

his foreign wife (Ezra 10:34). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34 lists Joel here but the two names can be identified with each other. Uel was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15]). Noth suggests that Uel is a theophoric name containing the particle *'el* (IPN, 90). For further discussion, see BE-DEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

UGARIT (35°35'N; 35°45'E). Tell Ras Shamra, near the Mediterranean coast of Syria, is the site of ancient Ugarit, capital of a kingdom of the same name that flourished in the 2d millennium B.C. Occupied since Neolithic times, it was abandoned around 1180 B.C. (with the exception of minimal later occupation). Its commercial importance was due to a rich agricultural countryside, and above all to its port, discovered on the site of Minet el-Beida (= Ug Mahadu [?]; *Leukos Limēn* [White Harbor] of the Greeks, *Port Blanc* of Crusader times). Its celebrity comes from the discovery since 1929 of texts written in various languages, and in particular in a language hitherto unknown—Ugaritic. See LANGUAGES (UGARITIC). The Ugaritic texts reveal cultural, religious, and mythical traditions from essentially the 14th through the 13th centuries B.C. This explains the importance given to Ugarit in historical studies of the ANE and biblical world. This entry, consisting of two articles, will describe the results of the excavations of Ugarit and the nature of its ancient texts and literature.

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

- A. History of Excavations and Discoveries
- B. Geographical Setting and Natural Conditions
- C. Historical Summary: 7th–2d Millennia B.C.
- D. The City of the Late Bronze Age
 - 1. Boundaries, Access, Configuration
 - 2. Palace Complex
 - 3. The Temples
 - 4. Public and Domestic Architecture
- E. Material Culture
 - 1. Daily Life
 - 2. Cultural Life

A. History of Excavations and Discoveries

In 1928 a burial cave was discovered by accident at Minet el-Beida; since this time the French archaeological mission, directed by Claude F. A. Schaeffer, from 1929 to 1970, after the exploration of the port in this bay, concentrated on the excavation of Tell Ras Shamra, which rose up less than 1 km inland from there. The direction of the mission was then taken over by Henri de Contenson (1971 to 1974), by Jean Margueron (1975 to 1977), and after 1978, by Marguerite Yon. The work has progressed almost continuously except for one interruption from 1940 to 1947 because of World War II.

1. From 1929 to 1939. The first excavations concentrated in part on the Minet el-Beida dig (harbor installation and tombs, 1929 to 1935). At the same time was undertaken excavation of the city that was discovered on the Ras Shamra tell. On the acropolis of the city, residen-

tial quarters were excavated (1929–37), dominated by two temples (called the temple of Baal and the temple of Dagan), as well as the House of the High Priest (in which some of the mythological tablets were discovered). From 1932 to 1937, the living quarters located below the acropolis were explored, to the N and NE (an area called the Lower City).

2. From 1937 to 1955. The exploration at the W part of the tell had begun in 1937, but was interrupted by the war. The years 1937–1939 date the excavation of the NW complex, in which is located the palace of the queen mother, a four-pillared building, and the Hurrian Temple. Also begun at this time was the excavation of the royal palace (or "Grand Palace"), protected from the W by a strong fortress.

Excavation of the royal palace complex and the fortress was undertaken in earnest from 1948 to 1955. It is then that the greater part of the archives of Ugarit were discovered.

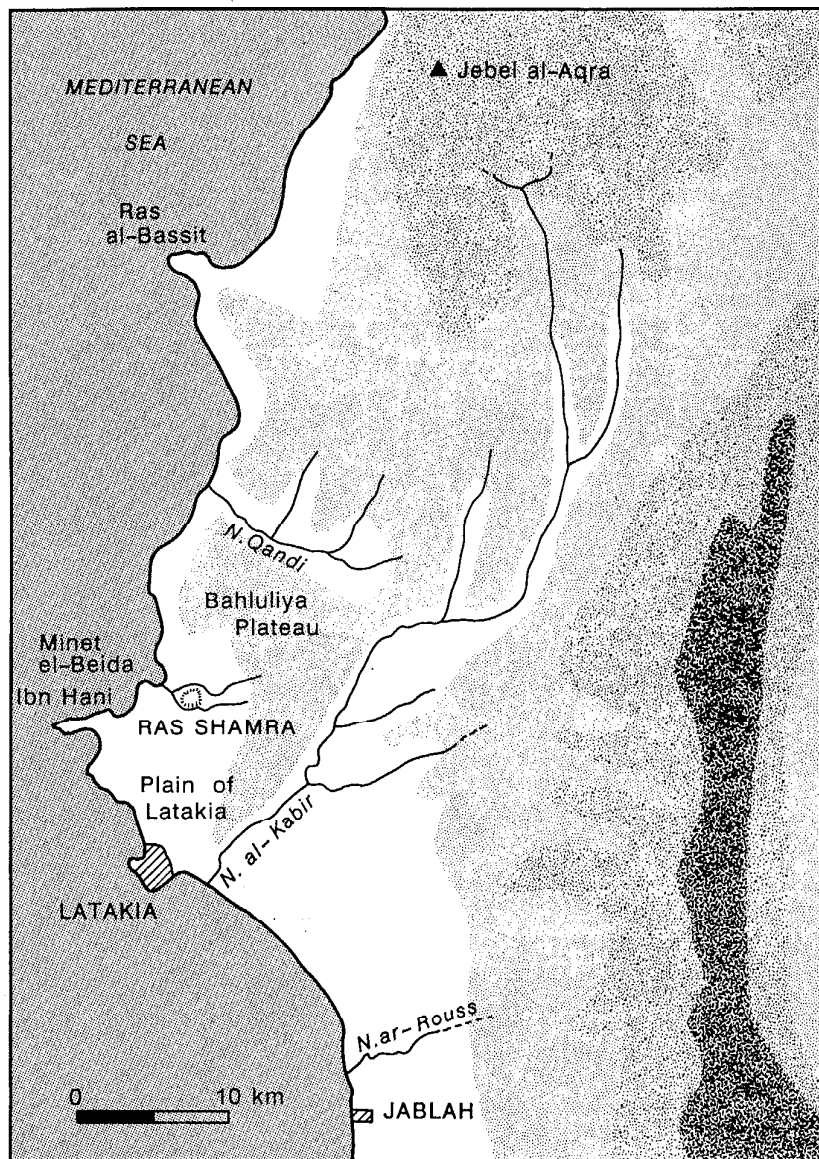
3. From 1953 to 1974. The inhabited areas in proximity to the palace were explored during these seasons. The residential quarters (sometimes called the "Aegean quarter") have allowed us to know homes rich in information, both by a series of discovered texts (for example the "House of Rap'anu") and by the complexity of the organization and the diversity of the objects (for example, the House of Alabasters, 1973–74).

This area also revealed vast enclosures, also sometimes qualified as palaces: the Southern Palace (or Little Palace), excavated in 1964–65 (which yielded an archive of texts), and the North Palace, dug 1968–71, that was perhaps a royal palace preceding the LB Palace.

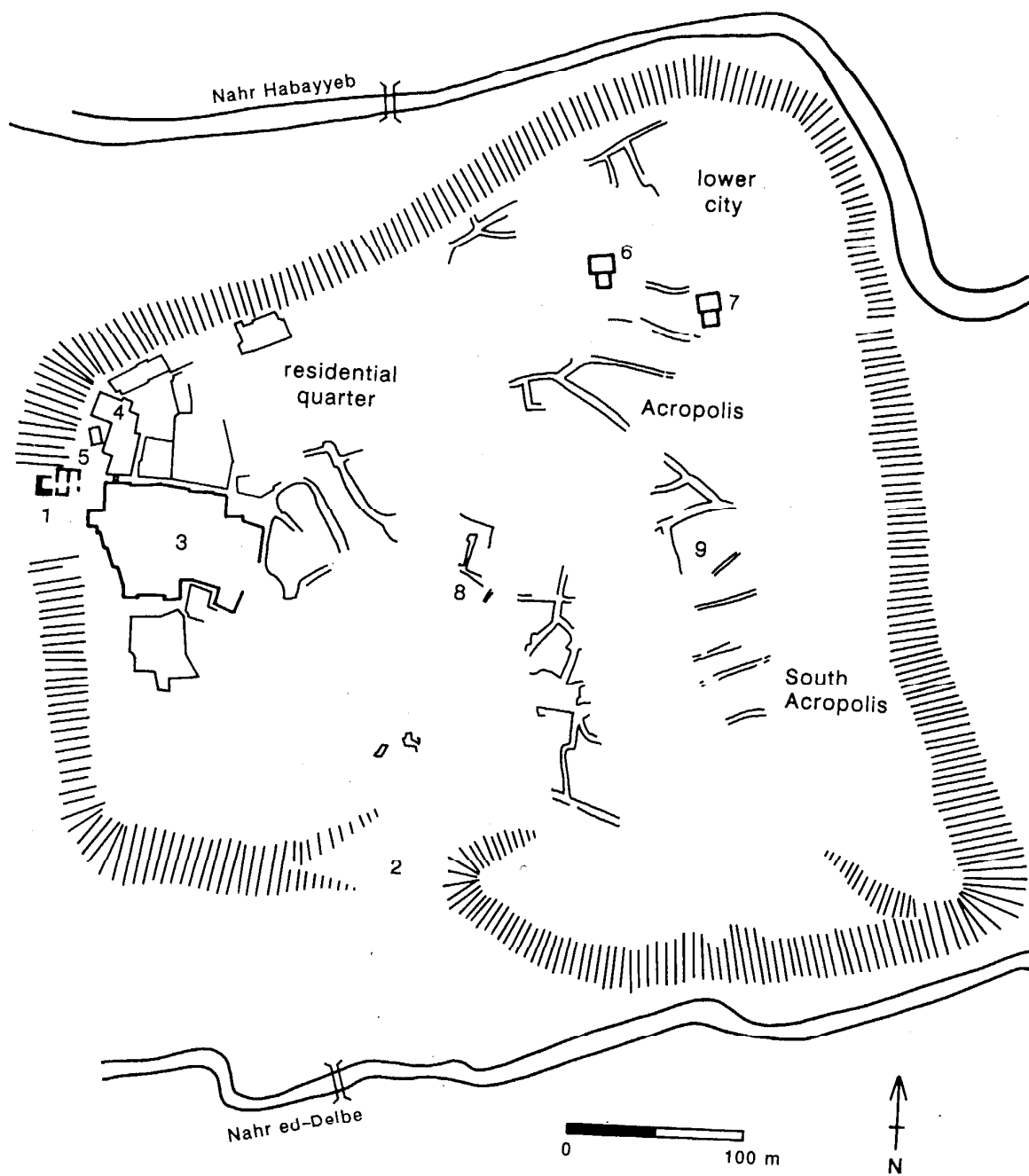
The large trenches, which run approximately N–S, were opened beginning in 1959 in the E half of the tell, to explore other living areas. The South City Trench, begun in 1959, and the South Acropolis Trench, dug from 1961 to 1964, have both produced groups of texts. From 1971 to 1973, the excavation of the installation called post-Ugaritic was continued toward the middle of the tell (a settlement of fairly limited extent, from the Persian and Hellenistic periods).

Moreover, the necessity of understanding the history of the site before the Late Bronze Age (of which levels appear everywhere) led to undertaking deep probes in a systematic fashion: one begun in 1953 and maintained until 1960 to the W of the temple of Baal; a probe of the Royal Palace Garden, 1954–55; and, above all, *Sondage H*, from 1962 to 1974, to the W of the Acropolis. Traversing 18 meters of occupation layers since the 7th millennium, it provides the stratigraphy of the site.

4. From 1975 to 1988. The excavations from 1975 to 1976 were devoted to the exploration to the NW part of the tell, and to the excavation of a large house of the LB period. Since 1978, work at the site has been linked to the study of city planning and to the city itself: excavation of the field located in the center of the city, an architectural study of the "South City Trench" (dug in 1959), plus the area northwest of the tell (dug 1937–39). In 1986, excavation of the southern area began, near the supposed entrance of the city: a new group of texts was discovered near the place that had, in 1973 (following modern public works), yielded an important series of texts.



UGA.01. Area map of Ras Shamra, showing extent of the kingdom of Ugarit. (Courtesy of M. Yon. Copyright by Mission Française Ras Shamra)



UGA.02. Site plan of Tell Ras Shamra. 1, fortified gate; 2, S entrance; 3, royal palace; 4, four-pillared building; 5, Hurrian temple; 6, temple of Baal; 7, temple of Dagan; 8, central area and sanctuary of Rhytons; 9, house of the Magician Priest.

5. **Ras Ibn Hani (1975–1986).** A salvage excavation was undertaken in 1975 on a small tell located by the sea at Ras Ibn Hani, less than 5 km SW of Ras Shamra. A new Ugaritic settlement was discovered there (ancient Biruti?), with palaces and fortifications which yielded new texts. It has been explored since its discovery by a Franco-Syrian mission directed by Adnan Bounni and Jacques Lagarde.

B. Geographical Setting and Natural Conditions

The kingdom of Ugarit extended over a surface of about 2,000 km², and occupied approximately what today is the Mohafazat of Latakia. It extends from Jebel Aqra^c in the N to the Jable region in the S, limited by the Mediterranean Sea to the W and the Alaouite Mountains (Jebel Ansariyeh) to the E.

The capital was established on Tell Ras Shamra. Located only 10 km N of the city of Latakia, the tell is on a plain, about 1 km from the bay Minet el-Beida, where the port was located. It is surrounded by a large architectural plain, fertile and fairly well irrigated, separating the hills from the sea, then the mountain Jebel Ansariyeh, which stands more than 1,000 m tall. The northern horizon is marked by the silhouette of Jebel Aqra^c rising to more than 1,800 m, the ancient Mt. Zaphon (the Mount Casius of the Romans), whence ruled Baal, god of storms.

The presence of these mountainous areas and the proximity of the sea ensures that the region surrounding the tell has a climate favorable to Mediterranean cultures. The mountain chains to the E protect the plain from the drying winds of the Syrian steppe, all the while retaining the rain coming from the sea. The temperatures are thus fairly mild, and the rains, spread out over seven or eight months from fall to spring, amount to more than 800 mm each year.

The tell itself is ringed by two small waterways—the Nahr Habayyeb to the N and Nahr ed-Delbe to the S—that join W of the tell to form the Nahr el-Feid, which empties into the bay at Minet el-Beida. These rivulets, linked to the rainfall, are dry through several summer months, but the water table is not deep; it feeds several springs that flow at the foot of the tell, and numerous wells spread out over the city. The presence of dams to the north and south helped to maintain the level of the water supply during the summer drought.

The temperate climate which the plain enjoyed in ancient times permitted cultivation of the traditionally Mediterranean type: vines, olive groves, and cereals (as Ugaritic economic texts and archaeological evidence testify), as well as arboreal cultivation (almond and pistachio trees) and the raising of small livestock. In addition, the hills and mountains were covered with forests (of which hardly a trace survives today), in particular cedars, pines, and cypress trees.

The exploitation of natural resources, agricultural areas, and forested land played a role in the commercial activities of maritime exchanges with countries near and far (as far as Egypt or the Aegean world) as well as supplying the inhabitants themselves. The availability of wood and stone influenced construction techniques and the development of architecture. Besides the evidence that we have from texts, archaeological observations speak worlds: the presence of numerous oil presses has been

noted; buildings were constructed using stones from the Mqaté quarries, several hundred meters N of the tell; walls were supported with wood timbers from the mountains, and reinforced with wooden beams and reeds from nearby streams; terraces were made out of clay.

It is difficult to determine exactly what determined the fortune of a particular site at certain periods. Numerous elements of sociological demographic and historical character explain the avatars of a kingdom which, after having known such development, simply disappeared completely at the beginning of the 12th century. One must, however, underline the fact that this development was due to geographical realities: on the one hand, climatic conditions favorable to agricultural growth, and on the other hand, its location of the Mediterranean coast. An excellent port permitted Ugarit to trade with countries accessible from the sea (Egypt, the Levantine coast, Cyprus, the Anatolian coast, the Aegean) at the same time that it welcomed caravans from the interior that put it in touch with Mesopotamia, N and interior Syria, the Hittite world, the Mitannian kingdom, and other powers.

C. Historical Summary: 7th–2d Millennia B.C.

Sondage H provides evidence that the beginning of human occupation of the site can be dated from the 7th millennium. During this epoch, the Neolithic (which was the period of sedentarization in Syria-Palestine), it appears that groups of farmers (as well as hunters and fishermen) established themselves there (Level V C). New techniques appear about 6000 B.C. in agriculture (raising domestic animals), as well as in agriculture (houses with a quadrangular plan, constructed of stone with plastered floors), and in the fabrication of containers made out of mineral-based materials ("white ware" in plaster, as in other contemporary sites; and above all, fired ceramics, of which we can follow the improvements for a millennium). This Neolithic phase can be subdivided in two: *Level V B* (6000–5750) and *Level V A* (5750–5250). These two levels have equivalents in other sites more or less nearby (Amuq A and B, Bouqras II, the beginnings of Tell Sukas, ancient Neolithic Byblos, Tell Ramad III, Mersin in Cilicia, and Hassuna). The distribution points to the development of a civilization with common traits over a large part of the Near East.

Chronological Table of Occupational Sequences at Ras Shamra

Approximate Dates	Life on the Tell	Level	Period
ca. 6500	First settlements	V C	Prepottery
ca. 6000	Pastoralism; ceramics; stone architecture	V B	Pottery
ca. 5250	Differentiated architecture; craft specializations	IV	"Halaf" (Chalcolithic)
4th millennium	Appearance of copper	III C	Final Chalcolithic "Ubaid"
		III B	
ca. 3000	Urban center; streets; fortifications; copper smelting	III A	Early Bronze

ca. 2200	Abandonment		
Beginning of 2d millennium	Arrival of Amorite population; urban development; walls, palace	II	Middle Bronze
ca. 1650	Abandonment? Cultural decline?		
ca. 1600	New urban period	I	Late Bronze II
15th–13th century	Ugaritic kings known from texts		Late Bronze III
ca. 1360	Amistamru I		
1360–1330	Niqmadu II		
1330–1324	Arhalbu		
1324–1274	Niqmepa		
1274–1240	Amistamru II		
1240–	Ibiranu		
–1225	Niqmadu III		
1225–1180	Ammurapi		
ca. 1180	Destruction and abandonment under attacks from the sea		
5th–4th century	Minor settlement on the tell		Persian Period
1st century	A few traces of occupation		Roman Period

It seems that the Neolithic period was a time of great development at Ras Shamra, if one is to judge by growing technological advancement and population density. On the other hand, the Chalcolithic (Level IV) period is first of all characterized by a reduction in the inhabited area; it seems that the passage from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic coincided with serious troubles and with the arrival of new oriental elements that led to a profound transformation. One recognizes, around this date, the mark of a civilization called *Halaf*, characterized by decorated ceramics of excellent quality, that spread to the N of Mesopotamia and Syria. At this point, the architecture of Ras Shamra diversified, the artisans began to specialize (in ceramics, for example), the raising of small livestock (sheep, goats) increases. This period lasts from about 5250 to 4300 B.C.

The period that spans the end of the 5th millennium and all of the 4th (Level III C and B) seems to have been a less prosperous period for Ras Shamra; it was still characterized by ties with Mesopotamia, and it corresponds to the period called *Ubaid*. A notable development was the appearance of copper.

The final phases of Level III (Level III A) correspond to the Early Bronze Age. From around 3000 B.C. on, there was again considerable increase in the occupation of the site, apparently without a break from Level III B. The city center presents a true urban character, with small streets and ramparts for protection. The architecture, which seems at first to have been made of fired brick (EB I), increasingly employed stone, in particular in defensive constructions. Tools, still essentially lithic, also included

metal objects (copper and bronze). The variety of ceramics suggests relationships with contemporary sites in Cilicia, northern Syria, and Palestine (Khirbet Kerak ceramics for example), and also with the Syrian interior (with the "simple ware" of the Amuq and Orontes region). The EB III phase at Ras Shamra, as in other regions, experienced a rapid development in metallurgy. Bronze production served largely in the fabrication of arms (lance heads, daggers), but also of tools (flat axes, needles) and of ornaments (pins). It is in this period, around 2400 B.C., that one finds for the first time the mention of the name Ugarit (*Ug-ga-ra-at^{ki}*) in a list of toponyms found at Elba, in the Syrian interior.

Around 2200 B.C., as is the case for other sites in the Levant, the tell was abandoned for a period of at least a century (maybe two) during the troubled period that in Egypt also marked the end of the Old Kingdom.

It was thus a new life on the site that began around 2000 B.C., during the Middle Bronze Age (Level II), with the arrival of new nomadic populations (such as the Amorites from the Syrian interior) who, little by little, became sedentary in Syria. Some among those established on the Ugarit acropolis seem to have been metallurgy experts; the presence of ornaments discovered in their tombs—ornaments that were also on silver figurines of divinities—led the excavator to designate these people as "necklace wearers." Other than the necklaces, their arms (triangular daggers, socketed lances, fenestrated axes) are characteristic, and the discovery of the molds was proved that they were made on the spot. No architecture is known from the MB I (this may be an accident of excavation, or the civilization may have conserved its nomadic traditions); only large collective tombs have been found. It is with the MB II–III (ca. 1900–1650) that one sees a new urban civilization develop in spectacular fashion, in which traditions from the Syrian coast fuse with contributions of the new arrivals. The city then covered almost the entire surface of the tell and was protected by an impressive rampart, the glacis of which is still visible in some parts (in keeping with the type of defensive construction common in the Levant). Among the MB structures that remain, one will obviously note the two temples located on the acropolis (see D.3 below) as well as the "Hurrian Temple" to the NW of the tell; it is probable also that the building designated as the North Palace (N of the Royal Palace) was constructed at the end of the MB but was abandoned during the construction of the LB Palace.

The excavations have yielded numerous objects from this period. One of the most striking features is the abundance of Egyptian objects, often with hieroglyphic inscriptions: a pearl with the name of Sesostri I (1970–1936 B.C.), funerary figurines bearing the name of an unknown deceased person, statues and sphinxes found mutilated. This mutilation, which appears to have been voluntary (statue of Chnoumet, daughter of Amenemhet II around 1900 B.C., or the sphinx from the temple of Baal), has given rise to different interpretations. Were these acts linked to international difficulties? Or were these statues the spoils of war from the period of Hyksos domination in Egypt? What is important to remember is the considerable place held by Egyptian relations with the kingdoms of the Levantine coast. But the name of Ugarit is also mentioned

in the Mari texts (the Ugaritic king's desire to see the Palace of Mari; visit by the king of Mari to Ugarit; mention in the economic archives referring in particular to the tin trade), bearing witness to constant relations between Upper Mesopotamia and the coastal kingdom. In the absence of confirmatory information, hypotheses that posit political domination by the pharaohs of the 12th Dyn. over Ugarit, while not excluded, remain only theories.

The end of the MB (ca. 1650 B.C.) and the period from the first phase of the LB until the end of the Amarna period (15th century) remain obscure, for Ugarit as well as for other Levantine sites. All that can be said is that Ugarit went through a troubled period and a decline that went perhaps as far as a temporary abandonment of the city. But the destruction was not complete, for the temples of the Acropolis remained until the end of Ugarit; the city, in addition, retained its name.

But after these years of obscurity, the LB period (Level I) once again saw an expansion of the urban center, with spectacular enrichment of the kingdom and greater and greater importance given to royal power. One can follow the development from the 15th to the 12th centuries, because from this point on the succession of kings and their relations with foreign powers can be established, thanks to texts found in the Amarna archives and at Ugarit, and to seals that marked official documents.

There is no question here of retracing the history of the kingdom of Ugarit, linked as it was to the powers that surrounded it and exerted their influence in turn—Mitanni, Egypt, Hatti—as well as to those neighboring nations with which Ugarit had amicable or hostile relations according to circumstance or period—Carchemish, Amurru, Siyannu, Kadesh, or the coastal nations like Sidon or Byblos. At the most, one can recall a few significant moments which marked local history.

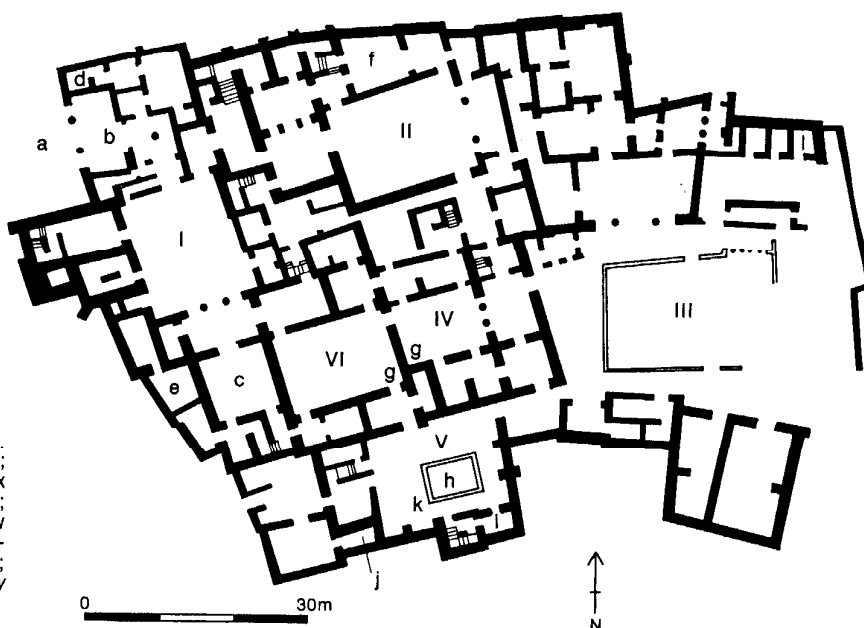
It seems that from around 1400 to 1350 B.C., Ugarit was under Egyptian control. A fire in the palace around 1360 must have destroyed the earlier archives it contained, be-

cause it was in the reign of Niqmaddu II (1360–1330) that the surviving royal archives began; but the documents from Amarna and the passages from the archives of Niqmaddu II seem to show that Niqmaddu's father, Amistamru I, was in a position of submission to Amenophis III (whose cartouche was found at Ugarit). The domination was not direct; thus, a treaty by Niqmaddu with the king of Amurru appears around 1350 to have imposed a sort of Amorite protectorate, but always within the Egyptian sphere of influence.

In 1350, the expedition of the king of Hatti, Suppiluliuma, against Mitanni and its Syrian vassals succeeded in bringing Mitanni under Hittite domination, and it also brought Ugarit, Amurru, and Kadesh into the same sphere of influence. Under the reign of the king of Ugarit, Niqmepa, after a period of trouble with Nuḥašše and Carchemish, Hittite domination stabilized.

At the end of the 14th century, the role of the king of Carchemish as the administrator of Hittite politics in Syria became more precise: in many cases he was charged with resolving conflicts between Ugarit and a neighboring country (Siyannu to the S or Mukish to the N) on behalf of the Great King, whose domination over this region was firmly established. At the time of the Ugaritic king Amistamru II (mid-13th century), the rivalries and alliances between Ugarit and Amurru were explained in particular by extremely complex matrimonial politics, of which the royal correspondence chronicles the vicissitudes; one can see the international political implications through the place held by the kings of Hatti and Carchemish in these operations. Numerous texts also mention commercial and judicial agreements to resolve differences in transactions, or to ensure the security of caravans; the presence of Hittite functionaries at Ugarit is evident. But commercial relations between Ugarit and Egypt and regions under Egyptian control (such as Palestine) seem to have revived, in particular after the Hittite-Egyptian treaty between Hattusili III and Ramesses II in 1270.

UGA.03. Plan of the royal palace at Ugarit. a, paved court; b, main entrance; c, courtyard; d, throne room; e, annex office archives; f, tombs; g, central archives; h, shallow pool; i, southern archive; j, southwestern archive; k, oven and tablets; l, eastern archive; III, garden. (Courtesy of M. Yon. Copyright by Mission Française Ras Shamra)



It is clear, especially beginning in the middle of the 13th century, that the kingdom of Ugarit, whose wealth was based on a flourishing economy (maritime commerce in particular), concentrated the sources of prosperity in the hands of the royal power. On the other hand, the weak military capacity of the kingdom worsened still more. The king Ibiranu (1240) did not voluntarily participate in the war effort of the Hittite sovereign. At the end of the 13th century, with King Ammurapi, the last Ugarit period began. The raids by the "Sea People" that harassed the coastal states as well as the Hittite king, as far as Egypt, and in which the king of Alashia-Cyprus played the role of informer (perhaps a double agent), were clearly the cause of the destruction of Ugarit, as well as of numerous other sites.

But the annihilation of the Ugaritic power necessarily had other causes which explain the total and definitive abandonment of the city by its inhabitants. It is certain that the equilibrium that ensured the stability of the kingdom was undermined from within. The evolution that saw the royal power develop in an unbridled fashion during the 13th century (also noticeable in the city in the constant improvement to the royal palace, as well as in the centralization of all economic power in the palace administration) led to a concentration of all goods around the palace; the countryside, incapable of supporting the augmentation of fiscal needs, were little by little depopulated in favor of the city, where one was closer to the king. Thus was created a disequilibrium which proved to be fatal between regions of agricultural production and commercial sectors, between inhabitants and royal civil servants: the "sons of Ugarit" gave way to the "people of the king."

The date of the destruction has been fixed at approximately 1180 B.C. Homes were abandoned by their inhabitants, pillaged, and burned. Following this, no other urban center was ever located on the site; the evidence of subsequent occupation (Persian and Hellenistic periods, Roman period) only affects small portions of the tell, and it no longer shows any collective organization that represents a village or a city, contrary to what had happened for 5000 years; the villages had become a city and then the capital of a kingdom.

D. The City of the Late Bronze Age

The city that remains visible is limited by the present surface of the tell, which rises almost 20 m above the surrounding plain. It today covers a surface of more than 20 hectares, but it is certain that this measurement does not account for the entire Late Bronze Age city. We know in fact that the northwest limit of the tell has shrunk by more than 50 m, eroded by the course of the Nahr Habayeb, giving one side the appearance of a cliff. To the E and above all to the S, the presence of modern plantations prevents an exact determination of the extent of the ancient habitation in the area that separated the archaeological site and the present course of the Nahr ed-Delbe.

1. **Boundaries, Access, Configuration.** The fortifications were of vital importance, in a region as flat as the coastal plain and as close to the sea, from which an enemy could arrive. We know that the MB city was surrounded by ramparts, and that remains true for the LB city. However, we are far from having discovered the entire outline of the

city wall. To the N, as we have just said, nothing remains other than a trench (from 1934) N of the acropolis. To the E, where the incline is less steep, the soundings have revealed the remains of a wall. To the S, nothing appears other than, in the still-visible relief of the land, fairly clear levees of earth angled to the S-E and S-W which could correspond to a sort of bastion on both sides of the depression that runs from the S toward the center of the tell.

To the W, excavators have brought to light an imposing fortress that protected the entrance to the royal palace. It includes a stone glacis (angled at 45 degrees), and a square tower of 14 m with enormous walls, protecting a tenaille door and an entrance by a zigzag ramp (now gone). Of this ensemble, there remains a postern—today the most spectacular element—made out of huge corbeled blocks, which gave access behind the tower by a zigzag corridor. These fortifications are thought to have been built in the MB period; but rebuilding and constant transformations affected the whole, up until the end of the LB period. (The access ramp was modified, the postern later blocked.) This whole area was profoundly transformed by the construction of the royal palace, and the subsequent improvements also affected the fortified gate that protected it to the W.

The strategic importance of this gate confirms the existence of a continuous rampart around the entire city; this fortified part protected the royal palace, which was also protected toward the city by a tambour door across the street that runs to the N; but this door was but a modest defense in comparison with the enormous exterior door. One cannot help but think that the palace, so well defended from the W, was more easily accessible to enemies that came from across the city. Later excavations will perhaps answer further questions about the defense of the city, particularly to the S.

One would like to know what points of access permitted entry, from the plain and from the port, into a city completely surrounded by walls. The only constructed entrance known today is the fortified gate that has just been mentioned, which led to the palace compound. But it is impossible to see this as the principal entrance to the city; the loaded caravans transporting merchandise from the port surely did not use the official entrance to the royal palace; and the gates that defended it (in the tower to the W and across the street to the E) were each too narrow for such passage. The regular traffic must have been elsewhere.

Observation of the outline of the tell on the S slope shows a kind of large depression, which begins at the S limit between the two levees of earth already mentioned and rises fairly steadily toward the center of the tell (to the west of the South City Trench). It lies on the axis of the bridge-dam recently excavated, which supported the access route from the plain. One is thus tempted to see this as an important access road into the city, perhaps the principal road that, crossing the Nahr ed-Delbe, led the plain to the interior of the city (the exploration of this road was undertaken in 1986 to clarify this question). But it is certain that other approaches were also used to come from the plain, in particular from the E side, where the

UGARIT

relief leads toward agricultural lands by a relatively regular and easy slope.

The configuration of the whole of the city shows several areas of occupation within the area delineated by the contours of the tell. Currently, out of more than 20 hectares, slightly more than 6 (thus less than a third) have been explored on the surface. This does permit, nonetheless, characterization of certain quarters and an analysis of the elements of the town plan of living conditions (with regard to which recent work is particularly interesting).

A considerable portion of the surface of the city was, during the last moments of Ugarit at least, reserved for the royal power: this part includes not only the royal palace but also the installations and outbuildings that were linked to it, whose architecture isolates them from the rest of the city. The "acropolis" area is of interest in understanding the major temples known today. The rest of the area was residential quarters.

2. Palace Complex. The royal palace constitutes the most spectacular monument of Ugarit, both in its dimensions and in the quality of the construction, which used largely cut stone, but also uncut stone, wood, and clay. It was built in several phases over the course of the 14th and 13th centuries, the successive improvements corresponding to the expansion of royal power.

The very elaborate organization of its plan in the final state implies a differentiation of spaces with diverse functions: administrative (the management of the affairs of the kingdom was mixed with administration of the palace), public and official, and private. Some functions took place on the ground floor and others on one floor (or more?) above; witness the presence of at least a dozen stone stairs and some walls preserved as high as the first floor.

The principal entrance is located to the NW; from the paved courtyard that leads to the fortified gate, one enters the palace through a large vestibule with two columns, surrounded by benches. One then proceeds into a vast courtyard (courtyard I), which leads through another portal flanked by columns to a reception room, doubtless the throne room. All around these different spaces are arranged smaller rooms with various functions (guard rooms, administrative offices), with stairs leading to other floors. The archives were found in these rooms: the Western Archives (administrative documents and correspondence) and the annex office of archives, whose texts are mostly in Ugaritic, but also in Akkadian, not to mention several tablets in Hurrian.

To the S and E of this very official area are found complexes organized around other courtyards. The courtyards II, IV, and VI are also surrounded by smaller rooms with various proposed functions; N of courtyard II are the tombs which constituted the royal necropolis, according to the principal found in numerous private homes: the family tomb is in the home. In the area of courtyards IV and VI are found the Central Archives, mostly in Akkadian (180 as against less than 50 in Ugaritic). They are primarily a collection of juridical texts and royal contracts, with a series of 135 impressions of dynastic seals that has allowed the reconstruction of the succession of kings from the 15th to the 12th centuries. The complex around courtyard V, to the S, constitutes the most recent addition; a shallow pool (8 m × 6 m) adorns the center of the

courtyard, fed by a series of channels. In the rooms located to the S, the very important Southern Archives have been found (texts on relations with Hatti), and to the W of the courtyard the South-Western Archives (with a notable proportion of texts in Hurrian); in the courtyard itself, near the pool, tablets were found in an oven dating from the last phase of the city's history, and are thus extremely precious.

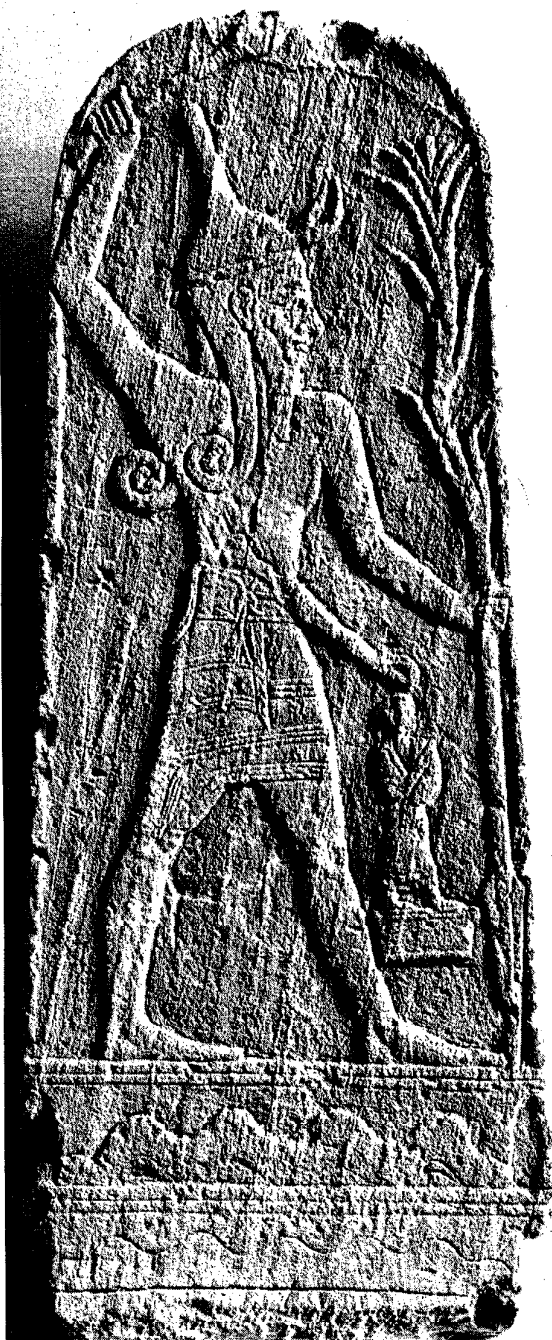
The E part of the palace (of which the E limit is unfortunately badly preserved) contains a vast garden (courtyard III), around which were probably the private apartments; in a room to the NE of this courtyard, very luxurious ivory furniture has been found (a bed headboard, a pedestal table, a horn). A door, protected by guards, gave access from the city to this part of the palace. The rooms located to the far E surely had administrative functions; it is indeed there that the Eastern Archives were found, containing above all economic texts (two thirds in Ugaritic, about one third in Akkadian, several Hurrian texts, and one Hurrian-Akkadian bilingual).

Several buildings located to the N of the paved courtyard at the entrance should also be included as part of the palace area: first the buildings beyond the palace street, buildings called the Arsenal and the Military Governor's Residence; then, the complex containing the Four-Pillared Building, with a huge paved room and a monumental entrance with a staircase (and sometimes wrongly designated the Royal Stables), built without a doubt in the 13th century; and finally the Hurrian Temple, older than what surrounds it. The temple's sacred character enabled it to survive intact, despite the change in orientation of the new constructions at the end of the LB period. This complex, including the palace, was carefully defined and protected from the city by continuous walls and well-defended doorways. It also benefited from very elaborate improvements which were reserved for it, like canals to carry water, or the great sewer that crossed and drained only the royal area.

The palace itself, which extends over 120 meters from E to W and as much as 90 m from N to S, occupies almost 7000 m², and the royal area as we know it today, about 10,000 m². This large proportion with respect to the rest of the city, the development and the progressive extension of palatial buildings, and the concentration of archives found in the palace confirm the conclusions that one could draw from studying administrative and fiscal texts, lists of villages and professions, according to which the royal power did not cease to extend its influence during the 13th century.

3. The Temples. The temples located on the highest part of the site, the acropolis, were named respectively the Temple of Baal (because of the discovery there of a stele depicting the god Baal with sword and thunderbolt [see Fig. UGA.04] and the "stele of Baal Šapān") and the Temple of Dagan (on the strength of two steles bearing the name of this god discovered nearby). These conventional names are retained here.

The better preserved is the Temple of Baal, located to the W within an enclosure of which part of the wall remains. Strong foundations support a podium upon which is built the temple, comprising a vestibule, which is reached by a staircase on the facade, and a larger rectan-



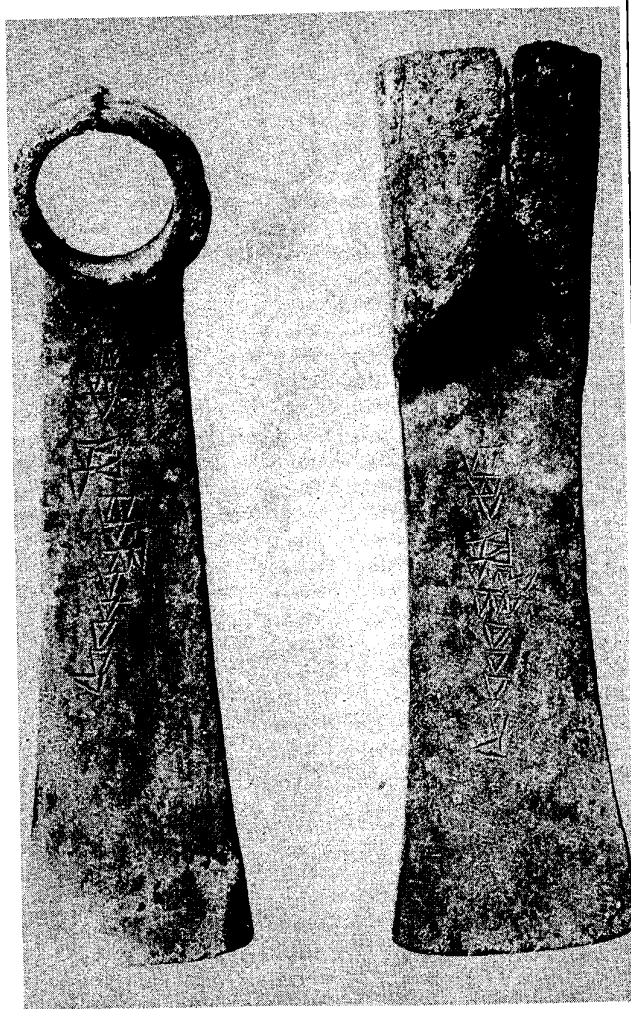
UGA.04. Stele of Baal with thunderbolt from the Temple of Baal. (Courtesy of M. Yon. Copyright by Mission Française Ras Shamra)

gular room, longer on one side than the other; one can still see in this room the remains of a monumental staircase of cut stone (at least in this part) that extends to three sides of the building: it is thus possible to estimate the height of the building—a minimum of 16 or 17 m above the ground. The temple must have appeared like a kind of tower, on top of which was a terrace where part of the ceremonies took place. So in the legend, King Keret is invited to offer a sacrifice “at the summit of the tower” (KTU 1.14.2.21–22). If one considers the fact that the acropolis itself rises some 20 m above the surrounding plain, the height of this tower at its summit would have made it a part of the terrain visible from afar and would have served as a landmark at sea. Seventeen stone anchors that have been found in this temple—incorporated in the construction of the walls, or deposited as votive offerings like steles (none in the temple of Dagan)—show the evident veneration of this sanctuary by sailors. In the courtyard in front of the temple is found a square altar of cut stone. The quality of the offerings, of which some vestiges have been found despite the pillaging of the city (for example the golden cup and plate, decorated with hunting scenes and the royal chariot), indicate the importance of the cult that was conducted in this temple.

The Temple of Dagan, of which only the foundations remain, can be analyzed in the same way, and contains the same characteristics that would warrant its reconstruction as a tower. Near these temples that are separated from the city by their enclosures are found small blocks of residences served by roads. But this quarter does not seem to be a simple and common quarter of modest habitations; one of these houses, called the House of the High Priest, has produced since 1929 an important group of arms and bronze tools, of which certain ones carrying dedications to the “High Priest.” See Fig. UGA.05. These inscriptions furnished one of the keys to deciphering Ugaritic; nearby, groups of tables were discovered, including the most important mythological texts.

Other sacred places have been found in the city, starting with the Hurrian Temple already noted in the palace complex, which seems to be a smaller version of the same structure as the two contemporary acropolis temples.

But recent work also shows the existence in the city of sanctuaries more integral in the whole complex with direct access to the streets. Certain of these even seem to be part of city blocks, of which the rest is occupied by domestic buildings. Their sacred character is recognizable on the one hand by the architectural organization, as in the case of the “rhyton sanctuary” recently discovered in the center of the city. Its decentralized plan, the platforms constructed for offerings, and the benches along the walls are similar to the types of LB architecture common in the eastern Mediterranean, in Cyprus, for example, but above all in Palestine. The sacred function of certain of these buildings, whose floor plans are often poorly preserved or difficult to interpret, follows also from the objects that have been discovered there. This includes furniture necessary for the ceremonies (libation rhytons, cultic stands, incense burners) and representations of divinities (statuettes and steles), or still other objects tied to divinatory practices, such as the inscribed livers and lungs found in the South Acropolis Trench (House of the Magician Priest).



UGA.05. Dedicatory inscribed adzes from the house of the High Priest. (Courtesy of M. Yon)

The existence of these places of worship found throughout the city is evidence of the presence of religious activities among all the inhabited areas, and not just the areas which were reserved for it. One cannot exclude either the existence of domestic cults, a manifestation of popular religion side by side with frequentation of the great temples, if one is to judge by the number and the dispersion

in all areas of the site of small figurines, whether it be pendants in precious metal or the effigy of the goddess (Astarte?), or more humble figurines modeled in terracotta.

4. Public and Domestic Architecture. As we have seen, the unearthed portion of the tell only covers about 6 hectares, of which one fifth is occupied by the palace complex. The remarks that will be made about the Ugaritic domestic architecture concern the S slope of the tell, the best known, and the part one reaches first upon entering the city by what seems to be the principal entrance.

The main road has not yet been precisely located and excavated (even if one can see its approximate location). From the residential quarter to the South Acropolis Trench, the vaguely parallel streets that more or less follow natural contours are linked to each other by small, short, straight streets running N-S. They thus outline the small blocks, of many different forms, without any concern for regularity or exact orientation. This network of streets is superimposed upon an older network, which was created over the centuries by the disordered evolution of a living habitat, by unsystematic reconstructions and modifications of properties.

We have seen in the history of the excavations the different living quarters excavated over a thirty-year period; we will limit ourselves here to noting several significant points, in particular from the texts that have been discovered.

The residential quarter in immediate proximity to the palace consists essentially of private houses, of which certain were occupied by rich merchants, royal functionaries, or representatives of foreign powers. Several caches of tablets have been found in this quarter: in the House of Rasapabu (varied texts, above all legal and economic); the House of the Scholar (literary, lexicographic, and technical texts); the House of Rap'anu (legal and economic texts, but also religious and, above all, diplomatic). The House of the Bronze Armorer contained a pile of bronze arms and tools, of which one sword is marked with the cartouche of the Pharaoh Merneptah.

The areas referred to as the center of the tell, the South City Trench, and the South Acropolis Trench, are also areas of private dwellings. The libraries are rarer: noteworthy are the House of Literary Tablets (South City Trench), which has furnished a variety of texts. The house called "of the priest of the models of inscribed lungs and livers" or "Magician Priest" (South Acropolis Trench) seems to come more from the sacred architecture tradition (see D.3 above) than from that of ordinary private dwellings; it contained religious texts in Ugaritic and in Hurrian.

The city blocks, themselves of varied dimensions, are divided into living units (houses) closely linked with one another and imbricated, so that not one of them alone constitutes an autonomous architectural unit. That is why the interior partitions have changed over the course of the history of each block, according to inheritances and sales: it was sufficient to pierce a hole or board up a doorway to modify the size or the orientation of a house.

The construction used largely stone (cut stone for the lower portions in the most beautiful houses, and rubble stone everywhere else), wood (for timber framing and beams), unbaked brick (attested in recent excavations), and mud-daubed reeds (for the ceilings and terraces). The

plans of the houses are variable, but one notes in many cases a very functional partition of space, visible in the ground plan: access to the street is from a vestibule whence the interior traffic patterns branch out, horizontally by the doorways and vertically by a staircase, the first flight of which is of stone. One area is reserved for domestic activities, recognizable from culinary utensils (stone, ceramic, bone), another perhaps for the treatment of textiles, and another area for storage, with jars and sunken silos. The living quarters on the next floor up must be reconstructed. Fairly frequently, a separate area, with its own entrance but linked to the rest of the house, housed a family tomb. These private homes abutted industrial establishments, whether for agricultural production (oil pressing, for example) or jewelry or figurine workshops.

The population of the city of Ugarit is difficult to compute. For the latest phase of its history, historians have tried to extrapolate from the texts and from the surface area of the houses and their presumed density of inhabitants. A number of 6,000 to 8,000 inhabitants for the 13th-century city has been given, and about 25,000 inhabitants for the entire kingdom, but these are only estimates. The archaeological indications lead one to believe, in any case, that the population of the city increased during the 13th century; the increase in population density agrees with what can be inferred from the texts.

E. Material Culture

Life appears to have been very rich and refined at Ugarit, with a high development of certain techniques and an interest in improvements that make life more comfortable in an urban setting within a very restricted space.

1. Daily Life. The architectural remains show the existence of improvements that were sometimes very elaborate, facilitating the conduct of daily life. This is the case, for example, with everything having to do with water, for the royal area especially, as well as more modestly for the life of ordinary inhabitants (wells, aqueducts, reservoirs in stone vessels, and drainage by a monumental sewer for the palace quarter; cesspools found mainly in houses and streets in the rest of the city). By the same token, certain industrial buildings required complex installations, such as the oil presses with a counterweight press (of which there are several examples on the tell). This is only a small proportion of such establishments, for many of the industrial complexes, using only portable equipment made out of perishable material (wood in particular), left no archaeological trace.

Nonetheless, these activities, familial or larger, used instruments in stone, ceramic, carved bone, metal, etc., of which some have come down to us. Household utensils are represented by numerous stone mortars and pestles used to grind cereal; sickle blades of carved flint used to cut wheat or the reeds for roofs; fish hooks, knives, axes, and adzes; toiletries in bronze (razors, small tweezers, pins); everything that concerns textile production (a weaver's weight, spindles and spindle holders, sewing needles); and an abundance of utilitarian dishes, made locally for the most part, or more delicate pieces, imported from Mycenaean Greece and from Cyprus. A great number of objects attest to the technical competence of certain Ugarit artisans whose works show highly developed technique and

artistic research: glyptics on stone, for example, or better yet, ivory or metalwork and ceramics.

2. Cultural Life. In the archaeological record, artistic concerns appear above all in the plastic arts. Sculpture, however, is poorly represented, by only a few steles, and by what is called the "minor arts": the making of figurines or containers decorated in metal (bronze and gold); engraving and sculpture on ivory. But in these techniques the Ugarit artists produced objects that numbered among the most accomplished in the Levant during the LB period. To cite only the most famous, one should recall the headboards in sculpted ivory from the royal palace, or the golden cup and plate from the Temple of Baal. In all these cases, these are not productions for an ordinary clientele; the artists worked for kings and gods. However, the rich also possessed luxurious objects decorated with art.

Concerning artistic activities of a more abstract nature, literature and music, also closely linked to religious preoccupations, written testimony given by the tablets is more explicit in content. But the material remains also bring their contribution: thus, musical instruments discovered in the dig (like bronze cymbals, or castanets, or even an ivory horn) evoke ceremonies in the rituals or mythic stories. As to literature—ignoring the medium of modeled fired clay (the tablet), which is itself an archaeological object, as well as the stylus of bone which allowed one to impress the cuneiform signs—it relied on the teaching of writing, of which we have evidence. A building has not been located which can be designated as a school, but the presence of several alphabet primers, lexicographic documents, and students' copies in several places in the city prove that Ugaritians learned to write, and that they were familiar with technical vocabulary and foreign languages according to very precise pedagogical techniques. But here again it was without doubt only a fraction of the population who formed the professional category of scribes.

Bibliography

Excavation reports have appeared fairly regularly since 1929 under the responsibility of the successive directors of the mission in the journal *Syria* (Paris) as well as in the *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* (Damascus), and in *CRAIBL*. Reports of recent activity at the site by M. Yon appear in the "Chroniques archéologique," *Syr* 60 (1983) 286–90; 64 (1987) 277–80; 67 (1990).

Detailed syntheses were prepared in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the discovery of Ugarit. Important among these are:

- Courtois, J. C., et al. *Ras Shamra. DRSup* 9: 1124–1466. *Ras Shamra—Ugarit 1929–1979*. Lyon.
Saadé, G. 1979. *Ougarit: Métropole cananéenne*. Beirut.

Collections of studies and definitive publications have appeared in the series *Ugaritica* and in associated monographs:

- Callot, O. 1983. *Une maison à Ougarit*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 1. Paris.
Schaeffer, C. F. A. 1939. *Ugaritica I*. Mission de Ras Shamra 3. Paris.
———. 1949. *Ugaritica II*. Mission de Ras Shamra 13. Paris.

- Schaeffer, C. F. A., ed. 1969. *Ugaritica VI*. Mission de Ras Shamra 18. Paris.
- . 1979. *Ugaritica VII*. Paris.
- Schaeffer, C. F. A., et al. 1956. *Ugaritica III*. Mission de Ras Shamra 14. Paris.
- . 1962. *Ugaritica IV*. Mission de Ras Shamra 15. Paris.
- Schaeffer-Forrer, C. F. A. 1983. *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia*. Paris.
- Stucky, R. 1983. *Ras Shamra—Leukos Limân: Die nach-Ugaritische Besiedlung von Ras Shamra*. Paris.
- Yon, M., et al. 1987. *Le centre de la ville (38–44^e campagnes)*. Ras Shamra-Ugarit 2. Paris.

Further bibliography can be found in the *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies*, ed. C. M. Foley, and in:

- Yon, M. 1985. La ville d'Ougarit au XIII^e siècle. *CRAIBL*: 705–21.
MARGUERITE YON
Trans. Stephen Rosoff

TEXTS AND LITERATURE

"Literature" in the title of this section is to be understood in the broadest sense as "written document" and "Ugaritic" in the broad sense as "deriving from the ancient city-state of Ugarit." The purpose of this overview is, therefore, to describe briefly the documents unearthed at Ras Shamra that date from the period ca. 1400 B.C. (the only period, to date, which has furnished documents in number). The main emphasis will, nevertheless, be on the texts written in the Ugaritic script and language. (Since the Ugaritic language is written only in Ugaritic script, "Ugaritic" will henceforth be used to refer to both the script and the language.)

Ancient Ugarit was a cosmopolitan center and its scribes were well versed in both the local West Semitic language today called "Ugaritic" (ancient name unknown) and in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the late 2d millennium throughout the Near East. The extent of the scribes' erudition in Mesopotamian learning is becoming clearer as hundreds of Sumero-Akkadian lexical and literary texts, discovered primarily during the 20th–22d campaigns (1956–58), are published. In addition to these principal languages, texts also exist in Hurrian (both in the Ugaritic script and in the Sumero-Akkadian syllabic script), Egyptian, Hittite (syllabic and hieroglyphic), and in a largely undeciphered script known as "Cypro-Minoan." From later periods, there is the odd Phoenician text, as well as Greek, Roman, and Arabic coins.

A. Religious Texts

1. Mythological Texts
 - a. Baal-Anat Cycle
 - b. Story of Kirta
 - c. Story of Aqhat
 - d. Minor Texts and Fragments
2. Ritual Texts

B. Epistolary Texts

1. Formulae
2. Royal Letters
3. Non-Royal Letters

C. Administrative Texts

1. Lists
2. Official Acts and Commercial Documents

A. Religious Texts

Virtually all overtly religious texts are in Ugaritic and reflect West Semitic religious concepts. The few (Sumero-) Akkadian literary texts published to date belong for the most part to the category of wisdom literature, with the admixture of human and divine elements characteristic of that genre, and they tend to repeat or at least resemble known Mesopotamian texts. The Hurrian religious texts are primarily ritual in nature and reflect closely the standard Ugaritic cult. The Ugaritic texts fall into two broad categories: myths and cultic texts, the former in poetry and the latter in prose. These major categories can again be subdivided.

Some of the myths are long literary productions that deal only with deities, others are of similar length but tell of relationships between heroes and divinities, while a third category consists of various shorter poetic texts which deal primarily with divinities but without a clear attachment to any of the major myths. Because the texts from this third category are written on single tablets, usually damaged, it is often difficult to decide the precise literary type and the *raison d'être* of a given text.

The cultic texts also belong to several sub-categories: (1) rituals, which relate the events of a cultic cycle, the sacrifices, the offerings, the processions; (2) deity lists; (3) divinatory texts of various kinds.

1. Mythological Texts. We do not attempt to attach separate terms to each of the Ugaritic literary types because the Ugaritic types do not fully correspond, be it by subject-matter or by form, to the Homeric or Germanic types which have given rise to such terms as "epic," "legend," or "saga." Since all of the texts grouped under this heading include a divine element, we use "myth" in the broad sense of "a literary production which deals with the acts of the gods, with or without an explicit human element." The phrase "literary production" is important here, for in all of these texts one may perceive a conscious attempt to produce a literarily refined work—this literary intention is manifest in the poetic form of these works. It is indubitable that in many cases, perhaps most, the specifically "literary" form has a long prehistory of oral transmission and elaboration; it is thus the artistic (or "bellettristic") aspect of these works that we intend to convey by the term "literary production" (and not primarily the fact that they are written down: the writing down was probably a relatively minor part—however important it may be in practical terms for the survival of the myth to our day—of the "literary production").

a. Baal-Anat Cycle. The precise relationship of the tablets commonly known as the *Baal-Anat Cycle* (CTA 1–6 = KTU 1.1–6) is uncertain and the object of much debate. The common title is a fair one, however, for wherever the text is well enough preserved to permit comprehension, it is clear that the main protagonists are Baal, god of the storm and hence of agricultural fertility, and Anat, Baal's wife-sister, perpetual "young girl" (*bilt* ≡ Heb *bēṭūlā*), and goddess of both love and war. In these texts El is a father-figure, head of the pantheon, and attended by his wife

Asherah, but these two ancient deities do not initiate action and are not the primary focus of any of the principal narratives. It is rather Baal who is the focus: he defeats his enemy *Yammu* ("Sea"), he requests and receives a palace like the other gods but is shortly thereafter himself defeated by *Môtu* ("death"), but is in the end resurrected and serves again to bring rain and plenty upon the earth.

The principal literary question regarding the Baal-Anat texts is whether they form a true cycle or simply a collection of somewhat disparate stories. The only basis of a truly cyclical interpretation yet proposed is the seasonal one (de Moor 1971), where the trials and victory of the weather could be directly related to the cycle of the seasons. Coupled with this seasonal interpretation has often been the assumption that the myths reflect a ritual cycle tied in with the seasonal cycle. A unitary interpretation, but not necessarily a cyclical one, would be to see in these texts a glorification of the young deity Baal (comparable to the glorification of Marduk in certain Mesopotamian texts): in such a view the ultimate victory of Baal could only be obtained by the defeat of the various enemies which appear in the poems (Sea, River, Death, Leviathan, etc.) and his own defeat by Death would be seen as an episode rather than as a repeating occurrence.

b. Story of Kirta. The *story of Kirta* (written KRT in Ugaritic; vocalization uncertain) is of an entirely different kind (CTA 14–16, = KTU 1.14–16). In it the clearly human though legendary royal figure Kirta struggles with the dual problem—ironically inseparable—of perpetuating his "house," i.e., his progeny and hence his dynasty, while preserving his own existence (against divine retribution for sin) and maintaining his own hold on the throne (against an ambitious son). The very beginning of the first tablet is lost but soon thereafter one learns that Kirta has lost seven wives, one after the other.

- CTA 14: (10) Kirta's household has been destroyed,
 (11) Kirta's place has been removed;
 (12) His rightful wife [the first] he cannot find,
 (13) His proper spouse;
 (14) A [second] wife he marries but she disappears,
 (15) The mother's offspring who was his;
 (16) A third dies in childbirth;
 (17) A fourth by illness;
 (18) A fifth Rashap (19) gathers in:
 A sixth the lads (20) of Sea;
 The seventh of them (21) falls by the sword.
 (22) Kirta sees his household destroyed,
 (23) His "seat" completely removed.

Saddened by the sight, Kirta weeps and falls asleep. El appears to him in a dream and enjoins him to seek a wife in the far-off city of *ʿudm*. Kirta undertakes the expedition and on his way vows to Asherah that if successful he will give twice his bride's weight in silver, even thrice her weight in gold, to the goddess. The mission is successful, the new bride produces children, but Kirta neglects his vow and is punished by a mortal illness. El contrives to heal him (the text is damaged and has preserved no reference to a rite

of penitence) but on recovering his health Kirta is faced with an attempt by his son *ysb* to take the throne. The final tablet preserved ends with Kirta's curse on his ambitious son. It is certain that this is not the end of the story, however, for the tablet is intact and the text stops in the middle of a sentence.

The meaning of this story for the Ugaritians is uncertain, but because it was written by one of the leading scribes under one of the kings named Niqmaddu (CTA 16 VI 59 = KTU 1.16: 59, to be compared with CTA 6 VI 53–57 = KTU 1.6 VI 54–58), one may assume that Kirta's dynastic problems eventually received a solution that was meaningful to the kings of Ugarit, whose own dynasty, according to their own understanding (see RS 24.257 = KTU 1.113; Pardee 1988, chap. 5), went back at least to the early 2d millennium.

c. Story of Aqhat. The *story of Aqhat* (CTA 17–19 = KTU 1.17–19) is another long narrative containing human and divine elements. Here the royal element is largely absent, though the problem of obtaining progeny is as important as it was in the Kirta story. The poem as preserved opens in medias res with Daniel requesting of El a son and receiving a favorable answer. The son, Aqhat, becomes a hunter whose bow, a fine composite bow produced by the craftsman-deity Kutharu, is coveted by the goddess Anat. When Aqhat refuses to give up the bow, Anat has him killed. Aqhat's father recovers the body for burial and the hero's sister undertakes to wreak vengeance on Anat's hired assassin. Here the third tablet ends, again, apparently, before the end of the story. Three other fragments (CTA 20–22 = KTU 1.20–22) apparently deal with the same story, for Daniel is mentioned by name in them, but they are so fragmentary and the subject-matter is so different, that their attachment to the main tablets is not certain.

Though apparently copied by the same scribe as the Kirta text (see CTA 17 VI 56 = KTU 1.17 VI 56), royal dynastic concerns are much less evident here and the retention of the name Dan(i)el as an ancient wisdom figure in the book of Ezekiel (28:3) makes the identification of the work as a didactic one tempting. The only element in the text which may reasonably be said to belong to the category of wisdom sayings, however, is the list of "Duties of a Son," repeated four times in CTA 17 (= KTU 1.17):

- I (27) Who sets up the stela of his ancestor-god,
 In the sanctuary (28) the sun-disk of his clan;
 Who causes to rise from the earth his incense,
 (29) From the dust the perfume of his place;
 Who attacks (30) those who spurn him ("him"
 = his father)
 Drives out those who oppress him;
 (31) Who takes his hand when he is in his cups,
 Bears him up (32) when he is drunk with wine;
 Who presents his emmer-offering in the temple
 of Baal,
 (32) His gift in the temple of El;
 Who rolls his roof on (33) a muddy day,
 Washes his garments on a miry day.

Listing is a well-known characteristic of wisdom literature and the list just translated may constitute a link between

the Aqhat narrative and a more abstract form of wisdom literature.

d. Minor Texts and Fragments. The two best-known texts—because published early on—not belonging to one of the collections of cycles just described are the myths of *The Birth of Šahar and Šalim* (CTA 23 = KTU 1.23) and of *The Marriage of Nikkal* (CTA 24 = KTU 1.24). The first text belongs to the category of short mythological texts alluded to above because of its brevity, its lack of direct links with the larger mythological texts, and because it contains non-mythological elements, in this case instructions for a ritual. It has particularly captured the attention of specialists of West Semitic religion in part because El is the principal protagonist but not least because it contains some of the more lurid passages of a literature which is not especially graphic in sexual matters. *The Marriage of Nikkal* is stated explicitly to be a song (it begins *ʾašr* “I sing”). It contains a myth recounting the marriage of the West Semitic lunar god Yarīḫu with the Mesopotamian lunar goddess Nikkal.

From a series of individual texts and fragments published sporadically since the 1930's it has become clear that we know only the tip of the Ugaritic mythopoetic iceberg and that the range of literary types contained therein was surely broader than we might believe on the basis of the major mythological texts. Only a sampling can be indicated here:

- 1) CTA 10–12 (= KTU 1.10–12): three texts dealing with Baal but outside the context of the Baal-Anat cycle cited above.
- 2) RS 15.134 = PRU II 1 = KTU 1.82: a long and relatively complete text that appears to be primarily mythological but of which the meaning is disputed.
- 3) RS 19.039 = PRU V 1 = KTU 1.92: another primarily mythological text, but rather badly broken, in which the goddess Athtart, not a leading figure in the standard literature, plays a major role.
- 4) RS 24.258 = Ugaritica V 1 = KTU 1.114 begins with a mythological narrative of the drunkenness of El and ends with a medical prescription in prose for the relief of hangover.
- 5) RS 24.244 = Ugaritica V 7 = KTU 1.100 contains a mythological and poetic account of how a mare-goddess is relieved by the god Horon of the threat posed by venomous serpents.
- 6) RS 24.252 = Ugaritica V 2 = KTU 1.108 recounts in poetic form an invitation to *Rapi'u*, “king of Eternity” (probably a title for *Milku*, a god of the underworld) to participate in a drinking feast with other deities; after a long lacuna the text ends with a blessing, probably intended for the king of Ugarit, to be effected by the intermediary of the Rephaim, the shades of former kings.

Alongside these documents which are primarily mythological and poetic in form, one can mention a few documents which are even more mixed in type:

- 1) Inserted at the end of the prose ritual text RS 24.266 = Ugaritica VII, pp. 31–39 = KTU 1.119 is a poetic prayer enclosed within instructions for when it is to be offered:

- (26) When the strong one attacks your gates,
The warrior (27) your walls,
You shall lift your eyes to Baal:
- (28) “O Baal, cast the strong one from our gates,
- (29) The warrior from our walls.
A bull, (30) O Baal, we sanctify,
A vow, O Baal, (31) we fulfill;
A [first]-born (or: a [ra]m), O Baal, we sanctify,
- (32) A food-offering, O Baal, we fulfill,
A drink-offering, O Baal, we make;
- (33) We go up to the sanctuary of Baal,
We take the path to the temple of Baal.”
- (34) Baal will hear your prayer,
- (35) He will cast the strong one from your gates,
The warrior (36) from your walls.

- 2) RS 24.257 = Ugaritica V 5 = KTU 1.113: On the recto is a text divided into short paragraphs but too badly broken to permit one to ascertain whether the form is poetic. On the verso is a list of the kings of Ugarit back to the founding of the dynasty more than half a millennium earlier. Many have seen in the joining of the texts on the same tablet evidence for a celebration in honor of the deceased members of the dynasty.

- 3) RS 24.272 = Ugaritica V 6 = KTU 1.124 appears to be a prose text but one that recounts a mythological consultation of the hero-deity *Ditanu* in order to obtain the healing of a sick child. After the description of the consultation come two oracles pronounced by *Ditanu*, both of which appear to contain quasi-naturalistic devices (placement of spices for the cleansing of the house) for the recovery of a sick person.

- 4) RS 34.126 = Syria 59 (1982) 121–28 = KTU 1.161 bears a text of mixed characteristics: The form is poetic, but it appears to be primarily ritualistic. At the death of a king, the deceased ancestors are invoked, sacrifices are offered, and a blessing is pronounced on the house of the new king. In this text, the poetic form is very likely owing to the mythological nature of the list of ancestors (only the two kings that immediately preceded the deceased king are well-known figures; the rest are apparently of great antiquity for their names are virtually unknown and they are called “the Rephaim of the earth” and “the ancient Rephaim”).

2. Ritual Texts. More than one hundred ritual texts have been found at Ras Shamra, most of them in Ugaritic, some in the Hurrian language, written in both the syllabic script and in the alphabetic script (Ugaritica V, pp. 447–544), none in Akkadian.

The Ugaritic ritual texts are expressed with an exasperating concision: an animal or another item is mentioned in conjunction with a divine name and often in conjunction with a designation for the type of offering in which the object is classified, e.g., *šrp* “burnt offering,” *šlmm* “peace offering.” Unfortunately, the attribution to a deity is not always indicated by means of a preposition and the lack of vocalization prevents us from perceiving a possible attribution expressed by a case-ending. There are occasional

references to preparations or to processions, e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132: 1–3 “On the 19th (day of an unnamed month) one makes the bed of (the deity) Pidray with the cover(s) of *mlk* (‘the king’ or the deity ‘Milku?’)”; RS 19.015 = *PRU* 4 = *KTU* 1.91: 10–11 “When Athtart-*sd* enters the royal palace, when the Rashap-deities enter the royal palace. . . .” The texts are often divided into sections by horizontal lines drawn across the tablet, by references to times (e.g., *lil* “at night”), or by numbers indicating the days of the month. Such references are far too infrequent, however, to permit the reconstruction of a cultic cycle. Indeed, it is very possible that the few texts that have come down to us were prepared in or for several different sanctuaries and that they represent, therefore, a multiplicity of cults and, perhaps, of cultic cycles. If such is the case, we are far indeed from being able to reconstruct a cultic cycle.

The exasperating concision of these texts has resulted in some rather basic questions still being undecided. Were these ritual texts meant to be “descriptive” or “prescriptive” (Levine 1963)? If they were prescriptive, why the multiplicity of forms of the cult and the apparent lack of serialization (i.e., there is not a “Book of Leviticus” from Ras Shamra)? If they were descriptive, why are many of the verbs expressed in the “imperfect,” the verbal form which in prose is normally reserved for the description of non-completed acts? Our own preference is to see these imperfects at the very least as denotations of the habitual and in the apparent multiplicity of cult forms a reflection of multiple cult centers.

There are also some uncertainties as to the meaning of basic formulae: what precisely does *brr* mean in the formula *yrḥš mlk brr* “the king washes himself *brr*” or *hl* in the phrase *ʿrb špš whl mlk* “at the setting of the sun, the king is *hl*”?

a. Expiatory Ritual. A very special ritual, one that was not limited to a specific sanctuary or cult, was the expiatory ritual RS 1.002 = *CTA* 32 = *KTU* 1.40. Several fragments of duplicates and of similar texts have been discovered since the publication of the original text (+ RS 17.100 = *CTA* Appendix I = *KTU* 1.84; RS 24.270A = *KTU* 1.122; RS 24.652 G, K = *KTU* 1.154)—this relatively large number of exemplars of a particular type of text may be seen as a sign of a broad usage. Though the texts are fragmentary and not perfectly understood, it is clear that the literary type is that of the ritual (the terms *dbh* “sacrifice,” *ṯ* “offering,” *š* “sheep,” and *ʿr* “jack” appear), that various types of sin are being dealt with (the terms *ʿap* “anger,” *qsrṯ npš* “impatience,” and *qṯt* “disgusting deed” appear, as well as the verb *ḥt* “to sin”), and that the inhabitants of Ugarit (*bm/bpugrt* “son, daughter of Ugarit”) and their royal household (*nqmd*, *ʿatt* “Niqmaddu, [his?] woman/wife”) were involved.

b. Deity Lists. We are fortunate in having among the few Ugaritic religious texts three exemplars of a list of divine names, two in Ugaritic (RS 1.017 = *CTA* 29 = *KTU* 1.47; RS 24.264 + *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 1–3 = *KTU* 1.118), one in syllabic script (RS 20.024 = *Ugaritica* V 18). This confluence of texts in two different scripts gives us the identification made by the Ugaritic scribes of Levantine deities with their Mesopotamian counterparts, often better known, and is evidence of at least one partial form of

standardization of the Ugaritic pantheon—“partial” because the text contains only thirty-three entries of which six are the repeated word *bʿlm* “a Baal.” Furthermore, a ritual text, RS 24.643 = *Ugaritica* V 9 = *KTU* 1.148, contains a list of offerings made to a series of deities of which the names and the order of mention are almost the same as in the divinity lists just described (just three divine names from near the end of the list are missing in the ritual text: *ʾuthl*, *mlkm*, and *šlm*, nos. 30, 32, and 33 of the lists). We know from the other ritual texts that other deities were worshipped in the Ugaritic cult, for not only are many other divine names mentioned but RS 24.643 is the only ritual to reflect even approximately the known “pantheon” list in its particular order. Moreover, there are other lists of divine names in other orders (e.g., RS 4.474 = *CTA* 30 = *KTU* 1.65; RS 24.246 = *Ugaritica* V 14 = *KTU* 1.102; RS 26.142 = *Ugaritica* V 170, the last in syllabic script). One can only conclude that the three identical lists and RS 24.643 reflect one cult, that of Šapon (RS 1.017 is headed *ʾil špn* “the gods of Šapon,” while the ritual text bears the heading *dbh špn* “sacrifices of Šapon”), the Ugaritic equivalent of the classical Olympus, and that other cults, perhaps less catholic, would have had their own “pantheon” lists.

The other deity lists just mentioned furnish evidence for such a hypothesis. RS 24.246 = *Ugaritica* V 14 = *KTU* 1.102 contains on the recto a list of divine names (fourteen lines) and on the verso a list of names that resemble personal names but which are generally unattested as such and which all contain a divine name or epithet. The divinities are, of course, mentioned in other ritual texts but we have no evidence, aside from this tablet, that the names which appear on the verso were ever the object of a cult. RS 4.474 = *CTA* 30 = *KTU* 1.65 deals exclusively with the household of El. It begins with a hierarchical list of El’s family, also known from the expiation ritual (RS 1.002) mentioned above: “El, the sons of El, the circle of the sons of El, the assembly of the sons of El, Thukamunawa-Shunama, El and Athirat.” The text continues with a series of attributes of El (“grace of El,” “constancy of El,” “well-being of El”), two uses of the word *ʾil* (≡ El) as an appellative (“the god *ḥš*,” “the god *ʾadd*”), two forms of Baal (“Baal of Šapon” and “Baal of Ugarit”), and ends with a series of prepositional phrases ending in the word El (“by the sword of El,” “by the adze of El,” etc.). This enigmatic set of associations was certainly connected at least partially with cultic ritual (cf. the partial overlap between this text and RS 1.002).

c. Extispicy Texts. Another form of ritual was extispicy, the examination of internal organs from sacrificial animals for the purpose of predicting the outcome of a particular enterprise. From Mesopotamia there are both clay liver models inscribed with a prognosis and long collections of such omens each of which consists of the sign (“If the liver is in such-and-such a form . . .”) followed by the prognosis (“such-and-such will happen”). The excavations at Ras Shamra have given us a small collection of inscribed liver models (some with Ugaritic texts, some only with marks indicating the interpretable features of the liver), one inscribed lung model (several discrete Ugaritic inscriptions), and two collections of omina (one dealing with

omens based on abnormal animal fetuses, the other with omens based on abnormal human fetuses).

The liver models with Ugaritic inscriptions are votive rather than ominophorous, e.g., "Sacrifice of Bayyay, son of Sharay, to Athtart who is in Athtart" (RS 24.323 = *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 172-73 = *KTU* 1.142). The reference is to a sacrifice to the goddess Athtart in her particular manifestation in the village of Athtart, probably the village that is known as the "Estate of Athtart" (*gt ttrt*) in the administrative texts.

The lung model (RS 24.277 = *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 165-72 = *KTU* 1.127) bears a series of votive inscriptions ("sacrifice of . . .," "sheep of . . .") which are arranged on the three principal planes of the model at various angles to each other and separated by lines incised in the clay. It also contains an ominological statement not dissimilar to the prayer to Baal (RS 24.266) cited above: "If the city is about to be taken, if death attacks the inhabitants, the households of the inhabitants shall take a goat and they shall (thus) see afar (i.e., what will happen)" (lines 29-31).

A striking example of Mesopotamian culture translated into the Ugaritic language is that of the divinatory texts based on abnormal fetuses of animals or humans. The genre was well known in Mesopotamia and is commonly designated by the first words of the omen, *shumma izbu*, "If the abnormal fetus. . . ." The form of the omen is that of the extispicy omens described above: the protasis describes the particular features of the abnormal fetus (e.g., "If the fetus has no tongue . . .") while the apodosis provides the prognosis (e.g., ". . . the king will destroy the enemy land"). The genre is represented by two texts from Ras Shamra, one, the better preserved, dealing with abnormal animal births (RS 24.247 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 44-60 = *KTU* 1.103 + 1.145), the other, only a small fragment from the left side of the tablet, dealing with abnormal human births (RS 24.302 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 60-62 = *KTU* 1.140). (For both texts see Pardee 1966.) There is also a very poorly preserved tablet, from the neighboring site of Ras Ibn Hani, of an omen text based on planetary phenomena (RIH 78/14 = *Syria* 57 [1980] 352-53). These texts preserve the structure (a long series of single-sentence omens, each based on a different observed phenomenon), the form (protasis, apodosis), and the terminology (e.g., "king," "land," "enemy," "destroy," "sword," "troops") of the better-known Mesopotamian texts and it is almost certain that the Ugaritic versions were derived at some point from Mesopotamian models. The exact route by which these literary models reached the Levant is uncertain, however, for no known text of the genre from any source has the same sequence of omens as the Ugaritic exemplars.

d. Hurrian Religious Texts. Another aspect of the internationalism of the Ugaritic ritual texts may be seen in the important group of Hurrian religious texts found at Ras Shamra. Because the Hurrian texts are often in rather bad condition and because the Hurrian language is still poorly understood (it is non-Semitic), the Hurrian texts have not as yet made a major contribution to our understanding of Hurro-Ugaritic religion. The ritual texts and the deity lists are similar to the Ugaritic texts already described; in addition, there appear to be prayers or hymns of a length as yet unparalleled in Ugaritic (e.g., RS

15.030+ = *Ugaritica* V, pp. 463-64). The intermixture of the Hurrian and West Semitic aspects of Ugaritic culture is perhaps most clearly visible in the ritual texts, for they furnish several examples of linguistic mixture in a single text. The mix takes all forms: texts entirely in Hurrian (in both alphabetic and syllabic scripts), texts principally in Hurrian but with key phrases in Ugaritic (e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41-44 = *KTU* 1.132), texts principally in Ugaritic but with a discrete Hurrian section (e.g., RS 24.643 = *Ugaritica* V 9 = *KTU* 1.148: 13-17), texts with Ugaritic vocabulary but Hurrian morpho-syntax (e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41-44 = *KTU* 1.132). The speakers of Hurrian are best known from references in non-Hurrian sources to the state of Mitanni (*flourit* 14th century B.C.); its capital, Washukanni, has never been identified with certainty and the native archives for the Mitannian state are thus still to be excavated. This rather shadowy people was well represented in the Ugaritic population of the 13th century, as we know from proper names. The ritual texts in Hurrian do not differ in any significant way from the Ugaritic ones, consisting primarily of sacrifices to either Semitic or Hurrian deities, with key formulae, especially verbal phrases, often in Ugaritic. There was, therefore, an important degree of symbiosis between these two ethnic elements of Ugaritic society (to the extent that ethnicity was represented by language) and it would appear that the organization of the cult was primarily the Ugaritic (i.e., West Semitic) one, for the operative cult terms were Ugaritic.

B. Epistolary Texts

There are approximately eighty letters in the Ugaritic language from Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani and approximately double that number in Akkadian. As is to be expected in a culture where the knowledge and use of writing was still the privilege of a small minority, most of these documents originated from the upper social classes, especially from the court itself.

1. Formulae. The Ugaritic epistolary formulae are relatively tightly set, though a good deal of variation is permitted within the standard pattern. In general, the literary convention is that of an oral message, in which the written tablet would have served as an *aide-memoire* (e.g., RS 18.40 = *PRU* V 63 = *KTU* 2.40: 1-4: "To the king my lord say: Message of Thapiṭba'lu your servant"). The temporal perspective is that of the writer, and the so-called epistolary perfect is used for acts associated with the writing of the letter (e.g., RS 16.265 = *PRU* II 19 = *KTU* 5.9: 7-8: *ʾiršt ʾaršt lʾahy lʾy* "A request I make [lit. "I have requested"] to my brother, my friend") (Pardee and Whiting 1987). In social situations involving a superior and an inferior, the former is usually named first (e.g., RS 18.113A = *PRU* V 8 = *KTU* 2.42: 1-3: "To the king, [my lo]rd, say: Message of the centurion, your servant"). A set of greetings may intervene between the address and the body of the letter, especially if the letter was written to a family member and/or to a social superior (RS 11.872 = *CTA* 50 = *KTU* 2.13: 1-8: "To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the king, your son: May the gods guard you and keep you well"). A request for a response to the present letter can either follow the greetings or come at the end of the letter (e.g.,

RS 15.008 = *PRU* II 15 = *KTU* 2.16: 16–20: “And may my mother return word to me of every good thing”).

A typology of Ugaritic letters such as those proposed for Hebrew and Aramaic letters by P.-E. Dion has not yet been devised (see *LETTERS [ARAMAIC]*). The following discussion is organized by social status of correspondents; this status was reflected in both formulary and content.

2. Royal Letters. There are few Ugaritic letters in which a reigning sovereign is mentioned by name; usually only titles are used, even in international correspondence. There are a few such cases, however, where the king is addressed by name: e.g., “Message of the Sun [the king of Hatti] to Ammurapi: Say: . . .” (RS 18.038 = *PRU* V 60 = *KTU* 2.39: 1–2); “[Mess]age of Puduḥepa, queen of Hatti: To] Niqmaddu say: . . .” (RS 17.435+ = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 121–28 = *KTU* 2.36: 1–2). When the king of Tyre wrote to the king of Ugarit, he referred to the addressee only as “the king of Ugarit, my brother” (RS 18.031 = *PRU* V 59 = *KTU* 2.38: 1–34). Thus the personal name of the king of Ugarit is mentioned by his Hittite overlords while a king of equal rank uses only titles. Judging from the more voluminous Akkadian correspondence, the pattern observable in these three letters may be described as a general tendency, viz., the king of Hatti addresses the king of Ugarit by name, the local rulers do not. Thus in RS 17.132 = *PRU* IV, pp. 35–37, we find “Thus (says) the Sun, the Great King: To Niqmaddu say: . . .,” while the king of the neighboring state of Amurru uses a formula without the name: “Thus (says) the king of Amurru: To the king of Ugarit, my son, say: . . .” (RS 17.152 = *PRU* IV, p. 214). That the use of the addressee’s name was not simply a question of the superior-to-inferior relationship is shown by another letter from the king of a neighboring country to the king of Ugarit in which the social positions of the last letter cited are reversed but the name of the king of Ugarit is not mentioned: “To the king of Ugarit, my father, say: Thus says Ariteshub, the king of Ushnātu, your son: . . .” (RS 17.143 = *PRU* IV, p. 217). As many scholars have pointed out, the social relationship of the correspondents is reflected primarily in the order of mention of the two names. The use of the royal name either reflects Hittite practice or else implies a degree of formality not in use between fellow Levantine kings. Unfortunately, we do not have a letter from the king of Egypt to serve as a check, but there are two Ugaritic versions of letters from kings of Ugarit to Egyptian kings (RIH 78/3 + 30 = *Syria* 57 [1980] 356–58; RS 34.356 = *Sem* 32 [1982] 10–12) and, though damaged at the crucial spots, it is unlikely in both cases that the addressee’s name was mentioned. The first of these letters is especially remarkable in that it provides for the first time in Ugaritic a series of greetings similar to those that characterize the Amarna letters written in Akkadian from the kings of Palestine and Syria to the king of Egypt in the early fourteenth century. The first twelve lines of RIH 78/3 + 30, the entirety of the recto as the tablet is preserved, are taken up by these greetings: “[To the Sun,] the great king, the king of Egypt, [the good]d [king,] the just king, [the king of ki]ngs, the lord of all the land [of Egypt], say: Message of [Ammis-tam]ru, your servant: At the feet of [my lord] I [fall.] With my lord may it be well; [may it be well?] with your personnel, with your land, [with your horses,] with your chariots,

[with your X, with all that belongs] to the Sun, the great [ki]ng, the king of Egypt, the good king, the ri[ghteous king, the king of Egypt: . . .].”

There are several letters from various persons associated with the royal throne. The most important of these personages is perhaps Talmiyanu, who writes to the queen of Ugarit as his mother, but is not known ever to have taken the throne of Ugarit—at least under the name Talmiyanu. The clearest indication of Talmiyanu’s blood relationship to the throne is in RS 8.315 = *CTA* 51 = *KTU* 2.11:1–4: “To my mother, our lady, say: Message of Talmiyanu and of Aḥatumilki, your servants.” In these formulas two different pronominal suffixes are used (*’um-y* “my mother,” and *’adt-ny* “our lady”) to distinguish the blood relationship of Talmiyanu from the simple inferior relationship of Aḥatumilki (if “mother” had been simply a title of respect, the distinction need not have been made).

The content of the royal letters is similar to that of the hundreds of known Akkadian letters from the region: usually matters of tribute and trade, duties to the “Great Kings” of Hatti and Egypt and responsibilities to the fellow kings of the region. Most of this correspondence is in Akkadian, with Ugaritic usually reserved for personal letters between members of the royal family. It is generally believed that the few Ugaritic letters of international character are translations of Akkadian originals: the two outgoing letters to Egypt mentioned above must either be drafts or translations for archival purposes. One such Ugarit version, the letter from Puduḥepa referred to above, deals primarily with matters of tribute (*’argmny*) and trade (*qn’um, pḥm* “purple- and red-dyed textiles”) (RS 17.434+ = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 121–34 = Pardee 1983–84: 6, 29–31). On the other hand, the letter (also cited above) from an unnamed Hittite king to Ammurapi, the last known king of Ugarit, strikes a more ominous note: “As regards the letter which you sent (to me) the Sun concerning food, the Sun (himself) is perishing” (RS 18.038 = *PRU* V 60 = *KTU* 2.39). The famine that struck Hatti near the end of her existence (ca. 1200 B.C.) has been well documented and RS 18.038 is apparently a further witness to that situation (Astour 1965).

There were also not only formal statements of brotherhood, but acts of brotherly kindness are recorded as well. In the body of the letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit (address to “my brother” cited above), one finds the following account: “Your boats, that you had sent to Egypt, were foundering (lit. ‘dead’) off Tyre. They were caught in a bad storm. But the salvage-master took all the grain in the baskets (i.e., the cargo of grain) then I in turn took from the salvage-master all the grain, all the people (lit. ‘every soul’), and all the good, and I returned (it all) to them. Your boats are in Acco, stripped (i.e., the sails were destroyed in the storm). My brother should worry about nothing!” (RS 18.31 = *PRU* V 59 = *KTU* 2.38: 10–27).

Finally, in a letter of which the address is broken but which can be ascribed to the royal correspondence because of the content and because the prostration and greeting formulas are addressed “to my mother,” appears an as yet enigmatic reference to the anointment of an Amurrite princess: “Yabninu has gone to the king of Amurru and has taken (with him) one hundred (shekels of) gold as well as rugs for the king of Amurru. He has also taken oil in

his horn and has poured it on the head of the daughter of the king of Amurru [. . .]" (RS 34.124 = *KTU* 2.72). It is likely that there is a connection between this text and the so-called case of the Great Lady, which involved the repudiation by Ammistamru, king of Ugarit, of an Amurrite wife (*PRU* IV, pp. 125–48; Fisher 1971), but the meaning of the ceremony (consecration, purification?) and its precise historical context (marriage, remarriage, execution?) remain unclear. Anointment is well known from a wide selection of Levantine sources and was practiced in more than one circumstance; there are especially close verbal parallels in biblical Hebrew (Pardee 1977: 14–19).

3. Non-Royal Letters. One may assume, for the reason stated in the introduction to the epistolary documents, that most correspondence occurred between highly placed members of Ugaritic society. Occasionally titles are used which show such to have been the case: "Head Shepherd" (RS 1–5.[001] = *CTA* 59 = *KTU* 2.2: 1), "Chief of the priests" (RS 1.18 = *CTA* 55 = *KTU* 2.4: 1). In other letters, access to a royal personage is mentioned: "How is it with the letter-tablet that I sent to Thariyelli [the queen mother]? What has she said?" (UH 138 = *KTU* 2.14 = Bordreuil 1982: 6–9); "GNRYN to Milkuyatan: Mention me favorably to the king" (RS 15.007 = *PRU* II 20 = *KTU* 2.15: 1–3).

There is a larger number of letters in Akkadian in which titles are used and from these one can gain a clearer perspective on the workings of the royal bureaucracy, e.g., RS 11.730 = *PRU* III, pp. 12–13: "Thus (says) the king of the land of Birutu: To the Governor of the land of Ugarit, my son, say: May it be well with you. May the gods keep you well. My son, I herewith send my messenger in order that he carry out my wishes in your land. You, my son, be on the lookout for his welfare [lit. 'put your eyes good on him']"; RS 20.239 = *Ugaritica* V 52: "Thus (says) Mada'e: to the Governor [of Ugarit] say: May it be well with you. May the gods keep you. As for my cattle which the men of Rakba stole, since you said '[The king] is leaving [Ugarit,] so remit the case of your cattle to me and let's bring it to a conclusion', so now let's bring the case to a conclusion and get my cattle back. But, if they don't give me back my cattle, the elders of Rakba, Babiyanu son of Yadudanu, Abdu along with his son and Addunu his son-in-law, and the millurion, must all come and enter the temple (i.e., swear an oath); (then only) will they be absolved."

In other cases, all that can be gleaned from the letter and the prosopography of the correspondents is the relative relationship of the correspondents: e.g., RS 29.93 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 75–78 = *KTU* 2.70: "To Yadurma, our master, say: Message of Pinhathu and of Yarimhaddu, your servants. Greetings to our master. May the gods guard you and keep you well. At the feet of our master twice seven times we fall from afar. Here Bin-Ayyana is continually making requests to your maid-servant [i.e., one of the writers, probably Yarimhaddu]. So send a message to him and refuse him (these requests). As for me, I have taken on a workman and repaired the house. So why has Bin-Ayyana come back and taken two shekels of silver from your maid-servant? Now as concerns your two servants [i.e., the two writers], there with you (is) everything, so give them food, for thus the household of your (two) servants is continually requesting. And when your servant

[i.e., the other writer, Pinhathu] arrives to greet you, then he will have made for my lord a *hupnu*-garment, (paid for) with his own wherewithal" (Pardee 1979–80: 23–35; Pardee 1981–82: 260, n. 9; Pardee 1987: 210–11).

Some letters have all the flavor of a son writing home: "Uzanu, son of Bayyay [to . . .]; may Baal inquire after your health. As for me, your son, I am alive (and well). At the orders of the Sun I am staying in the house of TRTN. The woman (of the house) is not furnishing my food nor is she furnishing my wine" (RS 17.117 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 392–98 = *KTU* 5.11 = Pardee 1982). The statement that the "Sun" (king of Hatti or, conceivably, of Egypt) is concerning himself with the welfare of the writer indicates that our hero is in the foreign capital with the highest possible recommendations. Differences in formulae and orthography show that this letter and a companion piece (RS 17.63 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 389–92 = *KTU* 5.10 = Pardee 1982) were in all probability written in that city by a scribe whose dialect and literary traditions differed from those we know from the texts written within the kingdom of Ugarit.

One Ugaritic letter permits a glimpse into the training of a scribe. RS 16.265 = *PRU* II 19 = *KTU* 5.9 is a practice tablet which begins with a model letter, then degenerates into simple writing exercises. The model letter is highly interesting, for in it we find something that is missing in most of our documents from the kingdom of Ugarit: humor. The first dose of humor is rather subtle, for it consists of an accumulation of blessings that is unparalleled in precisely this form in any genuine Ugaritic letter. The second dose is much broader, however, for it reflects the age-old (!) identification of students with wine: the apprentice scribe lists various forms of the verb "to give"; then, after this build-up, he states the object of the request, a cup of wine: "Message of Ithattili to Whomever: May the gods guard you. may they keep you well, may they strengthen you for one thousand days, for ten thousand years, throughout the ages of time. A request I would make of my brother, of my friend: May he give (= grant) it to his brother, to his friend (his) friend for all time. May you give; give; give indeed; will you not give?; give a cup of wine that I might drink it."

C. Administrative Texts

Altogether approximately 900 non-literary texts written in alphabetic cuneiform have been discovered. This number is far larger than that of literary texts. In syllabic cuneiform this situation is reversed: virtually all of the approximately 1250 tablets and 600 fragments are non-literary and the very few literary texts that have been found are almost all copies of Mesopotamian works.

Alongside the well-defined and well-attested text types written in alphabetic cuneiform to which the bulk of this section is devoted, there are some categories that are difficult to define precisely because of the scarcity of examples. These peculiar texts are susceptible to serious errors of interpretation because of the lack of similar texts—perhaps yet to be discovered—which would show the standard features of these texts and thereby shed light on their structure and meaning. As an example: on the two sides of a tablet, the only one of this type known to date (RS 18.025 = *PRU* V = *KTU* 4.338), are two texts

which may be independent of each other: one is a personnel list, where each name is followed by a number; one the other face is what was originally taken to be the indication of a sum of money deposited for the purpose of guaranteeing a sea-faring ship. Several years after the original publication the proposal was made to see in the text a translation into Ugaritic of an Akkadian original, or, more precisely, a summary of a longer Akkadian text, a rental contract, to which a guarantee has been added, covering several ships:

- (10) Five hundred and forty (shekels)
- (11) of ship-money, all together,
- (12) which were provided as a guarantee for ships
- (13) to the king of Byblos;
- (14) the king of Byblos also
- (15) received fifty (shekels) of silver
- (16) for the outfitting of his ships
- (17) in *ʿrm*. (This) amount
- (18) is their market value. (Pardee, 1975)

On the other hand, personnel lists at Ugarit, though often enigmatic as to their real context and function, are numerous and the text on the recto of this tablet can only be said to fit that broad category: "List of personnel who have entered the house of the king and who were not inscribed on the list." Then the text continues

- (4) *ʾym*^l 3
- (5) *sry* 2
- (6) *ʾirsy* 3
- (7) *ʾyʿdrd* 3
- (8) *ʾayah* 2
- (9) *bn.ʾayli* 1

In this case, as in many others, we do not know what the number associated with each personal name designates: amounts received, amounts paid out, or the number of underlings for whom the person named is responsible.

If we accept that the rental/guarantee text just mentioned is only the first of its kind to be discovered at Ugarit, can we also say that the presence on one tablet of a contract and of a list of personal names is itself a feature of local procedure? The appearance of these two types of text, both often quite laconic (contracts and lists), far and away the most frequently attested in Ugaritic and Akkadian, as well as in most other corpora of texts since the invention of writing, may well have been without an intention of association. Nevertheless, it illustrates one of the difficulties that the historian of Ugarit meets with when trying to distinguish among his sources those that originated within the administration and economy of the state as opposed to those that represent private enterprise. How indeed is it possible to decide whether the individuals mentioned on the recto of the tablet have anything to do with the ships mentioned on the verso as having been rented by the king of Byblos to the king of Ugarit? Are they passengers whose names were omitted from the original manifest or "royal" sailors ("... have entered the house of the king") inscribed on a supplementary list? The figures would in these cases designate respectively the fare or the salary. Or are the texts unrelated and heterogeneous, one registering contri-

butions from persons well known at the Ugaritic court or perhaps subsidies paid out to them, the other a document of international administration?

One can say, fortunately, that the great majority of the texts recorded are homogeneous and that the difficulties we meet in endeavoring to interpret them are principally owing to the lacunary state of many of the tablets, or, when they are complete, to the laconic formulation by which they are generally characterized. We will distinguish here between those which can, on the one hand, be grouped under the general heading of "lists" and, on the other, as "official acts" or "business documents." There are examples of each of these two major groups in several of the languages used at Ugarit, but principally in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

1. Lists. a. Personal Names. (1) Undefined. The purpose of lists with no defining element largely escapes us, as would a page torn at random from a modern register or extracted from the middle of a file. There are usually twenty or more names and the patronym is usually present but may be missing (e.g., *PRU* II 69). *PRU* V 22 contains about twenty-five names, all beginning with the sign (ʾi), the first example of a list organized by alphabetic principles (compare the list of realia and personal names in *CTA* 112). The *raison d'être* of such texts is enigmatic unless a tablet bears a heading which may be understood as applying to everything that follows.

(2) Definition by Family Terms. Generally speaking, the Ugaritians seem to have considered the patronym the most important element to be stated when identifying a person, for it is usually given and may indeed function as the only identifier (*CTA* 105), both masculine (*bn* PN "son of PN") and feminine (*bt* X "daughter of X"). Long lists, such as *CTA* 102, rarely omit the patronym.

There are a few examples of matronymic identification, probably to be explained as owing to the maternal line being the better known (see *PRU* III, p. 180). The rare examples of fratonymy (*CTA* 82 I 5 *ršp'ab'ah'ubn*; *PRU* V 118: 10 *lbw'uh'pdm*) and sororonymy (*PRU* III, p. 85: 4-5 *e-we-en-ni-na ahi šar-mi-la*) probably designate individuals who have been adopted into brotherhood, such as the cases of Artiteshub adopted by Ilinergal (*PRU* III, p. 75) and Yadduaddu by Lady Inuya (*Ugaritica* V 81).

Elsewhere, some or all of the names in a list are followed by a list of their dependents, such as heirs (*w nhlh* "and his heir"). The heirs of the heirs may in turn be indicated (*w nhlhm* "and their heirs"); indeed, "his heir" and "their heirs" may be indicated one right after the other for no apparent reason (*CTA* 113 II 10, 22; 116: 3). There are also formulae of the type "PN and his companion" (*PRU* V 83: PN *w rch*); "PN₁ and his pupil" (*PRU* II 48: PN *w lmdh*); "PN₁ + X number of persons belonging to him" (*RIH* 83/25+ [unpublished] PN₁ *tt nps lh*). On these relational terms, see Liverani (1979: 1320-21). Whether the designation of accompaniment be collective (*nhlh*, *nps*), plural (*nhlhm*), or individual (*rch*, *lmdh*), the names of the persons in question are not indicated. Cases may also be found (*RIH* 83/17+ [unpublished]) where "household of PN" (*bt* PN) clearly designates families who have received or given the quantities indicated on the tablet.

These lists enrich our knowledge of a very complex local onomastic repertory and the several different alphabetic

and syllabic writing systems are an important aid in the reconstruction of the diverse linguistic origins of these names. It may be observed that previously unknown personal names are appearing more and more rarely as new texts come to light and one may conclude that most of the personal names in use at Ugarit during the 14th–13th centuries are now attested—though we cannot be so optimistic about our understanding of the meaning of these names. Considering that the alphabetic writing system was invented in the early 14th century and disappeared with the kingdom of Ugarit in the early 12th century, we may estimate that seven or eight generations passed during the usage of the Ugaritic alphabet. Depending on the method of demographic estimation in use, the number of personal names susceptible of being inscribed in the alphabetic script would be somewhere between 150,000 and 300,000. One may today reasonably entertain the hope that the time is nearing when the administrative documentation from the capital itself and from Ras Ibn Hani and similar dependent towns of the kingdom—virtually all yet to be excavated—will enable us to gain a clearer perception of the socio-geographic distribution of the proper names in use in the kingdom of Ugarit in the period 1380–1180 B.C.

(3) **Definition by Toponyms.** Alongside the lists of personal names in the narrowest sense of the term, those that omit any definition or that are only defined by the patronymic or other familial term, there are texts in which personal names are grouped according to geographical origin. The geographical definition is indicated by the name of the provincial town, which is to be understood as including the territory under its administrative control. Note first cases where geographical definition is added to one of the categories just discussed, e.g., *RIH* 83/5: 19 [unpublished], where the name *grgš* is defined patronymically as “son of *šm’nt*” and geographically as “from the town of *ʿary*” (cf. *PRU* II 35 B I 21). Documents characterized principally by toponymic definition often bear the heading “list” (*spr*) and the gentilic suffix *-y* is very frequently attached to the geographical term. The list may simply indicate geographical origin (*PRU* II 60 B; *PRU* V 21 *spr ʿuškny* “list of persons from *ʿUshkanu*”) or a group of persons from the same town who belong to the same profession (*PRU* II 60 A *spr . . . nskm rqdym* “list . . . of metal-workers from *Riqdu*”). But there is also a text in which *rqd* appears in line 1, followed by a list of patronyms, all of which must be *Riqdian* (*PRU* II 46). The gentilic usually corresponds to a known place name, some of which have been localized, e.g., *gbʿly*, modern Gableh in the Gabbian plain to the south of Ugarit, or *ʿilštmʿ*, modern Stamo in the same region.

We lack a study of local frequencies of personal names. Such a study would in any case be far from definitive because of the relative rarity of texts linking personal and geographical names. But an example of the sort of linkages that can be proposed is the following: it is plausible that the proper name *šdq* on the seal discovered in 1928 at Minet el-Beida (RS 1.050) = *KTU* 6.5, chronologically the first attestation of the name in Ugaritic, is to be connected with the patronymic form *bn šdq* which appears in two lists (*PRU* V 16, 17; perhaps also read *šdq* for *šdq*, a Mahadian mentioned in *PRU* II 41) of citizens of Mahadu (*mʿihdym*), a port city (cf. *CTA* 84: 1 *ʿanyt mʿihd[(ym)]* “ships

belonging to Mahad[jians]”) that is almost certainly to be located at Minet el-Beida. Another example: the alphabetic writing of the name *ʿbdʿnt* is only attested twice, neither time with a geographical designation, but the syllabic form *Abdi-a-na-tu* appears in a text dealing with Arruwa (*Ugaritica* V 27), a city in the southern part of the kingdom of Ugarit (Bordreuil 1984). A king of Siyannu, a southern neighbor of Ugarit, bears the same name (*PRU* IV, p. 76) as does a personage named in a confirmation of property rights (*PRU* III, p. 91) that mentions the towns of Mulku, another southern locality in the kingdom of Ugarit (Bordreuil 1989), and Galba, a city in Siyannu. One may legitimately propose a connection between this name and the southern regions of Ugarit, especially the Gabbian plain. In this very fertile area, close to the Alawite mountains, the source of the many streams that cross the plain, it is no surprise to find a predilection for the goddess Anat. Further research even into the data already at hand would surely lead to great progress in this sort of identification.

(4) **Definition by Occupational Titles.** (a) profession lists without personal names: over thirty professional terms on both sides of a single tablet (*PRU* II 26: e.g., priests, artisans, squires).

(b) a number designating a total of persons who are defined by their profession alone *RIH* 83/2 [unpublished] contains thirty-three terms designating a profession, generally in the plural, followed by various numbers. The number “one” occurs three times, followed by a professional term in the singular (*mḥš* “refiner,” [*mšl*] “cymbal-player,” *kk* “silo-keeper”). One should assume that the numbers correspond in all cases, as in the Akkadian text *PRU* VI 93, to the number of persons representing various specialties, listed together on this tablet for a reason unstated and undeterminable on the basis of present data. On the other hand, the number 6½ found in *CTA* 74:17 leads one to analyze this and the other numbers in this text as sums of money or quantities of commodities paid in or out.

(c) personnel identified individually or grouped according to professional categories, as in *PRU* II 32: 1 *spr bldm* “list of replacements” (or “commercial agents”). The logic of these associations sometimes escapes us. For example, the two anonymous “gooscherds” (*tn rʿym ʿuzm*) mentioned at the head of the list *PRU* II 140 are followed directly by several “small (shepherds)” (*sgr*) named individually. Occasionally the man in charge of such groups is named: the group of shepherds in *PRU* V 72 is “in the hand of (= under the control of) *ʿyilm*”; in *PRU* II 53 *ʿbdʿil* is said to be “under” (*tht*) someone named *ʿilmk*.

(d) personnel identified individually as being in the service of the palace. Several of the personnel (*bnšm*) mentioned in *PRU* V 14 are said to be under the control of the king, the queen, or the prefect. They may also be categorized according to their place of assignment, such as the “personnel of the king (*bnš mlk*) who are at Tabqa” (*PRU* V 66); other texts (e.g., *PRU* V 76) designate personnel as being in various places. In *PRU* V 71, among “the *mdrglm* who are not under the control of Talmiyanu” there is a certain *ʿyilm* who is defined by his patronymic (<*bn*> *šgryn*), then by his place of origin (*ʿary*) and by his place of assignment (*yny*).

(e) persons of the same profession grouped according to their ethnic origin: certain of the personnel (*bnšm*) in PRU V 14 are defined by the gentilic suffix as being from Ashdod (*ʿaddy*) or from Maḥadu (*mḥdy*). These names are followed immediately by the patronymic name *bn ynn mdrḡl*, whose title does not include the gentilic *-y* and does not express an ethnic origin. Such sequences permit the hypothesis that certain gentilics designated the function itself—a situation similar to that with the “Swiss” guards at the Vatican. How else may one explain *mšrym*, literally “Egyptians,” in RIH 83/2 (unpublished), a list of professions already discussed above, or in PRU II 89:7? We may surmise that most of the standard professions practiced at Ugarit are now known (see list in Sznycer 1979: 1423–24), for new lists, such as RIH 83/2, add little to the previously known lists (e.g., PRU II 26). One exception is the title “royal guards” (*mrʿu mlk*; compare Akkadian [*mu*]-*r-ú šarri* in PRU VI 93:2 and the cylinder seal of *rbnkšy mrʿu mlkʿi* in Bordreuil 1986: 292–98). Nonetheless, the precise meaning of some of these terms, such as *tnnm*, *trrm*, *ʿinšt*, etc., is still unknown (cf. Heltzer 1982, to be used with caution).

b. Place Names. As we have seen above, when place names appear along with a personal name they can provide precious data for the provincial demography of the kingdom of Ugarit. The study of Ugaritic toponymy is, however, still in its infancy. We will realize better the importance of geographical names as we examine below those that appear in royal economic and administrative texts and their contribution to the localization of various agricultural and pastoral activities. We will first discuss how they are grouped together and the conventions regulating the sequences into which they fall, irrespective of the *realia* with which they are associated, so as to extract data for localizing the borders of the kingdom as well as for the localization of several provincial towns.

(1) Districts. We have known for some time that certain texts with obligations to the throne are organized on a regional basis. The damaged text RIH 83/7⁺ (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 426; Bordreuil 1984: 1–2) records two conscriptions of individuals for the royal *corvée*: on the verso one finds the total of those sent from *gr* (*tgmr ḥrd gr* “total of the *ḥuradu*-troops of *Guru*”) and on the recto a list of several towns, known from other texts to belong to “Araru of the towns” (PRU II 173:2–3 *ʿarr d qrh*)—i.e., a district—as well as what each of these towns sent (*lʿik*). The *ḥuradu*-assessment for the month named *ʿittbnm* was given as a list of names (PRU V 11 and RS 11.830 = PRU III, p. 190). The word *guru* means “mountain” and should, therefore, designate the Alawite range to the E, and Araru may denote the southern region of the kingdom of Ugarit, where the town Arruwa (*ar-ru-wa* in syllabic script; PRU IV, pp. 72, 77) was located, in all likelihood the eponymous capital of the district. Leaving aside the territory which was in immediate dependence on the city of Ugarit itself, the third provincial district must consist of the northern portion of the kingdom, the region associated with the Gebel al-ʿAqra, Mount Šapānu in Ugaritic, a term that is used in several toponym lists to distinguish the northern town of Ijalba (*hīb špn*) from its four homonyms in the kingdom (see Astour 1981).

(2) Borders. The existence of administrative districts within the kingdom can today be deduced on the basis of

a few laconic allusions gleaned from various texts. But the existence of borders that were relatively precisely fixed and internationally recognized is not only attested but, in one case, that of the northern border with the state of Mukish, known precisely from four of the documents by which the decisions of the Hittite suzerains fixing that border were communicated. These documents (PRU IV, pp. 10–17), the initial act by Šupiluliuma addressed to Niqmaddu II and its confirmation by Murshili II to Niqmepa, have, in spite of their damaged state, preserved for us a total of forty-two place names stretching from the Orontes to the Mediterranean. One can follow this list *grosso modo* and situate several of the places with relative precision.

The northern border. The first entries on the list, badly damaged, probably designated localities in the Alawite range: a name such as Birsibe (no. 4), perhaps near modern Qalaʿat Burze, is followed immediately by “the waters of Hundurashi” (no. 5), probably a designation of a nearby marshy area on the Orontes. A second section begins at Magdala (no. 11, = *mgdly* in PRU II 81, followed there by *yknʿm* = Yakunami, no. 19 on the frontier list), traditionally identified with the Bdama upland region, on the watershed between the Nahr el-Kebir and the Orontes, near which the modern Lattakia-Aleppo road passes. It is possible to say on the basis of recent research that the northeastern, northern and northwestern borders of the kingdom of Ugarit followed for all intents and purposes the Nahr el-Kebir basin. This means that, heading north from Magdala/Bdama along the ridges by which the Nahr el-Kebir/Orontes watershed is defined, the border would have followed the northern edge of the Urdu basin, at approximately the 800-meter line. From there it angled slightly southwest, towards Ḥalbi (no. 36, = Ḥalba of Šapānu, modern Qassab), leaving the mountain of the gods (Mount Ḥazi in Akkadian and Hittite texts, Šapānu in Ugaritic, Mount Cassios in Classical texts, modern Gebel al-ʿAqra) in a sacred (?) extraterritorial area. The last section of the border is the best known: it follows approximately the crest of Mount Nanu (no. 36ʹ, = *nnʿu* in Ugaritic script, Strabo’s Anti-Cassius, Thronos according to Stadiasmus) as far as Ḥimuli “in the sea” (no. 42, a small island a few kilometers to the north of modern Ras al-Bassit).

The southern border. The edict of Šupiluliuma had done little more than confirm the pre-existing border between Mukish and Ugarit (and its path through a mountainous zone where no large towns belonging to either country were located) and could hardly constitute a threat to vested interest. The situation in the heavily populated southern region was quite different. That border was established by Murshili II as part of a political *rapprochement* between Siyannu and Carchemish, and this act put an end to what must have been some form of political unity between Ugarit and Siyannu (PRU IV, pp. 17, 71–78). This division was operated on a fertile and well-watered region with many villages. Unfortunately, the precise allotment of these villages between the two kingdoms can no longer be ascertained because so many data are missing. Nonetheless, without denying the possibility of foreign enclaves existing within the borders of Ugarit, some of which may still be represented in modern place names (e.g., Suksi =

Tell Soukas, Tell Siano), one can estimate that the southern border followed the course of the short but abundant Nahr es-Sinn, which originated in a spring situated near the shelf that closes off the southern Gabla plain (Bordreuil 1989).

Sequences. The toponyms listed on the complete tablet *PRU V 73* (*mlk*, *ʿar*, *ʿulm*, *mʿrby*, *ʿušk*) belong to a single district and may even be situated quite close together, for *PRU V 33* places them in the district of *ʿarr*, the southern district of the kingdom, as we have seen. On the other hand, the 39-line tablet *PRU V 71*, also complete, includes these same toponyms but along with other places, some of which belong to the same district, but most of which must be situated in other regions. No single solution allows a division of the tablet according to a regional distribution. One can say, however, that the last five names of the list certainly belong to the northern region, particularly *yknʿm* (line 37) = Yakunami, no. 19 on the northern frontier list just discussed. *PRU V 75* is even more confusing, for it mixes personal names with southern place names (*ʿulm*, line 3) as well as with northern ones (*hlby*, line 25, = no. 36 of the border list); compare *PRU III*, p. 189 (= RS 11.790).

One may hope that some of the many tells in the southern plain will one day reveal their ancient name to a fortunate excavator and thus fill the gaps in our present state of knowledge. But it would be unrealistic to count on such archaeological finds in the northern mountainous areas, for most construction there must have been of wood and will only have left faint traces. Fortunately, the place names by which this border was defined correspond well enough with several modern toponyms to allow for at least approximate localization of some towns and localization by triangulation for others. One must keep in mind, however, that the sequences may vary, depending on differing itineraries taken by the tax collectors and other administrators on whose documents we rely today when we do historical geography.

Thus Mount Nanu, associated in the Hittite texts from Yazilikaya with Mount Hazi (= Şapānu), which appears in the northern border list as Mount Nanu (No. 36') and is to be identified with the Anti-Cassius (Bordreuil 1989), permits the identification of Halbi (no. 36) with Halba of Şapānu, a town that is probably to be situated on the southern slopes of the Gebel al-ʿAqra, near the springs of modern Qassab, at an altitude of about 900 meters. It is no surprise, then, to find grouped on one list (*PRU VI 118*; see Bordreuil 1989) the names of cattle owners from the villages of Nanu and Halba; nor to learn from another (RIH 84/13; see Bordreuil 1987) that several different persons are ascribed ownership of cattle pastured in Suladu, another border town (no. 40) probably located to the west of Halba and Nanu. If we take these few indications at face value, they imply that the raising of cattle, and probably of sheep and goats as well, was a major industry in the northern mountainous areas.

Along these same lines, the occurrence in several texts of the sequence Shalma (no. 37 on the border list, a name still current in the region), Aḥatu, and Yakunami (no. 19), in Ugaritic script *šlmy*, *ʿagt*, *yknʿm* (RS 18.479), takes us further to the east, toward the Urdu basin where the waters from several springs on the Gebel al-ʿAqra and the Gebel

Kusseir flow into the Nahr el-Kebir. Aḥatu/ʿagt is certainly to be situated there. The attribution of several containers of flour "for the life of the weavers" of ʿagt (RS 86/2237) allow the conclusion that the shearing of the sheep raised locally, the washing of the wool (facilitated by the abundant sources of water), the spinning, and even the weaving of cloth, could be carried out locally. Without the most recent data, it would have been difficult to imagine such decentralization of the trades, however rational it may now appear." Similarly, is the "estate of the Mulukians" (CTA 74: 5) not to be linked to the fertility of the Gabla plain, where the management of irrigation must have contributed, as it did elsewhere, to the creation of municipal institutions?

Finally, one must be aware of the possibility of homonymy in the place names of the kingdom of Ugarit. Though we cannot yet give a complete list nor explain the origins of this homonymy, we can point out several cases: the four Halba's (*hlb* + *špn*, *ʿprm*, *krdm* and *gnnt*); one ʿar(y) in the south (CTA 68; *PRU II 134*; *PRU V 40*: 4; 73; 74; RS 16.248 = *PRU III*, p. 48; RS 18.01 = *PRU IV*, p. 230; perhaps RS 17.43 = *PRU IV*, p. 217) and another in the north (CTA 69: 3; *PRU 81*; 176; *PRU V 40*: 23); one Shalma on the NW border near Mount Nanu (no. 37) and another in the NE part of the kingdom, in the direction of the Alawite mountains (*PRU V 58*). There is one Mount Ayali on the N border (no. 32) and another, attested only in Ugaritic (*ʿayly*), south of Qaasab, near modern ʿAyn al-Haramyieh (*PRU V 26* and 118). In the two latter cases, the distance between the two localities is above 20 km and since we are dealing with small towns, recourse to an explanation by homonymy is more satisfactory than pleading fantasy or distraction on the part of the scribe.

c. Receipts and Disbursements. (1) Deliveries and Taxes/Tribute. We saw above (C.1.b.[1]) that RIH 83/7+ records a list of contributions sent (*lʿk*) by several towns organized geographically in the list. But such precision is rather the exception. *PRU VI 134* enumerates the lances (?) furnished by several villages. CTA 67 apparently enumerates quantities of jars of wine furnished by several towns of the kingdom, with a total, written in Akkadian, of 148 units. On the other hand, we have no way of knowing whether the jars mentioned in *PRU II 84* (b gt + place name "in the estate of . . .") were in the process of delivery to the capital, or whether the list represents inventory. RIH 83/5 (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 431) is more explicit: it clearly deals with tax collection in the northern villages (*tgmr ksp dʿly w d* [. . .] "total of the silver which went up [. . .].") The total is stated to be 200 shekels of silver.

(2) Inventory Lists. C. Virolleaud introduced the phrase "états de solde" to refer to a great number of texts consisting of personal names followed by an indication of a quantity or weight. The numbers are sometimes written according to the Mesopotamian system of symbols (*PRU V 16*, 58 [toponyms], 87, 151; RIH 83/8 [unpublished]), sometimes spelled out as Ugaritic words according to the local system. The total (*tgmr*) is sometimes indicated at the end of the list, but one can rarely be sure whether it refers to distributions, perceptions, or payments, except in texts such as *PRU II 131*, where each numerical entry is followed by *šlm* "has paid" (only partial payments everywhere except in line 2); *PRU V 36 prš qmḥ d nšlm* "prš-measure of flour

which has been paid for (?)"; and RIH 83/7+, already quoted above, where the numbers correspond to what was sent (*l'ik*) by each town. In some cases the reference is to payments of money, probably for salaries. This is made explicit in CTA 113 by a marginal note in Akkadian (X *haspa ša mariani* "X-amount of money of the Mariyannu"), but such a solution is only a surmise for PRU II 28–30. It is clear that the expression "four (jars of) wine for the Mariyannu" (*ʿarb yn l mrynm*) in PRU II 89 means that the jars of wine are intended for the Mariyannu. But one does not find a corresponding expression phrased in purely monetary terms ("X-amount of money for Y-professional term"). All examples are of quantities of foodstuffs or of other products intended for a given professional group. We do not even know if such issues of goods consist of periodic payments in kind or of bonuses from an employer.

(3) **Regular Distributions.** Other texts illustrate periodical distributions (monthly, according to the extant texts) of rations (*hpr*). The recipients are sometimes identified: "list of rations for the royal personnel during the month *ʿitbm*" (PRU V 11 *spr hpr bns mlk b yrh ʿitbm*). There are also records of food distributions (*ʿakl*) according to locality: by estates (*gt*, as in PRU V 13), or by households (*bt*, as in PRU II 99). These consist of legumes (*šdm*—precise variety uncertain), of cereals (*kšmm* "emmer," *hīm* "wheat," *šʿrm* "barley"), as well as wine (*yn*) and vinegar (*hms*) measured by jars (*kdm*). Some texts (e.g., PRU II 98; V 13) indicate that a certain amount of the grains distributed to each estate should be set aside as seed. That is usually the largest part, with other parts to be used to feed oxen (draft oxen?) and for rations to personnel (*hpr bns*).

(4) **Disbursements.** It is difficult to say whether the texts in PRU 106–15 are records of extraordinary disbursements (elegant garments, precious stones) or whether they are everyday operations, as in PRU II 109 *spr npsm d ysʿa* "list of garments which were delivered (literally: went forth)." PRU II 107: 5–8 *mlbš trnm k ytn w b bt mlk mlbš ytn lhm*, "when the garments of the *trnm* became old, new garments were given to them in the house of the king (= from the royal palace)," refers to a distribution of clothing for the statues of divinities.

The distribution of raw materials to artisans is another form of disbursement. CTA 147 records a disbursement, of eight talents and 1200 (shekels) of bronze, to the metalworkers (*ilt d ysʿa . . . l nskm tnm kkrm ʿalp kbd [m]ʿitmkb*), whereas PRU V 51 refers to a large order (*ʿiršt*) from the *ysm* (a professional term of uncertain meaning). Another text (CTA 119) records the distribution of small arms (bows and quivers) to persons from various towns in the southern district, though the subtotals are three times given incorrectly. PRU II 123 does not indicate for whom were intended the arms and accessories listed there, but the successive mention of forty bows and one thousand arrows allows the conclusion that the usual consignment of arrows per quiver was twenty-five. PRU II 121 records the receipt by the palace (*rb bt mlk* "entered the house of the king") of eight chariots (*mrkbt*), outfitted with harnesses (*smd*), two of which are not equipped with weapons. Of fifty-seven royal personnel (*bns mlk*) who were under the supervision of (*bd* "in the hand of") someone named *prt*, twenty-nine

received *ššlmt*-cloth and twenty-eight *šʿrt*-cloth (PRU II 25). According to PRU V 98, certain shepherds (*rʿym*) receive *šʿrt*-cloth while their subordinates (*šgrm*) receive *ššlmt*-cloth (cf. PRU II 118 and PRU V 52).

(5) **Gifts.** Reference to gifts is by the term *mnh* "to offer." Either receipts or disbursements may be so designated, depending on whether the tablet was prepared for the giver (perhaps CTA 141) or for the beneficiary. Sometimes there is no indication of origin (e.g., RIH 78/2; Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 362). The meaning of *ndb* in the heading of RIH 78/19 (*ibid.*, p. 364) is more ambiguous: it could designate sheep that have been "furnished." PRU V 107 may also be a list of gifts, though this is not stated explicitly.

d. **Inventories and Stocks.** (1) **Movable property.** The most important and valuable movables are the tribute items for the Hittite court (RS 11.732 = PRU III, p. 181) and the "trousseau" of the queen of Ugarit Aḥatumilki (RS 16.146 + 161 = PRU III, pp. 182–86). Such lists are usually more modest (PRU V 102; VI 168; AO 21.088 = Caquot and Masson 1977: 10–15; RIH 83/24 + 84/2 = Bordreuil 1987: 289–90) and more varied (PRU VI 155). They can sometimes remind us of the classified section of a newspaper: we learn from PRU V 48 that a stock of various metal instruments may be obtained in Atallig—prices and quantities are indicated. The same text adds the information that a family from *mrʿil* has settled in the area of *hrbglm*. The items in a given text are usually, however, more homogeneous: wood (PRU VI 113), metals to be worked (PRU VI 140), instruments (PRU VI 141, 142, 157), vessels (PRU VI 147), wine (PRU II 91, 92), cereals (PRU VI 98–111), oil (PRU II 96: production of an olive orchard owned by the queen in the Nahr el-Kebir valley), fowl (PRU II 129), ovids-caprids (PRU VI 120; RIH 78/19 = Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 364–65), bovids (PRU VI 118, an account of bovids in northern towns; 115, an account of bovids managed by a certain family), equids (PRU II 138, 139), or garments (RS 15.76 = PRU VI p. 99). In PRU V 38 various items are classified by estate: teams of draft animals (*smdm*), or employees (*bns*) under the responsibility of an assherd (*rʿy hmr*) or of a gardener (*ngr mdr*). Alongside multi-entry lists of items distributed to several persons, PRU V 50 enumerates the private effects of an individual traveler, perhaps a tradesman who, burdened with his scales (*mznm*) and bedding (*mrbd*, *mškt*), had to travel armed (*mrhm*) because of the dangerous roads.

(2) **Real Estate.** The parcels of land mentioned in these texts are usually "fields," without further qualification. The marginal note on PRU V 11 refers to twenty-six employees (*bns*), with the concluding notation *bʿl šd*, that could mean either "agricultural workers" (literally "workers of the field") or "land owners." The latter meaning is suggested by the occurrence of the same phrase in PRU II 39 where it appears to describe masons (*hrš bht*). It may be preferable to see here artisans who have acquired property rather than part-time workers in both agriculture and construction. PRU V 23, where some twenty *bns* are said to own oxen, supports this interpretation. Individually owned property was not restricted to the territory of one's own village; thus according to PRU V 26 inhabitants of *snr* and *mʿidh*, northern towns in the area of modern Ras al-

Bassit, owned steep (*qb*) fields in *ayly* in the mountainous area to the east of their towns (on *ayly*, see above). *PRU* II 79 lists vineyards (*šd krm*) after fields, whereas *PRU* II 81 deals exclusively with vineyards. Salt flats are mentioned in *PRU* V 96 and in RS 19.18 (= *PRU* IV, p. 291). The latter text situates them near Atallig, thus confirming the localization of this town near the sea (cf. *PRU* V 56 *any* . . . *d b'atlg* "boat . . . that is at Atallig").

2. Official Acts and Commercial Documents. Under this heading are grouped texts relative to the royal administration, whether issued by the palace or addressed to it, as well as those representing private business, finance, and contractual obligations, though the documents are so laconic as often to preclude a decision regarding the origin of the text.

a. Palace Documents. Judging from the extant data, one must conclude that seals inscribed in alphabetic cuneiform were rare (Bordreuil 1986: 292). From one of them, a seal mounted as a signet ring, imprints have been discovered, one on a tablet (RS 16.270 = *PRU* III, pp. 41–44), the other on a bulla (RIH 83/21). Its inscription reads "seal of 'Ammiyidamar, king of Ugarit" (Bordreuil and Pardee 1984). Not only were such seals rare but they were used rarely: official documents dated in the reigns from that of Niqmaddu II until that of his grandson Niqmaddu III, whether recording acts *before* the king or acts *of* the king, are authenticated by means of the dynastic seal (see *Ugaritica* III, pp. 77–78). Tablets of foreign origin will, of course, bear the seal impression of the sender, often the Hittite king.

(1) Documents Issued from the Ugaritic Palace. *Acts before the king.* Following J. Nougayrol (*PRU* III, pp. 27–28), these have been classified as: *gifts* to a spouse (RS 16.263 = *PRU* III, p. 49, Niqmaddu II), to sons (RS 16.143 = *PRU* III, pp. 81–83, Niqmepa), or to other parties (RS 15.146 = *PRU* III, p. 58, Niqmaddu II [?]); *purchases* (RS 15.119 = *PRU* III, pp. 86–87, Niqmepa); *sales* (RS 15.136 = *PRU* III, pp. 121–22, Ammistamru II); *exchanges* (RS 15.70 = *PRU* III, p. 130, Ammistamru II); *division* of familial property (RS 15.90 = *PRU* III, p. 54, Niqmaddu II); *adoptions* into sonship (RS 15.92 = *PRU* III, pp. 54–56, Niqmaddu II), or into brotherhood (RS 16.344 = *PRU* III, p. 75, Arihalbu); *mutations* from status of earnest money to property (RS 16.131 = *PRU* III, pp. 138–39, Ammistamru II); and *verdicts* (RS 16.205 = *PRU* III, pp. 153–54, Ammistamru II).

Acts of the king: royal gifts (*PRU* II 8, 9; RS 15.127 = *PRU* III, p. 132; *PRU* VI 28–31), with (RS 15.109 = *PRU* III, pp. 102–5, Niqmepa; VI 27, Ammistamru II) and without (RS 15.85 = *PRU* III, pp. 52–53, Niqmaddu II) counter-gifts, and with conditions (RS 15.114 = *PRU* III, pp. 112–13, Ammistamru II); *alienation* of property (RS 15.137 = *PRU* III, p. 134, Ammistamru II); *re-attribution* of property located in special zones (*PRU* VI 55, Ammistamru II); *exchanges* of landed property (RS 16.197 = *PRU* III, pp. 150–51, Ammistamru II [?]), of houses (*PRU* III, pp. 164–65, between Ammistamru and a private citizen); *purchase* of land by the queen (*Ugaritica* V 159–61); *manumission* of slaves (RS 16.267 = *PRU* III, p. 110, Ammistamru II); *granting* of franchises (RS 16.238 = *PRU* III, pp. 107–8, Ammistamru II); *confirmation* of gifts (RS 16.249 = *PRU* III, pp. 96–98, Niqmepa), of purchases (RS

16.174 = *PRU* III, p. 63, Niqmaddu II), of property rights (RS 15.88 = *PRU* III, p. 88, Niqmepa); *last wishes* (RS 16.144 = *PRU* III, p. 76, Arihalbu).

(2) International Documents. These texts enable us partially to follow the relations between Ugarit and her neighbors from the reign of Niqmaddu II until that of Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. RS 17.132 (*PRU* IV, pp. 35–37) is a proposal from the Hittite king Shupiluliuma for an alliance with Niqmaddu against the states of Nuhashe and Mukish. In exchange for this protection, Ugarit is to pay an annual tribute calculated on the basis of her wealth, adding up to 22,000 shekels-weight of wool cloth, eleven tunics, two gold cups and three silver cups, to be divided among the king, the queen, the crown prince, and the four principal dignitaries of the Hittite court (RS 17.227 = *PRU* IV, pp. 40–44; this text is also known in a Ugaritic version, RS 11.772 = *CTA* 64). With this list of "gifts" one should compare the lists recorded in RS 11.772 and 11.732 (*PRU* IV, pp. 44–48). Ugarit obtained as reward for her loyalty substantial frontier modifications, particularly at the expense of her northern neighbor Mukish. These changes were sanctioned by RS 17.340 (*PRU* IV, pp. 48–52; see above C.1.b.[2]) and confirmed by Murshili II, first for Niqmaddu, then for his successor (RS 17.338, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 85–101). Murshili II also intervened with his authority to redefine the southern border of Ugarit after the secession of Siyannu (RS 17.335 = *PRU* IV, pp. 71–78), a territorial reduction that led the Ugaritic palace to request a reduction of tribute (RS 17.382 = *PRU* IV, pp. 80–83). Finally, we have the record of a proposal from the king of Carchemish, Initeshub, for a military alliance against Nuhashe (RS 17.334 = *PRU* IV, pp. 54–55).

Several international matters were decided by the Hittite sovereign Tudhaliya IV during the reign of Ammistamru II. For example, it was he who ruled against the sons of the queen of Ugarit, perhaps the reigning king's own brothers, who were removed from the line of succession as a result of palace intrigues the details of which are still unknown to us (RS 17.352, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 121–24). Another case was that of Ammistamru's divorce from the daughter of the king of Amurru (RS 17.159, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 126–28; RS 1957.1 = Fisher 1971), who was also the daughter of the king of Amurru (as well as the sister of the queen involved in the preceding case?).

On the other hand, it was Initeshub of Carchemish who had to set the damages for destruction that occurred during a frontier incident with Siyannu (RS 17.341 = *PRU* IV, pp. 161–63). He also, logically enough, was responsible for setting up the accord with regard to the civil penalties incurred by a thieving merchant of Hittite origin (RS 17.128 = *PRU* IV, p. 179) and the penalty for murder committed against citizens of Carchemish living in Ugarit or as citizens of Ugarit in Carchemish (RS 17.230 = *PRU* IV, pp. 153–54; an analogous decision by Hattushili III directed to Niqmepa is known from RS 17.229 = *PRU* IV, p. 106; cf. RS 17.146, 18.115 = *PRU* IV, pp. 154–60). In RS 17.158 (= *PRU* IV, pp. 169–74) we find the record of such a sentence being applied, with the stipulation that the royal decision was without recourse. Some of these acts were declared by the king of Ugarit then submitted to arbitration by Initeshub. Two undated documents record

judgments by the king of Carchemish, probably Initeshub, in cases of (unjust?) imprisonment during which the detainee died (*PRU* VI 35–36). This same monarch ratified an act of Ammistamru whereby a man convicted of larceny was redeemed and assigned to the royal retinue (RS 17.108 = *PRU* IV, pp. 165–66). According to other texts, the king of Ugarit could be one of the parties in a suit and Initeshub the judge (RS 17.129 = *PRU* IV, pp. 166–67). At the conclusion of a case lost by a Ugaritic citizen, the king of Ugarit paid out to the winning party, by the intermediary of the prefect of Ugarit, the amount of the irrevocable fine set by Initeshub (RS 17.110 = *PRU* IV, pp. 178–79). Initeshub's gift of a building to Ammurapi was certified by an official act from Initeshub (RS 17.68 = *PRU* IV, p. 164). An act from the time of Ammistamru, certified by a long list of witnesses (RS 17.319 = *PRU* IV, pp. 182–84), records the return of certain stolen property to merchants of Ura, who renounce the right to further judicial action against Ugarit in the matter. From the same period is a verdict by Queen Puduḥepa of Hatti rendered in the case of a sunken Ugaritic ship (RS 17.133 = *PRU* IV, pp. 118–19).

The reign of Ibiranu seems not to have got off on the right foot: when he took the throne of Ugarit, he neglected to send greetings and presents to the Hittite sovereign (RS 17.247 = *PRU* IV, p. 191). The king of Carchemish wrote to remind him of his obligations, urging him to send, before the arrival of the Hittite inspector, the contingents of soldiers and chariots that he was required to furnish (RS 17.289 = *PRU* IV, p. 192), as well as logs, specifications for which had already been sent (RS 17.385 = *PRU* IV, p. 194). He was further enjoined to accord treatment in accordance with his rank to a son of the Hittite king who was scheduled to take up residence in Ugarit (RS 17.423 = *PRU* IV, p. 193). The king of Carchemish returned to the territorial question in a text confirming the borders of Ugarit as set out by Armaziti (RS 17.292 = *PRU* IV, p. 188). In yet another text (RS 17.314 = *PRU* IV, p. 189), this same Armaziti dismissed the complaint of a tax-collector against a merchant in the service of the queen of Ugarit, whereas in an international juridical decree witnessed by little merchants from Ura he was himself condemned to pay a fine to the king of Ugarit and to a third party (RS 17.316 = *PRU* IV, p. 190). Finally, we may cite a letter of introduction addressed to the prefect of Ugarit for an agent of a high Hittite official named Ebina'e; included in the letter was a stipulation requiring exemption from taxes (RS 17.78 = *PRU* IV, pp. 196–97).

To the reign of Niqmaddu (III ?) may be attributed a document recording the redemption by the king of several persons from the control of a certain Kiliya, king of Zinzaru (RS 18.02 = *PRU* IV, p. 201). Another text (RS 18.20 = *PRU* IV, pp. 202–3) attaches a heavy fine to any attempt on the part of a merchant named Kumyaziti, perhaps from Ura, to appeal a decision in favor of the Ugaritic king rendered by a high official of Carchemish.

From the reign of Ammurapi we know a verdict by Talmitheshub according to which certain goods belonging to the Ugaritic king should be returned to him by Ehlinik-kaly, daughter of the Hittite king (RS 17.226 = *PRU* IV, p. 208). In return (?), the king had to give back to her

certain goods that she had brought in as dowry (RS 17.355 = *PRU* IV, pp. 209–10).

(3) **International Commerce.** The geographical location of the port city of Ugarit, at the end-point of various routes extending into Asia and with Cyprus only a few kilometers away by sea, gave her a natural door onto the Aegean world and dictated that this industrious people should devote itself largely to international, even intercontinental, commerce. Not only do we find the mention of "shipbuilders" (*hrs' anyt*: *PRU* II 40) and of "sailors" (*sb'u anyt*: *CTA* 79: 7), but, as we have seen above, of an actual guaranteed contract for the rental of ships (*PRU* V 106). Despite its fragmentary condition, one can detect in *PRU* V 56 reference to loading a (foreign?) ship docked in Atallig. Maritime shipping at that time involved cabotage (sailing near the shore and putting in near to shore at night), which more or less automatically entailed stopping at every port. *PRU* V 95 reflects this practice, for it records the following commodities and destinations: 660 jars of oil for an Alashiot (Cypriot), 130 for an Egyptian, 100 for a Rishian, and another quantity (now broken) for an Ashdodite. The text does not state explicitly that these items for customers in various localities made up the cargo of a single trip, but the enumeration does bring to mind the customary cabotage route between Ugarit (the town of *r'is* was within the kingdom of Ugarit), Ashdod, Egypt and out into the Mediterranean (to Cyprus?). The activities of foreign merchants were regulated by an edict of Hattushili III (RS 17.130 = *PRU* IV, pp. 103–5), stipulating that the merchants from Ura in Cilicia could not reside in Ugarit during the winter. Thus they could not establish permanent residence in Ugarit but, on the other hand, the king of Ugarit was obligated to assure that debts owed to them by Ugaritians were honored, if necessary by surrendering the debtor and his family to the creditor as slaves. Certain monetary payments by Ugaritians from southern localities (*PRU* VI 138) seem to be in connection with the crew of a ship, involving at least ten men. Do these payments represent venture capital for a maritime commercial operation? From *RIH* 83/22 (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 431–33) we clearly see that commercial activities by Ugaritians (here perhaps men of Reshu) had a broad geographical extension, as far as Carchemish, where an emissary with partial financial backing from the king is depicted as going in order to take care of a problem (*hub*) related to ships. Did these ships belong to the king of Ugarit, as did the *'an[ylt mlk]* of *PRU* V 57? In a merchant metropolis as cosmopolitan as Ugarit, a table of weights and measures (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 251–57—recovered in a sadly fragmentary condition) as well as polyglot vocabularies (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 230–51) were indispensable for a proper knowledge of the equivalence between different systems, local or regional, for converting from one system to another, and for understanding terminology in another language.

b. **Private Documents.** (1) **Royal Guarantees.** There is one mixed document (*PRU* VI 45) that covers three different transactions: first a redemption of real estate, followed by a royal donation of land and of servants. But such a diverse document is exceptional. Most fall into relatively discrete categories. These are, following Nougardol's classification: *gifts* to a wife (RS 8.145 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 246), to a son (emancipation: RS 16.129 = *PRU* III, pp. 32–33), to

a daughter (dowry: RS 16.61 = *PRU* III, p. 39), to a daughter-in-law (RS 15.85 = *PRU* III, pp. 52–53); *purchases* of real estate (RS 15.37 = *PRU* III, p. 35); *sales* of real estate (RS 15.182 = *PRU* III, pp. 35–36); *redemption* of goods and real estate ("RS 8.213" = false number for RS 8.146 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 247) or of servants ("RS 8.208" = false number for RS 8.303 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 248 = *PRU* III, p. 110).

(2) **Guarantees Before Witnesses.** *PRU* VI 40 records the purchase of the paternal domicile by a sibling from his brothers; this was attested by five witnesses. The document was written by a scribe who is named and who is also one of the five witnesses. Elsewhere, three brothers give a quitclaim to a fourth brother (*PRU* VI 50) before eight witnesses—again the scribe was one of the witnesses. The various types of adoption were also effected before witnesses: There were four witnesses (one of whom was the scribe) to *PRU* IV 37. On the other hand, we have adoptions into brotherhood before witnesses (*Ugaritica* V 81) and before the king (RS 16.344 = *PRU* III, p. 75). Texts such as *PRU* V 116 prove that the scribe was not always one of the witnesses.

Witnesses seem to have played an important part in sales on credit (*PRU* V 53, 116). One such transaction is found in two slightly different versions (RIH 83/12 [see Bordreuil et al. 1984: 430–31] and 84/8): the second text may contain a correction of the first. The seller's witnesses (one witness per entry in these texts) is given as usual; then a certain *b'l mšlm* is added, who may be the buyer's witness (Bordreuil 1987: 295). Other texts (*PRU* II 161; V 46, 79; RIH 84/3 [see Bordreuil 1987: 294]) refer to the *ʿrbn*, the "guarantor" whose presence probably facilitated the launching of a commercial enterprise undertaken by partners in different localities.

(3) **Declarations.** *Property transfers.* These were expressed as follows: "field (*šd*) of PN₁ is transferred to (1) PN₂" (*PRU* V 89). The location of the real estate can be included in the formula of transfer (e.g., *PRU* V 29). In *PRU* II 104 are references both to individual fields under the management of the *škn* ("prefect") and to a large estate (*gt*), whereas in *CIA* 82 fields are organized according to the professional categories of the owners.

Invoices and debts. *PRU* II 110 indicates the value of certain tunics and of the jewels with which they were decorated. When the document was prepared these items were either in the process of delivery or already delivered—the document itself is probably an as-yet-unpaid invoice. *PRU* II 109 is a "disbursement" document but the price of the principal item is mentioned, and one may interpret this text as a sort of invoice if one is willing to admit that the price of the other articles is assumed to be known. *PRU* II 131 is, as was observed above (C.I.c.[2]), a summary of partial payments that have already been made. *PRU* V 100 and 101 (the latter of which bears the heading *hṭbn*) contain lists of amounts of metals, garments, precious stones, cattle and sheep. The total values in the two texts are, respectively, 250 and 1300 shekels of silver. RS 22.03 (Bordreuil 1981) is a message enumerating several deliveries already made. *CIA* 66 may be termed a *pro forma* invoice: it enumerates the number of days (of work?) that certain northern towns of the kingdom are to render (*ššlmn*). The Ashdodite products listed in *PRU* VI 156 are

certainly "for sale" (*ana makāri*). *PRU* II 143 is apparently unique: it seems to divide up among several persons the proceeds of the sale of a field, ownership of which had previously been divided between two persons in a 2/3 to 1/3 ratio. *PRU* VI 116 is an account of sums paid by the inhabitants of Nanu for pasturage rights. RS 31.80 (= *KTU* 4.755) enumerates sums paid by *yrmn* to different persons to be credited to the "house" account (*šlm ʿl bt*).

According to *PRU* II 132 a woman of Siyannu owed twenty shekels of silver. Such recourse to credit seems to have been relatively common: a group of three Ugaritic tablets from Ras Ibn Hani casts new light on the workings of the credit system. The first of the three, twenty-two lines long (RIH 84/33 [unpublished]), contains a list of debts (X *kšp ʿl PN* "X amount of money upon [= to the debit account of] PN") owed by several persons hailing from various provincial towns, beginning with those from Ushkanu. The second document (RIH 84/6 [Bordreuil 1987: 295]) repeats in nine lines the same amounts followed by the personal names of the first four lines of RIH 84/33 preceded by the word *ʿm* "with, toward," the preposition used to express a credit amount (cf. *PRU* II 143: *ʿmn*). The third text (RIH 84/4 [Bordreuil 1987: 294]) repeats the end of the list of debtors from RIH 84/33 and adds there more debtor accounts. The three tablets may be organized chronologically as follows. The first is RIH 84/33. It lists the amount of each debt and the identity of the debtors; it is organized according to the debtors' towns of residence. RIH 84/6 came next. It records the first repayments, corresponding to the names at the head of the first text. Some time later, RIH 84/4 was written for the purpose of noting payments in arrears. It omits the names of those who had already made their payment and brings the list up to date by adding debts incurred subsequently.

Bibliography

- Astour, M. C. 1965. New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit. *AJA* 69: 253–58.
 —. 1981. Les frontières et les districts du royaume d'Ugarit. *UF* 13: 1–12.
 Avishur, Y. 1986. The 'Duties of the Son' in the 'Story of Aqhat' and Ezekiel's Prophecy on Idolatry [sic] (ch. 8). *UF* 17: 50–60.
 Bordreuil, P. 1981. Cunéiformes alphabétiques non canoniques I: La tablette alphabétique sénestoverse RS 22.03. *Syr* 58: 301–11.
 —. 1982. Quatre documents en cunéiformes alphabétiques mal connus ou inédits (*UH* 138, RS 23.492, RS 34.356, *Musé d'Alep* M. 3601). *Sem* 32: 5–14.
 —. 1984. Arrou, Gourou et Şapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du royaume d'Ougarit. *Syr* 61: 1–10.
 —. 1986. Charges et fonctions en Syrie-Palestine d'après quelques sceaux ouest-sémitiques du second et du premier millénaire. *CRAIBL*: 290–308.
 —. 1987. Découvertes épigraphiques récentes à Ras Ibn Hani et à Ras Shamra. *CRAIBL*: 289–301.
 —. 1989. A propos de la topographie économique de l'Ougarit: Jardins du midi et pâturages du nord. *Syr* 66.
 Bordreuil, P., and Caquot, A. 1980. Les textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1978 à Ibn Hani. *Syr* 57: 343–73.

- Bordreuil, P., and Pardee, D. 1984. Le sceau nominal de 'ammīyid-tamrou, roi d'Ougarit. *Syr* 61: 11–14.
- Bordreuil, P.; Lagarde, J. and E.; Bounni, A.; and Saliby, N. 1984. Les découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques de Ras Ibn Hani (Syrie) en 1983: Un lot d'archives administratives. *CRAIBL*: 398–438.
- Caquot, A. 1979. Ras Shamra: La littérature ugaritique. *DBSup* 9: 1361–1417.
- Caquot, A., and Masson, E. 1977. Tablettes ougaritiques du Louvre. *Sem* 27: 6–19.
- Fisher, L. R. 1971. An International Judgment. Pp. 11–21 in *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*. AnOr 48. Rome.
- Heltz, M. 1982. *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit*. Wiesbaden.
- Kapelrud, A. S. 1952. *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*. Copenhagen.
- Levine, B. 1963. Ugaritic Descriptive Rituals. *JCS* 17: 105–11.
- Liverani, M. 1979. Ras Shamra, Histoire. *DBSup* 9: 1295–1348.
- Moor, J. C. de. 1971. *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu According to the Version of Ilmilku*. AOAT 16. Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Pardee, D. 1975. The Ugaritic Text 2106: 10–18: A Bottomry Loan? *JAOS* 94: 612–19.
- . 1977. A New Ugaritic Letter. *BiOr* 34: 3–20.
- . 1979–80. La lettre de pnht et de ymhd à leur maître. *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 29–30: 23–35.
- . 1981–82. Ugaritic. *Afo* 28: 259–72.
- . 1982. New Readings in the letters of ʿzn bn byy. *Afo Beiheft* 19: 39–53.
- . 1983–84. The Letter of Puduḥepa: The Text. *Afo* 29–30: 321–29.
- . 1986. The Ugaritic *šumma izbu* Text. *Afo* 33: 117–47.
- . 1987. Epigraphic and Philological Notes. *UF* 19: 199–917.
- . 1988. *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 4. Paris.
- Pardee, D., and Whiting, R. M. 1987. Aspects of Epistolary Verbal Usage in Ugaritic and Akkadian. *BSOAS* 50: 1–31.
- PRU II = Virolleaud, C., *Le Palais Royal d'Ougarit* II. Paris, 1957 [texts cited by number].
- PRU III = Nougayrol, J., *Le Palais Royal d'Ougarit* III. Paris, 1955.
- PRU IV = Nougayrol, J., *Le Palais Royal d'Ougarit* IV. Paris, 1956.
- PRU V = Virolleaud, C., *Le Palais Royal d'Ougarit* V. Paris, 1965.
- PRU VI = Nougayrol, J., *Le Palais Royal d'Ougarit* VI. Paris, 1970.
- Sznycer, M. 1979. Ras Shamra: Documents administratifs et économiques. *DBSup* 9: 1417–1425.
- Ugaritica* V. Mission de Ras Shamra 16. Paris, 1968.
- Ugaritica* VI. Mission de Ras Shamra 17. Paris, 1969.
- Ugaritica* VII. Mission de Ras Shamra 18. Paris 1978.
- Xella, P. 1981. *I Testi Rituali di Ugarit* I. *Testi*. SS 54. Rome.

D. PARDEE
PIERRE BORDREUIL

𐎧ULA, AL- (PLACE). See DEDAN (PLACE).

ULAI (PLACE) [Heb ʾūlāy]. The river beside which Daniel received his vision of the two-horned ram and the he-goat (Dan 8:2, 16). It flowed past the N section of ancient Susa, the capital of Elam which later became the winter capital for the Persians. Modern scholars have determined that the Ulai was actually an artificial irrigation canal, starting about twenty miles NW of ancient Susa at the

Choaspes River (modern Kerkha), and extending in a southeasterly direction to the Coprates River (modern Abdizful, Waterman 1947: 319). The canal was known as *u-la-a* in Akkadian sources (see Parpola 1970: 366 for references) and Eulaeus by classical authors (Pliny, *HN* vi.27). Ashurbanipal took credit for making its waters red with the blood of his enemies in 640 B.C.

Some have argued that the word translated “river” or “canal” in Dan 8:2, 3 and 6 (ʾūbal) is a corruption for the Akkadian loanword *abullu* (“city gate”), known in various forms in Mishnaic Hebrew, Targumic Aramaic, and Syriac (Hartmann and Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 223–24; Ginsberg 1948: 57). The LXX, Syriac and Vg support this reading. Thus, Daniel would have received his vision, not beside the banks of the Ulai, but at “the Ulai Gate” in Susa (contrast RSV with NJB at Dan 8:2). This gate presumably opened onto a road leading to the canal N of the city. The unusual expression *bēn ʾūlay* in v 16 has been understood as “between the gate” based on a variant in Theodotion (Hartmann and Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 227). Lacocque takes ʾūlay in v 2 as a wordplay on its homonym meaning “perhaps” as an expression of hope or prayer. In this way, the name of the river (or gate) was carefully chosen to express the possibility that the exiles may experience a miraculous reversal of their situation (*Daniel* CAT, 157).

Bibliography

- Ginsberg, H. L. 1948. *Studies in Daniel*. New York.
- Parpola, S. 1970. *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*. AOAT 6. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Waterman, L. 1947. A Note on Daniel 8:2. *JBL* 66: 319–20.

BILL T. ARNOLD

ULAM (PERSON) [Heb ʾūlām]. 1. The Manassite son of Sheres, who is mentioned only in 1 Chr 7:16–17. His name is from the Hebrew ʾūl and probably meant “first” or “leader” (Noth *IPN*, 231). According to the MT, his brother was Rakem (the LXX omits Rakem from the genealogy), and his son was Bedan. Some form of textual corruption is undoubtedly responsible for the introduction of the latter in v 17 with the phrase, “The sons of Ulam.” While an early copyist may have replaced the singular form “son” with the plural “sons” (the Vulgate reads “son”), it is also possible that an earlier form of the genealogy named additional children of Ulam.

2. A Benjaminite tribal leader, whose sons were archers in the military (1 Chr 8:39–40). Ulam was the firstborn son of Eshek, and his two brothers were Jeush and Eliphelet. Ulam's sons and grandsons were numerous—totaling 150 (190, according to a few LXX mss)—and were recognized for their military prowess.

The two verses that treat Ulam and the other sons of Eshek are problematic for several reasons. First, they represent a change of syntax from the earlier forms in the chapter to the form: “the sons of PN: PN and PN” (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 127–28). In addition, the verses are only loosely attached to the rest of the chapter. While Eshek, the father of Ulam, is linked to Azel and called “his brother” in vv 38–39, when Azel and his sons are listed again, along with other Benjaminites, in 9:35–44, the family of Eshek is unmentioned. Therefore, it has been