

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE AMORITE DYNASTY OF UGARIT: THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE
BRONZE AGE POLITY OF UGARIT BASED UPON LINGUISTIC, LITERARY, AND
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 History of the site of Ugarit

In March, 1928, a farmer was tilling his field near the Syrian coast in the area of the natural port known as Minet el-Beida when his plow struck a large stone slab just under the surface. After removing the slab, he found a large subterranean chamber that was later understood to be a buried sepulcher. Upon hearing of the discovery, the *Service des Antiquités en Syrie et au Liban* sent out a small expedition led by Léon Albanèse to retrieve soil and pottery samples from the site and to explore the sepulcher. This first exploration would last just four days, from March 24 to March 28, 1928, during which time the team completely exhumed the buried sepulcher, though many of the tomb goods had already been removed.¹ Although few finds were discovered in this preliminary survey, the French archaeologist Charles Viroilleaud, who visited the site after this initial exploration, identified ceramic material which was described by René Dussaud as being of Cypriot and Mycenaean origin.² Based upon the discovery of the sepulcher and the ceramic material, the site was determined to be significant enough to warrant a full excavation, which was to begin in earnest in the spring of the following year.

¹ L. Albanèse, "Note sur Ras Shamra," *Syria* 10 (1929): 16-20.

² R. Dussaud, "Note additionnelle," *Syria* 10 (1929): 20-21.

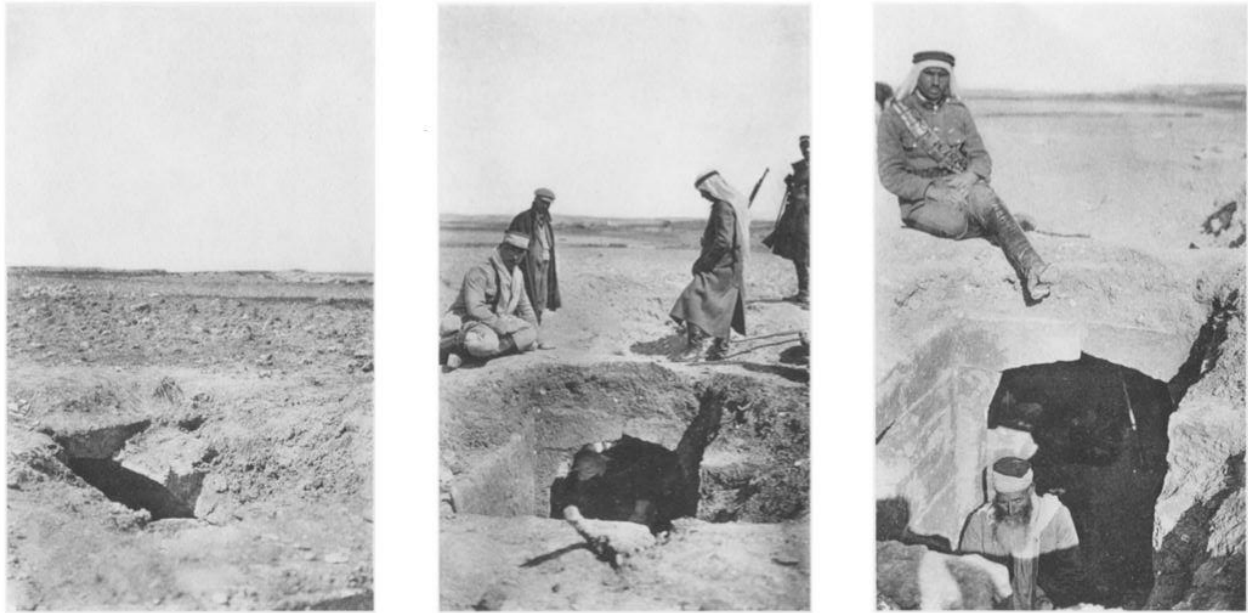


Fig. 1.1: Initial exploration of sepulcher at Minet el-Beida led by Léon Albanèse³

The first archaeological expedition was dispatched to the site of Minet el-Beida in March of 1929 with two excavators, one epigrapher, twenty soldiers, seven camels, and a staff of laborers.⁴ The team spent five weeks excavating the tell of Minet El-Beida uncovering several more tombs and objects, including an ivory carving of a female divinity, interpreted by Schaeffer as a Mycenaean mother goddess,⁵ and a bronze statue of Ba‘lu, initially interpreted as the god Rašap by Schaeffer⁶ and Dussaud.⁷

³ Albanèse, *Syria* 10 (1929) Plate III, after p. 16.

⁴ C.F.A. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra (campagne du printemps 1929) Rapport sommaire,” *Syria* 10 (1929): 285-297.

⁵ Schaeffer, *Syria* 10 (1929) Plate LVI, after p. 292. Since there is no accompanying inscription, the exact identity of the deity is unknown. Partially due to the fact that Schaeffer initially described the image as a mother goddess (“*déesse mère*”) some have equated her with ‘Aṭiratu, the chief wife of ‘Ilu, and therefore the divine mother.

⁶ Schaeffer, *Syria* 10 (1929) 289.

⁷ Dussaud, *Syria* 10 (1929) 300.



Fig. 1.2: Ivory carving of female deity, first campaign – Minet el-Beida⁸



Fig. 1.3: Bronze statue of Ba'1, first campaign - Minet el-Beida⁹

On May 9, 1929, Schaeffer shifted his attention to the neighboring tell of Ras Shamra. Though no monuments were apparent on the surface of the tell, because of reports from local farmers who had found cylinders and gold objects on the surface of the northwestern portion,¹⁰ Schaeffer directed his attention to this area. On May 14, 1929, after only five days of excavations, the first tablets were discovered at the site, some of which were written in a hitherto unknown cuneiform script. Only two days after this discovery, the excavators came upon a cache of bronze weapons, five of which were also inscribed in this same cuneiform script.¹¹

⁸ Schaeffer, *Syria 10* (1929) Plate LVI, after p. 292.

⁹ Schaeffer, *Syria 10* (1929) Plate LIII, after p. 288 - Louvre registration #A011598

¹⁰ Albanése, *Syria 10* (1929) 17.

¹¹ Schaeffer, *Syria 10* (1929) Plate LX:2-4, after p. 296. The cache yielded seventy-four pieces including what Schaeffer categorized as: four swords, two daggers, twenty-seven flat axes, eleven spear heads, three arrowheads, six chisels, four sickles, two bronze ingots, one tripod, five tools of undetermined usage, and nine large tools of the adze or hoe type. It was five of the latter tools which bore inscriptions in the newly discovered script.



Fig. 1.4: North palace tablet discovery – Ras Shamra¹²

Fig. 1.5: North palace bronze cache – Ras Shamra¹³

On May 17, Schaeffer made his way to Latakia to inform Virolleaud by telephone of the inscriptions that had been discovered. Virolleaud immediately came to the site and Schaeffer provided him with the best preserved texts to take back to Beirut for study.¹⁴ Thus would begin what Gelb described as “one of the shortest cases of decipherment on record.”¹⁵ Working throughout the rest of the year, Virolleaud published copies of the texts in the final fascicle of *Syria* 10, 1929, thereby allowing other scholars the opportunity to decipher the language.¹⁶ With this recent publication, two other scholars, Bauer¹⁷ and Dhorme,¹⁸ would work in cooperation and in collaboration with Virolleaud over the next two years until the decipherment would be essentially complete in 1931. It turned out that the script represented a hitherto unknown Semitic

¹² Schaeffer, *Syria* 10 (1929) Figure 5, p. 295.

¹³ Schaeffer, *Syria* 10 (1929) Plate LX: 2-4, after p. 296.

¹⁴ C.F.A. Schaeffer, “La première tablette,” *Syria* 33 (1956): 167.

¹⁵ I.J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing: The Foundations of Grammatology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) 129.

¹⁶ C. Virolleaud, “Les Inscriptions cunéiformes de Ras Shamra,” *Syria* 10 (1929): 305. Though some of the tablets discovered were written in syllabic cuneiform, the majority of those found in the initial discovery were written in the new script that Virolleaud described as “*ceux qui ne sont pas déchiffrés encore*.”

¹⁷ H. Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra, seine Entzifferung und seine Gestalt* (Halle/Saale: M. Niemeyer, 1932).

¹⁸ P. Dhorme, “Un nouvel alphabet sémitique,” *Revue Biblique* 39 (1930): 572-573.

language written in one of the earliest known alphabetic scripts. Though remaining details of the language were to be deciphered in the coming decades, such as the identification of the sign /d/, unknown to the other Northwest Semitic writing systems then known,¹⁹ by 1931 the language of Ugarit was, for practical purposes, deciphered and available to scholars.

Excavations would continue at the site of Ras Shamra under Schaeffer from 1929-1970 (with a hiatus from 1940-1947 during WWII). Schaeffer's post would later be taken up by Henri de Contenson, Jean Margueron, Marguerite Yon, and Yves Calvet, and is today held by Valérie Matoïan and Khozama Al-Bahloul (joint French and Syrian directors). In the roughly ninety years since the discovery of the tell, archaeological remains dating back to the eighth millennium BCE and over 4000 tablets written in alphabetic cuneiform have been discovered. As of 2013, preliminary reports of the 2009/2010²⁰ and 2011/2012 excavations²¹ have been published, though the forthcoming publication from the 74th campaign in 2014 is still awaited. In 2012 with the publication of 87 tablets and various fragments discovered in the 1994 campaign to the site,²² a substantial portion of the corpus of Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform has been published, though some alphabetic fragments and a large number of syllabic cuneiform texts found at the site still await publication.

Though we have a relatively complete corpus of alphabetic cuneiform texts and at least the preliminary publication of all excavations up to 2012, we are still far from understanding the early history of the inhabitants of Ugarit. The texts from the Late Bronze Age site of Ugarit

¹⁹ Z. Harris, "A Hurrian Affricate or Sibilant in Ras Shamra," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 55 (1935): 95-100.

²⁰ V. Matoïan, M. Al-Maqdissi, J. Haydar, K. Al-Bahloul, C. Benech, J.C. Bessac, E. Bordreuil, "Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission archéologique syro-française de Ras Shamra - Ougarit en 2009 et 2010 (69^e et 70^e campagnes)," *Syria* 90 (2013): 439-478.

²¹ V. Matoïan, and M. Al-Maqdissi, *Études ougaritiques III* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 21; V. Matoïan and M. Al-Maqdissi, eds.; Leuven: Peeters, 2013).

²² P. Bordreuil, D. Pardee, and R. Hawley, *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville: Textes 1994-2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la maison d'Ourtenou* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 19; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2012).

which date to roughly the final century and a half of settlement at the site (roughly from 1300-1185 BCE),²³ tell of a mature and fully-developed polity that included a bounded territory, a hereditary royal line, a functioning military, a native religious system, and a local writing system. Yet, prior to the beginning of the fourteenth century, we lack any written historical chronicles from the site that might provide clues as to the origin and formation of the polity. Thus, any historical account of the site must piece together several disparate sources including archaeological remains, king lists, mythological accounts of the site's prehistory, parallels with surrounding sites, and linguistic data in the hopes of reconstructing the early history of the site. Though there is some debate about the temporal divisions, for the sake of clarity the following dates will be used when referencing the archaeological periodization for the Northern Levant.

²³ The earliest Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform texts were originally thought to date to the middle part of the fourteenth century, usually attributed to the reign of Niqmaddu II from roughly 1370 to 1340 BCE. This ascription was based on two primary pieces of evidence. First, many of the mythological texts, including the famous Ba'al, Kirta, and Aqhat Cycles, include a colophon which provides the name and title of the scribe of the text, a certain 'Ilimilku who served under king Niqmaddu. Second, text RS 11.772 records a treaty between Niqmaddu of Ugarit, and Šuppiluliuma of Hatti, thought to be Šuppiluliuma I who reigned from 1344-1322 BCE. One other text, RS 18.113 A+B also proved to be a touchstone for the fourteenth century date based upon a possible reference to Amenophis III of Egypt, but its discovery in the royal palace archive dating to the thirteenth century (Singer, *A Political History of Ugarit* (1999)) and the likelihood that no such reference to the Egyptian ruler is present, has removed the relevance for using this text as evidence for the early fourteenth-century date of Ugaritic. Despite these complications, these three sources became the primary means of dating these early texts written in alphabetic cuneiform to the first half of the fourteenth century, and indeed this became the prevailing and relatively standard perspective of the Ugaritic corpus (Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965) 1, Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* (1994) 1; Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 20; Pardee, "The Ugaritic Alphabetic Cuneiform Writing System" (2007) 186; Schniedewind and Hunt, *A Primer on Ugaritic* (2007) 10). However, several recent studies have questioned whether the king Niqmaddu referenced in the aforementioned texts should be identified as Niqmaddu II, or if these should perhaps be attributed to Niqmaddu III, whose reign likely lasted for just a decade, from 1210-1200 BCE, almost immediately before the fall of the dynasty of Ugarit. See J. Lam, and D. Pardee, "Diachrony in Ugaritic," *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* (C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit, eds.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012) 411-413 for a discussion of why the earliest Ugaritic texts likely date from the early- to mid-thirteenth century. This is not the case for the syllabic cuneiform corpus found at the site, the earliest texts of which appear to date from the reign of Niqmaddu II or earlier, see W. Van Soldt, "The Syllabic Akkadian Texts," *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 28-45.

Date Range	Archaeological Periodization ²⁴
3200-2900 BCE	Early Bronze II
2900-2500 BCE	Early Bronze III
2500-1900 BCE	Early Bronze IV (Middle Bronze I / Intermediate Bronze Age)
1900-1750 BCE	Middle Bronze IIA (Middle Bronze I)
1750-1600 BCE	Middle Bronze II B-C (Middle Bronze II-III)
1600-1100 BCE	Late Bronze

Table 1.1: Archaeological periods of the Levant

Most works devoted to the history of the site tend to avoid a comprehensive investigation of the Middle Bronze Age and even at times the early part of the Late Bronze Age, tending to focus on the period of the site for which we have texts. Singer provides a brief overview of the Middle Bronze period, focusing primarily on the Ugaritic king lists and the relationship between Ugarit and Egypt to the south, but he provides no definitive conclusion as to the origin or the formation of the polity. He does venture a hypothesis that “there seems to be nothing in the archaeological record of Ugarit that would point to a sudden change in its material culture during the second millennium BCE. On the contrary, the marked continuity of Ugarit’s culture seems to speak against any major changes in the composition of the city’s population,” suggesting perhaps that the origins of the Ugaritian polity should be sought in the third millennium.²⁵ Freu’s treatise on the *Histoire politique du royaume d’Ugarit*, provides only a brief account of the Middle Bronze Age, again focusing primarily on the Ugaritic king lists, but begins the historical review

²⁴ The terminology and dates indicated here, and used throughout the remainder of the study, reflect the latest radiocarbon chronology of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in the southern Levant (J. Regev, P. de Miroschedji, R. Greenberg, E. Braun, Z. Greenhut, and E. Boaretto, “Chronology of the Early Bronze Age in the Southern Levant: New Analysis for a High Chronology,” *Radiocarbon* 54/3-4 (2012): 525-566). See Regev, et al. for a presentation of the current archaeological periodization of the Early Bronze Age in the southern Levant. For the most current periodization for the Middle Bronze Age see also F. Höflmayer, J. Kamlah, H. Sader, M.W. Dee, W. Kutschera, E.M. Wild, and S. Riehl, “New Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant: Radiocarbon Dates from Tell El-Burak, Tell El-Dab’a, and Tel Ifshar Compared,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 375 (2016): 53-76.

²⁵ I. Singer, “A Political History of Ugarit,” *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 614.

of the site around 1550 BCE.²⁶ Mallet, who has worked extensively on the Middle Bronze Age stratigraphy at the site, suggests that nothing will allow us to sketch the early history of Ugarit until documents from the Middle Bronze Age are found at the site.²⁷

Though no single study has been devoted to the history of the site in the Middle Bronze Age, a plethora of theories have been put forward regarding the origin of the polity known from the Late Bronze Age. Excavations have revealed that near the end of the Early Bronze Age, the site witnessed a general hiatus²⁸ that lasted for one to two centuries. This hiatus was then followed by several periods of successive settlements at the site, lasting until the fall of Ugarit around 1185 BCE. Many theories have emerged to account for this rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age, but five primary theories will be discussed here.

The earliest theory was put forward by Schaeffer, who proposed that this new settlement pattern was brought about by the invasion of the “Hyksos,”²⁹ whose material culture closely resembled that from other sites in the southern Levant and Egypt, primarily the site of Tell el-Dab‘a, ancient Avaris.³⁰ He does not venture to propose an origin for the Hyksos culture, but bases his theory primarily on the large array of Egyptian material found in the Middle Bronze

²⁶ J. Freu, *Histoire politique du royaume d’Ugarit* (Paris: Association KUBABA; L’Harmattan, 2006) 17-24.

²⁷ J. Mallet, “Ras Shamra au Bronze Moyen Travaux 1929-1974 (I^{re} – XXXV^e campagnes de fouilles,” *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001. “Ougarit au II^e millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches”* (Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 47; Y. Calvet and M. Yon, eds.; Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2008) 77. “Quand les Cananéens, les Amorites, les Hourrites sont-ils arrivés? Quelle langue les autochtones parlaient-ils et connaissaient-ils déjà l’alphabet? Ougarit a-t-il échappé aux Hittites qui détruisirent Alalakh et Ebla vers 1600? Seuls des documents écrits nous apprendront quelque chose.” In his view, the answer to these questions can only be discerned from textual finds from the Middle Bronze Age, and no further historical insight may be gained through an analysis of the archaeological and linguistic material.

²⁸ M. Al-Maqdissi, “Ras Shamra au Bronze Moyen Travaux 1929-1974 (I^{re} – XXXV^e campagnes de fouilles,” *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001. “Ougarit au II^e millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches”* (Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 47; Y. Calvet and M. Yon, eds.; Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2008) 67-68. Al-Maqdissi notes that where soundings reached to these prehistoric phases, a hiatus is almost uniformly attested at the end of the Early Bronze III period.

²⁹ C.F.A. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937): Rapport sommaire,” *Syria* 19 (1938): 197, 250-254.

³⁰ Mallet, *Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 77.

Age layers of the site.³¹ Yet, subsequent excavations at the site of Tell el-Dab‘a would suggest a northern origin for the remains, as opposed to the reverse. Bietak has shown that “at least a substantial number of the settlers at Avaris originated most probably from the northern Levant, especially from the region made up today by Lebanon and northern Syria, supported by the osteological analysis of human remains from Tell el Dab‘a, which have their best cluster matches in an Iron Age series from Kâmid el-Lôz in the Beq‘a.”³² Rather than looking to Egypt for the terminological description of this period, we should instead look to a northern Levantine source for the distinct material culture that arrived in the Middle Bronze Age at Ugarit.

The second theory is the ascription of the early Middle Bronze Age settlement at the site to the movement of a Hurrian contingent from the north.³³ This theory gains support from the large corpus of Hurrian texts found at the site of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age, but does not take into account the material culture known from the Middle Bronze Age and whether or not it shares significant parallels with other sites known to be settled by Hurrian-speaking population groups. This theory is based largely upon two pieces of evidence, namely, an increase of Hurrian names found at the site and the presence of a large number of Hurrian texts found at the site of Ugarit. Recent estimates have proposed that roughly 15% of inhabitants of the polity of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age had Hurrian names. Whereas this is certainly a fairly large percentage, this must be compared to the roughly 80% of West Semitic names found at the site and another 5% of names in other languages.³⁴ If a Hurrian population was expected to have settled the site back in the Middle Bronze Age, one would expect the Late Bronze Age onomastic evidence to be

³¹ Schaeffer, *Syria* 20 (1939) 197-220.

³² Bietak, *The Second Intermediate Period* (2010) 163.

³³ S. Bourke, “The Six Canaanite Temples of Ṭabaqāt Faḥil: Excavating Pella’s ‘Fortress’ Temple (1994-2009),” *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.-1. Mill. B.C.E.)* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41; J. Kamlah, ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012).

³⁴ W.H. Van Soldt, “Divinities in Personal Names at Ugarit,” *Ras Shamra-Ugarit* 24; V. Matoian and M. Al-Maqdissi, eds.; Paris: Peeters, 2016) 97.

much higher, whereas it seems clear that the Hurrian population was likely a minority group in the polity. This Hurrian influence may have arrived at the site during the Late Bronze I period, a time period during which textual sources indicate that there was a great deal of interaction between the polity of Ugarit and the strong Mitannian empire to the northeast.³⁵ Secondly, Mallet and others have queried whether perhaps the presence of Hurrian texts from the Late Bronze Age site might indicate something about the ethnic affiliation of the group that arrived in the Middle Bronze Age.³⁶ Yet, the composition of the Hurrian corpus found at the site undercuts this theory. Hurrian texts from the site include sacrificial lists, hymns, and incantations, but only two letters, and a relatively small number of Hurrian loanwords found primarily in the legal and administrative texts.³⁷ This has caused some to speculate that the “size of the Hurrian-speaking ‘community’ at Ugarit may have been small by the end of the Late Bronze Age – perhaps being restricted mostly to certain cultic functionaries.”³⁸

In fact, it is the religious scope of Hurrian texts that presents a two-fold problem for the Hurrian hypothesis. First, given that Hurrian influence is most heavily felt in the religious sphere, if a Hurrian population had indeed settled the site in the Middle Bronze period, one would expect evidence for the worship of Hurrian deities at the site of the two massive temples to Dagan and Ba‘l constructed atop the acropolis.³⁹ Second, if the ruling population group that

³⁵ This topic will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 2.

³⁶ J. Mallet “Ras Shamra-Ougarit (Syrie): La population des porteurs de torques et la revision de la chronologie du Bronze moyen (fin du troisieme millenaire avant notre ere et premiere moitie du second)” (International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 1:1; P. Matthiae, A. Enea, L. Peyronel, and F. Pinnok, eds.; Roma: Dipartimento di scienze storiche, 2000) 835-838.

³⁷ M. Dietrich and W. Mayer, “The Hurrian and Hittite Texts,” *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

³⁸ J. Lam, “Possible Ugaritic Influences on the Hurrian of Ras Shamra-Ugarit in Alphabetic Script,” *Semitic Languages in Contact* (A. Butts, ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2015) 277.

³⁹ M. Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006) 106. The exact identification of the cult to which these temples were devoted is unknown, though no evidence has been found suggesting the worship of Hurrian deities at the site. Furthermore, key material and inscriptional remains found inside and around the temple precincts provide some indication as to what deities might have been worshipped at this site. Within the larger temple to the west was found the famous “Baal with Thunderbolt” stele (RS 4.427)

settled the site was Hurrian, one would have expected greater Hurrian influence throughout the Ugaritic corpus, rather than primarily within the religious texts. Given the lack of archaeological and literary evidence for a primarily Hurrian group migrating to the site in the Middle Bronze Age, this theory cannot be substantiated. It is far more likely that Hurrian textual evidence spread to the site following the power vacuum created by Ḫattušili I and Muršili I of Ḫatti as they marched through the northern Levant and Mesopotamia, destroying sites across the region from around 1650 BCE to 1550 BCE.⁴⁰

The third theory draws a close connection between the Ugaritic language and the Arabian dialects. One of the earliest versions of this theory is the proposal of a southern, Arabian origin for ethnic elements that migrated to the site at the start of the second millennium.⁴¹ This theory was based primarily on the similarity in writing systems between Ugaritic and Old South Arabian.⁴² But given the roughly five hundred year time difference between Ugaritic (1200 BCE) and the earliest Old South Arabian inscriptions (beginning in the eighth century BCE) the most recent version of this theory proposes that Ugaritic, Old South Arabian, and Early Arabic all developed in the northern Syrian steppe. According to this theory both Ugaritic and Amorite were the early Bronze Age “Emariote” ancestors of Old South Arabian⁴³ and early Arabic.⁴⁴ Though these theories draw tempting linguistic parallels between Ugaritic and the other Central

depicting the god Ba‘l in a striding stance perhaps holding a thunderbolt. Another Egyptian dedication stele dating to the nineteenth dynasty mentioning the god “Ba‘l Šaphon” (RS 1.[089]+ 2.[033] + 5.183) was also found in the temple precinct, providing further indication of the worship of Ba‘l at the temple. The second temple to the east is often considered to be dedicated to the deity Dagan, primarily based upon two dedicatory steles which were presented to the god Dagan (RS 6.021, RS 6.028).

⁴⁰ This date follows the Mesopotamian Middle Chronology.

⁴¹ M. Dietrich and W. Mayer, “Sprache und Kulture der Hurriter in Ugarit,” *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens* 7:1 (1995): 39.

⁴² M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die Keilalphabet: Die phönizisch-kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabet in Ugarit* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988) 61-85, 300-303.

⁴³ G. del Olmo Lete, “Ugaritic and Old(-South)-Arabic: Two WS Dialects?” *Dialectology of the Semitic Languages: Proceedings of the IVth Meeting on Comparative Semitics* (Aula Orientalis – Supplementa 27; F. Corriente, G. del Olmo Lete, A. Vicente, and J.P. Vita, eds.; Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 2012).

⁴⁴ A. Kaye, “Does Ugaritic Go with Arabic in Semitic Genealogical Sub-classification,” *Folia Orientalia* 28 (Warsaw: Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1992): 120-121.

Semitic languages of Old South Arabian and early Arabic, they suffer from two primary flaws. First, the proposed linguistic similarity between Ugaritic and Arabic has been heavily based upon the supposed “conservatism” of each language. Kaye has been one of the foremost scholars to posit a connection between Ugaritic and Arabic, and although the isoglosses which he provides are noteworthy, his hypothesis has not found widespread support. He concludes that “in conservatism and proximity to the primitive Semitic phonemes, Ugaritic comes only next to Arabic, and is therefore nearest to it among all the other sister tongues.”⁴⁵ Whereas both languages are “conservative” in so far as they preserve the six Proto-Semitic vowels, each language is quite innovative in terms of syntax and morphology. Furthermore, since shared innovations, not shared retentions, are useful for genetic subgrouping, this theory has proven less useful. Second, these theories focus solely on linguistic evidence and do not take into account the lack of supporting archaeological evidence from the material culture of the site as no archaeological comparison has been done. Though del Olmo Lete draws some literary parallels between Ugaritic and Arabian literature,⁴⁶ he does not provide a comprehensive study that deals with similarities in material culture between the two regions.

The fourth theory sees Ugaritic as a Canaanite language⁴⁷ indicating that the rise in urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age was likely the result of resettlement at the site by a local population with close ties to other Canaanite-speaking areas such as those who settled along the Phoenician coast and extended into the southern Levant.⁴⁸ Other recent studies, most notably those by Kogan, have drawn a close parallel between Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages based

⁴⁵ Kaye, *FO* 28 (1992) 120-121.

⁴⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *Dialectology of the Semitic Languages* (2012).

⁴⁷ J. Tropper, “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?” *Ugaritic and the Bible, Proceedings of the international Symposium on Ugaritic and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literature 11; G.J. Brook, A.H.W. Curtis and J.F. Healey, eds.; Münster: Ugaritic-Verlag, 1994) 343-353.

⁴⁸ D. Bonacossi, “Tell Mishrifeh and its Region during the EBA IV and the EBA-MBA Transition. A First Assessment,” *The Levant in Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the British Museum on 20-21 April 2004* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual IX; P. Parr, ed.; Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009) 56-68.

upon lexical overlap using the Swadesh Wordlist.⁴⁹ This study, though extremely useful from a linguistic perspective, is ultimately not useful for genetic subgrouping of the Northwest Semitic languages for two reasons. First, the theory is inherently limited, due to paucity of data from the Middle Bronze Age, and can therefore not evaluate whether Ugarit might have had even more cultural contact with Amorite groups from the northern Levant. Second, this theory goes against key principles of historical linguistics,⁵⁰ and is therefore not useful for genetic subgrouping. Yet, this theory gains substantial support from the archaeological record, since there is a significant degree of material continuity between the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Ages, and it is clear that local populations throughout the Levant retained the material culture and technology which had originated in the Early Bronze II and III periods.⁵¹ This continuity in material culture would seem to indicate that there was no movement of a foreign population into the region in the Middle Bronze Age and that the polity of Ugarit likely found its origin in the Early Bronze Age culture at the site. This theory is indeed well supported both by archaeological and linguistic

⁴⁹ L. Kogan, *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Inc., 2015) 343-350. In addition to the problematic nature of using lexical analysis for genetic subgrouping, the study is inherently limited by the fact that we have no corpus from which to draw lexical analysis for Amorite, the earliest attested Northwest Semitic language. Kogan's analysis does indeed show that there would likely have been more cultural contact between Ugarit and Canaanite-speaking groups, as opposed to Aramaic- or Arabic-speaking groups. However, it cannot, due to paucity of data, evaluate whether Ugarit might have had even more cultural contact with Amorite groups from the northern Levant.

⁵⁰ A. Aikhenvald and R. Dixon, "Introduction," *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance: Problems in Comparative Linguistics* (A. Aikhenvald and R. Dixon, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001) 7. Aikhenvald and Dixon have noted that such forms of "lexicostatistics" are "unsupportable" since they "depend on a set of premises all of which are without foundation: that one can infer genetic relationship from lexicon alone (whereas similarities of grammatical form are of primary importance), that the lexicon of all languages is always changing at a constant rate (there is in fact considerable variation, depending on social attitudes, types of language contact, and so on), and that core vocabulary is always replaced at a slower rate than non-core (this applies in only some parts of the world)."

⁵¹ J. Tubb, *Canaanites* (Peoples of the Past Series; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 57-59. Tubb stresses the "essential continuity of the Canaanite population and its cultural attributes from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age through to the Middle Bronze Age." In stressing this continuity, Tubb shows the significant similarities between Early Bronze III and Middle Bronze II material culture types. He notes that "the material culture of the Middle Bronze Age, especially in its initial phase (MB IIA, 2000-1750 BC), combines elements transmitted directly through the EB IV interlude. This is clearest perhaps in the pottery...combining technologically advanced production methods, which had been developed during the course of EB IV, with a formal elegance, the inspiration for which can be traced back to EB II and III."

evidence, and frequently the “Canaanite” theory and the fifth theory presented here are often placed as competing theories in the literature

The fifth and final theory, looks to an “Amorite” origin for the Ugaritian dynasty. Scholars such as Burke,⁵² Silver,⁵³ Pardee,⁵⁴ Schloen,⁵⁵ and Yon⁵⁶ have long noted the various archaeological, literary, and linguistic similarities between Ugarit and its “Amorite” neighbors of northern Syria. Indeed there is a growing consensus that the site of Ugarit shares close ties with its Amorite neighbors, and perhaps was even settled by an Amorite population at some point in the Middle Bronze Age, but definite conclusions have remained elusive for two primary reasons. First, most previous studies regarding the origin of Ugarit or Ugaritic have focused on the site and language as known from the Late Bronze Age, often to the exclusion of the material assemblage known from the Middle Bronze Age. Second, previous studies have focused solely on either the linguistic data or the material cultural evidence, but no single study has yet examined both types of data.

The Canaanite and Amorite hypotheses have retained the greatest degree of support in the literature, and these two competing hypotheses will form the basis for the structure of my argument in the current study. Chapter two will provide the history of the Canaanite and Amorite hypotheses and the findings from chapter four will suggest that, rather than giving pre-eminence to one theory over the other, in fact a hybrid model is the preferred explanatory model for

⁵² A.A. Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven”: *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 96.

⁵³ M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), “Were Nomadic Amorites on the Move? Migration, Invasion and Gradual Infiltration as Mechanisms for Cultural Transitions,” *International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 4; H. Kühne, R. Czichon and F. Kreppner, eds.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008) 206.

⁵⁴ D. Pardee, “Ugaritic,” *Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2011) 461. See also D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Writings from the Ancient World Society of Biblical Literature Volume 10; T. Lewis, ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002) 123, 134, and 230.

⁵⁵ D. Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001) 201.

⁵⁶ Yon, *The City of Ugarit* (2006) 16.

interpreting the Middle Bronze Age material remains from the northern and southern Levant, and that the material culture from the site of Ugarit finds its closest parallels with “Amorite” polities from the northern Levant. Chapter five will deal closely with the linguistic evidence, comparing shared innovations between Ugaritic, Amorite, and the Canaanite languages.

This procedure presents two primary questions to the modern researcher: first, can we define a population with the identifying marker of “Amorite” only with access to the archaeological and linguistic evidence for the population, and second, can we determine the history of a polity without recorded historical documents? To broach these two questions, we will turn to a brief discussion of the history of Amorite studies and the theoretical approaches to the study of history.

1.2 Methodological Approaches

Since a full discussion of the history of the “Amorite Hypothesis” will be included in the following chapter, we will here only offer a review of the current state of Amorite studies. The field of Amorite studies began at the turn of the century, when scholars such as Hommel⁵⁷ and Ranke⁵⁸ identified a contingent of West Semitic names in the Akkadian literature, especially from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods. It is Ranke who first termed this population group the “*mârê Ammurrum*” or “children of the Westland,” seeking to isolate this West-Semitic-speaking group from their Akkadian compatriots.⁵⁹ The field would continue to grow, as more

⁵⁷ F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients* (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904) 88.

⁵⁸ H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-Called Hammurabi Dynasty (B.C. 2000)* (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: Series D: Researches and Treatises 3; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1905) 33.

⁵⁹ Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (1905) 33. Ranke cites two texts in support of this ascription, where residents of Babylon are referring to Western populations. He states, “from this passage we learn that the native Babylonians called these foreign cousins, who had become residents in their country, by the name of “*mârê*

texts would be uncovered yielding names written in a West Semitic language, and over the course of the next half century, several scholars would contribute studies regarding the origin of the people group bearing these names,⁶⁰ the classification of the Amorite language,⁶¹ or the nomadic composition of this population.⁶²

The 1960s and 1970s saw a great amount of scholarly progress in the field of Amorite studies. Scholars such as Gelb⁶³ and Buccellati⁶⁴ produced key works on the social history of the Amorite populations in Mesopotamia. Outside of Mesopotamia, several theories emerged which looked to the Amorites of the north as an explanation of the stark period of de-urbanization in the region of the southern Levant. Scholars such as Kenyon⁶⁵ and Dever⁶⁶ proposed that the nomadic Amorites of the north were the most likely candidates to provide explanation for sites such as Jericho that had exhibited a destruction layer followed by an archaeological hiatus, which seemed to sketch a narrative of warlike nomadic groups sweeping through to devastate the sites of the southern Levant at the end of the Early Bronze Age, causing the collapse of urbanism.

The 1980s and 1990s would witness a decline in the field of Amorite studies, as archaeological evidence would emerge running counter to some of these initial theories of Amorite migrations or of the nomadic composition of the Amorite populations of Mesopotamia.

Ammurum” or “children of the Westland.” He goes on further to suggest that this “Westland” likely “included the whole country to the west of the Euphrates, up to the shore of Palestine.”

⁶⁰ T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer: Eine philologisch-historische Untersuchung über die Wanderschicht der sogenannten “Amoriter” in Babylonien* (Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926).

⁶¹ I.J. Gelb, “La lingua degli Amoriti,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Anno CCCLV* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1958) 143-164.

⁶² J.R. Kupper, *Les nomads en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris: Société d’édition ‘Les Belles Lettres’, 1957).

⁶³ I.J. Gelb, “The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 15 (1961): 27-47.

⁶⁴ G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples: Instituto Orientale di Napoli, 1966).

⁶⁵ K. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1963; London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

⁶⁶ W.G. Dever, “The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine,” *Magnalia Dei. The Might acts of God* (F.M. Cross, W.E. Lemke, and P.D. Miller, eds.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 1-38.

Though Gelb would continue his work on the Amorite language,⁶⁷ theories of nomadic invading hordes in the southern Levant at the end of the third millennium would be abandoned as archaeological evidence emerged indicating a degree of continuity at sites throughout the Levant at the end of the third millennium.⁶⁸

Following this period of decreased interest, the last two decades of scholarly research have witnessed a resurgence in interest in Amorite studies with entire volumes devoted to the Amorite language,⁶⁹ Amorite material culture,⁷⁰ Amorite political structure,⁷¹ and Amorite defensive strategies.⁷² Though studies such as these have greatly improved our understanding of Amorite culture from the Middle Bronze Age, several perennial problems still plague the field. There is a general lack of consensus regarding whether “Amorites” can be identified in the archaeological record⁷³ or from linguistic material⁷⁴ unless texts from a site specifically reference their cultural affiliation, as in the case of the kings of Mari.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ I.J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980).

⁶⁸ P. Gerstenblith, *The Levant: At the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age* (Dissertation Series 5: American Schools of Oriental Research; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983).

⁶⁹ M. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit. Band 1: Die Amurriter, Die onomastische Forschung, Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000).

⁷⁰ M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism: Amorites from the Perspective of Contextual Archaeology* (Doctoral dissertation; Helsinki: Jutitprint, 2000).

⁷¹ A. Miglio, *The Dynamics of International Politics and the Reign of Zimri-Lim* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014).

⁷² Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven” (2008) 96-100. Though Burke’s primary research question is concerned with Middle Bronze Age defensive structures, he concludes that the Middle Bronze IIB-C periods in the Levant represent a period he describes as the “Pax Amoritica.”

⁷³ Miglio, *Dynamics of International Politics* (2014) 197. Miglio rightly cautions that “the descriptor Amurrite is used for various commodities, such as animals, wool, and figs, but this qualification should not be too quickly assumed to be an ethnicon. Due caution is required before using these textual data as lenses for interpreting the koiné Middle Bronze Age anepigraphic artifacts as cultural traits that help define an Amurrite ethnic group.”

⁷⁴ Miglio, *Dynamics of International Politics* (2014) 197. Miglio provides a second warning, noting that “even the most discrete cultural feature of Amurrite ethnicity, Amurrite language, may have been comprised of many dialects of a West Semitic language group. This reality seems to be reflected in the need for *Numha* men from *Kurda* who likely spoke an Amurrite dialect, to have a translator when they arrived at Mari (ARM 27.116).” We will later discuss whether different dialects of “Amorite” can be teased out of the textual material to which we have access.

⁷⁵ J.M. Durand, “Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l’époque amorrite,” *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991) (Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 38; D. Charpin and F. Joannès, Paris: Éditions

In his recent article, aptly named “Entanglement, the Amorite Koiné, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant,” Burke has pointed out some of the key issues which have plagued the field of Amorite studies over the past century.⁷⁶ One issue is the lack of interaction between archaeologists and philologists when approaching this field, and he states that “while there appears to be a growing consensus among archaeologists concerning an Amorite koiné, there seems to be far less clarity (and perhaps a bit of despair) among philologists regarding Amorite identity and the relationship between Amorites and material culture.”⁷⁷ In light of this current discrepancy, Burke has proposed a more interdisciplinary tactic for the field of Amorite studies, and has delineated a path by which to approach this topic, specifying that it is “imperative that any archaeological interpretation address a range of social, economic, and political contexts that may be reconstructed from both textual and archaeological sources for the millennium under discussion.”⁷⁸

Burke’s imperative represents a significant shift in the field of study as well as an opportunity to approach the field of Amorite studies using much-needed interdisciplinary methodology. And yet, this imperative presents several immediate problems for the researcher. First, given the extended time period during which Amorites are attested (roughly 2600 BCE⁷⁹ – Iron Age⁸⁰) and the immense geographical range in our textual sources (essentially the entirety of

Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992) 113, n. 137. King Zimri-Lîm of Mari takes on the titular “King of Akkadians and King of Amorites” (LUGAL *ak-ka-d[i-i]m ù a-m[u-u]r-ri-im*) in letter A.489 which is a still unpublished text. Charpin and Durand discuss the historical context of this text, but do not quote the line in question (Charpin and Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 323, n. 131.a).

⁷⁶ A.A. Burke, “Entanglement, the Amorite Koiné, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant,” *Zoroastrianism in the Levant and the Amorites* (ARAM 26:1-2; Oxford: Aram Publishing, 2014) 357-373.

⁷⁷ Burke, ARAM 26 (2014) 362.

⁷⁸ Burke, ARAM 26 (2014) 362.

⁷⁹ Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism* (2000) 41. She notes that “the earliest known evidence of the designation MAR.TU relates to a person bearing a Sumerian name in a Sumerian text (VAT 127 29) found at Tell Farah (Shuruppak) and dated to ca. 2600 BC.”

⁸⁰ Individuals from the polity of Amurru are attested regularly in the Late Bronze Age sources, most notably the El Amarna letters, as residents of the northern and southern Levant. Following the Late Bronze Age, sure evidence for Amorite groups dwelling in the Levant in the Iron Age is less certain. Irrespective of the sources

the Fertile Crescent from southern Mesopotamia to Egypt), it would be impossible for any single study, or even a series of studies, to encapsulate all of this data.

Second, as Burke has pointed out as well, it would be fallacious to approach such a broad swath of attestations under the same, singularly-defined umbrella of the ethnic identity of “Amorites.”⁸¹ Indeed, the very “kin-based” or “patrimonial” nature of what is known from Amorite cultural contexts would render such a study unproductive. Though Mesopotamians may have viewed the *Amurru* as a collective entity which plagued their northwestern boundaries, there exists no evidence that the *Amurru* ever viewed themselves as a collective entity. In fact, the reverse is far more representative of these “Amorite” kinship groups residing in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant. In stressing the value of the household paradigm for interpreting the structure and power dynamic of such kinship groups, Schloen has also emphasized the variety present in such patrimonial contexts: “...there was considerable variation in different times and places in the detailed outworking of this vision of the social order. Some patrimonial regimes were governed in a more centralized fashion than others because of predictable functional factors (e.g., the effect of geography on the maintenance of military control) or unpredictable personal factors (e.g., the political and military skill of the ruler).”⁸² To state,

and the date which the texts were originally produced, Amorites regularly appear in the Biblical narrative as inhabitants of the land prior to the conquest as enemies of Israel. Amorites first occur, most notably, in the Pentateuchal account of the famous battle against the Transjordanian kings Sihon and Og (Numbers 21:21-35) which is later used as a literary trope to extol the glory of YHWH and the victory he brought about for his people Israel (Deuteronomy 1:4, 3:8, Joshua 9:10, 13:21, Judges 11:21, Ezekiel 16:3, Psalm 135:11, Psalm 136:19, Amos 2:9). Other references to Amorite groups after Israel has entered the land (Joshua 10:5,11:8, I Samuel 7:14, 2 Samuel 21:2, I Kings 4:19, II Kings 21:11) provide some indication that their presence in the Cisjordan may have continued well into the Iron Age.

⁸¹ Burke, ARAM 26 (2014) 362. Burke has pointed out that this is one of the key issues that has plagued Amorite studies, since, in his words, “many old notions continue to be entertained that now simply seek to incorporate prevailing anthropological jargon, but still fail to address the diversity of the contexts in which Amorites are attested or to explain the relationship of these contexts to each other.” Though Burke adopts the terminology “Amorite koiné” to describe the material assemblage which appears at sites across the Levant, he does provide a nuanced view of adoption of this assemblage in stating that he “by no means is suggesting that these elements were adopted en masse or as a package or kit, or that they should constitute a ‘trait list.’”

⁸² Schloen, *The House of the Father* (2001) 316.

without nuance, that we are able to identify the “Amorite” material culture, language, or literary tradition stretching across the Fertile Crescent, without reference to localized expressions, would be historically inaccurate.

In light of the problematic reality of the extensive and diverse linguistic and archaeological corpora covered under the umbrella of Amorite studies, a faithful approach to the evidence must closely toe the line between a broad, interdisciplinary investigation and a specified examination of localized cultural expressions. The current study attempts this by approaching the question through the lens of a single site, namely Ugarit. Focusing on one site as an organizing principle offers two key benefits to the researcher. First, it limits the temporal scope which will be covered by the study, since, though Ugarit had been inhabited since the Neolithic period, the final period of habitation at the site lasts from roughly 1800 BCE⁸³ to 1185 BCE, providing a limited, though still fairly extensive, 600-year period of history from which to glean important material cultural evidence. This represents a significant shift in focus, for many of the previous works in the field of Amorite studies focused much of their attention on the Amorite population groups known only from the third millennium, often to the exclusion of second millennium groups, seeking origins both in texts⁸⁴ and in the archaeological record.⁸⁵ Second, structuring the research around one site allows us to focus on a localized expression of what scholars have conversely described as “Amorite” or “Canaanite,” using the material culture, language, and literature of Ugarit as the organizing methodology for our entrée into this debate. Rather than searching for broad swaths of “Amorite” material culture, the current study will

⁸³ A complete history of the site in the Middle Bronze Age will be given in chapter four, though it should be noted here that during the Middle Bronze IIA period, the site was used solely as a necropolis. At the end of this period, roughly around 1800 BCE, the first wide-scale buildings were constructed at the site.

⁸⁴ Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (1966).

⁸⁵ Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism* (2000).

focus on the material assemblage of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age and on Ugaritic as one of the earliest attested West Semitic languages.

This organizing principle represents a marked distinction from previous research in that the goal is not to obtain some concept of “Amorite” identity either in texts or in the material record. Rather, the two-fold goal of the study is far more targeted. First, the object of the study is to shed light on the Middle Bronze Age history of the site of Ugarit, to understand more about when the Ugaritian dynasty known from the Late Bronze Age first arrived at the site and if parallels can be drawn with other sites in the region. Second, the study hopes to shed light on the cultural affiliations of the inhabitants of the site of Ugarit in the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Ultimately, whether the Ugaritians who arrived at the site in the Middle Bronze Age were ethnically “Amorite” or “Canaanite” is not the primary concern. What is of interest is whether their material culture and language reflects some cultural correspondence with other sites and population groups in the Middle Bronze Age, a survey of which will be detailed in chapter four. This will then allow us to begin asking further questions about shared cultural traditions, whether religious, literary, administrative or otherwise.

One key issue that arises when using the site of Ugarit as the organizing methodological principle for the present study is that no texts have been discovered from Ugarit prior to the fourteenth century. In order to pursue questions around the historical origins of the site in the Middle Bronze Age, we must therefore combine several disparate data sources including linguistic and literary evidence from the Late Bronze era at the site and archaeological evidence from the early levels of the tell. This prompts two theoretical concerns for our current study. First, what history, if any, can be gleaned without access to a written historical record of the site,

and can disparate archaeological and linguistic data sources be combined in order to create a single historical narrative for the site?

1.3 Material and Linguistic Sources: An Interdisciplinary Approach to History

Direct knowledge of the Middle Bronze Age events that led to the settlement of the site of Ras Shamra and the formation of the Ugaritic polity are unknown due to the lack of historical texts referencing this early period. This lack of textual evidence has caused some to propose that no prehistory of the site can be sketched without the discovery of Middle Bronze Age texts.⁸⁶ This persistent belief that exploration of Ugarit's past must remain in a permanent holding pattern until texts have been discovered is what Rosen has termed "the tyranny of texts."⁸⁷ Rosen has noted that "the study of ancient history, in the sense of the construction of narratives of causally intertwined events and processes in the deeper past based on academically acceptable forms of evidence and reasoning, can most certainly be conducted on the basis of archaeological evidence alone. These narratives may lack some of the particulars that can be gleaned from the texts, but of course, the texts also lack particulars that are self-evidence in the archaeological record."⁸⁸ Indeed, given the fact that Middle Bronze Age remains have been uncovered across the site of Ugarit, a review of these archaeological remains and their similarities to other material assemblages from sites across the region can provide a wealth of information as to the early history of the site, irrespective of access to historical texts from the period.

Unlike historians of the modern era, who often have a wealth of data at their fingertips, historians of the ancient world are limited to those data which have literally been unearthed, and

⁸⁶ Mallet, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 77.

⁸⁷ S. Rosen, "The Tyranny of Texts: A Rebellion against the Primacy of Written Documents in Defining Archaeological Agendas," *"I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times," Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday Volume 2* (A.M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji, eds.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006) 879-893.

⁸⁸ Rosen, *"I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times"* (2006) 880.

they must be versatile in working with sources of various types. Lapin has noted that “historians of Mediterranean antiquity must work with a range of sources, mostly literary texts, but also inscriptions, coins, pottery, and any other material artifacts.”⁸⁹ Grabbe has included this concept as of his five foundational principles of historical methodology, stating succinctly that “we must use all potential sources and should not rule out any sources ab initio.”⁹⁰ In the case of the site of Ugarit, though no historical records of the Middle Bronze Age exist, there are two other sources of data which may provide evidence as to the history of the site. First, the archaeological material assemblage from the Middle Bronze and early Late Bronze Age levels of the site provide a valuable testament to the early history of the site and provide indications that these initial archaeological settlements may be attributed to the incursion of a foreign population group. Second, the linguistic subgrouping of the Late Bronze Age language attested at Ugarit, which may provide some historical clues as to the historical origins of the population who spoke this particular dialect of West Semitic, and its relation to other West Semitic languages. Analysis of these two distinct data sources will be the guiding organizational structure for this study; but before we begin the study of the data, several foundational theoretical principles must be established.

First, it must be asserted, as noted by Rosen above, that, though archaeological remains can certainly not be equated directly with culture or ethnicity, they may provide valuable pieces of evidence for the purpose of reconstructing the history of a people or of a site. Schloen has noted: “from the perspective of history, archaeology is an auxiliary discipline, like demography or economics, which is called in to get historical understanding in motion again in cases where

⁸⁹ H. Lapin, “Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historiography of Ancient Judaism,” *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls* (M. Grossman, ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010) 110.

⁹⁰ L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period Volume I, Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (Library of Second Temple Studies 47; L. Grabbe and J. Charlesworth, eds.; London: T&T Clark International, 2004) 15.

the direct comprehension of a contingent sequence of motivated actions (or a social structure understood as a repeated pattern of such actions) is impeded.”⁹¹ Such is the case for the Middle Bronze Age history of Ugarit in that we lack direct knowledge of the sequence of motivated actions that led to the founding of the site and the development of the Ugaritian polity known from the Late Bronze Age. Although no historical written records have yet been uncovered from this period, the archaeological record provides invaluable evidence for the history of the site. It also provides a point of comparison with other sites from the region which may have yielded written historical records from the period.

However, while archaeology has often been recognized as a respected sub-discipline of the history of the ancient Near East, the same is not the case for the sub-discipline of linguistics. Certainly linguistic data have been relevant for text decipherment, but they are often ignored as significant sources for historical reconstruction. Linguistic evidence regarding the genetic subgrouping of languages has often been considered an antiquarian pursuit which cannot speak to the history of the people groups who spoke these languages. Perhaps the difference between these two disciplines has best been reduced by Honeybone “to the following, provocative, core definition: ‘linguistics studies languages, and History studies people.’”⁹² This begs the question of what in the very nature of linguistics has caused it to be considered not valuable, or even relevant, for historical research. First, there is an inclination, within the field of linguistics, to view linguistic data as empirical, completely isolated from the historical, economic, and political forces with which they interacted. Ferdinand de Saussure has notoriously claimed that a language may exist outside of its historical context in noting that the “definition of a language presupposes

⁹¹ Schloen, *The House of the Father* (2001) 36.

⁹² S. Davies, “Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography: Interdisciplinary Problems and Opportunities,” *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography* (N. Langer, S. Davies, and W. Vandebussche, eds.; Bern: Peter Lang, 2012) 8.

the exclusion of everything that is outside its organism or system - in a word, of everything known as ‘external linguistics.’”⁹³ This definition presumes that the language has formed in a vacuum, independent of external historical forces, and that it exists as an independent entity, impervious to cultural factors or social contact, a presupposition that is untenable given the historical development of languages, for as Boyd has shown conclusively in his study of contact linguistics in the Hebrew Bible, “the history of people groups is often reflected in their languages.”⁹⁴ Ehret, who is a key proponent of using linguistic data for the reconstruction of history, has further noted that “the history of related languages is at one and the same time a history of societies. When we reconstruct the relationships among a group of languages, we simultaneously establish the historical existence of the societies that spoke the languages.”⁹⁵

Second, the lack of use of linguistic data in historical reconstruction is in part due to the nature of linguistic data and the inability of equating language with ethnicity, thus making patterning languages with population groups impossible on a one-to-one basis. As Haarmann has noted, language, though important for cultural expression, cannot be taken as a feature of ethnic identification.⁹⁶ Furthermore he has shown how languages can be acquired or borrowed for the purposes of prestige,⁹⁷ or as a form of elite emulation, indicating that, in many cases, the language of expression shares no link with the genetic ethnic origins of the population. Certainly

⁹³ F. De Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (translated by Wade Baskin; P. Meisel and H. Saussy, eds.; New York: Columbia University Press, 2011) 20.

⁹⁴ S. Boyd, *Contact and Context: Studies in Language Contact and Literary Strat in the Hebrew Bible* (Doctoral dissertation; The University of Chicago, 2014) 424.

⁹⁵ C. Ehret, *History and the Testimony of Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) 22-50. Ehret provides foundational principles for how to write history primarily from linguistic evidence. One of his central claims is that “the tree of relationships among languages forms a social historical as well as linguistic stratigraphy.” This conclusion can be somewhat problematic when linguistic evidence is used without reference to other data sources such as archaeological evidence. In the case of this study, though linguistic sub-grouping provides a key data source, it is not used independently. In fact, the key methodological principle of the current study is that it is only when linguistic and archaeological data streams converge, that we are able to gain insight into the early history of populations for which we have no textual sources.

⁹⁶ H. Haarmann, *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986).

⁹⁷ Haarmann, *Language in Ethnicity* (1986) 209.

from a historical perspective language cannot be equated with the ethnic composition of a population, yet it can still be important for determining how a population defines their “cultural identity” at a given time. This is an essential guiding principle for the field of Amorite studies, since no texts exist written in Amorite and the evidence for the Amorite language exists solely in onomastics and in a limited lexicon of loan words into Akkadian. Indeed suggesting that everyone who had a West Semitic name is therefore of “Amorite” ethnicity or even spoke a dialect of Amorite as a first language is historically inaccurate. Two examples are instructive to support this point. First, we find that king Yasma‘-Addu of Mari spoke primarily Akkadian, to the point that his father, Šamši-Adad, scolded him for his ignorance of the Amorite language,⁹⁸ until his son assures him that he is able to speak Amorite.⁹⁹ The second example also comes from the family of Šamši-Adad, and involves two of his sons, the younger of whom, Yasma‘-Addu, he placed on the throne of Mari, and the eldest, Išme-Dagān, he placed on the throne of Ekallatum. Though brothers, Šamši-Adad gave one of his sons an Amorite name (Yasma‘-Addu, “Adad shall hear”) and the other an Akkadian name (Išme-Dagān, “Dagan has heard”) both derived from the Semitic root *s^lm* ‘ (“to hear”).¹⁰⁰ These two examples provide clear evidence of the confusion which results from attempting to determine “ethnicity” through language, and more specifically onomastics, indicating that linguistic data are not useful for answering questions of historical ethnicity. Yet, these linguistic data are not wholly without historical value.

Some scholars have gone beyond this standard perspective regarding the historical value of linguistic evidence by advocating recourse to linguistic data for historical reconstruction, often through the field of Comparative Semitics and the study of the genetic subgrouping of the

⁹⁸ J. Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015) 2.

⁹⁹ M. Streck, “Remarks on Two Recent Studies on Amorite,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 44 (2013): 317.

¹⁰⁰ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 190.

Semitic languages. Avanzini has been one proponent of this, stating strongly that “the banalization of the relation between history and linguistics must be radically rejected; linguistic data in fact have often been considered secondary and are either treated, in a previously established historical framework, as purely supplementary data, or these gain importance only when other historical data are lacking. Linguistic analysis, instead, must be given the same consideration as the contribution of other disciplines, such as archaeology; it is no less solid simply because less tangible.”¹⁰¹ Huehnergard has echoed this perspective in providing his key definition of comparative linguistics. He suggests that “the main goal of comparative linguistics is to explain the genetic relationships and histories of related languages. Linguistic history is no less real than archaeological history or the history revealed in texts; like archaeology, in fact, it provides evidence for the pre-history of peoples. Indeed, classification and subgrouping should inform comparative work and historical reconstruction, for these activities are inextricably intertwined.”¹⁰² Through the historical formation of languages, information can be gleaned as to the movement and cultural affiliation of the populations which spoke these language.

These scholars have brought to the fore the important relationship between linguistics and archaeology as essential sub-disciplines in the pursuit of ancient history. Rosen has noted that “history in its widest sense ought to incorporate a wide range of social and historical disciplines, and clearly all of these disciplines ultimately converge. The issue is one of integration beyond the confines of the single sub-discipline or methodology.”¹⁰³ Rosen provides us with an important methodological principle for the present study; namely, it is essential that

¹⁰¹ A. Avanzini, “Linguistic Data and Historical Reconstruction: Between Semitic and Epigraphic South Arabian,” *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau*, (A. Kaye, ed.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991) 108. This defense of the relevance of linguistic data for historical reconstruction is important for two reasons. First, there has been criticism as to the relevance of genetic subgrouping as a sub-discipline (Marrassini 2003). Second, genetic subgrouping is often relegated to purely linguistic studies and is often considered useless for historical research.

¹⁰² J. Huehnergard, “Comparative Semitic Linguistics,” *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*. (S. Izre’el, ed.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 130.

¹⁰³ Rosen, “*I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times*” (2006) 880.

archaeological and linguistic data sources not be viewed as mutually exclusive. Indeed, it is the very convergence of these data streams that provides the foundation for a historical narrative.

Advocating the use of independent sub-disciplines for the purpose of constructing a historical narrative is the very essence of interdisciplinarity. Though working on a later time period, the editors of the volume *Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Muslim Near East* have provided a valuable definition for “interdisciplinarity” in the field of history: “Interdisciplinarity rests on framing questions that span multiple disciplines and that require scholars to engage with the methodologies of more than one discipline for their proper investigation. By crossing the traditional boundaries that circumscribe fields and defining the problems within them, interdisciplinary studies serve an integrating function that is often desirable, even necessary, if we are to contend with issues that have been neglected or misunderstood in the disciplines with which they are traditionally associated.”¹⁰⁴

This brings us back to one of the essential issues plaguing the field of Amorite studies noted earlier by Burke that there is “perhaps a bit of despair among philologists” when attempting to sketch the history and archaeology of the Amorite population groups.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that the only way to contend with, and ultimately overcome, the perennial problems that have resulted from this bifurcated approach to Amorite studies is an interdisciplinary approach to the central question that combines both archaeological and linguistic evidence. The current study will cover a detailed analysis of two independent data streams; the archaeological evidence from the Middle Bronze Age site of Ugarit and the linguistic subgrouping of the Ugaritic language. It

¹⁰⁴ D. Talmon-Heller, K. Cytryn-Silverman and Y. Tabbaa, “Introduction: Material Evidence and Narrative Sources,” *Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Muslim Middle East* (D. Talmon-Heller and K. Cytryn-Silverman, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2015) 1.

¹⁰⁵ Burke, ARAM 26 (2014) 362.

will be at the intersection of these two data streams, and the very point of convergence, that we hope to construct a historical narrative for the pre-history of the site of Ugarit.

1.4 Uncharted Areas and Blind Spots: Aim and Trajectory of the Present Study

With this brief introduction, we turn to our central research question: does the local expression of language, literature and material culture known from Ugarit find any close parallel in the region, and can the convergence of linguistic and archaeological data allow for the reconstruction of a historical narrative of the site? The archaeology and the history of the Middle and early Late Bronze Ages at the site of Ugarit remain virtually unstudied, yet they provide a treasure trove of valuable data for constructing the historical narrative of the Levant. Following the collapse of urbanism at the end of the third millennium, likely due to a wide-scale climate shift that impacted much of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern regions,¹⁰⁶ northern Syria and the Levant underwent intense urbanization in the Middle Bronze II period as fortified urban settlements began cropping up throughout the region. Questions exist as to what population groups might have been responsible for this period of urbanization and the historical origins of some of the groups known so well from the later Hyksos and Amarna periods of the Late Bronze Age. The current study hopes to mine the archaeological and linguistic data from the site of Ugarit in the hope of using the history of a single site as a test case for the rest of the region.

To pursue these questions over the course of the study, we will begin first with a discussion of the history of scholarship regarding the archaeological theories for this rise in urbanism and the genetic subgrouping of the languages spoken in these regions. Turning then to

¹⁰⁶ H. Weiss, "The Northern Levant during the Intermediate Bronze Age," *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant c8000-332 BCE* (M. Steiner and A. Killebrew, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 367. Weiss has shown that there existed a period of abrupt climate change characterized by low precipitation lasting from 4.2-3.9ka BP (2200-1900 BCE). Weiss notes that "this 300-year period provides, therefore, an alluring Holocene example of societal responses to abrupt climate change across the eastern Mediterranean and west Asian landscapes, and in particular across steep gradient ecotones of modern Syria and Lebanon."

the archaeological evidence from the site of Ugarit itself, we will review the archaeological assemblage of the site, comparing these features with other sites throughout northern Syria and the Levant. The next phase of the study will focus on the genetic subgrouping of the West Semitic languages, with the goal of revealing the relationship between Ugaritic, the Canaanite dialects, and the Amorite dialects of western Syria. The final chapter will be devoted to the convergence of the archaeological and linguistic data, with the goal of constructing the Middle Bronze Age history of Ugarit.

It should be noted that in our pursuit of the historical origins of Ugarit, we are not in search of a uniform “Amorite” or “Canaanite” material culture or language. The present study intends to pursue a far more nuanced view of populations in the Bronze Age Levant, with the specific goal of seeing the site of Ugarit as a unique kin-based culture that shares close ties with other populations in the Levant. In this vein, we need to look at “Amorite” or “Canaanite” material culture not as a single material assemblage that existed in a unified fashion throughout the late third and early second millennia, but rather at the specific material assemblage known from the late Middle Bronze Age at the site of Ugarit. Similarly, the Amorite language should not be viewed as a single unified language attested over the course of 2000 years as most studies have taken it in the past,¹⁰⁷ but rather as a series of dialects, or even independent languages, that likely show shared innovations revealing a common ancestor, but also exhibit their own distinct linguistic markers.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980). Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000). The two largest studies of Amorite have studied the entirety of the Amorite corpus as a single linguistic stratum. There has yet been no attempt to isolate distinct dialects or languages within the classical Amorite corpus.

¹⁰⁸ Miglio, *Dynamics of International Politics* (2014) 197. ARM 27.116 is especially instructive in that we find the men from *Kurda* required a translator when coming before the royal court at Mari, indicating that though these two groups may be more broadly classed under the term “Amorite,” their dialects of Amorite were so distinct as to require a translator. The territory of Kurda was located in the region of the Sinjar mountains, roughly 350km northeast of the city of Mari. Being so far removed from the heartland of the Mari kingdom, the fact that the territories had different dialects is completely expected.

CHAPTER 2 – AMORITES, CANAANITES, AND THE EMERGENCE OF URBANISM

2.1 Introduction

Over the past decade, climate research has allowed archaeologists to determine that a wide-scale climate shift impacted much of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern regions from about 2200-1900 BCE. Though the Mesopotamian heartland remained relatively stable during the period, northern Syria, and the northern and southern Levant witnessed a 300-year period of dramatically low precipitation. Climate estimates suggest that precipitation dropped by as much as 30-50% abruptly at the onset of this period, causing cultivable land areas to narrow significantly and reducing the level of cereal production across the region.¹ This climate shift resulted in widespread site abandonment and increased economic specialization as populations turned to pastoral nomadism as a viable means of subsistence. Since this 300-year arid period falls between the more densely settled Early Bronze III and Middle Bronze II periods, it has alternatively been called the Early Bronze Age IV (EB IV), the Middle Bronze Age I (MB I) or the Intermediate Bronze Age (IBA),² with terminology shifting depending upon the region.

This period of low precipitation during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) drastically altered the urban landscape of the Levant as major sites which had formerly been occupied were abandoned and the majority of the population was engaged in pastoralism as the primary means of subsistence. This created a vacuum of centralized regional control, as urban sites no longer served as the center of rule in the region, as had been the case in the EB III period. The end of

¹ Weiss, *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant* (2014) 372.

² I. Sharon, "Levantine Chronology," *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant c8000-332 BCE* (M. Steiner and A. Killebrew, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 52-54. Sharon provides a recent, and relatively thorough, presentation of the previous scholarship for the naming conventions of this period. Since each region witnessed a differing degree of collapse or continuity between the EB III and MB II periods, the terminology varies; scholars of the Transjordan prefer the term 'Early Bronze IV,' whereas Cisjordanian scholars prefer 'Middle Bronze I.'

this Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA) period was marked by climate stabilization, as precipitation returned to its normal levels for the region and the Middle Bronze II period witnessed the rise of heavily fortified sites in both the northern and southern Levant as populations resettled these previously abandoned urban centers.³ These fortified settlements often did not resemble the settlements formerly known from the Early Bronze III period in the region, occasionally reflecting a new and unique material assemblage in the region. For the sake of clarity the following dates and notation regarding settlement patterns will be used when referencing the archaeological periodization for the Northern Levant,

Date Range	Archaeological Periodization⁴	General Settlement Pattern
3200-2900 BCE	Early Bronze II	Rise of urbanism
2900-2500 BCE	Early Bronze III	Urban expansion
2500-1900 BCE	Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA)	De-urbanism
1900-1750 BCE	Middle Bronze IIA	Gradual return to urbanism
1750-1600 BCE	Middle Bronze II B-C	Urban expansion
1600-1370 BCE	Late Bronze I	De-urbanism
1370-1250 BCE	Late Bronze II	Urban expansion
1250-1180 BCE	Late Bronze III	Urban expansion

Table 2.1: Archaeological periods of Tell Ras Shamra

Numerous theories have arisen to account for the unique nature of the Middle Bronze II settlements in the Levant which arose after the Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA) period of de-urbanization in the Levant. Since this enigmatic period of de-urbanization falls between two major periods of study, theoretical approaches to this time period fall primarily into two camps. Theories focusing on the Early Bronze Age have emphasized the patterns of continuity

³ Weiss, *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant* (2014) 377.

⁴ The periodization adopted here follows that put forward by excavators of the site of Ras Shamra. See Mallet (ICAANE 1:1 (2000) 836) for a discussion of the Middle Bronze Age periodization (MB I, MB IIA, MB IIB-C) and see also Callot (RSO 10 (1994) 203-204) for a discussion of the Late Bronze Age terminology and periodization (LB I, LB II, LB III).

throughout the region, especially in regions such as the Transjordan, proposing endogenous sources for the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age. Such theories emphasize the role that the local population of “Canaanites,” or those populations dwelling in the territory later known in the Middle and Late Bronze Age as “Canaan,” played in gradually resettling urban sites throughout the region, retaining their material culture and technologies which had originated in the Early Bronze II and III periods.⁵ Since these theories of endogenous development closely associate the return to urbanism with the local Canaanite populations already residing in the southern Levant in the third millennium, this theory may be described as the “Canaanite Hypothesis.” Theories focusing on the Middle Bronze Age have focused on the unique nature of Middle Bronze Age fortified settlements, and the new technologies of urbanism which appear to be innovations in this period, often seeking exogenous sources for their construction.⁶ The “Amorite Hypothesis” is one of the leading theories to promote an exogenous origin for this shift in material culture, a theory which will be outlined in detail below.

The tension between endogenous and exogenous theories has been exacerbated by the fact that not all regions demonstrate identical settlement change patterns from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age. The Middle Bronze Age II sites throughout the Levant demonstrate

⁵ J. Tubb, *Canaanites* (Peoples of the Past Series; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 57-59. Tubb stresses the “essential continuity of the Canaanite population and its cultural attributes from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age through to the Middle Bronze Age.” In stressing this continuity, Tubb shows the significant similarities between Early Bronze III and Middle Bronze II material culture types. He notes that “the material culture of the Middle Bronze Age, especially in its initial phase (MB IIA, 2000-1750 BC), combines elements transmitted directly through the EB IV interlude. This is clearest perhaps in the pottery...combining technologically advanced production methods, which had been developed during the course of EB IV, with a formal elegance, the inspiration for which can be traced back to EB II and III.

⁶ S. Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections: The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 128. Cohen does not discount the role that local populations played in the emergence of smaller settlements in the Middle Bronze period. However, she does note that “the high concentration of sites along the coast, and the presence of a series of dendritic systems in the MB IIA period, imply an external orientation in the development of the region. It is unlikely that an internal impetus toward cultural renaissance would have resulted in a system so clearly focused on the coast and trade conducted in the eastern Mediterranean.” Cohen does not go so far as to conclude what this external stimulus may have been, whether that was the arrival of foreign groups or trade with other regions. However, her work forms an important basis for the current study in sketching the historical development and spread of urbanism in the southern Levant.

differing degrees of uniqueness or continuity in material culture with the previous Early Bronze III period. Though the Cisjordan in the southern Levant did undergo almost complete de-urbanization throughout the Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA) period, other regions such as the Transjordan and the northern Levant show a far greater degree of continuity throughout this period, thereby making it difficult to apply the same theoretical explanatory model to the entire region.

Over the course of this chapter, the evidence for the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age will be laid out for each of the major regions: the northern Levant, the Cisjordan (region between the Mediterranean coast and the Jordan River), and the Transjordan (the region east of the Jordan River in the southern Levant). As will be seen, there is a great degree of variation in material finds from the northern and southern Levant, with some regions exhibiting relative continuity with the EB II period, while others show an entirely new material cultural assemblage. With such a large degree of variation, it is impossible to solely apply either an endogenous or an exogenous explanatory model to the entirety of the Levant. Rather the best solution to this question is a hybrid model between these two competing theories, factoring in both endogenous and exogenous forces for the return to urbanization in the region.

The tension between archaeological theories of urbanization in the Middle Bronze period is similarly experienced by philologists and linguists in attempting to genetically sub-divide the West Semitic languages, and more specifically the placement of Ugaritic. Some scholars emphasize the similarities between Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages, proposing to categorize Ugaritic as a Canaanite dialect,⁷ thereby connecting the settlement of Ugarit with the local, indigenous population which had existed in the region since the Early Bronze III period.

⁷ J. Tropper, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?," *Ugaritic and the Bible, Proceedings of the international Symposium on Ugaritic and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literature 11; G.J. Brook, A.H.W. Curtis and J.F. Healey, eds.; Münster: Ugaritic-Verlag, 1994) 343-353.

Other scholars have emphasized the similarities between Ugaritic and the Amorite languages,⁸ proposing that Ugaritic should be more closely associated with the Amorite dialects known from the northern Levant.

As mentioned in chapter one, competing theories in both the archaeological and linguistic spheres can only begin to be resolved and harmonized through analyzing both data streams in tandem, looking to see where the archaeological and linguistic findings converge. Over the course of this chapter, we will outline the history of both archaeological and linguistic scholarship regarding the two camps of competing endogenous and exogenous explanations for the rise of urbanism and the spread of West Semitic languages over the course of the Middle Bronze Age. A survey of the past scholarship from the past 90 years will provide not only an awareness as to the state of the question but will also show clearly that, to date, no single theory has been accepted as to the origin of the Ugaritic population and its language, and a history of the Middle Bronze Age site is still lacking.

2.2 Interpretations for the Patterns of Urbanism

Evidence for the drastic period of ruralization followed by a return to urbanism was first noted by scholars almost a century ago. This period was originally recognized as a discrete stratum by Albright during his excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, who discovered a stratum characterized by de-urbanization, which he termed the “Middle Bronze I” and dated it roughly between the 21st and 19th centuries BCE.⁹ Based upon the similarities with the material

⁸ D. Pardee, “Ugaritic,” *Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2011) 461. Pardee suggests that “rather than identifying it as a form of Canaanite, it might be better to see it as a representative of the older linguistic entity from which Canaanite as we know it developed, i.e., from one of the Amorite languages.”

⁹ W.F. Albright, “The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim I,” *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 12 (1932): 64-66. Albright references Petrie’s initial designation of this possible intermediate period as the “Copper Age” at Tell Ajjul. Petrie noted a distinct rural period which preceded the layer of great expansion that

assemblage found at Tell Mishrefe (Qatna), he suggested that “it is from northern Mesopotamia that we must probably derive the influences which were responsible for the principal characteristic of the I-H (MB I) ceramic.”¹⁰ This would begin the early wave of claims that attributed the decline in urbanism in the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) to foreign invading groups, who brought with them their material culture. Albright further noted that the following Middle Bronze Age II phase at the site of Tell Beit Mirsim was characterized by a new period of settlement that displayed unique pottery types, which he attributes to the arrival of a foreign “Hyksos”¹¹ population group from Egypt.¹² In Albright’s initial model, the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) material culture could be attributed to foreign invading groups from the north, whereas the Middle Bronze II material culture should be attributed to a Hyksos group that had moved in from the south.

In his surveys of sites in the Transjordan, Glueck also found significant evidence for a Middle Bronze I settlement hiatus phase, though he expanded the dates slightly, extending the period from 2200-1800 BCE.¹³ Contrary to Albright, he looked not to a foreign group for the origin of this phase, instead observing some site continuity from the Early Bronze III period throughout the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). He found evidence of settlement in the area of the Faynan, which he posited should be attributed to the fact that “copper was mined in the

Albright connects with the Hyksos. What is notable here is that, throughout the 1930s, numerous sites in the southern Levant began yielding remains that spoke to an intermediate period of “de-urbanization” between the more extensive remains from the EB III and the Middle Bronze II periods.

¹⁰ Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 12 (1932) 67.

¹¹ A fuller discussion of the “Hyksos hypothesis” will be included in chapter four, but it is sufficient to note now that the ascription of the MB II culture to Hyksos groups arose out of a similarity between material finds in the Levant and those from Tell el-Dab’a, ancient Avaris, in the Nile Delta region. Though these similarities do indeed exist, it will be shown that these phenomena in the southern Levant can be identified with similar phenomena in the northern Levant as opposed to a southern population from Egypt.

¹² Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 12 (1932) 75.

¹³ N. Glueck, “Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II,” *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 15 (1934): 33-34. Glueck retained the “Middle Bronze I” terminology for the period, despite the fact that the Transjordanian sites that he surveyed showed a great deal of continuity between the EB III and MB II periods.

vicinity and smelted at Faynan during the period,”¹⁴ a theory that would later be substantiated by extensive excavations in the Faynan area. The evidence for continued mining efforts and site settlement continuity throughout the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) has led some scholars to conclude that extensive trade networks continued to exist throughout the course of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) and into the Middle Bronze II period, especially in the Transjordan.¹⁵

The “Middle Bronze I” terminology was first challenged by Wright, who through a survey of several sites both in the Cisjordan and Transjordan, identified an Intermediate Early Bronze IV phase that showed strong similarities to the previously EB III phase of urbanism.¹⁶ In addition to providing the durable “Early Bronze IV” terminology for the period, Wright also was the first to make a connection to the Amorites already known from archaeological investigations in the northern Levant. Based upon Albright’s and Glueck’s work, he noted that “sedentary culture in this region did come to an end about the 20th century. What caused the sudden degradation is unknown....but, it is not impossible that the shift is the result of an invasion of Amorite barbarians.”¹⁷ In lieu of information regarding the abrupt climate shift which impacted the region so dramatically in the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA), Wright and Albright looked to exogenous forces to account for this decline in urbanism at the end of the third millennium. They also noted the unique nature of many of the Middle Bronze II settlements which replaced the settlements that had been abandoned during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). Thus

¹⁴ Glueck, *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 15 (1934) 34.

¹⁵ T.E. Levy, “Early Bronze Age Metallurgy: A Newly Discovered Copper Manufactory in Southern Jordan,” *Antiquity* 76 (2002): 425-437.

¹⁶ G.E. Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1937) 81. His dating of the sites in question would later be questioned, some dating to the Middle Bronze and others dating to the EB III period, though his identification of this intermediate EB IV period would be maintained.

¹⁷ G.E. Wright, “The Chronology of Palestinian Pottery in Middle Bronze I,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 71 (1938): 34.

would begin the early theorizing which led to the “Amorite Hypothesis” which would be further refined by Kathleen Kenyon during the 1950s and 1960s.

As at the sites surveyed by Albright, Glueck, and Wright, excavations of Jericho by Kenyon in the 1950s would reveal a stark period of de-urbanism in the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) followed by a return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze II phase. Kenyon noted that “the Jericho evidence throws into very clear relief the complete break, stratigraphical and cultural, between this phase and both the preceding Early Bronze Age and the succeeding Middle Bronze Age,”¹⁸ preferring instead the hybrid term “Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age.”¹⁹ Based upon grave goods found in the tombs of Jericho, Kenyon suggested that the collapse of Early Bronze III settlements was caused by “nomad invaders,” who destroyed the urban centers and brought with them their nomadic pastoral lifestyle well suited for the southern Levant. Her theory of nomadic invaders would come to full fruition with her formulation of the “Amorite hypothesis” in her 1966 volume *Amorites and Canaanites*.²⁰ She posited an “explosive spread of the Amorites” in the last centuries of the third millennium, resulting in the collapse of Early Bronze III urban centers.²¹ In her hypothesis, these nomadic Amorites would remain pastoral for several centuries until they began to settle down at the end of the Early Bronze Age

¹⁸ K. Kenyon, “Tombs of the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze at Tell el-Ajjul,” *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 3 (1956): 41.

¹⁹ Kenyon, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 3 (1956) 42. Kenyon attributes the usage of this terminology to J. H. Iliffe who used this terminology in his exhibit of artifacts at the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

²⁰ K. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1963; London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 65, 76. The most succinct description of her hypothesis comes in the final pages of her book where she states that “archaeology shows that the Amorites of the Bible arrived in Palestine c. 2300 BC as nomads and destroyers of a pre-existing urban civilization. For perhaps four centuries they lived there, leaving little behind them except their dead in the tombs upon which so much labour was expended. In Syria their brothers and cousins had a similar way of life. But somewhere in Syria, probably centred on Byblos, an amalgamation of these nomads and the pre-existing, more civilized population took place, and out of this the Canaanite culture emerged. From this centre it spread throughout coastal Syria and Palestine, to re-establish an urban way of life. This culture the infiltrating Israelites found, and archaeology is clear that they adopted it.”

²¹ Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (1966) 7-9. Based heavily upon the Jericho excavation, Kenyon suggested that these nomadic Amorite groups were responsible for both the destruction of the EB III urban centers as well as the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze, suggesting that this movement of people “produced the groupings and cultures found in Syria and Palestine in the second half of the second millennium BC.”

IV (MB I/IBA), resulting in the subsequent rise in urbanism at the start of the Middle Bronze Age. Kenyon's hypothesis provided a tantalizing narrative framework for interpreting this enigmatic period of de-urbanization in the southern Levant, one which would be followed to a greater²² or lesser extent²³ by scholars throughout the subsequent decades.²⁴

Unlike Kenyon, who suggested that the same wave of nomadic Amorite groups from the northern Levant caused both the destruction of Early Bronze III urban sites and the rise of Middle Bronze Age culture, Dever instead initially proposed a "two-wave" approach to the question, suggesting instead that two distinct groups of Amorites entered the region resulting in both the collapse of EB III urbanism and the rise of Middle Bronze Age cities.²⁵ The "two-wave" Amorite hypothesis was in part an outflow of Albright's earlier hypothesis in which he suggested that though the fall of Early Bronze Age societies can be attributed to the Amorites, the distinctive MB II material culture should instead be attributed to a foreign, Indo-European

²² K. Prag, "Ancient and Modern Pastoral Migration in the Levant," *Levant* 17 (1985): 87. Based heavily on modern ethnographic parallels, Prag follows Kenyon's original theory to some extent but "modifies the great invasion of nomadic Amorites to the successful infiltration of pastoralist-cultivators, who did not blot out the preceding population but were absorbed by it and contributed, by a process of nomadization, to the end of urban life; bringing not a complete new ceramic industry, but traceable innovations and some new burial customs." She further states that "I would hesitate, without textual evidence, to identify them with the biblical Amorites."

²³ P.W. Lapp, *The Dhahr Mirzbaneh Tombs* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1966) 113-115. Though Lapp adopts the Intermediate Bronze Age terminology, he rejects the "Amorite hypothesis" based heavily on the "striking differences between Palestine and coastal Syria in the IB period." According to Lapp, "these differences could hardly be so marked if there were waves of colonists from Martuland settling in Palestine or if there was an identity among an hypothetical folk emerging from the desert into the Fertile Crescent during the period." Lapp instead proposes that, though there was a nomadic invasion, this invasion should be attributed to Transcaucasian Kurgans, showing similarities in grave goods.

²⁴ I. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 15 (1961): 27-47. G. Garbini, *Il Semitico Di Nord-Ovest* (Quaderni della sezione linguistica degli Annali 1; Naples: Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, 1960). R. Amiram, "A Tomb-Group from Geva'-Carmel," *'Atiqot* 7 (1974): 1-12. The 1960s and 1970s were a hotbed for discussion regarding both the material culture identified as "Amorite" by Kenyon, as well as the West Semitic language substratum. Though Amiram rejected the more militaristic "invasion" model proposed by Kenyon, she did note the presence of possible nomadic groups in the region.

²⁵ W.G. Dever, "The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine," *Magnalia Dei. The Might acts of God* (F.M. Cross, W.E. Lemke, and P.D. Miller, eds.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 1-38.

“barbarian eruption from the northeast into the fertile crescent in the course of the 18th century.”²⁶

Albright and Dever simply differed in their ascription of what group was responsible for the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze II period. In Albright’s view, the attribution of this distinct Middle Bronze II culture in the southern Levant to an Indo-European population appears not to have been based upon an archaeological correlation between sites in the Levant with Indo-European sites. Rather, it seems to be borne out of a misconception stemming from the biblical narrative. For Albright, according to the biblical narrative, Abraham arrived during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) as part of the first wave of Amorite nomadic migrations, so the vast building techniques found in the Middle Bronze Age, must be attributed to another, non-Amorite group who had a vastly different concept of urbanism and settlement. Albright suggested that “the patriarchal simplicity of social life in Amorite Palestine was replaced by a feudal system in which there was increasing contrast between the houses of patricians and plebeians,”²⁷ indicating that the urbanism and social complexity of the Middle Bronze Age should be attributed to a non-Amorite group. However, as will be seen, the collapse of the Early Bronze Age cities, should likely be attributed to a dramatic climate shift, rather than to invading Amorite hordes, and we need not turn to regions outside of the Near East for the subsequent rise of Middle Bronze Age urbanism, but rather look far closer to home for their origin.

The 1980s and 1990s would mark a shift away from the Kenyon-inspired exogenous model of invading Amorites, in favor of endogenous models of de-urbanization and re-urbanization bookending the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). During this period, Dever would move away from his initial “two-wave” hypothesis of Amorite invasions, instead suggesting that

²⁶ W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1957) 204-206.

²⁷ Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957) 206.

the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age was the result of endogenous populations returning to urban centers in search of different means of economic exploitation. Basing his evidence heavily upon the archaeological material discovered in the Transjordan, he opted for the “EB IV” terminology, suggesting that “the continuity throughout the late EB is clear not only in ceramic types, but also in metallic and tomb types...reflecting overall a distinctive non-urban culture linking EB IV with EB III, not with the subsequent ‘MB IIA’ of Albright.”²⁸ Dever did agree that there had been regular “movements of some population elements southward,” but that these were not “incursions of ‘foreigners,’ but part of the ebb and flow of peoples between the fertile zone and the steppe in Syria-Palestine from time immemorial.”²⁹ In his view, the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age was simply a natural result of the regular settlement pattern known in the region as populations move to and from urban sites in order to exploit different means of subsistence, a theory which Dever would describe as the “rural-nomadic” approach to the Middle Bronze Age urban phenomenon.³⁰

During these decades, other theories emerged suggesting that the rise of urbanism and unique material culture in the Middle Bronze Age should be attributed to trade and exchange as opposed to foreign invasions. The primary supporter for this model was Gerstenblith, who based her theory predominantly upon the tomb evidence from Megiddo. According to her pottery typology, she suggested that the “MB I period represents a major break in terms of technology,

²⁸ W.G. Dever, "New Vistas on the EB IV ('MB I') Horizon in Syria-Palestine," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 237 (1980): 38.

²⁹ Dever, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 23 (1980) 58. Dever describes this period by saying that “the EB IV period in Palestine simply witnesses the brief triumph of the ‘desert’ over the ‘sown.’” He also was one of the first to put forward the idea that the southern Levant during the EB IV functioned as a type of “hinterland” of the northern Levant which was “dominated by the powerful city-states” such as Ebla.

³⁰ W.G. Dever, “Pastoralism and the End of the Urban Early Bronze Age in Palestine,” *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspective* (O. Bar-Yosef and A. Khazanov, eds.; Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992) 88.

trade, and social and political institutions from the preceding period,”³¹ noting strong similarities between the material culture of Megiddo and the northern Levant. However, rather than adopting a migration model for the origin of this new material culture, she proposed an exchange model, suggesting that “the beginnings of political unification and social stratification in the southern Levant may have been the result of exposure to, and competition with, the more developed settlements of the northern Levant. An exchange network involving both ideas and commodities may be a more efficient explanation for the initial cause of changes in Levantine culture at the beginning of MB I³² than that of population movements.”³³ The key benefit of Gerstenblith’s model was that she called into question the “pots equal people” version of the Amorite hypothesis, questioning the relevancy of correlating the new ceramic styles of the Middle Bronze period with new ethnic groups, be those Amorites, Hyksos, or populations of Indo-European origin.³⁴ However, her theory has been questioned by subsequent scholars³⁵ due to her reliance on pottery typology from a single site, mostly disregarding other, less portable, features of the

³¹ P. Gerstenblith, *The Levant: At the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age* (Dissertation Series 5: American Schools of Oriental Research; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 123.

³² For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that Gerstenblith uses the terminology “Middle Bronze I” to refer to what is included in this study as “Middle Bronze IIA.”

³³ Gerstenblith, *The Levant* (1983) 124-125. She goes on to state strongly that “there is no evidence for such a population movement at the beginning of the MB I period – there being no evidence for an increase in population at that time – which is a necessary corollary since there was apparently no destruction of EB IV sites.” Unfortunately, she never actually provides clear data for population estimates from the EB-MB transition period.

³⁴ Gerstenblith, *The Levant* (1983) 124. Since Gerstenblith worked to sever the correlation between the new ceramic styles of the MB I with the Amorites known from Mesopotamian sources, she used as a guiding principle the inability to equate linguistic designations with ceramic styles. “It is necessary to remove linguistic and ethnic designations from the discussions of an archaeologically defined assemblage or culture. While groups of peoples who may be labeled as Amorite, Canaanite, or Hyksos, may be defined on the basis of linguistic or onomastic evidence in contemporary texts and some indications of their movements may also be given, it is invalid to attempt to apply such linguistic terms to assemblages which do not themselves include such evidence.”

³⁵ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 52. Cohen ultimately rejected Gerstenblith’s conclusions due to a disagreement regarding her data. She states that “Gerstenblith’s study was limited not only by its reliance upon the Megiddo tomb groups for the bulk of its typological evidence, but also by the relatively limited number of MB IIA sites for which the ceramic assemblages were published, a problem which still exists. Gerstenblith also did not distinguish between Syria and Canaan in the bulk of her study, the inclusion in her list of Syrian sites, whose developmental sequence differs from the sites in Canaan, thus precluded specific understanding of the development of settlement patterns within the southern Levant itself.”

unique material assemblage of the Middle Bronze Age, ultimately rendering her endogenous exchange model less tempting.

An exchange model for the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age was also supported by scholars such as Larsen³⁶ and Finkelstein,³⁷ who emphasized that trade networks which had existed throughout the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) had influenced the unique material assemblage found in Middle Bronze Age sites. Finkelstein also made a key connection between the process of sedentarization of nomads and the recently excavated remains of copper mining in the Faynan area, initially noted by Glueck, stressing the influence of trade in the process of de-urbanization and urbanization.³⁸ However, while trade networks likely continued to exist throughout the course of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) and no doubt had an impact on the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age, they do not sufficiently explain the complete shift in the material culture and the rise of fortified settlements found across the Levant.

³⁶ M.T. Larsen, "Commercial Networks in the Ancient Near East," *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (M. Rowlands, M. Larsen and K. Kristiansen, eds.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 54. Focusing on the northern Levant and Mesopotamia, Larsen hypothesized that "similar commercial circuits existed side by side with the Old Assyrian one, and that they were somehow linked to commercial circuits in Syria and Palestine," although he gives no further description of these hypothetical southern trade circuits. Larsen also notes that there existed "several major Old Assyrian commercial establishments or 'harbours' located in northern Syria, though we know practically nothing about their activities." He further hypothesizes that there perhaps existed "three important production centers: the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia; and with a number of commercially specialized interstitial societies." His work on trade networks has provided key evidence to show that trade continued throughout the de-urbanized Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) period between the northern and the southern Levant, providing possible evidence for the presence of northern Levantine material culture in the southern Levant.

³⁷ I. Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995) 99. Finkelstein, who, instead of attributing the collapse of the EB III period to invading forces, espoused a mixed view, suggesting that "sedentary people (from urban centers) who 'withdrew' to pastoralism joined existing pastoral groups in the frontier zones of the settled lands," resulting in the decrease of population at key urban sites.

³⁸ I. Finkelstein, "Pastoralism in the Highlands of Canaan in the Third and Second Millennia BCE," *Pastoralism in the Levant* (O. Bar-Yosef and A. Khazanov, eds.; Madison: Prehistory, 1992) 134. The full impact that the metal trade had upon the transition from the Early to Middle Bronze Age has yet to be fully explored and may shed light on the extent and pattern of settlements that were retained during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA).

Falconer also rejected the previous exogenous infiltration models, suggesting that the transition from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age should not be viewed as a return to urbanism, but rather a form of increased “rural complexity.”³⁹ Falconer pointed out that fortified urban settlements coexisted with rural settlements in the Middle Bronze Age, suggesting that these fortified settlements represented merely a “peripheral phenomenon” that did not characterize the broader development in the region.⁴⁰ From his perspective, the rural population of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) developed new patterns of urban complexity that allowed for improved trade and increased specialization. This theory of an endogenous origin for the Middle Bronze Age culture,⁴¹ based heavily upon Rowton’s “dimorphic society” model,⁴² explained the fall and rise of “urban” settlements throughout the Early Bronze to Middle Bronze Age transition as resulting from a shift first to and then away from more pastoral means of subsistence. Other scholars followed this shift away from explaining differing degrees of sedentarization based upon external factors. Esse, basing his work on changes in settlement patterns in the Jezreel valley, concluded that both urban and pastoral strategies of subsistence coexisted in the same community and could be viewed throughout the course of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. From his perspective the Early Bronze III and Middle Bronze II were dominated by urban strategies while the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) was dominated by a pastoral mode of subsistence, yet all settlement patterns were comprised of local, indigenous population groups.⁴³

³⁹ S.E. Falconer, *Heartland of Villages: Reconsidering Early Urbanism in the Southern Levant* (Doctoral dissertation; Tucson: University of Arizona, 1987).

⁴⁰ Falconer, *Heartland of Villages* (1987) 23.

⁴¹ S.E. Falconer and S. Savage, “Heartlands and Hinterlands: Alternative Trajectories of Early Urbanization in Mesopotamia and the Southern Levant,” *American Antiquity* 60:1 (1995): 37-58.

⁴² M.B. Rowton, “Physical Environment and the Problem of the Nomads,” *La civilization de Mari* (J.R. Kupper, ed.; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1967) 109-121.

⁴³ D.L. Esse, *Subsistence, Trade, and Social Change in the Early Bronze Age Palestine* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1991).

In the 2000s, this endogenous model for explaining shifting settlement patterns was further refined and seemed to find support especially in the archaeological data that was uncovered in the Transjordan over the past quarter of a century. Palumbo, who conducted extensive site surveys in the Transjordan, has shown that though “45% of the EB III sites were abandoned, 50% or more continued into the EB IV. The same proportion is also valid for the MB IIA, with 45% of the sites showing EB IV presence, against over 50% with both EB IV and MB IIA remains.”⁴⁴ Such a high degree of site continuity in the Transjordan seems to reflect the fact that though the “site size dropped drastically from the EB II-III to EB IV,” almost 50% of the sites remained inhabited throughout this transition period, leading to the conclusion that the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age in this particular region should most likely be attributed to local population groups who retained a presence in the region and were not displaced by foreign invaders. Similarly, Richard, who works at the Jordanian site of Khirbet Iskander, has shown that though there was a general trend toward de-urbanization with population movement “from fortified to rural sites, in a shift to a lower median site size,”⁴⁵ these sites remained continuously inhabited between the EB III and MB II periods.⁴⁶ Richard sought to explain this phenomenon of site continuity by reduction in site size through adaptive means of subsistence, suggesting that “the growing number of excavated EB IV settlement sites has affirmed the thesis that sedentism as well as pastoral nomadism were important adaptive responses accompanying the de-urbanization process at the end of EB III.”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ G. Palumbo, “The Early Bronze Age IV,” *The Archaeology of Jordan* (B. MacDonald, R. Adams, and P. Bienkowski, eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 240.

⁴⁵ S. Richard, “The Southern Levant (Transjordan) during the Early Bronze Age,” *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant c8000-332 BCE* (M. Steiner and A. Killebrew, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 344.

⁴⁶ S. Richard, “The Early Bronze Age in the Southern Levant,” *Near Eastern Archaeology. A Reader* (S. Richard, ed.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003) 295.

⁴⁷ Richard, “The Early Bronze Age in the Southern Levant” (2003) 295.

Others such as Long and Palumbo, have offered similar models for approaching this issue. Long proposed viewing the Early-Middle Bronze shift in urbanism on a “macro level, as a time of de-specialization” and on a micro level as a period of “specialization,”⁴⁸ as pastoralism became the primary mode of economic specialization. This explanation proposed that we should look not toward exogenous sources for change, but rather changing modes of production within the same population group. Similarly, Palumbo, basing his conclusions on his site surveys in the Transjordan, has suggested that the “abandonment of rural villages might be due to a ‘flight’ of some segments of the population toward less controllable subsistence strategies, such as pastoral activities,”⁴⁹ stressing that the decline of site size during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) and the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze II should be viewed as evidence of shifting subsistence strategies, rather than a result of foreign influences.

Following this evidence from Transjordan, recently Dever has also moved away from the endogenous “pastoral nomadic model” which he had proposed in his earlier writings, in favor of a more simplified model of “ruralism,” that accounts not only for the “1500 or so small encampments” known from the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA), but also attests to the “significance of a dozen or so recently discovered sedentary villages,” that seem to have survived the de-urbanization of the Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA) period both in the Transjordan and the Negev.⁵⁰ However, as was noted early on by early scholars such as Glueck,⁵¹ the Transjordan yields a different site settlement plan during the Early Bronze to Middle Bronze Age

⁴⁸ J.C. Long, “Theory in Archaeology: Culture Change at the End of the Early Bronze Age,” *Near Eastern Archaeology. A Reader* (S. Richard, ed.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003) 316.

⁴⁹ G. Palumbo, “The Early Bronze Age IV,” *Jordan: An Archaeological Reader* (R. Adams, ed.; London: Equinox, 2008) 252.

⁵⁰ W.G. Dever, *Excavations at the Early Bronze IV Sites of Jebel Aq‘aqir and Be‘er Resisim* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 6; L. Stager, ed.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014) 230.

⁵¹ Glueck, *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 15 (1934) 34.

transition from that of the rest of the Levant, leading to the conclusion that it may be necessary to apply differing models to each region.

Though the Transjordan has yielded fairly consistent evidence for site size decline yet settlement continuity, the northern Levantine region has yielded more varied results. Some areas such as the Orontes Valley experienced a degree of site continuity, since this region was one of the few to maintain sufficient rainfall to retain dry farming practices. Other areas such as the Jezireh experienced almost complete settlement collapse. Yet despite this variation, there is without a doubt a general pattern of a reduction in site size throughout the region. Chapman has noted that “while in EB III there were numerous large fortified towns, all the EB IV sites were poverty stricken villages. We are looking at a single system in a state of decline, with some elements collapsing at an earlier date than others due to the detailed differences of their economic and political circumstances.”⁵² In fact, numerous sites throughout the region, such as Sidon on the coast⁵³ and Tell Mishrefeh (Qatna) inland⁵⁴ show continuity throughout the Early Bronze to Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) transition. Furthermore, in comparison to much of the rest of the region, “locally advantageous conditions in the Orontes Valley and at other locations along the Mediterranean littoral – as well as social and technological responses at sites such as Ebla – permitted communities to survive the deteriorating climatic conditions of the late

⁵² R. Chapman, “Early Bronze III and IV: Chronological and Cultural Relations,” *The Levant in Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the British Museum on 20-21 April 2004* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual IX; P. Parr, ed.; Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009) 6.

⁵³ C. Doumet-Serhal, “The Northern Levant at the end of the Early Bronze Age: The Evidence from Sidon,” *The Levant in Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the British Museum on 20-21 April 2004* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual IX; P. Parr, ed.; Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009) 32. Doumet-Serhal shows that there is no distinct change between the Early Bronze III and the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) at the site of Sidon and therefore chooses to call the period the Early Bronze IIIB.

⁵⁴ D. Bonacossi, “Tell Mishrefeh and its Region during the EBA IV and the EBA-MBA Transition. A First Assessment,” *The Levant in Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the British Museum on 20-21 April 2004* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual IX; P. Parr, ed.; Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009) 62. Bonacossi notes that the “the first demographic and occupational peak in the settlement of Mishrefeh and the surrounding territory took place in the mid-third millennium during the EBA IV, when – after its foundation during the EBA III – Mishrefeh itself seems to have developed into a centre with urban character and function.”

third to early second millennia and even to thrive.”⁵⁵ The degree to which sites witness collapse or continuity was due in part to the geographical features. “Despite evidence for incursions and destructions, sites such as Byblos and Arqa on the coast maintain their standing,”⁵⁶ being located in the fertile region of the Orontes. Bonacossi has noted settlement continuity at Tell Mishrefeh (Qatna), seemingly indicating that in central-western Syria, sites witnessed an “epoch of basic continuity in settlement and urban civilization,” which developed into the Middle Bronze urban culture.⁵⁷

Yet, as mentioned, other regions in the northern Levant did undergo almost complete urban collapse during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). For instance, the region of the Jezireh of Upper Mesopotamia, comprising the Ḥabur Plains of north eastern Syria and the Sinjar Plain of northern Iraq, witnessed “an appreciable reduction in the number of occupied sites and a pattern of contracting settlement that appear as the prevailing trend in the Jezireh between 2200 and 1900 BC.”⁵⁸ Due to the continuity of a handful of small sites in the region, Cooper has noted that “the northern Euphrates Valley of Syria was not abandoned altogether;”⁵⁹ however, the majority of sites experienced “a dramatic reduction in this intensified dry-farming agricultural

⁵⁵ R. Greenberg, “Introduction to the Levant during the Early Bronze Age,” *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant c8000-332 BCE* (M. Steiner and A. Killebrew, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 276.

⁵⁶ Greenberg, *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant* (2014) 276.

⁵⁷ Bonacossi, “Tell Mishrefeh and its Region” (2009) 65, 66 note 19. Contrary to the rest of the region, Bonacossi has noted perhaps a degree of continuity between the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Age phases. He notes that “at least in central-western Syria, the latest part of the EBA may not necessarily have represented a period of major disruption and generalized urban crisis and collapse, but rather an epoch of basic continuity in settlement and urban civilization, which in many cases developed without major breaks into the following MBA Syrian urban culture.” Bonacossi also notes that Tell ‘Acharneh also appears to show continuity throughout this Early Bronze to Middle Bronze Age transition. He suggests that “the archaeological evidence makes it possible to plot on a map of central-western Syria a border line between the area in which a basic continuity in occupation is attested during the late third-early second millennium BC and a region to the S and E of it, where urban sites were abandoned at the end of the EBA IV.”

⁵⁸ L. Cooper, “The Demise and Regeneration of Bronze Age Urban Centers in the Euphrates Valley of Syria,” *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies* (G. Schwartz and J. Nichols, eds.; Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2006) 19.

⁵⁹ L. Cooper, *Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates* (New York: Routledge, 2006) 23.

regime.”⁶⁰ Cooper provides two possible causes for this massive urban decline and population reduction during the period, suggesting that “this change may have been brought about by a large-scale population emigration, in which human groups moved in their quest for reliable food and pasturage. Alternatively, it is possible that many of the inhabitants adapted successfully to pastoralism within the region and that such a transformation left sparse remains in the archaeological record.”⁶¹ This evidence for the northern Levant, corresponding roughly to modern Lebanon and Syria, indicates that though the northern Levant did undergo a period of reduced site size and climatic devastation, much like the Transjordan, it was not a period of complete urban collapse with some sites showing a degree of continuity throughout the period.

Yet other factors, in addition to climate change, were at work in the collapse of site settlements during the course of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). Burke has shown that there is a cluster of destruction levels during this period (ca. 2200-2150 BCE) at sites in the northern Levant; a destruction cluster which he attributes to the Akkadian empire.⁶² Following the destruction layer, many of these sites witnessed a return to urbanism marked by new fortification strategies and large public works, reflecting perhaps a shift in social complexity, a topic which will be discussed later in chapter four.

⁶⁰ Cooper, “The Demise and Regeneration of Bronze Age Urban Centers” (2006a) 18.

⁶¹ Cooper, “The Demise and Regeneration of Bronze Age Urban Centers” (2006a) 19.

⁶² A.A. Burke, “*Walled Up to Heaven*”: *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 91-92. Ugarit exhibits a hiatus period from around 2200-2100 BCE, matching the destruction layer at other sites such as Ebla, Tuqan, Byblos, Hama, Hammam et Turkman, Tell es-Sweyhat, Tell Hadidi, Selenkahiye and Bderi. Burke attributes this evidence for a wide swath of destruction layers across the northern Levant to conquests at the hands of the Akkadian empire in Mesopotamia. Many of these sites recovered following this initial destruction layer, such as Ebla which was settled and expanded during the remainder of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). However, several other sites, such as Ugarit, remained either uninhabited or only sparsely settled throughout the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). Those sites that were resettled after the destruction at the hands of the Akkadian empire, such as Ebla and Byblos, experienced a second destruction level around 1950 BCE, which Burke attributes to the UR III empire. Those sites that remained largely uninhabited, such as Hammam et-Turkman, Ugarit and Hama, appear to have only been destroyed once around 2200 BCE, without a second destruction level.

Given the discussion above comparing endogenous and exogenous forces at play in the shifting settlement patterns encountered throughout the Early Bronze to Middle Bronze Age transition, there are several reasons why the endogenous theories for the northern Levant and the Transjordan that look to shifting subsistence strategies to account for changing patterns of de-urbanization and urbanization in the Levant are far more palatable. First, these theories account for the high degree of settlement and material culture continuity that exists from the Early Bronze Age III to Middle Bronze Age II at specific sites, especially in the region of the Transjordan. Second, this seems to be a preferable model based upon recent climate research, as local populations were forced to abandon dry farming and exploit new means of subsistence in order to survive since previously inhabited urban centers and surrounding farm lands could no longer support large populations.

However, many of these endogenous theories are alone not sufficient to explain the varied urban landscape of the Middle Bronze II period. Endogenous theories tend to emphasize material culture continuity to the exclusion of other theories, often ignoring evidence from sites, specifically along the coast of the northern and southern Levant, whose Middle Bronze II archaeological remains differ quite starkly from earlier periods.

Faced with new material remains from urban sites along the coast, some scholars have pursued a hybrid model, combining both endogenous and exogenous forces to account for shifting patterns of urbanism, for unlike the Transjordan and the northern Levant that have demonstrated a degree of site continuity; the Cisjordan experienced the starkest contrast between the Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA) and the Middle Bronze II periods. Susan Cohen, in the most detailed review of this time period in the southern Levant,⁶³ has provided evidence for a mixture of both the exogenous and endogenous hypotheses. Cohen traced the resettlement of the southern

⁶³ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002).

Levant throughout the MB II period, identifying four key phases of development, successfully showing that settlements began on the coast and then spread inland along the wadi systems throughout the region. Cohen concluded that “the high concentration of sites along the coast, and the presence of a series of dendritic systems in the MB IIA period,⁶⁴ imply an external orientation in the development of the region. It is unlikely that an internal impetus toward cultural renaissance would have resulted in a system so clearly focused on the coast and trade conducted in the eastern Mediterranean.”⁶⁵

Yet, as Falconer had highlighted previously, these fortified sites along the coast only “constitute fifteen to twenty percent of the total corpus, while the overwhelming majority of MB IIA sites seem to have been small rural settlements,” indicating that perhaps these smaller inland sites may have developed from the indigenous population, perhaps “in response to increased demand from the coast.”⁶⁶ Cohen’s review of site settlement patterns indicates that both external and internal forces were at play in the process of urbanization that characterized at least the southern Levant during the Middle Bronze Age. Also, since foreign sources might be sought to account for urban settlements along the coast, they brought with them a degree of social complexity that functioned as a political organizational framework for the southern Levant,

⁶⁴ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 21-31, 137-138. Cohen describes in detail the different theoretical approaches to urbanism more broadly. She then evaluates these theories in light of the archaeological evidence for urbanism in the southern Levant, concluding that “the pattern of site placement most closely fits that of a dendritic system, in which settlement develops in an elongated pattern, with the most economically important site located at one end of the system, creating an unequal distribution of power. Settlements located along the coast at the mouths of the wadi systems formed the primary node of each dendritic system, such that these sites could take advantage of the international traffic of the eastern Mediterranean. A network of smaller settlements then stretched back along the transit routes into the hinterland, providing access to materials and resources located in the interior of Canaan.” It is important to note that this theoretical model as applied to the southern Levant is primarily concerned with economic rather than political power, viewing trade and access to the coast as the primary driving pattern for site patterns. Additionally, this theory also incorporates both exogenous and endogenous models for explaining this rise in urbanism, since though the sites are externally oriented, there are also clear ties to the smaller preexisting inland sites.

⁶⁵ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 128.

⁶⁶ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 128.

incorporating local, indigenous populations into the network of urban and rural sites⁶⁷ that began to flourish along the coast.

Cohen further crystalized this hybrid approach in her recent volume *Urban Development: Models and Frameworks*, in which she describes the exogenous model of urbanism as an “oversimplification” and the endogenous model as an “inherent tautology.”⁶⁸ Speaking about broader patterns of urbanization, she claims that “causal primacy belongs exclusively to neither external forces such as exchange nor purely internal factors such as demographic pressure. Instead, urban development results from a mutually reinforcing interaction between both urban and non-urban sectors, in that each is dependent on and grows in pace with the other.”⁶⁹ If a hybrid model is to be accepted, questions remain as to the origin of the exogenous factors that Cohen has here noted. Can more be said about the origin and formation of some of these sites that have yielded a material culture in the Middle Bronze Age that is quite distinct from the preceding period?

In working extensively on the characteristics of these Middle Bronze Age fortifications, Burke has sought to answer this question regarding the origin of such exogenous forces that might have contributed to, or directly caused, the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age. Following Cohen’s work on site settlement patterns in the Cisjordan, Burke expands his focus to include both the northern and southern Levant. Like Cohen, who suggested that such coastal fortified centers “imply an external orientation in the development of the region,”⁷⁰ Burke has sought to define more precisely what this external orientation might be. Despite the trend in the field away from using migratory models to explain changes in the material culture, Burke has

⁶⁷ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 21-31, 137-138.

⁶⁸ S. Cohen, *Peripheral Concerns: Urban Development in the Bronze Age Southern Levant* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2016) 12-13.

⁶⁹ Cohen, *Peripheral Concerns* (2016) 14.

⁷⁰ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 128.

returned to a modified version of Kenyon's original "Amorite Hypothesis," to explain this drastic settlement shift. He noted that "the fact that subsequent research has not completely eliminated the notion of an Amorite culture migration from the northern into the southern Levant is perhaps the clearest testimony of the continued relevance of the hypothesis to the study of the Middle Bronze Age in the Levant."⁷¹ He goes further and suggests that "there is a growing realization among scholars that unlike other proposed migrations of ethnic groups in the ancient Near East, this one cannot be entirely dismissed."⁷² Unlike Kenyon, whose initial theory posited Amorite invading forces moving into the southern Levant at the start of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) resulting in the collapse of Early Bronze III urbanism, Burke instead attributes the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age to Amorite migrations.

More specifically, Burke's detailed work on fortification systems which were constructed in the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age has shown that these settlements exhibit a new and unique "level of political complexity" throughout the southern and northern Levant, suggesting that they were part of a unified settlement pattern throughout the Levant.⁷³ He has also hypothesized that these fortified settlements should not be seen as products of local, indigenous populations, but rather as the result of exogenous population movements into the region, tracing "the origin of this defensive strategy to a group of sites located in Upper Mesopotamia that are identified as Kranzhügel, which date to the first half of the third millennium."⁷⁴ According to Burke's hypothesis, these specific defensive strategies were brought into the Levant as part of the migration of Amorite groups from the north at the start of the Middle Bronze Age. These

⁷¹ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 92.

⁷² Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 92.

⁷³ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 161.

⁷⁴ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 159. Burke states that his study "presents unequivocal evidence for the identification of earthen ramparts, fosses, gates, and their walls as features employed in a distinctive approach to defensive architecture that was characteristic of the Levant and Upper Mesopotamia from the late third millennium through the first half of the second millennium."

fortification structures were employed by a “ruling class of Amorite ethnicity” in building a series of independent city-states throughout the Levant.⁷⁵

Yet there are those who have disagreed with Burke’s claim that such fortification systems can be linked with Amorite populations. Ilan has queried the use of the term “Amorite,” saying that “while I agree with him in principle, I am not sure how ethnically definitive the term ‘Amorite’ was in the second millennium and even less sure how operative it is for modern research.”⁷⁶ This criticism gets at the heart of the difficulty of equating the presence of unique material remains with the appearance of a new ethnic group. Tubb has disagreed with Burke’s claim that the new fortification structures can be linked with Amorite migrations,⁷⁷ and has proposed that the appearance of unique fortification strategies in the Middle Bronze Age in the Levant should be considered as evidence for a new defensive strategy employed by endogenous Canaanite groups of the Levant, rather than looking for an external population movement into the region.⁷⁸

Though Burke’s hypothesis for a northern, Amorite origin for the urban settlements of the southern Levant has not entirely been accepted by scholars, the theory of a highly-uniform Amorite *koiné* has gained greater purchase, especially in studies of the northern Levant and Mesopotamia. Burke notes in his recent work, “it is sufficient to note that over the past two decades, an increasing number of scholars have recognized distinct features of an ‘Amorite

⁷⁵ Burke, “*Walled Up to Heaven*” (2008) 96-100, 160. Burke describes the Middle Bronze II B-C period in the Levant as a period of “Pax Amoritica” where independent Amorite kin-based groups ruled the Levant, establishing a series of trade networks between sites.

⁷⁶ D. Ilan, Review of *Ugaritic and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, 1992*, by A. Burke. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71:1 (2012): 164-167.

⁷⁷ J. Tubb, Review of “*Walled up to Heaven*” *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant*, by A. Burke 2008. *American Journal of Archaeology* 113:3 (2009): 485-486. Tubb’s criticism of Burke’s claim was slightly more pointed, suggesting that “Burke’s concept of a ‘Pax Amoritica’ is frankly naïve.”

⁷⁸ Tubb, *Canaanites* (1998) 57-59, 68-69. Tubb remains a proponent of an endogenous model for accounting for the return to urbanism in the Levant. Tubb stresses the “essential continuity of the Canaanite population and its cultural attributes from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age through to the Middle Bronze Age.”

material *koiné*’ that can be traced in material assemblages from the sites in the northern and southern Levant.”⁷⁹ The majority of these studies, most notably those by Silver⁸⁰ and Porter,⁸¹ have tended to look at this constellation of Amorite material cultural characteristics toward the end of the third millennium in the northern Levant and Mesopotamia, focusing primarily on the material evidence for Amorite mobile pastoralism. Burke has expanded this perspective in seeking to show a connection with the southern Levant as well.⁸² Yet, what is lacking is a discussion of the “Amorite *koiné*” as it pertains to urban settlements. Since most studies have focused on the material evidence for Amorite mobile pastoralist groups, no study has focused on what material culture elements may have existed in Amorite urban settlements, making any hypothesis that seeks an exogenous Amorite origin for fortified settlements in the northern and southern Levant difficult to substantiate.

Yet, if Burke’s hypothesis of the Amorite origin of Middle Bronze Age fortification systems is to be accepted, foreign population incursions into the Levant must have brought with them not only defensive strategies, but also other elements of their material culture. Burke has suggested that “this type of fortification can be identified as only one element of an Amorite cultural *koiné*” employed by a “ruling class of Amorite ethnicity” in the Levant,⁸³ and further hypothesizes that “this shared material culture, which reflected a common ethnic, cultic, religious, and social, if not also political, identity also included the so-called *migdāl*-style temple, burial customs, as well as cultic and royal iconography. Room remains, however, for further

⁷⁹ A.A. Burke, “Entanglement, the Amorite Koiné, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant,” *Zoroastrianism in the Levant and the Amorites* (ARAM 26:1-2; Oxford: Aram Publishing, 2014) 359-362. Burke here outlines a brief history of the terminology “Amorite *koiné*” and “Amorite *oikumene*” when discussing the Amorite social context and specific elements of the material assemblage that may represent this social context.

⁸⁰ M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism: Amorites from the Perspective of Contextual Archaeology* (Doctoral dissertation; Helsinki: Juutiprint, 2000).

⁸¹ A. Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Formation of Near Eastern Civilizations: Weaving Together Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁸² Burke, ARAM 26 (2014) 365.

⁸³ Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven” (2008) 160.

consideration of the degree to which together these elements of the material culture of the Levant reveal Amorite identity.”⁸⁴ Though Burke provides convincing evidence that these Levantine fortifications should be tied to Amorite populations, he does not delve further into the other characteristics of this “Amorite cultural *koiné*,” and indeed this cultural *koiné* has yet to be fully catalogued or studied in detail.

From the above sketch of previous scholarship, it is immediately apparent that there continues to be no consensus as to whether endogenous or exogenous forces resulted in the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age Levant, making it unclear as to whether urban settlements in the Levant should be attributed to local, Canaanite populations who are returning to urbanism after a period of de-urbanization, or to foreign, Amorite populations moving into the region to take over abandoned sites. These theories continue to be at odds, especially since a single explanatory model is sought to explain the variety of urban remains in the Middle Bronze Age.

The lack of consensus is due in part to three primary issues which plague the field of Amorite studies. First, there exists a paucity of textual sources in the Levant during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages that might aid in understanding more fully the origin and cultural makeup of these fortified settlements. But, as discussed previously, when lacking textual sources, we must look to archaeological sources and linguistic typology to provide evidence for the history of the region.

Second, though great advancements in our understanding of Amorite material culture have resulted from research over the past two decades, no study has been devoted to the study of Amorite urban material culture. What did Amorite settlements look like in the Middle Bronze Age when these mobile pastoralist groups turned to urbanism as a preferred means of settlement? Since no single study has sought to fully investigate the key components of the material cultural

⁸⁴ Burke, “*Walled Up to Heaven*” (2008) 160.

assemblages present at the fortified sites in the Levant, the term “Amorite cultural *koiné*” is only at best a hypothesis. In chapter four of this study we will make an attempt to fill this lacuna in modern research by focusing specifically on the Middle Bronze II urban settlement from the site of Ugarit, and what material cultural parallels can be drawn with other sites in the Levant. From the above discussion it is clear that climate changes, and not Amorite incursions, caused the state of decline which the entirety of the Levant experienced at the start of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). Similarly, Amorite incursions should not be considered as the sole cause for the return to urbanism at the start of the Middle Bronze II period. Indeed, urbanism was the natural result of climate stabilization at the end of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). However, there is still evidence at key sites across the Levant of a new material assemblage unknown from the previous Early Bronze period that must be taken into account.

Third, there still exists an uncertain relationship between the Amorite and Canaanite languages, making it unclear whether these languages can be considered distinct in the West Semitic language family tree. In chapter five of this study an attempt will be made to shed light on this question by looking specifically at the Ugaritic language, to see whether it more closely resembles the Canaanite or the Amorite languages. Before delving into this research, we will now turn to a review of the literature regarding the orientation of Ugaritic within the Semitic language tree to provide an overview of for the current state of the question.

2.3 The Genetic Classification of Ugaritic in the Semitic Language Tree

Since the decipherment of Ugaritic in 1930-1931, the position of Ugaritic in the Semitic language family has been one of the most controversial topics in Semitic studies. At the present time, no consensus has been reached as to where in the Semitic language tree the language of

Ugarit should be located or what its origin may have been. Since this debate has gone on for nearly a century, it will be helpful to provide a historical sketch of the classification of Semitic languages more broadly,⁸⁵ and then move into the discussion of Ugaritic itself and what early lines were drawn as to its classification.

The broader classification of the Semitic languages can be traced back to König in 1881, who produced a classification system based solely on geographic proximity. In his initial classification model he identified four distinct branches within this language family; namely, South Semitic (Arabic and Ethiopic), Middle Semitic (Canaanite), North Semitic (Aramaic), and East Semitic (Assyrian-Babylonian).⁸⁶ Stade followed this geography-based approach to sub-branching, proposing a binary branching system which included South-Semitic (Arabic, South Arabian, Ethiopic) and North Semitic (with three sub-branches, Assyrian-Babylonian, Aramaic, and Canaanite).⁸⁷ Though this early terminology has been retained, since these theories grouped languages purely based on geographic proximity rather than linguistic affiliation, these theories did not gain purchase; rather it was the proposal by Hommel in 1883 which was more widely adopted by the academic community.⁸⁸ He proposed a binary branching system not distinguishing North and South, but rather East and West Semitic.⁸⁹ This approach was later

⁸⁵ The history of the classification of the Semitic languages has been detailed by Goetze (1941), Hetzron (1974) and Voigt (1987), as well as helpful references in Rubin and Huehnergard (2007) and a more full discussion of the classification of East Semitic by Rubio (2006). A full historical reconstruction will not be provided here, but due to the controversy that has arisen over the placement of Central Semitic and how it affects the sub-classification of Ugaritic, a brief introduction is provided here.

⁸⁶ F. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1881) 12.

⁸⁷ B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1879).

⁸⁸ F. Hommel, *Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen* (Leipzig: Schulze, 1883).

⁸⁹ This original binary system is one which has lasted for over a century with little debate. However, though the division between West and East Semitic has remained fairly stable, the sub-division of West Semitic has undergone numerous alterations and innovations; most notably the development posed by Hetzron (1974) for a Central Semitic branch which preceded the division between Northwest and Southwest Semitic languages. This development will be discussed more in detail below.

adopted and expanded by Brockelmann⁹⁰ who further subdivided this system, distinguishing Northwest and Southwest divisions within West Semitic, and he is credited with being the first to coin the term Northwest Semitic.

However, this discussion became more complicated with the discovery of the language of Ugarit in 1929 and its subsequent decipherment.⁹¹ Almost immediately, the similarities between Ugaritic and the known Canaanite dialects were recognized and a close relationship between the two was therefore proposed. As early as 1932, Albright assumed a close connection and even dubbed the language of Ugarit as “North-Canaanite.”⁹² Virolleaud, one of the early decipherers of Ugaritic, described a tablet of the *Ba‘lu Epic* as bearing a “*poème phénicien*,”⁹³ again proposing a close tie between Ugaritic and its Canaanite neighbors along the Phoenician coast. Other eminent scholars such as Ginsberg (1936),⁹⁴ Harris (1939),⁹⁵ and notably Gordon (1940)⁹⁶

⁹⁰ C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1908).

⁹¹ A.D. Corré, “Anatomy of a Decipherment”, *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 55 (W. Peterson, ed.; 1966): 11-20. As mentioned briefly in chapter one, the decipherment of Ugaritic took only about two years. Tablets and metal tools bearing the script were unearthed in May of 1929, with a partial decipherment occurring just one year later in June of 1930, and an almost complete decipherment by 1931. Remaining details were to be added in the coming decades. Regarding the initial discovery however, there has been some controversy as to whether Hans Bauer, E. Dhorme or C Virolleaud should be credited with the decipherment, and a more extensive historical reconstruction of the process of decipherment is provided by Day (2002). Ultimately by 1931 the language of Ugarit was essentially available to scholars and would greatly affect the debate over the classification of the Semitic languages.

⁹² W.F. Albright, “The North-Canaanite Epic of ‘Al’eyan Baal and Mot,” *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 12 (1932):185-208. See also W.F. Albright, “The Names Shaddai and Abram,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 53 (1935): 175, where Albright expounded upon this early identification and stated his own belief as to the linguistic position of the language stating that “it is already practically certain that Ugaritic, or North Canaanite, as the writer prefers to call it, is a dialect closely related to proto-Hebrew, the dialect from which Biblical Hebrew is directly descended. North Canaanite is not identical with the contemporary dialect spoken in Byblus and the more southern Phoenician cities.” Albright’s initial interpretation reflected the early dating of the Byblian Phoenician inscriptions, which is now no longer accepted.

⁹³ C. Virolleaud, “Un Poème Phénicien de Ras-Shamra: La lutte de Môt, fils des dieux, et d’Aleïa, fils de Baal,” *Syria* 12 (1931): 193-224.

⁹⁴ H.L. Ginsberg, “The Rebellion and Death of Ba‘lu,” *Orientalia* 5 (1936): 161-198. Ginsberg was one of the earliest to note standard pairs within epic poetry, noting that “certain fixed pairs of synonyms that recur repeatedly as a rule in the same order belonged to the regular stock-in-trade of the Canaanite poets.” Certainly his contribution was influential; however what is of note here is his description of Ugaritic as Canaanite.

⁹⁵ Z. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History* (American Oriental Series 16; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1939) 10. Harris reviews the distinctive innovations of the Canaanite dialects, which Ugaritic did not share in, yet he still insisted that “the position of Ugaritic can

in his early grammar of Ugaritic, took a similar view throughout the early decades of Ugaritic research.

It appeared that the majority of the field had quickly been convinced of the description of Ugaritic as a Canaanite dialect, whether Phoenician or Northern Canaanite. Yet there were some voices of discord within this early wave of scholarship. Notably, doubts were expressed by one of the earlier decipherers, Hans Bauer,⁹⁷ as well as by Cantineau.⁹⁸ But the earliest and most influential study which opposed the view that Ugaritic was a Canaanite dialect came from Goetze in 1941.⁹⁹ In his foundational article, Goetze was the first to argue succinctly that Ugaritic could not be a Canaanite language, but rather was related to the earlier Amorite language, known from onomastic evidence.¹⁰⁰

therefore no longer be in doubt. Ugaritic did indeed differ from the other Canaanite languages as we know them. Yet, Ugaritic clearly shared the general history of the Canaanite division, that is to say, it is a Canaanite language.”

⁹⁶ C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (Analecta Orientalia 20; Roma: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1940) 88. Gordon sides with Albright in calling Ugaritic “North Canaanite.” He also responded to Harris’ study by stating that “the recent publication of Harris makes it unnecessary here to describe the Canaanite dialects or to show why Ugaritic is one of them. If anything, Harris does not state the case as strongly as he might.” Gordon does concede that “to be sure, Ugaritic has features that distinguish it sharply from the other known Canaanite dialects, but such differences are neither more significant nor more numerous than those found between Hebrew and Punic.” He therefore notes that Ugaritic is indeed to be “sharply” distinguished from the Canaanite languages, yet still considers it to be a northern Canaanite variant.

⁹⁷ H. Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra, seine Entzifferung und seine Gestalt* (Halle/Saale: M. Niemeyer, 1932).

⁹⁸ J. Cantineau, “La Langue de Ras-Shamra,” *Syria* 13 (1932): 164-170. Cantineau provides a brief phonetic analysis of the Ugaritic syllabic evidence and opts for a less definite identification; concluding that “puisque les faits phonétiques que je viens d’étudier ne se retrouvent ensemble dans aucune autre langue sémitique connue, je pense qu’on doit considérer la langue de Ras-Shamra comme une langue sémitique non attestée jusqu’à présent, et qui aurait été celle de cette région avant la conquête araméenne.” Based upon this unique nature of Ugaritic, Cantineau was one of the earliest scholars to suggest that this language possibly occupied its own branch in the Semitic language tree, as opposed to being related to one of the known Canaanite dialects.

⁹⁹ A. Goetze, “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?,” *Language* 17 (1941): 127-138. Goetze begins with a list of phonological, morphological, and other features which characterize Canaanite. He proposes that Canaanite and Ugaritic share only three features, all of which he claims are not shared innovations. He further concluded that “Ugaritic does not share in the specifically Canaanite innovations” such as the preservation of Canaanite shift (/ā/ → /o/). His discussion is not without its flaws however. Since the study of Ugaritic was still in its nascent stages, some of his conclusions have since been proven incorrect. A prime example of this is Goetze’s example 5, that shin and sin had not fully merged in Ugaritic, this was later disproven. Nevertheless, his basic discussion has provided a foundational study for questioning the identification of Ugaritic as a Canaanite dialect.

¹⁰⁰ Goetze, *Language* 17 (1941) 136. He similarly compares the Amorite evidence known by that point with his twenty categories, finding that Ugaritic and Amorite shared seven of these features. He states that “Amurrite is not Canaanite and there exists a relationship between the Amurrite of the Old Babylonian period and the Ugaritic language of the Amarna age.” It is this central claim of the paper which has since found the greatest purchase in the

Following the early stage of Ugaritic studies, the proceeding years produced a wide range of viewpoints on the linguistic characterization of Ugaritic. A wide array of theories has been put forward, to the point that Israel has noted some thirty-five different viewpoints on the topic.¹⁰¹ Some scholars have accepted the earlier classification, notably Tropper, who persuasively argued for the identification of Ugaritic as a Canaanite language, providing shared phonological and morphological features to support his argument.¹⁰² This perspective has been shared with appeal to a variety of data sets by numerous scholars such as Moran (1961),¹⁰³ Greenfield (1967),¹⁰⁴ Segert (1984),¹⁰⁵ Isaksson (1989),¹⁰⁶ Schniedewind and Hunt (2007),¹⁰⁷ and Kogan (2010).¹⁰⁸

field, since he was the first scholar to recognize the linguistic similarities between Ugaritic and the language identified as “Amorite.”

¹⁰¹ F. Israel, “Tradition(s) et classement des langues syro-palestiniennes: observations déconstructionnistes,” *Faits de Langues* 27 (2006): 173-189.

¹⁰² Tropper, *Ugaritic and the Bible* (1994) 343-353. In his study, Tropper provides phonological and morphological features which show the close comparison between Ugaritic and Canaanite. He does not, however, deal with the question of the relationship between Ugaritic and Amorite, and states that “given that Amurrite as a whole or at least some of the so called Amurrite dialects are Canaanite, it should be classified in our diagram as a separate East Canaanite branch besides north and South Canaanite.” He does not support this claim with any further evidence, and it appears that he views all forms of West Semitic found in the Levant to be forms of “Canaanite” as he would characterize it.

¹⁰³ W. Moran, “The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background,” *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (G.E. Wright, ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1961) 58-59. Moran makes no strong conclusions but he states that the “source of the Ugaritic expanded alphabet must be sought elsewhere, which must be in the Canaanite speaking area in the south, which confirms what Albright has maintained for years.” However, he bases his discussion upon the syllabic inventory of Ugaritic, rather than considering shared or divergent innovations which are essential for delineating language subcategories. It seems preferable to assume that the relatively rich syllabic inventory of Ugaritic is not as a result of borrowing from the neighboring Canaanite dialects, but is rather a retention of the Proto-Semitic consonantal inventory.

¹⁰⁴ J.C. Greenfield, “Amurrite, Ugaritic and Canaanite,” *‘Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology Volume II* (S.M. Paul, M.E. Stone and A. Pinnick, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 875-884. Greenfield’s initial article, which appeared in 1967, was one of the earliest defenses for the Canaanite affiliation of the Ugaritic language. Greenfield sees a close connection between Ugaritic and Canaanite in phonology and morphology, however he also makes the statement that “Amurrite belongs, as can be seen from their analysis of the recalcitrant evidence, together with ‘Canaanite.’” Thus, he links together Amorite, Ugaritic and Canaanite all under the term “Canaanite” based upon his phonological and morphological comparisons.

¹⁰⁵ S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (London: University of California Press, 1984) 14. Although Segert does note that since “the ancient word ‘Canaan’ (*kn’n*) denotes mostly what was known as Phoenicia in the first millennium B.C., Ugarit, situated to the north was not considered part of Canaan in this narrow sense of the term.” However based upon what he terms as “Canaanite features in Ugaritic” he states that “the Ugaritic language may be characterized as an ancient North Canaanite dialect.”

¹⁰⁶ B. Isaksson, “The Position of Ugaritic among the Semitic Languages,” *Orientalia Suecana* 38-39 (1989): 61. Isaksson follows a similar train of thinking to that of Moran and Segert, suggesting first that “the source of the Ugaritic script is to be found in the Proto-Canaanite alphabet, which at the time of the formation of the Ugaritic alphabet may well have contained 27 letters.” He goes on to expand this argument by noting that “the linguistic evidence indicates that whether the inhabitants of Ugarit would have liked to call themselves Canaanites

Though all of these various treatments of the debate have ended with similar conclusions, they have arrived at these through diverse means, tending to either focus on the lexical similarities between Ugaritic and Canaanite, or upon shared isoglosses, whether phonological or morphological. What has been lacking in all of these discussions is the distinction between which isoglosses are indeed relevant for creating genetic subgroupings, or if they could potentially be explained by other means such as parallel development or areal diffusion, and are thereby less relevant for sub-classification. These distinctions need to be developed further and delimited if reliable conclusions as to the genetic subgrouping of Ugaritic are to be drawn.

Despite these numerous scholarly perspectives in favor of the “Canaanite hypothesis,”¹⁰⁹ some scholars have demurred, arguing that Ugaritic occupied a branch distinct from Canaanite

or not, their mother tongue should be regarded as an ancient and peripheric Canaanite language, spoken on the northern fringes of the Palestine-Syrian region.” Again this line of argumentation does not show that these features are indeed shared innovations as opposed to linguistic similarities which may be explained otherwise.

¹⁰⁷ W. Schniedewind and J. Hunt, *A Primer on Ugaritic: Language, Culture, and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007) 32. Schniedewind and Hunt state that “Ugaritic and Hebrew are close linguistic relatives, even though Ugaritic is an older and northern sibling,” linking both languages under the same Canaanite branch.

¹⁰⁸ L. Kogan, “Genealogical Position of Ugaritic: The Lexical Dimension. Lexical Isoglosses between Ugaritic and other Semitic Languages, Conclusions,” *Sefarad* 70:2 (2010): 279-328. This is one of the more recent discussions dealing with this debate. He deals with a tremendous amount of lexical data which led him to conclude that there is an affiliation between Canaanite and Ugaritic. This conclusion arises out of the fact that “perhaps the most striking result of our investigation is the extraordinary high number of exclusive lexical isoglosses between Ugaritic and Canaanite (78), 12 out of these 78 are hapax legomena in the Ugaritic lexemes. Contrast 18 exclusive isoglosses between Ugaritic and Arabic or 26 between Ugaritic and Akkadian, let alone the meager five exclusive lexical features shared by Ugaritic with Aramaic.” His data set is certainly impressive; however, lexical correspondences alone are not sufficient to propose a genetic subgrouping of languages. Indeed, lexical correspondences can be explained through shared retention of the original Proto-West Semitic lexical inventory, or can be evidence of areal diffusion through contact across language and dialect borders. Furthermore, his study is inherently limited by the fact that no Amorite corpus exists which might serve as a comparison between Ugaritic and Canaanite. Lexical studies of the Northwest Semitic languages can then never be complete and must serve only to show comparisons between later corpora rather than linguistic sub-grouping.

¹⁰⁹ A. Kaye, “Does Ugaritic Go with Arabic in Semitic Genealogical Sub-classification,” *Folia Orientalia* 28 (Warsaw: Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1992): 120-121. Kaye has been one of the foremost scholars to posit a connection between Ugaritic and Arabic, although the isoglosses which he provides are noteworthy, his hypothesis has not found widespread support. In his discussion, he notes the history of the debate and suggests that “the question of classification thus boils down to a matter of linguistic isoglosses,” and based upon the data he has presented, he concludes that his “comparative study has shown that in conservatism and proximity to the primitive Semitic phonemes, Ugaritic comes only next to Arabic, and is therefore nearest to it among all the other sister tongues.” Yet, the belief that Arabic is “conservative” seems only to represent the phonetic position of Arabic, since syntactically Arabic shows a wide array of innovations. Although there have been other scholars, like Kaye, who have posited a closer connection between Ugaritic and Aramaic or Arabic, the main two camps which have emerged

within the Semitic language tree. Some, such as Blau (1978)¹¹⁰ and Smith (2001),¹¹¹ have refrained from drawing any definite conclusions and have advocated a more intermediate position, hypothesizing that Ugaritic is indeed a Northwest Semitic language and definitely non-Canaanite, but a more succinct description is elusive. Huehnergard has notably veered away from the Canaanite position, and posits three distinct branches of Northwest Semitic: Ugaritic, Proto-Canaanite, and Proto-Aramaic.¹¹² From his perspective, Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages, along with Aramaic, share a similar ancestor, but they themselves are not genetically related. Huehnergard also posits that these three branches were already distinct by the fourteenth century, indicating that the split between these languages likely occurred at some point during the Middle Bronze or early Late Bronze period.¹¹³ This analysis of the Northwest Semitic languages hints at the historical value that such a linguistic analysis might provide when

in this debate have been in favor of either linking Ugaritic with Canaanite or an earlier West Semitic relative, often Amorite. For ease of reference, and to differentiate these terms from similar archaeological hypotheses, I have entitled these two perspectives as the “Canaanite linguistic hypothesis” and the “Amorite linguistic hypothesis” respectively.

¹¹⁰ J. Blau, “Hebrew and North West Semitic: Reflections on the classification of the Semitic languages”, *Hebrew Annual Review* 2 (1978): 36-38. Blau concludes that “important isoglosses which distinguish Ugarit from Hebrew and Phoenician sufficiently warrant a Canaanite group not including Ugaritic.” He bases this conclusion on shared phonetic features, but also on several “important features common to Hebrew and Phoenician, yet absent from Ugaritic such as: the definite article ha-, the Canaanite shift, and the use of the relative pronoun *ašer/še*, as well as the *yt/t’et/at* particle denoting the definite direct object in Canaanite dialects and lacking in Ugaritic.” Blau does not venture to propose any connection between Ugaritic and Amorite and in his subdivision of the North West Semitic languages, he says “we shall not deal with so-called ‘Amorite’ because our knowledge is too restricted for any linguistic classification.”

¹¹¹ M.S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel’s Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) 16. Smith reviews some of the scholarship regarding the issue and then summarizes his own perspective stating that “at this point the field can probably do little better than categorize Ugaritic, Amorite, and Canaanite material all under the rubric of West Semitic.” I find this to be a relatively weak conclusion, in that, at the very least, there appears to be a degree of certainty that both Ugaritic and Canaanite can be categorized firmly as Northwest Semitic languages.

¹¹² J. Huehnergard, “Remarks on the Classification of the Northwest Semitic Languages,” *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Alla Re-Evaluated: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden* (J. Hoftijzer and G. Van Der Kooij, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 285-286. Huehnergard bases his discussion on shared innovations of Canaanite (which will be discussed later) and concludes that there is sufficient evidence “to establish the existence of a Canaanite branch of Northwest Semitic distinct from Ugaritic and Aramaic already in the fourteenth century. That Ugaritic and Aramaic constitute separate branches of Northwest Semitic is accepted by most scholars. Thus, it seems most reasonable to suggest that Ugaritic, Proto-Canaanite, and Proto-Aramaic are to be considered distinct and coordinate branches within Northwest Semitic.”

¹¹³ Huehnergard, *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Alla Re-Evaluated* (1991) 285-286.

exploring the origin of the Ugaritic polity. Huehnergard does not venture, however, to provide a historical analysis of the origin of Ugaritic itself, nor does he provide a possible connection between Ugaritic and any other West Semitic languages.

Others have sought a more explicit designation of Ugarit, seeking to connect it with earlier West Semitic dialects known from the northern Levant and Mesopotamia. Scholars such as Garbini (1960),¹¹⁴ Caubet (1992),¹¹⁵ Zadok (1993),¹¹⁶ Del Olmo Lete (2003),¹¹⁷ Bordreuil and

¹¹⁴ Garbini, *Il Semitico Di Nord-Ouest* (1960). Garbini suggests that Amorite and Canaanite were already distinct by 2000 BC, that Ugaritic developed from Amorite, and that Canaanite then underwent a process of "amoritization" early on, which would account for any similarities between Ugaritic and Canaanite. While his hypothesis is innovative and intriguing, he never fully defines what this process of "amoritization" is, and it would prove difficult to fully support this claim due to paucity of data and the difficulty of posing such a process of development.

¹¹⁵ A. Caubet, "Reoccupation of the Syrian Coast After the Destruction of the 'Crisis Years'," *The Crisis Years: The Twelfth Century B.C., From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (W. Ward and M. Joukowsky, eds.; Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1992) 129. Caubet focuses on the historical and ideological connection between Ugarit and the earlier Amorite civilization, suggesting that there was a form of continuity between the two. She states that "Ugarit had maintained close ethnic, cultural, and economic ties with the Middle Euphrates and Babylonia, particularly well documented at Mari for the early second millennium." While this claim is intriguing, more evidence is needed to better define what these "ethnic ties" may have been and if these can be attributed to historical continuity.

¹¹⁶ R. Zadok, "On the Amorite Material from Mesopotamia," *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (M. Cohen, D. Snell, and D. Weisberg, eds.; Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993) 315. Zadok is one of the scholars who has come out strongly in favor of the "Amorite linguistic hypothesis" as I term it here. He defines Amorite as "a dialect cluster extending from Mesopotamia to northern Syria. Ugaritic, which has intensive lexical correspondences with Canaanite, is not a straightforward Canaanite dialect and may therefore be regarded as the westernmost dialect of the 'Amorite' type." He goes on to qualify this, noting "my statement is now with the understanding that Ugaritic, by the very nature of its geographic setting, could have served in many respects as a transitional dialect between the very close dialect clusters of Amorite type with those of the Canaanite type."

¹¹⁷ G. Del Olmo Lete, "The Genetic Historical Classification of the Semitic Languages: A Synthetic Approach," *Studia Semitica* (L. Kogan, ed.; Moscow: Orientalia III, 2003) 39-44. Del Olmo Lete has proposed a central place for Amorite amongst all of the Semitic languages, going so far as to state that "Amorite appears as the central nucleus of the development of Semitic: all the Semitic languages are 'Amorite' or 'pre-Amorite' to a certain extent" showing that Akkadian developed on its own in the Mesopotamian basin away from this proto-Amorite ancestor. He then goes on to discuss the Amorite development in the West, suggesting that "the Amorite expansion produced a blooming of a series of middle-Syrian dialects for which there is excellent evidence in the second half of the second millennium: Ugaritic, Emariote, and undoubtedly others that archaeology has allowed us to glimpse." I find his discussion to be quite innovative, although more evidence would be needed to show that the great Semitic verbal shift actually happened in reverse of its normal perspective. Indeed Huehnergard and others have shown that this is an unlikely model of reconstruction. See J. Huehnergard, "Features of Central Semitic," *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2005) 158-159. Additionally, Del Olmo Lete does not deal with the evidence from Ebla which is both quite early and in the western area of Syria, and, though it has a distinctly West Semitic lexicon, shows East Semitic grammar and morphology, which may make his hypothesis difficult to prove. Also, in his final Semitic language tree, he shows El-Amarna Canaanite and Ugaritic descending from a common Mari Amorite ancestor, without any discussion of their difference. In the end, though there are extremely useful aspects of his discussion, ultimately his conclusions are not sufficiently supported by the available data.

Pardee (2009),¹¹⁸ and Pardee (2011),¹¹⁹ have followed Goetze's initial hypothesis in seeking to show a closer relationship between Ugaritic and the archaic Amorite dialects known from Akkadian sources, stressing both linguistic and historical connections.¹²⁰ Some of these theories suggest that Amorite and Canaanite were distinct branches of West Semitic, with Canaanite existing along the coast and into the southern Levant, whereas Amorite existed in the northern Levant and Mesopotamia. From this perspective, Ugaritic was merely a western reflex of this Amorite branch of West Semitic.¹²¹ Yet other theories propose that archaic Amorite could feasibly be the shared ancestor of both Ugaritic and Canaanite, with Ugaritic and Canaanite developing out of distinct linguistic branches of Amorite.¹²² Both of these versions of the "Amorite linguistic hypothesis" have immense implications as to how modern historians reconstruct the movements of early population groups into the northern and southern Levant over the course of the Middle Bronze Age. Though support for the Amorite affiliation for Ugaritic has grown over the past decades, some have disagreed with this perspective, and have attempted to argue for a closer relationship between Amorite and Akkadian based primarily on historical

¹¹⁸ P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009) 19. Bordreuil and Pardee have rejected the view that Ugaritic should be classified as Canaanite and have proposed that "Ugaritic is considerably more archaic than any of the well-attested Northwest Semitic languages and probably descends directly from a Levantine 'Amorite' dialect."

¹¹⁹ Pardee, *Semitic Languages* (2011) 461. Pardee notes that although certain isoglosses have been raised in support of the close relationship of Ugaritic with Amorite, Arabic, Aramaic, or Canaanite, since "Ugaritic shows a series of archaisms with respect to contemporary Canaanite, rather than identifying it as a form of Canaanite, it might be better to see it as a representative of the older linguistic entity from which Canaanite as we know it developed, i.e., from one of the Amorite languages. According to this view, Ugaritic and Canaanite would have been linguistic cousins rather than sisters." This view still recognizes the similarities which are surely shared between Ugaritic and Canaanite, but that suggests these might be attributed to the fact that they share a common ancestor, and that the two developed independently thus not showing shared innovations.

¹²⁰ A. Faber, "Genetic Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages," *The Semitic Languages* (R. Hetzron, ed.; New York: Routledge, 1997) 3.

¹²¹ Zadok, *The Tablet and the Scroll* (1993) 315.

¹²² Pardee, *Semitic Languages* (2011) 461.

rather than linguistic grounds, but this conclusion has proven unlikely,¹²³ and the identification of Amorite as a West Semitic language has remained probable.¹²⁴

Although many of these discussions have been convincing, since no single study has been devoted to the genetic subgrouping of Ugaritic and Amorite, as well as the fact that Amorite is attested only in onomastics and loan words, absolute conclusions have remained elusive.¹²⁵ The apparent deadlock in which the field currently finds itself regarding this topic leads one to question whether there would be any purpose in pursuing this debate any further, and whether a detailed study of this topic could possibly yield any firm conclusions. But before throwing our hands up in dismay, it may be fruitful to take a step away from the present debate to consider the

¹²³ J. Durand, "Réflexions sur un fantôme linguistique," *Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 256; C. Mittermayer and S. Ecklin, eds.; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2012) 165-191. Durand attempts to show that Amorite and Akkadian were simply dialects in the second and third millennium, rather than distinct languages. However, Streck subsequently refuted these claims showing that indeed the language of the Amurru ("EME MAR.TU" in Sumerian or "A-mu-ur-re-e" in Akkadian) was a distinct language which had to be acquired through study and was not spoken by the general Babylonian population (M. Streck, "Remarks on Two Recent Studies on Amorite," *Ugarit Forschungen* 44 (2013): 309-327). These remarks are noteworthy in that there seems to be some recent disagreement as to the position of Amorite within the Semitic language tree as well. Numerous studies have, to the contrary, supported almost conclusively that Amorite was a distinct West Semitic language.

¹²⁴ M. Streck, "Amorite," *Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2011) 452. Streck has pushed the classification of Amorite beyond mere "West Semitic" going so far to state that "Amorite is the oldest Northwest Semitic language known, attested in thousands of names and loanwords in cuneiform texts from about 2500 BCE to 1200 BCE. The central areas where Amorite was spoken are the Middle Euphrates valley and the Syrian steppe." Such a classification of Amorite has found support by other Amorite scholars such as Knudsen, who concludes his brief presentation of Amorite grammar by stating that "Amorite is an archaic Northwest Semitic language. The evidence does not support a classification of Amorite as closer to Canaanite, Ugaritic, or Aramaic. In the early second millennium B.C., Northwest Semitic would seem to have constituted a cluster of closely related dialects rather than a language group. (E. Knudsen, "Amorite Grammar: A Comparative Statement," *Semitic Studies: In honor of Wolf Leslau, Volume I* (A. Kaye, ed.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991) 882-883). As will be discussed more in detail later, in order to sufficiently support Amorite as a Northwest Semitic language, one would have to first see whether it fits the qualifications for the Central Semitic language division.

¹²⁵ J. Lam and D. Pardee, "Diachrony in Ugaritic," *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* (C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit, eds.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012) 407. Lam and Pardee have summarized the present state of this debate succinctly, claiming that "Ugaritic is a Northwest Semitic language which shares important features with both the 'Amorite' language continuum of the third to second millennia and the later first-millennium dialects, including Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic. However, there are difficulties with viewing it as a direct descendant of or antecedent to these other languages. On the one hand, despite the clear continuities between Amorite and Ugaritic culture, the fact that virtually all of our knowledge of Amorite is derived from proper names culled from syllabic cuneiform texts precludes the possibility of any detailed diachronic comparison. On the other hand, even if one were to classify Ugaritic as an archaic member of the Canaanite subgroup, it remains too distinct to be counted merely as an earlier stage of any of these languages."

question of Semitic sub-classification more broadly and consider which features might give rise to similarities among languages and which elements should be weighed more heavily than others.

Though all of these studies have provided a litany of important isoglosses, whether phonological or morphological, which have favored one conclusion or another, what has been lacking from many of the previous discussions has been the absence of defining whether these isoglosses represent true shared innovations or whether they can be attributed to other factors. It may be essential therefore, to define what these other factors may be, and which features indeed are significant for genetic classification. A good summary of the features which are important for Semitic languages has been formulated by Rubin and Huehnergard.¹²⁶ They have set out five features which can lead to similarities between languages:

1. Mere coincidence or change, which also can entail common linguistic changes.
2. Shared innovations, namely a feature in common because it arose in a shared or common intermediate ancestor. This category is the most important for our current study, since “the establishment of a linguistic subgroup requires the identification of innovations that are shared among all and only the members of that subgroup.”¹²⁷
3. Shared retention from a common ancestor, which is generally not useful for subgrouping.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ A. Rubin and J. Huehnergard, “Phyla and Waves: Models of Classification of the Semitic Languages,” *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2011) 265-266.

¹²⁷ Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 4, 11. In her presentation, Faber proposed that shared innovation can include both features which are altered in that language as well as those which are lost. A good example of this is the loss of the passive N-stem in Aramaic, which is one of the few innovations which allows for the sub-categorization of Aramaic, in addition to “the generalization of the first common plural suffix *-na* to the independent pronoun and to the suffix conjugation from the genitive and accusative pronominal forms,” as opposed to the *-nu* suffix in the Canaanite languages. Yet the importance of shared loss as a vehicle for genetic subgrouping is debated, especially for ancient languages, where corpora can often be quite limited. While the shared loss of features should be noted, genetic subgrouping should not be based solely on shared loss, if other shared retentions are not present.

¹²⁸ Isaksson, *Orientalia Suecana* 38-39 (1989) 59-60. There has been general consensus that the lack of the definite article in Ugaritic is to be attributed to a common ancestor rather than any type of innovation in that language. Because the definite article is “unattested in Akkadian, Ya’udic, Ethiopic, and Ugaritic, it is obvious that Proto-Semitic did not possess a clearly circumscribed means of expressing the definite article. The definite article evolved late in those Semitic languages that came to possess this feature.”

4. Parallel development, in which languages may show similar development as a result of an inherent tendency.¹²⁹
5. Areal diffusion or wave-like spreading of features owing to contact between speakers.¹³⁰ This is one of the more common factors which can lead to similarities between languages and dialects, and must be taken into account when considering any apparent isoglosses between members of the Semitic language tree.

Of the five categories listed above, only shared innovations “are significant for genetic subgrouping.”¹³¹ It can often be difficult, and even impossible in some cases, to determine whether certain features may be attributed to a common ancestor or simply to language contact. Nevertheless, “part of the task of comparative reconstruction, is to distinguish similarities reflecting common ancestry from similarities reflecting influence of one language on another.”¹³² One aspect of this determination is that there is a certain hierarchy of importance which should be attributed to the relevant data. Faber has noted that “morphological innovations will provide the best guide to subgroupings in a language family”¹³³ and thus are to be ascribed the greatest weight. Indeed Semitic languages have a rich inventory of linguistic features which should allow for such distinctions to be made. However, the main problem for Ugaritic is that the majority of the data at our disposal appear in un-vocalized form. Thus, distinctions among morphological and morpho-syntactic features are usually not represented graphically. We are therefore

¹²⁹ Rubin and Huehnergard., *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 270. Parallel development, also known as convergence or drift, is a process in which “languages that have long been separated may pass through similar developments as a result of an inherent or latent tendency. Included here are analogical changes that are obvious and relatively minor, and that could easily take place in several speech communities.”

¹³⁰ Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 268. The wave model of language spread shows that numerous features can spread across language and dialect boundaries. Lexical items as well as phonological features, or even entire morphological categories are often borrowed through this pattern. Features such as the reduction of diphthongs, and the pharyngealization of emphatic consonants have been attributed to this type of language change. It should be noted that while lexical items and phonological changes are the more common features which are spread through areal diffusion, morphological features can also spread in the same way. Thus, though shared morphological features can be effective means for genetic subgrouping, they are not indisputably shared innovations, and must also be considered to be attributable to areal diffusion. It is essential then to consider linguistic variation in tandem with historical forces to gain a better picture of how language features spread between languages.

¹³¹ Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 265.

¹³² Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 3.

¹³³ Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 4.

dependent on the vowel quality indicated by the three aleph signs, and on the syllabic evidence in our attempts to determine such distinctions.

These different dynamics must be factored in when we consider various isoglosses between Ugaritic and Canaanite, or between Ugaritic and Amorite. Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages share common features, but whether these features are in fact shared innovations which are attributable to a common ancestor must be determined. Additionally, owing to the lack of data for the vocalization of Ugaritic as well as the precarious state of the study of Amorite, based solely upon onomastic evidence and loanwords, we must be aware that any conclusions of a linguistic nature will be tentative at best.

Keeping these factors at the forefront of our classification system, let us return to the discussion of the position of Ugaritic in the Semitic language tree. We will begin more broadly, and attempt to move closer to the exact classification. Ugaritic is undisputedly West Semitic, which, as was discussed above, was immediately recognized upon decipherment. However, since the decipherment of Ugaritic in the 1930s, there has been much debate regarding the further sub-classification of the West Semitic languages in general. Hetzron provided a new division of the Semitic languages, which altered the parameters of the discussion, though modifications to his original proposal have been proposed.¹³⁴ Beginning with the division between West and East Semitic, Hetzron then suggested that West Semitic should be divided into Central and South Semitic. Under the conservative South Semitic group he includes Ethiopian Semitic and the old

¹³⁴ R. Hetzron, "La division des langues sémitiques," *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique et Chamito-Sémitique, Paris 16-19 juillet 1969* (Janua Linguarum: Series Practica 159; A. Caquot and D. Cohen, eds.; Paris: Mouton, 1974) 181-194.

and modern South Arabian languages,¹³⁵ while in the Central Semitic subgrouping he includes Canaanite, Aramaic, and Arabic.¹³⁶

This new division has been debated in the field of comparative Semitics, and has been modified to some extent. Voigt proposed an earlier Northwest Semitic subgroup, from which Ugaritic/Amarna and Hetzron's Central Semitic (including Canaanite, Aramaic, and Arabic) branched, although the apparent difficulty of dividing Amarna from the later Canaanite languages made this theory, though innovative, ultimately implausible.¹³⁷ Nebes showed that, in addition to the Northwest Semitic languages, Old South Arabian also evinces the shared innovations characteristic of all Central Semitic languages.¹³⁸ Recently, two studies have taken up this discussion and have both confirmed and modified the claims made by Hetzron.

¹³⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *Studia Semitica* (2003) 21. The basic verbal patterns can be broken down into Eastern (*paris, iprus, iparras*), Northwestern (*qatala/yaqtvlu*), and Southern (*qatala/yeqattel*), the latter showing the retention of the earlier verbal pattern. It should be noted that the South Semitic branch which preserves the *yvqattvl* form should not be considered a shared innovation and thus an isogloss which supports this subdivision. Indeed, Huehnergard (2005) 161, has shown that this is a retention of the Proto-Semitic form, rather than a shared innovation, and thus the South Semitic branch is unsustainable.

¹³⁶ Hetzron, *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique* (1974). Hetzron includes Arabic, Canaanite, and Aramaic in this group since he believes that they share the innovative feature of the form *yaqtvlu* which replaced the earlier *yaqattvl* (of standard East Semitic) as the main imperfect form. He further subdivides this category, stating that the feminine plural prefix conjugation ending *-na(:)* was an innovation shared by Arabic and Canaanite. However, Huehnergard (1987) has argued that the earliest form of the 3fp suffix in Old Aramaic was also *-na(:)*, and thus likely the Proto-Semitic form was *-na(:)* and it is Aramaic which shows an innovation, making this secondary division unlikely. Huehnergard (1991) provides one other piece of evidence for this subgrouping in that though a-insertion for broken plurals had been attested in proto-Semitic, the fact that a-insertion is restricted and obligatory in qvtl nouns proves to be a shared innovation for all languages within the Central Semitic group, further supporting Hetzron's claim.

¹³⁷ R.M. Voigt, "The Classification of Central Semitic," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987): 15. Voigt proposes his division of Central Semitic based upon "the *-na(:)* innovation in the feminine plural ending of the prefix conjugations, the innovation of the imperfect *yaqtvlu*, and the retention of the old aorist in preterit function." Voigt also gives some attention to the dental of the prefix conjugation in the 3mp and 3fp forms. He shows that Ugaritic and Amarna, as well as the Old Akkadian of Mari as well as Eblaite, are the dialects which show the t-preformative in both the masculine and feminine forms. Since Hetzron's Central Semitic shows consistently /y-/ in the 3mp form and /t-/ in the 3fp form, then there appears to be a divergence. However, separating El-Amarna from the later Canaanite dialects seems difficult since both show several shared innovations such as the Canaanite shift.

¹³⁸ N. Nebes, "Zur Form des Imperfektbasis des unvermehrten Grundstammes im Alsüdarabischen," *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag* (W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeller, eds.; Beirut: Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1994) 78.

Huehnergard considered sixteen different features which are common to Central Semitic, but then narrows these down to only five which can be reliably considered shared innovations.¹³⁹

Rubin and Huehnergard later modified this perspective proposing that Northwest Semitic (including Ugaritic, Canaanite, and Aramaic) and Arabic are distinct divisions under the Central Semitic heading.¹⁴⁰ Rather than including all five shared innovations initially proposed by Huehnergard, they accept the retention of the Central Semitic subgroup since all languages under this category (Ugaritic included) show two key shared innovations: first, the *yaqtulu* imperfective (*yaqtulūna* in the plural) as an innovation of the proto-Semitic *yaqattal* imperfect form,¹⁴¹ and second, the Barth-Ginsberg Law.¹⁴² Indeed the validity of the Central Semitic genetic group,¹⁴³ initially proposed by Hetzron, appears now to have recently received more widespread support. In addition to this, in opposition to Hetzron, there is evidence that Arabic is

¹³⁹ Huehnergard, *Biblical and Oriental Essays* (2005). The five features which he considers to be evidence of shared innovations are: 1) the imperfect *yaqtulu*, and the tense-mood-aspect system generally, 2) the forms of the tens numerals, 3) the Barth-Ginsburg Law, 4) the insertion of the demonstrative after an interrogative, and finally 5) the cognate forms of Hebrew *hallāz* and Arabic *'allāḏī*, although, since this last feature is only shared by two languages it is limited in how much it contributes to the discussion. These five features indeed confirmed Hetzron's claim that the Central Semitic sub-group was indeed valid and supportable.

¹⁴⁰ Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 263-264. One of the major changes which they propose is to link Arabic and Old South Arabian as distinct from the Northwest Semitic languages (Ugaritic, Canaanite and Aramaic). They cite three main features for this division: 1) the shift of Semitic **p* → *f*, 2) the extensive use of broken plurals with similar patterns, as opposed to the restricted *a*-insertion in *qvlt* nouns in Northwest Semitic, and 3) the preservation of the *L* and *Lt* stems in these languages. They note though that all of these features are either evidence of areal diffusion or parallel development rather than shared innovations. Thus, these languages do not form their own subgroup, but rather diverged from the Central Semitic group, and did not share in the common innovations which the Northwest Semitic languages evolved.

¹⁴¹ Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 271. In addition to the *yaqtulu* form there is the corresponding *yaqtula* form which is used in Arabic as the subjunctive, in Ugaritic as an injunctive, and in Amarna and also in Hebrew as the cohortative.

¹⁴² Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 270-271. Barth, *ZDMG* 48 (1894) was the first to note the G prefix conjugation forms of the type *yaqtul*, *yaqtil*, but *yiqtal*, and he believed this to be a common feature of Proto-Semitic. This law was later confirmed as being applicable for Ugaritic by Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* 4 (1932/33) 38-383. Rubin and Huehnergard note that it is known also in a few old Arabic forms and in a few Amarna Canaanite forms, though no evidence has been preserved for Old South Arabian (Hasselbach, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language* (2013) 258-259). All of these languages being Central Semitic languages, and the fact that this feature is not attested in Akkadian leads them to consider this to be a shared innovation of Central Semitic, as opposed to a retention of a feature of Proto-Semitic.

¹⁴³ M. Sekine, "The Subdivisions of the North-West Semitic Languages," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 18 (1973): 210. In general, Amorite does not reflect the innovation of the shift from *yaqtal* to *yiqtal*; however, Sekine has noted that though this shift does not usually occur in Amorite, it may have occurred in areas close to the Mediterranean Sea. Unfortunately Sekine does not provide the data with which to support this claim.

not to be grouped with the Northwest Semitic subgrouping, but should be separated.¹⁴⁴ This leaves us with a distinct Northwest Semitic genetic subgrouping, although the shared innovations which characterize this group and whether Canaanite should be considered distinct from Ugaritic in this group deserve further support.

Let us now focus our discussion to consider what the shared innovations of the Northwest Semitic languages are and what further, if any, subdivisions may be made within this group. Traditionally, the Northwest Semitic languages have included Ugaritic, Aramaic, El-Amarna Canaanite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic, the Trans-Jordanian dialects, as well as Sam'al-ian and the Deir 'Allah dialects of which the exact classification is debated. Conservatively speaking, all of these languages share three distinct innovations:¹⁴⁵ 1) the shift of word-initial *w* > *y* (although notably not in the conjunction *wa*), 2) the restricted a-insertion for *qvtl* nouns in the plural also including the obligatory double-marking of the plural in these nouns,¹⁴⁶ and 3) the first common plural independent pronoun with *'a-* prefixed to **niḥnu* commonly reconstructed as the Proto-

¹⁴⁴ Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 263-264. A great deal of attention has been paid to the position of Arabic within Semitic, with some scholars considering it to be part of Central Semitic, whereas others consider it to be part of South Semitic. For our purposes, the position of Arabic is not of great importance, so we will not enter into a discussion of its position.

¹⁴⁵ A. Rubin, "The Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages," *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008): 61-84.

¹⁴⁶ J. Huehnergard, "Proto-Semitic and Proto-Akkadian," *The Akkadian Language in its Semitic Context* (G. Deutscher and N. Kouwenberg, eds.; Oosten: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije, 2006) 8-9. Huehnergard notes that this form of a-insertion in the plural of *qvtl* nouns is in fact a "vestige of this phenomenon in all West Semitic languages" where plurals are formed by internal changes rather than by external plural morphemes. He notes vestiges of this plural formation in nouns in Akkadian as well, such as the word for "daughter," *mar'atum* in the singular, but *marawātum* (< **mara'ātum*). The form of broken plurals is common in Arabic and Sayhadic, but these are far more widespread, showing over twenty common patterns. The Northwest Semitic languages appear to have lost other traces of such broken plurals (with the exception of certain fixed forms such as the Hebrew word for "brother," *'aḥ-* in the singular, but *'aḥy-* in the plural), but has retained the obligatory a-insertion in the *qvtl* nouns, which are now doubly marked in the plural. There are a few exceptions to this seemingly obligatory rule, such as the root *rḥm* which in the plural shows secondary opening rather than the standard plural formation for segholate nouns, suggesting that the base of the plural is in fact **raḥm*, rather than **raḥam*. Yet these limited examples may not be exceptions to this rule, but it is possible that these could be examples of plurals being formed based upon a historical dual base.

Semitic form.¹⁴⁷ All three of these features are shared innovations¹⁴⁸ and have not arisen due to other factors, solidifying this as a true genetic subgrouping.

This brings us then to the Canaanite dialects, and whether or not Ugaritic can indeed be included within this sub-group. Although there has been much debate over what features are considered shared innovations within this category, Huehnergard has noted four innovative features of proto-Canaanite:¹⁴⁹ 1) the shift of **qattila* and **haqtila* to **qittila* and **hiqtila* in the D and C-stems,¹⁵⁰ 2) the shift from **'anāku* to **'anōkī*, which evinces the Canaanite shift¹⁵¹ as

¹⁴⁷ Rubin, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008) 70. This is only a possible shared innovation, since the first common plural independent pronoun is as yet unattested in Sam'alian, and the Deir 'Allah dialect, so it is unclear whether this feature was also characteristic of these languages.

¹⁴⁸ Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 10. She notes two other features which may also be considered to be shared innovations of the Northwest Semitic languages, namely, “the assimilation of the *l* to *q* in forms of the verb **lqh* “take” in which the two would be adjacent, as well as the metathesis of */t/* in the reflexive verb prefix */(h)it-/* with the root initial sibilant.” These features being phonological rather than morphological are not ascribed as much weight in her schematic, but yet may be valuable evidence for the Northwest Semitic subgrouping. Though Ugaritic exhibits the *š* (**yašaqtilu*) and *št* (**yaštaqtilu*) stems and these do not regularly reflect the process of metathesis, however limited evidence for metathesis in the tG and tD stems does exist as displayed in the form */yštāl/* < */ytšāl/*. The second diagnostic provided by Faber is found in Ugaritic such that the lamed of the root *lqh* is regularly assimilated.

¹⁴⁹ Huehnergard, *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Alla Re-Evaluated: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden* (1991) 285.

¹⁵⁰ J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Harvard Semitic Studies 32; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 182. Huehnergard reconstructs the form of the D suffix conjugation as **qattila* based upon syllabic evidence for the Ugaritic verbal root *šlm* spelled *šal-li-ma*. He notes that “the incorrect double writing of single consonants is rare in Ugaritic Akkadian texts,” and thus he concludes that this spelling “must represent the D suffix-conjugation, 3ms /šallima/.” This interpretation is followed by Tropper as well, who takes the *šallima* form as paradigmatic, reconstructing the D-stem suffix conjugation forms as *qattil* (Tropper, J., *Ugaritische Grammatik*, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 273; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 560.) Huehnergard goes on to suggest that the distinctive change from */qattil/* to */qittil/* was due to penultimate stress. To explain this shift, he hypothesizes the proto-Canaanite phonological rule (*a > i /#C_ CCi*), a rule which he admits is “rather restricted” in its application, applying only to the 3ms D perfect verb and masculine singular *qattil* nouns. (See Huehnergard, J., “Historical Phonology and the Hebrew Piel,” *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (W. Bodine, ed.; Eisenbrauns 1992) 209-230, 225. But this point is not universally accepted, and in fact conflicting evidence has arisen in Ugaritic texts. Pardee, based upon the forms in Hebrew and Aramaic, has reconstructed a Proto-Semitic form **qattala* with dissimilation of the first vowel to */i/* in Hebrew. He further supports this position based on the form */ihb/* in RS 94.2468:11 (as well as */ihbt/* in RS 16.394:53) which appears to be a D-stem suffix conjugation form, perhaps */'ihhaba/* and */'ihhabat/* (see discussion in Pardee (2003/4) 276-277). A similar situation may also be found in the *š*-stem, with a possible reconstruction of */šiqṭala/* by virtue of dissimilation from the Proto-Semitic form */šaṭṭala/* which is preserved in Arabic, however no direct evidence for this form can confirm this (Pardee, 2003/4, 263).

¹⁵¹ Greenfield, “Amurrite, Ugaritic and Canaanite” (2001) 878 note 13. This is a key feature for the subdivision of the Canaanite languages, due to its pervasiveness throughout all dialects as well as its early occurrence. The shift is evident already in the fourteenth century in the Canaanite of the El-Amarna texts. In these texts, it is attested as far north as “*Beruta*” with examples such as the word for “wall” (*ḥu-mi-tu*). Considering that the site of Ugarit is approximately 100 miles north of Beirut, and there is clear evidence for regular interaction

well as 3) the first person suffix conjugation change from *-tu* to *-ti*,¹⁵² and finally 4) “the first person plural marker in Proto-Northwest Semitic was probably *-nū* to mark the subject on the suffix conjugation but *-nā* to mark both the direct object on verbs and the possessive on nouns. Proto-Canaanite saw the generalization of *-nū* in all environments.” Unfortunately, we currently lack evidence for this shift in Ugaritic due to the lack of syllabic evidence for these forms. Based upon these four shared innovations of proto-Canaanite,¹⁵³ Huehnergard has argued that Ugaritic, though certainly a Northwest Semitic language, occupies its own branch, distinct from the Canaanite dialects.

Though there is a growing consensus that Ugaritic might occupy its own distinct branch of Northwest Semitic, questions remain as to the affiliation of the Amorite languages as well as the relationship between Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages. What has emerged from the present discussion is that, to date, there is still no consensus within the field as to the classification of Ugaritic. Indeed, the field is still divided into various views of its origin. It has become clear, that a true understanding of the linguistic classification of Ugaritic must take into

between Ugarit and its southern neighbor, it seems difficult to side with Albright in calling Ugaritic merely “Northern Canaanite.”

¹⁵² J. Huehnergard, “The Feminine Plural Jussive in Old Aramaic,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1987): 293. There is no clear evidence for the preservation of the first person form *-tu* without the subsequent shift to *-ti* in the verbal forms preserved in Ugaritic. However, there is clear evidence for the preservation of the first person independent pronoun /’anāku/ (*a-na-ku*) in syllabic transcription. This is a key datum for reconstructing the first common singular suffix conjugation, linking its development to the timing of the Canaanite shift. Blau has put forward the interpretation that “first *’anāku* shifted to *’anōku*, which contains *ō* preceding *u*. In this type of vowel sequence, one of the two similar vowels in Hebrew is regularly dissimilated: this was the reason that *’anōku* shifted to *’anōkī* and then later to *’ānōkī*. Now, not only the pronominal suffixes *-nī/-ī* terminated in *-ī*, but *’anōkī* as well, and their joint impact was strong enough to affect *’ana/*-tu*, which became *’anī/-tī*. Accordingly, if a Semitic dialect exhibits the first person singular perfect ending *-tī*, this can be taken as a proof that it exhibits the shift *ā > ō* as well.” (See J. Blau, “Short Philological Notes on the Inscription of Meša’,” *Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics* (1998): 347-349 for a full discussion of this proposal). Based upon this discussion, we propose that we can say with some level of surety that the 1cs suffix conjugation form was indeed *-tu* in Ugaritic, and can be used in support of the fact that in addition to the Canaanite shift, the change from *-tu* to *-ti* was not triggered in Ugaritic at this stage.

¹⁵³ If the above was the accepted, undisputed claim, then there would not be the debate which has yet to be resolved regarding the position of Ugaritic in the Semitic family tree. Certainly, two of the above four categories (2 and 3) cannot be attributed to Ugaritic, seeming to exclude it from a classification as Canaanite, but as for the first and fourth categories, the data are less clear for Ugaritic, and they prove unhelpful for an undisputed classification.

account not only shared innovations within the Semitic family tree, but must also consider the issue from a historical perspective in order to gain a complete picture.

2.4 The Historical Convergence of Material Culture and Linguistic Subgrouping

Since its discovery ninety years ago, debates have raged as to the affiliation of Ugarit's material culture and as to Ugaritic's position in the West Semitic family tree. Culturally, linguistically, and historically, Ugarit sits at the intersection between exogenous Amorite incursions in the Levant, endogenous Canaanite re-population, and the emergence of localized expressions of kingship, religion, and writings systems. In the site of Ugarit, we have rare access to both archaeological and linguistic evidence, and it is the convergence of these two data streams that allows for a reconstruction of the history of the site.

At the heart of this question is the sticky situation of definitions. What is meant when we speak about Amorite incursions and local Canaanite populations? Who were the Canaanites and who were the Amorites and can we discern what may have distinguished these early ethnic groups through what they have left behind for us in texts and artifacts? In the next chapter we will broach these questions in seeking to craft definitions for these two groups, exploring whether such "ethnic" terms can be applied to material culture or to languages or neither.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY

This review of the previous literature has shown that, despite the advances that have been made over recent decades in our understanding of the material culture of the Middle Bronze Age and in the genetic subgrouping of the Semitic languages, there is still no consensus regarding the historical origins of the polity of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age. This is due in part to a paucity of data, but it is also due to the lack of consensus regarding the origin and composition of groups such as the Amorites and the Canaanites of the Bronze Age Levant, and how these groups might be detected in the material record. Before entering into our analysis of the archaeological remains from the site of Ugarit and of the genetic subgrouping of the Northwest Semitic languages, this chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the methodological approach taken in this study. Additionally, since the debate over the historical origins of Ugarit is embroiled between larger discussions revolving around the origin and composition of Amorite and Canaanite groups in the Bronze Age Levant, an attempt will be made to provide historically accurate definitions for terms such as “Ugarit/Ugaritic,” “Amurru/Amorite,” and “Canaan/Canaanite.”

3.1 Archaeological Corpus, Methodology, and Definitions

Though previous studies of “Amorite” material culture have sought to draw close parallels between the Middle Bronze Age remains of Ugarit with those from other Amorite sites of the northern Levant,¹ there are others which have suggested, primarily on linguistic grounds,

¹ M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism: Amorites from the Perspective of Contextual Archaeology* (Doctoral dissertation; Helsinki: Juutiprint, 2000) 184.

that the Middle Bronze material culture might be more closely linked with Hyksos,² Canaanite,³ or Hurrian groups.⁴ At the heart of all of these theories is the need to account for the Middle Bronze Age material remains from the site that present a sharp departure from previous Early Bronze Age remains. Mallet, who has conducted some of the more thorough recent studies of the Middle Bronze Age material culture from the site, has left the origin of these remains an open question, querying “Quand les Cananéens, les Amorites, les Hourrites sont-ils arrivés? Quelle langue les autochtones parlaient-ils et connaissaient-ils déjà l’alphabet? Ugarit a-t-il échappé aux Hittites qui détruisirent Alalah et Ebla vers 1600? Seuls des documents écrits nous apprendront quelque chose.”⁵ In his view, the answer to these questions can only be discerned from textual finds from the Middle Bronze Age, and no further historical insight may be gained through an analysis of the archaeological and linguistic material.

Without textual materials, answers to these questions concerning the historical origins of the population of Ugarit may only be available through a detailed analysis of the Middle Bronze Age material remains from the site. Before analyzing these remains, two primary questions must be answered. First, was the tell of Ras Shamra continuously inhabited from the Middle Bronze Age until its destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and second, what material remains may be attributed to the earliest Bronze Age phases of settlement at the site? These questions will be broached in chapter four through a detailed analysis of the archaeological history of the

² C.F.A. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937): Rapport sommaire,” *Syria* 19 (1938): 197, 250-254.

³ J. Tropper, “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?” *Ugaritic and the Bible, Proceedings of the international Symposium on Ugaritic and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literature 11; G.J. Brook, A.H.W. Curtis and J.F. Healey, eds.; Münster: Ugaritic-Verlag, 1994) 343-353.

⁴ S. Bourke, “The Six Canaanite Temples of Ṭabaqāt Faḥil: Excavating Pella’s ‘Fortress’ Temple (1994-2009),” *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.-1. Mill. B.C.E.)* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41; J. Kamlah, ed; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012) 192.

⁵ J. Mallet, “Ras Shamra au Bronze Moyen Travaux 1929-1974 (I^{er} – XXXV^e campagnes de fouilles,” *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001. "Ougarit au II^e millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches"* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 47; Y. Calvet and M. Yon, eds.; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2008) 77.

site of Ras Shamra, and the unique material features which date to the Middle Bronze Age period of settlement at the site will be analyzed in greater detail.

It is this constellation of material remains from the earliest periods of the site that will then form the core of our analysis. Rather than seeking out distinctive “Amorite” or “Canaanite” features in the material remains, the Middle Bronze Age material assemblage from the site of Ugarit will serve as the basis of our study. Each individual element of this Middle Bronze Age material assemblage will be analyzed in detail, and stylistic and technological parallels will be sought in the material remains from contemporaneous sites throughout the region. For instance, the Middle Bronze Age strata of Ugarit have yielded cylinder seals crafted in the “Classic Syrian Style.”⁶ The production, composition, and style of these seals will be analyzed, and contemporaneous stylistic parallels will be sought throughout the region. A map detailing the locations where seals of this type have been discovered will then be constructed, allowing for analysis as to the spread of this distinct feature. This process will be repeated for each of the elements of the Middle Bronze Age material assemblage of Ugarit, and the geographic spread of each of these pieces will be compared.

We will query whether these features spread in isolation of one another, or whether these features appear together in significant clusters throughout the region. If there are indeed significant clusters of material features that regularly appear at sites throughout the region, this will prompt questions about the geographic spread of these features, and what meaningful clues the appearance of a discrete material assemblage at a site might provide regarding the composition of the population that may have settled or inhabited the site. This line of inquiry does not in any way suggest that material remains may be equated with ethnicity or political

⁶ P. Amiet, *Corpus des Inscriptions de Ras Shamra-Ougarit II: Sceaux-cylindres en hématite et pierres diverses* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 9; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992) 25-31.

boundaries; but, as Greenberg and Palumbi have rightly noted, “it does, however, require that the translocation of significant clusters of technologies, artifact types, organization or customs be associated with a recognizable form of social agency: migration, emulation, reinterpretation, or the like.”⁷ A close analysis of the appearance and composition of the material assemblage may then allow us to determine the type of social agency that might have been involved in the spread of this material assemblage in the Middle Bronze Age.

3.2 Historical Terminology

This analysis will prompt the process of drawing conclusions regarding the historical origins of the site of Ugarit. At the center of these conclusions is the difficulty of attaching ethnic terminology such as “Ugaritic,” “Canaanite,” or “Amorite” to material assemblages.

Complicating the matter is the fact that such terms have in the past been used to refer not only to ethnic groups, but also to linguistic subgroups, literary corpora, and even archaeological material remains. Since, culturally, linguistically, and historically, Ugarit sits at the intersection between exogenous Amorite incursions in the Levant, indigenous populations, and the emergence of localized expressions of kingship, religion, and writing systems, it is essential to provide concise definitions for each of these terms.

3.2.1 Ugarit

The term “Ugarit” has two primary referent points. It can refer to the ancient city on the tell of Ras Shamra, which served as the capital city of a larger region, governed by a central

⁷ R. Greenberg and G. Palumbi, “Corridors and Colonies: Comparing Fourth-Third Millennia BC Interactions in Southeast Anatolia and the Levant,” *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean* (A. Knapp and P. Van Dommelen, eds.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014) 112. Greenberg and Palumbi study the appearance of new material cultures in the third millennium in the areas of Uruk and Egypt, yet their analysis provides an excellent model for the current study.

ruling polity during the Late Bronze Age, known as “the land of Ugarit.” Yet this geographic toponym far predates the Late Bronze Age polity known so well from the cuneiform texts found at the site, perhaps by nearly a millennium and certainly by roughly half a millennium. The first clear appearance⁸ of the polity of Ugarit is found in the Mari texts. At least twelve references to a city known as “Ugarit” have been uncovered - spelled *ú-ga-ri-it*^{KI} in absolute form⁹ or *ú-ga-ri-tim*^{KI} in the declined form.¹⁰ Several texts from Mari seem to indicate that Ugarit may have fallen under the political purview of the kingdom of Yamḥad,¹¹ and the King of Yamḥad is known to have visited the city of Ugarit with his court members, such as his court singer Niqmi-Lanasi.¹²

⁸ G. Pettinato, “Liste presargoniche di uccelli nella documentazione di Fara ed Ebla,” *Oriens Antiquus* 17 (1978): 165-178. TM 75.G.2231. The first possible reference to the site is found in the third-millennium texts from Ebla where the city name *U₅-ga-ra-at*^{KI} is found, yet this reference is debated.

⁹ C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica: Études Relatives Aux Découvertes de Ras Shamra* (Mission de Ras Shamra 3; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939) 16, n. 2. Schaeffer cites a personal communication with Dossin, and provides a transcription of Text A.186:5. This text provides the only certain evidence for this particular spelling. Yet, one other broken reference likely also has this spelling. Text ARM 14 121:5 - though the final three signs are broken, it is likely that the same spelling is preserved here (Durand, *LAPO* 17 (1998) 383-385).

¹⁰ A.1259:64 (Limet, *ARM* 25 (1986) text 118); A.2094:9 (Villard, *UF* 18 (1986) 411-412); A.4668:13 (Limet, *ARM* 25 (1986) text 359); A.1266 iv:2 (Villard, et al., *ARM* 23 (1984) text 535); M. 10564:4 (Villard, et al., *ARM* 23 (1984) text 546); M.10563:5 (broken) (Villard, et al., *ARM* 23 (1984) text 547); M.10320:4 (Villard, et al., *ARM* 23 (1984) text 548); M.11367+M.5291:47 (Limet, *ARM* 25 (1986) text 38); M.6117+M.7430-bix+M.11409:17,23 (Limet, *ARM* 25 (1986) text 154); M.11996:22 (Limet, *ARM* 25 (1986) text 340).

¹¹ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I (1939b) 16, n. 2, transcription of Text A.186:5 from Dossin. The letter, written from Hammurabi of Aleppo to Zimri-Lîm, conveys a request of a man (or perhaps king) of Ugarit (LÚ *ú-ga-ri-it*^{KI}). The text itself is relatively vague and it is therefore difficult to interpret who this “man of Ugarit” might be and what his request may have been. The text reads as follows: *a-na [zi-i]m-ri-li-im qí-b[í]-ma um-ma-ha-a[m-m]u-ra-[b]I a-hu-ka-a-[ma] LÚ ú-ga-ri-it*^{KI} *ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-mi é z[i-im-r]i-[l]i-im ku-ul-[i]-ma-an-ni lu-mu-ur [i]-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma LÚ.TUR-šu aṭ-ṭà-ar-[d]-a-kum* “Say to Zimri-Lîm, Hammurabi your brother says: The ruler of Ugarit has sent me a message saying ‘Introduce me to see the house of Zimri-Lîm.’ Hence I am now sending you his servant” (translation following that of Dossin). Dossin’s interpretation of the text proposes that the king of Ugarit was requesting to see the great palace of Mari, and indeed the text may be interpreted as such. Durand has proposed a different interpretation of the text. He criticizes the initial interpretation of Dossin by saying that “ce texte a été compris apparemment par des découvreurs comme le désir du prince d’ugarit de visiter Mari et son palais, ce qui est une compréhension sans doute forcée pour le document.” However, Durand rejects Dossin’s proposal that the Hammurabi mentioned in this letter can be equated with the king of Babylon, proposing instead that this is Hammurapi, the son of Yarîm-Lîm of Yamḥad. He therefore concludes: “Il est plus vraisemblable que le roi d’Ugarit demande à son suzerain l’autorisation d’entrer en contact avec le roi de Mari” (J.M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari Tome III* (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 18; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 2000) 510). If Durand’s interpretation is to be accepted, it is possible that this text provides evidence that Yamḥad was the suzerain of Ugarit.

¹² P. Villard, G. Bardet, F. Joannes, B. Lafont, and D. Soubeyran, *Archives Administratives de Mari I: Publiées pour le cinquantenaire de Mari* (Archives Royales de Mari 23; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984) text ARM 535, vi:1-3 and R.iv:34). Yarîm-Lîm is seen staying at the site of Ugarit, and texts record that goods were sent to him while staying at the site.

Yet the importance of Ugarit as a strategic port city also caught the eye of the kings of Mari. Mari documents record, in relative detail, the journey of Zimri-Lîm, king of Mari, to the coastal port of Ugarit,¹³ where he stayed for roughly one month as he received guests and granted gifts of garments and silver to the kings from neighboring kingdoms such as Qaṭna, Yamḥad, and Ḥaṣor.¹⁴ While we learn from these texts the names of the kings of various cities and smaller kingdoms, we are unfortunately never given the name of the king of Ugarit, or what the royal dynasty at the site may have been. However, given the extended, one-month stay of Zimri-Lîm at the site and the fact that he deemed the city suitable for the reception of kings from across the western reaches of his empire, one would surmise that accommodations at the site must have been both comfortable and sufficiently opulent.

Though Ugarit may have functioned as a key coastal site for the kingdoms of Yamḥad and Mari, it is unclear what degree of autonomy may have been wielded by the kingdom in the Middle Bronze Age. The fact that both Zimri-Lîm and Yarîm-Lîm journeyed to the site could indicate that the kingdom of Ugarit fell under the political control of these larger kingdoms, or perhaps that the kingdom of Ugarit was a significant political entity so as to warrant visits from such kings. Without further textual evidence, the status of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age will remain unknown. Yet, whatever the case may be, unlike the sites of Mari and Alalakh which have yielded destruction layers at the end of the Middle Bronze Age owing to the conquests at the hands of Ḫattušili I and Muṣili I of Ḫatti, no such destruction layer has been found at Ugarit, a point which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, and though the population at the

¹³ J.M. Durand, “Les plus anciennes attestations de la côte occidentale au proche-orient D'Ebla a Mari (XXIV^e-XVIII^e AV. J.-C.),” *Phéniciens D'Orient et D'Occident: Mélanges Josette Elayi* (Cahiers de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France II; A. Lemaire, ed.; Paris: Editions Jean Maisonneuve, 2014) 11-12.

¹⁴ P. Villard, “Un roi de Mari a Ugarit,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 18 (1986): 389-392.

site decreased significantly in the LB I period, the site remained continuously inhabited during the Middle to Late Bronze Age tumultuous transition.

The next historical reference to the polity of Ugarit is found in texts from Alalah IV (ca. 1500-1450 BCE).¹⁵ These texts use the toponym “Ugarit” to refer to a polity which controlled the coastal region to the south of Alalah. Ugarit appeared to emerge as an autonomous political entity at the start of the Late Bronze Age. Throughout this period, though Ugarit must have maintained regular relations with the Mitannian vassal Alalah/Mukiš, there is some indication that it may never have fallen under the suzerainty of the Mitanni kingdom, retaining relative independence.¹⁶ Based upon onomastic evidence from the Late Bronze II period which shows that 15% of the population bore Hurrian names, it is quite likely that there was a high degree of interaction between the polity of Ugarit and the Mitannian Empire during this period. However, this period of autonomy would be relatively short-lived, as the rise of great international powers of the fourteenth century would once again result in the vassalage of Ugarit to either Egypt or Hatti. Yet, throughout the Late Bronze Age, the kingdom of Ugarit would continue to flourish until its collapse in 1185 BCE.¹⁷ From documents from the Late Bronze Hittite Empire and the kingdom of Ugarit, we are able to sketch out the political boundaries of the kingdom of Ugarit in the LB II period, roughly from 1400-1185 BCE.¹⁸

¹⁵ D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953) 157. The Alalah tablets preserve the same spelling of the site as that found in the Mari tablets: *ú-ga-ri-it*.

¹⁶ I. Singer, “A Political History of Ugarit,” *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 619-620. The degree of interaction between the Mitanni empire and the kingdom of Ugarit is unknown. Recent estimates of the onomastic corpus of Ugarit have proposed that roughly 15% of inhabitants of the polity of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age had Hurrian names, as opposed to roughly 80% West Semitic names and another 5% of names in other languages. This evidence does indicate that there was likely contact between the two populations during the course of the Late Bronze Age I and II periods.

¹⁷ Evidence for this toponym is preserved in both alphabetic and syllabic transcription: ^{URU}*ú/u.ga-ri-it* spelled syllabically (UT 351:69, PRU 3 59f:3 – Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary* (2008) 251) and *ùgrt* (RS 1.002:10’ as well as numerous other references).

¹⁸ E. von Dassow, *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalah Under the Mittani Empire* (Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 17; D. Owen and G. Wilhelm, eds.; CDL Press, 2008) 66-67. Primarily from Šuppiluliuma I’s treaty with king Niqmaddu of Ugarit, Von Dassow has reconstructed the territory of

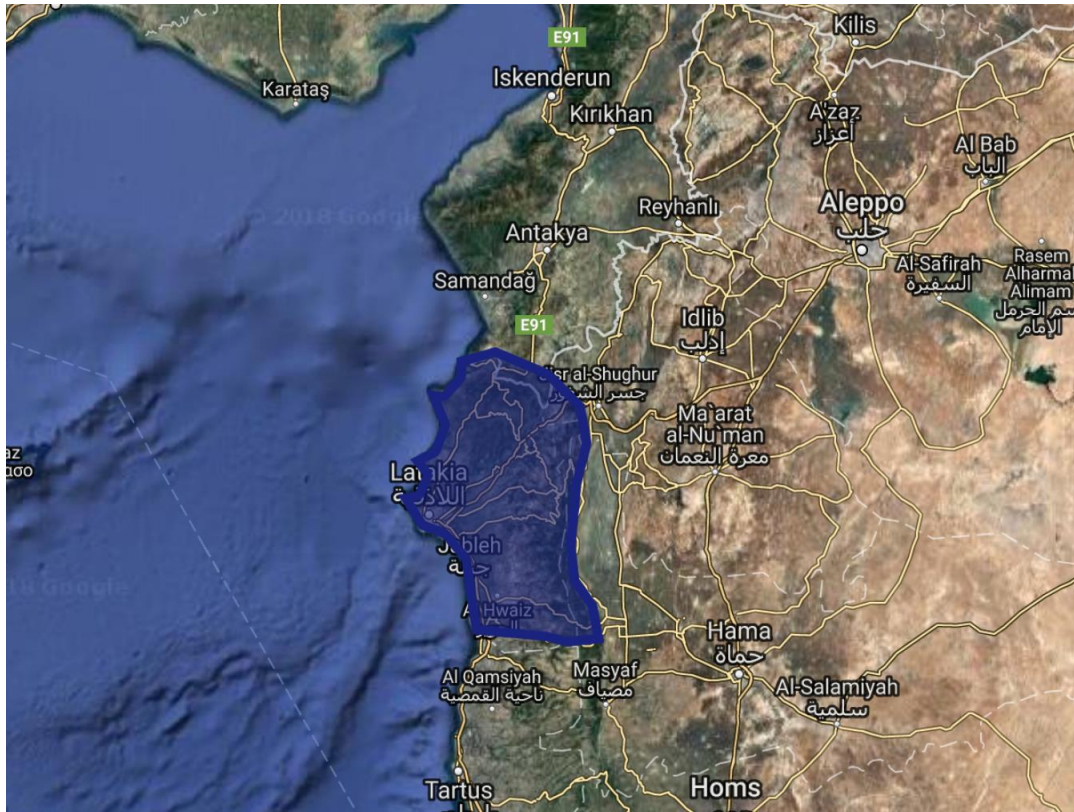


Fig. 3.1: Political borders of the Late Bronze Age polity of Ugarit¹⁹

Middle and Late Bronze Age textual references to the toponym provide secure evidence for the continuous use of the term “Ugarit” to refer not only to the capital city on the tell of Ras Shamra but also to the surround coastal region from roughly 1800 BCE to 1185 BCE.²⁰ As will

the kingdom of Alalakh-Mukish which shared its southern border with the northern border of the kingdom of Ugarit. The Mediterranean coastline served as a stable western border, as did the Syrian Coastal Mountain Range (*Jibāl as-Sāhilīyah*) and the Orontes River basin to the east. The southern border of the territory likely followed the Nahr es-Sinn River which flows out of the Syrian coastal mountains into the Mediterranean Sea just to the north of the coastal town of Baniyas, Syria (Bordreuil and Pardee, *Manual of Ugaritic* (2009) 15-16). These ancient borders are so dictated by topography that they closely match the modern-day borders of the Latakia Governorate of Syria.

¹⁹ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 Google, Maps GISrael, ORION-ME Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

²⁰ S. Lackenbacher and F. Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en Akkadien de la “Maison d’Urtēnu”*: Fouilles de 1994 (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 23; Leuven: Peeters, 2016) 226-227. All three forms of ^{KUR}*u/ú-ga-ri-it*, ^{KUR.URU}*u-ga-ri-it*, and ^{URU}*u-ga-ri-it* are found in the Akkadian texts from the house of Urtenu at Ras Shamra. These texts indicate that both the city itself, as well as the kingdom, were referred to as “Ugarit.” Bordreuil also noted that the particular usage of the terms “city of Ugarit” and “land of the city of Ugarit,” is motivated by the recipient of the document. In his analysis, the normal titular included for internal use is “king of the city of Ugarit,” but when corresponding with foreign courts, the titular is changed to “king of the land of the city of Ugarit” (Bordreuil, *Semitica* 43-44 (1995) 12).

be discussed in detail in chapter four, the archaeological remains from the tell of Ras Shamra also attest a continuous period of settlement at the site from the start of the Middle Bronze IIB period around 1800 BCE until the destruction of the site at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Given this evidence for a 600-year period of continuous habitation at the site, as well as the textual evidence for the use of the toponym “Ugarit” in both the Middle and Late Bronze Age, throughout this study the term “Ugarit” will be used to refer to the political polity that ruled from the capital of Ras Shamra throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.

3.2.2 Amurru/Amorites

The term “Amorite” was first introduced into scholarly discourse as an ethnic descriptor by Ranke who described the West-Semitic-speaking people group of Mesopotamia in the third millennium as the “*mârê Ammurrum*” or “children of the Westland,” seeking to differentiate this population from their Akkadian-speaking compatriots.²¹ The Amorite westerners of the third millennium were seen primarily as uncouth troublemakers of the Ur III Empire, and the following well-known reference to Amorites from a Sumerian text describes how these westerners were viewed by their more cultured eastern counterparts.

The Amorites (MAR.TU) who know no grain...no house nor town, the
boors of the mountains. The Amorite who digs up truffles...who does not
bend his knees (to cultivate the land), who eats raw meat, who has no house
during his lifetime, who is not buried after his death.²²

²¹ H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-Called Hammurabi Dynasty (B.C. 2000)* (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: Series D: Researches and Treatises 3; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1905) 33. Ranke cites two texts in support of this ascription, where residents of Babylon are referring to Western populations. He states, “from this passage we learn that the native Babylonians called these foreign cousins, who had become residents in their country, by the name of “*mârê Ammurrum*” or “children of the Westland.” He goes on further to suggest that this “Westland” likely “included the whole country to the west of the Euphrates, up to the shore of Palestine.”

²² E. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (Cuneiform Series III; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934) 58, 112.

Though the term “Amorite” was used derisively in the third millennium, by the Middle Bronze Age, the term had become a symbol of political strength. Middle Bronze Age kings such as Zimri-Lîm²³ and Hammurapi²⁴ would take on the titular “King of the Amorites” in order to reflect the extent of their political control as well as their kin-based ethnic affiliation. This is not to say that populations living in the traditional “Amorite” territory of the middle Euphrates and the northern Levant in the Middle Bronze Age all perceived themselves as one cohesive “Amorite” ethnic group. Middle Bronze textual sources suggest that the Amorite “tribal” society²⁵ was structured as a hierarchical pyramid. At the base were the local clans, or *lîmû*, and it appears that much of the population may have been closely affiliated with their local *lîmum*. In the second tier were the two main “tribal confederacies” of the Mari kingdom; namely, the Yaminites (or *binû yamina*) and the Sim’alites (or *binû sim’al*). Though only the Yaminites and Sim’alites were under the control of Mari, several other tribal confederacies existed beyond Mari’s borders including the tribal confederacies of Yamḥad and Numḥa. At the pinnacle of this pyramid stood the king who reigned from the capital of Mari. The use of the royal titular “King of the Amorites” was politically strategic as it subsumed all of these smaller groups under a single designation.

²³ J.M. Durand, “Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l’époque amorrite,” *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)* (Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 38; D. Charpin and F. Joannès, Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992) 113, n. 137. King Zimri-Lîm of Mari takes on the titular “King of Akkadians and King of Amorites” (LUGAL *ak-ka-d[i-i]m ù a-m[u-u]r-ri-im*) in letter A.489 which is a still unpublished text. Charpin and Durand discuss the historical context of this text, but do not quote the line in question (Charpin and Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 323, n. 131.a).

²⁴ D.R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 4; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). Hammurapi of Babylon took on two different titles: “king of the Amorites” (LUGAL MAR.TU) (E.4.3.6.2001) and “king of all the Amorite land” (LUGAL DA.GA.NA KUR MAR.TU) (E.4.3.6.8).

²⁵ D. Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 24-32, 39-43. Fleming provides a detailed overview of the terminology as well as the hierarchy built into what he describes as the “tribal society” of Mari. In adopting the title “king of the Amorites,” kings Zimri-Lîm and Hammurapi, all of the local tribes are included under a single moniker. See pages 39-43 of Fleming’s volume for a detailed presentation of the usage of the term “Amorite” in ancient texts and the close association between language and ethnic descriptor.

The very kin-based nature of tribal groups in the Amorite period led to a plethora of local ethnic affiliations and most individuals likely adopted several different ethnic descriptors. For instance, a total of five local *lîmû* comprised the Yaminite tribal confederacy including: the Amananû, Rabbû, Urapû, Yahrurû, and Yarihû.²⁶ A member of the Urapû tribe in the kingdom of Mari may then have considered him/herself an Urapean, a Yaminite, as well as an Amorite.

The other term under question is the geographic territory of “Amurru(m).” In Akkadian the term “amurru” originally referred to the cardinal direction “west.” Yet, overtime, the term took on more targeted references.²⁷ First, the gentilic form of this term *amurrû* began to refer to the “people of the west” or the “Amorites,” a term which is discussed in detail above. Yet, the nominal form *amurru* also took on a second meaning, referring to designated territories in the western coastal regions of the Levant. In the second millennium, the Mari archives provide some limited evidence for the existence of an independent tribal territory of Amurru existed between the tribal confederations of Yamḥad and Qaṭna along the western coastal region of the Levant.²⁸ A much richer picture of the territory of Amurru appears in the Amarna period in the Late Bronze Age II. In that period, Amurru already possessed “a clearly-defined geo-political content, referring to the region extending on both sides of the Eleutheros River, between the middle Orontes and the central Levantine coast.”²⁹ Though the Late Bronze Age territory of Amurru possessed some degree of autonomy, a telling letter from the Pharaoh of Egypt written to Aziru

²⁶ J.M. Durand, “Peuplement et sociétés à l’époque amorrite: Les clans bensim’alites,” *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche Orient ancien* (Amurru 3; C. Nicolle, ed.; Paris, 2004) 158.

²⁷ A.K. Grayson, H.E. Hirsch, E.V. Leichty, M.B. Rowton, D.B. Weisberg, J. Eckenfels, and M. Elswick, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: A, Part 2* (The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1; A.L. Oppenheim, E. Reiner, and R.D. Biggs, eds.; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1968) 92-95.

²⁸ Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors* (2004) 29, 40, also 240, n. 32. Fleming proposes that the second-millennium territory of Amurru should be located between Yamḥad and Qaṭna along the coast, though no text have yet to be discovered which provide a more detailed designation of the location of this territory.

²⁹ I. Singer, “The ‘Land of Amurru’ and the ‘Lands of Amurru’ in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty,” *Iraq* 53 (1991): 69.

of Amurru indicates that from a political perspective, Egypt considered the territory of Amurru to be in the region of Canaan.³⁰ For the purposes of this study, the term “Amurru” will be used only to refer to this Late Bronze Age polity located in coastal Syria.

Based upon the historic significance of the term “Amorite” in the Middle Bronze Age, the term has found purchase in modern scholarship as a general referent for those West-Semitic-speaking population groups residing in the northern Levant and upper Euphrates region. Some have rightly queried whether the term “Amorite” is sufficiently definitive to be valuable for modern research,³¹ and researchers must be wary of overextending the use of this term beyond its original application. However, the significance of the term “Amorite” as a general ethnic descriptor in the Middle Bronze Age underlines the importance of maintaining this term in scholarship as just that, a general term to refer to the West-Semitic-speaking kin-based groups who resided in ancient territories such as Qatna, Yamḥad, and Mari during the Middle Bronze Age.

Yet, over the last century since Ranke first used this term, the application of the term “Amorite” has burgeoned beyond its historic use as a general ethnic descriptor and has come to be used to refer to both linguistic and archaeological corpora; it is the application of this term to describe archaeological material culture that is perhaps the most debated. As noted in the previous two chapters, the Amorites have been prominent historical actors who have been evoked by researchers to explain abrupt changes in the material record such as the de-

³⁰ The Pharaoh writes to Aziru letting him know that he does not want to travel to visit the king of Amurru: “You know that the king does not want (to come) to the land of Canaan in its entirety when he is angry” (*ti₇-i-de₉ at-tá ki-i LUGAL la-a ḥa-ši-iḥ / a-na^{KUR} ki-na-á'-i gáb-bá-ša ki-i i-ra-ú-ub*) suggesting that the Egyptian Pharaoh perceived of Amurru as part of the territory of Canaan. Both Lemche (*The Canaanites and Their Land* (1991) 34-35) and Rainey (*BASOR* 304 (1996) 7) take this reference to show that Amurru, from an Egyptian perspective, was considered to be part of the territory of Canaan.

³¹ D. Ilan, Review of *Ugaritic and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, 1992*, by A. Burke. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71:1 (2012): 164-167. Ilan has suggested that he is “not sure how ethnically definitive the term ‘Amorite’ was in the second millennium and even less sure how operative it is for modern research.”

urbanization of the Levant in the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA)³² or for the re-emergence of urbanism at the start of the Middle Bronze Age.³³ Subsequent research has, however, shown that climate change, and not Amorites, appears to have been primarily responsible for the collapse of urbanism in the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). The cause of the re-emergence of urbanism and the appearance of unique material features in the material record at the onset of the Middle Bronze Age cannot, however, be identified so simply with natural phenomena.

While some have avoided applying ethnic terminology to the appearance of these unique material features, those who favor an Amorite hypotheses for the re-emergence of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age have closely linked material remains with Amorite population groups. Recent studies have appropriated the term “Amorite” or “Amorite *koinē*” to refer to the appearance of various material cultural remains that have been discovered at sites throughout the Fertile Crescent. Studies by Silver³⁴ and Porter³⁵ have sought to apply the term to third-millennium remains of semi-nomadic populations, while Nichols and Weber,³⁶ Pinnock,³⁷ and

³² K. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1963; London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 65, 76. Kenyon suggested that the collapse of Early Bronze III settlements was caused by “nomad invaders,” who destroyed the urban centers and brought with them their nomadic pastoral lifestyle well suited for the southern Levant.

³³ A.A. Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven”: *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 91-92. Unlike Kenyon, whose initial theory posited Amorite invading forces moving into the southern Levant at the start of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) resulting in the collapse of Early Bronze III urbanism, Burke attributes the rise of urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age to Amorite migrations.

³⁴ Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism* (2000) 30. Silver notes two basic methodological problems for locating Amorites in the material record: “(1) how to attain archaeological data concerning the Amorites and 2) how to specify which features in the material remains are peculiar to the Amorites?”

³⁵ A. Porter, “You Say Potato, I say.... Typology, Chronology and the Origins of the Amorites,” *Varia Anatolica* 19 (2007).

³⁶ J. Nichols and J. Weber, “Amorites, Onagers, and Social Reorganization in Middle Bronze Age Syria,” *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies* (G. Schwartz and J. Nichols, eds.; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006) 38-57.

³⁷ F. Pinnock, “EB IVB-MBI in Northern Syria: Crisis and Change of a Mature Urban Civilisation,” *The Levant in Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the British Museum on 20-21 April 2004* (PEF Annual IX; P. Parr, ed.; Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009) 79. Pinnock uses the descriptor “Amorite” to refer to a constellation of material remains including architecture, art, ceramics, and economic practices.

Burke³⁸ have applied the term to the appearance of specific urban features in the second millennium. With such a wide range of applications of the description “Amorite,” it may seem as though the term has become sufficiently watered down so as to no longer be operative for modern research.

Yet it is in the search for the historical significance of these various material remains that the ethnic label “Amorite” has been applied to the appearance of unique features. For sites such as Mari, where the wealth of Middle Bronze Age archives attest the Amorite affiliation of its inhabitants, there is less difficulty describing the material remains which this population left behind as “Amorite” For sites further afield on the Syrian coast at sites such as Ugarit or Byblos or even sites in the southern Levant such as Ḥaṣor or Shechem, it is more debatable as to whether the term “Amorite” can apply to the populations who inhabited those sites in the Middle Bronze Age.

It is this debate which is at the center of the current study on the site of Ugarit. Since no texts have been uncovered from the Middle Bronze Age period to grant insight into the affiliation of the population, the question remains as to whether the archaeological remains might provide us with a window into the composition of the population. Over the course of the next chapter, the Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age I material assemblage of the site of Ugarit will be analyzed and compared with other sites throughout the Levant and northern Mesopotamia. It will be shown that this specific constellation of material features found at Ugarit is repeated at numerous sites throughout the region, and we will explore whether the translocation of this cluster of material features can be linked historically with the migration of kin-based West-Semitic speaking groups of the northern Levant who appropriated for themselves

³⁸ A.A. Burke, “Entanglement, the Amorite Koiné, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant,” *Zoroastrianism in the Levant and the Amorites* (ARAM 26:1-2; Oxford: Aram Publishing, 2014) 360-362.

the ethnic term “Amorite” in the Middle Bronze Age. If such a historical link seems plausible, then we might be able to apply the terminology “Amorite cultural *koiné*” to this specific cluster of features. We will not attempt to fully define this term here, but we will return to provide a more succinct definition of this terminology following our analysis in the following chapters.

3.2.3 Canaanites and the Land of Canaan

Three different terms are used in the Bronze Age sources to refer to the land of Canaan or the population residing in that region: the gentilic or *nisbe* form “Canaanite,” the appellative “one of Canaan” used to describe the origin or affiliation of individuals, and finally the “land of Canaan” as a geographic or political region. The gentilic term “Canaanite” first appears early in the second millennium BCE and continues in use until the fifth century CE,³⁹ boasting a 2,500 year period of use. With such a long history, we will not make an attempt to analyze the full history of the meaning and usage of this term. Rather, the focus here will be on laying out the historical evidence for the political borders of the land of Canaan in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as well as a brief analysis of what people groups may have been residing in that region.

The earliest reference to “Canaanites” is found in the Mari Archives in a letter written from a certain Mut-Bisir to king Yasma‘-Addu of Mari,⁴⁰ dated by Charpin and Ziegler precisely to the year 1778 BCE, just two years before Yasma‘-Addu would be ousted by Zimri-Lîm.⁴¹ Mut-Bisir recounts the situations of several towns and people groups in the southern Levant,

³⁹ M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 11. The latest textual reference to the Canaanites comes from the writings of Saint Augustine in his *Epistulae ad Romanos* 13. Augustine noted that the population residing in North Africa in the fifth century CE called themselves *Chanani*. It appeared that following the Iron Age, the Phoenicians took on the term “Canaanite” to refer to themselves, and that this term persisted well into the Greek and Roman periods.

⁴⁰ G. Dossin, “Une Mention De Cananéens Dans Une Lettre De Mari,” *Syria* 50 3/4 (1973): 277-82. The letter is text A.3552 which was discovered at the site of Mari.

⁴¹ D. Charpin and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l’époque amorrite: Essai d’histoire politique* (Florilegium marianum 5; Paris: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, 2003) 150.

though the lines that are of interest here, describe two groups of people, the Habbatūm⁴² and the Kinaḥnūm (LÚ *ha-ab-ba-tum* ù LÚ *ki-na-ah-nīm*^{MEŠ}), who were then residing in the town of Raḥiṣum.⁴³ The town Raḥiṣum has been equated with the town Ruḥizzi known from the Amarna letters,⁴⁴ and was likely located near the city of Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend), which is located in modern-day Syria.⁴⁵ Whatever the precise meaning of the term may have been, it is clear that the gentilic form *Kinaḥnīm* refers to a people group residing at the northern frontier of the southern Levant in 1776 BCE. Unfortunately, no further attestations of the term are found in the Mari archives, so few conclusions can be drawn as to the location or makeup of this group in the Middle Bronze Age.

The textual record is silent for several hundred years, until there is a burgeoning of references to people living in the region of Canaan in the Late Bronze I period. The earliest Late Bronze Age references to Canaan or Canaanites come from the administrative texts uncovered in Alalah IV.⁴⁶ Legal text AT 48:4-5 records a large debt owed by “Ba’laya, a man of the city of Canaan” whose wife and children would stand as pledge until the debt was repaid. Na’aman has argued that it is the legal nature of this text that lends credence to the fact that Canaan was

⁴² J.M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari II* (Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient 17; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998) 29-31. Durand has proposed that the gentilic term *habbatūm* is derived from the verb *ḥabātum* meaning “to circulate,” and has proposed that the term should refer to a people group that was “on the move” or migrating from place to place, perhaps, in his estimation, a semi-nomadic people group.

⁴³ Durand, *LAPO* 17 (1998) 29-31. A.3552:9’-10’. Durand has translated these two lines as following: “Des gitans et des gens du pays de Canaan se sont installés dans Raḥiṣum même” (LÚ *ha-ab-ba-tum* ù LÚ *ki-na-ah-nīm*^{MEŠ} *i-na ra-ḥi-ṣi-im (ki)-ma wa-ṣi-ib*), referring to the *Habbatūm* as “gypsies” or as wondering travelers, and to the *Kinaḥnūm* as the men of Canaan. The town Raḥiṣum only occurs in this one text from the Mari archives, so identification for the location of this town must be found in later sources.

⁴⁴ J.M. Durand, “Villes fantômes de Syrie et autres lieux,” *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* 7 (1987): 219-220. Durand has proposed equating Raḥiṣum with the town Ruḥizzi known from the Amarna letters (Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (1992) 191).

⁴⁵ Durand, *LAPO* 17 (1998) 30. Since this is the first reference to Canaanites in the historical record, it is unclear how early this group may have arrived in the region, or when this ethnic term may have developed. The only limited conclusion that can be drawn from the appearance of this term is that this distinct ethnic group had already emerged by the eighteenth century to refer to population groups residing in the southern Levant.

⁴⁶ Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets* (1953) 46, 71. Text AT 48:4-5 records the existence of “Ba’laya, a man of the city of Canaan” (*Ba-a-la-ia* LÚ^{URU} *Ki-in-a-ni*^{KI}) and text AT 181:9 makes reference to “Šarniya, a son of the land of Canaan” (*Šar-ni-ia* DUMU^{KUR} *Ki-in-a-ni*^{KI}).

understood as a distinct geographic entity in the Late Bronze I period, at the time of the Alalah IV corpus (ca. 1500-1450 BCE).⁴⁷ Another significant reference to the land of Canaan from Alalah is found in the Idrimi statue (ca. 1500 BCE). Idrimi records his flight from Emar into the coastal Levantine region. In his account of his journey he makes reference to the land of Canaan as follows: “I came to the land of Canaan. The city of Ammiya is located in the land of Canaan” (*a-na ma-at Ki-in-a-ni^{KI} / al-li-ik i-na ma-at Ki-in-a-ni^{KI} / URU Am-mi-ia^{KI}*).⁴⁸ The city of Ammiya should likely be equated with the modern-day city of Amyûn near Byblos in Lebanon.⁴⁹ This evidence suggests that Canaan perhaps referred to the territory along the Phoenician coast, south of the kingdoms of Alalah and Ugarit.

Contemporary fifteenth-century evidence from the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt also makes reference to Canaanites coming from somewhere in the southern Levant. The first reference to Canaanites in Egyptian texts comes from the reign of Amenhotep II (1427-1400) who is recorded as bringing back 640 Canaanites (“*ki-na- ‘nu*”) to Memphis following his Asiatic campaign in the first year of his reign.⁵⁰ This reference from the Egyptian eighteenth dynasty is significant since it serves to illustrate that Egypt had dominance over the area of Canaan in the southern Levant since the conquest of the region at the hands of Thutmose III at the beginning of the fifteenth century, a dominance which would be maintained throughout the Late Bronze Age.⁵¹

⁴⁷ N. Na’aman, “Four Notes on the Size of Late Bronze Age Canaan,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 313 (1999): 32.

⁴⁸ S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi* (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara 1; London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1949) plate 9-10. Stele of Idrimi, lines 18-20.

⁴⁹ A.F. Rainey, “Who is a Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 304 (1996): 4.

⁵⁰ J. Hoffmeier, “The Memphis and Karnak Stelae of Amenhotep II (2.3),” *The Context of Scripture. Volume II: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (W. Hallo and K.L. Younger, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 19-23.

⁵¹ Na’aman, *BASOR* 313 (1999) 34.

These sparse references ranging from the eighteenth to the fifteenth centuries serve to provide historical continuity for the use of the terms “Canaan” and “Canaanites” referring to the territory of the southern Levant; however, they do not provide sufficient details to reconstruct the territory of Canaan in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze I periods. The most abundant evidence regarding the territory of Canaan and the Canaanites residing in the region is found in the Amarna letters from the fourteenth century. Canaan or Canaanites are mentioned in twelve Amarna letters,⁵² all of which appear to refer to a distinct geopolitical entity on the chess board of Late Bronze Age international relations.⁵³ The Mitannian king writes to the “kings of the land of Canaan, the servants of my brother (Egypt)” to grant safe passage to his ambassador who has been dispatched on a mission to Egypt.⁵⁴ Though these kings ruled over autonomous kingdoms in Canaan which frequently were at war with one another, when interacting with foreign kingdoms, they were perceived, to some extent, as a geopolitical unit, governing piecemeal over the Egyptian vassal territory of Canaan.

The king of Babylon also corresponded with Canaanite rulers of the southern Levant. Burna-Burriaš, the Kassite ruler of Babylon in the mid-fourteenth century, recalls a time when the Canaanite rulers called upon Babylon for support: “In (the reign of) Kurigalzu, my predecessor, all the Canaanites wrote to him saying: ‘Come to the border of the country, so we

⁵² EA 8:13-21,25; EA 9:19-21; EA 14: II, 26; EA 30:1-2; EA 36:15 (reading *ki-na-’i* is uncertain, but likely references the land of Canaan); EA 109:44-46; EA 110:48-49 (reading *ki-’na’-[á’-ni]* is again very uncertain); EA 137:75-76; EA 148:39-47; EA 151: 49-67; EA 162:40-41; EA 367:7-8.

⁵³ I will not fully detail the history of the debate on this point; however, it is sufficient to point out that Lemche initially proposed that in the Amarna letters, “the references to Canaan are usually rather general or imprecise” and that the inhabitants of the territory did not know “exactly where Canaan was situated” (Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land* (1991) 39). Rainey (*BASOR* 304 (1996) 4) and Na’aman (*BASOR* 313 (1999)) each responded with harsh criticism of this claim, stating that all of the references to Canaan in the Amarna tablets make it clear that Canaan was a distinct political entity in the Late Bronze Age. Rainey states that “there can be no doubt that the national affiliation of each of those people is with a recognized political and geographical entity, a city-state on the Palestinian coast.”

⁵⁴ Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (1992) 100. EA 30:1-2. The text reads: *a-na LUGAL^{MEŠ} ša^{KUR} Ki-na-a-á’[-ij] / IR^{MEŠ} ŠEŠ-ia.*

can revolt and become your allies.”⁵⁵ This might perhaps be the most significant reference to the Canaanites in the Amarna letters since it references the Kassite ruler of Babylon, Kurigalzu, whose reign lasted through the first part of the fourteenth century, ending ca. 1375 BCE.⁵⁶ This reference provides the earliest evidence for correspondence between the geopolitical territory of Canaan and foreign powers. Like the Mitannian ruler and the king of Babylon, the Pharaoh of Egypt similarly refers to the territory of the Levant as the “land of Canaan” (^{KUR}*ki-na-á’-’i*).⁵⁷ The Egyptian pharaoh was regularly in contact with these local rulers as the land of Canaan fell under the political jurisdiction of Egypt, as seen by a reference to an Egyptian official who was over the land of Canaan.⁵⁸ All of these references show that the great kings of the fourteenth century perceived of Canaan as a defined territory with formal representatives, hence a political entity.

Evidence from the site of Ugarit also supports the view that Canaan was seen as a political entity distinct from Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age. One Akkadian letter found at Ugarit makes reference to a court case between the “sons of Ugarit” and the “sons of Canaan.”⁵⁹ In the letter, the court of Ugarit addresses the Egyptian Pharaoh, confirming that reparation has been paid to the “sons of Canaan” whose caravan had been seized in the kingdom of Ugarit. As Na’aman has noted, the very fact that the Ugaritic court was corresponding with the Egyptian

⁵⁵ Rainey, *BASOR* 304 (1996) 7. EA 9:19-21. The text reads: *i-na Ku-ri-gal-zu a-bi-ia ki-na-’a₄-ayyu-ú ga-ab-bi-šu-nu / a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi-šu il₅-ta-ap-ru-ni um-ma-a a-na qa-an-ni KUR / ku-uš-da-am-ma-i na-ba-al-ki-ta-am-ma / [it-t]i-ka i ni-ša-ki-in.*

⁵⁶ T. Clayden, *Dūr-Kurigalzu: New Perspectives*,” *Karduniaš: Babylonia Under the Kassites* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter Inc., 2017) 437.

⁵⁷ EA 162:40-41.

⁵⁸ Rainey, *BASOR* 304 (1996) 8. EA 148:46-47. Abimilki of Tyre tells the Pharaoh to seek information regarding the political intrigues of the land of Canaan from the Egyptian official who was apprised of the situation (*li-iš-al LUGAL LÚ.MAŠKÍM-šu ša i-de₄ / ^{KUR}ki-na-á’-na* “may the king ask his official who knows of the land of Canaan”). Though explicit reference to where this official might have been located is unknown, it is tempting to connect this with the Egyptian official’s palace uncovered atop the tell of Beth She’an dating to the Late Bronze Age and first constructed in the eighteenth dynasty (Mazar, *CHANE* 52 (2011) 155).

⁵⁹ S. Lackenbacher, *Ugaritica V* no. 36. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 3 (1994): 51. RS 20.182+20.181. Lines 5 and 6 include the ethnic terminology “sons of Ugarit” (*DUMU^{MES KUR} ú-ga-ri-it*) and “sons of Canaan” (*DUMU^{MES KUR} ki-na-ḫi*).

pharaoh, suggests that Egypt had stepped in to arbitrate the case since “Canaan was the territory of the Pharaoh, and it was his responsibility to protect his vassals in the other Great Kings’ lands and to defend their rights in foreign countries.”⁶⁰ Though details surrounding the seizure of the Canaanite caravan are scarce, relations between Ugarit and Canaan to the south were sufficiently hostile that not only was the Canaanite caravan seized upon entering their territory, but Egypt was forced to step in to ensure safe arbitration and payment of reparation. Another administrative text from Ugarit helps to cement the idea that Ugaritians considered themselves distinct from Canaanites. The text references a merchant by the name of “Ya‘ilu, the Canaanite” (*y’l . kn ‘ny*)⁶¹ providing some indication that the gentilic description “Canaanite” defined the origin of this particular merchant at the site of Ugarit, and that he was perceived as distinct from the local, Ugaritian population. These two texts from Ugarit make it clear that, at least from an Ugaritian perspective, Canaan was viewed as a distinct entity with which they had regular dealings.

These textual sources also provide sufficient detail to allow for a reconstruction of political borders of the land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. The Amarna letters provide valuable information as to the northern border of the land of Canaan. Several letters record that the cities of Acco and Hinnatuni⁶² are referenced as being in the “land of Canaan,”⁶³ and the cities of Sidon and Ḥaṣor are also referenced as being under the jurisdiction of the Egyptian commissioner in Canaan.⁶⁴ A telling letter from the Pharaoh of Egypt written to Aziru of Amurru

⁶⁰ Na‘aman, *BASOR* 313 (1999) 35.

⁶¹ RS 11.840 (KTU 4.96). I provide here the full transcription of the text, but the relevant gentilic formulae are included in bold: *bdl . gt . bn . tbšn / bn . mnyy . š’rty / **āryn . ādddy** / āgptr / šb’l . mlky / **n’mn . mšry** / y’l . kn’ny / gdn . bn . ūmy / kn’m . š’rty / ābrpū . ūbr’y / b . gt . bn . **il’ / ilḏ** . b . gt . [[y]]psḥn*. The reference to an Ashdodite (*ādddy*) and an Egyptian (*mšry*) provide parallelism for the interpretation of the descriptor “Canaanite” (*kn’ny*) as a gentilic.

⁶² N.P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 33. Lemche proposes the town of Hinnatuni should likely be equated with the city of Hannaton (חננתון) mentioned in Joshua 19:14 as being located in the territory of Zebulun in Galilee.

⁶³ EA 8:13-21.

⁶⁴ Rainey, *BASOR* 304 (1996) 9. EA 148:39-47.

also suggests that the territory of Amurru was considered, from an Egyptian perspective, to be in the region of Canaan.⁶⁵ We gain further evidence as to southern extent of the land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age from a late nineteenth dynasty Egyptian source, the Papyrus Anastasi I.⁶⁶ This text describes the region of Canaan in great detail, as beginning at the coast of Lebanon and extending beyond Joppa to the “end of the land of Canaan,” even to the city of Gaza.⁶⁷ The letter makes reference to the Way of Horus on the border of Egypt, but precisely how far south the land of Canaan may have extended is unknown. From this brief review of the references to specific locations, we can approximately reconstruct the political boundaries of the land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ As noted above, the Pharaoh likely perceived of Amurru as part of the territory of Canaan. Both Lemche (*The Canaanites and Their Land* (1991) 34-35) and Rainey (*BASOR* 304 (1996) 7) take this reference to show that Amurru, from an Egyptian perspective, was considered to be part of the territory of Canaan.

⁶⁶ E.F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Society of Biblical Literature: Writings from the Ancient World; E. Meltzer, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 98-110. Wente dates the text to the second half of the nineteenth dynasty (1292-1189 BCE), roughly to the end of the Late Bronze Age.

⁶⁷ Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land* (1991) 53. This delineation of the region is based upon the descriptions found in several different second-millennium sources. The Papyrus Anastasi I describes the region of Canaan as beginning at the coast of Lebanon and extending beyond Joppa to the “end of the land of Canaan.”

⁶⁸ J. Hackett, “Canaan and Canaanites,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East Volume I* (E. Meyers, ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 409. We follow here Hackett’s review of the territory of Canaan as extending from “the south at Wadi al-‘Arish, reaching north to the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon Mountain ranges. The western border was of course, the Mediterranean, and the eastern was Transjordan (mostly the Bashan) and the Jordan River and Dead Sea farther south.”



Fig. 3.2: Territories of Ugarit and Canaan in the Late Bronze Age⁶⁹

The map above provides the geographic extent of the territory of the land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age, but unfortunately, due to the paucity of attestations prior to the fifteenth century, it is unclear what the Middle Bronze Age boundaries of Canaan may have been.

Throughout these texts, individuals referred to as “Canaanites” or “sons of Canaan” were those who were perceived as residing in the land of Canaan, the borders of which have been defined above. This does not mean, however, that the population of Canaan was a homogeneous ethnic

⁶⁹ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 Google, Maps GISrael, ORION-ME Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

group or even that residents of Canaan actually perceived themselves as “Canaanites.” In fact, what is perhaps most interesting about the above texts, is that all references to Canaan and Canaanites are found in letters written from outside of Canaan. In no text written by “Canaanite” rulers did one refer to himself as a “Canaanite” or to the territory in which he resided as the “land of Canaan.” Rather they presented themselves as independent monarchs who ruled over autonomous kingdoms, whose affiliation was to their local tribe or location, as opposed to some larger concept of Canaan. Yet, when politically motivated, these independent groups could join together in order to present a unified front to the great kings of the region, as represented by the king of Babylon who may have been simplifying things considerably. Much the way the term “Amorite” was leveraged politically to refer to all the tribal groups residing in the territories of Yamḥad, Qatna, and Mari in the Middle Bronze Age, the term “Canaanite” was used as a general term which encompassed all tribal groups of the southern Levant.

Thus, in using the term “Canaanite” to refer to individuals residing in the southern Levantine region of “Canaan” in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, we are not making a claim about their ethnic affiliations. Rather, the term “Canaanite” is used to refer to those individuals who resided in the political territory of “Canaan.” The political territory of Canaan was recognized by the great kings of the Late Bronze Age, and was distinct from its northern neighbors Ugarit and Alalah. Since the first reference to Canaanites appears in the Mari letter dating from 1778 BCE, followed by several references in the fifteenth century, we here propose that Canaan was, in all likelihood, already perceived as a distinct territory in the Middle Bronze Age. This distinction was maintained throughout the Late Bronze Age, during which time Ugarit and Canaan were viewed as distinct political entities.

The main open question which we are left with is “How early can the term ‘Canaanite’ be applied to populations residing in the southern Levant?” The earliest occurrence of the term “Canaanite” in the Middle Bronze Age texts from Mari seems to lend credence to the fact that this was already a recognized and productive ethnic descriptor in the Middle Bronze Age. The presence of Canaanite populations in the southern Levant in the Middle Bronze Age is further supported by the fact that Egyptian sources from the Late Bronze Age I consistently preserve the Canaanite Shift only in toponyms from the southern Levantine making it quite likely that the Canaanite Shift had developed several centuries earlier in the Middle Bronze Age.⁷⁰ However, since no other textual references to “Canaan” or the “Canaanites” are known referencing a population in the southern Levant during the Early, Intermediate, or Middle Bronze Ages, it is unknown when a population which might be defined as “Canaanite” may have first “emerged” or “arrived” in the southern Levant.

In seeking to define the term “Canaanites,” Tubb has proposed that “they represent the indigenous population of the Levant, the people who had always dwelt in that region since the time of the very earliest settled communities in remote prehistory.”⁷¹ Without textual sources to provide early evidence for the existence of the Canaanites in the southern Levant, Tubb bases this definition on the fact that the material record shows continuity of settlement throughout the Early Bronze II, Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA), and Middle Bronze periods, making it clear that a local, indigenous population continued to reside in the region of the southern Levant

⁷⁰ J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 492-495. Hoch has provided detailed evidence for the presence of the Canaanite Shift only in toponyms from the southern Levant in Egyptian textual evidence. The shift is first attested consistently in the fifteenth century, during the reign of Thutmose III. The evidence for the emergence of the shared innovations of the Canaanite languages will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

⁷¹ J. Tubb, *Canaanites* (Peoples of the Past Series; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 13-14. Tubb proposes that continuity for the Canaanite population can be traced back to the eighth millennium in the Levant. Whether this is accurate, or whether a Canaanite population group migrated to the northern Levant at a later time is unknown.

throughout this transitional period. For the purposes of definitions, the term “Canaanite” will be used to refer to this indigenous population which resided in the southern Levant throughout the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA) and Middle Bronze Age. This population was already recognized as an independent ethnic group distinct from their northern Amorite neighbors, as attested in the seventeenth-century text from Mari.

3.3 Linguistic Corpus, Methodology, and Definitions

The above description has delineated the historical evidence for Ugarit, the Amorites, and the Canaanites in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Though these terms were used as political and ethnic markers in the Bronze Age Levant, these terms have also been adopted to refer to various language families. Yet, the discussion of the previous chapter has made it evident that there currently exists no consensus in the field as to the linguistic orientation of Ugaritic in the West Semitic language continuum of the Bronze Age. The lack of clarity surrounding the position of Ugaritic is in large part due to the yet unanswered question regarding the linguistic position of the “Amorite” languages in West Semitic. Though there is a relatively large amount of evidence for the state of Northwest Semitic languages in the Late Bronze Age (Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite) there has been no study that has included the evidence for Northwest Semitic languages in the Middle Bronze Age. In order to address this, we must compile what evidence may exist for the Northwest Semitic languages in the Middle Bronze Age; then once these data have been compiled, a detailed analysis of the linguistic subgrouping of the Northwest Semitic languages can be conducted, comparing Ugaritic to the other Northwest Semitic languages from a historical-linguistic perspective.

The methodological challenge comes in identifying and compiling the relevant Northwest Semitic evidence from the Middle Bronze Age. The vast majority of evidence is from the challenging onomastic material which has in the past been described as “Amorite.” The classical Amorite corpus initially compiled by Gelb⁷² and further enlarged and refined by subsequent onomastic evidence which has continued to emerge from sites such as Mari,⁷³ Tuttul,⁷⁴ and other sites in the region over the past forty years, is comprised of over 7,000 West Semitic names found in syllabic cuneiform, attested from 2600 BCE to the Late Bronze Age. This body of West Semitic material will henceforth be referred to as “Classical Amorite” for clarity. Onomastic evidence included in this classical corpus not only spans a millennium, but it also has an extensive geographic span ranging from the Mesopotamian heartland of the Ur III dynasty, to the Sinjar Mountains in northern Mesopotamia, to Mari in the central Euphrates region, into the western sites of Qatna and Ugarit in the northern Levant, and even to sites such as Ḥaṣor and Dan in the southern Levant.

Since the corpus is attested over a millennium across numerous regions, many scholars have challenged whether “Amorite” as such can be considered a “single linguistic entity.”⁷⁵ Huehnergard states that “it is likely...that [Amorite] names represent not a single language, or even necessarily a continuum of closely related dialects, but rather a diverse set of languages.”⁷⁶ Without geographic or temporal nuance, little can be said about the linguistic orientation of

⁷² I.J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980).

⁷³ All West Semitic onomastic evidence which had been deciphered by the late 1970s is included in Gelb’s volume. However, as subsequent texts have been published, further West Semitic onomastic evidence has been uncovered at Mari. A complete review of the methodology for compiling these names is discussed below.

⁷⁴ M. Krebernik, *Tall Bi’a - Tuttul - II: Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 100; Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001). Since Krebernik’s work was published in 2001, the vast majority of the West Semitic onomastic evidence from Tuttul was not included in the most recent studies of Amorite.

⁷⁵ J. Huehnergard, “The Semitic Languages,” *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (J. Sasson ed.; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995) 2118.

⁷⁶ J. Huehnergard, “Languages: Introductory Survey,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary IV: K-N* (D.N. Freedman ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 159.

“Amorite” or its features. It is imperative then that Amorite not be viewed as a single unified language, but as a series of dialects, or even independent languages, that likely exhibit their own distinct linguistic markers. Considering whether it is possible to show dialect variation from onomastic evidence only, Streck has noted that dialect variation between Assyrian and Babylonian Akkadian has been noted purely in onomastic evidence.⁷⁷ Based on this evidence he suggests that though conclusions may be limited, the careful pursuit of dialectology in Amorite is possible, and indeed, necessary.⁷⁸ The Mari archives provide historical evidence that dialect variation certainly existed, as has already been noted in the area of the Sinjar mountains⁷⁹ and variants in phoneme representation in Babylon.⁸⁰ Early scholars of Amorite studies such as Gelb⁸¹ and Buccellati⁸² noted possible dialect variation, but the corpus was still far too limited to allow for the delineation of individual dialects. But over the past four decades, as more Amorite onomastic material continues to emerge from sites such as Alalah, Mari, and Tuttul, a large corpus of Amorite names from the northern Levant in the Middle Bronze Age is now accessible. It is necessary, then, for scholars to no longer evaluate Amorite as a single language group, but to

⁷⁷ M. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit. Band 1: Die Amurriter, Die onomastische Forschung, Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 144. Streck notes the phonological variance between Assyrian and Babylonian as regards a series of verbal forms such as Assyrian D-stem imperative *balliṭ* compared with *bulliṭ* in Babylonian. He notes that “Wir sehen, dass dialektale Unterschiede in der Sprache der Namensträger wenigstens rudimentär auch im Onomastikon reflektiert werden.”

⁷⁸ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 144. Streck notes that “die Erkennbarkeit von Dialekten dürfte daher weniger eine prinzipielle als eine Frage des Umfangs des Namensmaterials sein. Für das Amurritische ergibt sich die Forderung, die Namen im Hinblick auf mögliche Dialekte differenziert zu betrachten.”

⁷⁹ A. Miglio, *The Dynamics of International Politics and the Reign of Zimri-Lim* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014) 197. We know from texts that dialects differed between these regions. One key example of this dialect difference comes from text ARM 27.116, where we find *Numḥa* men from *Kurda*, a city just south of the Sinjar mountains, roughly 340 km north of Mari, who are in need of a translator when they arrive in Mari. If such distinct dialects existed between Sinjar and Mari, then the hypothesis is that other dialects had formed in the other regions. Though no explicit reference is made to what language would have been spoken by the *Numḥa* men, several textual references provide implicit evidence for the Amorite affiliation of this tribal confederacy. Fleming has noted that “both Ḥammurapi of Babylon and Šamši-Addu of Ekallatum and the Mesopotamian kingdom remember family connections with Amorite tribal peoples well known from Mari: the Yaminite Amnanū and the *Numḥa*, the tribe that retained a lesser political seat at Kurda” (Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors* (2004) 123, 127, and 159.

⁸⁰ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 213-214.

⁸¹ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 7.

⁸² G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples: Instituto Orientale di Napoli, 1966) 188.

begin the detailed process of distinguishing dialects or language substrata present within the broader classical Amorite corpus.

Though dialect variances have been noted, no study of Amorite has yet attempted to systematically classify dialects, partially due to the difficult nature of determining the geographic origin of onomastics and of the individuals who bore them. Streck has made initial forays into dialectology, identifying certain dialectal variances in his grammar⁸³ and by sorting out personal names by region.⁸⁴ But because no index of Amorite personal names listed by site or region exists, West Semitic dialectology in the Middle Bronze Age is still virtually inaccessible.

The current study begins with the goal of delimiting the corpus of Amorite personal names found in the western region during the Middle Bronze Age. In order to truly evaluate linguistic variation, Amorite material must be demarcated based upon both temporal and geographical parameters, and then one must go through the painstaking work of identifying which personal names fit within these parameters. Since our study concerns the historical origins of the polity of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age, I have decided to limit the scope of the Amorite onomastic corpus to the Middle Bronze Age, roughly from 1950 BCE to 1600 BCE. I have further limited the geographic scope of the corpus by including only the onomastic evidence which arose from the northern Levantine region surrounding the site of Ugarit. The political boundaries of the Middle Bronze Age polities of Yamḥad and Qatna provide the ideal scope for the corpus. The territories of Yamḥad and Qatna stretched from the Ḥabur River in the

⁸³ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 213-214.

⁸⁴ M. Streck, "Die Amurriter der altbabylonischen Zeit im Spiegel des Onomastikons" *Politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausendwende: 3. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 4.-7. April 2000 in Frankfurt/Main und Marburg/Lahn* (Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 3; J. Meyer and W. Sommerfeld, eds.; Berlin: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Kommission bei SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2004) 313-356. In this work Streck provides the numbers of individuals from each region, but does not provide an index of names or what site they may come from. In personal correspondence with Dr. Streck, he provided very helpful feedback as to how he compiled this list of names and how best to determine the origin of the onomastic evidence.

East to the Mediterranean coast in the West and from the southern border of the Zagros Mountains in the north to just north of Damascus in the south.⁸⁵



Fig. 3.3: Middle Bronze Age polities in the Fertile Crescent⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Charpin and Ziegler, *Florilegium Marianum* 5 (2003) 263-268. Charpin and Ziegler have identified nine different regions mentioned in the Mari archives including: Iran, Lower Mesopotamia, the Tigris region, the Sinjar mountain range, the region north of the Sinjar mountain range, the Ḥabur River basin, the Baliḥ River basin, the Middle Euphrates, and finally northern Syria and Palestine. The political borders of Yamḥad and Qatna roughly correspond to three of the regions identified by Charpin and Ziegler: the Ḥabur River basin, part of the Baliḥ River basin, and northern Syria and Palestine.

⁸⁶ N. Ziegler, "Les données des archives royales de Mari sur le milieu naturel et l'occupation humaine en Syrie centrale," *Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital: Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna and in Central-Western Syria* (Studi Archeologici su Qatna 1; D. Morandi Bonacossi, ed.; Udine, Italy: Forum, 2007) 311-318. Unfortunately, the locations of many of the sites listed are known only approximately, though it is clear from the Mari texts that they can be located in the western region. Only those sites whose locations are known are included in the map above.

The political borders of these polities were by no means fixed, and there is significant evidence for peripheral cities, such as Tuttul,⁸⁷ regularly changing hands between these western kingdoms and the more dominate polity of Mari. For this reason, I have here expanded the region slightly to include sites along the Baliḥ river basin in the East as a key dividing point between Mesopotamia and the northern Levantine region, as well as the extremely limited onomastic evidence from sites at the southern border of the northern Levant.⁸⁸

Based on this discussion, the “Western Amorite” corpus can be defined as the Amorite onomastic material from the territories of Yamḥad and Qaṭna in the Middle Bronze Age, roughly from 1950-1620 BCE. Western Amorite onomastic material has been uncovered in texts from three primary Middle Bronze Age sites: Tuttul, Alalah, and Mari. The earliest onomastic material comes from the site of Tuttul where cuneiform tablets bearing West Semitic names were discovered in the early Old Babylonian period.⁸⁹ Excavations at the site of Tell Bi’a (Tuttul) conducted in the 1980s and 1990s⁹⁰ have uncovered hundreds of tablets, most of which date to the Middle Bronze Age. With Krebernik’s publication of these tablets in 2001,⁹¹ access has been granted to over 300 West Semitic personal names from this strategic buffer city between Yamḥad and Mari. The value of including the onomastic material from Tuttul in our current study is two-fold. First, since over 300 Amorite personal names have been found at the site, this

⁸⁷ L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 19; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 118-119. Due to its strategic location on the Baliḥ River, Tuttul acted as a key buffer city between the western polity of Yamḥad and Mari. The city was originally an independent kingdom that united with other smaller city-states such as Emar and Abattum in an attempt to stave off the unwanted advances of Yaḥdun-Lim’s dynasty in Mari. But, eventually the polity capitulated when Yaḥdun-Lîm defeated Bahlu-Kulim, the king of the land of Awnan and Tuttul (Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari* (2003) 16), and the city was adopted as the western-most city controlled by Yasma’-Addu and later Zimri-Lîm of Mari.

⁸⁸ There are only three names included in the corpus from the sites south of the kingdom of Qaṭna at the sites of Gubla (Byblos) and Ḥaṣor. Given the limited number of names, I decided to include them in the corpus.

⁸⁹ Krebernik, *Tall Bi’a – Tuttul* (2001) Introduction.

⁹⁰ E. Strommenger and K. Kohlmeyer, *Tall Bi’a - Tuttul - III: Die Schichten des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Zentralhugel E.* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 101; Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2000).

⁹¹ Krebernik, *Tall Bi’a – Tuttul* (2001) introduction.

represents about one-third of the entire corpus that will be analyzed. Second, since Tuttul was the border city between Yamḥad and Mari, evidence from this site provides a unique window into potential dialect variance on the edge of the region. As will be discussed over the course of the following chapters, while the western region often shows specific dialect variations, Tuttul frequently diverges somewhat from the rest of the region, showing inconsistent evidence for the spread of western dialectal features.

The latest Western Amorite onomastic material comes from the site of Alalah. The Alalah evidence was first published by Wiseman in the 1950s, and his work helpfully provided an index of personal names found in the tablets.⁹² All West Semitic names found in tablets from Alalah were included in Gelb's list of Amorite names, where names were further subdivided by Alalah Level VII (Middle Bronze Age) and Alalah Level IV (Late Bronze Age).⁹³ All material from the site of Alalah has been taken only from Alalah Level VII remains, and I have excluded any onomastic evidence from Alalah Level IV (ca. 1500-1450 BCE) as being too late for the corpus. Though there is some debate regarding the dating of the destruction of Alalah VII, the site was likely destroyed early in the reign of Hattušili⁹⁴ at the end of the seventeenth century ca. 1620 BCE.⁹⁵ Roughly 280 West Semitic personal names have been uncovered from the Middle Bronze Age layer of Alalah which was destroyed ca. 1620, and have been incorporated into the present corpus.

⁹² Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets* (1953).

⁹³ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980). The designation used in Gelb's work was "A." for Alalah VII material and "A. late" for Alalah IV material. Since the corpus currently in question is limited to the Middle Bronze Age, I have excluded Late Bronze Age onomastic evidence from Alalah.

⁹⁴ E. Kozal and M. Novák "Alalah and Kizzuwatna: Some Thoughts on the Synchronization," *Overturning Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology: A Festschrift in honor of K. Aslihan Yener* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 90; C. Maner, M. Horowitz, and A. Gilbert, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2017) 297.

⁹⁵ J. Lauinger, "An Excavated Dossier of Cuneiform Tablets from Level VII Alalah?" *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 362 (2011): 26.

The third and largest source of onomastic material comes from the Old Babylonian period at the site of Mari (1800-1750 BCE) which has yielded thousands of West Semitic personal names.⁹⁶ The majority of Amorite names from the Mari archives belonged to individuals who were residents of the Mari heartland. Yet the Mari archives also reveal that there was a great degree of interaction between the western kingdoms of Qatna and Yamḥad and the Mari heartland.⁹⁷ Kings from the west often sent messengers, slaves, or even military conscripts to Mari,⁹⁸ and for this reason, the names of a large number of individuals from these western regions have been preserved in the Mari archives. Individuals are listed in the Mari archives as being residents of specific western towns or as being members of the kingdoms of Yamḥad or Qatna.

From the Mari archives we know of a total of fifty-eight sites or territories which can be, with some degree of certainty, located in this western region.⁹⁹ Despite the large number of sites located in the western regions, onomastic evidence is only available from approximately half of these sites, thirty-three in total.¹⁰⁰ I have included the list of all western sites below with the hope that as more West Semitic personal names are identified from these sites, the corpus of western Amorite might continue to grow.

⁹⁶ Around 25,000 texts have been unearthed from the site, primarily dating to the period from 1800-1750 BCE in the final years of the kingdom, spanning the reigns of both Šamši-Adad and the Lîm dynasty.

⁹⁷ Charpin and Ziegler, *Florilegium marianum* 5 (2003) 188-209. Charpin and Ziegler have compiled a list of all royal personages from the different regions that had interaction with Mari in the Middle Bronze Age.

⁹⁸ W. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation with Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003) 97.

⁹⁹ M. Birot, J. Kupper, and O. Rouaul, *Repertoire Analytique: Tomes I-XIV, XVIII et Textes Divers Hors-Collection* (Archives Royales de Mari 16; Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1979). This list of western sites has been compiled from notes provided in the ARM 16/1 volume of topographic and personal names.

¹⁰⁰ Onomastic evidence comes from sites such as Emar, Karkemish, Aleppo, Qatna, Alalakh, Tuttul, Ugarit, Šuda, Qā, and Ursum. The site designation is included for each personal name in the appendix and is referenced when each name form is addressed to allow for the greatest degree of dialect variation analysis.

Abattum	Ḫarrān	Pa-ti-[x-x]-im-šum	Tuba
Aḫunā	Hašura	Qat/ṭanum/Qaṭna	Tunip
Alaḫtum	Ḫaššum	Qā'um/Qûm	Tupḫam
Arrabi?	Ida/Itāyu	Qadeš	Tuttul
Aparha	Imār	Raḫatum	Ugarit
Apišal	Irrid	Sam'āl	Ulāya
Atmum	Kallassu	Sutûm	Ursum
Azara	Karkamiš	Šerda	Yamḫad
Barsipa	Kinaḫnum	Šubat-šamaš	Yapṭurum
Birbā	Luḫaya	Šuda	Zallul
Elaḫut	Layišum	Tadmor	Zalmaqum
Gublā	Muzunnum	Talhayum	Zalpaḫ
Ḫaḫḫum	Nagabbiniyūm	Tappišum	Zarwar/Zalwar
Ḫalab	Nazalā/Našalā	Temāyum	Zirānum
Hanzat	Niḫriyā	Tillabnim	

Table 3.1: Levantine cities mentioned in the Mari archives

In order to produce a list of all individuals living in the western region, I relied heavily on the helpful toponym and personal name indices of the volumes in which the majority of texts from the Mari archives have been published, most notably the *Archives royales de Mari*¹⁰¹ and *Florilegium Marianum*¹⁰² series volumes. All personal names attributed to individuals who are mentioned in the texts as residing in one of the fifty-eight cities located in the western region or who are given an “ethnic” designator from the western region such as “yamḫadaean” or “Qaṭnaean,” have been included in this corpus. In the appendix of western Amorite names, each name is listed along with the publication reference to allow for the greatest degree of transparency of the corpus.

¹⁰¹ Birot, et al., *Archives Royales de Mari* 16 (1979). This 1979 volume includes all toponyms and personal names which had, at that time, been uncovered in the Mari texts. Subsequent volumes (ARM 18-19, 21-32) which were published from 1976-2012 include indices specific to each volume. I went through the indices of these fifteen volumes in order to compile the complete list of names.

¹⁰² M. Fleury, *Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury* (Florilegium marianum 1; J.M. Durand ed.; Paris: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, 1992). At the time of my research twelve FM volumes were available for reference. I again used the indices included at the end of each volume to search for references to personal names and toponyms.

Roughly 300 West Semitic names belonging to individuals from cities and regions in the western territories of Yamḥad and Qaṭna were identified in the Mari archives. In identifying this corpus of names, I have been conservative in attributing names to individuals in the western region, regularly excluding the names if it is not certain that the individuals come from the territories of Yamḥad and Qaṭna.¹⁰³ Despite this degree of conservatism, the methodology for delineating the corpus of western Amorite is still fraught with difficulties. Though we will deal more closely with some of the methodological issues that using onomastic material for linguistic sub-grouping presents in chapter five, it is sufficient to note here that perhaps the greatest challenge we are faced with when using personal names for linguistic analysis, is that onomastics are not necessarily reflective of the language that was spoken by their bearers.¹⁰⁴ But because the only evidence for the linguistic state of West Semitic in the Middle Bronze Age comes from onomastic evidence, this is the best approximation available to us for determining linguistic affiliation in this period.

The three text corpora described above have yielded a total of about 850 personal names which can be attributed to the western territories of Yamḥad and Qaṭna. For ease of reference I will refer to this specific language substratum as “western Amorite” in order to specify its geographic affinity. In choosing this designation, I am by no means unaware of the great irony of naming this language sub-stratum “western western,” since the term “amurrûm” refers to the

¹⁰³ A large number of names have been excluded from the current list. If there was any degree of uncertainty in the text about where an individual might have been from, the name was excluded. Complicating the issue is the fact that Mari appointed official messengers, troops, or other royal dignitaries to the western regions, so even though these individuals are often reference in texts as residing in or journeying to the western territories of Yamḥad and Qatna, they have been excluded from the current list, since it is unknown whether these individuals were from Mari or from these western regions. Also, there are thousands of West Semitic names in the Mari archives which are preserved without any reference to the origin or ethnic affiliation of the individual or bore them. So, unless the location is known explicitly, the name has been excluded.

¹⁰⁴ Chapter five will provide a more detailed discussion of the challenges of working with onomastic material for linguistic analysis.

west in Akkadian. Still, the designation serves to delineate this western corpus of names as a distinct dialect within the larger classical Amorite spectrum of languages.

Once the names were compiled, I proceeded to normalize all names unless the form of the name prohibited any feasible normalization.¹⁰⁵ The process of normalization was aided by several previous studies of Amorite: Chiera 1916,¹⁰⁶ Gelb 1958,¹⁰⁷ 1980,¹⁰⁸ Huffmon 1965,¹⁰⁹ and Streck 2001.¹¹⁰ Though there have been several previous studies of the Amorite language, it was surprising to find that a significant number of the names included in this corpus have never been analyzed. Roughly 40% of all names in the corpus were not included in Gelb's 1980 volume¹¹¹ and 67% of all names were not analyzed in Streck's 2001 grammar.¹¹² The fact that such a large number of names have never been analyzed as part of previous studies calls into question whether the dialect of western Amorite has ever fully been analyzed. The subsequent chapters will work to identify some of the key dialect variances and trends which characterize western Amorite as opposed to the remainder of the Amorite corpus in the Middle Bronze Age.

Once the corpus had been delineated and all forms had been normalized, the process of analyzing the linguistic orientation of western Amorite may begin. This analysis, along with the linguistic affiliation of Ugaritic within the Northwest Semitic language sub-branch, will form the

¹⁰⁵ There are over thirty personal names for which I have not ventured a normalization, and several others where the translation of the name is quite unclear.

¹⁰⁶ Chiera, *Lists of Personal Names* (1916).

¹⁰⁷ I.J. Gelb, "La lingua degli Amoriti," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Anno CCCLV* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1958) 143-164.

¹⁰⁸ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980).

¹⁰⁹ H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).

¹¹⁰ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000).

¹¹¹ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980). Each name listed in the appendix also includes the number from Gelb's 1980 volume as well as the initial normalization as provided by Gelb. A total of 320 names found in the western Amorite corpus were not included in Gelb's volume.

¹¹² Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000). A total of 560 names from the western Amorite corpus do not appear in Streck's index. This is in part due to the large degree of overlap of verbal and theophoric elements, such that each name bearing a form does not necessarily need to be referenced. Furthermore, since Streck was building a grammar for all of Amorite based upon 7,000 personal names, it would be impossible to have complete coverage. Yet, since such a large percentage of names from the western region were not included in his study, room remains for a systematic analysis of this corpus.

basis for the discussion in the fifth chapter so will not be addressed here. But the benefits of analyzing a limited corpus like this should be noted. First, rather than trying to analyze 7,000+ names across regions and time periods, the limited corpus of just 850 names allows for a full analysis of all forms. Second, once the corpus has been defined, analysis can move beyond linguistic examination to secondary questions regarding naming practices in this region as well as the makeup of the pantheon in the west in the Middle Bronze Age. Some of these questions will be addressed in the fifth chapter.

3.4 Linguistic Terminology

The above discussion has provided a detailed presentation of the methodology employed in order to define the western Amorite corpus. In the following chapters western Amorite will be compared with a number of other languages and language branches within the Northwest Semitic language sub-branch, so, for the purpose of clarity, a brief description will be provided for the main languages under analysis.

3.4.1 Ugaritic

The term “Ugaritic” refers to the language spoken by the inhabitants of the ancient Bronze Age polity of Ugarit, whose capital was located at the site of Ras Shamra.¹¹³ Over 2,000 texts, many of which are fragmentary, written in alphabetic cuneiform dating to the Late Bronze Age have been uncovered at the sites of Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani, the port town which, along with Minet el-Beida, served as a trade hub for the polity of Ugarit. Though the polity of Ugarit regularly interacted with neighboring polities in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the southern

¹¹³ P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009) 77-78. Bordreuil and Pardee provide a brief discussion for the possible etymological origins of the name of the polity, likely pronounced /'Ugārīt/ in the Late Bronze Age.

Levant, the language of Ugaritic is only known to have been spoken by communities within the borders of the ancient polity. For this reason, following the destruction of the site in 1185 BCE, no further traces of the languages have been found, and the language is not known to have continued or to have any direct linguistic descendants. The exact position of Ugaritic within the Northwest Semitic sub-branch has long been debated and will serve as a central point of discussion in the following chapters.

3.4.2 Amorite (Western Amorite and Classical Amorite)

Already in the third millennium, “Amorite” was a recognized language group which differed from the languages of the East. King Šulgi of the Ur III dynasty boasts about knowing five languages including Amorite, Elamite, “Subartean,” Sumerian, and the language of Meluha, not to mention his native dialect of Akkadian.¹¹⁴ As noted previously, the term “Amorite” has been adopted in modern scholarship to refer to the body of some 7,000 West Semitic names written in syllabic cuneiform, attested from 2600 BCE to the Late Bronze Age. With such a wide geographic and temporal range, these West Semitic names undoubtedly do not belong to a single language group. Therefore, the traditional linguistic group of “Amorite” does not in fact exist, so the bare term will be avoided as a linguistically inappropriate and misleading term. Since this is the first attempt to isolate a dialectal group in the larger corpus of West Semitic onomastic evidence preserved in Akkadian transcription, I have only identified a single dialect, “western Amorite,” and have chosen to refer to the remainder of the traditional corpus of West Semitic names as “classical Amorite.” Other dialects in the Amorite continuum certainly existed, as has already been noted in the area of the Sinjar mountains and in Babylon. As further studies attempt

¹¹⁴ G. Rubio, “Writing in Another Tongue: Alloglottography in the Ancient Near East,” *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures* (Oriental Institute Seminars 2; S. Sanders, ed.; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2006) 49. Šulgi hymns C 119-124 and B 206-219.

to define other dialect sub-groups within classical Amorite, it is the hope that further insight can be gained into the origin and formation of Northwest Semitic languages and dialects that arose throughout Mesopotamia in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

3.4.3 Canaanite Languages

The linguistic term “Canaanite” has historically been used to refer to the language family which is attested primarily in the southern Levantine region of Canaan; namely the “Canaanite” sub-branch of the Northwest Semitic languages. All languages which occupy the “Canaanite” branch of Northwest Semitic exhibit three key shared innovations which differentiate them from the rest of the Northwest Semitic languages.¹¹⁵ The earliest evidence for the Canaanite language group comes from the Late Bronze Age I and is preserved only in West Semitic Canaanite words preserved in Egyptian transcription.¹¹⁶ The most important evidence for Canaanite in the Late Bronze Age comes from the El-Amarna archives, and letters written in Amarna Canaanite provide a more in-depth look into the syntax, morphology, and phonology of the language spoken during this period.¹¹⁷ Following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age, the linguistic diversity of the Canaanite languages burgeoned in the Iron Age southern Levant. The languages which are included in the Iron Age Canaanite corpus are Phoenician and Punic, the Iron Age

¹¹⁵ There are three sure phonological features that have been accepted as shared innovations of all Canaanite languages including the Canaanite shift, the first person suffix conjugation change from *-tu* to *-ti*, and finally the generalization of the first person plural marker *-nū* in all environments. These shared innovations, first introduced in the previous chapter, will be analyzed in greater detail in the fifth chapter.

¹¹⁶ J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 154. Hoch has reviewed a series of Canaanite loan words preserved in Egyptian transcription attested in the New Kingdom. The fact that the Canaanite Shift (*ā > o*) is already attested consistently in these words by the fifteenth century suggests that these terms should likely be attributed to the Canaanite sub-branch of Northwest Semitic. However, since these are limited and isolated loanwords, they provide very limited evidence for linguistic analysis.

¹¹⁷ A. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence Volume 1* (Handbook of Oriental Studies; W. Schniedewind and Z. Cochavi-Rainey, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2015) 12-13. There is general consensus that the West Semitic evidence from the El-Amarna letters is “Canaanite” (Pardee, *Cambridge Encyclopedia* (2004a) 386-387).

inscriptional evidence (excluding the inscriptions from Deir 'Alla and Zinçirli),¹¹⁸ and Biblical Hebrew.

3.5 Conclusion

The above discussion has sought to succinctly disentangle the historical, ethnic, archaeological, and linguistic connotations that are associated with the terms Ugarit/Ugarit, Amorite, and Canaan/Canaanite in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The complications highlighted by this discussion serve to show that the use of any of these terms must be carefully qualified, with the full awareness that other connotations will accompany these terms. One might query then whether terms such as “Amorite” or “Canaanite” are truly useful. Two primary facts argue for the continued study of the phenomena that gave rise to the use of the terms. First, despite the problematic nature of the terms, they are inextricably embedded in the scholarly discourse of the language, history, and archaeology of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and entire fields of study have arisen around them. Second, these terms were historically meaningful for the Bronze Age populations under discussion...so historically meaningful, that kings and commoners alike adopted and applied these labels. These facts suggest that rather than stripping away the terminology entirely, it is incumbent upon modern researchers to carefully define them and to avoid overextending their boundaries. For these reasons, the terms will continue to be used throughout this study, with full awareness of the complications that each presents.

¹¹⁸ I include here both the Transjordanian and coastal dialects known from inscriptional material in the Iron Age, including: Moabite, Edomite, Ammonite, and Philistine, as well as the Hebrew transcriptional and epistolary evidence known primarily from Arad, Lachish, and several other sites in the southern Levant.

CHAPTER 4 – THE AMORITE CULTURAL KOINÉ

4.1 Archaeological Overview

As mentioned in the previous discussion, the primary question driving the methodological approach present in this chapter is not “What constitutes ‘Amorite’ material culture?” Rather, our central research question is “Are there any sites that exhibit a similar material assemblage to the site of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze I periods?” This question is asked irrespective of whether or not the material assemblage of Middle Bronze Age Ugarit can be classified as “Amorite,” “Canaanite” or something else. Our question is primarily concerned with the historical origins of Ugarit, looking to the evidence present in the material culture to see if some of the mystery surrounding the rise of the Middle Bronze Age culture can be resolved.

In order to pursue these questions, we must first establish the relationship between the Late Bronze Age II material remains of the polity of Ugarit known so well to us through the textual material and the previous Late Bronze I and Middle Bronze Age levels at the sites of Ras Shamra, Ras Ibn Hani, and Minet el-Beida. Can the material remains of the principle site indicate how long the Ugaritians had dwelled at the site and provide any timeframe for when they may have first arrived at the site? In order to answer these questions, we will begin with a brief review of the archaeological evidence from Ugarit. With a 90-year history of excavations, using varying excavation methodology, some key conclusions need to be drawn about the relevant strata for our discussion, when the site was first settled, and whether it was continually inhabited until its collapse at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Once responses to these central conclusions have been established, we can then discuss what material remains can be securely dated to the initial level of settlement that shows continuity with the LB II remains. These remains will form the basis of our broader study, allowing us to compare the material assemblage known from the site of Ugarit with other sites in the contemporaneous period. Reference will be made to specific areas of the tell, represented in the site map below.

Fig. 4.1: Topographical map of Tell Ras Shamra¹

4.1.1 Prehistory

The site of Ugarit, Tell Ras Shamra was inhabited from the Neolithic period until its destruction near the end of the Late Bronze Age, perhaps around 1186 BCE,² boasting a 6,000-year period of nearly continuous occupation.³ The site was first settled around 8,000 BCE by a small group of farmers. The following millennium would bring the development of new agricultural techniques, the domestication of animals, the shift from the round to the square house structure and mineral-tempered ceramics. The site would then reduce in size during the Chalcolithic period, but it witnessed an increase in specialization, especially in the field of metallurgy.⁴

The Early Bronze Age would be the first period of major architectural construction at the site. This period has been divided into three main phases, Levels III C, III B, and III A, which de Contenson has explored in detail in his volume on the prehistory of the site.⁵ In the final Early Bronze Age phase, Level III A, roughly corresponding to the EB II and EB III, the site expanded and was “surrounded by a huge terrace-wall, which certainly played a defensive function” though the “built-up area does not seem densely occupied.”⁶ The pottery at the site during this period (end of Layer IIIA/EB III) shows strong connections with the Orontes Valley and the southern Levant, due to the common finds of red-black burnished Khirbet Kerak ware which are found at Early Bronze soundings at the site.⁷ Following the Early Bronze period, the site

² I. Singer, “A Political History of Ugarit,” *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 715. A final letter in the Egyptian correspondence from *Beya* provides a *terminus post quem* for the demise of the kingdom of Ugarit between 1195 and 1186BCE.

³ M. Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006) 22.

⁴ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 22.

⁵ H. de Contenson, J. Blot, L. Courtois, M. Dupeyron, and A. Leroi-Gourhan, *Préhistoire de Ras Shamra 1. Texte: Les sondages stratigraphiques de 1955 à 1976* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 8; H. de Contenson, ed.; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992), 191-202.

⁶ De Contenson, et al., *Ras Shamra-Ougarit 8* (1992) 201.

⁷ De Contenson, et al., *Ras Shamra-Ougarit 8* (1992) 202.

witnessed a general hiatus⁸ that lasted for “at least one century, perhaps two, during the transitional period that also marked the end of the Old Kingdom in Egypt and the collapse of the Akkadian Empire in Mesopotamia.”⁹ This hiatus dates to the Early Bronze IV (MB I/IBA) phase which witnessed a wide-spread period of de-urbanization throughout the southern and northern Levant, as discussed previously, likely due to the major climate change that impacted a large swath of land across “the eastern Mediterranean and west Asian landscapes, and in particular across steep gradient ecotones of modern Syria and Lebanon.”¹⁰

The end of this one to two century hiatus is marked by a general leveling across the site.¹¹ This leveling is followed directly by the first evidence for Middle Bronze Age settlement during the MB I.¹² A similar pattern of decreased urbanism is attested throughout the northern Levant, and many of those sites which remained inhabited attest to a destruction layer at the same time as the leveling that occurred at Ugarit. Burke has shown that there is a cluster of destruction levels at this time (ca. 2200-2150 BCE) at other sites in the northern Levant; a destruction cluster which he attributes to the Akkadian empire.¹³

⁸ M. Al-Maqdissi, “Ras Shamra au Bronze Moyen Travaux 1929-1974 (I^{er} – XXXV^e campagnes de fouilles,” *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001. "Ougarit au II^e millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches"* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 47; Y. Calvet and M. Yon, eds.; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2008) 67-68. Al-Maqdissi notes that where soundings reached to these prehistoric phases, a hiatus level is regularly attested at the end of the EB III period.

⁹ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 15.

¹⁰ H. Weiss, “The Northern Levant during the Intermediate Bronze Age,” *The Oxford Handbook of The Archaeology of the Levant c8000-332 BCE* (M. Steiner and A. Killebrew, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 367.

¹¹ Al-Maqdissi, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 67.

¹² C. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale (III^e et II^e Millénaires)*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1948) 25. As will be discussed in detail below, Schaeffer initially confused much of the MB I material remains with both EB III and MB IIA remains, yet the MB I (EB IV) was a distinct level at the site (Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 552).

¹³ A.A. Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven”: *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 91-92. Ugarit exhibits a hiatus period at about 2200, matching the destruction layer at other sites such as Ebla, Tuqan, Byblos, Hama, Hammam et Turkman, Tell es-Sweyhat, Tell Hadidi, Selenkahiye and Bderi. Sites such as Ebla and Byblos experienced two destruction levels around 2200 BCE and then again around 1950 BCE, which Burke attributes to the Akkadian and then the UR III empires. Hammam et-Turkman, Ugarit and Hama appear to have only been

4.1.2 Middle Bronze Age

The first phase of construction in the Middle Bronze Age paled in comparison to the grand structures from the Early Bronze Age urban center. However, as the population at the site increased over the next 500 years, the site itself would increase in size and complexity until it covered the entirety of the tell. When excavating the site, Schaeffer used the previous periodization proposed by Albright for the southern Levant.¹⁴ He divided the period into three layers: Ougarit Moyen 1, Ougarit Moyen 2, and Ougarit Moyen 3, roughly corresponding to the Middle Bronze phases of the Southern Levant.¹⁵

Date Range (BCE)	Arch. Strata	Schaeffer's Periodization	Current Periodization ¹⁶	Site Description
2200-2100 BCE	RS III, 3-RS II, 1		Early Bronze IV (MB I /Intermediate Bronze)	Hiatus followed by general leveling
2100-1900 BCE	RS II, 1	Ougarit Moyen 1	Early Bronze IV (MB I /Intermediate Bronze)	XI-first half of XII dynasties in Egypt
1900-1800 BCE	RS II, 2	Ougarit Moyen 2	Middle Bronze IIA	Ends with the rise of MB cities
1800-1600 BCE	RS II, 3	Ougarit Moyen 3	Middle Bronze II B-C	Contemporary with the MB cities
1600-1370 BCE	RS I, 1	Ougarit Récent 1	Late Bronze I	Period of de-urbanization
1370-1250 BCE	RS I, 2	Ougarit Récent 2	Late Bronze II	Height of the LB city
1250-1180 BCE	RS I, 3	Ougarit Récent 3	Late Bronze III	Final destruction

Table 4.1: Archaeological periodization of Tell Ras Shamra

destroyed once around 2200 BCE. Unlike Ebla, which was resettled and expanded following its destruction around 2200 BCE at the hands of perhaps Naram-Sin, making it a prime target for its destruction a second time around 1940 BCE, Ugarit was not a major urban center in the MB I and MB IIA period. In fact, though the site experienced some degree of construction in the MB I on a small scale, the site then shifted in use to a necropolis for the dead, with tombs being found across the site. Perhaps the site did not undergo a second destruction from around 1950-1900 BCE, because there was no settlement to destroy.

¹⁴ W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim I," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 12 (1932): 64-66.

¹⁵ J. Mallet, "Ras Shamra-Ougarit (Syrie): La population des porteurs de torques et la revision de la chronologie du Bronze moyen (fin du troisieme millenaire avant notre ere et premiere moitie du second)" (International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 1:1; P. Matthiae, A. Enea, L. Peyronel, F. Pinnok, eds.; Roma: Dipartimento di scienze storiche, 2000) 836.

¹⁶ The periodization adopted here follows that put forward by excavators of the site of Ras Shamra. See Mallet (ICAANE 1:1 (2000) 836) for a discussion of the Middle Bronze Age periodization (MB I, MB IIA, MB IIB-C) and see also Callot (RSO 10 (1994) 203-204) for a discussion of the Late Bronze Age terminology and periodization (LB I, LB II, LB III).

Though excavators have maintained Schaeffer's initial terms for the periods, they have not agreed entirely with his ascription for the actual archaeological strata for each of these periods. Schaeffer initially proposed that, following the hiatus at the end of the Early Bronze Age, the tell was resettled in the MB I period by a nomadic group who used the tell as a necropolis to bury their dead. Schaeffer described this nomadic group as the "*porteurs de torques*" for the beautifully decorated neckbands (*torques*) found amongst their grave goods.¹⁷ What was curious about these grave assemblages, however, was that they demonstrated a mixed assemblage of pottery, ranging from the EB III to the Middle Bronze IIA period. This mixture of goods presented a quandary for Schaeffer, how to explain the presence of such a vast temporal array of pottery types.

A prime example of this mixture of pottery forms comes from the collective tomb #747 which was uncovered initially in the 6th campaign at Ras Shamra. As Mallet has shown, the tomb presented two anomalies: 1) the presence of both EB III and MB II pottery and 2) the tomb itself was found overlaying a plaster basin which did not appear to be original to the tomb construction.¹⁸ Schaeffer suggested that this mixture of finds should be attributed to the fact that the tomb had been disturbed at a later date; however, the grave did not show any signs of later disturbance.¹⁹ Rather than ascribing this mix of archaeological materials to a later grave disturbance, Mallet has shown that the tomb itself disturbed the lower Early Bronze III layer, as the tomb from the MB IIA period was excavated down into the earlier settlement.²⁰ This produced a mixed assemblage of pottery, ranging from the Early to the Middle Bronze, causing confusion for the initial excavators when dating the tombs. A similar situation, where MB IIA

¹⁷ C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale (IIIe et IIe Millénaires)*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1948) 23.

¹⁸ J. Mallet, "Ras Shamra-Ougarit (Syrie): La poterie du Bronze Moyen (fin du IIIe millenaire av. J.-C. et I^{re} moitié du second)," *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997): 558.

¹⁹ Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 558.

²⁰ Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 558.

tombs are hollowed out of pre-existing MB I layers, can be found across the site, such as in tomb #85 which was initially uncovered in the third season of excavations. The tomb is located between the temple of Ba‘lu and the house of the high priest, and is a deep collective tomb, containing the skulls of 19 humans, including both adults and children.²¹ The grave goods at this site show a similar mixture of forms, with 7 vases dating to the MB I period and 3 others from the MB IIA period.²² Mallet has shown that the mixture of stratigraphy can again be ascribed to the fact that the MB IIA tomb was dug into the previous settlement dating to the MB I.²³

This reevaluation of the stratigraphy of the early periods of the Middle Bronze Age has shown that the *porteurs de torques* were not the first group to “re-inhabit” the site, leaving behind their tombs after the hiatus during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). The tombs of the *porteurs de torques* were actually carved out of a preceding habitation level by the “*creuseurs de silos*,” so called by Schaeffer for the large silos that they constructed.²⁴ This group appears to have resettled the site in the MB I period around 2100 BCE at the end of the two-century hiatus. From the Middle Bronze I soundings at the site, this group appears to have primarily settled upon the acropolis, attested by a consistent material assemblage including unbaked brick structures, bronze weaponry, bovine bones, and large silos,²⁵ though one section of the tell also seems to have yielded a refuse pit used by the MB I population.²⁶

²¹ Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 559.

²² Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 559.

²³ Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 559.

²⁴ Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l’Asie Occidentale* (1948) 22-25.

²⁵ J. Mallet, “Ras Shamra au Bronze Moyen Travaux 1929-1974 (I^{re} – XXXV^e campagnes de fouilles,” *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001. “Ougarit au II^e millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches”* (Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 47; Y. Calvet and M. Yon, eds.; Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2008) 76.

²⁶ Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 555. At the north exterior side of the temple of Ba‘lu, is found what appears to be a Middle Bronze I refuse pit. This layer includes a large number of animal bones which seem to represent cooking activity, as well as sea shells, obsidian blades and flint. It is unclear exactly how long this refuse pit was in use; however, its ascription to the MB I period appears solid based on the fact that it was superimposed over an EB III layer, and that MB I pottery types have been found in the pile.

What became of these silo builders and why they left the site is unclear. However, around the end of the 20th century (roughly between 1950-1900 BCE), the site was once again abandoned and devoid of permanent inhabitants.²⁷ The *porteurs de torques* arrived at the site around 1900 BCE, at which point they began to use the site, again primarily the acropolis, for the burial of their dead. The site continued to be used exclusively as a necropolis for roughly 100 years from 1900-1800 BCE without evidence for any permanent settlement. The presence of bronze molds found in this stratum provide evidence that the beautiful bronze weapons and accessories were manufactured locally,²⁸ but further evidence of a permanent settlement has not been uncovered. This lack of evidence may be merely an accident of previous excavations, or it might indicate that this group was primarily nomadic, as Schaeffer initially hypothesized.²⁹ In addition to the wealth of bronze implements, accessories, and painted pottery, the tombs have also yielded several pieces of Egyptian origin which serve as some marker for dating this stratum at the site.³⁰ It is unclear what the relationship was, if any, between this nomadic group and the

²⁷ Burke, “*Walled Up to Heaven*” (2008) 91-92. As noted above, Ugarit does not exhibit a destruction layer at the end of the MB I phase unlike several other sites in the northern Levant and the upper Euphrates regions which attest a destruction layer followed by a break in settlement in the mid-20th century, perhaps at the hands of the UR III empire. Tell Brak Umm El-Mara, and Hammam Et-Turkman (Zalpah) show a destruction layer at around 2000 BCE, and Tell Es-Sweyhat, Ebla, Byblos, Tell Hadidi, Tel Tuqan and then Tell es-Selenkahiye all exhibit some degree of destruction layer between 1950-1850 BCE. That a destruction layer at the site is not attested in the MB I/MB IIA transition is not surprising given the limited extent of the settlement of the silo-builders (only on the acropolis) and the lack of any defensive walls.

²⁸ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 16.

²⁹ Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale* (1948) 22.

³⁰ Mallet, International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 1:1 (2000) 835-838, 838. Supporting this later MB IIA date, are several significant Egyptian artifacts from the reigns of three 12th Dynasty rulers.³⁰ Fragments from two sphinxes (RS 4.416) of Amenemhat III (reign: 1817-1772 BCE) were found in the foundation of the embankment of the temple of Ba‘l. A statue of Khenemetneferhedjet (RS 3.336), the daughter of Amenemhat II (reign: 1875-1840 BCE) and a carnelian bead with the cartouche of Senusret I (reign: 1917-1872 BCE)³⁰ were discovered underneath a house constructed in the LB II period in the abandoned preceding MB II layer. The find in this location indicates that construction on the acropolis during the MB II B/C and LB I periods was limited, showing LB II remains lying directly above MB IIA remains. Mallet proposes that, since the acropolis was used first as a cemetery and then as a high place reserved for sanctuaries such as the temples of Ba‘l and Dagan, no other construction occurred at the site. Based upon Mallet’s analysis, these key finds from the Egyptian Middle Kingdom provide evidence for the dating of the MB IIA graves which occupied the site from around 1900-1800BCE. Dates for the pharaonic reigns from the Middle Kingdom correspond with the low chronology, though this is still debated. See Cohen (2002) 11-14 for full discussion of the complexities of dating the MB IIA period.

previous silo-builders at the site, though, given that these torque-bearers sunk their graves directly into the previous level, which had already been abandoned and leveled, suggests that they arrived at an abandoned site.

The MB II B-C period (1800-1600 BCE),³¹ which follows the famous tombs of the torque-bearers, is the first phase of wide-spread urban development construction on the site in the Middle Bronze Age. During this phase, the new urban center spread to cover almost the entire area of the tell, including the construction of two monumental temples sitting atop the acropolis, as well as the development of a protective rampart and glacis.³² MB II B-C remains have been found across the tell in 24 locations,³³ including the acropolis and lower town in the northern portion of the tell, in a trench to the east, in the two trenches to the south, under the garden of the great palace, under the north palace, under the Hurrian temple on the western portion of the tell, and finally in the center of the tell.³⁴

The presence of such a breadth of remains is due to two primary reasons. First, urban development spread rapidly during the period, until the entirety of the tell became covered. Second, due to the relative lack of Late Bronze I remains at the site, most MB II B-C remains lie

³¹ F. Höflmayer, J. Kamlah, H. Sader, M.W. Dee, W. Kutschera, E.M. Wild, and S. Riehl, "New Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant: Radiocarbon Dates from Tell El-Burak, Tell El-Dab'a, and Tel Ifshar Compared," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 375 (2016): 74. Recent studies have reanalyzed the radio-carbon dates from sites ranging from Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt, to Tel Ifshar along the southern Levantine coast, and Tell el-Burak along the northern Levantine Phoenician coast. This reanalysis of radio-carbon dates has suggested that the transition from the MB IIA to the MB IIB likely occurred earlier than initially yielded by the chronology at Tell el-Dab'a, perhaps around 1800 BCE or even earlier in the 19th century. Due to the state of the evidence from Ras Shamra, it is unclear when this transition may have taken place. Callot's recent analysis of the construction of the two large temples atop the acropolis of Ras Shamra, places their construction at 1800 BCE (Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 19 (2011) 91), yet a full analysis of the Middle Bronze Age remains would be required to provide a certain date of construction. For the purposes of this study, the transition date of 1800 BCE between the MB IIA and the MB IIB has been used for ease of reference, but it should be noted that this date is far from certain and further archaeological evidence would be required to substantiate an actual transition date.

³² Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 16.

³³ Al-Maqdissi, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 52. Al-Maqdissi provides a full catalogue of all 24 locales on the tell, along with an abbreviated bibliography of each.

³⁴ Mallet, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 73-77.

directly underneath the later LB II remains, often just 1.5 to 2 meters below the surface.³⁵ In the sixteenth century, the greatness of this urban settlement began to wane as the site gradually witnessed a period of prolonged de-urbanization. It is unclear what may have caused this shift in population density, but the site was not entirely abandoned and there is evidence from the Late Bronze I remains at the site that many of the key architectural structures of the Middle Bronze Age would remain continuously in use as will be discussed in detail below.

The drastic transition from burials to urban development led Schaeffer to suggest that the MB IIA period, which ended in ca. 1800 BCE was brought about by the invasion of the “Hyksos,”³⁶ whose material culture closely resembled that from other sites in the southern Levant and Egypt.³⁷ The term “Hyksos” comes from the Egyptian *ḥq3w ḥ3swt*, meaning “rulers of foreign lands,” and was used to refer to the “foreign dynasty that ruled Egypt from 1638-1530 BCE,”³⁸ specifically known from the site of Tell el-Dab‘a, ancient Avaris. Schaeffer and subsequent excavators have regularly termed this the “Hyksos” culture at the site, named “after the Asiatics who settled in Egypt around the Nile Valley at this time.”³⁹ This designation initially seemed preferable due to the numerous parallels between the material remains found at the site of Ugarit in the MB II period and those from the site of Tell el-Dab‘a, such as the presence of similar glyptic motifs⁴⁰ and more specifically the plethora of Egyptian iconography and material remains found at Ugarit as described above.

³⁵ Mallet, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 76.

³⁶ C.F.A. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937): Rapport sommaire,” *Syria* 19 (1938): 197. See also Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 535.

³⁷ Mallet, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 77.

³⁸ M. Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go,” *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192; M. Marée, ed.; Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2010) 139.

³⁹ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 116.

⁴⁰ Bietak, *The Second Intermediate Period* (2010) 163.

This terminology when referring to the material culture of Ugarit should be avoided for two reasons. First, given that the term “Hyksos” has been applied to both the MB IIA and the MB IIB material cultures which have since been shown to be distinct; this term lacks the necessary specificity. Second, as will be discussed in the course of this chapter, the material remains from the MB IIB-C periods at Ugarit share far more parallels with sites in the Levant than with Tell el-Dab‘a, making the term “Hyksos” somewhat misleading. Indeed, Bietak has shown in his analysis of the material remains at Tell el-Dab‘a that “at least a substantial number of the settlers at Avaris originated most probably from the northern Levant, especially from the region made up today by Lebanon and northern Syria, supported by the osteological analysis of human remains from Tell el Dab‘a, which have their best cluster matches in an Iron Age series from Kâmid el-Lôz in the Beq‘a.”⁴¹ Rather than looking to Egypt for the terminological description of this period, we will instead look to a northern Levantine source for the distinct material culture that arrived in the MB IIB period at Ugarit, namely the Amorites.

The question then arises of what the relationship may have been between the formidable builders of the MB II B-C period at the site and the previous *porteurs de torques*. Could it be, as some have suggested,⁴² that the torque-bearers were a semi-nomadic group that initially used the site to bury their dead, but then gradually, over the course of the beginning of the MB IIA period, began to settle the site, turning to a different mode of production as it suited their needs? Though a certain conclusion cannot be made, two pieces of evidence seem to contradict this conclusion.

⁴¹ Bietak, *The Second Intermediate Period* (2010) 163.

⁴² M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism: Amorites from the Perspective of Contextual Archaeology* (Doctoral dissertation; Helsinki: Juutiprint, 2000) 186. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Silver for her correspondence with me in preparing this dissertation. Given the change in the evaluation of the stratigraphical sequence at this site however, I disagree with her in terms of when the first group arrived at the site. In her unpublished dissertation from 2000, she suggested that “the textual evidence correlated with the stratigraphy indicates that UM I already marks the beginning of the Amorite occupation at the site.” In her perspective, an initial semi-nomadic Amorite group (the torque-bearers) used the site as a burial ground. This same group subsequently went through a process of settling at the site.

First, there are no clear material remains that link the two layers, showing continuity between them.⁴³ Second, the earliest buildings of the MB IIB culture have their foundations sunk directly into the tombs of the torque-bearers. Callot suggests that the necropolis and its function had been forgotten and was no longer valued by the builders, as the two-meter foundations for the temple of Ba‘lu were sunk directly into one of their tombs, disturbing the concealed corpses and grave goods.⁴⁴ Given the later textual focus on the cult of deceased ancestors known from the Ugaritic textual material, it becomes less likely that the builders would have so casually disturbed the tombs of the necropolis if they indeed belonged to their ancestors.⁴⁵

Without entirely discounting the possibility that the MB IIB builders shared some relation with the previous torque-bearers, given the current weight of evidence, the material remains from the MB IIA burials will not be considered to be directly linked to the later Middle Bronze Age material assemblage in this study. The most significant impact of this division between the MB IIA and MB IIB remains is that the beautiful bronze weaponry and accessories, including pins, bracelets, coil springs and torques,⁴⁶ known from the MB IIA graves, will not be included as part of the later material assemblage. Given the famed “Amorite” bronze weaponry known from

⁴³ Mallet, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 76. This is by no means a firm conclusion, and a more detailed analysis of the ceramic evidence from the graves of the torque-bearers and their successors might help to shed light on this issue. At the moment, the grave goods of the torque-bearers are characterized by distinctive painted pottery. Mallet has shown that, where this painted pottery was initially found in other strata, it should in fact be attributed to the MB IIA grave goods due to the complexities of the Middle Bronze stratigraphy described above. Additionally, given the fact that this nomadic group constructed no permanent structures at the site, it's impossible to know whether the features of their material culture resemble those of the following period.

⁴⁴ O. Callot, *Les sanctuaires de l'acropole d'Ougarit: Les temples de Baal et de Dagan* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 19; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2011) 91.

⁴⁵ Text RS 34.126, which provides the title of this dissertation is the clearest example of the presence of such an ancestral cult being observed at the site. Here the assembly of Didanu (*qbs d[ddn]*) and the ancient *rapa'ūma* (*rpim qdmym*) are called together to receive sacrifice and to witness the burial of the recently deceased Ugaritian monarch. Given the relatively late date of this text (at the beginning of the reign of the final king of Ugarit), it does not provide conclusive evidence that this practice of honoring the dead goes back to the Middle Bronze Age period at the site, but it does lend credence to the assertion that ancestral burials would not have been willfully disturbed.

⁴⁶ Mallet, *Ugarit Forschungen* 29 (1997) 560.

Mesopotamia and given the description and iconographic representations of the god Martu,⁴⁷ this bronze weaponry has long been a hallmark of theories that claim the Amorite origins of Ugarit. But, given the current state of the evidence, the MB IIA bronze weaponry will not be included in our study.

4.1.3 Late Bronze Age

The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age is the most poorly attested period at the site, making it difficult to determine the exact extent of the settlement. From textual sources we learn that the polity of Ugarit maintained regular relations with the Mitannian vassal Alalah/Mukiš, and undoubtedly also with the Mitannian Empire directly, though it never fell under the suzerainty of the Mitanni kingdom, retaining relative independence.⁴⁸ The influx of local Hurrian onomastics at the site during the Late Bronze II period, suggests that individuals bearing Hurrian names likely migrated to the site of Ugarit at some time in the Late Bronze I period, at the height of Mitannian power. Despite these textual references to the site of Ugarit in the Late Bronze I period, the material remains from this stratum remain understudied. There has been some degree of disagreement about the dating of the Late Bronze Age phases, though most excavators tend to agree on a date ca. 1370/1360 BCE for the transition from the LB I to LB II at the site.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ M. Lönnqvist, A. Sanna, K. Lönnqvist, and SYGIS, *Jebel Bishri in Focus: Remote Sensing, Archaeological Surveying, Mapping and GIS Studies of Jebel Bishri in Central Syria By the Finnish Project SYGIS* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011) 200.

⁴⁸ I. Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit," *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 619-620. The degree of interaction between the Mitanni Empire and the kingdom of Ugarit is unknown, yet recent estimates of the onomastic corpus of Ugarit have proposed that roughly 15% of inhabitants of the polity of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age had Hurrian names, as opposed to roughly 80% West Semitic names and another 5% of names in other languages. This evidence does indicate that there was likely contact between the two populations during the course of the Late Bronze Age I period.

⁴⁹ O. Callot, *La tranchée "ville sud": Études d'architecture domestique* (Ras Shamra-Ugarit 10; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1994) 204. Callot provides a brief history of the different perspectives on the dating of this transition.

Date Range	Archaeological Strata	Schaeffer's Periodization	Standard Periodization	Site Description
1600-1370 BCE	RS I, 1	Ougarit Récent 1	Late Bronze I	Period of de-urbanization
1370-1250 BCE	RS I, 2	Ougarit Récent 2	Late Bronze II	Height of the LB city
1250-1180 BCE	RS I, 3	Ougarit Récent 3	Late Bronze III	Final destruction

Table 4.2: Late Bronze Age archaeological periods of Tell Ras Shamra

The Late Bronze Age I period is quite obscure in the archaeological record, making it unclear what the relationship was between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Unlike the Middle Bronze Age strata which have been uncovered at almost every location on the tell, Late Bronze I remains are far more limited. In fact, at most excavation points LB IIA remains are constructed directly on top of MB II B-C remains, leading some to speculate whether the site could have been abandoned completely in this phase.⁵⁰

In addition to this seeming lacuna in the stratigraphical record, the lack of knowledge about the LB I is due in part to the fact that this phase is relatively understudied and underrepresented in the literature. In fact, no single study has yet to be devoted to the Late Bronze I remains at the site, making it difficult to know the full extent of the LB I material remains at the site. However more insight into the LB I remains was yielded during the 1994, 1997 and 2000 excavations which yielded some archaeological material from the both the Late Bronze I and Middle Bronze phases at the site.⁵¹ What has been concluded from these

⁵⁰ Al-Maqdissi, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 68. The excavator notes that “*presque partout où, jusqu'ici, nous avons pu exécuter des fouilles, nous avons observé une rupture stratigraphique et chronologique entre les deux niveaux*” (almost everywhere, or as far as we have been able to carry out excavations, we have observed a stratigraphic and chronological rupture between the two levels).

⁵¹ C. Castel, “Nouvelles perspectives sur le Bronze Moyen: Travaux en Ville Basse orientale (1994-1997) et au Centre de la ville (2000),” *Ougarit au Bronze moyen at au Bronze récent. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001. "Ougarit au IIe millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches"* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 47; Y. Calvet and M. Yon, eds.; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2008) 79.

excavations is that while some portions of the tell seemed to have been abandoned during the Late Bronze I, others likely remained continuously inhabited since the Middle Bronze II.

Given the limited and relatively inconsistent material from the LB I period, a survey of the data must query two key features of the site. First, was the tell continuously inhabited from the Middle Bronze II B-C period to the LB II period, as appearing to be indicated by key structures at the site remaining continuously in use, and second, is there evidence of new construction in the LB I period? In order to answer these questions, a brief survey of the LB I remains at the site has been compiled based upon a series of excavation reports and articles. To date, LB I remains have been found at three locations on the tell: the lower city, the city center, and the north palace complex, though Callot has also alluded to possible LB I remains in the southern city. The remains are ambiguous at best so will not be covered here.⁵² The other area that may possibly indicate that the site was still in use during the LB I period is the acropolis, which witnessed no construction in the LB I period, but does appear to have been in use. Let us take a closer look at each of these areas to see what type of remains have been found.

4.1.3.1 Lower City (*Ville basse*)

The lower city, to the north of the acropolis, served as an important residential area on the tell in the MB II B-C period and then again in the LB II, but appears to have a diminished occupation during the LB I phase. Much of the area seems to have been uninhabited throughout the LB I,⁵³ with floor plans of Late Bronze Age II homes built directly atop the Middle Bronze Age foundations. However, not all of the area has yielded evidence of this LB I hiatus. Castel, in a study of seven homes in the eastern section of the lower city (*ville basse est*) has shown that the

⁵² Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 10 (1994) 204-208.

⁵³ J. Mallet, "Ras Shamra-Ougarit (Syrie): Stratigraphie des vestiges du Bronze moyen II exhumés de 1979 à 1988 (39e, 40e, 41e, 43e et 48e campagnes)," *Syria* 67 (1990): 43-101, 58.

construction of at least one of the homes, house B, dates back to the beginning of the LB I phase.⁵⁴ Unfortunately an exact date for construction of the foundation is not yet available, since “la grande majorité des tessons mis au jour par le fouilleur a disparu et n’est pas publiée” making it extremely difficult to date the remains accurately.⁵⁵ In addition to the construction of house B in the LB I, other constructions of the Middle Bronze Age appear to remain occupied until the LB IIA period as no destruction or leveling has been attested.⁵⁶

4.1.3.2 City Center (*Centre de la ville*)

Sections in the *centre de la ville* have yielded more definitive evidence for the permanent occupation of the area throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. For example, locus 121, which was excavated during the 60th campaign in 2000, has yielded ceramics found in a stratum which can be dated specifically to the transition between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, or the LB I phase. This locus in particular provides more conclusive results that the site remained continuously inhabited by the same group from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age, since the LB I stratum does not show signs of having been disturbed by later building or destruction layers,⁵⁷ with the same structures remaining in use until the fall of Ugarit around 1186 BCE. Another locus from the city center also seems to date from this period, tomb 1246, which was constructed beneath a home.⁵⁸ Salles, in his study of the tombs at Ugarit, suggests that the tomb was first constructed in the MB II B-C period, though it remained in use well into the 15th century, during the Late Bronze Age I period. At the time of construction, the tomb itself was an integral part of

⁵⁴ Castel, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 93.

⁵⁵ Castel, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 93.

⁵⁶ Castel, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 93.

⁵⁷ Castel, *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 47 (2008) 93.

⁵⁸ J. Salles, “Deux nouvelles tombes de Ras Shamra,” *Le centre de la ville: 38e - 44e campagnes (1978-1984)* (Ras Shamra-Ugarit 3; M. Yon, ed.; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987) 173-178. Salles described the tomb as having the following features: long and short dromos, a narrow door in the corner of the room, well above the floor of the room, a medium-sized chamber with walls of dry stones, and a clay floor,

a surrounding home, but for unknown reasons the house appears to have been abandoned and the tomb no longer used at some time in the 15th century.⁵⁹ Another structure that seems to indicate a continuity at the site is the so-called temple of the rhytons. During the excavations in the northeastern corner of quadrant D of the structure, it became clear that the Late Bronze Age II structure was built atop the foundations of the Middle Bronze II structure, indicating, at least in part, a continuity of form.⁶⁰ Whether or not the building remained in use throughout the LB I period is unknown, but the preservation of the structure and location of the religious structure is significant.

4.1.3.3 North Palace (*Palais nord*) and House of the Ovens (*Maison aux fours*)

At the western edge of the tell, near the site of the now famous royal palace of Ugarit, stand two buildings which have been dated to the Late Bronze I period. The earlier of the two structures, the house of the ovens, or *maison aux fours*, was first discovered in the 1973 excavation season. The western-most structure in the so-called *quartier résidentiel* located east of the royal palace appeared to have been constructed in the Late Bronze Age, but a precise date of construction was unclear.⁶¹ A second sounding of the house was conducted in the 1992 season for the purpose of clarifying its construction date, which revealed conclusively that the house was constructed directly above Middle Bronze Age remains and could be dated to the LB I phase.⁶² The “North Palace,” located across the street, aptly named the “North Palace Street” by

⁵⁹ Salles, *Ras Shamra-Ugarit* 3 (1987) 173.

⁶⁰ Mallet, *Syria* 67 (1990): 43.

⁶¹ J.C. Courtois, “L’architecture domestique à Ugarit au bronze récent,” *Ugarit Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas* 11 (1974): 106-108.

⁶² Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 63.

excavators, to the west, was constructed during the same period as the “house of the ovens” and its construction also dates to the LB I period.⁶³

This large structure, originally discovered during the 30th campaign by Schaeffer in 1968,⁶⁴ has interior and exterior walls stopping abruptly at about 1 meter in height, which led Schaeffer to propose that the Ugaritians themselves dismantled the palace in order to reuse the materials in the construction of the neighboring royal palace in the 14th century.⁶⁵ Since the palace had been dismantled in the Late Bronze Age, this prompted excavators to initially date the founding of the temple to the Middle Bronze Age.⁶⁶ However, the 54th excavation to the site in 1994 found that the construction of the neighboring house of the ovens was anterior to that of the north palace, dating its construction squarely in the LB I period. Two other soundings, taken in 2000 (60th campaign) and 2002 (62nd campaign),⁶⁷ would provide chronological accuracy in order to show that the palace in fact had been built during the Late Bronze Age I period.⁶⁸ Given that such immense palatial construction occurred in the LB I period at the site, there is now definitive proof that the site remained inhabited throughout the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition.

⁶³ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 64.

⁶⁴ C. Schaeffer, “Découverte d’un troisième palais: Rapport préliminaire des fouilles 1968-1969,” *Syria* 47 (1970): 209-213.

⁶⁵ Schaeffer, *Syria* 47 (1970) 212.

⁶⁶ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 16.

⁶⁷ J. Mallet, “Ras Shamra - Ougarit (Syrie), 62e campagne, 2002: L’exploration des niveaux du Bronze moyen II (1re moitié du IIe millénaire av. J.-C.) sous le palais nord.” *Ugarit Forschungen* 34 (2002): 528. This sounding showed conclusively that the earthen fill of the foundation of the palace contained only pottery dating to the Late Bronze Age I, indicating that the palace could have been constructed during the 16th century.

⁶⁸ J. Mallet, “Ras Shamra – Ougarit (Syrie), 62e campagne, 2002 Poterie des chantiers 173 et 178 dans le Palais Nord,” *Études ougaritiques III* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 21; V. Matoïan and M. Al-Maqdissi, eds.; Leuven: Peeters, 2013) 322-323. The 1994 campaign worked to separate the remains of the north palace from the nearby “house of the ovens” which was known to have been constructed in the Late Bronze I. It became clear that the north palace was actually constructed after the “house of the ovens” dating its construction to the LB I period.

4.1.3.4 Acropolis (*Acropole*)

The debate over the dating of the acropolis at Ras Shamra stretches nearly a century, since it was originally excavated in the first expeditions to the tell in 1929 and 1930, and was repeatedly excavated thereafter. Schaeffer originally dated the construction of the two temples of Dagan⁶⁹ and Ba‘lu⁷⁰ to the Middle Bronze I period, and hypothesized that these temple structures remained in use throughout the Late Bronze Age. The difficulty with this dating was that Schaeffer did not reach the foundations of the temples during his excavations,⁷¹ making it impossible to actually date the initial construction of the temples or to offer solidly based hypotheses regarding their continual usage over the course of nearly a millennium.

Excavations were again conducted at the site in 1992 and 2005 for the purpose of exploring the construction of these two edifices at the site. Callot, in his analysis of the material remains from these excavations, showed that the foundations of the temples were found along with both Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Age ceramic material, leading him to propose that both temples were constructed at the end of the 19th or beginning of the 18th centuries, dating the construction to around 1800 BCE in the MB IIB period at the site.⁷² He further concluded that the temple of Ba‘lu continued to function without any major transformation up until the 13th century.⁷³

⁶⁹ C. Schaeffer, “Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Sixième campagne (printemps 1934). Rapport sommaire.” *Syria* 16 (1935): 154-156.

⁷⁰ C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II: Nouvelles Études Relatives Aux Découvertes de Ras Shamra*. (Mission de Ras Shamra 5; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1949) 86-89. Schaeffer notes here an accumulation of stones which he ascribes to the destruction of the temple dating to the end of the UM 2 or beginning of UM 3, corresponding to the Egyptian domination of the site.

⁷¹ M. Al-Maqdissi, Y. Calvet, V. Matoïan, K. Bahloul, *et al*, “Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission syro-française de Ras Shamra-Ougarit en 2007 et 2008 (67e et 68e campagnes),” *Syria* 87 (2010): 21-51.

⁷² M. Al-Maqdissi, K. Bahloul, O. Callot, Y. Calvet, V. Matoïan, “Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission syro-française de Ras Shamra-Ougarit en 2005 et 2006 (65e et 66e campagnes),” *Syria* 84 (2007): 36-37.

⁷³ Al-Maqdissi, *et al.*, *Syria* 84 (2007) 36-37.

Following the 2005 excavation season and Callot's initial analysis, the mission would return to the site from 2007-2010 to fully explore the northwest corner of the temple of Dagan, expanding the excavation area to include the "house of the high priest." These excavations would show conclusively that the temple was constructed in the Middle Bronze Age.⁷⁴ In addition to the two temples on the acropolis, it was also determined that the Late-Bronze-Age II walls of the house of the High Priest were constructed directly atop Middle Bronze Age foundations, which were cut to allow for the reconstruction,⁷⁵ leading to the conclusion that all three structures were likely first constructed in the Middle Bronze Age, but remained continuously in use throughout the Late Bronze I and II phases.

These excavations allowed for the conclusion that these structures remained in use for over half a millennium at the site, providing a fascinating window into the continuity of religious practice at the site. In his expanded study of these two temples in 2011, Callot confirmed the Middle Bronze Age date for construction, suggesting that the two structures were built at about the same time, at the end of the 19th century.⁷⁶ Due to their large sizes, designs, and quality of construction, Callot has described these as "*temple-tours*" or *migdāl* temples, and suggested that these reflect a radical shift in religious practice, architectural technology and site organization, unknown to the previous phases of the site.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ V. Matoian, M. Al-Maqdissi, J. Haydar, K. Al-Bahloul, C. Benech, J.C. Bessac, E. Bordreuil, "Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission archéologique syro-française de Ras Shamra - Ougarit en 2009 et 2010 (69^e et 70^e campagnes)," *Syria* 90 (2013): 439-478. One of the key questions which the team hoped to answer through this excavation was what lay beneath the Middle Bronze layer of the foundation of the temple, whether this was the necropolis known from the "porteurs de torques" or if there was another structure beneath this layer. In the 2009 and 2010 seasons, the team determined that the Middle Bronze remains lay on top of a large Early Bronze Age structure with a slightly different orientation, and not a grave which had been proposed previously. Like the rest of the site, this Early Bronze Age structure had been leveled, providing some degree of support to the hypothesis that this location on the tell had served as a sacred space prior to the Middle Bronze period. However, the purpose of this structure is completely unknown.

⁷⁵ Al-Maqdissi, et al., *Syria* 87 (2010) 44-45.

⁷⁶ Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 19 (2011).

⁷⁷ Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 19 (2011) 99-104.

Though the two temples of Dagan and Ba‘lu remained continuously in use during the LB I period, both structures appear to have undergone a series of renovations during the 13th century, likely as a result of the earthquake that struck the site around 1250 BCE.⁷⁸ The temple of Dagan appears to have been almost completely destroyed by the earthquake and its ruins were then cleared and leveled in order to create an open-air temple terrace likely dedicated to Dagan. The temple of Ba‘lu seemed to have fared slightly better, since rather than being leveled, it was fully reconstructed following the earthquake of 1250 BCE, at which time the final Late Bronze structure was constructed precisely upon the Middle Bronze foundations.⁷⁹

From the brief review above, it is clear that the major structures known from the acropolis, namely the temple of Ba‘lu, the temple of Dagan and the house of the High Priest, were all initially constructed during the Middle Bronze II period at the site. Moreover, these structures remained in use for over half a millennium, from the eighteenth to the thirteenth centuries, with the Late Bronze Age renovations being superimposed over the Middle Bronze Age foundations. Such a continuous period of usage lends further credence to the fact that the site was not completely abandoned during the Late Bronze period.

4.1.4 Conclusion

This survey of LB I material allows for two conclusions. First, the site was continuously inhabited from the beginning of the MB IIB period (in the first half of the 18th century) until its fall around 1186 BCE. Key religious structures such as the temples of Ba‘lu and Dagan, as well as the so-called “temple aux rhytons,” remained in use for nearly 600 years, indicating a continuity of cultic status and plausibly in religious practice. Second, though population density

⁷⁸ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 36.

⁷⁹ Al-Maqdissi, et al., *Syria* 84 (2007) 36-37.

decreased significantly during the Late Bronze I period, key residential homes and larger palatial structures remained in use during the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition, and there is evidence for both architectural construction and other production efforts⁸⁰ taking place at the site. These conclusions allow us to answer our initial questions with some degree of confidence. The ancestors of the Late Bronze Age Ugaritians first arrived to the site no later than 1800 BCE at the start of the MB IIB period. Over the course of the next 600 years this population would be the established inhabitants at the site.

4.2 Middle Bronze IIB-Late Bronze I Material Assemblage of Ugarit

In a search for the historical origins of Ugarit, our focus turns to the first phases at the site which can be attributed to this final population; namely the MB IIB-C and LB I periods before the extensive renovations and building projects of the LB II period. The significant material remains that can be securely dated to this time period and not before⁸¹ have been compiled in a discrete, though not exhaustive, material assemblage from the first two centuries of habitation at the site. We have included in this material assemblage five key elements from the site: fortifications, palace organizational system, *migdāl* temple construction, glyptic evidence, and archaeological and literary evidence for the ritual use of donkeys. Each of these elements will be developed in depth below, including a discussion for the relevant date and archaeological details of these remains at the site of Ugarit. The key features of this assemblage will then be compared

⁸⁰ C.F.A. Schaeffer-Forrer, P. Amiet, G. Chenet, M. Mallowan, K. Bittel, E. Porada and W. Forrer, W., *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia* (Recherche sur les Civilisations "Synthèse" 13; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983) 165-168. No seal workshops were uncovered from the Middle Bronze Age soundings, but several seal workshops were discovered during the excavations at Ugarit, though these all date to the LB I or LB II periods.

⁸¹ As noted above, the bronze weaponry and production molds of the preceding period have been excluded from this study. This also applies to any other evidence obtained from the grave goods found in the MB IIA tombs in the necropolis.

with remains from other Middle Bronze Age sites, in order to determine whether a similar cluster of material finds and technologies can be found elsewhere in the region.

To this discussion is added a brief discussion of some features of Ugaritic culture known primarily from the Late Bronze Age literature at the site which cannot be known from material remains, but provide further parallels with Middle Bronze Age cultures. Material remains are certainly significant to show the spread and adoption of innovations or the movement of populations, however there significant cultural and ethnic features which leave no trace in the archaeological record and can only be known from textual evidence. For this reason, I have included supplemental religious and cultural features of the Ugaritian dynasty which find close parallels with the cultures of the Amorite royal tribes of the northern Levant and Mesopotamia. Let us now turn to a survey of each of these features.

4.2.1 Fortifications

Aaron Burke's recent work on the fortification strategies of the Middle Bronze Age has opened a window into the history of this previously opaque period. Though written sources are certainly lacking in the Levant for this period, what it lacks in epigraphic material it makes up for in the remains of large fortifications stretching across the northern and southern Levant. For the purposes of this current study, we will first focus on the evidence for fortification strategies at Ugarit, emphasizing where they are located on the tell, when they were constructed, and what function they may have served. The focus will then shift to the rest of the northern Levant, looking for comparative fortification strategies at other sites. Burke's survey of fortified sites in the northern Levant will serve as the basis for this portion of the analysis. Though he surveyed a total of 32 sites in the northern Levant and another 12 sites in northwestern Mesopotamia, not all

sites have remains dating to the Middle Bronze Age (1900-1550) so only those sites with MB fortification remains will be discussed here.

Fortification structures have been uncovered at several locations on the tell of Ras Shamra, indicating that the site was well fortified throughout the Late Bronze Age. The site was likely encircled by earthen ramparts with interspersed watch towers which were then covered over with a glaxis of hewn stone to prevent erosion.⁸² Though the fortification strategy for the site is well known for the Late Bronze Age, there has been a lack of clarity as to when these fortifications were originally constructed at the site. The best evidence for the origin of these structures comes from two locations at the site, the west side of the site which hosts the main entry point for the tell, and the acropolis. We will review the archaeological evidence for these two locations in order to determine when the first fortifications were erected at the site.

Some of the earliest fortification remains have been uncovered in the palace area of the tell in the northern part as preserved today. Given the history of excavations, definite conclusions as to the date of construction are elusive, however, there is sufficient evidence to state that fortifications were initially constructed towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age and continued to be expanded throughout the course of the Late Bronze I Age. The fortifications at Ugarit were uncovered early in 1938 and 1939. During these two seasons, Schaeffer uncovered the fortification remains on the west side of the tell, including two gates, most notably the beautifully preserved postern gate.⁸³ Though he did not offer an exact date for the original construction of the material, he suggested that it likely was not built prior to 1600 BCE.⁸⁴ In analyzing the construction type, Schaeffer drew parallels with other sites in both the southern

⁸² Burke, *“Walled Up to Heaven”* (2008) 55.

⁸³ C. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Ras Sharma-Ugarit: Dixième et onzième campagnes (automne et hiver 1938-39) Rapport sommaire,” *Syria* 20 (1939): 277-295.

⁸⁴ Schaeffer, *Syria* 20 (1939) 291.

and northern Levant, suggesting that though the fortifications closely resemble those known from the “*fortresses palestiniennes dès la fin du Bronze moyen*” the origin of the construction type should likely be ascribed to northern Syria.⁸⁵ The same conclusion was drawn by Burke in his analysis of Middle Bronze Age fortification systems, suggesting that Ugarit shows close parallels with fortified sites across the Levant, of which the antecedents are to be found in Mesopotamia.⁸⁶

Schaeffer’s original excavation reports were later analyzed in detail by Lagarce in conjunction with the fortifications known from Ras Ibn Hani. In his analysis, he found that the majority of defensive structures were constructed during the Late Bronze Age II period;⁸⁷ however the earliest structures date to the Middle Bronze IIC and Late Bronze I periods. The two earliest defensive structures constructed at the site were the tower and adjoining fortification wall on the west side of the site, which played a key defensive role in overseeing access into the palace area through the main gate. Lagarce attributes the construction of the tower which straddled the road leading to the main gate to the transition period between the Middle and Late Bronze Age.⁸⁸ The tower was built of dressed stones, the standard construction medium for defensive structures at the site throughout the Late Bronze Age, indicating some degree of continuity in construction type.

The tower was connected to a fortification wall which would have surrounded the northwestern area of the tell and was overlaid with a sloped glacis; however, this wall and adjoining glacis appear to have been constructed at a slightly later date in the Late Bronze I period. The tower was actually cut to allow for the laying of the adjoining wall and glacis which

⁸⁵ Schaeffer, *Syria* 20 (1939) 291-292.

⁸⁶ Burke, “*Walled Up to Heaven*” (2008) 156.

⁸⁷ J. Lagarce, “Remarques sur des ouvrages de soutènement et de défense à Ras Shamra et à Ras Ibn Hani,” *Syria* 61 (1984): 173.

⁸⁸ Lagarce, *Syria* 61 (1984) 173.

were dovetailed into the earlier construction.⁸⁹ This glacis was likely contemporaneous with the adjoining postern gate, tentatively dated to the 15th century, which provided a secondary gateway behind the main tower overlooking the gate. This magnificent gate was later blocked and covered over, only serving as an entrance to the site from the 15th to the 13th centuries.⁹⁰ A similar glacis construction was found at the site of Ras Ibn Hani, but Lagarce dates this construction to much later in the Late Bronze period, likely after 1350 BCE. Therefore it appears that the main entrance of the city was fortified from at least the MB IIC period until the fall of Ugarit at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and the fortifications were gradually expanded and improved over the course of the Late Bronze I period.



Fig. 4.2: Western view of the fortification wall with glacis⁹¹

⁸⁹ Lagarce, *Syria* 61 (1984) 164.

⁹⁰ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 31.

⁹¹ Lagarce, *Syria* 61 (1984) Figure 11, p.165.

Excavations at the acropolis have yielded similar results regarding the origin of defensive structures at the site. The earthen rampart found in the northern trench to the north of the temple of Ba‘lu on the acropolis was originally uncovered in Schaeffer’s 1935 campaign to Ras Shamra, though a formal construction data was never assigned to the rampart.⁹² Through a review of the ceramic material originally found during the 1935 campaign, Calvet was able to date the earthen rampart to the Middle Bronze period,⁹³ though it remains unclear whether this earthen rampart remained in use in the Late Bronze Age or if it was replaced entirely by later construction.⁹⁴ It is possible to infer from the presence of fortifications to the north of the acropolis and on the west side of the palace area, that the tell was likely surrounded by an earthen rampart which was originally constructed in the Middle Bronze II B-C period.

Though evidence for earthen ramparts has been discovered on the north and west edges of the tell, evidence for the widespread use of an overlaid stone glacis is far more limited. To date, a stone glacis has only been uncovered in two locations at the tell; overlaying the earthen rampart on the west side of the tell as discussed above, and in the construction of the temple of Dagan on the acropolis. The massive foundation walls of the temple of Dagan actually begin with glacis base, the construction of which dates to the MB I period at the end of the 19th century.⁹⁵ This glacis at the west corner of the temple of Dagan is also made of cut stones, similar to those found in the northwest portion of the tell. This glacis performs no defensive

⁹² C. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935) Rapport sommaire,” *Syria* 17 (1936): 105-149.

⁹³ Y. Calvet, “Le rempart d’Ougarit,” *Les espaces Syro-Mesopotamiens: Dimensions de l’expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien. Volume d’hommage offert à Jean-Claude Margueron*, (Subartu 17; P. Butterlin, M. Lebeau, J. Monchambert, J. Montero Fenollos, and B. Muller, eds.; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006) 191.

⁹⁴ Calvet, *Les espaces Syro-Mesopotamiens* (2006) 191.

⁹⁵ M. Al-Maqdissi, Y. Calvet, V. Matoïan, K. Bahloul, et al., “Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission syro-française de Ras Shamra-Ougarit en 2007 et 2008 (67e et 68e campagnes),” *Syria* 87 (2010): 42-45.

mechanism and it appears that its construction may have been used to prevent erosion to the large building.

Burke's own analysis delved a bit deeper into the rampart and glacis construction at Ras Shamra. He notes that Ugarit shows an LBIA carved stone rampart slope or glacis that supported a supplemental rampart on the edge of the tell.⁹⁶ Because a glacis is typically constructed of "more durable and weather resistant materials," the glacis is often better preserved than the earthen rampart it supported.⁹⁷ Though the earthen rampart from the northwestern portion of the fortification system has been lost, the glacis from the LB IA period is still preserved. Similar glacis construction has been found across the Levant using various materials such as large stones, limestone, gravel, or mudbrick, though Ugarit is the only site that has yielded a glacis constructed of carved stone masonry.⁹⁸ Burke posits that stone glacis were typically constructed in regions with the highest precipitation or along the coast to prevent erosion. Sites such as Ashkelon, Biruta and Byblos all feature stone glacis, but this type of construction is not attested in inland Syria and Cisjordan.⁹⁹

Based upon the above discussion, two portions of the tell have yielded fortification remains dating back to the MB II B/C period, extending into the LB I period; namely the acropolis to the north with its Middle Bronze earthen rampart, and the tower construction known from the western fortification systems with adjoining LB I glacis. Though the evidence is scanty, it does point to the fact that in the MB II B-C period, the tell was likely surrounded by a rampart which was the first defensive structure constructed at the site, though evidence for such defensive walls have not been discovered on the south and east sides of the tell. Then in the LB I

⁹⁶ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 52, 55.

⁹⁷ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 52, 55.

⁹⁸ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 55.

⁹⁹ Burke, *"Walled Up to Heaven"* (2008) 56.

period, the earthen rampart on the west side was expanded to include a watch tower and was overlaid by a glacis of hewn stones, at least on the west side of the tell to prevent erosion.¹⁰⁰ This evidence allows us to look for parallels between the defensive construction type found at the tell and other sites found across the Levant and Mesopotamia that have yielded similar remains from the MB II B/C and LB I periods.

From the survey conducted by Burke in his 2008 review of fortification strategies in the Levant, the following maps represents sites in the northern Levant and in northwestern Mesopotamia that have yielded fortifications from either MB IIA or MB IIB/C. In addition to the Middle Bronze Age data provided by Burke, I have included those sites that remained fortified in the LB I to show continuity of fortification use, similar to the situation found at the site of Ugarit. It should be noted that this list is not exhaustive, but rather is a survey of only those sites where certain dating has been proposed by the excavators.

¹⁰⁰ Burke, *“Walled Up to Heaven”* (2008) 223. It is unclear why a glacis of hewn stone has only been found on the west side of the tell. Due to the site’s close proximity to the coastline, it may be possible that the glacis was constructed on the west side to prevent erosion, or it is possible that this was added as a defense mechanism to protect the palace area in the northwest corner of the tell.



Fig. 4.3: Map of MB IIA fortifications (Northern Levant and Upper Euphrates)¹⁰¹

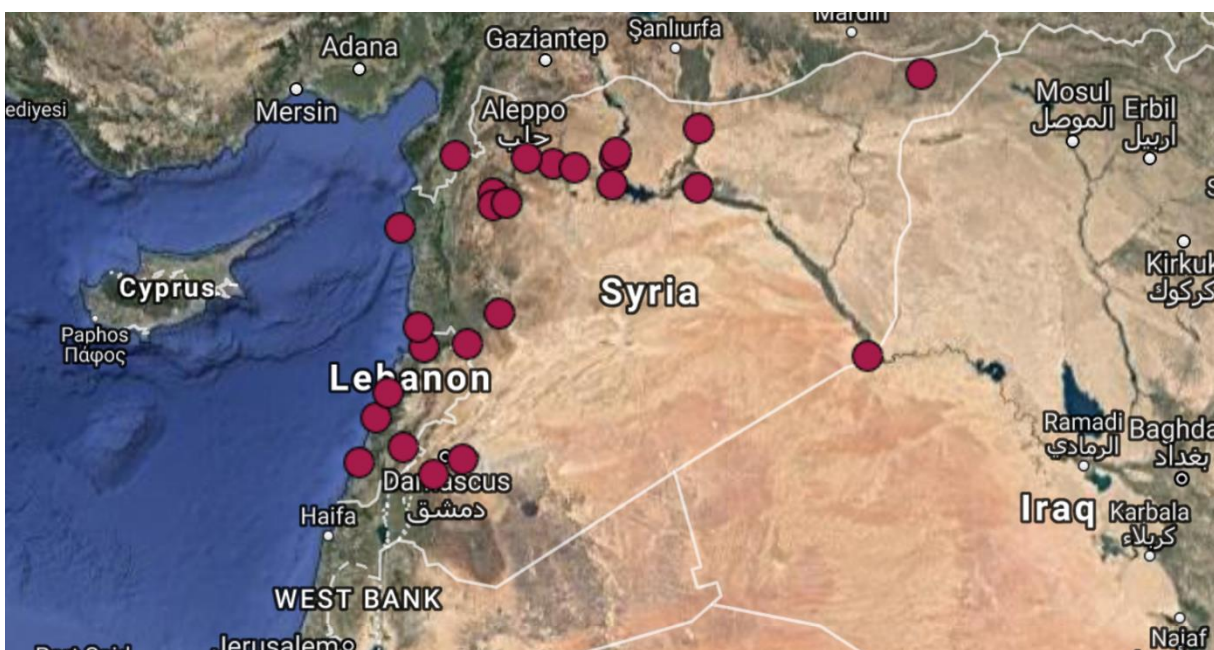


Fig. 4.4: Map of MB IIB-C fortifications (Northern Levant and Upper Euphrates)¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

¹⁰² Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

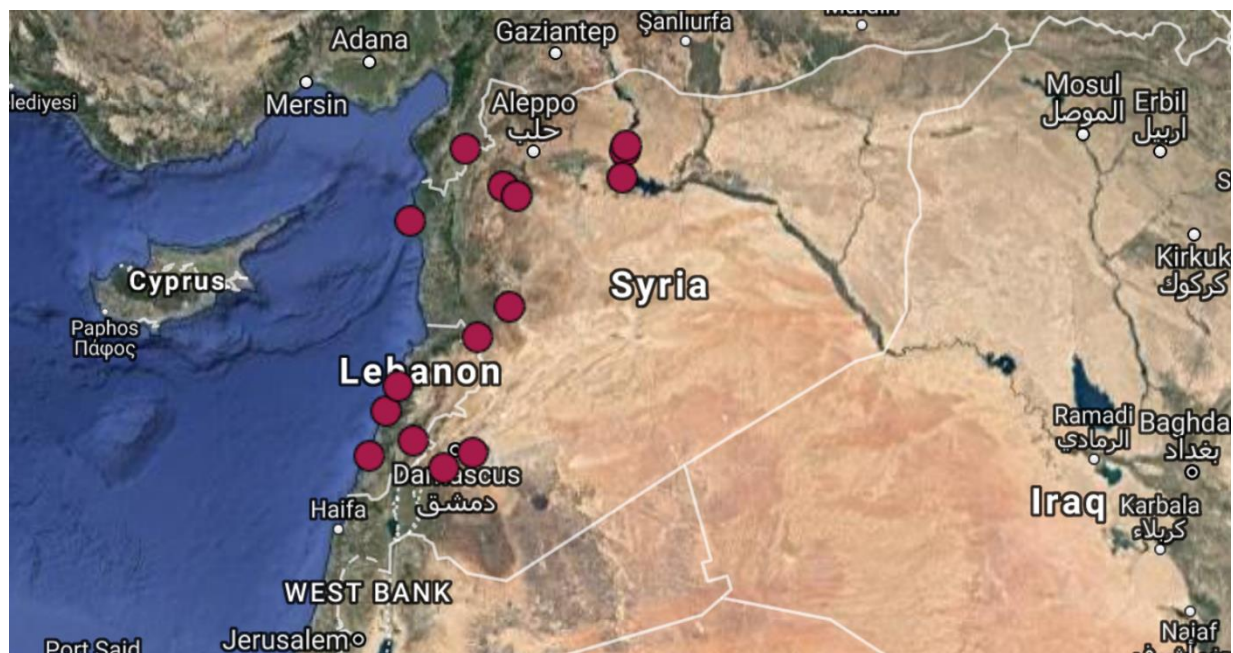


Fig. 4.5: Map of LB I fortifications (Northern Levant and Upper Euphrates)¹⁰³

From these maps, a pattern of fortified site settlement can be discerned over the course of the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age. The evidence for fortifications in the MB I period is limited to only a handful of sites in the northern Levant and upper Euphrates regions. Though some sites indicate a degree of continuity between the MB I and MB II fortifications, several sites, including Tell es-Selenkahiye and Tell Es-Sweyhat, cease to be fortified after the MB I period, indicating that there is perhaps a lack of continuity in settlement. The use of fortifications at sites gradually expands to other tells in the region during the MB IIA period until this strategy reaches its peak geographic expansion in the MB II B-C period. The subsequent LBI period is marked by a sharp reduction in the presence of fortifications at sites across the region; however there is a significant degree of continuity between the two regions. This continuity in re-usage of the Middle Bronze Age fortifications in the Late Bronze Age echoes the findings

¹⁰³ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

from tell Ras Shamra, where fortifications were retained throughout the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition, even though the population of the site had decreased quite drastically.

A similar pattern of continuity but decrease in population is found throughout the northern and southern Levant during the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition period. In the southern Levant, “though there seems to be general decline and deterioration in the material welfare during the mid-second millennium, there is also a great deal of continuity throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, as evidenced in the material culture and general territorial divisions.”¹⁰⁴ It is unclear what may have caused this urban decline at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, but some have suggested that the deterioration in urban settlements may have been due to a shift away from urban strategies toward semi-nomadic modes of production.¹⁰⁵

Certainly the entire region was reeling in response to the destruction that was wrought at the hands of Hattušili I and Muršili I of Hatti as they marched through the northern Levant and Mesopotamia, destroying sites across the region from around 1650 BCE to 1550 BCE, resulting in a power vacuum.¹⁰⁶ Smaller sites such as Ugarit, which remained inhabited throughout the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition, likely made a strategic move to retain fortifications in the face of such military prowess. Though the majority of the population might have moved away from the site in an effort to exploit other sources of economic production, the political hierarchy at the site retained enough power to organize labor in order to maintain and expand defensive construction throughout the Late Bronze I period.

Whatever the political motivation for the retention of defensive structures throughout the Late Bronze I period, it has become clear in the course of this discussion that a fortification

¹⁰⁴ A. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300-1100 BCE* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005) 99.

¹⁰⁵ Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity* (2005) 99.

¹⁰⁶ T.R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 98.

construction strategy similar to structures attested at the site of Ras Shamra is evident at sites throughout Mesopotamia and the Levant. The construction of fortifications at Ras Shamra was part of a larger pattern that spread and expanded over the course of the Middle Bronze Age and was retained throughout the Late Bronze Age. The similarity in construction type at these sites certainly indicates some degree of shared innovation between these populations, as more sites began to appropriate this new defensive style. This pattern of evidence is likely to have been politically motivated and does not, in and of itself, represent any shared cultural connection between these sites. However, we will look to other features of the MB II and LB I material assemblage at the site to see if perhaps this fortification strategy was only one features of a broader material assemblage that can be traced across the northern Levant.

4.2.2 Palace Organizational System

The earliest palaces date back to the third millennium in Mesopotamia and continued in a rich tradition over the next three millennia. Margueron, in his detailed 1982 volumes on the palace structure of Mesopotamia and the northern Levant, has traced the development of palace structures, identifying six chronological phases.¹⁰⁷ Margueron has shown the thematic and structural connection between each of these six chronological phases, but has shown that palaces from Syria in the second millennium stand apart from any known tradition, appearing as unique formats in the Bronze Age landscape of the northern Levant and Mesopotamia.¹⁰⁸ He suggests that the characteristics of these Syrian palaces express clear heterogeneity, providing the palace

¹⁰⁷ J.C. Margueron, *Recherches sur les Palais Mesopotamiens de l'Age du Bronze* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 107; Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1982).

¹⁰⁸ J.C. Margueron, "Note d'archéologie et d'architecture orientales, 14. La salle du trône d'Uruk a Babylone. Genèse, fonctionnement, signification," *Syria* 84 (2007): 98-101.

structures at Ebla, Alalakh, Ugarit and Tilmen Höyük as exemplars for this type of palatial structure.¹⁰⁹

This same conclusion was reached by Matthiae in his description of the palatial structures found at Ebla and Alalakh, as well as other northern Syrian sites, describing this heterogeneous palace structure as the “Old Syrian architectural tradition.”¹¹⁰ He has provided three distinctive characteristics of this palace type including: single building units placed perpendicular to internal courts rather than parallel, palace circulation involving continuous winding paths with long courts and corridors, and finally an audience suite articulating the space of the throne room.¹¹¹ In fact, Matthiae has suggested that the last of these three elements, the “reception suite” is indeed a “fixed and recurring typological feature, albeit with minor variants, which, in forms of differing monumentality, is to be found in all palatial buildings of Syria of Middle Bronze II (1800/1775-1650 BCE) and of Late Bronze I (1600-1400/1375 BCE) whose remains are preserved.”¹¹² Over the past decade, the Old Syrian architectural tradition hypothesis proposed by Matthiae and supported by Margueron has gained additional support at the site of Qatna. Though Matthiae had already shown that the LB I Royal Palace of Qatna exhibited the Old Syrian architectural features, recent excavations have uncovered the earlier Eastern Palace dating to the Middle Bronze Age. Iamonia has shown that this Eastern Palace also demonstrates all of the same characteristics as its later successor.¹¹³ Based upon this new evidence from Qatna, Iamonia has

¹⁰⁹ Margueron, *Syria* 84 (2007) 98-101.

¹¹⁰ P. Matthiae, “About the Formation of Old Syrian Architectural Tradition,” *Of Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday* (D. Oates, ed.; London: NABU Publications, 2002) 193-194.

¹¹¹ Matthiae, *Of Pots and Plans* (2002) 193-194.

¹¹² P. Matthiae, “The Reception Suites of the Old Syrian Palaces,” *De la Babylonie a la Syrie, en passant par Mari: Mélanges offerts a Monsieur J.-R. Kupper a l’occasion de son 70e anniversaire* (Assyriologie et archeologie de l’Asie anterieur; Ö. Tunca, ed.; Liege: Universite de Liege, 1990) 211.

¹¹³ M. Iamonia, “The Eastern Palace of Qatna and the Middle Bronze Age Architectural Tradition of Western Syria,” *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism: Proceedings of an International Conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009* (Qatna Studien Supplementa 2; P. Pfälzner and M. Al-Maqdissi, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015) 451-466.

claimed that “the existence of clearly distinctive features suggests that this ‘ideal’ plan of palaces was well known in the major urban centres of the northern Levant, in other words that there was a totally independent and original school of palace architecture in the northern Levant/western Syria.”¹¹⁴

Though the Syrian origin of this building style can be located in northern Syria, this same architecture style continued in use through the LB I period. Key Late Bronze Age sites in northern Syria show a continuity of this Syrian architectural form, such as the Royal Palace at Qatna, the “Level IV palace at Alalakh (where the two traditions may be clearly seen synthesized in Niqmepa’s Palace and Ilmilimma’s annex)” and in the Royal Palace at Ugarit.¹¹⁵ The extent to which this palace type appears to move beyond northern Syria is clear from a few key sites both to the north and to the south. To the south, in the southern Levant, large sites such as Megiddo,¹¹⁶ Hazor,¹¹⁷ and Tell el-Dab’a¹¹⁸ show clear Syrian architectural parallels in its MB IIB and LB I palace construction. To the north, though numerous sites in Anatolia have yielded evidence for palatial structures,¹¹⁹ only the site of Tilmen Höyük stands out in its similarities to the Syrian architectural pattern.¹²⁰ Since the Early Bronze levels at all of these sites have not yielded architecture comparable to this style, the palatial building type appears to be an

¹¹⁴ Iamonia, Qatna Studien Supplementa 2 (2015) 464.

¹¹⁵ Iamonia, Qatna Studien Supplementa 2 (2015) 464.

¹¹⁶ Matthiae, *Of Pots and Plans* (2002) 192.

¹¹⁷ R. Bonfil and A. Zarzecki-Peleg, “The Palace in the Upper City of Hazor as an Expression of a Syrian Architectural Paradigm,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 348 (2007): 25-47. Excavations of the royal compound of Hazor have revealed a palace with a well-defined and enclosed space similar to those found at Alalakh IV, Qatna, Tell Hammam and Tell Brak, and the fact that the palace was connected to the temple outside of the complex resembles the structures found at Alalakh, Tell Brak and Ebla.

¹¹⁸ Bietak, *The Second Intermediate Period* (2010) 153.

¹¹⁹ N. Laneri and M. Schwartz, “Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age,” *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia 10,000-323 B.C.E.* (S. Steadman and G. McMahon, eds.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) 344. Palaces include the Waršama Palace at Kaneš, the Sarikaya Palace at Acemhöyük, the Burnt Palace at Beycesultan, and the palaces at Oylum Höyük and Kinet Höyük.

¹²⁰ N. Marchetti, “Middle Bronze Age Public Architecture at Tilmen Höyük and the Architectural Tradition of Old Syrian Palaces,” *Ina kibrāt erbetti: Studi di archeologia orientale dedicati a Paolo Matthiae* (F. Baffi et al., eds.; Rome: Università di Roma “La Sapienza,” 2006) 275-308.

innovation of the Middle Bronze period in the region, though its influence would be felt throughout the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.¹²¹

Some have suggested that this Old Syrian tradition provides the cultural foundation for the later *bit hilani* structure so well-known from the Iron Age. One of the earliest scholars to propose a northern Syrian origin for the *bit hilani* construction of the 1st millennium was Henri Frankfort, who coined the term the “north Syrian palace” as a means of describing this type of construction.¹²² In his initial work, he suggested that the “old riddle of the *bit hilani*” had been solved, since the defining features of this later 1st-millenium style of architecture all find their origins in palaces known from northern Syria from the preceding Middle Bronze period. He suggested that “we can see its elements gathered – but neither isolated nor emphasized – in the palace of Yarīm-Lîm; and then used with a clearer purpose in the palace of Niqmepa, whose discovery shows that the development was Syrian and not merely peculiar to Alalakh.”¹²³ Others have echoed this perspective, suggesting that the Late Bronze palaces at sites such as Hazor have been constructed according to the *bit hilani* construction plan, leading the authors to suggest that “by the Late Bronze Age this plan (the *bit hilani*) was already considered the archetype of ceremonial palaces.”¹²⁴ Other ancient textual traditions also seem to indicate the *bit hilani* may have originated in an earlier period. In the Neo-Assyrian period, the term “*bit hilani*” becomes the standard “designation of a North Syrian palace type with columned portico adopted by the Neo-Assyrian kings.”¹²⁵ The Neo-Assyrian king Sargon described his own construction as “a

¹²¹ Margueron, *Syria* 84 (2007) 98-101.

¹²² H. Frankfort, “The Origin of the Bit Hilani,” *Iraq* 14 (1952): 120-131.

¹²³ Frankfort, *Iraq* 14 (1952) 129.

¹²⁴ Bonfil, et al., *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 348 (2007) 43.

¹²⁵ E. Reiner, M. Rowton, and R. Hallock, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: H* (The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 6. A. Oppenheim, ed.; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956) 185. The CAD here sites ten examples of this descriptor.

portico patterned after a Hittite palace, which they call a *bit hilani* in the Amorite language.”¹²⁶

Though this inscription was set in stone at the end of the 8th century, some 800 years after the rise of the Old Syrian palace tradition, what is the most tantalizing feature of this inscription is the interesting ascription of the term “*bit hilani*” to the Amorite language. Since the term *lišāni Amurri* can refer to either the “Amorite language” or more generically the “western language,” it is unclear what was referenced. Therefore, this later evidence in no way conclusively places the origins of the *bit hilani* structure in the MB II Amorite tradition of northern Syria, though it does indicate some degree of architectural continuity from the Middle Bronze to the Iron Age.

The Old Syrian tradition of palace construction thus can be seen to have spread throughout sites in the northern Levant beginning in the Middle Bronze IIB period and extending through the Late Bronze I period. The four most conclusive sites that demonstrate this unique architectural tradition in the Middle Bronze Age are the Eastern Palace at Qatna, the royal palace at Tilmen Höyük, the Level VII Palace at Alalakh, and the Royal Palace at Ebla. This tradition continues into the LB I period as shown by the Royal Palace at Qatna, the Level IV Palace at Alalakh, and the Royal Palace at Ugarit seemingly tying these five sites closely together in the unique palace constructions. The royal palace of Ugarit is a later installment of the spread of this Syrian palace type, initially constructed at the beginning of the 15th century. The Royal Palace appears to have replaced the earlier Northern Palace which was in use during the 16th century,¹²⁷ which was stripped and abandoned in order to make way for the larger Royal palace which gradually grew in size to cover almost 7,000 square meters on the northwestern section of the tell, being guarded by the large Middle Bronze Age tower which straddled the entrance to the

¹²⁶ D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia: Volume II: Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927) 42, 53, 162. In Akkadian the text reads “*bīt appāte tamšil ekal Ḫatti ša ina lišāni Amurri E² ḫilāni išassūšu*.”

¹²⁷ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 62.

city.¹²⁸ Even though the royal palace at Ugarit dates to a century after the construction of temples at Qatna or Alalakh, the similarity between these structures is evident.

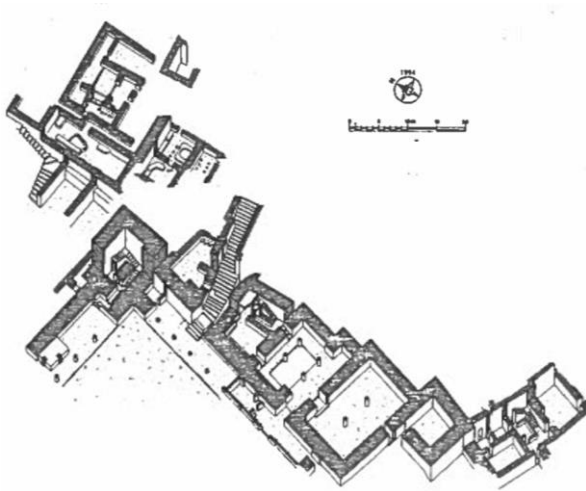


Fig. 4.6: The Royal Palace at Ebla¹²⁹



Fig. 4.7: Level VII Royal Palace at Alalakh¹³⁰

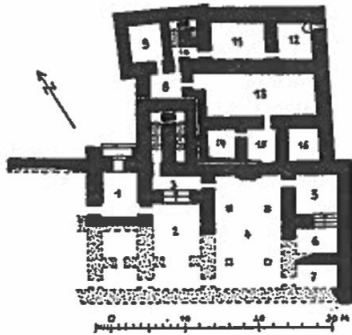


Fig. 4.8: MB IIB-C Palace at Tilmen Höyük¹³¹

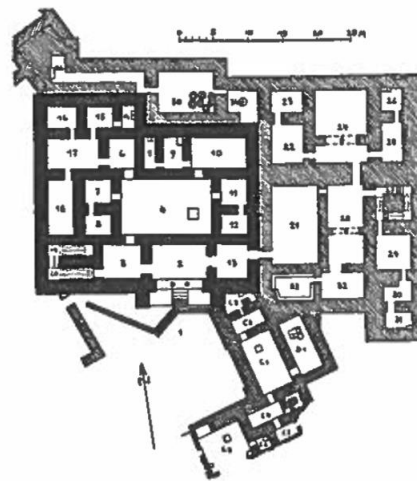


Fig. 4.9: Niqmepa's Palace, Level IV Alalakh¹³²

¹²⁸ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 36.

¹²⁹ P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, and G. Scandone Matthiae, *Ebla: Alle origini della civiltà urbana: Trent'anni di scavi in Siria dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza"* (Milano: Electa, 1995) 106.

¹³⁰ L. Woolley, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1955) Figure 35, p. 57.

¹³¹ R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit* (Tubingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1971) Figure 543, p. 409.

¹³² Woolley, *Alalakh* (1955) Figure 45, p. 106.



Fig. 4.10: The MB IIC Eastern Palace at Qatna¹³³

Fig. 4.11: The LB Royal Palace at Ugarit¹³⁴

This palace type originated at the sites of Ebla¹³⁵ and Alalah in about the 18th century BCE. This palace type was then adopted at sites such as Qatna, Ugarit,¹³⁶ and Tilmen Höyük in the transition period between the Middle and Late Bronze periods. In reference to the Eastern Palace at Qatna, Iamonia has stated that this “innovative conception is a further result of the

¹³³ D. Bonacossi, “The Chronology of the Royal Palace of Qatna Revisited: A Reply to a Paper by Mirko Novák, Egypt and the Levant 14, 2004,” *Ägypten Und Levante / Egypt and the Levant* 17 (2007): 221-39, 223. Bonacossi dates the construction of the palace to the MB IIC period or to the MB to LB transition period, roughly around 1600 BCE.

¹³⁴ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 37. Yon provides the complete diagram of the palace complex, however, much of the eastern portions of this complex were later additions in the Late Bronze II period. Margueron provides further specificity on the western section of the palace that should be attributed to the LB I phase (Margueron, *Syria* 84 (2007) 98-101).

¹³⁵ Matthiae, *Of Pots and Plans* (2002) 193. The initial palace structure at Ebla was constructed in the EB IVA prior to the destruction layer that dates to around 1900 BCE at the site. This earlier EB IV temple finds its stylistic antecedent in the EB III/IV temples of tell Alawa and tell Khuera. Following the destruction layer at the site, the basic temple structure would be reused, but the MB I temple would display an important innovation of an added open space. This evidence from the MB I temple suggests that there is a degree of continuity with the earlier period since the base structure was reused rather than being leveled. But the temple also exhibits new innovations which altered the layout of royal space in the palace structure. It is these innovations which are then adopted by other sites exhibiting the Old Syrian palace structure.

¹³⁶ There has been some debate about possible features of the temple complex at Ugarit that seem to show Egyptian architectural influence. However Matthiae has shown that the Late Bronze temple at Ugarit is fundamentally “paleo-syrian” in style and structure (Matthiae, *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit* (2013) 346).

original, independent and vital cultural tradition that originated and developed at Qatna during the second millennium BC,” and that “the occurrence of such originality must be seen as part of an independent tradition that embraced western Syria and the northern Levant throughout the second millennium BC.”¹³⁷ This innovation gradually began to spread to other sites in northern Syria and the southern Levant.



Fig. 4.12: Map of North Syrian palace types¹³⁸

The above maps shows the extent and distribution of the Syrian palace construction type which began at key sites in the northern Levant and gradually spread to other regions in the Late Bronze I period. This distribution prompts two primary questions; first, given that this

¹³⁷ Iamonia, Qatna Studien Supplementa 2 (2015) 464.

¹³⁸ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

distribution appears to follow sites typically attributed to “Amorite” population movements, why does this palace type not appear at key Amorite site such as Mari, and second, can this distribution of this palace type allow us to draw any broader historical and political conclusions about the populations living at these sites?

Let us turn to the first of these questions. Given that this Old Syrian palace construction type appears to be a unique innovation of the Middle Bronze Age attributable to the Amorite phase in the period, it has remained exceptionally curious that the palace structure at Mari, the exemplar of the Amorite dynasties, does not exhibit all three of the defining features that Matthiae delineated. Specifically, unlike the Old Syrian courts whose palace circulation involved winding paths with long courts and corridors, the Mari palace displays “an inner circulation articulated around the large square internal courts.”¹³⁹ Like Qatna, the palace attributed to the Amorite dynasty at Mari was built upon the remains of the palace from the previous Shakkanakku period. However, unlike Qatna, where the Eastern palace reused, adapted and then completely transformed the previous palace structure suggesting that “rigid planning was applied to public buildings in western Syria/northern Levant,”¹⁴⁰ the MB II palace at Mari far less drastically transformed the previous palatial structure. During the Amorite period, the general structure was retained, though a new intervention modified the internal organization of the palace primarily by adding lateral passages which ensured connection to the great hall which included the central throne room.¹⁴¹ The final phase of the palace, during the reign of Shamshi-Adad, did not adjust the organization of the palace at all, only reducing the thickness of the walls in the courtyard.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Iamonia, *Qatna Studien Supplementa* 2 (2015) 463.

¹⁴⁰ Iamonia, *Qatna Studien Supplementa* 2 (2015) 464, N.38.

¹⁴¹ Margueron, *Recherches sur les Palais Mesopotamiens* (1982) 209-309.

¹⁴² Margueron, *Syria* 84 (2007) 90-91.

The layout of the palace of Mari has caused Margueron to place it within a relatively homogenous group of palace structures known from the “*époque des dynasties amorites*” in Mesopotamia that included palaces at Ur, Eshnunna, Larsa, Uruk and Assur.¹⁴³ In his extensive study of this palace type in Mesopotamia, Margueron has suggested that this group shows similar construction type as it represents a common thought approach to the necessities of function.¹⁴⁴ These Amorite palaces were distinct both from the previous construction at these sites and are also distinct from the more common Mesopotamian palatial structure known from the UR III period, which continued through the Middle Bronze Age.¹⁴⁵

Though there are certainly distinct palatial styles occurring in northern Syria and in Mari and the middle Euphrates region, it is necessary to note that there are two features of these distinct traditions that seem to connect them in terms of construction. First, the Old Syrian and Amorite construction phases arise concurrently in the Middle Bronze Age in Mesopotamia and the northern Levant. Both of these palace types mark a distinct break from the previous palatial structures of the Early Bronze Age, suggesting that a new tradition was at work in both regions that was distinct from the previous Ur III empire. Second, the one shared feature between palaces from the Mesopotamian Amorite phase and those in the Old Syrian style is the central position of the audience suite which included the throne room connected by an opening to an initial vestibule, though the Mesopotamian palace format is connected to a far more extensive court system. Could the prominence of this audience suite in palace design indicate a distinct movement away from royal isolation to a more kinship-based approach to rulership? It is unclear what exactly might have prompted this change in construction design, but it is significant that

¹⁴³ Margueron, *Recherches sur les Palais Mesopotamiens* (1982) 573-576.

¹⁴⁴ Margueron, *Recherches sur les Palais Mesopotamiens* (1982) 574.

¹⁴⁵ Margueron, *Syria* 84 (2007) 90.

this design was unique in the 18th century and appears to span both the palace structures in Syria as well as in the middle and upper Euphrates region.

This leads us to the second question which this discussion of the Old Syrian palace type has prompted, namely, what broader historical and political conclusions can be drawn based upon the distribution of this palace type. It is clear from the discussion that this palace type was an innovation in the northern Syrian region beginning in the 17th century, and remained in prominence in the region through the Late Bronze I period. This innovative approach to palace space was distinct from previous periods most notably in the presence of a distinct audience suite which was directly connected to the throne room, but what might have caused this new innovation at sites in northern Syria? Matthiae has noted that “the origin of the elements of architectural composition which are to be found in the Old Syrian urban centres as a coherent and unitarian system remains an open question, which can only be answered by field research and historical analysis.”¹⁴⁶ As a distinct element, such an innovation seems to represent not only a different construction type, but more importantly, a different approach to kingship and the association between the king and his subjects. However, in order to draw broader conclusions about the historical significance of this type of palace construction, this element cannot be viewed in isolation. Rather, this must be seen as merely a single characteristic of a broader movement of ideas or population groups in northern Syria in the first half of the second millennium.

4.2.3 Migdāl Temple Construction

As discussed previously, another distinct feature of the Middle Bronze IIB-C phase at Ugarit are the two temples of Ba‘lu and Dagan. These two temples which adorn the crest of the

¹⁴⁶ Matthiae, *Of Pots and Plans* (2002) 193.

acropolis at the site of Ras Shamra were initially constructed in the MB IIB period, and remained continuously in use throughout the Middle and Late Bronze eras. The two temples appear to have been constructed at relatively the same time, and contrast quite dramatically with the Early Bronze sanctuary, upon whose ruins the temple of Dagan was constructed. The temples are distinguished primarily by the size and quality of their construction, with walls between 4-5 meters thick which support a three-story tower reaching up over 20 meters.¹⁴⁷

These formidable temples contrast quite starkly with the previous MB IIA period at the site, which has yielded no permanent structures as the site was used primarily as a cemetery. Callot, in his discussion of these massive temple constructions, suggested that they should be included in the category of tower-temples¹⁴⁸ (*temples-tours*) and that they represent a new type of construction in this region in the Middle Bronze Age.¹⁴⁹ This structure type is variously known as a “tower temple,” “fortress temple,” or “*migdāl* temple” as it is known from the southern Levant, the latter of which will be used throughout this discussion in order to avoid confusion with other temple types¹⁵⁰ and to emphasize the fact that such temples also served as מגדלים (*migdālīm*) or “watch towers.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Callot, Ras Shamra-Ougarit 19 (2011) 67.

¹⁴⁸ E.D. Van Buren, “The Building of a Temple-Tower,” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 46 (1952): 65-74. The designation of “temple tower” as used here, is not to be confused with the term sometimes used to refer to the ziggurat building format found in Mesopotamia for which there is far more evidence. To avoid confusion between the two distinct building formats, I will be using the term “*migdāl* temple” moving forward, so as to be clear what structure is being referred to.

¹⁴⁹ Callot, Ras Shamra-Ougarit 19 (2011) 99.

¹⁵⁰ Van Buren, *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 46 (1952) 65-74. This is just one example of how the term “temple-tower” has been used to describe the ziggurat structures known from Mesopotamia in the third millennium.

¹⁵¹ I have adopted here the terminology “watch tower” based upon the proposed etymology of *migdāl* not as a m-preformative noun from the root *gdl* “to be large” but rather from the Akkadian root *dgl* “to watch.” You find the terms *madgaltu* and *madgalu* in Middle and Neo-Assyrian referring to an “observation tower.” In Ugaritic both forms *mdgl* (RS 24.266:12) and *mgdl* (RS 1.001:11) are attested, suggesting the original root may have undergone metathesis of the two internal consonants. The root is only found as *mgdl* in Biblical Hebrew, but its usage seems to imply some type of tower with a roof from which individuals could take shelter and keep watch over the city, perhaps most notable the מגדל-שכם (“watch tower of Shechem”) mentioned in Judges 9:46-52.

Such *migdāl* temples were unique in the Middle Bronze Age and represent a new construction type unknown to the third millennium. Previous temple structures known from Mesopotamia were built upon “plain terraces” or were “elaborated as ziggurats,”¹⁵² and temples in northern Syria were primarily of the “anten-temple form (without towers).”¹⁵³ The *migdāl* temples were an entirely new construction form, not previously seen in the ancient Near East. Their massive stone walls, often 2-6 meters thick, stood in stark contrast to the mud-brick structures of the third millennium.¹⁵⁴ Their large tower(s) sat upon the acropolis of the tell, rising up like defensive structures, visible from the surrounding plain.

This temple type was first delineated and described as a “*migdāl* temple” by Benjamin Mazar,¹⁵⁵ and was followed by Wright in his ascription of this term to the temples found in the southern Levant.¹⁵⁶ Both Mazar and Wright noted the unique nature of these temples in the southern Levant, and their sudden appearance in the MB IIB-C without a preceding typological forerunner,¹⁵⁷ leading them to suggest that their construction should be attributed to the incursion

¹⁵² Y. Calvet, “Tower Temples in the Ancient Orient,” *Hadeeth ad Dar* 13 (2002): 17.

¹⁵³ S. Bourke, “The Six Canaanite Temples of Ṭabaqāt Faḥil: Excavating Pella’s ‘Fortress’ Temple (1994-2009),” *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.-1. Mill. B.C.E.)* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41; J. Kamlah, ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012) 191. The anten temple form usually included one story without adjoining towers, such that the side walls of the temple extended out to form an opening porch with pillars.

¹⁵⁴ Bourke, *Temple Building and Temple Cult* (2012) 191.

¹⁵⁵ B. Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period: Historical Studies* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986).

¹⁵⁶ G.E. Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. LTD., 1965) 94. Wright here cites personal correspondence with Mazar, who was the first to use this terminology. Wright says “Professor Benjamin Mazar of Hebrew University has suggested to me that the Megiddo and Shechem temples belonged to a special type of structure, known as a *migdāl* or fortress-temple.”

¹⁵⁷ A. Mazar, “Temples of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age,” *ha-Adrikhalut be-Erets-Yisrael bi- yeme kedem : min ha-tekufot ha-prehistoriyot ad ha-tekufah ha-Parsit - The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods: le-zekher Elmanuel (Munyah) Dunayevski - In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky* (H. Katzenstein, E. Netzer, A. Kempinski, and R. Reich, eds.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1987) 161-162. As discussed previously, since urbanism virtually ceases during the EB IV/MB I in the southern Levant, virtually no temple structures are known from this period. Given the gradual return of urbanism over the course of the MB IIA as described by Cohen, it is not surprising that no temple has yet been dated to the MB IIA period in the southern Levant, though open-air cultic areas have been found at Megiddo, Nahariya and Byblos. The MB IIB/C would bring about a unique shift in the construction of cultic centers in the southern Levant. Much like the arrival of the formidable cultic constructions at Ugarit, large temple structures appear at the three strategic sites of Megiddo, Shechem and Hazor in this period.

of a foreign ethnic group in the region.¹⁵⁸ As more sites were uncovered in the northern Levant, others noted the similarities between this temple construction style in the northern and southern Levant. Though acknowledging the lacuna of architectural documentation available for the Middle-Bronze-Age Syria, Matthiae noted the importance of key temple structures at sites such as Tell Atchana and Tell Mardikh and their similarity to temples found in the southern Levant known from Megiddo, Hazor and Byblos. In his view, though other influences are certainly found, such as the Babylonian “Breitraum” style found at Atchana and the Assyrian “Langraum” style found at Mardikh, ultimately the Middle Bronze temples from Syria and the Levant reveal a period of development that yielded a homogenous temple construction style that crystalized around 1800 BCE, a style which Matthiae described as “paléosyrian.”¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, he suggests that this shared paléosyrian temple style found in Syria and the Levant can be tied to shared innovation between northwestern Syria and north-central Palestine during the Middle Bronze Age, which he describes as a pivotal moment in the development of the Syrian architectural civilization.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Wright, *Shechem* (1965) 94-96. Wright notes that these temples were constructed at roughly the same time in the 17th century, and given the unique nature of their construction, attributes this innovation to a foreign group. He states that “Since this is the period of Indo-European migrations into the Fertile crescent of the Near East, it may be that the temple type was brought with them.” As discussed previously, the attribution of the distinct “Hyksos” culture to foreign Indo-European invading “barbarians” (Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957) 206) is due less to the evidence for an Indo-European contingent in the region during the Middle Bronze, and more to a misconception stemming from the Biblical narrative and the false identification of Abraham as an “Amorite.” According to a strict interpretation of the Biblical chronology, Abraham arrived in the Levant from Ur of the Chaldeans around 2150 BCE. Albright suggested that this narrative perhaps overlapped with the Amorite migrations, initially thought to have occurred at the end of the EB III period. In this reasoning, no room was left for a later migration of an Amorite contingent toward the beginning of the Middle Bronze II period. He therefore looked to another location for this possible group, in this case, an Indo-European migration. However, there is little to no material or linguistic evidence for such a migration from an Indo-European region, thus making this theory untenable.

¹⁵⁹ P. Matthiae, “Unité et développement du temple dans la Syrie du Bronze Moyen,” *Le Temple et le Culte: Compte rendu de la vingtième Rencontre assyriologique internationale organisée à Leiden du 3 au 7 Juillet 1972*. (Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 20; E. van Donzel, P. Donceel-Voûte, A. Kampman, and M. Mellink, eds.; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut, 1975) 56.

¹⁶⁰ Matthiae, *Le Temple et le Culte* (1975) 72. Throughout the MB IIB/C period, this temple construction style was put in place at key sites in the northern Levant such as Ebla and Alalakh, and at sites such as Shechem and

This hypothesis was supported by Mazar in his discussion of southern Levantine temples constructed in the *migdāl*-style. He proposed that such temples of this type in the southern Levant find their closest parallel in the temples from the northern Syrian sites such as Ebla and Mari, whose massive walls and long-room construction are the most “definitive prototypes” for the *migdāl* structures in the southern Levant, going so far as to ascribe the term “Syrian temple” to those temples found in Palestine.¹⁶¹

This temple form first appears at the end of the MB IIA period around 1800 BCE in northern Syria, with its earliest examples appearing at Ebla, Alalakh and Ugarit. This style then gradually begins to appear at key urban centers in the southern Levant such as Megiddo, Shechem, Pella and Hazor,¹⁶² either being adopted by the local populations or being brought independently by a foreign group. This temple format appears to have functioned well as it remained in vogue throughout the Levant and the northwestern Mesopotamia region for over half a millennium.¹⁶³ Mazar has noted that “the strength of this architectural tradition in Syria can be attested by the discoveries in recent years of similar temples of Late Bronze Age date at Tell Mumbaqa and Tell Meskene along the upper Euphrates. At both of these sites two temples of this type were uncovered; they possess an entranceway set between antae and a cella in the form of a long-room.”¹⁶⁴ Similarly, the temples of Ba‘lu and Dagan which were constructed at Ugarit around 1800 BCE, remained continuously in use until they were refurbished around 1250 BCE, boasting a nearly 600-year period of use and dominance atop the acropolis.

What, then, are the characteristics that define this specific temple form? Temples of this type tend to be free-standing monumental structures constructed on the *temenos* of the tell,

Megiddo in the southern Levant, and though these temples fall into a homogenous construction pattern, they also exhibit their own unique characteristics depending on their function or regional influence.

¹⁶¹ A. Mazar, *Ha-Adrikhalut be-Erets-Yisrael bi- yeme kedem* (1987) 167.

¹⁶² Bourke, *Temple Building and Temple Cult* (2012) 191.

¹⁶³ Bourke, *Temple Building and Temple Cult* (2012) 192.

¹⁶⁴ A. Mazar, *Ha-Adrikhalut be-Erets-Yisrael bi- yeme kedem* (1987) 167.

marking a radical shift in construction design and techniques from the previous period. Mazar has discussed the *migdāl* temples at the southern Levantine sites of Megiddo, Shechem¹⁶⁵ and Hazor, and has identified six defining features which these temples exhibit.

1. They are constructed on raised ground high above their surroundings.
2. Their walls are thick (more than 2m wide) and consist of stone foundations and brick superstructures.
3. The entrances are placed along the longitudinal central axis.
4. They contain no more than two architectural units, the main large room (the cella) and either a long-room or broad-room.
5. The “holy of holies” is usually a clearly-defined element represented by a niche or a raised platform attached to the back wall, directly opposite the entrance.
6. The façade of the temple is plain but it sometimes has two front towers which rise above the other parts of the building and give access to the roof or the upper parts of the building.¹⁶⁶

Though Mazar’s list of defining characteristics of this temple type were based only upon the temples found at three sites in the southern Levant, the specifications match the *migdāl* temples found in the northern Levant as well as other temples which have been excavated over the last decade. To this must be added Pella in the Transjordan, where excavations from 1994-2009 have uncovered a *migdāl* structure founded in the Middle Bronze IIB period around 1700BCE.¹⁶⁷ From the northern Levant, the sites of Mari, Tell Munbaqa, Alalakh, Emar, Ebla, Byblos, Qatna and Ugarit also exhibit these characteristics in their temple construction type.

¹⁶⁵ E.F. Campbell and G.R.H. Wright, *Shechem III: The Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem/Tell Balatah: Volume 1: Text* (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002).

¹⁶⁶ A. Mazar, *Ha-Adrikhalut be-Erets-Yisrael bi- yeme kedem* (1987) 166-167.

¹⁶⁷ Bourke, *Temple Building and Temple Cult* (2012) 163.



Fig. 4.13: Map of *Migdal* temples¹⁶⁸

The map shows that this temple construction type spread across the northern and southern Levant, stretching from Ebla in the north to Pella across the Jordan River. The extensive geographical presence of these structures becomes even more impressive when the monumental nature of these temples is taken into account. From the description of the defining features of these structures, it is clear that these *migdal* temples on the exterior were large structures, with thick walls and stone foundations resembling a defensive watch tower, while the interior was a cultic sanctuary with a demarcated area for the presence of the divinity. This building style was truly a hybrid structure, serving both as a formidable watch-tower and as a religious center, a new combination of function in the Middle Bronze Age. In order to explore this dual functionality of the temples we will focus on the Middle Bronze temples at Ugarit.

The temple of Ba‘lu at Ugarit was constructed atop the remains of the necropolis from the MB IIA period. Callot suggests that the necropolis and its function had been forgotten and no

¹⁶⁸ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

longer valued, as the two-meter foundations for the temple of Ba‘lu were sunk directly into the previous graves.¹⁶⁹ Such large foundations were required considering the massive construction of the buildings. The foundation structure measuring 16x22m for the temple of Ba‘lu (17x23m for the temple of Dagan) supported walls between 4 and 5 meters thick¹⁷⁰ built entirely of stone.¹⁷¹ Though the upper layers of the structure have not survived, based upon these dimensions and the presence of staircases, excavators have suggested that the height of the temple of Ba‘lu was likely between 18-22m high.¹⁷²

This impressive height helps to reveal the watch-tower function which the *migdāl* temple form served. The tell of Ras Shamra is located at the intersection of the main maritime and overland trade routes, and acted as a key hub between the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia. Ras Shamra was just a day’s journey from Cyprus and Cilicia, and its two ports, Minet el-Beida and Ras ibn-Hani, “could accommodate ships displacing over 200 tons,” allowing for large quantities of goods to be moved quickly along the coast.¹⁷³ Ugarit also controlled the “coastal highway of Syria,” the main overland passage which connected the Levant with central Syria and the Amanus and Taurus passes in Anatolia.¹⁷⁴ This dual control of maritime and overland trade routes made the kingdom of Ugarit the most effective intermediary between central Syria and the Mediterranean coast.

¹⁶⁹ Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 19 (2011) 91.

¹⁷⁰ Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 19 (2011) 67.

¹⁷¹ Calvet, *Hadeeth ad Dar* 13 (2002) 17-18.

¹⁷² Calvet, *Hadeeth ad Dar* 13 (2002) 19.

¹⁷³ A.B. Knapp and J. Cherry, *Provenience Studies and Bronze Age Cyprus: Production, Exchange and Politico-Economic Change* (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1994) 135-136.

¹⁷⁴ Knapp, et al., *Provenience Studies and Bronze Age Cyprus* (1994) 136. Evidence for the importance of trade at Ugarit is clear from Late Bronze Age documentation, which shows that ships from Berytus, Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, Akko, Cyprus, Crete, and Egypt are all found to have docked in one of Ugarit’s ports.

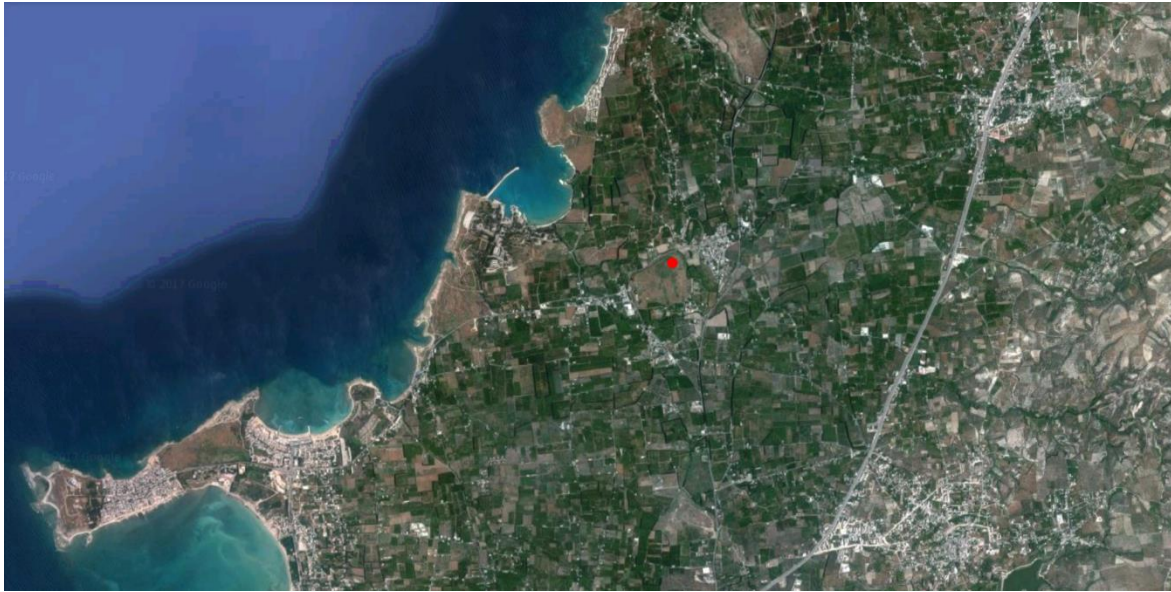


Fig. 4.14: Map of Ugarit and its neighboring ports, Minet el-Beida and Ras ibn-Hani¹⁷⁵

The towering *migdāl* temples of Ba‘lu and Dagan served as the ideal watch-towers to monitor and maintain control of both trade routes. The temples were located only 1.5km away from the coast,¹⁷⁶ making them clearly visible by ships in the ports of Minet el-Beida or out at sea. The presence of several large stone anchors¹⁷⁷ next to the mostly intact altar in the temple of Ba‘lu suggest a strong connection between the temple and the sea. Sailors would have been able to see the temple from the open water, using it for navigation, and may have returned from voyages with anchor votive offerings marking their safe return. Similarly, since the tell is surrounded by a plain, the *migdāl* could monitor the ‘coastal highway of Syria,’ maintaining control over the passage of goods from inland Syria to the coastal ports.

¹⁷⁵ Google Earth ©2018, DigitalGlobe Landsat /Copernicus Google CNES/ Airbus, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

¹⁷⁶ Calvet, *Hadeeth ad Dar* 13 (2002) 19.

¹⁷⁷ Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* (2006) 109. The anchors are large limestone blocks which are either solid or pierced by one, two or three holes. These anchors weighed up to 600 kilograms, so the transport of such anchors from the coast to the acropolis of the tell and into the sanctuary of the temple was no small feat.

But these *migdālīm* did not only function as towers for the purpose of monitoring, directing, and controlling trade. These structures also served a religious and perhaps political purpose as the central cultic structures at the site for over 500 years. As mentioned above, the temple compound certainly had a religious function, providing the venue for man's interaction with the divine. In Ugaritic, the term for temple is simply *bt* ("house") indicating, at some level, that the structure was conceived as the dwelling place of the divinity.¹⁷⁸ From the Late Bronze Age Ugaritic ritual literature, we learn that man was able to interact with these deities, offer sacrifices, and make specific requests. Whether commoners were able to mediate their own sacrifices is unclear, since the king is the primary intercessor named for almost all rituals,¹⁷⁹ but ritual texts indicate that requests could be made by individuals for well-being,¹⁸⁰ guidance,¹⁸¹ or healing from illness.¹⁸² The archaeological finds also support the religious function of these structures. Furniture for the deity such as altars, votive offerings such as vases, steles and anchors, as well as dedicatory inscriptions all in or near the temples indicate that these structures

¹⁷⁸ The term *bt* could then be modified based upon the deity/person to which the structure could be ascribed. Examples include "temple of the gods" (*bt ilm* - KTU 1.43:2), "temple of Ba'al of Ugarit" (*bt b 'l ūgr[t]* - KTU 1.119:3), "temple of Dagan" (*bt dgn* - KTU 1.104:13), "temple of Dīdānu" (*bt dtn* - RS 24.248) and "temple of Athtartu" (*bt ttrt* - KTU 4.219:2).

¹⁷⁹ D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Writings from the Ancient World Society of Biblical Literature Volume 10; T. Lewis, ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002) 238-239. Though the king is the key actor named in almost all rituals, a few other cultic personnel do occasionally occur, including the *qdš*, "holy person" and the *ṯ'y*, "giver of the *ṯa'u*-sacrifice" in the ritual texts, as well as classes of functionaries such as the *qdšm*, "holy ones," *nqdm* "temple herdsmen" who owned and supplied animals for the temple sacrifices, and the *khnm* "priests" in the administrative texts.

¹⁸⁰ RS 24.271:1-3. Lines 1-3 begin with the repeated imperative *šlm* "give well-being", effectively commanding the gods (Ilū, Dagan, Ba'lu, etc.) to bestow gifts upon their faithful servants.

¹⁸¹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 127-128. The lung and liver models known from Ugarit (as well as Mari) offer a glimpse into the practical arts of extispicy and divination, suggesting that, at least in part, rites were performed for the purpose of "providing the inquirer with guidance from the world of the divine on how to conduct one specific aspect of life."

¹⁸² D. Pardee, "Visiting Ditanu: The Text of RS 24.272," *Ugarit Forschungen* 15 (1983): 127-140. RS 24.272. Here the lord of the great gods (*ādū ilm rbm*) goes to Didanu (*dtn*) and asks (*yšāl*) about the health of a child. It is unclear from the ritual who is making the request, though it appears to be, as Pardee has stated, "prophylactic or apotropaic instructions in the guise of a myth," such that the divine sphere is seen to control the mundane.

were actively functioning as the cultic hub of the city.¹⁸³ However, it is impossible to view the religious nature of these temples in isolation for to “isolate the function of the temple and its maintenance from the structure of the purpose and development of power and leadership in Mesopotamia is to alienate the significance of religion from the wholeness of culture.”¹⁸⁴

In addition to their hybrid nature, there are four other features of these temples at the site of Ugarit which mark them as a distinct innovation at the site in the Middle Bronze Age, and a complete departure from the previous Early Bronze Level. First, the two temples of Ba‘lu and Dagan are built nearly simultaneously at the site around 1800 BCE and remain in use for over 500 years. Second, the stone construction indicates a new form of technology previously unknown at the site, given that the earlier cultic structures were made of mudbrick.¹⁸⁵ Third, such large stone construction would have required tremendous labor capital, which had not been attested at the site since the Early Bronze III.¹⁸⁶ Finally, these temples include stairways up to second and third stories, culminating, typically, in an open-air terrace on the roof of the tower. This roof-top terrace no doubt served as the watch tower for soldiers or administrative personnel to overlook the coastline and the trade routes. This roof-top terrace may also have served a secondary function by allowing the human sphere to reach up to the divine. Margueron suggests

¹⁸³ Calvet, *Hadeeth ad Dar* 13 (2002) 19.

¹⁸⁴ S.S. Dalton, *Canal, Wall and Temple Names of the Old Babylonian Period* (Doctoral dissertation; Brandeis University Press, 1983) 216.

¹⁸⁵ Matoian, et al., *Syria* 90 (2013) 439-478. As noted briefly above, one of the key questions which the team hoped to answer through this excavation was to determine what lay beneath the Middle Bronze layer of the foundation of the temple of Dagan. Though the temple of Ba‘l was sunk into the previous MB IIA necropolis, the temple of Dagan had been constructed atop a large Early Bronze Age structure with a slightly different orientation. Like the rest of the site, this Early Bronze Age structure had been leveled, providing some degree of support to the hypothesis that this location on the tell had served as a sacred space prior to the Middle Bronze period. However, the purpose of this structure is completely unknown.

¹⁸⁶ As was discussed previously, a 100-year hiatus from roughly 2200-2100 BCE marked the end of the Early Bronze phase at this site. The subsequent Middle Bronze I period from 2100-1900 BCE was inhabited by the so-called “creuseurs de silos” who used mud-brick construction only on the acropolis. This settlement phase ended in favor of the rich grave goods of the “porteurs de torques” who sunk their sepulchers into the previous Early Bronze and MB I remains at the site. Thus, the building of the temples of the acropolis, in large stone construction at the beginning of the 18th century, is the first time in 400 years that remains indicate that sufficient labor capital was employed to produce massive constructions.

that this new form of construction allowed man to move away from the altar of offering in order to climb up and consult the immensity of the divine.¹⁸⁷

These temple structures arrive at the site around 1800 BCE without any thematic or architectural antecedents. Their construction and monumentality would have required new technology, access to rich resources and a large, organized workforce, all of which had not been known at the site since the end of the Early Bronze III period. Ugarit is not unique, as a similar situation is seen at every site which boasts a *migdāl* temple in the Middle Bronze IIB-C period.

Because of the singular nature of these hybrid temple structures and the large amount of resources that would have been required for their construction, researchers have sought to attribute their presence at sites to either the influence or immigration of foreign populations. B. Mazar initially speculated that, since this temple form arises in the MB IIB-C period and remains in use at key urban centers throughout the Late Bronze Age, it was therefore likely brought into the southern Levant by “foreign ethnic elements from the north” accompanied by “the establishment of new fortified towns over the ruins of previous cities.”¹⁸⁸ Following Albright,¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ J.C. Margueron, “Le temple dans la civilisation syro-mésopotamienne: une approche généraliste,” *La casa del dio, il tempio nella cultura de vicino oriente antico, atti del convegno internatizonale* (Milan: Centro Studi del Vicino Orient, 2005).

¹⁸⁸ B. Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period* (1986) 29.

¹⁸⁹ W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1957) 204-206. Mazar cites Albright’s discussion for his loose conclusion that perhaps the new architectural style can be attributed to Indo-European migrations. Based upon the fact that sites such as Ugarit, Qatna, Jericho, Shechem, and Megiddo have all yielded material culture that is quite distinct in the Hyksos era, Albright proposed that “there must have been a great barbarian irruption from the northeast into the fertile crescent in the course of the 18th century. A congeries of non-Semitic peoples of varied origin flooded Palestine...and built new towns and castles everywhere, raising the density of population in Palestine considerably.” However, there are two fundamental issues with this conclusion. First, he was still following the initial version of the “Amorite hypothesis” wherein, Amorites had already marauded their way through the Levant by the EB IV period and therefore must have been distinct from the subsequent period of building in the MB IIB/C period. Second, with this first presupposition in place, he concluded that there was a sharp distinction between, what he describes as the previous “patriarchal simplicity of social life in Amorite Palestine,” and the subsequent “feudal system” marked by the building of large architectural constructions, such as fortifications and temple complexes. However, as Schloen has nicely shown, the building of cities and other architectural installations and the patriarchal system are not mutually exclusive. By no means has the very makeup and layout of these new cities led him to conclude that “the textual and archaeological evidence from ancient Ugarit and the rest of the Bronze Age Near East

he proposes that these “foreign ethnic invaders” were likely Hurrian or Indo-European groups that overtook the Semitic-speaking populations of the southern Levant.¹⁹⁰ A. Mazar had a more tempered view, seeing the appearance of Syrian-style temples in the southern Levant as “an expression of the cultural links and common traditions in this epoch between the West-Semitic states in the various parts of the Levant and of northern Mesopotamia.”¹⁹¹ Callot finds some middle ground, emphasizing the drastic nature of the change these temples represented; either representing a shift in “mentality” that resulted in the transformation of technological and religious traditions or a shift in the ethnic makeup of the population at the site.¹⁹²

Ultimately, the answer to the question of the origin of these structures cannot be found in looking at them in isolation. Certainly the construction, maintenance, and continuous use of these *migdāl* temples are representative of a drastic shift in the makeup and organization of the polity of Ugarit. However, in order to ascribe the origin of these structures to either a foreign immigration of a new population or to emulation of an elite style, we must view these structures as part of a larger material assemblage present at the site of Ugarit.

4.2.4 Glyptic Evidence

Though much is known regarding the use of stamp and cylinder seals from the Late Bronze Age court of Ugarit, the Middle Bronze Age usage of seals remains relatively unknown. In fact, a total of some 750 cylinder seals have been uncovered at the sites of Ras Shamra, Ras Ibn Hani, and Minet el-Beida, but only four come from the third to the fourth millennium and 18

conforms quite well to Weber’s patrimonial household model, rather than to a functionalist bureaucratic model of ancient society, or to the two-sector Marxist model of the “Asiatic mode of production” (Schloen, 2001, 359).

¹⁹⁰ B. Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period* (1986) 29.

¹⁹¹ A. Mazar, *Ha-Adrikhalut be-Erets-Yisrael bi- yeme kedem* (1987) 168.

¹⁹² Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 19 (2011) 100.

from the Middle Bronze Age, leaving the vast majority of seals attested from the Late Bronze Age.¹⁹³ In the Late Bronze Age, the kings of Ugarit employed two primary seal types: a cylinder seal and a signet ring. Ugaritic kings from the reign of Niqmaddu until ‘Ammurapi who ruled Ugarit during its demise, used a royal cylinder seal¹⁹⁴ for the purpose of sealing official court documents, which bore the inscription “Yaqarum son of Niqmaddu, King of the city of Ugarit” (ya-qa-rum DUMU ni-iq-má-du LUGAL ^{URU}ú-ga-ri-it).¹⁹⁵ Two copies of this royal seal were in use: an original version which was finely cut and an inferior copy which appears to have been produced at a later time.¹⁹⁶

Ugaritic kings also used their signet, or stamp ring to seal a tablet.¹⁹⁷ However, we only have evidence for these sealing practices from the last several centuries of the existence of the polity of Ugarit, and we lack similar evidence for the Middle Bronze Age. We do have evidence that cylinder seals were used in the Middle Bronze Age period at the site, since a total of 18 seals have been found from the Middle Bronze Age period of the site.¹⁹⁸ The question remains,

¹⁹³ P. Amiet, “Les sceaux-cylindres de Ras Shamra au II^e millénaire,” *Le pays d’Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.C.: Histoire et archéologie: Actes du Colloque International Paris, 16 juin - 1er juillet 1993* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 11; M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, eds.; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995) 239-240.

¹⁹⁴ J. Vidal, “The Origins of the Last Ugaritic Dynasty,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 33 (2006): 168-175. Five texts, four in Akkadian and one in Ugaritic, have been found that shed light on the possible kings of Ugarit (Akkadian: RS 88.2012, RS 94.2518, RS 94.2528, RS 94.2501 and Ugaritic: RS 24.257). The placement of the reign of Yaqaru has been hotly debated, but based upon an analysis of RS 4.449, Arnaud has shown that the successor of Yaqaru, Ibira, was a contemporary of Niqmepa of Alalakh and therefore likely would have ruled Ugarit in the mid-fifteenth century (Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996) 47). This conclusion was further supported by the philological analysis of Pardee (for summary discussion see Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 195-202), the initial hypothesis that Yaqaru was the founder of the Ugaritic dynasty in the Middle Bronze Age has been called into question. See Vidal for a review of the literature regarding the placement of the reign of Yaqaru in the history of Ugarit.

¹⁹⁵ J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d’Ugarit III: Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales* (Mission de Ras Shamra 6.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klincksieck, 1955) XLI-XLII.

¹⁹⁶ Singer, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (1999) 611-612.

¹⁹⁷ I.M. Rowe, “The Legal Texts from Ugarit,” *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 390-422.

¹⁹⁸ P. Amiet, *Corpus des Inscriptions de Ras Shamra-Ougarit II: Sceaux-cylindres en hématite et pierres diverses* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 9; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992) 21-24. Amiet notes two seals from the MB period which he classifies as “Série Paléo-Babylonienne” (RS 8.346 and RS 7.174). All other MB seals are classified under the “Classic Syrian Style” in chapter four. Here Amiet includes a total of 18 seals, but two of these are from the Late Bronze Age period.

without texts on which these cylinder seals were inscribed, can anything further be learned from their glyptic style which may shed light on their form and function in the Middle Bronze Age? It is to this question that we now turn.

In 1974, Schaeffer made a stylistic connection between a cylinder seal found at the site of Chagar Bazar to several cylinder seals found at Ras Shamra, suggesting that there may have been a close connection between these two sites in the Middle Bronze Age due to the adoption of a similar artistic style in their glyptic.¹⁹⁹ In 1981, examining a slightly later corpus of cylinder seals, dated from the second half of the 18th century, Collon noted 29 different seals, all carved in hematite, which came primarily from the sites of Ugarit, Tell Brak, Alalah and Aleppo that she proposed were all composed by a single workshop or even craftsman, which she termed “the Aleppo Workshop.”²⁰⁰

Four years later, Collon was to discover another possible “workshop” from the first half of the 18th century. She identified a glyptic group which she describes as the “North Syrian Workshop” which included 25 cylinder seals from the sites of Tell el-‘Ajjul in the southern Levant, Ugarit in the northern Levant, and Kilis, Chagar Bazar and Kültepe Level Ib in Anatolia, as well as a few other cylinder seals with an unknown provenance.²⁰¹ This group of seals showed a high degree of consistency as they share similar motifs, are made of hematite, and are similar in size (ranging from 1.5-2.5cm in length and 0.8-1.15cm in diameter).²⁰² The degree of

¹⁹⁹ C.F.A. Schaeffer, “Le cylindre A 357 de Chagar Bazar,” *Iraq* 36 (1974): 223-228.

²⁰⁰ D. Collon, “The Aleppo Workshop: A Seal-Cutters’ Workshop in Syria in the Second Half of the 18th Century B. C.,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 13 (1981): 33-44.

²⁰¹ D. Collon, “A North Syrian Cylinder Seal Style: Evidence of North-South Links with ‘Ajjul,” *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages: Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell* (J. Tubb, ed.; London: Institute of Archaeology, 1985) 58.

²⁰² Collon, *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (1985) 58.

consistency in the seals led Collon to hypothesize that the seals came from one workshop or, at the very least, from one area, and that some were perhaps even made by a single craftsman.²⁰³

Since these publications, significant work has been done in the field of glyptic, especially on the rich material from excavations over the last thirty years in the northern Levant. The initial similarities that were recognized by Schaeffer and Collon, proved to be an important point in identifying a clear glyptic typology in northern Syria, and as more examples were discovered in excavations, the small lists of twenty-nine and then twenty-five seals initially grouped by Collon began to expand. The most comprehensive study of cylinder seals of this type was published by Otto in 2000: *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik*.²⁰⁴ Otto identified a total of 479 seals from 40 different sites which she believed to fit into the Syrian Style, or the “*Klassisch-Syrisch I.*”, though she does not include the materials from the “Aleppo Workshop,” choosing to cut off her collection around 1730. Porada and Collon have extended this final date slightly to include the entirety of the 18th century and into the 17th century, in order to include the material from Alalah Level VII, which Otto excluded, preferring to include it in the later period which she terms the “*Klassisch-Syrisch II.*”²⁰⁵

Given this large corpus of glyptic material, trends have emerged regarding the style and history of these cylinder seals. Glyptic from the second millennium has been divided into two key categories; the “Old Syrian Style”²⁰⁶ and the “Classic Syrian Style.” The Old Syrian style is

²⁰³ Collon, *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (1985) 58. Collon offers Ugarit as the likely production site, since the seals featured both Egyptian and Mesopotamian stylistic features

²⁰⁴ A. Otto, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie: Ergänzungsbande zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie 8; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000). She further subdivides the Classic period into four sub categories: Frühklassisch 1830-1790 BCE, Hochklassisch 1795-1760 BCE, Spätklassisch 1760-1730 BCE, and Nachklassisch ca. 1730.

²⁰⁵ Otto, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik* (2000) 2.

²⁰⁶ E. Porada, “Syrian Seals from the Late Fourth to the Late Second Millennium,” *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria: An Exhibition from the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums Syrian Arab Republic* (H. Weiss, ed.; Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1985) 93.

far less well attested, but based upon the comparison between statuary found at Ebla and the artistic style in the glyptic, Porada suggested that this style first developed in northern Syria at a time “slightly later than the court style of Ur III,”²⁰⁷ or around 2,000 BCE. Amiet includes fourteen cylinder seals in the category from Ugarit which he terms “Proto-Syriennes”, but of these fourteen seals, twelve come from Late Bronze Age archaeological levels of the site, and only one (RS 19.197) comes from a Middle Bronze Age IIC level, though he thematically includes all in the “proto-syrian” group based upon their rough and linear style.²⁰⁸

Following the Old Syrian period, a new phase of glyptic style developed in Syria toward the end of the 19th century, described as the “Classic Syrian Style.” This new tradition shows clear stylistic features characteristic of the earlier Old Syrian period, but it also stands in stark contrast to other contemporaneous forms from Assyria and Babylon. The transition from the Old to the Classic period was characterized by “a change from the sharp linear engraving characteristic of the small figures of North Syrian glyptic to the often perfectly smooth finish of carefully executed figures and other forms carved with classic precision and restraint, with increasing enrichment of the iconography by Babylonian and Egyptian elements.”²⁰⁹ The classic glyptic style in Syria represented a high point of artistic style in the region. Most seals were made of hematite, a material which gives seals a lustrous gleam, and they exhibit particularly fine carving methods that feature the “concept of rendering the figure in the round, which is absent in other two-dimensional renderings of the ancient Near East and Egypt.”²¹⁰ The period of fine, unique Syrian craftsmanship was only to last some 200 years, from roughly 1830 BCE to

²⁰⁷ Porada, *Ebla to Damascus* (1985) 93.

²⁰⁸ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ugarit 9* (1992) 13-20. Amiet does provide four examples which exhibit floral and faunal images which he suggests are characteristic of the Old Syrian Period (#28-32); however, he dates all of these seals to after 1850, classifying them in the Classic Period.

²⁰⁹ E. Porada and D. Collon, “Classic Syrian Cylinder Seals of the Eighteenth and Seventeenth Centuries BC,” *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in The British Museum: Cylinder Seals IV: The Second Millennium BC Beyond Babylon* (E. Porada and D. Collon, eds.; London: The British Museum Press, 2016) 23.

²¹⁰ Porada and Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals* (2016) 23.

1650 BCE. The subsequent period extending into the Late Bronze Age, is characterized by a far “lesser quality with mass produced faience seals in the Mitannian style” or by increased Egyptian influence.²¹¹

Amiet identified a total of eighteen seals from the site of Ugarit that he has classified as representing the “Classic Syrian Style.”²¹² Due to the confusion regarding the Middle Bronze Age stratification described previously,²¹³ the precise dating for the seals is unknown. Amiet therefore categorized the seals on stylistic principles. All eighteen seals that he identifies are made of hematite, which is significant for two reasons; first because out of the some 750 total seals discovered at Ugarit, only forty-nine were of hematite,²¹⁴ and second, because 75% of all seals identified by Otto as being a part of the “Classic Syrian Style” were made from hematite, thus by far the preferred material during this 200-year period of craftsmanship.²¹⁵ Without including all eighteen seals found at the site of Ugarit which fall into this category, the following four seal impressions evince the quality craftsmanship and complex designs which characterized this seal type. The dates indicated are those provided by Amiet in his discussion based upon a detailed stratigraphical analysis of where these seal impressions were first discovered.

²¹¹ D. Collon, “Ancient Near Eastern Seals,” *7000 Years of Seals* (London: British Museum Press, 1998) 15.

²¹² Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit 9* (1992) 25-31.

²¹³ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit 9* (1992) 25. Amiet notes that “la stratigraphie établie est trop sommaire pour permettre une classification précise.” He also notes that cylinders from two distinct periods were found in the same grave, due most likely to the fact that the graves of the MB IIA necropolis were sunk into the previous MB I layer, thereby disturbing the remains and rendering exact dating impossible.

²¹⁴ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit 9* (1992) 5. Out of the roughly 750 seals, 49 are made of haematite, 200 are made of faience, and the other 500 are made of various other materials such as terracotta or bronze.

²¹⁵ Otto, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik* (2000) 180-181.



Fig. 4.15: Seal RS 11.025 (c.1900-1750)²¹⁶



Fig. 4.16: Seal RS 9.889 (c. 1900-1750)²¹⁷



Fig. 4.17: Seal RS 5.175 (c. 1850-1750)²¹⁸



Fig. 4.18: Seal RS 3.411 (c. 1900-1800)²¹⁹

There is one other Middle Bronze Age seal which Amiet excludes from this group, since it exhibits a Babylonian style. What is significant about this seal is that it is also made of hematite and it is the only seal from the Middle Bronze Age which bears an inscription. The inscription from this 17th century seal reads: “Hamnishi son of Inbusha, servant of Sîn and Ammuru,” (*Ha-am-nir-ši DUMU in-bu-ša ÌR dEN.ZU ú dAN.MAR.TU*).²²⁰ Though the seal is stylistically divergent from the Classic Syrian style, it does provide a key datum regarding the

²¹⁶ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 9 (1992) 27, 30. Seal #40.

²¹⁷ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 9 (1992) 28, 30. Seal #41.

²¹⁸ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 9 (1992) 27, 30. Seal #42.

²¹⁹ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 9 (1992) 26, 29. Seal #32.

²²⁰ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 11 (1995) 22. The seal is RS 7.174.

pantheon at the site of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age, to which we will turn later. The original seal impression, along with a hand copy provided by Amiet, is shown below.



Fig. 4.19: Seal RS 7.174 of “Hamnishi son of Inbusha,
servant of Sîn and Ammurû”,²²¹

Amiet suggests on the basis of the material and homogeneity of engraving of the seals, that the Middle Bronze Age “Classic Syrian” seals discovered at Ugarit, should be connected with the “Aleppo Workshop” as defined by Collon, and even suggests that this group is “représentative de la civilisation brillante des royaumes amorites,”²²² which may be further supported by the mention of Amurru on the seal above.

Others have noted similar connections between the appearance of seals in the “Classic Syrian Style” and those from the Amorite kingdoms known from the MB IIB period in the northern Levant and upper Euphrates regions. Though focusing primarily on the floral and faunal motifs apparent in much of the Classic Syrian glyptic, Silver has suggested that these seals should be ascribed to the Amorite population groups and she describes the form as the “Amorite animal style.”²²³ Porada and Collon suggest that the proliferation of this style may be directly connected stylistically to the seal impressions known from the reign of Shamshi-Adad I (1807-

²²¹ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 9 (1992) 22, 24. Seal #24.

²²² Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 11 (1995) 239.

²²³ Silver (née Lönnqvist), *Between Nomadism and Sedentism* (2000) 324-331.

1776 BCE) from Tell Leilan and Mari, and more specifically to those from the reign of Zimri-Lîm of Mari (1775-1761 BCE). They conclude that the development of this completely new and unique style of engraving and use of hematite can be tied directly to the reigns of these early Amorite kings, suggesting that this style may be identified as an Amorite royal style.²²⁴

The presence of seals of this type at a site in no way proves that the inhabitants of that site were of a certain ethnicity. In fact, by virtue of the portability of seals, their use in trade, and the fact that they were also likely used as beads or amulets,²²⁵ indicates that they could have been brought to the site of Ugarit from another location. Indeed, given the variety of seals discovered at Ugarit dating to the MB IIC and LB I periods, the kingdom was clearly in contact in the northern Levant²²⁶ and the southern Levant,²²⁷ suggesting that it may have acted as a link between the two regions. However, evidence seems to indicate that, rather than being brought to the site of Ugarit as part of trade, these seals were in fact produced locally. From Collon's work regarding the Aleppo and Northern Syrian Workshops, the *koiné* style and the commonality of production indicate that these seals may have been produced at a single site in the northern Levant, and Collon even ventures to hypothesize that Ugarit may be the most likely candidate for this production workshop.²²⁸

Though no seal workshops have been uncovered from the Middle Bronze Age soundings at Ugarit, several seal workshops dating to the LB I or LB II periods have been discovered

²²⁴ Porada and Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals* (2016) 23, note 3.

²²⁵ D. Collon, "Some Cylinder Seals from Tell Mohammed Arab," *Iraq* 50 (1988): 60.

²²⁶ Collon, *Iraq* 50 (1988) 59-77.

²²⁷ O. Keel, "Cylinder and Stamp Seals in the Southern Levant between 1800 and 1500 BC," *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals* (P. Taylor, ed.; London: The Warburg Institute, 2006) 62-81. Keel has identified a group of cylinder enstatite seals from the period from 1650-1500 BCE showing Egyptian influence which are present primarily present at sites in the southern Levant. Only the sites of Ugarit and Ebla outside the southern Levant have yielded enstatite seals of this type, leading Keel to suggest that though there is clear evidence from the MB IIA of haematite traditions moving from the north to the south, trade was operating in both directions.

²²⁸ Collon, *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (1985) 58.

during the excavations.²²⁹ The presence of these seal workshops has led Collon to suggest that, by around 1500, seals of the later Classic Syrian II style were being produced at Ugarit and distributed to sites as far afield as Tell Mohammed ‘Arab in the region of the Eski Mosul Dam.²³⁰ Given this evidence from the Late Bronze I period, it is not entirely unlikely that such local production could have been occurring three centuries earlier, in the Middle Bronze Age as well, as she has suggested.²³¹

The following map illustrates the sites across the Fertile Crescent where seals belonging to the Classic Syrian style as defined by Porada, Colon, and Otto, have been discovered.



Fig. 4.20: Map of Classic Syrian glyptic²³²

²²⁹ Schaeffer-Forrer, et al., *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia* (1983) 165-168.

²³⁰ Collon, *Iraq* 50 (1988) 64.

²³¹ Collon, *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (1985) 58.

²³² Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

This spread of seals of this type allows us to draw some conclusions regarding the function of the seals that exhibit the Classic Syrian Style. In the Middle Bronze Age, seals represented a key administrative tool, functioning to demarcate ownership or to legitimize an official document, and thus played a significant role. Because of this socio-economic importance, they were often carved from precious materials, hematite in particular, and in addition to their administrative function, were worn as amulets or jewelry.²³³ Given their significance, these seals remained in the presence of their owner or trusted representative, and were not usually transferred from one site to another. As Porada, Collon and others have suggested, this glyptic style could be indicative of an Amorite royal style, if it is the case that the most important piece of identification in the Middle Bronze Age, the cylinder seal, bore all the hallmarks of Amorite lineage.

4.2.5 Non-Material Cultural Comparisons

Though each of the above categories has been presented as revealing the geographic extent of a specific material culture, it must be remembered that material remains are a mere shadow of cultural and ethnic features, and that there are a host of other features which either leave no trace in the archaeological record or of which the trace is undecipherable by a modern interpretation of this record. Such features can often be more easily detected in texts as representative of religious, economic, or political expressions of a given group. As this study proceeds, I will focus on these primarily philological questions and address the similarities that have long been noted between the textual corpus found at Ugarit and text corpora found at other sites in the region. Though a full study will not be attempted here and a more extensive study

²³³ O. Topçuoğlu, "Iconography of Protoliterate Seals," *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond* (Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32; C. Woods, E. Teeter and G. Emberling, eds.; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010) 29.

would be required in order to fully appreciate whether the following similarities might be indicative of a shared heritage or merely cultural exchange, a survey of similarities between the Ugaritic and “Amorite” literature provided below will serve as a supplement to the archaeological features just discussed.

Given the limited number of texts so far uncovered in both the Middle and Late Bronze Age in Syria, many of the similarities noted briefly here often occur at only a handful of sites and so provide only sparse data. It goes without saying that, even among the textual sources we have uncovered, there is a large degree of diversity between the Late Bronze Ugaritic textual material and the Middle Bronze Age sources, which would need to be dealt with in a complete study. The purpose of briefly cataloguing these similarities here is merely to show that a possible connection between Ugarit and its Amorite neighbors in the Middle Bronze Age is further supported by textual parallels.

4.2.5.1 Calendar

In his recent work, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, Cohen has distinguished what he describes as a distinctly “Amorite Calendar” which was completely different from the previous Semitic calendar which had been in use in Mesopotamia since the mid-third millennium.²³⁴ From his analysis, each site had its own form of this standard Amorite calendar, such that 20 different month names are now attested. What is significant here is that there are key similarities between the Ugaritic calendar known from the Late Bronze Age, and these earlier reflexes of the Amorite calendar. Only ten month names are known from Ugarit,

²³⁴ M.E. Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 2015) 259-260.

and many of these month names are poorly attested.²³⁵ Of these ten month names, there are three which the Ugaritic calendar appears to share in common with the Amorite calendars, namely, *Niggallum/Nql* (the Fall equinox falling in September or October at Ugarit), *Pgrm* (November/December), and *Ayarum/Hyr* (occurring in January/February).²³⁶

Cohen suggests that the first month, *Niggallum*, was perhaps the “month of the sickle,” and notes that this month is also attested at Alalah, Emar, Eshnunna and Ugarit. The month of *pgr(m)* is attested at Ugarit, Terqa,²³⁷ Tell Taban²³⁸ and Alalah.²³⁹ Given the possible etymological connection between *pgr(m)* and the Hebrew word פגר “corpse”²⁴⁰ it is enticing to connect this month with the *pagrû* sacrifices known from Mari, Terqa, Saggarâtum and Ugarit,²⁴¹ and indeed Shibata suggests that “it is safe to assume that the month name is identical with the famous festival performed for the god Dagan.”²⁴² Against this interpretation is the fact that the *pagrû* festival does not appear to have been an annual celebration, with attestations to the festival occurring in four different months, though it did occur in the 8th month, the month of Dagan.²⁴³

²³⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 25-26.

²³⁶ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 25-26, 56-58. It should be noted that though Ugarit likely followed a lunar calendar, there is evidence from RS 18.056 for the observance of an “intercalary month.” Approximately every two to three years, when the lunar cycle had lagged behind the solar cycle by about one month, an intercalary month would have been added. Thus, every second or third year would have had thirteen months instead of twelve. In RS 18.056:54 a broken reference to this intercalary month which would have followed the month *ra’šū-yêni* may be found as {yrh . šl-[...]} . What this month name may have been or if it might correspond to one of the months in the Amorite calendar is unknown.

²³⁷ S. Yamada, “A “pudum” Rotation List from Tell Taban and the Cultural Milieu of Tabatum in the Post-Hammurabi Period,” *Revue D'Assyriologie Et D'archéologie Orientale* 105 (2011): 146.

²³⁸ D. Shibata, “Continuity of Local Tradition in the Middle Habur Region in the 2nd Millennium B.C.,” *Dūr-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond* (H. Kühne, ed.; Studia Chaburensia 1, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010) 217-239. Shibata notes that the month of *Pagrû* known from Tell Terqa also appears in the Middle Assyrian texts from Tell Taban in the form “*Pagrā’u*” noticeably similar to the noun form *pagrā’u* “sacrifice” known from the texts of Mari.

²³⁹ Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (2015) xxxx. The month *pagrû* is only attested at Alalah.

²⁴⁰ C. Virolleaud, “Les nouvelles tablettes alphabétiques de Ras-Shamra,” *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus* (1952): 230. Virolleaud suggests that *pgrm* may be related to the Hebrew word for “corpses.”

²⁴¹ See the discussion of the “*Pagru* sacrifices” below.

²⁴² Shibata, *Dūr-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond* (2010) 223.

²⁴³ L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 19; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 72.

We will turn to this topic in more detail below in our discussion of the *pagrû* ritual at Ugarit. The month of *Ayarum* is attested at Tuttul,²⁴⁴ Sippar/Tell Rimah, Nuzi, Emar, Ugarit (*hiyaru*), Alalah (*hiyaru*), and Byblos (*hyr*), and Durand has suggested that this month name is derived from the term at Mari for donkey “*hārum*”, tying the term to the donkey festival which perhaps occurred in this month,²⁴⁵ a topic which will be covered below. However, given such scanty attestations, and that only three months at Ugarit are shared with calendars from other Middle Bronze Age Amorite sites, it makes it difficult to draw any broader claims from this evidence.

4.2.5.2 The Ritual Use of Donkeys

The Late Bronze Age text corpus from Ugarit indicates that the sacrifice of a donkey was a key component of several rituals. First, the donkey sacrifice is attested, though relatively rarely, in ritual sacrificial lists, where the sacrifice is offered to a god in specified amounts. The only example of this from Ugarit is the sacrificial list for the month of *'Ib' alatu* and likely *Hiyyaru*, where a donkey (*'r*) is sacrificed on behalf of a divinity of which the identity is unknown due to a break in the tablet.²⁴⁶ Second, donkey sacrifices may have been incorporated into banquets for the dead. The primary evidence for this particular ritual usage comes from the Ba'lu cycle, in

²⁴⁴ M. Krebernik, *Tall Bi'a - Tuttul - II: Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 100; Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001) 204.

²⁴⁵ J. Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1* (Archives Royales de Mari 26; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988) 121-122. The difficulty with associating the term for “donkey” with the month name is that at Ugarit, the first consonant is the inverse of that found at Mari, namely the term for donkey is *'r* and the term for the month is *hyr*. One would have to posit that the month name as attested at Ugarit no longer has any link to the word for donkey and that the archaic spelling has been preserved or perhaps that the month name was a loan word for the Akkadian representation of the Amorite.

²⁴⁶ KTU 1.119/RS 24.266: line 16, immediately preceding the break (*npš l b'l w 'r. l[...]* – “A neck for Ba'l and a donkey for ...”). Unfortunately the text is broken after the preposition designating the divine recipient, though considering that the text appears to prescribe sacrifices for various manifestations of Ba'l, it is possible that the donkey sacrifice may have been offered to one of the manifestations of Ba'l.

which Anat provides a large array of animal sacrifices to commemorate the death of Ba‘lu.²⁴⁷

One of the sacrifices is the questionable term {[...h?]mrm} (KTU 1.6 I:28) which some have interpreted as *hmrm* “donkeys,”²⁴⁸ yet given the broken nature of the line, this is far from certain. Though some have sought to draw parallels to the burial of donkeys found at sites across the ancient Near East,²⁴⁹ given the literary nature of this text and the absence of any other corroborating text that might indicate whether or not this was a regular part of feasts for the dead, this text is not useful for our current discussion. Finally, perhaps the most remarkable reference to a donkey sacrifice is in text RS 1.002 which Pardee describes as a “Ritual for National Unity.”²⁵⁰ Here, the sacrifice of a donkey (‘r) commemorates or perhaps legitimizes the establishment of a covenant between different groups of individuals.

²⁴⁷ D. Pardee, “The Ba‘lu Myth (1.86),” *The Context of Scripture. Volume I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (W. Hallo and K.L. Younger, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 268 n. 242. KTU 1.6:28 (*šb‘m* . (y)*hmrm*). See Pardee’s discussion here for the disparity between the prose sacrificial lists and this literary text in the forms of animals slaughtered as well as distinct verbs used. In this passage, Anat sacrifices 70 wild bulls, 70 bulls, 70 sheep, 70 deer, 70 wild goats, and finally 70 donkeys.

²⁴⁸ H.L. Ginsberg, “Interpreting Ugaritic Texts,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70 (1950): 158. See Ginsberg’s discussion for interpreting this passage as *hmrm* “donkeys” as opposed to *yhmrm* “antelopes.” The fact that *yhmr* does not occur elsewhere in Ugaritic, and the fact that *hmr* is a common word for “donkey” elsewhere in West Semitic, seem to favor this interpretation.

²⁴⁹ M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), “Equid Burials in Archaeological Contexts in the Amorite, Hurrian and Hyksos Cultural Intercourse,” *Zoroastrianism in the Levant and the Amorites* (ARAM 26:1-2; Oxford: Aram Publishing, 2014) 348. She notes that “donkeys became important sacrificial animals for the Amorites in specific appearing in their grave/tomb burials.” However, the practice of donkey burials is not unique to sites that have often been identified as “Amorite;” in fact the practice is quite extensive. Way has aggregated all donkey burials occurring in the ancient Near East, and has identified a total of 31 sites with donkey burials from 3,000-1,000 BCE, ranging from Tell el-Dab’a and Abydos in Egypt to Jericho in the Transjordan, and Tell Brak, Kish and Ur in the Mesopotamian region. With such a wide temporal and geographical range of the occurrence of this phenomenon, it proves difficult to associate this activity with the actions of a single ethnic group (Way, *Donkeys in the Biblical World* (2011) 103-159).

²⁵⁰ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 77.

RS 1.002²⁵¹
Lines 26-28, 32-34

<p>[26-28] <i>w . šqrb . ‘r . mšr</i> <i>mšr [.] bn . ùgrt . w[ny</i> <i>gr ḥmyt] ùgr w npy . ymàn</i> <i>. wnpy . ‘rmt . w npy . w npy</i> <i>. nqmd .</i></p>	<p>“and bring near the donkey of uprightness,²⁵² uprightness of the son of Ugarit and well-being of the foreigner within the walls of Ugarit and well-being of Ym’an, and well-being of ‘rmt, and well- being of and well-being of Niqmaddu,</p>
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<p>[32-34] <i>dbḥn . ndbḥ . hw .</i> <i>ṭ‘ nṭ‘y hw . nkt . nkt . ytšì . l</i> <i>àb . bn . il . ytšì . l dr bn il</i> <i>. lṭkmn . w šnm . hn . ‘r</i></p>	<p>the sacrifice is sacrificed, as for the <i>tha‘u</i>- sacrifice, it is offered, the slaughtering has been done. May it be brought to the father of the sons of Ilu, may it be brought to the assembly of the sons of the Ilu, even to Thukamuna-wa-Shunama. Here is the donkey!”</p>
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Here, though no word for “covenant” or “treaty” is mentioned, the concept of establishing peace between several groups appears to be the purpose of the text. So too, as Way has argued in reference to the Mari texts, the phrase “to kill a donkey” (*ḥayaram qaṭālum*) is synonymous with the concept of making a treaty. Another idiomatic expression for the creation of a treaty might be found in the Biblical Hebrew phrase כרת ברית “to cut a covenant.”²⁵³ So here, the act of sacrificing the donkey may be associated with the establishment of a covenant between the listed groups and individuals. In addition to the establishment of a covenant between groups, we find here that the donkey is offered to the gods in order to seal the covenant. The use of the imperative in line 26’ (*šqrb* – “bring near!”) above suggest that this text is likely proscriptive for a specific religious act. Once the donkey is brought forward and slaughtered, the carcass would then have been “carried to the assembly of the sons of Ilu” and presented (“here is

²⁵¹ RS 1.002: 26, 32-34.

²⁵² Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 78. See here Pardee’s discussion of the term *mšr* meaning “rectitude, uprightness” and its significance in the text.

²⁵³ K.C. Way, *Donkeys in the Biblical World: Ceremony and Symbol* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011) 77.

the donkey!’’) as a mark of the covenant. A donkey sacrifice therefore not only sealed a covenant between groups, but this covenant was sealed and legitimized before the deities.

Based upon these two texts, donkeys appear to have been sacrificed in two contexts: as a sacrifice to a god and as a part of a covenant ritual. Scholars have sought parallels for each of these uses for donkeys at other sites. Nichols and Weber have argued for the appearance of a “new type of equid ritual activity” that appeared in MB II contexts.²⁵⁴ Focusing on the Middle Bronze Age layers of the site of Umm el-Mara, they note the significance of “deposits of equid bones...in architectural foundations across the Acropolis, together with the profound upsurge in industrial equid refuse.”²⁵⁵ However, without the presence of material remains that attest to such donkey ritual activity at Ugarit, and given the limited scope of donkey burials occurring in the northern Levant or northern Mesopotamia, the presence of donkey bones does not appear to be a wide-spread phenomenon in the region.²⁵⁶

The performance of a donkey sacrifice for the purpose of creating a covenant is also attested at Mari, as well as at several other northern Syrian sites including Alalah, Aleppo, Terqa, Nuzi, Tell Leilan²⁵⁷ and more recently Tell Rimah.²⁵⁸ At Mari, more than 15 texts have been identified that make mention of this type of donkey ritual for the purpose of creating a covenant.²⁵⁹ Like the text found at Ugarit, it is the ritual slaying of a donkey which binds the covenant between two groups, as seen here in a letter from Mari.

²⁵⁴ J. Nichols and J. Weber, “Amorites, Onagers, and Social Reorganization in Middle Bronze Age Syria,” *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies* (G. Schwartz and J. Nichols, eds.; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006) 53.

²⁵⁵ Nichols and Weber, *After Collapse* (2006) 53.

²⁵⁶ Way, *Donkeys in the Biblical World* (2011) 103. Way only includes five sites from Syria which have yielded the presence of equid burials, including Umm el-Marra, Tell Halawa, Tell Banat, Tell Bi’a and Tell Brak.

²⁵⁷ Durand, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 2 (1988) 121-122.

²⁵⁸ S. Dalley, C.B.F. Walker, and J.D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell at Rimah* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976) Text 1.

²⁵⁹ Way, *Donkeys in the Biblical World* (2011) 75. In the unpublished version of Way’s dissertation, he makes note of 19 total texts dealing with this topic. However, due to the fact that so much of the Mari texts have yet to be published, this final number is unknown.

ARM 2.37²⁶⁰
Lines 11-14

<p><i>[ha]-a-ra-am DUMU a-ta-ni-im</i> <i>[a]-na-ku ú-ša-aq-ṭi-il sa-li-ma-am</i> <i>bi-ri-it ha-na-meš ù i-da-ma-ra-aš</i> <i>aš-ku-[u]n</i></p>	<p>“A donkey, the foal of a jenny, I have slaughtered. I have established peace between the Haneans and Idarmaraš.”</p>
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Here we find that the slaughtering of a donkey is closely associated with the creation of a treaty, and it is the very slaughtering of the animal that allows for peace. Other texts seem to indicate that this ceremony also held some religious significance since, as in text RS 1.002 from Ugarit, the ritual could also include an offering to the gods²⁶¹ or could be held in a temple. A tantalizing, though broken, letter indicates that a donkey ritual could be held in a temple, in order to establish a peace treaty between two groups.

A.2094²⁶²
Lines 5-10

<p><i>mi-nu-um ši-ta-ap-pu-ru-um an-nu-</i> <i>um ša ta-áš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-am um-</i> <i>ma-a-mi up-ra-pu-ú^{MEŠ} DUMU^{MEŠ}</i> <i>si-im-a-al iš-ta-na-ar-ri-qú [šu]m-</i> <i>ma ha-ri-ni ša ú-ga-ri-tim^{KI} [i-n]a é</i> ^dIM [š]a ha-la-ab....</p>	<p>“What is this message which you continually send to me: ‘the Urapeans continually steal from the Bene-Sim’al. If our ‘donkey festival’ of Ugarit, in the temple of Aleppo....”</p>
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In this letter, the Urapean chief writes to Ibal-El, the chief of the Bene-Sim’al regarding a recurring conflict between the two groups. He cites here a letter originally sent by Ibal-El which he quotes as evidence for his complaint. Ibal-El, in pleading for peace and for the cessation of the regular marauding makes reference to a donkey festival which had taken place in

²⁶⁰ D. Charpin, “Un souverain éphémère en Ida-Maraš: Išme-Addu d’Ašnakkum,” *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* 7 (1993): 165-192. Letter ARM 2.37:11-14. Charpin also includes a close textual parallel A1056, which has a similar reference to the donkey festival.

²⁶¹ Way, *Donkeys in the Biblical World* (2011) 77-78.

²⁶² P. Villard, “Un Roi de Mari a Ugarit,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18 (1986): 411-412. Akkadian text from Villard’s transliteration of A.2094: 5-10.

The above map illustrates the broad spread of the donkey ritual across the northern Levant and upper Euphrates region. All sites listed here are Middle Bronze Age sites, save Ugarit, where the donkey ritual is attested from the Late Bronze Age text corpus. This ritual will be included in the final discussion regarding the Amorite material assemblage known from Ugarit.

4.2.5.3 *Pagrû* Sacrifices

Two texts discovered at Ugarit make reference to the performance of a “*pagrû*” (Ugaritic - *pgr*) rite during the Late Bronze Age period of the site. Though the texts vary in that RS 6.021 records that a stele commemorating the sacrifice could be offered to the deity, and in RS 6.028 it is the sacrifice itself that is presented to the deity, yet both texts share three key elements: credit is given to the individual in whose name the sacrifice is offered,²⁶⁴ the mention of a *pagrû* sacrifice, and finally that the sacrifice is made for the benefit of the god Dagan.

RS 6.021²⁶⁵

[1-3] *skn . dš 'lyt 't'ryl . l dgn .
pgr 'w'ālp l ākl*

The stela which Tharriyelli offered to Dagan, a *pagrû* sacrifice and a bull as food.

RS 6.028²⁶⁶

[1-3] *pgr . dš 'ly 't'zn . l dgn .
b 'lh [wā] 'l'p . b mhr̄tt*

The *pagrû* sacrifice which 'Uzzīnu offered to Dagan his lord, along with a bull with a plow.

²⁶⁴ Though both texts have the individual governing the verb of offering (RS 6.021 - *š 'lyt 't'ryl* “Tharriyelli offered” and RS 6.028 - *š 'ly 't'zn* “Uzzīnu sacrificed”) it is highly unlikely that these individuals were actually carrying out the offering. Rather, though an officiant must have carried out the sacrifice, it was performed in the name of, and thereby accredited to, the person here mentioned.

²⁶⁵ P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009) Text 14, Plate p. 114, transcription, vocalization and translation p. 218.

²⁶⁶ Bordreuil and Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic* (2009) Text 15, Plate p. 115, transcription, vocalization and translation p. 218.

The texts are extremely terse and are commemorative in nature rather than prescriptive. It is unclear from these texts what the sacrifice was (an animal or perhaps another substance), how the sacrifice was conducted (was the sacrifice first prepared and then laid before the temple of Dagan?), when the sacrifice might have been offered (in a given month or perhaps following the death of an individual) or where the sacrifice was made (at the temple of Dagan or in some other locality), leaving us with many unanswered questions.

In light of the brief evidence for this sacrificial rite at Ugarit, possible parallels exist from the texts from several other sites. From Mari, we find a similar association between the *pagrû* sacrifice and the god Dagan. Dagan is given the epithet “lord of the *pagrā-um*-sacrifice” (ARM X 63:15-16) indicating that, at least at Mari, the deity is inextricably associated with this specific rite. We also find Dagan himself sending his prophet to call for the offering of such sacrifices.

ARM 26 220²⁶⁷
Lines 16-23

*[muḥḥû]m [š]a Dagan
aw[ātam kīam iqbi] ummāmi
aššum nīqe [pagrā'ī] epēšim
Dagan išpu[ranni] ana bēlīka
šupurma warḥum ēribam ina
UD.14.KAM nīqu pagrā'ī
linnēpiš mimma nīqu šētu lā
ušetreqū*

The prophet of Dagan spoke these words, “Dagan sent me to deliver a message regarding the fulfillment of the [*pagrā'um*] sacrifices. Now send (word) to your lord (saying), the new moon has begun and on the 14th day let the *pagrā'um* sacrifices be offered. Not even a single sacrifice should be neglected.

Here the connection between the *pagrā'um* sacrifice and Dagan is made more explicit, in that the prophet of Dagan is mandating the performance of this rite at the behest of Dagan himself. We also find that the sacrifices were to be made on the 14th day of the month, indicating

²⁶⁷ Durand, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 2 (1988) 448-449.

perhaps that this rite was to be performed at a required time, though it does not indicate for what purpose the sacrifices should be made.

Based in part on the etymological connection between *pagrā'um* and the word meaning “corpse,”²⁶⁸ the most common interpretation for the *pagrā'um* ceremony at Mari is that this was a festival for the deceased that “comprised the offering of dead animals to the deity in honor of the dead,”²⁶⁹ and there is some indication that this was performed for the deceased from the royal line. For instance, we find the *pagrā'um* celebration being performed in Aleppo on behalf of the dead ancestors of the royal line of Yamḥad.

A.2428²⁷⁰
Lines 3-6

<p>[i-n]u-ma pa-ag-ri-a-im ša ^dda-gan [^d]ša-la-aš ù ^dḥe-ba- at i-na é-kál-lim [a]-na i-[d]i- ir-tim ra-bi-tim ša su-mu-e- pu-uḥ wa-aš-ba-[nu] ù ḥa- mu-ra-pí [níg]-gub ma-ḥa-ar DINGIR^{MES} iš-ku-un.</p>	<p>Regarding the <i>pagrā'um</i> of Dagan, Šalaš and Ḥebat²⁷¹ in the palace, for the great sorrow of Sumu-epuḥ we are in the palace, and Ḥammurapi set the banquet before the gods.</p>
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In this text, we find the king of Yamḥad bringing *pagrā'um* sacrifices specifically to commemorate the sorrow expressed on behalf of Sumu-epuḥ, a deceased king of the city.

Although this provides some evidence of the generally held belief that these sacrifices were primarily for royalty, other texts seem to indicate that *pagrā'um* sacrifices might be offered on

²⁶⁸ R.I. Caplice, D.O. Edzard, M. Jas, Remigius, A.L. Oppenheim, and L. McLarnan, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: P.* (The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 12; M.T. Roth, ed.; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2005) 12,14-15. The term “*pagrum*” means “body,” “corpse” or animal “carcass” in Akkadian, and *pgr* used in Northwest Semitic sources to regularly mean “corpse” or “flesh.” Hebrew פֶּגַר, Old Aramaic *pgr*, Late Jewish Literary Aramaic פֶּגַר, Syriac ܦܓܪ “flesh.” The root *pgr* in Ugaritic is only used in the two aforementioned texts to refer to the “*pagrū*” sacrifices, or and in the month name *pgrm*.

²⁶⁹ Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003) 70.

²⁷⁰ J. Durand and M. Guichard, “Les rituels de Mari,” *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet* (Florilegium marianum 3; M. Barrelet, ed.; Paris: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, 1998) 35 n.91.

²⁷¹ Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003) 71. Though Dagan is usually the only deity associated with the *pagrū* ceremony, here we also find Šalaš and Ḥebat, two female deities. See Feliu for a discussion of why these two deities were included.

other occasions. Another letter from Mari suggests that the *pagrā'um* sacrifice could be offered following an ecstatic event or perhaps as a means of showing gratitude to Dagan. In letter ARM 26.233 written from Itur-Asda to Zimri-Lîm, Itur-Asda records having met “a man from Šakkâ” who told him of a dream he had regarding Zimri-Lîm. In this man’s dream, he recounts that he “entered into the temple of Dagan and bowed himself before Dagan, and in my bowing, Dagan opened his mouth and spoke thus to me...”²⁷² at which point the man records the content of Dagan’s message. At the end of the letter, Itur-Asda notes that “the man who had spoken this dream shall offer a *pagrā'um* sacrifice for Dagan.”²⁷³ This letter seems to specify that the *pagrā'um* sacrifice was offered in conjunction with the ecstatic dream which the man of Šakkâ had received from Dagan himself, perhaps as a means of offering thanksgiving to the deity.

From the Mari texts, we also glean other details about the timing and performance of these *pagrā'um* sacrifices. The *pagrā'um* festival was not annual, since documentation from Mari indicates that the ceremony was celebrated in at least four months of the year; the seventh,²⁷⁴ eighth,²⁷⁵ ninth,²⁷⁶ and twelfth months.²⁷⁷ As far as the actual ceremony itself, no texts exist that record the orthopraxis of the ritual before Dagan. Considering that the ceremony is associated with Dagan, “the lord of the *pagrā'ū*,” and given the etymological tie to the entire animal carcass, it is possible to hypothesize that perhaps the entire carcass of the sacrifice was

²⁷² M. Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (P. Machinest, ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003) 62-64. Transliteration for Lines 14-17 of the text of this letter – *ana bīt Dagan ērumma ana Dagan uškēn ina šukēnīya Dagan pīšu iptēma kām iqbēm ummāmi*.

²⁷³ Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (2003) 62-64. Transliteration for lines 50-52 of the letter – *awīlum ša šuttam annītam [iqb]ēm pagram ana Dagan inaddinma*.

²⁷⁴ J. Durand and M. Guichard, “Les rituels de Mari,” *Recueil d’études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet* (Florilegium marianum 3; M. Barrelet, ed.; Paris: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, 1998) 35. ARM 21 text 62:1,4 includes the possible reference to the celebration of the festival in the month of *kinūnum*.

²⁷⁵ ARM 21 147:5 and also ARM 26/1 157:7.

²⁷⁶ Durand and Guichard, *FM* 3 (1998) 35. MAT 9 and M.17009 both indicate that the *pagrā'um* ritual occurring in the month of *līlīātum*, the ninth month of the year.

²⁷⁷ P. Villard, G. Bardet, F. Joannes, B. Lafont, and D. Soubeyran, *Archives Administratives de Mari I: Publiées pour le Cinquantenaire de Mari* (Archives Royales de Mari 23; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984) 533. ARM 21 76, ARM 26/1 157, ARM 23 561.

offered before the deity Dagan. Though it is unclear what transpired during the ritual, several texts do indicate how this carcass was handled after the completion of the ritual. Following the ritual, the carcass was broken down into cuts of meat²⁷⁸ and fat²⁷⁹ and then distributed.²⁸⁰ There is also limited evidence that these *pagrû* sacrifices had to be of a certain quality,²⁸¹ perhaps because the animal products were distributed for consumption.

Outside of Mari, it is unclear how widespread the celebration of this ceremony was, primarily because of the lack of textual evidence from the Middle Bronze Age. We know from texts at Mari that such *pagrā'um* sacrifices were offered to Dagan in Terqa and in Saggarātum, both north of Mari along the Euphrates, indicating that this celebration may have been regional.²⁸² Given the sparse nature of the data, it is impossible to use the appearance of this specific rite as indicative of any single ethnic tradition. However, it is clear that this sacrificial tradition was known from both the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, plausibly indicating the presence of some shared ritual tradition between sites such as Mari, Terqa, Saggarātum and Ugarit.

4.2.5.4 Dagan

Given the mixture of languages attested at Ugarit (Ugaritic, Akkadian, Hurrian and Hittite) it is not entirely surprising that the pantheon was often made up of deities from different traditions. For instance, we find that ritual texts written in both Ugaritic (RS 24.255/KTU 1.111)

²⁷⁸ O. Rouault, *Mukannisum: L'Administration et l'Economie Palatiales a Mari* (Archives Royales de Mari 18. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977). ARM 18 38:5-12.

²⁷⁹ J. Durand, *Textes Administratifs des Salles 134 et 160 du Palais de Mari* (Archives Royales de Mari 21; Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1983). ARM 21 147:4.

²⁸⁰ Durand, *Archives Royales de Mari* 21 (1983). ARM 21 76:2-3. Pieces of the *pagrā'um* sacrifices were distributed to the Hanaeans.

²⁸¹ Rouault, *Archives Royales de Mari* 18 (1977). ARM 18 38:10-12.

²⁸² J. Sasson, "The Calendar and Festivals of Mari During the Reign of Zimri-Lim," *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 203; M. Powell and R. Sack, eds.; Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchener Verlag, 1979) 131.

and in Hurrian (RS 24.254/KTU 1.110) may be directed to a host of different deities, for instance Kumarbe of Uriga, Kumma of Tuttul, Šauška of Nineveh, Ušhara of Ebla and El of Ugarit.²⁸³ Dietrich and Mayer have correlated nine texts which include members of the Hurrian pantheon (KTU 1.116, 1.26, 1.60, 1.110, 1.135, 1.125, 1.132, 1.111 and 1.42) and have compiled a list of just over fifty deities which are included. What is interesting about these texts is that out of over fifty divinities, only 'Ilu, 'Anatu, Dadmiš and Pidray are part of the known Ugaritic pantheon discussed below.²⁸⁴ This seems to indicate that though syncretism was welcomed at the site the core Ugaritian pantheon did not incorporate all fifty divinities, but was limited to a smaller local subset of gods and goddesses.

We do not have a “pantheon list” for this pantheon that seemed to have been worshipped specifically in the polity of Ugarit, rather there exist three deity lists which were likely prepared for a sacrificial ritual.²⁸⁵ Based upon these three texts, at least thirty-four Ugaritian deities (including 7 manifestations of Ba'lu) were part of the pantheon in the polity and were actively worshipped through the presentation of sacrificial offerings. Many of these deities have broader parallels in both East and West Semitic materials such as 'Ilu,²⁸⁶ 'Aṭiratu,²⁸⁷ 'Aṭtartu,²⁸⁸ and Rašap.²⁸⁹ Similar sacrifice lists exist from Mari as well, and it is these that provide the closest

²⁸³ M. Dietrich and W. Mayer, “The Hurrian and Hittite Texts,” *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (W. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 61-62.

²⁸⁴ Dietrich and Mayer, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (1999) 61-62. RS 1.017, RS 24.264 and RS 20.024

²⁸⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 12-13. Pardee provides a brief introduction to the discovery and publication of these texts, as well as a brief discussion as to why these texts should not be considered “pantheon lists” but rather correspond to sacrificial practice. This argument is based on combining correlating the syllabic “pantheon list” RS 92.2004 with RS 24.643:1-9 which is a standard sacrificial ritual where the deities correspond almost identically to the deity lists.

²⁸⁶ Corresponds to *El* from the Hebrew Bible.

²⁸⁷ Corresponds to *Asherah* from the Hebrew Bible. Judges 3:17 - וַיַּשְׁכְּחוּ אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם; וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ אֶת-הַבַּעַלִּים, וְאֶת-הָאֲשֵׁרוֹת, “They forgot YHWH their God and they served the Ba’als and the Asherōt.”

²⁸⁸ Corresponds to *Ištar* from Akkadian and the *Ashteroṭ* from the Hebrew Bible. Judges 2:13 - וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ, אֶת-יְהוָה, וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ לַבַּעַל, וְלַעֲשֵׁתֹרוֹת, “they abandoned YHWH and served Ba’l and the Ashteroṭ.” These deities likely correspond to the deities Ba’lu and 'Aṭtartu known at Ugarit.

²⁸⁹ Corresponds to *ršp* known from Phoenician sources. Karatepe II:10-11 - *k b'l wršp sprm šlhn lbnt wbnny 'nk*, “Ba’l and Rašap of the stags sent me to build (it) and I built it.”

parallel for comparison with the texts from Ugarit. Nakata has compiled numerous sacrificial lists from Mari (136 in total) to achieve a relatively comprehensive list of deities to whom sacrifices were offered. Nakata records a total of 33 deities, though the majority of these are mentioned only once or twice in the lists.²⁹⁰ The deities who are recorded as having received the largest number of sacrifices are Bēlet-ekallim (43 animals), Ninḫursagga (21 animals, Itūr-Mēr the patron deity of Mari (16 animals), Eštar (17 animals), Annunītum (17 animals), Dagan (16 animals), Nergal (12 animals) and Addu (12 animals).²⁹¹

The Ugaritic and Mari sacrificial lists show overlap for three deities ‘Attartu/Eštar,²⁹² Ba‘lu/Addu²⁹³ and Dagan. ‘Attartu/Eštar is well attested from Mesopotamia,²⁹⁴ Syria,²⁹⁵ the Levant²⁹⁶ and even into Egypt,²⁹⁷ making her presence in both sacrifice lists unsurprising. The same situation is true also for Ba‘lu/Addu, being the West and East Semitic versions of the weather deity known from Mesopotamia and the Levant. Though certainly worship of this deity

²⁹⁰ I. Nakata, “On the Official Pantheon of the Old Babylonian City of Mari as Reflected in the Records of Issuance of Sacrificial Animals,” *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991): 249-258.

²⁹¹ Nakata, *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991) 253.

²⁹² In the Early Dynastic period at the ancient site of Mari (Tell Hariri) there existed seven temples dedicated to deities. The patron deity of two temples is unknown, but the other five temples were dedicated to Ninni-Zaza, Ištarat, Ištar, Ninḫursag, and Šamaš (Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places* (2009) 450). During the Old Babylonian phase, the temples dedicated to Ninni-Zaza and Ištarat no longer existed, whereas a new temple dedicated to the god Dagan was built on the site. It is unclear what the relationship may have been between the Early Dynastic deities Ištarat and Ištar who perhaps were manifestations of one another. However, by the Old Babylonian period in question, only the temple dedicated to Ištar remained and this was further reflected in the sacrificial lists where Ištarat is nowhere to be found (Margueron, *The Sumerian World* (2013) 517).

²⁹³ Both Ba‘lu and Haddu occur in the western Amorite personal names, though one name is particularly intriguing which seems to equate the two divinities *ba’lī-haddu* “Haddu is Ba‘lu/my lord.” It is also possible that Ba‘lu was a title of Haddu. Since, no sacrifices are offered to Ba‘l in the sacrificial lists from Mari, while offerings are only given to Haddu (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult* (2002) 20), it seems likely that the deities should perhaps be equated.

²⁹⁴ E. Matsushima, “Ištar and Other Goddesses of the So-Called “Sacred Marriage” in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte – Aphrodite* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 263; D.T. Sugimoto, ed.; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2014) 33-85.

²⁹⁵ M. Smith, “‘Attart in Late Bronze Age Syrian Texts,” *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte – Aphrodite* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 263; D.T. Sugimoto, ed.; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2014) 33-85.

²⁹⁶ E. Bloch-Smith, “Archaeological and Inscriptional Evidence for Phoenician Astarte,” *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte – Aphrodite* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 263; D.T. Sugimoto, ed.; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2014) 167-194.

²⁹⁷ K. Tazawa, “Astarte in New Kingdom Egypt: Reconsideration of Her Role and Function,” *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte – Aphrodite* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 263; D.T. Sugimoto, ed.; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2014) 103-124.

varied depending upon time period and location, the weather deity was a regular member of the core pantheon of both regions.

The most interesting overlapping deity is the god Dagan, whose cult was far less widespread than that of 'Aṯtartu/Eštar and Ba'lu/Addu. In addition to his presence in the sacrificial lists, there are other references to the deity from Ugarit. As noted above, one of the two main temples at the site was possibly dedicated to the god Dagan,²⁹⁸ having been built around 1800 BCE on the acropolis of the site, and remaining continually in use until roughly 1250 BCE. The close association between the temples to Ba'lu²⁹⁹ and Dagan is not wholly unexpected, given their close familial relationship in the mythic tradition of Ugarit in that Dagan was considered the father of Ba'lu,³⁰⁰ though in later sources they appear to be brothers.³⁰¹

Dagan is occasionally invoked in incantations in the Ugaritic corpus. For instance he is called

²⁹⁸ It has been assumed that the second monumental temple adorning the acropolis of the tell should be ascribed to the god Dagan based upon the presence of two stelae dedicated to the deity (RS 6.021 and RS 6.028 mentioned above). The two stelae were found in the courtyard before the entrance to the temple and each had a rectangular tenon to secure the stele into a base with a socket. Such socketed stone bases were found to the side of the temple such that it is clear that stelae like those dedicated to Dagan, would be erected in the courtyard and perhaps along the walls of the temple (Yon, *The City of Ugarit* (2006) 114). Yet some have questioned whether the temple was dedicated to Dagan and have proposed that it should perhaps be considered the temple of 'Ilu. This is based upon two quite significant pieces of evidence. First, 'Ilu was the head of the pantheon and one of the most significant deities of the site in the Late Bronze Age, whereas Dagan was clearly decreasing in significance in the Late Bronze Age. Their relative degree of importance might be seen in the onomastic evidence from Late Bronze Age Ugarit where 26% of all names included the divine element 'Ilu whereas there are only two names that include the god Dagan. Second, there is evidence from the ritual texts at Ugarit that there existed a temple of 'Ilu at the site of Ugarit. In ritual text RS 24.266, both the temple of Ba'lu and the temple of 'Ilu are mentioned, which might indicate that these two temples were located close to one another at the site. There is no similar reference to a temple of Dagan in the ritual texts from Ugarit (Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* (1994) 61). The archaeological evidence for the placement of the stelae dedicated to Dagan and the stone bases surrounding the temple suggests that whoever the patron deity of the temple may have been, there was still active religious worship of the deity Dagan occurring at the site in the Late Bronze Age. Yet it is also possible that the temple served as the worship place of more than one deity.

²⁹⁹ There is perhaps more consensus around the fact that Ba'lu was the patron deity of this temple. This identification is based upon the discovery of two stelae dedicated to the deity: "Baal with Thunderbolt" and an Egyptian stele "Baal of Šapan." Due to looting in antiquity and in the Ottoman period, the objects were not found inside the temple, but were thrown out of the temple and were discovered down the slope to the western side of the tell (Yon, *The City of Ugarit* (2006) 106-109). This archaeological evidence is further supported by ritual texts such as RS 24.266 where the temple of Ba'lu features prominently in the ritual tradition.

³⁰⁰ The epithet of Ba'l, "son of Dagan" (*bn dgn*) is regularly found in the literary texts from Ugarit. KTU 1.6 I: 6,52, KTU 1.12: 39, etc.

³⁰¹ Pardee, *The Context of Scripture I* (1997b) 241-274, 263 n. 190. Pardee notes that at least according to Philo of Byblos, Ba'l and Dagan were half-brothers along with Ilu. However, as yet, no texts discovered at Ugarit have provided the genealogical mythic tradition of Dagan and Ba'l.

upon in two incantations for the expulsion of snake venom,³⁰² indicating that in addition to receiving offerings, Dagan was also called upon to provide practical aid.³⁰³

KTU 1.100/RS 24.244³⁰⁴
Lines 14-16

<p><i>tqrū l špš . uh . špš . um . ql .</i> <i>bl . 'm / dgn . tllh . mnt . nt̄k .</i> <i>nḥš . šmrr / nḥš . 'qšr</i></p>	<p>Then she calls to Šapšu her mother: Mother Šapšu, send a message to Dagan, to Tuttul: My incantation for a snake bite, for the venom of a scaly snake.</p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

What is most noteworthy about this text is the fact that Dagan is pictured residing in Tuttul, so the message must be delivered to him there. Dagan's association with the site of Tuttul in the Ugaritic texts is further substantiated by the evidence of a temple dedicated to the god as well as a stone statue fashioned in his likeness at the site of Tuttul.³⁰⁵ In fact, this close relationship between Dagan and the city of Tuttul stretches back into the third millennium, encountered in texts found at Ebla.³⁰⁶ At Ebla, Dagan is specifically associated with the land of Tuttul, being given the epithet "Lord of Tuttul" (LUGAL du-du-lu.KI).³⁰⁷ Though there is no reference to Dagan in the ritual texts from Ebla, he is attested in the offering lists as a regular recipient of gifts and sacrifices.³⁰⁸ This association between Dagan and the upper Euphrates

³⁰² KTU 1.100 "Ḫoranu and the serpents" and KTU 1.107 "šapšu and the snake."

³⁰³ In the text, a series of twelve deities are called upon to provide help, but only ḫôrānu is able to successfully expel the snake venom through his own medicinal remedy. Perhaps Dagan may not have been the god to call upon in a time of need.

³⁰⁴ Bordreuil and Pardee, *Manual of Ugaritic* (2009) Text 6, Plate - 104-105, transcription, vocalization and translation - 187-194.

³⁰⁵ Krebernik, *Tall Bi'a - Tuttul* (2001) 11-14.

³⁰⁶ A. Archi, "How a Pantheon Forms: The Cases of Hattian-Hittite Anatolia and Ebla of the 3rd Millennium B.C.," *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: Internationales Symposium Hamburg, 17. - 21. März 1990* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 129; B. Janowski, K. Koch, and G. Wilhelm, eds.; Fribourg: University Press, 1993) 9. Dagan is first attested in the texts from Ebla written both syllabically in the onomastic evidence as "d^dda-gan" and also logographically as "d^dBE."

³⁰⁷ Archi, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 129 (1993) 9.

³⁰⁸ Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003) 11-20.

regions and northern Syria continued into the Akkadian Empire, as both Sargon and Narām-Sim attributed their military victories in the region to Dagan.

E2.1.1.11³⁰⁹
Lines 14-28

<i>Šar-^lru^l-[G]I</i> ^l LUGAL ^l <i>in tu-</i>	Sargon the King bowed down
<i>tu-li^{KI} a-na^d da-gan úš-kà-en</i>	to the god Dagan in Tuttul. He
<i>ik-ru-ub ma-tá[m] a-lí-tám i-</i>	(Dagan) gave to him (Sargon)
<i>dì-šum₆ ma-rí-am^{KI} ià-ar-mu-</i>	the Upper Land: Mari, Iarmuti,
<i>ti-a-am^{KI} eb-la^{KI} a-dì-ma</i>	and Ebla as far as the Cedar
GIŠ.TIR GIŠ.ERIN ù	Forest and the Silver
KUR.KUR KÙ	Mountains.

E2.1.4.26³¹⁰
Column III: Lines 17-31

<i>En-ma^d na-ra-am^d EN.ZU da-</i>	Thus says Narām-Sim, the
<i>núm LUGAL ki-ib-ra-tim ar-</i>	mighty, the king of the four
<i>ba-im^d da-gan ar-ma-nam ù</i>	quarters: ‘The god Dagan gave
<i>eb-la^{KI} i-dì-nam-ma rí-id-</i>	me Armanum and Ebla and I
DIŠKUR LUGAL <i>ar-ma-</i>	captured Rīd-Adad, king of
<i>nim^{K[II]} ak-mi-m[a]</i>	Armanum.

In Sargon’s conquest report, not only is Dagan again associated closely with the land of Tuttul, his territory also appears to stretch from Mari (south of Tuttul along the Euphrates) north to Ebla, and then westward to the cedar forests of Lebanon, the district of Iarmuti along the coast, and the Taurus mountains.³¹¹ This territory of the upper Euphrates and northern Syria is

³⁰⁹ D.R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods 2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 27-29.

³¹⁰ Frayne, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods 2* (1993) 132-136.

³¹¹ L.W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2006) 8-9. The region of Iarmuti is known from the Amarna letters as Iarmuta and was likely located along the coast, perhaps in the plain of Antioch. This is the earliest recorded reference to cedar, and the cedar forest mentioned here is likely located in Lebanon, though an exact identification is unknown. The silver mountains are typically associated with the Taurus mountains, as silver mines are known from that region.

echoed in the inscription from Narām-Sin, who says that Dagan again allowed him to conquer both Ebla and Armanum, a site probably located in the Ḥabur region.³¹²

Just as Dagan is seen controlling this large region in the upper Euphrates, the textual material from the Middle Bronze Age also indicates that the cult of Dagan spread throughout the region. Based primarily on the texts known from Mari, Terqa and Tuttul, Dagan was a central member of the pantheon worshipped at numerous sites in the upper Euphrates and northern Syrian regions.³¹³ In his study of the god Dagan, Feliu quantified the onomastic evidence from the 18th century to determine how prominent the god Dagan was as compared to the rest of the members of the pantheon. From this study, he determined that for the regions of Mari, Saggarātum and Terqa, Dagan³¹⁴ and El³¹⁵ together represented over half of the theophoric elements in the onomastic evidence. Though not definitive, the onomastic evidence coupled with the regular presence of Dagan in the sacrificial lists of Mari, as well as the importance of the *pagrû* festival at Terqa, Saggarātum and Mari, all indicate his centrality in the pantheon of the region.

Into the Late Bronze Age, Dagan retains his central role in the pantheon in the upper Euphrates region, especially at the site of Emar. Here, Dagan appears in the theophoric element in the highest percentage of onomastics, is given the preeminent position in the hierarchical offering lists, and several festivals are held in his honor. Outside of this area of the Euphrates however, Dagan's influence appears to be significantly less important in northern Syria. At the

³¹² A. Otto, "Archeological Perspectives on the Localization of Naram-Sin's Armanum," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 58 (2006): 1-26. Some have suggested that Armanum should be equated with Ḥalab or Aleppo based upon the texts from Mari. Otto argues from the description of the site, that Armanum is likely Banat-Bazi located due East of Aleppo on the Sajur River. However, the definite location is still unknown.

³¹³ See the discussion of the *pagrû* festival above.

³¹⁴ Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003) 191-209. Dagan represented 15.5% of the theophoric elements at Mari, 21.8% at Saggarātum, and 21.1% at Terqa.

³¹⁵ Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003) 191-209. Dagan represented 25.3% of the theophoric elements at Mari, 23.6% at Saggarātum, and 21.5% at Terqa.

site of Alalah, no rituals to Dagan are known and the name occurs only rarely as the theophoric element in the onomastic evidence. The importance of Dagan appears to diminish in the Iron Age, such that his cult appears to have continued along the Philistine coast of the southern Levant (Judges 16:23, 1 Samuel 5:1-7) and he is mentioned as a member of the Phoenician pantheon in Philo of Byblos.³¹⁶ This association between Dagan and the Phoenician coast finds support in the account of the Josephus in his work the *Antiquities of the Jews*. He records that, as part of the Maccabean rebellion, Jonathan Maccabeus would destroy by fire the temple of Dagon in Ashdod.³¹⁷

From this brief history of the worship of Dagan, it is clear that he was closely associated with the site of Tuttul in the upper Euphrates. His cult and his prominence in the pantheon extended beyond Tuttul to other sites such as Ugarit, Mari, Ebla, Terqa and Saggarātum in the Middle Bronze Age where his worship reached its zenith. His prominence gradually waned in the Late Bronze Age as his cult is attested primarily at Emar and Ugarit. Given that the cult of Dagan was a regional phenomenon in the upper Euphrates and the northern Levant in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, his prominence at Ugarit does seem to draw close parallels between the religious system at Ugarit and the known Middle Bronze Age Amorite sites from the upper Euphrates.

³¹⁶ J.F. Healey, "Dagon," *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (K. Van Der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. Van Der Horst, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 216-219.

³¹⁷ F. Josephus and S. Haverkamp, *Complete works of Josephus; Antiquities of the Jews, The wars of the Jews, Against Apion, etc.* (New York: Bigelow, Brown, 1900). Book 13, 4:4-5. Josephus records that "Jonathan took the city (Ashdod) on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it." The inhabitants of Ashdod are seen fleeing to the temple for safety suggesting its central location in the city as well as its large size, sufficient to hold a significant portion of the population. Josephus also notes that the surviving population was so grieved about the destruction of their temple that they brought complaint to Ptolemy himself. "About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them."

4.3 The Amorite Material Koiné

The above discussion has covered each element of the Ugaritic material assemblage from the Middle Bronze IIB-C and Late Bronze I periods. We have included in this material assemblage five key elements from the site: fortifications, palace organizational system, *migdāl* temple construction, glyptic evidence, and evidence for the ritual use of donkeys. Each of these elements has been analyzed first at the site of Ras Shamra. Then this evidence was compared with remains from other Middle Bronze Age sites, in order to determine whether a similar cluster of material finds and technologies might be found elsewhere in the region. All of these elements have now been combined into a single material assemblage to see if any larger conclusions might be drawn about the presence of a similar material assemblage across the region. For the current analysis, thirty-five different sites from the Levant and Mesopotamia have been taken into consideration. All thirty-five sites exhibit fortifications from the Middle Bronze period, and thus form the basis of our analysis. In the maps below, sites exhibiting only one element of the material assemblage have been excluded, in that they might be explained by means of a regional trend or due to a poor excavation history.³¹⁸

³¹⁸ A total of twelve sites exhibit just one of the five features of the material assemblage discussed. All twelve of these sites exhibit only MB IIB-C fortifications, and lack evidence for any of the other features. This lack of evidence may be due to the fact that many of these sites have been poorly excavated and therefore little is known about their material assemblage other than the fact that the site was once surrounded by fortifications in the MB IIB-C period.

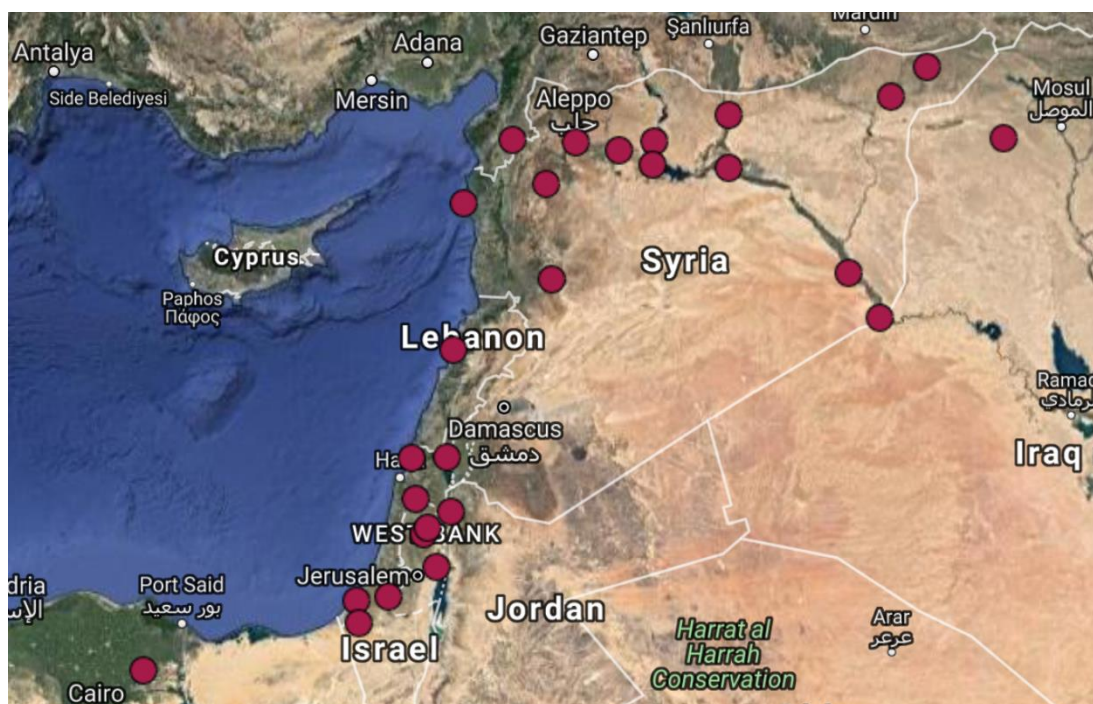


Fig. 4.22: Map of sites exhibiting two or more elements of the material assemblage³¹⁹



Fig. 4.23: Map of sites exhibiting three or more elements of the material assemblage³²⁰

³¹⁹ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

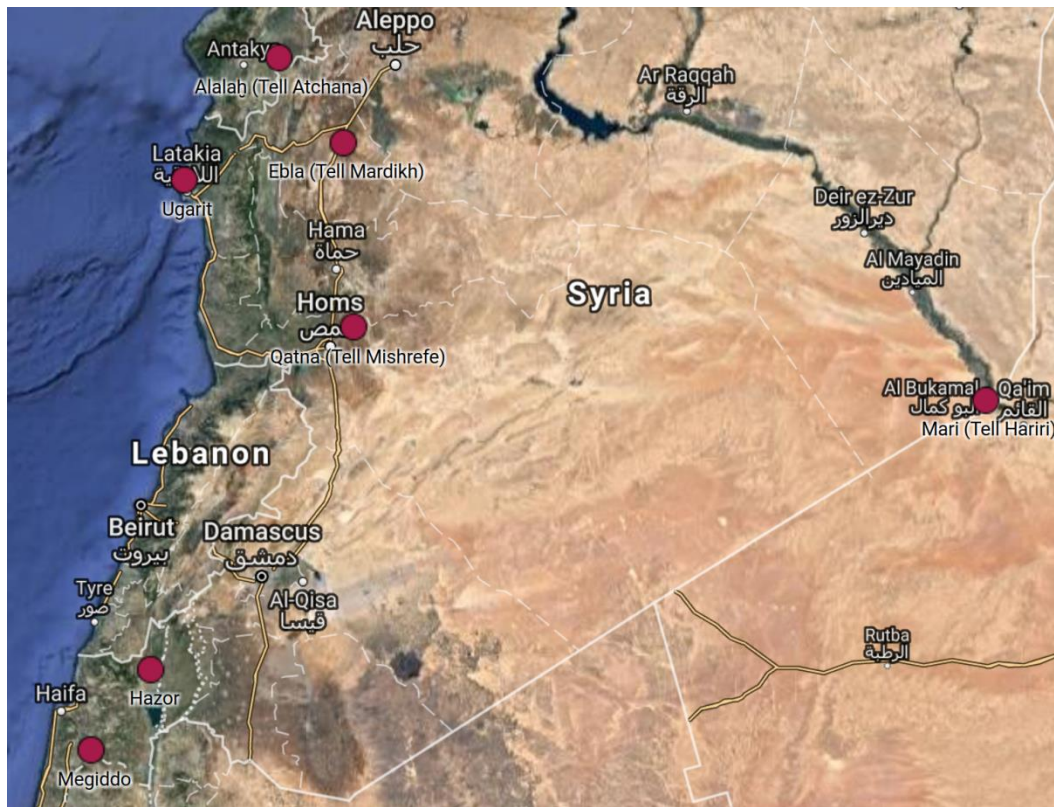


Fig. 4.24: Map of sites exhibiting four or five elements of the material assemblage³²¹

From the above maps, we find that a total of twenty-six sites exhibit two or more elements of the material assemblage, eleven sites exhibit three or more, and just seven sites exhibit four or five of the features. It should be noted that all seven sites which show the greatest concentration of the material assemblage have been extensively excavated, allowing for significant coverage at the site. Only two sites exhibit all five of the elements, namely Ugarit, our type site for this study, and Alalah (Tell Atchana), which appears to show a close association of these two sites. What is perhaps most significant about the relative spread of sites, is the large geographical area in which they appear. The presence of the material assemblage of Ugarit at

³²⁰ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

³²¹ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

sites in the northern Levant such as Alalah, Qatna, and Ebla might be seen as a regional trend. However, given that the same material assemblage is found also at Mari in the middle Euphrates region, and at Hazor and Megiddo in the southern Levant suggest that a larger trend might be present.

Another significant result yielded by the maps above, is the large number of fortified urban sites that have not yielded any further evidence for the material assemblage found at Ugarit. Below is a map of all the sites identified by Burke which have yielded evidence for fortifications in the MB IIB-C period that have not provided any evidence for the other features of the “Amorite material koiné” discussed here.³²²

³²² A.A. Burke, *The Architecture of Defense: Fortified Settlements of the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age* (Doctoral dissertation; The University of Chicago, Chicago, 2004) Appendix B. A total of 50 sites are included in the map above which have yielded sure evidence of fortification in the MB IIB-C period, but have no yielded any further evidence of the Amorite material assemblage discussed here.

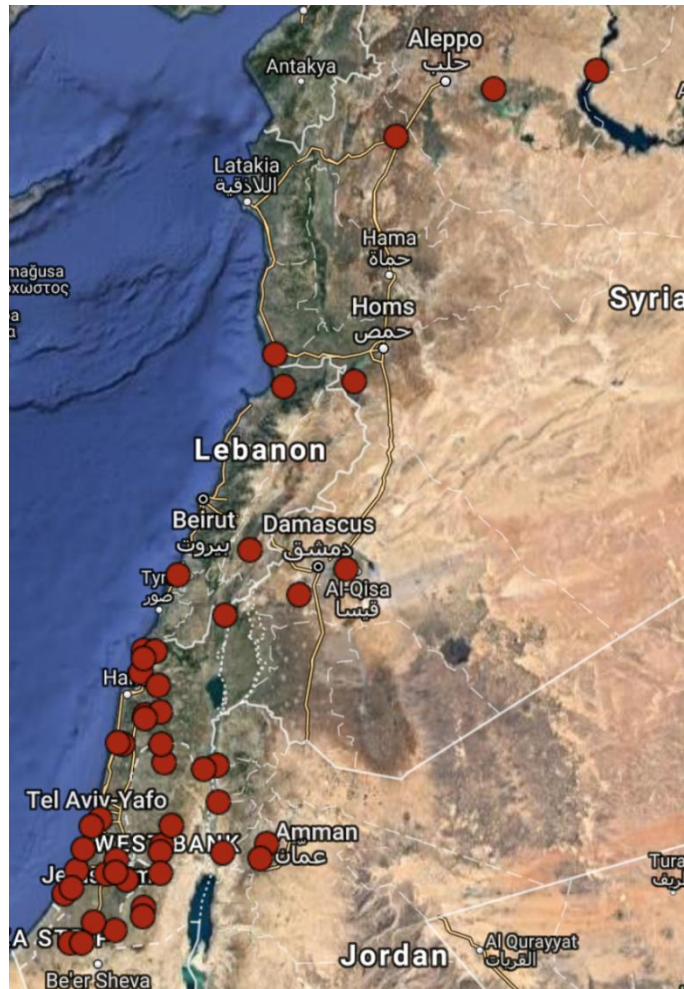


Fig. 4.25: Map of MBIIB-C fortified sites that do not exhibit this material assemblage³²³

Two initial inferences might be drawn based upon the limited spread of the Amorite material and the relatively large number of fortified sites that do not display any influence of this material assemblage apart from the fortifications. First, the previous map highlights the sparse evidence in the northern Levant and the density of sites in the southern Levant that were fortified yet have not exhibited material culture similar to that found at Ugarit. This serves to perhaps highlight the northern origin for the spread of this material assemblage; however, given that the southern Levant has been more heavily excavated, the lower density of sites in the northern

³²³ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

Levant is not completely surprising. Second, given the small number of sites that have yielded this Amorite material assemblage, the spread of this type of material culture should not be used as the sole explanation for the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age. Rather, it becomes clear that perhaps two distinct forces were at play in the rise and spread of urbanism in the Middle Bronze II period of the Levant.

4.3.1 Emulation, Exchange, or Migration

The main question is how to determine the origin of this shared assemblage and whether migration can be distinguished from other causes only by viewing the material assemblage. Numerous hypotheses have been put forward to explain the similarity in material assemblage across regions. Some have proposed that the adoption of elements of this material assemblage may be due simply to diffusion, trade, or elite emulation. We will here deal only briefly with the last of these three explanations, and then explain, with reference to our earlier discussion regarding the archaeology of migration, why a theory of migration is preferred to another explanation.

Trade and emulation leave behind a distinct pattern in the material assemblage. For instance, Stein has noted that “trade, emulation, and the presence of trade colonies should leave different archaeological signatures. If interaction is limited to trade without the presence of a foreign enclave at the site, then we would expect to see only portable trade items in the local settlement.”³²⁴ In the case of the current material assemblage found at Ugarit, the only portable feature is the presence of cylinder seals in the Classic Syrian Style. All other elements of the

³²⁴ G.J. Stein, “The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters,” *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives* (G.J. Stein, ed.; Santa Fe, 2005) 2-31, 13-14.

material assemblage are stationary building structures or are features of ritual practice, thus standing outside of trade interaction.

Unlike the archaeological footprint of trade, elite emulation is often demonstrated in stable site features such as architecture or the adoption of specific building technologies. The historical record is replete with examples of ambassadors or messengers visiting a foreign court and bringing home with them innovative ideas. An excellent exemplar of this is seen in 2 Kings 16:10-11 in the Hebrew Bible, when King Ahaz journeys to Damascus to meet with Tiglath Pileser, the king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.³²⁵ While in Damascus, Ahaz is so impressed by the altar he sees, he sends a sketch of the altar to the high priest Uriah in Jerusalem, and instructs that the altar be built to scale in the temple in Jerusalem. The construction of the unique Aramaean altar type in Jerusalem is instructive in that it narrates a situation in which cultic objects or architectural structures or features might be borrowed through a process of elite emulation. However, what is also instructive in this exemplar is that this is a local innovation where an established population is seen incorporating specific features into their pre-existing cultural assemblage. The problem under analysis here differs in that prior to the MB IIB-C period at the sites in question, there is often no presence of a pre-existing population occupying the site. For instance, at the site of Ugarit, the immense temples of Dagan and Ba'lu were constructed at the start of the MB IIB period atop a long-forgotten necropolis, such that no cultic practice is known from the preceding MB IIA period. In this case, it is less likely that the local population adopted this innovation, than that this technological innovation was brought as part of the migration to the site.

³²⁵ 2 Kings 16:10-11 - וַיֵּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ אָחָז לִקְרֹאת תִּגְלַת פִּלְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר דּוֹמֵשֶׁק וַיֵּרָא אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, אֲשֶׁר בְּדִמְשֶׁק וַיִּשְׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ - אָחָז מִדִּמְשֶׁק כּוֹן עֲשֵׂה אָחָז אֶל-אוּרִיָּה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת-דְּמוּת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְאֶת-תְּבִנֹתָיו--לְכָל-מַעֲשָׂהוּ וַיִּבֶן אוּרִיָּה הַכֹּהֵן, אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר-שָׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ אָחָז מִדִּמְשֶׁק כּוֹן עֲשֵׂה אָחָז אֶל-אוּרִיָּה הַכֹּהֵן, עַד-בּוֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ-אָחָז, מִדִּמְשֶׁק. "King Ahaz went to meet Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, in Damascus, so king Ahaz sent to Uriah, the priest, the likeness of the altar and its pattern according to all its craftsmanship. Then Uriah the priest built the altar according to that which king Ahaz had sent from Damascus. Thus Uriah the priest died until the coming of king Ahaz from Damascus."

Given that the unique material assemblage attested from the MB IIB period of the site of Ugarit may not easily be identified as a result of trade or elite emulation, the natural response is to look then to a foreign origin for the new population group at the site. But tracing migration in the material cultural record is difficult. As Yasur-Landau has noted, “because there are no natural, clearly defined boundaries between migration and other interactions, there can be no absolute module that will enable, in all cases, the identification of migration from archaeological evidence.”³²⁶ Although no single model can be applied to trace migration in the archaeological records, there are three key features of material assemblages which may be indicative of a new population at a site.

First, in the case of sedentary populations, Yasur-Landau has noted that migrating groups will bring with them “the personal notion of intention to stay for a prolonged period of time” at the site. This intention is reflected in the material assemblage in that “phenomena of deep change in behavioral patterns occur almost instantly because of the migrants’ intention to settle down.”³²⁷ So we find that, at the site of Ras Shamra, the new settlement is inaugurated by the massive construction of monumental buildings and fortifications. There does not appear to be a period of adoption of these new features, but rather they appear immediately at the start of the settlement level. Additionally these building types are not ephemeral, but rather monumental, reflecting to some degree the intention of the new inhabitants to settle at the site for a prolonged period of time.

Second, a migrating population will bring with them a discrete material assemblage as opposed to the adoption of isolated innovations. The five features of the material assemblage found at Ugarit and sites across the Levant do not pertain to one or even two distinct spheres of

³²⁶ A. Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 16.

³²⁷ Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration* (2010) 14.

influence. Rather, they span defense, cultic practice, ritual performance, kingship and the organization of royal space, and finally administrative practice. Each feature included in this material assemblage is considered an “innovation,” or the introduction of some new idea, method, or technology, whether that be in technological building methods, in administrative practice, or in ritual practice. If these features of the material assemblage were borrowed independently, each innovation would have gone through an independent process of adoption.³²⁸ Rather than seeing the adoption of this varied material assemblage as a product of five distinct strains of innovation adoption, it is far more likely that one material assemblage arrived along with a migrating population.

³²⁸ A. Shortland, “Hopeful Monsters? Invention and Innovation in the Archaeological Record,” *Invention and Innovation: The Social Context of Technological Change 2: Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East 1650-1150 BC* (J. Bourriau and J. Phillips, eds.; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004) 4-6. According to Shortland, there are five phases of the innovation process: 1) Knowledge of the existence of the innovation and understanding of its function, 2) Persuasion of the merits of the innovation, 3) Decision to use the innovation, 4) Implementation into actual use, and 5) Confirmation, or reinforcement based on the positive outcomes emerging from the use. Each innovation that is adopted at a site must undergo this five-step process for full adoption. For instance, the adoption of a new building technology would not be simply adopted. First the adopting population must learn of the innovation and gain an understanding of the function of the new technology. The population must then be persuaded of the benefits of this new building technology; perhaps there is a social reward for using this new technology or perhaps it improves quality of life. There is a decision to use the innovation, and the new building technology is actually constructed at the site. Once the building is constructed, perhaps it is received favorably by the local population. As this new innovation spread from site to site, this same process would again be followed. A perfect example of this process might be found in the 2 Kings 16:10-15 narrative noted above. First, King Ahaz sees the altar in Damascus and learns about its craftsmanship in order to create an image and a pattern of this altar (stage one). Ahaz sees this altar while meeting with Tiglath-Pileser suggesting there may have been some form of social benefit of copying the religious practices of neighboring kingdoms (stage two). King Ahaz then commands that Uriah should built the altar (stage three). Verse 13 then makes it clear that Ahaz used the altar upon return to Jerusalem, sacrificing his “burnt-offering” on the altar (stage four). In verse 14 he then reinforces the importance of this innovation by removing the previous altar to make way for his new innovation (stage five).

The above passage serves as a practical example for the process that innovations take at each site. In this case, King Ahaz was able to create a plan of the altar which he then sent to Uriah. But other new forms of technologies may require foreign instructors to provide training. Yasur-Landau notes that “while the acceptance of crude reproduction of one artifact type (such as pottery production) may not need more than one foreign instructor, multiple, co-occurring, and swift cases of innovations indicate intensive processes of teaching and learning, which cannot take place without prolonged and continuous contact between instructors and trainees (Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration* (2010) 18). In the current analysis, five different innovations are found at sites across the northern and southern Levant. These innovations occur relatively suddenly in the archaeological record, as at Ugarit where large monumental temple structures are constructed on an uninhabited tell. Since these appear relatively quickly in the Middle Bronze Age as opposed to over a prolonged period, and these innovations appear together as a material culture, it is improbable that each of these innovations underwent the innovation process mentioned above.

The third and final way evidence of a migrating population that will be reflected in the material assemblage is the adoption of a new form of social complexity. Social complexity is most often reflected in two ways in the material assemblage; namely, in the complexity of technological innovations requiring a strong central ruling hierarchy, and in the physical organization of public architecture such as temples, palaces, and fortifications. Regarding technological complexity, Yasur-Landau has noted that “interdependent with the technological level of the community, the greater is the social complexity.”³²⁹ So we find at the site of Ugarit, the building of complex new architectural structures, the monumental construction of which would have required an organized social hierarchy capable of amassing sufficient resources and labor. The five-meter thick walls of the temples of Dagan and Ba‘lu and the fortifications with overlaying glacis of hewn stone would have required the organization and resources to quarry the stone, carve it appropriately, cart it to the site, sink the foundations meters deep into the underlying layers, and complete the massive construction. Such a massive effort and devotion of labor capital indicates that the new population at the site arrived with a fully functioning social hierarchy capable of accumulating such resources. The demonstration of social complexity in the monumental architecture of the site is common for migrating populations, since often in “situations of conquest and colonization by an outside power of superior force, the newcomers are likely to manifest their identity not only in domestic but also in monumental architecture.”³³⁰ The monumental architecture of new temples, fortifications, and palaces can function as a device for the newly arrived group to manifest their power and hierarchical status in their newly adopted land. If elite emulation were preferred as an explanation, one would be required to assume that

³²⁹ Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration* (2010) 32.

³³⁰ Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration* (2010) 25.

the local population adopting such monumental innovations possessed the social hierarchical structure, as well as sufficient labor and capital to effectively adopt such structures.

4.3.2 Amorite Migrations into Canaan

From the previous discussion, the preferred explanation for the spread of the material assemblage known from the current type site of Ugarit is as a result of population migrations at the start of the Middle Bronze Age, starting first at key sites in the heartland of the northern Levant such as Qatna, Alalakh, and Ugarit, then gradually spreading south along major trade routes occupying cities such as Megiddo, Shechem, and Hazor. Indeed scholars have long attributed the presence of this material assemblage to foreign groups, most prominently to Indo-European groups,³³¹ a Hurrian contingent,³³² or to Amorite migrations from the upper Euphrates and northern Levantine regions.³³³ Indeed, this is the central question which has plagued the field of Amorite studies over the last half a century. Ultimately, archaeological material alone cannot answer this question, in that it is not possible to conclusively connect elements of material culture with a specific population.

³³¹ Wright, *Shechem* (1965) 95, Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957) 206. As discussed previously, the attribution of the distinct “Hyksos” culture to foreign Indo-European invading “barbarians” is due less to the evidence for an Indo-European contingent in the region during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (as might be borne out by linguistic or cultic evidence), and more to a misconception stemming from the Biblical narrative; namely the false identification of Abraham as an “Amorite” as discussed previously.

³³² Bourke, *Temple Building and Temple Cult* (2012) 192. See also Mallet, *ICAANE 1:1* (2000) 838. In support of this theory is the large corpus of Hurrian texts found at the site of Ugarit. Mallet queries whether perhaps the Hurrian texts from the Late Bronze Age site might indicate something about the ethnic affiliation of the group that arrived in the Middle Bronze Age. Contra this theory, the genre of the Hurrian texts from Ugarit, suggest that Hurrian influence was primarily centered upon the religious sphere. Hurrian texts from the site include sacrificial lists, hymns, incantations, only two letters, and just a handful of Hurrian loanwords in the legal and administrative texts. The scope of Hurrian texts presents a two-fold problem for the Hurrian hypothesis. First, if Hurrian influence is most heavily felt in the religious sphere, then if a Hurrian population had first settled the site in the MB IIB period, one would have expected the two massive temples to Dagan and Ba‘l constructed atop the acropolis to have been rather devoted to Hurrian deities. Second, if the ruling population group that settled the site was Hurrian, one would have expected greater Hurrian influence throughout the Ugaritic corpus, rather than primarily within the religious texts.

³³³ Amiet, *Ras Shamra-Ugarit* 11 (1995) 239.

To shed further light on this question, we will turn to what literary evidence we have from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. There are three primary reasons which can be cited to bolster the view that an Amorite migratory group settled the site of Ugarit, as well as numerous other sites in the northern and southern Levant at the start of the Middle Bronze Age. First, the material assemblage which we have delineated above appears not only at Ugarit, but also at three other key sites in the region for which we have literary evidence from the Middle Bronze Age; these provide some indication that rulers and officials were part of a local, West-Semitic-speaking population. Rulers such as Yaḥdun-Lîm of Mari, Išḫi-Adad of Qatna,³³⁴ and Yarîm-Lîm I of Alalah³³⁵ all bear West-Semitic names and ruled over territorially noncontiguous domains throughout the region in the Middle Bronze IIB-C period. We find king Zimri-Lîm of Mari taking on the title “King of Akkadians and King of Amorites” (LUGAL *ak-ka-d[i-i]m ù a-m[u-u]r-ri-im*) in letter A.489.³³⁶ Though this text has garnered much debate as to the meaning of the title,³³⁷ and without venturing here to fully analyze the text, it is sufficient to note that the king of Mari saw himself as the ruler of the “*ammurum*.”

Rather than fully discussing the affiliations of the other three sites, this leads naturally to the second reason, namely that kingship as known from the Late Bronze Age texts of Ugarit is closely tied to an Amorite tribal affiliation. This is shown most prominently in several literary

³³⁴ Nichols and Weber, *After Collapse* (2006) 41-42.

³³⁵ J. Lauinger, *Following the Man of Yamḥad: Settlement and Territory At Old Babylonian Alalah* (Leiden: Brill, 2015) 2.

³³⁶ A. Miglio, *The Dynamics of International Politics and the Reign of Zimri-Lim* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014) 194-195. A parallel titular in ARM 6.67 shows Zimri-Lim describing himself as the “King of Akkadians and King of the Ḫana.” J.M. Durand, “Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l’époque amorrite,” *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991) (Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 38; D. Charpin and F. Joannès, Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992) 113, n. 137. King Zimri-Lîm of Mari takes on the titular “King of Akkadians and King of Amorites” (LUGAL *ak-ka-d[i-i]m ù a-m[u-u]r-ri-im*) in letter A.489 which is a still unpublished text. Charpin and Durand discuss the historical context of this text, but do not quote the line in question (Charpin and Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 323, n. 131.a.

³³⁷ W. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation with Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003) 19.

and ritual texts which allude to a nomadic Amorite tribe. In these texts, we find the warrior hero Kirta being raised up amongst the “Shades of the earth, in the gathering of the assembly of Ditanu.”³³⁸ Here we find a tantalizing reference to the past nomadic ancestors which may represent the tribal affiliation of the Ugaritian dynasty. This mythic tradition is again echoed in RS 34.126, when the “shades of the earth” and the “assembly of Didanu” are called, along with kings Niqmaddu and ‘Ammitamru, to mourn the recent loss of a Ugaritian king, closely tying Didanu’s assembly with the royal line of Ugarit.³³⁹

The name “*Di-ta-nu*” (also “*Di-da-nu*”) appears in the Assyrian King list as one of the “seventeen kings who lived in tents” who were the ancestors of Shamshi-Adad I.³⁴⁰ This reference suggests that perhaps Ditanu/Didanu³⁴¹ might be viewed as an early nomadic king in the pastoral region of the upper Euphrates. The close association between Didanu and the Amorite groups in the third millennium is further supported by when these terms are found in parallel in passages from the Ur III empire. In the third regnal year of Shu-Sin, a wall was constructed to keep the marauding Ammurru from the UR heartland.³⁴² The wall was described in Akkadian as the “Fender of Tidnim/Datnim” (*Mu-ri-iq Ti-id-ni-im/ti-da-nim/da-at-ni-im*)³⁴³ and

³³⁸ KTU 1.15:III:4 and repeated in 15. The phrase is *hphr . qbš . dtn* “in the gathering of the assembly of Ditanu” which is in parallel with the phrase *rpì àrš* “the rephaim of the earth.”

³³⁹ RS 34.126: 9-12. *qrìtm . rpì . àrš / qbìtm . qbš . ddn / qrà . ‘mìtmr . mlk / qrà . ù . nqmd . mlk* - “You have been called, O Rapa’uma of the Earth, you have been summoned, O Assembly of Didanu, King ‘Ammitamru has been called, King Niqmaddu has been called as well.”

³⁴⁰ M. Astour, “A North-Mesopotamian Locale for the Keret Epic?,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 5 (1973): 37.

³⁴¹ The name occurs in both spellings at Ugarit, and it is unclear whether one of the forms may be the more archaic spelling or if the shift from /t/ > /d/ is phonologically motivated with the voicing of the voiceless consonant /t/ in proximity to the following voiced consonant /n/. The spelling {ddn} occurs in RIH 78/11:2, RS 34.126:3, RS 34.122:5 and in personal names. The spelling {dtn} is the more common form found in KTU 1.15 III:4, KTU 1.15 III:15, KTU 1.124:2,4,11,14, and elsewhere in personal names.

³⁴² E. Lipinski, “Ditanu,” *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on His Seventieth Birthday* (Y. Avishur and J. Blau, eds.; Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein’s Publishing House, 1978) 104.

³⁴³ A.H. Jagersma, *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian* (Doctoral dissertation; Leiden University, 2010) 35-37. Find here a discussion of the representation of voiced and voiceless stops for Akkadian loanwords into Sumerian. Jagersma notes that “early Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian show that Sumerians likewise heard Akkadian *p,t,k* as their own *b,d,g*. So too, Lipinski notes that the name “*Tidanum/Tidnum*” reflects the usual Sumerian inversion of voiced and voiceless consonants, in borrowing *Ditānum* from a Semitic language” (Lipinski, *Studies in Bible* (1978) 99). Lipinski and Astour (*UF* 5 (1973) 36) show based upon parallel passages

in Sumerian as the “Mardu Wall” (BAD₃ MAR-DU₂).³⁴⁴ Based upon the parallel of Akkadian *Tidnim/Datnim* with the Sumerian word for “westerners” *Mardu*, it has been suggested that perhaps either *Tidnim* was a site located in the West³⁴⁵ and that perhaps this name was adopted by the tribe who lived there.³⁴⁶ If this historical connection is to be accepted, it is uncertain if Didanu might refer to a kin-based group in the northern Levant or if perhaps this might refer to a historical figure named Didanu who featured prominently in the lineage of an Amorite tribe as the Assyrian King List suggests. What becomes more clear is that by the time of the Late Bronze Age texts discovered at Ugarit, he is viewed only as a divine, non-historical figure. He serves then as a “legendary eponym of the king’s tribe” closely associated perhaps with the “tribal totem” of the Ugaritic tribal dynasty.³⁴⁷ Yet his presence in the key mythological and ritual texts cited above clearly indicates a close parallel between the royal line of Ugarit and a distant Amorite tribe of Didanu.

The third and final reason for equating this migration with Amorite groups is that the linguistic subgrouping of Ugaritic can be more closely associated with the Amorite substratum of West Semitic than with the Canaanite languages. As mentioned in chapter two, since the discovery of the language of Ugarit, some 90 years ago, its placement in the West Semitic language tree has been debated, some identifying it more closely with the Canaanite languages known from Phoenicia and the southern Levant, others as a form of Amorite. We will discuss

³⁴⁴ Lipinski, *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East* (1978) 99, 104.

³⁴⁵ T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer: Eine philologisch-historische Untersuchung über die Wanderschicht der sogenannten "Amoriter" in Babylonien* (Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major 1926) 85. Bauer was the first to proposed that Akkadian terms *Tidnum* and *Tidānum* should be equated. It was then shown that *Tidnum/ Tidānum* could feasibly refer to a site located to the west of Mesopotamia based upon the statue B of Gudea, prince of Lagash who boasts of bringing “alabaster in great blocks from Tidānum, the mountain of Mardu” (Kupper, *Les nomads en Mésopotamie* (1957) 156 note 30). This text seems to suggest that *Tidānum* was perhaps a site or mountain in the west from which alabaster might be mined. Some have suggested that perhaps *Tidānum* should be equated with Jebel Bišri (Levine, et al., *JAOS* 104 (1984) 654), but this is uncertain.

³⁴⁶ Astour proposed that though *Tidnum/ Tidānum* likely referred to a location, it is possible that *Datnim* might have been a tribe that arose in that region (Astour, *UF* 5 (1973) 35).

³⁴⁷ Vidal, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 33 (2006) 169.

this more fully in the following chapter, but it may be noted here that the spread of sites that have yielded evidence for a “Amorite material koine” is limited.

What is also significant about the spread of this material culture is the number of sites where this assemblage does not occur. With such a tremendous return to urbanism during the Middle Bronze II B-C period throughout the northern and southern Levant, the sites mentioned as exhibiting a material assemblage matching that found at Ugarit only represent a small portion of all the urban sites that occur in this region. Indeed, as Falconer has observed, fortified urban sites along the coast only “constitute fifteen to twenty percent of the total corpus,” with the other seventy-five to eighty percent of settlements in the Middle Bronze II period remaining unfortified and rural.³⁴⁸ Going a step further, based upon the analysis above, an even smaller percentage of fortified sites have yielded the full material assemblage,³⁴⁹ indicating that the influence of such Amorite migrations was more limited might have previously been thought given Kenyon’s initial “Amorite Hypothesis.”

This great disparity in number between fortified sites yielding the “Amorite material koine” and the large number of smaller urban and rural sites throughout the region raises questions as to the interaction between these two site types. As Falconer has pointed out, these fortified urban settlements coexisted with rural settlements in the Middle Bronze Age, suggesting that these fortified settlements represented merely a “peripheral phenomenon” that did not characterize the broader development in the region.³⁵⁰ Indeed, given the small number of sites that have yielded this Amorite material assemblage, the spread of this type of material culture should not be used as the sole explanation for the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age.

³⁴⁸ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 128.

³⁴⁹ The lack of presence of the material assemblage discussed here could simply be the result of incomplete excavation history at these sites, such that either Middle Bronze Age levels at these sites have yet to be reached, or have yet to be published.

³⁵⁰ S.E. Falconer, *Heartland of Villages: Reconsidering Early Urbanism in the Southern Levant* (Doctoral Dissertation; Tucson: University of Arizona, 1987) 23.

Rather, it should be considered, perhaps, as a “peripheral phenomenon” that infiltrated only a handful of large, key sites throughout the northern and southern Levant. Cohen takes this one step farther by suggesting that perhaps the “small sites in areas of Canaan developed in response to increased demand” from the larger urban settlements.³⁵¹ In her perspective, the larger urban centers “responding to external pressures from and contact with other, even more developed polities, in turn influenced further development along the natural internal transit routes,” resulting in an increase in urbanism throughout the region.³⁵²

Given the limited appearance of the “Amorite material koiné” and the large number of urban sites that did not yield this type of assemblage, a hybrid explanatory model of both exogenous and endogenous forces in the region is preferable to account for the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age. In this hybrid model, Amorite migratory groups, perhaps individual kin-based groups, moved into the northern and southern Levant, bringing with them key elements of their material assemblage that reflected unique aspects of social complexity, religious expression, and administrative practices. These groups settled large key sites that had previously been abandoned during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA). These Amorite kin-based groups interacted with the indigenous populations, perhaps stimulating smaller sites to expand and develop in response to increased trade and cultural exchange.

What the level of interaction may have been between these larger Amorite sites and the indigenous population is ultimately unclear. Whether these Amorite groups peaceably infiltrated the region, bringing with them increased economic specialization and trade, or whether they arrived in force, imposing a political network of control over the surrounding sites, similar to the

³⁵¹ Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 128.

³⁵² Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections* (2002) 128.

Amorite polities of Yamḥad and Mari known from northern Mesopotamia is unclear.³⁵³ Given the growth of smaller sites in response to the appearance of these large urban settlements in the Levant, and also given the recorded parallel of the control that Amorite polities such as Yamḥad and Mari did their best to exercise over their territories, the second explanatory model might be preferred.

³⁵³ Lauinger, *Following the Man of Yamḥad* (2015) 154, 195-196. We do have significant data for the interaction amongst Amorite tribes from the north, so it is tempting to adopt this model also for the southern Levant where there is evidence for the spread of this Amorite material assemblage. From textual evidence, we find that conflict arose within Amorite tribes, between Amorite tribes, and between Amorite tribes and the surrounding population. So we find Abb-el, the king of Yamḥad warring with his brothers (perhaps biological or perhaps leaders of neighboring groups) in order to assert control over the site of Irride. An example of conflict between the major Amorite groups of Yamḥad and Mari, we find that when Tuttul rebelled against Mari rule, “the troops of Sūmû-Epuḥ of the land of Yamḥad came as auxiliary troops to rescue him,” though ultimately the united forces of Tuttul and Yamḥad would be defeated and Tuttul would be annexed to the territory of Mari (E4.6.8.2 – Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period* (1990) 606). It is less clear how widespread this type of conflict might have been true in the southern Levant as Amorite groups moved into the region and interacted with the local population.

CHAPTER 5 – NORTHWEST SEMITIC IN THE BRONZE AGE LEVANT

5.1 Introduction

The review of the current literature on the genetic placement of Ugaritic in the Northwest Semitic language tree makes it clear that the field is no closer to a certain conclusion regarding the genetic identity of the language. Though the debate may seem purely linguistic, our interpretation of the data has far-reaching ramifications. Scholars who have espoused the Canaanite hypothesis have sought to draw close parallels between Ugaritic and Canaanite literature, in particular the Hebrew Bible. Those who have espoused the Amorite hypothesis have sought close parallels between Amorite religious and literary traditions to better understand the Ugaritic corpus. The lack of clarity as to the genetic placement of Ugaritic has been in part due to the lack of clarity around “Amorite.” Some have claimed that Amorite is a Northwest Semitic language,¹ though this perspective has not been supported by a full analysis of the genetic subgrouping of the language. Others have proposed that due to the nature of the Amorite corpus, the “genetic filiation of Amorite seems beyond the reach of Semitic linguistics.”² This divergence of opinion is primarily due to the fact that all recent studies have analyzed the entirety of the Amorite corpus as a single language that existed for over a millennium, across thousands of miles, without respect to region or time period. Therefore, previous scholars have been unable to achieve any sense of the dialect variation which may have existed in the range of languages that have been termed “Amorite.”³

¹ M. Streck, “Remarks on Two Recent Studies on Amorite,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 44 (2013): 309, 320.

² A. Andrason and J.P. Vita, “Amorite: A Northwest Semitic Language?,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 63:1 (2018): 19.

³ J. Huehnergard, “Languages: Introductory Survey,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary IV: K-N* (D.N. Freedman ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 159. There is some debate over whether the corpus of classical Amorite names represents a continuum of dialects or even a series of distinct languages. Huehnergard favors the second interpretation proposing that “it is likely...that [Amorite] names represent not a single language, or even

In this chapter a genetic analysis of Ugaritic as well as of the western Amorite corpus delineated in chapter three is carried out, producing a reconstruction of the genetic subgrouping of the Northwest Semitic languages. The western Amorite corpus available to us being comprised of personal names, we have not only a source for the linguistic reality of what might have been spoken in coastal Syria in the Middle Bronze Age, but also an onomastic corpus which may reveal key information about naming practices and the religious pantheon worshipped in this region.

5.2 Methodological Challenges

As discussed in chapter three, rather than compiling all known West Semitic personal names from the second and third millennia, I have limited the western Amorite corpus both geographically and temporally to only include the onomastic evidence from the political territories of Yamḥad and Qaṭna in the Middle Bronze Age. The resulting total of roughly 850 personal names together represent a stratum in the West Semitic complex of languages that is found only in the western territories of Yamḥad and Qaṭna in the Middle Bronze Age, representing roughly one ninth of the broader Amorite corpus. Yet despite the limited corpus, dialect variation is still found, with the dialect in the region of Alalaḥ showing significant variation from that in the region of Tuttul farther to the East.⁴ Before we move into the analysis

necessarily a continuum of closely related dialects, but rather a diverse set of languages.” Certainly it is clear from the discussion in chapter 3, that clear dialect variations exist in the classical Amorite corpus. However, until further dialectology is conducted and perhaps even until additional textual sources are discovered, the question as to the diverse linguistic makeup of classical Amorite will remain unknown.

⁴ J.M. Durand, *Le Culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum* (Florilegium marianum 7; Paris: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, 2002) 59-82. As noted in chapter three, Tuttul was the border town separating the kingdoms of Yamḥad and Mari until its conquest by Yaḥdun-Lîm. There is less certainty as to the historical position of the site of Alalaḥ. Durand has convincingly claimed that the city “Alahtum” known from the Mari texts should in fact be equated with the city of Alalaḥ. If Durand’s perspective is to be accepted, then the city of Alalaḥ, would have been acquired by Mari during the reign of Zimri-Lîm. Durand provides a complete chronology of the acquisition of the city (p. 66-70), and the first mention of Alahtum in the Mari archives occurs when Zimri-Lîm first makes his way to the site on his “grand tour” to the western coastal territories of Yamḥad and Ugarit. Durand proposes that

of these western Amorite personal names as a language sub-stratum, we must first acknowledge and consider the numerous methodological challenges that are encountered when working with personal names.

5.2.1 West Semitic in an Imported Script

All western Amorite personal names are preserved in the Akkadian logo-syllabic script. The first obvious issue that is presented here is that the syllabic cuneiform script was not originally intended to preserve a West Semitic language, or even Akkadian for that matter. This is most evident in the representation of Proto-Semitic guttural consonants - /ʔ/, /h/, /ḥ/, /ʕ/, and /ğ/ - which were not present in Sumerian and therefore no signs in the cuneiform script exist to represent these directly,⁵ as well as the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/.⁶ In addition to the guttural consonants and semi-vowels, some consonants are presented with several different consonantal signs in the syllabic script. In lieu of detailing all consonantal orthographical overlap, a single example is sufficient. Since the Proto-Semitic consonant of phoneme /d/ does not have a single sign in the cuneiform script, scribes must use an approximate sign to represent this consonant. Thus, the consonant /d/ is found written with the Z-series, the D-series, and even occasionally the S-series in classical Amorite. Streck has shown that 75% of spellings of the /d/ phoneme with the

Zimri-Lîm acquired Alalatum in order to expand his territory in the west, which Durand believes included territory acquired from Tawarambi and Narazzik. From his reconstruction, apparently Gašera, the wife of Yarîm-Lîm and the queen of Yamḥad, not to mention the mother of Zimri-Lîm's wife Šibtu, opposed the acquisition, but was ultimately unsuccessful in retaining this city. This line of argumentation is of course predicated upon the identification of Alalatum in these texts with the city of Alalah, yet due to its prominent position in the western region, this should likely be accepted. Regardless of political affiliation, it is still clear that both of these sites show notable dialect variation in their onomastic material.

⁵ R. Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005) 73.

⁶ M. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit. Band 1: Die Amurriter, Die onomastische Forschung, Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 151-193. One example of this difficulty is found in the personal name *a-wi-^dIM* from Alalah. Out of the three historic root consonants, only C₂ is preserved. From other transcriptions of the same verb, this name should likely be reconstructed *yahwî-haddu* ("Haddu shall exist") from the root /hwy/ ("to be, exist").

S-series come from Babylon, whereas 88% of occurrences of the /d/ phoneme spelled with the Z-series are found at Mari, suggesting that orthographical inconsistency is often due to regional variation.⁷ This distribution could indicate perhaps varying regional scribal traditions for orthography, or it could belie a variation in the phonetic realization of this particular phoneme, such that the /d/ phoneme perhaps had merged with the /z/ fricative in the region of Mari. Without further textual evidence, it is unknown whether this could represent a spoken or a written variation. This discussion serves to show that such variations in the representation of Proto-Semitic consonants make it difficult for the modern researcher to positively identify which tri-radical root might be preserved in the transcription.

Another complication accompanies the representation of West Semitic in syllabic cuneiform; namely, scribal variation. The Mari archives provide some indication that bilingual scribes who were proficient in Amorite were relatively rare. For instance, Šamši-Adad had to scour his empire in search of a scribe who had competent knowledge in both Amorite and Sumerian, indicating that not all scribes had training in multiple languages.⁸ This is perhaps in part because Akkadian, and not Amorite, was likely the *lingua franca* during the reign of Šamši-Adad as shown in his repudiation of his son's ignorance of Amorite.⁹ Though some have claimed that there was "no Amorite scribal tradition" primarily based upon the fact that no texts have been preserved in Amorite,¹⁰ the fact that a scribe proficient in Amorite was sought seems to suggest the reverse. The fact that no tablets have been found in Amorite indicates that scribes

⁷ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 209-214. Much is owed to Streck's detailed analysis of the phonetic representation of consonants and vowels in classical Amorite.

⁸ J. Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015) 2.

⁹ Sasson, *From the Mari Archives* (2015) 2. So we find that Šamši-Adad's own son, king Yasma'-Addu of Mari, spoke primarily Akkadian, being relatively ignorant of the Amorite language.

¹⁰ G. Buccellati, "Akkadian and Amorite Phonology," *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (A. Kaye, ed.; Winona Lake: IN, Eisenbrauns, 1997) 4.

would have been trained to write Akkadian and may even have been ignorant of the Amorite linguistic reality of the personal names which they recorded.

Furthermore, scribes likely did not take dictation and were probably unconcerned with preserving any dialect variation of the person commissioning the letter or document. Tablets from the site of Mari can vary quite extensively in size, shape, and thickness, yet the text recorded often fits perfectly to the size of the tablet.¹¹ This suggests that they would record a rough content outline¹² and later compose the letter or document when they had time to plan the necessary size of the tablet required. Certainly content, and not phonetic accuracy, was far more important in the preservation and transmission of information. Any linguistic variation of the original speakers was therefore likely lost in the transmission process, or obscured by the dialect variance of the scribe recording the document. We might therefore imagine a rather extended scribal transmission process for onomastic material available from the Middle Bronze Age. First, content was spoken by the original sender in either Akkadian or Amorite as the scribe jotted down rough notes,¹³ then later the scribe produced a clay tablet of approximate size and recorded the full document. Such a transmission process indicates that the recordation of names was perhaps far from accurate in representing the original dialect variation of the speaker, likely reflecting the scribe's dialect rather than the speakers or even the person whose name was in question.

¹¹ J. Sasson, "The Burden of Scribes," *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen* (T. Abusch et al., ed.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 216.

¹² Sasson, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places* (2002) 216. Sasson includes the text from Mari, A.3625, which is a memorandum that records a rough outline of content which would be included in a letter. This text suggests that scribes likely did not take verbatim recitation.

¹³ Sasson, *From the Mari Archives* (2015) 2. Though certainly scribes were far more well-versed in Akkadian, scribes proficient in Amorite also existed and were sought out by leadership for recording correspondence. This would seem to indicate that the language of the speaker and/or of the recipient would have occasionally been Amorite.

Despite this extended transmission process, dialect variation is still observed in the preservation of onomastic evidence in the Mari correspondence. Perhaps the best example of this type of variation is in a scribal variation of the name Yasma‘-Addu, the king of Mari. His name is preserved over one hundred and forty times in the Mari correspondence, always written as *ia-ás-ma-ah-^dIM*,¹⁴ except for one single spelling of his name as *iš-ma-^dIM*.¹⁵ This single variant is found in a letter from Išhi-Addu,¹⁶ the king of Qatna, to Yasma‘-Addu discussing grazing rights, and would have been written by a scribe in Qatna and then sent to Mari. Two other letters written from Išhi-Addu to Yasma‘-Addu are preserved in the Mari archive, both of which present the expected spelling of the latter’s name (ARM V 16:1 (broken but space remains for two signs as opposed to one), ARM V 17:1). This single variation then reveals an anomaly in the Mari archive. As will be discussed more in detail, given the origin of this letter in the western region, it is likely that this variation represents a dialect variant. Though there is little evidence for the Barth-Ginsberg law in names from Mari, there is evidence that this law had been generalized in names in the western regions of Yamḥad and Qatna. It is possible that this spelling of the name by a Qatnaean scribe denotes the western pronunciation of the verbal name element: */yašma’/ > /yišma’/*.¹⁷ This example serves to show that, while the scribal transmission process may have

¹⁴ *Archives Babylonniennes (XX^e-XVII^e Siècles Av. J.-C.) (ARCHIBAB)*, accessed 12/7/2017, <http://www.archibab.fr/>. A total of 143 entries for the name Yasma‘-Addu were included in the ARCHIBAB website, 142 of which were spelled identically as *ia-ás-ma-ah-^dIM*.

¹⁵ ARM V 15:1-3. The opening lines of the letter are: “Say to Yišma‘-Addu, so says Išhi-Addu your brother” (*a-na iš-ma-^dIM qí-bí-ma um-ma iš-hi-^dIM a-hu-ka-a-ma*).

¹⁶ As noted in the appendix, the name Išhi-Addu may be interpreted as a nominal sentence: *iš-ḥi-^dIM /yiṭ-ṭ-Haddu/* (“Haddu is my salvation”). This interpretation is proposed since the verbal form of this root follows the *yaqtul* pattern as in the name *ia-šu-na > /yātu’nā/* (“(the god) shall save us”).

¹⁷ Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian* (2005) 196. Rather than representing a later development of the western dialects, it is also possible that this represents an earlier stage of the language of Akkadian, where the form */išma/* form was still attested, with the preservation of the older archaic forms along the coast. If this were a single datum, then this perspective might be plausible. However, since this is not an isolated feature, but rather part of the widespread appearance of the Barth-Ginsberg Law in verbal forms in the western region (60% of all forms) as will be discussed in detail below, it is far more likely that this is representing a regional dialect that has undergone the Barth-Ginsberg shift.

obfuscated much of the original linguistic material, dialect variations can still be detected within the onomastic material.

5.2.2 Limited Corpus

Though we have evidence of scribes who were proficient in Amorite, unfortunately no texts have been preserved in any dialect of Amorite, and western Amorite is only known from onomastic material in the Middle Bronze Age. Though over 7,000 such personal names exist in the entirety of classical Amorite, this western Amorite corpus has been limited even further for the current study to roughly one eighth of this total. If these 850 personal names are broken down into individual lexical elements, over 200 different nominal forms and nearly 150 verbal forms are preserved, though particles are quite rare. Though the lexicon is relatively rich, given that the corpus consists of only personal names, the syntax of western Amorite is virtually unknown, without any indication of what independent and dependent clause structure might have been. The limited nature of the corpus will become more evident as the genetic subgrouping of western Amorite is analyzed, for conclusions are often based upon just one or two occurrences of a form. For instance, plural nouns are extremely rare in personal names, and it is often difficult to distinguish singular and plural nouns, so only two potential plural nominal forms occur in the corpus with the /-īm/ morpheme: *'adnu- 'ālīm* (“the beauty of the tents”), *ḥana- 'ilīma* (“grace of the gods”). Because these forms are both in the oblique case it is unknown what the nominative plural ending might have been. Thus, many of the conclusions that are drawn will be limited by the data.

5.2.3 The Challenge of Using Personal Names in Dialectology

The greatest challenge faced when using personal names for linguistic analysis is that they are not necessarily representative of the language which would have been spoken by the individuals who carried them. The example provided above illustrates that though Yasma‘-Addu bore an Amorite name, his father Šamši-Adad berates him for his ignorance of Amorite.¹⁸ In this example, the act of giving an Amorite name was strategically significant for Šamši-Adad, but it in no way represented what came to be the native language of his son. We further encounter this challenge in identifying the western Amorite linguistic substratum. In many texts from Mari, individuals are given an ethnic or geographic descriptor such as “Yamḥadean,” providing relatively sound evidence that this person was from the territory of Yamḥad. But in many other cases, the Mari texts simply record the names of individuals who were residing in western towns leaving it unclear whether they were originally from that region or if they had moved there to perform a specific function. There was certainly interaction between the Territories of Qatna, Yamḥad, and Mari throughout the Middle Bronze Age. For instance, troops were regularly sent from Yamḥad in order to aid the campaigns of Mari. Similarly, functionaries were sent from Mari in order to handle business in the West.

One particularly useful example of regional exchange is the life of the famous queen of Mari and wife of Zimri-Lîm, Šibtu. Though she was one of the most important members of the royal house in Mari, she was originally born into the royal line of Yamḥad, as the daughter of Yarîm-Lîm and Gašera, the king and queen of Aleppo, and the sister of Hammu-rapi, the later king of Aleppo. Much like the royal dynastic marriages known from the Late Bronze Age era of great kings in the ancient Near East, daughters of royal families were married to foreign rulers in order to preserve the peaceful relation between the two regions. For our current study, we have

¹⁸ Sasson, *From the Mari Archives* (2015) 2.

included the name “Šibtu” in the Western Amorite corpus since we are able to trace her lineage to the territory of Yamḥad. However, such biographical details are typically unknown for other individuals. Thus, the western Amorite corpus is at best an approximation of this western dialect, and linguistic variation is undoubtedly still present in the corpus.

Another challenge presented by dealing strictly with onomastic evidence when determining linguistic variation is that personal names are often not actually representative of the spoken language, very often preserving an older, more conservative stage of the language.¹⁹ For this reason, many scholars have rejected the use of onomastic material for linguistic analysis, adopting a “minimalist” approach to the study of onomastics. Examples of this approach are the grammars of Ugaritic written by Tropper²⁰ and Sivan²¹ that have almost entirely excluded onomastic evidence from their analysis of the Ugaritic language.²² A more “maximalist” approach to onomastic evidence suggests that the language preserved in personal names is representative of the language of a given speech community. Books dedicated to the classical Amorite language certainly fall into this category and in many ways, though an attempt has been made here to isolate a language sub-stratum, my own study falls into this maximalist camp.

As shown above, though dialect variation may be observed in onomastic evidence, it is difficult to know when such variations may have entered the language owing to the archaic nature of personal names. Often archaic pronunciations or spellings may be retained in fossilized

¹⁹ F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Studia Pohl 1; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967) 57-60. Though the Barth-Ginsberg law is shown to have taken effect at Ugarit, onomastic material shows the preservation of the historic *yaqtal* verbal pattern. Since no evidence exists in Ugaritic for *yaqtal* verbal forms, it is unlikely that this onomastic material is evidence of dialect variation. Rather, it shows that onomastics are very often quite conservative, preserving older linguistic forms.

²⁰ J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 273; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 7.

²¹ D. Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Handbook of Oriental Studies 28; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 23, 27, 28.

²² More than one thousand West Semitic personal names are preserved in the Ugaritic alphabetic and syllabic corpora, as well as several hundred names attested in other languages such as Hurrian and Akkadian.

personal names which are passed down through generations. One example of this is the preservation of the **yaqtal* verbal form in personal names from Ugarit as well as in Amarna Canaanite. Though both languages show an almost complete generalization of the Barth-Ginsberg law (**yaqtal* > **yiqtal*), there are numerous examples of personal names which retain the archaic pronunciation. For instance, there is the personal name “of the famous commissioner Yanḥamu,” usually spelled *Ia-an-ḥa-mu* (EA 85:23) in the Amarna letters. A similar name is also attested in texts from Ugarit in both syllabic form (*ia-na-ḥa-(am)-mu*) and alphabetic form (*ynḥm*) in RS 16.191:4.²³ These examples illustrate the difficulty when attempting to identify dialect variation in purely onomastic evidence that preserves archaic phonological and morphological forms.²⁴ To this list must also be added all the other difficulties that normally accompany the study of onomastics and the semantics of name-giving in the Bronze Age. O’Connor has laid out the problematic nature of dealing with naming conventions from the Bronze Age which are often virtually completely opaque to modern research. Shortened names (*kurzform*), the use of hypocoristic endings, and the uncertain semantics of lexemes make the modern interpretation of name formation challenging.²⁵

5.2.4 The Benefit of Using Personal Names in Bronze Age Dialectology

Considering the challenges just reviewed, any linguistic conclusions drawn solely from onomastic evidence must be carefully qualified and only general trends may be recognized in the corpus. Yet these trends are still valuable for gaining key historical information regarding the state of Northwest Semitic languages in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. There are three key

²³ A.F. Rainey, “The Barth-Ginsberg Law in the Amarna Tablets,” *Eretz-Israel* (1978): 11.

²⁴ Such a linguistic determination is possible since both Ugaritic and Canaanite are so well attested in the Late Bronze Age. The situation is far more challenging when dealing with onomastic corpora from the Middle Bronze Age.

²⁵ M. O’Conner, “The Onomastic Evidence for Bronze-Age West Semitic,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124:3 (2004): 455-462.

benefits which may be gained from analyzing the western Amorite onomastic corpus. First, from a purely linguistic perspective, the transparent form of West Semitic naming practices means that onomastics provide us with a relatively significant lexicon. As noted above, the western Amorite corpus includes over 200 different nominal forms and nearly 150 verbal forms. This is still quite small when compared to that of the entire lexicon of the Hebrew Bible which includes over 8,000 words (though over 1,500 of these are hapax legomena)²⁶. Yet, other ancient West Semitic language corpora attest a lexicon closer in number to that found in western Amorite. Perhaps a comparable example would be the Ammonite language, for which 274 texts have been preserved on stone, metal, pottery, bullae, bone, and gem stones.²⁷ From these inscriptions roughly eighty-five nouns and seventy-five unique verbs are encountered, many of which are attested only in onomastics.²⁸ This comparison shows that the lexicon available to us for western Amorite is significant, providing the modern researcher with sufficient forms for analysis of weak roots and the appearance of certain trends such as the Barth-Ginsberg Law.

Second, the western Amorite corpus provides evidence of vocalization which is rare in the Bronze Age West Semitic corpus. Given that the personal names are written in syllabic cuneiform which did not have a phonetic inventory large enough for West Semitic, the vocalizations provided are not without difficulty. Yet, through careful analysis, vocalic information can be obtained from the corpus, something that is lacking from much of the rest of the West Semitic inscriptional evidence. Furthermore, given the early date of the western Amorite corpus in the Middle Bronze Age, this corpus provides the earliest testimony to the composition and vocalization of West Semitic.

²⁶ F. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2016) 33.

²⁷ W. Aufrecht, "Ammonite Texts and Language," *Ancient Ammon* (Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East XVII; B. MacDonald and R. Younger, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 164.

²⁸ Aufrecht, *Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East* (1999) 175-177.

Apart from linguistic data, personal names also provide valuable insight into naming practices, as well as the makeup of the pantheon worshipped in the Middle Bronze Age northern Levant. Onomastic studies have a long and rich tradition in the study of the ancient Near East, providing a relatively intimate glimpse into religious and domestic life of ancient societies. Recent onomastic studies ranging from Mesopotamia in the third millennium²⁹ to Ammon in the second millennium,³⁰ and to the southern Levant in the second half of the first millennium³¹ have continued to explore how onomastic evidence might inform our understanding of ancient religious and cultural beliefs. The western Amorite corpus then provides valuable evidence as to the composition of the pantheon in the western territories of Yamḥad and Qatna. In this corpus, over forty theophoric elements are preserved, with some only occurring a single time (Teššub) and others occurring almost one hundred times (Haddu).³² A full study of the religious and cultural implications of the western Amorite onomasticon will not be broached in this study, though a brief analysis of the frequency and makeup of the theophoric elements will be compared with the onomastic evidence known from the Late Bronze Age site of Ugarit. As the earliest evidence for the West-Semitic pantheon in the northern Levant, it is the hope that this survey of the data will provide useful information for the study of ancient religions.

5.3 Methodological Approach

²⁹ J. Andersson, *Kingship in the Early Mesopotamian Onomasticon 2800-2200 BCE* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2012).

³⁰ C. Cornell, "A Moratorium on God Mergers?: The Case of El and Milkom in the Ammonite Onomasticon," *Ugarit Forschungen* 46 (2015): 49-99.

³¹ E. Eshel, "The Onomasticon of Mareshah in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods," *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE* (O. Lipschits, G. Knoppers, and R. Albertz, eds.; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007) 145-156.

³² It is significant to note that all occurrences of the divine name Haddu spelled syllabically in the western corpus preserve the case vowel, and there is no example where the form "Hadad" is preserved. A cursory review of the classical Amorite corpus also yields a similar distribution of forms of the divine name, such that not examples of the divine name spelled "Hadad" are extremely rare (Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 19.

In the pursuit of the genealogical position of Ugaritic in the Northwest Semitic branch of the Semitic language tree, the phonetic and morphological features of both western Amorite from the Middle Bronze Age and Ugaritic from the Late Bronze Age will be analyzed and will be compared with the shared innovations of each language sub-branch. For the western Amorite and Ugaritic corpora we will start with the assumption that both languages are West Semitic, being distinct from their East Semitic (Akkadian and Eblaite) counterparts.³³ We will then assess whether western Amorite and Ugaritic exhibit the shared innovations of Central Semitic, Northwest Semitic, and finally Canaanite and Aramaic. Once each language has been assessed, we will then propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the Northwest Semitic language tree incorporating both western Amorite and Ugaritic. The final section will address the variation of theophoric elements in the western Amorite corpus, comparing these with the onomastic evidence from Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age.

5.4 Central Semitic

As discussed in chapter two, Central Semitic is a sub-branch of West Semitic distinct from Ethiopian Semitic and Modern South Arabian. Though there is some debate about the composition and structure of Central Semitic, for the purposes of this study the subgrouping model proposed by Rubin has been accepted; that Central Semitic is composed of three distinct branches: Arabic, Old South Arabian, and Northwest Semitic.³⁴ All Central Semitic languages share two key innovations: first, the *yaqtulu* imperfective (*yaqtulūna* in the plural) as an innovation based on the original subordinate marker that replaced the proto-Semitic *yaqattal*

³³ G. Rubio, "Eblaite, Akkadian, and East Semitic," *The Akkadian Language in Its Semitic Context* (G. Deutscher and N. J. C. Kouwenberg, eds.; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006).

³⁴ A. Rubin, "The Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages," *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008): 62.

imperfect form,³⁵ and second, the Barth-Ginsberg Law.³⁶ Let us now evaluate both Ugaritic and western Amorite to see whether these languages exhibit these two shared innovations of Central Semitic.

5.4.1 Ugaritic as a Central Semitic Language

Though the validity of a Central Semitic branch of West Semitic was first proposed by Hetzron in 1974,³⁷ due to the alphabetic nature of Ugaritic, it was not until three decades later that a consensus was reached that Ugaritic exhibited the key shared innovations of Central Semitic. Fenton was the first to successfully establish that the *yaqattal* imperfect form common to East Semitic, as well as Ethiopian Semitic and Modern South Arabia, is unattested in the Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform corpus.³⁸ Instead this form had been systematically replaced by the *yaqtulu* imperfective verbal form.³⁹ It is now almost universally accepted that Ugaritic reflects this innovation of Central Semitic.

The presence of the second Central Semitic innovation, namely the Barth-Ginsberg law, has been recognized as operable in Ugaritic for nearly ninety years. The law was first identified

³⁵ A. Rubin and J. Huehnergard, "Phyla and Waves: Models of Classification of the Semitic Languages," *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2011) 271.

³⁶ Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 270-271.

³⁷ R. Hetzron, "La division des langues sémitiques," *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique et Chamito-Sémitique, Paris 16-19 juillet 1969* (Janua Linguarum: Series Practica 159; A. Caquot and D. Cohen, eds.; Paris: Mouton, 1974) 181-194.

³⁸ T.L. Fenton, "The Absence of a Verbal formation **yaqattal* from Ugaritic and North-West Semitic," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 15 (1970): 31-41. See also J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 273; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 460-461. Fenton bases his argument on the orthography of I-*nun* verbs, as well as the verb *lqh* which show the regular assimilation of *nun* and *lamed* in the prefix conjugation. For these roots, there is no example of an unassimilated form, suggesting that there is no evidence for the preservation of the *yaqattal* imperfect form in Ugaritic.

³⁹ J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription revised ed.* (Harvard Semitic Studies 32; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 319 note 87, 320. A possible form in Akkadian transcription is *[i]a-ab-ši-ru = /yabširu/*, though due to the fact that the first sign is broken, it is unknown whether this is a 1cs or 3ms form, and may also be interpreted as a C-stem verbal form. See also the commentary on the *yaqtulu* verbal form in Ugaritic by Bordreuil and Pardee (*A Manual of Ugaritic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009) 48).

by Barth at the end of the nineteenth century as being a regular feature of Hebrew.⁴⁰ Some four decades later and only three short years after the decipherment of Ugaritic, Ginsberg was able to show that this law had been generalized in all forms in Ugaritic.⁴¹ Since there are three different *aleph* signs in Ugaritic, Ginsberg shows that prefix conjugation verbal forms following the **yaqtul* and **yaqtil* patterns had the characteristic *aleph*-/a/ sign in the first person, whereas the **yiqtal* pattern verbs exhibit the *aleph*-/i/ sign consistently.⁴² Though this conclusion was reached almost one century ago, it has subsequently been borne out by the discovery of additional texts. The pattern is most explicitly attested in first common singular prefix conjugation verbal forms of II-aleph verbs. In alphabetic cuneiform, forms such as *ilàk* /'il'aku/ ("I shall send") and *išàl* /'iš'alu/ ("I shall inquire") show the paradigmatic **yiqtal* verbal form.⁴³ Such attestations make certain the consistent generalization of the Barth-Ginsberg Law in Ugaritic.

Based on the innovative replacement of the *yaqattal* imperfect form with the *yaqtulu* imperfect as well as the generalization of the Barth-Ginsberg Law in Ugaritic, it appears certain that Ugaritic can be considered a member of the Central Semitic language branch.

5.4.2 Western Amorite as a Central Semitic Language

Whereas there is almost universal agreement about the identification of Ugaritic as a Central Semitic language, such is not the case for classical Amorite. Though several authors have assumed a Northwest Semitic ascription for classical Amorite, no study has evaluated whether Amorite reflects the shared innovations of the Central Semitic languages. This has in part been

⁴⁰ J. Barth, "Zur Vergleichenden Semitischen Grammatik," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 48 (1894): 1-21.

⁴¹ H.L. Ginsberg, "תשובות והערות," *Tarbiz* 4 (1932/33): 381-382.

⁴² Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* 4 (1932/33): 382. Ginsberg provides nine verbal forms noting the consistent spelling of the **yiqtal* verbal type in such verb forms as *ibq'*, *imḥs*, and *igràn*.

⁴³ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 447.

because previous authors have studied classical Amorite as a single language family. However, as will be shown below, there is a large degree of variation in the Amorite dialects, and it appears that the western Amorite dialects exhibited at least one of the shared innovations of Central Semitic by the Middle Bronze Age, whereas their eastern counterparts did not.

Unlike Ugaritic, where it is often difficult to detect the vocalic pattern of prefix conjugation verbal forms, the fact that western Amorite is preserved in syllabic cuneiform enables us to more accurately determine whether the *yaqattal* imperfect form has been replaced by the *yaqtulu* imperfect form. To determine whether this shift has occurred in Western Amorite, we must first show the lack of appearance of *yaqattal* forms, and second, provide evidence for the appearance of the *yaqtulu* imperfect form. The Amorite corpus has long been a quandary for scholars since it provides no evidence for either the *yaqattal* form or the *yaqtulu* form. Rather the clear majority of verbal forms are the *yaqtul* short form. As will be discussed below, the disproportionate appearance of *yaqtul* short forms rather than *yaqtulu* verbal forms is due not because the western Amorite verbal system does not contain the *yaqtulu* form, but rather to the nature of West Semitic naming formulae. Yet without confirming evidence for the West Semitic verbal shift fully taking place, scholars have fallen into two camps in interpreting this evidence, assuming that the Amorite verbal system either follows that of East Semitic verbal system⁴⁴ or West Semitic.⁴⁵

Perhaps the strongest argument in favor of an East Semitic orientation of the Amorite verbal system has come from Andrason and Vita who have proposed the retention of the *yaqattal*

⁴⁴ J. Durand, "Réflexions sur un fantôme linguistique," *Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 256; C. Mittermayer and S. Ecklin, eds.; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2012) 165-191. Durand attempts to show that Amorite and Akkadian were simply dialects in the second and third millennium, rather than distinct languages. Andrason and Vita have also recently proposed an East Semitic orientation for Amorite, an argument which will be dealt with in greater detail here (Andrason and Vita, *Journal for Semitic* (2014) 23-24).

⁴⁵ M. Streck, "Amorite," *Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2011) 452.

form in Amorite based upon linguistic typology.⁴⁶ They note that evidence from Amorite onomastics provides evidence for the existence of just three forms, “the ‘preterite’ *yaqtul*, the ‘stative’ *qatal(a)* and the modal form *laqtul*,”⁴⁷ with the “*yaqtul* corresponding to the Akkadian *iprus* and Biblical Hebrew *yiqtol* in the *wayyiqtol*” as a preterite verbal form.⁴⁸ From their perspective, since a language without the existence of a “present-future” verbal form⁴⁹ is linguistically impossible,⁵⁰ linguistic typology must be used to reconstruct the more likely verbal forms. Though genial, their argument is faulty in three primary ways.⁵¹ First, their argument is made from silence, since they provide no data to support the presence of these supposed “present-future” *yaqattal* forms,⁵² nor do they provide an in-depth analysis of the occurrence of *yaqtul* forms. Second, their argument is based on the semantic valence of the *yaqtul* morphology having the “sense of the perfect and past comparable with the semantic potential of the Akkadian

⁴⁶ A. Andrason and J.P. Vita, “The Present-Future in Amorite,” *Journal for Semitics: Tydskrif vir Semitiesiek* 23:1 (2014): 23, 31. Andrason and Vita’s presentation of the “Amorite” verbal system sees its contribution primarily “in the linguistic methodology employed and its logical argumentation.” They view the Amorite verbal system as far closer to the East Semitic verbal system than that of the West Semitic system, and propose the existences of the *yaqattal* “present-future” verbal form in the language. Their discussion lacks evidence, proposing only three possible examples of the *yaqattal* form, none of which are found in western Amorite. Furthermore, they suggest that “no forms of the *yaqtulu* have been reported.” Unfortunately again, this appears to be based upon a cursory review of the scholarship of Amorite, as opposed to a detailed analysis of the appearance of verbal forms in personal names.

⁴⁷ H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965) 78-81. Huffmon devotes some attention to the appearance of the unexpected *laqtul* modal forms in Amorite, along with the difficulties of identifying such forms. Though few, several *laqtal* forms also occur in the western Amorite material: *kà-pí-lá-rí-im* = /ka-’abī-larīm/ “The one like my father shall raise up.”

⁴⁸ Andrason and Vita, *JS* 23 (2014) 24.

⁴⁹ Andrason and Vita, *JS* 23 (2014) 23, 31.

⁵⁰ K. Baranowski, “The Present-Future in Amorite: A Rejoinder,” *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 54 (2017) 82. Baranowski notes that “because a language without a ‘present-future’ tense is hardly imaginable, they (Andrason and Vita) propose that Amorite had to have such forms *yaqattal* and *yaqtulu*, the former being more prominent.”

⁵¹ Baranowski, *ANES* 54 (2017) 81-89. Baranowski provides a detailed review of Andrason and Vita’s argument, and points out the problematic nature of basing an argument solely on linguistic typology as opposed to a detailed analysis of the available evidence. He also points out the challenge of determining verbal valence based solely on onomastic material. The third criticism that I point out here as to west Semitic naming practice is not covered in his review.

⁵² Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* (1965) 82-85. Huffmon compiled a list of eight plausible *yaqattal* forms, yet he concludes that rather than providing evidence for a possible *yaqattal* verbal form in the Amorite verbal system, these are more “easily interpreted as D imperfects.” He concludes that “the Amorite personal names discussed certainly cannot be taken as convincing evidence for the presence of such a form in early Northwest Semitic.” This view is supported by the evidence from western Amorite, as no forms of the *yaqattal* imperfect are preserved.

iprus and ES *yaqtul*.”⁵³ The obvious problem with this argument is that the nature of onomastic evidence prevents us from concluding anything as to the semantic valence of the *yaqtul* form and whether it might have retained the historic “preterite” form inherited from Proto-Semitic. The third critique which can be leveled at this argument is that due to west Semitic naming practices, there is no context in onomastics where a *yaqtulu* form might be distinguished. It is to this topic that we will turn now, in an effort to elucidate West Semitic naming practices, and how these conventions impact our understanding of the western Amorite verbal system.

Indeed the absence of *yaqtulu* forms in western Amorite onomastics may not be conditioned by its nonexistence in the western Amorite verbal system, but rather by the standard formation of West Semitic onomastics in the Bronze Age. There are two primary name formations found in western Amorite which are useful for verbal analysis; hypocoristic names and the “sentence name”⁵⁴ formation. Out of the total of 120 personal names in western Amorite that contain either a /YQTLØ/ or /YQTLu/ verbal form, twenty forms follow the hypocoristic naming pattern {VERB ~ (Implied NOUN)}, while the remaining 100 forms follow the {YQTLØ ~ NOUN} “sentence name” pattern.⁵⁵ The first of these two name formations, verbal hypocoristic names, do not appear as independent verbal forms, but take one of the following four suffixes:⁵⁶ the suffixes *-īya*, *-ān*,⁵⁷ the masculine hypocoristic suffix *-um*,⁵⁸ the feminine

⁵³ Andreason and Vita, *JS* 23 (2014) 29.

⁵⁴ Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* (1965) chapters III-IV. Huffmon uses the term “sentence names” to describe the particular construction of verbal and nominal sentences in Amorite names. Gröndahl (*Studia Pohl* 1 (1967) 41) similarly adopts this term when discussing these forms in Ugaritic.

⁵⁵ M. Waltisberg, “The Case Functions in Amorite: A Re-Evaluation,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 56:1 (2011): 25. Waltisberg follows Gelb’s initial assertion, but does not provide a detailed analysis of what percentage of names follow this pattern in the classical Amorite corpus. Huffmon notes that this is the standard naming pattern in classical Amorite, and this is only rarely reversed in feminine names (Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* (1965) 62).

⁵⁶ W. van Soldt, “More on Abbreviated Personal Names from Ugarit,” *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks: Studies in Honour of Wilfred G.E. Watson* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 394; G. del Olmo Lete, J. Vidal, and N. Wyatt, eds.; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012) 198-213. Gröndahl initially listed a total of seven different suffixes which could be appended to a nominal or verbal element producing hypocoristica in her volume. Van Soldt has since expanded this list with additional information from the syllabic texts for a total of eleven suffixes.

hypocoristic suffix *-atum*,⁵⁹ and the final case vowel $-\emptyset$, *-u*, *-a*, *-i*.⁶⁰ Thus the distinction between *yaqtul* and *yaqtulu* verbal forms is obscured by the mandatory addition of a suffix on hypocoristic verbal names. Whereas the distinction between *yaqtul* and *yaqtulu* verbal forms may not be visible in hypocoristic names, this would not apply to the hypothetical *yaqattal* verbal form proposed by Andrason and Vita.⁶¹ The absence of such *yaqattal* verbal forms in hypocoristic names may provide some evidence for the absence of this verbal form in the western Amorite verbal system.

The second of these two categories, sentence names, make up the majority of the western Amorite onomastic material, and are therefore particularly of interest in a study of the western Amorite verbal system. What is most striking about sentence names in western Amorite is that 100% of all names exhibit the /YQTL \emptyset / verbal form, without a single example showing the /YQTLu/ imperfective form. The phenomenon is seen throughout the classical Amorite corpus as well, since though sentence names represent the majority of name forms in classical Amorite, not

⁵⁷ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 341-355. Suffixal forms include the oblique long *-iya* suffixal ending and the nominal ending *-ān*. A total of nineteen forms in western Amorite take this form (*'ammiya* “(the god) is my paternal ancestor” and *ba 'līya* “(the god) is my lord”) and a total of twenty-five forms have the final *-ān* suffix such as *šidqān* “righteous one.”

⁵⁸ Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* (1965) 132-133. Masculine hypocoristic names end in a final *-um/* which is not an indicator of case. This ending may be added to nouns or verbs (*barikum* “blessed of (the god)” and *yahwūm* “(the god) shall exist”). Note though that not all personal names that end in *-um/* are necessarily hypocoristic names since common nouns are also found (*'ayyalum* “deer”). It should be noted that it is unclear whether the suffixal forms *-um* and *-atum* should be taken as unique hypocoristic endings or perhaps simply the case vowel followed by mimation, yet since these forms are not inflected for case, but remain unaltered, it is likely that these are suffixal endings and are therefore considered distinct.

⁵⁹ Feminine: Feminine hypocoristic names end in a final *-atum/* which is likely a combination of the feminine *-at/* and the *-um/* masculine hypocoristic form (*ḥasnatum* “strength of (the lord)”).

⁶⁰ Van Soldt, *AOAT* 394 (2012) 198-199. Like Ugaritic personal names which are adapted to the nominal case system, western Amorite hypocoristic names also are followed by case vowels (Waltisberg, *JSS* 56:1 (2011): 35). Waltisberg has conducted the most detailed survey of the case system in Amorite concluding that “Amorite cases have most probably lost their basic meaning to a great extent and cannot be assigned a specific syntactic function anymore, but are rather subject to their position in relation to the other constituent(s) in the clause.” He shows that all four nominal endings, $-\emptyset$, *-u*, *-a*, *-i*, occur in all syntactic positions, but appear to be dependent upon their position in the verbal or non-verbal clause structure. Hypocoristic names also take all four of these endings. There are only two verbal hypocoristic names which take a case vowel (*ia-ar-i-pu* /yarhibu/ “(the god) shall be wide” and *ia-šf-ū* /yâši'u/ “(the god) shall bring out”), however since the final *-u* vowel is a case marker, these likely do not provide evidence for the appearance of the *yaqtulu* verbal pattern in western Amorite.

⁶¹ Andrason and Vita, *JS* 23 (2014) 24.

a single personal name of the form {YQTLu ~ NOUN} has yet been attested. If we look to other Northwest Semitic corpora from the Bronze Age, we find a similar absence of such forms. From the West Semitic Amarna onomastic corpus, the standard sentence name format is {YQTLØ ~ NOUN} as shown in names such as *ia-ap-ti-iḥ*-^dIM /yaptiḥ-Haddu/.⁶² A similar situation is also encountered in the Ugaritic onomastic evidence.⁶³ Names such as *ia-ku-un*-AN /yakun-'ilu/ (RS 17.319:20) and *ia-qub-bi-nu* /yaqub-binu/⁶⁴ also follow the pattern {YQTLØ ~ NOUN} known from western Amorite onomastics. This evidence leads us then to conclude that there is no evidence for the sentence name pattern {YQTLu ~ NOUN} from the Bronze Age Northwest Semitic onomastic corpus. The absence of the /YQTLu/ verbal form in sentence names may be the result of the semantics of the names themselves, which require the *yaqtul* jussive/perfective verbal form⁶⁵ (e.g.: “May the deity bless (the child)” or “The deity has blessed (the child)”).

⁶² There are relatively few names of this type, making the evidence quite limited. Evidence exists for both the *yaqtul* spelling as in the name here, or also with a *sadhi* spelling before the corresponding vowel as in *ia-ap-ti-ḥa-da* /yaptiḥ-hadda/.

⁶³ To my knowledge, no current study has sought to revise Gröndahl's foundational work to include all personal names found in alphabetic and syllabic texts discovered in excavations since the 1960s. In order to assess the status of names that follow the pattern {*Yaqtul/Yaqtulu* ~ Noun} I have worked through not only Gröndahl's work, but also several other recent studies including Pardee's bibliography of Ugaritic proper nouns (*AFO* 36-37 (1989-90), Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín's Ugaritic Dictionary (*Handbuch der Orientalistik* (2003) 944-997), as well as Watson's nine publications regarding Ugaritic onomastics (*AOr* 8:1 (1990); *AOr* 8:2 (1990); *AOr* 11:2 (1993); *AOr* 13:2 (1995); *AOr* 14:1 (1996); *AOr* 20 (2002); *AOr* 21:2 (2003); *AOr* 30:2 (2012); *AOr* 34 (2016)). The distinction between *yaqtul* and *yaqtulu* verbal patterns in personal names can be discerned in syllabic tradition, as well as in alphabetic transcription of names where the initial consonant of the divine element would assimilate or not assimilate to the final root consonant of the preceding *yaqtulØ* or *yaqtulu* form. As yet, there is no attested personal name in syllabic transcription that follows the pattern {*Yaqtulu* ~ Noun}. In alphabetic transcription, there are clear examples of names such as *y'ḏrd* /ya'ḏur-(h)addu/ > /ya'ḏurraddu/ (RS 24.257:32'), the spelling of which clearly indicates the *yaqtulØ* verbal form in the initial position. There is one text, the deity list of RS 24.246, which includes several divine epithets where this assimilation does not take place: *yrgbb'l* /yargububa'lu/ and *ydbb'l* /yaddububa'lu/ (contrasted with the spelling *ydb'l*, showing clear assimilation in RS 18:114:1). The orthography of these forms indicates that an intervening vowel likely occurred, preventing assimilation, suggesting that the verbal form is likely of the *yaqtulu* pattern (Pardee, *Les textes rituels* (2000) 531). Pardee has argued that these do not appear separately or in a sacrificial ritual, arguing instead that these names should not be taken as personal names, but rather as epithets of the deities 'Ilu and Ba'lu (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (2002) 20). As epithets, these names would not follow the standard personal name format observed in Ugaritic onomastics.

⁶⁴ Gröndahl, *Studia Pohl* 1 (1967) 336-337.

⁶⁵ There is a lack of consensus in the field as to what the function of the *yaqtulØ* verbal form may have been in Amorite. Knudsen described this as a “preterite formally corresponding to the imperfect consecutive of Biblical Hebrew” (Knudsen, *Semitic Studies* (1991) 878-879). In discussing the Biblical Hebrew verbal system, Pardee describes the function of the *yaqtul* form as expressing the “perfective and/or preterit” (Pardee, *Language*

Alternatively, the complete absence of the / YQTLu/ imperfective may suggest that the verbal form was not dependent upon the semantics of the name, but rather purely based upon naming conventions, such that the pattern {YQTLØ ~ NOUN} was the accepted name formation.

This evidence prompts us to return to the initial hypothesis by Andrason and Vita, which proposed that the *yaqtulu* imperfect verbal form did not exist in western Amorite.⁶⁶

Unfortunately this argument is methodologically unsound since it bases the reconstruction of the Amorite verbal system purely on verbal forms as they occur in onomastic evidence. The evidence from the Amarna and Ugaritic onomastic corpora is especially instructive since, despite the fact that the *yaqtulu* verbal form is not attested in personal names, the *yaqtulu* imperfective is productive in the languages themselves. This leads us to conclude that the onomastic corpus does not represent the full verbal system of the language, and therefore the absence of the *yaqtulu* form in western Amorite onomastics of the sentence name construction cannot lead to the conclusion that this verbal form was absent in the language itself.

The above discussion has shown that the lack of appearance of the *yaqtulu* imperfect form in the western Amorite corpus is due to the formation of West Semitic onomastics, and should in no way color our interpretation of the western Amorite verbal system. This, coupled with the absence of the *yaqattal* form in hypocoristic names, allows for the hesitant conclusion that the western Amorite verbal system may have exhibited the secondary development of the *yaqtulu* verbal form expressing imperfectivity and the *qatala* form expressing perfectivity.⁶⁷

and Nature (2012) 287). Hasselbach has noted that the –Ø verbal marker “expresses mood (jussive) and perfect tense/aspect in all major Semitic sub-branches” (Hasselbach, *Language and Nature* (2012) 119).

⁶⁶ Andrason and Vita, *JS* 23 (2014) 24.

⁶⁷ The tense-aspect debate that has raged in the study of Northwest Semitic verbal forms has been avoided in the present discussion. I will state briefly that I follow Pardee’s perspective for the development of the aspectual nature of the Hebrew verbal system, such that Proto-Semitic exhibited a *yaqtul* preterit/perfect and a *qatala* stative, and that there was then a secondary development in Central Semitic that resulted in the formation of two main verbal forms: *qtl* (SC) perfective and *yqtl* (PC) imperfective (Pardee, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 67 (2012) 287). I believe this hypothesis is also active in the western Amorite verbal corpus, due primarily to the

The second shared innovation of the Central Semitic languages, the generalization of the Barth-Ginsberg Law, has long been thought to not be productive in Amorite since this does not regularly occur in the Amorite imperfect verbal forms found at Mari.⁶⁸ Though the Barth-Ginsberg Law does not occur in the onomastic evidence from the Mari heartland, the western dialects show a mixed landscape, with some verbs having already undergone the Barth-Ginsberg shift, while others still show the retention of the historic *yaqtal* verbal form. Below is a list of all verbal forms of the *yaqtal/yiqtal* type⁶⁹ found in western Amorite.

Root	* <i>yiqtal</i> form	Site	* <i>yaqtal</i> form	Site
' <i>lp</i> - “to teach”	yī'lap	Alalah	-	-
<i>mrq</i> - “to be ill”	-	-	yamraḏ ⁷⁰	Qā
<i>rḥm</i> - “to be merciful”	yirḥam (x3)	Alalah	-	-
<i>rkb</i> - “to ride”	yirkab	Alalah	yarkab (x2)	Hanzat, Yamḥad
<i>rp</i> - “to heal”	yirpa' (x7)	Alalah	yarpa' (x3)	Aleppo, Qaṭna (x2)
<i>ršp</i> - “to smash”	-	-	yaršap	Tuttul
<i>s^llm</i> - “to be at peace”	yišlam	Tuttul	yašlam	Tuttul
<i>s^lm</i> - “to hear”	yišma' (x5)	Alalah (x4), Ebla	'ašma' yašma' (x3)	Alalah, Sutean, Tuttul
<i>wbl</i> - “to carry”	yībal (x4)	Sutean, Talhayum, Tuttul	-	-
<i>ws^lr</i> - “to be upright”	yīšar	Tuttul	-	-
<i>wtr</i> - “to be great”	yītar (x2)	Tuttul	-	-
Total (38)	25		13	

Table 5.1: Western Amorite verbal forms of the *yaqtal/yiqtal* type

Out of a total of thirty-eight verbal forms of the *yaqtal/yiqtal* type⁷¹ found in western Amorite, twenty-five display the Barth-Ginsberg shift /*yaqtal*/ → /*yiqtal*/ while thirteen retain the

existence of stative *qatila* forms such as *kašira* (“to be proper”), *ḥamid* (“to be delighted”), and *qadim* (“to be ancient”). However, as noted above, any discussion regarding the semantic valence of the western Amorite verbal system based solely on the presence of verbal forms in onomastics is nearly impossible.

⁶⁸ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 190-191. Streck notes that although the Barth-Ginsberg Law is clearly not applicable in classical Amorite, there does appear to be dialect variance in the region around Alalah stating that “lediglich in Alalah und Alalah-spät tritt /i/ häufiger als /ya/ auf.”

⁶⁹ We are faced with the difficulty that a 1cs prefix conjugation form **'iqtal* and a 3ms prefix conjugation form **yiqtal* would have the same orthography in the syllabic cuneiform script with an initial /i/-vowel. However, our interpretation of such forms is aided by the fact that 1cs and 3ms forms are orthographically distinct in *yaqtul* pattern forms so we find 'ā-rī-im- 'ā = /'arīma/ (extremely rare 1cs form) contrasted with ia-ri-im /yarīm/ (3ms prefix conjugation). Since 1cs forms are extremely rare in these forms (only two possible examples) it is likely that most, if not all, forms spelled with an initial /i/-vowel can be taken as evidence for an initial /yi/ prefix.

⁷⁰ This verb also shows the variant spelling *yamruḏ* in the *yaqtul* pattern.

older *yaqtal* form. These numbers, although limited, indicate that 66% of forms exhibit the Barth-Ginsberg law. Furthermore, eleven of the twenty-five *yiqtal* forms occur at Alalah, whereas there is only one first common singular form of the '*aqtal* pattern'⁷² attested at Alalah,⁷³ suggesting that the Barth-Ginsberg Law was applied almost universally in the environs around Alalah. Evidence for the *yiqtal* verbal pattern is found as far afield as the site of Tuttul, which is the border between the western territory of Yamḥad and the territory of Mari, indicating that this feature has begun to spread throughout the region.

Another piece of information that seems to support this general trend in the western Amorite forms is the variant spelling of *yaqtal* forms found in letters from the western region. These occurrences are certainly rare, but seem to support this shift. The most prominent of these

⁷¹ It should be noted that seven of the twenty-five *yiqtal* forms are I-waw/*yod* roots (*yīšar* - √wšr, *yībal* - √wbl, *yītar* - √wtr), and there is no evidence for a I-waw/*yod* root occurring in a *yaqtal* pattern in western Amorite. What is perhaps most significant about these forms is the limited, yet consistent, appearance of I-w/y roots in the *yiqtal* pattern coming from sites across western Syria, despite the fact that the Barth-Ginsberg Law was still in the process of being generalized in all forms. Two possible explanations have been provided to account for the complete shift of I-w/y roots to the *yiqtal* pattern. The first hypothesis suggest that the Barth-Ginsberg law was in effect consistently prior to the shift of I-w to I-y word internally, and that the diphthong /iw/ consistently monophthongized to /i/ resulting in the following process: /yawbal/ → /yiwbal/ → /yībal/ (Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 634). One piece of evidence contra this hypothesis is the orthography of the name *ni-iw-ri-a-du* = *niwri-Haddu* ("Haddu is my light) in western Amorite, where in which the /iw/ diphthong is preserved in the position /iwC/ rather than being monophthongized. Furthermore, since the Barth-Ginsberg law is still in the process of being generalized at this time, one would expect to find some I-w/y verbal forms that retain the historic /*yaqtal*/ spelling. The second hypothesis that accounts for this consistency proposes that I-w roots underwent the following developments: /yawbal/ → /yaybal/ → /yiybal/ → /yībal/ (Pardee, Review of *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2003/4) 305), such that I-w shifted to I-y in the prefix conjugation forms and that the Barth-Ginsberg law was then applied. If we are to accept this second reconstruction of the development of I-w/y roots in the **yiqtal* verbal pattern, it still does not explain the consistent application of the Barth-Ginsberg law in such forms. Given the consistent appearance of I-w/y roots in the *yiqtal* pattern, it might be suggested that the Barth-Ginsberg shift from *yaqtal* to *yiqtal* was perhaps first applied to I-w/y roots, or perhaps even was motivated by the shift occurring first in I-y roots.

⁷² R. Hasselbach, "The Markers of Person, Gender, and Number in the Prefixes of G-Preformative Conjugations in Semitic," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124 (2004): 34. Hasselbach proposes that Proto-Semitic likely exhibited a heterogeneous paradigm for the G-stem prefixes with the /i/ vowel following a sonorant and an /a/ vowel following non-sonorants. Thus, in Proto-Semitic, we would expect the forms **yīšlam* but *'*ašlam*'. This heterogeneous paradigm was then altered in Proto-West-Semitic where the vowel following the prefixed consonant was then determined by the mood vowel of the verb, resulting in three forms **yaqtul*, **yaqtīl* but *'*yaqtal*'. This shift, which began in the third-person forms, would then likely have leveled across all persons. Given the mixture of forms, it appears that Amorite is at some point in this leveling process.

⁷³ Included in the total number of forms are three first common singular imperfective verbal forms which all are written with an initial a-vowel. A total of five first common singular imperfective forms are attested in the corpus: '*ašma*' ("I shall hear"), '*ašbiḥ*' (I shall praise"), '*a'alī*' ("I shall exalt"), and '*aplah*' ("I shall serve" – attested twice).

instances is the variant writing for the name of the king of Mari, Yasma‘-Addu, in the letter from Išḫi-Addu, the king of Qatna. As mentioned above, out of the over fifty occurrences of the name in letters from Mari, the variant spelling *iš-ma*-^dIM (ARM V 15:1)⁷⁴ occurs only once, suggesting that the vocalization *yišma* ‘-Addu likely reflects the western Amorite dialect in which the Barth-Ginsberg Law had already been generalized.

The consistent evidence for the generalization of the Barth-Ginsberg law in forms from Alalah may suggest that the law began in the western coastal region and gradually spread to other sites in the West. The fact that the Barth-Ginsberg law is virtually unknown in the Mesopotamian heartland further suggests the Amorite dialect around Mari was perhaps demonstrably different from the dialect spoken in the western region, though the exact state of the classical Amorite verbal system surrounding Mari is unknown primarily due to the archaic nature of onomastics. Since 66% of western Amorite forms exhibit the Barth-Ginsberg law, it is clear that the Barth-Ginsberg law was at least in the process of being generalized in the western region.

A similarly mixed situation is found in Amarna Canaanite where both *yiqtal* and *yaqtal* forms appear to still be productive in the Late Bronze Age. Though the *yiqtal* pattern had by this period been generalized for all forms, there is occasional evidence for the archaic *yaqtal* pattern in productive verbal forms⁷⁵ such as *yaš’almi* (“may the king ask”) and *yan’ašni* (“he despised me”).⁷⁶ Onomastic evidence from Amarna Canaanite, as well as Ugaritic, also shows mixed

⁷⁴ One other possible variant for this name is found in a broken text found at Mari, where the name *iš-ma* [...] is listed (M.7201). Perhaps this is a reference to Yasmaḫ-Addu, but given the state of preservation for the text, the referent is unknown.

⁷⁵ A.F. Rainey, “The Barth-Ginsberg Law in the Amarna Tablets,” *Eretz-Israel* (1978) 11. Rainey shows that the standard verbal patterns *yaqtul*, *yaqtil*, and *yiqtal* are all present in Amarna Canaanite. However, he also points out that “there are a few cases of apparent WS vocalization closer to the pattern exhibited by the Amurrite PN’s of an earlier day.”

⁷⁶ Rainey, *Eretz-Israel* (1978) 11. These forms are written as follows: *ia-aš-al-mi* (EA 224:10) = *yaš’almi* (“may the king ask” – 3ms jussive), *ia-an-aš-ni* (EA 137:23) = *yan’ašni* (“he despised me” – 3ms preterite).

yiqtal and *yaqtal* verbal patterns. For instance, the personal name Yanḥamu is attested both in Amarna Canaanite (*Ia-an-ḥa-mu* (EA 85:23)) and in Ugaritic (*ia-na-ḥa-(am)-mu*),⁷⁷ indicating that the archaic *yaqtal* form was retained in onomastics well into the Late Bronze Age even in regions such as Ugarit, which had almost fully undergone this phonetic shift. Yet the fact that *yaqtal* is found in productive verbal forms from Amarna, suggests that archaic pronunciations were preserved in speech pockets in the Late Bronze Age.

Based on the mixed distribution of these forms, we find western Amorite as well as pockets in Canaanite in the Amarna record still in the process of change as the Barth-Ginsberg law became generalized for all forms. In western Amorite, we find this law in two-thirds of all forms, and it appears most consistently present at the site of Alalakh, while the more archaic *yaqtal* forms appear to persist at more inland sites across the territories of Qatna and Yamḥad. This evidence, though limited, allows us to tentatively conclude that the Barth-Ginsberg Law is attested only in the western dialects of Amorite already in the Middle Bronze Age. This, along with the absence of the *yaqattal* form and the possible development of the *yaqtulu* imperfective form in western Amorite, indicates that only the western dialects of Amorite exhibit the key shared innovations of the Central Semitic sub-branch of West Semitic. Due to the archaic orthography of onomastics, it is unclear when or if the eastern dialects of Amorite might have undergone this shift.⁷⁸ Yet, since all of classical Amorite exhibits the paradigmatic shift for Northwest Semitic, namely the shift of word-initial *w* > *y*, it is likely that the eastern dialects also

⁷⁷ Rainey, *Eretz-Israel* (1978) 11.

⁷⁸ Hasselbach, *JAOS* 124 (2004): 27. Hasselbach details the evidence for the appearance of the Barth-Ginsberg Law in Arabic. Though Classical Arabic has leveled the /a/ vowel through all forms, evidence from several modern dialects as well as evidence in eastern dialects operating in the eighth century suggests that the Barth-Ginsberg Law “was operative at an early stage of Arabic.” Hasselbach has also noted that other languages typically classified as “Central Semitic” may not necessarily have undergone the shift. Since Old South Arabian does not preserve the vowels, it is unclear, whether the shift also occurred in this language.

shared in the innovations of the Central Semitic languages; yet evidence for this shift has not been preserved in the onomastic evidence.

The above discussion has shown that, although onomastic material is not necessarily representative of the spoken language, it may still yield significant linguistic evidence for language change. Based upon this analysis, Ugaritic undoubtedly exhibits the shared innovations of the Central Semitic languages, and while the evidence for western Amorite is more qualified due to the nature of the corpus, the fact that western Amorite clearly exhibits the Barth-Ginsberg Law and does not show the *yaqattal* form, it also likely occupies the Central Semitic branch of the Semitic language tree.

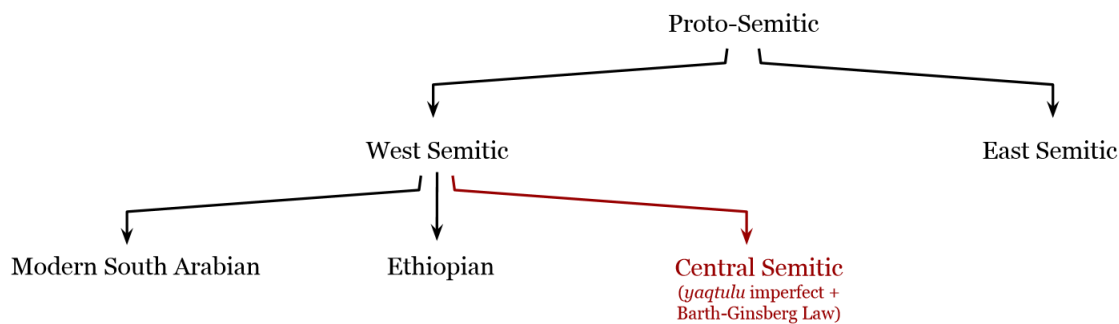


Fig. 5.1: Genetic subgrouping of Central Semitic⁷⁹

5.5 Northwest Semitic

Let us further focus our discussion to determine whether both Ugaritic and western Amorite might have taken part in the shared innovations of the Northwest Semitic language branch. Traditionally, the Northwest Semitic languages have included Ugaritic, Aramaic, and the Canaanite dialects; most prominently El-Amarna Canaanite, Hebrew and Phoenician, and the

⁷⁹ All stemma depictions created by author.

Trans-Jordanian dialects, as well as Sam'alīan and the Deir 'Allah dialect. Conservatively speaking, all of these languages share three distinct innovations:⁸⁰ 1) the shift of word-initial *w* > *y* (although notably not in the conjunction *wa*), 2) the restricted *a*-insertion for *qvṭl* nouns in the plural also including the obligatory double-marking of the plural in these nouns,⁸¹ and 3) the first common plural independent pronoun with 'a- prefixed to **niḥnu* commonly reconstructed as the Proto-Semitic form.⁸² All three of these features are shared innovations⁸³ solidifying this as a true genetic subgrouping. We will now analyze both Ugaritic and western Amorite to determine whether these languages may exhibit these innovations.

5.5.1 Ugaritic as a Northwest Semitic Language

Since the decipherment of Ugaritic in 1930, though there has been a significant debate over whether Ugaritic should be classified as a Canaanite, Aramaic, or a distinct Northwest Semitic language, there has been little debate as to whether it should be considered a Northwest Semitic language. This almost unanimous agreement is based almost solely on the fact that Ugaritic exhibits the shift of word-initial *w* > *y*, since evidence for the other two shared innovations of the Northwest Semitic languages is inconsistent at best, or non-existent at worst. Let us explore in detail the evidence for these three innovations in Ugaritic.

The shift of word-initial *w* > *y* is known to have consistently occurred within Ugaritic. There is universal evidence from the alphabetic cuneiform of Ugarit for this shift in verbal forms

⁸⁰ Rubin, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008): 76.

⁸¹ J. Huehnergard, "Proto-Semitic and Proto-Akkadian," *The Akkadian Language in its Semitic Context* (G. Deutscher and N. Kouwenberg, eds.; Oosten: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije, 2006) 8-9.

⁸² Rubin, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008) 70. This innovation is attested in Hebrew, Phoenician, several Transjordanian dialects, and Aramaic, however this form is unattested in Sam'alīan, and the Deir 'Allah dialect, making it unclear whether it was attested in these two languages. Thus, the value of feature as a shared innovation is questionable.

⁸³ Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 10.

(including prefix conjugation, suffix conjugation or participle)⁸⁴ as well as in nominal forms, except for a handful of personal names of uncertain etymology.⁸⁵ This law of course did not apply to the conjunction *waw* which is consistently spelled with a *waw* in the alphabetic cuneiform texts. This evidence is further supported by the syllabic transcription of Ugaritic, where word-initial *w/y* is regularly represented in the orthography through the /IA/ or /PI/ signs, as in the form *LÚ.ia-ší.ru-ma* = /*yāširūma*/ (“potters”).⁸⁶ Based on this evidence, it is clear that this shift had taken place universally in Ugaritic.

While there is almost universal agreement about the shift of word-initial *w > y*, there is inconsistent evidence in Ugaritic as to whether nouns exhibiting a *qVtl* base in the singular are doubly marked in the plural by both the common plural morpheme as well as the obligatory /a/-insertion in the second syllable, resulting in the bi-syllabic base *qVtal*.⁸⁷ There are several pairs of words that provide differing evidence. From syllabic cuneiform the noun pair *ma-sa-wa-tu* /*masawātu*/ and *ma-ás-wa-tu* /*maswātu*/ (“cypress trees”)⁸⁸ exhibits the expected *qatal* base as well as the unexpected *qatl* base in the plural. Similar pairs are found in alphabetic cuneiform such as *rišt* /*ra’šāt*/ and *rāšt* /*ra’ašāt*/ (“heads”).⁸⁹ Yet, rather than assuming these two bases were simply in free variation for the plural formation of *qVtl*-type nouns, it is more likely that a form of vowel syncope was operative.

⁸⁴ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 633-637.

⁸⁵ F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Studia Pohl 1; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967) 314. Forms include: *wrt* (KTU 4.369:18), *wql* (KTU 4.147:8).

⁸⁶ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 122, 287. Huehnergard proposes one possible reconstruction for a word-initial *waw* in the form *P[I-x-d]u* = /*waladu*/, based in part on the single occurrence of the form *wālād* in Hebrew. Like in Amorite where the *PI* sign regularly stands for /*ya*/ and sometimes /*wa*/, there is a similar distribution for Ugaritic in syllabic transcription. To support this hypothesis, Huehnergard provides one occurrence for the use of the *PI* sign for the conjunction /*wa*/ in Ug.5 153 (see page 122).

⁸⁷ D. Sivan, “Notes on the Use of the Form Qatal as the Plural Base for the Form Qatl in Ugaritic,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992): 235-241.

⁸⁸ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 280-283.

⁸⁹ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 182-183.

Tropper suggests that the forms that display the unexpected *qatl* base in the plural are likely the result of pretonic vowel syncope, basing this on similar pretonic vowel syncope that occurs in other forms. He shows that *qatvl* base nouns often show pretonic vowel reduction when suffixal elements are added such as in the following: *qa-ad-šu-ut-ti* /*qadšūti*/ < **qadišūti* and ^{URU}*la-ab-nu-ma* /*labnūma*/ < **labinūma*.⁹⁰ Yet this rule of vowel syncope was not necessarily consistently applied since some *qatvl* base nouns exhibit base variation in the plural such as the two forms of the root /*ḡmr*/: [*ḡ*]*a-ma-ru-m*[*a*^{MEŠ}] /*ḡamarūma*/ and LÚ^{MEŠ} *ḡa-am-ru-ma* / *ḡamrūma*/.⁹¹ Evidence such as this has caused Huehnergard to develop the following rule of vowel syncope for Ugaritic: *ṽ* > Ø / *ṽC_Cý*.⁹² Given this mixed yet explainable evidence we may conclude that *qVtl*-type nouns in Ugaritic exhibited the *qVtal* base in the plural formation followed by the plural morpheme, effectively being doubly marked in the plural.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the first common plural independent pronoun in Ugaritic,⁹³ making it unclear as to whether this form would have exhibited the historic form **niḥnu* or the form with the 'a'-prefixed vowel as found in the rest of the Northwest Semitic languages. Despite the lack of evidence for this form, given the evidence for the first two categories above, it seems clear that Ugaritic shared in the innovations characteristic of the Northwest Semitic languages.

5.5.2 Western Amorite as a Northwest Semitic Language

⁹⁰ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 182-183.

⁹¹ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 280-283.

⁹² Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 280-283. Huehnergard suggests that the forms mentioned above were “apparently biforms in free variation,” leading him to conclude that the vowel syncope rule he proposed “was, therefore, optional.”

⁹³ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 207. Tropper provides no commentary on this, but simply lists it as “nicht belegt.”

Though Ugaritic can firmly be considered a Northwest Semitic language, there is some doubt as to the classification of western Amorite. Some have proposed that Amorite is a Northwest Semitic language⁹⁴ primarily based upon the consistent shift of word-initial *w* > *y*, but due to the limited nature of the western Amorite corpus, it is less clear whether western Amorite shared in the other two key innovations of the Northwest Semitic languages.

The shift of word-initial *w* > *y* is clearly evident throughout the western Amorite personal names attested from the western regions of Yamḥad and Qatna, and there is no evidence for the retention of word-initial *waw* forms. We know from II-*waw* roots such as *yahwî* (*ia-wî*) and *ya'wîr* (*ia-wi-ir*) that *waw* is consistently represented in the orthography in word-internal position, unlike II-*heh/aleph* roots where the *heh* and *aleph* are often not represented in the orthography. Additionally, historic I-*waw* roots, even word internally in imperfective forms, had already consistently shifted to I-*yod* based upon the discussion of the distribution of the Barth-Ginsberg law in I-*yod/waw* roots above.⁹⁵ This evidence makes it clear that this shift had occurred consistently in the western Amorite dialects.

The evidence is less clear for the obligatory /a/-vowel insertion in the plural of *qvtl* nouns. The evidence for this shared innovation is rarer in western Amorite because plural nominal forms are so rare in onomastics.⁹⁶ Numerous nouns from the *qvtl* base are attested such as *'abdu* (“servant”), *niqmu* (“vengeance”), and *ḥurbu* (“destruction”), but there are only limited,

⁹⁴ Streck, *Semitic Languages* (2011) 452. Streck has suggested that “Amorite is the oldest Northwest Semitic language known.”

⁹⁵ From the western Amorite dialects, three historic I-*waw* roots are attested in the imperfect: *wšr* > *yšr* (*yîšar*), *wbl* > *ybl* (*yîbal*), and *wtr* > *ytr* (*yîtar*), and all are consistently represented with the *yqtl* imperfective verbal pattern, suggesting that the shift from I-*w* > I-*y* had occurred even in word-internal position.

⁹⁶ Gelb suggests that the plural morpheme in Amorite was /-îm/, at least in the oblique case, as no sure plural form in the nominative has been identified (Gelb, *Atti della Accademia* (1958) 154). Streck suggests that the dual morpheme in Amorite was likely /-ân/ in the nominative and /-ên/ in the oblique, following the Akkadian forms, but he does not offer a sure conclusion for the plural morpheme (Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 306-308). In the western Amorite dialects we have only limited evidence for the plural morpheme. In the oblique case there are two examples of the /-îm/ morpheme: *'adnu-'âlîm* (“the beauty of the tents”), *ḥana-'ilîma* (“grace of the gods”), which appear to support Gelb’s initial hypothesis of the existence of the /-îm/ morpheme, at least in the oblique case.

and relatively questionable, examples of *qvtl*-base nouns found in the plural. Below is the only possible example of /a/-vowel insertion for *qvtl* nouns found in the western Amorite dialects coupled with the singular forms for comparison.

Number	Transcription	Transliteration	Site
Singular	ba-li-e-ia	ba‘līya	Alalah
Singular	ba-aḥ-lu-ga-a-yi	ba‘lu-gayī	Qatna
Plural	ba-al-lim	ba‘alīm	Sutean

There are two possible explanations for the orthography of the form “ba-al-lim” above. It can be interpreted as the double-marked plural form *ba‘alīm* as indicated above, or it can be interpreted as two nominal elements either in construct *ba‘l li‘m* “lord of the tribe,” or in apposition *ba‘l li‘m* “Li‘m is lord.”⁹⁷ Two pieces of evidence seem to support this second interpretation. First, the double writing of single consonants is relatively rare in western Amorite, making it less likely that the form *ba‘alīm* with a single third radical is being represented. Second, it is not certain that the orthography is necessarily representing a *qatal* base as opposed to a *qatl* base. A total of thirty-two western Amorite personal names contain the *b‘l* nominal root. Of these, twenty-eight forms either represent the guttural *aleph* as in *ba-aḥ-lu-ga-a-yi* (*ba‘lu-gayī*) or elide the guttural altogether as in *ba-li-e-ia* (*ba‘līya*). There are just four forms which exhibit the {ba-al} expanded orthography.

Transcription	Site
ba-al-da-ku-ra	Tuttul
ba-al-du-uḥ-ka	Alalah
ba-al-lim	Sutean
i-iš-ḥi-ba-al	Tuttul

The other three forms do not include the suffixal plural morpheme and are likely singular absolute forms. This additional evidence seems to indicate that the {ba-al} expanded form is perhaps just an orthographic variant due to the guttural. These two pieces of evidence seem to

⁹⁷ This could also be *ba‘l* plus a form of a hypocoristic ending, however, since the hypocoristic ending /-im/ is otherwise unattested in the western Amorite corpus, this possibility is less likely, since /-um/ and /-atum/ are the standard hypocoristic endings with mimation.

suggest that the personal name *ba-al-lim* should be interpreted as *ba 'l li'm* “lord of the tribe” and should not be taken as evidence for /a/-vowel insertion for *qvtl* nouns.

Thus it appears that there is no clear evidence either for or against this innovation in western Amorite, primarily due to the almost complete lack of evidence for plural nouns in the onomastic corpus. Though there is no evidence for this innovation in western Amorite, there is limited evidence for this innovation in classical Amorite. Streck has noted the presence of at least two *qvtl* nouns that show the obligatory /a/-insertion in the plural: plural *šamarātu* from singular *šamratu* (“type of sheep/wool”) and plural *rababātu* from the singular *rabbatu* (“ten thousand”).⁹⁸ Though this evidence is very limited, it provides slightly stronger support for the fact that Amorite more broadly may exhibit this innovation of the Northwest Semitic languages. Unfortunately, as in Ugaritic, the first common plural personal pronoun is not attested in western Amorite, making it unclear whether the western dialects would have exhibited the historic form **niḥnu* or the form with the 'a- prefixed vowel.

Based on this analysis, western Amorite can be tentatively categorized as a Northwest Semitic language. It is apparent that western dialects of Amorite attested in the Middle Bronze Age consistently exhibit the shift of word-initial *w > y*, without exception. Furthermore, although the evidence for obligatory double marking of plurals for *qvtl*-type nouns in western Amorite is unattested, evidence from classical Amorite more broadly seems to suggest meekly that classical Amorite may have shared in this innovation of Northwest Semitic. Based on this evidence, we can then only cautiously conclude that western Amorite should be considered a member of the Northwest Semitic language branch.

⁹⁸ M. Streck, *Semitic Languages* (2011) 455. See also Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2001) 111, 123, 127.

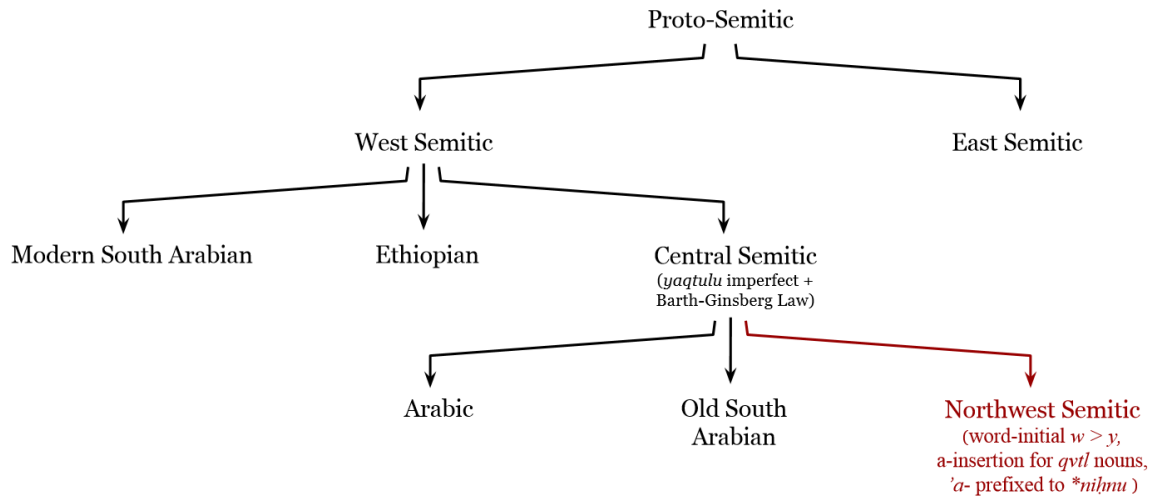


Fig. 5.2: Genetic subgrouping of Northwest Semitic

5.6 Aramaic and Canaanite Sub-Branches

There are currently two well-attested sub-branches of Northwest Semitic: Aramaic and Canaanite. In order to determine whether Ugaritic and western Amorite should be considered distinct Northwest Semitic languages, or if they likely occupy a known branch of Northwest Semitic, it must be determined whether Ugaritic and western Amorite take part in the shared innovations of these languages, each of which will be dealt with in detail below.

5.6.1 Ugaritic and Western Amorite Compared with Aramaic

Though several prominent early scholars proposed that Ugaritic might be closely related to Aramaic in the early days of the decipherment of Ugaritic,⁹⁹ there is now virtually no

⁹⁹ M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 46; Stuttgart, 1928; reprint: Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966) 41–49. Noth initially adopted the term proto-Aramaic to refer to the newly discovered Ugaritic language, and though he later abandoned the term, he still argued for a closer connection between Ugaritic and Aramaic. Similarly Lewy initially proposed a close relationship between the two languages, though he preferred to retain the term “Amorites” (J. Lewy, “Zur Amoriterfrage,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 38 (1929): 243–272).

scholarly support for this perspective.¹⁰⁰ However, there have still been several strong supporters for the genetic affiliation between Aramaic and the eastern dialects of Amorite. Zadok has perhaps been the greatest proponent of this claim - “my working hypothesis is that certain eastern members of the Amorite dialect cluster which were spoken in the Jezireh and on the fringe of the Syrian desert, were the ancestors of Aramaic.”¹⁰¹ Yet this hypothesis focuses solely on the eastern dialects of Amorite, and there is not, to my knowledge, a claim that the western dialects of Amorite are closely related to Aramaic. Since there is very little support for genetically sub-grouping western Amorite or Ugaritic with Aramaic, we will only briefly touch on this thesis.

There is some lack of clarity regarding the shared innovations of the Aramaic sub-branch of Northwest Semitic primarily due to the large degree of dialectal diversity encountered in texts considered to belong to “Old Aramaic,” the earliest phase of Aramaic attested in the Iron Age from roughly 900-700BCE.¹⁰² Texts written in a dialect of Old Aramaic range over a large geographic range from the southern Levant at the site of Tel Dan, to the northern Levant at the site of Hamath, to tel Halaf along the Ḥabur, and even farther east to the site of Assur.¹⁰³ Though the later phase of the language, “Imperial Aramaic” (700-200 BCE), shows a greater degree of

Notably both of these claims were made within the first years following the discovery and decipherment of Ugaritic. Since this period, no strong claims have been made in support of this genetic affiliation.

¹⁰⁰ J. Tropper, “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?,” *Ugaritic and the Bible, Proceedings of the international Symposium on Ugaritic and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literature 11; G.J. Brook, A.H.W. Curtis and J.F. Healey, eds.; Münster: Ugaritic-Verlag, 1994) 345. Kogan has recently taken up this topic again, and has shown, at least from a lexicographic perspective, that Ugaritic and Aramaic are quite distinct, since though Ugaritic shares seventy-eight lexical isoglosses with Canaanite, eighteen with Arabic, and twenty-six with Akkadian, it only shares five with Aramaic (Kogan, *Sefarad* 70:2 (2010): 279-328).

¹⁰¹ R. Zadok, “On the Amorite Material from Mesopotamia,” *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (M. Cohen, D. Snell and D. Weisberg, eds.; Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1993) 316. Garbini also proposed a similar reconstruction, stressing that Amorite provided the genetic forerunner to a proposed “Aramaic-Arabic” branch as well as a separate Ugaritic branch (Garbini, *Il Semitico Di Nord-Ouest* (1960).

¹⁰² Rubin, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008): 71.

¹⁰³ S. Kaufman, “The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project and Twenty-First Century Aramaic Lexicography: Status and Prospects,” *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting* (H. Gzella and M.L. Folmer, eds.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008) 362-363.

linguistic harmony as to the shared features of Aramaic,¹⁰⁴ there is far less consensus for this earlier phase. Without detailing the entirety of the debate surrounding what features should be considered shared innovations of Aramaic,¹⁰⁵ I have decided to accept the two shared innovations proposed by Rubin, namely the loss of the N-stem and the presence of the feminine plural nominal ending *-ān* for nouns in the absolute state.¹⁰⁶

Evidence from both alphabetic and syllabic Ugaritic provides ample evidence to show that neither of these innovations had occurred in Ugaritic. The N-stem continues to be a productive stem in Ugaritic,¹⁰⁷ and feminine plural nouns consistently attest the ending */-āt/*.¹⁰⁸ Yet the evidence from western Amorite is far more mixed. There is no evidence for the N-stem in western Amorite, but given the very limited nature of the corpus, there is insufficient evidence to make any major claims about the disappearance of such forms. Though Gelb initially

¹⁰⁴ J. Huehnergard, "What is Aramaic?" *Aram Periodical* 7 (1995): 266-267, 281. Huehnergard lists a total of thirteen "common innovative developments" of the Aramaic dialects. Out of these thirteen features, Huehnergard proposes that only three of these features may be accepted as key shared innovations of the Aramaic dialects namely, the appearance of *br* for the word "son," the epenthesis of the initial aleph in the number one */'ħd/ > /ħd/* and the third person singular pronominal suffix *-wh(y)* on plural nouns. Since these three features have not been included in the current discussion as shared innovations of Aramaic, it is useful to provide a brief introduction as to why these have been excluded. The first feature, the appearance of *br* for the word "son," has been explained by Testen as not an innovation of the language, but rather the result of a phonological realization of the historical sonorant nasal */n/* (Testen, *Kurylowicz Memorial Volume* (1995) 544-546). For the second feature, the appearance of the number one */'ħd/ > /ħd/*, Wilson-Wright has shown that the apharesis of the historic form is found not only in Aramaic, but also in Tigrē and some modern Arabic dialects, indicating that this is the result of a broader phonetic realization of the Proto-Semitic form **waħad* and not an innovation of Aramaic. The final feature, the appearance of the third person singular pronominal suffix *-wh(y)* has further been shown to be likely the result of a "regressive assimilation" and is therefore not one of the key innovations of Aramaic (Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, *Deir 'Allā as a Canaanite Dialect* (2015) 16).

¹⁰⁵ Much work has been devoted over the last three decades as the perspective of the shared innovations of Aramaic. Huehnergard initially proposed three possible shared innovations for Aramaic - the appearance of *br* for the word "son," the epenthesis of the initial aleph in the number one */'ħd/ > /ħd/* and the third person singular pronominal suffix *-wh(y)* on plural nouns (Huehnergard, *Aram Periodical* 7 (1995) 281). Pardee similarly adopted these three features as Aramaic innovations (Pardee, *The Balaam Text* (1991) 102-103). Faber diverged from this perspective, proposing two different shared innovations which all Aramaic dialects exhibit namely the loss of the passive N-stem as well as "the generalization of the first common plural suffix *-nā* to the independent pronoun and to the suffix conjugation from the genitive and accusative pronominal forms," as opposed to the *-nū* suffix in the Canaanite languages (Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 4, 11).

¹⁰⁶ Rubin, *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2/1 (2008): 73. In this publication, Rubin also included the formation of the Aramaic definite article, however he has since suggested that this should not be considered a shared innovation, but rather a feature resulting from areal diffusion (Rubin, *Grammaticalization* (2005) 182).

¹⁰⁷ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000), 532-543.

¹⁰⁸ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000), 294.

proposed a total of thirteen examples of possible examples of N-stem verbal forms, Golinets has called all of these forms into question, suggesting that these forms have been erroneously described as N-stem verbs and that no clear examples exist.¹⁰⁹ A similar situation is attested for the second of these shared innovations, since there is very little evidence for the plural formation of nouns in western Amorite. The only possible evidence for the formation of feminine plural nouns in the absolute (non-construct) state is the word *rababātu* (“ten thousand”).¹¹⁰ Based on this extremely limited evidence, we might suggest that neither Ugaritic nor western Amorite exhibit the shared innovations of Aramaic and should not be considered as occupying the Aramaic branch of Northwest Semitic.

5.6.2 Ugaritic Compared with the Canaanite Languages

As reviewed in detail in the second chapter of this volume, a significant amount of work has been done in isolating innovations that are shared by all languages branching from the Proto-Canaanite ancestor. There are four phonological features that have been accepted as shared innovations of all Canaanite languages including the shift of **qattila* and **haqtilla* to **qittila* and **hiqtilla* in the D and C stems,¹¹¹ the Canaanite shift, the first person suffix conjugation change from *–tu* to *–ti*, and finally the generalization of the first person plural marker *–nū* in all environments. Recently, Pat-El and Wilson-Wright have proposed two further morpho-syntactic

¹⁰⁹ Golinets, *Das Verb im amurritischen Onomastikon* (2010) N-stamm. The version which Dr. Golinets was gracious enough to provide did not include page numbers, but was simply titled “N-stamm.”

¹¹⁰ Streck, *Semitic Languages* (2011) 455.

¹¹¹ Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/4) 276-277. Pardee has suggested that this hypothesis is not applicable for Hebrew. He proposes that the proto-Hebrew D-stem base was */qittala/* rather than */qittila/*. In his view, Aramaic and Arabic reflect the historic */qattala/* form, whereas Hebrew reflects a development of */qattala/* > */qittala/* by vowel dissimilation. He further proposes that Ugaritic likely reflects the */qittala/* form. These forms will be analyzed below but we will do so tentatively, noting the uncertainty of whether this hypothesis can be applied as an innovation of all Canaanite languages. Huehnergard suggests that the distinctive change from */qattil/* to */qittil/* was due to penultimate stress. To explain this shift, he hypothesizes the proto-Canaanite phonological rule: *a > i /#C_’CCi*, a rule which he admits is “rather restricted” in its application, applying only to the 3ms D perfect verb and masculine singular *qattil* nouns (Huehnergard, *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (1992) 225).

innovations which are also shared by all Canaanite languages,¹¹² namely, the presence of a relative marker formed from *’aṭar “place”,¹¹³ and a morpho-syntactic distinction between two infinitives.¹¹⁴ Whereas these features are useful for analyzing the vast majority of Canaanite languages which lack vocalized forms, they unfortunately are limited in terms of their appearance in the Canaanite languages. Neither of these innovations is attested in Amarna Canaanite,¹¹⁵ perhaps the most relevant of the Canaanite languages for comparison with western Amorite due to its temporal proximity. Furthermore, since syntactic features are almost completely absent from onomastics, these two shared features have not been included in the current discussion. We will here analyze Ugaritic and western Amorite by addressing whether they evince any of these four innovations shared by the Canaanite languages.

The exact classification of Ugaritic within Northwest Semitic is arguably one of the most hotly debated classifications in West Semitic with at least thirty-five different viewpoints on this very topic.¹¹⁶ One of the views that has garnered the most widespread support is the categorization of Ugaritic as a Canaanite language. Many have cited shared isoglosses and lexical correlations between Ugaritic and one or all of the Canaanite languages. Without

¹¹² N. Pat-El, and A. Wilson-Wright, “The Features of Canaanite: A Reevaluation,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 166:1 (2016): 41-55.

¹¹³ Since western Amorite is preserved solely in onomastics, there is no evidence for the Amorite relative marker or for the word *’aṭar “place” more generally.

¹¹⁴ Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, *ZDMG* 166:1 (2016) 50-52. Pat-El and Wilson-Wright provide a number of examples for the use of both the infinitive construct and the infinitive absolute from unvocalized Canaanite dialects such as Phoenician, Moabite, and Ammonite. Due to the unvocalized nature of the forms, the historic base distinction is lost, so the authors suggest a clear syntactical distinction between the infinitive construct being used following a preposition the infinitive absolute being used to modify a verb or as a main verb. The authors suggest that “a systematic morphological and syntactic distinction between two infinitives at least in the G stem” is attested, yet at least one of the forms they use to support the infinitive construct form is from a t-stem (Moabite).

¹¹⁵ Pat-El and Wilson-Wright., *ZDMG* 166:1 (2016) 44-45, 52. This fact seems to be glossed over in the article. They note that “there are no attestations of the form (*’aṭar used as a relative marker) in Amarna Canaanite, which uses the Akkadian relative pronoun,” and they also note that “the Akkadian infinitive *qatāl masks the form of the native Canaanite infinitives.” Given that there is no evidence for either of these forms in Amarna Canaanite, and that the evidence from Amarna Canaanite appears perhaps even to contradict the hypothesis, the usefulness of this theory must be called into question.

¹¹⁶ F. Israel, “Tradition(s) et classement des langues syro-palestiniennes: observations déconstructionnistes,” *Faits de Langues* 27 (2006): 173-189.

devoting significant attention to all perspectives, a brief excursus regarding one of the benchmark works that has connected Ugaritic and Canaanite is appropriate here. Tropper's article "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?"¹¹⁷ has proposed eleven phonological and morphological¹¹⁸ features that are shared between Ugaritic and Proto-Canaanite.¹¹⁹ Since this is perhaps the strongest argument in favor of classifying Ugaritic with Canaanite, a brief review of the key shared isoglosses which Tropper discusses should prove useful.

Of the eleven shared isoglosses which Tropper includes, five are shared phonological features, each of which will here be addressed in brief in an attempt to show that these features, though important isoglosses, are not valuable for genetic subgrouping. 1) The absence of the laterals (*ḏ* and *š*) - Steiner has successfully shown based upon Biblical Hebrew orthography, the sign *š* in Biblical Hebrew was polyphonous in the earliest textual traditions, and that there was indeed a reflex of the emphatic lateral *ḏ*, indicating that this phoneme at least was not lost in Hebrew.¹²⁰ 2) Monophthongization of the diphthongs /*aw*/ and /*ay*/ to /*ô*/ and /*ê*/ - Garr has shown that there is a high degree of variation for diphthongs in the Northwest Semitic languages, stating that though "Phoenician dialects and northern Hebrew contracts the diphthongs **aw* and **ay* in both medial and final position, the Deir All dialect, and southern Hebrew preserved these diphthongs in both positions."¹²¹ His analysis suggests that such monophthongization is likely not a shared innovation of all Canaanite languages, but rather this feature spread via areal

¹¹⁷ Tropper, J., "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?" G.J. Brook, A.H.W. Curtis and J.F. Healey (eds.). *Ugaritic and the Bible, Proceedings of the international Symposium on Ugaritic and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literature 11. Münster: Ugaritic-Verlag).

¹¹⁸ Tropper, *Ugaritic and the Bible* (2004).

¹¹⁹ Tropper, *Ugaritic and the Bible* (2004) 343-353.347-351. I use the term "Proto-Canaanite" here since that is the term which Tropper himself uses in his article to describe the branch of Northwest Semitic that, from his perspective, contained Ugaritic along with the other Canaanite languages.

¹²⁰ R. Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto Semitic* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1977) 112.

¹²¹ W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 39-40, 206.

diffusion from the northern Levant into the southern Levant. 3) The Barth-Ginsberg Law - We will not deal with this here, since this has been shown to be a shared innovation of Central Semitic. 4) Five verbs, *'bd*, *'hb*, *'hd*, *'kl*, and *'sp*, form a prefix conjugation in the pattern /yuc_cC₃/ in Ugaritic and Hebrew - This is indeed one of the most significant phonological isoglosses between Ugaritic and Hebrew, and the development of this feature is debated (perhaps arising from vowel harmony). Unfortunately, this feature is not attested in any other Canaanite language rendering its value for genetic subgrouping questionable. 5) The loss of the consonant /h/ in the prefix conjugation of the root **hlk* - Though again striking, we find that the loss of the /h/ is not universally true for all Canaanite dialects, as evinced by the form *w'hlk* in Moabite.¹²² Furthermore, the loss of /h/ is attested in other Semitic languages outside of the Canaanite languages, such as *illik/illak* in Old Akkadian¹²³ and Eblaite,¹²⁴ as well as evidence in several dialects of Aramaic such as ילך in Targum Neofiti (Exodus 32:34), and ילך and נלך in the Samaritan dialect of Aramaic (Tibat Marqe: book 1, line 4).

The other six shared isoglosses which Tropper reviews are morphological features which he suggests represent significant shared innovations between Ugaritic and Canaanite. Again, just a brief survey of these features will show that all six of these features, though significant isoglosses, are not valuable for genetic subgrouping. 1) The personal interrogative pronoun is **miya* - This feature, shared by all Canaanite languages, is also found sporadically in other languages outside this branch, such as *mi* in Berber,¹²⁵ *mi* in personal names from Ebla and

¹²² S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008) 392, 408. This form is attested in the Mesha' inscription, lines 14-15.

¹²³ Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian* (2005) 264.

¹²⁴ A. Catagnoli, *La grammatica della lingua di Ebla* (Firenze: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, 2012) 197.

¹²⁵ L. Kogan, "Lexical Evidence and the Genealogical Position of Ugaritic," *Babel und Bibel 3* (Oreintalia et Classica, 2006): 430.

Mari,¹²⁶ and *miin* in some late dialects of Arabic.¹²⁷ This may be further supported by the rare form *mīnu* found in Amarna Canaanite, which appears to be a hybrid of the Akkadian *mannu* and Canaanite *miya* forms.¹²⁸ This widespread variation suggests that this particle could in fact be a shared retention, rather than an innovation. 2) Mimation in the dual and plural of the noun and the absence of any mimation and nunation respectively in the singular - Here again there is conflicting evidence within Canaanite. We find nunation in Aramaic, Deir ‘Allā, Moabite, and the Phoenician dialect of Arslan Tash, but mimation in Phoenician dialects (except at Arslan Tash), Ammonite, and Hebrew. Furthermore Hoch has shown that in the Late Bronze Age “the masculine plural endings /-īm/ and /-īn/ are both attested in the Egyptian transcription, although the forms with nunation are more numerous,” indicating that these forms were likely quite mixed throughout the Canaanite languages in the Late Bronze Age.¹²⁹ 3) The preservation of the terminative-adverbials (ending *-āh*) - This feature is again a shared retention from Proto-Semitic, for as Hasselbach has noted, “the locative *-h* ending in Ugaritic is etymologically related to the Akkadian term-adv *-iš*,” which she reconstructs from Proto-Semitic **-is*.¹³⁰ 4) The prefix of the third-person plural feminine in the prefix conjugation is /t/, whereas all other Semitic languages have /y/-prefixes. This is again a shared retention from a heterogeneous paradigm in Proto-Semitic.¹³¹ 5) Moods consisting of a pair of imperatives and jussives, which he terms the “simple” and “emphatic” forms - This feature too has been shown to be a shared retention from Proto-Semitic that then underwent a more advanced level of grammaticalization in the Central

¹²⁶ E. Lipinksi, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Orientalia Lovaniesia Analecta 80; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997) 428.

¹²⁷ A. Kaye and J. Rosenhouse, “Arabic Dialects and Maltese,” *The Semitic Languages* (R. Hetzron, ed.; New York: Routledge, 1997) 290.

¹²⁸ J. Tropper and J.P. Vita, *Das Kanaan-Akkadische der Amarnazeit* (Lehrbücher orientalischer Sprachen I/1; J. Tropper, ed.; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010) 43.

¹²⁹ Hoch, *Semitic Words* (1994) 446, 481.

¹³⁰ R. Hasselbach, *Case in Semitic: Roles, Relations, and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 21, 24.

¹³¹ Voigt, *JSS* 32 (1987) 12-13.

Semitic languages.¹³² 6) The wide use of the infinitive absolute as a narrative form - The syntactic comparison between Ugaritic and Phoenician for this feature is quite striking. Yet, a similar function of the infinitive is found throughout other Central Semitic languages, and it has been shown that “the development of finite uses for non-finite verb forms” has widespread distribution in Ethiopian Semitic and Old South Arabian,¹³³ indicating again that this cannot serve as a shared innovation of Canaanite.

This brief review of Tropper’s argument shows conclusively that though all the features he provides are significant isoglosses, there is no single isogloss which can be considered a shared innovation (as opposed to a shared retention or evidence of areal diffusion) which characterize both Ugaritic as well as all of the Canaanite languages.

If we are then to compare Ugaritic with the shared innovations which have been isolated for the Canaanite languages detailed above,¹³⁴ we are faced with somewhat mixed evidence. For the first feature, namely the shift of **qattila* and **haqtila* to **qittila* and **hiqtila* in the D and C stems, the evidence from Ugarit is mixed. Huehnergard reconstructs the form of the D suffix conjugation as **qattila* based upon syllabic evidence for the Ugaritic verbal root *šlm* spelled *ša/šal-li-ma* in one syllabic Akkadian text.¹³⁵ He notes that “the incorrect double writing of single consonants is rare in Ugaritic Akkadian texts,” and thus he concludes that this spelling “must represent the D suffix-conjugation, 3ms /šallimal/.”¹³⁶ This interpretation is followed by

¹³² Hasselbach, *Language and Nature* (2012) 131. See also: Rubin and Huehnergard, *The Semitic Languages* (2011) 271.

¹³³ Faber, *The Semitic Languages* (1997) 11.

¹³⁴ J. Huehnergard, “Remarks on the Classification of the Northwest Semitic Languages,” *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Alla Re-Evaluated: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden* (J. Hoftijzer and G. Van Der Kooij, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 285.

¹³⁵ RS 20.12:1,3,5,8,16,18,23. The form *ša-li-ma* occurs six times in the text, whereas the shortened form *ša-li-ma* occurs only once. This use of the verb *šlm* is also attested in alphabetic cuneiform texts from Ugarit (RS 16.268) which provide no indication of vocalization, so its appearance here allows for the possibility that this is indeed a Ugaritic form. Yet, this spelling for this verb occurs only in this text. Since the text is otherwise entirely in Akkadian, the proposal that the form *ša/šal-li-ma* must be the Ugaritic D-stem is unclear.

¹³⁶ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 182.

Tropper as well, who takes the *šallima* form as paradigmatic, reconstructing the D-stem suffix conjugation forms as *qattila* throughout his grammar.¹³⁷ However, since this form only occurs in one Akkadian text, it is difficult to know whether this particular spelling represents a true Ugaritic form.

Contra this position, based upon the forms in Hebrew and Aramaic,¹³⁸ Pardee has reconstructed a Proto-Semitic form **qattala* with dissimilation of the first vowel to /i/ in Hebrew. He further supports this position based on the forms /ihb/ (RS 94.2468:11) and /ihbt/ (RS 16.394:53), which appear to be D-stem suffix conjugation forms, perhaps vocalized as /'ihhaba/ and /'ihhabat/.¹³⁹ Further in favor of this hypothesis is the evidence that the vowel of the second syllable of the D-stem suffix conjugation is shown to be /a/ based upon alphabetic orthography of D-stem III-w/y roots. Tropper has noted several forms such as *blt* /ballât/ < /ballaw/yat/ (1.5:I:18), such that were the D-stem form to be **balliw/yat*, the *yod* would have been preserved in the orthography.¹⁴⁰ Given this evidence, Tropper suggests that perhaps both forms **qattala* and **qattila* coexisted in the language.¹⁴¹

It is clear from the above discussion that both sides of the argument still must deal with its challenges. The perspective supporting the **qattila* form must propose an early shift from **qattala* > **qattila* with some examples of the **qattala* still existing alongside **qattila* forms in Ugaritic. The **qittala* hypothesis also assumes an earlier **qattala* > **qittala* shift, but must provide explanation for what has been identified as the D suffix-conjugation, 3ms /šallima/ form in syllabic cuneiform. Unfortunately, there is no syllabic or alphabetic evidence for the

¹³⁷ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 560.

¹³⁸ Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/4) 276-277. Here Pardee provides a detailed reconstruction of the Hebrew and Aramaic forms. He rejects the interpretation that the Proto-Hebrew form would have been **qittila*, suggesting that the second vowel was likely /a/, given the reflexes of the D-stem suffix conjugation in Hebrew spelled with a *patach*, *seghol*, and *tseré*.

¹³⁹ Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/4) 263, 276-277.

¹⁴⁰ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 559.

¹⁴¹ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 559.

vocalization of the Š-stem in Ugaritic which might provide further support for either of these hypotheses.¹⁴² Given the minimal and conflicting evidence for the vocalization of the D-stem in Ugaritic no conclusions can be drawn as to whether Ugaritic may have shared in this innovation.

There is far surer evidence that the Canaanite shift is not operable in Ugaritic and that the shift from **'anāku* to **'anōkī* has not occurred. There is little debate about the vocalization of the first person singular personal pronoun in Ugaritic, since it is preserved in syllabic transcription as *a-na-ku* /*'anāku*/ (RS 20.149: III:12').¹⁴³ This form can be directly contrasted with the form *a-nu-ki* /*'anōkī*/ in Amarna Canaanite (EA 287:66,69).¹⁴⁴ The Ugaritic form shows the preservation of two features which had already occurred in Amarna Canaanite, namely the retention of the /ā/ vowel as well as the preservation of the final /u/ vowel.

The /ā/ vowel is preserved throughout Ugaritic, indicating that the Canaanite shift (/ā/ → /ō/) had not taken place in the environs of Ugarit by the end of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁴⁵ This is starkly contrasted with the dialects found in the southern Levant as this shift is evident already in the fourteenth century in the Canaanite of the El-Amarna texts. The shift occurs in texts from throughout the region, reaching as far north as the Phoenician coastal site of Beirut (*Bi-ru-ta* /*Bi'rōta*/)¹⁴⁶ with examples such as the word for “wall,” *ḥu-mi-tu* /*hōmitu*/ (EA 141:44 from the King of Beirut).¹⁴⁷ Considering that the site of Ugarit is approximately 100 miles north of Beirut

¹⁴² Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/4) 263, 276-277. By analogy, a similar situation might be found in the Š-stem, and Pardee proposes a possible reconstruction of /*šiqṭala*/ by virtue of dissimilation from the Proto-Semitic form /*šaqṭala*/ which is preserved in Arabic, however no direct evidence for this form can confirm this.

¹⁴³ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 208.

¹⁴⁴ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 208.

¹⁴⁵ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 257. Huehnergard notes that there “is no evidence of the Canaanite shift of *ā* > *ō* in any of the words in our corpus.”

¹⁴⁶ H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes* (Halle, Hildesheim: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1922) 213. The spelling of the town Beirut as *bi-ru-ta* similarly provides evidence for the Canaanite Shift operating already on the Phoenician coast, as this is reconstructed from the plural noun *bi'arātu* > *bi'arōtu* (“wells”).

¹⁴⁷ W. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) 227-228. Note that the Canaanite Shift was already recognized as operating in Amarna Canaanite by Bauer and Leander (*Hebräischen Sprache* (1922) 22).

and there is clear evidence for regular interaction between Ugarit and its southern neighbors on the Phoenician coast, the fact that Ugaritic preserves universally the /ā/ vowel despite its widespread application along the Phoenician coast suggests that in this regard at least the two languages had diverged.

Unfortunately, there is no syllabic evidence for the vocalization of the first personal suffix conjugation verbal form in Ugaritic; however, there is clear evidence for the preservation of the first person independent pronoun /'anāku/ (*a-na-ku*) in syllabic transcription. This is a key datum for reconstructing the first common singular suffix conjugation, linking its development to the timing of the Canaanite shift. Blau has put forward the following interpretation for the development of the first-person forms in the Canaanite languages:

First *'anāku* shifted to **'anōku*, which contains /ō/ preceding /u/. In this type of vowel sequence, one of the two similar vowels in Hebrew is regularly dissimilated: this was the reason that **'anōku* shifted to **'anōkī* and then later to *'ānōkī*. Now, not only the pronominal suffixes *-nī/-ī* terminated in *-ī*, but **'anōkī* as well, and their joint impact was strong enough to affect **'ana/*-tu*, which became **'anī/-tī*. Accordingly, if a Semitic dialect exhibits the first person singular perfect ending *-tī*, this can be taken as a proof that it exhibits the shift /ā/ > /ō/ as well.¹⁴⁸

If Blau's interpretation is to be accepted, the shift from *-tu* > *-tī* in the first-person suffix conjugation verbal form attested in the Canaanite dialects occurred after the Canaanite Shift had been generalized in all forms. The fact that Ugaritic still attests the historic form *'anāku* and that there is no evidence for the Canaanite shift, indicates that the first person verbal form would not have changed either. Based upon this discussion, the first common singular suffix conjugation form can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty as *qataltu* in Ugaritic, and can be used in support of the fact that in addition to the Canaanite shift, the change from *-tu* to *-tī* in the 1cs verbal form was not triggered in Ugaritic at this stage.

¹⁴⁸ J. Blau, "Short Philological Notes on the Inscription of Meša'," *Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics* (1998): 347-349.

The final shared innovation of the Canaanite languages is the generalization of *–nū* in all environments, whereas the first person plural marker in Proto-Northwest Semitic was likely *–nū* to mark the subject on the suffix conjugation but *–nā* to mark both the direct object on verbs and the possessive on nouns. Unlike the Canaanite forms, Ugaritic appears to have retained the *–nā* suffix and did not share in this innovation of the Canaanite languages. In alphabetic cuneiform at Ugarit, both spellings */-n/* and */-ny/* are preserved, causing Tropper to propose the reconstruction */-nā/*, */-nê/*, or */-nay/* for this suffix.¹⁴⁹ However, Pardee has suggested that the *{-y}* in the five attested examples of the */-ny/* spelling should be taken as an enclitic particle rather than as part of the suffix.¹⁵⁰ Previously, no syllabic evidence for the spelling of this suffixal form was known in order to help resolve this issue,¹⁵¹ yet recently a form of the first common plural personal suffix has been detected by Huehnergard in text RS 16.270:19. The text includes the phrase *LUGAL EN-na-a* (“the king our lord”).¹⁵² This spelling provides relatively conclusive evidence that the first common plural suffix at Ugarit should be reconstructed as */-nā/*. This evidence, though limited, indicates that the */-nā/* suffix was still preserved at Ugarit and that Ugaritic did not undergo the innovation shared by the Canaanite languages.

Given the evidence provided above, there are key innovations of Canaanite which Ugaritic did not share, instead preserving the older form. What is perhaps the most significant about this evidence is that Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite were both operable in the northern Levant in the Late Bronze Age, yet they diverge regarding all forms listed above. In Amarna

¹⁴⁹ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 224.

¹⁵⁰ Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/4) 126-127.

¹⁵¹ J. Huehnergard, “Notes on ‘Ras Shamra-Ougarit’ VII,” *Syria* 74 (1997): 219. Huehnergard formerly cited evidence for the existence of a */-nū/* suffix in Ugaritic. For text RS 34.164, the form *te-ru* is preserved, when perhaps the expected form would be *terrā*. Huehnergard proposes that perhaps the final two signs should be reconstructed as **te-ru-[ú-nu]* with the final first common plural suffix */-nū/*. Unfortunately since this is reconstructed and hypothetical, this cannot be used as evidence.

¹⁵² Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary revised ed.* (2008) 393, 402. The text PRU 3 41ff:19 originally was excluded due to its unclear provenance, but it has since been shown to be from the site of Ugarit.

texts we find both /quttil/ and /quttul/ forms for the D-stem suffix conjugation (though it is debated whether there are any native Canaanite forms), the consistent appearance of the Canaanite Shift as exhibited by the form *a-nu-ki* /'anōkī/ (EA 287:66.69 among others),¹⁵³ the first-person suffix conjugation form ending in /-ti/,¹⁵⁴ and /-nū/ for the first common plural personal suffix.¹⁵⁵ Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages were clearly distinct by the middle of the Late Bronze Age, and it is apparent that Ugaritic did not share in the innovations that characterized the Canaanite languages.

5.6.3 Western Amorite Compared with the Canaanite Languages

Let us turn to the western Amorite corpus to see if the innovations shared by the Canaanite languages might also be evident in the Middle Bronze Age onomastic evidence. The first of these is the somewhat disputed shift of **qattila* and **haqtila* to **qittila* and **hiqtila* in the D and C-stems. Much like the situation for the Ugaritic evidence, we find quite limited evidence for the vocalization of the D and C verbal stems in western Amorite. There is only one certain example of a D-stem verbal form in the western dialects: *ia-ba-an-ni* = /yabannî/ (“He shall fortify”), interpreted as a prefix conjugation form.¹⁵⁶ In his analysis of the Amorite verb, Golinets provides a few additional forms to reconstruct the vocalization of the D-stem prefix conjugation as *yaqattil*,¹⁵⁷ a vocalization which was already proposed by Gelb based upon just

¹⁵³ Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000) 208.

¹⁵⁴ Tropper and Vita, *Kanaano-Akkadische* (2010) 70. Form such as *šap-ra-ti* /šapratī/ coexist with the Akkadian form *mar-ša-ku* /maršāku/. But the consistent appearance of the /-ti/ ending, and the lack of any form with the earlier /-tu/ form indicate that the shift had completely taken effect.

¹⁵⁵ Tropper and Vita, *Kanaano-Akkadische* (2010) 39.

¹⁵⁶ The D stem for the root *bny* is not attested in Hebrew, but is common in Aramaic with perhaps the intensive meaning “to fortify” as opposed to simply “to build.”

¹⁵⁷ V. Golinets, *Das Verb im amurritischen Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (Der Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientwissenschaften der Universität Leipzig eingereichte Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doctor Philosophiae; Leipzig, 2010) 174. Though unpublished, Dr. Golinets was gracious enough to share with me portions of his original doctoral manuscript.

three limited examples.¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the vocalization of the suffix conjugation D-stem verbal forms either in western Amorite or in classical Amorite. As in the D-stem, only prefix conjugation forms of the C-stem are attested in western Amorite. All forms in western Amorite appear to show the **yaqtil* pattern:¹⁵⁹ *'a'alî* “I shall exalt,”¹⁶⁰ *taqîm* “may you establish,” *yašlim* “he shall make whole.”¹⁶¹ The C-stem suffix conjugation forms are unfortunately as yet unattested.¹⁶²

Due to the syllabic nature of the sources for western Amorite, there is clear evidence for the retention of the historic /ā/ vowel in all forms, indicating that the Canaanite Shift had not occurred in western Amorite attested until the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Though there are no clear examples of the first personal singular independent pronoun in western Amorite,¹⁶³ there is abundant evidence from western Amorite for the retention of the /ā/ vowel in the following positions.

¹⁵⁸ I.J. Gelb, “La lingua degli Amoriti,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Anno CCCLV* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1958) 159.

¹⁵⁹ Gelb, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale* (1958) 159. Gelb cites three forms for the appearance of the **yaqtil* C-stem form in Amorite, and he notably does not cite any form of a Š-stem causative, though he does give evidence for the presence of a Št-stem. Golinets discusses the possible presence of a Š-stem verbal adjective form **šaqtal* in Amorite, but does not appear to cite forms in support of the **yaqtil* form (Golinets, *Das Verb im amurritischen Onomastikon* (2010) 182-184). Since the work has yet to be published, I have only seen portions of it, so he may reference the H-stem causative elsewhere.

¹⁶⁰ As noted above, the first common singular prefix conjugation is extremely rare. There does seem to be one possible 1cs C-stem PC in the form *a-al-i^d-da-gan* = /'a'alî-dagan/ (“I shall exalt Dagan”).

¹⁶¹ Given the fact that both *yašlam* and *yišlam* are attested in the G-stem of this root, the form *yašlim* is most likely a C-stem form as opposed to a G-stem PC based on the *yaqtil* verbal pattern. The C-stem of this root is attested just once in western Amorite in a name from Qatna: *ia-as-[l]i-im-ia-[ad-d]u* = /yašlim-Haddu/ (“Haddu shall restore”).

¹⁶² Golinets, *Das Verb im amurritischen Onomastikon* (2010) 184. There are some questionable forms in classical Amorite such as the **šaqtal* form: *sa-ak-la-lu* /šaklalu/ (“complete”), which may be evidence for a Š-causative stem in classical Amorite.

¹⁶³ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 50. See also Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2001) 277, 279. Gelb has identified two clear examples found in classical Amorite: *'anāku-Lamma* (*a-na-ku-^dlam-ma* - “I am the god Lamma”), and *'anāku-'ilama* (*a-na-ku-i-la-ma* - “I am divine”). Unfortunately, neither name can be included in the western Amorite corpus with any degree of certainty, so it is unclear whether this historic form was retained in the western dialects. Furthermore, since the first person singular independent pronoun in Old Babylonian Akkadian is /'anāku/, there is always the possibility that these names should be considered Akkadian rather than Amorite.

1. G-stem active participle - *rāpi* ‘ (“healer”), *dāri* ‘ (“sower”).
2. The /-ān/ nominal ending - ‘*aqabān* (“guardian”), ‘*imdān* (“stable”).
3. Word internal long vowels - *ṭāb* (“good”), ‘*ipādu* (“garment”).

This evidence indicates that there is universal retention of the /ā/ in western Amorite, with over 100 examples of words that retain this phoneme. Furthermore, such universal evidence from a corpus ranging over a 300-year period from 1900 BCE to ca. 1620 BCE, indicates that there is absolutely no evidence for the Canaanite Shift in the Middle Bronze Age western Amorite corpus. This is further supported by evidence from the onomastic material from Alalah IV. A total of sixty-six West Semitic names are attested from Alalah IV, but these have been excluded for the western Amorite corpus since they are attested much later in the fourteenth century in the Late Bronze Age. Yet it is significant to note that there is no evidence for the Canaanite Shift in these sixty-six personal names from Alalah IV, and there are several forms which evince the retention of the historic /ā/ vowel such as *ab-ta-nu* / ‘abdānu/ “servant.”¹⁶⁴ This evidence further supports the fact that, not only was the Canaanite Shift not attested in western Amorite in the Middle Bronze Age, the historic /ā/ vowel continued to be retained in onomastic material from the Late Bronze Age at Alalah. Based upon the evidence above, we can state with a fair degree of certainty that the Canaanite Shift was not operable in the western dialects of Amorite attested from the Middle Bronze Age. Furthermore, evidence from Alalah Level IV further suggests that the Canaanite Shift was not operable in the environs of Alalah well into the fourteenth century.

Though there is no evidence for the first common independent pronoun in the western Amorite dialects as noted above, there is some limited evidence for the preservation of the first-person suffix conjugation form /-tu/ in the form *ra-ka-ab-tu* =/rakabtu/ (“I have ridden”) from Tuttul. This form seems to clearly be a first common singular suffix conjugation form. Based upon the two occurrences of the * ‘*anāku* personal pronoun in classical Amorite, the fact that the

¹⁶⁴ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) #644 and #622.

Canaanite Shift was not operable in western Amorite, and the single occurrence of the first-person suffix conjugation verbal form, all evidence points to the conclusion that */-tu/* had not yet shifted to */-ti/* in western Amorite during the Middle Bronze.

The final shared innovation of the Canaanite languages is the leveling of the */-nū/* suffix to mark the subject of a suffix conjugation verb, the direct object on verbs, and the possessive on nouns. As is the case with many of the morphological features already discussed, there is unfortunately no evidence for the first common plural suffix conjugation verbal form, so it is unknown whether this form was **qatalnū* or **qatalnā*. We do however have evidence for the first common plural pronominal suffix used both as the direct object for verbs as well as the possessive suffix for nouns. There are three examples of the */-nā/* direct object suffix on verbs¹⁶⁵ and an astounding total of twenty-one examples of the */-nā/* possessive suffix on nouns and pronouns.¹⁶⁶ With such a large number of examples for the */-nā/* suffix and based on the fact that there is no evidence for the innovative */-nū/* suffix, we must conclude that the */-nā/* suffix has still been retained, indicating that western Amorite did not share in this Proto-Canaanite innovation.

Though evidence is sparse for several of the shared innovations, there is sufficient evidence to show that the western Amorite dialects did not share in the innovations which characterize the Canaanite languages. The evidence detailed above leads to the conclusion that western Amorite as attested in the Middle Bronze Age was distinct from Amarna Canaanite attested in the Late Bronze Age, though when these two language groups diverged is yet unclear.

¹⁶⁵ Forms include: */yātu'nā/* ("god shall save us" - *ia-šu-na*) and */yišitnā-'ana/* ("Ana shall establish us" - *i-si-it-na-a-na*).

¹⁶⁶ Forms include: *'ilunā* ("our god" - *il-lu-na*), *hamunā-EA* ("EA is our father in law" - *a-mu-na-É.A*), *yiṭ'unā-Haddu* ("Haddu is our help/salvation" - *iš-hu-na-^dIM*), *lanā-Haddu* ("Haddu is ours" - *lá-na-^dIM*), *ni'manā-haddu* ("Haddu is our fortune" - *ni-mi-na-a-du*, also with variant spelling *ni-mi-na-a-du* both occurring at Alalakh), *šamšunā-ba'la* ("Ba'al is our sun" - *sa-am-su-na-ba-la*), *šipqunā-haddu* ("Haddu is our sufficiency: - *si-ib-ku-na-^dIM* with variant *si-ib-ku-na-da*, both occurring in Šuda).

In order to determine when these two language groups may have diverged, a brief historical survey of the Middle and Late Bronze Age evidence for the Canaanite languages is needed.

5.7 Historical Evidence for the Canaanite Languages

Amarna Canaanite is the first significant corpus of Canaanite material that provides evidence for the morphology and syntax of the Canaanite languages. However, there are several other sources from the Middle and Late Bronze Age that provide some evidence for the phonology of the Canaanite languages, in particular the emergence of the Canaanite Shift. There has been some debate about when the Canaanite Shift may have first emerged as a distinctive innovation of the Canaanite languages, primarily since there are very limited and questionable sources for its presence in the Middle Bronze Age. Already by 1961 Gelb had noted the presence of the spelling “*ḥašur*” for the town Ḥašor throughout the Mari documents, and suggested that this could be the first evidence for the Canaanite shift,¹⁶⁷ a sentiment which was echoed by Huffmon.¹⁶⁸ Other scholars, such as Sivan, have diverged from this perspective, and the latter suggested that the Middle Bronze Age toponymic evidence was uncertain and insufficient, and therefore proposed that the Canaanite Shift likely did not occur until the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁹ Several recent studies have echoed this perspective, suggesting either that the feature spread through areal diffusion over the course of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages,¹⁷⁰ or that it was

¹⁶⁷ I.J. Gelb, “The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 15 (1961): 44.

¹⁶⁸ Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* (1965) 111.

¹⁶⁹ D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th C.B.C. from Canaan and Syria* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 214; Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1984) 33-34. Sivan proposed that there does not appear to be evidence of the Canaanite Shift in the Taanach inscriptions. However, this has proven less likely with subsequent publications of the material.

¹⁷⁰ J. Groen, “On the Phonology of Second Millennium BCE Northwest Semitic,” *Orientalia* 85 (2016): 64. Groen argues that the appearance of the Canaanite Shift taking place in the toponym Ḥašor in the Middle Bronze Age provides a benchmark for the earliest development of this sound shift. Then, “from the fifteenth century on it spread from north of Philistia to Transjordan, possibly reaching as far northwards as West-Syria during the Amarna Age,” then “in later documents the shift is universal in Canaan.” Though Groen provides a useful survey of sources, his hypothesis unfortunately is based on the appearance of just a single form in the Middle Bronze Age.

fully developed in the fifteenth century.¹⁷¹ In order to provide some clarity as to the evidence for the emergence of the Canaanite Shift, a detailed analysis of the evidence is needed.

The earliest sources which provide some indication that the Canaanite Shift had yet to develop at the start of the Middle Bronze Age are the Execration Texts from the twelfth dynasty of Egypt, dating roughly to the 20th and 19th centuries.¹⁷² Starting in the Old Kingdom, Egyptian priests would perform ritual curses against the enemies of Egypt. The names of the enemies of Egypt would be inscribed on red pots and figurines which the priests would then break to spell the fate of these enemies.¹⁷³ There are a series of execration texts specifically from the Middle Bronze period, the inscribed potsherds of which were published by Sethe¹⁷⁴ and the statuary which were published by Posener.¹⁷⁵ Due to the difficulty of reading West Semitic words in the Egyptian script, many of these names cannot be normalized with any certainty. However, Hoch has compiled a list of onomastics and toponyms from these Execration Texts for which he has provided possible linguistic analysis.¹⁷⁶ Below is a brief list of the names for which Hoch provides transcription.

Since there is extremely limited evidence from the Middle Bronze Age, to suppose that the Canaanite Shift began in the territory of Ḥaṣor, and then spread via areal diffusion throughout the land of Canaan over the next four hundred years is very difficult to determine from a single toponym reference. Furthermore, he does not provide evidence for why this feature should be considered evidence for areal diffusion as opposed to a shared innovation.

¹⁷¹ P. Rahkonen, “A Study on Some Semitic Toponymic Types of the Second Millennium BC in the Southern Levant,” *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 4 (2016): 120. Rahkonen nicely details the evidence for the Canaanite Shift in second millennium sources, concluding that the “shift most probably developed after MB II during the Late Bronze Age.”

¹⁷² J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 492-495.

¹⁷³ R. Ritner, “Execration Texts (1.32),” *Context of Scripture I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (W. Hallo and K.L. Younger, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 50-52.

¹⁷⁴ K. Sethe, *Die Achtung Feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf Altägyptischen Tongefassscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften bei Walter de Gruyter, 1926).

¹⁷⁵ G. Posener, Posener, Georges. *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiératiques sur les figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1940).

¹⁷⁶ Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts* (1994) 492-495.

Egyptian	Normalization	Hoch's Translation
'ab(i)-ya-ma-ma-w	'abi-yammu	Yamm is my father
'-k-r-m	'akram	
t-b(v)l-l(w)-nw	?	Perhaps Zebulun
'-m-mu-y(a)-k-n	'ammu-yakûn	
Y(a)-ma-n-'w-mu	Yammu-na'umu	
'(v)n-h-î-l	'elāh-'el	El is God
L-q-ḥi	Laqhī	
Š-m-šu ỉri-m	Šamšu-'ilima	
'i-lu-m-q-h-ta	'ilu-?	
ḥvl-y(a)-ki-m	ḥāl(ī)-yakīm? ¹⁷⁷	My maternal uncle shall arise
Ī-s-q-l-nw	'asqālānu or 'isqālānu	GN
Mwt-î-l	Mutî-'il	
'lw-w-šl-l-m-m	'urušalimum	
Y(a)-q-l-'-mu	Yaqar-'am(m)u	
Īw-l-ti	'ullazi	GN
Y(a)-l-mwt	Yarmuta	GN
'a-ta-m(?)l 'abi	?-'abi	? is my father
y(a)-t(v)n-h-d-dw	Yattin-haddu	
Ma-k-t-ra-y(a)	Magdālaya	
'abi-l-f-'a	'abi-rāpi'a	
'abs(sic!)-h-d-dw	'abi-Haddu	
'a-t-p-h-d-dw	'asapa-Haddu	
p-î-ḥ(?)l-lw-m	Piḥilum	
'a-p-qw-m	'apqum	
Y(a)-n-kî-î-lw	Yankê-'ilu	'El will smite
'a-k-sap-î	'aksapi	GN
Ma-š-î-lî	Ma-ša-'ili	Who/what belongs to God
ḥ-ḏw-î-l	ḥazû-'ili	
k-šî-ḥl-l-'abi	?-'abi	?
'ḥw-mwt	'aḥu-mōta	Mot is a brother
Š-m-šw î-p-î-îrî-m	Šamšu-'ab(u)-'ilim	Šamšu is father of the gods
'bw-l-m	'abu-ram	
Š-mu-'abu	Šumu-'abu(m)	
'abw-ra-h-nî	'abu-rahnî	"Father is my pledge"
y(a)-l-p-îlw	Yarpa-'ilu	GN
Y(a)-t-p-î-lw	Yītab-'ilu	

Table 5.2: Semitic proper nouns in the Execration Texts

A brief survey of the names listed in the Execration Texts shows the tremendous difficulty that exists in attempting to decipher these names. However, two features of these transcribed names are valuable for the present discussion regarding the emergence of the

¹⁷⁷ Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts* (1994) 492-495. Here Hoch does not offer a full normalization, but suggests the second element is the causative form of **yaqûm*, so I have supplied that form here.

Canaanite Shift. First, though the /u/-vowel is regularly used to represent the final nominative case vowel or the collapsed diphthong /aw/ > /ō/, as in the name *ḥw-mwt /'aḥu-mōta/* “Mot is a brother,” in the few instances where an expected ā > ō shift might be expected, no vowel is indicated (*ḥāl, Magdālaya, rāpi*’). Perhaps the most useful name for analysis is the representation of the geographic place name *Ashkelon*, which is attested widely in Late Bronze Age sources. The representation of the name here is *ḥ-s-q-l-nw /'asqalānul* such that the historic /ā/ vowel is not represented in the transcription, despite the fact that the final nominative /u/ case vowel is represented. Yet Hoch also notes that the /o/-vowel is only irregularly represented with the /u/-vowel in Egyptian transcription suggesting that the “expected /o/-vowel is not always indicated, and in some cases, this may be an accurate transcription from a language in which the shift did not occur.”¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, though the writing system often indicates the short /a/-vowel, the /a/-vowel is never used in the orthography to represent a historic /ā/-vowel. Such orthography may suggest that the /ā/-vowel may already have been undergoing a sound shift. Thus, the Egyptian transcription of personal names and toponyms in the Execration Texts provides only limited evidence that the Canaanite Shift has not yet emerged in the early part of the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1800 BCE).

The earliest possible evidence for the Canaanite Shift comes from the representation of the name of the southern Levantine city of Ḥaṣor in the Mari archives dating to the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁹ The western Amorite personal name *mu-ut-ḥa-su-ur /mut-ḥaṣur/* (“man of Ḥaṣor”), as

¹⁷⁸ Hoch, *Semitic Words* (1994) 515. Hoch notes that the “expected /o/-vowel is not always indicated, and in some cases, this may be an accurate transcription from a language in which the shift did not occur.” Thus transcription uncertainties makes it unclear what the vowel quality may have been.

¹⁷⁹ The etymology of the city name *ḥaṣur* has historically been linked with the root *ḥṣr* meaning “to surround,” in a *qatāl* base pattern, *ḥaṣār* (“wall, enclosure”). Supporting the hypothesis that the base for this noun is in fact *qatāl*, see also the Mari Akkadian form *ḥaṣārum*, “sheepfold” (ha-ṣa-ri-im - CBS 1563:3) as well as the Arabic *ḥaṣār* (“fortress”) (Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (1968) 586).

well several other references to Ḥaṣor in texts from Mari as *ha-ṣú-ra*^{KI 180}, provide evidence for the vocalization of the name of Ḥaṣor in both western Amorite as well as Akkadian transcription, and it is this evidence that has caused some authors to suppose that the Canaanite Shift had occurred already in the Middle Bronze Age. Further evidence from the sixteenth century texts from the site of Ḥaṣor confirm the spelling of the town name, providing further support for the early vocalization of this form.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately only one other toponym from the Middle Bronze Age may provide early evidence for the Canaanite Shift. Sivan proposed that the toponym *u-ḥi-zi* /ʾōḥizi/ found in text 298:45 from Alalah VII appears to evince the Canaanite Shift, but unfortunately since the etymology and the location of this toponym is unknown, no conclusions can be drawn from this form.

The earliest possible evidence for the Canaanite Shift dating to the Late Bronze Age come from two letters found at the site of Taanach dating to the sixteenth century, though the etymology of both is uncertain. The toponym *ru-bu-ti* /rubōti/, which appears in Taanach 1:26 letter, is also found in EA 290:11 as *ru-bu-te*, though the location and exact etymology is unknown.¹⁸² Another personal name DUMU *hu-n[i]-ni* /bin-ḥōnini/ “son of the gracious one” from Taanach 7: ii,⁷¹⁸³ appears to preserve the G participle of root *ḥnn* vocalized as *qōtil* instead of the historic *qātil* verbal form. Unfortunately, since both *ḥānin* and *ḥunin* appear as personal

¹⁸⁰ N. Ziegler, *Les Musique et les musiciens d’après les archives royales de Mari* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 10; Paris: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, 2007) 186-188, text M.14663.

¹⁸¹ W. Horowitz, T. Oshima, and S. Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan: Cuneiform Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006) 69-72. The name of the city is spelled Ḥa-ṣú-‘ra’ in Ḥaṣor 5 dating from the sixteenth century.

¹⁸² Horowitz, Oshima, and Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan* (2006) 130-132.

¹⁸³ Horowitz, Oshima, and Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan* (2006) 142-144.

name elements, it is at best inconclusive whether this may be considered evidence for the Canaanite Shift.¹⁸⁴

The earliest undisputed evidence for the generalization of the Canaanite Shift comes from Egyptian transcription of Northwest Semitic words from the time of Thutmose III in the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁵ Hoch has shown that Egyptian group writing used in the fifteenth century and throughout the Late Bronze Age is able to indicate vowel quality by using the three vowels it has available: *a*, *i*, and *u*, though vowel quantity is not expressed.¹⁸⁶ Already in the reign of Thutmose III, when the interaction with the southern Levant was at its peak, forms of the G-stem participle and the feminine plural ending regularly are written with a /u/ vowel instead of the /a/ vowel, specifically marking the presence of the Canaanite Shift.¹⁸⁷ This evidence is further supported by the transcription of toponyms in Egyptian sources throughout the Late Bronze Age. Aḥituv has shown that toponyms from the southern Levant such as Ashkelon,¹⁸⁸ Sharon,¹⁸⁹ and Beirut,¹⁹⁰ regularly reflect the Canaanite Shift beginning in texts from the reign of Thutmose III in the fourteenth century,¹⁹¹ and continuing throughout the Late Bronze Age.

With the early fifteenth century evidence from Egyptian sources for the generalization of the Canaanite shift in toponyms from the southern Levant, it should come as no surprise that

¹⁸⁴ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) #2177 and #2779. See also Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 244-245 n2. This form can be contrasted with the personal names *ì-lí-ú-ne-ni* /*ʾilī-ḥunini*/ “my god is gracious” and *ḥa-ni-nu-um* /*ḥāninum*/ “gracious one” found in classical Amorite.

¹⁸⁵ Hoch, *Semitic Words* (1994) 514-515. Hoch notes that Egyptian group writing indicates vowel quality by using the three vowels it has available: *a*, *i*, and *u*, though vowel length cannot be expressed in the writing system.

¹⁸⁶ Hoch, *Semitic Words* (1994) 514-515.

¹⁸⁷ Hoch, *Semitic Words* (1994) 514-515.

¹⁸⁸ S. Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984) 35, 69-71. Ashkelon (*ʾasqaluna*) appears in texts from Amenhotep II’s reign as well as in the Megiddo Ivories from the reign of Ramesses III.

¹⁸⁹ Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms* (1984) 170-171. Sharon appears in topographical list of Thutmose III from Karnak, as well as in texts from the reign of Amenhotep II.

¹⁹⁰ J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1937) 115-119.

¹⁹¹ K.A. Kitchen, “The Triple Topographical List of Thutmose III (4.1)” *The Context of Scripture. Volume Four: Supplements* (Context of Scripture 4; K.L. Younger, ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2017) 5-11.

southern Levantine toponyms from other Late Bronze Age sources consistently reflect the Canaanite Shift. The Amarna archives attest toponyms such as Ashkelon (*aš-qa-lu-na* – EA 320:2), Ayyalon (*a-ya-lu-na* – EA 273:20), Beirut (*bi-ru-ta* - EA 92:32), Sharon (*sa-ru-na* - EA 241:4), Shimron (*ša-am-u-na* - EA 225:4), and Šidon (*si-du-na* - EA 144:5), all of which show the Canaanite Shift reflected in the nominalizing *-ān* suffix or the feminine plural *-āt* suffix. Similarly, though Ugaritic retained the historic /ā/ vowel, several toponyms for sites in the southern Levant for sites such as ^{KUR}*aš-qa-lu-na* (RS 94.2384+:12',14'), ^{KUR.URU}*ši-du-ni* (RS 94.2483:2), ^{KUR}*bi-ru-ú/ut-ti* (RS 17.341:14',17').¹⁹² Thus we find that toponyms from the southern Levant consistently reflect the Canaanite Shift beginning in the fifteenth century and throughout the Late Bronze Age.

This brief review of evidence for the Canaanite Shift in Middle and Late Bronze Age texts has provided a rough timeline for the emergence of this phenomenon in the southern Levant. Evidence from the twelfth dynasty in Egypt suggests that the Canaanite Shift had yet to develop at the start of the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1800 BCE). Evidence for the development of the Canaanite Shift is sparse throughout the rest of the Middle Bronze Age until there is clear evidence for the consistent appearance of the Canaanite Shift in toponyms beginning in the reign of Thutmose III (ca. 1480-1425 BCE). This evidence then suggests that the Canaanite Shift developed at some point between 1800 BCE and 1500 BCE, during the MB IIB-C and LBI period. Many have hypothesized that the Canaanite Shift developed in the fifteenth century based upon this evidence; however, the evidence seems to indicate that the shift could have occurred several centuries earlier. Considering that toponyms, which often reflect a more archaic spelling of the language, universally reflect the Canaanite Shift beginning in the fifteenth century, it is

¹⁹² S. Lackenbacher and F. Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en Akkadien de la "Maison d'Urtēnu": Fouilles de 1994* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 23; Leuven: Peeters, 2016) 226-227.

quite likely that the Canaanite Shift had developed several centuries earlier. The limited Middle Bronze Age evidence for the spelling of Ḥaṣor supports this hypothesis and provides a possible early benchmark for the development of this phenomenon. It is likely then that the Canaanite Shift developed towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age, at some point during the MB IIB-C period.

If the Canaanite Shift developed toward the end of the Middle Bronze Age, Proto-Canaanite likely had already diverged from the other Northwest Semitic languages in the Middle Bronze Age. Western Amorite material from Alalah VII dating to the end of the end of the Middle Bronze Age would have therefore already been distinct from its southern relative in the region of Canaan. Onomastic evidence from Alalah IV supports this hypothesis, suggesting that western Amorite of the northern Levant continued to diverge from the Canaanite languages of the southern Levant into the fifteenth century. Based on the fact that neither western Amorite nor Ugaritic exhibit any of the shared innovations of the Canaanite languages, it can be securely hypothesized that these two languages occupy a distinct branch of the Northwest Semitic language family.

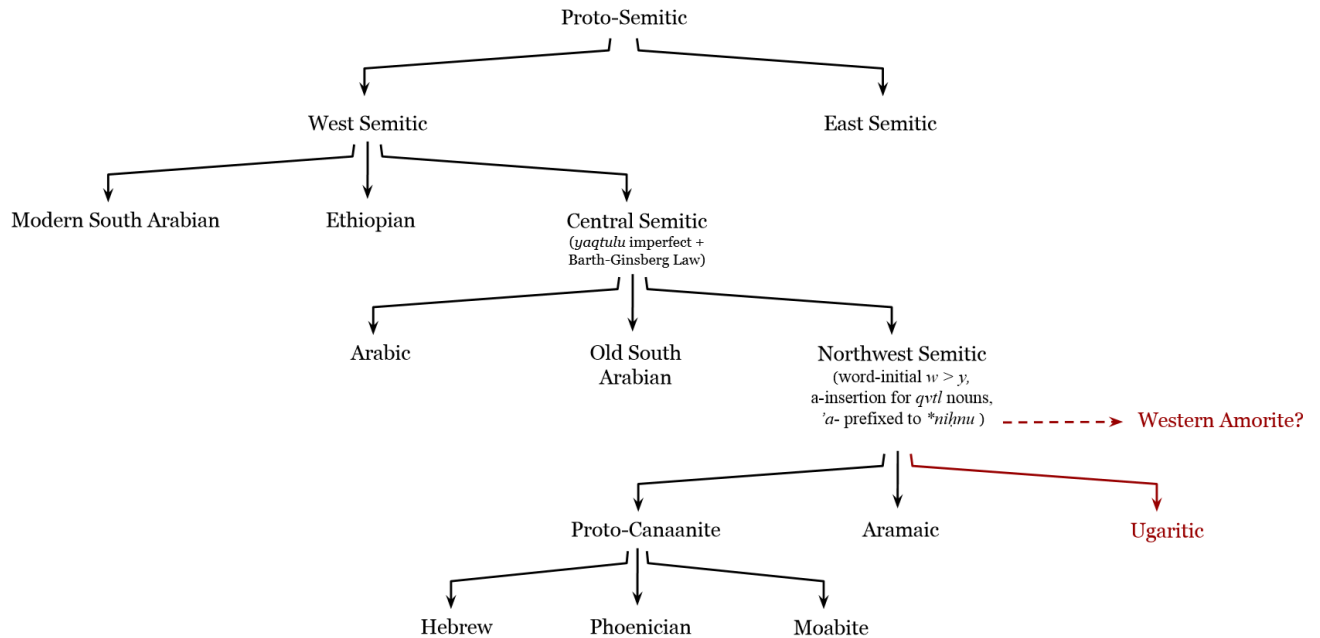


Fig. 5.3: Genetic subgrouping of Western Amorite and Ugaritic (1)

5.8 Unique Features of Western Amorite

From the above discussion, it is apparent that already by the Late Bronze Age, Ugaritic had diverged significantly enough from the Canaanite languages to occupy its own branch of Northwest Semitic. It is less certain what the relationship may have been between Ugaritic and western Amorite. Western Amorite clearly does not reflect any of the innovations of the Canaanite languages, which had likely developed by the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Furthermore, onomastic evidence from Alalah levels VII and IV serves to show that western Amorite exhibited features distinct from the contemporary Canaanite sources attested at the end of the Middle Bronze and into the start of the Late Bronze Age.

Though western Amorite and Canaanite were linguistically distinct by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, two questions remain. First, does the western Amorite corpus exhibit any

innovations which would prove useful for determining the genetic position, and second, what is the relationship between Ugaritic and western Amorite. In order to attempt to answer these questions, the western Amorite corpus must be closely analyzed to determine whether the language exhibits clear innovations.

5.8.1 Dissimilation of Gemination by Nasalization

Perhaps the most peculiar feature of western Amorite is the sporadic dissimilation of germination by means of nasalization, such that the first of two geminated consonants becomes nasalized through a process of dissimilation: $dd > nd$. This phenomenon is well known from various stages of the Aramaic language, such as Imperial Aramaic *mnd'm* in the place of *mdd'm* (Driver 7:2), and Mandaic,¹⁹³ with a full treatment of such forms found in texts from the Achaemenid Period treated by Folmer.¹⁹⁴ Most have interpreted this phenomenon as a result of a “Babylonian substrate pronunciation” interfering with these Imperial Aramaic dialects, especially since this phenomenon gradually disappears during the Post-Achaemenid Period.¹⁹⁵ This hypothesis proposes that this feature arose in Babylonian dialects and then spread into Aramaic through language contact at some point during the period of Imperial Aramaic. Yet Kaufman notes that this phenomenon occurs in Akkadian as early as Old Babylonian, becoming more prominent in Middle Babylonian, and he suggests that this phenomenon “may well be a phonetic feature common to a group of languages around Babylonia.”¹⁹⁶ Based upon this

¹⁹³ O. Jastrow, “Old Aramaic and Neo-Aramaic: Some Reflections on Language History,” *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting* (H. Gzella and M. Folmer, eds.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008) note 55.

¹⁹⁴ M. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language of the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 68; Leuven: Peeters, 1995) 74-94. Folmer notes that there is no evidence for the appearance {*nC*} where *n* is not a historical root consonant, is found in texts prior to the Achaemenid period, suggesting that this phonological process is a later development.

¹⁹⁵ Jastrow, *Aramaic in its Historical Setting* (2008) note 55.

¹⁹⁶ S. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Assyriological Studies 19; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) 120.

discussion, the only languages which exhibit this unique phonological variation are Babylonian dialects of Akkadian, and West Semitic dialects which appear to have been in close contact with Babylonian dialects such as classical Amorite and Aramaic. This evidence suggest that this feature is likely the result of language contact and therefore should not be considered relevant for genetic subgrouping.

Dissimilation of gemination through nasalization is attested in classical Amorite which would have been in closer contact with the region of Babylonia, yet this phenomenon also occurs in western Amorite. Forms such as *‘adrī-haddu* (“Haddu is my help” - *ad-ri-a-du*) is contrasted with *‘adrī-handu* (“Handu is my help” - *ad-ri-ia-an-du*), both attested from the region of Yamḥad. This phenomenon occurs a total of ten times in the western Amorite dialects from Yamḥad, Qatna, Alalah, Ursum, and Karkemish, but only in the divine name *Haddu/Handu*.¹⁹⁷ Since the divine name *Haddu/Handu* occurs a total of 93 times in the corpus, this feature only occurs in 11% of the cases, meaning this is certainly a relatively rare phenomenon, and at least in western Amorite is limited only to the occurrence of the divine name, though Streck notes the occurrence of this feature also with /gg/ > /ng/¹⁹⁸ and Gelb notes this feature for /zz/ > /nz/.¹⁹⁹ A similar phenomenon is also found particularly in the form of the divine name in the West-Semitic onomastic evidence from the Amarna letters, where *Haddu* and *Handu* appear to be in free variation.²⁰⁰ Since this feature occurs in Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, and also in

¹⁹⁷ This variant of the divine name Haddu is also found as a variant of the name of King Niqmaddu. Dietrich and Loretz have compared the syllabic Text RS 17.227 with the alphabetic text RS 11.772, and this comparison indicates that while the spelling *Nqmd* in the alphabetic cuneiform (RS 11.772:3, 10, 14, 17) corresponds directly with the syllabic spelling *Ni/ī-iq-ma-an-du* (RS 17.227: 5, 8, 12, 14, 18). Van Soldt has proposed that this may be the result of Hittite interference, though this is unclear (W. van Soldt, “Review of: Sivan, Daniel. Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th -13th C.B.C. from Canaan and Syria,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 46 (1989): 650).

¹⁹⁸ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 206.

¹⁹⁹ Gelb, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale* (1958) 151.

²⁰⁰ Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (1993) 145, 233. This variant occurs in two names from West-Semitic onomastic corpus outlined by Hess. Once in the name an-da-a-ya, though it is unclear where this person might have

Amorite, and then later in both Neo-Babylonian and Imperial Aramaic, this appears to be a phonetic phenomenon which arose through language contact in the region of Babylon and is therefore not useful for genetic subgrouping.

5.8.2 Retention of Proto-Semitic Determinative Pronoun **ḏ*V

One unique feature of western Amorite is the retention of the determinative pronoun **ḏ*V from Proto-Semitic. There are a total of eleven names in western Amorite which appear to retain the determinative pronoun /*ḏū*/, ten of which occur in names that follow the pattern {*ḏū* + noun}, such as *ḏū*-’*aba* (“the one of the father”) or *ḏū*-’*Iṣḥara* (“the one of ’Iṣḥara”).²⁰¹ This function of the pronoun appears to mimic that of the determinative pronoun /*ḏū*/ in Arabic, which is fully declinable and can express possession. It is uncertain what the relationship is between the quasi-nominal determinative pronoun /*ḏū*/ and the demonstrative pronouns and the relative/determinative pronoun /*ḏū*/ in Ugaritic, which could be declined for gender, number and case.²⁰² All of the examples of the determinative pronoun /*ḏū*/ in western Amorite are paired only with nouns and not verbs so there is therefore no information as to whether this form also possessed the determinative-relative function as found in Ugaritic. Hasselbach has reconstructed the Proto-Semitic demonstrative **ḏ*V: which was inflected for case, gender and number, and that this was likely the source of the grammaticalized form of the Classical Arabic pronouns

been located. The second name is that of *šu-ba-an-di*, though Hess suggests that the etymology of this name is uncertain.

²⁰¹ One uncertain example appears in the reverse construction *en-na-ZU* /*ḥinna-ḏū*/, the meaning of which is unclear, perhaps “grace of the one” or “this grace” if the /*ḏū*/ particle is to be taken as a demonstrative. Since the interpretation of the name is questionable, no conclusions can be drawn from this construction.

²⁰² Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/04) 137-139. RS 3.367 i:10’ - *tqḥ . mlk . ’lmk . drkt dt . dr drk* (“You will take your eternal kingship, your sovereignty, the one which (will endure) from generation to generation”).

indicating possession.²⁰³ So, we have here very early evidence for the existence of a determinative pronoun that expresses possession, yet due to the lack of textual sources, no conclusions can be drawn about the formation of the demonstrative or the relative in western Amorite.

5.8.3 Devoicing (or Desonorization) of Consonants in Proximity to Voiceless Consonants

The process of devoicing or the inverse process of voicing is known in various Semitic languages such as the shift from *napša'* → *nabša'* common in Aramaic, such that the /p/ becomes the voiced /b/ in proximity to a voiceless consonant /š/.²⁰⁴ Ugaritic attests a unique form of voicing assimilation such that occasionally voiceless consonants become voiced in proximity to another voiced consonant, as well as the inverse, that voiced consonants become devoiced in proximity to another voiceless consonant.²⁰⁵ The most notable example of this process is the

²⁰³ Hasselbach, "Demonstratives in Semitic," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127:1 (2007): 15, 22, 24. In addition to the bare masculine form /dū/, two other forms in western Amorite appear to also show enclitic suffixes: *dūna-'ili* ("the one of 'Ilu") and *dūnati-'ili* ("the ones? of 'Ilu"). The suffix /-na/ can be either the first common plural pronominal possessive suffix or it might also be an enclitic particle. The second form appears to have an additional /-ti/ enclitic added to this extended form of the pronoun. The /-ti/ enclitic particle is regularly used to expand the relative/determinative pronoun /dū/ in Ugaritic, often used also when marking the feminine singular /da(ti)/ and plural /du(ti)/. An interesting parallel for the expanded forms *dūna* and *dūnati* has been noted by Hasselbach, who has shown that the demonstrative base *dV*: is expanded by the suffix *-n* frequently in languages including Ge'ez, MSA, OSA, ANA, Maltese, Byblian Phoenician, and Aramaic. It may also be expanded by the longer suffixal form **-nā* which is attested in Ge'ez, OSA, and Aramaic. She further notes that the base *dV*: can also be expanded by the *-t(V)* suffix found in Ge'ez, OSA, Hebrew, and Phoenician. Hasselbach goes on to note that the determinative-relative pronoun was likely grammaticalized from declined demonstratives "before the separation into ES and WS" likely rendering the presence of this feature in Amorite evidence for the already grammaticalized form.

²⁰⁴ R. Steiner, *Disembodied Souls: The Nefesh in Israel and Kindred Spirits in the Ancient Near East, with an Appendix on the Katumuwa Inscription* (Ancient Near East Monographs 11; E. Ben Zvi, ed.; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015) 137-139. Though etymologically *npš*, the voiced variation *nbš* occurs a total of ten times in Old Aramaic, where it becomes the standard form, attested also in the Katumuwa Phoenician text from Zinçirli (KAI 24). Steiner provides a review of the scholarly perspective of this form in Old Aramaic, and questions the validity of this perspective. He instead proposes that the variant spelling *nbš* could be considered either 1) "a feature that is purely orthographic, lacking any reflex in the phonology of the spoken language," or 2) a distinct root cognate with late examples found in Ethiopian Semitic. If his perspective is adopted, the *šamšu/šapšu* variation may not represent a phonetic sound shift, but could purely be an orthographic phenomenon.

²⁰⁵ Pardee, *AFO online version* 50 (2003/4) 70-71. One root that displays both of these processes is the etymological form /ḥbt/ "person of low social status." The singular nominal form of this root is spelled *ḥpt* /ḥuptu/, whereas the plural nominal form of this root is spelled *ḥbtm* /ḥubaṭīma/. Another possible instance of this particular phenomenon occurs with the noun pair {lpš} and {lbš}. Pardee suggests that "the two forms {lbš} and {lpš},

form of the name of the solar deity at Ugarit which is spelled {špš} /šapšu/, representing the devoicing of the original /m/ consonant in proximity to voiceless /š/. This form of the name of the solar deity is unique to Ugarit, as /šmš/ is found in all other Semitic languages.²⁰⁶

Yet this unique orthography for the solar deity is also attested in western Amorite. The solar deity is included in a total of twenty-seven names: six times as the logogram ^dUTU, making it unclear what the underlying form may have been, once as /šamaš/, twelve times in the form /šamšu/, and eight times as /šapšu/.

Divine Name	Site	Transcription	Transliteration
<i>šamaš</i>	Alalah	zi-im-ri-sa-maš	ḏimrī-šamaš
<i>šamšu</i>	Sutean	sà-am-sà-nu-[um]	šamšānum
	Tuttul	sa-am-si-a-ḥi	šamšī-’aḥī
	Tuttul	sa-am-si-a-ḥu	šamšī-’aḥu
	Tuttul	sa-am-si- ^d da-gan	šamšī-Dagan
	Alalah	sa-am-si- ^d IM	šamšī-Haddu
	Alalah	sa-am-si-e-da	šamšī-Hadda
	Yamhad	sa-am-si-ia-du	šamšī-Haddu
	Qatna	sa-am-si-li-im	šamšī-li’m
	Tuttul	sa-am-si-ma-ri	šamšī-mar’ī
	Yamhad	sa-am-su- ^d I-[š]ar	šamšu-yīšar
	Alalah	sa-am-su- ^d IM	šamšu-Haddu
	Alalah	sa-am-su-na-ba-la	šamšunā-ba’la
<i>šapšu</i>	Alalah	ša-ap-ša	šapša
	Alalah	ša-ap-še	šapšī
	Alalah	ša-ap-ši	šapšī
	Alalah	ša-ap-ši-a-bi	šapšī-’abī
	Alalah	sa-ap-si-a-du	šapšī-Haddu
	Alalah	sa-ap-si-a-du	šapšī-Haddu
	Alalah	sa-ap-si-e-du	šapšī-Haddu
	Alalah	sa-ap-si-ia	šapšiya

Table 5.3: Names of the Solar Deity in Alalah VII Onomastics

All eight forms that exhibit the devoicing of /m/ to /p/ are found at Alalah, though four forms that retain the /m/ spelling are also found at Alalah. One of these forms at Alalah that

meaning ‘garment,’ reflect different bases of which only in the second would the original /b/ have been in immediate proximity with the /š/ (perhaps something like /lubūšu/ and /lipšu/ ← /*libšu/).”

²⁰⁶ Bordreuil and Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic* (2009) 25.

preserves the /m/ consonant is the form /šamaš/ (*di-im-ri-sa-maš*), such that the /m/ is not in direct proximity to the following voiceless consonant /š/ thus removing the environment in which this phenomenon would arise. Given the enumeration of devoiced forms at Alalāḥ, but the lack of such forms at any other site, it is possible that the devoiced variant /šapšu/ arose in the area of Alalāḥ in the Middle Bronze Age and spread to other sites in coastal Syria. Though this shift was clearly still in process at Alalāḥ in the Middle Bronze Age, this change was complete by the Late Bronze Age at Ugarit, without a single attested example in either syllabic or alphabetic cuneiform for the form /šmš/.²⁰⁷ It is unknown whether the two spellings /šapšu/ and /šamšu/ at Alalāḥ are phonological variations, purely orthographical variations, or whether they represent distinct forms of the solar deity.²⁰⁸ Without further evidence, no firm conclusions can be made since it is unclear whether this spelling of the name is the result of a shared innovation or simply areal diffusion and is therefore not useful for genetic subgrouping. Yet, since the unique spelling of the solar deity as /šapšu/ is only attested at the site of Alalāḥ in the Middle Bronze Age and at Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age, this is indeed a significant isogloss.

5.8.4 Lack of the Definite Article

Both Northwest Semitic languages attested in the Late Bronze Age, Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite, show no evidence for a definite article, and the definite article appears with a relative degree of rarity in early Iron Age languages such as Deir ‘Allā, early Hebrew poetry and the

²⁰⁷ Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen* (1967) 195.

²⁰⁸ S.L. Allen, *The Splintered Divine: A Study of Ištar, Baal, and Yahweh Divine Names and Divine Multiplicity in the Ancient Near East* (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 5; Boston: De Gruyter, 2015) 224-225 note 69. In Mesopotamia, Šamšu is a male solar deity, whereas at Ugarit Šapšu is clearly a female deity. At Ebla, though no syllabic form exists to provide a possible spelling, two distinct logographic forms exist, namely ^dUTU and ^dUTU.MÍ, causing some to suggest these forms represent Šamšu and his female counterpart. We also find the solar deity in Biblical Hebrew showing both feminine and masculine grammatical gender agreement. Given this, one might postulate that perhaps both the feminine and masculine deities coexisted at the site of Alalāḥ in the Middle Bronze Age.

earliest Old Aramaic inscriptions.²⁰⁹ This evidence has caused Rubin to suggest that the definite article should not be considered as a shared innovation of any language group in the Iron Age, but rather that it arose as the result of areal diffusion over time.²¹⁰ The temporal distribution of the appearance of the definite article suggests that this phenomenon likely arose early in the Iron Age and spread throughout all of the Northwest Semitic languages. The evidence from western Amorite supports this hypothesis in that there exists no evidence for the presence of the definite article. Though early theories suggested that the final /-a/ vowel that appeared sporadically on nouns in Amorite might be linked with the word final article /-a'/ in Aramaic, subsequent studies have shown this only to be the /-a/ case marker in a triptotic case marking system.²¹¹ This evidence suggests that like Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite, the definite article had not yet appeared in western Amorite in the Middle Bronze Age.

5.8.5 Assimilation of *nun* to the Following Consonant

The presence or absence of the assimilation of /n/ has long been noted as a possible shared innovation of the Canaanite dialects. Harris was the first to meticulously detail the features which he saw to be pertinent for delineating the Canaanite dialects, and he considered the assimilation of *nun* under all conditions in “Canaanite” but only irregularly in Aramaic as a shared innovation that distinguished the Canaanite languages from Aramaic.²¹² Yet the assimilation of *nun* is not restricted to the Canaanite dialects, and is well known as a common

²⁰⁹ A. Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005) 81-82.

²¹⁰ Rubin, *Grammaticalization* (2005) 182.

²¹¹ M. Waltisberg, “The Case Functions in Amorite: A Re-Evaluation,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 56:1 (2011): 24.

²¹² Z. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (American Oriental Series 16; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1939) 9-10. Though Harris miss-stepped slightly in his sub-grouping of the Canaanite languages, he very astutely identified the importance of the appearance of the *yvqtlvlu* imperfect form, which he uses to categorize West Semitic, later used to differentiate Central Semitic. He also noted correctly, the shared innovations of *w > y / #_* as well as the double-marked plural for **qvtl* nouns (*qvtvlīm*), both of which are still the paradigmatic shared innovations cited for Northwest Semitic.

phonological feature of both East and West Semitic, suggesting that though the *nun* is regularly assimilated to a following consonant in all of the Canaanite languages, it appears to be a phonologically motivated independent development.²¹³ In western Amorite forms exhibiting the assimilation of *nun* are in free variation with unassimilated forms at the same sites.

Proto-Semitic Form	Transcription	Normalization	Translation	Site
*bint	bi-in-ti-ki-di-ia bi-it-ta-at-ti	binti-ki'diya bitta-'atti	Daughter of ? You are my daughter	Alalah Alalah
*yantın	ia-an-ti-in-AN ia-an-ti-in-ḥa-mu ia-an-ti-in-a-ra-ḥ ia-tin-AN ia-tin- ^d ú-bi	yantin-'ilu yantın-ḥamu yantın-yaraḥ yattin-'ilu yattin-'ubi	'Ilu shall give The father-in-law shall give Yaraḥ shall give 'Ilu shall give 'Ubi shall give	Ahuna Gubla Tuttul Tuttul Tuttul

Table 5.4: Western Amorite evidence for assimilation of *nun*

One interesting characteristic of the above forms is that the unassimilated form **yantin* is regular in classical Amorite, being the standard spelling.²¹⁴ Yet, the assimilated form /*yattin*/ is only found in the West at the site of Tuttul. Conversely, though three other forms of the assimilated form /*bitta*/ exist,²¹⁵ the unassimilated form /*binti*/ is found only at Alalah.²¹⁶ The variation of assimilated and unassimilated forms indicates that this phonological phenomenon was likely in free variation in the western Amorite in the Middle Bronze Age.

This survey of features makes it clear that in addition to exhibiting the key shared innovations of the Central and Northwest Semitic language families, western Amorite also exhibits features which can only be explained through a wave-model approach to the study of the Semitic languages. Reconstructing the Semitic language tree by grouping languages which share common innovations in no way precludes the fact that western Amorite exhibits linguistic

²¹³ W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 40-44.

²¹⁴ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 589. Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2001) 396.

²¹⁵ One form, *bi-it-ta-ma-al-ki* /*bitta-malki*/ (“daughter of the king”) is found at Alalah Level IV in the Late Bronze Age, and two others, *bi-it-te-e* /*bittiya*/ and *bi-it-ti-d* /*bitti-Dagan*/, have an unknown origin.

²¹⁶ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 571.

variation which is attributable to other vehicles of language change such as language contact (dissimilation of gemination by nasalization) or parallel development (assimilation of *nun*).

5.8.6 Consonantal Inventory of Western Amorite

Of particular interest for the genetic affiliation of Amorite is the consonantal inventory of western Amorite as compared with Ugaritic and the other Northwest Semitic languages. Though phonology is of less value than morphological or syntactic features for the purposes of genetic subgrouping, it may still provide some linguistic information as to the relationship between western Amorite of the Middle Bronze period and Ugaritic from the Late Bronze Age. We will first analyze the consonantal inventory of western Amorite, and then compare this with the evidence from Ugaritic as well as the other Northwest Semitic languages. In his analysis of Amorite phonology, Streck has noted that out of the twenty-nine total consonants present in Proto-Semitic, twenty-four have been preserved; however, debate remains regarding the other five consonants - /y/, /θ/, /ʔ/, /ħ/, /s₁/.²¹⁷ Let us turn to each of these five consonants to evaluate whether these may have been preserved in western Amorite.

As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, since the Proto-Semitic guttural consonants - /ʔ/, /ħ/, /ḥ/, /ʕ/, and /y/ - were not present in Sumerian and therefore no signs exist in the cuneiform script to represent these directly, there is some uncertainty as to whether the Proto-Semitic consonant /y/ was preserved in Amorite or whether it had merged with another guttural

²¹⁷ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 254-257. The traditional transcription for these five Proto-Semitic consonants is /ġ/, /z/, /d/, /š/, /s/. I will deal with the first four consonants below in detail, but a brief discussion of the fifth consonant /s₁/ and its realization in several key Semitic languages here will serve to provide clarity for the discussion involving sibilants below. The historical Proto-Semitic consonant *s, transcribed throughout this discussion as /s₁/, likely represented a non-affricated /s/ phoneme. This phoneme was realized in Hebrew as /š/, in Arabic as /s/, in Ugaritic as /š/, and in Aramaic as /š/. In Phoenician, this sibilant was represented by the {š} symbol, though was likely pronounced as /s/.

consonant. Gelb initially proposed that this consonant was not present in Amorite,²¹⁸ a perspective which was shared by Knudsen,²¹⁹ based on the fact that the /y/ is not distinguished in the orthography from the other guttural consonants. Indeed, it remains impossible to determine from the orthography in Amorite personal names whether or not /y/ was preserved; however, Streck has hypothesized that this consonant may still have been preserved, since there is clear indication for the preservation of this phoneme in other Bronze Age Northwest Semitic languages such as Ugaritic and Egyptian transcription of West Semitic terms.²²⁰ However, since there exists no orthographic evidence for the preservation of this consonant from western Amorite itself, it remains unclear whether this phoneme may have been distinct in western Amorite or whether it had merged with another guttural consonant.

Turning now to the next two emphatic consonants, /θʔ/, /ʔ/, Streck has shown that the three emphatic phonemes /s/ (historically *ʔsʔ), /ʔ/, and /θʔ/ are all represented by the Ṣ-series in Amorite making it difficult to ascertain whether these three phonemes were phonetically distinct or had merged. Based on this orthography, Gelb initially proposed that the consonantal inventory of Amorite did not include /ʔ/ or /θʔ/, and that they had both collapsed with /s/,²²¹ a view which was shared by Buccellati.²²² Yet, Streck has argued that there is orthographical evidence that at least /s/ and /θʔ/ were still distinct phonemes due to variation in writing with both the Z-series and the Ṣ-series. He argues that “vielleicht weist dies auf den distinktiven Erhalt von ṣ hin,

²¹⁸ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 8.

²¹⁹ E. Knudsen, “Amorite Grammar: A Comparative Statement,” *Semitic Studies: In honor of Wolf Leslau, Volume I* (A. Kaye, ed.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991) 874. Knudsen describes this phoneme as a “non-established neutral consonant.”

²²⁰ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 231.

²²¹ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 8.

²²² G. Buccellati, “Akkadian and Amorite Phonology,” *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (A. Kaye, ed.; Winona Lake: IN, Eisenbrauns, 1997) 16-17. Buccellati rightly notes that at the time of his article (1997), there existed no comprehensive analysis of the phonological system of Amorite, and he therefore adopts the phonology system initially proposed by Gelb, such that all three emphatic consonants /s/, /ʔ/, and /θʔ/, had collapsed into only /s/. However, he provides no basis for this analysis, and certain conclusions regarding these phonemes require a detailed analysis of the orthography in Amorite.

wobei eine graphische Differenzierung von /š/ und /z/ fast nur in Babylonien erfolgt.”²²³ Though Streck suggests that evidence exists for the differentiation of these phonemes only in the Amorite dialect of Babylonia, evidence for this orthographic variance is found in western Amorite as well. A useful example is in the representation of the Proto-Semitic root $\theta^{\text{ʔ}}ll$ (or zll) “shade”,²²⁴ spelled with both the Š-series (also the Z-series) and the S-series in the following western Amorite names: *zi-il-la-ad-du* /*zilla*-Haddu/ (“protection of Haddu”), *ší-lu^d-da-gan* /*zillu*-Dagan/ (“protection of Dagan), and *si-la-da-ḥa-ti* /*zilla*-da‘atī/ (“protection of my knowledge”). This evidence from western Amorite supports Streck’s tentative conclusion that the two phonemes /š/ and / $\theta^{\text{ʔ}}$ / were still distinct even within western Amorite.

The loss or retention of the Proto-Semitic emphatic lateral phoneme / ʔ / is much less certain in Amorite, since all roots containing this consonant are spelled exclusively with the Š-series, and no orthographic variants exist for the representation of this phoneme. This evidence has caused Streck to tentatively propose that there is no evidence for the retention of the emphatic lateral / ʔ /, and that it had merged with the /š/ phoneme as a single emphatic affricate /š/ [‘s’].²²⁵ Extremely limited evidence from western Amorite also seems to support this conclusion. Though there are just two names which include a root containing the Proto-Semitic phoneme / ʔ / - *ia-am-ra-aš-AN* /*yamraš*/ ʔ -‘ilu/ and *ia-am-ru-uš-AN* /*yamruš*/ ʔ -‘ilu/ - both are spelled with the Š-series. Given the limited nature of Amorite orthography, certain conclusions will likely remain elusive, however, the evidence above appears to support the hypothesis that though the / $\theta^{\text{ʔ}}$ / phoneme remained distinct in western Amorite, / ʔ / and /š/ had merged into the single /š/ phoneme.

²²³ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 229-230.

²²⁴ The Proto-Semitic root $\theta^{\text{ʔ}}ll$ is preserved in the Arabic form *zill*, *zīlāl* (ظل, ظلال) “shadow, shade” (Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (1994) 680). This root is realized in Aramaic as ܙܠܠ *ʔll* “shade,” and in Hebrew as צל *ṣel* “shadow.”

²²⁵ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 255.

There appears to be a more complete consensus regarding the fact that the two historic sibilant consonants /ʃ/ and /s₁/ had already merged in Amorite. As early as 1941, Goetze proposed that /ʃ/ and /s₁/ had coalesced in Amorite, a feature which he suggested was a key shared innovation between Amorite and Ugaritic.²²⁶ Knudsen similarly supported this perspective, arguing that “an important innovation shared with Ugaritic is the merger of /ʃ/ and /s₁/.”²²⁷ In his grammar, Streck provides a detailed analysis of the orthography of these two historic consonants, concluding that /ʃ/ and /s₁/ had merged in Amorite,²²⁸ and that the merger²²⁹ was likely pronounced as a non-affricated *s*, leaving no trace of the two independent phonemes.²³⁰

This brief analysis has shown that the consonantal inventory of western Amorite was characterized by the preservation of twenty-six or twenty-seven (the existence of the /y/ consonant is still uncertain) of the Proto-Semitic consonants and the loss of the two Proto-Semitic lateral phonemes /ʔ/ and /l/. As was already noted by Goetze and Knudsen, perhaps the strongest linguistic correlation between Ugaritic and Western Amorite is found in the consonantal correspondence between the two languages. As in western Amorite, Ugaritic has retained twenty-seven historical consonants and exhibits two key phonological innovations: the lateral emphatic /ʔ/ is not preserved and has merged with /ʃ/, and the /s₁/ and the lateral /l/ have fused and are represented by the {š} sign.²³¹

We find therefore, that the consonantal inventories of both western Amorite and Ugaritic are characterized by the preservation of at least twenty-six of the historic Proto-Semitic

²²⁶ A. Goetze, “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?” *Language* 17 (1941) 134.

²²⁷ Knudsen, *Semitic Studies* (1994) 874.

²²⁸ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 221-228. In his analysis of the representation of the sibilant consonants, Streck details the variation specifically at the site of Alalakh, so further analysis here is not needed.

²²⁹ Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (2000) 255.

²³⁰ Streck (2011) 454.

²³¹ Bordreuil and Pardee, *Manual of Ugaritic* (2009) 23.

consonants as well as by the loss of the two lateral consonants /lʔ/ and /l/. Tropper has proposed that the loss of these two laterals consonants in Ugaritic represents a key shared phonological isogloss between Ugaritic and the Canaanite languages.²³² However, it is my contention that the loss of the lateral consonants should instead be viewed as an important shared isogloss that differentiates Ugaritic and western Amorite from the other branches of Northwest Semitic. Unlike western Amorite and Ugaritic, which show the complete loss of both lateral consonants already in the Bronze Age, in the other Northwest Semitic languages, we find evidence for a gradual loss of the laterals well into the Iron Age, as well as several other significant phonological variations.

The evidence for the preservation of the emphatic lateral /lʔ/ is found in both Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew well into the Iron Age. Aramaic provides the clearest evidence for the preservation of this distinct phoneme, since unlike most other Canaanite languages where /lʔ/ became indistinguishable from /s/ in the orthography, in Old Aramaic (as well as Samʿalian and Deir ʿAllā) /lʔ/ was represented as {q} which then later merged with {ʿ}.²³³ In Biblical Hebrew, Steiner has suggested that “the single grapheme {š} must conceal at least two phonemes – one of which was the emphatic counterpart of /z/ (and the reflex of PS š) and the other of which was the emphatic counterpart of /l/ (and the reflex of PS lʔ).”²³⁴ His argument indicates that the sign {š} in Biblical Hebrew was polyphonous in the earliest textual traditions, and that there was indeed a reflex of the emphatic lateral /lʔ/ preserved in Biblical Hebrew. This evidence shows that while the emphatic lateral /lʔ/ was certainly lost in the other Northwest Semitic languages, this

²³² Tropper, *Ugaritisch-Biblische Literature* 11 (1994) 347-348.

²³³ J. Groen, “On the Phonology of Second Millennium BCE Northwest Semitic,” *Orientalia* 85 (2016): 56.

²³⁴ Steiner, R. *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto Semitic* (New Haven: American Oriental Society 1977) 112. Steiner bases his hypothesis on the forms of *šhq* vs. *lʔq* in Biblical Hebrew.

phonological innovation occurred well into the first millennium, several hundred years after Ugaritic is attested.

A similar preservation of the voiceless lateral /ɬ/ is found in both Aramaic and the Canaanite languages. In Aramaic, the voiceless lateral was written with the *šin* grapheme in Old Aramaic, but was then gradually replaced with the *samek* grapheme during the Imperial Aramaic phase, providing evidence for the retention of this distinct lateral phoneme in the Old Aramaic period.²³⁵ Similarly it has been posited for Biblical Hebrew that “the Common Semitic *ɬ remained distinct for most of the early history of Hebrew, but under Aramaic influence it eventually merged with *s*.”²³⁶ The preservation of the lateral /ɬ/ in the Canaanite languages is further supported by limited evidence from both Amarna Canaanite²³⁷ and Moabite.²³⁸ We also find evidence from Amarna Canaanite as well as Biblical Hebrew, that the merger of sibilants in the Canaanite languages was distinct from that found in Amorite in Ugaritic. As noted above, in both Amorite and Ugaritic, the sibilants /ɬ/ and /s₁/ merged, but remained distinct from the interdental /θ/. Yet in Amarna Canaanite and in Biblical Hebrew, we find that the interdental /θ/ had merged with /s₁/,²³⁹ while remaining distinct from the lateral /ɬ/.²⁴⁰ Not only are the Canaanite languages characterized by the perseveration of the historic lateral phoneme, they are further characterized by a distinct phonological innovation with the merger of the interdental /θ/ with /s₁/ already by the Amarna period.

²³⁵ Groen, *Orientalia* 85 (2016) 56.

²³⁶ Hasselbach, R. and J. Huehnergard, “Northwest Semitic Languages,” *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (K. Versteegh Ed.; Leiden: Brill 2008) 409-422, 411.

²³⁷ L. Kogan, “Proto-Semitic Phonetics and Phonology,” *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011) 97-98.

²³⁸ K. Beyer, “The Languages of Transjordan,” *Languages from the World of the Bible* (H. Gzella, ed.; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012) 112-113.

²³⁹ Streck, M., “Amorite,” *Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (Weninger, Stefan, Ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co 2011) 452-459, 454. Like Ugaritic, Amorite preserved the *θ* consonant, which was represented by the *š* symbol, which is different from the Canaanite languages where the *θ* was never preserved

²⁴⁰ Groen, *Orientalia* 85 (2016) 56. Unlike Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite where /θ/ merged with /s₁/, Phoenician likely displayed a similar phonology to that of Ugaritic, such that /ɬ/ merged with /s₁/.

This brief analysis has shown that the lateral phonemes /lʔ/ and /l/ were preserved in both Aramaic and the Canaanite languages well into the Iron Age, centuries later than the early merger which is seen in Ugaritic and western Amorite. The early loss of these two phonemes thus appears to be a strong phonological isogloss between western Amorite and Ugaritic. However, though this is certainly a clear isogloss, it remains to be determined whether this phonological development is valuable for the purposes of genetic classification. In order to determine this, it would need to be shown that these specific mergers (the merger of /l/ with /s₁/ and /lʔ/ with /š/) are unique only to western Amorite and Ugaritic in the Semitic language tree and do not represent common phonological developments in Semitic more broadly. The following table represents the consonantal correspondence of these two Proto-Semitic phonemes in the major Semitic languages.²⁴¹

Proto-Semitic	Ugaritic	Western Amorite	Hebrew	Phoen.	Aramaic	Arabic	Ethiopic	Old Akk.	Old Bab.
*l	š	š	ל	š	s	š	š	ל	š
*lʔ	š	š	š	š	‘	lʔ	lʔ	š	š

Table 5.5: Realization of the Proto-Semitic Lateral Consonants

The two languages above which show the similar distribution of the two historic lateral consonants are Phoenician and Old Babylonian, and therefore it is to these two languages which we should look for phonological comparison. Certainly the fact that the lateral consonants underwent a similar merger in both of these languages provides evidence that this phonological innovation was not unique to western Amorite and Ugaritic, but was perhaps the result of a common phonological process. However, unlike western Amorite and Ugaritic which exhibit

²⁴¹ The following chart is based upon the phonological analysis presented in several sources (Hasselbach and Huehnergard, *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language* (2008) 411; Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 245-255).

conservative consonantal inventories that have undergone only these two limited innovations, the phonology of Phoenician and Old Babylonian exhibit additional phonological innovations which cause them to diverge from Ugaritic and western Amorite. In both Phoenician²⁴² and Old Babylonian²⁴³ we find that not only has /ʔ/ merged with /s₁/, but /θ/ has merged with /s₁/ as well. Similarly in both Phoenician²⁴⁴ and Old Babylonian,²⁴⁵ not only has /ʔ/ merged with /s/, but the /θ/ phoneme has also merged with /s/.²⁴⁶ This indicates that though laterals have been lost in both Phoenician and Old Babylonian, the consonantal inventory of both languages had undergone several other phonological innovations that distinguish these languages from western Amorite and Ugaritic.

This brief analysis has sought to show that the shared phonological inventory between western Amorite and Ugaritic characterized by the retention of all Proto-Semitic consonants save for the merger of /ʔ/ with /s₁/ and /ʔ/ with /s/, represents a key phonological isogloss between the two languages. Whether this isogloss represents a key shared innovation between these two languages which is therefore sufficient for genetic subgrouping or whether this is simply the result of a phonological change common in Semitic is ultimately unknown. However, it is certainly a striking isogloss that though separated by over half a century, the phonological inventories of western Amorite and Ugaritic are identical. This linguistic similarity appears to provide strong support for the claim made by Bordreuil and Pardee that “linguistically, Ugaritic is considerably more archaic than any of the well-attested Northwest Semitic languages and

²⁴² J. Friedrich and W. Rolig, *Phonizisch-Punische Grammatik: 3. Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo* (Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes Scientifcae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui 55; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1999) 9-10.

²⁴³ M. Streck, “Babylonian and Assyrian,” *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (S. Weninger, ed.; Mouton: De Gruyter, 2011) 361.

²⁴⁴ Friedrich and Rolig, *Phonizisch-Punische Grammatik* (1999) 9-10.

²⁴⁵ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 245-255.

²⁴⁶ Streck, *Amurritische Onomastikon* (2000) 245-255.

probably descends directly from a Levantine “Amorite” dialect.”²⁴⁷ It is certainly possible that the phonological innovations exhibited by Ugaritic were inherited from a western Amorite ancestor, and may well be evidence for a shared innovation of a distinct western Amorite/Ugaritic branch of Northwest Semitic.

5.9 The Genetic Subgrouping of Western Amorite

Unfortunately, though western Amorite shares a number of phonological and morphological features with other Semitic languages, none of these features are valuable for genetic subgrouping. The western Amorite corpus is limited such that no further evidence is currently available as to whether western Amorite occupied a distinct sub-branch of Northwest Semitic or what the possible relationship may have been between western Amorite and Ugaritic. In lieu of additional textual evidence, it can only currently be hypothesized that western Amorite may have occupied a sub-branch distinct from Proto-Canaanite already by the end of the Middle Bronze Age. The fact that western Amorite diverges from classical Amorite in a number of features, most prominently the generalization of the Barth-Ginsberg Law, suggests that western Amorite represented a distinct dialect from its eastern Amorite counterparts.

The close historical relationship between Ugarit and the western polities of Yamḥad and Qatna in the Middle Bronze Age may suggest that Ugarit developed out of this constellation of western Amorite dialects. Linguistic similarities, such as the appearance of the deity Šapšu only at the sites of Alalah and Ugarit, as well as the important shared consonantal inventory between the two languages, further emphasize the close linguistic and cultural relationship between these two sites. Yet, without the discovery of western Amorite texts that might provide additional linguistic data, the relationship between Ugaritic and western Amorite will remain unknown.

²⁴⁷ Bordreuil and Pardee, *Manual of Ugaritic* (2009) 19.

Based upon the linguistic discussion above, below is a hypothetical reconstruction of the Northwest Semitic languages, such that western Amorite and Ugaritic are represented as hypothetically diverging from the other Canaanite and Aramaic language branches.

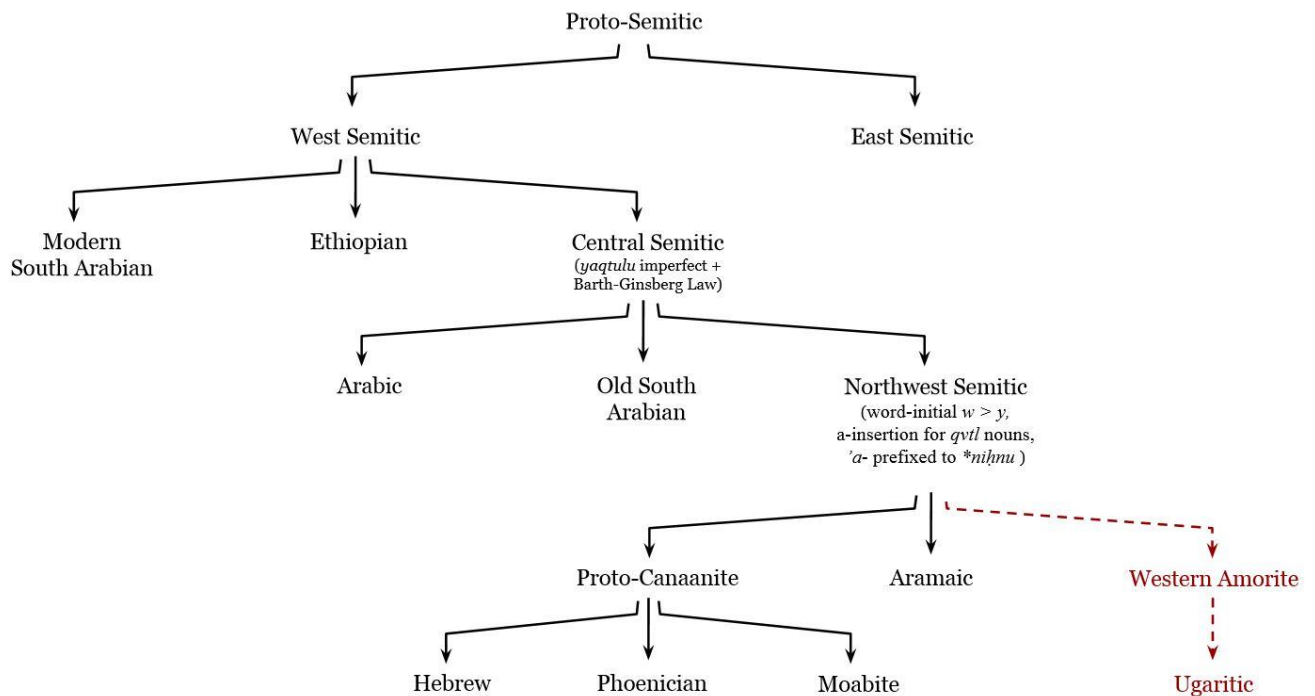


Fig. 5.4: Genetic subgrouping of Western Amorite and Ugaritic (2)

Though Ugaritic and western Amorite did not share in the innovations of the Canaanite languages, the exact linguistic relationship between Ugaritic and western Amorite is unknown. Yet, there is one further piece of evidence which serves to emphasize the close historical and cultural affiliation between the two language groups, namely the personal names themselves and the pantheon that is represented in each corpus.

5.10 Western Amorite Onomastic Evidence for the Middle Bronze Age Western Pantheon

In addition to linguistic evidence, the western Amorite onomastic evidence attested from the territories of Yamḥad and Qatna also provide valuable evidence about naming practices as well as the makeup of the pantheon worshipped in this region. This evidence may then be compared to onomastic evidence available from the Late Bronze Age site of Ugarit, to see if any parallels might be drawn. From the western Amorite corpus roughly forty theophoric elements are preserved in around 850 different personal names, with some only occurring a single time (*Teššub*) while another occurs nearly 100 times (*Haddu*). A full study of the religious and cultural implications of the western Amorite onomasticon will not be broached in this study, though a brief analysis of the frequency and makeup of the theophoric elements will be discussed.

A total of 605 theophoric elements were counted out of the total of 850 personal names. Thus, roughly 250 names do not include a theophoric element including the more than 60 hypocoristic names where a deity is implied, animal names such as *'ayyalum* (“deer”), or other sentence names with an epithet/appellative rather than an explicit theophoric element, such as *šidqī-yapa* (“my righteousness has arisen”). This last name indicates the difficulty encountered when dealing with theophoric elements in personal names; that is, when should a nominal element be considered “divine.” This is especially difficult when common terms referring to members of the family are included, making it unclear whether or not words such as *'abum* should be taken as a divine element, or simply as the common noun “father.” This is true for a variety of terms for family members such as *'ammu* (“paternal ancestor”), *ḥamu* (“father-in-law”), *ḥālu* (“maternal uncle”), *'abu* (“father”), *'aḥu* (“brother”), and *'aḥātu* (“sister”), which primarily function as epithets of a deity. Another term that might be included in this list is *li'm*

“divine tribe/clan,” known famously from the name Zimri-Lîm (*dimrî-li’ m* - “The tribe is my protection”). I have chosen to include all of these terms in the list below, even though only the term *hālu* is written with the *Dingir* determinative in personal names (^d*a-mi-e-šu-uh* /*hamī-yatū*’/ (“My divine father-in-law shall help”). Below is the list of all theophoric elements encountered in the western Amorite personal names, along with the number of occurrences for each element, as well as a percentage of the total.

Theophoric Element	Total Occurrences	Percentage of Total (605)
'Ilu (53) /AN (50)	103	17%
Haddu	93	15%
^d IM	60	10%
'Ammu	47	8%
'Abu	46	8%
Dagan	36 ²⁴⁸	6%
Ba'l	32	5%
Šamšu (13)/ Šapšu (8)/ ^d UTU (6)	27	5%
Ḫamu	26	4%
Li'm	22	4%
'aḫu	19	3%
Rāpi'	15	2%
Yaraḫ	12	2%
Ḫālu	11	2%
'Illa	7	1%
'Attar	6	1%
^d EN.ZU	5	< 1%
Yammu	5	< 1%
'Išḫara	4	< 1%
Sîn	3	< 1%
'Ana	3	< 1%
'Anat	2	< 1%
'aḫātu	2	< 1%
'Alla	2	< 1%
'Aškur	3	< 1%
'Il'abi	2	< 1%
Aššur/a	2	< 1%
Šalim	2	< 1%
Ea	2	< 1%
'Admi	1	< 1%
'Ašar	1	< 1%
'Ubi	1	< 1%
Ba'lat	1	< 1%
Ḫadki	1	< 1%
Lammu	1	< 1%
Mamma	1	< 1%
Mer	1	< 1%
Nabû	1	< 1%
Teššub	1	< 1%
Yipu'	1	< 1%
ITI	1	< 1%

Table 5.6: Pantheon of Western Amorite Onomastics

The first, and perhaps most striking conclusion that can be drawn from this list are first, the relative importance given to the gods Haddu, 'Ilu, Dagan, Ba'lu, and Šamšu/Šapšu in the

²⁴⁸ As noted previously, Dagan was closely associated with the site of Tuttul in northern Mesopotamia. Of the thirty-six occurrences of this theophoric element in western Amorite, twenty-five occurrences come from the site of Tuttul, indicating his relative importance in the pantheon at this site. There are eleven other personal names outside of Tuttul which also include the Dagan divine element: four from Alalaḫ, two names from Emar, and one name from Ugarit, Šuda, Sutean, Ḫarrān, and Qaṭna respectively.

pantheon. 'Ilu/AN stands atop the pantheon with 17% of all names including this element. Haddu is a close second in importance with 15% of all names as well as the logographic representation of the storm deity, ^dIM which occurs in one tenth of all names.²⁴⁹ Dagan, Ba'lu, and Šamšu/Šapšu²⁵⁰ are also relatively common, making up 6%, 5%, and 5% of the total respectively. In total, we find that almost 60% of all names include one of five main deities 'Ilu, Haddu/^dIM, Dagan, Ba'lu, and Šamšu/Šapšu. This relatively high degree of consistency is even more striking when compared with the Late Bronze Age onomastic data from the site of Ugarit. The presence of four of these deities at the top of the pantheon is mirrored in a relatively consistent fashion by the percentage of theophoric elements in personal names at Ugarit. Below is the breakdown of theophoric elements found in personal names attested at Ugarit recently compiled by Van Soldt.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ It is difficult to state with any certainty which deity the logographic element ^dIM may have been referring to in these names, since this logogram can be used to refer to the gods Haddu, Ba'lu, and also the Hurrian deity Teššub. The fact that Teššub only occurs once in syllabic transcription, and the virtual absence of any other Hurrian deities, provides strong support for the hypothesis that this Hurrian deity is not intended by the logogram ^dIM. Two pieces of evidence seem to support the hypothesis that the deity Haddu and not Ba'lu is intended by the logogram. First, Haddu is one of the most common theophoric elements, occurring in 15% of personal names, as compared with Ba'lu which occurs in 5%. Second, one personal name includes a phonetic complement which indicates that Haddu and not Ba'lu is intended by the logogram ^dIM. The name *a-ḥu-ia-^dIM* /'aḥu-Haddu/ ("Haddu is the brother/Brother of Haddu") from the site of Tuttul includes the phonetic complement /ia/ before the logogram, which can be compared with other personal names where the Haddu divine element is written out syllabically such as *ḥa-ab-di-ia-an-du* /'abdi-Handu/ ("Servant of Haddu"), such that the sign /ia/ marks the beginning of the Haddu element. As discussed above, since no syllabic spelling of the divine name occurs as "Hadad" in the western corpus, this phonetic complement almost certainly would indicate the name "Haddu" with the final case vowel. These two pieces of evidence seem to suggest that the deity Haddu is intended by the logogram ^dIM, but since the phonetic complement mentioned above is found in a personal name from the site of Tuttul, it is still quite possible that Ba'lu could have been intended in regions further to the west.

²⁵⁰ See discussion above on the forms Šamšu/ Šapšu and the lack of clarity around whether these refer to the same deity or if these might represent the male and female counterparts of the solar deity.

²⁵¹ W.H. Van Soldt, "Divinities in Personal Names at Ugarit," *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 24; V. Matoian and M. Al-Maqdissi, eds.; Paris: Peeters, 2016) 100. Van Soldt surveyed more than 1,100 personal names found at Ugarit, and lists a total of 47 deities who are included in the personal names at Ugarit. Rather than including the entire list here, I have only included the six most common deities at Ugarit for comparison.

Theophoric Element	Total Occurrences	Percentage of Total (1,100 roughly) ²⁵²
'Ilu	282	26%
Ba'lu	205	19%
Rašap	87	8%
Šapšu	66	6%
Teššub	63	6%
Haddu	35	3%

Table 5.7: Pantheon of Ugaritic Onomastics

Much like the western Amorite material, 54% of all West Semitic personal names at Ugarit contain the deities 'Ilu, Haddu, Ba'lu, and Šamšu/Šapšu. 'Ilu stands atop each pantheon with a significant market share in each, further cementing his position as the father of the gods. The solar deity is included in 5-6% of names in both corpora, showing a striking similarity. This similarity is made more significant by the fact that the solar deity is absent entirely in the personal names of residents of Canaan known from the Amarna letters.²⁵³ Pardee has rightly noted that the pantheon differs quite dramatically according to genre in the Ugaritic material,²⁵⁴ so the onomastic material alone from western Amorite is not sufficient to fully reconstruct the Middle Bronze Age pantheon in the northern Levant. However, there is value in comparing the pantheons between two purely onomastic corpora to see if there is overlap within the same genre.

Though there is over a 50% degree of overlap, the two corpora also diverge in several key points. Though Haddu is the second most prominent deity in western Amorite, at Ugarit, both deities Haddu and Teššub coexist. The relative lack of Hurrian deities in the western Amorite personal names seems to further support the fact that though a high degree of Hurrian

²⁵² Van Soldt, *RSO* 24 (2016) 100-101. Van Soldt does not include a total, and he has three different counting mechanisms, so I have estimated the total here.

²⁵³ R.S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 233-242.

²⁵⁴ D. Pardee, "An Evaluation of the Proper Names from Ebla from a West Semitic Perspective: Pantheon Distribution According to Genre," *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving* (Archivi Reali Di Ebla Studi I; A. Archi, ed.; Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1988) 136-141.

influence is seen in the onomastic and literary evidence from Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age, there was relatively limited Hurrian influence in coastal Syria in the Middle Bronze Age.

Perhaps the most notable difference between the two corpora is the almost complete inversion in number of occurrences of Dagan with the god Rašap in the Ugaritic onomasticon. The divine element Rašap is found in only four classical Amorite names all of which come from the heartland of Mesopotamia, indicating that he was relatively unknown or unimportant in the West in the Middle Bronze Age.²⁵⁵ Similarly, the divine name Dagan is found in only two names from Ugarit, though as was discussed previously, worship of the god Dagan still occurred at the site.²⁵⁶ The statistical inversion of these two deities compared to the relative consistency of the four other main deities Haddu, 'Ilu, Ba'lu, and Šamšu/ Šapšu, raises numerous questions about the function that Dagan and Rašap played in the West and in particular at the site of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age.

The second striking observation which is gained from the western Amorite onomasticon is the relative frequency of ancestral terms in the position of the theophoric element. Terms such as *li'm*, *'ammu*, *ḥamu*, *ḥālu*, *'abu*, *'aḥu*, and *'aḥātu* represent over 25% of the slots corresponding to that of the theophoric elements found in the western Amorite names. This large proportion seems to echo the concept of a kin-based society with strong ties to patrilineal affiliations as well as the larger kin-based structure or the "*li'm*." Based upon relative percentages, the paternal lineage traced through the *'ammu* (paternal ancestor) and *'abu* (father) might have been the most important familial relationship as reflected in 16% of names, though it is clear that the maternal lineage also played a strategic role in kin-based relationships with the common occurrence of *ḥamu* (father-in-law) and *ḥālu* (maternal uncle) occurring in 6% of

²⁵⁵ Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980) 177.

²⁵⁶ Van Soldt, *RSO* 24 (2016) 100-101.

names. Though concrete conclusions cannot be drawn, the relative importance of ancestral terms in personal names serves only to emphasize the importance of kin-based relationships in western Amorite society in the Middle Bronze Age. The relative importance of ancestral terms in western Amorite personal names is contrasted with evidence from Ugarit where, though terms for the immediate family members such as *'ab*, *'ah*, and *'aht* are common, terms for extended family such as *li'm*, *ḥālu*, and *ḥamu* are completely absent, though the term *'ammu* occurs in fourteen names at the site.²⁵⁷

This brief comparison of the western Amorite and Ugaritic onomastic corpora provide insight into naming practices in the Bronze Age northern Levant. The most significant conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is the close similarity in naming conventions between western Amorite and Ugaritic names. The same four deities, *'Ilu*, *Haddu*, *Ba'lu*, and *Šamšu/Šapšu*, sit atop the pantheon and are included in over half of all personal names in each of the two corpora. Such a high degree of consistency provides a strong religious and cultural correlation between the Middle Bronze Age northern Levant and Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age.

5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter we have evaluated the genetic sub-grouping of the Northwest Semitic languages in an attempt to determine the exact linguistic affiliation of both western Amorite and Ugaritic. Both western Amorite and Ugaritic clearly evince the shared innovations of the Central Semitic and Northwest Semitic languages, though they did not share in the innovations of Aramaic or Canaanite. Furthermore, based upon the evidence for the early appearance of the Canaanite Shift in the southern Levant toward the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, Proto-Canaanite likely diverged as a sub-branch of Northwest Semitic already by the end of the Middle

²⁵⁷ Van Soldt, *RSO* 24 (2016) 100-101.

Bronze Age, marking it as a distinct linguistic group from its northern Levantine western Amorite neighbors at sites such as Alalāḥ.

However, the careful analysis of western Amorite has made it clear that the current state of the corpus makes it impossible to determine what the relationship may have been between western Amorite and Ugaritic. Several other pieces of evidence serve to suggest that these two languages may have been closely linked. First, the appearance of the deity Šapšu only at the sites of Alalāḥ and Ugarit due to a similar devoicing process, emphasizes the close linguistic and cultural relationship between these two sites. Second, the relatively high degree of continuity between the pantheon reflected in the western Amorite and Ugaritic personal names further emphasizes the close cultural and religious comparison between the two sites. Though a true reconstruction of the close linguistic affiliation between western Amorite and Ugaritic will remain elusive until the discovery of additional western Amorite linguistic material, greater insight can be gained when the linguistic evidence is correlated with the archaeological findings discussed in the previous chapter. The final chapter will further develop this correlation in an attempt to provide a historical reconstruction for the site of Ugarit.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

The objective of this study has been to provide insight into the Middle Bronze Age historical origins of the polity of Ugarit. In seeking to reach this objective, two main goals have been pursued: 1) to observe the Middle Bronze Age material assemblage as attested at the site of Ugarit throughout the Levant and 2) to determine the genetic relationship between Ugaritic and one or another of the manifestations of “Amorite” known from the Bronze Age. While certain conclusions have been drawn regarding each of these goals in individual chapters, such conclusions have yet to be drawn regarding the key historical objective of this dissertation.

6.1 Historic Emergence of Ugarit, Canaan, and the Amorites

The discussion in chapter three evaluated the historical evidence that exists for the emergence of the political entities of Ugarit, Canaan, and the Amorites. Textual sources from Mari in the Middle Bronze Age, and from Alalah, Egypt, and Amarna in the Late Bronze Age, all indicate that both Ugarit and Canaan were already in existence as distinct political entities in the Middle Bronze period, a political status which would be maintained and strengthened throughout the Late Bronze Age. Textual sources from the Late Bronze Age provide detailed evidence for the clear political borders for the regions of Ugarit and Canaan as depicted in the map below, and texts from the site of Ugarit itself indicate that Ugarit differentiated itself from its southern Canaanite neighbors.

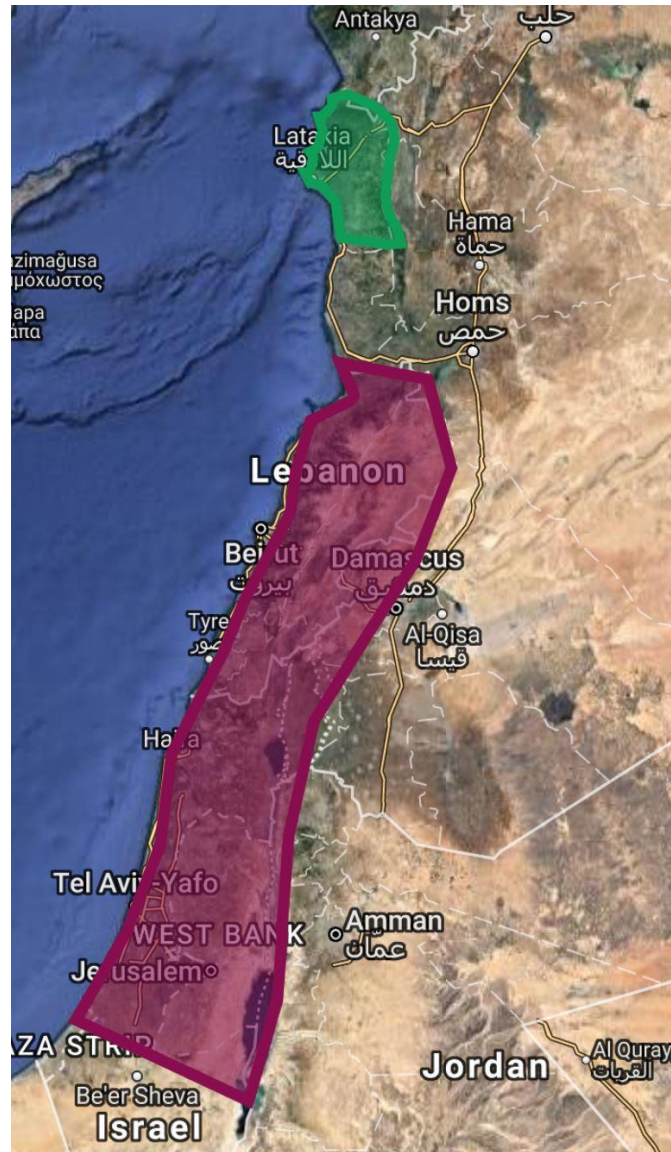


Fig. 6.1: Territories of Ugarit and Canaan in the Late Bronze Age¹

Furthermore we determined that the ethnic descriptors “Amorite” and “Canaanite” were already used in the Middle Bronze Age, but rather than referring to a single distinct ethnic group, these were used as general terms which encoded a hierarchy of individual populations in each region. In the Middle Bronze Age territory of Mari, there was a hierarchy of affiliations, ranging from the local clans (*lîmum*), to the regional tribe or “tribal confederacy” (Yaminites), and finally

¹ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 Google, Maps GISrael, ORION-ME Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

to the broader concept of “Amorite” hegemony.² Thus, the use of the royal titular “King of the Amorites,” by kings such as Zimri-Lîm and Hammurapi, was politically strategic as it subsumed all of these smaller kin-based tribal groups under a single designation. Similarly in the Late Bronze Age, though the local Canaanite kings of the southern Levant never adopted the descriptor “Canaanite,” the kings of Babylon, Egypt, and Alalah, all used the term “kings of Canaan,” viewing the southern Levantine kings as a political coalition.³

Though the historical ethnic terms “Amorite” and “Canaanite” were productive in the Middle Bronze Age and provide meaningful ethnic descriptors in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, we must avoid reducing the complexity and the diversity of the Bronze Age Levant to the opposition of two groups. In using terms such as “Ugaritian,” “Amorite,” or “Canaanite,” we must be sensitive to their historical usage, and also avoid being reductionist when using these terms to refer to ancient population groups. In describing a population as “Amorite” or “Canaanite,” no claim is made as to the personal ethnic or tribal affiliation of the individuals residing in the region. However, we are acknowledging that these terms were productive political descriptors applied to individuals and populations during the Bronze Age.

It is the historical political reality of these terms that is of import for the final conclusions of this study. In considering the historical origins of the site of Ugarit, one key objective is to

² D. Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 24-32, 39-43. Fleming provides a detailed overview of the terminology as well as the hierarchy built into what he describes as the “tribal society” of Mari. We might envision the society structured as a pyramid. At the base were the local clans, or *lîmû*. At the second level were the two main “tribal confederacies,” the Yaminites (or *binû yamina*) and the Sim'alites (or *binû sim'al*). Though only the Yaminites and Sim'alites were under the control of Mari, several other tribal confederacies existed beyond Mari's borders including the tribal confederacies of Yamḥad and Numḥa. At the pinnacle of this pyramid stood the king reigning from Mari. In adopting the title “king of the Amorites,” kings Zimri-Lîm and Hammurapi proclaimed control of all of the local tribes which would have been categorized under the title “Amorite.” See pages 39-43 of Fleming's volume for a detailed presentation of the usage of the term “Amorite” in ancient texts and the close association between language and ethnic descriptor. For a reference to the *binû yamina* see ARM 26/1 24:11 (Durand, *Archives Royales de Mari* 26 (1988) 152-154).

³ As discussed in greater detail in chapter 3, Amarna text EA 9:19-21 records that the “Canaanites” corresponded with the Mitannian ruler of Babylon, and text EA 162:40-41 records the king of Egypt referring to the southern Levantine region as the “land of Canaan.”

determine the political affiliation of the early population which settled at the site of Ras Shamra during the Middle Bronze Age. In emphasizing the “Amorite” affiliation of this population, we must also be conscious that the population itself may have never espoused this ethnic description, likely adopting a local tribal affiliation instead. Yet though the local population may never have espoused the term “Amorite,” an analysis of the material culture and language of the inhabitants of the site, provides strong evidence that Ugarit was a local expression of Amorite political expansion in the Middle Bronze Age.

6.2 Middle Bronze Age Material Assemblage of Ugarit

In seeking to understand the historical origins of Ugarit, the central research question driving the current approach to the archaeological remains of the site of Ras Shamra has been “Are there any sites that exhibit a material assemblage similar to the site of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze I periods?” This question was originally asked irrespective of whether or not the material assemblage of Middle Bronze Age Ugarit can be classified as “Amorite,” “Canaanite” or something else. As discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of this study, the material assemblage found at Ugarit is not unique, but shows close parallels with other sites in the region. From the review of other sites which display a similar material assemblage, we find that this assemblage is similar to what is encountered at sites throughout the northern Levant, extending to a few sites in northern Mesopotamia, and into the southern Levant, extending as far south as Tell el-Dab‘a in the Nile Delta region.

Out of the thirty-five sites of which the archaeological remains were surveyed, twenty-six sites exhibit two or more elements of this material assemblage, eleven sites exhibit three or more, and just seven sites exhibit four or five of the features.



Fig. 6.2: Map of sites exhibiting three (yellow), four (orange), or five (red) elements of the material assemblage⁴

The sites of Ugarit and Alalakh share all five features of the material assemblage in common. As seen in the map above, Alalakh and Ugarit are both located in the fertile coastal plain that stretches from northern Syria to southern Turkey, roughly only 120 km from one another. Both sites acted as key hubs along the trade route which stretched from inland Mesopotamia to Anatolia and then south into the southern Levant, indicating that the two sites likely maintained a close affiliation during the Middle Bronze Age. Other major western regional centers from the Middle Bronze Age, including Ebla and Qatna, also exhibit a high degree of overlap with Ugarit and Alalakh, sharing in four of the five distinctive features of the material assemblage.

Yet this is not merely a northern Levantine cultural trend, since this distinctive material assemblage is found at the Amorite capital of Mari in the Middle Euphrates region as well as the

⁴ Google Maps, Map data ©2018 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Imagery ©2018 Terra Metrics [Accessed 3 Feb. 2018]. Map modified by author.

large sites of Hazor and Megiddo in the southern Levant. As pictured in the map above, sites exhibiting three features of the material assemblage are found even as far south as the site of Tel el-Dab‘a in Egypt, at Shechem in the southern Levant, and to the northeast at Aleppo, Hammam et-Turkam, and Šubat-Enlil stretching throughout northern Mesopotamia. A close analysis of the appearance and composition of this material assemblage then allowed us to determine the type of social agency that may have been involved in the spread of this material assemblage in the Middle Bronze Age, be that trade, elite emulation, or migration.

From glyptic evidence, we know that extensive trade networks existed between the northern⁵ and the southern Levant⁶ going in both directions. The presence of cylinder seals crafted in the Classic Syrian Style,⁷ a style which was originally developed as a royal style at Mari,⁸ provides indication that the populations which moved to the coastal site of Ugarit and then further south into the southern Levant and Egypt, had adopted the glyptic style found in the Amorite heartland. The portability of seals, their uses in trade, and the fact that they were also likely used as beads or amulets, may suggest that the spread of the Syrian glyptic style might

⁵ D. Collon, "Some Cylinder Seals from Tell Mohammed Arab," *Iraq* 50 (1988): 59-77.

⁶ O. Keel, "Cylinder and Stamp Seals in the Southern Levant between 1800 and 1500 BC," *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals* (P. Taylor, ed.; London: The Warburg Institute, 2006) 62-81. Keel has identified a group of cylinder enstatite seals from the period from 1650-1500 BCE which are present primarily in Egypt and the southern Levant, but also at the sites of Ugarit and Ebla in the northern Levant. This evidence has led Keel to suggest that though there is clear evidence from the MB IIA of haematite traditions moving from the north to the south, trade was operating in both directions.

⁷ E. Porada and D. Collon, "Classic Syrian Cylinder Seals of the Eighteenth and Seventeenth Centuries BC," *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in The British Museum: Cylinder Seals IV: The Second Millennium BC Beyond Babylon* (E. Porada and D. Collon, eds.; London: The British Museum Press, 2016) 23. As discussed in detail in chapter four, the Classic Syrian Style developed in the nineteenth century, remaining in use until around 1650 BCE, and was characterized by "a change from the sharp linear engraving characteristic of the small figures of North Syrian glyptic to the often perfectly smooth finish of carefully executed figures and other forms carved with classic precision and restraint, with increasing enrichment of the iconography by Babylonian and Egyptian elements."

⁸ Porada and Collon, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals* (2016) 23, note 3. Porada and Collon suggested that the proliferation of this style may be directly connected stylistically to the seal impressions known from the reign of Shamshi-Adad I (1807-1776 BCE) from Tell Leilan and Mari, and more specifically to those from the reign of Zimri-Lîm of Mari (1775-1761 BCE). They conclude that the development of this completely new and unique style of engraving and use of haematite can be tied directly to the reigns of these early Amorite kings, suggesting that this style may be identified as an Amorite royal style.

have been a result of trade between the two regions. Yet, as discussed in detail in chapter three, the presence of seal-making workshops at the sites of Ugarit and Alalah, tend to support the assumption that the seals were made locally. Local production of the Amorite royal seal iconography supports the claim that the population which settled to the site of Ugarit during the Middle Bronze Age brought the technology and artistic style with them.

The other elements of the material assemblage at Ugarit provide further evidence for a population migration at the start of the Middle Bronze Age II period. As discussed in detail in chapter four, archaeological evidence for migrating populations is reflected in the material culture through the adoption of a new form of social complexity at the site. Social complexity is most often reflected in two ways in the material assemblage; namely, in the adoption of technological innovations requiring a strong central ruling hierarchy, and in the distinctive physical organization of public architecture.⁹ Such evidence for social complexity is evident in the material assemblage from Ugarit. Large public building works such as *migdāl*-style temples, distinctive palatial organization, and fortification systems indicate that the populations which settled these sites possessed a fully-functioning central social hierarchy capable of accumulating such labor and technological resources.

Furthermore, textual sources from the Middle and Late Bronze Age provide additional evidence for shared religious and ritual parallels between the site of Ugarit and the other Amorite sites of Mari, Alalah, and Ebla. The appearance of a donkey ritual and *pagrû* rite, the prominence of the deity Dagan, and parallels in calendar type, all serve to emphasize close religious parallels

⁹ A. Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 25, 32. The demonstration of social complexity in the monumental architecture of the site is common for migrating populations, since often in “situations of conquest and colonization by an outside power of superior force, the newcomers are likely to manifest their identity not only in domestic but also in monumental architecture.”

between Ugarit as known in the Late Bronze Age and the Amorite cultural traditions from the Middle Bronze Age.

This brief survey emphasizes that a migration model is the most likely explanation for the appearance of these distinctive features of the material assemblage of Ugarit at sites throughout the Levant. This conclusion is further supported by osteological analysis of human remains found at Tell el-Dab‘a, which indicate that at least a portion of the Middle Bronze Age population at the site had migrated from the northern Levant into the Nile Delta to settle, thereby bringing with them significant elements of their material culture.¹⁰ It is clear that population migrations which brought with them key elements of their urban settlement pattern were one of the catalysts that led to the re-urbanization of the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age. Yet, it must also be stressed that only a limited number of sites have yielded this distinct material assemblage, and therefore other factors were certainly at play in the development of the urban landscape of the Middle Bronze period.

Furthermore, we may tentatively take the conclusion one step further, by discussing the possible origin of these migrating populations. The site of Ugarit was resettled ca. 1800 BCE, at the height of Ya‘dun-Lîm’s power in Mari. The royal Amorite glyptic iconography, the ritual practices known from Amorite texts, and the unique perspective of social complexity, all show that there was, at the very least, a close cultural affiliation between the site of Ugarit and its Amorite neighbors. Furthermore, the densest constellation of the material assemblage at sites such as Mari, Qaṭna, Alalakh, and Ebla, all key centers from the Middle Bronze Amorite period,

¹⁰ M. Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go,” *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192; M. Marée, ed.; Paris: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2010) 163. Bietak has shown in his analysis of the material remains at Tell el-Dab‘a that “at least a substantial number of the settlers at Avaris originated most probably from the northern Levant, especially from the region made up today by Lebanon and northern Syria, supported by the osteological analysis of human remains from Tell el Dab‘a, which have their best cluster matches in an Iron Age series from Kâmid el-Lôz in the Beq‘a.”

suggests that Ugarit fit closely within this Amorite sphere of sites. Both of these pieces of evidence support the conclusion that the population which migrated to and settled at the site of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze IIB period likely represented a local *lîmum*, or tribal confederation, which would have fallen under the politically significant term of “Amorite” as understood in the Middle Bronze Age. However the archaeological remains themselves are mute and no Middle Bronze Age textual evidence has been discovered at Ugarit which might provide support for this tentative conclusion. In lieu of this textual support, we must then look to linguistic evidence to see if it supports this conclusion.

6.3 Development of the Northwest Semitic Languages in the Bronze Age

Much disagreement regarding the historical origins of the site of Ugarit has been caused by the lack of clarity regarding the genetic affiliation of the language of Ugaritic within the Northwest Semitic language branch. This is due in large part to the fact that the language of classical Amorite, the only Northwest Semitic language known from the Middle Bronze Age, has always been studied as a single language stratum that existed for over a millennium, across thousands of miles, without respect to region or time period. In order to avoid this pitfall, this study has sought to identify a single sub-stratum of the classical Amorite continuum; namely, the western Amorite language, or group of languages, attested in the western territories of Yamḥad and Qatna in the Middle Bronze Age. The isolation of this language group then allowed for a re-evaluation of the genetic affiliation of Ugaritic through a detailed analysis of all Northwest Semitic languages known from the Bronze Age Levant.

The analysis presented in chapter five has determined that while both Ugaritic and western Amorite exhibit the key innovations of the Central and Northwest Semitic language

families, neither language shared the innovations of the Canaanite language group. Textual evidence from the fifteenth century makes it clear that the Canaanite Shift, one of the three key shared innovations of the Canaanite language group, appears commonly in toponymic evidence, suggesting that this innovation had emerged even earlier, late in the Middle Bronze Age or, at the very latest, early in the Late Bronze Age. This evidence indicates that Ugaritic and western Amorite were distinct from the Canaanite languages already by the start of the Late Bronze Age and must therefore occupy a distinct branch of the Northwest Semitic language group.

Though it can be securely hypothesized that Ugaritic had diverged significantly enough from the Canaanite languages to occupy its own branch of Northwest Semitic, it is less certain what the relationship may have been between Ugaritic and western Amorite. Due to the limited nature of the western Amorite corpus, there is insufficient evidence to propose any clearly shared innovations between Ugaritic and western Amorite. However, two other possible phonological isoglosses have emerged from our discussion, which serve to emphasize the close linguistic affiliation between Ugaritic and western Amorite. The first of these is the form of the designation of the solar deity, /šapšu/,¹¹ though this may be construed as a cultural rather than a linguistic isogloss. However, since this particular phenomenon is only found at the sites of Ugarit and Alalakh, it is unclear whether this form of the name is the result of a shared innovation or simply areal diffusion and is therefore not useful for genetic subgrouping. The second of these, the innovative loss of the historic lateral consonants, resulting in a shared consonantal inventory between Ugaritic and western Amorite, is indeed an important shared isogloss between the two languages, one which further differentiates these two languages from the other Northwest

¹¹ P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009) 25. Whereas only the devoiced variant /šapšu/ occurs at Ugarit, both voiced and devoiced variants occur in the onomastic evidence from Alalakh VII. Since eight forms exhibit the devoiced variant /šapšu/ and only three forms exhibit the form /šamšu/, it appears that the devoiced variant is in the process of becoming the more common form of the name.

Semitic language branches. Therefore, the conclusion that western Amorite and Ugaritic shared the same branch of Northwest Semitic, as shown in the hypothetical reconstruction below, must remain a hypothesis until shared innovations are attested.

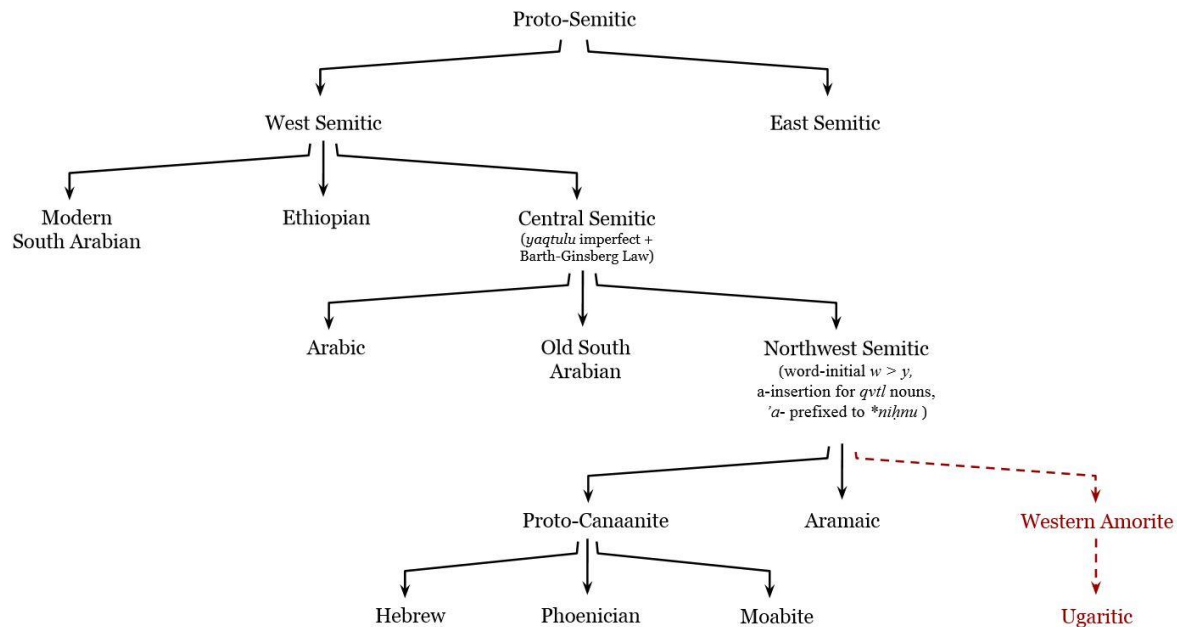


Fig. 6.3: Genetic subgrouping of Ugaritic

Though no further linguistic evidence exists to support the conclusion that western Amorite and Ugaritic are closely related, continuity between the western Amorite and Ugaritic onomastic corpora further emphasizes the close cultural and religious affiliation between the Middle Bronze Age Amorite territories and the Late Bronze Age site of Ugarit. The same four deities, 'Ilu, Haddu, Ba'lu, and Šamšu/Šapšu, sit atop the particular pantheon visible in personal names in each of the two corpora.

Theophoric Element	Percentage in Western Amorite	Percentage at Ugarit
'Ilu	17%	26%
Ba'lu	5%	19%
Šapšu	5%	6%
Haddu	25%	3%
Total	52%	54%

Table 6.1: Pantheon of Western Amorite and Ugaritic Onomastics

Important variations exist between the two onomastic corpora such as the large percentage of ancestral terms in western Amorite¹² and the new importance of the deities Rašap and Teššub at Ugarit.¹³ Yet, the high degree of consistency of the four main deities of the pantheon provides evidence for a strong religious and cultural correlation between Late Bronze Ugarit and the western polities of Yamḥad and Qatna in the Middle Bronze Age.

6.4 The Local Amorite Dynasty of Ugarit: Historical Conclusions

The population which migrated to the site of Ugarit at the start of the Middle Bronze IIB period, ca. 1800 BCE, immediately constructed two monumental temples at the pinnacle of the acropolis at the site. This population would further construct a massive palatial structure with a distinctive organization of space as well as large fortification systems. These large public works, whose massive construction would have taken thousands of man-hours to produce, provide evidence for a strong central hierarchy which possessed ample monetary and labor capital.

Furthermore, the unique temple and palace designs found at the site mark a major shift from

¹² Over one quarter of the western Amorite corpus includes ancestral terms such as *li'm*, *'ammu*, *ḥamu*, *ḥālu*, *'abu*, *'aḥu*, and *'aḥātu*, evincing the importance of familial relationships within the kin-based society. The fact that the majority of these terms are completely absent in the Ugaritic onomastic corpus perhaps belies the breakdown of this concept of society.

¹³ As discussed previously, the deities Rašap and Teššub are virtually unknown in western Amorite. Rašap is surprisingly found in only four classical Amorite names, perhaps suggesting that Rašap rose to prominence in the pantheon in the Late Bronze Age. The appearance of Teššub at Ugarit, shows the growing Hurrian influence at the site, especially within the religious sphere. The almost complete lack of Hurrian theophoric elements in the western Amorite corpus supports the conclusion that Hurrian population elements likely did not arrive in the region until the start of the Late Bronze Age.

previous periods, indicating that the population which settled the site, brought with them unique perspectives of social and religious complexity.

Further evidence suggests that this unique social complexity should be linked with the Amorite populations of the period. Cylinder seals dating to the Middle Bronze Age period at the site were likely locally produced in the Classic Syrian style matching the royal Amorite glyptic iconography of Mari. Textual evidence from the Late Bronze Age site of Ugarit further demonstrates that many of the Amorite rituals and rites initially practiced in the Middle Bronze Age, such as the donkey ritual and the *pagrû* rite, continued to be practiced in the site's temples which would remain in use throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, as the population continued to flourish at the site for some six hundred years.

The presence of this constellation of material remains at the known Amorite sites from the Middle Bronze Age such as Mari, Yamḥad, Alalah, Ebla, and Qatna, further emphasizes the fact that Ugarit was part of the Amorite urbanization trend in the northern Levant and middle Euphrates region. Yet, the appearance of this material assemblage outside of the northern Levant and the Amorite heartland, indicates that this was part of a larger migration pattern. Tel el-Dab'a in the Nile Delta provides perhaps the most substantial evidence for migrating Amorite populations which brought with them Syrian-style palace construction and Classic Syrian glyptic styles.

Taken independently, the archaeological evidence provides a strong foundation for substantiating the claim that the site of Ugarit was originally established by an Amorite tribal group in the Middle Bronze Age. Further evidence for the history of Ugarit comes from the local vernacular spoken in the Late Bronze Age, providing a window into the development of the Northwest Semitic languages. This language was linguistically distinct from its southern

Canaanite neighbors, instead sharing close cultural parallels with the western Amorite onomastic corpus from the Middle Bronze Age, though no strong linguistic parallels have yet been traced.

When viewed in conjunction, these independent pieces of evidence begin to provide the elements for the narration of the rich Middle Bronze Age history of the polity of Ugarit. The population which originally settled the site in the Middle Bronze IIB period may perhaps be considered an Amorite kin-based, tribal group which migrated to the site bringing with them their rich material culture, religious practices, and developed social hierarchy. This population flourished throughout the Middle Bronze Age, growing to populate the entirety of the tell, which served as a key trade hub for the kingdoms of Mari and Yamḥad.

At the end of this period, unlike the other major Amorite urban centers of Alalakh and Mari which fell at the hands of the Hittites ca. 1600 BCE, Ugarit remained continuously inhabited throughout the Late Bronze Age transition, showing no clear destruction layer. Though settlement at the site would decrease significantly during the Late Bronze I period, key structures, such as the temples of the acropolis, would remain continuously in use. This religious continuity would unsurprisingly appear in the ritual textual corpus developed later in the Late Bronze Age, as the population continued to practice historically Amorite rituals until the fall of the site in the twelfth century. The retention of Amorite rituals and Amorite deities such as Didanu in the mythological epics and ritual texts certainly supports the fact that elements of this past were retained over the six-hundred-year occupation.

The Late Bronze Age polity of Ugarit cannot be studied in isolation without understanding the rich Amorite cultural heritage of the site. The Late Bronze Age occupants of the site retained Amorite traditions including naming practices, the hierarchy of the pantheon, ritual and religious traditions, and the major public works including temples and palatial

organization. Though the degree to which these Ugaritians understood and remembered this rich Amorite history will remain unclear, this significant continuity in religious and public life seems to support the hypothesis that the Amorite heritage was central to the population's culture. In light of this, perhaps further clues as to the Amorite heritage of Ugarit might be sought in the textual and archaeological remains from the Late Bronze Age.

6.5 Legacy of Complexity: Historical Implications

Three clear implications emerge from these conclusions. First, gaining a greater insight into the Amorite history of the population which first settled the site of Ugarit in the Middle Bronze period should inform future studies of the language, literature, and archaeology of Ugarit. The Late Bronze Age polity of Ugarit, known so well from the textual evidence they left behind, did not arise in the thirteenth century with the invention of the local alphabetic cuneiform, but instead developed over the course of a rich six hundred year period of cultural continuity. Rather than looking to southern Canaanite neighbors, further political, linguistic, cultural, and religious connections should be sought with the Amorite dynasties from the Middle Bronze Age to help illuminate our understanding of the Late Bronze Age Ugaritian polity.

Second, since this study provides the first attempt to conduct a dialectology of the classical Amorite onomastic material, Amorite dialectology must remain a key investigative approach in the field of Amorite studies. Though corpora consisting purely of onomastics will continue to be inherently of limited usefulness for linguistic research, significant results may nevertheless emerge from such exploration. As further dialects are identified, it is the hope that we may gain insight into the burgeoning of linguistic and literary diversity at the start of the Iron

Age, specifically the diversity which characterizes the Old Aramaic dialects that are attested from throughout the Fertile Crescent from the southern Levant to southern Babylon.¹⁴

Third and finally, this study has revealed that we should no longer adopt a unilateral “Amorite” or “Canaanite” hypothesis for the development of Middle Bronze Age urbanism. It is clear that Amorite populations migrated throughout the northern Levant, moving into the southern Levant even as far south as the Nile Delta region. However, it is also clear that a large number of fortified urban sites arose throughout the Levantine region that have yet to yield any other material cultural hallmarks of Amorite settlement. Given the limited appearance of the “Amorite material koiné” and the large number of urban sites that did not yield this type of assemblage, a hybrid explanatory model of both exogenous and endogenous forces in the region is necessary to account for the return to urbanism in the Middle Bronze Age.

In this hybrid model, individual kin-based Amorite population groups moved into the northern and southern Levant, bringing with them key elements of their material assemblage that reflected unique aspects of social complexity, religious expression, and administrative practices. These groups settled large strategically-located sites that had previously been abandoned during the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I/IBA), and then began interacting with the surrounding indigenous populations,¹⁵ stimulating smaller sites to expand and develop in response to increased trade and cultural exchange.

¹⁴ R. Zadok, “On the Amorite Material from Mesopotamia,” *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (M. Cohen, D. Snell and D. Weisberg, eds.; Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1993) 315-318. A similar view was already expressed by Zadok in his comparison of the Amorite material with later Aramaic dialects. A true study of dialectology would need to be undertaken in order to substantiate such claims.

¹⁵ See chapter 3 for a discussion of the evidence for the existence of Canaan as a political territory and use of the ethnic descriptor “Canaanite” in the Middle Bronze Age. Also, see chapter 5 for a discussion of the evidence for the emergence of Canaanite as a distinct language branch at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Whether the ethnic descriptor “Canaanite” can be applied to the indigenous populations of the southern Levant as early as the Middle Bronze Age is not certain from the available evidence.

We might describe the Middle Bronze Age as the first period of true international relations, as trade stretched for hundreds of miles and populations took advantage of the new period of economic growth and expansion. The archaeological and linguistic material brought to light in this study serves to enhance our understanding of the historical complexity and diversity of the Middle Bronze Age period of international relations. Population movement, economic growth, and trade all contributed to the reemergence of urbanism after an extended period of ruralism. Ritual traditions, technological innovations, and administrative practices were brought by populations from the Amorite heartland situated perhaps in the territory of Jebel Bišri,¹⁶ into the northern and southern Levant, and many of these would be retained for hundreds of years. The landscape was multi-lingual as migrating populations produced language contact and evolution. Thus the rich international culture of the Late Bronze Age finds its roots several centuries earlier in the Amorite population movements and the rise of urbanism of the Middle Bronze period.

Due to its strategic location at the intersection of the main maritime and overland trade routes, the site of Ugarit stood at the center of this new age of international trade and interaction between Mesopotamia and the northern and southern Levant.¹⁷ While many other Amorite

¹⁶ M. Silver (née Lönnqvist), “The Earliest State Formation of the Amorites: Archaeological Perspectives from Jebel Bishri,” *Zoroastrianism in the Levant and the Amorites* (ARAM 26:1-2; Oxford: Aram Publishing, 2014) 243-267. There has been much debate surrounding what may have been the “original” heartland of the Amorites in the third millennium. Silver has provided perhaps the most penetrating study of the textual and archaeological evidence linking Amorite heritage with the region of Jebel Bišri in her recent article. For a more complete study of the archaeological remains of Jebel Bišri see also (M. Lönnqvist, et al., *Jebel Bishri in Focus* (2011)). This textual and archaeological evidence is compelling, especially when taken in conjunction with the fact that a fully-functioning “Amorite” polity appears at the site of Mari in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

¹⁷ A.B. Knapp and J. Cherry, *Provenience Studies and Bronze Age Cyprus: Production, Exchange and Politico-Economic Change* (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1994) 135-136. Just a day’s journey from Cyprus and Cilicia, Ugarit’s two main ports, Minet el-Beida and Ras ibn-Hani, “could accommodate ships displacing over 200 tons,” allowing for large quantities of goods to be moved quickly along the coast. Ugarit also controlled the “coastal highway of Syria,” the entry to the main overland passage which connected the Southern Levant with central Syria and the Amanus and Taurus passes in Anatolia, as well as the inland passages of the Orontes Valley guarded by the key sites of Ugarit and Alalakh. This dual control of maritime and overland trade routes made of the kingdom of Ugarit the most effective intermediary between the Mediterranean coast and central Syria. We know from texts

kingdoms ceased, this strategic position allowed the Amorite kingdom of Ugarit to retain its autonomy throughout the tumultuous transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age, thereby preserving its Amorite cultural and religious heritage over the course of more than half a millennium. The texts of Ugarit have preserved in perpetuity a localized expression of an Amorite dynasty along with its rich mythological, ritual, and literary traditions.

discovered at Mari that king Zimri-Lîm took advantage of the strategic placement of Ugarit, spending over one month at the site facilitating trade within his massive kingdom.

APPENDIX: WESTERN AMORITE CORPUS

The following corpus is composed of all western Amorite personal names found in texts dating to the Middle Bronze Age from roughly 1900-1600 BCE. This appendix provides the basis for the analysis of the western Amorite dialect stratum conducted in chapter 5. The first column provides the site from which the name is attested. The second column provides the transcription as it appears in the publication of the text which is listed in column five. The second and third columns include my personal transliteration and translation of the name in question. The final two columns are provided for ease of reference and include the relevant number in Gelb's 1980 publication of Amorite onomastics,¹ as well as the reference section found in Streck's 2000 publication.² The following abbreviations are used:

ARM	Archives Royales de Mari volumes 16-32
FM	Florilegium marianum volumes 1-11
Gelb 1980	I.J. Gelb, <i>Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite</i> (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980).
GN	Geographic Name
Kreb 2001	M. Krebern timer, <i>Tall Bi'a - Tuttul - II: Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 100; Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001).
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
MARI	Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
UF 36	M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der Brief des Jarimlim von Alalah (ATAB 11.01 = ATT 39/182.24)," <i>Ugarit Forschungen</i> 36 (2004): 151-156.
Wiseman	D.J. Wiseman, <i>The Alalah Tablets</i> (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953).
?	Uncertain transliteration or translation

¹ I.J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980).

² M. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit. Band 1: Die Amurriter, Die onomastische Forschung, Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000).

Table A: Western Amorite Corpus

Site	Transcription	Transliteration	Translation	Publication	Gelb Ref	Streck Ref
Tuttul	(ḥ)a-mu-ra-pí-i	ḥamu-rāpi'	The father-in-law is a healer	Kreb 2001	*	*
Ḥarrān	[--]-ar-sa-ab-la-il	?-la-'il	'Ilu surely shall ?	ARM 16.1	3073	*
Tuttul	'à-rí-im-'à-da-ga	'arīma-daga(n)	Let me exalt Dagan	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-ab-du-a-na-ta	'abdu-'anata	Servant of 'Anat	Kreb 2001	*	3.21
Tuttul	a-ab-du-e-mi-im	'abdu-yammim	Servant of Yammu	Kreb 2001	*	2.13, 2.176, 3.18
Tuttul	a-al-i- ^d da-gan	'a'alī-dagan	I shall exalt Dagan	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-aq-bi-um	'aqbūm	(The god) is my guardian	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	a-ba-AN	'aba-'ilu	'Ilu is the father	Gelb 1980	45	3.35
Aleppo	ab-ba-AN	'aba-'ilu	'Ilu is the father	FM 7 Text 50	599	*
Alalah	ab-ba-LUGAL	'aba-malku	The father is king	Gelb 1980	603	*
Tuttul	ab-da-an	'abdān	Servant	Kreb 2001	607	2.172
Yamhad	ab-du-ia-an-du	'abdu-handu	Servant of Haddu	ARM 16.1	633	2.165, 2.172
Alalah	ab-di-a-na-ti	'abdi-'anati	Servant of 'Anat	Gelb 1980	612	2.172, 2.178, 3.18, 3.61
Alalah	ab-di- ^d eš4-dar	'abdi-'aṭtar	Servant of 'Aṭtar	Gelb 1980	619	2.172
Yamhad	ab-di-ia-du	'abdi-handu	Servant of Haddu	ARM 16.1	621	2.33, 298, 2.165, 2.172, 3.61
Tuttul	ab-du-a-mi	'abdu-ḥamī	Servant of my father-in-law	Kreb 2001	627	2.172
Tuttul	ab-dú-be-lá-tim	'abdi-ba'latim	Servant of Ba'latu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ab-dú- ^d da-gan	'abdu-dagan	Servant of Dagan	Kreb 2001	629	2.172
Tuttul	ab-du- ^d iš-ḥa-ra	'abdu-'išḥara	Servant of 'Išḥara	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ab-du-ÍŠTAR	'abdu-'aṭtar	Servant of 'Aṭtar	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ab-dum	'abdum	Servant of (the god)	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	A-bi-a-zi	'abī-'azzi	My father is strong	Gelb 1980	60	*
Yamhad	a-bi- ^d IM	'abī-Haddu	My father is Haddu	ARM 16.1	101	*
Sutean	a-bi-e-pu-uh	'abī-yāpu'	My father shall shine	ARM 21 Text 10	70	*
Tuttul	a-bi-e-ra-aḥ	'abī-yaraḥ	My father is Yaraḥ	Kreb 2001	72	*

Tuttul	a-bi-na-ar	'abī-nawar	My father is Nawar	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	a-bi-na-bi-um	'abī-nabi'um	My father is a prophet	ARM 30 Text XXII 150+	*	*
Alalah	a-bi-ra-aḥ	'abī-yaraḥ	My father is Yaraḥ	Gelb 1980	124	2.26, 2.81 A1
Balih	a-bi-sa-mar	'abī-šamar	My father protects	ARM 16.1	134	*
Sutean	ab-na-bi-um	'ab-nabi'um	The father is a prophet	ARM 23 Text 449	*	*
Tuttul	a-bu-ka-AN	'abuka-'ilu	Your father is 'Ilu or "Fighter of 'Ilu"	Kreb 2001	157	*
Tuttul	a-bu-la-ú	'abu-lawu'	The father is a priest	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-bu-ni-im	'abu-ni'm	The father is wonderful	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	ad-du-ma-lik	Haddu-malik	Haddu is king	Gelb 1980	655	*
Tuttul	a-di-e-ra-aḥ	'adī-yaraḥ	Ornament of Yaraḥ	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	ad-i-ra	'adira	Help	Gelb 1980	657	*
Sutean	a-di-rum	'adīrum	Help of (the god)	ARM 21 Text 10	*	*
Alalah	ad-ri-a-du	'adri-haddu	Haddu is my help	Gelb 1980	677	2.104, 2.165, 2.172
Yamhad	ad-ri-a-du	'adri-haddu	Haddu is my help	ARM 16.1	677	2.104, 2.165, 2.172
Yamhad	ad-ri-ia-an-du	'adri-handu	Haddu is my help	ARM 16.1	680	2.98, 2.104, 2.165, 2.172
Yamhad	ad-ri-ia-du	'adri-haddu	Haddu is my help	ARM 22 Text 327	681	2.98, 2.104, 2.165, 2.172
Alalah	A-du	'adu	Witness	Gelb 1980	192	*
Hanzat	a-du-na- ^d IM	'aduna-Haddu	Haddu is a delight	ARM 16.1	194	*
Alalah	A-du-un	'adun	Delight	Gelb 1980	201	*
Tuttul	a-ḥa-ad-ḥa-am-mu	yaḥad-'ammu	The tribe is united	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	a-ḥi-ḥi-il	'aḥi-ḥêl	My brother is strong	ARM 21 Text 10	*	*
Tuttul	a-ḥi-ia-ia	'aḥi-?	My brother...	Kreb 2001	*	
Alalah	a-ḥi-iš-du-ka	'aḥi-?	My brother...	Gelb 1980	240	*
Alalah	a-ḥi-iš-tu-ia	'aḥi-?	My brother...	Gelb 1980	242	*
Tuttul	a-ḥi-ma-ra-aṣ	'aḥi-maraṣ	My brother is ill	Kreb 2001	249	2.95

Tuttul	aḥ-lu-lá- ^d IM	'ahlu-la-Haddu	The tent of Haddu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-ḥu-ia- ^d IM	'aḥu-Haddu	Haddu is the brother	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-ḥu-ia-ḥa-ad	'aḥu-yaḥad	The brother is unique	Kreb 2001	260	5.3
Karkemish	a-ḥu-um	'aḥum	(The god) is a brother/brother of (the god)	ARM 16.1	265	3.9 A2
Alalah	a-ia-a-bi	ḥayya-'abī	My father is living	Gelb 1980	276	*
Alalah	a-ia-a-ḥa-ti	ḥayya-'aḥātī	My sister is living	Gelb 1980	278	*
Alalah	a-ia-AN	ḥayya-'ilu	'Ilu is living	Gelb 1980	295	2.168
Alalah	a-ia-aš-LUGAL	ḥayya-šarru	The king is living	Gelb 1980	288	*
Sutean	a-ia-bé-e	ḥayya-'abī	The father is living	ARM 23 Text 592	*	*
Alalah	a-ia-bi-šar-ri	ḥayya-'abī-šarrī	My father, the king is living	Gelb 1980	290	*
Tuttul	a-ia-ḥu-mu-ú	ḥayya-'ammu	The paternal ancestor is living	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	a-ia-LUGAL	ḥayya-malku	The king is living	Gelb 1980	307	2.168
Alalah	a-ia-LUGAL-ri	ḥayya-šarrī	My king is living	Gelb 1980	308	*
Abattum	a-ia-lum	'ayyalum	Deer	ARM 16.1	306	*
Alalah	a-ia-na-bi	ḥayya-nabi'	The prophet is living	Gelb 1980	313	*
Alalah	a-ia-na-bi-il-la	ḥayah-nabi'-'illa	The prophet of 'illa is living	Gelb 1980	314	*
Alalah	a-i-da-te	'ayyi-dādī	Where is my beloved	Gelb 1980	272	*
Alalah	a-ka-la-áš-lum	?	?	Gelb 1980	324	*
Ahuna	a-ki-e-ra-aḥ	'aki-yaraḥ	The guide is Yaraḥ	ARM 16.1	332	*
Alalah	al-a-ḥa-ti	'al(a)-'aḥātī	Not my sister/Oath of my sister	Gelb 1980	701	*
Tuttul	al-la-bi-qa-di-im	'il'abi-qadim	'Il'abi is the ancient one	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	al-li-tu-ra-ḥi	?	?	Gelb 1980	712	*
Qatna	al-ti-šis-qa-al-lu	?	?	Kreb 2001	718	*
Tuttul	a-ma-ad-bi-ru	'amat-biru	Slave girl of Biru?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-mi-ir-an-nu	'amir-'ilu	Edict of 'Ilu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	am-ma-ra-a-du	'amara-haddu	Haddu has spoken	Gelb 1980	720	*
Alalah	am-mi-.....-lu-ub	'ammī-...	My paternal ancestor...	Gelb 1980	725	*
Alalah	am-mi-ad-du	'ammī-haddu	Haddu is my paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	727	*
Alalah	am-mi-a-du	'ammī-haddu	Haddu is my paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	726	*

Alalaḥ	am-mi-e-da	‘ammī-hadda	Haddu is my paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	732	3.19
Alalaḥ	am-mi-e-ki	‘ammī-’aki	My paternal ancestor is a guide	Gelb 1980	733	*
Tuttul	am-mi-ia	‘ammiya	My paternal ancestor	Kreb 2001	735	2.172
Alalaḥ	am-mi-ia-a-du	‘ammī-haddu	Haddu is my paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	736	*
Alalaḥ	am-mi-ia-an	‘ammīyān	My paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	737	5.62
Alalaḥ	am-mi-ia-tum	‘ammī-yattum	My paternal ancestor shall....?	Gelb 1980	738	*
Alalaḥ	am-mi-ṭa-ba	‘ammī-ṭāba	My paternal ancestor is good	Gelb 1980	752	3.25
Alalaḥ	am-mi-ta-ku-um	‘ammī-taqūm	You shall be stable, o paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	749	n/a
Alalaḥ	am-mi-ta-ku-um-ma	‘ammī-taqūmma	You shall indeed be stable, o paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	750	*
Alalaḥ	am-mu-a-da	‘ammu-hadda	Haddu is the paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	757	3.17, 3.19, 5.61
Alalaḥ	am-mu-ku-mar-ra	‘ammu-kumara	The paternal ancestor is a priest	Gelb 1980	762	*
Alalaḥ	am-mu-ni-iq-ma	‘ammu-niqma	The paternal ancestor is vengeance	Gelb 1980	763	*
Alalaḥ	am-mu-sa-ma	‘ammu-šāma	The paternal ancestor establishes	Gelb 1980	768	*
Alalaḥ	am-mu-ur-bi	‘ammu-ḥurbī	The paternal ancestor is my warrior	Gelb 1980	769	*
Alalaḥ	am-mu-uš-ki-AN	‘ammuš-ki-’ilu	His? paternal ancestor is like ’Ilu	Gelb 1980	771	*
Qatna	am-mu-ut-pa-AN	‘amūd-pâ-’ilu	Supported by the word of ’Ilu	Gelb 1980	772	*
Alalaḥ	am-mu-wa-da	‘ammu-hadda	Haddu is the paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	773	3.17
Alalaḥ	am-mu-ia-AN	‘ammuya-’ilu	’Ilu is my paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	761	5.61
Tuttul	am-na-nu-um	’awnānum	Powerful	Kreb 2001	778	2.48, 5.72
Tuttul	a-mu-na-é.A	ḥamunā-EA	EA is our father-in-law	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-mu-ra-am	ḥamu-rām	The father-in-law is exalted	Kreb 2001	*	*

Alalaḥ	a-mur-ša- ^d UTU	'amurša-šamšu	Šamšu sees her	Gelb 1980	455	*
Alalaḥ	a-mu-ru-uḥ-ḫi	'amur-'uhhī	My brother? sees	Gelb 1980	440	*
Qaṭna	a-mu-ud-pa-AN	'amūd-pâ-'ilu	Supported by the word of 'Ilu	ARM 24 Text 186	*	*
Nazala	a-mu-ud-pí-AN	'amūd-pî-'ilu	Supported by the word of 'Ilu	MARI 8 pg 402	*	*
Qaṭna	a-mu-ud-pí-AN	'amūd-pî-'ilu	Supported by the word of 'Ilu	ARM 16.1	*	*
Alalaḥ	A-na-a-na	ḥanna-'Ana	Grace of 'Ana	Gelb 1980	456	*
Alalaḥ	a-na-i-lim-ma	ḥanna-'ilīma	Grace of the 'ilīma	Gelb 1980	466	3.74
Qaṭna	A-na-na-ga-a	ḥanana-gāya	The clan is gracious	Gelb 1980	476	2.72
Alalaḥ	an-du-ma-lik	Handu-malik	Haddu is king	Gelb 1980	785	*
Sutean	AN-ma-ma-lik	'ilu-ma-malik	Surely 'Ilu is king	ARM 16.1	*	*
Tuttul	an-na-AN	ḥanna-'ilu	Grace of 'Ilu	Kreb 2001	791	*
Tuttul	an-na-su-mu-i-la	ḥanna-šumu-'ila	Gracious is the name of 'Ilu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Zalwar	a-nu-ha-ar-wi	?	?	ARM 22 Text 151	*	*
Qaṭna	a-nu-ka- ^d UTU	'iluka-šamšu	šamšu is your god?	ARM 21 Text 333	*	*
Tuttul	AN-ú-ri	'ilu-'ūrī	'Ilu is my light	Kreb 2001	*	*
Karkemish	ap-la-ḥa-an-da	'aplaḥ-handa	I shall serve Haddu	ARM 16.1	856	2.164, pg 41 note 3
Ugarit	ap-la-ḥa-da	'aplaḥ-hadda	I shall serve Haddu	ARM 16.1	858	Sup
Tuttul	ap-pa-a-na	'appāna	Anger	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	ap-pa-tum	'appatum	Anger	Gelb 1980	862	*
Alalaḥ	ap-ri-a	'abriya	My strength	Gelb 1980	864	*
Tuttul	a-qa-ba-an	'aqabān	Guardian	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	aq-ba-a-ḫu-um	'aqba-'aḫum	The brother is a guardian	Kreb 2001	870	2.171*
Tuttul	aq-ba-ḥa-mi-im	'aqba-ḥamim	Guardian of the father-in-law	Kreb 2001	*	2.171
Tuttul	aq-ba-ta- ^d IM	'aqbata-Hadda	Guardian of Haddu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	a-ra-am-mu	'aramu	GN	Gelb 1980	498	*
Alalaḥ	a-ra-ma	'arama	GN	Gelb 1980	500	*
Tuttul	a-rí-iš-ma-a-bu-um	'arišma-'abum	Desire of the father	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-ri-ni-ḫi-im	'aryî-ni'im	The lion is pleasant	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	aš-di-ni-ḫi-im	'ašdī-ni'im	My way is pleasant	Kreb 2001	*	*

Talhayu m	ás-di-ni-ḥi-im	'ašdī-ni'im	My way is pleasant	Kreb 2001	963	*
Ḫarrān	ás-di-ta-ki-im	'ašdī-taḳīm	May you establish my way	ARM 16.1, ARM 27 Text 81	964	*
Tuttul	a-si-it-a-ḥa	yašīt-'aḥa	The brother shall place	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	aš-kur-e-da	'aškur-hadda	Haddu is 'Aškur	Gelb 1980	949	2.95, 2.166
Alalaḥ	aš-ma-a-du	'ašma'-haddu	I shall hear Haddu	Gelb 1980	951	*
Tuttul	a-ta-am-ru-um	'atamrum	spoken/viewed by (the god)	Kreb 2001	539	2.95
Ursum	at-ru-ši-ip-ti	yatru-tipti	An abundance of justice	NABU 1988, pg 2	*	*
Alalaḥ	at-ti-ia-an	?	?	Gelb 1980	984	*
Tuttul	a-wi- ^d IM	yahwî-haddu	Haddu shall exist	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	a-zu-ni-il	ya'dun-'il	'Ilu is pleasant	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	az-za-am-mi	'azza-'ammī	My paternal ancestor is strong	Gelb 1980	991	2.172
Tuttul	ba-aḥ-la-lim	ba'la-li'm	The tribe is lord	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ba-aḥ-li-tà-ab	ba'lī-tāb	My lord is good	Kreb 2001	*	*
Qaṭna	ba-aḥ-lu-ga-a-yi	ba'lu-gāyī	My clan is lord	ARM 16.1	1027	2.69, 5.7 A6*
Tuttul	ba-aḥ-lu-ku-li-im	ba'lu-kullim	Lord of all	ARM 16.1	1031	*
Tuttul	ba-al-da-ku-ra	ba'l-ḏakura	The lord is remembered	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	ba-al-du-uḥ-ka	ba'l-tu'-ka	the lord is your ?	Gelb 1980	1042	*
Sutean	ba-al-lim	ba'alīm/ ba'l-li'm	Lords/Lord of the tribe	ARM 21 Text 4	*	*
Ursum	ba-la-ḥa-an-du	ba'la-handu	Haddu is lord	ARM 16.1	1092	2.158, 3.22
Tuttul	ba-li- ^d da-gan	ba'lī-Dagan	Dagan is my lord	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	ba-li-e-ia	ba'liya	My lord	Gelb 1980	1101	*
Alalaḥ	ba-li-e-pa	ba'lī-yapa'	My lord has arisen	Gelb 1980	1102	2.23 A2, 2.179, 3.26
Tuttul	ba-li-e-ra-aḥ	ba'lī-yaraḥ	Yaraḥ is my lord	Kreb 2001	1103	*
Alalaḥ	ba-li-ia	ba'liya	My lord	Gelb 1980	1104	2.173
Alalaḥ	ba-li-ka	ba'lika	Your (m) lord	Gelb 1980	1107	*
Alalaḥ	ba-li-ki	ba'liki	Your (f) lord	Gelb 1980	1108	*
Sutean	ba-qí-rum	bakirum	First born of (the god)	ARM 21 Text 10	1083	*
Sutean	ba-ri-ku-um	barikum	Blessed by (the god)	ARM 23 Text 446	*	*
Tuttul	be-eḥ-li- ^d da-gan	ba'lī-Dagan	Dagan is my lord	Kreb 2001	*	2.36
Tuttul	be-eḥ-li-šu- ^d IM	ba'lišu-Haddu	Haddu is his Lord	Kreb 2001	*	*

Tuttul	be-eḫ-lu-šum-li	ba‘lu-šum-lī	The lord is my reputation	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	be-eḫ-lu-um	ba‘lum	(The god) is lord	Kreb 2001	*	2.36
Alalah	be-el-ti-ma-ti	ba‘lti-māti	Lady of the land	Gelb 1980	1176	*
Alalah	bi-ik-ki-it-ti	?	?	Gelb 1980	1210	*
Alalah	bi-in-ti-ki-di-ia	binti-ki‘diya	Daughter of my ?	Gelb 1980	1226	3.71
Alalah	bi-it-ta-at-ti	bitta-‘atti	You are my daughter	Gelb 1980	1237	3.71 A2
Yamhad	bi-it-ta-ku	Bittaku	Daughter of ?	FM 7 Text M.12595	*	*
Alalah	bi-it-ta-ku-bi	bitta-Kūbi	Daughter of Kūbi	FM 7 AIT 278	*	*
Alalah	bi-it-ta-ku-wa	bitta-kuwa	Daughter of ?	FM 7 AIT 159	*	*
Alalah	bu-li-a-du	bu‘lī-haddu	Haddu is my lord	Gelb 1980	1303	*
Šuda	bu-ni-e-ra-aḫ	Buni-yaraḫ	Man of Yaraḫ	ARM 16.1	1328	*
Tuttul	bu-nu- ^d da-gan	Bunu-Dagan	Man of Dagan	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	bu-nu-ḫa-a-na	Bunu-‘ana	Man of ‘Ana	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	bu-nu-i-ta-ar	bunu-‘aṭtar?	Man of ‘aṭtar?	Kreb 2001	*	3.14
Tuttul	bu-nu-ma- ^d da-gan	Bunuma-Dagan	Man of Dagan	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	bu-nu-ma- ^d IM	Bunuma-Haddu	Man of Haddu	Kreb 2001	1340	*
Nihriyā	Bu-nu-ma- ^d IM	Bunuma-Haddu	Man of Haddu	ARM 16.1	1340	2.38, 3.59
Šuda	bu-ra-an	Burrān	GN	ARM 23 Text 17	1374	*
Tuttul	bu-ur-qa-an	Burqān	Lighting	Kreb 2001	1372	2.95*
Šuda	bu-ur-ra-an	Burrān	GN	ARM 16.1	1374	*
Tuttul	da-mi-e-šu-uḫ	ḫamī-yātu‘	My father-in-law shall help	Kreb 2001	413	2.22, 3.15
Ahuna	da-mi-ta-nu	ḫamī-tanūḫ	My father-in-law, may you rest	ARM 16.1	429	*
Tuttul	da-mu-ta-nu	ḫamu-tanūḫ	Father-in-law, may you rest	Kreb 2001	442	*
Ursum	da-šur-ša-du-ni	aššur-šaduni	Aššur is ?	FM 3 Text A.780	*	*
Emar	^d da-gan-ma-li-[ik]	Dagan-malik	Dagan is king	ARM 21 Text 378	1447	*
Aleppo	^d EN.ZU-a-bu-šu	Sîn-abušu	Sîn is his father	ARM 16.1	*	*
Ursum	^d EN.ZU-ma-lik	Sîn-malik	Sîn is king	ARM 16.1	*	*
Alalah	^d eš4-dar-te-ir-ra	‘aṭtar-tîra’	You shall fear ‘aṭtar	Gelb 1980	1698	*
Qatna	^d IM-ba-aḫ-li	Haddu-ba‘lī	Haddu is my lord	ARM 16.1	3693	*
Tuttul	^d ma-ma-ni-ri	mamma-nīrī	Mamma is my light	Kreb 2001	*	*

Sutean	^d UTU-ra-hi	šamsu-rā'î	Šamsu is a friend	ARM 23 Text 341	*	*
Alalaḥ	^d UTU-ši-a-du	šamši-Haddu	Šamsu is Haddu	Gelb 1980	6276	*
Alalaḥ	da-ka-bi-ti	daqqa-bīti	Child of the house	Gelb 1980	1458	*
Alalaḥ	da-a-da	dāda	Beloved	Gelb 1980	1392	*
Alalaḥ	da-da	dāda	Beloved	Gelb 1980	1413	*
Tuttul	da-da-ta-an	dādatān	Beloved	Kreb 2001	*	*
Abattum	da-di-ḥa-du-un	dādī-'adun	My beloved is pleasant	ARM 16.1	1427	2.95, 2.162, 5.21
Sutean	da-di-i	dādī	My beloved	ARM 23 Text 341	*	*
Tuttul	da-di-ku-un	dādī-kūn	My beloved is firm	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	da-di-lim	dādī-li'm	The divine tribe is my beloved	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	da-di-ú-um	dādīyum	My beloved	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	da-du-AN	dādu-'ilu	'Ilu is my beloved	ARM 23 Text 446	*	*
Tuttul	da-du-ma-ru-um	dādu-mar'um	My beloved is fat	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	da-mi-ru	dāmīru	Protection	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	da-ni-AN	dānī-'ilu	'Ilu is my judge	Kreb 2001	1471	Sup
Sutean	da-nu-um	dānum	(The god) is judge	ARM 22 Text 327	*	*
Alalaḥ	di-ni-a-du	dīnī-haddu	Haddu is my judgment	Gelb 1980	1513	*
Sutean	AN.ra-bi	'ilu-rāpi'	'Ilu is the healer	ARM 22 Text 167	*	2.15*
Alalaḥ	du-ni-pa-du	dun-'ipādu	Strong garment	Gelb 1980	1583	*
Alalaḥ	e-el-li	'elī	My god	Gelb 1980	1603	*
Tuttul	e-em-ši-ú-um	yamši'um	(The god) shall find	Kreb 2001	*	*
Ḥaššum/ Zarwar	Eḥ-li-ip-a-dal	?	?	ARM 16.1	*	*
Aleppo	e-li-li-ša	'elī-līt'a	My god is surely salvation	ARM 16.1	1623	*
Sutean	èl-ra-pí	'el-rāpi'	'Ilu is a healer	ARM 18 text 61	*	*
Hanzat	e-ni-iš-a-gu-um	?	?	ARM 16.1	1637	*
Tuttul	e-NI-su-ma-bu-um	'ili-šum-'abum	'Ilu is the reputation of the father	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	en-na-Zu	ḥinna-dū	Grace of the one/this grace?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	en-ni- ^d eš4-dar	ḥinni-'attar	Grace of 'attar	Gelb 1980	1666	*
Tuttul	e-pa-aḥ-šu-da-bi	yip'ašu-'il'abi	'Il'abi is his brightness	Kreb 2001	*	*

Alalah	eš-bi-a-da-at-ta	’ašbiḥ-’adatta	I shall praise the lady	Gelb 1980	1672	*
Alalah	eš-bi- ^d IM	’ašbiḥ-haddu	I shall praise Haddu	Gelb 1980	1673	*
Alalah	e-wi-ma-lik	yahwî-malik	The king shall exist	Gelb 1980	1646	*
Tuttul	ga-bu-lum	gabūlum	Mountainous	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	ga-i-te	gayyīda	Good	Gelb 1980	1739	*
Alalah	ga-iz-zi	gizzi	Shearing?	Gelb 1980	1771	*
Tuttul	ga-PI-la-AN	gāya-la’ili	The tribe belongs to ’Ilu	Kreb 2001	*	*
				ARM 16.1, ARM 25 Text 118		
Yamhad	ga-še-ra	kašira	Proper		1759	*
Sutean	ga-zi-za-nu-[um]	gazizānum	Shearer?	ARM 16.1	1764	*
Yamhad	ge-eš-še	Gišša	Touch	ARM 16.1	*	*
Tuttul	gi-im-ru-ma	gimruma	Complete	Kreb 2001	*	*
				ARM 22 Text 327		
Yamhad	gi-še	Gišša	Touch		*	*
Sutean	gu-la-du	kulla-Haddu	Haddu is everything	ARM 26:2 Text 483	*	*
				ARM 30 Text XXII 150+		
Sutean	gu-na-hu-[...]	guna-aḥum	The brother is a protector		*	*
Sutean	gu-na-hu-um	guna-aḥum	The brother is a protector	ARM 23 Text 449	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-ab-di-ia	’abdiya	My servant	Kreb 2001	1830	2.172, 5.74
						2.98, 2.165, 2.172
Yamhad	ḥa-ab-di-ia-an-du	’abdi-Handu	Servant of Haddu	Gelb 1980	1831	
Qatna	ḥa-ab-du-ba-aḥ-la	’abdu-Ba’la	Servant of Ba’lu	ARM 16.1	1838	4.5, 5.81
Tuttul	ḥa-ab-du-ku-bi	’abdu-Kūbi	Servant of Kūbi	Kreb 2001	1848	*
	ḥa-ab-du-ma- ^d da-gan	’abduma-Dagan	Servant of Dagan	ARM 16.1	1849	2.171, 3.4
Tuttul	ḥa-ab-du-nu-bar	’abdu-Nubar	Servant of ?	Kreb 2001	*	*
				ARM 23 Text 448		
Yamhad	ḥa-ab-ia-an-du	’abdi-Handu	Servant of Haddu		*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-ad-na-an	’adnān	Pleasant	Kreb 2001	1863	5.59
Tuttul	ḥa-ad-ni-e-tar	’adnī-yatar	My bliss is abundant	Kreb 2001	*	*
				ARM 30 Text XII 153+		
Qatna	ḥa-ad-ni-PI-mu	’adnī-yammu	Yammu is my bliss		*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-ad-nu-ḥa-lim	’adnu-ḥālīm	The bliss of the maternal uncle	Kreb 2001	*	*

Yamhad	ḥa-ad-ri-ia-an-du	‘adri-handu	Haddu is my help	ARM 22 Text 167	1876	2.98, 2.104, 2.165, 2.172
Tuttul	ḥa-am-ma- ^d IM	‘amma-Haddu	Haddu is the paternal uncle	Kreb 2001	*	*
Talhayu m	ḥa-am-mi-e-pu- uḥ	‘ammī-yāpu’	My paternal ancestor shall shine	ARM 16.1	1892	*
Tuttul	ḥa-am-mi-ia	‘ammiya	My paternal ancestor	Kreb 2001	1894	2.172, 5.75
Qatna	ḥa-am-mi-ša-gi-iš	‘ammī-šāgiš	My paternal ancestor is a killer	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	1898	*
Sutean	ḥa-am-mi-ta-lu-ú	‘ammī-ṭallu	My paternal ancestor is like dew	ARM 16.1, ARM 21 Text 2	1900	2.138
Sutean	ḥa-am-mi-ta-lu-ú	‘ammī-ṭallu	The paternal ancestor is like dew	MARI 8 pg 424	1900	2.138 A4
Sutean	ḥa-am-mi-ti-lu-ú	‘ammī-ṭillu	The paternal ancestor is like dew	MARI 8 pg 424	1902	*
Šuda	ḥa-am-mu- ^d da- gan	‘ammu-Dagan	Dagan is the paternal ancestor	ARM 16.1	1906	3.17, 5.7, 5.59, 5.63, 5.75
Yamhad	ha-am-mu-la-bu- a	‘ammu-labu’a	The paternal ancestor is a lion	ARM 30 Text M.12595	*	*
Alalah	ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi	‘ammu-rāpi’	The paternal ancestor is a healer	Gelb 1980	1911	2.95, 2.101, 2.171, 3.6, 3.30
Yamhad	ha-am-mu-ra-pí	‘ammu-rāpi’	The paternal ancestor is a healer	ARM 25 Text 17	1911	2.95, 2.101, 2.171, 3.6, 3.30
Qatna	ḥa-am-mu-tar	‘ammu-yatar	The paternal ancestor is outstanding	ARM 16.1	1918	2.32, 3.31
Yamhad	ḥa-am-mu-ú-ra-pí	‘ammu-rāpi’	The paternal ancestor is a healer	ARM 16.1	1920	*
Emar	ha-an-na- ^d IM	ḥanna-haddu	Grade of Haddu	ARM 23 Text 523	1935	2.168, 5.9, 5.76

Yamhad	ha-an-ni-a-du	ḥannī-haddu	Haddu is my grace	ARM 30 Text XXII 153+	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-ar-du-um	‘ardum	Onager	ARM 16.1	1956	5.7
Tuttul	ḥa-as-na-tum	ḥasnatum	Strength of (the god)	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	ha-da-an	’adān	Lord	ARM 23 Text 446	2002*	*
Sutean	ha-di-du-um	ḥadīdum	(The god) is sharp	ARM 26:2 Text 482	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-ki-ma-an	ḥakīmān	Wise one	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-la-ta-an	ḥālatān	The divine maternal uncle	Kreb 2001	2055	5.63
Alalah	ḥa-li-a-du	ḥālī-haddu	Haddu is my maternal uncle	Gelb 1980	2058	2.120, 5.59, 5.63, 5.75, 5.82
Tuttul	ḥa-li-e-sa-ar	ḥālī-yašar	My maternal uncle is upright	Kreb 2001	*	*
Nihriyā	ḥa-li-ia	ḥāliya	My maternal uncle	ARM 16.1	2065	2.120, 5.75
Alalah	ḥa-li-ta-nu-a	ḥālī-tanūḥa	May you be at rest o my maternal uncle	Gelb 1980	2084	*
Tuttul	ḥa-lu-ra-pí-i	ḥālu-rāpi’	The maternal uncle is a healer	Kreb 2001	2106	2.95, 3.30, 5.24
Yamhad	ḥa-ma-til	ḥamad-’il	Delight of ’Ilu	ARM 16.1	2123*	*
Azara	ha-me-ti-bi-il	ḥamidī-ba’l	Baal delights in me	FM V pg 215 n414	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-mi-du-um	ḥamidum	(The god) is delighted	Kreb 2001	2129	*
Qatna	ha-mi-ša-gi-iš	ḥamī-šāgiš	My father-in-law is a killer	ARM 21 Text 333, 367	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-mu-ḥa-ad	ḥamu-yaḥad	The father-in-law is unique	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-mu-na-bi-iḥ	ḥamu-nabi’	The father-in-law is a prophet	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-na-an	ḥanan	Gracious	Kreb 2001	2167	*
Sutean	ḥa-ra-du	‘aradu	Wild donkey	ARM 16.1/18 Text 64	*	5.22, 5.70*
Sutean	ha-ra-nu-um	ḥaranum	GN?	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	*	*

Tuttul	ḥa-PI-ir-al-la	ḥāyir-’alla	God is the beneficent one	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-wi-ra-an	ḥāyirān	Beneficent one	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ḥa-zi-ru-um	‘ādirum	(The god) is a helper	Kreb 2001	2232	*
Šuda	hi-ib-rum-ma-lik	ḥibrum-malik	Clan of the king	ARM 27 Text 80 (brother of sibkuna-addu)	*	1.41 A1, 5.12*
Sutean	hi-id-du-um	ḥiddum	(The god) is sharp	ARM 22 Text 167	*	*
Tuttul	ḥi-in-na- ^d IM	ḥinna-Haddu	Grace of Haddu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	ḥu-bu-uš-tu-ka	ḥubuṭ- ?	Person of ḥubuṭu status ?	Gelb 1980	2295	*
Sutean	hu-sū-ru-um	?	?	ARM 21 Text 336	*	*
Alalah	ḥu-ur-za-nu-ki	?	?	Gelb 1980	2351	*
Sutean	i-[l]u-ú-um	’ilum?	?	ARM 18 text 61	*	2.95*
Tuttul	ia-ab-ni- ^d IM	yabnî-Haddu	Haddu shall build	Kreb 2001	2811	*
Yamhad	ia-ab-ru-uk-a-du	yabruk-Haddu	Haddu shall bless	ARM 21 Text 367	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ab-ru-uq- ^d IM	yabruq-Haddu	Haddu flashes forth	Kreb 2001	*	*
Yamhad	ia-ab-ru-uq- ^d IM	yabruq-Haddu	Haddu flashes forth	ARM 16.1	2813*	2.56*
Karkemish	ia-ah-du-li-im	ya‘du(n)-li’m	The tribe shall be blissful	ARM 26 Text 531	2831	*
Tuttul	ia-aḥ-du-li-im	ya‘du(n)-li’m	The tribe shall be blissful	Kreb 2001	2831	2.95, 5.21 A1, 5.64*
Ḥaššum/ Zarwar	ia-aḥ-du-un-li-im	ya‘dun-li’m	The tribe shall be blissful	ARM 16.1	2835	2.95, 5.21 A1, 5.64*
Tuttul	ia-aḥ-gi-ištar	yahgî-’attar	’Attar shall utter	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-aḥ-mu-us-AN	ya‘mus-’ilu	’Ilu shall bear the load	Kreb 2001	2860	*
Tuttul	ia-aḥ-qù-ub-AN	ya‘qub-’ilu	’Ilu shall guard	Kreb 2001	*	*
Qaṭna	ia-ah-šú-ur- ^d IM	ya‘dur-Haddu	Haddu shall help	Gelb 1980	2904	3.12*
Yamhad	ia-aḥ-wi-um	yahwîum	(The god) exists	ARM 16.1, ARM 22 Text 327	2875	5.24*
Tuttul	ia-aḥ-zu- ^d da-gan	ya‘du(n)-Dagan	Dagan shall be blissful	Kreb 2001	2898*	*
Qaṭna	ia-aḥ-zu-ur- ^d IM	ya‘dur-Haddu	Haddu shall help	ARM 16.1	2904	3.12*
Alalah	ia-am-a-ad	yamḥad	GN - Yamḥad	Gelb 1980	2926	*

Alalah	ia-am-i-id-dad-mi	yam'id-'admi	'Admi shall flourish	Gelb 1980	2935	2.88
Tuttul	ia-am-lik-AN	yamlik-'ilu	'Ilu shall reign	Kreb 2001	2940	2.56
Yamhad	ia-am-mu-qa-d[u]-um	yammu-qadum	Yammu is a weapon (uncertain)	ARM 16.1	2945	*
Tuttul	ia-am-na-a-an	yamnān	(The god) shall count?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Qā?	ia-am-ra-aš-AN	yamraḏ-'ilu	'Ilu shall destroy	ARM 16.1	2952	2.35, 2.153
Qā	ia-am-ru-uš-AN	yamruḏ-'ilu	'Ilu shall destroy	ARM 16.1	2955	2.95
Tuttul	ia-an-mu-ur- ^d da-gan	yanwur-dagan	Dagan shall shine	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	ia-an-ši-ib- ^d da-gan	yansib-Dagan	Dagan shall support	ARM 16.1	3003	5.64
Ursum	ia-an-ši-ib- ^d IM	yansib-Haddu	Haddu shall support	ARM 16.1	3005	*
Ahuna	ia-an-ti-in-AN	yantin-'ilu	'Ilu shall give	ARM 16.1	2987	2.156
Tuttul	ia-an-ti-in-a-ra-aḥ	yantin-yaraḥ	Yaraḥ shall give	Kreb 2001	2985	2.79 A1, 2.83
Gubla	ia-an-ti-in-ḥa-mu	yantin-ḥamu	The father-in-law shall give	ARM 16.1	2989	2.95
Ahuna	ia-a-pa-aḥ- ^d IM	yapa'-haddu	Haddu shines	ARM 16.1	2793	2.14, 2.74, 2.91
Yamhad	ia-ap-hu-ur-ia-an-du	yaphur-handu	Haddu shall assemble	ARM 32 TextM.708 1	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ap-tù-na-an	yaptunān	(The god) is protection	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ap-tù-un-AN	yaptun-'ilu	'Ilu shall protect/be strong	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-aq-bi-li-im	yaqbî-li'm	The tribe shall speak	Kreb 2001	3036*	*
Emar	ia-ar-i-pu	yarhibu	(the god) has made wide	ARM 21 Text 378	3058	5.64*
Yamhad	ia-ar-ka-ab-a-du	yarkab-Haddu	Haddu shall ride (the clouds)	ARM 22 Text 151	3069	*
Hanzat	ia-ar-ka-ab- ^d IM	yarkab-Haddu	Haddu shall ride (the clouds)	ARM 27 Text 78	3069	*
Aleppo	ia-ar-pa- ^d IM	Yarpa'-haddu	Haddu shall heal	FM 7 Text 34	3071	2.86, 2.95, 2.149
Qatna	ia-ar-pa- ^d IM	Yarpa'-haddu	Haddu shall heal	ARM 23 Text 37	3071	2.86, 2.95, 2.149
Qatna	ia-ar-pa- ^d Iškur	Yarpa'-'Aškur	'Aškur shall heal	ARM 21 Text 333	*	*

Sutean	ia-ar-ši-AN	yartî-'ilu	'Ilu shall possess	ARM 16.1	3076	2.56, 2.57
Tuttul	ia-ar-za-ab-AN	yaršap-'ilu	'Ilu shall smash	Kreb 2001	*	*
Qatna	ia-as-[l]i-im-ia-[ad-d]u	yašlim-Haddu	Haddu shall restore	ARM 16.1	3105	*
Tuttul	ia-ās-la-mu-um	yašlamum	(The god) shall be at peace	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	ia-ās-ma-ah-AN	yašma'-'ilu	'Ilu shall hear	ARM 23 Text 341	3108	*
Tuttul	ia-ās-ma-aḥ- ^d IM	yašma'-Haddu	Haddu shall hear	Kreb 2001	3110	2.36, 2.87, 2.171, 5.45
Qatna	ia-ās-si- ^d da-gan	yašši'-dagan	Dagan shall rise up	ARM 25 Text 35	3119	2.96 A5, 2.149
Tuttul	ia-aš-ta-ma-al	yaštamal	(The god) wrapped himself	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-at-nu-li-im	yaṭnu-'li'm	The tribe enclosed	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ba-an-ni-il	yabannî-'il	'Ilu shall fortify	Kreb 2001	3148	*
Tuttul	ia-di-ḥa	yādi'a	Knowledgeable one	Kreb 2001	3194	4.6
North Mesopotamia	ia-gi-iḥ- ^d IM	yagîḥ-Haddu	Haddu shall burst forth	ARM 16.1	3226	2.95
Qatna	ia-ha-ad-a-bi-im	yaḥad-'abim	The father is unique	MARI 8 pg 402	*	*
Nazala	ia-ḥa-ad-a-bu-um	yaḥad-'abum	The father is unique	ARM 16.1, ARM 32 Text M.7132	*	*
Qā	ia-ḥa-ad-ḥa-mu	yaḥad-ḥamu	The father-in-law is unique	ARM 16.1	3231	*
Tuttul	ia-ḥa-ad-ḥa-mu	yaḥad-ḥamu	The father-in-law is unique	Kreb 2001	3236	*
Sutean	ia-ha-al-pî-èl	yaḥal-pî-'il	Wait for the word of 'Ilu	ARM 21 Text 10	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ku-un- ^d da-gan	yakūn-Dagan	Dagan shall be stable	Kreb 2001	3331*	5.89
North Mesopotamia	ia-ku-un-di-ir	yakūn-Dîr	The city of Dir shall be stable	ARM 16.1	3327	*
Tuttul	ia-ku-un-li-im	yakūn-li'm	The tribe shall be stable	Kreb 2001	3336	*
Talhayum	ia-ku-un-me-er	yakūn-mēr	Mer shall be stable	ARM 16.1	3337	*
Sutean	ia-mi-i-la	yammi-'ila	Yamm is god	ARM 16.1	3351	3.22
Yamhad	ia-mu-ur-ad-du	ya'mur-haddu	Haddu shall declare	ARM 16.1	3361	2.95, 2.149

Alalah	ia-mu-ut-ni-ri	yamūt-nīrī	My light shall perish	Gelb 1980	3378	2.88
Alalah	ia-pa	yapa‘	(The god) shines	Gelb 1980	3395	2.173
Zallul	ia-pa-ah-a-du-ú	yapa‘-haddu	Haddu shines	LAP0 17 page 76	*	2.74*
Alalah	ia-pa-aḥ-su-mu-a-bi	yapa‘-šumu-’abi	The name of the father shines	Gelb 1980	3400	2.88
Sutean	ia-pa-ḥu-um	yapa‘um	(The god) shines	ARM 16.1	3405	*
Tuttul	ia-pu-ḥu-um	yāpu‘um	(The god) shall shine	Kreb 2001	3412	*
Alalah	ia-qa-am-mu	yaqah-‘ammu	Fear the paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	3413	*
Tuba	ia-qí-im-ha-mu	yaqīm-ḥamu	The father-in-law shall establish	ARM 16.1, FM 1 Text M.11755	*	*
Abattum	ia-qí-im-li-im	yaqīm-li’m	The tribe shall establish	ARM 16.1	3281	4.7
Abattum	ia-qí-mu-um	yaqīmun	(The god) shall establish	ARM 24 Text 59	*	*
Tuttul	ia-qí-ru-um	yaqqīrum	Precious (to the god)	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-qí-ru-um	yaqqīrum	Precious (to the god)	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ra-aḥ- ^d EN.ZU	yaraḥ-Sîn	Sîn is yaraḥ	Kreb 2001	*	3.1
Alalah	ia-ra-a-ni	?	?	Gelb 1980	3875	*
Tuttul	ia-ri-bu-um	yarībum	(The god) shall contend	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ri-im-ba-lum	yarīm-ba‘lum	Ba‘lu shall exalt	Kreb 2001	*	*
Yamhad	ia-ri-im-li-im	yarīm-li’m	The tribe shall exalt	ARM 23 Text 230	3440	*
Tuttul	ia-ri-im-li-im	yarīm-li’m	The tribe shall exalt	Kreb 2001	3440	*
Alalah	ia-ri-im-li-im	yarīm-li’m	The tribe shall exalt	Gelb 1980	3440	n/a
Aleppo	ia-ri-im-lim	yarīm-li’m	The tribe shall exalt	ARM 16.1	3440	*
Tuttul	ia-ša-ri-il	yašar-’il	’Ilu is upright	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	ia-še-re-da	yašar-hadda	Haddu is upright	Gelb 1980	3488	2.2, 2.82, 2.88, 2.95, 2.129, 2.166, 3.19
Alalah	ia-ši-bi-il-la	yaṭib-’illa	’illa shall restore	Gelb 1980	3489	2.111 A2
Ahuna	ia-ši-bu-um	yaṭibum	(The god) shall restore	ARM 16.1	3605	*

Alalah	ia-ši-ib-AN	yaṭīb-'ilu	'Ilu shall restore	Gelb 1980	3490	2.111 A2
Tuttul	ia-si-im-...	yašīm...	(The god) shall place	Kreb 2001	*	*
Qatna	ia-si-im- ^d da-gan	yašīm-dagan	Dagan shall place	ARM 16.1	3460	4.7
Tuttul	ia-ši-li-im	yâšī'-li'm	The tribe shall raise up	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ši-lu	yâšī'-'ilu	'Ilu shall raise up	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-si-mu-um	yašīmum	(The god) shall place	Kreb 2001	3475*	*
Tuttul	ia-ši-ú	yâšī'u	(The god) shall raise up	Kreb 2001	*	2.12 A2, 2.95
Tuttul	ia-su-AN	yasu'-'ilu	'Ilu shall be wide?	Kreb 2001	3482*	*
Tuttul	ia-su- ^d da-gan	yasu'-Dagan	Dagan shall be wide?	Kreb 2001	3482*	*
Alalah	ia-šu-na	yâtu'nā	(The god) shall save us	Gelb 1980	3503	*
Tuttul	ia-šu-rum	ya'surum	(The god) shall be blessed/happy	Kreb 2001	3504	*
Alalah	ia-šu-ub-[....]	yaṭīb-	(...) shall return	Gelb 1980	3505	2.57, 2.63, 2.65, 2.156
Tuttul	ia-šu-ub-AN	yaṭīb-'ilu	'Ilu shall return	ARM 16.1	3508	2.57, 2.63, 2.65, 2.156
Tuttul	ia-šu-ub-AN	yaṭīb-'ilu	'Ilu shall return	Kreb 2001	3508	2.57, 2.63, 2.65, 2.156
Ḫarrān	ia-šu-ub- ^d da-gan	yaṭīb-Dagan	Dagan shall return	ARM 23 Text 433	3507	*
Tuttul	ia-šu-ub- ^d da-gan	yaṭīb-Dagan	Dagan shall return	ARM 16.1	3507	*
Tuttul	ia-šu-ub- ^d IM	yaṭīb-Haddu	Haddu shall return	Kreb 2001	3512	*
Alalah	ia-šu-ub-di-pu-uḫ	yaṭīb-Yipu'	The divine shining one Yipu' shall return	ARM 16.1	3510	3.12
Tuttul	ia-šu-ub-li-im	yaṭīb-li'm	The tribe shall return	Kreb 2001	3513	*
Alalah	ia-šu-ub-ra-bi	yaṭīb-rāpi'	The divine healer shall return	Gelb 1980	3516	2.88, 3.12
Tuttul	ia-su-um	yâsu'um	(The god) shall be wide	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-šu-ur- ^d IM	ya'sur-Haddu	Haddu shall be blessed/happy	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ta-áš-ri-im	yatašrim	(The god) shall be blessed/happy	Kreb 2001	*	2.129, 5.50

				ARM 22 Text 167, ARM 30 Text XXII 150+	*	*
Sutean	ia-ta-hu-um	yatahum	?			
Tuttul	ia-ta-ni-il	yatan-'il	'Ilu has given	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-ta-nu-um	yatanum	(The god) has given	Kreb 2001	*	*
Ugarit	ia-ta-ra-ia	yataraya	Abundance	ARM 23 Text 539	3524	2.19
Tuttul	ia-tar-AN	yatar-'ilu	'Ilu is surpassing	Kreb 2001	3534	2.23, 5.83
Karkemi sh	ia-tar- ^d A-mi	yatar-ḥamī	My father-in-law is surpassing	ARM 16.1, ARM 25 Text 22, ARM 30 Text M.11334	*	3.15
Aleppo	ia-tar- ^d A-mu-um	yatar-ḥamum	The father-in-law is surpassing	FM 7 Text 49		*
Ugarit	ia-tar- ^d IM	yatar-Haddu	Haddu is surpassing	ARM 23 Text 556	3542	3.15, 5.18
Alalah	ia-tar-ma-lik	yatar-malik	The king is surpassing	Gelb 1980	3544	*
Karkemi sh	ia-ta-rum	yatarum	(The god) is surpassing	ARM 16.1	3532	2.97
Alalah	ia-te-er-e-da	yâtir-hadda	Haddu will be surpassing	Gelb 1980	3549	2.88, 2.166
Alalah	ia-te-ra	yatara	(The god) is surpassing	Gelb 1980	3550	2.88
Alalah	ia-te-ri-da	yâtir-hadda	Haddu will be surpassing	Gelb 1980	3551	2.2, 2.88, 3.19
Tuttul	ia-tin-AN	yattin-'ilu	'Ilu shall give	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-tin-dú-Bi	yattin-ubi	'Ubi shall give	Kreb 2001	*	*
Talhayu m	ia-wi-AN	yahwî-'ilu	'Ilu shall exist	ARM 25 Text 48	3591	*
Tuttul	ia-wi-AN	yahwî-'ilu	'Ilu shall exist	Kreb 2001	3591	2.152, 2.168, 3.19 A4
Tuttul	ia-wi- ^d IM	yahwî-haddu	Haddu shall exist	Kreb 2001	3593	*
Talhayu m	ia-wi-i-la	yahwî-'illa	'illa shall exist	ARM 16.1	*	3.19
Tuttul	ia-wi-ir-na-si	ya'wîr-našî'	The prince shall illuminate	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ia-wi-ma-da-ar	yahwî-madar?	Madar? shall exist	Kreb 2001	*	*
Yamhad	ia-wi-um	yahwîum	(The god) shall exist	ARM 22 Text 167	3598*	*

Alalah	ib-ni- ^d da-gan	yibnî-Dagan	Dagan shall build	Gelb 1980	3639	*
Talhayum	i-ba-a[l]- ^d IM	yîbal-Haddu	Haddu shall bring	ARM 28 Text 115	2394	*
Tuttul	i-ba-a-lum	yîbalum	(The god) shall bring	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	i-ba-la-ḥu-um	yîbal-’aḥum	The brother shall bring	Kreb 2001	*	*
Hazor	ib-ni- ^d IM	yibnî-Haddu	Haddu shall build	ARM 16.1	3641	*
Tuttul	ib-ni- ^d IM	yibnî-Haddu	Haddu shall build	Kreb 2001	3641	*
Alalah	ig-mi-ra-a-du	yigmir-haddu	Haddu shall complete	Gelb 1980	3659	2.20, 2.88, 2.164
Alalah	iḥ-la-ap-a-du	yi’lap-haddu	Haddu shall know	Gelb 1980	3660	2.88
Alalah	iḥ-li-a-du	yihlî-haddu	Haddu shall be ill?	Gelb 1980	3662	*
Alalah	iḥ-li-a-du	yihlî-haddu	Haddu shall be ill?	Gelb 1980	3668	*
Alalah	iḥ-li-aš-tar	yihlî-’attar	’Attar shall be ill	Gelb 1980	3663	2.114
Alalah	iḥ-li-eš4-dar	yihlî-’attar	’Attar shall be ill	Gelb 1980	3665	*
Tuttul	i-im-da-an	’imdān	Stable	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	i-iš-ḥi-ba-al	yit’i-ba’l	Ba’lu is my help	Kreb 2001	*	2.13
Tuttul	i-iš-ḥu	yit’u	Help	Kreb 2001	*	2.13
Alalah	i-ku-un-ba-aḥ-li	yikūn-ba’lī	My lord shall be stable	Gelb 1980	2508	2.88, 2.173
Alalah	i-ku-un-ba-li	yikūn-ba’lī	My lord shall be stable	Gelb 1980	2509	2.88, 2.173
Alalah	i-la-a-ni	’ilānī	My god	Gelb 1980	2514	*
Alalah	il-a-du	’il-Haddu	Haddu is god	Gelb 1980	3679/3680	2.31, 2.157
Karkemish	i-la-la-[x]	’ila-lā....	’Ila surely is....	ARM 23 Text 560	2535*	2.145, 3.33, 5.24*
Tuttul	i-la-sa-lim	’ila-šalim	Šalim is god	Kreb 2001	2544	3.33
Tuttul	î-lî-a-ba-al	’ili-yabal	’Ilu leads	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	î-lî-a-du	’ili-haddu	Haddu is god	Gelb 1980	2689	*
Tuttul	î-lî-aš-ra-ia	’ili-’ašraya	’Ilu is my happiness	Kreb 2001	2698	3.77
Alalah	î-lî-da-ba	’ili-tāba	’Ilu is good	Gelb 1980	2702	3.25
Alalah	î-li-e-da	’ili-Hadda	Haddu is my god	Gelb 1980	2684	3.19
Sutean	î-lî-e-pu-uḥ	’ili-yāpu’	’Ilu shall arise	ARM 16.1	2707	2.23 A2
Tuttul	î-lî-e-pu-uḥ	’ili-yāpu’	’Ilu shall arise	Kreb 2001	2707	2.23 A2
Tuttul	î-lî-e-šu-uḥ	’ili-yaṭu’	’Ilu is salvation	Kreb 2001	2709	*
Tuttul	i-lî-ka-bar	’ili-kabar	’Ilu is big	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	î-lî-li-im	’ili-li’m	God of the tribe	Kreb 2001	2743	*
Tuttul	î-lî-ma-lik	’ili-malik	’Ilu is king	Kreb 2001	2750	*
Tuttul	î-lî-ma-tar	’ili-maṭar	’Ilu rains down	Kreb 2001	2752	*

Sutean	ì-lí-ra-bi	'ili-rāpi'	'Ilu is healer	ARM 23 Text 450	2763	*
Tuttul	ì-lí-ra-pí	'ili-rāpi'	'Ilu is healer	Kreb 2001	2763	*
Tuttul	ì-lí-ša-ki-im	'ili-tākim	'Ilu is strong	Kreb 2001	2769	*
Tuttul	ì-lí-sa-ma-aḥ	'ili-šama'	'Ilu hears	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ì-lí-ši-im-ḥa-ia	'ili-šimḥaya	'Ilu is my joy	Kreb 2001	2770	3.77
Alalah	i-li-ú-ri	'ili-'ūrī	'Ilu is my light	Gelb 1980	2552	*
Alalah	il-lu-na	'ilunā	Our god	Gelb 1980	3690	2.152*
Qaṭna	i-lu-ia	'ilūya	My gods	ARM 18 Text 61	*	*
Sutean	i-lu-ia	'ilūya	My gods	ARM 22 Text 167	*	*
Alalah	i-lum-a-bi	'ilum-'abī	My father is 'Ilu	Gelb 1980	2569	*
Sutean	ilum-ma-ma-lik	'iluma-malik	'Ilu surely is the king	ARM 18 text 64	*	*
Tuttul	i-lu-na-ki-ri-šu	'ilunā-kirišu	Kiriš is our god	Kreb 2001	2556	*
Alalah	i-lu-ra	'ilura	?	Gelb 1980	2558	*
Alalah	i-lu-ra-an	'iluran	?	Gelb 1980	2559	*
Karkemi sh	i-lu-ul-la	?	?	ARM 16.1	2562	*
Sutean	i-lu-ú-um	'ilum?	?	ARM 16.1	*	*
Qaṭna	il-wi-ia	?	?	ARM 23 Text 451	*	*
Tuttul	im-ma-AN	'imma-'ili	Divine mother	Kreb 2001	3697*	3.19
Karkemi sh	im-ma-ah-ru	?	?	ARM 23 Text 215	*	*
Alalah	im-me-ir-ḥu-un-na	'immer-ḥunna	Beautiful lamb	Gelb 1980	3699	*
Alalah	im-me-ri	'immerī	My lamb	Gelb 1980	3701	*
Alalah	in-ba-aḥ-li	'ên-ba'lī	Eye of my lord	Gelb 1980	3705	*
Alalah	in-ni- ^d IM	ḥinnī-Haddu	Haddu is my grace	Gelb 1980	3724	5.63
Alalah	iq-ba-am-mu	'iqba-'ammu	The paternal ancestor is protection	Gelb 1980	3740	*
Alalah	ir-ḥa-mi-AN	yirḥam-'ilu	'Ilu shall be gracious	Gelb 1980	3747	2.88, 2.156
Alalah	ir-ḥa-mi-il-la	yirḥam-'illa	'Illa shall be gracious	Gelb 1980	3748	2.88, 3.19 A3
Alalah	ir-ḥa-mi-la	yirḥam-'illa	'Illa shall be gracious	Gelb 1980	3749	2.88, 2.156, 3.19 A3
Alalah	i-ri-a-du	'iryī-Haddu	Haddu is a lion?	Gelb 1980	2587	*
Alalah	i-ri-iš-ma-a-bi	'irišma-'abi	Request of the father	Gelb 1980	2592	2.27
Alalah	i-ri-iš-ma-bi	'irišma-'abi	Request of the father	Gelb 1980	2593	2.29

Alalaḥ	i-ri-ma-tu	'iryī-matu	Lion of the land	Gelb 1980	2594	*
Alalaḥ	ir-kab-tum	yirkabtum	(The god) shall ride	Gelb 1980	3753	*
Alalaḥ	ir-pa-[^d]IŠKUR	yirpa'-'Aškur	'Aškur shall heal	UF 36 20.06 [BM 131464]	*	*
Alalaḥ	ir-pa-a-bi	yirpa'-'abī	My father shall heal	Gelb 1980	3754	2.88, 2.149
Alalaḥ	ir-pa-a-d[u]	yirpa'-Haddu	Haddu shall heal	UF 36 10.02 [AM 8888]	*	2.88, 2.95, 2.149, 2.164, 3.19
Alalaḥ	ir-pa-a-da	yirpa'-Hadda	Haddu shall heal	Gelb 1980	3755	2.88, 2.95, 2.149, 2.164, 3.19
Alalaḥ	ir-pa- ^d IM	yirpa'-Haddu	Haddu shall heal	Gelb 1980	3757	2.88
Alalaḥ	ir-pa-da	yirpa'-Hadda	Haddu shall heal	Gelb 1980	3756	2.88, 2.164, 3.19
Alalaḥ	ir-pa-da	yirpa'-Hadda	Haddu shall heal	UF 36 20.06 [BM 131464]	*	2.88, 2.95, 2.149, 2.164, 3.19
Alalaḥ	ir-ri-a-du	'iryī-Haddu	Haddu is a lion?	Gelb 1980	3758	*
Alalaḥ	ir-šu-ma-bi	'irsuma-'abi	Request of the father	Gelb 1980	3759	*
Ugarit	iš-hi- ^d da-gan	yit ^ṭ -ī-Dagan	Dagan is my help	ARM 23 Text 556	3790	3.28, 3.34 A1
Qaṭna	iš-ḥi- ^d IM	yit ^ṭ -ī-Haddu	Haddu is my help	ARM 16.1	3797	2.84, 2.95, 3.34 A1, 5.75, 5.77
Qaṭna	iš-hu-na- ^d IM	yit ^ṭ -unā-Haddu	Haddu is our help	FM 5 Text A.4350	*	*
Sutean	i-ší-a-šar	yîši'-'ašar	'Ašar shall depart	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	2602	2.12 A2
Tuttul	i-ší-e-ḥu-um	yîši'-'aḥum	The brother shall depart	Kreb 2001	*	2.79
Tuttul	i-si-it-na-a-na	yîšitnā-'ana	'Ana shall place us	Kreb 2001	2600*	*
Tuttul	i-ší-ki-in- ^d da-gan	yîši'-kīn-Dagan	Dagan shall depart firm	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	i-ší-na-bu-ú	yîši'-nabû	Nabû shall depart	Kreb 2001	2662	2.12

Tuttul	i-ší-qa-ta-ar	yîši'-qaṭar	Smoke shall depart	Kreb 2001	2665	2.12 A2*
Tuttul	i-ší-ra-a-a	yîši'-ra'aya	The friend shall depart	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	i-ší-za-re-e	yîši'-dāri'ī	My sower shall depart	Kreb 2001	2678	2.63, 2.97, 2.104, 2.105
Tuttul	iš-ku-ra-an	yīškurān	(The god) shall hire	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	iš-la-am- ^d IM	yīšlam-Haddu	Haddu shall be whole	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	iš-ma-a-da	yīšma'-Hadda	Haddu shall hear	Gelb 1980	3808	2.88, 3.19
Alalaḥ	iš-ma-a-du	yīšma'-Haddu	Haddu shall hear	AT 2095:1		
Alalaḥ	iš-ma-a-du	yīšma'-Haddu	Haddu shall hear	AM 8970:26		
Ebla	iš-ma-am-mu	yīšma'-'ammu	The paternal ancestor shall hear	TM.79.Q.1 73		
Alalaḥ	iš-mi-il-la	yīšma'-'illa	'Illa shall hear	Gelb 1980	3819	2.88
Alalaḥ	iš-ni- ^d IM	yīnî-haddu	Haddu shall repeat?	Gelb 1980	3821	*
Tuttul	i-šu-ḥa-am-mu	yit'u-'ammu	The paternal ancestor is salvation	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	i-šu-ma-da-ri	yit'uma-dāri'	The sower is surely salvation	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	i-ta-ar-li-im	yîtar-li'm	The tribe shall be abundant	Kreb 2001	*	2.88
Tuttul	i-tār-ba-al	yîtar-ba'l	Ba'lu shall be abundant	Kreb 2001	*	*
North Mesopotamia	iu-um-ra-aš-AN	yumraš-'ilu	'Ilu shall be made ill	ARM 16.1	3888	2.35, 2.68
Sutean	ka-ab-rum	kabrum	Great!	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	*	*
Tuttul	ka-a-la-an	kahalān	Strength	Kreb 2001	3893	2.160, 5.59
Aleppo	ka-a-li-ia	kahaliya	My strength	ARM 25 Text 480	3897	2.16
Alalaḥ	ka-a-mi	ka-ḥamī	Who is like my father-in-law	Gelb 1980	3899	*
Nihriyā	ka-an-nu-ru-[um]	kannurum	?	FM 1 Text M.10539	*	*
Alalaḥ	ka-ba-az-zi-e	kabasiya	My path	Gelb 1980	3933	*
Tuttul	ka-pí- ^d da-gan	ka-'abī-Dagan	Dagan is like my father	Kreb 2001	3938	*

Tuttul	kà-pí- ^d IM	ka-'abī-Haddu	Haddu is like my father	Kreb 2001	3945	*
Tuttul	ka-pí-e-šu-uḫ	ka-'abī-yaṭu'	One like my father is salvation	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	kà-pí-lá-rí-im	ka-'abī-larīm	The one like my father shall raise up	Kreb 2001	3947	*
Yamhad	ka-še-ra	kašira	Proper	ARM 16.1	*	*
Alalaḫ	ka-ti-ri	kātirī	My guardian	Gelb 1980	4002	*
Tuttul	ki-ib-ir-é.A	kibir-Ea	EA is great	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ki-ib-ri- ^d da-gan	kibrī-dagan	Dagan is my greatness	Kreb 2001	4026	2.95, 5.13
Yamhad	ki-ib-si- ^d IM	kibsī-Haddu	Haddu is my path	ARM 30 Text M.5692	*	2.167
Tuttul	ki-ib-sí- ^d IM	kibsī-Haddu	Haddu is my path	Kreb 2001	4033	2.167
Qatna	ki-ib-sí- ^d IM	kibsī-Haddu	Haddu is my path	FM 3 Text M.5117	4033	*
Alalaḫ	ki-ib-za-du	kibsa-haddu	Haddu is the path	Gelb 1980	4029	2.167
Alalaḫ	ki-iz-zi	gizzī	Groom	Gelb 1980	4058	*
Tuttul	ki-la-ma-ra-aṣ	kihla-maraḍ	Strength destroys	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḫ	ku-du-bi-iz-zu	kuḍubī-'izzu	My deception is strong	Gelb 1980	4106	*
Yamhad	ku-du-up-pa-an	kuḍubān	Deceiver	ARM 23 Text 241	*	*
Alalaḫ	ku-ni-da-ka	kūni-da'ka	Your knowledge is firm	Gelb 1980	4128	*
Karkemi sh	ku-sa-an	quṣṣān	Finality	ARM 16.1	4136	*
Karkemi sh	ku-ša-an	quṣṣān	Finality	FM 8 Text 29	4189	*
Alalaḫ	ku-ub-bu-rum	kubburum	Strength	Gelb 1980	4150	*
Nihriyā	ku-ul-pi	kulbī	My dog	ARM 16.1	*	*
Emar	ku-ur-ba- ^d da-[gan]	kurba-Dagan	Blessed by Dagan	ARM 25 Text 345	*	*
Alalaḫ	la-ab-bi-na	labbīna	Fair one	Gelb 1980	4207	*
Alalaḫ	la-aḫ-wi-a-du	lahwī-Haddu	Haddu shall surely exist	Gelb 1980	4216	2.168
Tuttul	la- ^d iš-ḫa-ra	la-'išḫara	One belonging to 'Išḫara	Kreb 2001 2001	*	*
Tuttul	la-di-in- ^d da-gan	ladīn-Dagan	Dagan shall surely judge	Kreb 2001 2001	4243	*
Tuttul	la-di-in-AN-ma	ladīn-'iluma	'Ilu shall surely judge	Kreb 2001	4243*	*
Alalaḫ	la-ḫi-a-du	lahī-Haddu	Haddu shall surely live	Gelb 1980	4257	*
Ahuna	la-ḫi-pa-an	lahī-?	?	ARM 16.1	4262	*

Alalaḥ	la-ḥi-za-du-uq	laḥî-ṣaduq	The righteous one shall surely live	Gelb 1980	4263	*
Alalaḥ	la-ki-in-a-du	lakīn-Haddu	Haddu shall establish	Gelb 1980	4278	*
Tuttul	la-ku-ni-lu	lakūn-'ilu	'Ilu shall be firm	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	la-ma-a-da-e	?	?	Gelb 1980	4289	*
Alalaḥ	la-ma-ta-e	?	?	Gelb 1980	4297	*
Tuttul	lā-na- ^d IM	lanā-Haddu	Haddu is ours	Kreb 2001	4305	*
Tuttul	la-na-su-ú-um	lanaśu'um	Surely adopted	ARM 16.1	4310	2.150, 3.9
Tuttul	lā-rī-im-a-'à-ad	larīm-yahad	Yahad shall indeed raise up	Kreb 2001	*	*
Aparha	la-ri-im-nu-ma-ḥa-a	larīm-numaḥā	(The god) shall surely raise up Numḥa	ARM 16.1	4325	*
Alalaḥ	la-ú- ^d IM	lawu'-Haddu	Priest of Haddu	Gelb 1980	4337	*
Alalaḥ	la-ú-la-a-da	lawu'-lahadda	The priest belongs to Haddu	Gelb 1980	4338	3.19
Samal	la-ú-um	lawu'um	Priest	ARM 16.1	4340	*
Tuttul	la-wi-la- ^d IM	lahwî-lahadda	Haddu shall surely exist	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	li-ma-a-du	li'ma-haddu	Tribe of Haddu	Gelb 1980	4368	*
Alalaḥ	li-ra-tum	liratum	?	Gelb 1980	4371	*
Alalaḥ	lu-ú-pu	lu'pu	?	Gelb 1980	4385	*
Alalaḥ	ma-ni- ^d da-gan	manî-Dagan	One counted of Dagan	Gelb 1980	4519	*
Qaṭna	ma-ah-ni-ti-èl	ma'nîṭi-'il	'Ilu is my answer	ARM 21 Text 333	*	*
Tuttul	ma-al-a-ka-an	malakān	Messenger	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ma-al-kum	malkum	King	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ma-az-ma-rum	maḍmarum	Protection of (the god)	Kreb 2001	4448	2.103, 5.43*
Tuttul	ma-da-ra-na	madār-'Ana	Dwelling place of 'Ana	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ma-ku-ḥa-a-na	malku-ḥanna	Gracious king	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	ma-li-ki	malikī	My king	Gelb 1980	4482	*
Tuttul	ma-na-bé-é-eh-di-il	manna-ba'dī-'il	Who is behind me like 'Ilu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ma-na-ta-an	mannatān	Double? portion	Kreb 2001	4511	5.66
Tuttul	ma-ta-an	mattan	Gift	Kreb 2001	*	*
Niḥriyā	me-bi-sa	mêbiša	Dried out	ARM 16.1	4593	*
Alalaḥ	me-ki-im	makīm	Established	Gelb 1980	4649	*
Apīšal	me-ki-im	makīm	Established	ARM 16.1	4648	*
Tuttul	me-rí-me-AN	marīm-'il	'Ilu is exalted	Kreb 2001	*	*

Alalaḥ	me-ša-rum	mêšarum	Uprightness/ Rectitude	Gelb 1980	4661	*
Alalaḥ	mi-il-a-bi-ti	mil'a-bītī	My house is full	Gelb 1980	4679	2.145
Šuda	mi-il-ki- ^d IM	milkī-Haddu	Haddu is my king	ARM 32 Text A.4651	4684	5.59*
Tuttul	mī-il-ki-li-AN	milkī-li'ilu	'Ilu is surely my king	Kreb 2001	4689	2.95
Tuttul	mi-ki- ^d da-gan	milkī-Dagan	Dagan is my king	Kreb 2001	4722	*
Tuttul	mi-ki-nu-um	makīnum/milkī- nu'm	Stability/My king is pleasant	Kreb 2001	4650	5.47
Tuttul	mu-ta-a-na	mut-'ana	Man of 'Ana	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	mu-ta-ni	mut-'ani	Man of 'Ana	Gelb 1980	4772	*
Tuttul	mu-ta-ni-ḥi-im	muta-ni'm	Man of pleasantness	Kreb 2001	4773	*
Tuttul	mu-ta-šu-uḥ	muta-yaṭu'	Man of salvation	Kreb 2001	4775	3.15, 3.66
Tuttul	mu-ti- ^d IM	muti-Haddu	Man of Haddu	Kreb 2001	4783*	*
Ḥarrān	mu-ti- ^d IM	muti-Haddu	Man of Haddu	ARM 27 Text 80 (brother of asdi-takim)	4794	3.64*
Alalaḥ	mu-ti- ^d UTU	muti-Šamšu	Man of Šamšu	Gelb 1980	4799	3.64
Alalaḥ	mu-ti-ia	mutiya	My man	Gelb 1980	4793	5.74
Tuttul	mu-tu- ^d da-gan	mutu-Dagan	Man of Dagan	Kreb 2001	4803*	*
Tuttul	mu-tu-má-ḥi-im	mutuma-'aḥim	Surely the man of the brother	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	mu-tu-mi-il	mutuma-'il	Surely the man of 'Ilu	Kreb 2001	4824	3.7 A1, 3.14
Tuttul	mu-tu-ra-me-em	mutu-ramêṁ	Man of the warrior	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	mu-uḥ-ra-šu-AN	muhrašu-'Ilu	'Ilu is his warrior	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	mu-uš-na-a-du	mutnā-Haddu	Our infant of Haddu	Gelb 1980	4838	*
Tuttul	mu-uš-ta-al-ma	mut-talma	Baby boy of strength	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	mu-ut-bi-si-ir	mut-biśir	Man of Biśri (area of Jebel Bishri)	Kreb 2001	4846	3.59
Sutean	mu-ut-ḥa-bu-ur	mut-ḥabur	Man of Khabur	ARM 23 Text 341	*	*
Alalaḥ	mu-ut-ḥa-la-ab	mut-ḥalab	Man of Aleppo	Gelb 1980	4852	*
Tuttul	mu-ut-ḥa-li	mut-ḥālī	Man of my maternal uncle	Kreb 2001	4854	3.18
Alalaḥ	mu-ut-ḥa-su-ur	mut-ḥašur	Man of Hazor	Gelb 1980	4858	Sup 4858
Tuttul	mu-ut-li-mi	mut-li'mī	Man of my tribe	Kreb 2001	*	*

Tuttul	mu-ut-ša-lim	mut-šalim	Man of Šalim	Kreb 2001	4877	2.95, 3.14, 5.20
Tuttul	na-ab- ^d UTU	nab(i')-Šamšu	Prophet of Šamšu	FM 1 Text M.9315	*	*
Alalah	na-aḥ-mi- ^d Da- gan	na'mī-Dagan	Dagan is my fortune	Gelb 1980	4894	5.8, 5.59
Tuttul	na-aḥ-mu-....	na'mu-....	(The god) is fortune	Kreb 2001	4898*	*
Alalah	na-ap-ši-a-du	napši-haddu	Haddu is my life	Gelb 1980	4927	2.95, 2.122
Karkemi sh	na-ap-si- ^d IM	napši-haddu	Haddu is my life	ARM 16.1	4918	5.7, 5.59, 5.75
Qatna	na-ap-si-ia-an-du	napši-handu	Handu is my life	ARM 16.1	4917	2.165
Karkemi sh	na-ap-su-na- ^d IM	napšunā-haddu	Haddu is our life	ARM 16.1	4923	*
Tuttul	na-ap-su-na- ^d IM	napšunā-haddu	Haddu is our life	Kreb 2001	4923	*
Sutean	na-ap-su-na-i-la	napšunā-'illa	'Illa is our life	ARM 23 Text 446	*	*
Sutean	na-ap-sú-um	napšum	(The god) is life	ARM 16.1	*	2.122
Sutean	na-ás-qú-um	naskum	Drink offering (of the god)	ARM 21 Text 336	*	*
Karkemi sh	na-bi-[ša]-tim	nabi'-šātim	Prophet of the hunter	NABU 2001/18	*	*
Tuttul	na-bi-na-ta-im	?	?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	na-di-mu-um	?	?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	na-di-na	nātina	Giver	Gelb 1980	4953	*
Sutean	na-ki-su-um	nākisum	Wealthy one (of the god)	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	*	*
Alalah	na-mi-a-nim	na'mī-'Anim	My fortune is of 'Ana?	Gelb 1980	4998	*
Alalah	na-mi- ^d da-gan	na'mī-Dagan	My fortune is of Dagan	Gelb 1980	4999	*
Alalah	na-mi-da-ka	na'mī-da'ka	Your knowledge is my fortune	Gelb 1980	5000	*
Sutean	na-pí-sú-um	napišum	(The god) is my life	ARM 23 Text 241	*	*
Alalah	na-ri-im	nārim	River/Light?	Gelb 1980	5013	*
Sutean	na-ší-rum	nāširum	(The god) is my guardian	ARM 23 Text 241	*	*
Alalah	ni-e-ra	nīra	Light	Gelb 1980	5025	2.53
Alalah	ni-e-ru	nīru	Light	Gelb 1980	5026	2.53
Tuttul	ni-iḥ-ma-nu	ni'mānum	Blessed one of (the god)	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ni-ik-ra-tum	nikratum	Foreigner	Kreb 2001	*	*

Alalah	ni-im'-ḥa-am-bi-AN	ni'm-ḥam-pī-'ilu	Pleasant is the father-in-law the word of 'Ilu	Gelb 1980	5034	*
Alalah	ni-iq-ma-a-bi	niqma-'abī	My father is revenge	Gelb 1980	5038	*
Alalah	ni-iq-ma-a-du	niqma-haddu	Haddu is revenge	Gelb 1980	5039	2.167
Qā	ni-iq-ma-an/AN	niqmān/niqma-'Ilu	Revenge/'Ilu is revenge	ARM 16.1	5041	5.59
Alalah	ni-iq-ma-du	niqma-haddu	Haddu is revenge	Gelb 1980	5042	2.167
Tuttul	ni-iq-me-ia	niqmiya	(The god) is my revenge	Kreb 2001	5045	2.165, 5.59*
Alalah	ni-iq-me-pa	niqmī-yapa'	My revenge has shone forth	Gelb 1980	5046	2.23, 2.23 A2, 2.179, 3.26
Alalah	ni-iq-mi-a-du	niqmī-Haddu	Haddu is my revenge	Gelb 1980	5047	2.165, 2.167, 5.11
Yamhad	ni-iq-mi-e-pu-uḥ	niqmī-yāpu'	My revenge shall shine	ARM 16.1	5048	2.23, 2.23 A2
Alalah	ni-iq-mi-e-pu-uḥ	niqmī-yāpu'	My revenge shall shine	Gelb 1980	5048	2.23, 2.23 A2
Yamhad	ni-iq-mi-ia-ad-[d]u	niqmī-Haddu	Haddu is my revenge	ARM 16.1	5050	2.165, 5.59
Aleppo	ni-iq-mi-la-na-si	niqmī-la-nāsi'	My retribution belongs to the one who bears it	ARM 16.1	5051	2.149
Ugarit	ni-iq-mi-la-na-si	niqmī-la-nāsi'	My retribution belongs to the one who bears it	ARM 25 Text 154	5051	2.149
Alalah	ni-iq-mi-pa	niqmī-yapa'	My revenge has shone forth	Gelb 1980	5052	2.179, 3.26
Alalah	ni-iw-ri-a-du	niwrī-Haddu	Haddu is my light	Gelb 1980	5054	2.51, 2.53
Alalah	ni-ma-na-a-du	ni'manā-haddu	Haddu is our fortune	Gelb 1980	5057	*
Tuttul	ni-me-er- ^d EN.ZU	niwar-sîn	Sîn is light	ARM 16.1	*	2.40, 2.42 A2, 2.45
Alalah	ni-mi-na-a-du	ni'minā-haddu	Our fortune belongs to Haddu	Gelb 1980	5058	*
Tuttul	ni-we-er- ^d EN.ZU	niwar-sîn	Sîn is light	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	nu-uḥ-mi-AN	nu'mī-'ilu	'Ilu is my fortune	Kreb 2001	5093	5.16*
Yamhad	nu-uh-mi- ^d IM	nu'mī-Haddu	Haddu is my fortune	ARM 23 Text 449	5093*	5.16*
Tuttul	nu-uḥ-mi- ^d IM	nu'mī-Haddu	Haddu is my fortune	Kreb 2001	5093*	*

Sutean	nu-uh-mu-um	nu‘mum	(The god) is my fortune	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	*	*
Tuttul	pu-ul-ḥu- ^d IM	pulḥu-Haddu	Servant of Haddu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	pu-ul-sú-mi-il	pulsu-mi‘l	The balance is full	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	qa-al-nu-um	qāl-nu‘m	Pleasant voice	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	qa-an-a-du	kāna-Haddu	Haddu is stable	Gelb 1980	5186	*
Sutean	r[a]-aq-qí-um	raqqī‘um	Thin one	ARM 21 Text 10	*	*
Tuttul	ra-aḥ-ma- ^d da-gan	raḥma-dagan	Compassion of Dagan	Kreb 2001	5223*	*
Sutean	ra-bi-ú-um	rāpi‘um	(The god) is a healer	ARM 16.1	5243	*
Tuttul	ra-ḥa-ta-an-na	rāḥata-‘anna	I am at rest?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ra-ka-ab-tu	rakabtu	I have ridden	Kreb 2001	*	*
Talhayum	ra-kab-tum	rakabtu-um	I have ridden	FM II pg 195	*	*
						2.95, 2.173, 4.7, 5.7
Tuttul	ba-aḥ-li- ^d IM	ba‘lī-haddu	Haddu is lord	Kreb 2001	1019	
Tuttul	ri-ig-ma-nu	rigmānu	Roar	Kreb 2001	5280	*
Alalaḥ	ri-im- ^d IM	rīm-Haddu	Haddu is exalted	Gelb 1980	5284	*
Tuttul	ri-ip-ḥi- ^d da-gan	rip‘ī-dagan	Dagan is my strength	Kreb 2001	*	2.144
Sutean	ri-ip-i-im	rip‘im	Strength	ARM 16.1	5292	2.146
Sutean	ru-da-bu-um	rudapum	Pursuit	ARM 23 Text 446	*	*
Sutean	ru-ha-bu-um	rūḥ-‘abum	Spirit of the father	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	*	*
Tuttul	sa-ag-bi-i-lu-ma	ṭagbi-‘iluma	Hidden one of ‘Ilu	Kreb 2001	*	*
Niḥriyā	sa-am-a-al	šam‘al	Left-handed or GN Šam‘al	ARM 23 Text 241	5320	*
Tuttul	sa-am-a-la-an	šam‘alān	One from Šam‘al	Kreb 2001	5321	5.71
Alalaḥ	ša-am-ma-ra-du	šammār-haddu	Keeper of Haddu	Gelb 1980	5767	*
Sutean	sà-am-sà-nu-[um]	šamšānum	Sun	ARM 16.1	5331	5.59
Tuttul	sa-am-si-a-ḥi	šamšī-‘aḥī	My brother is my sun	Kreb 2001	5333	*
Tuttul	sa-am-si-a-ḥu	šamšī-‘aḥu	The brother is my sun	Kreb 2001	5333*	*
Tuttul	sa-am-si- ^d da-gan	šamšī-Dagan	Dagan is my sun	Kreb 2001	5334	5.75*
Alalaḥ	sa-am-si- ^d IM	šamšī-Haddu	Haddu is my sun	Gelb 1980	5342	5.75
Alalaḥ	sa-am-si-e-da	šamšī-Hadda	Haddu is my sun	Gelb 1980	5337	2.166, 3.19
Yamhad	sa-am-si-ia-du	šamšī-Haddu	Haddu is my sun	ARM 25 Text 33	5341*	*

Qaṭna	sa-am-si-li-im	šamšī-li'm	The tribe is my sun	ARM 16.1	5345	*
Tuttul	sa-am-si-ma-ri	šamšī-mar'ī	My lord is my sun	Kreb 2001	*	*
Yamhad	sa-am-su- ^d I-[š]ar	šamšu-yîšar	Šamšu is the divinely upright one	ARM 16.1	5354	*
Alalaḫ	sa-am-šu- ^d IM	šamšu-Haddu	Šamšu is Haddu	Gelb 1980	5359	2.132
Alalaḫ	sa-am-su-na-ba-la	šamšunā-ba'la	Ba'lu is our sun	Gelb 1980	5357	*
Alalaḫ	sa-ap-ra-a-du	šapra-Haddu	Haddu is beautiful	Gelb 1980	5364	2.167
Alalaḫ	sa-ap-ra-ia	šapraya	My beauty	Gelb 1980	5365	*
Alalaḫ	ša-ap-ša	šapša	Šapša	Wiseman pg 145		
Alalaḫ	ša-ap-še	šapšī	My sun	Wiseman pg 145		
Alalaḫ	ša-ap-ši	šapšī	My sun	Gelb 1980	5772	2.125
Alalaḫ	ša-ap-ši-a-bi	šapšī-'abī	My father is my sun	Gelb 1980	5773	2.125
Alalaḫ	sa-ap-si-a-du	šapšī-Haddu	Haddu is my sun	Gelb 1980	5366	2.125, 2.166
Alalaḫ	sa-ap-si-a-du	šapšī-Haddu	Haddu is my sun	Gelb 1980	5366	
Alalaḫ	sa-ap-si-e-du	šapšī-Haddu	Haddu is my sun	Gelb 1980	5367	2.125, 2.166, 3.19
Alalaḫ	sa-ap-si-ia	šapšiya	My sun	Gelb 1980	5368	*
Sutean	ša-bi-hu-um	šābi'um	Warrior	ARM 21 Text 10	6336	2.95, 2.144
North Mesopotamia	ša-du-um-la-bi	šadum-labi'	Šadum is a lion	ARM 16.1	5791	3.7
Tuttul	sá-li-ma-an/AN	šalimān/šalima-'ilu	Peaceful/'Ilu is at peace	Kreb 2001	5419	*
Tuttul	sa-li-ma-tum	šalimatum	Peace	Kreb 2001	5423	*
Tuttul	sa-ma-ra-an/AN	šammārān/šammār-'ilu	Protector/ 'Ilu is the protector	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḫ	sa-ma-ri-a-du	šammārī-haddu	Haddu is my protector	Gelb 1980	5440	*
Alalaḫ	sa-ma-ri-AN	šammārī-'ilu	'Ilu is my protector	Gelb 1980	5441	*
Karkemish	sa-mé-e-ra-ah	šamê-yaraḫ	Yaraḫ is in the heavens	FM 11 Text 24	5442	2.39
Sutean	sa-mi-hu-um	šāmiḫum	Joyful	ARM 23 Text 446	5444	2.2, 2.126
Tuttul	sà-mu-ITI	šamū-yaraḫ	Yaraḫ is in the heavens	Kreb 2001	5468	5.81, 5.74*

Eluḥ	šar-ra-a-ia	šarraya	My chief	ARM 16.1	5845	*
Ursum	še-en-na-am	šennam	?	ARM 16.1	*	*
Alalaḥ	še-er-di-ia	šartiya	My queen	Gelb 1980	5850	*
Alalaḥ	še-mu-ba	?	?	Gelb 1980	5853	*
Ursum	še-na-am	šennam	?	ARM 23 Text 524	*	*
Šuda	si-ib-ku-na- ^d IM	šipqunā-haddu	Haddu is our sufficiency	ARM 16.1	5530	*
Šuda	si-ib-ku-na-da	šipqunā-hadda	Haddu is our sufficiency	ARM 30 Text M.11535	*	*
Aleppo	ši-ib-tu	tiptu	Judgement	FM 7 Text 2	5863	*
Tuttul	šī-id-qa-an	šidqān	Righteous one	Kreb 2001	6460	2.99, 5.59
Karkemi sh	šī-id-qu-la-na-si	šidqu-la-nāši'	My righteousness belongs to the one who bears it	ARM 25 Text 333	6457	*
Alalaḥ	ši-i-ku-wi	?	?	Gelb 1980	5859	*
Sutean	šī-il-ha-nu	šilhānu	Prosperous	ARM 21 Text 10	*	*
Alalaḥ	ši-im-ḥu-lum	šimḥu-'ilu	'Ilu is joy	Gelb 1980	5870	*
Tuttul	si-im-ḥu-ra-pí	šimḥu-rāpi'	The healer is joy	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	ši-im-ma-ra-du	šimmār-Haddu	Haddu is the protector	Gelb 1980	5871	2.40.
Alalaḥ	ši-im-ra-al-la	šimra-'alla	Protection of 'Alla	Gelb 1980	5872	2.40.
Aleppo	ši-im-ru-um	šimrum	Protection	ARM 26/1 Text 9	*	*
Yamhad	ši-ip-ri	šapri	My beauty	ARM 23 Text 261	*	*
Gubla	ši-ip-ri-im	šiprim	Beauty	ARM 23 Text 372	*	*
Sutean	ši-ip-ru	šipru	Beauty	ARM 30 Text XXII 150+	*	*
Alalaḥ	si-i-ra-na	?	?	Gelb 1980	5521	*
Tuttul	si-it-ru-da-mi	sitru-ḥamī	Protection of my father-in-law	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	si-la-da-ḥa-ti	šilla-da'atī	The protection of my knowledge	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	šīl-la-a-na	šilla-'ana	Protection of 'Ana	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	šī-lu- ^d da-gan	šillu-Dagan	Protection of Dagan	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	si-ma-aḥ-la-né-e	šimaḥ-lani	Our joy?	Kreb 2001	5542	*
Qatna	Sin-a-du	Sîn-Haddu	Sîn is Haddu	Gelb 1980	5556	*
Alalaḥ	si-nu-ra-bi	Sîn-rāpi'	Sîn is the healer	Gelb 1980	5551	*

Alalaḥ	ši-nu-ra-bi	Sîn-rāpi'	Sîn is the healer	Gelb 1980	5902	*
Alalaḥ	su'-mi-da-ar-ru	šumī-dāru	The name is stable	Gelb 1980	5594	*
Alalaḥ	su'-mi-da-ba	šumī-tāba	The name is good	Gelb 1980	5595	*
Alalaḥ	šu-ba-am-mi	tūba-'ammī	Return o my paternal ancestor	Gelb 1980	5907	*
Alalaḥ	su-ba-ḥa-li	tūba-ḥālī	Return o my maternal uncle	Gelb 1980	5562	2.112
Alalaḥ	šu-ba-ḥa-li	tūba-ḥālī	Return o my maternal uncle	Gelb 1980	5910	*
Qatna	šu-ḥa-la-an	tu'alān	Fox	ARM 22 Text 167	5926	5.70.
Alalaḥ	su-ma-a-bi	šuma-'abī	Name of my father	Gelb 1980	5578	*
Alalaḥ	šu-ma-a-du	šuma-Haddu	Name of Haddu	Gelb 1980	5933	2.127, 2.167
Tuttul	su-ma-ta-a-na	šuma-tāna	Name of ?	Kreb 2001	5589	*
Alalaḥ	su-me-a-bu-um	šumī-'abum	The father is my name	Gelb 1980	5590	*
Alalaḥ	su-mi-a-du	šumī-Haddu	Haddu is my name	Gelb 1980	5593	2.159, 2.167, 3.61
Tuttul	su-mi-ia	šumiya	My name	Kreb 2001	5597	5.74
Alalaḥ	su-mi-lam-mu	šumī-lammu	Lammu is my name	Gelb 1980	5599	*
Alalaḥ	su-mi-ra-pa	šumī-rapa'	My name heals	Gelb 1980	5601	2.127, 3.14
Alalaḥ	su-mi-ri-ba	šumī-rip'a	My name is health	Gelb 1980	5602	2.127
Alalaḥ	su-mu-a-la-ab	šumu-ḥalab	Descendent of Aleppo	Gelb 1980	5613	*
Aleppo	su-mu-ba-ra-ah	šumu-bara'	The name creates	FM 7 Text 28	*	*
Muzunn um	su-mu-ba-ra-ah	šumu-bara'	The name creates	ARM 23 Text 556, FM 7, pg 104	*	*
Aleppo	su-mu-e-pu-uḥ	šumu-yāpu'	The name shall arise	FM 1 pg 38, FM 5 pg 118	5643	3.14
Yamhad	su-mu-e-pu-uḥ	šumu-yāpu'	The name shall arise	ARM 16.1	5643	3.14
Tuttul	su-mu-e-ra-aḥ	šumu-yaraḥ	Name of yaraḥ	Kreb 2001	5644	*
Qatna	su-mu-ha-am-mi	šumu-'ammī	Name of my paternal ancestor	ARM 21 Text 333	5651*	*
Sutean	su-mu-i-ba-al	šumu-yībal	The name shall bear	ARM 23 Text 446	*	*
Sutean	su-mu-i-la	šumu-'ila	Name of 'ilu	ARM 22 Text 327	*	2.152, 3.21
Tuttul	šu-mu-na-'à-rí	šumu-nawar	Name of Nawar	Kreb 2001	*	*

Alalaḥ	su-mu-na-a-bi	šumunā-’abī	My father is our name	Gelb 1980	5688	2.27
Alalaḥ	su-mu-na-bi	šumu-nabi’	Name of the prophet	Gelb 1980	5689	2.27
Tuttul	šu-mu-na-ni-rí	šumunā-nīrī	My light is our name	Kreb 2001	*	2.127
Tuttul	su-mu-ra-am	šumu-rām	The name is exalted	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḥ	su-mu-un-na-a-bi	šumunā-’abī	My father is our name	Gelb 1980	5728	*
Alalaḥ	su-mu-un-na-bi	šumu-nabi’	Name of the prophet	Gelb 1980	5729	*
Alalaḥ	su-pa-ḥa-li	tūba-ḥālī	Return o my maternal uncle	Gelb 1980	5741	2.101, 2.112
Tuttul	šú-ra-ḥa-am-mu	šūra-’ammu	The paternal ancestor is a rock	ARM 16.1	6614	3.6, 5.14, 5.82
Alalaḥ	su-ub-ḥa-li	tūb-ḥālī	Return o my maternal uncle	Gelb 1980	5745	2.112
Tuttul	šu-ub-na-il	tūbna-’il	Return please o ’Ilu	Kreb 2001	5959	2.144, 3.13, 3.70 A6
Eluḥ	šu-uk-rù-ti-šu-ub	šukru-teššub	Hireling of Teššub	ARM 26 Text 435	*	*
Tuttul	su-um-ḥu-ra-pí	šumḥu-rāpi’	Joy of the healer	Kreb 2001	5749	*
Yamhad	su-um-na-a-du	šumnā-Haddu	Haddu is our name	ARM 30 Text XXII 153+	*	*
North Mesopotamia	šú-up-ri-e-ra-aḥ	šuprī-yaraḥ	Yaraḥ is my claw/bird	ARM 16.1	6648	*
Yamhad	ṭá-ab-ba-la-ṭí	ṭāb-balāṭī	My life is good	ARM 22 Text 167	*	*
Alalaḥ	ta-ab-si-im-tum	ṭāb-šīmtum	Goodness has been placed	Gelb 1980	5966	*
Alalaḥ	ta-aḥ-pa-zi			Gelb 1980	5968	*
Alalaḥ	ta-al-ma-am-mu	talma-’ammu	The paternal ancestor is great	Gelb 1980	5976	*
Alalaḥ	ṭa-ba-AN	ṭāba-’ilu	’Ilu is good	Gelb 1980	6148	3.25
Qatna	ṭa-bu-um	ṭābum	Goodness	ARM 30 Text M.6731		*
Ḥaššum/ Zarwar	ta-gu-uz-za	?	?	ARM 16.1	*	*
Alalaḥ	ta-kum-ma-ti	takūn-matī	My land shall be firm	Gelb 1980	6021	*
Tuttul	tá-nu-a	?	?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	ta-nu-a-tum	tanū’atum	?	Kreb 2001	*	*

Alalaḫ	ta-pa-aš-šu-ra	ṭāba-’aššura	’Aššura is good	Gelb 1980	6033	2.95, 2.101, 3.6
Alalaḫ	tap-ta-na-a-da	ṭābtanā-Hadda	Haddu is our good	Gelb 1980	6059	*
Alalaḫ	tap-tu-na-a-da	ṭābtunā-Hadda	Haddu is our good	Gelb 1980	6060	*
Tuttul	ta-ri-im-ša-ki-im	tarīm-ṭakim	You shall raise up the shoulder	ARM 16.1	6042	*
Tuttul	ta-ri-im-ša-ki-im	tarīm-ṭakim	You shall raise up the shoulder	Kreb 2001	6042	*
Tuttul	ta-šu-ub-ša-ki-ni	taṭūb-šākinī	you shall restore my inhabitant	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḫ	ti-im-ri-pa	tīm-rip’a	Healing is complete	Gelb 1980	6070	*
Alalaḫ	ti-ni-a-du	dīnī-Haddu	Haddu is my judge	Gelb 1980	6087	*
North Mesopot amia	tu-rum-na-at-ki	turūmnā-ḥadki	Ḥadki shall exalt us	ARM 16.1	6122	*
Tuttul	tu-ub-qí-ia	tubkiya	My leather garment	Kreb 2001	*	*
Qatna	ú-la-šu-da	?	?	Gelb 1980	6172	*
Tadmor	ul-u-ri	?	?	ARM 22 Text 15	*	*
Alalaḫ	um-mi-iš-ḥa-ra	’ummī-’išḥarah	’Išḥarah is my clan	Gelb 1980	6235	2.35
Alalaḫ	um-mi-na-mi	’ummī-na’mī	My clan is my fortune	Gelb 1980	6238	*
Alalaḫ	ú-ra-a-du	’ūra-haddu	Light of Haddu	Gelb 1980	6191	*
Tuttul	ú-ri-ia	’ūriya	My light	Kreb 2001	6196*	*
Eluḫ	uš-tap-a-dal	yuštap-adal	?	ARM 23 Text 449	*	*
Tuttul	u-ub-’à-ar	yubḥar	Chosen one	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalaḫ	wu-ri-a-du	’ūrī-haddu	Haddu is my light	Gelb 1980	6281	*
Alalaḫ	za-at-am-mu	ṣayyād-’ammu	The paternal ancestor is a hunter	Gelb 1980	6328	*
Sutean	za-ki-ra-ha-am- mu	dākira-’ammu	Memory of the paternal ancestor	ARM 21 Text 10	6367	5.24
Tuttul	za-ku-ra-a-bu-um	dakūra-’abum	Memory of the father	Kreb 2001	6378	*
Tuttul	za-ku-ra-ḥa-...	dakūra-’aḫ...	Memory of the brother	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	za-mu-ra-a-bi-im	dāmūra-’abim	Protection of the father	Kreb 2001	*	*
Ursum	za-PI-da-AN	ṣayyād-’ilu	Hunter of ’Ilu	ARM 16.1	6363	*
Alalaḫ	za-ša-ú-da	?	?	Gelb 1980	6418	*
Alalaḫ	za-ú-ta	?	?	Gelb 1980	6421	*
Alalaḫ	zi-gi-il-te	?	?	Gelb 1980	6443	*

Qatna	zi-id-ki-e-pa	ṣidqī-yapa‘	My righteousness has shown forth	Gelb 1980	6453	2.23 A 2, 2.179, 3.26
Tuttul	zi-ik-ra-a-na	ḏikrānā	Our memory	Kreb 2001	6463*	5.59*
Tuttul	zi-ik-ri-li-im	ḏikrī-li‘m	The tribe is my memorial	Kreb 2001	6475	5.11
Tuttul	zi-ik-ru-AN	ḏikru-‘ilu	‘Ilu is a memorial	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	zi-il-la-ad-du	ṣilla-haddu	Protection of Haddu	Gelb 1980	6482	2.95
Tuttul	zi-im-ra-di	ḏimra-‘adī	Protecting ornament	Kreb 2001	*	*
Šubat- šamaš	zi-im-ra-nam	ḏimra-na‘m	Pleasing protection	ARM 16.1	6491	*
Tuttul	zi-im-ri- ^d da-gan	ḏimrī-dagan	Dagan is my protection	Kreb 2001	6498	3.28
Alalah	zi-im-ri- ^d eš4-dar	ḏimrī-‘aṭtar	‘Aṭtar is my protection	Gelb 1980	6504	*
Tuttul	zi-im-ri- ^d IM	ḏimrī-haddu	Haddu is my protection	Kreb 2001	6499*	*
Tuttul	zi-im-ri-ia	ḏimriya	My protection	Kreb 2001	6510	5.75
Tuttul	zi-im-ri-li-im	ḏimrī-li‘m	The tribe is my protection	Kreb 2001	6513	2.95
Alalah	zi-im-ri-sa-maš	ḏimrī-šamaš	Šamaš is my protection	Gelb 1980	6518	2.95, 5.62
Alalah	zi-im-ru-eš4-dar	ḏimru-‘aṭtar	‘Aṭtar is protection	Gelb 1980	6521	3.17
Tuttul	zi-im-ru-um	ḏimrum	(The god) is protection	Kreb 2001	*	*
Ursum	zi-ir-bi-gu-ni	?	?	ARM 16.1	*	*
Alalah	zi-it-ra-a-du	sitra-Haddu	Protection of Haddu	Gelb 1980	6539	2.167
Alalah	zi-ki-il-da	?	?	Gelb 1980	6552	*
Yamhad	zi-na-a	?	?	ARM 22 Text 288	*	*
Tuttul	zu-a-ba	ḏū-‘aba	The one of the father	Kreb 2001	*	*
Sutean	zu-a-bu-um	ḏū-‘abum	The one of the father	ARM 30 Text M.6654+	*	*
Tuttul	zu-a-mu	ḏū-ḥamu	The one of the father-in-law	Kreb 2001	*	*
Tuttul	zu- ^d iš-ḥa-ra	ḏū-‘Išḥara	The one of ‘Išḥara	Kreb 2001	*	*
Emar	zu-da-di	ḏū-dādī	The one of my beloved	ARM 16.1	6583	*
Tuttul	zu-ḥi-līb-bi	?	?	Kreb 2001	*	*
Alalah	zu-ia-še-ia	ḏū-yāti‘a	The one of the savior	Gelb 1980	6597	*
Tuttul	zu-na-li	ḏūna-‘ili	The one of ‘Ilu	Kreb 2001	*	*

Yamhad	zu-na-ti-AN	dūnati-’ili	the one of ’Ilu	ARM 30 Text M.18230	*	*
Sutean	zu-ú-a-bu-um	dū-’abum	The one of the father	ARM 30 Text M.6731	*	*
Emar	zu-ú-da-da	dū-dāda	The one of the beloved	ARM 23 Text 449	*	*

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