ḥi-la-ḥu-ru*; cf. cuneiform copy of the text in Wiseman (1954: 21) and Zeeb (2001: 562). Recently Zeeb (2001: 622) reads LÚ *ḥi-la-ḥu-n[i]*; Oliva’s collation (1998: 596 with n. 39) reads: LÚ *ḥi-la-ḥu-NI*, consequently both the reading *ḥi-la-ḥu-lil’é* or *ḥi-la-ḥu-ni/né* would be possible.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Zeeb (2001: 622).

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