

congregation was still in camp before the division of the country, they were hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, but after the country was divided and the Israelites lived in their towns and on their own land, they remained hewers of wood and drawers of water for the House of God." Kimhi expands the final expression to include Gilgal, Shiloh, Nob, Gibeon and Jerusalem. This agrees with the traditional assumption that the Gibeonites are the later *netinim* and "the place which he should choose" means the House of God in Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> However,

<sup>52</sup> In the Talmud (Mishna Zebahim XIV, 8; *ibid.* Tosefta XIII, 20; Gemara Babli 119 a-b) there is difference of opinion about the meaning of the sentence in Deut. 12:9—"For ye have not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance." According to one interpretation, "the rest" alludes to Shiloh. In contrast to this, R. Simeon maintains that "both of them refer to Jerusalem," whereas R. Ishmael, "the interpreter of the plain meaning of the text," holds that "both of them (both "the rest" and "the inheritance") refer to Shiloh."

if the Gibeonites became hewers of wood etc. after the division of the country, the "House of the Lord" meant by the Biblical text is certainly that of Shiloh.<sup>53</sup> When the nation united in war was about to break up into separate tribes, each going to his own territory, it was natural to transfer the obligations of the Gibeonites from the congregation to the central sanctuary of the whole people.

This view seems to be nearly correct. Immediately after they had rested from the wars of conquest and had possessed themselves of the land, they established the Tabernacle at Shiloh (Cf. Jerem. 7:12).

<sup>53</sup> A widely held view (Kittel, *op. cit.*—see note 32—and others) maintains that (at first) the Gibeonites served at the large high place at Gibeon. But against this view, I have shown (Zion XXIII–XXIV, 1958–1959, pp. 135–138; "Chapters in the History of the High Priesthood II"), that this high place was built only in the days of Saul, after the Gibeonites had been expelled therefrom. Moreover, the words "the place which the Lord your God shall choose," can hardly be explained as referring to a high place.

## CANAANITE MARITIME INVOLVEMENT IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.\*

JACK M. SASSON

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

"Pour avoir trop prêté jadis [in the 19th century] aux phéniciens, on ne veut plus leur reconnaître aucun rôle décisif dans l'histoire de la civilisation, et c'est seulement à l'extrême fin du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire et au début du 1<sup>er</sup>, après l'effondrement de l'empire crétois, qu'ils avaient joué un rôle politique et commercial, d'ailleurs bien modeste."<sup>1</sup> This statement, made in 1935, is still

\* In this paper, 'Canaan' is to be understood as a geographical term, encompassing the narrow strip of land that stretched from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the regions immediately south of Tyre. As will become obvious, the evidence collected includes not only epigraphic material from Canaanite, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian soil, but also artistic renderings of Semitic and Semitic sea-farers as depicted on Egyptian walls.

<sup>1</sup> James G. Février, "Les origines de la marine phénicienne," *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie et d'Histoire Générale de la Civilisation*. N.S. Fasc. 10 (1935) 97–125. p. 97.

in many ways valid today. If one substitutes the word 'Mycenaean,' or better yet 'Cypro-Mycenaean' for 'Cretan,' an accurate condensation of present day scholarly thoughts on the matter would be attained.

The earliest history of Canaanite shipping is very nebulous. Mainland objects were found in chalcolithic levels of Cyprus. Yet, because no proper documentation occurs on Syrian soil, we have no way of discussing the actual means by which the coastal region traded with other lands; that is whether ships or floats were used, whether they belonged to Cypriots, Syrians or Egyptians.

cienne," *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie et d'Histoire Générale de la Civilisation*. N.S. Fasc. 10 (1935) 97–125. p. 97.

Purely conjectural is Schaeffer's supposition that a port such as Ugarit was used by Sargon and his grandson Naram-Sin in their conquests of lands 'beyond the Upper Sea'.<sup>2</sup> Snefru's inscription on the Palermo Stone which mentions the "bringing of forty ships of 'š wood"<sup>3</sup> and Sahure's depiction of *Kbn* ships may indicate Syrian involvement with sea trade.<sup>4</sup> It is only when we come down to the second millennium, and to the Late Bronze Age in particular, that positive evidence of Canaanite supremacy on water is made available.

From Byblos two models of ships were unearthed by Dunand in a Middle Bronze context.<sup>5</sup> They were studied by Février. The first is a boat with a flat bottom where a cabin, rectangular in shape, was placed midship. Assuming that the cabin was large enough to permit one to stand within it, this boat would have been eight to ten meters long and four to six meters wide. Février notes that this was certainly not a fluvial vessel in view of the fact that the cabin would have been placed on the deck, in the manner of Egyptian Nile barges, to permit one to contemplate the scenery. He concludes: "Cette grande largeur, la

<sup>2</sup> Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *CRAI* (1962), p. 202. *KAV* No. 92. On this text see Michael C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden (1965) p. 327, and note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* I:236.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the 'Kbn' ships, a large literature has accumulated. See among others: Torigny Saeve-Soederbergh's *The Navy of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, Uppsala (1946) p. 48ff.; Raymond O. Faulkner, "Egyptian Seagoing Ships," *JEA* 26 (1940) pp. 3-9; Percy E. Newberry, "Notes on Seagoing Ships," *JEA* 28 (1942) pp. 64-66. I share the view of R. W. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete*, Penguin Books (1962) p. 93: "... if we consider the lack of timber suitable for ships in Egypt and its abundance on the Lebanon coast and the later shipbuilding traditions of the Phoenicians, we may perhaps go so far as to suggest that 'Byblos ship' meant the type of ship built at Byblos, without of course excluding the possibilities of Egyptians also building such ships either at Byblos or in Egypt." I would confine, however, construction in Egypt to Memphis, in particular at *Prw nfr* (see below). It is also just possible that Sahure's vessels may not have been Egyptian at all. Montet, in "Le Roi Sahure et la princesse lointaine," *Mélanges Dussaud* (1939) p. 195 suggests that these ships brought to Egypt a Syrian embassy whose role was to deliver a Semitic princess to Pharaoh.

<sup>5</sup> Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, 1937-54, Plates CXL, No. 6581 and p. 434; No. 3306 and p. 244.

hauteur de son franc-bord, l'absence de toute superstructure semblent indiquer [sic] que c'était un petit, mais robuste bateau de mer."<sup>6</sup> The second model is that of a ship which was also known to Cyprus, for there a similar one was found.<sup>7</sup> Février concludes that this type seems to have been the model of a sailing ship, large of hull and very strongly built.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, ships such as the ones described above might very easily have been used by Syrians who travelled to *Kaptaru*, Crete, in search of the various objects destined for Zimri-Lim's court at Mari.<sup>9</sup> Even more important, the same type of vessels were probably used to transport a good portion of a population from one continent to another, early in the second millennium before Christ.

The Torque-Bearers were members of a race, probably non-Semitic, of adroit metal workers. In various places in the Near East, they left traces which in effect became their calling cards: large togglepins, spiral wires, heavy bronze or silver waist (neck?) bands, triangular daggers with crescent-shaped hilts, spears with sockets and flat axes with blades pierced by large windows.<sup>10</sup> Apparently, in the early second millennium, some of them decided to pack up and leave, perhaps desiring to emigrate to regions where natural bronze, a metal which had become their specialty, was more plentiful than in their Near Eastern habitat.

"Les deux grandes régions où l'on a trouvé les sépultures et les dépôts des porteurs de torques, Hongrie, Bohême et Syrie (Byblos et Ras Shamra), sont séparées d'une part par la Méditerranée orientale, où leur traversée n'a pu laisser de trace, de l'autre par le pont de terre formé par l'Asie Mineure occidentale et les Balkans. Or, à en juger selon l'état des recherches, nos porteurs de torques ne semblent pas avoir emprunté la route de terre, car, à l'exception de quelques épingles à cols

<sup>6</sup> Février, "L'Ancienne marine phénicienne et les découvertes récentes," *La Nouvelle Cléo* 2 (1950) p. 135.

<sup>7</sup> René Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*, 2nd edition, (1914) p. 420; fig. 310.

<sup>8</sup> Février, *loc. cit.*, pp. 135-138; fig. 2, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Georges Dossin, "Les Archives économiques du palais de Mari," *Syria* 20 (1939) pp. 97-113.

<sup>10</sup> Such implements have been found in Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia in appreciable quantities (*Ugaritica II*, pp. 106ff.). Strangely enough, they are quite rare in Cyprus (*Ugaritica IV*, pp. 226-7, 237).

percés, trouvées à Troie, rien ne signale leur présence dans ces vastes pays; l'absence du torque caractéristique, y est particulièrement significative. Force est donc d'admettre que les porteurs de torques de Syrie, prospecteurs et artisans du métal, on pris la mer."<sup>11</sup>

It is when we come to the Late Bronze Age that, unmistakably, we meet with definite proofs of a Canaanite 'thalassocracy.' By then written documents become numerous. But first a quick look at the Egyptian depictions of Semitic ships.<sup>12</sup>

Some have argued that Syrian ships were not seaworthy; but the fact that they were represented on Egyptian soil belies such a contention. We have yet to see Cretan and Egyptian vessels represented on foreign territories, yet those who champion their cause do not hesitate to proclaim their great maritime abilities.<sup>13</sup> Février, Nougayrol and now

<sup>11</sup> *Ugaritica II*, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup> Egyptian tombs on the walls of which Syrians were painted are not too plentiful: 1) The tomb of Seni (No. 17), a badly preserved representation of which is to be found in *MVAG* (1904); 2) Photographs of the tomb of H'-m-ḥ3t are in Wreszinski's *Atlas I* p. 199, and 3) the scenes in Ken-Amon's tomb at Dra'-aboul-Neggah are well reconstructed in *JEA* 33 (1947) p. 40ff.

<sup>13</sup> Without going extensively into the matter, it would be very difficult to disprove the widely held contention that Egyptian, Minoan and, later, Mycenaean sea-power were dominant in the Late Bronze age. On Egyptian shipping, let it be pointed out that, with the debatable exception of the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, the usually loquacious Pharaonic sources never mention a Mediterranean journey to foreign sea ports. The recent exciting discovery made by K. A. Kitchen of Aegean place names (Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos to which one should also add Cythera) on a late Egyptian topographical list, does not alter the value of this statement. See "Theban Topographical Lists, Old and New," *Orientalia N.S.* 34 (1965) pp. 1ff. During the New Kingdom, Thutmose III and his successors seem to have appropriated the Canaanite fleet for their own use. It is also pertinent to point out that *Prw-nfr*, a Memphite district where boat-building was undertaken, was undoubtedly a Semitic enclave. There, Semitic gods were worshiped. Černý, using material gathered by Grdseloff, emphasizes that the Semitic, mostly Phoenician, elements saturated the area. Cf. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford (1954) p. 337. See also W. Helck's *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden (1962) pp. 544-545. [See now also Kitchen, "Aegean Place Names in the List of Amenophis III," *BASOR* 181 (Feb. 1966) pp. 23-24.]

Astour (see below) seem to be alone in regarding the Canaanites as boat-makers capable of producing seaworthy, cargo-carrying merchantmen. Some of Février's arguments may be debated, but

On Minoan shipping, the article of S. Marinatos, "La Marine créto-mycénienne" in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 57 (1933) pp. 170-235, contains the most complete treatment of the subject. Chapter IV of Hutchinson's book should also be consulted (*op. cit.*, pp. 91ff.). In the article "The Myth of the Minoan Thalassocracy," published in *Historia* 3 (1954-5) pp. 282-291, Chester G. Starr attempts to relegate the Minoans to a proper position as sea traders. Their maritime ability, he feels, has been much exaggerated by both ancient and modern authors. "The Minoan thalassocracy," he argues rather heatedly, "is a myth, and an artificial one to boot . . . the evidence now available points clearly to the contrary conclusion that the Cretans did not exercise the scepter of the Aegean Sea" (p. 283). To his arguments, many of which are most appealing, one can add the following remarks:

A) In neither Egypt nor the Semitic Near East are Cretan material remains extensive enough to warrant an assumption that great amounts of Minoan objects were exported to these regions during the Middle Bronze age. On the other hand, the Mari archives of approximately the same period speak of goods imported from *Kaptaru*, 'Crete.' At Knossos and at Platanos, cylinder seals from the Hammurabi era were found. These symbols of Mediterranean culture have been considered to be collector's items, possibly preserved by Cretan art enthusiasts. It would be just as plausible to consider them as belonging to Semitic merchants whose base of operation was Crete. From a slightly later era, the Linear A tablets inform us that the language written in some parts of Crete was Semitic.

The Minoan evidence of a direct relationship between the Aegean island and the Fertile Crescent in the Late Minoan period is even slimmer. The various arguments are based mainly on the presence of *Kftiw* people on Egyptian soil. However, it is to be noted that whenever such people are depicted on the walls of a tomb, Semites—and they are so labelled—are represented alongside. In one tomb, rhytons, alabastrons and other wares which are usually considered to be evidence of Minoan presence were shown being carried by Semites, in scenes where only Semites and Nubians, without any trace of an Aegean *Kftiw*, were drawn. N. M. and N. de G. Davies, "The Tomb of Amenmosé (No. 89) at Thebes," *JEA* 26 (1941) pp. 131-136, plates XXII-XXVI.

The last two observations lead me to believe that the greater portion of Creto-Egyptian trade was handled by Canaanites who, as we shall see later, were quite capable of handling a very great amount of traffic.

B) It would be too much of an oversimplification to accept Starr's argument that the 'myth of a thalassoc-

his conclusions, on the whole, are quite in agreement with this author's point of view. He remarks that the Canaanite ship was smaller in length and more stocky than the one of Hatshepsut, giving one the impression that it was more massive, more stable and more powerfully built. The ship had high stem and stern-posts, thus preventing waves from spilling into the boat. This protection was increased by the use of a mobile fence made of vertical planks. The mast, massively sitting in the center of the keel, does not seem to have been strengthened by cables, a feature which was regularly found on Cretan and Egyptian ships. Because of their absence, Février speculated that "les marins phéniciens ne se contentaient pas de naviguer avec le vent arrière, et qu'ils étaient capable d'utiliser dans une certaine mesure le vent de côté."<sup>14</sup> This rather bold conclusion, if ever it is proven to be true, would explain why Canaanite

---

racy' was based on later exaggerations by Greek chauvinists. Crete did exert a powerful influence, during the Shaft Grave period and even earlier, on the mainland and on the Cyclades. The Cretan fleet of that age was large enough, its ships strong enough to frequent these areas. Mr. Leon Pomerance, involved with the team that is now excavating Kato Zakro, reported that huge saws, evidently employed to fell trees with which to construct ships, have been uncovered. (It may be pertinent to point out, for whatever it may be worth, that this site has so far produced Linear A tablets only; Lecture at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., April 14, 1965.) Thus, the Achaeans of that age were certainly awed by the insular civilization; to them it was the most powerful one they knew. This impression was preserved for a long time, losing little of its potency even when Knossos was occupied by the Greeks, until historians of the Classical Age chose to pen down such traditions.

The trade of Mycenae with the rest of the ancient world was certainly extensive enough, especially from Late Mycenaean IIIB on. For this reason, it is especially surprising that of the hundreds of proper names and gentilics gleaned from Alalah and Ugarit, cities where important Mycenaean wares were uncovered, not one can be assigned to an Achaean, Cretan, Aeolian, Ionian, Rhodian or any other Aegean proper, ethnic or geographical name (observation of M. C. Astour, "Semitic Names in the Greek World and Greek Names in the Semitic World," *JNES* 23 (1964) 193-201, p. 194). This may suggest that Mycenaean trade, at least with Syria, was either maintained by Canaanites or, more likely, conducted in places such as Rhodes and Cyprus.

<sup>14</sup> Février, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

ships were never depicted with oars or rowers. The sails used on such ships were enormous. In proportion to the length of the boat they were twice as large as those found on Egyptian vessels and were probably relied on very heavily. The absence of a thick cord which, on Egyptian vessels, was used to attach the prow to the stern, thus preventing the break-up of a ship when it hit the crest of a wave, testifies to the solidity of Syrian merchantmen. From the crude depiction of such ships on Egyptian tombs we also get the impression that they possessed a deck on which sailors circulated. Février concludes: "Voilà donc un vrai navire de haute mer."<sup>15</sup>

A possible Syrian sea-going vessel has been lying at the bottom of the Mediterranean ever since it sank sometime in the thirteenth century B.C. Smaller in size (eight to nine meters long) and less heavy in tonnage (one ton capacity) than the usual Canaanite ship, its cargo consisted of copper ingots in the familiar ox-hide shape. An oil lamp, the captain's seal, scarabs, as well as the wood used for boards were of Syrian origin. Apparently the ship was on its way to the Aegean from the island of Cyprus to deliver its cargo of precious copper when storm and treacherous currents led to its sinking.<sup>16</sup>

Criticism of Février's reconstruction is to be found in Saeve-Soederbergh's *Navy*. . . ,<sup>17</sup> a criticism to which Faulkner subscribes.<sup>18</sup> They both regard the Canaanite ships essentially as copies of Egyptian models. According to Faulkner, the great and obvious difference in the art of ship-designing stems from "artistic license . . . , ignorance or carelessness of the artist . . . , inaccurate draughtsmanship . . . , drawing [that is] demonstrably inaccurate . . . , distorted . . . proportions . . . , [etc.]."<sup>19</sup> It would have been much simpler to

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> George F. Bass, "The Cape Gelidonya Wreck: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 65 (1961) pp. 267ff. *Idem*, "The Promise of Underwater Archeology," *The American Scholar* 32 (1963) pp. 241ff. See also Alan R. Schulman's short study of the scarabs: "Three Shipwrecked Scarabs," in *Expedition* 3 (Summer 1961) pp. 24-25.

<sup>17</sup> Soederbergh, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-62.

<sup>18</sup> N. de G. Davies and R. O. Faulkner, "A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt," *JEA* 33 (1947) pp. 40-46.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

realize that, apart from the fact the Egyptian and Syrian ships shared a basic shape, everything about their construction and rigging was markedly dissimilar. Indeed, one has only to take a look at representations of Hatshepsut's ships and those of Canaan painted on the walls of Ken-Amon's tomb to realize that completely different traditions were fostered in ship-building. They arose, no doubt, because one civilization was river-oriented while the other one was sea-directed.

At the time of writing his *Navy . . .*, Soederbergh had very few documents from Syria proper that would have given him the correct perspective with which to evaluate Canaanite sea trade.<sup>20</sup> In addition to the two published administrative texts from Ugarit, he relied mainly on the Amarna letters. His interpretation of the latter texts depended on the assumption that a good portion of the trade and defense of the sea was borne by the Egyptian navy, an assumption that is surely correct if one accepts the fact that the navy of the Two-Lands was composed of either requisitioned or captured Syrian ships.<sup>21</sup> While serving the kings

<sup>20</sup> Concerning Soederbergh's statement: "I would, however, rather stress the fact that the sea hardly plays any role in the religious texts from Ugarit," *op. cit.*, p. 59, see now Otto Kaiser's *Die Mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Aegypten, Ugarit und Israel*, Berlin (1962), Chap. II.

<sup>21</sup> On the seizure and use of Canaanite ships by Thutmose III, two passages are of special importance. During the fifth campaign in Asia which occurred in his twenty-ninth year, the great Pharaoh marched to *Writ* and destroyed it. He then proceeded to sack this city, capture a number of its ships which he filled with the spoils of victory, and then sail southward to Egypt (BAR:II §456-460). We consider Soederbergh's objections to be postulatory and his interpretation of the passage to be doubtful, perhaps even forced (*op. cit.*, pp. 34-6). It is only after the capture of this fleet that Thutmose was able to break the power of ports such as Arwada and Ullaza.

Another text refers to the inspection of Syrian harbors during Thutmose's thirteenth campaign (year 38). There, mention is made of *Kftiw*, *Kbn*, and *skt* ships in connection with 'š wood. Because they seemed to have been built with Syrian trees, Breasted interpreted this document to mean that the ships formed part of the Canaanite tribute (BAR:II §492). Soederbergh translates differently and understands that these ships were laden with, and not made of, such timber (*op. cit.*, pp.

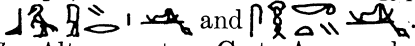
of the XVIIIth dynasty, Canaanite sailors took advantage of their position within the Egyptian fleet to harass and to plunder other cities which were still loyal to Pharaoh. On one such instance Rib-Addi of Byblos complains: "Further, whose are the ships that stand against me? [Do they] not [belong] to the people of Arwad? And they are even now with thee? Seize the ships of the people of Arwad which are in Egypt" (EA:101:11-18). During war times, this mercenary fleet was used to supply cities that were either under siege and in need of victuals or to transport troops to areas badly in need of reinforcements.<sup>22</sup> As we shall see later, the Ugaritic fleet was used for much the same purpose.

The mound of Ras-Shamra has been yielding, year after year, precious texts which have revolutionized our knowledge of Canaan and its inhabitants. Recently, a good number of alphabetical texts have been published in a volume, the con-

43-45). The point is moot; different renderings can be tolerated by this inscription, but this does not mean that the latter scholar is necessarily right. Indeed, to find vessels of foreign derivations, filled with Syrian objects, in a Syrian port at a time when Egypt ruled the East, makes it quite suggestive that the Two-Lands depended on Canaan for its naval needs. See also the criticism of P. Montet in his "Notes et documents . . .," *Kêmi*, 13 (1954) 64-70. To keep the number of its boats constant, Egypt imposed upon the Syrian states a tribute which required the delivery of ships. Amarna letters No. 160 and 161 reveal that Aziru of Amurru found it prudent to furnish his overlord with his quota. It is not surprising, then, to note that as soon as Canaan broke away from Egypt, we hear next to nothing of Pharaonic sea-power. The ships used by Raamses III in his sea battle with the 'Peoples of the Sea' were designed in a manner suspiciously similar to those employed by his opponents. Thus it may not be impossible to conjecture that, as they descended from the North, these hordes of invaders captured the fleets of destroyed Canaanite cities only to be opposed by an Egyptian force composed of Syrian mercenaries (see R. LeB. Bowen, Jr., *Mariner's Mirror* 48 [1962] pp. 52-57). It is possible now to reconstruct that the 'Peoples of the Sea' succeeded in capturing Cypriot ships with which they attacked Ugarit (see below).

<sup>22</sup> With the reservations of the last remarks in the preceding note, Soederbergh's treatment of the Amarna age naval power of Egypt is still very sound. But Thomas O. Lambdin's paper on "The MIŠI-People of the Byblian Amarna Letters" in *JCS* 7 (1953) pp. 75-77 should also be consulted.

tent of which teaches us much about the sea trade of one coastal city. Together with earlier publications, *P(alais) R(oyal) (d)'U(garit) V*, enables us now to speculate on what one may call the 'Canaanite Thalassocracy.'

While in the Akkadian language a large variety of boat appellations are known, most of which derive ultimately from Sumerian, the Ugaritic dialect of West Semitic has so far yielded only a few terms which can be identified with ships.<sup>23</sup> Ugarit knew of three terms, *br*, *tkt*, and *any*.<sup>24</sup> The first two, *br* and *tkt*, are also known from Egyptian sources as . For the term *br*, Alt suggests a Creto-Aegean derivation, for he does not think it to be Semitic.<sup>25</sup> Helck compares it with Akkadian *bā'iru*, 'fisherman', hence *ba'artu*, some sort of fishing vessel later known from Herodotus' book on Egypt as *βάρυς* (II:96).<sup>26</sup> In the Mediterranean world, however, the *br* seems to have been differently employed. Such a ship was used to supply Tyre with water (*Pap. Anastasi* I:21, 2), to import provision and to guard against the Peoples of the Sea.<sup>27</sup> To ship wood from Lebanon, Wen-Amon hired Syrian vessels from the prince of Byblos (*Wen-Amon* 1:55, 2:72, also 2:7, 15, 18).<sup>28</sup> From Ugarit we learn that a *br* was employed as a warship (*UT*:319). In *UT*:2057, the term was given a Semitic plural in *m*, and was differentiated from *any*. *UT*:319 mentions 4 *tkt* which, together with 12 *br*, completed the list of *anyt mihdt*, 'ships that were seized.'

The problem of the term *tkt* is complicated.

<sup>23</sup> One of the finds from Ras-Shamra was a Sumerian-Akkadian vocabulary of ships, most of which were designations of river boats (F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12 [1931] vocabulary No. 5). A good scholar, the Ugaritic scribe would have copied and studied such texts which probably were of little practical value in their application to Canaanite daily life.

<sup>24</sup> C. H. Gordon, *UT* No. §19:506, 2680, 247.

<sup>25</sup> A. Alt, *Ar. f. Or.* 15 (1945-1951) pp. 69-74.

<sup>26</sup> Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 557, No. 56.

<sup>27</sup> These *br* may have been the same type of ships that were depicted at Medinet-Habu; earlier, in note 21, we speculated upon their Semitic derivation.

<sup>28</sup> While at Byblos, a flotilla of 11 *br* belonging to the *Tkr* came after the unfortunate ambassador; he barely escaped being captured (*Wen-Amon* 2,63).

Saeve-Soederbergh has collected most of the material connected with this type of ship.<sup>29</sup> He associates the word with Eg: *skti*, 'to destroy'; thus *tkt*, Eg. *skt*, would have been a 'trooper.' Akkadian lexical texts, however, allow us to suggest a possible etymology. *ḪAR-ra:hubullu* IV:347 (*MSL* V) lists *GIŠ.MĀ.SIG.GA* as equal to *eleppu si-ig/k-tum*. In his *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (1939, p.45), Armas Salonen proposes that the term designates a small, light ship. This agrees well with its West-Semitic counterpart. A Neo-Assyrian ritual text (*BBR*:75-8) notes that the mountains of Syria abounded with a tree known as *ši-qit/kit-ti*, the wood of which may have been used to construct such ships. XVIIIth Dynasty mention of *skt* vessels occurs only in the two passages discussed above (see note 21). From a later time, we learn that such ships were built at *Prw-nfr* of imported 'š and native *šnti* wood (*Anast.* IV:7-9, *Wb. Bel.* IV:315. *P. Harris* I:12b,11). Thus, there is a good chance that their names were Semitic in origin. At Ugarit, *tkt* seems to have designated a boat of small dimensions. *UT*:2085 contains a long list of Ugaritians who either possessed such boats or were hired to manage them.

Also of possible Canaanite origin is the type of ship known to the Egyptians as *mnš*. The hieroglyphic determinative for such a vessel is strikingly similar to the design of Syrian ships depicted in Ken-Amon's tomb.<sup>30</sup> The rich epigraphical records from Western Asia have not yet provided us with a Semitic equivalent,<sup>31</sup> but consideration of the ship's history makes its Syrian derivation very plausible. The *Berlin Wb.* (II:89,7-10) knows of several mentions of this type of vessel. Only once is Nile travel meant, while eleven times *mnš* is recorded as floating on the 'Great Green.' *Lansing* 4, 10 and *Anast.* IV:3, 10 deal with *mnš* ships

<sup>29</sup> Soederbergh, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

<sup>30</sup> Fig. 12 of Soederbergh's *Navy . . .*, p. 58 is a good representation of a *mnš* ship.

<sup>31</sup> One can suggest a term such as *\*munaššū*, a D-stem participial formation from the root *našū*, 'to raise, be high,' which may have referred to the firmly held mast in the center of the ship. Note, for example, the scaraboid seal from Ugarit on which is depicted a stylized figure of a ship with an obviously firm center-structure, *Ugaritica* IV, p. 134, fig. 114, and p. 147.

trading with Djaḥy, North and Central Syria, and Khor, Palestine. One such a boat was captained by a certain *P3 ḥ3r*, 'The Palestinian' (*Pap. Turin B V*s.1, 7), another had a person by the name of *'I3y* at its helm (*JNES X*, 1951, 94). A flotilla of twenty *mnš* is known to have belonged to Zakar-Ba'al, prince of Byblos, one which was in commercial relations with Smendes of Egypt. Another one of fifty *br* traded with Sidon (*Wen-Amon*:1, 58). Used in shipping corn (*D. el. Medinah ostr.*, 1044), *mnš* is equated, in a duplicate papyrus (*Lansing 8, 9*), with *kr*, a type of ship whose Semitic provenance has been strongly suggested.<sup>32</sup>

By far the most common word used in Ugaritic to denote a seagoing vessel is the term *any*. The alphabetical texts differentiate among a variety of such ships. One which carried soldiers on board (*šbu any*, 'soldiers, or team, of a ship') was possibly a warship (*UT*:83). *Any kn*, a 'stable ship', seems to be the designation of a cargo vessel (*UT*:2059). Such merchantmen were quite large, even as early as the XIIth century B.C. RŠ 20:212 is a letter from the Hittite king to that of Ugarit, requesting him to furnish one ship in order to supply a Cilician city, Ura, with grain. This was to have been exported from the fertile regions of Mukiš in Northern Syria. The letter insists that the 2,000 kors of grain can be shipped in one trip; at most two shuttles would be required. Nougayrol, the publisher of the text, estimates that this amount of grain would have formed a total cargo of about 450 metric tons. He concludes: "The author of the letter thus admitted that the king of Ugarit disposed, or could dispose of ships capable of carrying about 500 tons, or perhaps even more, if one takes into account the containers. This very high figure is not improbable according to the information which we have of the Egyptian fleet of that time, or on the later Phoenician and Greco-Roman fleets."<sup>33</sup> Reminding us that Columbus' largest ship, the Santa María, was only 233 tons, M.C. Astour remarks: "A vessel of 500

tons—even half as big—certainly could even cross the Atlantic, not only the short sea-distances on the route: Ugarit - Cyprus - Southwest Asia Minor - Crete."<sup>34</sup> It should be remembered, however, that to the ancient sailors, heavy cargo capacities did not mean equal sailing possibilities. Much depended on the design and construction of the sea vessel. Whereas Hatshepsut's huge, obelisk-carrying ships would have split asunder in the Mediterranean, the well built Canaanite merchantmen, as is amply documented, criss-crossed these same waters.

As was the practice of ancient peoples, ships that traded with foreign lands were often named after either the place of destination or that of origin. Thus we have the Egyptian *kbn* and *kftiw*, 'Byblos and Crete,' ships; the Sumero-Akkadian Dilmun, Magan and Meluḥḥa ships; and at Ugarit, it is possible to restore an *any al[ty]*, a 'Cyprus' ship (*UT*:2056:1). Cyprus, a country whose population was possibly composed of North Syrian elements,<sup>35</sup> is known to have possessed a fleet as early as the Amarna age (*EA*:36:12).

The trade of Ugarit, far-flung and most prosperous, was for the greater part handled by the king. Among the various workers of the palace we meet a special group called *hrš anyt*, 'builders of ships' (*UT*:170:1). To them fell the task of constructing and equipping a huge naval fleet, each individual ship of which was capable of conveying livestock from one corner of the Mediterranean to the other: "Fine horses from Hatti, cows from Alašia, horse teams from Sangar" (*Anast.* IV:17, 8-9). That they were shipped to Egypt on Canaanite vessels is deduced from a fine tomb painting which depicts cows being led out from such boats by bearded Semites.<sup>36</sup> Often, however, a coastal city such as Ugarit would increase the size of her fleet by purchasing ships from a neighbor. *UT*:

<sup>32</sup> M. C. Astour, "Second Millennium B. C. Cypriot and Cretan Onomastica Reconsidered," *JAOS* 84 (1964) pp. 240-254; p. 248. Anthropological evidence, however, does not substantiate this claim. See Erik Sjökvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age* (Stockholm, 1940), pp. 204-5.

<sup>36</sup> Davies and Faulkner, *op. cit.*, plate 8; *ANEP*, p. 33, fig. 111.

<sup>32</sup> Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Nougayrol, "Nouveaux textes accadiens de Ras Shamra," *CRAI* (1960) pp. 163-171; p. 165. (translation mine).

<sup>34</sup> Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 348.

2106,

10. ḥmš.mat.arb'm 540 heavy (shekels) of  
kbd.ksp.anyt silver for the ships  
d.'rb.b.anyt which came out of (lit. entered  
from)  
l.mlk.gbl the fleet of the king of Byblos  
w.ḥmšm.ksp and 50 [shekels] of silver, (in  
addition)
15. lqḥ.mlk.gbl the king of Byblos took  
lbš.anyth (for) the cargo (sails? lit. cloth-  
b'rm.ksp ing) of his ships (brought) from  
mḫr.hn 'Arm. The silver is their price.<sup>37</sup>

As was amply recorded in the Amarna tablets, the Canaanite fleet was used to supply the coastal cities with food, water, and troops (see above, note 21). The Ugaritic documents reveal similar endeavors, but often on a larger scale. In time of war, especially in the late thirteenth and early twelfth centuries, full use of the fleet was called upon in a vain but valiant effort to stem the tide of the invading Peoples of the Sea.<sup>38</sup> In RŠ 20.238, a tablet which will be published in Nougayrol's forthcoming *Ugaritica V*, we read of 'Ammurapi's answer to the king of Alašia, the 'Shield of Ugarit': "Mon père ne sait-il pas que toutes mes troupes . . . se trouvent en pays hittite, et tous mes bateaux sont aux pays lycien?" While Ugarit was thus unprotected, seven enemy ships managed to inflict damage on the city. These warships may well have come from Alašia. Although a vassal of the Hittites and especially close to Ugarit — the king of Alašia calls 'Ammurapi 'my son' to which the latter responds with 'my father' — the island of Cyprus seems to have been infested with supporters of the enemy. Ešuwara, a high functionary at Alašia, confirms the suspicions of the Ugaritic

<sup>37</sup> From the point of view of syntax, this tablet is most difficult. Virolleaud translates lines 10–13 thus: "Cinq cents quarante (sic) lourds d'argent, (prix du ?) navire qu'on a donné en gage pour le navire (appartenant) au roi de Gebal [Byblos]" (*PRU*, (V p. 129). The formula *d.'rb.b* has the meaning 'donner en gage' in *UT*:2046, 2079, but makes little sense in this tablet. The city of 'Arm is well known at Ugarit -*UT*:§19:1921.

<sup>38</sup> For a preliminary survey of the events that transpired just before the final holocaust which claimed at least a dozen cities, see M. C. Astour, "New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit," *AJA* 69 (1965) pp. 253–8. See also Nougayrol, *Iraq 25* (1963) pp. 110–123.

monarch by revealing to him that some traitors handed over a flotilla to the enemy (RŠ 20.18). Indeed, such a renegade fleet fought three times against the Hittite king, Suppiluliamas (Suppiluliamas II). Probably forming the bulk of his navy, the Canaanite fleet was victorious each time.<sup>39</sup>

This fleet, of which that of Ugarit was only a segment, must have attained large proportions. One alphabetic tablet, found in an oven where it had been baking, contains a request from a certain *Ydn*, a vassal of the king of Ugarit. "*tškn ḥmšm.lm[ḫ]t.any*", "equip a hundred and fifty ships," he proposes to the king (*UT*:2062:4–5). If, as it seems likely, this armada was only to reinforce the already existing navy, then the Ugaritic sea power must have reached dimensions that were unequalled until some seven hundred years later.<sup>40</sup>

With such a mighty instrument of communication, Ugarit was called upon on various occasions to supply with grain the lands that were struck by famine. Earlier, we had a chance to mention the role of the city in shipping grain from Mukiš to Ura. "It is a matter of life or death," the Hittite king had added (RŠ 20.212). At about the same time, Egyptian records reveal that a similar request for grain was sent to Merneptah.<sup>41</sup> It is quite conceivable that the supply was loaded on Canaanite vessels. *UT*:2060 discloses another instance in which Ḫatti was grateful to its vassal. The 'Sun' to 'Ammurapi:

17. w.lḫt.akl.ky And the shipment of food,<sup>42</sup> when  
likt.'m.špš you sent it to the Sun,  
b'lk.ky.akl your lord, although there  
b.ḫwtk.inn was no food in your  
špšn[ realm (*UT*: §19.850), Our Sun]

<sup>39</sup> Heinrich Otten, "Neue Quellen zum Ausklang des Hethitischen Reiches," *MDOG* 94 (1963) pp. 1–23.

<sup>40</sup> Astour, *AJA* 69, p. 256 points out that the kingdom of Mycenae could furnish no more than a hundred ships to the Achaean coalition (*Iliad* II:576). Samos of the sixth century boasted of 150 ships, a navy which was so powerful that the tyrant Polycrates was able to roam and plunder at will (*Herod.* III:39).

<sup>41</sup> *BAR* III: §580.

<sup>42</sup> The word *lḫt*, properly a 'tablet' is here translated 'shipment' because of context: when received in Alašia, it was enough to cause abundance and plenty (*UT*:2061). Astour, loc. cit., p. 255, points to a usage at Mari where *ša 1 bilat kaspim tup-pa-am* is explained as an order to



Similar requests came from Alašia. *Pgn*, who can be identified as the king of that island by the manner in which he addresses 'his son,' the king of Ugarit, writes (*UT*:2061):

ky.lik.bny	Since my son sent
10. lḥtakl.'my	a shipment of food, with me
midy w ḡbny	there is plenty and abundance. <sup>43</sup>
w.bny.hnkt	And my son, in the same manner,
yškn anyt	let him equip sea
ym.yšrr	vessels and dispatch?? (them?);
15. w.ak[? . . .	and food. . .

In addition to grain, other commodities were requested. RŠ 20.168, an Akkadian tablet to be published in *Ug. V*, informs us that oil was shipped to the king of Alašia by Niqmad, probably Niqmad III, king of Ugarit.

The activity of the fleet in time of peace was no less important than in time of war. With the exception of *UT*:2084 which suggests that small-sized *ḫkt* boats were possibly privately owned, our evidence strongly supports the contention that, at Ugarit, the greatest portion of maritime trading enterprises lay in the hands of the king. This economic situation can be contrasted with that found in the Roman Empire, where state and imperial enterprises were sharply distinguished. A small fragment of a tablet (*UT*:2057) speaks of "*anyt. mlk . . . w.[t]ḫt brm*", "the ships of the king . . . and three *br*". Another one contains a fragmentary message; what can be made out seems to imply royal involvement with merchants and ships. *UT*:2008:

Rev. k[. . .	As[. . .
'šrm[. . .	twenty[. . .
yšt.tb'[. . .	he will place. . . .
qrt.mlk[. . .	city of the king[. . .
5. w.'l.ap.s[. . .	and, in addition[. . .
bhm.w.rgm.hw.al[. . .	from them. And he
	said: "do not[. . .
atn.ksp.lhm.'d	I will give silver to
	them until
ilak.'m.mlk	I will send to the king."

pay the bearer, upon receipt, 1 talent of silver (*ARMT VII*, p. 228).

<sup>43</sup> For the identification of *Pgn* as king of Alašia and for the translation of *midy w ḡbny* as 'plenty and abundance' see Astour, *ibid.*, p. 255, note 20.

ht.lik.[l]mlk	Now they were sent to
	the king;
w.mlk.yštal.b.hn[d?	and let the king in-
	quire about this
hmt.w.anyt.hm.t'[rb	of them. And if the
	ships cross[. . .
mkr.hnd.w.rgm.ank[	this merchant. And I
	said[. . .
mlkt.ybqt.anyt.w.at[. . .	"To the queen let there
	be sought ships. And
	you[??
wmkrn.mlk[. . .	and the king will trade
	it[. . . <sup>44</sup>

With four ports to handle the sea trade,<sup>45</sup> the royal undertakings were very profitable and very widespread. This last remark is well illustrated by an unpublished tablet where the route to the west contained the following 'escapes': Alašia, Ura, Lycia and Kaphtor.<sup>46</sup> To conduct such operations, the king had a large number of prominent businessmen — *tamkāru ša mandatti ša šar Ugarit*, 'tributary merchants to the king of Ugarit' (RŠ 17.146) — working under his aegis. These traders were so well integrated in the royal machinery that various documents such as *UT*:1028–1031 group them with '*maryannu*,' guards of the palace, butlers, and other functionaries, mostly military, of the kingdom. In addition to being his personal ambassadors at foreign courts, the merchants were responsible for purchasing, selling and shipping commodities to and from Ugarit. With special treaties contracted among the various powers protecting their lives and rights,<sup>47</sup> Canaanite traders were widely dispersed throughout the Mediterranean world. Wherever possible, but usually within the kingdom such as at Tell-Soukas, a gar-

<sup>44</sup> *UM*: §13.52 and note 1 page 100, would explain the construction of the last line. RŠ 17.314, among others, instructs us that the queens of Ugarit were served by their own, private, merchants. [See now *UT*: §13:57 and note 2, page 121.]

<sup>45</sup> Astour, loc. cit., p. 254 note 3. Atallig, Gib'ala and the island of Ḫimulli (Pigeon Island), in addition to Ugarit, are known to have handled the sea trade of the area.

<sup>46</sup> Nougayrol, loc. cit., p. 163.

<sup>47</sup> RŠ:17.46; 17.230 and 18.115 are treaties between Ugarit and Carchemish. RŠ:17.130 was contracted with Ugarit by the Hittite king in behalf of the merchants of Ura.

risson would be established, probably to protect the *kārum*, a merchant colony.<sup>48</sup> The house of *Ewrukl* was established at Beirut. From the local population, this Ugaritian was able to purchase an entire family with which he staffed his office.<sup>49</sup> Beirut was then a city renowned for its metal working (*UT*:2101). From Alašia large quantities of copper were brought into the port of Atallig (*UT*:2056:1-4), then directed to the foundries of Beirut. In one instance a small quantity of *brr*, 'iron,' was sent along.<sup>50</sup> Lists of personnel stationed in Arwad, Tyre, Askalon, Acca and Ušnatu were reported by Schaeffer.<sup>51</sup> At Ḫattušaš, deep in the heart of Anatolia, a *bit-tuppašši* was established by Ugarit; it functioned in the same manner as today's banks (RŠ 17.59).<sup>52</sup> It is not impossible that the kings of Ugarit had representatives in Mycenae, Pylos, Thebes,<sup>53</sup> and the larger cities of

Crete. Linear A and B documents record names that greatly resemble those that were current in Northern Syria of the same epoch.<sup>54</sup> As it is, we now know of one Ugaritian who apparently had sole rights to trade with the Aegean. Sinnaranu, the son of Siginnu, was in many ways an exceptional merchant. Highly favored by both Niqmepa and 'Ammistamru, he was able to amass great fortunes. To these were added various privileges such as the right not to quarter the *Ḫapiru* and the *Ubru* mercenaries and to be exempted from the taxing ambassadorial duties (RŠ 15.109). He was also given a franchise to trade with KUR. DUGUD-ri, read by Nougayrol as <sup>ma</sup>t *Kapturi*, the land of Crete. On his return, his ship was to bypass the inspectors, for it was acknowledged that Sinnaranu "on behalf of the king . . . will toil" (*ana muḫḫi šarri . . . ētannaḫ* RŠ 16.238:15-16).

<sup>48</sup> P. J. Riis, *AAS* 11-12 (1961-2) p. 137. At Tell Sukas, Ug. Šuksi, a Ugaritic tablet was found. Its location made it an ideal stopover for merchants trading along the Phoenician coast.

<sup>49</sup> *UT*:1006. See also R. Yaron, "A Document of Redemption from Ugarit," *Vetus Testamentum* 10 (1960) pp. 83-90.

<sup>50</sup> I equate Ugaritic *brr* with Egyptian *bīz*. Following a long discussion, J. R. Harris, in his *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, Berlin (1961) p. 60, concludes that the Egyptian term refers to 'iron.' Forbes, in *Studies in Ancient Technology IX*, Leiden (1964) p. 226, agrees. Indeed Egypt knew of *bīz n pt n Rtnw*, 'iron of heaven from Syria' (compare Sumerian AN.BAR). Of non-Semitic origin, *brdl* (*UM*: §20.355), would then be another term for the metal. *UT*: §19.526 explains *brr* as *plumbum*. Dr. C. H. Gordon was kind enough to privately communicate the following to me: "Because *brr* means 'pure,' it is to be compared semantically with Akkadian *šarpu* (lit. 'purified') 'silver.' Accordingly, it is more likely to be the brighter of the two kinds of *plumbum*, namely, *plumbum album*, 'tin' (rather than *plumbum nigrum*, 'lead')." *brr* would have been alloyed to copper in order to produce bronze.

<sup>51</sup> Schaeffer, *AAS* 7 (1957) pp. 64-65.

<sup>52</sup> *PRU IV*, p. 22. When suffixed to the Akkadian word *tuppu*, 'tablet,' the Hurrian element -šši rendered the whole into an abstract substantive. Thus *bit-tuppašši* meant the 'house of tabletship,' an 'accounting house' (Frederick W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, Brandeis University [1964] [University Microfilms: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1965] §6.521).

<sup>53</sup> A treasury room at the royal palace of Cadmos' Thebes, dating to the XIVth century, produced a rich

number of seal cylinders of both Babylonian and Syrian designs. That they were found at Thebes where Greek legends persisted in recognizing the Phoenicians as founders, strongly suggests that this city was a commercial depot for the Canaanites. At the least, one has to recognize that the Theban kings were strongly interested in Eastern culture. Judging from the state of some unfinished seals, the local artist, perhaps an ambulating Semite, was hard at work imitating them. See, among others, the *London Times*, July 17, 1964, p. 13; E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 68 (1964) p. 293; E. Porada, *AJA* 69 (1965) p. 173; M. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 387.

<sup>54</sup> Astour, *ibid.*, pp. 340-344 and *JNES* 23 (1964) pp. 193-201 where many examples from Ugarit and Alalah are equated to those found in Linear B.

*Ḫuburtanuri* of Carchemish, did not hesitate to do a little ‘moonlighting,’ possibly to keep up with the high cost of living; RŠ 16.108 records that he sold a horse to the king of Ugarit. Smaller cities and kingdoms were also well represented. The kingdom of Tarḫudašši sent its merchant, Ar-Simiga, to Ugarit (RŠ 17.158). Under the auspices of the Hittite monarch, the city of Ura became recognized as a commercial power (RŠ 17.316, 130, 18.03).<sup>55</sup>

Was shipping, a very profitable enterprise, undertaken by private individuals? The reputation of the later Phoenicians as fierce merchants leads one to believe that a certain amount of trade was held in capitalistic hands. Although we possess enough evidence on the role of the Canaanite commoner in manufacturing and in overland trade (RŠ 17.59, 383), the Ugaritic tablets do not reveal anything substantial concerning their maritime trading ventures.<sup>56</sup> Further discoveries in the residential area may prove our thesis to have been wholly one-sided, even quite wrong. As of now only two tablets from the whole archive offer us the possibility that private endeavors existed. *UT:2006*:

b.y.m.ḫdt	On the day of the New Moon,
b.yrḫ.pgrm	in the month of <i>Pgrm</i> , <sup>57</sup>
lqḫiwrpzn	Iwrpzn,
argdd	Argdd,
5. [ ]tkn	[ ]tkn,
[w]brk	[and] Brk bought
ntbt	a <i>ntbt</i>
b.mitm	for two hundred
šrm	and twenty
10. kbd.ḫrṣ	heavy [shekels] of gold

<sup>55</sup> For an excellent study of the position and role of foreigners at Ugarit, see A. F. Rainey, *The Social Stratification of Ugarit*, Brandeis University (1962) (University Microfilms: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963) and also his ‘Business Agents at Ugarit,’ *IEJ* 13 (1963) pp. 313–321. M. C. Astour’s ‘Les étrangers à Ugarit et le statut juridique des Ḫabiru,’ *R.Ass.* 53 (1959) pp. 70–76, should also be consulted.

<sup>56</sup> Aballa and Talimmu, both foreign merchants operating at Ugarit, speak of ‘their merchants’ (RŠ: 17.145, 17.229). It is impossible, however, to determine whether they had any sea connections with the rest of the Mediterranean world or whether they were limited to trade on the mainland only.

<sup>57</sup> A speculative note on the month of *Pgrm* (the

*UT:2007* is similarly worded. Here five, maybe six, individuals banded together to spend four hundred shekels of gold in purchasing one *ntbt*. Basing his interpretation on 2 *Aqhat*:43–44, Virolleaud suggests *netība*<sup>h</sup> (נְתִיבָה), ‘path’, as a possible meaning for the word. In Akkadian, *ḫarrānu*, the Sumerian KASKAL, also means ‘path’, ‘road.’ This term, however, has a wider application. Among others, the *CAD* (H:106) lists many usages denoting ‘business trip,’ ‘business capital’ and ‘business venture.’ In the formula *ša ḫarrānāti*, the word, *ḫarrānu* denotes a ‘forwarding agent,’ a ‘carrier’ (*CAD* H:113). This Akkadian usage, coupled with the excessive value of the amount paid for a *ntbt*—a fief would usually go for 150 shekels of gold (see above) — indicates the possibility that a *ntbt*, a ‘trading concession,’ could be purchased by private individuals. Such establishments were not uncommon. *UT:1033* contains a list of four *blblm*, each of whom was a *skn*, a ‘governor’ of a village. Together they formed a group labeled *rb ntbtš*, chiefs of ‘The Concession.’<sup>58</sup>

syllabic form *Pagri*, occurring in Alalakh, is now assured by RŠ 25.455b where there is mention of *araḫ Pagrima*, CRAI [1964] 133) may be in order here. As was suggested by Virolleaud (*UT: §19:2006*), the term *pgrm* brings to mind Hebrew *pgr*, ‘corpse.’ Thus *Pgrm* possibly denoted a month in which funerary sacrifices took place. It is also possible to think of it as designating one in which the gods, either for cultic or for practical reasons—they may have been in a deteriorated state—were buried. Compare Gen 35:5 where Jacob buried the idols of Laban. See also the newly found Punic inscription from Pyrgi (G. Garbini, ‘Considerazioni sull’iscrizione Punica de Pyrgi,’ *Or. Ant.* IV [1965] 35–52). There, an Etruscan king speaks of *byrḫ krr bym qbr ’lm*, ‘In the month of Krr, in the day of the gods’ entombment.’

<sup>58</sup> *ntbtš* must be here taken as a place name. The š at the end of this good Semitic word, if it is not a scribal error, cannot be a Hurrian ending. Dr. Astour, with whom I discussed this problem, connects this particle with the Akkadian adverbial ending *-iš*. Two things should be noted however: 1) This suffix *-iš* had a dative meaning in Old Akkadian (I. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*,<sup>2</sup> Chicago [1961] p. 142). Thus *ntbtš* may have been a word which evolved into a place name through constant repetition of ‘to the concession, to the trading post.’ Compare the derivation of the name Istanbul. 2) The Hurrian suffix *-še/šī*, expressing the idea of belonging, pertaining was always represented by *ḡ* in the alphabetic script of Ugarit; hence our cate-

Another transaction, worded in a manner similar to *UT:2006-2007*, confirms our interpretation. *UT:1156* records that on the New Moon of the month of *Pgrm*, B'Imḡr and Bnhlp purchased a *mīhd* for 400 shekels of gold. In *UT:115*, the same partners are joined by a third merchant to buy another *mīhd* for the same amount of money. To have cost so much, a *mīhd* must have been a substantial piece of real estate. In Akkadian, the word *ihzū*, phonetically equivalent to Ugaritic *ihd*, connotes the mounting of gold upon an object of lesser value (*CAD I:47*). One can conjecture that a *mīhd* was a place, in this case a concession, where the precious metal was worked for private profit. In a manner similar to that of *nibt*, *mīhd* became known as a place-name under the forms of *Mīhd* and *Maḥd* (*UT:1059, 1090, 1134, 2016, 2017*; note also syllabic *Ma-a-ḥa-di* PRU III, p.266. It is likely that we are here dealing with more than one locality bearing the same name).

The second millennium before Christ seems to have been a period when a veritable epidemic of run-away wives plagued the various civilizations. Powerful, sea-oriented kingdoms relied on their navies to retrieve the errant spouses. RŠ 18.06 relates how 'Ammistamru II, king of Ugarit, prepared ships and troops in order to capture and punish his sinful wife.

Shipping, of course, was a business which involved many risks. While the waters of the Medi-

---

gorical statement above. But the recently found Hurrian texts which are written alphabetically—they will be published by Laroche in the forthcoming *Ugaritica V*—have made the problem more involved. The Hurrian phoneme represented at Ugarit by *ḡ* was occasionally written with *š* and sometimes with *t*. Thus the word *atḡ* (285:11) was spelled *atš* (278:16) and at another time *att* (168:8, 169:13); Bush, *op. cit.*, §3.512.

It is also possible that the regions HUR.SAG. KASKAL.MES *ša mPi-it-ḥa-na*, localities that once belonged to Mukišhe, earned their name 'Mountains of Piḥana's Emporia' (RŠ 17.62, 17.339) from being trading depots of an Anatolian merchant. Ugaritic merchants controlled at least 10 such places in one *bit-tuppašši*, one 'bank,' at Ḥattušaš (RŠ 17.59, PRU IV p. 22 and also above note 52).

Finally, the word *nibt* also occurs in a badly broken mythological passage, *UT:1001:Rev. 7*, where a god speaks of sitting in someone's *nibt*.

terranean must have swallowed many a merchantman, such shipwrecks were not too often recorded by the ancient scribe.<sup>59</sup> But now Ugarit furnishes us with a tablet which relates the following incident. The king of Tyre to that of Ugarit in *UT:2059*:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>10. any kn.dt<br/>likt.mšrm<br/>hndt.b.šr<br/>mtt.by<br/>gšm.adr</p> <p>15. nškḫ.w.<br/>rb.tmtt<br/>lqh.kl.dr'<br/>bd.n[š]m.w.ank</p> <p>k[l.] ḡr'hm</p> <p>20. [. . . ]pš[?]<br/>w[k]lhm.bd<br/>rb.tmtt.lqht<br/>w.tṭb.ank.lhm<br/>w.anyk.tṭ</p> <p>25. by.'ky.'ryt<br/>w.ḥy.mhk<br/>b.lbh.al.yšt</p> | <p>The merchant vessel which you have sent toward Egypt that one, near (lit. in) Tyre was grounded (lit. died), in torrential rain having found itself. And the <i>rb tmtt</i> took all the cargo from the hand of the men (merchants?).</p> <p>And I, all their cargo . . . and all of them, from the hands of the <i>rb tmtt</i> I took, and caused to return to them. Your ship is (now) stationed in Acco, unloaded (lit. naked). Let my brother not place care in his heart.</p> |
|---|---|

The *rb tmtt* was probably a high functionary at the Tyrian court, perhaps in charge of coast guard and salvage operations. The apparent ease with which the king was able to take possession of the confiscated goods makes it doubtful that a pirate, as Virolleaud suggests or, a " 'Lord of Death': epithet of some god such as Ršp or Mt", as Gordon supposes (*UT §19:2568, 2297*), was involved. It is interesting to note that, in an age when land caravans were often robbed and when respectable rulers did not hesitate to plunder travelling mer-

---

<sup>59</sup> R. LeB. Bowen, Jr., "Shipwrecks in Antiquity," *The Mariner's Mirror* 47 (1961) pp. 225-229.

RŠ 17.133 (*PRU IV*, p. 118-9) contains a somewhat puzzling account of the sinking of a ship. A certain Šukku, who might have been a Hittite citizen, was brought before Puduḥepa, queen of Ḥatti, together with the 'man' (an ambassador [?]) of Ammištamru II) of Ugarit. "Šukku said: his ship was destroyed upon the wharf." But the 'man' of Ugarit stated: "It is Šukku who broke up my ship by force (?)." My Sun gave the following judgment: "Let the head of the sailors of Ugarit swear. And then, let Šukku repay (for) everything that was within the ship."

chants,<sup>60</sup> there seems to have existed in Canaan an 'entente' among the great powers, whereby ships of various cities, the seafarers, and their cargos were respected in time of peace.<sup>61</sup>

With the fall of Ugarit and the vicious sacking

<sup>60</sup> RŠ 17.346 is complaint lodged by a merchant accusing the king of Ugarit of "continually robbing the caravans of the merchants," *ḥarrānī ša awīlī tamkāri [il]tanarriqmi*.

<sup>61</sup> Robert B. Revere "No Man's Coast: Ports of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires*, edited by Karl Polanyi, Glencoe, Ill. (1957) Chap. IV. Although Revere's reconstruction of the historical situation in the Late Bronze Age can

of the Canaanite cities at the uncouth hands of the 'Peoples of the sea,' an era came to an end. But the following centuries were to witness a Phoenician rebirth, and to inaugurate an epoch in which Canaanite mastery of the sea was acknowledged by all. This new age was to last well into the first millennium, giving rise to a multitude of legends which even the Greeks, often jealous and hostile neighbors, were wont to preserve and embellish.

stand some important revisions, his basic thesis, that there was an unwritten agreement among the leading political contenders in matters of trade, is sound.

STUDIEN ZU ALTBABYLONISCHEN HYMNISCH-EPISCHEN TEXTEN (2).<sup>1</sup>  
EIN LIED ÜBER DIE JUGENDJAHRE DER GÖTTER SĪN UND IŠUM  
(CT 15, 5-6)

W. H. PH. RÖMER

BAARN, NETHERLANDS

5I [.....] e-ne  
[.....] ú-ma  
[.....] x-bu-tum  
[.....] ú  
[.....] x

Rest nicht erhalten.

II *i-na e-er-ši ú-dí-i-ni-lu*  
*ᵃen-líl i-zi-ib ri-ḫi-is-sú ik-ka-ar-ši*  
*iš-pu-pa-am-ma wa-ta-ar bi-ni-ta-am*  
*ᵃsîn i-na bu-ku-ur ᵃen-líl ša-ni-ni la i-šu*

5 *a-pi ú-da-at-i-ra-am ᵃsîn i-na-ma na-ri*  
*še<sub>20</sub>-ep-šu ki-na-at*  
*pa-ši ka-as-sú-sí ù su-la-a i-na mu-ti-iš-šu*  
*e-li ba-e-ru-tim uš-ta-ab-ni-i-ma*  
*[a]na ᵃnin-gal iš-ta-ka-an ú-zu-un-šu*

[<sup>d</sup> *sîn iq-ru-uš a-na ḫi-a-ri-iš iq-ra-ab*  
*iš<sup>??</sup>-š<sup>??</sup>-i<sup>??</sup>-i<sup>??</sup> q<sup>1?</sup>-š<sup>??</sup>-i-ma ú-ul i-ša-al a-ba-ša*  
10 [.....] *ú<sup>?</sup> x x x<sup>?</sup> x<sup>?</sup> x* [... ] x  
Rest nicht erhalten.

III *i-ik-bi-it-ma e-l [i-ja<sup>?</sup>.....]*  
*ša-ar-pí-iš ma-aḫ-r[i-iš<sup>?</sup> ᵃnin-líl(?)<sup>?</sup>] u[m<sup>2</sup>-*  
*mi<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>?</sup> ib<sup>2</sup>-ki<sup>?</sup>]*  
*is-ku-ut-ma iz-zi-iz [a<sup>??</sup>-na<sup>??</sup> še<sup>??</sup>-ri<sup>??</sup>-i<sup>??</sup>-*  
*ša<sup>??</sup> ?]*  
*mu-ut-ti-iš um-mi-šu [a<sup>2</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup>-ta<sup>2</sup>-am<sup>?</sup> iq<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>?</sup>*  
*iz<sup>?</sup>-za<sup>?</sup>-ak<sup>?</sup>-kà<sup>?</sup>-ar<sup>?</sup>]*

5 *a-ša-al-ki-i ma-ši-a<sup>1?</sup> [-am<sup>?</sup>.....]*  
*ú-la tu-šu-še-ri-i [.....]*  
*ta-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma [.....]*  
*ta(-ad<sup>??</sup>)-bu-ub-šu-um-ma [.....]*  
*ta-a [q] -bi-š<sup>?</sup> [-um<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>??</sup>.....]*

Rest nicht erhalten.

<sup>1</sup> (1) Erscheint demnächst an anderer Stelle, (3) in WO.

IV; 6V Nicht erhalten.